A Textual History of the King James Bible

David Norton has recently re-edited the King James Bible for Cambridge, and this book arises from his intensive work on that project. Here he shows how the text of the most important Bible in the English language was made, and how, for better and for worse, it changed in the hands of printers and editors until, in 1769, it became the text we know today. Using evidence as diverse as the marginalia of the original translators in unique copies of early printings, and the results of extensive computer collation of electronically held texts, Norton has produced a scholarly edition of the King James Bible for the new century that will restore the authority of the 1611 translation. This book describes this fascinating background, explains Norton's editorial principles and provides substantial lists and tables of variant readings. It will be indispensable to scholars of the English Bible, literature and publishing history.

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The King James Bible

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DAVID NORTON

For Ward Allen
Friend, inspiration and wonderful correspondent

And thy word was a perfect worke

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Abbreviations

ABS	American Bible Society
Apoc.	Apocrypha
Bod 1602	1602 Bishops' Bible with KJB translators' annotations
BS	Bible Society Library (Cambridge)
CUL	Cambridge University Library
H	A. S. Herbert, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525–1961.*
KJB	King James Bible
MS 98	Lambeth Palace Library MS 98
NT	New Testament
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OT	Old Testament

The history

1 | Making the text

Introduction

The text of the KJB is commonly thought to be the fixed and stable work
of one collection of translators. This is not the case. First, as the translators
recognised, it is a revision of earlier work. In the Preface, they declare:

Truly (good Christian Reader) wee neuer thought from the beginning, that we
should neede to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good
one . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall
good one, not iustly to be excepted against; that hath bene our indeauour, that our
marke.[1]

The KJB, first printed in 1611 by the King's Printer Robert Barker, is the
culmination of a sequence of work begun by William Tyndale and con-
tinued by Miles Coverdale, the Great Bible, the Geneva Bible, the Bishops'
Bible and the Rheims New Testament (to name only the chief predecessors).
Second, the development of the text did not stop with the publication of
the translators' work in 1611. Changes – sometimes deliberate, sometimes
accidental, some for the better, some not – were made in subsequent print-
ings by the King's Printer. From 1629 on, editorial work on the text began
to be a major factor in creating the texts that we have today: the spelling
was modernised, changes were made in the translation, and the punctua-
tion was revised. Most of the changes were made by 1769, but work of this
sort has never quite ceased. As a result, modern versions differ constantly
from the 1611 text, though most of these differences are minor matters of
spelling. Moreover, there are variations between currently available editions,
especially between English and American editions.

   As well as thinking of the KJB as the culmination of nearly a century of
translation work, therefore, we should think of the text itself as continuing
to develop, and as never quite settling either into one stable form or into
the best form it might take. There are two stories here. The first, the story
of the development of English translations through to the KJB, has been
frequently told, and there are good studies of the indebtedness of the KJB
to its predecessors, and of its particular characteristics as a translation. The

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[1] 'The translators to the reader', fol. B1ᵛ.

second, the story of the history of the KJB text itself from 1611 on, has, until now, only once been studied and told, in F. H. A. Scrivener's *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible* (1884; originally the introduction to *The Cambridge Paragraph Bible*).

When the present edition of the KJB was first considered by Cambridge University Press, it seemed a good idea to reissue Scrivener's book with an additional chapter dealing with the new work. But, as work went on, it became clear that a new book was needed even though Scrivener's work still contained a great deal of real value. As a history of the text it has some significant errors, and some sections that can be usefully developed. Moreover, a good deal of it is directed towards *The Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, the text of which has had little influence on the text as it is generally available. Hence the present book. Though I am in places critical of Scrivener, I also draw freely on his material and frequently agree with his judgements on particular readings.

The beginnings of the King James Bible

The surviving evidence about the making of the KJB is patchy and tantalising. Since some of it is also evidence for the text of the KJB, it is doubly important to weigh it up thoroughly: we need to know as much as possible of how the text was made in order to make the best possible judgements on editorial difficulties that it presents, and we need to have a clear sense of the status of the individual pieces of evidence as witnesses to the text. The evidence may not support the orderly and meticulous image we have of the work as much as has been generally thought; at the same time, some of it gives more insight into what the wording of the KJB was meant to be than has been recognised by previous editors.

Forty copies of the Bishops' Bible were prepared for the translators and only one – quite possibly a composite copy made up from several of the forty – is known to have survived. Individual companies of translators were supposed to send copies of their work as they finished it to the other companies, and again only one is known to have survived. Indeed, if they followed their rules exactly, there would have been hundreds of such copies, together with a significant number of letters about places of especial obscurity. Previous historians of the KJB have wondered about the survival of such things as John Bois's notes about the work, and now two copies have been found. There is, in short, more evidence than there used to be, and a reasonable chance that more is still to be found.

The evidence we do have tells a lot about the work but not enough to clear up all mysteries about how the work was done: speculation and guesswork will be unavoidable as we try to establish just how the text was created.

Though there had been earlier attempts to initiate a new translation,[2] the idea of making the KJB came from a conference held at Hampton Court in January 1604. James I, who had been on the throne for less than a year, had called the conference to try to establish a degree of religious uniformity in his kingdoms. In the midst of it, seemingly out of the blue, the Puritan leader John Reynolds suggested a new translation. At this time, though the older versions had not disappeared from circulation, there were two principal English versions of the Bible. The Bishops' Bible of 1568 was the official Bible of the Church, but had no great reputation for scholarship. It had last been printed in folio in 1602, and this was to be its final complete printing. Vastly more popular, and favoured by the Puritans, was the Geneva Bible of 1560. The work of protestant exiles at Geneva during the reign of Mary, it was of considerable scholarly merit and was chiefly characterised by its extensive annotations. Both were revisions of the pioneering work of Tyndale (NT 1526, revised NT 1534, Pentateuch 1530, Genesis to 2 Chronicles in the Matthew Bible, 1537), Coverdale (1535) and the first official Bible of the Church of England, the Great Bible (1539–40).

On the second day of the conference, Monday 16 January, Reynolds moved 'his Maiestie, that there might bee a newe *translation* of the *Bible*, because, those which were allowed in the raigns of *Henrie* the eight, and *Edward* the sixt, were corrupt and not aunswerable to the truth of the Originall'.[3] He gave three examples. In Gal. 4:25, συστοιχεῖ 'is not well translated, as now it is, *Bordreth*, neither expressing the force of the worde, nor the Apostles sense, nor the situation of the place'. Psalm 105:28 should read '*they were not disobedient*', rather than '*they were not obedient*', and Ps. 106:30 is wrong to read 'then stood up *Phinees* and *prayed*' because the Hebrew is '*executed iudgement*' (Barlow, p. 45). These are precisely the kind of things translators and editors of translations deal with. Yet the petition is odd. This was not one of the topics that Reynolds had said he would raise, and so appears almost as a casual interjection. The argument appears brief and weak: Reynolds has given three Great Bible readings, apparently ignoring the existence of the Bishops' Bible, which had corrected the sense in two of the readings.

[2] Pollard (pp. 138–9) gives an Elizabethan draft for an Act of Parliament for a new version that dates from the primacy of Whitgift (1583–1604). The Hebraist Hugh Broughton long agitated for a new translation. In a letter of 21 June 1593 he proposed making a revision with five other scholars; he claimed considerable support and later blamed Whitgift for the failure of his proposal (*Dictionary of National Biography*). He wrote in detail about the need for revision and the principles on which it should be undertaken in *An Epistle to the Learned Nobility of England Touching Translating the Bible* (Middleburgh, 1597). Notoriously intransigent, he was not asked to work on the KJB.

[3] Barlow, p. 45. The accuracy of Barlow's report is questionable. It was written at Bishop Bancroft's request, read by the King before publication and scorned by those who were not of the Church party (Babbage, p. 70).

Moreover, if the problem was simply a matter of a few such readings, they might easily have been dealt with in the next printing of the Bishops' Bible. Many such matters had already been dealt with, so many that the successive editions differ markedly from the 1568 original. It may be that Reynolds' intention was to push the conference into accepting the Geneva Bible as the official Bible of the Church, for it corrects where he demands correction, and the two revisions he suggests are exactly those of the Geneva Bible. If this was the intention, it failed instantly: James thought Geneva the worst of the translations because of the anti-monarchist tendencies of a few of the notes. Yet he took up the idea, hoping for a uniform translation, by which he meant one the whole Church would be bound to. His other particular interest, following his dislike of Geneva, was 'that no marginall notes should be added' (Barlow, pp. 46–7).

Setting-up the work

Rather than quiet correction in the printing house, the work became revision on the grandest scale, as befitted the ambitions of a newly crowned scholar-king. Six companies of translators were created, two each at Westminster, Cambridge and Oxford, and forty-seven men named to these companies. The first Cambridge company worked from Chronicles to Ecclesiastes, the first Oxford company took the Prophets, and the second Oxford company the Gospels, Acts and Revelation.

When we come to the other three companies the first of the many mysteries about the making of the KJB arises, one that at first sight seems minor, but may prove to be important. The ten men of the first Westminster company dealt with Genesis to 2 Kings, but there are significant variations between the four lists of translators preserved in the British Library.[4] MS Harley 750, possibly the latest of these lists, divides the company in two, five men for the Pentateuch and five for 'the story from Joshua to the first book of the Chronicles excluded'. Giving further support to the possibility of subdivision of some of the committees is the fact that no copy of the list specifies simply Genesis to 2 Kings. One, MS Add. 28721, leaves out all mention of the Pentateuch, making it appear that the company started work from Joshua. The two other lists name the Pentateuch separately from the later books, implying that work on it may have been thought of as separate from work on the historical books. MS Harley 750 also suggests that the second Westminster company may have divided four and three, dealing with the Pauline epistles and the canonical epistles, and that the second

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[4] MS Add. 28721, fol. 23[r-v], MS Egerton 2884, fol. 5[r-v], MS Add. 4254, fol. 105[r] and MS Harley 750, fol. 1[r-v].

Cambridge company may have divided the work on the Apocrypha at the end of Bel and the Dragon, for all the lists describe its work not as the Apocrypha but as 'the Prayer of Manasses and the rest of the Apocrypha'.

One other piece of evidence suggests that at least one company, the Cambridge Apocrypha company, subdivided things further and made individuals responsible for individual parts as had happened with the Bishops' Bible.[5] John Bois was a member of this company; his biographer, Andrew Walker, states:

Sure I am, that part of the Apocrypha was allotted to him (for he hath shewed me the very copy he translated by) but, to my grief, I know not which part . . . When he had finished his own part, at the earnest request of him to whom it was assigned, he undertook a second.[6]

Walker's account is not necessarily reliable (see below, p. 17), but, at face value, this shows that individual translators worked on individual parts of the Apocrypha, and that Bois, having finished a section of the Apocrypha, undertook another section.[7] If Walker indeed is misremembering what Bois told him, it still seems likely that some form of subdivision of the work is referred to. 'The Prayer of Manasses and the rest of the Apocrypha' may mean Manasses and both books of Maccabees, which is approximately one quarter of the Apocrypha. Seven men are named as making up this Cambridge company, so it is possible that they divided the work in quarters, and that they worked individually or in pairs.

Rules for the work were drawn up, specifying some principles of translation and how the work should proceed. Both aspects are of considerable importance: the principles of translation remain an important guide for editors of the text, and the procedural rules are crucial for understanding how the text was created.

1. The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original will permit.
2. The names of the prophets, and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, to be retained, as near as may be, accordingly as they are vulgarly used.
3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, *viz.*: as the word 'Church' not to be translated 'Congregation' etc.

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[5] Scrivener recognised the possibility that some of the evidence that follows 'might lead to the supposition that the different Translators took to themselves separate books . . . as was really the case with the Bishops' Bible' (p. 12n).

[6] Walker's 'The Life of that famous Grecian Mr John Bois' (date of composition unknown) is reprinted in Allen, *Translating*, pp. 127–52; p. 139.

[7] Allen probably stretches Walker too far in inferring that Bois 'worked unofficially with another company' (*Translating*, p. 5).

4. When a word hath diverse significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of the Ancient Fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the Analogy of Faith.

5. The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.

6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot without some circumlocution so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.

7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down as shall serve for fit reference of one Scripture to another.

8. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter or chapters, and having translated or amended them severally by himself where he think good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their part what shall stand.

9. As one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest to be considered of seriously and judiciously, for His Majesty is very careful for this point.

10. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, shall doubt or differ upon any place, to send them word thereof, note the place and withal send their reasons, to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company, at the end of the work.

11. When any place of especial obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority to send to any learned man in the land for his judgement of such a place.

12. Letters to be sent from every Bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand, and to move and charge as many as being skilful in the tongues have taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Cambridge or Oxford.

13. The directors in each company to be the Deans of Westminster and Chester for that place, and the King's Professors in the Hebrew and Greek in each University.

14. These translations to be used where they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible, *viz.*:

⎧ Tyndale's.
⎪ Matthew's.
⎨ Coverdale's.
⎪ Whitchurch's.
⎩ Geneva.

15. Besides the said directors before mentioned, three or four of the most ancient and grave divines, in either of the universities not employed in the translating, to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellors, upon conference with the rest of the heads, to be overseers of the translations as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the fourth rule above specified.[8]

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[8] Three manuscripts in the British Library give the instructions (a manuscript from the Cambridge University Library Archives is reproduced as the endpaper for Nicolson's *Power and Glory*). They vary in details of phrasing and spelling. I have modernised MS Add. 28721, fol. 24ʳ. This and MS Harley 750 omit rule 15 (this suggests they are the older manuscripts, for rule 15 was a late addition – see next note); for this rule I follow MS Egerton 2884, fol. 6ʳ. The version of the instructions given in Pollard is commonly followed, but does not correspond exactly with these manuscripts.

Most of these rules were followed, if not always to the letter. Rule 2, for instance, concerning names, was only partially followed. Though some of the names are conformed to vulgar usage, the translators paid more attention to the forms used in the originals and did not attempt to establish uniformity either of sound or spelling. So the major prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel also appear as Esai (2 Kgs 19:2), Esaias (NT), Esay (Apoc.), Ieremias (Apoc. and NT), Ieremie (Apoc. and NT), Ezechias (Apoc.) and Ezechiel (Apoc.). Some of this variety comes from differences between Hebrew and Greek spelling (differences of spelling in the same language are not usually registered), some from the period's lack of standardised English spelling. 'As near as may be' is therefore the crucial phrase in this rule. Rules 9–12 were probably not followed very closely, as I will show. Rule 14 seems to be exclusive, tacitly forbidding use of the Roman Catholic Rheims NT, but the translators drew on this as they drew upon all the resources available to them; they did not pass over a good rendering simply because it did not come from the specified translations.

The rules did not cover everything. Just as rule 15 was added later,[9] so various matters of practice were decided on while the work was in progress. Several English divines, including one of the translators, Samuel Ward, gave an account of the work to the Synod of Dort (20 November 1618). The account includes specimens of the rules, beginning with a paraphrase of rules 1, 2 and 6, and then, as if they were rules, moves on to the following matters of practice:

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[9] It was made following doubts about rules 3 and 4; these doubts were referred by the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge to Bishop Bancroft, who replied:

To be suer, if he had not signified unto them already, it was his majesty's pleasure that, besides the learned persons imployed with them for the Hebrewe and Greeke, there should be three or fower of the most eminent and grave divines of their university, assigned by the vice-chancellour upon conference with the rest of the heads, to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the rules appointed by his Highness, and especially concerning the third and fourth rule: and that when they had agreed upon the persons for that purpose, he prayed them send him word thereof. (As given in Mombert, p. 348)

There has been doubt as to whether this rule was followed, but we do know of one person who was appointed to this role: George Ryves, Warden of New College, Oxford, who was not one of the translators, is referred to as 'one of the overseers of that part of the New Testament that is being translated out of Greek' (Thomas Bilson to Thomas Lake, 19 April 1605; as given in Paine, p. 72). Anthony à Wood's evidence about the overseers should probably be discounted. He implies that they were appointed later in the process (the 'great work' seems to refer to the work of the Oxford NT company): 'which great work being finished, soon after, divers grave Divines in the University, not employed in translating, were assigned by the Vicechancellor (upon a conference had with the Heads of Houses) to be overseers of the Translations as well of Hebrew as of Greek' (Wood, II; p. 283). The identity of phrasing with rule 15 makes it probable that Wood took the rule for the deed.

Thirdly, where a Hebrew or Greek word admits two meanings of a suitable kind, the one was to be expressed in the text, the other in the margin. The same to be done where a different reading was found in good copies.

Fourthly, the more difficult Hebraisms and Graecisms were consigned to the margin.

Fifthly, in the translation of Tobit and Judith, when any great discrepancy is found between the Greek text and the old vulgate Latin they followed the Greek text by preference.

Sixthly, that words which it was anywhere necessary to insert into the text to complete the meaning were to be distinguished by another type, small roman.

Seventhly, that new arguments should be prefixed to every book, and new headings to every chapter.

Lastly, that a very perfect Genealogy and map of the Holy Land should be joined to the work. (Pollard, p. 142)

This describes what was done most of the time, but the translators did not always work consistently. Not all variant readings or ambiguities are noted, and this sometimes leads to problems for later editors, particularly in cases where the translators give a reading that differs from the received understanding of the text. If, for instance, the alternative reading 'and she went into the city' had been noted at Ruth 3:15, it would have been absolutely certain that the translators had rejected this reading in order to follow the Hebrew literally, 'and he went into the city'. The use of small roman type for added words, a practice inherited from the Geneva Bible, is very rough and ready, and has caused enormous difficulties for subsequent editors.

There is one other important thing to be noted about this report. Just as it does not list all the rules, so it does not cover all questions of practice that the translators would have had to decide on. A full report would have saved much speculation.

The idea of translations being done by large groups of scholars using a careful process of review is now quite familiar, and this makes it easy to forget just how innovative the scheme for the work was. Previous English versions had been the work of individuals or of small groups, sometimes with single members assigned to particular books, as with the Bishops' Bible. There was only one well-known precedent for using so many scholars and for having a review process of sorts: the Septuagint. Even though the story of that translation is legendary, it may have provided a model. Seventy translators, representative of the best scholarship of the people, following the orders of a king, each produced their own translation and then compared them publicly; each man's version was verbally identical.[10] Similarly, the KJB rules, clearly drawn up with care and consultation, including consultation

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[10] For a discussion of the legend of the Septuagint, see my *History*, I, pp. 5–9.

with the King, envisage drawing on all the best scholars of the land. In addition to the men named to the companies, all the clergy are encouraged to contribute 'particular observations', experts on particular points are to be consulted, and, for the preservation of theological soundness, 'ancient and grave divines' of the universities are to be overseers. This is grandiose. As many as ten translators are individually to translate a single part, then to agree together on the translation. This work is then to be circulated among the other groups of translators, commented on and further considered by the original company. Then a general meeting is to deal with all remaining points of difference. In short every effort is made to include the whole country in the work and to ensure that every decision is made with the maximum of care and consensus. The KJB is to be a perfect work that will bring the whole kingdom together.

Companies at work

Within five months of the Hampton Court Conference translators had been selected, probably through a mixture of invitation and petition both by and on behalf of individuals.[11] Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, wrote thus (presumably to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge) on 30 June:

His Majesty being made acquainted with the choice of all them to be employed in the translating of the Bible, in such sort as Mr Lively can inform you, doth greatly approve of the said choice. And for as much as his Highness is very anxious that the same so religious a work should admit of no delay, he has commanded me to signify unto you in his name that his pleasure is, you should with all possible speed meet together in your University and begin the same.[12]

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[11] Evidence for this comes from two sources. From Thomas Bodley's letters to the keeper of his library, Thomas James, 26 and 31 October, and 7 November 1604 (Wheeler, ed., pp. 113–16), it appears that James was one of the men chosen, but Bodley, anxious not to lose his services, interfered. James expostulated with his domineering master, who, appearing ignorant of James's wish to be part of the work, gave him an account of his actions: 'I took my journey purposely to Oxon upon it, to talk with the parties by whom you were chosen, to dismiss you from it . . . and Dr Rainolds upon my speeches, thought it also reason not to press you any further. Moreover, I have signified since unto you that unless of yourself you were willing, no man would enforce you, offering, if need were, to talk with the B. of London [Bancroft] in that behalf' (p. 115). Walker writes of jealousy over the selection of John Bois as a translator: 'when it pleased God to move King James to that excellent work, the translation of the Bible; when the translators were to be chosen for Cambridge, he was sent for thither by those therein employed, and was chosen one; some university men thereat repining (it may be not more able, yet more ambitious to have born [a] share in that service) disdaining, that it should be thought, they needed any help from the country' (as given in Allen, *Translating for King James*, p. 139).

[12] Pollard, p. 27.

By August, Sir Thomas Bodley reported, the translators 'are at it hard in Cambridge',[13] so hard that 'too earnest study and pains about the translation'[14] were reckoned to have hastened the death in May 1605 of the man who led the work on the Hebrew, Edward Lively. Bodley's letter perhaps implies that work at Oxford started a little more slowly, but it was evidently demanding enough by January 1605 for one of the translators, John Perin, to resign as Regius Professor of Greek. Work at Westminster also started early, though perhaps less diligently. In November 1604 Lancelot Andrewes, director of the OT company there, noted a particular afternoon as 'our translation time', but added that 'most of our company are negligent' (a statement that shows this company worked collectively rather than individually as the Apocrypha company seems to have done).[15]

A little is known about how they worked. Robert Barker, the King's Printer, supplied forty unbound copies of the 1602 Bishops' Bible for the translators.[16] John Selden says in his *Table Talk* that 'that part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue (as the Apocrypha to Andrew Downes), and then they met together; and one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible either of the learned tongues or French, Spanish, Italian, etc.; if they found any fault they spoke, if not he read on' (p. 10). This does not square easily with each man making his own translation and comparing the results (rule 8), but it probably has a degree of truth. The translation referred to would be the Bishops' Bible, and the practice of commenting on it as occasion arose seems sensible; presumably the comments were made in the light of each individual translator's preparation for the meeting and a particular version (or perhaps, versions) he had been designated to keep an eye on. Any changes to the Bishops' Bible text would be noted on a master copy, the Bishops' Bible itself.

This stage of the work took three to four years. Wood's account, if we can trust it, implies that the Oxford OT company's work was finished by the time of the death of its head, Rainolds, on 21 May 1607:

The said translators had recourse once a week to Dr Raynolds his lodgings in Corpus Christi College, and there as 'tis said perfected the work, notwithstanding the said Doctor, who had the chief hand in it, was all the while sorely afflicted with the gout. (Wood, II, p. 283)

A letter dated 5 December 1608 from William Eyre to the future Archbishop of Armagh James Ussher confirms that arrangements were in hand for the

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[13] Thomas Bodley to Thomas James, 4 September 1604; Wheeler, ed., p. 108.

[14] Paine, p. 74.

[15] Lancelot Andrewes, *Two Answers to Cardinal Perron, and Other Miscellaneous Works* (Oxford, 1854), XI, p. xlii; as given in Allen, *Epistles*, p. xii.

[16] Barker's bill for (among other things) '40. large churchbibles for the translators', dated 10 May 1605, is given in Morgan, 'A King's Printer at Work', p. 370.

review of the whole work by the end of 1608, and implies that the work of the Cambridge OT company had been completed some time earlier:

In my absence from Cambridge there was order taken from the King's Majesty by the Archbishop of Canterbury that the translation of the Bible shall be finished and printed so soon as may be. Two of every company are chosen to revise and confer the whole at London. Hereupon I am earnestly requested to get again that copy of our part which I lent you for D. Daniel his use; for albeit there be two fair written copies out of it, yet there will be use of it because I noted in the margin by rashe tevoth (צֹעֹ) of the places which were doubted of. And this צריק עיון [i.e. it wants consideration] is not in the others.[17]

A significant amount of time must have passed between the completion of this part of the work and the writing of the letter, perhaps as much as the year guessed at by Allen.[18] More importantly, the letter appears to confirm that 'the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company, at the end of the work' (rule 10) began its work in 1609, and was attended by a dozen of the translators.[19]

The letter also raises questions. Allen, who argues keenly that all the procedural rules were followed, takes it as confirmation that rules 11 and 12 were followed,[20] but other inferences may be more probable. Rule 11 specifies that letters should be sent 'when any place of special obscurity is doubted of'; Eyre's manuscript would only loosely fit this purpose, for it contains the whole work, and evidently the places so marked are to be the business of the general meeting. It would be stretching rule 12 to think that it envisaged learned men reviewing drafts of the work; the more obvious sense is that the rule is a mechanism for obtaining comments on problems in the originals or in the extant English translations. Eyre's manuscript seems more appropriate to rule 9, that individual books should be sent to the other companies for their comment, but still it does not fit exactly, again because it contains the whole work. Now, the only known manuscript that appears to have been prepared for consultation, Lambeth Palace MS 98, contains not one book but most of the text of all of the Epistles, so the specification

[17] Bodleian MS Rawlinson, C. 849, ff. 262ᵛ–3ʳ, as given in Allen, *Epistles*, p. xvi, and Scrivener, p. 14n. 'Rashe tevoth' means heads of words or head marks (so Scrivener); presumably Eyre wrote the initial word or words of the doubtful places in the margin.

[18] Allen (*Epistles*, p. xvii) takes 'our part' to refer to work done by the whole company, but the possibility that the companies subdivided their work makes this uncertain. Less certain still is that Eyre made his copy after the work was completed, and then studied and marked his copy. Eyre could have been working as a secretary, making a fair copy of the work as it proceeded and marking on it where the company was in doubt.

[19] The report to the Synod of Dort confirms this: 'after each section had finished its task, twelve delegates, chosen from them all, met together and reviewed and revised the whole work' (Pollard, p. 142).

[20] Allen, *Epistles*, p. xvii.

'any one book' in rule 9 may have been treated loosely.[21] Perhaps, therefore, Eyre's manuscript was prepared for the serious and judicial consideration of other companies, following the spirit but not the letter of rule 9. Presumably the 'two fair written copies out of it' were made for the same purpose, and it was expected that the copies would circulate in some way among the other five companies.

There is more about the letter that is mysterious. Eyre, who was appropriately learned, is not otherwise known to have been one of the translators, yet he writes as one of a company (presumably the Cambridge OT company), and has clearly had a part in the work. Whether this was as a translator or as an overseer or as a secretary is not clear. Ussher was not one of the translators, and appears to have acted as an intermediary, borrowing the manuscript 'for D. Daniel his use'. Neither this nor the fact that Ussher himself was not consulted seems to fit with the idea of the translators sending out copies of their work 'to seek the observations and judgements of learned men throughout the land'.[22] Another explanation is more likely. 'D.', which has been taken as an initial, is the standard abbreviation for doctor. Dr Daniel must be William Daniel D. D., translator of the New Testament and the Prayer Book into Irish.[23] He and Ussher had coincided at Trinity College, Dublin, and in 1608 both held positions at St Patrick's Cathedral, Daniel as treasurer, Ussher as chancellor. Daniel had finished his NT and was working on his translation of the Prayer Book; he presumably wanted to see the translators' work as an aid in this.[24]

Eyre, then, seems to have lent his manuscript as a scholarly courtesy. If he remembered the business of consulting with the other companies when he did this, he must have considered the two fair copies sufficient for the purpose. It strains credibility to think that his manuscript was the company's master copy; therefore the master copy did not have the doubtful places marked. Nevertheless, when the king hastened the work, Eyre or the Cambridge company as a whole realised that the only copy of their work with the doubtful places marked was in Ireland, and it was these queries

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[21] Allen observes that, 'except for the second and third epistles of St John, the conclusion of each Epistle brings the final page of the manuscript copy of that Epistle to an end, so that each book forms a unit', consequently 'the manuscript is designed in such a way that it could have circulated book by book' (pp. xxi, xxii). While this is true, the homogeneity of the manuscript shows that it was prepared at one time rather than in pieces as each Epistle was finished; that it remains complete shows that it was never divided up, and the excellent condition of the manuscript suggests that it was not subjected to the rigours of travel and that it was little worked on once it had been completed.

[22] Allen thinks otherwise, *Epistles*, p. xvii.

[23] *Dictionary of National Biography*. Scrivener makes the same identification (p. 14n.); like Allen, he takes the manuscript to have been used for consultation.

[24] Another possibility is that he was thinking of or actually working on a translation of the OT into Irish; he was reputed to be a good Hebraist.

that the general meeting needed to deal with particularly. They needed this information in addition to the master copy.

If there is not a degree of carelessness in this whole situation, it seems that the king's order for the work to be 'finished and printed as soon as may be' caught the translators by surprise: they thought they had more time. Processes were cut short, and the envisaged consultations came to little.

MS 98

One manuscript survives from this, the first stage of the work: Lambeth Palace MS 98. In conjunction with the evidence from John Bois's notes on the work of the general meeting, it provides a great deal of insight into the nature and sequence of the translators' revisions of the Epistles, as Allen's masterful discussion shows.[25] But just how much should be inferred from it as to the process of the work is questionable. The manuscript is headed 'An English Translation of the Epistles . . .', but this is in a different hand from the rest and suggests that whoever wrote it did not know that the manuscript represented the translators' work in progress. The paper is of high quality, 32.5 by 20.3 cms, taller and slightly narrower than English A4. Each page is ruled in red like a two column Bible: a centre line divides the page, and there are lines for the margins and at top and bottom. Together with the use of a larger formal script for titles in the early part of the manuscript, all this gives an impression of care and formality. Only the left hand column and the left hand margin are used, recto and verso, so half the manuscript is blank: ample space is left for annotation and revision. Allen's is the natural presumption, that this was a manuscript for circulation and comment, but there is another possibility: that it was intended as a master copy to be retained by the Westminster NT company, to be annotated as they received comments and suggestions. Either way, the intended annotation or revision in the right hand column did not happen. MS 98 appears to have been made for a purpose that was not fulfilled. As with Eyre's letter, the implication is that a part of the translation process was left incomplete.

The manuscript has some corrections but not enough to show whether it passed out of the hands of the Westminster NT company. Allen details these, concluding that, 'while such corrections prove that various eyes and hands scrutinized and corrected the text at various times, the corrections shed little light on the purposes of the manuscript' (*Epistles*, p. lxix). They show attention to spelling and punctuation, and occasionally words and phrases are inserted, but it is not clear that they go beyond changes an individual

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[25] Allen, *Epistles*, introduction, especially pp. xlii ff.

might make while make reviewing his own work. One other characteristic of the manuscript is worth noting: 'q' for 'quaerere' (to question) appears thirty-five times. This seems to be the equivalent of Eyre's 'rashe tevoth', a marking of doubtful places.

The possibility that MS 98 was a master copy of this part of the work needs to be canvassed further, because the nature of the copy the printers worked from is of real importance for the textual history. There are two possibilities: either the master copy was a complete manuscript or it was a copy of the Bishops' Bible with the changes marked. The other chief characteristic of MS 98 besides the blank column is that it does not supply a translation of all the verses. On the first page, for instance, there is nothing written in for Rom. 1:2, 6, 8 and 9 except the verse number, but sufficient space is left for these verses to be inscribed in the left column. Consequently, there is enough space in the right column either for a complete manuscript version or for writing in changes subsequently agreed upon. As a master copy, with the missing verses added, MS 98 could have reached two possible final forms. In one form, the right hand column would give the complete final translation, and the printer would simply set the text from that column. In the other possible form, the right column would only have entries where the initial version in the left column had been changed, or where the left column was blank; the printer would then follow the right column but revert to the left column where that had no entry. Either form would represent a practical way of working; arguably the second would be more efficient, since it would keep the amount of transcribing to a minimum. However, such possibilities are far from proof that the translators created a master copy in one of these forms, or that the final copy was a complete manuscript.

Allen notes that 1,769 verses are found in MS 98 and that 1,013 verses are left blank (*Epistles*, p. lxxi). Only 21 of the 1,769 verses do not contain some change to the Bishops' Bible text. These verses are probably, as Allen suggests, the result of a lapse of attention and are most easily understood if the draft for MS 98 was an annotated Bishops' Bible. This in turn suggests that the company initially recorded its work by way of noting changes on a copy of the Bishops' Bible. If the revision process was cut short, then that annotated Bishops' Bible might have remained the company's master copy. Now, the 1,013 blank verses are presumably places where the Bishops' Bible text was left unchanged, but perhaps the most important thing about them is that MS 98 could only have been used satisfactorily in relation to a Bishops' Bible. It appears to be made from a Bishops' Bible, and it presumes the continuing presence of that text.

MS 98 is most illuminating as evidence of how much work was done in the first stage of revision and of how much remained to be done in later stages. Allen gives the following figures (p. xxi). In the 1,769 verses that MS 98 writes out there are 4,131 revisions of the Bishops' Bible; 3,287 of these appear in the KJB (plus a further 1,765 revisions not marked in MS 98).

Counting in the 844 changes in MS 98 that do not appear in the KJB, the later stage of the work made 3,818 changes to the work done in the first stage. So the two stages each made a similar number of changes to their working text, 4,131 and 3,818. Of the 6,261 revisions that the KJB makes to the Bishops' Bible text of the Epistles, just over half come from MS 98, 3,287 as against 2,974.

Making the final version: John Bois's notes

If the evidence of MS 98 holds good for the work done by all the companies, the translation was half finished when, around the end of 1608, the king hurried the translators to 'the end of the work', 'the general meeting which is to be of the chief persons of each company' (rule 11). Eyre's letter implies that this meeting was imminent. There are six important pieces of evidence as to what happened in the next two to three years. Two of them are the most important evidence of all: the two 1611 printings of the KJB. Third, and next most important, is the 1602 Bishops' Bible with annotations from the translators; though this involves some of the work done by the companies, it is also important as evidence about the final form of the translators' work, and so is best left on one side for the moment. One point needs noting from it immediately, though, that it suggests that the finished work of the companies may have supplied up to five sixths of the changes eventually made by the translators – considerably more than the half suggested by MS 98. The remaining three pieces of evidence concern us at this point: they are the report noted above to the Synod of Dort, the brief life of John Bois by Walker, and Bois's notes from the general meeting. Unfortunately, they are not entirely consistent with each other, and they do not provide answers to the two main problems: what was the nature of the final copy given to the printers, and, what influence did the printer have on the text?

The report to the Synod of Dort states:

After each section had finished its task twelve delegates, chosen from them all, met together and reviewed and revised the whole work.

Lastly, the very Reverend the Bishop of Winchester, Bilson, together with Dr. Smith, now Bishop of Gloucester, a distinguished man, who had been deeply occupied in the whole work from the beginning, after all things had been maturely weighed and examined, put the finishing touches to this version. (Pollard, p. 142)

The same report's account of the translators' rules (above, p. 9) had a first-hand quality to it in the way it revealed matters of practice not covered in the rules. The details here also appear first-hand. The silence on matters of consultation is in keeping with the other suggestions that there was little if any consultation. Instead, there were two final stages, one involving a dozen men, one involving two.

Walker states that Bois spent four years in the first part of the work (Allen, *Translating for King James*, p. 139); this fits with the other evidence that the first stage was finished in 1608. He goes on:

at the End whereof (The Whole Work being finished, and Three Copys of the whole Bible being sent to London, one from Cambridge, a Second from Oxford, and a Third from Westminster) A New Choyce was to be made of Six in all, Two out of Each Company to review the whole work, and extract one out of all Three, to be committed to the Press. For the Dispatch of this business Mr Downs & He, out of Cambridge Company, were sent for up to London, Where meeting their Four Fellow Labourers, They went daily to Stationers Hall, and in Three quarters of a year fulfilled Their Task . . . Whilest they were conversant in this Last Business, He, & He only tooke Notes of Their Proceedings, which He diligently kept to His Dying day.[26]

Walker had his information from Bois; nevertheless, what he gives us is second hand, and comes from much longer after the work than does the report to the Synod of Dort. So the report is more likely to be correct about the number of translators involved in the general meeting.

The cause of Walker's error, if that is what it is, seems straightforward: he did not know that two companies worked in each place, and so presumed there were only three companies.[27] If so we may take him as adding a minor detail to the report to the Synod of Dort, that each company sent two delegates, but we must set a question mark against all his evidence. Yet it is possible that Walker is, in his own way, true. First, it is a well-based assumption, but still an assumption, that there were six companies. This rests on the unequivocal evidence of the lists of translators that there were two groups working in each place. The individual groups could have been thought of as divisions of single companies, subcommittees of a committee (I have already noted the possibility that there were further subdivisions). While we are accustomed to reading rules 8 to 10 as using 'company' to refer to each of the six groups, rule 13 may be read as referring to three companies, each with two heads: 'the directors in each company to be the Deans of Westminster and Chester for that place, and the King's Professors in the Hebrew and Greek in each University'. It is also possible that, for some parts of the work, the two groups in one place acted as a single company. Another of Walker's details fits with this, that three copies of the Bible were sent to London, that is, one from each place. If this is true, the pairs of companies put their work together. This may have been a simple matter of binding together the sheets of their master copies of the Bishops' Bible,

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[26] Here I follow Walker's manuscript, on which the printed account is based, as it is slightly more explicit about the copies of the Bible (British Library MS Harley 7053, fol. 42ᵛ, p. 105 [there are two sets of numbers]; cf. Allen, *Translating*, pp. 139–41).

[27] Allen makes the same suggestion, *Translating*, p. 7n.

which would have been enough to give each pair of groups a single identity. In short, Walker's understanding of what was meant by 'company' may not be as wrong as it appears.[28]

This would be trifling were it not that it suggests something of the way the translators may have worked. There still seems to be the numerical problem that either there were six men or there were twelve. We could solve this at a stroke if we changed our idea of the general meeting: what if it too subdivided its work? This strains Walker's statement that the meeting was 'to review the *whole* work' but might account for his confusion in a different way from that just attempted. It might also fit with Bois's notes themselves and with Walker's further statement that the work took nine months, a statement that has been widely questioned.[29]

Allen has shown that Bois's notes are consistent with the idea of nine months work taking place in 1610. The notes contain page references to a volume of Chrysostom that appeared in 1610 but not to a volume that appeared in 1611, showing that the notes were made in 1610 and so lending credibility to the nine months (*Translating for King James*, pp. 9–10). This is, I think, beyond doubt. It raises a major question: what happened in 1609, the year that Eyre's letter suggests is when the general meeting convened? If the meeting was not as general as has been previously supposed, the answer could be this: that it did different parts of its work at different times involving different people. This idea has the further attraction in that it would help to account for puzzling features of Bois's notes.

Bois's notes are remarkably incomplete if the general meeting involved all who attended it in working through the entire text and, in so doing, making at a minimum one sixth but possibly as much as a half of the textual changes that were still to be made. The notes cover discussion of the Epistles and Revelation only, forcing one to ask whether he was present only for this part of the work: either he took no notes on the bulk of the work or he was only involved with this part of it.[30]

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[28] That Bois and Downes went from Cambridge to the general meeting is confirmed by Bois's references to Downes in his notes. However, it cannot be taken as confirmation of how many people attended the meeting, since Bois and Downes could have gone either as representatives of the Apocrypha group or of the Cambridge translators at large.

[29] For instance, Scrivener, who conflates the general meeting with supervising the printing: 'it is clear, unless we reject his evidence altogether, that the printing, so far as the Translators superintended it at all, must have been begun and ended within the short period of nine months, which seems wholly inadequate for the accomplishment of all they had in hand' (p. 13).

[30] There is nothing to suggest that the notes themselves are only a part of the notes Bois took except one's sense that there ought to be more of them; on the contrary, the discovery of another, independent copy of the notes with the same starting and finishing points makes it more likely that they are complete. See Norton, 'Bois's Notes'; Fulman's manuscript of the notes is a copy of a copy, while the British Library copy (BL MS Harley 750, fols 3^r–16^r) is probably a copy of the original.

The second puzzling feature of Bois's notes is that they do not account for all the work that had to be done on the Epistles and Revelation. Much more work happened between the preparation of MS 98 and the printing of the text than his notes account for. 2,974 changes were made independently of the preparation of MS 98, but Bois records just under 500 items of discussion, the majority of which concern the originals rather than particularities of English translation. Even if each of these items of discussion led to a change in the text (which did not happen), they would account for less than a twelfth of the changes. It may be that he did not record all the discussions he was present at, but somewhere and somehow there is significantly more work to be accounted for.

The annotated Bishops' Bible

There is one complete 1602 Bishops' Bible with annotations by the transla-tors, Bodleian Library Bibl. Eng. 1602 b. 1. It is the most important evidence for the KJB text outside the first printings because it is the nearest we can get to the translators' master copy. Yet it too presents major problems for understanding just how the work was done.

Bod 1602, as I shall call it, appears now as a finely bound single volume, and there is nothing about its physical make-up to suggest that its sheets did not always belong together. But when the translators worked on it, it was unbound: the annotations frequently disappear into the fold of the leaf, which would have been impossible if the sheets were already bound. Consequently, it is possible that Bod 1602 represents not one of the forty Bishops' Bibles supplied by Barker, but a combination of two or more of them.

Because of this possibility, I will deal with the NT annotations separately from those in the OT. They clearly represent work in progress from the Oxford NT company. As Jacobs has shown, they are the work of three scribes and represent two stages of the work.[31] One scribe annotated Matthew and John 17, a second Mark and Luke 1–18, and a third Luke 19–24 and John 18–21. Moreover, there are corrections by one scribe in another scribe's annotations. This part of Bod 1602, then, is not an individual's but a com-pany copy, and the job of recording changes was shared around.

One could understand an individual's copy having annotations in some parts but not others as the result of some sort of absence from work, but to see a company copy partially annotated in this way is very odd: why is the rest of the company's work missing? Perhaps it is because the work was subdivided,

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[31] Jacobs, 'King James's Translators', and Allen and Jacobs, pp. 3–30.

but this hardly accounts for the presence of annotations on the last chapters of John. If this is a mystery, so too is the intended purpose of this copy of the work. That it eventually became part of a single volume with work from other companies strongly suggests that it was sent to the general meeting. However, this does not fit with Walker's statement that 'Three Copys of the whole Bible [were] sent to London, one from Cambridge, a Second from Oxford, and a Third from Westminster' because this surely means that a single complete copy was sent from each company. But we have seen that Walker is not necessarily reliable: it may be that the work was sent in parts, or it may be that a copy other than the official copy was taken to the meeting by one of the Oxford company. Whether or not the process was as orderly as Walker suggests, the NT part of Bod 1602 remains authentic evidence of the work of the translators before it was developed by the general meeting.

Jacobs – accepting what is questioned here, that there was consultation as laid down in rules 9 and 10, and that it led to revisions in 1608 and 1609 – gives this summary of his analysis of the annotations:

Collation argues that Stage 1 revisions are a record of the work of the Second Oxford Company completed by late 1607/early 1608. Stage 2 revisions, recorded by the three scribes during late 1608/1609, represent the results of the review of 1608 that the company accepted. At certain places, such as Luke 3:9 and 19:44, these results occasioned differences among the translators. The revisions making up stages 1 and 2 do not represent the complete text of the AV Gospels. The work recorded by the Matthew scribe represents about two thirds of the AV text; that recorded by the Mark/Luke scribe, about three-fourths; and that recorded by the Luke/John scribe about five-sixths. It is clear, therefore, that additional (Stage 3) revision took place in order to arrive at that version which has long been familiar to us as the Authorized Version. (Allen and Jacobs, p. 29)

Jacobs' analysis shows beyond doubt that the stage 2 revisions were not caused by changes of mind during a single discussion of the text, and therefore that the company went over their work a second time. The inference that the second time followed review by other companies, however, must be weighed against the evidence that suggests such review did not take place. If it did not, we must simply observe that the Oxford NT company went over its work twice.

It is unlikely that the stage 2 revisions were made by the general meeting because the same three scribes are involved, which goes against the evidence from elsewhere that only two members of each company attended the general meeting. The NT annotations, then, show the decisions the Oxford NT company made in two stages prior to sending their work to the general meeting.

As we turn to the OT annotations, the most perplexing thing about Bod 1602 becomes apparent: it is the extent of the annotations. They run from

the beginning of Genesis to the end of Isaiah 4, then the first four chapters of Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, and then from Hosea to the end of Malachi. So, as a whole, Bod 1602 represents work done at Westminster, Oxford and Cambridge and by four of the six companies.

If there was evidence of breaks in the OT where the work of one company ceased and another began, Bod 1602's status would be fairly clear: it began as a gathering together of the work of four companies. But the two places in the OT where one company's work ends and another's begins (first, the end of 2 Kings and the beginning of 1 Chronicles, second, the end of the Song of Songs and the beginning of Isaiah) both fall in the middle of a page and, though there are occasional changes of hand in the OT (for example, at the end of Joshua 18), there is no change of hand at either of these places. The likeliest inference is therefore that the OT annotations date from the general meeting, for this is when the work of the different companies came together. One of their other characteristics also points to this inference: there is little evidence of subsequent correction,[32] so, unlike the NT annotations, the OT annotations seem to represent the work at a single point in its history. Because the work on the text is about five-sixths complete, this point is unlikely to be the individual companies' first draft.

Bod 1602 may represent a transcript of the earlier work made for the general meeting,[33] or it may be a record of work done at the general meeting. Both possibilities present difficulties. A transcript makes sense if the companies had produced work in the form we see in the NT, that is, with revisions, and revisions of revisions, for parts of the OT are much more heavily revised than the Gospels and so would have been difficult to use as working copy. Alternatively, the work of the companies could already have been in the form represented by the OT work, in which case it is either a duplicate, allowing more people to see what the companies had done, or it is a back-up copy. Duplicates and back-ups have their uses, but they are modern concepts: the KJB was made long before the inventions of carbon paper and computer disks. So, if the OT work is a transcript, the likelihood is that it was made as a fair copy. The difficulty with this is that it appears to lack the crucial characteristic of fair copy, that it enables further work to be done: substantial portions of Bod 1602's OT are so heavily annotated that no space remains for further work, and yet the annotations continue long after this would have become thoroughly apparent. There was a solution

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[32] Genesis 14, for instance, seems from the variation in the ink to have been worked over twice.

[33] So think Willoughby and Jacobs. Willoughby takes them as a copy prepared in advance of the general meeting recording how far the various companies had gone with their work (pp. 23, 26). Jacobs argues that they represent 'a valid record of a large portion of the work of the Old Testament translators as it existed in its finished state before it was sent to the General Meeting for final review' ('Two Stages', p. 17).

to this difficulty: a final text could have been created from text in the form represented by the OT work by interleaving blank sheets and writing the remaining changes on them. The result would have been rife with possibilities of error, but printers did manage to produce good results from such material.

The difficulty with supposing that the annotations record work done at the general meeting is simply that they leave so much work still to be done. Like the NT annotations, they do not represent the translators' work in its final form. One sixth of the readings were still to be changed. The italics and the margin, both of which were given some attention in MS 98 and the NT annotations, are untouched. Chapter summaries still had to be created.[34] These matters constitute a lot of undone work, particularly as remaining readings, the italics and the margin all involve examining the text against the originals.

All that can be safely concluded, therefore, is that the OT work is late but not final. Whether it includes work from the meeting or not, it still gives vital evidence about the near-complete state of the text.

These possibilities do not necessarily contradict the conclusion that the NT work predates the general meeting. What may have happened is this: the NT sheets were sent to the general meeting as part of the Oxford work. There they were eventually gathered together with OT sheets that had this in common with them, that they too did not represent the general meeting's final copy; whoever gathered them may have added unannotated sheets of the Apocrypha to create a complete Bible; in due course this complete Bible was acquired by the Bodleian library where it was at last bound into a single volume.

Statistics – though they have a degree of roughness to them[35] – confirm that the OT work is late. Of 639 readings examined, Bod 1602 confirms 84% and differs in 16%; this is the proportion Jacobs notes in the work of the Luke/John scribe, and overall a higher proportion than that found in the NT work. In 229 instances (36%) Bod 1602 has no change marked and 1611 follows the Bishops' Bible text. In 308 instances (48%) 1611 follows a change marked in Bod 1602. Eight times (1%) 1611 reverts to a Bishops' Bible reading where Bod 1602 marks a change. In 49 instances (8%) no change is marked in Bod 1602 but 1611 gives a different reading, and in the final 45 instances (7%), a change is marked in Bod 1602 but a different

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[34] One editorial matter that the annotations do deal with is chapter division and verse numbering. In several places these are revised.

[35] The figures are not based on all the annotations (full analysis would be an enormous task), but on an analysis of places where there are variations in the printed history of the text; multiple instances of the same change have mostly been ignored, but notice is taken of places where more than one change is involved, even if that change does not show in the printed history.

change is found in 1611. That there are just over a hundred instances where the OT work in Bod 1602 does not give the 1611 reading shows that it was not the final copy and also rules out any possibility that it was a collation of 1611 with 1602 made after the KJB had been published.[36] It is therefore authentic and late but not final.

A similar analysis of the NT annotations, that is, of places where there has been variation in the printed text (taking into account the roughness of such figures), gives a similar overall picture: of 76 readings, Bod 1602 confirms 77%. But there is also a significant difference: in 64 of the readings (84%) there is no annotation in Bod 1602 (49 are unchanged in 1611, 15 are changed). Only 12 of the readings involve annotations. 1611 follows a Bod 1602 change nine times, differs twice, and reverts to a 1602 reading once. So, whereas in the OT 56% of the readings relate to changes noted in Bod 1602, in the NT only 16% do. The OT is much more heavily annotated than the NT, and gives much more evidence for editorial judgements; it is the most important evidence for the text other than the printed text itself. It frequently confirms 1611 readings that later editors have found dubious, and it sometimes reveals where the printed text has gone wrong.

Bod 1602 contains within it one good reason why it should be printed from: it had become so unwieldy in places because of the extent of the annotation that the translators may have felt that further interleaved corrections would have been too difficult both for themselves and for the printer. If they could have persuaded Barker to print an intermediate version for them they would have had a copy that preserved characteristics of Bod 1602 and the best possible material on which to do their final work. Such a fair copy could not have been proofs as we now understand them, for the amount of type involved (about five million characters) was probably more than Barker possessed and certainly would have been too much to be locked up in one project. Moreover, such a copy would have been unprecedented.

If Barker did go to the considerable – and unprecedented – expense of printing a fair copy, the general meeting (perhaps) and the final editors Thomas Bilson and Miles Smith marked it up with all the remaining work. This, I repeat, is guesswork, stretching possibilities in accordance with

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[36] Westcott, evidently relying on information from others, put forward this supposition: 'in all probability it contains simply a scholar's collation of the Royal and Bishops' texts, with an attempt to trace the origin of the corrections' (p. 119 n.). In some parts the annotations have been marked, in a different hand, with the letters g, t and j, identifying where the annotated change follows Geneva or Tremellius's Latin Bible or Jerome's Vulgate (so identified by Willoughby, p. 21). These markings could come from a curious later scholar, or they may represent some interest among the translators themselves in keeping a track of their sources. Whoever made the effort, it was partial and imprecise: not all the places marked g coincide with Geneva.

modern ideas of sensible procedure: just how the last part of the work was done we will probably never know, apart from the fact that there was a final stage or two to it, the work done by Miles Smith and Thomas Bilson and the work done by the printer. These stages created some more manuscript, but it may have been no more than chapter summaries and the dedication and preface.

A contribution from the printer?

The King's Printer Robert Barker influenced, as any printer must, the appearance and some of the characteristics of the text. He and his men also influenced the readings in the text by making errors. But it is also possible that he deliberately made changes to the translators' work. There are a number of clear examples in the history of the KJB's printing of compositors introducing deliberate, irresponsible changes. For example, the substitution of 'Printers' for 'Princes' in 'Princes have persecuted without a cause'[37] is obviously an expression of employee dissatisfaction rather than an error. If a compositor could make irresponsible changes, a printer could make responsible changes, especially as editorial responsibility for the text was usually in his hands.

This happened in the time of Barker's father Christopher. He it was who printed the Bishops' Bible, and the development of that Bible's text noted above (p. 5) probably took place in his printing house rather than in the studies of leading churchmen. In his early days as a Bible printer, he retained 'three learned men for a long time for the printing of the said bibles, and correcting such small faultes as had escaped in the former prints thereof'.[38] There is no direct evidence that this practice continued into the time of the KJB, but some reason to think that it did. Some of the changes introduced into Robert Barker's successive printings of the KJB are scholarly, either the work of some representative of the translators or of 'learned men' retained by Barker and his successors. I guess that representatives of the translators were involved with the first printing, perhaps along with a scholar or scholars retained by Barker, but that thereafter the responsibility for the text rested with Barker, who retained at least one person capable of advising on doubtful points. One other piece of evidence supports this guess. When Cambridge University Press issued its first edition in 1629, the fact that some of the original translators were involved in the work is remarked on; this is less

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[37] Ps. 119:161; found in some copies of Barker's first octavo edition (1612). See H315.
[38] 'Barker's circular the city companies' (undated), Pollard, p. 138.

likely to have been worth remarking had it been standard practice in the previous printings.

The final copy

Smith and Bilson's work probably merged with the printer's work, and it may well be that the very bulky final copy did not contain all that finally appeared in print: some of the text may have been created as it was being set. For this reason it is safer to think of it as final copy rather than as the master copy.

   Only a little is known of what happened to it, and that little does not reveal anything of its nature. A pamphlet of 1651 declares 'that the sole right of printing of the Bible was Matthew Barker's, in regard that his father paid for the amended or corrected translation £3,500, "by reason whereof the translated copy did of right belong to him" '.[39] An entry in the Stationers' Register by Oliver Cromwell allocating Bible printing to the printers Henry Hills and John Field was objected to in 1656 on the grounds 'that the Bible copy was not Barker's, but Bill's, and that it was only held in trust for Bill'.[40] Later in the same year a new edition of the Bible by Field and Hills was advertised as 'being examined, corrected, and amended according to the Original Manuscript Copy of the *Translators*'.[41] This copy, they say, cost them £1,200. There are some grounds for treating this evidence with suspicion: it is advertising and, though we cannot tell which edition is being referred to, none of Field's or Hill's editions from 1656 to the end of the Commonwealth shows any signs of care or correction: rather, they were notoriously poor. Whatever it was that Field and Hills had purchased, its real value was not the light it shed on the text but the added authority it gave to their claim to have a monopoly on the printing of the KJB.

   The later references to the original are all second-hand and of little value. William Kilburne refers to Hills and Field 'purchasing the translated coppy, made in *An.* 1611°', and he also alludes to 'the Original' in his 'Humble proposals'.[42] A pamphlet printed about June 1660 repeats Hills and Field's claim in an attack on them: they have 'obtained, (and now keep in their actuall possession) the Manuscript Copy of the last Translation of the *holy Bible* in English (attested with the hands of the Venerable and learned Translators in

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[39] Plomer, p. 370; the date is given by Herbert, p. 132.

[40] McKitterick, I, p. 462 n. 89, with reference to *Calendar of state papers domestic*, ed. R. Lemon et al. (1856–), 1655–6, p. 289.

[41] *Mercurius politicus*, no. 334, 29 Oct.–6 Nov. 1656, p. 7366; as given in McKitterick, I, p. 326.

[42] Kilburne, p. 14; 'Humble proposals', as given in McKitterick, I, p. 388. Kilburne is discussed in chapter 5.

King *James* his time) ever since 6 March 1655'.[43] Finally, in a lawsuit against Christopher Barker, Roger Norton refers to 'the moiety of a manuscript of a Bible in English called the Bible of K. James his translation'.[44] Perhaps the partial or half manuscript ('the moiety of a manuscript') is not the same manuscript as that referred to in the other references: not impossibly, it could refer to Bod 1602, or to another Bishops' Bible supplying the annotations for the remaining parts of the Bible.

Arber, after quoting extensively from the 1660 pamphlet, observes: 'unless therefore the autographic-attested manuscript of our present common Version be still hidden away in some recess awaiting its future happy recoverer; it probably perished in the great Fire of London in 1666 A.D.'[45] This may be right, but we are entitled to wonder whether these common-wealth testimonies point to a definitive final manuscript.

Conclusion

Given the incompleteness of the evidence and the puzzles it contains, the best solution is to recognise that, while we now have more evidence than previous historians, just how the translators worked remains mysterious. We have illuminating glimpses of a complex process, but crucial pieces of the puzzle are still missing. Until now, historians of the making of the KJB have interpreted the available evidence as showing an orderly, collective process such as went into the making of the Revised Version. Various hints and gaps in the evidence, it seems to me, tend towards a more muddled picture wherein the KJB stands partway between the orderly committee work of the Revised Version and the individualism of the Bishops' Bible. Small group and perhaps individual work contributed to final product, and the rules for the work, from which an ordered picture is easily inferred, were not as literally and uniformly followed as has been imagined.

It is time to put best guesses on the evidence and possibilities. Six companies produced draft translations between 1604 and 1608. They sometimes subdivided their work and they went over it twice. MS 98 represents first-draft work; at this stage about half the eventual readings had been settled. Bod 1602's NT annotations represent work as it left the hands of the companies, with in places five-sixths of the readings settled. The work was called in in 1608, and the companies forwarded it to the general meeting in the form of annotations to the Bishops' Bible text. The general meeting had working

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[43] *The London Printers Lamentacon, or, the Press opprest, and overprest*; as given in Arber, III, p. 28.

[44] Plomer, p. 373; the lawsuit is no earlier than 1664.

[45] Arber, III, p. 28; Herbert follows this suggestion, p. 131.

copies made of some of the submitted work (Bod 1602's OT work is one of these). It worked over these in small groups in 1609 and 1610, producing as final copy a heavily annotated and interleaved Bishops' Bible. John Bois's notes give a glimpse of the work done in 1610. In 1610 and 1611, two men worked over the whole text in co-operation with the printer, establishing the KJB as first printed in 1611. Whatever manuscripts there might have been, this, with the second printing, effectively became the master copy of the KJB.

2 | Pre-1611 evidence for the text

Introduction

There are two main kinds of pre-1611 evidence for the text of the KJB: the sources, and the written or printed versions directly, physically involved in the making of the translation. The sources are, of course, the original language texts (Hebrew and Greek), the ancient translations (particularly the Vulgate and the Septuagint), modern translations (including Luther's German and the Latin of Tremellius and Junius) and the earlier English translations. These contribute intellectually (and of course crucially – without them there would be no KJB) but not physically to the KJB. Crossing the line between an intellectual and a physical source is the Bishops' Bible of 1602. In a sense Bois's notes also cross the line, for they are evidence of the intellectual process that led to the text. MS 98 and the annotations in Bod 1602 are physical sources. Though they contain no direct evidence of the thinking that led to particular readings, they show the particularities of the text being established.

Until now these physical sources have not been used for editorial work on the text: whatever they might tell about why the 1611 text reads as it does has been ignored. On the other hand, the chief intellectual sources, the original language texts, have been treated as direct evidence for how the text of the KJB should read. This is a natural way of working: errors in the printed text of 1611 may be discovered by reference to the originals. But it is also a dangerous way of working because there are two basic kinds of error to be found in a translation: mechanical and intellectual. The former are usually errors of transcription and printing, the latter are errors of translation. If we accept that the text of the KJB should present the translators' understanding of the originals as they meant to express it, then only mechanical errors can be corrected – errors where an accident of some sort has led to a misrepresentation of the translators' understanding or expression. Intellectual errors must stand unless one is making a new version.

Attention to the physical sources shows that editorial development of the text has not distinguished between accidental errors and 'errors' of translation, that is, readings that have been judged to be errors but that were deliberate creations of the translators. Working from the intellectual sources, the original-language texts, editors have corrected both kinds of error. Nor have

they always kept themselves to matters that are clearly errors. Sometimes they have, by their lights, *improved* the text.

I want now to explore – within specific limits – the kind of information the physical sources give for the text. The principal limit is this: I have confined myself to places where there is some variation between the first printing and the text as we now have it (with attention to some of the variations that have come in but have been discarded from modern editions). The question of whether these manuscript materials might give evidence for changes to the 1611 text that have never yet been made has not been broached. There is a limit of another sort involved here: a complete collation of the main editions of the KJB is not yet practical, and it might not add much of value for understanding what *is* and what *ought* to be in the text. Various collations have been made, leading to a good knowledge of where changes have occurred in the text. The most important work was done by Scrivener, and its results published in *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible*. Other collations have contributed to a fuller picture not only of the textual variations, but also of the unavoidable human frailty involved in such work.[1]

   I have drawn on all these in compiling a list of the variants in the text and have used this list as the basis for examining individual texts. So the observations that follow are based on study of roughly 1,550[2] significant variations (that is, variations in wording or in the spelling of names, but, for the most part, not variations of punctuation or spelling, nor variations that are clearly printer's errors). Considering the size of the Bible, 1,550 is perhaps a comfortingly small number, not much more than one per chapter. On the other hand, it is large enough to give a good sense of the quality of the individual editions.

MS 98

MS 98 has readings for 59 of the 94 variant readings or spellings of names in the Epistles. In relation to the 1602 text, half are identical, half make some change. In relation to the KJB, 20 are of little importance: 1602, MS 98 and 1611 all have the same reading. More significantly, 5 preserve a 1602 reading

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[1] I have drawn on the following: Gilbert Buchanan's annotations in his copy of Blayney's Oxford edition of 1769 of the variations from a second edition KJB in his possession (now held by Cambridge University Library, Adv. bb. 77. 2); a collation of the first edition and the 1613 folio (H322) prefixed to the 1833 *Exact Reprint*; William Aldis Wright's collation of the first two editions prefixed to his 1909 edition of the 1611 KJB, I, pp. vii–xxiii.

[2] 'Roughly', because the count becomes somewhat confused when there are repeated examples. 57% (881) come in the OT, 24% (376) in the Apocrypha, and 19% (291) in the NT.

which the KJB translators changed but which was finally changed back to the 1602 reading.[3] Of the 30 readings that differ from 1602, 7 differ from both 1602 and the KJB,[4] 11 agree with the KJB and 12 agree with readings introduced into the KJB after 1611; in one case MS 98's margin gives the KJB text (1 Cor. 11:2).

The readings that differ from the Bishops' Bible of 1602 and are identical with 1611 are the most important. Unless the same mistake was made twice, that is, unless MS 98 accidentally changed either the 1602 text or the translators' annotation, and then the printer made the same accidental change (which is unlikely but not impossible), these readings confirm that what appears in the printed text was the creation of the translators. We might speculate that some of the readings were created accidentally, but this makes little difference in practice: they entered the text at an early stage of its composition and survived several reviews by the translators before being printed, so becoming in effect deliberate parts of the work. Now, if a later edition makes a change to these, either that change is itself an error or it comes from the editor presuming to know better than the translators.

Some of the readings show the translators going against a literal rendering that all their predecessors were agreed upon on. Without the evidence of MS 98 several such readings might be taken as printer's errors. 2 Cor. 8:21 is a case in point. 1611 gives 'but in the sight' instead of its predecessors' 'but also in the sight' for ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώπιον. MS 98 has 1611's reading, proving that the omission is the work of the translators: since 'also' was in the 1602 text, they must have struck through it there. The same logic holds for the omission of 'amen' at Eph. 6:24. Apparent omissions are easily taken as accidental, especially as there are accidental omissions in the printing of 1611, for instance at 2 Cor. 11:32 where 'of the Damascenes' is missing. Similarly, a single letter can easily be a misprint, and can also be important to the theological import. MS 98 shows that the translators deliberately changed all their predecessors' 'unto' to 'into' at 1 Pet. 5:10, giving: 'who hath called vs into his eternall glory'.

Where 1611 reverts to a reading from one of its predecessors and the possibility of inferring a printer's error is slighter, MS 98's evidence is less important: it does no more than fill out the picture of what happened. At Rom. 12:2 the 1602 Bishops' Bible reads: 'that ye may proue what is the good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God'. 1611 has two changes: 'that ye may proue what is *that* good, *that* acceptable and perfect will of God' (changes italicised). In 1629 the second 'that' was changed back to 'and', giving the reading that remains in the text: 'that ye may prove what is that

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[3] 1 Cor. 7:32; 13:2; 1 Tim. 1:4; 2 Tim. 2:19; Heb. 11:32.
[4] Rom. 10:21; 14:10; 2 Cor. 5:2, 20; 8:7; 9:5; 1 Pet. 2:6.

good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God'. Here the 1629 editors have observed that the Greek reads καὶ εὐάρεστον, literally, 'and acceptable'. They have therefore corrected the English by the Greek. Without MS 98 we might have guessed that 1611's reading was deliberate. It restores an older reading, Tyndale's; this looks like choice, not accident. The result is that 'acceptable and perfect' appears as an elaboration of what is meant by 'good'. MS 98 confirms that the rejection of the literal reading is deliberate, and locates the change in the first period of revision. Here the translators placed other considerations ahead of word-for-word fidelity.

In each of these cases later editors have decided 1611 was wrong and have restored the old readings. Perhaps the old readings were better, perhaps not: MS 98 proves (or confirms, as in the last example) that the KJB translators judged that they were not. The later editors, perhaps unknowingly, have undone the translators' work.

The status of the 12 readings where MS 98 agrees with a later editor's change against the 1611 reading needs some consideration. They are:

Ref.	MS 98 and modern KJBs	1611	Date restored
Rom. 7:13	Was then that	Was that then	1612
Rom. 14:6	He that regardeth the day	He that regardeth a day	1629
1 Cor. 7:32	things that belong	things that belongeth	1612
1 Cor. 12:28	helps, governments	helpes in gouermētes	1629
1 Cor. 13:2	have not charity	haue no charitie	1762
1 Cor. 15:6	After that	And that	1616
2 Cor. 11:32	the city of the Damascenes	the citie	1629
1 Tim. 1:4	godly edifying	edifying	1638
2 Tim. 2:19	this seal	the seal	1617
James 5:2	your garments are motheaten	your garments motheaten	1638
1 Pet. 2:1	all evil speakings	euill speakings	1629
Jude 25	both now and ever	now and euer	1638

To take errors first: MS 98 has 'of the Damascenes' at 2 Cor. 11:32, helping to confirm that the omission was a later accident. 1611 begins 1 Cor. 15:6, 'and that'. MS 98 follows the other translations (except for Rheims), giving the reading reintroduced in 1616, 'after that'; this translates ἔπειτα, which also begins the next verse, and is given there as 'after that' by 1611. 1611's mistranslation looks like a printer's error, as if the printer's eye has slipped back to the similar beginning of the previous verse, verse 5. That this is indeed what happened is confirmed by the verse being misnumbered 5. MS 98 is not essential for the identification of the error, but again it helps to confirm it by showing that the translators' first thought was to retain the 1602 reading.

Another example of error – or *possible* error – underlines the limitations of MS 98 as evidence. 1611 reads somewhat strangely at Rom. 14:6: 'he that regardeth a day, regardeth it vnto the Lord; and hee that regardeth not the day, to the Lord hee doeth not regard it'. The oddness lies in 'regardeth *a* day' followed by 'regardeth *the* day'. MS 98 shows that, in the first stage of their work, the translators intended to retain 1602's literal 'the day' at the beginning. 1629 restored this reading. Had MS 98 given 1611's reading 'a day', it would have shown clearly that the translators themselves had made the change, but, by preserving the literal reading, it does no more than narrow down when the problem occurred. Either the translators made this change in their final revisions or it is a printer's error. Because the same Greek occurs later in the verse, and is there given as 'the day' in 1611, there is reason to judge that there is a printer's error. An appeal to Tyndale, who gives 'one day' in both places, merely complicates: 'a day' has much the same sense as 'one day', so it may be intentional. However, the second use needs to be the same as the first to make decent sense. The translators could have intended to use 'a day' in both places. In this case the printed text is still wrong, but in a different place. In this verse, then, there probably is a printer's error, so the 1602 Bishops' Bible's, MS 98's and 1629's reading should be followed. By itself, MS 98 is not crucial to this judgement.

In another case MS 98 complicates without clarifying, and the limitations of using the evidence of an intermediate draft are again shown. Romans 7:13 begins alike in 1602 and in 1611, 'was that then'. 'That then' follows the order of the Greek, τὸ οὖν. The 1612 quartos, followed by 1616, 1629 and all subsequent editions, reverse the order, 'was then that', which is MS 98's reading. Both renderings are possible; 1611 is closest to the Greek, but it is difficult to make a stylistic judgement between the two. Unless we can take MS 98 as confirming that the 1612 reading was what the translators intended, 1611's reading must be taken as deliberate. But we cannot take MS 98 in this way because it is not the translators' final version. Rather, it suggests possibilities: either the translators made a change and then unmade it, or they failed to notice a change that they had made in preparing the final copy, or the scribe copied incorrectly or the printer set the text incorrectly. There *may* have been an error of transmission, but 1611's reading has to be taken as the translators' preference.

The spelling of names is a slightly different matter from readings. It sits uneasily between matters of scholarship and conventions of spelling. One that MS 98 sheds light on is useful here, both for introducing the difficulties involved and for showing more of MS 98's status as evidence for the text. MS 98 shows that the translators originally decided to follow the Greek spelling, Ἀπολλώς, 'Apollos', exactly in 1 Corinthians; then, as the printed text shows, they changed their mind and used 'Apollo' seven times and 'Apollos' three

(Acts 18:24; 1 Cor. 16:12; Titus 3:13).[5] Seven changes of 'Apollos' to 'Apollo' looks deliberate, especially as it does not fully coincide with 1602, which reads 'Apollo' everywhere in 1 Corinthians (but not elsewhere) except for 'Apollos' at 4:6.

Illuminating as this is, it is important to note that the evidence of MS 98 could only point in one direction. Here, having a different reading from 1611, it shows that 1611 has a deliberate change. But had it had the same reading as 1611, it would also have showed that 1611's reading was deliberate. So what MS 98 really does here, rather than arbitrating between two readings, is to show when the change was made.

Bois's notes

Limited as Bois's notes are as evidence of how all the work was done, they are invaluable for the unique insight they give into discussions among the translators while they were at work. However, they bear on only three readings that are contentious in the textual history of the KJB. Two of them are of special interest in relation to MS 98 (the third is 1 Cor. 4:9).

1 Corinthians 12:28 is particularly problematic. Here MS 98 has the literal reading that was reintroduced in 1629, 'helps, governments' for ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις. 1611, uniquely and apparently without justification from the Greek, reads 'helpes in gouernmēts'. That MS 98 differs from 1602's 'helpers, gouernours' confirms that the 1629 reading follows the translators' first thoughts. The problem is to determine whether they had second thoughts or whether the printer, accidentally or deliberately, changed their work. Bois's notes prove the translators thought further during the final revision. He notes of δυνάμεις in the next verse, 'abstract for the concrete; and, thus perhaps in ἀντιλήψεις, in the preceding verse' (Allen, *Translating for King James*, p. 49). Perhaps this thought produced 'helps in governments'. Rather than explaining the reading, the note confirms what one must always presume: that, in the absence of clear evidence to the contrary, one must take the 1611 text as deliberate. However dubious the reading here may seem, it should stand.

The most illuminating example of MS 98 and Bois's notes together is 2 Cor. 9:5. MS 98 confirms that this is a deliberate revision of a revision wherein the translators chose not to be absolutely literal. Bois gives another English form, 'as a bounty, and not as a thing extorted', showing that the general meeting considered yet another rendering. He brings out the point of this, that it refers 'bounty' to the Corinthians and extortion to the disciples;

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[5] MS 98 does not have entries for all the verses, but is consistent in the verses it does give.

he disagrees with this understanding.[6] The printed version, 'as a matter of bountie, not of couetousnesse', shows that the disagreement was effective: the English is ambiguous as is the Greek, but now the natural reading is to take 'bounty' and 'covetousness' as referring to the Corinthians. The omission of 'as of' brings the two words still closer.

The Bishops' Bible of 1602

The KJB of 1611 reproduces peculiarities of the Bishops' Bible, some of which are found only in the 1602 printing. These confirm that it was the original physical copy, something that is important in relation not just to the annotations in Bod 1602, but also to the matter of the base text for the KJB. The 1602 Bishops' Bible frequently differs from the original 1568 text, so much so that in parts such as the Psalms it ought to be thought of as a new version.[7] So it is not the Bishops' Bible of 1568 that is the basis for the text, and any collation of the KJB with the Bishops' Bible has to be with the 1602 text. Some examples will prove the point. In the original Bishops' Bible the Hebrew name אַיָּלוֹן is, consistently, 'Aialon', but the 1611 KJB follows the variations of the 1602 text exactly, giving 'Aialon', 'Aiialon' and 'Aijalon'.[8] It is worthwhile speculating what caused this variety. 1568's 'Aialon' has the merit of being consistent but is incorrect because the yod (the i or j in the English) is doubled. This was realised by one of Barker's scholars, who made the correction on the five occasions when he noticed the problem; moreover, he did it in two indifferent ways, four times with double i, once with ij (unless this is a printer's variation). So the KJB translators inherited an incompletely corrected text, and apparently failed to notice that there was still a problem in at least five places.

[6] Here is the note as Allen gives it, following the English; the Latin is translated into English: 'it is asked whether the subject [of] εὐλογίας [of bounty] and πλεονεξίας [of covetousness] be the same: I think that both designations ought to be referred to the Corinthians; not, on the contrary, the word εὐλογίαν [bounty] to the Corinthians, and the word πλεονεξίαν [covetousness] to the Apostles, as the majority of my colleagues, εὐλογίαν ὑμῶν [your bounty] and πλεονεξίαν ἡμῶν [our covetousness]' (*Translating for King James*, p. 51).

[7] Edgar J. Goodspeed observes that his 'copies of the later printings of the Bishops' (1576, etc.) vary so strikingly from the edition of 1568 that it has become clear that much of the revision that eventually found a place in the King James of 1611 was made in the course of tacit revision of the Bishops' in its successive printings. The Bishops' Bible was not so much a text as a textual process' (*Goodspeed*, p. iii). My previous disagreement with this statement is wrong (Norton, *History*, I, p. 116 n). Considerable work needs to be done on the Bishops' Bible to establish the extent of the variation between printings and, more interestingly, to try to understand how these happened.

[8] 'Aialon': Josh. 10:12; 1 Chr. 6:69; 8:13; 2 Chr. 11:10; 28:18. 'Aiialon': Josh. 19:42; Judg. 1:35; 12:12; 1 Sam. 14:31. 'Aijalon': Josh. 21:24 (and twice in front matter).

This variation of spelling, important as it is for showing what the KJB was printed from, is also important for establishing that the translators were fallible in their attention to the text: sometimes they nodded. Two clear errors and two readings that are probably errors also show fallibility. The first of the errors comes at 1 Kgs 8:61, where the KJB reproduced 1602's 'the Lord your God' for יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ, 'the Lord our God'. The second is 'Amorites' for 'Ammonites' (1 Kgs 11:5). In both cases earlier editions of the Bishops' Bible and the other versions all had the correct reading; the errors were picked up and corrected in 1629.

The present tense at Acts 23:3, 'then saith Paul', where the Greek and the context require the past, also comes from the 1602 text, where, one guesses, the printer carelessly put 'saith' for the earlier editions' 'said'. It is difficult to see how the retention of this reading could be anything but an error: the KJB translators may not have noticed the mistake, or they may have failed to mark it, or their printer may have failed to notice their annotation. The initial error, then, was probably the printer's. We cannot tell whose fault its reproduction was, but we do know that it was, again, the 1629 editors who made the correction.

'Saith Paul' is, I think, less sure to be an error than 'your God'. A little less certain still is the singular 'man of activity' in 'if thou knowest any man of actiuitie amongst them, then make them rulers ouer my cattell' (Gen. 47:6). There are four good reasons for thinking this an error: the singular is inconsistent with 'make *them* rulers', the Hebrew is plural, the same Hebrew is translated as plural in the other places where it occurs, and all the previous translations recognised that it was plural. So the reading's survival from 1568 to 1602, then into the KJB, where it remained until 1762, looks very like carelessness and probably shows the tenacity of the tiny in the face of man's best efforts.

But one must be cautious: that the reading survived for 200 years shows that a significant number of careful scholars did not perceive that it was an error. Either this happened through carelessness or because they found the reading acceptable. What finally makes the former possibility the likely one is that it is impossible to find a justification for the singular. In a case like this, where there is strong reason to suspect an error of a quite simple sort and there is no direct evidence that the translators *created* the reading, one has to have some understanding of how the reading might *not* be considered an error to allow it to stand (the discussion of 'strain at a gnat', below, p. 45, shows how such an understanding can be decisive).

Overall, there are some 250 variants where the first edition preserves a 1602 reading. The only surprise in this figure is that it is so low – the first instruction to the translators had, after all, been to follow the Bishops' Bible and keep it 'as little altered as the truth of the original will permit'. That they left unchanged only 16% of the readings that have become contentious suggests how thoroughly they worked.

Bod 1602

Some of the details of annotation in Bod 1602 show either that parts of the KJB were printed from it or that it is, in places, an exact source for – or copy of – the printer's master copy. Again the spelling of names is revealing. The 1602 text spells Noah's first son 'Sem' throughout, and this is followed by 1611 until Genesis 9, where he becomes, more correctly, 'Shem'. The change in spelling exactly follows Bod 1602: the translators began inserting an h from chapter 9 on. This reflects something that happens a number of times, in the work of editors as well as of the translators: a change is decided on after several examples of the need for it have occurred, but there is no looking back to the earlier examples. Moreover, it shows work being done in a linear fashion, apparently once only.

As I have already suggested, the large number of differences between Bod 1602 and the KJB of 1611 make it extremely unlikely that Bod 1602 was made from the printed text as some sort of collation of differences. But the possibility remains open from an example such as Sem/Shem that Bod 1602 is not a direct source for the KJB text – that is an uncle rather than a father. It could perhaps be transcribed from or made simultaneously with the final copy. Another variation in the spelling of a name seems to settle this question because it derives from the particular nature of the annotations in Bod 1602. 'Ishmael' occurs forty-seven times in the OT; at 1 Chr. 9:44, 1611 gives the form consistently used in the Bishops' Bible, 'Ismael'.[9] What looks like carelessness on the printer's part is probably due to difficulties in following Bod 1602: h is inserted but only visible if one looks very closely because the insertion is obscured by other work. This makes it highly probable that the relationship of Bod 1602 to 1611 is paternal or grand-paternal rather than avuncular, for the reading descends directly from a scribal peculiarity of Bod 1602.

Examples of this sort show that the annotations in Bod 1602 are highly important as evidence for the text of the KJB and have a status that all the other evidence lacks: the annotations show deliberate acts of the translators that led directly to the first printed text. In the first place the contrast is with the printed 1602 text. In many places this leads directly to the 1611 text but, without evidence of annotation, we can never know whether this represents a deliberate decision – an invisible 'stet' against the reading – or either the translators' accidental failure to annotate or the printer's accidental following of the printed exemplar where there was an annotation. In the second place the contrast is with the 1611 text itself: though almost all we read in it is the result of deliberate creation by the translators, alone it never reveals which bits of the text are accidents of some sort.

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[9] 'Ismael' also comes twice in the Apocrypha (1 Esdras 9:22; Judith 2:23); there the spelling is dictated by the Greek, and the Hebraic 'Ishmael' is not used.

The most striking example of Bod 1602 as evidence for the text comes at Hos. 6:5. Here what appears to be a misprint that was immediately corrected in subsequent editions is shown to be a deliberate creation of the translators. As we have received the KJB text, it reads, 'therefore have I hewed *them* by the prophets; I have slain them by the words of my mouth'. 'Have I hewed them' corresponds to the earlier versions' 'haue I cut down'; it is a good literal rendering of the Hebrew and goes appropriately with 'I have slain them'. Now, the first printing has 'shewed' for 'hewed'. This is not the literal sense of the Hebrew, and later editors apparently had every justification in rejecting it as a misprint. In Bod 1602 'cut down' is struck through and 'shewed' substituted. So, if 'shewed' is an error, it is not the printer's but the translators': either the scribe's pen slipped or they made a mistake. If it is a mistake, the immediate problem is to understand how the translators came to make it. The exegetical difficulty is the violent presentation of God (the speaker here). A Geneva annotation explains the sense this way: 'I haue still laboured by my prophets, and as it were, framed you to bring you to amendement, but all was in vaine: for my word was not meate to feede them, but a sworde to slaye them'. God's word, which should have led to reform of life, has been ignored, so, rather than saving, it condemns. Figuratively, what should have been food has become a sword. The first KJB's 'shewed' seems to respond to this note, removing the figurative sense and rephrasing the note's 'laboured by my prophets' with 'shewed them by the prophets'. Here we have a glimpse of what may have been in the translators' minds, but it does not seem enough to explain what now appears as a paraphrastic removal of an image through theological embarrassment. The KJB is too steadfastly literal for this. Yet the Geneva note points in the right direction. The Aramaic translation-paraphrase of the prophets, Targum Jonathan, could well have been taken by the translators as having a certain authority. It reads דאזהרתנון, 'I warned them', so giving the sense found in the Geneva note.[10] If the translators were swayed by Targum Jonathan here, they would have thought of their rendering as the true meaning of the text, as discovered through their researches. Bod 1602 demonstrates that 'shewed' was deliberate, the Geneva note hints at a reason for it, and Targum Jonathan makes clear that there was indeed reason for 'shewed'. At this point, an editor who would keep 'hewed' in the text must recognise that to do so is to make a decision not on the text but on the translation.

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[10] Sperber, ed., III, p. 395. Cathcart translates the whole verse, 'because I warned them through the mission of my prophets and they did not repent, I have brought killers against them, for they transgressed the Memra of my will'. After noting the Hebrew reading, he oberves that the Targum 'avoids the idea of God "killing", by placing that activity in the hands of agents sent by the Lord. *Tg.* Prophets has frequent references to the nation's refusal to take notice of the message of the prophets and repent' (Gordon and Cathcart, pp. 41–2). A copy of Targum Jonathan was in the Bodleian Library at the time the Oxford translators were working on the prophets (Daiches, p. 166).

Plate 1. Genesis 15–16 from the 1602 Bishops' Bible, with annotations by the KJB translators.

The unique importance of Bod 1602 as evidence for the text is clear. It sounds a warning against over-presumption of error in the first printed text because it sometimes shows that what would otherwise look like an error is the deliberate work of the translators. None of the other evidence does this. Now, the example just given involved apparent typographical error and turned on the coincidence that the deletion of a single letter could

restore the generally accepted meaning. There would have been no issue if the translators had written, say, 'warned' instead of 'shewed', for then their understanding would have been unambiguous, and it would have been left to a revised translation rather than to editors to make the change.

One might take the translators' insertion of an 's' at the beginning of 'hewed' as an example of ingenious fidelity to the first rule given to the translators, to alter the Bishops' Bible 'as little . . . as the truth of the original will permit'. There are not enough such examples to show that such minimalist revision was something the translators deliberately strove for (especially when set against the constant examples, especially in the OT and Apocrypha, of substantial rewriting), but another of these minimalist revisions ushers in a group of revisions that is very important for revealing the kinds of decisions editors have made and must now make in the light of Bod 1602. It comes in 2 Chr. 32:5:

1602	Modern KJBs
And Hezekia went to lustily, and built vp the wall where it was broken, and made the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo in the citie of Dauid.	Also he strengthened himself, and built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo in the city of David

Only the last two phrases appear untouched, yet the translators did revise 'repaired Millo': they inserted p at the beginning and deleted the i, creating 'prepared Millo'. In 1616 'repaired' found its way back into the text, and has remained there ever since. The crucial point is this: a later edition gives a reading that the translators had explicitly rejected, and this rejected reading has become our received reading. The evidence of Bod 1602 makes it impossible to take 'prepared' as an accident, so an editor must now choose whether to follow the translators or tradition – knowing that the traditional or received reading comes from the understanding of someone in Barker's printing house.

Again an explanation can be hazarded as to the reasons for the change and for its reversal. וַיְחַזֵּק אֶת־הַמִּלּוֹא is now usually translated, 'and strengthened Millo' (Revised Version, etc.). The difference in sense from 'repaired' is that 'strengthened' does not imply previous damage. 'Prepared' similarly omits the suggestion of damage, and this sense of the meaning presumably prompted the translators. They avoided repeating 'strengthened' from earlier in the verse, either because this was a way of marking that there the Hebrew uses a different form of the same verb, or simply for variation – in the words of their preface, not tying themselves to an identity of words, but using another word no less fit as commodiously.[11] One might well argue that

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[11] 'The Translators to the Reader', fol. B2ᵛ.

'prepared' is indeed 'less fit', that it is a vague, unsatisfactory word to have used here, and then be puzzled as to why it is used at all since nowhere else is חָזַק translated as 'prepare'. Certainly, somebody involved with the printing of the 1616 edition failed to discern the translators' motive and meaning, and so restored the Bishops' Bible's word.

One more typical example: 2 Chr. 6:27 now reads 'and send rain upon thy land, which thou hast given unto thy people for an inheritance'. This is also how it read in the 1602 Bishops' Bible, with 'vpon thy land' translating עַל־אַרְצְךָ literally. The KJB originally read, 'upon the land', and Bod 1602 shows the translators rejecting what has become the received reading. They struck through 'thy' and substituted 'the'. Then, trying the text by the Hebrew (one presumes), the editors of the Cambridge edition of 1638 observed that 'the land' was not literally accurate, and so 'corrected' it to 'thy land'. The translators' original reasons for the non-literal translation had ceased to be apparent to their successors. We may guess at the original reasons – the translators may have considered 'thy' redundant in context and justified the decision from the Vulgate, which also omits the possessive ('da pluviam terrae, quam dedisti populo tuo ad possidendum') – but the crucial point is that Bod 1602 shows that the translators deliberately rejected the reading the later editors recreated.

There are at least twenty-four instances of this sort where later editions have restored a Bishops' Bible reading that the translators rejected, and a further eleven that involve the spelling of names. 'Prepared Millo' is the only one where the translators' understanding of the text is lost. All the others are either neutral as far as the reading of the original is concerned or involve some degree of apparent deviation from literal translation. I list them here arranged by date of restoration; in each case the 1602 and modern KJB readings represent the original literally:

Ref.	1602 and modern KJBs	1611	Date restored
2 Chr. 32:5	repaired Millo	prepared Millo	1616
Amos 1:1	two years	two yere	1616
Mal. 4:2	and ye shall go forth	and shall goe foorth	1617
Deut. 20:7	lest he die in the battle	lest he die in battell	1629
Deut. 26:1	the Lord thy God	the Lord	1629
1 Sam. 28:7	And his servants said	And his seruant said	1629
1 Chr. 3:19	and the sons of Zerubbabel	And the sonne of Zerubbabel	1629
1 Chr. 11:15	to the rock to David	to the rocke of Dauid	1629
Esther 1:8	for so the king had appointed	for the king had appointed	1629
Ps. 113:9	*and to be* a joyful mother	to be a ioyfull mother	1629

Ref.	1602 and modern KJBs	1611	Date restored
Song 4:6	to the mountain of myrrh	to the mountaines of myrrhe	1629
Dan. 3:18	the golden image	thy golden image	1629
Joel 3:13	their wickedness	the wickednesse	1629
Num. 6:14	and one ram	and one lambe	1638
Josh. 3:15	all the time	at the time	1638
2 Kgs 20:13	shewed them all the house	shewed them the house	1638
1 Chr. 7:5	valiant men of might [1602: warre]	men of might	1638
2 Chr. 6:27	thy land	the land	1638
Ps. 105:30	Their land	The land	1638
Eccles. 1:5	his place	the place	1638
Ezek. 3:11	the children of thy people	thy people	1638
Amos 8:3	the songs of the temple	the songs of the Temples	1638
1 Chr. 7:35	And the sons	And the sonne	1701
Ezek. 1:17	turned	returned	1769

These are the eleven names, given in their 1611 spelling, which were restored to their 1602 spelling by later editions: Caldees (Gen. 15:7 etc.), Maarah (Josh. 15:59), Shahazimath (Josh. 19:22), Baalah (Josh. 19:44), Zoar (1 Chr. 4:7), Gidor (1 Chr. 8:31), Elpalet (1 Chr. 14:7), Nephushim (Ezra 2:50), Michmash (Neh. 7:31), Hodiah (Neh. 10:18), Siloe (Luke 13:4; here the translators made and then rejected a later change).

Explanations of the sort just given are of course speculative; to some extent, they are also beside the point, for we do not have to understand the translators' motive and meaning when faced with clear evidence of their deliberate decisions. At the other end of the scale from 'prepared Millo' is 'the Lord' at Deut. 26:1. The Hebrew is יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ, 'the Lord thy God', as the Bishops' Bible and modern KJBs have it. Without the evidence of Bod 1602, 1611's omission of 'thy God' would appear to be a simple omission by the printer. But the translators struck through 'thy God'. If this 'blunder' was a deliberate action, its rationale is unrecoverable. Nevertheless, we cannot presume that there was no rationale, and therefore should not presume to correct the translators.

Four of the twenty-four restorations of rejected readings are matters of English that appear not to involve how the original is understood. The translators deleted 'and' from 'he maketh the barren woman to keepe house, and to be a ioyful mother of children' (Ps. 113:9); it was restored in 1629. They changed 'turned' to 'returned' in 'they turned not when they went' (Ezek. 1:17; restored 1769), 'two years' to 'two year' (Amos 1:1; restored

1616), and they deleted 'ye' from 'and ye shall goe foorth' (Mal. 4:2; restored 1617). The rest all involve some degree of perceived inaccuracy in that each departs from a literal reading of the text. I guess that the translators' motives must have been stylistic since the Hebrew involved is not difficult and they already had the 'right' answer in front of them.

Two more things are worth noting here. First, save for 'Siloe' at Luke 13:4, the examples all come from the OT and, being spread through it, seem to have no special connection with the work of a particular company of translators. Second, all bar two were restored to their original readings by 1638, that is, within a time-frame in which the Bishops' Bible readings could have influenced the decisions. This is not enough to show that the various editors, scholars and printers involved in the work through to 1638 tested the KJB by the Bishops' Bible and consequently restored a few of the latter's readings, but some such testing is not impossible. Of all the changes, perhaps only 'repaired' for 'prepared' argues with any strength for the influence of the Bishops' Bible: all the others are logical responses to the original.

One or two of these examples may show slips of the scribal pen influencing the text of the KJB, but overall they testify to the importance of the annotations in Bod 1602 as evidence for the text, and they enforce a greater respect for the detail of the first printed text than editors have hitherto granted it. But we should be wary of going too far, either making Bod 1602 into the final arbiter on the text wherever it affords evidence, or ascribing infallibility to the first edition. Half a dozen counter-examples stand against those just examined. In these Bod 1602 shows the translators creating readings eventually brought in by a later editor but not found in the 1611 text. At Lev. 11:3, the translators changed 'chaweth cud' to 'cheweth the cud', but the first edition has 'cheweth cud'; 'cheweth the cud' first appeared in 1629. What one will never know here is whether the printer overlooked 'the' or whether there was a decision subsequent to the annotation in Bod 1602 to omit the article because it is also missing from the Hebrew (in contrast to the next verse, where the Hebrew has the article, it is again inserted by the Bod 1602 scribe, and it does appear in the first edition).

The same problem – was a decision revoked or accidentally ignored? – is present in all six examples. Since in each case both readings are possible, the question becomes this: does one trust the first edition against manuscript evidence and the decision of later editors? The answer must be that one does because to do otherwise would be unacceptably problematic in that it would open up the possibility of revising the text solely on the basis of Bod 1602. One example enforces this conclusion, 'a silver bowl' (1602 and 1611) or 'one silver bowl' (Bod 1602 annotation and 1638; Num. 7:61). Here we could reinforce the evidence of the Bod 1602 annotation by observing that

twice elsewhere in this chapter Bod 1602's 'a' for אֶחָד is deleted and 'one' substituted, and that this change remains in the printed text (vv. 31, 55). It is, then, very possible that 1611's 'a' is a copying or printing error. But the real difficulty comes in v. 43, where the identical change is recorded in Bod 1602 but 1611 has 'a', and this has never been altered. The 1638 edition appears to have been remiss in not changing this also. There are two points here. First, it is unlikely that the same error of transmission should be made twice, in which case the 1611 reading appears to be deliberate. Second, if v. 43 were to be changed, as consistency would seem to demand, a new area of revision would be opened up, namely the possibility of revision at every point where the evidence in Bod 1602 gives a different reading from the first edition. Changes might therefore be made not only where later editors had collectively agreed that the 1611 reading was satisfactory, but where the translators themselves had made decisions subsequent to those recorded in Bod 1602. In short, the principle I go on is this: variant readings in the printing history alone are allowed to raise questions about the text. Bod 1602 may provide the most important evidence for deciding a reading but I do not allow it to *raise* questions as to readings.

Bod 1602's silences are also evidence for the text, but they are less certain. The absence of annotation may well imply an invisible 'stet' against the text, but this is not always so. There are at least twenty-nine instances of changes being made in the printed text where no changes are noted in Bod 1602.[12] Over half of them are a matter of a single letter, most commonly a variation between a singular or a plural. The three most significant examples come from the NT. The lack of annotation to 'and awoke him, saying' (Matt. 8:25) confirms what is also obvious from the immediate correction in other editions, that the first edition's 'and awoke, saying' is a printer's error. On the other hand, 'he came' in 'but when hee saw Jesus afarre off, he came and worshipped him' (Mark 5:6) is probably a deliberate late change from 'he ranne', which is unannotated in Bod 1602, and was restored in 1638. 'Strain at a gnat' (Matt. 23:24) falls somewhere between these two examples: it is often argued to be a printer's error, yet has generally been allowed to stand. 'Straine out a gnat' is left unrevised in Bod 1602, suggesting but not proving that the translators decided to leave it unchanged. However, corroboratory evidence such as the immediate change to 'awoke, saying', is missing: if 'strain at' was a mistake, this was not obvious, and it survived the scrutiny of all editors and printers until 1754, and most of them since then. It is always

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[12] Gen. 8:13; 9:18; 26:1, 8, 18; 31:30; Exod. 29:26; Lev. 17:14; Num. 1:47; 24:6; 1 Kgs 3:4, 12; 13:11; 15:29; 2 Kgs 8:19; 20:17; 23:36; 2 Chr. 26:18; 32:20; Ezra 4:24; Job 41:6; Ps. 107:43; Prov. 20:14; Amos 9:5; Micah 7:7; Nahum 3:16; Matt. 8:25; 23:24; Mark 5:6; 11:8; 15:34; Luke 8:5, 8.

helpful – but not essential – to find an explanation for a suspect reading. The *OED* gives a good one:

to strain at: to make a difficulty of 'swallowing' or accepting (something) . . . This use is due to a misunderstanding of the phrase 'strain at a gnat' in Matt. xxiii. 24. It has been asserted that 'straine *at*' in the Bible of 1611 is a misprint for 'straine *out*' . . . But quots. 1583 and 1594 show that the translators of 1611 simply adopted a rendering that had already obtained currency. It was not a mistranslation, the meaning intended being 'which strain the liquor if they find a gnat in it'. The phrase, however, was early misapprehended (perh. already by Shaks. in quot. 1609), the verb being supposed to mean 'to make violent effort'.

In short, 'strain at' probably was deliberate. One might be ingenious and argue that the *OED*'s earlier quotations and the 1611 rendering all represent a popular misunderstanding of the biblical phrase, but in editorial matters such as this, where the best possible approach to certainty is needed for a change to be made to the first edition, ingenuity can only be used on behalf of the first edition's readings, not against them.

3 | The first edition

A 'Bible of the largest and greatest volume'

The printing history of the KJB is plagued throughout by inadequate publishing records. Presumably because it was considered a revision rather than a new book, the first edition was not entered on the Stationers' Registers, so we do not know when in 1611 it appeared.

Though commonly known as the Authorised Version (AV), it appears not to have been officially authorised. A royal proclamation of 1541 had ordered a 'Byble of the largest and greatest volume, to be had in euery churche'.[1] First the Great Bibles then the Bishops' Bibles had supplied this need. The first edition of the KJB was also a Bible 'of the largest and greatest volume', and so replenished the supply of church Bibles. The finely engraved title page, by Cornelis Boel, reads:

The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, AND THE NEW: *Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues: & with the former Translations diligently compared and reuised: by his Maiesties speciall Com̄andement. Appointed to be read in Churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker. Printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie.* ANNO DOM. *1611.*

The use of 'appointed' and the absence of 'authorised' are striking – the more striking in that the Bishops' Bible after 1585 had been 'authorised and appointed to be read in Churches' (H188). Moreover, there is no official record of authorisation (for these reasons I prefer to call this Bible the King James Bible). When after 1611 church officials, in keeping with the 1541 injunction, needed a new church Bible, they generally specified either 'a Bible of the latest edition' or 'of the last translation', or they used the injunction's phrase 'a bible of the largest volume'.[2] The designation (or, perhaps, nickname) 'authorised' crept in. In 1619 Archbishop Abbott, who had been one of the translators, describes the KJB as 'the Bible of the New

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[1] As given in Pollard, p. 112.
[2] R. T. Davidson, 'The Authorisation of the English Bible', *Macmillan's Magazine*, June 1881, as given in Pollard, p. 34.

Translation, lately set forth by His Majesty's authority', and in 1620 Ambrose Ussher describes it as 'the authorised bible'.[3]

In relation to the first edition and the largest folios from the King's Printer that succeeded it, Pollard's views have stood the test of time. He notes that

the word 'Appointed', is considerably weaker than the 'Authorised and Appointed' which it replaced. By itself 'Appointed' means little more than 'assigned' or 'provided', and the words 'Appointed to be read in Churches' literally expressed the facts that this Bible was printed by the King's printer with the approval of the King and the Bishops for use in churches, and that no competing edition 'of the largest volume' was allowed to be published. (Pollard, p. 32)

Consequently, churches were not expected to discard their Bishops' (or Great) Bibles overnight. This would have been especially burdensome to poor parishes and a slur on the Bishops' Bible. So, in the absence of compulsion, new folio KJBs were purchased when wanted or needed. The dates of the largest folios from the King's Printer tell a straightforward story here: 1611, 1613/1611, 1617, 1634 and 1640. There was extra demand for church Bibles produced by the appearance of a new translation, and this demand was more than satisfied within six years, a further reprint being unnecessary for fourteen years.

Like its predecessors, the Great and the Bishops' Bibles, the first edition was printed in black letter, a type-face created in imitation of gothic script but now carrying with it a sense of stately ornateness by contrast with the modern clarity introduced by the Geneva Bible's use of roman type. Size, quality of paper and the black letter type were the three characteristics promoting a sense of ecclesiastical splendour in the first edition. Otherwise, throughout the text (some of the preliminary matter is ornate) it was plain and formal – workmanlike – compared with most of its predecessors.

A specimen page

Since aspects of the typography can affect the text, it will be useful to examine a specimen page giving most of Genesis 16 and half of chapter 17 (plate 2). The text is presented within ruled borders with space delineated

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[3] Davidson, as given in Pollard, p. 34; Ussher, p. 589. Of interest, but obviously unreliable, is the following from a manuscript account of the history of the Bible apparently written towards the end of the seventeenth century:

this great undertaking being managed with all due care was finished in 3. Years dedicated to K. James and published 1610, and is y[e] Last English Translation of this Divine book and is called Kg James Bible – after this was published the use of y[e] Others drop't off by degree's and this took place tho there was neither Canon Proclamation or Act of Parliam[t] to enforce y[e] use of it. (British Library MS Lansdowne 351, fol. 44v)

Hagar fleeth.   Chap.xvij.   Abraham.

obtaine children by her : and Abram
hearkened to the voice of Sarai.

3 And Sarai Abrams wife, tooke
Hagar her maid, the Egyptian, after A-
bram had dwelt ten yeeres in the land
of Canaan, and gaue her to her hus-
band Abram, to be his wife.

4 ¶And he went in vnto Hagar,
and shee conceiued : And when shee saw
that shee had conceiued, her mistresse
was despised in her eyes.

5 And Sarai said vnto Abram, My
wrong be vpon thee : I haue giuen my
maid into thy bosome, and when shee
saw that she had conceiued, I was de-
spised in her eyes: the LORD iudge
betweene me and thee.

6 But Abram said vnto Sarai, Be-
hold, thy maid is in thy hand; doe to her
† as it pleaseth thee. And when Sarai
† dealt hardly with her, shee fled from
her face.

7 ¶And the Angel of the LORD
found her by a fountaine of water, in
the wildernesse, by the fountaine, in the
way to Shur:

8 And he said, Hagar Sarais maid,
whence camest thou? and whither wilt
thou goe? And she said, I flee from the
face of my mistresse Sarai.

9 And the Angel of the LORD
said vnto her, Returne to thy mistresse,
and submit thy selfe vnder her hands.

10 And the Angel of the LORD
said vnto her, I will multiply thy seede
exceedingly, that it shall not be numbred
for multitude.

11 And the Angel of the LORD
said vnto her, Behold, thou art with
child, and shalt beare a sonne, and shalt
call his name ‖ Ishmael; because the
LORD hath heard thy affliction.

12 And he will be a wilde man; his
hand will be against euery man, and e-
uery mans hand against him: *he shal
dwell in the presence of all his brethren.

13 And shee called the name of the
LORD that spake vnto her, Thou
God seest me: for she said, Haue I also
here looked after him that seeth me?

14 Wherefore the well was called,
* ‖ Beer-lahai-roi: Behold, It is be-
tweene Cadesh and Bered.

15 ¶And Hagar bare Abram a sonne:
and Abram called his sonnes name,
which Hagar bare, Ishmael.

16 And Abram was fourescore and
sixe yeeres old, when Hagar bare Ish-
mael to Abram.

CHAP. XVII.

1 God reneweth the Couenant. 5 Abram his
name is changed, in token of a greater bles-
sing. 10 Circumcision is instituted. 15 Sa-
rai her name is changed, and she blessed. 17
Izsaac is promised. 23 Abram and Ishmael
are circumcised.

AND when Abram was
ninetie yeres old and nine,
the LORD appeared
to Abram, and said vnto
him, I am the almightie
God, *walke before me, and be thou
‖ perfect.

2 And I wil make my couenant be-
tweene me and thee, and will multiply
thee exceedingly.

3 And Abram fell on his face, and
God talked with him, saying,

4 As for me, behold, my couenant
is with thee, and thou shalt be a *father
of ‖ many nations.

5 Neither shall thy name any more
be called Abram, but thy name shall bee
Abraham: *for a father of many nati-
ons haue I made thee.

6 And I will make thee exceeding
fruitfull, and I will make nations of
thee, and Kings shall come out of thee.

7 And I will establish my couenant
betweene me and thee, and thy seede af-
ter thee, in their generations for an e-
uerlasting couenant, to bee a God vnto
thee, and to thy seed after thee.

8 And I will giue vnto thee, and
to thy seed after thee, the land † wherein
thou art a stranger, all the land of Ca-
naan, for an euerlasting possession, and
I will be their God.

9 ¶And God said vnto Abraham,
Thou shalt keepe my couenant there-
fore, thou, and thy seede after thee, in
their generations.

10 This is my couenant, which yee
shall keepe betweene me and you, and
thy seed after thee: * euery man child a-
mong you shall be circumcised.

11 And ye shall circumcise the flesh of
your foreskinne; and it shal be a *token
of the couenant betwixt me and you.

12 And he that is † eight dayes olde,
*shalbe circumcised among you, euery
man child in your generations, he that
is borne in the house, or bought with
money of any stranger, which is not of
thy seed.

13 He that is borne in thy house, and
he that is bought with thy money, must
B 2   needs

Plate 2. First edition KJB, Genesis 16–17.

for headers and for annotations. A series of typographical steps would have been necessary to create such a page. Each ruled area was set separately. First, the two columns of text were set, then, spaced out as necessary with wooden blocks, the marginal notes and references were added, and also the headers. The separation of these steps may occasionally have contributed to errors such as the misplacement or omission of notes and references.

Recto pages (as in plate 2) have the chapter number in the middle of the header (except in the Psalms), while the verso pages have the name of the book. Usually but not always the chapter number is the number of the chapter beginning on the page. The margin is used for three kinds of annotation. There are literal translations designated with a †, alternative English renderings with double vertical lines, and cross references with an asterisk. At the beginning of the chapter there is a summary of its contents. The catchword at the bottom of the right-hand column has a line to itself (something the printer could vary according to the demands of space).

The first letter or initial of the chapter is characteristic in that it is five lines deep and has no border. The second letter of the first word is always printed as a capital.

There are several points to note about the text. Perhaps the most important feature is the presentation of words that now appear in italics. At 16:6 'is' is given in small roman type: visually it appears de-emphasised – exactly the opposite to the effect of italics used for such words in roman type and all modern editions.[4] And the diminished emphasis is the point: the small roman type represents words that have no equivalent in the original text. Now, 'is' at 16:6 is the only example of small roman type here, but the page has other such added words: modern editions recognise this by adding a further seven uses of italics, all involving the verb 'to be'. The identification of added words is inconsistent and incomplete in 1611. So is the presentation: the Apocrypha, which rarely notes such words, uses square brackets without variation of type (though the first such word, 'watch' at 1 Esdras 4:11 is given in round brackets).

Paragraphs are denoted with paragraph marks following verse numbers (16:4 etc.). One of the curiosities of the KJB is that there are no paragraph marks after Acts 20, only one in Psalms, and six in the whole of the Apocrypha.[5] Like the identification of added words, this bespeaks incomplete work. One other feature of the page has similar implications: the holy name

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[4] As roman type is the font used for distinguishing text from the surrounding black letter type, so italic is used in relation to roman. The practice of setting translators' additions in a different type was introduced in the 1557 Geneva NT. This was set in roman with italic for the additions.

[5] Ps. 92:8 (superscriptions to the Psalms have paragraph marks; the sections of Ps. 119 begin with a three-line drop capital); 1 Esdras 2:8; 3:13; 4:13; 8:25; 2 Esdras 6:11; 1 Macc. 6:48.

is given in capitals; this continues throughout Genesis, but thereafter small capitals are used, 'LORD'. Either the decision to use this form was taken after the printing had begun or the error was noticed late. The former is more likely. There are several instances through the printing history of the KJB where it is clear that a decision was made after one or more relevant examples had passed, and no backward correction was made, no matter how easy such correction might seem. For instance, in the first edition, 'Olofernes' is changed to 'Holofernes' from Judith 3:5 onwards, even though 'Olofernes' comes twice on the same page as 'Holofernes'.

There are what appear to be printer's errors – 'appear to be' because there are two areas of doubt: first, the error may come from the copy the printer worked from, in which case it is not his error; second, it may not actually be an error. In 17:4 there is an asterisk before 'father' but no cross reference in the margin; in the next line of the verse there is a double vertical line where there should be a † as in the margin. The latter is a printer's error, but it is possible that the asterisk before 'father' without a corresponding reference could reflect a problem in the copy; either way one might suspect that the repetition of 'a father of many nations' in the next verse could have caused the problem. In the chapter summary, 'Izsaac' appears to be a printer's error, as does 'soieurnings' in the margin to 17:8. It is just possible that these are acceptable variant spellings.

For the most part the black letter type used for the text is clean-cut and, once one is used to it, quite readable. But it has some characteristics that can lead to problems. Because it is so strongly based on thick vertical lines with diagonal connecting lines and serifs, some letters can be confused if the type is at all misformed, worn or broken, notably *n*, *u* and *m*. The *n*s of 'Egyptian' (16:3) and of 'in' (16:6, second line) show how the connecting stroke can disappear, making the distinction from *u* unclear. The *m*s show a tendency for the right side of the letter to separate, making the letter appear *ni* (compare 'Abrams' in 16:3 with the other *m*s in the verse), or even, under the pressure of printing, to move, apparently giving 'Abrant' in 17:1. Long *s* and *f*, such a problem to modern readers, may also have been a problem even to those thoroughly used to the typeface. This is the likeliest explanation for the variation between 'flay' and 'slay' at Lev. 1:6 and 2 Chr. 29:34, a variation between the first two editions that probably goes back to the indistinct nature of the *f* of 'flay' in the 1602 text (in which case it is evidence that the second edition was set with an annotated Bishops' Bible as one of its sources).

One of the most obvious characteristics of the page is the antiquated spelling, most of which has disappeared from modern versions. For instance, many of the words have a terminal e ('obtaine' and 'bee' in the first line and its margin etc.), but this is not consistently used, as 16:5 shows: 'when *shee* saw that *she* had conceiued'. A more substantial variation is visible in 16:8 and the chapter summary: the possessive is first modern (save that apostrophes

were yet to be used) then antiquated, 'Sarais maid' and 'Sara her name'. Spelling was much more fluid in 1611 than we allow: it was quite acceptable for a word to be given in several different forms.

One last thing about this page: at 16:6 it has a different reading from the second edition, 'but Abram' where the second edition reads 'and Abram'. 'But' was the 1602 reading and remains the modern reading; however, Bod 1602 shows that the translators struck through 'but' and substituted 'and'.

Closely examined, this sample page does more than demonstrate the appearance and particularities of the 1611 text: it shows some of the characteristic problems the text presents to editors – spelling, errors and variant readings. Some of these problems make one question the reliability of the text as an exact representation of the intentions of the translators. It may not have preserved their decision at 16:6, and it has muddled their work in some way at 17:4.

Initials and space

Some aspects of typography show up when a longer view is taken. One of the distinctive and ornamental features of the text that was very much under the printer's control was the use of initials. Large initials nine lines deep are normally found at the beginnings of books; by contrast with the initials for chapters, these generally have a double border. Some of the books are given smaller initials for reasons of space (Obadiah, possibly Micah where a nine-line initial might have caused problems at the end of the page, 2 Esdras and 2 and 3 John, where sufficient space is created by the use of the small initials so that 3 John can start on the same page as 2 John). Others have smaller initials without the need for space-saving (Lamentations, Wisdom, Susannah, Bel and 2 Maccabees). If this is not just whim on the printer's part, it may reflect some sense of the relative insignificance of these books. The remaining two smaller initials come at the beginnings of Luke and John and represent the evangelists. Here purpose-made initials are used even though they are the wrong size. The printer evidently liked the Luke initial enough to use it again at 1 Thessalonians 2 (see plate 3).

Curiously and inappropriately, a few of the initials have mythological scenes. Pan figures in the seven-line capital used for Wisdom (also used at Psalm 141 and 1 Peter 3). Neptune with sea horses begins both Matthew and Revelation, and Romans begins with a naked, sprouting Daphne. There is also a female figure, apparently with an asp or serpent, in the initial to 1 Thessalonians. The O beginning Hebrews has a face in it (as does the O at Isaiah 64). It seems improbable that the translators would have asked the printer to use these initials and unlikely that they would have approved their use. A degree of unsupervised freedom on the part of the printer is implicit.

Plate 3. Five unusual initials from the first edition of the King James Bible. From top left: seven-line figure of Pan, used at Psalm 141, Wisdom 1 and 1 Peter 3; ten-line Neptune and sea horses, Matthew 1 and Revelation 1; seven-line Luke, Luke 1 and 1 Thessalonians 2; ten-line Daphne, Romans 1; ten-line initial with face, Hebrews 1.

The initials at the beginnings of chapters also hint at a story. For 336 chapters nothing interferes with the uniform use of five-line unframed capitals with some kind of foliate design; then at 1 Chronicles 12 a six-line double-framed N appears. It is as if a discipline has been broken. The greatest variety is to be found in the Psalms: Psalms 6–8, for example, have successively a standard O, a four-line O given a five-line space and a six-line double-bordered O. Unless the printer was short of initial Os (quite a few are needed in the Psalms), this is variety for its own sake, perhaps even mere licence. At times the discipline is resumed, most notably in the 122 chapters from Ecclesiasticus 39 to John 9.

The majority of the variations are larger initials (very few of which correspond to the demands of space) and initials with borders. There are thirty-eight four-line initials, some dictated by lack of space, some apparently not; a dozen of them are set against five lines of text. The first comes at 1 Chronicles 18 where there is only room for four lines of text at the bottom of the column. What is remarkable is that for 342 chapters such an expedient had been unnecessary. With fifty-nine lines to a column one would have expected five or six chapters would have begun four lines from the bottom by now, and that twenty-three chapters would have begun somewhere in the bottom four lines. Now, chapters never begin with three or fewer lines left, and yet there is never space left at the bottom of a column except occasionally at the end of a book. The printer was highly skilled at adjusting the layout of the text to fit the page.

Usually the exercise of this skill is invisible, but in the last twelve pages of the Apocrypha, that is, in the last quire, the effort to cram text into a small space is obvious. The printer stopped the Apocrypha from running over the end of the quire, so ensuring that the NT could be printed separately from the OT and Apocrypha without waste of space or paper (no such provision is made for printing the OT separately from the Apocrypha). He used abbreviated forms much more than elsewhere, occasionally omitted punctuation at the end of a verse, and added an extra line at the foot of some of the columns. Here if anywhere the possibility that the printer changed the text for his own purposes might be tested: are there signs of compression in the language as well as in the typesetting? There are indeed five verses that are telegrammatic, 2 Macc. 13:22–26; they are striking both by contrast with the surrounding language and in comparison with the earlier versions. Verse 26, for example, reads, 'Lysias went vp to the iudgement seat, said as much as could be in defence of the cause, perswaded, pacified, made them well affected, returned to Antioch. Thus it went touching the kings comming and departing.' This revises Geneva's 'then went Lysias vp into the iudgement seat, and excused the facte as well as he could, and perswaded them, and pacified them, and made them well affectioned, & came againe vnto Antiocha. This is the matter concerning the Kings iourney, and his

returne.' Geneva is longer by forty-four characters and spaces. However, two things suggest the KJB's compression is not a question of space. The printer had room for another twenty-seven characters before he needed to add another line. Second, the accumulation of verbs without conjunctions exactly follows the Greek (it is a device quite commonly found in campaign narratives; the most famous example is Caesar's 'veni, vidi, vici'). The probability therefore is that the compression of vv. 22–26 is a deliberately literal following of the original – at the expense of more fluent English and in spite of the example of the earlier translations. If this, the most blatant example of compression, does not show (it cannot absolutely disprove) the printer interfering with the text, we must set him down as a faithful worker. If he strayed from the translators' copy, the straying was accidental.

Typographical errors

Obvious errors (typographical or printer's errors) show that the page does not perfectly represent the translators' work: it is a product of human fallibility and needs correction. Moreover, the presence of obvious errors suggests that there may be hidden errors, as 'but Abram' appears to be. This, simple as it is, may be as much as we can legitimately conclude from the obvious errors, but there is perhaps a little more than curiosity value in examining them further.

Up to this point it has been possible to refer to the printer as if he were a single person. But, in looking at whatever the errors in the text might tell of how well the work was rendered into print, we have to look at several functions in the printer's house, functions probably undertaken by several people at once since different parts may have been set simultaneously and several presses employed. The three most important here are those of the compositor, the proof-reader and the distributor of the type, presumably an apprentice. Compositors take type, a character at a time, from a case, a two-part box with compartments for each character. Printers did not have enough type to set the whole of the Bible at once, so parts had to be set and printed, then the type distributed to the case so that fresh text can be set. The apprentice distributing the type might mis-identify a character and so place it in the wrong compartment, or he might simply misplace a character. Consequently a compositor could reach into the correct compartment and pull out an incorrect character. Such errors do not reflect on the accuracy of the compositor: it is as if there were a glitch in the programming of one's keyboard so that once in a while when, say, the *u* key is struck, an *n* results.

Not all typographical errors, therefore, represent errors by the man with the first responsibility for rendering the text into print, the compositor. After the compositor, the proof-reader has prime responsibility for seeing that the

text is as it should be.[6] We can never tell how *badly* the compositor worked because the proof-reader removed an unknown number of his mistakes. For the same reason, we can never tell how *well* the proof-reader worked: we cannot see what he did, only what he failed to do.

Because of the divided responsibility for errors, because they tell only part of the story of the accuracy of the work, and because there is also fallibility in the present identification of them, one should not depend much on generalisations from errors. But, with this caveat, some observations may be made from the list in appendix 1. I count 351 errors (247 in the text, 104 in the margins etc.), that is, not much more than one in every three and a half chapters. This, surely, is a remarkably low number. The commonest error is *u* for *n* (61), followed by *n* for *u* (20), *c* for *t* (9) and *e* for *t* (4). The commonest incorrect word is 'aud' (28).[7] The confusion of *u* and *n* is probably an error of distribution not of setting, which comes from the great similarity of the characters.[8] Its frequency as well as some of the particular examples suggest this; for instance, 'soune' for 'sonne' at Num. 10:24: the compositor is unlikely to have taken type from two different places for consecutive identical letters, so the *u* must have been with the *n*s. The other side of this argument holds with 'bonnd' for 'bound'

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[6] 'Proof-reader' is used loosely here for ease of expression. The concept is anachronistic, as Johnson's definition of 'proof' reminds us: 'in printing, the rough draft of a sheet when first pulled' – not, that is, a completely set work that could be sent to the author while the type was kept standing. Some degree of checking there was, usually of freshly pulled sheets, and almost always in the printing house. Such checking increasingly involved authors, as Simpson was at pains to show (ch. 1), who were, of course, concerned to be properly represented. Nevertheless, when left solely to the printer and his men, as so much of the work on the innumerable editions of the KJB was, proof-reading may not have been primarily concerned with textual accuracy: 'printed copy would not necessarily be checked against manuscript but rather inspected for broken types, faulty lineation and other technical and esthetic matters, not textual accuracy' (Greetham, p. 118). For an example of this kind of checking of the Bible, see the description of the eighteenth-century Oxford corrector, Denison, below, p. 101.

[7] The Chadwyck-Healey *English Bible* CD-Rom, which is particularly prone to error where typographical peculiarities are concerned, shows only 17. It confirms the commonness of 'aud' in the earlier printed Bibles, yielding a further 130 hits: Tyndale 11, Coverdale 11, Matthew Bible 54, Great Bible 14, Geneva 9, Bishops' 12 and Rheims-Douai 19.

[8] The confusion is unlikely to be caused by inverting the character because each character had a nick showing the compositor which way it was to be held. There are only two instances of inverted characters, at Num. 29:1m and Ezek. 40:6m.

A speculation arises here. If the type was newly cast, as Pollard suggests (p. 32), confusion of u and n would begin once the printer began to re-use type, and so would indicate how much of the text was set at a time and how much of this black letter type Barker had. The first instance comes at Gen. 28:22, on fol. C3ᵛ, that is, on the thirty-first page. The inference is that no more than thirty pages were set before the type was distributed. The number of characters in these pages is slightly over 70,000 (text only, not counting spaces and punctuation); the commonest characters are e (8,865), a (6,562), t (6,386), h (5,994) and n (5,220).

(Jer. 30:13) and 'nnm' for 'num' (Ps. 103:8 m.): it is unlikely that the com-
positor would have reached into the same part of the case for two different
letters; in both instances he picked a misdistributed *n* from the *u* compart-
ment. Consequently 351 overstates the number of surviving typographical
errors that are the fault of the compositor. This is important, because it is his
(or, rather, their) accuracy that is of prime importance in establishing the
text. If about 250 typographical errors are to be attributed (in the first place)
to the compositor, that is certainly a low enough number to encourage a
respect for the text's standard of accuracy.

   On the other hand, 351 errors, some of them blatant, suggest that stan-
dards of proof-reading were not particularly high. This is not a matter of
attributing more errors to the proof-reader than the compositor; rather, it
reflects the degree to which each task is prone to error. Proof-readers should
be able to spot almost all typographical errors, but it would be unreal to
expect anything less than a sprinkling of errors from compositors. I am
inclined to think therefore that the compositor of the first edition did a
good job and is, for the most part, to be trusted, but that ordinary proof-
reading was not as thorough as it should have been. If proof-reading was
skimped, it is unlikely that a special effort was made to read the compositor's
work against the translators' copy.

   One further thing relates to this supposition: the first edition is almost
entirely homogeneous, but there at least eight variations to be found between
copies. All but one reflect work done after printing had begun rather than
as part of the regular process of composition, proof-reading and correction.
The exception is '40' for '46' (1 Macc. 13 summary), where I think it likely
that the up-stroke of '6' has broken off; what is left of the character happens
to be identical in size to a zero. Three of the variations show typographical
errors being corrected (a misplaced annotation at Joel 3:14, 'seters' at 1 Esdras
5:58, and 'Tyranuus' at 2 Macc. 4:40 m.),[9] and are useful in indicating that
the printer was willing to correct such errors when they were noticed. More
interesting are the three or four changes of reading ('them' to 'him' (Exod.
21:26), 'she' to 'he' (Song 2:7),[10] and 'by their knowledge of' inserted (Ecclus.
44:4)). The possible fourth is 'Abigal'/'Abigail' (2 Sam. 17:25); if the change
was to 'Abigail', it is an erroneous regularisation of spelling, but if it was to
'Abigal' it was scholarly in the light of the Hebrew. These changes appear
to come from scholarly observation of the text as it is being printed. There
is no telling whether such observation was thorough or random, but the
survival of blatant errors suggests it was the latter.

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[9] Wright, who notes all but the variation at Joel 3:14, suggests that 'probably many other
    changes might be discovered' (I, p. v). Only a full collation of extant copies would tell, but
    I suspect he overstates.
[10] It is possible that the change was 'he' to 'she' since the Hebrew is feminine.

All one can reasonably conclude is that the common-sense view is right: the first edition is to be treated with critical respect – respect, because it is made directly from the translators' own work and, probably, with their collaboration, and because it is well done; critical, because it is not perfectly done and may not have been checked against the manuscript.

'Hidden' errors

By 'hidden' errors, I mean those that might well have been invisible to a proof-reader because the printed text appears to make sense. There are various sources of these errors. The received text may be uncertain or corrupted in some way, earlier translations may have made a mistake that is accidentally retained, the translators themselves may have erred, they may not have written down what they meant to write, their draft may have been incorrectly copied in making the master copy, and the printer may have gone wrong in ways that are hidden.

Here we enter difficult territory because there is usually a degree of doubt as to whether these really are errors. The range is from near-certainty to the faintest suspicion, so there is not always a correct answer as to what the text should be. I want now to discuss some representative examples of each kind of possible error.

As examples of problems arising from the originals, three similar problems of gender are illuminating. I have already noted the omission of a marginal alternative at Ruth 3:15, where the first edition reads, 'he went into the citie'. This follows the received Hebrew text, but the problem is that the context seems to demand that it is Ruth, not Boaz, who went. Many manuscripts and various translations including the Geneva and the Bishops' Bibles make the verb feminine. Bod 1602 shows that the translators originally left 'she' unchanged, and the second edition, followed by most subsequent editions, has 'she went'. Moreover, only if the translators had followed the practice recorded in the report to the Synod of Dort of noting alternative readings in the margin could one have been certain that 'he went' was deliberate. There is, then, a good case that 'he went' is an error. Two points go against this. First, the reading is true to the Hebrew; second, 'he went' is a hard reading and therefore difficult to take as a copying or printing error. In this case, I think one must trust the first edition: the original may be wrong, but the translators appear to have followed it deliberately.

The gender of a Hebrew verb also causes problems in the final verses of Job 39 and in Song 2:7. In the latter the context seems to demand a masculine verb: although one might take the verse as an interpolation by the man, the woman appears to be speaking, as in the surrounding verses, giving a command about her lover: 'I charge you, O ye daughters of

Ierusalem . . . that ye stirre not vp, nor awake *my* loue, till he please'. The Hebrew has a feminine verb, 'till she please', and various translations, including the Vulgate, Geneva and the Bishops' Bible have followed this. The Bishops' Bible reads, 'nor touch her, till she be content her selfe'. Now, there appears to be no doubt that the KJB translators decided to treat the Hebrew as an error: they struck through all but 'nor' and 'be', and substituted 'awake my loue till he please', which is the rendering I quoted above. However, some copies of the first edition read 'till she please'. Because we do not know whether 'he' was corrected to 'she' or the other way round, we do not know whether the translators changed their mind and decided to be literal in spite of the context, or whether the printer, misled by the Bishops' Bible feminine reading because he was working from an annotated text like Bod 1602, incorrectly printed 'she'. So, 'until she please' could have been the translators' final decision, but the presence of 'till he please' in the majority of copies and in the second and subsequent editions means that one must take this as the intended reading. In short, the translators decided the Hebrew text was wrong, and the source of the variation in some copies may go back to the nature of the copy the printer worked from.

The third example of this sort concerns the eagle at the end of Job 39. In the Hebrew it is consistently masculine, but the KJB makes it feminine except in v. 30, which reads, 'her yong ones also suck up blood: and where the slaine *are*, there *is* he'. This appears to be a muddle, possibly going back to incomplete alteration of the Bishops' Bible, which makes the eagle masculine throughout. The translators made no change to 'there is he' in Bod 1602. The change to 'there is she' was first made in 1616 and then confirmed by the Cambridge edition of 1629. Scrivener's judgement on this seems exactly right: 'the "eagle" should have been masculine throughout vers. 27–30, but after having regarded it as feminine thus far, it is too late to change here' (p. 165 n.). The use of the masculine cannot be justified by reference to the Hebrew without impeaching the use of the feminine up to this point. The 1611 reading is an error, ultimately going back to the nature of the original (although that does not have an error here), but apparently having an immediate cause in imperfectly carrying out the decision to change the eagle's gender.

Two of the examples just discussed may well involve an influence from the Bishops' Bible. I have already noted one example of a Bishops' Bible mistake creeping apparently unnoticed into the KJB text, 'man of actiuitie' at Gen. 47:6 (see above, p. 36). Another reading that appears to be a printer's error in the 1602 Bishops' Bible is 'vpon earth' instead of 'upon the earth' in the phrase, 'since the day that God created man vpon earth' (Deut. 4:32). The Hebrew has the definite article and other editions of the Bishops' Bible (as also the Geneva Bible) have 'upon the earth'. No correction was noted in Bod 1602, but the article reappears in the KJB in the 1612 quartos. A more

blatant error from the 1602 text is 'the LORD your God' (1 Kgs 8:61). The Hebrew, correctly followed by the original Bishops' Bible and brought back into the KJB in 1629, means 'the LORD our God'. Again the translators failed to correct Bod 1602.

This kind of error may come from moments of inattention by the translators or from failure to mark intended corrections, in which case it relates to the next group, errors that come from the Bod 1602 scribes. At Exod. 35:11 the translators revised 'and his rings, his boords, his bars' towards Geneva's 'and his taches & his boards, his barres', but the scribe omitted 'and his boards'. The omission was rectified by the second Cambridge edition (1638). At Eccles. 8:17 there is a reading that seems to make sense: 'because though a man labour to seeke *it* out, yea further though a wise man thinke to know *it*, yet shall hee not be able to finde *it*'. However, a phrase from the Hebrew is missing after 'to seeke *it* out', and it was supplied in 1629, 'yet he shall not find *it*'. The omission goes directly back to the Bod 1602 scribe. Just possibly he struck through more of the text than he meant to, but the likelihood is that he failed to write in a revision, for the Bishops' Bible phrase – 'yet he cannot reach vnto them' – does need revision. The Hebrew is וְלֹא יִמְצָא: there is nothing to justify 'cannot', and 'cannot reach unto' is vague and awkward. The verse ends, לֹא יוּכַל לִמְצֹא: the KJB has added 'yet' and 'it' to fill out the sense of a literal rendering, 'yet he shall not be able to find *it*'. 1629's insertion is exactly in keeping with this and is in all probability exactly what the translators intended to write. A similar incomplete correction also produces sense at Dan. 1:12. 'Vs haue' is struck through in Bod 1602's 'let vs haue pulse', and 'them giue' is inserted. Here too it was the 1629 edition that noticed that something from the Hebrew was omitted; it corrected the reading to 'let them give us pulse'.

The bulk of the hidden errors appear to be the fault of the printer:

Ref.	1611 'hidden' error	Correction	Date
Exod. 38:11	hoopes	hooks	1611 2nd edn
Isa. 49:20	straight	strait	1611 2nd edn
Mal. 1:8	if hee offer	if ye offer	1611 2nd edn
Ecclus. 44:5	reiected	recited	1611 2nd edn
John 15:4	and in you	and I in you	1611 2nd edn
1 Cor. 7:32	things that belōgeth	things that belong	1612
Ezek. 6:8	that he may haue	that ye may have	1613
Wisdom 10:14	gaue them	gave him	1613
Lev. 26:40	the iniquitie of their fathers	their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers	1616
2 Esdras 16:52	yet a little iniquitie	yet a little, and iniquity	1616

Ref.	1611 'hidden' error	Correction	Date
1 Cor. 15:6	And that	After that	1616
2 Tim. 4:13	bring with thee	bring *with thee*, and the books	1616
Ps. 69:32	good	God	1617
Jer. 51:12	watchman	watchmen	1629
Ezek. 34:31	yee my flocke of my pasture	ye my flock, the flock of my pasture	1629
Dan. 6:13	the captiuity of the children	the children of the captivity	1629
1 Esdras 2:9	very free gifts	very many free gifts	1629
1 Macc. 5:65	townes thereof [second occurrence]	towers thereof	1629
1 Macc. 10:25	vnto him	unto them	1629
2 Cor. 11:32	the citie	the city of the Damascenes	1629
Rev. 13:6	them that dwelt	them that dwell	1629
Ezek. 36:2	had said	hath said	1630
Ezra 2:22	children	men	1638
Ezek. 5:1	take the ballances	take thee balances	1638
Ezek. 24:5	let him seethe	let them seethe	1638
Ezek. 46:23	a new *building*	a row of *building*	1638
Heb. 11:23	they not afraid	they were not afraid	1638
1 Macc. 16:14	threescore and seuenth	threescore and seventeenth	1769

Sometimes there is clear evidence of what caused him to go wrong. As noted above, p. 32, the error of 1 Cor. 15:6 comes from the printer's eye slipping back to the previous verse. Ezra 2 lists at length the Israelites who returned from the Babylonian exile. For the most part the Hebrew uses בְּנֵי, which the KJB renders as 'the children of', but at vv. 22, 23, 27 and 28 the Hebrew varies things by using אַנְשֵׁי. The Bishops' Bible gives 'the men of', and Bod 1602 shows that the translators intended to follow this literal rendering. But, forgivably lulled by the long succession of 'children', the printer put 'children' instead of 'men' at v. 22. The mistake was corrected by the second Cambridge edition, 1638. Sometimes the printer simply misunderstood what he was setting. At Ezek. 5:1 he put the apparently sensible 'take the ballances' where it should have been 'take thee balances' as in the similar phrases earlier in the verse. This error was sufficiently natural and inconspicuous that it too survived until 1638.

On occasions the printer misread his copy (the marvel is that this happened so rarely if his copy was Bod 1602 or anything like it). This is the likeliest explanation for the strange reading at Ecclus. 44:5, 'such as found

out musical tunes, and reiected verses in writing'. 'Reiected' surely comes from mistaking 'recited', which is what the subsequent editions have. And carelessness presumably caused 'threescore and seuenth' instead of 'threescore and seuenteenth', the Bishops' Bible reading, at 1 Macc. 16:14. The interesting thing is that this simple error of translation was not corrected until 1769. The two testaments were checked against the originals for some of the editions, but there was much less checking of the Apocrypha.

Not all the hidden errors fit readily into the groups I have identified. When Scrivener comments that 'vnfaithfull' instead of 'unthankful' for ἀχαρίστου (Wisdom 16:29) is 'evidently an oversight' (p. 180 n.), he is going as far as is reasonable in many instances. What is crucial is that there are errors in the text and that they come from a variety of sources. If they can be convincingly referred to the printer or to one of the scribes preparing the manuscript or to failure to notice a mistake in the Bishops' Bible, then it is clear that they should be corrected. When they involve a sense of mistaken judgement on the translators' part, things become much more doubtful. Such doubtful things become a major part of the subject as we turn to the development of the text as we now have it through the work of successive printers and editors.

Introduction

The King's Printer had the monopoly for printing official Bibles, the Bishops' Bible and the KJB, Prayer Books, official documents and statutes. As if this was not enough, he took on other work, including the Geneva Bible. Robert Barker held what should have been a very lucrative position, yet he was a poor businessman. Perhaps by the time he began printing the KJB he was in partnership with two men whose names also appear on the title pages of KJBs, Bonham Norton and John Bill.[1] In 1615 Barker's son Christopher married Norton's daughter Sarah, but three years later Barker was suing Norton and Bill 'for the recovery of a moiety of the office and stock of the King's Printing House' (Plomer, p. 355). Litigation and imprisonment dogged them all for the rest of their lives, and titular and effective tenure of the office of King's Printer passed between them as their fortunes varied. Norton became an implacable enemy, a bitter and malicious man. Tried with others in 1630 for 'preferring a most false and scandalous petition to his Majestie against the Rt. Hon. the Lord Keeper' and other such slanders and libels, he was sentenced to pay £3,000 to the King, and, as damages, the same to the Lord Chancellor; he was imprisoned 'during his majesties pleasure', and may still have been in prison when he died in 1635 (Plomer, pp. 365–8). Robert Barker fared little better. Though he had recovered the title of King's Printer and held it to his death in 1645, he never recovered his financial position, and his last decade was spent as a debtor in the King's Bench prison (Plomer, p. 368).

Amidst such strife and under the aegis of such unfortunate men the KJB was printed. It is no wonder that the early printing history of the KJB is complex and obscure. In 1611 Barker's men not only produced the first edition but may well have completed a second folio edition (H319). They also produced a duodecimo NT (H310). In 1612 they produced two quarto editions

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[1] Plomer, p. 359. R. B. McKerrow gives the following summary of the imprints: '(1) Robert Barker alone down to July, 1617; (2) Bonham Norton and John Bill from July, 1617 to May 7, 1619; (3) Robert Barker and John Bill from May 8, 1619 to January, 1621; (4) Bonham Norton and John Bill from January, 1621 to October 21, 1629; (5) Robert Barker and John Bill from October 20, 1629 to John Bill's death on May 5, 1630' (*Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1577–1640*, pp. 31–3, 201–5; as given in Herbert, p. 147).

(H313 and 314) and two octavo editions (H315 and 316). The second folio edition, the same that may have been completed in 1611, was in some way completed again in 1613, and another folio edition, in smaller black letter (H322), was also completed in this year. 1613 also saw the production of three more quartos (H330, 323 and 324) and two octavos (H321 and 326). So within three years the entire text seems to have been set thirteen times, and the NT alone once. This is an extraordinary amount of work, and is still more astonishing when one recalls that in this time Barker also printed perhaps four Geneva Bibles, two or three Geneva NTs and a Bishops' Bible NT (H306, 307, 308, 312; 311, 327, 329; 328). With so much Bible-printing on hand, the highest standards of textual accuracy were hardly likely to be maintained.

The most important question is this: Was the translators' original used as master text for some or all of these editions? If not, what was? The textual evidence shows clearly that the original was not used except possibly in relation to a very few readings; rather, the later editions, as will be seen, depend in complex ways on their printed predecessors. This raises the possibility that the original was in some fundamental way unusable. It was probably a mess, as Bod 1602 is. Moreover, it may never have existed in a single, final form: annotations and summaries, for instance, may have been separate from the main text, and it is also, as earlier suggested (chapter 1), quite possible that Bilson and Smith fixed a significant amount of the detail as the text was set. Headings, if nothing else, must have been done this way. If this is so, then the first edition in effect constituted the translators' final manuscript. Lastly, the state of the second edition suggests that there was some sort of accident in Barker's printing house, and it is possible that this damaged or destroyed the master copy.

Even if the translators' original was usable, the practicalities of printing – particularly, printing under Barker's aegis – may have dictated other ways of working. Reprinting from manuscript is comparatively slow and difficult, and fraught with dangers of excessive variation. Moreover, more than one edition may have been worked on at the same time, more than one compositor may have been working simultaneously on the same edition, and some of the work may have been contracted out. This is not impossible with a single master copy given excellent management, but it is much easier if there are several copies of the master text, that is, if the master text is a printed edition. Barker's men needed to be quick and efficient – efficient in the sense that they should produce a reasonably uniform product with as little waste of their labour as possible.

The foremost element in this efficiency was page-for-page setting, a common practice at this time. Barker used four basic formats, large black letter folio, as in the first edition, roman type quarto, black letter quarto and roman type octavo. In each of these formats pages began and ended at the

identical point (occasionally a recto is not made uniform until the end of the verso of the page). Consequently sheets from one setting could be mixed ad lib with sheets from another setting. Resetting of individual parts then need only take place when supplies of the relevant sheets were exhausted, thus keeping wastage to a minimum.

Barker was for ever short of money and so always looking for a quick sale, even though waiting would have produced a better return. In a bill of complaint against Norton he refers to a debt of £202 to the Company of Stationers 'which some of the Company demanded for satisfaction of imperfect books' (Plomer, p. 358). Norton, in a cross petition of 1622, observed that Barker 'very unadvisedly used (for present money) to sell his books . . . before they were half printed, at half the prices he might otherwise have sold the same' (Plomer, p. 362). Plomer adds, either paraphrasing or as an inference, that thus Barker glutted the market, and he suggests that this

gives us, perhaps, the clue to what has for many years puzzled Bible students, namely, the innumerable variations found in the different issues of the Bible after 1611. The first edition of the Authorized Version was no doubt completed and issued at once, and a second edition put in hand. This last, however, and later ones, were printed in parts, when other work was slack, and these incomplete parts Barker sold whenever he could. (Plomer, p. 362)

Given the extent to which Bible printing dominated Barker's work, the idea of it being done in slack times may not be right. But the general suggestion seems sound. Sheets were gathered into volumes quickly and somewhat carelessly as orders came in. The carelessness came through taking at random from the multiple printings of sheets that lay around in his printing house, so producing considerable variety within and between editions. This variety is very striking in the second edition and continues through the later folios.

Finally, as already noted, there were accidents. It is impossible otherwise to account for some aspects of the second folio edition. An accident of some sort must have happened to Boel's engraving for the title page of the first edition. It is clearly better than the title page with woodcut borders found almost uniformly in the other folio editions; moreover, Barker had an imitation of it made for the first quarto edition, so suggesting that it was designed to be the distinctive title page for the KJB. The very limited use of Boel's original can only be explained by its being lost or damaged.

In summary, the evidence, incomplete and teasing as it is, suggests that the early printings of the KJB were made under considerable pressure to produce as much as possible as fast as possible, and that the primary thing sacrificed to this pressure was sustained fidelity to the translators' copy. It may have been consulted on occasions, and efforts probably were made to give scholarly revision to readings that appeared problematic, but overall Barker's later editions introduced more errors than corrections.

The second folio edition or 'She' Bible (H319)

The nicknames 'He' and 'She' (after their readings at Ruth 3:15) make the first and second editions sound like a pair of equal age and standing, and they have often been taken as such. Though it is probable that the 'She' Bible, in one of its varying forms, dates from 1611,[2] it is genuinely a second edition, and better referred to as such to keep clear what will become very apparent: that it is, comparatively, of little value as evidence for the text the translators created. Pollard writes vehemently of the designations 'He' and 'She':

all such nicknames for editions of the Bible are objectionable, and this, which suggests that the two editions form a pair, is mischievous. Their relation is not that of equality as between man and woman, but the second is derived from the first, as a child from its parents, an entirely new and distinct edition, reprinted from the original, and not a contemporaneous issue. (Pollard, p. 36)

The nicknames are pernicious in a second way: they suggest that the paternity of later editions can be determined by which of the readings they have at Ruth 3:15. Since 'she went' is the commoner reading, the second edition is taken as being much more influential than it really was: most of the early editions that have 'she went' derive from the first edition, not the second.

The second edition is a page-for-page reprint of the first. The relationship quickly becomes clear through a comparison of the typography, especially in the matter of spacing: the compositor of the second edition adjusted his work to conform it to the first edition. This is most obvious at Exod. 14:10, where the first edition repeats three lines. The second corrects the error and so has to add space to the page to keep it finishing at the requisite point. The first compositor would have spotted his error instantly if he was working from the second edition.[3]

Whereas the first edition is almost completely uniform, the second is a mixture. The NT title page is dated 1611, but the title page of the whole is usually dated 1613. In some copies this is changed to 1611, while a few are dated 1611 (Herbert, p. 136). The title page itself is the woodcut version

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[2] A number of second edition readings are found in the 1612 editions in smaller formats (see appendix 3). I think it highly unlikely that any of these editions preceded the second edition in its initial form.

[3] Only Scrivener (pp. 7–12) has taken 'She' to be prior. He thought that the general superiority of 'He' showed that it was a revision of 'She' (p. 8) rather than that 'She' was a corruption of 'He'. Nobody has followed Scrivener, especially since the publication of Smith's *Study of the Great 'She' Bible*. Smith shows that the need to control space so that 'She' conforms to 'He' is particularly evident where chapter initials are concerned: 'She' often uses larger initials, frequently necessitating adjustments of space. Smith shows that the number of cases where one might argue that an adjustment had taken place in 'He' is small compared with the cases that argue that 'She' came second.

found in some first editions rather than Boel's engraving. The mixed dates suggest that printing began in 1611; while some copies may have been sold in that year, the work was not finished until 1613; evidently about one third of the work was destroyed, so the text from Judges 13 to Ezekiel 20 had to be reset and printed.[4]

Now, the general uniformity of the first edition makes it likely, as Plomer suggested (above, p. 64), that it sold out quickly. The second edition was to supply further demand, and copies were made up intermittently as purchase orders came in. The muddle in Barker's printing house was such that, once varying sheets were available, no two copies were made up of the identical set of sheets. Moreover, sheets continued to be available when the later large folios were made, so some copies of them have sheets from different editions, including sheets from the second edition.[5]

The most important consequence of this relationship for understanding the history of the text is that the later editions used previous printed editions as copy text: if they consulted the translators' original, that was secondary and occasional. So, while the second edition – and to some extent the later Barker editions – *may sometimes* reflect what was in the original better than the first edition, it is not a better reproduction of the original. Rather, it exhibits the usual characteristics of a manual copy, whether by a scribe or a compositor, of introducing more errors than corrections, and of having some 'corrections' that are really simplifications of something difficult in the original.

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[4] Quires signed Aa-Zzz, together with some other sheets (E^3, $P^{2,3}$, X^2); Pollard, who gives this information following Smith, also suggests the following folios escaped the general destruction: Aa^1, Ff^2, $Gg^{1,2}$, Kk^1, Tt^{1-3}, Aaa^2, Bbb^3, Iii^2, Lll^1, $Ooo^{2,3}$, Qqq^3, Sss^{1-2} and Zzz^3 (p. 35).

[5] The bibliographical problems created by Barker's workers have been compounded by Bible collectors and sellers, notably Lea Wilson and Francis Fry in the nineteenth century, who transferred sheets between copies and added facsimiles to bring the copies to some kind of 'perfection', or, as with the frequent alteration of the date on the title page from 1613 to 1611, to increase their retail value. Graphic evidence of this tampering is to be found in Fry's copies of the second edition now held by the Bible Society Library. One of them has a number of loose sheets, including a sheet that is missing from another of the copies. Fry's note in a copy of the 1617 folio (BS H353(2)) shows how he worked and is also worth preserving because of the bibliographical query it raises:

Authorised Version 1614–1617. This copy of the Bible has the Title dated 16*14*. No edition of this year is known. This title is probably unique & undescribed. I bought it with the Genealogies, the Old Testament and the Apocrypha now in this volume & wanting a new Testament . . . I therefore added the New Test- of 1617 & bound them; thus preserving it in its original state so far as I could, and completing it.

Occasionally even first edition sheets are to be found in later editions; a copy of the 1617 folio in the Turnbull Library has fol. Cc2 (but no others in this quire) from the first edition.

The presence of errors is apparent as early as the dedicatory page, which includes this:

THE TRANSLATORS OE *THE BIBLE*,
with Grace, Mercie, and Peace, through Iesvs
Chkist *our* Lord.

The second edition has its own set of typographical errors, and it would be wrong to presume that, because it corrects most of the first edition's typographical errors, it is therefore better printed.

For a general idea of the relationship between the two editions we may start with the same page of Genesis (plate 4) that was used as a specimen page for the first edition. The settings are far from the identical twins that they appear at first sight. The second edition uses a different initial for the first verse of the chapter; it takes up seven lines, so the verse needs an extra line. Consequently, the page finishes one line earlier and the catchword is different (on the other side of the folio this discrepancy is made good by reducing v. 26 from three lines to two). Five verses have changes of layout that do not affect how much space they take (16:11 and 12; 17:2, 7 and 8), and there are similar variations in the margin. The first edition's 'LORD' is changed to 'Lord', conforming the second edition with the practice that the first edition did not establish until it reached Exodus (differences of this sort help confirm the chronological relationship between the two editions). The second edition increases the use of capitalisation ('Name' (16:13), 'Almightie' (17:1), 'Couenant' (17:2 etc.) and 'Nations' (17:6)). There are spelling variations, usually without any obvious reason. So 'maid' is twice left unaltered and twice changed to 'mayd' (16:5, 6), and 'shal be' (17:11) becomes 'shalbe' while 'shalbe' in the next verse becomes 'shall be'. In short, there are numerous variations: in the right hand column only v. 3 is reproduced identically. The compositor did not set out to make an exact copy of the first edition as far as particulars of typography are concerned. He regarded this aspect of his work as something that could be treated freely: he has not tied himself to a uniformity of printing, or to an identity of typography, as some peradventure would wish that he had done.[6] It was (happily, perhaps) an inexact age, and the freedom with English that the translators wrote of in the passage I have just adapted is mirrored in the compositor's irreverent treatment of his predecessor's work.

He might be right to be irreverent. Unless one thinks the kingdom of God is not only words and syllables but also characters and ampersands, hyphens and spaces, so far nothing meaningful has been changed. But some of the variations do begin to be significant. The typographical

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[6] KJB preface, fol. B2ʳ, adapted.

| Hagar fleeth. | Chap.xvij. | Abraham. |

† Hebr. be builded by her.

† obtaine children by her : and Abram hearkened to the voyce of Sarai.

3 And Sarai Abrams wife, tooke Hagar her maid, the Egyptian, after Abram had dwelt ten yeeres in the land of Canaan, and gaue her to her husband Abram, to be his wife.

4 ¶ And hee went in vnto Hagar, and she conceiued : And when shee saw that shee had conceiued, her mistresse was despised in her eyes.

5 And Sarai said vnto Abram, My wrong be vpon thee : I haue giuen my mayd into thy bosome, and when shee saw that she had conceiued, I was despised in her eyes : the LORD iudge betweene me and thee.

† Hebr. that which is good in thy eyes. † Hebr. afflicted her.

6 And Abram said vnto Sarai, Behold, thy mayd is in thy hand, doe to her †as it pleaseth thee. And when Sarai †dealt hardly with her, shee fled from her face.

7 ¶ And the Angel of the LORD found her by a fountaine of water, in the wildernesse, by the fountaine, in the way to Shur :

8 And he said, Hagar Sarais maid, whence camest thou? and whither wilt thou goe? And she said, I flee from the face of my mistresse Sarai.

9 And the Angel of the LORD said vnto her, Returne to thy mistresse, and submit thy selfe vnder her hands.

10 And the Angel of the LORD said vnto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbred for multitude.

|| That is, God shall heare.

11 And the Angel of the LORD said vnto her, Behold, thou art with child, and shalt beare a sonne, & shalt call his name || Ishmael : because the LORD hath heard thy affliction.

*Chap. 25. 18.

12 And hee will be a wilde man ; his hand wil be against euery man, and euery mans hand against him : *and he shal dwell in the presence of all his brethren.

13 And shee called the Name of the LORD that spake vnto her, Thou God seest me : for she said, Haue I also here looked after him that seeth me?

*Chap. 24. 62. † That is, the well of him that liueth and seeth me.

14 Wherefore the well was called, *||Beer-lahai-roi : Behold, It is betweene Cadesh and Bered.

15 ¶ And Hagar bare Abram a sonne : and Abram called his sonnes name, which Hagar bare, Ishmael.

16 And Abram was fourescore and sixe yeeres old, when Hagar bare Ishmael to Abram.

CHAP. XVII.

1 God reneweth the Couenant. 5 Abram his name is changed, in token of a greater blessing. 10 Circumcision is instituted. 15 Sarai her name is changed, and shee blessed. 17 Isaac is promised. 23 Abraham and Ishmael are circumcised.

AND when Abram was ninetie yeeres old and nine, the LORD appeared to Abram, and said vnto him, I am the Almighty God, *walke before mee, and bee thou || perfect.

*Chap. 5. 22. ||Or, vpright or sincere.

2 And I will make my Couenant betweene mee and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly.

3 And Abram fell on his face, and God talked with him, saying,

4 As for me, behold, my Couenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a *father of † many Nations.

† Hebr. multitude of nations. *Rom. 4. 17.

5 Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham : *for a father of many Nations haue I made thee.

6 And I will make thee exceeding fruitfull, and I will make Nations of thee, and Kings shall come out of thee.

7 And I wil establish my Couenant betweene me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations for an euerlasting Couenant, to be a God vnto thee, and to thy seed after thee.

8 And I will giue vnto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land † wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an euerlasting possession, and I will be their God.

† Heb. of thy soiournings.

9 ¶ And God said vnto Abraham, Thou shalt keepe my Couenant therefore, thou, and thy seed after thee, in their generations.

10 This is my Couenant, which yee shall keepe betweene mee and you, and thy seed after thee : * euery man childe among you shall be circumcised.

*Acts.7.8.

11 And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskinne ; and it shalbe a *token of the Couenant betwixt me and you.

*Acts. 7.8. rom.4.11.

12 And hee that is † eight dayes old, *shall be circumcised among you, euery man childe in your generations, he that is borne in the house, or bought with money of any stranger, which is not of thy seed.

† Hebr. a sonne of eight dayes. *Leuit. 12. 3. luke 2. 21. iohn 7. 22.

13 He that is borne in thy house, and

B 2   he

Plate 4. Second edition KJB, Genesis 16–17.

errors noted in the chapter summary ('Izsaac'), at 17:4 (‖ for †) and at 17:8 m. ('soieurnings') are corrected, though nothing is done with the asterisk in 17:4. Another error in the chapter summary is identified and corrected: '23 Abram' should indeed read '23 Abraham' because that is his name after v. 5. This last change moves beyond correction of obvious typographical errors and shows that critical attention could be applied to the first edition's text. Finally, there is the textual variation already noted, 'and Abram' for 'but Abram' (16:6). Most of the verses on this page – and all but one other in this column – begin with 'and', so this difference may represent a lapse of attention by the compositor of the second edition. But there is another possibility: 'and Abram' is found as a deliberate change in Bod 1602, so the second edition may reflect genuine recourse to the translators' own work.

This specimen page gives a clear sense of the quantity and nature of the variations between the two editions. It suggests that the second edition may be valuable in the identification of mundane errors in the first and that it will sometimes be genuinely important in giving readings the translators intended.

The relationship between first and second editions is by no means constant. It ranges from careless introduction of new mistakes to careful correction of mistakes. Often the new mistakes are blatant and insignificant. Nobody would ever take 'ehat tateth' (Jer. 31:30, some copies) as a reading to be weighed against 'that eateth', nor 'D our God' (2 Chr. 20:12) against 'O our God'. The first simply tells of human frailty, but the second is more revealing. *O* looks rather like *D* in black letter (see 'LORD' in the specimen page). Perhaps the type was incorrectly distributed, or perhaps the compositor was working mechanically, neither thinking about what he was reproducing nor looking properly at it. For another example, one wonders what the odds are of a mis-distributed *n* turning up in place of a *u* identically in both editions. Yet this happens with 'concn-bine' (1 Chr. 7:14). The word is hyphenated over a line: I suspect the compositor saw 'concn-' and reproduced it without thinking.

The significant variations are those that are plausible, and it is important to establish what degree of scholarly care went into them. A seemingly trivial variation at Isa. 10:19 gives a standard to which such variations may be related. It concerns the placing of a reference mark. The first edition reads, 'and the rest of the trees of his forest shall be †few, that a child may write them'. The margin is, '† *Heb. number*', leading the reader to expect a synonymous relationship between 'few' and 'number'. But, to English eyes, 'number' looks less like a possible synonym for 'few' than it does for 'write': the verse would be easier to read as 'shall be few, that a child may number them' than as 'shall be number, that a child may write them'. So the compositor of the second edition, alert to the presence of mistakes in his predecessor's work, moved the † to go with 'write'. What this shows is attention without scholarship,

for the word translated as 'few' is מִסְפָּר 'number'.[7] The compositor either could not or did not refer to the Hebrew; nor did he refer to the translators' manuscript, which must have had the correct annotation (one cannot imagine how the verse came out correct in the first edition if the manuscript was wrong).

This is not an isolated instance of miscorrection of something that looks like a mistake, but it is unusually clear in that one cannot take it as an accidental change and one can see exactly why it was made: the text was obscure to the compositor and he made his best guess as to what it should be. Here are a few more examples of changes that involve either deliberate revision of perceived errors or accidental simplification of the text. At Jer. 5:15 the second edition changes 'vpon you' to 'vpon thee', which fits the English context better but goes against the plural in the Hebrew. At Jer. 12:7, the first edition keeps a Hebrew singular – 'the hand of her enemies' – but the second edition gives the more natural English phrase 'the hands of her enemies'. Twice the second edition changes 'flay' to 'slay', Lev. 1:6 ('hee shall flay the burnt offering') and 2 Chr. 29:34 ('they could not flay all the burnt offerings'); in each case the change to 'slay' makes sense but is wrong. 'Among the bushes they prayed' for 'they brayed' (Job 30:7) seems to be an error of the same sort: either the compositor misread or he assumed typographical errors in the first edition where there were none.

A compositor who makes such corrections is twice untrustworthy: he reflects neither the work of the translators nor scholarly consideration of the original. In general terms, he is less entitled to credit than a printer or an editor who has direct access to the translators' work, or an editor who examines the text in relation to the text in the original languages. At its most misleading, his work may plausibly but wrongly revise a difficult reading, producing readings that have been generally accepted but that go against the deliberate decisions of the translators. This happened at Hos. 6:5 where 'shewed' was changed to 'hewed'. It may be that the change at Ruth 3:15 that produced the nicknames is a simplification of the same sort.

Nevertheless, the men who made the second edition were in a special position. They were close to the fountains: they may have had access to the original manuscript, they may have been able to refer questions to the translators, and they had the experience of making the first edition. On occasions, as with 'and Abram', they could have been working directly from the translators' own work or incorporating revisions the translators had directed them to make (whether in response to queries or from their own observation of the printed text). If this did happen with any frequency, the value of the second edition would be much higher.

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[7] Also translated as 'few' at Num. 9:20, Deut. 33:6, Job 16:22 and Ezek. 12:16.

Variations where the second edition seems to go beyond what either an intelligent compositor might deliberately make or a tired compositor might accidentally make to the first edition would be the most important evidence for such valuable work. Mistakes that come directly from the 1602 Bishops' Bible would show that the second edition was set with one eye on that text, or rather, on an annotated version of that text such as Bod 1602, but there seems to be only one of these, Judg. 7:4, 'the people are yet two many': 'two' remains uncorrected in Bod 1602. Similarly, some readings that correct errors coincide with 1602 readings that are left un-annotated. The second edition's 'ye shall eat the blood of no maner of flesh' (Lev. 17:14) is identical with 1602; the first edition has a double negative, 'ye shall not eat . . .'. In the next chapter, 1602 and the second edition have 'of the land of Canaan' (18:3), but the first edition omits the article. Examples such as this last obviously do not need the 1602 text to explain them: inserting 'the' into 'of land of Canaan' is an easy correction, especially as 'of the land of Egypt' occurs earlier in the verse.

Readings that coincide with Bod 1602 annotations suggest not just use of the printed 1602 text but recourse to the translators' own work. Here are several examples to go with Gen. 16:6. Micah 7:7 is significant because the 1611 reading does not appear to contain a mistake when looked at just as a piece of English: 'therefore I will looke vnto you the Lord: I will waite for the God of my saluation: my God will heare me'. 'Vnto you the Lord', following the Hebrew and the unannotated reading of Bod 1602, should be 'vnto the Lord', and this is what is found in the second edition. 'You' might look odd on close inspection because the element of personal address is absent from the latter part of the verse, but such variations of personal position are quite frequent, so one would think this example might well go unremarked. At Exod. 38:11 the first edition reads, 'the hoopes of the pillars'; Bod 1602 shows the translators had changed 1602's 'knops and hoopes of the pillars' to 'hookes of the pillars & their fillets'. The first edition, influenced by the 1602 text, made a mistake. At Ezra 3:5, the second edition again reproduces a Bod 1602 annotation, clarifying the first edition's obscure 'that willingly offred, offered a free will offering': 'that willingly offred a free will offering'. These latter two examples might be explained without reference to the annotations: 'hookes' is a sensible correction because it is the word found in the surrounding verses, and 'that willingly offred a free will offering' looks like better sense.

One could not argue with any confidence that the remaining second edition readings that coincide with Bod 1602 depend on recourse to the translators' work, so they are best seen as sensible corrections. There are some other variations that suggest either recourse to the translators' work (though they do not coincide with Bod 1602) or scholarly correction. 1 Macc. 10:47 has a muddle that one suspects goes back to a misinterpretation of the

translators' work: 'hee was the first that entreated of ‖peace with them'. The margin reads perplexingly: '‖ *True.*' Smith offers this speculation:

in the Latin of Pagninus 'qui princeps *veræ* pacis cum ipsis constituendæ fuerat.' Obviously this *veræ* is the source of 'true' in the English, and both are inserted to prevent a contradiction with verse 3. Scrivener thinks it clear that [the second edition] represents the original reading and [the first] the correction. I should rather suppose that the translators first wrote 'peace' and then inserted the word 'true,' writing it at the side; the printer misinterpreted their *caret*, and put the word in the margin as an anomalous marginal note. The printer of [the second edition], perceiving something unusual, refers to the original MS., and interprets the intention of the translators correctly.

Smith adds that he does 'not put forth this explanation with any confidence, except as a proof of the insecurity of subjective critical judgements' (pp. 6–7). Certainly the correction seems to go beyond what a compositor could do by himself: if there was no reference to the translators' work then some scholarship was applied. At a minimum, this consisted of looking at Geneva and finding there 'for he was the first that had intreated of true peace with them'.

A very few other corrections to the margin also show either the translators' work or independent scholarship. The second edition sorts out a muddle at Wisdom 3:14, where two notes have been conflated and a reference mark omitted, it supplies the missing reference at 2 Kgs 17:14, and it corrects the order of the notes at Isa. 7:3 and Mark 7:4. Against such examples, the second edition frequently mis-copies references (see throughout the table of differences, appendix 2). Again the picture is one of occasional valuable work amidst errors.

Scrivener, editing the KJB in the late nineteenth century and wrongly thinking the second edition preceded the first, nevertheless found such 'great superiority' in the first edition that, for all that he followed more second edition readings than are found in modern KJBs, he judged the second edition's influence on his text to be 'infinitesimally small' (pp. 7, 14). Moreover, he thought most of the variations that he adopted from the second edition were 'either purely indifferent, or would have been received on their own merits, without reference to the prior claims of the copy that contains them' (p. 14). A general scan of appendix 2, where the second edition readings that are found in the current text (that is, the text currently published by Cambridge and Oxford University Presses) are highlighted, confirms his judgement. There are a mere thirty such readings, half a dozen of which are matters of English spelling. Appendix 2 has two further significant uses. It gives a detailed basis for determining which of the first two editions was the base text for subsequent editions, and, through collation with these editions, reveals the main variants that the King's Printer brought to the text.

Overall, then, the second edition is of slight value for refining the text given in the first edition. It contains occasional revisions that appear to be scholarly and rare hints of recourse to the translators' own work. If the original manuscript was held in Barker's printing house, it was hardly ever referred to. For all the respect afforded the second edition, its practical influence on the text is limited to a few well-known readings.

Finally, it is worth noting that it offers one other reading besides 'and Abram' that might well be followed: 'Ishui' for 'Isui' (Gen. 46:17) – provided one accepts that names need special treatment. It also occasionally anticipates modern spelling, as in 'thou art waxed' for 'thou art waxen' (Deut. 32:15). On the other hand, it occasionally influences the text where evidence from Bod 1602 suggests it should not: 'she went' (Ruth 3:15) and 'hewed' (Hos. 6:5). And at Jer. 8:14 an incorrect variation still survives: 'water of gall', where the first edition's 'waters of gall' gives the Hebrew plural.

The early quartos and octavos[8]

Beginning in 1612, Barker printed complete KJBs in three basic formats: black letter quartos, roman type quartos and roman type octavos.[9] Page-for-page reprinting was used in each format, so subsequent editions generally used a predecessor in the same format as the copy text.[10] This could have led, through reproduction and accumulation of errors, to three separate textual traditions in addition to the texts found in the folios, but this did not happen, in part because the peculiarities of these editions lasted only as long as they continued to be reprinted page-for-page. Textually, they are dead-ends. The relatively few valuable new readings found in them were either transmitted through the folio editions or were re-created in the course of later editorial

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[8] As a reminder that Bibles have an individuality (and an antidote to excessive bibliographical detail), here is a recipe found on the verso of the NT title page of one of the quartos (CUL Syn 6 61 32):

Take one Handful of Horehound Ditto of Hissop and a small D.° of Rue, boil them in a Quart of strong Beer till half wasted, then strain it from the Stalks and put to it one Pound and half of Coarse Sugar then boil it to a thin Strul [illeg.; ?gruel]; when cold put to it one Pint of the best Brandy and bottle it up. N. B. Take half a wine Glass any Time when Faint, for a cough or Decline.

[9] Editions, 1612–15, as listed in Herbert:

Roman type quartos: 1612, H313, H314; 1613, H320, H324, H325; 1615, H339.
Black letter quartos: 1613, H323; 1614, H331, H332.
Octavos: 1612, H315, H316; 1613, H321, H326; 1614, H333, H334, H335; 1615, H343.

Identification of distinct editions is not always certain.

[10] A new roman type quarto was introduced in 1616 (H347). Herbert notes that 'all the London octavo editions from 1612, 13 to 1631 read together; and the publishers seem to have freely mixed the sheets printed at various dates' (Herbert, p. 160).

work. This does not mean that these editions are valueless: collectively, they have much to tell about the King's Printer's sense of the text and the way he dealt with corrections.

The few new readings may be surveyed first. Many of them involve the spelling of names and probably have little significance. For instance, the first edition has both 'Galilee' and 'Galile'. The 1612 editions all leave 'Galile' unchanged at Mark 15:41, but all change it to 'Galilee' at Luke 4:44. All except one of the octavos make the change at Mark 16:7. But spelling of names can be a ticklish scholarly problem, and some of the 1612 readings may be genuinely scholarly. All the 1612 editions change 'Iimla' (2 Chr. 18:7, 8) to 'Imla', arguably better reflecting יִמְלָא. This has become the current KJB spelling, but it comes from the Cambridge, 1638 edition, where the change was made again, presumably independently. Similarly, many of the readings that do not involve names are likely to be casual printer's variations, but a few may be deliberate and scholarly. The 1612 quartos change 'upon earth' to 'upon the earth' at Deut. 4:32; this may be for more normal English, but it could be a deliberate reflection of the article in the Hebrew. Similarly, one of the octavos changes 'all people' (Ps. 99:2) to 'all the people', a change reintroduced in 1769.[11]

Beside these readings, these editions also have their liberal peppering of errors, some of which are worth recording. Some copies of the first octavo (1612, H315) read 'printers haue persecuted mee' instead of 'princes haue persecuted me' (Ps. 119:161). It was tempting to take this as an epigraph for this book. One can imagine that a disgruntled compositor made this change, that it was quickly discovered, the compositor dismissed and the reading corrected in subsequent copies. Other errors, such as '*is there no blame in Gilead*' (Jer. 8:22, 1613 quarto, H324) and 'Darius the sting' (1 Esdras 4:47, 1612 quarto, H314), were more innocent.

Herbert's catalogue, by noting which reading is followed at Ruth 3:15 and sometimes through explicit statements as to which of the first two editions is followed, effectively divides these editions into those that derive from the

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[11] References for readings in the current text that are found first in 1612 (for details, see the table of variants); '(n)' signifies spelling of a name.

All 1612 editions: Ezra 4:9; Judith 16:24; 2 Macc. 4:4 (n); Luke 4:44 (n); 1 Cor. 7:32; 2 Cor. 5:20.

All except one octavo: 1 Macc. 4:29; 11:56 (n); Mark 16:7 (n).

Both quartos: Gen. 22:7; 31:1; 37:36 (n); Num. 3:35 (spelling); 24:6; Deut. 4:32; 33:5 (n); 1 Kgs 3:4; 18:28; 1 Chr. 12:5 (n); Ezra 10:38 (n); Isa. 10:26; Jer. 35:13; Mal. 2:2; Tobit 4:12 (n); Ecclus. 51:12; 1 Macc. 8:8 (n); 9:35 (n); 10:45; 2 Macc. 3:12; Luke 24:13 (n; also in 1612 NT); Rom. 6:12; 7:2, 13.

Both octavos: Deut. 28:42; Josh. 3:10; 1 Chr. 27:27 (n); 2 Chr. 18:7, 8 (n); 1 Esdras 5:66 (n); Ecclus. 49:8 (n); 1 Macc. 5:9 (n).

One octavo: Gen. 10:14 (n); 2 Sam. 8:11; 2 Chr. 34:12 (n); Neh. 11:24 (n), 28 (n); Ps. 99:2; Dan. 5:31; 1 Esdras 1:39; Mark 12:26 (n); 2 Cor. 5:1.

first and those that derive from the second. Collation with the list of first-
and second-edition variants, and with the list of typographical errors in the
first edition, shows that this is not so: all used the first edition as the basic
text and added some second-edition readings. Collectively there are some
seventy out of the second edition's readings or errors listed in appendix 2.
I give these in appendix 3, dividing them into two groups. The first group,
consisting of thirty-four readings is the most interesting. Though no single
edition through to 1617 gives them all, there are grounds for thinking of
them as standard corrections. Most of them are still found in modern edi-
tions and all of them, save perhaps the two problems of punctuation at the
ends of verses (Luke 1:77 and Phil. 1:4) seem to be deliberate rather than
accidental. Of the changes not followed in modern editions, 'Caldees' (2 Kgs
24:2) regularises a spelling that was later changed consistently to 'Chaldees'.
The misplaced † in Isa. 10:19 appears to be deliberate though mistaken (see
above, p. 69). '*Serebias*' (1 Esdras 8:54 m.), though no longer found, cor-
rects an error, 'Olofernes' (Judith *passim*) regularises a spelling that was,
like 'Caldees', later changed to the other form. Finally, 'not high priest' (2
Macc. 4:13) is an easily defended reading both in terms of the original and
the earlier translations.

There must have been some method of noting these corrections since they
generally go beyond changes that one would expect a sensible compositor
to make unaided. They could either have been marked in a master copy of
the first edition, or there was a separate list of them that the compositor was
expected to refer to as he worked (either from the first edition or from a
previous edition in the same format as the one he was setting). I guess that
there was a list and suggest that it consisted, more or less, of the thirty-four
entries in the first part of appendix 3. This might most easily account for the
variations between editions, notably between editions in the same format.
A compositor might well not look at a list at the appropriate moment and so
leave unchanged a reading he should have changed (I noted earlier that there
seems to have been a reluctance to go backwards to make corrections, above,
p. 50). Any copy of the first edition might do for setting from if there was a
list to amend it by, so setting more than one edition at a time would not be
a problem. The contents of the list might change accidentally, but it is more
likely that a few entries were deleted when discovered to be mistaken, while a
few others were added. For example, the incorrectness of the misplaced †
at Isa. 10:19 might have been realised after a time, leading to its deletion,
and possibly even to a note that a printing from the second edition such as
the 1617 folio should follow the first edition at this point. Similarly, 'she
went' at Ruth 3:15 may have been added to the list after the first editions in
the smaller formats had been printed.

The second group of entries in appendix 3 is given for completeness. It
shows the other instances where these editions agree with the second edition.
In two cases errors are reproduced in a good number of the editions: 'Shuah'

instead of 'Suah' for סוּחַ (1 Chr. 7:36) and, more seriously, 'the Lord was an enemie' for 'the Lord was as an enemie' (Lam. 2:5).

A fully satisfactory account of how all the variants in appendix 3 were reproduced is probably impossible, but it is worth observing finally that the problems of explaining the readings become insuperable if one supposes that an effort was made to correct the second edition text by the first. Variety would still have to be accounted for, together with a very much larger list of readings reproduced in all editions to 1616 that are peculiar, sometimes *very* peculiar, to the first edition.

The 1613 folio (H322)

The 1613 folio is in smaller black letter, and no doubt was designed as a cheaper alternative for poorer churches. By getting 72 lines to the page instead of 52, and more characters to a line, it reduced the number of leaves from 732 to 508 (Pollard, p. 34 n.).

Textually, it is of no more importance than its contemporaries in smaller formats, but, as the first folio in a new format, is worth some examination. It introduces four readings that have become standard: 'that ye may have' for 'that he may haue' (Ezek. 6:8), 'she poured it not' for 'she powred it' (Ezek. 24:7), 'as a flower' for 'as floure' (2 Esdras 15:50) and 'what thy right hand doeth' for 'what thy right doeth' (Matt. 6:3).[12] The first three of these correct mistakes, while the last is unnecessary and goes against the evidence of Bod 1602 where 'what thy right doeth' is left unchanged. It also introduces seven accepted spellings of names. Finally, it has 'fleshly' for 'fleshy' (2 Cor. 3:3), a reading that has had a long life and is still occasionally to be found.

'Nearly all the other variations', writes Scrivener, 'arise from the glaring misprints of this handsome but inaccurate volume' (p. 17).[13] This is right. The 1613 folio is another characteristic piece of Barker work, a copy from earlier work that introduces its fair share of errors but has little or nothing

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[12] A detailed collation of this edition with the first edition is given at the beginning of *The Holy Bible* (Oxford, 1833). The editors' stated purpose was to show the reader 'how far it was thought necessary to correct the Authorized Text in the time of the original Translators', which misleadingly implies that the list is full of deliberate corrections.

Scrivener also thought four of the 412 variations in the collation were 'manifest improvements', but two of these are found in earlier editions: Ezra 3:5 in the second edition, 1 Macc. 4:29 in 1612, and a third, 2 Thess. 2:15, has not gained acceptance. He also thought that the reading 'word' for 'words' (Dan. 9:12) came from an adoption of the Hebrew *qere* (p. 16); I think it more likely to be an error.

[13] Among the 'glaring misprints' are 'she delighted herself' for 'she defiled her selfe' (Ezek. 23:7), an example of the compositor's imagination being transported by the context, and 'singers and archers' for 'slingers and archers' (1 Macc. 9:11).

in it that goes back to the translators' manuscript or that reflects scholarly revision.

The variants in Genesis confirm the tendency to error:

	1611	**1613**
2:24	and shall cleaue	and cleaue
3:5	day ye eate thereof, then your	day when ye eate thereof, your
7:20	vpward	vpwards
12:14	shee was very faire	she was faire
14:24	portion of the men	portion of the olde men
22:13	Abraham lifted	Abraham lift
25:19	*are*	are
27:44	furie turne away	furie passe away
27:45	of you both in one day	of you in one day
28:3	make thee fruitfull	make the fruitful
39:6	bread which he did eate	bread he did eate
42:31	said vnto him	said vnto them
47:5	are come vnto thee	are came vnto thee
47:26	of the priests onely	of priests only

Perhaps 14:24 is a correction to enhance the contrast between הַנְּעָרִים ('the young men') and הָאֲנָשִׁים ('the men'), but the changes at 27:44 and 45 cannot be based on the Hebrew.

The question of whether the first or the second edition was used as master copy may be taken a little further using the selective collation given in appendix 4. As explained there, the collation is confined to readings that are likeliest to reveal which edition was being used. A complex, sometimes clear, sometimes puzzling picture emerges. The 1613 folio took the first edition for copy at least through to the end of Judges. In this part it occasionally reproduces errors that are peculiar to the first edition, as at Gen. 17:4 (‖ for † and a marginal reference omitted), and it coincides with the second edition only five times, four of which appear to be standard corrections. Ruth to 1 Kings looks more likely to have been set from the second edition, as does much of the books of Chronicles. The end of 2 Chronicles through to Esther appears to follow the first edition, Job the second, and Psalms to Proverbs the first. The Song of Songs and Isaiah probably follow the second edition. Then the first edition is followed through to the end of the Apocrypha. Matthew follows the second edition, Mark to Acts the first; thereafter the second may possibly have been used.

Besides the information in appendix 4, these observations are supported by the occasional reproduction of errors, such as the first edition's ‖ for † at Ezra 8:17 and '*fensed*' at Ps. 31:21 m., and the second edition's 'to see whither the vine flourished' for 'to see whether . . .' at Song 6:11. It may be useful to give more detail for the conclusion that Matthew comes from the second edition. Matthew follows first-edition readings in several places where the

second edition is obviously wrong,[14] but it also keeps second-edition errors at 10:38 m. ('26' for '24') and 11:7 ('he' for 'ye'). Only at 13:45 does it follow the first edition where it might have followed the second ('goodly pearles' in preference to 'good pearls'). Against this one instance, the second edition is followed four times where the first might have been followed: 'way side' for 'wayes side' (13:4), 'like vnto a graine' for 'like to a graine' (13:31), 'went out' for 'went' (18:30), and 'any man' for 'a man' (22:24).

Occasionally one might argue that the 1613 folio picks and chooses between the first two editions, but generally it is indiscriminate, using one or other edition as copy for stretches at a time. This suggests that there was now no single copy identified as the master and that Barker's workers had little sense of difference between the first two folios. Careful comparison would have been needed to distinguish a first edition from a second edition (the modern scholar knows to look at Ruth 3:15, but did Barker's men know this?). It is quite possible that a compositor, beginning his day's work, sometimes picked up a first edition and sometimes a second edition to work from (similar suppositions might be made if the work was subdivided among compositors or even sometimes contracted out).

One large folio, it seems, was as good as another. If so, it is more a matter of chance than policy that the editions in the smaller formats followed the first edition, and it will be no surprise to find that the later editions appear random in their textual allegiances.

The 1616 small folio, roman type (H349)

The 1616 folio is set from the first edition and contains only a sprinkling of second-edition readings. It has some new work, supplying twenty readings that have become standard, together with eleven spellings of names and four other matters of spelling, but not enough to justify Scrivener's judgement that this 'appears to be the first edition . . . which was submitted to any considerable revision'.[15] Some of these readings do appear to be scholarly corrections involving errors that are difficult to spot; others are simplifications of difficulties that perhaps should not be called scholarly.

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[14] Matt. 12:40 m. (the second edition's '87' is impossible), 14:19 (verse number restored), 24 summary ('calamities' for 'clamities'), 26 summary (omitted number restored) and 26:36 ('Jesus' for 'Judas').

[15] Scrivener, p. 17. The readings are at Lev. 25:23; 26:40; Deut. 16:5; Josh. 7:14; 1 Kgs 13:11; 2 Chr. 26:18; 32:5; Ezra 4:24; Job 39:30; Song 5:12; Jer. 49:1; Ezek. 23:23; 2 Esdras 16:52; Matt. 16:19; Luke 23:19; 1 Cor. 4:9; 15:6; Eph. 4:24; 6:24; 2 Tim. 4:13; spellings of names: 1 Chr. 3:2; 15:18; 2 Chr. 11:20; 2 Esdras 1:40; 10:47; 1 Macc. 11:6; 15:23; Matt. 20:29; Mark 14:32; Rom. 16:10; Rev. 7:5; spellings: Ps. 143:9; Prov. 20:14; Amos 1:1; Acts 4:17.

Scrivener (p. 18) gives a list of 1616 corrections that were overlooked in the 1617 folio. Most of them originate not in 1616 but in the second edition or the 1612 quartos.

Some knowledge either of the originals or of older translations is brought to bear. At Lev. 26:40 the first edition has an omission: 'if they shall confesse the iniquitie of their fathers' should be 'if they shall confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers'. Now, the omission is not obvious, so its correction probably reflects genuine knowledge: either information was supplied to the printer of this folio or there was scholarly work in house (reference to the translators' manuscript seems unlikely since Bod 1602 has 'iniquities of their fathers'). This correction could have been made from knowledge of the older English versions, as could correction of a similar hidden omission at 2 Tim. 4:13, where the printer of the first edition seems to have been misled by the first part of the verse: 'the cloke that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou commest, bring *with thee*, but especially the parchments'; 1616 restores the earlier versions' 'and the books' after 'bring with thee'. Some of the other readings clearly show recourse to them where the first edition appears difficult, as in the correction of 'prepared' to 'repaired' at 2 Chr. 32:5, or the substitution of the older 'appointed to death' for 'approued to death' (1 Cor. 4:9).[16]

So the 1616 folio has a mixture of simplification and scholarship, which, on balance, seems to come from knowledge of the older translations. The revisions may result from notes supplied to the printer, and it is worth noting that many of them were not immediately picked up by other editions. Its readings were consulted by the makers of the Cambridge 1629 edition and many became current from that edition.

The 1617 folio (H353)

This, the third large folio edition, supplies six surviving readings (and an amusing misprint in a header, 'Bell and the Dragon'). A printer's blunder is corrected at Ps. 69:32 ('seeke good' becomes 'seek God'), and what may also be a printer's error, 'the seale' (2 Tim. 2:19), is changed to the reading of the previous translations, 'this seal'. Three of the 'corrections' involve readings where the first edition is perhaps difficult but certainly, as the corrections in Bod 1602 show, deliberate. The translators struck through the Bishops' Bible's 'ye' at Mal. 4:2, producing 'and shall goe foorth'; 1617 smoothes the English back to 'and ye shall go forth'. Similarly making things easier, it changes 'of this side Iordan' to 'on this side Iordan' (Deut. 4:49), though the translators had deliberately used 'of', perhaps because of the absence of the preposition in the Hebrew. Thirdly, it slips an article into the Bishops' Bible text where the translators chose to retain 'and villages' giving 'and the

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[16] I have given a speculative account of the history of this reading in 'Imagining Translation Committees at Work'.

villages' (Josh. 13:23). The last of the six readings is 'flee' for 'flie' (Prov. 28:17), a spelling variation.

Though the 1617 folio has minimal original editorial work, it may be important in a different way. It shows that, after six years, the text had reached a thoroughly mixed state where variations between the first and second editions are concerned. But this mixing is probably not random; rather, it suggests a degree of collation between the first and second editions that produced quite a few deliberately chosen readings. If the choices were made by a representative of the translators, or, better still, with reference to the original manuscript, they would have a real authority. However, there is no way of showing that either of these possibilities happened.

Appendix 5 gives a selective collation of this edition's readings with the first and second editions. It is constructed on the same principles as appendix 4, with the addition of instances where the 1617 folio follows readings found in some but not all copies of the second edition. A general scan of the list shows a much more even mix of first and second edition readings than was found in the 1613 folio. Nowhere is there a consistent stretch of readings from one or other of the first two editions as there was in 1613.

The reproduction of errors, including some that are blatant, shows that the basic text was the second edition. Among these are 'follow Deere' for 'fallow Deere' (1 Kgs 4:23), 'golden went' for 'gold went' (2 Chr. 9:15), 'heb.' for 'hab.' (Ps. 27:14 m.), 'there speares' for 'their speares' (Isa. 2:4), 'pices' and 'peace' for 'pieces' and 'piece' (Ezek. 24:4), 'and one the' for 'and on the' (Ezek. 43:20), 'and' for 'am' (i.e. Amos, Joel 2:11 m.), 'particulers' (1 Esdras 5:9 m.), 'hollowed' for 'hallowed' (1 Macc. 4:48), 'others' for 'othes' (2 Macc. 4:34), and 'he' for 'ye' (Matt. 11:7). Against these, 1617 coincides with first-edition errors in giving 'Iorden' (Numbers 32 summary), 'Or' for '*Or*' (2 Sam. 13:8 m.) and 'Caiphas' for 'Caiaphas' (Acts 4:6). The balance of errors strongly suggests the second edition was the base text,[17] but the presence of these few first-edition errors is mysterious.

In several places distinctive second-edition readings or errors occur on the same page or folio as first-edition readings. On the verso from the egregious 'pices' and 'peace' (Ezek. 24:4) is the first edition's reference, 'Ier. 49' (Ezek. 25:2 m.). In 1 Esdras 5 a choice of readings from the two editions together with an error are found on the same page (*Iudah*, v. 5 m., *particulers*,

[17] None of these coincidences can be traced to the inclusion of sheets from the previous editions.

A variation at Prov. 18:24 also seems to point to the second edition, some copies of which turn 'a man that hath friends must shewe himselfe friendly' into nonsense by substituting 'but' for 'must'. 1617 reads, 'will shewe', which appears to be a sensible correction of this error, but a correction made without reference to the first edition.

v. 9 m., and *Bezai*, v. 16 m., all from the second edition; 'Banuas', v. 26, from the first edition). Such combinations of readings must go back to a copy of the second edition and notification, in some form, of errors of fact and variant readings, but not of mere typographical errors. In particular, 'Ier. 49' could not have appeared without the correct reference being supplied to the compositor.

Such evidence makes it probable that most or all of the 1617 folio used the second edition as base text, but that a substantial though imperfect effort was made to correct that text with readings that come from the first edition. The result is a text that gives about two thirds of the first edition readings listed in appendix 2. Though one should not press the number hard (many of these readings would be natural corrections of second-edition errors), this situation is curious. Surely, one would argue, it would have been easier to have used the first edition as copy text: fewer changes would have been needed. And one would also argue that working from the first edition would have been sounder practice, and consistent with the way the early editions in smaller formats were created.

The evidence clearly shows an awareness of the need to correct the second edition, but Barker's workers may not have shared our sense that it would be sounder to work from the first edition. They may have thought that the second edition represented a corrected text, and not realised that working from it would involve them in more changes than if they had worked from the first edition. It is also possible that the use of the second edition may not represent a scholarly choice. By 1617 they may not have had a copy of the first edition available to work from, and so may have corrected the second edition from one of the interim editions.

Conclusion

The King's Printer, in various combinations of Barker, Norton and Bill, printed many more editions, but there is no more work of textual significance to note. By 1617 their text had reached some sort of stasis if not uniformity. Just as sheets of different editions were mixed, so too were readings. It is a tale of commercial enterprise that was not always competent, tempered with some limited scholarly attention to the text. The incompetence reached its apotheosis in the notorious 'wicked Bible', a 1631 octavo (H444) that omits 'not' from the seventh commandment (Exod. 20:14). The error may possibly have been sabotage, Herbert suggests, 'on the part of a partisan of Norton to discredit the Barkers'. If so, it is eloquent of the personal tensions and shortcomings that contributed to the many mysteries in the early text of the KJB.

The first Cambridge edition, 1629 (H424)

In 1534 Henry VIII granted a charter to Cambridge University licensing it to 'assign, appoint and in perpetuity have among them . . . Three Stationers and Printers or Sellers of Books'. These men were to 'have lawful and incontestable power to print there all manner of books approved, or hereafter to be approved, by the aforesaid Chancellor or his deputy and three doctors there'.[1] In keeping with this charter, John Legate, the second of the University's printers, ventured into Bible printing in the 1590s (H207 and H208).[2] Occasional attempts on the lucrative Bible market continued. In November 1623 the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge was 'willing to forgo the printing of the Bible in 8° and be content with 4° and 12°'.[3] Though this is the earliest surviving reference to the University wanting to print the KJB, it implies earlier suits by its appearance of offering a compromise.[4] At this point the University may simply have been trying to establish its position, particularly in relation to octavo Psalm books its printer, Cantrell Legge, had lately printed (Greg, pp. 64, 181). However, there is some reason to think that it had started work on or was contemplating a new edition of the KJB. The initial response was totally discouraging: in December the Privy Council forbad printing of the Bible by the University printer (Greg, pp. 65, 185), and there seems to have been no sign of a different attitude until the original charter granted by Henry VIII was confirmed in February 1628 (Greg, pp. 73, 193–4). It seems unlikely that work on a scholarly new edition would have been started in this period of just over four years when the prospect of a successful outcome was remote. Now, permission for Cambridge to print the Bible 'in Quarto, and the Median Folio' was granted in April 1629, by which time work on these volumes was 'in hand', which probably means that editorial revision had been completed and printing started (Greg, pp. 76, 204). As will be evident, a great deal of work – including a complete examination of the KJB against the original languages – went into the first

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[1] As translated in Black, p. 24.

[2] See McKitterick, I, pp. 114–17; Greg, pp. 46–7, 148–51.

[3] Greg, p. 64; see also p. 183.

[4] Here I differ in one respect from McKitterick. He sees the reference to Bibles as a 'sudden introduction' of 'a hitherto neglected topic' which 'adds further to the impression of a deliberately contrived sequence of attacks on the London privileges' (I, p. 153).

Cambridge edition of 1629. Perhaps there was time for it in the fourteen months from February 1628 to April 1629, but it seems more likely that the work had begun before the end of 1623. Scholarly attention to, and dissatisfaction with, the King's Printer's work may be of an earlier date than would ordinarily be inferred from the appearance of the Cambridge edition in 1629.

Another motive probably contributed to the quality of the Bible issued by Thomas and John Buck, printers to the University of Cambridge. Cambridge was making a claim to printing and editorial quality beyond anything their London rivals could produce. Part of this implicit claim was embodied in its conspicuously modern appearance. Roman type, by itself, was nothing new, but the use of *u*, *v*, *J*, and, occasionally, apostrophes was.[5] There was much commercial sense in establishing such claims, and one other aspect of this Bible shows both commercial intent and a better managed printing house than Barker's. It was printed on seven different qualities of paper, so catering for a diverse market, and incidentally offering quite different senses of its quality as an artefact according to whether one examines an edition on the best or on the worst paper.[6]

The editors made more changes to the text than any other set of editors. By my count (counts of this sort always have an element of roughness), they introduced 221 readings, of which 199 became standard.[7] In terms of

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[5] Apostrophes appear in the summary to 2 Samuel 20 ('Sheba's'), and at Rom. 4:19 ('Sara's') – and perhaps elsewhere.

[6] McMullin observes that this variety of issues 'implies not only a complex organisation at the printing house – capable of working off and warehousing the seven issues – but also a much more diverse market than the personal/parish/private chapel trichotomy implied by other editions' (McMullin, p. 395).

[7] This and the following notes list references for the readings. The readings themselves can be found in the table of variants, appendix 8.

Standard readings:

Gen. 6:5; 36:14; 39:1; 47:18; Exod. 26:8; 35:29; 37:19; Lev. 10:14; 11:3; Num. 36:3; Deut. 5:29; 15:11 (end); 20:7; 26:1; Josh. 3:11; 7:26; 1 Sam. 6:7; 10:10; 18:1, 27; 25:16; 28:7; 2 Sam. 16:8, 12; 1 Kgs 3:12; 8:61; 15:19; 16:8; 22:2; 2 Kgs 8:19; 9:23; 13:24; 18:8; 20:17; 21:21; 22:2; 23:36; 24:13; 1 Chr. 2:18; 3:19; 11:15; 29:2; 2 Chr. 3:10; 13:6; 29:23; Neh. 3:5; 7:59; 8:10; Esther 1:8; 4:4; Ps. 2:4; 44 title; 62:10; 113:9; 139:7; Prov. 28:17; Eccles. 2:16; 8:17; Song 4:6; Isa. 6:8; 34:11; 47:6; 49:13; Jer. 4:6; 12:15; 25:30; 28:6; 31:14, 18; 42:16; 51:12, 30; Ezek. 12:19; 32:25; 34:31; 36:15; 43:27; 44:23; Dan. 1:12; 3:18; 6:13; Hos. 4:4; Joel 1:16; 3:13; Amos 9:5; Nahum 1:4; 3:17; 1 Esdras 2:9; 4:43; 5:37; 8:6; 2 Esdras 1:31; 2:18; 3:18, 27; 8:43; 13:12, 14; 14:15, 43, 47; 15:22, 41, 53; 16:28; Tobit 3:17; 5:15; 7:1; 8:10; Judith 7:7; 8:5, 6, 29; 14:10; 15:13; Wisdom 1:5; 16:18, 29; Ecclus. 7:24; 11:10, 25; 17:23, 24; 23:27; 25:9; 27:5; 30:15; 32:1; 35:18; Baruch 4:2; 6:55; Song of Three 17; Bel 27; 1 Macc. 1:53; 2:70; 4:18; 5:26, 65; 6:5; 7:24; 8:4; 9:57; 10:25, 29, 52; 11:62; 15:22; 2 Macc. 1:10; 4:23, 50; 5:20; 9:4; 11:4 (twice), 9; 12:42; 15:3; Matt. 3:12; 27:22, 46; Mark 10:46; 14:36; 15:34; Luke 1:3; 3:21; 8:8; 18:9; John 5:18; 8:30; 11:3; Acts 8:32; 10:9; 24:4, 24, end; Rom. 4:19; 12:2; 14:6; 1 Cor. 12:28; 14:23; 15:41; 2 Cor. 11:32; Gal. 3:13; 5:15; Eph. 1:9; Phil. 4:6; Col. 1:21; 2 Thess. 2:14; 2 Tim. 4:8; Heb. 12:1; 1 Pet. 2:1, 5; 1 John 2:29; 3:17; 5:12; Rev. 13:6; 18:12; 21:20 (two words).

frequency, this is roughly one new reading every five chapters. They also confirmed a further 59 variants from the first edition found in some of the earlier editions.[8] The spelling of names is largely but not entirely a scholarly matter. They introduced 178 spellings, of which 157 have become standard, and they confirmed a further 34.[9] Overall, 493 changes were made, of which 447 (91%) became standard.

The changes to names are generally straightforward and show clearly the kind of care the 1629 editors brought to their work. The translators had been

Rejected readings:

Exod. 23:23; 1 Kgs 3:4; Ps. 42:9; Prov. 10:23; Jer. 12:7; 34:16; Hab. 3:19; 1 Esdras 3:11; 9:48; Tobit 1:3 (etc.); Judith 1:1, 16; 2:21; Wisdom 18:9; Ecclus. 19:8; Baruch 6:8; 1 Macc. 9:68; 2 Macc. 1:36; 9:18; 1 Cor. 16:22; 2 Cor. 8:7; 1 Tim. 4:16.

[8] Gen. 22:7; 31:1; Lev. 25:23; 26:40; Num. 24:6; Deut. 4:32, 49; 16:5; 28:42; Josh. 3:10; 7:14; 13:23; Ruth 3:15; 1 Kgs 13:11; 18:28; 2 Chr. 26:18; Ezra 3:5; 4:24; Job 39:30; Ps. 69:32; 143:9; Prov. 28:17; Song 5:12; Isa. 10:26; 49:20; Jer. 5:24; 35:13; 49:1; Ezek. 6:8; 23:23; 24:7; Dan. 5:31; Hos. 6:5; Mal. 2:2; 4:2; 1 Esdras 1:39; 2 Esdras 15:50; 16:52; Judith 16:24; Ecclus. 51:12; 1 Macc. 4:29; 10:45; 2 Macc. 3:12; Matt. 6:3; 16:19; Acts 4:17; Rom. 6:12; 7:2, 13; 1 Cor. 4:9; 7:32; 15:6; 2 Cor. 5:1, 20; Eph. 4:24; 6:24; 1 Tim. 6:11; 2 Tim. 2:19; 4:13.

[9] In these lists subsequent references where the same change is made are given in brackets following the first occurrence.

Standard spellings:

Gen. 5:32 (6:10; 7:13); 9:18 (23, 27; 10:1, 2, 21); 10:19; 15:19; 26:1 (8, 14, 15, 18); **Num**. 21:24; **Josh**. 10:10 (11; 16:3, 5; 1 Sam. 13:18; 1 Chr. 7:24); 15:33, 38, 49, 57 (2 Chr. 13:2), 59; 16:6; 19:18, 22, 38, 42 (1 Chr. 6:69; 8:13; 2 Chr. 11:10), 44; 21:23 (two names), 31; **Judg**. 1:31; 21:19; **2 Sam**. 3:26; 11:21; 23:32 (1 Chr. 11:33); 23:37; **1 Kgs** 4:10; 9:11 (Isa. 9:1; Mark 15:41); 9:26 (22:48; 2 Chr. 8:17); 11:1, 5, 33; 15:5; **2 Kgs** 12:19 (20); 18:18; 19:2; 20:1; 23:31; 24:19; **1 Chr**. 1:9, 42; 2:10, 25; 3:3, 15 (16), 20, 22 (twice); 4:6, 13 (Ezra 2:2), 14, 20, 34, 35; 5:3, 8; 7:26 (9:4); 8:11; 9:12; 11:34, 45, 46; 23:23; 12:11 (2 Chr. 11:20); 14:7; 23:19; 24:20; 26:16; 27:20, 22, 27; **2 Chr**. 17:18; 11:20–22; 24:26; 25:23; 29:12; 31:14; 35:9; **Ezra** 2:40, 50; **Neh**. 3:15; 7:38, 54; 10:11; 12:21 (36), 36; **Esther** 1:9 (11, 12, 15–17, 19; 2:1, 4, 17), 14; **Ps**. 42:6; 53:6; 132:6; **Jer**. 26:18; 40:1; 52:31; **Ezek**. 23:23; 32:22; **Micah** 5:2; **Haggai** 1:1 (12, 14; 2:2, 4); **1 Esdras** 1:6 (etc.), 9, 25 (2 Esdras 1:10; 1 Macc. 4:9; Acts 7:10, 13); 5:5 (two names), 19, 20, 31, 32, 33, 69; 8:2, 69; 9:21, 22, 23, 30, 31, 32, 34 (two names); **2 Esdras** 2:10 (Matt. 2:1 etc.); **Judith** 1:1 (16; 2:21), 6; 2:28; **Ecclus**. 24:25; 47:4, 23; **Bel** 33 (34–5, 37, 39); **1 Macc**. 1:18 (etc.); 8:17; 11:70; 12:19; 15:23; **2 Macc**. 4:21; 12:15; 14:6, 16; **Matt**. 1:5 (twice), 9 (twice); 12:41; 14:34; **Mark** 12:26 (Luke 20:37); **Luke** 3:31, 35; 13:4; 24:18; **John** 1:45 (46–9; 21:2); **Acts** 6:5 (8; 7:59; 8:2; 11:19; 22:20); 6:5; 7:16; 27:5; **Rom**. 4:19 (9:9); 9:29; **2 Cor**. subscription; **Phil**. 4:2; **1 Tim**. subscription; **Heb**. 11:32 (two names); **1 Pet**. 5:12; **Rev**. 7:7.

Rejected spellings:

Gen. 25:4; Josh. 13:18, 27; 2 Kgs 24:2 (Baruch 6:40); 1 Chr. 1:38; 2:49; 5:11; 7:1; 23:20; 24:11; Esther 3:1 (10); Amos 2:2; 1 Esdras 5:14 (8:39); 5:34; 2 Esdras 2:8; Tobit 1:3 (10, 17, 22; 7:3; 11:1, 16, 17); Judith 1:6; 5:9 (10, 16; Susannah 56); Judith 3:5 (etc.); 2 Macc. 4:30; 2 Pet. 2:6.

Confirmed spellings:

Gen. 10:14, 19; 37:36; Deut. 32:15 (33:5, 26); Josh. 12:11; 1 Chr. 3:2; 12:5, 7; 12:11 (2 Chr. 11:20); 15:18 (second); 2 Chr. 34:12; Ezra 4:9; Neh. 11:28; 1 Esdras 5:66; 2 Esdras 10:47; Tobit 4:12; Ecclus. 45:15 (etc.); 49:4, 8; 1 Macc. 5:9; 8:8; 9:35; 11:56; 11:70 (13:11); 15:23; 2 Macc. 4: 4; Matt. 20:29; Mark 12:26 (Luke 20:37); 16:7 (Luke 4:44); Luke 24:13; Acts 21:2; Rom. 16:10; 2 Cor. 1:19 (1 Pet. 5:12); Rev. 7:5.

instructed that 'the names of the prophets, and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, [were] to be retained, as near as may be, accordingly as they are vulgarly used' (rule 2). Usage was to override scholarly or pedantic respelling: the names were to be translated rather than transliterated. Though the translators perhaps did not sin greatly against vulgar usage, their treatment of names was inconsistent, and probably not helped by their printers. 'Olofernes' and 'Holofernes' in Judith sufficiently indicates their shortcomings in this matter. The 1629 editors evidently decided to try for consistency, and they judged that the less common names (arguably those to which vulgar usage was least applicable, if they attended to the translators' rule) should be transliterated as part of the effort to make the translation more literal and scholarly.

They begin with the translators' inconsistent treatment of two of Noah's sons. Bod 1602's 'Sem' is left unannotated until Gen. 9:18, where *h* begins to be inserted, giving what is now the vulgar usage 'Shem'. The 1629 editors regularised the earlier instances of 'Sem' to 'Shem', upholding the translators' later decision and conforming to the Hebrew. 'Iapheth', the 1602 spelling, is followed initially by the translators, then, beginning from Gen. 9:23, the *h* is deleted; the first edition, however, gives 'Iaphet' from v. 18 on. Here the 1629 editors regularised to the first form, 'Japheth' (1629 uses J), arguably the better representation of יֶפֶת.

Next they began their regularisation of another of the translators' inconsistencies, changing 'Caldees' to 'Chaldees' at Gen. 15:7; the translators had already let 'Chaldees' stand at 11:31, but here they deleted the *h* in Bod 1602. Later in the chapter, v. 19, the translators amended 1602's 'Kenezites' to 'Kenizites' (here the annotation in Bod 1602 is unclear). The 1629 editors, noting that the zayin is doubled in the Hebrew, further amend to 'Kenizzites'. Now, these last two changes make no difference to the sound of the names: nearly one third of the spellings are of this sort, enhancing scholarly purity of the text but, one might suggest, making no practical difference to the reading. And so the work goes on, almost always increasing consistency and orthographical correctness. Total consistency is not achieved, and occasionally the editors appear to make mistakes, for example 'Abidah' for the translators' correct 'Abida' (אֲבִידָע; Gen. 25: 4), or the opposite error, 'Jahaza' for 'Iahazah' (יַהְצָה; Josh. 13:18). Even so, acceptance of 88% of their changes to names shows how accurately they worked; it also shows that later editors agreed with the principles on which they worked. The result is that, even if the spellings did not represent vulgar usage in their time, through long acceptance they have become the spelling vulgarly used.

Consideration of the textual changes may usefully begin with some exceptions. Only once do the 1629 editors allow themselves to rewrite. Job 4:6 in the first edition has a reading that was created in Bod 1602: '*is* not this thy

feare, thy confidence; the vprightnesse of thy wayes and thy hope?' This is glossing rather than translation of a difficult verse: it gives the Hebrew words just as they come without making sense. By omitting 'this' and moving 'and', the editors make sense: '*is* not thy fear, thy confidence; and the vprightnesse of thy wayes, thy hope?' To paraphrase: did you not trust in your piety and your moral perfection? The significance of this lies in its uniqueness: the 1629 editors rarely make the text less literal, and nowhere else do they presume to rewrite. The small licence they took here led to further licence: the second Cambridge edition created the received reading by restoring 'this' and changing the order of the last part of the sentence (see appendix 8). Perhaps if the 1629 editors had allowed themselves such licence on a regular basis, the later history of the KJB text would have been different. The other exceptions, of which I note only five, involve restoring a deliberately deleted 'and' (even putting it in italics to show that it is not in the Hebrew, Ps. 113:9), and reversing the order of subject and verb: 'I saide' becomes 'said I' (Isa. 6:8, and similarly at 2 Esdras 2:18 and 1 Macc. 10:29), while 'saw I' becomes 'I saw' (2 Esdras 13:12). Beyond these, the editors left matters of style alone.

Typically the textual changes deal with perceived inaccuracies in the work of the translators rather than printer's errors.[10] They inaugurate the principal effort made by successive editors through into this century, the effort to refine the KJB as a translation. Usually this refinement is a matter of making the KJB a still more literal representation of the originals: the editors test the text against the original languages and make changes where they judge that the translators were loose in their treatment of the originals. In doing this they treat the translators' work as improvable, and take licence to know better than them how their work should read. Now, the translators might have agreed that their work was not perfect, and they might also have assented to some, even many, of the changes, but there is evidence that they rejected some of the readings that their editors decided were better.

It is worth noting in passing what these changes collectively show about the work of the translators: almost all of them are lessons in the small degree of licence the translators allowed themselves to vary from literalness in their work. Now, the KJB translators' work has sometimes been denigrated as over-literal. David Daniell, for instance, makes many telling comparisons between Tyndale and the KJB. For Tyndale, he argues,

an English translation of the Bible had to be as accurate to the original languages, Greek and Hebrew, as scholarship could make it; and it had to make sense. There are times when the original Greek, and for good reason even more the Hebrew, are

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[10] A notable example of detection of a hidden error comes at 1 Kgs 8:61 where the Bod 1602 scribe failed to correct 1602's typographical error, 'your God', to 'our God'.

baffling. A weak translator goes for paraphrase, or worse, for philological purity, and hang the sense (as the Authorised Version did often with the Prophets, for example, in those books lacking Tyndale as a base). (Daniell, p. 2)

Daniell might well have cited Job 4:6, but what these examples typically show is the KJB translators' adherence, however muted, to Tyndale's example of combining accuracy with clarity. From 1629 on editors pushed the quest for 'philological purity' beyond what the translators deemed fit.

The commonest changes in the first Cambridge edition give a good idea of its attention to literal accuracy. Thirty of the 199 readings that have become standard involve changes of number, and a further fifteen involve the substitution of a possessive pronoun for the definite article; moreover, most of the spellings of names involve closer attention to their exact spelling in the originals. Rather than merely illustrating some typical changes, it will be more useful to take examples that bear on the question of whether the translators would have approved of all of them. Here the annotations in Bod 1602 are crucial because, where they coincide with first-edition readings, they increase the probability that those readings are the intended result of close consideration. Inferences from annotations that do not correspond to the first edition are less certain: further thought may have taken place or an error of transmission may have been made. Similarly, inferences from coincidences with the 1602 text are ambiguous: where these occur in the first edition and come from parts of Bod 1602 that were annotated, they probably indicate the translators' considered approval, but may represent an oversight. And where the 1629 edition agrees with 1602 against the first edition, it is likely but not certain that the translators rejected the reading.

Fourteen of the thirty literal changes that 1629 made to number come in parts of the OT that are annotated in Bod 1602. Five of these fourteen have annotations that create the first edition reading and so confirm that the translators decided against the more literal reading that the 1629 editors judged correct. Three examples will be useful not just for indicating the nature of the 1629 work, but also for the kind of problem there may be with it.[11] At Song 4:6, the translators struck through 1602's 'to the mountaine of Myrrhe' and substituted 'to the mountaines of Myrrhe'. One might wonder why they worked this way when a simple insertion of *s* would have sufficed: perhaps they contemplated a more substantial change and then decided against it and, intending to reinstate the 1602 reading, accidentally changed it. This is possible, but there are other instances of the annotations taking a long way to make a small change, and it is rare for a reading to be deleted and then the same reading written in. Yet 'mountaines' does look like an

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[11] The other two examples are Lev. 10:14 and 2 Kgs 18:8.

error: the Hebrew is singular, as is the Greek of the Septuagint, the Latin of the Vulgate and the English of the Geneva and Bishops' Bibles; moreover, the parallelism works better with a singular, for a singular 'hill' follows (also singular in the Hebrew). Consequently the first edition's 'I will get mee to the mountaines of myrrhe, and to the hill of frankincense' seems wrong on two counts, and the 1629 restoration of the 1602 reading absolutely right.

At 1 Sam. 28:7, where 1602 reads, 'and his seruants sayd', the translators deleted the *s*: 'and his seruant said'. By contrast with the previous example, there is no question but that this is a rejection of the literal sense of עֲבָדָיו וַיֹּאמְרוּ. The reason seems straightforward: whereas Saul spoke to his servants collectively, the translators judged that they did not reply in chorus but that the natural understanding of the action is that one servant replied: 'then said Saul vnto his seruants, Seeke me a woman that hath a familiar spirit, that I may goe to her, and enquire of her. And his seruant said to him, Beholde, *there is* a woman that hath a familiar spirit at Endor.' The 1629 editors restored the 1602 reading, 'correcting' the translators but going against their favoured reading.

At 2 Kgs 21:21 the translators inserted an *s* after 'way', making 1602's literal 'walked in all the way' into more natural English: 'and he walked in all the wayes that his father walked in'. 1629 agreed with 1602, but a problem arises. 'To walk in the way or ways of' is a common OT idiom; the Hebrew uses both singular and plural but the translators sometimes, as here, give a plural for the Hebrew singular. It would be possible throughout to conform the English exactly to the Hebrew, as the 1629 editors did here, but they left some instances untouched, with the result that the text remains inconsistent, though not quite as inconsistent as the translators left it.

If it was easy to agree with 1629's restoration of 'mountain', and easy to sympathise with its restoration of 'servant', it is difficult to agree with the restoration of 'way'. This is the nub of the problem. Though one may agree with some of the changes made by later editors in the quest for greater accuracy (Daniell's 'philological purity'), others, for various reasons, are more dubious, and this calls into question every instance where a deliberate decision of the translators is rejected. And, once printer's errors are set aside, there is little in the first edition of which one can say with any certainty that it does not represent a deliberate decision.

The three examples just discussed may stand as typical of the work of the 1629 editors. The reader who wishes to go further should browse in appendix 8, perhaps beginning with the three instances where the editors restored a possessive pronoun that the translators replaced with a definite article as they annotated Bod 1602, Deut. 15:11 (end), Joel 3:13 and Nahum 3:17. In the course of this browsing, occasional examples will be found that appear to run counter to the picture I have just given: sometimes (e.g. Lev. 11:3, 1 Kgs 15:19 and Jer. 4:6) the 1629 editors change the text to readings

found in the Bod 1602 annotations, and sometimes, perhaps showing the human inconsistency that is almost impossible to escape, they make the translation less literal (e.g. Gen. 39:1). The coincidences with annotations that the first edition did not follow are subject to the same argument made when discussing Bod 1602: the translators may have had further thoughts which the first edition incorporates, so we cannot be certain that the 1629 editors are following their final intentions, even though this seems likely in some cases.

The second Cambridge edition, 1638 (H520)

'Humble proposals concerning the printing of the Bible', which I take to be the work of the pamphleteer William Kilburne, noted that 'the *Bible* was never better printed than by Mr *Buck* and Mr *Daniel* at Cambridg'.[12] Shortly afterwards Kilburne publicly described Buck and Daniel's 1638 edition in more audacious terms, as 'the Authentique corrected *Cambridge Bible*, revised *Mandato Regio*, by the learned Doctor *Ward*, Doctor *Goad* of *Hadley*, Mr. *Boyse*, Mr *Mead*, &c. and printed by the elaborate industry of *Thomas Buck* Esquire, and Mr. *Roger Daniel*'.[13] Kilburne is not always reliable: 'authentique', presumably meaning perfect and authoritative, may well be his own description, and 'revised *Mandato Regio*' cannot be confirmed;[14] if he did not know the 1638 edition was authorised, he certainly believed it ought to have been and should be taken as authoritative. In practice, it did become authoritative for over a century: it was 'the standard text until the publication of Dr Paris' Cambridge edition of 1762' (Herbert, p. 176). Scrivener, taking the 1629 and 1638 editions together, observes that the first

inaugurated that course of systematic revision of the text, of the italics, and of the margin, which nine years afterwards was more fully and consistently carried out . . . The task seems to have been executed between the two sets of editors in no unequal shares. What the one party left undone, by reason of haste or human oversight, the

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[12] Cambridge University Archives, CUR 33.6 (25); as given in McKitterick, I, p. 388. One passage in the 'Proposals' closely resembles pp. 3–5 of Kilburne's *Dangerous Errors*, and 'By W^m. Kilburne' is found at the end of the very similar 'Proposals . . . concerning the Future printing of Bibles in English' (Cambridge University Archives, CUR 33.6 [24]; McKitterick, I, pp. 389–91). Thomas Fuller, probably referring to the 1638 edition – he calls it simply 'the Cambridge bible' – writes that there is 'none exacter or truer edition in England' (p. 127).

[13] Kilburne, p. 6. The same names of editors are given in a manuscript note to a copy in Jesus College (Scrivener, p. 22). This may be Kilburne's source rather than independent evidence. Goad is Thomas Goad, 'Mead' Joseph Mede (McKitterick, I, p. 197).

[14] Scrivener, not unreasonably given the vagueness and lack of corroboration, found Kilburne's description opaque, p. 22 n.

others in a good measure supplied, by inserting words or clauses, especially in the Old Testament, overlooked by the editors of 1611; by amending manifest errors; by rendering the italic notation at once more self-consistent and more agreeable to the design of the original Translators . . . (Scrivener, pp. 21–2)

This is a fair summary of the combined work, and the point that these editions worked on the italics and margin needs underlining: for the time being I concentrate on the text, but it is important to note that any work on the italics involves close attention to the originals to determine just which words in the translation have no direct equivalent in the original language, and that the margin also required a great deal of scholarly time and attention for its development.

Scrivener's suggestion that at least one of the named editors must have been involved in both editions seems probable (p. 22): though the 1638 editors sometimes disagree with their predecessors and sometimes direct their attention to new aspects of the text, their work is largely of the same sort. Two of the editors named, Bois and Ward, had been among the original translators, a circumstance that might be taken as giving extra authority to this Cambridge work. In one way this might make the 1638 edition the equivalent of an author's own revision of his work: this might well be implied by Kilburne's adjective 'authentique'. Or, one might suppose, they brought to the revision knowledge of what had originally been intended at various points. The latter supposition might have a small degree of truth but is of no practical help in judging the worth of individual readings. Rather, one should remember what the evidence from the 1629 edition has already shown, that these Cambridge editions worked on a subtly different principle from that of the original translators, namely, that wherever minimal changes are possible to align the text more literally with the originals, they should be made. The result is a still more consistent, more literal text. Perhaps it is a better text, but perhaps not, for it is not the text the translators deliberately created.

Surveying the work statistically, the 1638 editors supplied 121 readings and 114 spellings of names that became standard.[15] Only a few of these have

[15] Standard readings:
Gen. 8:13; 19:21; 23:18; 39:16; Exod. 15:25; 21:32; 35:11; Lev. 1:8, 9; 2:4; 19:34; 20:11; 22:10; 23:20, 22; 25:6; 26:23; Num. 6:14; Deut. 28:23; Josh. 3:15; 11:17; 12:2; 13:29; Judg. 14:17; 1 Sam. 10:23; 20:5; 2 Sam. 6:12; 1 Kgs 9:11; 13:6; 2 Kgs 11:10; 15:15; 20:13; 23:21; 1 Chr. 7:5; 26:18 *init.*; 2 Chr. 6:27; 28:11, 22; 31:6; 32:20; Ezra 2:22; Neh. 2:12; 9:17; Job 4:6; 33:22; 41:5; Ps. 42:9; 105:30; 119:101; Prov. 7:21; 10:23; 27:26; Eccles. 1:5; Song 8:1; Isa. 49:13; 57:8; Jer. 23:30; 38:16; 40:5; 51:27; Ezek. 3:11; 5:1; 18:1; 24:5; 26:14; 39:11; 42:17; 46:23; 48:8; Dan. 2:27; 3:15; 12:13; Hos. 13:3; Amos 8:3; Zech. 7:7; 11:2; Mal. 3:4; 2 Esdras 4:47; 7:68; 16:26, 30; Tobit 13:18; Wisdom 18:18; Ecclus. 35:15; Song of Three title and 1; Susannah title; 2 Macc. 1:36; 4:21; 11:21; Apocrypha colophon; Matt. 5:22; 12:23; Mark 5:6; 10:18; 11:8; Luke 17:34; 23:11; John 21:17; Acts 2:22; 27:18; Rom. 14:10; 1 Cor. 14:10, 15; 15:48; 2 Cor.

been rejected by later editors.[16] One further reading used to be thought to have been a deliberate manipulation of the text to favour the Puritans but is now generally reckoned a printer's error, 'whom ye may appoint' for 'whom we may appoint (Acts 6:3).[17] If we combine these figures with those for 1629, the early Cambridge editors supplied some 591 standard readings and spellings; 60% came from 1629.

By comparison with 1629, 1638 is still more concerned with scholarly niceties. Well over 40% of the changes to names have no effect on sound. The most frequent emendations deal with whether or not a name should end with *h*, something the translators had not been very particular over. 1611 gave, in quick succession, 'Haroe', 'Salmah' and 'Noga' (1 Chr. 2:52, 54; 3:7). Each is wrong by the Hebrew: 1638 corrects to 'Haroeh', 'Salma' and 'Nogah'. Such punctiliousness (a word sometimes literally applicable) also characterises the changes to the readings. Most commonly an omission is made good. While most of these omissions involve 1602 readings that the translators let stand, occasionally they are the deliberate creation of the Bod 1602 annotator. At Ezek. 3:11 they struck through 'the children of' in the phrase 'the children of thy people', deliberately rejecting literal translation: they judged that 'get thee to them of the captivity, unto the children of thy people, and speak unto them' would be misleading to English readers, falsely implying that Ezekiel was not to speak to all the people. The 1638 editors judged the English by the Hebrew (אֶל־בְּנֵי עַמֶּךָ) and restored 1602's phrase.

One might say from such examples that the Cambridge editions brought a degree of pedantry to the text that the translators resisted. Yet the very nature

8:21; 9:5, 6; 1 Tim. 1:4; 2 Tim. 1:7; Heb. 3:10; 8:8; 11:23; James 5:2; 1 Pet. 2:6; 5:10; 1 John 2:16; Jude 25; Rev. 1:4, 11; 5:13.
Standard spellings:
Gen. 16:14 (20:1); **Num**. 7:48 (53; 10:22), 54 (59; 10:23); **Deut**. 32:15; **Josh**. 15:28 (19:3; Neh. 11:27); 15:42, 43, 50; 19:19; 21:11; **2 Kgs** 19:37 (Isa. 37:38); 23:13; **1 Chr**. 1:25, 33, 42, 44; 2:14 (15:24; 24:6), 27; 42 (2 Chr. 11:8), 48 (9:35; 11:43), 52, 54; 3:7 (14:6); 4:6, 7, 29, 35, 37; 6:40 (two names), 57; 7:18, 25, 32; 8:14 (25:22); 8:31, 36, 37; 9:44; 12:5, 6, 10, 20; 15:18 (20, 24; 16:5; 2 Chr. 35:8; Neh. 12:41), 18, 18 (20; 2 Chr. 23:1; 26:11; 34:8; Ezra 10:18, 21, 22, 30), 18 (21), 18, 21; 25:4; 27:6, 29, 33 (34); **2 Chr**. 11:8; 20:14 (29:13; 35:9; Ezra 8:13; 10:43); 25:1; 29:12; 36:17 (etc.); **Ezra** 7:4; 8:16; 10:23, 25, 33; **Neh**. 3:4 (21; 10:5; 12:3), 6, 12; 7:7, 31, 46; 10:18; 11:8, 13; 12:5; **Esther** 3:1 (10); **Ps**. 2:6 (etc.); **Jer**. 41:1; **Ezek**. 1:2; 27:22 (23); **1 Esdras** 1:8; **2 Esdras** 3:16 (twice); **Tobit** 1:2 (Judith 1:8; 15:5; 1 Macc. 10:30; 12:47, 49; Mark 15:41; 16:7; Luke 4:44; Acts 13:31), 3 (10, 17, 22; 7:3; 11:1, 16, 17; 14:4, 8, 10, 15 [twice]; Judith 1:1, 16; 2:21); 7:3 (Matt. 4:13, 15; Rev. 7:6); **Judith** 1:8 (7:3); 2:4 (etc.); 5:3 (1 Macc. 9:37); 5:16; 7:18; 15:4, 5; **Rest of Esther** 11:1 (etc.); **Ecclus**. 48:12; 49:4; **Baruch** 3:23; **1 Macc**. 2:26 (54); 6:1; 7:45; 11:34; 15:23 (two names); **2 Macc**. 4:30; 8:33; **Mark** 14:32; **Luke** 1:5 (7, 13, 24, 36, 40, 41 [twice], 57); 4:27; 7:11; **Acts** 7:16 (twice); 21:1; 24:27; 27:7; **1 Cor**. 1:12 (etc.); **Heb**. 11:4; **2 Pet**. 2:6.

[16] Rejected readings: Mark 10:46; John 10:29; 14:16; 1 Cor. 10:28. Rejected spellings: 2 Sam. 5:14; 1 Chr. 2:49; 2 Chr. 20:36; Neh. 7:30; 1 Macc. 9:37; Rev. 2:6 (15).

[17] Scrivener, p. 4, Herbert, p. 176.

of the Bible text seems to demand this. Jerome changed his preferred practice as a translator when he worked on the sacred text, as he noted in a letter: 'I myself not only admit but freely claim that when I translate the Greeks, except for the Holy Scriptures, where even the order of the words is a mystery, I do so not word for word but sense for sense'.[18] The same consciousness of sacred mystery in the very letters of the text was vehemently reiterated by Kilburne:

And what accurate diligence and venerable respect the antient Jews did use . . . in accounting the number of words, Syllables, nay Letters thereof: And also the sedulity of Christians since the death of Christ . . . to convey from age to age the Testament of our blessed Saviour, and Writings and Epistles of his Holy Apostles in their purity, (whereby they have been by Gods providence preserved from corruption,) should incite, and invite *us*, (who have received a greater Illumination, and Revelation, than the Iews, or Primitive Christians,) carefully to promulge and propagate the word of God in its intrinsecal virtue, and propriety; Considering the many Heresies and false Doctrines professed in our dayes . . . And when as also in the Primitive times one ἰῶτα, (the least Letter of the Alphabet) occasioned so great a controversie in Gods Church, under the Empire of *Constantine* the Great. For in the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity, in the debates of the *Nicene Councel*, *Athanasius*, and the *Orthodox* party held, that Christ was Ὁμοούσιος, and of the same Essence of God his Father; the *Arians*, and Heterodox, Ὁμοιούσιος, making him a meer Creature, and depriving him of his royall Diadem of the eternall Divinity; Which two words differ but in one Letter.[19] And we read *Iudges* 12. 6. that the *Gileadites* slew of the *Ephraimites* 42000 souls, for not pronouncing rightly *Shibboleth*, and missing but in one Aspiration. (Kilburne, pp. 3–5)

Bible translation was of necessity a pedantic matter, and so viewed by subsequent editors who, with few exceptions, approved the work of the Cambridge editors.

One man's pedantry is another man's fidelity, and it should never be forgotten that there were genuine problems in the first edition text that the Cambridge editors contributed greatly to remedying.

Scrivener notes that 'with this pair of editions began the habit of adding to the parallel textual references in the margin', and that 1638 'admits also one or two fresh marginal notes (1 Macc. iv. 15; ix. 36)'. He also notes 'much attention' to the use of italics, and lists some errors, 'most of which blemishes have been perpetuated to modern times'.[20]

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[18] Letter 57:5; as given in Norton, *History*, I, p. 34; for a discussion of Jerome and principles of translation, see pp. 33–7.

[19] Ὁμοούσιον, 'of one substance' is used in the Nicene Creed, rather than ὁμοιούσιον, 'of like substance', the term preferred by the Arians.

[20] Scrivener, pp. 22–3. He identifies the following as errors (some are probably deliberate, e.g. 'Jezabel', Rev. 2:20, where the Greek spelling is followed):

1629: 'staies' for 'staires', 2 Chr. 9:11m.; 'whom he had set' for 'whom ye . . .' (Jer. 34:16), 'their trees ‖' for '‖ their trees' (Ezek. 31:14), 'those that failed' for 'those that fail'

Spelling in the Cambridge editions

The problem of the spelling of the Bible was not raised until, roughly, 1660, when a standard copy of the KJB was proposed that should be 'for Orthography so truely and critically written, that hereafter a Letter shall not bee altered'.[21] This does not signal the arrival of the idea that there was – or should be – standard English spelling; rather, it harks back to Jewish care to keep the Hebrew text pure: 'the Jews were so accurate, that they knew the number of words, syllables, nay letters in every book: whose diligence and industry in that kinde God's Providence hath used as a means to keep the Scriptures from corruption'.[22] Occasionally the number of letters in the KJB has been a matter of curiosity,[23] but in general the spelling of the KJB has followed, tardily, the progressive standardisation of English (and American) spelling. The tardiness comes largely from conservative reverence for the text, with the result that, into the twenty-first century, inconsistencies and old-fashioned spellings remain.

Through the first century and a half of the life of the KJB text all one can observe is fitful movement towards modern spelling and consistency of spelling. Some examples from the Cambridge editions will be enough to show that they constituted only a small step towards the modern and the consistent. The first edition did not distinguish between 'naught' and 'nought', but the 1638 editors did, using 'naught' where there is an implication of evil or naughtiness, 'nought' where the implication is nothingness. At 2 Kgs 2:19 they substitute 'naught' in 'the water *is* nought, and the ground barren', bringing out the Hebrew רָעִים, 'bad, evil'.[24] Conversely, 'set him at naught' (Luke 23:11) becomes 'set him at nought', reflecting ἐξουθενήσας δὲ αὐτὸν, 'made him as nothing, humiliated him'. These changes are unique among the 1629 and 1638 spellings in the way they are dictated by the original.

(Ecclus. 17:24), 'the letters' for 'the letter' (2 Macc. 9:18), 'Hydaspe' for 'Hydaspes' (Judith 1:6), 'gold' for silver' (Baruch 6:8), 'in utterance' for 'and utterance' (2 Cor. 8:7), 'thy doctrine' for 'the doctrine' (1 Tim. 4:16), and reference to Ps. 22:6 placed by first occurrence of 'worm', not second (Job 25:6).

1638: '*Sebaniah*' (=1611) for '*Shebaniah*' (1629; Neh. 12:3m.), 'The word' for 'And the word' (Ezek. 18:1), 'the whirlwind' for 'a whirlwind' (Hos. 13:3), 'whom ye may appoint' for 'whom we . . .' (Acts 6:3), and 'Jezabel' for 'Jezebel' Rev. 2:20.

Errors in italics followed by later editions 'all these are merely uncorrected *errata*':

1629: '*do it*' (2 Sam. 24:12), '*art* thou brought' (Ezek. 40:4), 'is a vow' (1 Esdras 8:58) and 'cleanse it' (Eph. 5:26).

1638: '*This* is' (Isa. 5:9m.), '*were* torn' (Isa. 5:25), '*from the* thrumme' (Isa. 38:12m.), 'and the princes' (Jer. 25:18), 'and bay' (Zech. 6:3) and '*for doctrines*' (Matt. 15:9).

[21] 'Humble proposals'; McKitterick, I, p. 388.

[22] Part of the conclusion to the point; the connection with the passage from *Dangerous Errors* just given is obvious.

[23] See Norton, II, pp. 49–50.   [24] The same change was made at Prov. 20:14 in 1616.

A few words are consistently given modern spelling, as in 1629's regularisation of 'burden/burthen' and 'murder/murther'. The complexities of 'entreat . . ./intreat . . .' (a continuing problem) are more expressive of the times. The first edition uses 'intreat . . .' fifty-nine times, and 'entreat . . .' twenty-nine. 1629 changes 'entreat . . .' to 'intreat . . .' nine times, and makes the reverse change thirteen times. There seems to be an attempt in this to keep spellings consistent where the variants are near each other, but overall I suspect there is a tendency to change simply because neither spelling seems exactly right: where something seems slightly wrong, a change feels like a correction. 1638 follows 1629, except for making one more change of each sort, so adding to the sense of confusion.[25]

Finally, a few archaic words are given a new form. 'Broided' becomes 'broidred' (1 Tim. 2:9), 'happily' 'haply (2 Cor. 9:4), 'sithence' 'since' (2 Esdras 10:14), and, from 1638, 'astrologians' becomes 'astrologers' (Dan. 2:27). Such changes run a fine line between changes of spelling and changes to the translators' English.

Commercial competition and corruptions

Black, with feeling proper to one who was himself University Publisher, reports a story 'that Buck and Daniel in their pride [in the 1638 edition] put a notice on Great St Mary's door offering a free Bible to anyone who could find an error'.[26] The first two Cambridge folios were indeed remarkably well printed, quite outdoing the best efforts of the Kings' Printer. This was in a real sense a commercial move. Black acknowledges that the story of Buck and Daniel's offer is probably apocryphal, but adds that 'Cambridge still had cause for pride, for it had inaugurated the tradition of care for the text which only the two universities maintained, and which was to be always the strongest argument for their exemption from the monopoly conferred by the Royal Printer's Patent'. In due course Bible printing became a prime source of income for both Oxford and Cambridge University presses, subsidising many unprofitable but important ventures without which English culture would have been the poorer.[27]

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[25] 'Entreat . . .' to 'intreat . . .': 1629: Exod. 8:9; 9:28; Judg. 13:8; Prov. 19:6; Tobit 1:22; Wisdom 19:3; 2 Cor. 8:4; Phil. 4:3; Heb. 12:19; 1638: 2 Sam. 21:14.
'Intreat . . .' to 'entreat . . .': 1629: 2 Chr. 33:13, 19; Ezra 8:23; Job 19:16; 24:21; Jer. 15:11; Judith 10:16; Ecclus. 33:31; 1 Macc. 12:8; Matt. 22:6; Luke 18:32; Acts 7:6, 19; 1638: Deut. 26:6.

[26] Black, p. 64. Scrivener notes five errors: '*Sebaniah*' for '*Shebaniah*' (1629's correction of 1611, Neh. 12:3m.), 'The word' for 'And the word' (Ezek. 18:1), 'the whirlwind' for 'a whirlwind' (Hos. 13:3), Acts 6:3 (see above) and 'Jezabel' for 'Jezebel' (Rev. 2:20).

[27] 'By the mid-seventeenth century [the Bible] had become one of the [Cambridge] Press's mainstays, and it has remained the most important single component of the Press's list for

In other hands, often ill-managed and ill-executed, it also made money. Kilburne, in his 'Proposals humbly presented', makes much of the commercial possibilities and dangers. He claims that printers 'may gain by printing Bibles in all Volumes 10000.*l. per annum de claro*' (McKitterick, I, p. 389), a fabulous profit. Kilburne makes various suggestions for controlling this work, for the profit motive would most likely produce a result quite contrary to that achieved by Cambridge. He argues that no group such as the Stationers' Company should

have any Interest, or Title in the Copy of the Bible, or any propriety in the printing thereof: For if they, or any of them, have liberty to manage any *Printery*, they will expose to sale no books, but of their own printing: And thereby (having the advantage of a powerful purse) will debilitate, and discourage all others, that print never so well. And in truth (if a book will but sell well (as Bibles are the most certain) let the printing be never so bad) they look no further. (McKitterick, I, pp. 389–90)

On the heels of poorly printed texts would come the demise of quality printers and a rise in cost to the public through monopoly pricing.

High prices and poor printing were a common complaint. Archbishop Abbott, who had been one of the translators, early lamented the declining standards:

I knewe the tyme when greater care was had about printeing, the Bibles especiallie, good compositors and the best correctors were gotten being grave and learned men, and the paper and letter rare and faire every way of the best; but now the paper is naught, the composers boyes, and the correctors unlearned: There is a farmer [monopolist] and he makes the benefitt, and careth for nothing about it. They heertofore spent their whole time in printeing, but these looke to gaine, gaine, gaine, nothing els.[28]

A bookseller, Michael Sparke, gives details of inflated prices in a 1641 tract, *Scintilla* (reproduced in Herbert, pp. 183–7).

Some twenty years after Buck and Daniel's vaunted edition, Kilburne himself gives liberal details of errors (see appendix 6). The most notorious was, of course, the omission of 'not' from the seventh commandment (Exod. 20:14) in the 'wicked' Bible of 1631, an omission generally taken to have been sabotage perpetrated as part of the ongoing struggles between Barker and Norton, though it could be a compositor's jape of the same sort as 'printers

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most of the three and a half centuries since. Its importance as the generator of profits that could in turn be used to subsidize less widely popular books can hardly be over-estimated' (McKitterick, I, p. 195).

[28] Gardiner, *Reports of cases*; High Commission cases, p. 305; as given in McKitterick, I, p. 197. For a similar view from Laud and an opposing one from Fuller, see Norton, I, p. 212 and n.

have persecuted me'.[29] Kilburne reports a similar omission: a pocket Bible of 1653 reads, 'know ye not that the unrighteous shall inherit the Kingdome of God?' (1 Cor. 6:9), an error that I find easier to think of as an accident.[30]

A further twenty years on, nothing seems to have changed. Oxford University Press defended its 1679 quarto (H744) against a petition by the King's Printers (now John Bill, Thomas Newcombe and Henry Hills) by turning the attack on them:

As to the Correctednesse, That was done in that Bible which has scarcely bin done in any other. The escapes of the Presse being in all Coppies corrected with the penn
   The latter Editions are more correct then any of the Kings Printers.
   The Kings Printers Bible in octavo printed in the year 1671 is soe full of errors that it hath bin complained of by many persons, To instance in one place, *Ahitophell sett his shoulder in order & hanged himself* [2 Sam. 17:23], By their monopoly Persons are necessitated to take them (Hobsons Choice) or none, By their monopoly the nation is abused as to bad Comodity and att an enhanced Price, The vniversity Printer sells a better bible for 5ˢ 9ᵈ. then the Kings Printer did for 8ˢ. 8ᵈ. vide the books., soe that if the vniversity bee encouraged they will bring downe the Price of small bibles also and print better, and hereby the Kings Customs will be advantaged and Importation of Holland Bibles discouraged as before is noted.[31]

Like Ahithophel, the King's printer should have 'put his household in order'.

A standard – or a new revision?

The same advertisement that vaunted Field and Hills's possession of the translators' original also made much of the effort to set a standard by 'his Highness's printers' (as they styled themselves under Cromwell).[32] In a grand example of the pot calling the kettle black, Field and Hills observe that 'for the space of about Twelve years past, the Printing of the Bible lay in Common', with the result 'that many Hundreds of very gross Errors are escaped in

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[29] The edition was burnt and the printers fined £300 (not the £2,000 or £3,000 Kilburne, too often dependent on rumour, reports, p. 5). Scrivener noted that 'a single copy is said to survive in the Library at Wolfenbuttel' (p. 25 n.), but there is a copy in the Bible Society Library. When I opened this at the offending page a loud crack of thunder erupted outside.

[30] Kilburne, p. 7. He comments that 'this is the foundation of a damnable Doctrine: for it hath been averred by a reverend Doctor of Divinity to several worthy persons, that many *Libertines* and licentious people did produce, and urge this Text from the authority of this corrupt Bible against his mild Reproofs, in justification of their vicious and inordinate Conversations'. Addison later supposed, sarcastically, that the youth of his age had found copies of the 'wicked' Bible and were following it to the letter (*The Spectator*, 579; Wednesday, 11 August 1714).

[31] Oxford University Archives, 1680, S. E. P. P. 16(2); as given in Simpson, pp. 178–9.

[32] For the phrase, 'his Highness's printers', see H639 (1653) and H647 (1655).

the Common Impressions now abroad, to the great scandal of *Religion* and *Government*, and abuse of the people'.[33] The new edition, 'to be sold at the House of *Henry Hills* in *Aldersgate street*, next door to the sign of the *Peacock*', remedies this situation:

due care hath been had to settle the Printing of the *Holy Scriptures*, in an orderly way for time to come; and there is now a Bible finished, *By His Highnesses* [Cromwell's] *special Command*, free from those *Errors* which are crept into many of the other Impressions, it being examined, corrected and amended according to the Original Manuscript Copy of the *Translators.*

And to the end, that a Book of so sacred concernment, may be exactly and truly Printed for the future, there are two Correctors kept to correct all Bibles that shall be printed hereafter; and over and above, there is a very learned person appointed by his Highness, carefully to Revise every Sheet before it be wrought off at the Press.

Kilburne gives the lie to these claims: this is the edition he considered 'the worst of all the rest' and from which he culled his longest list of errata.[34] But, for all their puffery, the claims are important. Recognising public feeling about the state of the text, Field and Hills judge that claims of correctness and authenticity will best promote their commercial ends, and that the notion of settling the text 'in an orderly way for time to come' will best preserve their position.

Kilburne also looked to the establishment of a standard. Most of 'Proposals humbly presented' is about the means by which such a standard is to be established and preserved. 'Humble proposals' is more concise and interesting. First he proposes:

That there may bee a fair Copie of the last Translation of the Bible, ingrossed either in Parchment or Vellom, in a full Character, which may be compared with the Original, by four or five Ministers, and so kept in *Sion*-College, as an Authentick Record: for Orthography so truely and critically written, that hereafter a Letter shall not bee altered: That so all people, upon any doubt, may have recours to the Original, to prove whether their Printed Copies varie, or not.[35]

'Original' seems to mean, first, the translators' manuscript, then the new 'fair Copie' (Kilburne is often fuzzy). Second, he proposes:

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[33] *Mercurius politicus*, no. 334, 29 October–6 November 1656, p. 7366, as given in McKitterick, I, pp. 325–6. Though the advertisement is anonymous, it clearly comes from Field and involves Hills.

[34] Kilburne, pp. 10–12. I have not seen this edition, which I presume is H660. McKitterick notes that 'Field's reputation as a Bible printer foundered in his own lifetime on the disparity between his claim to the Authorized text, and the manifest inaccuracy of many of the editions to which his name was attached' (I, p. 330).

[35] McKitterick, I, p. 388 (and so the subsequent quotations). 'In full Character' probably means in a large hand and without abbreviations.

That the Bible hereafter may bee Printed truly, according to the Translator's Copie, with the Divers Readings, and Paralel-places in the Margin, as formerly hath been don . . .

This is either redundant or – if 'Translator's Copie' means the same as 'the Original' that the ministers are to make comparison with – contradictory. The crucial point is that he looks for a standard and, while assuming the existence of the translators' original, takes it as unsatisfactory. Point three is 'that som able Scholars may bee appointed to mannage the Correction'; they should 'have skill in the Original', now meaning the original languages. It is here that the reference comes to the Bible being 'never better printed' than in the Cambridge 1638 edition, where indeed able scholars with skill in the original had supervised the text.

Most of these points might have been cribbed from Field and Hills, but what matters most is the essentially conservative spirit they embody: let the editorial work be perfected, and enshrined in a standard – thereafter, no more changes. The recommended procedures never took place, and so, for want of anything even better, the 1638 text gained more and more acceptance as *the* standard – or, in the word of *Dangerous Errors*, as 'authentique'.

The final point moves from correction of the text to correction of the translation:

That (notwithstanding many faults were amended in the *Cambridg*-Edition, partly by som of the Translators themselves, partly by others, yet) the whole Translation may bee revised by Learned men, and publick notice given, that so others from all parts may suggest to the Reviewers, their Opinions concerning amendments.

Diligently pursued, this point would produce a revised version, but it was to be two centuries before England was ready for that. Revision had already been attempted under the Commonwealth, but had collapsed with the collapse of the Commonwealth.[36]

Viewing the history of the text to 1660 as a whole, it manifests a battle between the commercial and the scholarly spirits in which the commercial benefits of being scholarly were occasionally realised. Within the scholarly spirit two impulses were in tension: one was the impulse to innovate in the endless quest for perfection, the other was the impulse to fix. By the time of the Restoration, the impulse to fix the text was ascendant. Innovation was confined almost entirely to presentation and extra-textual matters.

[36] See Norton, I, pp. 216–24.

A hundred years of solicitude

Kilburne's campaign against poor printing and monopolies had some effect. By the time of the Restoration, Field, who had been the chief object of his criticism, was printer to Cambridge University and, in the twilight of his career, produced editions that improved his reputation. However, they did almost nothing for the text: Field's best-known edition is his 1660 folio (H666, 668), but his minimal contribution to the text comes in his octavo of the same year (H669). There Lev. 25:5, 'of it owne accord', first takes its modern form, 'of its own accord'. Among the modern spellings that this text occasionally introduces are the consistent use of 'alien',[37] and 'floats' for 'flotes' at 1 Kgs 5:9. As with hundreds of examples one might choose, this latter is an inconsistent change: 'flotes' remains at 2 Chr. 2:16 and 1 Esdras 5:55; what is significant about it is that it suggests that this particular octavo, unlike most of the innumerable editions in smaller formats, did sometimes influence the text: 'floats/flotes' was common until about 1960 and can still be found in some editions.[38] The reason for its influence may be the additions to the marginal notes which Scrivener takes to be the notable aspect of this edition (p. 26).

The marginal notes and references were further developed under the aegis of Field's successor as Cambridge Printer, John Hayes, in 1677 and 1678.[39] Development of the marginal material was a sensible commercial move. James I's aversion to the Geneva notes had been influential in making the KJB a version free of explanatory annotation, but there was (and still is) a strong popular desire for such notes. From 1642 on at least nine editions of the KJB were published with the Geneva annotations (Norton, I. p. 214), and Henry Hammond's popular *A Paraphrase, and Annotations Upon all the Books of the New Testament* (H640), which gave the KJB text, a paraphrase and annotations, first appeared in 1653. When John Fell at Oxford first considered printing a KJB at Oxford, he envisaged an annotated edition, but this never materialised (Carter, pp. 86–7).

In 1632 Archbishop Laud had obtained from Charles I Letters Patent giving Oxford University similar printing rights to those enjoyed at Cambridge, and for forty years there was a succession of agreements whereby, for

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[37] 1611 uses 'alien', 'alient' and 'aliant', and the inconsistency goes back to changes made or not made in Bod 1602; before 1660 only two uses of the older forms had been modernised.

[38] It introduced the following modernisations, some of which were ignored only to be reintroduced at a later time: 'forasmuch' for 'for so much' (Isa. 8:6), 'impossible' for 'unpossible' (Matt. 17:20; 19:26), 'jailor' for 'iaylour' or 'jayler' (1611, 1638; Acts 16:23), 'lose' for 'leese' (1 Kgs 18:5), 'prized' for 'prised' (Zech. 11:13), 'stank' for 'stunk' (Exod. 7:21), and 'drank' for 'drunk' (Dan. 5:4).

[39] Scrivener, p. 26. The 1677 edition is H736, but Herbert does not record a 1678 edition.

a consideration, Oxford forbore to exercise its right to print Bibles (Carter, p. 29). Unlike the first Cambridge KJB, the first Oxford Bible (1675; H719 and 720) did little to the text other than employing idiosyncratic spelling which aroused some complaint: the new publisher thus failed to stake out new ground, and was put in his place by the simple expedient of underselling as Cambridge had been earlier.[40]

Further supplementary material was introduced in the second Oxford edition (1679; H744–6), notably the dates which long remained a fixture in the KJB and can still be found in some editions. Here they are given as years after the Creation, the Nativity being dated 4,000. The basis for the dates was Archbishop James Ussher's calculations in *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (1650–4); they took their familiar form (B.C. 4004 for the Creation etc.) in the 1701 folio printed by Bill and Executrix of Newcomb (London; H868).

This edition (or perhaps the Oxford folio of the same year, H867) was prepared by Bishop William Lloyd at the request of Convocation in 1699 for an improved edition. It is not clear whether there was serious dissatisfaction with the state of the text; as it happened, neither this nor the Oxford folio made much in the way of significant changes, and Scrivener notes that 'except in regard to the dates, no principal edition so little influenced succeeding Bibles as this, notwithstanding the high auspices under which it came forth'.[41] Rather than scholarly attention to the originals, both these 1701 folios show a little concern with the spelling of names,[42] and with correctness and modernness of English. The London edition, which has slightly more innovations, changes the archaic 'and other tempting him' to the modern 'and others . . .' (Luke 11:16, but not elsewhere); 'for so much' becomes 'forasmuch' (1 Macc. 14:29 and, in London only, Isa. 8:6), and, in London only, 'unpossible' 'impossible' (Matt. 17:20; 19:26; Luke 1:37; 18:27). More drastically, for the change is arguably a change of word and meaning, both editions alter 'shamefast' and 'shamefastness' to 'shamefac'd' and 'shamefac'dness' (Ecclus. 26:15; 32:10; 41:16, 24 – the same change had been made in 1674 to 1 Tim. 2:9), and they correct the seemingly faulty

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[40] Carter, pp. 71–2, 97. Carter mentions 'minor alterations in the text' but gives no examples (p. 72).

[41] Scrivener, p. 27. Scrivener notes that Records of the Proceedings of both Houses of Convocation are incomplete for 1699, and that the later records contain no direct evidence of a formal representation supposed to have been made by the Lower House to the Upper 'respecting the many errors it contains'.

[42] Both editions: 'Chaldees' for 'Caldees' in 2 Kings 25, continuing the regularisation of this spelling, 'Hananeel' for 'Hananiel' (Zech. 14:10, reversing Bod 1602's change), 'Jeremy' for 'Jeremie' (1 Esdras 1:28 etc.), 'Zachary' for 'Zacharie' (2 Esdras 1:40), and 'Judith' for 'Judeth' throughout Judith; London only: 'Sabi' for 1629's 'Saby' (1 Esdras 5:34) and 'Malachy' for 'Malachie' (2 Esdras 1:40, repeating a change made in 1616).

English grammar of 'the riches *that* hee hath gotten is perished' to '. . . are perished' (Jer. 48:36).[43] They also give the modern form, 'his wifes sons' for 'his wiues sonnes' (Judg. 11:2; the apostrophe appeared in 1762).[44]

For the next half century the dominant name in English Bible publishing was that of Baskett. John Baskett, through a series of purchases from 1710 on, became Queen's Printer (as the title then was) in both England and Scotland, and, from 1713 on, he leased the Oxford right to print Bibles. These rights passed to his sons Thomas and Robert in 1742. Since Cambridge stayed out of the market until 1743, this meant a long period of monopoly which did little that was good for either the text or the price of Bibles.[45]

John Baskett's first Bible was also his most notorious. A contemporary account of the work in progress is of particular interest, both because such accounts are rare and because it gives so clear a sense of the printer's priorities:

We are here printing a most Magnificent English Bible, some very few Copys will be in Vellum for a Present to the Queen & my Ld Treasurer. You know D[r] Wallis and D[r] Gregory pronounced Mr Dennison absolutely the best Corrector they ever met with. If this Work have not the Advantage of his nice Ey at least in giving the first Directions, and settling the Distances of Lines & Words and the great Art in a beautifull and Uniforme Division of Syllables, with several other minute Regulations, invisible to vulgar Eys, the Work will want of its proposed Splendor . . . Mr Denison says the Fount of letters, is the very best He ever saw, and you know his Ey examines all the Tayls sides & Topps of letters &c. To do justice to M[r] Basket, He spares no Cost nor Pains. We shall throw out all the vast Numbers of References added by some late Reformers & Improvers of the Bible, reserving only those of the Original Translators themselves . . .[46]

As printing, this was a superb book, as text it was that well-known 'Baskett-ful of errors', the 'Vinegar Bible' (1717; H942, 943), so called from the heading to Luke 20, 'the parable of the vinegar', for 'vineyard'.

A sampling of Baskett Bibles yields few textual innovations. Three words beginning in 'un' took their modern form ('untemperate', 'undiscreet' and 'unperfit/unperfect', both of which forms had survived), *e* replaced the apostrophe in 'shamefac'd', and 'wayes side' became 'way side' (Luke 8:5). Three

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[43] 'Riches' could be construed as singular or plural, so 1611's reading is not a solecism; *OED*'s last example of 'riches' used as a singular is from 1667. Curiously, in the Hebrew the noun is singular but the verb that follows is plural.

[44] There are four other minor changes: in both editions, 'hosts; and he dwelt' for 'hosts and dwelt' (1 Macc. 13:53); in London only, 'of the fire' for 'of fire' (Deut. 9:10), 'less *in* them' for 'less *on* them' (Job 4:19), and 'see afar off' for 'see far off' (2 Pet. 1:9).

[45] Carter gives an account of his John Baskett's career, pp. 166–76; for complaints of inflated prices, see pp. 171–2.

[46] Arthur Charlett, letter, 9 December 1713; as given in Simpson, p. 195. Denison is William Denison.

minor changes were made to readings: 'for the press' in place of 'for pre-asse' (Mark 2:4), 'cast into prison' for 'cast in prison' (Luke 23:19, repeating a 1616 change), and 'but the time cometh' for 'the time commeth' (John 16:25).[47]

All in all, 100 years of solicitude produced almost nothing by way of lasting textual change.

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[47] Readings from various Baskett Bibles, 1743, 1744, 1752 and 1756. A more thorough examination would probably reveal a few more contributions.

6 | Setting the standard, 1762 and 1769

Three Bibles

Three outstanding folio Bibles were produced in the 1760s. The most famous was John Baskerville's (1763, H1146), 'one of the finest books ever to have been printed in Britain'; McKitterick adds that 'as such, it must take pride of place in the history of printing in Cambridge' (II, p. 195). Yet, except in a negative way, it is an irrelevance as far as the history of the text is concerned. Baskerville had been appointed University Printer at Cambridge alongside, but not in co-operation with, the incumbent, Joseph Bentham. He was to undertake specific projects, including the folio Bible. His declared ambition was 'to render this one Work as correct, elegant, and perfect as the Importance of it demands'; he would give his country 'a more correct and beautiful Edition of the *SACRED WRITINGS*, than has hitherto appeared'.[1] This is very much what Baskett's aim had been with his folio Bible, but this was no 'Baskett-ful of errors'. Negatively, what is so striking is that 'correct', while promising freedom from typographical error, does not involve work on the text or the annotations. Baskerville's was a printer's, not a scholar's, Bible.

Though Baskerville could designate himself 'Printer to the University' on the title page, he was in competition with the Press's main commercial activity, as Bible printing now was – a major change since the beginning of the century. Cambridge's printing had been in a parlous state. The Press was refounded in 1698 but did not begin to re-establish itself as a successful printing – and, to a much lesser extent, publishing – house until the 1740s. John Hayes, Printer to the University until his death in 1706, effectively worked for the Stationers' Company, and he printed no Bibles after 1683. From 1706 on the Press entered into covenants of forbearance with the Stationers' Company; among the items it forbore to print was the New Testament.

Only once during the time of Hayes's successor, Cornelius Crownfield (retired 1740), did the University lease the right to print the Bible. This says much of a decay in commercial competence, and the episode has both

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[1] 'Proposals for Printing by Subscription, the Holy Bible' (1759); reproduced in McKitterick, II, p. 199.

illustrative value for what it shows of the power of compositors and a real historical significance. The lessees claimed 'to be Masters of a new discovery & rare secret in ye Art of Printing by Plates of a hard metal cast for each Page, wch is contrived cheifly for books of constant & standing sale, & will make ye impressions vastly cheaper than in ye common way, & as they say, more beautifull too'.[2] In short, they were to use stereotyping, which was before long to prove the most important development in the printing of the Bible. Eliminating the need for standing type, constant resetting and proofing (with all their attendant costs and the inevitability of error), stereotyping made Bible printing cheaper and uniform. It also had a significant bibliographical consequence: where previously continuous reprinting made it difficult to keep precise track of individual editions, now it becomes impossible.

This first venture into stereotyping the Bible in England was abortive. The compositors were only too well aware of how it would abate their trade, so 'when they corrected one fault . . . [they] made purposely half a-dozen more, and the press-men when the masters were absent battered the letter in aid of the compositors: in consequence of which base proceedings the books were suppressed by authority and condemned'.[3] This confirms what has been apparent in a number of instances as far back as the Printer's and the Wicked Bibles, that the text was at the mercy of the compositors' malice as well as their mistakes.

With the retirement of Crownfield in 1740, reform of the Press began. Bible and Prayer Book printing was the central element (McKitterick, II, p. 175). Besides commercial motivation and a desire to bring honour to the University by doing the work well, the Press wanted 'to serve the Public with a more beautiful and correct Edition than can easily be found'.[4] While 'correct' probably means free from typographical errors, as in Baskerville's later advertisement, from the beginning there was care for the text. F. S. Parris, soon to be Master of Sidney Sussex, checked and proofed the text of the new edition (1743; H1063). At this stage the Press gave his work no publicity. He continued work on Cambridge Bibles, eventually being chiefly responsible for Bentham's 1762 folio (H1142), where his contribution was recognised (McKitterick, II, pp. 183, 191–2). This was the second of the three outstanding folios. Parris worked mainly on scholarly textual correction, italicisation, and marginal notes and cross-references, doing more, as

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[2] Conyers Middleton to Lord Harley, 2 April 1730; as given in McKitterick, II, pp. 177–8.

[3] Edward Rowe Mores, *A Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies*, ed. H. Carter and C. Ricks (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Soc., 1961), pp. 56–7; as given in McKitterick, II, p. 178.

[4] Report of the Press's Syndicate for Bible printing, as given in McKitterick, II, p. 180. This Syndicate (that is, committee) was established in 1738.

Scrivener observed, to bring these into their modern state than the better-known Oxford edition of 1769.[5]

This Oxford edition, the third of the outstanding folios, propagated and, especially in matters of spelling and grammar, developed Parris's work. Presumably in response to the developments manifest in the Cambridge folios, Oxford had determined in October 1764 that the lessee of its Bible Press should

provide . . . one or more Copies of the Bible accurately collated with the Original or most Authentic Edition of the present Translation, and . . . these and no other shall hereafter be used in correcting the Books to be printed by virtue of this Lease, making due Allowance for modern Variations in mere Orthography.[6]

Explicit concern for 'the Original or most Authentic Edition' is something we have not seen in the century since Kilburne's campaign. The Delegates did not know what text to take, so the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Secker, was asked 'what Copy of an English Bible his Grace would recommend as a proper Standard for the University Printer'. Secker too did not know; he thought the first edition was the 1612 roman folio, and replied that he had heard that Parris 'took great Pains in the same good work' (Carter, p. 358). This was not to be the last time one of the University Presses found itself ignorant of the basis of its text: the present book comes from a similar inquiry made by Cambridge University Press in 1994.

Given such meagre information, the Oxford Delegates ordered a collation of the Cambridge editions of 1743 and 1760 with the first edition and Lloyd's 1701 folio, and they sought an editor: Benjamin Blayney, later to be Regius Professor of Hebrew, volunteered. His report to the Vice-Chancellor and Delegates (reproduced in appendix 7) gives a good sense of what he did, and the problems and labour involved. 'Mere Orthography' gets no attention, punctuation a passing comment, and all that he says of the readings is that the text was collated (as instructed), and 'reformed to such a standard of purity, as, it is presumed, is not to be met with in any other edition hitherto extant' – a claim too vague to be helpful. The one quasi-textual item that is

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[5] Scrivener, p. 29. Scrivener thought this edition had little circulation, and he quotes a manuscript note from the British Museum copy that 'only six copies were preserved from a fire at the printers' (p. 29 n.). It now seems that this fire is a myth, possibly a confusion with the fire that destroyed much of Blayney's edition (for this latter fire, see Carter, p. 360). There was a further report that the fire happened while the printing was in sheets and that it was put out with water. However, the water stains in the surviving copies (of which there are at least eighteen), show no sign of the uniformity one would expect if this was so. I am indebted to Alan Jesson, Bible Society Librarian, for this information.

[6] Carter, p. 356. Carter notes that Parris's model is an obvious reason for making this requirement at this time but that 'subsequent discussions of this matter by the Oxford Delegates take no account of that Bible at all' (p. 357).

commented on in some detail is the revision of the italics. For the rest he is concerned with extra-textual matters, the chapter summaries and running titles, the notes, cross-references and chronology. Finally, he relates the care with which the work was seen through the press. In spite of these claims to have given most attention to editorial aids to the understanding of the text (the italics are one such aid rather than a genuine matter of the text), his most significant contribution was to the spelling and, in some respects, the grammar of the text.

It will be no surprise to find that Blayney's claims exceed his achievement. Neither the work on the text nor the vaunted attention to the correctness of the printing was perfect: Scrivener (with none of the charity that an editor ought to accord to a predecessor if for nothing more than the fear of being found similarly fallible) judges the latter 'conspicuously deficient', and adds that 'the commonly estimated number of 116 such *errata* would seem below the truth'.[7]

A quarto (H1196) was prepared at the same time as the folio, but, in spite of the blemishes, Blayney considered the folio 'somewhat the more perfect of the two, and therefore more fit to be recommended for a standard Copy' (below, p. 197). Carter reports that it

> was for many years the standard by which Oxford Bibles were corrected; that is to say, Blayney's [folio] as corrected in manuscript by many hands in course of time. The folio volume kept for reference has hardly a page, except in the Apocrypha, without a corrector's mark carefully written in ink. All but a few of these amendments are of slight significance: a capital instead of a small letter in a reference, a comma added, an English spelling modernized. (Carter, p. 358)

As well as Oxford, most other printers at home and abroad took Blayney as standard, so that the text as now generally found is not that of the first edition but something that evolved unevenly over a century and a half before becoming nearly fixed by the standards of the 1760s imperfectly applied.

What Parris and Blayney did to the text

One of the more extraordinary copies of the Bible I have seen is the Cambridge University Library's copy of Blayney's folio.[8] It was purchased by Gilbert Buchanan in 1822 for nine guineas and minutely annotated throughout for its variations from what he takes to be the first edition, though it is

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[7] Scrivener, pp. 30–1. Characteristic of the errors are 'ERZA' as the header to Ezra 10, the omission of chapter summaries for Proverbs 26–9 and 'a sweetsmelling favour' for 'a sweet-smelling savour' (Eph. 5:2).
[8] CUL Adv. bb. 77. 2.

clear from some of the variations that he was using the second edition. At the beginning he notes that 'the variations are chiefly in the pointing, and *Italic* words, or to the *Text*; but the Contents of the chapters are very much altered: And besides the obsolete spelling, many of the proper names are differently spelt'. The annotations constitute an overwhelming mine of information. Most verses elicit several annotations, so that as a whole Buchanan's labours give a strong visual impression of the multitudinous variations in minutiae by which Blayney's Bible (and, following it, modern KJBs) differs from the original.

I note ninety-nine surviving textual variants from Parris and fifty-eight from Blayney; in addition to the usual possibilities of error in such figures, there now arises the difficult question of distinguishing textual variants from orthographic variations. The most significant thing is that the majority of the variants are matters of the English of the translation. Three-quarters (seventy-four) of Parris's variants and nearly three-fifths (thirty-three) of Blayney's are of this sort.

Before dealing with these, it will be convenient to survey the variants that are not matters of English. Most of them make the translation more literal. The commonest change is to the number of a noun; Parris makes ten of these, Blayney eight.[9] All but three are changes to 1602 readings or, at Num. 1:2, to a reading created in Bod 1602: most or all are therefore changes to readings the translators saw and let stand in spite of the literal sense of the original. Parris and Blayney are being more scholarly than the translators thought fit.

One of these changes involves a particularly complex sentence which, following Parris, appears in this form:

When thou shalt beget children, and children's children, and ye shall have remained long in the land, and shall corrupt *yourselves*, and make a graven image, *or* the likeness of any *thing*, and shall do evil in the sight of the LORD thy God, to provoke him to anger: I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that ye shall soon utterly perish from off the land whereunto ye go over Jordan to possess it; ye shall not prolong *your* days upon it, but shall utterly be destroyed. (Deut. 4:25–6)

Compounding the complexity is the change from a singular to a plural subject, and then the momentary return to the singular in 'thy God'. All this is exactly as in the Hebrew and – if one wants to – avoidable *now* because modern English does not distinguish second person singular from plural. Rather than avoiding the problem, the 1611 translators kept to the 1602 reading, which minimises the problem, by omitting the first 'ye' and not

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[9] Parris: Gen. 23:10 (and v. 18); 47:6; Exod. 29:26; Deut. 4:25; 16:4; Ezek. 34:28; Baruch 6:45; Matt. 26:75; Acts 7:35; 2 Cor. 11:26; Blayney: Exod. 23:13; Lev. 25:31; Num. 1:2 (and vv. 18, 20); 4:40; Ps. 141:9; Isa. 10:34; 1 Esdras 2:8; 1 Macc. 8:26.

changing to the plural 'shall' quite as soon as it should: 'when thou shalt beget children, and childrens children, and shalt haue remained long in the land, and shal corrupt *your selues* . . .'. This seems to me a neat sleight of hand, but Parris is working to a stricter sense of a translator's duty to the original.

Only in one of these cases can one say with confidence that the translators should have made a change to 1602, 'man of activity' at Gen. 47:6. By making this plural, Parris gives the reading that is right by the Hebrew, grammatically consistent with the context, and consistent with the way the phrase is treated elsewhere in the KJB.[10]

Several among the other changes for literal accuracy are worth noting. Numbers 7 is particularly revealing of the translators' practice and the problems they created for scrupulous editors. It repeatedly uses the formula 'one siluer charger, the weight whereof was an hundred and thirtie *shekels*',[11] or 'the weight thereof was' (v. 13), or 'one siluer charger of an hundred and thirty *shekels*' (vv. 31, 55), or 'one siluer charger of the weight of an hundred and thirtie *shekels*' (v. 43). The Hebrew is the same throughout. The variant 'thereof/whereof' goes back to 1602; 'thereof' may be a typographical error, but the translators let it stand. Apart from this variant, 1602, like the Hebrew, is consistent: 'a siluer charger of an hundred and thirtie sicles'. Now, all the changes in the 1611 text are recorded in Bod 1602, including the spelling 'sicles/shekels'. The result is variety, and I take this to be deliberate. The translators judged that, though it is always in the Hebrew, 'weight' could on occasions be omitted because it would be understood. Parris thought otherwise but, rather than changing vv. 31 and 55 to the standard formula, he respected the translators' different construction and simply inserted 'of the weight': 'one silver charger of the weight of an hundred and thirty *shekels*'. Because the other variant, v. 43, represents all the Hebrew words, he left it alone. This example, as graphically as any, shows the difference in practice between the 1611 translators and their editors.

Most of the remaining corrections for literal accuracy deal with articles, most commonly inserting an omitted definite article.[12] In all these instances there is a reasonable case that the translators deliberately chose, for reasons of style, not to be exact. Curiously, there are a few instances where Parris, apparently also for style, makes a reading less literal.[13] Blayney, more justifiably,

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[10] Exod. 18:21, 25; Judg. 20:44, 46; 2 Sam. 11:16; Neh. 11:6; Ps. 76:5; Isa. 5:22; Jer. 48:14; Nahum 2:3.

[11] Vv. 19, 25, 37, 49, 61, 67, 73 and 79. Spelling varies between 'thirty' and 'thirtie'.

[12] Parris: Exod. 34:25; Josh. 12:6; Ezra 7:18; Matt. 16:16; 27:52; Luke 19:9; 20:12; John 15:20; Acts 5:34. Blayney: Deut. 20:7 (restoring a 1629 reading); Ps. 99:2; Isa. 44:13; Acts 18:5. Other literal changes: from Parris: 1 Chr. 6:60; Rom. 3:24; from Blayney: 1 Cor. 10:28.

[13] Matt. 9:34; Acts 24:14; 2 Cor. 11:26; 2 Tim. 1:12.

occasionally makes a tense consistent where the translators chose to follow the inconsistencies of the original.[14]

Finally, it is worth noting that Blayney restores three 1611 readings,[15] and that he spots two genuine errors that arguably go back to the original compositor rather than the translators. 1 Macc. 16:14 is corrected from 'threescore and seuenth' to 'threescore and seventeenth' (1602 was correct here), and 2 Cor. 5:2 is corrected from 'we grone earnestly, desiring' to 'we groan, earnestly desiring'.

Some of these examples cross the line between matters of accuracy and matters of English, as does another group of variants from these editors, apostrophes. Among the variant readings are eighteen apostrophes that survive from Parris, and eight from Blayney. To judge from these and from the lack of contemporary rules, they may well have regarded apostrophes as a matter of 'mere orthography'.[16] Curiously, all those noted from Parris (except 'Ptolemeus'' 2 Macc. 1:10) are placed before the *s*, whereas Blayney's usually follow the *s*. Consequently, modern editions have nine singular possessives that should be plural, seven inherited from Parris, two from Blayney, and another six plural that should be singular from Blayney.[17] A century later Scrivener corrected these, but his changes were not adopted.

Various other aspects of English are either tidied up or similarly conformed to more modern standards. Several readings are worth comment. Parris removes a superflous 'that' from 'and it came to passe, that after the yeere was expired . . . that Dauid . . .' (2 Sam. 11:1). He did not know that the 1611 reading was created in Bod 1602 by the insertion of the second 'that', but what we do not know is whether the translators accidentally omitted to delete the first 'that'. Only one 'that' is found in the similar verse 1 Kgs 20:26. So Parris's emendation, right by modern standards of language, could be what the translators intended but is not what they wrote. Occasionally he changes word order, apparently to improve the style, as in the change from 'their children also shall sit' to 'their children shall also sit' (Ps. 132:12), and sometimes he makes small modernisations of expression, as changing 'he feedeth of ashes' to 'he feedeth on ashes' (Isa. 44:20), or 'the word which'

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[14] Mark 6:7; John 11:34.

[15] 2 Cor. 3:3 (but 1617's 'fleshly' is still found in some editions); 8:7; 1 Tim. 4:16.

[16] Robert Lowth's *A Short Introduction to English Grammar*, which appeared in the same year as Parris's edition, does not mention possessive apostrophes, nor does Johnson's dictionary mention them either in the short grammar at the beginning or under 'apostrophe'.

[17] Parris's misplaced apostrophes: 1 Chr. 7:2, 40; Ezek. 44:30; Wisdom 15:4; Ecclus. 13:19; Matt. 14:9; Mark 6:26; Blayney's singulars for plurals: Ezra 2:59; Neh. 7:61 (here Parris omitted apostrophes); plurals for singulars: Ps. 6:4; 31:16; 44:26; 140:3; Prov. 31:14; Dan. 2:41. Two of Parris's errors are corrected in later editions (Baruch 1:4 and 1 Macc. 10:89); Blayney changed Parris's correct reading at Prov. 31:14, and he changed Parris's 'neighbour's' to 'neighbour' at Deut. 23:25 – here Parris is correct and Blayney defensible.

to 'the word that' (Jer. 40:1), or 'sitting in' to 'sitting on' (Acts 25:6). One change of this sort involves a very familiar reading: 'and haue no charitie' becomes 'and have not charity' (1 Cor. 13:2).

The most obvious variants that are matters of English are the changes of words. Parris changes eleven and Blayney another four. Possibly they thought some of the changes merely orthographical, as in the following from Parris: 'sneezed' for 'neesed' (2 Kgs 4:35), 'curdled' for 'cruddled' (Job 10:10), 'gin' for 'grinne' (Job 18:9 etc.), 'glittering' for 'glistering' (Job 20:25), 'outer' for 'utter' (Ezek. 10:5), 'brittle' for 'brickle' (Wisdom 15:13), 'straitened' for 'straited' (Susannah 22), 'aware' for 'ware' (Matt. 24:50; Luke 12:46), 'abide' for 'bide' (Rom. 11:23) and 'inhabitants' for 'inhabiters' (Rev. 17:2); and this from Blayney: 'amend' for 'mend' (2 Chr. 34:10). Most or all of these would now be reckoned different words. Four changes obviously go beyond what might loosely be thought of as orthography: from Parris, 'eightieth' for 'fourscore' (1 Kgs 6:1); from Blayney, 'first' for 'one' (1 Kgs 16:23), 'turned' for 'returned' (Ezek. 1:17), and 'number' for 'multitude' (Judith 2:20). Two things are striking about these changes. First, though most are sensible and some of them, because of obsolescence, may even be necessary, others need not have been made. Second, some of the changes are inconsistent. Perhaps 'first' for 'one' is acceptable in the few phrases like 'the six hundredth and one yeere' (Gen. 8:13) because Blayney follows the lead that 1638 gave here and they render the two phrases consistent. But Parris's 'eightieth' for 'fourscore', a change of the identical sort, is inconsistent with leaving 'fourscore' at 2 Macc. 1:10 (and one might argue that, if 'fourscore' is to be changed when it is an ordinal, it ought also to be changed when it is a cardinal number). Similarly, to change 'glistering' at Job 20:25 but leave it at 1 Chr. 29:2 and Luke 9:29 is inconsistent. Still more inconsistent is 'outer court' when 'utter court' is unchanged in its twelve other occurrences. Perhaps one might point the finger at the compositor for some of these inconsistencies. If so, they escaped both Parris and Blayney. Overall, the tendency to make occasional modernisations of language is marred by the failure to make them consistently, and such inconsistencies remain in most modern texts.

Parris and Blayney occasionally make changes to verbs. Blayney changes four of the Apocrypha's five uses of the modern third person singular 'he stickes', and the like, to the old fashioned form used everywhere else, 'he sticketh' and so on.[18] Some tenses are adjusted, as in Lev. 5:10, where the first edition reads awkwardly: 'and the Priest shal make an atonement for him for his sinne, which he had sinned'. Parris amends to 'he hath sinned', which is exactly what the first edition gives in v. 13. We would judge a perfect

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[18] 1 Esdras 4:21; Ecclus. 44:12; Baruch 6:9, 21. He missed Ecclus. 22:2; consequently 'every man that takes' remains as the one modern third-person singular in current texts of the KJB.

to be the correct tense here, but sequence of tenses could be looser in the translators' time than we would expect (e.g. Gen. 47:18). Here, then, there is reason to agree with Parris, but also reason to think that the 1611 reading is deliberate. This is the case with five of the nine other changes to the verbs.[19] Twice Parris's corrections involve a judgement as to whether direct speech is involved; at Jer. 1:13 the translators appear to make the sentence change midway from speech to narrative: 'and I said; I see a seething pot, and the face thereof *was* towards the North', but Parris makes the whole sentence speech: 'the face thereof *is* toward the north'. Either is possible; however, Parris is right to change the tense at the end of Zech. 4:2 because there is no possibility of change from speech to narrative. Blayney makes two changes that are less justifiable. At Lev. 13:29 he takes 'a man or woman' as a plural subject and so alters 'hath' to 'have', and he treats 'people' similarly at 2 Esdras 3:35.

Along with these changes go a number of changes to modern forms: 'had dedicate' becomes 'had dedicated' (2 Kgs 12:18), 'dedicate things' becomes 'dedicated things' (1 Chr. 26:20 etc.), 'to be heat' 'to be heated' (Dan. 3:19), 'I start vp' 'I started up' (Tobit 2:4), 'will fat' 'will fatten' (Ecclus. 26:13); all these are from Parris. Blayney changes 'was a building' to 'was building' (2 Chr. 16:6).

The largest single grammatical problem tackled by these editors is 'you' and 'ye', a problem made more complicated by a disjunction between linguistic practice and grammatical prescription. 'Ye' was originally the nominative and vocative form, with 'you' used for other cases, but this distinction was breaking down in late medieval times. *OED* notes of 'you' that 'between 1300 and 1400 it began to be used also for the nominative YE, which it had replaced in general use by about 1600'; and of 'ye', that 'when *you* had usurped the place of *ye* as a nom., *ye* came to be used (in the 15th c.), vice versa, as an objective sing. and pl. (= "thee" and "you")'. The first edition of the KJB reflects the confusion between the two by using 'you' as a nominative 289 times, and 'ye' for the accusative or dative 12 times. Statistically, this is little more than 4% of the 7,251 occurrences of 'ye' and 'you', which suggests that the general use of 'you' for 'ye' by 1600 is only weakly reflected in the KJB. Nevertheless, there are places in the KJB where the two words or forms are mixed so freely that it is clear that fixed practice has broken down, and possible that the two were not given distinct pronunciations. A couple of verses provide a particularly useful example:

Ye shall obserue to doe therefore as the Lord your God hath commanded you: you shall not turne aside to the right hand, or to the left. You shall walke in all the wayes which the Lord your God hath commanded you, that ye may liue, and *that it may*

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[19] Parris: 1 Kgs 15:27; 16:19; Blayney: Num. 30:8; Ps. 115:3; 2 Esdras 16:42.

be well with you, and that ye may prolong *your* dayes in the land which ye shall possesse. (Deut. 5:32–3)

'Ye shall' at the beginning is obviously inconsistent with 'you shall' later in the sentence and at the beginning of the second verse, and the later uses of 'ye' as subject.

In the time of Blayney and Parris, the mid-eighteenth century, the replacement of 'ye' by 'you' was still more a matter of usage than grammatical prescription. So Johnson as a grammarian gives 'ye' as the nominative and 'you' as the 'oblique' form,[20] but, as a lexicographer, he notes that 'you' 'is used in the nominative; and though first introduced by corruption, is now established'. Robert Lowth, in his *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762), is less old-fashioned: he gives 'Ye or You' for the nominative, but dismisses instances of 'ye' in other cases as improper or ungrammatical, even as manifest solecisms (p. 22). In these circumstances Parris and Blayney had three choices:

1. they could, following the standards articulated by Lowth, keep all the original usages of 'you' and correct the dozen wrong uses of 'ye' to 'you';
2. they could make the text consistent according to the translators' predominant usage, using 'ye' for the nominative and 'you' for the other cases;
3. or they could follow the now-established usage and give 'you' throughout.

Each choice was grammatically defensible. The first would allow inconsistent usage and be largely true to the original. The second would be unimpeachable but old-fashioned. The third would begin to change the general linguistic character of the text: might not 'thee' and 'thou' be replaced with 'you';[21] and, if that change is made, might not the old-fashioned endings ('-eth' etc.) be eliminated? By this time the language of the KJB had become what Johnson calls 'solemn language': it was the accepted language of the Bible and religion, distinguished from ordinary language, so such changes would probably have been unacceptable.

Parris seems to have chosen the second option but then to have had doubts (or become careless); after Genesis, where he made fourteen of the seventeen necessary changes, he usually but not always left what he found as he found it. It was Blayney who carried out the second option with admirable thoroughness. That this was a conscious move towards making

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[20] 'Grammar of the English Tongue', prefixed to the *Dictionary*.

[21] Johnson notes that 'you' is 'the ceremonial word for the second person singular, and is always used, except in solemn language', a usage the *OED* traces back to the fourteenth century. 'Vnto you;' at 2 Esdras 4:47, translating 'tibi' appears to be an example of the modern 'you' singular.

the KJB speak uniformly 'solemn language' fits with his replacement of the modern with archaic verb forms in the Apocrypha.

Very occasionally Blayney misses an example or makes a mistake. 'You were inferior' for 'yee were inferior' (2 Cor. 12:13) looks like a plain mistake. 'And you, be ye fruitfull' (Gen. 9:7) escapes him, though he does change the one other example of this construction 'and you, in any wise keepe your selues' (Josh. 6:18) to 'and ye . . .'. Erroneously, he changes 'I speake with tongues more then you all' (1 Cor. 14:18) to '. . . more than ye all', as if 'ye all speak' was implied; the Greek is genitive.

Sometimes his work seems to produce problems where imperatives are used. 'Goe ye, get you straw where you can find it' (Exod. 5:11) looks as if it should have 'ye' each time, but Blayney only changes 'you can', leaving the apparently inconsistent 'go ye, get you'. He is right: both verbs are imperative, but the second, קְחוּ, is followed by לָכֶם, literally 'get to you'. Representative of larger apparent inconsistencies, the first edition has 'prepare you' three times and 'prepare ye' six.[22] Blayney leaves 'prepare you victuals' (Josh. 1:11) untouched because the Hebrew has לָכֶם, but changes 'prepare you the way of the people' (Isa. 62:10) to 'prepare ye . . .' because the verb is imperative without לָכֶם. Like many an editor (and translator), he nods in the Apocrypha, leaving 'prepare you after your families' at 1 Esdras 1:4. The instances of 'prepare ye' are unproblematic. This, therefore, is what has happened: the first edition's normal practice was to use 'ye' with the imperative except where something in the original, usually לָכֶם, dictates using 'you' as the indirect object. Blayney has changed this practice into a rule, with the result that the text still looks inconsistent but is fully defensible in the light of the originals (it is very rare to find a slip such as 1 Esdras 1:4).[23]

Why did Blayney's become the standard text?

It is a massive task to prepare a new text of the KJB (I write with feeling). This is one of the main reasons why Blayney's became the standard text. Oxford and Cambridge, the two chief scholarly guardians of the text, had now each undertaken that task, and it is not to be expected that they would want to do it again immediately. That Blayney's rather than Parris's became

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[22] 'Prepare you': Josh. 1:11; Isa. 62:10; 1 Esdras 1:4; 'prepare ye': Isa. 40:3; Jer. 6:4; Baruch 1:10; Matt. 3:3; Mark 1:3; Luke 3:4.

[23] 'Get you' in the sense of 'go' is not an exception since 'get' in this sense is reflexive. One other aspect of 'you' and 'ye' is worth noting. Johnson observes that '*you* is commonly used in modern writers for *ye*, particularly in the language of ceremony, where the second person plural is used for the second person singular' ('Grammar'). The KJB once uses 'ye' – rather than 'you' – in this way: 'pass yee away thou inhabitant of Saphir' (Micah 1:11).

the standard was not simply a matter of his offering it as such. Even without close scholarly scrutiny, it was clearly a step beyond Parris: in terms of scholarship it adopted and added to his work, and in terms of orthography, grammar and punctuation it was a large step beyond, achieving a reasonable approximation to contemporary standards. Though it was not perfect, as any close examination would have revealed, it was clearly the best text so far.

One other reason may be suggested. The decade of the 1760s marks a watershed in attitudes to the KJB. Where previously it had had little or no positive literary reputation, it now became generally agreed to be a fine, a great work of English literature, something that popular feeling and the tide of critical opinion agreed in loving and revering. Some seventy years after Blayney's edition, Henry Hallam put the point succinctly: 'the style of this translation is in general so enthusiastically praised that no one is permitted either to qualify or even explain the grounds of his approbation. It is held to be the perfection of our English language' (II, p. 464). This attitude to the KJB as literature I have called AVolatry (*History*, II, p. 176). Now, ideas of perfection as literature seem to run together with ideas of perfection as religion, as translation and as text. Early in the 1760s new translations were received with encouragement, but by the 1780s neophobia had set in: now 'to reform the text of the Bible would have appeared to the ignorant little less than a change of a national religion'.[24] The reform meant is new translation, but the same spirit and the very way it is expressed would lead to resistance to any change to the received form of the text of the KJB. The same kind of inference could be drawn from Thomas De Quincey's definition of 'bibliolatry' as being, from a Roman Catholic point of view, 'a superstitious allegiance – an idolatrous homage – to the words, to the syllables, and to the very punctuation of the Bible . . . we, according to [the Catholics], deify an arrangement of printer's types'.[25] Though he does not have the KJB in mind and is bent on arguing with such ideas, he is clearly reflecting a prevailing spirit that could attach itself to the smallest details of Blayney's text.

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[24] *Critical Review* 63 (January 1787), p. 46.
[25] 'Protestantism' (1847–8), *The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey*, ed. David Masson (Edinburgh, 1890), VIII, p. 263.

Introduction

The three official guardians of the text, the two University presses and the King or Queen's Printer, became two when Cambridge took over Eyre and Spottiswoode. So the standard English editions of the text are those currently issued by Cambridge in its own right and as Queen's Printer, and Oxford. They are identical in the Testaments but not the Apocrypha.

Only six new changes to the text have been introduced into them since 1769. In the OT 'Lᴏʀᴅ' is changed to 'Lord' at Neh. 1:11, and in the NT 'Zaccheus' becomes 'Zacchæus'. In the Apocrypha 'Ioribas' becomes 'Joribus' (1 Esdras 8:44), the verbs following 'alms' are changed to plural at Tobit 4:10, 'generation' is made plural at Ecclus. 4:16, and the apostrophe is moved in 'king's sons' (Baruch 1:4), making 'kings' plural (only the last of these is in the Oxford text). Besides these, at least thirty old readings, of which twenty-two are spellings of names, were reintroduced.[1]

So small a total is partly a reflection of the commercial realities amid which printers and publishers continued to work: it was often more than they could do to keep up with demand, and, while there was often demand for greater accuracy and quality in printing (and cheapness in price), there was little demand for textual innovation.[2] If sales declined and a new market niche was needed, improved presentation, especially the inclusion of illustrations, better annotations and supplementary study aids such as concordances and maps were far more likely to be successful. Moreover, the fixity of the text was like a hallmark, a guarantee that this was the true, the traditional Bible. As the market for new translations developed, especially after World War II, rendering the English Bible thoroughly unstable, the unchanging steadiness of the KJB was a huge asset.

Nevertheless, care for the text did go beyond care that it should be free from errors of the press, and periodically very substantial work was done,

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[1] Readings other than names: Josh. 19:2; 2 Chr. 33:19; Job 30:6; Ps. 148:8; Nahum 3:16; Zech. 11:2; Matt. 26:39 (and Mark 1:19); John 14:6. Names: Gen. 10:7; 25:4; 46:12; Exod. 23:23; Josh. 10:1 (and 3); 19:19 (two readings); 2 Sam. 5:14; 21:21; 23:37; 1 Chr. 2:49; 5:11; 7:19; 23:20; 24:11; 2 Chr. 20:36; Ezra 4:10; Neh. 7:30; Esther 1:14; Amos 2:2; 1 Esdras 5:55; 1 Macc. 3:16 (and 3:24; 7:39; 9:50).

[2] For a detailed account of how commercial realities affected Cambridge University Press in the early nineteenth century, see McKitterick, pp. 259–84.

though only occasionally can information about it be recovered. This is largely because publishers have not kept good records of their work, often not identifying what we might take as new editions as such, rarely advertising that work has been done on the text, and usually keeping the work anonymous. Consequently copies were only occasionally sent to the copyright libraries, rendering these collections quite haphazard.[3] At the Bible Society the librarians simply did not collect all editions because they were so commonplace. Editions such as Scrivener's *Cambridge Paragraph Bible* of 1873, identified as something new and accompanied by an account of the text, were unusual, and their unusualness commonly indicated that they stood apart from the normal transmission of the text.

Even if the textual history from 1769 to the present could be reconstructed fully, it is doubtful whether it would be enlightening enough to justify the effort. Instead, a few things are concentrated on here: a crucial campaign against the way the University presses had exercised their responsibilities, the work of the American Bible Society, particularly in the 1850s, *The Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, and, finally, the development of the standard Cambridge text.

Should the text have been changed? Thomas Curtis and the Universities

The same spirit that prompted William Kilburne's *Dangerous Errors* in 1660 resurfaced in the 1830s, this time to greater effect, if not exactly the effect intended. Led by Thomas Curtis, a committee of dissenting ministers campaigned for a reliable text of the KJB. Curtis's *The Existing Monopoly, an Inadequate Protection, of the Authorised Version of Scripture* (1833) yields fascinating insights into the states of the text and the workings of the University presses, and is also notable for its detailed scrutiny of the KJB's textual history. Curtis's basic position was that, besides many accidental errors, the modern texts contained a very substantial number of intentional changes from the authorised text, and that only those changes that corrected

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[3] This is no new observation, as the following colourful complaint from 1833 shows:

> Why, my Lord, the [copyright] law provides, that one hundred hand-bills shall not be issued . . . without the Printer filing a copy; and that a novel shall not be printed at the Minerva or any other Library, without a registration of it at Stationers' Hall, and copies being duly presented to certain public libraries. Edition after edition, however, of this all-important volume, the B I B L E, may be put forth, (the new one printed from the last, or the one nearest hand) and the precaution of keeping a copy shall not be thought of! *responsibility* as to any errors it may contain, resting in reality N O W H E R E. I was perfectly astounded to find last year that of the successive editions of *the Bible*, no distinct traces could be found! (Curtis, p. 84)

printing errors could be reckoned legitimate. He prefaces his work with this calculation:

Counting the *words* only which are altered in the modern Bibles, and a few of the paragraph marks, which are important; that is, not at all including the general alterations of the orthography or minute punctuation, there appear–

INTENTIONAL DEPARTURES FROM KING JAMES' BIBLE.

In the Book of . . .			
Genesis	containing	50 Chap.	807
Exodus.		40	724
Psalms.		150	600
Lamentations.		5	59
St. Matthew's Gospel. . .		28	416
Hebrews.		13	147
Revelation.		22	178
		308	2931

Or, in about one-fourth of the Bible, upwards of Two Thousand Nine Hundred such departures, suggesting the presumption, that there are upwards of *Eleven Thousand* in the entire Version. (Curtis, p. ii)

These numbers are manifestly excessive, possibly because Curtis takes the text to include the margins, chapter summaries and headers. Yet, coupled with Curtis's indefatigable lobbying, they were effective. How could one trust a text that contained even a few, let alone thousands of deliberate changes from that which had been authorised, in Curtis's view, by the Hampton Court conference. He argued that the authority or 'commission was fulfilled by the delivery of the joint labours of the Translators to his Majesty's Printer', and became thereafter 'DEFUNCT', so that even 'the Translators themselves possessed no right whatever to make in future a single *critical* alteration, without a renewed authority' (p. 51). Here of course he rode roughshod over the entire history of the text, in which from the beginning – and with the cooperation of some of the translators – the right and even the duty to make corrections were taken for granted. Inevitably, he denied the right of the Universities to make 'material *critical* alterations'. Their sole responsibility was 'to preserve the PUBLIC and AUTHORISED, a SETTLED and UNIFORM Version' (p. 2). Curtis was, in short, a textual fundamentalist, but perhaps not much different from a modern scholar bent on establishing a text that represents as fully as possible the intentions of its creators.

Much of *The Existing Monopoly* consists of Curtis's epistolary and personal dealings with representatives of the two Universities, the Bishop of London (to whom the work is addressed) and, briefly, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Having discovered that 'there was no common system, nor common concord between the Universities' in discharging their responsibilities to the text, he inquired of Cambridge '*what* were the methods which the University had taken . . . to secure *future* correctness'. The answer was

'that the Cambridge authorities would print the Bible correctly – if they "*did but know* the standard to be followed"'; further, they asked the Bishop of London for information on a standard (shades of the question Archbishop Secker was unable to answer seventy years earlier), and 'professed, on these subjects an utter want of confidence in "the Oxford men"' (pp. 4–5). Curtis subsequently found the Cambridge situation compounded by an ignorance even of Parris's edition, and a lack of useful Bibles: there was not even one copy of Blayney's Bible in Cambridge, so he was assured (p. 19).

Nevertheless, the University was sympathetic to proposals to rectify the situation, and Curtis embarked on a substantial collation as part of the University's effort to produce '*an edition which may be considered as a Standard*' (p. 22), a phrase that translated into the Syndics' wish 'that the new edition should be an exact reprint of that of 1611, with the exception of typographical errors' (p. 28). However, the Syndics changed their mind and the edition was aborted.

Curtis meanwhile had also been dealing with Oxford. 'Can you', he asked the Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr Burton, 'be fairly said *to have a Standard* (certainly you have not an authorised one) at Oxford?' (p. 37). The question was double-edged, for he knew the answer, that they generally followed Blayney, and he also knew how to undermine it. Not only was Blayney full of errors, but Oxford's own prestigious 1817 folio (H1678), edited by George D'Oyly and Richard Mant, had not followed Blayney for the whole text. Rather, it had returned to the margin and summaries of the first edition because, as they say of the added marginal references, 'they do not rest on the same authority, as the references of the Translators'.[4] Burton replied that all the mistakes listed by Curtis had been corrected, and took this as evidence that Oxford did refer to the first edition: 'the fact is, that Mr. Collingwood has introduced a system of accuracy which is perhaps not to be found in any other Press; he constantly refers to the original edition, a copy of which is lodged in the Press, and your own letter is a convincing proof that he makes good use of it' (p. 39). However, he would be obliged to Curtis if he acquainted the Press with mistakes in the latest edition.

This invitation led to Curtis visiting Oxford, where Collingwood, the Printer, kindly sent the Press's copy of the first edition to Curtis's inn for inspection – a courtesy or carelessness one would not now expect. As well as inspecting other copies, Curtis 'found at the Bodleian . . . a folio Bible of 1602, originally Selden's; with many MS. suggestions, as they are thought to be, of one of King James's Translators'. He adds prophetically that 'in a rigid collation, for the sake of perfectly returning to the Standard, I saw reason to suppose this book would be useful' (p. 42 n.).

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[4] Oxford, 1817, 3 vols. 'General Introduction to the Bible', vol. 1, unpaginated.

At this time Curtis's involvement with Cambridge came to light, leading, he supposes, both to the breakdown of the Cambridge project and, very importantly, to renewed cooperation between the Universities.[5] Curtis meanwhile was left on the outside, still campaigning.

There were two important consequences: greater uniformity in the editions of both Universities and an exact reprint of the first edition, published by Oxford in 1833 (H1792), a truly remarkable piece of work that reproduces all the quirks of the first edition, even inverted letters, with scarcely an error. This was judged by the Delegates to be 'the most effectual method for enabling themselves and others to judge how far the complaints were well-founded'.[6] Scrivener comments that this edition 'virtually settled the whole debate, by shewing to the general reader the obvious impossibility of returning to the Bible of 1611, with all the defects which those who superintended the press had been engaged, for more than two centuries, in reducing to a more consistent and presentable shape' (p. 35; for a contrasting view, see below, p. 120). One might add in qualification that many of Curtis's complaints had been justified, and that the studious general reader might still want to see exactly what the translators and their printer produced.[7]

One quiet element rebutting Curtis is worth noting. Following the title page, there is a collation of the first edition with the 1613 folio (selected in preference to the other folios because no two exactly identical copies of them could be found). Over 400 variations of words are recorded so that 'the Reader may learn how far it was thought necessary to correct the Authorized Text in the time of the original Translators'. In short, Curtis's claim that no substantive change to the original was permitted was shown not to be the view held in the time of the translators, thus affirming that there was precedent for the continuing work on the text.

The necessity of standardisation having been brought home to the Universities, the Oxford standard, essentially Blayney's text, now ruled.

The American text

By the 1830s the American Bible Society's (ABS) texts were serving as the model for other American publishers.[8] In 1847, thirty years after the Society first expressed concern about the accuracy of its texts, its Board of Managers

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[5] This was also becoming a commercial necessity; see McKitterick, II, pp. 254–5.

[6] *The Holy Bible, an Exact Reprint*, statement bound in at the beginning.

[7] In recent times this has been possible through the Nelson 1990 'word-for-word reprint of the First Edition of the Authorized Version presented in roman letters for easy reading and comparison with subsequent editions' (title page); save for some of the introductory material, this appears to be a photographic reproduction of the Oxford edition.

[8] Herbert, p. 397; I am indebted to Herbert for some of the information in this section.

established a Committee on Versions to create its own standard text. After four years work the Committee recommended 'that the Octavo Reference Bible, now in the course of preparation . . . be adopted as the Standard Copy of the Society; to which all future editions published by the Society shall be conformed', and presented a report giving some occasionally inaccurate history of the text and detailing the ongoing work (*Report*, p. 32). The result was a fine quarto Bible, large enough to be a folio, published, without the Apocrypha, in 1856 (H1904), and intended to be the standard American Bible Society text. The *Report* itself was initially accepted then rejected 'on the ground of alleged want of constitutional authority, and popular dissatisfaction with a number of the changes made'.[9] Similarly, the 1856 Bible ran into trouble, mainly because of its work on the chapter summaries. A new committee was formed, changes were reconsidered, and new editions were produced which did become standard for seventy years. Nevertheless, it is the work of the first committee that is of the greatest interest, for the *Report* gives the most substantial account of work on the text so far published, and the 1856 text itself has real merits.

Fundamental to the edition was a collation of the Society's 'royal octavo edition' with 'copies of the four leading British editions, viz. those of London, Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh; and also with the original edition of 1611' (*Report*, p. 16); the Oxford edition was Blayney's, which 'has been regarded, ever since its publication, as the standard copy' (p. 10). Though this collation yielded nearly 24,000 variations in text and punctuation (not including the margin, summaries or headers), the Committee declared there was 'not one, which mars the integrity of the text, or affects any doctrine or precept of the Bible' (p. 31). If Curtis would have been astonished at this, his apoplexy can only be imagined at the further declaration that 'the English Bible, as left by the translators, has come down to us unaltered in respect to its *text*; except in the changes of orthography which the whole English language has undergone' (p. 7), and, similarly, that the lesson of the 1833 reprint of the first edition was that, typographical errors and orthography excepted, 'the text of our present Bibles remains unchanged, and is without variation from the original copy as left by the translators' (p. 11). The basis for this nonsense is that there are three kinds of variation: printer's errors in 1611, printer's errors in subsequent editions, and 'other variations from the reading of 1611'; though the Committee initially suggested that it was not always certain whether these last were deliberate, after listing examples it observed that they 'are also mostly, if not all, merely errors of the press, which have been corrected in later editions' (pp. 11, 14). The work of editors therefore had been to rid the text of typographical errors. So Blayney's object

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[9] Scrivener, p. 37, quoting Schaff, *Revision of the English Version*, p. xxxi n.

had been 'to restore the text of the English Bible to its original purity', and he had succeeded 'to as great a degree as can well be expected in any work of like extent' (p. 14).

Having collated its six texts (and without considering that its four modern texts might be Blayney's and three close representations of his work), the Committee treated this unscholarly sample in a still more unscholarly way, that is, it treated them democratically. The rule it adopted for variations in punctuation, that 'the uniform usage of any *three* of the copies shall be followed', appears to reflect its general practice, which resulted 'in the great majority of instances [in] conformity with the [modern] English copies' (pp. 17, 25). If this is an unkind reflection on a huge project, the Committee brought it on itself by obliterating almost all signs of scholarly consideration of the actual merits of readings: only five readings settled with reference to the original are noted, under the innocent heading, 'WORDS'.[10] As far as the readings are concerned what the Committee offered was Blayney with his own 116 typographical errors removed. With its 'great and leading object [being] *uniformity*' (p. 19), it helped to entrench the Oxford standard.[11]

The policy of following the punctuation of the majority of their copies prevented innovation, and also worked against uniformity with any one of their copies: the result was an eclectic version of eighteenth-century punctuation. Nevertheless, the committee did good work in other areas such as the chapter summaries, the regularisation of names (something that now makes the American Bible Society's Apocrypha strikingly different from the British editions) and the spelling. This last is what catches the eye because it contains a significant number of the changes that still need making to the British editions, including regularising the use of 'a' and 'an'. Here are the main changes to words that still appear in an old form (given in parentheses) in the British editions, an asterisk indicating those found in the 1856 text but not noted in the *Report*:

astonished (astonied)	brazen (brasen)
assuaged (asswaged)	caterpillar (caterpiller)
aught (ought)	ceiling (cieling)
awl (aul)	*chapped (chapt)
basin (bason)	cleft (clift)
borne (born)	cloak (cloke)
braided (broided)	clothes (cloths)

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[10] *Report*, pp. 19–20. Josh. 19:2; Ruth 3:15; Song 2:7; Isa. 1:16 ('wash yee', 1611); Matt. 12:41. In this last, which the *Report* misquotes, the definite article is inserted, giving 'in the judgment', because the Greek has the definite article and the same phrase is so translated in the next verse. The Committee does not record how it reconciled this change with its principles.

[11] Scrivener's view of this edition is the same, though he expresses himself more harshly, pp. 37–8.

cuckoo (cuckow)
*entreat (intreat)
grizzled (grisled)
*havoc (havock)
*heretic (heretick)
*inflaming (enflaming)
jubilee (jubile)
*laden (loaden)
lain (lien)
lift (lifted)
loathe (lothe)
*lowering (lowring)
*lunatic (lunatick)
*marshes (marishes)
*mixed (mixt)
mortar (morter)
music (musick)
outer court (utter court)
*paid (payed)
plaster (plaister)
plucked (pluckt)
*portray (pourtray)
prancings (pransings)

prized (prised)
*public (publick)
raven (ravin)
rearward (rereward)
*recompense (recompence)
*repaid (repayed)
ringstreaked (ringstraked)
sackcloth (sackclothes)
*since (sith)
soap (sope)
soldering (sodering)
*spew (spue)
sponge (spunge)
steadfastly (stedfastly)
*stoics (stoicks)
streaks (strakes)
strewed (strowed)
*stripped (stript)
*sycamore (sycomore)
*Syriac (Syriack)
thoroughly (throughly)
*while (whiles)

American editions have been more inclined than the British to follow this example, but with no great thoroughness, although the policy of the ABS continued to be that spelling should be conformed to modern standards (Herbert, p. 399). It is a pity that the example was not generally followed, for then some unnecessary difficulty and appearance of antiquity would have been removed from the text a century and a half ago.

F. H. A. Scrivener and the Cambridge Paragraph Bible

By far the most substantial and responsible work on the text after the work of the translators themselves was F. H. A. Scrivener's *The Cambridge Paragraph Bible of the Authorized English Version, with the text revised by a collation of its early and other principal editions, the use of the italic type made uniform, the marginal references remodelled, and a critical introduction prefixed* (1873; H1995). The collation was not only far more substantial than any previously attempted, even extending to minute work on the KJB's sources, but it was responsible in the way that it provided a thorough account of the work.

The Cambridge Paragraph Bible had a double purpose, one part of which is indicated by the use of 'paragraph' in the title. It moved the chapter and verse numbers to the margin, leaving an 'unbroken text [arranged] in paragraphs accommodated to the sense', re-paragraphed the whole and presented the poetic parts in poetic form.[12] In this way it anticipated many modern translations though, sadly, its crammed page layout makes it one of the most painful Bibles to read. Regrettably (rather than sadly), only a few editions of the KJB such as *The Reader's Bible*, jointly published by the three guardians of the text in 1951, followed the attempt to create an unbroken text, presumably because of the conservative pressures already remarked on, and because such editions appeared as literary editions. Re-presentation was so little Scrivener's main interest that the single paragraph on it at the beginning of the original introduction disappears from his book, and his main purpose takes precedence: to prepare 'a critical edition of the Authorized Version' that would represent it, 'as far as may be, in the precise shape that it would have assumed, if its venerable Translators had shewn themselves more exempt than they were from the failings incident to human infirmity; or if the same severe accuracy, which is now demanded in carrying so important a volume through the press, had been deemed requisite or was at all usual in their age' (Scrivener, pp. 1, 2). Yet, for all the virtues this critical work has, *The Cambridge Paragraph Bible* remained outside the mainstream of the text and has rarely been re-issued (though the thought of re-issuing it still exists).[13] Again the likely reason is the public's resistance to changes in the KJB whenever changes are advertised.

The importance of Scrivener's work is everywhere attested in the present book. Nevertheless, just as there are weaknesses in the introduction that necessitated this new book being written, so there are aspects of *The Cambridge Paragraph Bible* that would still have needed reworking even if it had become the standard text. Consequently I focus here on the two main areas where I disagree with Scrivener's work: his treatment of variants and his approach to spelling.

Implicit throughout is the idea that an editor's duty is to perfect the text in the light of the originals. By highlighting the translators' human infirmity, Scrivener opens the way to changing the text even where there is no printing error involved. This aligns him with most previous editors, feeling himself able to correct the text where he judges the translators to have erred. Rather than treating the KJB as the work of the translators, he

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[12] *Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, p. ix. I have followed Scrivener's book except in this case where there is a significant difference between the original introduction and the later revision given in the book.

[13] It was used as the text for the finely-printed Doves Press limited edition of 1905 (H 2139), and Bagster's *New Testament Octapla* (1962).

treats it as a textual process. Where editors have contributed to this, their contributions are entitled to the same respect as those of the translators. What he writes of the marginal notes, that 'every rendering must be judged upon its own merits, independently of the source from which it was drawn' (Scrivener, p. 58), describes his general attitude. So the aim to present 'the precise shape that it would have assumed' if the translators had not nodded implicitly assumes that the translators would have agreed with the changes if their attention had been drawn to their necessity. In short, sometimes editors know better than authors, and the authors would have agreed with them. Perhaps they would have, but there is a large measure of supposition, perhaps even arrogance, in such a position.

Scrivener himself repeats a story of one of the translators, Richard Kilbye, that should be cautionary for all editors who presume to go against the readings of the first edition where they are not manifestly printing errors:

The Doctor [Kilbye] going to a Parish Church in Derbyshire . . . found the young preacher to have no more discretion than to waste a great part of the hour allotted for his sermon in exceptions against the late translation of several words (not expecting such a hearer as Dr Kilbye), and shewed three reasons why a particular word should have been otherwise translated. When Evening Prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to the Doctor's friend's house, where after some other conference the Doctor told him, he 'might have preached more useful doctrine, and not have filled his auditors' ears with needless exceptions against the late translation; and for that word for which he offered to that poor congregation three reasons why it ought to have been translated as he said, he and others had considered all of them, and found thirteen more considerable reasons why it was translated as printed.'[14]

The moral is worth stressing: editors assume at their peril that the translators erred. Enough examples have come to light in the course of the present work (to say nothing of textual criticism in general) to prove the existence of this danger, and to prove that Scrivener himself succumbed to it. There is a difference between 'would' and 'should'. Aiming to give the text 'in the precise shape that it *would* have assumed', Scrivener is giving it in the shape he thinks it *should* have assumed. He tests the variants not by the evidence for the translators' judgements, but by his view of how the original texts should have been translated. The result is more conservative than Blayney's text, for he restores about a third of the original readings (listed in his appendix C); nevertheless, in general terms it comes to this: the reader of the *Cambridge Paragraph Bible* can never be certain that the text is that of the translators because Scrivener is at heart a reviser.

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[14] Izaak Walton, *Life of Sanderson*, p. 367 (Zouch, 1807), as given in Scrivener, p. 138 n.

Scrivener's spelling is both old-fashioned and quirky. Though he approves in general terms of 'clearing the sacred page of uncouth, obsolete, and variable forms, which could answer no purpose save to perplex the ignorant, and to offend the educated taste' (p. 94), he cut himself off from full modernisation in several ways. His general – though not absolute – rule was this: 'whensoever an English word is spelt in the two issues of 1611 in two or more different ways, to adopt in all places that method which may best agree with present usage' (p. 94). Consequently, where these two editions did not have an example that fitted with present usage, the old form was often preserved, as 'ebeny' (Ezek. 27:15). Moreover, his judgement of present usage was conservative, and significantly influenced by his view that spellings that reflected etymology were to be preferred even if they went against present usage. So, instead of 'scent' he gives 'sent', 'following the ordinary, if not the universal practice of the seventeenth century, inasmuch as *sent* is true to the etymology, and is invariably used in all the five places where the word occurs'. He restores 'sailer' at Rev. 18:17 because Johnson declares it 'to be more analogical than *sailor*', and because it remained in use after 1638 (p. 96). Some of the old forms such as 'marish' and 'astonied' he keeps because they are 'not wholly banished from our modern books', and their 'presence tends to lend richness and variety to the style' (p. 100). He is similarly conservative with grammatical forms, keeping many of the archaic past tenses such as 'dipt' because they 'contribute to produce a pleasing variety in the style of a version, and are grammatically just as accurate as the modern forms' (p. 102; inconsistently, he also uses 'dipped'). Such attitudes and practice, hardly to be excused by remembering that the *Oxford English Dictionary* was then an unborn child, make his work on spelling valueless.[15]

Conclusion: a fossilised concord

The few changes between Blayney and the current text reflect the relatively simple progress of the Oxford text. With the Cambridge text things were not so straightforward. After Parris's work it seems to have lost its way, or, perhaps more accurately, as Curtis's narrative reveals, it lost all knowledge of the way it had taken. At some point around the beginning of the nineteenth century it departed from Parris's work in ways that must have been the result of substantial effort. I take the 1817 octavo as representative, though from Curtis's observations it is clear that this text goes back

[15] The negative judgement on this part of his work is similar to accusations of rashness and randomness that were made on his work on the Greek text; see McKitterick, II, p. 371.

at least as far as 1805.[16] It is an eclectic combination of old and new work that is most interesting for the number of 1611 readings it restores, most notably 'shewed' at Hos. 6:5, a reading found only in the first edition, some 1612 quartos and the 1616 folio. There must have been collation with one of these editions; one guesses with the first. Consequently, many readings that Cambridge had introduced as long ago as 1629 disappear. How many other texts were involved is impossible to know, but in places some of Blayney's readings appear, and there are also a few independent changes such as 'Uzzah' for 'Uzza' at 1 Chr. 6:29, following the spelling in 2 Samuel 6. Often, in its preference for 1611 readings, I find this a better text than Blayney's, but it is impossible to find a clear or consistent principle running through it.

Following all the concerns raised by Curtis, Cambridge silently abandoned this text: it could hardly do otherwise since it knew so little about its own work and could not make any credible claims to having a standard. It followed the one proclaimed standard, Oxford's, almost entirely.[17] The text was now effectively settled, and, rather than dismissing Curtis as the crank he has generally been taken to be, we must recognise him as a serious worker who played an important role in achieving this result.

I have taken three 1857 texts to check the state of the Victorian text in the hands of its three official guardians, and compared it with the current text. There are five variations: at Judg. 13:19 the 1857 editions have 'wonderously' for the current 'wondrously', at 2 Chr. 2:16 Oxford and Eyre and Spottiswoode have 'flotes' for 'floats', at Job 30:6 all have 'cliffs' for the current 'clifts', and at Matt. 26:39 and Mark 1:19 'farther' for 'further'. By 1931 Cambridge had changed these to the current spellings, and the current text was finished.[18]

Cambridge has called its main edition of the Bible without the Apocrypha 'concord'. Whether or not this was to mark the Universities' joint care to ensure that their texts agreed, they do agree, and what they agree on has the inestimable merit of over two centuries of near uniformity. We must be absolutely clear what it really is: a text that all but fossilised in the 1760s. The modern KJB is a mutated version of a seventeenth-century text with partially modernised spelling, punctuation and presentation. Some of the mutations are necessary corrections of errors of negligence in the original, some of them are deliberate changes made in good faith to improve the text

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[16] Curtis notes its reading at Hos. 6:5 in Cambridge duodecimos of 1805 and 1819 (p. 88).

[17] I take the 1837 folio as representative of this text. It has older readings at 2 Chr. 16:6, Jer. 16:2, 34:11, 1 Esdras 3:11, 8:2, Judith 5:14 and 2 Macc. 12:27, and follows an 1835 reading at Neh. 1:11. A few other variations may be errors.

[18] Again the date is indicative, not definitive. H2239, British and Foreign Bible Society, London (but printed at Cambridge), Ruby 32mo. This edition had a long life: the Bible Society Library also has the ten million and first copy, from the eighty-third impression, 1966.

according to the judgement of many successive individuals, individuals who often worked anonymously and even more often left no account of their work. Many of these changes do not stand up to critical examination, and the spelling, punctuation and presentation are all in acute need of further modernisation.

The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible

Two principles

The text needs to be revised in two basic ways: one is to undo mistaken changes, the other is to revive the work of modernisation that, in the English text, stalled in the eighteenth century.

The first principle is that the text should be that of the translators, not that of subsequent revisers, and that the text of the translators is the first edition. Variant readings should be decided in the light of the deliberate decisions of the translators, even if the reasons for those decisions are not necessarily apparent. The test is not whether a later variant can be argued to be better in some way, but whether there is a strong likelihood that an error of copying or printing is involved in the first edition. No attempt should be made to correct perceived errors of scholarship.

The second principle is that the text should be modernised. This is not to change the text but to continue to allow it to speak as clearly as possible in its own authentic voice to the contemporary reader. The basic elements of the modernisation are spelling and punctuation. From the variety and inconsistency of the 1611 text it is clear that, for the most part, neither of these involve deliberate intentions of the translators and so do not demand respect and reverence in the way that the readings do. A reader troubled by this principle has two alternatives available: the first is to read a facsimile or exact reprint of the first edition, the second is to agree that modernisation is acceptable, but not beyond eighteenth-century standards, and so to read a text that is neither as the translators presented it nor genuinely modernised.

What follows is an account of how *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible* has followed these principles, including as necessary some further parts of the history.

The beginning of *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible*

The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible began to take shape in 1994 when Cambridge University Press decided it needed to reset its text, but first made inquiries of various people. The following extract from a letter written by the Bible Publishing Manager to myself raises curious echoes of the situation

Thomas Curtis encountered in the 1830s as well as giving what is needed of the background:

I am at the point in which decisions have to be made on what changes/corrections we will put into our KJV database files. The film we print from is showing its age and we need new images. The KJV files that we have purchased need to be proofed out, read and corrected, and then used to create camera-ready copy for our forthcoming KJV Bible printings. I can no longer put the decision off as to what to use as a basis for this 'correction'.

It has been suggested to me that the answer – or at least as good a one as any – is to use Scrivener's Paragraph Bible as the Cambridge standard, and to correct the database to mirror that edition. I am told that it is far better than a lot of other efforts, is thorough and reasonably consistent, and S's explanation and justification of his choices fills a book. It has stood the test of years and no one can say that it is not 'The Real KJV' . . .

The other way to go about it would be simply to use our current Concord KJV edition as the basis. It was prepared/edited by someone from Oxford and an opposite number from Cambridge after the second War, and it is supposed to incorporate 'modern' spelling and good editorial practice. No names seem to be attached to the enterprise, and no documentation can be found. So if we were to use this as the basis we would do so without making a show about it and without being able to back it up in the same way as we could with Scrivener.

But the market doesn't really require us to do this, nor does the scholarly community. What we do have to have is a respectable, defensible and (reasonably) consistent text we can use for all our AV editions.

In short, institutional memory had been lost, and while there appeared to be no compelling need to work at the text, the Press wished to act responsibly. Eventually it was agreed that the spelling needed attending to, and that the current Cambridge Concord text should be collated with Scrivener's text (something that was done).

As work progressed, it became clear that more than spelling needed attending to. As with the spelling, so the punctuation was neither right by current standards nor that of the translators. It too had to be revised. Moreover, examination of the invaluable list of variants in Scrivener's book suggested that some of the changes that had happened in the text were questionable and that all the variants needed to be examined. In due course the importance of the manuscript annotations in Bod 1602, especially in the OT, were realised, and their evidence along with that of MS 98 was incorporated into the examination. Presentation also was antiquated, so this too was attended to.

The result is, it is hoped, more scholarly and trustworthy than any of its predecessors because of its first principle and because the manuscript evidence of the translators' work has been consulted. It is also readable in a way no other reference editions (that is, editions retaining the chapter

and verse system of reference) have ever been through its consistent use of modern spelling and its reformation of the punctuation and presentation.

The variant readings

These, the subject of so much earlier discussion, are differences in the text, including punctuation, that in some way involve understanding or expression. All the variants between the first edition and the current text have been considered. They are listed in appendix 8, with information as to the 1611 reading, when the variant was introduced, what the original text was, which reading has been followed, and why. Also included is information from Bod 1602 and MS 98, but this is treated within strict limits. It can throw light on existing variants but has not been allowed to suggest new variants, even though it is very possible that it would suggest some further places where the text may not be what the translators decided on. The reason for this limitation is twofold. First, *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible* was never intended to have new readings, but to be a conservative revision; second, until the huge task of transcribing and analysing all the Bod 1602 annotations has been undertaken and completed, the light it sheds on readings that have never been varied will remain unknown.

One large element included among the variants is names; these are discussed after spelling has been considered.

Information on short-term variations, most notably where the second edition has a reading that has not been followed in later editions, has generally been omitted as such variations are a side track from the main history.

'Mere orthography'

Editing is an unglamorous task and, save only for punctuation, spelling is its least glamorous aspect. Nevertheless, it is important. This is more than a matter of wanting to give the Bible the best possible presentation. As a contemporary of Parris and Blayney observed, 'there ought to be the greatest exactness even in spelling the Scripture because our children learn to read by it'.[1] Blayney particularly worked in this spirit, making multitudinous changes without achieving 'exactness'. Modern English editions (American editions to a lesser extent) still largely follow his work, with the result that the spelling of the KJB largely conforms to eighteenth-century rather than modern standards, and is inconsistently done.

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[1] Purver, *New and Literal Translation*, I, p. vi. Purver's criticisms of the English of the KJB provide a useful context for Parris and Blayney's work (see Norton, *History*, II, pp. 73–85).
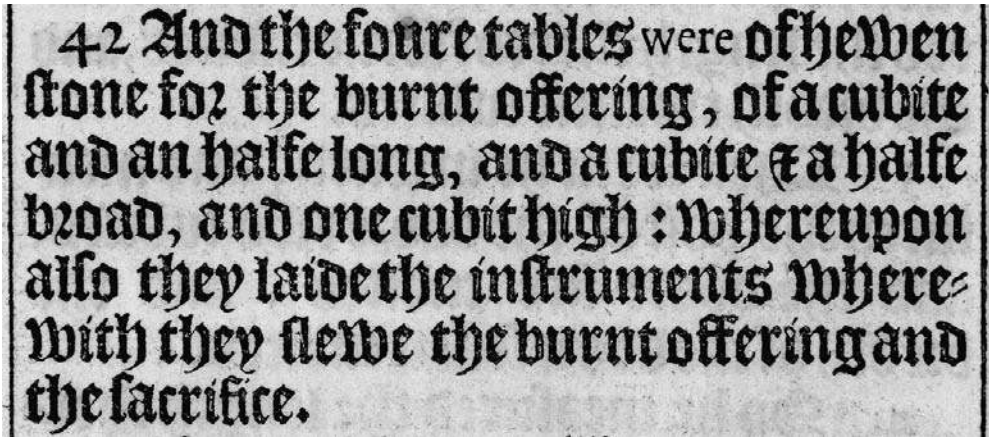
Plate 5. Ezekiel 40:42 From the first edition KJB

Before observing what Parris and Blayney did, we need to examine what
they had to deal with. The sample page from the first edition made the
simple point that spelling was unfixed in 1611. Individuals might spell a
word now one way, now another, and compositors could use this freedom
as they wished to increase or diminish the number of characters in a line. This
freedom was not limited by matters of sound: spellings that we would expect
to produce different pronunciations were used interchangeably. Moreover,
some words existed – and still exist – in more than one form, and different
words might take nearly identical forms that in due course could become
confused. As standards of spelling became relatively fixed in the eighteenth
century and the expectation became general that the text should be spelt
consistently and to contemporary standards, the variety of the inherited text
presented a multitude of problems.

Two examples from the first edition will be helpful, particularly as they
involve the relationship between spelling and sound as well as the general
variation of spelling. Plate 5 shows how Ezek. 40:42 appeared in the first
edition.

We might infer from the third line that 'and an halfe' was the compositor's
preferred form because he uses that first, but when he decides to save space
at the end of the line (presumably because leaving 'halfe' to the next line
would create too much white space), 'an' or 'a' is as indifferent to him as 'and'
or an ampersand (the 1602 text has 'and a halfe' both times).[2] We would
think that a change of sound must be involved, yet it is difficult to imagine
that a reader would have pronounced the phrase one way one moment and

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[2] Similar inferences might be drawn from Exod. 25:10, which has 'and a halfe', 'and an halfe'
and '& a halfe'.

another the next. 'Murderer/murtherer' suggests the same. Numbers 35 has 'murderer' ten times, 'murtherer' once; that one instance comes within a few words of 'murderer': 'the murderer shall surely be put to death. The reuenger of blood himselfe shall slay the murtherer' (vv. 18–19; again 1602 is consistent, 'murderer'). Spelling clearly did not define sound.[3]

Such problems face editors throughout the KJB, and some of them remain unresolved in modern texts. 'Murther . . .' is uniformly changed to 'murder . . .', but 'an half' is found ten times, 'a half' fifteen (as against twelve and thirteen in the first edition). Some other variations remain exactly as they were in 1611.

One last example, viewed from 1611 to the present, will be helpful, 'recompense/recompence', a word the KJB uses as both noun and verb. The *OED* lists 'recompence' as the variation, and notes of the noun that 'the spelling *-ence* is more frequent than the etymological *-ense* (cf. the vb.) until the 19th c.'. Here, then, is a word that printers and editors can treat as they wish without being wrong and without affecting the sound of the text. In the first edition both spellings are used indifferently, as in, 'will ye render mee a recompence? and if ye recompense me, swiftly *and* speedily will I returne your recompense vpon your owne head . . . Behold, I . . . wil returne your recompence vpon your owne head' (Joel 3:4, 7 – a variation that was probably created by the compositor: Bod 1602, which often turns out to have more consistent orthography, has 'recompense', and no changes are noted by the translators). The Cambridge editors of 1629 and 1638 settled for the etymologically-correct 'recompense' for both noun and verb, and subsequent editions keep 'recompense' as the verb. It is what happens with the noun that is interesting.[4] Mid-eighteenth-century editions (going against Johnson, who gives only 'recompense') tend to use 'recompence' but without complete consistency. So Baskett's 1752 edition (H1095) misses 2 Esdras 15:55, Ecclus. 17:23, Rom. 1:27 and 11:9. Parris misses the same verses in the Apocrypha, and also Isa. 59:18, 66:6 and Heb. 11:26; moreover, he gives 'recompence' for the verb at 2 Thess. 1:6. Blayney gets everything right except the very first occurrence (Deut. 32:35) and the same verses in the Apocrypha. Subsequent English editions follow the eighteenth-century lead but complete the work that Blayney left flawed. Some American editions, however, follow the lead of the ABS edition of 1856 (H1904), and use 'recompence' for both noun and verb, exactly as the first Cambridge editions had done. Overall, editors have felt free to vary the spelling of the text

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[3] Stanley Wells argues similar points in relation to Shakespeare, *Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling*, pp. 6–8.

[4] The noun comes in: Deut. 32:35; Job 15:31; Prov. 12:14; Isa. 34:8; 35:4; 59:18 (twice); 66:6; Jer. 51:6, 56; Lam. 3:64; Hos. 9:7; Joel 3:4 (twice), 7; 2 Esdras 15:55; Ecclus. 12:2; 14:6; 17:23; 20:10; Luke 14:12; Rom. 1:27; 11:9; 2 Cor. 6:13; Heb. 2:2; 10:35; 11:26.

throughout its history, but eighteenth-century standards, made uniform, dictate the modern English text.

This last example gives a good indication of Blayney's noble but flawed attack on the problems of orthography. The overall result is that modern texts contain a mixture of words that are correctly and consistently modernised, words that are treated inconsistently (the inconsistency does not necessarily correspond, example for example, with the inconsistency of the first edition), and words that, correctly, retain the same variety they had in 1611.

All these problems must be tackled. As far as the text permits, its spelling should be to the best contemporary standards. These may be either English or American, according to what is familiar to the readers, but happen in the present case to be English, with the *OED* taken as the primary authority.

Questions of meaning

A number of guidelines were developed and then refined as the work went on. They divide into two groups according to whether an issue of meaning is involved or not. The following involve meaning and are summarised in what was originally a separate guideline, that where the preservation of something in 1611 that might otherwise be modernised is likely to prevent misunderstanding, then preserve it:

1. modernise unless the meaning of the text is changed or obscured; be wary of transgressing against etymology;
2. preserve genuine forms of words but not variant spellings;
3. where possible, use variant acceptable forms to represent clearly identifiable semantic variations.

Very importantly, this principle is *not* modernise wherever possible. Modernisation must not be at the expense of the text, even if the result is more difficult for the reader.

To begin with, here is an example of a word that would be modernised if the principle was to modernise wherever possible: 'bewray'. The case for changing it to 'betray' is quite strong. 'Betray' and 'bewray' overlap in meaning. *OED* quotes Prov. 29:24: 'who so is partner with a thiefe hateth his owne soule: hee heareth cursing, and bewrayeth *it* not', for 'bewray' in the sense of 'reveal, divulge, disclose, declare, make known, show'. Now, this is *OED*'s seventh sense of 'betray', first recorded from 1697, 'to reveal, disclose, or show incidentally; to exhibit, show signs of, to show (a thing which there is no attempt to keep secret)'. There is no obvious difference, and *OED* probably is not telling the full truth about these words, that, as 'bewray' became archaic and then obsolete, 'betray' was confused with it and took over its meanings. Johnson gives evidence for this. His first definition of 'bewray' is 'to betray; to discover perfidiously'; after his second definition, giving the

sense in question, 'to show; to make visible', he notes: 'this word is now little in use'. His fifth definition of 'betray' is 'to show; to discover'. In effect the two words became one; therefore, modernising wherever possible, 'bewray' can be changed to 'betray'. Moreover, ABS gives a precedent for making the change.

There are several reasons against making the change. 'Bewray' and 'betray' are separate entries in *OED*, and there is no cross-reference.[5] They go back to different Middle English words, and 'betray' goes further through French to the Latin 'trado'; highly educated in Latin, the translators would have been sharply aware of the active sense involved in 'trado', to hand over. Moreover, in spite of the synonymity just observed, there is often a distinction of meaning perhaps reflected by the fact that the two Hebrew words translated 'bewray' are never translated in the KJB as 'betray'. 'Bewray' usually means to reveal whereas 'betray', more actively, invokes the Latin. The summary of Jonah 1 describes Jonah as 'bewrayed by a tempest': the fact that he is a Hebrew is revealed, he is not handed over by the tempest to the sailors.

One might say that the fact that 'bewray' and 'betray' were different words is an artificial distinction. However, there is nothing artificial about the differences of meaning sometimes involved.

Here is a similar example, except that this time the received text does change the 1611 word. In almost all modern KJBs, 1 Tim. 2:9 reads: 'that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety'. 'With shamefacedness' seems to mean 'with an ashamed appearance', rather than 'with modesty', which is what μετὰ αἰδοῦς means. The 1611 reading is 'shamefastnesse', which is an antonym of 'shameless' in a different way from 'shamefaced', as Ecclus. 26:25 shows: 'a shamelesse woman shalbe counted as a dog: but she that is shamefast will feare the Lord'. *OED* regards 'shamefaced' as originally an etymological misinterpretation of 'shamefast', and shows that the two words had converged in meaning 'ashamed' by the middle of the seventeenth century. 'Shamefac'dness' was introduced in 1674 (Scrivener, p. 236), reflecting this convergence, but, inappropriately, to modern ears, producing a sense of guilt. 'Shamefast' and 'shamefaced' became confused in the same way as later happened with 'bewray' and 'betray', and here still more obviously modernisation incorrectly changes the meaning of the text. It is better to have a difficult correct word that might tease the reader to a right understanding (the similarity with 'steadfast' might be suggestive)

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[5] I follow the practice described by Wells, mindful of the caution he offers: 'editors of modern-spelling texts generally observe the principle that a word is spelt as it appears in the lemma of the *Oxford English Dictionary* for the entry in which the word is defined. But this principle is easier to enunciate than to put into practice . . . The presence or absence in *OED* of a separate entry for a variant spelling affords no criterion by which variant forms can be distinguished from variant spellings of words in which there is no distinction of definition.' (pp. 5, 7).

than an easier incorrect modernisation that produces wrong associations unless the reader is exceptionally alert. Now, the English of the KJB has many archaic words that present similar challenges to the understanding, but, in the absence of a closely similar modern word, it is obvious that changing them is translating them. 'Shamefaced' and 'betray' are hidden translations, whereas 'tax collector' for 'publican' is an obvious translation. Both produce a different Bible.

Finally, here is an example where an old form sometimes brings out a sense present in Jacobean but lost in modern English: 'in stead'. *OED* notes that it changed from being two words to one between 1620 and 1640, but there is more than orthography involved. 'Instead' in modern English generally has a weak, non-figurative sense, 'as an alternative to', but there are places where the text has the strong figurative sense, 'in the place of', most notably, 'and he took one of his ribs, and closed vp the flesh in stead thereof' (Gen. 2:21). The current reading, 'closed up the flesh instead thereof' obscures the original meaning and must be nonsense for many readers.

The last guideline involving meaning is, where possible, to use variant acceptable forms to represent clearly identifiable semantic variations. At first sight, 'beside' and 'besides' look like an example of the same sort as 'bewray/betray', but, rather than two nearly identical words which have converged, here there are two forms of what was one word in the KJB's English (and also in Johnson's) which have come to have distinct meanings. The first edition uses either form at random, showing a slight preference for 'beside' (95 to 72). Modern editions are still random, but with a strong preference for 'beside' (151 to 16). This is Blayney's creation. It is inconsistent in all possible ways, neither following the first edition nor settling on a single form nor following a distinction of meaning. As *OED* notes, 'besides' 'has been used in all the senses of BESIDE, but is now used, in prose, only in senses 2, 3, for which it is the proper word'; these senses are, 'in addition' and 'other than mentioned'. 'Besides', then, is abstract, whereas 'beside' has concrete, locative senses, 'by the side of'. In this instance, the best solution to the muddle in the received text is to recognise that a distinction of spelling (something the translators were indifferent to) has become a distinction of meaning (something the translators were thoroughly sensitive to), and so to conform the usage to this distinction. Sometimes, but by no means always, the result will be identical with the first edition. Ruth 'sat beside the reapers' (Ruth 2:14), the reading in all editions, is right because she is, locatively, by the side of the reapers. Later in the book, Boaz says to the kinsman, according to Blayney and so to modern editions, 'there is none to redeem it beside thee' (4:4): 'beside' misleadingly suggests that there is no-one standing next to the kinsman who could redeem it, but the first edition's 'besides' gives the right sense, that there is no-one other than the kinsman. Such distinctions are needed throughout, whether or not they are to be found in the first edition.

'Divers' and 'diverse' are similar. Though 1611's predominant form is 'diuers' (105 to 8), the spellings are used interchangeably, notably in identical contexts in Daniel 7 where 'diuers' comes in vv. 3 and 7, and 'diuerse' in vv. 19, 23 and 24. 'Divers' continues to mean 'various, sundry or several', but *OED* notes of it in the sense of 'different or not alike in character or quality; not of the same kind', '*obs.* in this form since *c* 1700, and now expressed by DIVERSE'. The spelling has therefore been adjusted to reflect the two senses, even though they sometimes overlap.

'Further' and 'farther' have been treated in the same way, following *OED*'s distinction:

in standard Eng. the form *farther* is usually preferred where the word is intended to be the comparative of *far*, while *further* is used where the notion of *far* is altogether absent; there is a large intermediate class of instances in which the choice between the two forms is arbitrary.

Four examples are intermediate, and are given thus: 'a farther country' (2 Esdras 13:41), and 'no further' (Job 40:5; 1 Esdras 2:29; 2 Tim. 3:9).

The following words (or nearly related words) are also given in two forms because of a possible difference of meaning or use:

aware	wary (from 'ware')
born	borne
cleaved	cleft (from 'clave')
clothes	cloths
endowed	endued
flee	fly
naught	nought
O	Oh
outmost	utmost
outermost	uttermost

Finally, here are two obsolete words, each used once, which test the edges of these guidelines: 'straited' and 'submissly'. 'Straited' is now modernised to 'straitened', but 'submissly' is retained by Cambridge and Oxford, whereas ABS changes it to 'submissively'. Susannah cries, 'I am straited on euery side: for if I doe this thing, it is death vnto me: and if I doe it not, I cannot escape your hands' (v. 22). Susannah is obviously in dire straits, but is she narrowed as 'the breadth of the waters is straitned' (Job 37:10)? Perhaps, but the sense is less sharp and immediate. 'Strait' and 'straiten' are obviously related, but they are two separate verbs, and again the value of preserving genuine forms is shown. On the other hand, both 'submissly' and 'submissively' are forms of one word 'submiss'. The choice here is between an archaic and a modern form with no difference of sense. Consequently the text can become 'for his neighbour's money he will speak submissively' (Ecclus. 29:5).

The tendency of these guidelines is towards the preservation of archaisms that might otherwise be modernised. Except for 'bewray', I have discussed examples that involve changes to the current text, but there are a number of other words that fall under these guidelines where no change is made because the old, better reading has never been changed. The following archaic or obsolete words have been retained though they might be modernised under looser principles; I give the possible modernisation in brackets:

affright (frighten)

afore (before) 'Before' is 1611's preferred form, but 'afore' remains a possible form (see *OED*).

agone (ago) 1 Sam 30:13. Elsewhere, including identical contexts, 1611 has 'ago[e]'. The majority of the earlier versions, including 1602, have 'agone', showing it is not a 1611 error. It is generally taken as genuine, and cited in *OED*. Moreover, it has an oral or dialectal character that may be deliberately used for this young man from Egypt (contrast Samuel at 1 Sam. 9:20).

band (bond) 1611 sometimes uses 'band' and 'bond' interchangeably, sometimes perhaps with a distinction between figurative and literal senses.

betime (betimes) Bel 16. Elsewhere 1611 has 'betimes'. *OED* treats them as separate words, marking 'betime' obsolete but not 'betimes'. However, both appear to be similarly archaic.

betwixt (between) 'Betwixt' is still a possible, distinct word, as in the phrase 'betwixt and between'.

bide (abide) Remains a possible form, though its compound, 'abide' is 1611's commoner form.

dureth (endureth) Matt. 13:21. Inconsistent with 'endure' at Mark 4:17, and not 1611's normal form, but a compound is taken to be a different word.

endamage (damage) Though *OED* gives two senses as current, it is probably wrong, but again a compound is involved.

fat (fatten) Ecclus. 26:13. The familiar 'fatten' would probably obscure the sense, which is 'to anoint'.

grave (engrave) Closely related but different words that are interchangeable in the text, but sometimes the translators appear to play them off against each other, as in Exod. 28:36: 'and thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and graue upon it, *like* the engrauings of a signet', and Zech. 3:9: 'I will engraue the grauing thereof'.

inhabiters (inhabitants) Slightly odd but possible English, presenting no problem of comprehension.

in sunder (asunder) Slightly odd but possible English, presenting no problem of comprehension.

inwards (innards) *OED* describes 'innards' as 'dial. and vulgar alteration of *inwards* . . . "entrails" '.

leasing (lying) Though 1611 uses 'lying' commonly, there is no evidence that the two are variant spellings of one word.

magnifical (magnificent) Johnson's observation seems right: 'proper, but little used' (seventh edition).

minish (diminish) Another compound.

neesings (nostrils) Different word.

plat (plot) 2 Kgs 9:26. The translators may have judged the sense of flat ground in 'plat' to be appropriate here for חֶלְקַה.

Other guidelines

The guidelines involving meaning affect only a few words, but those that follow relate to all the words:

4. ignore changes of sound;
5. do not change grammatical forms;
6. leave unchanged free variations that are still possible in modern English;
7. be consistent;
8. when no solution is perfect, make a decision and stick to it.

The first of these, to ignore changes of sound, is a direct consequence of the argument that the spelling of the first edition did not define sound.[6] One cannot be sure whether 'murderer' was pronounced 'murtherer' or vice versa, or whether people said 'a half' or 'an half'. Therefore, as with other modernised texts, one should not be bound by what appear to be definitions of sound embodied in 1611 spellings. Further, this liberty from assumptions about sound extends to the number of syllables in words. The addition of an extra syllable to 'submissly' may have troubled some readers, but English is full of inconsistencies and changes as to how many syllables there are in a word. 'Known' never appears in the 1611 text ('knowne' appears in the genealogies, which are not a genuine part of the text):[7] it

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[6] As Wells writes of Shakespeare, 'it is no part of our aim to enable the reader to reconstruct an Elizabethan pronunciation of the texts' (p. 5).

[7] The forty pages of genealogies, 'An Alphabeticall Table of Canaan' and the map of Canaan preceding Genesis in the early editions 'were compiled by John Speed . . . the historian, apparently at the suggestion, and with the assistance, of Hugh Broughton . . . the eminent Hebraist . . . Speed obtained a patent for ten years, dated 31 Oct. 1610, giving him the right to print and insert them in every edition of the new version of the Bible. Speed's prices were fixed: large folio, two shillings; small folio, eighteen pence; quarto, twelve pence; octavo, six pence . . . Thus, though they really formed no part of the book, the Genealogies and Map are generally found in copies of the early editions of King James' Bible.' (Herbert, p. 132)

is always 'knowen'; conversely, 'knowen' never appears in the current text, even though some people pronounce it with two syllables (this is a characteristic of New Zealand English that sounds strange to English or American ears). Such examples make it impossible to have a guideline to the effect that no change should be made to the number of syllables in a word, even though such a guideline would appear to respect the rhythms of the text. If it is legitimate to regularize 'murtherer' to 'murderer' because 'murderer' is the modern spelling, it is also legitimate to change 'submissly' to 'submissively'.

The indefinite article, 'my/mine' 'thy/thine' and 'no/none' in front of aspirates come under this guideline. 'A' (etc.) is used except before 'heir', 'honest', 'honour' and 'hour'.

Spellings that perhaps consistently preserve the accent of the times but do not correspond to modern spelling or pronunciation equally follow this guideline. One large group of these is past tenses and participles. Some, like 'burned' and 'burnt' have two forms, both of which remain possible in modern English, as *OED* notes:

> the distinction in usage between the two modern forms of the pa. t. and pa. pple. is difficult to state with precision. *Burnt* is now the prevailing form, and its use is always permissible; *burned* is slightly archaic, and somewhat more formal in effect; it occurs more frequently as pa. t., or in combination with the auxiliary *have* than as ppl. adj.

The situation was much the same in 1611. 'Burnt' is the first edition's predominant form (534 to 25), but 'burned' is used both as a past tense and as a past participle, and the two forms occur in adjacent verses at Lev. 8:16, 17, Josh. 11:11, 13 and Ezek. 15:4, 5 (something that cannot always be accounted for by the needs of space, for twice the word occurs in a short line at the end of a verse, once in each form). Following the guideline of consistency (a guideline that, as will be seen, has exceptions), one form should be settled on, especially as having the two forms adjacent to each other looks wrong, so what is both 1611's and the present's commoner form is used, 'burnt'. Others have only one form, such as 'spake' and 'begat', and these are the ones that seem to preserve the accent – or, if one prefers, the special English – of the time. They are generally left unchanged in the current text. However, vowels are as mutable as consonants in both spellings and accents, and should be treated in the same way, or the spelling is left half-modernised. To change 'spake' to 'spoke' is a change of spelling of the same sort as changing 'murtherer' to 'murderer'. Finally, as well as removing visual difficulties in the text, this treatment of verb forms sometimes conforms with the guideline of making choices that best preserve meaning. 'Sod' is rarely understood in 'and Iacob sod pottage'

(Gen. 25:29), but 'seethed', now the past of 'seethe', makes clear what the verb is.[8]

This problem of vowels is, as I have suggested, most noticeable in past tenses and participles, and this leads to the distinction involved in guideline 5, that grammatical forms should not be changed. 'Spake' can be changed to 'spoke', but 'shalt' cannot be changed to 'shall' because, like the '-est' and '-eth' endings, it is part of a particular verb form. One possible form of modernisation would be to change 'thou shalt not kill' to 'you shall not kill', but this is a change to the character of the language rather than to its perceived sound. Besides a change of form, 'shalt' to 'shall', it involves a change of word 'thou' to 'you', which goes against the guidelines already discussed. Fundamentally it comes to this: the language of the KJB, as embodied in the spelling, can be modernised, but it cannot be translated. If 'thou shalt not kill' can be changed to 'you shall not kill' because it is an archaic form, then archaic words can be given modern substitutes, and a new translation emerges.

One of the more teasing issues of modernisation involves 'you' and 'ye'. Is the distinction between them grammatical or orthographical? If the former, they cannot be changed, if the latter, they can. Their history both within the KJB and outside shows that they are a mix of both. Discussing Parris and Blayney's modifications to the text I noted that 'ye' was usually the subject form, 'you' the object, but that there were enough contrary examples and local inconsistencies to prove that, in practice, the two words are free variations of each other. The first edition has a predominant practice but not a fixed rule. Parris and Blayney tried to regularise, both following that predominant practice and conforming to their contemporaries' grammatical prescriptions, but they did not fully succeed. Moreover, they changed 289 instances of what is now the normal modern form, 'you' as nominative, to the archaic form 'ye'. A modernising editor has three choices, the first two of which are to complete the eighteenth-century regularisation or to discard 'ye' in favour of 'you'. The first would enshrine an archaic form that does not conform to modern usage, but might be justified as fitting with the first edition's preference were there not so many exceptions. The second, regularising to 'you', might well work but for two things: 'ye' is a distinctive characteristic of the KJB's English (in itself too loose and subjective a criterion to be proposed generally), and such a move would raise questions of consistency: if 'ye' is to disappear, what happens to 'thee' and 'thou'? Would not the same move that eliminates 'ye' also lead to altering 'thee' and 'thou'

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[8] Here I differ from Wells: 'sometimes the form of the control-text represents an inflection now obsolete in standard English, e.g. . . . *mistook* (p.p. for *mistaken*) . . . I should not alter these, as they are genuine forms, not variant spellings' (p. 7).

to their modern equivalent 'you'? Because of the difficulties with the first two choices, a third seems more satisfactory: to restore the original text in spite of its inconsistency, and this is what has been done. With an inconsistency far from unique in the English language, this allows 'you' and 'ye' to be both separate words and two forms of the same word. Neither fully a matter of grammar nor of orthography, 'ye' and 'you' are best left untouched. The result is that, as so often, *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible* reads exactly as the first edition read.

Effectively, another guideline is involved here, that changes to the 1611 text which run counter to modern usage should be rejected. This will prove helpful with the punctuation.

One of the grammatical inconsistencies of 1611 is the use of the modern third person singular in five places in the Apocrypha: 1 Esdras 4:21, Ecclus. 22:2, 44:12, Baruch 6:9 and 21. Blayney changed four of these to the standard '. . . eth' ending, but missed Ecclus. 22:2, so it stands in the current text as the one modern example, 'every man that takes it up'. One could make the final correction, but, as with the modern uses of 'you', it seems inappropriate to insert archaic forms into a modernised edition, and better to respect 1611's grammatical choices and so to tolerate inconsistency.

Possessives also relate to the guideline of preserving grammatical forms, but are better thought of as orthographical rather than grammatical forms. 1611 sometimes uses 'his' or 'her' following a noun, as in 'Asa his heart' (1 Kgs 15:14) but usually has the modern form. All examples were long ago modernised. The rightness of this is obvious in relation to 'his': 'Asa's' both represents how 'Asa his' would have been said and, by using the apostrophe, indicates the missing letters. For consistency the same has to be done with 'her', and this is what 1611 usually does.

If possessives are regularised to modern usage, should the same be done with possessive pronouns? 'Its' barely existed in the translators' time, so, with one exception, 'his' is used for the neuter. The exception is 'that which groweth of it owne accord' (Lev. 25:5). Having regularised possessives, it would be inconsistent here not to retain the modern 'its', introduced in 1660. But, having done this, should one also change the archaic 'his' for the neuter possessive pronoun in 'the yron gate . . . which opened to them of his owne accord' (Acts 12:10)? The likeness of the two phrases suggests one should, but clearly the translators had a choice, and chose the old word rather than the new word. To change 'Asa his' to 'Asa's' is not to change words, but to change 'his' to 'its' crosses the line between modernisation and translation. The archaic 'his' has to stay in such contexts.

Guideline 6 is to leave unchanged free variations that are still possible in modern English. Sometimes two forms of a word co-exist as easily in modern English as they did in 1611: they still vary freely. Both 'among' and 'amongst' are good English forms of one word: to choose between them

would not be to modernise but to try to legislate to the English language. In the first edition, 'among' is used ten times as often as 'amongst'. Parris left well alone, but Blayney regularised to 'among', characteristically missing two early examples (Gen. 3:8; 23:9); these remain in the current text. To illustrate the difficulties of this kind of work in the days before computers, it is worth noting that Scrivener attempted to restore 'amongst' but failed more frequently than his scorned predecessor. *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible* restores all ninety-five uses of 'amongst', again reading exactly as the first edition read. Other pairs of this sort that have been restored are 'especial' and 'special', 'girded' and 'girt', 'lade' and 'load', 'oft times' and 'often times', 'some time' and 'sometimes', and words ending '. . . ward(s)'.

The preservation of these alternative forms fits with the use of different forms ('beside/besides') where a distinction of sense is involved.

The penultimate guideline, to be consistent, is, as the discussion has made obvious, not a rule to choose a single spelling where more than one is possible (as, for instance, Blayney often did). Rather, it is an injunction to think consistently, testing decisions made in one situation by those made in another. How successfully it has been followed – how consistently the delicate line between caution and boldness has been trodden – is for others to judge. The final guideline is really a comment on such difficulties: when no solution is perfect, make a decision and stick to it. Many of the decisions are so delicate that a different decision could have been made with as much justification. All that can be said in the end is that decisions have been researched and agonised over, and that it did not always prove possible to stick to a decision; even at the proof stage a few seemed wrong and were changed.

Finally, reviewing the changes, especially the hairline decisions, I am aware that there may have been an unconscious guideline to make choices that best serve the meaning, as when 'occurrence' is given for 'occurrent', or 'astrologers' for 'astrologians'.

Compound words

The treatment of compound (or, possibly compound) words in English remains inconsistent in two ways. First, the same pair may have no settled form, as when *OED* defines 'chestnut' as 'the wood of the chestnut-tree' but lists the compound as 'chestnut tree'. Second, analogous pairs may be treated differently. More often than not *OED* puts a hyphen in the trees, but there is no obvious reason why 'almond tree' should not be hyphenated when 'apple-tree' is. If there is confusion within *OED*, there is further confusion outside: it may give one form, and another dictionary another. All this points up how trifling the presentation of compound words is for the most part. Occasionally meaning or stress are involved, but for the most part it matters

only to an editor struggling unsuccessfully for rational practice in the face of a part of the language that is not rational. To give one more example, it seemed sensible to treat 'euery bodies', 'euery one', 'euery thing' and 'euery where' identically. *OED* defines 'every one' (two words) as 'everybody' (one word) and notes, 'sometimes written as one word'. Of 'everything' it notes, 'formerly written as two words; this is now rare, exc. where the two words are used without modification of sense'. Rationally, it seemed that each should be given as one word, but *OED*'s discriminations turned out to be right: 'everybody's', 'everything', and 'everywhere' were fine, but too often 'everyone' seemed wrong because of its implicitly plural sense. Moreover, if some examples seemed right as one word ('people') and some right as two ('each individual'), there were many more that were totally indifferent. Eventually 'every one' was chosen because it worked in all contexts, whereas 'everyone' did not.

Several considerations were kept in mind: the evidence of *OED*, treated with more scepticism than usual, the practice of 1611, analogy, and whether one or two words were involved in the original. The resulting changes to the current text are given in the second part of Appendix 9.

Names

As observed earlier in relation to the evidence from MS 98 and the spelling of 'Apollos/Apollo' (p. 33), names mix principles and problems of spelling with those of textual scholarship. They are therefore treated as variants, and information on them is given in Appendix 8.

The second rule for the translation was to retain names 'as near as may be, accordingly as they are vulgarly used'. From a modern perspective, the translators appear to have been negligent in following this rule, but the difficulties they faced were enormous, and their efforts may well have been compromised by the work of the printer. The difficulties included the variety found in the originals: there not only do names have a variety of spellings in one language, but they also exist in several languages, and so take further forms. Above this was the general difficulty of maintaining consistency within such an enormous text in the absence of good concordances and without the benefit of modern electronics. Subsequent editors, even the redoubtable and acerbic Scrivener, have all shown human frailty in their attempts to perfect the work, so the calm assumption of superiority involved in charging the translators with negligence in following this rule is unwarranted. It was an impossible rule.

Many of the inconsistencies of 1611 still remain. 'Timotheus' and 'Timothy' still exist sometimes on the same page in the text (2 Cor. 1:1 and 19, the header and colophon at the end of 2 Timothy). We could couple

the translators' second rule with the guidelines for modernisation, and use 'Timothy' throughout, but matters of textual scholarship and of transliteration have to be considered. Might 'Timotheus' be the translators' preferred form under rule 2? Certainly it is their consistent form in the Apocrypha, and used more than twice as often in the NT. Or might the translators have been indifferent? Or, a third possibility, might 'Timothy' have been their preferred form? Their model, the 1602 text, has 'Timotheus' until 1 Timothy is reached (except for the summary to Acts 16), but then 'Timothy' with a few reversions to 'Timotheus'. As if liberated by this, the translators use 'Timothie' from this point on except for the colophon to 2 Timothy where 1602's 'Timotheus' creeps back in. The same shift in spelling is found in MS 98. 'Timothy' appears to have been the final choice, but we cannot assert this with any great certainty.

'Timothy' is used in *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible* throughout the NT because it is the familiar, 'vulgarly used' form, and because the arguments for it are at least as good as the arguments against (there seems to be no good argument for retaining a baseless inconsistency). However, the often different form of names in the Apocrypha and the consistent use there of 'Timotheus' dictated the retention of this form in the Apocrypha.

'Timothy' is a familiar name consistently presented in the Greek. The difficulties are greater with unfamiliar names such as 'Chinnereth/Cinneroth/Cinnereth', as it appears in 1611, or 'Chinnereth/Chinneroth/Cinnereth' as it appears in the current text (see Josh. 11:2 in Appendix 8). There are three variant spellings in the Hebrew. The translators conformed the final vowel to the Hebrew but were inconsistent in their transliteration of the opening consonant. What they clearly did not do was compare one instance with another for consistency. Later editors have agreed with the translators about the final vowel, but regularised the opening consonant – save for their oversight at 1 Kgs 15:20.

The five variations on 'Malchiah' in 1611 and two in the current text (see appendix 8, 1 Chr. 6:40) have a different aspect because a variety of characters are involved, all of them given identically in the Hebrew. Alternate spellings in close proximity, especially Ezra 10:25 (1611: 'and Malchiah, and Miamin, and Eleazar, and Malchijah'), make it probable that the translators wished to indicate that different figures were involved (as if they were dealing with a dozen John Smiths, so elected to spell some of them John Smith and some John Smyth, but some, accidentally, Jon Smith). Sometimes, as in Ezra 10:25, it is possible to follow the translators' example; this practice parallels the use of distinct spellings such as 'beside' and 'besides' to reflect distinctions of meaning.

As 'Chinnereth/Cinneroth/Cinnereth' shows, the translators chose to reflect varieties of spelling in the original rather than try to create a consistent, customary form. Fidelity to the original mattered more than conformity to

rule 2. One obvious consequence contrasts with the treatment of 'Malchiah', the different spellings of names for the same people when the text changes language. Inconsistency in the name of fidelity was the translators' genuine rule of practice. Consequently *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible* does not attempt such regularisation, and the reader must still equate, for instance, Esaias in the NT with Isaiah in the OT.

Conclusion

The overall effect of these changes is to remove all unnecessary appearances of oddness in the Bible's English without changing the English itself. Indeed, the translators' English is more truly respected than in any other edition. Allied with the respect given to the translators' own understanding of the text where there are variant readings, the new edition is the most faithful presentation of the King James Bible there has ever been.

9 | Punctuation and other matters

The original punctuation

In George Eliot's *Middlemarch* Mrs Cadwallader tartly remarks of the age-
ing scholar Casaubon that when a drop of his blood was placed under a
magnifying-glass 'it was all semi-colons and parentheses' (chapter 8). Per-
haps this suggests his contorted prose, but the association of punctuation
with the lifeless extremes of futile scholarship is inescapable. I suspect that
a full study of the punctuation of the KJB would take a lifetime, and, like
Casaubon's flawed 'Key to all Mythologies', be frustrated by an early grave.
I will therefore deal only briefly with the history before surveying the prob-
lems punctuation raises and the solutions adopted in the new edition.

   This is not to say that punctuation does not matter: of course it does. The
greatest ever work of punctuation – or pointing – was done by the Masoretic
scholars on the OT. They devised a way of marking the unpunctuated,
consonantal Hebrew words so that their knowledge of that text's traditional
sound and sense was recorded without any change being made to the sacred
text itself. Faithful to their belief in its inviolability, neither a jot nor a tittle
of the text was changed, yet their religion and its language were preserved.

   We may use this reminder of Masoretic pointing to suggest a larger under-
standing of punctuation than our usual sense that it is the application of
punctuation marks to a piece of writing. Punctuation is the art of presenting
the basic letters of a text so as to bring out for the reader their characteristics,
whether of sound or meaning or structure. It can range from the provision of
spaces between words and the distinction between capital and small letters
through the ordinary punctuation marks, and other marks such as accents or
musical notation, to the creation of paragraphs and chapters. It may include
all the elements of typography and design. It is worth remembering that the
distinction between punctuation marks and the use of space on a page can
be quite artificial. So most editions of the KJB use a mark, the paraph (¶),
to denote the beginning of a paragraph, whereas common practice now is
to use spacing and indentation. Similarly, poetic lines can be marked either
by presentation as separate lines on the page, or by the use of a mark such
as the slash. All the elements of page and book design can be thought of as
punctuation, even if some of them are not intended to have any effect on
the reading. Verse division, for instance, is a reference system, yet it exerts a
strong influence on how the text is read.

Almost nothing in the way of punctuation was available to the original writers of the Bible, so the punctuation now found in Bibles is, like translation, interpretive. Moreover, it may be interpretive in ways that the original writers might not have understood. Ancient writers did not necessarily structure their writing in the ways we think all writing is structured, nor did they necessarily mean what our punctuation interprets them as meaning. This should not be made into an argument against punctuation; rather, it is a warning about the limitations of what is now not just an inescapable but an essential practice.

Without theorising here on the authority of the words themselves – how they represent the original thought or inspiration of the writers, or how much they may have been through an editorial process – I want simply to make the point that, as far as the original language texts are concerned, all the elements of punctuation are a later addition and therefore are not authoritative. They do not have the power of the author; they are all open to question.

Now, the same may be true to some degree for the punctuation of the KJB, and this is crucial for understanding both the historical and the present punctuation – in the wide sense that includes presentation – of the text. An example that demonstrates what ought not to need demonstration, the importance of punctuation, will begin to make the point. Sometimes even life or death can hang on punctuation, as at 1 Macc. 5:13. In 1611 wives and children die:

Yea all our brethren that were in the places of Tobie, are put to death, their wiues and their children; Also they haue caried away captiues, and borne away their stuffe.

But in the current text the punctuation is different, and they live:

Yea, all our brethren that were in the places of Tobie are put to death: their wives and their children also they have carried away captives, and borne away their stuff.

Punctuation obviously controls meaning, but what directly relates to the authority of the KJB's punctuation here is that we can be reasonably sure that the translators themselves did not create this 1611 punctuation. The Greek is unambiguous: the wives and children have been carried away, not killed, so the punctuation cannot have been created through reference to the original, that is, during the process of translation. It has to be the work of someone working without reference to the original, having an eye only to making sense of the unpunctuated English words the translators left to their amanuenses or to the printer. I suspect the latter. He would have looked at a manuscript change that was like most of those in Bod 1602, unpunctuated,

and would have made a quick decision as to how to punctuate it, possibly not even noticing that the text was ambiguous.[1]

This example and the lack of punctuation in the Bod 1602 annotations to the OT suggest that the translators often omitted to deal with punctuation, and that we cannot put the same trust in the punctuation of the first edition that we give to its words. Given the importance of punctuation for sense (something the translators were well aware of and certainly did attend to on occasion)[2] and the reverence for every jot and tittle of the text, this might seem surprising, but we need to remember that punctuation was as unfixed as spelling in the early seventeenth century. If the printer could vary spelling as it suited him, perhaps he could do the same with punctuation.[3]

This point must not be pressed too hard. Other examples might be read as representing authoritative decisions. In Ps. 42:9, for example, the first edition goes against the 1602 reading and most modern versions in making 'my rock' part of what is said: 'I will say vnto God, My rocke, why hast thou forgotten me?' This sense and the commoner alternative represented in the received text's 'I will say unto God my rock, Why hast thou forgotten me?' are both possible renderings of the Hebrew. The text and the manuscript changes in Bod 1602 do not settle the responsibility for the reading. The 1602 text reads, 'I will say vnto the God of my strength, Why hast thou forgotten me'. 'The', 'of' and 'strength' are struck through, and 'rocke' is substituted for 'strength'. As usual in the annotations there is no indication of punctuation. This may have left the punctuation to be created as the text was being printed, but the very clarity of the 1602 text, with its capitalisation of 'Why', suggests that the decision to start the speech earlier was a deliberate, a critical decision, one taken by the translators. I suggest therefore that the original punctuation does not have the same authority as its words, but that, where variant readings are concerned, it can only be departed from if

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[1] He would have found no help in the underlying 1602 text, for there the wives and children might be dead or alive because of the comma at the key point: 'yea, and our brethren that were at Tubin are slaine and destroyed, well nigh a thousand men, and their wiues, their children, and their goods haue the enemies ledde away captiue'.

[2] Bois notes that Andrew Downes, one of the translators, argued for the common punctuation of Rom. 11:31, but that the translators adopted Theophylact's punctuation (Allen, *Translating for King James*, p. 41). A number of the notes might lead to decisions on punctuation, but only two others explicitly mention punctuation; in each case it is a matter of parentheses, and in each case the 1611 text is printed without the parentheses suggested by Bois (notes to Eph. 4:22; 2 Tim. 1:3; Allen, *Translating for King James*, pp. 61, 71).

[3] M. B. Parkes makes the same point more generally: 'printed punctuation may reflect that of the author, that of the person who prepared copy for the press, that of the compositor, or all three'. With relation to the time of the KJB, he notes that 'by the 1580s there is clear evidence that compositors were responsible for introducing punctuation marks – especially the semi-colon – to replace others indicated in an author's copy' (Parkes, pp. 5, 53).

there is strong reason to believe it is an error that was not of the translators'
making.

The punctuation of the first edition has an inconsistency that goes beyond
the natural human frailty that leads to the same thing being done differently
in well-separated places: as with the inconsistencies of translation and of
spelling, punctuation can vary over a series of instances following one after
another. For example, the same formulaic sentence structure is used eight
times in the first two chapters of Amos. It comes first in this form:

3 Thus sayth the LORD; For three transgressions of Damascus, and for foure I wil
not turne away *the punishment* thereof, because they haue threshed Gilead, with
threshing instruments of yron.
4 But I will send a fire into the house of Hazael, which shall deuoure the palaces of
Benhadad. (Amos 1:3–4)

In the seven instances that follow, the opening 'Thus sayth the LORD' is
followed by a comma. 'And for foure' has no punctuation after it in the
first three instances, but is followed by a comma in the remaining five. '*The
punishment* thereof' is followed by a semicolon rather than a comma at 1:13,
2:4 and 6, but not at 2:1. One oddity the modern reader might notice is the
full stop at the end of the first verse, even though the next verse appears
to continue the sentence. Now, there is often a third verse in the sequence,
usually beginning with an 'and', again clearly continuing the sentence. In
almost all instances, 1611 uses a full stop, but at 2:2 it has a colon.[4] As well
as showing inconsistency, this demonstrates how elements of punctuation
that we would not normally think of as punctuation do affect punctuation
marks and reading. The visual representation of a reference system, verse
division, has affected the interpretive system of punctuation because the end
of a verse looks and feels like the end of a sentence.[5]

The inconsistencies of translation can often be thought of as elegant
variations that fit with the preface's argument against consistent vocabulary;
and the inconsistencies of spelling are often the product of the printer's
desire to have a similar amount of type in each line. In each case there is a
rational explanation for some if not all of the inconsistency. However, the
only explanation for the kind of inconsistency of punctuation that Amos 1

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[4] The variations are not attributable to the 1602 text, which has its own inconsistencies.
[5] For a particularly striking example, see Wisdom 5:9–11. These verses form one sentence,
    yet each verse concludes with a period. At Acts 21:40 there is a period in the middle of a
    sentence because the sentence continues across a chapter break.
       Parkes notes that many scribes through to the fifteenth century placed a *punctus* at the
    end of each verse as a kind of extra signal of the prosodic units (p. 102). The KJB's similar
    marking of some verses is perhaps a hangover from this practice. Even though the division
    into verses is solely for reference, it remains a powerful force: I have found it difficult both
    to make poetic lines run over verse breaks, and to place paragraph breaks within verses.

and 2 show is that consistency simply did not matter to the printer (nor, one presumes, to the translators or the readers).

The full stop at the end of the verse indicates one other inconsistency in the original punctuation: it sometimes marks the kind of pauses a reader should make rather than the grammatical or logical relationships of the parts of the writing. In short, it is sometimes rhetorical rather than grammatical. This tendency – it is no more than a tendency since there is often no difference between the two kinds of punctuation – comes out most interestingly in some of the poetry where a colon is used just as colons were used to mark the caesura in a line of verse. Here the first edition aligns itself with a practice found in the Bishops' Bible and the Douai OT but not generally in the other versions.

Further details of the original punctuation are best left to the discussion of the changes made in *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible*. Meanwhile, here is a sketch of how the received punctuation developed.

The received punctuation

Later editors through to Blayney regarded the original punctuation as no more binding than the original spelling: it was freely variable, and, by the time Blayney had finished his work, they had made it relatively consistent and conformable to mid-eighteenth-century standards. Consequently the received text of these instances in Amos follows this pattern:

3 Thus saith the LORD; For three transgressions of Damascus, and for four, I will not turn away *the punishment* thereof; because they have threshed Gilead with threshing instruments of iron:
4 But I will send a fire into the house of Hazael, which shall devour the palaces of Benhadad.

Except at the end of the first verse, the heavier possibilities offered by the first edition are adopted, semicolons rather than commas after 'the LORD' and 'thereof', and a comma rather than no punctuation after 'four'. This is the basic difference between the original and the received punctuation: the latter is relatively consistent and usually – but not always – heavier.

The current text, which is, in punctuation as in other aspects, essentially that which was finalised in Blayney's work, presents seventeenth-century punctuation revised by eighteenth-century standards. I offer the following observations based on an examination of some samples, and with the further warning that not all the changes necessarily *originate* in the editions mentioned: they were checked as the likeliest sources of change and as the editions that had most influence on the text. One fifth of the original punctuation is revised in some way. A good quarter of the changes appear in

the first Cambridge edition of 1629 and are retained with only the slightest modification in the second Cambridge edition of 1638. This is perhaps a surprisingly large proportion given that standards would not have changed much in less than twenty years. Almost another quarter of the changes is present in Parris's Cambridge edition of 1762, and just over half of them were made by Blayney.

The changes in Ruth may be taken as representative. Twenty-three are found in 1629, one in 1638, seven in 1762, and a further forty-eight were made by Blayney. By far the commonest change (over one third) is the removal of commas. This lightens the punctuation in a way that is more fitting to modern standards. Full stops are substituted for colons eight times (two a chapter on average), and the opposite change is made four times. Overall this too lightens things, as does the removal of most of the parentheses throughout the whole text.

The remaining changes all give a heavier, eighteenth-century feel to the text. Occasionally commas are added, usually by Blayney in phrases such as 'and behold,', giving the fussy 'and, behold,'. Fourteen commas become semicolons (3.5 a chapter). Seven semicolons become colons, while the reverse change happens three times. One exclamation mark is added by Blayney (overall, exclamation marks are rare in the original edition, in part because a question mark could serve the same purpose). Such extensive use of heavy or dramatic punctuation, coupled with the verse breaks, makes the current text seem highly fragmented, and is an obstacle to fluent reading.

Scrivener offers the following judgement:

Upon the whole, while the system of recent punctuation is heavier and more elaborate than necessity requires, and might be lightened to advantage, that of the standard of 1611 is too scanty to afford the guidance needed by the voice and eye in the act of public reading. 'It is a torture to read aloud from, as those who have had to do it know.'[6]

One might add that occasionally both the original and the current punctuation are impossible by modern standards, as when they put a comma or a colon before a paragraph break, for example Isa. 1:24 in the current text, where 1611 has a full stop, and, following 1611, Isa. 14:3 and 28:15 (some American texts omit these paragraph marks).

I characterised the current punctuation as relatively consistent by comparison with the original. This is only relative, for it too is, unsurprisingly, inconsistent. The use of a semicolon before speech, as at Amos 1:3, 'Thus saith the Lord;', represents a tendency that becomes increasing noticeable in the 1611 OT from Jeremiah onwards, though it never fully takes over from

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[6] Scrivener, pp. 81–2, citing Professor Grote's manuscript.

the comma. Just as the current text used a semicolon in all the examples in Amos, so it exhibits a strong preference from about Jeremiah 21 onwards for the semicolon. Yet sometimes when the 1611 text has a semicolon, it gives a comma (e.g. Jer. 7:28, having made the opposite change at vv. 20 and 21, similarly at Ezek. 44:5, though by this time the practice of using a semicolon before speech is thoroughly established). It is as if Blayney had become habituated to doing the opposite of 1611. At Amos 7:1, 1611 gives 'thus hath the Lord GOD shewed vnto me,'. The current text changes 'me,' to 'me;'. At v. 4 the same phrase in 1611 ends 'me;', and the current text 'me:'. Here stronger punctuation seems to be added mechanically, without awareness that a 1611 inconsistency produces a new inconsistency.

Punctuation in *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible*

Commas, semicolons, colons, full stops, question and exclamation marks, parentheses

There is no easy and good way of dealing with the KJB's ordinary punctuation marks. The easiest course would be to do nothing to the current punctuation. This is hardly a good solution. The unsatisfactoriness of the current punctuation argues against it, especially as it is the creation of editors who have treated punctuation as freely as they treated spelling. The only thing sacred about this punctuation is that it has not been changed for a quarter of a millennium. At the other extreme from editorial idleness is the difficult task of wholesale revision by modern standards. However difficult, this would be worthwhile, indeed, necessary, if it achieved the following: consistency, faithfulness to the grammatical sense of the 1611 text (perhaps also to its rhetorical structures) and readability. However, having made the experiment with a limited amount of the text, I think the result would be a failure. Standards are flexible and consistency of practice would be unattainable (a modern editor, helped by computers, can aim at consistent spelling, but is liable to punctuate as fallibly as earlier editors). Moreover, especially in the Epistles, logical punctuation is very difficult. Had Paul been writing now, he would have filled his writing with dashes, and such modern informality seems to me unwelcome.[7]

A different method is followed in *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, choosing between the original and the current punctuation marks, and only

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[7] Coleridge thought of a different solution, suggesting that if Paul were preparing Romans for the press in his time, 'his accumulated parentheses would be thrown into notes, or extruded to the margin' (*Table Talk*, 15 June 1833; as given in Norton, II, p. 159).

varying from these alternatives in the few places where neither is acceptable by modern practice, or where neither represents the predominant practice of the text. This fits with the principles and guidelines noted earlier. Just as no new changes were made in the text, so no new punctuation is added except where essential. The 1611 text is privileged over the work of editors (even if, as at Dan. 11:18, neither the 1611 nor the current punctuation gives a clear meaning). Here the guideline noted in passing (above, p. 144), to reject changes that run counter to modern usage, comes into its own, because the 1611 punctuation frequently conforms to modern standards. The result is an eclectic attempt to maintain a respect for tradition by taking the best of the original and the current punctuation. At times the result is indistinguishable from another possible principle, that of preferring the original punctuation wherever possible, but the use of a judicious mixture probably produces a better result, that is, a text that reflects as fully as possible the sense and flow of the words, and that can be read as clearly and easily as the words will allow, with a minimal sense of the existence of the punctuation. The best punctuation foregrounds the text meaningfully while seeming to hide itself from notice.

The result is closer to the original than to the current punctuation, and is lighter than both. Few of the omitted commas return, many of the semi-colons and colons disappear. Nevertheless, it preserves the clearer sense of the grammatical structures created by the later editors. Sometimes it seems odd but not impossible by modern standards – a situation that may fit with the antiquity of the language. It is also inconsistent in two ways: free choice at an editor's discretion between alternatives is not a consistent principle, and it does not necessarily lead to identical punctuation in identical situations. Nevertheless, by coupling fidelity to the original with a respect for the established tradition of the text in the light of the way other aspects have been treated, it is generally defensible.

Speech

Except in non-standard editions, the KJB lacks speech marks (inverted commas for the beginning *and* end of speech are an eighteenth-century invention; see Parkes, p. 59). It indicates the beginning of speech or quotation with a capital letter (a practice first used consistently by the Geneva Bible), but has no method of marking the end.[8] While speech marks are not essential in modern texts, they are generally used because they help readers to navigate their way through a text. Now, the Bible is often more than usually

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[8] Occasionally it errs, omitting the capital in, among others, Hos. 5:8; 1 Esdras 1:30; 2 Esdras 5:33; 6:1; 10:32; Tobit 11:9; Ecclus. 51:25; 1 Macc. 4:5, 8, 36; 15:28; 2 Macc. 11:27.

complex in its use of speech, so speech marks are particularly desirable. One might think it an easy, if large, task to supply them, especially as the task has been done before in texts of the KJB such as *The Reader's Bible*, and in modern translations. However, sometimes it is not clear where speeches end, sometimes the text slips between direct and indirect speech, and sometimes, especially in the prophets, it is unclear where distinct speeches begin and end.[9] Anyone supplying speech marks is therefore engaged in interpretation, narrowing down two or even several possibilities to just one. Readers should stay alert to possibilities in the text that have been, apparently, ruled out by the need to punctuate.

Because the Bible frequently has multiple layers of speech, the speech marks can become fussy. Exod. 8:1 is characteristic:

And the Lord spake vnto Moses, Goe vnto Pharaoh, and say vnto him; Thus sayeth the Lord, Let my people goe, that they may serue me.

There are three layers of direct speech here, each indicated by a capital letter. This is the logical result (with the spelling modernised):

And the Lord spoke unto Moses, 'Go unto Pharaoh, and say unto him, "Thus saith the Lord, 'Let my people go, that they may serve me'"'.

One might like to stop at two sets of quotation marks, as does *The Reader's Bible*, but this is untrue to the KJB's sense of the text and hard to reconcile with moments where Moses does tell Pharaoh what God has said: there what was the third layer of speech becomes the second, and so does get its own quotation marks in editions that stop at two sets of quotation marks:

And Moses and Aaron came in unto Pharaoh, and said unto him, 'Thus saith the Lord God of the Hebrews, "How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me? Let my people go, that they may serve me."' (Exod. 10:3)

The fussiness of multiple quotation marks is therefore necessary.[10] It belongs to the peculiar nature of the text with its predilection for direct speech, and it is consistent with the KJB's use of capitalisation to indicate new speech.

Paragraphing

The idea of a paragraph – a coherent unit usually based on a single idea and having some sort of logical relationship with the surrounding units – was

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[9] For example, Isa. 45:1–2 and Acts 17:3. 'Saith the Lord' is sometimes problematic. Usually it indicates speech, but sometimes, as in Isa. 59:20, it indicates that the words are the Lord's message rather than his direct speech.

[10] Some examples of particularly complex speech-within-speech: Jer. 27:2–11; 29:24–8; 42:13ff.; Zech 1:1–6.

not available to most of the biblical writers. Moreover, especially in the Hebrew, they had few words to indicate logical relationship. This is not to say that they wrote incoherently but simply that their writing does not necessarily divide easily into paragraphs, and that to present it in paragraphs is sometimes to falsify it.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that translators frequently disagree about paragraphing. Nor is it surprising that the KJB translators seem to have given it very low priority, apparently leaving it too late for completion. Until Scrivener in Victorian times, editors have not bothered with it, leaving the paragraphing of the current text in the same unfinished, rough state as the first edition.[11]

New paragraphing is needed. Scrivener's *Cambridge Paragraph Bible* and other non-standard texts appear underparagraphed by modern standards, and so not sensible to take as models. The variety in the modern translations makes it difficult to follow any one of them, especially as their solutions do not always fit the KJB. Consequently, I have re-paragraphed the text, paying particular attention to the first edition, guided by other editions and versions, but chiefly guided by my own sense of the text. Only dialogue is given in a way that is biblical rather than modern: individual pieces of speech are not automatically given individual paragraphs as would happen in most novels. Excuse is needed since this probably should have been done, and the excuse is twofold: this is what is still done in most versions, and it saves space (often an important consideration in Bible presentation, placing care for the printer's purse ahead of care for the reader's eyes).

Prose, verses and poetry

Prose is presented continuously rather than in verses since the practice of starting a new verse on a new line is one of the greatest barriers to a coherent reading of the Bible, splitting the text into small units only for convenience in finding references.[12]

Poetry is more of a problem. In the originals it is not always clear what is poetry and what is prose. Nor is it always clear where lines end or whether there is something like stanza form present. There is often no scholarly consensus on either matter, and this is reflected in the variety of practice in modern editions and translations. The most obvious formal quality of the Hebrew poetry is what Robert Lowth in the eighteenth century christened parallelism, a repetition of the meaning or form of one statement in the

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[11] Sometimes it may be worse than rough. Paragraphing by inserting marks is more susceptible to error than paragraphing by layout. To take two possible examples, the break at Ezek. 20:5 and the lack of a break at 22:17 are both very odd.

[12] The point was well made by John Locke; see Norton, II, pp. 38–9.

next. Lowth argued that 'a poem translated literally from the Hebrew into the prose of any other language, whilst the same forms of the sentences remain, will still retain, even as far as relates to versification, much of its native dignity, and a faint appearance of versification' (I, p. 71).

The KJB is just such a translation, prose that often has a faint appearance of versification. With one exception, there is nothing to suggest that the KJB translators thought of their work on, say, the Psalms, as being poetic. Had they attempted to make a poetic translation, the result would probably have been like the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter, metrical, rhymed and less close to the meaning and expression of the Hebrew. The translators had no idea of free verse. They must frequently have recognised that they were translating poetry, but they did not translate it as poetry. Consequently, to present their work as poetry is a kind of falsification undertaken to indicate an important quality in the originals – but not a total falsification because of the faint appearance of versification. So I have sought to bring out that faint appearance without making too much of it, making obeisance to the Hebrew shaping behind the English by using what look like verse lines, but otherwise thinking of the English as prose.[13] So there is lineation, but no attempt to make the poetry stanzaic or even, with one exception, to suggest that one line might be subordinate to its predecessor through the use of indentation. As a quiet suggestion of the prosaic aspects of the poetry in the KJB, capital letters are only used for new lines where the new line is also a new sentence. The policy is one of minimum interference, allowing the reader to think of the text as poetry but not dictating how its structure might work beyond applying a kind of paragraphing to it.

In places the result simply looks like unjustified prose, as if the line ends are dictated by nothing more than a rough sense of how long a line of poetry usually is – a situation that readers of modern translations will have encountered. But often the appearance of versification works well, responding to the clear parallelism of the sense units. Moreover, the caesura-like use of colons in parts of the first edition, especially the second half of Psalms and the early chapters of Wisdom, indicates a consciousness of poetic form, either on the translators' or the compositor's part, and it gives clear directions to an editor. These colons are the equivalent of a line break.[14] For example:

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[13] The reader who would like more done might go to R. G. Moulton's *The Modern Reader's Bible* (1895 etc.). This extraordinary and often illuminating work is now very difficult to find. Easier to find is Moulton's *The Literary Study of the Bible* (1895; 2nd edn., 1899); see Norton, II, pp. 276–85.

[14] The question of whether an awareness of poetic form influenced the way the translators worked is still unexamined. A good case can be made that the phrasing of modern translations is influenced by the consciousness of the poetic lines that their work will be presented in, but I suspect that the KJB translators continued to work as prose translators. To take one example, Ezek. 31:9: literally translated, it reads, 'beautiful have I made it by many its

Thou makest darknesse, and it is night: wherein all the beasts of the forrest doe creepe *forth*.

The young lyons roare after their pray: and seeke their meate from God.

The sunne ariseth, they gather themselues together: and lay them downe in their dennes. (Ps. 104:20–2)

In grammatical or logical punctuation the central colons might disappear. In the last verse, which describes what animals do *as a consequence* of the dawn, one might even swap the places of the colon and the comma to give a more logical result: 'the sun ariseth: they gather themselves together, and lay them down in their dens'. 1611's rhetorical punctuation of these verses is in effect an editorial guide, showing where the line breaks should be.

Besides minimum interference, the other principle is as elsewhere, one of respect for the work of the translators. I have made line breaks following their (or the printer's) use of rhetorical colons regardless of whether this corresponds to critical ideas of the Hebrew poetry. Elsewhere I have worked as with paragraphing, attending to the work of others but giving priority to my own sense of how the KJB works. As with the other elements of punctuation, there is often no single right answer: the best that can be hoped for is that the results do not mislead but rather that they unobtrusively aid the reading of the text.

The one part of the text where extra indentation is used is Prov. 10:1–22: 16. This consists entirely of two-part sayings that respond felicitously to the traditional presentation in biblical verses, especially if a hanging indent as for poetry is used:

> [1]Wine *is* a mocker, strong drinke is raging:
>   and whosoever is deceiued thereby, is
>   not wise.
> [2]The feare of a king, *is as* the roaring of a
>   Lion: who so prouoketh him to anger,
>   sinneth *against* his owne soule.
> [3]*It is* an honour for a man to cease from
>   strife: but euery foole will be meddling.
>   (Prov. 20:1–3)

branches, and envied it all the trees of Eden that were in the garden of God'. The slightly loose parallelism depends on 'envied it' coming early in the second part. Modern translations using poetic form preserve this order by changing 'envied it' into a noun, as in *The Jerusalem Bible*:

I had made it lovely with branching green.
It was the envy of every tree in Eden, in the garden of God.

The KJB, unconstrained by a sense of parallelism, translates more literally, but places the verb where English prose would have it: 'I haue made him faire by the multitude of his branches: so that all the trees of Eden, that were in the garden of God, enuied him.'

Successful as this might be, it is inconsistent with the lineation adopted elsewhere, which requires that each verse be two lines. Consequently I have followed the Jerusalem Bible:

[1]Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging:
   and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise.

[2]The fear of a king is as the roaring of a lion:
   whoso provoketh him to anger sinneth against his own soul.

[3]It is an honour for a man to cease from strife:
   but every fool will be meddling.

This way the second part of the proverb appears as a consequence or qualification of the first part, and each proverb is distinct from the next. The reader should perceive the proverbs primarily as individual entities while being kept aware that there is an element of poetic form. There is a clear distinction between proverbs of this sort and the rest of the text.

Perhaps more contentious than the lineation are the decisions as to what to present as poetry. I have looked for two things: that the original probably was poetry, and that it aids the reading of the KJB to have it so presented. The early chapters of Jeremiah illustrate the problems involved. Sometimes ch. 1 is given entirely as prose. Among the translations that give part of it as poetry, one chooses vv. 5, 7–8 and 9b–10, another vv. 5 and 15b–16, a third just vv. 14–19, and a fourth all of these, vv. 5, 7–8, 9b–10, 14–19. In the KJB the first four verses are prose, v. 5 is strongly poetic, and the rest somewhat heightened prose, so in *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible* just v. 5 is given as poetry.

Chapter 2 is usually given as poetry with minor exceptions. In the KJB the first part of the chapter goes quite well as poetry, but vv. 16–17, then 20 to the end, resist poetic divisions to varying degrees. However, poetry still dominates, so the whole chapter is given as poetry.

Chapter 4 slides between poetry and heightened prose. Verse 31 exemplifies the complexities:

for I haue heard a voice as of a woman in travel, *and* the anguish as of her that bringeth foorth her first childe, the voice of the daughter of Zion, *that* bewaileth her selfe, *that* spreadeth her hands, *saying*; Woe *is* me now, for my soule is wearied because of murderers.

This begins with parallel statements that go readily as verse, but the latter part is more like accumulative prose. The first two statements, save that 'for I have heard' is not repeated, duplicate each other in form and meaning; but in the latter part there is no regular duplication of form, only smaller parallelisms, and the meaning progresses: 'that bewaileth herself' is repeated and

elaborated in 'that spreadeth her hands', followed by 'saying, Woe is me now', and then the final explanation of the woe, 'for my soul is wearied because of murderers'. This is good poetic prose. An editor has – constantly – to decide whether to force such judgements on the reader, or whether to go with the dominant mode. This latter is the usual practice in *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible*. The reader must be constantly aware that the KJB is a prose translation that often approximates to poetry, and that the editorial decisions made do no more than indicate which way it tends. Constant switching between the two modes is avoided as being potentially distracting and as suggesting a greater claim to knowledge as to what is poetry than is possible.

The italics

These have been a perpetual source of difficulty to editors and bemusement to readers. Few readers now understand that they are almost always an attempt at a scholarly guide to the relationship between the English and the Hebrew and Greek, de-emphasising words that have no equivalent in the original text but that are necessary in English.[15] Nor do they realise how much they have grown over the years. The original italics were thoroughly inadequate, and the modern proliferation remains an ineffective guide to the original text for the few readers who understand their intention (Strong's numbers, interlinear and electronic Bibles are all infinitely better guides to the connections). Bemusing, inadequate and ineffective, whether in the original or the current form, the italics only make reading more difficult.[16] Besides tradition, the only grounds for keeping them – and then only in the original form – is that they are the work of the translators, but these are poor reasons. They are not part of the text itself but a way of coding it for study purposes, and their only possible interest now is as something that might be studied for the very slight suggestion they give of the translators' sense of the relationships between English and Hebrew and Greek. Consequently they

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[15] The one obvious exception is 1 John 2:23, where the latter part of the verse is in italics, indicating that it is a late and doubtful addition to the Greek text. Scrivener suggests that 1611's italics in Judg. 16:2, 20:9 and 1 Cor. 14:10, and a few later introductions (mostly from 1638) may possibly be of this sort (pp. 68–9).

[16] Scrivener, who himself made a heroic attempt to render the italics thorough and consistent, is scathing of both the work in 1611, with its 'undue haste and scarcely venial carelessness' (p. 63) and in later editions, where the changes 'have been too unsystematic, too much the work of the moment, executed by too many hands, and on too unsettled principles, to hold out against hostile, or even against friendly criticism' (p. 71). His detailed notes (pp. 61–81) remain the only study of the italics.

are not included in *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, except, as noted below, in the margin.

The margin, headers and chapter summaries

The original margin contained 8,422 notes of three sorts: more literal translations, prefixed by '*Heb.*', '*Cald.*' and '*Gr.*', alternative translations or readings in the original, prefixed by 'Or', and miscellaneous information to do with names, currency, and readings (Scrivener, p. 56). Scrivener counts a further 494 such notes added by later editors, notably Parris. For a student of the translators, the original notes have a special interest for what they reveal of their understanding of the text and their practice as translators. A general reader should also find them valuable for the closer contact they bring with the original texts. Moreover, they are a constant reminder both that translation is an inexact process and that the original texts are sometimes uncertain or obscure. Consequently they are preserved in *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible*. Following Scrivener's example, the additional notes that are found in the current text are also given, but in square brackets. Thus nothing is lost from the current text, but the reader can see at a glance what is the translators' own work.

The notes gave the original printer a great deal of trouble, especially with the location of reference marks and the use of italics, and *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible* follows the corrections made by later editors. The notes are a kind of scholarly apparatus. Here the italics have a genuine use, helping to bring out what is so often their point, the literal sense of the original, without being an impediment to reading.

Outnumbering the notes are the cross-references. The first edition has 8,990 (6,588 in the OT, 885 in the Apocrypha and 1,517 in the NT), about a seventh of what is now found.[17] More than half the original references come from copies of the Vulgate, with consequences such as most of the references to the Psalms being to the wrong verses. The Cambridge editions of 1629 and 1638 made most of the necessary corrections, and thereafter references accumulated like barnacles on an old hull, hard to remove and doing little for its seaworthiness. The indefatigable Scrivener worked over them all, producing a still more elaborate apparatus that, as with the rest of his work, has stayed outside the main tradition of the text.

Given the unsatisfactory and largely secondhand state of the original and the somewhat more useful but indiscriminate state of the current cross-references (to say nothing of the lack of Scrivener's knowledge and energy),

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[17] All information in this paragraph is from Scrivener, pp. 116–27.

nothing has been done to the cross-references in the work for *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible.*

1611's original headers and chapter summaries are rarely reproduced. Both have their interest for the places where they interpret the text, most notably the Song of Solomon, but belong more properly to the historic text than to a present-day edition.

PART 3

Appendices

Appendix 1
Printer's errors in the first edition

This list includes only manifest errors that are, in all probability, attributable to the printer. Correct readings are given in brackets where necessary. An asterisk preceding the entry indicates an error that is repeated in the second edition (the 'She' Bible). m. following a reference indicates margin.

'The Translators to the Reader'
    Fol. A6^r: th [the]
    *Fol. A6^v: rekoning[1]
    Fol. B1^r:
      Taanslations

*'**An Almanacke . . .**'
    Fol. D1^r: Adnent
      [Aduent]

Genesis
9:26 m. displaced
    down one line
17 summary: Izsaac
17:4: ‖ [†]
17:4 m.: reference
    omitted
17:8 m.: soieurnings

21:32: Beeer-sheba
27:36: na-ned
    [na-med]
28 summary: Mahalal
    [Mahalath]
28:22: Aud
31:40: aud
32:15: ashes [asses]
33:2: chidren
45:3 m.: A&s.
    [Acts][2]

Exodus
3:2 m.: A&s.
    [Acts]
14:10: 3 lines
    repeated
*16 header:

Chap.xv.xvj.
    [Chap.xvj.][3]
25:20: to-toward[4]
31:15 m.: holi-linesse
35:2 m.: he-linesse
40:10: Aud
40:22: Northwaed

Leviticus
3:8: Aud
4:35: burnt [burne]
8:30: sunnes [sonnes]
11:34: drunkein
    [drunke in]
13:56: plaine [plague]
17:1: vnco [vnto]
*20:27: wiz-zard[5]
25:31: ee [be]

---

[1] The other forty-five occurrences of 'reckon . . .' all have the *c*, making it probable that 'rekoning' is an error. But its reproduction in the second edition suggests that the printer of that edition found it possible enough as a spelling for it not to need altering.

[2] Also found at Exod. 3:2 m., but (apparently) nowhere else in English Bibles. The same 'error' twice in a short space suggests that 'A&s.' may be a peculiarity rather than an error, a possible way of abbreviating 'Acts' that turned out to be pointless because it saved no space.

[3] Normal practice when a chapter begins on a page is to put its number only in the header. The same deviation from normal is found at 1 Kgs 14, Job 35, Jer. 42, Ezek. 28, 38, Dan. 9, Judith 14, Eph. 6 and Hebr. 3. All but Hebr. 3 are identical in the second edition.

[4] There are perhaps enough examples of such repetition over a line break for one to wonder whether it was an acceptable practice (other examples: Exod. 31:15 m.; Lev. 20:27; Deut. 15:5; 2 Chron. 23:17 m.; 2 Esdras 9:9; Wisdom 8:2; Acts 1:11; 8 summary). Against this possibility is repetition of a word across a line break (Jer. 15:5 m.; 15:10; Matt. 4:25; 16:25) or over a page break (Luke 15:2), and the omission of part of a hyphenated word (1 Chr. 11:1; Ezek. 20:37 m.; 1 Esdras 9:15; Rom. 1:16; 1 Cor. 7:40): none of these could be regarded as acceptable practice. Line breaks were particularly likely places for errors to occur.

[5] Probably an error for 'wy-zard' or 'wi-zard'; the former is the hyphenated form used elsewhere.

Numbers
1:31: wece [were]
10:24: soune [sonne]
10:31: wilderuesse
14:18: chldren
19 summary: vncleaue
20:7: Lord [Lᴏʀᴅ]
29:1 m.: 'i' inverted in
     'Leuit.'
31:50:
     golde chaines
     [golde, chaines
     (catchword is
     'golde,')]
32 summary: Iorden
     [Iordan]

Deuteronomy
4:34: stretehed
     [stretched]
*11 header:
     Chap.viij.
     [Chap.xj.]
15:5: commande-
     dements
16:1: vuto [vnto]
25:17 m.: ₊[*]
27:1: people,,
31:29: commauded
33:21: himfelfe

Joshua
5:13: dawen [drawen]
15 header: Iuadhs
     [Iudahs]
15:56: Ind [And]

Judges
9:18: aud
9:19: aud
10:7: agaiust
14:14: aud

Ruth
1:8: Aud

1 Samuel
7:6: aud
7:9: vnco [vnto]
8:22: vuto [vnto]
9:7 m.: *Hebr* [*Hebr.*
     or *Heb.*]
12:3 m.: *at at*
12:21 misnumbered
     20
*17 header:
     Chap.xiiij.
     [Chap.xvij.]

2 Samuel
6 summary:
     Michol [Michal][6]
13:8 m.: Or, [*Or,*]
19:16: *wass* [*was*]
24 summary: staveth
     [stayeth]
24:25: Aud

1 Kings
1:5: horesemen
1:53: Solomou
2 header: Chap.vij.
     [Chap.ij]
2:44: moreuer
9:19: disired
15:29: house
     Iereboam [house of
     Iereboam]
20 summary: By rhe
     word
20:40: discided

2 Kings
4 header: Chap.xvj.
     [Chap.iiij.]
15:2: aud

17:14 m.: reference
     omitted[7]
17:33 m.: Sophan.
     [Zephan.]
17:35: selnes

1 Chronicles
1:7 m: accor-ning
2 summary: another
     [Another]
2:3: Canaanites
     [Canaanitess]
6:76: subnrbs
*7:14: concn-bine
10:11: ail [all]
11:1: vn- [vn-to]
11:10: strenthened
21:2: eueu [euen]
21:8: uow [now]
21:30: euquire
26:21: hiefe [chiefe]

2 Chronicles
3:4: atcording
4 summary:
     canstelsticks
7:22: aud
14:15: inabundance
     [in abundance]
18:11: sayiug
18:14: fobreare
23:17 m.: 13. 13. 9.
     [13. 9.]
28:15: aud
28:5: wich [with]
29 header:
     Chap.xxxix.
     [Chap.xxix.]
*36 summary:
     raigning
36 summary: t1
     [11]

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[6] Also found in the 1602 Bishops' Bible.
[7] Some copies of the second edition give 'Deut. 31. 27.', some follow the first edition (as
    do several other editions up to 1616). One 1612 octavo whose printer evidently noted the
    problem, omits the asterisk from the verse, eliminating the need for a reference.

Ezra

2:32:
   hun-dredand
[hun-dred and]
*6:9: appoyment
   [appointment][8]
6:15: honse
8:17: ‖ [†]
8:36: lieute-uants
10:3: lee [let)]

Nehemiah

3:5: uext
4:14: to rest [to the
   rest]
4:23: uor [nor][9]
7:3: wateh [watch]
8:14: whith [which]
9:22: diddst

Esther

2:12: Ahasnerus

Job

4:8: wickednsse
14:2 m.: lob [Iob]
34:11 m: iere. 2. 32,
   19 [iere. 32. 19]
38:6: Wherepuon
38:38: groweeh
39:5: looosed

Psalms

2:6 m: ‖ [†]
2:12 m.: iete. [iere.]
13:4: enimie
18:48 m.: *violenre*

21:13: aud
23:1 m: Ezech. 34.
   [Ezech. 34. 23.]
25:18: aud
29 summary: Princcs
31:21 m.: *fensed*
   [*fenced*]
31:24: strenghten
32:5 m.: 95. [65.]
34:12 m.: Pet. [1 Pet.]
34:22: redeemech
35:27: no period at
   end of verse[10]
36:2: flatterech
66:3 m.: *yeild*
73:11: kuow
74:7: Nawe [Name]
74:19: *wicked* forget
   [*wicked*: forget]
79:1: thine,
   inheritance [thine
   inheritance]
89:44 m.: *brighnesse*
90 summary: sencible
90:2: broughtforth
103:8 m.: nnm [num]
*107 summary: Ouer
   [ouer]
137:4: LORDS
   [LORDS][11]
137:7: oi [of]

Proverbs

*14:12 m.: 23.
   [25.][12]

*20:16: suerty
23:32 m.: *acockatrice*
25:26: aud

Ecclesiastes

5:20: much [‖ much]
7:25: aud
11:2: noc [not]
12:14: euer [euery]

Song of Solomon

4:13: Spikenaed

Isaiah

5:13: aud
5:23 m.: Pron. [Prou.]
7:3: marginal notes in
   wrong order
*19 summary:
   folishnesse
29:3: Aud
29:11: vsion
37:30: felfe [selfe]
40:12: aud
44:5: LORDS [LORDS]
*45:5: Lord [LORD][13]
49 summary: powerfulll
55:9: thouhts
60:9 m.: Gel. [Gal.]
65:11 m.: *Mem* [*Meni*]
66:3 m.: *ame-moriall*
   [*a me-moriall*]

Jeremiah

2:30 m.: IsaI. [Isai.]
5:12 catchword: 12
   For [12 They][14]

---

8 Some copies of the second edition agree with the first, some have 'appointment'.
9 Some copies of the first edition have 'uor', some 'nor'; the reading is not always clear.
10 This 'error' occurs when there is little or no space at the end of the verse, is sometimes reproduced in the second edition, and can be found elsewhere. Perhaps it is more laziness than error. It is found at Prov. 30:26; Micah 1:15; Ecclus. 7:32; 32:12; 1 Macc. 2: 59; 4:8; 8:15, 18; 2 Macc. 7:20; 8:15, 30; 9:22; 12:22; Rev. 8: 13.
11 Also at Isa. 44:5, Ezek. 8:16 and Joel 1:9.
12 This error (possibly not the printer's) also occurs in all the 1612 editions and in the 1613, 1616 and 1617 folios.
13 The 1612 editions and the 1613 folio also have this error.
14 The second edition has a different, less interesting error, '12 Thy'. The first edition's 'incorrect' catchword raises the possibility that the translators intended the following verse to

5:30 m.: *asto-nishmen* [*asto-nishment*]

15:5 m.: *thy thy* [*thy*]

15:10: that that [that]

24:1 m.: 24. [24. 12.][15]

25:12 m.: eszr [ezra]

28:11: Nebuchadnezzer

29:22: eurse

30:8: themselnes

30:13: bonnd [bound]

32:41: oner [ouer]

36 summary: ro [to]

36:20: bnt

39:1: Nebuchad rezzar [Nebuchad-rezzar][16]

39:11: coucerning

40:1: ‖ and note misplaced[17]

48:40: Maob [Moab]

*49:1: God [Gad]

Ezekiel

3:3: vuto

8:16: Lord S [Lords]

9:1: hauecharge [haue charge]

18:2 m.: Iee. [Ier.][18]

18:11: bnt

19:7: there [their]

20:37 m.: *deli-ring* [*deli-uering*]

23:23: the the [the]

23:43: iu [in]

34:18: fonle [foule]

36:2 m.: Chap. 62. [Chap. 6. 2.]

37:26: wich [with]

39 summary: iudement

40:6: † inverted

43:7: uor

43:15 m.: *Marel* [*Harel*]

44:5: ehe [the]

Daniel

2:31: excelleut

3:1: Nebuchad nezzar [Nebuchad-nezzar]

*12:5: † should be beside first instance of 'banke', not second[19]

Hosea

1:8: couceiued

Joel

1:9: Lord S [Lords]

3:14 m. displaced down one verse in some copies

Amos

4:1: yea [yee]

6:3 m.: Exek

7 summary: hy [by]

Micah

2:7: dongs [doings]

4, 5 header: Ioel. [Micah.]

5:9: aud

*7 summary: triumpheh[20]

Nahum

*3:8: scituate

Habakkuk

3:3: on [one]

Zephaniah

1:7 m.: *san.ctified* [*sanctified*]

Haggai

2:1: twentith

Zechariah

3 summary: 18 [8]

4:1: wakeued [wakened]

Malachi

1:13 m: Or [*Or*]

1 Esdras

2:1 In the [In *the]

4 header: Anocrynha [Apocrypha]

4:51: yereely [yeerly]

5:52: And after, that [And after that][21]

5:53 m.: Grek. [Gr.]

begin 'For they', or that they had inserted 'For' at the beginning of the verse and then deleted it, confusing the compositor as he set the catchword, but not when he came to set the verse.

[15] The second edition and the 1613 and 1617 folios read incorrectly, '24. 1.'.

[16] The lack of a hyphen here and at Dan. 3:1 is more likely to show a problem with the type than a failure to set the hyphen.

[17] Noted by Smith, p. 7 n. Smith says some 'She' Bibles correct this, I presume by putting the mark against 'chaines' (later in the verse and over the page), and by putting the annotation over the page as in the 1613 and 1617 folios.

[18] The second edition has both 'Ier.' and 'Iere.'

[19] The 1612 editions also misplace the †.

[20] 1617 folio: 'triumpeth'.

[21] Some editions up to 1616 follow the first edition.

5:58: Le-nites
  [Le-uites][22]
6:4: misnumbered 7
9:15: capti u-tie
  [captiui-tie]

2 Esdras
1: CHAP. II. [CHAP. I.]
1 header: Chap.viij.
  [Chap.j.]
1:13 m.: Eod.
  [Exod.]
1:29: shoud
*3:18: didest
4:9: uo
4 header: I. Esdras.
  [II. Esdras.]
4:40: wman
*4:51 m.: *shalbe
manuscript?* [*shalbe?
Manuscript*][23]
5:6: enen [euen]
5:20: monrning
7:50: their [there]
7:66: that is [that he
  is]
8:15: touchiug
8:41: husbandmau
*9:9: des-spitefully
12 header: Chap.vj.
  [Chap.xij.]
*13:2 m.: *Or* missing
*13:3 m.: *Or* missing

Tobit
4:3: greiue
6:17: mercifnll

Judith
6:12: vsed a sling from
  comming vp [used a
  sling kept them from
  coming up]
*10:5 m.: *Or* missing
10:6: stan-diug

Wisdom
2:19: torrture[24]
3:14: in the Temple
  [|| in the Temple];
  m.: *Gre. the chosen,
  or amongst the
  people* [*Gre. the
  chosen. || Or
  amongst the
  people*]
4:19: aud
5:16 m.: beta-ken [be
  taken][25]
8:2: de-desired
14:30: puuished

Ecclesiasticus
Prologue: botb
7:3: solde [folde]
11:30: aud
22:21: way [may]
26 summary: 20 [29]

43:20: Wheu
44:4: 'by their
  knowledge of'
  missing from some
  copies
47:20: dist [didst]
51:2: defeuder

Baruch
*6 header:
  Ecclesiasticus[26]

***Prayer of Manasses*:**
Lord, forgiue

1 Maccabees
1:6: kis [his]
1:55: aud
2:12: aud
*2:52: intentation
  [in tentation]
4:29: with them
  [them with]
*6:20: fiftith
7:12 m.: *aythoritie*
8:5 m.: *Mace donians*
  [*Mace-donians*]
9:9: onr
*10:63: troble
11:22: can [came]
12:35: steong [strong]

2 Maccabees
6:9: hane [haue][27]
8:31: couenient

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[22] Wright notes (I, p. v) that some copies have 'seters' for 'setters' in this verse; I have not seen
this.

[23] Early editions follow the first edition; the error is corrected by 1629.

[24] I note here a problem that should not, I think, be blamed on the printer. There are obvious
interconnected errors in the margins to Wisdom 1:1 and 2; they are likely in the first place
to come from cramped and unclear copy. There are some changes in the second edition,
but a correct solution is not arrived at (either this is because the printer tried to make sense
of the first edition's muddle without recourse to the manuscript, or because the manuscript
was too obscure).

[25] Second edition: 'heta-ken'; the spacing is ambiguous.

[26] One of the 1612 octavos has the same error. 1616 also has it; this is the more striking because
there it is the final page of the book, so the header should be 'The Song of'.

[27] Wright (I, p. v) notes that some copies have 'tyranuus' for 'tyrannus' at 4:40 m.; I have not
seen this.

*10:12: chosing
10:16: wich [with]
11:21: Dioscorinthius
[‖ Dioscorinthius]
12:30 catchword: 13
[31]
15:6: moument
[monument]

Matthew
4:25: great great [great]
10:7 m: 6. 7. [6. 6.]
11:6: whoseouer
[whosoeuer]
12 summary: brothe
[brother]
16:25: his his [his]
26:34: might [night]
27:37: writtten

Mark
6:56: whithersouer
7:4 m.: notes are in the
wrong order
9 summary: r1 [11]
9:17: broughe
[brought]
11:19: Euen [euen]
14:65: stricke [strike]
14:67: war-ning
[war-ming]

Luke
10:36: himt hat [him
that]
15:2: murmured,
murmured,
saying[28]
21:28: redemptiou
22:31: fift [sift]

John
8:33: Abraham seed
[Abrahams seed]
12:35: dark-desse
15:4: and in you [and
I in you]
19:12: thencefore
[thenceforth]

Acts
1 summary: inthe
1:11: Gali-lilee
3:7: aud
4:6: Caiphas
7:14: fifteeene
8 summary:
mira-racles
9:14: authoritic
[authoritie]
11:7: Petec [Peter]
13:18 m.: ‡ [†]
14:22: aud
15:33: breehren
20:26: co [to]
23:5: Prist [Priest]

Romans
1:16: Go-pel [Go-spel]
2:16 ac cording
[ac-cording]
7:2: husbaud
15:28: hane
16:25: the the [the]

1 Corinthians
7:40: so -bide [so a-bide]
12:12: membrs
15:6: misnumbered 5
15:11: aud

2 Corinthians
1:7: consolatiou

Galatians
1:13: couuersation
2:14: th e maner
3:8 m.: Cen. [Gen.]

Ephesians
1:9: himselse
4:30: sririt
5:16: Redeming

1 Thessalonians
2:9: labourng

1 Timothy
6:20: fasly [falsly]

2 Timothy
3:16: instruti-on

Philemon
20: bowles [bowels]

Hebrews
6:20: entrrd
10:36: that shall after
[that after]

James
1:27: Facher [Father]
2:23: fullfiled

1 Peter
4:1: ceassed

Jude
15: heard [hard]

Revelation
5:5: m. ref. one line high
6:13: m.: *Or.* [*Or,*]
19:21: aud

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[28] 'Murmured' is incorrectly repeated at the top of a page; the catchword at the bottom of the previous page is, correctly, 'saying'.

Appendix 2
First and second edition variations

This is a selective list; it includes all the variations that might be of textual significance, together with some that are typographical errors in the second edition. Further variations are to be found in appendix 1. All the variations given in the two main published lists, Scrivener's and Wright's, together with some variations they do not list, are included in these appendices.

Bold type indicates a second edition reading that is to be found in the Cambridge Concord and, for the Apocrypha, Pitt Brevier editions, taken as the modern standard; the marginal variants in the Apocrypha have been compared with Scrivener's Cambridge Paragraph Bible.

* indicates readings found in some but not all copies.

m. after reference: margin.

s. after reference: chapter summary.

	1st edition	2nd edition		1st edition	2nd edition
Genesis			**Exodus**		
8:10	other	ouer	9:13	me	thee
10:16	Emorite	**Amorite**	11:8	all these	also these
16:6	But Abram	And Abram	14:2	Pi-hahiroth	Pi-hahiroh
19:13	is waxen	in waxen	19:4	Eagles wings	Eagle wings
26:20	heardmen	heardman	21:26	let him go*	let them go
26:34	Bashemath	Bashemah	21:27	let him go	let them go
27:39	the fatnesse	thy fatnesse	22:6	hee that kindled	he that kindleth
28:12	vp on	vpon	36:29 m.	*twinned*	*twined*
28:13	aboue	about	38:11	hoopes	**hookes**
29:3	his place	this place	39:7	on	one
29:8	till	tell			
29:24	Zilpah	Zilpha	**Leviticus**		
31:30	longedst	longest	1:6	flay	slay
33:2	their chidren	the children	1:16 m.	*thereof*	*there*
35:27	which is	which the	5:13	atonement	attonement
35:28	hundred	hundreth	17:14	Ye shall not eat	**Ye shall eat**
36:10	Bashemath	Bashamath	18:3	after the doings of	**after the doings**
36:29	These	Shese*		land of Canaan	**of the land of**
42:28	an other	**another**			**Canaan**
46:17	Isui	Ishui	18:30	shal ye	ye shal
46:34	an abomination	abomination	23:36	vnto the Lord	vnto Lord
47:27	possessions	possession*	25:28	vntil the yeere	vnto the yeere

	1st edition	2nd edition		1st edition	2nd edition
Numbers			16:6	Taanath	Taanah*
1:47	tribe	tribes	18:22	Betharabah	Bethabarah
3:19	Vzziel	Azziel	19:5	Hazar-	Hasar
10:2	shalt thou	thou shalt	19:16	these cities	their cities
10:14 m.		2nd ref. placed at v. 21	**Judges**		
14:15	then	when	6:26	Altar	Alar
16:34	said	say	6:40	there	their
21:9 m.	ioh.	iosh.	8:10	Zebah	Zeba
21:18	*direction*	*directions**	8:27	in his	on his
26:21	Hesronites	**Hezronites***	20:7	Israel	Asrael
27:13 m.	24	14	20:7	giue here	giue her
33:7	pitched	piched	**Ruth**		
34 ch.	num.	XXXIII	2:11	knewest	knowest*
34:2	this *is* the land	that *is* the land	3:8	*tooke holde on*	*tooke holde on*
34:11	goe downe	come down	m.		*him**
Deuteronomy			3:15	he went	**she went**
1:18	all the things	all things	**1 Samuel**		
8:7	valleys	the valleyes	4:22	for	fo
9:10	spake with you	spake vnto you	7:1	Kiriath-	Kiriah-*
11:6 m.	106	108	20:13	The Lᴏʀᴅ	Then Lᴏʀᴅ*
12:26	thy holy things	the holy things	26:25	his way	this way*
14:29	widowe	widowes	**2 Samuel**		
16:14	thy maid seruant	the maid seruant	4:5	bed	bead*
16:14	Leuite	Liuite	6:9	Arke of the Lᴏʀᴅ	Arke of God*
16:15	solemne	selemne	6:16	citie of Dauid	house of Dauid*
16:17	according	atcording	6:20	one of	on of*
16:20 m.	*iusticd, iustice*	*iustice, iustice*	17:25	Abigail	Abigal
17:4	it *be* true	it *is* true	18:31	all them that rose	all that rose
17:8	being	deing	20:22	woman	women*
17:16	he	she	20:25	Priests	Peists*
23:14	away	way	23:20	a valiant man, of	a valiant man of
32:6	bought thee	brought thee		Kabzeel	Kabzeel
32:15	Thou art waxen	Thou art waxed	**1 Kings**		
32:34	laide vp	laid vpe	3:20	arose	rose*
33:29	the Lᴏʀᴅ	thy Lᴏʀᴅ	4:23	fallow	follow
34:1	plaines	plaine	9:22	bondmen	bondman*
Joshua			11:1	Sidonians	Sydonians*
2:4	woman	women	15:4	vp	vs
4:3	stood	stoost	15:29	the house	**the house of**
5:8	they abode	all abode		Jereboam	**Jereboam**
8:8	ye shall set	it shall set	20:3	the goodliest	thy goodliest
8:32	the stones	the stone	21:2	my house	mine house
15:50	Ashtemoh	Ashtemoth*			

	1st edition	2nd edition		1st edition	2nd edition
2 Kings			29:34	flay	slay
5:12	turned	returned*	30:6	his Princes	the Princes
10:3	your masters	yours masters*	32:20	Amoz	Amos
12:13	were	was	34:21	for them that	of them that are
13:17	arrowe of the	arrowe the		are left	left
17:6	Halah	Halath	35:10	Priests	Prests
17:34	Commaundement	Commaundements*	35:15 m.	9.	2.
18:1 m.	1. 9.	1. 6.	35:15 m.	26.	46.
19:15	before the Lord	vnto the Lord*	36:11 m.	37.	47.
24:2	Chaldees	Caldees	**Ezra**		
			2:28	two hundred,	two hundred
1 Chronicles				twentie	and twenty
1:5	Meshech	Mesech	2:33	Hadid	Haddid
1:40 m.	*Aluan*	*Alnan**	3:5	that willingly	**that willingly**
1:47, 48	Samlah	Shamlah*		offred, offred	**offered a free**
2:13 m.	16. 6.	16. 9.		a freewill	**will offering**
2:49	Sheua	Shua*		offering	
2:55 m.		'Ier. 35. 2.' placed	9:2	hath bin	haue bin chief
		at 3:1		chiefe	
3:18	Hoshama	Hosanna*	9:3	pluckt off	pluckt of
3:23 m.	*Hiskijah*	*Hiskiah**	**Nehemiah**		
4:30	and at Hormah	and Hormah*	6:10	Mehetabel	Mehetable*
4:36	Jesohaiah	Jehohaiah*	8:10	vnto our	vnto the Lord
6:74	Mashal	Machal*		Lord	
7:13	Jezer	Gezer*	9:14	thy holy	the holy
7:36	Suah	Shuah*		Sabbath	Sabbath*
7:38	Pispa	**Pispah**	9:38	Priestes	Priest
9:12	Passhur	**Pashur**	10:1	those that	these that sealed
21 s.	Gibeon	Gideon		sealed	
25:5	And	Add*	10:16	Biguai	Bigui*
26:5	Issachar	Isachar	11:11	Hilkiah	Helkiah*
26:25	Jeshaiah	Jeshiaiah*	13:18	wrath	wroth*
27:28	cellars	sellars*	**Esther**		
27:33	Hushai	Hushi	1:13	Kings maner	King maner*
28:11	gaue	gane*	9:6, 11	Shushan	Sushan
29:27	reigned	regned*	**Job**		
2 Chronicles			9:9 m.	*Cesil*	*Cecil**
1:15	as the	as thy*	11:16	*thy* misery	*the* misery*
6:5	my people Israel	my people of Israel	13:28	consumeth,	consumeth as
9:15	gold went	golden went*		as	
16:1 *fin.*	Judah	Juda*	19:15	maides	maidens
21:9	rose	aose	30:7	brayed	prayed
21:15	disease of thy	diseases of thy	35–6 header	causes	cause
	bowels	bowels*	37:6 m.	147.	148.
25:27 m.	*Heb.*	*Her.**			

	1st edition	2nd edition		1st edition	2nd edition
Psalms			**Isaiah**		
19 s.	glory	gory*	1:9	Gomorrah	Gomorah
24:8	Who is this king	Who is the king*	2:4	their speares	there speares*
27:14 m.	hab.	heb.	7:3 m.	†*That*	||*That**
29:8	shaketh the wildernes	shadeth the wildernes*	9:18	smoke	the smoke
33:7	gathereth	gathered*	10:15	*as if it were*	*as it were*
35:27	yea	yet*	10:19	†few, that a child may write	few, that a child may †write
44:23	O Lord	O Lord			
56:6	gather	gathered*	10:29	Gebeah	**Gibeah**
74:19	doue	done*	13:1	Amoz	Amos
74:23	rise vp	arise vp	14:12 m.	*O*	*a**
80:9	preparedst	preparest	19:5	the riuer	the riuers*
83:2	they that	they they*	21 s.	scorning the Prophet	scorning the Prophets
84:11	Lord God	Lord, God*	23:12	haue no rest	take no rest*
87:4	*man* was	man *was*	23:13	founded	found*
88:3	graue	gaue*	28:1	head	hed
88:9	of affliction	o affliction	30:15	strength	strenght*
104:4	his Angels	the Angels*	34:3	shalbe melted	shall melted
106:1 m.	107.	117.	34 header	sure	pure
119:7	†thy	thy*	41:29	works	words*
125:3 m.	*wickednesse*	*wickenesse**	42:1 m.	3. 17.	3. 1.
126:6	reioycing: bringing	reioycing †bringing	44:13	maketh	**marketh**
			45:23 m.	phil.	psal.*
143:2 m.	16.	19.*	49:1	from farre	from afarre
143:10	land	hand*	49:20	straight	**straite**
Proverbs			57:10	wearied	wearie*
3:9 m.	luke 14. 13.	omitted	58:8	light	life*
3:14 m.	vers. 11.	vers. 12.*	58:11 m.	*droughts*	*droughes**
6:2	mouth	month*	59:8	know	knew
8:27 m.	*a circle*	*circle*	59:14	a farre off	farre off*
11:20	to the Lord	vnto the Lord*	59:21	the seed	**thy seed**
16:5	unpunished	punished	60:4	from farre	from afarre*
18:24	must	but*	61:10	and as a bride	as a bride
23:31	vpon the wine	among the wine	65:2	my hands	mine hands
24:5 m.	*strengtheneth*	*strentheneth*	**Jeremiah**		
Ecclesiastes			2:13 m.	36	35*
1:17	spirit	the spirit	5:15	vpon you	vpon thee
7:20 m.	ioh. 1. 8.	ioh. 8. 1.*	5:24	later	**latter**
12:1	thy Creatour	the Creatour*	6 header	Chap.vj.	Chap.xx.*
Song of Solomon			8:14	waters of gall	**water of gall***
2:7	till she please*	till he please	12:7	hand	hands
6:11	whether	whither	12:9 m.	*tallented*	*tallonfed**

	1st edition	2nd edition		1st edition	2nd edition
22:3	spoiler	**spoiled**	30:13[1]	there	their
25:15	my hand	mine hand	31:4	the field	the fields
26:20	Kiriath-	Kiriah-	31:13	branches,	branches.
30:4	the words	they words*	31:18	by the sword	with the sword
31:30	that eateth	ehat tateth*	32:4	whol	wole
35:11	Ierusalem.	Ierusalem,*	35:10	mine	thine
40:12	out of all places	out of the places	36:10	the wastes	the wast
48:23	Beth-meon	Beth-mehon*	37:4	vpon	vnto
48:34	Elealeh	Elealeth	38:2 m.	*chiefe*	*chie.*
50:29	done vnto her	**done, do vnto her**	39:9 m.	*of them*	*for them*
52:4 m.	39.	36.*	42:12	directly	directed
			43:20	and on the	and one the
Lamentations			44:29	the trespasse offring	their trespasse offring
2:5	was as an	was an*	45:12	twentie shekels	twentie shekes
2:7 m.	*shut*	*shnt**	46:4	Sabbath	Sabboth
4:6	hands	hand*	48:1	Hathlon	**Hethlon**
4:13 m.	31.	32.*			
5:7 m.	18. 2.	18. 1.	**Daniel**		
			2:34	to pieces	in pieces
Ezekiel			3:19	furnace	surnace
1:2	Jehoiakins	Jehoiakims*	10:11	am I	am A
1:12	whither	whether*	11:6	she shall be giuen vp	hee shall be giuen vp
3:15	Tel-abib	Til-abib*	11:10	sonnes	sonne
5:5	This *is* Jerusalem	Thus *is* Jerusalem	**Hosea**		
6:14	my hand	mine hand	6:5	shewed	**hewed**
8 s.	for Tammuz	from Tammuz*	14:3	Asshur	Ashur
14:18	sonnes nor daughter	**sons nor daughters**	**Joel**		
16:16	And of thy garments	And thy garments	2:11 m.	am.	and
16:19	flowre	floore	**Amos**		
16:59	hast despised	hath despised	6:7	that goe captiue	that goeth captiue
20:5 m.	Exod	Ezod.*	9:12 m.	*whom*	*whow*
20:13 m.	14. 29.	14. 26.*			
21:10 m.	*it despiseth*	*is despiseth*	**Obadiah**		
24 s.	Ezekiel	Ezekel	7	thy confederacie	the confederacie
24:4	pieces	pices	**Micah**		
24:4	piece	peace	1:5	for the sinnes	the sinnes
25:2 m.	49.	46.	7:7	vnto you the Lord	**vnto the Lord**
27:10	thy men of war	the men of war			
29:18	Nebuchad-rezzar	Nebuchad nezzar	**Nahum**		
29:19	Nebuchad-rezzar	Nebuchad-nezzar	1:10	while they are drunken	while they be drunken

[1] Not to be confused with '*their*' earlier in the verse.

	1st edition	2nd edition
Habakkuk		
2:15	that puttest	thou puttest
3:13	head	heate
Zephaniah		
1:7	hath bid	had bid
3:14 m.	54. 1.	45. 1.
Zechariah		
3:7 m.	*walks*	*walke*
6:7	walked to and fro	walked to and for
9:17 m.	speake	spake[2]
10:3	his goodly	the goodly
Malachi		
1:8	And if hee offer	**And if ye offer**
1 Esdras		
1:23	his Lord	the Lord
1:29	king Josias	Josias
2:16 m.	*Shimshai*	*Simshai*
4:47	Darius	Darus
5:5 m.	*Juda*	**Judah**
5:9 m.	*particulars*	*particulers*
5:16 m.	*Besai*	**Bezai**
5:26	Banuas	Bannas
6:23	Ecbatana	Ecbatane
8:54 m.	*Serenias*	*Serebias*
8:69	*to wit*	to *wit*
9:33 m.	*Mattithiah*	*Matithiah*
2 Esdras		
2:33	at nought	at naught
4:3	Lord: and	Lord. Then
7:40	Sennacherib	Sannacherib
14:12	the tenth	a tenth
16:67	iniquities	inquities
Tobit		
5:18 m.	*Let not*	*Let no*
11:14	thine holy	thy holy
Judith		
3:5–7:16	Holofernes	Olofernes

	1st edition	2nd edition
8:16 m.	*ingage*	*image*
16:4	stopped	stoppeth
Wisdom		
2:17 m.	27.	37.
10:14	gaue them perpetuall	**gaue him perpetuall**
13:12	after spending	after, spending
18:11 m.	12:29	12:28
Ecclesiasticus		
21:24	with the disgrace	with disgrace
22:2	dunghill	dungill
23:4 m.	|| *Or, a giant like*	**|| *Or, giant like***
23:19	eies of men	eies of man
31:20	paine	plaine
44:5	reiected	**recited**
Baruch		
6:40	Chaldeans	Caldeans
Song of Three		
4 (3)	trueth	*are* truth
Prayer of Manasses		
l:2	their righteous	the righteous
1 Maccabees		
4:48	hallowed	hollowed
5:44	Carnaim	Cranaim
7:1 m.	*lib.* 10, 12	***lib.* 12**
7:16	of them	of h em
10:47	|| peace	**true peace**
10:47 m.	|| *True*	
11 s.	48	4
12:21	stocke	flocke
12:47 m.	*left*	*let*
13 s.	46*[3]	40
13:3	gaue	giue
2 Maccabees		
4:13	no high priest	not high priest
4:34	othes	others

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[2] In both editions the text is, incorrectly, in roman type.
[3] Some copies read '40'.

	1st edition	2nd edition		1st edition	2nd edition
6:25	mine	minde	4:12	we must	must
13:16	campe	came	4:27	thy holy	the holy
			6:12	came vpon	came vnto
Matthew			15:11	the Lord	our Lord
8:25	and awoke, saying	**and awoke him, saying**	16:7	suffered them	suffered him
10:38 m.	24.	26.	16:19	drew them into	drew them vnto
11:7	ye	he	21:2	Phenicea	Phenicia
12:40 m.	17.	87.	25:1	Hierusalem	**Jerusalem**
13:4	wayes side	**way side**			
13:31	like to a graine	like vnto a graine	**Romans**		
13:45	goodly pearls	good pearls	6:21	had yee	had you
14:19 verse number			10:21	I haue stretched	haue I stretched
	19	16	11:22	towards	**toward**
18:30	went	went out	16 subscription	of the Church	to the Church
22:24	a man	any man			
24 s.	calamities	clamities	**1 Corinthians**		
26 s.	1	Omission	4 s.	ought to	to ought
26:36	Jesus	Judas			
			2 Corinthians		
Mark			7:14	spake	speake
2:10 verse number					
	10	19	**Ephesians**		
15:46	vnto the doore	vpon the doore	6:21	yee also may	yee may also
Luke			**Philippians**		
1:77	sinnes,	sinnes.	1:4	ioy	ioy,
2:24	offer a sacrifice	offer sacrifice			
10:23 m.	Mat.	Mar.	**1 Thessalonians**		
10:36	among the theeues	among theeues	title	Paul the Apostle	the Apostle Paul
			1:9	turned	returned
17:33 m.	Mat. 16.	Matth. 15.			
22 header	Chap. xij.		**2 Timothy**		
			1:9	which	wich*
John					
5:29 m.	25. 46.	25. 16.	**James**		
14:23	a man	any man	5:4	Sabaoth	Sabbaoth
Acts			**1 Peter**		
4:6	Caiphas	**Caiaphas**	1:22	souls	selues
			2:7	hee is ||precious	||he is precious
			2 Peter		
			2:6	Gomorrha	Gomorrah

Appendix 3
The King's Printer's list?

If the King's Printer had a list of changes to be made to the text of the first edition when using that edition as the copy text for a later setting, it would have contained some or all of the entries given below. The list given here derives from variant readings in the second edition that are also found in other early settings; a tick indicates that the edition has the change. Pairs of editions in the three smaller formats are given, one of which has 'he went', the other 'she went' at Ruth 3:15. The 1613 and 1616 folios, as independent settings, are also given. Finally, though it used the second edition as copy text, the 1617 folio, the third edition in the large Black Letter series, is included.

The 1612 octavos (H315 and H316, as represented on microfilm) are mixed, and so are sometimes identical.

Readings that are found in some copies of the first edition are not included (Exod. 21:26–7, 'let them go' followed by 'let him go'; 2 Sam. 17:25, 'Abigal'; Song 2:7, 'till he please'; and 1 Macc. 13 summary, '40'); all except the last are found in all the editions listed below.

An asterisk indicates a reading found in the Cambridge Concord and, for the Apocrypha, Pitt Brevier editions, taken as the modern standard; the marginal variants in the Apocrypha have been compared with Scrivener's *Cambridge Paragraph Bible.*

Ref.	1st edition	Change	1612 Roman 4° H313	1612 Roman 4° H314	1613 Black Letter 4° H323	1613 Black Letter 4° H324	1612 8° H315	1612 8° H316	1613 F° H322	1616 F° H349	1617 F° H353
*Gen. 42:28	an other	another	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
*Exod. 38:11	hoopes	hookes			✓				✓		✓
*Lev. 17:14	Ye shall not eat	Ye shall eat	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓
*Lev. 18:3	of land of	of the land of	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
*Ruth 3:15	he went	she went		✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
*1 Kgs 15:29	house Iereboam	house of Iereboam	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2 Kgs 24:2	Chaldees	Caldees		✓		✓			✓	✓	✓
*1 Chr. 9:12	Passhur	Pashur				✓		✓	✓		✓
*Ezra 3:5	that willingly offred, offered a free will offering	that willingly offered a free will offering		✓		✓			✓	✓	✓
Isa. 10:19	†few, that a child may write	few, that a child may †write	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		
*Isa. 10:29	Gebeah	Gibeah	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
*Isa. 44:13	maketh	marketh	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
*Isa. 59:21	the seede	thy seede	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
*Jer. 5:24	later	latter				✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
*Jer. 22:3	spoiler	spoiled	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
*Jer. 50:29	done vnto her	done, do vnto her	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
*Ezek. 14:18	sons nor daughter	sons nor daughters	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
*Ezek. 48:1	Hathlon	Hethlon		✓		✓			✓	✓	✓
*Hos. 6:5	shewed	hewed		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓

Ref.	1st edition	Change	1612 Roman 4° H313	1612 Roman 4° H314	1613 Black Letter 4° H323	1613 Black Letter 4° H324	1612 8° H315	1612 8° H316	1613 F° H322	1616 F° H349	1617 F° H353
*Micah 7:7	vnto you the LORD	vnto the LORD	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
*Mal. 1:8	And if hee offer	And if yee offer		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
*1 Esdras 5:5 m.	*Iuda*	*Iudah*	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
1 Esdras 8:54 m.	*Serenias*	*Serebias*		✓	✓	✓			✓		✓
Judith *passim*	Holofernes	Olofernes		✓			✓	✓	✓		✓
*Wisdom 10:14	gaue them	gaue him	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
*Ecclus. 44:5	reiected	recited	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
*1 Macc. 7:1 m.	*lib.* 10, 12	*lib.* 12			✓	✓					✓
*1 Macc. 10:47	‖peace', m.: *True*	true peace	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2 Macc. 4:13	no high priest	not high priest	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
*Matt. 8:25	and awoke, saying	and awoke him, saying	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Luke 1:77	sinnes,	sinnes.		✓	✓	✓				✓	
*Acts 4:6	Caiphas	Caiaphas			✓			✓			
*Acts 25:1	Hierusalem	Ierusalem					✓	✓	✓		✓
Phil. 1:4	ioy	ioy.		✓		✓			✓		✓

The following readings are listed separately because they represent variations of spelling or mechanical reproduction of errors, or because they are found in only one or two editions. None of them is likely to come from a list.

Ref.	1st edition	Change	1612 Roman 4° H313	1612 Roman 4° H314	1613 Black Letter 4° H323	1613 Black Letter 4° H324	1612 8° H315	1612 8° H316	1613 F° H322	1616 F° H349	1617 F° H353
Exod. 36:29 m.	*twinned*	*twined*		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Deut. 32:15	thou art waxen	thou art waxed				✓					✓
2 Sam. 23:20	man, of Kabzeel	man of Kabzeel							✓		✓
1 Chr. 7:36	Suah	Shuah	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓
2 Chr. 29:34	flay	slay	✓								✓
Song 6:11	whether	whither		✓					✓		
Isa. 1:9	Gomorrah	Gomorah					✓	✓			
Isa. 13:1	Amoz	Amos							✓	✓	✓
*Isa. 49:20	straight	strait							✓		✓
Isa. 60:4	from farre	from afarre		✓					✓		
Lam. 2:5	was as an	was an	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓			
Ezek. 8s	for Tammuz	of Tammuz	✓			✓					
Hos. 14:3	Asshur	Ashur				✓					✓
Joel 2:11 m.	am.	iam., or iames	✓		✓					✓	
2 Esdras 14:12	the tenth	a tenth				✓					✓
Ecclus. 23:4 m.	*Or, a giant like*	*Or, giant like*			✓		✓	✓			✓
Luke 10:23 m.	Mat.	Mar.	✓	✓						✓	
John 5:29 m.	25. 46.	25:16.					✓	✓			

Gen. 28:12: vpon, H316
Deut. 32:6: brought thee, H324
Josh. 16:6: Taanah, H316.
Judg. 8:10: Zeba, H323.
Ruth 3:8 m.: *tooke holde on him*, H322.
1 Chr. 1:47, 48: Shamlah, H323.
1 Chr. 2:13 m.: 16. 9., H313.

1 Chr. 3:23 m.: *Hiskiah*, H324.
Ps. 24:8: Who is the king, H314.
Ps. 74:19: done, H316.
Prov. 6:2, 'mouth', first occurrence, is 'month' in H315.
Prov. 24:5 m.: strentheneth, H324.
Luke 10:36: among theeues, H313.
(John 5:29 m.: 25. 26., H353, is a new error.)

Appendix 4
Selective collation of the 1613 folio (H322) with the first and second editions

The purpose of this collation is to show where the 1613 folio appears to use the first and where the second edition as copy text. Readings from the first edition are aligned left, those from the second edition aligned right.

The following four groups of readings have been omitted because they probably do not give a clear indication as to which edition is being used as copy text:

1. errors one would expect a compositor to correct;
2. readings found in some copies of the first edition and in the second edition, except for Exod. 21:26, which, in combination with v. 27, constitutes a distinctive first-edition reading;
3. readings that are found in the first edition and some but not all copies of the second edition;
4. readings from my hypothetical King's Printer's list, since these may be deliberate changes to the copy text.

Genesis

10:16	Emorite
16:6	But Abram
26:20	heardmen
26:34	Bashemath
27:39	the fatnesse
28:12	vp on
28:13	aboue
29:3	his place
31:30	longedst
33:2	their children
35:28	hundred
36:10	Bashemath
46:17	Isui
46:34	an abomination
47:27	possessions

Exodus

9:13	me
11:8	all these
14:2	Pi-hahiroth
19:4	Eagles wings
21:26	let them go
21:27	let him go

22:6		hee that kindled
36:29 m.		*twined*

Leviticus

1:6		flay
1:16 m.		*thereof*
5:13		atonement
18:30		shal ye
25:28		vntil the yeere

Numbers

1:47		tribe
10:2		shalt thou
10:14 m.		Correctly placed
16:34		said
21:9 m.		ioh.
27:13 m.		24
34:2		this *is* the land
34:11		goe downe

Deuteronomy

1:18		all the things
8:7		valleys
9:10		spake with you

11:6 m.	106
12:26	thy holy things
14:29	widowe
16:14	thy maid seruant
17:4	it *be* true
32:6	bought thee
32:15	Thou art waxen
33:29	the Lord
34:1	plaines

Joshua

2:4	woman
5:8	they abode
8:32	the stones
18:22	Betharabah
19:5	Hazar-
19:16	these cities

Judges

8:10	Zebah
20:7	giue here

Ruth

3:8 m.	*tooke holde on him*

1 Samuel

20:13	The Lord

2 Samuel

18:31	all them that rose
23:20	a valiant man of Kabzeel

1 Kings

3:20	rose
9:22	bondman
11:1	Sydonians
20:3	thy goodliest
21:2	my house

2 Kings

5:12	returned
12:13	were
17:6	Halah
18:1 m.	1. 9.

1 Chronicles

1:5	Meshech
1:47, 48	Shamlah
2:13 m.	16. 6.
2:55 m.	Correctly placed

4:30	and Hormah
7:13	Gezer
7:36	Shuah
7:38	Pispa
21 s.	Gibeon
26:5	Isachar
27:33	Hushi

2 Chronicles

6:5	my people of Israel
16:1 *fin.*	Iuda
29:34	flay
30:6	the Princes
32:20	Amos
34:21	for them that are left
35:15 m.	9.
35:15 m.	26.
36:11 m.	37.

Ezra

2:28	two hundred, twentie
2:33	Hadid
9:2	haue bin chief

Nehemiah

8:10	vnto the Lord
9:38	Priestes
10:1	those that sealed

Esther

9:6, 11	Shushan

Job

9:9 m.	*Cecil*
11:16	*the* misery
13:28	consumeth as
19:15	maidens
30:7	brayed
37:6 m.[1]	

Psalms

27:14 m.	hab.
44:23	O Lord
74:23	arise vp
80:9	preparedst
87:4	*man* was
106:1 m.	107.

Proverbs

3:9 m.	luke 14. 13.

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[1] '114'; first edition, '147'; second, '148'.

8:27 m.		*circle*
11:20		vnto the Lᴏʀᴅ
16:5	unpunished	
23:31	vpon the wine	

Ecclesiastes

1:17	spirit

Song of Songs

6:11	whither

Isaiah

1:9	Gomorrah
9:18	the smoke
10:15	*as if it were*
13:1	Amos
19:5	the riuers
21s.	scorning the Prophet
42:1 m.	3. 17.
49:1	from afarre
49:20	straite
57:10	wearie
60:4	from afarre
61:10	as a bride
65:2	my hands

Jeremiah

5:15	vpon you
12:7	hand
25:15	mine hand
26:20	Kiriath-
40:12	out of all places
48:34	Elealeh

Lamentations

5:7 m.	18. 2.

Ezekiel

5:5	Thus *is* Ierusalem
6:14	mine hand
16:16[2]	
16:59	hast despised
25:2 m.	49.
27:10	thy men of war
29:18, 19	Nebuchad-rezzar
31:4	the field
31:13	branches,
31:18	by the sword
35:10	mine

36:10	the wastes
37:4	vpon
39:9 m.	*of them*
42:12	directly
44:29	the trespasse offring
46:4	Sabbath

Daniel

2:34	to pieces
11:6	she shall be giuen vp
11:10	sonnes

Hosea

14:3	Asshur

Amos

6:7	that goe captiue

Obadiah

7	thy confederacie

Micah

1:5	for the sinnes

Nahum

1:10	while they are drunken

Habakkuk

2:15	that puttest

Zephaniah

3:14 m.	54. 1.

Zechariah

3:7 m.	*walks*
10:3	his goodly

1 Esdras

1:23	his Lord
1:29	king Iosias
2:16 m.	*Shimshai*
5:5 m.	*Iuda*
5:16 m.	*Besai*
5:26	Banuas
6:23	Ecbatana
8:69	*to wit*
9:33 m.	*Mattithiah*

2 Esdras

2:33	at naught
4:3	Lord: and

[2] 'Of thy garments'; first edition, 'and of thy garments'; second, 'and thy garments'.

7:40	Sennacherib
14:12	the tenth

Tobit

5:18 m.	*Let not*
11:14	thine holy

Judith

16:4	stopped

Wisdom

2:17 m.	37.
13:12	after, spending
18:11 m.	12:29

Ecclesiasticus

21:24	with the disgrace
23:4 m.	‖ *Or, a giant like*
23:19	eies of men

Baruch

6:40	Caldeans

Song of Three

4 (3)	trueth

Prayer of Manasses

l. 2	their righteous

1 Maccabees

7:1 m.	*lib*. 10, 12
12:21	stocke

2 Maccabees

4:13	no high priest
4:34	othes

Matthew

10:38 m.	26.
11:7	he
13:4	way side
13:31	like vnto a graine
13:45	goodly pearls
18:30	went out
22:24	any man

Mark

15:46	vnto the doore

Luke

1:77	sinnes,
2:24	offer a sacrifice
10:23 m.	Mat.
10:36	among the theeues
17:33 m.	Mat. 16.

John

5:29 m.[3]	
14:23	any man

Acts

4:6	Caiphas
4:27	thy holy
6:12	came vnto
15:11	our Lord
16:7	suffered them
16:19	drew them into
21:2	Phenicea

Romans

6:21	had yee
10:21	haue I stretched
11:22	toward
16 subscription	to the Church

2 Corinthians

7:14	speake

Ephesians

6:21	yee also may

Philippians

1:4[4]	

1 Thessalonians

title	Paul the Apostle
1:9	turned

James

5:4	Sabbaoth

1 Peter

1:22	selues
2:7	hee is ‖precious

2 Peter

2:6	Gomorrah

[3] '15. 16'; first edition, correctly, '25. 46'; second, '25. 16' (1617 has another variation, '25. 26').

[4] 'ioy.'; first edition, 'ioy'; second edition, 'ioy,'.

Appendix 5
Selective collation of the 1617 folio (H353) with the first and second editions

Genesis

10:16	Amorite
16:6	And Abram
26:20	heardman
26:34	Bashemath
27:39	the fatnesse
28:12	vp on
28:13	aboue
29:3	his place
31:30	longest
33:2	their children
35:28	hundreth
36:10	Bashemath
46:17	Ishui
46:34	an abomination
47:27	possessions

Exodus

9:13	me
11:8	all these
14:2	Pi-hahiroh
19:4	Eagles wings
21:26	let them go
21:27	let them go
22:6	he that kindleth
36:29 m.	*twined*

Leviticus

1:6	slay
1:16 m.	*thereof*
5:13	attonement
18:30	shal ye
25:28	vntill the yeere

Numbers

1:47	tribes
10:2	thou shalt
10:14 m.	2nd ref. placed at v. 21
16:34	sayd

21:9 m.	ioh.
27:13 m.	14
34:2	this *is* the land
34:11	goe downe

Deuteronomy

1:18	all things
8:7	valleys
9:10	spake vnto you
11:6 m.	106
12:26	thy holy things
14:29	widowe
16:14	thy maid seruant
17:4	it *is* true
32:6	bought thee
32:15	Thou art waxed
33:29	the Lord
34:1	plaines

Joshua

2:4	woman
5:8	they abode
8:32	the stones
18:22	Betharabah
19:5	Hasar
19:16	their cities

Judges

8:10	Zebah
20:7	giue here

Ruth

3:8 m.	*tooke holde on*

1 Samuel

20:13	Then Lord

2 Samuel

18:31	all them that rose
23:20	a valiant man of Kabzeel

1 Kings

3:20	arose	
4:23		follow
9:22	bondmen	
11:1	Sidonians	
20:3		thy goodliest
21:2		mine house

2 Kings

5:12	turned	
12:13	were	
17:6		Halath
17:34		Commaundements
18:1 m.	1. 9.	

1 Chronicles

1:5		Mesech
1:47, 48		Shamlah
2:13 m.	16. 6.	
2:55 m.	Correctly placed	
4:30	and at Hormah	
7:13		Gezer
7:36		Shuah
7:38		Pispah
9:12		Pashur
21 s.	Gibeon	
26:5		Isachar
27:33		Hushi

2 Chronicles

6:5	my people	
	Israel	
9:15		golden went
16:1 *fin.*	Iudah	
29:34		slay
30:6		the Princes
32:20		Amos
34:21	for them that are left	
35:15 m.	9.	
35:15 m.	26.	
36:11 m.	37.	

Ezra

2:28		two hundred
		and twenty
2:33	Hadid	

9:2		hath been chiefe
9:3		pluckt off

Nehemiah

8:10		vnto the Lord
9:38		Priestes
10:1	these that sealed	

Esther

1:13		King maner
9:6, 11	Shushan	

Job

9:9 m.	*Cesil*	
11:16	*thy* misery	
13:28		consumeth as
19:15		maidens
30:7		prayed
35–6 header		cause
37:6 m.	147.	

Psalms

27:14 m.		heb.
44:23	O Lord	
74:23		arise vp
80:9	preparedst	
84:11		Lord, God
87:4		man *was*
106:1 m.	107.	

Proverbs

3:9 m.	luke 14. 13.	
8:27 m.	*a circle*	
11:20	to the Lord	
16:5	unpunished	
18:24[1]		
23:31	vpon the wine	

Ecclesiastes

1:17		the spirit

Song of Solomon

6:11	whether	

Isaiah

1:9	Gomorrah	
2:4		there speares
9:18	smoke	

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[1] 1st edn: 'must'; 2nd edn, some copies: 'but'; 1617: 'will'.

10:15		*as if it were*
10:19		†few, that a
		child may
		write
13:1		Amos
14:12 m.		*a*
19:5		the riuers
21 s.		scorning the
		Prophet
34 header		pure
42:1 m.	3. 17.	
49:1		from afarre
49:20		strait
57:10	wearied	
59:8	know	
60:4	from farre	
61:10	and as a bride	
65:2		mine hands

Jeremiah

5:15	vpon you	
8:14		water of gall
12:7		hands
25:15	my hand	
26:20		Kiriah-
35:11		Ierusalem,
40:12	out of all places	
48:34	Elealeh	

Lamentations

4:6		hand
5:7 m.	18. 2.	

Ezekiel

1:2		Iehoiakims
5:5	This *is*	
	Ierusalem	
16:16	And of thy garments	
16:19		floore
16:59	hast despised	
24:4		pices
24:4		peace
25:2 m.	49.	
27:10	thy men of warre	
29:18, 19	Nebuchad-rezzar	
31:4	the field	
31:13		branches.
31:18		with the sword
35:10	mine	

36:10		the waste
37:4		vnto
39:9 m.		*for them*
42:12	directly	
43:20		and one the
44:29	the trespasse offring	
46:4	Sabbath	

Daniel

2:34		in pieces
11:6	shee shall be giuen vp	
11:10	sonnes	

Hosea

14:3		Ashur

Joel

2:11 m.		and

Amos

6:7	that goe captiue	

Obadiah

7		the confederacie

Micah

1:5	for the sins	

Nahum

1:10		while they
		bee drunken

Habakkuk

2:15	that puttest	

Zephaniah

3:14 m.	54. 1.	

Zechariah

3:7 m.		*walke*
10:3	his goodly	

1 Esdras

1:23	his Lord	
1:29	king Iosias	
2:16 m.	*Shimshai*	
5:5 m.		*Iudah*
5:9 m.		*particulers*
5:16 m.		*Bezai*
5:26	Banuas	
6:23		Ecbatane
8:54 m.		*Serebias*
8:69		to *wit*
9:33 m.		*Matithiah*

2 Esdras

2:33		at naught
4:3	Lord: and	
7:40		Sannacherib
14:12		a tenth

Tobit

5:18 m.	*Let not*	
11:14		thy holy

Judith

16:4	stoppeth

Wisdom

2:17 m.	27.	
13:12		after, spending
18:11 m.	12:29	

Ecclesiasticus

21:24	with the disgrace	
23:4 m.	‖ *Or, giant like*	
23:19	eyes of men	

Baruch

6:40	Caldeans

Song of Three

4 (3)	trueth

Prayer of Manasses

l. 2	the righteous

1 Maccabees

4:48		hollowed
7:1 m.		*lib.* 12
12:21	stocke	

2 Maccabees

4:13	not hie Priest
4:34	others

Matthew

10:38 m.	24.	
11:7		he
13:4		way side
13:31		like vnto
		a graine
13:45		good pearls
18:30	went	
22:24		any man

Mark

15:46	vnto the doore

Luke

1:77	sinnes,
2:24	offer a sacrifice
10:23 m.	Matth.
10:36	among the theeues
17:33 m.	Mat. 16.

John

5:29 m.[2]	
14:23	a man

Acts

4:6	Caiphas	
4:27	thy holy	
6:12	came vpon	
15:11		our Lord
16:7	suffered them	
16:19	drew them into	
21:2		Phenicia

Romans

6:21	had you
10:21	haue I stretched
11:22	towards
16 subscription	of the Church

2 Corinthians

7:14	speake

Ephesians

6:21	yee may also

Philippians

1:4[3]

1 Thessalonians

Title	Paul the Apostle
1:9	turned

James

5:4	Sabbaoth

1 Peter

1:22	selues
2:7	‖he is precious

2 Peter

2:6	Gomorrah

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[2] 1st edn, correctly: '25. 46'; 2nd edn: '25. 16'; 1617: '25. 26'.
[3] 1st edn: 'ioy'; 2nd edn: 'ioy,'; 1617: 'ioy.'

Appendix 6
Kilburne's list of errors

I give here all the errors listed by William Kilburne in *Dangerous Errors in Several Late Printed Bibles* (Finsbury, 1660). Where possible, the editions are identified in relation to Herbert's catalogue. General comments are given first, followed by references where Kilburne does not specify the error. Individual errors are given with the correct reading in parentheses. Where Kilburne is unclear I have reproduced his text.

1631, Barker and Assigns of Bill. 8° (H444)
Exod. 20:14: Thou shalt commit adultery (shalt not commit)

1643 (identification uncertain)
Gen. 36:24: Ana that found rulers in the wilderness (found the mules)
Ruth 4:13: The Lord gave her corruption (conception)
Luke 21:28: your condemnation draweth nigh (redemption)

1648, Field. 4° (H605)
Ps. 105:29: slew their flesh (fish)

1653 Pearl Bible, Field. 24° (H635–7)
Dedications and titles of Psalms omitted
John 9:21: or who hath opened his eyes we know not (omitted)
Rom. 6:13: instruments of righteousness (unrighteousness) [also in Field's 1653 4°, H633]
1 Cor. 6:9: the unrighteous shall inherit the kingdom of God (shall not inherit)

1655, Field. 12° (H647–8)
'91 notorious faults', including omission of 2 Cor. 13:6

1655, Field. 12°, another edition (?H647–8)
'10. notable faults' in Matthew 1–6

1656, Field. 12° (H651)
Contents (chapter summaries) 'generally are falsly perverted, and multilated, to the great impediment, and obstruction of the right understanding of the scope and Text of the Chapters'.
Isa. 11:26, 13:3, 14:24, 17:8, 48:19, 49:22, 'and so generally through the whole old Testament'; Luke 23:42, 51, 24:24, John 1:51, 2:9, 10, 3:21, 6:29, 33, 13:22, 14:13, 19:37, 21:17, Acts 1:7, 8:36 ('a very base omission, and false justification of the words

to the confusion of the sense'), '13. 1, 6, 26. *he*, for *they*, a grosse fault' [Kilburne's references appear confused here], Rom. 4:10, 6:23 ('meer nonsense'), 1 John 4:20, 2 John 1, Rev. 1:1, 21:10

Isa. 28:17: the waters shall overthrow (overflow)
John 5:2: Bethsaida (Bethesda)
John 5:23: as they honour their Father (the Father)
John 7:39: this spake he of the Spirits (of the Spirit)
John 14:21: and he that loveth me, shall loved (shall be loved of my Father)
John 15:17: These things I commanded (These things I command you)
John 17:12: that the Scriptures might be fulfilled (Scripture)
John 20:25: put my fingers (finger)
Acts 4:15 (etc.): Counsel (Council)

1656. Hills and Field, London. 12° (identification uncertain; ?H660)
'I am confident, if the number of the Impression was as (I am informed) 20000 there are as many faults therein, verbal, literal, and in the difference of the *Italique* words, (to the great corruption of the Text,) and in false points of distinction: so that besides the base paper, and printing, and abridgement, and perversion of the Contents, and transposing and compounding of words, whereby it is very troublesome to be read, it is the worst of all the rest that are exposed to your view; as appeared palpably to the Parliament, whereby the sale thereof . . . was inhibited . . .'.
Gen. 7:3, 10:19, 18:1, 27:45, 34:21, 46:17, Exod. 12:42, 16:19, 19:24, 26:8, 29:22, Lev. 7:38, 8:14, 10:18, 11:3, 13:55, 15:20, 22:12, 23:35, Num. 1:10, 10:29, 20:12, 23:15, 24:12, Deut. 5:29, 34:7 ('a grosse fault'), Josh. 3:11 ('another grand one'), 1 Sam. 24:9, 2 Sam. 8:12 ('grosse faults'), '1 King. 20. 6. 30. the like', 2 Kgs 3:2, 8:5, Chronicles, Ezra 'generally false in the proper Names', Esther 4:1 ('a grosse fault'), 'the Titles of divers Psalms are falsly named', Eccles. 1:1; 'in the Prophets are great numbers of verbal faults, and omissions, which I pretermit'; Luke 6:22, 7:43 ('a base squabble and nonsense'), 19:44, John 3:21, 18:9, Acts 9:36, 10:14, 21:2 ('nonsense'), 26:2 ('nonsense'), Rom. 1:7, 9:23, 11:14, 1 Cor. 1:2, 14, 3:15, 2 Cor. 8:9, 2 Thess. 2:16, 'Heb. 9. 8. 15', Heb. 12:1, '2 Pet. 1. 11. 19', 1 John 2:24, 4:10, Jude 4, Rev. 9:18, 17:4, 14, 19:10, 22:17.

Gen. 1:21 (etc.): Cod (God)
Gen. 15:3: Abraham (Abram)
Exod. 40 summary: A Cloud cloudeth (covereth)
Lev. 3:6: sacrifice of (omitted)
Num. 6:14: ram [= 1611] (lamb) [= 1638]
Num. 17 summary: kept (left)
Num. 30 summary: delivered (divorced)
Num. 31:30: sheep (flocks)
Num. 34:9: out (on)
Deut. 29:5: waked (waxen)
Josh. 23:16: goods (gods)
Judg. 9:17: advanced his life (adventured his life)

Judg. 15:10: Samon (Samson)

Neh. 8:17 had the children of Israel done so (had not)

Job 4:6 [Kilburne cites this edition as giving the 1611 reading, and gives 1629's reading – not 1638's – as the correct reading]

Prov. 29:13: he shall give delight thy soul (unto thy soul)

Eccles. 8:17: Yet he shall not find it [Kilburne's incorrect quotation] (omitted)

Luke 9:13: loves (loaves)

Luke 16:17: title of the law [= 1611] (tittle of the law)

John 3:17: God sent not his Sou (Son)

John 6:11: loves (loaves)

John 18:36: if my kingdom were of this word (world)

Acts 2:27: leave my oul in hell (soul)

Acts 24:24: Jew [= 1611] (Jewess)

Rom. 11:32: concluded all in unbelief (them all ['to wit, *the Jews*'])

1 Cor. 9:22: men (means)

2 Cor. 11:32: of the Damascenes [= 1611] (omitted)

1 Pet. 2 summary: exhorteth (dehorteth)

1 Pet. 2:21: leaving us as an example (leaving us an example ['a dangerous Error'])

1656. Dutch 12°, falsely titled Barker and Assigns of Bill, 1638 (H529–35; Herbert gives further information about this notorious edition, its varieties and misprints)
'Wherein are so many notorious *Erratas*, false English, Nonsense, and Corruptions, that in reading part of *Genesis*, I found 30. grand faults . . . And in reading *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, and the first 27. Chapters of *Isaiah*, I found almost an hundred grosse faults . . .'.

Gen. 27:16: mouth of his neck (smooth)

Gen. 29:13: she ran to meet him (he ran)

Gen. 30:40: put them unto Labans cattle (put them not)

1657, Field, Cambridge. 8° (H656)
Ps. 143:4: Therefore is my spirit over[whelmed] (omitted)
'Many other faults, as I am well informed, of very great notoriety'

Singing Psalms (Sternhold and Hopkins), Field
Ps. 67:2: that all the earth may know the way to worldly wealth (Godly wealth)

Appendix 7
Blayney's 'Account of the collation and revision of the Bible' *The Gentleman's Magazine*, volume 39, November 1769, pp. 517–19

The Editor of the two editions of the Bible lately printed at the Clarendon Press thinks it his duty, now that he has completed the whole in a course of between three and four years close application, to make his report to the Delegates of the manner in which that work has been executed; and hopes for their approbation.

In the first place, according to the instructions he received, the folio edition of 1611, that of 1701, published under the direction of Bishop Lloyd, and two Cambridge editions of a late date, one in Quarto, the other in octavo, have been carefully collated, whereby many errors that were found in former editions have been corrected, and the text reformed to such a standard of purity, as, it is presumed, is not to be met with in any other edition hitherto extant.

The punctuation has been carefully attended to, not only with a view to preserve the true sense, but also to uniformity, as far as was possible.

Frequent recourse has been had[1] to the Hebrew and Greek Originals; and as on other occasions, so with a special regard to the words not expressed in the Original Language, but which our Translators have thought fit to insert in Italics, in order to make out the sense after the English idiom, or to preserve the connexion. And though Dr Paris made large corrections in this particular in an edition published at Cambridge, there still remained many necessary alterations, which escaped the Doctor's notice; in making which the Editor chose not to rely on his own judgment singly, but submitted them all to the previous examination of the Select Committee, and particularly of the Principal of Hertford College, and Mr Professor Wheeler. A list of the above alterations was intended to have been given in to the Vice Chancellor at this time, but the Editor has not yet found time to make it completely out.

Considerable alterations have been made in the Heads or Contents prefixed to the Chapters, as will appear on inspection; and though the Editor is unwilling to enlarge upon the labour bestowed by himself in this particular, he cannot avoid taking notice of the peculiar obligations, which both himself and the public lie under to the Principal of Hertford College, Mr Griffith of Pembroke College, Mr Wheeler, Poetry Professor, and the late Warden of New College, so long as he lived to bear a part in it; who with a prodigious expence of time, and inexpressible fatigue to themselves, judiciously corrected and improved the rude and imperfect Draughts of the Editor.

The running titles at the top of the columns in each page, how trifling a circumstance soever it may appear, required no small degree of thought and attention.

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[1] 'had been has', *Gentleman's Magazine.*

Many of the proper names being left untranslated, whose etymology was necessary to be known, in order to a more perfect comprehension of the allusions in the text, the translation of them, under the inspection of the above named Committee, has been for the benefit of the unlearned supplied in the margin.

Some obvious and material errors in the chronology have been considered and rectified.

The marginal references, even in Bishop Lloyd's Bible, had in many places suffered by the inaccuracy of the Press; subsequent editions had copied those *Errata*, and added many others of their own; so that it became absolutely necessary to turn to and compare the several passages; which has been done in every single instance, and by this precaution several false references brought to light, which would otherwise have passed unsuspected. It has been the care of the Editor to rectify these, as far as he could, by critical conjecture, where the copies universally failed him, as they did in most of the errors discovered in Bishop Lloyd's edition. In some few instances he confesses himself to have been at a loss in finding out the true reference, though the corruption was manifest in the want of any the most distant resemblance between the passages compared together. Cases of this sort indeed did not often occur; so that a very small number only of the old references are, with the sanction of the Committee, omitted, and their places more usefully supplied.

It had been suggested by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, that an improvement might be made in the present editions of the Bible, by taking in a number of additional references, of which many useful ones, as he supposed, might be furnished from other editions referred to by him, and particularly from a Scotch edition, of which the present Vice Chancellor was kind enough to lend a Copy. The references found in it, which were indeed very numerous, having been severally turned to and examined, such of them were selected as the Editor judged most pertinent, together with others that occurred from his own reading and observation. In doing this he has endeavoured to keep clear of mere fanciful allusions, of which too many presented themselves in the before named Scotch edition; and to adhere as near as possible to the plan marked out in the former collection made by Bishop Lloyd; pointing out such passages chiefly, where the same history or the same name was introduced, the same matter treated of, or sentiment expressed, or at least where parallels might fairly be drawn; and sometimes where a similar use of a particular word or expression tended to illustrate the application of it, on another occasion. The number of References being thus augmented considerably, the Collection upon the whole will, it is hoped, be regarded as useful in the light of a Concordance, material as well as verbal, always at hand.

In this state the Quarto Copy was sent to press; and the first proofs carefully collated with the Copy, both text and margin; after which the second proofs were again read, and generally speaking, the third likewise; not to mention the frequent revisions of proofs besides, which are common in correcting the press. This proved indeed a very tiresome and tedious task; but was not more than was absolutely necessary in order to attain the degree of accuracy that was wished. A particular attention was required with respect to the figures belonging to the marginal References, where errors were continually creeping in after a manner that would appear

highly astonishing to those, who have never been concerned in correcting multitudes of figures, as they came from the press.

When the Quarto Sheets, were printed off, the Forms were lengthened out in order to make up the Folio Edition; in doing which the parts were often so jumbled together, and such Confusion introduced by misplacing the References, and mistaking the Chronology, that nothing else would suffice than a fresh Collation of the whole with the Quarto Copy, and a repitition of almost the same trouble and care in the revisal, and in making up the running Titles anew, as had been used before. But the Editor thinks he has just reason to congratulate himself on the opportunity hereby given him of discovering and correcting some few trivial inaccuracies, which in spite of all his vigilance had escaped his notice in the Quarto Edition. So that the Folio Edition is rendered by this somewhat the more perfect of the two, and therefore more fit to be recommended for a standard Copy.

The Editor humbly hopes this Account of his proceedings will not be unacceptable to the Board; and will think his time and pains not ill bestowed, if he shall have succeeded in his desire of giving satisfaction to those who honoured him with the employment, and of contributing in any wise to God's honour, and the public utility.

Hertford College,   B. Blayney
    Oct. 25, 1769.

Appendix 8
Variant readings in the KJB text

The following list gives the main variations in the KJB text and the readings adopted in the *New Cambridge Paragraph Bible*.

Readings are given in biblical order save that recurrent problems are grouped together where they occur first.

The column headed '1611 and sources' gives the first edition reading followed by details of the reading and annotation found in Bod 1602 or MS 98.

'Variation' gives the reading of later texts and information on the introduction and history of the reading; brackets are used for variants not found in the current text.

'Original' gives the original language reading for the words in question.

'*NCPB*' gives the reading adopted in the *New Cambridge Paragraph Bible*. Where a change is made to the current text, the decision is given in bold; where the change restores a 1611 reading, the decision is also underlined.

General abbreviations

B	Bishops' Bible
CT	Current Text
G	Geneva Bible
He	First edition, 1611
LXX	Septuagint
m	margin
MS 98	Lambeth Palace Library MS 98: 'An English Translation of The Epistles of Paule the Apostle . . .'.
NCPB	*New Cambridge Paragraph Bible*
R	Rheims NT
S	Scrivener
She	Second edition, 1611

Abbreviations in notes on 1602 Bishops' Bible with translators' annotations

*	reading is uncertain
**	reading is very uncertain
˄	point of insertion
Bod	1602 Bishops' Bible with annotations
= *Bod*	same as the printed text in *Bod*, no handwritten changes

g	letter 'g' added to a change in a different hand
ins	inserted above line with an insertion mark
ncn	no change noted to *Bod* text
subst	substituted
wi	written in without an insertion mark; always at end of word, often above the following punctuation mark
wo	written over (i.e. change is superimposed on the printed letter).

The manuscript annotations in *Bod* usually lack punctuation.

Notes that concern *Bod* readings or other incidental matters are given in brackets to distinguish them from notes on the textual problem.

1602 readings in parts of the text where *Bod* has no annotations are designated '1602' and taken from *University Microfilms International* reel 1566. '[1602 different]' is used where 1602 has a quite different reading from 1611.

Variations within the first edition

Exod. 21:26: CUL Rare Books Syn 1.61.1 and Syn 2.61.1 read 'them' in v. 26, 'him' in v. 27; BS H 309(1) reads 'him' in v. 26.
Song 2:7: Syn.1.61.1.: 'he'; Syn.2.61.1. and all BS copies: 'she'.
Joel 3:14 m. displaced down one verse in some copies.
1 Esdras 5:58: 'setters forward', 'seters forward'.
2 Macc. 4:40 m.: '*Tyrannus*', '*Tyranuus*'.
Ecclus. 44:4: 'by their knowledge of'; omitted in some copies.[1]

[1] The last three noted in Wright, I, p. v.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Epistle Dedicatory, 5th paragraph	hope	hopes		**hope**	
Preface, p. 1, 2nd paragraph	the other	another		**the other**	
Preface, p. 5, 1st paragraph	any that went	any other that went		**any that went**	
Gen. 5:32; 6:10; 7:13	Sem = *Bod*; but at ch. 9 etc. 'h' *ins.*	Shem, 1629	שֵׁם	Shem	1611 'Shem', Gen. 9:18 etc. (Here the translators start slowly; 1611 follows Bod annotations.)
Gen. 6:5	God *Bod*: ~~God~~. 'The Lord' *subst.*	GOD, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	יְהוָה	GOD	
Gen. 8:13	sixe hundredth and one yeere *Bod*: sixe hundred and one yeere; *ncn.*	six hundredth and first year, 1638 (six hundred . . . , 1616, 1629)		six hundredth and first year	1611 here follows *B* and *G*. Obsolete form not restored.
1 Kgs 6:1	in the foure hundred and fourescore yeere = *Bod*.	. . . eightieth . . . , 1762		**fourscore**	To change 'fourscore' to 'eighty' is to make a change of vocabulary, and therefore is not acceptable.
16:8	twentieth and sixt *Bod*: twentie and sixe. t *subst.*	twenty and sixth, 1629 (sixth, 1613)		twenty and sixth	

16:23	the thirtie and one = *Bod.*	the thirty and first, 1769		thirty and first	
Gen. 9:18, 23, 27; 10:1, 2, 21	Iaphet *Bod*: Japheth; *ncn*, 9:18; others: Japheth	Japheth, 1629	יֶפֶת	Japheth	1611: 'Japheth', Gen. 5:32 etc.
Gen. 10:7	Sabtecha *Bod*: Sabtheca	Sabtecha, 1817 8° (Sabtecah, 1762, Sabtechah, 1769–1963)	סַבְתְּכָא	Sabtecha	
Gen. 10:14	Philistiim = *Bod.*	Philistim, 1612 8°, H316 (not 1613), 1629	פְּלִשְׁתִּים	Philistim	*B*: 'Philisthiim', *G*: 'the Philistims'. Cf. the other names in this verse, and 'Philistims' at Gen. 26:1, 8, 14, 15, 18 (1611). The only other places where 1611 has 'iim' involve double yod in the Hebrew, though 1611 usually gives 'im' for these.
Gen. 10:16	and the Emorite *Bod*: and ˄ Emori. the *ins.* te *wi.*	and the Amorite, *She*	וְאֶת־הָאֱמֹרִי	and the Amorite	'Amorite' used consistently elsewhere. 'Emorite' remains in, e.g., 1629, 1638.
Gen. 10:16	and the Girgasite *Bod*: and ˄ Girgasi. the *ins.* te *wi.*	and the Girgasite (Girgashite, 1873)	הַגִּרְגָּשִׁי	**and the Girgashite**	So 1611 elsewhere.
Gen. 10:19	Sodoma and Gomorah *Bod*: Sodoma and Gomorra. h *wi.*	Sodom, and Gomorrah, 1629 (Gormorrah, 1612 8°, H316)	סְדֹמָה וַעֲמֹרָה	Sodom, and Gomorrah	Contrast Gen. 14:11 etc.: סְדֹמָה וַעֲמֹרָה, 1611: 'Sodome and Gomorrah'. 1611 may be a deliberate reflection of the Hebrew, but the final ה is probably directional.
Gen. 15:7 etc.	Caldees	Chaldees (mostly 1638)	כַּשְׂדִּים or כַּשְׂדִים	Chaldees	1611 prefers 'Caldees' but also uses the modern form, 'Chaldees'. Sometimes the Hebrew is . . . פ, sometimes . . . כ.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
2 Kgs 24:2 etc. Job 1:17 etc. Baruch 6:40; Acts 7:4 Rest of Esther title	Chaldees Caldean Chaldeans Calde	Chaldæans	Χαλδαίων	**Chaldeans**	*Bod*: Chald . . . throughout. *ncn* 2 Kgs 25:4, 5, 10; Ezra 5:12. Neh. 9:7: ~~Chaldees~~. Caldees *subst.* ~~h~~ in remaining vv where *Bod* gives information.
Gen. 15:18	In that same day = *Bod*.	In the same day	בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא	**In that same day**	This common phrase is translated in various ways, including both 1611's reading and the variation.
Gen. 15:19	Kenizites *Bod*: Ken~~e~~zites; *z ins*.	Kenizzites, 1629	הַקְּנִזִּי	Kenizzites	Only occurrence, corrected by the Hebrew. B, G: 'Kenizites'. (Here *Bod* differs from earlier B Bibles.)
Gen. 16:6	But Abram *Bod*: ~~But~~ Abram. And *subst.*	But Abram (And Abram, *She*)	וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָם	**And Abram**	*Bod* shows *She* reading was the translators' original intention.
Gen. 14:7 16:14	Kadesh *Bod*: ~~Cades~~. *Kadesh *subst. g.* Cadesh and Bered *Bod*: ~~Cades and~~ ~~Bared~~. *Cadesh and Bered *subst. g.*	Kadesh Kadesh . . . , 1638	קָדֵשׁ	Kadesh	ק usually transliterated 'K'; correction by the Hebrew and for consistency with 14:7. (First letter of *Bod* substitution at 14:7 unclear; here the change is interlinear. The other two changes are in the margin and are clearer.)

20:1	Cadesh and Shur *Bod*: ~~Cades and Sur~~. Cadesh and Shur *subst. g.*	Kadesh . . . , 1638			
Gen. 19:21	concerning this thing = *Bod*.	concerning this thing also, 1638	נָשָׂאתִי פָנֶיךָ גַּם לַדָּבָר	<u>**concerning this thing**</u>	*G* has the more literal 'also'.
Gen. 22:7	Behold the fire and wood *Bod*: ~~See, here is fire and wood~~. Behold the fire and wood *subst.*	and the wood, 1612 Qᵒs, 1616, 1629	הִנֵּה הָאֵשׁ וְהָעֵצִים	<u>**and wood**</u>	Cf. Deut. 8:7, where *He*'s omission of the article is preferred to *She*'s inclusion. The argument is the same. *G*: 'Behold the fire & the wood'.
Gen. 23:10, 18	went in at the gates of his citie = *Bod*.	. . . gate . . . , 1762 (v. 18, 1638)	בָּאֵי שַׁעַר־עִירוֹ	<u>**went in at the gates of his city**</u>	The same phrase occurs twice in 34:24: 'went out of the gate of his citie'. 1762's change reflects the Hebrew and agrees with the translators elsewhere, but 1611 also makes sense.
Gen. 25:4	Abida *Bod*: ~~Abida~~. *Abida *subst. g.*	Abida, 1837 (Abidah, 1629–1963)	אֲבִידָע	Abida	*Bod*'s change looks like 'Abidu' but there are other places in this hand on this page where the top loop of 'a' has not been closed, leaving a falsely-apparent 'u'. The tag *g* confirms that the tagger read 'Abida', the *G* rendering. 'Abida', even though it is not a change, is probably the intended reading.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
Gen. 26:1, 8, 14, 15, 18	Philistims *Bod*: Philistines; *ncn* (vv. 1, 8, 18); vv. 14 and 15 are struck through and rewritten; spelling here is uncertain.	Philistines, 1629	פְּלִשְׁתִּים	Philistines	'Philistim' is only appropriate, because of the context, at Gen. 10:14. Elsewhere 'Philistine' is 1611's standard form; 'Philistines' has already been used at 21:32 and 34.
Gen. 31:1	and of that which was of our fathers *Bod*: ~~and of our fathers goods~~. and of that which was of our fathers *subst*.	and of that which *was* our father's, 1612 Qᵒs, 1616, 1629	וּמֵאֲשֶׁר לְאָבִינוּ	**and of that which was of our father's**	This and the following entries all have the problem of 'of' followed by a possibly redundant possessive. The later examples are changed because they all appear tautologous and are no longer possible English. In this case 1611 is restored because the English is not necessarily tautologous: it could mean 'from our father's goods' ('goods' being implicit). The translators have made *B* and *G*'s version more literal, but like them maintains a difference between this phrase and the previous phrase even though the Hebrew does not necessarily warrant it.
Lev. 22:10	a soiourner of the Priests *Bod*: a ~~ghest~~ of the Priests. soiourner *subst*.	a sojourner of the priest, 1638 (a sojourner of the priest's, 1873)	תּוֹשָׁב כֹּהֵן	a sojourner of the priest	

Deut. 23:25	the standing corne of thy neighbours *Bod*: ~~thy neighbours corne~~. the standing corne of thy neighbours *subst.*	the standing corn of thy neighbour, 1769 (neighbour's, 1762)	קָמַת רֵעֶךָ	the standing corn of thy neighbour	
2 Kgs 22:12	Asahiah a seruant of the Kings *Bod*: Asahia a seruant of the kings. h *wi.*	Asahiah a servant of the king's, 1762	עֲשָׂיָה עֶבֶד־הַמֶּלֶךְ	**Asaiah a servant of the king**	= 2 Chr. 34:20.
2 Chr. 2:13	of Huram my fathers *Bod*: ~~whom my father~~ Hiram ~~did use~~. of *subst.* my fathers *subst.*	of Huram my father's, 1762	לְחוּרָם אָבִי	of Huram my father's	Perhaps should change to 'of Huram my father'. לְחוּרָם אָבִי is now taken as a name, 'Huram-Abi'.
2 Chr. 34:20	Asaiah a seruant of the Kings *Bod*: Asa‧a, a seruant of the kings. i *ins.* h *wi.*	Asaiah a servant of the king's, 1762	עֲשָׂיָה עֶבֶד־הַמֶּלֶךְ	**Asaiah a servant of the king**	= 2 Kgs 22:12.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Matt. 26:51	a seruant of the high Priests = *Bod.*	a servant of the high priest's, 1762 (servant of the high priest, 1817 8°)	τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως	**a servant of the high priest**	So Mark 14:47; Luke 22:50.
Luke 15:17	hired seruants of my fathers = *Bod.*	hired servants of my father's, 1762	μίσθιοι τοῦ πατρός μου	**hired servants of my father**	
Gen. 36:14	the daughter of Anah, daughter of Zibeon *Bod*: the daughter of Ana‸, daughter of S̶e̶beon. h *ins. g.* Zi *subst. g.*	the daughter of Anah the daughter of Zibeon, 1629	בַּת־עֲנָה בַּת־צִבְעוֹן	<u>**the daughter of Anah, daughter of Zibeon**</u>	1629's change is fussy and lacks direct justification in the Hebrew.
Gen. 36:33	Bozra *Bod*: Bos̶ra; z *subst. g.*	Bozrah, 1613	בָּצְרָה	Bozrah	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 1:44	Bosrah *Bod*: Bosra. h *wi*	Bozrah, 1638			
Gen. 37:36	Medanites *Bod*: Madianites; 'i' *wo* first 'a'.	Midianites, 1612 Q°s, 1616, 1629	הַמְּדָנִים	Midianites	Though 1611 reflects a spelling variation in the Hebrew, the received change keeps the narrative clear. *Bod* shows the 1612 change to be the translators' original intention.

Gen. 38:30	Zarah = *Bod.*	Zarah	זָ֫רַח	**Zerah**	
46:12	and Zerah *Bod*: and Zerah; e *subst.*	and Zerah (and Serah, 1630; and Zarah, 1769–1963)	וָזָ֫רַח	and Zerah	
Gen. 39:1	of the hand of the Ishmeelites *Bod*: bought him of the Ishmaelites. e *subst.*	of the hands of the Ishmeelites, 1629	מִיַּד הַיִּשְׁמְעֵאלִים	**of the hand of the Ishmeelites**	1611 literal.
Gen. 39:16	her lord = *Bod.*	his lord, 1638	אֲדֹנָיו	**her lord**	V. 19, אֲדֹנָיו; 1611: 'his master', and v. 20: אֲדֹנֵי יוֹסֵף; 1611: 'Iosephs master' lend support to 1638's correction. 1611 appears to have accepted *Bod*'s reading as appropriate to the context.
Gen. 46:17	Isui *Bod*: Jisui.	Isui (Ishui, *She*)	יִשְׁוִי	**Ishui**	At 1 Sam. 14:49 the identical Hebrew for a different character is given as 'Ishui', 1611, *CT*.
Gen. 47:6	man of actiuitie = *Bod.*	men of activity, 1762	אַנְשֵׁי־חַיִל	men of activity	1611's error comes from *Bod*. Elsewhere the phrase is plural. See p. .
Gen. 47:18	also had our heards = *Bod.*	also hath our herds, 1629	וּמִקְנֵה הַבְּהֵמָה אֶל־אֲדֹנִי	**also had our herds**	Though grammatically awkward, 1611's reading is possible. Cf. Lev. 5:10.
Exod. 6:21	Zichri *Bod*: Sichri; Z *ins*; g.	Zichri, 1817 8° (Zithri, 1769–1963)	זִכְרִי	Zichri	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Exod. 15:25	made a statute *Bod*: made ~~them an ordinance and a law~~; a statute *subst*.	made for them a statute, 1638	שָׂם לוֹ חֹק	**made a statute**	1611's omission may be deliberate, as *Bod* appears to show. 'For them' is not necessary to the sense.
Exod. 21:32	thirty shekels = *Bod* (sicles)	thirty shekels of silver, 1638	כֶּסֶף שְׁלֹשִׁים שְׁקָלִים	**thirty shekels**	'Shekels of silver' usually represents כֶּסֶף שֶׁקֶל, or כָּסֶף. The omission may be deliberate, following the example of *Bod*.
Exod. 23:13	and make no mention of the names of other gods *Bod*: names; *ncn* (rest of this is rewritten)	. . . name . . . , 1769	וְשֵׁם אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים לֹא תַזְכִּירוּ	**names**	1769 corrects in the light of the Hebrew (LXX and Vulgate use singular). Though the plural may be deliberate, Josh 23:7 is very similar; 1611: 'neither make mention of the name of their gods'. 1611 is a reasonable adjustment for context, so is, as *Bod* also indicates, probably deliberate.
Exod. 23:23	the Hiuites *Bod*: ~~Heuites~~; the Hiuites *subst*.	the Hivites, 1817 8° and F°, 1857 1908a Oxf. (and the Hivites, 1612 Q°s, 1616, 1629; *and* the Hivites, 1837, 1857 H1906, 1941, 1963)	הַחִוִּי	the Hivites	

Exod. 26:8	and the eleven *shalbe* all of one measure = *Bod*.	and the eleven curtains . . . , 1629	אַחַת לְעַשְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה יְרִיעֹת	**and the eleven shall be all of one measure**	The addition makes the rendering more literal, but is not essential for the sense, since 'curtains' is understood.
Exod. 29:26	consecrations *Bod*: consecration; *ncn*.	consecration, 1762	הַמִּלֻּאִים	**consecrations**	Sometimes given as plural, sometimes singular, as in this passage ('a ram of consecration', v. 22, 'the flesh of the consecrations', v. 34). The singular may perhaps be a better translation, but the plural is not wrong.
Exod. 31:10	clothes of seruice *Bod*: ~~vestiments to minister in~~; clothes of service *subst*.		בִּגְדֵי הַשְּׂרָד	**cloths of service**	בֶּגֶד can be both a garment and a cloth. The same ambiguity existed with 'clothes'; the distinction between 'clothes' and 'cloths' begins about 1600 and belongs to the nineteenth century (*OED*). The problem here is to determine whether the KJB translators chose between the two meanings and, if they did, what their choice was. The *B* renderings indicate 'clothes', so does *G*'s 'garments', used uniformly in these verses. However, *G* stretches the meaning of 'garments' in its annotation to 39:1: 'as couerings for the Arke, the Candlesticke, the Altars, and such like'. This suggests 'cloths'. Only in these verses do the KJB translators alter *B*'s 'vestments' to 'clothes'; elsewhere (Exod. 29:21 etc.) they change
35:19	cloathes of seruice *Bod*: ~~ministring garments~~; clothes of service *subst*.		בִּגְדֵי הַשְּׂרָד		
39:1	clothes of seruice *Bod*: ~~vestiments~~ of ~~ministration~~; clothes *subst*, service *subst*.		בִגְדֵי־שְׂרָד		
39:41	clothes of seruice *Bod*: ~~ministring vestments~~; clothes of service *subst*.		בִּגְדֵי הַשְּׂרָד		

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					'vestments' to 'garments', and nowhere else do they use 'clothes'. Either they have, cleverly, matched the Hebrew ambiguity by avoiding the clarity of 'garments', or, equally cleverly, they have decided that the sense is 'cloths' but allowed the other sense to remain if required. The sense 'cloths' links with the KJB's main use of 'cloth', also translating בֶּגֶד, in connection with 'the work in the tabernacle', Num. 4:6–13. Modern English cannot preserve the translator's apparently deliberate ambiguity, and so must give what appears to be their preferred sense, 'cloths'.
Exod. 34:25	of Passeouer = *Bod.*	of the passover, 1762	הַפָּסַח	**of passover**	1762's correction in the light of the Hebrew makes the English phrase identical with NT examples, e.g. Matt. 26:2, but is unnecessary.
Exod. 35:11	his taches, & his barres *Bod*: ~~and his rings, his boords, his bars~~; his *taches and his barres *subst*; g.*	his taches, and his boords, his bars, 1638	אֶת־קְרָסָיו וְאֶת־קְרָשָׁיו אֶת־בְּרִיחָו	his taches, and his boards, his bars	*G*: 'and his taches & his boards, his barres'. Here 1611 appears to have accidentally omitted part of the *G* rendering; the error appears to be the *Bod* scribe's.

Exod. 35:29	by the hands of Moses = *Bod*.	. . . hand . . . , 1629	בְּיַד־מֹשֶׁה	**hands**	1611 is not literal but makes sense. Cf., e.g., Lev. 8:36, same Hebrew, 1611: 'by the hand of Moses'.
Exod. 37:19	Three bowles made he after the fashion of almonds *Bod*: ~~And in one branch~~ three bowles, ˄ made like ~~vnto almonds~~; And after the fashion of almonds, in one branch *ins*.	Three bowls made after . . . , 1629	שְׁלֹשָׁה גְבִעִים מְשֻׁקָּדִים	Three bowls made after	Error corrected; pual participle, to be almond-shaped. Cf. later in the verse, same word: 'made like almonds'. This suggests 'he' came in accidentally. (*Bod* does not correspond to 1611.)
Exod. 38:11	the hoopes of the pillars, and their fillets of siluer. *Bod*: but the ~~knops and hoopes~~ of the pillars ˄ were of siluer. hookes *subst. g.* & their fillets *ins. g.*	the hookes of the pillars . . . , *She*	וָוֵי	the hooks of the pillars . . .	'Nail, hook', elsewhere, e.g. the adjacent verses, translated 'hook[e]s' in *He. Bod* shows 'hoopes' is probably a printer's error, influenced by the B text. (1602's text differs from 1568. 'and hoopes' is on a separate line from 'knops'; 'hookes' is substituted for 'knops'. 'were' is not deleted.)
Lev. 1:8	the wood that *is* in the fire which *is* vpon the altar *Bod*: the wood ~~that is in the fire~~ ˄on the altar. *which is *subst.* vp *ins*.	on the fire, 1638	עַל־הָעֵצִים	**in the fire**	This might be a typographical error in 1611, but that is uncertain; elsewhere in the verse, עַל is translated 'upon'. ('which' is unclear, 'is vp' is clear; because 'on' is retained, reading becomes 'vpon'.)

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Lev. 1:9	the inwards = *Bod.*	his inwards, 1638	וְקִרְבּוֹ	**the inwards**	1638 is a correction in the light of the Hebrew. Perhaps the translators were a little careless in what they allowed from 1602, but the reading appears deliberate.
Lev. 2:4	an vnleauened cake = *Bod.*	unleavened cakes, 1638	חַלּוֹת מַצֹּת	**an unleavened cake**	Same as 1:9.
Lev. 5:10	he had sinned = *Bod.*	he hath sinned, 1762	חָטָא	**he had sinned**	*G* also has 'hath'. The odd tense was acceptable. Cf. Gen. 47:18.
Lev. 7:23 14:54	no maner fat = *Bod.* all manner plague = *Bod* ('maner').	no manner of fat, 1762 all manner of plague, 1762	כָּל־חֵלֶב כָּל־נֶגַע	**no manner fat** **all manner plague**	Though 'manner of' is used elsewhere, e.g. 7:26, 27, the 1611 idiom is retained.
Lev. 10:14	the sacrifice of peace offerings *Bod*: the ‸ peace offerings. sacrifice of *ins.*	the sacrifices . . . , 1629	מִזְבְחֵי	**the sacrifice . . .**	1629 is a correction in the light of the Hebrew, but 1611 appears to be deliberate.

Lev. 11:3	cheweth cud *Bod*: ch~~a~~weth ˄ cud. e *ins*. the *ins*.	cheweth the cud, 1629	מַעֲלַת גֵּרָה	**cheweth cud**	No article in the Hebrew. *Bod* confirms that the 1629 correction was the translators' original intention, but there is a strong chance that they changed their mind in the light of the Hebrew. *Bod* shows 'the' was also inserted in the next verse, as printed in 1611; here the article is found in the Hebrew.
Lev. 11:10	nor scales = *Bod*.	and scales, 1769 (1817 8° = 1611)	וְקַשְׂקֶשֶׂת	**nor scales**	1769's correction is unnecessary and arguably inconsistent with v. 12.
Lev. 13:29	hath a plague *Bod*: hath a ~~sore~~. plague *subst*.	have a plague, 1769 (1817 8° = 1611)	יִהְיֶה בוֹ נָגַע	**hath a plague**	Contrast v. 38, 1611: 'if a man also or a woman haue'. Both forms are possible ('hath' follows 'if' and a singular subject at, e.g., Num. 30:12).
Lev. 15:33	her which is vncleane = *Bod*.	her that is unclean, 1769	טְמֵאָה	**her which is unclean**	1611 has chosen not to correct *B* or *G*; both use 'which'. 'Her which' survives at Micah 7:10 and Matt. 19:9.
Lev. 17:14	Ye shall not eat the blood of no manner of flesh *Bod*: Ye shall eate the blood of no maner of flesh. *ncn*.	Ye shall eat . . . , *She*, 1612 Q°s, 1613 F° and Q°	דַּם כָּל־בָּשָׂר לֹא תֹאכֵלוּ	Ye shall eat	Though this might be deliberate, it is inconsistent with 1611's practice elsewhere. In each of Lev. 7:23, 26, 23:31, Num. 28:18 and Deut. 4:15, where the Hebrew puts the negative with the verb, 1611 puts the negative with 'manner'. Most striking is Deut. 4:15: כִּי לֹא רְאִיחֶם כָּל־תְּמוּנָה 'for ye saw no manner of similitude'.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
Lev. 18:3	and after the doings of land of Canaan *Bod*: and after the doings of the land of C̶hanaan	and after the doings of the land of Canaan, *She* (noted by Wright), 1613	וּכְמַעֲשֵׂה אֶרֶץ־כְּנַעַן	and after the doings of the land of Canaan	*G* also has the article. 1611 has the article earlier in the verse, though it is again omitted in the Hebrew.
Lev. 19:34	shalbe as one borne amongst you *Bod*: shall be as one ~~of your owne nation~~. borne amongst you *subst*.	shall be unto you as one born among you, 1638 ('amongst' retained by 1638, 1762, 1817 8º; 'among' 1769)	כְּאֶזְרָח מִכֶּם יִהְיֶה לָכֶם הַגֵּר הַגָּר אִתְּכֶם	**shall be as one born amongst you**	1638 is a correction to include a somewhat redundant לָכֶם. 1611 appears to have omitted it deliberately.
Lev. 20:11	shalbe put to death *Bod*: ~~let them~~ both ~~die~~. of thē shalbe put to death their bloud shalbe vppō them *subst*.	shall surely be put to death, 1638	מוֹת־יוּמְתוּ	**shall be put to death**	1638 corrects in the light of the Hebrew and the translators' rendering of the same words in the following verses. *Bod* shows 1611 to be deliberate.
Lev. 23:20	for the Priests = *Bod*.	for the priest, 1638 (1817 8º = 1611)	לַכֹּהֵן	**for the priests**	1638 is a correction in the light of the Hebrew; so translated at Num. 6:20, 1 Sam. 2:15. Nevertheless, 1611 makes sense.

Lev. 23:22	the field = *Bod.*	thy field, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	שָׂדְךָ	**the field**	The/thy common variation between *He* and *She* Bibles; it's one of the easier mistakes for a printer to make. But there is no evidence besides the Hebrew that 1611 is an error.
Lev. 25:6	the stranger = *Bod.*	thy stranger, 1638	וּלְתוֹשָׁבְךָ	**the stranger**	
Lev. 25:23	for the land is mine, for ye were strangers *Bod*: for the land is mine, ~~and ye but~~ strangers. *for ye are *subst.*	for the land *is* mine; for ye *are* strangers, 1616, 1629	כִּי־לִי הָאָרֶץ כִּי־גֵרִים	for the land is mine; for ye are strangers	The correction seems appropriate in the light of the parallel construction of the phrases. Though the reading of the substitution in *Bod* is not absolutely certain, I think it is correct, and so take 'were' as an error.
Lev. 25:31	walles = *Bod.*	wall, 1769 (1817 8° = 1611)	חֹמָה	**walls**	1769 corrects in the light of the Hebrew, but 1611 makes sense.
Lev. 26:23	And if ye will not be reformed by these things, but will walke contrary vnto me *Bod*: And if yee ~~may~~ not bee reformed by these things, but ~~shall~~ walke contrary vnto me. will *subst.* g. will *subst.*	. . . reformed by me by these things . . . , 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	וְאִם־בְּאֵלֶּה לֹא תִוָּסְרוּ לִי	**reformed by these things**	The addition reflects the Hebrew and adds something otherwise missed. Yet it is clumsy; presumably the translators thought לִי redundant and therefore omitted it.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
Lev. 26:40	If they shall confesse the iniquitie of their fathers *Bod*: ~~And~~ they shall confesse their ~~misdeeds~~, and the ~~misdeeds~~ of their fathers. *If *subst.* iniquitie *subst. g.* iniquities *subst.*	. . . their iniquity, and the iniquity . . . , 1616, 1629 (the iniquities, 1613 Fº)	וְהִתְוַדּוּ אֶת־עֲוֺנָם וְאֶת־עֲוֺן אֲבֹתָם	their iniquity, and the iniquity	Error corrected. *G*: 'Then they shall confesse their iniquitie, & the wickednes of their fathers'. (This seems likely to be an error in following the work of the translators on *Bod*. *g* correctly notes the one *G* reading.)
Num. 1:2, 18, 20	by their polle *Bod*: ~~head by head~~. by their polle *subst* (each example).	. . . polls, 1769 (1817 8º = 1611)	לְגֻלְגְּלֹתָם	. . . **poll**	'Polles', v. 22 and 1 Chr. 23:3, 24, for the same Hebrew supports 1769, but 'poll' can perhaps have a plural sense, so is retained.
Num. 3:13	mine they shall be = *Bod*.	mine shall they be, 1769 (1817 8º = 1611)	לִי יִהְיוּ	**mine they shall be**	
Num. 4:22	Take also the summe of the sonnes of Gershon, throughout the houses of their fathers, by their families. = *Bod*.	. . . throughout the houses of their fathers . . .	לְבֵית אֲבֹתָם	houses	The phrase is common (see Numbers 1 *passim*) and, except in the two verses from Numbers, translated as singular by 1611. Unusually in Hebrew, the plural of 'house-of-a-father' is not 'houses-of-a-father' or 'houses of fathers', but normally 'house-of-[the]-fathers', בֵּית־הָאָבוֹת. 1611 is restored since it is not a mistranslation and fits the context.

Num. 4:40	Euen those that were numbred of them, throughout their families, by the houses of their fathers, were two thousand. *Bod*: ~~and~~ houses . . . by the *subst*.	. . . by the house of their fathers . . . , 1769	לְבֵית אֲבֹתָם	**houses**	
1 Chr. 7:2	heads of their fathers house	heads of their father's house, 1762, 1769	רָאשִׁים לְבֵית־אֲבוֹתָם	**heads of their fathers' house**	These are some of several places where S claims 'the apostrophe is placed right for the first time in the Cambridge Paragraph Bible' (p. 152 n.). He gives 'fathers' house'. Because 1611's normal rendering of the phrase is 'the house of their fathers', I follow S, but, taking Num. 4:22, 40 as exceptions, retain 'house', singular (in Ezra and Nehemiah, 'seed', singular, follows).
40	*Bod*: heads ~~over~~ the houses of their fathers. of *subst*.		רָאשֵׁי בֵית־הָאָבוֹת		
Ezra 2:59	their fathers house = *Bod*.	their father's house, 1769 (fathers', 1884)	בֵית־אֲבוֹתָם	**their fathers' house**	
Neh. 7:61	their fathers house = *Bod*.	their father's house, 1769	בֵית־אֲבוֹתָם	**their fathers' house**	
Num. 5:19	If no man haue lyen = *Bod*.	If no man have lain, 1769 (lain)		If no man have lain	See note to Lev. 13:29.
5:20	some man hath lien = *Bod*.	some man have lain, 1629 H425, 1769 (lain)		**some man hath lain**	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
Num. 6:14	and one lambe *Bod*: and ~~a ram~~. one lambe *subst.*	and one ram, 1638	וְאַיִל־אֶחָד	**and one lamb**	1638 corrects an error, but *Bod* shows 'lamb' was deliberate.
Num. 7:31, 55	one siluer charger of an hundred and thirty [thirtie, v. 55] *shekels* *Bod*: ~~a~~ siluer charger of an hundred and thirtie ~~sicles~~. one *subst.* shekels *subst* (both vv).	one silver charger of the weight of an hundred and thirty shekels, 1762	קַעֲרַת־כֶּסֶף אַחַת שְׁלֹשִׁים וּמֵאָה מִשְׁקָלָהּ	**one silver charger of a hundred and thirty shekels**	In vv. 13, 19, 25, 37, 49, 61, 67, 73 and 79, 1611 has: 'one siluer charger, the weight whereof was an hundred and thirty *shekels*' (v. 13 has 'thereof'; all = *Bod*). *B* consistently gives 'a siluer charger of an hundred and thirtie sicles'. In these vv. 'a' is struck through and 'the' *subst*; 'of' is struck through, 'the weight thereof was' *subst*. In v. 43 'a' is struck through and 'the' *subst*; 'of the weight' is *ins* after 'charger'. 1611 follows *Bod* in each instance. See p. 108.
Num. 7:43 7:61	a siluer bowle a siluer bowle *Bod*: ~~a~~ siluer boule. one *subst* (both vv).	one silver bowl, 1638 (not CUP; not in 1762; 1769 = 1638)	מִזְרָק אֶחָד כֶּסֶף מִזְרָק אֶחָד כֶּסֶף	a silver bowl **a silver bowl**	There is a question of consistent practice in relation to vv. 31 and 55 (see above). However, the variation looks deliberate. See p. 108.
Num. 7:48, 53; 10:22 1 Chr. 7:26; 9:4	Ammiud = *Bod*. Amihud = *Bod*.	Ammihud, 1638 Ammihud, 1629	עַמִּיהוּד עַמִּיהוּד	Ammihud	In other places, 1611: 'Ammihud'. Correction is consistent and follows Hebrew.

Num. 7:54, 59; 10:23	Pedazur = *Bod.*	Pedahzur, 1638	פְּדָהצוּר	Pedahzur	Cf. 1:10, בֶּן־פְּדָהצוּר, 1611: 'sonne of Pedahzur' (despite the Hebrew variation, this is the same person).
Num. 9:18	they rested in the tents *Bod*: they ~~lay still~~. rested in the tents *subst.*	they rested in their tents, 1769	יַחֲנוּ	**they rested in the tents**	Though 1611 uses 'their' in vv. 17, 20 and 22, it is not necessary, so omissible here.
Num. 20:5	or vines *Bod*: ~~n~~or vines.	or of vines, 1769	וְגֶפֶן	**or vines**	'Of' is optional; 1611 uses it for some of these nouns, but probably varies deliberately here.
Num. 21:24	Iabok *Bod*: Jaboc. k *wo* c.	Jabbok, 1629	יַבֹּק	Jabbok	1611 elsewhere: 'Iabbok'.
Num. 24:6	by the riuer side *Bod*: by the riuers side. *ncn.*	by the river's side, 1612 Qº s, 1616, 1629, 1762	עֲלֵי נָהָר	by the river's side	The evidence of *Bod* coupled with the earliness of the appearance in print of the reading make it likely that this was the translators' intention.
Num. 26:6, 21	Hesron . . . , Hesronites = *Bod.*	Hezron . . . Hezronites, 1769 etc., inc. 1817 8º (Hezronites, *She* 3)	לְחֶצְרֹן מִשְׁפַּחַת הַחֶצְרֹנִי	Hezronites	*He*: 'Of Hesron the family [familie, v. 21] of the Hesronites'. *He* transliterates as 'Hezron' (e.g. Gen. 46:9) and as 'Hesron'. 'Hezronites' would seem to be the better form to settle on for consistency since both are allowable.
1 Chr. 5:3	Ezron = *Bod*	Hezron, 1629	חֶצְרוֹן	Hezron	
Num. 26:44	Iimna *Bod*: Jemna. i *wo* e.	Jimna	יִמְנָה	**Jimnah**	This name is variously rendered by 1611, 'Iimnah' (Gen. 46:17), 'Iimna' (Num. 26:44) – these are the same person – and 'Imnah' (1 Chr. 7:30). The spelling is corrected by the Hebrew here to conform to Gen. 46:17. See also 2 Chr. 31:14.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
Num. 26:58	Korathites *Bod*: ~~C~~orathites. K *subst.*	Korathites (Korahite, 1873)	הַקָּרְחִי	**Korahites**	So 1611 at 1 Chr. 9:19, 31.
Num. 30:8	disallowe = *Bod.*	disallowed, 1769 (1817 8° = 1611)	יָנִיא	**disallow**	Hiphil imperfect.
Num. 33:35, 36	Ezion-gaber *Bod*: Ezeon gaber. e *wo* i.		עֶצְיוֹן גֶּבֶר	**Ezion-geber**	The commonest form of the name as established in 1629 is followed. This is one place spelt two different ways in the Hebrew. 1611 does not follow the Hebrew spellings precisely; after the first three examples it prefers to change 'Gaber' to 'Geber'.
Deut. 2:8	Ezion-Gaber *Bod*: Ezion Gaber. *ncn.*		עֶצְיוֹן גָּבֶר		
1 Kgs 9:26	Ezion Geber *Bod*: Azion Gaber. e *subst.*	Ezion-geber, 1629 [1638 = 1611]	עֶצְיוֹן־גֶּבֶר	Ezion-geber	
22:48	Ezion Geber *Bod*: Esion Gaber. z *subst.* e *subst.*	Ezion-geber, 1629	עֶצְיוֹן גָּבֶר		
2 Chr. 8:17	Ezion Geber *Bod*: Ezion Gaber. e *subst.*	Ezion-geber, 1629	עֶצְיוֹן־גֶּבֶר		
20:36	Ezion-Geber *Bod*: Ezion Gaber. e *subst.*	Ezion-geber (Ezion-Gaber, Ezion-gaber 1638–1963)	עֶצְיוֹן גָּבֶר		

Num. 36:3	whereinto *Bod*: ~~which~~. whereinto *subst*.	whereunto, 1629		**whereinto**	
Deut. 4:25	and shalt haue remained = *Bod*.	ye shall have remained, 1762 (1817 8° = 1611)	וְנוֹשַׁנְתֶּם	**and shalt have remained**	See p. 107.
Deut. 4:32	God created man vpon earth = *Bod*.	. . . upon the earth, 1612 Q°s, 1616, 1629	עַל־הָאָרֶץ	upon the earth	עַל־הָאָרֶץ occurs 107 times. Usually it is translated using an article or demonstrative, seven times the article is omitted. Four verses later the article is omitted from both the following phrases, 'out of heauen . . . and vpon earth' (similarly Josh. 2:11; 1 Kgs. 8:23; Eccles. 5:2 [= 5:1]). Jer. 16:13 (and similarly 22:28), מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת עַל־הָאָרֶץ, is rendered: 'out of this land into a land'; here the definite article is inappropriate in English, because it is a land not before mentioned, a land 'that yee knowe not'. So the lack of change to all except Deut. 4:32 is correct: the translators' decisions are clear. This one verse is probably a 1602 printer's error (other *B* and *G* have 'vpon the earth'); *Bod* shows it is not a 1611 printer's error. The correction was made early, seems to read better and reflects the Hebrew.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Deut. 4:48	Sion	Sion	שִׂיאֹן	Sion	Hebrew spelling preserved.
Ps. 65:1	Sion	Sion (Zion, 1817 8º, 1867)	צִיּוֹן	**Zion**	These changes establish uniform spelling for צִיּוֹן. The standard NT and Apoc. spelling is 'Sion'.
2:6; 9:11, 14; 14:7; 20:2; 48:2, 11, 12; 50:2; 51:18; 53:6; 74:2; 76:2; 78:68; 97:8	Sion	Zion, 1638	צִיּוֹן	Zion	All 1611 uses noted here = *Bod.*
69:35	Sion	Zion, 1762 (1817 8º = 1611)	צִיּוֹן	Zion	
Deut. 4:49	And all the plaine of this side Iordan *Bod*: And all the plaine ~~on the other~~ side Jordane. of this *subst.*	. . . on this side . . . , 1617, 1629	וְכָל־הָעֲרָבָה עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן	**of this side**	'On this side' usually translates בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן, as in v. 47. So the translators may be reflecting the absence of בְּ. עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן occurs two other times, 'on yonder side Iordane' (Num. 32:19) and 'beyond Iordan' (Isa. 8:23 [= 9:1]). *Bod* shows 'of' was deliberate.
Deut. 5:29	keepe my commandements = *Bod.*	keep all my commandments, 1629	כָּל־מִצְוֹתַי	**keep my commandments**	1629 corrects by the Hebrew.

Deut. 9:10	of fire = *Bod*.	of the fire, 1701 H868	הָאֵשׁ	**of fire**	Ten other occurrences all 'of the fire', but the general sense may be deliberate.
Deut. 15:11 (end)	the land *Bod*: ~~thy land~~. the land *subst*.	thy land, 1629 (the land, 1817 8° and F°)	בְּאַרְצֶךָ	**the land**	The Hebrew contrasts with הָאָרֶץ, 'the land', earlier in the verse. 1629 appears to be a correction of a slip, yet *Bod* confirms that the 'slip' was deliberate. Presumably the translators judged 'thy' to be redundant here.
Deut. 16:4	in all thy coasts = *Bod*.	. . . coast, 1762 (1817 8° = 1611)	בְּכָל־גְּבֻלְךָ	**coasts**	Same phrase at Exod. 13:7: 'in all thy quarters'. בְּכָל־גְּבֻל יִשְׂרָאֵל (2 Sam. 21:5): 'in any of the coasts of Israel'. 'Coasts' is the more natural English form to follow בְּכָל, so is probably deliberate, following *B* and *G* exactly.
Judg. 19:29	all the coasts of Israel *Bod*: all ~~quarters~~ of Israel. the *coaste subst*.	all the coasts of Israel (coast, 1769)	בְּכֹל־ גְּבוּל יִשְׂרָאֵל	all the coasts of Israel	Sometimes translated singular, sometimes plural in 1611.
Deut. 16:5	the gates = *Bod*.	thy gates, 1616, 1629	שְׁעָרֶיךָ	**the gates**	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Deut. 20:7	lest he die in battell *Bod*: least he die in ~~the~~ battell. *g.*	. . . in the battle, 1629, 1769 (not 1638, 1762)	בַּמִּלְחָמָה	**in battle**	The correction conforms to the previous two verses and to preceding versions. *Bod* confirms that the omission of the article in 1611 (as in some other places) is deliberate.
Deut. 26:1	the LORD *Bod*: the Lord ~~thy God~~.	the LORD thy God, 1629	יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ	**the Lord**	1629 follows *B* and *G*. 1611 appeared to be a printer's omission, but *Bod* shows that it goes back to the translators. See p. 41.
Deut. 27:12	Gerizzim *Bod*: ~~Gariz~~im. e *subst.* z *ins. g.*	Gerizim, 1769	גְּרִזִים	Gerizim	So 1611 elsewhere.
Deut. 28:23	the heauen = *Bod.*	thy heaven, 1638	שָׁמֶיךָ	**the heaven**	Contrast וְהָאָרֶץ ('and the earth') later in the verse.
Deut. 28:29	noone dayes = *Bod.*	noonday, 1762	בַּצָּהֳרַיִם	**noondays**	The Hebrew is dual, as at other verses, see esp. Job 5:14, so 'noon dayes' is possible. (The same reading is found in *B* and *G*; both also use the phrase in the margin to 2 Sam. 12:11.)

Deut. 28:42	locusts *Bod*: ~~wormes~~. the *locust	locust, 1612 8°s, 1629	הַצְּלָצַל	**locusts**	*B*: 'wormes', *G*: 'grashopper'. *B*, following *G*, notes: 'Under this one sort, he comprehendeth all kinde of vermine, whiche are wont to consume ye fruites of the earth'. Evidently translators considered either singular or plural could have this implication. 1611 is possible, so retained.
Deut. 32:15; 33:5, 26	Iesurun *Bod* strikes through 32:15, 33:5 and the relevant part of 33:26; Jesurun *ins*.	Jeshurun, 1638; 33:5, 1612 Q°s, 1616, 1629	יְשֻׁרוּן	Jeshurun	
Isa. 44:2	Iesurun 1602: righteous.	Jesurun (Jeshurun 1616, Amer. 1867 [not 1629, 1638, 1762, 1769])	יְשֻׁרוּן	**Jeshurun**	Change for consistency and correctness.
Josh. 3:10	Girgashites *Bod*: the Gerg~~es~~ites. e *wo* i. a *subst*. h *ins*.	the Girgashites, 1612 8°s, 1629	הַגִּרְגָּשִׁי	the Girgashites	*Bod* adds weight to the 1612 8°s, 1629 reading; 'the' may have been deliberately omitted at a late stage, but it is difficult to understand why.
Josh. 3:11	Behold, the Arke of the Couenant, euen the Lord of all the earth,	Behold, the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth, 1629	הִנֵּה אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית אֲרוֹן כָּל־הָאָרֶץ	**Behold, the ark of the covenant, even the Lord of all the earth,**	1629's interpretation is followed by some (at least) modern translations, but 1611's reading remains possible.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
	Bod: Beholde, the Arke of the couenant of the Lord of all the ~~world~~. earth *subst.*				
Josh. 3:15	at the time *Bod*: ~~all~~ the time. at *subst.*	all the time, 1638	כֹּל יְמֵי	**at the time**	Though 'all the time' is 1611's normal rendering, *Bod* confirms that 1611's reading comes from a deliberate action of the translators.
Josh. 7:14	by housholdes: and the housholdes *Bod*: by housholds: and the houshold.. s *ins.*	. . . and the household, 1616, 1629	לַבָּתִּים וְהַבַּיִת	**and the households**	The translators appear to have deliberately ignored the change of number in the Hebrew.
Josh. 7:26	the place = *Bod.*	that place, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא	**the place**	
Josh. 10:1, 3	Adoni-zedek *Bod*: Adonizedec. *ncn* in either v.	Adoni-zedek, 1817 8° (Adoni-zedec, 1769–1963)	אֲדֹנִי־צֶדֶק	Adoni-zedek	
Josh. 10:10	Bethoron = *Bod.*	Beth-horon, 1629	בֵּית־חוֹרֹן	Beth-horon	1611 gives this form at Josh. 21:22. (*Bod* shows that the translators did not do anything to this word until later, in spite of 1602's inconsistencies; when they did deal with it they failed to achieve consistency.)

16:3, 5	Bethoron *Bod*: Beth-horon. *ncn.*				
10:11	Bethoron = *Bod*.				
1 Sam. 13:18	Bethoron = *Bod*.	Beth-horon, 1629	בֵּית חֹרוֹן		
1 Chr. 7:24	Bethoron = *Bod*.	Beth-horon, 1629	בֵּית־חוֹרוֹן		
1 Macc. 3:16, 24; 7:39; 9:50	Bethoron = 1602.	Beth-horon, 1762, 7:39, 9:50 (Bethhoron, 1769)	Βαιθωρων	**Bethoron**	There is a temptation to retain the 1769 reading for consistency, but the names in the Apocrypha are not consistent with the OT.
Josh. 10:12	Aialon,		אַיָּלוֹן	**Aijalon**	This place is inconsistently transliterated 'Aialon', 'Aiialon' and 'Aijalon', 1611, and 'Aijalon' and 'Ajalon' in *CT*.
19:42	Aiialon	Ajalon, 1629		**Aijalon**	*1611* = Bod *throughout*.
1 Chr. 6:69; 8:13; 2 Chr. 11:10	Aialon	Aijalon, 1629		Aijalon Aijalon	(See p. 35).
2 Chr. 28:18	Aialon	Ajalon		**Aijalon**	
Josh. 11:2	Cinneroth *Bod*: Ceneroth. First e *wo* i. n *ins. g.*	Chinneroth, 1769	כִּנְרוֹת	Chinneroth	1611 gives 'Chinnereth' at Num. 34:11 and Deut. 3:17. *CT* reflects the variant Hebrew endings, and, with the exception of 1 Kgs 15:20, regularises the beginning.
12:3	Cinneroth *Bod*: Ceneroth. *ncn.* Line over 'ne' doubles 'n'.	Chinneroth	כִּנְרוֹת		

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
13:27	Cinneroth *Bod*: Cenereth. First e *wo* i. e *subst*. Long line over 'ner' doubles 'n': 'nner'.	Chinnereth, 1769 (Cinnereth, 1629)	כִּנְּרֶת	Chinnereth	
19:35	Cinnereth *Bod*: Cenereth. First e *wo* i. Line over 'ne' doubles 'n'.	Chinnereth, 1769	כִּנֶּרֶת		
1 Kgs 15:20	Cinneroth *Bod*: Ceneroth. *ncn*. Line over 'ne' doubles 'n'.	Cinneroth	כִּנְרוֹת	**Chinneroth**	
Josh. 11:17	Seir, vnto Baal-Gad = *Bod*.	Seir, even unto Baal-Gad, 1638	שֵׂעִיר וְעַד־בַּעַל גָּד	**Seir, unto Baal-Gad**	Though 1638 conforms to 1611's normal practice, 1611 is quite possible.
Josh. 12:2	vpon the banke of the riuer of Arnon *Bod*: ~~beside the riuer of Arnon~~. vppon the banke of the riuer of Arnō *subst*.	. . . the river Arnon, 1638	נַחַל אַרְנוֹן	**the river of Arnon**	Cf. מִנַּחַל אַרְנוֹן, 'from the riuer Arnon', in the previous verse. 1611 follows its predecessors in this variation, evidently choosing not to regularise. *Bod* confirms that the 1611 text follows the intentions of the translators.
Josh. 12:6	the Reubenites, and Gadites, and the halfe . . . *Bod*: the R῾ubenites, ˄ Gadites. e *ins*. and *ins*.	. . . and the Gadites . . . , 1762	לָרֵאוּבֵנִי וְלַגָּדִי וְלַחֲצִי	**and Gadites**	

Josh. 12:11	Lachis = *Bod*.	Lachish, 1613, 1629	לָכִישׁ	Lachish	So 1611 elsewhere.
Josh. 13:18	Iahazah = *Bod*.	Jahazah (Jahaza, 1629–1963)	יַהְצָה	Jahazah	So 1611 at 21:36.
Josh. 13:23	and villages thereof *Bod*: and villages pertaining there~~to~~. of *subst*.	and the villages thereof, 1617, 1629	וְחַצְרֵיהֶן	**and villages thereof**	('pertaining' should have been struck through.)
Josh. 13:29	Manasseh, by *Bod*: Manasse~~s~~, by. h *subst*.	the children of Manasseh by, 1638	בְּנֵי־מְנַשֶּׁה	**of the half tribe of Manasseh by**	Though 1638 is correct, the possibility remains that 1611 chose not to include *G*'s 'the children of'.
Josh. 15:33	Eshaol *Bod*: E~~a~~sthaol.	Eshtaol, 1629 (Esthaol, 1612 all, 1616)	אֶשְׁתָּאוֹל	Eshtaol	*Bod* suggests that 1612 and 1616 represent the translators' intentions here. However, at 19:41 1629's reading is found and is also deliberate: *Bod*: ~~Esthaol~~. Eshtaol *subst*.
Josh. 15:38	Dileam *Bod*: Delean. e *wo* i. stroke added to n, creating m. *g*.	Dilean, 1629	דִּלְעָן	Dilean	*G*: 'Dileam'.
Josh. 15:42	Lebnah = *Bod*.	Libnah, 1638	לִבְנָה	Libnah	So 1611 elsewhere except 1 Chr. 6:57.
Josh. 15:43	Iiphta *Bod*: ~~Jephthah~~. Jiphta *subst*.	Jiphtah, 1638	יִפְתָּח	Jiphtah	
Josh. 15:49	Kiriath-Sannath *Bod*: ~~C~~ariath Senna~~c~~h. Ki *subst*. *g*. a *subst*. t *subst*.	Kirjath-sannah, 1629	קִרְיַת־סַנָּה	Kirjath-sannah	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
Josh. 15:50	Ashtemoh *Bod*: ~~Eshtemoh.~~ Ashtemoh *subst.*	Eshtemoh, 1638 (Ashtemoh, 1817 8°; Ashtemoth, *She* 1, 3)	וְאֶשְׁתְּמֹה	**Ashtemoh**	Cf. אֶשְׁתְּמֹעַ, 'Eshtemoa' (Josh. 21:14); presumed to be the same place. However, the translators' intentions seem clear here, and a change to match Josh. 21:14 would be going too far because the identity is not certain.
Josh. 15:57	Gibbeah *Bod*: ~~Gabaath.~~ Gibbeah *subst.*	Gibeah, 1629	גִּבְעָה	Gibeah	So 1611 elsewhere.
2 Chr. 13:2	Gibea = *Bod*.	Gibeah, 1629			
Josh. 15:59	Maarah *Bod*: Maara~~th~~.	Maarath, 1629	מַעֲרָת	Maarath	*Bod* deliberately creates what appears to be a mistake. Cf. Josh. 19:44 and 21:31.
Josh. 16:6	Taanath Shiloh *Bod*: Th͜aanath S͜ilo.h *ins.*	Taanath-shiloh, 1629 (Taanah Shiloh, *She* 1, 3)	תַּאֲנַת שִׁלֹה	Taanath-shiloh	
Josh. 19:2	Beer-sheba, or Sheba *Bod*: ~~Beer-Sabe~~, ~~Sabe~~. Beer-*Saba *or Sheba *subst. g* over 'or'.[2]	or Sheba, 1817 8° (and Sheba, 1616–1762, 1837–1963, Sheba, 1769, 1817 F°)	וְשֶׁבַע	or Sheba	S notes 'modern Bibles are divided between the two wrong renderings of 1616, 1769. The American alone follows 1611' (p. 218 n.). 'Or' appears to be a deliberate revision of *B* and *G*. Many versions here agree with the later corrections.

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[2] There is a change of hands in *Bod* at the beginning of Joshua 19.

Josh. 19:5	Hazar- *Bod*: Haz̶e̶r. a *subst.*	Hazar- (Hasar, *She*)	וַחֲצַר	Hazar-	צ is commonly transliterated 'z'.
15:28	Hazarshual *Bod*: H̶a̶z̶u̶r̶s̶u̶al. Hazarshual *subst.*	Hazar-shual, 1638	חֲצַר שׁוּעָל	Hazar-shual	So 1611, 1 Chr. 4:28. These seem to be the same place.
19:3	*Bod*: Hazars͵ual. h *ins.*				
Neh. 11:27	Hazer-Shual *Bod*: S̶u̶a̶l. Hazar *Shual *subst.*				
Josh. 19:18	Izreel *Bod*: J̶e̶s̶r̶a̶e̶l̶a̶h̶. Izreel *subst.*	Jezreel, 1629	יִזְרְעֶאל	Jezreel	So 1611 elsewhere.
Josh. 19:19	Hapharaim = *Bod.*	Hapharaim (Haphraim, 1769–1963)	חֲפָרַיִם	Hapharaim	
	Shion *Bod*: S͵ion. h *ins.*	Shion (Sihon, 1617; Shihon 1638–1963)	שִׁיאן	Shion	
Josh. 19:22	Shahazimath *Bod*: S͵ahazima͵h. h *ins. g.* t *ins.*	Shahazimah, 1629	שַׁחֲצִימָה	Shahazimah	*G*: 'Shahazimath'.
Josh. 19:38	Bethanah = *Bod.*	Beth-anath, 1629[3]	בֵּית־עֲנָת	**Bethanath**	1611, Judg. 1:33: 'Bethanath'. No hyphenation.

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[3] 1629 hyphenates across line break; 1638 confirms hyphen.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
Josh. 19:44	Baalah *Bod*: Baala~~th~~. *g.*	Baalath, 1629	בַּעֲלָת	Baalath	1611 elsewhere: 'Baalath'. *G*: 'Baalah'. Cf. Josh. 15:59.
Josh. 21:11	the citie of Arbah *Bod*: ~~Kiriath.~~ -arba. the citie of *ins.*	Arba, 1638	אַרְבַּע	Arba	1611 gives 'Arba' at 15:13.
Josh. 21:23	Gibethon *Bod*: Gabethon. *ncn.*	Gibbethon, 1629	גִּבְּתוֹן	Gibbethon	1611 elsewhere: 'Gibbethon'.
Josh. 21:31	Helkah *Bod*: Hel~~ea~~th. k *subst. g.*	Helkath, 1629	חֶלְקָת	Helkath	1611, Josh. 19:25: 'Helkath'. Cf. Josh. 15:59.
Judg. 1:31	nor of Ahlab, nor Achzib, nor Helbath, nor Aphik, nor of Rehob *Bod*: ~~and~~ of Aha̶lab, Aczib, ~~and~~ Helbah, Aphek, nor of R̶e̶hob. nor *subst* (twice). e of 'Aphek' *wo* i. e *subst.*	nor of Ahlab, nor of Achzib, nor of Helbah, nor of Aphik, nor of Rehob, 1762 (Helbah, 1629)	וְאֶת־אַחְלָב וְאֶת־ אַכְזִיב וְאֶת־חֶלְבָּה וְאֶת־אֲפִיק וְאֶת־רְחֹב	**nor of Ahlab, nor Achzib, nor Helbah, nor Aphik, nor of Rehob**	*Bod* confirms 1611 is deliberate, presumably for the sake of the English.
Judg. 8:10	Zebah = *Bod.*	Zebah (Zeba, *She*)	זֶבַח	Zebah	

Judg. 11:2	and his wiues sonnes grew vp, and they *Bod*: ~~which when they were come to age~~. and his wifes sons grew vp and they *subst.*	. . . his wife's sons . . . , 1762 (his wifes sons, 1701)	בְּנֵי־הָאִשָּׁה	his wife's sons	
Judg. 11:19	unto my place *Bod*: vnto ~~our owne countrey~~. my place *subst.*	into my place	עַד־מְקוֹמִי	**unto my place**	
Judg. 14:17	while the feast lasted = *Bod.*	while their feast lasted, 1638	אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה לָהֶם הַמִּשְׁתֶּה	**while the feast lasted**	
Judg. 21:19	Lebanon *Bod*: Li~~b~~anon. e *subst.*	Lebonah, 1629	לְבוֹנָה	**Lebanon**	Only occurrence of this Hebrew name. The problem here appears to be one of understanding rather than spelling. 1611, apparently quite deliberately, has accepted the *B* understanding against *G*, which is followed by 1629.
Ruth 3:15	he went *Bod*: she ~~gate her~~. went *subst.*	she went, *She*, 1629	וַיָּבֹא	**he went**	Translators choose literalness over the demands of the context. See p. 57.
1 Sam. 6:7	the calues = *Bod.*	their calves, 1629	בְּנֵיהֶם	**the calves**	
1 Sam. 10:10	a company of the prophets *Bod*: ~~the~~ company of the prophets. a *subst.*	a company of prophets, 1629	חֶבֶל־נְבִאִים	**a company of the prophets**	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
1 Sam. 10:23	from the shoulders = *Bod.*	from his shoulders, 1638	מִשִּׁכְמוֹ	**from the shoulders**	
1 Sam. 18:1	when hee made *Bod*: when hee had made. *ncn.*	when he had made, 1629	כְּכַלֹּתוֹ	when he had made	1629's correction is normal English usage. (*Bod* suggests that 1611 is an error.)
1 Sam. 18:27	Dauid arose = *Bod.*	David arose and went, 1629	וַיָּקָם דָּוִד וַיֵּלֶךְ	**David arose, he and his men**	
1 Sam. 20:5	in the fields = *Bod.*	in the field, 1638	בַּשָּׂדֶה	**in the fields**	1611 sometimes translates this phrase in the plural.
1 Sam. 25:16	keeping sheepe = *Bod.*	keeping the sheep, 1629	רֹעִים הַצֹּאן	**keeping sheep**	
1 Sam. 28:7	And his seruant said *Bod.* And his seruants sayd.	And his servants said, 1629	וַיֹּאמְרוּ עֲבָדָיו	**And his servant said**	*Bod* shows that the variation from the Hebrew is deliberate; the translators may have reasoned that, whereas Saul spoke to the servants collectively, they did not reply in chorus.
1 Sam. 31:2	Malchishua *Bod*: Melichis︿ua. a *subst.* h *ins.*	Malchishua (Melchi-shua, 1769–1963)	מַלְכִּי־שׁוּעַ	Malchishua	
2 Sam. 2:9	And hee made him king *Bod*: and ︿ made him king. he *ins.*	And made him king, 1762 (1817 8º = 1611)	וַיַּמְלִכֵהוּ	**And he made him king**	

2 Sam. 3:26	Siriah *Bod*: Syria. *ncn.*	Sirah, 1629	הַסִּרָה	Sirah
2 Sam. 4:4	feete, *and* was fiue yeeres olde = *Bod* (except italics).	feet. He was five years old, 1762 (1817 8º = 1611)	רַגְלַיִם בֶּן־חָמֵשׁ שָׁנִים הָיָה	**feet, and was five years old**	The italics show that 1611's reading is deliberate.
2 Sam. 5:14	Shammua *Bod*: S˷amua. h *ins.* line over 'm' to double it.	Shammua (Shammuah, 1638–1963)	שַׁמּוּעַ	Shammua
2 Sam. 6:3, 6, 7, 8	Vzzah *Bod*: ~~Oza~~. Uzzah *subst.*	Uzzah	עֻזָּא עֻזָּה	Uzzah	Both Hebrew and English vary. Uzza son of Abinadab is twice עֻזָּה (2 Sam. 6:7, 8), and six times עֻזָּא (2 Sam. 6:3, 6; 1 Chr. 13:7, 9, 10, 11); 1611 (unchanged by modern versions) gives 'Uzzah' in 1 Samuel and 'Uzza' in 1 Chronicles. I follow the translators' preference. The only other instance of עֻזָּה is 1 Chr. 6:29; though a different character from the others, I follow the Hebrew and amend to 'Uzzah'. The remaining examples are all עֻזָּא, 'Uzza'. One effect of retaining 'Uzzah' is that the parallel passage in 1 Chr. 13:7 etc. remains slightly different, as it was in 1611. (*Bod* reads 'Perez'Oza' at 2 Sam. 6:8. *ncn.*)
1 Chr. 6:29	Vzza *Bod*: ~~Oza~~. Uzza *subst.*	Uzza (Uzzah, 1817 8º)	עֻזָּה	**Uzzah**	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
2 Sam. 6:12	all that *pertained* vnto him = *Bod.*	*pertaineth*, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	וְאֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ	pertaineth	This is the logical tense. 1611 follows *B*, but *G* indicates the correctness of the present tense: 'and all that hee hath'.
2 Sam. 10:6, 8	Maacah *Bod*: Maacha. *g.* Both vv.	Maacah	מַעֲכָה	**Maachah**	So transliterated elsewhere; see entry for 1 Chr. 2:48.
2 Sam. 11:1	And it came to passe, that after the yeere was expired . . . , that Dauid *Bod*: And it came to passe, that after the yeere was expired . . . , ˄ Dauid. that *ins.*	And it came to pass, after the year . . . , 1762	וַיְהִי לִתְשׁוּבַת הַשָּׁנָה	**that after the year**	The tautology of the repeated 'that' would justify the change (cf. 1 Kgs 20:26, where the same Hebrew is involved and 'that' is omitted). *Bod* appears to confirm that 1611 was deliberate, but there are instances where deletions are not marked.
2 Sam. 11:21	Ierubesheth *Bod*: Jerubes˄eth. h *ins.*	Jerubbesheth, 1629	יְרֻבֶּשֶׁת	Jerubbesheth	
2 Sam. 16:8	to thy mischiefe = *Bod.*	in thy mischief, 1629	בְּרָעָתֶךָ	**to thy mischief**	S notes that 'the Translators give what they hold to be the general sense of the text, reserving a more literal reading for the margin' (p. 219 n.). Margin: '*Hebr. behold thee in thy euill*'.

2 Sam. 16:12	that the LORD will requite good *Bod*: ~~doe mee~~ good. that the Lord will requite *subst.*	requite me good, 1629	וְהֵשִׁיב יְהוָה לִי טוֹבָה	**requite good**	1629 is literal, but there have been other examples of such omissions.
2 Sam. 17:25	Abigail = *Bod.*	Abigail (Abigal, *She*, 1612 all, 1616)	אֲבִיגַל	Abigail	Cf. 1 Sam. 25:32, where the Hebrew is the same and the person is the same who is elsewhere spelt אֲבִנָיִל *G*: 'Abigal', *B*: Abigail'.
2 Sam. 21:21	Shimea *Bod*: ~~Simah~~. Shimea *subst.*	Shimea (Shimeah, 1769–1963)	שִׁמְעָה	Shimea	S notes: 'The reading of the *Keri* and of 1 Chr. 20:7. The correction of 1769 will not suit the form in the *Chetiv* [שִׁמְעִי] and the Vatican LXX (Σεμεεί). Yet "Shimeah" is correct in ch. 13:3' (p. 219 n.). In spite of the desirability of consistency with 13:3, 1611 is retained.
2 Sam. 23:32 1 Chr. 11:33	Elihaba *Bod*: Eliahba. *ncn.* Elihaba. = *Bod.*	Eliahba, 1629	אֶלְיַחְבָּא	Elihaba	
2 Sam. 23:37	Naharai = *Bod.* Berothite = *Bod.*	Naharai, 1817 8° (Nahari, 1769–1963) Beerothite, 1629	נַחְרִי הַבְּאֵרֹתִי	Naharai Beerothite	So 1611 elsewhere.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
1 Kgs 2:42	Know for a certaine, that on the day *Bod*: ~~Bee sure that whensoeuer thou goest out~~ know for a certayne that on that on [*sic*] that day *subst.*	Know for a certain, on the day, 1769 (for a certain, *that* on the day, 1638)		**Know for a certain that on the day**	*Bod* confirms 'that on'. 'that day' is not changed because *Bod* is used as evidence only where there is variation in the printed history of the KJB. (*Bod* here shows normal clerical fallibility.)
1 Kgs 3:4	did Solomon offer vp on that Altar *Bod*: did Solomon offer vpon that Altar. *ncn.*	did Solomon offer upon that altar, 1612 Q°s, 1616, 1629 (1629: the Altar); (offer on, 1612 8° H 316; offer up on, 1817 8°)	יַעֲלֶה שְׁלֹמֹה עַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַהוּא	**did Solomon offer up on that altar**	'Offer up' renders the verb.
1 Kgs 3:12	according to thy word *Bod*: according to thy wordes. *ncn.*	according to thy words, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	כִּדְבָרֶיךָ	**according to thy word**	Though not literal, 1611 makes sense.
1 Kgs 4:10	Heseb *Bod*: He~~z~~eb. s *subst.*	Hesed, 1629	חֶסֶד	Hesed	Appears to be an uncorrected 1602 error (*B* originally had 'Hesed'). 1611 margin also has 'Heseb'. Though the possibility remains that the translators approved the mis-spelling (against the original and their other predecessors), the correction is retained.

1 Kgs 4:12	Iokneam *Bod*: Jecneam. Jokmeā *subst*.	Jokneam	יָקְמְעָם	**Jokmeam**	Cf. יָקְמְעָם, 1611: 'Iokmeam', 1 Chr. 6:68 (= 53, Hebrew). Contrast Josh. 12:22, 19:11, 21:34, יָקְנְעָם, 'Iokneam' (Jokneam); this is a different place. *Bod* confirms that 'Jokneam' is a 1611 printer's error.
1 Kgs 8:61	the Lord your God = *Bod*.	the Lord our God, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ	the Lord our God	Significant example. Here 1611 follows what appears to be a 1602 error; other versions, including *B* 1568, have 'our'. V. 59, which has the identical Hebrew, strengthens the case that the reading here is accidental and derives from failure to correct *Bod*.
1 Kgs 9:11	his desire) that then Solomon gaue *Bod*: . . . he desired) then Solomon gaue. his desire that *subst*.	. . . that then king Solomon gave, 1638	אָז יִתֵּן הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה	<u>**that then Solomon gave**</u>	
1 Kgs 9:11 etc.	Galile	Galilee	הַגָּלִיל Γαλιλαία	Galilee	Regularisation to 1611's predominant form retained. 1602 has 'Galilee' throughout except for 'Galile' at Judith 1:8, with no changes noted. Most changes date from 1629.
1 Kgs 11:1	Sidonians *Bod*: Sidonits. ans *subst*.	Zidonians, 1629 (Sydonians, *She* 1, 3)	צִדֹנִית	Zidonians	Elsewhere, e.g. 11:5, 1611 has 'Zidonians'.
1 Kgs 11:5	Amorites = *Bod*.	Ammonites, 1629 (Ammorites, 1612 8°s)	עַמֹּנִים	Ammonites	So 1611 elsewhere.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
1 Kgs 11:33	Ashtaroth *Bod*: As.taroth. h *ins.*	Ashtoreth, 1629	עַשְׁתֹּרֶת	Ashtoreth	So 1611, v. 5. At v. 5: *Bod*: As.tar~~e~~th. e *subst.*
1 Kgs 13:6	was restored againe = *Bod.*	was restored him again, 1638	וַתָּשָׁב יַד־הַמֶּלֶךְ אֵלָיו	**was restored again**	1638 is a literal correction.
1 Kgs 13:11	his sonne came *Bod*: his sonnes came. *ncn.*	his sons came, 1616, 1629	וַיָּבוֹא בְנוֹ	**his son came**	1611 is literal, though context suggests plural is better.
1 Kgs 15:5	Vriiah *Bod*: Vria~~s~~. h *subst.*	Uriah, 1629	אוּרִיָּה	Uriah	
1 Kgs 15:14	Asa his heart = *Bod.*	Asa's heart, 1762		Asa's heart	See p. 144.
Esther 3:4	Mordecai his matters *Bod*: Mardo~~cheus~~ ˰ matters. o *subst.* *cai *subst.* his *ins.*	Mordecai's matters, 1762		Mordecai's matters	('c' is unclear in *Bod.*)
1 Kgs 15:19	breake the league *Bod*: breake the ~~bonde~~. e of 'the' *wo* y. league *subst.*	break thy league, 1629	הָפֵרָה אֶת־בְּרִיתְךָ	break thy league	1629's reading appears to have been the translators' intention.
1 Kgs 15:27	which belongeth to the Philistines *Bod*: which ~~is a citie of~~ the Philistines. belongeth to *subst.*	which *belonged* to the Philistines, 1762	אֲשֶׁר לַפְּלִשְׁתִּים	**which belongeth to the Philistines**	

1 Kgs 15:29	the house Iereboam *Bod*: the house of Jereboam. *ncn.*	the house of Jereboam, 1613	בֵּית יָרָבְעָם	the house of Jereboam	*Bod* plus the early change suggest 1611 is accidental.
1 Kgs 16:19	to make Israel sinne *Bod*: ~~and in that he made~~ Israel to sinne. to make *subst.*	to make Israel to sin, 1762	לְהַחֲטִיא אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל	**to make Israel sin**	1762's amendment appears pedantic, but *Bod* shows that it may represent the translators' intentions.
1 Kgs 18:28	And they cried loud = *Bod*.	And they cried aloud, 1612 Qᵒs, 1616, 1629	וַיִּקְרְאוּ בְּקוֹל גָּדוֹל	**And they cried loud**	'Loud' is closer to the sense.
1 Kgs 22:2	And it came to passe on the third yere *Bod*: And ˄ the thirde yeere. it came to pass on *ins.*	. . . in the third year, 1629	בַּשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁלִישִׁית	. . . **on the third year**	*Bod* confirms that 1611 is not a misprint.
1 Kgs 22:53	according vnto = *Bod*.	according to		**according unto**	
2 Kgs 4:35	neesed *Bod*: ~~gasped.~~ neezed *subst.*	sneezed, 1762 (1817 8ᵒ = 1611)		sneezed	(*Bod* has an insertion mark before 'neezed' that might be mistaken as an 's'.)
2 Kgs 8:19	as hee promised to giue to him *Bod*: as he promised to giue him. *ncn.*	as he promised him to give him, 1629	כַּאֲשֶׁר אָמַר־לוֹ לָתֵת לוֹ	**as he promised to give to him**	The translators may have judged 'him' to be redundant, though their predecessors included it and it conforms to the Hebrew.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original		*NCPB*	Notes
2 Kgs 9:23	turned his hand = *Bod.*	turned his hands, 1629		יָדָיו	**turned his hand**	Here 1611 follows its predecessors in spite of the plural Hebrew, perhaps judging this to be a more natural English phrase.
2 Kgs 9:26	sonnes, sayd the LORD = *Bod.*	sons, saith the LORD			**sons, said the Lord**	'sayth the LORD' is used later in the verse for what appears to be a continuation of the same speech, and there is no variation in the Hebrew. However, the variation in tense goes back to the Great Bible and is left unchanged. The reason is that the first statement recalls what the Lord said at 1 Kgs 21:29, but the second does not. 1611 is restored because it represents a deliberate decision by successive translators.
2 Kgs 11:10	the Temple. = *Bod.*	the temple of the LORD, 1638 (the temple, 1817 8°)	בְּבֵית יְהוָה		the temple	This looks like an omission by the translators but may be deliberate.
2 Kgs 12:19, 20	Iehoash *Bod*: J͵oas. eh *subst* (both vv).	Joash, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)		יוֹאָשׁ	**Jehoash**	The Hebrew spelling has changed from the previous verse but the person appears to be the same. 1611 has changed *B*'s 'Iehoas' in all verses, following *G*'s spelling from v. 18, but not *G*'s change to 'Ioash' in v. 19. The choice is between fidelity to the variations of the Hebrew spelling and regularisation of the Hebrew. The translators deliberately chose the latter course, therefore their reading is restored.

2 Kgs 13:24	Hazael the king of Syria = *Bod.*	Hazael king of Syria, 1629	חֲזָאֵל מֶלֶךְ־אֲרָם	**Hazael the king of Syria**	
2 Kgs 15:15	the conspiracy *Bod*: the ~~treason.~~ conspiracie *subst.*	his conspiracy, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	וְקִשְׁרוֹ	**the conspiracy**	
2 Kgs 18:8	fenced cities *Bod*: ~~strong cities.~~ fenced cities *subst.*	fenced city, 1629	עַד־עִיר מִבְצָר	**fenced cities**	The identical phrase at 17:9 is translated as singular, but the plural appears to be deliberate.
2 Kgs 18:18	Helkiah *Bod*: ~~Elcia.~~ Hilkiah *subst.*	Hilkiah, 1629	חִלְקִיָּהוּ	Hilkiah	1611 appears, in the light of *Bod*, to be a typographical error.
2 Kgs 19:2	Esai = *Bod.*	Isaiah, 1629	יְשַׁעְיָהוּ	Isaiah	1611 has 'Isaiah' at vv. 5, 6, etc.
2 Kgs 19:37	Adramelech = *Bod.*	Adrammelech, 1638	אַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ	Adrammelech	
Isa. 37:38	Adramelech	Adrammelech, 1638	אַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ	Adrammelech	
2 Kgs 20:1	Amos = *Bod.*	Amoz, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	אָמוֹץ	Amoz	
2 Kgs 20:13	shewed them the house *Bod*: shewed them ~~all his treasure house.~~ the house *subst.*	shewed them all the house, 1638	יַרְאֵם אֶת־כָּל־בֵּית	**showed them the house**	1638 restores a rejected reading.
2 Kgs 20:17	vnto Babylon *Bod*: into Babylon. *ncn.*	into Babylon, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	בָּבֶלָה	**unto Babylon**	

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
2 Kgs 21:21	And he walked in all the wayes *Bod*: And ˄ walked in all the way˄. he *ins.* s *ins.*	And he walked in all the way, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	וַיֵּ֖לֶךְ בְּכָל־הַדֶּ֑רֶךְ	**And he walked in all the ways**	The plural is more natural English, and remains unchanged at Deut. 5:33 and Jer. 7:23 (if this is to remain changed, they should be changed). Sometimes, e.g. Josh. 24:17, 1611 uses the less natural, more literal singular.
22:2	and walked in all the wayes = *Bod*.	and walked in all the way, 1629 (. . . ways, 1837)	וַיֵּ֕לֶךְ בְּכָל־דֶּ֖רֶךְ	**and walked in all the ways**	
2 Kgs 23:13	Milchom = *Bod*.	Milcom, 1638	מִלְכֹּם	Milcom	So 1611 elsewhere.
2 Kgs 23:21	this booke of the Couenant *Bod*: the booke of ~~this~~ couenant. the *subst*.	the book of this covenant, 1638[4] (1817 8° = 1611)	סֵ֥פֶר הַבְּרִ֖ית הַזֶּ֑ה	**this book of the covenant**	S notes that 'the rendering of 1611 is quite justifiable, but the LXX and Vulgate translate as in 1629' (p. 156 n.). הַבְּרִית cannot be treated as masculine, so 1611's is the appropriate reading and is, as *Bod* shows, a deliberate correction of B and G (and their predecessors), which give 1629's reading.
2 Kgs 23:31	Hamital = *Bod*.	Hamutal, 1629	חֲמוּטַל	Hamutal	So 1611 elsewhere.
2 Kgs 23:36	twentie and fiue yeere olde *Bod*: twentie and fiue yeeres olde. *ncn.*	twenty and five years, 1629		twenty and five years old	*Bod* supports 1629.

[4] S gives 1629, but this is not in the Cambridge edition.

Jer. 52:1	one and twentie yeere olde 1602: one and twentie yeres old.	one and twenty years old, 1630, 1744 [not 1638]		one and twenty years old	
Dan. 5:31	two yeere 1602: two yeres.	two years, 1612 8° H316, 1629 [not 1638]		two years	
Esdras 1:39	Fiue and twentie yeere old 1602: Fiue and twentie yeeres old.	five and twenty years old, 1612 8° H315(1), 1629		five and twenty years old	
1 Macc. 9:57	two yeere 1602: two yeeres.	two years, 1629		two years	
2 Kgs 24:13	and the treasure = *Bod.*	and the treasures, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	אוֹצְרוֹת	**and the treasure**	So 1611 and *Bod* earlier in the verse. The translators chose not to make the number consistent.
2 Kgs 24:19	Iehoiachin *Bod*: ~~Ioachin~~. Jehoiachin *subst.*	Jehoiakim, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	יְהוֹיָקִים	Jehoiakim	So 1611 elsewhere. This appears to be accidentally left over from *B*'s 'Iehoachin'.
1 Chr. 1:9	Siba *Bod*: Seba. e *wo* i.	Seba, 1629	סְבָא	Seba	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 1:20	Hazermaueth = *Bod.*	Hazarmaveth, 1634 (1817 8° = 1611)	הֲצַרְמָוֶת	Hazarmaveth	So 1611 at Gen. 10:26.
1 Chr. 1:25	Rehu = *Bod.*	Reu, 1638	רְעוּ	Reu	1611 has 'Reu' (same Hebrew) at Gen. 11:18, 19.
1 Chr. 1:33	Ephar = *Bod.*	Epher, 1638	עֵפֶר	Epher	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
1 Chr. 1:38	Ezer = *Bod.*	Ezer (Ezar, 1629–1963)	אֵצֶר	Ezer	
1 Chr. 1:42	Bilham *Bod*: Bilhan. *ncn.*	Bilhan, 1629	בִּלְהָן	Bilhan	*Bod* makes it more likely that 1611 is an error.
	Dishon *Bod*: Dis͵on. h *ins.*	Dishan, 1638	בְּנֵי דִישׁוֹן עוּץ וַאֲרָן	Dishan	1611 agrees with what, from the cognate verse (Gen. 36:28: בְּנֵי־דִישָׁן עוּץ וַאֲרָן), seems an error in the Hebrew, possibly caused by דִישׁוֹן in the previous verse. 1611 is probably not a printer's error, since *B* and *G* do not distinguish the names. To correct by Gen. 36:28 is consistent with the decision to reinstate 'Jehoash' at 2 Kgs 12:19–20.
1 Chr. 2:10	Aminadab (twice) = *Bod.*	Amminadab, 1629	עַמִּינָדָב	Amminadab	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 2:14, 24:6	Nathanael *Bod*: Nathanael. e *subst.* = *Bod.*	Nethaneel, 1638	נְתַנְאֵל	Nethaneel	So 1611 elsewhere. (The inconsistent readings of 1611 come from inconsistent changes to a consistent 1602 spelling.)
15:24	Nathaneel *Bod*: Nathanael. e *subst.*				
Neh. 12:21, 36	Nethanael *Bod*: Nathanael. e *subst* (both vv).	Nethaneel, 1629			

1 Chr. 2:18	Iesher, Shobab *Bod*: Jas.er, S.obab. e *wo*, h *ins*, h *ins*.	and Shobab, 1629	וְשׁוֹבָב	**Jesher, Shobab**	
1 Chr. 2:25	Ozen *Bod*: Osem. z *subst*.	Ozem, 1629	אֹצֶם	Ozem	So 1611 at v. 15.
1 Chr. 2:27	Ekar *Bod*: Ekar. k *subst*.	Eker, 1638	עֵקֶר	Eker	
1 Chr. 2:42 2 Chr. 11:8	Maresha *Bod*: Mares.a. h *ins* (both vv).	Mareshah, 1638	מָרֵשָׁה	Mareshah	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 2:48; 9:35	Maacha = *Bod*.	Maachah, 1638	מַעֲכָה	Maachah	Various characters have this name; 1611 gives 'Maacha', 'Maachah' and 'Maacah'. *CT* regularly gives 'Maachah', except at 2 Sam. 10:6, 8 (see entry).
2 Chr. 11:20–22	Maacah *Bod*: Maacha (all vv).	Maachah, 1629	מַעֲכָה		
1 Chr. 11:43	Maacah = *Bod*.	Maachah, 1638	מַעֲכָה		
1 Chr. 2:49	Sheua *Bod*: S.eua. h *ins*. Achsah *Bod*: Achsa. Achsah *ins* later.	Sheva (Shua, *She* 3, Shevah, 1629) Achsah (Achsa, 1638–1963)	שְׁוָא עַכְסָה	Sheva Achsah	
1 Chr. 2:52	Haroe *Bod* omits. Haroe *ins*.	Haroeh, 1638	הָרֹאֶה	Haroeh	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
1 Chr. 2:54	Salmah *Bod*: Salma. h *wi.*	Salma, 1638	שַׂלְמָא	Salma	So 1611 vv. 11, 51.
1 Chr. 2:55; 13:5; Amos 6:14 Amos 6:2	Hemath	Hemath Hamath	חֲמָת חֲמָת	Hamath	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 3:2	Adoniah *Bod*: Adonia. h *wi.*	Adonijah, 1616, 1629	אֲדֹנִיָה	Adonijah	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 3:3 9:8	Shephatia *Bod*: S.ephatia. h *ins.* Shephatiah *Bod*: S.ephatia. h *ins.*	Shephatiah, 1629 Shephathiah	שְׁפַטְיָה	Shephatiah	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 3:7; 14:6	Noga = *Bod* (both vv).	Nogah, 1638	נֹגַה	Nogah	
1 Chr. 3:10	Abia = *Bod* (but placed later in v by strikethrough and substitution)	Abia	אֲבִיָה	**Abiah**	Several characters have this name and are given as 'Abiah' (1 Sam. 8:2; 1 Chr. 2:24; 6:28; 7:8).
1 Chr. 3:15, 16	Ioakim *Bod*: Joaєim. k *subst.*	Jehoiakim, 1629	יְהוֹיָקִים	Jehoiakim	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 3:15	Sallum *Bod*: S.allum. h *ins.*	Shallum, 1629	שַׁלּוּה	Shallum	So 1611 elsewhere. *Bod* shows that 1611 is an error.

1 Chr. 3:18	Hosama = *Bod*.	Hoshama (Hosanna, *She* 3)	הוֹשָׁמָע	Hoshama	Correction follows Hebrew.
1 Chr. 3:19	And the sonne of Zerubbabel *Bod*: ˌ The sonnes of Zerobabel. And *ins.* e *subst.* u *subst.* b *ins.*	and the sons of Zerubbabel, 1629	וּבֶן־זְרֻבָּבֶל	**and the son of Zerubbabel**	This seems a manifest error in 1611; two names follow; but *Bod* shows it is deliberate. S notes that 'in ver. 21 the first "sons" is also singular in Hebrew, so that 1611 is inconsistent in this matter' (p. 220 n.).
1 Chr. 7:35	And the sonne *Bod*: And the sonnes.	And the sons, 1701	וּבֶן	**And the son**	
1 Chr. 3:20	Hazubah *Bod*: Hasubah. z *subst.*	Hashubah, 1629	חֲשֻׁבָה	Hashubah	
1 Chr. 3:21, 22	Sechaniah *Bod*: Sechania. h *ins.*, h *wi.*	Shechaniah	שְׁכַנְיָה	Shechaniah	This name is inconsistently treated in 1602, *Bod*, 1611 and *CT*, which varies at the same places as the Hebrew without reflecting the nature of the Hebrew variation. Though various people are involved, the name is regularised.
24:11	Shecaniah *Bod*: Secaniah. h *ins.*	Shecaniah	לִשְׁכַנְיָהוּ	**Shechaniah**	
2 Chr. 31:15	Shechaniah *Bod*: Sechania. h *ins.*, h *wi.*		וּשְׁכַנְיָהוּ	**Shechaniah**	
Ezra 8:3, 5	Shechaniah *Bod*: Zechania. She *subst.*, h *wi.*	Shechaniah	שְׁכַנְיָה	Shechaniah	

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
10:2	Shechaniah *Bod*: Sechania. h *ins*., h *wi*.				
Neh. 3:29	Shechaniah *Bod*: Sechania. h *ins*.				
6:18	Shechaniah *Bod*: Sechania. h *ins*., h *wi*.				
12:3	Shecaniah *Bod*: Sechania. h *ins*., h *wi*.			**Shechaniah**	
1 Chr. 3:22	Semaiah (twice) *Bod*: Semaia. h *wi*.	Shemaiah, 1629	שְׁמַעְיָה	Shemaiah	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 4:6	Ahusam = *Bod*.	Ahuzam, 1629	אֲחֻזָּם	Ahuzam	
	Ahashtari *Bod*: *Ahasthari. sht *subst*.	Haahashtari, 1638	הָאֲחַשְׁתָּרִי	Haahashtari	(The marking in *Bod* looks like a mixture of a strikethrough and an insertion in front of and on the 't'.)
1 Chr. 4:7	Zoar *Bod*: Jezoar.	Jezoar, 1638	Qere: צֹחַר Kethibh: יִצְחָר	**Zohar**	Elsewhere Qere transliterated 'Zohar'; 1611 appears to have followed this, while 1638 has followed the Kethibh. Given the doubtfulness of this name, the traditional spelling is retained, and conformed to 1611's normal transliteration.

1 Chr. 4:13	Saraia *Bod*: S~~e~~raia. a *subst.*	Seraiah, 1629 (Saraiah, 1612, 1613 Q°, 1616)	שְׂרָיָה	Seraiah	So 1611 elsewhere, e.g. 1 Chr. 4:14. (*Bod* illustrates the inconsistencies of corrections to names.)
4:35	Seraia *Bod*: Saraia. e *subst.*	Seraiah, 1638	שְׂרָיָה		
Ezra 2:2	Saraiah *Bod*: Saraia. h *wi.*	Seraiah, 1629	שְׂרָיָה		
1 Chr. 4:14	Charasim *Bod*: ~~craftsmen~~. Charasim *subst.*	Charashim, 1629	חֲרָשִׁים	Charashim	
1 Chr. 4:20	Simeon *Bod*: Sim˄on: e *ins.*	Shimon, 1629	שִׁימוֹן	Shimon	Contrast שִׁמְעוֹן, Simeon, v. 24.
1 Chr. 4:29	Bilha = *Bod.*	Bilhah, 1638	בִּלְהָה	Bilhah	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 4:34	Amashiah *Bod*: Amaua (˄ under 'u'; insertion unclear)	Amaziah, 1629	אֲמַצְיָה	Amaziah	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 4:35	Iosibia *Bod*: Josibi. a *wi.*	Josibiah, 1629	יוֹשִׁבְיָה	Josibiah	
1 Chr. 4:36	Iesohaiah *Bod*: J˄sohaia. *e ins.* h *wi.*	Jeshohaiah (Jehohaiah, *She* 3)	וִישׁוֹחָיָה	Jeshohaiah	
1 Chr. 4:37	Iedaia = *Bod.*	Jedaiah, 1638	יְדָיָה	Jedaiah	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 5:5	Reaia *Bod*: Reaia. h *wi.*	Reaia	רְאָיָה	**Reaiah**	So 1611 elsewhere (1 Chr. 4:2; Ezra 2:47; Neh. 7:50). *Bod* supports the change.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
1 Chr. 5:8	Azah *Bod*: Aza~n~. *z subst.*	Azaz, 1629	עֲזָז	Azaz	
1 Chr. 5:11	Salchah *Bod*: Salcha. h *wi.*	Salchah (Salcah, 1629–1963)	סַלְכָה	Salchah	'Salchah' for same Hebrew at Deut. 3:10 has remained unchanged since 1611.
1 Chr. 6:39	Berachiah *Bod*: B~a~rachia. e *subst.* h *wi.*	Berachiah	בֶּרֶכְיָהוּ	**Berechiah**	This is the same name as at 15:17; there 'Berechiah'. Twice the name is spelt 'Barachiah', Zech. 1:1, 7, corrected in 1762 to 'Berechiah'.
Zech. 1:1, 7	Barachiah *Bod*: Barachia~s~. h *subst*	Berechiah, 1762 (1817 8° = 1611)	בֶּרֶכְיָה בֶּרֶכְיָהוּ	Berechiah	
1 Chr. 6:40 (= Hebrew v. 25)	Baasiah *Bod*: Baas. a. i *ins*, h *wi.*	Baaseiah, 1638	בַּעֲשֵׂיָה	Baaseiah	
1 Chr. 6:40	Melchiah *Bod*: Melchia h *wi.*	Malchiah	מַלְכִּיָה	Malchiah	See p. 147. A variety of figures with the same name: 'Malchijah' would be the closest spelling.
Jer. 21:1	Melchiah *Bod 1602*: Melchias	Melchiah		**Malchiah**	The annotations in *Bod 1602* suggest that 'Melchiah' (1 Chr. 6:40; Jer. 21:1) was accidental: 'e' is left unchanged at Neh. 3:11 and 31, but the printed text has 'a'. The annotations also show that 'Malchiah' (Neh. 10:3) was deliberate.
1 Chr. 9:12; 24:9	Malchiiah *Bod*: M~e~lchia. a *subst.*, i, h *ins.*	Malchijah		**Malchiah** Malchijah	

Ezra 10:25 (2nd example)	Malchijah *Bod*: Melchia. a *subst.*, i, h *ins.*	Malchijah		Malchijah	Therefore 'Melchiah' is changed to 'Malchiah' (Jer. 21:1), and 'Malchijah' to 'Malchiah' (Neh. 10:3).
Neh. 3:11	Malchiiah *Bod*: Melchia. i, h *ins.*	Malchijah			Since 1 Chr. 9:12, Neh. 11:12 and Jer. 38:1 are the same person, 1 Chr. 9:12 is changed to 'Malchiah' against the evidence of the *Bod* annotations.
Neh. 12:42	Malchiiah *Bod*: Melchiah. a *subst.*, i *ins.*	Malchijah			
Neh. 10:3	Malchiah *Bod*: Malachiiah	Malchijah		**Malchiah**	
Ezra 10:31	Malchiah *Bod*: Melchiia. a *subst.*, h *ins.*	Malchiah		Malchiah	
Ezra 10:25 (1st example); Neh. 3:14, 31; 8:4	Malchiah *Bod*: Melchia. a *subst.*, h *ins.*	Malchiah			
Neh. 11:12	Malchiah *Bod*: Malchia. h *ins.*	Malchiah			
Jer. 38:1	Malchiah *Bod 1602*: Melchia	Malchiah			
Jer. 38:6	Malchiah *Bod 1602*: Melchiah	Malchiah			
1 Chr. 6:57	Libna = *Bod*.	Libnah, 1638	לִבְנָה	Libnah	So 1611 elsewhere except Josh. 15:42.
1 Chr. 6:60	Anathoth = *Bod*.	and Anathoth, 1762	וְאֶת־עֲנָתוֹת	**suburbs, Anathoth**	

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
1 Chr. 7:5	men of might *Bod*: ~~valiant~~ men of ~~warre~~. might *subst*.	valiant men of might, 1638	גִּבּוֹרֵי חֲיָלִים	**men of might**	*Bod* shows the reading is deliberate. 1611 uses a variety of phrases for similar Hebrew at vv. 2, 7, 9, 11, and 7:40, 11:26.
1 Chr. 7:8	Ierimoth *Bod*: Jeremoth. Second e *wo* i.	Jerimoth	וִירְמוֹת	**Jeremoth**	The Hebrew varies and the English varies inconsistently from the Hebrew. At 1 Chr. 7:8 וִירֵמוֹת is different from וִירִימוֹת in the previous verse, but 1611 (unchanged) gives 'Ierimoth' in both verses. The other verses are correctly changed.
1 Chr. 8:14	Ierimoth *Bod*: ~~G~~erimoth. J *subst*.	Jeremoth, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611 throughout)	וִירֵמוֹת	Jeremoth	
25:22	*Bod*: Jeremoth. Second e *wo* i.				
23:23	Ierimoth = *Bod*.	Jeremoth, 1629	וִירְמוֹת	Jeremoth	
1 Chr. 7:18	Ishad *Bod*: ~~Jeshud~~. Ishad *subst*.	Ishod, 1638	אִישְׁהוֹד	Ishod	
1 Chr. 7:19	Shemida *Bod*: Sͺemida. h *ins*.	Shemida (Shemidah, 1762–1963)	שְׁמִידָע	Shemida	
1 Chr. 7:25	Rezeph *Bod*: Re~~s~~eph. z *subst*.	Resheph, 1638	רֶשֶׁף	Resheph	

1 Chr. 7:27	Iehoshua *Bod*: ~~Joshua~~. Jehoshua *subst*.	Jehoshua (Jehoshuah, 1630 [not 1638])	יְהוֹשֻׁעַ	Jehoshua	
1 Chr. 7:32	Shuah *Bod*: S˰ua. h *ins*, h *wi*.	Shua, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	שׁוּעָא	Shua	
1 Chr. 7:36	Suah *Bod*: S˰uah. h *ins*.	Suah (Shuah, *She* 3, 6, 1612 Q°s, 1616, 1817 8°)	סוּחַ	Suah	
1 Chr. 7:38	and Pispa *Bod*: ˌ Pispa. and *ins*.	and Pispah, *She*	וּפִסְפָּה	and Pispah	*She* appears to be a scholarly correction of *He* and *Bod*.
1 Chr. 8:11	Ahitub *Bod*: Ahit~o~b. u *subst*.	Abitub, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	אֲבִיטוּב	Abitub	
1 Chr. 8:31	Gidor *Bod*: Gedor. e *wo* i.	Gedor, 1638	גְדוֹר	Gedor	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 8:36	Asmaueth *Bod*: A~s~maueth. z *subst*.	Azmaveth, 1638	עַזְמָוֶת	Azmaveth	So 1611 elsewhere. *Bod* suggests that 1611 is an error in the printing.
1 Chr. 8:37	Elasa *Bod*: El˰asa. e *ins*, h *wi*.	Eleasah, 1638	אֶלְעָשָׂה	Eleasah	So 1611 at 2:39, 40. Same Hebrew given as 'Elasah' (unchanged) at Jer. 29:3, Ezra 10:22. Here, more obviously than in the previous verse, a correction has been lost.
1 Chr. 9:12	Passhur *Bod*: Pashur	Pashur, *She*	פַּשְׁחוּר	Pashur	
	Maasia *Bod*: Maasi. a *wi*.	Maasiai, 1629	מַעְשַׂי	**Maasai**	This is what most modern versions give. 1629's change seems still to be an error.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
1 Chr. 9:44	Ismael *Bod*: Is‚mael. h *ins.*	Ishmael, 1638	יִשְׁמָעֵאל	Ishmael	So 1611 at 8:38. (The insertion is in *Bod*, but obscured by other work.)
1 Chr. 11:15	to the rock of Dauid *Bod*: to ~~a~~ rocke, ~~to~~ Dauid. the *subst.* of *subst.*	to the rock to David, 1629 (1817 8º = 1611)	עַל־הַצֻּר אֶל־דָּוִיד	**to the rock of David**	*Bod* confirms that an apparently erroneous rendering was deliberate.
1 Chr. 11:34	Shageh *Bod*: S‚age. h *ins. h* wi.	Shage, 1629 (Shageth, 1612 Qºs)	שָׁגֵה	**Shageh**	
1 Chr. 11:35	Ahiham *Bod*: Ahiam. *ncn.*	Ahiam	אֲחִיאָם	Ahiam	
1 Chr. 11:45	Zimri = *Bod.*	Shimri, 1629	שִׁמְרִי	Shimri	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 11:46	Elnaan = *Bod.*	Elnaam, 1629	אֶלְנַעַם	Elnaam	
1 Chr. 12:5	Eleuzai *Bod*: Eleu~~s~~ai. z *subst.* Bealiath *Bod*: Bealia‚. th *ins.*	Eluzai, 1612 Qºs, 1629 Bealiah, 1638 (Bealtah, 1612 Qºs)	אֶלְעוּזַי בְּעַלְיָה	**Eleuzai** Bealiah	'e' represents the sheva. = Hebrew v. 6.
1 Chr. 12:6	Azariel *Bod*: Azar~~a~~el. i *subst.*	Azareel, 1638	עֲזַרְאֵל	Azareel	So 1611, Ezra 10:41, Neh. 11:13.
27:22	Azariel *Bod*: Azar‚el. i *ins.*	Azareel, 1629	עֲזַרְאֵל	Azareel	

Neh. 12:36	Asarael = *Bod.*	Azarael, 1629 [not 1638]	עֲזַרְאֵל	**Azareel**	1629 appears erroneous here.
1 Chr. 12:7	Ieroam = *Bod.*	Jeroham, 1613, 1629	יְרֹחָם	Jeroham	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 12:10	Mashmannah *Bod.* Mas͵manah. h *ins.* Line over 'n' (doubling it). h *wi.*	Mishmannah, 1638	מִשְׁמַנָּה	Mishmannah	
1 Chr. 12:11; 2 Chr. 11:20	Atthai = *Bod.*	Attai, 1629 Attai, 1616, 1629	עַתַּי	Attai	So 1611 at 1 Chr. 2:35, 36.
1 Chr. 12:20	Iediel = *Bod.*	Jediael, 1638	וִידִיעֲאֵל	Jediael	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 14:7	Elpalet *Bod*: ~~Eliphalet~~. Elpalet *subst.*	Eliphalet, 1629	אֱלִיפָלֶט	Eliphalet	So 1611 usually.
1 Chr. 15:18, 20, 24; 16:5 2 Chr. 34:12 35:8	Zachariah *Bod*: Zacharia. h *wi.* Sechariah *Bod*: Secharia. h *wi.* Zachariah *Bod*: Zacharia. e *subst.* h *wi.*	Zechariah, 1638 Zechariah, 1612 8° H316, 1629 (Shechariah, 1612 Q°s, 1616) Zechariah, 1638	זְכַרְיָהוּ זְכַרְיָה זְכַרְיָהוּ	Zechariah	So 1611 usually. The two Hebrew spellings appear to be interchangeable, and the English spellings also seem to be. (2 Kgs 14:29, 15:11 and 18:2 [זְכַרְיָה], and 15:8 [זְכַרְיָהוּ] are all the same person; 1611 and successors give 'Zachariah', while other modern versions give 'Zechariah'. Though there is an obvious case for changing here, 'Zachariah' is the established name in the KJB.)

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Neh. 12:41	Zachariah *Bod*: Zacharie. ah *subst.*	Zechariah, 1638	זְכַרְיָה		
1 Chr. 15:18	Iaziel = *Bod.*	Jaaziel, 1638	יַעֲזִיאֵל	Jaaziel	
1 Chr. 15:18 15:20 2 Chr. 23:1 26:11 34:8 Ezra 10:18 10:21, 22, 30	Maasiah = *Bod.* *Bod*: Maasia. h *wi.* *Bod*: Maasia. *ncn.* *Bod*: Maasia. h *wi.* = *Bod.* = *Bod.* *Bod*: Maasia. h *ins* (v. 21), *wi* (vv. 22, 30)	Maaseiah, 1638	מַעֲשֵׂיָהוּ מַעֲשֵׂיָה	Maaseiah	So 1611 at 2 Chr. 28:7; Jer. 35:4.
1 Chr. 15:18, 21	Eliphaleh *Bod*: Eliphale. h *wi.* Mikniah *Bod*: ~~Mienia.~~ Mikniah *subst.*	Elipheleh, 1638 Mikneiah, 1638	אֱלִיפְלֵהוּ מִקְנֵיָהוּ	Elipheleh Mikneiah	

1 Chr. 15:18 (second)	Iehiel *Bod*: ~~Jeiel~~. Jehiel *subst.*	Jeiel, 1616, 1629	יְעִיאֵל	Jeiel	S notes: 'to distinguish יְעִיאֵל (Jeiel) from יְחִיאֵל (Jehiel) of ver. 20. In this verse and 16:5 both names occur, and are thus distinguished in 1611. "Jeiel" is right in v. 21 and in 5:7; "Jehiel" in 23:8; 2 Chr. 21:2; 29:14; 31:13; 35:8; Ezra 8:9; 10:2; 21, 26. See also 2 Chr. 20:14, 29:13' (p. 159 n.).
2 Chr. 20:14; 29:13; 35:9; Ezra 8:13; 10:43	Iehiel = *Bod* (all).	Jeiel, 1638			
1 Chr. 9:35; 11:44	Iehiel = *Bod*.	Jehiel	יְעִיאֵל	**Jeiel**	
1 Chr. 15:21	Azzaziah *Bod*: Aza₌ia. z *ins.*	Azaziah, 1638	עֲזַזְיָהוּ	Azaziah	So 1611, 2 Chr. 31:13.
1 Chr. 27:20	Azazziah *Bod*: Aza~r~ia. * *ins.* h *wi.*	Azaziah, 1629			('r' appears to be struck through in *Bod*; insertion is opaque.)
1 Chr. 23:11	Ziza *Bod*: Zi~z~a. z *ins.*	Zizah	זִיזָה	Zizah	(*Bod* corrects typographical error in 1602 text; *B* 1568: 'Ziza'.)
1 Chr. 23:19	Iekamiam *Bod*: ~~Jecmaam~~. *Jekamiam *subst.*	Jekameam, 1629	וִיקַמְעָם	Jekameam	So 1611, 24:23. (Ending is unclear in *Bod*.)
1 Chr. 23:20	Michah *Bod*: Micha. *ncn.*	Michah (Micah, 1629–1963)	מִיכָה	Michah	So 1611 at 24:24, 25.
1 Chr. 24:11	Ieshua *Bod*: Jes₌ua. h *ins.*	Jeshua (Jeshuah, 1629–1963)	יֵשׁוּעַ	Jeshua	
1 Chr. 24:20	Iedeiah *Bod*: ~~Jehedia~~. Jedeiah *subst.*	Jehdeiah, 1629	יֶחְדְּיָהוּ	Jehdeiah	So 1611, 27:30.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
1 Chr. 25:4	Eliatha = *Bod.*	Eliathah, 1638	אֱלִיאָתָה	Eliathah	Cf. v. 27, אֱלִיָּתָה, 1611 'Eliathah'. Though there is a case that this should be 'Elijathah', it is the same character.
1 Chr. 26:16	Hosa = *Bod.*	Hosah, 1629	חֹסָה	Hosah	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 26:18 *init.*	And Parbar *Bod*: ~~In~~ Parbar. And *subst.*	At Parbar, 1638	לַפַּרְבָּר	**And Parbar**	
1 Chr. 26:30	in all business = *Bod.*	in all the business	לְכֹל מְלֶאכֶת	**in all business**	1611 reflects the Hebrew omission of the definite article (though it supplies the article in the next phrase, 'and in the service of the king').
1 Chr. 27:6	Amizabad = *Bod.*	Ammizabad, 1638	עַמִּיזָבָד	Ammizabad	
1 Chr. 27:27	Sabdi the Ziphmite *Bod*: ~~S~~abdi the ~~Zaphonite~~. Z *subst.* Ziphmite *subst.*	Zabdi the Shiphmite, 1629 (Zabdi, 1612 8°s)	זַבְדִּי הַשִּׁפְמִי	Zabdi the Shiphmite	'Zabdi' 1611 elsewhere. (The 'Z' is not obvious in *Bod.* Here an unclear written change is lost.)
1 Chr. 27:29	Shetrai *Bod*: S‸etrai. h *ins.*	Shitrai, 1638	שִׁטְרַי	Shitrai	Here 1611 follows the Kethibh.
1 Chr. 27:33, 34	Ahitophel = *Bod.*	Ahithophel, 1638	אֲחִיתֹפֶל	Ahithophel	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Chr. 29:2	the siluer for *things* of siluer *Bod*: ‸ siluer, for ~~them~~ of siluer. that *ins.* things *subst.*	and the silver for *things* of silver, 1629	וְהַכֶּסֶף לַכֶּסֶף	**the silver for things of silver**	

1 Chr. 29:6	rulers ouer the Kings worke = *Bod.*	rulers of the king's work, 1762 (1817 8° = 1611)	וּלְשָׂרֵי מְלֶאכֶת הַמֶּלֶךְ	**rulers over the king's work**	1762 makes a minor change to 1611's English.
2 Chr. 3:10	most holy place *Bod*: most holy˄. place *ins.*	most holy house, 1629	בֵּית־קֹדֶשׁ	**most holy place**	
2 Chr. 6:27	the land *Bod*: ~~thy~~ land. the *subst.*	thy land, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	אַרְצֶךָ	**the land**	*Bod* confirms that the departure from literal translation is not a printing error. See p. 41.
2 Chr. 8:16	the house of God was perfected *Bod*: ~~the house of the Lord was perfect~~. the house of God was perfected *subst.*	the house of the LORD was perfected	בֵּית יְהוָה	the house of the LORD was perfected	The whole verse is struck out and rewritten in *Bod*; 'God' appears to be a scribal error ('the Lord' is correctly used earlier in the verse).
2 Chr. 11:8	Maresha *Bod*: Mares˄a. h *ins.*	Mareshah, 1638	מָרֵשָׁה	Mareshah	
2 Chr. 13:6	his LORD *Bod*: ~~the~~ Lord. his *subst.*	his lord, 1629	אֲדֹנָיו	his lord	
2 Chr. 17:18	Iehoshabad *Bod*: ~~Josa~~bad. *ehosha *subst.*	Jehozabad, 1629	יְהוֹזָבָד	Jehozabad	So 1611 elsewhere. 'J' is erroneously struck through in *Bod*.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
2 Chr. 18:7, 8	Iimla *Bod*: Jemla. i *subst.*	Imla, 1612 8°s, 1638 (Jimlah, 1630)	יִמְלָא	Imla	The same character is יִמְלָה, 'Imlah' at 1 Kgs 22:8, 9, whence, presumably, the 1630 correction.
2 Chr. 20:36	Ezion-Geber *Bod*: Ezion Gaber. e *subst.*	Ezion-geber (Ezion-Gaber, Ezion-gaber 1638–1963)	עֶצְיוֹן גֶּבֶר	Ezion-geber	The commonest form of the name as established in 1629 is followed.
1 Kgs 9:26	Ezion Geber *Bod*: Azion Gaber. e *subst.*	Ezion-geber, 1629 [1638 = 1611]	עֶצְיוֹן־גֶּבֶר		
22:48	Ezion Geber *Bod*: Esion Gaber. z *subst.* e *subst.*	Ezion-geber, 1629	עֶצְיוֹן גֶּבֶר		
2 Chr. 8:17	Ezion Geber *Bod*: Ezion Gaber. e *subst.*	Ezion-geber, 1629	עֶצְיוֹן־גֶּבֶר		
2 Chr. 24:26	Shimeah *Bod*: S.imeath. h *ins.*	Shimeath, 1629	שִׁמְעָת	Shimeath	So 1611, 2 Kgs 12:21. There: *Bod*: Semaa.h. *h *wi* after S. *e *wo* i. e *subst.* t *ins.*
2 Chr. 25:1	Iehoadan = *Bod.*	Jehoaddan, 1638 (Jehoiadan, 1612 8° H316)	יְהוֹעַדָּן	Jehoaddan	So 1611, 2 Kgs 14:2. There: *Bod*: ~~Joadan.~~ Jehoaddan *subst.*
2 Chr. 25:23	Ioahaz = *Bod.*	Jehoahaz, 1629	יְהוֹאָחָז	Jehoahaz	So 1611 elsewhere, including nearby verses.

2 Chr. 26:18	It perteineth not vnto thee *Bod*: It pertaineth not to thee. *ncn.*	*It appertaineth* not unto thee, 1616, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	לֹא־לְךָ	**It pertaineth not unto thee**	In all other places, 'pertain' and 'appertain' remain unchanged. They appear to be used indifferently (see 1 Macc. 10:39, 40, and 34, 35).
2 Chr. 28:11	wrath of God = *Bod*.	wrath of the LORD, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	אַף־יְהוָה	**wrath of God**	
2 Chr. 28:22	this distresse *Bod*: ~~his tribulation~~. this distresse *subst.*	his distress, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	הָצֵר לוֹ	**this distress**	*Bod* shows that what appears to be a typographical error in 1611 was created by the translators.
2 Chr. 29:12	Amashai *Bod*: Amas͵ai. h *ins.*	Amasai, 1629	עֲמָשַׂי	Amasai	So 1611 elsewhere.
	Iahalelel = *Bod*.	Jehalelel, 1638	יְהַלֶּלְאֵל	Jehalelel	1 Chr. 4:16, יְ הַלֶּלְאֵל, 1611: 'Iehaleleel'. Since these are two different characters, the inconsistent transliteration is retained.
2 Chr. 29:23	and laide *Bod*: and ~~put~~. laid [or 'laide'] *subst.*	and they laid, 1629	וַיִּסְמְכוּ	**and laid**	1629's correction is unnecessary.
2 Chr. 31:6	the tithes of oxen and sheepe = *Bod*.	the tithe of oxen and sheep, 1638	מַעְשַׂר בָּקָר וָצֹאן	**the tithes of oxen and sheep**	'Tithes' may be deliberate, so is retained. 1638 evidently chose to use the singular at the expense of retaining the article (the English alternative would be 'tithes of . . .'). 'The tithe' is repeated, which helps justify 1638. Cf. Lev. 27:32: 'the tithe of the herde, or of the flocke'.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
2 Chr. 31:14	Immah *Bod*: Imma. h *wi*.	Imnah, 1629 (Immath, 1612 8º H316)	יִמְנָה	Imnah	This name is variously rendered by 1611, 'Iimnah' (Gen. 46:17), 'Imna' (Num. 26:44; see above) – these are the same person – and 'Imnah' (1 Chr. 7:30); not to be confused with יִמְנָע, 'Imna' (1 Chr. 7:35).
2 Chr. 32:5	prepared Millo *Bod*: ‚repaired. p *ins*.	repaired Millo, 1616	וַיְחַזֵּק אֶת־הַמִּלּוֹא	**prepared Millo**	The nearest parallel seems to be וַיְחַזֵּק עַל־יָדוֹ עֵזֶר, 'and next to him repaired Ezer' (Neh. 3:19), and the neighbouring verses. This verb is never elsewhere given as 'prepared'. 'Prepared' makes some sense and *Bod* confirms that it is deliberate. See p. 40.
2 Chr. 32:20	For this *cause* *Bod*: But. *ncn*.	And for this *cause*, 1638		**For this cause**	Sentence begins with ו (syntax changed).
2 Chr. 33:19	all his sinne *Bod*: all his sinnes.	all his sin, 1817 8º (all his sins, 1762–1963)	כָּל־חַטָּאתוֹ	all his sin	
2 Chr. 34:10	and mend = *Bod*.	and amend, 1769 (1817 8º = 1611)	וּלְחַזֵּק	**and mend**	1769's amendment of language is unnecessary.
2 Chr. 35:9	Ioshabad *Bod*: Jos‚abad. h *ins*.	Jozabad, 1629	יוֹזָבָד	Jozabad	So elsewhere except 2 Kgs 12:21, 'Iehozabad' (this may be an error or may deliberately conform to 2 Chr. 24:26), and 1 Chr. 12:4, 'Iosabad'. The latter is probably a spelling error and so corrected here.
1 Chr. 12:4	Iosabad = *Bod*.	Josabad	יוֹזָבָד	**Jozabad**	

Ezra 2:2	Mispar = *Bod.*	Mispar (Mizpar, 1744, 1817 Fᵒ, 1837, 1873, Mizpah, 1817 8ᵒ)	מִסְפָּר	Mispar	
Ezra 2:22	The children of Netophah *Bod*: The men of Netopha. h *wi.*	The men of Netophah, 1638	אַנְשֵׁי נְטֹפָה	The men of Netophah	'children' appears to be a printer's error, induced by a long succession of 'children's. See p. 60.
Ezra 2:40	Hodauia = *Bod.*	Hodaviah, 1629	הוֹדַוְיָה	Hodaviah	So 1611 elsewhere.
Ezra 2:50	Nephushim *Bod*: Nephus.im. h *ins.*	Nephusim, 1629	נְפוּסִים	Nephusim	
Ezra 3:5	that willingly offred, offered a free will offering *Bod*: ~~which they did of their owne free will offer~~. that willingly offered a free will offering *subst.*	that willingly offered a free will offering, *She*, 1613 Fᵒ, 1616, 1629	וּלְכֹל מִתְנַדֵּב נְדָבָה	that willingly offered a free-will offering	*She* reading from Wright. *Bod* increases the likelihood that 1611 is erroneous.
Ezra 4:9	the Apharsaphkites *Bod*: of ~~Apharsaph~~. the *Apharsaphkites *subst.*	the Apharsathchites, 1612 all, 1616, 1629	אֲפַרְסַתְכָיֵא	the Apharsathchites	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Ezra 4:10	Asnappar *Bod*: Asnapper. *ncn.*	Asnappar (Asnapper, 1617, 1629 H425, 1630, 1762–1963 [not Cambridge 1629, 1638])	אָסְנַפַּר	Asnappar	
Ezra 4:24	the house of the God, which *Bod*: the house of God at. *ncn.*	the house of God which, 1616, 1629	עֲבִידַת בֵּית־אֱלָהָא דִּי	**the house of the God which**	S notes: 'this seems to be an attempt on the part of the Translators (afterwards given over, as in ch. 7:18) to represent, whensoever it might be possible, the *status emphaticus* of the Chaldee' (p. 222 n.).
Ezra 7:4	Zeraiah *Bod*: Zeraia. h *wi.*	Zerahiah, 1638	זְרַחְיָה	Zerahiah	So 1611 elsewhere.
Ezra 7:18	the siluer and gold = *Bod*.	the silver and the gold, 1762 (1817 8° = 1611)	כַּסְפָּא וְדַהֲבָה	**the silver and gold**	
Ezra 8:16	also for Iarib *Bod*: ⌐ Jarib. and for *ins.*	also for Joiarib, 1638	וּלְיֹויָרִיב	also for Joiarib	So 1611 elsewhere. *Bod* suggests the translators intended to repeat 'and for Iarib' from earlier in the verse.
Ezra 8:21	there, at the riuer Ahaua *Bod*: ~~the water beside Ahaua.~~ there at the riuer Ahaua *subst.*	the river of Ahava, 1762	הַנָּהָר אַהֲוָא	. . . **the river Ahava**	Contrast the construct form at v. 31.

Ezra 10:23	Kelitah *Bod*: S̶elitah. K *subst*.	Kelita, 1638	קְלִיטָא	Kelita	So 1611 elsewhere.
Ezra 10:25	Iesiah *Bod*: Jesia. h *wi*.	Jeziah, 1638	יִזִּיָה	**Jezziah**	Unique occurrence.
Ezra 10:33	Mattatha *Bod*: Mathatha.	Mattathah, 1638	מַתַּתָה	Mattathah	Corrections to *Bod* oddly done. There is a strikethrough line between first 'a' and 't'; 't' is written above first 'h'.
Ezra 10:35	Bedaiah *Bod*: B̶adaia. e *subst*. h *wi*.	Bedeiah, 1762	בֵדְיָה	Bedeiah	
Ezra 10:38	Bennui = *Bod*.	Binnui, 1612 Qᵒs, 1638 (Benui, 1612 8ᵒ H316)	בִנּוּי	Binnui	So 1611 elsewhere.
Neh. 1:11	O Lᴏʀᴅ *Bod*: O Lord. *ncn*.	O Lord, 1835	אָנָּא אֲדֹנָי	O Lord	So 1611, Dan. 9:14. (Typographical distinctions, including italics, are not indicated in *Bod*.)
Neh. 2:12	what God had put *Bod*: what God had g̶i̶u̶e̶n̶ ̶m̶e̶e̶. put *subst*.	what my God had put, 1638	מָה אֱלֹהַי נֹתֵן	**what God had put**	
Neh. 3:4	Merimoth *Bod*: Mer̶emoth. No visible substitution.	Meremoth, 1638	מְרֵמוֹת	Meremoth	So 1611, Ezra 8:33, 10:36.
3:21	= *Bod*.		מְרֵמֹת		
10:5	*Bod*: Mer̶emoth. i *subst*.				
12:3	= *Bod*.				

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original		*NCPB*	Notes
Neh. 3:4	Vriah	Urijah	אוּרִיָּה		Urijah	1611 has 'Urijah' for the same person at v. 21. Elsewhere it sometimes uses 'Uriah', sometimes 'Urijah'. See note to 1 Kgs 15:5.
Neh. 3:5; 8:10 (first)	Lᴏʀᴅ *Bod*: Lord. *ncn.*	Lord, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611; 1817 F° = 1611 at 8:10)	אֲדֹנֵיהֶם לַאֲדֹנֵינוּ		Lord	
Neh. 3:6	Besodaiah *Bod*: ~~Besodia.~~ Besodaiah *subst.*	Besodeiah, 1638	בְּסוֹדְיָה		Besodeiah	
Neh. 3:12	Halloesh *Bod*: Hallo~~e~~sh. h *wi.*	Halohesh, 1638 (Haloesh, 1616, Hallohesh, 1873)	הַלּוֹחֵשׁ		**Hallohesh**	So 1611 at 10:24.
Neh. 3:15	Shallum *Bod*: S₍allum. h *ins.*	Shallun, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	שַׁלּוּן		Shallun	
Neh. 6:10	Mehetabel *Bod*: Mehetabeel. *ncn.*	Mehetabeel (Mehetable, *She*)	מְהֵיטַבְאֵל		Mehetabeel	Correction of *He* here to follow Hebrew.
Neh. 7:7	Nahum = *Bod.*	Nehum, 1638	נְחוּם		Nehum	
Neh. 7:30	Geba = *Bod.*	Geba (Gaba, 1638–1963)	גֶּבַע		**Gaba**	The Hebrew is identical with Ezra 2:26, where *Bod* changes 'Geba' to 'Gaba', and there seems to be no reason except oversight why the identical correction was not made in both places in *Bod*.

Neh. 7:31	Michmash *Bod*: Michmas. h *wi*.	Michmas, 1638	מִכְמָס	Michmas	So 1611, Ezra 2:27.
Neh. 7:38	Senaa = *Bod*.	Senaah, 1629	סְנָאָה	Senaah	So 1611, Ezra 2:35.
Neh. 7:39	Iedaia = *Bod*.	Jedaiah, 1629	יְדַעְיָה	Jedaiah	So 1611 elsewhere.
Neh. 7:46	Tabaoth *Bod*: ~~Tebbaoth~~. Tabaoth *subst.*	Tabbaoth, 1638	טַבָּעוֹת	Tabbaoth	So 1611, Ezra 2:43.
Neh. 7:54	Baslith = *Bod*.	Bazlith, 1629	בַצְלִית	Bazlith	
Neh. 7:59	Pochereth Zebaim *Bod*: ~~Ph~~ochereth of ~~Sa~~baim. Z *subst.* e *subst* (separate strikethroughs)	Pochereth of Zebaim, 1629	פֹּכֶרֶת הַצְּבָיִים	Pochereth of Zebaim	Identical Hebrew at Ezra 2:57, supported by *Bod*. Now generally taken as one name, 'Pochereth-hazzebaim'. S notes: 'the passage is too obscure to be worth altering. The Vulgate has *filii Phocereth, qui erat ortus ex Sabaim filio Amon*' (p. 222 n.).
Neh. 8:10	vnto our Lᴏʀᴅ = *Bod*.	unto our Lord, 1629 (vnto the Lᴏʀᴅ, *She*)	לַאֲדֹנֵינוּ	unto our Lord	Not 'Lᴏʀᴅ' because Hebrew is not the Name.
Neh. 9:17	the wonders = *Bod*.	thy wonders, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	נִפְלְאֹתֶיךָ	**the wonders**	
Neh. 10:11	Micah *Bod*: Micha. h *wi*.	Micha, 1629 (Michah, 1612 Q°s)	מִיכָא	Micha	So 1611 elsewhere except 1 Chr. 9:15.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
1 Chr. 9:15	Micah = *Bod.*	Micah	מִיכָא	**Micha**	
Neh. 10:18	Hodiah *Bod*: Hodiiah.	Hodijah, 1638 (Hodaiah, 1616)	הוֹדִיָּה	Hodijah	So 1611 elsewhere except 1 Chr. 4:19.
1 Chr. 4:19	Hodiah *Bod*: Hodia. h *wi.*	Hodiah	הוֹדִיָּה	**Hodijah**	Though different characters are involved, this name is often kept the same as the others. Changed for consistency.
Neh. 11:8	Gabai = *Bod.*	Gabbai, 1638 (Gibbai, 1762)	גַּבַּי	Gabbai	
Neh. 11:13	Meshilemoth *Bod*: Mesalemoth. *a *wo* hi.	Meshillemoth, 1638	מְשִׁלֵמוֹת	Meshillemoth	So 1611, 2 Chr. 28:12.
Neh. 11:24	Meshezabel *Bod*: Mezezabel. she *subst.*	Meshezabeel, 1612 8º H316, 1638	מְשֵׁיזַבְאֵל	Meshezabeel	So 1611 elsewhere.
Neh. 11:28	Ziglag *Bod*: Siklag. Z *subst.*	Ziklag, 1612 8º H316, 1629, 1630	צִקְלַג	Ziklag	So 1611 elsewhere. *Bod* suggests 1611 is a typographical error.
Neh. 12:5	Madiah *Bod*: Madaia. h *wi.*	Maadiah, 1638	מַעַדְיָה	Maadiah	
Esther 1:8	for the king had appointed *Bod*: for so the King had appointed.	for so the king had appointed, 1629	כִּי־כֵן יִמַּד הַמֶּלֶךְ	**for the king had appointed**	*Bod* confirms that the translators decided to omit 'so'.
Esther 1:9, 11, 12, 15–17, 19; 2:1, 4, 17	Vasthi = *Bod.*	Vashti, 1629	וַשְׁתִּי	Vashti	

Esther 1:14	Tarshis *Bod*: T~~h~~arsis⌐. h *ins.*	Tarshish, 1629 (Tharshish, 1762, 1769)	תַּרְשִׁישׁ	Tarshish	1611 and *CT* have 'Tharshish' at 1 Kgs 10:22, 22:48 and 1 Chr. 7:10. The predominant Hebrew form is תַּרְשִׁישׁ, the daghes usually disappearing in relation to what precedes. There is therefore a strong case for regularising to a single form, 'Tarshish', 1611's predominant form.
1 Kgs 10:22	Tharshish (twice) *Bod*: ~~Tharsis~~ . . . Thars⌐is. Tharshish *subst.* *h *wi.*		תַּרְשִׁישׁ	**Tarshish**	
1 Kgs 22:48	Tharshish *Bod*: ~~Tharsis~~. Tharshish *subst.*		תַּרְשִׁישׁ	**Tarshish**	
1 Chr. 7:10	Tharshish *Bod*: T~~h~~ars⌐is. h *ins.* h *wi.*		וְתַרְשִׁישׁ	**Tarshish**	
Esther 3:1	Amedatha *Bod*: Am~~a~~datha. *e *subst.*	Hammedatha, 1638 (Ammedatha, 1629)	הַמְּדָתָא	Hammedatha	So 1611, 8:5; 9:10, 24.
Esther 3:10	Ammedatha *Bod*: Am~~a~~datha. e *subst.*	Hammedatha, 1638	הַמְּדָתָא		
Esther 4:4	the sackcloth = *Bod.*	his sackcloth, 1629 (1817 8º = 1611)	שַׂקּוֹ	his sackcloth	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Job 4:6	*Is* not this thy feare, thy confidence; the vprightnesse of thy wayes and thy hope? *Bod*: Is ⱽ this thy feare, thy confidence, ~~thy hope, and thy vpright liuing~~. not *ins*. the vprightness of thy wayes & thy hope *subst*.	*Is* not *this* thy fear, thy confidence, thy hope, and the uprightness of thy ways?, 1638.[5]	הֲלֹא יִרְאָתְךָ כִּסְלָתֶךָ תִּקְוָתְךָ וְתֹם דְּרָכֶיךָ	**Is not this thy fear, thy confidence, the uprightness of thy ways and thy hope?**	*Bod* confirms 1611, which seems to be influenced by the sequence of the *B* Bible (1568: 'Was not thy feare according to thy hope? and the perfectnesse of thy wayes according to thy expectation?'), but revises the words in the light of *G*: 'Is not this thy feare, thy confidence, thy pacience, and the vprightnesse of thy wayes?' *G* seems to confirm the rightness of 1638's emendation. S's insertion of a semicolon seems unnecessary. Some versions have 1611's sequence, e.g. NRSV: 'Is not your fear of God your confidence, / and the integrity of your ways your hope?'.
Job 4:19	Howe much lesse *on* them that dwell in houses of clay *Bod*: How much ~~more~~ in them that dwell in houses of clay. lesse *subst*.	How much less *in* them that dwell in houses of clay, 1701 H868 (1817 8° = 1611)	אַף שֹׁכְנֵי בָתֵּי־חֹמֶר	**how much less on them that dwell in houses of clay**	1611 may be a printer's error but this is not certain. 'In' sensibly parallels the previous verse, 'Behold, hee put no trust in his seruants . . .'.

[5] 1629 Young 41: '*Is* not thy fear, thy confidence; and the uprightnesse of thy wayes, thy hope'; 1629 Rel.b.62.1: '*Is* not *this* thy fear; and the uprightnesse of thy wayes, thy hope?' S notes: 'in 1629, 1637 we find "; and the uprightness of thy ways, thy hope?" Though this has been noted as a mere error, the changes both of 1629 and 1638 (which all later editions have followed) are plainly intentional, and unique for their boldness. In the Paragraph Bible we have changed the comma after "hope" into a semicolon, although the Hebrew has only *Rebia* and *Athnakh* in the word before.'

Job 33:22	His soule draweth neere vnto the graue *Bod*: His soule draweth ˄ vnto the graue. near *ins*.	Yea, his soul draweth near unto the grave, 1638	וַתִּקְרַב לַשַּׁחַת נַפְשׁוֹ	**His soul draweth near unto the grave**	1638 takes note of the initial וֹ.
Job 39:30	there *is* he. = *Bod*.	there *is* she., 1616, 1629	שָׁם הוּא	there is she	See p. 58.
Job 41:5 (= Hebrew 40:29)	wilt thou binde = *Bod*.	or wilt thou bind, 1638	וְתִקְשְׁרֶנּוּ	**bird? wilt thou bind**	1638 takes note of the initial וֹ.
Ps. 2:4	the Lᴏʀᴅ *Bod*: the Lorde. *ncn*.	the Lord, 1629–1744 (the Lᴏʀᴅ, 1701 H868)	אֲדֹנָי	**the Lᴏʀᴅ**	S notes: 'the present text is *Adonai*, but *Jehovah* is read in at least 85 Hebrew manuscripts and five early editions, so that the Translators (who seldom err in this matter) probably intended to use capitals. Since Oxf. 8vo. 1835, as also by Bp Turton's direction . . . , the capitals have again been withdrawn, but not in Bagster, 1846' (p. 223 n.)
Ps. 6:4; 31:16; 44:26	for thy mercies sake = *Bod*.	for thy mercies' sake, 1769 (for thy mercy's sake, 1873)	לְמַעַן חַסְדֶּךָ בְחַסְדֶּךָ	**for thy mercy's sake**	
Ps. 24:3	and who shall stand *Bod*: or who shall ~~rise vp~~. stand *subst*.	or who shall stand, 1769 (1817 8° = 1611)	וּמִי־יָקוּם	**and who shall stand**	1769's change appears unnecessary.
Ps. 42:6	Missar *Bod*: ~~Hermon~~. Missar *subst*.	Mizar, 1629	מִצְעָר	Mizar	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
Ps. 42:9	I will say vnto God, My rocke, why hast thou forgotten me? *Bod*: I will say vnto ~~the~~ God ~~of~~ my ~~strength~~, Why hast thou forgotten me. rocke *subst* for 'strength'.	I will say unto God my rock, Why hast thou forgotten me?, 1638 (. . . God, my rock, 1629)	אוֹמְרָה לְאֵל סַלְעִי לָמָה שְׁכַחְתָּנִי	**I will say unto God, My rock, why hast thou forgotten me?**	Both readings are possible, so 1611 is preferred (though 1638 is more likely and agrees with most modern versions; see p. 151).
Ps. 44 title	for the sonnes of Korah.	for the sons of Korah, Maschil., 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	לִבְנֵי־קֹרַח מַשְׂכִּיל	for the sons of Korah, Maschil.	Latin title in *Bod*: 'Deus auribus'. There are no annotations on titles except for some books, nor on headers and summaries.
Ps. 53:6	Iaakob *Bod*: Jacob. *ncn*.	Jacob, 1629	יַעֲקֹב	Jacob	So 1611 elsewhere.
Ps. 62:10	become not vaine in robberie *Bod*: ~~giue not your selues vnto vanitie~~. become not vaine in robberie *subst*.	and become not vain in robbery, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	וּבְגָזֵל אַל־תֶּהְבָּלוּ	**oppression, become not vain in robbery**	
Ps. 69:32	your heart shall liue that seeke good *Bod*: ~~seeke ye after God~~, and your ~~soule~~ shall liue. heart *subst* for 'soule'.	. . . seek God, 1617, 1629	דֹּרְשֵׁי אֱלֹהִים	. . . seek God	The source of 1611's error seems to be incomplete annotation in *Bod*.

Ps. 99:2	all people = *Bod.*	all the people, 1612 8° H316, 1769 (1817 8° = 1611)	כָּל־הָעַמִּים	**all people**	This phrase comes some 40 times, and is usually translated without the article except where followed by a verb or a relative clause. So, in the previous two Psalms, there are 'declare . . . his wonders among all people' (96:3; בְּכָל־הָעַמִּים), and, with a verb, 'all the people see his glory' (97:6; כָּל־הָעַמִּים). Only in Zechariah is the article used consistently where these conditions do not apply. 1769's emendation therefore goes against the translators' normal practice and does not have the virtue of being a consistent emendation.
Ps. 105:30	The land *Bod*: the~~ir~~ land.	Their land, 1638	אַרְצָם	**The land**	1638 is literal but *Bod* confirms that 1611 is deliberate.
Ps. 107:19	trouble: he saueth *Bod*: trouble: he ~~deliuered~~. saueth *subst.*	trouble, *and* he saueth, 1762 (trouble; he saueth, 1817 8°)		**trouble: he saveth**	Sentence structure is different from the Hebrew; there is no ו.
Ps. 107:43	those things *Bod*: these things. *ncn.*	these *things*, 1762 (1817 8° = 1611)	אֵלֶּה	**those things**	1611 restored because it is not clear that it is an error.
Ps. 113:9	house; to be a ioyfull mother of children *Bod*: house: ~~and~~ to be a ioyfull mother of children.	house, *and to be* a joyful mother of children, 1629 (house, *to be*, 1817 8°)	חַבַּיִת אֵם־הַבָּנִים שְׂמֵחָה	**house, to be a joyful mother of children**	*Bod* confirms the reading.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
Ps. 115:3	whatsoeuer he pleased *Bod*: whatsoeuer ˄ pleased ~~him~~. he *ins*.	whatsoever he hath pleased, 1769 (1817 8° = 1611)	כֹּל אֲשֶׁר־חָפֵץ	**whatsoever he pleased**	
Ps. 119:101	that I may keepe = *Bod*.	that I might keep, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	לְמַעַן אֶשְׁמֹר	**that I may keep**	
Ps. 132:6	Ephrata = *Bod*.	Ephratah, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	אֶפְרָתָה	Ephratah	So 1611 except at Gen. 35:16, 19, 48:7 (= several modern versions).
Ps. 132:12	their children also shall sit = *Bod*.	their children shall also sit, 1762 (1817 8° = 1611)	גַּם־בְּנֵיהֶם עֲדֵי־עַד יֵשְׁבוּ	**their children also shall sit**	
Ps. 140:3	adders *Bod*: Adders. *ncn*.	adders', 1769 (adder's, 1873)	עַכְשׁוּב	**adder's**	Singular; the change to "adders'" is odd.
Ps. 141:9	from the snare = *Bod*.	from the snares, 1769 (1817 8° = 1611)	מִידֵי פָח	**from the snare**	
Ps. 148:8	vapour *Bod*: vapour~~s~~.	vapour, 1817 8° (vapours, 1769–1963)	קִיטוֹר	vapour	
Prov. 6:19	and him that soweth = *Bod*.	and he that soweth, 1769 (1817 8° = 1611)	וּמְשַׁלֵּחַ	**and him that soweth**	Here the grammar is incorrectly amended. This is part of a list that is the object of v. 16. Cf. Ecclus. 25:8 and 9.

Prov. 7:21	With much faire speech *Bod*: ~~Thus with many sweete words.~~ wth much faire speech *subst.*	With her much fair speech, 1638 (1817 8º = 1611)	בְּרֹב לִקְחָהּ	**With much fair speech**	Though the possessive is in the Hebrew, the translators probably considered it inappropriate for the English and unnecessary for the sense. Arguably, the 1638 reading changes the sense, making 'much' into an adverb qualifying 'fair' (= her very fair speech).
Prov. 10:23	It *is* as a sport to a foole to doe mischiefe *Bod*: ~~A foole doeth wickedly, and maketh but a sport of it.~~ It is as a sport to a foole to doe mischiefe *subst.*	. . . as sport, 1638 (a sport, 1629; 1817 8º = 1611)	כִּשְׂחוֹק לִכְסִיל עֲשׂוֹת זִמָּה	**It is as a sport to a fool to do mischief**	Both readings are possible. 1611 has retained *B*'s 'sport' in *G*'s structure.
Prov. 25:24	in a corner of the house top *Bod*: in a corner ~~vpon~~ the house toppe. of *subst.*	in the corner of the housetop, 1769 (1817 8º = 1611)	עַל־פִּנַּת־גָּג	**in a corner of the housetop**	
Prov. 26:3	the fooles backe = *Bod*.	the fool's back, 1762 (1873: fools')	שׁוֹט לַסּוּס מֶתֶג לַחֲמוֹר וְשֵׁבֶט לְגֵו כְּסִילִים	the fool's back	Though the Hebrew is plural, the singular possessive is retained because of the context: 'A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass, and a rod for the fool's back'. 'Back' would have to be plural in the Hebrew to allow the English to make sense of 'fool' being plural: 'the fools' backs'.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
Prov. 27:26	thy field *Bod*: ~~thy husbandry~~. thy field *subst.*	the field, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	שָׂדֶה	**thy field**	1638's emendation is incorrect. 'A field' would be better (so NRSV etc.), but presumably the translators decided 'thy' was implicit here on a parallel with the neighbouring phrases. The predecessors do not help. *B* has the possessive, 'for the goates thou shalt haue money to thy husbandry', *G* has the definite article: 'the goates are the price of the fielde'.
Prov. 31:14	like the merchants ships *Bod*: like ~~a~~ merchants ship. the *ins.*	like the merchants' ships, 1769 (1873: merchant's; merchant, 1762)	כָּאֳנִיּוֹת סוֹחֵר	**like the merchant's ships**	Qal participle, singular: ships of a merchant, or of a person going about trading.
Eccles. 1:5	the place *Bod*: ~~his~~ place. the *subst.*	his place, 1638	מְקוֹמוֹ	**the place**	*Bod* confirms that the translators chose not to be literal.
Eccles. 2:16	shall be forgotten = *Bod*.	shall all be forgotten, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	הַכֹּל נִשְׁכָּח	**shall be forgotten**	1629 is literal but 1611 makes good sense.
Eccles. 8:17	to seeke *it* out, yea further though *Bod*: to seeke ~~them~~ out, ~~yet can he not reach not vnto them~~: yea, ‸ though. it *subst.* further *ins.*	to seek *it* out, yet he shall not find *it*; yea further; though, 1629	לְבַקֵּשׁ וְלֹא יִמְצָא וְגַם	to seek it out, yet he shall not find it; yea further; though	Here the translators or the printer must have nodded. See p. 59.

Eccles. 11:7	a pleasant thing is it = *Bod*.	a pleasant *thing it is*		**a pleasant thing is it**	
Song 2:7	awake *my* loue till she please . . . till he please[6] *Bod*: nor ~~touch her, till she~~ be ~~content her selfe~~. awake my loue till he please *subst*.	. . . till he please, *She*, 1613, 1629, 1638	עַד שֶׁתֶּחְפָּץ	. . . till he please	See p. 57.
Song 4:2	euery one beare twinnes *Bod*: euery one beareth ~~two~~ twinnes.	every one bear twins (every one beareth twins, 1873)	שֶׁכֻּלָּם מַתְאִימוֹת	every one bear twins	*Bod* confirms that the translators treated 'every one' as plural.
Song 4:6	to the mountaines of myrrhe *Bod*: ~~to the mountaine of Myrrhe~~. to the mountaines of Myrrhe *subst*.	to the mountain of myrrh, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	אֶל־הַר הַמּוֹר	**to the mountains of myrrh**	Hebrew, LXX, Vulgate, *B* and *G* have singular, but *Bod* confirms the plural is deliberate.
Song 5:12	the riuers of water *Bod*: the ⁁ water ~~brookes~~. riuers of *ins*.	the rivers of waters, 1616, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	אֲפִיקֵי מָיִם	**the rivers of water**	*G*: 'the riuers of waters'. 1611 may have intended to use this, but the singular makes English sense and appears from *Bod* to be deliberate.

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[6] Syn.1.61.1.: 'he'; Syn.2.61.1. and all BS copies: 'she'.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Song 8:1	yet I should not be despised *Bod*: ~~and that thou shalt not be despised~~. yea I should not be despised *subst.*	yea, I should not be despised, 1638	גַּם לֹא־יָבוּזוּ לִי	**yet I should not be despised**	1611's reading is independent of its predecessors and is possible, since גַּם may be translated adversatively, 'yet'. Although *Bod* gives clear support to 1638's change, 1611 is restored because it is possible and so cannot be argued with certainty to be wrong.
Isa. 6:8	I saide = 1602.	said I, 1629	וָאֹמַר	**I said**	
Isa. 10:26	at the rocke Oreb 1602: vpon the rocke Oreb.	at the rock of Oreb, 1612 Qᵒs, 1629	בְּצוּר עוֹרֵב	**at the rock Oreb**	
Isa. 10:29	Gebeah 1602: Gibea.	Gibeah, *She*	גִּבְעַת	Gibeah	
Isa. 10:34	forrests 1602: wood.	forest, 1769 (1817 8ᵒ = 1611)	הַיַּעַר	**forests**	
Isa. 28:4	seeth it, while 1602: looketh vpon it.	seeth, 1683 (seeth *it*, 1638)	יִרְאֶה	**seeth it, while**	
Isa. 34:11	The cormorant and the bitterne shall possess it 1602: But Pelicanes, Storkes, great Owles, and Rauens shall haue it in possession.	But the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it, 1629	וִירֵשׁוּהָ קָאַת וְקִפּוֹד	**The cormorant and the bittern shall possess it**	The 1611 translators may have judged that incorporating the ו at the beginning of a paragraph (so marked in 1611) was inappropriate. Both *G* and *B* have 'But'.

Isa. 44:13	he maketh it out	he marketh it out, *She*, 1613	יְתָאֲרֵהוּ	he marketh it out	*She* noted by Wright. 'Maketh' is not impossible, but the Hebrew verb is identical with the next 'marketh' in the verse, and different from the following verb, rendered 'maketh'.
	with the line 1602: and spreadeth foorth his line, he marketh it with some colour.	with a line, 1769	בַּשֶּׂרֶד	**with the line**	
Isa. 44:20	He feedeth of ashes 1602: Thus doth he but lose his labour.	He feedeth on ashes, 1762	רֹעֶה אֵפֶר	**He feedeth of ashes**	Though the 1762 correction is normal English, the translators' English is possible. They reject an awful *B* reading ('Thus doth he but lose his labour, and his heart whiche is deceaued doth turne hym aside, so that none of them can haue a free conscience to thinke, Do not I erre?') and lightly adapt *G*, 'He feedeth of ashes: a seduced heart hath deceiued him, that he cannot deliuer his soule, nor say, Is there not a lye in my right hand?' This confirms the deliberateness of 'of ashes'.
Isa. 47:6	the yoke 1602: thy yoke.	thy yoke, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	עֻלֵּךְ	**the yoke**	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Isa. 49:13	heauen 1602: heauens.	heavens, 1629	שָׁמַיִם	**heaven**	שָׁמַיִם only exists in the plural (dual) from. 1611 gives precedent for rendering it in the singular (e.g. Gen. 1:1), and the parallel with 'earth' ('Sing, O heauen, and be ioyfull, O earth'), which is of necessity singular, is better with 'heaven'.
	God = 1602.	the Lord, 1638	יְהוָה	the Lord	Appears to be an error.
Isa. 49:20	straight 1602: narrow.	strait, *She*, 1613, 1629	צַר	strait	'Narrow, straitened'. *He* adopts G.'s rendering and appears to misspell.
Isa. 51:16	and haue couered 1602: and haue defended.	and I have covered, 1769 (1817 8° = 1611)	כִּסִּיתִיךָ	**and have covered**	The pronoun is correct but unnecessary.
Isa. 57:8	and made a couenant with them 1602: and with those idoles hast thou made a couenant.	and made thee *a covenant* with them, 1638 (made *a covenant*, 1817 8°)	וַתִּכְרָת־לָךְ מֵהֶם	**and made a covenant with them**	1611 marg.: '*Or, hewed it for thy selfe larger then theirs*'. Close attention to the text is absolutely evident here. The omission of 'thee' appears deliberate.
Isa. 59:21	the seed [1602 different].	thy seed, *She*, 1613		thy seed	מִפִּיךָ וּמִפִּי זַרְעֲךָ וּמִפִּי זֶרַע זַרְעֲךָ. *He*: 'out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of the seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seedes seed'. *She* corrects what is probably a typographical error.

Isa. 64:1	O that thou wouldest rent the heauens 1602: O That thou wouldst cleaue the heauens in sunder.	O that thou wouldest rend the heavens, 1762 (Oh, 1616, 1629, 1638, 1769)		O that thou **wouldst** rend the heavens	'Rent' is now only used as pa. t. and pa. p. Jer. 4:30: 'though thou rentest thy face with painting'. Bold because of change to 'wouldest'.
Jer. 1:13	And I said; I see a seething pot, and the face thereof *was* towards the North *Bod*: And I sayd, I ~~do~~ see a seething pot, ~~looking from out of the North~~. & the face thereof was toward the North *subst.*	. . . the face thereof *is* toward . . . , 1762	וָאֹמַר סִיר נָפוּחַ אֲנִי רֹאֶה וּפָנָיו מִפְּנֵי צָפוֹנָה	. . . **the face thereof was towards** . . .	Unless the direct speech has finished, the supplied verb ought to be in the same tense as its predecessor, but *Bod* confirms 'was'.
Jer. 4:6	Set vp the standards *Bod*: Set vp the ~~token~~. standard *subst.*	Set up the standard, 1629	שְׂאוּ־נֵס	**Set up the standards**	Though *Bod* supports 1629, it does not overrule 1611 in similar examples (Lev. 11:3, Num. 7:43, 61, Song 8:1 and Matt. 3:12).
Jer. 9:3	tongue 1602: tongues.	tongues	לְשׁוֹנָם	**tongue**	Hebrew is singular. Cf. v. 8, where editors have allowed 'their tongue' to stand for the identical Hebrew.
Jer. 12:15	and will bring againe euery man 1602: and bring them againe euery man.	and will bring them again, every man, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	וַהֲשִׁבֹתִים אִישׁ	**and will bring again every man**	1611 may have judged 'them' to be redundant.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
Jer. 16:2	nor daughters [1602 different].	or daughters, 1769, 1857 etc. (nor daughters, 1817 8º, 1837)		**nor daughters**	1769's change is unnecessary.
Jer. 19:11	and they shall bury them in Tophet, till there be no place else to bury 1602: in Thopheth shall they be buried, for they shall haue none other place.	and they shall bury *them* in Tophet, till *there be* no place to bury, 1629 H425, 1630, 1638 [not 1629 Cambridge] (1817 8º = 1611)	וּבְתֹפֶת יִקְבְּרוּ מֵאֵין מָקוֹם לִקְבּוֹר	**and they shall bury them in Tophet, till there be no place else to bury**	'Else' should probably have been italicised rather than omitted, since it serves to bring out the sense. 1611 has adopted *G*'s reading and added 'else'.
Jer. 22:3	deliuer the spoiler 1602: deliuer the oppressed.	deliver the spoiled, *She*, 1613 Fº, Qº	הַצִּילוּ גָזוּל	deliver the spoiled	
Jer. 23:30	my worde = 1602 [my word].	my words, 1638 (1817 8º = 1611)	דְּבָרַי	**my word**	1611 may be deliberate.
Jer. 25:30	from an high 1602: from aboue.	from on high, 1629	מִמָּרוֹם	from on high	So 1611 elsewhere.

Jer. 26:18	the Morashite 1602: the Morasthite. Zion shall be plowed *like* a field, and Ierusalem shall become heapes, and the mountaine of the house, the hie places of a forrest. 1602: Sion shalbe plowed like a field, Hierusalem shalbe an heape of stones, and the hill of the Lords house shalbe turned to an high wood.	the Morasthite, 1629 . . . house as the high places . . . ,[7] (. . . of the forrest, 1629, 1638)	הַמּוֹרַשְׁתִּי צִיּוֹן שָׂדֶה תֵחָרֵשׁ וִירוּשָׁלַיִם עִיִּים תִּהְיֶה וְהַר הַבַּיִת לְבָמוֹת יָעַר	the Morasthite . . . **house, the high places**	So 1611, Micah 1:1. So 1611, Micah 3:12 ('as the high places of the forrest').
Jer. 28:6	the words 1602: the thing	thy words, 1629	דְּבָרֶיךָ	**the words**	
Jer. 31:14	with goodnesse 1602: with my goodnesse.	with my goodnesse, 1629	טוּבִי	**with goodness**	1611 appears to be an error but may be deliberate.
Jer. 31:15	Rahel	Rahel	רָחֵל	**Rachel**	The translators, possibly influenced by *G*, have reverted to an older spelling, though the Hebrew gives no warrant for a change from their normal practice.
Jer. 31:18	thou *art* the LORD 1602: for thou art my Lord God.	for thou *art* the LORD, 1629	כִּי אַתָּה יְהֹוָה	**thou art the LORD**	

[7] S gives 1629 but I have not found this reading there.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Jer. 35:13	tel the men of Iudah and inhabitants of Ierusalem 1602: tell the men of Juda, and the inhabitants of Hierusalem.	tell the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, 1612 Qᵒs, 1616, 1629	וְאָמַרְתָּ לְאִישׁ יְהוּדָה וּלְיוֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלָ͏ִם	**tell the men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem**	There is no article in front of either noun, though the parallelism and sense are better for 1616's change.
Jer. 36:26	Abdiel 1602: Abdeel	Abdeel	עַבְדְּאֵל	Abdeel	Cf. 1 Chr. 5:15, עַבְדִּיאֵל, a different person, given as 'Abdiel'.
Jer. 38:16	the king = 1602.	Zedekiah the king, 1638 (1817 8ᵒ = 1611)	הַמֶּלֶךְ צִדְקִיָּהוּ	**the king**	Here the translators follow their English predecessors and the LXX.
Jer. 39:5	Nebuchad-nezzar 1602: Nabuchodonosor	Nebuchadnezzar	נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר	Nebuchadrezzar	1611 gives 'Nebuchad-rezzar' at vv. 1 and 11. Earlier versions including *B* have, properly, the same name throughout these verses. Against its predecessors, 1611 has chosen to follow the Hebrew literally; v. 5 appears to be an error: either a manuscript correction was omitted, or the printer failed to notice it.
Jer. 40:1	The word which 1602: This is the worde that Ramath = 1602.	The word that, 1762 (1817 8ᵒ = 1611) Ramah, 1629 (1817 8ᵒ = 1611)	רָמָה	**The word which** Ramah	

Jer. 40:5	ouer all the cities of Iudah 1602: ouer the cities of Juda.	over the cities . . . , 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה	**over all the cities** . . .	Another instance where 1611 may be deliberately non-literal.
Jer. 41:1	Elishamah 1602: Elisama.	Elishama, 1638	אֱלִישָׁמָע	Elishama	
Jer. 42:16	after you in Egypt 1602: you into Egypt.	after you there in Egypt, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	שָׁם יִדְבַּק אַחֲרֵיכֶם מִצְרַיִם	**after you in Egypt**	
Jer. 48:34	Elealeh 1602: Eleale.	Elealeh (Elealeth, *She*)	אֶלְעָלֵה	Elealeh	
Jer. 48:36	because the riches *that* hee hath gotten is perished 1602: for their riches which they haue gathered, shalbe destroyed.	. . . are perished, 1701	אָבָדוּ	are perished	Grammatical change.
Jer. 49:1	God 1602: Gad.	Gad, 1616, 1629	גָּד	Gad	Sleepy printer?
Jer. 50:29	according to all that shee hath done vnto her 1602: according as shee hath done, so deale with her againe.	according to all that she hath done, do unto her, *She*, 1613 F°, Q°	כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר עָשְׂתָה עֲשׂוּ־לָהּ	according to all that she hath done, do unto her	

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Jer. 51:12	the watchman 1602: your watchmen.	the watchmen, 1629	שֹׁמְרִים	the watchmen	1611 appears to be a printer's error.
Jer. 51:27	cause her horses to come vp 1602: bring as great a sort of terrible horses against her.	. . . the horses . . . , 1638 (1817 8º = 1611)	הַעֲלוּ־סוּס	**her horses**	Since neither an article nor a possessive is in the Hebrew, 1611's interpretation of the sense is restored.
Jer. 51:30	their dwelling places = 1602.	her dwellingplaces, 1629 (1817 8º = 1611)	מִשְׁכְּנֹתֶיהָ	**their dwelling-places**	
Jer. 52:31	Iehoiakin 1602: Jehoacim. Iehoiakin[8] 1602: Jehoacim.	Jehoiachin, 1629 (Jehoiakim, 1617) Jehoiachin, 1629 (Jehoiakim, 1617)	יְהוֹיָכֶן יְהוֹיָכִין	Jehoiachin Jehoiachin	So 1611 elsewhere.
Ezek. 1:2	Iehoiakins *Bod*: Joa~~cims~~. kins *subst.*	Jehoiachin's, 1638 (Jehoiakims, *She* [some], 1617)	יוֹיָכִין	Jehoiachin's	

[8] S gives 'Jehoiakim' for both, and notes 'Jehoiakin' from 1616.

Lam. 2:18	the apple of thine eyes 1602: the apple of thine eye.	the apple of thine eye	בַּת־עֵינֵךְ	the apple of thy eye	1611 follows the singular of the Hebrew elsewhere, e.g. Prov. 7:2.
Lam 4:15	They cryed vnto them; Depart ye, it is vncleane, depart, depart, touch not, when they fled away and wandred: they said	They cried unto them, Depart ye; it is unclean; depart, depart, touch not: when they fled away and wandered, they said	סוּרוּ טָמֵא קָרְאוּ לָמוֹ סוּרוּ סוּרוּ אַל־תִּגָּעוּ כִּי נָצוּ גַּם־נָעוּ אָמְרוּ	**They cried unto them, 'Depart ye, it is unclean, depart, depart, touch not', when they fled away and wandered: they said**	The placing of the colon constitutes a variant. The 1611 punctuation is a possible reading, so restored.
Ezek. 1:17	returned *Bod*: ⸜ turned. re *ins*.	turned, 1769 (1817 8º = 1611)	יִסַּבּוּ	**returned**	1769 is rejected by *Bod*.
Ezek. 3:11	thy people *Bod*: ~~the children of~~ thy people.	the children of thy people, 1638 (1817 8º = 1611)	בְּנֵי עַמֶּךְ	**thy people**	*Bod* shows 1611 rejected the literal translation. See p. 91.
Ezek. 5:1	take the ballances 1602: take thee weight scales.	take thee balances, 1638 (1817 8º = 1611)	לְקַחְתָּ לְךָ מֹאזְנֵי	take thee balances	Presumably a printer's error.
Ezek. 6:8	that he may haue 1602: that you may haue.	that ye may have, 1613, 1629	בִּהְיוֹת לָכֶם	that ye may have	1611 appears to be a typographical error.
Ezek. 11:24	in vision 1602: in a vision.	in a vision, 1769 (1817 8º = 1611)	בַּמַּרְאֶה	in a vision	1611 appears to be an error.
Ezek. 12:19	of them that dwell 1602: vpon them that dwell.	of all them that dwell, 1629	כָּל־הַיֹּשְׁבִים	**of them that dwell**	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Ezek. 14:18	sonnes nor daughter 1602: sonnes nor daughters.	sons nor daughters, *She*, 1613 Fº, Qº	בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת	sons nor daughters	
Ezek. 18:1	And the word 1602: The word.	The word, 1638 (1817 8º = 1611)	וַיְהִי דְבַר	**And the word**	1638 looks like an error.
Ezek. 22:10	fathers nakednesse 1602: fathers shame.	fathers' nakedness, 1769 (1873: father's)	עֶרְוַת־אָב	fathers' nakedness	Though the Hebrew is singular, the plural sense is appropriate, as given in most modern translations; S here is pedantic.
Ezek. 23:23	Shoah 1602: wealthy (*m*: Shoah).	Shoa, 1629	שׁוֹעַ	Shoa	
	all the the Assyrians [*sic*] = 1602 (al the Atsyrians).	*and* all the Assyrians, 1616, 1629	כָּל־בְּנֵי אַשּׁוּר	**all the Assyrians**	The conjunction is sensible but not essential. (1602's 'Atsyrians' is probably a printer's error.)
Ezek. 24:5	let him seethe 1602: let it boyle well.	let them seethe, 1638 (1817 8º = 1611)	בַּשְּׁלוּ	let them seethe	1611 is wrong by the Hebrew and the context, so I take it as a printer's error.
Ezek. 24:7	she powred it = 1602 [see note].	she poured it not, 1613, 1629	לֹא שְׁפָכַתְהוּ	she poured it not	1611's error appears to come from an incorrect revision of 1602 or from an incorrect reading of the revision. 1602: 'vpon a high drie stone hath she powred it, and not vpon the ground'. Cf. Ecclus. 35:15.

Ezek. 26:14	they shall bee a place 1602: thou shalt be for a spreading of nets.	thou shalt be *a place*, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	תִּהְיֶה	thou shalt be a place	
Ezek. 27:22, 23	Shebah 1602: Seba.	Sheba, 1638	שְׁבָא	Sheba	So 1611 elsewhere.
Ezek. 30:17	and of Phibeseth 1602: and of Phibesech.	and of Pibeseth, 1762	וּפִי־בֶסֶת	**and of Phibeseth**	The 'Ph', פ, is caused by ו preceding what would probably have been 'P', פ. *G* has 'Phibeseth', and 1611 has 'Phibesheth' twice in the front matter. The 'Ph' beginning survived considerable scrutiny.
Ezek. 32:22	Ashur 1602: Assur.	Asshur, 1629, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	אַשּׁוּר	Asshur	So 1611 elsewhere.
Ezek. 32:25	with all her multitudes 1602: with al his multitude.	with all her multitude, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	בְּכָל־הֲמוֹנָה	**with all her multitudes**	The similar v. 20 is plural in Hebrew. Only at Matt. 8:18 is a singular rendered 'multitudes'. The correction is early and justified, but the plural may be deliberate.
Ezek. 34:28	the beasts of the land = 1602.	the beast of the land, 1762 (1817 8° = 1611)	חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ	**the beasts of the land**	Three other times (1 Sam. 17:46, Job 5:22 and Ezek. 29:5) 1611 uses a plural for this phrase; they remain unchanged. 'Beasts' is appropriate to the context and justifiable by the translators' practice.
Ezek. 34:31	And yee my flocke of my pasture 1602: And ye my sheep, the sheepe of my pasture.	And ye my flock, the flock of my pasture, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	וְאַתֵּן צֹאנִי צֹאן מַרְעִיתִי	And ye my flock, the flock of my pasture	1611 appears to be a printer's error.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
Ezek. 36:2	Because the enemy had said 1602: Because your enemie hath sayd.	Because the enemy hath said, 1630 [not 1638] (1817 8° = 1611)	יַעַן אָמַר הָאוֹיֵב	Because the enemy hath said	1611 appears to be a printer's error. Cf. Zech. 4:2.
Ezek. 36:15	the nations 1602: thy folke.	thy nations, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	גּוֹיַיִךְ	**the nations**	
Ezek. 39:11	at that day 1602: At the same time.	in that day, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא	**at that day**	The phrase survives 11 times in current KJBs, including two instances where there is the same extended phrase, Jer. 4:9 and Hos. 1:5. 1638's change cannot be justified.
Ezek. 42:17	with a measuring reede 1602: with the measuring cane.	with the measuring reed, 1638	בַּקְנֵה הַמִּדָּה	with the measuring-reed	See adjacent verses. This looks like carelessness in relation to B and G, which both keep the definite article.
Ezek. 43:27	the eight day = 1602.	the eighth day, 1629		the eighth day	
Ezek. 44:22	a widow, or her 1602: no widow, neither.	a widow, nor her, 1769		**a widow, or her**	1769 is a grammatical correction that is probably not essential.

Ezek. 44:23	and cause men to discerne betweene the vncleane and the cleane 1602: and cause them to discerne betwixt the cleane and vncleane.	and cause them . . . , 1629 (1817 8º = 1611)	וּבֵין־טָמֵא לְטָהוֹר יוֹדִעֵם	**and cause men** . . .	KJB paraphrases. 'Them' may be better than 'men', but 'men' is possible, and likely to be deliberate.
Ezek. 44:30	the priests = 1602 (the Priests)	the priest's, 1762 (the priests', 1873)	לַכֹּהֲנִים	**the priests'**	'Priest' in the next phrase is correctly singular.
Ezek. 46:23	And *there was* a new *building* [1602 different.]	And *there was* a row of *building*, 1638 (1817 8º = 1611)	וְטוּר	And there was a row of building	The basis for 1611's reading is unclear. טוּר is translated 'row' elsewhere. I suspect a manuscript change was misread by the printer.
Ezek. 48:2	vnto the west = 1602.	unto the west side	עַד־פְּאַת יָמָּה	**unto the west**	The translators appear to have judged the repetition of 'side' to be unnecessary. Though this is inconsistent with the inclusion of 'side' in the following verses, the reading is good if unliteral English.
Ezek. 48:8	they shall offer = 1602.	ye shall offer, 1638 (1817 8º = 1611)	תָּרִימוּ	**they shall offer**	Though this seems to be an error, it is retained because the translators apparently chose to retain it from 1602 and *G* against, e.g., Great Bible ('ye shall set asyde').

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
Dan. 1:12	let them giue pulse *Bod*: let ~~vs haue~~ pulse. them giue *subst.*	. . . give us pulse, 1629	יִתְּנוּ־לָנוּ מִן־הַזֵּרֹעִים	. . . give us pulse	1611's omission looks accidental, deriving from an imperfect correction of *Bod.*
Dan 2:41	potters = *Bod.*	potters', 1769 (potter's, 1817 8°, 1873)	פֶּחָר	**potter's**	
Dan. 3:15	a fierie furnace *Bod*: a ~~hote~~ fierie furnace.	a burning fiery furnace, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	אַתּוּן נוּרָא יָקִדְתָּא	**a fiery furnace**	1638 follows the Aramaic, but *Bod* suggests that the translators decided a second adjective was unnecessary.
Dan. 3:18	thy golden image *Bod*: the golden image. y *subst.*	the golden image, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	וּלְצֶלֶם דַּהֲבָא	**thy golden image**	*Bod* shows 1611 rejected the literal translation, presumably to keep a parallel with 'thy gods' immediately preceding (there the Aramaic does have the possessive).
Dan. 6:13	the captiuity of the children 1602: the children of the captiuitie.	the children of the captivity, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	מִן־בְּנֵי גָלוּתָא	the children of the captivity	Error corrected.
Dan. 12:8	my Lord = 1602.	my Lord (my lord, 1744 [not 1762, 1769], 1873)	אֲדֹנִי	**my lord**	S notes that 'my Lord' is also found in 10:16, 17, 19, and Zech. 4:4, 5, 13, 6:4 (this last in 1611, 'my LORD'); all 'my lord' in *CT* (p. 173).

Dan. 12:13	in the lot 1602: in thy lot.	in thy lot, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	לְגֹרָלְךָ	**in the lot**	
Hos. 4:4	this people *Bod*: th~~e~~ people. is *subst.*	thy people, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	וְעַמְּךָ	**this people**	
Hos. 6:5	shewed *them* by *Bod*: ~~cut down~~ ‸. shewed *subst.* them by *ins.*	hewed . . . , *She*, 1612 Q° Syn 6.61.32, 8° H316, 1613, 1629 [shewed . . . , 1616, 1817 8°]	חָצַבְתִּי	**shown** . . .	Translators' deliberate reading restored. See p. 38.
Hos. 13:3	as the early dew it passeth away *Bod*: as the ‸ deaw ~~that early~~ passeth away. early *ins.* it *subst.* is driuen	as the early dew that passeth away, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	וּכְטַל מַשְׁכִּים הֹלֵךְ	**as the early dew it** **passeth away**	Awkward, but 'it' is clear in *Bod*.
	with a whirlewinde *Bod*: ~~the~~ whirlewind. is driuen with a *subst.*	. . . the whirlwind, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	יְסֹעֵר	**. . . a whirlwind**	
Joel 1:16	your eyes = *Bod.*	our eyes, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	עֵינֵינוּ	**your eyes**	The translators appear to have accepted *Bod*'s reading.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Joel 3:13	the wickedness *Bod*: th~~eir~~ wickedness.	their wickedness, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	רָעָתָם	**the wickedness**	= Hebrew 4:13. *Bod* confirms that the translators rejected the 1629 reading.
Amos 1:1	two yere *Bod*: two yere~~s~~.	two years, 1616, 1630 [not 1629, 1638]		two years	
Amos 1:11	and kept *Bod*: ~~he kept~~. and kept *subst*.	and he kept, 1762 (1817 8° = 1611)	שְׁמָרָה	**and kept**	1762 may prevent an ambiguity, but 'and kept' is what the translators wrote; it survived review and 150 years of editors.
Amos 2:2	Kerioth *Bod*: ~~Carioth~~. Kerioth *subst*.	Kerioth (Kirioth, 1629–1963)	קְרִיּוֹת	Kerioth	
Amos 8:3	the songs of the Temples *Bod*: the songs of the temple. s *wi*.	the songs of the temple, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	שִׁירוֹת הֵיכָל	**the songs of the temples**	*Bod* shows that the translators deliberately ignored the Hebrew singular.
Amos 9:5	all that dwelleth *Bod*: all that dwell. *ncn*.	all that dwell, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	כָּל־יוֹשְׁבֵי	all that dwell	
Micah 5:2	Beth-leem *Bod*: Bethl~~e~~hem. (Unreadable insertion or substitution.)	Beth-lehem, 1629	בֵּית־לֶחֶם	Beth-lehem	

Micah 7:7	vnto you the LORD *Bod*: vnto the Lord. *ncn*.	unto the LORD, *She*, 1613 Fᵒ, Qᵒ (1817 8ᵒ = 1611)	בַּיהוָה	unto the LORD	In the light of the Hebrew, *Bod*, and the early change, 1611 looks like an accident.
Nahum 1:4	floure *Bod*: ~~spring~~. *floure *subst*.	flower, 1629	פֶּרַח	flower	
Nahum 3:17	The crowned *Bod*: ~~Thy princes~~. The crowned *subst*.	Thy crowned, 1629 (1817 8ᵒ = 1611)	מִנְּזָרַיִךְ	**The crowned**	
Hab. 3:1	vpon Sigionoth *Bod*: for the ignorances. vppō Sigionoth *subst*.	upon Shigionoth, 1762	שִׁגְיֹנוֹת	upon Shigionoth	
Hab. 3:19	LORD God *Bod*: Lorde God. *ncn*.	LORD God, 1630, 1762, 1769, moderns (Lord GOD, 1629, 1638, 1701, 1744, 1817 8ᵒ)	יְהוִה אֲדֹנָי	LORD God	Usually rendered 'The LORD'. S notes that this is the only occurrence of this rendering, and that 1629 'perhaps wrongly' corrects (p. 147 n.). Since 1611's reading is defensible, it is retained.
Haggai 1:1, 12, 14, 2:2, 4	Iosuah *Bod*: Josua. (Struck through at 1:1, substitution illegible.) h *wi* (remaining vv).	Joshua, 1629	יְהוֹשֻׁעַ	Joshua	1611 margin, to 'Ieshua the sonne of Iozadak', Ezra 3:2: 'Or, Iosua. Hagge 1. 1.' Hebrew here is יְשׁוּעַ. יְהוֹשֻׁעַ elsewhere is spelt 'Joshua'.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
Zech. 4:2	which were vpon the top thereof *Bod*: (verse ends at) seuen pipes, ᴧ. wᶜʰ were vppō the top thereof.	which *are* upon the top thereof, 1762 (1817 8° = 1611)	אֲשֶׁר עַל־רֹאשָׁהּ	which are upon the top thereof	'Are' is clearly appropriate. Cf. Ezek. 36:2, where an inappropriate tense for direct speech is changed.
Zech. 7:7	of the plaine *Bod*: and in the plaine countreys. of *subst*.	and the plain, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	וְהַשְּׁפֵלָה	**of the plain**	Though this looks like a printer's error, *Bod* shows it is deliberate.
Zech. 11:2	because all the mighty are spoiled *Bod*: yea, all the proude are wasted away. because all the mightie are spoiled.	because the mighty are spoiled, 1638 (because the mighty is spoiled, 1769; 1817 8° = 1611)	אֲשֶׁר אַדִּרִים שֻׁדָּדוּ	**because all the mighty are spoiled**	Here 1611 has revised in the light of *G*'s 'because all the mightie are destroyed', and has added a note to 'mighty': '*Or, gallants*'. Clearly they gave the wording close attention here, and seem to have judged that 'all' was part of the sense.
Zech. 14:10	Hananiel *Bod*: Hananeel. i *wo* first e.	Hananeel, 1701 (1817 8° = 1611)	חֲנַנְאֵל	Hananeel	So 1611 elsewhere.
Mal. 1:8	And if hee offer *Bod*: When ye bring. And if *subst*. offer *subst*.	And if ye offer, *She*, 1613 F°, Q°	וְכִי־תַגִּשׁוּן	And if ye offer	

Mal. 2:2	and will curse = *Bod.*	and I will curse, 1612 Qᵒs, 1616, 1629 (1817 8º = 1611)	וְאָרוֹתִי	**and will curse**	The personal pronoun is unnecessary.
Mal. 3:4	the offerings of = *Bod* (offrings).	the offering of, 1638 (1817 8º = 1611)	מִנְחַת	**the offerings of**	
Mal. 4:2	and shall goe foorth *Bod*: and ~~ye~~ shall goe foorth.	and ye shall go forth, 1617, 1629 (1817 8º = 1611)	וִיצָאתֶם	**and shall go forth**	1617 prevents ambiguity, but *Bod* shows that the translators rejected this reading.
1 Esdras 1:6, 11; 2 Esdras 1:13 Ecclus. 45:15	Moyses 1602: Moses. Moises	Moses, 1629 Moses, 1613, 1629	τῷ Μωυσῇ (Vulg.: Moysi) Μωυσῆς	Moses	
2 Macc. 1:29, 2:4, 8, 10; 7:6. Etc.	1602: Moses.	Moses, 1629	Μωυσῆς		
1 Esdras 1:8	Sielus = 1602.	Syelus, 1638	Ησυηλος	Syelus	1611 marg.: '*Or, Iehiel*'
1 Esdras 1:9	Iechonias = 1602 (Jechonias).	Jeconias, 1629	Ιεχονιας	**Jechonias**	
1 Esdras 1:25	Pharao the king of Egypt = 1602.	Pharaoh . . . , 1629	βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου (Vulg.: Pharao)	Pharaoh	1611 gives 'Pharaoh' at Ecclus. 16:15, where there is no equivalent in the LXX or Vulgate.
2 Esdras 1:10	Pharao = 1602.	Pharaoh, 1629	Pharaonem	Pharaoh	

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
1 Macc. 4:9	Pharao = 1602.	Pharaoh, 1629	Φαραω	Pharaoh	So 1611 at v. 21.
Acts 7:10, 13	Pharao = 1602.	Pharaoh, 1629	Φαραὼ	Pharaoh	
1 Esdras 1:28 etc.	Ieremie = 1602 (Jeremie).	Jeremy, 1701 (1699 in NT)		Jeremy	
1 Esdras 1:31	fathers = 1602.	father's, 1762, 1769	πατρικῷ	father's	
1 Esdras 1:33 1 Esdras 5:5, 66 1 Esdras 9:5 Ecclus. 49:4 Heb. 8:8	Iudah Iuda Iuda Iuda Iudah Iudah	Judah Judah, 1629 Judah, 1612 8°s, 1629 Judah, 1769 Juda, 1638 Judah	Ιουδα Ιουδα Ιουδα Ιουδα Ιουδα Ἰούδα	**Juda** **Juda** **Juda** **Juda** Juda **Juda**	1602: 'Juda' throughout. = v. 63, LXX. These changes render the text consistent in giving 'Juda' in Apoc. and NT. They remove some inconsistent changes. 1611 uses 'Iuda' in prefatory and marginal material.
1 Esdras 1:55	they burnt it, brake downe the walles of Ierusalem, set fire vpon her towres = 1602.	and brake down . . . and set fire, 1769 (and brake down, 1762)	καὶ ἔλυσαν τὰ τείχα Ιεροσολύμων καὶ τοὺς πύργους αὐτῶν ἐνεπύρισαν ἐν πυρὶ	**they burnt it, broke down the walls of Jerusalem, set fire upon her towers**	= v. 52, LXX.

1 Esdras 2:8	tribes of Beniamin 1602: the tribes and villages of Juda and Beniamin.	tribe of Benjamin, 1769	Βενιαμιν φυλῆς (Vulg.: tribus Beniamin)	**tribes of Benjamin**	= v. 5, LXX.
1 Esdras 2:9	with very free gifts 1602: with many free gifts.	with very many free gifts, 1629	καὶ εὐχαῖς ὡς πλείσταις	with very many free gifts	1611 probably a printer's error.
1 Esdras 2:17, 24, 27; 4:48; 6:29; 7:1; 8:67; 1 Macc. 10:69; 2 Macc. 3:5, 8; 4:4; 8:8	Coelosyria	Celosyria	Κοίλη Συρία	**Coelosyria**	1611 spelling restored as being closer to the Greek.
1 Esdras 3:11	The King is strongest 1602: The king is strong.	The king is strongest (the king is the strongest, 1629–1762, 1837)	Ὑπερισχύει ὁ βασιλεύς	The king is strongest	
1 Esdras 4:21	He stickes 1602: he ieopardeth.	He sticketh, 1769		**He sticks**	This is one of five instances of the modern ending (the others are Ecclus. 22:2, 44:12, Baruch 6:9 and 21), reasonably but unnecessarily corrected for consistency. The older translations work differently. See p. 110.
1 Esdras 4:43	when thou camest to the kingdome = 1602.	. . . to thy kingdom, 1629	ἤ τὸ βασίλειόν σου παρέλαβες	. . . **to the kingdom**	

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
1 Esdras 5:5	Ioachim = 1602 (Joachim).	Joacim, 1629	Ιωακιμ	Joacim	
1 Esdras 5:8	Reesaias 1602: Resaias.	Reesaias (Resaias, 1873)	Ρησαιου	**Resaias**	
1 Esdras 5:14	Adonican 1602: Adonicam.	Adonikam, 1762 (Adonicam, 1629)	Αδωνικαμ	Adonikam	
8:39	Adonicam = 1602 (v. 40).	Adonikam, 1762 (Adonicam, 1629)	Αδωνικαμ	Adonikam	
1 Esdras 5:19	Pyra 1602: Pirath.	Pira, 1629		Pira	
1 Esdras 5:20	Cyrama = 1602.	Cirama, 1629	Κιραμας (Aldus: Κιραμὰ)	Cirama	
1 Esdras 5:26	Banuas 1602: Banua.	Banuas (Bannas, *She*)	Βαννου	Banuas	
1 Esdras 5:31	Asipha 1602: Acupha.	Acipha, 1629	Αχιβα (Aldus: ἀκιφά)	Acipha	
1 Esdras 5:32	Chareus 1602: Charesca.	Charcus, 1629	Βαρχους (Aldus: χαρκούς)	Charcus	
1 Esdras 5:33	Ioeli 1602: Gedah.	Jeeli, 1629	Ιεηλι (Aldus: ἰεηλί)	Jeeli	
1 Esdras 5:34	Sabie 1602: Sabin.	Sabi, 1701 H868 (Saby, 1629)	σαβιη	**<u>Sabie</u>**	

1 Esdras 5:37	the sonnes of Ban 1602: the sonnes of Thubia.	the son of Ban, 1629	τοῦ υἱοῦ Τουβαν	**the sons of Ban**	
1 Esdras 5:55	Sidon = 1602.	Sidon (Zidon, 1769, 1817 Fo, 1837)	Σιδωνίοις	Sidon	= v. 53, LXX.
1 Esdras 5:69	Asbazareth = 1602.	Azbazareth, 1629	Ασβασαρεθ	**Asbazareth**	= v. 66, LXX.
1 Esdras 8:2	Ozias Memeroth 1602: Menuerath.	Ezias Memeroth (Meremoth, 1762, 1837)	Οζιου	**Ozias** Memeroth	1611 spelling restored as being closer to the Greek. The Greek is doubtful (1611 margin), and this makes 1762 as doubtful as 1611. The translation is an adoption of *G*'s reading and margin against *B*, and must therefore be taken as the product of reflection, not as an accident.
	Eleasar 1602: Eleazar.	Eleazar, 1629	Ελεαζαρ	Eleazar	So 1611, vv. 43, 63.
1 Esdras 8:6	of king Artaxerxes = 1602.	of Artaxerxes, 1629	Ἀρταξέρξου	of Artaxerxes	
1 Esdras 8:44	Ioribas 1602: Joribon (v. 45).	Joribus, 1873	Ιωριβον	Joribus	S corrects to the Vulgate reading; the reason for 1611's spelling is not apparent, unless it is an error. *G* and *B* both have 'Joribon' and 'Mosollamon'; *G* notes, 'Or, Iorib . . . & Mosollam'. 1611 has followed its predecessors for 'Mosollamon', as it also does for 'Μοσολλαμος', 9:14, which is given as 'Mosollam'.
	Mosollamon = 1602.	Mosollamon (Mosollamus, 1873)	Μεσολαμον	Mosollamon	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
1 Esdras 8:49	the catalogue of whose names were shewed 1602: whose names are all signed vp in writing.	the catalogue of whose names were shewed (the catalogue of whose names was shewed, 1873)		**the catalogue of whose names was shown**	Grammatical correction.
1 Esdras 8:69 Judith 5:16	Chanaanites Chanaanite	Canaanites, 1629 Chanaanite (Canaanite, 1629 only)	Χαναναίων Χαναναῖον	Canaanites **Canaanite**	= v. 66. 1602: 'Chanaan . . .'.
Judith 5:3 Judith 5:9, 10	Canaan Chanaan	Chanaan, 1638 Chanaan (Canaan, 1629 only)	Χανααν Χανααν	**<u>Canaan</u>** **<u>Canaan</u>**	1629 regularises to the form found at vv. 9, 10. At 1 Macc. 9:37 Logos gives 'Chanaan' for 1611's 'Canaan'. 'Canaan' or 'Canaanite' is also found in Apoc. or NT at 2 Esdras 1:21, Matt. 10:4, 15:22, Mark 3:18.
Baruch 3:22	Chanaan	Chanaan (Canaan, 1873)	Χανααν	**Canaan**	
Susanna 56	Chanaan	Chanaan (Canaan, 1629, Ostervald 1808 only)	Χανααν	**Canaan**	
1 Macc. 9:37	Canaan	Canaan (Chanaan, 1638)	Χανααν	Canaan	
Acts 7:11, 13:19	Chanaan	Chanaan (Canaan, 1873; 13:19, 1612 8ºs)	Χανάαν	**Canaan**	

1 Esdras 9:21	Hierel 1602: Hiereel.	Hiereel, 1629	Ιιηλ	Hiereel	S gives LXX as ἱερεήλ (p. 177).
1 Esdras 9:22	Ellionas 1602: Elionas.	Elionas, 1629	Ελιωναις (Aldus: ἐλλίονας)	Elionas	
1 Esdras 9:23	Iosabad 1602: Jorabadus.	Jozabad, 1629	Ιωζαβδος	Jozabad	Contrast Ζαβδος, 'Iosabad', v. 29.
1 Esdras 9:30	Many 1602: Mani.	Mani, 1629	Μανι	Mani	
1 Esdras 9:31	Balunus 1602: Balnuus.	Balnuus, 1629 (Belnuas, 1762)	Βαλνουος	Balnuus	1611 looks like a typographical error.
1 Esdras 9:32	Milchias 1602: Melchias.	Melchias, 1629	Μελχιας	Melchias	So 1611 at v. 44.
1 Esdras 9:34	Selenias 1602: Selemias.	Selemias, 1629	Σελεμιας	Selemias	
	Azailus 1602: Ezailus.	Azaelus, 1629	Αζαηλος	Azaelus	
	Iosiphus = 1602 (Josiphus).	Josephus, 1769	Ιωσηπος	Josephus	
1 Esdras 9:48	Sabateus 1602: Battaias.	Sabateas, 1769 (Sabbateas, 1629–1762; Sabatteas 1701)	Σαββαταιος	**Sabateus**	
2 Esdras 1:31	newe Moone 1602: new moones.	new moons, 1629	neomenias	**new moon**	
2 Esdras 1:40	Zacharie = 1602.	Zachary, 1701	Zacchariae	Zachary	

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
	Malachie = 1602.	Malachy, 1616, 1701 H868, 1762	Malachiae	Malachy	
2 Esdras 2:8	Gomorrhe = 1602.	Gomorrha, 1630 (Gomorrah, 1629)	Gomorrae	Gomorrha	Standard NT spelling; OT is Gomorrah. Cf. Gen. 10:19.
2 Pet. 2:6	Gomorrha 1602: Gomorrhe. = MS 98.	Gomorrha, 1638 (Gomorrah, *She*, Gomorra, 1629)	γομόρρας	Gomorrha	
2 Esdras 2:10 10:47	Hierusalem = 1602.	Jerusalem, 1629 Jerusalem, 1629 Qᵒs, 1616	Hierusalem	Jerusalem	
2 Esdras 2:18	I will send 1602: I shall send.	will I send, 1629		**I will send**	
2 Esdras 3:16 (twice)	Isahac = 1602.	Isaac, 1638	Isaac	Isaac	
Tobit 4:12	Isaak [1602 different.]	Isaac, 1612 Qᵒs, 1616, 1629	Ισαακ	Isaac	
Mark 12:26 Luke 20:37	Isahac *Bod*: ~~Isahac~~. Isaak *subst.* Isahac = *Bod*.	Isaac, 1629 (12:26, 1612 8ᵒ H316)	Ἰσαὰκ	Isaac	
2 Esdras 3:17 Judith 5:14 Acts 7:30, 38	Sina Sina Sina	Sinai, 1768 Sina (Sinai, 1837) Sina	Sina Σινα Σινᾶ	Sinai **Sinai** **Sinai**	Regularised to 1611's form for the same Greek at Ecclus. 48:7 and Gal. 4:24, 25.

2 Esdras 3:18	depth 1602: depths.	depths, 1629	abyssos	**depth**	
2 Esdras 3:27	the citie = 1602.	thy city, 1629	civitatem tuam	**the city**	
2 Esdras 3:35	or what people hath so kept = 1602.	or what people have so kept, 1769	aut quae gens sic observavit	**or what people hath so kept**	1769 presumably takes 'people' as plural.
2 Esdras 4:47	vnto you 1602: vnto thee.	unto thee, 1638	tibi	**unto you**	This may be an example of the modern 'you' for the singular.
2 Esdras 7:68	the ten thousand part = 1602 (. . . tenne . . .).	the ten thousandth part, 1638		the ten thousandth part	
2 Esdras 8:43	the raine 1602: thy raine.	thy rain, 1629	pluviam tuam	**the rain**	
2 Esdras 12:21	And two of them shall perish: the middle time approching, foure shall bee kept vntill their end begin to approch: but two shall be kept vnto the end.	And two of them shall perish, the middle time approaching: four shall be kept until their end begin to approach: but two shall be kept unto the end.	et duo quidem ex ipsis perient adpropinquante tempore medio, quattuor autem servabuntur in tempore, cum incipiet adpropinquare tempus eius ut finiatur, duo vero in finem servabuntur	And two of them shall perish, the middle time approaching: four shall be kept until their end begin to approach: but two shall be kept unto the end.	1611 places 'the middle time approaching' with what follows, *CT* with what precedes. The verse is obscure: the received punctuation is kept because of the difficulty of making sense of the 1611 punctuation.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
2 Esdras 13:12	saw I = 1602.	I saw, 1629	vidi	**saw I**	
2 Esdras 13:14	wonders 1602: these wonders.	these wonders, 1629	mirabilia haec	**wonders**	
2 Esdras 14:43	and held not my tongue by night = 1602 (& . . .).	and I held not my tongue by night, 1629	et nocte non tacebam	**and held not my tongue by night**	The personal pronoun is unnecessary.
2 Esdras 14:47	fountains 1602: fountaine.	fountain, 1629	fons	**fountains**	
2 Esdras 15:22	vpon earth = 1602.	upon the earth, 1629	super terram	**upon earth**	V. 29, 'vpon earth', unchanged.
2 Esdras 15:50	as floure 1602: as a floure.	as a flower, 1613, 1616, 1629	sicut flos	as a flower	
2 Esdras 16:28	clefts of rockes 1602: clifts of stones (v. 29).	clefts of the rocks, 1629	fissuras petrarum	**clefts of rocks**	= v. 29.
2 Esdras 16:30	Or, when as 1602: Or as when (v. 31).	Or as when, 1638	aut sicut	**or, when as**	Though 1611 is unusual, it is possible English.
2 Esdras 16:42	as he that had no profit 1602: as he that winneth not (v. 43).	as he that hath no profit, 1769	quasi qui fructum non capiat	**as he that had no profit**	
2 Esdras 16:52	For yet a little iniquitie shall be taken away 1602: For or euer it be long, iniquitie shalbe taken away.	For yet a little, and iniquity shall be taken away, 1616, 1629	adhuc pusillum, et tolletur iniquitas	For yet a little, and iniquity shall be taken away	1611 appears to be a printer's error.

Tobit 1:3, 10, 17, 22; 7:3; 11:1, 16, 17; 14:4, 8, 10, 15 (twice); Judith 1:1, 16; 2:21	Nineue, Niniue (11:16)	Nineve, 1762 (Nineveh, Tobit 1:3, 10, 17, 22, 7:3, 11:16, 17, 1629; Tobit 1:3, Judith, 1638)	Νινευη	**Nineveh**	Either the NT should be regularised to 'Nineve' or the NT and Apoc. should be regularised to 'Nineveh'. The latter course is followed because it keeps the spelling consistent (not a compelling argument unless universally applied) and because it keeps clear the fact that the word is tri-syllabic.
Matt. 12:41	Nineue = *Bod.*	Nineveh, 1629	Νινευῖται	Nineveh	
Luke 11:32	Nineue *Bod*: Niniue. *ncn.*	Nineve (Nineveh, 1699, 1873) Nineve, 1762 (ABS: Nineveh)	Νινευΐ	**Nineveh**	
Tobit 2:10	and a whitenesse came in mine eyes[9]	and a whiteness came into mine eyes	καὶ ἐγενήθη λευκώματα εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς	and a whitenesse came in my eyes	1611 makes sense so is reinstated.
Tobit 3:17	she belongeth	she belonged, 1629	ἐπιβάλλει	**she belongeth**	The tense is odd but corresponds to the Greek.
Tobit 4:10	Because that almes doth deliuer from death, and suffereth not	Because that alms do deliver from death, and suffer not, 1837, 1863 (do deliver . . . suffereth)[10]	διότι ἐλεημοσύνη ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ	**Because that alms doth deliver from death, and suffereth not**	The Greek is singular, and the English makes 'alms' singular, as in the next verse, 'for alms is'.

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[9] 1602 and 1611 vary greatly in Tobit and Judith, so 1602 readings are only noted where there is a close relationship.
[10] S gives 1629 as the source but I have not found this reading there; it is in 1817 Fº.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Tobit 5:15	to the wages	to thy wages, 1629	σοι ἐπὶ τὸν μισθόν, or: σοι τῷ μισθῷ	**to the wages**	The change to 'thy' is natural to the context but 1611 is true to the Greek.
Tobit 7:1	and after that they had saluted one another	and after they had saluted one another, 1629	καὶ ἐχαιρέτισεν αὐτοὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτήν	**and after that they had saluted one another**	1611 occasionally uses this phrase elsewhere without later emendation, e.g. v. 8.
Tobit 7:3	Nephthali = 1602.	Nephthalim, 1638 (Nepthali, 1616)	Νεφθαλι	**Nephthali**	Sinaiticus reads Νεφθαλιμ, the reading found in 1:1, where 'Nephthali' remains unchanged.
Matt. 4:13, 15,	Nephthali = *Bod.*	Nephthalim, 1638	Νεφθαλείμ	Nephthalim	
Rev. 7:6	Nepthali = 1602.	Nephthalim, 1638–1769, Amer. 1867 (Nephthalim, 1817 Fº)	Νεφθαλείμ	**Nephthalim**	
Tobit 8:10	*I feare* lest he be dead	I fear lest he also be dead, 1629	Μὴ καὶ οὗτος ἀποθάνῃ	**I fear lest he be dead**	
Tobit 13:18	Halleluiah 1602: *Alleluia* (v. 21).	Alleluia, 1638	Αλληλουια	Alleluia	So 1611, Rev. 19:1, 3, 4, 6, Ἀλληλουϊά.
Judith title	IVDETH 1602: Iudith.	JUDITH, 1701	ΙΟΥΔΙΘ	JUDITH	
8:1 etc.	Iudeth 1602: Judith.	Judith	Ιουδιθ	Judith	
Judith 1:6	Hydaspes 1602: Jadason.	Hydaspes (Hydaspe, 1629)	Ὑδάσπην	Hydaspes	'Hydaspes' restored by Cambridge 8º 1858, S's model (see S, p. 23).

	Elimeans 1602: Elikes.	Elymeans, 1629	Ἐλυμαίων	Elymeans	
Judith 1:8	Esdrelon = 1602.	Esdrelom, 1638	Εσδρηλων	**Esdraelon**	Marg. to 'Esdraelon' (Εσδρηλων), 3:9, 4:6: '*Or, Esdrelom*'. Vulg.: 'Hesdraelon'.
3:9; 4:6	Esdraelon	Esdraelon		Esdraelon	'Esdraelon' is now the common form,
7:3	Esdraelon	Esdraelom, 1638		**Esdraelon**	and 1611's preferred form.
Judith 2:4 etc.	Olofernes 1602: Holophernes.	Holofernes, 1638	Ολοφέρνης	Holofernes	Received spelling, used elsewhere in 1611, retained.
3:5–7:16	Holofernes 1602: Holophernes.	Holofernes (Olofernes, *She*, 1629 throughout)	Ολοφέρνης	Holofernes	*G*: 'Olofernes'.
Judith 2:20	A great multitude	A great number, 1769	πολὺς	**A great multitude**	
Judith 2:28	Aschalon	Ascalon, 1629	Ἀσκαλῶνι	Ascalon	
Judith 5:16	Pheresite	Pherezite, 1638	Φερεζαῖον	Pherezite	
Judith 7:7	the fountaine	the fountains, 1629	τὰς πηγὰς	the fountains	1611 appears to be an error.
Judith 7:18	Dotha-em	Dothaim, 1638	Δωθαϊμ	Dothaim	So 1611, 8:3.
Judith 8:5	put on sackecloth on her loynes	put on sackcloth upon her loins, 1629	καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτῆς σάκκον	**put on sackcloth on her loins**	1629 seems to improve 1611's style unnecessarily.
Judith 8:6	the eues of the Sabbath	the eves of the sabbaths, 1629	προσαββάτων	**the eves of the sabbath**	The plural is correctly represented in 'eves'.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Judith 8:29	all thy people	all the people, 1629	πᾶς ὁ λαὸς	**all thy people**	
Judith 12:11	Ebrewe 1602: Hebrewesse (v. 10).	Hebrew, 1630, 1638	Εβραίαν	Hebrew	
Judith 14:10	the foreskinne of his flesh 1602: let himselfe be circumcised (v. 6)	the flesh of his foreskin, 1629	τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας αὐτοῦ	**the foreskin of his flesh**	The 'correction' is understandable, but 1611's reading (= G) is literal.
Judith 15:4	Bethomasthem	Betomasthem, 1638	Βαιτομασθαιμ	Betomasthem	Cf. 4:6, 'Betomasthem', 'Βαιτομεσθαιμ'.
Judith 15:5	Choba	Chobai, 1638	Χωβα	Chobai	The Greek varies, see v. 4, Χωβαι, 'Chobai'; consistency seems appropriate for the English.
Judith 15:13	shee went before the people	she went before all the people, 1629	προῆλθεν παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ	**she went before the people**	
Judith 16:24	to all them that are neerest	to all them that were nearest, 1612 all, 1616, 1629	πᾶσι τοῖς ἔγγιστα	to all them that were nearest	
Rest of Esther 11:1 etc. 1 Macc. 1:18 etc.	Ptolomeus Ptolome(e)	Ptolemeus, 1638 Ptolemee, 1629	Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαῖος	**Ptolemee** Ptolemee	The Greek does not vary. Regularised to 1611's predominant form, which is also closest to the popular spelling of this dynastic name ('Ptolemy'). 1602: 'Ptolome', except 2 Macc. 10:12: 'Philometer'.

Wisdom 10:10	trauailes 1602: labours.	travails (travels, 1612 8°s, 1629, 1817 F°, 1837)	μόχθοις	travails	
1 Macc. 9:68	trauaile 1602: trauell.	travail (travel, 1629–1762)	ἔφοδος	travail	
Wisdom 10:14	gaue them perpetuall glory 1602: brought him to perpetuall worship.	gave him perpetual glory, 1613 F° and Q°	ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δόξαν αἰώνιον	gave him perpetual glory	1611 appears to be a printer's error.
Wisdom 15:4	painters = 1602.	painter's, 1762 (1873: painters')	σκιαγράφων	**painters'**	Though singular would appear more natural, the Greek is plural; cf. 'the mischievous inuention of men' earlier in the verse.
Wisdom 15:13	brickle 1602: fraile.	brittle, 1762 (brick, 1616)		brittle	
Wisdom 16:18	For sometimes = 1602.	For sometime, 1629	ποτὲ	**For some time**	The parallel is with ποτὲ, 'and at another time', at the beginning of the next verse.
Eph. 2:13; 5:8	sometimes 1602: sometime, sometimes.	sometimes	ποτε	**sometime**	
Col. 1:21	sometimes 1602: sometime.	sometime, 1629	ποτε	sometime	The sense is 'for some time' rather than 'at some times'.
Col. 3:7	sometime = 1602.	some time	ποτε	**<u>sometime</u>**	
Titus 3:3	sometimes 1602: sometime.	sometimes	ποτε	**sometime**	
1 Pet. 3:20	sometime = 1602.	sometime	ποτε	sometime	

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Wisdom 16:29	vnfaithfull 1602: vnthankfull.	unthankful, 1629	ἀχαρίστου	unthankful	S notes: 'evidently an oversight. Vulg. and Junius have "ingrati," the Bishops' Bible "unthankful." Cf. Luke 6:35. 2 Tim. 3:2' (p. 180 n.).
Wisdom 18:9	alike 1602: in like maner.	alike (like, 1629, 1817 Fᵒ, 1837)	ὁμοίως	alike	
Wisdom 18:18	And one throwen here, another there 1602: Then lay there one heere, another there.	And one thrown here, and another there, 1638	καὶ ἄλλος ἀλλαχῇ ῥιφεὶς	**And one thrown here, another there**	
Ecclus. 4:16	his generation = 1602.	his generations, 1863	γενεαὶ αὐτοῦ	**his generation**	1611 reading remains in some American texts.
Ecclus. 7:24	haue care 1602: keepe.	have a care, 1629	πρόσεχε	**have care**	
Ecclus. 11:25	no remembrance 1602: haue a good hope.	no more remembrance, 1629	οὐ μνησθήσεται	**no remembrance**	
Ecclus. 13:19	lyons = 1602 (Lions, v. 20).	lion's, 1762 (1873: lions')	λεόντων	**lions'**	
Ecclus. 17:24	those that faile 1602: such as be weake.	those that failed, 1629	ἐκλείποντας	**those that fail**	Though the present appears odd, there remains a similar present in the first part of the verse.
Ecclus. 19:8	to friend = 1602.	to friend (to a friend, 1629)	ἐν φίλῳ	to friend	

Ecclus 22:2	euery man that takes 1602: euery man that toucheth.	every man that takes (euery man that taketh, 1613 Fº)		every man that takes	Cf. Esdras 4:21. 1762 and 1769 retain 'takes'.
Ecclus. 23:27	Commandement 1602: commandements.	commandments, 1629	ἐντολαῖς	**commandment**	
Ecclus. 24:25	Physon 1602: Phison (v. 30).	Phison, 1629	Φισων	Phison	
Ecclus. 25:8, 9	Well is him	Well is him		**Well is he**	All 19 other examples of adjective + 'is' are followed by 'he' or 'she'; v. 9 later uses 'he': 'Well is him that hath found prudence, and he that speaketh in the eares of him that will heare'. Cf. Prov. 6:19.
Ecclus. 30:15	good state of body 1602: welfare.	good estate of body, 1629	εὐεξία	**good state of body**	
Ecclus. 32:1	If thou be made the master (of the feast) 1602: If thou be made a ruler.	If thou be made the master [of a feast,], 1629	Ἡγούμενόν σε κατέστησαν	**If thou be made the master of the feast,**	
Ecclus. 35:15	Doeth not the teares run downe. 1602: Doeth not God see the teares that runne downe.	Do not the tears . . . , 1638	οὐχὶ δάκρυα	Do not the tears	1611's error appears to come from an incorrect revision of 1602 or from an incorrect reading of the revision. Cf. Ezek. 24:7.
Ecclus. 35:18	till he hath smitten 1602: till he haue smitten.	till he have smitten, 1629	ἕως ἂν συντρίψῃ	**till he hath smitten**	1611 seems acceptable, but is inconsistent with 'till he haue taken away' later in the verse.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Ecclus. 44:5	reiected 1602: brought forth.	recited, *She*, 1612 all, 1613 Fº and Qº, 1616, 1629	διηγούμενοι ἔπη ἐν γραφῇ	recited	'Setting out in detail utterances in writing'. 'Reiected' is presumably a misreading of a handwritten change to 1602.
Ecclus. 44:12	stands fast [1602 different.]	standeth fast, 1769		**stands fast**	See 1 Esdras 4:21.
Ecclus. 47:4	Goliah 1602: Goliath.	Goliath, 1629	Γολιὰθ	Goliath	
Ecclus. 47:23	Nabat = 1602.	Nebat, 1629	Ναβατ	**Nabat**	
Ecclus. 48:8	Who anointed 1602: Which diddest anoynt.	Who anointedst, 1762	ὁ χρίων	who anointedst	
Ecclus. 48:12	Elizeus = 1602.	Eliseus, 1638	Ελισαιε	Eliseus	
Ecclus. 49:4	Ezechias = 1602.	Ezekias, 1613, 1616, 1629	Εζεκιου	Ezekias	
Ecclus. 49:8	Ezechiel = 1602.	Ezekiel, 1612 8ºs, 1629	Ιεζεκιηλ	Ezekiel	
Ecclus. 51:12	deliuerest 1602: deliueredst.	deliveredst, 1612 Qºs, 1616, 1629	ἐξείλου	deliveredst	
Baruch 1:4	kings sonnes = 1602.	kings' sons, 1873 (king's sons, 1762)	υἱῶν τῶν βασιλέων	kings' sons	
Baruch 3:23	Merran 1602: of the land.	Meran, 1638	Μερραν	**Merran**	

Baruch 4:2	take heed 1602: take hold.	take hold, 1629	ἐπιλαβοῦ	**take heed**	1611 may be deliberate.
Baruch 6:2	vnto Babylon	into Babylon	εἰς Βαβυλῶνα	unto Babylon	
Baruch 6:8	laid ouer with siluer [1602 different.]	laid over with silver (gold, 1629)	περιάργυρα	laid over with silver	S notes this as an error in 1629; 'silver' restored in 1858 Cambridge 8º, his model (p. 23).
Baruch 6:9 6:21	loues [1602 different.] comes 1602: is in.	loveth, 1769 cometh, 1769		**loves** **comes**	See 1 Esdras 4:21.
Baruch 6:45	the workman = 1602 (. . . workeman).	the workmen, 1762	οἱ τεχνῖται	**the workman**	
Song of Three, title	[And they walked in the midst of the fire, praising God, and blessing the Lord.] . . . [Then Azarias stood vp] . . . [And Nabuchodonosor.] [1602 different.]	– *fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace* – verse 23. . . . *And they walked* – . . . *Then Nebuchadnezzar*– verse 24. 1638, 1769 (*into the midst*, 1762; '– verse 23' omitted).		– *fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace* – verse 23. . . . *And they walked* – . . . *Then Nebuchadnezzar*–verse 24.	
	in the Hebrew [1602 different.]	in the Hebrew (in the Chaldee, 1873)		in the Hebrew	Though S is correct in that the text of Daniel at this point is Chaldee, 1611 may be using 'Hebrew' loosely and deliberately.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Song of Three 1	[Omitted] 1602: And they walked in the midst of the flame, praising God, and magnifying the Lord (first v., numbered 25).	And they walked in the midst of the fire, praising God and blessing the Lord, 1638		And they walked in the midst of the fire, praising God and blessing the Lord	This is, incorrectly, part of the title in 1611. Consequently, there is an extra verse number in *CT* compared with 1611.
Song of Three 17 (16)	burnt offering = 1602 (v. 40).	burnt offerings, 1629	ὁλοκαυτώμασιν	**burnt offering**	
Susannah title	in Hebrew [1602 different.]	in the Hebrew, 1638		**in Hebrew**	
Bel 27	fat = 1602 (v. 26).	and fat, 1629	καὶ στῆρ	**fat**	
Bel 33–5, 37, 39	Habacuc = 1602.	Habbacuc, 1629	Αμβακουμ	**Habacuc**	
Manasses l. 2	their righteous 1602: the righteous.	their righteous (the righteous, *She*)	eorum	their righteous	*He* seems probable.
Manasses ll. 19–20 (1611)	for the multitude of mine iniquitie [1602 omits this part.]	for the multitude of mine iniquities, 1762		**for the multitude of my iniquity**	Though the plural is used throughout in the Vulgate, 'iniquity' was found acceptable by a long succession of editors, so should not be treated as an error.
1 Macc. 2:26, 54	Phineas 1602: Phinehes.	Phinees, 1638 (Phinehas, 1612 Qᵒs, 1616)	Φινεες	Phinees	

1 Macc. 2:42, 7:13	Assideans = 1602.	Assideans (Asideans, 1873; 7:13, 1612 Qᵒs, 1616, 1630)	Ασιδαίων Ασιδαῖοι	**Asideans**	So 1611 at 2 Macc. 14:6.
2 Macc. 14:6	Asideans 1602: Assidei.	Assideans, 1629	Ασιδαῖοι	**Asideans**	
1 Macc. 2:70	Sepulchre = 1602 (sepulchre).	sepulchres, 1629	τάφοις	**sepulchre**	
1 Macc. 4:18	your enemies 1602: our enemies.	our enemies, 1629	τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν	**your enemies**	1611 may be deliberate.
1 Macc. 4:29	met with them 1602: came against them.	met them with, 1612 Qᵒs, 8ᵒ H316, 1613, 1629	συνήντησεν αὐτοῖς	met them with	
1 Macc. 5:9	Galead 1602: Galaad.	Galaad, 1612 8ᵒs, 1629	Γαλααδ	Galaad	So 1611 elsewhere.
1 Macc. 5:13	Yea all our brethren that were in the places of Tobie, are put to death, their wiues and their children; Also they have caried away captiues, and borne away their stuffe	Yea, all our brethren that were in the places of Tobie are put to death: their wives and their children also they have carried away captives, and borne away their stuff	καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν οἱ ὄντες ἐν τοῖς Τουβίου τεθανάτωνται, καὶ ᾐχμαλωτίκασιν τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα	Yea, all our brethren that were in the places of Tobie are put to death: their wives and their children also they have carried away captives, and borne away their stuff	1611's punctuation makes sense as English but falsifies the Greek. See p. 150.
1 Macc. 5:25	in peaceable maner 1602: louingly.	in a peaceable manner, 1769	εἰρηνικῶς	**in peaceable manner**	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
1 Macc. 5:26	Bosora 1602: Bosor.	Bosora (Bossora, 1873)	See note.	Bosora	S gives Sinaiticus as the source for 'Βόσορα', Aldus, Alexandrinus and Vaticanus for 'Βόσσορα' and Complutensian for 'Βόσορρα' (p. 53). V. 28 reads 'Bosorra' in 1611, 'Bosora' in *CT*.
	in Alema 1602: Alimis.	and Alema, 1629	ἐν Αλεμοις	**in Alema**	
1 Macc. 5:65	townes thereof (second occurrence) 1602: towres round about it.	towers thereof, 1629	πύργους αὐτῆς	towers thereof	The printer may well have made this error because of '*townes* thereof' earlier in the verse.
1 Macc. 6:1	Elimais 1602: Elimas.	Elymais, 1638	Ἐλυμαΐς	Elymais	
1 Macc. 6:5	brought in tidings 1602: brought him tidings.	brought him tidings, 1629	ἀπαγγέλλων αὐτῷ	**brought in tidings**	1611 may be deliberate.
1 Macc. 7:24	the coast 1602: the borders.	the coasts, 1629	τὰ ὅρια	**the coast**	
1 Macc. 7:45	Gasera 1602: Gazara.	Gazera, 1638	Γαζηρα	Gazera	So 1611, 4:15.
1 Macc. 8:4	that place [1602 different.]	the place, 1629	τοῦ τόπου	**that place**	
1 Macc. 8:8	Lidia 1602: Lydia.	Lydia, 1612 Qºs, 1616, 1629	Λυδίαν	Lydia	

1 Macc. 8:17	Accas 1602: Jacob (*m*. Or, Acchus).	Accos, 1629	Ακκως	Accos	
1 Macc. 8:26	couenant 1602: couenants.	covenants, 1769	τὰ φυλάγματα	**covenant**	
1 Macc. 9:35	Nabbathites 1602: Nabuthites.	Nabathites, 1612 Qᵒs, 1616, 1629	Ναβαταίους	Nabathites	
1 Macc. 10:25	vnto him 1602: vnto them.	unto them, 1629	αὐτοῖς	unto them	1611 probably a printer's error.
1 Macc. 10:29	I doe free 1602: I discharge.	do I free, 1629		**I do free**	
1 Macc. 10:45	for building 1602: for the making.	for the building, 1612 Qᵒs, 1616, 1629	τοῦ οἰκοδομηθῆναι	for the building	
1 Macc. 10:47	‖ peace, m.: ‖ *True* 1602: for he was a prince that had dealt friendly with them.	true peace, *She*, 1612 all, 1613 Fᵒ and Qᵒ, 1616 etc.		true peace	ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἀρχηγὸς λόγων εἰρηνικῶν. *He*'s margin is puzzling, apparently an error (see p. 71). 1611 evidently revised in the light of *G*: 'he was the first that had intreated of true peace with them'.
1 Macc. 10:58	gaue vnto him 1602: and hee gaue Alexander.	gave unto him (he gave unto him, 1630, 1769 and others; not 1638)	ἐξέδετο αὐτῷ	gave unto him	
1 Macc. 10:89	the kings blood 1602: the kings next blood.	the kings' blood, 1873 (king's, 1762)	τοῖς συγγενέσιν τῶν βασιλέων	the kings' blood	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
1 Macc. 11:6	Ioppa = 1602 (Joppa).	Joppe, 1616, 1638 [not 1629]	Ἰοππην	Joppe	
1 Macc. 11:34	Lidda 1602: Lydda.	Lydda, 1638	Λυδδα	Lydda	
1 Macc. 11:56	Triphon 1602: Tryphon.	Tryphon, 1612 Qᵒs, 8ᵒ H316, 1616, 1629	Τρύφων	Tryphon	
1 Macc. 11:62	the chiefe men 1602: their sonnes.	their chief men, 1629	τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν	**the chief men**	
1 Macc. 11:70	Absolon 1602: Absolomus.	Absalom, 1629	Αψαλωμου	Absalom	
13:11	Absolom 1602: Absolomus.	Absalom, 1613, 1629	Αψαλωμου	Absalom	
1 Macc. 12:19	Omiares 1602: Onias.	Oniares, 1629	Ονια	Oniares	*B* and *G*: 'Onias'. 1611 marg.: '*read out of Ios.* which Areus sent to Onias'; this implies care, but 'Omiares' is difficult to explain unless one posits both a typographical error (m for n) and a conflation at some point with the following name, 'Areus'.
1 Macc. 13:39	which yee owe vs, if there were any other tribute paide in Jerusalem	owe us: and if there were any other tribute paid in Jerusalem	ὃν ὠφείλετε, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐτελωνεῖτο ἐν Ιερουσαλημ	owe us: and if there were any other tribute paid in Jerusalem	1611 reads very awkwardly; while it is not certainly an error, the correction is retained.

1 Macc. 13:51	in the hundred seuentie and one yere 1602: in the hundred threescore and eleuenth yeere.	in the hundred seventy and first year, 1769 (. . . hundreth, 1616)		in the hundred seventy and first year
1 Macc. 13:53	and dwelt 1602: where hee dwelt.	; and he dwelt, 1701	καὶ ᾤκει	**; <u>and dwelt</u>**	S comments that 'notwithstanding ch. 16:1, Simon, not John, is intended by the Translators to be the subject of "dwelt"' (p. 232 n.). *B* (and *G*) reads: 'and caused him to dwell at Gaza'. This makes it likely that S is correct, for the reading is a clear change made by the translators; there is the possibility of a printer's error confounding the translators' intentions, but this possibility isn't enough to justify change.
1 Macc. 15:22	The same thing 1602: The same words.	The same things, 1629	ταὐτὰ	<u>**The same thing**</u>	
1 Macc. 15:23	Sycion 1602: Sicyon. Phaseilis 1602: Facelides. Sidee 1602: Sida. Gortina 1602: Cortyna.	Sicyon, 1629 Phaselis, 1638 Side, 1638 Gortyna, 1616, 1629	Σικυῶνα Φασηλίδα Σίδην Γόρτυναν	Sicyon Phaselis Side Gortyna	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
1 Macc. 16:14	threescore and seuenth 1602: threescore and seuenteenth.	threescore and seventeenth, 1769	ἑβδόμου καὶ ἑβδομηκοστοῦ	threescore and seventeenth	Printer's error, presumably.
2 Macc. 1:36	is as much to say as = 1602 (. . . say, as).	is as much as to say, 1638 (is as much to say, 1629)		**is as much to say as**	
2 Macc. 3:12	such wrong should be done [1602 different.]	such wrongs should be done, 1612 Qᵒs, 1629	ἀδικηθῆναι	**such wrong should be done**	'Wrong' or 'wrongs' is implicit in the verb. 1611 rejects *B*'s ('Yea & that it were vnpossible for those mens meaning to be disceaued') for *G*, where the singular is also found ('And that it were altogether vnpossible to do this wrong to them').
2 Macc. 4:4	Appollonius 1602: Apollonius.	Apollonius, 1612 all, 1616, 1629 (Appolonius, 1873)	Ἀπολλώνιον	Apollonius	
2 Macc. 4:13	no high priest 1602: which should not be called a Priest.	no high priest (not high priest, *She*, 1612 all, 1616, 1629)		no high priest	καὶ οὐκ ἀρχιερέως Ἰάσωνος ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀναγνείαν. *He:* 'through the exceeding profaneness of Iason that vngodly wretch, and no high priest'. If this is a deliberate rewriting of *B* ('thorowe the vngratious and vnhearde wickednesse of Iason, which shoulde not be called a

2 Macc. 4:21	Manastheus 1602: Menestheus.	Menestheus, 1629	Μενεσθέως	Menestheus	
	vnto Egypt 1602: into Egypt.	into Egypt, 1638	εἰς Αἴγυπτον	**unto Egypt**	Cf. 'vnto Phenice' (unchanged) in the next verse.
2 Macc. 4:23	Three yeere afterward 1602: After three yeeres	Three years . . . , 1630 (not 1638)		Three years	
	foresaid = 1602 (foresayd).	aforesaid, 1629		**foresaid**	
2 Macc. 4:30	they of Tharsus 1602: the Tharsians.	. . . Tarsus, 1638 (Tharsos, 1629)	Ταρσεῖς	Tarsus	
2 Macc. 4:40	beganne first to offer violence on Auranus, being the leader	began first to offer violence; one Auranus being the leader	κατήρξατο χειρῶν ἀδίκων προηγησαμένου τινὸς Αυρανου	began first to offer violence; one Auranus being the leader	1611 appears to be an error, 'one' being mistakenly changed to 'on', and the punctuation made to fit.
2 Macc. 4:50	in power = 1602.	of power, 1629	κρατούντων	**in power**	
2 Macc. 5:20	the aduersities 1602: trouble.	the adversity, 1629	δυσπετημάτων	**the adversities**	
2 Macc. 8:33	Calisthenes = 1602.	Callisthenes, 1638	Καλλισθένην	Callisthenes	

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
	who was fled 1602: which was fled.	who had fled, 1769	πεφευγότα	**who was fled**	
2 Macc. 9:3	Ecbatana = 1602.	Ecbatane, 1762	Ἐκβάτανα	**Ecbatana**	
2 Macc. 11:4 (twice)	thousand footmen, and his thousand horsemen 1602: multitude . . . thousands of.	thousands of footmen, and his thousands of horsemen, 1629	ταῖς μυριάσιν ταῖς χιλιάσιν	**thousand footmen, and his thousand horsemen**	
2 Macc. 11:9	altogether 1602: all together.	all together, 1629	ὁμοῦ δὲ πάντες	all together	
2 Macc. 11:17	Absalon	Absalon, Absolom (Logos)	Αβεσσαλωμ	**Absalom**	
2 Macc. 11:21	eight and fortie yeere, the foure and twentie day 1602: fortie and eighth yeere, the twenty and fourth day.	eight and fortieth year, the four and twentieth day, 1638		eight and fortieth year, the four and twentieth day	
2 Macc. 12:15	Iosua 1602: Josuah.	Joshua, 1629	Ἰησοῦ	Joshua	
2 Macc. 12:42	for the sinne 1602: for the same offence.	for the sins, 1629	ἁμαρτίαν	**for the sin**	

2 Macc. 13:23	confounded 1602: he was astonied in his minde.	confounded ([was] confounded, 1873)	συνεχύθη	confounded	S's point is that there is a change of subject from the previous verb; the inclusion of 'was' helps to signal this, but is not a necessary correction to part of a very strange bit of work
2 Macc. 14:16	Dessaro 1602: Dessau.	Dessau, 1629	Δεσσαου	Dessau	
2 Macc. 15:3	Then this most vngracious wretch demanded 1602: *For all this* yet sayd the vngracious person.	Then the most ungracious . . . , 1629	ὁ δὲ τρισαλιτήριος	**Then this most ungracious** . . .	
Colophon	The end of Apocrypha [1602 different.]	THE END OF THE APOCRYPHA, 1638		THE END OF THE APOCRYPHA	
Matt. 1:5 (twice)	Boos = *Bod*.[11]	Booz, 1629	Βοὸζ	Booz	
Matt. 1:9 (twice)	Achas, and Achas *Bod*: Achas, ˄ Achas. and *ins*.	Achaz, 1629	Ἀχάζ	Achaz	
Matt. 2:1 etc.	Hierusalem = *Bod*.	Jerusalem, 1629	Ἱεροσόλυμα	Jerusalem	
Matt. 3:12	but wil burne vp *Bod*: but ~~will burne vp~~. he will burne *subst*.	but he will burn up, 1629		**but will burn up**	

[11] Information on the 1602 text and annotations is also available in Allen and Jacobs.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Matt. 5:22	Racha *Bod*: *Racha. ncn.*	Raca, 1638	ῥακά	Raca	
Matt. 6:3	let not thy left hand know, what thy right doeth = *Bod*.	let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth, 1613, 1629 [doth, 1629; doeth, 1638]	μὴ γνώτω ἡ ἀριστερά σου τί ποιεῖ ἡ δεξιά σου	**let not thy left hand know what thy right doeth**	1611 restored because 'hand' is understood in both cases, and so correctly omitted.
Matt. 8:25	and awoke, saying *Bod*: and awoke him, saying. *ncn.*	and awoke him, saying, *She*, 1613 Fº, Qº	ἤγειραν αὐτόν, λέγοντες	and awoke him, saying	All earlier versions and subsequent editions read 'and awoke him, saying'.
Matt. 9:34	casteth out the deuils = *Bod*.	casteth out devils, 1762	ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια	**casteth out the devils**	
Matt. 12:23	Is this the sonne *Bod*: Is not this ~~that~~ sonne. the *subst.*	Is not this the son, 1638	Μήτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς	**Is this the son**	S notes of 1638's reading: 'so, though wrongly, nearly all the moderns, but not Scholefield, in the Cambridge Greek and English N.T. . . . , and the Tract Society's Bible 1868. Archbishop Trench contrasts the insertion of "not" in John 8:22, 18:35, Acts 7:42, 10:47. Compare also John 7:26, 31' (p. 233 n.). Since the inclusion or omission of 'not' does not change the meaning, 1611's reading must stand, even though it contrasts with John 4:29. *G* also has 'not'.
Matt. 13:4	the wayes side = *Bod*.	the way side, *She*, 1613	τὴν ὁδόν	**the wayside**	*He* keeps *B*'s only use of 'wayes side' (*G*: 'way side').

Luke 8:5	the wayes side *Bod*: the way side. *ncn*.	the way side, 1743	τὴν ὁδόν	**the wayside**	
Matt. 13:6	had not root = *Bod*.	had no root, 1762	μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν	<u>**had not root**</u>	Cf. v. 21, οὐκ ἔχει δὲ ῥίζαν, 'yet hath hee not root'; unchanged.
Matt. 14:9 Mark 6:26	for the othes sake = *Bod*. for his othes sake = *Bod*.	. . . oath's . . . , 1762 (1873: oaths')	διὰ δὲ τοὺς ὅρκους διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους	**for the oaths' sake** **for his oaths' sake**	The Greek switches from singular (Matt. 14:7) to plural in these verses.
Matt. 14:34 Mark 6:53 Luke 5:1	Genesaret *Bod*: Genezaret. *ncn*. Genesareth *Bod*: Genezareth. *ncn*. Genesareth *Bod*: Genezareth. *ncn*.	Gennesaret, 1629 Gennesaret, 1762 (Genesaret, 1873) Gennesaret, 1762 (Gennesareth, 1701)	Γεννησαρέτ Γενησαρέτ Γεννησαρέτ	Gennesaret Gennesaret Gennesaret	Traditional spelling.
Matt. 16:16	Thou art Christ = *Bod*.	Thou art the Christ, 1762	Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς	<u>**Thou art Christ**</u>	1611's reading accepts what went before and proved acceptable for 150 years.
Matt. 16:19	in heauen: whatsoeuer thou shalt loose on earth *Bod*: in heauen, and whatsoeuer thou shalt loose ~~in~~ earth. on *subst*.	in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, 1616, 1629	ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· καὶ ὃ ἐὰν λύσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς	<u>**in heaven: whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth**</u>	
Matt. 20:29	Hiericho = *Bod*.	Jericho, 1616, 1629	Ἰεριχὼ	Jericho	So 1611 elsewhere.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Matt. 23:24	straine at a gnat *Bod*: straine out a gnat. *ncn.*	strain at a gnat (strain out a gnat, 1873)	οἱ διϋλίζοντες τὸν κώνωπα	strain at a gnat	Tyndale etc., 'strayne out a gnat', *R*, 'straine a gnat'. S notes that 'out' is found in Baskett's 8vo., London, 1754 (p. 201 n.). 1611's reading is probably deliberate. See p. 44.
Matt. 26:75	the words of Iesus = *Bod* (Jesu).	the word of Jesus, 1762 (1817 8° = 1611)	τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ	**the words of Jesus**	
Matt. 27:22	Pilate said vnto them = *Bod*.	Pilate saith unto them, 1629	λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλᾶτος	**Pilate said unto them**	
Matt. 27:46	*Lamasabachthani* = *Bod*.	lama sabachthani, 1629	λαμὰ σαβαχθανι	lama sabachthani	
Mark 15:34	lamasabachthani *Bod*: lama sabachthani. *ncn.*	lama sabachthani, 1629	λαμμα σαβαχθανι	lama sabachthani	
Matt. 27:52	bodies of Saints which slept = *Bod*.	bodies of the saints which slept, 1762	σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων	**bodies of saints which slept**	1762 is correct by the Greek.
Mark 2:4	for preasse = *Bod*.	for the press, 1743	διὰ τὸν ὄχλον	**for press**	Luke 8:19 has 'for the preasse', but 1611 follows *Bod*, and was long found acceptable.
Mark 5:6	he came *Bod*: he ranne. *ncn.*	he ran, 1638	ἔδραμεν	**he came**	Translated 'ran' elsewhere in 1611, and here in *B* and *G*. This may be an error but can readily be understood as a deliberate late change.

Mark 6:7	he calleth = *Bod.*	he called, 1769	προσκαλεῖται	**he calleth**	
Mark 10:18	There is no man good, but one = *Bod.*	*there is* none good but one, 1638	οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς, εἰ μὴ εἷς	**there is no man good but one**	This is an unnecessary correction of 1611's English. S notes: 'a variation taken from Matt. 19:17. A like change might well be made in some other places, e.g. Matt. 11:27, [Mark?] 13:32. In John 10:28 "any", 29, "none" of 1638–1762 are rejected by 1769 and later Bibles for "any man", "no man" of 1611–30; "man" however being printed in italic type' (p. 187 n.).
Mark 10:46	high wayes side = *Bod.*	highway side (high-way side, 1629, high-way-side, 1638)	παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν	highway side	Cf. Matt. 13:4, Luke 8:5.
Mark 11:8	branches of the trees *Bod*: branches off the trees. *ncn.*	branches off the trees, 1638	στιβάδας ἔκοπτον ἐκ τῶν δένδρων	**branches of the trees**	The change is unnecessary; 'of' can mean 'from' or 'out of'; moreover, there is an element of tautology in 'cut *down* branches *off* '.
Mark 14:32	Gethsemani = *Bod.*	Gethsemane, 1616, 1638	Γεθσημανῆ	Gethsemane	So 1611 at Matt. 26:36.
Mark 14:36	not that I will, but what thou wilt *Bod*: not that I will, but that thou wilt, ~~be done~~.	not what I will, but what thou wilt, 1629	ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τί ἐγὼ θέλω, ἀλλὰ τί σύ	**not that I will, but what thou wilt**	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Mark 15:41; 16:7; Luke 4:44	Galile *Bod*: Galilee. *ncn*.	Galilee, 1629 (16:7, 1612 Qᵒs, 8ᵒ H316, NT, 1616; Luke 4:44, 1612 all, 1616)	ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ	Galilee	So 1611 elsewhere.
Luke 1:3	hauing had perfect vnderstanding of things *Bod*: hauing ~~perfect vnderstanding of~~ al things. exactly atteyned vnto *subst*.	having had perfect understanding of all things, 1629	παρηκολουθη-κότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς	**having had perfect understanding of things**	*Bod* suggests the translators intended to retain 'al', but the reading still makes sense and may be deliberate.
Luke 1:5, 7, 13, 24, 36, 40, 41 (twice), 57	Elizabeth = *Bod*.	Elisabeth, 1638	Ἐλισάβετ	**Elizabeth**	*G*, 'Elisabet'. 1611 represents a deliberate decision to stay with the normal spelling rather than to go with the more accurate transliteration. 'Elisabeth' is neither the one nor the other.
Luke 1:74	out of the hands = *Bod*.	out of the hand, 1762	ἐκ χειρὸς	**out of the hands**	Translated as singular elsewhere. The singular is also used at v. 71 in a similarly plural context. But 1762's change is not necessary.
Luke 3:21	and it came to passe *Bod*: Nowe it came to passe, as all the people were baptized, and ~~when~~	it came to pass, 1629	Ἐγένετο δὲ	it came to pass	1611 has changed the order of the Greek, but 1629's correction seems right. 'And' does not make sense here.

	~~Jesus was~~ baptized, and ~~did pray~~, that the heauen was opened. Jesus also being *subst.* praying *subst.*				
Luke 3:31	Menam = *Bod.*	Menan, 1629	μαιναν	Menan	
Luke 3:35	Phaleg *Bod*: Phaleg. ~~Palec~~ *subst.*	Phalec, 1629	Φάλεκ	Phalec	(*Bod*'s deletion of the substituted 'Palec' restores the text's 'Phaleg'.)
Luke 4:27	Elizeus = *Bod.*	Eliseus, 1638	Ἐλισαίου	Eliseus	
Luke 7:11	Naim *Bod*: Naim. ~~Nain~~. Naim *subst.*	Nain, 1638	Ναΐν	Nain	(*Bod*'s deletion of the substituted 'Nain' restores the text's 'Naim'.)
Luke 8:8	And when hee saide these things *Bod*: And as hee sayd these things. *ncn.*	And when he had said these things, 1629	Ταῦτα λέγων	**And when he said these things**	
Luke 13:4	Siloe *Bod*: ~~Siloe~~. ~~Siloam~~ *subst (and cancelled).*	Siloam, 1629	Σιλωὰμ	Siloam	The translators struck through 'Siloe' and placed 'Siloam' in the margin; they then struck through 'Siloam' and underlined 'Siloe'. They made and then rejected 1629's change.
Luke 17:34	the other shall be left *Bod*: the other shal be left alone.	and the other shall be left, 1638	καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἀφεθήσεται	**taken, the other shall be left**	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Luke 19:2 19:5 19:8	Zacheus = *Bod.* *Bod*: <u>Zache</u>. Zacheus *subst.* *Bod*: <u>Zache</u>. Zacheus *subst.*	Zacchæus, 1835, 1857 etc. (Zaccheus, 1638–1769, 1817 8° and F°, 1837)	Ζακχαῖος	Zacchaeus	
Luke 19:9	the sonne of Abraham *Bod*: <u>the childe</u> of Abraham. the sonne *subst.*	a son of Abraham, 1762	υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ	**the son of Abraham**	
Luke 20:12	he sent the third = *Bod.*	he sent a third, 1762	πέμψαι τρίτον	**he sent the third**	There is no article in the Greek, so the change is correct if one is dealing with seeming errors. However, the same reading is found in *B* and *G*. So, successive translators had the opportunity to make the change but did not.
Luke 23:19	cast in prison = *Bod.*	cast into prison, 1616, 1743	βεβλημένος εἰς φυλακήν	**cast in prison**	'Cast into' is 1611's usual rendering, but 'cast in' is fine.
Luke 24:13	Emaus = *Bod.*	Emmaus, 1612 Q°s, NT, 1613, 1616, 1629	Ἐμμαοῦς	Emmaus	
Luke 24:18	Cleophas = *Bod.*	Cleopas, 1629	Κλεοπᾶς	Cleopas	

John 1:45–9; 21:2	Nathaneel 1602: Nathanael.	Nathanael, 1629	Ναθαναὴλ	Nathanael	
John 5:18	not onely because hee = 1602.	because he not only, 1629	ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἔλυεν	**not only because he**	1611 restored because the correction is of its English.
John 7:16	Iesus answered them, = 1602 (Jesus . . .).	Jesus answered them, and said, 1634, 1638	ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν	**Jesus answered them, My**	Though 1611's reading may be a sin of omission, the translators may have allowed *Bod*'s reading to stand, as their early successors in turn let their reading stand.
John 8:30	those words = 1602 (. . . wordes).	these words, 1629	Ταῦτα	these words	1611 appears to be an error, perhaps because of 'those' in the previous verse. Cf. v. 28, 'these things'. Contrast 'those things', v. 26, where the reference is remote rather than immediate.
John 8:33	Abraham	Abrahams, *She*	Ἀβραάμ	Abraham's	
John 11:3	his sister = 1602.	his sisters, 1629	αἱ ἀδελφαὶ	**his sister**	The error goes back to the Great Bible. So the translators may have chosen to retain it, in spite of the Greek and the later implication that Mary and Martha are referred to (v. 19).
John 11:34	They say vnto him = 1602.	They said unto him, 1769	λέγουσιν αὐτῷ	**They say unto him**	
John 12:22	told Iesus = 1602 (tolde Jesus).	tell Jesus, 1762	λέγουσιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ	**told Jesus**	The verbs here and in the next verse are present; 1611's change of tense is awkward but not unusual, and continued at the beginning of the next verse. In the light of *B* and *G*'s use of past tense through the whole verse, it appears as a partial attempt to be truer to the Greek.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	NCPB	Notes
John 14:6	the Trueth 1602: and the Trueth.	the truth (and the truth, 1638–1817 8°)	ἡ ἀλήθεια	the truth	S describes 1638's reading as one 'it would have been better to have finally adopted' (p. 23).
John 15:4	and in you 1602: and I in you.	and I in you, *She*	κἀγὼ ἐν ὑμῖν	and I in you	Printer's error.
John 15:20	then the Lord = 1602 (. . . lord).	than his lord, 1762	τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ	**than the lord**	
John 16:25	the time commeth = 1602.	but the time cometh, 1756	ἀλλ᾽ ἔρχεται ὥρα	**the time cometh**	ἀλλ not present in all texts but is in the Textus Receptus. Here 1611 has followed *B* against *G* (which has 'but'); the omission appears to be deliberate.
John 21:17 beginning	He said vnto him = *Bod*.	He saith unto him, 1638	λέγει αὐτῷ	**He said unto him**	
Acts 2:22	by miracles, wonders, and signes 1602: with miracles, wonders, and signs.	by miracles and wonders and signs, 1638	δυνάμεσιν καὶ τέρασιν καὶ σημείοις	**by miracles, wonders and signs**	1611's omission of 'and' follows 1602, and may well be deliberate, sacrificing literalism to rhythm.
Acts 4:6	Caiphas 1602: Caiaphas	Caiaphas, *She*	Καϊάφαν	Caiaphas	
Acts 5:34	a doctour of Law = 1602.	a doctor of the law, 1762	νομοδιδάσκαλος	**a doctor of law**	The same word is rendered 'Doctours of the Law', Luke 5:17.
Acts 6:5, 8; 7:59; 8:2; 11:19; 22:20	Steuen = 1602.	Stephen, 1629	Στέφανος	Stephen	

Acts 6:5	Permenas = 1602.	Parmenas, 1629	Παρμενᾶν	Parmenas	
Acts 6:12	came vpon = 1602.	came upon (came vnto, *She*)	ἐπιστάντες	came upon	'Coming on'.
Acts 7:16	Sichem (twice) = 1602. Emor = 1602.	Sychem, 1638 Emmor, 1629	Συχὲμ Ἑμμὸρ	Sychem Emmor	1611's spellings conform to some editions of the Greek.
Acts 7:28	Wilt thou kill me, as thou diddest the Egyptian yesterday? = 1602 (. . . mee . . .).	Wilt thou kill me, as thou diddest the Egyptian yesterday? (as thou killedst, 1752, 1762, 1911)	μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις ὃν τρόπον ἀνεῖλες ἐχθὲς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον	Wilt thou kill me, as thou didst the Egyptian yesterday?	1752's reading is correct by the Greek, but 1611's is that of its predecessors; presumably the translators judged that it was unnecessary to repeat 'kill'.
Acts 7:35	by the handes = 1602.	by the hand, 1762	ἐν χειρὶ	**by the hands**	
Acts 8:32	the shearer = 1602.	his shearer, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	τοῦ κείραντος αὐτὸν	**the shearer**	
Acts 10:9	vpon the house 1602: into the highest part of the house.	upon the housetop, 1629	ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα	**upon the house**	Contrast Matt. 24:17, ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος, 'on the house top'.
Acts 15:23	And wrote = 1602.	And they wrote		and they wrote	*CT* reading preserved because of the difficulty of following the sentence otherwise.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Acts 16:1 etc. 2 Cor. 1:1 etc.	Timotheus Timothie	Timotheus Timothy	Τιμόθεος	**Timothy** Timothy	'Timotheus' is used in Apoc., and is left unchanged there. The disciple is only given as 'Timotheus' once after 2 Thess. 1:1. 'Timothie' appears to be 1611's preferred form once 1602 has set the example with 'Timothy' in the title to the first epistle. MS 98 also changes from 'Timotheus' to 'Timothe' at this point. *CT* = 1611. See p. 147.
Acts 18:5	pressed in spirit 1602: constrained by the spirit.	pressed in the spirit, 1769	συνείχετο τῷ πνεύματι	**pressed in spirit**	
Acts 19:19	Many also of them = 1602.	Many of them also, 1769	ἱκανοὶ δὲ τῶν	**Many also of them**	
Acts 21:1	Choos = 1602.	Coos, 1638 (Cos, 1873)	Κῶν	**Cos**	So 1611, 1 Macc. 15:23.
Acts 21:2	Phenicea 1602: Phenice.	Phenicia, *She*, 1629	Φοινίκην	**Phenice**	Changed for consistency.
Acts 23:3	Then saith Paul unto him = 1602	Then said Paul unto him	τότε ὁ Παῦλος πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπε	Then said Paul unto him	1602 and KJB are unique in having the present tense. *B* 1568 has 'sayde'. See p. 36.
Acts 24:14	in the Law and the Prophets = 1602 (. . . & . . .).	in the law and in the prophets, 1762	κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τοῖς προφήταις	**in the law and the prophets**	

Acts 24:24	which was a Iew 1602: which was a Jewesse (v. 25).	which was a Jewess, 1629	οὔσῃ Ἰουδαίᾳ	**which was a Jew**	1611 is probably intentional.
Acts 24:27	Portius = 1602 (v. 28).	Porcius, 1638	Πόρκιον	Porcius	
Acts 25:6	sitting in the iudgement seat 1602: sate downe in the iudgement seate.	sitting on the judgment seat, 1762 (1817 8° = 1611)	καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος	**sitting in the judgement seat**	Compare Acts 8:28, καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος, 'sitting in his charet'. Consequently 'in the iudgement seat' cannot be dismissed with confidence as an error, even though other uses of καθίσας ἐπι (Acts 12:21; 25:17) are rendered 'sate vpon' and 'sate on'.
Acts 25:23	was entred = 1602.	was entered (were entered, 1873)	εἰσελθόντων	was entered	Plural past participle; S's emendation restores the reading of all KJB's predecessors; 1611's 'was entred' looks like an error, perhaps caused by the printer being misled by 'Agrippa was come' earlier in the verse, but it reads well enough in context not to have elicited earlier correction.
Acts 27:5	Lysia = 1602.	Lycia, 1629	Λυκίας	Lycia	
Acts 27:7	Gnidus 1602: Gnidum.	Cnidus, 1638	Κνίδον	Cnidus	Probably not a typographical error since both *G* and *B* spell with G.
Acts 27:18	And being exceedingly tossed with a tempest the next day 1602: The next day when we were tossed with an exceeding tempest.	And we being exceedingly tossed with a tempest, the next *day*, 1638	σφοδρῶς δὲ χειμαζομένων ἡμῶν, τῇ ἑξῆς	And we being exceedingly tossed with a tempest, the next day	1611 looks like an error: it goes against the Greek and the earlier translations.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Acts end	*The end of the Acts of the Apostles* 1602: *Here endeth the Acts of the Apostles.*	Omitted, 1629		–	
Rom. 3:24	Iesus Christ 1602: Christ Jesus. = MS 98 (Jesus-Christ).[12]	Christ Jesus, 1762	Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ	**Jesus Christ**	MS 98 strengthens the case that the translators deliberately did not follow the Greek word order.
Rom. 4:12	but also walke 1602: but vnto them also that walke. = MS 98.	but who also walk, 1762	ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχοῦσι	**but also walk**	'Who' comes earlier in the sentence and does not need repetition. Cf. Heb. 8:8, which probably should be treated identically.
Rom. 4:19	an hundred yere old 1602: an hundred yeeres olde. MS 98: —.[13]	an hundred years old, 1630 (not 1638)		**a hundred years old**	
Rom. 4:19	Saraes = 1602. MS 98: —.	Sara's, 1629 (Sarah's, 1762–1963)	Σάρρας	Sara's	So 1611 elsewhere in NT.
9:9	Sara = 1602, MS 98.	Sara (Sarah, 1762–1963)	Σάρρα	Sara	

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[12] '= MS 98' signifies that the *He* reading and MS 98 are identical.
[13] I.e., MS 98 has no entry.

Rom. 6:12	Let not sinne reigne therfore 1602: let not sinne therefore reigne. = MS 98.	Let not sin therefore reign, 1612 Qᵒs, 1616, 1629	Μὴ οὖν βασιλευέτω ἡ ἁμαρτία	**Let not sin reign therefore**	The change to word order is of dubious quality as English and not exactly right in relation to the Greek.
Rom. 7:2	the law of the husband 1602: the law of her husband. MS 98: —.	the law of *her* husband, 1612 Qᵒs, 1616, 1629	τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀνδρός	**the law of the husband**	
Rom. 7:13	Was that then which is good made death vnto me 1602: Was that then which was good, made death vnto mee? MS 98: Was then that wᶜ is good made death vnto me?	Was then that which is good made death unto me, 1612 Qᵒs, 1616, 1629	τὸ οὖν ἀγαθὸν ἐμοὶ γέγονεν θάνατος	**Was that then which is good made death unto me**	Unnecessary change, but found in MS 98. See p. 33.
Rom. 9:29	Sabboth = 1602. MS 98: —.	Sabaoth, 1629	σαβαὼθ	Sabaoth	'Sabaoth' transliterates the Greek and is the form at James 5:4. The phrase is effectively a title. *CT* capitalises Rom. 9:29 but not James 5:4.
James 5:4	Sabaoth = 1602. = MS 98 (sabaoth).	sabaoth (Sabbaoth, *She*)	σαβαὼθ	**Sabaoth**	

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Rom. 11:28	for your sake 1602: for your sakes. MS 98: —.	for your sakes, 1762	δι' ὑμᾶς	**for your sake**	So 1611 at 1 Thess. 1:5, but 'sakes' at John 11:15, 12:30. Evidently an unnecessary change.
Rom. 12:2	that acceptable 1602: and acceptable. = MS 98.	and acceptable, 1629	καὶ εὐάρεστον	**that acceptable**	MS 98 confirms that the translators deliberately restored Tyndale's reading. See p. 32.
Rom. 14:6	He that regardeth a day 1602: He that esteemeth the day. MS 98: He that regardeth the day.	He that regardeth the day, 1629	ὁ φρονῶν τὴν ἡμέραν	**He that regardeth a day**	1629 = MS 98. 1611 may be a printer's error, but this is not certain. See p. 33.
Rom. 14:10	wee shall all stand = 1602 (. . . shal . . .). MS 98: we shall all be pᵣsented before the judgment seate of Christ.	for we shall all stand, 1638	πάντες γὰρ παραστησόμεθα	**we shall all stand**	1638 corrects following the Greek. 1611 follows Tyndale and *B* against *G* and *R*. Since their predecessors gave them a choice and MS 98 confirms that they revised this verse, 1611 must be taken as deliberate and therefore restored.
Rom. 16:9	Vrbane 1602: Urban. MS 98: —.	Urbane (Urban, 1873)	Οὐρβανὸν	Urbane	Now usually Urbanus. 1611 chooses an anglicised form (as with 'Apollo'), as had Tyndale and *B*, but uses its own spelling. It rejects *G* and *R*'s 'Urbanus'.
Rom. 16:10	Appelles 1602: Apelles. MS 98: —.	Apelles, 1616, 1629	Ἀπελλῆν	Apelles	

Rom. 16 subscription	of the Church = 1602, MS 98.	of the Church (to the Church, *She*, 1613)	της εν Κεγχρεαις εκκλησιας.	of the Church	MS 98: Written to the Romanes from Corinthum, *and sent* by Phoebe servant of the church at Cenchera.
1 Cor. 1:12 etc.	Apollo = 1602. MS 98: Apollos.	Apollos, 1638	Ἀπολλώς	Apollos	1638 = MS 98. 1611 sometimes uses 'Apollos', which has become the standard form and is therefore retained in spite of what seem to have been the translators' intentions. See p. 33.
1 Cor. 4:9	approued to death 1602: appointed to death. MS 98: —.	appointed to death, 1616, 1629	ἐπιθανατίους	**approved to death**	Though 'approved' is a hard reading (i.e. more difficult to understand), it fits with the positive sense of the Apostles in the passage. 1611 is a deliberate change, and one knows from Bois's notes that this verse was the subject of close discussion.
1 Cor. 7:5	Defraud you not one the other 1602: Defraud you not the one the other. = MS 98.	Defraud ye not one the other (Defraud you not one another, 1613 Fº)	μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους	**Defraud you not one the other**	Nowhere else does 1611 use 'one the other'; 'one another' is common. *B* gives the basis of this reading: 'Defraude you not the one the other'; *G* gives the expected reading: 'Defraude not one another'.
1 Cor. 7:32	things that belōgeth 1602: things that belong. MS 98: things that belonge.	things that belong, 1612 all, 1616, 1629	τὰ τοῦ	things that belong	1612 etc. = 1602, MS 98. 1611 appears to be a printer's error.
1 Cor. 10:28	The earth is the Lords = 1602. MS 98: —.	for the earth is the Lord's, 1769 (. . . sake. For the earth, 1638)	τοῦ γὰρ Κυρίου ἡ γῆ	**The earth is the Lord's**	As in Rom. 14:10, 1611 follows *B*, etc., against *G* in omitting γὰρ. Again this must be taken as deliberate.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
1 Cor. 10:29	but of the others 1602: but of the other. MS 98: —.	but of the other, 1762 (but of the other's, 1873)	ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ ἑτέρου	but of the other	1762 = 1602.
1 Cor. 12:28	helpes in gouernmētes 1602: helpers, gouernours. MS 98: helpes, governments.	helps, governments, 1629	ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις	**helps in governments**	1629 = MS 98. Though this reading is difficult to account for, it is not easily dismissed as a printer's error. MS 98 shows changes to *B*, Bois's notes show the verse came under further notice. See p. 34.
1 Cor. 13:2	haue no charitie 1602: haue not charitie. MS 98: have not charitye.	have not charity, 1762	ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω	**have no charity**	S restores 1611, which follows Tyndale's use of 'no'. 1762 = 1602, MS 98.
1 Cor. 14:10	none *of them* are = 1602, MS 98.	none of them *is*, 1638		none of them is	Grammatical correction.
1 Cor. 14:15	and wil pray 1602: I will pray. MS 98: —.	and I will pray, 1638	προσεύξομαι	**and will pray**	'I' is unnecessary.
1 Cor. 14:23	into some place 1602: in one place MS 98: into one place	into one place, 1629	ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ	**into some place**	*B* 1568: 'in one'. 'Some' is not impossible and is difficult to explain except as a deliberate late change.

1 Cor. 15:6	And that 1602, MS 98: After that.	After that, 1616, 1629	ἔπειτα	After that	1616 = 1602, MS 98. This is probably a printer's error, going back to the beginning of the previous verse, and also reproducing its verse number. 1616 = MS 98.
1 Cor. 15:41	another of the moone 1602: and another glory of the moone. MS 98: —.	and another glory of the moon, 1629	καὶ ἄλλη δόξα σελήνης	**another of the moon**	1629 = 1602. 1611 differs from its predecessors in choosing not to repeat all the words of the Greek. 1629 restores the literal reading.
1 Cor. 15:48	such are they that are earthy = 1602 (. . . *are* . . .). MS 98: —.	such *are* they also that are earthy, 1638	τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ χοϊκοί	**such are they that are earthy**	1611 follows Tyndale, etc. Only *R* has 'also' here.
1 Cor. 16:22	Anathema Maranatha 1602: (Anathema maranatha). MS 98: —.	Anathema Maranatha (anathema, Maran-atha, 1629–1743)	ἀνάθεμα. Μαρὰν ἀθα	**anathema, Maran-atha**	S: 'but 1762 and American 1867 have Anathema, Maran-atha, and 1769 even removes the necessary comma between the words; and so D'Oyly and Mant 1817, Oxf. 1835, Camb. 1858, and other moderns.' Here 1762, followed by S, is right, 'a curse, Our Lord, come' (p. 191 n.).
2 Cor. 1:19	Syluanus = 1602. MS 98: —.	Silvanus, 1629 (2 Cor., 1613)	Σιλουανοῦ	Silvanus	
1 Pet. 5:12	Syluanus 1602: Siluanus. MS 98: —.				

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
2 Cor. 3:3	fleshy 1602: fleshly. MS 98: —.	fleshy, 1769 (fleshly, 1613, 1629, 1701, 1762, 1817 8°, *MacBible*)	σαρκίναις	fleshy	Among 1611's predecessors, 'fleshy' is found only in the Great Bible. All others except *R* ('carnal') have 'fleshly'. However, Ecclus. 17:16 confirms this use of 'fleshy': 'neither could they make to themselues fleshie hearts for stonie'; compare *B*: 'their stony hearts can not become fleshe'; marg.: 'that is, softe and gentle, for the holy ghoste to write his lawes in'. *OED* cites KJB for 'fleshie' in exactly this sense.
2 Cor. 5:1	made with hand 1602: made with handes. = MS 98.	made with hands, 1612 8° H316, 1629	ἀχειροποίητον	**made with hand**	
2 Cor. 5:2	we grone earnestly, desiring 1602: sigh we, desiring. MS 98: we grone desiringe.	we groan, earnestly desiring, 1769	στενάζομεν . . . ἐπιποθοῦντες	we groan, earnestly desiring	
2 Cor. 5:20	that be ye reconciled 1602: that ye be reconciled. MS 98: be reconcyled.	be ye reconciled, 1612 all, 1616, 1629	καταλλάγητε	be ye reconciled	MS 98 has *R*'s reading. All others have 'that ye be'. 1611 clearly needs emendation, either to direct speech, as in 1612 or MS 98, or as indirect speech, as in Tyndale etc., 'that ye be'. MS 98 and 1612 point to direct speech as the translators' choice.

2 Cor. 8:7	and vtterance 1602: and in word. MS 98: in fayth and in utterance.	and utterance, 1769 (in utterance, 1629–1743, 1762)	καὶ λόγῳ	and utterance	
2 Cor. 8:21	but in the sight 1602: but also in the sight. = MS 98.	but also in the sight, 1638	ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώπιον	**but in the sight**	MS 98 confirms that the omission of 'also' was the work of the translators, not an omission of the printer.
2 Cor. 9:5	not of couetousnesse 1602: not as an extortion. MS 98: not as a ″covetousnes. Marg.: ″or / extorsion.	and not as *of* covetousness, 1638	καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ πλεονεξίαν	**not of covetousness**	See p. 34.
2 Cor. 9:6	reape sparingly . . . reape bountifully = 1602. = MS 98 (reap . . . reap . . .).	reap also sparingly . . . reap also bountifully, 1638	φειδομένως καὶ θερίσει . . . εὐλογίαις καὶ θερίσει	**reap sparingly . . . reap bountifully**	1611 chooses *B*'s more natural English against *G*'s more literal rendering.
2 Cor. 11:26	iourneying = 1602. = MS 98 (journeying).	journeyings, 1762	ὁδοιπορίαις	**journeying**	1611 follows Tyndale etc.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
2 Cor. 11:32	the citie 1602: *the citie of* Damascus. MS 98: the cittye of the Damascenes.	the city of the Damascenes, 1629	τὴν Δαμασκηνῶν πόλιν	the city of the Damascenes	1629 = MS 98. 1611 appears to have an accidental omission here.
2 Cor. subscription	Philippos = 1602. MS 98: Philippi.	Philippi, 1629	φιλιππων	Philippi	1629 = MS 98.
Gal. 3:13	on tree = 1602. MS 98: —.	on a tree, 1629	ἐπὶ ξύλου	**on tree**	Though this seems strange English, a succession of translators approved it (only *R* has 'a tree').
Gal. 5:15	take heed ye be not 1602: take heed least ye be. MS 98: —.	take heed that ye be not, 1629	βλέπετε μὴ	**take heed ye be not**	1629's change is unnecessary.
Eph. 1:9	he had purposed = 1602, MS 98.	he hath purposed, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	προέθετο	**he had purposed**	1611 follows the Great Bible (approved by *G* and *B*) in rendering the Greek aorist with an English pluperfect.
Eph. 4:24	that new man = 1602, MS 98.	the new man, 1616, 1629	τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον	**that new man**	MS 98 appears to confirm that the translators chose to follow Tyndale and *B* against *G* (which has 1616's reading).
Eph. 6:24	sinceritie. 1602: sinceritie. Amen. = MS 98 (sincerity [no period]).	sincerity. Amen, 1616, 1629	ἀφθαρσίᾳ. ἀμών	**sincerity.** [Delete 'Amen'.]	'Amen' was present in Bishops', so the omission appears to be deliberate, presumably acknowledging that ἀμήν is not found in all texts.

Phil. 4:2	Syntiche 1602: Syntiches. MS 98: —.	Syntyche, 1629	Συντύχην	Syntyche	
Phil. 4:6	request 1602: petition. = MS 98.	requests, 1629	τὰ αἰτήματα	**request**	The translations vary between singular and the plural of the Greek. 1611 has changed *B*'s 'petition', following *G*'s 'requests' except in number. MS 98 confirms this is the translators' work, not a printer's error.
2 Thess. 2:14	the Lord Iesus Christ = 1602 (. . . Jesus . . .). MS 98: —.	our Lord Jesus Christ, 1629 (1817 8° = 1611)	τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	**the Lord Jesus Christ**	1611 has followed *B* against the other versions, as it also does at Rom. 15:30 (which has been left unchanged by editors). Since this is not a unique occurrence, it is unsafe to treat it as carelessness.
2 Thess. 2:15	or our Epistle 1602: or by our Epistle. MS 98: or by our epistle.	or our epistle (or by our epistle, 1613, 1873)	εἴτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν	or our epistle	Since the correction is not essential and has only been followed by S, 1611 is retained.
1 Tim. 1:4	edifying 1602: godly edifying. MS 98: godly edifyinge.	godly edifying, 1638	ἢ οἰκοδομίαν Θεοῦ	**edifying** [Omit 'godly'.]	1638 = 1602, MS 98. *R* also omits 'godly'. MS 98 shows the translators initially intended to follow their predecessors and the Greek by keeping 'godly', but the omission may not be accidental.

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References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
1 Tim. 4:16	and vnto the doctrine 1602: and vnto doctrine. MS 98: and unto doctryne.	. . . the doctrine, 1769 (thy doctrine, 1629)	τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ	the doctrine	
1 Tim. subscription	Pacaciana = 1602. MS 98: Pacatiana.	Pacatiana, 1629	πακατιανης	Pacatiana	1629 = MS 98.
2 Tim. 1:7	of loue 1602: and of loue MS 98: —.	and of love, 1638	καὶ ἀγάπης	**of love** [Omit 'and'.]	1611 follows *R* against the other versions. The departure from literal translation appears to be for English fluency.
2 Tim. 1:12	and I am perswaded = 1602, MS 98.	and am persuaded, 1762	καὶ πέπεισμαι	**and I am persuaded**	1611 often omits the pronoun in this situation, but this is a needless change.
2 Tim. 2:19	the seale 1602: this seale. MS 98: this seale.	this seal, 1617, 1629	τὴν σφραγῖδα ταύτην	**the seal**	1616, 1629 = 1602, MS 98 and all previous versions. 1611 may be, but is not certainly, a printer's error.
2 Tim. 4:8	vnto them also = 1602, MS 98.	unto all them also, 1629	ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς	**unto them also**	1611 follows Bishops' against Geneva's more literal rendering.
2 Tim. 4:13	bring *with thee* = 1602. MS 98: —.	bring *with thee*, and the books, 1616, 1629	ἐρχόμενος φέρε, καὶ τὰ βιβλία	bring with thee, and the books	1611 appears to be a printer's omission.

Heb. 3:10	their hearts 1602: heart. = MS 98.	*their* heart, 1638 (*their* hearts, 1817 8º)	τῇ καρδίᾳ	**their hearts**	Both *G* and *B* have the singular; 'hearts', which reverts to Tyndale, may be a deliberate correction for sense by 1611.
Heb. 8:8	and the house of Iudah 1602: and vpon the house of Juda. MS 98: —.	and with the house of Judah, 1638	καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰούδα	**and the house of** Juda	Cf. Rom. 4:12. 1611 sometimes leaves out repeated words.
Heb. 10:23	faith 1602: hope. MS 98: —.	faith (hope, 1873)	ἐλπίδος	faith	'Hope' in Tyndale etc. This could be a printer's error because of 'faithfull' later in the verse, but the 1611 reading has been accepted by most editors.
Heb. 11:4	Kain 1602, MS 98: Cain.	Cain, 1638	Κάϊν	Cain	So 1611 at 1 John 3:12. 1638 = 1602, MS 98.
Jude 11	Kain 1602, MS 98: Cain.	Cain, 1630	Κάϊν	Cain	1630 = 1602, MS 98.
Heb. 11:23	and they not afraid 1602: neither feared they. MS 98: —.	and they were not afraid, 1638	καὶ οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν	and they were not afraid	1638's change is grammatically necessary; the omission of 'were' appears to be a printer's error.
Heb. 11:32	Gideon 1602, MS 98: Gedeon. Iephthah = 1602, MS 98 (Jephthah).	Gedeon, 1629 Jephthae, 1629	Γεδεών Ἰεφθάε	**Gideon** **Jephthah**	1629 = MS 98. 1611 here uses standard OT spellings.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Heb. 12:1	vnto the race that is set before vs 1602: vnto the battell that is set before vs. MS 98: —.	the race that is set before us, 1629	τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα	the race that is set before us	1611 appears to be an error caused by failing to delete *B*'s 'unto' when changing the phrase 'unto the battle'.
James 5:2	Your riches are corrupted, and your garments motheaten 1602: Your riches be corrupt, your garments are motheaten. MS 98: Your riches are corrupt, and your garments are motheaten.	Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are motheaten, 1638	ὁ πλοῦτος ὑμῶν σέσηπεν, καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια ὑμῶν σητόβρωτα γέγονεν	**Your riches are corrupted, and your garments moth-eaten**	'Are' controls both parts of the sentence, as does γέγονεν. 1638 makes the same kind of correction as at Rom. 4:12 etc., but here 1611 is arguably more correct. 1638 = MS 98.
James 5:4	which haue reaped downe = 1602, MS 98.	who have reaped down, 1762 (1817 8° = 1611)		**which have reaped down**	'Which' is often so used; see later in the verse.
1 Pet. 2:1	euill speakings 1602: backbiting. MS 98: all evill speakings.	all evil speakings, 1629	πάσας καταλαλιάς	**evil speakings** [Omit 'all'.]	1629 = MS 98. 1611 follows Geneva.
1 Pet. 2:5	sacrifice = 1602, MS 98.	sacrifices, 1629	θυσίας	**sacrifice**	1611 follows *B* and Tyndale.

1 Pet. 2:6	Wherefore = 1602. MS 98: Wherefore he also.	Wherefore also, 1638	διὸ καὶ	**Wherefore** [Omit 'also'.]	1611 follows its predecessors.
1 Pet. 5:10	called vs into = 1602, MS 98.	called us unto, 1638 (1817 8° = 1611)	ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς εἰς	**called us into**	MS 98 confirms that 1611 is a deliberate change from its predecessors' 'unto'.
2 Pet. 1:9	see farre off = 1602. MS 98: —.	see afar off, 1701 H868		**see far off**	
1 John 2:16	the lust of the eyes = 1602. MS 98: —.	and the lust of the eyes, 1638	καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν	**the lust of the eyes** [Omit 'and'.]	Another case where 1611 (following Tyndale and *G*) may have omitted the conjunction for reasons of English style.
1 John 2:29	which doeth = 1602 (. . . doth). = MS 98: (wᶜ doth).	that doeth, 1629 (doth, 1616, 1629)		**which doeth**	
1 John 3:17	hath need = 1602. MS 98: —.	have need, 1629		**hath need**	
1 John 5:12	hath not the Sonne 1602: hath not the Sonne of God. MS 98: —.	hath not the Son of God, 1629	ὁ μὴ ἔχων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ	**hath not the Son** [Omit 'of God'.]	S notes that 'of God' continued to be omitted in a number of later editions (p. 193 n.). The omission may be deliberate though it is not literal and goes against the other versions; MS 98 shows that the translators' first thought was to keep the received reading. 'Of God' is understood.

References	1611 and Sources	Variation	Original	*NCPB*	Notes
Jude 25	now and euer = 1602. MS 98: both now and ever.	both now and ever, 1638	καὶ *νῦν* καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας	**now and ever** [Omit 'both'.]	1638 = MS 98 and *G.* 1611 follows *B*.
Rev. 1:4	Churches in Asia = 1602.	churches which are in Asia, 1638	ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ	**churches in Asia**	1611, following 1602, is probably deliberate.
Rev. 1:11	and Philadelphia = 1602.	and unto Philadelphia, 1638	καὶ εἰς Φιλαδέλφειαν	**and Philadelphia**	The omission looks like a mistake but is satisfactory as English.
Rev. 2:6, 15	Nicolaitans = 1602.	Nicolaitans (Nicolaitanes, 1638, 1701, 1762)	Νικολαϊτῶν	Nicolaitans	
Rev. 5:13	honour, glory = 1602.	and honour, and glory, 1638	καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δόξα	**Blessing, honour, glory**	Omission of the conjunctions appears deliberate.
Rev. 7:5	Ruben = 1602.	Reuben, 1616, 1629	Ῥουβήν	Reuben	
Rev. 7:7	Isachar = 1602.	Issachar, 1629 (not 1638; 1817 8º = 1611)	Ἰσαχάρ	**Isachar**	Only NT example of this name. Though it would be nice to conform to the OT, the result would be inconsistent with the general inconsistency of the names.
Rev. 9:17; 21:20	Iacinct = 1602.	jacinth, 1762	ὑακινθίνους ὑάκινθος	jacinth	
Rev. 13:6	them that dwelt in heauen 1602: them that dwell in heauen.	them that dwell in heaven, 1629	τοὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σκηνοῦντας	them that dwell in heaven	1611 appears to be a printer's error. It is unsupported by other versions.

Rev. 17:4	precious stone = 1602.	precious stones, 1630 (not 1638)	λίθῳ τιμίῳ	**precious stone**	Though English usage prefers the plural, 1611 follows all its predecessors except Geneva.
Rev. 18:12	Thine = 1602 (Thyne).	thyine, 1629	θύϊνον	thyine	
Rev. 21:19	Saphir = 1602.	sapphire, 1638	σάπφειρος	sapphire	
Rev. 21:20	Sardonix = 1602.	sardonyx, 1629, 1634	σαρδόνυξ	sardonyx	
	Chrysolite = 1602.	chrysolite (chrysolyte, 1762)	χρυσόλιθος	chrysolite	
	Topas = 1602.	topaz, 1629	τοπάζιον	topaz	
Rev. 22:2	and of either side of the riuer = 1602.	and on either side of the river, 1762	καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν	**and of either side of the river**	The translation here follows *G* and *B*, is literal and nonsense; 1762's emendation is less literal and does not turn the rendering into sense.
Colophon	FINIS = 1602.	THE END, 1762		THE END	Format optional

Appendix 9
Spelling changes to the current text

The list is in two parts, single words and compound words. The latter are grouped by the keyword of the compound. Footnotes comment on some of the spellings. A page reference indicates earlier discussion. No entry for current text and two entries for new spelling indicates use of two forms of one word (see p. 144).

A or an, my or mine, thy or thine, no or none, before h: use *a* (etc.) except before 'heir', 'honest', 'honour', 'hour' (p. 142).

My or mine, thy or thine: retain 'mine' and 'thine' only as stand-alone possessives (e.g. Gen. 31:43: 'all that thou seest is mine'); otherwise change to 'my' and 'thy'.

Current text	New spelling	Current text	New spelling
a building	a-building	bason	basin
a coming	a-coming	begat	begot
a dying	a-dying	bended	bent
a fishing	a-fishing		beside
a preparing	a-preparing		besides (p. 138)
a work	a-work		born
abide	bide		borne
abridgment	abridgement	brake	broke
	afterward	brasen	brazen
	afterwards	broided	braided
alway	always	builded	built
	among	burned (p. 142)	burnt
	amongst (p. 144)	cab	kab[3]
an hungred	a-hungered	caldron(s)	cauldron(s)
arrogancy	arrogance	calkers	caulkers
assay	essay	chapt	chapped
asswage	assuage	chesnut	chestnut
astonied[1]	astonished	chode	chided
attent[2]	attentive	cieling	ceiling
avouched	avowed	cieled	ceiled
baken	baked	clave	cleft (split)
bare	bore	clave	cleaved (adhered)

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[1] Both have the same origin and are used interchangeably in 1611.
[2] Used interchangeably in 1611.
[3] 2 Kgs 6:25. 1611 reading, found as manuscript correction to 'cab' in Bod 1602; transliterates קַב.

Current text	New spelling	Current text	New spelling
clift[4]	cleft(s)	forsomuch	forasmuch
cloke	cloak	frantick	frantic
	cloths	fret	fretted
	clothes[5]	gallies	galleys
couldest	couldst	gat	got
counsel	council	gier eagle	gier-eagle[9]
cuckow	cuckoo		girded
diddest	didst		girt[10]
	divers	graff	graft
	diverse (p. 139)[6]	gray . . .	grey . . .
digged	dug	handywork	handiwork
drave	drove	havock	havoc
dwelled	dwelt	heat	heated
emerods	hæmorrhoids	heretick	heretic
endued	endowed[7]	hewed (pa. pple)	hewn
enflame	inflame	hindermost	hindmost
engraven	engraved	hoised	hoisted
enquire	inquire	. . . holden	. . . held
ensample	example	holpen	helped
excellency	excellence	horseleach	horse-leech
expences	expenses	hosen	hose
	farther	hough	hock
	further (p. 139)	inclos . . .	enclos . . .
fats	vats	incontinency	incontinence
fatten	fat (p. 140)	inhabitants	inhabiters (p. 140)
fauchion	falchion	innocency	innocence
	flee	intituling	entitling
	fly[8]	intreat	entreat
folden	folded	jubile	jubilee
forbare	forbore	judgment	judgement
forgat	forgot	justle	jostle
forgot	forgotten	lade	load

[4] Hebrew generally has a sense of split.

[5] Exod. 39:1 is changed to 'cloths' in modern editions. However it is not clear from the context whether 'garments' (as in RV) or 'altar cloths' is meant, so 'clothes' is restored. The sense is probably 'garments' at Amos 2:8. However, at Ezek. 27:20 the sense is probably cloths to put on a chariot rather than clothes to wear when riding in a chariot.

[6] 'Divers' for various, sundry, several, 'diverse' for different in character or quality.

[7] Gen. 30:20 only (Exod. 22:16 reads 'endow' in 1611). Other uses of 'endue' are in *OED* sense 9, 'to invest *with* a power or quality, a spiritual gift, etc.'

[8] Except for Ps. 11:1, Hos. 9:11 and 2 Esdras 15:41, where 'fly' and 'flying' are appropriate, 1611's readings are restored.

[9] *OED*'s 'geir-eagle' is not supported by its citations, so 1611's spelling is retained with hyphenation.

[10] Restoration of 1611 at 1 Sam. 2:4.

Current text	New spelling	Current text	New spelling
leaped	leapt	pransing	prancing
lentiles	lentils	preeminence	pre-eminence
lien	lain	prised	priced[14]
lift	lifted	publick . . .	public . . .
loaden	laden	rase	raze
loth . . .	loath . . .	ravin	raven[15]
lowring	louring	recompence	recompense[16]
lunatick	lunatic	repayed	repaid
magick	magic	rereward	rearward
marishes	marshes	ribband	ribbon
mastick	mastic	rie	rye
Messias	Messiah	ringstraked	ring-streaked
mixt	mixed	ripe	ripen
morter	mortar	satest	sattest
moveable	movable	sawed	sawn
musick	music	serjeants	sergeants
	northward	shaked	shook[17]
	northwards	shamefaced . . . (p. 137)	shamefast . . .
occurrent	occurrence	shapen	shaped
Oh	O[11]	sherd	shard
ospray	osprey	shew . . .	show . . .
other	others[12]	shewbread	showbread
outmost	utmost	shewed	shown
overflown	overflowed	shined	shone
Palestine	Palestina[13]	shouldest	shouldst
payed	paid	shred	shredded
physick	physic	sith	since
pilled	peeled	situate	situated
plaister	plaster	slang	slung
platted	plaited	slipt	slipped
plow . . .	plough . . .	sod (p. 142)	seethed
pourtray	portray	sodden	seethed

[11] Following *OED* and 1611's predominant usage, regularised to 'O' except in the two detached cases ('and said, Oh, this people . . .', 'saying, Oh, do not . . .' (Exod. 32:31; Jer. 44:4)).

[12] Changed where referent is clearly plural.

[13] Joel 3:4. Inconsistency of spelling copied from 1602.

[14] Zech. 11:13. 'Priced' rather than 'prized' because the Hebrew verb here is cognate with the noun given earlier in the verse as 'price'.

[15] For consistency with 1611's 'rauening' and 'rauenous'.

[16] For the noun. The verb is already consistent as 'recompence'.

[17] Ps. 109:25. 'Shaken' is retained for 1611's 'shaked' at Ecclus. 29:18.

Current text	New spelling	Current text	New spelling
sodering	soldering	throughly	thoroughly
sometime	sometimes		toward
	some time[18]		towards
spake . . .	spoke . . .	traffick	traffic
spilled	spilt	trode	trod
spitted	spat	uncorrupt	incorrupt
sprung	sprang	uncorruptible	incorruptible
spue	spew	uncorruptness	incorruptness
spunge	sponge	unmeasurable	immeasurable
stablish	establish	unmoveable	immovable
start	started	unpassable	impassable
stedfast . . .	steadfast . . .	unsatiable	insatiable
Stoicks	Stoics	untemperate	intemperate
straitened (p. 139)	straited	unwashen	unwashed
strake	struck	upholden	upheld
strakes	streaks	utmost	outmost[21]
strawed	strewed	utter	outer
stript	stripped	uttermost	outermost[22]
strived	striven	vail	veil
subtil . . .	subtle . . .	vehemency	vehemence
sung	sang	villany	villainy
sunk	sank	ware (v.)	wore
suretiship	suretyship	ware (adj.)	aware
sware . . .	swore . . .		wary[23]
sycomore	sycamore	waxen	waxed
Syriack	Syriac	whiles, while	whilst
tabering	taboring	withholden	withheld
table(s)	tablet(s)[19]	wouldest	wouldst
tare	tore	wringed	wrung
thank	thanks[20]		you-ward
thankworthy	thanksworthy		you-wards

[18] 'Sometimes' used for 'on occasions', 'some time' for 'at an unspecified time, for an unspecified period'. See Wisdom 16:18 in appendix 8.
[19] Prevents Zacharias from asking for a writing desk, Luke 1:63.
[20] Obsolete in the singular. The next entry is consequential.
[21] Exod. 26:10; Isa. 17:6.
[22] Exod. 26:4; 36:11, 17; 1 Kgs 6:24.
[23] 'Aware' for 'cognizant, informed, conscious', 'wary' for 'careful or cautious in avoiding'.

Changes to compound words (alphabetical by main part of word)

affected
  evil-
  well-
alms-deeds
anyone
anything
arm-holes
ass-colts
asses
  he-
  she-
battering-rams
battle
  -axe
  -bow
bearer
  armour-
  cup-
  standard-
  tale-
blood-guiltiness
bone
  ankle-
  cheek-
breadth
  foot-
  hairbreadth
  handbreadth
breaker
  covenant-
  truce-
brick-kiln
broken
  -footed
  -handed
  -hearted
cartwheel
chamber
  bride-
  guest-
  marriage-
  side-
  wedding-

chariot
  -horses
  -man
  -city
city
  chariot-
  merchant-
  store-
  treasure-
church-robber
cloven-footed
cock-crowing
crisping-pins
crook-backed
cross-way
crown-tax
day-spring
doer
  evil-
  wicked-
doing
  evil-
  well-
double-tongued
down-sitting
dry-shod
evening-tide
every one
  (p. 146)
everything
everywhere
eye-service
fallow deer
favoured
  ill-
  well-
feast days
fellow
  -citizen
  -disciple
  -heirs
  -helper
  -labourer

  -prisoner
  -servant
  -soldier
  -worker
  work-
  yoke-
ferry-boat
fire
  -brand
  -pans
first
  -begotten
  -fruit
  -ripe
fish
  -hook
  -pool
  -spear
fleshed
  fat-
  lean-
floor
  barn-
  corn-
  threshing-
four
  -footed
  -square
free
  -born
  will (Ezra 7:13)
  -will
frying-pan
goats
  he-
  she-
grandchild
grape
  -gatherer
  -gleanings
grave-clothes
handed
  left-

  weak-
head
  -tire
axe-
  bald-
  forehead-bald
  grey-
hearted
  broken-
  faint-
  hard-
  merry-
  stiff-
  stout-
  tender-
  wise-
  willing-
highway
hill
  -country
  -top
hoar frost
holy day
home-born
horse
  -heels
  -hoofs
  -leech
  -litter
house
  banquet-
  banqueting-
  draught-
  dwelling-
  garden-
  prison-
  shearing-
  storehouse
  summer-
  treasure-
  winter-
  -top
hunger-bitten

in stead (p. 138)
in-law
   daughter-
   father-
   mother-
   son-
lign-aloes
lily-work
lion-like
long
   -suffering
   -winged
looking-glass
loving-kindness
madman
tent-makers
man
   freeman
   herdsman
   merchantman
   ploughmen
maid-child
men
   -children
   -pleasers
   -stealers
master-builder
meal-time
mean season
mean while
measuring
   -line
   -reed
mercy-seat
milch
   camels
   -kine
minded

double-
feeble-
high-
light-
like-
sober-
money-changers
moth-eaten
nose-jewels
nowadays
olive-yard
ox-goad
paper-reeds
place
   burying-
   couching-
   dwelling-
   feeding-
   hiding-
   lodging-
   lurking-
   market-
   resting-
   sitting-
   threshing-
ploughshares
post
   door-
   side-
pot
   fining-
   flesh-
   wash-
   water-
pruning-hooks
right-aiming
scarlet-coloured
sea

-coast
-monsters
-shore
seaside
seed-time
self-will
setter-forth
sheep-shearers
shoe-latchet
shoulder
   -blade
   -piece
slime-pits
snuff-dishes
spear-staff
spice-merchants
star-gazers
stiff-necked
stock
   gazing-
   laughing-
stone
   chalk-
   corner-
   sling-
   stumbling-
   -bow
   -squarer
stronghold
stumbling-block
swaddling
   -band
   -clothes
sweet-smelling
teeth
   cheek-
   jaw-
tender-eyed

today
tomorrow
town-clerk
trough
   kneading-
   watering-
turtle dove
two-edged
vat
   press-
   wine-
vine-dressers
watch-tower
water
   watercourses
   -flood
   -spouts
   -springs
way
   -marks
   wayside
well
   -beloved
   -drawn
   -pleasing
   -spring
west
   north-
   south-
will-worship
wine
   -bibber
   -cellars
   -press
worm
   canker-
   palmer-
writing-tablet

Bibliography

Annotated list of Bibles

This list is primarily for identification of editions and copies referred to in the appendices. Most were consulted in the Bible Society Library, Cambridge (BS), and in the Cambridge University Library (CUL). A number in brackets following the Herbert Catalogue number indicates which of the Bible Society's copies is involved.

Some of these Bibles are taken as representative of their time rather than as important editions. These are asterisked. When their date is referred to in, usually, Appendix 8, this should be taken as approximate.

1602 folio. Bishops' Bible. London: Barker. H271. Bodleian Library Bibl. Eng. 1602 b. 1 ('Olim 13.14. 13Th. ?Afterwards A.2.1. Th. Seld but never the property of Selden himself' [inscribed inside cover]); with annotations by the King James translators.

Lambeth Palace Library MS 98. 'An English Translation of The Epistles of Paule the Apostle'. See also Allen, *Translating the New Testament Epistles*.

1611 folio. London: Barker. H309. First edition KJB ('He' Bible). CUL Syn 1 61 1 and Syn 2 61 1 (formerly 1 15 16), and BS H309(1), (2), (4). See also 1833, *Exact Reprint*, and 1911, Pollard (ed.).

1611 folio. London: Barker. H319. Second edition KJB ('She' Bible). Readings are from five copies all different:

1. Francis Fry's 'standard copy of the 2nd Issue without Reprints' (handwritten note); BS H319(1); see above, p. 66, n. 5;
2. CUL Syn 1 61 4;
3. Fry's number 3 in table 2 of *A Description*; BS H319(3);
4. Fry's number 5 in table 2 of *A Description*; 'a very valuable Standard copy the one I have used in all my comparisons' (Fry, handwritten note); BS H319(5);
5. BS H319(6).

Second edition readings were checked against 2 first; unconfirmed readings were then checked against all four other copies; I note in Appendix 8 the copies that confirm the readings only where they were not confirmed by 2.

1612 quarto. London: Barker. H313. BS H313(1); CUL Syn 6 61 32, Syn 6 61 33.
1612 octavo. London: Barker. H315. BS H315(1).
1612 octavo. London: Barker. H316.
1612 quarto New Testament. London: Barker. H318.
1613 folio. London: Barker. H322. CUL Syn 1 61 5 (formerly A 3 13), Syn 1 61 3.
1613 quarto. London: Barker. H323. CUL SSS 29 18, Syn 5 61 8.

1616 folio. London: Barker. H349.

1617 folio. London: Barker. H353. CUL Syn 1 61 6; BS H353.

1629 folio. Cambridge: Thomas and John Buck. H424. CUL Young 41, Rel b 62 1 (Scrivener used this copy, then classified as 1 14 12; the only variant I have noted between these copies is at Job 4: 6; but clearly a significant amount of resetting took place; Young 41, on heavier paper, may perhaps be the later printing).

1629 quarto. London: Norton and Bill. H425. CUL Syn 5 62 4 (lacks Apocrypha); BS H425 (includes Apocrypha).

1629 octavo. London: Norton and Bill. H426. BS H426.

1630 quarto. London: Barker and Bill. H429. BS H429, H429(1) (duplicate copies).

1630 quarto. London: Barker and Bill. H430. BS H430(1).

1630 quarto. London: Barker. H431. CUL Rel c 63 2, Rel c 63 3.

1638 folio. Cambridge: Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel. H520. CUL Cam bb 638 1 (originally A 3 19).

1646 octavo. London: William Bentley. H591. CUL Rel d 64 2.

1660 folio. Cambridge: John Field. H668. BS H668.

1660 octavo. Cambridge: Henry Hills and John Field. H669. BS H669(1).

1675 quarto. Oxford. H719 (or H720).

1701 folio. Oxford: University-printers. H867. BS H867.

1701 folio. London: Bill and Executrix of Thomas Newcomb. H868. BS H868.

*1744 quarto. Oxford: Thomas and Robert Baskett. H1068. BS H1068.

*1752 quarto. Oxford: Thomas Baskett. CUL 7100 b 50.

1762 folio. Cambridge: Bentham. H1142. Ed. F. S. Parris. BS H1142.

1769 folio. Oxford: Wright and Gill. H1194. Ed. Benjamin Blayney. CUL Adv bb 77 2.[1]

*1817 octavo. Cambridge: J. Smith. H1663. Cambridge Stereotype Edition.

1817 folio. Oxford for SPCK. H1658. Ed. George D'Oyly and Richard Mant. CUL 1 16 24–6.

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[1] This copy was purchased by Gilbert Buchanan in June 1822 for £9 9s 0d. He wrote this note at the beginning:

This edition of the Bible is very correct ['qry' written small above this] and very scarce the whole impression (very few copies excepted) having been destroyed by fire

The corrections made by me are from a collation with the *Standard*; viz. the fo. edition by the King's Printer 1611 – commonly called *King James's Bible* (this I also possess) The variations are chiefly in the pointing, and *Italic* words, or to the *Text*; but the * Contents of the chapters are very much altered: And besides the obsolete spelling, many of the proper names are differently spelt . . .

* In the Qt⁰. Ed. 1806 by the K. Printers, these 'Contents' are according to the *Standard*.

Buchanan annotated the entire volume, Apocrypha included, to show all the variations from 1611. His 1611 was a second edition. Though the work is minutely painstaking (having perhaps the character of a penitential exercise), it is, naturally, imperfect. Buchanan appears to have been more concerned with variations of spelling, italics, punctuation, margins and summaries than with changes of language.

1833 folio. *The Holy Bible, an Exact Reprint page for page of the Authorized Version Published in the year MDCXI.* Oxford.

*1837 folio. Cambridge: John William Parker. H1818.

*1857 sixteenmo. Cambridge for SPCK, C. J. Clay. H1906. BS H1906.[2]

*1857 twentyfourmo. Oxford for the British and Foreign Bible Society. Not listed in Herbert. BS H1908a (also 1857 Oxford Pearl octavo, H1908a; no differences noted between these).

*1857 octavo. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode for the British and Foreign Bible Society. Not listed in Herbert. BS H1908a.

1873. *The Cambridge Paragraph Bible of the Authorized English Version, with the text revised by a collation of its early and other principal editions, the use of the italic type made uniform, the marginal references remodelled . . .* H1995. Ed. F. H. A. Scrivener. Cambridge.

1911. *The 1911 Tercentenary Bible . . . The Text Carefully corrected and amended 1911.* H2169. Oxford. BS H2169 (English and American editions).[3]

*1931. London: Cambridge University Press for the British and Foreign Bible Society. BS H2239.

1951. *The Reader's Bible.* London: Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, Eyre and Spottiswoode.

*1960. *The Jubilee Bible.* London: British and Foreign Bible Society. H2311. Ed. John Stirling, illust. Horace Knowles, commemorating the third Jubilee of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1954. The Bible Society copy, H2311, is the 1,000,001st copy, dated April 1960.

*1963. Oxford for British and Foreign Bible Society. New Ruby Refs. BS201 [F63]/1. Called 'singers Bible' after Prov. 1: 10, where it reads 'singers' for 'sinners'. Colophon: '14 61', so may date from 1961.

*1973. Philadelphia, Pa.: National Publishing Company.

*1996. Oxford: Oxford University Press. New Pica Royal text. As reprinted in *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, intro. and notes Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett.

*N.d. Cambridge University Press Concord Octavo, Bold-figure refs. I have used a 1992 copy.

*N.d. The Apocrypha. Cambridge University Press Pitt Brevier Edition.

*N.d. (?1978). The Apocrypha. New York: American Bible Society.

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[2] These 1857 editions were selected because several from the same year but different publishers were available; Scrivener took a Cambridge octavo (with marginal refs), 1858, as his standard, and the Cambridge quarto, 1863, as his standard for the Apocalypse. Collections of nineteenth- and twentieth-century KJBs are thin because few of the printings were considered special; the Bible Society did not collect ordinary KJBs, publishers did not send new printings or formats to the copyright libraries. See above, p. 116.

[3] This text stands outside the main line of the text in spite of its claim to be 'a scholarly and carefully Corrected Text of the historic English Bible, the time-honoured Authorized Version' (Preface); it sometimes changes the text substantially, e.g. 1 Tim. 2: 8–10: 'I will therefore that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath or doubting. In like manner also, that the women clothe themselves in seemly apparel, with modesty and discretion; not with pleatings, and gold, or pearls, or costly array; But, as becometh women professing godliness, with good works.'

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