

Sunday, December 10, 2023—Grace Life School of Theology—*From This Generation For Ever*
Lesson 220 The AV 1611: Examining The Marginal Notes (Apocrypha & Codex Vaticanus)

Introduction

- Just before teaching [Lesson 218](#) on Sunday, November 26, a friend of the class, Alex Hanna, alerted me to the existence of marginalia in the Apocryphal section of the 1611 that explicitly referenced Codex Vaticanus. Please recall that I had originally said that I was not interested in the marginalia found in the Apocrypha and that we would be focusing on the marginal notes appended to the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments exclusively.
- After hearing from Brother Hanna, I decided to read all the marginal notes in the Apocryphal section of the 1611. After doing so, I concluded that one Lesson addressing the marginalia found in the 1611 Apocrypha was in order. All told, we will be covering the following points in this Lesson:
 - Additional Markings: Lettering System
 - Some Copies
 - References to Codex Vaticanus: “Romane Copie”

Additional Markings: Lettering System

- First, there is a different convention regarding the marking of marginalia observable in some portions of the Apocrypha. Thus far we have noted the following three markings in the canonical text.
 - † = literal translations
 - || = alternative English renderings & occasionally textual variants (20 times)
 - * = cross references
- There are multiple places in the Apocrypha exhibiting a lettering system that is unlike anything one encounters in the Old and New Testaments. Consider the following example from I Esdras 9.

21 And of the sonnes of Emmer, Ananias, and Zabdeus, and ^a Eanes, and ^b Sameius, and ^c Hierel, and ^d Azarias.	Or, purification. ^a Harim. ^b Maasiab. ^c Iehiel. ^d Vzziab.
22 And of the sonnes of ^e Phaisur, Ellionas, Hassias, Ismael, and Nathanael, and ^f Ocidelus, and ^g Talsas.	^e Pasbur. ^f Iosabad. ^g Elafab.
23 And of the Levites: Iosabad, and Semis, and ^h Colius who was called ⁱ Calitas, and ^k Patheus, and Judas, and Jonas.	^h Kelaiah. ⁱ Kelitab. ^k Pethabiab.
24 Of the holy Singers: ^l Eleazurus, Bacchurus.	^l Eliahib.
25 Of the Porters: Sallumus, and ^m Tolbanes.	^m Telem.
26 Of them of Israel, of the sonnes of ⁿ Phoros, ^o Hiermas, and ^p Eddias, and Melchias, and ^q Haelus, and Eleazar, and ^r Alibias, and Baanias.	ⁿ Parosh. ^o Ramiab. ^p Iesaiab. ^q Miamin. ^r Malchnab.
27 Of the sonnes of Ela, Matthanasias, Zacharias, and ^s Hierielus, and Hieremoth, and ^t Medias.	^s Iehiel. ^t Abdi.
28 And of the sonnes of ^u Zamoth, ^x Eliadas, ^y Elisimus, ^z Othonias, Jarimoth, and ^a Sabatus, and ^b Sardeus.	^u Zattu. ^x Elioenai. ^y Eliahib. ^z Mattanab.
29 Of the sonnes of Webai, Johannes, and Ananias, and ^c Iosabad, and ^d Amatheis.	^a Sabad. ^b Aziza. ^c Zabbai. ^d Athlai.
30 Of the sonnes of ^e Many, ^f Damus, ^g Damuchus, ^h Jedeus, Jasubus, ⁱ Jafael, and Hieremoth.	^e Bani. ^f Mesullam. ^g Malluch. ^h Adaiab.
31 † And of the sonnes of Addi, Naa	

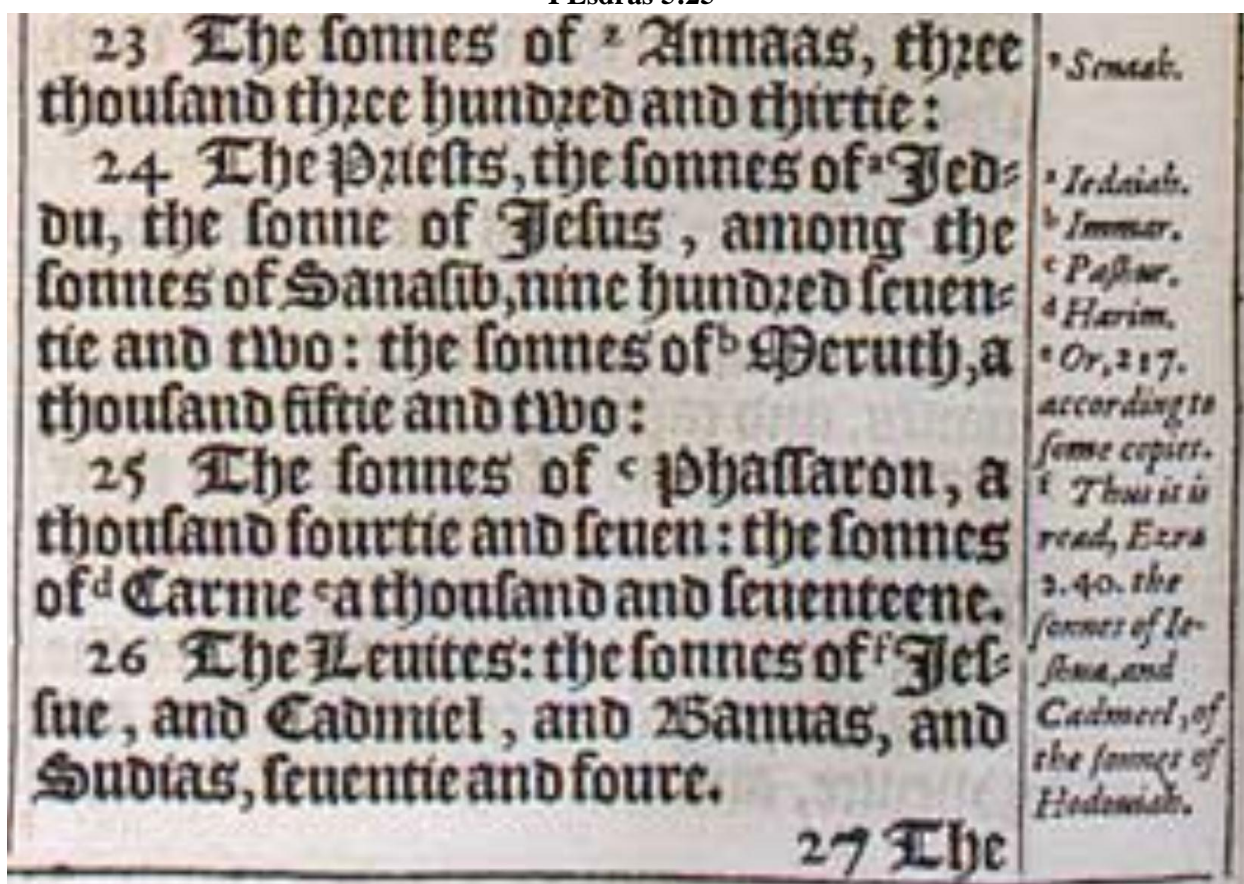
- The letters are clearly tied to proper names in the text. The margin appears to be giving alternative Hebrew spellings for all the names in the body of the text. Another possibility posited

by Hefin Jones, via private correspondence, was that the translators were attempting to align the versions of the names they were familiar with from the Vulgate Apocrypha with what they had in the Greek editions of the LXX, Aldine (1518) and the Sixtine (1587). The modern critical edition of the LXX points out that these lists of names are a mess in the manuscripts. Another option that potentially explains this phenomenon exhibited by the lettering system is correcting (or harmonizing) the non-canonical 1 Esdras with canonical Ezra.

Some Copies

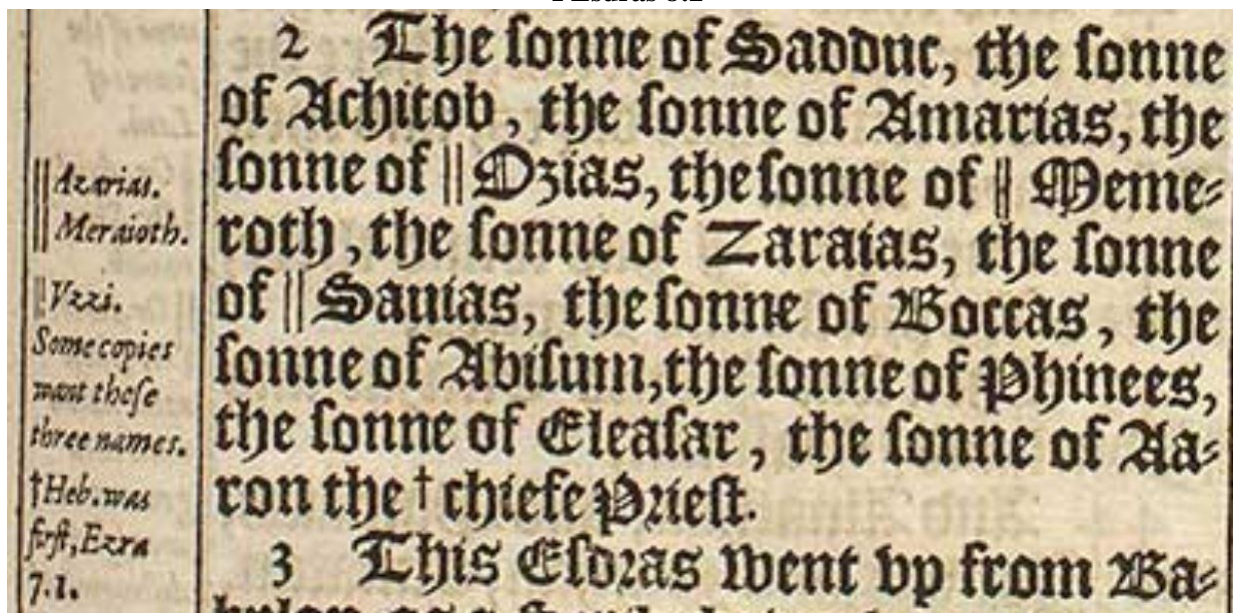
- Second, there are two additional marginal notes dealing with variant readings in extant copies of 1 Esdras. Once again, these notes use the construct “some copies” like we observed when looking at similar notes in the canonical text in Lessons 215-217.

I Esdras 5:25



- I Esdras 5:25—^e a thousand and seventeen: ^e Or, 217. According to some copies.
 - In addition to possessing the phrase “some copies,” this note also serves as an additional example of the lettering system noted above.

I Esdras 8:2

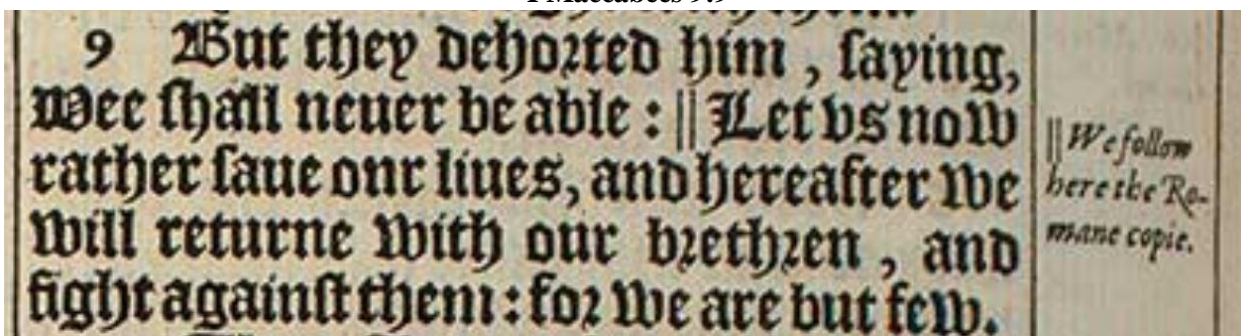


- I Esdras 8:2—|| Sauias: || Vzzi. Some copies want these three names.
- It is interesting to note that the translators use a similar marking system to identify possible variant readings in the Apocrypha as they did the canonical text.

References to Codex Vaticanus: “Romane Copie”

- Thirdly, and most importantly, there are marginal notes in the Apocrypha that explicitly reference the famous Codex Vaticanus with the statement “Romane Copie” in the margin. Consider the following examples.

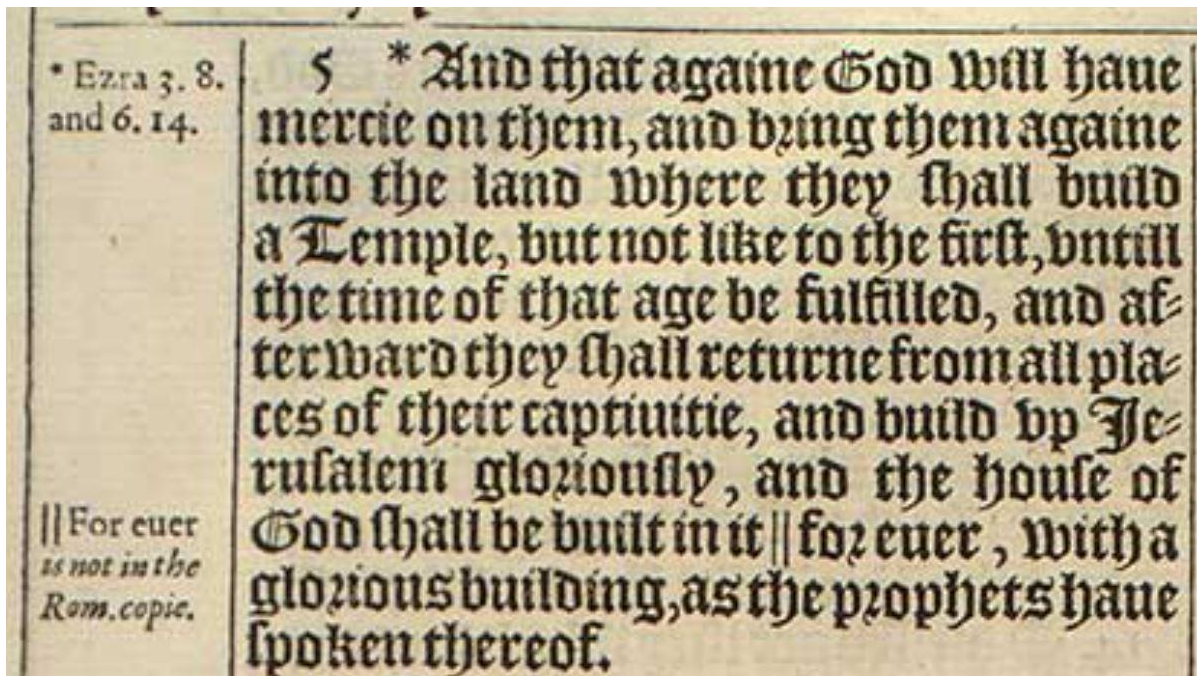
I Maccabees 9:9



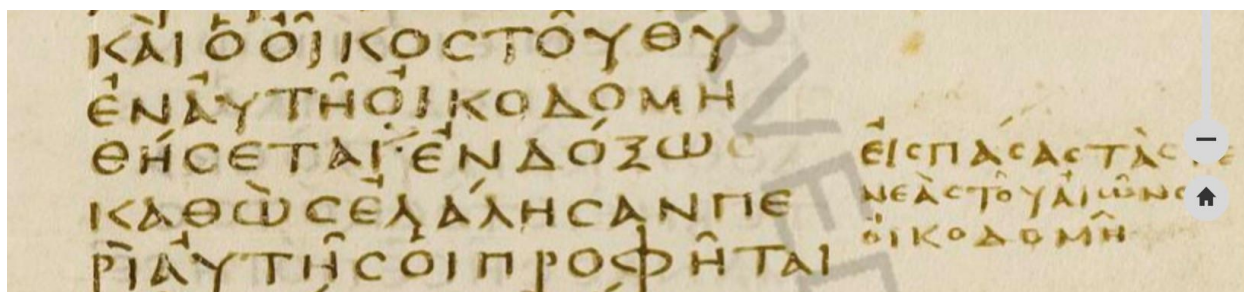
- I Maccabees 9:9—|| Let us now rather save our lives: || We follow the Romane Copie.
 - In this case the “Romane Copie” being referred to here is the [Sixtine Septuagint](#) printed in 1587. This is not a reference to Codex Vaticanus on account of the fact that the famous Codex lacks the books of I and II Maccabees. At this time, it is unclear which source text the Roman Septuagint of 1587 used for the books of the Maccabees but it was

certainly not Codex Vaticanus. A couple options that would have been extant in the late 16th and early 17 centuries would have been the Adeline Bible of 1518 and the Complutensian Polyglot LXX of 1520/1522.

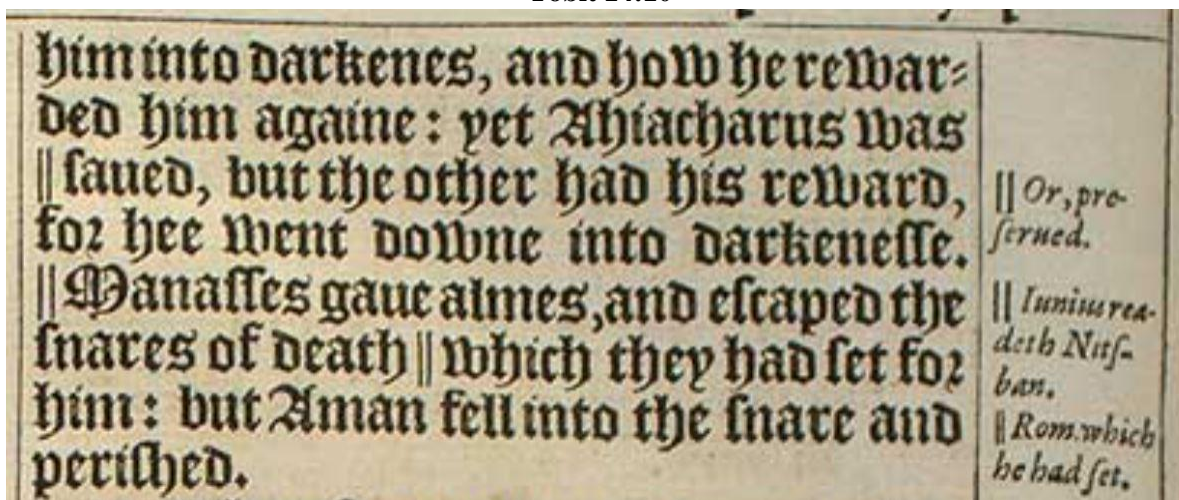
Tobit 14:5



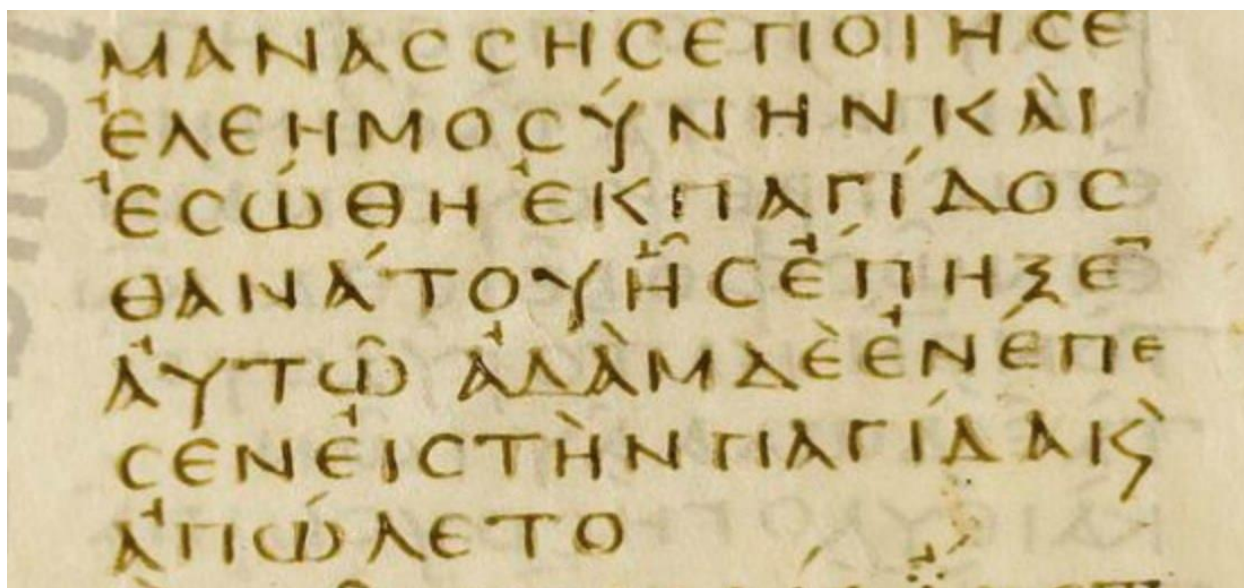
- Tobit 14:5—|| for ever: || For ever is not in the Rom. copie.
 - For the variant at Tobit 14:5, Vaticanus itself has what is in the AV's margin in its main text i.e., it is lacking the words "for ever." Meanwhile what is in the AV's text i.e., the inclusion of the words "for ever" is in the margin of Vaticanus as a scribal note. (Jones, NT Textual Criticism Facebook Group, 11/22/23) Please consider the following screenshot from Codex Vaticanus of Tobit 14:5.



Tobit 14:10



- Tobit 14:10--|| which they had set: || Rom. which he had set.
 - In the case of Tobit 14:10 the marginal note in the 1611 reflects the reading found in Codex Vaticanus at this verse.



- Access to these readings from Vaticanus was granted to the King James translators via the Sixtine Septuagint of 1587. This is not the first time that we have noted a connection between the Apocryphal section of the 1611 and Codex Vaticanus. The subject was mentioned in Appendix A to [Lesson 165](#) and then discussed more fully in the notes for [Lesson 181](#). The following points are reproduced from Lesson 181.
 - “The refence to the Septuagint or LXX in Bois’ notes is interesting to consider. Scholar Nicholas Hardy has uncovered a copy of the Septuagint annotated in Bois’ own handwriting. Jeffrey Alan Miller’s essay “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 of the Lord: Scholarship and the Making of the King James Version of the Bible* touches upon this in two different places.

- “Most famously, two manuscript copies have been discovered of the notes taken at the general, revisory meeting in London by John Bois, one of Ward’s colleagues from the Second Cambridge Company. The notes span Romans to Revelation, and they provide invaluable insight into the kinds of discussions that went on at the general meeting and the rationale for some of the changes to the translation made there. They do not, though, represent a draft of the King James Bible, but rather Bois’s personal record of part of the general meeting’s proceeding. Furthermore, unfortunately, both extant versions of the notes stand only as a copy (at one, in fact, being a copy of a copy, and neither perhaps the full one) of Bois’s original notes themselves, which surely would have been in Bois’s own hand and which have never been found. The notes also, of course belong to an even later stage of the Bible’s composition process, the general meeting, than at least two of the drafts already discussed: namely, the Bodleian’s annotated Gospels and the Lambeth Palace draft of the New Testament Epistles.

The last item that bears noting here has only recently been identified, and it likewise goes back to Bois, in this case even more directly. Once more in the Bodleian, there exists a heavily annotated copy of the 1587 Roman Septuagint, a landmark edition of the Greek text, and thanks to the work of Nicholas Hardy we now know this to have been Bois’s own copy, with the annotations being in Bois’s own hand. Moreover, it appears to have been used by Bois during his work as a translator both with the Second Cambridge Company and as a later member of the general, revisionary meeting. Bois’s Septuagint represents a treasure trove for scholars not just of the King James Bible but of early modern theological and intellectual history as a whole. Again, however, it does not stand as a draft itself of the King James translation, but rather as something—even the most important thing—that Bois used in the process of his work as a translator on the various portions of the text with which he was involved.” (Miller, 221-222)

- “To begin with, given the recent identification of John Bois’s aforementioned copy of the 1587 Roman Septuagint, heavily annotated in Bois’s hand and seemingly used by him in working on the King James translation, one might have expected this to have been the version of the Septuagint from which Ward himself worked in translating 1 Esdras and Wisdom. The 1587 Rome edition was the first—and, through the time of the King James Bible, the only—edition of the Septuagint to be based upon the manuscript known as Codex Vaticanus. In the years when Bois and Ward would have been working as translators and for decades thereafter, many considered Codex Vaticanus to be the best manuscript witness known to survive of the Septuagint’s original Greek and this accordingly gave the Rome edition of the text a strong claim to being the most authoritative edition of the Septuagint available. It would be, for example, the version of the Septuagint printed in the London Polyglot Bible of 1653-1657. At least with

respect to 1 Esdras, however, Ward appears not to have used the Rome Septuagint as his primary Greek text.” (Miller, 230)

- The references to Codex Vaticanus (B) are interesting to say the least. It is important to note that all the printed editions of the LXX are based upon Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus or some combination thereof. Furthermore, it was only the Old Testament and Apocryphal sections of Codex Vaticanus that could be found within this Rome edition from 1587. Put another way, the New Testament section of the controversial Roman Codex was not in print until the 19th century. This does not mean, however, that Protestant Scholars of the late 16th and early 17th centuries were wholly unaware of the Codex’s controversial New Testament readings. In the 1520s and 30s, via correspondence with his friends Bombasius and Sepulveda, Erasmus had been made aware of some important textual variants (I John 5:7 & 365 other readings) found within Codex Vaticanus. Erasmus viewed the Codex as part of a Medieval move (Council of Florence 1431-1499) to conform Greek MSS to the Latin Vulgate. (Epp, 61-62) Consequently, most of the variant New Testament readings found in B were left out of the printed editions of Textus Receptus.” (Ross, Lesson 181)

Conclusion

- In addition to these prior statements, we can now add proof from the marginalia of the 1611 that Codex Vaticanus directly impacted the work of the King James translators who labored on the Apocrypha via the Sixtine Septuagint of 1587. The Sixtine Septuagint published the Old Testament including the Apocryphal books found in Codex Vaticanus (With the exception of I & II Maccabees. See discussion above for more information.). These marginalia in the 1611 add an interesting wrinkle to the pro-King James side of the debate regarding text and translation. Erasmus lived with Paolo Bombasius in Bologna, Italy, a “professor of Greek at the University there,” for the better part of a year. (Geanakoplos, 111) Geanakoplos reports the following regarding Erasmus stay in Bologna:
 - “During a thirteen months' stay with Bombasio, Erasmus had the opportunity to meet a number of scholars and presumably to pursue the study of Greek, perhaps through attending some of Bombasio's lectures, certainly through engaging in informal discussions with his host.” (Geanakoplos, 111)
- Nothing documents Erasmus inspecting Vaticanus during that time, but the possibility of a trip to Rome with Bombasius to inspect manuscripts and network with other scholars cannot be entirely ruled out. Later Bombasius moved to Rome where he was employed as a curator at the Vatican Library. This would have afforded Erasmus a point of contact at the Vatican Library through whom he could conduct correspondence. There is extant correspondence between Erasmus and Bombasius as well as Erasmus and Sepulveda as the former prepared and edited his Greek text, which discuss more than 300 textual variants found in Vaticanus. (Epp, 61-62) In the end, none of the Vaticanus readings made it into the Erasmus Greek New Testament or the King James Bible. Therefore, the implication is that Erasmus regarded them as corruptions and rejected them. But how did Erasmus even know to ask about them if he was not aware that Codex Vaticanus existed? The modern text critical community acts as if none of this background exists, they just keep saying “that if Erasmus and the King James translators had the manuscripts we have today, they would agree with us and practice reasoned eclecticism.” An argument could be made that

Erasmus knew of many of the principal New Testament variants found in Vaticanus. Admittedly Erasmus did not have Sinaiticus, but the real value of Sinaiticus is where it corroborates readings in Vaticanus. In the end, modern text critics have created a text that sides with Vaticanus 90% of the time. So, the methodologies of modern reasoned eclecticism are really nothing more than narrative to support an agenda, not reality.

- But regardless, the two notes in Tobit 14 make it clear the KJV translators were aware of variant readings in Vaticanus. That no Vaticanus influenced readings appear in the Old or New Testaments of the King James Bible can be taken as an indication that the translators, like Erasmus, considered Codex Vaticanus to be corrupt. Why then would the translators consider Codex B when working on the Apocrypha? First, they knew they were not dealing with an inspired text having God's promise of preservation upon it (so naturalistic methods were appropriate), they literally stamped the top of every page with the heading Apocrypha. Second, it was all they had at their disposal along with some other unknown resources to complete their task of translating the Apocrypha.

Works Cited

Epp, Eldon, Jay. "Codes Sinaiticus: Its Entrance Into The Mid-Nineteen Century Text-Critical Environment and Its Impact on the New Testament Text" in *Codex Sinaiticus: New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript*. The British Library & Hendrickson Publishers, 2015.

Geanakoplos, Deno J. [*Erasmus and the Aldine Academy of Venice A Neglected Chapter in the Transmission of Graeco-Byzantine Learning to the West*](#). This paper was read in Washington, December, 1958, at the annual dinner meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America.

Jones, Hefin. Post in NT Textual Criticism Facebook Group, 11/22/23.

Miller, Jeffery Alan. "The Earliest Known Draft of the King James Bible: Samuel Ward's Draft of 1 Esdras". in *Labourers In the Vineyard of the Lord: Scholarship and the Making of the King James Version of the Bible*. Leiden|Boston: Brill, 2018.

Ross, Byran. *From This Generation For Ever*. [Lesson 181 Pre-1611 Evidence for the Text: The General Meeting & The Notes of John Bois, Part 3](#). Sunday, October 2, 2022.