

Sunday, April 21, 2024—Grace Life School of Theology—*From This Generation For Ever*  
 Lesson 233 Assessing the Printed History of the King James Text (1612-1617, Part 2)

### **Introduction**

- In [Lesson 232](#) we continued our assessment of the printed history of the King James text by looking at the activity of the King’s Printer Robert Barker between 1612 and 1617. Please recall that we were using Professor David Norton’s 2005 publication *A Textual History of the King James Bible* to frame this discussion. In doing so we considered the following editions:
  - Quarto & Octavo Editions
    - Black Letter & Roman Type
  - 1613 Folio Edition
    - Small Folio Black Letter Type
- The current Lesson will conclude our look at the King’s Printer during this period by focusing on the following printings:
  - 1616 Small Folio, Roman Type
  - 1617 Folio
- We will conclude by looking at some summative statements regarding the state of the King James text in 1617.

### **The King’s Printer At Work, 1612 to 1617**

#### *1616 Small Folio, Roman Type*

- The next printing chronicled by Professor Norton in Chapter 4 of *A Textual History Of The King James Bible* is the 1616 small folio in roman type. This is like the 1613 small folio that we discussed in Lesson 232 but in a different type face, roman instead of black letter.
- Norton states the following regarding this edition:
  - “The 1616 folio is set from the first edition and contains only a sprinkling of second-edition readings. It has some new work, supplying twenty readings that have become standard, together with eleven spellings of names and four other matters of spelling, but not enough to justify Scrivener’s judgement that this ‘appears to be the first edition . . . which was submitted to any considerable revision’. Some of these readings do appear to be scholarly corrections involving errors that are difficult to spot; others are simplifications of difficulties that perhaps should not be called scholarly.” (Norton, 78)

- Footnote 15 identifies the twenty readings from the 1616 small folio that “became standard” as well as spelling issues noted by Norton.
  - “Scrivener, p. 17. The readings are at Lev. 25:23; 26:40; Deut. 16:5; Josh. 7:14; 1 Kgs 13:11; 2 Chr. 26:18; 32:5; Ezra 4:24; Job 39:30; Song 5:12; Jer. 49:1; Ezek. 23:23; 2 Esdras 16:52; Matt. 16:19; Luke 23:19; 1 Cor. 4:9; 15:6; Eph. 4:24; 6:24; 2 Tim. 4:13; spellings of names: 1 Chr. 3:2; 15:18; 2 Chr. 11:20; 2 Esdras 1:40; 10:47; 1 Macc. 11:6; 15:23; Matt. 20:29; Mark 14:32; Rom. 16:10; Rev. 7:5; spellings: Ps. 143:9; Prov. 20:14; Amos 1:1; Acts 4:17.

Scrivener (p. 18) gives a list of 1616 corrections that were overlooked in the 1617 folio. Most of them originate not in 1616 but in the second edition or the 1612 quartos.” (Norton, 78)
- According to Norton, there appear to be some corrections in this edition that stem from scholarly knowledge of the original languages.
  - “Some knowledge either of the originals or of older translations is brought to bear. At Lev. 26:40 the first edition has an omission: ‘if they shall confesse the iniquitie of their fathers’ should be ‘if they shall confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers’. Now, the omission is not obvious, so its correction probably reflects genuine knowledge: either information was supplied to the printer of this folio or there was scholarly work in house (reference to the translators’ manuscript seems unlikely since Bod 1602 has ‘iniquities of their fathers’). This correction could have been made from knowledge of the older English versions, as could correction of a similar hidden omission at 2 Tim. 4:13, where the printer of the first edition seems to have been misled by the first part of the verse: ‘the cloke that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou commest, bring *with thee*, but especially the parchments’; 1616 restores the earlier versions’ ‘and the books’ after ‘bring with thee’. Some of the other readings clearly show recourse to them where the first edition appears difficult, as in the correction of ‘prepared’ to ‘repaired’ at 2 Chr. 32:5, or the substitution of the older ‘appointed to death’ for ‘approued to death’ (1 Cor. 4:9).” (Norton, 79)
- Some of readings found in the 1616 folio were picked up on by later editions and became the standard reading, according to Norton.
  - “So the 1616 folio has a mixture of simplification and scholarship, which, on balance, seems to come from knowledge of the older translations. The revisions may result from notes supplied to the printer, and it is worth noting that many of them were not immediately picked up by other editions. Its readings were consulted by the makers of the Cambridge 1629 edition, and many became current from that edition.” (Norton, 79)

### 1617 Folio

- Professor Norton begins his discussion of this 3<sup>rd</sup> large folio edition by noting some of its idiosyncratic readings.
  - “This, the third large folio edition, supplies six surviving readings (and an amusing misprint in a header, ‘Bell and the Dragon’). A printer’s blunder is corrected at Ps. 69:32 (‘seeke good’ becomes ‘seek God’), and what may also be a printer’s error, ‘the seale’ (2 Tim. 2:19), is changed to the reading of the previous translations, ‘this seal’. Three of the ‘corrections’ involve readings where the first edition is perhaps difficult but certainly, as the corrections in Bod 1602 show, deliberate. The translators struck through the Bishops’ Bible’s ‘ye’ at Mal. 4:2, producing ‘and shall goe foorth’; 1617 smoothes the English back to ‘and ye shall go forth’. Similarly making things easier, it changes ‘of this side Iordan’ to ‘on this side Iordan’ (Deut. 4:49), though the translators had deliberately used ‘of’, perhaps because of the absence of the preposition in the Hebrew. Thirdly, it slips an article into the Bishops’ Bible text where the translators chose to retain ‘and villages’ giving ‘and the villages’ (Josh. 13:23). The last of the six readings is ‘flee’ for ‘flie’ (Prov. 28:17), a spelling variation.” (Norton, 79-80)
- Collation with first and second folio editions reveals that the text of the 1617 folio was a mixture of the two.
  - “Though the 1617 folio has minimal original editorial work, it may be important in a different way. It shows that, after six years, the text had reached a thoroughly mixed state where variations between the first and second editions are concerned. But this mixing is probably not random; rather, it suggests a degree of collation between the first and second editions that produced quite a few deliberately chosen readings. If the choices were made by a representative of the translators, or, better still, with reference to the original manuscript, they would have a real authority. However, there is no way of showing that either of these possibilities happened.

Appendix 5 gives a selective collation of this edition’s readings with the first and second editions. It is constructed on the same principles as appendix 4, with the addition of instances where the 1617 folio follows readings found in some but not all copies of the second edition. A general scan of the list shows a much more even mix of first and second edition readings than was found in the 1613 folio. Nowhere is there a consistent stretch of readings from one or other of the first two editions as there was in 1613.” (Norton, 80)

The following are images of Norton's 5<sup>th</sup> Appendix titled, "Selective collation of the 1617 folio (H353) with the first and second editions."

<b>Genesis</b>		21:9 m.	ioh.
10:16	Amorite	27:13 m.	14
16:6	And Abram	34:2	this <i>is</i> the land
26:20	heardman	34:11	goe downe
26:34	Bashemath		
27:39	the fatnesse	<b>Deuteronomy</b>	
28:12	vp on	1:18	all things
28:13	aboue	8:7	valleys
29:3	his place	9:10	spake vnto you
31:30	longest	11:6 m.	106
33:2	their children	12:26	thy holy things
35:28	hundreth	14:29	widowe
36:10	Bashemath	16:14	thy maid seruant
46:17	Ishui	17:4	it <i>is</i> true
46:34	an abomination	32:6	bought thee
47:27	possessions	32:15	Thou art waxed
		33:29	the LORD
<b>Exodus</b>		34:1	plaines
9:13	me		
11:8	all these	<b>Joshua</b>	
14:2	Pi-hahiroh	2:4	woman
19:4	Eagles wings	5:8	they abode
21:26	let them go	8:32	the stones
21:27	let them go	18:22	Betharabah
22:6	he that kindleth	19:5	Hasar
36:29 m.	<i>twined</i>	19:16	their cities
<b>Leviticus</b>		<b>Judges</b>	
1:6	slay	8:10	Zebah
1:16 m.	<i>thereof</i>	20:7	giue here
5:13	attonement		
18:30	shal ye	<b>Ruth</b>	
25:28	vntill the yeere	3:8 m.	<i>tooke holde on</i>
<b>Numbers</b>		<b>1 Samuel</b>	
1:47	tribes	20:13	Then LORD
10:2	thou shalt		
10:14 m.	2nd ref. placed at v. 21	<b>2 Samuel</b>	
16:34	sayd	18:31	all them that rose
		23:20	a valiant man of Kabzeel

<b>1 Kings</b>		9:2	hath been chiefe
3:20	arose	9:3	pluckt off
4:23		<b>Nehemiah</b>	
	follow	8:10	vnto the LORD
9:22	bondmen	9:38	Priestes
11:1	Sidonians	10:1	these that sealed
20:3	thy goodliest	<b>Esther</b>	
21:2	mine house	1:13	King maner
<b>2 Kings</b>		9:6, 11	Shushan
5:12	turned	<b>Job</b>	
12:13	were	9:9 m.	<i>Cesil</i>
17:6		11:16	<i>thy</i> misery
17:34	Commaundements	13:28	consumeth as
18:1 m.	1. 9.	19:15	maidens
<b>1 Chronicles</b>		30:7	prayed
1:5		35–6 header	cause
1:47, 48		37:6 m.	147.
2:13 m.	16. 6.	<b>Psalms</b>	
2:55 m.	Correctly placed	27:14 m.	heb.
4:30	and at Hormah	44:23	O Lord
7:13		74:23	arise vp
7:36		80:9	preparedst
7:38		84:11	LORD, God
9:12		87:4	man <i>was</i>
21 s.	Gibeon	106:1 m.	107.
26:5		<b>Proverbs</b>	
27:33		3:9 m.	luke 14. 13.
<b>2 Chronicles</b>		8:27 m.	<i>a circle</i>
6:5	my people	11:20	to the LORD
	Israel	16:5	unpunished
9:15	golden went	18:24 <sup>1</sup>	
16:1 <i>fn.</i>	Iudah	23:31	vpon the wine
29:34		<b>Ecclesiastes</b>	
30:6	the Princes	1:17	the spirit
32:20	Amos	<b>Song of Solomon</b>	
34:21	for them that are left	6:11	whether
35:15 m.	9.	<b>Isaiah</b>	
35:15 m.	26.	1:9	Gomorrah
36:11 m.	37.	2:4	there speares
<b>Ezra</b>		9:18	smoke
2:28	two hundred		
	and twenty		
2:33	Hadid		

<sup>1</sup> 1st edn: 'must'; 2nd edn, some copies: 'but'; 1617: 'will'.

10:15	<i>as if it were</i>	36:10	the waste
10:19	†few, that a child may write	37:4	vnto
13:1		39:9 m.	<i>for them</i>
14:12 m.	Amos <i>a</i>	42:12	directly
19:5	the riuers	43:20	and one the
21 s.	scorning the Prophet	44:29	the trespasse offering
34 header		46:4	Sabbath
42:1 m.	3. 17.	<b>Daniel</b>	
49:1	from afarre	2:34	in pieces
49:20	strait	11:6	shee shall be giuen vp
57:10	wearied	11:10	sonnes
59:8	know	<b>Hosea</b>	
60:4	from farre	14:3	Ashur
61:10	and as a bride	<b>Joel</b>	
65:2	mine hands	2:11 m.	and
<b>Jeremiah</b>		<b>Amos</b>	
5:15	vpon you	6:7	that goe captiue
8:14	water of gall	<b>Obadiah</b>	
12:7	hands	7	the confederacie
25:15	my hand	<b>Micah</b>	
26:20	Kiriah-	1:5	for the sins
35:11	Ierusalem,	<b>Nahum</b>	
40:12	out of all places	1:10	while they bee drunken
48:34	Elealeh	<b>Habakkuk</b>	
<b>Lamentations</b>		2:15	that putttest
4:6	hand	<b>Zephaniah</b>	
5:7 m.	18. 2.	3:14 m.	54. 1.
<b>Ezekiel</b>		<b>Zechariah</b>	
1:2	Iehoiakims	3:7 m.	<i>walke</i>
5:5	This is Ierusalem	10:3	his goodly
16:16	And of thy garments	<b>1 Esdras</b>	
16:19	floore	1:23	his Lord
16:59	hast despised	1:29	king Iosias
24:4	pices	2:16 m.	<i>Shimshai</i>
24:4	peace	5:5 m.	<i>Iudah</i>
25:2 m.	49.	5:9 m.	<i>particulers</i>
27:10	thy men of warre	5:16 m.	<i>Bezai</i>
29:18, 19	Nebuchad-rezzar	5:26	Banuas
31:4	the field	6:23	Ecbatane
31:13	branches.	8:54 m.	<i>Serebias</i>
31:18	with the sword	8:69	to wit
35:10	mine	9:33 m.	<i>Matithiah</i>

<b>2 Esdras</b>					
2:33			at naught		
4:3		Lord: and			
7:40		Sannacherib			
14:12			a tenth		
<b>Tobit</b>					
5:18 m.		<i>Let not</i>			
11:14			thy holy		
<b>Judith</b>					
16:4			stoppeth		
<b>Wisdom</b>					
2:17 m.		27.			
13:12			after, spending		
18:11 m.		12:29			
<b>Ecclesiasticus</b>					
21:24			with the disgrace		
23:4 m.			<i>Or, giant like</i>		
23:19			eyes of men		
<b>Baruch</b>					
6:40			Caldeans		
<b>Song of Three</b>					
4 (3)			trueth		
<b>Prayer of Manasses</b>					
l. 2			the righteous		
<b>1 Maccabees</b>					
4:48			hollowed		
7:1 m.			<i>lib. 12</i>		
12:21			stocke		
<b>2 Maccabees</b>					
4:13			not hie Priest		
4:34			others		
<b>Matthew</b>					
10:38 m.		24.			
11:7			he		
13:4			way side		
13:31			like vnto a graine		
13:45			good pearls		
18:30			went		
22:24			any man		
<b>Mark</b>					
15:46			vnto the doore		
<b>Luke</b>					
1:77			sinnes,		
2:24			offer a sacrifice		
10:23 m.			Matth.		
10:36			among the theeues		
17:33 m.			Mat. 16.		
<b>John</b>					
5:29 m. <sup>2</sup>					
14:23			a man		
<b>Acts</b>					
4:6			Caiphas		
4:27			thy holy		
6:12			came vpon		
15:11			our Lord		
16:7			suffered them		
16:19			drew them into		
21:2			Phenicia		
<b>Romans</b>					
6:21			had you		
10:21			haue I stretched		
11:22			towards		
16 subscription			of the Church		
<b>2 Corinthians</b>					
7:14			speake		
<b>Ephesians</b>					
6:21			yee may also		
<b>Philippians</b>					
1:4 <sup>3</sup>					
<b>1 Thessalonians</b>					
Title			Paul the Apostle		
1:9			turned		
<b>James</b>					
5:4			Sabbaoth		
<b>1 Peter</b>					
1:22			selues		
2:7			he is precious		
<b>2 Peter</b>					
2:6			Gomorrah		

<sup>2</sup> 1st edn, correctly: '25. 46'; 2nd edn: '25. 16'; 1617: '25. 26'.

<sup>3</sup> 1st edn: 'ioy'; 2nd edn: 'ioy'; 1617: 'ioy.'

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

<sup>17</sup> None of these coincidences can be traced to the inclusion of sheets from the previous editions. A variation at Prov. 18:24 also seems to point to the second edition, some copies of which turn ‘a man that hath friends must shewe himselfe friendly’ into nonsense by substituting ‘but’ for ‘must’. 1617 reads, ‘will shewe’, which appears to be a sensible correction of this error, but a correction made without reference to the first edition.

In several places distinctive second-edition readings or errors occur on the same page or folio as first-edition readings. On the verso from the egregious ‘pices’ and ‘peace’ (Ezek. 24:4) is the first edition’s reference, ‘Ier. 49’ (Ezek. 25:2 m.). In 1 Esdras 5 a choice of readings from the two editions together with an error are found on the same page (Iudah, v. 5 m., particulers, v. 9 m., and Bezai, v. 16 m., all from the second edition; ‘Banuas’, v. 26, from the first edition). Such combinations of readings must go back to a copy of the second edition and notification, in some form, of errors of fact and variant readings, but not of mere typographical errors. In particular, ‘Ier. 49’ could not have appeared without the correct reference being supplied to the compositor.

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

The evidence clearly shows an awareness of the need to correct the second edition, but Barker’s workers may not have shared our sense that it would be sounder to work from



the first edition. They may have thought that the second edition represented a corrected text, and not realised that working from it would involve them in more changes than if they had worked from the first edition. It is also possible that the use of the second edition may not represent a scholarly choice. By 1617 they may not have had a copy of the first edition available to work from, and so may have corrected the second edition from one of the interim editions.” (Norton, 80-81)

### **Conclusion**

- Professor Norton concludes Chapter 4 by offering some summative statements about the state of the text in 1617:
  - “The King’s Printer, in various combinations of Barker, Norton and Bill, printed many more editions, but there is no more work of textual significance to note. By 1617 their text had reached some sort of stasis if not uniformity. Just as sheets of different editions were mixed, so too were readings. It is a tale of commercial enterprise that was not always competent, tempered with some limited scholarly attention to the text. The incompetence reached its apotheosis in the notorious ‘wicked Bible’, a 1631 octavo (H444) that omits ‘not’ from the seventh commandment (Exod. 20:14). The error may possibly have been sabotage, Herbert suggests, ‘on the part of a partisan of Norton to discredit the Barkers’. If so, it is eloquent of the personal tensions and shortcomings that contributed to the many mysteries in the early text of the KJB.” (Norton, 81)

### **Work Cited**

Norton, David. *A Textual History of the King James Bible*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.