Construction, Coherence and Connotations

—

Studies on the Septuagint, Apocryphal and
Cognate Literature

Edited by
Pierre Johan Jordaan and Nicholas Peter Legh Allen

MIX
Papier aus verantwor-
tungsvollen Quellen
FSC
www.fsc.org   FSC® C083411

This book is dedicated to Prof. Dr Johann Cook, in grateful appreciation for his outstanding contributions towards the advancement of LXX research in South Africa.

Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé and Jacobus A. Naudé

Interpretation and Ideology in the Metatexts of Ben Sira: The Headings of the Geneva Bible (1560) and the King James Version (1611)

Abstract: Metatexts create a frame to guide the reader in interpreting the translation and therefore provide an important overview of the theological and ideological context of the translation as understood by the translators (Naudé 2009, 2012). A metatext also has the function of calling attention to the translator as co-signer of the work and to his/her intervention in the work (Naudé 2013).

In this chapter we examine one kind of metatextual information, namely, headings, in two early European translations of Ben Sira – the Geneva Bible (1560) and the King James Version (1610). The Geneva Bible was the Bible of the Puritans, produced while they were in exile in Geneva. The King James Version in many respects was the response of the Church of England to the Geneva Bible. The translators of the King James Version thus had access to both the Geneva translation and its metatexts and shaped their translation and its metatexts in light of the Geneva. The headings of these two translations are analysed and compared with respect to their formulation (that is, their macrostructure, syntactic structure and communicative functions) and with respect to their content. We also consider headings that are unique to one version.

Although at first glance the headings appear to be strictly referential with respect to the translations, we demonstrate that in fact they often reflect the differing theological stances of the two translations. More importantly, the headings reveal the differing ideological viewpoints of the translators of the two versions. The translators of the Geneva Bible view the headings as distinct from the translation and often uses a lexical inventory in the headings that is different from the translation. The Geneva translators and their readers are viewed as equally part of the community of faith and as having the same perspective or vantage point; the translators thus often address their readers through the headings (e. g. "we

ought" to do something). By contrast, the translators of the King James Version view the headings are part of the translation by using the same lexical inventory in the headings as found in the translation, thus reducing the "distance" between the metatextual headings and the translation. The King James translators also prefer commands in the headings so that the headings function as if the translation itself is directly exhorting the reader, thus bringing the reader in direct contact with the translation and promoting the invisibility of the translators.

Keywords: Ben Sira, King James Version, Geneva Bible, Bible Translation, Metatexts.

1 Introduction

Metatexts create frames for guiding the reader in how to read and interpret a text in translation (Naudé 2009). A variety of metatexts are available for use by translators, including the following: prefaces, headings, marginal notes, footnotes and supplementary materials such as illustrations, maps or charts. The prefaces to Ben Sira, which were added by the first translator, Ben Sira's grandson, and an unknown person, are metatexts which were added in ancient times.[1] Other metatexts, such as headings, marginal notes, footnotes and supplementary materials (e.g. illustrations, maps, glossaries) have been added by translators in modern times. Regardless of their origin, metatexts guide the expectations of the reader concerning the text. They are added by translators to provide a window into the ideological context of the translation and also to call attention to the participation of translators in the work and to their intervention in its final shape and interpretation (Naudé 2012, 2013). As a frame to read and interpret a translation, metatextual research has the potential to provide important information on the history of reception of a translation and thereby contribute to our knowledge on the history of a translation within translation studies.

The research in this paper forms one part of a body of research on the metatexts of Bible translations. This research began by exploring the role of metatexts in various translations, in general, and the Aristeas Letter as a metatext of the Septuagint, in particular (Naudé 2009, 2012). Then the various metatexts of the King James Version of 1611 were analysed, especially the two prefaces, the dedication and the marginal notes (Naudé 2013). This research was expanded to consider the metatextual marginal notes of KJV Lamentations and the ways

in which they served to distance the KJV from the theology and ideology of its predecessor, the *Geneva Bible* (Naudé and Miller-Naudé 2012).

In our most recent articles, the metatextual marginal notes of Maccabees (Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2014) and of Ben Sira (Miller-Naudé and Naudé forthcoming) were examined to see how the metatextual ideology of these apocryphal books differed among the various early European translations. In this paper, we further this research by exploring the chapter headings as metatexts of Ben Sira that are in the *Geneva Bible* of 1560 and the King James Version of 1611. Except for research by Van Klinken-Rijneveld (2007) and Nord (2012) on pericope headings of Bible translations in general, the headings at the beginning of each chapter, unlike the marginal notes, have gone largely unnoticed by scholars. Yet, as we will demonstrate below, and in line with the research on the cultural-specific nature of headings as described in Du Preez (2006, 2009) and Du Preez and Naudé (2008), the pericope headings of the *Geneva Bible* and KJV also convey the ideology of the translators by highlighting those aspects or topics of the chapter which they consider to be important while remaining silent on those aspects which they consider unimportant, by the ways in which they formulate the headings, and by the relationship of the heading to the biblical text.

The socio-cultural frames of the origins of the *Geneva Bible* and the KJV already reflect the ideological contexts. During the reign of the Catholic Mary Tudor (1553–1558), when the English Bible itself was forbidden to be used in church services, as many as 800 Protestant leaders migrated to Geneva and surroundings. There William Whittingham, brother-in-law of John Calvin, translated the New Testament and served as editor of the Old Testament translation. This Bible, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth who began to reign in 1558, was published in 1560 as the *Geneva Bible* and was the favorite of the people. It ran through 140 printings, the last edition being published in 1644. The *Geneva Bible*'s Protestant metatexts were offensive to the Roman Catholic authorities. For this reason the *Bishops' Bible* was published in 1568 and reprinted twenty times before 1606. It was a revision by a great number of bishops of the *Great Bible* which was Coverdale's revision of the *Matthew's Bible* (1537, edited by John Rogers) (Daniell 2003, 198–220). The *Matthew's Bible* was the first authorized Bible in English (Daniell 2003, 190–197). In 1570 the *Bishops' Bible* became the second authorized Bible in English when the Convocation of Canterbury ordered it to be placed in all cathedrals and churches (Daniell 2003, 338–47). However, it never displaced the popular *Geneva Bible*.[2] In 1603 when James VI of Scotland came to the throne of England as James I, two Bibles were in competition: the *Bishops'*

---

1 On these prefaces, see Wright 2003 and Voitila 2008.

---

2 See Harden (1938), Danner (1981), Furniss (2009) and Jensen (1995).

Bible, preferred by the church hierarchy, and the *Geneva Bible*, the favourite of the people.

A proposal for a new translation which would replace the two Bibles was made by Dr John Reynolds, a Puritan leader and President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, at an assembly of theologians and churchmen at Hampton Court in 1604 (Daniell 2003, 427–60). The king ordered that a translation be made that would be as consonant as possible to the original Hebrew and Greek, without any marginal notes and for use in all churches in England. There were fifty-four translators divided into six panels of which one did the Apocrypha. The King James Bible was published in 1611. It took some 40 years for it to replace the *Geneva Bible* (Burke, Kutsko and Towner 2013).

With the exception of the so-called titles in the Psalms (which in any case have additional functions in addition to serving as titles), the earliest copies of the biblical books do not have chapter or section headings. They were added later by translators in order to help organise and divide the Bible into easier to digest pieces, that is, for liturgical reading and reference.[3] Chapter divisions and the assignment of the standard chapter numbers throughout the Bible were introduced during the early thirteenth century and are ascribed to Stephen Langton, the archbishop of Canterbury (De Hamel 2001, 124). Running-titles in red and blue letters appeared across the upper margins of thirteenth-century Bibles. They give the name of the book of the Bible across the two pages of the opened book – half of the word on the left-hand page and half on the right. Anyone randomly opening a mid-thirteenth one volume portable Bible with supplementary texts could recognise immediately, from the headings, which book they were in and at which chapter number. For printed Bibles, which were made to resemble a medieval manuscript, the Gutenberg typographers left spaces for headings to be completed by hand, because it was technically very difficult or unrealistically time-consuming to print headings in red and blue ink. Later most printed Bibles were only in black (De Hamel 2001, 205). This is demonstrated in the New Testament translated by William Tyndale in 1526, which has running-heads with numbered chapter breaks and cross references in black, but not yet additional matter such as prologue, headings or marginal notes. The running titles in black are also evident in the *Lutherbibel von 1545*. For certain books additional information about a chapter topic is added in the running title, but not in the Apocrypha. Pericope titles still form part of marginal notes – some are in capital letters – probably to find a specific reference.

---

3 For the division of the Syriac text of Ben Sira into sections (without headings) in a number of manuscripts, see the analysis by Jenner and van Peursen 2002.

The first printed Bible with its text divided into numbered verses for reference was the edition published by Robert Estienne in Geneva in 1553 (De Hamel 2001, 240). The practice that additional information about a chapter topic is added to the running title is also evident in the *Geneva Bible* and the KJV. The apocrypha is marked as such in the running title of the *Geneva Bible* and KJV. However, the pericope headings form part of the main text under the chapter number, but in a different font from the text of the verses.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. In section 2, we examine the general features of the formulation of headings in the *Geneva Bible* and the KJV. In section 3, we compare the content of the headings in the two translations. In section 4, we look at headings that are unique to one of the translations. In section 5, we present our conclusions.

2 Formulation of Headings

2.1 Theoretical Foundation

Headings are metatextual signposts added by translators to guide the reader's expectations concerning the text. However, the heading as a metatextual, communicative act involves a complex web of relationships between the heading, the text, the translator and the reader. Elucidating the communicative functions of the heading requires attention to the constitutive factors of language and its functions as well as to the linguistic shapes and functions of headings.

As background to the discussion, we summarise first Jakobson's exploration of the constitutive factors involved in any act of communication and the function of those factors in communication (Jakobson 1960/1987). Jakobson viewed language as having the following components as illustrated in Fig. 1a – *addresser* and *addressee* in *contact* using a specific *code* in a specific *context* to convey a *message*:

```
                context
addresser     message     addressee
                contact
                 code
```
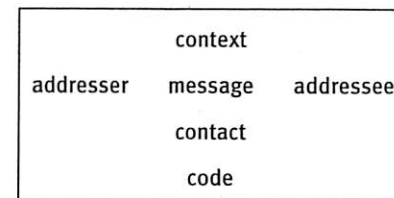
Fig. 1a

These components correspond to the following functions of language table (cf. Fig 1b) – the emotive, conative, phatic, metalingual, referential and poetic:

	referential	
emotive	poetic	conative
	phatic	
	metalingual	

Fig. 1b

The emotive function of language expresses the speaker's attitude to what s/he is speaking about. The phatic function of language relates to the establishment, prolonging or discontinuing of communication. The conative function of language focuses on the addressee, for example, as supplication or exhortation. Bühler (1934) earlier described the conative function of language as "appellative." The referential function of language relates to the denotative or cognitive function of language. The translator who adds headings to a translation plays the role of the addressor, the reader is the addressee, the heading is the message which is conveyed in a context by means of a shared code in contact between addressor and addressee. The translator may shape the heading so that has communicative functions beyond the referential and metatextual. For example, the translator may formulate the heading to focus on the conative (or, appellative) function with a heading that urges the reader to respond in a particular way; the translator may formulate the heading to focus on the emotive function of language by expressing his/her attitude to the text through the heading; or the translator may use the heading to establish or maintain a communicative relationship with the reader. Furthermore, like any communicative linguistic act, a heading may be shaped in order to simultaneously accomplish more than one communicative function, and it may or may not be received by the reader as accomplishing those functions.

Nord (2012; see also 1993, 1995) draws upon the work of Jakobson and Bühler to present a means for describing the functions of headings as metatext.[4]

Nord suggests that headings (or titles) should be described on three levels. First, heading types should be identified according to their macrostructures. Second, heading forms can be identified according to their syntactic structures. Third, headings can be described according to their microstructural patterns, that is, their communicative functions with respect to the text. Nord (2012, 69–74) identifies the following communicative functions. First, headings must be *distinctive*; a heading must differentiate one section of text from another. A heading must not be repeated and a heading must not be so general that it does not point clearly to the pericope it is meant to describe. Second, headings must be *phatic* in that they keep the channel of communication open from one heading to the next. Third, headings are *referential* to the extent that they inform about the contents of the pericope. Fourth, some headings have a *metacommunicative* function, in that they point to genre considerations or they comment upon or communicate about the communication process. Fifth, some headings have *expressive* elements in which they convey the attitude or emotions of the translator to the text. Sixth, some headings serve an *appellative* (or, in Jakobson's terminology, a conative) function in guiding the reader's response to the text, especially in a persuasive way. These functions are not mutually exclusive and a single heading may exhibit more than one communicative function.

2.2 Macrostructure of Headings

The macrostructure of the headings of the *Geneva Bible* and the KJV differ in two fundamental ways. First, the relationship of the content of the heading to the text differs. One of the general features of the headings in the *Geneva Bible* is the fact that the wording of the heading often does not relate directly to the text. As an example, consider the heading of 4:1:

(1) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 4:1[5]

> 1 Almes must be done with gentleness.

The key word "alms" does not occur anywhere in the section, although it does convey the overall topic of the section. By contrast, the KJV headings usually relate directly and precisely to the wording of the text. This has the effect of giving the illusion that the headings form an integral part of the chapter.

---

4 For an adaptation of Nord's theoretical approach to headings to analyse the translation of headings in English and Afrikaans, see Du Preez 2006 and Du Preez and Naudé 2008.

5 The versification of the *Geneva Bible* and KJV are not always identical. Differences in verse numbering are indicated in the Appendix.

Second, the Geneva and KJV headings have different macrostructural formulations. The Geneva headings are typically discrete and relate to a single pericope; the headings within a chapter do not necessarily bear any special relationship to one another.[6] By contrast, one of the most distinctive features of the KJV is the fact that ordinarily all headings for a chapter are related. In many cases, multiple headings within a chapter must be read together as a single sentence, as illustrated by the headings in chapter 2:

(2) KJV headings – Ben Sira 2

> 1 Gods seruants must looke for trouble
> 7 and be patient, and trust in him
> 12 For woe to them that doe not so
> 15 But they that feare the Lord, will doe so.

This feature of continuous (or interrelated headings) has three effects. First, it results in many more headings in the KJV than in the *Geneva Bible*; specifically the 51 chapters of Ben Sira in the KJV have 220 headings, whereas the *Geneva Bible* has only 138. Second, the KJV headings usually form a coherent whole within a chapter; a single heading cannot be examined in isolation. Third, the KJV headings explicitly identify what the translators believe to be the focal points or pericopes of the chapter, the essential arguments of the chapter, and the relation of the pericopes to one another.

One prominent macrostructural feature that occurs in both the *Geneva Bible* and the KJV involves a contrastive structure within the headings. Often the contrast is conveyed with a postive-negative (or negative-positive) arrangement:

(3a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 5:7

> 7 The vengeance of God oght to be feared, and repentance may not be differred.

(3b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 22:11

> 11 Weepe rather for fooles, then for the dead.

The contrastive structure can also be found in prepositional phrases, as in the Geneva in 3a, and in noun phrases, as in the KJV of the same verse in 3b:

---

[6] See below the discussion of example (28) for an exception to this general characterisation of the Geneva Bible.

(3c) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 25:1

> 1 Of thre things which pleafe God, and of thre which he hateth.

(3d) KJV heading – Ben Sira 25:1

> 1 What things are beautiful, and what hatefull.

In the KJV, the contrast may be found between successive headings:

(4) KJV headings – Ben Sira 43

> 1 The workes of God in heaven, and in earth, and in the sea, are exceeding glorious and wonderfull.
>
> 29 Yet God himselfe in his power and wisedome is aboue all.

The contrast between adjacent headings is not found in the Geneva.

2.3 Syntactic Structures of Headings

In this section we examine the syntactic structures that shape the headings in the two translations, beginning with the *Geneva Bible*.

2.3.1 *Geneva Bible*

In the *Geneva Bible*, a noun phrase is the simplest heading:

(5) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 4:12

> 12 The ftudie of wifdome and her frute.

Noun phrases of this sort occur in 4:12; 7:23; 13:11; 14:1; 15:1; 17:1; 18:1; 18:6 – 7; 18:21; 19:22; 21:5; 21:17; 21:26; 23:1; 27:5; 27:13; 29:24; 33:1; 33:4; 34:18; 34:22; 35:14; 36:1; 38:24; 39:1; 39:16; 40:1; 41:12; 42:1; 43:1; 50:27; 51:1.

One of the common noun phrases in the Geneva begins with "the praise of":

(6) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 11:1

1 The praife of humilitie.

Phrases beginning with "the praise of" also occur in: 1:10; 11:1; 24:1; 26:1; 31:8; 34:13; 36:22; 44:1; 45:1; 46:1; 47:1; 48:1.

In some instances, noun phrases convey exhortations, as in 7a[7] or curses, as in 7b:

(7a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 16:24

24 An exhortacion to the receiuing of inftruction.

(7b) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 2:13 (see also 41:8)

13 A curffe upon them that are fainte hearted and impacient

It is important to note that the word "curse" does not appear in the text of the *Geneva Bible* in 2:13, but is interpretative on the part of the translators (the KJV heading at that verse uses "woe to them," which follows the text of the translation).

In two instances, the noun phrase begins with a so-called "Wh-word,"[8] namely, *whereby* and *how*:

(8a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 19:27

27 Whereby thou maift knowe what is in man.

(8b) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 37:1

1 How a man fhulde knowe friends & counfelers.

A second kind of heading is a prepositional phrase beginning with "of" to indicate the topic of the section:

(9) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 16:1

---

7 For additional examples of noun phrases beginning with "An exhortation," see 4:20; 16:24; 32:1; 41:14; 50:22.
8 Linguists use the phrase "Wh-word" to refer to the set of interrogative pronouns such as *who*, *what*, *where*, *when* and *how*.

1 Of vnhappie and wicked children.

This is a prevalent kind of heading in the *Geneva Bible* and occurs at 3:10; 6:6; 9:1; 10:1; 11:7; 16:1; 17:20; (17:26);[9] 22:1; 23:13; 23:16; 23:27; 24:6; 25:1; 25:7; 25:15; 26:5; 26:6; 26:28; 27:3; 28:12; 29:11; 31:1; 31:2; 32:15; 33:25; 34:1; 35:1; 40:14; 41:1; 41:17; 49:1; 50:1.[10]

A third kind of sentence fragment involves infinitival phrases, which may be phrased positively, as in 10a, or negatively, as in 10b:

(10a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 20:6

6 To speake & kepe filence in time.

(10b) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 21:1

1 Not to continue in finne.

The positive infinitival clause is twice as common as the negative infinitival clause.[11]

A fourth syntactic structure of headings in the *Geneva Bible* involves complete sentences. These sentence headings may contain simple statements, which are usually gnomic in nature, expressing a timeless truth:[12]

(11) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 1:1

1 Wisdome cometh of God

In a few cases, the statements are negatively rather than positively shaped:[13]

---

9 References in parenthesis indicate a heading whose formulation depends upon a preceding heading. In 17:26, for example, the heading itself is "And repentance" but its structure should be understood as "Of repentance" since it conjoined to the preceding heading in verse 20 "Of almes." Together the two headings read "Of almes and repentance."
10 In one verse, the *Geneva Bible* uses a prepositional phrase beginning with "unto whom": "Unto whom we ought to do good" (12:1).
11 Positive infinitival clauses occur in 20:6; 21:6; 32:14; 37:12; 38:16. Negative infinitival clauses occur only in 21:1; 22:12.
12 See also 2:1; (2:11); 6:1; 10:28; 11:14; 13:17; 14:17; 14:21; 15:8; 16:17; 19:2; 23:23; 24:30; 27:26; 30:17; 33:12; 38:1; 39:24.
13 See also 22:16; 34:37.

(12) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 15:11

> 11 God is not the author of euil.

Many of the sentence headings are exhortations using the modal verbs "ought," "must" and "should." Some of these addressed to the Christian community, framed as the translator(s) and reader(s), with "we" as the subject, as in 13a and 13b:

(13a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 3:1[14]

> 1 To our father and mother oght we to giue double honor

(13b) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 8:1[15]

> We muſt take hede with whome we have to do.

Other exhortations use an impersonal passive with a modal verbs, as in 13c or an impersonal passive construction with "is/are to be" as in 13d:

(13c) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 9:18

> 18 Righteous men ſhulde be bidden to thy table.

(13d) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 10:7[16]

> 7 Pride and couetouſnes are to be abhorred.

Negative exhortations occur less frequently; they are formulated using "may not" (5:1; 5:7); "ought not" (3:12; 11:2; 12:10; 18:9; 28:1) and "is/are not to be" (11:29; 27:16; 41:3). Less frequently the sentence headings are positive commands, addressed directly to "you," namely the reader(s):

(14) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 19:6[17]

---

14 Additional examples with "ought" occur in 5:7; 31:12.
15 Additional examples with "must" occur in 4:1; 7:2.
16 Additional examples with "is/are to be" occur in 9:12; 13:1.
17 Additional examples with commands occur in 6:33; 29:1; 32:3.

> 6 In thy wordes vſe diſcretion.

The *Geneva Bible* does not use negative commands at all.[18]

2.3.2 KJV Headings

We turn now to the KJV headings, which use many of the same types of formulations, as well as some that are not found in the Geneva. Like the Geneva, the KJV uses noun phrases, as in 41:1–"The remembrance of death."[19]

(15) KJV heading – Ben Sira 41:1

> 1 The remembrance of Death.

However, unlike the *Geneva Bible*, the KJV never uses a noun phrase with "a curse upon"[20] and only once (in 39:12) uses a noun phrase with "an exhortation":

(16) KJV heading – Ben Sira 39:12

> 12 An exhortation to prasie God for his workes, which are good to the good, and euill to them that are euill.

While it is quite likely that the KJV does not use headings with the phrase "a curse upon" for ideological reasons, the reticence to use "an exhortation to" in the headings relates more generally to the fact that the KJV prefers to draw the headings from the precise wording of the text itself. If the text does not use the wording of an exhortation within it; the KJV will not normally do so either.

Similarly, with one exception (34:15), the KJV uses headings beginning with "the praise of" only in chapters 44–49, which begin in 44:1 with the sentence

---

18 Note, however, that in 25:7 the Geneva uses a negative phrase with an explicit exhortation ("Of nine things that be not to be ſuſpect"), whereas the KJV uses a positive phrase ("What things make men happy").
19 Additional examples of noun phrases occur in 10:1; 13:21; 21:12; 23:1; 33:2; 34:18; 35:1; 35:14; 35:20; 36:1; 36:18; 38:1; 38:24; 39:1; 40:1; 40:12; 42:15; 50:27; 51:1.
20 The KJV does, however, use "The ungodly shall be accursed" in 41:5, which follows the wording of the text. The comparable Geneva heading in 41:8 uses "A curse upon them that forsake the Law of God."

"Let us now praise famous men."[21] In other words, the KJV uses the heading "The praise of" only when it reflects directly the text of Ben Sira. In chapter 45, for example, the headings for the chapter are as follows:

(17) KJV headings – Ben Sira 45

> 1 The praise of Moses,
> 6 Of Aaron,
> 23 and of Phinees.

The headings thus serve to highlight the important persons throughout the chapter who should be praised. This use of headings beginning with "the praise of" is in stark contrast to the Geneva, which often uses the phrase throughout the book as a characterisation of the pericope described by the heading and as a covert exhortation to the reader to "praise" the topic that is described (see 6 above).

Like the Geneva, the KJV uses headings beginning with "what," "who" or "how," but the KJV does so much more prevalently.[22] Examples with *what*, *who*, and *how* are given in 18a, 18b and 18c, respectively:

(18a) KJV heading – Ben Sira 25:1

> 1 What things are beautiful, and what hatefull.

(18b) KJV headings – Ben Sira 10

> 19 Who shall be honored,
> 29 And who not.

(18c) KJV heading – Ben Sira 17:1

---

21 Additional examples occur in (44:16); (44:17); (44:19); (44:22); (44:23); 45:1; (45:6); (45:23); 46:1; (46:9); (46:13); 47:1; (47:2); (47:12); (47:23); 48:1; (48:12); (48:17); 49:1; (49:4); (49:6); (49:8); (49:11); (49:12); (49:13). Parentheses around a reference indicate that it is continues a preceding heading and is related to a preceding heading in its formulation. For example, the heading in 45:1 explicitly states "The praise of Moses." The heading in 45:6 ("Of Aaron") continues the preceding heading; it is thus an elliptical expression for "The praise of Aaron."

22 As noted above, the Geneva has only two examples; the KJV has 17 examples: 8:1; (8:8); (8:10); (8:15); 9:3; 10:14; 10:19; (10:29); 17:1; 22:20; 25:1; 25:6; 25:7; 37:1; 38:16; 42:1; 50:22.

> 1 How God created and furnished man.

Like the *Geneva Bible*, the KJV uses prepositional phrases beginning with "of" to describe the topic of the section:[23]

(19) KJV heading – Ben Sira 23:16

> 16 Of three sorts of sinne.

In one instance (chapter 28) the KJV uses a unique formulation of a prepositional phrase with "against":

(20) KJV headings – Ben Sira 28

> 1 Against reuenge. 8 Quarrelling, 10 Anger, 15 And backbiting.

Like the *Geneva Bible*, the KJV uses infinitival phrases, as illustrated from chapter 9:[24]

(21) KJV headings – Ben Sira 9

> 13 Not to be familiar with men in authority.
> 14 But to knowe our neighbours,
> 15 And to conuerse with wise men.

However, the KJV uses infinitival phrases much less frequently than the *Geneva Bible* and none of the examples in the KJV involves negative infinitival clauses.

We turn now to complete sentences as headings in the KJV, which is by far the most prevalent strategy for formulating headings in the KJV. A variety of sentence types are used. As in the Geneva, some sentence headings in the KJV are simple statements:[25]

---

23 Additional examples occur in 20:1; 20:10; 20:18; 20:24; 20:27; 22:1; (22:3); 26:13; 26:28; 27:1; 31:1; 31:12; 32:1; 32:14; 32:18; 32:20; 33:24; 34:1; 36:21; 41:11; 41:16; 50:1. Note that in some cases one version uses a noun phrase whereas the other version uses an equivalent prepositional phrase (e. g. Geneva 41:1 "Of the remembrance of death" and KJV 41:1 "The remembrance of death").

24 See also 1:28.

25 Additional examples occur in 1:1; 1:10; 1:12; 3:30; 6:20; (6:28); 7:1; (7:4); (7:8); (7:10); (7:12); (7:18); (7:19); (7:20); (7:22); (7:23); (7:31); (7:32); 10:4; 11:14; 13:15; 13:23; 14:1; 14:3; 14:10 (sic should be 14:20); 15:2; 15:14; 16:1; 16:12; 16:17; 16:20; 17:19; 18:9;

(22) KJV heading – Ben Sira 43:1

> 1 The workes of God in heaven, and in earth, and in the sea, are exceeding glorious and wonderfull.

Also, like the Geneva, some sentence headings in the KJV are exhortations with "must":

(23) KJV headings – Ben Sira 29: 2, 4[26]

> 2 Wee must show mercy and lend: 4 but the borower must not defraud the lender.

Unlike the *Geneva Bible*, however, the KJV does not use the formulations "we ought" to do something, something "is to be" done, "we may" do something, or "we should" do something. The KJV, however, does use "must not" for negative exhortations, which does not occur in the Geneva:

(24) KJV headings – Ben Sira 5:1, (6)[27]

> 1Wee must not presume of our wealth and strength, 6 Nor of the mercie of God to sinne.

By far the greatest number of sentence headings in the KJV are direct commands to the reader, as illustrated in 25a and 25b:

(25a) KJV heading – Ben Sira 6:35

> 35 Be ready to heare wise men.

(25b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 6:2

> 2 Do not extoll thy owne conceit,

18:11; 19:2; 19:22; 21:4; 21:9; 21:12; 23:23; 24:2; (24:4); (24:13); (24:17); (24:26); 25:13; (26:1); 26:4; 26:6; 26:20 (sic should be 26:29); 27:7; 27:16; 27:25; 29:18; 29:22; 30:1; 30:14; 30:22; 33:1; 33:7; 33:10; 37:12; 40:17; 40:28; 43:29. Examples of negative statements occur in 15:7; 16:6; 22:16; 29:14; (30:7); 41:5.
26 Additional examples with "must" occur in 2:1; (2:7); 3:1; 3:26.
27 Additional examples with "must not" occur in 5:9; (5:12); 29:4.

By contrast, only four headings in the *Geneva Bible*'s translation of Ben Sira are formulated as commands.

A final distinctive feature of the KJV is the use of exclamations with "woe" in a few instances:

(26) KJV heading – Ben Sira 2:12

> 12 For woe to them that doe not so.

2.3.3 Summary

A comparison of the *Geneva Bible* and the KJV with respect to the syntactic shapes of the headings is given in Table 1.

Table 1 Syntactic Structures of Geneva and KJV Headings

	Geneva			KJV		
	#	Subtotal	%	#	Subtotal	%
Statements	21		15%	70		31%
positive	18			65		
negative	3			6		
Infinitival clause	6		4%	5		2%
positive	4			5		
negative	2			—		
Exclamation "woe to"	—			2		
Exhortations	20		14%	24		11%
positive	10			7		
"is/are to be"	3			2		
"must"	3			5		
"ought"	3			—		
"should"	1			—		
negative	10			17		
"is/are NOT to be"	3			1		
"must not"	—			5		
"may not"	2			11		
"ought not"	5			—		
Commands	4		2%	26		11%
positive	4			12		
negative	—			14		
Noun Phrases	53		38%	65		29%
general	32			20		
"praise of"	12			27		
"curse"	2			—		
"exhortation"	5			1		
"WH phrase" (what, who, how)	2			17		

Table 1 Syntactic Structures of Geneva and KJV Headings *(Continued)*

	Geneva			KJV		
	#	Subtotal	%	#	Subtotal	%
Prepositional Phrases	34		24%	27		12%
"OF"	33			23		
"Unto whom"	1			—		
"Against"	—			4		
TOTAL	138			220		

Note: Due to rounding, percentages do not total 100%.

The statistics indicate several important findings. First, the Geneva shapes more sentences as exhortations; whereas the KJV prefers commands. Second, the KJV prefers sentences as headings, whereas the Geneva prefers phrases, whether noun phrases or prepositional phrases. The overall differences between the Geneva and KJV in this regard are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2 Sentences and Phrases as Headings

	Geneva			KJV		
	#	Subtotal	%	#	Subtotal	%
Sentences	45		33%	122		55%
Statements	21			70		
Exclamations	—			2		
Exhortations	20			24		
Commands	4			26		
Phrases and Sentence Fragments	93		67%	97		44%
Infinitival clauses	6			5		
Noun Phrases	53			65		
Prepositional Phrases	34			27		
TOTAL	138			220		

Note: Due to rounding, percentages do not total 100%

2.4 Communicative Functions of the Headings

The communicative functions of the headings describe the ways in which the headings convey information to the reader. The distinctive function of the headings serves to distinguish one pericope of the text from another. In the Geneva, the distinctive function of headings is violated in one instance in which the same heading is used for two chapters:

(27a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 42:1

> The fumme of the creation of the workes of God.

(27b) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 43:1

> The fumme of the creation of the workes of God.

The phatic function of headings in keeping the channel of communication open to the reader from one heading to the next is best served by the KJV practice of continuous headings throughout the chapter (see the discussion above in connection with example 2). However, the Geneva occasionally also connects headings, as subtly shown through the use of anaphoric pronouns in the headings of chapter 24:

(28) Geneva headings – Ben Sira 24

> 1 A praife of wifome proceding forthe of the mouth of God.
> 6 Of her workes and place where she refteth.
> 30 She is giuen to the children of God.

The first heading in the chapter (verse 1) describes "wisdom" as "proceeding forth of the mouth of God." The following headings in verses 6 and 30 refer back to wisdom using the anaphoric pronouns "her" and "she" (twice). The three headings of the chapter are thus linked and the second and third headings are not intelligible without knowing that the referent of the pronoun is wisdom personified as a woman from verse 1.

Another phatic aspect of the KJV is its more frequent use of noun phrases that begin with "what," "who" or "how" (see 18a – 18c above). With this type of heading, the KJV translators pique the curiosity of the reader concerning a topic without specifying precisely what items or individuals will be discussed

within the section, thus keeping the channel of communication open to the reader.

The referential, or informative, function of the headings is found in nearly every heading. The degree of informativeness, however, is greater when the heading has an iconic relationship to the text. In this respect, the KJV headings are generally more referential than those of the Geneva in that they mirror precisely the wording of the text (see above in 1–2).

The metacommunicative function of the headings can be seen in two respects. First, some of the headings are metacommunicative in that they comment upon the communicative process. In 23:1, for example, the the heading of the *Geneva Bible* in 29a points the reader to the communicative function of the text, whereas the heading in the KJV in 29b is referential:

(29a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 23:1

> 1 A prayer of the autor.

(29b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 23:1

> 1 A prayer for grace to flee sinne.

Another way to consider the relationship between these two headings, however, is that the Geneva takes a historical approach to the prayer at the beginning of chapter 23 by calling it "a prayer of the author." The KJV summarises the content of the prayer and implicitly guides the reader to consider the prayer an appropriate one to use "for grace to flee sin."

Furthermore, the headings which are noun phrases beginning with "An exhortation to," "The praise of" are metacommunicational (see above in 7a and 16) in that they describe or comment upon the communicative function of the pericope. As noted in Table 2 above, the *Geneva Bible* uses these kinds of metacommunicative headings much more frequently than the KJV.

Headings are expressive when they convey the emotion or attitude of the translator. Expressive elements in the headings often involve the subtle addition of evaluative or value-laden terms. For example, in 43:1, the KJV is expressive as compared to the Geneva:

(30a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 43:1

> The fumme of the creacion of the workes of God.

(30b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 43:1

> 1 The workes of God in heauen, and in earth, and in the sea, are exceeding glorious and wonderfull.

Similarly, in 39:1, the Geneva is more strictly referential ("wise"), whereas the KJV is expressive ("truly wise"). Note in addition that the KJV is metacommunicational through the use of "a description of":

(31a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 39:1

> 1 A wife man.

(31b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 39:1

> 1 A description of him that is truely wise.

As a final example, compare the choice of headings concerning servants in chapter 33:

(31c) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 33:25 (= KJV verse 26)

> 25 Of euil feruants

(31d) KJV heading – Ben Sira 33:24 (= Geneva verse 23)

> 24 Of seruants

The Geneva places a heading at verse 25 to describe "evil servants," whereas the KJV places a heading at verse 24 to point only to the discussion of "servants" in the chapter. The Geneva translators are more expressive than the KJV translators in this instance.

The appellative function of the headings as persuasive are prominent in both translations, although the means of achieving the appellative function are not identical. As noted above (see Table 1), the Geneva uses infinitival phrases twice as often as the KJV (see the examples in 10a, 10b and 21). Infinitival phrases are sentence fragments but they contain a covert exhortation – "To speak and keep silence in time" is functionally equivalent to "We ought to speak and keep silence in time" or even a command "Speak and keep silence in time." By shap-

ing the exhortation as an infinitival phrase, the translators do not choose between these two options.

The *Geneva Bible* and the KJV thus use headings to exhort the reader is different ways. In the Geneva, the translators and readers are together exhorted that "we must" or "we ought" or "we should" – the reader is viewed as part of the same community of faith as the translators. In the KJV, the translators rather tend to step aside and address the reader directly with a command, as if to highlight that it is the text itself that addresses the reader.[28] In some instances, the KJV uses only a prepositional phrase to describe the content of the pericope (32b), whereas the Geneva uses a direct exhortation to the community of faith (32a). The KJV heading thus highlights the prohibition against revenge, without specifying that it is a prohibition for the Christian community:

(32a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 28:1

> 1 We oght not to defire vengeance, but to forgiue the offence.

(32b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 28:1

> 1 Against reuenge.

The overall effect of the differing formulations of headings in the *Geneva Bible* and the KJV is that the Geneva translators view the headings as distinct from the text itself – the headings may differ from the text both in lexical choice and in formulation. They view the readers and the translators as together having a similar vantage point and perspective on the text. By contrast, the KJV translators use the same lexical items in the headings that are found in the text, thus reducing the distance between heading and text. While both translations want the reader to actively engage with the content of the text, the KJV employs strategies of formulation, especially direct commands, which bring the text into

---

28 There are infrequent exceptions to this generalisation. For example, the Geneva rarely uses a command where the KJV uses an exhortation with "we must" (see examples 34a and 34b below). As in 15:11 the Geneva uses a statement ("God is not the author of evil") as opposed to the KJV exhortation ("We may not charge God with our faults"). In 16:1, the Geneva uses a prepositional phrase ("Of wicked and unhappy children") whereas the KJV uses an exhortation ("It is better to have none than many lewd children"). In 18:1 the Geneva uses a noun phrase ("The marvelous works of God") whereas the KJV uses an exhortation ("God's works are to be wondered at") (see also 18:21).

direct contact with the reader, thus further reducing the distance between the text and the reader and decreasing the visibility of the translators.

3 A Comparison of the Content of the Headings

We will now compare the content of the headings to determine what they can tell us about the theology of ideology of the respective translators and their translations.

In 37 cases, the KJV is identical or nearly identical to the *Geneva Bible*, as in 1:1.[29] The Geneva reads "Wisdom cometh of God"; the KJV reads "All wisdom is from God.":

(33a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 1:1

1 Wisdome cometh of God

(33b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 1:1

1 All wisdom is from God.

It is important to bear in mind that the KJV translators had full access to the Geneva headings and therefore they had the option to copy, adapt or reject the Geneva headings. In ten cases, the KJV is very similar to the Geneva headings, but the translators have located the headings at different verses:[30]

---

29 See also 3:1; 8:1; 9:12 Geneva = 9:10 KJV; 11:29; 12:1; 17:1; 20:23; 22:1; 22:16; 23:16; 25:7 [Geneva frames the heading negatively; KJV frames the heading positively]; 26:1; 26:28; 27:16; 30:1; 30:14; 31:1; 32:1; 32:15 Geneva = 32:14 KJV; 33:1; 34:1; 35:1; 35:14; 37:1; 38:1; 38:16; 39:1; 40:1; 41:1; 41:3; 45:1 Geneva = 45:1, 6, 23 KJV; 46:1 Geneva = KJV 46:1, 9, 13; 47:1 Geneva = KJV 47:1, 2, 12, 23; 48:1 Geneva = KJV 48:1, 12, 17; 50:1; 51:1.
30 The difference in verse number does not relate in these cases to differences in versification between the Geneva and the KJV. Additional examples of comparable headings relating to different verses are found in Geneva 2:11 = KJV 2:7; Geneva 7:2 = KJV 7:1; 11:1 Geneva = 11:4 KJV; Geneva 11:7 = KJV 11:8; Geneva 13:17 = KJV 13:15; Geneva 17:26 = KJV 17:25; Geneva 19:6 = KJV 19:7; Geneva 21:1 = KJV 21:2; Geneva 24:1 = KJV 24:2; Geneva 27:26 = KJV 27:25; Geneva 29:1 = KJV 29:2; Geneva 33:12 = KJV 33:10; Geneva 33:25 = KJV 33:24; Geneva 34:13 = KJV 34:15; Geneva 36:22 = KJV 36:21; Geneva 41:8 = KJV 41:5; Geneva 41:12 = KJV 41:11; Geneva 41:17 = KJV 41:16.

(34a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 29:1

1 Do lend money, and do almes.

(34b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 29:2

1 Wee must show mercy and lend:

In 16:17, the two translations have nearly identical headings, but they guide the reader to different interpretations of the passage:

(35a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 16:17

17 No man can hide him felf from God.

(35b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 16:17

17 The wicked cannot be hid.

The KJV understands the section as relating to the wicked; it is then the wicked who are addressed in verse 17: "Say not thou, I will hide my selfe from the Lord: shall any remember me from aboue? I shall not be remembred among so many people: for what is my soule among such an infinite number of creatures?" The Geneva, by contrast takes the verse to generally refer to any person who might try to hide from God, including those within the community of faith.

In 19:2, the Geneva and KJV are similar, but bear different relationships to their respective pericopes and guide the reader in recognising different emphases in the text:

(36a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 19:2

1 Wine & whoredome bring men to pouertie.

(36b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 19:2

2 Wine and women seduce wise men.

The KJV uses the phrase "wine and women" from the text of the translation of verse 2. The Geneva uses the expressive word "whoredome" even though "whoredome" is not used in the translation of verse 2 or in any of the verses of the sub-

section. Geneva says that wine and whoredom "bring men to poverty" whereas the KJV says that wine and women "seduce wise men."

In some instances, the Geneva is more interpretive than the KJV:

(37a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 19:22

22 The difference of the wifdome of God and man.

(37b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 19:22

22 There is no wisdome in wickednesse.

The Geneva is interpretive in that the verses in the subsection do not explicitly contrast the wisdom of God and man, but rather contrast the man who fears God and the man who is a wicked fool. The KJV reflects more closely the rendering of the text.

In 25:1, the Geneva is interpretive by explicitising that the things "please God" or are things which "he hateth." The KJV reflects the wording of the section:

(38a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 25:1

1 Of thre things which pleafe God, and of thre which he hateth.

(38b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 25:1

1 What things are beautiful, and what hatefull.

In two instances, the headings of the Geneva and the KJV are similar, but the KJV subtly guides the reader in a metaphorical reading of the text in a way that the *Geneva Bible* does it. The first examples is in 15:1–2, the Geneva heading is "The goodness that followeth him which feareth God" and the KJV heading is "Wisdom embraceth those that fear God."

(39a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 15:1

1 The goodnes that followeth him which feareth God.

(39b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 15:2

2 Wisdome embraceth those that fear God.

Both the Geneva (verse 1) and KJV (verse 2) highlight the concept of those who fear God in the opening section of the chapter. However, they differ in how they guide the reader in interpreting the section. The Geneva takes the heading from verse 1 and focuses on "the goodness that follows him who fears God." The KJV, however, guides the reader in an explicitly metaphorical understanding of the following verses – it is wisdom who embraces and cares for the wise man (not his mother or wife). The text of the section in the *Geneva Bible* could be read literally until verses 7–8.

A similar approach in each version can be observed in the headings in 24:1. The Geneva heading is "A praise of wisdom proceding forth of the mouth of God." The KJV heading is "Wisdom doth praise herself, show her beginning."

(40a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 24:1

1 A praife of wifome proceding forthe of the mouth of God.

(40b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 24:2

2 Wisdome doeth praise herselfe, shew her beginning.

The Geneva and KJV headings are nearly identical, but relate to different verses. The Geneva does not mention the metaphor of wisdom as a woman; but the KJV guides the reader in interpreting wisdom as metaphorically a woman (see also the headings at verses 4, 13, 17, 26). The *Geneva Bible* does not inform the reader that the section is metaphorical until the later headings in verses 6 and 30, which explicitly use the metaphor.

In a number of cases, the same verse is chosen for a heading in both Geneva and KJV, but the differences in wording point to theological or ideological differences. In the first part of chapter 10, the headings of the two versions differ for ideological reasons. The Geneva heading reads as follows: "Of kings and judges."

(41a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 10:1

2 Of Kings and iudges.

The KJV version, however, has two headings which read – "1 The commodities of a wise ruler. 4 God setteth him up."

(41b) KJV headings – Ben Sira 10:1, 4

> 1 The commodities of a wise ruler. 4 God setteth him vp.

The Geneva translators emphasise two kinds of political leadership: kings and judges. In this regard, they are following the text of Ben Sira, which mentions judges several times in this section. The KJV, however, mentions only "a wise ruler" in the heading in order to emphasise the rule of the king and to downplay other civil authorities such as judges. Furthermore, in verse 4 the KJV adds a heading which is not found in the Geneva. The pronoun "him" in the heading must refer to the wise ruler, but the text of Ben Sira in the KJV only says "The power of the earth is in the hand of the Lord, and in due time he will set over it *one that is profitable*" (emphasis added). By interpreting the "one that is profitable" in the text as the "wise ruler" of the heading, the KJV is guiding the reader to understand the ideology of the divine right of kings in the text of Ben Sira. This is an exceptional case in which the KJV heading does not precisely reflect the text. By contrast, the Geneva heading in verse 1 mentions judges alongside kinds and does not have a heading of any kind at verse 4.

We have previously observed the concern of the KJV translators to protect the reputation and right of the king in the marginal notes of Lamentations and the concomitant concern of the Geneva translators to criticise the king or reduce his role (Naudé and Miller-Naudé 2013; and Miller-Naudé and Naudé forthcoming). The same concerns are at work in these chapter headings of Ben Sira.

In one instance, however, the KJV translators highlight the failings of Solomon, who is represented in the Old Testament as the most powerful and yet hedonistic kings of Israel. In chapter 47, the *Geneva Bible* follows its usual practice of mentioning only the names of the individuals who will be discussed in the chapter, whereas the KJV is expressive in highlighting both the "glory and infirmities" (verse 12) as well as the "end and punishment" (verse 23) of Solomon:

(42a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 47:1

> 1 The praiſe of Nathan, David and Solomon.

(42b) KJV headings – Ben Sira 47

> 1 The praise of Nathan,
> 2 Of David,
> 12 Of Solomon his glory, and infirmities.
> 23 Of his end and punishment.

In 36:1–2, the Geneva and KJV headings diverge slightly, perhaps for political reasons. The Geneva heading characterises the prayer as "A prayer to God in the person of all faithful men, against those that persecute his Church." The KJV heading, however, characterises the prayer as "A prayer for the Church against the enemies thereof."

(43a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 36:1

> 1 A prayer to God in the perfone of all faithful men, againſt thofe that perfecute his Church.

(43b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 36:1

> 1 A prayer for the Church against the enemies thereof.

By explicitly mentioning "those that persecute his Church" and using the expressive phrase "all faithful men," it seems as if perhaps the *Geneva Bible* wants the reader to think of the persecution of the Puritans under the Catholic rule of Queen Mary. By contrast, the KJV heading seems much more general and less amenable to imply a specific historical situation.

4 Headings Unique to One Version

We turn now to headings that are unique in one version – that is headings that occur in a verse in one version but are absent in the other version. It is often difficult to know what prompted one version to insert a heading in places where the other one did not. However, in some cases the ideology behind the insertion of the heading can be discerned.

In 7:31, the *Geneva Bible* and the KJV have almost identical translations. The Geneva translates "Fear the Lord with all thy soul, and honour the priests", while the KJV translates "Fear the Lord, and honour the priest."

(44a) Geneva translation – Ben Sira 7:31

> Feare the Lord with all thy foule, and honor the Prieſts....

(44b) KJV translation – Ben Sira 7:31

> Feare the Lord, and honour the priest....

section. Geneva says that wine and whoredom "bring men to poverty" whereas the KJV says that wine and women "seduce wise men."

In some instances, the Geneva is more interpretive than the KJV:

(37a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 19:22

22 The difference of the wifdome of God and man.

(37b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 19:22

22 There is no wisdome in wickednesse.

The Geneva is interpretive in that the verses in the subsection do not explicitly contrast the wisdom of God and man, but rather contrast the man who fears God and the man who is a wicked fool. The KJV reflects more closely the rendering of the text.

In 25:1, the Geneva is interpretive by explicitising that the things "please God" or are things which "he hateth." The KJV reflects the wording of the section:

(38a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 25:1

1 Of thre things which pleafe God, and of thre which he hateth.

(38b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 25:1

1 What things are beautiful, and what hatefull.

In two instances, the headings of the Geneva and the KJV are similar, but the KJV subtly guides the reader in a metaphorical reading of the text in a way that the *Geneva Bible* does it. The first examples is in 15:1–2, the Geneva heading is "The goodness that followeth him which feareth God" and the KJV heading is "Wisdom embraceth those that fear God."

(39a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 15:1

1 The goodnes that followeth him which feareth God.

(39b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 15:2

2 Wisdome embraceth those that fear God.

Both the Geneva (verse 1) and KJV (verse 2) highlight the concept of those who fear God in the opening section of the chapter. However, they differ in how they guide the reader in interpreting the section. The Geneva takes the heading from verse 1 and focuses on "the goodness that follows him who fears God." The KJV, however, guides the reader in an explicitly metaphorical understanding of the following verses – it is wisdom who embraces and cares for the wise man (not his mother or wife). The text of the section in the *Geneva Bible* could be read literally until verses 7–8.

A similar approach in each version can be observed in the headings in 24:1. The Geneva heading is "A praise of wisdom proceding forth of the mouth of God." The KJV heading is "Wisdom doth praise herself, show her beginning."

(40a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 24:1

1 A praife of wifome proceding forthe of the mouth of God.

(40b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 24:2

2 Wisdome doeth praise herselfe, shew her beginning.

The Geneva and KJV headings are nearly identical, but relate to different verses. The Geneva does not mention the metaphor of wisdom as a woman; but the KJV guides the reader in interpreting wisdom as metaphorically a woman (see also the headings at verses 4, 13, 17, 26). The *Geneva Bible* does not inform the reader that the section is metaphorical until the later headings in verses 6 and 30, which explicitly use the metaphor.

In a number of cases, the same verse is chosen for a heading in both Geneva and KJV, but the differences in wording point to theological or ideological differences. In the first part of chapter 10, the headings of the two versions differ for ideological reasons. The Geneva heading reads as follows: "Of kings and judges."

(41a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 10:1

2 Of Kings and iudges.

The KJV version, however, has two headings which read – "1 The commodities of a wise ruler. 4 God setteth him up."

(41b) KJV headings – Ben Sira 10:1, 4

1 The commodities of a wise ruler. 4 God setteth him vp.

The Geneva translators emphasise two kinds of political leadership: kings and judges. In this regard, they are following the text of Ben Sira, which mentions judges several times in this section. The KJV, however, mentions only "a wise ruler" in the heading in order to emphasise the rule of the king and to downplay other civil authorities such as judges. Furthermore, in verse 4 the KJV adds a heading which is not found in the Geneva. The pronoun "him" in the heading must refer to the wise ruler, but the text of Ben Sira in the KJV only says "The power of the earth is in the hand of the Lord, and in due time he will set over it *one that is profitable*" (emphasis added). By interpreting the "one that is profitable" in the text as the "wise ruler" of the heading, the KJV is guiding the reader to understand the ideology of the divine right of kings in the text of Ben Sira. This is an exceptional case in which the KJV heading does not precisely reflect the text. By contrast, the Geneva heading in verse 1 mentions judges alongside kinds and does not have a heading of any kind at verse 4.

We have previously observed the concern of the KJV translators to protect the reputation and right of the king in the marginal notes of Lamentations and the concomitant concern of the Geneva translators to criticise the king or reduce his role (Naudé and Miller-Naudé 2013; and Miller-Naudé and Naudé forthcoming). The same concerns are at work in these chapter headings of Ben Sira.

In one instance, however, the KJV translators highlight the failings of Solomon, who is represented in the Old Testament as the most powerful and yet hedonistic kings of Israel. In chapter 47, the *Geneva Bible* follows its usual practice of mentioning only the names of the individuals who will be discussed in the chapter, whereas the KJV is expressive in highlighting both the "glory and infirmities" (verse 12) as well as the "end and punishment" (verse 23) of Solomon:

(42a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 47:1

1 The praifse of Nathan, David and Solomon.

(42b) KJV headings – Ben Sira 47

1 The praise of Nathan,
2 Of David,
12 Of Solomon his glory, and infirmities.
23 Of his end and punishment.

In 36:1–2, the Geneva and KJV headings diverge slightly, perhaps for political reasons. The Geneva heading characterises the prayer as "A prayer to God in the person of all faithful men, against those that persecute his Church." The KJV heading, however, characterises the prayer as "A prayer for the Church against the enemies thereof."

(43a) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 36:1

1 A prayer to God in the perfone of all faithful men, againft thofe that perfecute his Church.

(43b) KJV heading – Ben Sira 36:1

1 A prayer for the Church against the enemies thereof.

By explicitly mentioning "those that persecute his Church" and using the expressive phrase "all faithful men," it seems as if perhaps the *Geneva Bible* wants the reader to think of the persecution of the Puritans under the Catholic rule of Queen Mary. By contrast, the KJV heading seems much more general and less amenable to imply a specific historical situation.

4 Headings Unique to One Version

We turn now to headings that are unique in one version – that is headings that occur in a verse in one version but are absent in the other version. It is often difficult to know what prompted one version to insert a heading in places where the other one did not. However, in some cases the ideology behind the insertion of the heading can be discerned.

In 7:31, the *Geneva Bible* and the KJV have almost identical translations. The Geneva translates "Fear the Lord with all thy soul, and honour the priests", while the KJV translates "Fear the Lord, and honour the priest."

(44a) Geneva translation – Ben Sira 7:31

Feare the Lord with all thy foule, and honor the Priefts....

(44b) KJV translation – Ben Sira 7:31

Feare the Lord, and honour the priest....

The KJV inserts a heading that is lacking in the *Geneva Bible* at verse 31: "the Lord and his Priests."

(44c) KJV heading – Ben Sira 7:31

> 31 the Lord and his Priests:

The context of the heading requires looking at all of the headings in chapter 7 of the KJV – "1 We are exhorted from sin, 4 from ambition, 8 from presumption, 10 and fainting in prayer; 12 from lying and backbiting, 18 and how to esteem a friend; 19 a good wife; 20 a servant; 22 our cattle; 23 our children and parents; 31 the Lord and his Priests." The KJV heading "the Lord and his Priests" is mentioned in a list of individuals whom "we must esteem." What is significant is that the priesthood was an ecclesiastical office in the Church of England but not among the Puritans. By providing a heading that the reader should esteem "the Lord and his Priests," the translators are providing support to the Church of England but not to the Puritans. The *Geneva Bible* avoids a heading which would draw attention to the office of priests.

In 15:14, the Geneva and KJV translate in nearly identical ways. The Geneva has "He made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his counsel and gave him his commandments and precepts." The KJV translates without the addition from the Latin (indicated by square brackets in the Geneva] "He himself made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his counsel."

(45a) Geneva translation – Ben Sira 15:14

> He made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his counfel, [and gave him his commandements and precepts.]

(45b) KJV translation – Ben Sira 15:14

> He himselfe made man from th beginning, and left him in the hand of his counsell,

The KJV translators added a heading to guide the reader away from a Calvinist interpretation of 15:14:

(45c) KJV headings – Ben Sira 15:11, 14

> 11 We may not charge God with our faults. 14 For he made, and left vs to our selues.

The Geneva and KJV translate similarly in 29:24/22:

(46a) Geneva translation – Ben Sira 29:24 (= KJV verse 22)

> The poore mans life in his owne lodge is better than delicate fare in another mans.

(46b) KJV translation – Ben Sira 29:22 (= Geneva verse 24)

> Better is the life of a poore man in a meane cottage, than delicate fare in another mans house.

The verse does not explicitly mention sojourning, but the KJV translators add a heading to that effect:

(46c) KJV heading – Ben Sira 29:22

> 22 It is better to liue at home, then to soiourne.

One has to wonder whether the note takes a subtle jab at those Puritans who went to Europe during Queen Mary's rule, especially those who settled in Geneva and translated the *Geneva Bible*. The *Geneva Bible* also has a few headings that are not paralleled in the KJV, which seem to be ideologically motivated. In 32:14/13, the Geneva and KJV translate similarly:

(47a) Geneva translation – Ben Sira 32:14 (= KJV 32:14)

> 14 But aboue all things, giue thankes vnto him that hathe made thee, and replenifhed thee with his goods.

(47b) KJV translation – Ben Sira 32:13 (= Geneva 32:14)

> 13 And for these things blesse him that made thee, and hath replenished thee with his good things. The *Geneva Bible* adds a heading:

(47c) Geneva heading – Ben Sira 32:14

> 14 To give thankes after the repaſt.

This heading guides the reader in interpreting the verse as referring to the saying grace after meals. By using an infinitival phrase, the translators covertly give a

command to their readers. The heading therefore subtly promotes a Puritan practice. The KJV omits the heading to avoid promoting a distinctively Puritan interpretation of the verse.

5 Conclusions

We have seen that the chapter headings, which at first glance appear to be unremarkable and uncontroversial, in fact were shaped by translators to promote their ideological and theological views. The headings provided a summary of the main concepts involved in the chapter as well as an interpretation of those topics. The headings furthermore indicate how the translators wanted readers to respond to the text of the chapter – how should readers' thinking or behaviour change as a result of the concepts found in the chapter. Yet even in the formulation of the headings, the two translations betray differences.

The *Geneva Bible* viewed the reader as one of the community of faith along with the translators and frequently exhorted the reader concerning what "we" ought or should or must do or not do. The KJV, by contrast, promoted the invisibility of the translator by using chapter headings that directly addressed the reader with their responsibilities using a command. In this way, the translators receded into the background and the text of Ben Sira directly commanded its readers to follow a path of wisdom on the basis of their individual reading of the text.

The chapter headings of these two translations, then, reveal much about the history of interpretation among two important English exegetical traditions as well as the history of reception of Ben Sira. Even when headings appear to bear a purely referential relationship to the pericope, their macrostructural shape, syntactic form and communicative functions serve the ideological and theological purposes of the translators in their quest to guide readers in their interpretation and appropriation of the translated text.

Source List

Bühler, Karl. 1934. *Sprachtheorie*. Jena: Fischer.

Burke, David G., John F. Kutsko and Philip H. Towner. 2013. *The King James Version at 400: Assessing its Genius as Bible Translation and Its Literary Influence*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Craig, Harden, Jr. 1938. "The *Geneva Bible* as a Political Document." *Pacific Historical Review* 7, 40–49.

Daniell, David. 2003. *The Bible in English*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Danner, Dan G. 1981. "The Contribution of the *Geneva Bible* of 1560 to the English Protestant Tradition." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 12, 5–18.

De Hamel, Christopher. 2001. *The Book: A History of the Bible*. London: Phaidon.

Du Preez, Erica. 2006. *Die kultuurspesifieke aard van opskrifte in* Finansies & Tegniek *en* Finance Week. MA Universiteit van die Vrystaat, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

Du Preez, Erica. 2009. "Metafoor in die Vertaalde Mediadiskoers oor Aandele en Markte in Finweek". Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Universiteit van die Vrystaat, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

Du Preez, Erica and Jacobus A. Naudé. 2008. "The culture-specific nature of headlines in *Finansies & Tegniek* and *Finance Week*." *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 26, 513–523.

Furniss, Tom. 2009. "Reading the *Geneva Bible*: Notes Toward an English Revolution?" *Prose Studies* 31, 1–21.

Jakobson, Roman. 1960/1987. "Linguistics and Poetics." In *Style in Language*, 351–77. Edited by Thomas A. Sebeok. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1960. Repr. in Roman Jakobson, *Language in Literature*, 62–93. Edited Krystyna Pomorska and Stephen Rudy. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Jenner, Konrad and Wido van Peursen. 2002. "Unit Delimitation and the Text of Ben Sira." In *Studies in Scriptural Unit Division*, edited by Marjo Korpel and Josef Oesch, 144–201. Pericope 3. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Jensen, Michael. 1995. "'Simply' Reading the *Geneva Bible*: The *Geneva Bible* and Its Readers." *Literature and Theology* 9, 30–45.

Miller-Naudé, Cynthia L. and Jacobus A. Naudé. 2014. "The Metatexts of 1 and 2 Maccabees." *Journal for Semitics* 24, 237–70.

Miller-Naudé, Cynthia L. and Jacobus A. Naudé. forthcoming. "The Metatextual Marginal Notes of Ben Sira: Ideology and Theology in the Geneva Bible (1560) and the King James Version (1611)." In *Septuagint, Sages and Scripture: Studies in Honour of Johann Cook*, edited by Randall X. Gauthier, Gideon R. Kotzé and Gert J. Steyn. Leiden: Brill.

Naudé, Jacobus A. 2009. "The Role of Metatexts in the Translations of Sacred Texts: The Case of the Aristeas Book and the Septuagint." *Vetus Testamentum Supplementum* 261, 281–298.

Naudé, Jacobus A. 2012. "Metatexts and the Regulation of Reader Responses in the Translation of Sacred Texts." In *Festschrift for Andrzej Zaborski*, 339–55. Folia Orientalia 49. Cracow, Poland: Polish Academy of Science.

Naudé, Jacobus A. 2013. "The Role of the Metatexts in the King James Version as a Means of Mediating Conflicting Theological Views." In *The King James Version at 400: Assessing its Genius as Bible Translation and Its Literary Influence*, edited by David G. Burke, John F. Kutsko and Philip H. Towner, 157–94. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Naudé, Jacobus A. and Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé. 2012. "Lamentations in the English Bible Translation Tradition of the King James Bible (1611)." *Scriptura* 110(2), 208–226.

Nord, Christiane. 1993. *Einführung in das funktionale Übersetzen. Am Beispiel von Titeln und Überschriften*. Tübingen: Francke.

Nord, Christiane. 1995. "Text-Functions in Translation: Titles and Headings as a Case in Point." *Target* 7, 261–84.

Nord, Christiane. 2012. "Guiding the Reader's Reception: Pericope Titles in the New Testament." In *Translation – Interpretation – Meaning*, edited by Anneli Aejmelaeus and

Päivi Pahta, 63–76. Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences 7. Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies.

Van Klinken-Rijneveld E. 2007. "Perikoopopschriften." *Met Andere Woorden* 26 (4), 19.

Voitila, Anssi. 2008. "For Those Who Love Learning: How the Reader is Persuaded to Study the Book of Ben Sira as a Translation." In *Houses Full of All Good Things: Essays in Memory of Timo Veijola*, edited by Juha Pakkala and Martti Nissinen, 451–60. Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 95. Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Wright, Benjamin G., III. 2003. "Why a Prologue? Ben Sira's Grandson and His Translation." In *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, edited by Shalom Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman, Weston Fields, 633–44. VTSup 72. Leiden: Brill.

Biblical Versions

Lutherbibel von 1545. 1983. Afterword by Wilhelm Hoffmann. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

Matthew's Bible: A Facsimile of the 1537 Edition Combining the Translations of William Tyndale and Myles Coverdale, Edited by John Rogers. 2009. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2009.

The CEB Study Bible with Apocrypha. 2013. Edited by Joel B. Green. E.T. Lowe Publishing.

The HarperCollins Study Bible: New Revised Standard Version. Edited by Wayne A. Meeks. 1993. New York: Harper Collins.

The Holy Bible: 1611 Edition, King James Version. 2010. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson.

The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition. 2007. Introduction by Lloyd E. Berry. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson.

The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version. 1991. Edited by Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy. New York: Oxford University Press.

The New Testament. A Facsimile of the 1526 Edition. 2008. Translated by William Tyndale. Introduction by David Daniell. London: The British Library. / Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers.

Appendix. The Headings of the *Geneva Bible* and the KJV

Reference	Geneva	KJV
chap 1	1 Wisdome cometh of God 10 A praife of the fears of God	1 All wisdom is from God. 10 He giueth it to them that loue him 12 The feare of God is full of many blessings 28 To feare God without hypocrisie.
chap 2	1 He exhorteth the feruants of God to righteoufness, loue, underftanding, and pacience, 11 To truft in the Lord (= KJV verse 10) 13 A curffe upon them that are fainte hearted and impacient (= KJV verse 12)	1 Gods seruants must looke for trouble 7 and be patient, and trust in him (= Geneva verse 8) 12 For woe to them that doe not so (= Geneva verse 13) 15 But they that feare the Lord, will doe so.
chap 3	1 To our father and mother oght we to giue double honor 10 Of the blefsing and curfe of the father and mother. 12 No man oght ouer curioufty to fearche out the fecrets of God.	1 Children must honour, and helpe both their parents. 21 We may not desire to know all things. 26 The incorrigible must needs perish. 30 Almes are rewarded.
chap 4	1 Almes must be done with gentleness. 12 The ftudie of wifdome and her frute. 20 An exhortation to efchewe euil, and to do good.	1 We may not despire the poor or fatherlesse, 11 but seeke for Wisdome, 20 and not be ashamed of some thing, nor gainsay the trueth, 30 nor be as lyons in our hosues.
chap 5	1 In riches may we not put any confidence. 7 The vengeance of God oght to be feared, and repentance may not be differred.	1 Wee must not presume of our wealth and strength, 6 Nor of the mercie of God to sinne. 9 We must not be double tongued, 12 Nor answere without knowledge.

Continued

Reference	Geneva	KJV
chap 6	1 It is the propertie of a finner to be euil tongued.	
		2 Do not extoll thy owne conceit,
	6 Of friendfhip.	
		7 But make choise of a friend.
		18 Seeke wisdome betimes:
		20 It is grieuous to some,
		28 yet the fruits thereof are pleasant.
	33 Defire to be taught.	
		35 Be ready to heare wise men.
chap 7		1 Wee are exhorted from sinne,
	2 We muft forfake euil, and yet not inflifie our felues.	
		4 from ambition,
		8 from presumption,
		10 and fainting in prayer;
		12 from lying and backebiting,
		18 and how to esteeme a friend;
		19 A good wife:
		20 a servant:
		22 our cattell:
	23 The hahauiour of the wife towards his wife, his friend, his children, his feruants, his father and mother.	23 our children and parents:
		31 the Lord and his Priests:
		32 the poore and those that mourne.
chap 8	We muft take hede with whome we have to do.	1 Whom we may not striue with
		8 nor despise,
		10 nor prouoke,
		15 nor haue to doe with.
chap 9	Of ieloufie.	1 We are advised how to vse our wiues.
		3 What women to auoide.
	12 An olde friend is to be preferred before a newe.	10 And not to change an old friend.
		13 Not to be familiar with men in authority.
		14 But to knowe our neighbours,
		15 And to conuerse with wise men.
	18 Righteous men fhulde be bidden to thy table.	

Continued

Reference	Geneva	KJV
chap 10	2 Of Kings and iudges.	1 The commodities of a wise ruler.
		4 God setteth him vp.
	7 Pride and couetoufnes are to be abhorred.	7 The inconueniences of pride, inuistice, and couetousnesse.
		14 What God hath done to the proud.
		19 Who shall be honored,
	28 Labour is praifed.	
		29 And who not.
chap 11	1 The praife of humilitie.	
	2 After the outward appearance oght we not to iudge.	
		4 Wee may not vaunt or set foorth our selues,
	7 Of rafh iudgement.	
		8 Nor answere rashly,
		10 Nor meddle with many matters.
	14 All things come of God.	14 Wealth and all things else, are from God.
		14[31] Bragge not of thy wealth.
	29 All men are not to be broght into thine houfe.	29 Nor bring euery man into thy house.
chap 12	1 Unto whome we oght to do good.	
		2 Be not liberall to the vngodly.
	10 Enemies oght not to be trufted.	10 Trust not thine enemie, nor the wicked.
chap 13	1 The companies of the proude & of the riche are to be efchewed.	1 Keepe not companie with the proude, or a mightier then thy selfe.
	11 The loue of God.	
		15 Like will to like.
	17 Like do companie with their like.	
		21 The difference betweene the rich and the poore.
		23 A mans heart will change his countenance.
chap 14	1 The offence of the tongue.	1 A good conscience maketh men happie.
		3 The niggard doth good to none.
		13 But doe thou good.

31 KJV has two notations of verse 14.

Continued

Reference	Geneva	KJV
	17 Man is but a vaine thing.	
		10[32] Men are happy that draw neare to wisdom.
	21 Happie is he that continueth in wifdome.	
chap 15	1 The goodnes that followeth him which feareth God.	
		2 Wisdome embraceth those that fear God.
		7 The wicked shall not get her.
	8 God reiecteth and casteth of the finner.	
	11 God is not the author of euil.	11 We may not charge God with our faults.
		14 For he made, and left vs to our selues.
chap 16	1 Of vnhappie and wicked children.	1 It is better to haue none then many lewd children.
		6 The wicked are not spared for their number.
		12 Both the wrath and the mercy of the Lord are great.
	17 No man can hide him felf from God.	17 The wicked cannot be hid.
		20 Gods workes are vnsearchable.
	24 An exhortacion to the receiuing of inftruction.	
chap 17	1 The creacion of man, and the goodnes that God hathe done unto him.	1 How God created and furnished man.
		14 Auoid all sinne;
		19 For God seeth all things.
	20 Of almes,	
		25 Turn to him while thou liuest.
	26 And repentance.	
chap 18	1 The marvelous works of God.	4 Gods workes are to be wondred at.
	6.7 The miferie & wretchednes of man.	
		9 Mans life is short. (= Geneva verse 8)
	9 Againft God oght we not to complaine. (= KJV verse 10)	

32 This is presumably an error for "20."

Continued

Reference	Geneva	KJV
		11 God is mercifull.
		15 Doe not blemish thy good deeds with ill wordes.
	21 The performing of Vowes.	22 Deferre not to bee justified.
		30 Followe not thy lustes.
chap 19	2 Wine & whoredome bring men to pouertie.	2 Wine and women seduce wise men.
	6 In thy wordes vfe difcretion.	
		7 Say not all thou hearest.
		17 Reproue thy friend without anger.
	22 The difference of the wifdome of God and man.	22 There is no wisdome in wickednesse.
	27 Whereby thou maift knowe what is in man.	
chap 20	Of correction & repentance	1 Of silence and speaking.
	6 To speake & kepe filence in time.	
		10 Of gifts, and gaine.
	17 The falle of the wicked (= KJV verse 18)	18 Of slipping by the tongue (= Geneva verse 17)
	23 Of lying.	24 Of lying.
	24 The thief & the murtherer.	
		27 Of diuers aduertisements.
	28 Giftes blinde the eyes of the wife.	
chap 21	1 Not to continue in finne.	
		2 Flee from sinnes as from a serpent.
		4 His oppression will vndoe the rich.
	5 The prayer of the afflicted.	
	6 To hate to be reproued.	
		9 The ende of the vniust shall be naught.
		12 The differences betweene the foole and the wise.
	17 The mouths of the wife man.	
	26 The thoght of the foole.	
chap 22	1 Of the fluggard.	1 Of the slouthfull man,
		3 and a foolish daughter.
		11 Weepe rather for fooles, then for the dead.
	12 Not to fpeake muche to a foole.	
		13 Meddle not with them.
	16 A good confcience feareth not.	16 The wise mans heart will not shrinke.

Continued

Reference	Geneva	KJV
		20 What will lose a friend.
chap 23	1 A prayer of the autor.	1 A prayer for grace to flee sinne.
		9 We may not vse swearing:
	13 Of othes, blafphemie, and unwife communication.	
		14 But remember our parents.
	16 Of the kindes of finnes.	16 Of three sorts of sinne.
	23 Manie finnes procede of adulterie.	23 The adultresse wife sinneth many waies.
	27 Of the feare of God.	
chap 24	1 A praife of wifome proceding forthe of the mouth of God.	
		2 Wisdome doeth praise herselfe, shew her beginning.
		4 Her dwelling,
	6 Of her workes and place where she refteth	
		13 Her glory,
		17 Her fruit,
		26 Her increase, and perfection.
	30 She is giuen to the children of God.	
chap 25	1 Of thre things which pleafe God, and of thre which he hateth.	1 What things are beautiful, and what hatefull.
		6 What is the crowne of age.
	7 Of nine things that be not to be fufpect.	7 What things make men happy.
		13 Nothing worse than a wicked woman.
	15 Of the malice of a woman.	
chap 26	1 The praife of a good woman.	1 A good wife,
		4 and a good conscience doe glad men.
	5 Of the feare of thre things, and of the fourth.	
	6 Of the ielous and drunken woman.	6 A wicked wife is a fearful thing.
		13 Of good and bad wiues.
	28[33] Of two things that caufe furow, and of the third which moueth wrath.	28 Of three things that are grieuous.

---

33 The reference "28" should be "29."

Continued

Reference	Geneva	KJV
		20[34] Merchants and hucksters are not without sinne.
chap 27		1 Of sinnes in selling and buying.
	3 Of the poore that wolde be riche.	
	5 The probacion of the man that feareth God.	
		7 Our speech will tell what is in vs.
	13 The unconftantnes of a foole.	
	16 The fecrets of friends are not to be uttered.	16 A friend is lost by discouering his secrets.
		25 Hee that diggeth a pit shall fall into it.
	26 The wicked imagineth euil which turneth upon him felft.	
chap 28	1 We oght not to defire vengeance, but to forgiue the offence.	1 Against reuenge.
		8 Quarrelling,
		10 Anger,
	12 Of the vices of the tongue, and of the dangers thereof.	
		15 And backbiting.
chap 29	1 Do lend money, and do almes.	
		2 Wee must show mercy and lend:
		4 but the borower must not defraud the lender.
		9 Giue almes.
	11 Of a faithful man anfwering for his friend.	
		14 A good man will not vndoe his sure-tie.
		18 To be suretie and vndertake for oth-ers is dangerous.
		22 It is better to liue at home, then to soiourne.
	24 The poore mans life.	
chap 30	1 Of the correction of children.	1 It is good to correct our children,
		7 and not to cocker them.
	14 Of the commoditie of health.	14 Health is better than wealth.

---

34 The reference "20" should be "29."

Continued

Reference	Geneva	KJV
	17 Death is better than a forrowful life.	
	22 Of the ioye and forow of the hearth.	22 Health and life are shortened by griefe.
chap 31	Of couetoufness.	1 Of the desire of riches.
	2 Of them that take paine to gather riches.	
	8 The praife of a riche man without a faute.	
	12 We oght to flee drunkennes and folowe fobernes.	12 Of moderation and excesse in eating, or drinking wine.
chap 32	1 An exhortation to modeftie.	1 Of his duty that is cheefe or master in a feast.
	3 Let the ancient fpeake.	
	14 To give thankes after the repaft (= KJV verse 13)	
	15 Of the feare, faith and confidence in God.	14 Of the feare of God. (= Geneva verse 15)
		18 Of counsell.
		20 Of a ragged and a smooth way.
		23 Trust not to any but to thy selfe and to God.
chap 33	The deliverance of him that feareth God.	1 The safety of him that feareth the Lord.
		2 The wise and the foolish.
	4 The anfwere of the wife.	
		7 Times and seasons are of God.
		10 Men are in his hands, as clay in the hands of the potter (= Geneva verse 10a)
	12 Man is in the hand of God, as the clay is in the hand of the potter (= KJV verse 13)	
		18 Cheefely regard thy selfe.
		24 Of seruants (= Geneva verse 23)
	25 Of euil feruants (= KJV verse 26)	
chap 34	Of dreames.	1 Of dreames.
	13 The praife of them that feare God.	
		15 The praise and blessing of them that feare the Lord.
	18 The offrings of the wicked.	18 The offering of the ancient, and praier of the poore innocent.

Continued

Reference	Geneva	KJV
	22 The bread of the nedie.	
	27 God doeth not alowe the workes of an vnfaithful man.	
chap 35	1 Of true sacrifices.	1 Sacrifices pleasing to God.
	14 The prayer of the fatherles, and of the widdowe, and him that humbleth him felf.	14 The prayer of the fatherlesse, of the widow, and of the humble in spirit.
		20 Acceptable mercy.
chap 36	1 A prayer to God in the perfone of all faithful men, againft thofe that perfecute his Church.	1 A prayer for the Church against the enemies thereof.
		18 A good heart and a froward.
		21 Of a good wife.
	22 The praife of a good woman.	
chap 37	1 How a man fhulde knowe friends & counfelers.	1 How to know friends and counsellors.
	12 To kepe his companie that feareth God.	12 The descretion and wisdome of a godly man blesseth him.
		27 Learne to refraine thine appetite.
chap 38	1 A phyficion is commendable.	1 Honour due to the Phisitian, and why
	16 To burye the dead.	16 How to weepe and mourne for the dead.
	24 The wifdome of him that is learned.	24 The wisedome of the learned man, and of the Labourer and Artificer: with the vse of them both
chap 39	1 A wife man.	1 A description of him that is truely wise.
		12 An exhortation to prasie God for his workes, which are good to the good, and euill to them that are euill.
	16 The workes of God.	
	24 Unto the good, good things profite, but vnto the evil, euen the good things are euil.	
chap 40	1 Many miferies in mans life.	1 Many miseries in a mans life.
		12 The reward of vnrighteousnesse, and the fruit of true dealing.
	14 O fthe blefsing of the righteous and prerogatiue of the feare of God.	

Continued

Reference	Geneva	KJV
		17 A vertuous wife, & an an honest friend reioyce the heart, but the feare of the Lord is aboue all.
		28 A beggers life is hatefull.
chap 41	1 Of the remembrance of death.	1 The remembrance of Death.
	3 Death is not to be feared	3 Death is not to be feared.
		5 The vngodly shall be accursed.
	8 A curfe upon them that forfake the Law of God.	
		11 Of an euill and a good name.
	12 Good name & fame.	
	14 An exhortacion to giue hede vnto wifdome.	14 Wisdome is to be vttered.
		16 Of what things we should be ashamed.
	17 Of what things a man oght to be afhamed.	
chap 42	The fumme of the creation of the workes of God.	1 Whereof we should not be ashamed.
		9 Be carefull of thy daughter.
		12 Beware of a woman.
		15 The workes and greatnes of God.
chap 43	The fumme of the creacion of the workes of God.	1 The workes of God in heaven, and in earth, and in the sea, are exceeding glorious and wonderfull.
		29 Yet God himfelfe in his power and wisedome is aboue all.
chap 44	The praife of certain holie men, Enoch, Noa, Abraham, Ifaac and Iacob.	1 The praise of certaine holy men:
		16 Of Enoch,
		17 Of Noah,
		19 Abraham,
		22 Isaac,
		23 and Iacob.
chap 45	The praife of Moyfes, Aaron, and Phinees.	1 The praise of Moses,
		6 Of Aaron,
		23 and of Phinees.
chap 46	The praife of Iofue, Caleb, and Samuel	1 The praise of Ioshua,
		9 Of Caleb,

Continued

Reference	Geneva	KJV
		13 Of Samuel.
chap 47	The praifse of Nathan, David and Solomon.	1 The praise of Nathan,
		2 Of David,
		12 Of Solomon his glory, and infirmities.
		23 Of his end and punishment.
chap 48	The praife of Elias, Elifeus, Ezekias and Ifaias.	1 The praise of Elias,
		12 of Elizeus,
		17 and of Ezekias.
chap 49	Of Iosias, Hezekiah, David, Ieremi, Ezechiel, Zorobabel, Iefus, Nehemias, Enoch, Iefeph, Sem & Seth.	1The praise of Iosias,
		4 Of Dauid and Ezekias,
		6 Of Ieremie,
		8 Of Ezechiel,
		11 Zorobabel,
		12 Iesus the sonne of Iosedec.
		13 Of Nehemiah, Enoch, Seth, Sem, and Adam.
chap 50	Of Simon the fonne of Onias.	1 Of Simon the sonne of Onias.
	22 An exhortacion to praife the Lord.	22 How the people were taught to praise God, and pray.
	27 The autor of this boke.	27 The conclusion.
chap 51	A prayer of Iefus the fonne of Sirach.	A prayer of Iesus the sonne of Sirach.

Annette H. M. Evans

Angelic Mediation in the Book of Tobit: A Shift in the Deuteronomic Paradigm?

Abstract: This paper considers the possibility that in spite of the deuteronomistic setting of the beginning of *Tobit*[1] the angelology betrays a post-exilic setting with an incipient apocalyptic flavour. The development of the Jewish angelology to what amounts at the end to a hint of merkebah mysticism, suggests the possibility of Christian redaction. In the end, healing of Tobit's blindness is effected through the expediency of God's mediator Raphael travelling with the sufferers on earth, so that the annual visit to the centralized Temple is no longer a prerequisite. The *Book of Tobit* displays an aspect of Jewish belief in divine intervention which facilitated the eventual reception of Christianity.

Keywords: Tobit, Tobias, Deuteronomistic, Theodicy, Jewish angelology.

1 Introduction

The narrative of *Tobit* is set in the days of Shalmanezer the king of Assyria who conquered Samaria, as a result of which exiles were taken to Nineveh in Assyria in 727–722 B.C.E. Tobit's ancestry is from the Northern tribe of Naphtali, but right in the beginning of the narrative (Tob 1:4) he describes himself as an exceptionally righteous Israelite who unlike all his compatriots, faithfully goes up to the Temple for the festivals. Tobit states that the Temple, God's habitation, was hallowed forever. An indication that the author of *Tobit* probably derived the historical setting of his narrative from the Deuteronomic writings (Deut to 2 Kings) is that the same historical inaccuracy in Tob 1:15, 18 regarding the successor of Shalmanezer, is present in the Deuteronomic writings of 2 Kings 17:1–6, 18:9–13.[2] This clue tends to confirm that at least at the beginning of the narrative, Tobit is anchored firmly to the Deuteronomic history and theodicy.[3] In his

---

1 In this article, *Tobit* (italicized) will refer to the *Book of Tobit*, while Tobit (normal script) will refer to the character by the same name.

2 Sennacherib was not Shalmanezer's son, but Sargon's. The end of the Deuteronomic writings is dated to 561 B.C.E. according to the last historical incident recorded in 2 Kgs 25. Cf. A. Wikgren, Tobit. In *The Interpreter's Bible*, eds G.A. Buttrick *et al*, (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), 660.

3 For characteristics of Deuteronomic theodicy see A. Laato, "Theodicy in the Deuteronomistic History." In *Theodicy in the World of the Bible*, eds. A. Laato and J.C. de Moor, (Leiden: Brill,

study of the Farewell Discourse in *Tob* 14:3–11 Di Lella (1979, 380) found that the author "shared many of the same intentions of the final redactors of Deuteronomy," and proposed that much of the *Tobit* narrative had a Deuteronomistic background.[4] However, Kiel (2012, 269) subsequently noted that Tobit's blindness (accidental and apparently undeserved) "is coordinated with a specific theological viewpoint," and he argued that the narrative "resists such a simple conclusion" as that which Di Lella (1979, 380) proposed.[5] Although Tobit certainly identifies himself with Deuteronomistic characteristics in the beginning of the narrative, as the story unfolds it seems that the narrative may have been conceived of as a critique of such a view. Thus this article considers the possibility that in the course of the narrative a shift takes place from the Deuteronomic paradigm towards a theology that is more like the less rigid and more compassionate theology of the New Testament. From the outset the question of theodicy lies below the surface of the narrative: is suffering an inevitable part of living according to Deuteronomistic precepts, or is Tobit's blindness a metaphoric statement of the limitations of upholding the Deuteronomistic paradigm?[6]

2003), 188. Although the fall of Nineveh is mentioned at the end of the narrative, the historical inaccuracy in Tob 1:15, 18 indicates a lack of direct knowledge of the actual historical and geographical circumstances of the setting. Cf. J.A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 32–33 and Cary A. Moore, *Tobit: A New Translation With Introduction and Commentary* – AncB Series, 40 A (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 10. Paterson suggested that *Tobit* was written by an Egyptian Jew as late as the early part of the second century. The possibility that the author lived very far away from Jerusalem, for example Alexandria or even Elephantine, would also explain the inaccurate geographical details and apparent vagueness about the second Temple in Jerusalem. Cf. C.H. Paterson, *The Philosophy of the Old Testament* (New York: The Ronald Peers Company, 1953), 475.

4 Di Lella used the *Tobit* G2 version of which he had made an English translation for the NAB in 1970, and notes that he made corrections from various MSS when he found the text questionable f. Alexander A. Di Lella, "The Deuteronomic Background of the Farewell Discourse in Tob 14:3–11." *CBQ* 41(1979), 380.

5 Cf. Micah D. Kiel, "Tobit's Theological Blindness." *CBQ* 73 (2011), 281.

6 Cf. Gericke. 2015. Why-questions, 5, 8. Keith van Wyk, in her paper on structural and psychological coherence with reference to the Jungian psychological concept of "individuation" assesses the character of Tobit negatively. She suggests that Tobias, on the other hand, achieves such an ideal state, and that if both are analysed as one character, the narrative expresses the process of development of individuation. Cf. Helen Keith van Wyk, "Structural and Psychological coherence in the book of *Tobit*." Paper delivered at LXXSA International Conference (2015), Potchefstroom.

Rautenberg (2015), in her paper on the meaning of Exile in *Tobit*, perceives Tobit's exile not as geographical, but in essence, social.

2 Methodology

To consider the possibility that the angelic mediation in *Tobit* reflects a shift in the Deuteronomic theology, relevant sections of the Greek versions of *Tobit* (*Sinaiticus*) GII and GI (*Vaticanus*) are compared. Although G2 is considered to be the more original text, both have a very early character and are presented by Weeks, Gathercole and Stuckenbruck (2004, 5) in a raw and unreconstructed form, in a synopsis with other main versions.[7] Intertextual evidence, especially from 1 Enoch, is taken into account. The holistic cultural-contextual approach described by Cook (2000, 41), which aims to achieve the broadest and most representative analysis while making sense of the text as an independent entity, is applied as far as possible. In the case of *Tobit* the difficulty of establishing the actual date and place of writing, the original language, and the reason for the chosen historical setting is exacerbated by the extensive oral tradition evident in the manuscript transmission. The narrative contains many syncretistic folkloristic strands, for instance the Aramaic story of Ahikar, which is dated to the fifth century B.C.E.[8] The Aramaic connection to *Tobit* is interesting in that sixty fragments of four Aramaic texts were found at Qumran, 4Q196–199.[9] Since this discovery, the scholarly consensus is that *Tobit* was originally written in Aramaic.[10] The Qumran Aramaic fragments have been dated from about 100 B.C.E. to the early part of the first century.[11] They are referred to where they can provide additional evidence.

---

7 Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1952, the story of *Tobit* was only known from various ancient translations of different Greek versions. Cf. Weeks, Gathercole and Stuckenbruck. 2004. Texts, 5.

8 The text of Ahikar was discovered in Elephantine in Middle Egypt where there was a Jewish settlement during the fifth century B.C.E. The story of Ahikar is reminiscent of the ancient Egyptian story of Sinhue.

9 Nine Hebrew fragments (4Q200) were also found. Five other textual traditions in Hebrew and one in Aramaic are known, which can be traced back to the twelfth century, but may be considerably older (Stuckenbruck and Weeks, Medieval, 720).

10 J.A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 25; Flint, Noncanonical Writings, 91; Milik, Enoch, 59.

11 Weeks, Gathercombe and Stuckenbruck, Texts, 29.

3 The Date of the Narrative

There are certain clues that indicate that the date of the writing of the narrative is not only (at the least) after Josiah's reforms (640 – 609 B.C.E.) and the centralisation of worship at the Temple in Jerusalem, but even after the building of the wall of Jerusalem by Nehemiah, which started in 445 B.C.E.. For instance, the angel Raphael (in disguise) introduces himself as ἐγὼ Ἀζαρίας Ἀνανίου τοῦ μεγάλου τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου – 'I am Azarias son of Hananias the great, one of your relatives' (NETS, Tob 5:13).[12] This choice of name and genealogy is almost identical to LXX-Neh 3:23b (2 Esd 13:23b) where an incident is recorded that happened long after the historical setting of the *Tobit* narrative: Ἀζαρια υἱὸς Μαασηα υἱοῦ Ἀνανία ἐχόμενα οἴκου αὐτοῦ – "Azariah son of Maaseiah, the son of Ananiah, worked near his house" (NETS). Charlesworth (2003, 56) notes that there is no mention in the earliest Qumran fragments of *Tobit* about the crises of the second century B.C.E., thus he suggests that *Tobit* was probably written before the Maccabean Revolt which started in 175 B.C.E.

4 Deuteronomic Theology

Mayes defines the central theme of Deuteronomy as a call to the service of one God by an elect people centered around one sanctuary, through obedience to the law, in the land which God has given. In the Deuteronomic view it was believed that God is present in the holy of holies – one fixed place, according to the centralization of worship (cf. Deut 12:11 – 18).[13] The impression of a Deuteronomistic setting in the beginning of the narrative is reinforced by Tobit's prayer (Tob 3:5, present in both G1 and G2). After having been vilified by his wife for his upholding of the value of righteous deeds in spite of having been blinded, he expresses his own sense of guilt for the communal sin of Israel: "because we have not kept your commandments and have not walked faithfully before you."[14] This concept

---

12 4Q197 contains remnants of this is phrase: אנה עזר reconstructed by Fitzmyer, DJD XIX, 43, as אנה עזריה בר... The pseudonymous name Azariah has possible links to *Daniel* where Azariah is one of Daniel's three friends (renamed Abednego by Nebuchadnezzar's prince of eunuchs), who all survived the fiery furnace ostensibly by the presence of an angel (Dan 3:25).
13 Mayes, Deuteronomy, 57 – 58.
14 A minute fragment of this verse is extant in 4Q196:] למעבד בי which Fitzmyer translates as "[to] deal with me [ ]". Cf. J.A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 46.

---

of theodicy is in line with the Deuteronomic recognition and acceptance of punishment by God because of communal guilt.[15]

5 Post-Exilic Angelology

One of the aims of my recent D.Phil. dissertation (Evans, 2007, 71, 97, 164 – 165 and 282 – 285) was to identify angelological motifs in the Bible because references to angels in the Hebrew Bible are often ambiguously stated. Motifs that were found to be almost always present in texts connected to angelic appearances are firstly, light (sometimes in the form of the sun or fire), God's throne in heaven, and the Divine Council. Only the latter two of these major angelic motifs are directly present in *Tobit*; the Divine Council is alluded to at Tob 3:16 and 12:12, and the throne of God in heaven at 3:16 and 12:15. The major angelological motif of light/sun/fire is not present, except in the metaphoric theme of light as opposed to darkness, in reference to Tobit's recovery of sight. However, the reader is soon informed that the angel Raphael is in disguise as Azariah, and his presence pervades the entire narrative.

In postexilic Jewish writings Raphael was considered a member of the Divine Council.[16] This is confirmed at 12:12 where Raphael reveals to both Tobit and Tobiah that he brought the prayers of Sarah and Tobit to God's throne in heaven. In 12:15 Raphael again alludes to the Divine Council motif when he reveals that he is "one of the seven angels who stand in attendance and enter the glorious presence of the Lord."[17] That an angel is actually named (Tob 5:4) is a postexilic feature of Jewish angelology. The identities of individual angels were only beginning to emerge at this time. Other postexilic features present are that an angel is specifically sent to heal Tobit and Sarah (Tob 5:22), and that Tobit writes his story at the command of the angel (Tob 12:20b).

Yet another postexilic feature, the angelic function of being "sent to test you" at G2 Tob 12:14a (τότε ἀπέσταλμαι ἐπι σὲ πειράσαι) appears in postexilic writings such as Job 1.[18] That Tob 12:14a does not appear in any Hebrew or Aramaic texts, or in G1, is significant. It does not appear in *Codex Alexandrinus* either. The possibility has to be considered that GI, the Qumran texts of *Tobit*, and

---

15 Cf. Laato, "Theodicy in the Deuteronomistic History" (2003), 188, 232.
16 Cf. J.A. Fitzmyer, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XIX. Qumran Cave 4XIV.* Tobit, 1 – 76 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 160.
17 These passages are present in both G1 and G2 with insignificant differences.
18 Cf. Portier-Young. 2005. Eyes to the Blind, 14 – 27; Metzger and Murphy. 1994. New Oxford Annotated Bible, 625.