‘If I could be equall with Solomon…’

ECCLESIASTES AND ENGLISH PRACTICAL DIVINITY *c.*1590, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO HENRY SMITH & GEORGE GIFFORD

MICHAEL A. HEIMOS

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On the Feast of Saint Expeditus

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‘Remember, today is a good day to live’.

Richard Two Elk
KUVO Denver

Preface and Acknowledgements

All the primary sources discussed here were known to previous scholars, but I do believe that this project has asked a few new questions of them. Naturally, some questioning remains to be done. For example, the March 2020 COVID lockdown prevented me from getting to Lincoln Cathedral and consulting Pore Shakerlaye's 1551 paraphrase. As nary a word has been written on his work for decades, surely Pore is worth making the trip in the future and writing a few paragraphs to submit to *Notes and Queries*. Whether that ever happens, only time will tell. But I shall remain hopeful, for we have been assured, 'to every thing there is a season'.

My heart, mind, and sense of curiosity have been nurtured by untold persons, places, and things, to all of which I am indebted, and since this may be my last roundup some acknowledgments and expressions of gratitude are in order. Firstly, to my late parents, Alvin and Patricia, who sacrificed much (I believe too much) to provide educational and other opportunities for me; they always said it was their privilege, which was especially humbling because our family was not the privileged sort. Secondly, to two places *unter dem wilden Himmel* ('under wild skies') that have enriched my life immeasurably: 37.107341, -102.469688 and 55.417397, -110.424094. Finally, to my best teachers, near and distant, academic and otherwise: Fr Justin Barry, Patrick Bass, Steve Bettlach, John Coltrane, Joe DeMoor, Leif Dixon, Jim Donley, Martin Eveleigh, Ronald Finucane, Michael Galligan, Beata Gessel-Kalinowska vel Kalisz, Steven Gunn, Czarek Haber, Bridget Heal, Ernest Hemingway, Freddie Hubbard, Jacques, Bro. Pauli Johnson, Hywel Jones, Ted Kerasote, Tim Kluempers, Marty Long, Lucy Marsh, Paul Mathias, Peter Maxwell-Stuart, Matthew McLean, Michael McNiff, Walter M. Miller, Jr., N. Scott Momaday, Sarah Mortimer, Dennis Murphy, Ved Nanda, Steve Owens, Flip Pallot, Nancy Panus, Jon Parkin, Clarita Pauley, Andrew Pettegree, Jacqueline Rose, Vincent Sala, Steven Schweitzer, Wayne Shorter, Chris Spielman, Jon Stammers, Hank Tajkowski, Chris Towner, Aen Walker Webster, Melina Wears Owl Feathers, Larry Wilcox, Lucy Wooding, and an Alberta timber wolf.

Doctoral students have the unalienable right, at least under natural law, to kvetch about the discomforts and disquiets they experience during their research and write ups, and in my case, some nearly caused my abandonment of this project, and one nearly caused my death. The first, is that I was born neurodivergent, specifically with the sensory processing disorder known as misophonia, and I cannot say how many hours, days, weeks of study and writing time were ruined or lost because of its torments. Libraries are not quiet places anymore (except, perhaps, at All Souls College), and, quite frankly, some of Oxford's undergrads, grads, and scholars have their lucky stars to thank for my self-control. The second, is that on 20th April 2017, just days before my transfer examination, I was stricken by unprovoked bilateral pulmonary emboli. Thankfully, Dr Birch *et al.* at the John Radcliffe Hospital cardio unit were able to prevent cardiac arrest and administer a thrombolysis just in time (then Jean M. Auel's *The Mammoth Hunters* got me through the next five days in hospital). And in the years that followed the BPE: the death of my dearest friend, Karen C.; the untimely resurrections of two rather large client matters from the days of my law practice; the COVID pandemic and lockdowns; and the death of our beloved Uncle Ken, who had chosen me as his trustee and executor, required me to suspend the project for a year and to return to the USA in January 2021. I could not have gotten over any of these hurdles without the love (I hope), understanding (I hope), and patience (I'm sure), of my family Monica Burnett, Tony Burnett, nephews Gavin and Kieran, and friends Naren Aryal, Mike Stang, Roger Williams, Liza DeBlock, James Turner, Fr George Westhaver, Vaughan Dutton, Stevan Veljkovic, Daryl Green, everyone in the administration at St Cross College, my sundry lunchmates at Hall, as well as the teas before and beers after the seminars, lectures, and other offerings in Oxford, the jazz streaming from KUVO Denver, the cricket matches in the University Parks, and the promise of returning to the sublimity of the high sage prairie of western Colorado.

That's where I'm going now. But I'll keep going to town to ask questions of the past, too. Say, to the Moffat County archive, and perhaps - with better earplugs - to the Bodleian Library every now and then. From everyone I've known, everything I've lived through, and a poem that many people take as the inspired Word of their Holy Spirit, I've learned that one should value now that which is valuable, 'for that is his portion'. In the same vein is the Cheyenne song that has resonated with me, ever more so now, which cries, 'The old men say, Only the Earth endures. They spoke truly'.

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List of Abbreviations & Conventions

BCP	*The Book of Common Prayer* (1549, 1552, or 1559). http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/england.htm
EDO	*Online Etymological Dictionary*, https://www.etymonline.com.
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Bibliography* (Oxford University Press, online: 2004-present).
Weeks Bibl. §	The sectional entry in Stuart Weeks, *The Making of Many Books: Printed Works on Ecclesiastes 1523-1875* (Eisenbrauns, 2014).
MC	The Great Bible (1539)
GB	The Geneva Bible (1560)
BB	The Bishops' Bible (1568)
AV	The Authorized Version (1611)
D-R	The Douay-Rheims Bible (1582, 1609)
V	The Vulgate (4th Century)

The Bible - references and quotes are to and from the version in the GB unless otherwise indicated in parentheses, e.g. "[quote] (Eccles. 10:20 (D-R))". All bibles other than the Vulgate (www.vulgate.org) were accessed at www.studylight.org.

Shakespeare – references to title, act, scene, and line(s) per https://shakespeare.folger.edu.

Block quotations - may contain bracketed or italicised words, phrases, or sentences to aid readability and to explain or emphasise important elements; corresponding citations will include "(emphasis added)", "(portions omitted)", etc., to ensure proper attribution.

Quotations – not blocked may contain bracketed or italicised words, phrases, or sentences to aid readability and to explain or emphasise important elements; corresponding citations will include "(emphasis added)", "(portions omitted)", etc., to ensure proper attribution.

Spellings – since the vowel-macron, which often stood instead for "m" or "n" in early modern printing, is not in the standard ASCII character set, here it is replaced by the contemporary "m" or "n". Similarly, the early modern "i", "u", and "f" are replaced by our contemporary "j", "v", and "s", as appropriate. NB: This is not done in citations to the signature marks in printed primary sources.

Equivalents and Translations - where an early modern source's spelling of a word or its usage is especially confusing, or the word carries different meaning today, the original remains in the quotation but it is followed by our contemporary equivalent in brackets. English translations of non-English portions of text are my own unless otherwise indicated.

List of Tables & Figures

NB: All tables and figures are placed at the end of each (chapter) to which they first relate.

Introduction

There is a tremendous interpretive pressure to raise the valleys and lower the hills, to make the way straight and level before the reader. But a reading faithful to this book, at least, should try to describe the territory with all its bumps and clefts, for they are not mere flaws, but the essence of the landscape.

Mark V. Fox, *Qohelet and his Contradictions*, 1989

The book of Ecclesiastes has been an important source for Christian thought ever since Christians first dared to explore the landscape of its story, but there is a longstanding consensus that the expedition is both complicated and risky. The main complication that interpreters have observed is that the book's disjointed structures and shifting voices make it a confusing read; the main risk that they have recognized is that the book's substantive messages are unsettling, if even dreadful, and could put one off God completely. Nevertheless, exegetes both technical and pastoral have insisted that their explorations have been worthwhile, notwithstanding what Dr. Fox described above as the 'bumps and clefts' in the book's topography, insofar as Ecclesiastes teaches a crucial perception of the providential plan: those temporal things which people tend to most value are indeed valueless, and accordingly, one should avoid needless distractions and keep one's focus trained on salvation.

The present study has been concerned with English explorations of the book of Ecclesiastes in the sixteenth century. It is no exaggeration to state that the scripture was greatly changed during the reigns of the Tudors, especially by puritan divines writing in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign. From *c.*1485 the book was still read as per the patristic and medieval inheritances; it was a reproving tale delivered by a detached, dejected King Solomon at the end of his life and whose divinely given *sapiencia* clashed with the rustic *ingenium* of the peasantry; humane learning, civic life, and the world in general, were things to avoid if one could manage it. Near the end of the sixteenth century, the book started to be read as an everyman story, one that was delivered by a timeless, careworn man who had much in common with the average English parishioner and reader; humane learning, civic life, and the world in general, were things to engage with in the best way one could manage. Through an interdisciplinary set of lenses applied in chapters 1 through 4, the present thesis identifies the key pivot points in this arc of change as being the eleven sermons, and certain other pastoral materials (in the case of Smith) penned *c.*1590 by the godly ministers Henry Smith and George Gifford. It is argued that their works created homiletical and textual events of the Reformed imagination which sought to unify Ecclesiastes' believed author with the faithful in the

collegium of the elect, thereby creating imaginative affinities between author and recipient. Thereupon, Solomon advanced from the medieval dialogical figure, e.g. who had sentenced the peasant Marcolf to hang merely for impertinence and boorishness – 'You ordered that you should never again have to look me in the eyes. Now if you don't want to look me in the eyes, you can look me in the ass' – to the late Elizabethan Solomonic figure, e.g. in Henry Smith's *The Triall of Vanitie*, who bore his daily vanities like a rambling peasant bears his board - 'I may call it Salomon's Theame, or the fardle [fardel] of vanities, which when he hath bound in a bundle, he bids us caste it into the fire'.[1]

The present thesis makes the case that it was this type of re-thinking, re-imagining, and enlarging of the book's proverbs, pioneered in parish and print by Gifford and Smith, that encouraged more English readers to re-apply the scripture to themselves, processes which soon led to the offering of other innovative interpretations of the scripture's themes in the following decades. From *c.*1590, Ecclesiastes quickly evolved from a provider of acontextual, proverbial criterions applied *inter alia* in *The Books of Homilies* to shore up magisterial authority, to a story that was central to the practical divinity of England's Christian ministers, and to the creative expressions of England's writers. By 1620, for example, the merisms of Eccles. 3 ('To every thing there is a season…') gave the transgressive character Hic-Mulier the structure and touchstones for arguing against social conformity, for the 'freedome of election', and the notion that change was good, and natural.[2] And the most profound of the Jacobean innovations resulted in an outright inversion of the scripture's reception. Those verses that for centuries had been read as being skeptical of the progress and value of humane knowledge, e.g. '…and there is no new thing under the sunne' (Eccles. 1:9 (AV)) were invoked in a positivistic sense by Francis Bacon in the 1620s. In Bensalem, the utopian island in Bacon's *The New Atlantis*, the pursuit of novel inquiries, experimentations, and discourses were the true 'riches of Salomon's House'.[3] Chapter 5 discusses these and select other Jacobean works which the present study suggest reflects the abiding influences (from the specific to the generalized) of the works of Henry Smith and George Gifford.

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[1] Nancy Mason Bradbury, 'Rival Wisdom in the Latin "Dialogue of Solomon and Marcolf"', in *Speculum* 83.2 (April 2008), 331-65, p. 365; Henry Smith, 'The Triall of Vanitie' in *The Sermons of Maister Henrie Smith, Gathered into One Volume* (London, 1593), p. 820.

[2] Anon. *Hæc-Vir: or The Womanish Man: Being an Answere to a late Booke intituled Hic-Mulier…* (London, 1620), sigs $A_{[4]}{}^{v}$ - $B_2{}^{r}$. See also Susan Clark, '*Hic Mulier*, *Hæc Vir*, and the Controversy over Masculine Women', in *Studies in Philology*, 82.2 (Spring, 1985), 157-83.

[3] Francis Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum: or A natural historie in ten centuries…* (London, 1627), p. 43.

Early modernists, biblical reception historians, and students of the Reformation should be familiar (more or less) with the book of Ecclesiastes, but a few prefatory words on the scripture and the broad history of its interpretation are in order. It sits in the Old Testament between the book of Proverbs and the Song of Songs, and the authorships of those three texts, along with the apocryphal book of Wisdom, have long been credited to Solomon. Like other texts in the biblical wisdom literature, it focuses on meaning in life, on values and ethical conduct, and on heartfelt obedience to God. The title of the book (or better, poem), as commonly used in English-language bibles, is the Latin transliteration of the Greek translation of the Hebrew קֹהֶלֶת (*kohelet or qohelet*, *koheleth* or *qoheleth*), and most English translations settle on "preacher" for *koheleth*.[4] The story is a framed narrative beginning with an unnamed author who introduces both the subject of the poem and the main character as, 'the wordes of the Preacher, the son of David, King in Jerusalem' (Eccles. 1:1 (AV)). The story told within the frame is voiced in the first person, ascribed to the preacher/*koheleth* himself, and the frame narrator does not recover and use his own voice again until the final verses, twelve chapters later, where he gives his own thoughts on the main character's life and observations.[5]

At its essence, Ecclesiastes is a memoir.[6] The poem reports what it was that he planned, accomplished, experienced, and thought throughout his life; but he candidly admits that, in the end, his knowledge of life, the world, and the meanings underlying the world and life, is incomplete. The reader is called upon to ponder and take heed of the preacher's experiences, but in the end, one is urged to be accepting of life's uncertainties, vexations, injustices, risks, and discomforts, and simply to fear God and obey the Commandments. It is a dark take on human life, and indeed a dark take on all of reality, for the preacher/*koheleth* declares throughout that everything is הֶבֶל (*heh'bel* or *hebel*), "vapour" or, in the Latin and English translations, *vanitas* or vanity. Because the world is signified by its changeability, and all things by their entropy, people should enjoy pleasures when, and if, they can, in the short time they are able to; yet on the other hand they shan't overdo, or suffer divine punishment. Throughout, both the frame narrator and the preacher are attuned to God yet neither the frame narrator nor the preacher ever speak to God, and God does not speak to them. Indeed,

[4] For example, the title in the 1560 English version of the Geneva Bible is 'Ecclesiastes, or The Preacher'. *The [1560] Geneva Bible: A Facsimile*: *introduction by Lloyd E. Berry* (Wisconsin, 1969), fol. 277[r].

[5] That Ecclesiastes is a framed narrative is accepted by all commentators, but debates continue as to the purpose and meaning of sub-structures within the general frame. See Michael V. Fox, *The JPS Bible Commentary: Ecclesiastes* (Dulles: Jewish Publication Society, 2004).

[6] NB: In the rabbinic tradition it's been said that Solomon wrote the Song of Songs in his youth, Proverbs in middle age, and Ecclesiastes as an old man. The present thesis shall suggest that our main subjects tended to read Ecclesiastes as a testimonial of repentance that looked forward more so than backward, i.e. as the product of Solomon in middle age.

He is barely mentioned in the scripture at all; He is at most an oblique, fleeting ever-presence, the author of the Commandments, the divine law which, it seems to both the frame narrator and the preacher, to be the only aspect of reality that is constant, lasting, and valuable. The narrative finishes with evocative imagery, fatalistic and even macabre in tone, and the conclusion is simply an injunction to fear God and to keep the Commandments, as that is the end-all of mankind, and it warns that all deeds, hidden, public, good, and evil, will be weighed in the final judgment.

Whether or not one is familiar with the text's complete story arc, there is little doubt that at least several of Ecclesiastes' proverbs, the snippets which have made and continue to make the scripture a fertile field for authors and artists, will have a familiar ring to them. The most interpretively vital maxim is given in Eccles. 1:2 and is recurrent in various forms and formulae throughout the text: in the Vulgate the verse reads, *vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas* ('vanity of vanities all is vanity'). The verse establishes the poem's fundamental point, that those temporalities which people tend to most value are indeed transitory and meaningless. Another well-known proverb, which perhaps is the most famous and culturally active and the giver of myriad book titles and chapter heads, is Eccles. 1:9 (AV): 'The thing that hath beene, it is that which shall be: and that which is done, is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sunne' universally denies novelty and exceptionality, especially regarding the sundry works of humanity. Indeed, the maxim of Eccles. 1:3 (AV) melds the messaging in verses 1:2 and 1:9, and emphatically rejects any return on investment vis-à-vis worldly endeavors, 'What profite hath a man of all his labour which hee taketh under the Sunne?'. The merisms of Eccles 3:1-15 (AV), 'To every thing there is a season…' establish the providential order of the world's variability, cyclicality, and mortality, and have been read (from Jerome to the puritans to The Byrds) as encouraging measured and thankful enjoyment of life's simple pleasures. Apprehensions concerning human thought, learning, and communication are further distilled in a matching pair of epistemological proverbs: Eccles. 1:18 (AV) declares, 'For in much wisedome is much griefe: and hee that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow'; Eccles. 12:11-12 (AV) declares, 'The wordes of the wise are as goads, and as nailes fastened by the masters of assemblies, which are given from one shepheard. And further, by these, my sonne, be admonished: of making many bookes there is no end, and much studie is a wearinesse of the flesh'. Ironically, the poem itself is words of the wise (Eccles. 12:9 (AV)) and it goads the reader into the contents of another book of sorts: the 'conclusion of the whole matter' is to keep the Commandments and to fear God, and to do such is one's sole consolation 'for this is the whole duetie of man' (Eccles. 12:13 (AV)). Yet as

we shall see in Chapter 1, marching on the heels of one's duty to God was one's duty to sovereign and superiors, as per the preferred proverb of Tudor officialdom, Eccles. 10:20 (AV): 'Curse not the king, no not in thy thought, and curse not the rich in thy bed-chamber: for a bird of the aire shall carry the voyce, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter'.

The cadre of Ecclesiastes' interpreters and commentators includes many, indeed perhaps most, of the important thinkers in the history of Christianity (one reformer who is conspicuous by the slimness of his commentaries on the scripture is John Calvin). Saint Jerome depicted the Solomon of Ecclesiastes as an utterly isolated, distant man lamenting his detachment from his kingdom and the rest of humanity, that all his past efforts were in vain, and any future efforts would be in vain. Reading Solomon as a Christo-allegorical figure that elevated the perspective of *contemptus mundi*, the contempt for the humane, the civic and familial arenas of the "real" world, Jerome understood the text to be in favor of the personal withdrawal from a hopelessly flawed society viz. to the monastery. Later, in the thirteenth century, Saint Bonaventure supplemented and expanded Jerome's reading of the scripture's proverb *vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas*, with a nuanced reading that held the phrase to mean that all of reality humane and otherwise is "vanity" (pointless, valueless, etc.), because of its changeability and its temporality, whilst it is "good" as it is the divinely fashioned natural order. Ultimately, Bonaventure's view was taken to be an even stronger voice of support for the personal withdrawal from society and for not only the undertaking of monastic life, but for the undertaking of mystical explorations beyond vanity and toward God and beatific life. So to Jeromian readers, *vanitas* meant that all matters humane are valueless and civic life is hopelessly fraught, whereas the Bonaventuran readers took more from the *omnia* of *vanitas* and held that the totality of physical reality (*vanitas universo*) is valueless; under both readings, to retreat from the world was to sortie toward godliness. Within the Bonaventuran tradition was the earlier body thought of Hugh of St Victor (c.1096-1141) whose tripartite providential scheme (*vanitas triplex*) delineated between the changeability (*vanitas mutabilitatis*) and entropy (*vanitas poenalitatis*) of all temporal things, and the inherent fault and sinfulness of humankind (*vanitas culpae*).[7] But a corollary in the Victorine view was the recognition of the

[7] The foregoing distillation is indebted to two influential theses: Endel Kallas, '*Ecclesiastes Traditum et Fides Evangelica*. The Ecclesiastes Commentaries of Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, and Johannes Brenz, Considered Within the History of Interpretation' (PhD thesis, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, 1979); Eric J. Eliason, '*Vanitas Vanitatum*: "Piers Plowman", Ecclesiastes, and Contempt of the World' (PhD thesis, University of Virginia, 1989).

inchoate goodness in humanity and of the potential for valuable human conduct, holding that what comes from truth is true, and 'what lives in God is not worthless'.[8]

As the present thesis shall begin to demonstrate in Chapter 1, the Jeromian and Bonaventuran interpretations maintained their influences in England for most of the sixteenth century, well into the English Reformation. From Chapter 2 onward, we shall see that it was relatively late in the Elizabethan era when a cadre of English puritan divines – Henry Smith and George Gifford in the pastoral vanguard - initiated a homespun break with the longstanding exegetical traditions, whereupon English engagements with Ecclesiastes moved into expanded territories of interpretation and application. Their version of *vanitas* was reminiscent of the Victorine school of thought and focused on *vanitas culpae* and its corollary; their version of the preacher/*koheleth* read Solomon as one of the elect and humbled by his awareness of *vanitas*, a preternaturally faithful Christian with an earnest heart. This Calvinized, puritan interpretation and figuration, which seems to have been achieved without much help from Calvin himself, would reel back the book from the monastic *contemptus mundi* mode of reading and would cast it forth as the *vade mecum* guidance for all believers in all dominions of life. The English readings that emerged *c.*1590 began the transformation of Ecclesiastes from the static story of Solomon in his exile to the timeless, ever-evolving story of every faithful English Christian in their journey through life, and thereupon one could join George Gifford in imagining, 'If I could be equall with Solomon'.[9]

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The present study is greatly indebted to the exhaustive compilation that Stuart Weeks presents in his scholarly bibliography, *The Making of Many Books: Printed Works on Ecclesiastes 1523-1875*.[10] In his Introduction, Weeks analyzed his precursors, e.g. the bibliography by Christian Ginsburg, *Coheleth, Commonly Called the Book of Ecclesiastes* (1861), and laid out a convincing case that there was no robust bibliography for Ecclesiastes covering the long period from early in the age of print to 1875.[11] Weeks' bibliography has largely remedied that situation for it truly is 'a much fuller and more accurate account of the literature', and it currently is the best compilation of bibliographical vitals on Ecclesiastes-oriented works

[8] Eliason, 'Vanitas Vanitatum', p. 53; Kallas, *Traditum et Fides*, p. 248.
[9] George Gifford, *Eight sermons, upon the first foure chapters, and part of the* [*fifth*] *of Ecclesiastes. Preached at Mauldon…* (London, 1589), sig. G$_{[7]}$^{r}.
[10] (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014).
[11] Weeks, *Many Books*, x.

known to the present researcher. The parameters for choice of material was rather expansive: Weeks sought to include 'anything that seems genuinely to be engaging with the text or thought of Ecclesiastes, even if that is in the context of a work about the Bible as a whole, or in the context of a work on some other topic, created [anywhere] during the period 1523-1875'.[12] The choice of material and resulting research for the present thesis is grounded in Weeks' rule, but with a modified periodization (starting *c.*1485, concluding *c.*1603), and with a tightened focus on works produced in England by English authors, with particular emphasis on works appearing in print but with some items extant in manuscript. Applying this amalgamated rule, the present researcher was able to independently curate only a handful of important items that fit within Weeks' substantive parameters, that were produced during the defined period, and that nevertheless escaped Weeks' bibliography; and it so happens that those few misses have been overlooked by other scholars, too, though (in the opinion of the present researcher) they lend important colors and shades to the spectrum of Ecclesiastes' reception in early modern England. The curation for the present thesis is given in Table 1 (print) and Table 2 (manuscript). The most important texts that escaped Dr. Week's bibliography are *The Books of Homilies* (Table 1, Rows 8, 16, 17), and the works of Henry Smith, including *The Triall of Vanitie* and several other essays, sermons, and prayers (Table 1, Row 27).[13] Whilst George Gifford's *Eight Sermons* (Table 1, Row 26) were noted in Weeks' bibliography § 93, as noted in Chapter 4, Gifford's series has gained only the merest mention by Alan Fager Herr, Dewey Wallace, and Timothy McGinnis; they have not figured at all in the reception histories of Hattaway, Kallas, Christianson, Bartholomew discussed below.[14] Although the remit of the present thesis is wider than that of a scholarly bibliography, it is hoped that the items independently curated and discussed here are taken as modest but meaningful correctives (and with no suggestion of or pretense to their completeness) to otherwise seminal bibliographies and rich histories on the reception of Ecclesiastes.

As its main primary sources are printed Elizabethan puritan sermons, the present thesis attempts to profitably intervene in the ongoing scholarly discussion of that genre as especially important to understanding the English early moderns. In 2000, Peter McCullough

[12] ibid., xii.
[13] The table reference is intended to encompass Henry Smith, *Vita Supplicium…* (London, 1590), *The Trumpet of the Soule, sounding to Iudgement…* (London, 1591), *The preachers proclamation…* (London, 1591), and *The Sermons of Maister Henrie Smith, Gathered into One Volume* (London, 1593).
[14] Alan Fager Herr, *The Elizabethan Sermon: A Survey and a Bibliography* (PhD thesis, published, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), p. 135; Dewey D. Wallace, 'George Gifford, Puritan Propaganda and Popular Religion in Elizabethan England', in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 9.1 (1978), 27-49, p. 46; Timothy Scott McGinnis, *George Gifford and the Reformation of the Common Sort* (Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2004), Appendix 1.

and Lori Anne Ferrell edited a collection of essays, *The English Sermon Revised*,[15] that was intended to inaugurate novel and interdisciplinary ways to approach early modern English sermons. Treating them as both literary and historical sources, the contributors to the collection urged that sermons should be seen as oral performances as well as printed texts, and that they figured importantly in the political and religious topography of early modern England. McCullough and Ferrell had presaged the core claim of their edition in separate monographs issued in the late 1990s, in which each acknowledged prior works by Millar MacLure, Horton Davies, W. Fraser Mitchell, J. W. Blench and others, but bemoaned the lack of limber, crisscrossing literary, theological, and historical perspectives in the prior scholarship on sermons, and insisted that preaching should be more vital to the study of early modern history.[16] Since then, the study of English early modernity and the role that sermons, preaching, and preachers played in it has flourished. About a decade after *The English Sermon Revised*, McCullough *et al*. produced *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (2011), a wide-ranging interdisciplinary survey of scholarly thinking on British sermons from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. And the past twenty-odd years have seen monographs, articles, and theses issue from numerous scholars, including but not limited to Susan Wabuda, Arnold Hunt, John Saward, John Morrill and Michael Tomko, Mary Morrissey, Elizabeth Clarke, Kenneth Padley, and Kevin Killeen, which have consulted early modern sermons as both sources and events, reading them with new methodological lenses afore their eyes, and asking of them ever more sophisticated questions.

Thus the current millennium has seen early modernists delving into the impacts of physical spaces, settings, staging, performance & gesturing, etc. on the reception of homiletical contents, focusing more on audiences and on attempting to measure whether particular sermons were successful or not. Relatedly, scholars have been investigating transmission, how printed sermons differed from the event they recorded, but also how they were sometimes transcribed and were faithful to the event as well. Other studies have explored "veiled speech", the early moderns' complex theories of reading, hearing, and imagining that negotiated meaning and typologies, and melded the divine socio-political presence in the Bible with the early modern present. Still others have interrogated and challenged the lines of Judeo-Christian theology and *ultra vires* learning, the supposed puritan

[15] Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (eds), *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History, 1600–1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).
[16] Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers and the Rhetoric of Conformity, 1603-1625* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998).

ban on the use of profane texts, references, proverbs, etc. in preaching. And, of course, many early modernists have endeavored to read early modern sermons in their wider legal, social, and politico-ecclesiastical contexts, questioning whether London and Canterbury were actually able to "tune" pulpits, try as they did.[17] As the present thesis drops on the early 2020s, the clarion call for early modern studies in the investigation of sermons as both historical events and rhetorical texts has been well heard, and the consultation of early modern sermons is indelibly part of the standard of care across all fields of inquiry that are concerned with the early modern world. But, as Mary Morrissey rightly insisted in 1999, even now considerable research is still needed before anyone can claim to have a single methodology that uncovers a sermon's full engagement with its historical moment, and still, 'such a method would go a long way towards allowing us to recover the "particularity of past experience"'.[18] The present study has attempted to intervene in this scholarly conversation by considering select sermons through not only the lenses of performance, place, rhetoric and figuration (with scholarly touchstones being noted above and *inter alia* Barbara Lewalski and Thomas Luxon), but also through the lens of diachronic biblical reception.[19] It joins in the proposition that by watching our subjects focus, pull back, and re-focus on specific scriptures (even on portions thereof, aka biblical proverbs) over time, hidden layers within these homiletically and textually guided events of the early modern imagination can be uncovered.

The field of biblical reception history is one of both established and expanding interest among early modernists. Several wide-ranging monographs and editions from the 1990s and early 2000s have cast much light upon the early moderns' biblical interpretation, transmission, and intake, and some histories, e.g. by Christopher Hill and Debora Shuger can safely be

[17] Alan J. Fletcher and Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *Irish Preaching, 700–1700* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001); Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (eds), *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500–1850* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 2002); Susan Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Mary Morrissey, 'Scripture Style and Persuasion in Seventeenth-century and English Theories of Preaching', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53.4 (2002), 686-706; idem, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); John Saward, John Morrill and Michael Tomko (eds), *Firmly I Believe and Truly: The Spiritual Tradition of Catholic England 1483-1999* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Elizabeth Clarke, *Politics, Religion, and the Song of Songs in Seventeenth Century England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Kenneth Padley, 'A Reception History of the Letter to the Hebrews in England, 1547-1685' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016); Kevin Killeen, 'Hanging up Kings: The Political Bible in Early Modern England', in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 72.4 (2011), 549-70; idem, 'Chastising with Scorpions: Reading the Old Testament in Early Modern England', in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010), 491-506.

[18] Mary Morrissey, 'Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons', in *The Historical Journal*, 42.4 (1999), 1111-23, p. 1123.

[19] Barbara K. Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979); Thomas H. Luxon, *Literal Figures: Puritan Allegory and the Reformation Crisis in Representation* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

referred to as classics.[20] The more recent trend approaches early modern biblical reception with what is sometimes referred to as the diachronic approach, or the diachronic perspective. Christopher Rowland identified this approach as being informed by the philosophy of Hans-Georg Gadamer and his concept of *Wirkungsgeschichte* ('effective history'), as an analytical and critical process that seeks to track the use of text through time, seeing readers and texts fused together by their times.[21] Rowland offers that, '[f]ollowing [Gadamer], text and interpreter can be seen as co-participants in a conversation that constitutes meaning rather than being secondary to some sort of prior, original meaning'.[22] The key to doing reception history from the diachronic perspective is the careful selection of specific texts, the tracing of their engagements through distinct periods of time and within distinct geographical places or societal spaces. As Jonathon Roberts offers in his Introduction to the field's *Oxford Handbook*:

> [The] scholarly enterprise [consists] of selecting and collating shards of that infinite wealth of reception material in accordance with the particular interests of the historian concerned and giving them a narrative frame. In other words, to get from the plenitude of reception to the finitude of reception history requires that historians of reception—like any others—envisage parameters: in particular, when reflecting on the history of responses to the Bible, whose responses do they deem to be of importance? That is the first, practical, question, and the second, which cannot be disentangled from it, is its theoretical counterpart: how is the choice of material to be justified, and to what end is it being marshalled? [23]

To paraphrase Roberts on what those questions reveal of the field, it is the special character of diachronic reception history that considers them as exegetically and hermeneutically interdependent, as facets of the same whole, crystalline alloy of Christianity in time (or better, at any distinct time).[24]

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[20] Works which have informed the present study include David C. Steinmetz (ed.), *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century* (Durham: Duke University, 1990); M. S. Burrows and P. Rorem (eds), *Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991); Gerald L. Bruns, *Hermeneutics Ancient and Modern* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1992); Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolutions* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Press, 1993); Richard A. Muller and J. L. Thompson (eds), *Biblical Interpretation and the Era of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids, Mich.; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1996); Debora K. Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice and Subjectivity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Richard Griffiths (ed.), *The Bible in the Renaissance: Essays on Biblical Commentary and Translation in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); Ariel Hessayon and Nicholas Keene (eds), *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

[21] For the term and definition, see Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (trans.) (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), p. 311.

[22] Christopher Rowland, 'Re-imagining Biblical Exegesis', in *Religion, Literature, and the Imagination: Sacred Worlds*, ed. by Mark Knight and Louise Lee (London; New York: Continuum, 2009), pp. 140-49 p. 143.

[23] Jonathan Roberts, 'Introduction', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible*, ed. by Michael Lieb, Emma Mason *et al.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 1-8, p. 1.

[24] ibid.

Among the most accessible and successful applications of the diachronic approach are the monographs in Wiley-Blackwell's *Through the Centuries* series, which in each instance traces an individual biblical text 'through the centuries' of its existence, e.g. John Riches' *Galatians Through the Centuries* and Eric S. Christianson's *Ecclesiastes Through the Centuries*.[25] Other scholars have further narrowed their parameters, by refining their chronological bounds (e.g. 'Marian'), their categories of response (e.g. 'exiles'), their choice of material (e.g. 'the book of Job'), the end to which their materiel has been marshalled (e.g. 'in maintaining senses of community in Geneva'), and in varying combinations thereof.[26] One such monograph is Elizabeth Clarke's which tracked the Song of Songs in seventeenth century England, and showed that that book's allegorical, Christological, and erotic content was found to be useful by the early moderns in several respects, most especially in the seventeenth century literature of English politico-ecclesiastical controversy.[27] Another example is the recent thesis by Kenneth Padley, which found that the Letter to the Hebrews was put to several uses by English religious controversialists from 1547 to 1685, and which argued that the Letter was at the same time 'on the cutting edge of Reformation hermeneutics', and that it had 'strategic importance in validating competing constructive and controversial claims' on innovations that were proposed for the English Church and for English society.[28] Finally, examples of historiographical diachronicity fully-fledged are the highly-focused articles by Kevin Killeen concerning the reception of Old Testament kings such as Adonibezak, quite obscure to most twenty-first century eyes but who were all too familiar to seventeenth-century eyes, who 'accrued their own and vast glossary of meanings, their own discourse of regicide, nuanced, battled over and applied to contemporary circumstances'.[29]

The diachronic approach to reception history certainly has produced its share of scholarship on the book of Ecclesiastes, but two works from the 1960s and 1970s, respectively, are among the most influential. In 1968, Michael Hattaway wrote a seminal article on the impact that Ecclesiastes and the other 'books of Solomon' had on early modern English education and on English thinking about knowledge.[30] Hattaway had surveyed the reactions of a wide range of Western thinkers to the positions staked in Solomon's books within a

[25] (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2012) [*Galatians*], (Malden, Mass.; Oxford: Blackwell, 2007) [*Ecclesiastes*].
[26] For example, see Dan G. Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism: History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1555-1560* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).
[27] Clarke, *Song of Songs*, *supra*.
[28] Padley, 'Letter to the Hebrews', *supra*.
[29] Killeen, 'Hanging up Kings', p. 557.
[30] Michael Hattaway, 'Paradoxes of Solomon: Learning in the English Renaissance', in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 29.4 (1968), 499-530.

framework that juxtaposed the approaches of Innocent III, in his *Liber de contemptu mundi* (*c.*1195), and of Francis Bacon, in his *Advancement of Learning* (1605) and *The New Atlantis* (1626). To Hattaway the sixteenth century was especially ambivalent, even at the end, when it came to the reception of Ecclesiastes and the other Solomonic texts, for '[a]lthough four centuries separate Innocent and Bacon, the contradictory attitudes they represented are both present in the last decade of the sixteenth century'.[31] About a decade later, Endel Kallas wrote an influential thesis that related his systematic, comparative examination of the interpretations of the Lutheran reformers' explicit points of contention versus the exegetical traditions of the preceding centuries.[32] The 'specific points of contention' that Kallas identified were examined within an interrogatory framework set by the themes of Solomonic authorship and of *vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas*, the two main topoi in Ecclesiastes itself, just as each had been previously worked by Jerome, Bonaventure, and others; this, Kallas said, provided 'the handy tool, by which to observe and measure the shift that occurs in the interpretation of Ecclesiastes during the Reformation'.[33] The picture that Kallas painted within this framework was one of the Lutheran cadre consciously reacting to Jerome and Bonaventure, and making at least two major, 'pivotal exegetical arguments' as to the book's two momentous themes: firstly, that the text was 'totally supportive of the participation of individuals in the political arena and the family'; secondly, that the text was to be read to 'maintain that *vanitas* is indicative only of the human condition irrespective of the created natural realm'.[34]

Both Hattaway's and Kallas' thoughts on the Solomonic texts have impacted all subsequent histories of Ecclesiastes, and Kallas' diachronic methodology remains influential on how reception historians and bible commentators approach Ecclesiastes.[35] For example, in the introduction to his recent commentary on the scripture, Craig Bartholomew relied heavily on Kallas in crediting Luther, Melanchthon *et al.* with inaugurating a new stage for the interpretation of Ecclesiastes 'during the Reformation in advance of the modern era', and with making the scripture vital to 'the vocation of all believers in all spheres of life'.[36] Bartholomew echoed Kallas and R. E. Murphy in observing a homogeneity in the historical explications on the book, with past readers' responses to the scripture tending to fall into nuanced but

[31] ibid., p. 499.
[32] Kallas, *Traditum et Fides*, *supra*.
[33] ibid., p. 336.
[34] ibid., pp. 335-36.
[35] See Katharine J. Dell, *Interpreting Ecclesiastes: Readers Old and New,* Critical Studies in the Hebrew Bible 3 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2013); Robert Rosin, *Reformers, the Preacher, and Skepticism: Luther, Brenz, Melanchthon, and Ecclesiastes* (Mainz am Rhein: Phillip von Zabern, 1997); idem, 'Melanchthon and "The Preacher": A Theology for Life', in *Concordia Journal*, 23 (1997), 295-308.
[36] Craig G. Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2009), pp. 25-33.

polarized viewpoints concerning two main topics, the Solomonic authorship of the book, and the *vanitas* of reality and human endeavor.[37] Likewise, Eric S. Christianson's *Ecclesiastes Through the Centuries* takes much influence from Endel Kallas. Though wider-ranging in its remit than Kallas' thesis, Christianson's work too boiled down to handy tool constructions of early modern reactions to past exegetical traditions, within what Christianson referred to as the two 'momentous themes' of the scripture.[38] For Christianson, Solomon the author was 'alive and well in pre-modernity' to about 1500, and 'embattled in early modernity' from 1500 to 1800; and readings of *vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas* unfolded in what he called his 'fluid' periodized categories of the "*Contemptus mundi*" (encompassing Jerome, Hugh of St Victor, Bonaventure, and other pre-Reformation Christian exegetes), the "Renaissance *vanitas*" (literary and musical commentary on mortality and the new sciences), and "Anti-*Contemptus mundi*" (encompassing Luther, other Protestant exegetes, and 'later resumed in Puritan commentaries').[39] When it comes to doing diachronic reception histories of Ecclesiastes, the standard of care starts and ends with tracing responses to the two main themes of the scripture through/in time, and in setting such responses in relief against other responses through/in time.

The divines, poets, well-off men in crisis, and others who wrote within the spectrum of sixteenth-century English response to Ecclesiastes, some of whom have been overlooked by Hattaway, Kallas, Christianson, and other reception historians, had also been primarily concerned with the 'momentous themes' of the scripture. Accordingly, the present study has joined with Kallas and Christianson *et al.* in setting those themes as the general parameters for its diachronic study of Ecclesiastes' reception in the Tudor era. Furthermore, the more specific interrogatory frameworks that have been employed by Kallas and Christianson shall also guide the present study. Thus, here the sixteenth century English responses to Ecclesiastes are read as reactions over and against their patristic and medieval precursors, over and against the Lutheran wing of the Reformation, and over and against other precursors and contemporaries (e.g. *The Books of Homilies* issued by the archbishops of Canterbury). The present thesis also follows Christianson's lead in assessing the extent to which its selected authors made Solomon 'embattled' (which is to say how they figured or re-figured the

[37] ibid., pp. 22-3. See also, R. E. Murphy, 'Qohelet Interpreted: The Bearing of the Past on the Present', in *Vetus Testamentum*, 32.3 (1982), 331-37.
[38] Christianson, *Centuries,* p. 18; p. 88.
[39] ibid., pp. 89-96; pp. 98-125. NB: Christianson separates an "Anti-*Contemptus mundi*" category from a "Renaissance *Vanitas*" category, as he sees the former as more a matter of theological exposition and the latter as applying within the arts. ibid., p. 140.

authorial persona of Solomon), and in suggesting whether a particular source's conceptions of *vanitas* seems to fit within his "*Contemptus mundi*", the "Renaissance *vanitas*", and/or "Anti-*contemptus mundi*" classifications. Withal the study has tried to be limber in its interdisciplinarity by freely consulting and accommodating scholarship in literary criticism, e.g. the genre theorist Alistair Fowler and critical theorist Walter Benjamin, to the sermons and other sources at hand.

As we shall see, the English responses to Ecclesiastes in the age of print prior to *c.*1589 were governed by their traditionalism and their proverbiality. For most of the century, even the most important engagements with the scripture were done in bits and pieces, in programmatic readings and applications of the scripture's distinctive proverbs. Engagements with the text, as a whole or in large parts, only came about in the writings and sermons of the Reformed or "puritan" exegetes that were printed in the latter decades of the century. Whereupon Henry Smith and George Gifford initiated a homespun, parochially placed break with the longstanding exegetical traditions inherited from their patristic, medieval, and official Tudor precursors (by the by, without much help from Luther and the prominent Lutherans, or from John Calvin and the prominent Calvinists).

Now before the present thesis can proceed further some discussion of the terms "puritan" and "puritanism" is in order. There may be as many definitions or descriptions of puritanism and the puritans as there are scholars of early modern English history, and here there is just enough space to join with a handful. Firstly, the doctrinal aspect of puritanism is the easiest to pinpoint: the puritans were Reformed predestinarians who were intensely beholden to and preached the *ordo salutis* that was illustrated most famously by William Perkins' 'golden chaine'. As Debora Shuger's important piece on the *Lambeth Articles* (1595) puts it succinctly, '[t]his linking of election, faith and perseverance into an unbreakable golden chain was the basis of Calvinist assurance'.[40] Puritans day-to-day tended to be more confident in their salvation than other Protestant Christians as they believed their souls were links in the immutable salvific chain. Beyond their commitment to double predestination, and the assurance (or at least the less doctrinal/formal descriptor 'comfort') which flowed from its

[40] Debora Shuger, 'The Mysteries of the Lambeth Articles', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 68.2 (April 2017), 306-25, p. 314. Cf. Nicholas Tyacke, 'The Lambeth Articles (1595) and the Doctrinal Stance of the Church of England', in *The English Historical Review* (2022), https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/ceac128 (19th October 2022).

decrees, the puritans emphasized the power of the preached Word, the worthy reception of the Lord's Supper, and strict observation of the Sabbath.[41]

Secondly, there was a distinctive, socio-political aspect of puritanism that is fuzzier definitionally, and it is an aspect on which historians have waxed more creatively, and even poetically. The present researcher is drawn to David Little's usage of "Puritan" as an attributive noun, 'the outlook of those English Protestants who actively favored a reformation beyond that which the crown was willing to countenance and yet stopped short of Anabaptism'; that outlook centered on methods or patterns of thought, expression, and behavior, 'it was the pattern itself that counted'.[42] Charles Lloyd Cohen too focused on process, that 'Puritanism arose as an attempt to improve institutions and worshippers considered insufficiently reformed',[43] and Michael Winship has pointed out that the godly aspired to be 'continual sermons to everyone around them, for better and worse'.[44] Just as importantly, the puritans aspired to social cohesion and community unity (even if some among them were careful to point out that they could not be utterly exclusionary of suspected reprobates). Paul Seaver's view is that 'puritans of all varieties recognized a common bond of like-mindedness' which equated with his notions of the 'puritan connection' and the 'miniature commonwealth'.[45] And as Peter Lake has said, puritanism was 'an extremely exalted view of the unity and mutuality of the community of the godly';[46] similarly, to Patrick Collinson it was 'the shared vision of godliness, which was the essence of puritanism'.[47]

Implicit in all the foregoing remarks is an aspect of public visibility. Alec Ryrie has reported several contemporary anecdotes on the godly visage which supported his point that 'puritanism's reputation for maudlin gloom is not merely posterity's slander'; to wit, Thomas Fuller, whom Prof. Ryrie categorized as a moderate royalist, described puritans as having an air of 'affected gravity', that they do not act their ages (too old and careworn for their ages,

[41] Stephen Hampton, *Grace and Conformity: The Reformed Conformist Tradition and the Early Stuart Church of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 20-21.
[42] David Little, *Religion, Order, and Law: A Study in Pre-Revolutionary England* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 82; p. 254.
[43] Charles Lloyd Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 279.
[44] Michael Winship, *Hot Protestants: A History of Puritanism in England and America* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2018), p. 52.
[45] Paul Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent, 1560-1662* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), pp. 8-9.
[46] Peter Lake, 'William Bradshaw, Antichrist, and the Community of the Godly', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36.4 (1985), 570-89, p. 572.
[47] Patrick Collinson, *From Cranmer to Sancroft* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), p. 122.

that is), and they 'set their brows in an affected sadness'.[48] And the present thesis would offer that Thomas Fuller's description of 'affected gravity' had another angle, that the puritan mindset and countenance clearly had a level of charisma or magnetism, or else no one would be interested in becoming "godly" and in sticking together in godly association. This is part and parcel of the displayed mind, or the "see and be seen" ethos that Erica Longfellow observed in Elizabethan religious culture,[49] and Peter Iver Kaufman observed of their distinctive, displayed 'godly sorrows'.[50] Puritanism was attractive enough to the so inclined; birds of a feather, as the saying goes. As Leif Dixon has observed, 'puritans tended to be somewhat more confident than non-puritans that they could recognize their fellow saints, and then go on to build mutually supporting and mutually affirming voluntary networks and practices out of those associations'.[51] It seems that a puritan's puritanism was about as clear as a chalk stream to another puritan, and it was also nigh as clear to the not-hot Protestant, to the Totquot pluralist,[52] to the wary bishop, and so forth.

The present thesis has proceeded from this impressionistic framework and joins with previous scholars in suggesting that, in the end, puritanism was all about process and, whilst it may sound superficial, about appearance: it was the earnest desire on the part of the more intensely predestinarian Reformed to progress their selves, their parishes, villages, etc., and their nation in reformation beyond that which came forth from Crown and Canterbury; it was also an outlook that manifested itself in the magnetic seriousness of those English men and women who aspired to see continual sermons in everyone around them, and to be seen as continual sermons to everyone around them. In various ways the sermons and other materials discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 (Smith) and 4 (Gifford) speak both to the aspect of puritanism that was concerned with the progress and visibility of personal reformation, and to the politico-ecclesiastical aspect of puritanism that was concerned with criticizing the look and substance of the nation's reformation. In those chapters it is argued that although their methods differed, their exegetical and pastoral priorities were quite similar – both ministers sought to join Solomon as guides for their puritan auditoria and readerships (and anyone else

[48] Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 77-78.
[49] Erica Longfellow, ''My now solitary prayers': *Eikon basilike* and Changing Attitudes toward Religious Solitude', in *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Jessica Martin & Alec Ryrie (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 53-72, p. 54.
[50] Peter Iver Kaufman, '"Much in Prayer": The Inward Researches of Elizabethan Protestants', in *The Journal of Religion* 73.2 (1993), 163-82, p. 168. See also, idem, *Prayer, Despair, and Drama: Elizabethan Introspection*, Studies in Anglican History Series 2 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996).
[51] Leif Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England, c.1590-1640* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p. 14.
[52] For the definition of "Totquot" see Michael Heimos, '"Totquot" & Satire: As Many Snickers as You Please', in *Notes and Queries* 68.1 (March 2021), 87-89, pp. 87-8.

who would come along in good faith) to arrive at repentance, remembrance, and comfort, Ecclesiastes being a sort of topographical map that forewarned them of the bumps and clefts in their earthly pilgrimage, the summit won being the lasting sense of salvific victory for the "godly" and the "saints", the "puritan" individuals and communities who still faced ecclesiastical hostility as the sun set on Elizabeth's reign.

The historiographical significance of these materials is that they demonstrate that Ecclesiastes and Solomon were emerging as key theological and enculturating devices to puritan divines, who from *c.*1590 seem to have discerned that the perfection of the nation's reformation would come about not by upending the kingdom's ecclesiastical system, but by their daily fostering of godliness within each of their parishioners, among the members of their parishes, and throughout their readerships. Charles Lloyd Cohen's study of the puritans of early modern England and North America showed that the godly were distinguished by a distinctive psychology that paired a perfervid spirituality with an ardent intellectuality. Each of these traits, one might think, could have clashed with the worldview of Ecclesiastes. But clearly, Henry Smith and George Gifford would have insisted that their explorations of the scripture were worthwhile *on account of* the bumps and clefts in the book's topography. There is little irony in that Cohen's book begins with an intertextuality to the scripture, his paraphrasing of Eccles. 12:12, 'Of making many books on Puritans there is no end…'[53]

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[53] Cohen, *God's Caress*, p. 3.

Tables

1. Printed English Works, 1485-1603

	Year	Author	STC/other	Printed	Language	Weeks Bibl. §
1	1492/93	*Solomon & Marcolf* (anon.)	G. Duff	Antwerp	English	N/A
2	1504	Kempis (B-A tr.)	D. Crane	London	Latin, English	N/A
3	1523	Robert Shirwood	USTC 403296	Antwerp	Latin	1
4	1527	Richard Pace	19082	London	Latin	3
5	1535/53	Thomas More	18082	London	English	N/A
6	1536	Robert Wakefield	24945	[London]	Latin	18
7	*c.*1540	John Croke	NSTC 2B23514	[London]	English	24, 593
8	1547	T. Cranmer *et al.*	G. E. Corrie	London	English	N/A
9	1549	T. Cranmer et al.	*BCP*	London	English	N/A
10	*c.*1549	John Hall	2760 / 12631.3	London	English	*34
11	1551	Pore Shakerlaye	2761.5	London	English	39
12	1552	T. Cranmer *et al.*	*BCP*	London	English	N/A
13	1554	John Christopherson	5207	London	English	N/A
14	1557	Henry Howard	G. Nott	London	English	*34
15	1559	T. Cranmer *et al.*	*BCP*	London	English	N/A
16	1563	M. Parker *et al.*	G. E. Corrie	London	English	N/A
17	1571	M. Parker *et al.*	G. E. Corrie	London	English	N/A
18	1572	Thomas Drant	7168	London	Latin	58
19	1573/79/86	Richard Curteys	6135/6138	London	English	60, 69
20	1579	Antonio del Corro	2761	London	Latin	68
21	1580	Tremellius & Junius	2056	London	Latin	71
22	1580/92	Thomas Rogers	23973	London	English	N/A
23	1585	John Stockwood	22247	London	English	83
24	1586	Thomas Pye	2762	Oxford	English	86
25	1589	Theodore Beza	2020	Cambridge	English	91
26	1589	George Gifford	11853	London	English	93
27	1590-1593	Henry Smith	22706	London	English	N/A
28	1595	George Phillips	19861.7	London	English	N/A
29	1596	Robert Hill	118776	London	English	N/A
30	1597	Henry Lok	16696	London	English	110
31	1602	Francis Marbury	17305	London	English	121

2. English Works in Manuscript, 1485-1603

	Year	Author	Cat. No.	Language	S. Weeks Bibl. §
1	*c.*1530	George Boleyn	Alnwick Castle, Percy MS 465	English, French	N/A
2	*c.*1550	Henry Parker	Royal MS 17 D XIII	English	N/A
3	*c.*1560	John White	Add MS 60577	English	N/A
4	*c.*1586	George Gifford	Vitellius C.17, 382	English	N/A
5	*c.*1599	Esther Inglis	Add MS 27927	English, French	N/A

Chapter 1

'Many Bookes' in England, *c.*1485 - *c.*1589

A noli me tangere *of experience speaks from the proverb.*
And through this, the proverb declares its ability to transform
experience into tradition.

Walter Benjamin, *The Storyteller Essays,* 2019

The present chapter surveys select items in the reception of Ecclesiastes in Tudor England prior to the advent of the sermons and other materials delivered in pulpit and print by George Gifford and Henry Smith. From *c.*1485 to *c.*1589, English engagements with Ecclesiastes took their form mainly in clipped, traditionalist, politicized deployments of maxims from the scripture, and these aphoristic engagements betray the early moderns' immersion in and internalization of the language of Ecclesiastes, how steeped English intellectuals and political figures were in the patristic and medieval interpretative traditions.

Early in the century the scripture was intellectual fodder for humanist intellectuals (e.g. a translation project by the Henrician diplomat, Richard Pace (Table 1, Row 4)), and about mid-century it served as consolation literature for well-off men in crisis (e.g. an exercise in verse paraphrase by Henry Howard, cousin of the executed Queen Catherine, penned whilst he came under suspicion himself (Table 1, Row 14)). Indeed, the phenomenon of Ecclesiastes as puzzle, pastime, and consolation for the higher estates can be illustrated by the 1573 correspondence of Sir Edward Fitton, Lord President of Connaught, to Lord Burghley, that spoke of Fitton spending 'idle times' in Ireland translating Luther's Wittenberg lecture on Ecclesiastes, a project the final fruits of which were never shared with his patron.[1] And further to the Lutheran perspectives on Ecclesiastes, which Fitton undertook to say were rife with error,[2] they do not seem to have significantly impacted writing and preaching in England prior to *c.*1589, even in the work of Luther-friendly figures such as Archbishop Thomas Cranmer (the official sermons first issued 1547, *The Books of Homilies*, and the *Book of Common Prayer*, first issued in 1549 (Table 1, Rows 8, 9, 12, 15)). The present chapter sets in relief the aphoristic milieu pre-*c.*1590 against the an-aphoristic milieu established by the Reformed

[1] Rory Rapple, *Martial Power and Elizabethan Political Culture: Military Men in England and Ireland, 1558-1594* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 155.
[2] ibid.

commentaries printed in the 1580s (Table 1, Rows 20-25), which was furthered, refined, and expanded upon by the works of Henry Smith and George Gifford.

The present chapter shall not delve into every one of the pre-*c.*1590 sources curated in Tables 1 and 2, so some additional discussion of the text selection process is in order. The chapter's title – the referent being the 'making many bookes' verse of Eccles. 12:12 (AV) - draws attention to an irony one encounters in the diachronic study of the reception of Ecclesiastes in early modern England. Taking in hand John Wilkins' reading lists,[3] Alan Fager Herr's bibliography of Elizabethan sermons,[4] the 'key examples' of 'Renaissance and Reform' works listed in Eric Christianson's reception history,[5] and the meticulous bibliography compiled by Stuart Weeks,[6] it would be fair to observe that the catalogue of Tudor-era works on Ecclesiastes seems to be rather small. The present study's own selections for the period *c.*1485 to *c.*1589, which result from consultation with the foregoing compilations plus independent searches, number just in the thirties (Table 1, Rows 1-31; Table 2, Rows 1-5). Which is to state that the bibliographical register does not convey an immediate sense that 'many bookes' printed in Tudor England involved Ecclesiastes. And furthermore, if one supposes to weigh the overall interest in that book against other parts of the Bible, for example by tallying and comparing title and edition counts vis-à-vis other scriptures (especially the Gospels), the results would be quite underwhelming for Ecclesiastes.[7] And again with regard to the sources' internal contents and scopes, one must recognize that, beyond the early humanist re-translation projects, e.g. Robert Wakefield's work of 1536 (Table 1, Row 6), for most of the sixteenth century the deployment of Ecclesiastes was clipped; most English authors mined Ecclesiastes for relatively few favored, proverbial touchstones that served as threads in the wider tapestries of their devotional, liturgical, or personal works.

The foregoing observations correspond to what Al Wolters identified as an overall diminution in the rate and weight of Christian commentary on Ecclesiastes in the sixteenth

[3] In addition to Bonaventure, Luther, Melanchthon, Serrarius, and several other external commentaries, Wilkins suggested English works by Hugh Broughton, Thomas Cartwright, Thomas Granger, and William Pemble. John Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes, or a Discourse Concerning the Gift of Preaching* (London, 1646), p. 32. NB: Wilkins' initial list expanded in subsequent editions, e.g. John Cotton and John Trap are in the 1659 edition. (London, 1659), p. 50.
[4] Herr, *Elizabethan Sermon*, p. 135.
[5] Christianson, *Centuries*, pp. 58-59.
[6] Weeks, *Many Books*, *supra*. See also, Table 1, Weeks Bibl. § column; entries 'N/A' are my own selections.
[7] For example, in Ian Green's 'Sample of Best-Sellers and Steady Sellers First Published in England *c.*1536-1700', the earliest (and only) English best-seller that refers to "Ecclesiastes", outside of the scripture's printings within the various bibles, is Wilkins' treatise, *Ecclesiastes*, *supra*, due to the appropriated title. See Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Appendix 1.

century. In Wolters' view, the themes that were dearest to the main reformers were 'conspicuous by their absence in Ecclesiastes', and that reality resulted in the reformers' conspicuous avoidance of the scripture, even whilst their engagements with other biblical texts proliferated.[8] The argument being that since Christ is not easily found in Ecclesiastes, at least without an aggressively allegorical interpretative method, early modern attentions simply turned away from Ecclesiastes.[9] It appears that this conception affected English reception of the scripture well into the latter decades of the Tudor era, another reflection of what Peter Lake observed in the English puritans, that they were more interested in heartfelt encounters with Christ than in cogitating doctrinal fine-points.[10] There certainly is some strength in the overall point, and although it is perilous to take a view that the "raw numbers" publishing data speaks for itself, it is also perilous to dismiss out of hand the readily apparent, relative dearth of major works on Ecclesiastes in Tudor England.

However, there is a riposte to that raw numbers viewpoint, insofar as it would overlook one of the core complications within the reception history of Ecclesiastes: overwhelming 'wearinesse of the flesh' (Eccles. 12:12 (AV)) would result if one undertook to locate and unpack every sixteenth century application of the scripture's themes, proverbs, and hermeneutically charged terms; 'there is no end' (Eccles. 12:12 (AV)) to the major, middling, and minor titles that could reasonably be included as meaningful reception of the scripture, depending on the applied parameters of the compiler or researcher. As one of the main biblical sources for the perspective of *contemptus mundi*,[11] for the *vanitas* of corporeal reality,[12] and for the experiential wisdom of Solomon,[13] Ecclesiastes provided early modern authors with a collection of powerful, associative topoi and axioms that impacted a vast expanse of early modern Christian expression, to vastly varying degrees from tract to tract. This likely flowed,

[8] Al Wolters, 'Ecclesiastes and the Reformers', in *The Words of the Wise Are Like Goads*, ed. by Mark Boda, Tremper Longman III, and Cristian Rata (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), pp. 55-68, p. 55. Another essay in the same edition observes that Ecclesiastes was of greater interest in England during the seventeenth century than during the sixteenth century. Cristian Rata, 'Sweet and Lawful Delights: Puritan Interpretations of Ecclesiastes', in *The Words of the Wise Are Like Goads*, ed. by Mark Boda, Tremper Longman III, and Cristian Rata (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), pp. 69-86.

[9] For example, Jerald Brauer has noted that the "bridgegroom" in the Song of Songs is more obviously Christological, and thus it became one of the puritans' favorite scriptures. Jerald Brauer, 'Types of Puritan Piety', in *Church History* 56.1 (1987), 39-58, pp. 48-9.

[10] Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 168.

[11] Eric Christianson maintains that the *contemptus mundi* perspective is 'pretty well exclusively Christian in provenance'. Christianson, *Centuries*, pp. 23-4.

[12] About half of all biblical occurrences of the term are found in Ecclesiastes. Oswald Loretz, *Qohelet und der alte Orient* (Freiburg: Herder, 1964), pp. 218-25.

[13] Hattaway, 'Paradoxes', *supra*.

at least in part, from its usage in sixteenth-century schools, especially in the teaching of Latin.[14] And that very practical point is backed up by critical theory as well. The present study is informed by genre theorists such as Alistair Fowler and bears out that the earlier Tudor sources reflect that Ecclesiastes provided a range of coded structures or matrices, which were used both by early modern writers in crafting their compositions, and by early modern recipients in interpreting and internalizing those compositions.[15] Which is to state that since Ecclesiastes was used to teach the *lingua franca* of Christendom to many of England's educated subjects, it naturally provided terminology, characters, aphorisms, cliches, and general moods, the constituents in what Fowler referred to as a 'generic mixture' of expression.[16] The interesting problem is that such constituents can be so successful, so utterly commonplace and foundational, that their source in the canon and the strata of their meanings can become, if not lost, at least greyed, and easily glossed over. By the 1590s, when Henry Smith observed, 'Who hath *not* heard *Vanitie of vanities, &tc.* Though fewe have *conceived* it?',[17] the typical English reader and auditor knew the scripture's most prominent, proverbial referents, and perhaps this also means that they knew the gist of Ecclesiastes' story and mood, even if they had to be better 'conceived' of it with the dutiful help of their parish lecturer.

And undeniably, the derivatives of *vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas* (Eccles. 1:2 (V)) are the most prominent of the commonplaces that can be taken from Ecclesiastes. Though strict translations of הֶבֶל (*hebel*) have always varied, there is a consensus on the remarkably broad referentiality of the word that the Vulgate translated to *vanitas*, and how it was (and still is) able to hold the variety of the book's concepts in tension.[18] In the periods relevant to the present study, *vanitas* did most of the punching for Ecclesiastes; it was the stuff of what Nancy Mason Bradbury referred to as a 'microgenre', an undersized element that nevertheless had the ability to transform the situations to which it was applied; it encapsulated a worldview, indicated courses of action or avoidance, added layers of meaning, and mediated for readers

[14] In the sixteenth century the book was used in several English schools for teaching pupils *inter alia* their Latins. T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakespere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* 1 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), p. 201; p. 229; p. 337; pp. 701-5.
[15] Alistair Fowler, 'The Formation of Genres in the Renaissance and After', in *New Literary History*, 34 (2003), 185-200, p. 190.
[16] Alistair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 191.
[17] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 832 (emphasis added).
[18] Eric Christianson, 'Ecclesiastes in Premodern Reading: Before 1500 C.E.', in *The Words of the Wise Are Like Goads*, ed. by Mark Boda, Tremper Longman III, and Cristian Rata (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), pp. 3-36, p. 29.

the variety of lived experience.[19] And as the axiom had been declared by the extraordinary figure of Solomon, the worldview of *vanitas* benefited from what Walter Benjamin said in the epigraph for the present chapter, that the *noli me tangere* ('touch me not') nature of proverbs gives them 'a kind of magical character: they transform the situation'.[20] By their familiarity, but untouchability, referential terminology such as *vanitas* appropriates the recipient's experiences and connects them to the timelessness and the authority of the referent, and the recipient's engagement of/with the referent can be significant to historians of the referent, no matter how witting the recipient's engagement may seem to have been. As the theory goes, whilst the recipients are to take the original speaker's observation as authoritative, and to internalize and execute the observation through imitation, simultaneously the speaker's authority rests, in part, in his ersatz imitation of those recipients and in his externalization of their unspoken concerns. Pope Gregory the Great's take on Ecclesiastes is befitting of these observations. 'Solomon makes the feelings of the disorganized people his own', he said, 'in order to search into and give expression to the thoughts that come to their untutored minds…the sentiments he expresses in his search are as varied as the individuals he impersonates'.[21] It is via cross-impersonation between a term or maxim's declarant and recipient that, as Benjamin stated, 'the proverb declares its ability to transform experience into tradition'.[22] Here this ongoing, transformative process is referred to as proverbial continuum, and it is suggested that during the earlier decades of Tudor England the proverbial continuum of *vanitas* propagated, even unwittingly, through the use of a single term, "vanity", within the broader confines of the inherited Jeromian and Bonaventuran traditions, and the most important engagements leveraged that inheritance in service to Tudor officialdom.

A good example of the foregoing presents in the mid-sixteenth century (middling?) Protestant work by Stephen Batman, *A Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation*, where Eccles. 1:2 seems to be at work *qua* microgenre and proverbial continuum as part of the signification for his woodcut illustration 'Of Sloth' (Fig. 1). The woodcut characterized as 'vanities' the play of children, distracted by toys when instead they should be studying, matched by the slothful teacher who should be teaching instead of nodding off and letting them play. On its face, it is a straightforward admonition against laziness that uses a derivative of "vanity" without

[19] Nancy Mason Bradbury, 'The Proverb as Embedded Microgenre in Chaucer and *The Dialogue of Solomon and Marcolf*', in *Exemplaria* 27.1-2 (2015), 55-72, p. 55.
[20] Walter Benjamin, 'On Proverbs' [1932] in *The Storyteller Essays,* Tess Lewis (trans.) (New York: New York Review Books, 2019). NB: The expression *noli me tangere* comes from John 20:17 (V).
[21] Pope Gregory I, *Dialogues*, Fathers of the Church 39, Odo John Zimmerman (trans.) (Wash. D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2002), p. 193.
[22] Benjamin, 'On Proverbs', *supra*.

expressly referencing Ecclesiastes; it may or may not be a witting application of the microgenre of *vanitas*. Yet a critical reading of the entirety of the page might discern additional layers of meaning and connections to the scripture's signature proverb. Reading the signification along with the caption for the illustration, 'The sleepie minde doth tyme forget: and youth to toyes do most desire: So tyme once paste is hard to [fetch]: to late in age learning to require',[23] one can discern *arguendo* that the caption included other encoded themes and sub-themes – the tragedy of lost time, the value of presence of mind in youth, the value of profitable knowledge (maybe even harder to obtain as one ages) - which are strong in Ecclesiastes.[24] Reading 'Of Sloth' in this fashion, we see at play a common theme in the reception of Ecclesiastes, that worldly living generally is mere pastime, a collection of sundry things and events constructed by God to occupy child-like humanity and child-like self, set against the "true" life that required keeping one's presence of mind focused on salvation.[25] Now certainly, it would be another matter to prove that these connections to Ecclesiastes were actually made by an individual reader or readers, e.g. through contemporary commentaries on the page. Yet 'Of Sloth' seems *prima facie* to be an apt exemplar of the - inherently subtle - encapsulation and mediation of worldviews and lived experiences that Fowler, Bradbury, and Benjamin have proposed for the proverbial transmission and reception of texts through time. And from the perspective of the early modernist historian, especially of one interested in biblical reception, the connection between 'Of Sloth' and Ecclesiastes makes sense given the context, that is, given Batman's confessional status and his vocational agenda (as a reformist minded antiquarian and cleric, who was drawn to education and the program of "updating" Christianity).[26] Considered under these lights, 'Of Sloth' could reasonably be included in any reception history of Ecclesiastes (though to-date it seems to have avoided such inclusions, outside the present thesis). And this could be said of perhaps hundreds of other items that evidence the reception of Ecclesiastes in Tudor England.

Accordingly, the irony of 'many bookes' pointed out above could be seen to give way to dilemma, that at the same time there are too few sources, and yet there are too many sources, of engagements with the scripture for the place and period at issue here. The way the

[23] Stephen Batman, *A christall glasse of christian reformation…* (London, 1569), sig. G1^{r}.
[24] For discussion of these themes, see Mette Bundvad, *Time in the Book of Ecclesiastes* (Oxford, 2015).
[25] James Crenshaw offered imaginatively that Ecclesiastes '…reminds one of a father or grandfather who weaves a fancy yarn to entertain a child, a story mixing truth and fiction, but in the telling winks occasionally as if to say, "but you and I know the truth"'. James Crenshaw, *Qoheleth: The Ironic Wink* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013), p. 7.
[26] See Emily Steiner, 'Holy Encyclopedism: Stephen Batman's Middle Ages' in *John Trevisa's Information Age: Knowledge and the Pursuit of Literature, c.1400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 210-28.

present study has attempted to resolve the problem, at least in such a way that is efficient enough vis-à-vis the constraints applicable to the present thesis, is to take heed to what Jonathon Roberts said of the reception historian's selection process - the need to decide, in light of the end or ends to which they are marshalled, whose responses that shall be deemed to be of importance (and as necessary corollaries, those responses that shall be deemed to be of lesser, of little, and perhaps even of no importance).[27] But nothing in the world has any business being perfect, of course, and inevitably the exercise of scholarly judgment and discretion results in significant items getting short shrift, or being missed completely. For example, for bibliographer Stuart Weeks, his guideline parameters - 'anything that seems genuinely to be engaging with the text or thought of Ecclesiastes, even if that is in the context of a work about the Bible as a whole or some other topic' – resulted in his compilation beginning with the 1523 translation of Ecclesiastes by the early English Hebraist, Robert Shirwood (Table 1, Row 3).[28] But here it is offered *pace* Dr. Weeks that under his parameters the story of Ecclesiastes in the era of English print could indeed reach back a few decades earlier, to include at least two more items: the anonymous *Dialogue of Salomon and Marcolphus* printed in the 1490s (Table 1, Row 1), and an early English translation of Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi* printed in 1504 (Table 1, Row 2). The *Dialogue* and the *Imitatio* pre-date Shirwood's work by about thirty and twenty years respectively, and therefore, since they would qualify as among the earliest engagements with Ecclesiastes printed in the English language, they could have expanded and enriched Dr. Weeks' compilation.[29] Still, there is a difference between a source being important enough to justify its inclusion in a bibliographical compilation, and a source being important enough to justify discussion of research into biblical reception, such as in the present thesis.

Here the ends to which the present researcher has marshalled the materiel were best served by picking items that satisfied the basic standard as stated by Dr. Weeks and which

[27] Roberts, *Reception*, p. 1.
[28] Weeks, *Many Books*, xii.
[29] Both works have a rich secondary literature. As to the *Dialogue*, see E. Gordon Duff (ed.), *The Dialogue or Communing Between the Wise King Salomon and Marcolphus* (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1892); Donald Beecher (ed.), *The Dialogue of Solomon and Marcolphus* (Ottawa: Dovehouse, 1995); Bradbury, 'Rival Wisdom', *supra*. For Ecclesiastes as influencing the *Dialogue*, see Jan M. Ziolkowski (ed. and trans.), *Solomon and Marcolf* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2008). As to the *Imitatio*, see Roger Lovatt, 'The "Imitation of Christ" in Late Medieval England: The Alexander Prize Essay', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (1968), 97-121; Maximilian von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the* Imitatio Christi*, 1425-1650: From Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Best Seller* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Nandra Perry, *Imitatio Christi: The Poetics of Piety in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014). For Ecclesiastes as influencing the *Imitatio Christi*: Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 30-31, pp. 41-42; Christianson, 'Premodern Reading', p. 35.

also have (largely or completely) escaped scholarly discussion elsewhere. Consequently, in the interest of discussing something somewhat new under the sun, the *Dialogue of Salomon and Marcolphus* and Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi* are not, in the judgment of the present researcher, beneficial to the present thesis' discussion because they are easily judged to be the products of the patristic and medieval inheritances, and they have been under the scholarly microscope elsewhere. Likewise, the present thesis will not till much deeper into the Henrician works of Robert Shirwood,[30] Richard Pace,[31] Robert Wakefield,[32] John Croke,[33] George Boleyn,[34] or Henry Howard.[35] Suffice it to state that the foregoing evidence the point that, in the early sixteenth century, English authors were mainly engaged with Ecclesiastes from the scholarly and from the consolation perspectives; neither perspective was quite concerned with mediating the scripture for readers outside a narrow section of English society. The works of Boleyn and Howard illustrate that, away from the humanist translators'

[30] Table 1, Row 3. One of the three leading Henrician Hebraists (with Pace and Wakefield), Shirwood's translation of Ecclesiastes was self-consciously *ad verbum*. G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), pp. 188-189; Andrew Taylor, 'Suffering and Scholarship: The Contexts of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey's Ecclesiastes', in *Translation and Literature*, 22.2 (Summer, 2013), 167-81, pp. 170-172.

[31] Table 1, Row 4. Pace's work consisted of a translation, which does not survive, and an introduction, the *Praefatio in Ecclesiasten*, which effectively states that his translation of Ecclesiastes was more in the vein of *ad sensum*. Richard Rex, 'The Inspiration and Translation of Scripture', in *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 148-161. See also, Taylor, 'Suffering and Scholarship', pp. 172-173.

[32] Table 1, Row 6. Wakefield's translation was also self-consciously in the vein of *ad sensum*. Taylor, 'Suffering and Scholarship', pp. 170-175. Prof. Rex has shown that it was Pace's, not Wakefield's, which was the first book printed in England to use Hebrew type. Richard Rex, 'The Earliest Use of Hebrew in Books Printed in England: Dating Some Works of Richard Pace and Robert Wakefield', in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 9 (1986-90), 517-25.

[33] Table 1, Row 7. John Croke was a Henrician politician of middling importance. J. H. Baker, 'Croke, John (1489-1554)', *ODNB*. Croke's versification of the first chapter of Ecclesiastes is at the same time unremarkable and self-consciously secondary to his versification of the first thirteen Psalms. Still, his descendent, the Victorian scholar and Latinist Sir Alexander Croke, opined that '[f]rom these translations of the psalms, it appears that he was an early friend to the Reformation' and that his translation from the Vulgate was 'literal'. Sir Alexander also found the work generally to be 'a sort of Spencerian stanza'. John Croke, *Thirteen Psalms, and the First Chapter of Ecclesiastes* (Percy Society, London, 1844), Frontispiece; p. 47; p. 53; p. 57.

[34] Table 2, Row 1. Boleyn's manuscript 'The Ecclesiaste' – a gift he made to his sister, Queen Anne – was a translation of the French work *L'Ecclesiaste* by Simon Du Bois printed *c.*1530, which in turn was based upon a 1528 work in German by Johannes Brenz, *Der Prediger Salomo*. James P. Carley, '"Her moost lovyng and fryndely brother sendeth gretyng": Anne Boleyn's Manuscripts and the Sources', in *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters. Essays in Honour of Jane Backhouse,* ed. by Janet Backhouse, Michelle P. Brown, Scot McKendrick (London: The British Library, 1998), pp. 261-280. See also, Taylor, 'Suffering and Scholarship', p. 177.

[35] Table 1, Row 14. Christianson, *Centuries*, pp. 47-49. Andrew Taylor has shown that Howard's poetic paraphrase 'may be seen as having been conceived within the fractured field of humanist paraphrase and theological interpretation' that preceded him; that as a poet and reader his reception of Ecclesiastes 'was far from unmediated' by his other sources, e.g. Campensis (and potentially Luther and Brenz, a subject that Taylor says is needful of future research); but ultimately, Howard's 'evangelical reading of Ecclesiastes foregrounded its voice as the personal testimony of a godly king as an example to princes'. Taylor, 'Suffering and Scholarship', p. 178. Note also, the fascinating history of Howard's work vis-à-vis the work attributed to John Hall. Weeks, *Many Books*, §34 (Table 1, Row 10).

desks, at this point Ecclesiastes was the story of an ancient king of Israel whose advice was of greatest utility to the upper echelons of Henrician England.

Early Tudor Engagements, 1485 to 1547

From the start of the Tudor dynasty to about the accession of Edward VI, the most important engagements that satisfy the present thesis' parameters for discussion are passages within the consolation writing of Sir Thomas More, and passages within the first series of *Certayne Sermons, or Homelies*, known later as *The Books of Homilies*, that were crafted under the auspices of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and issued by the emerging English church against which More was fatally opposed. Together they form an interesting juxtaposition in the reception of Ecclesiastes as the English Reformation unfolded.

The referentiality of Ecclesiastes is overt in More's didactic fiction, the *Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation*, written when he was first imprisoned in 1534 (Table 1, Row 5).[36] Set in the Kingdom of Hungary in 1528, and between the Battle of Mohács and the Siege of Vienna, the reader of the *Tribulation* meets young Vincent as he visits his uncle Anthony to solicit comfort from the anxiety he feels toward the imminent invasion by Suleiman the Magnificent. The older, wiser Anthony tells Vincent that, given the vicissitudes of worldly powers and princes, and the utter transience of worldly pleasures, true comfort can only come from God and the redemptive power of Christ. Though heavily influenced by Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*,[37] More's core argument is that ultimately it is in faith, not in reason (as in Boethius), that one finds comfort in their worst times.[38] In More's view, adversity is a gift from God, one that signals His affirmative, current favor for the believer, and the *Tribulation* explicitly calls upon numerous scriptures in building More's proof of that central theme. In one such proof, Anthony posits that unbroken prosperity signals one's 'discomfortable coumforte utterlye' (that is, they portend one's damnation), so the faithful Christian should welcome their tribulations with joy and endurance. Anthony's argument invoked two selections from the heavily proverbial seventh chapter of Ecclesiastes.[39]

[36] Thomas More, *A Dialoge of Comfort Against Tribula[t]ion…* (London, 1553).
[37] Elizabeth McCutcheon, 'Wings and Crosses: Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and More's *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation* and Other Writings', in *Moreana*, 50.193-94 (2013), 151-86.
[38] Frank Manley, 'The Argument of the Book', in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More* 12, ed. by Louis L. Martz and Frank Manley (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1976), lxxxvi-clxiv.
[39] Dr. Weeks explains that Ecclesiastes 7 is 'sentence literature', a 'collection of aphorisms' in the same style as Proverbs chapters 10 through 22. Stuart Weeks, 'Ecclesiastes', in *The Oxford Bible Commentary*, ed. by John Barton and John Muddiman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 423-29, p. 426.

> …[C]ontinual welth interrupted with no tribulacion, is a verye discomfortable token of everlasting damnacion, wherupon it foloweth that tribulacion is one cause of coumfort unto a mans heart, in that it dischargeth him of the discomfort that he might of reason take of overlong lasting welth.
>
> Another is, that the scripture much commendeth tribulacion as occasion of more profit then welth & prosperitie, not to them onely that are therin, but to them too that resorte unto them, & therfore sayeth Ecclesiastes [7:3] *Better it is to goe to the house of weping & wayling for some mans deathe, than to* [the] *house of a feast*. For in that house of heavinesse is a man put in remembraunce of the ende of everye manne, and whyle he yet liveth, he thynketh what shall come after. And after yet he farther sayeth: [Eccles. 7:5] *The hearte of wyse menne is there as heavynesse is. And the hearte of fooles, is there as is myrthe and gladnesse*. [40]

Elizabeth McCutcheon has suggested that the *Tribulation* develops a multifarious, dynamic tension between the characters that creates a sense of community between them and More's readers, 'warmer, funnier, and more richly imagined and peopled as it evolves',[41] a point that may be well taken as to the overall story and tone. However, whilst Vincent's is the voice of issue-spotting, query-posing, and counterargument, neither is the *Tribulation* a dialogical contest that might give the reader an alternative voice to root for. Anthony's selected maxims, howsoever lovingly given, clearly were intended to be taken as authoritative, and to be taken in their literal senses, however laterally the reader of the dialogue might need to think in absorbing the maxims viz. the wider contexts within More's story.

The literalist proverbiality is vital to the foregoing passage given that, in More's estimation, the proverbs' declarant was a figure of uncertain salvific status vis-à-vis salvation; that is, paradoxically, the declarant's maxims were so authoritative that he may indeed have suffered under their injunctions (i.e. no one is above the law, even the lawgiver). For in response to Vincent's pointing out that Solomon had been both wealthy and favored of God, Anthony responds that whilst the King did enjoy lifelong wealth, he also fell into the sins of carrying multiple wives and of idolatry, and that there does not appear to be any sign in the scriptures of his later repentance, as one could find for his father, King David. Importantly, neither did More interpret Ecclesiastes as affirming the civic life (as did Luther),[42] or as being

[40] More, *Tribulation*, sig. E_{iiij}^{r} (brackets added).
[41] McCutcheon, 'Wings and Crosses', p. 173.
[42] Katharine Dell has discussed Luther's civically minded approach to Ecclesiastes and to Solomon. 'Luther shows a preoccupation with the character of Solomon. Whilst earlier interpreters such as Jerome had depicted Solomon as a solitary figure who advocates withdrawal from society, Luther's Solomon is engaged in public conversation, which provides the basic material for the text. It is held that social contact with his political advisors enabled the text to be formed. Solomon is depicted as the dutiful king concerned with the affairs of the state and community. His daily civic difficulties are seen to be reflected in the discourse in Ecclesiastes. This contrasts with the rabbinic

dispositive testimony of Solomon's personal repentance (as did Smith and Gifford, see Chapters 2 through 4); in fact, More holds to the contrary.

> And therfore though he were buryed where his father was, yet whether he wente to the rest that his father did throughe some secrete sorow for his sinne at last, [which] is to say, by some kind of tribulacion, I cannot tel: & am content therefore to trust wel, and pray god he did so, but surely we be not sure & therfore [the] sample of Salomon can very litle serve you, for you might as well lay it for a profe, yet god favoureth Idolatrie, as yet he favoureth prosperitye: for Salomon was you [know] wel in bothe.[43]

For More, Solomon's regality was unquestionable ('he were buryed where his father was'), and his sayings were reliable and to be taken as divinely sanctioned (ergo the proof by scriptural recitation), even though his salvific status was a matter unknowable for lack of evidence ('I cannot tel: & am content therefore to trust wel…but surely we be not sure'). On the other hand, More did expressly allow for the possibility that Solomon was saved by some later tribulation or repentance that was real, but which was not disclosed in the scriptures ('throughe some secrete sorow for his sinne at last'). More's take is in full agreement with the traditional interpreters' views of Solomon; the king was wise, authoritative, wealthy, and loved of God, but since he had imperiled himself, and by his sins doomed his kingdom to division, his salvific status was indeterminate. In the end, like so many other Christian exegetes before and after, More had mined Ecclesiastes for some of its proverbs, as scriptural maxims to take heed, but their original declarant remained a figure of ambivalence. The most that More said of Solomon, effectively, was that he was not necessarily a man that the current believer could profitably join with and emulate, '& therfore [the] sample of Salomon can very litle serve you'. The foregoing passages from the *Tribulation* illustrate the *noli me tangere* that can result from the untouchability of a proverb's soiled declarant (as with those declared by any number of eloquent politicians throughout history), the obverse of that which results from untouchable goodness in the declarant (as with those declared by Christ in the gospels).

In contrast, in another passage, More crafted a Christological spin on Ecclesiastes (in keeping with medieval tradition, i.e. as in Thomas à Kempis *Imitatio Christi*) when he mixed one of Christ's proverbs (from Luke 6) with two of the merisms of Eccles. 3. With the parenthetical 'sayeth the Scrypture' linking the two passages, Anthony discerns that the

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tradition in which Solomon is often depicted as deposed from his throne at the writing of Ecclesiastes and mourning his personal condition whilst exiled from his royal seat. Solomon is taken far more seriously as a historical personage than he was by Jerome and other earlier exegetes'. Dell, *Interpreting Ecclesiastes*, p. 32.

[43] More, *Tribulation*, sig. D_{iii}^{v} (brackets added).

seasons and times spoken of in Eccles. 3 relate to Christ's having created two, starkly opposed realities, the worldly one of taxing yet sanctifying toils and sadness, and the heavenly one of joyous harvests and happiness. This application of Solomon's merisms does not go so far as to rejoice in the divine setting of times for all things, but it does read the Christ of the gospels and the Preacher of Ecclesiastes as parallel wellsprings for the traditional *contemptus mundi* concept that 'this wretched world' is wholly preambular by nature.

> For oure Savyoure sayeth. [Luke 6:25] Woe maye you bee that laughe nowe, for you shall wayle and wepe. (sayeth the Scrypture)…There is tyme of wepyng and there is tyme of laughyng. [Eccles. 3:4] But as you see, *he setteth the weping tyme before, for that is the tyme of this wretched worlde*, and the laughynge shall come after in heaven. There is also a tyme of sowyng and a time of reapyng too. [Eccles. 3:2] Nowe must we in thys worlde sowe, that wee maye in the other worlde reape: *and in this shorte sowyng tyme of thys wepyng worlde, muste we water oure sede with the showres of oure teares*, and then shall we have in heaven a merye laughyng harveste for ever.[44]

The foregoing extracts from the *Tribulation* were part and parcel of a civically minded exercise in consolation writing and textual reception/transmission that, in contrast to the other Henrician works noted above, was undoubtedly addressed to the wider English reading public. As a work of public intellectualism and public faith, the *Tribulation* stands apart from the other Henrician items curated in Table 1, but it is also clear that More expected his readership to not stand apart (at least, not very far apart) from prior Christian readers of Ecclesiastes. Which is to state that, as a reception and transmission of the scripture and its aphorisms, groundbreaking and innovative the *Tribulation* was not. More's perspicuous weaving of several of the book's headliners within his narrative shows how off-handedly he could presume that these portions of Ecclesiastes would resonate with his readers, but the entirety of the production played out within the four-square hall of Jeromian and Bonaventuran exegesis, and neither of the two 'momentous themes' of the scripture, Solomon and *vanitas*, were in any sense transformed by More.

The dynamics of microgenre and proverbial continuum also survive in at least one of More's intensely personal engagements with the themes of Ecclesiastes, his original prayers that he penned as his very last writings from the Tower.

[44] ibid., sigs C_v^r - C_v^v (brackets added).

> Good Lorde, gyve us thy grace not to reade or here this gospel of thy bytter passyon with our eyen and our eares in maner of a passetyme, but that it may with compassyon so synke in to our heartes, that it maye streche to th'everlastyng profyte of our soules.[45]

As he did in the *Tribulation*, More encapsulates, mediates, and melds the worldviews and lived experiences of both the gospels and the book of Ecclesiastes. More's prayer appeals to Christ ('Good Lorde…') and to his 'bytter passyon' as told in the gospel, but pleas for it to not only be read and/or heard, but for it to mystically 'synke in to' and fill his and 'us' the Christians' hearts, indeed despite the insatiability of their eyes and their ears, the great human shortcomings attested to by Ecclesiastes, 'All thinges are so harde, [that] no man can expresse them. The eye is not satisfied [with] with sight, the eare is not fylled [with] hearinge' (Eccles. 1:8 (MC)). Furthermore, the phrase More used, 'in maner of a passetyme', can be read as incorporating traditionally encoded themes of *vanitas* that, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, show up time and again in the early moderns' writings, from context to context, and from genre to genre (e.g. as in Batman's *Christall Glasse*, discussed above). As More's confrontation with *vanitas*, 'thys wepyng worlde', was never systematically developed, neither the *Tribulation* nor his last Tower prayers allow one to confidently put More in either the Jeromian or Bonaventuran school of thought as to the scope of Eccles. 1:2. On the other hand, it is quite clear that More found sublime consolation only in his heartfelt faith in Christ and the Passion, and that he believed his was a profound awareness of *vanitas*, that it would 'streche' and condition his heart for the Passion 'to th'everlastyng profyte' of his soul.

If the extracts from Thoams More's *Tribulation* were part and parcel of a civically minded exercise by one who ultimately died for a Rome-governed church, the relevant items of reception that we can locate within the *Certayne Sermons, Or Homilies* (1547) and the *Book of Common Prayer* (1549 and 1552) were part and parcel of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's exercise in politico-ecclesiastical authority, essential to the London-governed church for which he ultimately died (Table 1, Rows 8, 9, 12, 15). Yet their juxtaposing politics and their juxtaposing aspirations for the future of Christianity in England are the only contrasting elements relevant here, for just as More's *Tribulation* and prayers were traditionalist in their engagements with Ecclesiastes, so were Cranmer's engagements in the *BCP* and the *Homilies*. One might have expected otherwise from Cranmer by the late 1540s, for the Lutheran

[45] Thomas More, *Prayers made by Sir Thomas More while he was prisoner in the Tower of London*, Edited and with a Note by Elizabeth Frances Rogers (Golden Hinde Press, 1952), pp. 12-13.

influence on him, which manifested incrementally from *c.*1530, comes forth elsewhere in his writings and career,[46] but there is no hint of such regarding Ecclesiastes and its appearances in the *BCP* and the *Homilies*. Again, as Endel Kallas observed, those 'pivotal exegetical arguments' of the Lutherans were, firstly, that the scripture was 'totally supportive of the participation of individuals in the political arena and the family', and secondly, that the text was to be read to 'maintain that *vanitas* is indicative only of the human condition irrespective of the created natural realm'.[47] Neither the *BCP* nor the *Homilies*, Cranmer's two largest textual contributions to England's church, display anything but his being vested in the inheritance of Jeromian and Bonaventuran inheritance and his being invested in using Ecclesiastes to further the interests of Tudor officialdom.

To say that the *BCP* has a complex compositional background would be a gross understatement, and its influences, its drafting, its editing, etc. continues to be parsed by early modernists to this day. However, it is abundantly clear that the final product of the *BCP* of 1549 (and, the present researcher believes, of 1552) must be credited to Archbishop Cranmer.[48] And although Professor MacCulloch is undoubtedly correct in assessing Cranmer's prose as vital to the development of the English language and literature as well as Anglican worship ever since its issuance,[49] the present thesis must offer that, unlike some other important works in English literature, the *BCP* did so without much assistance from Ecclesiastes. In both the 1549 and 1552 versions, the scripture featured to the *de minimis* extent required under the didactic goals of the *BCP* in general, and in particular of the *Kalendar of Psalmes and Lessons*, to ensure that 'all the whole Bible (or the greatest parte thereof) should be read over once in the yeare…[done] in ordre, without breaking one piece therof from another'.[50] That is, in both the 1549 and 1552 versions, Ecclesiastes was read at Matins and Evensong from the third week of July (one might wonder how affecting or not were their readings of the dark, dismal Ecclesiastes during the one sunny, pleasant time of the year in England) (Fig. 2). And it barely appears otherwise, even as microgenre: there was meagre referentiality via usages of the word

[46] Bryan D. Spinks, 'Treasures Old and New: A Look at Some of Thomas Cranmer's Methods of Liturgical Compilation', in *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar*, ed. by Paul Ayris, David Selwyn (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), p. 177; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 72.
[47] Kallas, *Traditum et Fides*, *supra*.
[48] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 417. The 1552 version is both extensively revised from the 1547 original, i.e. heavier with Edwardian Protestantism, but as to our subject matter it is virtually identical to the more conservative and compromise-heavy 1547 version.
[49] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 630-2.
[50] http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1552/Kalendar_1552.htm#Kalendar (5th April 2023), Preface.

"vanitie", which were few and far between;[51] there were no deployments of any of the scripture's proverbs; Solomon was not mentioned at all, much less in the persona of 'the Preacher'; and the daily morning and evening prayers, which first appeared in the 1552 version, do not lead the precants in any of the themes of the scripture (NB: All similarly in the version of 1559). Ultimately, after 1549 the typical *literate* English subject may have read Ecclesiastes over the span of a few days in July, nothing more (unless they did so on their own, of course). Still, that was probably much more contact with Ecclesiastes than they would have had without the *BCP*. Accordingly, whilst it would be wrong to deem that the scripture got short shrift in the early *BCP*, its (relatively sparse) utilization shows that Archbishop Cranmer's 'Ordre' was as fair to Ecclesiastes as it was to all the other parts of the Bible.

As to the *Homilies*, Cranmer's deployments of Ecclesiastes were at the same time sparse and proverbial, theologically traditionalist, and authoritarian in tone and intent. As in the *BCP*, there were only a few references to vanity and the vanities of the world. For example, at the opening of the first sermon, the *Fruitful Exhortation to the Reading and Knowledge of Holy Scripture*, Cranmer referred to those people who 'drowned in worldly vanities' and are so carnally satiated thereby 'that is the cause why they desire such vanities rather than the true knowledge of God'.[52] That and other, similar passages, can be read as either off-handed or as open to critical exposition as in e.g., Batman's 'Of Sloth'. A better clue as to what Cranmer might have thought about the nature of vanity *qua* humanity and/or corporeal reality appears in a telling passage from *The Third Part of the Sermon of True, Lively, and Christian Faith*. There Cranmer echoed Bonaventure's literalist construction of *vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas*, which had held the maxim to mean that all of reality humane and otherwise was vanity (*vanitas in universo*) because of its changeability and its temporality, and the homily expressed the Bonaventuran idea that, in the end, vanity simply is, and can only be understood as, the antithesis of God,[53] i.e. the former is not truth and can't be trusted, and the latter is truth and is the only thing that can be trusted. Cranmer's homily reads in pertinent part:

> It is not the world that we can trust to; *the world, and all that is therein, is but vanity*. It is God that must be our defence and protection against all temptation of wickedness and

[51] In both the 1549 and 1552 versions, the word appears in some seven instances, and of those the one noteworthy usage is catechist's repetition of the baptismal vow, 'First, that I should forsake…the vanities of the wicked worlde'. http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1549/BCP_1549.htm (5th April 2023),), section vii. (1549); http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1552/BCP_1552.htm (5th April 2023),), section xiv. (1552).

[52] *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches…* ed. G. E. Corrie (Oxford, 1840), p. 1. See also the *Second Part of the Sermon of Falling from God,* which refers to 'the pleasure they take in the vanities of worldly things'. ibid., p. 75.

[53] See Christianson, *Centuries*, p. 103.

> sin, errors, superstition, idolatry, and all evil. If all the world were on our side, and God against us, what could the world avail us? Therefore let us set our whole faith and trust in God, and neither the world, the devil, nor all the power of them shall prevail against us.[54]

It only followed, Cranmer declared in *The First Part of the Sermon of the Misery of Man*, that the human condition is equally and utterly wretched, for 'the wise man, in the book called Ecclesiastes', in said book 'maketh this true and general confession, there is not one just man upon the earth, that doth good, and sinneth not' [paraphrasing Eccles. 7:20 (MC)].[55] Humanity is vanity because the entirety of corporeal reality is vanity; and furthermore, to know thoroughly the ways of the world – errors, superstition, idolatry, temptation, sin, etc. – are to thoroughly know the ways of humanity. Cranmer was *prima facie* well within the Bonaventuran *contemptus mundi* tradition.

And one of the worst sins that one could commit in Cranmer's England was that of disobedience to royal, magisterial, and ecclesiastical authority. In *The Third Part of the Sermon of Obedience*, the archbishop evidenced the confident Tudor reliance on the scripture's quintessentially authoritarian verse, 'Wish the king no evil in thy thought, nor speak no hurt of him in thy privy chamber: for the bird of the air shall betray thy voice, and with her feathers shall bewray thy words' (paraphrasing Eccles. 10:20 (MC)).[56] There Cranmer appealed to 'the wise man in scripture, in the book called Ecclesiastes' to admonish subjects that the sovereign was appointed by God; that rebellion against the sovereign is rebellion against God; that unrest reflects moral corruption in the populace; that personal misfortune is linked to disobedience; that one should forsake family in order to preserve the prince; that treacherous murmurings never escape discovery; that even bad princes are God's appointees, and should not be second-guessed; and that the true subject accepts the foregoing as divine word and law. This was an especially strong, and ironically worldly, application of Eccles. 10:20, but it only presaged *inter alia* even more puissant sermons on rebellion and obedience which came forth under the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth (discussed in the two subsequent sections of the present chapter). The invocation of Eccles. 10:20 in the official sermons of 1547 is one of the early examples – it may be the earliest example – of what Lacey Baldwin Smith referred to in his study of treason in Tudor England, that 'every Englishman knew the words of Ecclesiastes [10:20] reiterated in endless official admonitions concerning rebellion'.[57]

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[54] *Certain Sermons*, pp. 38-39.
[55] ibid., p. 12.
[56] ibid., p. 104.
[57] Lacey Baldwin Smith, *Treason in Tudor England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 2.

In contrast to Sir Thomas More, whose *Tribulation* and prayers did not mention Solomon by name, title, or authorial persona, the *Homilies* of 1547 did fortify themselves by referring to the authorial persona. The tracts discussed above avoided referring to Solomon by name, but they did use the qualitative 'wise man' who wrote his story 'in the book called Ecclesiastes' to compel obedience to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. As well, 'the wise king Solomon' as author of Proverbs was invoked to discourage the vice of brawling, in *The Third Part of the Sermon against Contention*.[58] Moreover, the civically minded Solomon discerned by Luther, who as Katherine Dell says was 'engaged in public conversation',[59] does not come forth as having had any influence on the *Homilies*. Which is to state that the tracts in the *Homilies* contrast rather sharply both with Luther's Solomon and with the passages in More's *Tribulation*. Cranmer's was a dualistic view of Ecclesiastes' author: there was the Solomon as 'wise man', an onto-epistemological teacher; and there was the Solomon of conformity, who commanded Christians to be obedient and loyal to their kings, ministers, bishops, and laws; the latter half of this duality was the heftier. Apparently, Cranmer wanted the official sermons of the emerging church of England to present an awe-inspiring Solomon who had known God's wrath for worldliness, especially for the sin of disloyalty to worldly sovereigns. That must have been an unsettling conceptual tangle to the more thoughtful of English auditors at the time - is not worldly obedience, well, quite worldly? - but as we shall see in the following two sections, the tangle only got worse under Elizabeth. The Solomon that was presented in the *Books of Homilies* in 1563 and 1571 was not only a figure of awe, but was also a figure of alarm, and a figure of ambivalence.

Middle Tudor Engagements, 1547 to 1579

Thus far the present chapter has shown that from *c.*1485 to *c.*1547, outside of the humanist translation projects early in the century, Henrician and Edwardian engagements with Ecclesiastes took their form mainly in clipped, proverbial deployments. In his *Tribulation*, Sir Thomas More used a few portions of the text to ground his argument that temporal, royally imposed suffering indicated divine favor, and the scripture also figured sublimely, nigh mystically in his last prayers in the Tower. In the *Book of Common Prayer* and the *Books of Homilies* that he wrote or otherwise shepherded, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer imposed a full if fleeting annual reading of Ecclesiastes-in-the-entirety, and used a few portions of the text

[58] *Certain Sermons*, p. 135.
[59] Dell, *Interpreting Ecclesiastes*, *supra*.

and a few, somewhat oblique, references to Solomon to impart the sinful vanity of the whole world and the sinful vanity of disobedience to Tudor authority. Both More and Cranmer had politicized agendas, and both were solidly traditional in their conceptions and transmissions of the text, its proverbs and themes, and its author. As we shall see now, these strands continued during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, and examples thereof shall include a pair of Marian Catholic and Elizabethan Protestant sermons, the first delivered in 1554 by then Bishop of Chichester, John Christopherson (Table 1, Row 13), and the second delivered in 1573 by then Bishop of Chichester, Richard Curteys (Table 1, Row 19).

John Christopherson, royal chaplain, and confessor to Queen Mary, was known for his fiery, steadfast defenses of the traditional faith and of its royal defender (upon Elizabeth's accession in 1558 and just before his own death, he would fire a final volley from Paul's Cross accusing the previous Sunday's Protestant preacher of heresy).[60] The engagement curated here does not disappoint in setting up Solomon as standing four-square behind Mary and Catholicism. Shortly after Wyatt's Rebellion (January 1554), Christopherson wrote this, his best-known sermon, *An Exhortation to…Beware of Rebellion*, along with three supporting prayers, the first for the maintenance of the Queen, the second for the precant's personal maintenance, and the third for the quiet estate of the whole realm.[61] In the *Exhortation* he accused the Wyatts rebels of having subverted the entire social order, including the institution of marriage, and repeatedly, explicitly referenced 'Salomon' and his 'wise words' to defend the Queen and the Spanish Match. Selections from Proverbs were used to rail against seditious speech; to urge that Christians must believe that princes are appointed by God; to show that even bad princes are sent by God, as a punishment for the sins of subjects; and to insist that God always works through marriages 'betwixte suche two princelye personages' as Mary and Philip.[62] Throughout Christopherson insisted that all rebellions were doomed, and that no disloyalty could possibly remain hidden from God or prince, 'But to be shorte, there was never rebellion yet, for what cause soever it was made, that ever hadde prosperouse ende'.[63] Such buzzwords hearkened to the Solomonic proverbs, 'Wysh the kynge no evell in yi [thy] thought, and speake no hurte of ye ryche in thy prevy [privy] chambre: for a byrde of the ayre shal betraye thy voyce, and wt [with] hir fethers shal she bewraye thy wordes' (Eccles. 10:20

[60] Arnold Hunt, 'Preaching the Elizabethan Settlement', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 366-86, p. 369.
[61] John Christopherson, *An Exhortation to…Beware of Rebellion…* (London, 1554).
[62] ibid., sig. B_{iii}^{r}; sig. F_{i}^{v}; sig. $F_{[viii]}^{v}$; sig. $L_{[vii]}^{r}$; sigs M_{iiij}^{v} – M_{v}^{r}.
[63] ibid., sig. Cc_{v}^{v}.

(MC)), and 'For the ear of jealousy heareth all things, and the tumult of murmuring shall not be hid' (Wisd. 1:10 (V)). Again, these were prohibitions that were leveraged constantly, and both plainly and tacitly, by the Tudor monarchs and their retainers to insist that successful insurrection was a providential impossibility.[64]

And of course, Christopherson asserted that Protestantism was indelibly tied to treachery and to the sin of rebellion. Without even citing thereto Christopherson deployed the proverbial microgenre of Eccles. 1:2 in declaring that all the great figures in Catholicism (listing Ambrose, Chrysostom, and several others) were 'gentle, lowly, full of vertue, and godlye conversation, *despicers of the worlde, and the vanities thereof*, chast, [devoid] of ambition and covetousnes, gyven all to fastyng, prayer, and [good] dedes'; that all the great figures in Protestantism (listing Luther, Bucer, and several others) were the opposite, 'prowde, stubborne, presumptuous, of smal vertue, and that only in apparence, *lovers of the world, and muche delited wyth the pleasures thereof*, lecherous, and carnal, gready of honour, and of gettyng of goodes: slacke in praying, more slacke in fastynge, and altogether negligent in good dedes doynge'.[65] To Christopherson, to despise the world and its vanities was to be a guiding light, and to be a Protestant was to be doomed as one of the 'sowers of sedition, workers of disobedience, and bryngers in of al confusion & disorder'; obedience was virtue, Protestantism was vanity.[66] Christopherson's message was anything but nuanced: in the end, Solomon was behind the Queen, his was the voice of prudence, and orders, that required subjects to be loyal and obedient. And the king's 'wise words' warned that traitors were always caught by their own devises, and that God and his appointed prince were ever watchful, their 'judgements are prepared, and hammers for such fooles bodies'.[67] But passive conformity was not quite enough for Christopherson. The good, dutiful subject edified the sovereign with prayers that were seasoned with Solomonic referentiality as well. In the opening lines of his *Prayer for the Queenes highnes*, Christopherson called for them to pray that God bestow on the Queen the perfect and excellent wisdom he had given to Solomon, to the glory of God and the advancement of the realm, 'and all the people thereof maye learne to feare and love the, to obey her grace, to study for peace…', and so forth.[68]

[64] See Baldwin Smith, *Treason*, *supra*.
[65] Christopherson, *Rebellion*, sigs R_{iii}^{v} – R_{iiij}^{r} (emphasis added).
[66] ibid., sig. R_{iiij}^{r}.
[67] ibid., sig. Ee_{iiij}^{r}.
[68] ibid., sig. $Ee_{[viii]}^{v}$.

Bishop Christopherson's deployment of Ecclesiastes is another example of the scripture *qua* microgenre and proverbial continuum: the hermeneutical referent of "vanities" indicted Protestantism as pointless, sinful, and distractive, as were so many children's toys in Batman's 'Of Sloth'. So to the standard worldview of *vanitas* Christopherson presumed to add that living the Protestant way was akin to living as mere pastime, set against the meaningful, Catholic way of presence of mind and, of course, obedience to the sovereign; *vanitas* instructed the faithful to be 'despicers of the worlde' (whether Christopherson was precisely Jeromian – only the humane is *vanitas* - or Bonaventuran – all temporal reality is *vanitas* - is neither here nor there), and Protestant-flavored, anti-Marian rebellion was among those things that were vanities *per se*. As for his conception of Solomon, Christopherson was solidly traditionalist, the scripture's author was the figure of regality and divinely granted wisdom, a figure of awe whose words were to be heeded in their literal senses. Although his engagement with Ecclesiastes was, as a whole, more clipped than Richard Curteys' (discussed below), Christopherson's off-handedness gives it a level of profundity from the perspective of reception history: his engagement was a vehement doubling down on the traditionalist transmission of Ecclesiastes' two momentous themes, and it accommodated such to the prickly politico-ecclesiastical circumstances of the times and the direction he hoped to shepherd people into; it is an apt exemplar of the encapsulation and mediation of worldviews and lived experiences that Fowler, Bradbury, and Benjamin have proposed for proverbial transmission and reception of texts.[69] Given the context of Christopherson's confessional status and how it fed into his homiletical agenda – a resolutely Catholic, Marian bishop serving in confessionally turbulent times, leveraging every means at his disposal to fend off the besieging English Protestants – the fact that he resorted *inter alia* to Solomon and to the strongest referent from Ecclesiastes is telling of their fundamentality to English religious thinking and politico-ecclesiastical discourse at the time.

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Richard Curteys' Lenten lecture, *A Sermon Preached at Greenwiche before the Queenes Majestie…the 14 day of March 1573*,[70] too had a highly politicized context, as the bishop was walking an especially tight tightrope of messaging & rebuking vis-à-vis the Queen and the other notables in attendance at court in Greenwich. He was known for his desire to improve the skills of the clergy and for his advocacy of preaching - a matter on which Elizabeth was

[69] See Bundvad, *Time*, *supra*; Hattaway, 'Paradoxes', *supra*.
[70] Richard Curteys, *A Sermon preached at Greenwiche…the 14. Day of March. 1573* (London, 1586).

lukewarm at best – as well as for his aspiration to deepen the religiosity of the secular ruling classes.[71] At the same time, as Bishop of Chichester and as royal chaplain (from *c.*1567), Curteys was expected to edify, and like all the other courtiers, to ingratiate himself with, the Queen, so in a setting such as Greenwich he could not safely impress his points with a blunt instrument. Elegant compared to Christopherson's ponderous pages, Curteys' sermon was a stylish engagement with a thorny portion of Ecclesiastes that was delivered in thorny circumstances and times. It was preached two years after the 1571 issuance of the *Thirty-Nine Articles* and the *Second Tome* in *The Books of Homilies* (which more than doubled the volume of the Church's official homilies, and which annoyed certain ministers well into the 1590s); about one year after the trial and execution of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, for his role in the Ridolfi Plot; and less than a year after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Generally, the sermon appears to have been quite the success. Thomas Browne's forward testifies that the Queen and the court enjoyed the sermon and wished to see it printed,[72] for beyond the obvious flatteries (and vanities?), it reads as having impressed upon the auditory that, despite the solid state of the Settlement, the kingdom was rife with shortsightedness and narcissism, without expressly saying as much the Queen and the courtiers themselves. The sermon of *March 1573* evidences that, at the time it was delivered, Bishop Curteys was one of the voices of conciliation between the estates of the realm, i.e. as to the commonly complained abuse of clergy by lay patrons, and the commonly complained insufficiency of the clergy by lay patrons (he was yet to come into conflict with the Crown over *inter alia* his support for prophesyings).[73] But under the looking glass of reception history, the sermon of *March 1573* comes forth as another example of Ecclesiastes engaged in clipped, proverbial formats applied mainly toward the inculturation of England's ruling classes, and applied secondarily toward securing the tractability of the rest of England's reading public.

Fittingly, given the nature of the audience, the *March 1573* sermon has a distinctly lecture-like feel to it. At the outset Curteys established his base text, 'Remember thy maker in thy youth, or ever the days of adversitie come, and or the yeres drawe nye when thou shalt say, I have not pleasure in them' *et seq*. (Eccles. 12: 1-7 (BB)), and after a brief, summary introduction, the bishop proceeded in *lectio continua* fashion to expound upon each of the allegorical devices that 'The Preacher' Solomon used in his 'dark speeches'.[74] One of the better

[71] Jeanne Shami, 'Women and Sermons', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, Hugh, Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 156-77.
[72] Curteys, *March 1573*, sig. A_2^r.
[73] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, pp. 81-83.
[74] Curteys, *March 1573*, sig. A_4^r; sig. A_3^v; sig. $A_{[8]}^v$; sig. B_1^v.

examples is Curteys' interpretation of 'the silver threads that become lengthened' (paraphrasing Eccles. 12:6), which he found to be 'the sinewes which doe stretch and lengthen upon death' and function to make fast the bones which 'would else one fall from another, as threads and lines doe binde together other loose thinges'.[75] The metaphor would prove potent later in the sermon, when Curteys used it to remind the auditory that the body's silvery sinews are common in all people no matter their wealth ('I have in bank a hundred thousand pounds'), education ('I have the knowledge of tongues and learning'), and status ('I can fetch my pedigree long before the Conquest'), nevertheless the grave is everyone's final home where 'the silver threads and sinewes shall stretch…and man shal goe to his long home, and dust to earth, from whence it came'.[76] It was in the making of such connections whilst emphasizing the base text's theme of remembrance that Curteys was most effective in his transmission of Ecclesiastes.

For like other authors in the present survey, the clipped application of Ecclesiastes meant that the bishop's engagement with the text and its proverbs were ultimately eclipsed by other themes and other biblical and non-biblical sources. From the initial lecture on Eccles. 12:1-7, he spent much more of his time and resources, 'Nowe for our particular instruction: God hath delivered Englande from [foreign] bondage…', on arguing that England was an especially blessed and blessedly-Protestant land, and on appealing to sundry extraneous sources and elaborate metaphors to make the case that subjects should be thankful to God for the fruits of the laborers in His vineyards.[77] Those laborers were preeminently, of course, the Queen and the other notables at court, as '[t]he grace and mercie of God hathe planted the vyneyarde of his Churche in a fertile ground: hath hedged it with his law…hathe made a wine presse of Princes, Judges, and Magistrates…and giveth them the Crowne of mercye and goodnesse'.[78] Ultimately, as Professor McCullough has observed, in *March 1573* the bishop was able to raise the issues of spiritual forgetfulness and irreligiosity as 'an almost understandable complacency that could be easily corrected' without overly chastising and angering Elizabeth and her courtiers.[79] In the end, the lecture stood for two elementary points: be and remain mindful of the 'Bayliffes' of sickness, aging, and death, as allegorized in

[75] ibid., sig. A_4^r; sig. $A_{[6]}^r$.
[76] ibid., sigs $C_{[8]}^v$ - D_1^r (portion omitted).
[77] ibid., sig. $B_{[5]}^v$ (portion omitted, brackets added).
[78] ibid., sig. B_2^v (portion omitted, brackets added).
[79] McCullough, *Sermons at Court,* p. 81.

Ecclesiastes, and per the rest of the Bible and Plato *et al.*, be and remain thankful that God had set 'Miriah' [Elizabeth] to rule over England.[80]

Meanwhile, the two 'momentous themes' of the scripture were underplayed, to the extent they were played at all. Although the theme of godly remembrance Curteys wished to convey can be discerned as a necessary upshot to the awareness of *vanitas*, on the other hand, Curteys never explicitly used the hermeneutics of Eccles. 1:2 and the concept of *vanitas* was never overtly explored. Indeed, ironically, the sermon is so mindful of worldly matters that it could be seen as defaulting into Christianson's 'anti-*Contemptus mundi*' category, even whilst it did not convey any new inklings or influences, i.e. from the Lutheran school of thought. Similarly, although Curteys' references to 'The Preacher' are notable (as they could betray an evolving awareness of the relatable Solomonic persona of *koheleth*), read in full context it seems clear that those references were made as inert identifiers. Curteys simply did not delve into what 'The Preacher' *qua* Solomon might mean for the excerpted maxims or for the hearer and reader thereof. Nevertheless, given the context of Curteys' confessional status and homiletical agenda – a resolutely Protestant, Elizabethan bishop serving in confessionally turbulent times, leveraging of every means at his disposal to fend off Catholicism domestic and foreign – the fact that he resorted *inter alia* to Solomon and to several (especially allegorical) verses from Ecclesiastes is telling of their fundamentality to English religious thinking and politico-ecclesiastical discourse at the time. And whilst Curteys' *March 1573* juxtaposes to Christopherson's *Exhortation* as an Elizabethan Protestant's sermon to a Marian Catholic's sermon, in most respects they share in the inherited exegetical traditions of Ecclesiastes and Solomon. Their differing circumstances and politics may have resulted in differing homiletical timbres, textures, and tones, but they harmonize as solid traditionalists in the reception history of Ecclesiastes in Tudor England.

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Since the discussion at this point is concerned with Ecclesiastes' reception in the 1570s, it would be remiss for the present thesis to not revisit the (as some suppose, Reformation-ending) great texts of the Elizabethan church. To reiterate, Bishop Curteys' lecture was delivered two years after the issuance of the *Thirty-Nine Articles* and the last addition to the

[80] Curteys, *March 1573*, sig. C_1^r; sig. $B_{[7]}^r$. NB: The descriptor of bailiffs for Ecclesiastes' themes was Curteys' own allegorical creation. The metaphor of 'Miriah' seemingly referred to Mount Moriah, site of the Binding of Isaac, and site of the Temple of Solomon. Professor McCullough's observation that this 'Miriah' equated with Elizabeth is undoubtedly correct (McCullough, *Sermons at Court,* p. 81), so there Curteys was at peak ingratiation.

Second Tome in the *Books of Homilies* (Table 1, Rows 16, 17), and twelve years after the then most recent issuance of the *Boof of Common Prayer* (Table 1, Row 15). Two of these items are superfluous to the present discussion. Ecclesiastes does not impact the *Thirty-Nine Articles* hermeneutically as the book only appears in name within Article VI's list of canonical books, 'Ecclesiastes or Preacher', and Solomon only appears in said list under, 'Cantica, or Songs of Solomon'; the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1559 did not add anything vis Ecclesiastes to the *BCPs* of 1549 or 1552, therefore The Order of 1559 still called for subjects to read the scripture over a few days in July each year, and nothing more, so from 1559 the *BCP* still was only just as fair to Ecclesiastes as it was to all the other texts of the Bible. However, as to the third great Elizabethan text, the *Second Tome* of the *Books of Homilies*, that is another story altogether.

We have seen that as to Solomonic authorship the tracts in the Edwardian *Homilies*, Archbishop Cranmer seems to have had a dualistic conception of Solomon: as 'wise man', an onto-epistemological teacher; and the voice of conformity, an awe-inspiring Solomon who commanded Christians to be obedient and loyal to their kings, ministers, bishops, and laws. And as to *vanitas*, the earlier *Homilies* showed that the archbishop was vested in the Jeromian and Bonaventuran exegetical inheritance. As we shall see presently, the tracts that were added to the *Homilies* by Archbishop Matthew Parker *et al.* in 1563 and 1571 saw a somewhat expanded application of Ecclesiastes – which is to state, more citations thereto in their arguments - but they did not display any fundamental re-thinking on either of the two 'momentous themes' of the scripture. The Solomon of the Elizabethan *Homilies* was not only a figure of awe, but additionally was a figure of alarm (as to his sins of idolatry, adultery, etc.), and of ambivalence (as to his salvific status, whether he was elect or reprobate). There was also an increased usage of "vanity" and its derivatives in the Elizabethan *Homilies*, which on one hand might indicate an increased awareness of *vanitas*, but for the most part they read as its dilution into a simple pejorative. As Christianson notes, as the sixteenth century proceeded writers increasingly drew on the term's growing pervasiveness, making it difficult for reception historians to measure the degree to which it was truly *known* in the general early modern population (what the present research will refer to as the feedback loop of *vanitas* commonplace).[81] As in earlier iterations of the *Homilies*, the obedience-oriented proverbs of Ecclesiastes played the most significant roles, again evidencing Lacey Baldwin Smith's point that 'every Englishman knew' the Ecclesiastes of the official admonitions on obedience.[82]

[81] Christianson, *Centuries*, pp. 112-13.
[82] Baldwin Smith, *Treason*, *supra*.

They featured prominently in what is perhaps the most famous and heavily studied of the official Elizabethan homilies, the obedience-oriented finale tract that was added in 1571, *An Homily against Disobedience and wilful Rebellion*. It is no exaggeration to state that in this homily, Archbishop Parker clearly wanted to impart that any insurrection against the Tudor regime was like unto another satanic insurrection which "started it all". The *Homily against Disobedience* argued that, since the first sin in all of creation was Lucifer's rebellion, it is 'both the first and greatest, and the very root of all other sins', and therefore rebelliousness is the principle cause of all other suffering. Furthermore, as mankind proliferates God ordains the institution of cities, countries, and governments, with laws and 'special governors and rulers', and when subjects 'take heed to ye mouth of the King, and to the worde of God' (paraphrasing Eccles. 8:2), their obedience 'repaired again the rule and order' that suffered a rift with the initial heavenly mutiny.[83] Of course, the ideal is that subjects are obedient and the rulers are good. Ergo, according to Eccles. 10:16 & 17, 'woe to thee, O Lande, when thy King is a childe, and thy princes eate in the morning; Blessed art thou, O land, when thy King is the sonne of nobles, and thy princes eate in time…', the kingdom peopled by obedient subordinates and ruled by virtuous princes not only prospers, but is a similitude to Heaven itself.[84] Moreover, in its drawing of another similitude the homily echoes the earlier invocation of Eccles. 10:20 by Archbishop Cranmer: just as God punished the ancients with destruction, leprosy, etc. (for 'murmurers against their magistrates' as documented by, e.g. the Book of Numbers), no rebellious murmurs and mischiefs, no matter how secretive, can succeed against 'our prince', as Eccles. 10:20 provides that 'the foule of the heaven shall carie the voice, & that which hath wings, shall declare the matter', so no cursing of the king can lead to anything but ruin, even if it is done only 'in thy thought…in thy bedchamber'.[85] The exhortations involved an attention-grabbing cross-inhabitation of hierarchical strata, as the declarant of these proverbs was described by *Homily against Disobedience* in the first instance as 'the preacher' (implicitly likened to the Archbishop?), and in the second instance as 'peaceable king Solomon', whom the homily expressly likened to 'our most peaceable and merciful queen'.[86]

Indeed, even when he was called 'the preacher' or simply described as 'wise', the Solomon of the Elizabethan *Homilies* was mainly that figure of regality and awe. In the homilies on prayer and on the keeping of churches, his building of the Temple was cited and

[83] *Certain Sermons*, pp. 490-91.
[84] ibid., pp. 492-93 (portion omitted).
[85] ibid., pp. 513-14 portion omitted).
[86] ibid., p. 493; pp. 516-17.

celebrated.[87] Therein one was also reminded that Solomon was the grantee of divine wisdom in the dream at Gibeon, which came with divine gifts of riches, princely honor, and glory, that 'pass all kings that ever were'.[88] And despite his riches and temptations, his moderation was unparalleled (with one citation to the temporal merisms in the homily on fasting),[89] and he would have been very concerned with Elizabethan excesses in drink and dress (especially when it came to the excesses of Elizabethan women).[90] Solomon also came forth in the Elizabethan *Homilies* as the figure of alarm, due to the severity of his known sins, and as the figure of ambivalence, due to the inscrutable nature of his salvific status, whether he was repentant and saved or unrepentant and reprobate. In the ponderous and polemical *An Homily against Peril of Idolatry, and superfluous Decking of Churches*, the story of Solomon's fall into sin, despite the powers of his gifts and virtues, was invoked to address the issue of adiaphora (whether 'images in churches and temples to be an indifferent thing' or 'unlawful or wicked, absolutely').[91] It is worth reproducing in full.

> Whereunto may be well replied, that Solomon also, the wisest of all men, did well know what an idol or image was, and neither took any harm thereof a great while himself, and also with his godly writings armed others against the danger of them. But yet *afterward* the same Solomon suffering his wanton paramours to bring their idols unto his court and palace, was by carnal harlots persuaded, and brought *at the last* to the committing of spiritual fornication with idols, and, of the wisest and godliest prince, became the most foolishest and wickedest also.[92]

The heaviest phrase is 'at the last', which betokened that Solomon had died in a state of sin (a belief that has been grounded in 1 Kgs 11, which tells of God punishing Solomon for his sins by dividing the Kingdom of Israel upon his death). The traditional rabbinical, patristic, and medieval interpretations of Solomon held that the scriptures do not document any repentance before his death, so Solomon's final salvation or damnation is and will always be as uncertain as that of any other sinner in human history. It is a matter debated to this day, e.g. the Roman Catholic Church reveres Solomon but stops short of declaring him a saint (likewise, the Anglican Communion), whereas Solomon is a saint in the Orthodox Catholic Church. Nothing in the *Second Tome* of *The Books of Homilies* offers any affirmative, salvific rehabilitation of the king, so the *Homilies*' traditionalism as to Solomon's soul seems to be abundantly clear. Hence, English ministers reading from *The Book of Homilies* were conveying to their parishioners a

[87] ibid., pp. 242-43; pp. 305-06.
[88] ibid., p. 296.
[89] ibid., p. 259. See also, p. 464 (re Eccles. 3:13).
[90] ibid., p. 222; pp. 270-72; pp. 275-81; p. 380; p. 428.
[91] ibid., p. 224.
[92] ibid.

multifarious view of Solomon, one who, depending on the messaging and context at issue, was a figure to be revered, or feared, heeded, or snubbed, praised, or vilified. As the present study has stated earlier, the author of Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and Wisdom was also the man of 1 Kings and 1 Chronicles: he was a figure of awe, alarm, or ambivalence.

In the *Second Tome* of the *Homilies* the matter of *vanitas* was as much one of ambivalence as was the matter of Solomon's salvific status. Like Cranmer *et al.*, Parker *et al.* never cited to Eccles. 1:2, and the *Second Tome* tracts seem to lack even an oblique tender of the verse's thought.[93] Although the Edwardian *Homilies* had remarked sparingly, but tellingly, about the vanity of the world and the human condition, the Elizabethan *Homilies* remarked over and again about specific vanities that ostensibly were rife in the Elizabethan world. According to the homily *Against Idleness*, youth itself is vanity (a stretched interpretation of Eccles. 11:9);[94] the homily *For Rogation Week* (predictably) said that vanity had tainted the 'old philosophers' and the scholastics;[95] likewise, that the pope's pride in coveting 'the chief degree of honor' [papal supremacy] is mere vanity;[96] and so is, somewhat similarly, Jewish idolatry;[97] in fact, as per the homily on the *Peril of Idolatry*, that sin could result, if one was not mindful of their attitude, from the wickedness and vanity of loving adorned books;[98] and again, as per references appearing in several of the *Homilies*, Canterbury saw Elizabethan fashion (especially Elizabethan ladies' fashion) as being especially rife with vanity.[99] Otherwise, there are too many usages of the words "vain" and "vain-glory" in the feedback loop of *vanitas* commonplace to list here without risking scholarly vainglory, but it suffices to state that Archbishop Parker *et al.* were quite enamored of such terminology. No wonder that by the 1590s, when Henry Smith observed, 'Who hath *not* heard *Vanitie of vanities, &tc.* Though fewe have *conceived* it?',[100] he would believe that his flock, with the dutiful help of their parish lecturer, had to dive deeper and become better 'conceived' of Ecclesiastes' main referent than the terms' shallow, pejorative tonality within *The Books of Homilies*.

The cultural impacts of the evolved iterations of the *Book of Common Prayer*, the *Thirty-Nine Articles*, and *The Books of Homilies* are now well established. Studies by *inter alia* Susan

[93] ibid., pp. 38-39.
[94] ibid., p. 466.
[95] ibid., p. 435.
[96] ibid., p. 416.
[97] ibid., p. 310 (brackets added).
[98] ibid., p. 175; p. 236.
[99] ibid., p. 236; pp. 276-82.
[100] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 832 (emphasis added).

Wabuda and Luc Borot have shown how foundational they were, i.e. by their literal placement in every parish for reading by, or to, the laity day after day, Sunday after Sunday.[101] Their importance to the English language and to Shakespeare has been unearthed in studies by *inter alia* Diarmaid MacCulloch, Peter Milward, Naseeb Shaheen, and Stuart Gillespie.[102] As items of Ecclesiastes' reception and transmission, by sheer comparative weight of citations and quotations the *Homilies* had to have been the most impactful of the three foundational texts issued from Canterbury. And whilst Naseeb Shaheen's list of more than 180 specific Shakespearean references to the *Homilies* may fall short of distinguishing between the plays having echoed the *Homilies* directly or having echoed what the audiences had taken from the *Homilies*,[103] what matters for the purposes of the present thesis is that by the latter decades of Elizabeth's reign there was a broad knowledge of the Bible and of the language of Protestant Christianity that was common to all members of the Elizabethan playhouse audience, and that that was imparted to them not mainly by intermittent *BCP* readings from, say, the Bishops' Bible, but probably mainly by the *Homilies*.[104] Their sheer ubiquity surely attenuated and paled the influence of the various Henrician pieces, the Marian and Edwardian works of the Chichester bishops, and, of course, the handful of any obscure outliers (such as the works of John Hall,[105] Pore Shakerlaye,[106] and Thomas Drant,[107] whom the present thesis has curated but will not discuss further). In short, the most important engagements with Ecclesiastes in Tudor England to *c.*1590 were those that appear within the tracts of *The Books of Homilies*.

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[101] Susan Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Luc Borot, 'The Bible and Protestant Inculturation in the *Homilies* of the Church of England' in *The Bible in the Renaissance: Essays on Biblical Commentary and Translation in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. by Richard Griffiths (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 150-75.

[102] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, *supra*; Peter Milward, *Shakespeare's Religious Background* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1973); idem, *Biblical Influences in Shakespeare's Great Tragedies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Playss* (Newark, NJ.; London: University of Delaware Press, 1999); Stuart Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books: A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sources* (London: Athlone, 2001). See also the critical edition by John Griffiths, *The Two Books of Homilies appointed to be Read in Churches* (Oxford: At the University Press, 1859).

[103] Shaheen, *Biblical References*, pp. 831-32; Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books*, p. 257.

[104] Borot, 'Protestant Inculturation', pp. 150-156; Griffiths, *The Two Books*, xlvii.

[105] Table 1, Row 10. John Hall's poetic paraphrase was likely appropriated from Henry Howard. Weeks, *Many Books*, §34 (see Table 1, Row 14).

[106] Table 1, Row 11. Pore Shakerlaye's work, *The knoledge of good and ivyle, other wyse calyd Ecclesiastes*, exists in only one copy at Lincoln Cathedral and is almost unknown to scholars. NB: Due to the COVID-19 shutdowns, to-date the present researcher has been unable to interrogate Shakerlaye's piece. It was likely reformist in character as it was printed by the reformist clergyman and printer Robert Crowley, whose imprint lasted only two years, 1548-1551 inclusive. See J. W. Martin, 'The Publishing Career of Robert Crowley: A Sidelight on the Tudor Book Trade', in *Publishing History*, 14 (1983), 85-98, n.19.

[107] Table 1, Row 18. Thomas Drant's Latin poetic paraphrase is generally unremarkable, but it has some noteworthy, Jeromian/Bonaventuran overtones, e.g. regarding Eccles. 1:9 he added a marginal note, 'Rerum mutatio arguit vanitatem' ('That things change proves their pointlessness'). Thomas Drant, *In Selomonis regis et praeconis illustriss Ecclesiasten*… (London, 1572), sig. B_i^v.

Late Elizabethan Engagements, 1579 to 1589

With the close of the preceding section, the present chapter has shown that from *Solomon and Marcolf* to *The Books of Homilies*, sixteenth century English engagements with Ecclesiastes were almost completely aphoristic in nature, with most of the authors having selected sundry portions of text to ground their arguments genre-to-genre and agenda-to-agenda; in some instances the proverbial clippings may have been cornerstones, but they were relatively small in relation to the wider masonry. And although we have encountered several interesting, juxtaposed pieces, e.g. Christopherson *contra* Curteys, it has been argued that the scriptural deployments which were most accessible and likely most impactful in England by *c.*1590 were those of *The Books of Homelies*, and to a much lesser extent the *Book of Common Prayer*. Together these tools of Canterbury imposed passing but permanent annual readings of Ecclesiastes (in the *BCP*), and harnessed a few proverbs and a few references to Solomon, king and preacher and wise man, to emphasize the vanity of, e.g. banqueting and courtly fashions, and, most assuredly, the vanity of disobedience to Tudor officialdom (in the *Homilies*). All the curated pieces discussed so far had had politicized agendas, and at the same time all were Jeromian or Bonaventuran in tenor, traditionalist (though not rigorously so) in their conceptions and transmissions of the text, its maxims and themes, and its author. As we shall see now, it seems to have occurred to some Calvinist commentators working in England from *c.*1579 to *c.*1589 that the prior clippings were not enough, that whilst Ecclesiastes had been stitched to English Protestantism, it needed to be woven through the Church via thorough revision and revitalization, rethinking and re-working. The first step, said the Kentish schoolmaster and grammarian John Stockwood in 1585, was to churn out,

> A GODLIE AND LEARNED Commentarie upon the excellent book of Solomon, commonly called Ecclesiastes, or the Preacher: In the which Commentarie are briefely and plainly layde downe the methode, sense, and use of that most profitable sermon, on the which, *yet there hath never bin set forth any exposition in the English tong before this time, in such large and profitable manner*.[108]

Thereupon it seems to have occurred to George Gifford and to Henry Smith that Ecclesiastes needed some thorough re-preaching to their flocks and to other readers, well-beyond that which was on offer from the *Homilies*.

[108] John Stockwood, *A godlie and learned commentarie…Written in Latin by Iohn Serranus, and newly turned into English by Iohn Stockwood…* (London, 1585), Title page.

But the decade of the 1580s was still a mixed bag of engagements with the scripture. The top seller was undoubtedly Thomas Rogers' reformist translation *Of the Imitation of Christ* (Table 1, Row 22), which in pertinent parts were literal translations and thus Rogers simply parroted Kempis' original, proverbial quotations and applications of *vanitas*, so he merely preserved (and Ian Green argues, amplified) Kempis' c*ontemptus mundi*, which seems to have upheld its appeal.[109] Yet by excising the fourth book of the original (to avoid extoling the Mass), Rogers also excised Kempis' brief engagement with the figure of Solomon which had been preserved in the sixteenth century, such as in the Beaufort-Atkinson translation which was printed in London in 1504 (Table 1, Row 2).[110] The frontispiece to Rogers' work betrays that he was thoroughly steeped in the Tudor traditions of engagement with Ecclesiastes; the page's depiction of Eccles. 10 to illustrate the virtues of reverence and obedience to the regime's authorities was, perhaps, also subtle commentary on Elizabeth's legitimacy (i.e. her being the daughter of a king and a noble) (Fig. 3).[111] Then at roundabout the end of the decade, Theodore Beza's widely printed paraphrase, *Solomons Sermon* (Table 1, Row 25), which was attached to his main piece, an essay on Job, was translated and printed in Cambridge.[112] As his titling indicated, Beza believed that Ecclesiastes was a sermon on *summo bono habitae* ('what constitutes the greatest good'), and although it is rigorous in the sense that it expounded upon every verse in the book, the paraphrase was soundly traditional in all of its expositions. In Al Wolters' estimation, '…although Beza avoids the phrase *contemptus mundi*, his paraphrase seems to be a return to the patristic and medieval reading of the book, stressing the mutability of the world "under the sun," in contrast to the only fixed and sure thing that humans can know—namely, the fear of the Lord'.[113] It may also be observed that Beza was in the traditional camp as to the destination of Solomon's soul. The implication is strong in his commentary on Job, where Beza rejected the belief held *inter alia* by Sir Thomas More, that since miseries are common to all sorts of men, whether they be good or bad, 'it must needs follow that the conclusion of Eliphaz is most false: and that it is most true which Solomon speaketh, that no man can rightly determine of Gods love or hatred towardes him, by prosperitie or by adversitie'.[114] Finally, a trifling aspect of Beza's paraphrase, an interesting little clue in the chain of reception, is that it seems to have inspired some

[109] Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 307.
[110] William Carlton Creasy, Jr., 'Imitatio Christi (William Atkinson and Lady Margaret Beaufort, Trans. 1503): A Critical Edition' (PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1982); on the study's choice of copy-text [BL copy of STC 23955], see p. 49. For Kempis' original engagement with Solomon, ibid., p. 298-99.
[111] Thomas Rogers, *Of the Imitation of Christ…* (London, 1580). For general discussion, see Nandra Perry, *Imitatio Christi*, *supra*.
[112] Theodore Beza, *Iob expounded by Theodore Beza…* (London, 1589).
[113] Wolters, 'Ecclesiastes and the Reformers', p. 67.
[114] Beza, *Iob expounded*, sig. L_3^r.

phraseology for George Gifford's *Eight Sermons*, as Beza read Eccles. 2:19 as speaking to mankind's labors being 'a wonderful kinde of vanitie', and Gifford read the same verse as speaking to 'a wonderful misliking' of mankind's labors.[115] From the onset of the Reformation there were constant elasticities between interpretive continuity and interpretive innovation, and between the transmission and the reception thereof; both Rogers and Beza were known more for contributing change factors to the ratios, such as Rogers by cutting Kempis' fourth book, and Beza by doubling-down on supralapsarian predestination in his *Summa totius Christianismi*. Although both Rogers and Beza were in reception of pedigreed Reformed ideas and worked to rehash them in important works of further transmission, the most one can say of their twain engagements with Ecclesiastes is that they each stuck to the path of the inherited exegetical traditions (though at least Beza had commented upon the entirety of the scripture).

On the other hand, the 1580s also began with the printing of two seminal works in Latin, the paraphrastic commentary by Antonio del Corro printed in London in 1579 (Table 1, Row 20), and the annotated translation by Tremellius & Junius printed in London in 1580 (Table 1, Row 21). Del Corro's work *Sapientissimi regis Salmomonis concio* has been described as 'widely admired' and widely used,[116] but if this is so the single edition printed was used mainly by his fellow scholars, and the same can probably be said of the several editions and imprint variants of Tremellius & Junius' *Ecclesiastes* in the *Bibliorum Pars Tertia*, although since there were multiple editions and variants that work undoubtedly had a wider reception than del Corro's. Both engagements go into abundant detail on every verse of the scripture; both present an Ecclesiastes that has Calvinist undertones (in the *Sapientissimi*) and overtones (in the *Bibliorum*), yet neither stray too far from the traditional understandings of *vanitas* (the corruption of the human will and of human action etc. essentially was Jeromian);[117] and both distinctively offered suggestions of a Solomon in rehabilitated form. Tremellius and Junius found that the scripture is proof of Solomon's repentance and ultimate salvation, *solenni hoc scripto reconciliatur haberetur cum Deo & cum Ecclesia* ('a solemn testimonial of his reconciliation with God and with the Church').[118] Del Corro's translator, Thomas Pye of Oxford, found that Solomon was 'a type of Christ Iesu, filled with understanding' and, even further, that he was

[115] ibid., sig. $A_{[7]}{}^{v}$; Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. $H_{[8]}{}^{v}$.
[116] Alexander Gordon, *rev.* Jonathan L. Nelson, 'Corro, Antonio del (1527-1591)', *ODNB*.
[117] As to del Corro's view on human will, see Hattaway, 'Paradoxes', p. 521. There is a rich secondary literature on del Corro and his religio-intellectual evolution, and early modernists continue to ask questions of *inter alia* his confessional characterization. See e.g. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Silence: A Christian History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2013), p. 170 and works cited n.20. The present thesis will stay within its remit and offer that from the perspective of the reception history of Ecclesiastes, del Corro's *Sapientissimi* reads as most aligned with the late sixteenth-century Calvinist or Reformed responses to the scripture.
[118] Immanuel Tremellius and Francisco Junius, *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra*… (London, 1580), p. 225.

a type of all the members of the Church, that 'the scope of Solomon is the scope of our life'.[119] With Tremellius & Junius and del Corro/Pye we finally encounter the emergent roots of the homespun, English Calvinists' takes on the key issues, the 'momentous themes' of Ecclesiastes, whereby Solomon was understood as elect and repentant, and *vanitas* was seen as the decretal condition of all of humanity. These were not trifling, stylistic aspects of paraphrase, but substantive and innovative, if at times speculative, declarative, terse, commentaries on the author's character, legitimacy, and both the authenticity and the pneumatological authority of his poem.

These issues were hashed out in heartier discussion and in greater detail in John Stockwood's English translation of the *Learned Commentarie* on Ecclesiastes, printed in London in 1585, written in the late 1570s by the French Calvinist scholar, pastor, and royal adviser, Jean de Serres (Table 1, Row 23). With the assistance of the puritan Hebraist and Cambridge college master William Fulke, whose brief prefix to the *Learned Commentarie* was nigh as important as some of de Serre's fuller expositions, John Stockwood managed to lay down the full chassis of an English take on Solomon and *vanitas* 'in the English tong' which had yet to be laid down 'before this time, in such large and profitable manner'.

The primary concern of Fulke's prefix seems to have been the recovery and rehabilitation of Solomon. Presaging Thomas Pye, Fulke identified Solomon as both the 'instrument of the holie Ghost' and 'the Preacher, a right figure of our Saviour Christ', and strongly implied, but carefully refrained from declaring outright, that the king had been granted salvation. Fulke deduced that the king's fall 'into such folly from which many thousands of gods children' also find themselves was followed by the writing of Ecclesiastes, 'in the latter ende of his dayes', and so 'it is a testimonie of his repentance after his fall'. It also seems that Fulke trusted in the effectiveness of the reformed catechisms of his readers: as only the elect can repent, with the king's repentance confirmed there was no need to close the loop with an express declaration on Solomon's salvation. At the same time, he kept the 'right figure' of Christ, and instrument of the Holy Ghost, as relatable as possible. The king's 'storehouse of Sapience' came about 'first by naturall towardness, good education, studie, and other ordinarie meanes' (perhaps at a school not unlike Stockwood's?) only to be augmented later and 'secondly by special grace & divine revelation', and thirdly 'confirmed by experience', for 'no man [even Solomon] is counted wise' without the confluence of

[119] Thomas Pye, *Solomons sermon of mans chief felicitie: called in Hebrew Koheleth…* (Oxford, 1586), sig. ij^{v}.

knowledge and learning with practice and experience.[120] On these points Fulke was in half-agreement with Jean de Serres, who did not find Ecclesiastes itself to be a testimonial of repentance and, like so many other interpreters before, rested his case on the fact that there was no outside evidence thereof. After he summarized the debating points of learned exegetes who have come down on either side of the issue, de Serres found that as 'a Figure of his Christe', who still was guilty of 'most greevous' sins, the king was one who should not be judged rashly, indeed not judged at all, by subsequent humanity, as the matter of his salvation remains secret and 'not at all appertayning unto our knowledge'. Nevertheless, the authority (and canonicity) of Solomon's writings, said de Serres, was not and is not diminished by the unknowable destination of the king's soul.[121]

De Serres was just as judicious and methodical when it came to his exposition on the nature of *vanitas* (an issue that Fulke did not confront in his prefix). Indeed, it seems that Stockwood was not exaggerating when he said that de Serres' was the largest and most profitable exposition in the English tongue to-date, for the present researcher has not found such a scrupulous engagement with Eccles. 1:2 in prior English writings. In his Preface, de Serres indicted the Jeromian and Bonaventuran iterations of *contemptus mundi*, the ancient doctors of the church and those 'frantike spirites' who in the past retreated from the world to the monasteries, as 'unhappy mayntainers' of a hurtful doctrine that contributed to the rise of the traditional church's iniquity, superstition, and unprofitable idleness.[122] He was in complete agreement with the Lutheran civically minded reading of Solomon's momentous theme: Eccles. 1:2 simply gave humanity the proper background mindset for the 'well framing of the life of man' within, not without, the real world's 'mariages, governementes, necessarye laboures in the Churche, in the common wealth, and in our families at home, and suche other thinges, whiche appertaine unto the maintaynaunce of this life'.[123] He then offered that the severity of the language of Ecclesiastes, and of *vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas* in particular, was simply good pastoral rhetoric. Being the product of a preacher, the book was a sermon after all, one that applied 'great garnishment of figures' to get Solomon's points across and to make them stick. Ergo, when the scripture said *omnia vanitas* it was repetition and the use of substantives instead of adjectives 'for the more forcible and earnest' expressing of the matter; therefore, *vanitas* was not to be understood as 'all things created simplie in themselves, but such things as are belonging unto man' such as 'counsailles, affaires, all actions which are

[120] Stockwood, *Learned Commentarie*, sigs ¶ii^{v} - ¶iij^{v} (brackets added).
[121] ibid., sigs ¶[iv]^{r} - ¶[vi]^{v}.
[122] ibid., sigs ¶¶iiij^{r} - ¶¶iiij^{v}.
[123] ibid.

usuall in this life'. Not all things from the hands of God are vanity, only all things from the hands of man are vanity, 'therfore I do not hold with them the which do suppose that Solomon speaketh generally of all things [as vanity]'.[124] De Serres' anti-Bonaventurism was matched by his orthodox Calvinism: because of humanity's utter corruption and perverseness, 'if man and vanitie (saith he) be put in a ballance, men shalbe founde lighter even than vanitie it selfe'.[125] To de Serres, the Preacher's phrase *vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas* was phraseology, an affective rhetorical exaggeration meant to drill into the human mind that humanity lacked the capacity to provide itself the greater good and true happiness.

It was in his exposure of Solomon as Hebraist and rhetorician that Jean de Serres was at his most thought-provoking and, it is argued here, at his most effective, original, and influential. Throughout the *Learned Commentarie* he analyzed Solomon's oratorical technique, parsing out the rhetorical figures and the variability of the text, as well as the roots of key Hebrew terms, to the end of explaining to the reader just exactly where and why Ecclesiastes does not truly say exactly what it appears to state. 'The Preacher' from the Latin and Greek was exposed as the Hebrew *koheleth*, and since that Hebrew word was in the feminine gender, Solomon's words were to be taken not as those of an ordained sort of preacher but as those of a 'Preaching soule…whereby the great earnestness of the preacher is more expressly signified', and of one who avoided monastic, scholastic speculation and worked for the 'common profit of the Church'.[126] In discussing the transition from the third to the fourth chapter ('So I turned and considered all the oppressions that are wrought under the sunne…' Eccles. 4:1 (GB)), de Serres shed light on the rhetorical figures of *Anadiplosis* - repetition of a final word in a phrase at the beginning of the next phrase, 'by a fyne dubling' - and *Aposiopesis* - a sudden breaking off of speech, 'keeping backe of some words' - to argue that Solomon was amplifying the rightness of godly (read Reformed Protestant) temporal judgments and the wrongness of ungodly (read Catholic) temporal judgments.[127] The rhetorical figure of *Metonymia* - expansive metaphor that includes two or more things at once – explained the term 'oppression' in Eccles. 7:7 (GB) ('Surely oppression maketh a wise man mad…'), to encompass ill-gotten gains realized by either violence or ungodliness (such as, whoring).[128] But, de Serres hastened to add, it was only the rhetorical figure of *Hyperbole* at play in Eccles. 7:28 (GB) ('And yet my soul seeketh, but I finde it not: I have found one man of a thousand:

[124] ibid., sigs Av^{r} – Av^{v} (brackets added).
[125] ibid., sig. A[vi]^{v}. NB: This paraphrased Psalms 62:9.
[126] ibid., sigs Aij^{r} – Aiij^{r}.
[127] ibid., sigs Miiij^{r} – M[vi]^{r}.
[128] ibid., sig. Xiiij^{r}.

but a woman among them all have I not founde'), that its poetic exaggerations did not 'simply in itself condemne the nature of women'.[129] Ultimately, said de Serres, 'the wordes with an exquisite and great garnishing of figures, are more diligently to bee examined'.[130] For de Serres, Solomon was not only wise, a figure of Christ and a pneumatologically superintended author, not to be presumed a reprobate, etc., but he was also an effective homilist, one whose rhetorical devices, once unpacked, both revealed the intentions of the Holy Spirit and could be adopted or emulated by reformed ministers, for they just were the same rhetorical devices that divines had learned at the universities. In that sense, de Serres and Stockwood were saying that Ecclesiastes was no less receivable than any other sermon, a matter for full congregational engagement with that scripture *qua* godly sermon (as Henry Smith might have said, through exercising 'the arte of hearing' to 'take heede how you heare' Ecclesiastes).[131]

Unlike the other works curated for the present chapter, Jean de Serres' reading of Ecclesiastes was that not all therein is or must be what it seems; his reading was not merely a literalistic expounding and expanding upon the text, but rather it was a critical engagement that uprooted and replanted the text's method, sense, and use, just as John Stockwood had said was necessary for the times. And indeed, the late 1580s had necessities. They were decision making times for English divines, whether as pertaining to politico-ecclesiological matters or as pertaining to their practical divinity and their transmission of the scriptures to their cures. The first generation of Elizabethan bishops started to die off in the 1580s, and the next generation of bishops had advanced in the ecclesiastical environment of the 1570s and 1580s that was signified by the Admonition Controversy. Whitgift's reply to *An Admonition to the Parliament* (1572) had urged that the puritans were subversive; he was answered by puritan leader Thomas Cartwright; and numerous acrimonious replies and counterreplies followed. A calm maintained after Cartwright's *The Rest of the Seconde Replie* (1577), but the debate rose again in new rounds later in the 1580s. Those exchanges were led on the puritan side by Walter Travers, "Martin Marprelate", and intellectual mentors such as Lawrence Chaderton and William Fulke. By then, however, the first generation of bishops were regularly being replaced by conformists led by Whitgift, and thereupon ever stronger notions of the divine law origins of monarchy and the episcopacy were being voiced in pulpits and in print.[132]

[129] ibid., sig. Zii^{r}.
[130] ibid., sig. Aaiiij^{v}.
[131] Smith, *The Sermons*, pp. 625-27.
[132] John Guy, 'The Elizabethan Establishment and the Ecclesiastical Polity', in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. by John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 126-49.

So surely for the more "precise" members of the English readership, the *Learned Commentarie* tolling the bells for unjust temporal and ecclesiastical authorities must have rung especially sweetly. De Serres found that as a whole Eccles. 10 was a chapter that did 'excel with a notable garnishing of Figures', which again needed to be teased out through interpretation, and this included the right and godly reading that undermined the Tudor regime's favorite proverb, Eccles. 10:20.[133] To de Serres that verse's admonishment to never curse one's rulers, even in private thoughts and private chambers, was actually a well-considered, Solomonic exercise in *Hyperbole*. To that extent he agreed with Tremellius & Junius, whose interpretation was that the verse exaggerated in order to emphasize that the murmurings of the disgruntled rarely escape the ears of kings, nobles, the rich, etc., simply because of the extent of their worldly resources.[134] De Serres went a step or two further: the verse served to affirm the wisdom of one's remaining cagey when one lives 'in troublesome and disordered kingdomes'. For whilst it was 'lawfull for the servants of God to reprove princes, if their calling so require', on the other hand, it was also a virtue to 'lay thine hand upon thy mouth in the confusions' of kingdoms and, 'diligently notinge the circumstances of things', to keep oneself circumspect and hold a 'trustie or faithful silence [that it] hath a safe and sure rewarde'.[135] A more sublime eversion of the authoritarian messaging of *The Books of Homilies* can scarcely be imagined, and with such thinking on their bookshelves, perhaps the more perceptive of England's puritan divines, such as George Gifford and Henry Smith, saw that if the door was not opened, at least the light shined through the keyhole.[136]

Conclusion

The present chapter has attempted to acknowledge the immensity of early modern expression that may have been influenced by Ecclesiastes and to suggest answers to what Jonathan Roberts said is the first practical question in reception history, of '*whose* responses [do the historian] deem to be of *importance*?' It has been argued that considering the ubiquity of their reading and hearing from the 1540s onward, the aphoristic, microgenre deployments of Ecclesiastes in *The Books of Homilies* were the most important engagements with the scripture in Tudor England before *c.*1590. In the *Homilies* as elsewhere (e.g. the sermons of the

[133] Stockwood, *Learned Commentarie*, sig. Ccj^{v}.
[134] *Tertium documentum ut supra diximus. Ratio hyperbolica, pro eo quod est, principes & potentiores sunt auritissimi: vix quicquam fit aut dicitur, quod ipsorum cognitionem fugiat* ('As above, this is hyperbole; simply, that princes and the powerful have the most resources and so hardly anything escapes their finding out'). Tremellius and Junius, *Testamenti Veteris*, p. 238.
[135] Stockwood, *Learned Commentarie*, sig. Cc[vii]^{r} - Cc[vii]^{v} (brackets added).
[136] My metaphor, the referent being Song of Songs 5:4.

Chichester bishops), what Walter Benjamin called the *noli me tangere* of Ecclesiastes' proverbs was leveraged to buttress the authority of the Church and the Crown, and the scripture's author was still the Solomon of 1 Kings and 1 Chronicles, a figure of awe, alarm, and ambivalence. The inherited Jeromian and Bonaventuran readings of Ecclesiastes' *contemptus mundi* dominated the period and were ever more apparent where their aphoristic applications were rendered for spiritual consolation and to wag doomed fingers at the king (e.g. as in the writings of Sir Thomas More). And prior to the 1580s, there were no significant hints of what Endel Kallas, Eric Christianson, Robert Rosin, Katherine Dell, and other scholars have identified as the Lutheran, civically minded take on *vanitas*. It was the Calvinization of the book via the Calvinization of Solomon, most effectively executed by John Stockwood's 1585 translation of Jean de Serres' *Learned Commentarie*, that would set the path for George Gifford's and Henry Smith's innovative sermons on the scripture *c.*1590.

†

‘Of Sloth

The sleepie minde doth tyme forget: and youth to toyes do most desire:
So tyme once paste is hard to [fetch]: [too] late in age learning to require’

The signification

‘HE which sitteth sleeping signifieth slothfulnes amongest teachers, whose desire being satisfied, careth not for the charge: the children idlenes, whose mindes without a care full tutor, are bent to nothyng but ease and vanities’.

Stephen Batman, *A Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation*, 1569.
Courtesy Early English Books Online

Figure 1

JULY *HATH XXXI. DAYES.*

				Psalms	MORNING PRAYER		EVENING PRAYER	
					1 Lesson	*2 Lesson*	*1 Lesson*	*2 Lesson*
19	g	*Kalend.*		1	Job 35	Luk. 13	Job 36	Philip. 1
8	A	6 No		2	37	14	38	2
	b	5 No.		3	39	15	40	3
16	c	4 No.		4	41	16	42	4
5	d	3 No.	*Term ende.*	5	Prover. 1	17	Prov. 2	Collos. 1
	e	Prid. No.	Dog daies	6	3	18	4	2
13	f	*Nonas.*		7	5	19	6	3
2	g	8 Id.		8	7	20	8	4
	A	7 Id.		9	9	21	10	1 Thessa.1
10	b	6 Id.		10	11	22	12	2
	c	5 Id.		11	13	23	14	3
18	d	4 Id.		12	15	24	16	4
7	e	3 Id.	*Sol in Leo*	13	17	Jhon 1	18	5
	f	Prid. Id.		14	19	2	20	2 Thess. 1
15	g	*Idus.*	Augusti.	15	21	3	22	2
4	A	17 kl.		16	23	4	24	3
	b	16 kl.		17	25	5	26	1 Timo. 1
12	c	15 kl.		18	27	6	28	2, 3
1	d	14 kl.		19	29	7	30	4
	e	13 kl.		20	31	8	Eccle. 1	5
9	f	12 kl.		21	Eccles. 2	9	3	6
	g	11 kl.	*James Ap.*	22	4	10	5	2 Tim. 1
17	A	10 kl.		23	6	11	7	2
6	b	9 kl.		24	8	12	9	3
	c	8 kl.		25	10	13	11	4
14	d	7 kl.		26	12	14	Jere. 1	Titus. 1
3	e	6 kl.		27	Jerem. 2	15	3	2, 3
	f	5 kl.		28	4	16	5	Philem. 1
11	g	4 kl.		29	6	17	7	Hebreo. 1
	A	3 kl.		30	8	18	9	2
14	b	*Prid.* kl.		30	10	19	11	3

July, in 'The Table and Kalendar Expressynge Ordre
of the Psalmes and Lessons', *The Book of Common Prayer*, 1552.
Courtesy Charles Wohlers & www.justus.anglican.org

Figure 2

'Blessed Art Thou O Lande, When Thy King Is The Sonne Of Nobles: Eccles. 10.17'

Thomas Rogers, Frontispiece, *Of the Imitation of Christ*, 1580.
Courtesy Early English Books Online

Figure 3

Chapter 2

Henry "Silver-tongued" Smith: Devotional Godly Mimesis and 'Salomons Theame', Part 1

When Salomon beheld such pluralitie, and Totquot of Vanities,
like Surges comming one uppon another in pleates and in foldes,
he spake as though he would shewe us Vanity hatching vanities.

Henry Smith, *The Triall of Vanitie*, *c.*1590

The present chapter (or Part 1) and Chapter 3 (or Part 2) discuss several sermons and prayers by Henry Smith, lecturer at St Clement Danes, London printed first in the early 1590s: the parochial sermons *The Triall of Vanitie* and *The Young-mans Taske*, his Paul's Cross sermon *The Trumpet of the Soule*, and select scripted prayers.[1] This body of work marks one of the main pivot points in the reception of Ecclesiastes in early modern England, wherein both the scripture and its author were re-thought, re-imagined, and enlarged well beyond the clipped engagements of the *Book of Common Prayer*, *The Books of Homilies*, and other pieces that were discussed in Chapter 1. Considering their print histories, the selections curated and discussed here were among the most widely received engagements with Ecclesiastes that were generated in England before *c.*1650, and therefore it is no stretch to state that they were among the most important English engagements that emerged after *c.*1590.

The fact of Smith's popularity reflects in early modernist historiography, which to date has focused on his rhetorical style and effectiveness as a pew-filler, on his place in the history of print, and, more substantively, on his thoughts concerning the soteriological concept of 'the arte of hearing' (that the preached and heard Word, not rote readings e.g. from the *BCP* and the *Homilies*, was what transmitted saving faith). The nuances of Smith's politico-ecclesiological views have garnered less attention, and his possible impacts as theological innovator have largely been passed over. Furthermore, for the most part neither have Smith's works been adequately featured in the bibliographies and diachronic reception histories on Ecclesiastes. As to some, such as Stuart Week's bibliography, Smith's engagements have not gained the merest mention (Table 1, Row 27). Oddly so, for the three sermons discussed here are among the few which were printed in England during the Elizabethan period that concentrated on the 'momentous themes' of the scripture. Again, it is hoped that the items

[1] The three sermons' base texts/verses were Eccles. 1:2 & 12:13 (*The Trial of Vanitie* and *The Young-mans Taske*), and Eccles. 11:9 and 12:1 (*The Trumpet of the Soule*).

discussed in these chapters are taken as modest but meaningful correctives to otherwise seminal bibliographies and rich histories on the reception of Ecclesiastes.

The chapters' titling, 'Devotional Godly Mimesis and 'Salomons Theame'', is intended to embody three important aspects of Henry Smith's engagements with Ecclesiastes. Part 1 discusses the roles that Ecclesiastes played in Smith's practical divinity, especially as it related to devotional practice, and more specifically on how he connected the awareness of *vanitas* to repentance and prayer. Part 2 centers on how Smith used Ecclesiastes to parallel the English godly community of current reality with the timeless godly community of faith and the imagination, undoubtedly in the interest of fortifying the puritans as they continued to face politico-ecclesiastical hostility; it also highlights Smith's mimetic accentuations of the scripture, which is to say, it focuses on how he used his rhetorical skills to liven up Ecclesiastes and to accommodate the text's theme of *vanitas* to the lives within his flock (perhaps living and posthumous, as he knew he was quite ill and passed soon after editing his works). His sermons were as eventful as the *Homilies* were uneventful. The structure takes its inspiration from Walter Davis's description of Smith's style as 'intense liturgical mimesis' (see Background below); it has been rephrased and conceptually reoriented, to 'devotional godly mimesis and Salomons Theame'. As in the preceding Chapter 1, Part 1 and Part 2 will consider Smith's works as potential reactions over and against the Jeromian and Bonaventuran interpretive inheritances, and over and against the Lutheran interpretive strand. The chapters will also consider whether Smith's conception of Eccles. 1:2 seems to match with the "*Contemptus mundi*", "Renaissance *vanitas*", or "Anti-*Contemptus mundi*" periodization of *vanitas* readings that have been proposed by Eric Christianson.

Background

Students of the English Reformation and of the Elizabethan Church should be familiar (more or less) with Henry Smith, but a few prefatory words on his upbringing, education, career, and historiography are in order.

The son of well-off Leicestershire parents, having finished his MA at Oxford in 1583 the young Master Smith went to Essex to study under Richard Greenham, and there he became 'infused' with his teacher's ecclesiastical outlook of 'not thorowly affected to the Orders of the Church established'. In 1587, he put in for the lecturer's post at St Clement Danes. Lord Burghley, the most prominent resident of the parish, solicited Greenham for a

reference; it was to Cecil's satisfaction, and Smith was elected by the congregation and confirmed by the parish's rector, William Harward (a pluralist who was also the vicar of the parish at Cowfold, Sussex). Within a year Bishop Aylmer had accused Smith of unlicensed preaching, of speaking out against the *Book of Common Prayer*, and of failing to subscribe to the *Thirty-nine Articles*. We are indebted to John Strype's *Life and Acts of John Aylmer* for further details on Smith's responses to Aylmer's three counts, in which he also summarized the process that brought about his posting at St Clements: having been recommended by certain godly preachers, who had heard his preaching at other places in London (including at Paul's Cross – *The Trumpet of the Soule* - which had been by Aylmer's invitation), he was 'entertained with a Stipend by Voluntary Contribution'. There is little doubt that thereafter Smith benefited from the ongoing support of Lord Burghley (who was brother to Smith's stepmother), for in the end Smith never obtained Aylmer's license, 'yet he seemed to have given some Satisfaction to the Bishop for his Continuance in his Place till the year 1589'.[2]

By the time of Harward's death in 1589, the church wardens and the 'divers of the Parish' had twice petitioned Lord Burghley to back Smith for his succession to the benefice. Strype quotes the second petition, which expressed the congregation's desire to retain Smith over other candidates, 'That (if this might be obtained), then Mr. Smith's Living should be ascertained (which was but precarious before) and they eased of his Stipend (and so a Charge taken from them) and their Desires satisfied in enjoying him as their Parson'. Which was to say, that the parishioners were so pleased with his lectures, and 'his Preaching, Living and sound Doctrine had done more good among them, than any other that had gone before', that they wanted to continue supporting and funding Smith's ministry via the permanent benefice. Ultimately, Smith failed to succeed Harward - Richard Webster (a pluralist who was also the vicar of the parish at Madingley, Cambridgeshire) served as rector of St Clements from 1589 to 1602 - and Strype speculates that the petitions did not prevail with Lord Burghley. This is certainly plausible, but it may have been that Smith's health was a concern, and indeed it may have been that Smith himself declined the benefice due to his frailty. In any case, he clearly was popular with the congregation, and it was by the independent desire of the flock, who funded by 'Voluntary Contribution' the 'precarious' situation's stipend, that he preached as a lecturer at St Clements for the (short) remainder of his life.[3]

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[2] John Strype, *Historical Collections of the Life and Acts…John Aylmer, Lord Bishop of London* (London, 1701), pp. 152-57.

[3] ibid. As to the backgrounds of William Harward and Richard Webster, see entries at the *Cambridge Alumni Database*, http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk.

Otherwise, most of what we know of Henry Smith comes forth from his published works, and from what contemporaries said of his fame and 'silver tongued' style. Most of his writings were printed posthumously, and the *ODNB* asserts that it was only 'Because sickness hath restrained me from preaching' that Smith found himself in 1589 taking up the pen to edit and revise his sermons and sundry other writings.[4]

Henry Smith's career has been a matter of interest to early modernists and reception historians since Strype wrote of it in the eighteenth century. Eric Christianson discussed a few lines from *The Triall of Vanitie* that spoke to the nature of *vanitas*, and suggested that they are indicative of Smith as an anti-Bonaventuran on Eccles 1:2 in that he believed the Fall caused things humane to be vanity, but that the other entities of temporal reality are not 'vaine of themselves'.[5] Horton Davies is one of the few contemporary historians (it may be a group of one) who have questioned Smith's pedigree as a puritan,[6] and the assessments of historians such as J. W. Blench, Paul S. Seaver, Patrick Collinson, and Alexandra Walsham,[7] and more recently Arnold Hunt,[8] have located Smith squarely within the puritan camp. Moreover, Dr. Hunt's highly regarded study of preaching took its title from Smith's sermon *The Arte of Hearing*, and, building upon work by Debora Shuger,[9] Hunt showed that Smith's work typified puritan-style homiletics as being concerned with totality of oral and aural experience - the 'stirring up godly emotions' was as vital to puritan divines and congregants as the plainness, directness, and accuracy of the information offered in the sermons.[10] Given his 'silver tongued' fame, Smith was one of the ablest preachers in an able age of preaching.

Several historians have delved deeper into Smith's rhetorical skills and proverbiality, his capacity to stir the godly emotions, and his ability to tap into the late Elizabethan popular mind. John Lievsay opened his article on Smith with a paraphrase of Ecclesiastes, that 'many a student of Elizabethan letters can attest the weariness of the flesh attendant upon the study of that particular variety [printed sermons] of the making of books', but in his expressive

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[4] Gary W. Jenkins, 'Smith, Henry (c.1560–1591)', *ODNB*.
[5] Christianson, *Centuries*, pp. 108-9, p. 110. See Smith, *The Sermons*, pp. 827-28.
[6] A 'metaphysical preacher of supposedly Puritan inclinations …'. Horton Davies, *Like Angels from a Cloud: The English Metaphysical Preachers, 1588-1645* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1986), p. 12.
[7] J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons 1450-c.1600* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964); Seaver, *Puritan Lectureships*, *supra*; Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[8] Hunt, *Hearing*, *supra*.
[9] Debora Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1997).
[10] Hunt, *Hearing*, p. 82-3.

conclusion stated that, 'so the lucid sermon unrolls; so all Smith's sermons run in un-impeded, charming directness. Is it any wonder that even so hard-bitten a sinner as Thomas Nashe should see in the death of "such a plausible pulpit man" occasion for "the general tears of the muses"?'[11] No doubt Morris Palmer Tilley would agree, as his curation of early modern English proverbs, which consulted *inter alia* printings of Smith from 1594 and 1675, evidences the preacher's fluency in the popular lexicon of the times.[12] As would Ceri Sullivan, who has unearthed evocative proverbial connections between Smith and Shakespeare.[13] As would the Shakespeare scholar Barry R. Clarke, who proposed that certain of Smith's (as well as George Gifford's) remarks on Solomon seem to have indirectly manifested influences within three of Shakespeare's plays.[14] And finally, as would Walter Davis, whose reading of Smith argued for the preacher's complete empathy with his hearers, set within the bounds of the puritan service, whereby the sermon became 'an enactment of meaning and narrative structure as a means of binding human words to the plan of the universe',[15] in what Davis described as 'an intense liturgical mimesis'.[16]

To further paraphrase from Dr. Davis, in Smith's preaching of Ecclesiastes we shall see the scripture re-thought, re-imagined, and enlarged as *mythos* more than *logos*,[17] as experiences rather than rote, uneventful recapitulations, i.e. in *The Books of Homilies'* applications of Eccles. 10:20, as homiletical events of the imagination that the recipients might connect with and join in the proverbial continuum of the scripture as active participants. And as early modernists are well-aware, the puritan divines held that those who hoped for the grace of saving faith through hearing of the Word were to be earnest in repentance, much in prayer, and ever mindful of Providence; Smith urged that they should also live in remembrance of the vanity of all things after the Fall, both individually and communally.

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[11] John Lievsay, '"Silver-Tongued Smith," Paragon of Elizabethan Preachers', in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 11 (1947), 13-36, p. 13; p. 36.
[12] Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of The Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), p. 797.
[13] Ceri Sullivan, ''Drunken Porters Keepe Open Gates': *Macbeth* and Henry Smith', in *Notes and Queries*, 63.3 (2016), 432-432, p. 432.
[14] Barry R. Clarke, 'A Linguistic Analysis of Francis Bacon's Contribution to Three Shakespeare Plays: *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *The Tempest*' (PhD thesis, Brunel University, 2014), p. 78n.400; idem, *Francis Bacon's Contribution to Shakespeare: A New Attribution Method* (Routledge, Online Resource, 2019).
[15] Walter Davis, 'Henry Smith: The Preacher as Poet', in *English Literary Renaissance*, 12.1 (1982), 30-52, p. 32.
[16] ibid., p. 36. The classic study of literary verisimilitude is by Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, Willard Trask (trans.) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953). See also, Yossi Gamzu, 'Two Basic Types of Mimesis in Ancient Literature and Their Projections on Two Modern Poems', in *Hebrew Abstracts*, 16 (1975), 24-40.
[17] Davis, 'Preacher as Poet', p. 45.

Vanitas & Smith's Devotional Perspective

As to Henry Smith's interpretation of Eccles. 1:2, the present researcher must differ from Dr. Christianson, who focused on some lines from *The Triall of Vanitie* to suggest that they indicate in Smith an anti-Bonaventuran (or one might say, more of a Jeromian) stance on *vanitas*. As indicated above, Dr. Christianson read *The Triall of Vanitie* as arguing that the Fall caused things humane (i.e. human works, human social constructs such as governments, etc.) to be vanity, but that the other entities of temporal reality are 'not vaine of themselves'. Indeed, Smith's general slants on *vanitas* did lean on humanity (most bitterly on the Romish monks and hermits) and away from the rest of creation and its creatures.[18] But *pace* Dr. Christianson, to the present researcher Smith reads as even more nuanced – or to be fair, as much less clearly – than his Lutheran and Reformed precursors. The present researcher would look to the following excerpts from *The Triall of Vanitie* for more insight if not for comprehensive, scholastic clarity.

> This is the state of all things after the fall, all turne to Vanitie. This is no reproch to the things, but shame to him which so abused them, that all things should be called Vanitie for him.
>
> That is not Salomons meaning to debarre men from the use of creatures: although all things changed with man, & became worse than they were: yet he doth here rather shewe, that man reapes nothing but Vanity out of these things, by reason of his corruption, than that the things themselves are vaine, *if they were well used*.
>
> That everie creature of God is good, and nothing is to be rejected, *if it be received, or used with thankesgiving, for it is sanctified by the worde of God and prayer*.[19]

In other words, it seems that for Smith it was only use with thanksgiving that could counter humanity's predisposition to render otherwise good things bad and otherwise meaningful things meaningless; it was the subjective human mindset that mattered, and mindless, unappreciative living and usage rendered things vanity whereas mindful, appreciative living and usage rendered them good. An analogy would be the "measurement problem" in quantum mechanics: as the human measurement does something to determine the function of the quantum system measured, so the gratitude felt toward its use does something to determine the vanity of the thing used. Simply, the 'if' is the heftiest in the foregoing. On the other hand, for Smith *vanitas* was a pastoral not an academic matter, and again, he likely had

[18] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 828.
[19] ibid., pp. 826-27 (emphasis added).

not worked out and laid down his complete, theoretical understanding of Eccles. 1:2 in *The Triall of Vanitie*, or in any of his other printed sermons. But it is fair to observe that the foregoing excerpts are at least matched by the totality of the preacher's exhortations, for Smith certainly spent much time, energy, and ink, across this and two other sermons (*The Young-mans Taske* and *The Trumpet of the Soule*) speaking to the vanity of virtually everything in the Creation in contrast to the sanctity of everything that was above and beyond the Creation. It seems fairest to suggest that Smith may be read to have made *vanitas* more of a universal default state, that Eccles 1:2 declared the vanity of things to be utterly inchoate - 'if' - and that their ultimate natures, as valueless or valuable, are contingent upon their abuse or lawful use, from person to person and from time to time.

This reading of *The Triall of Vanitie* certainly would place Henry Smith in the "Anti-*contemptus mundi*" tradition per Christianson's categories,[20] but clarified as being of a sort that still shared a perspective with the Bonaventuran tradition (*vanitas in universo*, all things, at least inchoately, are vanity), and specifically in having at least a strand in common with the viewpoint of the twelfth century exegete Hugh of St Victor (who was a great influence on Bonaventure). As summarized in the present thesis' Introduction, the Victorine reading of Eccles. 1:2 disclosed a tripartite providential scheme, the *vanitas triplex*, which included the *vanitas culpae* that deals with matters concerning human responsibility.[21] Concisely, the *vanitas culpae* understood Eccles. 1:2 to declare that humanity is made subject to fault,[22] but nevertheless, what lives in the flesh is worthless, but what lives in God is not worthless, it comes from truth and is true.[23] As per the foregoing excerpts, Henry Smith certainly seems to have allowed for living in truth viz. living mindfully of Providence and being thankful for God's gifts; along with the Word, it is thanksgiving and prayer which 'if' practiced aright can transform the vain into the valuable, or sufficiently not-worthless, as to be lawful or 'well used'. So comparatively, Smith reads as much more nuanced on Eccles. 1:2 than does his solidly Bonaventuran mentor, Richard Greenham, who asserted in his brief commentary (printed posthumously 1612) that 'Salomon, returning into the favour of God, *condemneth all external things to be* but vanitie'.[24] Yet again, on the other hand, the present researcher also reads Henry Smith as one of the most practical of the practical predestinarians, and to have

[20] Christianson, *Centuries*, p. 140.
[21] Kallas, *Traditum et Fides*, pp. 119-20. NB: Again, the other species under the Victorine genus are *vanitas mutabilitatis* (the changeability of all things), and *vanitas poenalitatis* (death and entropy and related themes).
[22] ibid. p. 248.
[23] Eliason, 'Vanitas Vanitatum', p. 53.
[24] Richard Greenham, *The workes of the reverend and faithfull servant of Iesus Christ M. Richard Greenham* (London, 1612), p. 628 (emphasis added).

been less concerned with theological technicalities – what we would call as Jeromian *versus* Bonaventuran *vanitas*, or infralapsarian *versus* supralapsarian election, etc. – than with theological fundamentals – the basics of being anti-Rome, of being anti-adiaphora, and the basics of the *ordo salutis* – and that hyper-technicalities mattered little in his practical divinity. Thus, his lack of clarity betokens that the salvation of his parishioners was what mattered most in his ministry; that the preached Word, which shepherded the flock to saving repentance and faith in Christ, did not need to be crystally, scholastically clear in expounding a complete theory of *vanitas* to his flock.

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What mattered most to Henry Smith (like his contemporary George Gifford) was that his auditors and readers were taught *vanitas* sufficiently and connectively; that they received what they needed to be aware of, and what they needed to do about it, in ways that were both understandable and stirring of the godly emotions; that their stirred godly emotions would keep them coming to their curate's sermons and lectures, and keep them away from the old, traditional comforts of the popish church and "the common man's Pelagianism". The present researcher would submit that the 'Totquot' passage, which provides the epigraph for the present chapter, is as good as any snippet from *The Triall of Vanitie* (or for that matter, from the other two sermons noted above) to evidence this overall agenda.

> When Salomon beheld such pluralitie, and Totquot of Vanities, like Surges comming one upon another in pleates and in foldes, he spake as though he would shewe us Vanity hatching vanities.[25]

The foregoing passage evoked both a theological and a historical landscape, in which Smith applied metonym and mimesis to depict what he supposed to be the correct mindset that the saints should have toward the world and toward God. The passage also carried strong implications for the qualities of a proper relationship between the faithful and their minister, and the qualities of a proper relationship between their minister and the temporal authorities. And withal Smith claimed that Solomon wanted the saints to grasp the main qualitative constituent of *vanitas*: human corruption and the human tendency to accrete and proliferate the vanities that serve to distract them from mindfulness of Providence.

[25] NB: In the 1593 edition of *The Triall of Vanitie*, consulted here, Smith's term is printed with capital first letter and as one word, thus it reads rather like a neologism. Smith, *The Sermons*, pp. 833-4. In other editions e.g. the 1591 printing, it is in the proper Latin, *tot quot*.

Smith first illustrated the accretive quality of humanity's vanities with the metaphorical phrase that depicted Solomon beholding 'such pluralitie, and Totquot of Vanities'. The term 'pluralitie' was a direct reference to pluralism - the holding of benefices in more than one parish - which was a burr under the saddle of the typical Elizabethan puritan minister, who regarded the praxis as a popish holdover that only resulted in absenteeism, pastoral negligence, and further corruption. The term 'Totquot' was a metonymic reference to the dispensation *tot quot*, which both the Catholic church and the English church issued in individual cases in order to authorize one's holding of multiple parochial benefices.[26] Smith's pairing of those terms is an example of a fairly common Reformation trope, levelled by writers well into the seventeenth century, that made pluralism an easy rhetorical referent in sarcasm and politico-ecclesiastical critique.[27] Richard Curteys, for example, had used the term in his sermon of *March 1573* (see present thesis Chapter 1), against 'the Romish Pharao, which did not only keep it [the English Church] under with burdens of…Totquots…and Peterpence and such like'.[28] Another Elizabethan example is Robert Crowley's rhyme printed in 1569, that had seen greedy clerics as united with the Devil, 'They are the chiefe / Of missebeliefe / From Satan to us sent / An union, Of two makes one / But a pluralitie: / With a *tot quot* / Full wel ye wot / Bringeth them to high degree'.[29] Moreover, if one free-associates *The Triall of Vanitie* as performance and event, one can quite easily imagine Henry Smith inflecting his own 'Totquot' phonetically, to hit the stop consonants "t" and "q" with *staccato* articulation, adding even more of a satirical edge to his delivery of the point he was making: that pluralism was typical of the vanities that he (and per his exegetical imagery, that Solomon) was warning the congregation and the readers about. Just as a pluralist will accrete benefices when left to his own devices, anyone else will accrete vanities when left to their own devices. Smith was teaching his congregation and readers that the check on the accretion of the vanities is godly awareness, which is to be fortified by regularly hearing the preached Word.

The simile that followed the first phrase, 'like Surges comming one uppon another in pleates and in foldes', which rounds out and refines the metonymical 'Totquot', can be read

[26] Since the thirteenth century (the Fourth Lateran Council), canon law had prohibited incumbents from holding multiple benefices, however the papal dispensation *tot quot* ('as many as' [one pleases]) could be obtained. In 1533, the Ecclesiastical Licenses Act transferred to the Archbishop of Canterbury the power to grant *tot quot* dispensations and thereby preserved pluralism in the English Church.
[27] For example, 'To some, God wot, he gave *tot quot* / And other some plurality / But first with pence he must dispense / Or else it will nought be'. K. W. Gransden (ed.), *Tudor Verse Satire* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), p. 59. See also, Heimos, 'Totquot" & Satire', *supra*.
[28] Curteys, *March 1573*, sig. $B_{[vi]}{}^{r}$ (portions omitted, brackets added).
[29] Robert Crowley, *The opening of the wo[r]des of the prophet Ioell* (London, 1569), [section] ij.

as a double entendre. It seems reasonable to read that part of the simile as referential not only to the endless coursing of waves in the sea - the 'Surges' - but also to the stylings in clerical vestments that were required by the Act of Uniformity of 1559 - the 'pleates' and 'foldes' – which was another matter of annoyance to many puritan ministers. With this language, Smith seems to have located himself squarely in the cadre who despised the surplice. He was more direct in his sermon *The True Trial of the Spirites*, having concluded it by taking up Solomon's and Paul's admonitions against such man-made 'shewe of error', that 'if wee bee not idolaters, yet we have *the shewe of idolatrie*; if we be not of Antichrists religion, yet we are of Antichrists *fashion*, so long as we have *the same vestures*, and the same orders, and the same titles that Antichrist knoweth his ministers by'.[30] So by his equation of Eccles 1:2 with English pluralism and adiaphoric vestments, matters that were both a-textual to the scripture and anachronistic to Solomon's times, Smith was simultaneously immersing his parishioners in Solomon's world and immersing Solomon in England's (yet to be perfected) Reformation. It is rather clear that this first phrase was a satirical, rapier stab at current ecclesiological issues that nagged at Smith and many in his congregation, a socially and politically charged, timely illustration of the timeless truth of Eccles. 1:2. To Smith, the totquoters walking about the country with tinkling coin purses, who donned their pleated surplices in happy conformity, only now and then showing up and then only to read off from *The Books of Homilies*, were the paradigm of *vanitas*.[31] Indeed, it is hard to avoid speculating that here he may also have had at least two, particular men in mind as living referents, namely William Harward and Richard Webster, the *tot quot* rectors of St Clement Danes referred to above (surely such a gibe would not have been lost on Lord Burghley).[32]

Thereupon Smith illustrated the proliferative quality of Eccles 1:2 with the phrases, 'like Surges comming one uppon another', and, 'Vanity hatching vanities'; in between those two phrases, Smith insisted that '[Solomon] *spake as though* [Solomon] *would shewe us*', and thereby invited the congregation to imagine Solomon himself as a preacher or gatherer of the faithful, truly in the spirit of a *koheleth*, engaged across time with Smith's congregation.[33] Here the parishioners could visualize their flanking Solomon as he showed them 'Vanity hatching

[30] Smith, *The Sermons*, pp. 320-21 (emphasis added).
[31] As an aside, although the strong connectivity of this portion of the passage to current time and place might support a critical interpretation that Smith injected himself into the Solomonic role, typological conceits were not generally in his style. And since it was not done expressly, reading one into the passage may go too far. One could compare to George Gifford, whom Peter Iver Kaufman has read as once depicting himself as a second Augustine. Kaufman, "Much in Prayer", p. 175.
[32] See *Cambridge Alumni Database*, *supra*.
[33] Smith, *The Sermons*, pp. 833-34 (emphasis added, brackets added).

vanities' before the eyes of their imaginations. In this imagery, vanity (*vanitas*) was tangible, a fluid thing, producing the waves 'like Surges comming…in pleates and in foldes' of specific items of vanities (*vanitatum*). Vanity's surges breaking on an imagined coastline, perhaps with Solomon pointing outstretched hands and fingers - preaching in the style of 'speech as gesture' - at the randomly but reliably turbulent swash and backwash.[34] But again, at the same time the swash and backwash had been drawn narratively by Smith to be suggestive of the stylings in the surplices that English ministers were required to wear under the Act of Uniformity. Therefore Solomon - with Master Smith's help, of course - was preaching in the congregation of the imagination, and his theme of *vanitas* was seamlessly woven with the issues that were of concern to Smith and his congregation of current reality in central London. Just as the unchecked pluralist's vanities will proliferate beyond his benefices, i.e. adding other adiaphora and other pointless distractions from preaching the Word, the unchecked parishioner's vanities will proliferate, e.g. the merchant will never be satisfied with his core business but evermore seeking new lines, distracting him from salvation, and so on. Again, Smith was teaching that the check on the proliferation of the vanities is godly awareness, which is to be fortified by the preached Word.

The foregoing discussion of the chapter epigraph is just an initial proffer of how Smith was not only able to connect with hearers and readers via colorful turns of phrase and familiar referents, but also that he was in the vanguard of a resurgent, puritan preaching of Ecclesiastes, previously a little-preached text in England, and that his was a thoroughly layered approach, which fully integrated the scripture to his time, place, people, and to what he thought were their spiritual needs. The first layer was the main didactic message of the scripture: the proliferation and accretion of vanities can leave one with no space in their heart, or time in their day, for truly edifying matters, such as prayer. Another layer was the programmatic refiguring of Solomon: he essentially was a preternaturally Reformed man, who was "godly" many centuries before the actual English Reformation. To borrow some phraseology from Peter Marshall, this was Smith reconstituting the earthly bonds of affinity and sociability across time.[35] And another layer was the pointed satire and theological criticism of pluralism and adiaphora that still existed within the English Church. Altogether

[34] See David F. Armstrong, William C. Stokoe, Sherman E. Wilcox, *Gesture and the Nature of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Walter Davis made a similar observation on this passage. Davis, 'Preacher as Poet', p. 37.
[35] Peter Marshall, 'The Company of Heaven: Identity and Sociability in the English Protestant Afterlife *c.*1560-1630', in *Historical Reflections*, 26.2 (2000), 311-33, p. 318.

these strands of interpretation put forth the book of Ecclesiastes as an important liturgical and devotional text, vital to the edification of the saints in the timeless "invisible church".

Smith's metonymical 'Totquot' and rich, mimetic imagery of the waves etc. displayed the lecturer's ability to create resonance between the times of Ecclesiastes and his own times. Just as the phrase 'Westminster and Washington have agreed to further talks about future sanctions' would be packed with meaning to us, so the phrase 'When Salomon beheld such pluralitie, and Totquot of Vanities' was packed with meaning to Elizabethan auditoria. Which is to say, that the epigraph passage not only reaffirms what early modernists have already known about Smith, that he had a particular rhetorical genius that tapped into the popular imagination - what Tilley referred to as the Elizabethan 'delight in exuberance' for strings of proverbs and other rhetorical devices - but that from it we glean some more coordinates for locating Smith within Elizabethan politico-ecclesiological debates, and, of course, for gauging his engagements with Ecclesiastes from the perspective of reception history.[36] The present researcher would submit that early modernists might still accurately categorize Henry Smith as "puritan" and at the same time acknowledge him as a critical apologist for the established Church, who sought the perfection of what he saw as a fundamentally better church than Rome, and whose reception and transmittal of Ecclesiastes made major contributions to that strand of English religious thought and English Protestant culture.[37] Perhaps Smith's feel for the *vanitas culpae* had an ecclesiological correspondent, that through 'remembrance' and grace the godly English ministry was in the unique position to overcome both the fallen vanity of Rome and the remaining vanities of Canterbury.

'So commeth accusing conscience after sinne…'

With Smith's conception of *vanitas* in hand, the present chapter shall focus on what he intended for the flock to actually do once they had 'conceived it'.[38]

The Triall of Vanitie, *The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule* all testify to Smith's reading Ecclesiastes as an important source-guide for godly practical divinity. Their main doctrinal themes are the doctrines of conversion and repentance, and their main claims

[36] Tilley, *Proverbs in England*, vii.
[37] The present researcher cannot go so far as to un-puritan Master Smith, as some might say of W. B. Patterson as to William Perkins. W. B. Patterson, *William Perkins and the Making of a Protestant England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
[38] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 832.

are that Solomon was elect and had been given the saving graces, he had actuated his will to accept God's graces promptly when offered, and his lived experience of *vanitas* was a distant mirror of the sanctification process. Therefore, by strong implication if not in such theologically formal terms (he seems to have trusted the auditoria's catechism), he asserted that Ecclesiastes was thoroughly soteriological and documented the *ordo salutis* flow of regeneration from conversion and repentance. Vanity awareness was what allowed one to get past the vanities of life and to get on with true, godly living. Smith's rhetorical strategy as to all the foregoing was, what the present researcher would judge, to be both un-plain yet straightforward. He used connective folk proverbs, colorful imagery, classical rhetorical tools and classical references, and, as we have seen with the 'Totquot' passage, he freely read his own times and concerns into the scripture (all of which supports Horton Davies' view of Smith as a 'metaphysical preacher' not really in the puritan 'plain style' tradition).[39] On the other side of that coin, the sermons concentrated on few, well-established Reformed themes and, by the long-winded standards of the times, as transcribed onto the printed page they are relatively brief and elegantly crafted (even the hottest of the hot Protestants appreciated economical sermons).

Accordingly, *The Triall of Vanitie*, *The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule* are more than mere disseminations of the revisions of Ecclesiastes that Tremellius & Junius, de Serres/Stockwood, and William Fulke produced for (mainly learned) reading in the 1580s. To Smith, the scripture offered Solomon as a glaring example of the *need* for sinners to ready themselves for conversion through hearing the Word, and to ground the sanctification process in frequent, repentant prayer. Likewise, because Smith and his immediate precursors read the scripture as a salvific success story, it offered the king as a persuasive example of the *power* of conversion and repentance. But again, the real, transformative genius in Smith's sermons lay in their rhetorical strategies, which breathed vitality and accessibility into the base text and into its main character, whereby Smith's congregants became more active participants in the story (as suggested earlier, in joining in the scripture's proverbial continuum). Accordingly, the three sermons consulted here sharply contrast with the passivity, ambivalence (Solomon's salvation as unsettled, up in the air), alarm (Solomon as an adulterer and idolater), and awe (Solomon as the regal recipient of divine wisdom at Gibeon), delivered in the rote, uneventful readings of the *Book of Common Prayer* and *The Books of Homilies*. Smith's sermons were events of the imagination that told the story of a man whose conversion and repentance left him

[39] Davies, *Metaphysical Preachers*, *supra*.

regenerated, prayerful, and active in the invisible and timeless community of the elect, a gatherer of the faithful in assembly and godly living (even though he never used the term *koheleth* in print, as did George Gifford).

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It is axiomatic that Reformed soteriology required the elect to be converted and regenerated *fides ex auditu*, by saving faith obtained through God's grace via the hearing of the Word, delivered by dutiful, evangelizing preachers and lecturers.[40] Godly ministers were authoritative preachers of the Word just short of the sense that was present in the apostle Paul – not in receipt of direct, divine revelation, but fortified through their education, their zeal and 'foolishnesse in preaching to save them that beleeve' (1 Cor. 1:21), and their being pedagogically 'all thinges to all men, that I might by all meanes save some' (1 Cor. 9:22).[41] Through hearing the Word the elect might undertake to hear more and more, and eventually - at a divinely appointed time – each would be regenerated by the imputation of faith by the Holy Spirit. Thus 'it was the task of the preacher to provide the link between the objective and subjective levels in protestant religion by presenting those *doctrines and examples* in the most persuasive way possible'.[42] Of course, whilst the scriptures did not provide a clipboard roll sheet for a minister to read off the identities of the elect, the scriptures were believed to have contained the outline of the *ordo salutis* and to have given the elect numerous examples of godly living. In the case of Solomon, as Tremellius & Junius had stated, the book of Ecclesiastes was *solenni hoc scripto reconciliatur haberetur cum Deo & cum Ecclesia* ('a solemn testimonial of his reconciliation with God and with the Church').[43] Thus, the more that Solomon's reconciliation story was shared, e.g. via Smith's lectures, the more the godly of St Clement Danes and elsewhere would have had occasion to internalize the experientiality of Ecclesiastes, and be persuaded of the pertinance of Solomon's observations to their personal pilgrimages on earth and to the perfection of local and national reformations.

True conversion and true repentance were virtually coterminous gifts of divine grace. The essential trigger to conversion was the minister's exhortation to repentance, which was

[40] For a digest of puritan practical theology, see Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, pp. 116-68. See also, Seaver, *Puritan Lectureships*, *supra*.
[41] John S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); Gregory Kneidel, '"Mightie Simplenesse": Protestant Pastoral Rhetoric and Spenser's "Shepheardes Calendar"', in *Studies in Philology*, 96.3 (1999), 275-312.
[42] Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, p. 155 (emphasis added).
[43] Tremellius and Junius, *Testamenti Veteris*, *supra*.

comprised of the hearer's identification of, and contrition for, their sins, and their heartfelt aspiration to avoid sinning in the future. The conversion brought about by the preached Word ended a life dominated by unsettledness, and began the godly life, the mindful, repentant puritan lifestyle – and sometimes, even a ministerial career.[44] As real events the gifts of true conversion and true repentance were ever circular, and thoroughly enigmatic. That is, Protestant thinking in this regard was rife with dissonant stories, of people having been only apparently repentant and having lost their repentance in sin; of God's offer or offers coming randomly, often expressed in terms of their being revocable at the outset (à la a sale of goods), as well. This served the minister well, for after initial conversion and initial repentance, the godly could gain confidence in their receipt of the graces only if they were more than less continuously repentant of their ongoing sins, and to be so required more hearing of the Word.[45] The present researcher would state it thusly, that the puritan penitential goal was for the godly to be ever dropping to their knees in their heads (to actually drop, of course, could have been seen as too Romish).

The preacher or lecturer could bring this about by pointing to the exemplars of conversion and repentance in scripture.[46] For example, Smith's sermon *The Pride of Nabuchadnezzar* gave his spin on the story of Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel:

> This the Prophet Daniel would signifie, *that the King lived in ease as he lived before, and pleased himselfe in vanitie still for all his warnings, and turned his time of repentance to sinne againe*. Therefore God would deferre the time no longer, but cut him downe, like the barren and fruitlesse figge tree, *to teach vs to take mercie when it is offered, and repent while wee have time and space*, and that if GOD speake unto us but once, to lay it up in our hearts for ever, not looking or expecting to be spoken to againe, because GOD is not bound to admonish or give us any warning at all.[47]

Thus, when the preacher called the saints to repentance, to some it called for contrition posthaste as a part of their conversion; to the already-converted it called for contrition posthaste as the clock never stopped ticking to the time 'when repentance is too late'.[48] Each day was its own opportunity for progression or regression, and surely, they didn't want to backslide in sin like Nebuchadnezzar, they wanted to move forward in repentance like Solomon. As Smith said in *The Trumpet of the Soule*,

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[44] Seaver, *Puritan Lectureships*, pp. 182-83.
[45] For the theory of 'reconversion' *contra* repentance and perseverance, see Cohen, *God's Caress*, *supra*.
[46] Kneidel, 'Mightie Simplenesse', *supra*.
[47] Smith, *The Sermons*, pp. 362-63 (emphasis added).
[48] Henry Smith, *The Trumpet of the Soule* (London, 1591), sig. B_2^v.

> Thou seest Salomon saith true, thine owne hart can tell that it is wicked, but it cannot amend: therefore it is high time to amend: as Nathan cometh to David after Belsebub, *so commeth accusing conscience after sinne: Me thinkes that every one should have a feeling of sinne: though this daye be like yesterday, and to morrow like to day*.[49]

Such was an invitation to imagine King Solomon as prayerful, 'Thou *seest* Salomon…' speaking to the adamance of 'accusing conscience', bent if not genuflected and plead culpable before God, not unlike the image in Thomas Roger's frontispiece referenced in the preceding chapter (Fig. 3). When *The Trumpet of the Soule*, his Paul's Cross sermon, spoke of Solomon as repentant it was intended to speak of Solomon the precant. And it is no stretch to suggest that in the contested space of St Paul's Churchyard, Smith was commenting not only on Eccles. 11:9 but also on the contrasting priorities of puritan and conformist practical divinities, as well as on what Ecclesiastes as "mirror for princes" *should* be taken to say ('be repentant, too!') as opposed to what it *had been* taken say by e.g. the Chichester bishops.

It may be that the initial pastoral approach in post-Settlement England was to center on decretal theory to help parishioners attain 'assurance' of their election (a subject that has attracted much scholarly attention),[50] but, as the years ticked off further after 1559, and especially from about 1580 onward, the focus of puritan practical divinity generally shifted. Ministers seem to have gybed with an easier wind, steering away from focusing on assurance of election as achieved from the cooler, objective application of decretal theory, toward the 'comfort' as achieved from the warmer, subjective situation of the individual in repentance and devotional regimen.[51] Pastoral care in the 1590s increasingly concentrated on divines discussing their parishioners' impulses toward true belief, those great and small desires, thoughts, and penitential acts that could be interpreted as signs of election, and it was thereby that the capacity to pray when 'commeth accusing conscience after sinne' became a comfort in itself.[52] Peter Kaufman has argued that ongoing pastoral and parishioner wrangling with decretal theology, and the need to replace the lost assurances of the Catholic penitential system, left the puritans little choice but to be 'much in prayer' and self-examination, and that this manifested *inter alia* in differing theories of therapeutic, inward searching and prayer (reminiscent of notions offered by Charles Lloyd Cohen in *God's Caress*, his groundbreaking study of puritan psychology).[53] Although Prof. Seaver's monograph on the Elizabethan

[49] ibid., sig. $A_{[8]}{}^{v}$ (emphasis added).
[50] For a digest of decretal theology practically applied, see Dixon, *Predestinarians*, *supra*.
[51] Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, p. 156. See also, Winship, 'Weak Christians', p. 472.
[52] Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, p. 157.
[53] Kaufman, "Much in Prayer", *supra*.

puritan lectureships did not tackle issues of prayer and introspection, the present researcher is not out on a limb in presuming that the more the godly shared prayers, and spoke of their struggles with praying rightly, the deeper went their interpersonal connections and the more sublimated became what Seaver called the godly 'commonwealth in miniature' in which they lived their daily lives.[54] As Smith said, 'Me thinkes that *every one* should have a feeling of sinne' every day, yesterday and tomorrow.

Prayer was the mechanism, the *sine qua non* of repentance, as Alec Ryrie has pointed out; though the leading lights in English Protestantism reveled in their theological dissections of prayer (Christianity in general being an 'incorrigibly intellectual religion'), the fact was that 'even the most austere Protestants knew that there was one prayer a sinner could *and must* make which would certainly be heard: a prayer of heartfelt repentance'.[55] But that sort of prayer did not have to be performed alone and in an unlit corner or a dark grove of trees.[56] Indeed, there was a strong public performance, "see and be seen" ethos generally at work in Elizabethan religious culture, and this pertained as much to repentant prayer as it did, e.g. to regular attendance at lectures. A recent essay by Erica Longfellow examined this in depth, and found that the English cultural suspicion of secrecy and solitude, when combined with a Reformed fear of superstition and ostentatious private devotion, resulted in many reformers thinking that the general assent of communal prayer was more powerful and significant than prayers that were made alone.[57] And to return to Prof. Kaufman, his work has emphasized the performative and feedback-looped aspects of puritanism, of ongoing inward searches that produced outward prayerful repentance, and outward prayerful repentance which produced ongoing inward searches.[58] To the godly living in their parish 'miniature commonwealth', penitential sorrow was a thing for their compatriots' eyes to see, evaluate, and nurture, as well as for the individual to search for and to feel in their own heart. Not actually dropping to their knees (again, potentially Romish), but ever dropping to their knees in their heads… and often talking about such thoughts, too.

Howsoever it was that they viewed conversion and repentance from the technical, doctrinal perspective, together the modes of internally and visibly performed prayers of

[54] Seaver, *Puritan Lectureships*, pp. 9-10; pp. 23-24; pp. 33-34.
[55] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 1; p. 107 (emphasis added).
[56] On the various categories of and theories on prayer, see Ian Green, 'Varieties of Domestic Devotion in Early Modern English Protestantism', in *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Jessica Martin & Alec Ryrie (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 9-31.
[57] Longfellow, 'My now solitary prayers', p. 54.
[58] Kaufman, 'Much in Prayer', p. 168.

contrition were at the very core of the profoundly and ubiquitously devotional lives that lecturers such as Smith envisioned for their congregations and readers. Peter Lake said it about as concisely as one can, that 'after all, Christianity was a religion based on repentance',[59] and for ministers like Henry Smith, all members of the true, invisible church – even rulers and those in the ruling classes, like his parishioner Lord Burghley - made heartfelt reckonings, gave their testimony, and displayed their sorrows for others in their parish 'miniature commonwealth' to see. For Smith, the lived, shared experience of godly life was no place for theological dissections and tricky intellectual maneuvers, things to be undertaken by those who tinkered in libraries at the universities. 'Sinnes and excuses are twinnes, borne at a birth, & one followeth the other…so wee minse our sinnes, as though they needed no forgivenes'.[60]

'Hee which hath begunne well, is halfe his waye…'

In sharp contrast to the clipped applications of Ecclesiastes e.g. in the *Homilies*, Smith's three sermons blossomed from the re-thought, re-imagined, and enlarged scripture that was cultivated by Tremellius & Junius, de Serres/Stockwood, and William Fulke. Smith's sermons invited the auditoria to imagine Ecclesiastes' author as the godly figure of true conversion and of unfeigned repentance, with phrasing that presented the king not only as someone who might be emulated, but who indeed was present, even imminent, as one with whom each parishioner and reader could be joined in living repentant, prayerful lives. The parishioners' cares and distractions, their 'accusing conscience' and prayers, their beginnings and ends, could be conceived as in common with Solomon's, who many centuries ago, with the help of divinely granted wisdom, had given their concerns voice and vocabulary in the scripture. Accordingly, the story told in Ecclesiastes was nigh as much the story of an English Christian as it was of an ancient king of Israel. As Smith said in *The Triall of Vanitie*,

> *That which troubleth us, Salomon calles Vanitie*: That which is necessarie hee calles the Feare of GOD: *from that, to this, should be everie mans pilgrimage in this worlde*: we begin at Vanitie, and never know perfectly that we are vaine, *untill wee repent with Salomon*. Therefore this is his first greeting and lesson to all *after his conversion*…Let everie man thinke as I goe in this matter, why he should love that which Salomon repented, if he think Salomon happier *after he repented*, than he was before.[61]

[59] Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, p. 134.
[60] *The Betraying of Christ* in Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 899 (portion omitted).
[61] ibid., pp. 819-20 (emphasis added, portion omitted).

For Smith, it is conversion and repentance that allowed one to live as Solomon and to conceive one's own vanity, as well as to conceive the temporal world as *vanitas*. The parishioner, like Solomon, would go through the sanctification steps of conversion and repentance, thereby he or she would see the world for what it is – as William Perkins said of the 'Golden Chaine', it required overcoming the mental state of *vanitas*, 'Vanity, in that the mind thinks falsehood is truth, and truth is falsehood' - and see themselves for whom they truly are and see other people for whom they truly are (Fig. 4).[62] Thereupon they would regularly feel, display, and speak of their ongoing remorse for their sins, as had Solomon, 'For sure, if wee had Salomons repentance, we should see such an image of vanity before us, as would make us crie againe and againe as often as Salomon: Vanitie of vanities'.[63] Thereupon one would find true felicity and be 'happier after he repented' than he was before, and thereafter would flow the various fruits of grace – public acts and displays that signified one's sanctification - that would nourish the sanctification progress for the elected loved ones, neighbors, and other members of the godly miniature commonwealth.

At this point we might read Smith as having offered that one could find some sense of enduring peace, if not, dare one say, assurance of salvation, in the post-conversion fruits of grace and in leaving the vanities of the world to others or to God. That probably would be a bit of an overreading; he only speaks of one being 'happier' after conversion and repentance, and generally when Elizabethan ministers referred to happiness they were speaking to the semi-confident commendation of matters to God, and not (or at least much, much less) of what we in the twenty-first century imagine as a grinning sort of happiness.[64] Returning to Alec Ryrie's study of *Being Protestant in Reformation England*, an interesting chapter on 'Joy' discussed how Protestantism should be seen neither as a joyful nor as a despairing religion, but one which sought an intensity in the mixing of emotions in the search for religious authenticity. That, Prof. Ryrie showed, would leave the faithful Protestant's emotions in such as state as to transcend what we would see as standard emotional categorizations, a mixture of feelings from despair to joy 'so fine-grained that they can barely be distinguished', and thus the sources seem to betray that 'enduring peace was longed and prayed for more than it was enjoyed'.[65] Although most of the materials Prof. Ryrie consulted revealed that ecstatic feelings

[62] William Perkins, *The Order of the Causes of Salvation and Damnation*, ed. by C. Matthew McMahon (Puritan Publications, Online Resource, 2012), p. 56.
[63] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 841.
[64] cf. S. Bryn Roberts, *Puritanism and the Pursuit of Happiness: The Ministry and Theology of Ralph Venning, c.1621-1674* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2015).
[65] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 4; p. 82.

were fleeting at best, nevertheless he did identify a handful of sources wherein some early moderns claimed to have experienced real intervals of peace and joy immediately following conversion.[66] Henry Smith did not say that *vanitas* would no longer 'troubleth us'… and how joyful, really, is a life that is spent in utter 'Feare of GOD'? He only said one would be happier, not saturated in happiness. Which is to state that he seems to have been typical of the times, of the view that a godly life is a long 'pilgrimage', an up-and-down road, that will involve intense mixtures of what we in the twenty-first century would see as contradicting religious emotions, just as Prof. Ryrie's study would have us expect. But what is 'new under the sunne' about *The Triall of Vanitie*, and most important vis-à-vis the early modern English reception of Ecclesiastes, is Smith's tight connection of Solomon's pilgrimage with the pilgrimages of the hearer and reader, that he had fully expected them to imagine that they would 'repent *with* Salomon', the long-dead but preternaturally Reformed king who felt the same religious emotions as they did in the late sixteenth century.

Moreover, the congregants and readers were also to be – metaphorically speaking – ministers to each other in parish and polity, just as Solomon was a metaphorical preacher or *koheleth*, testifying to their own conversions and gathering their fellows to convert into the flock of the saints. If Solomon's testimonial was the book of Ecclesiastes, the parishioner's testimonial should be the ongoing repentant prayerfulness and the other fruits of grace actively displayed in his or her daily life. The present thesis would suggest that, far from Jeromian & Bonaventuran calls to withdraw from the world for its vanity, Smith's sermons were more like Victorine calls to presence in the community and accountability for honoring God's graces and gifts, to labor and to minister neighbor-to-neighbor and to help others in their own pilgrimages. Again, one can read this directly from *The Triall of Vanitie*.

> Therefore hee puts to his name in the middest of his sentence, as if hee would defend it against all commers: if any man ask, who broched this strange doctrine? the Preacher (saith Salomon) To *testifie his heartie conversion* to God, he calls himselfe a Preacher, in the witness of his *vnfained repentance*, as if God had said unto him *Thou being converted, convert thy brethren* and be a Preacher, as thou art a King: so *when we are converted, wee should become Preachers vnto other, and shew some fruits of our calling*, as Salomon left this book for a monument to all ages of his *conversion… such an example to repent*'.[67]

Such extracts beg questions, as to what is it that constituted "conversion", just how it could be proven to have occurred, and what power humans have, if any, over that step in the

[66] ibid., pp. 82-3.
[67] Smith, *The Sermons*, pp. 821-2 (emphasis added, portion omitted).

ordo salutis. To the academic predestinarian, the answer to the latter issue was relatively easy - ultimately every step in the sanctification process was actuated by the exercise of divine decrees. But pastoral statements such as Smith's above - 'Thou being converted, convert thy brethren and be a Preacher, as thou art a King: so when we are converted, wee should become Preachers unto other' – read as having presumed a level of human efficacy. Surely, if pressed, Smith, as most other Calvinists, would have expressed the belief that the conversion was a grace, and that divine grant conveyed a certain "true" sort of will-power effective thereafter. But a second pass over the excerpt can draw out just how tightly Smith stuck to orthodox Calvinism, without having diminished the pastoralism of his exhortation: the conversion was passive, 'thou being converted' and 'when we are converted' by the Holy Spirit; thereupon, one has a preacher-like calling (in substance if not in terms of *koheleth*) as gatherers 'unto other' to hear the Word and 'shew some fruits of our calling'. Again, it was believed that conversion came about through the administration of the Word by the minister, the hearing and internalizing of the Word by the elect, and the unbolting of the door to the elect heart by the Holy Spirit. So it seems fair to read Smith's phrase, that the godly 'should become Preachers unto other', as linking to the puritan understanding of the Third Commandment. As Michael Winship has pointed out, this required the godly to be shining lights in their own behavior, to reprove sins that they witnessed, and to be 'continual sermons to everyone around them, for better and worse', because 'the hellhounds would tar all the godly with [an] individual's moral failure', and 'that light might commence [others'] conversion'.[68] The present thesis shall explore Dr. Winship's point further in Chapter 3, as to how Smith's three sermons reflect his views on building and consolidating the puritan community.

The Triall of Vanitie displayed Smith's ability to balance Reformed orthodoxy with practical divinity; conversion and repentance were divine imputations, but at the same time they were soteriological steps that resonated accessible, though the precise mechanism viz. preparationism was left open by Smith. In any case, conversion and repentance as expressed by Smith and other puritan divines usually did not have to come about in sudden, dramatic events, such as that which Paul claimed to have experienced on the road to Damascus. As Leif Dixon has highlighted, in contrast to some other predestinarians (examples include Augustine and Luther), as far as we know Calvin never claimed to have had a sudden, shocking, and hyper-emotional conversion experience,[69] and he never urged that conversion had to come about via a 'light from heaven' and a 'fall to the earth' (Acts 9:3-4). On the other hand, there

[68] Winship, *Hot Protestants*, p. 52 (brackets added).
[69] Dixon, *Predestinarians*, p. 23.

were plenty of early modern stories of rapturous conversions. As reported by Prof. Ryrie, one such conversion was described by the subject as 'a clear and heavenly apprehension of my Savior Jesus Christ with comfort and joy unspeakable', which lasted, the subject guessed, nearly an hour, until 'Christ seemed as it were to be about to withdraw himself gently and lovingly'; but he added that 'one hour of these joys did far surpass all the joy and pleasure that I had had all my life long if it were put together'.[70] Henry Smith's own conversion, it seems, was less rapturous and more Calvinesque; his path was gradual, thoughtful, and angst-driven, as evidenced by his Sapphic poem, the *Vita Supplicium*. Just before he discerned his calling to the ministry, he lamented that he could find no social equilibrium without service to his fellow Christians, but that in any case his pilgrimage would not be easy.

> *Laetor & damnant hilarem severi* ('I rejoice and the severe damn my light-heartedness')
> *Tristor & rident hilares severum* ('I am sad and the light-hearted laugh at my severity')
> *Vix Deo quisquam, & populo placer* ('God himself is scarcely able to please people')
> *Et sibi possit* ('And only He can do so')
>
> *Tristus est solus socio relictus* ('The sad man is left without a friend')
> *Tristior qui cum socio proteruo est* ('Sadder is he who is heedless of his friend')
> *Dixit expertus: Nihil est ab omni* ('The experienced man said:')
> *Parte beatum* ('Nothing is blessed from all sides')[71]

And nowhere in the sermons on Ecclesiastes does Smith imagine Solomon's conversion as fantasia, nor does he seem to expect fantastical conversion experiences for any of his parishioners, or his gadders and would-be parishioners. Indeed, the implication in Smith's application of Ecclesiastes to the Reformed *ordo salutis* is that he was quite in line with the thought of the day, e.g. the Essex puritan Richard Rogers, who was suspicious of 'quick fire' conversions and late-in-life repentances, as inimical to the predestinarian view of the conversion process.[72] Which is to state that, at least as evidenced in *The Triall of Vanitie*, Smith maintained a pastoral vagueness and flexibility: conversion and repentance must occur in order for you to be saved; they are gifts of God that are indeterminable, and come on God's time, not yours; whither so blessed, you will experience a gradual, angst-filled path to conversion and repentance in the manner that Solomon testified to in Ecclesiastes; but, surely the signs thereof are your 'godly sorrow', repentant prayer life, and the support you give to the minister in exhorting your coreligionists to hear the Word and to be converted themselves.

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[70] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 84.
[71] Henry Smith, *Vita Supplicium* (London, 1590), p. 11; p. 15 (translation added). It is the present researcher's interpretation that 'The experienced man' is the Solomon of Ecclesiastes, who is taken to refer to the *vanitas* of things, 'Nothing is blessed from all sides'.
[72] Dixon, *Predestinarians*, pp. 154-5.

As did Solomon, so the parishioner should seize the day and be swift to be (if ersatz) preachers of the truth contained in Eccles. 1:2. 'When hee [Solomon] repented, in his best minde (when he became *like a* Preacher) *he preached this first*, Vanitie of vanities'.[73] Thereupon, *The Triall of Vanitie* reassured, their contrition and fruits of grace would endure, as the saint-sinners had the comfort of the Reformed doctrine of perseverance, which covered them as it had the author of Ecclesiastes: it is 'our repentance which stays until death'.[74]

Though the path to conversion and repentance was to be expected to be gradual and angst-filled, nevertheless Smith urged that the saint-sinner had to "get on the horse", as the expression goes. Godly dynamism and urgency are themes in all three of *The Triall of Vanitie, The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule*, but they are especially strong in the latter two sermons.[75] Smith's base text in both was 'Remember nowe thy Creator in the daies of thy youth, whiles the evill daies come not, nor the yeeres approche, wherein thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them' (Eccles. 12:1). He opened *The Young-mans Taske* with his rejection of worldly, youthful joy, and highlighted the satirical voice of the verse in his exhortation to the young to make urgent repentance.

> What sayd I? Rejoyce O young man in thy youth? I would say, *Remember* O young man in thy youth. So God mockes us while wee sinne, like Michaiah, which bad Achab fight agaynst Aram, and then forbad him againe: so hee bids them rejoyce, and forbids them agayne. Rejoyce not in thy youth, but *repent in thy youth*.[76]

Similarly, in *The Trumpet of the Soule* Smith highlighted the irony sublimated in Eccles. 12:1, and was in line with de Serres/Stockwood on the wider exegetical point that Ecclesiastes does not always say what it expressly states (see Chapter 1).

> But if we will understande his meaning, he meaneth when he saith, rejoyce O young man, *repent* O young man in thy youth: and when he saith let thy hart cheere thee, *let thy sinnes greeve thee*: for he meaneth otherwise then he speaketh.[77]

As he did in *The Triall of Vanitie*, in *The Young-mans Taske* Smith scoffed at religious late-comers, and satirized those who procrastinated their repentance with, 'One would thinke that Salomon should have given this Memorandum rather to olde men then to young men, *let*

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[73] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 842 (emphasis added, brackets added)).
[74] ibid., p. 825.
[75] NB: The sermons are so substantially similar, it would be a fair speculation that the *Taske* was trimmed from the *Trumpet* (which had been delivered at Paul's Cross some time earlier in Smith's career).
[76] ibid., p. 454 (emphasis added).
[77] Smith, *Trumpet*, sigs $A_{[4]}{}^{r} – A_{[4]}{}^{v}$ (emphasis added)

them repent which looke to dye'.[78] Likewise, in *The Trumpet of the Soule* he stated that, 'what a thing is this to say *rejoyce, and then repent*: what a blank to saye take thy pleasure, and then thou shalt come to judgement: it is as if he should saye, *steale and be hanged*'.[79] And again, Smith expounded carefully on conversion, coming in just-short of voluntarist language, without sacrificing his urgency: 'so in the morning of thy life sacrifice thy selfe to God, and let him which is Alpha in everything, *be Alpha in thy conversion*, that is, the beginning as well as the ende'.[80] He shored up the point in solidly predestinarian terms but flavored with "silver tongued" poetic meter and accents, thusly:

> *Repentance is a gift*, and a gift must be *taken when* it is offered. The *time past is gone*, and thou canst not recall that to *repent in*; the time to com is *vncertaine*, & thou canst not assure that to *repent in*; the present time is *onely thine*, and thou maiest *repent in* that: but *anone that will be gone*, too.[81]

The foregoing were elegant, pastoral transmissions of the Reformed re-thinking on Ecclesiastes that Tremellius & Junius, de Serres/Stockwood, and William Fulke had produced for (mainly learned) readers in the 1580s. Ecclesiastes offered Solomon as an example of the *need* for sinners to ready for conversion through hearing the Word, and to be active in their sanctification through picking up the 'young-mans taske' of repentance. If one did so, one could end up as a salvific success story as had Solomon, and as well, one could be an example of the *power* of conversion and repentance for one's peers in the parish and abroad.

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Apart from their weave of Reformed doctrine and an-aphoristic exegetical agendas, what most distinguished *The Triall of Vanity*, *The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule* from prior English engagements and Reformed treatises was their sheer rhetorical vitality, how Smith pulled people in and along, and made accessible a notoriously difficult base text and a notoriously distant main character. It was a groundbreaking personalization of Ecclesiastes. To wit, in an especially dense portion of *The Young-mans Taske*, the lecturer inundated his hearers and readers with gusts of rhetorically charged, familiar English

[78] Smith, *The Sermons,* p. 454 (emphasis added).
[79] Smith, *Trumpet*, sigs $A_{[5]}^{r}$ – $A_{[5]}^{v}$ (emphasis added).
[80] Smith, *The Sermons,* p. 457 (emphasis added).
[81] ibid., pp. 471-2 (emphasis added). Of a more voluntarist timbre, e.g. 'It is the young men that must doe it, for the olde men are out of date, their courage stoopes like their shoulders, their zeale is withered, like their browes; their faith staggereth like their feete, and their religion is dead before them. Bee assured of this that yee are come to that time which your selves set to repent: and yet as though there were another age to repent after olde age: for you spende olde age like youth, as if you were appointed to die in your sinnes'. ibid., pp. 474-5.

proverbs and classical maxims that clearly seem to have been intended to enrich the experientiality of the scripture. Having called them to the 'young-mans taske', and to 'be Alpha in thy conversion, that is, the beginning as well as the ende', his flurry of proverbial pleadings called for the godly haste in the present which would beget the living of perseverant, repentant lives hence. Examples include:

> '…with what liquor our vessels be seasoned at first, they will taste of the same ever after, whether it be good or bad';[82]
>
> '…when the foote is in the stirrop, ready to ride away from all our sinnes at once';[83]
>
> '…like bad borrowers, when our day is past alreadie, we crave a longer and a longer';[84]
>
> '…it is an *olde* saying; Repentance is never too late, but it is a *true* saying; Repentance is never too soone';[85]
>
> 'The Hound which runnes but for the Hare, girdes foorth, so soone as he sees the Hare start, the Hawke which flyeth but for the Partridge, taketh her flight so soone as she spyes the Patridge spring: so we should followe the woord so soone as it speaketh…';[86]
>
> '…therefore now or never, now and ever, the tree which buddeth not in spring, is dead all the yeare'.[87]

Having applied these and other folksy expressions, Smith hammered in the point with a virtual string-cite of examples from the Word, that the 'first lesson' of each of John, the Disciples, and Christ, to young and old, was to 'Repent… Repent… Repent…', and that 'Christ loveth these timelie beginnings'.[88] He then bookended the message with a final proverbial gust, one that invoked an ancient expression that has long been attributed to Aristotle's *Ethics*, and which has been echoed through the centuries by *inter alia* Erasmus.

> Such a victorie it is to beginne well, *as our Proverbe saith: hee which hath begunne well, is halfe his waye*, especiallie it is good for a man to *beginne his repentance, before he learne to be evill*'.[89]

It does not seem to be a torturing of that latter passage to observe that Smith's choice of the words - that '*our Proverbe saith*' - solidly adopted this long-admired maxim for the godly, and

[82] ibid., p. 458 (portions omitted). Tilley, *Proverbs in England*, L333.
[83] ibid. Tilley, *Proverbs in England*, S864.
[84] ibid. Even Tilley was unable to source 'like bad borrowers', perhaps it is lost in the fog of paleo-lending.
[85] ibid, p. 459 (portions omitted). Tilley, *Proverbs in England*, R77-R80.
[86] ibid. Tilley, *Proverbs in England*, H227-H230.
[87] ibid., p. 462 (portions omitted). Tilley, *Proverbs in England*, S784.
[88] ibid., p. 462 (portions omitted).
[89] ibid., p. 463 (emphasis added). Tilley, *Proverbs in England*, B254.

that among all the good beginnings in one's life, a prophylactic Reformed repentance is 'especiallie… good for a man to beginne', perhaps effective enough that the wastes of the righthand side of the 'golden chaine' did not come to fruition (Fig. 4). That is, the earlier one is drawn into repentance the stronger is the evidence of one's election to salvation. As Smith pointed out in *The Trumpet of the Soule*, whether one was a lawyer, a landlord, a 'careles Bishop', a lusty youth, a lowly thief, etc., all were threatened by the ever-present peril that had menaced Damocles and which had soured the Greek courtier's taste of good fortune. 'Me thinks I see a Sword hang in the aire by a twine thread, and all the Sonnes of men labour to burst it in sunder…woe from above…woe to all the stringes of vanitie'.[90] Unfortunately, as Smith complained in *The Triall of Vanitie*, most of humanity is impaired by un-responsiveness, 'For we are all by nature such deafe Adders, that whether the Prophets come piping, or mourning, or crying, they goe away from us again mourning'[91] (in a similar vein to Shakespeare's observation that, 'for pleasure and revenge / Have ears more deaf than adders to the voice / Of any true decision').[92]

Smith's easy mixing of diverse classical and folk expressions, images and metaphors, and beasts and characters, all with the latest Reformed thinking on Ecclesiastes and its hermeneutically charged terms, suggests that he both aspired to be broadly appealing and accessible to the godly, and expected his hearers and readers to join each other and himself in active participation with what the present thesis - in line with Walter Benjamin, Alistair Fowler, and Nancy Bradbury (see the Introduction) - has called the scripture's proverbial continuum: the encapsulation and mediation of worldviews and lived experiences through the proverbial transmission and reception of texts through time. With standard statements such as, 'Salomon being wicked and yet saved' because he 'had left his concubines and vanities', Smith continued in the exegetical and proverbial tradition that continued from Jerome through Hugh of St Victor and Bonaventure to *The Books of Homilies* and the sermons of the Chichester bishops.[93] But importantly, in the interest of pastoral care he also leveraged other proverbial traditions. If Smith was to be believed, Damocles too had known of the perilous 'stringes of vanitie' just as Solomon knew of Vantie's 'pleates and…foldes'; Aristotle too had known the value of prompt, early action in all things, just as the Elizabethan Christian knew repentance was better begun before one learned to be evil; so too the experiences of drinkers vis their cups, bad borrowers vis their loans, hound dogs vis their hares, and hawks

[90] Smith, *Trumpet*, sig. $A_{[8]}^{r}$ – $A_{[8]}^{v}$ (portions omitted).
[91] Smith, *The Sermons,* p. 829. Tilley, *Proverbs in England*, A32.
[92] *Troilus and Cressida*, Act 2, Scene 2, Lines 180-183.
[93] Smith, *The Sermons,* p. 823.

vis their partridges, matched with the thoughts and experiences of Aristotle, Damocles, and Solomon. And as we have seen earlier in the present chapter, Smith's immersive discussion of Solomon witnessing the 'Totquot' of vanities and his equation of pluralism with *vanitas* had the effect of transporting Solomon into the sixteenth century England of the imagination. He activated the lessons that Tremellius & Junius, de Serres/Stockwood, and William Fulke had sublimated from the scripture through their own exegeses, and he independently embedded Eccles. 1:2, 11:9, and 12:1 into the Reformed *ordo salutis*, having offered unequivocally that Solomon's poem was probative thereof, 'To testifie his heartie conversion to God, he cals himselfe a Preacher, in the witnes of his unfained repentance'. This made Ecclesiastes pivotal to the audience's practical education and understanding of conversion and repentance, as conversion and repentance were pivotal in the lifecycle of the elect as a matter of theory.

Thusly did Smith appropriate the latest Reformed ideas and thereupon offered one more corollary of his own, on behalf of Solomon who himself had never yet been deemed repentant, and therefore had never yet been deemed to be elect.

> Therefore they which write, that Salomon dyed in his sinne, and that such a famous instrument of God went to the damned, doe great wrong to the worthie King which gives them such an example to repent…that he was the clearest figure of Christ…that hee was inspired by the Holie Ghost like the prophets…which [role] was not fit for a reprobate…So we may conclude, that *Salomon was elected*, because God saith, Salomon have I loved.[94]

Smith had woven a complete tapestry that told the story of a preternaturally Reformed Solomon, and of Ecclesiastes as his prescient godly sermon, a story which directly applied to hearers' circumstances and to their devotional needs: to hear more of the Word, to hope and pray harder for the gift of conversion, and to make haste in making earnest, prayerful repentance. Now, as to the actual execution of praying their repentance, whilst Smith never authored a rigorous prayer manual of the sort produced by Thomas Becon, Edward Dering, or John Daye, throughout his catalogue Smith did provide snippets as to some of the details of godly devotion and prayer. He also crafted three brief, separate prayer forms, all of which quite directly betray the influence of Ecclesiastes on Smith's ministry, and which he obviously intended to be used by the saints at critical times in the godly lifecycle.

[94] ibid. p. 822 (portions omitted).

'Goe farther than the Mores…'

At this point, we have already seen that Henry Smith's delivery of Ecclesiastes as *mythos* contrasted sharply with the *logos* of Tudor politico-social control as delivered in the Order of the *Book of Common Prayer*, in *The Books of Homilies*, and in the sermons of the Chichester bishops. Surely, Smith's sermons were not utterly a-politicized; the 'Totquot' passage itself evidences that late Elizabethan godly sermons should be expected to have at least subtle commentaries on politico-ecclesiastical issues. His most meaningful contribution to early modern English reception of Ecclesiastes was the *mythos*, the connective storytelling that delivered the revisionary interpretations published in the Reformed treatises of the 1580s, and the one step further, in the declaration that Solomon had been repentant, was elect, and, therefore, was saved. That story drew the king into the timeless community of saints and emphasized his identity as one of the main sources for the livable Word. By unpacking the devotional exhortations in *The Triall of Vanitie*, *The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule*, the present chapter has argued that Henry Smith's readings of Ecclesiastes were along the lines of the Victorine conception of Eccles. 1:2: as a practical matter, vanity and value are inchoate properties and one should focus on the generosity of God's gifts through prayerful thanksgiving. Meanwhile, the time for one's repentance is now, make haste, and help others in the godly miniature commonwealth by being constant sermons to one another. The present chapter shall now discuss how Smith's engagements with Ecclesiastes reached their pinnacles, in the prayer forms that he crafted for use at the most pivotal times in the godly life cycle.

Let's imagine that a parishioner at St Clement Danes joined in the scripture's proverbial continuum as an active participant, she processed the lecturer's accommodations of Ecclesiastes and Solomon to her lived experience, and thereby the congregant judged it all to be livable Word. The lecturer's intended takeaway was a deceptively simple distillation: 'repent *with* Solomon' and pray your repentance to God. Which, Henry Smith himself quite reasonably pointed out, begged a simple question.

'What then?'[95]

[95] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 845.

Here the suggestion that puritanism must be understood, in significant part, in terms of a process in self-fashioning, a way of life, and a shared experience,[96] overlaps with Gregory Kneidel's thoughts on the flexibility required of the godly ministry to be pastorally accommodating, keeping his role as leader and instructor in tension with his role as student and servant.[97] Ways of life and self-fashioning are about consciously doing things in Time, even if a particular activity is, in the main, performed mentally, psychologically. The otherwise dutiful lecturer or pastor could have been seen as negligent if his exegesis did not result in 'uses', in particular guidance for the 'What then?' question. Furthermore, as Alec Ryrie's monograph on early modern English devotion has pointed out, that guidance had to be responsive to sundry hurdles, such as the phenomenon of the 'inability to pray', or the varying levels of intellectual capacity and literacy, or other, personal issues that could hinder the parishioner in making her repentance.[98]

What then did *The Triall of Vanitie*, *The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule* say about the specifics of prayer? Precisely how should one pray, at what times of the day should one pray, and so forth? The answer in short is, not much. However, that was anything but unusual. In late Elizabethan religious writing, the specifics of prayer were mostly left to specialist, genre literature on the subject - an example being Richard Rogers' meticulous *Seven Treatises* - so unsurprisingly, Smith's three sermons are terse at best on the details of prayer. In *The Trumpet of the Soule*, he only once refers expressly to the practice of praying, urging that one should 'pray more than Daniel'.[99] In *The Triall of Vanitie*, the best passage is allegorical, 'if we had Salomon's repentance, we should see such an image of vanity before us, as would make us cry againe and againe as often as Salomon'.[100] And in *The Young-mans Taske*, again Smith made generic exhortations to pray one's repentance, with a few allusions to less formalized contemplation, e.g. 'thinke and meditate', such phrasings that correspond to the 'inward searches' that have been considered in depth by Peter Iver Kaufman.

One noteworthy passage in *The Young-mans Taske* is connective to the preparation for Sunday services and the issues of sabbatarianism which have been robustly discussed in

[96] John Morrill, 'A Liberation Theology? Aspects of Puritanism in the English Revolution', in *Puritanism and its Discontents*, ed. by Laura Knoppers (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003), pp. 27-48, pp. 27-28; Collinson, *Sancroft*, p. 40.
[97] Paraphrasing Kneidel, 'Mightie Simplenesse', p. 276.
[98] See Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, Part II, The Protestant at Prayer (Chapters 6-10, pp. 99-256).
[99] Smith, *The Trumpet*, sig. $B_{[3]}^{r}$.
[100] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 841.

several histories of English Protestant devotion.[101] Though Smith again exercised his rhetorical muscles to hammer the point of the urgency to make one's contrition, he fired an oblique shot in the contemporary battle over celebration of the sabbath.[102]

> Therefore as the Isralites gathered twice so much Manna the day before the Sabbath as they gathered any day before that, because they might not gather upon the Sabbath; so the gray head which looketh everie day for the last Sabbath when he shall rest in the grave, should *pray twice as much*, *heare twice as much*, *do twice as much*, to prepare the sacrifice of his bodie & soule readie and acceptable unto GOD.[103]

The excerpt hints at one noteworthy aspect of late sixteenth-century devotion, which saw the Sabbath as a certain punctuation to the preceding week. As Prof. Ryrie has pointed out, by the next century it was becoming routine for earnest Protestants to take a retrospective look at the week's sins and successes as part of their Sabbath observance, dutifully scheduled for the Saturday afternoon or evening before.[104] Given human frailty and mindlessness, it would not have been un-sensible for a lecturer to have urged, at very least, to pray repentance on Saturday as preparation for Sunday, since even the elect were by nature sinful and subject to failure of mindfulness, so Monday's repentance would have been obviated by Wednesday's sins, etc. As Smith explained, the king himself had wrestled with the problem before, and Ecclesiastes was a kind of ethereal *aide-memoire* that connected to the struggles lived by each reader and parishioner by laying out for them the common grounds of sin and experience that they shared, to one extent or another, with Solomon.

> While I preach, you heare iniquitie in gender within you, and will breake forth as soone as you are gone: So Christ wept & Jerusalem laughed: Adam brake one, and we break ten…But if thou mark Salomon he harpes upon one string, he doubles it againe and againe, to shew us things of his owne experience, because we are so forgetfull therof in our selves, like the dreamer that forgetteth his dreame, and the swearer his swearing.[105]

Be that as it may, surely for Smith the intended takeaway from his sermons on Ecclesiastes was the generalized urgency to pray, not the minutiae of prayers. Repentance was a long and arduous journey to be undertaken with a certain militant, "we leave at dawn" attitude. As he said in *The Young-mans Taske*, 'What haste should he make, that must *goe farther*

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[101] The present chapter shall now strategically retreat as did Prof. Ryrie, who said the Sabbath 'is a subject so large it is impractical to examine in detail here, and so well treated elsewhere that it is unnecessary'. Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 458.
[102] Paraphrasing Collinson, *Sancroft*, p. 121.
[103] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 472-3 (emphasis added). In *The Triall of Vanitie*, Smith referred to Solomon as one who would not allow men to profane the Sabbath with cards, dice, plays, maypoles, etc. ibid., p. 841.
[104] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 458.
[105] Smith, *The Trumpet*, sigs $A_{[6]}{}^{r}$ – $A_{[6]}{}^{v}$ (portion omitted)

than the Mores, than the Sunne in a yeare, or a month, or a weeke, which the Saintes were going all their life. Therefore, if youth had neede of legges, age had neede of wings to flie unto God'.[106]

There is, however, another sermon in which Smith laid out more of his thinking on prayer, and in which Solomon and Ecclesiastes too play significant parts. In *The Ladder of Peace*, Smith preached the verses, 'Rejoyce evermore. Pray continually. In all things give thanks' (1 Thess. 5:16-18), in order to deliver 'consolation to them which are afflicted in conscience…commonly the disease of the innocentest soule'.[107] This sermon is illustrative of one of the paradoxes of Reformed Protestantism, that the intense introspection and 'godly sorrow' for sin came with a strong B-side, insofar as the godly were called to avoid despair and to rejoice, 'as though some men did not rejoyce enough'.[108] Though he was well within the current thinking that often equated a prayer with a struggle, nonetheless Smith presented prayer in general as the single way that one could pass from being overwhelmed with feelings of grief to holding onto a godly contentment that satisfied the commandment in 1 Thessalonians to be joyful and thankful. Which meant that, in theory, the faithful should pray both contritely and with an attitude of receptiveness to the gift of peace, which would allow one to progress to heights of true felicity (in practical terms, the actual sequence – contrition to peace or peace to contrition - was quite circumstantial and exchangeable).[109]

To this end, the most prominent of the primary authorities that *The Ladder of Peace* resorted to beyond Paul and 1 Thess. 5 were Solomon and Ecclesiastes. In his first application, Smith put forth an oenological metaphor that he crafted based upon the verse, 'There is no profit to man: but that he eat, and drinke, & delight his soule with the profit of his labour' (Eccles. 2:24), and he equated the gift of prayer as an elixir for the repentant conscience, which perhaps could dull (to a lawful extent!) the sheer vanity of all things under the sun.

> Give wine (saith Salomon) unto him that is sorrowfull; that he may forget his griefe: So give comfort unto him which is penitent that he may forget his feare. Salomon saith five times that *this is the portion of man under the sunne* [Eccles. 3:22] to receive the gifts of God with thankefulnes and to rejoyce in them.[110]

[106] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 472-3 (emphasis added).
[107] ibid., p. 850-1 (portion omitted).
[108] ibid., p. 852.
[109] See Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, Ch. 5 'Joy', pp. 77-95.
[110] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 852-3 (emphasis added, brackets added).

Smith further found that Solomon called one to have a courageous heart and to avoid praying in a state of despair, such being 'the consuming of the [one's] bones', which would be tantamount to a prideful or indulgent 'repentance to be repented of'.[111] Accordingly, the saints were to rejoice *within* their prayers of repentance, and since Solomon's Proverb provided that 'a good conscience is a continual feast', they were commanded to pray thusly, and continually, 'to him which Salomon calleth Excellent'.[112] Furthermore, in an exercise of circularity, one was to pray for the ability to pray; the heart had to be prepared for the gift of prayer, for as all things in the *ordo salutis*, right prayer was an imputation of the Holy Spirit. For example, it was by prayer that Solomon had obtained the gift of wisdom, and thereafter the king knew that the prayers of the wicked are abominations, so he wrote (in Eccles. 5:1) that the elect had to prepare their hearts before going into the Temple, lest they offer the sacrifices of fools.[113] Smith closed the sermon on that theme (the final rung of *The Ladder*?), finally resorting to Solomon for the principle that one had to continually pray for the gift of the ability to pray rightly. 'Salomon saith', said Smith, that the godly should make no haste to get out of God's presence, and the wise 'art wise unto thy self, so if we do pray, we do pray for our selves'.[114]

Otherwise, throughout *The Ladder of Peace* Smith was typically vague as to the details, sticking to the broad message that one should pray 'continually' and 'dailie'. Indeed, he purposely left details to other times or settings.

> I am now in a large field, where I might shewe you to whome wee should pray, and the cause why wee shoulde pray, and the things which we shoulde pray for, and the Mediator which we shoulde pray by, and the affections which wee shoulde bring to, *but I will keepe my selfe within my Text, which saieth no more but pray continually*.[115]

Just as he had provided in *The Young-mans Taske*, the one exception to the foregoing was his singling out the most vital day for contrition: Saturday, in preparation Sunday's service.

> Because wee can not Praye before we be sanctified, therefore he set downe an order for us to observe and keepe, which is this, that before every Sabbath he appointed another day beside, in which we shoulde provide ourselves to sanctifie and prepare us that we might Praie in so effectuall manner as we ought.[116]

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[111] ibid., p. 855-7 (brackets added).
[112] ibid., p. 859-60.
[113] ibid., p. 874.
[114] ibid., p. 877-8.
[115] ibid., p. 878 (emphasis added).
[116] ibid., p. 861.

John Lievsay cited material from *The Young-mans Taske* in observing that Smith had a proclivity to recycle his own material, so often as to constitute a kind of distinguishing *modus operandi*, what he referred to as 'self-plunderings'; but this, Dr. Lievsay acknowledged, was done in the spirit of an unwillingness to hide the candle under a bushel, or to let good things perish, and that this only betrayed that certain texts were vital to Smith's attending to the spiritual needs of his hearers.[117] The present researcher would dovetail that point here to state that what Henry "Self-plundering" Smith did in preaching *The Ladder of Peace* and *The Young-mans Taske* only betrays that he viewed both Solomon and Ecclesiastes as vital to both the Reformed theory of prayer and the godly practice of prayerful repentance.

Again, there is no surprise in the point that Henry Smith's sermons were not *de facto* prayer manuals, nor is it any surprise that the few specifics Smith gave were directed toward prayerful preparation for the Sabbath. But it does seem reasonable to highlight that by their very breadth the sermons consulted here implicitly recognized the sundry methods of prayer that were commonly delineated at the time. Smith's volume simply did not address the virtues and vices of 'family', 'private', or 'secret' prayer, so he likely believed that God would hear earnest contrition whether it was made via communal prayer or prayer formulae or via unstructured, personal entreaties and meditations. And neither did Smith write separately in the ecclesiological debates, whereas his *oeuvre* does feature a handful of daily and deathbed prayer scripts, so one might confidently put him in the same *via media* camp as George Gifford, who was a much more enthusiastic combatant in what some historians of the Elizabethan church have called the 'prayer war'. Gifford of course valued the spontaneous & fervent over the scripted & placid, and he and Smith were each cagey about the usage of the official prayers in the *Book of Common Prayer*, but he said that as the teaching role of the preacher was paramount, the pedagogical value of scripted prayers could lend them virtue. Having argued that the Lord's Prayer itself was a prescription, and that the scriptures left the specifics of prayer to the Holy Spirit, the godly minister, and the precant, Gifford was happy to prescribe scripted prayers as salves (my metaphor); earnestness and vehemence in praying were the vital factors, and the right writings could rouse such godly states of mind.[118]

The attention that Smith had given to Solomon and Ecclesiastes elsewhere in his writings bridged over to his devotional scripts, *Three Prayers: One for the Morning, Another for the Evening, the Third for a Sicke Man*, the pieces that close the volume of works that was printed

[117] Lievsay, 'Paragon', p. 30.
[118] Gifford, *A short treatise against the Donatists of England*...(London, 1590), pp. 22-5.

in 1593.[119] A seemingly small and superficial point to begin with here, is that of the several biblical figures that make appearances in those scripts, Solomon's two entries (in *Morning* and *Sicke Man*) number the most, with just one each going to Abraham (in *Morning*), David (in *Sicke Man*), and Lazarus (in *Sicke Man*); even Satan, the oppositional figure of pure dread, is short of Solomon, with one appearance (in *Morning*). But this point may loom a little larger from the perspective of legacy, firstly that these were Smith's only printed prayers, and secondly, the fair speculation that Smith worked rather feverishly to set them down whilst on his own sick bed.[120] Common sense dictates that Smith poured himself into their draft and intended for these prayers to be used in the routine courses of future godly lives. So, these materials are additional evidence of the major influence that Solomon and Ecclesiastes had on Henry "Self-plundering" Smith, and of his desire for that figure and that scripture to have lasting impacts on the prayer lives of his readers in the future.

Smith deployed three intertextual touchstones in the script of *One for the Morning*, the first being the eyes and ears of Eccles. 1:8 ('the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the eare filled with hearing'), and the second being the referent of vanity from Eccles. 1:2, saying 'our eyes are the eyes of vanitie, our eares are the eares of follie'.[121] A few paragraphs later the third touchstone was Solomon himself, for having spoken to the joy that is gained in prayer through Christ - in keeping the mind occupied with Him, that sins are avoided through constant prayer, and that the anguished conscience would find relief from despair and be shielded from presumption – the script implored God to 'teach us to build thy Church in our rest, as Salomon builte thy temple in his peace'.[122] And a few lines in the middle of the prayer (that to the present researcher would be reminiscent of the selection from Batman's 'Of Sloth' discussed in Chapter 1 (Fig. 1)), the prayer requested divine help to pray rightly, 'we had need to praie againe that thou wouldest forgive our prayers', insofar as 'our prayer is so full of toyes and fancies, for want of faith and reverence'.[123]

In the script for Smith's *Evening* prayer, the touchstone of vanity was deployed in the request that God grant 'that in mirth wee bee not vaine' and that the faithful be sorrowful for sin, but to be free from despair and presumptuousness.[124] Finally, amid the script for the

[119] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 1092 *et. seq.*
[120] Jenkins, 'Smith, Henry'.
[121] Smith, *The Sermons*, sig. Sff_4^v.
[122] ibid., sig. $Sff_{[6]}^v$.
[123] ibid., sig. $Sff_{[5]}^r$.
[124] ibid., sig. Ttt_1^v.

prayer for the *Sicke Man*, his accommodation of scripture, figure, and Reformed doctrine tacked the same course as his work in *The Triall of Vanitie* and *The Young-mans Taske*.

> Thou hast preserved me till now, and *shall this mercie bee in vaine as though wee were preserved for nothing*? Who can praise thee in the grave? I have done thee no service since I was borne, but my goodnesse is to come, and shall I dye before I begin to live? but Lord thou knowest what is best of all, *and if thou convert me, I shall be converted in an houre: and as thou acceptedst the will of David as well as the act of Salomon*: so thou wilt accept my desire to serve thee, as well as if I did live to glorifie thee.[125]

As in *The Triall of Vanitie* and *The Young-mans Taske*, the foregoing passage from the prayer for the *Sicke Man* displays Smith tightly packing together the hermeneutically charged term of vanity, Solomon interpreted as the converted and repentant member of the invisible church, and an edifying ministration to preclude despair on the sick- or death-bed (where Satan attacked one with the weapon of despair).[126] As in the context of the exegetical sermon, so in the context of the prayer form, we see Smith resorting to Solomon to activate the godly imagination, in arguably the most dramatic arena for pious confrontation in the Reformed lifecycle. The sickbed and the deathbed were the spiritual space-times for the most critical of tests, the final shedding of light on one's inward reformation,[127] and Smith's own last, best prayer draft called other sick souls to include Solomon in their final self-examinations, to see him as an accessible figure that exemplified the divine gifts of 'the golden chaine' at work.

The totality of the foregoing leaves an interesting set of sums: of Smith's three published prayer scripts, two contain express references to an edifying and solidly Reformed figure of Solomon; all three scripts deploy derivatives of *vanitas*, Ecclesiastes' single most important hermeneutical term. Thus, all three scripts deploy phrases and imagery that can reasonably be interpreted as metonymical and intertextual to Ecclesiastes. Another interesting set of sums results when we compare Smith's *Three Prayers* to the analogous scripts in the *Book of Common Prayer*. There were no appearances by Solomon at all, and neither were there any deployments of *vanitas*, or any other terms and concepts from Ecclesiastes, in the *BCP's* prayers *Order for Morning Prayer dayly throughout the yeere*, the *Order for Evening Prayer thorowout the yeere*, or the *Visitation of the Sicke* and *Communion of the Sicke*. This is not to argue

[125] ibid., sigs Ttt_2^r – Ttt_2^v (emphasis added).
[126] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 464. See also, Dixon, *Predestinarians*, Ch. 'The Theology of Death and Dying'.
[127] Paraphrasing Dixon, *Predestinarians*, p. 305.

that Smith crafted his three prayers in direct response to the official prayers - Smith's scripts certainly could be interpreted as reactionary, but contrariwise, he had expressly denied Bishop Aylmer's charge of preaching against the *Book of Common Prayer*.[128] As stated earlier in the present thesis, neither can one argue that the scripture got short shrift under the *Table and Kalendar of Psalmes and Lessons* (Fig. 2), for the scripture featured to the minimum extent required per the prayer book's didactic logic as set by archbishops Cranmer and Parker *et al.* Again, perhaps it is fairest to observe that in contrast to the vital and vibrant applications in Henry Smith's prayers, the *Book of Common Prayer* was spare and only just as fair to Ecclesiastes as it was to all the other scriptures.

Conclusion

The Triall of Vanitie described Eccles. 1:2 as 'Salomon's Theame, or the fardle of vanities', a fardel being a traveler's bundle, hefty either by its sheer weight, or by the nature of its contents, or both.[129] Intriguingly, in *The Winter's Tale* the Shepherd, in reply to an interrogatory made by Autolycus, says ominously, 'Sir, there lies such secrets in this fardel and / box, which none must know but the King, and / which he shall know within this hour, if I may come / to th' speech of him'.[130] Ominously, in *Hamlet* the prince weighs whether 'to be or not to be' and fears that he may have to endure life under vexation, as one 'who would fardels bear, / to grunt and sweat under a weary life, / but that the dread of something after death, / the undiscover'd country from whose bourn / no traveller returns, puzzles the will'.[131] It was by analogizing *vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas* to a burdensome traveler's bundle, one which was in urgent need of opening to proper eyes, that Smith set himself up to preach the scripture in his vivid, dramatic style, to unbundle both ominously and intriguingly the 'momentous themes' of the book of Ecclesiastes.

The present chapter has established that Henry Smith's agenda was to unbundle the fardel of *vanitas* – perhaps most effectively with his 'Totquot' metaphorical passage – and to convince his auditoria that the best hope for combating vanity's accretive and proliferative nature was to join Solomon in the Reformed world of the heart and the imagination, to open oneself to the divine gifts of conversion and repentance, and to proceed as the king had, having left his sins behind and lived out his days in regular, repentant, yet joyful prayer.

[128] Strype, *Aylmer*, p. 154-5.
[129] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 820.
[130] *The Winter's Tale*, Act 4, Scene 4, Lines 886-889.
[131] *Hamlet*, Act 3, Scene 1, Lines 84-88.

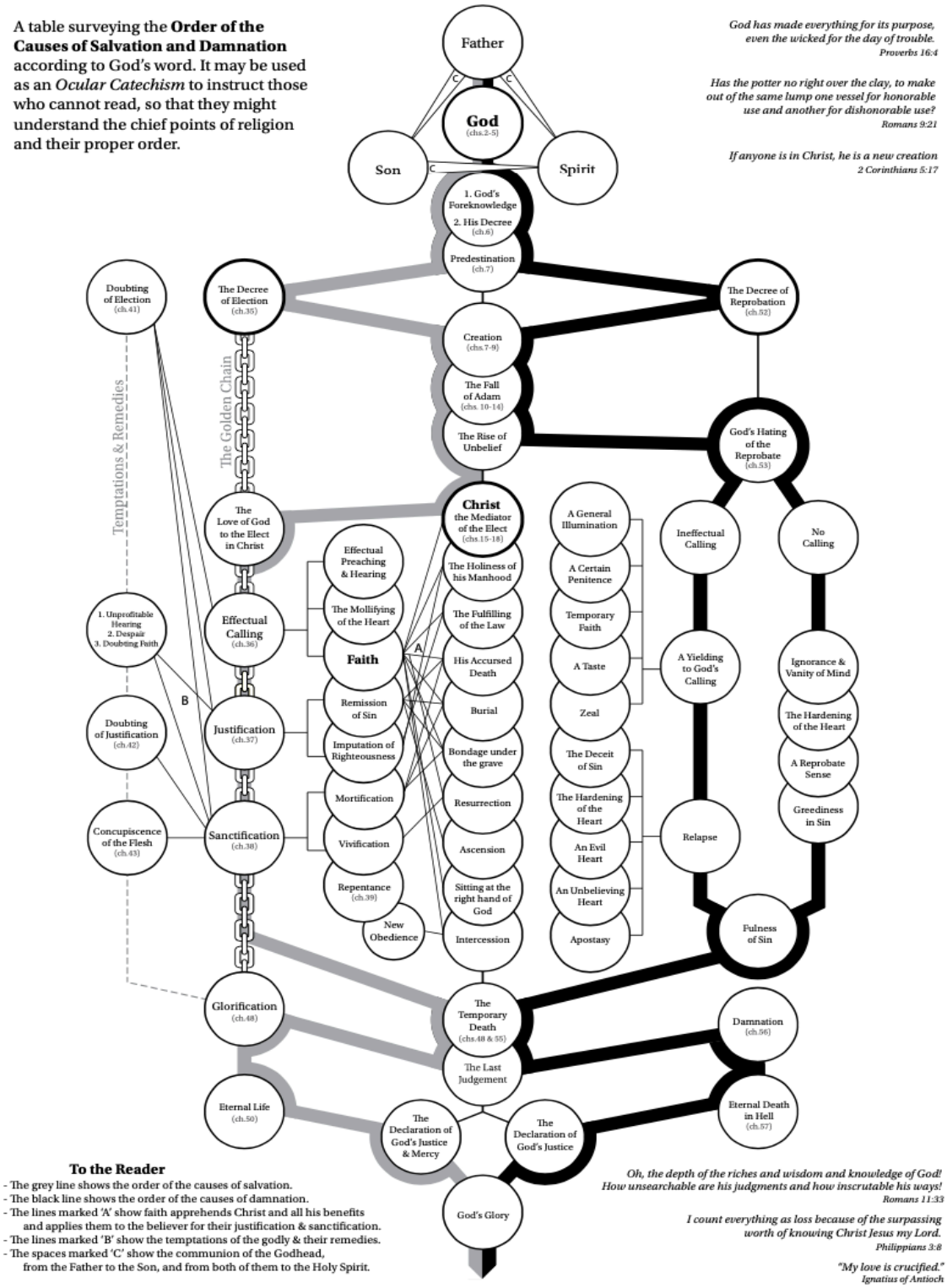
Having declared that Solomon was converted, repentant, and elect, he leveled and aligned the king with the rest of the godly miniature commonwealth, and his rhetorically layered approach thoroughly integrated Ecclesiastes to his time, place, and people, and to what he thought were their devotional needs. In doing so, Henry Smith went a long way toward transforming Ecclesiastes from an arcane and enigmatic text, clipped for the maxims that best served Tudor officialdom, into the pivotal story of each parishioner, who thereafter would themselves be walking 'continual sermons' to each other.

As the present thesis shall discuss further in Chapter 5, by the time the Perkins protégé and translator Robert Hill wrote his popular *The Contents of Scripture* in 1596 (Table 1, Row 29), phrases like '[Ecclesiastes] doth testifie his unfeigned repentance' were standard characterizations of the scripture, and it was standard for Solomon to stand as an accessible story of salvific success.[132] Insofar as the prior historiography and print histories are unanimous in affirming Smith's popularity and best-seller status, it can be stated with confidence that the materials consulted here were among the widest-read Elizabethan presentations of the latest Reformed thinking on Ecclesiastes and its believed author. In short, Solomon as elect and saved, Ecclesiastes as the testimonial of his progress in the *ordo salutis*, both as truths vital to godly prayer, living, and life cycle, were not matters bandied in print before Henry Smith's works hit the printers. Accordingly, it should not be *post hoc ergo propter hoc* to offer that *The Triall of Vanitie*, *The Young-mans Taske*, *The Trumpet of the Soule*, and the other sources sampled here contributed significantly to the popular English reception of those novel interpretations and devotional modes for Ecclesiastes.

> He might have mollified his tearmes, before he condemned the worlde thrice, but the worlde is no changling that Salomon shoulde change his judgement, but vaine it was, vaine it is, and vaine it will bee, and therefore a thrice vaine worlde hee may call it: First, Vanity, straight Vanity of vanities, and sodainelie All is vanitie.
>
> What a transcendent is this?[133]

†

[132] Robert Hill, *The Contents of Scripture* (London, 1596), p. 259 (brackets added).
[133] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 833.



Contemporary graphic (copyright Matthew Payne & Tulip Publishing 2022) based upon William Perkins, diagram, *A Golden Chaine, or A Description of Theologie*, 1591.

Figure 4

Chapter 3

Henry "Silver-tongued" Smith: Devotional Godly Mimesis and 'Salomons Theame', Part 2

What would Salomon say, if he should see how vanitie is growen since his time, what a hight she is mounted, what a traine followes her, that there is no prince in the world hath so many attendants as vanitie.

Henry Smith, *The Triall of Vanitie*, *c.*1590

Part 1 (Chapter 2) focused on how Henry Smith preached Ecclesiastes and Solomon as sources of Reformed doctrine and as touchstones for godly devotional practice. 'Remembrance' was one of the main themes of *The Triall of Vanitie*, *The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule*, it was the penitential mentality that Smith saw as vital to the workings of the 'golden chaine'. As he said in *The Triall of Vanitie,* the elect who live in godly remembrance will 'repent *with* Salomon', will be graced with conversion and regeneration, and will persevere in ongoing, prayerful repentance through the remainder of their lives.

The present chapter has a related but different focus: the visible, displayed quality of 'remembrance', the puritan mien that Smith (and other puritans lay and clerical) acknowledged as a distinctive aspect of the godly community. The "godly" referent in the title refers to the concept of remembrance as social saintliness, how one should 'walk with God' and with like-minded others in godly kinship, letting their remembrance be their distinction. And as to the "mimesis" referent in the title, the present chapter discusses how Smith deployed verisimilitude and figural representation to enrich his transmission of Ecclesiastes and build upon its scriptural foundations, delving further into Smith's three-dimensional manipulations of time, space, and character in his expositions of the scripture. In his three main sermons, Smith re-figured Solomon to be like an English schoolteacher instructing his students on remembrance; the parishioner to be like Enoch, father of Methuselah, who walked for 300-plus years in remembrance; the abstract of Vanity was personified like a queen, and Solomon like a bystander to her summer progress; and Solomon's son, Rehoboam, was highlighted as a cautionary figure for England's rulers.

As discussed in the Introduction, the present study has proceeded from an impressionistic framework regarding "puritanism", and has joined previous scholars in suggesting that, in the end, puritanism was as about process as it was about doctrine. Beyond

their commitments to double predestination, assurance, the preached Word, the Lord's Supper, and the Sabbath, puritanism was about appearance. It was the earnestly displayed desire on the part of the more intensely predestinarian Reformed to progress their selves, their parishes, villages, etc., and their nation in reformation beyond that which came forth from Crown and Canterbury. It was also an outlook that manifested itself in the magnetic seriousness of those English men and women who aspired to see continual sermons in everyone around them, and to be seen as continual sermons to everyone around them. Correspondingly, the sections on the similes of the schoolteacher and of Enoch speak to the aspect of puritanism that was concerned with the progress and visibility of personal reformation; the sections on the similes of Vanity and of Rehoboam speak to the politico-ecclesiastical aspect of puritanism that was concerned with criticizing the look and substance of the nation's reformation. The historiographical subtext of all these sections is the further demonstration of Ecclesiastes and Solomon emerging as key theological and enculturating devices to puritan divines like Henry Smith, who from *c.*1590 seem to have discerned that the perfection of England's reformation would come about not by upending the kingdom's ecclesiastical system, but by their daily fostering of true saintliness in their parishioners, gadders, patrons, and readers.

The Conclusion shall summarize the arguments of the present and preceding chapters, and it shall offer the present researcher's final thoughts on Henry Smith's place in the reception history of the book of Ecclesiastes.

Smith's Godly & Mimetic Perspective

In *The Banquet of Job's Children*, Henry Smith spoke of the godly countenance, and acknowledged that the puritans had a certain look about them. At the same time he denied that all joys must involve abject indulgence and silliness and suggested that one can be convivial without being utterly forgetful of God; that the saintly person might even slip a little, here and there, without risking damnation, for it's one thing to slip up but it's another thing to purposefully drive God away when one is socializing.

> I have heard many say, that they cannot be merie, unles they swear and whoop, & carouse, & dally, & gibe: therefore if they can choose they will never bee a guest where any godly man is present, *lest his countenance or wordes should dash their sport; & if any matter of God happen to come in while they are in the vaine, it is like a damp which puts out their lights, and turnes their mirth into heavinesse*, as the hideous hande which wrote upon the wall cast Baltasar into a dumpe…

> *It may be (thought Job) that my sonnes have a spice of this vanitie. If it be so with the godly sort, as Jobs children were, that they may forget themselves at such a time*, & step too farre, and slip a sinne, what shall wee say of them that drive God out of their company when they banquet, and say that scripture dooth not become the table, as though we should forget God while wee receive his benefits…?[1]

So Smith was of the view that 'the godly sort' could surely go about and socialize with other sorts 'in the vaine' without losing their mindfulness of Providence and without driving God from their company. The 'spice of vanitie', humankind's faulty nature (in Victorine terms, the *vanitas culpae*), was common to all by the decretal will of God, and the godly man could be social, and even convivial, without placing his soul at additional risk; he might even indulge just enough to avoid 'a damp which puts out their lights ', but whilst 'in the vaine' he should try to not 'forget themselves at such a time & step too farre'. Still, Smith did not decry the phenomena of the puritan 'countenance or wordes'; both individually and as a community, their repentant dispositions, and present desires to keep God constantly in their company were not things to hide. Reading between the lines, it seems that ideally the puritan mien was only sufficiently visible and sufficiently audible; the godly 'countenance or wordes' were quite real forms of credentialing, to be presented freely and confidently, but only to the extent that the situation warranted. In any case, given his popularity in the pews and in the print shops, Smith's puritanism, which held that scripture doth become the table, that one should simply not forget God whilst she received His benefits, was attractive enough to those who were so inclined.

The following sections discuss what more *The Triall of Vanitie*, *The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule* can tell us about the puritan mien. It is argued that Henry Smith preached Ecclesiastes as one of the most important scriptural sources for godly presence of mind, which would allow the saints to 'become Preachers unto other, and shew some fruits of our calling, as Salomon left this book for a monument to all ages'.[2] Which meant that the godly had to be "on" at all times, and to be watchful and correcting neighbors, 'such precise reproovers',[3] and continual sermons to one another. He would call that (often annoying) quality of puritan neighborliness, 'remembrance', and he chose to make that quality the theme of two of his most important sermons, one of which was delivered at the most important pulpit in the country. That Smith chose the scripture of Ecclesiastes and theme of

[1] Smith, *The Sermons*, pp. 1052-3 (portions omitted, emphasis added).
[2] ibid., pp. 821-2.
[3] ibid., p. 842.

remembrance for his Paul's Cross sermon is telling of their centrality in his thinking on the scripture's significance to godly living and practical divinity.

'Remember…remember…what they should remember…'

Both *The Trumpet of the Soule* and *The Young-mans Taske* insisted that remembrance was the saint's path through *vanitas* to godliness. Their base texts were the consecutive and thematically connected verses of Eccles. 11:9 and 12:1.

> Rejoyce, O yong man, in thy youth, and let thine heart cheere thee in the dayes of thy youth: and walke in the waies of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: but knowe that for all these things, God will bring thee to judgement. [Eccles. 11:9]
>
> Remember nowe thy Creator in the days of thy youth, whiles the evill days come not, nor the yeeres approche, wherein thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them. [Eccles. 12:1]

And true to style, Smith's rhetoric guided the homiletical event of the imagination by manipulating the words of Solomon himself, presenting him as a timeless, godly preacher speaking from the pulpit of the mind's eye. The best example appears in *The Young-mans Taske*, where in just a few lines Smith relayed what 'Solomon sayd' and employed the rhetorical devices of *Conduplicatio* (repeating key words in subsequent clauses), *Epistrophe* (repeating key words at the end of clauses & sentences), and *Antithesis* (pairing opposite ideas in a sentence) to contrast the trait of worldling indulgence against the trait of godly remembrance:

> In the next chapter before, and the ninth verse [Eccles. 11:9], Salomon sayd, *Rejoyce* O young man in thy youth: now he hath chaunged his note to *Remember* O young man in thy youth. No more *Rejoyce*, but *Remember*. Salomon mocked before, and shewed what they did *remember*: here he shewes *what they should remember*.[4]

As discussed in Part 1, Smith's reading of the maxims of Eccles 11:9 and 12:1 accentuated their inherently ironic tones, and he stressed that the soteriological steps of conversion and repentance were matters of utmost urgency and actuation. His application of the scripture was in alignment with what R. T. Kendall has observed of William Perkins' theology on the active, willful second grace of conversion that would necessarily confirm the initial, passive grace given to the elect at the beginning of time, and also of the transformed

[4] ibid., p. 454 (emphasis added).

will or 'new obedience' of repentance that flowed from sanctification (Fig. 4).[5] Smith preached this as essential to the meanings of Eccles. 11:9 and Eccles. 12:1, and argued that the verses presented tests for the elect and the reprobate alike, that they were fork-tongued, implied invitations to sin, 'for he meaneth otherwise then he speaketh'.[6] The verses were meant to goad the reader to action one way or another, to sin or to 'walke in' the right ways of repentance and remembrance. 'What a thing is this to say rejoyce, and then repent: what a blank to saye take thy pleasure, and then thou shalt come to judgement: it is as if he [Solomon] should saye, steale and be hanged'.[7]

The fork-tongued invitation to sinfulness had to be overcome by the faculty of understanding and the activation of the elect's will to remember Christ's judgment with an unflagging presence of mind. Ecclesiastes' narrative misdirection was a pneumatological means to an end; it made more vehement the Holy Spirit's call to the faithful individual, and to the community of the faithful, to be always "on", and to persuade the elect that there was no moment "off" when it came to sin. 'Remember Judgment', Smith emphasized, '*if thou remember this alwaies*, then thou shalt have little list to sinne: if thou remember this, then thou shalt have little list to fall downe to the devill'.[8] Accordingly, remembrance was both indelible to the doctrines of sanctification and perseverance, and it was an individual and a collectivized virtue, a visible trait or credential of the puritans which rang with the same timbre as William Perkins, who urged that the repentant emerged anew and displayed the 'infallible mark of the child of God'.[9] Smith hammered on these points in both *The Trumpet of the Soule* and *The Young-mans Taske*, over and again using the terms "remember" and "remembrance", "forgetteth" and "forgetfull", and the like, echoing other sermons as well (such as *The Godlie Mans Request*, 'wee cannot remember that which we should, because we remember so many things which we should forget…Salomon bids us remember…').[10]

This shows us that active remembrance was a mixture of doctrinal belief and social practice that clearly was a matter of great importance to the lay puritans and their ministers. For in the end, as Smith urged repeatedly, it is the quality of remembrance that is one of the singular and most powerful traits of the Almighty himself; to be "godly" one needed to

[5] R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 64-5; pp. 72-3.
[6] Smith, *Trumpet*, sigs $A_{[4]}^{r} – A_{[4]}^{v}$.
[7] ibid., sigs $A_{[5]}^{r} – A_{[5]}^{v}$ (brackets added).
[8] ibid., sig. $A5^{v}$ (emphasis added).
[9] Kendall, *English Calvinism*, p. 72.
[10] Smith, *The Sermons*, pp. 562-3 (portions omitted).

approach life with as much of a divine mind as the inherently flawed, mortal mind could muster. 'What, do ye not think that God doth not remember our sinnes which we doo not regarde? for while we sinne, the score runs on, and the Judge setteth downe all in the Table of remembrance, & his scrole reacheth up to heaven'.[11] As the Judge of all, Christ's mind is the perfect *aide-mémoire*, and since the godly had no chance at such divine perfection their only hope was to try and synch with God's salvific decrees through indefatigable mindfulness and through repentant prayer. In fact, Smith said, each sinner who comes to judgment having been forgetful of their sins is 'like the dreamer that forgetteth his dreame', and, as their sins are recounted from Christ's Table of Remembrance, they will stand before Him 'in admiration like dreamers which dreame strange thinges and know not how they come'.[12] And thus, as Smith said in *The Young-mans Taske*, drawing upon associations the early moderns drew between the Devil, nighttime temptations, and the impiety of the dream world,[13] it is 'the remembrance of God which would wake sinners'.[14] As they had a sense that sleep and dreaming were 'earthly fetters from which the regenerate were liberated by grace',[15] it is quite telling that in his exposition Smith analogized waking sin to impious dreaming, that the spiritual sleepiness which flowed from ignorance of *vanitas* had to be countered by godly awareness and constancy.[16]

Surely it was at some waking hour that Henry Smith had determined that Paul's Cross, the nation's most prestigious public pulpit, was the right place to deliver *The Trumpet of the Soule* and to apply Ecclesiastes toward the fuller reformation of his compatriots and the criticism of its ecclesiastical institutions. It was to the great benefit of his vocation and coin purse, and, unbeknownst to him, it was to the great benefit of reception historians and early modernists, that Smith seized the opportunity. As to Smith's personal benefit, recall that, as per John Strype's account (Part 1, Background), *The Trumpet of the Soule* led to his gaining the

[11] Smith, *Trumpet,* sig. B_1^r.
[12] ibid., sig. $A_{[5]}^v$.
[13] P. G. Maxwell-Stuart reported fascinating cases, e.g. of individuals who claimed sabbath attendance with Satan only to find that they had just been asleep and dreaming; and of some, such as Martin Luther and Richard Norwood, who may have experienced demons during daydreams. P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Satan: A Biography* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2008), pp. 136-7; p. 141. See also, Alec Ryrie, 'Sleeping, Waking, and Dreaming in Protestant Piety' in *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Jessica Martin & Alec Ryrie (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 73-92.
[14] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 456.
[15] Ryrie, 'Sleeping', p. 79.
[16] This theme was also in line with the thought of William Perkins, who surmised that the elect were born into a state of unbelief, they were not able to even dream of their salvation, and he believed that the preaching of the Law (the Old Testament, including Ecclesiastes), showing humankind their sins and the punishment thereof, was the 'certaine meanes' that would simultaneously awaken them and be God's preparation of their hearts for the conferral of faith. Kendall, *English Calvinism*, p. 59.

post of lecturer at St Clement Danes.[17] As to the benefit bestowed by *The Trumpet of the Soule* on reception historians, the present thesis would suggest that this sermon should be considered as seminal in the reception history of Ecclesiastes in England. Central to this suggestion is the consideration of the event's venue. Mary Morrissey's interdisciplinary monograph on sermon culture at Paul's Cross is perhaps the capstone of the venue's historiography, which has exposed the Churchyard and its environs as one of the most important, multifarious, politicized, socio-religious habitats of the kingdom. It was the seat of the Bishop of London, who controlled the space in tension with the royal government and the Corporation of London; the most prestigious public pulpit in England, where the preachers performed per the invitation and sponsorship of the foregoing authorities; the spot where national policy and news was announced; the center of London's book trade, whether licit or illicit (pirated copies of Smith's oeuvre were major features of the latter); the location of St Paul's School, nest of humanism in England; and, it was the place where all strata of London society could be found in attendance, to see and to be seen, to hear and be heard.[18] Generally speaking, it was tense and contested ground with many the opportunities to misstep,[19] and the contestants included puritans of varying degrees of puritanical passion, some of whom found their ways to the pulpit. In many cases, the Bishop's sponsorship was underwritten by powerful private interests that had puritan leanings, i.e. certain London livery companies (for example, John Stockwood gave two Paul's Cross sermons and was backed by the Skinners Company).[20] But on the other hand, Bishop Aylmer was reliably resistant to London puritans (as we have seen viz. Henry Smith), and, Lord Burghley's agents were running what we now would call sting operations at the Churchyard booksellers, in efforts to catch various people, particularly clergy, in making subversive statements, and even to prod and entrap them into making seditious speech.[21]

Although England *c.*1590 was a pedigreed Protestant state, the nature and future of the nation's public faith was still being played out from and around the pulpit at Paul's

[17] Strype, *Aylmer*, pp. 152-7.
[18] Morrissey, *Paul's Cross*, *supra*; as to the pirated books trade, p. 46. As to news and the book trade, see Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 137-138. See also, Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
[19] Seaver, *Puritan Lectureships*, pp. 58-66. NB: Prof. Seaver reported the example of one John Manningham, whose commonplace book documented one crowd's reception of Stephen Egerton, who preached against women vainly appareled, only to be disciplined after the many women in the auditory complained. ibid., p. 64.
[20] See Millar MacLure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958); Ben Lowe, 'Stockwood, John (d. 1610)', *ODNB*.
[21] Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Methuen, 1982), p. 202; p. 405.

Crosse. Scholars such as Torrance Kirby have argued that St Paul's was one of the most important mixed-use sites in the kingdom, a venue that was used 'to persuade, to resolve the conscience through closely reasoned biblical exegesis, [and] cogent argumentation', to appeal to the 'human faculties of memory, understanding, and will' that were the focus of the evangelical reformers.[22] To this last point, it is hoped that the present thesis adds the fact that *The Trumpet of the Soule*, delivered sometime before Smith was hired on as lecturer at St Clement Danes in 1587, was one of the earliest Elizabethan sermons delivered at Paul's Cross that preached from Ecclesiastes as its base text,[23] one of the earliest to go beyond *The Books of Homilies* to make an in-depth application of the scripture to those human faculties referred to by Dr. Kirby, and of the earliest to attempt to shape the socio-religious outlook of London's largest auditory via a distinctively puritan reading of 'Salomon's theame'.

The opening lines of *The Trumpet of the Soule* testify to the potential opportunities and pitfalls - in a word, the dilemma - posed by the milieu of Paul's Cross, and they also contain hints of Smith's cagey resolution to the dilemma.

> When I should have preached under the Crosse, I mused what text to take in hand to please all, and to keepe my selfe out of danger: and musing, I could not finde any text in the Scripture that did not reprove sinne, unlesse it were in the Apocrapha, which is not of the Scripture.[24]

These lines betray an agenda that Smith 'mused' upon much, insofar as 'to please all' would have been a fool's errand and failing 'to please all' would have inevitably put him in conflict with someone or some group. His first riposte was the duty to preach scripturally, which itself may have been sufficient justification for preaching Ecclesiastes for the edification of both the puritans and any openminded critics.[25] The second was his rejection of the apocryphal texts as superfluous, in what arguably was a gratuitous, referential swipe at the *Book of Common Prayer*, which required readings of apocrypha (for example, the book of Wisdom was required reading in the First Lessons scheduled for late October and early November). It seems a fair

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[22] Torrance Kirby, 'The Public Sermon: Paul's Cross and the Culture of Persuasion in England, 1534-1570', in *Renaissance and Reformation*, 31.1 (Winter 2008), 3-29, p. 10; p. 14; p. 18.

[23] *The Trumpet of the Soule* seemingly predates the *Eight Sermons* by George Gifford, which are the earliest sermons on Ecclesiastes curated by Alan Fager Herr and Stuart Weeks. See Herr, *Elizabethan Sermon*, p. 135; Weeks, *Many Books*, §93. Millar MacLure lists *The Trumpet* as *ante* 1593. Millar MacLure, revised and augmented by Jackson Campbell Boswell and Peter Pauls, *Register of Sermons Preached at Paul's Cross 1534-1642* (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1989), pp. 81-2.

[24] Smith, *Trumpet*, sig. A_3^r.

[25] Further from John Manningham, whose commonplace revealed that although he felt superior to the puritans, nevertheless he was an enthusiastic attendee of their sermons. Seaver, *Puritan Lectureships*, p. 64.

speculation that many in the auditory would have taken that reference as slashing at the sundry adiaphoric elements in the English Church. To Smith, the readings of the apocrypha, like Parliament's statutory preservation of the *tot quot* dispensation, were superfluous to the true saints, and were the dead-end trail of half-reformation in England. To close the metaphor, in his opening lines (in print, that is) Smith's parry to any riposte by London and Canterbury was his simple, modest desire to preach the scriptures in reproval of sin. It was a standard sort of opening to a puritan sermon, only a few lines quickly delivered but not un-cleverly.

Later in the sermon, however, Smith was both more direct and more evocative. As he concluded *The Trumpet of the Soule* he left his audience at a forked trail of the imagination, and called upon them to wake spiritually, to follow the Queen of Sheba to Jerusalem, and to be confirmed in Solomon's wisdom, or to remain in the caravan of the completely lost, who would only ever hear half of the story the king told of his journey to salvation.

> But if you come there, you may say as the Queen of Saba said of King Salomon, I beleeved the report that I heard of thee in my own Country, but the one halfe of thy wisdome was not tolde me: if you came there to see what is doone, you may say, now I beleeve the reporte that was tolde me in my own Country concerning this place, but the one halfe as now I feele I have not heard of.[26]

Thereupon the auditory was called to decide their paths in terms of the quality of remembrance. 'Now chuse you whether you will rejoyce or remember', said Smith, 'whether you will stand amongst you blessed or amongst you cursed'.[27] Considering the contextual habitat of its delivery, the closing of *The Trumpet of the Soule* reads as a figurative juxtaposition of the two divergent socio-ecclesiological paths of late Elizabethan England: the half-reformed way of the official Church was a spur trail (one which branches off the main trail and likely leads to a dead end); the puritan way of the preaching ministry and the puritan community of remembrance was the main trail (which brought one to the new Jerusalem, as Smith may have said). Sheba's was the clear path of complete reformation, whereas the archbishop's path was strewn with hurdles and hindrances and was the dead-end path of half-reformation.

Henry Smith was almost tacit in his opening, and nigh explicit in his closing, that Ecclesiastes and Solomon stood, in part, for the salvific superiority of the godly preaching ministry over the official reading ministry. The socio-politicized exegesis of *The Trumpet of the*

[26] Smith, *Trumpet*, sig. $B_{[3]}{}^{v} – B_{[4]}{}^{r}$.
[27] ibid., sig. $B_{[4]}{}^{r}$.

Soule was delivered in furtherance of an important aspect of puritan culture, the identifiable or displayed mindset of 'remembrance'. That socio-political aspect was inextricable from the sermon's devotional appeal to Ecclesiastes for 'remembrance', which called for the unity between the interiority of presence and the exteriority of the godly mien that the faithful were to exhibit – via their 'countenance or wordes' - while navigating English life. So *The Trumpet of the Soule* not only evidences the increased sophistication of English engagements with Ecclesiastes *c.*1590, but, considering the contested habitat at Paul's Cross and of the popularity of that sermon's readership (licit and illicit), it exists as a seminal early modern English engagement with the scripture. It spoke directly to the practical crux of the age - how to best perfect both the reformation of the individual, and just as well, the reformation of the parish, corporate, and national collectives – and it argued from the authority of Solomon that remembrance was fundamental to what Simon du Toit has referred to as the 'properly ordered interior' in England.[28] This reading unveils Smith's Churchyard preaching of Ecclesiastes as puritan *vade mecum*, which advocated for the displayed, saintly wakefulness that Smith found to be essential to the full reformation of the self and of the community.

'Like a good Tutor he teacheth them their dutie: Remember'

Part 1 (Chapter 2) established that one of the most distinctive aspects of Henry Smith's engagement with Ecclesiastes is how he immersed its believed author in England's Reformation, e.g. in *The Triall of Vanitie* he called on the saints to imagine Solomon as a seaside preacher who would be critical of the 'Totquot' of vanities in Elizabeth's England. To this palimpsest personality the present chapter shall add another set of characterizations that appear in *The Young-mans Taske* and in *The Trumpet of the Soule*: Solomon re-figured as English educators whose callings were to catechize saving remembrance to the timelessly young, godly people that lived inside each of the elect. In *The Trumpet of the Soule*, the figuration was the simile of a schoolmaster.

> Therefore when Salomon giveth a sharpe reprose, and maketh you ashamed in a word, he scoffingly bids you doe it againe, *like a Schoolemaister which beateth his Scholler for playing the truant*, he biddeth him playe the truant again: O this is the bitterest reproofe of all...But if we will understande his meaning, he meaneth when he saith, rejoyce O young man, repent O young man in thy youth.[29]

[28] Simon du Toit, 'The Market for Argument: Preaching the Puritan Counterpublic at Paul's Cross', in *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism*, 26.2 (2012), 75-96, p. 88. See also, idem, 'A greedie desire': Performing Puritan Passion', in *Ecumenica*, 2.2 (2009), 55-74.
[29] Smith, *Trumpet*, sigs A_4^r-A_4^v (emphasis added).

And in *The Young-mans Taske*, there were two similes, one of a schoolmaster and the other of a private tutor, which cast a bit wider of a figurative net.

> As the deepest wounds had neede to be first tented: so the unstablest mindes have neede to bee first confirmed. In this extremitie is youth, as Salomon shewes them before hee teacheth them. For in the last verse of the former chapter, he calleth youth vanitie, as if he would speake all evill in a word, and say that youth is even the age of sinne. Therfore when he had shewed young men their follie under the name of vanitie, *like a good Tutor he taketh them to schoole*, and teacheth them their dutie: Remember thy Creator, as though all sinne were the forgetfulnesse of God, and all our obedience came from this remembrance…*Therefore he becommeth a Schoolemaster for God*, and calleth children unto him before they be corrupted, *to teach them this one lesson for the guide of their life, Remember thy Creator*.[30]

The foregoing excerpts illustrate as well as any how thoroughly Henry Smith's engagements with Ecclesiastes broke with inherited exegetical and figurative traditions. Before *c.*1590, when it came to the sources of his own knowledge base, Solomon was seen as the recipient of wisdom granted by God at Gibeon (1 Kgs 3:12 and 2 Chr. 1:12), as one whose knowledge of the world was grounded in his varied life and extensive travels (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Wisdom), which ultimately engendered his disenchantment with worldly matters (Ecclesiastes). Most importantly for the present discussion, we can reiterate that for centuries Ecclesiastes had been interpreted as the memoirs of an aged, careworn man who found that, in the end, books and studying were sources of vexation, 'there is none ende in making many bookes, and much reading is a weariness of the flesh' (Eccles. 12:12). So for centuries, school, like reading, was just not Solomon's thing. A typical passage printed before Smith's volumes (which were printed from 1591 onward) can be found in John Stockwood's 1585 translation of Jean de Serres' *Learned Commentarie*.

> [Solomon] declareth by way of praeface that he bringeth not these thinges either from the opinion of the common people, *nor from the schooles of man* his wisedome, but fetcheth out of the very storehouse of the truth which soundeth in the Church of God, grounded on sure sentences of God his decrees, as namely that happiness consisteth in godliness.[31]

Similarly, Thomas Pye's 1586 translation of Antonio del Corro, *Solomons sermon of mans chief felicitie*, stressed Solomon's 'ripenesse of age…& experience [that] had grown up with age', and when the 'so wise a king' penned Ecclesiastes, it was the text of 'what wisedome soever

[30] Smith, *The Sermons*, pp. 455-6 (portion omitted, emphasis added).
[31] Stockwood, *Learned Commentarie*, sig. ¶¶ii^{r} (brackets added, emphasis added).

[Solomon] had (which God of his bounty hath poured upon [him] aboundantly)'.[32] Likewise Richard Greenham, one of Smith's mentors, characterized Solomon as 'well disposed' and endowed with gifts of 'regeneration and government' as a youth, then who fell into sin, yet obtained grace 'by extraordinarie priviledge…dispensed of by GOD', and therefore Ecclesiastes was a practical and real history, wherein 'the proofe and experience of the reporter affordeth great credit' above the 'speculative and imaginary reasons' of formal syllogisms made in schools.[33] For Stockwood, Pye, and Greenham, it was key that Solomon need *not* have been schooled himself to be the conveyor of divine wisdom; for Smith, it was key that Solomon *could* have been, and surely could at least be imagined as, a schoolteacher that anyone in his congregation *would* recognize and benefit from.

Scholars have long seen the sixteenth century as a period of expanding and broadening education relative to the medieval past, its major features including the rise of humanism and the humanist *imitatio* curriculum,[34] the uptick in the number of school foundations (in many cases, more accurately styled as re-foundations of long established schools),[35] and the increase in access to education, with higher raw numbers of young people being educated than before (possibly with the curve steepening sharply in the final two decades of the century).[36] There is ongoing scholarly debate on the steepness of the Elizabethan educational access curve,[37] but it seems reasonable to acknowledge that a large percentage of the population, the greater than 50% who were in the lower ranks of husbandman and below, did not have access to the grammar schools.[38] Nevertheless, even subjects in the lowest ranks of Elizabethan society would have *known of* teachers, schoolmasters, tutors. By *c.*1590, educators of various sorts were familiar societal entities to most if not all strata of English society, including to individuals who had not received much or any education. Henry Smith's references to 'a good Tutor' and 'Schoolemaster for God' may have had more layers of experiential meaning to those men and women who had been educated, but by the same token, his characterizations

[32] Pye, *Solomons sermon*, sig. *ij^{v}; sig. *iiij^{r}; sig. Oiij^{v} (brackets added).
[33] Greenham, *Workes*, p. 628 (portion omitted).
[34] Essential texts are Baldwin, *Shakespere's Small Latine*, *supra*, and M. L. Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain, 1500-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).
[35] Emily Lynn Hansen, 'From "Humanist" to "Godly"? The Changing Social Function of Education in Early Modern English Grammar Schools' (PhD thesis, University of York, 2015), pp. 75-80.
[36] Lawrence Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', in *Past and Present*, 28.1 (July 1964), 41-80.
[37] David Cressy has been more conservative than Prof. Stone in describing educational evolution during the sixteenth century. David Cressy, 'Educational Opportunity in Tudor and Stuart England', in *History of Education Quarterly*, 16.3 (Autumn 1976), 301-20.
[38] ibid., p. 313.

would have had some referentiality to even the humblest of his auditors (a factor that surely was in keeping with the Pauline ideal of preachers being 'all thinges to all men').

Moreover, thanks to the studies of several early modernists, we have general profiles of the late Elizabethan educators that likely fit well with the schoolmaster etc. figurations of Solomon in *The Trumpet of the Soule* and the *The Young-mans Taske*.[39] As the Reformation progressed their roles in society evolved quickly, and from the 1550s onward teachers were increasingly seen, within and without Elizabeth's officialdom, as not only the preparers of young minds for professional vocations (clerical, legal, etc.), but also as among the means by which the Queen built upon and enforced the Religious Settlement. They were not a well-travelled group; most began teaching at the schools at which they had been taught in their youth. Whether young (they commonly started teaching in their mid-20s and became masters at about 30) or old (for some teaching was their lifelong career), they usually regarded their jobs as thankless, as held in low esteem by others, and as sorely underpaid in relation to the effort and knowledge required of them. It could be said that, as purely a matter of a salary to cost of living ratio, many struggled to be "middling sort" and many would have had to take on side-work (private tutoring, tailoring, surveying, etc.) to make ends meet. Neither was their plight unknown, yet still they were expected to shape minds and souls skillfully and religiously, in many cases serving, as do teachers in our times, as back-up or stand-in parents to their charges. As Richard Mulcaster said emotionally in 1581, 'Our calling creeps low and hath pain for companion, still thrust to the wall though still confessed good'.[40] By *c.*1590 the English grammar schoolmaster, whom we can squarely match to the above excerpts, had an expansive and expanding role in English society, a role that was considered to be quite humbler than the ministry, yet at the same time it was seen as vital to the reformation of the country and to the fashioning and catechizing of the minds and souls of the young.[41]

It is no strained interpretation to read *The Trumpet of the Soule* and *The Young-mans Taske* as having inverted the inherited narrative and figure of Solomon, and as having elevated the profile and role of the late Elizabethan educator. In both sermons, Solomon was not only

[39] Richard L. DeMolen, 'Richard Mulcaster and the Profession of Teaching in Sixteenth Century England', in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 35.1 (March 1974), 121-29; David Cressy, 'A Drudgery of Schoolmasters: The Teaching Profession in Elizabethan and Stuart England', in *The Professions in Early Modern England*, ed. by Wilfrid Prest (London; New York: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 129-53; Markku Peltonen, 'Virtues in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Grammar Schools', in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 42.1 (2012), 157-79; Hansen, 'Grammar Schools', *supra*.
[40] Richard Mulcaster, *Positions Wherin Those Primitive Circumstances be Examined, Which are Necessarie for the Training up of Children*, 1581 (London: Thoemmes Press, 1995), p. 231.
[41] Hansen, 'Grammar Schools', pp. 149-52.

the regal, aged, oriental sage who had fenced higher proverbs against the low cunning quips of Marcolf, who found books and studying to be common, to be sources of vexation, who rested upon his personal travels and observations, and upon his divinely endowed wisdom. When Smith characterized him as a 'schoolmaster' or as a 'tutor', Solomon was readily, immediately recognizable to all estates, including the 'common sort' within his congregation; as the sermon was heard, or as it was read, the recipient could imagine him as not unlike the middling sort of Englishman, as likely to be young as old, and not so well-travelled, so forth. And at the same time, of course, Smith exalted the standing of the schoolteacher merely by having Solomon don the academic gown. So the palimpsest personality that was Smith's version of Solomon included this layered character who would lead the elect, still children of the imagination no matter their ages, to school to 'teacheth them their dutie: Remember thy Creator', and who would scold when he had to, 'like a Schoolemaister which beateth his Scholler for playing the truant'. Even more connective was the conception Smith drew of Ecclesiastes' author as the kindest sort of Elizabethan teacher - in his sermon *The Dialogue betweene Paul and Agrippa*, Smith's conclusion noted that the figures of Solomon and Paul stood for what some in our time would call "gentle pedagogies", that 'an humble heart is a good Schoolmaister both to apply comfort and reproofe'.[42]

That inverted, humbled, and schooled version of Solomon had much more in common with John Stockwood, who took his vocations of grammarian and educator very seriously, and yet who urged that sparing the rod did not necessarily spoil the child. 'Some of you, thinke over muche gentlenesse to be the way, and others continual and tyrannical scourgyng and whypping to be the way, whereas in deed you are both sortes far and wide out of the waye'.[43] Indeed, the profile of the Solomonic English educator in Smith's characterizations too had much in common with John Stockwood himself, who in several writings and sermons had argued vehemently for the role of the godly educator in guiding and completing the proper reformation of England, and who paralleled fervency in preaching with fervency in teaching.[44] Which is to suggest that perhaps Smith not only asked his auditoria to imagine a godly, schoolmaster Solomon, but also a Solomonic, godly schoolmaster, that alongside the Latins and rhetoric and other aspects of the sixteenth century curriculum, the godly sort of educator should teach the puritan virtue of remembrance as Solomon had done in Ecclesiastes. And furthermore, perhaps he asked his auditoria to consider that the 'good

[42] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 953.
[43] John Stockwood, *A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse on Barthelmew Day* (London, 1578), p. 89.
[44] See Du Toit, 'Puritan Counterpublic', *supra*.

Tutor' of skillful and religious education should be held in higher esteem by his compatriots, approaching that esteem they would hold for Solomon if he were amongst them. If so, then perhaps Smith's schoolmaster figurations were, conterminously, subtly subverting the use of educators as tools of conformity with the Religious Settlement whilst overtly elevating godly teachers and catechizers of English subjects young and old.

'Walk with God as Enoch did, and remember well'

To this point the preceding and present chapters have focused on Henry Smith's figurations of Solomon, but to gain the full picture of his mimetic perspective on Ecclesiastes one should also explore how *The Triall of Vanitie*, *The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule* populated the homiletical events of the imagination with other biblical figures and with the godly themselves. The present chapter's parallax now shifts to reveal that Smith also endeavored to turn each recipient of his sermons into a sort of palimpsest personality who, through the Reformed, puritan imagination, guided by the sermon, could populate the theological and historical landscapes of Solomon's world. Just as Smith's exegetical exercises encouraged his audiences to be 'continual sermons to everyone around them',[45] he encouraged them to be what Barbara Lewalski has called 'living allegories' of the Antediluvians, the Israelites etc. whom he chose as referents in addition to Solomon.[46] Through these critical prisms the sermons on Ecclesiastes read as adept balancers of Calvinism's commitments to the literalistic reading of the scriptures, to the experimental relationship of the faithful to the scriptures,[47] and to what Thomas Luxon has called the puritan 'allegorical understanding of reality' and history.[48] Dr. Luxon and like-minded scholars have rightly identified the debates on and crises in mimetic representation in early modern England, but in the works of Henry Smith we see examples of the sort of puritan preacher who never hesitated to apply depiction and mimicry in his homiletics. If there was a crisis in puritan allegory and representation in early modern England, it was not in the room when Henry Smith was lecturing on Ecclesiastes.

Some initial examples are now in order. Consider Smith's drawing on recipients' everyday experiences with passages speaking to the carnality of reality (in Victorine terms,

[45] Winship, *Hot Protestants*, *supra*.
[46] Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, p. 132-9.
[47] cf. Rev. Dr. Kendall opined that Smith was an example of a preacher who was devotional in his focus and too 'cautious' in his soteriology to qualify as an 'experimental predestinarian'. Kendall, *English Calvinism*, p. 80.
[48] Luxon, *Literal Figures*, p. 24-7.

vanitas mutabilitatis, the changeability of all things, and *vanitas poenalitatis*, the decay and death of all things) and the fleshy reality of Odysseus's scar (the subject of the famous first chapter in *Mimesis*, Erich Auerbach's magnum opus on literary representation and verisimilitude) might also come to mind when one reads this redolent passage in *The Young-mans Taske*.

> In all our lyfe wee finde no leasure to live well, but flit from sinne to sin, from wicked thoughts to wicked speeches, from wicked speeches to wicked deedes, *as the flie skippeth from scab to scab*, untill wee bee cast so farre behinde, that we have no courage to goe forward.[49]

In that passage, sinners are the very figures of flies seeking out scabs, both sinner and fly are mindless creatures embroiled with the ugliest realities of the temporal world – sin, injury, death, and decay - with which Ecclesiastes was so concerned (especially in the macabre ending of the poem, Eccles. 12). As Odysseus's nursemaid Euryclea recognized the hero by the boar scar on his thigh, so Smith's parishioner could recognize the draws of sin and vanity through his similitude with the fly. There *The Young-mans Taske* was Homeric representative detail applied with the Elohistic concern for underlying religious truth; the stark representation of the concept (sin = injury, so a scab is as a sin) conveyed the truth underneath reality, in order to enfold reader into biblical story, or as Auerbach famously stated, 'to fit our own life into its [the biblical] world, to feel ourselves to be elements in its structure of universal history'.[50] Indeed, Smith directly called upon the parishioner and reader to join with the lecturer and transport into the scripture's narrative world, to "imagine" or "see" or "walk with" the biblical figures who were narratively mixed at-will within the sermon's event of the imagination. In *The Trumpet of the Soule*, for example:

> *Imagine you see* a sinner going to hell, and his somner gape at him, his acquaintance looke at him, the Angelles shoute at him, and the Saints laugh at him, & the devills raile at him…
>
> *Me thinks I see* Achan running about where shall I hide my golde that I have stolen…
>
> And Judas running to the high Priests saying: holde, take againe your money…
>
> And Esaw crying for the blessing when it is too late, having solde his birth-right for a messe of pottage.[51]

[49] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 469 (emphasis added).
[50] Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis* (Princeton University Press, 2013). https://www.perlego.com/book/735831/mimesis-pdf (10th April 2023), Ch. 1 'Odysseus' Scar'.
[51] Smith, *Trumpet*, sigs B_2^r-B_2^v (portions omitted).

Now prefatorily and as a point of clarification, this is not to state that Henry Smith was groundbreaking in using Old Testament figures to stimulate what Northrop Frye has called 'the typological imagination'.[52] And neither was he groundbreaking in suggesting that contemporary experiences were equivalents to and fulfillments of the Old Testament stories. Early modern preachers constantly invited parishioners to understand themselves as characters living within the divinely written narrative of the Law. Imaginative and rhetorically gifted divines like Smith seem to have been especially adept at locating contemporary stories in the stories of the Old Testament. Accordingly, 'If we were well read in the story of our own lives', wrote Richard Sibbes, 'we might have a divinity of our own, drawn out of the observation of God's particular dealing with us'.[53] The primary theological imperative for such invitations seems to have been the doctrine of preparation, which held that whilst the Law itself cannot produce conversion, repentance, or faith (which are graces of the Gospel), the Law does give the elect a sort of distant mirror that reflects on, and is reflective of, contemporary conduct and sin. For the leading light of puritanism, William Perkins, the Old Testament served to make one 'dispaire of salvation in respect of ourselves' and it was the 'schoolemaster, not in plaine teaching, but by stripes and correction', which prepared the elect for the divine graces of the Gospel.[54] And therefore, as Thomas Luxon has observed, the objective of the puritan sermon was to facilitate pious hearers and readers finding themselves in the scriptures, to be transformed by an experimental, rather than a notional, understanding thereof.[55] Similarly, Protestant extra-homiletical expression tended to reflect such thinking, e.g. Deuteronomic history as the allegorical backdrop to Shakespeare's *Henry V*.[56] As Barbara Lewalski has observed, it was quite characteristic for early modern Protestants to view the Christian self as a correlative type along with the Elohistic self, 'located on the same spiritual plane and waiting like them for the fulfillment of all the signs in Christ at the end of time', a living allegory that 'recapitulates the spiritual essence of the Old Testament experiences in himself, thereby bringing his own life close to the province of typology'.[57] Yet whilst Henry Smith's leveraging of the typological imagination was not unique for the times, he was unique in how he leveraged the typological imagination

[52] Northrop Frye, *The Great Code* (New York; London: Harcourt Brace, 1983), p. 79. Furthermore, Dr. Frye explained that whilst biblical typology in respect of the New Testament was active and vital to Christianity, it was in no way confined thereto. In fact, 'the Old Testament is much more genuinely typological without the New Testament than with it', as it was within Judaism, of course. ibid., p. 83.
[53] Richard Sibbes, *The Soul's Conflict* (London, 1635), quoted in Luxon, *Literal Figures*, p. 25.
[54] William Perkins, *The Workes of William Perkins* (London, 1608), quoted in Kendall, *English Calvinism*, p. 60.
[55] Luxon, *Literal Figures*, pp. 3-4; p. 18.
[56] Steven Marx, 'Historical Types: Moses, David, and *Henry V*', in Steven Marx, *Shakespeare and The Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 40-58.
[57] Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, p. 132.

to compliment and facilitate his groundbreaking preaching of Solomon as a completely exemplary character, and of the book of Ecclesiastes as practical, livable Word. To paraphrase Dr. Luxon, the objective was for hearers and readers to find themselves in Ecclesiastes-cum-Law, and be transformed by an experimental, rather than a notional, understanding of the scripture and its author.[58] Accordingly, *The Triall of Vanitie*, *The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule* read as richly populated spiritual planes, as puritan homiletical fulfillments of the scripture's 'stripes and correction'.

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And unto this, the patriarch Enoch, or Henoch, son of Jared and father of Methuselah. Enoch is a figure whose main story (in the Western Christian canon) is given in only the few lines of Genesis 5:21-24, and the verses give only a few tantalizing details of his story.

> Also Henoch lived sixtie & five yeeres, and begate Methushelah. And Henoch walked with God, after he begate Methushelah, three hundreth yeeres, and begate sonnes and daughters. So all the dayes of Henoch were three hundreth sixtie and five yeeres. And Henoch walked with God, and he was no more seene: for God tooke him away.

Enoch's age of 365 years was not exceptional as compared to other Antediluvian figures, however the phrases 'walked with God' and 'he was no more seene: for God tooke him away' have been matters of much interest, and perhaps even some intrigue, in both the Jewish and Christian exegetical traditions. The lines have been interpreted as an ascension or assumption/translation story, that in recognition of his exceptional piety and having 'walked with God' for at least 300 years after Methuselah's birth, Enoch was brought into Heaven alive. Enoch is referred to in the New Testament as well: in Jesus's lineage (Luke 3:37); 'By faith was Enoch translated…[for] he had pleased God' (Heb. 11:5); and as having proclaimed a prophesy, 'Beholde, the Lorde commeth with thousands of his Saints, To give judgement' (Jude 1:14-15). Enoch is also mentioned in the apocrypha, 'Enoch pleased God and was translated into paradise that he may give repentance to the nations' (Ecclus. 44:16), and he is considered the author of the (controversial) Book of Enoch by *inter alia* the Ethiopian Orthodox and Beta Israel. The otherwise noncanonical Book of Enoch was an important source for early

[58] Luxon, *Literal Figures*, *supra*.

millennialism,[59] and after amillennialism became dominant in Christianity from about the fifth century it has not been as influential as the verses in Genesis.[60]

Henry Smith leveraged the imagery of Enoch's long 'walk with God' to add weight to his exhortation of 'remembrance' in *The Young-mans Taske*. It is structured as a framed narrative, a vignette that invited the recipient to populate that world as a wandering Israelite, and in a few lines condensed the timeline from the Antediluvian age of Enoch through the exodus in the wilderness to the unified Solomonic kingdom, whence the king tells the time-travelling, godly Christian to live in remembrance; Enoch as a simile for the godly Christian, and the cloud and pillar of fire (Exod. 13:21-22) as similes for remembrance, were drawn to persuade the recipient that he was able to 'walk with God' at all times, day and night. Smith tapped the touchstones of the Perkinsian concept of preparation (discussed further below), as 'the stripes and correction' of the Old Testament were there to help the elect to 'knoweth his way before' he set forth on his pseudo-Antediluvian walk with God, and as Solomon, in the present tense, tells him how one is to prepare for that long walk, the lifelong journey which is the 'remember well' mindfulness of God. It is worthwhile to reproduce the episode in full.

> And because the Travailour marcheth cheerefully, which knoweth his way before he setteth foorth: therefore from the first setting forth, even from the time of youth, when a man beginneth to runne his pilgrimage, *Salomon tels him how he shall therein prepare himselfe to walke*, and sets him in a faire high way, wherein is no turning either to the right hand or the left, which he calleth, the remembrance of GOD. As if he should say, *Walke with God as Enoch did*, *and remember well*, that he which shall be thy Judge, doth see all that thou doest, and heareth thee at everie worde: *and this thought shall keepe thee in the way at all times*, like the clowde and piller of fire which went before the Children of Israel as well by day as night, when they travailed in the wildernes.[61]

From the narrative perspective, the vantage point from which events of a story are filtered and then relayed, the Enoch vignette in *The Young-mans Taske* is a thought-provoking passage. Smith presented Solomon as existing after Enoch, i.e. as he was presented in the Old Testament, and as having offered up the example of Enoch in past tense, 'as if [Solomon] should say, Walke with God as Enoch did'. However, at that point in the sermon the scriptural

[59] Ephraim Isaac, '1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch' in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* 1, ed. by James Charlesworth (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1983), pp. 5-90. Millennialism, aka chiliasm, is the belief, popular early in Christianity but later opposed by Augustine, that there will be a period of some thousand years after the resurrection of the dead, and that the kingdom of Christ will be set up in material form on earth for that period.

[60] "Ancient alien theorists" cite Gen. 5:21-24 and the Book of Enoch as evidence of extraterrestrials having lived among humanity in the distant past. *Ancient Aliens*, Series 2 Episode 7: Angels and Aliens.

[61] Smith, *The Sermons*, pp. 453-4 (emphasis added).

timeline and figures were greyed and allegorized, and, to borrow again from Dr. Lewalski, the auditor and reader were pulled in to recapitulate the spiritual essence of the Old Testament experiences in themselves. For Smith, the godly quality of remembrance would bring them to perseverance, to 'keepe thee in the way at all times', to lead them day and night like the 'clowde and piller of fire', and thus godly Christians were just as the 'Children of Israel', their presence of mind on God would guide them 'as well by day as night, when they travailed in the wildernes' of their own times and places. The passage sees the sermon recipient as momentarily, allegorically populating the theological and historical landscape with, or even as, the Children of Israel, the timeless community of the elect that included themselves along with Solomon and Enoch. That is, as an eschatological class the elect *qua* elect were empowered by the divine decree to walk in remembrance (and perhaps the lecturer intended for recipients to catch the implication that they might, in a sense, cheat the physical aspects of death – in Victorine terms, *vanitas poenalitatis* – as Enoch may have done). This is to suggest that the correlation Smith made between the godly recipient and the Elohistic figure of Enoch helped to confirm both figures' placements in the eternal community of the elect, and to enrich the godly community of the recipient's own time and place. Stated another way, it was an experimental representation of timeless godly devotion, a modulating correlation between the devotional presence of mind that had been displayed by the figures in the Old Testament and the devotional presence of mind that was to be displayed by the figures within Smith's congregation and readership. This may have the flavor of critical word salad now, but it was vital nourishment to the puritan ear and imagination in late Elizabethan England.

For Enoch and his 300-year walk with God appeared in several instances elsewhere in Smith's catalogue, so clearly the story was of some appreciable influence on his thought and his ministry (in contrast to George Gifford, whose works do not make merest mention of Enoch). In each case, Smith drew upon the typological imagination of the recipients to equate their post-conversion lives with Enoch's. In *The Heavenly Thrifte*, Enoch was a key referent as Smith struck the chord of remembrance, the godly quality that not only persisted after conversion but was a positive source of consolation and comfort. 'After this', wrote Smith, 'every benefit maketh him thankfull, every instruction maketh him fearefull, and he is never well, but when he is walking with God like Enoch, or when Christ is speaking to him'.[62] In *The Pilgrims Wish*, with another allusion to Enoch's deliverance from bodily death, Smith spoke of the sort of new timeline of remembrance that starts with conversion. 'From the time

[62] ibid., pp. 676-7.

he knoweth Christ crucified', he said, 'and begins like Enoch to walke with God, he cryeth ever after with the Apostle, I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ: who shall deliver mee from this bodie of sinne? death weare to me advantage'.[63] And in *The Trial of the Righteous*, he explicitly referenced Enoch's ascension as a scriptural example of the power of faith, with the strong implication that the Antediluvians were elect and preternaturally Reformed, as he had expressly declared with regard to Solomon.

> Besides these honourable prayses of patience, the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles, have a set number of examples before our eyes, like banners of such cures as have been healed by her: that as the Author of the Hebrewes saith, By faith Abel offered a better Sacrifice than Caine: *by faith Enoch was translated* before he sawe death'.[64]

In each of these examples Smith suggested a concise, progressive timeline for the typological imagination, ripe for experimental application by the saints. Enoch's pre-parental life was allegorized to their pre-conversion lives; the birth of Methuselah was allegorized to conversion (conversion begat the regenerated self just as Enoch begat his son); and thereupon commenced the long 'walk with God', the ongoing conversation with Christ which would never end, and at the end of life the godly soul would be taken up by God as He had taken up Enoch. The soteriological process contemplated in such passages is like those discussed by Dr. Luxon, where early moderns invoked Paul's words, 'I am crucified *with* Christ' (Gal. 2:20),[65] and is like the passages discussed in Part 1 of the present thesis, where Smith urged that 'we repent *with* Solomon'. He expected his audience to conceive of and to feel themselves as presently *with* all these figures and, to paraphrase Dr. Lewalski, to position themselves on the same spiritual plane as them, mimicking their walks with God, waiting for their fulfillment in Christ at the end of time. Enoch, Solomon, the saintly Elizabethan parishioner, the godly readers of the present and the future, were all in the timeless collegium of the elect, all members of the rich community created by the decretal will of God and bound together in the cohesive, preternaturally puritan culture of remembrance.

'No prince in the world hath so many attendants as vanitie'

Chapter 1 discussed *inter alia* the story of Eccles. 10:20 in Tudor England before *c.*1590. To reiterate, that verse was invoked by Canterbury in the *Homilies* to reinforce the authority

[63] ibid., p. 525.
[64] ibid., p. 483 (emphasis added).
[65] Luxon, *Literal Figures*, pp. 6-13.

of Tudor officialdom, as it equates irreverence with sin and promises the immediate, angelic disclosure thereof to God. In the Geneva Bible (1560) it reads, 'Curse not the King, no not in thy thought, neither curse the rich in thy bed chamber: for the foule of the heaven shall carie the voice, & that which hath wings, shall declare the matter'. Now it may be reasonable to observe that that proverb seems out of place in a scripture that otherwise decries as fleeting such worldly things as wealth and political power. But, on the other hand, it is difficult to fault anyone, including the early moderns, for taking up the *prima facie* reading of that verse as an imperative for obedience.[66] Little surprise then that Tudor officialdom applied the verse with such gusto, and that because of its applications e.g. in the *Homilies* and the sermons of the Chichester bishops, as Lacey Baldwin Smith observed, 'every Englishman knew the words of Ecclesiastes reiterated in endless official admonitions concerning rebellion'.[67] It was a hard inheritance to disclaim, even by the late Elizabethan puritans. For example, thusly did Solomon figure in Chapter 24 of William Perkins' commentary on the Fifth Commandment: 'Preserve the dignitie of thy neighbor', Perkins wrote, 'Under this parte is commaunded: *Firste. Reverence towardes all our superiours*. When Bathsheba came to speake to King Salomon, the King rose to meete her, and bowed himselfe unto her'.[68] So as to Perkins, as to Curteys, as to Christopherson, as to Cranmer, and as to Parker, Solomon and his story arc promulgated the principle that irreverence to superiors, and especially to sovereign authorities, was abominable and sinful. John Guy has observed that after *c.*1589 *jure divino* notions of monarchical and episcopal authority were increasingly voiced from pulpit and press,[69] and the present thesis has joined with Guy and Baldwin Smith in evidencing that those notions seem to have been primed, to a significant extent, by the strategic deployments of proverbs from the book of Ecclesiastes by Tudor officialdom to *c.*1590.

In contrast to Cranmer and Perkins *et al*., Henry Smith asked people to imagine a Solomon who would have looked askance at the sovereign and ecclesiastical authorities. In *The Triall of Vanitie* he crafted a distinct, framed narrative that imagined Solomon as an onlooker to the baggage train that proceeded in support of a feminized, imperious personification of *vanitas*. On a first reading, it seems a strain to avoid reading the episode as a direct critique of the Queen, the Elizabethan court, and of courtly life; on additional readings, it may seem simply to be a wide critique of the entirety of Elizabethan society; and indeed, perhaps, this dissonance in its reception was by design. In any case, the passage,

[66] Indeed, Eccles. 10:16-20 can be read as narratively discrete. Fox, *Contradictions*, pp. 270-2.
[67] Baldwin Smith, *Treason*, p. 2.
[68] William Perkins, *A golden chaine* (London, 1591), sigs I_5^v-I_6^r (emphasis added).
[69] Guy, 'Ecclesiastical Polity', p. 127.

which includes the portion that provides the epigraph for the present chapter, is as oppositional as one will find in the lecturer's catalogue, and it unquestionably is as stark a departure from the prior Tudor applications of Eccles. 10:20 as one will find in English print up to *c.*1590. It is worthwhile to reproduce the episode in full.

> Therefore when these vanities are worn out, they will have new, and still new, till all be spent upon vanitie, and then they begin like *the prodigall childe* to see how vaine they were, when they have bought Wisedome with sorrow. *What would Salomon say, if he should see how vanitie is growen since his time, what a hight she is mounted, what a traine followes her, that there is no prince in the world hath so many attendants as vanitie*? She was but *an Impe* then, but now she is a mother, and who can number her sonnes and daughters: *the child* is vaine in playing *the mother* vaine in dandling, *the father* vaine in giving, *the Courtier* vaine in spending, *the souldier* vaine in boasting, *the suter* vaine in striving, *the travailer* vaine in talking, *the merchant* vaine in swearing, *the gentleman* vaine in building, *the husbandman* vaine in carking, *the olde man* vaine in coveting, *the Servingman* vaine in soothing, *the young man* vaine in sporting, *the Papist* vaine in superstition, *the protestant* vaine in conversation. Every vanitie is so pleasant to one or other, that they cannot misse one. *So she gads by Sea & by land, and still more disciples flock unto her of gamsters & swearers and players, and tiplers, and haksters, and Courtiers, as thicke as the flies of Aegipt*, which buzzed in their eares, and their eyes, and their necks before, and behind *that a man cannot set his foot but upon Vanitie*.[70]

The framing lines for the passage situate the narrative, the characters, and the recipient's imagination on well-trodden cultural ground. The opening sentence invoked the parable of the prodigal son in Luke 15:11-32, which tells of a father seeing his returning son from 'a great way off' and running out to kiss and embrace him. Smith connected that parable to Ecclesiastes (seemingly implicating the critique of books and learning in Eccles. 12:12) with his phrase 'when they [the son] have bought Wisedome with sorrow'. The "bottom" of the frame, the closing sentence, referred to the main character, a "Lady Vanity" figure who 'gads by Sea & by land', and to an everyman who 'cannot set his foot but upon Vanitie'. We know that to "gad" referred to parishioners who hit the roads to attend sermons delivered outside of their home parishes (a complaint made by those preachers who lost hearers to gadding), and to "gadder about" referred to one idly walking around out of curiosity and to engage in gossip.[71] The everyman phrase reads as a metaphorical elucidation of Eccles. 1:2 that corresponded to the species *vanitas mutabilitatis* (its ubiquitous changeability betrays that the physical world is valueless) in the Victorine genera of *vanitas*. And since these lines were so richly referential to land travel by foot, it seems to be a reasonable interpretation that Smith intended for his auditoria to imagine Solomon likewise on foot, as a modest, roadside

[70] Smith, *The Sermons*, pp. 839-40 (emphasis added).
[71] *EDO*, https://www.etymonline.com/word/gadabout (10th April 2023).

bystander who 'if he should see' had to look up, for 'what a hight she is mounted', perhaps even to imagine his 'fardle of vanities' - the metaphor of the weighty traveler's bundle that Smith crafted earlier in the sermon - slung over his shoulder (Part 1, Conclusion).

The episode's second sentence was Smith's inciting incident, in the form of a leading question that established Solomon's presence, and his negative assessment of vanity's accretion and proliferation through the ages. In that passage, Smith claimed that if Solomon was present in contemporary times, he would observe how vanity 'has growen' over the millennia and railed over and again on the distractions in which so many English compatriots indulged. Just before the framed narrative began, with stripes of opprobria Smith had scolded the men – 'in our sportes, our laughing, and swearing and jesting, and scoffing, and dallying' – the women – 'in our apparrell, ruffe upon ruffe, lace upon lace, cut upon cut…as though our apparell were apparelled' – and the clergy – for 'playing with the Scriptures'.[72] Then within the framed narrative, he matched each of the prior, scolded classes. He then personified *vanitas* with feminine pronouns and metaphors: 'What a hight she [Vanity] is mounted…what a traine followes her'; and, back in Solomon's time, 'She was but an Impe then, but now she is a mother, and who can number her sonnes and daughters[?]'. Those sons and daughters included people throughout English society – courtiers, soldiers, farmers, etc. – with the most conspicuous being the courtiers 'vaine in spending', thick as Egyptian flies, which, other than the figure of Lady Vanity, were the only rank of attendants who garnered more than one mention. And, last but certainly not least, in the litany were the 'Papist vaine in superstition, the Protestant vaine in conversation'.[73] Indeed, it seems fair to read the litany with *crescendo* to it, that Smith was least happy with his clerical brethren being vainly loquacious in their Protestantism. Perhaps in his mind the most important 'pains' of the ministry (such as giving sermons, pastoral ministrations to the sick, etc.) were playing second fiddle to excesses in doctrinal mincing and religious print culture, such that, as he stated earlier in the sermon, 'our Religion is vanitie'.[74] As the episode closed, Smith observed that as Lady Vanity gads about the land, evermore 'disciples flock unto her', from the courtly classes down to the alehouse classes, the 'players, and tiplers, and haksters'. With the framing sentences and the inciting incident in mind, it is easy to imagine Solomon, the preternaturally Reformed bystander, looking askance at the whole vain spectacle as it passed on its way to the next town.

[72] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 838 (portion omitted).
[73] ibid., pp. 839-840.
[74] ibid., p. 837.

The allegorical feminization of *vanitas* - 'what a hight she is mounted, what a traine followes her' - is one of the most referentially layered aspects of *The Triall of Vanitie*, a device that tapped into an early modern commonplace that scholars have described (some rather loosely) as "Lady Vanity", an example of which can be found in Batman's woodcuts for *A Christall Glasse* (Fig. 5).[75] Another, more famous example is found in *King Lear*. When the Earl of Kent challenges Oswald the steward, 'Draw, you rascal, You bring letters against the King, and take Vanity the puppet's part against the royalty of her father', he implicates Lear's eldest daughter, Goneril, as 'Vanity the puppet', and effectively charges her with various iniquities (the scope of which, of course, is open to critical interpretation).[76] John Meagher's interpretation of Kent's challenge has unpacked the metaphor's genera of sin, and has argued that it encompassed both the species of vanity and the species of pride, as related vices that embody various others, e.g. narcissism, shallowness, and disingenuousness. In other words, as used in *King Lear* the referent "vanity" had a more layered sense, and had a wider net to cast, than had the era's religious commonplace, which was most synonymous with a religious or salvific worthlessness.[77] The prospect that Smith's passage can be read in such a Shakespearean sense and is therefore allusive to Elizabeth's court and her summer progresses will be discussed shortly.[78]

But at this juncture, it is helpful to highlight that the foregoing themes are at work in another item in Henry Smith's catalogue, the wedding sermon *A Preparative to Mariage*. There he explicitly appealed to Solomon and Ecclesiastes to urge English wives to tend faithfully to the home, to avoid the mirror, to not go about town on worthless errands, and otherwise to focus on salvation. 'And therefore Salomon depainting the whore, setteth her at the doore, now sitting upon her stalles, now walking in the streetes, now looking out at the windowes, like cursed Jezabel', and reminiscent of Batman's woodcut (Fig. 5), 'as if shee held foorth the glasse of temptation, for Vanitie to gaze upon'.[79] But Smith was not only concerned with Elizabethan ladies' temptations, for earlier in the sermon, as he urged the men to avoid the temptation of marrying Papists, he laid out a mirror metaphor that matched with the preceding passage. 'When Salomon, *the mirror of wisedome, the wonder of the world*, the figure of

[75] Batman, *A christall glasse*, sig. Hiii^{r}. See John C. Meagher, 'Vanity, Lear's Feather, and the Pathology of Editorial Annotation', in *Shakespeare 1971: Proceedings of the World Shakespeare Conference*, ed. by Clifford Leach and J.M.R. Margeson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 244-59, pp. 256-257.
[76] *The History of King Lear*, Act 2, Scene 2, Line 36-38. See also, William Shakespeare, *The History of King Lear*, ed. Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 53; p. 154.
[77] Meagher, 'Vanity, Lear's Feather', p. 253.
[78] As to the infrastructure of Elizabeth's summer excursions, see Adrian Tinniswood, *Behind The Throne: A Domestic History of the Royal Household* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2018).
[79] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 51.

our Lord, by Idolatrous concubines is turned into an Idolater, let no man say, I shall not be seduced: but say, how shall I stand, where such a Cedar fell?'.[80] And so, there again the godly encountered Solomon and his 'momentous theme' of *vanitas* seamlessly woven with the practical, even the mundane, events and issues that were of practical concern to them – preparing for marriage, managing temptations whilst one is married, and so forth. That 'the wonder of the world' was shown to be concerned with such stuff – though that concern was not directly stated in the scripture - illustrates Henry Smith's three-dimensional integration of Ecclesiastes and Solomon with his time, place, and people, and what he thought were their practical, spiritual needs. Firstly, the main didactic message of the scripture, that one should keep Providence in their presence of mind; secondly, the programmatic refiguring of Solomon as a preternaturally Reformed man, who would be disappointed with how vanity has grown since his own time; and thirdly, the satirical and theological criticism of the distracting excesses of England's brand of Christianity, wherever it was manifested, at court, at the universities, in the print shops, etc.

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The "Lady Vanity" episode evokes several critical and historiographical questions. Firstly, was Elizabeth, the court, and the royal progress the actual target of the episode's inciting incident? As we cannot talk with Smith, or witness, say, any performative theatrics (say, pointing suggestively toward Whitehall), his full intentions must remain open to debate. But it certainly seems more of a strain to avoid reading strong implications that the main character corresponded to Elizabeth, and that the 'traine' corresponded to the baggage and the attendants, etc. in the Queen's summer progresses.[81] The summer progress simply was the most immediately referential matter that can reasonably be connected to the passage. It was a spectacle familiar to many English men and women, for in the course of her four decade-plus reign Elizabeth made no fewer than 22 summer progresses, going as far west as Bristol and as far north as Staffordshire.[82] Moreover, Smith's Lady Vanity was attended by all the social ranks below royalty, from husbandmen to courtiers, and little else was left to the imagination

[80] ibid., p. 32 (emphasis added). NB: For the times, Smith seems to have been about as even-handed with the sexes as any of his colleagues. Like George Gifford, for example, he read the Song of Songs as requiring them to 'calleth the other Love…yet both should love alike which the man may doe without subjection'. ibid., p. 40.
[81] One must concede to caveats of interpretation and be mindful of Arnold Hunt's and Harold Love's research, which stressed the importance of early modern audiences as artists of hearing, and the power of contemporary meanings taken from both *ad hoc* and semi-improvised sermons. Hunt, *Hearing*, *supra*; Harold Love, 'Originality and the Puritan Sermon', in *Plagiarism in Early Modern England*, ed. by Pauline Kewes (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 149-65.
[82] Tinniswood, *Behind the Throne*, p. 16.

viz. his comparison of Lady Vanity with the other ruling princes of the world. Which is to suggest that the allegory in *The Triall of Vanitie* is as straightforward in its referentiality as was Arthur Collins's reportage of the progress's stopovers at the grand estate of Lord Burghley.

> [Elizabeth] sometimes had strangers and ambassadors come to her at Theobalds, where she hath been seen as great royalty, and served as bountifully and magnificently, as at any other time or place; all at his lordship's charge, with rich shows, pleasant devices, and all manner of sports, [*sic*] could be devised, to the great delight of her majesty, and her whole train.[83]

Intriguingly, the royal train's periodic needs required the constant expansion of Theobalds, and by Adrian Tinniswood's reckoning the physical evolution of Burghley's estate reached its apotheosis only some years after 1583,[84] which roughly coincided with the apotheosis of Henry Smith's career, as he obtained the lectureship at St Clement Danes in 1587.

Secondly, was Smith's use of the term 'Impe' charged with meaning, as well? Here again, it seems more of a strain to avoid the suspicion than to indulge it. Sixteenth century applications of the word "imp" could be quite layered. Some carried the older referentiality to the young shoot of a plant, i.e. a sprout or a sapling,[85] ergo the proverb noted by Tilley, 'a good Imp bryngethe forth good freute'.[86] Other applications, especially those that appear later in the century, had anthropomorphized the word and were referential to "child" or "offspring", especially mischievous or dreadful ones, and from the 1580s onward the term often referred to childlike demons, toward our contemporary meaning of "little devil".[87] The training of the imagination on Elizabeth's youth as a sprout and/or a dreadful, even demonic child could have been the training of the imagination on her mother, too. As Carole Levin has shown, Anne Boleyn was still quite the figure for the Elizabethan mind and memory (even appearing in one Elizabethan woman's dream-world),[88] and those who were sanguine about the Religious Settlement were apt to have voiced admiration for the late Queen. One key example is Henry Smith's foe, Bishop Aylmer, who had compared Anne to the biblical queen Esther, and lauded her as 'the chief, first, and only cause of the banishing the beast of Rome

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[83] Arthur Collins, *The Life of that Great Statesman William Cecil* (London, 1732), quoted in Tinniswood, *Behind the Throne*, p. 22 (brackets added).
[84] Tinniswood, *Behind the Throne*, pp. 19-22.
[85] Walter W. Skeat and Anthony Lawson Mayhew, *A Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words, Especially from the Dramatists* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), p. 204-205; *EDO,* https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=imp (10th April 2023).
[86] Tilley, *Dictionary of Proverbs*, F777.
[87] Skeat and Lawson, *A Glossary*, *supra*; *EDO, supra.*
[88] Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 159-60.

with all his beggarly baggage'.[89] Those who were less than sanguine about the Religious Settlement, such as Henry Smith, were apt to have used language for Anne and Elizabeth that was, say, more mischievous, as it seems the case in *The Triall of Vanitie*. To have cast a pall on Anne Boleyn as the witch-like mother of an "imp",[90] who brought forth vanities and did not bring forth good fruit, would have cast a pall on the Religious Settlement as well. And along these lines, one may ask whether Smith was also taking a jab at the failed courtships and the ever-looming, distressing issue of the royal succession. That seems likely as well, for the phrases, 'but now she is a mother, and who can number her sonnes and daughters?', and 'the [suitor] vaine in striving',[91] would have boomeranged the Queen's own metaphor for herself, the 'Virgin and Mother, queen and prince' conception which has been so well-worked in early modern scholarship.[92] This sort of obliqueness, as we have seen, was well within Smith's standard technique of messaging, and the typical Elizabethan recipient of the sermon would or could have taken up these insinuations. Though again, it may have been simply part and parcel of a wider critique of the entirety of Elizabethan society, and indeed, perhaps, this dissonance in its reception was by design as well.

On that note, thirdly, what was Smith risking, or on the other hand, what was he trying to achieve, with his litany of supporting characters and vices? The middle lines of the framed narrative cast wide, inclusive nets of opprobria over the sub-royal of Elizabethan society. Children and parents, the politico-military elites, farmers and businessmen, servants and served, young and old, Papist and Protestant, were each declared guilty of some corresponding vanity. The lines are only seemingly oppressive, for the litany's very evenhandedness betrays it as a display of what Gregory Kneidel called 'accommodating pastoral rhetoric',[93] as further examples of Smith solving for the dilemma of the Pauline model of preaching, discussed in Part 1. As Dr. Kneidel's study showed, Pauline pastoral accommodation required the preacher to lessen the social contrasts between preacher and auditor, and the present thesis would add that the litany excerpted above suggests that the Pauline model could also have called for the lessening of the social contrasts between each auditor, as well. Julia Merritt has found that St Clement Danes was quite the diverse parish,

[89] John Aylmer, quoted in Roland Hui, 'Anne of the Wicked Ways: Perceptions of Anne Boleyn as a Witch in History and in Popular Culture', in *Parergon*, 35.1 (2018), 97-118.
[90] NB: Though Anne was never charged with witchcraft, she was often described hintingly, i.e. as witch*like* and demon*ic*. Retha M. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 203.
[91] Skeat and Lawson, *A Glossary*, p. 395; *EOD*, https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=suitor (27 October 2020).
[92] Levin, *Heart and Stomach*, pp. 87-90.
[93] Kneidel, 'Mightie Simplenesse', *supra*.

that it consisted mainly of lawyers, gentlemen, and their servants, but it also had tradesmen such as tailors and butchers, as well as lower ranks, down to people who required poor relief.[94] By leaving practically no one unscathed, Smith levelled the entirety of the congregation (regarding their salvific statuses, at least). And thereby he may have also administered the salve of *Schadenfreude* to practically everyone at the same time; the episode gave everyone at least one other figure to see as vainer than themselves, which one might presume to have been good *Realpolitik* (if not the best Christianity). For example, certainly not every 'courtier vaine in spending' was happy about the heavy cost of hosting the royal progress,[95] and it may have been edifying for them to hear Solomon decrying the vanity of their demanding guests, especially of high-mounted Lady Vanity. Thus, the litany seems quite symmetrical in furthering his call to the godly imitation of Solomon; it encouraged everyone in the auditory and the readership to emulate Solomon in being watchful of others and their vanities, just as they were to emulate him in being mindful of themselves and their own vanities.[96] So *arguendo* the litany of characters and vices reads as having had a twofold purpose: one, that of solving the Pauline dilemma of accommodation, proving to his flock that he was an authoritative source of the Word even whilst he shared with them the same plane of humane existence and status before God; and second, that of preaching the godly virtue of watchfulness of others and their sins, the outward-looking correspondent to the inward-looking godly virtue of remembrance of oneself and one's own sins.

Lastly, what other contexts, i.e. the time and the place of delivery, may Smith have leveraged to sharpen the satire of the framed narrative (and sharpen the point of *The Triall of Vanitie*, in general)? Opportune staging would have allowed the lecturer to present with, say, occasional, telling winks, as if to say, 'but you and I know the truth',[97] yet there is no internal evidence that indicates either the time(s) or place(s) of the sermon's delivery. However, it is difficult to avoid commenting that the jabs made in *The Triall of Vanitie* would have stung more if the sermon had been given as a lecture that coincided with the July readings of Ecclesiastes, as scheduled under the *Table of Lessons* for the *Book of Common Prayer* (Fig. 2). Typically, the Queen's summer progress was at its high point in the month of July, and it so

[94] The parish consisted mainly of the upper and merchant classes; as evidenced by poor relief expenditures, St Clements clearly had underprivileged residents, but there was less intense poverty than in e.g. the neighboring parish of St. Margaret's. J. F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community 1525-1640* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 130; p. 155; p. 259.
[95] For example, the Earl of Lincoln once fled his Chelsea estate rather than host the Queen's summer progress. Tinniswood, *Behind the Throne*, p. 18.
[96] As to Protestant *imitatio*, see Perry, *Imitatio Christi*, *supra*.
[97] Paraphrasing Crenshaw, *Ironic Wink*, p. 7.

happened that the scheduled *Lessons* had Ecclesiastes being read from the 20th to 26th of July. It therefore would have been most sardonic if Smith had preached *The Triall of Vanitie* on the 25th of July, to gainsay the *BCP* reading of Eccles. 10:20 on its allocated day. Whether he ever actually performed that stunt the sources do not say, but we know that if he ever did, that he did so cagily, as he did not perish in the gainsaying (Jude 1:11).

'Kings, which care not…imitating Rehoboam'

The accounts of King Rehoboam are in 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles. They tell of the division and decline of the kingdom of Israel as punishment, which God had deferred until after Solomon's reign out of respect for David, for Solomon's taking of foreign wives and for his building shrines to their Moabite and Ammonite gods (1 Kgs 11:1-13). At his coronation the assembly requested certain reforms of Rehoboam that would have significantly reduced the royal exchequer and would have impaired its power to maintain the Solomonic magnificence of the royal court. The older men counselled Rehoboam to speak to the people in a civil manner, whether he would ultimately give in to their demands or not. But the new king rejected that counsel and accepted the advice of the younger men whom he had known from his youth. 'So the king hearkened not unto the people' (2 Chr. 10:15), and eventually the northern tribes revolted under the divinely backed leadership of Jeroboam. The formerly united Israelite kingdom soon split into the northern Kingdom of Israel under Jeroboam and the southern Kingdom of Judah under Rehoboam. After the division Rehoboam and his kingdom declined into war, abomination, and infamy (1 Kgs 12 and 1 Kgs 14:21-31).

In an important article on these figures, Kevin Killeen discussed how Rehoboam and Jeroboam were transposed typologically, across genres from learned treatises and popular tracts to court pulpits and parish sermons, onto both the New Testament and onto the contemporary politics of seventeenth-century England. Sounding the same timbre as scholars the present thesis has consulted above, and informed *inter alia* by the work of Alexandra Walsham on biblical typologies applied to Queen Elizabeth,[98] Dr. Killeen argued that the Old Testament became pre-figurative through the early moderns' 'complex reading theory that insists on a constant negotiation of meaning between text and event and a perpetual modulation between the divine political presence in the Bible and the providential "evidence"

[98] Alexandra Walsham, '"A Very Deborah?" The Myth of Elizabeth I as Providential Monarch', in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 143-68.

of God's action in the present'.[99] He found that Rehoboam and Jeroboam were modeled 'as a ready shorthand' for the vast politico-ecclesiological conflict literature of the seventeenth century, the latter king he described as 'the consummate rebel, though troublingly, a rebel with God's mandate', whereas the former king, 'Solomon's son and presumably the rightful heir by any patrilineal notion, was taken as the epitome of oppressors and tyrants'.[100] The relative obscurity of these two figures was quite telling to Dr. Killeen, that their deployments betrayed a culture that was well-versed in biblical figural representation, where voicing and answering sundry social antagonisms were among the many uses of typology, in 'a rich and ready language of early modern complaint'.[101]

Rehoboam was undoubtedly a familiar figure to the earlier, well-versed Elizabethan preachers and their audiences, too. For example, in his *Eight Sermons* on Ecclesiastes, George Gifford ignored the infamous side of Rehoboam and highlighted that the king had walked in the ways of David and Solomon, if for only three years of his life, so he at least 'did well' for that short period.[102] Another example is the Spital sermon by Francis Marbury, who hedged on the general 'defectivenesse of policie' that makes a prince a Rehoboam as opposed to a Jeroboam, as he also believed that the former was better and fitter a king than the latter because of the former's superior religiosity (Marbury was of the opinion that Jeroboam was 'an enemy of religion' and had pursued 'irreligious policies').[103] At the time, Marbury had rehabilitated himself with the episcopacy, Lord Burghley, and Lord Salisbury, and his stock was rising,[104] so his dissonant rehabilitation of Rehoboam and his rejection of the rebel Jeroboam are not surprising. The puritan divines likely hedged their politicization of Rehoboam in the interest in staying well away from the Fleet, for as nasty (to borrow the expression from Patrick Collinson) as conditions in the 1590s were, they were not as acutely nasty and politically divisive as the 1640s, the core period discussed in Dr. Killeen's article.

Henry Smith put Rehoboam to use on several occasions in his catalogue. One passage reads as devotion-oriented, an exercise in experimental representation more so than in politico-ecclesiological complaint; another deployment reads as a blend of complaint and

[99] Killeen, 'Chastising with Scorpions', p. 495.
[100] ibid., p. 498.
[101] ibid., p. 502.
[102] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. B_1^r.
[103] Francis Marbury, *A fruitful sermon necessary for the time preached at the Spittle* (London, 1602), sig. A_4^r.
[104] T. N. S. Lennam, 'Francis Merbury 1555-1611', in *Studies in Philology*, 65.2 (1968), 207-22, p. 217.

devotional exhortation; and a third reads as anticipatory of the applications crafted in the seventeenth century as discussed by Dr. Killeen.

As to the devotion-oriented passage, in *The Young-mans Taske* Smith preached Rehoboam as the personification of sin and human frailty, a typology that everyone in the congregation and the readership, regardless of rank and vocation, had to account for in their inward searches and in their lived experiences. He personified the recipients' sins as living allegories of the young counselors of Rehoboam, and in effect re-figured the recipients, themselves, as living allegories of Rehoboam. 'There was nothing which made Rehoboam to choose such young counsailers when hee beganne to raigne', Smith urged, 'but because they were his companions before: therefore they became his counsailers after. This is the preferment of our sinnes, if they have been our companions in youth, in age they will looke to be our counsailers and masters too'.[105] The passage reinforced Smith's exegesis of *vanitas*, that 'the preferment of our sinnes' has accretive and proliferative properties, and they build upon each other with a strong gravitational pull, which Ecclesiastes requires to be countered with saintly repentance and remembrance.

The second deployment in *The Young-mans Taske* drew a typology of Rehoboam that mixed languages of complaint and devotional exhortation. As discussed in Part 1, there is a distinct section in that sermon which contains a flurry of proverbs, from the English 'the tree which buddeth not in spring, is dead all the yeare',[106] to the Aristotelian 'hee which hath begunne well, is halfe his waye, especiallie it is good for a man to beginne his repentance, before he learne to be evill'.[107] The point of that section being, again, that godly repentance was an urgent matter, and the key to success was to start early in life. In that section Smith hammered on the point with several contemporary figurative references: the first, of an everyman who gets married, and is loving early on, seeking to win over his wife; the second, of a pastor who, new to a parish, wins over the congregation with small, initial kindnesses; the third, a new heir that comes into his estate and wins over his tenants by treating them well from the start; and the last, when a prince comes to the crown, and wins over the people with his first laws, as they see such as foreshadowing the character of his future rule.[108] For all such people and ranks, the spectrum of sin to repentance was in effect personified in the stripes and correction of Rehoboam's story: take the right action early, it will be habit forming, and it

[105] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 466.
[106] ibid., p. 462. See Tilley, *Dictionary of Proverbs*, S784.
[107] ibid., p. 463. See Tilley, *Dictionary of Proverbs*, B254.
[108] ibid., pp. 462-63.

will set you on the path to salvation; take the wrong action early, it will be habit forming, and it will set you on the path to abomination and infamy. The section concluded thusly:

> Therefore the sage and beaten counsaylers advised Rehoboam when he beganne to raigne: Shew thy selfe loving to the people this day, and they will be thy servants for ever. As though all the dayes after could not doo so much as the first: Such a victorie it is to beginne well, as our Proverbe saith: hee which hath begunne well, is halfe his waye, especiallie it is good for a man to beginne his repentance.[109]

Now whilst in this passage Rehoboam was a figure of importance to everyone, a comparative tally of the contemporary figures shows that Smith hit upon people in positions of authority and/or wealth – the pastor, the heir, the prince – more so than on the lower orders, who were represented only by the newlywed everyman. An obvious reading is that Smith regarded the King of Judah as the more cautionary figure for the higher estates in the social hierarchy of England; they should take heed and act well now, 'as though all the dayes after could not doo so much as the first'. That reading seems eminently reasonable given the fact that there was no dearth of authorities, courtiers, etc. in Smith's auditory at St Clements Danes. Still, it is telling of his overall domestication-of-Ecclesiastes agenda that Smith's Pauline accommodations linked Rehoboam not only to the powerful and their grand schemes, but also to anyone engaged in the mundane, such as simply getting married.

The third passage is the closest fit to what Dr. Killeen identified as 'a ready shorthand' for the cautioning and upbraiding of people in positions of power. In *The Magistrates Scripture*, Smith began his lecture with a spin on the proverb in Eccles. 9:11, saying that 'if the race should be to the swift, and the battell to the strong',[110] a sense of urgency should propel Elizabethan officialdom to heed the scriptural call to governors to be standouts in virtue, 'as Saul did exceed all the men of Israel from the shoulders upward, so he which commaunds others, should exceede other in giftes of grace'. And indeed, the call to avoid Rehoboam's mistakes was most poignant to the highest of the magistrates and to the ruler himself; they had to carefully choose their subordinates, so often the cause of their subjects' sufferings. 'Kings which care not whom they place over their people, imitating Rehoboam, which made them his companions, whome he should have expelled from his Court'.[111] So for Smith, the lesson of Rehoboam was that the ill-considered installation of ministers – and bishops and

[109] ibid.
[110] 'I returned, and I sawe under the sunne that the race is not to the swift, nor the battell to the strong, nor yet bread to the wise, nor also riches to men of understanding, neither yet favour to men of knowledge: but time and chance commeth to them all' (Eccles. 9:11).
[111] Smith, *The Sermons*, pp. 700-1.

archbishops? - could easily set the sovereign on an irreversible course of failure, ultimately resulting in his or her personal doom and infamy in history. It is another example of his being a critical apologist for the English religious polity, part and parcel of his cagey critiques of the path of half-reformation under the Religious Settlement.

As in the "Lady Vanity" vignette, Henry Smith had no problem with levelling England's politico-ecclesiastical superiors, doing so just cagily enough to stay out of trouble with Bishop Aylmer, and with speaking to the socio-political issues and antagonisms that coursed among his compatriots. One can fairly presume that he felt the most palpable sense of such antagonisms within his own parish of St Clement Danes, for the congregation had everyone from recipients of poor relief up to Lord Burghley, the most powerful official in the realm. And one can fairly presume that Smith meant just what he said: England's men and women of rank had to take the stripes and correction of Solomon, Rehoboam, *et al.* to heart and to begin well in the state of remembrance. 'Considering the state of Kings and governours, howe much good they might doe, & how little they performe, God becomes a remembrancer unto them'.[112] In the end, Henry's Smith's catalogue of sermons had given those most eminent of his compatriots several bitter doses of Rehoboam, and, in contrast to *The Books of Homilies*, it had never given them even one sweetening measure of the proverb in Ecclesiastes 10:20.

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The present chapter has shown that in *The Triall of Vanitie, The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule*, Henry Smith preached Ecclesiastes as one of the most important scriptural sources for the godly mentality of remembrance. For Smith, awareness of the 'momentous theme' of Eccles. 1:2 was vital to the completion of both individual and community reformation. There was a narrative symmetry between his rhetorical spin on *vanitas* – '[Solomon] condemned the world thrice…a thrice vaine worlde he [Solomon] may call it…what a transcendent is this?' – with the substance of his tripartite, Victorine sort of Reformed *vanitas*, which acknowledged the changeable and entropic nature of physical reality (*vanitas mutabilitatis* and *vanitas poenalitatis*), but focused on the inherent fault in humankind (*vanitas culpae*) as a matter of puritan practical divinity.[113] Over and again, Smith confirmed the power of the actuated will of the elect to accept the graces granted by God under the 'golden chaine' and to counter *vanitas* through godly remembrance. His homiletical approach

[112] ibid., p. 696.
[113] ibid., p. 833 (brackets added).

domesticated Ecclesiastes for the auditoria and expanded the narrative world of Ecclesiastes such that Solomon, whose authority was beyond question, became involved in the personal and communal reformation of contemporary times, thereby increasing the accessibility and livability of the scripture. Through various characterizations or figurations, e.g. the simile of the English schoolmaster, Solomon could be imagined as a palimpsest personality who might take on other relatable identities and appear in diverse and familiar Elizabethan settings; it was a puritan spin that refigured Solomon into a preternaturally Reformed man who was as immersed in and relevant to Elizabethan England as he was vis-à-vis ancient Israel. And in sharp contrast to e.g. Archbishop Cranmer, and even to e.g. William Perkins, the Solomon that Henry Smith presented *c.*1590 was more likely to be imagined standing apart from, and looking askance at, the sovereign and ecclesiastical authorities than to be imagined standing alongside them. The saints were to go about in the world emulating Solomon and bearing the (newly) Solomonic quality of unflagging presence of mind, living sermons watchful of themselves and watchful of others, including those in Elizabethan officialdom. Those who lived in the miniature godly commonwealth of remembrance had Solomon, no less, to claim as their best exemplar.

But obviously, the more puritanical people were the more they could be socially disquieting, the puritan mien being 'a damp which puts out their lights', etc. It is tempting to speculate that Henry Smith's engagements with Ecclesiastes, which were indeed sublimated with Solomonic disapproval of the vanities of Elizabethan officialdom, may have helped prime the Puritan discontent that came to a head decades later in the English Civil War. That is beyond the remit of the present thesis and could be the subject for another research project. But what can be established here is that, within just a few years of the publication of *The Triall of Vanitie*, the view of Solomon preached by Smith was shared by other popular puritan divines. For example, to Robert Hill, protégé of William Perkins and translator of *A Golden Chaine*, the primary point of Eccles. 10 was to impose limitations upon temporal authorities, as '[Solomon] giveth rules of modest behaviour to superiours, and telleth what profit commeth thereby: he speaketh what is the end of good and evill government', whilst the proverb of verse 10:20, glossed by Hill as '[Solomon] exhorteth subjects to thinke reverently of their governors', was only the secondary point of the chapter.[114]

[114] Hill, *Contents of Scripture*, p. 264.

Conclusion: Henry Smith's Place in Ecclesiastes Reception History

In his important essay on Henry Smith's rhetorical techniques, Walter Davis concluded that sermons such as *The Triall of Vanitie* were enactments 'of meaning and narrative structure as a means of binding human words to the plan of the universe', 'an intense liturgical mimesis', and the crafting of *mythos* for the congregation more than the relaying of *logos* to the congregation.[115] These insights inspired the present researcher to adapt Dr. Davis's core concepts to the titling of these two chapters, Part 1 (Chapter 2) and Part 2 (Chapter 3). The chapters have explored Smith's catalogue from the perspective of the reception history of the book of Ecclesiastes and have explained how his engagements broke from the aphoristic *logos* of the prior Tudor engagements, and revealed how, in at least three of his major printed sermons and in all of his printed prayer scripts, his crafting of *mythos* opened, widened, and deepened the English devotional experience of the scripture. In these engagements one can discern the swinging pendulum of the English reception of the scripture, works that in part were broadly consistent with longstanding, traditional readings of Ecclesiastes, but that also contained innovative Calvinist interpretations, some important, independent insights, novel offerings unique to his work, and simply much more information than appeared in print in earlier decades of the sixteenth century. Again, this latter point is difficult to overstate: with George Gifford's series of *Eight Sermons* being the possible exception, Henry Smith's parochial sermons and prayer scripts had been much more informative, and had built a much grander devotional and experiential edifice upon the scripture's foundations, than had any other surviving parochial analogues, and certainly much more than had *The Books of Homilies*.

Again, Master Smith was broadly consistent with longstanding, traditional approaches to Ecclesiastes insofar as he stuck to the two 'momentous themes' of the book, the *vanitas* disclosed by Eccles. 1:2, and the implications of the book's believed Solomonic authorship. As to his views on Eccles. 1:2, *The Triall of Vanitie*, *The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule* put Smith in the vanguard of a homespun strand as apart from the long(er)standing exegetical traditions of Jerome, Bonaventure, and Luther. For Smith, *vanitas* was the all-encompassing state of Creation, however, considering it as being part of the decretal divine will, as a practical divine Smith was mainly concerned with humane fault and the human abuse of God's temporal and spiritual gifts. His view of the scripture's main theme was a bit vague, but it is the present researcher's opinion that it had much in common with

[115] Davis, 'Preacher as Poet', p. 32; p. 36; p. 45.

the tripartite schema of Hugh of St Victor, and thus it has been described here as a Victorine sort of Reformed *vanitas* (it is believed that the present thesis is the first to suggest this of Henry Smith's exegeses of the scripture). It was a Calvinist variation on an eleventh/twelfth century theme that does not seem to have been sounded earlier e.g. by Smith's mentor Richard Greenham, and internal evidence within the sermons does not disclose Smith's sources or other influences; perhaps future archival searches will yield more insights.

As to his expositions on Solomon and the authorship of Ecclesiastes, *The Triall of Vanitie*, *The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule* put Smith in the vanguard of the early modern re-figuration of Solomon as both an accessible and an exemplary character. His sermons were most innovative in how they allegorically melded Solomon and his times with the contemporary puritan community and their times. Smith's realistic imagery – e.g. the 'scab' of sin - and the contemporary implications he drew – e.g. the 'Totquot' of vanities - in combination with his Pauline accommodations of all societal strata – e.g. Solomon as the good Schoolmaster - and his discernment of Solomon as a source for essential Reformed doctrine – conversion, repentance, and perseverance - prove him up as one of the most skilled Elizabethan reconcilers of English Calvinism with what Erich Auerbach described as Homeric and Elohistic mimesis. Here we have seen how Master Smith used proverbs, literary mimicry, and verisimilitude not only to present Ecclesiastes as an important source of Reformed doctrine, and an important source of puritan enculturation, but crucially, to present Solomon as a preternaturally Reformed man who advocated the quality of 'remembrance' as essential to the godly *ordo salutis*. At the same time, Smith populated Ecclesiastes' world with other biblical figures, such as Enoch, and invited his recipients to 'walk with' them all in remembrance; in doing so, he presented them with the opportunity to imagine themselves as say, preternatural Antediluvians, connected with each other the collegium of the elect across time. Thereupon it has been suggested that Master Smith was groundbreaking in securing his recipients' participation in what the present thesis has referred to as the proverbial continuum of Ecclesiastes in early modern England.

A few years before Master Smith's main volume of sermons was printed, the Oxonian scholar Thomas Pye had presaged some of the foregoing points, in his elegant statement that 'the scope of Solomon, is the scope of our life: the end of his discourse, the end of all our doings'.[116] But an important distinction between Smith and writers such as Thomas Pye is the

[116] Pye, *Solomons sermon*, sig. *ij^{v}.

former's greater impact as gauged by the objective measures of print history. Smith was the only divine of the time to rival William Perkins in number of sermons and editions published,[117] which was achieved at a time when the market for printed sermons was robust and only growing. And again, as Mary Morrissey has pointed out, there even was an underground trade in Smith's pirated editions.[118] Accordingly, whilst it is not possible to quantify the totality of their consumption with precision, it is hoped that their consumption is sufficiently manifest for the present thesis to suggest that Smith's engagements were among the most widely-read works on Ecclesiastes in the early modern period.[119] As such, they went a long way toward transforming Ecclesiastes from the arcane, enigmatic, and authoritarian text that was put forth *c.*1485-*c.*1580 into the pivotal, shared, livable story of the saintly English Christian from *c.*1590 onward.

In truth, the present researcher's assessment of Henry Smith's place in Ecclesiastes reception history must start with the making of two sublimely simple points: firstly, his works should be acknowledged as existing in the first place, i.e. they have not gained the merest mention in the seminal bibliography by Stuart Weeks (Table 1, Row 27); and secondly, other reception histories of Ecclesiastes should henceforth give greater consideration to his sermons and prayer scripts, as being among the most important, singularly English responses to the scripture that came forth in the early modern era. His practical divinity was among the earliest to leave behind the *Book of Common Prayer* and *The Books of Homilies*, which were the two most important engagements with the scripture in Tudor England to *c.*1590, and thereafter the English take on the 'momentous themes' of Ecclesiastes tended to read Solomon as repentant and saved by the grace of election, and Ecclesiastes as accessible and livable Word. The present thesis has shown that his exhortations were not just stylistic homiletical exercises, but substantive and innovative (if at times speculative, declarative, terse, and presumptuous) commentaries on the author's pneumatological legitimacy and on the authoritative nature of his text. His Reformed interpretations and figurations, which seem to have been achieved without much help from Calvin and the leading Calvinists, reeled back the book from the monastic *contemptus mundi* mode of reading and cast it forth as *vade mecum* guidance for all

[117] Kendall, *English Calvinism*, p. 80n.2.
[118] Morrissey, *Paul's Cross*, *supra*.
[119] For example, *The Trumpet of the Soule* was both printed singly and in numerous editions, but since it was also later repackaged in anthologies - Herr indicates its printing in three editions, whereas Green indicates its printing more than nine editions - that work's ultimate readership is itself difficult to measure. Herr, *Elizabethan Sermon*, p. 158; Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 658. It seems sensible to speak of *The Trumpet of the Soule* along the lines of Lori Ann Ferrell - simply and summarily - that 'all [Smith's] sermons were best sellers'. Lori Anne Ferrell, 'Sermons', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham: Routledge, 2013), pp. 193-202, pp. 194-195.

believers in all dominions of life. And as the present thesis will discuss in Chapter 6, not only is there a sense that his works were trend-setting influences on later, likewise expansive English readings of the scripture, but there is evidence to show that they were direct influences on Francis Bacon, who took Ecclesiastes to intellectual dominions previously unthought of. Accordingly, the present thesis suggests that other reception histories of Ecclesiastes, e.g. by Eric Christianson would benefit from a level of revision vis-à-vis Henry Smith, to more particularly and fully account for his impact on the early modern English reception of the scripture's 'momentous themes'.

> *And then we are come home with Salomon and may be Preachers unto other*. Thus I have shewed unto you as it were a limb of vanitie, you may looke about you and see the whole bodie: for if she be anywhere in this land, this is her pontistical seat, where she is never nonresident.[120]

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[120] Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 844.

‘Of Pride

When daintie dames hath whole delight: with proude attire them selves to ray:
Pirasmos shineth in the sight: of glittering glass such fooles to fray.

The signification

THE woman signifieth pride: the glass in her hand flattery or deceate: the devill behinde her temptation: the death head which she setteth her foote on, signifieth forgetfulnes of the life to come, whereby commeth destruction’.

Stephen Batman, *A Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation*, 1569.
Courtesy Early English Books Online

Figure 5

Chapter 4

George Gifford of Essex: Pastoral Reformed Scholasticism and the 'Ecclesiasticall Person'

If God give us riches and honor, use them to his glorie, account of them as things transitorie. We must set our hearts upon better things. If I could be equall with Solomon in glorie and royaltie, I perceive by him it were nought worth.

George Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, 1589

The present chapter discusses the *lectio continua* series of *Eight Sermons* on the first five chapters of Ecclesiastes that were written by George Gifford, pastor at All Saints with St Peter, Maldon, Essex, in 1589. Gifford dedicated the series to his patroness Lady Anne, Countess of Warwick, and stated that Ecclesiastes was a 'speciall choyse' of topic and that the sermons were first recorded by a parishioner, 'my Sermons noted by one that did write, I was requested to peruse & to perfect them, in some better sort for the Printe: Which as leasure served I have performed in one part'.[1] Although the *Eight Sermons* are not unknown to early modernists, it is believed that the present thesis is the first study to have approached the series from the perspective of diachronic reception history, and the first to suggest that the series was important in the evolution of early modern English interpretation of Ecclesiastes.[2] The series appears to be the earliest surviving English homiletics to have conveyed the original Hebrew persona *koheleth*, and it is argued that Gifford's preaching of Solomon as 'Gods elect', as in the same salvific class as the godly parishioner, was a watershed in Ecclesiastes' transition from one of the main sources of authority for Tudor officialdom into *vade mecum* for post-Tudor Christian worldliness.

[1] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sigs A_3^r – A_3^v. NB: The phrase 'in one part' could be read as implying that there were more sermons in the series that did not get transcribed and printed. For discussion of Tudor-era shorthand transcription, see Lori Anne Ferrell, 'Method as Knowledge: Scribal Theology, Protestantism, and the Reinvention of Shorthand in Sixteenth Century England' in *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Objects, and Texts, 1400-1800*, ed. by Pamela Smith and Benjamin Schmidt (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 163-77.

[2] The *Eight Sermons* were curated in Stuart Weeks' scholarly bibliography (Table 1, Row 26), and have been mentioned, somewhat in passing, in Wallace, 'George Gifford, Puritan Propaganda', p. 46, and in McGinnis, *George Gifford*, Appendix 1. One unpublished thesis that discussed Gifford's and de Serres' works alongside each other is by Ransom, 'Redeeming Complaint', *supra*, however, the influences and intertextualities between the *Learned Commentarie* and the *Eight Sermons*, suggested below and illustrated in Table 3, seem to have escaped notice there, and in other previous scholarship.

Stylistically, the *Eight Sermons* stand in sharp contrast to Henry Smith's sermons and prayers, which, as discussed in the preceding two chapters, were rhetorically layered, if even 'metaphysical',[3] and were aimed at the godly imagination, whereas the *Eight Sermons* were crafted to appeal mainly to the Reformed mind that yearned (as Gifford hoped, that is) for salvific education. Dewey D. Wallace viewed the series, along with other *lectio continua* in Gifford's catalogue, as 'less obviously intended to edify the common folk', but he also acknowledged that 'these *were* sermons', and that they evidence Gifford's undertaking to inculcate the humbler strata of society with the proper interpretations of difficult scriptures.[4] It is an eminently reasonable and important point. The *Eight Sermons* were indeed doctrinally sophisticated, and they may have asked more of the "common sort" than Smith's sermons, yet they also displayed Gifford's pastoral subtlety and skill.[5] Indeed they were direct and relatively "plain", they used proverbs and metaphors sparingly, but they also provided more than a few moments of homey connection, and some cutting-edge, even dramatic turns of phrase, as well. And whilst they taught the scripture as having called for repentance and living the Word, as did Smith's sermons, they also expressly conveyed that Ecclesiastes, within its four corners, was intended to provide all the comfort the saints needed. They shared the view that Solomon was elect and repentant, and that Ecclesiastes was his repentant testimonial. They also shared a Victorine sense of the nature of *vanitas*, and both preachers were mainly concerned with the sub-species of humane fault (*vanitas culpae*). Accordingly, both preachers saw Ecclesiastes as an applicable guide or compendium, that Solomon's life was a distant mirror to the lives of all souls in the church invisible: the flock could and should live the king's example (as the preachers read it, that is); they should repent and thereafter live mindfully, in remembrance of the grace of God and of the transitory, tempestuous nature of the corporeal world. If Smith's were exercises in pedagogical rhetoric, Gifford's were exercises in rhetorical pedagogy, but after all, each preacher marched their recipients to the same destination.

George Gifford was popular in his parish and well-known beyond Essex, and his writings were influential in England well into the seventeenth century. The fact of his popularity reflects in early modernist historiography, which to date has been primarily interested in his early ecclesiastical politics and *classis* movement activities, and in his

[3] Davies, *Metaphysical Preachers*, p. 12.
[4] Wallace, 'George Gifford, Puritan Propaganda', p. 46n.96 (emphasis in original).
[5] Paraphrasing the general description of Gifford's work by Christopher Haigh, 'The Character of an Antipuritan', in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 35.3 (2004), 671-88, p. 677.

anthropological commentaries on 'the common sort' and witchcraft.[6] But though there are some studies which have consulted his *lectio continua* on the Song of Songs and Revelation, Gifford's impact as a systematic transmitter of Reformed theology has been largely passed over.[7] And, pertinent to the present thesis, it would be a gross understatement to state that the *Eight Sermons* have been treated inadequately by the diachronic reception histories and bibliographies that have focused on Ecclesiastes. The glaring example is Eric Christianson's *Ecclesiastes Through the Centuries*, wherein Gifford and his work did not gain the merest mention.[8] Oddly so, for the *Eight Sermons* are the most voluminous Tudor era sermons on Ecclesiastes that survive in print, and they tackled the first five chapters of the scripture line-by-line, energetically elaborating on the 'momentous themes' that Dr. Christianson tracked over time in his important monograph.

As prior reception histories have passed over the *Eight Sermons*, none have identified George Gifford as one of the pivotal drivers of the broad transformations that, it is argued here, seem to have occurred in the reception of Ecclesiastes in England during the late sixteenth century, i.e. the re-thinking and re-figuring of Solomon, the expansion of the scripture to be of interest and applicability to all the social estates, and the Victorine sort of Reformed view of *vanitas*, as we have already experienced in the sermons and prayers of Henry Smith. Unfortunately, however, whilst the *Eight Sermons* are plainer and less rhetorically layered than Smith's *The Triall of Vanity*, *The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule*, there is just more of Ecclesiastes in Gifford's series; given the greater detail and sheer volume of the series, it would also be easy to venture into the *Eight Sermons* too deeply and lose the forest for the trees. Thus, in the interest of scholarly economy and sticking to the scripture's 'momentous themes', the present chapter shall focus on the *First* and the *Fifth* of the *Eight Sermons* (base texts Eccles. 1:1-11 and Eccles. 3:1-15, respectively), which allows the chapter to discuss Gifford's exhortations on the nature of Solomon and on *vanitas* (mainly in the *First Sermon*), and on Ecclesiastes' themes of time and temporal reality's

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[6] See Wallace, 'George Gifford, Puritan Propaganda', *supra*, and McGinnis, *George Gifford*, *supra*. See also, Patrick Collinson, John Craig, Brett Usher (eds), *Conferences and Combination Lectures in the Elizabethan Church: Dedham and Bury St Edmunds, 1582-1590* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003); Alan Macfarlane, 'A Tudor Anthropologist: George Gifford's *Discourse* and *Dialogue*' in *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft*, ed. by Sydney Anglo (London: Routledge, 1977), pp. 140-55; idem, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study* (London: Routledge, 1999).

[7] See Clarke, *Song of Songs*, *supra*; Richard Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth century Apocalypticism, Millenarianism and the English Reformation, from John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman* (Appleford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1978); Patrick J. O'Banion, 'The Pastoral Use of the Book of Revelation in Late Tudor England', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 57.4 (2006), 693-710.

[8] Christianson, *Centuries*, pp. 58-59 [Table of Renaissance and Reform Works]; pp. 267-271 [Bibliography]; p. 306 [Name Index].

cyclicality/mutability (mainly in the *Fifth Sermon*); other important aspects, e.g. Gifford's problem with puritan dancing, will be sampled from the other sermons in the series *ad hoc*. The present chapter continues with the interdisciplinary approach applied in preceding chapters by considering the *Eight Sermons* as homiletical & educational events of the imagination, remaining sensitive to *inter alia* the critical layers and proverbialities within the series. Furthermore, as before the present chapter will consider the *Eight Sermons* as potential reactions over and against the Jeromian and Bonaventuran interpretive inheritances, and over and against the Lutheran interpretive strand. The chapter will also consider whether Gifford's conception of Eccles. 1:2 seems to match with the "*Contemptus mundi*", "Renaissance *vanitas*", or "Anti-*Contemptus mundi*" periodization of *vanitas* readings that have been proposed by Eric Christianson.

Some words on the present chapter's structure are in order at this point. The titling of the chapter represents the four aspects of the *Eight Sermons* – pastoral, reformed, scholastic, and 'the ecclesiasticall person' - that seem to have been of primary concern in Gifford's preaching of Ecclesiastes. He understood the scripture to speak directly to the Pauline ideals of practical divinity; to his mind, the maxim of *vanitas vanitatum*, the matter of Solomon and his salvific status, the poetic, decretal merisms of Eccles. 3, etc. truly were pastoral topics. Thus the pastor, as teacher *and* comforter, was to instruct his flock on the significance of *vanitas*, in how it related to the proper view of, and their actual responses to, the world; the congregants were to live biblically and edify each other in the parish as godly neighbors. As the "pastoral perspective" subsection heads point out, Gifford read Ecclesiastes to declare that they all met together 'in an equall condition' of *vanitas*, and to urge the saints to have, as he said, 'a wonderful misliking' of the world, to do the best they could to live in it rightly. Ultimately, armed with the knowledge that the vanity of all things and all people was at the essence of God's decrees, 'here [Ecclesiastes] is comfort to the godly', especially in the face of temporal, ecclesiastical hostility to the puritan community.

As to the section on Gifford's "reformed & scholastic perspective", that part of the chapter examines the systematic theological discussion of Solomon and his salvific status, which was in keeping both with the emergent Reformed scholastic methodologies of Perkins and Ames, and with the Pauline pastoral ideal of being 'all things to all men', in the interest of reaching not only the parochial binaries of the elites and the 'common sort' but also the middling Christian, who was somewhat, or sufficiently, learned as to be persuadable in the essentials of puritan thinking about God and the 'golden chaine'. The *Eight Sermons* appear to

be the earliest extant English parochial homiletics that communicated the feminine-gendered, Hebrew meaning behind Solomon's self-appointed title, *koheleth*. Gifford used that re-understood, re-figured, and unifying nature of the king, along with other matter beyond 'this one title', to argue that Ecclesiastes was most concerned with disclosing the divine decrees of election and reprobation. Gifford urged the flock and his readers to think of the scripture's author as elect, repentant, and socially coalescent; the story of Ecclesiastes anticipated their times and corresponded to their own stories, whether lived as men or women, and the narrative was livable Word that was intended to both guide their lives and to unify them in the comfort of confidence in their election to salvation. The *Eight Sermons*' verse-to-verse, *lectio continua* explication of Ecclesiastes sought to counter the 'imbecillitie in mans works' through the pastor's homiletical efforts 'to prove' a vital aspect of true Christianity: 'the ecclesiasticall person' was 'in an equall condition' with other elect men, women, and Solomon himself, all souls who by repentance have been, or shall be, reconciled to each other, to God, and to his Church. Accordingly, to Gifford as to Smith, present mindfulness of *vanitas* was at the essence of the puritan *ordo salutis*. To borrow again from Barbara Lewalski and Thomas Luxon, the critical reading of the *Eight Sermons* is that each of the elect are living allegories of Solomon, and each of their lives are living allegories of Solomon's experiences; Gifford's hearers and readers were asked to find themselves in Ecclesiastes-cum-Law, and to be transformed by an experimental, rather than a notional, understanding of the scripture and its author.[9]

As discussed in the Introduction, and reiterated in the preceding chapter, the present study has proceeded from an impressionistic framework regarding "puritanism", and has joined previous scholars in suggesting that, in the end, puritanism was as about process as it was about doctrine; that beyond their commitments to double predestination, assurance, the preached Word, the Lord's Supper, and the Sabbath, puritanism was about appearance. The present chapter will draw out more on the procedural aspect of puritanism that was concerned with education, specifically scriptural education, as vital to progress and visibility of personal reformation. The puritans wanted to both be and to seem to be well-educated in the Bible, and to test themselves in accommodating the scriptures to and in their lives. As in the preceding chapters, the historiographical subtext of the present chapter's sections is the further demonstration of Ecclesiastes and Solomon emerging as key theological and enculturating devices to puritan divines like Gifford, who from *c.*1590 seem to have discerned that the perfection of England's reformation would come about not by upending the

[9] Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, p. 132; Luxon, *Literal Figures*, pp. 3-4; p. 18.

kingdom's ecclesiastical system, but by their daily fostering of true saintliness in their parishioners, gadders, patrons, and readers.

The Conclusion shall summarize the arguments of the present chapter, and it shall offer the present researcher's final thoughts on George Gifford's place in the reception history of the book of Ecclesiastes.

As with Smith's sermons and prayers, in Gifford's *Eight Sermons* we can discern the swinging pendulum of the English reception of Ecclesiastes *c.*1590, and by the 1630s the nuanced *koheleth*, as well as the Victorine influence on the English view of *vanitas*, taught by Gifford was further fleshed out *inter alia* by the Royalist theologian, Michael Jermin (see below and Chapter 5). Gifford's preaching was at the same time broadly consistent with longstanding, traditional readings of the scripture, but it also conveyed innovative, Reformed interpretations and applications, and it undoubtedly satisfied a puritan's "thickness test" as to the exposition of such an enigmatic text. Indeed, that last point is difficult to overstate. For as the sun set on Elizabeth's reign, the *Eight Sermons* had built more upon the scripture's foundations than had any other Tudor era works to date, including Henry Smith's, and it certainly delved much more into 'Solomons sermon' than had *The Books of Homilies*. The *Eight Sermons* had to have been much more satisfying to the scripture hungry puritans' ears and eyes than anything on Ecclesiastes that they had had access to previously. This fact alone allows the present researcher to suggest that the series was one of the most important transmitters of Ecclesiastes to the English public in the sixteenth century. But of course, George Gifford neither produced the *Eight Sermons* in a contextual vacuum, nor were his thoughts on Ecclesiastes free from intellectual indebtedness.

Background

George Gifford (d. 1600) was the son of Boniface Gifford of Dry Drayton, Cambridgeshire, and previous scholars have found little surviving evidence concerning his life before his matriculation at Christ's College, Cambridge and receiving the *magister* in 1573.[10] Discerning his early influences is difficult, but Timothy McGinnis has posited that Gifford likely studied directly under Laurence Chaderton,[11] who Patrick Collinson famously

[10] W. J. Petchey, *A Prospect of Maldon 1500–1689* (Chelmsford: Essex RO, 1991); Brett Usher, 'Gifford, George (1547/8-1600)', *ODNB*.
[11] McGinnis, *George Gifford*, pp. 26-8.

described as 'the pope of Cambridge puritanism' at the veritable puritan seminary of Christ's College.[12] It is clear that William Fulke was an early influence, as evidenced by the 1573 publication of Gifford's English translation of Fulke's *Praelections* on the Book of Revelation. Soon thereafter he began to speak out against *adiaphora* and conformity, e.g. in November 1575, he and his wife were disciplined for not receiving communion in their parish, and the suppression of prophesyings in 1576 brought Gifford under additional scrutiny.[13] The early 1580s were his actively nonconformist period,[14] and ecclesiastical tensions pushed him to leave England in 1586 to accompany Sidney in the Low Countries.[15] He was present at the Battle of Zutphen and was the poet's confessor, as detailed in the homage, *The manner of Sir Philip Sidneyes death* (wherein he leveraged the "Lady Vanity" trope, discussed in the preceding chapter, vis-à-vis Lady Rich).[16]

Gifford returned to England shortly after Zutphen and was ordained and began serving as curate of All Saints with St Peter, Maldon, 'a centre of advanced, godly Protestantism',[17] where he served (when not under deprivation) until his death in 1600. All Saints was a good fit for a ministry that emphasized preaching, teaching, and household discussion, all which Gifford cultivated enthusiastically, e.g. by holding discussion suppers in parishioners' homes (that often attracted what the present researcher would call, "supper gadders").[18] And though he was well liked and well supported, he did have a significant local rival. When Gifford was under deprivation in May 1587, London's Bishop Aylmer imposed Robert Palmer, who had been regarded by Gifford as a card-playing ale-bencher, as vicar in the parish. From that point on, All Saints was effectively split into two camps; as W. J. Petchey has described the situation, the parish was split was between the majority of Gifford 'favourers' and the minority of Palmer 'supporters'.[19]

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[12] Collinson, *Puritan Movement*, pp. 125-7.
[13] Peter Lake, 'A Tale of Two Episcopal Surveys: The Strange Fates of Edmund Grindal and Cuthbert Mayne Revisited: The Prothero Lecture', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, *Sixth Series*, 18 (2008), 129-63 p. 133.
[14] Richard Bancroft, *Daungerous positions and proceedings* (London, 1593), p. 84; Collinson, *Conferences*, pp. 209-14.
[15] Collinson, *Conferences*, p. 211; p. 214n37.
[16] McGinnis, *George Gifford*, pp. 47-8; Barbara Brumbaugh, '*Jerusalem Delivered* and the Allegory of Sidney's Revised *Arcadia*', in *Modern Philology*, 101.3 (2004), 337-70, pp. 337-8. As to Gifford's reference to Lady Rich, suspected lover of Sidney, as a 'vanity', see George Gifford, '*The Manner of Sir Philip Sidneyes Death*', BL Vitellius C.17, 382.
[17] Petchey, *Maldon*, pp. 199-200.
[18] Collinson, *Movement*, p. 376-8.
[19] Petchey, *Maldon*, pp. 206-10; pp. 215-21.

The imposition of Palmer at All Saints came after years of Aylmer hounding Gifford for his *classis* conferencing activities in Essex. As Brett Usher has noted, Gifford not only was involved, but as suspected by Aylmer and Archbishop Whitgift, indeed he probably was the chief organizer of the county's Braintree Conference, a group of puritan ministers that regularly suffered deprivations and suspensions from 1582 to early 1589,[20] and Gifford was covered by the High Commission's injunction of March 1589 that banned certain puritan preachers from preaching in any pulpit in London. That injunction evolved into the Star Chamber case of 1590-92 against Thomas Cartwright *et al*., a case which effectively put the whole puritan movement on trial.[21] Still, Gifford never faced prosecution, so at some point after the March 1589 injunction he must have discerned that an evolution of his views and his ministry was in order if he was to stay out of the Fleet. After the last provincial synod at St John's College, Cambridge later in 1589, and after Aylmer's visitation to the county that year, the conference movement in Essex had been eviscerated, but tellingly, the bishop's visitation did *not* result in Gifford being summoned and further disciplined for nonconformity.[22]

Thereafter, Gifford engaged in fierce anti-separatist writing and preaching against the remaining Brownists,[23] and ultimately avoided coming under examination for separatism and involvement in the Martin Marprelate affair (despite rumors that caused his name to be mentioned at Star Chamber several times).[24] As Ethan Shagan has suggested, Gifford's anti-separatism helped both to deflect the attentions of the authorities and to eliminate his rivals; his polemics 'authorized his patron, Lord Burghley, not to protect the separatists, [and they] also helped save Gifford from [Greenwood's and Barrow's] grisly fate on the gallows in 1593'.[25] He was further rehabilitated in 1591, when Aylmer appointed him to the most important pulpit in London, where he delivered his (only) Paul's Cross sermon. As Mary Morrissey has found, by the early 1590s, Gifford had appropriated the theme of unity against the common enemy - that ironically had been so central to anti-puritan preaching - and levelled his vitriol against Catholics and the remaining separatists, preaching for greater Protestant unity.[26] So in summary, the three hard blows taken from 1587 to 1589 - the London injunction, the imposition of Palmer, and Aylmer's visitation - seem to have swayed Gifford

[20] Usher, 'Gifford', *supra*.
[21] Collinson, *Puritan Movement*, 'On Trial'.
[22] Petchey, *Maldon*, *supra*.
[23] See McGinnis, *George Gifford,* Appendix 1; MacLure, *Register of Sermons*, p. 70.
[24] See Joseph Black (ed.), *The Martin Marprelate Tracts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
[25] Ethan Shagan, 'Beyond Good and Evil: Thinking with Moderates in Early Modern England', in *The Journal of British Studies*, 49.3 (2010), 488-513, p. 499.
[26] Morrissey, *Paul's Cross*, p. 216.

into moderation, and to have persuaded him to become an advocate for broadened ecclesiastical boundaries, for good faith and equipoise within English Protestantism.

This, in short, was the general historical context of the *Eight Sermons*: from about 1589, Gifford had achieved a sort of ecclesiastical détente with London and Canterbury, and thereupon he focused on teaching his flock from the pulpit, at the supper table, and in the print shop. The fruits of that focus included his *Pauls Crosse* sermon (printed 1591), and his intellectually demanding *lectio continua* series on Ecclesiastes (printed 1589), Revelation (1596), and the Song of Songs (printed 1598).[27]

As to the contextualization of the *Eight Sermons* from the perspective of diachronic reception history, it is believed that the present thesis is the first piece of scholarship to suggest that Gifford's *Eight Sermons* were substantially indebted to the *Learned Commentarie* by the French Calvinist writer Jean de Serres, as translated by the puritan schoolmaster and grammarian John Stockwood, Kent, in 1585. There are several contextual, structural, and substantive elements that support this suggestion.

Firstly, of course, one must substantiate that Gifford had access to the 1585 translation. By 1589 the works of Jean de Serres were well known and respected in England, especially within puritan circles,[28] and obviously the fact that the *Learned Commentarie* was printed in London in 1585 shows that copies of it were in circulation in England for a few years in advance of 1589's *Eight Sermons*. Additionally, it is not unreasonable to speculate that, at some point between 1585 and 1589, Gifford was introduced to de Serres, and/or the *Learned Commentarie* specifically, by one or more of the people in his socio-intellectual circle. Phillip Sidney is a fine candidate, as it is well-established that de Serres had been a significant influence on the poet,[29] and Gifford's death-bed ministration at Zutphen in 1586, documented by *Sidneyes Death*, strongly implies sufficient familiarity between them. But perhaps the more likely candidates are John Windet, Gifford's erstwhile printer, who had printed both the

[27] Although Gifford would no doubt insist that such were well within the capacities of the elect, they may be good examples of what Prof. Haigh referred to as being above many of the ordinary peoples' heads. Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society Under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 283.
[28] See Lisa Parmelee, 'Printers, Patrons, Readers, and Spies: Importation of French Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England', in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25.4 (1994), 853-72.
[29] See M. J. Doherty, *The Mistress-Knowledge: Sir Philip Sidney's* Defence of Poesie *and Literary Architectonics in the English Renaissance* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1991); William Junker, '"Wonderfully Ravished": Platonic Erotics and the Heroic Genre in Sir Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesy*', in *The Ben Jonson Journal*, 18.1 (May 2011), 45-65.

Stockwood translation of the *Learned Commentarie* and the *Eight Sermons*,[30] and William Fulke, Gifford's authorial benefactor and long-time mentor, who had written the prefix [preface] for the Stockwood translation.[31] On the other hand, the *Eight Sermons* never expressly reference de Serres, Stockwood, Fulke, or the *Learned Commentarie*, nor has the present researcher found any archival or secondary sources that confirm Gifford's access to the book. Nevertheless, considering its reception in the puritan community, its wider print market presence, and the coincidence of Stockwood's and Gifford's shared printer, it seems reasonable to suggest that Gifford had had access to the *Learned Commentarie*.

Secondly, the *Eight Sermons* and the *Learned Commentarie* share too many common, significant structural elements for the former to have been crafted without influence of the latter. The epigraphs (chapter and verse ranges) that Gifford chose for each of the *Eight Sermons* tend to match those that de Serres chose for each "confutation" in the *Learned Commentarie*. Indeed, it seems a telling fact that several epigraphs match exactly, and that although de Serres explains the rationales for his epigraphs, Gifford never elaborates on the thinking behind his own verse ranges. Moreover, perhaps the most important of the exact matches are those that head the vital discussions of the 'momentous themes' of *vanitas* and Solomonic authorship. To wit, the epigraph for Gifford's *First Sermon* is Eccles. 1:1-11 and the epigraph for his *Second Sermon* is Eccles. 1:12-18,[32] which correspond to de Serres' epigraphs for *A general confutation, touching the vanitie of man* and *A confutation of the wisdom of man*, respectively.[33] Another telling structural commonality is that the *Eight Sermons* finish precisely at Eccles. 5:6, the very verse which de Serres had established as a major dividing line in his narrative structure - de Serres had read the range Eccles. 5:6 to Eccles. 12:13, the end of the book, as Solomon's testimony on the nature of true happiness, i.e. what happiness is: the fear of God.[34] The significance of this common line of demarcation grows a bit if one considers what both authors stated about their overall narrative structures, and what they both said of the overall narrative structure of Ecclesiastes itself. De Serres had divided *Learned Commentarie* into three parts, as per Ecclesiastes itself (that is, as he had discerned it): that Solomon discussed what is not happiness (to Eccles. 5:6), what is happiness (Eccles. 5:6 to Eccles. 12:13),

[30] Prior to 1589, John Windet had printed Gifford's *Catechisme* (1586), and his *Sermon upon James* (1586), and may have printed his sermon on *Seven Chiefe Virtues…Election* (1582). Later, Windet printed Gifford's sermon on the *Donatists* (1590), his sermon at *Pauls Crosse* (1591), the treatise on *Witches and Witchraftes* (1593), and his *Fifteene Sermons upon the Song of Salomon* (1600). McGinnis, *George Gifford*, Appendix 1.
[31] Fulke supported Gifford for his first vocational appointment, and as indicated above, the translation of the *Praelections* had given Gifford the genesis of his writing catalogue. See Usher, 'Gifford', *supra*.
[32] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sigs $A_{[5]}^{r}$ – $A_{[5]}^{v}$, sigs $D_{[4]}^{v}$ – $D_{[5]}^{r}$.
[33] Stockwood, *Learned Commentarie*, sig. Aiiii, pp. 43-4.
[34] ibid., [*A Table of the Doctrine*], sig. ¶¶iii.

and therefrom the use that must be made of happiness.[35] It seems that Gifford merely trimmed his narrative themes by adopting the first two concepts of de Serres' three-part conceptual structure, that 'the whole worke [Ecclesiastes] consisteth of two partes', those being Solomon's thoughts on what is not happiness or 'the wrong way', and his thoughts on what is happiness or 'the right course', and condensed them to close the *Eight Sermons* at Eccles. 5:6.[36] But of course, at the same time, there are disparities between the two works, e.g. some of Gifford's epigraphs do *not* match de Serres' confutations, so this is not to state that Gifford simply copied and followed the *Learned Commentarie* table of contents. Nevertheless, the foregoing structural commonalities seem sufficient to support the suggestion that Gifford was indeed influenced by the editorial and narrative structure of the Stockwood translation.

Thirdly, the *Eight Sermons* and the *Learned Commentarie* also share too many common, significant expressive elements for the former to have been crafted without influence of the latter. That is, it appears that Gifford regularly paraphrased the Stockwood translation, and several examples have been curated here (Table 3). Both authors linked Ps. 62:9 with Eccles. 1:2 early in their tracts' discussions of *vanitas* (Table 3, Row 1), and whilst that may not be surprising, the usages and placements do "pop" off the page as being too opportune. In any case, Gifford's reference to Ps. 62:9 seems to have been one-and-only; the present researcher's manual searches plus EEBO keyword searches (both inherently imperfect, it is acknowledged) do not yield any other references to that psalm in Gifford's catalogue.

More telling are the passages that leverage the term "imbecillitie" vis-à-vis mankind's works. Not only is the descriptor common to Gifford and Stockwood/de Serres (Table 3, Row 2), but further research (again, manual and EEBO) yields that the *Eight Sermons* and the *Learned Commentarie* were among the earliest, if not the earliest, applications of the term "imbecillitie" in the context of early modern English commentary on Eccles. 1:2. Additionally, their expositions of man's imbecility ring similar bells, referring to mazes and crooked things, the infinite and that 'out of which there is no way'. It might even be said that Gifford's *Eight Sermons* contributed to what the present researcher has called a proverbial continuum, one that seems to have begun with de Serres/Stockwood in 1585, and which was later joined *inter*

[35] ibid.
[36] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. B_1^v; sig. $Q_{[8]}^r$ (brackets added).

alia by Robert Hill in his *Contents of Scripture*,[37] by "C.C." in his translation of John Calvin,[38] and by "R.S." in his translation of Peter du Moulin.[39]

To the foregoing the present researcher must add the strong similarities between the marine metaphors that de Serres/Stockwood and (the usually plain-speaking and largely unmetaphorical) Gifford drew for their readers – life is tempestuous, full of the perils of shipwrecks, and God provides the safe haven of the heavenly shoreline, and so forth (Table 3, Rows 3, 4, 5, 7). Indeed, both commenters were especially evocative in describing the world of human politics as a bottomless sea or gulf (Table 3, Row 7). Both commenters were especially symmetrical in drawing the image of unfaithful men who, upon the making shipwrecks of 'godlinesse and honestie' (de Serres) and 'faith and a good conscience' (Gifford), only 'stayned themselves' in wickedness (de Serres) and 'drowne themselves' in destruction (Gifford)(Table 3, Row 3). And for both authors, it was important to establish that God 'hath made' and 'requireth' the workings of Time, and He is above and beyond it (Table 3, Row 6). Finally, they both argued the Victorine sort of Reformed view that the *omnia* of *vanitas vanitatum* was proved by the *vanitas culpae* of man himself (Table 3, Row 8).

Subsequent scholars may indeed find more specific intertextualities, but as with the structural commonalities, those that have been curated here seem sufficient to support the suggestion that Gifford might be described as Serranian vis-à-vis Ecclesiastes, having been heavily influenced by the *Learned Commentarie* in crafting his *Eight Sermons*.

Fourthly, and lastly, Gifford departed from himself and his normal practice in declaring on Solomon's election, an issue that did not garner an outright declaration in English print before the appearance of the Stockwood translation, even in William Fulke's prefix [preface] thereto. Fulke's assertion that Ecclesiastes was 'a testimonie of his [Solomon's]

[37] 'Againe the vanity of humane wisdom, compared with folly: and in fine, mans *imbecillity* either to enjoy long that he hath, or to leave it to any certain heir; because all things depend upon Gods providence'. Hill, *Contents of Scripture*, p. 261 (emphasis added).
[38] 'That nothing is so vaine a thing as man: who if he be weighed in a balance, will be found lighter then vanitie itself, Psal.62. And in the sort our Prophet shewes that all nations are as nothing, yea, lesse then nothing: that he might the better note out both their vanitie, and *imbecillitie*'. "C.C." (transl.), *A Commentary Upon the Prophecie of Isaiah by Mr. John Calvin* (London, 1609), p. 409 (emphasis added).
[39] 'Nay he is come to that passe, that he doth assume to himself the distribution of offices in Paradise; making one protector of a Country, another a healer of some particular disease as if little Antes had power to dispose of affaires belonging to the Crown of France. This is also a vanity of vanities and an extreme *imbecility* of judgement'. "R.S." (transl.), *Heraclitus: or Meditations Upon the Vanity & Misery of Humane Life* (London, 1609), p. 87 (emphasis added).

repentance after his fall' strongly implied that Solomon was elect,[40] and it was left for the reader to make the connection to Solomon's election. Gifford, on the other hand, did not mince on the matter, nor was he averse to flipping the reasoning: he was only several lines into the *First Sermon* on Ecclesiastes when he proclaimed, '[Solomon] was one of Gods elect, therefore he returned to his God by true repentance'.[41] Outside the *Eight Sermons*, the salvific status of biblical figures was a matter for insinuation, e.g. the use of 'blessed' for Peter the Apostle,[42] and for the Angels,[43] and the tender and loaded phrase 'faithful father' for Abraham.[44] Likewise, Gifford would fall short of pronouncing reprobation, even as to famous heathens of the past. In *True Fortitude*, for example, Gifford noted that Alexander, Hannibal, and other great pagan captains had the strengths of 'courage and hardinesse' but 'had not in them the true Fortitude, which is a most pure virtue…without the new birth of Christ, there is not so much as a pure thought in any man'.[45] Thus, in *Countrie Divinitie*, Atheos asked Zelotes, 'howe can they tell' as to one's election, and 'howe can ye saye [reprobates] state is damnable', and Zelotes answered with generalized, orthodox language on election and reprobation, with no specific examples given of either state.[46] Which is to state that, in general, Gifford's approach to any specific individual's salvific status was that it is a matter for Christ alone to judge and know. But, as we shall see, for reasons he gave in the *Eight Sermons* the matter of Solomon's salvific status was a 'speciall choyse' topic that needed a special declaration. It is speculation, but it seems to be a reasonable one, that Gifford's departure from himself in the *Eight Sermons* was given a level of intellectual and theological cover by the landmark argument that William Fulke had advanced in his prefix [preface] to the *Learned Commentarie*.

As Charles Dardier stated in his 1883 study of Jean de Serres, the French Calvinist *moyenneur* had found that Ecclesiastes offered a fundamentally unified, and therefore fundamentally unifying, message for the common welfare: understanding Solomon's testimonial of what happiness is not, what happiness is, and the use that must be made of happiness, was vital to all faithful Christians.[47] The present thesis suggests that George

[40] Stockwood, *Learned Commentarie*, sig. ¶iiii (brackets added).
[41] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. $A_{[8]}{}^{r}$ (brackets added).
[42] George Gifford, *Sermons upon 1. Peter* (London, 1597), sig. C.
[43] George Gifford, *A Catechisme* (London, 1583), sig. $D_{[8]}{}^{v}$.
[44] George Gifford, *Sermons upon James* (London, 1582), sig. $C_{[vi]}{}^{r}$.
[45] George Gifford, *True Fortitude* (London, 1594), sigs $A_{[6]}{}^{r}$ - $A_{[6]}{}^{v}$ (portion omitted).
[46] George Gifford, *Countrie Divinitie* (London, 1582), sigs $H_{[5]}{}^{r}$ - $H_{[6]}{}^{r}$ (brackets added).
[47] Charles Dardier, 'Jean de Serres, Historiographe Du Roi: Sa Vie Et Ses Écrits D'Après Des Documents Inédits 1540-1598', in *Revue Historique*, 22.2 (1883), 291-328, pp. 314-315. See also, Gillian Lewis, 'Calvinism in Geneva in the time of Calvin and of Beza (1541-1605)' in *International Calvinism 1541-1715*, ed. by Menna Prestwich (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 39-70; Scott Manetsch, 'Pastoral Care East of Eden: The Consistory of Geneva, 1568-82', in *Church History*, 75.2 (2006), 274-313.

Gifford came to the same conclusion, surely due primarily to his own reading and contemplation of the scripture, but also due to the latest thinking on the scripture that he had encountered in John Stockwood's 1585 translation of Jean de Serres' *Learned Commentarie*.

Vanitas & Gifford's Pastoral Perspective

From the Introduction through Chapter 3, the present thesis has discussed some of the most important threads of Christian commentary on Eccles 1:2 and has argued that Henry Smith's engagements were groundbreaking in the early modern English reception of *vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas*. To Jeromian readers, *vanitas* meant that all matters humane are valueless and civic life is hopelessly fraught, whereas the Bonaventuran readers took more from the *omnia* of *vanitas* and held that the totality of physical reality (*vanitas universo*) is valueless; under both readings, to retreat from the world was to sortie toward godliness. Within the Bonaventuran tradition was the earlier body thought of Hugh of St Victor, whose tripartite providential scheme (*vanitas triplex*) delineated between the changeability (*vanitas mutabilitatis*) and entropy (*vanitas poenalitatis*) of all temporal things, and the inherent fault and sinfulness of humankind (*vanitas culpae*).[48] But again, a corollary in the Victorine view was the recognition of the inchoate goodness in humanity and of the potential for valuable human conduct, holding that what comes from truth is true, and 'what lives in God is not worthless'.[49] The preceding chapters have established that Henry Smith's engagements with Ecclesiastes put forth a tripartite, Victorine sort of Reformed *vanitas* that substantively, if not with the Victorine species' labels, focused on the *vanitas culpae* as a matter of puritan practical divinity. Smith preached that the actuated will of the elect was able to accept the graces granted by God under the *ordo salutis*, and to combat their inherent fault through devotional prayer and living in godly 'remembrance'. For Smith, Solomon's repentant awareness of the 'momentous theme' of *vanitas* could be, and must be, emulated, practiced, lived, and be made visible to others; to 'walk with God as Enoch did, and remember well' was key to the completion of both individual and community reformation. And whilst Smith remained critical of the incompleteness of the England's reformation under the Religious Settlement, satirizing the same with his 'Totquot' and 'Lady Vanity' vignettes, the real pushback against the politicized, authoritarian applications of Ecclesiastes within *The Books of Homilies* was his emphasis on the centrality of *vanitas* awareness to the reformation of the individual and the puritan community. As we shall see presently, George Gifford's *Eight Sermons* essentially

[48] Kallas, *Traditum et Fides*, pp. 119-20.
[49] Eliason, 'Vanitas Vanitatum', p. 53; Kallas, *Traditum et Fides*, p. 248.

contained the same elements as Smith's sermons and prayers, though he conveyed them in a more plainspoken and less rhetorically rich style, and seemingly placed greater emphasis on remembrance as a gift of God (which perhaps was much like the gift of the ability to pray).[50]

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From the outset of the *Eight Sermons*, Gifford wished for the saints to meditate on 'the weight of this phrase, Vanitie of vanities…and see if yee can comprehende what the spirit of God doth here utter, concerning *the extreeme vanitie of all things in this worlde*'.[51] Thereafter, the series abounds with puritan-satiating articulations of *vanitas mutabilitatis* and *vanitas poenalitatis*, and to relay all of them here would be quite uneconomical. Thankfully (for us, if not for some in Gifford's flock), the *Fifth Sermon*, which contains his exposition on the merisms of Eccles. 3, put both Victorine concepts on the homiletical marquee. There, Gifford offered that Solomon's 'one generall argument' of *vanitas* was that 'all things under heaven are in time, and *therefore changeable* with time…that all creatures, all workes, studies, indeavours, councels, and desires, be vaine, and no profit remaining, seeing time eateth them up quite'.[52] The sundry stuff of the universe 'they alter, they varie, they change'; Solomon's merisms were intended to speak of the unchangeably divine God and the inconstant Creation that He made, that '[i]t commeth not by chance or adventure, that man and all his doings are subject to the *changeableness* of time',[53] but rather, that 'God hath (by an unchangeable decree) done all this which he hath shewed of the *variableness of all things* in time, and with time'.[54] And since the sundry stuff of the universe are 'wearie, subject unto vanitie, and unto the bondage of *corruption*, they grone and travaile in paine', and everything in it is destined to '*decay*, alter, and perish'.[55] Accordingly, 'the old things *decay*, or be destroyed, that new may be done', and likewise 'the works of man *decay*' only to be re-worked;[56] only God 'is constant, always the same', and 'this estate of things shall continue to the end'.[57] This *vanitas in universo* view is one of the few areas where Gifford seems to have differed with Jean de Serres, who did not hold 'with them the which do suppose that Solomon speaketh generally of all things', who asserted that whilst 'the creatures which otherwise are good, are but mere vanitie if they be compared

[50] For discussion of the ability and inability to pray, see Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, Part II, *supra*.
[51] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. B_3^r (portion omitted, emphasis added).
[52] ibid., sig. L_1^v (portion omitted, emphasis added).
[53] ibid., sigs L_1^v, $L_{[7]}^r$ (emphasis added).
[54] ibid., sig. $M_{[5]}^v$ (emphasis added).
[55] ibid., sig. $D_{[7]}^v$ (emphasis added).
[56] ibid., sig. $L_{[7]}^r$ (emphasis added).
[57] ibid., sigs $M_{[7]}^v$ - $M_{[8]}^v$.

with God', Solomon's real purpose in writing Ecclesiastes was 'to speake of man' and how it is man that corrupts other things 'with the infection of his sinne'.[58] In sum, Gifford's highlighting of temporal reality's variability and decay was a sublime recapitulation of the Bonaventuran *vanitas in universo*, which itself was rooted in, and gave 'broader significance with respect to', two of the three strands in the Victorine *vanitas triplex*.[59]

But the most significant aspect of George Gifford's preaching of *vanitas* was his delivery of a fundamentally Reformed slant on the Victorine species of *vanitas culpae*, the strand of the *vanitas triplex* that was concerned with human responsibility for sin and for the corruption of the other entities of Creation. Gifford's argument echoed de Serres in proceeding from the psalms' maxim, 'Yet the children of men are vanitie, the cheife men are lies: to lay them upon a balance they are altogether lighter then vanitie' (Psalm 62:9).[60] That is, humane vanity exceeds all other things' vanity, making humanity of even lesser value than the rest of the world's constituents. For Gifford, the universalist, the fact that 'all things' are mutable, perishable, and valueless was overshadowed only by the result of the Fall, the pitiful state of temporal reality that was disclosed by both Genesis and Ecclesiastes: Man is vainest thing of all, 'his estate is more vaine then the estate of other creatures'.[61] And importantly, without grace no one can discern the elemental vanity of their selves. 'I say they be not able to do this without speciall grace', he said in the *First Sermon*, for 'to meete with this, and to recover men from such folly, Solomon useth a comparison betweene man and other creatures, by which it appeareth, that besides this that he is mortall, his estate is the most vaine and transitorie of many other'.[62] Therefore, of course, since mankind is the most vain creature in all the Creation, without the 'speciall grace' of God all humane works, and people's use of creatures, etc. are made in vain as well. But since that sorry state of things is, as per the unchangeable divine decrees, a state unalterable by man ('to it can no man adde, and from it can none diminish', Eccles. 3:14), Gifford was left with the practical, pastoral problem of somehow edifying the faithful to keep living as well as possible, to keep attending sermons, lectures, and so forth.

Gifford set up the answer to that pastoral problem by asking rhetorically, 'Oh poore creatures what do ye?'.[63] To Gifford (as it was to Smith), the only way forward was for one to

[58] Stockwood, *Learned Commentarie*, p. 10.
[59] Kallas, *Traditum et Fides*, p. 118.
[60] See Table 3, Rows 1 and 8.
[61] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sigs $B_{[6]}{}^{r}$ – $B_{[6]}{}^{v}$.
[62] ibid., sig. $B_{[8]}{}^{r}$.
[63] ibid., sig. $M_{[8]}{}^{v}$.

proceed despite – or more accurately, alongside - the *vanitas* of the world, to live in remembrance of God, and to be thankful for His graces. The saints were to maintain the proper, godly perspective on their own salvific helplessness, and therewith they could engage in the 'lawfull use' of things, creatures, labor, etc. Again, as did Smith's sermons, the *Eight Sermons* taught that what mattered was mindset and mien; as the Victorines had said, 'what lives in God is not worthless'. Indeed, one is left to wonder whether Smith was rewording Gifford (in *The Banquet of Job's Children*, see Chapter 3) or Gifford was rewording Smith (below) when they each wrote exemplary passages about social affairs that saw the mixing of the godly and ungodly, the former being the mood killers; it was Gifford who expressly brought *inter alia* remembrance and special grace to the party.

> The other sort are far from this. For they doo delight themselves, and imagine that they take their part, as Solomon saith, *but if the remembrance of God come in the way, all is marred*: their pleasure is in vanities and sinnes. Do but speake of death, of the day of judgement, or of Gods displeasure against sinners, & they take it evill, and be angry. They say it is no time nor place to speak of such matters, they came to be merry. Ruffians and riotous beasts solace themselves and are merry, but yet it cometh not nigh this gift of God. *This is in no mans power, but where the giver doth bestow it…This then is Gods gift, with peace of conscience with joy in God, for a man to take his part, and to delight himselfe in his labours*.[64]

For Gifford (as well as Smith), the concept of *vanitas vanitatum* was the all-encompassing state of Creation, however, having considered it as being unchangeably decreed, as a practical divine he was mainly concerned with his parishioners' godliness and faultiness, their lawful use or sinful abuse of God's temporal and spiritual gifts. The *Eight Sermons* are quite clear throughout in stating that the difference between 'the other sort' and the godly is the latter's remembrance of Providence, that their repentant awareness of the 'momentous theme' of *vanitas* was a 'speciall grace' which prevented their abuse of the temporal gifts of God, and the perversion of their studies and other intellectual endeavors. As to those (broadly speaking) epistemological issues, Gifford made the point in the *Second Sermon* that the pursuit of knowledge, the honing of worldly skills, the crafting of laws, etc. are not corrupting of man, rather it is man's corrupt and vile nature that pushes him to 'pervert and abuse it'.[65] Pursued with the mindset of remembrance, the 'noble Artes and Sciences' are good, even divine gifts and 'where the corrupt nature of man doth not hinder, they be helps unto higher and better things'.[66] As long as intellectual explorations do not cross

[64] ibid., sigs K_2^v – K_3^r (portion omitted, emphasis added).
[65] ibid., sig. F_1^r.
[66] ibid., sig. $E_{[7]}^v$.

into the spiritual realm they are worthwhile. 'Let us note here then first, that Solomon doeth not condemne humane wisdome, but commendeth it as a thing profitable, when it is rightly used, as conteyning it selfe within the compasse of worldly matters'.[67] And as to the use of the temporal "gifts of god", Gifford most often used that phrase with reference to the nourishing bounties of forest and field. The *Third* and the *Sixth Sermons* were especially evocative on the importance of proper mindset during feasting. 'God hath ordeyned that we shall have the use of his creatures to serve for present necessitie, which we may rejoyce in, not like gluttons, epicures, or riotous folke, but by them to have our hearts lifted up to the giver',[68] and with the puritans' hearts so-lifted, their well-roasted creatures were to be feasted upon 'not onely for necessitie, but also for delight and pleasure'.[69] Similarly, the *Fifth Sermon* devoted much ink to explaining how the merisms of Eccles. 3 speak to the proprieties of timing and the mindset of remembrance when it comes to those things which are 'lawfull and right to bee done', the transformative 'abuse' that made goodly dancing in joy (i.e. that glorified God) turn into sinful dancing in lust.[70] The difference for Gifford's parishioners at All Saints, it is abundantly clear, was how mindfully they avoided the epicurean worship of pleasure, and how thankful they were in their hearts as they feasted and danced.

From this Reformed sort of Victorine view of the *omnia* of *vanitas* in Eccles 1:2 flowed George Gifford's break with the traditional, Jeromian/Bonaventuran response to the scripture that had elevated the monastic retreat from the world. Like Henry Smith had done in his three main sermons and his scripted prayers, Gifford's *Eight Sermons* called for the flock to live in repentant awareness of *vanitas*, shepherding their mental and emotional engagements with their surroundings, their contemporaries, and their temporal needs and wants, so that their minds and hearts did not stray from their progressions in the 'golden chaine'.

Several other identifiable pastoral themes emerged from the 'speciall grace' of remembrance that Gifford preached, and three such themes shall be discussed in following subsections. First, the equality of all people vis-à-vis the condition of vanity; second, the dislike or 'wonderful misliking' of the world that was to distinguish the puritan community and to direct their daily and liturgical activities; and third, the emotional, religious, and historically minded comfort that the saints were to take from the unchangeably decreed, providential state of temporal reality.

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[67] ibid., sig. H_2^r.
[68] ibid., sig. O_2^v.
[69] ibid., sig. G_4^v.
[70] ibid., sigs L_2^r – L_3^r.

'And they do meete together in an equall condition'

In the *Learned Commentarie*, Jean de Serres offered that, 'The beginning & ende maketh all men equal, that they should remember that they are mortal', for it is 'the common condition of men as it were, death I say shall make them equall with other men'.[71] In another of his seeming paraphrases of the Stockwood translation, George Gifford stated the matter a bit more evocatively in the *Fourth Sermon* by drawing an analogy of that substantive condition to the accidents of blindness and sight, i.e. that both the blind and the seeing are alike in their humanity & vanity. 'For when death commeth, and the eyes be closed up, what good remayneth, can it make a man happie?' he said, 'but afterward, as the blind man, and he which hath his eyes, are made alike: so the wise and the fool meete together, and are made equall in one condition'.[72] The point could be re-stated here more expansively, that Gifford highlighted how *vanitas* permeated all things humane, including personal relationships and social lines and hierarchies, and that that condition levelled the elect across the timeline of history, making even Solomon an equal – when it comes to the substance of salvation contra the accidents of social position - with the lowliest parishioner.

Gifford's rhetorical approach identified the socio-economic planes of humanity and served up their comeuppances evenly (more or less) throughout the *Eight Sermons*. Which is to state that the rhythm of the preacher's delivery was rather steady throughout the series, he did not strike harder drumbeats at 'the common sort' relative to the upper echelons of English society, or *vice versa* (his remarks concerning the vanity of the Roman church were quite striking, as typical for the times). One rhetorical layer, the broadest, and already referred to above, was inclusive of *all* humankind and all people were indeed made bestial before *vanitas vanitatum*. For example, 'Now because this foolish vaine glory that men have in themselves and in the vanities of this world', Gifford said, to which they 'cleaveth so fast, Solomon urgeth the matter very sore, when he maketh no difference at all, nor no excellencie of man above the beast'.[73] Truly, such language was standard stuff for the Elizabethan puritan ear. But much more interesting to us, separated from the issues by the centuries, and yet also undoubtedly more interesting to his flock and his contemporaries, was the layer of the passages where Gifford invited readers and listeners to conceive of themselves as existing on an equal salvific and *vanitas*-aware plane with Solomon (sometimes flagged by rhythmic – if not, strictly

[71] Stockwood, *Learned Commentarie*, p. 290, p. 310.
[72] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. $H_{[6]}{}^{v}$.
[73] ibid., sig. $N_{[7]}{}^{v}$.

speaking, rhetorical *Anaphora* - applications of the word "equall"). In the *Sixth Sermon*, for example, he urged that those with riches 'and a steppe or two in honour above other[s]' should put aside their positions above 'the common sort' and think: 'I shall be made *equall* with the basest men, yea which is more, I shall differ nothing from the vilest beast', for 'if we could *with* him [Solomon] enter throughly into such considerations, the vayne worlde shoulde not so bewitch us, and carrie us from God'.[74] Once again, the state of the present life means that the wise and the fool alike 'they do meet together in an *equall* condition',[75] and only through the Almighty's 'speciall grace' would the elect be able to share in the right conception of it along with Ecclesiastes' author.

Indeed, if one endeavors to read the *Eight Sermons* as homiletical events, where Gifford was in part trying to stimulate the biblical imaginations of his hearers and readers, it was possible for the common sort, for their preacher, for nobles, etc. to imagine themselves in Solomon's shoes if not on his throne, and, with the gift of 'speciall grace', like him and 'by him' they would be able to see and understand the vanity of all worldly things, and the vanity of the uniquely humane quality of worldliness. It was a groundbreaking idea that, in one passage, was made with a particularly epiphanic turn of phrase.[76] Delivered in the context of his expositions on Solomon's litany of accomplishments, Eccles. 2:4 *et seq.* ('I have made my great workes: I have built me houses; I have planted me vineyards…'), Gifford's *Third Sermon* expressly pondered at least the *notional* possibility of a commoner's equality with Solomon and to understand his observations, like him yet short of the depth of experience. But given the full, wider historical context of the *Eight Sermons*, the present researcher would read it as having pondered the *experimental* possibility of a commoner's equality with Solomon and to 'perceive' his observations 'by him'. The latter reading would make more sense, both as a matter of diachronic reception history and critical theory, for to paraphrase Thomas Luxon, puritan preachers like Gifford privileged experience over notion and encouraged their flocks to so experience the Word in scripture, i.e. Ecclesiastes that they might say, 'Solomon was never more real and apparent then now'; likewise, Reformed doctrine held that through the sermon the faithful saint could so experience universal truth, i.e. *vanitas* that they would be transformed and possessed of strong spiritual empathy with the biblical figure's experiences, even those of the resplendent King Solomon.[77] The passage reads:

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[74] ibid., sigs $N_{[7]}{}^{v} - N_{[8]}{}^{r}$ (emphasis added, brackets added).
[75] ibid., sig. $H_{[8]}{}^{v}$ (emphasis added).
[76] At any rate, the passage was sufficiently epiphanic to the present researcher that it seemed appropriate to adapt it both for the present chapter's epigraph and for the present thesis' main title.
[77] See Luxon, *Literal Figures*, pp. 3-4; p. 18.

> If God give us riches and honor, use them to his glorie, account of them as things transitorie. We must set our hearts upon better things. *If I could be equall with Solomon in glorie and royaltie, I perceive by him it were nought worth.*[78]

If we consider the *Eight Sermons* as events beyond the printed texts, homiletical performances that engaged the preacher's full powers of transmission that were meant to engage the hearer's Christian imagination and full powers of reception, it is easy to suppose that Gifford's delivery here may have intentionally blurred the lines between 'us', 'We', 'our', 'I', and 'You' through inflection, gesture, eye contact, etc. It certainly would have been an inspired exercise in Pauline accommodation for this spot in Gifford's *Third Sermon* to give 'winges to the soule' of his hearer and cause her to transport selves and process 'you' instead of, or along with, 'I', and thereby be in present conception of herself perceiving *vanitas* 'by him', by Solomon.[79] As the present thesis supposed *staccato* articulation for Henry Smith's 'Totquot' passage, so does it suppose eye contact and empathic transmission for George Gifford's 'If I could be equall' passage; both suppositions seem reasonable given what each preacher was trying to achieve, which we can discern from the totality of their printed words. Of course, their sermons as performed are things that we cannot know, but they are things that we can consider from every angle we can reasonably imagine.

In any case, for millennia people below Solomon's royal and divinely favored station (which was nigh everyone) were admonished by the priests and scholars to ponder his words and obey them as best they possibly could, and such imaginations as suggested by Gifford surely would not ever have come forth from Marcolf, just as surely not from Thomas Cranmer, nor even from Thomas More or Henry Howard. It was *c.*1590, as per Gifford's *Third Sermon*, that Reformed English Christians were taught that they can – and indeed they are required – to be equal with Solomon in obtaining his perception of *vanitas* and in living therewith in godliness. In other words, whether the notional reading or the experimental reading of the 'If I could be equall' passage is the better one from a critical perspective, from the perspective of the diachronic reception history of Ecclesiastes the rumination was the likes of which, it is believed by the present researcher, no English readers had encountered before the *Eight Sermons* of 1589.

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[78] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. G$_{[7]}^{r}$ (emphasis added).
[79] 'Winges to the soule' is an expression made famous by Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594), Book V. Ch. xxi. 5. Xxii. 1, 2, https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/keble-the-works-of-richard-hooker-vol-2?html=true (15th March 2023).

The ethos of the foregoing contrasted starkly with the authoritarian ethos of the *Homilies*. The *Fourth Sermon* conveyed the preacher's wish that 'kings, princes, nobles, rich men, and all other' would mark well Ecclesiastes and see that there is no profit under the sun beyond the remembrance of God, 'this would do them much good: they should not be drowned and swallowed up in earthly cares and pleasures'.[80] Indeed, in contrast to both the *Homilies*, and the Lutheran reading of Ecclesiastes, which tended to affirm the virtues of godly civics and good government (see discussion in the Introduction and Chapter 2), it seems that Gifford cultivated the attitude that those among the elect who have achieved the full Solomonic awareness of *vanitas* should see as pathetic figures those who are stuck in positions of political power and worldliness. The life of the *vanitas*-aware is heartening, distinguished by a spiritual serenity despite their ups-and-downs, the life of the worldly is pitiful, and in spite of their successes it is distinguished by the torments of restlessness and loneliness. Another passage from the *Fourth Sermon* is both apt to the point and displays Gifford's contemptuous sorrow for people dim to Eccles. 1:2.

> It is the cheef part of man, but in this respect, in worse case then the bodie, that it walketh all about, *and taketh no rest in the night*. In the day time it is busied, and setteth the body a worke: if the bodie could holde out, it would also, and never rest: but it cannot, and therefore *in the night the heart doeth wander, and followe the business alone*.[81]

It is in such intensely pastoral passages, where Gifford was suggestive of nonroyals occupying the same salvific plane as Solomon, a position that would encourage self-assuredness if not "assurance", and even looking upon the *vanitas*-unaware with pity, that his break from the socio-politically divisive conceptions underlying *Solomon and Marcolf* through the *Homilies* reads as most acute. No longer was Ecclesiastes a source of puzzling maxims delivered by Solomon to whom people owed awe, alarm, and ambivalence. People across time and space and socio-political lines were equal to the King in *vanitas culpae*, in their inherent fault and folly. 'I answere that Solomon doth not meane to speake this onely of a king' said the preacher, 'but by way of comparison to include all other degrees of men',[82] and all people are beholden to God for the special grace to discern and understand the *omnia* of *vanitas vanitatum*. In the end, the *Eight Sermons* held, the true faithful are *vanitas*-aware and they have been, are, and always will be, the spiritual victors, the vicissitudes of life and official Tudor hostilities toward puritan communities notwithstanding.

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[80] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. $G_{[7]}{}^{v}$.
[81] ibid., sig. $I_{[6]}{}^{v}$ (emphasis added).
[82] ibid., sig. $Q_{3}{}^{v}$.

'He declareth a wonderful misliking…'

So again, in sharp contrast to the authoritarian ethos for Ecclesiastes that had been put forth by the *Homilies*, Gifford preached Ecclesiastes as having been written by Solomon qua *koheleth*, a fellow 'Ecclesiasticall person…of the Church',[83] for the provision of perspective and comfort to the godly individual and the puritan community. The *vanitas*-aware could find consolation in the fact that *vanitas culpae* made them equals to even the lordliest of lords, and in fact the saints (even those who were lordly in this life, too, such as Gifford's patroness, Lady Anne) ultimately were the providential winners.[84] But as we shall see presently, Gifford also made the scripture apply to his contemporary ecclesiastical persons through Solomon's evidently prescient, rather specific admonitions, e.g. on the boundaries of acceptable dancing, that Eccles. 3:4 acknowledgement of 'a time to dance' meant, of course, that there is also a time *not* to dance (most of the time!). For Gifford, the book of Ecclesiastes was a thoroughly pastoral piece, it was no longer a mind bender for scholars trussed to library chairs; the *Eight Sermons* advocated for the scripture as *vade mecum* for everyday puritan living, for Solomon 'the wonder of the world' as having forethought on how the godly should process *vanitas* both in private and in public,[85] rooted in the displayed remembrance that the present thesis has referred to as the puritan mien. Life was not to be loved, but neither was it to be hated (despite Eccles. 2:17-18, 'Therefore I hated life…I hated also all my labour…'); any marveling was to be directed toward Christ, any reveling was to be in sermons, lectures, family, etc. that were spiritually profitable, almost everything else was to be treated as uninspiring and distracting. Accordingly, of Solomon's general worldview Gifford said, in one of the most charming phrases in the series, 'He declareth *a wonderful misliking* which he had conceived in his minde of the state of this present life'.[86] It was an interpretive mode that seems to fit the *Eight Sermons* squarely with the "Anti-*Contemptus mundi*" periods of *vanitas* reading proposed by Dr. Christianson – complete retreat from the world (e.g. to the monastery) was too far, go about in the world and be active in society, but at the same time, do not overvalue the world or give society too much credit.

[83] ibid., sig. $A_{[7]}^{r}$.
[84] Gifford's epistle dedicatory dedicated the series to the countess, and he poured forth on her godliness, 'I am also encouraged hereunto, with this [the *Eight Sermons*], that your Ladyship hath long time continued an earnest lover, and *zealous professor* of the glorious Gospell of Jesus Christ'. ibid., sig. $A_{[4]}^{r}$ (emphasis added).
[85] ibid., sig. E_{2}^{r}.
[86] ibid., sig. $H_{[8]}^{v}$ (emphasis added).

The preacher himself surely held a wonderful misliking for many of the aspects of English social and devotional life and, as surprising as the sunrise, he was not shy about making his views known. An anecdote relayed by Patrick Collinson carries an implication that Gifford was not much of a fan of singing, even of the psalms. It was normal for the puritan-style service to begin and end with psalm singing, and to have a third one sung immediately before the sermon as a sort of introduction. But one source documented that at one of his market day lectures – perhaps one of the *Eight Sermons*? – 'the psalm was in singing before the sermon (and the same more than half sung) and Mr Gifford was gone out of his seat to the pulpit'.[87] Singing and singers, of course, were one of Solomon's sinful indulgences before his repentance.[88] Likewise as to dancing, as to which the *Fifth Sermon* undertook to clarify Eccles. 3:4, 'There are more kindes of daunsing than one' and 'God is not glorified' by too much flesh-pressing during a dance.[89] Feasting, drinking, sex, fashion, and sport, all were timelessly addressed by Ecclesiastes and applied to Tudor England *inter alia* in the *Third Sermon*; as with dancing, the problem was excess and getting 'carried away', failing to treat things that can give lawful pleasure as gifts of god, 'not keeping moderation', as do the other beasts of the world, and (by mixing metaphors) making sport of sin and sin of sport.

> And they that are carried away with these become madde, and base minded, their felicitie being all one with the beasts. Then wee know not whereunto for to like those which make a sport of sinne, and sport themselves with wickednesse. Some of them delight in pride, painting forth themselves by all the waies and meanes which they can, that they may seeme goodly in the eyes of men. Others follow gluttonie and drunkennes, cramming and stuffing their bellies like swine. Others solace themselves in whoredome & uncleanness, these be their sweet delights. Solomon did not give himselfe to such pleasures.[90]

Gambling – playing the dice – was never appropriate and made one a ruffian and wasteful, but under Eccles. 3 even those sins were 'bewtiful in their time' because in any case they were among the worldly punishments of the reprobate.[91] One could be forgiven for wondering whether Gifford was a fan or not of fishing (a pastime popular in England since at least *A Treatise of Fysshynge wyth an Angle*), but he clearly thought that fish themselves could signify greediness, 'And what is the cause that we can not believe him, but doo still follow after carnall pleasures, as greedily as ever hungry fishes doo catch at the bait'.[92] And finally, the

[87] Collinson, *Puritan Movement*, p. 359.
[88] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sigs G_3^r – G_3^v.
[89] ibid., sig. L_3^r.
[90] ibid., sigs $F_{[8]}^r$ – $F_{[8]}^{v.}$
[91] ibid., sigs M_1^r – M_1^v.
[92] Ibid., sig. $F_{[7]}^v$.

closer for the series, the *Eighth Sermon*, was rich on attendance at weekly Sabbath services, sermons and lectures (with some jabs thrown at the *Book of Common Prayer* and *The Books of the Homilies*),[93] private prayer, as long as it was to pray aright, and discussion suppers in parishioners' homes.[94] Through it all, the puritans had to stick together, especially when it came to devotional life. 'We must therefore goe to Gods house to seeke such blessings, and to worship and praise God together. No man can be a right worshipper of God in private, that doeth not frequent the publike assemblies, where God speaketh to his people'.[95] As works of puritan homiletics, there are no real surprises in the *Eight Sermons* as to what the preacher saw as lawful, profitable social life, activities, and gatherings, but Gifford's pointed accommodations of text to contemporary Elizabethan life were 'new under the sun' from the perspective of diachronic reception history of Ecclesiastes in England.

Master Gifford would draw out and color the concept of living with 'wonderful misliking' in fits and starts throughout the series. But he also encouraged the faithful - again, in fits and starts - to not take their gravity too far. For instance, in the *Seventh Sermon*, base text of Eccles. 4:6-16, Gifford emphasized the importance of community and conviviality to the individual's living as a true Christian. Similarly to the *Anaphora*-like application of the word "equal" in earlier sermons, the *Seventh Sermon* rang the bell of "society". For example, 'Men can live no pleasant life but where there is the comfort of societie', he said, for '[w]here men are linked together *in societie* and friendship, they be strong and cannot easily be injured'. That is, one of the simple virtues that the saints were to read from Ecclesiastes - neighborliness - was fundamental to both salvation and happiness. It surely was not enough to be attentive to one's family and their needs, because that invited the vice of familial selfishness and envy. 'If a man have many children for which he is bound to provide by his travaile, and to teach them to worke…to toyle without end…it is a savage thing, to live (which many doe) *without societie* of neighbors, as ye shall see many so covetous that they admit no companions'.[96] To be a good neighbor one had to be good to their neighbors, and good neighbors also helped each other 'be strong and [not easily] injured' by being watchful of each other. As the present thesis stated earlier, it seems to have been a distinctive aspect of Elizabethan puritan culture that the maintenance of a religiously watchful habitat, where godly neighbors were watching and

[93] E.g. 'We may not worship him after our owne devises, for of such hee saith, they worship me in vaine, teaching for doctrines mens precepts, he hath prescribed fully and perfectly in every point, how we shall worship him'. ibid., sig. R_2^v.
[94] Collinson, *Puritan Movement*, p. 376-8.
[95] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sigs R_1^r – R_1^v.
[96] ibid., sig. $P_{[8]}^v$ (portions omitted, emphasis added).

were being watched, was anything but (to be anachronistic) Stasi-an and discomforting; rather, it was an important part of the socio-religious ecosystem that they believed to be conducive to everyone's progress in the *ordo salutis*, and the dutiful puritans actively sought to cultivate it no less than the other devotional, liturgical, and social aspects of puritanism discussed earlier, e.g. strict observance of the Sabbath.

'Here is comfort to the godly…'

The third, and last, pastoral theme slated for discussion here is the comfort that the saints were to take from the unchangeably decreed, providential state of temporal reality. Early modernists are in rare agreement that still at issue in England *c.*1590 was the Protestant divines' fear of 'the common sort' slipping into, or holding onto, the state of serious "error", whether it be outright recusancy, confidence in their own wills and good works, nostalgia for the supposed simplicity of simpler, pre-Reformation times, and fidelity to customary, folk-religious i.e. magical practices, all aspects of what has been referred to as 'the common man's Pelagianism'. At the same time, the divines worried much about the material, sensual, and other excesses of the English upper classes – Lady Vanity, 'what a traine followes her', as Henry Smith said (see Chapter 3) – which they likened to the indulgence in old, pre-Reformation consolations, as well. In other words, Gifford, and contemporaries such as Laurence Chaderton, Richard Rogers, Richard Greenham, and Henry Smith, had a generalized concern about the generally popish/popular/Pelagian temptations that seem to have kept nipping at the heels of the people in their auditoria. To paraphrase Dewey D. Wallace, Elizabethan puritanism sought to replace the old comforts with the comforts of the doctrines of providence, predestination, and assurance, and the increasingly anti-Pelagian tenor in late Elizabethan sermons by Gifford *et al.*, often understood as mainly a reaction to the gradual Arminianization of England's official theology, seem to have been just as, if not more, concerned with superstition (popish and otherwise) among the common sort and carnality among the well-off sorts.[97] Dr. Wallace's observation called for study, 'certainly this conclusion requires refinement by analysis of Puritan preaching and pastoral activities',[98] which certainly has been answered by other scholars since 1978, but it is still a key area and some more data points therefor are offered here.

[97] Wallace, 'George Gifford, Puritan Propaganda', p. 48.
[98] ibid.

The *Fifth Sermon* in the series is a veritable masterclass of late Elizabethan anti-Pelagian preaching on providence, predestination, and the comfort to be derived therefrom. The sermon's base text was Eccles. 3, verses 1 through 15, the famous merisms 'To all things there is an appointed time…'. The foundation laid in the first half of the sermon is a bit ponderous insofar as it calls out the puritans' usual suspects, such as the pitifulness of the worldlings, the vanities of bad dancing versus good dancing and chambering versus marital lovemaking, planting trees that get plucked up just one generation later, and so forth. We need not get further bogged down in his set-the-one-against-the-other exercise; as Gifford himself said at the sermon's midpoint, 'It is needless to make rehearsal in the particulars', which he had done anyway, 'but I will rather put you in the minde of that exhortation'.[99] Thereupon he completed the foundation of the 'variableness and change of times' (*vanitas mutabilitatis* and *vanitas poenalitatis*) discussion by sounding off against those who are concerned with 'honours and dignities, for bewtie and favour…some whose houses and ancestry have continued five hundred yeares', whose thoughts, counsels, works, glories are fleeting, all appearances notwithstanding; the key point being, that the apparently enduring stuff of kings and nobles and wise counsellors decays just like a common man's plantings, eventually they all 'are vanished and come to naught'.[100]

From that point, Gifford turned to his interpretive themes: Eccles. 3:14 declares that the back-and-forth of all things in time was unchangeably instituted by God, and that all such things – even the dreadful and the sinful – are beautiful in their time because of the divinity of their authorship. For Gifford, Ecclesiastes was Solomon's epiphany that the condition of humane fault (*vanitas culpae*) and the apparent paradoxes appurtenant to the doctrines of theodicy, double predestination, and providence were 'goodly, excellent, and just' because of their beautiful divinity.[101] It was what many later historians and theologians refer to as a High Calvinist reading of the scripture, as the following litany will make abundantly clear.

> First, that God himself hath done it…it is not the wheele of blinde fortune…it commeth not by chance or adventure…it shall continue to the worlds ende, *because God hath thus decreed*, and set it upon the children of men.
>
> Secondly, he sheweth that this is done of God by a goodly, excellent, and just dispensation, he uttereth it in these words: he hath made every thing bewtifull in his time…to see men slaine, to have their blood run in the streets…faire houses broken downe…orchardes laid waste…[when] the daggers and speares are thrust into the

[99] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. $L4^{v}$.
[100] ibid., sigs $L_{[5]}{}^{r}$ – $L_{[7]}{}^{r}$ (portion omitted).
[101] ibid., sig. $L_{[7]}{}^{v}$.

> young infants…and troaden like mire with the horses…shall we say that God hath made these bewtifull in their time? He saith so, and we must believe him.
>
> *God is the Author of all actions*, but the sin of the actions commeth not near him…he doth in his providence use as instruments, both men and devils, to bring works to passe, and the sin cleaveth only unto them.
>
> The example of David may suffice: he committed adultery with Barseba, he caused Urias her husband to be slaine with the sword…I will raise up evill, saith the Lord, against thee out of thine owne house [Ammon's incest, etc.], but as I said before, the actions were his but not the sin…*These sins in themselves are foule to look upon, but as they be punishments sent of God upon David for his offense, they were bewtifull in their time.*
>
> *God hath set the world in their heart*…This hath God so appointed, that it cannot be altered…There is no way to wind out, no way to alter any thing, either to adde or to diminish...*for God hath decreed before what shall become of them, and of all their thoughts*.[102]

Gifford's theoretical High Calvinism saw the changeable and entropic nature of physical reality (*vanitas mutabilitatis* and *vanitas poenalitatis*) and the inherent fault in humankind (*vanitas culpae*) as inextricably woven together by the beauty that was their being decreed at the beginning of time. He called on the flock to embrace the decrees as concerning all things, even as to one's own thoughts, seemingly without nuance, without appeal to divine mystery, and without the sort of caution that R. T. Kendall identified in preachers such as Henry Smith.[103] But the present researcher would avoid delving too deeply into the Kendall categories 'credal' and 'experimental' predestinarianism vis-à-vis Master Gifford, especially since the *Fifth Sermon* is silent as to whether assurance of election might be sought and gained through experience and by measuring one's faith against that of other Christians. Indeed, nothing as to assurance was said beyond a generalized, if quite profound, implication, which offered that Eccles. 3:14 discloses the unchangeability of the decreed conditions of temporal reality, and that knowledge thereof should be reassuring enough to the saints.

> Alas poore blinde men, they foment themselves in vaine, for God hath decreed before what shall become of them, and of all their thoughts. He hath set all under time to passe away, and will they go about to alter his purpose.
>
> *Here is comfort to the godly*, when he saith, all that God doeth shall stand for ever to it no man can adde, from it can no man diminish [Eccles. 3:14]. For this doeth teach, *that things fall not out at the will and pleasure of men, but are wholly ordered by God himself, which causeth all thinges to work together for the best to those that love him*.

[102] ibid., sigs $L_{[7]}^{r}$ – $M_{[6]}^{v}$ (portions omitted, emphasis added).
[103] Kendall, *English Calvinism*, p. 80.

> He hath set matters in this vaine estate, transitory and full of calamities, to drawe his minde up to his God, to feare, to worship, and to depende upon him, seeing under heaven there is nothing to stay upon, there is nothing to help or to comfort.[104]

The present chapter would offer that, beyond the High Calvinist, even supra- or prelapsarian decretal feel conveyed by the foregoing excerpts, what we know of Gifford from the rest of his biography and catalogue, as well as from the rest of the *Fifth Sermon*, should remind early modernists of the preacher's pastoral-mindedness rather than be used here or elsewhere to render him in Kendallian terms "credal" or "experimental", or in any way a practitioner of doctrinal determinism. Indeed, the totality of Gifford's homiletics in the *Fifth Sermon* place his predestinarianism as at 1589 somewhere in the middle (as a good Serranian would be) in the evolutionary spectrum marked by Article 17 of the 39 Articles of 1562 and the Lambeth Articles of 1595, the former which explicitly held that predestination was 'full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable Comfort to godly persons',[105] and the latter which were 'a crystal clear statement of double predestination' (though truly, puritan divines continued to be uncertain about how to talk and write about salvific certainty after Lambeth),[106] and did not contain the word "comfort" at all.[107] So if one must categorize the predestinarianism of the *Fifth Sermon*, the most reasonable assessment seems to be that Gifford's 'comfort to the godly' passages qualified and moderated his providential and decretal passages, and since Gifford so often referred to the 'speciall grace' of *vanitas*-awareness, perhaps his accommodation of Eccles. 3:14 is most suggestive of the impressionistic category of 'theocentric predestinarian' proposed by Leif Dixon, which refers to divines who emphasized the unreliability of the believers' perceptions and the need for patience and resolve, to remain hopeful for assurance as a comfort given to them by God.[108]

Although his exposition of *koheleth* may have blurred the lines between pastor and congregant (see following section), overall the *Eight Sermons* stand for pastor as shepherd, as educator and guard against "error" and needful corrector of the common man's Pelagianism. Like his thinking on witches and issues of witchcraft,[109] for Gifford the issues of theodicy, providence, predestination, and assurance were real but potentially distracting and could lead

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[104] ibid., sigs $M_{[6]}^{r}$ – $M_{[7]}^{v}$ (emphasis added).
[105] Article XVII. *Of Predestination and Election*, https://www.anglican.net/doctrines/articles-of-religion/#p1-17 (21st March 2023).
[106] Dixon, *Predestinarians*, p. 229.
[107] *History of the Lambeth Articles*, https://www.anglican.net/works/history-of-lambeth-articles-with-views-of-lancelot-andrewes-john-overall-1710/#p2 (21st March 2023).
[108] See Dixon, *Predestinarians*, pp. 11, 221, 247.
[109] See Timothy Scott McGinnis, '"Subtiltie" Exposed: Pastoral Perspectives On Witch Belief In The Thought Of George Gifford', in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33.3 (2002), 665-86.

to despair in his auditoria. It is clear enough, interesting historiographical categorizations aside, that the primary purpose of the *Fifth Sermon* was to shepherd the saints efficiently and efficaciously from the foundations of scripture, doctrine, and figurative application, toward the personal application of Eccles. 3, to the pastoral destination of flock-wide consolation, and getting them busy living in a state of *vanitas*-awareness, carrying out regular, if not constant, prayerful repentance. As a matter of diachronic reception history, which is what the present thesis has endeavored to deliver, it should suffice to suggest that the *Eight Sermons*, and, in particular, the *Fifth Sermon*, were groundbreaking in their parish level, thoroughly Calvinist cultivation of reading Ecclesiastes as a primary source for predestination, and for the beauty that divines such as Master Gifford saw in it.

Gifford's Reformed & Scholastic Perspective

As noted earlier, W. J. Petchey's essential history of Maldon, Essex showed that Gifford's parish of All Saints with St Peter was 'a centre of advanced, godly Protestantism',[110] and the present thesis has suggested that one of the many bricks in the construction of that edifice was their curate's sermons on the book of Ecclesiastes. The *Eight Sermons* asked parishioners and readers to believe that Solomon was one of them, and that he had declared the equality of the elect across time and space; that he spoke to the daily lives of the saints and of the attitude they were to maintain toward the things and people of the world; and that his merisms should provide them comfort and confidence in their spiritual destination.

With these pastoral evocations in tow, the educational event that was the *Eight Sermons* qua *lectio continua* also set the paradigm for the educational events that Gifford was crafting from *c.*1590. The creation of a parochial habitat of puritan learned living, with robust Reformed instruction provided alongside the comfort of Christian conviviality, was the *raison d'être* of the curate's vocation at the dawn of the 1590s. As Dewey D. Wallace has stated, 'Gifford's ministry and writing seem to have been motivated by and to have gained unity from his task of educating the "common sort" in true religion, a task he met head-on by addressing himself to what he perceived to be the attitudes and questions of the English villager'.[111] Like his other endeavors, the *Eight Sermons* were meant to further edify the already enthusiastic saints, to correct and redirect the "common sort" who may have been led into error (such as, that Eccles. 1:2 justifies despair), to shape, one by one and family by family,

[110] Petchey, *Maldon*, pp. 199-200.
[111] Wallace, 'George Gifford, Puritan Propaganda', p. 47.

any recalcitrant parishioners and readers, and to replace the malingering, old habits and 'old comforts' of England (the Mass, folk-religious practices, the *Book of Common Prayer* and *The Books of Homilies*, etc.). And unto this, one of the vital notions that the *Eight Sermons* stand for is that Ecclesiastes was *not* meant only for scholars, well-off men in crisis, and kings or queens, but that it was both fathomable by and applicable to *all* true Christians, with the guidance of their dutiful, learned, and 'foolish' Pauline pastor. In other words, the *Eight Sermons* advocated for Ecclesiastes as key text for the parish community as centre of godly lived learning, too. Now, a few key examples of Gifford addressing the perceived issues and parishioners' questions of the scripture are in order.

'To prove…by this one title…is but a weake reason'

Few early modern theologians before Hugo Grotius expressed any doubts that Solomon had written Ecclesiastes (most notably Luther, according to *inter alia* Craig Bartholomew, but there is an ongoing scholarly debate as to whether, and if so how strongly, Luther questioned Solomonic authorship).[112] Basic Calvinist pneumatology, which clearly informed *inter alia* the Geneva Bible version of the scripture, traced ultimate authorship of the book to the Holy Spirit, and accordingly the Solomonic hand was of greatly diminished relevance. Jean de Serres' *Learned Commentarie*, on the other hand, had held that Solomonic authorship was indelible to the text and the working of the Preacher's story, an essentialist view that was taken up and embraced by George Gifford in the *Eight Sermons*. Thus, Solomon's identity, election, repentance, and fellowship with the godly as an 'ecclesiasticall person' were the marquee issues for Gifford's Reformed pastoral scholasticism, and they were robustly discussed at the beginning of the *First Sermon*, with the evident intention that the faithful would remain cognizant of the king's authoritative experience as the rest of the sermons progressed. 'Thus much of the Author of this booke, and for what cause he calleth himselfe by this unusuall name. Now we must observe to what end he made it', and 'Doe not thinke, that yee can light upon any one thing worth the search, which he hath not searched'.[113]

[112] Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 44-45. Scott Jones has argued that the *Table Talk* comments on Ecclesiastes have been misinterpreted, and that Luther only denied that Solomon wrote the scripture in his own hand, i.e. that students and later editors were the scriveners and, ironically, it was "table talk" rather like his own *Table Talk*. Scott C. Jones, 'Solomon's Table Talk: Martin Luther on the Authorship of Ecclesiastes', in *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*, 28.1 (June 2014), 81-90.
[113] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. B_1^r, sig. $D_{[6]}^v$.

As discussed in the preceding chapters, in *The Books of Homilies*, archbishops Cranmer and Parker *et al*. had focused on the latter-half of Ecclesiastes, and they had appealed to both the regality and to the paradoxical wisdom and shortsightedness of Solomon to admonish English subjects against committing the sins of disloyalty and disobedience; Tudor officialdom's version of the king had been a figure of awe, alarm, and ambivalence. This wide-angle view may have occurred to Gifford as well, for the *First Sermon* certainly evidences that by 1589, he had discerned that the godly had to be delivered of an in-depth eversion of the Solomon that had been known in England since the 1540s. That is, a turning inside out of the character they had known from Tudor officialdom, one that focused on the first half of Ecclesiastes (again, the *Eight Sermons* preached only Eccles. 1:1 to 5:6) and unveiled Solomon's true character, was in order. Be that as it may, the *First Sermons* begins with a thorough, systematic, and unmistakably Reformed exposition on the name and identity, the soul, the repentance, the reconciliation to God, and the return to the church invisible by the scripture's author as an 'ecclesiasticall person'. It was methodical and argumentative, a sequence of logical proofs (typical of the Ramus-influenced style of the times) that flowed from the premise of the scripture's authorship to the proper name or title of the author, to the essence of that figure's personality, to the figure's salvific status, and finally, to the nature and purpose of the figure's book.

The *First Sermon* started with Gifford furthering the impact of the superscription verse ('The words of the Preacher, the sonne of David king in Jerusalem', Eccles. 1:1 (GB)) by declaring of the book, 'they be the words of Ecclesiastes, the sonne of David, king in Jerusalem, this was king Solomon. They be his words, and his writing'.[114] He also took care to address a long-debated point that the superscription verse is metaphorical, i.e. that all the kings of Juda were the sons of David, by cross-referencing to Eccles. 1:16 and 2 Chr. 1:12, each of which spoke to Solomon being unsurpassed in wisdom, riches, etc. by any Judean king before or since (the latter verse being expressly applicable to King Solomon, part and parcel to the vignette of the Dream of Gibeon).[115] This view of the book, it being 'the wordes of Ecclesiastes', firmly oriented it to Solomon's ecclesiastical station, and in contrast to *The Books of Homilies*, implied that his regality, though certainly not a matter to be denied, was to have been understood as a secondary layer in the author's character vis-à-vis the author's scripture.

[114] ibid., sig. $A_{[6]}{}^{r}$.
[115] ibid., sigs $A_{[6]}{}^{r}$ - $A_{[6]}{}^{v}$.

Next came Gifford's Serranian approach to Solomon's self-granted title, the Hebrew term *koheleth*. Like Jean de Serres before him, Gifford stated that, strictly speaking, the traditional Greek translation "Ecclesiastes" was a bit off the mark and was a-contextual to the Bible. He distinguished the literal translation of the term, 'the name of an office, or function', from the meaning he saw as actually intended for use in the poem, for he had never found any other figures in the Bible called *koheleth*. '[D]oubtlesse, if he had meant to call himselfe a Preacher, he would have said, The words of *Kohel*, rather than *Koheleth,* which is in the Feminine gender'.[116] Likewise, argued Gifford, the word *Kahal* could have been used to signify the gatherer of an assembly, but the fact that it was not the word used lent further depth to the word which was used, *koheleth*.[117] For Gifford (as for de Serres),[118] since Hebrew is a gendered tongue and the feminine gender title *koheleth* was chosen by Solomon, a man, himself, it betrayed that at some point there was a transformation of essence within the man; that transformation was the repentance and reconciliation of Solomon with God and with the community of the elect, also known as 'the Church'.

> But that he useth (as I said) the Feminine gender, and therefore it carieth the most fitte sense, that he calleth himselfe *an Ecclesiasticall person*, (not as we call them Ecclesiasticall which beare office in the Church-matters) but *a person that is of the Church, or a soule united to ye church, or speaking in the church*. Whereby we may perceive that *this name is a note forever of his repentance*, how that he forsook the evil into which he had fallen, and turned againe to the Lord his God…He made this book, to remayne as *a publike record of his returne*, and therefore he is *Koheleth, a person, or a soule reconciled to God, and to his Church*. In this sense we may call him Ecclesiastes'.[119]

This interpretation of *koheleth*, which conflated a feminized identity with a repentant and reconciled soul of 'an Ecclesiasticall person', concurred with Jean de Serres' thinking that too had stressed the nature of Solomon as 'Preaching soule', the preacher of a sort other than from the pulpit. As indicated above, one contemporary example of the lay evangelist, the enthusiastic Protestant who "preached" without episcopal license, was Lady Anne, Countess of Warwick, whom Gifford called an 'earnest lover, and zealous professor' of Christ's gospel. As per the scripture's 'verie fit kinde of speaking' (Gifford had said, 'the most fitte sense', see above), to de Serres the fact that Solomon was feminized by the title *koheleth* proved up his 'great earnestness', he had been 'more expressly signified: as if namely not his mouth, but his

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[116] ibid., sig. $A_{[7]}^{r}$ (brackets added).
[117] ibid.
[118] 'That they say, this word *Nephesch, soule,* is to be understood, in the same, that the gender may agree [with *Koheleth*], as if it were a *Preaching soule*'. Stockwood, *Learned Commentarie*, p. 3.
[119] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sigs $A_{[7]}^{r}$ - $A_{[7]}^{v}$ (portion omitted, emphasis added).

minde did speake, that is to say, his minde after a sort were to be seene in his wordes'.[120] Scholars such as Ivy Schweitzer, Susan Moore, and Elizabeth Clarke have identified other examples of Calvinist feminized positioning and figuration of male characters (whether in the "live" believer, or in a figurative believer such as Solomon), representational explorations that perceived them possessed of the pneumatological strength and sincerity that accompanied the humility and passivity they associated with femininity, at the same time possessed of the typical male strengths of fortitude, political savvy, etc.[121] This view finds that in societies like sixteenth century England and France, when a feminized role was appropriated by/for a man the resulting picture is not feminine but 'feminized masculine'; the figure has it both ways.[122] The ramifications of such explorations in scriptural figuration could be quite palpable to the early modern imagination, and the foregoing character study by Gifford, reading Solomon as 'an Ecclesiasticall person' of, united to, and speaking in, the Church, is as good an example of the feminized masculine, possessed of the Holy Spirit's graces as any one might find anywhere in early modern print.

This preaching of Solomon as *koheleth* and an 'Ecclesiasticall person' went well beyond paying attention to etymological details. Indeed, it reads as having been core to the pastoral success of the *Eight Sermons* and their responsiveness to the Pauline call for preachers – literal (Gifford) and figurative (Solomon) ones alike – to be all things to all people. On the surface of it, the line of reasoning made the 'Ecclesiasticall person' conjunctive between Solomon and both sexes in the auditory, and that itself may have been sufficient to a less ambitious preacher than Gifford. However, if we dive a few fathoms deeper, we might suppose that Gifford's exposition was intended to ensure that the authorial persona was as connective to the puritans as possible, through *inter alia* its figurative leveraging of the phenomenon described by Susan Moore as 'spiritual gender reversal', a concept that was essential to what she called the 'heart religion' of puritanism. As Dr. Moore explained, that phenomenon spoke directly to the intimacy with God that the godly craved; they felt that, 'when men could be persuaded to adopt feminine affections [toward God], they experienced the [religious] emotions that led to conversion…it is as if men had to shed their masculinity to be saved'.[123] Clearly, the *Eight Sermons*' rhetorical pedagogy sought to bring about conversions by persuading people of

[120] Stockwood, *Learned Commentarie*, p. 3.
[121] Clarke, *Song of Songs*, pp. 5-6. See also, Ivy Schweitzer, *The Work of Self-Representation: Lyric Poetry in Colonial New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Susan H. Moore, 'Sexing the Soul: Gender and the Rhetoric of Puritan Piety', in *Studies in Church History*, 34 (1998), 175-86.
[122] Clarke, *Song of Songs*, *supra* (citing Shawn M. Krahmer).
[123] Moore, 'Sexing the Soul', pp. 184-5.

Solomon's own conversion and his progress down the 'golden chaine'. By exposing the king as having been an 'Ecclesiastical person', the *Eight Sermons* advocated that Solomon had adopted feminine affections toward God and had shed his masculinity to be saved (the feminine gendered title *koheleth* was a self-appointed one, after all). The exposition was intended to make unquestionable, by even the most learned of the men in the auditory, the point that Ecclesiastes was written by an elect soul and, as Gifford explained, that it was with great earnestness that Solomon did 'unfaynedly repent' and went forward ever mindful of *vanitas vanitatum*.[124] And surely, this in-depth eversion of Solomon was both spiritually edifying and connective to the personal sensibilities of most puritan women as well. As a matter of diachronic reception history, one can scarcely imagine a more sublime departure from the Solomon known in England prior to *c.*1590 than Gifford's Serranian layer of figuration that presented the godly at All Saints with the feminized masculine *koheleth*.

Yet there was still another layer to the Solomonic figure to come in the *First Sermon*. The next step was for Gifford to acknowledge and answer the parishioners' perceived question, 'I know it will be replied by some, that the word of God doth not anywhere testifie, that Solomon ever repented after his great fall, but leaveth it in doubt: and to prove his repentance by this one title, by which he doeth name himselfe, is but a weake reason'.[125] In answering the question, he argued that Solomon's adultery, idolatry etc. were merely interim matters whereas the complete timeline of the king's life showed 'his beginning was good, and so was his ende'.[126] And furthermore, all the phases of the king's life – a good beginning, wide experience of the world, a fall into sin, a public repentance, and a reconciliation – were both cast in the language of decretal inevitability, and were discernible through Gifford's learned recapitulation of other parts of the Word, especially the decretal standby, Matthew 24.

> For, let the signification of the name be certaine, yet is it uncertaine, whether he wrote this booke after his fall. To this I answere, that he did write it after the long triall and experience which he had made in all things under the sunne, and no doubt, after his fall. *For, touching his repentance, although it be not said any where, in these expresse words, Solomon repented: yet may it bee proved by necessarie consequence out of the scriptures, that he did unfaynedly repent*.
>
> I reason thus. *He was one of Gods elect*, therefore he returned to his God by true repentance, seeing it is unpossible, that the elect should perish, Math. 24.[127]

[124] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. $A_{[8]}^{r}$.
[125] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. $A_{[7]}^{v}$.
[126] ibid., sig. B_{1}^{r}.
[127] ibid., sigs $A_{[7]}^{v}$ – $A_{[8]}^{r}$ (emphasis added).

To which he added, as he had flagged, the reinforcement of indirect evidence gleaned from other scriptures, including the promise God made to David through Nathan, that he would not take his mercy away from Solomon (1 Chr. 17:13).[128] Thus, it was Gifford's view that the book of Ecclesiastes was a sort of official documentation of the king's progress through the *ordo salutis*, 'So that we hold for certaintie, that this name which he giveth himself, and this booke, are for publike note, and record of his repentance, and reconciliation to God, and his Church'.[129] It was much the same view expressed by William Fulke in his prefix [preface] to de Serres' *Learned Commentarie*, that the book was Solomon's self-attestation of repentance.[130]

Thus the new Solomon whom Gifford introduced to his congregation and readership was simply a man who had started off well, had felt the full weight of life's trials, had fallen into sin, and had repented; his repentance left him with the soul of a preacher, though like many in a congregation, such as the women, it was without the office of the minister, but he was nevertheless fully reconciled to God and to the Church invisible. The *Eight Sermons* called upon the flock to meditate on *vanitas*-awareness as the resultant worldview of an elect, experienced, 'Ecclesiastical person' given in earnest with the grace of the Holy Spirit: much less the lamentations and last orders of an old man, much more the best way forward affirmed in sage middle-age. Again, as a matter of diachronic reception history, one can scarcely imagine a more sublime departure from the Solomon known in England prior to *c.*1590.

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All evolutions in the reception of Ecclesiastes are rooted in how the exegetes interpret the two 'momentous themes' of Eccles. 1:1 and 1:12, the identifiers of the poem's author, and of Eccles. 1:2, the signature maxim of the poem, and as the foregoing has shown, the *Eight Sermons* turned upon these 'momentous themes' as well. Still, the series also contains several distinctive, resultant interpretive exercises that Gifford produced in furtherance of deepening his flocks' encounters with Ecclesiastes, and a brief survey of such can help complete the pastoral-scholastic landscape of the *Eight Sermons* that the present chapter has attempted to paint. Some such passages too were groundbreaking from the perspective of diachronic reception history, as the earliest extant passages from English parochial sermons to have delved so deeply into the nuts and bolts of Ecclesiastes (and surely much deeper than had

[128] ibid., sig. $A_{[8]}{}^{r}$.
[129] ibid., sig. sig. $B_{1}{}^{r}$.
[130] Stockwood, *Learned Commentarie*, sigs ¶iiy - ¶iiii.

other sources, including the writings More and Howard, the Chichester bishops' sermons, the obedience tracts in *The Books of Homilies*, etc.).

In the *First Sermon*, for example, Gifford may be the earliest English practical divine to write of *Iithron*, the Hebrew of "profit", the sense of which corresponded to the form of net gain that endures and will 'sticke by a man'.[131] Likewise in the *Third Sermon*, where Gifford explained how Solomon had used the Hebrew terms *Schiddah* and *Schiddoth*' (women who had been taken and laid waste, aka prostitutes) to help convey the breadth of his worldly experience through, e.g. having obtained all sorts of singers, free men and women and, importantly, women captives, and having delighted in the diversity of their harmonies (Eccles. 2:8).[132] 'Because in the harmonie of musike', said Gifford, 'many divers soundes meeting together, are (as it were) wasted eache of other, and doe make all one tune. And so he calleth it *Schiddah*, and *Schiddoth*'.[133] And in the *Sixth Sermon*, he devoted a whole paragraph to till Eccles. 3:18 and dig into the verse's Hebrew terms *Dibrath* (priestly order), *Barar* (to choose, purge, and declare), and *Berurim* (men set up in dignity), and concluded with a bit of socio-political commentary, thusly:

> This is spoken to pull downe the pride and loftiness of mans nature, which doth so glory of an excellence here in ye world. For look well upon it, and we shall see, that this honor and dignitie doth not continue, but man becommeth even as the beasts…Among men, this is a goodly dignitie, a goodly order, that God giveth the civill power, princes and judges, and men of honour…Yet they do partly in this become beasts to themselves, when the stronger do push the weaker, and when the seat of judgment doth uphold wickedness…Therefore he saith [in Eccles. 3:18], the condition of the children of men, and the condition of the beasts, is even as one condition to them.[134]

Yet Gifford was just as interested in systematically edifying the upper echelons of English society with his reading of the scripture. Through some subtle seasoning of the *Eight Sermons* with classical and philosophical references, Gifford also endeavored to prick the ears and draw the eyes of recipients who knew their classics and pre-Reformation philosophers. Which is to say, that he also found that Ecclesiastes built up certain of the civil powers in England (those who, undoubtedly, were more like his benefactor, the 'zealous professor' Lady

[131] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. C_4^r.
[132] Eccles. 2:8 reads, 'I have gathered unto me also silver and gold, and the chiefe treasures of Kings & provinces: I have provided me men singers and women singers, and the delites of the sonnes of men, as a woman taken captive, & women taken captives'.
[133] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sigs G_3^r – G_3^v. NB: Gifford's read of *Schiddah*/*Schiddoth* resonates with what we would know as say, *geisha* in Japanese culture, or *soiled doves* in the nineteenth century American West.
[134] ibid., sigs $N_{[5]}^v$ – $N_{[6]}^v$ (portions omitted).

Warwick). He reads, to paraphrase Noam Reisner, as having suitably displayed profane as well as sacred learning out of pragmatic concern for rhetorical decorum, a technique which appealed to both the simple auditory and the learned auditory, without tilting over to profane contamination (an alleged taboo that was, more or less, imposed on the Elizabethan puritans by their antagonists).[135] For example, in the *Second Sermon*, as an early modern Boethius he personified profane wisdom as an angelic woman, a 'goodly lady', but his sarcasm focused on 'her' folly and 'her' treasures, all that 'she' delights in, and urged that the Christian should not seek to 'possess her'. Ecclesiastes taught that the saints should not seek the consolation of Philosophy: 'May we not thinke that Solomon did now beholde as it were an Angell in brightnesse and glorie, which might fill the mind with consolation and hapinesse', for to be 'allured…in hope therof' is 'a mere illusion'.[136] Grandiosity was especially dangerous, for according to the *Second* and the *Fifth* sermons, like an early modern Icarus, one who falls for worldly wisdom truly falls for it, 'they suppose, they have gotten feathers of gold to make them goodly wings for to mount aloft this world'; thus, one must stay grounded, 'for riches make them wings…o ye rich men, can ye pull the feathers, or clip the wings of your riches?'.[137] And finally, whilst it cannot be denied that he was less figurative and disposed to rhetorical flourishes than Henry Smith, the series' marine imagery (again, seemingly inspired by Jean de Serres, see Table 3, Rows 3, 4, 5, and 7) shows that Gifford would wax dramatic through the application of metaphorical commonplaces whenever he deemed it appropriate. He was even happy to invoke (and subtly belittle) the Elizabethan theater, nigh a competitor for the hearts of his auditory,[138] if that suited his Pauline 'foolish in preaching' purposes. The preacher's apt metaphor in the *First Sermon* may have even presaged the Bard's, 'One generation of men doth succeede another, and for a little time as it were play their part upon it, as upon a stage: some hath longer part then other, but none passeth his generation'.[139] The *Eight Sermons'* systematic theology cum pastoral persuasion is paradigmatic of how skilled Elizabethan divines such as George Gifford could leverage the *lectio continua* genre to reach diverse classes and interests in their auditoria and their readerships.

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[135] Noam Riesner, 'The Preacher and Profane Learning', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 73-86, p. 78.
[136] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sigs E_1^r – E_3^r (portion omitted).
[137] ibid., sig. F_3^v; sig. $L_{[5]}^r$ (portion omitted).
[138] For discussion of pious antagonism toward the Elizabethan stage, see Jeffrey Knapp, 'Preachers and Players in Shakespeare's England', in *Representations*, 44 (October 1993), 29-59.
[139] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. $B_{[8]}^r$. Compare: 'All the world's a stage, And all the men and women merely players. They have their exits and their entrances, And one man in his time plays many parts'. *As You Like It,* Act 2, Scene 7, Lines 146-147.

'There is imbecillitie in mans workes…defects are infinit'

Though he observed that 'there is imbecillitie in mans workes and that so great…that the wants and defects are infinit',[140] the *Eight Sermons* and the other works in George Gifford's catalogue certainly do not betray any imbecility as a pastor. As discussed above, the line was a reiteration of Jean de Serres' coupling of Eccles. 1:2 with Ps. 62:9 early in his *Learned Commentarie* (Table 3, Row 2), and which joined a proverbial continuum that was continued in the seventeenth century by e.g. Michael Jermin, who had cited the Latin maxim *imbecillo animo* from saints Ambrose and John Chrysostom.[141] Etymologically, in the sixteenth century the word "imbecile" connoted the subject's weakness, feebleness,[142] or, one might say, powerlessness. So what Gifford touched upon at the outset of his preaching Eccles. 1:2 is what makes the *Eight Sermons* so singularly Reformed in its transmission of Ecclesiastes: the point that man as imbecile is proof of the truth of *vanitas vanitatum* (Table 3, Row 8), and is helpless without the sovereign graces of election and faith, and the 'speciall grace' of *vanitas* awareness. The Reformed paradox being that, as we alone, out of all things in Creation, are made in His image, yet we can see the vanity in all things only via the divinely gifted knowledge that we are the vainest of all things in Creation; ultimately, humanity is the lowest creature and most in need of His special grace. The paradox solution that Gifford set out to convey was that knowledge of humanity's insurmountable powerlessness should be comforting to the godly; that the special grace of *vanitas* awareness, like saving faith, was gifted to the elect already at the beginning of time. The timing of each grant of special grace, though, was utterly a matter for God in His divine sovereignty. As a seemingly theocentric predestinarian, Gifford urged that any confident, lasting sense of security in one's election itself was part of the providential plan, and Ecclesiastes was Solomon's testimonial for patience and resolve, a testimonial which was comfort enough for the saints, even as they remain hopeful for the grace of assurance.

Conclusion: George Gifford's Place in Ecclesiastes Reception History

The present chapter has shown that in the *Eight Sermons*, George Gifford preached Ecclesiastes as one of the most important scriptural sources for the doctrines of double predestination and providence, and the comfort the godly were to derive from them. For

[140] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. $D_{[7]}{}^{v}$.
[141] Michael Jermin, *A commentary, upon the whole booke of Ecclesiastes* (London, 1639), Ch. 4 v. 2; Ch. 7 v. 13, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=eebo2;idno=B14216.0001.001 (20th March 2023).
[142] *imbecile*, https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=imbecile (20th March 2023).

Gifford, knowledge of humanity's essential fault, as disclosed by Eccles. 1:2, and of the unchangeable divine decrees, as disclosed by the merisms of Eccles. 3:1 *et seq.*, was vital to both individual progress in the 'golden chaine' and to the completion of community reformation. Like Smith's *The Triall of Vanitie*, Gifford's *Eight Sermons* presented the tripartite, Victorine sort of Reformed *vanitas*, which acknowledged the changeable and entropic nature of physical reality and focused on the inherent fault in humankind as a matter of puritan practical divinity. Both Smith and Gifford urged their flocks to counter *vanitas* through the practice of godly remembrance, but whereas Smith's approach was to persuade through rhetorical metaphysics and crafting connective figurations, Gifford's pastoral scholasticism aspired to thoroughly educate the congregant and reader in the depths of Ecclesiastes. Accordingly, the *Eight Sermons* dove into the original language of the scripture, and, seemingly for the first time in parochial English sermons, taught that Solomon's 'momentous theme' of *vanitas* had to be understood in context, as the declaration of *koheleth*, a feminized masculine figure, an 'Ecclesiastical person' much like themselves, men and women, wealthy and not, and what mattered most was to be possessed of the soul of a preacher. This, Gifford argued, proved that the declarant of *vanitas* was elect, repentant, and authoritative, it made his (often unsettling) message profitable beyond question, and made *vanitas* awareness ever more accessible and livable. His pedagogical approach opened, widened, and deepened the English devotional experience of the scripture; Ecclesiastes was not something to be feared but to be understood, and since Eccles. 3:14 ('I know that whatsoever God shall doe, it shall be forever…') confirmed the doctrines of double predestination and providence, it was to be understood as endlessly comforting to the godly. Finally, and crucially, the authoritarian slant as reflected in *The Books of Homilies*, which had dominated most of the sixteenth century's reception of the scripture, was countered by the *Eight Sermons* utterly ignoring Eccles. 10:20 and focusing the godly imagination on the *vanitas culpae* of all humanity. Having shown that Solomon was an example of repentance and lived Word, as did Smith's sermons, Gifford expressly conveyed that Ecclesiastes, within its four corners, was intended to provide the comforting worldview that the saints needed to navigate the vicissitudes of their times and their kingdom more happily and confidently.

As to the place George Gifford and his *Eight Sermons* merit in the reception history of Ecclesiastes, the present researcher would start with the making of two simple points: firstly, the series should be acknowledged as existing in the first place, as it has not gained the merest mention in some of the most important reception histories, e.g. by Eric Christianson; and secondly, that other reception histories of Ecclesiastes should give greater consideration to the

details of Gifford's thought and of his rhetorical pedagogy, as being among the most important, singular responses to Ecclesiastes that came forth in the early modern era. His practical divinity coincided with Henry Smith's as being the first to leave behind the *Book of Common Prayer* and *The Books of Homilies*, which were the two most important engagements with the scripture in Tudor England to *c.*1590, and thereafter the English take on the 'momentous themes' of Ecclesiastes tended to read Solomon as repentant and saved by the grace of election, and Ecclesiastes to be accessible and livable Word. But an important and undeniable distinction between his and Henry Smith's engagements is that their comparative print histories strongly imply that Smith's engagements were more impactful on the English citizenry than the *Eight Sermons*. As indicated in the preceding chapter, Smith's sermons and prayers ended up in numerous editions that were printed well into the seventeenth century, and there even was an underground trade in his pirated editions. This obviously betrays demand (the numerous ways of interpreting such are acknowledged), and therefore the preceding chapter went so far as to suggest that *The Triall of Vanitie*, *The Young-mans Taske*, and *The Trumpet of the Soule* were among the most widely read works on Ecclesiastes in the early modern period. The *Eight Sermons*, having had only one print run, simply cannot have been as widely read, all the sooner that they faded into the deep textual fog of the Bodleian Library's shelves. Nevertheless, the *Eight Sermons* series was singularly impactful on English reception of the scripture, a milestone that went a long way toward transforming Ecclesiastes from the arcane, enigmatic, and authoritarian text *c.*1485-*c.*1580 into the pivotal, shared story of each godly English Christian from *c.*1590 onward. And, as the present thesis will discuss in Chapter 5, there is evidence to show that the *Eight Sermons* directly influenced Francis Bacon, who, as Michael Hattaway has made abundantly clear, soon took Ecclesiastes to intellectual dominions previously unthought of.[143]

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In his *Commentary* printed 1639, the Royalist theologian Michael Jermin spent several paragraphs delving into *koheleth*, the feminized masculine persona of Solomon, and into the Victorine view of *vanitas*, how 'Hugo de Sancto Victore conceiveth Solomon, to set downe the summe of the three parts of his book', laying out the Victorine species thusly: 'the first vanitie is naturall, and fit for the nature of worldly things; the second is sinfull, because perverse and

[143] Hattaway, 'Paradoxes', *supra*.

froward; the third penall and miserable'.[144] Although the *Eight Sermons* did not similarly cite or systematically expound upon the Victorine system of *vanitas triplex* – after all, they were sermons and not disputations or treatises – they contained all the markers of, and offer much intense verbiage in the same vein as, what Dr. Christianson called the Victorine system's 'tried and tired mode of reading',[145] so perhaps the roots of Gifford's mode of reading run too deep in the Cambridge libraries for them to be completely uprooted. On the other hand, whilst Gifford did not cite sources for his teaching of *koheleth*, the seeds thereof most likely were planted by Jean de Serres' *Learned Commentarie*, and/or perhaps just as well, by Gifford's mentor William Fulke. Whatever the case may be, the *Eight Sermons* appear to have been the earliest parochial expressions of the two interpretive strands simultaneously, and it is believed that the present thesis is the first piece of scholarship to locate in the series the nascent resurgence of both the *koheleth* persona of Solomon and the Victorine view of *vanitas* that appeared in more methodical form in England in the first third of the seventeenth century, for example, on facing leaves in Dr. Jermin's *Commentary* (Fig. 6).

Which is to say that the *Eight Sermons* came close to making something 'new under the sun'. By their thorough, parochial-level Calvinization of Ecclesiastes, the series made Solomon an analogue if not allegory of each godly parishioner, the scripture his memoirs which were both knowable and livable, *vanitas* as the common human condition decreed by God, awareness of which was to be comforting to them. It was a sea change from the established Tudor traditions, which had been propagated foremost by *The Books of Homilies*, wherein Solomon was a figure of awe, alarm, or ambivalence, and Ecclesiastes called for obedience to Crown and Canterbury, *vanitas* as its regal command to be loyal and keep the peace. The close of the *First Sermon* encapsulated Gifford's message as well as any other portion of the series.

> O then brethren forsake your worldly cares, looke upon yourselves, yee are miserable, looke upon the creatures, they are in such case as that they cannot releeve yee, looke for nothing new among them that may content yee, & settle your mind to say, I am now eased, it is a vaine studie there is nothing new, there is nothing stable. Therefore seeke after the blessed God, to know him, to lay hold upon him, and to possesse him, he shall suffice to make yee blessed, and to content your minde.[146]

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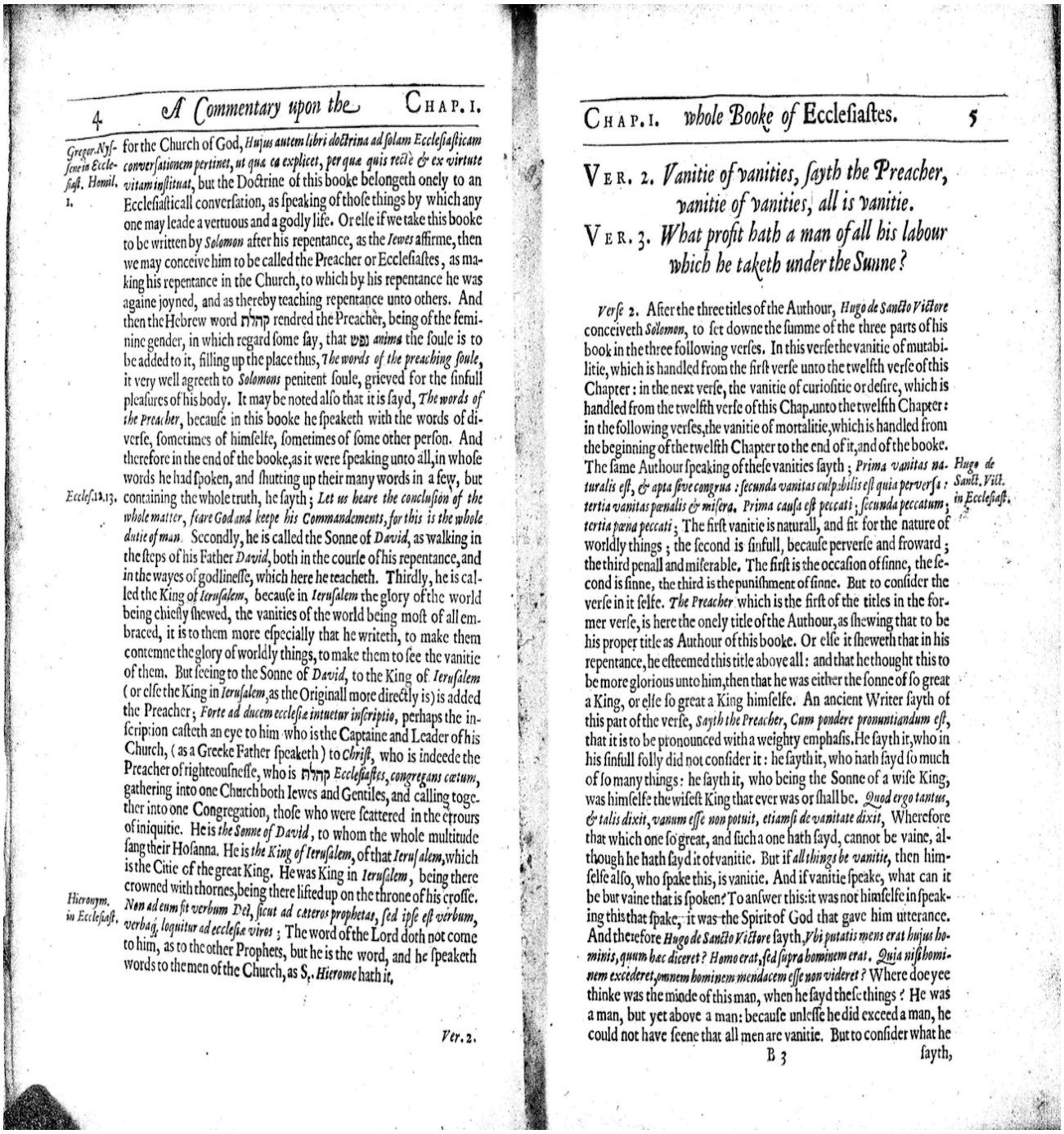
[144] Michael Jermin, *A Commentary, upon the Whole Booke of Ecclesiastes or The Preacher* (London, 1639), sigs B_2^v - B_3^r (brackets added). Jermin was made a DD at Oxford in July 1624, and later that year was appointed chaplain to Charles I. Jason McElligott, 'Jermin [German], Michael, (bap. 1590, d. 1659)', *ODNB*.
[145] Christianson, *Centuries*, p. 122.
[146] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. $D_{[4]}^r$.

Table 3

Select Intertextualities – *Learned Commentarie* and *Eight Sermons*

***Learned Commentarie*, J. de Serres / J. Stockwood (1585)**		***Eight Sermons*, G. Gifford (1589)**
'If man and vanitie (saith he) be put *in a ballance*, men shall be founde lighter even then vanitie it selfe'. p. 12.	1	'Put all men *in one ballance*, and vanitie in the other, and they will goe upwarde, and be found the lighter'. sig. C_1^v.
'Also in so great *imbecillitie* and weakenes of mankind, among so many mazes of *so great confusions, out of which there is no way to be found out*, it can harde and scarcely be chosen, but that our mindes shall be greatly amazed'. sig. ¶¶$_{[vi]}^r$.	2	'There is *imbecillitie* in mans workes and that so great, that hee cannot make that straight which is crooked: there is *such imperfection, that the wants and defects are infinite*'. sig. $D_{[7]}^v$.
'We do fitly gather, that those do *make shipwracke both of godlinesse and honestie*, the which doe contemne or despise the worde of God: and therefore that *they have stayned themselves* with all kinde of wickednesse'. p. 249.	3	'They be those rocks against which men doo runne and *make shipwracke of faith and a good conscience*, & so *drowne themselves* in perdition and destruction'. sig. C_3^v.
'The day of death is better unto them then the day of birth. For when as no man can be saide to be blessed & happie before his death and last ende, and in as much as *this life is passed through infinite daungers and shipwrackes of perils* and miseries, *he is happie, which having commendably sailed over the sea, enioyeth the haven*: whereas otherwise he that commeth into life, is carryed from the haven into the maine, unto sundrie and manifold kindes of misery'. pp. 320-321.	4	'Herein *the world is like the sea*, in which God hath laide the waters upon heapes. At the stormie winds the waves thereof arise, they swell, they rage, they rore, they foam, & threaten to overwhelm the earth, and to drowne all. But *God hath set the shore*, hee hath appoynted them their boundes and limittes, which they cannot passe. *Hither shalt you come, and not further, here shalt thou lay down thy proud waves*. The devill stirreth up the tempestes, and setteth all in a broyle upon the land'. sigs $M_{[6]}^v$ – $M_{[7]}^r$.
'…a common saying among the Heathen: It is beste not to be borne, or so soone as you are borne straight wayes to die, and as it were out of a shipwrack to escape in *this life as it were in a tempestuous sea, the stormes & tormentes of fortune*: *so that death is the most safe haven* of these miseries'. pp. 207-208.	5	'He setteth *this life before us, as a sea or goulfe full of stormes, unquietnes and troubles*, *death is as it were the haven & landing place,* where menne are set free. But they are most at ease which never came in it, they have not felt, nor tasted of these bitter blasts, nor been tossed with us'. sig. $O_{[6]}^v$.
'But *unto God all thinges are present, neither with him are there any circumstances of time*: and he himself without time or course of time, doth wisely governe all the same disposing of times, which *he himself hath made*. To this end I thinke that mention is made of time, and not (as the interpreters do expound) to signify that no new thing is made'. pp. 172-173.	6	'Thus all turneth round as a wheele, which hee expresseth further in these wordes, *God requireth that which is past. This is not Fortunes whéele, it is God*, when men turmoyle, which so ordereth the matter, that they can do no more but that hath alreadie beene done. For when he saith, *God requireth*, it is as much as to say, *God bringeth back againe* that which is past'. sig. $M_{[8]}^v$.
'…whilest that they also procure hurt unto themselves, *these sinners albeit endued with singular wittes, so farre as concerneth civil and externall matters*, the holy ghost marketh with the reproche of folly and madnesse, that we shoulde know that *it is a bottomless gulfe of greatest and most extreame madnesse*, to departe from the pure worship and service of God. *These civil giftes*, albeit never so greate and fayre in shewe…'. p. 395.	7	'Come to *these which search to knowe the nature & properties of all creatures*, where shall they ever come to see towarde an ende of their travaile? *They be in a bottomless sea without shore*. How must those *studie*, how many histories, volumes, & bookes, must they turne over, which will come to be sound *Politikes*, to be furnished for the government of Cities and Commonweales, and for the warres?'. sig. $E_{[5]}^r$.
'Hitherto he hath generally shewed with sound arguments *the vanity of the life of man* (as hath beene by us declared) nowe he beginneth to rehearse particular reasons *to prove by induction the generall proposition* from whence he tooke the beginning of the discourse, *That all things are vanitie*'. p. 44.	8	'In the former part of this Chapter *we have had two reasons: the one drawen from man himselfe*, the other from the things about which he laboureth, *to prove that* a man hath no profite, nor good at all, which [remain] of all his sore travaile under the sunne, and *therefore all is vanitie of vanities*'. sigs $D_{[5]}^r$ – $D_{[5]}^v$.

NB: In the passages Row 1, de Serres / Stockwood and Gifford were paraphrasing Psalms 62:9.



4 *A Commentary upon the* CHAP. I.

Gregor. Nyssenus in Ecclesiast. Homil. 1.

for the Church of God, *Hujus autem libri doctrina ad solam Ecclesiasticam conversationem pertinet, ut quæ ea explicet, per quæ quis recte & ex virtute vitam instituat*, but the Doctrine of this booke belongeth onely to an Ecclesiasticall converſation, as ſpeaking of thoſe things by which any one may leade a vertuous and a godly life. Or elſe if we take this booke to be written by *Solomon* after his repentance, as the *Iewes* affirme, then we may conceive him to be called the Preacher or Eccleſiaſtes, as making his repentance in the Church, to which by his repentance he was againe joyned, and as thereby teaching repentance unto others. And then the Hebrew word קֹהֶלֶת rendred the Preacher, being of the feminine gender, in which regard ſome ſay, that נפש *anima* the ſoule is to be added to it, filling up the place thus, *The words of the preaching ſoule*, it very well agreeth to *Solomons* penitent ſoule, grieved for the ſinfull pleaſures of his body. It may be noted alſo that it is ſayd, *The words of the Preacher*, becauſe in this booke he ſpeaketh with the words of diverſe, ſometimes of himſelfe, ſometimes of ſome other perſon. And therefore in the end of the booke, as it were ſpeaking unto all, in whoſe words he had ſpoken, and ſhutting up their many words in a few, but

Eccles. 12. 13. containing the whole truth, he ſayth; *Let us heare the concluſion of the whole matter, feare God and keepe his Commandements, for this is the whole dutie of man.* Secondly, he is called the Sonne of *David*, as walking in the ſteps of his Father *David*, both in the courſe of his repentance, and in the wayes of godlineſſe, which here he teacheth. Thirdly, he is called the King of *Ieruſalem*, becauſe in *Ieruſalem* the glory of the world being chiefly ſhewed, the vanities of the world being moſt of all embraced, it is to them more eſpecially that he writeth, to make them contemne the glory of worldly things, to make them to ſee the vanitie of them. But ſeeing to the Sonne of *David*, to the King of *Ieruſalem* (or elſe the King in *Ieruſalem*, as the Originall more directly is) is added the Preacher; *Forte ad ducem eccleſiæ intuetur inſcriptio*, perhaps the inſcription caſteth an eye to him who is the Captaine and Leader of his Church, (as a Greeke Father ſpeaketh) to *Chriſt*, who is indeede the Preacher of righteouſneſſe, who is קֹהֶלֶת *Eccleſiaſtes, congregans cœtum*, gathering into one Church both Iewes and Gentiles, and calling together into one Congregation, thoſe who were ſcattered in the errours of iniquitie. He is *the Sonne of David*, to whom the whole multitude ſang their Hoſanna. He is *the King of Ieruſalem*, of that *Ieruſalem*, which is the Citie of the great King. He was King in *Ieruſalem*, being there crowned with thornes, being there lifted up on the throne of his croſſe.

Hieronym. in Eccleſiaſt. *Non ad eum ſit verbum Dei, ſicut ad cæteros prophetas, ſed ipſe eſt verbum, verbaq; loquitur ad eccleſiæ vires*; The word of the Lord doth not come to him, as to the other Prophets, but he is the word, and he ſpeaketh words to the men of the Church, as S. *Hierome* hath it,

Ver. 2.

CHAP. I. *whole Booke of* Eccleſiaſtes. 5

VER. 2. *Vanitie of vanities, ſayth the Preacher, vanitie of vanities, all is vanitie.*

VER. 3. *What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the Sunne?*

Verſe 2. After the three titles of the Authour, *Hugo de Sancto Victore* conceiveth *Solomon*, to ſet downe the ſumme of the three parts of his book in the three following verſes. In this verſe the vanitie of mutabilitie, which is handled from the firſt verſe unto the twelfth verſe of this Chapter: in the next verſe, the vanitie of curioſitie or deſire, which is handled from the twelfth verſe of this Chap. unto the twelfth Chapter: in the following verſes, the vanitie of mortalitie, which is handled from the beginning of the twelfth Chapter to the end of it, and of the booke. The ſame Authour ſpeaking of theſe vanities ſayth; *Prima vanitas naturalis eſt, & apta ſive congrua: ſecunda vanitas culpabilis eſt quia perverſa: tertia vanitas pœnalis & miſera. Prima cauſa eſt peccati; ſecunda peccatum; tertia pœna peccati*; The firſt vanitie is naturall, and fit for the nature of worldly things; the ſecond is ſinfull, becauſe perverſe and froward; the third penall and miſerable. The firſt is the occaſion of ſinne, the ſecond is ſinne, the third is the puniſhment of ſinne. But to conſider the verſe in it ſelfe. *The Preacher* which is the firſt of the titles in the former verſe, is here the onely title of the Authour, as ſhewing that to be his proper title as Authour of this booke. Or elſe it ſheweth that in his repentance, he eſteemed this title above all: and that he thought this to be more glorious unto him, then that he was either the ſonne of ſo great a King, or elſe ſo great a King himſelfe. An ancient Writer ſayth of this part of the verſe, *Sayth the Preacher, Cum pondere pronuntiandum eſt*, that it is to be pronounced with a weighty emphaſis. He ſayth it, who in his ſinfull folly did not conſider it: he ſayth it, who hath ſayd ſo much of ſo many things: he ſayth it, who being the Sonne of a wiſe King, was himſelfe the wiſeſt King that ever was or ſhall be. *Quod ergo tantus, & talis dixit, vanum eſſe non potuit, etiamſi de vanitate dixit*, Wherefore that which one ſo great, and ſuch a one hath ſayd, cannot be vaine, although he hath ſayd it of vanitie. But if *all things be vanitie*, then himſelfe alſo, who ſpake this, is vanitie. And if vanitie ſpeake, what can it be but vaine that is ſpoken? To anſwer this: it was not himſelfe in ſpeaking this that ſpake, it was the Spirit of God that gave him utterance. And therefore *Hugo de Sancto Victore* ſayth, *Vbi putatis mens erat hujus hominis, quum hæc diceret? Homo erat, ſed ſupra hominem erat. Quia niſi hominem excideret, omnem hominem mendacem eſſe non videret?* Where doe yee thinke was the minde of this man, when he ſayd theſe things? He was a man, but yet above a man: becauſe unleſſe he did exceed a man, he could not have ſeene that all men are vanitie. But to conſider what he

Hugo de Sanct. Vict. in Eccleſiaſt.

 ſayth,

Michael Jermin, *A commentary, Upon the Whole Booke of Ecclesiastes*, 1639.
Courtesy Early English Books Online

Figure 6

Chapter 5

'The Riches of *Salomons House*'

Thus you see, wee maintain a Trade, not for Gold, Silver, or Jewels.
Nor for Silks; Nor for Spices; Nor any other Commodity of Matter.
But only for GODS first Creature, which was Light: To have Light
(I say) of the Growth of all Parts of the World.

Francis Bacon, *The New Atlantis,* 1627

The present chapter surveys select works that were created after Henry Smith's *The Triall of Vanitie et al.* and George Gifford's *Eight Sermons* and highlights their various points of connection and influence. The chapter posits that Smith' and Gifford's printed sermons, which were distinguished by their imaginative scriptural infrastructures and their capacious accommodations of Ecclesiastes to godly practical divinity, were seminal to the widening of the confines of the scripture's engagements thereafter. It is shown that, from *c.*1590 onward, there was a revitalization of Ecclesiastes in England that witnessed both an uptick in the sheer number of publications concerned with it (and with its author, Solomon), and an expansion of its categories of use and user, i.e. lay and clerical, academic and practical, etc. The scripture was, to an appreciable extent, repossessed by the lower orders of the laity, even as it continued to be a matter of keen and increasing interest to English divines, prominent intellectuals, and artists of sundry sorts. As we shall see, ironically, in some cases Ecclesiastes, ostensibly the guide for godliness contra *vanitas* of the world, was put toward the quite worldly matters of career credentialing, self-promotion, and making one's (usually paltry) living. It is suggested that Henry Smith and George Gifford were at the forefront of a small, but distinct and important, late Elizabethan/early Stuart renaissance in working with the book of Ecclesiastes, one that had abiding effects on how English authors received and transmitted the scripture well into the seventeenth century. The chapter concerns causes and inspirations, boundaries, and effects. The chapter title is taken, aptly, it is hoped, from Francis Bacon's ideal institution of learning, which, as he made clear in *The New Atlantis*, would be dedicated to 'the knowledge of Causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of Human Empire, to the effecting of all things possible'.

As for the prior chapters, the selection of texts for the present chapter is indebted to Stuart Weeks' scholarly bibliography, and to his expansive rule for choice of material, 'anything that seems genuinely to be engaging with the text or thought of Ecclesiastes, even

if that is in the context of a work about the Bible as a whole, or in the context of a work on some other topic',[1] but here with a modified periodization from *c.*1590 to *c.*1650, and further enriched by one item that is extant only in manuscript (Esther Inglis's gift book, 1599). But as before, the irony of 'many bookes' gives way to dilemma, that the seventeenth century witnessed a glut of engagements with the scripture and that there are just too many worthwhile engagements to be discussed economically here.[2] Thus, the present researcher has selected items that satisfy the standard reiterated above, and that have largely or completely escaped scholarly discussion in the historiography of Ecclesiastes' reception.[3] Some of these sources reflect demonstrable, or at least plausible, direct influences taken from the engagements of Henry Smith and/or George Gifford, but all the selections are nevertheless important as being indicative of the late Elizabethan/early Stuart renaissance of Ecclesiastes in which Smith's and Gifford's sermons played such vital and seminal roles. In the interest of discussing things that are, somewhat, new under the sun, the present chapter's discussion will focus on how the scripture's two 'momentous themes' fared in the late Elizabethan works of Francis Marbury (Table 1, Row 31), Robert Hill (Table 1, Row 29), George Phillips (Table 1, Row 28), and Esther Inglis (Table 2, Row 5), and the early Stuart works of Hugh Broughton (Weeks Bibl. §123), Joseph Hall (Weeks Bibl. §130), William Pemble (Weeks Bibl. §156), the anonymously authored *Hæc-Vir*, and finally, Francis Bacon.

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The enigmatic Francis Marbury preached Eccles. 10:20 in his 1602 sermon at the Spital, one of the most important pulpits in London. More thorough and enthusiastically supportive of the Queen than even *The Books of Homilies*, it is an example of Ecclesiastes having been deployed, at least in part, in the interest of a wavering puritan's self-rehabilitation with the episcopacy.[4] Marbury was a well-off and well-connected preacher of 'mettlesome attributes',[5] a one-time playwright, of an oddly bawdy play, and a one-time schoolmaster of some ill-

[1] Weeks, *Many Books*, xii.
[2] As noted in Chapter 1, Cristian Rata has also observed that Ecclesiastes was of increased interest in seventeenth century England. Rata, 'Sweet and Lawful Delights', *supra*.
[3] Two late Elizabethan works that the present chapter will avoid - as they have been well-handled relatively recently - are the poetic paraphrases of Henry Lok (Table 1, Row 30), and the *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas Rogers (Table 1, Row 22). As to Rogers, see Perry, *Imitatio Christi*, *supra*; as to Lok, see Debra Rienstra, '"Disorder Best Fit": Henry Lok and Holy Disorder in Devotional Lyric', in *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual*, 27 (2012), 249-87; idem, 'Scant Verses: Henry Lok as Forerunner of George Herbert', in *George Herbert Journal* 38.1&2 (2014/2015), 80-93. See also, Christianson, *Centuries*, pp. 51-56; pp. 201-210.
[4] Francis Marbury, *A fruitful sermon necessary for the time preached at the Spittle* (London, 1602).
[5] Emery Battis, *Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), pp. 12-13.

repute.[6] In May 1571, he matriculated as a pensioner at Christ's College, Cambridge, and soon was licensed to preach in Northampton. T. N. S. Lennam has suggested that Marbury was supported by the Lord Keeper Nicholas Bacon and that his posting in Northampton served the family well, since his father owned considerable estates in the nearby villages.[7] Northampton also was one of the earliest and most active centers of nonconformity, and soon after his ordination Marbury came under scrutiny for his various failings in conformity. A storied instance, reported in 1593's puritan apologia *A Parte of a Register*, is when Marbury, at his second (known) time under the hammer of the High Commission, offered that 'a man might cut a good large thong out of your hyde and the rest, and it would not be missed'.[8] Thus, Francis Marbury is a figure who has been familiar to early modernists for his sheer edginess, e.g. as a Marprelate suspect,[9] and as an exemplar of the "Northampton hothead" style of puritanism.[10]

But it was soon after publication of *A Parte of a Register* that Marbury made a complete sea change in his mentality. It is not clear how many times he was jailed for nonconformity, but, apparently, they were effective, for soon after *c.*1590 he was sufficiently cooled off, had bitten his rebellious tongue, was married, and started a family (his two daughters, Anne and Katherine, became famous for their doings in Massachusetts).[11] By 1594 he was preaching in London, and in 1596 he declared that he did not favor, nor did he know of any other minister, or of anyone else, who favored the erection of presbyteries, '[f]or men have enough to do to stand by that religion which her blessed Majesty hath approved unto us by her express laws'.[12] By the time he delivered his sermon *At the Spittle* in 1602, Marbury was either a conformable puritan or in full conformity,[13] but in any case the sermon certainly reads as written by one who was in full and fervent conformity.

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[6] A 1618 court case involved Marbury's improper handling of the school's endowments; the surviving executors to Marbury's will were ordered to pay compensation to the governors of the school. T. N. S. Lennam, 'Francis Merbury, 1555-1611', in *Studies in Philology* 65.2 (1968), 207-22, p. 219.
[7] ibid., p. 211.
[8] *A Parte of a Register* (Middleburg, 1593), fol. 385. See Patrick Carter, 'Clerical Polemic in Defense of Ministers' Maintenance During the English Reformation', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 49.2 (1998), 236-56, p. 248.
[9] Edward Arber, *An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy, 1588-1590* (London: English Scholars Library, 1879), p. 84.
[10] Collinson, *Puritan Movement*, p. 433; p. 443.
[11] See Michael Winship, *Making Heretics: Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts*, 1636–1641 (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002); idem., *The Times and Trials of Anne Hutchinson: Puritans Divided* (Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas Press, 2005).
[12] Quoted in Collinson, *Puritan Movement*, *supra*. See also, Eve LaPlante, *American Jezebel: The Uncommon Life of Anne Hutchinson, The Woman Who Defied the Puritans* (San Francisco: Harper, 2004), p. 33.
[13] cf. Mary Morrissey suggested that *c.*1602 he was still only partially conforming, as his election to a London lectureship in that year was conditional on his ability to avoid performing the service under the *Book of Common Prayer*. Morrissey, *Paul's Cross*, p. 182.

The epistle dedicatory for *At the Spittle* did not mince words on the theme of *vanitas*, which, much like *The Books of Homilies*, made disobedience to magistrates and disloyalty to sovereign the ultimate examples of vanity. Anyone who, like Marbury, was 'ambitious of love and quietnesse in my countrey', should 'turne all our unnecessarie medlings with Counsels and States, to prayers & thanksgivings for our blessed Lady Queen Elizabeth', as all 'other surmises are vaine'.[14] He then opened the address with the paraphrastic dialogue 'betweene Salomon and his Subject', which he crafted from the verses of Eccles. 10: 4-19.[15] The dialogue is no proverb contest ala *Solomon and Marcolf*, rather it depicted the Subject in what we might call a give-and-take conversation with Solomon wherein the Subject offered observations or interrogatories and the king replied (as opposed to retorted) with other verses or sets of verses, culminating in an edifying piece of wisdom. Of course, the dialogue does end with Solomon delivering Tudor officialdom's favourite verse of Eccles. 10:20, but from a wider angle it seems indicative of the evolving late Elizabethan mindset concerning Ecclesiastes, that like Henry Smith urging one to 'repent *with* Solomon', Marbury imagined one of the 'common sort' inhabiting and being a complimentary figure vis-à-vis Solomon's scripture, that a mere Subject might have something of real value to offer to *koheleth* and to the people who were eavesdropping on the dialogue.

The dialogue is followed by a contextualizing brief on the second 'momentous theme' of the scripture, a precis on the authorship and authority of Solomon. There, Marbury's version of 'the preacher' resonated with the interpretive trend set by de Serres' *Learned Commentarie* and Gifford's *Eight Sermons*, wherein the authorial persona was the self-appointed, feminized masculine figure of *koheleth*, but for Marbury the scripture's supposed censures against rebellion were every bit as central to the figure's wisdom as were his experience, conversion, and repentance.

> This Booke being made after Salomons rising from his fall, *hath the commendation both of this repentance and of the experience of his very soule, according to the Hebrew title of preacheresse* (as one would say given by himself) [Coheleth] in the feminine gender…The principall question of this chapter beginning it…at the fourth verse is, that subjects that are godly wise, ought to represse in themselves all insurrection of mind…and against the doings of princes…and that a disloyal thought ought not to be lent thereunto.[16]

[14] Marbury, *At the Spittle*, sig. A_4^v.
[15] ibid., sigs $A_{[5]}^r$ – $A_{[6]}^r$.
[16] ibid., sigs $A_{[7]}^r$ - $A_{[7]}^v$ (portions omitted, emphasis added), NB: The "Coheleth" bracketed is a marginal note in the original printing.

The remainder of Marbury's sermon set his thoughts on allegiance in relief against a systematic, thematic anti-Catholic polemic. For example, Ecclesiastes' vaunted scepticism on epistemological issues was weaponized into Marbury's criticism of the 'liberal science' and 'the rules of the same newe learning', and he urged that such stuff must be Catholic in origin. But one way or another, he always re-connected his exegesis with the theme that loyalty to the monarch was divinely commanded.[17] For to Marbury, allegiance was a fundamental of Christianity that traced back to the time of Moses, and loyalty to sovereign was rooted in the direct word of God given in the 5th Commandment. The Christian nation corresponded to the Christian family, the 'doctrine of honouring the Prince in our heart, out of the heart of this scripture [Ecclesiastes]' was 'the charge given of God on this behalfe in the fifth commandement, though the instance bee given of naturall parents: for it beareth proportion most pregnantly this way [of loyalty and obedience to sovereign and magistrate] of all others'.[18] And so, anti-Catholicism was indelibly linked to loyalty to the English monarch, just as it was indelible to the properly Reformed soul; Catholicism was inherently disloyal and both were the signs of one's decreed damnation. 'Queen Elizabeth is our Sparta', said Marbury, and 'there is not one man in all these dominions, that desireth a change, except he be given over into a reprobate sense'.[19]

The connection between Eccles. 10:20 and the 5th Commandment was impactful in English history outside of its religious reformation, as well. As the present researcher has noted elsewhere,[20] it is in line with one of the main arguments that the Solicitor General, Francis Bacon, made in *Calvin's Case* of 1608 (also known as The Case of the *Postnati*), that *inter alia* the 5th Commandment is foundational to the natural law that requires reverence of ruler just as it requires reverence of father and mother. 'But I demand, Do these offices or operations of law evacuate or frustrate the original submission [to royal authority], which was natural? Or shall it be said, that *potestas patria*, the power of the father over the child, is by law [and not by nature]'.[21] It certainly is an intriguing speculation that Marbury's thoughts may have influenced what is perhaps the most important case holding in the common law of allegiance,

[17] ibid., sigs $C_1^r - C_1^v$.
[18] ibid., sig. $B_{[5]}^r$ (brackets added).
[19] ibid., sigs $D_4^v - D_{[5]}^r$.
[20] Michael A. Heimos, 'Not 'to Confound Predicaments': Loyalty and the Common Law, c.1400-1688', in *Loyalty to the Monarchy in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain, c.1400-1688*, ed. by Matthew Ward and Matthew Hefferan (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), pp. 127-148.
[21] Francis Bacon, 'The Argument of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, in the Case of the Post-Nati of Scotland' in James Spedding *et al*. (eds), *The Works of Francis Bacon* (Cambridge, 1857), p. 647 (brackets added).

which *arguendo* helped to further unite the island after the accession of James VI/I to the thrones of Scotland and England.[22] But be that as it may, from a wider perspective, *At the Spittle* is a straightforward elevation of the sovereign, and a warning against the sin of having quarrelsome thoughts against the Queen and her magistrates, but delivered by a preacher who clearly was using Ecclesiastes as one of the means to repair his relationship with Canterbury and Crown. *At the Spittle* was a work of exegetical politics, an example of what Mary Morrissey has identified as a moderating trend in the 1590s, when various puritan ministers used anti-Catholic polemics, especially when preaching at Paul's Cross, as a means to widen ecclesiological boundaries, to encourage greater unity amongst English Protestants, and to cloak in anti-popery any contentious expositions on disciplinary and doctrinal issues.[23] And lastly, as to its place in the reception history of Ecclesiastes, *At the Spittle* is an example of one way the feminized masculine *koheleth* was deployed after the advent of the works by Jean de Serres and George Gifford - the trajectory of the earnest 'preaching soule' of Solomon was re-re-directed from conversion and repentance to obedience and allegiance. Stated another way, *At the Spittle* is illustrative of the sheer narrative tenacity of Tudor officialdom's aphoristic application of Eccles. 10:20. It was a reading of the scripture's authorial persona that would endure in England for at least a few decades more and would be redeployed, such as in the context of the regicide by the royalist divine Edward Hyde, in his sermons delivered in support of succession by Charles II.

> And indeed the Hebrew title of the Book [Koheleth] plainly shows as much… not a *he* but a *she Preacher*, that is, not a Preaching man, but a *Preaching soul*, or a *Preaching wisedom*: and such is our Preacher here…a preaching soul in setting forth humane frailties and falsities (*for this Book was the publick testimonial of his repentance*) and a preaching wisedom in setting forth the divine power and truth…admirably consonant with this doctrine of Allegiance in the best times, much more in these our wicked days, which are the last and the worst of this wicked world, the earth growing weary of itself now it is near its dissolution.[24]

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The works of Robert Hill, William Pemble, and Joseph Hall were more in the vein of the sermons by Smith and Gifford, and they evidence the blossoming interest in Ecclesiastes

[22] In addition to the Nicholas Bacon connection noted above, Francis Bacon cited Marbury in his *Apopthegms New and Old* (1625), so it seems fair to suggest that the Solicitor General was both personally familiar with Marbury and that he was one of Bacon's religio-intellectual influences. Heimos, 'Predicaments', p. 140 *et seq*.
[23] Morrissey, *Paul's Cross*, p. 214 *et seq*.
[24] Edward Hyde, *Allegiance and Conscience Not Fled out of England…in Several Sermons Anno 1649 on the Words of the Ecclesiastes* (Cambridge, 1662), fols 12-13 (portion omitted, emphasis added). See also, Christianson, *Centuries*, p. 143, p. 202.

as an important scripture for English practical divinity post *c.*1590. This set of engagements evidences how both conformable puritans, in the cases of Hill and Pemble, and Reformed conformists, in the case of Bishop Hall, were teaching Ecclesiastes and Solomon as *vade mecum*; that substantively, as did Smith and Gifford before them, they too presented the scripture as the practical guide to godly living, and this perspective literally reflected in the manner in which they taught the text, i.e. through accessible summaries and diagrammed digests.

Robert Hill proceeded MA from Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1588, was admitted as a fellow of St John's College, Cambridge in the following year, and his activities thereafter betray puritan sympathies that were influenced mostly by William Perkins. After he translated Perkin's famous *A Golden Chaine* (1591), at Perkins' request, he published his own popular tome, *The Contents of Scripture* (1596), a summary and exegesis of the entire Bible that 'established himself as a dedicated religious popularizer and pedagogue and a translator of continental protestant divines'.[25] In chapters 2 and 3, the present thesis has already cited Hill as one of the 1590s standardizers of the Smith-Gifford reading of Solomon as salvific success story, e.g. '[Ecclesiastes] doth testifie his unfeigned repentance',[26] as well as echoing de Serres' reading of Ecclesiastes chapter 10, as imposing limitations upon the temporal authorities, and the proverb of Eccles. 10:20 was only the secondary point of the chapter.[27] As to the nature of the 'momentous theme' of *vanitas vanitatum*, as in Smith one can read in Hill a Victorine conception of Eccles. 1:2. He held that the verse declares the vanity 'of men themselves' and of man's acts, studies, and labors (the Victorine species *vanitas culpae*); also, of 'all things, by their uncertainty' viz. the rest of the material universe, whether known or 'those things which might be knowen' in the future (the Victorine species *vanitas mutabilitatis*); and, the merisms of Eccles. 3:1-10, which establish 'the uncertainty of times' themselves and yet declare 'a time to die…a time to breake down…' (Eccles. 3:2-3), etc., prove the ultimate entropy of all things (the Victorine species *vanitas poenalitatis*). Having borrowed the Gifford-ism highlighted in the present thesis' chapter 4, Hill sensed that mankind's dependency upon Providence is both proven by, and is necessitated by, the comprehensiveness of 'mans imbecillity'.[28]

Furthermore, Robert Hill's epistle dedicatory to *The Contents of Scripture* is as relevant to the reception historian as is Hill's body text. He dedicated the work to the (rather ruthless) William Fitz-William, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and invoked David and Solomon for the

[25] J.F. Merritt, 'Hill, Robert (d. 1623)', *ODNB*.
[26] Hill, *Contents of Scripture*, p. 259 (brackets added).
[27] ibid., p. 264.
[28] ibid., pp. 260-1. See Table 3, Row 2.

pedagogical and religious principal that 'all estates' and their children 'must be conversant in this word', and that 'reading it when they are young, may remember to practice it when they are old'.[29] Remembrance was the ultimate motivator for Hill undertaking to write his brief *Contents*; it was to provide profitable, memorable instruction useful to the godly regardless of age,[30] and conversely it was 'not to pester the Church with a needlesse worke (for there is none end of making many such bookes), but to furnish the Church with a needfull worke; the reading whereof, can not be a wearinesse to the flesh [Eccles. 12:12]'.[31] That is, Ecclesiastes was one of the main texts which justified Hill's project as a whole. And like Smith, for Hill the main virtue taught by the scripture was godly remembrance. Through that and Christian meditation, said Hill in his closing, the Lord Deputy would stay young in spirit, aging well both physically and religiously, and flourishing like the almond trees of Eccles. 12:5.[32]

The epistle dedicatory for William Pemble's *Salomons Recantation and Repentance* (first printed 1627) was addressed to a Mrs. Edith Beale and tolled the same bells as Hill's epistle dedicatory to William Fitz-William.[33] 'You have lived a faire age, and found by another kinde of experience than Salomon did, the truth of his Text, That all is vanity and vexation of spirit…and almost nothing remains but to destroy death and to receive a Crown of righteousness'.[34] The main heading for the body text, 'An Analytical Exposition of the whole Book of Ecclesiastes', was quite understated. Indeed, the *Recantation* is *prima facie* if not conclusive evidence for Dewey D. Wallace's categorization of Pemble as an 'extremely scholastic and anti-Arminian' puritan,[35] and quickly the reader realizes that they will emerge from it having had each portion of each verse diagramed, dissected, examined, and stitched back together. As to the 'momentous theme' of Solomonic authorship, Pemble's version was a tripartite personage - literally numbered 1, 2, 3 - and it was perhaps reminiscent of the trinitarian god Himself. For Pemple, King Solomon was first and foremost, 'the Person hee now takes on him', which was 'Coheleth, a Preacher, or reconciled penitent, or both, this being his penitential sermon'; secondly, he was the filial persona as son of David; and thirdly, he

[29] ibid., sigs A_5^r – $A_{[6]}^v$.
[30] ibid., sig. $A_{[6]}^v$.
[31] ibid., sig. $A_{[9]}^v$ (brackets added).
[32] ibid., sig. $A_{[11]}^v$.
[33] NB: The epistle dedicatory was written by Richard Capel, Pemble's mentor and teacher at Magdalen College, Oxford. It was mainly through Capel's efforts that Pemble's writings were published posthumously. Richard L. Greaves, 'Pemble, William (1591-1623)', *ODNB*.
[34] William Pemble, *Salomons Recantation and Repentance* (London, 1637), sig. A_3^v (portion omitted).
[35] Dewey D. Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology, 1525-1695* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), p. 119.

was the regal persona, his regality amplified for having been king in Jerusalem.[36] As to the 'momentous theme' of *vanitas*, Pemble diced Eccles. 1:2-18 into all three Victorine species. Vanity was the condition of the entirety of 'created nature', and nothing 'within the compasse and power' of it can make one happy (*vanitas mutabilitatis*); whilst he devoted more ink to humanity's insufficiency rather than fault, in the end Pemble said that the censure of the scripture is that the nature of mankind is signified by 'folly and wretchednesse', and 'what good every one ought to do, and yet how little any one is either willing or able to practice it' (*vanitas culpae*); and, whilst the Earth abides forever, yet its nature is at the same time 'viler than the worst man', and man's estate by nature is 'fraile and perishing', for 'his condition is worse than that of other creatures'; even the best and highest of humane knowledge is perishing by nature, it 'decays by our age, dies and is forgotten in our graves' (*vanitas poenalitatis*).[37]

Nevertheless, Pemble was in keeping with the Smith-Gifford reading of Ecclesiastes that rejected despair and the hatred of the world, and which acknowledged the value of mindful, measured, lawful use of worldly things and lawful pleasure in one's worldly labors. Such are things 'which may by Gods blessings afford some comfort in this life…but cannot yield what Salomon here looked for, perfect happinesse'; the world is a fountain and cause of gifts 'from the hand of God', and it 'is not a mere racke and engine to torment mens minds and bodies'.[38] He was in accord with Jean de Serres in holding that Eccles. 10:20 was as much directed to rulers as it was to subjects, which 'Salomon inserts by way of a briefe digression, an admonition to rulers, putting them in minde that though subjects may not rebell, yet Princes must not be licentious, tyrannous, and unjust'.[39] The prince and subject were interdependent, and the good or ill state of the commonwealth was likewise dependent upon the equilibrium between prince and people,[40] thus Ecclesiastes was vital to understanding how to navigate 'matters Ethicke, Politicke, and Oeconomicke', it was *vade mecum* on 'the whole course of practical affaires and actions of men…the whole mystery of Virtue and Vice'.[41] At its core, Pemble's robust, scholastic digest made the same points as Smith in *The Triall of Vanitie* and Gifford in the *Eight Sermons*: Ecclesiastes taught that the practice of godly remembrance was the key to living a godly life, the key to obtaining some level of felicity

[36] Pemble, *Salomons Recantation*, fol. 2. Solomon as penitential preacher is reiterated at the end of Pemble's work. ibid., fol. 171.
[37] ibid., fol. 3; fol. 11; fols 4, 11.
[38] ibid., fols 24-25 (portion omitted).
[39] ibid., fol. 142.
[40] ibid.
[41] ibid., fols 10-11 (portion omitted).

before the soul was graced with its ultimate salvation at the Judgment. 'In a word, it is that which is called Contentation joined with godlinesse, this only makes a man master of the utmost comfort worldly things can afford', it is 'the very soule that puts life into all earthly things'.[42]

The navigable practicalities that Pemble briefed in one small portion of his digest were utterly formative to Joseph Hall's handbook, *Salomons Divine Arts, of 1. Ethicks, 2. Politicks, 3. Oeconomicks, that is, the Government of 1. Behavior, 2. Commonwealth, 3. Familie, Drawn into Method, Out of his Proverbs and Ecclesiastes*. For an era of long titles, many of which said about everything one needed outright, *Salomons Divine Arts* is paradigmatic. As indicated in the last phrase of the title, the book was drawn almost exclusively from the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes (there are a few stray citations, e.g. to the Song of Songs). As the rest of the title suggests, it was intended to provide the readers with an experiential methodology that dropped breadcrumbs of Solomonic wisdom to guide them through the labyrinth of living in godliness within the distinct contexts of one-to-one relationships, local and national relationships, and familial relationships (as Hall said, the 'government of 1. Behavior, 2. Commonwealth, 3. Familie, Drawn into Method'). Each distinct section is signposted by easily understood diagrams, and although the narrative is a veritable string of cites and quotations, it is also surprisingly elegant, a relatively quick read that gracefully weaves back and forth between the two scriptures within Hall's narrative structure. And importantly, the book was self-consciously designed to inform the conduct of people of every social estate and relationship, from the king and the courtiers down to the commoners and the house servants, between husbands and wives, and parents and children, and so forth. Hall himself called it the 'common-place booke of that great King' that was simply intended 'for better memory, for readier use' that would be used to both 'direct his [the reader's] life, and judge it'.[43]

As a religious handbook, *Salomons Divine Arts* is much less exegetical than the other sources consulted by the present thesis. Hall did not offer any new thoughts on the nature of *vanitas*, rather he made it the foundation of his breakdown of 'Ethicks' - which he called the 'government of behavior and manners' or 'the doctrine of wisdom and knowledge to live well, and of the madnesse and foolishnesse of vice' – and more specifically it was the main informing principle for the ethic of 'Felicitie'.[44] As to Solomonic authorship, in his epistle

[42] ibid., fol. 25.
[43] Joseph Hall, *Salomons Divine Arts (1624)* in *The Works of Joseph Hall* (London, 1625), fols 203-204 (brackets added).
[44] Hall, *Divine Arts*, fols 207-10.

dedicatory Hall offered that God has withheld from mankind Solomon's 'profound Commentaries of Nature' but has reserved 'these his Divine Morals [Ecclesiastes and Proverbs], to out-live the world',[45] but other than that offering, and a few instances of unexplained references to him as 'Preacher', Solomon is both omnipresent and disengaged from the reader. It seems that for Bishop Hall, Solomon's authority was not a matter for examination and exposition as it was for Smith, Gifford, and Pemble, and he made no attempt to persuade the reader of Solomon's repentance and salvific status. In *Salomons Divine Arts* the purity of Solomonic authority was presupposed, just as English subjects were to realize that 'Every government presupposeth Subjects'.[46] Accordingly, Bishop Hall was well-disposed to the traditional reading of Eccles. 10:20, and his breakout of 'Solomons Subject' in the 'Politicks' section centered upon obedience and good faith performance of duty, e.g. 'the abundance of the earth is over all: and the King consists by the field that is tilled. The husbandman therefore must till his land…which if he withdraw, the people shall curse him'.[47] Although one might fairly observe that *Salomons Divine Arts* was more about curation than about interpretation, on the other hand, it may be one of the earliest English works to deploy nigh the entirety of Ecclesiastes so pointedly to the details of daily life across social lines.

Thus far the present thesis has demonstrated that the late Elizabethan/early Stuart renaissance of the book of Ecclesiastes was dominated by divines who fit (more or less) the impressionistic definition of "puritan" that was established in the Introduction. But the 'common-place' by Joseph Hall evidences the revitalization of Ecclesiastes among the kingdom's conformists, too (more specifically, among those whom Stephen Hampton has defined as the Reformed conformists).[48] Just as well, it evidences the expansion of Ecclesiastes' categories of uses, i.e. to inform a religious commonplace or life guide, and its categories of users insofar as Hall expressly intended his work to be used by everyone from the realm's king down to the realm's servants. As the present thesis has established in earlier chapters, prior to *c.*1590 the writers who were in full conformity with the established Church (e.g. Richard Curteys, Bishop of Chichester), and of course the official texts of the Church (e.g. *The Books of Homilies*), were mainly concerned with using Ecclesiastes to keep the lower estates in line. In *Salomons Divine Arts,* one encounters the robust engagement with the scripture by a conformist divine who, at the time of its first printing in 1624, was a rising theological star

[45] ibid., fol. 204 (brackets added).
[46] ibid., fol. 233.
[47] ibid., fol. 234 (portion omitted).
[48] For discussion of Bishop Hall and other Reformed conformists, see Hampton, *Grace*, *supra*.

within the Church.[49] Although his star would fade and luminesce widely over the complex history of his career, Bishop Hall was always a resolute defender of the Church and of the episcopacy.[50] Although he was well-disposed to the traditional Tudor reading of Eccles. 10:20, his handbook had a much wider scope and asked for as much attention from the king, the counselor, and the courtier as it did from the subject.[51] Ultimately, the very practical work of practical divinity which is *Salomons Divine Arts* contrasts sharply with its conformist/official precursors and it is indicative of how Ecclesiastes was evolving as an enculturating text in the early decades of the Stuart era.

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The little-known puritan divine George Phillips, whose engagement with Ecclesiastes is on the order of a short treatise on Solomonic pedagogical theology, was written in furtherance of Phillips' ambition to obtain a lecturing post with the London livery company, the Haberdashers' Company. Outside the present thesis, Phillips seems to be known only to short title catalogues and J. Fielding, his *ODNB* biographer. He was a preacher of unknown parentage who matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, on 2 December 1579 and graduated BA in 1583 and MA in 1587, and his published works are the only other sources of information on his life.[52] From his six known publications - relevant here is his *Paines of a faithfull Pastor* (1596), which was later reissued as *The Good Sheepeheardes Dutie* (1597) - Fielding classified Phillips as 'a moderate puritan evangelist whose main concerns lay in the field of social ethics',[53] a classification which seems to be reasonable enough and is joined here. The esteemed secondary authorities on London puritanism, puritanism in general, and Ecclesiastes reception history - the likes of Ian Archer, Patrick Collinson, Peter Lake, Eric Christianson, and Michael Hattaway - do not yield much if anything more on Phillips, so to-date he appears to be quite unfamiliar to early modernists and reception historians. Moreover, the same can be said of his absence in scholarly bibliographies. Although Phillips identified the verse, 'And the more wise the Preacher was, the more he taught the people knowledge, and caused them to heare' (Eccles. 12:9) as the base text for the *Paines of a faithfull Pastor*,[54] his treatise did not garner merest mention in Stuart Weeks' bibliography. Thus it is fair to state

[49] Richard A. McCabe, 'Hall, Joseph (1574-1656)', *ODNB*.
[50] See Hampton, *Grace*, pp. 252-258.
[51] Hall, *Divine Arts*, fols 229-235.
[52] J. Fielding. 'Phillips, George (fl. 1579–1600)', *ODNB* (portions omitted).
[53] ibid.
[54] George Phillips, *The Paines of a faithfull Pastor…William Leake* (London, 1596), $A_{[5]}{}^{r}$.

that George Phillips has been completely passed over in Ecclesiastes reception history, and his place in, say, the history of London puritanism, is yet to be further established as well.

The dedication in the *Paines of a faithfull Pastor* went to Thomas Aldersey, the great nurturer of puritanism at the London Haberdashers' Company. Phillips all but stated that it was a petition for employment; it reads like an Elizabethan version of what we would call a cover letter. 'I durst not lay it up in a napkin…I have so neere as I could among many fieldes made choise of good grounde, for there is hope of fruite, that he which soweth and hee that reapeth may rejoice together…may it stand with your good liking to accept of my poore paines, indited to suppresse Idleness, and presented to your selfe in signe of good will'.[55] From there, Phillips set out to make clear the depth of his learning and his suitability to be engaged to preach to the Haberdashers. He invoked Ecclesiastes, Luke, and John to imply that he was the singular ('the words of the wise are like goads…which are given by one pastour' (Eccles. 12:11)), pedagogically minded ('Lord, teache us to pray' (Luke 11:1)), hard-working minister who would know his congregation well ('I am that good shepherd, & know mine, and am knowen of mine' (John 10:14)), and thus would serve the Haberdashers well.[56] Throughout the *Paines* his invocation of scriptural authorities – the number of citations in such a brief piece is staggering – fell back upon Solomon as the ultimate teacher, who himself extolled the pastoral vocation as the highest of all callings. And since 'Christ was of Salomons minde',[57] ministers in the pedagogical tradition of Solomon kept up on their learning and were the keys to perfecting the reformation of the community, to thwarting the papists, the poorly educated clerics, and the poorly motivated bishops. The balance of speakers to hearers, teachers to learners, preachers to 'practicers', was vital for the building of the godly community, 'like a Citie at unitie in it selfe'.[58] For Phillips, like so many other exegetes through the centuries, Solomon's story was a sort of sufficient backstop for the preacher; one could, and should, access Solomon's experience and wisdom, instead of making the same mistakes he confessed to in Ecclesiastes. In a rather elegant simile, Phillips stated, 'But Salomon is like the honey bee, giving us the sweete that we never sweat for'.[59]

Under Thomas Aldersey, the Haberdashers Company was made more accessible to presumably self-made, presumably itinerant preachers such as Phillips, and from the 1590s

[55] ibid., sigs A_3^r - A_3^v (portion omitted).
[56] ibid., sig. $A_{[6]}^r$ (portion omitted).
[57] ibid., sig. $B_{[6]}^r$.
[58] ibid., sig. C_2.
[59] ibid., sigs B_4^v – $B_{[5]}^r$.

into the next century the Company actively espoused the critical-apologist puritanism of Henry Smith *et al.* Dorothy Whitney has found that 'during the forty-year eve of the Puritan Revolution [the Company] supported Puritan preaching with greater enthusiasm and with more practical success than any of the other great London livery companies', a legacy that had as its taproot a Company-supporting trust established by Aldersey in October 1594.[60] That trust was funded by Aldersey's transfer of a rectory and advowson for the parish of Bunbury, which he had purchased from the Queen, an impropriation that allowed Aldersey and the Company to make discretionary appointments of preacher (as opposed to vicar), his assistants, and teachers for the parish, without any licensing by the bishop, payment of tenths or first fruits, or other ecclesiastical requirements.[61] Phillips may have been savvy to the facts on the ground at Bunbury when he offered, in dedicating the *Paines* not long after the trust is established, that he had 'no meeter matter whereon to meditate then howe I should bestow my study, nor fitter opportunitie wherein to exercise my talent'.[62] J. Fielding too observed that Aldersey's support for puritan ministers, his membership on London's common council, and service as a MP for the city, suggests that Phillips was available and that he was eager to obtain Aldersey's backing.[63]

Alas, George Phillips never succeeded in obtaining a post at Bunbury,[64] or any other benefit from the Company. But he can at least be elevated above complete obscurity insofar as he subsisted, at least in part, on remunerations received for his publications (all of which were sold by highly regarded booksellers such as William Leake and Edward White),[65] and as he circulated amongst one of Elizabethan London's foremost puritan livery companies. The *Paines of a faithfull Pastor* is an example of textual selection by an itinerant, middling sort of ordained minister, who certainly was motivated in part by opportunism, and who was of the belief that a display of his dexterity with scripture would, or should, establish him as worthy of a secure and paying lectureship. Thereby it also evidences a foundational point, that by *c.*1596 the book of Ecclesiastes and the character of Solomon were matters of interest to the class of liverymen within London puritanism.

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[60] Dorothy Whitney, 'London Puritanism: The Haberdashers' Company', in *Church History* 32.3 (1963), 298-321, p. 318 (portion omitted). See also, Ian Archer, *The History of the Haberdashers' Company* (Bognor Regis: Phillimore Book Publishing, 2017).
[61] Whitney, 'The Haberdashers', pp. 299-301.
[62] Phillips, *Paines*, sig. A_3.
[63] Fielding, 'Phillips, George'.
[64] Whitney, 'The Haberdashers', *supra*.
[65] See Nadia Bashai, '"At the Signe of the Gunne": *Titus Andronicus*, the London Book Trade, and the Literature of Crime, 1590-1615', in *Titus out of Joint: Reading the Fragmented* Titus Andronicus, ed. by Liberty Stavanage and Paxton Hehmeyer (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2012), pp. 7-48.

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Another pedagogically minded, itinerant divine who wrote many a little book of great pains was the scholar and Hebraist, Hugh Broughton.[66] Having learned Hebrew from Anthony Chevallier, the Huguenot scholar and renowned Hebraist of Cambridge, Broughton graduated BA from Magdalene College in 1570, then preached for a while in Durham, and by 1583 he was tutoring privately in London. He became known there and in Canterbury as a fine Hebrew scholar, indeed one of the most proficient of his times, and as an extremely irascible, odd man who was easily outraged and compulsively self-defeating. He caused a stir with his first work, the biblical chronology *A Concent of Scripture* (1588), which was opposed by John Rainolds and which, it could be surmised, baffled Archbishop Whitgift. Fearing clamp downs by the High Commission, in about 1590 he went into self-imposed exile in Germany, and there he remained, apart from short, fleeting visits to England, until about a year before his death. On the continent Broughton concerned himself mainly with engaging with and alienating Jewish scholars and Christian Hebraists, proposing programs for mass Jewish conversions, and criticizing the men who were working on the ongoing project of building the English religious polity (for example, he was, of course, very critical of the Authorized Version of the Bible, and of the all the men who were involved in it).[67]

Broughton's *A Comment upon Coheleth or Ecclesiastes* (1605) is a rambling yet short piece (some 26 leaves including his epistle dedicatory) that is an amalgamation of contextualization, translation, exegesis, and exhortation.[68] It is a unique take on the basic story and purpose of Ecclesiastes. For Broughton, the entire scripture is a sort of epilogue to or fulfillment of the prophecy of Nathan in 1 Chr. 17, 'touching the eternal throne of David', so throughout the *Comment* he digresses from the base text to discuss the travails of the Jesse Tree, as he saw them.[69] As to the nature of *vanitas*, Broughton glossed Eccles. 1 to provide that the shortness of man's life, and the mutability of sun, wind, and water, 'never resting in one place', betray that nothing in Creation is lasting and that all things therefore are vain, they 'picture our state, and cause our change'.[70] As all is vanity, and the best thing which the wisest would wish is

[66] G. Lloyd Jones, 'Broughton, Hugh (1549-1612)', *ODNB*.
[67] ibid. See also, Kirsten Macfarlane, *Biblical Scholarship in an Age of Controversy: The Polemical World of Hugh Broughton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).
[68] Hugh Broughton, *A Comment upon Coheleth or Ecclesiastes: Framed for the instruction of Prince Henri our hope.* (Amsterdam? 1605). NB: The title page does not identify the printer, location, and other essentials, and Dr. Macfarlane is of the opinion that the *Comment* was printed in Amsterdam, but it was 'illegal twice over' in both England and Amsterdam. Macfarlane, *Broughton*, p.133.
[69] Broughton, *A Comment*, fol. 13; fols 18-21.
[70] ibid., fol. 14.

contentment, in using their present travail, but the variety in Creation and in Gods governance of time, the 'seasons in birth, death, rooting out: seeking, rejecting, love and hatred, this checketh all hope of resting in contentment of wealth gotten'.[71] As to the authorial persona, the king's regality was not diminished, and his phrase 'glory of the world' was in the spirit of Smith's and Gifford's 'wonder of the world'.[72] But Broughton's preferred moniker for Solomon was "Koheleth", and he did spend almost an entire leaf on explaining the special Hebrew persona as an assembler of the faithful, a gatherer of wisdom, 'that is, he is called Koheleth, by the terme of wisdome which was gathered in him: finding by experience that all things under the sunne are vaine: & common weales full of folly and madness'.[73] He did not, however, delve into the feminine gender of the term and its potential ramifications, as had Jean de Serres and George Gifford, a fact which may cast some additional light (for further study) on his complex views on Judaism and Jews, whom he saw as 'stumbling against Koheleth even unto this day'.[74] Broughton's Solomon was thoroughly and authoritatively male and secure in his regality, and at the same time he was unquestionably a member of the collegium of the elect. 'None should doubt but that he is in the Kingdome of heaven', said Broughton, 'seeing all the Prophets be there and he spent all his life to teach the vanities of this world'.[75] For such an oft-surprising theologian and controversialist, surprisingly Broughton's *Comment* contained no great surprises, it was squarely within the then well-established, if not "orthodox", Reformed reading of Ecclesiastes that had emerged in England in the 1580s and which had been popularized by Henry Smith and George Gifford *c.*1590.

Along the same lines as Phillips' *Paines of a faithfull Pastor*, Broughton's *Comment* is an example of textual selection by an itinerant divine who was motivated, at least in significant part, by opportunism, who clearly was of the mind that a display of his theological and philological dexterity would, or should, establish him as worthy of financial support. The *Comment* was dedicated to Prince Henry, son of James VI/I, in the hope of gaining support from the King; this and a follow up dedication/solicitation with a work on Lamentations were to no avail, and the ultimate rebuff from James was the royal snubbing of an offer Broughton tendered to re-do the Authorized Version.[76] It cannot have helped the ingratiating but tone-deaf Broughton that his *Comment* highlighted the hopelessly flawed nature of all earthly

[71] ibid., fols 14-15.
[72] ibid., fol. 14.
[73] ibid., fol. 11.
[74] ibid., fol. 13.
[75] ibid., fols 11-12.
[76] Macfarlane, *Broughton*, pp. 79-81.

kingdoms, 'that all kingdoms under the Sun are vanity', and 'Now Ecclesiastes will show, how this world can have no good Kingdome'.[77] Did he implicitly cast a pall on James's accession, ending his epistle dedicatory with digressions on the 'pompous Kingdome' sought by Jews, despite the divine rule 'that no King may be accepted for Israel, but of the house of David and of the seed of Salomon only'?[78] Perhaps. In any case, it was not the first time, and would not be the last time, that Broughton was dense to the sensitivities of the royal ear and eye, and as Kirsten Macfarlane's study of Broughton revealed, over and again his unpalatable combination of abuse and adulation caused his work to be 'broadly spurned and overlooked' by his contemporaries.[79] The spurning has continued in the field of reception history, for like the works of Marbury, Hill, Hall, Phillips, and Gifford, Broughton's *Comment* has avoided consultation and commentary in the major reception histories on Ecclesiastes to-date.

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The present thesis has joined with other scholars in suggesting that Ecclesiastes' hermeneutical theme of "vanity" figured to varying extents throughout the spectrum of early modern expression. Ecclesiastes' influence on Elizabethan writing is also conspicuous in the works of some not-so famous artists of the times,[80] such as the miniaturist, embroiderer, and self-described 'writer', Esther Inglis (Table 2, Row 5). The daughter of Huguenot refugees, Inglis was born in 1570 or 1571 in London and lived in Edinburgh from about 1574, where she eventually took the Scottish form of her French surname (Langlois). She married Bartholomew Kello, a minor government official, about 1596. Throughout her career, which was managed to significant degrees first by her father and then her husband, she had developed connections with, and enjoyed the patronage of, some of the highest personages in England and Scotland - including Queen Elizabeth - and her husband had used her work as the means to approach *inter alia* the Bacon, Essex, and Sidney families.[81] Nevertheless, as with so many others, e.g. Henry Lok who tried to make livings off the patronage networks, it seems that the Kellos never at all thrived, and she died in debt.[82] Like George Phillips', Esther Inglis' engagements with Ecclesiastes were undertaken in furtherance of her gainful ambitions.

[77] Broughton, *A Comment*, fol. 7; fol. 9.
[78] ibid., fol. 12.
[79] Macfarlane, *Broughton*, pp. 132-3; pp. 218-24.
[80] For a concise survey, see Christianson, *Centuries*, pp. 40-65.
[81] Georgianna Ziegler, '"More Than Feminine Boldness": The Gift Books of Esther Inglis', in *Women, Writing and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor-Stuart Britain*, ed. by Mary E. Burke *et. al.* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pp. 19-37, pp. 23-27.
[82] Elspeth Yeo, 'Inglis [married name Kello], Esther (1570/71–1624)', *ODNB*.

Inglis's body of work presents some difficulty for the present thesis and for the diachronic reception history of Ecclesiastes. On one hand, her engagements with the scripture should not be utterly ignored, as they have been by previous reception histories, for they evidence engagement with the scripture in an interesting genre, the calligraphic gift manuscript, and they were transmitted within the patronage networks noted above. She produced fifty-nine known works over the course of her career, three of which transcribed Ecclesiastes between 1599 and 1602.[83] The 1599 transcription, *Le Livre de l'Eccleiaste*, which was a gift to Anthony Bacon (whose ecumenical views influenced the Earl of Essex),[84] was styled as preeminent by Inglis's first cataloguers, A.H. Scott-Elliott and Elspeth Yeo, as one of 'the four "great" manuscripts of 1599'.[85] Like Inglis' other creations, the 1599 transcription is at the same time a simple and faithful manuscript copy of the printed text, but displays breathtaking calligraphic skill, as well as some creativity in her illumination, with ornamental flowers, birds, butterflies and snails, various terrestrial animals, abstracts & geometric shapes, etc.

Historians have come to know Inglis as a remarkable example of early modern professional craftswomen, and as an exemplar of the ongoing intersection of manuscript and print, the complexities of literacy in the period, and, most importantly here, for her textual selections and the symbiosis of reading and writing thereof.[86] The present thesis would highlight the point as to her textual selection. That is, it says something that she chose Ecclesiastes as one of her major work mediums - she had to have known that that scripture was of some keen interest to her putative patrons. And furthermore, specifically the 1599 transcription gifted to Anthony Bacon is one of the several creations of that year which Tricia Bracher has shown to form a 'textual and social chiasmus', whereby Esther and her husband must be considered as a couple working together, at a particularly tense time, in the promotion of the 'secret, or not-so-secret' alliance between James VI and his Essex allies, intimating the divisions that lay at the heart of Elizabeth and James' political partnership.[87]

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[83] Nos. 10, 17, and 19 in A.H. Scott-Elliot and Elspeth Yeo, 'Calligraphic Manuscripts of Esther Ingliss (1571-1624): A Catalogue', in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 84 (1990), 11-86.
[84] Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 108-9.
[85] Scott-Elliot and Yeo, 'Calligraphic Manuscripts', p. 17. NB: Another work, her *Octonaries* of 1600, which Inglis also recycled some eight times from 1600 to 1616, could be interpreted as intertextual to Ecclesiastes, but such is reserved for further research and discussion elsewhere. ibid., Nos. 12, 13, 27, 29, 33, 43, 47, 48, and 49.
[86] Laura Lunger Knoppers, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. by Laura Lunger Knoppers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1-18, pp. 1-4.
[87] Tricia Bracher, 'Esther Inglis and the English Succession Crisis of 1599' in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by James Daybell (Florence: Routledge, 2004), pp. 132-46, p. 135; p. 143.

Again, the point being that these works and their contexts are things that should have some place in the reception history of Ecclesiastes.

Apart from the visual expressions viz. the calligraphy, the closest Inglis gets to offering substantive exegesis or accommodation of Ecclesiastes comes forth in her illustrative frontispieces and historiated initials (Fig. 7). In the frontispiece for *Le Livre de l'Eccleiaste*, she depicted herself at her writing desk, having written a motto or aphorism which can be read as a distillation of Ecclesiastes' themes of humane inefficacy and humane fault, *De l'Eternal le bien, de Moi le mal ou rien* ('From the eternal comes goodness; from me, merely evil, or nothing'). And in the manuscript's historiated initial, the reclining male figure in the foreground could be interpreted as Solomon, or a Solomonic leader, who, like the traditional figuration of the king in patristic and medieval exegeses, has retreated from the world and in his exile has lost interest in public affairs, such as in the fiery siege that is proceeding in the background.[88] In truth, Inglis's engagements with Ecclesiastes were mainly just calligraphic transcriptions of the biblical text, done decorously and with decorations, and they cannot be said to have rose to the level of the self-consciously interpretative, as were, e.g. Henry Lok's poetic paraphrases. The present researcher is not alone in this assessment. Elspeth Yeo, her cataloguer and *ODNB* biographer, refers to Inglis's works as lacking originality,[89] and Susan Frye noted Inglis's failure 'to move beyond the mechanics of writing to intellectual engagement', that the 'most significant aspect of her books lies in the relation between their existence as handmade objects and the ways that she uses them to represent herself as a woman author'.[90] Nevertheless, the present thesis would suggest that one can acknowledge Inglis's virtues as an early modern female 'author' whilst admitting their ambivalence about her substantive authorship. Before *c.*1590, most lay persons, especially lay women, engaged with Ecclesiastes passively, they were true *recipients* of others' transmission, e.g. in their hearing select proverbs through the readings from *The Books of Homilies*. The calligraphic gift manuscripts of Esther Inglis are, however, unprecedented examples of active, lay, female transmission of the scripture via works of high craftsmanship, therefore *prima facie* they were important responses to Ecclesiastes for the place and times under discussion here. For religion was, generally speaking, an approved and discursive site for early modern English women,[91]

[88] BL Add. MS 27927. NB: Figure 7 is made from photographs of Christ Church, Oxford, MS 180, as permission was not available from the British Library for BL Add. MS 27927, but they are almost identical images.
[89] Yeo, 'Inglis', *supra*.
[90] Susan Frye, *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p. 114; p. 103.
[91] Patricia Phillippy (ed.), *A History of Early Modern Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 8. See also, Margaret P. Hannay (ed.), *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators,*

and Inglis's calligraphic transcriptions are items of textually sociological art that evidence female participation in various aspects of the religio-intellectual milieu of her place and times. Simply, they should be discussed in the reception history of Ecclesiastes more often, i.e. such might benefit Dr. Christianson's discussion of his periodized categories of 'Renaissance *vanitas*' and 'Literary *vanitas*'.[92]

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With Phillips and Inglis in mind, the widening of the confines of the scripture's engagements after *c.*1590 becomes quite apparent: the expansion of Ecclesiastes' uses and users beyond the academics (e.g. Robert Wakefield and Antonio del Corro), posted practical divines (e.g. George Gifford and Joseph Hall), official and pseudo-official texts (e.g. *The Books of Homilies* and the Chichester sermons), and gentlemen in crisis (e.g. Thomas More and Henry Howard), to include, dare one say, 'middle-class' writers, including women, and the workaday interests thereof. This evolution in the scripture's reception related not only to changes and developments in interpretation and attitudes towards the scripture itself, but also to the expansion of the early modern religious-literary audience. Phillips, a struggling London preacher, chose to wax expansively upon Eccles. 12:9 because he believed the choice of topic might resonate with Thomas Aldersey and the Haberdashers' Company. Inglis, a craftswoman, was familiar enough with the scripture and with court culture to think that calligraphic gift books of Ecclesiastes would resonate with the courtiers. The boundaries for the scripture's transmission and reception were being repossessed and expanded three-dimensionally across time, space, and character; Ecclesiastes had been opened as fair game for anyone viz. writer or reader, and potentially apropos within any discourse viz. religio-political or socio-cultural.

And indeed, there could be, and there were (Cf. Hugh Broughton's *Comment*), surprises and fascinating twists in Ecclesiastes' proverbial continuum. To wit, in the anonymous, controversial pamphlet *Hæc-Vir:, or, the Woman-ish Man* (1620), where the temporal merisms of Eccles. 3 gave the transgressive character Hic Mulier the scriptural touchstones for arguing against social conformity, for the 'freedome of election', and the notion that social change in general, and masculinized femininity specifically, is good, as it is

and Writers of Religious Works (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1985); Micheline White (ed.), *English Women, Religion, and Textual Production, 1500-1625* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011).
[92] Christianson, *Centuries*, p. 140.

natural.[93] The present thesis would suggest that *Hæc-Vir* is exceptionally indicative of the widening of the confines of the scripture's engagements after *c.*1590.

As the reign of King James was sunsetting the longstanding vogue for criticizing women, their dangers, and their vanities, especially vis-à-vis their apparel (e.g. in *The Books of Homilies*) intensified. From about 1615 there was a sharp rise in the number of publications which accused, satirized, and mocked women for donning the dress and the behavior of men. That trend triggered vehement responses, from clerics and lay people alike, that defended women generally, and at least diminished the gravity of such things as women wearing men's apparel. Of relevance here, is that both camps relied upon their readings of Ecclesiastes in making their arguments.[94] It all amounted to a small but distinct literary genre that reached its height in the 1620s, and, as Susan Clark has argued in an important article, this all related not only to the evolution of attitudes towards women at the time, but also to the growth of the "middle-class" feminine literary audience.[95] *Hæc-Vir* is one of the better known of the titles in the genre, and along with its precursor *Hic-Mulier* (1620), itself kicked off an intense if short-lived literary craze, with immediate, pointed responses to them appearing in sermons, satires, plays etc. Most important for the argument of the present thesis, is Dr. Clark's well-made case on the core significance of the Jacobean transvestism controversy.

> Not only the subject matter of *Hic Mulier* and *Haec-Vir* but also the style and focus of their material suggest strongly that middle-class women were expected to make up a significant proportion of the pamphleteers' readership. And the direction and tone of the controversy as a whole make it clear that women were regarded not only as objects of satire but as a ready audience for pamphleteers and playwrights, available to be rebuked, harangued, and corrected, but also to be stimulated and amused.[96] The sense that important distinctions between categories and classes were being eroded was strongly felt in this period.[97]

So if indeed the subject matter, direction, and tone of this middle-class, female-centered literary milieu says much about the period, that the book of Ecclesiastes played such an

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[93] Anon., *Hæc-Vir*, sigs B-B_2.
[94] Prime examples are Joseph Swetnam's *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women* (1615), which relied on Solomon's experiences and the wise warnings re women that Swetnam gleaned from Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and Ecclesiasticus; and *A Muzzle for Melastomus* (1617), in which Rachel Speght responded to the *Arraignment* by arguing that Eccles. 4:10 celebrated loving, marital companionship, that Eccles. 7:30 was self-consciously confined to Solomon's own sexual indulgences, and that it was 'part of the confession of his former follies, and no otherwise, his repentance being the intended drift of Ecclesiastes'. David Damrosch *et. al.* (eds), *Masters of British Literature* Vol A (New York; London: Pearson Longman, 2008), pp. 1446-55.
[95] Clark, '*Hic Mulier*, *Hæc Vir*', *supra*.
[96] ibid., p. 158.
[97] ibid., p. 161.

important role in it is also reflective of the three-dimensionality of the scripture's evolving reception, as has been argued here. That is, it seems now quite a strain to avoid seeing a continuum between Henry Smith's eroding of the boundaries of time and space between Solomon and his parishioners, between George Gifford's eroding the boundaries of the male and female 'preaching soule' viz. the feminized masculine Solomon, and between the English middle-class woman's possession and transmission of Ecclesiastes to support her arguments in the socio-cultural discourse for 'freedom of election'. So to see how, by 1620, virtually anyone was able to approach Ecclesiastes from virtually any direction, and to take it to virtually any destination, further consideration of *Hic Mulier* and *Hæc-Vir* is in order.

Hic Mulier is a simple narration that stated the conventional moral case against unfeminine behavior and dress and concluded with a call to the men: assert themselves by withholding their affections from their women until they recover their proprieties and true femininity. In contrast, as Dr. Clark pointed out, the notion that the men must restore order is also found in *Hæc-Vir*, but the structure, the tone, the range of attitudes, and the arguments were distinctly more adventurous.[98] The follow-up pamphlet of *Hæc-Vir* is a dialogue between transgressive speakers, the mannish woman and the womanish man, and neither character is authoritative; each have the opportunity to put forth their points of view and arguments, and each do so in the early modern format of eloquence, i.e. by formally countering the opposing arguments point to point as to 'whether of our deformities is most injurious to Nature'.[99] Hic Mulier, the mannish woman, argues against the point that she is a slave to fashion and change, and recasts the matter in terms of 'freedom of election' and merely, naturally, and harmlessly, going about in the manner 'most suitable to mine affections'.[100] She points out that the entirety of the world is mutable in its very nature, and that, it seems, is a good thing, so she is just being natural. 'Nor do I in my delight of change otherwise then as the whole world doth…For what is the world, but a very shop or warehouse of change?'[101] For scriptural authority, but without any need for actual scriptural citations, Hic Mulier invoked Ecclesiastes and laid down her argument by poetically deploying some of its most deeply enculturated touchstones. The relevant portions of the dialogue are worth quoting nigh in full.

> And will you have poore woman such a fixed Starre, that shee shall not so much as move or twinkle in her owne Spheare? That were true Slavery indeed, and a Basenesse beyond the chaines of the worst servitude. *Nature to every thing she hath created*, hath

[98] ibid., p. 173.
[99] Anon. *Hæc-Vir*, sig. $A_{[4]}^{r}$.
[100] ibid., sigs $A_{[4]}^{v} – A_{[5]}^{r}$.
[101] ibid., sig. $A_{[5]}^{r}$ (portion omitted).

> given a singular delight in change, as to Hearbs, Plants and Trees *a time to* wither and shead their leaves, *a time to* budde and bring forth their leaves, and *a time for* their Fruits and Flowers: To wormes and creeping things *a time to* hide themselves in the pores and hollowes of the earth, and *a time to* come abroad and sucke the deaw.
>
> Againe, *who will rob the eye of* the variety of objects, *the eare of* the delight of sounds, *the nose of* smells, *the tong of* tastes, & *the hand of* feeling? & shall only woman, excellent woman; so much better in that she is something purer, be onely deprived of this benefit?
>
> But you will say it is not Change, but Noveltie, from which you deterre us: a thing that doth evert the good, and erect the evill; preferre the faithlesse, and confound desert; that with the change of Opinions breeds the change of States, and with continuall alterations thrusts headlong forward both Ruine and Subversion. Alas (soft Sir) what can you chrysten by that new imagined Title, *when the words of a wiseman are; that what was done, is but done againe: all things do change, & under the cope of Heaven there is no new thing*. So that whatsoever wee doe or imitate, it is neither Slavish, Base, nor a breeder of Novelty.[102]

Adventurous indeed, for in just a few lines, Anonymous, fully aware of the intensity of the pending controversy, inverted, everted, and re-deployed at least three core verses from Ecclesiastes in making the case for the harmlessness, if not the virtue, of transvestite dress and behavior. In the first quoted passage, Anonymous everted the centuries old reading of the temporal merisms of Eccles. 3 – e.g. the Victorine species of *vanitas mutabilitatis*, that God, for His own reasons, instituted the changeability of worldly things, and that it betrays their base carnality and their vanity – by declaring that 'Nature', 'she', rather than God, was the creator of change 'to every thing' and of those things' 'singular delight' in change. That is, Anonymous explicitly drew a distinction between Nature and God, and said, almost explicitly, that Ecclesiastes' teaching on naturalness is that it is neither separate from the humane nor from the divine, and that naturalness is goodness. Which is to state, that there Anonymous eviscerated Eccles. 3 of the *vanity of* time, space, and the matter within them, and saw delight in them all. A starker contrast with the Bonaventuran and Victorine views of the *omnia* of *vanitas* can scarcely be imagined; variety is the spice of life, but that spice is usually not on offer in the monastery. In the second quoted passage, Anonymous went at least as far and inverted the traditional reading of Eccles. 1:8 - that the insatiability of humanity's eyes, ears, etc. betray the vanity of that which can be seen, heard, etc. – to plead that instead, the human senses, male or female, should not be robbed of that which can be seen, heard, etc. as further delights and benefits to their lives. And finally, perhaps Anonymous' cleverest eversion comes forth in the third quoted passage, where Hic Mulier accuses Hæc Vir of

[102] ibid., sigs B_1^r – B_1^v (emphasis added).

actually misreading Ecclesiastes' proverbs on the circuity of labor and of reality (Eccles 1:3 and 8), that she is 'nor a breeder of Novelty' because she is in the world and the scripture's wiseman has taught there literally is no new thing in the world, including change, and including Hic Mulier and her argument, which are examples of change but not of the humane instituting of change.

At its core, Hic Mulier's argument in *Hæc-Vir* sought to elevate liberty, progress, and human dignity over custom, through the leveraging and, as the present researcher has stated, inverting & everting of traditional, biblical sources, especially the book of Ecclesiastes. Oddly enough, however, in the end Hic Mulier completely concedes the debate – perhaps out of pure exasperation? – and promises her antagonist that she will be a bit better of a woman in the future. But the result is neither here nor there. Dr. Clark has suggested that the importance of the tract is that its topicality was of considerable urgency at the time, and that the arguments presented in it were taken seriously, for the controversialists of the times 'delighted in controversy, and they were very much at home with the notion of a debate where the only real issue is the eloquence with which a point is made'.[103]

Taken in through a wide lens, the foregoing passages from *Hæc-Vir* are evocative of the other inversions and eversions of Ecclesiastes that have been discussed earlier in the present thesis, e.g. the eversion of Eccles. 10:20 in John Stockwood's translation of Jean de Serres' *Learned Commentarie*, which deemed that verse to be Solomonic rhetorical *hyperbole*, and argued that the verse declared lawful the godly servants' reproval of princes, 'if their calling so require' (Chapter 1, section III). And likewise, they read as anticipatory of Francis Bacon's inversion of 'there is no new thing under the sunne' (Eccles. 1:9 (AV)), which for centuries had been understood to decry the pursuit of intellectual novelties, but which Bacon invoked in a positivistic sense for his utopian island of Bensalem, arguing in support of novel, humane inquiries, experimentations, and discourses that he said were the true 'riches of Salomon's House'.[104] So the somewhat odd work of *Hæc-Vir* is nevertheless one of the best examples of the late Elizabethan/early Stuart renaissance in working with the book of Ecclesiastes, which shows how after *c.*1590 English authors were tinkering with how they received and transmitted the scripture. Whether or not Anonymous took direct inspirations from Henry Smith and George Gifford, he or she was a beneficiary of the expanded boundaries and multiplied effects on time, space, and character that they had read from

[103] Clark, '*Hic Mulier*, *Hæc Vir*', p. 177; p. 180.
[104] Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum*, p. 43.

within the scripture and which they had pioneered in their works of practical divinity. It is therefore hoped that *Hæc-Vir*, along with the several other independently curated items discussed here, is henceforth appreciated, among its other historiographical readings, as an important engagement the early modern reception of Ecclesiastes.

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As the parameters of the present chapter have focused the discussion on sources that have (largely or completely) escaped scholarly discussion, it need not delve much further into Francis Bacon's works, such as *The New Atlantis*. In his seminal article of 1968, Michael Hattaway considered the impact that Ecclesiastes and the other 'books of Solomon' had on early modern English education and on English thinking about knowledge.[105] Having surveyed a wide range of Western thinkers within a framework that juxtaposed Innocent III in his *Liber de contemptu mundi* (*c.*1195), and Lord Verulam in his *Advancement of Learning* (1605) and *The New Atlantis* (1627), Hattaway argued that the sixteenth century was largely characterized by its ambivalence. Even at the end, said Hattaway, when it came to the reception of Ecclesiastes and the other Solomonic texts, '[a]lthough four centuries separate Innocent and Bacon, the contradictory attitudes they represented are both present in the last decade of the sixteenth century', and it was Bacon that actually *built* upon the moral, judicial, and regal wisdom for which Solomon had been celebrated, but reinterpreted Ecclesiastes *et al.* in order to rehabilitate Solomon's knowledge of nature, which for centuries had been disparaged, and to sever the *magisteria* of learning and religion.[106]

What remains is for the present chapter simply to highlight in closing that recently there has emerged some noteworthy evidence that Lord Verulam's groundbreaking views on humane inquiry were influenced in part by the writings of Henry Smith and George Gifford. In his thought provoking and somewhat controversial thesis, Barry R. Clarke investigated the possibility that Francis Bacon was a contributor in the writing of three of Shakespeare's plays, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *The Tempest*.[107] Dr. Clarke created what he labelled a Rare Collocation Profiling (RCP) method using the Early English Books Online (EEBO) database to identify rare word and phrase collocations in target texts, and, having noted that whilst collocation analysis is traditionally confined to a database of known

[105] Hattaway, 'Paradoxes', *supra*.
[106] ibid., p. 499; pp. 529-30.
[107] Barry R. Clarke, 'A Linguistic Analysis of Francis Bacon's Contribution to Three Shakespeare Plays: *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *The Tempest*' (PhD thesis, Brunel University, 2014).

dramatists, his search was widened to include all fully searchable texts in EEBO. In short, Clarke used it to suggest the probable sources of or influences on the targeted plays.

Relevant to the present thesis, Dr. Clarke found what he determined to be significant rare collocations between *The Comedy of Errors*, the *Gesta Grayorum* (1688),[108] and *inter alia* the *Eight Sermons* by George Gifford and *A preparative to mariage* by Henry Smith.[109] Specifically, Gifford's and Smith's view of Solomon as the 'wonder of the world' due to his being the discoverer and decipherer of natural causes ('he sawe more, he did know more, and coulde tell more then all they') were the best candidates for influencing a key speech in the *Gesta Grayorum*.[110] In the end, Clarke joined with Spedding in finding that a significant portion of the *Gesta Grayorum* reveals 'a first hint of [Bacon's] great project for the restoration of the dominion of knowledge', a first draft of *Salomons House* in *The New Atlantis*, and 'an enumeration of those very reforms in state and government which throughout his life he was most anxious to see realized'.[111] As discussed above, it is already suspected that Francis Marbury was an influence, and future research with other techniques of textual analytics, such as the fractality of words, proverbs, references, even punctuation,[112] might yield even deeper connections between the emergent puritan practical divinity of Ecclesiastes and the era-defining texts that flowed from the desk of on Lord Verulam. The prospect that Henry Smith and George Gifford too inspired him in his search for 'GODS first Creature, which was Light: To have Light (I say) of the Growth of all Parts of the World' is one which would only further enrich our developing understanding of the impacts their engagements had on the early modern English explorations of the book of Ecclesiastes.

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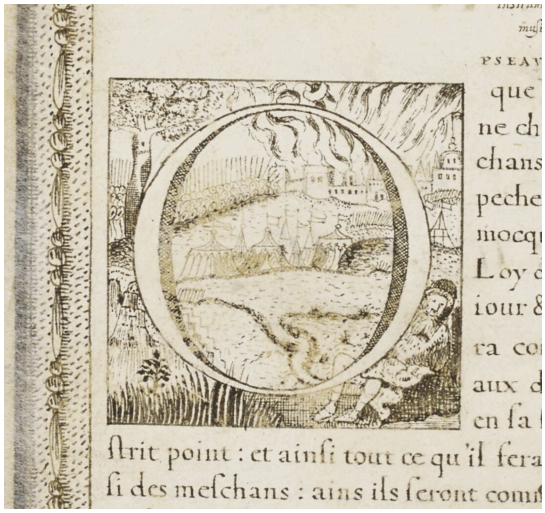
[108] An account of the 1594-1595 Gray's Inn revels which Dr. Clarke determined to have had Bacon as the strongest candidate for its compiler. The same determination was made by Bacon's editor, James Spedding in 1870. ibid.
[109] ibid., pp. 67-78; p. 85; p. 93.
[110] Gifford, *Eight Sermons*, sig. E_2^r; Smith, *The Sermons*, p. 32.
[111] Clarke, 'Bacon's Contribution', p. 89.
[112] As to how texts obey fractal attributes, including interwoven sets of fractals called multifractals, which can imply existence of associations between texts, see Stanislaw Drodz *et al.*, 'Quantifying Origin and Character of Long-Range Correlations in Narrative Texts', in *Information Sciences* 331.C (2016), 32-44.

1.



2.

Esther Inglis, 1. Frontispiece; 2. Historiated Initial
Christ Church MS 180, *c.*1599
(Similar to those in BL Add MS 27927)
Courtesy Christ Church College, Oxford

Figure 7

Assize and Epilogue

Wonder and sadness are the lot
Of change: thou yield'st mine eyes
Grief of vicissitude, but not
Its penetrant surprise.
Immutability mutable
Burthens my spirit and the skies.

O altered joy, all joyed of yore,
Plodding in unconned ways!
O grief grieved out, and yet once more
A dull, new, staled amaze!
I dream, and all was dreamed before,
Or dream I so? The dreamer says.

Francis Thompson, *To the Sinking Sun*, 1913

For millennia the book of Ecclesiastes has presented a compelling invitation to know through it the changeability and cyclicality of all things, most especially the temporal and spiritual vicissitudes that one can expect to endure over the course of one's life. Its invitation has activated imaginations across time and cultural lines by elucidating the storyteller's experiences with the commonplaces of nature, such as the coursing of the sun overhead, and the commonplaces of humane endeavor, such as toiling, both profitably and unprofitably, under the coursing sun. Indeed, the scripture acknowledges and expands upon what people outside it know from their own experiences: change is both an internal and an external force; it occurs to us from within as often as it is foisted upon us from without. Thus our lot is cast in change and, to paraphrase Francis Thompson's poem excerpted above, both wonder and sadness are its lot. But it is this shared experience of the ordinariness of change that lent context and life to the scripture's distinctive terms and themes, and that made accessible its rhetorical ironies, appositions, and proverbs, the sum of which has served as critical tuckpointing in the masonry of Christianity. And perhaps the most profound of Solomonic ironies is that Ecclesiastes itself has been 'immutability mutable', for it too has, from time to time, had change foisted upon it from without, as with the rethinking of the scriptures, and of Christianity as a whole, that came with the Reformation. That historically significant change may have been occasioned by ideas gleaned from, or foisted upon, the book of Ecclesiastes by two late Elizabethan puritan divines is the prospect that gave rise to the present thesis.

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For the present thesis to complete its accounting for this arc of change, a few words remain in order. Namely, to propose what the late Elizabethan puritans seem to have

discerned as being special about the book of Ecclesiastes - so long the province of the traditionalists in the Roman church and the official English church - and as fitting to their communal needs at the time. To state the question bluntly, why Ecclesiastes? It cannot be simply that divines such as Smith and Gifford could source (what we know as) the elements of "puritanism" in the scripture. Skilled puritan divines found the vitals of, say, double predestination throughout the Bible; that was what they did, it was in their very nature, and they did not necessarily need the merisms of Eccles. 3 to source the divine decrees. Of course, like any historiographical question, there are either many plausible answers, or one plausible answer in many parts, but the present researcher would suggest that the best answer to the question posed is wider and more impressionistic than "scriptural accommodation of Reformed doctrine". The arc of change in Ecclesiastes reception that has been traced here suggests to me that since the scripture had been a relatively neglected text, one which skilled puritan divines like Smith and Gifford could say was never quite what the traditionalists in Rome and Canterbury thought it was, it was ripe for the picking; and relatedly, profoundly, bluntly, it is a scripture for losers. For the believer, Ecclesiastes is at the same time divine Word and a real man's heartfelt memoirs of his experience with change, and, ultimately, of change resulting in loss. Reduced to a "one liner", the poem's authorial persona says, 'I lost, just like everybody has, just like everybody will'. Yet as bleak as this story of the shared experience of change may seem from verse to verse, chapter to chapter, the scripture tallies a final, if only spiritual, victory for the world's losers: in the end, the world's winners are losers, too, because of the *omnia* of *vanitas*, and the winners are those who know of reality's *vanitas* and keep God's Commandments. The palimpsest personality that *The Trial of Vanitie* suggested for Solomon clearly implied an analogue for the palimpsest community of the godly; the 'precise' won and will win, whilst the vain worldlings of every era skipped from sin to sin like flies that 'skippeth from scab to scab'; likewise, the *Eight Sermons* expressed sheer pity for those who are ever unable to find felicity and rest from their vanities, for whom 'in the night the heart doeth wander'. Thus, the present researcher suggests that Ecclesiastes simply provided the late Elizabethan godly community with the singular necessity of their times: a current sense of their being transcendental winners, which provided them rest, individual and communal consolation, and hope despite the best efforts of Canterbury and Star Chamber to the contrary.

Furthermore, Smith and Gifford must have shared the same macro politico-ecclesiological apprehensions as every other minister and English subject *c.*1590: the Armada of 1588 and the counter-Armada of 1589 taught unsettling lessons on the (mis)fortunes of navies and nations; with each coursing of the sun the last sunset of Elizabeth's reign rolled

closer; and the Queen, at 57 years of age, had no heir, so the succession was anything but clear. From this concern others flowed, and it only got graver for men in the ministry, for the unknown character (double entendre intended) of the next monarch was the wellspring of ecclesiastical as well as political uncertainty. On the one hand, England *c.*1590 was a pedigreed Protestant state, but on the other hand, English Protestants still dreaded Protestantism being overtaken by the efforts of the Jesuits, the writings of exiled English Catholics, and the activities of Catholic recusant nobles. By *c.*1590, the *classis* and separatist movements had been effectively quashed, but the episcopacy still dreaded being undermined by the 'precise', and Lord Burghley's agents were trying to smoke out and otherwise entrap puritan extremists in the environs of St Paul's Churchyard. The first generation of Elizabethan bishops was dying off, and Archbishop Whitgift was replacing them with watchful conformists. Smith and Gifford had had their respective run ins with both Whitgift and Bishop Aylmer (Gifford had barely avoided worse perils, i.e. the Star Chamber case of 1590-92 against Thomas Cartwright *et al.*); and they, like many other godly ministers, were nervous about fielding accusations of Brownism and suffering the fates of Greenwood and Barrow. And the wider puritan community, what Prof. Seaver has called the 'puritan commonwealth', was beset from within, too: they minced each other over doctrinal minutiae and conformity details (as Smith said, there were many 'Protestants vaine in conversation'); they kvetched endlessly over the mere thought of Papists being present on the island, and sometimes accused their own of being in league with Rome (for example, the Hebraist Hugh Broughton was hounded after his *Concent of Scripture* 1588/89); and those who freelanced their oppositional mischiefs (the 'Martin Marprelate' episode of 1588-89) only invited further scrutiny of the puritan innocents. Smith and Gifford were not fools, and they knew that the godly commonwealth was on trial either literally or figuratively, and it would remain so for the foreseeable future. Indubitably, they were acutely aware that the world could foist almost anything upon them, and, by the by, they were quite sure that Heaven's apocalyptic rain of fire and brimstone was imminent, as well (as Gifford said to Lady Anne of Warwick in the epistle dedicatory for the *Eight Sermons*, 'in the one part it is already in our eyes').

So the sunrising of the 1590s was decision making time for Smith and Gifford, just as it was for other godly divines at the time. But caution was the order of the day, that is, if they were to continue in their vocations and stay out of the Fleet prison. Yet as preachers of the saving Word, they had to find Word which could rightly attune their puritan flocks to their time and place without causing them to fall into despair, which could be leveraged to discourage vain infighting, and other distractions and excesses. The pressures of change and

uncertainty being foisted on the godly community from without and within were what caused many in it to drop the dream of presbyteries etc. and to focus inward, to recognize in their spiritual and temporal disorientation the first step toward temporal and spiritual reorientation, and to re-ground themselves in ongoing repentance, to pray for assurance of their election, so forth.[1] As Peter Lake has suggested, in the face of hostile ecclesiastical authority, intangibles mattered most; in the end, it was going to be shared experience and mutuality of respect between pastor and flock that would allow the godly to maintain their discipline, communities, and develop their socio-religious networks.[2] The present researcher is of the view that Smith and Gifford saw how Ecclesiastes declared the ordinariness of the changes and uncertainties they faced in their times, and that that would occasion their calls to value what was truly valuable – the graces and other gifts of God, true scriptural knowledge, and the decrees of 'the golden chaine' of salvation – and provide the salves of confidence and cohesion to the beleaguered puritan community. The state of being transcendental winners may have been what people in the puritan commonwealth most wanted and most needed from their ministers *c.*1590, and their homiletical eversions of Solomon and Ecclesiastes helped Smith and Gifford pastorally attend to this core suite of want and need.

Finally, a few more words as to Ecclesiastes being ripe for the puritan divines' picking are in order. As we have seen, the bibliographical record shows that before the 1580s the English reception of the scripture was aphoristic, largely limited to the liturgical bounds of the *Book of Common Prayer* and *The Books of Homilies* that were geared for rote conformity and obedience to Tudor authority, and to consolation writing by well-off men in crisis, such as Sir Thomas More. Neither was the bibliographical record lost on the late Elizabethan puritans. Ergo, in his translation of Jean de Serres' *Learned Commentarie*, John Stockwood stated in 1585 that the 'methode, sense, and use…on the which [Ecclesiastes], yet there hath never been set forth any exposition in the English tong before this time, in such large and profitable manner'.[3] Sheer novelty should not be overly discounted as an important factor that invited Smith and Gifford to indulge their proclivities to innovate and break new ground in puritan practical divinity. It seems both a fair speculation and an evidenced supposition that Smith and Gifford saw a profitable challenge in Ecclesiastes' tricky story and themes, that it was the Word that contained complete, saving knowledge itself (for the 'common sort'), and at the same time it provided a guide to the well-guided (the more educated) on how to value competing claims

[1] Peter Iver Kaufman, 'Hamlet's Religions', in *Religions*, 2.3 (2011), 427-448, pp. 427-28.
[2] Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, pp. 86-7.
[3] Stockwood, *Learned Commentarie*, Title page (portion omitted, brackets added).

to knowledge; it was, in other words, a scripture that was quite well-suited to the institution and setting of the parochial puritan lectureship *c.*1590, whether set in the advanced center of puritanism of All Saints with St Peter in Maldon or at the diverse London parish of St Clement Danes. It was also quite well-suited to each of their vocational interests and strengths as preachers: with its distinctive terms, themes, rhetorical ironies, appositions, and proverbs, Ecclesiastes was a perfect scripture for Smith, the former poet, to spinoff his own rhetorical flourishes, characterizations, intertextualities, and metonymical references; and the same elements of the scripture were perfect for Gifford, the teacher at heart, to parse and unpack verse by verse, applying cutting edge hermeneutics as well, such as the correctly-gendered, nuanced sense of *koheleth*, Solomon's self-appointed title. How better to engage the godly parishioners' hearts, minds, and imaginations, and at the same time to critique the half-reformation of England, than for a godly minister to preach a sermon that reappropriated, revised, revitalized, and retaught what had been one of Canterbury's favorite, authority affirming texts? How better to impart the timely timeless theme of *vanitas vanitatum* and, at the same time, to emphasize the superiority of the preaching ministry, than to offer up Ecclesiastes *qua* testimonial of Solomon's own repentance and 'preaching soule', which had yet to be done in England to *c.*1590? So Smith and Gifford seemingly had discerned that the times required the wider puritan community, as well as their own congregations, to experience Ecclesiastes as one of the most pivotal of the scriptures, one that expressly acknowledged and normalized the vicissitudes of their world. Their misfortunes needed recognition, and they needed themes of consolation, figures of affinity, and some rational (or rationalized) sense of spiritual and salvific triumph, to help them overcome the decades-long buildup of politico-ecclesiological losses, and to help them endure the continuing scrutiny of the Crown and of Canterbury. To address those needs, they preached the scripture that declares a timeless victory for the losers in the world that is governed by time.

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The present thesis has followed the book of Ecclesiastes as it arched the historical topography of Tudor England. The poem has proven to be 'immutability mutable', its arc of change to have had more bands to it than had been previously discussed in the historiographies of biblical reception and of early modern England. The most important of those bands – the feminized masculine Solomon as *koheleth*, elect, converted, repentant, and saved, the advent of the Victorine sort of Reformed *vanitas*, the personalization of the scripture as Word livable by all – had their earliest parochial advocates in the puritan divines Henry

Smith and George Gifford *c.*1590. The preachers' scripted prayers and sermons opened and accommodated Ecclesiastes to the whole spectrum of English Protestant believer; it became a vital text in godly practical divinity, which thereafter consistently suggested that Solomon had preternaturally shared in the puritans' lived experience of change, and explained that his testimonial of progress in 'the golden chaine' of salvation was intended to give consolation and hope to the godly in the face of life's vicissitudes, including persistent ecclesiastical hostility. Through interdisciplinary lenses we have seen how Smith and Gifford lent uniquely contemporary contexts and lives to Ecclesiastes' distinctive figures, terms, and themes, which made more accessible its rhetorical ironies, appositions, and proverbs, the sum of which soon served as critical tuckpointing in the masonry of the English Protestant polity. Both wonder and sadness were still its lot, but, to further paraphrase Francis Thompson, with the new readings of Ecclesiastes that emerged in England after *c.*1590 both the puritan and the conformist attitudes towards its themes were closer to 'grief grieved out'. Which is to state that, at the sunset of Elizabeth's reign, English divines, thinkers, and writers seem to have been made more comfortable with what the scripture said about their lots being cast in change; instead of taking such as grounds to retreat from the world, they increasingly saw it as Solomon's invitation to imagine 'every thing' and its season, and to go about the world in saintly remembrance. During James's reign, as the English colonial polity expanded ever farther round the globe – literally to the New World and figuratively to *The New Atlantis* – the book of Ecclesiastes expanded even further upon what people outside it came to know from their own experiences under the coursing sun.

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Vanitas with Lilies of the Valley and Blue Eggs

Molly Wood

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