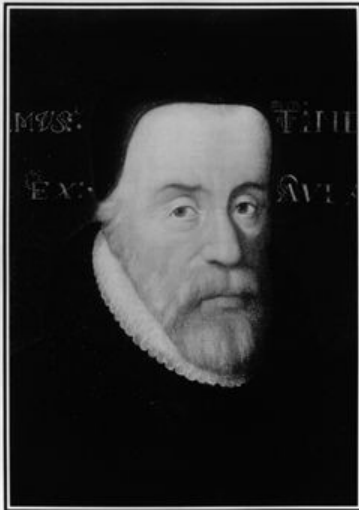


Confusion about Tyndale¹
The Stuttgart Copy of the 1526 New Testament in English
 By Eberhard Zwink, Stuttgart
 To an English speaking Audience

The book I have to talk about is rare, very rare: William Tyndale's first impression of his New Testament. Its title leaf is unique, as we discovered last year.



Do not fear that I want to hold a lecture on German history. Let me point out only that the territorial situation of our country was quite different from that of the national states France and England: the Empire was a patchwork of larger or smaller principalities, partly ecclesiastical (in violet), partly secular, as well as free imperial towns (in red). The emperor was mostly absent, far away and weak. When in Electoral Saxony under the rule of Friedrich der Weise (= Frederick the Wise) a certain monk named Martin Luther proclaimed a harsh critique of the Church and the Pope, and when he ventured to translate the Bible out of the original tongues ignoring the traditional Vulgate, under Friedrich's protection, he and his ideas could not only survive but could spread. This also especially owed to the freedom in the imperial towns as Nuremberg, Augsburg, Strasbourg, Basle and Worms. In England, however, as you know better than I do, the political and ecclesiastical powers were centralized.

The history of Tyndale is well known. His first attempt to publish his remarkable translation in Cologne in 1525 failed. Johannes Cochlaeus betrayed him to the City Council. So the first English Bible impression was not more than a fragment.

It is hard to translate the feeling or the malicious undertone of Cochlaeus' report in the later translation of the so vivid Bavarian dialect:

Hierauff flohen die zwen verloffne Englische Muench mit den getruckten Quatern dem Rein nach auffwaerts nach Wormbs, da nun der gemeine Mann mit viler unsinnigkeit das Lutherische Euangelium angenommen, dauon das fuergenommene Werck durch ein andern Trucker daselbs zuuollenden².

Hereupon the two runaway English monks fled upriver following the Rhine towards Worms, with the printed quaternions, where, alas, the common man has taken up the Lutheran gospel with great lack of sense, so as to complete their project in that place with the help of another printer.

The continuation of the story in England is not our subject this morning. The subject is not the burning and destruction of this extraordinary book, but the survival and the hide-and-seek of one copy during 470 years in Southwest Germany.

The first traceable person to have been involved with our copy is this sovereign, Ottheinrich of the Palatinate (1502-1558), pals grave of Neuburg in today's West Bavaria ... Ottheinrich was expelled from his home at Neuburg on account of his prodigious debts. He had to stay at Heidelberg and at other places until he became Elector in 1556. This made him sovereign of one of the most important territories in Germany. Not only was Ottheinrich a Protestant, who introduced Lutheran Protestantism in his State, he was a cultivated bibliophile, too. His hobby collecting fine books initiated the greatest and most famous library in Central Europe, the so called Bibliotheca Palatina.

¹ Some experts have contributed to this *outline* of the history of the Stuttgart Tyndale copy: Dr. Margret Popp, Anglicist at the University of Wuerzburg; Dipl.-Theol. Eugen Fessler, Librarian at the Wilhelmsstift, Tuebingen; Dr. Mervyn Jannetta, Head of the English Antiquarian Department at the British Library, London; Dr. Wolfgang Metzger, Manuscript Department of the University Library of Heidelberg

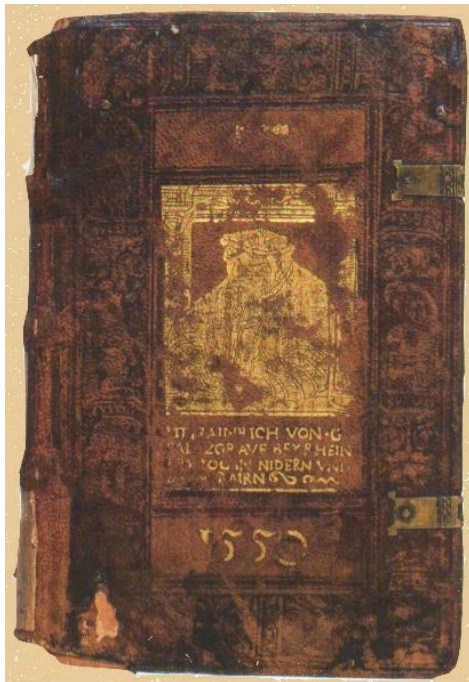
² Johannes Cochlaeus: *Historia Lutheri : das ist, kurtze Beschreibung seiner Handlungen und Geschriften ...* erstlich in Latein durch Johannem Cochlaeum ... und jetzo auß dem Latein ins Teutsch gebracht durch Johann Christof Hueber. Ingolstadt 1582, p 293-294

The books were stored either in the main Church of the Holy Ghost in the city of Heidelberg or in the castle itself (here in an old artistic photograph) especially in the building which bears his name, the "Ottheinrichsbau" ("Ottheinrich Wing"). Regarding the Heidelberg Castle, unfortunately I can show you the image of a ruin only. From 1689 till 1693 French troops conquered the region on the right side of the Rhine, burning and pillaging towns and castles on their way, not even sparing the monasteries. Heidelberg castle was among the places they laid waste. During the Thirty Years' War in 1622 troops of the Catholic party seized Heidelberg. Pope Gregory XV. had given orders that the famous library, the richest treasure of Protestant spirit and culture, was to be turned over to the Catholic victors. In 1623 they took all the books to Rome together with the old hand-written catalogues. There they ended up in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. All these books have survived there until today, old humanist printed books, and the beautifully illuminated manuscripts which now form the core of the Vatican holdings.

Why this historical excursion? The entire library was not carried off. As you will see, some books had left the library before 1623. The best evidence of such goings-on is the so called Ottheinrich bindings. The first slide is an example of an Incunabula stored in the Wilhelmsstift at Tuebingen. We call such books the „dispersed Ottheinrich bindings“. Even³ of them are to be found in libraries outside the Biblioteca Vaticana.

In Rome, of course, wonderful examples are to be seen. Ottheinrich used to have rare or curious books bound by the best book binders of his time. They can always be identified by his portrait and the year of binding stamped in gold on the front cover.

Among the Ottheinrich bindings book historians have known an anonymously printed English New Testament without date and place held by the Wuerttemberg State Library Stuttgart; but none of the binding experts had examined the content of the book, because binding experts mostly don't care for the printed texts.



They are used to taking note of the sort of leather, its colour, the blind stamps, the gilt edge or the golden stamps into consideration, and, having described those, they are happy. Why did Ottheinrich acquire such a book and when? We don't know.

Ottheinrich would have these precious bindings made for all the old, rare and mysterious books that he could lay hands on at any price. The date 1550 shows he did so even a long time before his promotion to be Elector Palatinate. Perhaps the book made its travels from Worms to an unknown first owner and then moved from Neuburg to Heidelberg together with Ottheinrich. The Heidelberg University Library some ten years ago had microfilms made of the hand-written catalogues which had been taken to Rome in 1623. My colleague at Heidelberg searched for the special entry of our remarkable book and discovered it in a catalogue of 1581. Further he told me that an English New Testament with the same dates is no longer mentioned in the last catalogue of 1610. Hence, the conclusion is

that the book had left Heidelberg between 1581 and 1610, and escaped the Thirty Years' War troubles in that town.

The Schoental Abbey situated on the Jagst River founded in 1157 figures as one of the great Cistercian monasteries in South West Germany. Its library has been well-known, although its history is unclear in some details. What we know is that in the 17th century monks created special book numbers, which marked the subject or the position of a book on the shelf by a capital letter⁴. Further we know that such book numbers were used from 1615 until 1661. Books acquired after this date never were signed in such a manner. Obviously in the first half of the 17th century the monks had received an octavo volume

³ Kyriss, Ernst: Einbaende Ottheinrichs und seiner Nachfolger. - In: Gutenbergjahrbuch 1958, p. 315

⁴ Heribert Hummel: "Die Bibliothek des Zisterzienserklosters Schoental". In: Wuerttembergisch-Franken. 69.1985, p. 221.242; esp. p. 229

which they probably could not read. It was an English New Testament with a binding showing a Protestant sovereign. The book was given the number *T 7 N° 202*. Nobody knows how a book from the Palatina Library had arrived at the monastery about 70 km east of Heidelberg before 1610.

During that terrible war a third of the population was killed or died by pestilence; afterwards Germany recovered, but slowly. Catholicism recovered too. Suddenly, rebuilding Romanesque or gothic churches in the baroque style boomed. The fresh and clear buildings marked a new feeling, a new joy of life.

Perhaps one day around the beginning of the 18th century the friar librarian was engaged in taking stock of the monastery's property and entering the monastery's name on the title pages of the library's holdings. He opened a curious tome in English. Surely he could read only *New Testament*. It looked like the German orthography of the times of reformation. He wrote in a fine script: *Monasterij B. M. V. in Schoenthal*. Numerous books are left with similar entries. The friar librarian and his successors obviously were so busy elsewhere that they never got around to writing a general catalogue of all their possessions. Therefore we can only surmise that our New Testament has been in stock there continuously for about 200 years.

Germany still was a patchwork of small territories, of free imperial towns, of larger dukedoms and ecclesiastical properties, dioceses and monasteries. Only Austria with the Habsburg dynasty and Prussia were powerful and therefore hostile to one another. Napoleon, the imperial French newcomer overturned the political situation in continental Europe. In all the territories conquered by him he sought for allies which could provide him with fresh soldiers to conquer the rest of Europe in the East. He flattered the vanity of sovereigns who toadied to him. Wuerttemberg's Duke Friedrich was promoted to be an Elector and in 1805 to be a King⁵. Wuerttemberg, of course, was nowhere near the size of a Kingdom.

Napoleon's reform aimed at maintaining a few extended grand duchies or even kingdoms by resolving the patchwork territories, by mediatizing the smaller counties, by depriving the imperial cities of their privileges and, most important, by destroying the political power of the dioceses and by secularizing the monasteries. The latter procedure was decided upon in 1803.

Secularisation had indeed been a long drawn out process. Our abbey Schoental had already been secularised in 1802. What happened to the precious library? The nearest Catholic territory was Ellwangen, an ecclesiastical sovereign and exempt provost's district east of Schoental. This place served as an intermediate deposit until decisions were made what to do with the secularised books. Other monasteries of the southern Catholic parts added to their number.

At this point the Royal government in Stuttgart wanted the books transported to the Royal Public Library, today our Wuerttemberg State Library, and started to execute that plan. A wave of riches overflowed the library which had been founded by Duke Carl Eugen in 1765. As a bibliophile he may be compared with Ottheinrich: Carl Eugen had also gathered books and enlarged the holdings with great patience.

The panorama of the Wuerttemberg capital shows the New Castle and the Academy in front of it. The Public Library was installed in a wooden building at the Market Place to be mentioned later.

In 1810 King Friedrich decided to found a Royal Private Library (Koenigliche Handbibliothek). This new collection was intended to receive the secularised books which arrived after 1810. The King installed two exhibition rooms in the Academy. In 1886 the name was changed to Court Library (Hofbibliothek). Thus it was never the private property of the Royal family.

Yet all these events didn't touch a number of boxes with books awaiting an uncertain destination at Ellwangen. The new Kingdom - as we say New Wuerttemberg - consisted of the old Protestant Dukedom and other Protestant counties and imperial towns, but also of Catholic towns, secularised dioceses as well as secularised monastic territories. Nearly one half of the population was Catholic at one point. King Wilhelm I. (1816-1864) created a new diocese the borders of which were the same as those of the new Kingdom. The only University was that of Tuebingen with a famous Protestant faculty dating from 1534. The training of pastors took place in a special College, where the students also lived. The Catholic party was to be provided with similar facilities. For a long time the authorities had favoured maintaining a Catholic ecclesiastical and academic centre at Ellwangen, in the

⁵ In 1797 he got married to Charlotte, daughter of King George III.

„far east“ of the Kingdom. There the Schoental theological books would have been a welcome support for study.

However King Wilhelm eventually preferred to draw the activities into the centre of the country next to the Protestant institutions. He decided to found a Catholic Faculty at Tuebingen. It was then clear that the secularized books could not remain at Ellwangen. By way of organisation all the original Ellwangen books and the Schoental boxes were first taken to Stuttgart. When that happened, please imagine that books streamed into the library of the Wuerttemberg capital from all directions. The shelves overflowed, the librarians were stressed.

They left some of the boxes unpacked and stored them somewhere in the Library or in the Academy. The Schoental books went to sleep in the unused Court Church.⁶

In spite of all the provinciality, the riches of the Library holdings acquired considerable fame throughout Germany and England, especially on account of the prodigious number of Bible editions Carl Eugen was bringing together. For instance, in the eighties of the 18th

Century, he purchased two of the largest Bible collections, one of them with no less than 6,000 volumes!

An English bibliographer visited Stuttgart and, in his 1818 *Bibliographical Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany*, dedicated some chapters to the city and the two libraries. He was the English actor, author, poet, composer and theatre director Thomas Frognall Dibdin (1771-1841). He was supposed to negotiate the exchange of two rare Stuttgart Virgil-editions for a Gutenberg Bible on behalf of the well-known book collector and bibliophile Earl George John Spencer⁷. Dibdin visited the Stuttgart Royal Public Library at the Market Place and deplored the insufficient building and the storage conditions⁸. He wrote: “*Of English Bibles, there is no edition before 1541, of which the copy happens to be imperfect.*”⁹ Further information on English bibles apparently did not seem worthwhile mentioning to him.

One day Dibdin was permitted to inspect the Royal Private Library. He described: *The Library of his Majesty is in one of the side wings, or rather appurtenances, of the Palace: to the right, on looking at the front. It is on the first floor - where all libraries should be placed - and consists of a circular and a parallelogram-shaped room: divided by a screen of Ionic pillars ... A round table is in the centre, covered with a fine cloth, and the sides and pillars of the screen are painted wholly in white - as well as the room connected with it...*¹⁰. But not a word about English bibles behind the Ionic pillars:

If the English department was so badly furnished then, why can I - as a successor of the librarian Carl Friedrich LeBret - talk to you now about the Stuttgart English Bible collection as being unique on the Continent? Well, had Mr. Dibdin only thrown a glance out of the windows of the Royal Private Library, he could nearly have seen the unpacked box at the Court Church in which slept our Tyndale Testament. But Dibdin was satisfied by the other fine books my colleague LeBret showed him. - The exchange of the Gutenberg Bible failed. In 1978, incidentally, we acquired one at Christie's in New York.

In 1819 or 1820 librarians got around to putting the goods of Schoental on the shelves of the Royal Private Library, among them obviously the English New Testament in the Ottheinrich binding. They also placed another English New Testament on the shelf, dated 1536. This book hailed from the Benedictine Abbey Weingarten, whose library was the largest in South West Germany; to it were owed the richest secularized collection of the Stuttgart Libraries. Among the Weingarten stock was another English tome, a Liturgy Book of 1538, a *Prymer in Englisshe...* “Did librarians at that time ask themselves why the Catholic monks in Southwest Germany stored English Protestant Bibles and liturgies, in all probability unreadable to them? The Benedictines' interests - as well as the Cistercians' - were obviously wide enough as to comprise also the more unusual texts; and we will be acquainted with a third book of Protestant provenience similarly acquired at the end of this talk.

It is easy to imagine that the shelves in the book room of his Majesty's Library overflowed. Therefore we have to take practical rather than moral motives into account why King Wil-

⁶ Magda Fischer.: *Die Handschriften der Wuerttembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Reihe 2. Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Hofbibliothek Stuttgart, Bd. 5. Codices Wirtembergici, Codices militares*. Wiesbaden 1975, p.129-130

⁷ Karl Loeffler: *Geschichte der Wuerttembergischen Landesbibliothek*. Leipzig 1923, p. 64-65

⁸ Loeffler, p. 54

⁹ Thomas Frognall Dibdin: *A Bibliographical Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany*. 2nd ed. London 1829, p. 22

¹⁰ Dibdin, p. 34-35

helm in 1822 decided to give all Catholic secularised books of his Private Library to the Catholic Faculty at Tuebingen. In fact all religious books, including the Protestant ones, were moved to Tuebingen. But the King stressed that they remained his own property.¹¹ Francis Fry (1803-1886), the well known bibliographer and collector of 16th century English Bibles visited the Stuttgart libraries in 1860. We learn this from an entry by my predecessor Schmidlin. He says that one fragmentary New Testament in Latin and English, the first to be entered in the Bible Catalogue page "Biblia anglica in 8° - sine loco et sine anno" (no place, no date) had been identified by the *Quaker Fry in 1860*.



Fry's intention was to edit a facsimile of Tyndale's first impression of the New Testament 1526. And, in fact, such an edition appeared in 1862. His aim was to find a complete copy with a title page, because the Bristol copy lacked one. Further he tried to find other tomes printed by Peter Schoeffer at Worms to verify the story that this was the son of the other Peter Schoeffer who had worked with Gutenberg at Mainz, and that Peter Schoeffer junior really was the printer of Tyndale's book. Francis Fry had no chance at the Stuttgart libraries. Some early English bibles were in the stock there, to be sure, but hardly anything exciting. Why?

It was not before the sixties of our century that my predecessors have been able to acquire a number of remarkable 16th and 17th century English Bibles at acceptable prices. They mostly got them from the Antiquarian Alan G. Thomas, Bournemouth. That is how we came by the 1611 King James first edition, for example. Equally, the most important secularisation tomes in English were not present when Francis Fry was at Stuttgart.

We have learned that the liberal and prudent King Wilhelm gave his own theological books to the newly founded Catholic Faculty at Tuebingen.

At that time, the former *Collegium illustre*, the building where noble students used to live in former centuries, was rebuilt and adapted to more mundane University life. At the same time the library¹² was augmented by late secularized books and by the Stuttgart donation. The books of the Royal Private Library, the *Koenigliche Handbibliothek*, were separated and were given the shelf numbers *K. H.....* Our Tyndale Testament was the number 469, the former Weingarten New Testament of 1536, (Herbert 25, Fry 13) got to be n° 470¹³. To this very day such old tomes represent the most valuable stock in the Catholic Seminary now called *Wilhelmsstift* (William's Seminary).

Modern times for the Stuttgart Library came after World War One, when monarchy was abolished in Germany, and the Royal Court Library was united with what is now the Wuerttemberg State Library. Obviously librarians then longed for the treasures at Tuebingen which their house had formerly possessed. In Germany the relation between State and Church is complicated and difficult to explain. First the individual territories and the free towns chose which confession they wanted to maintain. This was the practice from 1555 until the end of the old Holy Roman Empire in 1806. Then both confessions became State Churches with equal rights. Heads of the Protestant Churches were the State Sovereigns, as in the Anglican Church. After World War One Church and State were separated, although some vestiges of State Church tradition have remained.

To return to the property of the University of Tuebingen. You remember that there were two Colleges belonging to the State for Protestant and Catholic students respectively. In

¹¹ Gerhard-Peter Handschuh: Die Geschichte der Bibliothek des Wilhelmsstifts. [Tuebingen] 1966/67. - p. 51

¹² Eugen Fessler: *Die Bibliothek des Wilhelmsstifts als heutiger Standort von Buechern aus saekularisierten Kloestern*. In: "... und muß nun rauben lassen ...": zur Aufloesung schwaebischer Klosterbibliotheken / hrsg. von August Heuser. Stuttgart 1988, p.69-91

¹³ Incidentally, this New Testament of 1536 is not to be identified by Fry's or Herbert's descriptions. It might be the fourth variant of which we know a fragment in Bristol Baptist college only. Then it would be the only complete copy extant. Or else it is a fifth variant!

the twenties the Protestant College was ceded to the Wuerttemberg Evangelical Church; in the thirties finally the Catholic Wilhelmsstift was ceded to the Catholic Diocese. Both institutions now provide the housing for the future parsons or priests who study at the University.

When the Wilhelmsstift was separated, librarians at Stuttgart remembered King Wilhelm's decree of 1822, who insisted that the books forwarded remained his property. Therefore, between the wars, it was decided that all precious and rare books unnecessary for everyday studying should be removed to Stuttgart, among them the said New Testaments.

I mentioned the first page of the Stuttgart hand-written Bible Catalogue under "Biblia anglica in 8° - s. a. & s. l. "We may find that this page, on which already Francis Fry had been engaged in 1860 identifying the mentioned Latin-English edition, is a wonderful field for discoveries.

In 1935 the former director of our Library, Prof. Wilhelm Hoffmann entered the photographed text for one of the transferred books:

Titelborduerer wie bei Bibl. germ. 8° 1532 Propheten. Initialholzschnitte. Brit Cat 00 Darlow-Moule 00. Aus Wilh [elm-] Stift Tueb [ingen] 1935 (Sig [natur] K. H. 469). Vorher Kloster Schoental; Ott-Heinrichsband, leider stark beschaedigt. Alte Sign [atur] auf Ruecken: T 7 N° 202. Auf Einb [an] d: 1550

Hoffmann - I suppose - did not venture to believe that he had before him such an old impression, since the 1550-stamp of the cover - really the prior owner Ottheinrich's ex libris - misled him into considering this impression to be more than twenty years younger than it really was. Therefore he had no motivation to search in the earlier parts of the Darlow & Moule catalogue. Especially since the old system of book numbering in use at the library did not yet demand any higher precision; librarians then could range bibles together belonging to one language, without a special date of publication. This situation changed only in the seventies, when I introduced a more precise numbering. We do continue to have a great number of books not exactly identifiable, fragments, or tomes left without a publication-year or -place by the publisher; but we now try to place them exactly by all means, if all else fails interpolating a conjectural date.

I want to underline that the removing of precious books from Tuebingen to Stuttgart is not connected with the events of Germany's darkest twelve years from 1933-1945. The transfer had already been decided upon democratically in the twenties. Another event, indeed, has to be mentioned. Please don't believe that our book could have sat quiet on the shelf in our 1883 original library building. As you know, most German cities were destroyed during the last two years of World War Two. Librarians and curators of museums had planned to remove their treasures to safer places in the countryside.

So part of our books were taken to some medieval castles in the hills close by, to a monastery on the Danube river, Beuron, or to a salt-mine in the Neckar region. The removal was soon stopped by the Nazi government for propaganda reasons, because people, who were supposed to believe in the final victory of Germany, were not to be alarmed. Everyday life was supposed continue as usual.

The books until 1930 had been stored according to their subjects. Of them, parts of the humanities, rare books and manuscripts, the old tomes of the former Court Library, also the Bible Collection were stored in safety; which once again removed Tyndale's first New Testament into the Wuerttemberg countryside for about four years. The remainder of the books fell prey to a bomb attack¹⁴ in the night of the 12th to the 13th of September 1944, which burned nearly the entire city of Stuttgart with its two castles, the Military Academy with the rest of the Court Library, the Archives, the Highest Law Court, and the State Library building, which still contained more than half a million books, the ones librarians had been forbidden to remove. Only some outer walls of the building remained. Hence the State Library used to be called "the most wonderful ruin in Stuttgart". In the provisionally repaired ruin, work had to be resumed and maintained until 1970. In 1946-47 the removed books returned and life began to become normal again. With the help of the Allies, mostly the United States, democracy was restored and the economy was revived. The Wuerttemberg State Library - in spite of the severe war damage - maintained its position as one of the most important libraries in West Germany among the leading rare and old book institutions.

In 1970 a new modern building behind the old ruin was opened. The ruin disappeared completely. Now the Bible Collection and the rest of the old Court Library received a special treasury room in the underground stack area.

¹⁴ more than 200 British bombers

A fiction: an event that did not happen as far as I know: A librarian of the British Library searched for a remaining copy of the 1526 Tyndale New Testament outside of Great Britain in the year 1994 because of the celebration of the supposed 500th Birthday of William Tyndale. He was to ascertain whether the Bristol Baptist College copy was really the only complete one besides the fragment at St. Paul's Cathedral Library. A letter reached the Wuerttemberg State Library, which was passed on to the responsible subject-matter specialist, Dr. Zwink. He opened the Bible Catalogue on the first page of *Biblia anglica in 8°* and made sure that in the Bible Collection only the 1976 facsimile was to be found. Then he replied To Whom It May Concern: *Dear Sirs, unfortunately we do not possess an original 1526 New Testament. Yours sincerely ... A fiction!*

In 1994 nobody in Stuttgart would have identified the undated tome as the book they hypothetically sought in England. We could only have confirmed that there is only one complete copy of the book at Bristol. Now back to the historical facts:

For seven years the German Research Association (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*) has supported converting title cards of old pre-1850 books into computer data bases and library network catalogues. By reason of the large stock of rare and old books the Wuerttemberg State Library was chosen to join this special program with additional staff. For a long time I myself, in my function as head of the cataloguing department and head of the department of theology including the Bible Collection, had been opposed to the conversion of the Bible records, because the hand-written catalogue, the only one we have for old Bible editions, was not easy to copy and key into the computer. The main stumbling block was the incomplete identification of the mass of books in all imaginable languages, of which we did not yet know whether they were bibles or collateral literature, like liturgies, hymn books, Bible commentaries, paraphrases, poetical versions of the Bible etc., and which defied mechanical conversion. Decisions how the entries were to be made, I told myself, were sure to be difficult. Nevertheless we did begin the time-consuming work to prepare the bibles and the records for electronic conversion. I decided that my librarian colleague, Mrs. Wiltrud Baumann, should do the routine work and that she should ask my advice when she failed.

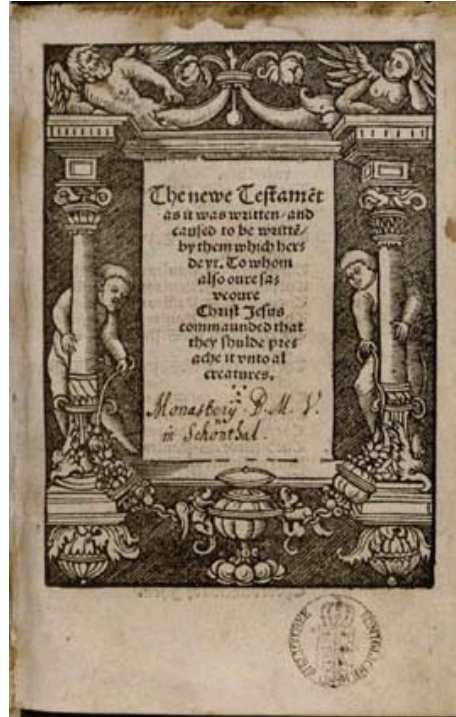
One day she entered my room with a small octavo English New Testament and declared that she had compared all entries in Herbert's catalogue starting from 1550 back until the first impression. "There is no title leaf to identify", she said. "The only matching entry I can find is the one for the second impression, n° 2. There they lack a title, but as a substitute they quote some sentences out of the epilogue *To the Reder*." She was convinced that orthographically there was perfect identity. I myself was not convinced so quickly. On reading the entries I answered: "Impossible. There are only two copies in England. That's all." Indeed, all items of the old volume matched the Herbert description. That was in the summer of 1996. Then I decided to ask the Bible House Library at Cambridge for advice. Rev. Alan Jesson replied a few days later to say that we probably had a third copy of the 1526 Testament. But he did not want to commit himself and advised me to contact somebody at the British Library. Thus my correspondence with Dr. Mervyn Jannetta started. Later I realized that we had the 1976 facsimile in stock. With this comparison was easy.

In the meantime Dr. Jannetta sent me the copy of a newspaper article. The London Times announced on the 7th of November 1996: *Tyndale Bible goes on tour*. Now I understood that the BL had bought the Bristol copy for more than 1 million pounds. The first thing I did was to separate our book and store it more safely than before. The real end of the story was that Dr. Jannetta visited Stuttgart to have a look *at fist hand*. He himself knew the London copy by autopsy. I remember the moment when I showed him our book. He sat down at my desk, opened the volume and said at once: *No doubt*. That was it. The consequences are known.

What is new? What can one learn from this discovery?

First: in Stuttgart we have the only complete copy of the 1526 New Testament. The text itself does not present any new problems.

Second: The circumstances under which the book was published early in 1526 are clarified. The title leaf consists of four elements: The wood cut frame, the hand-written entry of the Schoental monastery mentioned, the stamp marking the possession of the Royal Private Library and the text of the title itself. Scholars and librarians have known the wording for some time. The pirate impression done by George Joye in 1534 who produced a small 16° edition at Antwerp has been preserved in a unique copy at the British Library, book number G.12180. But nobody could have known that Joye copied the original wording of the title exactly. On the contrary, the author of the monograph *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, Charles C. Butterworth¹⁵, in 1941 was convinced that George Joye himself had created this wording. Because Joye was obviously a bad fellow, Butterworth argues: "He gave neither his own name nor Tyndale's to the book, but furnished it with this curious title: *The New Testament as it was written.*" (p. 80). Now we know that it was Tyndale himself who "furnished" this text.



It is likely that Tyndale did not invent this title wording from scratch; indeed there is a first New Testament translation in Dutch printed in Delft in 1524 with a similar title. The anonymous translator remarks that he has translated from the Erasmus Greek edition. The title leaf reads:

DAt nieuwe Testament. welc is dat leuende woert Gods / wtghesproken doer onsen salichmaker IESUS Christus / dye welcke was God ende mensch / beschreuen doer ingeuen des heyligen geests / vanden heyligen Apostelen ende Euangelisten / ende is dye wet der graciën / der liefden / ende des barmherticheyts / met groter naersticheyt ouergeset ende gheprent in goede plattenduytsche... Delft : Cornelis Heynrickz. [1524]

In English:

The New Testament which is God's living word, spoken by our Saviour Jesus Christ who was God and man [divine and human], written by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, by the holy Apostles and Evangelists and is the Testament of grace, of love and of mercy, with great diligence translated and printed in good Low German [= Dutch]...

A second edition of this anonymous translation appeared in September 1525. If Tyndale was acquainted at least with the 1524 impression, he could have merely adapted and intensified the programmatic title for his English version.

He was keen to damn the Vulgate indirectly by saying that he had translated out of the original text *as it was written* and was inspired to the evangelists and the apostles. Tyndale's intention was to legitimise his work directly by Christ's order to evangelise the world. The obviously Protestant implication of the direct commission, regardless of Church approbation, an idea presupposing the common priesthood of the faithful, must have been among the primary motives for Romanist Authorities to burn the book.

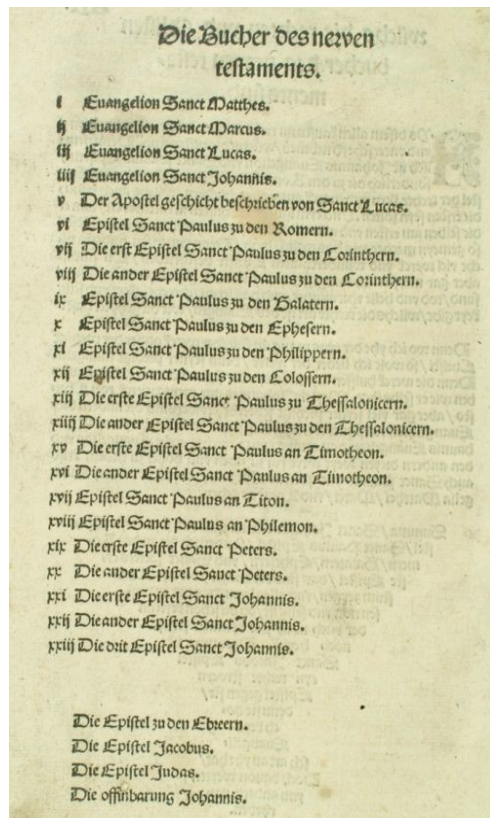
The title leaf of Tyndale's New Testament is even more provocative than the title of Martin Luther's first German full translation published in September 1522. Comparing both books today, we must assume that Luther or his advisors had actually refrained from giving a detailed title.

Otherwise Tyndale's first impression of 1525 and the first complete edition of 1526 very often correspond with Luther's work. Anybody familiar with Luther's Bible translation will hear Luther's style ring through Tyndale's words. The following have become proverbial phrases in German as well as apparently in English.

It is also clear now that the shapes of the table of contents in both books, the third edition of Luther's New Testament of 1524 and Tyndale's NT 1526, are absolutely the same. Luther changed the order of the biblical books in the New Testament by displacing the

¹⁵ Charles C. Butterworth: *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible 1340-1611*. Repr. New York 1971, p. 80

Letters of John and Peter before the Letter to the Hebrews and the Letters of James and of Jude.



Luther's New Testament. Wittenberg 1524

The Bookes Conteyned in the newe Testament.

i.	The Gospell of. S. Matbew.
ii.	The Gospell of. S. Marke.
iii.	The Gospell of. S. Luke.
iiii.	The Gospell of. S. Ihon.
v.	The actes of the Apostles. writte besazynct Luke.
vi.	The Pistle of. S. Paul to the Roayns.
vii.	The fyrst pistle of. S. Paul to the Corinthians.
viii.	The second pistle of. S. Paul to the Corinthians.
ix.	The pistle of. S. Paul to the Galathians
x.	The pistle of. S. Paul to the Ephesians
xi.	The pistle of. S. Paul to the Philippians
xii.	The pistle of. S. Paul to the Colossians.
xiii.	The fyrst pistle of. S. Paul to the Thessalonians.
xiiii.	The secode pistle of. S. Paul to the Thessalonians.
xv.	The fyrst pistle of. S. Paul to Timothe.
xvi.	The secod pistle of. S. Paul to Timothe.
xvii.	The pistle of. S. Paul to Titus.
xviii.	The pistle of. S. Paul to Philemon.
xix.	The fyrst pistle of. S. Peter.
xx.	The seconde pistle of. S. Peter.
xxi.	The fyrst pistle of. S. Ihon.
xxii.	The seconde pistle of. S. Ihon.
xxiii.	The thyrd pistle of. S. Ihon.
	The pistle vnto the Hebrues.
	The pistle of. S. James.
	The pistle of Jude.
	The revelacion of Ihon.

Tyndale's New Testament. Worms 1526

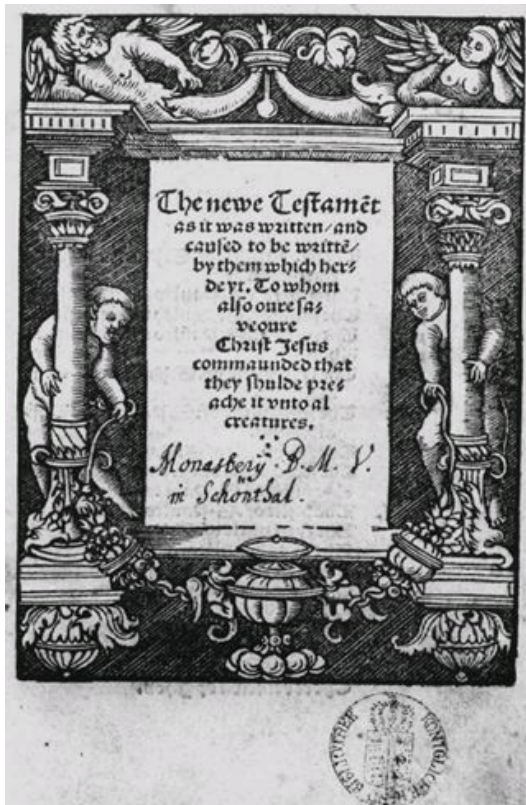
These three, together with the Revelation of John, were considered by Luther as quasi-deuterocanonical, and he gave them no numbers, deviating in all of this from the original disposition. He thereby attributes a higher rank to the 23 allegedly canonical pieces, to which he has given numbers. The latter supported Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone. One can see that Tyndale followed Luther's pattern both in the 1525 and in the 1526 editions.

The first pages with the beginning of the first Gospel are similar too.

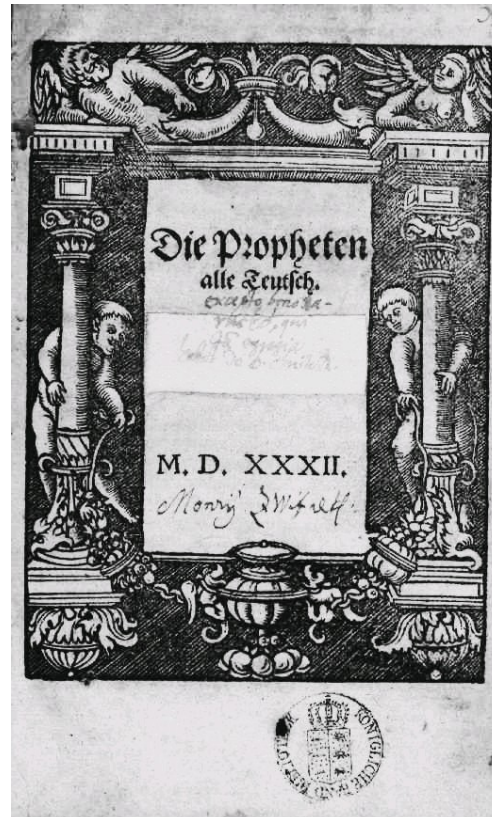
Librarians in the former Royal Private Library had discovered that the wood cut frame in this obscure unidentifiable English Testament was the same as in a German Luther Prophets edition of 1532, a book which is perhaps unique. It also belonged to the Wilhelmstift copies. This book equally came from monastic stock, namely from the library of the Benedictine Monastery Zwiefalten, and was among the secularisation goods.

In a third impression the title frame is the same as Peter Schoeffer junior used for a New Testament of about 1524/25 of which only one copy is known.¹⁶ It is likely that this unique book was lost in the War.

¹⁶ see Martin Luther: Werke : Abt. Deutsche Bibel 11,2, p. LXVIII and 2, n² 253, p.705 sq.



Tyndale's New Testament. Worms 1526



Luther's Prophets in 8°. Worms 1532

Peter Schoeffer moved to Mainz but he left the wood cut blocks with decorative frames behind. For printing the title leaf of this German Prophets book the new Worms printer used the same block as his predecessor had done for Tyndale's New Testament in 1526. This identification is also what makes us absolutely certain that the news Cochlaeus told Cardinal Wolsey, Thomas More and Henry VIII. concerning the place and the name where this sinful book had been printed is historically true.

The story of this book up today is miraculous. It escaped the mortal threat of Tyndale's prosecutors, as well as three great wars in the 17th and the 20th century; it moved from Protestant to Catholic hands to and fro. As far as it was accessible, nobody apparently appreciated its inner value. Each time when an English expert sought for a first Tyndale copy, it hid itself. When the supposedly unique Bristol copy was presented on its tour through America, suddenly its surviving brother slipped out of hiding to reveal itself to the world.