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## **“Better, as in the Geneva”: The Role of the Geneva Bible in Drafting the King James Version**

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Of the many annotated bibles that Oxford’s Bodleian Library possesses, none may be a more important or fascinating cultural object, particularly concerning readers of the Bible in English, than the volume long catalogued as “Bib. Eng. 1602 b. 1.”<sup>1</sup> Recently rechristened as “Arch. A b. 18,” the volume appears to have first entered the library in 1646, and it represents a heavily annotated copy of the 1602 edition of the so-called Bishops’ Bible, the English Church’s once official translation primarily crafted by a number of prominent bishops under the leadership of Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker (1504–1575) and first published in 1568.<sup>2</sup> The annotations to the Bodleian’s 1602 edition, written in a variety of early modern but still unknown hands, range across almost the entirety of the Old Testament and the Gospels, while the Old Testament Apocrypha (which in the Bishops’ Bible, as was customary, resided between the Old and New Testaments) and the rest of the New Testament following the Gospels remain altogether unannotated.<sup>3</sup> Any English Bible from the period so richly marked would deserve and reward scrutiny. Yet these annotations, both in their copiousness and in their gaps, crucially stand as something beyond a record solely of English reading of the Bible. Rather, they offer a window into the process of English translation of the Bible. Indeed, they bear witness to the process of composing the greatest and most enduring English translation of the Bible in the history of the language: the King James Bible or Authorized Version, first published in 1611.

When the project of composing the King James Bible was first commissioned by the newly ascended James I in 1604, the work of preparing the translation was divided among six teams or “companies” of translators, two companies based in Cambridge, two in Oxford, and two in Westminster. Each company, most comprising seven or eight men, bore responsibility for drafting a separate portion of the translation. The First Westminster

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Company, for example, was assigned to the translation of Genesis through 2 Kings, while the First Cambridge Company took 1 Chronicles to the Song of Solomon, and the First Oxford Company worked on Isaiah through Malachi.<sup>4</sup> Following this company stage of the process, a separate “general” or revisory committee, seemingly consisting of two members from each of the six translation companies, then went on to be convened in London, beginning sometime in 1609 or 1610, for the purposes of reviewing and revising as a whole the various segments of the translation that the companies had produced.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to being initially divided into companies in this way, the King James translators also received an official set of instructions or “rules” further specifying how the new translation was to be undertaken.<sup>6</sup> Richard Bancroft (1544–1610), then bishop of London, has been credited with being the formulator of the rules, though this attribution remains unproven.<sup>7</sup> For his own part, Bancroft referred to the instructions in personal correspondence as “the rules appointed by his Highness,” and the rules likewise present themselves as being the product at the least of consultation with the king, with one rule in particular stressing that “his Maiesty is very careful in this point” of procedure therein commanded.<sup>8</sup> Of these rules given to the translators, the one positioned first in the list may also have been the most significant, for this rule made clear that the translators were not to compose an entirely new translation of their own at all. Instead, they were ordered merely to revise the translation of the Bishops’ Bible, and even then to do so only when necessary. As the rule in question put it, “The ordinary Bible read in the Church commonly calld the Bishops Bible [is] to be followed, & as little Altered as the Truth of the originall will permitt.”<sup>9</sup>

The exact motivation for this rule, while uncertain, was almost surely multifaceted. Some prominent members of the English Church hierarchy appear to have objected to the very idea of supplanting the Bishops’ Bible with a new translation, so ordering the King James translators merely to revise the former “as little” as possible may have been a kind of compromise.<sup>10</sup> It also, though, was likely seen as a way to guard against the fear that some among the Bishops’ Bible’s detractors, particularly puritans, would take the occasion of the new translation not just to correct the Bishops’ Bible’s more obvious infelicities but to rework the text in a manner held by James I and other church officials to be theologically and politically treacherous.<sup>11</sup> Yet whatever the precise rationale for the rule, all the surviving evidence of the translation’s subsequent composition process indicates that the translators took this order to approach their work as a revision to heart, even

as they ultimately came to revise the Bishops' Bible's rendering quite a bit more than the "little" enjoined.

No greater testimony to this fact may exist than the Bodleian's heavily annotated copy of the 1602 edition of the Bishops' Bible, the most recent edition of the text to be published prior to the commencement of work on the King James translation.<sup>12</sup> Across the annotated portions of the volume, one finds a draft of what would become the King James Bible being crafted by way of proposed emendations made directly to the Bishops' Bible's own pages. Forty unbound copies of the 1602 edition of the Bishops' Bible had, in fact, been supplied to the King James translators by the king's printer, Robert Barker (ca. 1568–1646), "not only ensuring they worked from the right text but enabling them, if they wished, to work by annotating it," precisely in the fashion that the Bodleian's annotated copy shows.<sup>13</sup> Sometimes the proposed revisions to the Bishops' Bible recorded in the volume take an almost ingeniously targeted form. For example, when proposing that the Bishops' Bible's description of the serpent in Genesis 3:1 as "subtiller then euery beast of the fielde" should be changed to "more subtil then any beast of the fielde," the scribe entering the revision simply adds the word "more" before "subtiller" interlineally and then draws a canceling line through the terminal "ler" of the latter, rather than rewriting the word "subtil" itself.<sup>14</sup> The same practice extends to those verses rewritten nearly in their entirety, with whatever portions of the Bishops' Bible were to be retained left untouched, even if scarcely more than a single word or two, and the rest of the revised verse filled in from there, often to the brim, in the available surrounding space. In the case of the Bishops' Bible's thoroughly emended translation of Job, for instance, Job 37:6 appears revised as follows (see fig. 1):

<i>Fore</i>	<i>saeth to</i>	<i>be thow on the</i>
6 ^ He <del>commandeth</del> ^ the snow, and it <del>falleth</del> ^		
vpon earth:	<del>hee giueth the raine a charge, and the showres haue their strength and fall downe.</del>	<i>likewise to the small raine &amp; to the great raine of his strength.</i> <sup>15</sup>

The King James Bible as it would go on to be published gives this proposed revision to the verse exactly, with only slight alterations of spelling.<sup>16</sup>

Of all the versions of the Bible that stand behind and were used during the composition of the King James Bible, none, one could argue, thus maintained a more consistent presence or exerted a more consistent pressure on the resulting shape of the translation than did the Bishops' Bible,

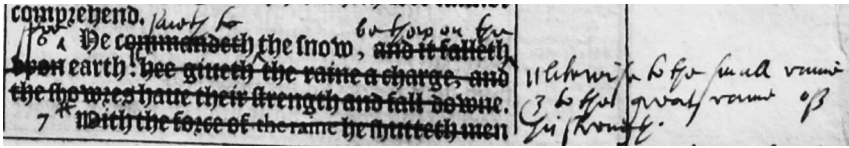


Figure 1.

Bodleian Library, Oxford, pressmark Arch. A b. 18, fol. 190r.

By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

as the Bodleian's annotated copy of the latter in its 1602 edition richly demonstrates. The full extent of this influence over the King James translation on the part of the Bishops' Bible, even for those passages where the one came to depart radically from the other, still merits more detailed consideration than it has often been given, and a comprehensive, modern study of the Bishops' Bible's own prior composition process, which would greatly aid the effort, remains a desideratum. The Bodleian's annotated 1602 Bishops' Bible, however, attests to the special place in the drafting of the King James Bible held by another precursor translation as well: the Geneva Bible, the first full edition of which was published in 1560, only eight years prior to the first published edition of the Bishops' Bible itself.<sup>17</sup> To judge solely by the official rules given to the King James translators, one might expect the Geneva Bible to have played only a peripheral role, at best, in the translators' revision of the Bishops' Bible, with at least some portion of the rules actively discountenancing the Geneva Bible's influence, as we will see. The Bodleian volume, though, not only reflects the King James translators' extensive use of the Geneva Bible as a general matter in practice, it also frequently signals the translators' recourse to the Geneva in the annotations to the volume in a distinctive, even surprising fashion that has yet received only fleeting comment in prior studies of the King James translation. As the remainder of this essay shows, detailed consideration of this crucial aspect of the annotations to the Bodleian volume sheds new light on the vital role played by the Geneva Bible in the King James Bible's composition process, providing a better understanding of that process as a whole and of its fragmentary remains that survive today.

. . .

The part played by the Geneva Bible in the composition of the King James Bible has been a vexed issue from the beginning. Indeed, if accounts of the Hampton Court Conference of January 1604 are to be believed, the very

commissioning of the King James translation appears to have been at least partially prompted, on one side, by a fondness for the Geneva, and on the other by a hatred of it. The eminent Oxford scholar and puritan John Rainolds (1549–1607), who reportedly first raised the idea to James I during the conference’s proceedings “that there might bee a newe *translation* of the *Bible*,” is said to have done so by citing three “corrupt” translations of verses found in the Bishops’ Bible but rendered aright in the Geneva—though even the contemporary record of the event hostile to Rainolds has him tactfully refraining from juxtaposing the Bishops’ Bible’s faults with the Geneva Bible’s merits quite so explicitly. (Allegedly, for instance, Rainolds never expressly noted the alignment with the Geneva of the more accurate translations proposed by him for the passages he flagged.)<sup>18</sup> One theory holds, not altogether convincingly, that Rainolds “probably hoped that his suggestion for a new translation would be dismissed and the much simpler solution be followed, adoption of [the] Geneva as the official Bible of the Church” outright.<sup>19</sup> Whatever the case, James ultimately endorsed the actual idea put forward by Rainolds of commissioning “a newe *translation*.” Yet where Rainolds had called for as much by implicitly gesturing to the Geneva Bible’s strengths, the king, by contrast, supposedly offered a rebuke of the Geneva Bible as grounds for his own support. As the account of the episode approved by the king himself prior to its publication relates, James gave his consent “that some especiall paines should be taken in that behalfe for one vniforme translation (professing that hee could neuer, yet, see a Bible well translated in English; but the worst of all, his Maiestie thought the *Geneua* to bee).”<sup>20</sup>

The official rules for the translation promulgated to all the King James translators similarly seem at once both to spurn the Geneva Bible’s influence and yet also to invite it. On the one hand, the sixth rule famously commanded, “No marginall Notes at all to be affixed, but only for the Explanation of Hebrew or Greeke wordes; which cannot without some circumlocution so breifly & fittly be explained in the Text.”<sup>21</sup> This was an item clearly directed against the possibility of following the precedent of the Geneva Bible, whose controversial marginal notes James was known to despise: at the Hampton Court Conference itself, when discussing plans for the new translation, James had reportedly taken care to stress even then “that no marginall notes should be added, hauing found in them, which are annexed to the *Geneua* translation (which he sawe in a Bible giuen him by an English Lady) some notes very partiall, vntrue, seditious, and sauouring too much, of daungerous, and trayterous conceites.”<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, another of the official rules given to the King James translators made a point of delin-

eating which other English translations were to be “used” or followed “when they agree better with the Text [of a given part of the Bible in its ‘original’ language] than the Bishops Bible” did—“Tindalls,” “Couerdalls,” etc.—and the “Geneva” appears listed last in the roster, thereby explicitly sanctioning, even commanding, its use by the translators.<sup>23</sup>

Even this rule, however, places the Geneva Bible as only one previous translation among several to be consulted during the composition of the King James Bible. Assessing what form the Geneva Bible’s use might actually have taken in practice, not just in terms of how much it was used but the way it was used, remains a complex matter. *That* it was used has never been in doubt. The legions of passages in the King James translation derived from the Geneva, which still await a full mapping, stand as inarguable evidence to that effect, with another indelible testament being that the King James Bible’s own prefatory epistle “To the Reader” quotes from the Geneva Bible instead of its own translation on multiple occasions.<sup>24</sup> All told, the leading modern scholar of the King James Bible has gone so far as to argue that the Geneva Bible, rather than the Bishops’, “was the immediate predecessor that had [the] most influence on the KJB.”<sup>25</sup> Conversely, though, perhaps the single most famous anecdote from the period retrospectively recounting the process that the translators followed, rather than the rules they were merely supposed to follow, appears to leave no clear place for the Geneva Bible to be consistently checked at all. According to the *Table Talk* of John Selden (1584–1654), seventeenth-century England’s greatest scholar but not a participant in the King James Bible’s composition himself, the translators “met together, and one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, &c. If they found any fault they spoke; if not, he read on.”<sup>26</sup> Depending on whether one interprets this as a description of the company phase of the process or of the later revisory committee in London—and both scenarios have found prominent support<sup>27</sup>—“the translation” being read aloud could refer either to an unrevised copy of the Bishops’ Bible (if giving an image of a company’s meeting) or to a draft of the King James translation, likely itself in the form of an annotated Bishops’ Bible (if an account of the later revisory committee). What, though, for the Geneva Bible? Selden’s *Table Talk* seems to paint a picture of the King James translators rigorously checking their or the Bishops’ Bible’s work not against the Geneva but against a plethora of bibles in other languages outside of English, both “learned” (that is, ancient) and modern. Yet even if one assumes the Geneva Bible to have been one of the further translations covered by “&c.,” this still leaves it positioned as little



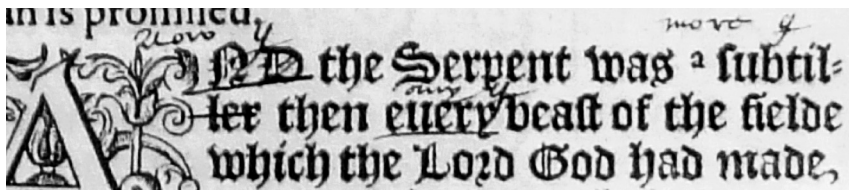


Figure 2.

Bodleian Library, Oxford, pressmark Arch. A b. 18, fol. 1v.

By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

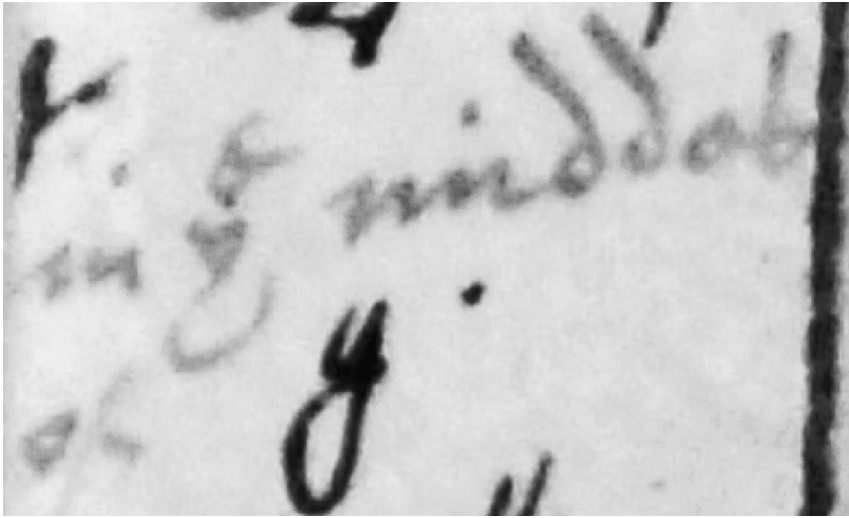
more than an afterthought, peripheral to the heart of the translation process to the point of not even being worth mentioning.

The Bodleian's annotated copy of the 1602 Bishops' Bible tells a different, if still tangled, story. Strikingly, throughout the proposed emendations to the Bishops' Bible's translation of Genesis through Joshua, alterations aligning with the Geneva Bible have been persistently marked by way of a minuscule letter "g" written alongside the revisions.<sup>28</sup> For example, when revising the opening of Genesis 3 in the Bishops' Bible from "And the Serpent was subtiler then euery beast of the felde" to "Now the Serpent was more subtil then any beast of the felde," a minuscule "g" has been placed beside each of the three words added by the scribe ("Now," "more," and "any"), indicating that all three correspond with the Geneva translation (see fig. 2). This is ultimately how it looks in the Bodleian volume, with underlines as well as strikethroughs denoting proposed deletions here:

*Now g* *more g*  
And the Serpent was subtil=  
*any g*  
ler then euery beast of the felde  
which the Lord God had made[.]<sup>29</sup>

Sometimes the "g" appended to a revision seems to have been added at a subsequent point, as evidenced, for instance, by the divergent ink of the annotations. Clear cases of this can be observed in some of the proposed revisions to the Bishops' Bible's translation of Genesis 1. At Genesis 1:6, for example, one finds it suggested that God's pronouncement "Let there be a firmament betweene the waters," as it appears in the Bishops' Bible, might instead be rendered as "Let there be a firmament in the middes of the waters."<sup>30</sup> This aligns, down to the precise spelling of "middles," with the Geneva Bible, and a minuscule "g" has indeed been affixed to the inscribed





*Figure 3.*

*Bodleian Library, Oxford, pressmark Arch. A b. 18, fol. 1r.*

*By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.*

proposal.<sup>31</sup> (The King James Bible would go on to reflect the alteration but give it instead as “in the midst of.”)<sup>32</sup> The ink used to inscribe the “g,” however, manifestly differs from that previously employed for the proposed revision itself (see fig. 3). The hand may differ as well, though it remains hard to say with certainty.<sup>33</sup> Yet in numerous instances in the Bodleian volume where a “g” has been tagged to a proposed revision, both the one and the other appear to have been written by their scribe at one and the same time. The above case of the revisions made to the Bishops’ Bible’s translation of Genesis 3:1 provides one good example among many.

Occasionally, the alignment of a proposed revision with other translations besides the Geneva appears noted in the Bodleian volume. Revising the Bishops’ Bible’s declaration in Genesis 1:16 that God made “a great light to rule the day” so that it reads God made “the greater light to rule the day,” one finds a “g” placed beside the proposed change of “a” to “the,” again indicating alignment with the Geneva translation, but the letters “g t j” have been set against the change of “great” to “greater” (see fig. 4).<sup>34</sup> This shows the scribe recording that the alternative “greater” corresponds not just with the Geneva Bible but with the respective Latin translations of the verse by both Immanuel Tremellius (ca. 1510–1580) and Jerome as well: each of the latter two gives the phrase in question not as “luminare magnum” [great

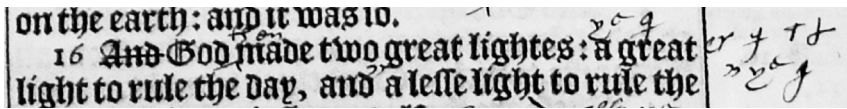


Figure 4.

*Bodleian Library, Oxford, pressmark Arch. A b. 18, fol. 1r.*

*By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.*

light] but as “*luminare maius*” [greater light].<sup>35</sup> Such correspondences with translations beyond the Geneva, however, appear noted with far less regularity in the annotations to the Bodleian volume, even in those cases where a proposed revision similarly aligns not just with the Geneva Bible but with the Vulgate or Tremellius’s translation too. At Exodus 31:9, for instance, the phrase “the altar of whole burnt offering, and all his furniture” has been emended to read, “the altar of burnt offering, with all his furniture.” Once again, a minuscule “g” appears beside the scribal deletion of “whole” and another adjoins the substitution of “with” for “and.”<sup>36</sup> In each case, though, the emendation aligns not just with the Geneva Bible but also with Tremellius’s Latin. Tremellius renders the passage, “*altare holocausti cum omnibus instrumentis ejus*” [the altar of burnt offering with all his instruments] whereas, among other differences, the Vulgate, like the Bishops’ Bible, instead gives “&” in place of Tremellius’s and the Geneva Bible’s “cum” or “with.”<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, here, as often the case in the Bodleian volume, only the correspondence of the proposed revisions with the Geneva Bible receives special scribal notice.

It bears mentioning that in only flagging the alignment of the proposed revisions with the Geneva Bible in that instance, the correspondence with other translations besides Tremellius’s goes unremarked as well. Crucially, for example, Tyndale’s translation of Exodus 31:9 likewise omits the word “whole” (or any equivalent of it) and also gives “with” where the Bishops’ Bible has “and” in the passage in question; in Tyndale’s rendering, that portion of the verse appears as “the altar of burnt offerings with all his vessels.”<sup>38</sup> This, it should be stressed, does not necessarily indicate that the King James translators must therefore have neglected to check Tyndale’s work in that case, and Tyndale of course could have exerted, as he clearly did, a huge influence on the King James translation regardless of the extent to which he might actually have been consulted, not least because of Tyndale’s subterranean presence across the Bishops’ and Geneva Bibles themselves.<sup>39</sup> The annotations to the Bodleian volume do suggest, however, that the Geneva

Bible was certainly not just one of the prior English translations that the King James translators “used” in the process of revising the Bishops’ Bible, as the official rules given to the translators stipulated. Rather, the annotations register a particular concern for the Geneva, often to the point of explicitly denoting its and only its alignment with the revisions being proposed.

This still leaves open, though, the broader question of why such a concern for the Geneva Bible came to be reflected in the Bodleian volume in the precise way that it did. However much the Geneva Bible may have been consulted or drawn upon by the translators, that alone would not necessarily explain the decision to place a minuscule “g” beside proposed revisions aligning with it. Certain possibilities can be excluded. It cannot simply represent “the work of a company translator whose brief was to show where the Geneva differed from the Bishops’ Bible (and who occasionally noted readings from other translators).”<sup>40</sup> There are too many instances where discrepancies between the Bishops’ and Geneva Bibles go entirely unmentioned, even in the midst of others being recorded. To return again to the proposed revisions to the Bishops’ Bible’s translation of Exodus 31:9, the annotations in the Bodleian volume suggest emending “the altar of whole burnt offering, and all his furniture” to “the altar of burnt offering, with all his furniture,” tagging with a “g” the deletion of “whole” and the addition of “with.” Yet the Geneva Bible in fact gives the phrase as “the Altar of burnt offering with all his instruments.”<sup>41</sup> The variance between “instruments” and “furniture,” however, receives no notice.<sup>42</sup> It also cannot be that the frequent marking of proposed revisions aligning with the Geneva in the Bodleian volume stands as the work merely of a fastidious or “curious later scholar,” postdating the completion of the King James translation, who was interested in tracing where the scribal emendations and the Geneva Bible accorded.<sup>43</sup> In many cases, as noted above, the minuscule “g” adjoined to a proposed revision appears to have been inscribed at the same time as the proposed revision itself. Moreover, even in those places where the “g” has clearly been added at a subsequent point, the hand seemingly responsible for the addition can be found making emendations and simultaneously affixing them with a minuscule “g” elsewhere in the course of the Bodleian volume, often elsewhere on the same page.<sup>44</sup>

One possible answer lies in the related question of why proposed revisions according with the Geneva ultimately *stopped* being marked in the Bodleian volume after the conclusion of Joshua.<sup>45</sup> This does not in any sense mean that agreement between the Geneva Bible and the scribal emendations to the Bishops’ thereafter stopped occurring. The aforementioned revisions

made to the Bishops' Bible's rendering of Job 37:6 align almost entirely with the Geneva, even as all of the correspondences in that case go unnoted.<sup>46</sup> Neither does the neglect of continuing to indicate alignment with the Geneva appear to be the result simply of a change having taken place in the scribe or scribes responsible for the annotations. The clearest illustration of this comes where the Book of Joshua ends and the Book of Judges begins, which in the 1602 Bishops' Bible occurs midway down a page. Toward the top of the page, one finds the reference to "Thamnah Serah" in Joshua 24:30, as it appears in the Bishops' Bible, revised to be "Timnath-serah," and a "g" has been subjoined to the revision, indicating that this accords with the version of the name given in the Geneva.<sup>47</sup> With the annotations to Judges that commence below on the same page, no change in hand seems to occur, nor does a change in ink—the latter, had such a change in ink appeared to take place, perhaps having at least served to indicate a skip in time if not scribe between the annotations to the one book and the beginning of those to the other. Almost immediately, one finds the Bishops' Bible's rendering of Judges 1:6, "But Adon-bezek fled, and they followed after him," revised to read, "But Adon-bezek fled, and they pursued after him," a change that aligns with the Geneva Bible's translation of the verse.<sup>48</sup> Yet where just lines before on the page such a correspondence had been expressly flagged, now it gets passed over in silence, as do seemingly all the subsequent emendations to the Bishops' Bible aligning with the Geneva throughout the Bodleian volume. What could have changed, if not the scribe?

The likeliest thing, I would suggest, is the draft or drafts behind the annotations to the volume—the work, that is, being scribally copied. This is a possibility that has never been fully considered in prior studies of the King James Bible's composition process, perhaps largely due to the annotations in the Bodleian volume having been prevailingly figured not as the effort of scribes working on the translators' behalf but rather as directly written by the translators themselves, despite none of the hands present in the volume having ever been traced to a known translator in particular.<sup>49</sup> There has also been a tendency to view the annotations as at least potentially not a transcription of prior work but rather a product of the translators "recording the changes decided on" in revising the Bishops' Bible as those very decisions were made.<sup>50</sup> This matter of the possible "drafts behind drafts" in the making of the King James Bible represents a larger subject than can be sufficiently tackled here.<sup>51</sup> Yet with respect to the references to the Geneva Bible found in the annotations to the Bodleian volume, the assumption that the scribe or scribes must have been at least predominantly working from

prior, now lost drafts of proposed revisions to the Bishops' Bible—rather than, for example, necessarily contemplating proposed revisions in relation to an actual copy of the Geneva Bible open in the moment—would help to explain some of the lingering discontinuities one encounters.

It would, for example, explain why correspondences with the Geneva Bible suddenly stop being noted in the Bodleian volume after Joshua, despite the same scribe or scribes seemingly having been responsible for annotating the subsequent books of the Old Testament as well: perhaps the draft or drafts being transcribed for Genesis through Joshua had noted such correspondences, whereas the drafts for the following books of the Old Testament had not. It would also explain why, even in the course of the annotations to Genesis through Joshua, one finds revisions aligning with the Geneva not being tagged with a minuscule “g,” even amidst others that are, or why one finds certain revisions departing from the Geneva that are nonetheless marked as if they agree with it.<sup>52</sup> Take, for a final time, the proposed emendations to the Bishops' Bible's translation of Exodus 31:9. In full, the verse in the Bishops' Bible reads, “And the altar of whole burnt offering, and all his furniture, and the lauer with his foot.” It has already been noted that the annotations to the Bodleian volume revise the first part of the verse to read, “And the altar of burnt offering with all his furniture,” with both the deletion of “whole” and the change of “and” to “with” having been expressly identified as aligning with the Geneva. The annotations go on, however, to propose that “and the lauer with his foot” should also be changed to read, “and the lauer *and* his foot” (my emphasis). Once again, the change, in this case from “with” to “and,” bears a minuscule “g” set beside it.<sup>53</sup> Yet this does *not* align with the Geneva Bible; the Geneva, like the Bishops', has “and the Lauer with his fote.”<sup>54</sup> Rather than straining to explain why the same scribe, with the Geneva Bible open before him, would have rightly identified two minute revisions to the verse as aligning with the Geneva but then wrongly identified a third, a more natural explanation would be that the scribe in question must not have had the Geneva Bible open before him but was instead making his annotations to the verse predominantly or entirely on the basis of a prior draft. Were that to have been the case, it becomes much easier to explain how the mistaken identification of a proposed revision as aligning with the Geneva could have occurred. Perhaps, for example, the prior draft, in proposing those three revisions to Exodus 31:9, had somehow more summarily indicated that the verse had been revised to accord with the Geneva, leading the scribe to assume that each of the three revisions therefore aligned with it, when in fact only two of the three did.

Likewise, a minuscule “g” would only have been affixed to a proposed revision had its alignment with the Geneva been so identified in some form or fashion in the prior draft itself. Had such an agreement not been registered in the preceding draft, even were the proposed revision indeed in accordance with the Geneva, then it would thus have gone unnoted in the subsequent annotations to the Bodleian volume too.

Admittedly, this explanation might seem to merely substitute one set of uncertainties for another. Why then, for instance, would alignment with the Geneva Bible have stopped being registered after the Book of Joshua in prior drafts of the translation? In at least one crucial way, though, a ready explanation for such discontinuities in preceding drafts exists: different parts of the translation could have been initially drafted by different people, with different processes and priorities and different manners of reflecting those in their work. To some extent, we already know this to have been the case. The proposed revisions for Genesis through 2 Kings were initially drafted by a different set of men, the First Westminster Company, from those who served to do so for the succeeding 1 Chronicles to the Song of Solomon, the latter being initially assigned to the First Cambridge Company.<sup>55</sup> The annotations to the Old Testament in the Bodleian volume must, therefore, derive on some level from more than one prior draft of the text, for the initial drafting of the Old Testament was itself divided among more than one group of translators. Indeed, the fact that no discernible break in hand or ink in the Old Testament annotations occurs in the Bodleian volume in the places where one company’s work ended and another one’s began has long been taken, rightly, as the clearest indication that the Old Testament annotations must postdate the initial company phase of the King James Bible’s translation process.<sup>56</sup>

Had the annotations in the Bodleian volume stopped noting alignment with the Geneva following the end of 2 Kings, at one such point of transition from the work of one company to another’s, the possibility that the disjunction could spring simply from a divergence between the prior drafts prepared by the First Westminster Company and the First Cambridge Company respectively would perhaps have suggested itself from the start. The First Westminster Company, however, took responsibility for the translation of both Joshua, where one still finds correspondences with the Geneva being noted, and Judges, where one does not. It could be, though, that while the same company took responsibility for both books, the same men within the company may not always have set about drafting the revisions to both together. This scenario, to be sure, cuts against the longstand-

ing tendency in modern discussions of the King James Bible to assume that the members of each of the six translation companies always undertook their assigned portion of the work together as a single group. Hints of the need potentially to rethink that assumption have existed for some time. For example, in one of the surviving manuscript lists from the period detailing the translators assigned to each company, the First Westminster Company indeed appears further subdivided into two equal groups of five, one subgroup charged with the Pentateuch and the other with Joshua through 2 Kings.<sup>57</sup> If the first subgroup ultimately came to assume initial responsibility for Joshua as well, that would have made the books apportioned between the two groups equal also: six and six.

The surest sign, though, of the need to reconsider the belief that individual translation companies always worked on drafting their assigned portion of the text together as a whole has only recently come to light, in the form of an early, seemingly first draft of part of the King James revisions to the Bishops' Bible's Apocrypha. The draft survives in manuscript in the archives of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and one of the many things that makes it unique among drafts of the King James translation that have been discovered to date is the fact that it exists in a hand that can be definitively identified as belonging to one of the King James translators themselves: Samuel Ward (1572–1643), who served as one of the members of the Second Cambridge Company, to which the Apocrypha was assigned.<sup>58</sup> The draft, significantly, appears to be written exclusively in Ward's hand, and it covers only 1 Esdras and part of Wisdom, namely, Wisdom 3–4. Combined with other facets of the manuscript discussed more fully elsewhere, all the evidence points to Ward's having been initially at work crafting proposed revisions to the Bishops' Bible's translation of 1 Esdras and later Wisdom 3–4 on an individual basis, rather than the Second Cambridge Company's having undertaken such work together as a group throughout.<sup>59</sup> Ward's draft also stands as unique among extant drafts of the King James Bible in that no prior drafting of the text appears to lie behind it.<sup>60</sup> In other words, Ward's draft, distinctively, appears to represent a first draft on the part of one of the King James translators, and it thus provides an unprecedented window into what the drafts behind the subsequent annotations to the Bodleian's Bishops' Bible could conceivably have resembled.

Seen in this light and for the purposes of this essay, Ward's draft tellingly gives a vivid illustration of exactly how the references to the Geneva Bible in the Bodleian volume could have come to be as they are. To



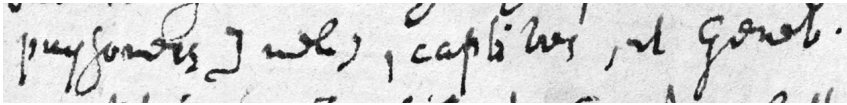


Figure 5.

*Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, MS Ward B, fol. 26r. By permission of the Master and Fellows of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.*

begin, one finds Ward repeatedly not just basing his proposed revisions to the Bishops' Bible on the Geneva, but also taking care explicitly to note his having done so. Sometimes, as in the annotations to the Bodleian volume, this comes down to proposing that a single word from the Bishops' Bible be changed to align with the Geneva. At 1 Esdras 6:16, for instance, the Bishops' Bible's translation declares that Nebuchadnezzar "carried away the people prisoners vnto Babylon." Ward recommends revising the word "prisoners" to read "captives," a proposal that the King James Bible reflects: its version of the verse declares that Nebuchadnezzar "caried away the people captiues vnto Babylon."<sup>61</sup> Ward, however, does not simply record the proposed revision but rather notes as well that the change follows the Geneva (see fig. 5). In full, the line in Ward's draft reads, "prysoners] melius, captives, vt Genev.," that is, "prisoners] *better*, captives, *as in the Geneva*."<sup>62</sup> It is not hard to see how such an entry could ultimately give rise to precisely the sort of emendation that one frequently finds in the Bodleian volume, with the Bishops' Bible's "prisoners" struck through and replaced with "captives," together with a "g" set beside the revision.

Equally important, though, is the fact that Ward does not note all the ways the passage in question departs from the Geneva. Nor is Ward's claim that the proposed alternative "captives" itself aligns with the Geneva exactly right. In reality, the Geneva Bible declares there that Nebuchadnezzar "caryed the people captiue to Babylon," not just omitting the Bishops' Bible's "away" and using "to" instead of "vnto," but giving "captiue" rather than "captives," contra what Ward suggests.<sup>63</sup> The proposed revision in Ward's draft concerning 1 Esdras 6:16 thus serves as a potential microcosm for how some of the most curious aspects of the references to the Geneva Bible in the Bodleian volume could have originated: it shows, in particular, how a subsequent draft of the proposed revisions, one descending in some way or another from Ward's prior effort, could have come to note only some of the many discrepancies between the Bishops' and Geneva Bibles, as

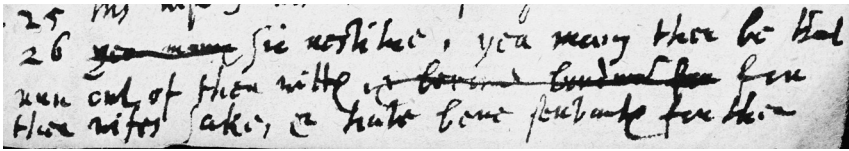


Figure 6.

*Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, MS Ward B, fol. 13r. By permission of the Master and Fellows of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.*

opposed to flagging them all, and how certain revisions not truly aligning with Geneva could yet have been identified by a scribe as though they did.

Similarly, again as in the Bodleian volume, Ward's draft also finds him occasionally proposing a revision aligning with the Geneva but without noting as much. Consider Ward's reworking of the Bishops' Bible's translation of 1 Esdras 4:26. In the Bishops' Bible, the verse declares, "Yea, many there be that run out of their wits, and become bondmen for their wiuues sake." Ward revises the verse as follows: "yea many ther be that run out of their wittes, & become bondmen for for their wifes sake, & have bene servantes for them" (see fig. 6).<sup>64</sup> Here Ward's "& have been servantes for them" follows the Geneva Bible's translation of the verse.<sup>65</sup> Ward, however, declines to note this, such that any subsequent draft of the text descending from Ward's easily might have as well, even if otherwise attempting to retain the draft's own original indications of where the Geneva and a proposed revision agreed.

This does not mean that one should therefore assume that the annotations to the Bodleian volume must have been directly copied from prior drafts resembling Ward's. For one thing, the annotations in the volume at least to the Old Testament, evidently postdating the company phase of the translation process as they do, stand at several removes from the early phase of the company process to which Ward's draft seems to belong. If drafts, that is, resembling Ward's ever existed for portions of the King James Old Testament, then further drafts would still have lain between them and the composition of the Bodleian volume's own annotations. By the same token, it is also perfectly possible that Ward's draft would never have been handed over to a scribe in the first place, whether for the sake of producing a fair copy of the manuscript or for the purposes of turning Ward's proposed revisions into actual emendations made to a Bishops' Bible's pages. Perhaps, for instance, Ward simply brought his draft of 1 Esdras and Wisdom 3–4 to a later meeting of the Second Cambridge Company as a whole, where Ward's

and others' proposed revisions to the Bishops' Bible's Apocrypha came to be debated and only then recorded on pages of a Bishops' Bible (or in some other form initially) as collective decisions were made.

That being said, it is potentially revealing that Ward tends to phrase the Latin notes in his draft that often accompany proposed revisions in the imperative: "dele [needs]," that is, "*delete* 'needs,'" for example, when proposing that the opening of 1 Esdras 4:22 in the Bishops' Bible, "By this also yee must needs knowe," should be changed instead to "By this also yee must know," a deletion that the King James Bible reflects.<sup>66</sup> In fact, perhaps the most frequent of the draft's imperatives explicitly involves the Geneva: "seque Genev." [follow the Geneva], as Ward repeatedly writes.<sup>67</sup> Of course, this habit of setting notes in the imperative could be a mere matter of convention. Yet the fact that it makes Ward's draft ultimately read as a set of instructions for someone to follow in emending the Bishops' Bible may be worth taking more at face value than one might otherwise assume, as perhaps should the fact that Ward does seem to be making something of an effort to keep his handwriting, which could be barbarous, relatively legible.<sup>68</sup> The more important point here, though, goes back to the question of the discontinuities one finds in the annotations to the Bodleian's Bishops' Bible referring to the Geneva. Whether drafts necessarily resembling Ward's came before the annotations, even if at multiple removes, or whether Ward's draft itself was ever utilized by a scribe at a point along the broader translation process, it helps to demonstrate that one need not suppose that the various inconsistencies or anomalies existing in the way the Bodleian volume registers concern for the Geneva must have originated with the composition of the volume's annotations themselves. Rather, the annotations could simply be reproducing discontinuities that were initially introduced in prior drafts of the translation, for Ward's draft gives examples of all the same irregularities creeping into proposed revisions from the first.

One further observation about the place of the Geneva Bible in Ward's draft bears noting in relation to the Bodleian volume's annotations. While Ward's draft invariably takes the form of proposed revisions to the Bishops' Bible, often Ward in practice seems to have crafted his proposals by treating the Geneva Bible, rather than the Bishops', as a base text for a verse and then making additional revisions from there. As a result, there are many instances where what Ward's draft suggests ultimately resembles as much a revised version of the Geneva as it does anything else. Sometimes Ward's draft makes this process of revising the Bishops' Bible by way of revising the Geneva explicit. Take, for example, Ward's proposed rework-

ing of Wisdom 3:6. In the Bishops' Bible, the verse declares of the righteous that, having been tried in the "fornace" by God, "when the time commeth, they shall be looked vpon." Quoting and then bracketing that portion of the verse, as he does with all the parts of the Bishops' Bible that he proposes emending, Ward then writes, "melius, vt Genev." [better, as in the Geneva], where the line in question, there positioned as Wisdom 3:7, reads, "in the time of their vision they shall shine." Ward, though, does not simply propose following the Geneva's "better" version of the passage, but rather suggests taking the latter's translation and tweaking it: "melius, vt Genev.," he writes, but continues, "nisi quod male visi [vysion] pro [visitation]" [better, as in the Geneva, save where it wrongly has "vysion" for "visitation"].<sup>69</sup> The King James Bible ultimately reflects what Ward's draft proposes here exactly, following the Geneva Bible but substituting "visitation" for "vision": "in the time of their visitation," the King James Bible proclaims, "they shall shine."<sup>70</sup> Even where not quite so expressly framing a proposal as a revision of the Geneva, however, many other moments in Ward's draft can be seen as resulting from a similar process. One such case would be Ward's proposed revision to the Bishops' Bible's translation of 1 Esdras 9:18. In the Bishops' Bible, the verse refers to priests "that had mixt themselues with outlandish wiues." The Geneva Bible, by contrast, speaks of priests "which had married strange wiues,"<sup>71</sup> and Ward's draft shows him initially beginning simply to copy out the Geneva's rendering as his own proposed revision. Seemingly in the midst of doing so, however, Ward stops and interjects a further modification into the Geneva translation itself: "which had ~~married strang wifes~~ beyng gathered togyther had married strange wyues," he writes.<sup>72</sup> Though he never explicitly makes note of the fact in this instance, here again one finds Ward emending the Geneva Bible as a way of revising the Bishops'.

The proposed revisions recorded in the Bodleian volume often appear born of the same underlying process. For now, one last example must suffice. In the Bishops' Bible, Psalm 31:4 has the Psalmist calling out to God, "For thou art my strong rocke, and my castle: be thou also my guide, and leade me for thy names sake." The Geneva Bible, however, gives a rather different version of the verse, there numbered Psalm 31:3: "For thou art my rocke and my fortres: therefore for thy Names sake direct me & guide me." Turning to the Bodleian's annotated Bishops' Bible, one finds the passage emended to align with the Geneva almost verbatim, yet with one key modification of the latter: "For thou art my rocke, and my fortress: therefore for thy names sake *lead* me & guide me" (my emphasis).<sup>73</sup> This is the translation

of the verse—this revised version of the Geneva Bible’s rendering in replacement of the Bishops’ (though the alteration “lead” itself preserves a feature of the Bishops’)—that would ultimately be enshrined in the King James Bible as it went on to be published.<sup>74</sup> It may be that John Rainolds, when he first raised to King James the possibility of revising the Bishops’ Bible, simply hoped that the king would allow the Geneva to be adopted in its place as the official version of the English Church. Perhaps, however, what Rainolds had more in mind was precisely what he got, though he himself, who died in 1607, sadly never lived to see it.<sup>75</sup> As both Ward’s draft and the annotations in the Bodleian volume attest, the “*newe translation*” turned out to be a revision not just of the Bishops’ Bible but of the Geneva Bible as well, often taking, to quote Ward, what was “better” in the Geneva and making it better still.



## Notes

I am deeply grateful to Tom Fulton for the invitation to be part of this special issue, and for the sure-handed editorial guidance and support that he provided throughout the work on my essay. I also benefited greatly from the shrewd, generous comments provided by the two anonymous reviewers for *JMEMS*, to whom I am likewise indebted. Throughout this essay, common abbreviations and contractions have been silently expanded. I have also regularized *u/v* in titles of works only. Original orthography has otherwise been preserved as much as possible.

- 1 See Oxford, Bodleian Library (hereafter Bodl.), Arch. A b. 18 (previously Bib. Eng. 1602 b. 1). The volume’s longstanding pressmark is often given in modern scholarship as “Bibl. Eng. 1602 b. 1” rather than “Bib. Eng. 1602 b. 1.” The latter, however, is what appears inscribed inside the volume itself and on the spine of the box in which it now resides for protection. For the volume’s even earlier pressmarks, see Edwin Eliot Wiloughby, *The Making of the King James Bible: A Monograph, with Comparisons from the Bishops’ Bible and the Manuscript Annotations of 1602, with an Original Leaf from the Great “She” Bible of 1611* (Los Angeles: Plantin Press for Dawson’s Book Shop, 1956), 21.
- 2 On the library’s acquisition of the volume, see William Dunn Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, with a Notice of the Earlier Library of the University*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1890), 102, noting that in 1646 the library purchased (for thirteen shillings and fourpence) what was described as “a large Bible wherein is written downe all the Alterations of the last translacion [namely, the King James].” See also Edward Craney Jacobs, “An Old Testament Copytext for the 1611 Bible,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 69, no. 1 (1975): 1–15, at 1. For a brief overview of the Bishops’

- Bible, see David Norton, *The King James Bible: A Short History from Tyndale to Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 22–28.
- 3 On the annotations to the volume overall, see Gordon Campbell, *Bible: The Story of the King James Version, 1611–2011* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 56–60; Norton, *King James Bible*, 95–96, 105–8; David Norton, *A Textual History of the King James Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 20–24, 37–45. For an edition of the annotations specifically made to the Gospels, see Ward S. Allen and Edward C. Jacobs, *The Coming of the King James Gospels: A Collation of the Translators' Work-in-Progress* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1995). Unfortunately, the world still awaits an edition of the Old Testament annotations, but on them see also Jacobs, “Old Testament Copytext,” 1–15; Edward Craney Jacobs, “Two Stages of Old Testament Translation for the King James Bible,” *The Library*, 6th ser., 2, no. 1 (1980): 16–39. Microfilmed images of the Bodleian volume’s pages were made with the pages unbound, rendering visible parts of the marginal annotations now disappearing into the binding. I am very grateful to the staff of Special Collections at the Bodleian Library’s new Weston Library, however, for generously allowing me to consult at length the Bodleian volume itself, as important aspects of the annotations (like the various colors of the ink in which the annotations appear) are themselves occluded by the microfilm.
  - 4 See Campbell, *Bible*, 32–35, 47–55, 276–92; Norton, *King James Bible*, 54–61, 81–86.
  - 5 On the date of the “general” revisory meeting, see especially Norton, *King James Bible*, 92–94. For further insight into the time frame in which the meeting appears to have occurred, however, see Nicholas Hardy, “Revising the King James Apocrypha: John Bois, Isaac Casaubon, and the Case of 1 Esdras,” in *Labourers in the Vineyard of the Lord: Erudition and the Making of the King James Bible*, ed. Mordechai Feingold (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2017). On the membership of the general meeting, see Campbell, *Bible*, 61–62, 292; Norton, *King James Bible*, 100–101; Norton, *Textual History*, 17–19.
  - 6 See Campbell, *Bible*, 35–40; Norton, *King James Bible*, 86–90.
  - 7 See, e.g., Alister McGrath, *In the Beginning: The Story of the King James Bible and How It Changed a Nation, a Language, and a Culture* (New York: Anchor Books, 2002), 173, where the rules given to the translators are titled “Richard Bancroft’s Translation Rules.”
  - 8 See Norton, *Textual History*, 9 n. 9, quoting a letter from Bancroft to the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, John Cowell (1554–1611). When quoting from the “rules” given to the King James translators, I follow the manuscript version preserved in London, British Library (hereafter BL), MS Harley 750, fols. 1v–2r (here quoting fol. 2r). This manuscript appears to represent one of the two oldest versions of the rules known to survive, the other being BL MS Add. 28721, fol. 24r. There is also some chance that the version found in MS Harley 750, together with the accompanying list that precedes it of the translators involved in the project, derives from a copy formerly belonging to one of the King James translators themselves, John Bois (1561–1644): see Norton, *King James Bible*, 54–55 n. 5; and Norton, *Textual History*, 8 n. 8. The edition of the rules often quoted in modern scholarship is from *Records of the English*

*Bible: The Documents Relating to the Translation and Publication of the Bible in English, 1525–1611*, ed. Alfred W. Pollard (London: Oxford University Press, 1911), 53–55; however, as Norton, *King James Bible*, 86 n. 10, notes, none of the extant manuscript versions of the rules and Pollard’s edition “correspond exactly.” For a modernized transcription of the rules as they appear in BL MS Add. 28721, see Norton, *Textual History*, 7–8. Norton, *King James Bible*, 86–90, likewise provides a modernized transcription of the rules based on the same manuscript, though here they are interlaced with Norton’s comments.

- 9 BL MS Harley 750, fol. 1v.
- 10 Richard Bancroft, for example, is reported by William Barlow (d. 1613), then dean of Chester, to have initially spoken up against the suggestion that “a newe translation” be crafted to replace the Bishops’ Bible, warning “that if euery mans humour should be followed, there would be no ende of translating.” Barlow, seconding Bancroft’s thoughts as “well added,” also dismissed the faults of the Bishops’ Bible that had been brandished in favor of a new translation as being “obiectiōns” to the text but “triuiall and old, and alreadie, in print, often answered,” even as Barlow would himself go on to become one of the King James translators. See William Barlow, *The Summe and Substance of the Conference, which, It Pleased His Excellent Maiestie to Have with the Lords, Bishops, and Other of His Clergie . . . in his Maiesties Privy-Chamber, At Hampton Court. Ianuary 14. 1603 [i.e., 1604]* (London, 1604), 46. In light of Barlow’s seeming dismissal of the need to undertake a new translation to replace the Bishops’ Bible, it is perhaps also worth noting that Barlow was the son of the man of the same name who had been one of the Bishops’ Bible’s translators: Bishop of Chichester William Barlow (d. 1568); see Norton, *King James Bible*, 59.
- 11 See further Campbell, *Bible*, 34–35; Norton, *King James Bible*, 84–85.
- 12 The 1602 edition of the Bishops’ Bible appeared as *The Holy Bible, containing the Old Testament and the New* (London, 1602). All subsequent quotations of the Bishops’ Bible are to this version of the text.
- 13 Norton, *King James Bible*, 94.
- 14 Bodl. Arch. A b. 18, fol. 1v. On the annotations to this portion of Genesis, see also Norton, *King James Bible*, 51–53.
- 15 Bodl. Arch. A b. 18, fol. 190r. In this transcription, I have placed the handwritten emendations to the verse in italics.
- 16 All quotations from the King James Bible in this essay follow Gordon Campbell’s quatercentenary edition of the text as it first appeared in 1611: see Gordon Campbell, ed., *The Holy Bible: Quatercentenary Edition . . . of the King James Version, Otherwise Known as the Authorized Version, Published in the Year 1611* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), hereafter referenced as KJB.
- 17 For the first edition of the Geneva Bible, see *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament* (Geneva, 1560), hereafter referenced as GB. For a general overview of the Geneva Bible in relation to the King James translation, see Campbell, *Bible*, 22–28; Norton, *King James Bible*, 18–22. See also John N. King and Aaron T. Pratt, “The Materiality of English Printed Bibles from the Tyndale New Testament to the King James Bible,” in *The King James Bible after 400 Years: Literary, Linguistic, and Cultural Influences*, ed. Hannibal Hamlin and Norman W. Jones



- (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 76–88; Femke Molekamp, “The Geneva and the King James Bibles: Legacies of Reading Practices,” *Bunyan Studies: A Journal of Reformation and Nonconformist Culture* 15 (2011): 11–25; Femke Molekamp, “Genevan Legacies: The Making of the English Bible,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, ed. Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 38–53.
- 18 Barlow, *Summe and Substance*, 45. See also Norton, *King James Bible*, 82–84.
- 19 See Norton, *King James Bible*, 84. See also Norton, *Textual History*, 6. Alister E. McGrath, “The ‘Opening of Windows’: The King James Bible and Late Tudor Translation Theories,” in *The King James Bible and the World It Made*, ed. David Lyle Jeffrey (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2011), 12, adopts the similar but more extreme position that “[t]here was no particular interest in the production of a new translation” on Rainolds’s part at all, claiming, inaccurately, that the official report of the event has James I seeming to be the one who initially “introduced the suggestion” of a new translation being composed.
- 20 Barlow, *Summe and Substance*, 46. On James reviewing Barlow’s *Summe and Substance* prior to its publication, see Norton, *King James Bible*, 83 n. 6.
- 21 BL MS Harley 750, fol. 1v. See also Campbell, *Bible*, 37; Norton, *King James Bible*, 88.
- 22 Barlow, *Summe and Substance*, 46–47. See also Norton, *King James Bible*, 84–85.
- 23 BL MS Harley 750, fol. 2r. See also Norton, *King James Bible*, 86.
- 24 It should be noted that the King James Bible’s prefatory “Translators to the Reader” is known to have been written by Miles Smith (d. 1624), such that it is somewhat misleading to say that “the KJB translators themselves quote from the Geneva, rather than their own translation, in the KJB preface,” since the preface appears to have been primarily, even exclusively, the work of only one of them; see Hannibal Hamlin and Norman W. Jones, “Introduction: The King James Bible and Its Reception History,” in *King James Bible*, ed. Hamlin and Jones, 1–24, at 8. On the use of the Geneva Bible by Smith in the epistle to the reader, see further David Norton, *A History of the English Bible as Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 103–4. On Smith and his work more broadly in relation to the King James translation, see above all Thomas Roebuck, “Miles Smith and the Languages of Scripture,” in *Labourers in the Vineyard*, ed. Feingold, forthcoming. The King James Bible is also significantly indebted to the Geneva Bible on a typographical level, with the one deriving from the other the practice of setting in different type words supplied to a verse’s translation not corresponding to anything in the underlying biblical text itself but rather added by the translators to fill in gaps or render the passage more intelligible (see Norton, *Textual History*, 49 n. 4).
- 25 Norton, *King James Bible*, 19.
- 26 John Selden, *The Table Talk of John Selden*, ed. Samuel Harvey Reynolds (Oxford, 1892), 9.
- 27 Norton, for example, presents the *Table Talk*’s account as a “description of how the companies worked” (*King James Bible*, 94), while Campbell takes it as “evidence for the procedures followed in the general meeting” (*Bible*, 62). Between the two, Campbell’s inference squares more naturally with the passage as a whole: the broader con-

text has Selden reporting, first, “That part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue (as the Apocrypha to Andrew Down[e]s) *and then* they met together” (Selden, *Table Talk*, 9, my emphasis). The jump in time implied by “and then,” particularly when coupled with the ensuing characterization of the translators proceeding to meet “together” following the initial phase of the process where specific parts of the Bible had been assigned to specific people, appears to position everything in the passage after “and then” as offering an account of the general, revisory meeting. My own view, however, is that one should not necessarily take the passage as a completely accurate report of the translation process, regardless of the exact phase or phases of the work theoretically being described.

- 28 For a brief, previous discussion of this feature of the annotations, see Willoughby, *Making of the King James Bible*, 21; Norton, *Textual History*, 24 n. 36; Norton, *King James Bible*, 51. This essay, however, revises a number of the claims advanced in the foregoing. Jacobs, “Old Testament Copytext,” 6–7, addresses a particular instance where a “g” has been tagged to a proposed revision of Num. 15:28.
- 29 Bodl. Arch. A b. 18, fol. 1v. See also Norton, *King James Bible*, 51–53. In this transcription, as previously, handwritten emendations to the verse have been placed in italics.
- 30 Bodl. Arch. A b. 18, fol. 1r. Willoughby, *Making of the King James Bible*, 22, mistranscribes the annotation as suggesting “*middest*” rather than “middles.”
- 31 Cf. GB, Gen. 1:6.
- 32 KJB, Gen. 1:6
- 33 Jacobs, “Old Testament Copytext,” 3, asserts that the evidence “argues strongly for the existence of only one annotator at work” across the annotations to the Old Testament, but he admits that it is ultimately “difficult to determine whether more than one annotator has been employed.” By contrast, Norton, *Textual History*, 22, finds evidence of “occasional changes of hand in the OT” annotations. My own inspection of the volume would tentatively concur with Norton’s assessment, but it remains very difficult to say, and much more concentrated work on the hand or hands behind the annotations would need to be done before any claim could be made with certainty. As for the annotations to the Gospels in the Bodleian volume, these appear to be the work of “three principal scribes”: see Allen and Jacobs, *King James Gospels*, 5–29 (quoting 28). Uniquely, Campbell, *Bible*, 58, contends that the annotations to both the Old Testament and the Gospels “are in the hands of the same three scribes,” but this at least appears to be mistaken.
- 34 Bodl. Arch. A b. 18, fol. 1r. Cf. GB, Gen. 1:16.
- 35 For Tremellius’s translation of the Old Testament, on which he collaborated with Franciscus Junius the elder (1545–1602), I have used the version of the text contained in the first folio edition of the extremely popular and influential Junius-Tremellius-Beza Bible: see Franciscus Junius, ed., *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra . . . Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, breuib[us]que scholiis illustrati ab Immanuele Tremellio & Francisco Junio. Accesserunt libri qui vulgo dicuntur Apocryphi, Latinè redditi, & notis quibusdam aucti à Francisco Junio . . . quibus etiam adjunximus Novi Testamenti libros ex sermone Syro ab eodem Tremellio, & ex Graeco à Theodoro Beza in Latinum versos* (London, 1592–93), pt. 1, 2 (hereafter cited as JTB). For Jerome’s Vulgate, I have used the

revised third edition of the so-called Clementine Vulgate, which stood as the authoritative version of the text at the time of the King James translation; see *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis*, rev. 3rd ed. (Rome, 1598), pt. 1, 1 (hereafter cited as Vulgate). On Tremellius's Old Testament, see further Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580)* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), 145–67. On Tremellius's uncertain year of birth (often presumed to be certain), see Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism*, 2. On the identification of the scribal abbreviations “t” and “j” in the Bodleian volume as referring to the Latin translations of Tremellius and Jerome respectively, see Willoughby, *Making of the King James Bible*, 21; Norton, *Textual History*, 24 n. 36. Admittedly, one might think that the abbreviation “t” could just as easily refer to Tyndale's translation. Tyndale, for example, also gives “greater light” there in Gen. 1:16: see William Tyndale, *Tyndale's Old Testament: Being the Pentateuch of 1530, Joshua to 2 Chronicles of 1537, and Jonah*, ed. David Daniell (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 15. At various other places in the annotations, however, a proposed revision similarly affixed with a “t” fails to accord with Tyndale's rendering. Just four verses following the proposed revision of “great light” to “greater light,” for instance, one finds the suggestion that the Bishops' Bible's translation of part of Gen. 1:20, “Let the waters bring forth moouing creature that hath life,” should instead read, “Let the waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing that hath life,” with the letters “g. t. j.” again adjoined to the proposal (see Bodl. Arch. A b. 18, fol. 1r). Tyndale, however, translates the passage, “let the water bring forth creatures that move and have life” (*Old Testament*, 15). The Geneva Bible, on the other hand, indeed gives, “Let the waters bring forthe in abundance *euerie* creping thing that hath life,” and the Latin of Tremellius and the Vulgate likewise accords much more with the latter than with what the Bishops' Bible presents: cf. GB, 1:20; JTB, pt. 1, 2 (“abundè progignunto aquae reptilia animantia”); Vulgate, pt. 1, 1 (“Producant aquae reptile animae viuentis”), with perhaps the key point in common between Tremellius's translation and the Vulgate's being that each contains a version of the Latin *reptile* (creeping thing or reptile).

36 Bodl. Arch. A b. 18, fol. 32r.

37 JTB, pt. 1, 84. See also GB, Exod. 31:9. Cf. Vulgate, pt. 1, 74.

38 Tyndale, *Old Testament*, 131.

39 For a forceful (albeit often polemical) articulation of Tyndale's presence in the King James Version, see David Daniell, *The Bible in English* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003), e.g., 136: “Since the early eighteenth century, the greatest praise has been heaped on the language of the King James Bible (the ‘Authorised Version’), made in 1611. Yet over four-fifths of the New Testament of that version is simply Tyndale's work of eighty years before.” See also 430: “By those who know little history, the creation of [the] KJV has often been considered miraculous, being among other things the only time a work of genius has been produced by a committee. First on any list of ‘miracles’ associated with [the] KJV is its heavy and often verbatim dependence on Tyndale.” One problem with Daniell's treatment of the King James Bible is the extent to which he tends to give the impression of the translators drawing on Tyndale's work directly, which the evidence suggests was frequently not the case.

40 Norton, *King James Bible*, 51.

- 41 GB, Exod. 31:9.
- 42 See Bodl. Arch. A b. 18, fol. 32r.
- 43 Norton, *Textual History*, 24 n. 36. Willoughby, *Making of the King James Bible*, 21, similarly posits it as the work of “a scholar attempt[ing] to identify some of the sources of the changes” proposed in the Bodleian volume, not, though, after the completion of the King James translation altogether, but rather “soon after the translation had been partially completed” in preparation for the general, revisory committee, thereby “show[ing] the revisers [at the latter committee] the large use of the Geneva Bible that had been made by the translators.” This, however, still leaves the annotations identifying alignment of proposed revisions with the Geneva Bible as all post-dating the proposed revisions themselves recorded in the volume. It also appears to position the references to the Geneva Bible as extrinsic to the work of the actual translators responsible for the proposed revisions; notably, Willoughby distinguishes the work of the “scholar” who added such references to the volume from the work of the “translators” to whose proposed revisions the references were added.
- 44 Compare, for example, the hand and ink used to add a minuscule “g” to the proposed revision of Gen. 1:10 with, on the same page, the hand and ink responsible both for the proposed revision of “in the which is the fruite” to “wherein is the fruit” at Gen. 1:29 and for the minuscule “g” likewise affixed to it (Bodl. Arch. A b. 18, fol. 1r). Similarly, the hand responsible for the “g” added alongside the change of “betweene the waters” to “in the middes of the waters” at Gen. 1:6, discussed above, appears to be the same employed in recording both the aforementioned revision of “subtiller” to “more subtil” at Gen 3:1 and the “g” adjoining it (fol. 1r–v). The question of whether *all* these annotations in fact represent the same hand at work remains open, as discussed above.
- 45 This seeming peculiarity is also noted by Willoughby, *Making of the King James Bible*, 21.
- 46 See GB, Job 37:6: “For he saith to the snow, Be thou vpon the earth: likewise to the smale raine and to the great raine of his power.”
- 47 Bodl. Arch. A b. 18, fol. 87v. Cf. GB, Josh. 24:30: “Timnath-seráh.”
- 48 Bodl. Arch. A b. 18, fol. 87v. Cf. GB, Judg. 1:6: “But Adoni-bézek fled, and they pursued after him.”
- 49 See, e.g., Norton, *Textual History*, 20: “There is one complete 1602 Bishops’ Bible with annotations by the translators, Bodleian Library Bibl. Eng. 1602 b. 1.” See also *Textual History*, 17; Norton, *King James Bible*, 95, 105; Campbell, *Bible*, 56–57. Jacobs, “Old Testament Copytext,” 14–15, posits that certain “errors” in the annotations to the Old Testament “may suggest that the annotator recorded his work into the leaves of this Old Testament from some other working copy or copies” (quoting 15), but the broader implications of this possibility are not pursued further. Also, while Jacobs never expressly refers to the “annotator” as a translator, the impression given is that he was one: Jacobs, for example, refers to the annotator as recording “*his* emended readings” in the Bodleian volume (4, my emphasis).
- 50 Norton, *King James Bible*, 105, and see also 95; Norton, *Textual History*, 20–23; Campbell, *Bible*, 58–60.
- 51 I am currently at work on an essay exploring the subject in more extensive detail,

- entitled “Drafts behind Drafts: Rethinking the King James Bible’s Composition Process.”
- 52 This aspect of the annotations is also noted in Norton, *Textual History*, 24 n. 36.
  - 53 Bodl. Arch. A b. 18, fol. 32r.
  - 54 GB, Exod. 31:9.
  - 55 See Campbell, *Bible*, 48–51, 277–83; Norton, *King James Bible*, 55–57.
  - 56 See Bodl. Arch. A b. 18, fols. 144r, 229v. See also Norton, *King James Bible*, 105–6; Norton, *Textual History*, 22.
  - 57 See BL MS Harley 750, fol. 1r. See also the list of the First Westminster Company’s members given in Norton, *King James Bible*, 54–56, which follows MS Harley 750. Other surviving manuscript lists of the translators, while not reflecting a division in the First Westminster Company in precisely the same way that MS Harley 750 does, yet lend further support to it (see Norton, *Textual History*, 6). On the possible subdivision of work within the First Westminster Company, see also Campbell, *Bible*, 42–43, 56.
  - 58 See Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College (hereafter SSC), MS Ward B, fols. 6v–39r, 51r–49v (the latter portion written retrograde). News of the discovery was first announced in Jeffrey Alan Miller, “Fruit of Good Labours: The Earliest Known Draft of the King James Bible,” *Times Literary Supplement*, October 16, 2015, 14–15. For a much fuller consideration of the draft, however, see Jeffrey Alan Miller, “The Earliest Known Draft of the King James Bible: Samuel Ward’s Draft of 1 Esdras and Wisdom 3–4,” in *Labourers in the Vineyard*, ed. Feingold, forthcoming.
  - 59 This is explained at somewhat greater length in Miller, “Fruit of Good Labours,” 14–15. See further, however, Miller, “Earliest Known Draft,” in *Labourers in the Vineyard*, ed. Feingold, forthcoming.
  - 60 See especially Miller, “Earliest Known Draft,” in *Labourers in the Vineyard*, ed. Feingold, forthcoming.
  - 61 KJB, 1 Esd. 6:16.
  - 62 SSC MS Ward B, fol. 26r (Ward’s brackets).
  - 63 GB, 1 Esd. 6:16.
  - 64 SSC MS Ward B, fol. 13r.
  - 65 Cf. GB, 1 Esd. 4:26: “Yea, many haue runne mad for women, and haue bene seruants for them.”
  - 66 SSC MS Ward B, fol. 13r (Ward’s brackets). Cf. KJB, 1 Esd. 4:22: “By this also you must know.”
  - 67 No fewer than eight such instances of “seque Genev.,” for example, appear on SSC MS Ward B, fol. 13r, alone.
  - 68 The frequent inscrutability of Ward’s handwriting has long been commented upon by those to encounter it. In one of Ward’s extant manuscript notebooks, for example, an early examiner of the manuscript has scrawled, in what looks to be either a seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century hand, that the notebook’s contents appear “scarce legible, and of very little value I believe” (see SSC MS Ward J, fol. 2v, reading from the back). Margo Todd, “The Samuel Ward Papers at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge,” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 8, no. 5 (1985): 582–92, at 584, rightly notes “that Ward’s handwriting steadily disintegrated from the legible

script of his student days, to the somewhat problematic hand of his ‘middle period’ (1610s–1620s), to the nearly illegible hand of the 1630s and 1640s.” Yet even the handwriting found in Ward’s well-known “diary,” the bulk of which comfortably predates his work on the King James translation, seems more difficult to read than what one finds in Ward’s draft of 1 Esdras and Wisdom 3–4, suggesting that the relative legibility of the latter cannot simply be taken as a product of Ward’s youth at the time of its composition. For Ward’s so-called “diary,” see SSC MS 45. M. M. Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries* (Chicago: American Society of Church History, 1933), 103–23, provides a modern edition of some—though crucially far from all—of the diary’s contents.

- 69 SSC MS Ward B, fol. 50v (Ward’s brackets). Cf. GB, Wisd. 3:7: “And in the time of their vision they shal shine.” In the underlying Greek of Wisdom, the word translated here as “vision” by the Geneva Bible and “visitation” by Ward (and, subsequently, the King James Bible) is *ἐπισκοπή*, for which “visitation” is indeed a better, or at least more literal, translation in this context. For the Greek of Wisdom as found in the Septuagint, I have used the edition of the so-called Complutensian Septuagint contained in the Plantin interlinear Bible of 1584: *Biblia Hebraica. Eorundem Latina interpretatio Xantis Pagnini Lucensis, recenter Benedicti Ariae Montani Hispal. & quorundam aliorum collato studio, ab Hebraicam dictionem diligentissimè expensa. Accesserunt & huic editioni libri Graecè scripti, quos ecclesia orthodoxa, Hebraeorum Canonem secuta, inter Apocryphos recenset; cum interlineari interpretatione Latina ex Bibliis Complutensibus petita* (Antwerp, 1584), pt. 5, 26. This appears to have been the primary version of the Septuagint that Ward used in his draft as his base Greek text of Wisdom 3–4 (but not of 1 Esdras), as detailed in Miller, “Earliest Known Draft,” in *Labourers in the Vineyard*, ed. Feingold, forthcoming. It is worth noting that the Plantin interlinear Bible there gives, as its interlinear Latin translation of the Greek “ἐπισκοπή” in the verse, “visitationis.” On the other hand, the Latin translation of the Apocrypha by Franciscus Junius the elder, on which Ward also clearly drew in his work as a translator, gives “visitationis” as well (see JTB, pt. 5, fol. 56r).
- 70 KJB, Wisd. 3:7.
- 71 GB, 1 Esd. 9:18.
- 72 SSC MS Ward B, fol. 36r.
- 73 Bodl. Arch. A b. 18, fol. 196r.
- 74 KJB, Ps. 31:3.
- 75 On Rainolds, see Mordechai Feingold, “Rainolds [Reynolds], John (1549–1607),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

