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

(a) Acts ii. (b) John i. (c) John xiv.
is expressly affirmed by Eusebius, that (d) both Greeks and Barbarians had the writings concerning Jesus in their own country characters and language. Or, that the New Testament, however, was written 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. (e) That (f) it would not be difficult to prove, that long before their novelties, who at this day are called Protetants, there were translations of the scripture in the mother-tongue, among almost all the nations or people of the Christian name; (g) Which has been very particularly shown by F. le Long in his Sacred Bibliotheca (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 birthright 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. In opposition to this principle, the synod then decreed,

(d) Deo. Eccl., 80, 3, 6, et al.
(e) Jam ante saeculorum quam habebat protestantia appellatur monasterii etiam aetate haec Christiani nominis gentes scripturae versiones editae in quae verba multae multae prohae non restant.
(f) F. Simon dispensatione de sacerdote Bibliothec.
(g) See secta Hist., dogmat. de Script. & Sacrae Verbae.

(e) Synodum Consilii, 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 these 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-

(h) D'Achery Con. tom. ii. p. 622. But our modern Papists seem to have abated something of the rigor 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 expedat Sebastiani S. versiones plebsiam sese operatur, sed ut non omnes basi sunt sibi tempus, loco, & persone restrictione legatur, & ut expedit, non possit nullius quicquam absque pietate. Disput. But see Bishop Kibb's Reflections on a French Testament, printed at Bordeaux, An. Dom. MIII. LXXVI.

religious 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 Codex of Eadfrid, Bishop of Lindisfarne, about the year 690, as Mr. Selden guessed. In the Cotton Library is a book of the four Gospels, said to be written by Bishop Eadfrid 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 Biffrida the Anchorite. Aldred was the author of the intermediary 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 martyrlogist, John Fox, from a MS. now in the (k) Bodleian Library, N. E. P. 3. 15. with the following title, The Gospels of the four Evangelists (l) translated in the olé Saxons tongue out of Latin into the vulgare tongue of the Saxons, and now published by testimonie of the same. At London by John Daye, dwelling near Aldergate. 1571. Cui Privilegio Regin Majestatis per decennium.

In a dedication of this book to the Queen, it is observed, That by Archbishop Parker’s industrious diligence and learned labours, this book, with others more had been collected and searched out of the Saxons monuments. And the Archbishop himself gave the following account of it; (m) Edidit exemplar Evangelii Saxonico idiomate.:

(k) Hiehest Catalog. veterum librorum septentrionalium.
liquor et Scripturas aucta jussit vulgari sermone Anglicano populo notis. 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 condemn'd 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 Ebfrike Abbot of St. Albans, written by him to Wulfane Bishop of Scyrburne, A. D. 950. These his Grace called "A Testimonie of Antiq-

tie, shewing the ancient Poynt in the Church of

ENGLAND, touching the Sacrament of the body

and blood of the Lord here publickly preached,

and also receiv'd in the SAXONS lyne above

G600 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 Borengarius'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 aunciente 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, Labor D. (Daniel) Leves ex domo reverendissimi patris Mabin Carter Archip. It has no date, but was Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling over Aldergate, between St. Marys.
Mr. Fox, in his aforesaid dedication to the Queen, tells her Majesty, That our countryman Bede did translate the whole Bible in the Saxon tongue; that he translated against the gospel of St. John in the English tongue a little before his departure; that K. Alfred translated both the old and the newe Testament into his own native language; and that, if histories be well examined, we shall find both before the conquest and after, as well before John Wycliffe was borne, as since, the whole body of Scriptures by sondry men translated into thys our country tongue: insomuch, that Thomas Arundell, then Archbishop of York and Chauntecler of England, at the Funeral Sermon of Queen Anne, who dyed 1384, as Fulstowe saith, did aueugh, that she had the Gospels in the vulgar tongue with divers expositors upon the same, which she sent unto hym to be viewed and examined.

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

(2) This account seems to have been taken from a Paper communicated to Mr. Fox by Archbishop Parker, and by him inserted in his Acts and Monuments with his title, A compendious and Treaures shewing how we ought to have the Scripture in English; Ed. 1st, p. 452. In this Paper it is reported, that Queen Anne had in English all the 4 Gospels. But this English seems not to have been the English spoken after the Conquest, but the Anglo-Saxon. For thus John Harriot 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 Anglicos John. Stokes, p. 126, ed. 1756. 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 300 years old.
of verbal rendering it. Another edition of this version was published by the learned Dr. Thomas Marshall, 1663, 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 style he was led to believe it was not the work of one hand, and that the Gospel of St. Matthew alone had two different interpreters or translators.

In his observations on the Anglo-Saxonic version of the Gospels, the Doctor remarks, that to any one who reads the traces 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 Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, the twelve prophets, Ezra, Job, Tobit, Esther, Judith, Machabees. From 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 Anglo-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 1328.
read in that language. Some fragments of this translation of the Old Testament, viz. part of the Os-
utech, and of the Book of Job, were printed, by the
encouragement of that learned reviver of the
study of the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon tongues,
Dr. George Hicke, at Oxford, with the Junian
types, by Mr. Edward Thwaits, A. D. 1698; to
which is added, the Apceryphal piece, called The
Gospel of Nicodemus, in Anglo-Saxon, and a frag-
ment of the History of Judith in Dano-Saxon.
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 Spel-
man 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 Calendar prefixed to it at
the vii Calend. Novemb. it is thus noted: Ælfred
rex obit.
On this occasion our antiquary, William Lisle,
Esq. of Wilburgiam, who published in Anglo-Sax-
onic 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 keep-
ing a copy of it in the ark, been continued,
and standard Bibles been preserved in our cathe-
dral churches, as it has been since appointed by
King Ælfred, we might now have showed 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 An-
tiquities. Wharton deindebus Ælfricis obsert.
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, Benet, and Hatton MSS., though omitted in the printed copy. Le pîlîn d engeitone on zelîoûm yûjî, &c. This assu- mption or addition Dr. Marshall says he never could (a) 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 passentem, ovae, and others ovus; this translation follows the former, ovae, prope larçemone, but Wichl's translation is, ovane or laseynge oxei. By what we have of this translation, it appear it was a verbal translation of this old Latin copy, without always showing regard to the idiom or propriety of the English. Thus Matt. i. 23, póciere pîp pænne hæfd on maodse.—Yere illa virgo habebit in ventre.—And John ii. 4, la pîp lîtuce lî me lî; 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.—lyîcî purî 'y puri gemanæ? What is 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, Pen- ance, Synagogue, Scripture, &c., since we find them all translated into English, as Baptism is rendered pul- luthe, Penance cumbo, Synagogue searumunj;

(a) See Mill's N. Testament, ed. Kuster, p. 44.
Our learned (1) Mr. Camden has observed, that under our Saxon kings all money accounts passed by the names of Peace, Shillings, Pounds and Marainges: 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, Tim puredan pand, Mat. xviii. 24; the thirty pieces of silver, Judas’s price of treason, by thrity shillings, Juttae sceilinga, Mat. xxvi. 15; the tribute money by weene penne, Mat. xxii. 19; the farthing and the mite by proshing and prosingo pavement, Mat. v. 26. Mark, xii. 42; only, the stater found in the fish’s mouth they translated by weeg, en pwec, Mat. xvi. 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-

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 mother-tongue, or however that of their English ancestors. By this means the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Anglo-Saxon tongue was of little or no use to the subjects of England soon after the conquest, 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 Saxon 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 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; sotutterly 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. In 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:

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 explain-
ced 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
remining, 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 entitled, (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 (z) 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 trans-
literation to be the same with that which I have printed
as Wyclif's. 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 ap-
ppears by the Epistles of Aldfrid, by which the Mass Priest is
ordered to say unto the people on Sodays and Holy-days the
sense or meaning of the Gospels in English.
(y) Usher de Scriptu, &c. p. 426, 447.
(z) Discourse of Funeral Monuments, p. 151.
little of Rolle, or Hampole, whom he stiles one Richard, a religious Hermite who lived in the days of K. Henry II. A. D. 1160; whereas he was D. D. an eremite of the order of St. Austin, and lived as an hermit about four miles from Doncaster, in Yorkshire, in the reign of K. Edward III. A. D. 1340. To it is prefixed a Prologue, before which, in the imperfect copy in the King's Library, is the following fabrick, (a) Here begynneth the prologue upon the Saviour that Richard hermite of Hampole translated into englyshe after the sentence of doctors and ressure. The design of this Prologue is to describe the excellency of the Psalter, which he represents as comprehending at the elde & none Testament, and teacheing plentily of of it, and the Mysteries of the trynytie and CHRISTIS incarnation. At the end of it, the author gives this account of his performance (b). "In this worke," says he, "I seke no straunge Ynglys, but (c) lightest and comonest, and swilk that's most like unto the Latyne: so that that that knewes not the Laytyn be the Ynglys may com to many latyne words. In the transalacion I fologh the letter als-mekille as I may, and thor I fyne no proper Ynglys I fologh the wit of the wordes, so that that shall rede it (c) them thor not drede errynge. In the expowynge I fologh holi doctors. For it may comen into som envious manner honde that knowes not what he sall sayd, at wil saye that I wist not what I sayd, and so do hame tyle hym and tille other." Next this Prologue folowes. (c) Here bigynneth the Sauter. Psalmus primus. Beatus vir.——In this psalme he spekith of crist and his solerevis blausdingyng to us, biboting blissfulde to rightwise men. Sif en he speketh of veninence of wikkede men that thi drede preyne, thith thi wolde

(a) No. 1212. (b) MS. fol. Sidney Coll. Camb. K. 5. 3. (c) That that is chest and moost compey MS. poies Jo. Amor de Wadling: in which this Prologue is placed before the Psalter of Wicke's translation. (d) trat not.
not lone ioye. He begynneth at the geode man and
scith, Blessed is (e) that man (f) the whiche ghede
not in the counsell of (g) wolde, and (h) the very
of synnule stood not, and in the chayer of pestilence
sateth not.—Psalms secundus.—Quare fremuerunt
genres.—Whi (i) gnausti the folke? and the
puple thoughte y dill thoughton? The prophete
anybhyng hem that shulde turmente crist scith, whi?
as hoo scith what enchesun haddeth theni? sotheli
none but yuel wile, for he contrairede he ir vele
heyyng in whike and word, the folke thei were
tha knayghtes of rome that crucified crist, thei
gnausti nghen hym as bestis wole without resoun:
and the puple that was the lawre, thoughte in ydel,
that is in wynne was ther thoughte when thei
wende have halde crist euere deed that thei myghte
not doo, for thi in wynne thei trauelide as ech man
doeth that thor—pyde and ypocrisy wedeth to
lude cristis lawfull ordinaunce.' This, I suppose,
in a sufficient specimen of this translation, and the
glass or exposition of it. The translation is, we see,
a literal or verbal one from the Latin vulgate; the
glass is generally after the mystical, allegorical way
at that time in fasion, and is dry and insipid
enough.

In the Harleian Library (k) is somewhat a dif-
fert 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 gen-
tes.—Why gnausti the gens, and the peple
thoughte ydil things? The prophete anybhyng
hem that turmentid crist saiers, whi the gens theo
were the knayghtes of rome that crucified crist,
gnausti as bestes with oute resoun: and the peple

(e) the. (f) that. (g) wickede men. (h) stood not in
the wyre of synnures, and saat not in the chaire of pestilence. (i)
gnauston with teeth hethene men and peple thoughten reyn
thou were the jewes, thoughte vayne thoughts: that was to bothe erist ded in sepulcre that thei might not doo, forthe in vayne thei travaile.

In the King's Library (i) is another imperfect copy of a translation of the Psalter, from Psalm lxxxix. to cxviii. 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 refuse to us fro generacione to generacione. Here the profete, after sharp reproynge of vicious men, was movid of the holy goost for to ymagon and to known that mallicious enmytee and leers pursuyng wole sue some affer.

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 ethid the sauter and bigymen the canticles.

Canticum Isae xii. Confitebor tibi Domine, &c. (s) Lord I schal knowleche to the for thou were wrooth to me strong venance is turned, and thou hast comfortid me.

Canticum Anne i Sam. ii. Exsultavit cor meum in Domino, &c.


Audie Coeli quae loquor, &c. Deut. xxxii.

Magnificent 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

(i) No. 1517. (m) according to the Latin Vul. (s) MS. posse Jos. Ames de Wapping.
persons rendered into the English then spoken, and glossed or explained in the same manner. In the (a) MS. Library of Benet 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 Apocryphal 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 1. 7. And he prechydde sayande, a stul
worth the thane I schal come efter me of whom I
am not worthy downvslande, or knelande, to iouse
the thwonghe of his chauncers.

VI. 22. When the doughtyr of that Herodias
was in comyn and had comblyde and pleide to
Harowde, and also to the sittande at meate, the
lyunge sayes to the wench.

XII. 1. A man made a wynere, and he made
aboute a hege, and grove a lake & byggede a
tower.

— 38. Be se ware of the scrybes whylke wille go
is stolis and be bylyssede in the market and for to
sit in synagogis in the ysfreye chyers.

Luke 11. 7.— and layde hym in a crateche:
(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,

(a) P. vi. (p) See Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti,
Collect. &c. a Ioanne Alberto Fallopio, Anno 1703. p 883, &c:
Unius de epistolis ad Laodiceas dissertationem. (q) For
there was no place to him in no chauember. MS. Magd.
only the gloss is much more in the allegorical, mystical 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 1336 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 Bailey 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 Ely 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. (r) Nov. 121, 368.
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 (9) 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 (10) 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 Roman 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 (11) December 31, A. D. 1384.

(9) 1375. (10) 1377. (11) Bokyagham Reg.
TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

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 he 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-Saxon 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 exaeclamaverunt, dicentes; Quid nobis & tibi Jesus fili dei, Dr. Wiclif thus translates into English: And lo they crieden and saiden, What to us and to thee Jesus the sone of god? Which, however, is as good English, as the Rhonists translation here, What is between us and thee, &c. and What to us and thee, Mark i. But whether Dr. Wiclif and they translated thus on the same principle, is not in my power to determine. It seems to me 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 xvi. 8. is rendered, wher sche teended not a lanterno and turneth up so down the house? instead of sweepeth the house,

as if the Latin copy used by Dr. Wiclif had everiit instead of everiit, as Eusebius notes the most ancient Latin copies had. though the Anglo-Saxon translation here has it *ymbert&pe stereth about. So Matt. xxii. 4, is rendered here *my volatilis ben sleynye, as if in the Latin copy which he used it was aliter and not altitio, 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 dweltte and taughte (z) of the kyngdowm of God. In the translator's Latin copy it was certainly *ubi mansit & docebat de regno Dei. Heb. v. 11. Of whom ther is to us a greut word for to sace and able to be expowened: as if he had read, as some MSS. and the old editions of the Latin Bible doe still, *interpretabilis ad ibertum or *docendum.

However this be, we find heavy complaints made by (c) Henry Kynghton, 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, translat out of Latin into English the Gospel, which 'Christ had entrusted with the (b) clergy and doc-

(c) In some copies it is taught them. (a) De creantibus Angliae, col. 2044. (b) It is one of the orstructions of the Romish Church, that the faithfull, whom they in contemp of the lesser 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 calle 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 congregations of the faithful, and not the clergy alone, ha authority in controversy of faith. And accordingly the XXXIX Articles of Religion were enacted by the parliament.
'towards the church, that they might minister it to the laity and weaker sort according to the exigency 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 understanding: and so the gospel jewel or evangelical pearl was thrown about and trodden under foot of swine.' Whether by this Knighton 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. Wiclif, assures us, that (c) it was said by the English, that the Doctor translated 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 Wickeite, it is heresy to speak of the Holy Scripture in English: And in an Hoonly 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. 'I.e. Anticrist, hath turned hyse clerkes to covetyse and worldly love, and so blynded the peple and derked the lawe of Crist, that hys servauntes ben thikke & few ben on Criste's syde; and algotes they dyspsyen that men shulden knowe Criste's life, for thenne prestes

(c) A. D. 1500. Repl. contra J. Stok. See Arundel's Constitution and Lyndward's Gloss.
schulden shome of hyre lyces, and specially these
lye prestes, for thei reversen criste both in worde
and in deed. And herfore on greth byshop of
engelond, as men sayen, is yuel paye, that
Gode's lave is written in englyshe to browde
men, and he purscheth a prest for he wroght to
men this englyshe, and sampynth hyre and trave
eyth hym that hyt is harde to lyme to route.
And thus he purscheth another prest by the helpe
of (c) the pharyses, for he precheth criste's gospel
firely withouten fables. O men that ben of criste's
balle, helpe ye nowe ageyns Antecrist. For the
perelouse tyme is comen that criste and poule
tolen before. Bat on comfoorth is of (c) knyghtes
that they saveyn enuie the gospel, and have
wylle to rede en englyshe the gospel of criste's lyf.
For afterwurde, ye God wul, the Lordeschype
schul be taken from prestes, and so the stafe that:
maketh hem hardy ageyns criste and lye lave.
For thre sees wysghten here ageyns cristes stee:
manus secta: the lyrat is the pope and the cur-
dynal by fals lawes that they ha made: the
acouve is (f) emporour leachopes wyche dys-
spyen criste's law: the therid is these phary-
seys, possessyoners and beggaristes. And alle these
thre goddes enemies travelen in yppocrasie, and in
worldely covetyse and yllenesse in goddes lave.
Crist helpe lys churche fro these feudes for they
fysghten peryously.

By one great Bishop of Engeland is, I suppose,
here menent John Bakylham, at this tyme Bishop of
Lincoln, in whose diocese Dr. Wiclifu was promo-

(a) The fearis. (c) Estant etiam militis—cum doct-
orum condicio: sed sunt præsbyteris etiunctus & in om-
inis ex ecclesiis. Sed sunt habet sectae præsbyteris strenuis-
sumi & propagantur fortisimis; etiamque defossatos validi-
2661. (f) Prelati Cassari Trialogus.
ted, and by whom, it seems, he was summoned and
prosecuted for his translating the Scriptures into
English. As another Priest seems intended Will-
liam de Swayndurby, a Priest of Leicester, in this
diocese. This Swayndurby, according to (g) Knyng-
ten, 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
much followed. But being represented to the Bi-
shop as a disciple of Wichif’s, and accused of preach-
ing many things erroneous and heretical, he was
immediately suspended and inhibited from preach-
ing in the chapel before-mentioned, or in any
church or church-yard within the diocese of Lin-
coln. 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. Wichif’s translation of the Bible, or however of
the New Testament, was finished and published.

MS. copies of the New Testament of this ver-

tion, of which Dr. Wichif 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 (k) Dr. Thomas James observed of it, that
it agrees verbatim with the vulgar Latin, some of
the gross faults only excepted. Our learned (l)
Selden thus distinguished it; Wichif, says he, be-
cause it was the usage before to understand by the
Latin word presbyter, what in English we call (k)
priests, always uses the word eldersmen to translate
the Latin seniores. So again, John Wichifintend-
ed the title of the Prologue to the seven Catholick
Epistles to be this: Here—bigitmeth a prolog
on the pistils of cristian feith that ben seven in orde.

(g) De creat. col. 2966. (k) Corruption of the Father,
So elsewhere, Wyclif, James v. If any of ghois be sorrowful, prye he with patient sole to sele he se a same: which very exactly agrees with the copies of the New Testament commonly said 'to be of Dr. Wyclif's translation.' He adds, as a description of the MS. which he used, that in the 1 Cor. xvi. 29, it is He he cursed Maranatha, with this addition in the margin of the book, that is in the company 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 company of our Lorde. Mr. Fox has copied from Bishop Langland's Register a few texts extracted from the little books or parcels of Wyclif's 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. Wyclif's. The learned Dr. Tho. Marshall guessed it to have been made about 300 years before his time, i.e. about 1570, which falls in with Dr. Wyclif's age.

At the end of some of the MS. copies of the New Testament of this translation, are the Psalms read in churches after the use of Sarum, taken out of the Old Testament. Some of these sermons or epistles are of a different translation from that of Wyclif'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. Wyclif's are prefixed the Prologues or Prefaces of St. Jerome, as they're 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 added 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 care and exactness. Archbishop Usher tells us 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 £1 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. e.
'about 1395, fayre and truly written in parche-
'ment, in which in the xx chapter 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 eyn lycknesse that
'is in heven abown and that is in erthe benethe, ne
'of hem that ben in roters under erike, thou schalt
'not anoure hem ne berge hem, &c.

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

'Ghe schuln not make to ghow a mawomet and
'graven thing, ne yyltes ghe schuln wrye, ne huge
'stone ghe schuln putten in ghor erthe that ghe
'honour it, and so fourth.'

(m) Of the Seven Sacraments, 1535.
Besides this, in the v chapter of Deuteronomy
it is written thus:
"Thou schalte not have aegy goddys in my syght,
thou schalte not make to thee greven thinge,
ne lykenesse of alle thinges that in hevene ben
above and in eche benethke, and that dwellen in
voaters under erthe, thou schalt not honoure hem
ne berye 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 Wich's age, it is
'evident, that men were not then so impudent and
'false as they in his time had been, for they nei-
'ther could nor dure, us some in his time, viz.
'Tyndal, Coverdale, &c., falsly had done, translate
'an (n) idol or a greven 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 eor of ye lord m. cccc (o). & viii, ys booke
was endit.

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

(a) The words translated in the MS. above-mentioned, moxe-
most and greven thing, are in the Latin, idolum and
sacellum; the former of which is in the Saxon translation rendered heaxapa,
a temple or greene; the latter cypiso loder and cypiso
geneape; the Chaldee translates it image. Ainsworth in loc.

(o) This Cl 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 English, by Master John Wicke,
in the time of King Edward the third, written with his own
hand. But this is placing the date somewhat too early, as it
seems to me, supposing it true that it was written by Dr. Wic-
kle 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 above-mentioned 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 shall not have alien goddis biforne me. You shall not make to yee a gruuen ymage, neytriony licenesse of ying which is in heuene abowe, sud which is in erthe bineathe, neythir of yo yingis yt ben in watre under erthe, you shall not herie yo neyver you shall worshippe.'

Levit. xxvi.

' —— Ye shal ben not make to you an ydol and a grouen ymage, neyer ghe shulen reyse tythis, yt is ateris for ydolatrie, neyer ghe shulen sette a noble stoon in your lond yat ghe worshippe it.'

Deutero. v.

' —— You shall not have alien goddis in my sight, you shall not make to yee a grouen ymage neyer a licenesse of all yingis yat ben in heuene abowe & yat ben in erthe bineathe & yat lyven in watre under erthe, you shall not herie hem & thou shall 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 I, 2. Stow 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 are so 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 superstitionally regarded. Thus for instance, Matt. iii. 6. is rendered weren waschen instead of were baptized, though for the most part they are here left untranslated, or are not rendered into English so frequently as they are in the Anglo-Saxon 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 Matt. v. rake is rendered fogh 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 son of David—Osannas in high things; whereas in the former English translation we find these words rendered thus; pal ry Sun Dauber runn——ryhum heil on hehnerrum. We wish you all happiness you son of 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. 1371. Cl. Usurii de scripturis & sacris vernac.
"in the bill." The Duke was seconded by others, who said, that if the Gospel, by its being translated into English, was the occasion of men's running 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 synonynous ones, or by large explanations. For instance:

Incorruptible, that may not dye we ben peyfed. Creator, that is, maker of naughte.
The History of the English

Yuel fame, or schenudeschepe.
Maales, or men.
Accorden not, or bysemen not.
Bakbyteres, or souvres of discorde.
Detreactoure, or opin bakbyteres.
Proude, hight over mesure.
Affection, or loue.
Benuigne, or good will.
Aceptio of persones, that is put oure before ano-
ther that; is witouten deserete.
Sacrilieg, that is theft of holy thynge.
Prepecie, or custom of heten men.
Iustified, or fouren trewe.
Prevarication, or trespassing.
Allegorie, or gospells understandyng.
A libel, that is a litel boke.
A bylber of wheat, that is a weighte of twelve
pound.
With wonder and extasi, that is, lesynge of mynde
and resoun and lettyng of longe.
Oolde bothells, or wyne vessells.

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

'Merk i. 7. ——— and prechid seyng, a
'strenger than I shal come aftir me, of whom !
'ludlyng am not worthi for to undoo or unbynde
'thong of his schon.
'— vi. 23. Whanne the doughtir of the ilke
'Herodias luddde entred in and lepte and plesid to
'Herode and also to men restynge, the kyngse seide
'to the wencle.
'— xii. 1. A man plantid a vynegherd & put-
tic about an hege, & dalf a lake and buildid a
'towr.

(s) K. 5. 4.
"Mark 38. Be ghe war of scribis that wolen
wandre in stooles, and be saluted in chepynges,
and sit in synagogis in the firste chaires."

In this MS. of Maidlin 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 Magnificat of these
several translations, communicated to me by Dr.
Waterland, and so he may compare them with that
which is printed in the Edition of the New Testa-
ment of Dr. Wiclif's translation.