THE NEW CAMBRIDGE PARAGRAPH BIBLE

WITH THE APOCRYPHA

King James Version

Edited by David Norton
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>Editor's Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiii</td>
<td>THE HOLY BIBLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv</td>
<td>Epistle Dedicatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvii</td>
<td>The Translators to the Reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxvi</td>
<td>The Names and Order of all the Books of the Old and New Testament and the Books called Apocrypha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>THE OLD TESTAMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1257</td>
<td>THE APOCRYPHA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1547</td>
<td>THE NEW TESTAMENT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EDITOR’S INTRODUCTION

Though it is the most important book in the religious life and the culture of the English-speaking world, the King James Bible or Authorised Version of 1611 has never been perfectly printed. This is not to say either that it is badly printed or that absolute perfection can be achieved, but that the text and its presentation can be improved. First, what we now read as the King James Bible contains numerous deliberate and some accidental changes to the text, and these can be revised to make it more faithful to the King James translators’ own decisions as to how it should read. Second, the presentation of the text – spelling, punctuation and formatting – interferes with the clarity with which it speaks to the minds and souls of present-day readers. Unnecessary background noise gets in the way. To use another image, there is dust and dirt on the old master, the paint is darkened and cracked: we can still see that the picture is a great one, but not how great it is.

Such improvements are needed because of the way the text developed and then stopped developing. The first edition was prepared under the supervision of some of the translators and is uniquely authoritative, but it has its unavoidable share of mistakes. Most of these are typographical, but some come from problems in the copy the printer used and some from mistakes the translators themselves made. Subsequent early printings corrected some of the mistakes and introduced others, so variant readings began to accumulate. Printing the King James Bible became both a large-scale commercial enterprise and a scholarly endeavour. The commercial enterprise produced innumerable editions without much care for the basis of the text they were reproducing. Meanwhile editors worked over the detail of the text, introducing small changes which usually made it a more literal translation of the originals, but sometimes, presumably for reasons of style, changed its English. This work of accidental and deliberate textual development came to an almost complete stop with an Oxford edition of 1769, which thereafter became accepted as the standard. It is still, with very little change, the received text that we read as the King James Bible.

Spelling and punctuation changed steadily through this century and a half. By the time the text became fixed these generally conformed to mid-eighteenth-century standards. Some other aspects of presentation such as paragraphing and the two-column format with each verse printed on a new line remained unchanged in most editions.

After 1769 the desire for stability prevailed over the desire to ‘improve’. This received text was and is a good one, but its chief virtue
has been its stability. The King James translators themselves recognised
the desire for stability in religion as they justified the work that they
had done in making a new translation. In their preface, ‘the Translators
to the Reader’, they observe

that whosoever attempteth anything for the public (specially if it
pertain to religion, and to the opening and clearing of the word of
God), the same setteth himself upon a stage to be glouted upon by
every evil eye, yea, he casteth himself headlong upon pikes, to be
gored by every sharp tongue. For he that meddleth with men’s
religion in any part meddleth with their custom, nay, with their
freehold; and though they find no content in that which they
have, yet they cannot abide to hear of altering.

Yet, at the risk of glouting and goring, the stable text does need
changing. First, as already noted, it is not the translators’ text but has
had many readings changed according to the judgements of editors
who had made it into a revised version: not a heavily revised version,
but still a revised version. Second, it is now possible to go back to manu-
script work by the translators which sometimes clarifies exactly what
they decided was the right reading or the best phrasing. Third, its
spelling and punctuation are neither those of the original nor of the
present. Fourth, its usual formatting, by privileging the verse reference
system, inhibits clear, contextual reading.

One example must serve to illustrate the kind of changes editors
have made and the light that the manuscript work can give. It turns on
a single letter. Hos. 6:5 reads in the first edition, ‘therefore haue I
shewed them by the Prophets’. The second edition removed an s, creat-
ing the reading of the received text, ‘therefore have I hewed them by
the prophets’. ‘Shewed’ is generally reckoned a misprint because the literal
sense of the Hebrew is ‘cut down’, as in the earlier English translations.
However, the King James translators’ manuscript work shows it was not
a misprint: they struck through ‘cut down’ in their source text and sub-
stituted ‘shewed’. In doing so they followed an Aramaic reading from
Targum Jonathan, and the general sense of the note to this verse in the
popular Geneva Bible: ‘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’. To
put it another way, 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. Troubled as others
had been before them at the violent picture of God hewing people
down, the King James translators chose what we may think of as a gen-
tler reading. Theology may lie in a single letter, and an apparently cor-
correct change may remove the translators’ understanding of the original.

This example tells much of the kind of work that lies behind The New
Cambridge Paragraph Bible. All the different readings between the first
edition and the current text, as represented by Cambridge and Oxford
editions, have been identified. Their history has been traced and their
rationale examined, including their relation to the translators’ manuscript work and to the original languages. Except where there are good reasons to think that the first edition does not represent the readings the translators decided on, first edition readings are restored. Consequently The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible gives the reader as closely as possible the exact text that the King James translators themselves decided on – but which was far from perfectly realised in the first edition. The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible is the translators’ Bible.

An important aim is to give the reader consistent modern spelling and presentation in order to make it easier to read and study than the received text. This is the work that is like cleaning an old master. The removal of obsolete and inconsistent spellings, old-fashioned punctuation and cumbersome presentation will be more obvious than the changes to readings. Spelling is the most important issue, especially because it may appear that the King James Bible no longer sounds quite like itself. Where in current texts, Jesus ‘spake’ to the multitude, in The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible he ‘spoke’. The word is the same but the sound is different. Now, in 1611 spelling varied freely. One notable aspect of this variation involves forms that we would think would have to be pronounced differently, for instance ‘murderer’ and ‘murtherer’ (Num. 35:18 and 19). Similarly, a word might be treated as aspirated according to the printer’s convenience, as in Ezek. 40:42, ‘a cubite and an halfe long, and a cubite & a halfe broad’. Such variations in close proximity strongly suggest that the 1611 spelling cannot be taken as a reliable guide to pronunciation, and that therefore editors should ignore apparent changes of sound in modernising the spelling.

The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible keeps the modernisation within strict limits: spellings may be modernised, but words and grammatical forms cannot be changed. ‘Thou wouldst’ does not become ‘you would’ because that changes the character of the language. Throughout the language stays the same, that of the translators. Occasionally this means that older words or forms are reintroduced, either because at some point in the history of the text the translators’ word was changed to a similar, different word, or because a modern form obscures the meaning. When Paul, in the received text, wishes ‘that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety’ (1 Tim. 2:9), he appears to want them not only to be modest and sober, but also ashamed. This is not what the translators meant. They used a word that might once have sounded the same as ‘shamefacedness’, ‘shamefastness’. This is not so easily read as ‘ashamed’: its authentic strangeness takes the reader to the right meaning, holding fast to modesty. ‘Instead’ illustrates how a modern spelling can obscure meaning. Its usual meaning now is abstract: as an alternative to. However, in the English of the King James it is always given as two words, ‘in stead’, and often has a much more concrete sense that fits with phrases such as ‘reigned in his stead’. When one reads in current texts that God took one of Adam’s ribs ‘and closed up the flesh instead thereof’ (Gen. 2:21), one might well be puzzled: instead of what? one might ask. The real meaning becomes clearer in the
first edition’s ‘closed up the flesh in stead thereof’. *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible* restores old spellings of this sort.

Consistency of spelling is not made a fetish. The translators, again in their preface ‘to the Reader’, argued their right to use a range of vocabulary rather than a single English word for a particular word in the original. ‘Is the kingdom of God,’ they ask, ‘become words or syllables? why should we be in bondage to them if we may be free?’ *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible* uses the same freedom with words that have more than one current form, such as ‘toward’ and ‘towards’, or ‘among’ and ‘amongst’. The eighteenth-century editors tried to settle on one form, deciding, for instance, that ‘among’ was preferable to ‘amongst’. Yet, with understandable frailty, they missed two early examples. The first edition had used both forms freely. Rather than completing those editors’ work by banishing the last two uses of ‘amongst’, *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible* has gone back to the translators’ choices as represented in the first edition. Again the result is a more authentic text.

In short, what *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible* does is to modernise the spelling of the Bible without sinning against the language of the translators.

Like the spelling, the punctuation of the received text belongs to the eighteenth century and often appears heavy to modern taste. Since the original punctuation is often closer to modern practice, it is usually restored, but the punctuation of the received text is drawn on wherever the original is impossible by modern standards and in some other cases where it seems to be more helpful. Speech marks have been added, again as an aid to the reader. Rather than just indicating the beginning of a speech by the use of a capital letter, as in most editions from the first onwards, this also indicates the end of a speech, and it helps to reveal the often considerable complexities of speech within speech.

In all likelihood, the first edition of the King James Bible was hurried through the press before the translators had fully completed their work. One of the casualties of this hurry was the paragraphing. It emerged rough and incomplete: for instance, there are no paragraph breaks marked in the New Testament after Acts 20. Curiously, this unsatisfactory situation has remained unchanged in the received text. What *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible* does is to present the entire text in paragraphs that conform as far as possible to present-day ideas of paragraphing. This contributes to the aim of making the King James Bible as readable and comprehensible as possible without falsifying the essentials of the translators’ work.

Poetic parts of the text have been given in verse lines. Here a word of caution is necessary: it is not always clear what parts of the original were poetry, nor how that poetry should be lineated; moreover, the King James Bible was made as a prose translation, and its words only sometimes work as verse. Nevertheless, the appearance of poetry, at the least, may act as a reminder that some parts were originally poetry.
Sometimes it may do more, bringing out the structure of the poetry and more of the rhythm of the text.

The King James translators were instructed that ‘no marginal notes at all [were] 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’. Consequently they supplied in the margin notes that give either alternative translations or literal renderings of the original (most of these begin ‘Heb.’ or ‘Gr.’ for Hebrew or Greek). Subsequent editions added a few more such notes. The reader may find these additional notes helpful, so The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible keeps them within square brackets, thus making clear which notes are original and which are not.

Thousands of specks of dust have been blown away from the received text in The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible, leaving the King James Bible presented with a fidelity to the translators’ own work never before achieved, and allowing the most read, heard and loved book in the English language to speak with new vigour to modern readers.

A full account of the history of the text and of the principles on which The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible was made is available in David Norton, A Textual History of the King James Bible (Cambridge University Press), 2005.

DAVID NORTON
THE HOLY BIBLE

CONTAINING THE
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT
AND THE BOOKS CALLED APOCRYPHA

TRANSLATED OUT OF THE ORIGINAL TONGUES
AND WITH THE FORMER TRANSLATIONS
DILIGENTLY COMPARED AND REVISED
BY HIS MAJESTY'S SPECIAL COMMANDMENT

Appointed to be read in Churches

CUM PRIVILEGIO
TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY
Prince, JAMES, by the grace of GOD,
King of Great Britain, France and Ireland,
Defender of the Faith, etc.

THE TRANSLATORS OF THE BIBLE
wish grace, mercy, and peace, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD

Great and manifold were the blessings, most dread Sovereign, which Almighty God, the Father of all mercies, bestowed upon us the people of England, when first he sent your Majesty's royal person to rule and reign over us. For whereas it was the expectation of many, who wished not well unto our Sion, that upon the setting of that bright occidental star, Queen Elizabeth of most happy memory, some thick and palpable clouds of darkness would so have overshadowed this land, that men should have been in doubt which way they were to walk, and that it should hardly be known, who was to direct the unsettled state: the appearance of your Majesty, as of the sun in his strength, instantly dispelled those supposed and surmised mists, and gave unto all that were well affected exceeding cause of comfort; especially when we beheld the government established in your Highness, and your hopeful seed, by an undoubted title, and this also accompanied with peace and tranquility at home and abroad.

But amongst all our joys, there was none that more filled our hearts, than the blessed continuance of the preaching of God's sacred word amongst us, which is that inestimable treasure, which excelleth all the riches of the earth, because the fruit thereof extendeth itself, not only to the time spent in this transitory world, but directeth and disposeth men unto that eternal happiness which is above in heaven.

Then, not to suffer this to fall to the ground, but rather to take it up, and to continue it in that state, wherein the famous predecessor of your Highness did leave it: nay, to go forward with the confidence and resolution of a man in maintaining the truth of CHRIST, and propagating it far and near, is that which have so bound and firmly knit the hearts of all your Majesty's loyal and religious people unto you, that your very name is precious among them, their eye doth behold you with comfort, and they bless you in their hearts, as that sanctified person, who, under God, is the immediate author of their true happiness. And this their contentment doth not diminish or decay, but every day increaseth and taketh strength, when they observe that the zeal of your Majesty towards the house of God doth not slack or go backward, but is more and more kindled, manifesting itself abroad in the farthest parts of Christendom, by writing in defence of the Truth (which hath given such a blow unto that man of sin, as will not be healed), and every day at home, by religious and learned discourse, by frequenting the house of God, by hearing the word preached, by cherishing the teachers thereof, by caring for the Church as a most tender and loving nursing father.

xv
THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

There are infinite arguments of this right Christian and religious affection in your Majesty: but none is more forcible to declare it to others than the vehement and perpetuated desire of accomplishing and publishing of this work, which now with all humility we present unto your Majesty. For when your Highness had once out of deep judgement apprehended how convenient it was, that out of the original sacred tongues, together with comparing of the labours, both in our own and other foreign languages, of many worthy men who went before us, there should be one more exact translation of the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue; your Majesty did never desist to urge and to excite those to whom it was commended, that the work might be hastened, and that the business might be expedited in so decent a manner, as a matter of such importance might justly require.

And now at last, by the mercy of God, and the continuance of our labours, it being brought unto such a conclusion, as that we have great hope that the Church of England shall reap good fruit thereby; we hold it our duty to offer it to your Majesty, not only as to our King and Sovereign, but as to the principal mover and author of the work: humbly craving of your most sacred Majesty, that since things of this quality have ever been subject to the censures of ill-meaning and discontented persons, it may receive approbation and patronage from so learned and judicious a prince as your Highness is, whose allowance and acceptance of our labours shall more honour and encourage us, than all the calumniations and hard interpretations of other men shall dismay us. So that if, on the one side, we shall be traduced by Popish persons at home or abroad, who therefore will malign us, because we are poor instruments to make God's holy Truth to be yet more and more known unto the people, whom they desire still to keep in ignorance and darkness; or if, on the other side, we shall be maligncd by self-conceited brethren, who run their own ways, and give liking unto nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil; we may rest secure, supported within by the truth and innocence of a good conscience, having walked the ways of simplicity and integrity, as before the Lord; and sustained without by the powerful protection of your Majesty's grace and favour, which will ever give countenance to honest and Christian endeavours against bitter censures and uncharitable imputations.

The Lord of heaven and earth bless your Majesty with many and happy days, that, as his heavenly hand hath enriched your Highness with many singular and extraordinary graces, so you may be the wonder of the world in this latter age for happiness and true felicity, to the honour of that great God, and the good of his Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour.
THE TRANSLATORS
TO THE READER

Zeal to promote the common good, whether it be by devising anything ourselves, or revising that which hath been laboured by others, deserveth certainly much respect and esteem, but yet findeth but cold entertainment in the world. It is welcomed with suspicion in stead of love, and with emulation in stead of thanks: and if there be any hole left for cavil to enter (and cavil, if it do not find a hole, will make one), it is sure to be misconstrued, and in danger to be condemned. This will easily be granted by as many as know story, or have any experience. For was there ever anything projected that savoured any way of newness or renewing, but the same endured many a storm of gainsaying or opposition? A man would think that civility, wholesome laws, learning and eloquence, Synods, and Church-maintenance (that we speak of no more things of this kind) should be as safe as a sanctuary, and out of shot, as they say, that no man would lift up the heel, no, nor dog move his tongue against the motioners of them. For by the first we are distinguished from brute beasts led with sensuality; by the second we are bridled and restrained from outrageous behaviour, and from doing of injuries, whether by fraud or by violence; by the third we are enabled to inform and reform others by the light and feeling that we have attained unto ourselves; briefly, by the fourth, being brought together to a parle face to face, we sooner compose our differences than by writings, which are endless: and lastly, that the Church be sufficiently provided for is so agreeable to good reason and conscience that those mothers are held to be less cruel that kill their children as soon as they are born, than those nursing fathers and mothers (wheresoever they be) that withdraw from them who hang upon their breasts (and upon whose breasts again themselves do hang to receive the spiritual and sincere milk of the word) livelihood and support fit for their estates. Thus it is apparent that these things which we speak of are of most necessary use, and therefore that none, either without absurdity can speak against them, or without note of wickedness can spurn against them.

Yet for all that, the learned know that certain worthy men have been brought to untimely death for no other fault, but for seeking to reduce their countrymen to good order and discipline; and that in some common-wealths it was made a capital crime once to motion the making of a new law for the abrogating of an old, though the same were most pernicious; and that certain, which would be counted pillars of the state, and patterns of virtue and prudence, could not be brought for a long time to give way to good letters and refined speech, but bore themselves as averse from them, as from rocks or boxes of poison; and fourthly, that he was no babe, but a

1 [The original marginal notes have, where possible, been expanded to give clearer references. Additional notes are placed in square brackets. PL and PG refer to J.-P. Migne, Patrologia Latina and Patrologia Graeca, CC to Corpus Christianorum.]
2 Πλ. Βιοι. Βιοι. 3 Anarcharsis with others.
3 Locri Epizephyrii.
4 Cato the elder.
THE TRANSLATORS TO THE READER

great clerk that gave forth (and in writing to remain to posterity) in passion peradventure, but yet he gave forth that he had not seen any profit to come by any Synod or meeting of the clergy, but rather the contrary; and lastly, against Church-maintenance and allowance, in such sort as the ambassadors and messengers of the great King of kings should be furnished, it is not unknown what a fiction or fable (so it is esteemed, and for no better by the reporter himself, though superstitious) was devised: namely, that at such time as the professors and teachers of Christianity in the Church of Rome, then a true Church, were liberally endowed, a voice forsooth was heard from heaven, saying, ‘Now is poison poured down into the Church’, etc. Thus not only as oft as we speak, as one saith, but also as oft as we do anything of note or consequence, we subject ourselves to every one’s censure, and happy is he that is least tossed upon tongues; for utterly to escape the snatch of them it is impossible. If any man conceive that this is the lot and portion of the meaner sort only, and that princes are privileged by their high estate, he is deceived. As ‘the sword devoureth as well one as the other’, as it is in Samuel; nay, as the great commander charged his soldiers in a certain battle to strike at no part of the enemy, but at the face; and as the king of Syria commanded his chief captains ‘to fight neither with small nor great, save only against the king of Israel’: so it is too true that envy striketh most spitefully at the fairest, and at the chiefest. David was a worthy prince, and no man to be compared to him for his first deeds, and yet for as worthy an act as ever he did, even for bringing back the ark of God in solemnity, he was scorned and scoffed at by his own wife. Solomon was greater than David, though not in virtue, yet in power: and by his power and wisdom he built a temple to the Lord, such a one as was the glory of the land of Israel, and the wonder of the whole world. But was that his magnificence liked of by all? We doubt of it. Otherwise, why do they lay it in his son’s dish, and call unto him for easing of the burden, ‘Make’, say they, ‘the grievous servitude of thy father, and his sore yoke, lighter’. Belike he had charged them with some levies, and troubled them with some carriages; hereupon they raise up a tragedy, and wish in their heart the Temple had never been built. So hard a thing it is to please all, even when we please God best, and do seek to approve ourselves to every one’s conscience.

If we will descend to later times, we shall find many the like examples of such kind, or rather unkind acceptance. The first Roman Emperor did never do a more pleasing deed to the learned, nor more profitable to posterity, for conserving the record of times in true supputation, than when he corrected the calendar, and ordered the year according to the course of the sun: and yet this was imputed to him for novelty and arrogance, and procured to him great obloquy. So the first christened Emperor (at the least-wise, that openly professed the faith himself, and allowed others to do the like) for strengthening the empire at his great charges, and providing for the Church, as he did, got for his labour the name Pupillus, as who would say, a wasteful prince, that had need of a guardian or overseer. So the best

1 Gregory Nazianzen, Epistulae, 130 (PG 37:225).
2 Joannes Naucerlus, Chronica (1579), p. 504.
3 2 Sam. 11:25.
5 2 Sam. 6:16. 6 [Julius Caesar. Plutarch, Caesar, 59.]
7 [Dio Cassius, 60:23.] 8 1 Kgs 12:4.

xviii
christened emperor; ‘for the love that he bore unto peace, thereby to enrich both himself and his subjects, and because he did not seek war but find it, was judged to be no man at arms’ (though indeed he excelled in feats of chivalry, and showed so much when he was provoked), and condemned for giving himself to his ease, and to his pleasure. To be short, the most learned emperor of former times (at the least, the greatest politician), what thanks had he for cutting off the superfluities of the laws, and digesting them into some order and method? This, that he hath been blotted by some to be an epitomist, that is, one that extinguished worthy whole volumes to bring his abridgements into request. This is the measure that hath been rendered to excellent princes in former times, even, ‘cum bene facerent, male audire’, for their good deeds to be evil spoken of. Neither is there any likelihood that envy and malignity died and were buried with the ancient. No, no, the reproof of Moses taketh hold of most ages, ‘You are risen up in your fathers’ stead, an increase of sinful men’. ‘What is that that hath been done? that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun,’ saith the wise man: and St Stephen, ‘As your fathers did, so do you’. This, and more to this purpose, his Majesty that now reigneth (and long and long may he reign, and his offspring for ever, ‘himself and children and children’s children always’) knew full well, according to the singular wisdom given unto him by God, and the rare learning and experience that he hath attained unto; namely, that whosoever attempteth anything for the public (specially if it pertain to religion, and to the opening and clearing of the word of God), the same setteth himself upon a stage to be glouted upon by every evil eye, yea, he casteth himself headlong upon pikes, to be gored by every sharp tongue. For he that meddleth with men’s religion in any part meddleth with their custom, nay, with their freehold; and though they find no content in that which they have, yet they cannot abide to hear of altering. Notwithstanding, his royal heart was not daunted or discouraged for this or that colour, but stood resolute, ‘as a statue immovable, and an anvil not easy to be beaten into plates’, as one saith; he knew who had chosen him to be a soldier, or rather a captain, and being assured that the course which he intended made much for the glory of God, and the building up of his Church, he would not suffer it to be broken off for whatsoever speeches or practices. It doth certainly belong unto kings, yea, it doth specially belong unto them, to have care of religion, yea, to know it aright, yea, to profess it zealously, yea, to promote it to the uttermost of their power. This is their glory before all nations which mean well, and this will bring unto them a far most excellent weight of glory in the day of the Lord Jesus. For the Scripture saith not in vain, ‘Them that honour me, I will honour’, neither was it a vain word that Eusebius delivered long ago, that piety towards God was the weapon, and the only weapon, that both preserved Constantine’s person, and avenged him of his enemies.

But now what piety without truth? what truth, what saving truth, without the word of God? what word of God, whereof we may be sure, without

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1 Theodosius I. 2 Zosimus, Historia Nova, 4:50:5.
3 Justinian I. 4 Num. 32:14.
7 Αὐτὸς καὶ πᾶς δουλεύς πάνωπος πάνωσ. 8 ‘Ἐκατέρτος τίς ἀνθρώπος ἄπερτερτος καὶ δαμάς ἀντίλακτος’. Suda, see under ‘Job’.
9 1 Sam. 2:30. 10 ὁ ἅγιος Πνεῦμα.

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Frontmatter
More information
the Scripture? The Scriptures we are commanded to search. John 5:39. Isa. 8:20. They are commended that searched and studied them. Acts 17:11 and 8:28–9. They are reproved that were unskilful in them, or slow to believe them. Matt. 22:29. Luke 24:25. They can make us wise unto salvation. 2 Tim. 3:15. If we be ignorant, they will instruct us; if out of the way, they will bring us home; if out of order, they will reform us; if in heaviness, comfort us; if dull, quicken us; if cold, inflame us. 'Tolle, lege; tolle, lege', take up and read, take up and read the Scriptures (for unto them was the direction), it was said unto St Augustine by a supernatural voice. 'Whatsoever is in the Scriptures, believe me,' saith the same St Augustine, 'is high and divine; there is verily truth, and a doctrine most fit for the refreshing and renewing of men's minds, and truly so tempered that every one may draw from thence that which is sufficient for him, if he come to draw with a devout and pious mind, as true religion requireth.'1 Thus St. Augustine. And St Jerome: 'Ama Scripturas, et amabit te sapientia', etc.2 Love the Scriptures, and wisdom will love thee. And St Cyril against Julian: 'Even boys that are bred up in the Scriptures become most religious', etc.3 But what mention we three or four uses of the Scripture, whereas whatsoever is to be believed, or practised, or hoped for is contained in them? or three or four sentences of the Fathers, since whosoever is worthy the name of a Father, from Christ's time downward, hath likewise written not only of the riches, but also of the perfection of the Scripture? 'I adore the fulness of the Scripture,' saith Tertullian against Hermogenes.5 And again, to Apelles a heretic of the like stamp he saith, 'I do not admit that which thou bringest in' (or concludest) 'of thy own' (head or store, 'de tuo') without Scripture.6 So St Justin Martyr before him: 'We must know by all means,' saith he, 'that it is not lawful' (or possible) 'to learn (anything) of God or of right piety, save only out of the Prophets, who teach us by divine inspiration'.7 So St Basil after Tertullian: 'It is a manifest falling away from the faith, and a fault of presumption, either to reject any of those things that are written, or to bring in (upon the head of them, ἐπιλογίζειν) 'any of those things that' are not written.'8 We omit to cite to the same effect St Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem in his fourth Cateches, St Jerome against Helvidius, St Augustine in his third book against the letters of Petilian, and in very many other places of his works.9 Also we forbear to descend to latter Fathers, because we will not weary the reader. The Scriptures then being acknowledged to be so full and so perfect, how can we excuse ourselves of negligence if we do not study them? of curiosity, if we be not content with them? Men talk much of εἰρησίων,10 how many sweet and goodly things it had hanging on it; of the philosopher's stone, that it turneth copper into gold; of cornucopia, that it had all things necessary for food in it; of panaces the herb, that it was good for all diseases; of

1 St Augustine, Confessions, 8:12:29.
2 St Augustine, De Utilitate Credendi, 6:13 (PL 42:74).
3 St Jerome, Ad Demetriadem, Epistulae 130:20 (PL 22:1123).
4 St Cyril of Alexandria, Contra Julianum, 7:234 (PG 76:857).
5 Tertullian, Adversus Hermogenem, 22:5 (CC 1:416; PL 2:218).
6 Tertullian, De Carne Christi, 7:3 (CC 2:887; PL 2:766).
9 [St Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis, 4:33 (PL 33:496); St Jerome, De Perpetua Virginitate Beatae Mariae; St Augustine, Contra litteras Petiliani.]
10 Εἰρησίων, σίκα φέρει, καὶ πολλαῖς ἄρτης, καὶ μέλι ἐν κυτῆρῃ, καὶ ἐλάους. etc. An olive bough wrapped about with wool, whereupon did hang figs, and bread, and honey in a pot, and oil. Song in Plutarch, Theseus, 22:5.

XX
catholicon the drug, that it is in stead of all purges; of Vulcan’s armour, that it was an armour of proof against all thrusts and all blows, etc. Well, that which they falsely or vainly attributed to these for bodily good, we may justly and with full measure ascribe unto the Scripture for spiritual. It is not only an armour, but also a whole armoury of weapons, both offensive and defensive, whereby we may save ourselves and put the enemy to flight. It is not a herb, but a tree, or rather a whole paradise of trees of life, which bring forth fruit every month, and the fruit thereof is for meat, and the leaves for medicine. It is not a pot of manna or a cruse of oil, which were for memory only, or for a meal’s meat or two, but as it were a shower of heavenly bread sufficient for a whole host, be it never so great; and as it were a whole cellar full of oil vessels, whereby all our necessities may be provided for, and our debts discharged. In a word, it is a panary of wholesome food against fenowed traditions; a physician’s shop (St Basil calleth it)\(^1\) of preservatives against poisoned heresies; a pandect of profitable laws against rebellious spirits; a treasury of most costly jewels against beggarly rudiments; finally, a fountain of most pure water springing up unto everlasting life.

And what marvel? the original thereof being from heaven, not from earth; the author being God, not man; the inditer, the Holy Spirit, not the wit of the Apostles or Prophets; the penmen such as were sanctified from the womb, and endued with a principal portion of God’s spirit: the matter, verity, piety, purity, uprightness; the form, God’s word, God’s testimony, God’s oracles, the word of truth, the word of salvation, etc.; the effects, light of understanding, stableness of persuasion, repentance from dead works, newness of life, holiness, peace, joy in the Holy Ghost; lastly, the end and reward of the study thereof, fellowship with the saints, participation of the heavenly nature, fruition of an inheritance immortal, undefiled, and that never shall fade away: happy is the man that delighteth in the Scripture, and thrice happy that meditateth in it day and night.

But how shall men meditate in that which they cannot understand? How shall they understand that which is kept close in an unknown tongue? as it is written, ‘Except I know the power of the voice, I shall be to him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian to me’.\(^2\) The Apostle excepteth no tongue, not Hebrew the ancientest, not Greek the most copious, not Latin the finest. Nature taught a natural man to confess that all of us in those tongues which we do not understand are plainly deaf; we may turn the deaf ear unto them. The Scythian counted the Athenian, whom he did not understand, barbarous;\(^3\) so the Roman did the Syrian and the Jew (even St Jerome himself calleth the Hebrew tongue barbarous, belike because it was strange to so many);\(^4\) so the Emperor of Constantinople\(^5\) calleth the Latin tongue barbarous, though Pope Nicholas do storm at it;\(^6\) so the Jews long before Christ called all other nations lognatzim, which is little better than barbarous. Therefore as one complaineth that always in the Senate of Rome there was one or other that called for an interpreter,\(^7\) so, lest the Church be driven to the like exigent, it is necessary to have translations in a readiness. Translation it is that openeth the

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\(^{1}\) St Basil, Exegetic Homilies, 10:1, Concerning Faith (PG 29:210).

\(^{2}\) 1 Cor. 14:11.

\(^{3}\) Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, 1:16:77:3 (PG 8:792).


\(^{5}\) Michael III, son of Theophilus.

\(^{6}\) Petrus Crabbe, ed., Conciliorum (1538), 2:30v.

\(^{7}\) Cicero, De Finibus, 5:29:89.
THE TRANSLATORS TO THE READER

window, to let in the light; that breaketh the shell, that we may eat the kernel; that putteth aside the curtain, that we may look into the most holy place; that removeth the cover of the well, that we may come by the water, even as Jacob rolled away the stone from the mouth of the well, by which means the flocks of Laban were watered. Indeed without translation into the vulgar tongue, the unlearned are but like children at Jacob’s well (which was deep) without a bucket or something to draw with; or as that person mentioned by Isaiah, to whom when a sealed book was delivered with this motion, ’Read this, I pray thee’, he was fain to make this answer, ’I cannot, for it is sealed’.1

While God would be known only in Jacob, and have his name great in Israel, and in no other place, while the dew lay on Gideon’s fleece only, and all the earth besides was dry, then for one and the same people, which spoke all of them the language of Canaan, that is, Hebrew, one and the same original in Hebrew was sufficient.2 But when the fulness of time drew near that the Sun of righteousness, the Son of God, should come into the world, whom God ordained to be a reconciliation through faith in his blood, not of the Jew only, but also of the Greek, yea, of all them that were scattered abroad, then lo, it pleased the Lord to stir up the spirit of a Greek prince (Greek for descent and language), even of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, to procure the translating of the book of God out of Hebrew into Greek. This is the translation of the Seventy Interpreters, commonly so called, which prepared the way for our Saviour among the gentiles by written preaching, as St John Baptist did among the Jews by vocal. For the Grecians, being desirous of learning, were not wont to suffer books of worth to lie moulding in kings’ libraries, but had many of their servants, ready scribes, to copy them out, and so they were dispersed and made common. Again, the Greek tongue was well known and made familiar to most inhabitants in Asia by reason of the conquest that there the Grecians had made, as also by the colonies which thither they had sent. For the same causes also it was well understood in many places of Europe, yea, and of Africa too. Therefore the word of God being set forth in Greek, becometh hereby like a candle set upon a candlestick, which giveth light to all that are in the house, or like a proclamation sounded forth in the market-place, which most men presently take knowledge of; and therefore that language was fittest to contain the Scriptures, both for the first preachers of the Gospel to appeal unto for witness, and for the learners also of those times to make search and trial by. It is certain that that translation was not so sound and so perfect but that it needed in many places correction; and who had been so sufficient for this work as the apostles or apostolic men? Yet it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to them to take that which they found (the same being for the greatest part true and sufficient), rather than by making a new, in that new world and green age of the Church, to expose themselves to many exceptions and cavillations, as though they made a translation to serve their own turn, and therefore bearing witness to themselves, their witness not to be regarded. This may be supposed to be some cause why the translation of the Seventy was allowed to pass for current. Notwithstanding, though it was commended generally, yet it did not fully content the learned, no not of the Jews. For not long after Christ, Aquila fell in hand with a new translation, and after him Theodotion.

and after him Symmachus: yea, there was a fifth and a sixth edition, the authors whereof were not known. These with the Seventy made up the Hexapla, and were worthy and to great purpose compiled together by Origen. Howbeit the edition of the Seventy went away with the credit, and therefore not only was placed in the midst by Origen (for the worth and excellence thereof above the rest, as Epiphanius gathereth), but also was used by the Greek Fathers for the ground and foundation of their commentaries. Yea, Epiphanius above-named doth attribute so much unto it that he holdeth the authors thereof not only for interpreters, but also for prophets in some respect: and Justinian the Emperor, enjoining the Jews his subjects to use specially the translation of the Seventy, rendereth this reason thereof, because they were as it were enlightened with prophetical grace. Yet for all that, as the Egyptians are said of the Prophet to be men and not God, and their horses flesh and not spirit: so it is evident (and St Jerome affirmeth as much) that the Seventy were interpreters, they were not prophets; they did many things well, as learned men, but yet as men they stumbled and fell, one while through oversight, another while through ignorance; yea, sometimes they may be noted to add to the original, and sometimes to take from it: which made the Apostles to leave them many times, when they left the Hebrew, and to deliver the sense thereof according to the truth of the word, as the Spirit gave them utterance. This may suffice touching the Greek translations of the Old Testament.

There were also within a few hundred years after Christ translations many into the Latin tongue: for this tongue also was very fit to convey the Law and the Gospel by, because in those times very many countries of the west, yea of the south, east and north, spoke or understood Latin, being made provinces to the Romans. But now the Latin translations were too many to be all good, for they were infinite (‘Latini interpretantes nullo modo numerari possunt,’ saith St Augustine). Again, they were not out of the Hebrew fountain (we speak of the Latin translations of the Old Testament), but out of the Greek stream; therefore, the Greek being not altogether clear, the Latin derived from it must needs be muddy. This moved St Jerome, a most learned Father, and the best linguist without controversy of his age, or of any that went before him, to undertake the translating of the Old Testament out of the very fountains themselves; which he performed with that evidence of great learning, judgement, industry, and faithfulness, that he hath for ever bound the Church unto him in a debt of special remembrance and thankfulness.

Now though the Church were thus furnished with Greek and Latin translations, even before the faith of Christ was generally embraced in the Empire (for the learned know that even in St Jerome’s time the Consul of Rome and his wife were both ethnics, and about the same time the greatest part of the Senate also): yet for all that the godly-learned were not content to have the Scriptures in the language which themselves understood, Greek

1 Epiphanius, De Mesuris et Ponderibus, 17 (PG 43:265–6).
4 Isa. 31:3.
5 St Jerome, De Optimo Genere Interpretandi; Ad Pammachium, Epistulae (PL 22:568–79).
6 St Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, 2:11:16 (CC 32:42; PL 34:43).
7 St Jerome, Antimnius Marcellinus, Zosimus.
and Latin (as the good lepers were not content to fare well themselves, but
acquainted their neighbours with the store that God had sent, that they
also might provide for themselves), but also for the behoof and edifying of
the unlearned which hungered and thirsted after righteousness, and had
souls to be saved as well as they, they provided translations into the vulgar
for their countrymen, insomuch that most nations under heaven did
shortly after their conversion hear Christ speaking unto them in their
mother tongue, not by the voice of their minister only, but also by the written
word translated. If any doubt hereof, he may be satisfied by examples
enough, if enough will serve the turn. First, St Jerome saith, ‘Multarum gen-
tium linguis Scriptura ante translata docet falsa esse quae addita sunt’,
etc., i.e., ‘the Scripture being translated before in the languages of many
nations doth show that those things that were added’ (by Lucian or
Hesychius) ‘are false’. So St Jerome in that place. The same Jerome elsewhere
affirmeth that he, the time was, had set forth the translation of the
Seventy, ‘suae linguae hominibus’; i.e., for his countrymen of Dalmatia.
Which words not only Erasmus doth understand to purport that St Jerome
translated the Scripture into the Dalmatian tongue, but also Sixtus
Senensis, and Alphonsus à Castro (that we speak of no more), men not to
be excepted against by them of Rome, do ingenuously confess as much. So St
Chrysostom, that lived in St Jerome’s time, giveth evidence with him: ‘The
doctrine of St John,’ saith he, ‘did not in such sort’ (as the philosophers did)
‘vanish away: but the Syrians, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Ethiopians, and
infinite other nations, being barbarous people, translated it into their
(mother) tongue and have learned to be (true) philosophers’, (he meaneth
Christians). To this may be added Theodoret, as next unto him both for
antiquity, and for learning. His words be these, ‘Every country that is under
the sun is full of these words’ (of the Apostles and Prophets), ‘and the
Hebrew tongue’ (he meaneth the Scriptures in the Hebrew tongue) ‘is
turned not only into the language of the Grecians, but also of the Romans,
and Egyptians, and Persians, and Indians, and Armenians, and Scythians,
and Sauromatians, and, briefly, into all the languages that any nation
useth’. So he. In like manner Ulphilas is reported by Paulus Diaconus
and Isidore, and before them by Sozomen, to have translated the Scriptures
into the Gothic tongue: John Bishop of Seville by Vasseus, to have turned
them into Arabic about the year of our Lord 717; Bede by Cistertiensis, to
have turned a great part of them into Saxon; Efnard by Trithemius, to have
abridged the French Psalter, as Bede had done the Hebrew, about the year
800; King Alured by the said Cistertiensis, to have turned the Psalter into
Saxon; Methodius by Aventinus (printed at Ingolstadt), to have turned the
Scriptures into Slavonian; Valdo Bishop of Frising by Beatus Rhenanus, to

1 2 Kgs 7:9. 2 St Jerome, Praefatio in Evangelio.
3 St Jerome, Sophronius [preface to Psalms].
4 Sisto da Siena, Bibliotheca Sancta (1566), 1:4:385.
6 St John Chrysostom, In Joannem Homiliae (PG 59:33).
7 Theodoretus Cyrensis, Graecarum Affectionum Curatio, 5.66 (PG 83:948).
8 Paulus Diaconus, Historia Miscella, 12, Valens (PL 95:932).
12 Polydore Virgil, Angliae Historiae, 5, testatur idem de Aluredo nostro [testifies the same of our
Alfred].
13 Johannes Aventinus, Annales Boiorum (1554), 4:434.

xxiv
have caused about that time the Gospels to be translated into Dutch rhythm, yet extant in the library of Corbinian; Valdus by divers, to have turned them himself, or to have gotten them turned into French about the year 1160; Charles the fifth of that name, surnamed the Wise, to have caused them to be turned into French, about 200 years after Valdus’ time, of which translation there be many copies yet extant, as witnesseth Beroaldus. Much about that time, even in our King Richard the second’s days, John Trevisa translated them into English, and many English Bibles in written hand are yet to be seen with divers, translated, as it is very probable, in that age. So the Syrian translation of the New Testament is in most learned men’s libraries, of Widminstadius’ setting forth, and the Psalter in Arabic is with many, of Augustinus Nebiensis’ setting forth. So Postel affirmeth that in his travel he saw the Gospels in the Ethiopian tongue: and Ambrose Thesius allegeth the Psalter of the Indians, which he testifieth to have been set forth by Potken in Syrian characters. So that to have the Scriptures in the mother tongue is not a quaint conceit lately taken up, either by the Lord Cromwell in England, or by the Lord Radevil in Polonie, or by the Lord Ungnadius in the Emperor’s dominion, but hath been thought upon, and put in practice of old, even from the first times of the conversion of any nation; no doubt because it was esteemed most profitable to cause faith to grow in men’s hearts the sooner, and to make them to be able to say with the words of the Psalm, ‘As we have heard, so we have seen’. Now the Church of Rome would seem at the length to bear a motherly affection towards her children, and to allow them the Scriptures in their mother tongue: but indeed it is a gift not deserving to be called a gift, an unprofitable gift: they must first get a licence in writing before they may use them, and to get that, they must approve themselves to their confessor, that is, to be such as are, if not frozen in the dregs, yet soured with the leaven of their superstition. Howbeit it seemed too much to Clement the eighth that there should be any licence granted to have them in the vulgar tongue, and therefore he overruleth and frustrateth the grant of Pius the fourth. So much are they afraid of the light of the Scripture (‘Lucifugae Scripturarum’, as Tertullian speaketh), that they will not trust the people with it, no not as it is set forth by their own sworn men, no not with the licence of their own bishops and inquisitors. Yea, so unwilling they are to communicate the Scriptures to the people’s understanding in any sort, that they are not ashamed to confess that we forced them to translate it into English against their wills. This seemeth to argue a bad cause, or a bad conscience, or both. Sure we are that it is not he that hath good gold that is afraid to bring it to the touchstone, but he that hath the counterfeit; neither is it the true man that shunneth the light, but the malefactor, lest his deeds should be reproved; neither is it the plain-dealing merchant that is unwilling to have the weights, or the meteyard brought in place, but he

1 Circa annum 900.
3 Matthaeus Beroaldus, Chronicum Scripturae Sacrae (1575), 4:8:265.
4 Jacques-August de Thou (Thuan), Historiarum sui Temporis Pars Prima (1604).
5 Ps. 48:8.
6 Δόρατον ἄδικως ἄραντες ἐστίν ἀπῆλθον. Sophocles, Ajax, 665.
7 See the observation (set forth by Clement’s authority) upon the fourth rule of Pius IV’s making in the Index Librorum Prohibitorum, p. 15, v. S.
8 Tertullian, De Resurrectione Mortuorum, 47:17 (CC 2.987; PL 2.863).
A satisfaction to our brethren

The speeches and reasons, both of our brethren, and of our adversaries, against this work

that useth deceit. But we will let them alone for this fault, and return to translation.

Many men's mouths have been opened a good while (and yet are not stopped) with speeches about the translation so long in hand, or rather perusals of translations made before: and ask what may be the reason, what the necessity, of the employment: 'Hath the Church been deceived,' say they, 'all this while? Hath her sweet bread been mingled with leaven, her silver with dross, her wine with water, her milk with lime?' ('Lacte gypsum male miscetur', saith St Irenaeus). We hoped that we had been in the right way, that we had had the oracles of God delivered unto us, and that though all the world had cause to be offended and to complain, yet that we had none. Hath the nurse held out the breast, and nothing but wind in it? Hath the bread been delivered by the Fathers of the Church, and the same proved to be 'lapidosus', as Seneca speaketh? What is it to handle the word of God deceitfully, if this be not? Thus certain brethren. Also the adversaries of Judah and Jerusalem, like Sanballat in Nehemiah, mock, as we hear, both at the work and workmen, saying, 'What do these weak Jews, etc., will they make the stones whole again out of the heaps of dust which are burnt? Although they build, yet if a fox go up, he shall even break down their stony wall.' 'Was their translation good before? Why do they now mend it? Was it not good? Why then was it obtruded to the people? Nay, why did the Catholics (meaning Popish Romanists) always go in jeopardy for refusing to go to hear it? Yea, if it must be translated into English, Catholics are fittest to do it. They have learning, and they know when a thing is well, they can "manum de tabula".' We will answer them both briefly: and the former, being brethren, thus with St Jerome, 'Damnamus veteres? Minime, sed post priorum studia in domo Domini quod possumus laboramus'. That is, 'Do we condemn the ancient? In no case: but after the endeavours of them that were before us, we take the best pains we can in the house of God.' As if he said, 'Being provoked by the example of the learned that lived before my time, I have thought it my duty to assay whether my talent in the knowledge of the tongues may be profitable in any measure to God's Church, lest I should seem to have laboured in them in vain, and lest I should be thought to glory in men (although ancient) above that which was in them'. Thus St Jerome may be thought to speak.

And to the same effect say we, that we are so far off from condemning any of their labours that travailed before us in this kind, either in this land or beyond sea, either in King Henry's time, or King Edward's (if there were any translation, or correction of a translation in his time), or Queen Elizabeth's of ever-renowned memory, that we acknowledge them to have been raised up of God for the building and furnishing of his Church, and that they deserve to be had of us and of posterity in everlasting remembrance. The judgement of Aristotle is worthy and well known: 'If Timothy had not been, we had not had much sweet music: but if Phrynis' (Timothy's master) 'had not been, we had not had Timothy'. Therefore blessed be they, and most honoured be their name, that break the ice, and give the onset upon that which helpeth forward to the saving of souls. Now what can be more
available thereto than to deliver God’s book unto God’s people in a tongue which they understand? Since of a hidden treasure, and of a fountain that is sealed, there is no profit, as Ptolemy Philadelphus wrote to the rabbins or masters of the Jews, as witnesseth Epiphanius: and as St Augustine saith, ‘A man had rather be with his dog than with a stranger’ (whose tongue is strange unto him). Yet for all that, as nothing is begun and perfected at the same time, and the latter thoughts are thought to be the wiser: so, if we building upon their foundation that went before us, and being helped by their labours, do endeavour to make that better which they left so good, no man, we are sure, hath cause to mislike us; they, we persuade ourselves, if they were alive, would thank us. The vintage of Abiezer, that struck the stroke: yet the gleaning of grapes of Ephraim was not to be despised. Joash the king of Israel did not satisfy himself till he had smitten the ground three times; and yet he offended the Prophet for giving over then. Aquila, of whom we spoke before, translated the Bible as carefully and as skilfully as he could; and yet he thought good to go over it again, and then it got the credit with the Jews to be called kata ákkribéian, that is, accurately done, as St Jerome witnesseth. How many books of profane learning have been gone over again and again, by the same translators, by others? Of one and the same book of Aristotle’s Ethics there are extant not so few as six or seven several translations. Now if this cost may be bestowed upon the gourd, which affordeth us a little shade, and which today flourisheth, but tomorrow is cut down, what may we bestow, nay, what ought we not to bestow upon the vine, the fruit whereof maketh glad the conscience of man, and the stem whereof abideth for ever? And this is the word of God, which we translate. “What is the chaff to the wheat?” saith the Lord.7 ‘Tanti vitreum, quanti verum margaritum?’ saith Tertullian, if a toy of glass be of that reckoning with us, how ought we to value the true pearl? Therefore let no man’s eye be evil because his Majesty’s is good; neither let any be grieved that we have a prince that seeketh the increase of the spiritual wealth of Israel (let Sanballats and Tobiahs do so, which therefore do bear their just reproof); but let us rather bless God from the ground of our heart for working this religious care in him to have the translations of the Bible maturely considered of and examined. For by this means it cometh to pass that whatsoever is sound already (and all is sound for substance in one or other of our editions, and the worst of ours far better than their authentic Vulgar), the same will shine as gold more brightly, being rubbed and polished; also, if anything be halting, or superfluous, or not so agreeable to the original, the same may be corrected, and the truth set in place. And what can the King command to be done that will bring him more true honour than this? And wherein could they that have been set a-work approve their duty to the King, yea, their obedience to God, and love to his Saints more than by yielding their service, and all that is within them, for the furnishing of the work? But besides all this, they were the principal motives of it, and therefore ought least to quarrel it: for the very historical truth is that upon the importunate petitions of the Puritans at his Majesty’s coming to this crown,

1 St Epiphanius, De Mensuris et Ponderibus, 11 (PG 43:253).
2 St Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 19:7.
3 Judg. 8:2.
6 Jer. 23:28.
7 Tertullian, Ad Martyras, 4:9 (CC 1:7; PL 1:626).
the conference at Hampton Court having been appointed for hearing their complaints, when by force of reason they were put from all other grounds, they had recourse at the last to this shift, that they could not with good conscience subscribe to the Communion Book, since it maintained the Bible as it was there translated, which was as they said, a most corrupted translation. And although this was judged to be but a very poor and empty shift, yet even hereupon did his Majesty begin to bethink himself of the good that might ensue by a new translation, and presently after gave order for this translation which is now presented unto thee. Thus much to satisfy our scrupulous brethren.

Now to the latter we answer, that we do not deny, nay, we affirm and avow, that the very meanest translation of the Bible in English set forth by men of our profession (for we have seen none of theirs of the whole Bible as yet) containeth the word of God, nay, is the word of God: as the King’s speech which he uttered in Parliament, being translated into French, Dutch, Italian and Latin, is still the King’s speech, though it be not interpreted by every translator with the like grace, nor peradventure so fitly for phrase, nor so expressly for sense, everywhere. For it is confessed that things are to take their denomination of the greater part; and a natural man could say, ‘Verum ubi multa nitent in carmine, non ego paucis offendar maculis’, etc.1 A man may be counted a virtuous man though he have made many slips in his life (else there were none virtuous, for, ‘in many things we offend all’),2 also a comely man and lovely, though he have some warts upon his hand, yea, not only freckles upon his face, but also scars. No cause therefore why the word translated should be denied to be the word, or forbidden to be current, notwithstanding that some imperfections and blemishes may be noted in the setting forth of it. For whatever was perfect under the sun, where Apostles or apostolic men, that is, men endued with an extraordinary measure of God’s Spirit, and privileged with the privilege of infallibility, had not their hand? The Romanists therefore in refusing to hear, and daring to burn the word translated, did no less than despite the spirit of grace, from whom originally it proceeded, and whose sense and meaning, as well as man’s weakness would enable, it did express. Judge by an example or two. Plutarch writeth that after that Rome had been burnt by the Gauls, they fell soon to build it again: but doing it in haste, they did not cast the streets, nor proportion the houses in such comely fashion as had been most sightly and convenient. 3 Was Catiline therefore an honest man, or a good patriot, that sought to bring it to a combustion? or Nero a good Prince, that did indeed set it on fire? So by the story of Ezra4 and the prophecy of Haggai it may be gathered that the temple built by Zerubbabel after the return from Babylon was by no means to be compared to the former built by Solomon (for they that remembered the former wept when they considered the latter): notwithstanding, might this latter either have been abhorred and forsaken by the Jews, or profaned by the Greeks? The like we are to think of translations. The translation of the Seventy dissenteth from the original in many places, neither doth it come near it for perspicuity, gravity, majesty; yet which of the Apostles did condemn it? Condemn it? Nay, they used it (as it is apparent, and as St Jerome and most learned men do confess), which they would not have done, nor by their

example of using of it so grace and commend it to the Church, if it had been unworthy the appellation and name of the word of God. And whereas they urge for their second defence of their vilifying and abusing of the English Bibles, or some pieces thereof, which they meet with, for that heretics forsooth were the authors of the translations (heretics they call us by the same right that they call themselves Catholics, both being wrong), we marvel what divinity taught them so. We are sure Tertullian was of another mind: ‘Ex personis probamus fidem, an ex fide personas?’1 Do we try men’s faith by their persons? we should try their persons by their faith. Also St Augustine was of another mind: for he, lighting upon certain rules made by Tychonius a Donatist for the better understanding of the word, was not ashamed to make use of them, yea, to insert them into his own book, with giving commendation to them so far forth as they were worthy to be commended, as is to be seen in St Augustine’s third book De Doctrina Christiana.2 To be short, Origen, and the whole Church of God for certain hundred years, were of another mind: for they were so far from treading under foot (much more from burning) the translation of Aquila a proselyte, that is, one that had turned Jew, of Symmachus, and Theodotion, both Ebionites, that is, most vile heretics, that they joined them together with the Hebrew original, and the translation of the Seventy (as hath been before signified out of Epiphanius), and set them forth openly to be considered of and perused by all. But we weary the unlearned, who need not know so much, and trouble the learned, who know it already.

Yet before we end, we must answer a third cavil and objection of theirs against us, for altering and amending our translations so oft; wherein truly they deal hardly and strangely with us. For to whom ever was it imputed for a fault (by such as were wise) to go over that which he had done, and to amend it where he saw cause? St Augustine was not afraid to exhort St Jerome to a ‘palinodia’ or recantation;3 the same St Augustine was not ashamed to retractate, we might say, revoke, many things that had passed him,4 and doth even glory that he seeth his infirmities.5 If we will be sons of the truth, we must consider what it speaketh, and trample upon our own credit, yea, and upon other men’s too, if either be any way a hindrance to it. This to the cause: then to the persons we say that of all men they ought to be most silent in this case. For what varieties have they, and what alterations have they made, not only of their Service Books, Portesses, and Breviaries, but also of their Latin translation? The Service Book supposed to be made by St Ambrose (Officium Ambrosianum) was a great while in special use and request: but Pope Adrian, calling a council with the aid of Charles the Emperor, abolished it, yea, burnt it, and commanded the Service Book of Saint Gregory universally to be used.6 Well, Officium Gregorianum gets by this means to be in credit, but doth it continue without change or altering? No, the very Roman Service was of two fashions, the new fashion, and the old, the one used in one Church, and the other in another, as is to be seen in Pamelius a Romanist, his preface before Micrologus.7 The same Pamelius reporteth out of Radulphus de Rivo that about the year of our Lord 1277

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1 Tertullian, De Praescriptione Haeretistarum, 3:15 (CC:1:188; PL 2:17).
2 St Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, 3:30:42 (CC 32:102; PL 34:81).
3 St Augustine, Epistulae, 40/7 (PL 33:157).
4 St Augustine, Retractions.
5 ‘Video interdum vitia mea’. St Augustine, Epistulae, 28:4:6 (PL 33:114).
7 [Jacobus Pamelius Brugensis, Micrologus de Ecclesiasticiis Observationibus (1565; PL 151:974).]
THE TRANSLATORS TO THE READER

Pope Nicholas the third removed out of the churches of Rome the more ancient books (of service) and brought into use the Missals of the Friars Minorites, and commanded them to be observed there; insomuch that about a hundred years after, when the above named Radulphus happened to be at Rome, he found all the books to be new, of the new stamp. Neither was there this chopping and changing in the more ancient times only, but also of late: Pius Quintus himself confesseth that every bishopric almost had a peculiar kind of service, most unlike to that which others had: which moved him to abolish all other Breviaries, though never so ancient, and privileged and published by bishops in their dioceses, and to establish and ratify that only which was of his own setting forth in the year 1568. Now when the father of their Church, who gladly would heal the sore of the daughter of his people softly and slightly, and make the best of it, findeth so great fault with them for their odds and jarring, we hope the children have no great cause to vaunt of their uniformity. But the difference that appeareth between our translations, and our often correcting of them, is the thing that we are specially charged with; let us see therefore whether they themselves be without fault this way (if it be to be counted a fault to correct), and whether they be fit men to throw stones at us: ‘O tandem maior parcas insane minori’; they that are less sound themselves ought not to object infirmities to others. If we should tell them that Valla, Stapulensis, Erasmus and Vives found fault with their Vulgar translation, and consequently wished the same to be mended, or a new one to be made, they would answer peradventure that we produced their enemies for witnesses against them; albeit they were in no other sort enemies than as St Paul was to the Galatians, for telling them the truth: and it were to be wished that they had dared to tell it them plainlier and oftener. But what will they say to this, that Pope Leo the tenth allowed Erasmus’ translation of the New Testament, so much different from the Vulgar, by his apostolic letter and Bull? that the same Leo exhorted Pagninus to translate the whole Bible, and bore whatsoever charges was necessary for the work? Surely, as the Apostle reasoneth to the Hebrews, that ‘if the former Law and Testament had been sufficient, there had been no need of the latter’: so we may say that if the old Vulgar had been at all points allowable, to small purpose had labour and charges been undergone about framing of a new. If they say, it was one Pope’s private opinion, and that he consulted only himself, then we are able to go further with them, and to aver that more of their chief men of all sorts, even their own Trent champions, Paiva and Vega, and their own inquisitors, Hieronymus ab Oleastro, and their own Bishop Isidorus Clarius, and their own Cardinal Thomas a Vio Cajetan, do either make new translations themselves, or follow new ones of other men’s making, or note the Vulgar interpreter for halting; none of them fear to dissent from him, nor yet to except against him. And call they this a uniform tenor of text and judgement about the text, so many of their worthies disclaiming the now received conceit? Nay, we will yet come nearer the quick: doth not their Paris edition differ from the Louvain, and Hentenius’ from them both, and yet all of them allowed by authority? Nay, doth not Sixtus Quintus confess

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1 [Micrologus (PL 151:975).] 2 [Pius V, Breviarum Romanum (1568).]
3 Horace, Satires, 2.3:326.
4 Gal. 4:16.
6 Heb. 7:11 and 8:7.

XXX
that certain Catholics (he meaneth certain of his own side) were in such a
humour of translating the Scriptures into Latin, that Satan taking occasion
by them, though they thought no such matter, did strive what he could, out
of so uncertain and manifold a variety of translations, so to mingle all
things that nothing might seem to be left certain and firm in them, etc.?1
Nay further, did not the same Sixtus ordain by an inviolable decree, and
that with the counsel and consent of his cardinals, that the Latin edition of
the Old and New Testament, which the Council of Trent would have to be
authentic, is the same without controversy which he then set forth, being
diligently corrected and printed in the printing-house of Vatican? Thus
Sixtus in his preface before his Bible.2 And yet Clement the eighthth, his
immediate successor, publisheth another edition of the Bible, containing in
it infinite differences from that of Sixtus, and many of them weighty and
material; and yet this must be authentic by all means. What is to have the
faith of our glorious Lord Jesus Christ with yea and nay, if this be not?
Again, what is sweet harmony and consent, if this be? Therefore, as
Demaratus of Corinth advised a great king, before he talked of the dissen-
sions among the Grecians, to compose his domestic broils (for at that time
his queen and his son and heir were at deadly feud with him), so all the
while that our adversaries do make so many and so various editions them-
selves, and do jar so much about the worth and authority of them, they can
with no show of equity challenge us for changing and correcting.

But it is high time to leave them, and to show in brief what we proposed
to ourselves, and what course we held in this our perusal and survey of the
Bible. Truly, good Christian reader, we never thought from the beginning
that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad one
a good one (for then the imputation of Sixtus had been true in some sort,
that our people had been fed with gall of dragons instead of wine, with
whey instead of milk);3 but to make a good one better, or out of many good
ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against, that hath
been our endeavour, that our mark. To that purpose there were many cho-

1 Sixtus V, Biblia Sacra Vulgatae (1590), 1r. 2 [Biblia Sacra Vulgatae, 1v.]
3 [Biblia Sacra Vulgatae, 1r.]
6 [St Jerome, preface to translation of Job.]
their sharpness of wit, or deepness of judgement, as it were in an arm of
flesh? At no hand. They trusted in him that hath the key of David, opening
and no man shutting; they prayed to the Lord, the Father of our Lord, to the
effect that St Augustine did: ‘O let thy Scriptures be my pure delight, let me
not be deceived in them, neither let me deceive by them.’ 1 In this confi-
dence, and with this devotion, did they assemble together; not too many,
lest one should trouble another; and yet many, lest many things haply
might escape them. If you ask what they had before them, truly it was the
Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the Greek of the New. These are the two
golden pipes, or rather conduits, wherethrough the olive branches empty
themselves into the gold. St Augustine calleth them precedent, or original
tongues; 2 St Jerome, fountains. 3 The same St Jerome affirmeth, and Gratian
hath not spared to put it into his decree, that ‘as the credit of the old books’
(hemeaneth of the Old Testament) ‘is to be tried by the Hebrew volumes, so
of the New by the Greek tongue’, he meaneth by the original Greek. 4 If truth
be to be tried by these tongues, then whence should a translation be made
but out of them? These tongues therefore, the Scriptures, we say, in those
tongues, we set before us to translate, being the tongues wherein God was
pleased to speak to his Church by his Prophets and Apostles. Neither did we
run over the work with that posting haste that the Septuagint did, if that be
true which is reported of them, that they finished it in seventy-two days; 5
neither were we barred or hindered from going over it again, having once
done it, like St Jerome, if that be true which himself reporteth, that he
could no sooner write anything, but presently it was caught from him, and
published, and he could not have leave to mend it; 6 neither, to be short,
were we the first that fell in hand with translating the Scripture into
English, and consequently destitute of former helps, as it is written of
Origen, that he was the first in a manner that put his hand to write com-
mentaries upon the Scriptures, and therefore no marvel if he overshot him-
self many times. None of these things: the work hath not been huddled up
in seventy-two days, but hath cost the workmen, as light as it seemeth, the
pains of twice seven times seventy-two days and more: matters of such
weight and consequence are to be speeded with maturity: for in a business
of moment a man feareth not the blame of convenient slackness. 8 Neither
did we think much to consult the translators or commentators, Chaldee,
Hebrew, Syrian, Greek, or Latin, no, nor the Spanish, French, Italian, or
Dutch; neither did we disdain to revise that which we had done, and to
bring back to the anvil that which we had hammered: but having and using
as great helps as were needful, and fearing no reproach for slowness, nor
coveting praise for expedition, we have at the length, through the good
hand of the Lord upon us, brought the work to that pass that you see.

Some peradventure would have no variety of senses to be set in the
margin, lest the authority of the Scriptures for deciding of controversies by
that show of uncertainty should somewhat be shaken. But we hold their

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1 St Augustine, Confessions, 11:2:3.
2 St Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, 3:3:7 (CC 32:81; PL 34:68).
7 Πρωτότυπου.
8 Φιλεί γὰρ ὁ σκέπασμα τῆς μεγάλης πράξεως μέγα. Sophocles, Electra, 320.
judgement not to be so sound in this point. For though ‘whatsoever things are necessary are manifest’, as St Chrysostom saith,1 and as St Augustine, ‘In those things that are plainly set down in the Scriptures all such matters are found that concern faith, hope, and charity’;2 yet for all that it cannot be dispersed that partly to exercise and whet our wits, partly to wean the curious from loathing of them for their everywhere plainness, partly also to stir up our devotion to crave the assistance of God’s Spirit by prayer, and lastly, that we might be forward to seek aid of our brethren by conference, and never scorn those that be not in all respects so complete as they should be, being to seek in many things ourselves, it hath pleased God in his divine providence here and there to scatter words and sentences of that difficulty and doubtfulness, not in doctrinal points that concern salvation (for in such it hath been vouched that the Scriptures are plain), but in matters of less moment, that fearfulness would better be seem us than confidence, and if we will resolve, to resolve upon modesty with St Augustine (though not in this same case altogether, yet upon the same ground), ‘Melius est dubitare de occultis, quam litigare de incertis’;3 it is better to make doubt of those things which are secret than to strive about those things that are uncertain.

There be many words in the Scriptures which be never found there but once4 (having neither brother nor neighbour, as the Hebrews speak), so that we cannot be helped by conference of places. Again, there be many rare names of certain birds, beasts and precious stones, etc., concerning which the Hebrews themselves are so divided among themselves for judgement that they may seem to have defined this or that, rather because they would say something than because they were sure of that which they said, as St Jerome somewhere saith of the Septuagint. Now in such a case doth not a margin do well to admonish the reader to seek further, and not to conclude or dogmatise upon this or that peremptorily? For as it is a fault of incredulity to doubt of those things that are evident: so to determine of such things as the Spirit of God hath left (even in the judgement of the judicious) questionable, can be no less than presumption. Therefore as St Augustine saith, that variety of translations is profitable for the finding out of the sense of the Scriptures:5 so diversity of signification and sense in the margin, where the text is not so clear, must needs do good, yea, is necessary, as we are persuaded. We know that Sixtus Quintus expressly forbiddeth that any variety of readings of their Vulgar edition should be put in the margin6 (which though it be not altogether the same thing to that we have in hand, yet it looketh that way), but we think he hath not all of his own side his favourers for this conceit. They that are wise had rather have their judgments at liberty in differences of readings than to be captivated to one, when it may be the other. If they were sure that their high priest had all laws shut up in his breast, as Paul the second bragged,7 and that he were as free from error by special privilege as the dictators of Rome were made by law inviolable, it were another matter; then his word were an oracle, his

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2 St Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, 2:9:14 (CC 32:41; PL 34:42).
3 St Augustine, De Genesi ad Litteram, 8:5 (PL 34:376).
4 ΑΝΤΩ ΛΕΓΙΤΕ. 
5 St Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, 2:14:21 (CC 32:47; PL 34:45–6).
6 Sixtus V, Biblia Sacra Vulgatae (1590), 4v.
7 Platina, in Paulo Secundo, De Vitis et Moribus Summorum Pontificum Historia (1562 ed.), 250v.
opinion a decision. But the eyes of the world are now open, God be thanked, and have been a great while; they find that he is subject to the same affections and infirmities that others be,¹ that his skin is penetrable,² and therefore so much as he proveth, not as much as he claimeth, they grant and embrace.

Another thing we think good to admonish thee of, gentle reader, that we have not tied ourselves to a uniformity of phrasing, or to an identity of words, as some peradventure would wish that we had done, because they observe that some learned men somewhere have been as exact as they could that way. Truly, that we might not vary from the sense of that which we had translated before, if the word signified the same thing in both places (for there be some words that be not of the same sense everywhere),³ we were especially careful, and made a conscience, according to our duty. But that we should express the same notion in the same particular word, as for example, if we translate the Hebrew or Greek word once by ‘purpose’, never to call it ‘intent’; if one where ‘journeying’, never ‘travelling’; if one where ‘think’, never ‘suppose’; if one where ‘pain’, never ‘ache’; if one where ‘joy’, never ‘gladness’, etc.; thus to mince the matter, we thought to savour more of curiosity than wisdom, and that rather it would breed scorn in the atheist than bring profit to the godly reader. For is the kingdom of God become words or syllables? why should we be in bondage to them if we may be free? use one precisely when we may use another no less fit as commodiously? A godly Father in the primitive time showed himself greatly moved that one of newfangledness called κραββατών, σκίμπους,⁴ though the difference be little or none; and another reporteth that he was much abused for turning ‘cucurbita’ (to which reading the people had been used) into ‘hedera’.⁵ Now if this happen in better times, and upon so small occasions, we might justly fear hard censure, if generally we should make verbal and unnecessary changing. We might also be charged (by scoffers) with some unequal dealing towards a great number of good English words. For as it is written of a certain great philosopher, that he should say that those logs were happy that were made images to be worshipped; for their fellows, as good as they, lay for blocks behind the fire: so if we should say, as it were, unto certain words, ‘Stand up higher, have a place in the Bible always’, and to others of like quality, ‘Get ye hence, be banished for ever’, we might be taxed peradventure with St James’s words, namely, ‘To be partial in ourselves and judges of evil thoughts’. Add hereunto that niceness in words⁶ was always counted the next step to trifling,⁷ and so was to be curious about names too: also that we cannot follow a better pattern for elocution than God himself; therefore he using divers words in his holy writ, and indifferently for one thing in nature,⁸ we, if we will not be superstitious, may use the same liberty in our English versions out of Hebrew and Greek, for that copy or store that he hath given us. Lastly, we have on the one side avoided the scrupulosity of the Puritans, who leave the old ecclesiastical words, and betake them to others, as when they put ‘washing’ for ‘baptism’, and

¹ Ὀμοιοπάθες. ² Τριμυός γ` ει χρόνος ἐστι. ³ Πολύτομα.
⁴ Άι ωδε. Nicephorus Callistus, Ecclesiastica Historia, 8:42 (PG 146:165).
⁶ Αρτοκλωια. ⁷ Ἀδόξεια.
⁸ Το στοιδάξει απ` ἀληθεία. See Eusebius, Preparation for the Gospel, 12:8:4 (PG 21:968), alluding to Plato, Statesman (Politicus, 261e).

xxxiv
THE TRANSLATORS TO THE READER

‘Congregation’ in stead of ‘Church’: as also on the other side we have shunned the obscurity of the Papists, in their ‘azymes’, ‘tunic’, ‘rational’, ‘holocausts’, ‘praepuce’, ‘pasche’, and a number of such like whereof their late translation is full, and that of purpose to darken the sense, that since they must needs translate the Bible, yet by the language thereof it may be kept from being understood. But we desire that the Scripture may speak like itself, as in the language of Canaan, that it may be understood even of the very vulgar.

Many other things we might give thee warning of, gentle reader, if we had not exceeded the measure of a preface already. It remaineth that we commend thee to God, and to the Spirit of his grace, which is able to build further than we can ask or think. He removeth the scales from our eyes, the veil from our hearts, opening our wits that we may understand his word, enlarging our hearts, yea, correcting our affections, that we may love it above gold and silver, yea, that we may love it to the end. Ye are brought unto fountains of living water which ye dug not; do not cast earth into them with the Philistines, neither prefer broken pits before them with the wicked Jews. Others have laboured, and you may enter into their labours. O receive not so great things in vain, O despise not so great salvation! Be not like swine to tread under foot so precious things, neither yet like dogs to tear and abuse holy things. Say not to our Saviour with the Gergesites, neither yet with Esau sell your birthright for a mess of pottage. If light be come into the world, love not darkness more than light; if food, if clothing be offered, go not naked, starve not yourselves. Remember the advice of Nazianzen, ‘It is a grievous thing’ (or dangerous) ‘to neglect a great fair, and to seek to make markets afterwards’: also the encouragement of St Chrysostom, ‘It is altogether impossible that he that is sober (and watchful) should at any time be neglected’; lastly, the admonition and menacing of St Augustine, ‘They that despise God’s will inviting them shall feel God’s will taking vengeance of them’. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God; but a blessed thing it is, and will bring us to everlasting blessedness, when God speaketh unto us, to hearken; when he setteth his word before us, to read it; when he stretcheth out his hand and calleth, to answer, ‘Here am I; here we are to do thy will, O God’. The Lord work a care and conscience in us to know him and serve him, that we may be acknowledged of him at the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with the Holy Ghost be all praise and thanksgiving. Amen.

### The Names and Order of all the Books of the Old and New Testament and the Books called Apocrypha, with the number of their chapters

#### The Books of the Old Testament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Chapters</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genesis (50 chapters)</td>
<td>page 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus (40)</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus (27)</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers (36)</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuteronomy (34)</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joshua (24)</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judges (21)</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruth (4)</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Samuel (31)</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Samuel (24)</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kings (22)</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Kings (25)</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>1073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Chronicles (29)</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>1085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chronicles (36)</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>1153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### The Books Called Apocrypha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Esdras (9)</td>
<td>1259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Esdras (16)</td>
<td>1281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobit (14)</td>
<td>1315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judith (16)</td>
<td>1327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rest of Esther (7)</td>
<td>1347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wisdom of Solomon (19)</td>
<td>1353</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### The Books of the New Testament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matthew (28)</td>
<td>1549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark (16)</td>
<td>1589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke (24)</td>
<td>1615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John (21)</td>
<td>1659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Acts of the Apostle (28)</td>
<td>1691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romans (16)</td>
<td>1733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Corinthians (16)</td>
<td>1749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Corinthians (13)</td>
<td>1765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galatians (6)</td>
<td>1777</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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xxxvi