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0521843871 - The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible with the Apocrypha: King James Version
Edited by David Norton
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THE NEW CAMBRIDGE
PARAGRAPH BIBLE
WITH THE APOCRYPHA

King James Version

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with the Apocrypha: King James Version,
as edited by David Norton
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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

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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 manuscript 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*, creating 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 substituted ‘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 gentler reading. Theology may lie in a single letter, and an apparently 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

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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

EDITOR’S INTRODUCTION

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.

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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

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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

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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 tranquillity 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.

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 maligned 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 READER¹

*The best things
have been
calumniated*

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,² 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 men³ 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 commonwealths⁴ 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,⁵ 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 Ἐξω βέλους.
³ Anarcharsis with others.
⁴ Locri Epizephyrii.
⁵ 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;¹ 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,² 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 conceit 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;³ nay, as the great commander charged his soldiers in a certain battle to strike at no part of the enemy, but at the face;⁴ and as the king of Syria commanded his chief captains ‘to fight neither with small nor great, save only against the king of Israel’;⁵ 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.⁶ 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,⁷ ‘Make,’ say they, ‘the grievous servitude of thy father, and his sore yoke, lighter’.⁸ 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 Emperor⁹ 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 Emperor¹⁰ (at the leastwise, 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,¹¹ as who would say, a wasteful prince, that had need of a guardian or overseer. So the best

The highest personages have been culmniated

¹ Gregory Nazianzen, *Epistulae*, 130 (PG 37:225).
² Joannes Nauclerus, *Chronica* (1579), p. 504.
³ 2 Sam. 11:25.
⁴ [Julius Caesar. Plutarch, *Caesar*, 45:2–3.]
⁵ 1 Kgs 22:31.
⁶ 2 Sam. 6:16.
⁷ Σεισάχθειαν.
⁸ 1 Kgs 12:4.
⁹ Julius Caesar. *Plutarch*, *Caesar*, 59.
¹⁰ Constantine.
¹¹ Aurelius Victor, *Incerti Auctoris, Epitome de Caesaribus* (1579), 41:16.

THE TRANSLATORS TO THE READER

*His Majesty's
constancy,
notwithstanding
calumniation, for
the survey of the
English
translations*

*The praise of the
Holy Scriptures*

christened emperor,¹for 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 arms² (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 times³ (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’.⁴ ‘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:⁵ and St Stephen, ‘As your fathers did, so do you’.⁶ 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’)⁷ 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;⁸ 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’,⁹ neither was it a vain word that Eusebius delivered long ago, that piety towards God¹⁰ was the weapon, and the only weapon, that both preserved Constantine’s person, and avenged him of his enemies.¹¹

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

¹ Theodosius I.
² Justinian I.
³ Eccles. 1:9.
⁴ Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, 4:50:5.
⁵ Num. 32:14.
⁶ Acts 7:51.
⁷ Αὐτός, καὶ παῖδες, καὶ παίδων πάντοτε παῖδες.
⁸ Ὡς περ τις ἀνδριᾶς ἀπερίτρεπτος καὶ ἄκμων ἀνήλατος. Suda, see under ‘Job’.
⁹ 1 Sam. 2:30.
¹⁰ Θεοσέβεια.
¹¹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 10:8:6.

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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 reprov'd 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’,¹ 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.’² Thus St. Augustine. And St Jerome: ‘Ama Scripturas, et amabit te sapientia’, etc.³ 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.⁴ 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, ἐπεισάγειν) ‘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 εἰρεσιώνη,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).
⁷ Οἶόν τε. Justin Martyr, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, 38:70 (PG 6:312).
⁸ Ὑπερφανίας κατηγορία. St Basil, *Concerning Faith*, 1 (PG 31:680).
⁹ [St Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis*, 4:33 (PL 33:496); St Jerome, *De Perpetua Virginitate Beatae Mariae*; St Augustine, *Contra Litteras Petiliani*.]
¹⁰ Εἰρεσιώνη σῦκα φέρει, καὶ πῖονας ἄρτους, καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ, καὶ ἔλαιον, 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.

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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.

Translation
necessary

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 Constantinople⁵ calleth the Latin tongue barbarous, though Pope Nicholas do storm at it;⁶ so the Jews long before Christ called all other nations *log-nazim*, 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

¹ Κουόν ἱατρείον. St Basil, *Exegetic Homilies*, 10:1, *Concerning Faith*, 1 (PG 29:210).
² 1 Cor. 14:11.
³ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 1:16:77:3 (PG 8:792).
⁴ St Jerome, *Ad Damasum, Epistulae*, 20:4:1 (PL 22:356).
⁵ Michael III, son of Theophilus.
⁶ Petrus Crabbe, ed., *Conciliarum* (1538), 2:30v.
⁷ Cicero, *De Finibus*, 5:29:89.

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.¹ Indeed without translation into the vulgar tongue, the unlearned are but like children at Jacob's well (which was deep)² 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'.³

*The translation of
the Old Testament
out of the Hebrew
into Greek*

¹ Gen. 29:10.

² John 4:11.

³ Isa. 29:11.

⁴ See St Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, 12:32 (PL 42:172).

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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 worthily 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),¹ but also was used by the Greek Fathers for the ground and foundation of their commentaries.² 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 prophetic grace.³ 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:⁴ so it is evident (and St Jerome affirmeth as much)⁵ 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.

*Translation out
of Hebrew and
Greek into Latin*

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 interpretes nullo modo numerari possunt,' saith St Augustine).⁶ 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.

*The translating
of the Scripture
into the vulgar
tongues*

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):⁷ yet for all that the godly-learned were not content to have the Scriptures in the language which themselves understood, Greek

¹ Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, 17 (PG 43:265–6).
² See St Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 2:15:22 (CC 32:47; PL 34:46).
³ Προφητικῆς ὥσπερ χάριτος περιλαμψέσης αὐτούς. Justinian, *Novellae*, 146; R. Schöll and W. Kroll, eds, *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (1895), 3:745.
⁴ Isa. 31:3.
⁵ St Jerome, *De Optimo Genere Interpretandi; Ad Pammachium, Epistolae*, 57 (PL 22:568–79).
⁶ St Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 2:11:16 (CC 32:42; PL 34:43).
⁷ St Jerome, *Ammianus 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),¹ 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 gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata docet falsa esse quae addita sunt’, etc.,² 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’;³ 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,⁴ and Alphonsus à Castro⁵ (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).⁶ 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’.⁷ So he. In like manner Ulphilas is reported by Paulus Diaconus⁸ and Isidore,⁹ and before them by Sozomen,¹⁰ 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;¹¹ Bede by Cisterciensis, 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 Cisterciensis, to have turned the Psalter into Saxon;¹² Methodius by Aventinus¹³ (printed at Ingolstad), to have turned the Scriptures into Slavonian;¹ Valdo Bishop of Frising by Beatus Rhenanus, to

¹³ Johannes Aventinus, *Annales Boiorum* (1554), 4:434.

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have caused about that time the Gospels to be translated into Dutch rhythm, yet extant in the library of Corbinian;² 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.³ 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,⁴ 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'.⁵

*The
unwillingness of
our chief
adversaries that
the Scriptures
should be
divulged in the
mother tongue,
etc.*

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:⁶ 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.⁷ So much are they afraid of the light of the Scripture ('Lucifugae Scripturarum', as Tertullian speaketh),⁸ 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 reprov'd;⁹ 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.
² Beatus Rhenanus, *Rerum Germanicarum* ([1531] 1552), 2:112.
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 Δῶρον ἄδωρον οὐκ ἐνέησιμον. 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. 5.
⁸ Tertullian, *De Resurrectione Mortuorum*, 47:17 (CC 2:987; PL 2:863).
⁹ John 3:20.

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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).¹ 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?² 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.’³ ‘Was their translation good before? Why do they now mend it? Was it not good? Why then was it obtruded to the people? Yea, why did the Catholics (meaning Popish Romanists) always go in jeopardy for refusing to go to hear it? Nay, 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’.⁴ 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’.⁵ 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

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

A satisfaction to our brethren

¹ St Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses*, 3:17:4 (PG 7:932).
² [Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 1:5:91.] ³ Neh. 4:2–3.
⁴ St Jerome, *Contra Rufinum*, 2:25 (CC 79:63; PL 23:470).
⁵ Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 2:1:4.

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:¹ and as St Augustine saith, 'A man had rather be with his dog than with a stranger' (whose tongue is strange unto him).² 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 gleanings of grapes of Ephraim was not to be despised.³ 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.⁴ 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 *κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν*, that is, accurately done, as St Jerome witnesseth.⁵ 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.⁶ "Tanti vitreum, quanti verum margaritum?" saith Tertullian,⁷ if a toy of glass be of that reckoning with us, how ought we to value the true pearl?⁸ 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,

⁸ 'Si tanti vilissimum vitrum, quanti pretiosissimum margaritam?' Jerome, *Ad Salvinam, Epistulae*, 79:7:8 (PL 22:730).

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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

¹ Tertullian, *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, 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).
⁶ Gulielmus Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, 5:2.
⁷ [Iacobus Pamelius Brugensis, *Micrologus de Ecclesiasticis Observationibus* (1565; PL 151:974).]

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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.¹ 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 1568.² 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’:³ 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:⁴ 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?⁵ 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’:⁶ 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

¹ [Micrologus (PL 151:975).]
² [Pius V, *Breviarum Romanum* (1568).]
³ Horace, *Satires*, 2:3:326.
⁴ Gal. 4:16.
⁵ Sisto da Siena, *Bibliotheca Sancta* (1566), 1:4:297.
⁶ Heb. 7:11 and 8:7.

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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 eighth, 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 dissensions 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 themselves, 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.

*The purpose of
the translators,
with their
number,
furniture, care,
etc.*

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 chosen that were greater in other men's eyes than in their own, and that sought the truth rather than their own praise. Again, they came or were thought to come to the work, not 'exercendi causa', as one saith, but 'exercitanti', that is, learned, not to learn: for the chief overseer and ἐργοδιώκτης under his Majesty, to whom not only we but also our whole Church was much bound, knew by his wisdom, which thing also Nazianzen taught so long ago, that it is a preposterous order to teach first, and to learn after;⁴ yea that τὸ ἐν πίθῳ κεραμίαν μανθάνειν, to learn and practise together, is neither commendable for the workman, nor safe for the work.⁵ Therefore such were thought upon as could say modestly with St Jerome, 'Et Hebraeum sermonem ex parte didicimus, et in Latino pene ab ipsis incunabulis, etc., detriti sumus'. 'Both we have learned the Hebrew tongue in part, and in the Latin we have been exercised almost from our very cradle.'⁶ St Jerome maketh no mention of the Greek tongue, wherein yet he did excel, because he translated not the Old Testament out of Greek, but out of Hebrew. And in what sort did these assemble? In the trust of their own knowledge, or of

¹ Sixtus V, *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae* (1590), 1r.
² [*Biblia Sacra Vulgatae*, 1v.]
³ [*Biblia Sacra Vulgatae*, 1r.]
⁴ Gregory Nazianzen, *Orationes*, 42:13 (PG 36:472).
⁵ Gregory Nazianzen, *Orationes*, 2:47 (PG 35:456).
⁶ [St Jerome, preface to translation of Job.]

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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 confidence, 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’ (he meaneth 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 first⁷ 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 commentaries upon the Scriptures, and therefore no marvel if he overshot himself 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

Reasons moving us to set diversity of senses in the margin, where there is great probability for each

¹ St Augustine, *Confessions*, 11:2:3.
² St Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 3:3:7 (CC 32:81; PL 34:68).
³ St Jerome, *Ad Suniam et Fretelam, Epistulae*, 106:2:3 (PL 22:838).
⁴ St Jerome, *Ad Lucinium, Epistulae*, 71:5 (PL 22:671–2).
⁵ Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 12:107.
⁶ St Jerome, *Ad Pammachium, Epistulae*, 48 [49]:2 (PL 22:511).
⁷ Πρωτόπειροι.
⁸ Φιλεί γὰρ ὁκνεῖν πρᾶγμ’ ἀνὴρ πρᾶσσω μὲγα. Sophocles, *Electra*, 320.

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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 dissembled 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 beseem 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 judgements 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

¹ Πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δῆλα. St John Chrysostom, *In Epistulam II ad Thessalonicenses* 2, *Homilia* 3 (PG 62:485).
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 Ἄπαξ λεγόμενα.
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.

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‘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,¹ neither prefer broken pits before them with the wicked Jews.² 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, ‘Depart out of our coasts’,³ neither yet with Esau sell your birthright for a mess of pottage.⁴ 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’;⁵ also the encouragement of St Chrysostom, ‘It is altogether impossible that he that is sober (and watchful) should at any time be neglected’;⁶ 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’.⁷ It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God;⁸ but a blessed thing it is, and will bring us to everlasting blessedness in the end, 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.

¹ Gen. 26:15.

² Jer. 2:13.

³ Matt. 8:34.

⁴ Heb. 12:16.

⁵ Δεινὸν πανήγυριν παρελθεῖν, καὶ τηνικαῦτα πραγματεῖαν ἐπιζητεῖν. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orationes*, 40:24 (PG 36:392).

⁶ Ἀμήχανον σφόδρα ἀμήχανον. St John Chrysostom in *Epistolam ad Romanos* 14, *Homilia*, 26:4, in ἡθικ (PG 60:642).

⁷ St Augustine, answers to false charges against him, charge 16; in Prosper of Aquitaine, *Pro Augustino Responsiones ad Capitula Objectionum Vincentianarum* (1539; PL 51:86).

⁸ Heb. 10:31.

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

Genesis (50 chapters) <i>page</i> 3	Ezra (10)	583	Hosea (14)	1173
Exodus (40) 67	Nehemiah (13)	597	Joel (3)	1189
Leviticus (27) 123	Esther (10)	617	Amos (9)	1195
Numbers (36) 163	Job (42)	627	Obadiah (1)	1207
Deuteronomy (34) 221	Psalms (150)	677	Jonah (4)	1209
Joshua (24) 271	Proverbs (31)	819	Micah (7)	1213
Judges (21) 303	Ecclesiastes (12)	865	Nahum (3)	1223
Ruth (4) 337	The Song of		Habakkuk (3)	1227
1 Samuel (31) 343	Solomon (8)	877	Zephaniah (3)	1233
2 Samuel (24) 385	Isaiah (66)	885	Haggai (2)	1239
1 Kings (22) 421	Jeremiah (52)	983	Zechariah (14)	1241
2 Kings (25) 461	Lamentations (5)	1073	Malachi (4)	1253
1 Chronicles (29) 501	Ezekiel (48)	1085		
2 Chronicles (36) 537	Daniel (12)	1153		

THE BOOKS CALLED APOCRYPHA

1 Esdras (9) <i>page</i> 1259	Ecclesiasticus (51)	1373	Bel and the Dragon (1)	1471
2 Esdras (16) 1281	Baruch, with the Epistle		The Prayer of	
Tobit (14) 1315	of Jeremiah (6)	1451	Manasses (1)	1473
Judith (16) 1327	The Song of the Three		1 Maccabees (16)	1475
The rest of Esther (7) 1347	Holy Children (1)	1463	2 Maccabees (15)	1517
The Wisdom of	The History of			
Solomon (19) 1353	Susanna (1)	1467		

THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Matthew (28) <i>page</i> 1549	Ephesians (6)	1783	James (5)	1829
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Luke (24) 1615	Colossians (4)	1793	2 Peter (3)	1838
John (21) 1659	1 Thessalonians (5)	1797	1 John (5)	1841
The Acts of the	2 Thessalonians (3)	1801	2 John (1)	1845
Apostles (28) 1691	1 Timothy (6)	1803	3 John (1)	1846
Romans (16) 1733	2 Timothy (4)	1809	Jude (1)	1847
1 Corinthians (16) 1749	Titus (3)	1813	Revelation (22)	1849
2 Corinthians (13) 1765	Philemon (1)	1815		
Galatians (6) 1777	Hebrews (13)	1817		