HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

OF THE

BIBLE,

Şc.

CHAP. I.

Of the translating several parts of, and the whole Bible, into British, English-Saxon, and the English spoken after the conquest.

AS the miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost (a) on the apostles was for this purpose, that every man there present might hear them speak, in the tongue wherein he was born, the wonderful works of God; so we find, that after these wonderful works were written, (b) that so men might know the certainty of them, and believe that Jesus (c) is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing they might have life through his name, these writings or declarations were not confined to the language in which they were at first written, but were translated into the several tongues of every nation under Heaven to which the apostles came. This

⁽b) Luko i. (c) John xx. (a) Acts ii.

is expressly affirmed by Eusebius, that (d) both Greeks and Barbarians had the writings concerning Jesus in their own country characters and lan-Or, that the New Testament, however, was every where in the vulgar or mother-tongue of the country or people for whose use and instruction it was originally designed. The same is acknowledged by the more learned of the Romanists, 'That '(e) it would not be difficult to prove, that long before their novelties, who at this day are called Protestants, there were translations of the scrip-'ture in the mother-tongue, among almost all the 'nations or people of the Christian name:' Which has been very particularly shewn by F. le Long in his Sacred Bibliotheque (f). In an extraordinary consistory held at Rome, A. D. 679, (g) about British affairs, it was among other things ordained, That lessons out of the Divine Oracles should be always read for the edification of the churches, that the minds of the hearers might be fed with the Divine Word, even at the very time of their bodily repast. And, indeed, the first synodical prohibition or restrain of this liberty or birth-right of Christians, in the use of the Holy Scripture in their own language, we find was in a synod held at Tholouse, A. D. 1228, on occasion of the doctrine and preaching of the Waldenses, That the Holy Scripture is the rule of Christian faith; and that the reading and knowledge of it is free and necessary to all men, to the people as well as to the clergy. opposition to this principle, the synod then decreed,

⁽d) Dem. Evang. lib. 3, c. ult.

⁽e) Jam ante ortas corum qui hodie protestantes appellantur novitates apud omnes fere Christiani nominis gentes scripture versiones extitisse lingua vernacula multis probaro non essot ardum. F. Simon disq. critica de variis Bibl. edit.

⁽f) See Usserii Hist, dogmat, de Script, & Sacris Vernaculis.

⁽g) Spelman's Councils, vol. 1.

in the following terms: (h) We forbid that laymen be permitted to have the books of the Old and New Testament; unless perhaps some one out of devotion desires to have the Psalter or Breviary for divine offices, and the Hours of the Blessed Virgin; but even those they may not have translated

in the vulgar tongue.

When, therefore, (i) St. Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, who most probably was the apostle of the Britains, had by his preaching converted the ancient inhabitants of this island of Great Britain to the Christian faith, it cannot be supposed but that he, or, however, his successors in that ministry, took care they should have in their own language the things which he or they had preached to them concerning Jesus, though at this time no copies of any such writing are any where remaining. After so entire a conquest as was made of those people by the savage and barbarous Saxons, one need not wonder at the destruction of what records or memorials they had, whether religious or civil.

However, after the Saxon inhabitants of this country were converted to Christianity, we are sure they had the whole Bible in their own country characters and language, and that the four Gospels in the same language were read in their re-

(i) M. Parker de Antiquit. Ecc. Brit. Test. Usher de primordiis Ecclosiæ Britannicæ. Stillingsleet Orig. Britan.

⁽h) D'Acherii Con. tom. ii. p. 624. But our modern Papists seem to have abated something of the rigour of this decree: since we see here in England, The Office of the Holy Week according to the Roman Missal and Breviary, printed in the vulgar tongue. F. Simon thus represents the sense of the Roman Catholic Doctors at present; Omnino non respuunt Scripturæ S versiones plebeio sermone conceptas, modo non ab omnibus & absque ulla temporis, loci, & personæ restrictione legantur, & ut inquiant, non prosit potius quicquid obesse potest. Disquisit. But see Bishop Kidder's Reflections on a French Testament, printed at Bourdeaux, An. Dom. MDCLXXXVI.

ligious assemblies. A copy of a very ancient version of the four Gospels in this language, said to be made by one Aldred, a priest, (j) is to be met with, we are told, in the very celebrated Code of Eadfride, Bishop of Lindisfarne, about the year 680, as Mr. Selden guessed. In the Cotton Library is a book of the four Gospels, said to be written by Bishop Eadfride himself, and which had the honour to be adorned with pictures, gold, and jewels, by Bishop Ethelwolde, Bishop of Winchester, I suppose about 967, and Bilfridus the Anchorite. Aldred was the author of the interlineary Saxon version, or Glos, as he calls it himself. But however this be, the learned compiler of the Catalogue of the MSS. in the Cotton Library does not mention, so far as I can find, any such Anglo-Saxon MS. A Saxon copy of the four Gospels was, by the assistance and encouragement of our learned Primate, Matthew Parker, printed by that learned and indefatigable confessor and martyrologist, John Fox, from a MS. now in the (k) Bodleian Library, N. E. F. 3. 15. with the following title, The Gospels of the fower Evangelists (l) translated in the olde Saxons tyme out of Latin into the vulgare toung of the Saxons, and now published by testimonic of the same. London by John Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate. 1571. Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis per decennium.

In a dedication of this book to the Queen, it is observed, That 'by Archbishop Parker's industri'ous diligence and learned labours, this booke with others moe had bene collected and searched out of the Saxons monuments.' And the Archbishop himself gave the following account of it; (m) Edidit ctiam quatuor Evangelia Saxonico idiomate: ut

⁽j) Auctarium Hist. Dogin. J. Usserii, p. 465.

⁽k) Hickesii Catal. veterum librorum septentrionalium.

⁽¹⁾ Bibli. Pepysiana. (m) De Antiquitate Brit. Eccles.

liqueret Scripturas antea fuisse vulgari sermone Anglicano populo notas. This was the method that learned prelate took to confute the Papists' impudent boast of antiquity, and their as shameless fiction of the novelty of the faith and worship of the Protestants: Out of their own mouths he condemned those wicked servants.

Thus about this time the (n) Archbishop published in Saxon and the present English, a Sermon on Easter Day of the Paschal Lamb, and part of a Letter of Elfrike Abbot of St. Albans, written by him to Wulfsine Bishop of Scyrburne, A. D. 950. These his Grace called 'A Testimonie of Antiquitic, showing the auncient Fayth in the Church of * ENGLAND, touching the Sacrament of the body ' and bloude of the Lord here publickly preached, ' and also received in the SAXONS tyme above '600 years ago.' In a preface prefixed to them, it is said, that it was owing to the Archbishop's diligent search for such writings of history and other monuments of antiquity, that these pieces were brought to light. And because these tracts are so plain and express against the bodily presence, which the Papists pretend was never opposed before Berengarius's time, about 1050, and that they of the Roman church are apt to complain of misrepresentation, therefore at the end of these tracts the Archbishop added a certificate, signed by himself, the Archbishop of York, and thirteen other Bishops, attesting, That 'this Saxon Homily with the other tes-' timonies did fully agree to the olde auncient bookes ' from whence they were taken, and were truly put forth in print without any adding or withdrawing ' from the same.' But to return to the Saxon Gospels.

⁽n) At the top of the title-page of my copy of this little book, 12mo. is written, Liber D. [Daniel] Lewes ex dono reverendissimi patris Matheri Canter Archiepis. It has no date, but was Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneath St. Martyns.

Mr. Fox, in his aforesaid dedication to the Queen, tells her Majesty, That 'our countryman Bede did 'translate the whole Bible in the Saxon tounge: ' that he translated againe the gospell of St. John in 'the English tounge a little before his departure; that K. Alfrede translated both the olde and the 'newe Testament into his own native language: 'and that, if histories be well examined, we shall ' finde both before the conquest and after, as well 'before John Wickliffe was borne, as since, the ' whole body of Scriptures by sondry men translated ' into thys our country tounge; insomuch, that Tho-'mas Arundell, then Archbyshop of Yorke and ' Chauncellour of England, at the Funeral Sermon of ' Queen Anne, who dyed 1394, as Polidore seith, did 'auouch, that she had the Gospells in the vulgare ' tounge with divers expositors upon the same, which 'she sent unto hym to be viewed and examined (o).'

In this edition the Saxon is printed in large letters in an inner column, taking up about two-thirds or more of the page; and in the outer column, opposite to the other, is English as now spoken, or what is called the Bishop's translation, published by Archbishop Parker, A.D. 1568. This Saxon translation was made from the Latin vulgar, and is a sort

⁽o) This account seems to have been taken from a Paper communicated to Mr. Fox by Archbp. Parker, and by him inserted in his Acts and Monuments with this title, A compendious olde Treatise shewing how that we ought to have the Scripture in English; Ed. 1st, p. 452. In this Paper it is reported, that Queen Anne had in Englishe all their Gospels. But this Englishe seems not to have been the English spoken after the Conquest, but the Anglo-Saxonic. For thus John Hus quotes the Words of Dr. Wiclif in his little Book of the threefold bond of Love, 'That the noble Queen of England has the Gospel written in three languages, the Bohemian, Teutonic, and Latin.' Replicat. contra Anglicum Joan. Stokes, p. 136. ed. 1715. It is further said in this Paper, that a man of London, whose name was Wyring, had a Bible in English of northern speech, which seemed to be 200 years old.

of verbal rendering it. Another edition of this version was published by the learned Dr. Thomas Marshall, 1665, who tells us, he neither could find any thing of the author of this translation, nor settle the (p) age of it; which no body need wonder at, since from the variations of the stile he was led to believe it was not the work of one hand, and that the Gospel of St. Matthew alone had two different inter-

preters or translators.

In his observations on the Anglo-Saxonic version of the Gospels, the Doctor remarks, that to any one who reads the tracts written in Saxon by Abbot Ælfric, (q) of the Old and New Testament, it must be very obvious to note what books of the Old Testament he translated into Anglo-Saxonic, the vulgar language of his time; since in those treatises they are thus named, viz. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four books of Samuel, entitled in Latin Liber Regum, a fifth book called Verba dierum, or Chronicles, the Psalter, three books of Solomon, viz. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the chief of all Songs, two books more placed with Solomon's Works, viz. the book of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus; the prophets Isaias, Jeremias, Ezekiel, Daniel, the twelve prophets, Esdras, Job, Tobias, Hester, Judith, Machabees. whence one may conclude, that since that Abbot translated so great a part of the Old Testament, and even some of the Apocryphal books, it is in no wise to be doubted that the books of the New Testament were before turned into Saxon, and commonly

⁽p) Dr. Marshall tells us, that in the front of the MS. of these Gospels belonging to the public library of Cambridge, is written in an old hand in Latin and Auglo-Saxonic, This book gave Leofric, Bishop of the church of St. Peter's in Exeter, for the use of his successors: and that this Leofric died 1. D. 1071, pp. 1073.

read in that language. Some fragments of this translation of the Old Testament, viz. part of the Octateuch, and of the Book of Job, were printed, by the encouragement of that learned reviver of the study of the Gothic and Anglo-Saxonic tongues, Dr. George Hickes, at Oxford, with the Junian types, by Mr. Edward Thwaits, A. D. 1698; to which is added, the Apocryphal piece, called The Gospel of Nicodemus, in Anglo-Saxonic, and a fragment of the History of Judith in Dano-Saxonic. As to the Psalter, the above-mentioned Dr. Tho. Marshall observed, it had a great many Saxon translators, as appears by the various readings of four MSS, which are exhibited by Mr. John Spelman in the margin of his interlineated Psalter, which he published A. D. 1640. And another MS. copy in the possession of the learned Francis Junius, which disagrees with all the others, and appears to have been written some time after the death of King Ælfred, since in the Kalendar prefixed to it at the vii Calend. Novemb. it is thus noted: Ælpped nex oblic.

On this occasion our antiquary, William L'Isle, Esq. of Wilburgham, who published in Anglo-Saxonic and English the above-mentioned treatises of the Abbot Ælfric's, observed, that 'had that good 'ordinance, first enacted by God, Deut. x. 5. for 'the preservation of the book of his law, by keeping a copy of it in the ark, been continued, 'and standard Bibles been preserved in our cathedral churches, as it has been since appointed by 'King Ælfred, we might now have shewed the 'whole Book of God, or the entire Old and New 'Testament in Saxon, which was the English of those times, translated both by that King and the 'Archbishop of Canterbury, Ælfric (r).'

⁽r) See Archbishop Parker's Preface to his Testimony of Antiquitie. Wharton de duobus Elfricis dissert.

In the translation of the New Testament, especially of the three first Gospels, Dr. Marshall has observed, there are some things which differ from the Latin version now in use, and which seem to be taken from one more ancient, viz. the very ancient Greek and Latin MS, copy of the New Testament which the learned Theodore Beza gave to the university of Cambridge. Among other instances of this, he mentions the interpolation in Matt. xx. betwixt the 28th and 29th verses, which is in the Cambridge, Bennet, and Hatton MSS. though omitted in the printed copy. Le pýlnia togedeonne on zehpædum þinge, &c. This assument or addition Dr. Marshall says he never could (s) find any where but in this Anglo-Saxonic translation, and that very ancient Greek and Latin MS. copy of Beza's. As in Luke xvii. 7, some Latin copies have after pascentem, oves, and others boves; this translation follows the former, odde rcep lærzenone, but Wiclif's translation is, erynge or lesuynge oxen. By what we have of this translation, it appears it was a verbal translation of this old Latin copy, without always shewing regard to the idiotism or propriety of the English. Thus Matt. i. 23. roblice reo ræmne hærb on innobe.--Vere illa virgo habebit in ventre.—And John ii. 4. la pir liber ir me j be; Woman, what is me and thee? Though indeed Matt. viii. 29. this idiom of the Latin seems rendered more agreeable to that of the English.—hpæt 17he J ur zæmæne? betwixt thee and us? I add, that the makers of this translation seem to have had no notion of what the papists are so fond, that in the ancient Latin edition are certain words called sacred, as Baptism, Penance, Synagogue, Scribe, &c., since we find them all translated into English, as Baptism is rendered rulluht, Penance daedbote, Synagogue zeramnun-

⁽s) See Mills's N. Testament, ed. Kuster. p. 45.

zum, Scribe bocepe, &c. So Amen is translated roblice. F. Simon observes, that the best translators of the New Testament have kept in the word Philacteries; but here we see it translated healphec, or Neckbooks.

This Anglo-Saxonic translation is, we see, divided into sections, over each of which is placed a rubric, directing when it should be read. For instance, Mat. i. 18. Dyr zodrpel zebypad on mydpintpær mærre æren, This Gospel is to be read on Mid-winter's mass even. Which is, I think, a good proof, that at this time the Holy Scriptures were read in the public service of the church in a language which the people understood. When this translation was made, is very uncertain; it seems as if it was some time in the 6th or 7th century, since Bede died A. D. 734.

Our learned (t) Mr. Camden has observed, that under our Saxon Kings all money accounts passed by the names of Pence, Shillings, Pounds and Mancuses: five of these pence made their shilling; forty-eight of the shillings made their pound; and four hundred of these pounds were a legacy for a king's daughter: and, that by these names they translated all sums of money in their old English Testament, as talents by pundes, om purend bunda, Mat. xviii. 24; the thirty pieces of silver, Judas's price of treason, by thrittig scillinga, hartiz reyllinga, Mat. xxvi. 15; the tribute money by ænne penine, Mat. xxii. 19.; the farthing and the mite by reopoling and reopoling peninger, Mat. v. 26. Mark, xii. 42; only, the stater found in the fish's mouth they translated by weeg, an pacz, Mat. xvii. 27.

As all languages are in a flowing condition, and never continue long in one state; so it was not a great while before, by a change of the civil govern-

⁽¹⁾ Remains, p. 181. cd. 1637.

ment here in England, which did all it could to abolish the native language of the inhabitants, and introduce the French, the Saxon language was so altered, that the inhabitants could understand very little or nothing of what had been their mothertongue, or however that of their English ancestors. By this means the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Anglo-Saxonic tongue was of little or no use to the subjects of England soon after the con-

quest, or however to those of the vulgar sort.

The Bible being thus in a tongue unknown to the common people, since it was now in Latin only, and not very common even in that language, and the Saxonic being grown obsolete and out of use, an opinion, it seems, prevailed, that the knowledge of the Scriptures was unnecessary, nay, that it was not lawful for private Christians to read them in the tongue wherein they were born. Nay, to that extravagance was this whim at length carried, that one William Butler, a Franciscan Friar, maintained, that 'the prelates ought not to admit of this, 'that every one should at his pleasure read the 'Scriptures translated into Latin.' A paradox which served indeed to justify or excuse many of even the priests of those times, who, as they knew nothing of the Scriptures but what they found of them in their Portuises and Missals, so they were not able to read those portions of them there with understanding; soutterly ignorant were they even of Latin.

However, it pleased God in the times of this ignorance to raise up some of a better spirit, and who had a greater regard for the dignity of the human nature, as well as for the Holy Scriptures. France, John Beleth, an eminent Paris divine, observed, that (u) in the primitive church it was 'forbidden to any one to speak in an unknown 'tongue, unless there was some one to interpret:

⁽u) A. D. 1190. Divin Offic. Explicat. proëmium.

'since it was agreeable to common sense, that it was a thing perfectly useless for a man to speak and not be understood. Hence, he said, grew that laudable custom in some churches, that after the gospel was pronounced according to the letter, or read in Latin, immediately it was explained to the people in the vulgar (x) tongue. But, adds he, which confirms what is said above, What shall we say of our times, when there's scarce any one to be found who understands what he reads or hears?

Here in England, we find by the MS. copies yet remaining, several attempts were made to translate into the English then spoken, the Psalter, the Hymns of the Church, and the rest of the Holy Scriptures. One of the first of these seems to have been Richard Rolle, an hermit of Hampole in Yorkshire, who died A. D. 1349. He translated, and wrote a Gloss in English upon the Psalter. Of this translation of the Psalter by Hampole, we have the following evidence of the translator of a book entituled, (y) 'The Look-'ing-Glass of the Blessed Virgin, written about 1470,' who thus expressed himself: 'I have given but a few ' Psalms translated into English, because you have ' them at hand of the version of Richard Hampole, or of that of the English Bible, if you have but ' leave to read them.' Mr. Weever (2) mentions this English Psalter, and supposes Hampole to have been the translator of the New Testament, some passages of which he has transcribed, which shew the translation to be the same with that which I have printed But Weever was very singular in this opinion, and indeed seems to have known very

⁽x) This was in use in the Saxon times here in England, as appears by the Epistles of Ælfric, by which the Mass Priest is ordered to say unto the people on Sundays and Holy days the sense or meaning of the Gospels in English.

⁽y) Usher de Scriptu. &c. p. 428, 447.

⁽²⁾ Discourse of Funeral Monuments, p. 151.

little of Rolle, or Hampole, whom he stiles one Richard, a religious Hermit who lived in the days of K. Henry II. A. D. 1160; whereas he was D. D. an cremite of the order of St. Austin, and lived an hermit about four miles from Doncaster, in Yorkshire, in the reign of K. Edward III. A. D. 1340. prefixed a Prologue, before which, in the imperfect copy in the King's Library, is the following rubric, (a) Here begynneth the prologe uppon the Sauter that Richard hermyte of Hampole translated into englyshe after the sentence of doctours and resoun. The design of this Prologue is to describe the excellency of the Psalter, which he represents as comprehending at the elde & newe Testament, and teching plcynly al of it, and the Mysteries of the trynyte and CHRISTIS incarnation. At the end of it, the author gives this account of his performance (b): 'In this werke, says he, I seke no straunge Ynglys, bot (c) lightest and communest, and swilk 'that is most like unto the Latyne: so that that that 'knawes noght the Laytne be the Ynglys may com to many latyne wordis. In the translacione I felogh ' the letter als-mekille as I may, and thor I fyne no ' proper Ynglys I felogh the wit of the wordis, so ' that that that shalle rede it (d) them that not drede 'errynge. In the expowning I felogh holi doctors. ' For it may comen into sum envious mannes honde ' that knowys not what he suld says, at wille saye that ' I wist not what I sayd, and so do harm tille hym and 'tille other.' Next this Prologue follows, 'Here 'bigynneth the Sauter. Psalmus primus. Beatus 'vir.———In this psalme he spekith of crist and his folewris blaundishyng to us, bihotyng blisfulhede to ' rightwise men. Sith en he speketh of veniaunce of ' wikkede men that thei drede peyne, sith thei wolle

⁽a) No. 1512. (b) MS. fol. Sidney Coll. Camb. K. 5. 3. (c) That that is chast and moost comyn MS. penes Jos. Ames de Wapping: in which this Prologue is placed before the Psalter of Wielif's translation. (d) dar not.

'not love love. He begynneth at the goode man and ' seith, Blessed is (e) that man (f) the whuche ghede ' not in the counsel of (g) wikede, and (h) the wey ' of synfule stood not, and in the chayer of pestilence ' satte not .--- Psalmus secundus .-- Quare fremuer-'unt gentes.-Whi (i) gnastide the folke? and the "'puple thoughte y dil thoughtis! The prophete 'snybbyng hem that shulde turmente crist seith, whi? 'as hoo seith, what enchesun hadde thei? sotheli ' none but yuel wille, for he contrariede her ivele 'lywyng in werke and word, the folke thei were 'tha knyghtis of rome that crucified crist, thei 'gnastide aghen hym as bestis wode without resoun: ' and the puple that was the iuwes, thoughte in ydel, 'that is, in vayne was ther thoughte whan thei ' wende have halde crist euere deed that thei myghte ' not doo, for thi in vayne thei trauelide as eche man 'doth that thoru—pryde and ypocrisye weneth to 'hude cristis lawful ordenaunce.' This, I suppose, is a sufficient specimen of this translation, and the gloss or exposition of it. The translation is, we see, a literal or verbal one from the Latin vulgate; the gloss is generally after the mystical, allegorical way at that time in fashion, and is dry and insipid enough.

In the Harleian Library (k) is somewhat a different translation of the Psalter, with a Gloss on it. A specimen of this is the following rendering of the second Psalm, verse 1. Quare fremuerunt gentes.—Why gnastes the gens, and the peple thoughte yail thingis? The Prophete snybband hem that tourmentid crist saies, whit the gens thoo were the knyttes of rome that crucified crist, gnasted as bestes with oute resoun: and the peple

⁽e) the. (f) that. (g) wickide men. (h) stood not in the weye of synnirs, and saat not in the chair of pestilence. (i) gnastiden with teeth hethene men and peplis thoughten veyu thingis. MS. Wiclif. (k) No. 93. D. 2.

'thoo were the jewes, thoughte vaynte thoughtes: 'that was to holde crist ded in sepulcre that thei 'might not doo, forthi in veyne thei traveilde.'

In the King's Library (1) is another imperfect copy of a translation of the Psalter, from Psalm laxxix. to exviii. There is nothing in the MS. to shew the author, but it is a very different translation from that just now mentioned in the Harleian Library. It begins as follows. 'Psalmus (m) 89. 'Domine refugium.—Lord thou art made refute 'to us fro generacioun to generacioun. Here the 'profete, aftir sharp reprouyage of vicious men, was 'movid of the hooly goost for to ymagin and to 'knowe that malicious enmytee and feers pursuyage 'wole sue sone aftir.'

At the end of the MS. of Hampole's Psalter in Sidney College, follow the several Canticles hereafter mentioned, translated and commented on as the Book of Psalms is, viz. here endith the sauter and bigynnen the canticles.

Canticum Isaie xii. Consitebor tibi Domine, &c. (n) Lord I schal knowleche to the for thou were wrooth to me strong veniance is turned, and thou hast comfortid me.

Canticum Anne I Sam. ii. Exultavit cor meum in Domino, &c.

Canticum Moysi. Exod. xv. Cantemus Domino, &c. Oracio Abacuch. Abac. iii. Domine audivi auditionem tuam & timui.

Audite Cœli quæ loquor, &c. Deut. xxxii. Magnificat anima mea Dominum, &c. Luc. i. Et sic explicit psalterium David.

As the Psalter was thus translated and commented on by divers hands, and the Church Hymns rendered into English, so it seems as if some parts, if not all, of the New Testament, were by different

⁽¹⁾ No. 1517. (m) according to the Latin Vul. (n) MS. penes Jos. Ames de Wapping.

persons rendered into the English then spoken, and glossed or explained in the same manner. In the (o) MS. Library of Bennet College, in Cambridge, is a Gloss, in the English spoken after the conquest, on the following books of the New Testament, viz. the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and Hebrews, among which is inserted, betwixt the Epistles to the Colossians and Thessalonians, the Apochryphal Epistle to the (p) Laodiceans. Of this translation I hope it will not be reckoned impertinent to subjoin the following specimen sent me by Dr. Waterland.

'Mark I. 7. And he prechyde sayande, a stal-'worther thane I schal come efter me of whom I 'am not worthi downfallande, or knelande, to louse

' the thwonge of his chawcers.

'VI. 22. When the doughtyr of that Herodias was in comyn and had tombylde and pleside to Harowde, and also to the sittande at mete, the kynge says to the wench.

'XII. I. A man made a vynere, and he made aboute a hegge, and grofe a lake & byggede a

'tower.

'— 38. Be se ware of the scrybes whylke wille go in stolis and be haylsede in the market and for to sit in synagogis in the fyrste chayers.

'Luke II. 7.——and layde hym in a cratche: '(q) for to hym was no place in the dyversory.'

As for the gloss or comment that accompanies this version, it is very like that of Hampole's on the Psalter. In it are no reflections on the friars, and popish prelates, as is usual in Dr. Wiclif's writings,

⁽o) P. vi. (p) See Codex Apochryphus Novi Testamenti, Collect. &c. a Joanne Alberto Fabricio, Anno 1703. p. 853, &c. Usserii de epistola ad Laodicensis dissertatiunculam. (q) For there was no place to him in no chaumbre. MS. Magd.

only the gloss is much more in the allegorical, mys-

tical way, than in the literal one.

These translations seem to have been made some time before the flourishing of the famous Dr. John Wiclif; but they were translations of only some parts of the Old Testament, as the Psalter, the Church Lessons and Hymns, and of the New Testament, or rather of some of the books of it, not of the whole Bible, however so far as appears to me at present. And then they seem not to have been published, but made only for the translator's own use.

John Wiclif was born about the (p) beginning of the fourteenth century, at Wiclif in Yorkshire, and being bred to learning, was educated in Merton College, in Oxford, where he was first probationer, and afterwards fellow. In 1356 he is said to have written a tract of the last age, in which he exposed the many corrupt ways, then in use, of men's coming to ecclesiastical benefices. But what seems to have made him most known, and to have gained him the greatest reputation, was his opposing the encroachments of the begging friars in defence of the university (q). Soon after this he was chosen warden of Baliol Hall, and presented to the rectory of Fylingham, in the archdeaconry of Stowe, and diocese of Lincoln (r), which he afterwards exchanged for that of Lotegarshall. In 1365, Archbishop Islip nominated him warden of Canterbury Hall, which his Grace had founded a little before. Being, after the Archbishop's death, ejected from thence by the Pope's bull, he read lectures in divinity in the university, with so universal an applause, that almost every thing he said was received as an oracle. In 1374 he was nominated by the

⁽p) A. D. 1324. See his Life, printed 1720. (q) 1360. (i) Nov. 12, 1368.

King, with the Bishop of Bangor and others, to be his ambassador to treat with the Pope's nuncios concerning the provisions of ecclesiastical benefices here in England, claimed by the Pope, and long complained of by our parliaments as very injurious to the rights of the English church; and, as a reward for his faithfulness in executing this commission, had given him by the King (s) the prebend of Aust, in the collegiate church of Westbury, in the diocese of Worcester, and the rectory of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln. But the Doctor having in his lectures at Oxford opposed the temporal dominions of the Popes, and asserted the regale of princes, questioned the power of the keys as claimed by the Roman see, and defended the authority of Christian princes to punish and restrain wicked and disorderly ecclesiastics; the friars, who owed the Doctor a grudge for his taking the university's part against them, and exposing to the people their cheats and tricks to defraud them of their money and goods, complained of him to the Pope, and (t) exhibited against him xviii conclusions, which they represented as heretical, and charged him with maintaining. This gave the Doctor a great deal of trouble, which, very probably, had ended in his being put to a violent death, had he not at first been protected by the English court, and afterwards by the schism in the Romish see, occasioned by a double election of Popes. But by these means was he preserved by divine Providence constantly to speak the truth, and boldly to rebuke vice to a good old age, when being seized by the palsy, he laboured under this fatal distemper about two or three years, and then died on (u) December 31, A. D. 1384.

⁽s) 1375.

⁽t) 1377.

⁽u) Bokyngham Reg.

It seems to have been soon (x) after this prosecution that the Doctor set about the translating the (y) whole Bible into the English then spoken. This translation be made from the Latin Bibles then in common use, or which were at that time usually read in the church: The reason of which seems to have been, not that he thought the Latin the original, or of the same authority with the Hebrew and Greek text, but because he did not understand those languages well enough to translate from them. He likewise chose to translate word for word, as had been done before in the Anglo-Saxonic translation, without always observing the idioms or proprieties of the several languages, by which means this translation in such places is not very intelligible to those who do not understand Latin. For instance, Matt. viii. Et ecce clamaverunt, dicentes; Quid nobis & tibi Jesu fili dei, Dr. Wiclif thus translates into English; And lo they crieden and seiden, What to us and to thee Jesus the sone of god? Which, however, is as good English, as the Rhemists translation here, What is between us and thee, &c. and What to us and thee, Mark i. But whether Dr. Wielif and they translated thus on the same principle, is not in my power to determine. It seems to we not at all improbable, that Dr. Wiclif's reason for so doing, was that which is given in a Prologue to the Psalter of his translation, viz. that they who knew not the Latin by the English might come to many Latin words.

It is likewise to be observed, that the Latin translation from whence this was made, does in many places differ from that which is now established by the Popes of Rome. Thus Luke xv. 8. is rendered, wher sche teendith not a lanterno and turneth up so down the hous? instead of sweepeth the house,

⁽x) 1379 or 1380. (y) J. Huss replica. contra Anglicum Jo. Stokes, p. 136. c. 1. ed. 1715.

as if the Latin copy used by Dr. Wiclif had evertit instead of everrit, as Erasmus notes the most ancient Latin copies had: though the Anglo-Saxonic translation here has it ymbrzyned stirreth about. So Matt. xxii. 4. is rendered here my volatilis ben slayne, as if in the Latin copy which he used it was alites and not altilia, as in the present copies. The Reader will find in Dr. Tho. James's book, entituled, Of the Corruption of Scripture, &c. many other instances of this variety of the Latin copy used by this translator: I will mention here only one or two more; Matt. xxi. 17. He wente forth out of the cite into bethanie, and ther he dwelte and taughte (z)of the kyngdom of God. In the translator's Latin copy it was certainly ibi mansit & docebat de regno Dei. Heb. v. 11. Of whom ther is to us a gret word for to seye and able to be expowned : as if he had read, as some MSS, and the old editions of the Latin Bible do still, interpretabilis ad dicendum or docendum.

However this be, we find heavy complaints made by (a) Henry Knyghton, a canon of Leicester, in the neighbourhood of Dr. Wiclif, and cotemporary with him, of his finishing and publishing this translation. This Master John Wiclif, says he, translated out of Latin into English the Gospel, which Christ had entrusted with the (b) clergy and doc-

⁽²⁾ In some copies it is taught them. (a) De eventibus Angliæ, col. 2644. (b) It is one of the nostrums of the Romish Church, that the faithful, whom they in contempt call the laity or the ignorant, have nothing to do to examine any doctrine in particular from its causes and grounds, and thereby to search out what is true or false; but that this they must leave to the clergy, whom they stile the masters and doctors of the church, whose property, they say, this is. In opposition to this novelty was the 20th Article of Religion framed, in which it is asserted, in direct opposition to this, That the Church, or all the congregation of the faithful, and not the clergy alone, has authority in controversics of faith. And accordingly the XXXIX Articles of Religion were enacted by the parliament.

'tors of the church, that they might minister it to ' the laity and weaker sort according to the exigen-'cy of times and their several occasions. So that ' by this means the Gospel was made vulgar, and ' laid more open to the laity, and even to women ' who could read, than it used to be to the most ' learned of the clergy, and those of the best under-'standing: and so the gospel jewel or evangelical ' pearl was thrown about and trodden under foot of 'swine.' Whether by this Knyghton meant, that Dr. Wiclif had translated from the vulgar Latin into English only the whole New Testament, I do not pretend to determine. According to the strictest sense of his words he should mean no more than, that Dr. Wiclif had translated the four Gospels If so, this is a full evidence, that they were first of all translated by him into the English then used, or however were by him first made vulgar or common to all who could read. But John Huss, very near cotemporary with Dr. Wielif, assures us, that (c) 'it was said by the English, that the Doctor trans-'lated the whole Bible out of Latin into English.' Dr. Wiclif himself, when he mentions this, uses terms of a larger signification, viz. the Holy Scripture, and God's Law. Thus in his Wickette, it is heresy to speak of the Holy Scripture in English: And in an Homily on Matt. xi. 23. reputed to be his, he thus complains of the severe usage he met with on account of his translating the Holy Scripture, in the following terms. 'He, Antecrist, hath turned hyse clerkes to covetyse and worldely love, and so ' blynded the peple and derked the lawe of Crist, 'that hys servauntes ben thikke & few ben on ' Criste's syde; and algates they dyspysen that men 'shulden knowe Cryste's life, for thenne prestes

⁽c) A. D. 1400. Replica. contra J. Stokes. See Arundel's Constitution and Lyndwood's Gloss.

'schulden schome of hyre lyves, and specially these 'hye prestes, for thei reversen crist both in worde 'and in dede. And herfore on gret byschop of 'englelond, as men sayen, is yuel payed, that 'Godde's lawe is written in englysche to lewede 'men, and he pursueth a prest for he wryteth to 'men this englysche, and sompneth hym and tra-'veleth hym that hyt is harde to hym to route. 'And thus he pursueth another prest by the helpe ' of (d) the pharyses, for he precheth criste's gospel ' frely withouten fables. O men that ben of criste's ' halfe, helpe we nowe ageyns Antecrist. For the 'perclouse tyme is comen that crist and poule 'tolden byfore. But on coumfort is of (e) knyghtes 'that they saveren muche the gospel, and have wylle to rede in englyche the gospel of crist's lyf. 'For afterwarde, yef god wul, the Lordeschype 'schal be taken from prestes, and so the stafe that maketh hem hardy ageynes crist and hys lawe, 'For thre sectes feighten here ageynes cristene ' mannes secte: the fyrst is the pope and the car-'dynals by false lawes that they han made: the * secounde is (f) emperour byschopes whuche dyspysen criste's law: the thyrdde is these phary-' sees, possessyoners and beggares. And alle these 'thre goddes enemyes travelen in ypocrisic, and in 'worldely covetyse and ydlenesse in goddes lawe. Crist helpe hys churche fro these fendes for they f fyghten perylousig."

By one great Bishop of England is, I suppose, here meant John Bokynham, at this time Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Dr. Wielif was promo-

⁽d) The folars. (c) Erant etiam milites——cum ducibus & comitibus. Isti erant pracipue eis adharentes & in omnibus cos faventes. Isti erant hujus Secta promotores strenuissimi & propugnatores fortissimi; erantque defensatores validissimi & invincibiles protractatores. Kuyghton de event. col. 2661. (f) Prelati Casarci Trialogus.

ted, and by whom, it seems, he was summoned and prosecuted for his translating the Scriptures into Ay another Priest seems intended William de Swyndurby, a Priest of Leicester, in this diocese. This Swyndurby, according to (g) Knygton, usually preached in St. John's chapel, near Leicester, and very oft in the churches at Leicester and thereabouts, and was a popular preacher, and But being represented to the Bimuch followed. shop as a disciple of Wiclif's, and accused of preaching many things erroneous and heretical, he was immediately suspended and inhibited from preaching in the chapel before-mentioned, or in any church or church-yard within the diocese of Lin-This appears by the date of the Bishop's commission, &c. to have been done about 1381. It must therefore have been some time before this that Dr. Wiclif's translation of the Bible, or however of the New Testament, was finished and published.

MS. copies of the New Testament of this version, of which Dr. Wiclif is commonly reputed the author, are very frequently to be met with in the private libraries of gentlemen, as well as in the more public ones of the universities, colleges, &c. The learned (h) Dr. Thomas James observed of it, that it agrees verbatim with the vulgar Latin, some of the gross faults only excepted. Our learned (i) Selden thus distinguished it; Wiclif, says he, because it was the usage before to understand by the Latin word presbyter, what in English we call (k) priests, always uses the word eldermen to translate So again, John Wiclif intendthe Latin seniores. ed the title of the Prologue to the seven Catholick Epistles to be this: Here—biginneth a prolog on the pistlis of cristen feith that ben seven in ordre.

⁽g) De event. col. 2666. (h) Corruption of the Fathers, p. 277. (i) De synedriis. (k) Notione hiereone seu sacerdotum.

So elsewhere, Wiclif, James v. If any of ghou is sorewful, prie he with patient soule und seie he u salm: which very exactly agrees with the copies of the New Testament commonly said to be of Dr. Wiclif's translation. He adds, as a description of the MS, which he used, that in the I Cor. xvi. 22. it is Be he cursed Maranatha, with this addition in the margin of the book, that is in the comyng of the Lord: whereas, in the MS, copy which I have, these last words are interlined in a small hand thus; that is unto the comynge of oure Lorde. Mr. Fox has copied from Bishop Longland's Register a few texts extracted from the little books or parcels of Wich is translation found on some of his followers, or else repeated by them memoriter, as what they had learnt them from: which, though they vary somewhat from the MSS, of the New Testament, yet any one will judge by comparing them, that they are of the same translation; which is therefore a further proof, that this translation was then thought to be Dr. Wiclif's. The learned Dr. Tho. Marshall guessed it to have been made about 300 years before his time, i. e. about 1370, which falls in with Dr. Wicht's age.

At the end of some of the MS, copies of the New Testament of this translation, are the Pistils read in churches after the use of Sarum, taken out of the Old Testament. Some of these lessons or epistles are of a different translation from that of Wielif's Bible, but much the greater part of them agree exactly with it.

To the several books of the New Testament of this translation of Dr. Wielif's are prefixed the Prologues or Prefaces of St. Hierome, as they'are vulgarly called, with some (1) additions, as it seems, of

⁽¹⁾ In the Preface to St. Luke's Gospel a great part is omitted; particularly the conclusion which ends with St. Luke's Preface.

the translator's. Bishop Bale calls these Prologues Wiclif's own, and intimates as if:he likewise addad Arguments, or the contents of the several books or chapters. But this seems a mistake, owing to the Bishop's not examining the MSS. of this translation with more care. However this be, it is observed, from a collation of several of the copies of this translation, that they are generally written with great Archbishop Usher tells us care and exactness. from the Register of William Alnewick, Bishop of Norwich, 1429, quoted by Mr. Fox, that the price of one of these English New Testaments was four marks and forty pence, or 21: 16s. 8d., which, the Archbishop observed, is as much as will now buy forty New Testaments.

Bishop (m) Bonner said, that he had 'a Bible in Englyshe translated out of Latyne in tyme of here'sey almost eightscore years before that tyme, i. c.
'about 1395, fayre and truly written in parche'ment, in which in the xx chapiter of Exodus
'where the x commandments are rehearsed and
'numbred thus it was written:

'And the lord speek alle thes wordes, I am the lorde thi god that hath lad the out of the londe of Egypte from the house of thraldome: thou schalt not have alyen goddys before me, thou schalt not make to the graven thing, ne eny lycknesse that is in heven abown and that is in erthe benethe, ne of hem that ben in waters under erthe, thou schalt not anoure hem ne herye hem, &c.

'Moreover, in the xxvi chapiter of Leviticus, 'where the commaundementes be also touched, 'ther is it also written thus:

'Ghe schuln not make to ghou a mawmett and graven thing, ne tytles ghe schuln rere, ne huge stone ghe schuln putten in ghor erthe that ghe honour it, and so fourth.

⁽m) Of the Seven Sacraments, 1555.

Besides this, in the v chapiter of Deuteronomye

'it is wrytten thus:

'Thou schalte not have alyen goddys in my syght, 'thou schalte not make to thee graven thinge, 'ne lyckenesse of alle thinges that in hevene ben 'above and in orth benethe, and that dwellen in 'waters under orthe, thou schalt not honoure hem 'ne herye hem, &c.'

The use which the Bishop makes of this, is to shew, 'That by these places so translated even in 'the noughty tyme, as he calls Wiclif's age, it is 'evident, that men were not then so impudent and 'false as they in his time had been, for they neither coulde nor durst, as some in his time, viz. 'Tyndal, Coverdale, &c., falsly had done, translate 'an (n) idoll or a graven thinge into an image.'

This MS. seems now to be in the Bodleian Library thus distinguished, MS. Fairfax, No. 2. It is a large Bible in English done very fairly on vellum. At the end of the Apocalypse, before the general table, is written,

Ye eer of ye lord m. cccc (o). & viii, yis book was endid.

In St. John's College, in Oxford, is a (p) MS. of

⁽o) This C has been scratched to make the date seem older.

⁽p) It is a very fair one, and neatly written. On the top of the leaf, before Genesis, is written in a very fair hand; The translation of the Bible in Englishe, by Master John Wiclife, in the time of King Edward the third, written with his owne hand. But this is placing the date somewhat too early, as it seems to me, supposing it true that it was written by Dr. Wiclif himself, or with his own hand. Mr. Herne had a copy of this translation which is said to have been written 19 Edw. III., or A. D. MCCCXLV.

the Old Testament, said to be of Dr. Wiclif's own writing, which ends with the second book of the Maccabees, in which the translation of the abovementioned places is as follows:

Exod. xx.

'And ye lord spak alle yese wordis. I am ye lord god yat ladde yee out of ye lond of egypt fro ye hous of seruage. You shalt not have alien goddis bifore me. You shalt not make to yee a grauin ymage, neyir ony licnesse of ying which is in heuene aboue, and which is in erthe binethe, neythir of yo yingis yt ben in watris undir erthe, you shalt not herie yo neyer you shalt worshippe.'

Levit. xxvi.

' — Ye shulen not make to you an ydol and a grauen ymage, never ghe shulen reyse tytlis, yt is auteris for ydolatrie, never ghe shulen sette a noble stoon in your lond yat ghe worshipe it.'

Deutero, v.

'-You shalt not have alien goddis in my sight, you shalt not make to yee a grauen ymage never a licnesse of all yingis yat been in heuene above & yat ben in erthe binethe & yat lyven in watris under erthe, you shalt not herie hem & thou shalt not worshippe hem.'

It is the same in the following MSS. which I have had collated on this occasion, with a small variety of spelling according to the times in which they were written, viz. King's Library 1, 2. Sion College Library, MS. Bodlei. NE. F. 10.4. The words in Levit. xxvi. which are scored in St. John's MS. are omitted in the others; but this I take to be only an argument, that St. John's MS. is not so old as it is pretended to be. However, it shews what was the common opinion, viz. that this translation, of which there areso many MS. copies, was Dr. Wiclif's.

In this translation we may observe, that those words of the original which have since been termed

sacred words, and therefore not to be translated. are not always thus superstitiously regarded. for instance, Mat. iii. 6. is rendered weren waschen instead of were baptised, though for the most part they are here left untranslated, or are not rendered into English so frequently as they are in the Anglo-Saxonic translation. So for the Hebrew and Chaldee words, which in our modern translations are left without any translation, they are here often made English. Thus Mat. v. raka is rendered fugh or fogh, q.d. I can't endure thee; and ch. vi. Mammon is translated richesse. At other times indeed are these foreign words retained. For instance, Matt. xxi. 9. is thus translated, Osanna to the sone of Davith-Osanna in high thing is; whereas in the former English translation we find these words rendered thus; hal ry du Dauider runu—ryhum hæl on heh-We wish you all happiness you son of nerrum. David.—May you be to the utmost prosperous. Or health and happiness attend you in the best manner.

But, notwithstanding, so offensive, it seems, was this translation of the Bible to those who were for taking away the key of knowledge and means of better information, especially in matters of religion and eternal salvation, that a bill, we are told, was brought into the House of Lords (q) 13 Ric. II. for the suppressing it. On which the Duke of (r) Lancaster, the king's uncle, is reported to have spoken to this effect: 'We will not be the dregs of all; 'seeing other nations have the law of GOD, 'which is the law of our faith, written in their own 'language.' At the same time declaring in a very solemn manner, 'That he would maintain 'our having this law in our own tongue against 'those, whoever they should be, who first brought

⁽q) A. D. 1390. (r) John Fox's Preface to the Saxon Gospels, A. D. 1571. Cl. Usserii de scripturis & sacris vernacu.

'in the bill.' The Duke was seconded by others, who said, that 'if the Gospel, by its being trans'lated into English, was the occasion of men's run'ning into error, they might know, that there
'were more hereticks to be found among the Latins
'than among the people of any other language.
'For that the Decretals reckoned no fewer than
'sixty-six Latin hereticks, and so the Gospel must
'not be read in Latin, which yet the opposers of
'its English translation allowed.' Upon which, it is
said, the bill was thrown out of the House.

This success, perhaps, gave encouragement to some of Dr. Wiclif's followers to review this translation, or rather, to make another not so strict or verbal as this, but more according to the sense. Of this the MS. copies are more rare and scarce. One of the Old Testament is in the Bodleian Library, marked NE. F. 10. 4. another MS. Fairfax, No. 2, which, as I said before, once belonged to Bishop Bonner. Two others of this translation are in the Libraries of Queen's College at Oxford and of Lambeth: in the Bodleian Library is likewise a MS. of the New Testament of this translation among Archbishop Laud's collections, and marked L. 54. In the Libraries of Sydney and Maudlin College in Cambridge, are two other MS. copies of the New Testament of the same translation, with some variations from that in the Bodleian, and with different prologues before the several books. In the last of these, of which I had the perusal by the favour of the learned Dr. Waterland, the worthy master of the college, the words there used are oft explained by synonymous ones, or by large explanations. For instance:

Incorruptible, that may not dye ne ben peyred. Creatore, that is, maker of noughte.

Yuel fame, or schendeschepe.

Maales, or men.

Acorden not, or bysemen not.

Bakbyteres, or soweres of discorde.

Detractoures, or opin bakbyteres.

Proude, highe ouer mesure.

Affeccion, or loue.

Benignite, or good will.

Accepcion of persones, that is put ood bifore another that is witouten deserte.

Sacrilegie, that is theft of holy the iges.

Prepucie, or custom of hethen men.

lustified, or founden trew.

Prevarication, or trespassing.

Allegorie, or gospells undirstondyng.

A libel, that is a litil boke.

A byliber of wheat, that is a weighte of tweye pound.

With wonder and extasi, that is, lesyng of mynde and resoun and lettyng of tonge.

Oolde botellis, or wyne vessells.

The (s) MS. in Sydney College Library has yet more of these explanations. The following texts may serve for a specimen of it.

'Mark i. 7. ——— and prechid seignge, a strenger than I schal come aftir me, of whom I knelynge am not worthi for to undoo or unbynde the thong of his schon.

'— vi. 22. Whanne the doughtir of the ilke 'Herodias hadde entred in and lepte and plesid to 'Heroude and also to men restynge, the kynge seide 'to the wenche.

'— xii. 1. A man plauntid a vynegherd & puttede about an hegge, & dalf a lake and buldid a 'towr. ' Mark 38. Be ghe war of scribis that wolen wandre in stooles, and be saluted in chepynge,

' and sit in synagogis in the firste chaiers.'

In this MS. of Maudlin College the divisions of the chapters are not exactly the same with those in the MS. of Dr. Wiclif's translation. For instance, 2 Cor. ix. begins here at 2 Cor. ix. 2. in the other version; and Chap. x. at Chap. x. 2. according to our present distinction of the chapters and verses.

But to give the Reader as perfect an idea as I can of these translations of Hampole's, Dr. Wiclif's, &c. I will here transcribe the Magnificate of these several translations, communicated to me by Dr. Waterland, and so he may compare them with that which is printed in the odition of the New Testament of Dr. Wiclif's translation.