THE METATEXTS OF 1 AND 2 MACCABEES[1]

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ABSTRACT

The physical placement of Maccabees within translations provides important evidence concerning the translators' views of the book and its relation to other parts of the canon. Some of the translations include a preface which explicitly indicates the status of Maccabees with respect to the remainder of the canon of Scripture and its proper use both for public reading and ecclesiastical doctrine. In addition, some translations include introductions to Maccabees, which further discuss the status and role of Maccabees within the canon. Finally, the metatextual evidence of marginal notes will be used to indicate interpretive issues concerning the text of Maccabees.

INTRODUCTION

Metatexts are supplemental materials that create a frame to guide the reader in interpreting the translation. Metatexts include prefaces, introductions, dedications, titles of books/chapters, subject headings, marginal notes, footnotes, endnotes, illustrations, indices, addenda, and the visual presentation of the text (typeface, printing layout, etc.). Metatexts are useful precisely because they trace the contours of ideology and expose the sociocultural context that commands literary exchanges (Naudé 2012). Metatexts can provide an important overview of the ideological context

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of the translation and of the expectations of the readers (Naudé 2009). A metatext also has the function of calling attention to the translator as co-signer of the work and his/her intervention in the work (Naudé 2013:158).

In this paper we examine the metatexts of early European translations of 1 and 2 Maccabees as providing indications concerning the reception of Maccabees within the canon of Scripture, its authority and its interpretation. The main focus will be on the marginal notes in the Matthews Bible (1537), the Geneva Bible (1560) and the King James Version (1611). To get a fuller picture, there will be reference to certain aspects of the following translations: Martin Luther's German translation (1534), the English Douay-Rheims translation (1582-1610), and the Dutch Authoritative Translation (1639). To a lesser extent reference will be made to the Tavener's Bible (1539), the Great Bible (1539), and the Bishop's Bible (1568).

The physical placement of 1 and 2 Maccabees within Bible translations (discussed in the next section) provides important evidence concerning the translators' views of the book and its relation to other parts of the canon. The following section considers some of the translations that also include a preface which explicitly indicates the status of the Apocrypha with respect to the remainder of the canon of Scripture and its proper use both for public reading and ecclesiastical doctrine. We then consider some translations that include introductions to Maccabees, which further discuss the status and role of Maccabees within the canon. Finally, the metatextual evidence of marginal notes will be used to indicate interpretive issues concerning the texts of 1 and 2 Maccabees.

PHYSICAL PLACEMENT OF MACCABEES WITHIN TRANSLATIONS

The Septuagint included these books which were not included in the Hebrew canon but were accepted by Hellenistic Jews and taken over by the early Church. They were mostly interspersed among the canonical books.

When Jerome translated the Vulgate toward the close of the fourth century he tried to find the Hebrew originals of all the Old Testament books and the books he could

not find in the Hebrew canon, he called Apocrypha, the Secret Books or Books of Hidden Wisdom. Because these extra books were translated from the Greek Septuagint, they appeared in the Latin incorporated into and among various books of the canonical Old Testament, namely Tobit (following Ezra-Nehemiah), Judith, Esther (containing additions from the Greek), Wisdom (following the Song of Songs), Sirach or Ecclesiasticus, Baruch (following Lamentations), including chapter 6, which is often published separately as The Letter of Jeremiah, Daniel (containing three additions from the Greek), and 1 and 2 Maccabees. Following the books of the New Testament, five additional books are included in an Appendix: The Prayer of Manasseh, 3 Ezra (1 Esdras in the King James Bible and others), 4 Ezra (2 Esdras in the King James Bible and others), Psalm 151, and The Letter to the Laodiceans. Except for the last book (from the third or fourth century A.D.), these thirteen books (sometimes separated and numbered as fourteen, fifteen or sixteen) have found their way into various Bible translations.

The earliest translation of the whole Bible into English is associated with John Wycliffe and his followers.[2] Because the Wycliffe Bible (1380–1388) was translated from the Latin Vulgate, it includes the books of both Testaments as well as the Apocrypha and the Appendix in a similar way.

The vernacular Bible for English Roman Catholics was the Douay-Rheims Bible (1582-1610). (The Old Testament was published in two volumes in 1609 and 1610.) Like the Wycliffe Bible it followed the canonical ordering of the later editions of the Vulgate with the books of the Apocrypha inserted appropriately by genre within the Old Testament. This was in line with the Council of Trent's decision in 1546 in which the Catholic Church declared the books under discussion to be "deuterocanonical" meaning these books were of equal authority to the other books of the Old Testament that were recognised as canonical earlier ("proto-canonical"). In contrast, the Church of England's Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion of 1563 listed the canonical books of the Old Testament and distinguished them from "the other books" (the Apocrypha), which the Church could read "for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet

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[2]   For an overview of the early English Bible translations, see Wansbrough (2008). For the intellectual and theological currents at the time, see Rex (2008).

doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine".

The innovation in Martin Luther's translation of the Bible into German in 1534 was that he was the first to group the apocryphal books together into a separate section (Goodspeed 1936:170). Following Jerome and accepting the parameters of the Hebrew canon, Luther titled the collection "Apocrypha". He placed them as a separate block between the Old and New Testaments.

This decision set the precedent for all Protestant English Bibles that followed to place the Apocrypha in a separate appendix at the end of the Old Testament:

- Miles Coverdale Bible (1535/1537) (minus Baruch and the Prayer of Manasseh)
- Matthew's Bible (1537)
- Taverner's Bible (1539) (3 Maccabees was added in 1549, but dropped afterwards)
- The Great Bible (1539)
- The Geneva Bible (1560) (the Prayer of Manasseh is placed after 2 Chronicles, as Manasseh's repentance and prayer are noted in 2 Chronicles 33:12-33)
- The Bishop's Bible (1568)
- The King James Bible (1611)

The separateness of the Apocrypha is visually indicated in the Matthew's Bible by a title page which introduces it. In the centre of the page, the title reads "The volume of books called Apocrypha, contained in the common translation in Latin which are not found in the Hebrew nor in the Chaldee. The register thereof: The Third Book of Esdras, The Fourth Book of Esdras, The Book of Tobiah, The Book of Judith, The Rest of the Book of Esther, The Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch the Prophet, The Song of the Three Children in the Oven, The Story of Susannah, The Story of Bel and of the Dragon, The Prayer of Manasseh, The First Book of the Maccabees, The Second Book of the Maccabees." Around the outside of the page are 15 drawings depicting events in the books.

The KJV translators assigned one of the six translation committees to translate the Apocrypha, namely, the "second" Cambridge translation company which included John Duport (d. 1617), William Branthwaite (d.1620), Jeremy Radcliffe (d. 1612),

Samuel Ward (d. 1643), Andrew Downes (d. 1628), John Bois (d. 1643), and Robert Ward (d. unknown) (Brake & Beach 2011:101-103; Hill 2013:347, 355).

The Dutch Authoritative Bible, printed in 1639, placed the Apocrypha as a separate collection at the very end of the volume, after the New Testament.

The earliest traces of a tradition to exclude the books of the Apocrypha are from a printed edition of Geneva Bible in 1599, primarily in the Low Countries of Europe (Hill 2013:349). Note that the pages for the Apocrypha were not omitted, but were left unnumbered and the apocryphal books were placed between the Old and New Testaments (Hill 2013:349). The King James Version (1611) followed this practice of placement of the Apocrypha.

However, not all publishers included the Apocrypha in their printings of Bibles. In 1615 George Abbot, the archbishop of Canterbury, forbade the publication of Bibles without the Apocrypha, at the threat of one year in prison. However, the following editions of the KJV excluded the Apocrypha: 1619, 1626, 1629, 1630, 1632, and 1633 (Hill 2013:349). According to Harold Scanlin 14 percent (15 of the 110 editions) of the KJV and Geneva Bibles published between 1611 and 1639 lacked the Apocrypha (Hill 2013:352). Hill (2013:349) mentions the following reasons:

i.   The influence of the English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians.

ii. The principle of the Hebrew canon as authoritative (i.e. the books of the Apocrypha are not found in the Hebrew Bible).

iii. Increasing anti-papal and anti-Roman Catholic sentiments among several of the Protestant groups.

iv. Anti-royalist sentiments among the English Nonconformists.

v.   Matters of divine inspiration and the doctrine of Scripture.

vi. The concern that these books are sensational and are on a low moral and religious level.

At the demand of the Puritans, Presbyterians, and other Nonconformists hardly any Bibles were printed which contained the Apocrypha in the parliamentary period, i.e., the two decades between the beginning of the English Civil War in 1642 and the restoration of the monarchy with the installation of Charles II in 1660. According to

Scanlin 65 percent (48 of 73 editions) of the Bibles published between 1639 and 1660 contained the Apocrypha, but this dropped to 60 percent between 1660 and 1700 (Hill 2013:352). Until the end of the eighteenth century 579 editions of the KJV were published in England. A total of 227 of those editions, or approximately 40 percent, were published without the Apocrypha. Despite the opposition of the Puritans and the Presbyterians, there was still a strong presence of the Apocrypha in the KJV for about two centuries after its initial publication in 1611 (Hill 2013:352).

The British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) was founded in 1804 by the so-called evangelical party within the state church and by the nonconformists; both of these groups rejected Bibles with the Apocrypha (Hill 2013:352). The implication was that the BFBS from its founding did not issue Bibles with the Apocrypha. In 1826 and 1827 the BFBS adopted a policy that forbade financing the publication of foreign Bibles that retained the books of the Apocrypha or any national Bible society that engaged in the circulation of such Bibles (Hill 2013:353). The American Bible Society (ABS) followed the lead of BFBS and adopted a similar policy in 1828 (Hill 2013:353). This explains why the editions of the Dutch Authoritative Bible published by the BFBS in the nineteenth and twentieth century have no Apocrypha. In fact, there were almost no Bibles published with the Apocrypha during this time.

With the decline of the British monarchical tradition in the twentieth century, the status of the KJV as its ordained Bible concomitantly dwindled (Orlinsky & Bratcher 1991:38-39). The economic and social problems which caused World War I, the rampant inflation of the 1920s, the depression of 1929 and the consequent totalitarianism which scourged Europe in the 1930s, created so much anxiety and despair that people were inclined to question science as a solution to their problems. Many reverted to religion and the Bible as an additional resource. However, the KJV and its revisions, the Revised Version and American Standard Version, no longer met the demand. Consequently Protestant and Catholic authorities of the 1930s conceived the idea of producing a new Bible: the Revised Standard Version, emanating from the new rival power, the United States. Separate committees produced the New Testament, the complete Bible, and the Apocrypha in 1946, 1952 and 1957,

respectively. The American Bible Society lifted its restrictions on the publication of Bibles with the Apocrypha in 1964 (Hill 2013:354). The BFBS followed suit in 1966 (Hill 2013:354). The impetus for the change in perspective can be attributed in part to changes in politics (the formation of a global outlook after two world wars and the formation of the United Nations), changes in religious outlook (a new ecumenism and the formation of the World Council of Churches) and changes in translation theory (Nida's dynamic equivalence theory of translation).

Since the 1960s some editions of the Bible with the Apocrypha have been published and distributed. In 1973 an ecumenical edition of the Revised Standard Version from Collins in Glasgow was issued (Kubo & Specht 1983:54-57). This volume comprised four sections: (a) the thirty-nine books of the Old Testament, (b) the twelve deuterocanonical books, those books of the Christian Old Testament that are not part of the Hebrew Bible, (c) three books forming part of the traditional Apocrypha but not included among the deuterocanonical books, as well as (d) the twenty-seven books of the New Testament. For the first time since the Reformation, one edition of the Bible was acceptable to Protestant, Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches alike. Since then the New English Bible (1970), the New Revised Standard Version (1989) and the Contemporary English Bible (2013) have published editions of the Bible that include the Deuterocanonicals/Apocrypha. The New International Version is a distinctively evangelical translation and does not include the Apocrypha.

GENERAL PREFACES TO THE "APOCRYPHA"

The widespread availability of the moveable type of printing press in Europe led to an explosion of Bible translation in the sixteenth century. William Caxton brought the art of printing to England in 1475. The first complete Bible printed in English was translated and edited by Miles Coverdale and published in 1535. Knowing neither Hebrew nor Greek, Coverdale consulted English sources like William Tyndale's pioneering translation work on the New Testament and Pentateuch (1535) and for the

rest of the Old Testament and Apocrypha he utilised the Latin Vulgate and Luther's German Bible. The vocabulary of John Wycliffe also appears in the Coverdale Bible. Coverdale introduced the Apocrypha, in a separate section, as follows:

> These books (good reader) which are called Apocrypha, are not judged among the doctors to be of like reputation with the other scripture, as you may perceive by St Jerome in 'Episola ad Paulinium'. And the chief cause thereof is this: there be many places in them, that seem to be repugnant unto the open and manifest truth in other books of the Bible (cited in Daniell 2003:187-188).

John Rogers, a Roman Catholic Priest who later became a Protestant pastor, combined Tyndale's and Coverdale's texts and supplied some translation work of his own to create the Matthew's Bible (1537). It was attributed to a fictitious "Thomas Matthew", concealing the inclusion of Tyndale's text so that King Henry VIII would license the volume's publication.

The Matthew's Bible preface to the "Volume of Books called Apocrypha" recognises that they are not of like reputation with the other Scriptures and are not to be used to confirm ecclesiastical doctrine but are profitable for reading. The Tavener's Bible has an explanation that these books were profitable to read but were not to be considered inspired Scripture. The Great Bible included a preface echoing the sentiments of Jerome as to the status of the books. The Geneva Bible included a preface called "The Argument". It indicated that these books were not to be read or expounded publically in church and could only prove doctrine inasmuch as they agree with the proto-canon, that is, the Old and New Testaments. The KJV has no preface to the Apocrypha, but they are marked by a running head "Apocrypha" at the top of the page. However, these books are included in the table of the Old Testament lessons given in the front matter of the book. The Dutch Authoritative Version has a warning to the readers of the Apocrypha. The books in the Bible are of two kinds – some are given by God (2 Timothy 3:16) and some books are written by people who do not follow doctrine and these books have no value. The books of the Apocrypha are listed individually and discussed. Concerning Maccabees, a list of historical data is provided

which are checked against other sources and shown to be incorrect. For example, in 1 Macc 1:7, Alexander the Great is said to have divided his kingdom into four parts before his death, but it was actually after his death. Similarly, in 2 Macc 1:12 it is said that Israel was taken in captivity to Persia, rather than Babylonia. At the synod in 1618, these books were also discussed and the question was raised why the books were not omitted from the Bible. The answer was that no other Reformed Church of any other nation had left out the Apocrypha and therefore the Dutch also will include them. The Apocryphal books must be put at the end of the canonical books, after the New Testament. There must be a warning that these books are not part of the Holy Scripture. This is similar to what the Roman Church has done concerning the Prayer of Manasseh and Third and Fourth Esdras. The Apocryphal books must not be read in the church and no doctrine must be built on them. If they are read, they must be tested with respect to the canonical writings.

What is interesting is that the Luther Bible does not have an introduction to the Apocrypha as such, but has an introduction to each of the individual books, to which we now turn.

SPECIFIC PREFACES TO MACCABEES

Only Luther made a dedicated preface to the books of Maccabees, since he did not have a preface to the Apocrypha as a whole.[3] The preface to First Maccabees indicates that it can be of some value to read since it relates to Daniel 11 – Antiochus is a picture of the Anti-Christ. 2 Maccabees is called "the other book of the Maccabees" because many of the stories written there have already occurred in 1 Maccabees and concern Judas Maccabeas. It is therefore a repetition and not a second book of Macacabees. He approves of the book as a beautiful story of the seven martyrs and

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[3]   Luther's illness in 1532 delayed completion of the translation of the Apocrypha and his friends at Wittenberg assisted him by translating it; Luther added the prefaces. 1 Maccabees appeared initially as a separate volume in 1533; 2 Maccabees in 1534 (Volz 1963:96). The source text for the Apocrypha was partly the Vulgate and partly the Septuagint "either in Aldus's Venetian edition of 1518 or in Wolfgang Koepfel's Strassburg reprint of 1526" (Volz 1963:99).

their mother.

Luther, however, rejected the belief in purgatory and the proof of it in 2 Maccabees 12. Luther emphasised that it is suspicious that in all of the Holy Scriptures, the belief appears only in "that most valueless and despicable book". Luther argued that proper interpretation of the end of Chapter 12 actually belies the belief in purgatory but just to make sure added some more words about that "uncertain and rejected text". Luther complained about Razis' suicide in 2 Maccabees 14 and the differences between 2 Maccabees' depiction of Antiochus IV death and the one appearing in 1 Maccabees 6. He concludes that although it could have been justified to include 1 Maccabees in the canon, it was justified to exclude 2 Maccabees.

MARGINAL NOTES AS METATEXT

Marginal notes comprise one of the most fascinating kinds of metatexts in the early European translations of Maccabees. In this section we examine the marginal notes for First and Second Maccabees as found in three English translations – the Matthew's Bible, the Geneva Bible, and the King James Bible. In some translations, for example, the Dutch Authorised Version, there are no notes at all in the Apocrypha, but only headings at the beginning of each chapter. This is in stark contrast to the Old and New Testaments in the Dutch Authorised Version, which have extensive marginal notes.

The translators of the Geneva Bible and the KJV had different policies regarding marginal notes. Whereas the Geneva Bible used extensive marginal notes to guide the reader in the proper interpretation of the text, the King James translators had been instructed by Bishop Richard Bancroft in his fifteen rules for the translators concerning a constrained use of marginal notes:

> Rule 6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text (cited in Burridge 2013:204).

The anti-note policy of the KJV as opposed to the Geneva Bible served as a means to

mediate between the differing viewpoints of the Anglicans and the Puritans (Naudé 2013:169-179). But, as we will see, working within this rule, the KJV translators deftly used marginal notes to guide the reader's expectations in reading the text.

Cross-references to biblical and apocryphal texts

Cross-references to biblical and apocryphal texts are the most frequent kind of notes and are found in all three of the translations. The Matthew's Bible is especially fond of cross-references to other passages in Maccabees. For example, at 1 Maccabees 1:41, which describes Antiochus' decree that each ethnic group must renounce its own customs, there is a cross-reference to 2 Maccabees 6 section a (= verses 1-7), which describes the enforcement of Greek customs on the Jews in the neighbouring cities. In this case, the Geneva Bible refers to Josephus's *Antiquities*. The KJV has no note.

Cross-references to biblical texts usually refer to the Old Testament background to the Maccabees passage, as in 1 Macc 2:26 in the Geneva Bible, which has a reference to Numbers 25:7:[4]

> 1 Macc 2:26 (Geneva)
>
> [26] Thus bare he a zeale to ye Law of God, *doing*, as Phineas did vnto Zambri the ſonne of Salom.
>
> *Nomb. 25.7.*

In 1 Macc 7:41, the Geneva Bible and the KJV have the same cross-references to both biblical and apocryphal texts: 2 King 19:36; Tobit 1:21; Ecclesiasticus 48:24; Isaiah 37:36; 2 Maccabees 8:19.

Cross-references to ancient, non-biblical texts

All three of the translations provide cross-references to ancient, non-biblical texts, especially Josephus' *Antiquities*.[5] The works of Josephus were translated into Latin by

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[4]   The KJB has the same cross-reference at 1 Macc 2:26, but the verse number is incorrect. The note reads "* Num 25.9"; it should be Num 25:7.

[5]   See, for example, the Matthew's Bible at 1 Macc 3:1-2, the Geneva Bible at 1 Macc 1:15; 1:43; 2:1; 4:1; 5:65; 6:1; 6:17; 7:1; 7:26; 8:1; 9:1; 9:23; 10:1; 10:22; 10:51; 11:1; 12:1; 12:7; 12:39; 13:1; 13:30; 15:10; 16:1; 2 Macc 12:36; 14:19.

the sixth century and widely read in Christian circles (Attridge 1984:231-32). Sometimes the cross-references to Josephus are used to provide additional information to the Maccabees text. For example, the Geneva Bible at 1 Macc 3:10 provides additional information concerning Apollonius, based upon Josephus:

> 1 Macc 3:10 (Geneva)
>
> [10] But [a] Apollonius gathered the Gentiles, and a great hoſte out of Samaria, to fight againſt Iſrael.
>
> [a] Who was gouernour of Syria. Ioſeph. Antiq. 12. chap. 9.

In 1 Macc 10:30, the Geneva Bible indicates additional material from Josephus in a note:

> 1 Macc 10:30 (Geneva)
>
> [30] And from the halfe of the frute of ye trees which is mine owne duetie, I ſo releaſe them that from this day forthe, none ſhal take any thing of the land of Iuda, or of the thre gouernements which are added thereunto as of Samaria and of Galilee, [a] from this daye forthe for euermore.
>
> [a] And of the countrey beyonde Iordan, as Ioſephus writteth.

In this instance they do not indicate a precise reference for Josephus, which is unusual. The KJV has no footnote for this verse. However, the KJV sometimes also uses Josephus to provide additional information in a footnote:

> 1 Macc 7:1 (KJV)
>
> ... a || citie of the Sea coast
>
> || Tripolis; *Iosephus Anti.* lib. 10, 12, cap. 16.

In a rare instance in the KJV, Josephus provides the name of Jonathan's brother, which does not occur in the Greek source text of the translators. The addition is enclosed within square brackets within the verse and marked with a note to indicate the source of the addition:

> 1 Macc 9:35 (KJV)
>
> [35] Now Ionathan had sent his brother [||Iohn] a captaine of the people, to

pray his friendes the Nabbathites †that they might leaue with them their
cariage, which was much.

||Ios. Antiqu. lib. 13. c. 1.

The Geneva translation puts John in italics within the text, but does not include a
footnote to indicate the source of the information.

In a few cases, a note is made to indicate that the same account in Josephus
differs:[6]

1 Macc 5:54 (KJV)

[54] So they went vp to mount Sion with ioy and gladnesse, where they
offered || burnt offerings, because not one of them were slaine, vntill they
had returned in peace.

|| Peace offerings, Ioseph. Antiq. 12. 12.

The KJV translators are accurately rendering the Greek ὁλοκαυτώματα with "burnt
offerings", but indicate in a note that Josephus has "peace offerings". The Geneva
Bible has a similar translation in the text but without a footnote.

In a number of instances, there seems to be confusion between Athens and
Antioch in the text. In one instance, the KJV translators added a note to indicate that
"the Latine interpreters" read "Antioch" where the text reads "Athens":[7]

2 Macc 6:1 (KJV)

[1] Not long after this, the king sent an olde man of || Athens, to compell
the Iewes to depart from the lawes of their fathers, and not to liue after
the Lawes of God:

||Antioch: the Latine interpreters.

The translation and note in 2 Macc 6:1 in the Geneva Bible are the same as the KJV,
except that the note does indicate the source of the variant reading.

The notes relating to ancient texts demonstrate that the translators were constantly
consulting Josephus as they translated and were also well aware of other works of the

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6   See also 1 Macc 6:49 (KJV); 1 Macc 9:40 (KJV); 2 Macc 6:2 (KJV).
7   See also 2 Macc 9:15 (KJV) for the interchange of Athens and Antioch in text and footnote.

Latin fathers relating to Maccabees.

Notes explaining culture

Some notes are used to explain cultural items. For example, in 2 Macc 11:33, a note provides the modern equivalent of the ancient month name:[8]

> 2 Macc 11:33 (KJV; also Geneva in v. 30)
>
> [33] Fare ye wel. In the hundred, forty and eight yeere, and the fifteenth day of the moneth ||Xanthicus.
>
> ||Or, Aprill.

Measurements are occasionally explained, as in the Geneva translation of "five furlongs" in 2 Macc 11:5 with the note "Whereof eight make a mile".

> 2 Macc 11:5 (Geneva)
>
> [5] He came into Iudea, and drewe nere to Beth-ſura, which was a caſtel of defence, fiue [a] furlongs from Ieruſalem, and laid ſore ſiege vnto it.
>
> [a] Whereof eight make a mile.

The KJV is similar but without a note.

In 2 Macc 4:14, the Greek game (τοῦ δίσκου) is explained in both the Geneva and the KJV footnotes:

> 2 Macc 4:14 (Geneva)
>
> ... at the playe after the caſting of the ſtone.
>
> [a]This game was to trye ſtrength by caſting a ſtone that had an hole in the middes, or a piece of metal.

> 2 Macc 4:14 (KJV)
>
> ... after the game of ||Discus called them forth.
>
> || Or, the Discus which was a stone with an hole in the midst.

The Geneva translation explains the cultural item whereas the KJV translators

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8   See also the Geneva Bible in 1 Macc 14:27 where the month Elul is explained in a note as "Auguſtus".

transliterated the Greek term. Both translations use footnotes to explain to readers the purpose of the game (Geneva) and the shape of the discus (Geneva and KJV).

The cultural equivalents of instruments of war were provided by the Geneva in a note:

> 2 Macc 12:15 (Geneva)
> ... inſtruments, or engins of war
> ᵃOr, battelrammes.

The KJV, however, incorporates the content of the Geneva note into their translation:

> 2 Macc 12:15 (KJV)
> ... rammes or engines of warre

Similarly, in 2 Macc 12:11, the Geneva provides an explanation of the term "nomads", whereas the KJV refrains from any note:

> 2 Macc 12:11 (Geneva)
> ... Nomades of Arabia
> ᵃSo called becauſe they were ſhepherds.

> 2 Macc 12:11 (KJV)
> ... Nomades of Arabia

In 2 Macc 4:12, both the Geneva and the KJV translate the Greek term πέτασον as referring to a hat.

> 2 Macc 4:12 (Geneva)
> ... and made them wear hattes.

> 2 Macc 4:12 (KJV)
> ... and made them weare a hat.

The Geneva adds a note to explain their understanding of the pragmatic significance of the young men being forced to wear hats – "in token of wantonness as the Gentiles did". Modern interpreters also struggle to understand the cultural meaning of the hat. Bartlett (1973:246) suggests that the phrase "perhaps meant simply 'to enter upon the

training of the sports-stadium.' If it is to be taken literally, the Jewish youths had to wear a brimmed hat (the *petasos*) associated with the Greek god Hermes." Nicklas (2011:1386) notes that the meaning of the phrase may be simply that the Jewish youths were training in the sports school, but the cultural background is that athletes trained in the nude and the wide-brimmed hat was worn for protection against the sun.

In rare cases, the cultural information is explained with reference to other ancient sources. For example, in 1 Macc 1:16, the Geneva Bible explains how uncircumcision could occur with reference to the explanation of Aulus Cornelius Celsus (c. 25 B.C. to c. 50 A.D.) who described two different surgical methods of decircumcision in his work *De Medicina* (see Rubin 1980):

> 1 Macc 1:16 (Geneva)
> [16] And made them ᵃ ſelues vncircumciſed, & forſoke the holy couenant, & ioyned them ſelues to the heathen, and were ſolde to do miſchief.
> ᵃ By drawing ye ſkinne ouer the parte that was circumciſed, as Celſ 7, chap 25.

The KJV translation is similar but without a footnote.

Occasionally, the cultural information is not correct. In the Matthew Bible's note on 2 Macc 4:18, for example, the translators rendered the Greek source text as follows:[9]

> 2 Macc 4:18 (Matthew)
> [18] What tyme as the * Olympiades ſportes were played at Tyrus.....
> * Theſe were kepte euery fiftye yeare.

The note incorrectly indicates that the games were every fifty years rather than every five years. The Geneva Bible places the correct information in the text: "The games that were every five years." This was followed also by the KJV.

Notes providing information concerning names

The translators of the Geneva Bible and King James Bible sometimes indicate when

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[9]   The Greek is ἀγομένου δὲ πενταετηρικοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως παρόντος.

there are alternative forms of a name that occurs in the text. For example, in 1 Macc 2:5, the Geneva Bible renders the Greek Αυαραν with "Abaron":[10]

> 1 Macc 2:5 (Geneva)
>
> [5] Eleazar called [a] Abaron, & Ionathan, whoſe name was Apphus.
>
> [a] Or, Aharan.

The note indicates that "Aharan" is an alternative rendering of the name. The KJV has "Avaran" in the text and in the footnote "Avaron or Abaron".

In one instance the Geneva Bible provides the meaning of the Greek name. In 1 Macc 1:11 when the name of Antiochus Epiphanes is introduced within the narrative, the Geneva Bible add the note indicating that the meaning of the name Ἐπιφανὴς is "noble":

> 1 Macc 1:11 [10]
>
> [11] For out of theſe came the wicked roote, *euen* Antiochus [a] Epiphanes....
>
> [a] Or, noble.

In the KJV translation has in the text "... Antiochus [surnamed]."

Notes containing text critical information

Some notes contain text critical information. The only example of text critical information in the Matthew Bible's translation of 1 and 2 Maccabees occurs in 2 Macc 2:13, where instead of "Jeremy" as found in the text, "some read: Nehemias":

> 2 Macc 2:13 (Matthew)
>
> [13] In the annotacyons & writynges of *Jeremy / were there thinges put
>
> alſo: & how he made a library /
>
> *Some reade: Nehemias.

Note, however, that the source of the variant reading is not indicated. Both the Geneva and the KJV put the name Nehemias in the text without a footnote.

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[10]   In the Geneva Bible, see also 1 Macc 3:40; 4:15; 4:29; 4:29; 5:3; 5:26; 7:13; 7:19; 7:31; 7:40; 8:2; 8:5; 9:5; 9:36; 9:37; 9:62; 9:66; 11:39; 11:70; 12:2; 13:13; 14:28; 15:23; 11:34. In the KJV, see also 1 Macc 1:1; 2:2; 2:5; 3:46; 5:3, etc.

In several instances, the King James Bible indicates that it follows a "Roman" reading or text, as for example in 1 Macc 9:9:[11]

> 1 Macc 9:9 (KJV)
>
> [9] But they dehorted him, saying, Wee shall neuer be able: ‖ Let vs now rather saue our liues, and hereafter we will returne with our brethren, and fight against them: for we are but few.
>
> ‖ We follow here the Romane copie.

The Geneva translates "turne back now, seeing our brothers are departed; for shall we fight against these that are so few?"

In one instance, the KJV translators suggest that their source text is corrupt:[12]

> 1 Macc 14:28 (KJV)
>
> At ‖ Saramel in the great congregation of the priests and people, and rulers of the nation, & elders of the country were these things notified vnto vs.
>
> ‖ Or, Ierusalem, peradventure by corruption and transposition of letters, or as some thinke the common hall where they met to consult of matters of estate.

The Geneva Bible similarly translates "Saramel" and suggests Jerusalem as an alternative in the note, but without a text critical explanation. This follows a general rule of the Geneva Bible in 1 and 2 Maccabees – no text critical comments are made in the notes.

Notes providing an alternative translation

The Geneva and KJV translators often provided alternative translations in marginal notes. These alternatives (discussed below) can be classified as more literal

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[11] See also the KJV of 1 Macc 12:37.

[12] The second option suggested in the KJV note relates to reading the Greek ασαραμελ as a transliteration of the Hebrew אל עם חצר "court of the people of God". Tilly (2011:1374) suggests rather understanding the Greek as a transliteration of אל עם שר "official of the people of God".

translations of the Greek, as translations that explicitise some aspect of the source text, as interpretive translations, or as translations that provide an alternative wording without a translation strategy.

Notes providing a literal translation of the text

Notes which provide a more literal translation of the Greek than what is found in the translation are very common in the Geneva Bible. Sometimes the notes provide a literal translation of the Greek, especially when an idiom is involved, as in 1 Macc 6:58:[13]

> 1 Macc 6:58 (Geneva)
> [58] Now therefore let vs [a] agree with theſe men, & take truce with them, and with all their nacion.
> [a] Or, give hands.

The Geneva translators rendered the Greek δῶμεν δεξιὰς "give hands" with "agree"; the note provides a literal translation of the idiom.[14] The King James Bible translates differently but follows Geneva in putting the literal translation in a note:

> 1 Macc 6:58
> [58] Now therefore let vs †be friends with these men, and make peace with them, and with all their nation.
> †Gr. giue hands.

The Geneva translators often made explicit the social religious implications of their Greek source text for their Protestant readers. In 2 Macc 6:24, for example, they translate the Greek ἀλλοφυλισμὸν ("adoption of foreign customs") with "another religion". The note provides the literal translation of the Greek term "Or, to another manner of life".[15]

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[13] See also the Geneva notes at 1 Macc 8:19; 9:1; 10:20; 11:50; 2 Macc 4:25; 13:22.

[14] See also 2 Macc 14:24 where the Geneva Bible renders καὶ εἶχεν τὸν Ιουδαν διὰ παντὸς ἐν προσώπῳ ("and he kept Judas always in his face") with "[24] He [a] loued Iudas, and fauoured him in his heart". The note is closer to the Greek, substituting only "eyes" for "face": "[a] Or, had Iudas before his eyes".

[15] See also 2 Macc 6:8 where the Geneva Bible uses "banketting" (banqueting) and the note

2 Macc 6:24 (Geneva)

[24] For it becometh not our age, *ſaid he*, to diſſemble, whereby manie yong perſones might thinke, that Eleazar being foure ſcore yere olde and ten were now gone to [a] another religion,

[a] Or, to another maner of life.

The KJV incorporates the information into the text without a note, translating "a strange religion".

The Geneva translators were part of a religious movement which was in opposition to the English throne and its promotion of Anglicanism. As a result, they often subtly employ language in which the monarchy is portrayed in a negative light.[16] Occasionally in Maccabees, this bias can be seen in their translation, as illustrated in 1 Macc 1:67:

1 Macc 1:67 (Geneva)

[67] And this [a] tyrannie was verie ſore vpon the people of Iſrael.

[a] Or, rage.

The translators render ὀργὴ μεγάλη with the negative term "tyranny" in the text, but indicate the literal translation "rage" in the note. The KJV translate as "there was very great wrath upon Israel" and omit the footnote.

Similarly, in 1 Macc 2:29, the Geneva translators positively portray the Jewish people as those who "<u>sought</u> after justice and justment". The note provides a more literal translation of the Greek: "Or, lived justly and uprightly" (for ζητοῦντες δικαιοσύνην καὶ κρίμα).

1 Macc 2:29 (Geneva)

[29] Then manie that [a] ſoght after iustice & iudgement,

[a] Or, that liued iuſtly and vprightly.

---

provides a closer translation of the Greek: "Or, eating of the flesh that was sacrificed" (σπλαγχνίζειν). Similarly, 1 Macc 1:47 has "offerings" for σπονδὴν but the note provides a more precise translation: "Or, drinke offerings".

[16] For additional examples illustrating the differing viewpoints of the Geneva translators and the King James translators regarding the monarchy, see Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2012).

The King James translators as a general translation policy used notes much more sparingly than did the Geneva translators (Burke 2013; Burridge 2013). They did, however, explicitly indicate in notes instances in which an alternative translation of the source text could be given, as indicated by two vertical lines. In 1 Macc 1:53, the translators render the text as follows: "And drove the Israelites into secret places, even wheresoever they could fly for succour." This rendering is similar to the Geneva translation.[17]

> 1 Macc 1:53 (KJV)
>
> [53] ‖ And droue the Israelites into secret places, euen wheresoeuer they could flie for succour.
>
> ‖ Or, and they made Israel hide themselves in holes, in euery place of succour

The note provides an alternative translation: "Or, and they made Israel hide themselves in holes, in every place of succour". Either translation is a possible rendering of the Greek (καὶ ἔθεντο τὸν Ισραηλ ἐν κρύφοις ἐν παντὶ φυγαδευτηρίῳ αὐτῶν literally "and placing Israel into hiding places in all hiding places of theirs").[18]

The King James translators also explicitly noted where a more literal rending of the Greek is possible.[19] For example, in 1 Macc 1:5, the note concerning the Greek is used to show that the Greek source text is a present indicative verb (ἀποθνῄσκει) whereas the English translation is in the subjunctive:

> 1 Macc 1:5 (KJV)
>
> [5] And after these things he fell sicke, and perceiued †that he should die.
>
> † Gre. that he dieth.

The Geneva translation (numbered verse 6) is similar, but without a note.

Similarly, in 1 Macc 1:11, the KJV translators put in the text a more idiomatic

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[17] The Geneva verse number is 1:56.

[18] See also 1 Macc 1:22 where the KJV translators rendered "all which he pulled off" for the Greek (καὶ ἐλέπισεν πάντα "and he stripped everything"). The note suggests the alternative translation "he peeled all things".

[19] See also, for example, 1 Macc 1:30; 1:35; 1:38; 1:48; 1:51; 2:2; 2:9; 2:12; 2:29; 2:46; 3:20; 3:24; 3:28; 3:29; 3:30; 3:37; 3:41; 4:32; 4:30; 5:65; 5:66; 7:2; 7:18.

translation "we have had much sorrow" but the note indicates that the Greek reads "many evils have found us" (for source text εὗρεν ἡμᾶς κακὰ πολλά).[20]

> 1 Macc 1:11 (KJV)
>
> [11] In those days there went out of Israel wicked men, who perswaded many, saying, Let vs goe, and make a couenant with the heathen, that are around about vs: for since we departed from them, †we haue had much sorrow.
>
> †Gre. many evils have found vs.

The Geneva (verse 12) is similar without a note.

The Geneva translators did not usually appeal to the Greek, even when providing a more literal translation of the Greek. However, in one instance they note the Greek source text in their note:

> 1 Macc 13:37 (Geneva)
>
> and ᵃprecious ſtone that ye ſent vnto vs...
>
> ᵃOr, Cedar or bandricke: in Greke Bainthn or bahten.

The Greek βαΐνην is usually understood as a palm – "the palm was perhaps a gold sceptre in the form of a palm branch; the palm became a symbol of Judaea" (Bartlett 1973:185).

In some instances, however, the King James translators and the Geneva translators used precisely opposite translation strategies. This is apparent with the translation of τὰ θηρία "beasts" in a number places, such as 1 Macc 11:56:

> 1 Macc 11:56 (KJV)
>
> [56] Moreouer Triphon tooke the †Elephants, and wonne Antioch.
>
> †Gr. beasts.

The King James translators interpreted the beasts as "elephants" based upon extra-biblical information and place the literal translation of the Greek in a note. The Geneva translators took the opposite approach, placing the literal translation "beasts"

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[20] See also 1 Macc 1:23, where the KJV translators rendered "precious" and places "desirable" in the note; 2:46; 3:41; 4:30.

in the text with an explicitising translation in the note "elephants".[21]

> 1 Macc 11:56 (Geneva)
>
> [56] So Tryphon toke the [a] beaſtes, and wan Antiochia.
>
> [a] Or, elephants.

With this example, we now turn to notes in which an explicitising translation is found.

Notes providing an explicitising translation of the text

An explicitising translation makes explicit one or more implicit features of the source text in the translation. We have already seen examples of explicitising translations in the rending of "wild beasts" with "elephants" and in the addition of the personal name "John" for "his brother". Many instances of explicitising translations as found in the notes involve making explicit the referents of personal pronouns. For example, in 1 Macc 8:26, the Geneva translators provided two notes to make explicit the identities of groups referred to only by pronouns in the text: the Romans and the Jews:[22]

> 1 Macc 8:26 (Geneva)
>
> [26] Alſo [a] they ſhal giue nothing to them that come to fight for them, nor ſerue them with wheat nor weapons, nor monei, nor ſhippes as it pleaſeth the romaine, but [a] they ſhal kepe their couenantes without taking anie thing of them.
>
> [a] Or, the Romains.
>
> [a] Or, the Iewes.

In this verse the KJV does not identify the referents for the reader. In other places, however, the King James translators followed a similar strategy, as illustrated in 1 Macc 5:23: [23]

> 1 Macc 5:23 (KJV)
>
> [23] And ||those that were in Galilee and in Arbattis, with their wiues and

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[21]   See also Geneva 2 Macc 15:20.
[22]   See also Geneva 1 Macc 6:52
[23]   See also the KJV notes in 1 Macc 5:27; 5:30; 5:44; 6:52; 7:45; 9:11; 9: 24; 2 Macc 8:27.

their children, and all that they had, tooke he away [with him] and brought them into Iudea, with great joy.

|| Or, captiue Iewes.

The text follows the Greek in translating only "those that were in Galilee and in Arbattis"; the note indicates that these are "the captive Jews". In this verse, the Geneva Bible does not identify the pronominal referents.

In some cases the translators expanded upon the text in the note to provide an explicitising translation with theological ramifications. In 2 Macc 8:36, the Geneva translators literally rendered "defender" in the text of the verse, but make explicit in their note that it was "God their defender":

2 Macc 8:36 (Geneva)

[36] Thus he that promiſed to pay tribute to the Romaines, by meanes of the priſoners of Ieruſalem, broght newes, that the Iewes had a [a] defender, and for this cauſe none colde hurt ye Iewes, becauſe they followed the Lawes appointed by Him.

[a] Or, God their defender.

The KJV made this information part of the translation: "... that the Iewes had <u>God</u> to fight for them".

In 1 Macc 9:61, the Geneva Bible both explicitises the referent of the pronoun and interprets it as singular rather than plural:

1 Macc 9:61 (Geneva)

[61] And [a]they toke fiftie men of the country, which were the chief workers of this wickednes, and ſlewe them.

[a]Or, Ionathan.

The KJV translates "they" without a note.

The KJV translators provide an expansive explicitising translation in 1 Macc 7:12 in rendering the term γραμματέων:

1 Macc 7:12 (KJV)

Then there did assemble vnto Alcimus and Bacchides, a company of ‖

Scribes, to require iustice.

‖ Or, officers, gouernours, chiefe men, or men in authoritie.

The KJV translators place a literal rendering in the text and an expansive explicitising translation in the note as a way of explaining to English readers the function of "scribes" in ancient Israel.

In 1 Macc 1:14, the KJV rendering and accompanying note are particularly interesting. The Greek indicates that a γυμνάσιον was set up in Jerusalem. The KJV followed the Geneva translators in rendering "a place of exercise":

1 Macc 1:14 (KJV)

[14] Whereupon ‖ they built a place of exercise in Ierusalem, according to

the customes of the heathen.

‖ Or, set vp an open schoole at Ierusalem.

The note, however, explicitises for English readers by calling it "an open school". In this way the translators included the possible second meaning of γυμνάσιον.

Notes providing an interpretive translation of the text

The notes sometimes provide an interpretive translation of a verse which is rendered literally. For example, in 1 Macc 11:68, the Geneva translators literally rendered ἀλλοφύλων as "strangers". The note, however, uses the religiously charged term "heathen".

1 Macc 11:68 (Geneva)

[68] And beholde the hoſtes of the [a] ſtrangers met him in the plaine, and had

layed ambuſhments for him in the mountaines.

[a] Or, heathen.

The KJV followed with the same translation in this verse without a note. However, in other verses the term ἀλλοφύλων was rendered differently by both the Geneva Bible and the KJV. In 1 Macc 5:66, the Geneva Bible renders the term as "strangers" and

"Philistines" was placed in note as an interpretive translation:

> 1 Macc 5:66 (Geneva)
>
> [66]Then remoued he to go into the land of the [a]ſtrangers, and went thorow Samaria.
>
> [a]Or, Philiſtines.

The KJV pursues the opposite strategy, placing "Philistines" in the text and a marginal note that the Greek reads "strangers". Similarly, in 1 Macc 3:41 (see also 1 Macc 4:30), the KJV places "Philistines" in the text and the neutral, literal term "strangers" in the note (but without the notation that it is based upon the Greek):

> 1 Macc 3:41 (KJV)
>
> .... and of the land ||of the Philistines.
>
> || Or, of strangers

The Geneva Bible translates "& of ſtrange nacions" without a note.

In 1 Macc 1:4, the King James translators use both an interpretive translation in the text and another interpretive translation in the note:

> 1 Macc 1:4 (KJV)
>
> [4] And he gathered a mighty strong hoste, and ruled ouer countries, and nations and ||kings, who became tributaries vnto him.
>
> || Or, kingdomes which became &c.

The King James translators used the generic term "kings" to render the Greek term τυράννων "absolute sovereigns". Liddell and Scott (1968) note that the Greek term refers to an "absolute sovereign" who is "unlimited by law or constitution"; it was "not applied to old hereditary sovereignties ... the term rather regards the irregular way in which power was gained, than the way in which it was exercised". By using the ordinary word "kings" and accompanying it with the alternative translation "kingdoms" which understands the word "king" as a metonymic expression for "kingdom," the KJV translators are downplaying negative aspects of monarchic rule.[24]

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[24] For a similar strategy of the KJV translators concerning the monarchy in Lamentations, see Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2012).

The Geneva Bible similarly translates with "kingdoms".

The King James translators are also attuned to the terminology of the Hebrew Bible as it is reflected in the Septuagint. In 1 Macc 4:56, they render the Greek θυσίαν σωτηρίου literally as "sacrifice of deliverance" (similarly, Geneva has "sacrifices of deliverance and praise"). The KJV note, however, ties the English translation "peace offering" to the rendering of the Hebrew term הַשְּׁלָמִים in the KJV (e.g., Num 7:17):

> 1 Macc 4:56 (KJV)
>
> ...and sacrificed the sacrifice of ‖deliuerance and praise.
>
> ‖ Or, peace offerings.

In one instance, the Geneva Bible provides a note which interprets the text within a Christian ecclesiastical context. In 1 Macc 10:20, Jonathan is ordained as high priest and a crown of gold (στέφανον χρυσοῦν) is placed on his head:

> 1 Macc 10:20 (Geneva)
>
> ²⁰Wherefore this day we ordeine thee to be the hie Prieſt of they nacion, and to be called the Kings friend: and he ſent him a purple robe, and a ᵃcrowne of golde, ...
>
> ᵃOr, mitre

The Geneva translators put "mitre" in the footnote to link what Jonathan the high priest wore with what a Christian bishop wears. The KJV translators translated "crowne of gold" literally without a note.

Alternative interpretations of the Greek are often provided between the text and the note. In 2 Macc 4:9 of the Geneva Bible provides a good example.[25] The Greek text καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀναγράψαι has been understood in two ways, as illustrated by the New Jerusalem Bible (NJB) and the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV):

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[25] See also, for example, Geneva 1 Macc 9:29; KJV 1 Macc 2:1; 3:20 3:29; 4:51; 4:47; 5:53 (twice); 5:59; 7:24 (twice).

2 Macc 4:9 (NJB)

He further committed himself to paying another hundred and fifty, if the king would empower him to set up a gymnasium and youth centre, <u>and to register the Antiochists of Jerusalem.</u>

2 Macc 4:9 (NRSV)

In addition to this he promised to pay one hundred fifty more if permission were given to establish by his authority a gymnasium and a body of youth for it, <u>and to enroll the people of Jerusalem as citizens of Antioch.</u>

As Nicklas (2011:1386) notes, this verse is not about the inhabitants of Jerusalem gaining the rights of Antiochians on the Orontes, but rather that Jerusalem would become a Greek city and its inhabitants would be named Antiochians. Schwartz (2008:219) notes the grammatical construction of the infinitive ἀναγράψαι with two direct objects in the accusative, of which one is a person and one is something predicated of the person. The translators of the Geneva Bible, however, provide both interpretations for their readers:

2 Macc 4:9 (Geneva)

... and that they wolde name them of Ieruſalem Antiochians.

Or, that he wolde write the Antiochians that were at Ieruſalem, among them

By contrast, the KJV translators accepted the translation of the Geneva without a note, but use square brackets to supply additional information for clarity: ".... and to write them of Ierusalem [by the name of] Antiochians".

The KJV translators also provide alternative interpretations in text and note, as illustrated in 1 Macc 7:21 in their translation of ἠγωνίσατο:

1 Macc 7:21 (KJV)

... ||contended for the high Priesthood.

Or, laboured to defend his high Priesthood.

The alternatives identified by the KJV can again be illustrated by the NJB and NRSV:

> 1 Macc 7:21 (NJB)
>
> Alcimus continued his struggle to become high priest,
>
> 1 Macc 7:21 (NRSV)
>
> Alcimus struggled to maintain his high priesthood,

The Geneva Bible translated "strove for the priesthood," thus allowing for either interpretation.

Notes providing an alternative wording without a translation strategy

In some instances, the translations provide an alternative wording in the note which does not reflect a translation strategy.[26] For example, in 1 Macc 5:59 the KJV translation and note provide essentially equivalent translations:

> 1 Macc 5:59 (KJV)
>
> Then came Gorgias and his men out of the citie †to fight against them.
>
> †Gr to meet them in battel.

The alternative wording in the note is not the result of a translation strategy.

Notes providing a theological interpretation of the text

For the Geneva translators, the two most theologically problematic passages in Second Maccabees prompted extensive notes consisting of text comments, theological evaluations, mention of external authorities, cross-references to other passages and practical theological advice concerning how to hermeneutically understand the passage.

2 Macc 12:44-45 was particularly problematic for Protestants since it was the basis of the Catholic doctrine of purgatory and prayers for the dead. The Geneva Bible renders the passage as follows:

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[26] See also, for example, the KJV 1 Macc 2:1; 3:20; 3:29; 4:51; 4:47; 5:53 (twice); 7:24 (twice).

2 Macc 12:44-45 (Geneva)

⁴⁴For if he had not hoped, that thei which were ſlaine, ſhulde riſe againe, it had bene ſhuſluous, and vaine, to ᵃ pray for the dead.

⁴⁵And therefore he perceiued, that there was great favour laid vp for thoſe ye dyed godly. (It was an holie, & a good thoght) So he made a reconciliation for the dead that they might be deliuered from ſinne.

The extensive note seeks to constrain the acceptance of the verse as Scripture, the theological interpretation of the verse and its use in determining Christian practice:

ᵃ From this verſe to the end of this chapter the Greke text is corrupt, ſo that no good ſenſe, much leſſe certaine doctrine can be gathered thereby: alſo it is evident that this place was not writen by the holie Goſt, bothe becauſe it diſſeneth from the reſt of the holie Scriptures, and alſo ye autor of this boke acknowledgig his owne infirmitie, desſireth pardon if he have not attained to these he ſhuld. And it ſemeth, that this Iaſon the Cyrenean, out of whome he toke this abridgement, is Ioſef Ben Gorion, who hathe writen in Ebrewe fiue bookes of theſe matters, and intreating this place, maketh no mencion of this prayer for the dead, lib. 3 chap. 19 for it is cotrarie to the cuſtome of the Iewes, euen to this day, to pray for the dead. And thogh Iudas had ſo done, yet this particular example is not ſufficient to eſtablish a doctrine no more than Zipporahs was to prove that women might miniſter the ſacraments, Exo. 4,25, or the example of Razis that one might kil himſelf, whome this author ſo muche comendeth, 2 Macc. 14,41.

The note first indicates that from "this verse to the end of the chapter the Greek text is corrupt". However, it is difficult to find evidence for this claim. Even more difficult is the note's next claim that "no good sense, much less certain doctrine can be determined thereby". The real crux of the matter for the Calvinists is next: "it is evident that this place was not written by the Holy Ghost, both because it differs from the rest of the Holy Scriptures, and also the author of this book acknowledges his own

infirmity, desires pardon if he have not attained to these he should". The note then suggests that the author of the book took his information from Joseph ben Gorion "who has written in Hebrew five books of these matters and in treating his place, makes no mention of this prayer for the dead … for it is contrary to the custom of the Jews even to this day to pray for the dead." Here the note refers to Joseph ben Gorion (also known as Pseudo-Josephus) who was a Jew living in Southern Italy in the tenth (or possibly eleventh) century. He composed *Sefer Yosippon*, a history of the Jewish people from Babylonian exile (539 B.C.E.) to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E.; this work was based upon Josephus' *War, Antiquities* and *Against Apion* (Attridge 1984:231). With this note it seems that the Geneva translators may have had access to the third edition of ben Gorion's volume which was published in Basel in 1541 by Sebastian Münster (*Jewish Encyclopedia* 1906).

The note goes on to argue that this example of praying for the dead is not sufficient to establish a doctrine any more than Zipporah's circumcision of her son in Exodus 4:25 is sufficient to establish that women should be ministers or that one might kill oneself as Razis did in 2 Macc 14:41.

By these many arguments, the translators of the Geneva Bible attempt to direct the reader to understand these two verses as not textually reliable, not Holy Scripture, not making good sense, as not in accordance with the rest of Scripture, as not historically reliable in terms of another Jewish historian, and as not adequate to establish a doctrine. This is an example of a metatext at its most heavy-handed.

By comparison, note how the King James translators handled these verses:

> 2 Macc 12:44-45 (KJV)
>
> [44] (For if he had not hoped that they that were slaine should haue risen againe, it had bin superfluous and vaine, to pray for the dead.)
>
> [45] And also in that he perceiued that there was great fauour layed vp for those that died godly. (It was an holy, and good thought) whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be deliuered from sinne.

The King James translators use only parentheses around verse 44 and part of verse 45

to indicate that these are not the main lines of thought in the passage. By refusing to make a metatextual comment, the King James translators provide a mediating position between opposing theological parties.[27]

Another passage which the Geneva translators found troubling was 2 Macc 14:41 which depicts Rizas killing himself in battle.

> 2 Macc 14:41 (Geneva)
>
> [41]But when his companie wolde haue taken his caſtel, and wolde haue broken the gates by violence, and comanded to bring fyre to burne the gates, ſo that he was readie to be taken on euerie ſide, he [a] fel on his ſworde,
>
> [a] As this priuate example ought not to be followed by ye godlie, becauſe it is contrary to ye worde of God, althogh the autor ſeme here to approue it, ſo that place as touching prayer chap. 12,44, thogh Iudas had appointed it, yet were it not ſufficient to proue a doctrine, becauſe it is onely a particular example.

The translators wanted to be certain that no reader would take Rizas' example of suicide as appropriate behaviour and so they again added a lengthy note, arguing that this is only a "private example" which "ought not to be followed by the godly" persons, "because it is contrary to the word of God, although the author" seems "here to approve it". The note then mentions the passage in 12:44 as another case of a private example which is similarly "not sufficient to prove a doctrine, because it is only a particular example". In this way, the translators attempt to guide the reader in interpreting the text as depicting a "private example" and not a general pattern for appropriate behaviour. In this way, the Geneva translators were able to translate the text faithfully from the Greek, while minimising its influence with their readers. Again, the King James translators provide no note for this verse, leaving open the question of how to interpret the verse theologically and practically.

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[27] For more detail on the mediating role of the King James translation, see Naudé (2012).

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, metatexts provide a powerful means for indicating the status of the Apocrypha within the canon, for directing readers in how they should interpret the content of the Apocrypha theologically and for providing insight into the translation process.

We have seen that the physical placement of the Apocrypha shapes and re-enforces an ecclesiastical and theological understanding of the status of Apocrypha as fully integrated within the canon, as separate from the canon, as an appendix to the canon or as excluded from the canon.

The prefaces to the Apocrypha as a whole or to the books of Maccabees in particular can be used to alert the reader explicitly to the status of the books within the cannon and to the appropriate ways in which the books should be read with respect to theology and doctrine.

Finally, the marginal notes may serve inter alia to link the text to other biblical and apocryphal texts (as in the Matthew Bible). In the Geneva Bible and King James Bible, marginal notes also function as a vehicle for the translators to communicate with the reader concerning auxiliary information, to indicate alternative spellings or textual readings, to provide text critical information, to alert the reader to indeterminacies or alternatives in the translation, and occasionally to guide the reader in the proper understanding of the theology of a passage.

Metatexts, then, provide a subtle but powerful means for translators to convey their ideological and theological viewpoints to their readers, guiding the readers in often imperceptible ways toward accepting – or not accepting – the text as Scripture.

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