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ON SOME EARLY EDITIONS OF TINDAL'S TRANSLATION.

THE first three numbers in Darlow-Moule's *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. i, *English* (1903), are—

- (1) 1525. Facsimile (The New Testament). [*Peter Quentell: Cologne, 1525.*] 4to.
- (2) 1525. Facsimile (The New Testament). [*Peter Schoeffer: Worms, 1525.*] 8vo.
- (3) 1531 (The Pentateuch). *Hans Luft: Malborow. '17 Jan. 1530'* [= 1531]. 8vo.

The next three numbers are (4) a Facsimile of Tindale's translation of 'The Prophet Jonas, supposed to be printed by Martin de Keyser, Antwerp, about 1531; (5) a revised edition of the New Testament, printed at Antwerp, 1534, by Marten Emperowr (= de Keyser); and (6) another edition of the New Testament, considered to be the last revised by the translator himself, and supposed to be printed by Martin de Keyser for Govaert van der Haghen, Antwerp, 1535-4.

It is very difficult for an outsider to enter into the intricate history of the first printed editions of the English Bible; I believe, however, that I can contribute two notices touching these questions. First about No. 3, the *Editio Princeps* of the Pentateuch, which is at the same time the first portion of the Old Testament printed in English.

Darlow-Moule says about the colophon:—

'The colophon at the end of Genesis alone supplies date and printer and place. There is no need to treat this colophon as intentionally misleading; for books extant, bearing a similar colophon, support the view that Hans Luft really was printing books at Marburg about that date, though his chief press was certainly at Wittenberg. Notwithstanding the variations of type, it is probable that all five sections of this volume issued from one press. One woodcut border is used for most of the title-pages, and the watermarks throughout are the same.' (Cf. *Athenaeum*, April 18, 1885.)

Now, there is a monograph on the early printing-presses at Marburg by A. v. Dommer, the Librarian of Hamburg, an authority on the early history of printing: *Die ältesten Drucke aus Marburg in Hessen, 1527-1566* (Marburg, 1892). He confirms the doubt, first expressed by J. Mombers in *The Churchman*, Dec. 10, 1881, and again in his book *English Versions*

of the Bible, 1883, about this colophon, and enforces it by the fact that it is also found in a *Dutch* translation of Luther's Articles of Marburg. The character of the types, too, is, according to v. Dommer, not German, but points to England, or *more probably to the Netherlands*, because only there the interest for a *Dutch* translation of Luther's work is to be sought. Perhaps this hint may help others who have occasion to compare books printed in Holland to find out the real place where the first portion of the Old Testament in English was printed.¹

To Holland points also the second notice which I can give. Prof. Paul Fredericq in Ghent has been long engaged in publishing with his 'Leerlingen' a great *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae*. In the fifth part (Tijdvak der hervorming in de zestiende eeuw, Erste vervolg, 24. Sept. 1525—31. Dec. 1528), forming the ninth volume of the *Werken van den practischen Leergang van vaderlandsche geschiedenis* published by the *Hoogeschool van Gent* (Ghent and s'Gravenhage, 1903), there occurs a prohibition of ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENTS PRINTED AT ANTWERP. The piece runs thus, 184-185.

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1527, Januari 16, Antwerpen. Verbod van den Magistraat Engelsche Nieuwe Testamenten, te Antwerpen gedrukt, en die nu aldaar, als alom in Engeland verbrand worden, te bewaren.

Geboden ende vutgeroepen by Heeren Clause van Lyere, riddere, Scouteth, Bourgermeesteren, Scepenen, ende Raide vander stadt van Antwerpen, opten XVIIen dach van Januario anno XXVI (oude stijl).

Men cundicht ende gebiet, van s'Heeren ende vander Stadt wegen, dat nyemant, van wat state oft qualiteyt hy zy, hem en voidere, int heymelyc oft int openbaer, by hen te houdene ennige Nyeuwe Testamenten alhier **inder stadt in Engelssoher talen gedruet**, daerof de gelycke alomme in Engelant verbrant ende jegenwoerdichlic alhier oic verbrant worden, ende dat alle de ghene, die diergelycken boecken by hen hebben, deselve bynnen acht dagen naestmoende brengen in handen vanden Heeren, opte pene van scherpelic gecorrigeert te wordene, na inhoud der geboden ons genadighen heeren Keyzers, dien ende gelycke saken aengaende, alhier geplubliceert.

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[1527, January 16. Antwerp. Prohibition of the magistrates, against possessing the English New Testament, printed at Antwerp, and which has now been burnt there, as everywhere in England.

¹ As even Lupton's article, 'English Versions,' in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1904), betrays no knowledge of the Monograph of v. Dommer, and makes Tindal stay at Marburg, there to be joined by Frith, it is the more necessary to call attention to it. Also the question touched by my second notice is unknown to Lupton.

Decreed and proclaimed by the Heeren, Clause van Lyere, knight, major, burgomasters, aldermen, and council of the city of Antwerp, on the 16th day of January, year 26 (old style).

Warning and command are given, on behalf of the Heeren and the city that no one, of whatever position or quality he be, venture to possess either privately or publicly any New Testaments, printed here in this city in the English language, since similar (New Testaments) have been everywhere burnt in England, and now rightly here also; and that all those who have similar books bring them within the next eight days to the Heeren, under penalty of being severely punished, after the tenor of the commands of our gracious Emperor published here concerning these and similar things.]

To this the Editor has attached the following Note :

Stadsarchief te Antwerpen, *Gebodboeck*, vol. A, fol. 129; afgedrukt bij Génard, *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, deel II, blz. 319-320. —Hier wordt William Tyndale's bekende vertaling van het Nieuwe Testament in t'Engelsch bedoeld. Hans van Roermonde, drukker te Antwerpen, was zeer waarschijnlijk de uitgever van eene dier vertalingen, die hij in Engeland aan den man zocht te brengen en waarvoor hij aldaar gevangengezet werd. In 1529 uit zijne gevangenis ontslagen kwam hij naar Antwerpen terug, en waarschijnlijk is het aan hem te danken, dat toen aldaar eene nieuwe uitgaaf van Tyndale's Nieuwe Testament verscheen. Zie de Hoop Scheffer, *Bijzonderheden omtrent de oudste drukken van William Tyndale's vertaling van T'Nieuwe Testament*, in Moll en de Hoop Scheffer, *Studiën en bijdragen op't gebied der hist. theologie*, deel II, blz. 415-424.

[City Archives of Antwerp. Law Book, &c. Printed by Genard, &c. Part II, pp. 319, 320. Here is meant William Tyndale's well-known translation of the New Testament into English. Hans van Roermond, printer of Antwerp, was very probably the publisher of one of these translations, which he tried to dispose of in England, and for this he was imprisoned there. In 1529, released from his imprisonment, he came back to Antwerp; and apparently we owe it to him that a new edition of Tyndale's New Testament appeared there at that time. See de Hoop Scheffer, *Details concerning the oldest editions of William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament*, in Moll and de Hoop Scheffer, *Studies and contributions to the department of historical theology* pt. ii pp. 415-424.]

The investigation of de Hoop Scheffer, just referred to, is not at my disposal, but the publication of Fr. Heinr. Reusch, *Die Indices librorum prohibitorum des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts gesammelt und herausgegeben* (Tübingen 1886 = *Literarischer Verein* vol. clxxvi), opens with

'Mandate of the archbishop of Canterbury to John Voysey, bishop of Exeter, to search for English translations of the New Testament as containing heretical pravity. Lambeth, 3 Nov. 1526. A list of the books prohibited.'

The third number in this list is

'The New Testament of Tindall.'

Reusch refers to *Calendar of State Papers: Henry VIII* Vol. iv, No. 2607. The third paragraph of Reusch repeats from Wilkins *Concilia Magnae Britanniae* iii 727, 'A publick instrument made A.C. 1530 May 24: in an assembly of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Durham, and others, by order of King Henry VIII, containing divers heretical and erroneous opinions considered and condemned.' In this list the last two items are 'The matrimony of Tyndall' and 'The Newe Testament in Englische of the translation whiche is nowe printed.'

There can be no doubt that the decree of Antwerp (Jan. 16, 1527) is the sequel to that of Lambeth (Nov. 3, 1526), and therefore the question arises, whether No. 2, the edition of Tindal's New Testament of 1525, which in Darlow-Moule's Catalogue is ascribed to Peter Schöffler of Worms, be really by that printer, or whether it does not come from Antwerp.

A second possibility is, that besides this No. 2 in Darlow-Moule there was an Antwerp edition of 1525 or 1526, of which no other trace as yet seems to be known¹; and the third and last possibility, that the Magistrate of Antwerp was mistaken, when in January, 1527, he speaks of English New Testaments printed 'alhier in der stadt'.

Already on October 30, 1526, 'Hansken van Remunde, boeck-printer', at Antwerp, has been condemned to make a 'pelgrimage ten Heyligen Bloede te Wilsenaken', because he 'contrarie ende in veracht-inge der mandementen ende bevelen van onsen allergenadichsten heere den Keyzer, alhier te poeyen af gepubliceert, hem gevoirdeert heeft te printene zekere boecken, inhoudende de leeringe der Lutheriaenscher ketteryen, daerof de Heere ende de Stadt te vollen gein-formeert zyn' (Fredericq, l. c. No. 542, p. 155).

¹ Postscript: A trace of it I have found since in Giffor's Memoir of W. Tyndale (prefixed to the reprint of Tindale's New Testament, London, S. Bagster, 1836; enlarged edition by T. P. Dabney, Andover, 1837). Here it is said (p. 26 of the American edition):

'Many pirated editions of this book were printed by the Dutchmen, particularly at Antwerp. . . . The most accurate was by the exile, George Joy. . . . This edition was printed by the widow of Christopher of Endhoven in Antwerp: her husband had died in an English prison for selling a pirated edition in 1531. *Three years previously, John Raymund, a Dutchman, severely suffered for causing 1500 of Tyndale's New Testament to be printed at Antwerp, one-third of which were conveyed into England.*'

[Already on October 30, 1526, Hans van Remund, book-printer of Antwerp, has been condemned to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Blood at Wilsenaken, because, contrary to and in contempt of the commands and orders of our most gracious Emperor, published here at the town hall, he has ventured to print certain books containing the doctrines of the Lutheran heresy, of which the Heeren and the city have been fully informed.]

I am not in the position to follow up these points, but since in that fine catalogue no mention of these documents is made, it seemed worth while to call attention to them.

The Catalogue of the British Museum mentions as next edition after Darlow-Moule's No. 1 (Cologne, 1525) and No. 2 (also ascribed to WORMS), one *By one wydowe of Christoffel of Endhouē: Antwerpe*, August, 1534, 16mo., mentioned by Darlow-Moule under No. 5.

EB. NESTLE.