Saviour of the Language? The Role and Impact of the Welsh Bible

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Abstract

Although translation played a critical role in the survival of the Welsh language, Wales has been sorely underrepresented in the field of translation studies. The publication of the 1588 Welsh Bible, the result of a political gamble by Elizabeth I, was a turning point in the survival of the Welsh vernacular. At a time when Welsh was banned from use in public life, the Welsh Bible played a fundamental part in the development of Welsh language and culture. In assessing the cultural, political, and religious reverberations of the Welsh Bible, we espouse an approach similar to those of Delisle and Woodsworth, and Berman, taking into consideration the importance of the socio-political context in which a translation occurs. We touch briefly on Tudor language policy, and its rationale. We examine more specifically the results of Elizabeth I's decision to prioritize religious uniformity over linguistic uniformity. In affording Welsh-speakers a crucial venue for the use of their own language, Elizabeth inadvertently ensured that Welsh would continue to play a role in daily life in Wales. Owing in no small part to the quality of the translation and the background of the translators, the Welsh Bible, and its ubiquity, were vital in securing the continued existence of the language, through normalization and codification, and, further, were key to redefining the Welsh literary system. Drawing on Jauss's notion of the horizon of expectation and Toury's work on polysystem theory, we evaluate the lasting impact of this translation on Wales.

Résumé

Malgré le rôle important qu'a joué la traduction dans la survie de la langue galloise, le Pays de Galles n'a pas fait couler beaucoup d'encre dans le domaine de la traductologie. La publication de la Bible galloise de 1588, résultat d'un pari politique de la part d'Élisabeth Ire, fut un moment décisif pour la survie du vernaculaire gallois. À une époque où l'emploi du gallois était interdit dans la vie publique, la Bible galloise joua un rôle fondamental dans le développement de la langue et de la culture galloises. Nous évaluons les retentissements culturels, politiques et religieux de la Bible galloise, adoptant une approche semblable à celles de Delisle et Woodsworth, et de Berman, c'est-à-dire que nous tenons compte de l'importance du contexte sociopolitique d'une traduction. Nous abordons brièvement la politique linguistique des Tudors et les raisons de sa mise en œuvre. Nous examinons plus spécifiquement les conséquences du choix d'Élisabeth Ire de prioriser l'uniformité religieuse plutôt que l'uniformité linguistique. En permettant aux Gallois un espace vital pour l'emploi de leur langue, Élisabeth permit inopinément au gallois de continuer à jouer un rôle dans la vie quotidienne au Pays de Galles. Grâce en grande partie à la qualité de la traduction et au milieu duquel sont issus les traducteurs, la Bible galloise et son ubiquité furent essentiels pour assurer la pérennité de la langue, par le biais de la normalisation et de la codification. La Bible galloise permit aussi de redéfinir le système littéraire gallois. Nous nous appuyons sur la notion d'horizon d'attente de Jauss et sur la contribution de Toury à la théorie des polysystèmes pour évaluer l'impact à long terme de cette traduction sur le Pays de Galles.

Crynodeb

Er i gyfieithu chwarae rôl hollbwysig yng ngoroesiad y Gymraeg, nid yw Cymru wedi cael hanner digon o sylw ym maes astudiaethau cyfieithu. Bu cyhoeddi’r Beibl Cymraeg ym 1588 o ganlyniad i gambl wleidyddol gan Elizabeth I yn drobwynt yn hanes yr iaith. Ar adeg pan waherddid defnyddio’r Gymraeg mewn bywyd cyhoeddus, chwaraeodd y Beibl Cymraeg ran allweddol bwysig yn natblygiad yr iaith a’i diwylliant. Wrth asesu effeithiau diwylliannol, gwleidyddol a chrefyddol y Beibl Cymraeg, fe arddelwn ymagwedd debyg i rai Delisle a Woodsworth, a Berman, a chymerwn i ystyriaeth bwysigrwydd y cyd-destun gwleidyddol a chymdeithasol y bydd cyfieithiad yn digwydd ynddo. Cyfeiriwn yn fyr at bolisi iaith y Tuduriaid a’i resymeg. Fe astudiwn yn fwy penodol ganlyniadau penderfyniad Elizabeth I i roi blaenoriaeth i unffurfiaeth grefyddol rhagor unffurfiaeth ieithyddol. Wrth roi i siaradwyr Cymraeg fan cyfarfod lle y gallent ddefnyddio’u hiaith, effaith anfwriadol gweithred Elizabeth oedd y byddai’r iaith yn dal i chwarae ei rhan ym mywyd beunyddiol Cymru. I raddau helaeth oherwydd ceinder y cyfieithiad a chefndir y cyfieithwyr, bu’r Beibl Cymraeg, a’r ffaith ei fod ar gael ymhobman, yn hanfodol bwysig wrth sicrhau parhad yr iaith drwy ei normaleiddio a’i chodeiddio ac, ymhellach, bu’n allweddol wrth ailddiffinio’r gyfundrefn lenyddol Gymraeg. Gan dynnu ar nosiwn Jauss o orwel y disgwyl ac ar waith Toury ar ddamcaniaeth amlsystem, fe werthuswn effaith barhaus y cyfieithiad hwnnw ar Gymru.

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Table of Contents

Introduction 1

1. Methodology and Context 5
 1.1. Theoretical Framework
 1.2. Political, Religious, and Linguistic Context

2. The Translators and Their Methods 30
 2.1. William Salesbury
 2.2. William Morgan
 2.3. Challenges
 2.4. Two Men, Two Methods
 2.5. Later Editions

3. Impact of the Translation 65
 3.1. Initial Reception
 3.2. Codification and Standardization
 3.3. Conversion and Dissent
 3.4. Early Educational Efforts: A Country of One Book
 3.5. Literature in Wales
 3.6. Legacy

Conclusion 91

Bibliography 94

Introduction

It is difficult to exaggerate the erudition and the linguistic mastery which made this translation the most influential literary achievement in Welsh history.
– Gruffydd 1997, 9-10

Scholars have shown that the history of translation and of the development of modern vernacular languages in Europe is closely tied to the dissemination of the Bible (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 161; Meschonnic 2011, 163; Bassnett 2002, 53). The case of Welsh is no exception. The 1588 Welsh Bible, which was authorized by Elizabeth I in a bid to Protestantize the Welsh, is widely considered to have ensured the survival of the Welsh language: "Even today, this translation by Bishop William Morgan is believed to be the one masterful deed that gave the Welsh language a standard form, thus making the language fit to survive" (Kaufmann 2012, 327). Two translation scholars even claim that "the Welsh language was primarily saved through translation" (Baumgarten and Gruber 2014, 29). The 1588 Welsh Bible is acknowledged to be a turning point in the history of the Welsh language.

Several translation scholars have reflected on the importance of translation history. Notably, Berman writes that "the construction of a history of translation is the first task of a *modern* theory of translation" (1992, 1). He is further cited in the preface to *Translators Through History*, in which the president of the International Federation of Translators adds that assembling a history of translation consists in shedding light on the many cultural exchanges between individuals, cultures and civilizations throughout time (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, xxi). Delisle and Woodsworth write about bringing prestige to the profession of translator by highlighting the inestimable role played by translators in intellectual and cultural history (2012, xxiv). D'hulst echoes this, suggesting several reasons for the recent surge in interest in this area, one being that an understanding of history can lead to the development of a "culture of translation" (2001, 22). Coming from the cognate field of language policy, Spolsky expresses the need for scholars to assess the intimate ties between religion and language policy; few efforts have been made to do so, but Spolsky advocates observing both past and present instances of language policy (Spolsky 2004, 48). Likewise, Kaplan and Baldauf believe historical case studies can and should be used to inform our understanding of modern issues in language policy and

planning (1997, 89). This is particularly pertinent to Wales, which is fighting to preserve its language, while struggling to meet ever-increasing demand for translation. We believe that examining the socio-political context of the past can lead to a better understanding of Welsh language policy and translation today.

Yet, scholars have been slow to recognize the seminal role of translation in the history of Wales and the Welsh language.[1] There is significantly less scholarship on the Reformation in Wales than in England, Scotland and Ireland (Olson 2014, 93), and Wales has yet to receive the treatment Ireland has been given by the field of translation studies. Despite the rich history of translation in Wales, there is, in fact, very little discourse on the subject of translation studies in the Welsh context, although this is slowly changing.[2] In the fifteen pages dedicated to the "British Tradition" in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, a total of seven words are devoted to translation in Wales. History is replete with translators who left a mark on their nations' development, and the translators of the Bible into Welsh deserve a place in that pantheon. As we progress towards a post-colonial era, "translation history must account for the power inequalities inherent in global relations by shifting attention away from the dominant metropolitan cultures and canonical subjects to include those marginalized cultures that have been consigned to the periphery by forces of imperialism and colonisation" (Bandia 2014, 117).

We aim to shed light on a specific event in Welsh history, an instance of translation which many claim saved the Welsh language. In evaluating the circumstances surrounding the production of the 1588 Welsh Bible, and its lasting impact on Wales, we seek to situate the case of Wales within the broader history of translation and European intellectual history. Translation has been a tool for the dissemination of the Word of God in many languages. By means of their involvement with endeavours of religious and national significance, translators throughout history played key roles in the advancement of cultures, and the development of languages themselves (Delisle and Woodsworth, 54). As a result of the text-based nature of Christianity, according to Bassnett, the history of Bible translation is the very history of Western culture itself (2002, 53). This certainly seems to hold true for Wales: Ballinger wrote that to appreciate the

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[1] As part of the British Empire, and still part of Great Britain, Wales often finds its history relegated to a mere footnote within the history of Britain. "To adopt the terms of that notorious entry in the Encyclopaedia Britannica—in which were encapsulated all the humiliation and patronizing indifference which helped to launch the modern nationalist movement to its principality—'for Wales, see England'" (Morgan 1981, 3).

[2] Several publications stemmed from a research group called *Translation in Non-State Cultures: Perspectives from Wales* run by Bangor University in 2012 (see Baumgarten and Gruber 2014; Kaufmann 2012; Miguélez-Carballeira et al. 2016; etc.).

history and nature of the Welsh people, one must examine their religious history, because no force has had as great an influence on Welsh life and thought as religion, and no nation has embraced its Bible more than the Welsh (1906, 15).

The production of the 1588 Welsh Bible stems from a unique set of circumstances. As a result of the political climate during her reign, Queen Elizabeth I faced a political challenge in imposing the Reformation on her realm. It was not a matter merely of faith, but of "the welfare of the realm she had inherited" (Jones 1994, 143).[3] However she chose to proceed, she would have to set about achieving and maintaining religious uniformity in order to maintain the peace.

Elizabeth I's decision to prioritize imposing Protestantism, rather than the English language, by ordering the translation of sacred texts into Welsh and permitting the use of the language in Church, allowed Welsh to survive and indeed flourish. Given the importance of religion in Wales (J.G. Jones 1989, 81), the use of Welsh in Church meant that, while English remained the sole language of administration, the Welsh language continued to play a part in the daily life of the Welsh. The existence of a Welsh Bible and its use in Church alone might not have guaranteed the survival of the language had the Morgan Bible not been so rich a vehicle. Owing to the quality of the scholarship involved, the 1588 Welsh Bible would serve to normalize, codify and enhance the Welsh language, and to redefine the literary system in Wales.

The main research question we seek to answer is: to what extent did Elizabeth I's decision to order the translation of the Bible into Welsh play a long-term role in the survival of the language, and how? Did the 1588 Welsh Bible have the tremendous impact so many scholars claim it did? And, if so, was this due to the quality of the text, or rather to access to the Bible? We set out to show that the quality of the 1588 Bible and the use of the language in the sphere of religion were equally crucial to the survival of the language. A text of great quality would serve no purpose without permission to use it. Conversely, permission to use the Welsh language in Church would be of little help without the existence of a text which met the needs of its audience. Both factors were key to the Bible's success and, in turn, to the survival of the language.

We thus endeavour to evaluate the conditions which led to the publication of the 1588 Welsh Bible, and its lasting impact on Wales. The political context which allowed for the

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[3] Collinson points out that Elizabeth I's religion is a controversial subject among historians and biographers, as she has been labelled everything from "atheist" and "politique" to the saviour of Protestantism. Certainly, Elizabeth would not have been Catholic, being "the product of England's breach with Rome." She was well acquainted with classical learning through her studies (2012, n.p.).

translation of the Bible into Welsh also accounts for the conditions from which those learned men who undertook the translation emerged. The decisions they made with regard to the text influenced the reception of the Bible, and its later use. Later editions of the 1588 Bible were used to promote literacy before the Industrial Revolution. The universal use of that one text promoted a standard Welsh, and influences literature to this very day.

While the Welsh Bible has been studied by historians and linguists, very little research has been carried out from the perspective of translation studies. This thesis seeks to fill that void by examining one of the most critical instances of translation in Wales.

Chapter 1: Methodology and Context

Protestantism, as a movement, has humanist ideals of scholarship at its very core. Biblical scholarship is the most obvious example of one of the primary tenets of humanism, namely that "new" learning should be based on the truths and glories of the past.

– Jarvis 1992, 130

In this chapter, we will first discuss our theoretical framework, which combines several modern theories stemming from the field of translation studies. We will then situate the publication of the 1588 Welsh Bible within the political, religious and linguistic context from which it emerged.

1.1. Theoretical Framework

In this section, we will discuss our methodological approach, and define key terms pertaining to our study, while providing an outline of the thesis. After laying out our general methodological approach, we will look at terminology relevant to each chapter. Finally, we will define the scope of this thesis: its objectives and limitations.

Translations do not come into being in a vacuum

With respect to the study of the history of translation, we espouse a global approach similar to that taken by Delisle and Woodsworth, taking into account the fact that "translation is not an isolated phenomenon. Rather, it is associated with certain major projects – nationalist, ideological and religious in nature – which often had the support of monarchs, aristocrats and institutions. The power of the sponsors, or the critical context in which the translation took place, helped provide impetus . . ." (2012, 21). Berman lays out a similar approach, stating that an analysis of a translation must include "un examen des conditions socio-historiques, culturelles, idéologiques, qui ont fait de telle traduction ce qu'elle est" (1995, 51). Tymoczko echoes this, writing that perspective is more than a cognitive issue, but is also linked to ideology, values, politics, esthetics, and religion (2007, 190). This ties in with the concept of norms, as described by Toury and others, stemming from polysystem theory and descriptive translation studies. A translation, as Toury points out, necessarily positions itself within the literary system into which it is introduced, as:

> translations do not come into being in a vacuum. Not only is the act performed in a particular cultural environment, but it is designed to meet certain needs there, and/or occupy a certain 'slot' within it. Translators may therefore be said to operate first and foremost in the interest of the culture into which they are translating, whichever way that interest is conceived of. (Toury 2012, 6)

Thus, we do not consider translation a standalone phenomenon, but necessarily as part of a larger system and context. The political and linguistic context leading up to the translation of the Bible into Welsh, as well as the situation after its publication, are fundamental when considering what caused the Morgan Bible to have the impact it did.

As for putting the above theories into practice, we turn to Pym (1998, ix-xi), who builds upon the work of Delisle and Woodsworth, Berman, Holmes, Toury, and others by formulating four clear principles for research in translation. Beginning with attention to causation (*ibid.*, 143-59), we will outline the context which led to the Welsh Bible being produced, that is to say, the Protestant Reformation and Elizabeth I's desire to convert her Welsh subjects. We will next focus on the human translators (*ibid.*, 160-76) and their allies, discussing their background and geographical location, in order to grasp the stakes. Thirdly, a hypothesis projecting intercultural belonging (*ibid.*, 177-92) will also be linked to the translators' extensive background in both modern and ancient languages. Lastly, the priority of the present (*ibid.*, 16-7) has already been covered in the introduction. We will additionally study the effects of the translation from a sociopolitical perspective, paying attention to reception.

No translation should ever be studied outside of the context

The second section of this chapter will deal with the situation leading to the translation of the Bible into Welsh. Assessing the circumstances surrounding this major event is key to understanding its significance. Echoing Berman, Toury wrote that "no translation should ever be studied outside of the context in which it came into being," as the position occupied by a translation in the target culture is largely dictated by the environment in which it appears (2012, 22). Lambert also stresses the importance of context: "especially in cases of sudden social or political changes, translational activities of all kinds tend to borrow their rules and values, if not their very existence from the dominant political environment . . ." (2006, 89).

At the time of the translation of the Bible into Welsh, the notions of *nation* and *nationality* or *nationhood* were still nebulous. Writing specifically about Wales in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Williams states that "it can be an extremely dangerous anachronism to talk too facilely of a sense of nationality . . . . Yet they were, inevitably, aware of differences which existed between various racial or linguistic groups" (1971, 1). Indeed, the Council of Constance[4] wrote of national equality "whether a nation be understood as a race, relationship, and habit of unity, separate from others, or as a difference of language, which by divine and human law is the greatest and most authentic mark of a nation and the essence of it" (*ibid.*). Nevertheless, *nationality*, in the modern sense, would not truly emerge for at least another century. Buck discusses the difficulty of defining *nationality*, before writing that "it has come to be recognized that it is rather a product of historical development . . . . Nationality is essentially subjective, an active sentiment of unity, within a fairly extensive group, a sentiment based upon real but diverse factors, political, geographical, physical, and social . . ." (1916, 45). He adds that linguistic descent is "instinctively felt as evidence of national descent" and that "a common form of religion was a conspicuous element of national consciousness in the ancient world, where religions were distinctly national" (*ibid.*, 47). Buck is categorical in his assessment of the importance of language with regard to the concept of *identity*: "With few exceptions the European nationalities are essentially language groups; and especially for those in eastern Europe, which cannot be defined in political or geographical terms, language is the admitted criterion of nationality, the only one available for statistical purposes" (*ibid.*, 49). The importance of language and a shared history as defining markers of nationality or nationhood is echoed by Burrows, who also emphasizes the link between nation and identity:

> As a sociological construct [the term 'nation'] imports a sense of identity and belonging and difference from (at the extremes, exclusion of) others not of the nation or not sharing that identity. The nation is bound by a shared understanding of history, institutions unique to the nation such as the education or legal systems, a common language or languages, shared traditions, memories and so on. There is a sense that the concept of 'nation' is a rich and proud concept, defying a tradition of assimilation and homogeneity. (2010, 117)

[4] The Council of Constance was a fifteenth-century ecumenical council of the Roman Catholic Church.

Nation and *nationality* are thus considered in this thesis to be concepts only vaguely understood by sixteenth-century Welshmen. In short, they can be defined as a sort of collective consciousness, the defining markers of which are a distinct language, literature, religion, and customs. More specifically, in the context of sixteenth-century Wales, the key is that there was a recognized distinction between the Welsh and the English. To the Welsh in the sixteenth century, their sense of nationhood may have simply been a general feeling of belonging to a group with a common history, that of being descended from the Ancient Britons. Thus, we will refer to a sense of nationhood or nationality, but not to a Welsh nation per se.

The *state* refers to the English state, Wales having been politically annexed to England by the Acts of Union. "The most casual observer recognizes that nationality and the state are not synonymous, though they often coincide" (Buck 1916, 46). The concept of *country* is of little value in this analysis, although the *Laws in Wales Act 1535* referred to Wales as "the dominion, principality, and country of Wales" (Law Wales, n.p.).[5]

Similarly, the term *official language* is understood to refer to the language sanctioned by the state, in this case English. One must note that *official language* is not synonymous with *majority language*. While the *official language* was the *majority language* within the English state in the sixteenth century, it was not the language of the majority in Wales itself. Rather, Welsh was spoken by the majority of Welsh people at the time. The issue is one of relative power and legal status. The term *minoritized language* might be more appropriate when discussing Welsh in a historical context such as this (Williams 2013, 1). Still, the Welsh language can be considered a *minority language* within the larger setting.

Their position in a cultural and temporal space

In the second chapter, translator and their backgrounds are analysed. Just as Delisle and Woodsworth study translators "not so much from a psychological point of view, but rather in terms of their position in a cultural and temporal space" (2012, xxiv), so do we endeavour to situate the men engaged in the production of the Welsh Bible within a broader context.

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[5] Often called the *Acts of Union*, these statutes bear the official short name of *Laws in Wales Acts 1535* and *1542*. The full official name of the 1536 act is *An Acte for Laws & Justice to be ministred in Wales in like fourme as it is in this Realme*. Sometimes referred to as the *Act for the Government of Wales*, it was repealed in 1993. The full official name of the 1543 act is *An Acte for certaine Ordinaunces in the Kinges Majesties Domynion and Principalitie of Wales*. This legislation was repealed in 1995.

As Berman says, when considering those involved in the translation, "l'une des tâches de l'herméneutique du traduire est la prise en vue du sujet traduisant. Ainsi la question *qui est le traducteur ?* doit être fermement posée face à une traduction" (Berman 1995, 73). He goes on to list a series of key questions one might ask about the translators, such as their relation to the languages, or whether they had another profession, as well as whether they wrote anything about the translation undertaken. Berman raises the concept of a *position traductive*, or *translating position*, which stems from the translator's relationship to the language and the works to be translated, all of which come together to form a "théorie du sujet traduisant [*theory of the translating subject*]" (Berman 1995, 75). Berman adds that the *translating position* and the translation project are part of a *horizon* comprised of all the linguistic, literary, cultural and historical parameters, which determine the translator's feelings, acting and thinking (*ibid.*). Translators are influenced by many factors, "qui ne sont pas purement personnelles, puisque le traducteur est effectivement marqué par tout un discours historique, social, littéraire, idéologique sur la traduction" (Berman 1995, 74).

While the centuries-old debate as to what constitutes a good method of translation, or final product, endures, contemporary scholarship has led to a more systemic, if not scientific, approach to identifying the qualities of a good practitioner. Nida's description of modern principles of Bible translation is, of course, anachronistic, yet it allows us to assess the pertinence of Salesbury's and Morgan's work with regard to modern standards for Bible translation:

> Increasingly, translators tend to agree on the following major principles:
> (a) the use of scholarly Greek and Hebrew texts
> (b) interpretations based on the best scholarly judgement
> (c) renderings that will be aurally intelligible and acceptable for the intended audience and the presumed uses of the text
> (d) the incorporation of background information into notes, introductions, and word lists rather than leaving out such information or putting it into the text. (Nida 2001, 28)

In our study of the translators of the Welsh Bible, we will show how they achieved the first three principles, although their adherence to the fourth, (d), is less uniform. While we cannot directly gauge the translators' ability to translate and their mastery of both source and target languages, we rely on secondary sources in which the translators' contemporaries assess their skills and education.

Toury's concept of *norms*, i.e., "regularities of translation behaviour within a specific sociocultural situation" (Baker 2001, 162), is of some use in assessing the translators' methods. Lambert's assertion that "translational norms may be predominantly linguistic, or religious, or political, but they never belong exclusively to the realm of language or literature" (2006, 90) ties in with Berman's insistence on the complexity of translators' motivation. Moreover, "no translation, no communication is possible without conventional principles which turn out to involve value principles as well" (*ibid.*, 91). Toury considers that norms dictate what is recommended or prohibited and can be observed through regularities of behaviour in recurrent situations (Toury 2012, 63). In brief, norms are "explanatory hypotheses for actual behaviour and its perceptible manifestations" (Toury 2012, 65).

No other text has had such a pervasive influence

The translation of the Bible played a significant role in the making of Europe as we know it. "The cultural importance of Bible translation in the history of the Western world cannot be overemphasized: no other text has had such a pervasive influence on language, literature and beliefs" (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 161). Meschonnic, similarly, assesses the role of Bible translation in building European vernacular languages:

> A paradox appears as in each case it was the works that created the national languages. There are only mother works, no mother tongues.
>
> The translation of the Bible into national languages plays a special role, and in certain cases, a founding one. I would even say that it is the translation of the Bible which has contributed massively to making Europe, whereas it is the works themselves which have founded national languages. The two most renowned translations of the Bible being the King James Version of 1611 and Luther's Bible . . . . (2011, 163)

There is evidence that the Morgan Bible had a similar effect on and in Wales.

In the third chapter, we will first discuss the initial reception of the Welsh Bible. We will explore how it served to codify and standardize the Welsh language. Following that, we will look at how the Welsh Bible was used as a tool of conversion, dissent, and, ultimately, education. A brief survey of the literature in Wales will follow. Finally, we will look at the legacy of the 1588 Bible. We will then discuss methodology pertaining to the codification and standardization of the

language, and then theory related to the sociocultural effects of the Welsh Bible, more specifically reception and literary effects, and political, cultural and religious effects.

Selection, codification, acceptance and elaboration of linguistic norms

The influence of the Morgan Bible stems in large part from its impact on the written language. "The development of a vernacular . . . into a language is intimately related to the development of writing and the growth of nationalism. This process is shown to involve selection, codification, acceptance and elaboration of linguistic norms" (Haugen 1972, 99).

In the context of Reformation Bible translation, *vernacular language* refers to a language "native to a given community, as opposed to a learned or other second language: e.g. the native languages of Catholic Europe in the Middle Ages and later, in opposition to Latin" (Matthews 2014, n.p.), and is a quasi-synonym of the anachronistic term *national language*, as Bible translation greatly contributed to the emergence of European vernaculars by conferring upon them the prestige they had hitherto lacked.

Vernacular is not to be confused with *dialect* or *patois*, terms which refer in this thesis to varieties of the Welsh language in use before the appearance of the 1588 Bible. We subscribe to Littré's definition of *dialect* as quite simply a regional variety of a given language (qtd. in Haugen 1972, 99) or "the linguist's meaning of a 'cognate variety'" (Haugen 1972, 103). As Haugen notes, the term implies casual, popular or rural speech, to the extent that it is "a language that is excluded from polite society," as holds true in the context of a language that has yet to see standardization. "When dialects ceased to be written, they became 'patois'. . . . A patois, then, is a language norm not used for literary . . . purposes, chiefly limited to informal situations." A patois is thus a term applicable principally to spoken language. "In terms of the language-dialect distinction, we may say that a patois is a dialect that serves a population in its least prestigious functions," and definitions such as Littré's point to a derogatory attitude towards patois. The distinction between the two is not one of kinds of language, but of functions of language (*ibid.*, 99-100).

As for *language* itself, George Puttenham's definition, contemporaneous to the Morgan Bible, applies: "but after a speach is fully fashioned to the common vnderstanding, & accepted by consent of a whole countrey & natio, it is called a language. . . . Then when I say language, I meane the speach wherein the Poet or maker writeth" (1589, 120).

Concerning *standardization* and *codification*, Haugen writes that a language must be written in order to be considered a standard language, as only written languages can establish a firm model. A spoken language, no matter how widespread, inevitably undergoes habitual relentless linguistic change (1972, 105). Standardization "applies primarily to developing the form of a language, i.e., its linguistic structure, including phonology, grammar and lexicon. We shall call this the problem of *codification*" (*ibid.*, 107, emphasis in the original). Haugen stresses that codification can properly proceed only when those speaking the language have agreed upon a model from which they can derive a norm (*ibid.*, 109). "Codification of the selected norm results from the decisions – sometimes arbitrary – concerning which linguistic elements are acceptable for inclusion in the standard and which are to be excluded" (Armstrong and Mackenzie 2012, 13). Similarly, Kaplan and Baldauf consider that the central aspect of codification resides in the standardization procedures used to develop and formalize language norms. Said codification is generally undertaken by individuals with language training, whose explicit decisions determine the linguistic form of the language (1997, 39). Standardization is an ongoing process, and is not limited to the choice of a national language (*ibid.*, 66)

Spolsky and Shohamy perceive language practice, language ideology and language policy as three distinct areas. The first refers to patterns of use. The second deals with the acceptance of certain forms for certain purposes. The third pertains to a concerted effort by an authority to change the practice and/or ideology of someone else (2000, 1). Spolsky further states that a community's true language policy is more likely to reside in its practices than in its management (2004, 222).

Being a translator involves playing a social role

In assessing the reception of the Welsh Bible, and its lasting impact on the Welsh literary system, we will draw on Jauss's work on reception theory, and Toury's work within polysystem theory. Furthermore, the notion that "being a translator involves playing a social role . . . . The translator fulfils a function specified by the community and has to do so in a way that is considered appropriate in that community" (Baker 2001, 164) is key to understanding the reception of the Morgan Bible. Drawing on literary examples, we will further attempt to show how the Morgan Bible influenced the Welsh literary system.

For decades following its publication, most people heard the Welsh Bible read aloud, rather than reading it themselves; only the clergy and the educated elite had access to the text itself. “The spoken language is conveyed by mouth and ear and mobilizes the entire personality in immediate interaction with one’s environment. . . . Oral confrontation is of basic importance in all societies, but in a complex, literate society it is overlaid and supplemented by the role of writing” (Haugen 1972, 105). Still, “in order for quantitative shifts to be observable at the macro level of the community overall, it must be the case that many individual speakers are converging in their behaviour. This leads inevitably to a recognition that variation (and hence change) is a speaker-based process” (Armstrong and Mackenzie 2012, 123). Indeed, having a written standard regularly read aloud to the common people ties in with Wessén’s assertion that

> the permanence and power of writing is such that in some societies the written standard has been influential in shaping new standards of speech. This is not to say that writing has always brought them into being, but rather to say that new norms have arisen that are an amalgamation of speech and writing. This can of course take place only when writing is read aloud, so that it acquires an oral component. (qtd. in Haugen 1972, 105-6)

Shakespeare’s plays and the King James Bible are two prominent examples of texts which had an influence on the English language, mostly through the medium of speech.

Designed to occupy a certain position

In evaluating the initial reception and ongoing influence of the Morgan Bible on the Welsh literary system, we turn to polysystem theory, originally developed by Evan-Zohar, who viewed literature as a system of systems (Weissbrod 1998, 2). These systems “can be described by a series of oppositions: between the center (which dictates the norms and models to the entire polysystem) and the periphery, between the canonized system (which usually occupies the center of the polysystem) and the non-canonized . . .” (*ibid.*). We will discuss how the Morgan Bible came to occupy a place in the centre of the literary polysystem.

Along with norms, Toury’s concepts of *adequacy* and *acceptability* allow us to discuss the results of the translators’ methods: “Adherence to source norms determines a translation’s adequacy with respect to the source text; adherence to norms originating in the target culture determines its acceptability within that culture” (Baker 2001, 163). Acceptability is more

specifically "the production of a text in a particular culture/language which is designed to occupy a certain position, or fill a certain slot, in the host culture" (Toury 2012, 69). In other words, *adequacy* refers to the translator's respect of source norms in the target text. *Acceptability* pertains to the translation meeting the norms of the target text, thus meeting the needs or expectations of the target audience. Toury considers the value of a translation to be composed of both adequacy and acceptability.

Jauss's work proves pertinent when assessing the effect of the Morgan Bible on the Welsh people. Writing about the *horizon of expectations*, Jauss emphasizes the fact that a translation does not appear in a vacuum, but guides the perception of the audience by evoking the horizon of expectations and rules with which the reader or listener is familiar (1982, 23). Jauss writes about three presumed factors which condition the audience's disposition to a particular work:

> First, through familiar norms or the immanent poetics of the genre; second, through the implicit relationships to familiar works of the literary-historical surroundings; and third, through the opposition between fiction and reality, between the poetic and the practical function of language, which is always available to the reflective reader during the reading as a possibility of comparison. The third factor includes the possibility that the reader of a new work can perceive it within the narrower horizon of literary expectations, as well as within the wider horizon of experience of life. (*ibid.*, 24)

'Language' was associated with a rise of a nation to conscious unity and identity

The concept of nationality again comes to the fore when analysing the political, cultural and religious effects of the Morgan Bible, both short-term and long-term. Language, nationality, culture and identity are all intertwined. Although Buck was writing about the nineteenth century, his comments remain relevant to the situation at hand:

> For of all the institutions which mark a common nationality, language is the one of which a people is most conscious and to which it is most fanatically attached. It is the one conspicuous banner of nationality, to be defended against encroachment, as it is the first object of attack on the part of a power aiming to crush out a distinction of nationality among its subject peoples. (Buck 1916, 49)

In fact, Elizabeth I had originally intended to continue her predecessors' plan to replace the Welsh language with English, in order to subdue the Welsh. Haugen writes of the inextricable nature of nation and language, stating that "even in the Renaissance if [sic] was perfectly clear to

serious students of the subject that the term 'language' was associated with a rise of a nation to conscious unity and identity" (1972, 101).

As Armstrong and Mackenzie point out, where there is no reification of language, the sole rational attitude towards language evolution is to view it as a change in practice, and thus as a primarily social issue; language change echoes social change (Armstrong and Mackenzie 2012, 110).

The religious nature of the translation in question must not be forgotten. A standard language:

> that is the instrument of a religious fellowship, such as a church, can also offer its users rewards in the hereafter. National languages have offered membership in the nation, an identity that gives one entrée into a new kind of group, which is not just kinship, or government, or religion, but a novel and peculiarly modern brew of all three. The kind of significance attributed to language in this context has little to do with its value as an instrument of thought or persuasion. It is primarily symbolic, a matter of prestige. . . . (Haugen 1972, 110)

Goodenough states that a definition of *culture* should draw on the operations by which cultures are described, and that a society's culture is composed of the knowledge and beliefs required in order to be accepted, adding that humans acquire the best part of their culture through learning their language and how to use it (1964, 36-9). Vermeer similarly conceives of culture as a system of rules and norms, which "regulate" the behaviour of members of a society (1998, 42).

Further support for the link between language and culture comes from Susan Bassnett, commenting on the work of Russian semiotician Juri Lotman:

> Lotman describes literature and art in general as *secondary modelling systems*, as an indication of the fact that they are derived from the primary modelling system of language, and declares as firmly as Sapir or Whorf that 'No language can exist unless it is steeped in the context of culture; and no culture can exist which does not have at its center, the structure of natural language.' Language, then, is the heart within the body of culture, and it is the interaction between the two that results in the continuation of life-energy. In the same way that the surgeon, operating on the heart, cannot neglect the body that surrounds it, so the translator treats the text in isolation from the culture at its peril. (Bassnett 2002, 22-3)

Considered in its cultural, historical and sociological context

As our knowledge of Latin, Hebrew, Aramaic, Ancient Greek and, perhaps most importantly, Welsh, is insufficient for a textual analysis, we must rely on the work of others for that aspect of this thesis. Isaac Thomas (1988), the leading authority on the Welsh translations of the Bible, provides an in-depth textual analysis of the target text and various editions of the Bible in source languages. Glanmor Williams (1976; 1997b) and Eryn White (2007; 2013) also each provide commentary. Nonetheless, we do not claim to undertake a textual analysis, nor should it be necessary to do so in order to assess the issue at hand: "as strictly linguistic theories of translation have been superseded, translation has come to be considered in its cultural, historical and sociological context" (Woodsworth 2001, 100).

Although it might have been possible to approach this issue from a purely postcolonial perspective, focussing on the imbalance of power between the Welsh and their English overlords, we have opted instead to focus on the wider effects of the Welsh Bible. While we share the belief that all translations are "necessarily embedded within social contexts" (Wolf 2007, 1), which should be considered in any analysis, a sociological approach does not lend itself well to Bible translation either. Likewise, a Bourdieusian approach, relying on the notion of agency, has its value, but is better applied to cases of literary translation. Berman's *translational horizon* approach and polysystem theory were both developed with literary translation in mind, but we feel comfortable adapting them to our needs. We are not dealing with cultural mediation, but rather the transmission of sacred texts. We believe that Delisle and Woodsworth, Berman, and Pym make a compelling case for adopting their approaches, particularly since we are studying a historical case of Bible translation.

In writing this thesis, we endeavour to provide an analysis of the situation leading up to the translation of the Bible into Welsh, as well as an examination of the translators and the impact of the Morgan Bible. We do not offer a textual analysis, nor an in-depth political commentary. Instead, we focus on what a translation studies perspective can bring to light.

1.2. Political, Religious, and Linguistic Context

To appreciate the significance of the translation of the Bible into Welsh, one must first understand the situation leading up to this endeavour. We will therefore briefly discuss the linguistic, literary, and religious history of Wales, before considering the political context of the

Tudor regime, and the religious issues at stake during the reign of Elizabeth I, which set the stage for the authorization of the publication of the Bible in Welsh. Finally, we will look at the 1563 *Act for the Translating of the Bible and the Divine Service into the Welsh Tongue* itself.

Now part of Great Britain, Wales, which became a defined territorial unit in the fifth century (Jones 2014,8) has a long history of invasion and rebellion, beginning with the arrival of the Celts, followed by the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons, and finally the Normans. The history of Wales cannot be completely dissociated from that of the British Empire, as they do indeed share a close relationship, of conquered and conqueror. Edward I definitively conquered Wales in 1282-83, bringing the territory under English rule (Davies 1987, 355).

The Welsh language emerged as a vernacular from Brythonic

There is written evidence that a Celtic language, Brittonic, which would later evolve into Welsh, Cornish and Breton, was spoken when the Romans arrived (Davies 1993, 21), and there is further evidence that Welsh was later influenced by Latin (*ibid*., 38) and Norman French (*ibid*., 141).[6] Prior to the Saxon incursions into mainland Britain, Brittonic had been spoken throughout much of what is now England and Wales. Historical evidence points to the language being relatively uniform in structure, as demonstrated by the similarity between Welsh and Cornish (Thomas 1992, 251).

> The Welsh language emerged as a vernacular from Brythonic by the mid-sixth century, and was the vehicle for the heroic poetry of Aneirin and Taliesin, who in fact wrote of the deeds and woes of heroes of the Old North, the British kingdoms of Rheged and Gododdin which disappeared in the seventh century.[7] This was oral literature, however, not written down until much later. (Friend 2012, 46).

Medieval Welsh literature was mostly oral. "It was an art intended for the ear not the eye" (Williams 1971, 1). Bardic and literary schools were strictly regulated, and the apprenticeships involved were arduous.

[6] This language is known as Brittonic, Brythonic, or British, depending on the source.

[7] While these were northern kingdoms, located in what is now northern England and southern Scotland, the epics composed in their honour were written in Old Welsh, rather than common Brythonic (Friend 2012, 46). Taliesin was "the first acknowledged master of" the Welsh poetic art" (Williams 1971, 1).

It was in the period immediately preceding the Conquest that "Welsh cultural identity clarified and consciousness of that identity began to be expressed" (Davies 1982, 196).[8] Composed in the tenth century, *Armes Pryedein*, whose poet urged the British to unite and banish the English from the island of Britain, became part of the canon of early Welsh literature (Davies 1982, 196), followed by *Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi*, "The Four Branches of the Mabinogi" in the early eleventh century (Davies 1999, 263). Geoffrey of Monmouth's seminal work, the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, appeared in early 1136, detailing the purported history of the Britons. "The importance of the *Historia* lies in the credence given by generations of late medieval Welsh poets to its thesis that Brutus the Trojan, the supposed ancestor of the Welsh, had once ruled over a unified Britain" (Jones 2014, 23). The best known of the Welsh poetic myths is of course that of Arthur, "who, if indeed he existed, was a British warrior, not a king, who appears in early Welsh poetry and in the ninth-century chronicle *Historia Brittonum* of the Welsh writer Nennius" (Friend 2012, 46).

Despite the mostly oral nature of the bards' work, there were other instances of written Welsh, such as the laws of Hywel Da (Hywel the Good), based on the indigenous law of Wales, some forty of which, assembled around the thirteenth century, survive (Davies 1999, 262). Most were written in Welsh, though some were in Latin. Also known as the Welsh Law, it was considered "a powerful symbol of their unity and identity" (Davies 1993, 88-168).

The Welsh literary tradition was still alive in the early sixteenth century, as evidenced by the poets who emulated the ancient bards, composing poems for landed patrons, but this literature would not have been accessible to most Welshmen (Davies 2001, 177). The Welsh poetic art, which by then had been practised for nearly 1,000 years, had flourished owing to "the way in which Welsh had been protected, cherished and enriched by generation after generation of a powerful order of poets and litterateurs" (Williams 1971, 1). Genteel families supported the bards, as they were eager to benefit from the prestige associated with patronage of the literary arts. The achievements of these poets had yielded a uniquely Welsh understanding of nationhood, and a sense that language and literature were linked to this pride, to the extent that "the Welsh of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were proverbially proud of their history" (*ibid.*, 1-3).

[8] *Cymry* is the designation of the Welsh people in the Welsh language, and literally means "people." Also of some importance: *Cymru* is the Welsh word for Wales, and *Cymraeg* is the word for the Welsh language. The terms were derived from the Brythonic word *Combrogi*, meaning "countrymen" (Friend 2012, 47). The term *Welsh*, meaning foreigner or stranger in Old English, was used by English-speakers to refer to the *Cymry*. "It is a stigmatizing categorization from the perspective of the dominant group and in their language" (Phillipson 2012, 204).

They viewed themselves as descendants of the Ancient Britons, who had ruled the British Isles long ago, before the Romans came (Bowen 2014, 135).

At the time of the Reformation, the Welsh language was in danger of disintegrating into disparate dialects. The Welsh vernacular was not yet codified or standardized. Literacy was low, and the printing press had not yet reached Wales. Williams vividly describes the situation:

> Although Welsh prose had a tradition that was centuries-old, the authors of the sixteenth century constantly complained about the paucity of Welsh texts to which they had access and the fewness of the patterns on which to base their own writings. Welsh, like many other European languages, was at this time going through a difficult transitional stage between its medieval and its modern form, and handling it effectively would be a delicate operation. If possible, the language ought to be freed from outmoded terms and usages; not overdependent on any one dialect; flexible and intelligible, yet dignified; resonant, and preserving the classic qualities of uniformity, strength, and purity associated with the old literary tradition. (Williams 1997b, 240)

The poet Gruffudd Hiraethog lamented the plight of the Welsh language, rebuking the gentry for neglecting its needs. He claimed that the language could be of no use to those who did not value it, an opinion shared by a small group of scholars who wanted Welsh language and literature to achieve a status like that of the classics. Ironically, many of the poets preserving the language also lauded the Tudor government and benefitted from their patronage, despite decrying the decline of the language (Jones 1994, 33).

A body of Welsh religious literature was created

Christianity arrived in Wales during the Roman era, "tak[ing] root long before the missionaries from Rome converted the pagan Anglo-Saxons in the seventh and eighth centuries" (Jones 2014, 10). The Celtic saints were immensely important in the Welsh Church, which did not entirely eliminate druidic and pagan traditions. The Normans later attempted to mould Welsh religion into the Continental pattern, stripping it of its former independence, but there would be much difficulty implementing these reforms (*ibid.*, 24).

Under Edward I, the Welsh Church would lose its relative independence, falling under the control of the English crown. This would not, however, hinder the production of devotional literature in the Welsh language: "a body of Welsh religious literature was created, the continuation of a tradition of writing which had been established before the Conquest" (Davies 1993, 174). There existed Medieval Welsh devotional manuscripts which included fragments of

the Scriptures, but the Bible in its entirety had never been translated into Welsh (Thomas 1972, 51).

By the time the Tudors came to power in England in the fifteenth century, the Welsh were essentially Roman Catholic, although Wales maintained its own unique brand of Christianity. Mass was heard in Latin, as was the norm throughout medieval Europe, and religion played an important part in Welsh life (Jones 1989, 81). Nevertheless, the Church in Wales was in a precarious state (Williams 1997b, 19; Jones 1994, 156). Bishops and the higher clergy were generally not native Welshmen and often neglected their dioceses, and parish priests suffered from dire poverty. Furthermore, there were no grammar schools or universities nearby, and priests were often inadequately trained, to the extent that many had a poor understanding of the Latin they read at mass (Williams 1997b, 19-21). Despite this:

> On the eve of the Reformation, the more thoughtful among the Welsh, laymen and clerics alike, were profoundly conscious of their own primordial ecclesiastical heritage. In their eyes, it stretched back to apostolic times, when their ancestors, the Ancient Britons, had been converted to Christianity, they believed. . . . For them it was a Christian inheritance which had had a decisive share in shaping not only their religious beliefs and moral values but also their awareness as a people and their cultural identity. (*ibid.*, 1)

Members of the gentry were progressively more interested in the Reformation, for their own economic reasons, and not because of any perceived need to protect the language and literature of Wales (Jones 1994, 156).

It was a 'religion of the book'

The Reformation was the sixteenth-century division of Western Christendom, primarily into Protestant and Catholic factions, a movement "aided by the intellectual curiosity and freedom associated with humanism, the development of printing which enabled the reformers to disseminate their ideas and, in particular, the appearance of new versions of the Scriptures, which could be translated into vernacular languages from original texts" (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 165). The Reformation and humanism were intertwined.

> The sixteenth century was a period of effervescence distinguished by two great movements: humanism, whose reaction against the scholastic tradition led to renewed

> interest in ancient languages and literature, and the Reformation, which also advocated a return to sources, in this case to the Bible in its original Greek and Hebrew languages. During this period . . . translation was to enter a new golden age. But the pivotal role of translation derived primarily from the rise of a national language and literature. (*ibid.*, 34)

Williams adds that Protestantism "was a religion of conversion and like others of its kind, it was a 'religion of the book'. It laid particular emphasis on the need for a return to the Word and its true interpretation," encouraging literacy as a result (1971, 3). Instead of having the clergy serve as intermediaries, speaking the Word of God in the unintelligible Latin of the Church, Reformers promoted access to sacred texts in people's own vernacular, in translations which drew on Greek and Hebrew source texts, instead of the Latin Vulgate, the accuracy of which Reformers questioned (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 165-6).

While humanism is difficult to define, in part because the word itself was not yet in use during the Reformation, MacCulloch depicts the vast majority of humanists as "patently sincere Christians who wished to apply their enthusiasm to the exploration and proclamation of their faith" (2004, 76). An important aspect of humanism was the return to classical learning, and an interest in areas of scholarship ignored by medieval universities, more specifically poetry, oratory and rhetoric. "Humanists were lovers and connoisseurs of words. They saw them as containing power which could be used to actively change human society for the better. The words which inspired such excitement were found in ancient texts from long-vanished societies" (*ibid.*, 77). The Christian Church had had the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures and the mostly Greek New Testament as its sacred texts (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 160). Thus, with humanism, it became crucial to acquire the best possible versions of those ancient texts, and this prompted an interest in learning Greek, a language hitherto largely ignored by scholars. This was coupled with the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. "Paradoxically, the trauma of the Ottoman conquests . . . tipped the balance in the supply of manuscripts and brought Greek culture west" (MacCulloch 2004, 78), leading also to a new perspective on Latin. For the first time in centuries, scholars were reading the Scriptures in the original languages, and comparing these to the Latin Vulgate, which was found to contain interpretations which differed greatly from the original. Reformers found these differences striking, and wanted to correct the situation without delay. In order to do so, they began printing the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament, and working on a replacement for the Vulgate (Thomas 1972, 15-7). In England, Oxford and

Cambridge quickly became centres of Renaissance learning. "The Renaissance promoted lay and clerical education leading to specialization in the classics and Hebrew at Oxford and Cambridge, and the Reformation emphasised the authority of the scriptures as the foundation of individual salvation" (Jones 1994, 155).

The advent of the printing press was also crucial to the success of the movement, as it allowed for wider dissemination of ideas (Jones 1994, 155). Beyond that, MacCulloch argues it influenced western European beliefs about knowledge and thought, as scholars, who had previously dedicated much of their time to copying manuscripts by hand, could now devote their time to thinking for themselves (2004, 73). The Hebrew Pentateuch was printed in Bologna in 1482, and the complete Hebrew Bible appeared in 1488 (Bassnett 2002, 55).

Dutch scholar Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466-1536) was "the most influential humanist in Europe of his day," studying in Paris and Oxford, and travelling to Italy to learn Greek. During his travels across Europe, he would have encountered the leading scholars of his time. Erasmus's 1516 edition of the New Testament "was the first Greek New Testament to be printed, and it was accompanied by an elegant new Latin translation," as well as a preface in which he "stressed the importance of returning to the Hebrew and Greek sources" (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 165).

Of course, no discussion of the Reformation would be complete without a mention of Martin Luther (1483-1546) and his 1534 East Middle German Bible, which promoted the establishment of this form of German as the literary standard, through its use of language employed across the region and throughout social classes (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 39). In response to the desire for a unified language, Luther paid attention to the linguistic habits of his people, and enlisted the help of a number of experts in order to select appropriate terminology (*ibid.*, 39-40). Moreover, his style and poetry are said to have been unsurpassed. Luther based his method on several translation principles. He believed in the importance of returning to the original languages of the Bible, opting to use Erasmus's Greek New Testament as the basis for his version (Bassnett 2002, 55). Furthermore, he understood that semantic equivalencies were inadequate, and strived to make the realities expressed in the Bible understood by his readers. Also, Luther sought to produce a text compliant with the grammar rules of the target language, but the language was insufficiently developed for this to be fully possible. Finally, Luther believed the word should follow the meaning, which "required courage on Luther's part since he was dealing with a sacred text" (Delisle and Woodsworth, 40). The result was a Bible which

employed "straightforward, but vivid, expression," and which aimed to "strike the right balance between high and low registers, liturgical and everyday language" (*ibid.*, 40-2). That said, it can hardly be argued that Luther's Bible reflected the language of the common people. Rather, it would serve as a model for correct language, influencing written works through to the nineteenth century. In concrete terms, Luther helped to enrich and standardize German vocabulary, and to develop formal syntax, and stylistics (*ibid.*, 43). Most importantly, perhaps, he set an example for all future Bible translators.

Closer to Wales, according to Delisle and Woodsworth, the Bible produced by followers of John Wycliffe (c.1320-84) in the late fourteenth century, the first complete English translation, "was probably the most important translated work of the fourteenth century in England," despite having been translated from the Latin *Vulgate*, as was typical in the Middle Ages (2012, 166). A precursor to the Renaissance Bible translators, Wycliffe believed that "each man should be granted access to that crucial text in a language that he could understand, i.e. the vernacular" (Bassnett 2002, 53). Wycliffe's followers, the Lollards, are thought to have injected the English language with more than a thousand words of Latin origin, leaving quite a mark.[9]

William Tyndale (c.1494–1536) was the first to produce an English Bible translated from the original languages. Unable to secure the permission of the English crown, following studies at Oxford and Cambridge, Tyndale travelled to Germany, where he met Martin Luther, who inspired him to translate the New Testament from the original Greek text established by Erasmus, with the purpose of producing "an English Bible that would be accessible and intelligible to all people" (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 167). While Tyndale's language would have been influenced by his native Gloucestershire, he succeeded in writing in a style that appealed to a wider audience, coining many new words along the way (*ibid.*, 30). Delisle and Woodsworth state that:

> Tyndale was a remarkable scholar and linguist whose principal attribute was clarity. His skills derived from his Oxford logical and rhetorical training, his knowledge of eight languages including Greek and Hebrew, his experience as a preacher and his awareness of a native English tradition of writing. Tyndale translated into the language people spoke, not the way scholars wrote. At a time when English was

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[9] While Wycliffe likely served as "inspirer and encourager" of the English Bible, the notion that he was himself involved in the translation is no longer believed to be accurate (Hudson 1988, 240-1).

> struggling to find a form that was neither Latin nor French, Tyndale gave the nation a Bible language that was English in words, word order and lilt. (2012, 30)

Tyndale had learned Hebrew in order to translate the Old Testament, but was arrested on charges of heresy, and burned at the stake, having completed only the Pentateuch. His work would live on in future editions of the Bible in English, such as the 1535 Bible produced by Coverdale (1488-1569), the first complete English Bible, as well as Coverdale's 1539 Great Bible, and—most significantly—the 1611 Authorized Version, or King James Version, which became the approved and mandatory version of the Church of England. Indeed, in recent years, Tyndale has come to be considered a founding father of English language and literature, in view of the richness of his linguistic legacy (*ibid.*, 29). The depth of Tyndale's influence stems, of course, from "the status of the source text, the Bible, and its overriding importance for the theological, ideological and political battles waged at the time of the Reformation and beyond" (*ibid.*, 31).

Even the language itself seemed doomed

Most notable among political events leading up to the publication of the Welsh Bible was the Tudors' accession to power (Davies 1993, 218.). In 1485, when the Welsh-born Henry VII mounted the English throne "the Welsh poets celebrated the victory of the new King Henry VII as a great day for Wales" (Friend 2012, 51).

Next to the throne came Henry VIII, who prompted the Church of England's separation from Rome in 1532 (Ives 2009, n.p.). Soon thereafter, he passed the *Laws in Wales Acts*, commonly referred to as the *Acts of Union*, the first of which in 1536 essentially assimilated Wales into the English political entity. He made English the official language in Wales, and banned Welsh from administrative settings and public use (Baumgarten and Gruber 2014, 30). Henry's early actions involved an explicit policy of imposing English where Welsh had previously been used. "One could not hope for a better example of colonial cultural policy" (Davies 1999, 493). In concrete terms, the 1536 Act stated that "no Person or Persons that use the Welsh Speech or Language, shall have or enjoy any manner Office or Fees within this Realm of England, Wales, or other the King's Dominion, upon Pain of forfeiting the same Offices or Fees, unless he or they use and exercise the English Speech or Language" (*Laws in Wales Act* 1535, n.p.). Any hope the Welsh had had upon the ascension of the Tudors was swiftly quashed. While

the Welsh gained some representation in parliament, to many, this was the end of Wales as a nation.

In 1549, the English Book of Common Prayer became the only authorized source of public worship.[10] The Book of Common Prayer is composed of lessons, called Epistles and Gospels, sections of the Scriptures which are read every Sunday and Holy Day. These were drawn almost directly from the Great Bible (Thomas 1972, 33-5). Further legislation, the seemingly inevitable side effect of which would be the assimilation of the Welsh, was passed following the death of Henry VIII: in 1552, the second of two *Acts of Uniformity* was passed by Edward VI, requiring all acts of public worship to be performed in English rather than Latin (Jones 1989, 93).[11] Moreover, even before the *Act of Uniformity*, such practices as the use of images of the saints, and holy water, were banned. The destruction of all shrines and paintings to which offerings were made was ordered, and processions during mass were no longer allowed (Williams 1997b, 158). "The two changes that might have been most evident to the average worshiper were the use of the [English] vernacular and the saying aloud of the central Eucharistic Prayer or Canon," although that same worshiper would have found English even less familiar, and certainly less sacred, than the traditional Latin (*ibid.*, 162). Williams contends that "these changes in religious life outwardly implemented during the six years of Edward's rule had been rapid and sweeping; they might with justice be categorized as a religious revolution" (*ibid.*, 170).

Mary Tudor, often called Bloody Mary, became queen in 1553. The general picture of Mary's five-year reign "among laity and clergy alike, as elsewhere, was one of caution, apathy, confusion, or even demoralization, as a result of a rapid succession of changes" (Williams 1997b, 203), but there was less upheaval in Wales than elsewhere in Britain, even as Mary's rule set "the foundations of Welsh Catholic opposition to Elizabeth" (*ibid.*, 215). She would leave "a realm rancorously divided in religion and politics" (*ibid.*, 217).

Despite this, following Mary's death, Elizabeth I's accession to the throne "was greeted with acclamation in most parts of the kingdom," and she was welcomed particularly warmly in

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[10] This caused an uprising in Cornwall, with revolts, including the so-called Prayer Book Rebellion, against these religious reforms breaking out in 1548-9 (Stoyle 2002, 7). Stoyle believes the existence of a Welsh Prayer Book, but no Cornish Prayer Book, is key to understanding why only one of the two languages survived (*ibid*., 46).

[11] Jenkins suggests that those in power favoured English for reasons of political unity, rather than out of any disregard for the Welsh language (1997, 3-5). Before the *Acts of Uniformity* made English the sole language of public worship, the Welsh language had been used within the sphere of religion, being used by parish priests for "hearing confession and explaining the Latin service to parishioners" (White 2007, 19), although Williams claims the Welsh would not have understood much about doctrine or church services (1997, 24).

Wales, where, in contrast to her Catholic sister, she was viewed as the heiress of the Tudor line "reputed to spring from Cadwaladr, last 'true' king of Britain, and even from Brutus, mythical founder of the ancient kingdom" (*ibid.*, 216).

In the next generation the Elizabethan regime took a different tack

Prior to Elizabeth's ascension to the throne, "the Anglicization of office-holders in Wales did little to change the religious practices of the mass of the population. So in the next generation the Elizabethan regime took a different tack" (Davies 1999, 493). Previous monarchs had strict policies aimed at replacing Welsh with English. Nonetheless, in 1563, following lobbying by several prominent Welsh clergymen, and given the desire to convert the monoglot Welsh population to Protestantism, the English Parliament under Elizabeth I ordered the translation of sacred texts into Welsh, and allowed the use of Welsh for public worship in parishes where the language was normally spoken (Davies 1999, 493; Olson 2014, 97). Allowing the Welsh this critical venue for the use of their own language was a highly significant concession, and White even qualifies the *Act* as "one of the single most important developments during the early modern period" (2013, 116).[12] The political goal in allowing the translation of the Bible into Welsh was uniformity of religious practice. In no way was the translation meant to save the Welsh language (Jones 1989, 97). Historically, Protestant churches, with their belief in access to the Scriptures in the vernacular, have facilitated the spread of major languages such as English, but have also hastened the development and propagation of indigenous languages through Bible translation (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 11). Queen Elizabeth I had seen how having a widely-circulated English Bible with Protestant paratexts had been a successful means of propagating Protestant doctrine in England.[13] Essentially, we may conclude that the Elizabethan regime realized Anglicization was not changing the religious practices of the masses in Wales, and the imposition of the Protestant religion, and the promise of both salvation for the Welsh and religious uniformity was given higher priority than the imposition of English. "In politics and religion much depended at the outset of her reign on the queen's attitudes and intentions" (Jones 1994, 143). In the 1560s, Elizabeth authorized Welsh and Irish translations of the Scripture, in the

[12] The term *Early Modern* designates approximately the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe (Baldick 2015, n.p.), a period marked by an increasingly globalized word, scientific discoveries, and social and religious upheaval (Charnes and Kennedy 2010, n.p.).

[13] The Bible itself could be interpreted to support Catholic or Protestant doctrine, but the paratexts, such as glosses and prologues, were intended to influence readers towards a particular interpretation.

hopes of encouraging the propagation of Protestantism to areas of her kingdom in which English was not the language of the majority (Olson 2014, 97). What she did not foresee was the symbolic value of allowing these translations.

The Act was of tremendous importance for Wales

Prior to the *Act for the Translating of the Bible and the Divine Service into the Welsh Tongue*, there had been significant lobbying on the part of Welsh clergymen. Queen Elizabeth I's attention to the use of the Prayer Book meant that a Welsh version would not have been authorized without her own approval (Williams 1997b, 238). Scholar William Salesbury and Bishop Richard Davies were at the forefront of the Welsh humanist movement, and as such were keen advocates of the translation and publication of the Bible in Welsh, which they viewed as a means of ensuring that Protestantism and learning were introduced to the Welsh people and language (J.G. Jones 1989, 87).[14] Beyond the desire to spread the new faith, Salesbury and Davies dreamed of restoring the Welsh language, "the original 'British' tongue, to its rightful position among the recognised languages of learning" (Davies 2001, 179). Through their studies at Oxford, these men would furthermore have understood the need for vernacular languages to be regularized and developed (Jones 1984, 46).

Richard Davies became Bishop of St. Asaph, and later St. David's. Given his prominent position within the religious hierarchy, Davies was probably the leader in ensuring the Act was passed (Ballinger 1906, 17; Thomas 1972, 63). He had been in exile in Geneva during the reign of Mary, "in an atmosphere of Biblical translation" (*ibid.*) and would go on to be part of the Committee appointed by Archbishop Parker to translate the English-language Bible known as the Bishops' Bible.

Davies and Salesbury were likely responsible for steering the bill through Parliament, but the Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker and parliamentary representative William Cecil, two Cambridge graduates, probably had a lot to do with encouraging the change in attitude within the government, which would ultimately allow the bill to be passed (Williams 1988, 372). As the spiritual leader of the Church of England, Parker was Queen Elizabeth I's chief adviser on religious matters. Cecil was her chief lay advisor, and would no doubt have been "seriously perturbed by the possibility of conservative Wales becoming exposed to Catholic intrigues at this

[14] This will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

time" (Williams 1997b, 237). Both men were further known to have had a keen interest in British antiquities and early British Christian history, and Wales by extension.

This Act of Parliament was not initiated by the government, but was instead a private bill, whose sponsors were required to pay the considerable fees involved in passing it. While the identity of the sponsors is not known for certain, they are widely believed to have been Davies and Humphrey Llwyd, MP for Denbigh in North Wales and a fellow Oxford graduate (Williams 1988, 372).[15] Davies probably saw the bill through the House of Lords (Thomas 1972, 63-5). In any case, Llwyd introduced the bill into the House of Commons on February 22, 1563, and it made it through all the stages there by March 27 of that same year. As a Welsh speaker and a Member of Parliament, Llwyd must surely have been directly involved in seeing it through. It was passed by both Houses on April 5-6, 1563 (Williams 1997b, 238). Opposition to the use of Welsh in public worship voiced in Parliament allowed for a clause to be added to assuage those fears, stating that each parish be required to place a copy of the Bible in English side by side with the Welsh Bible, so that Welshmen might "the sooner attain to the knowledge of the English tongue" (Bowen 1908, 90). Salesbury was among those who believed that having Welsh and English Bibles side by side could promote learning English (J.G. Jones 1989, 92). The *Act for the Translating of the Bible and the Divine Service into the Welsh Tongue* ordered the translation of the Bible and the Prayer Book into Welsh, and made the Church responsible for providing services in Welsh to Welsh-speaking parishioners (White 2013, 116). For the first time, church services were permitted to be conducted in Welsh (Williams 1988, 372). The Act stipulated that the Welsh Bible, Prayer Book and Psalter must be ready by March 1, 1567 (Fawkes 1993, 141), something Glanmor Williams describes as a "Herculean labour" (1997b, 240).[16] Williams sums up the political significance of the Act:

> The Act was of tremendous importance for Wales. For the first time, it gave official sanction and a specific mandate for a Welsh Bible. That represented a major reversal of policy on the part of the government in relation to the language of public worship in Wales, and it promised to overcome what hitherto had been the biggest hindrance to the progress of the Reformation there. Its prime concern was to help convert the Welsh more speedily to the protestant Faith and thereby achieve greater political

[15] The name Llwyd is also frequently spelled Lhuyd and occasionally Lloyd.
[16] This further corroborates the supposition that Welshmen were behind the bill, as March 1 is St. David's Day (Fawkes 1993, 141).

> cohesion, not to save the Welsh language, though in due course it would accomplish that as well. (Williams 1997b, 239)

Had Elizabeth I not been dealing with a volatile political situation, she would most likely not have sanctioned the translation of the Bible into Welsh, despite the lobbying efforts of these Welshmen. “This is why the act of parliament of 1563, which ordered the translation of the Scriptures into Welsh, was of seminal importance for the survival of the language” (Jenkins 1997, 5).

In 1563, the year the Act was passed, a seven-year patent was granted to William Salesbury and publisher John Waley for the printing of the Bible, The Book of Common Prayer, and the Homilies (Ballinger 1906, 17).[17] Four years later, in 1567, the Prayer Book was issued, followed by the New Testament, but not the Old Testament. The full Bible would not be issued until 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada. It would be produced under the guidance of William Morgan, as we will see in the following chapter.

[17] The Homilies were the official sermons selected by the monarch to be pronounced regularly during services in the Church of England, beginning in 1547 (Hillebrand 2005a, n.p.).

Chapter 2: The Translators and Their Methods

Humanists and Oxford graduates, they were prompted to re-examine the history of their own people in the light of their reformed convictions.
– Williams 1970, 63

In Chapter 2, we will discuss the key players in the production of the 1588 Welsh Bible. Following an approach based on that of Delisle and Woodsworth (2012, xxiv), and relying on Berman's work on the theory of the translating subject (Berman 1995, 73-5) and Toury's concept of norms (2006, 90-1), we will delve into the backgrounds and methods of the learned men who undertook the translation itself, situating them within the broader context, or horizon.

The name most intimately associated with the Welsh Bible is William Morgan, who was the first to produce the entire Scriptures in Welsh.[18] Morgan's role is conceivably the most significant, but he would not have been able to deliver a complete Welsh Bible alone—as he acknowledges explicitly in his preface to the 1588 Bible (Jones, 243). William Salesbury and his associates played essential roles in setting the groundwork for Morgan's accomplishment. Relatively little is known about the men themselves (Williams 1976, 359-60), and so we are held to extrapolation based on the shards of biographical knowledge available to us and our knowledge of the context from which the translators emerged.[19] While the facts concerning Salesbury and Morgan as individuals are few, information about the fertile grounds of Oxford and Cambridge in the sixteenth century is quite abundant.[20] It was at Oxford and Cambridge, respectively, that Salesbury and Morgan would be exposed to the translational norms for biblical translation in that era (Baker 2001, 162; Toury 2012, 63-5).

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[18] The Scriptures included both Testaments and the Apocrypha, as well as the Book of Common Prayer.

[19] Moreover, some items presented as fact are categorically incorrect. For example, Richard Tudor Edwards (1968) includes in his account of Morgan's life many oddly specific details, for which he provides no evidence. Additionally, Tudor Edwards relates an anecdote about Queen Elizabeth I visiting Cambridge in 1564 and dazzling Morgan with her speech in Latin and Greek; alas, Morgan did not matriculate at Cambridge until 1565, and thus could not have witnessed Elizabeth's oration (Thomas 1988, 11; Williams 1976, 350). Ballinger (1906) also claims Morgan entered Cambridge in 1564, but it would seem he was mistaken. The inaccuracies and outright fabrications are regrettable, because Tudor Edwards makes some otherwise interesting points, which are undermined by the potentially flawed assumptions. Tudor Edwards was a medical doctor, not a historian of Wales.
It is also imperative to note that there is some disagreement among scholars about certain details. We have relied on facts and dates reported in multiple scholarly sources.

[20] See Chapter 1 for more on the propagation of Reformation teachings.

Salesbury, Morgan, and the men who assisted them mostly hailed from North Wales. Even today, there is a division between North and South, and it was certainly quite pronounced at a time when the Welsh language as we know it had yet to take shape. The bardic tradition, though in rapid decline, was still active in sixteenth-century North Wales, and educated men such as Salesbury and Morgan were typically steeped in the rich local literary culture from a young age.

Salesbury and Morgan had similar, though not identical backgrounds, along with rigorous education, which we believe fuelled their mutual desire to produce a Welsh Bible. Similar translational horizons yield similar translating positions (Berman 1995, 75) which nevertheless generate different translational choices and outcomes.

We will begin by discussing what is known of Salesbury's background and motivations, before moving on to William Morgan. These men's North Welsh upbringing, and Oxford and Cambridge education, as well as their devotion to spreading the Word, would shape their translational horizons, and these in turn would inform their translating positions, providing the basis for the translation methods they employed and the norms to which they adhered (Baker 2001, 162; Toury 2012, 63-5). We will contrast and compare the translation methods of Salesbury and Morgan, paying attention to Nida's principles of Bible translation (Nida 2001, 28). In essence, this chapter investigates the experiences which led to Salesbury and Morgan taking on the roles they did, as well as how those experiences shaped their outlooks towards the translation. We will then assess their methods.

2.1 William Salesbury

William Salesbury, "nominally a lawyer, yet more of a scholar and littérateur" (Fawkes 1993, 142), has been described by modern scholars as "doubtless the most eminent Welsh Protestant humanist of his day" (Jones 1994, 32) and "one of the foremost humanist scholars of sixteenth-century Wales" (White 2007, 21). Salesbury's translational horizon, the sum of the linguistic, cultural and sociopolitical experiences which moulded his outlook as a translator (Berman 1995, 75), was deeply entrenched in his North Welsh upbringing and his experience at Oxford, where he not only converted to Protestantism, but also became a fervent humanist.

The head learned man of all our tyme

William Salesbury was born c.1520 at Cae-du in the parish of Llansannan in Denbighshire, in North Wales's Vale of Clwyd, to parents of English yeoman stock (Brinley Jones 1994, 1), who had acquired property, social standing, and a cultural importance in Wales in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Thomas 1972, 9). The family had arrived in Wales shortly after the Edwardian Conquest, becoming a powerful Welsh clan (Fawkes 1993, 142). They were members of the lower gentry, and his ancestors had been elegized by the great bard Tudur Aled. Little is known of Salesbury's childhood, including his early education, but he must have been exposed to the Welsh bardic art, as the Vale of Clwyd was a region with unrivalled Welsh literary culture (Brinley Jones 1994, 3; Thomas 1972, 9). Further, Salesbury was a friend of Gruffudd Hiraethog, a major poet of the time who is thought to have significantly influenced Salesbury's use of language. Hiraethog was Richard Davies's literary tutor (Williams 1997b, 236). As a boy, Salesbury would never have had access to printed books in Welsh, as none existed; any books he saw were in manuscript form (Thomas 1972, 7). Moreover, the Reformation had not yet reached Wales.

Most Welshmen seeking an education in the sixteenth century went to Oxford, as it was closer to Wales than Cambridge, and Salesbury followed in this tradition.[21] It was at Oxford that he was exposed and converted to the Protestant cause (White 2007, 21). Luther and Tyndale's banned books were available illicitly at Oxford, and reading them may have contributed to his conversion (Thomas 1972, 11). There is no evidence of his having obtained a degree from the university, but that was not unusual at the time (Brinley Jones 1994, 9). By the time Salesbury attended Oxford, the university already had a printing press, which allowed for access to a wide range of material (*ibid*., 6; Thomas 1972, 13). Salesbury's introduction to the press no doubt inspired his belief that printing could be a valuable tool in propagating Reformation ideas. At Oxford, Salesbury encountered the traditional learning which would be invaluable in the translation of the Bible into Welsh, but he was also privy to a new wave of knowledge and innovation. Just as Oxford had provided the likes of Wycliffe, Erasmus, and Tyndale with solid grounding in logic and rhetoric (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 30), and ancient languages, so it did in Salesbury's case some years later. "He was the inheritor of the tradition of Christian humanism exemplified in the works of Erasmus and Colet who examined the Scriptures with the

[21] Welsh students attending Oxford outnumbered those studying at Cambridge seven to one (Williams 1997b, 344).

care and precision they and their humanist forbears had exercised in respect of classical texts" (Brinley Jones 1994, 7). All in all, he was solidly exposed to the translation norms of the day. During his time at Oxford, Salesbury inevitably witnessed the debate surrounding the use of the 1539 English-language Great Bible and its divergence from the Latin Vulgate (Thomas 1972, 31-3).[22]

As a result of his Oxford education, the Welshman was a great admirer of Erasmus, describing him in 1550 as "the head learned man of all our tyme" (quoted in Brinley Jones 1994, 6; Breeze 2003, n.p.).[23] Erasmus did not translate the Bible into the vernacular, but was an ardent advocate for doing so, along with promoting the importance of seeking Hebrew and Greek sources. Through his scholarship, he produced a more accurate Greek and Latin version of the New Testament (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 165). It is evident that Salesbury tried to emulate his idol, both in his advocacy for a Welsh Bible and in his approach to its production, although the consensus is that he lacked Erasmus's ease with words (see section 3.3.). It is also quite likely that Salesbury gained from Oxford an understanding of his own humanistic obligation to the Welsh language and Wales. Salesbury was decidedly concerned simultaneously with the spiritual fate of his fellow Welshmen, and with the survival of their common language as a vehicle for erudition (White 2007, 21; Bowen 2014, 137-8). Brinley Jones suggests Salesbury's mission of illuminating his fellow Welshmen stemmed from his "early realization that the resources of the Welsh language needed to be marshalled and used to their maximum" (1994, 11). One cannot overemphasize the scope of the humanist worldview espoused by Salesbury and his educated contemporaries. Thomas believes Salesbury considered learning and religion to be intertwined (1972, 15).

In any case, a number of factors converged to produce a man intent on sharing his enlightenment with his fellow Welshmen, out of a combination of religious zeal and sheer desire for the salvation of mankind. These traits would inform Salesbury's work.

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[22] Miles Coverdale's Great Bible was the English version which Cromwell ordered be placed in every parish church (Livingstone 2015a, n.p.). The Catholic Church's authorized version of the Bible was the Vulgate, Jerome's Latin translation (Metzger and Coogan 2004b, n.p; Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 163). Diverging from this norm, by not rendering the Vulgate word-for-word in the vernacular, and by translating parts from the original languages, was controversial.

[23] This view is shared by modern scholars, such as Woodsworth and Delisle, according to whom Erasmus "was the most influential humanist in Europe of his day" (2012, 165).

The first manifesto of Welsh Protestant humanism

After leaving Oxford, and following a stay at the Inns of Court (Thomas 1972, 35), Salesbury would go on to break new ground in promoting the printed word in Welsh. In 1547, he published both his own *A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe*, and *Oll Synnwyr Pen Kembero Ygyd*, a collection of Welsh proverbs, compiled by the poet Gruffudd Hiraethog. These books were, respectively, only the second and third Welsh-language volumes ever to be printed (Breeze 2003, n.p.). The former would be the only Welsh-English dictionary in circulation until 1688 (Brinley Jones 1994, 17). The latter, described as "the first manifesto of Welsh Protestant humanism" (Williams 1997a, 211), featured a preface by Salesbury, which urged readers to treasure the Welsh language and learning—an expression of his humanistic bent. The preface also featured a rousing poetic plea to Welshmen to petition the King to allow the translation of the Scriptures into Welsh (White 2007, 22). Salesbury further implored those with access to manuscripts to share them with him, as a source of vocabulary "for the great tasks ahead" (Brinley Jones 1994, 20). Drawing on the history of Welsh piety in a bid to inspire his countrymen, Salesbury combined the cause of the Reformation with true patriotic feeling (Bowen 2014, 138).

In 1550, Salesbury published *A Briefe and a Playne Introduction, Teachyng How to Pronounce the Letters in the British Tong, (Now Commenly Called Walsh)*, ostensibly aimed at English speakers wanting to learn Welsh, but the text of which really promoted English to speakers of Welsh (Breeze 2003, n.p.).[24] Brinley Jones proposes an explanation for the conundrum of such a prominent proponent of Welsh seeking to educate Welshmen about English: urgent sensitivity to their spiritual plight, and awareness of the wealth of religious literature available in English. Salesbury was prioritizing souls over language. Only when he became confident that Welsh could suitably serve his people's spiritual needs did he increase his efforts on both fronts (1994, 15-6). Salesbury had in fact been alarmed by the likelihood that the printing press would encourage the use of English as the official language of worship in Wales, because he feared for the souls of unilingual Welsh speakers who would fail to understand the Scriptures (Jenkins 1997, 5). Once he was satisfied that Welsh could be a language of learning, he became the foremost proponent of the need for Welsh printed work (Williams 1997a, 211).

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[24] Full title: *A Briefe and a Playne Introduction, Teachyng How to Pronounce the Letters in the British Tong, (Now Commenly Called Walsh) Wherby an English Man Shal Not Only with Ease Read the Said Tong Rightly: But Markyng the Same Wel, It Shall Be a Meane for Him with One Labour and Diligence to Attaine to the True and Natural Pronunciation of Other Expediente and Most Excellente Languages Set Forth by W. Salesburye* (Breeze 2003, n.p.)

Salesbury continued to publish prolifically throughout his life, producing pamphlets about the Welsh language, as well as English translations of ancient and scientific texts.

A longing for the whole Bible in the native tongue

Salesbury's most notable book—and his first step towards producing a Welsh Bible—came off the press in 1551. There is no evidence that he had any official permission or approval for *Kynniver llith a ban* (As Many Lessons and Parts), a Welsh version of the Epistles and Gospels, from the Book of Common Prayer.[25] Indeed, his Latin preface again laments the lack of Welsh biblical translations, and the lack of motivation to correct the problem. Salesbury informs the reader of his wish to obtain the support of the Welsh Bishops and the Bishop of Hereford to secure authorization for the work to be used in Church (Jones 1994, 137).[26] At the time, the Bishop of Bangor was the sole Welsh Bishop to have been sufficiently skilled in Welsh to be able to read Salesbury's work (White 2007, 22-3). Still, while he had lacked formal support, there was no outright opposition to his activities. Only ten years later—after Mary's reign—did the Bishop of St. Asaph order the use of these translations in Church (Breeze 2003, n.p.), further confirming the likelihood that Salesbury was not operating in any official capacity. It was then decided that the Epistles and Gospel would be read in Welsh after being read in English in church, and that the Catechism would be recited in Welsh every Sunday (Roberts 1997, 141). "The reading of the Epistles and Gospels in Welsh stirred up a longing for the whole Bible in the native tongue, and petitions were prepared and sent to those in authority expressing that longing" (Ballinger 1906, 16).

Salesbury's efforts—and indeed the Protestant cause—had been derailed by Mary's accession to the throne in 1553. During the five years of the Catholic Queen's reign, Salesbury kept a low profile, probably returning to North Wales from London, where he had supervised the printing of his books (Brinley Jones 1994, 10), while other prominent Reformation figures lived

[25] The full title is *Kynniver llith a ban or yscrythur lan ac a ddarlleir yr eccleis pryd commun y sulieu a'r Gwilieu trwy'r vlwyddyn* (As Many Lessons and Parts of Holy Scripture as Are Read in Church at the Time of Communion on Sundays and Holy Days throughout the Year), but it is most often shortened to *Kynniver llith a ban or yscrythur lan* or simply *Kynniver llith a ban*.

[26] Hereford is located near the border with Wales, and would have been home to many Welsh-speaking Welshmen at the time (Williams 1997b, 238).

in exile in Europe. Once Elizabeth I succeeded Mary and reverted to Protestantism, efforts were ramped up to secure the right to a Welsh Bible.[27]

Work began in earnest following the passing of the *Act for the Translation of the Scriptures*. The original Bible translators—principally Salesbury, but also Richard Davies, and Thomas Huet—were not able to complete the entire task assigned them: by 1567, only the Prayer Book and New Testament were ready for publication.[28] Still, what they accomplished was no small task, and it is thought that Salesbury might have begun work on the Book of Common Prayer and New Testament as much as a decade before the Act of 1563, working on it even during Mary's reign. Williams suggests that this is why Salesbury and his colleagues were able to complete the translation in such a short time (1997b, 240). White considers the publication of the New Testament and Book of Common Prayer in 1567 "a not inconsiderable achievement in the space of time allowed" (2013, 117). In the *Act,* the task of translating and authorizing the texts was delegated to the Welsh Bishops, only one of whom—Davies—showed any interest in this responsibility. Ultimately, the Bishop of London, Edmund Grindal, had to authorize the work. The books had to be printed in London as well, given that the printing press had not yet reached Wales, with the added difficulty that those operating the press could not read Welsh. This also added to the already considerable cost (Williams 1997b, 239).

In addition to providing Salesbury with guidance, Bishop Richard Davies contributed translations of several books (namely I Timothy, Hebrews, Epistle of James, and I and II Peter). Cambridge-educated Welsh clergyman Thomas Huet translated the Book of Revelation (Brinley Jones 1994, 55).[29] The rest of the New Testament was the work of Salesbury, "who supplied the notes, alternative readings, and explanatory words in the margins, and the 'Argument,' taken from the Geneva Bible, prefixed to each book," along with an English dedication to Queen Elizabeth I, and a preface, *Epistle to the Welsh* (Ballinger 1906, 17).[30]

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[27] See Chapter 1 for discussion of the lobbying efforts of several prominent Welshmen.

[28] The Welsh Book of Common Prayer was historically attributed to Richard Davies, but modern scholars believe it to have been the work of William Salesbury. Thomas believes Davies likely revised it and convinced Salesbury to modify some of his unusual spellings (1972, 69). It contained the first known Welsh translation of all the Psalms. Only three known copies of the 1567 Prayer Book survive, and each lacks the title page. The New Testament was published in October 1567, printed by Henry Denham at the expense of one Humfrey Toy, as the legislation surrounding the production of the Bible had not provided for the cost of printing it (Thomas 1972, 79).

[29] Huet was the only South Welshman to be involved in the project, and his work reflects his local dialect (Thomas 1972, 95).

[30] Each book of the Geneva Bible began with an "Argument," an in-depth summary, and commentary on its contents (Daniell 2001, n.p.). The Geneva Bible was produced by Protestants who had fled persecution by Mary Tudor. Published in 1560, it was prepared by William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, and Thomas Sampson, and improved

Davies is also credited with having written an *Epistle to the Welsh*, although Salesbury may have assisted him (Brinley Jones 1994, 56).

Despite the deadline having elapsed, Salesbury and Davies had intended to produce a Welsh version of the Old Testament as well, but their work was cut short when—so the story goes—the previously amicable work partners disagreed about the meaning of one word, and severed ties (Ballinger 1906, 18; Brinley Jones 1994, 60). It would be another twenty-one years before the Old Testament was published in Welsh by William Morgan, by which time both Salesbury and Davies had died.

2.2. William Morgan

Not unlike that of his countryman Salesbury, William Morgan's translational horizon stemmed from his experiences in North Wales and at Cambridge. For nearly all his career in the Church, Morgan would be based in North Wales, never far from his birthplace.

Men of learning and firm Protestant convictions

William Morgan was born in 1545 at Tŷ Mawr Wybrnant in the Conway Valley of North Wales (Williams 1988, 364).[31] The son of a tenant farmer of the Gwydir family, he was the second of five children of parents of Welsh noble pedigree (Williams 1976, 349) with purported roots going back to the so-called royal tribes of Wales (Yorke 1799, 101).[32] Sir John Wynn, of the Gwydir family, wrote that Morgan and his family were servants descended from bondmen (Wynn 1990, 63), but historians deem this to be because of his longstanding resentment towards Morgan, adding that John ap Morgan was unlikely to have been a poor man—the land was bonded, but the Morgans were nevertheless possibly of noble stock (Jones 1990c, 184; Williams 1977, 349;

on Tyndale's earlier work. It featured overtly Protestant annotations, and included a number of features to increase ease of understanding. It is believed to be the Bible that Shakespeare used. Modern English Bible editions often feature many of the layout elements used in the Geneva Bible (Hillebrand 2005b, n.p.).

[31] Glanmor Williams laments the fact that Morgan's date of birth is misstated as 1541 on two commemorative plaques, one at his birthplace and the other at St. John's College, Cambridge. Williams explains that Church records situate Morgan's birth date as 1545 (1976, 348). The house in Morgan's place of birth is now run as a museum by the National Trust, and tourists from all over the world have left behind Bibles, so the museum now has a collection of Bibles in over 200 languages (National Trust n.d., n.p.).

[32] One of the challenges we faced in our research into the life and work of William Morgan was assessing the discrepancies between sources, distinguishing between fact and myth. The leading authorities on Morgan differ on certain pieces of information, notably regarding his early education, and few of them cite their sources, despite being quite categorical in their claims. It is therefore up to us to sift through these sometimes tenuous secondary sources, and we have made it clear when this is the case.

Williams 1988, 364-5).[33] It is unclear where William Morgan received his early education, although it would seem the Gwydir family took charge of ensuring he learned all about the Welsh tradition of bardic poetry and literature (Wynn 1990, 63); in the following generation, the family had a household tutor, and so it is not inconceivable that they did so in Morgan's time. It was not uncommon for the more promising sons of prosperous tenantry to be educated alongside the sons of the gentry. There is also speculation that Morgan may have been educated in Greek and Latin by a local monk who spent his later years in Wybrnant, although there is no evidence to substantiate this (Williams 1976, 349; Hughes 1891, 44). There is further debate as to whether he attended the Westminster grammar school, which ensured its students received a comprehensive foundation in classical languages (Williams 1988, 366). It is more likely that Morgan attended school at Gwydir (Thomas 1988, 11), as this would account for his "remarkably sure awareness of the genius of the Welsh language, his sensitivity to the literary heritage of the bards, and his close links with them as a patron and benefactor" (Williams 1976, 349-50). What is evident, as Williams posits, is that, in order to exhibit his later skill and affinity, Morgan must have become intimately acquainted with the Welsh language and literary culture from a young age (Williams 1976, 350). The Gwydir family were noted patrons of the bards. Thomas believes that, along with Welsh, Morgan acquired a solid grounding in Greek and Latin, before going on to study at St. John's College, Cambridge, likely due to the College's connection with Dr. John Gwynn, the younger brother of the head of the Gwydir family, who had been a fellow there (Thomas 1988, 11).[34]

St John's College was founded in 1511 with a focus on the three classical languages: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin (*ibid.*, 13). By mid-century, the College was known "as a nursery of the new learning and as a centre of the reforming movement which sought to expose the errors of centuries by returning to the 'truth' of the Scriptures as found in the original tongues" (*ibid.*). By the time Morgan matriculated in 1565, Cambridge was at the forefront of the Protestant Reformation.[35] Several prominent translators of the Bible into English had also attended

[33] The old Welsh naming system consisted of the first name, followed by "ap" for men and "ferch" for women, then the name of the father.

[34] Morgan entered Cambridge at the age of nineteen or twenty; he was a few years older than the average freshman at the time (Thomas 1988, 11). Morgan went to Cambridge as a sub-sizar, then sizar—a student who undertook menial tasks to support his tuition (Hughes 1891, 46; Williams 1988, 370).

[35] Incidentally, 1565 was also the year of the publication of Beza's New Testament, which contained the Greek text, a Latin translation, and the Vulgate in parallel, along with footnotes (Thomas 1972, 67). Born in Burgundy,

Cambridge, most notably William Tyndale (Williams 1988, 364-8), whose translation would be the basis for the momentous King James Version (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 168).[36] By then, the ruling monarch was Elizabeth I, who had espoused Protestantism for political purposes, and believed it to be to her advantage for the Bible to be in the language the people understood. The Reformation was largely propagated through the recovery of the original texts, the new vernacular Biblical translations, and the use of the printing press. "It is quite certain that Morgan's studies at Cambridge would have brought all this activity to his close attention" (Thomas 1988, 15-17), making him well aware of Bible translation norms.

Morgan was enrolled at Cambridge for nearly 20 years, receiving four degrees from the institution. He obtained his B.A. in 1568, following three years of rhetoric, logic, and philosophical studies, and was ordained that same year (Thomas 1988, 15). Morgan studied philosophy, as well as astronomy, mathematics, and Greek, which led to an M.A. in 1571. The following year, Morgan received his first benefice, that of the vicarage of Llanbadarn Fawr in the diocese St. David's, of which the Bishop at the time was the same Richard Davies who had collaborated with William Salesbury (*ibid.*). Bishop William Hughes would then appoint Morgan to the vicarage of Welshpool and the sinecure rectory of Denbigh in 1575. It is possible these appointments were meant to help support him in his translation; in any case, it was customary to give students church livings to help with their educational expenses. The B.D. which Morgan obtained in 1578 involved seven years of biblical studies, including in-depth study of the Scriptures in the original languages, and commentary based on Church Fathers and contemporary Protestant theologians. Finally, the requirements for the D.D. bestowed upon Morgan in 1583 were essentially formal (*ibid.*, 13-15), and did not require his presence at Cambridge.

During his time at Cambridge, Morgan became a strong supporter of Protestant reform, understanding the need for vernacular translations of the Bible in order to spread the Word. Morgan's biblical language skills were also reinforced, although the contention that he studied under John Emmanuel Tremellius, Professor of Hebrew, is far from proven. He also came under the tutelage of the French Hebraist Antoine Chevallier, or his successor Philip Bignon (Jones 1994, 160), from whom it appears he learned French (Williams 1976, 351). John Whitgift, who

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theologian Theodore Beza succeeded John Calvin as leader of Geneva Church and the Calvinist movement in Europe (Livingstone 2015b, n.p.).

[36] Tyndale, who was exposed to Erasmus's and Luther's ideas at Oxford, was born in Gloucestershire, not far from the border with Wales, and may even have spoken some Welsh. Thomas wonders whether the news of his Biblical translation activities and ultimate persecution might therefore have reached Salesbury's ears (1972, 21-3).

would go on to become Archbishop of Canterbury, was a most influential master at Cambridge, and may even have taught Morgan during his time there (Williams 1997b, 344; Ballinger 1906, 19; Hughes 1891, 101); they would certainly become closely acquainted later.[37] Clearly, Morgan's Cambridge education instilled in him an understanding of the indispensability of vernacular translations for the Protestant cause "if preachers were to evangelize tellingly and congregations listen intelligently" (Williams 1988, 368). This is all the more relevant since Morgan was a gifted preacher (Williams 1976, 350). Like Salesbury and some other humanists, he supported the use of one language in the kingdom, but he also deemed the spiritual needs of the Welsh more important, addressing this in his dedication to the Bible (Jones 1994, 159). Morgan believed that making the Bible available in Welsh would bolster the effectiveness of Welsh preachers (*ibid.*). In 1576, echoing Salesbury, William Morgan had "pleaded with passionate eloquence that countless thousands of his fellow-countrymen ought not to be allowed to go to perdition because a Bible was not available to them" in their language (Williams 1988, 374), reflecting what he had learned at Cambridge.

Cambridge also provided Morgan with a lifelong network of supporters and collaborators. Although the Welsh generally favoured Oxford at the time, Morgan was not the only Welshman of his generation to attend Cambridge, or even St. John's College. The others, with whom he would remain friends beyond his Cambridge years, included contemporaries of Morgan's from North Wales (Williams 1976, 351). Two in particular would help Morgan in his work translating the Bible: Richard Vaughan, who would become Bishop of Bangor, Chester and London, and Edmwnd Prys, another prominent clergyman and author of the first Welsh hymn book. Williams credits Prys with nourishing and broadening Morgan's interest in the Welsh language and literature during their time at Cambridge (*ibid.*). Also at Cambridge around the same time, receiving his D.D. from St. John's College in 1564, was Gabriel Goodman, who would become Dean of Westminster, and who was one of the translators of the English Bishops' Bible in 1568, along with Bishop Richard Davies (Ballinger 1906, 20). Goodman would provide great material assistance to Morgan's Welsh translation by lending Morgan books at a time when they were

[37] Ballinger (1906) and Hughes (1891), writing respectively for the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, each state that Morgan was taught by Whitgift at Cambridge, whereas modern scholars such as Glanmor Williams and J. Gwynfor Jones tend towards less categorical claims. Williams (1976) states it is quite likely that Morgan crossed paths with Whitgift, but does not assert closer contact. Jones (1994) believes it is likely Morgan was encouraged by Whitgift to carry on his work on the Bible while still at Cambridge.

rare, and by putting him up in London for a year as the Bible went to press (Williams 1976, 355). Furthermore, the Bishops' Bible, and Salesbury's Welsh New Testament and Book of Common Prayer are likely to have influenced young Morgan, strengthening his belief in the importance of vernaculars for the dissemination of the new faith (*ibid.*, 352). William Hughes, Bishop of St. Asaph, who "was doubtless on the look-out for men of learning and firm Protestant convictions," and whom Morgan would eventually succeed, was another contemporary of Morgan's at Cambridge (*ibid.*), and it is no coincidence that he had appointed Morgan to his first livings in North Wales (*ibid.*; Thomas 1988, 15). Morgan was not expected to spend all his time there. The learned men of North Wales supported each other in their advancement within the Church—Richard Davies in particular favoured North Welshmen (Williams 1976, 352). Morgan must surely have been aware of this, and there may have been a political aspect to his motivation for translating the Bible, in addition to the humanistic and Protestant ones.

For proof of the influence of Cambridge on the Welsh Reformation, one need only note the fact that nine of the sixteen Bishops appointed to Welsh sees during Elizabeth's reign were Cambridge graduates (Williams 197, 344).

He received sympathy and help, financial and literary

It is unclear exactly when Morgan began his work on the Welsh Bible, but when he was appointed rector of the parish of Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant in 1578, he devoted himself to his translation work there (Davies 2001, 187).[38] During his sixteen or seventeen years in Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant (Williams 1988, 372), Morgan married Catherine ferch George, but little is known about her, and there was no issue (Gruffydd 2006, 1312). Williams contends she was "hardly a suitable partner for a clergyman" (1976, 353), and their marriage provoked one of Morgan's first major standoffs with a local.[39] There is speculation that Richard Davies might have been the one who approached Morgan to involve him in the translation of the Bible into Welsh (Williams 1988, 374; Jones 1994, 160). By 1583, the Archbishop of Canterbury was John

[38] Morgan was appointed vicar of Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant, and granted the living of Llanarmon Mynydd Mawr, although he lived in the former; this was his first experience living in the parish under his care. Following the publication of the Bible, Bishop William Hughes would reward Morgan with additional rectories (Williams 1988, 372-7).

[39] Morgan would become known for his numerous, and often serious, disputes with parishioners and neighbours, several of which went to court and some of which involved threats of violence (Williams 1976, 353-9). Williams examines the specific situations, and concludes that the blame is likely shared between Morgan and those he dealt with.

Whitgift, who "seems to have given Morgan immediate encouragement to proceed with the translation," as evidenced by Morgan's contention that he would have had to limit himself to the Pentateuch if not for Whitgift's support (Williams 1988, 376), which was both moral and financial (Williams 1991a, 29). Whitgift also authorized the publication of the finished work and the enforcement of its use in Welsh churches. Morgan's new or renewed contact with Whitgift occurred as a result of a dispute with his parishioners, which ended up before the Archbishop (Williams 1976, 355). Hughes recounts the following anecdote about Morgan's language skills: when asked by Whitgift whether he was as proficient in Welsh as in Hebrew and Greek, Morgan is said to have assured the Archbishop that he understood his own mother tongue better than any other language (1891, 101). While probably apocryphal, this certainly shows how scholars have long been convinced of Morgan's linguistic expertise.

Ballinger examines the question of whether Morgan completed the entire work of translation himself, noting that Morgan acknowledged receiving help from a number of "eminent Welsh scholars" (1906, 20). Ballinger notes that Herbert Vaughan had previously written that Morgan's task was far less difficult than that of Salesbury and Davies, as "not only did he enter into the labours of these two pioneers, but on all hands he received sympathy and help, financial and literary" (*ibid.*).

The translation was complete by 1587, and printing took at least a year. Morgan was invited to stay at Whitgift's palace in Lambeth, but he opted instead to stay with Gabriel Goodman, by then Dean of Westminster, on the north side of the River Thames, and closer to the printers (Williams 1976, 355). A record in the Acts of the Privy Council indicates that the Bible was ready in September 1588; the Privy Council instructed that the four Welsh bishops and the Bishop of Hereford be informed of the translation's completion, and ordered them to ensure that each of the 800 or 900 Welsh parishes receive a Bible and two Psalters by the following Christmas (*ibid.*), although records show at least one parish in the St. Asaph diocese did not acquire a Welsh Bible until 1592 (Williams 1997b, 351). It is not known how many Bibles were printed—Williams asserts there must have been at least 1,000 copies (1997b, 342)—nor who financed the printing, although Whitgift is the likeliest candidate, perhaps aided by Morgan's other North Wales supporters. It was in Whitgift's interest to enable the rapid publication of the Welsh Bible, as there had been rumblings about incompetence in the church when, the previous

year, the Puritan John Penry had called attention to the delay in publication, pointing out the government's lack of attention to the spiritual wellbeing of the Welsh (Jones 1994, 159-60).

Morgan's work did not end with the publication of the 1588 Welsh Bible. Disappointed by the many printing errors—the London printers were not acquainted with the Welsh language—he intended to produce a revision, which was ready in 1603. Unfortunately, the plague struck London that year, and the manuscript was lost in the ensuing panic (Thomas 1988, 85). Morgan may also have prepared a Welsh dictionary, but there is no sign of it today (Williams 1976, 357). In the meantime, Morgan succeeded Gervase Babington as Bishop of Llandaff in 1595 (Williams 1997b, 295), taking with him John Davies, a young scholar, to act as his secretary and assistant in the production of a revised Book of Common Prayer, based on Morgan's Bible. The 1599 Prayer Book was revised to correspond to the 1588 Bible (Thomas 1988, 85; Williams 1976, 356). Morgan also served as literary mentor to Edward James, a cleric who produced a Welsh version of the Book of Homilies in 1606 (Williams 1976, 357).

Morgan was elevated to the see of St. Asaph in 1601, three years before his death. As throughout his career, he had quarrels with others. John Wynn wrote that "he repaired and slated the chancel of the cathedral church of St. Asaph which was a great ruin" (1990, 63). When Morgan died, he left insufficient funds to pay his debts, likely as a result of the expense of producing the Welsh Bible (Thomas 1988, 87). He was also a steadfast defender of the Church, carefully managing church property and eschewing the greed of his predecessors (Jones 1994, 157-8), and improving preaching facilities throughout the diocese (Jones 1990c. 186).

2.3. Challenges

The translation of the Bible into Welsh represented the greatest challenge faced by Welsh Protestant humanists: the twofold issue of religious conversion, and the use of the vernacular language as a vehicle for learning.

The translators of the Bible into Welsh are believed to have encountered a number of difficulties, not least the fact that the Welsh spoken in North Wales:

> differed considerably from that spoken in South Wales, as in a lesser degree it does to-day, and there was no standard that the translators could adopt. Further, the printed literature was scanty and comprised a very much smaller vocabulary than was required for large works such as the Prayer Book and New Testament. The translators had therefore to compile vocabularies for their own use; and it is not to be wondered

> at that criticism was forthcoming of many of the words used and the meanings attached to them. (Ballinger 1906, 18)

In fact, Salesbury issued four leaves of corrections not only dealing with printer's errors but also defending the use of certain words.

The task of selecting the best word or phrase can be daunting in any translation, but Biblical translation was politically loaded and came with very real risks. Bassnett writes that Renaissance Bible translators:

> perceived both fluidity and intelligibility in the TL text as important criteria, but were equally concerned with the transmission of a literally accurate message. In an age when the choice of a pronoun could mean the difference between life or condemnation to death as a heretic, precision was of central importance. (2002, 56)

Notably, in 1536, Tyndale had been condemned to death on charges of heresy (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 167). The Welsh translators must have been aware of such precedents, and opted to adhere to the Biblical translation norms of the time. They may also have known of the fate of Étienne Dolet, who was burned, along with his books, allegedly on the grounds of having added a few words in his French translation of Plato's *Axiochus* (*ibid.*, 136).

Despite the increasing use of the printing press elsewhere, this technology had not yet made it to Wales, and books were hard to come by. Salesbury and Morgan were both lucky to have the support of a network of peers, several of whom gave them access to books when they needed them (Williams 1988, 375). Further, the support of those same men was invaluable throughout the process, as they were available for the translators to consult about matters related both to the languages at hand and to theological questions. The lack of presses in Wales also meant the translators had to contend with printers in London, who were unfamiliar with the Welsh tongue.

"A Welsh Bible required mastery of Latin, Greek and Hebrew as well as an ability to translate into a language which was not standardised" (Jones 1984, 114), and the role of Salesbury and Morgan in its production shows that they were considered by their peers to be outstanding scholars. Certainly, as we will see in the following section, they mostly conformed to the standards for Bible translation put forth by Nida centuries later (2001, 25). In the preface to his 1516 New Testament, Erasmus emphasized the value of seeking out the Hebrew and Greek

sources, stating that familiarity with the original languages, literature, and rhetoric was indispensable (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 165). Accuracy was vital, but owing to the nature of Bible translation as a vehicle for elevating the status of the vernacular, style took on great importance as well (Bassnett 2002, 56). Indeed, Williams writes that the translators "had to be men thoroughly imbued with an intuitive awareness of the genius of their own language; they needed to be writers as well as scholars" (Williams 1997b, 240).

A successful translation would show an awareness of the language: "freed from medieval terms and usages; not over-dependent on any one dialect; flexible and intelligible; yet dignified, resonant, and preserving the classic qualities of strength, uniformity, and purity associated with the literary tradition" (Williams 1997a, 214). The intended audience being the general public, via the clergy in church, the text would need also to be accessible.

2.4. Methods

We now examine what is known of Salesbury and Morgan's methods. We look at how the translators' horizons influenced their translating positions (Berman 1995, 73-5). We also rely on Toury's concept of norms (2012, 65). The translating positions and the norms to which Salesbury and Morgan adhered stem directly from their translational horizons and the norms to which they were exposed. Given their rootedness in the Reformation, Salesbury and Morgan took similar approaches, although there was some divergence. Salesbury followed in the tradition of his idol Erasmus, who wrote of the importance of being a grammarian rather than a theologian (quoted in Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 165), whereas Morgan's approach echoed that of Luther, who believed translators should "be educated in philosophy and theology and have pastoral experience" (quoted in Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 40). Indeed, "their achievements were both pastoral and literary" (Gruffydd 1997, 9).

Keeping in mind as well the early Reformation Bible translators, this section is structured, loosely, around Nida's modern standards for Bible translation, as outlined in Chapter 1 (2001, 28). First, we examine the translators' choice of source texts. Before the Reformation, Western Christians relied first on the Greek Septuagint, and then on the Vulgate, the quality of which was uneven (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 154). As previously discussed, the Reformation saw a return to Greek and Hebrew source texts, as confidence in the accuracy of the Vulgate waned. The interpretation of such texts would require great judgement. Second, we assess the translators'

ability to make interpretations based on the best scholarly judgement. Third, we look briefly at whether their renderings were intelligible to their audience, with the caveat that this thesis does not purport to offer a textual analysis, and, as such, we are relying on secondary sources alone; also, this will be covered further in Chapter 3. Finally, we consider the paratexts—and not simply the incorporation of background information, as Nida proposes—which is to say, the translators' prefaces and margin glosses, principally.

We would posit that knowledge of the target language is of utmost importance; this has already been addressed in the sections concerning Salesbury's and Morgan's background and education. Both were native Welsh speakers. Beyond the more measurable skills and approach required, the translators' way with words, their literary instinct, would play a role in determining the norms to which they adhered.

Salesbury's Methods

Here, we consider Salesbury's methods of translating the New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer, along with his earlier Biblical translations which appeared in *Kynniver Llith a Ban*.

The best texts available to him

According to Thomas, it had originally been intended that the translation of the Bible into Welsh be done directly from the text of Coverdale's 1539 English-language Great Bible, but Salesbury and Davies proposed it be made from the "finest original texts," a much more ambitious scholarly endeavour, which would require significant judgement and discrimination on the translators' part (quoted in Williams 1997b, 240).[40] It was Salesbury's desire to use the newest sources available and "to provide what he regarded as an accurate translation" (Brinley Jones 199, 47). Salesbury therefore proceeded using "the best texts available to him, including the work not only of pioneers like Erasmus, Luther, or Tyndale, but also that of the most recent scholars such as Estienne and Beza" (Williams 1997b, 243). Salesbury and his associates undertook a scholarly enterprise of the highest order, studying the original Hebrew and Greek texts, as well as the latest scholarly translations on which they could get their hands.

[40] Normally, we would go to the source. Alas, Williams cites a 1972 article written by Isaac Thomas in Welsh to which we do not have access.

The 1549 English Book of Common Prayer, used in all churches, was the basis for the Biblical translations which appeared in *Kynniver Llith a Ban* (Brinley Jones 1994, 47). Salesbury is believed also to have consulted Münster's 1535 Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible, Erasmus's 1527 Greek and Latin New Testament,[41] along with editions by Luther, Tyndale and Coverdale (*ibid.*, 47-8; Thomas 1988, 31). The likelihood that Salesbury consulted Tyndale's work is all the greater since scholars have noted a resemblance between Salesbury's dedication to the Bishops and Tyndale's introductory remarks (*ibid.*, 48; Thomas 1972, 41). Later, when working on the Prayer Book and the New Testament, Salesbury would also have access to Beza's 1556 Latin Bible and the 1560 Geneva Bible (*ibid*., 53). Brinley Jones asserts that "the earlier influence of Erasmus, the Vulgate, Luther, Tyndale, the Great Bible and Coverdale is less marked," adding that Salesbury resolved to use all available resources (*ibid.*, 57).

He tended to overlook the pressing necessity of making this text readily usable

Confident in his education and abilities, Salesbury trusted his own scholarly judgement, preferring not to rely on anyone else's (Williams 1997b, 244). In turning to the original texts, as well as myriad rigorous scholarly translations, he ensured that his translation choices were his own. In 1574, Sir Thomas Wiliems described Salesbury as "the most learned Briton not only in British,[42] but also in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, French, German, and other languages" (translation, quoted in Brinley Jones 1994, 7 and Thomas 1972, 11). Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume Salesbury had the knowledge necessary to interpret the original texts and the translations he consulted himself. His Oxford education would surely have provided the analytical skills required to process that information, as well. Williams and Thomas contend that Salesbury's three guiding principles were "fidelity to the words of the original text; variety of expression so as to ensure intelligibility; and a dignity of expression consonant with the majesty of the word of God" (Williams 1997b, 244; Thomas 1988, 77). This attitude stemmed directly from the teachings at Oxford and his familiarity with Reformation Bible translators such as Erasmus and Luther. Brinley Jones writes that Salesbury was not a slave to any particular intermediary translation, coming up with his own interpretations when he saw fit. Furthermore, in

[41] Erasmus included the Greek, with his own revision of the Latin Vulgate in parallel. He also added footnotes explaining his changes, and criticizing corrupt priests (Thomas 1972, 17-19).

[42] The English would subsequently co-opt the terms, but, at the time, "Briton" and "British" denoted what is now known as Welsh.

some instances, he proposed multiple options for a translation and included his theories on philology and orthography (1994, 57).

Thomas believes that, when producing *Kynniver Llith a Ban*, Salesbury began by comparing the English Prayer Book Lessons to the Greek, and then translating them into Welsh if he deemed them accurate. If not, Salesbury would look to Erasmus's translations and notes, then Tyndale's, and perhaps then Luther's. When he was uncertain of the validity of the English Prayer Book's interpretation, he would place his own translation in the margin, with the translation of his choice in the body of the text, unless he was not satisfied with any of them, in which case he would propose his own interpretation (1972, 45-7). Thomas is also certain from his textual analysis of the work that Salesbury had read Erasmus's notes (*ibid.*, 49). As for Salesbury's later work on the New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer, a textual analysis of the latter reveals that the influence of Beza and the Geneva Bible had superseded that of Erasmus and the Great Bible (*ibid.*, 71). Indeed, Thomas claims Salesbury modelled his new method for translating the Scriptures on Beza and the Geneva Bible, eschewing his earlier emphasis on the idiom of the language, because the Bible's divine content required strict accuracy, and he felt these sources were closer in meaning to the original (*ibid.*, 75-85).

Salesbury abandoned the freer method of translation espoused by Luther and Tyndale, which he had employed in *Kynniver Llith a Ban*, choosing instead to follow a word-for-word rendering. He explained this in a note in his Book of Common Prayer: "that God's own word may remain sincere and inviolate from generation to generation" (quoted in Thomas 1988, 35).

Salesbury took care to ensure the use of Protestant terminology, rather than Catholic turns of phrase, employing terms such as "commun" (i.e. communion) instead of "mass," for example (Brinley Jones 1994, 46), but some Catholic terms still crept into his translations.

In selecting vocabulary and structure, Salesbury looked to earlier Welsh literature, drawing on its stylistic and linguistic features (Currie 2016, 164). There is no doubt that he read the Scriptural passages from the thirteenth-century religious tracts translated into Welsh from Latin (Thomas 1988, 31). Salesbury also turned to old Welsh laws in order to improve his command of traditional Welsh writing (Roberts 1997, 138). In his concern for the elevation of Welsh as a language of learning, Salesbury had ideas about Welsh spelling which widely diverged from the norm. Owing to the prestige associated with the Latin language, he deliberately chose to use Latin and archaic spellings of Welsh words, believing he was garnering prestige for

the Welsh language by showcasing its noble origins, a practice which was also prevalent among English writers in the early sixteenth century (Fawkes 1993, 143). Williams contends that Salesbury's "weakness was that in his undue concern to create the appropriate impact on the literary and intellectual audience of the time, he tended to overlook the pressing necessity of making this text readily usable by the ordinary parish priest, and intelligible to the man and woman in the pew" (Williams 1997b, 244).

Still, Richard Davies wrote that Salesbury's Bible was "translated into Welsh faithfully, correctly, through care and perseverance" (translation, quoted in Brinley Jones 1994, 58). Salesbury was careful to use vocabulary from both North and South Wales, in a bid to have the Bible understood throughout the land (Thomas 1972, 95). It is evident that Salesbury had the scholarly training necessary to undertake the work, and there is no question but that he put great thought into the translation; alas, the general consensus among scholars is that he did not make the soundest translational choices. In many ways, this was because of his educational background: his exposure to Latin and Greek, with the prestige they held, obviously influenced his approach to translating into Welsh, which was motivated in part by his desire to improve the status of the language. Salesbury's education paradoxically impacted negatively on his translation methods.

Salesbury's highly individual views on language and orthography

Salesbury wanted to elevate the Welsh language to the status of a language of learning, suitable for the transmission of knowledge both religious and scientific, and he treated translation as an opportunity to inject Welsh with prestige. Unfortunately, academic rigour was no substitute for intelligibility. His desire to produce an intellectual work of great quality and rigour may have superseded his concern for whether the resulting text would be workable for local parish priests or understood by the average Welsh person. Salesbury's scholarly approach was less sensitive to the needs of the target audience than that of his collaborator Richard Davies, who "wrote in a simpler and more natural style" (Williams 1997b, 244).

The Latinizations and archaisms favoured by Salesbury resulted in needless changes in spelling: for example, *eglwys* (church) became *ecles*, and *disgyblion* (disciples) became *discipulon* in Salesbury's hands, his reasoning being that borrowings from Latin should reflect their heritage (Fawkes 1993, 142). Unlike French or English, which employ spelling related to

the origin of the word, Welsh orthography is based on sound (Williams 1997a, 215), which made it very difficult for clergymen to read in church. Welsh is a language which involves mutations (changes to initial consonants depending on what immediately precedes them), and Salesbury laid waste to the rules surrounding these (Thomas 1988, 83). Right from publication, there were complaints that this made his translations unintelligible (Breeze 2003, n.p.). Williams writes that "Salesbury's highly individual views on language and orthography had caused grievous difficulties" (Williams 1988, 374). Beyond that, he was inconsistent in his renderings (Williams 1997a, 215), and adapted or paraphrased many Biblical phrases, instead of translating from the original Hebrew (Thomas 1988, 57). Where the same expression appears twice in the Bible, Salesbury consistently avoided using the same translation twice (Thomas 1972, 53-5).

Salesbury added dialectal and sometimes archaic variations in the margins; unfortunately, he frequently included so many that it only contributed to confusing the reader (Williams 1997a, 215). In a further attempt to showcase the breadth of the Welsh language, he sometimes incorporated multiple translations (Brinley Jones 1994, 53-4), to the extent that he actually sought to "intensify the impression of variety by avoiding the spelling of a word in the same way twice in the same paragraph" (Thomas 1988, 35). Again, Salesbury's translation was cumbersome, and ill-suited to the needs of the target audience. Breeze writes that "despite its excellences, his translation has been described as idiosyncratic and irregular in its Latinizations and its archaisms of vocabulary and orthography" (2003, n.p.). The translation also featured borrowings from English (Brinley Jones 1994, 54).

One of the principal goals promoted by humanists such as Salesbury was communicating the Word of God to the masses; Salesbury's own translations were considered ill-suited to that purpose, as they were difficult to read and understand. This is particularly unfortunate given that Salesbury was acutely aware of the need to convey the message to the people; his copious margin glosses were directed at ensuring the laity understood the Bible (Brinley Jones 1994, 48). In providing glosses, Salesbury showed "his 'workings', for his own purpose and for the reader" (*ibid*.), but rendered the text far more cumbersome than it need have been.

According to Brinley Jones, Salesbury's later translations continued to include English influences, archaisms, neologisms, borrowings, Latinization and efforts to showcase the breadth of the Welsh language (1994, 57). Salesbury's peculiar orthography was unenthusiastically received at the time, and continues to be criticized (Fawkes 1993, 142).

A return to a proud Welsh past

Salesbury was one of the earliest translators with recognized knowledge of linguistic questions, and therefore apt to consider the difficulties confronting translators when introducing concepts from another culture. He wrote much about his translations of scientific texts into both Welsh and English (Sprang 2013, 170).

There are far fewer paratexts concerning his Biblical translations, although the ones that exist are enlightening. In his dedication to *Kynniver llith a ban*, Salesbury wrote of a return *ad fontes*—to the sources—and demonstrated his commitment thereto by favouring Hebrew forms and wordings (Brinley Jones 1994, 47). He also wrote of the superior value of the Hebrew and Greek originals over the more contemporary editions (*ibid.*). Salesbury added that he had closely followed the Hebrew in his translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, citing a purported similarity between Hebrew and Welsh diction, but that he had favoured Greek for the rest of the work (Breeze 2003, n.p.; Thomas 1972, 41). His preface reveals his confidence in his work, as he notes that "he is willing to have six men of each of their dioceses examine his translation for correctness" (*ibid*.).

The official title of the 1567 New Testament, which is in itself revealing, was *Testament newydd ein Arglwydd Jesu Christ. Gwedy ei dynny, yd y gadei yr ancyfiaith 'air yn ei gylydd or Groec a'r Llatin, gan newidio ffurf llythyreu y gairiae- dodi. Eb law hyny y mae pop gair a dybiwyt y vot yn andeallus, ai o ran llediaith y 'wlat, ai o ancynefinder y deunydd, wedy ai noti ai eglurhau ar 'ledemyl y tu dalen gydrychiol*, i.e., The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Drawn up, that It Should Allow the Foreigner the Equivalent Word for the Greek and the Latin, Changing the Form of the Letters of Epithets. In Addition to That, Every Word that Was Thought to Be Unintelligible, Either Because of the Dialect of Its Country, or Because of the Unfamiliarity of the Matter, Has Been Annotated and Explained in the Margin of the Relevant Page (Breeze 2003, n.p.).[43] For one, it is believed that the intention was to produce a word-for-word translation. Salesbury conformed in part to Nida's principle that the translator ought to include notes, rather than omitting the information or integrating it into the text (2001, 28), although he did indicate added words by a change in font[44] (Thomas 1972, 75), and the copiousness of the notes is said to have impinged on legibility.

[43] Archbishop Parker had required the notes in the Bishops' Bible to be confined to questions of scholarship and interpretation (Thomas 1972, 101).
[44] In the Book of Common Prayer, Salesbury had indicated additions using square brackets (Thomas 1972, 101).

The 1567 Bible included a dedication to the Queen and two prefaces intended for Welsh readers. Both *Epistles to the Welsh*—Salesbury's and the one credited to Richard Davies—extolled the virtues of Protestantism and propagated the myth that the Celtic Church had upheld the purity of the Christian faith in the face of its corruption by Rome, thus presenting the Reformation as "a return to a proud Welsh past instead of a [sic] imported novelty" (Dodd 1972, 67). This myth, perpetuated by a number of Welsh clergymen, may account in part for the reception of the Welsh Bible, as we shall see in Chapter 3. Salesbury's dedication to the Queen followed the standard style for Renaissance dedications, essentially thanking Elizabeth for enabling the spiritual redemption of the Welsh (Brinley Jones 1994, 57).

Salesbury—perhaps with some help from Davies and Huet—also translated the "Arguments" from the Geneva Bible, the introduction to each book and the "Summaries" at the start of each chapter.

As previously mentioned, Salesbury later defended his choices, issuing four leaves of corrections and justifications.

Morgan's Methods

From 1578 to 1587, Morgan used Salesbury's translations as the basis for his work on the New Testament.[45] He also looked to the Psalms of Salesbury's Prayer Book when preparing the Old Testament (Thomas 1988, 67). Morgan was a perfectionist who felt the Welsh Bible had to be produced to an extremely high standard (Williams 1988, 374). Concerning Morgan, G. E. Jones writes: "His prose, unlike that of Salesbury, was based on the Welsh of the great poets, though he introduced a flexibility of his own. He synthesised the work of Salesbury and Davies in a work of the highest intellectual and linguistic distinction" (1984, 115). Ballinger notes that Morgan revised Salesbury's work "with so much success that the rugged Welsh of Salesbury was transmuted by Morgan into a smooth and easy literary gem" (1906, 21). Ceri Davies adds that "another great distinction of Morgan's translation is his instinctive literary feel for Welsh idiom and expression" (2001, 187). Ballinger asserts that "the issue of the whole Bible in 1588 superseded the New Testament of Salesbury. The second translator was more successful in

[45] See Thomas 1998 for a thorough textual analysis of Morgan's changes to Salesbury's work.

producing a smooth and easily understood book. This, however, does not destroy the fact that the earlier translators by their labours prepared the way . . .” (Ballinger 1906, 19).[46]

Translating the Bible into Welsh directly from the original sources

Like Salesbury, Morgan is said to have had extensive scholarship and knowledge of both source and target languages. After polishing Salesbury’s New Testament, Morgan undertook to translate the Old Testament from Hebrew and Greek sources (Baumgarten and Gruber 2014, 30), consulting contemporary translations along the way. He is said to have begun by translating the Five Books of Moses (Ballinger 1906, 19). Williams adds:

> He had set himself the exacting assignment of translating the Bible into Welsh directly from the original sources in the most up-to-date texts available to him. Like all scriptural translators, he was profoundly aware of the overwhelming responsibility of having to produce a vernacular translation of the divine word worthy of the original in terms of dignity, accuracy and intelligibility. (1988, 375)

Ballinger cites one Archdeacon Thomas: “[Morgan] appears from internal evidence to have had before him not only a Hebrew Text, but also a Latin Vulgate and the English Geneva Bible, and to have been guided in many instances by the Latin translation brought out by Paganinus in 1521” (cited in Ballinger 1906, 21). The texts Morgan used for the Old Testament must have included the 1572 Antwerp Polyglot Bible, Emmanuel Tremellius’s Latin translation—both of which had appeared after Salesbury’s translation—and the English translations, particularly the Geneva Bible (Davies 2001, 187; Thomas 1988, 69). A textual analysis by Thomas shows that distinct passages from Morgan’s version are alternately in unique agreement with those three Bibles, as well as Münster’s Latin version (1988, 49-51). Thomas also believes Morgan had on hand a copy of the Bishops’ Bible, and Estienne’s Latin version (*ibid.*, 55). Textual analysis reveals that Morgan consulted the same versions for the translation of the Apocrypha, with the exception of Münster’s, which did not include these books, and Coverdale’s, which included a poor version. He may also have studied Beza’s edition. In any case, the Apocrypha include many translations which are unique to Morgan, and which cannot be shown to be direct translations of the Greek (Thomas 1988, 71).

[46] There is a clear parallel with the earlier Wycliffite Bibles, of which there were at least two considerably different versions: “One is a very literal, stitled, and at times unintelligible rendering; the other is a fluent, idiomatic version,” and the latter superseded the former (Hudson 1988, 238).

Morgan's Cambridge education revealed to him that "hardly one of [these versions] could be considered a wholly independent version," and all the contemporary translators had consulted the work of their forbears (Thomas 1988, 47-9). By consulting all these versions, Morgan showed a commitment to understanding and rendering the meaning of the original texts.

Though his main reference for Welsh religious texts would of course have been Salesbury's translations, Morgan probably also consulted the Welsh religious tracts to which Salesbury had turned (Thomas 1988, 31).

A man of integrity, gravity and great learning

Beyond equipping him with knowledge of the source languages and Biblical learning, Morgan's theological studies endowed him with the knowledge required to assess Salesbury's work (Thomas 1988, 31) and to proceed with his own.

Morgan's contemporaries commended him on his scholarship. In December 1600, Gabriel Goodman, then Dean of Westminster, informed William Cecil that Morgan "is well known to be the most sufficient man in that both for his learning, government and honesty of life, and hath also best deserved of our country for his great pains and charges in translating the Bible into our vulgar tongue with such sufficiency as deserveth great commendation and reward" (quoted in Jones 1990c, 187). John Whitgift likewise praised him as "a man of integrity, gravity and great learning" (*ibid.*). It is unlikely Morgan's colleagues would have been so keen to lend him books and support him financially had they not held him in high esteem. Morgan was not afraid to consult others, and sought advice from other Welsh scholars, including Goodman (Jones 1994, 160). More recently, Williams writes of Morgan's outstanding scholarship in dealing with the original languages and texts (1988, 377).

Segments of Morgan's translation have been shown to be literal renditions of the various source texts he used, but other passages seem not to follow the original Hebrew nor any of the intermediate versions: "it is a translation which is peculiar to him" (Thomas 1988, 53). He was not afraid to depart from the exact wording of the Hebrew to ensure the meaning was clear, although he generally translated Hebrew idioms literally (*ibid.*, 65). Indeed, Morgan showed critical thinking and a concern for accuracy and clarity. Jones (1989, 94) claims Morgan's methods and philosophy of Bible translation were based on those of Luther.

Morgan wanted to emulate the Welsh bards, particularly those who wrote in strict-metre, as this form of poetry had been fostered more sensitively than prose had.[47] At the same time, he tried to employ contemporary colloquial Welsh (Fawkes 1993, 144). "As a descendant of Welsh upper-class families, he would naturally have been drawn to traditional poetry" (Williams 1988, 365). Still, Morgan was careful in his treatment of the language, understanding as he did that not all medieval bardic language remained suitable (Thomas 1988, 57). When faced with the need for new terms to reflect Reformation concepts, Morgan did not borrow indiscriminately from Latin or English, choosing instead to use new word formations composed of existing Welsh words (*ibid.*, 59). Salesbury had engaged in that practice somewhat, as well, but the meaning of his neologisms tended to be less clear (*ibid.*, 81).

A splendidly consistent and intelligible presentation of the Welsh language

In Williams's view, Morgan eradicated the "archaisms, pedantries and oddities" of Salesbury's work, replacing them with "a splendidly consistent and intelligible presentation of the Welsh language" (1988, 377). Thomas considers that Morgan's primary aim was clarity, rather than literary adornment (1988, 57).

"Luther advised the would-be translator to use a vernacular proverb or expression if it fitted in with the New Testament, in other words to add to the wealth of imagery in the SL text by drawing on the vernacular tradition too" (Bassnett 2002, 56). This is where Morgan's approach diverged from that of Salesbury, who never missed an opportunity to requisition prestige from other languages or from bygone forms of Welsh. Morgan preferred to look to the classical Welsh bardic writers (Jenkins et al. 1997, 83). According to Williams, "there is no mistaking the vast improvement in intelligibility when comparing Morgan's work with Salesbury's" (1977, 365). In his revisions, Morgan cleared up Salesbury's irregularities. As Williams shows, moreover, Morgan had "a marvellous certainty of instinctive feeling for sonority, rhythm and balance in his writing" (*ibid.*). Still, critics will point out that Morgan removed creative idioms used by Salesbury, returning to a more literal translation (Thomas 1988, 77).

Morgan tended to follow the orthography of strict-metre poetry, but in certain cases opted for spelling that reflected oral use of the language, no doubt to ease the task of clergymen reading

[47] Strict-metre poetry employed strict syllabic metres (Birch and Hooper 2013, n.p.), that is a specific number of syllables per line (Baldick 2008, n.p.).

the Bible out loud (Thomas 1988, 67); after all, the purpose of the translation was to enable the clergy to conduct services in Welsh.

His own aim was to clothe scripture in fine, but not overly lavish raiment

Morgan did not leave behind many traces of his thoughts or method. He wrote a hyperbolic Latin dedication to the Queen, much of which can be seen simply as paying lip service to her, and the aims of which were clearly political. Morgan's praise of Elizabeth comes across as mere flattery, especially in contrast with the criticism levelled by John Penry. He was careful to emphasize the fact that the provision of both Welsh and English Bibles was a great means of ensuring Welshmen learned English. He also wrote of the importance of fostering unity of religion over unity of language. Still, his acknowledgement of Salesbury's contribution seems quite sincere: "who above all men deserved well of our Church . . . . How greatly he benefited our countrymen it is not easy to tell" (Morgan 1588, n.p.). Morgan also recognizes Davies's role, as well as that of the Archbishop of Canterbury:

> And following his example, other good men have given me very great assistance. Now, having been moved by their encouragement, and often helped by their industry and labour, and having not only translated the whole of the Old Testament, but also revised the New by correcting certain unamended faults of orthography (which greatly abounded) . . . . (*ibid.*)

Morgan also thanks by name Gabriel Goodman, David Powel, Edmwnd Prys, and Richard Vaughan. [48]

Regarding explicit references to his method, "Morgan said that his own aim was to clothe scripture in fine, but not overly lavish raiment" (Fawkes 1993, 144). Metaphors involving dress and garment were common topoi in Renaissance depictions of translation (Woodsworth 1990, 292).[49]

[48] Goodman was by then Dean of Westminster (Williams 1976, 355). Powel was an Oxford graduate and clergyman who produced the first printed history of Wales in 1584 (Fritze 2007, n.p.). Prys was a notable scholar, poet and writer, whom Williams believes was the best-suited of Morgan's acquaintances to have helped out with linguistic matters (1988, 375). Vaughan, a fellow student at St. John's College, Cambridge, would later become Bishop of Bangor, Chester and London, successively (Williams 1976, 351).

[49] For discussions of the evolving metaphor of translation as a change of clothes in historical and contemporary contexts, see Reynolds (2011), St. André (2017) and Van Wyke (2010).

Each chapter of the Bible was preceded by a summary (Thomas 1988, 47). As for annotations within the translation itself, Morgan eschewed Salesbury's use of marginal glosses (Williams 1977, 365), and indicated inserted words by square brackets (Thomas 1988, 47); this does not conform to Nida's fourth principle, that translators should present background notes as notes, introductions and word lists, as opposed to leaving them out or including them in the text itself (Nida 2001, 28). Scriptural references were made in the margin (Thomas 1988, 47).

Two Men, Two Methods

Salesbury and Morgan had much in common, including the shared goal of giving the Word of God to their countrymen in their own language, and contact with similar norms of Bible translation. It would certainly seem from their consultation of a wide range of sources that both Salesbury and Morgan were meticulous and desired very much to produce the best translation possible, whether out of regard for the Word or from fear of reprisal, or some combination thereof. Yet, despite their similar backgrounds and work ethic, they differed significantly in their translational decisions. As a result, Morgan's translation has long been lauded as a triumph of the Welsh language, whereas Salesbury's was criticized for its lack of intelligibility. How did two men exposed to very similar translational norms end up putting them into practice so differently? No single factor can account for this, for as Berman reminds us, a translator's motivations and decisions are subject to a wide variety of influences (1995, 75). We believe, nonetheless, that the key to understanding these differences lies in the translators' ultimate goals: Salesbury's intellectual desire to elevate the Welsh language to a language of learning, and Morgan's more practical awareness of the need for the Bible to be an essential tool for clergymen. There is no doubt that both men fervently believed Welshmen needed access to the Scriptures in their own tongue, in order to attain salvation, but the translators' secondary motivations differed.

Men born and brought up in the most vital area of literary Wales

Just as Delisle and Woodsworth emphasize the importance of studying the translators' place in the cultural and temporal context (2012, xxiv), Berman talks, in his discussion of the theory of the translating subject, of a number of factors which contribute to the translating position. Notably, he highlights their relation to the languages involved, any other profession they may have, and what they wrote, if anything, about the translation (1995, 75). Salesbury and Morgan

had similar relationships to the languages at hand: “The translators fortunately were not only true Renaissance scholars well-versed in the essential trinity of Hebrew, Greek and Latin, but they were also men born and brought up in the most vital area of literary Wales . . .” (Jones 1969, 52). Both were native Welsh speakers from North Wales, and benefitted from the area’s rich literary heritage. Further, it is likely they would both have tended towards Northern expressions and turns of phrase in their renderings. Although they were raised within thirty kilometres of one another, they came from different family backgrounds. Salesbury’s forbears were more well-to-do, and their prolonged interest in the bardic arts arose despite their lack of Welsh ancestry. On the other hand, Morgan’s family claimed to be descended from the near-legendary noble tribes of Wales. Yet, despite the difference in social class, both men clearly received a solid pre-university education.

Oxford and Cambridge were hotbeds of Reformation teaching, and both universities offered similar programmes of education, led by influential scholars. Nonetheless, “Cambridge was distinctly more Protestant in tone than Oxford” (Williams 1976, 350), and the Reformation had become more entrenched by the time Morgan began his university education. Both men received ample grounding in the languages with which they worked. This corresponds with Pym’s assertion that translators should be intercultural, i.e., capable of straddling the line between source and target cultures (1998, 177).

Profession is an area in which the two men diverged more: Morgan was very much the consummate scholar and clergyman who interacted mostly with his parishioners and fellow learned men, whereas Salesbury was a lay scholar who dealt with the wider public and politicians. Still, as an ardent humanist advocate of the need for salvation through access to the Bible in Welsh, Salesbury shared largely religious motivations and thorough knowledge of Biblical languages and the Bible itself, and clearly saw the Welsh language as a tool for Protestant indoctrination. Morgan’s background as a preacher no doubt fostered his ability to communicate clearly.

The native tongue was a fundamental badge of the Welshman’s self-awareness

It is evident Salesbury and Morgan both intended to contribute to the intellectual and spiritual wellbeing of their countrymen, acting in the interest of the target culture (Toury 2012, 6). Both men were clearly motivated by a profound desire to spread Reformation doctrine to their fellow

Welshmen, in the only language they understood. Furthermore, both appear to have valued the language itself. "Welsh scholars were aware that the native tongue was a fundamental badge of the Welshman's self-awareness if not of his nationality" (Jenkins et al. 1997, 91). Neither would explicitly broadcast this, because it would have been politically unwise to do so given Tudor language policy up to that point, but the care with which they handled the language speaks to the fact they both wanted to ensure its survival. These motivations stemmed from the translators' educational and cultural background. Before beginning their respective work on the Welsh Bible, Salesbury and Morgan had both advocated for the language and for the souls of their countrymen. There is no reason to doubt either's sincerity, as each devoted his life to this cause.

As discussed, the basis of the Reformation lay both in the validity of vernacular languages as languages of learning, and in a return to ancient languages. Salesbury evidently focused on these aspects. On the other hand, Morgan concentrated his efforts on that other fundamental aspect: clear communication in vernacular languages. In doing so, Morgan simultaneously achieved Salesbury's goals, and his own, truly exemplifying Reformation ideals.

Thomas claims Salesbury wanted to replicate the ideal of the Latin versions, which emphasized the dignity of language of the Scriptures and strict accuracy in translation, whilst simultaneously trying to attain the ideal embodied by Luther's and Tyndale's work, which is to say, use of the idiom of the language. He adds that Salesbury's reasoning in using Latinizations may have partially been an attempt to use words familiar from the Latin service that Welsh people were accustomed to hearing (1972, 51). Richard Davies shared Salesbury's choice of sources and principles of Bible translation, and his primary concern was to achieve a translation completely faithful to the Greek, as evidenced by the sections he translated (*ibid.*, 89-91). For his part, Thomas Huet did not translate literally, and had no qualms about modifying word order. Huet principally relied on the Vulgate and the Great Bible. This resulted in what Thomas calls "one of the most readable parts of the 1567 Testament" (*ibid.*, 97).

Neither Salesbury nor Morgan wrote much about the translation process, although each had written about the need for translation. No doubt both men were acutely aware of the political implications of Bible translation, and of the need to treat the issue with kid gloves.

Salesbury was a prolific author and translator, whereas the 1588 Bible and the 1599 revision of the Book of Common Prayer represent the sum of Morgan's work. This is due in part

to his obligations as a clergyman, but it also highlights the likelihood that his prime motivation was to produce the ultimate religious tool, and perhaps to move up in the Church.

Were they after personal glory, as well as the eternal sort? Salesbury may have been preoccupied with ensuring his place in the pantheon of Renaissance scholars: this is evidenced by his concern with raising the status of the language, as well as his prolific use of such an avant-garde tool as the printing press. In elevating the language, Salesbury may have hoped to elevate himself, too. He certainly received credit for his work, and was painstaking in issuing corrections and justifications. In providing the ultimate tool for Welsh clergymen, Morgan may have had designs on an eventual bishopric—although, in reality, it would be quite some time after the Bible's publication before he received it. Morgan, along with having an honest desire to serve the Church and his people, would surely have been aware of the potential recognition such a feat would entail (certainly, Salesbury had been lauded for his work, despite its imperfections). Williams posits that a man like Morgan is "unlikely to have been lacking the fair share of ambition natural to a talented and determined individual" (1976, 361), and that his exposure at Cambridge to the success of Reformation Bible translators may have instilled in him a drive for recognition (*ibid.*, 362). Still, Williams is categorical in his claim that religion was Morgan's prime concern. We will never know whether self-interest played a part in motivating their life's work, or whether they were quite simply devoted to their cause. The principal goal was certainly service to others, a value which was undoubtedly drummed into them during their conversion to Protestantism, but one cannot help but assume they were aware of the magnitude of the work they were undertaking.

A work of extraordinary merit, matching scholarship with poetry

Despite their emergence from similar intellectual incubators, and despite their related goals, the diverging results imply that Salesbury and Morgan each set about the translation process differently. Both were concerned with ensuring the continued use of the Welsh language as a language for learning and religion, but Salesbury's approach focused on showcasing the language's breadth, whereas Morgan understood that clarity of expression and ease of use were key to meeting that goal. In that, they echoed different norms of Biblical translation: Salesbury tried to emulate Erasmus, while Morgan followed in the footsteps of Luther. The distinction rests in the intended audience: "Salesbury kept his eye firmly on the scholarly public at large in Britain

and Europe" (Williams 1997a, 215).[50] Morgan, on the other hand, focused on producing a tool for parish priests, using words the average Welsh person would understand. Salesbury's concern for accuracy frequently came to the detriment of the Welsh idiom (Thomas 1972, 77).

Concerning the translators' relationships to the languages involved, Currie believes linguistic interference from Hebrew and the influence of the Welsh poetic tradition to have motivated word order in the translation of the poetic books of the Bible (2016, 157-63). Currie suggests that both Salesbury and Morgan wanted to distinguish linguistically and stylistically between the poetic and prose books, and he deems this to represent "an innovative and unusual translation strategy compared to other vernacular sixteenth-century translations," as the use of "poeticized" prose to translate poetic books of the Bible was not yet common practice (2016, 163). He further considers this strategy to be at once domesticating and foreignizing, "in that it exploits a native linguistic feature in a novel way to reproduce exotic stylistic effects in the source text" (*ibid.*).[51] Currie does temper his statement, however, adding that we cannot attribute to the translators any global, deliberate translation strategy, as we have insufficient testimony on their part (*ibid.*).

The general consensus is that Salesbury lacked Morgan's literary touch, that rather intangible factor which largely determined the reception and enduring success of the translation (see Chapter 3). Concretely, Salesbury's use of unfamiliar spellings hindered his translation's intelligibility. "Nevertheless, [Salesbury's translations] possess literary merit, and Morgan's debt to them is great" (Breeze 2003, n.p.). Salesbury's translation may have fallen flat with the average clergyman and Welshman, but scholars have noted that, behind the lack of intelligibility, there lies "a work of extraordinary merit, matching scholarship with poetry" (Brinley Jones 1994, 54). Williams sums up the key distinction between the two:

> It was not that Morgan's translation, as such, was always so much better than Salesbury's; very often, indeed, he found himself in close agreement with the early version. It was in terms of insight, good sense, clarity and consistency that the uniform excellence of Morgan's version scored so heavily over the idiosyncrasies and irregularities of Salesbury's. (Williams 1997b, 365)

[50] There is a certain irony in the fact that Salesbury was so intent on reaching an academic audience, when Morgan, who was the one with four university degrees, preferred to fulfill the goal of communicating with the masses. The man who undertook this project as an academic endeavour was not the one with the vast academic background.

[51] When discussing domestication and foreignization, Currie quotes Snell-Hornby (2006, 9-12).

2.5. Later Editions

The 1588 version's significance stems to a great extent from its continued use over the following centuries. In fact, the version with which the Welsh became most familiar is the 1620 revised edition of Morgan's 1588 version. Many reissues and new editions followed—right up to the 1988 Bible, each one stemming directly from Morgan's work.

The culmination and completion of Morgan's work

A revised edition was published in 1620. It was purportedly piloted by Richard Parry, Morgan's successor as Bishop of St. Asaph—though it is now thought to have been largely undertaken by Morgan's protégé John Davies, whom Fawkes calls "the leading philological scholar of the new century" (1993, 14).[52] This became the "authorized" Welsh version, and "the authoritative text throughout most of the Early Modern and Modern Welsh period" (Currie 2016, 156). Despite substantial modifications, "posterity has judged it to be William Morgan's Bible still" (White 2007, 43). Ceri Davies deems the changes to have consisted of corrections and minor improvements (2001, 193). For one, the 1620 edition did away with many of the typographical errors which had resulted from the English printers' lack of knowledge of the Welsh language. It also included changes to certain phonetic features of Morgan's spelling (Thomas 1988, 85), although Currie considers the language to be essentially intact and notes that the word order was not significantly altered (2016, 156). In his dedication, Parry wrote that he wanted to achieve for the Welsh Bible what the 1611 King James Bible (the Authorized Version) had done for the English Bible, i.e., "to make a good one better" (White 2007, 42). It is believed that Parry and Davies aimed to bring the revised Welsh version closer to the English Authorized Version. Ballinger writes that they did so mostly by removing Morgan's Hebraisms, and he considers this to have been an error on their part, as in doing so they robbed the Welsh people of the full benefit of Morgan's scholarship (1906, 25). Still, where the interpretations differed, Parry and Davies often opted to retain Morgan's translations instead of siding with the Authorized Version (White 2007, 42). They did, however, remove Morgan's colloquialisms. Davies in particular was influenced by strict-metre poetry (*ibid.*).

[52] Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd, North Wales, was a humanist scholar, and Richard Parry's brother-in-law. Davies published "two of the most significant works of the Renaissance period in Wales," a grammar and a dictionary (White 2007, 40).

Thomas's textual analysis reveals that, all in all, approximately a third of the text was revised, but that several of these changes are consistent with Morgan's own 1599 Book of Common Prayer (White 2007, 42). White is quite categorical: "the result could be regarded as the culmination and completion of Morgan's work, rather than as a new venture" (*ibid.*).

Copies of this Bible were distributed to all churches in Wales (Ballinger 1906, 25). Four folio pages of corrections were issued around 1672. Although the spelling was updated over the years, it remained the authorized version in Wales and continued to be used until the latter part of the twentieth century (Currie 2016, 153).

Further Editions

Further editions would continue to be issued. Demand for Welsh Bibles remained steady, and there was a need to produce affordable ones, the first of which was the 1630 *Beibl Bach*, or "Little Bible." Its cost was still more than most people could afford, but it was a step towards integrating the Scriptures into the daily life of the Welsh (White 2007, 43). The complexities of financing the printing of relatively affordable editions are addressed in White 2007. Later editions, including the first Bible to be printed in Wales, will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Y Beibl Cymraeg Newydd (The New Welsh Bible)

For 1988, a new translation of the Bible was commissioned to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the Morgan Bible. Its stated goal was not to replace the Morgan Bible, but to shed further light on its meaning. Thousands of copies were sold, but many Welsh-speakers continue to this day to use the lightly revised 1620 Morgan Bible, owing to the perceived beauty of the language as well as its familiarity (White 2007, 132-3).

The 1988 translation was made from the original Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic texts. Many alternative versions were consulted, including the Dead Sea Scrolls, which had obviously not yet been discovered when Salesbury and Morgan were translating.[53] The undertaking involved five Welsh churches, as well as consultants from the Roman Catholic Church; several translation panels, led by leading theological and linguistic scholars, were created, as was a

[53] The first of the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered near Jericho in winter 1946, with more being found as late as 1960. Written mostly in Aramaic (a few are in Old Hebrew), the Scrolls include biblical, apocryphal, and sectarian works. Among other texts, all the books of the Hebrew Bible, save for the Book of Esther, are represented (Metzger and Coogan 2004a, n.p).

literary panel. Echoing Morgan's aim 400 years earlier, the 1988 Welsh Bible was to be in modern Welsh. The Bible was to be published by the British Bible Society, but printed in Wales. Work began in 1961, and the target date of 1988 was met, although few of the original participants lived to see the project to fruition (Fawkes 1993, 147). A revised edition of this version was published in 2004 (White 2007, 133).

Beibl.net

In 2013, a full Bible was published online in "simple, colloquial Welsh," aimed at youth, as well as Welsh language learners. This version, translated from the original Hebrew and Greek into modern Welsh, became available in print form in 2015 (British and Foreign Bible Society 2015; British and Foreign Bible Society n.d.). Building on the legacy of the 1588 Bible, it aimed to meet the needs of the modern Welshman.

Chapter 3: Impact of the Translation

It provided a crucial written reference point
of beauty and purity for the Welsh language.
– Gruffydd 1997, 10

In this chapter, we will discuss the long-term impact of the Welsh Bible on culture, religion, politics, and identity in Wales over the centuries following its publication. Drawing on the work of Toury and Jauss, we will consider the social, political and religious effects of its publication and use, along with its impact on literature and culture in Wales. We will examine the Welsh Bible's importance with regard to the formation of a national identity. The effects of the Welsh Bible were not felt overnight, particularly as the mass of the population were both illiterate and poor, and thus unable to access the Bible themselves in the sixteenth century (White 2013, 117). Until the eighteenth century, to a degree, "it lay dormant and hibernated: its rich vocabulary and dignified cadences, its great inspirational potentiality, comparatively wasted" (Jones 1969, 53-4), although by then Welsh people had been increasingly exposed to it in church for over 200 years.

The translation of the Bible into Welsh was indisputably important to the Welsh culture (White 2013, 117). "In the history of the literature of Wales, and from the country's religious experience, William Morgan's achievement in the 1588 Bible remains unparalleled" (Davies 2001, 193).

In assessing the extensive legacy of the Morgan Bible, White writes that "it almost goes without saying that the translation of the Bible into Welsh had a hugely significant impact in terms of religion, language, print culture, and national identity" and that the Bible was "the crowning glory of Welsh humanism as well as Welsh Protestantism" (2013, 118). Dodd unequivocally calls the translation of the Bible into Welsh the most significant milestone of Elizabeth I's reign, if not the century (1972, 68). Davies echoes Dodd, writing that Morgan's 1588 Welsh Bible "became the single most important force in the Wales of the centuries that followed. Not only did it shape the religious life of Wales, but it also left its indelible imprint on the country's language and culture" (2001, 176). Isaac Thomas writes: "Without this Welsh Bible, that scriptural Christianity which became such a tremendous force in the religious and social life of Wales would not have been activated and would not have been sustained. . . . The

Wales of the last four centuries would have been a very different Wales without William Morgan's Bible" (1988, 87). No review is more glowing than that of J.G. Jones:

> The achievement of William Morgan in 1588 has immensely benefitted the Welsh nation and has enriched its literary heritage. From it stemmed the Protestant literary tradition, the basis of which was laid in the late sixteenth century. Its refinement of style and syntax surpassed all that had previously appeared in print and provided the Welsh people with a standard literary language as well as the Word of God in the vernacular. Its impact on the religious and cultural life of Wales as well as on the sense of national identity is immeasurable. (1989, 109)

At a time when most Welsh people were illiterate, they would not have had much with which to compare the Morgan Bible, beyond their own local dialects. Furthermore, the Welsh were used to attending church services held in languages foreign to them: Latin in the Catholic Church, and then English, following the Reformation (Davies 2001, 178). Thus, they were hearing biblical texts in their own language for the first time, and their frame of reference would have been restricted to the spoken language. Educated Welshmen would have perceived the rich traditions Morgan drew on, but the average person would be experiencing this level of language for the first time. The contrast between the language normally spoken and this new level of language heard in church would thus have been quite stark.

The concept of the horizon of expectations comes to the fore when assessing the lasting impact of the work. First, the Morgan Bible came to embody literary norms in Welsh, and continues today to be seen as a model of the language at its best. Second, and similarly, this work was considered an example of the finest prose, and came to occupy a central place in the literary system. Third, according to the scholars cited above, the Morgan Bible heavily influenced the language across Wales, thus redefining the horizon of literary expectations. "This Bible, which was such a magnificent piece of work as a translation, was to be the foundation for all Welsh prose written after that date" (Thomas 1983, 63).

3.1. Initial Reception

Upon the publication of the Morgan Bible in 1588, poets and prose authors of note were quick to praise it, acknowledging it as an unrivalled accomplishment (Williams 1997a, 217), realizing immediately the Welsh Bible's potential contribution to the language and religion of Wales

(*ibid.*, 230). "Nothing prompted fountains of ecstatic poetic greeting on anything like the same scale as Morgan's Bible" (*ibid.*, 221). The Welsh Bible met the needs of sixteenth-century Welsh humanists, supporting their belief that the Welsh language was suited to Reformation doctrine and Renaissance learning (Williams 1997b, 369). "The way in which a literary work, at the historical moment of its appearance, satisfies, surpasses, disappoints, or refutes the expectations of its first audience obviously provides a criterion for the determination of its aesthetic value" (Jauss 1982, 25). Jones states quite explicitly that "the translation of the Bible established the foundations of Protestantism in Wales" (1995, 159). Praises were sung by the bard Siôn Tudur, "one of many poets acclaiming the Welsh Bible with delight in 1588," and Ieuan Tew two years later (Williams 1976, 347). These men acknowledged Morgan's care for his faith and nation, and his skills as a scholar and translator (Williams 1988, 377). Parson-poet Thomas Jones of Monmouthshire exhorted his countrymen to sell their shirts in order to buy their own Bibles (Williams 1997a, 218). The writer Morris Kyffin heaped praise on Morgan's Bible, using expressions including "indispensable, masterly, godly, learned work" (quoted in *ibid.*). Still, the Bible was initially read only by the educated few, whose horizon of expectations corresponded with those of Morgan and Salesbury, as they would have been exposed to similar norms. Certainly, the translation appears to have adhered to Toury's concept of adequacy. As for acceptability, we will see in the following pages how the Welsh Bible met the needs of its target audience.

Still, the Welsh Bible exerted its influence slowly. Its use in church was significant from the outset, but not immediately ground-breaking in tangible terms. In the following centuries, the Welsh increasingly gained access to copies of the book itself, and clergymen became better equipped to preach in Welsh (Roberts 1997, 83). Writing nearly 200 years after the publication of the Welsh Bible, Thomas Llewelyn felt that "it was thought necessary to fix upon some state of the language for a proper foundation; and none seemed more fit for this purpose than the state of it in the Welsh bible" (1769, 3).

3.2. Codification and Standardization

As we have seen, Wales in the sixteenth century was far removed from centres of learning and printing. Despite the remoteness of the region, a number of Welshmen took on the task of translating the Bible into Welsh, as the language was threatening to disintegrate into disparate

dialects, and the English language was gaining traction. There is evidence that, along with being the main means of expression of the vast majority of the population, the Welsh language was a suitable vehicle for literary endeavours even in the fifteenth century, but English was taking over from Latin as the language of official records (Smith 1997, 41-2).[54] Several scholars argue that the Welsh language was by no means in danger of extinction, despite the fact that members of the upper echelons favoured English (Jenkins et al. 1997, 46), although one of them contradicts himself in saying that he believes the Welsh language would have disappeared if not for the publication of the Bible (Jenkins 1997, 8). Salesbury and others had feared an impending linguistic crisis, but the production of the Welsh Bible prevented this from happening (Roberts 1997, 152). This is a striking example of how indigenous languages have been bolstered as a result of efforts by churches having to provide access to the Bible in the vernacular (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 11).

All but one of the men involved in the translation hailed from North Wales, the centre of the bardic tradition (Thomas 1988, 1). While the translators were conscious of the need to cater to all Welshmen in their translational choices, it is likely that their use of vocabulary and idioms veered north. Even in the case of unconscious bias, the favouring of any vernacular as a norm benefits the group which speaks that variety (Haugen 1972, 109). Through their work, the Welsh Bible translators developed a new standard, roughly following the principles set out by Haugen centuries later:

> For related dialects one can apply principles of linguistic reconstruction to make a hypothetical mother tongue for them all. Or one can be guided by some actual or supposed mother tongue, which exists in older, traditional writings. Or one can combine those forms that have the widest usage, in the hope that they will most easily win general acceptance. (1972, 109)

By seeking to combine the breadth of Welsh dialects in use at the time, as well as the best of the bardic tradition, the translators were establishing a new standard for all Welsh people, paving the way for the emergence of a standardized vernacular language. We reiterate that the Welsh Bible did not exert the full extent of its influence overnight, but instead slowly permeated the language and culture of Wales over the following centuries. Unwritten languages inevitably evolve

[54] Williams tempers this by asserting that had Welsh continued its decline into diverging patois, it would no longer have been a suitable literary medium (Williams 1997a, 232).

relentlessly (Haugen 1972, 105), and, by codifying the Welsh language in the Bible, the translators ensured that a solid model was established.

Smith contends that what Welsh writing there was before the appearance of the Bible "had achieved a remarkable degree of orthographic and morphological uniformity at an early period," and tended towards a Northern standard, but that spoken dialects remained quite varied (1997, 22). Still, Smith notes a decline in written Welsh in the fifteenth century (*ibid.*). In any case, the average Welshman would not have had access to these written standards. We must insist on the importance of one same Bible being heard throughout the country on a weekly basis; finally, all speakers of the language had a single model to which they could adhere. New works are assessed vis-à-vis the works with which the audience is already familiar, along with their everyday experience (Jauss 1982, 41). The everyday experience of the Welsh now included the same language.

Currie's study of word order in the sixteenth century Welsh Bible translations shows how both Salesbury and Morgan used different word orders for prose and poetry (2016, 157). Currie believes that linguistic interference from Hebrew motivated the use of absolute-initial verb order in the poetic books of the Bible (*ibid.*).[55] He further suggests that the increased use of absolute-initial verb order in the poetic books stems from a will to reproduce the poetic effect in a Welsh prose translation and to show the correspondence with the Hebrew poetry (*ibid.*, 163). At the same time, Currie argues that the main influence of the later Welsh poetic tradition, which is generally agreed by scholars to have been the model for the Welsh Bible, was that Salesbury, and Morgan even more so, employed absolute-initial verb order in poetic books, likely due to this word order being characteristic of Welsh poetry of the time (*ibid.*, 162). It is quite possible that the Book of Psalms, sung during every church service, heavily influenced early modern Welsh prose writers (*ibid.*, 161). In brief, while the word order employed in the Welsh Bible was not entirely typical of sixteenth century Welsh dialects, it would go on to become standard in the common vernacular (*ibid.*, 165).

Scholars are quick to praise the Morgan Bible's impact on the Welsh language, but we have noticed that few offer specific details concerning that impact; most rely instead on superlatives and generalizations. Williams provides some clarification, stating specifically that

[55] Currie refers to prototypical verb-initial construction as absolute-initial verb order, i.e. "where a finite verb occurs in absolute-initial position in a positive declarative main clause" (2016, 153). For examples of such construction, see Currie 2016.

the Bible translators took great care to preserve bardic vocabulary, idioms and standards (1971, 6). Dodd echoes these thoughts, yet differs in opinion as to the influence of the bards: “It set up a standard of Welsh prose writing which, unlike the classical bardic poetry, was intelligible to the masses, and so saved the language from degenerating into a rustic *patois*” (1972, 68). The Bible translators sought to take the best of the bardic tradition, setting aside those aspects which may have rendered the poetry unintelligible to the average Welshman. Jones contends that the symbolism of the Bible introduced a new terminology and a whole new dimension into the everyday life of the common people (Jones 1969, 55).

It is evident that Morgan’s use of the Welsh language gave the Welsh people reason to be proud of their language, by showing them how beautiful it could be. The Welsh now had a form of their language which could inspire them and to which they could aspire. The use of the Morgan Bible in church, where it was read aloud by the clergy, no doubt further contributed to the sense of prestige, as Welsh was now associated with the Word of God. The association of Bible translation with an institution central to cultural and religious life legitimized the use of the Welsh language, and enhanced its status, along with initiating a shift towards the centre of the literary polysystem.[56] Beyond prestige, studies have shown that languages that fulfil essential societal functions survive, regardless of governmental intervention (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997, 13). Indeed, standard language tends to be considered more beautiful and better-suited to literary expression than non-standard dialects; it is also often thought to be more functional as a lingua franca (Armstrong and Mackenzie 2012, 10). The religious nature contributed to the prestige of the translation, and brought it to the forefront of the literary polysystem, but the perceived quality of the text may in turn have further contributed to this prestige. Roberts notes that the religious sphere impacted Welsh people’s lives more than those other prestigious realms of administration and politics, and that the language would not have survived without use in such a high-status domain (1997, 82). Expanding on Bourdieu’s notions of *linguistic habitus* and the *linguistic marketplace*, Spolsky discusses how the *habitus* “generates both practice and attitudes, and is derived from the social background of the individual, leading to similarities in people from the same social class” (2004, 186). The *habitus* governs one’s language behaviour along with value

[56] This is not unlike what Alfred the Great’s translations did for the English language. After learning Latin fairly late in life in order to translate, King Alfred translated or commissioned the translation of a number of significant texts, of a religious, philosophical and historical nature. In doing so, Alfred bolstered the status of the English language vis-a-vis Latin. (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 24).

judgements concerning language. The economic, cultural, and social capital of the language one speaks are combined to form symbolic capital (*ibid.*). The status of the Welsh language increased when it became the language of religion, because of the symbolic capital this represented, and thus was more likely to be adopted by the masses. In nation states, "the most common and influential value is national identity, but equally critical can also be ethnic or religious or sectoral identity" (*ibid.*, 187). With the institution of standard language heard in Church by people of all classes, Welsh was inching towards standardization, and gaining prestige.

If the Morgan Bible is considered to have saved the language, this is in large part because it is seen by the historians whose work we have consulted as an example of Welsh at its best. "It is difficult to over-emphasize the importance of this development [i.e., the publication of the 1588 Bible]. By providing the standard for literary language, the Bible helped establish Welsh as a language of learning and of the printed word" (White 2013, 118). Four hundred years after the publication of the Morgan Bible, Williams highlights three qualities of Morgan's work:

> First, Morgan's impeccable scholarship in handling the original languages and texts of the Old and New Testaments, and his concern to make use of the most recent editions . . . . Second, he was able to eliminate archaisms, pedantries and oddities which tended to spoil Salesbury's translations and to replace them with splendidly consistent and intelligible presentation of the Welsh language. Third, his use of Welsh showed all the hallmarks of a great writer as well as a fine scholar. (1988, 377)

Baumgarten and Gruber concur that Morgan's translation, with its debt to the rich bardic tradition, greatly aided in the establishment of a standardized Welsh language, from which the modern vernacular emerged (Baumgarten and Gruber 2014, 30). Despite his criticism of Salesbury's translation choices, Williams later writes that the first Welsh Bible translator was "a close and accurate translator, and a master of his own language" (1997b, 243).

Despite all the praise for the Morgan Bible from his colleagues, Fowkes (1993) is rather critical of Morgan's efforts to streamline the Welsh language. He instead praises Salesbury's and Davies's initial translation effort, and condemns Morgan's methods, stating that he used a combination of archaic Welsh based on ancient bardic literature and contemporary colloquial Welsh unfit for such a project. In contrast, Williams, quoted above, describes Salesbury's word choices as archaic, and Thomas mentions "the peculiarities of Salesbury's language and orthography which made the reading of the version in the church services extremely difficult for

clergymen who were, anyway, unaccustomed to the reading of the lessons in Welsh" (1988, 39), and who had undergone their religious education in English.[57]

Fowkes concedes, however, that the Morgan Bible did have the effect of standardizing the Welsh spoken in Church (1993). We must emphasize that in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the vast majority of Welsh people heard the Bible in church, rather than reading it themselves (White 2013, 119), and as such their use of the language was likely to be heavily influenced by that of the clergy, particularly considering that religion was the one sphere of public life in which the use of Welsh was sanctioned. The Welsh developed a tradition of enthralling sermons (Jenkins 1997, 4). "The impact lay in having the Bible read at church services in the language of the people" (Jones 1984, 115). Jenkins asserts that Welshmen delighted in hearing the Scriptures in their own language for the first time (1997, 8); although there is no tangible evidence of this, it is a reasonable assumption. Given this, one might surmise that the Morgan Bible was considered beautiful in part because it flowed nicely off the tongues of Welsh clergymen, i.e., that it was written in language which *sounded* pleasant. This would account for the high praise of Morgan's work from many scholars, despite Fowkes's criticism of his methods. Scholars of Welsh seem to agree that Morgan based his use of language on the bardic tradition, considering the bards to have employed the best forms of the language up to that point, but Fowkes differs from the majority as to whether or not that was a success. Nonetheless, even if, as Fowkes writes, Morgan chose archaic and colloquial turns of phrase for his Bible, the overwhelming consensus is that it was a resounding success, a tour de force of the Welsh language, perhaps not from the point of view of the field of linguistics, but certainly based on reception. In fact, the success of the Morgan Bible lay to a great degree in its poetry, its beauty when recited, and not in its strictly linguistic choices or syntactic structures. Furthermore, Fowkes is very much in a minority in praising Salesbury's work over that of Morgan, and the criticism of Salesbury's scholarly judgement and the resulting prose from other scholars is quite scathing. Purely linguistic attributes aside, it is clear that his writing was less pleasant to read, and in fact downright difficult to understand.

This raises the following question: to what extent does the linguistic significance of the Welsh Bible derive from the beauty of the language, and to what extent was it simply the novelty

[57] The Reformation would encourage members of the clergy to prize the Welsh language, as the spiritual health of their charges was now at stake. They became the sole educated segment of the population to have a vested interest in using and maintaining the Welsh language (Williams 1997a, 229-30).

of having a text, a reference, in the Welsh people's own language, which led to the Bible being praised and mythologized as the saviour of the Welsh tongue? We cannot seek to answer that question within the scope of this analysis, but our research supports two aspects that may provide a partial answer. The impact of the Welsh Bible on the Welsh language stems from the translation having met Toury's standards of acceptability, i.e., meeting the needs of the target audience, and, further, from the fact that it was allowed at all. Indeed, Queen Elizabeth I's political gamble, and the importance of the Church as a sanctioned venue for the use of the language, must not be overlooked.

We would argue that the Morgan Bible did indeed enrich the language, and positioned itself to become the standard. Although it may not be solely responsible for generating the vernacular which would develop into modern Welsh, it certainly served as the foundation. We would thus liken the Morgan Bible to the seminal English version, the 1611 King James Bible, which is widely considered to have had a profound effect on the English language, greatly enriching it (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, 30; Meschonnic 2011, 163). We are not alone in noting the further similarity to Luther's German Bible, which served as the basis for future literary expression in German (Williams 1997a, 232). Furthermore, according to White, modern standardized Welsh is not all that different from the language of the 1588 Bible (2007, 133). Support for this can be found in Hughes's analysis, in English, of the language used in the Morgan Bible (1891). Today, there is a significant difference between colloquial Welsh and written Welsh. Written Welsh is still based on the forms found in the Morgan Bible (Davies 2014, 184-5) and is taught in school, whereas spoken Welsh remains dialectal, although the various dialects are mutually intelligible (*ibid.*, 185).

There is little doubt that the Morgan Bible was instrumental in helping to achieve uniformity of language. As the sole book available in Wales, and then one of few, it had the advantage of being circulated throughout both North and South Wales. Again, its use in church further meant that, even though very few people could afford to buy a Bible of their own, all were exposed to its contents on a regular basis, as church attendance was required. Despite Haugen's assertion that codification can occur only when speakers of a language agree upon a model from which to derive a norm (1972, 109), this is a case where a norm was provided, and codification proceeded organically. Deep knowledge of Welsh and access to historical archives would be required in order to assess this aspect of the Morgan Bible's legacy properly. Nonetheless,

regardless of the exact scope of its influence on the language, at a time when the Welsh language was in danger of fragmenting into a variety of dialects, and with the bardic order in decline (Williams 1997a, 232), the Morgan Bible certainly appears to have brought about a degree of unity, by providing a model of Welsh deemed worthy of pride, which was heard in parishes throughout the land. Clerics would assume the social position formerly occupied by the bards (*ibid.*, 230). Thomas asserts that "it is probable the language would not have survived but for the translation of the Bible into Welsh in 1588, providing both a symbol of prestige and a model for standard written and public oratorical usage which persisted until the second half of the present [20th] century" (1992, 253). [58]

While it can hardly be said that the Morgan Bible magically changed the language and united disparate dialects, the consensus among scholars is that it provided a high-status standard to which to aspire, and set the course for the development of modern Welsh literary culture. There is, of course, no record of the Welsh population's actual speech patterns in the sixteenth century, and historians' knowledge of the spoken language is tied to written records (Jenkins et al. 1997, 98). While we have no way of knowing the Bible's precise degree of influence on the language, a number of scholars go so far as to argue that the Bible is solely responsible for the survival of the Welsh language (Jones 1969, 54). Even those who disagree with Morgan's stylistic choices acknowledge that the Morgan Bible, and in particular its use in church, resulted in the uniformization of the language at a time when Welsh had lost any cohesion. The fact that Welsh became the language of religion "ensured [the language's] survival as a literary language; for the Bible became the standard and safeguard for all future Welsh literary expression" (Williams 1971, 6).

Did the Bible itself save the language? We believe the Morgan Bible was a crucial tool in propagating the new standard. The presence of the Welsh Bible alone would have had little effect but for Elizabeth's authorization to preach in Welsh. Conversely, preaching in Welsh without a definitive version of the Bible would have been quite a challenge, and would not have allowed for the language to disperse uniformly. It was not until later, when Welsh speech began to be influenced by Biblical structure and cadences, that one could speak of standardization, which

[58] The post-bardic tradition of poets faded in the seventeenth century. Friend believes this may have stemmed from the impact of the printing press on the oral tradition, along with a decline in economic support for poets. Still, most of the gentry continued to speak Welsh and maintained pride in the language and traditions (2012, 53). Jenkins adds that the standard of bardic poetry declined until about 1660, at which point it can be deemed to have disappeared (1997, 11).

depends on the combined efforts of teachers, printers and other interested parties (Spolsky 2004, 81). We will see in the following sections how this was the case in Wales.

3.3. Conversion and Dissent

Until the Reformation and the publication of the Welsh Bible, the Welsh had considered Catholicism as their religion. The Bible—and in particular the *Epistles to the Welsh*—established a new conception of Welsh identity, which underscored the links between the language and the Protestant faith. Within the next hundred years or so, the Welsh viewed Protestantism as an inherently Welsh religion and an essential part of their identity (White 2013, 117). Richard Davies argued that the Welsh had maintained their Christianity in the face of persecution, heresy and the perverted papal brand of Christianity brought to England from Rome by Augustine of Canterbury (Williams 1997b, 245), supporting this by fitting the Protestant Reformation into the alternative history of Geoffrey of Monmouth (*ibid.*).[59] By "blending Welshness, Britishness and the primitive Church as a rediscovery of a lost Welsh faith" (Bowen 2014, 135), Davies convinced many of his fellow Welshmen that only with this return to the uncorrupted old religion could the Welsh be "led back to the realm of truth and light by virtue of the gospel once again becoming as freely available in their midst in their own language as it had originally been in the early centuries of their history" (Williams 1997b, 245). The guiding theme in this reinterpretation of the myth of Brutus and the Ancient Britons was the place of the Welsh as God's chosen people, and the importance of their continued faith, along with a projected path for a return to their former glory (Bowen 2014, 149). Davies's preface appealed to his compatriots in several ways. First, it did away with any notion that the Reformation was a new-fangled movement, planting it instead in Welsh history and myth, evoking "the earliest and most glorious phase of Christianity in Britain" (Williams 1997b, 245).[60] This also served to limit the

[59] Geoffrey of Monmouth was a Benedictine monk, who became Bishop of St. Asaph. He is best known for his *Historia Regum Britanniae*, composed around 1136, which purports to be an account of all the kings of Britain, starting with its founder Brutus, great-grandson of Aeneas of Troy and Rome, and centring on the life of King Arthur. The work was deemed historically accurate by most of Geoffrey's contemporaries and successors, and had a huge influence on the emergence of the Arthurian legend throughout Europe. Despite this, many of the stories he recounted have no apparent source other than his own imagination (Simpson and Roud 2013, n.p.).

[60] This echoes the slightly earleir writings of the Lollard John Foxe, whose *Book of Martyrs* manifested the conviction that the Church of Rome had deviated from the "true" church (King 2009, xx). "Not only did it encourage the development in England of a sharply defined Protestant identity, it strongly influenced the nationalistic association between Roman Catholicism and foreign political dominion," and is considered a key text in the formation of an English national consciousness in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (*ibid*., xi).

notion that the English were imposing their religion on the Welsh. Davies claimed that the preservation of the Welsh people and their tongue had all been part of God's plan, which culminated in the Reformation and the translation of the Bible into Welsh—fulfilling the divine destiny of the Welsh people. Indeed, he argued, as early converts to Christianity, the Welsh had been favoured by God; after their religion had been desecrated by the English, the Welsh Bible now offered them an opportunity for redemption (Currie 2016, 154). These claims and references to the history of the Welsh people stoked patriotic fires (Bowen 2014, 135-6). Jauss states that:

> The relationship between literature and audience includes more than the facts that every work has its own specific, historically and sociologically determinable audience, that every writer is dependent on the milieu, views, and ideology of his audience, and that literary success presupposes a book which expresses what the group expects, a book which presents the group with its own image. (Jauss 1982, 26)

By currying favour with the Welsh people, by reminding them that they were part of God's great plan and presenting them with a glorious image of themselves, and by re-appropriating the Bible as distinctly Welsh, Davies and Salesbury were able to encourage Welshmen to espouse the Reformed faith. "Davies's reinterpretation of British history was to be reprinted a number of times and was to exercise a decisive influence on the outlook of Welsh intellectuals, giving them a new confidence in themselves, their language, and their religious future" (Williams 1997b, 246), even as the Morgan Bible and its 1620 revision superseded Salesbury's work. "The horizon of expectations of literature . . . not only preserves actual experiences, but also anticipates unrealized possibility, broadens the limited space of social behaviour for new desires, claims, and goals, and thereby opens paths of future experience" (Jauss 1982, 41). The Welsh now had a new vision of themselves, one which enabled the Reformation to take hold in Wales. The influence of the tradition started by Geoffrey of Monmouth and perpetuated by the first Bible translator carried on into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, becoming woven into the romantic tradition (Bowen 2014, 149). Indeed, while the 1588 Bible was supplanted by the 1620 revision, the Epistle remained popular and became the received version of Welsh Church history; there is no doubt that it contributed to the positive reception of the Welsh Bible (Currie 2016, 154).

The benefits of evoking the Myth of the Ancient Britons were twofold. First, it ensured that the Welsh aligned themselves with the Reformation (White 2013, 117). Second, given the major stakes involved in the establishment of the Reformed religion, it was essential that faith in

the old religion be quashed, because "religion rather than language was now generally acknowledged to be the principal divisive factor in society" (Roberts 1997, 148-9). This last statement reinforces our view that Elizabeth I's decision to favour unity of religion over unity of language was based on sound political strategy, predicated on the information available to her at the time.

English Protestantism also drew on imagery of a lost faith restored, but the combination of a vernacular Bible translation and the Reformation view of history had a far greater impact on Welsh culture and nationalism than it did for the English (Roberts 1972, 69). Welsh Catholics and certain sects of Protestants would also attempt to co-opt early Welsh Church history to legitimize their views, with less success than Anglicans (Bowen 2014, 135-6).

Currie examines the possibility of a link between the ideological re-appropriation of the Bible by the Welsh, and the translators' use of stylistic elements from earlier Welsh literature, comparing re-appropriation to domestication, but cautioning that we do not know Salesbury's motivations in espousing such an approach (2016, 164). He adds that a domesticating approach does not guarantee a positive reception—indeed, Salesbury's translation was not as well received as Morgan's, which Currie argues featured more foreignizing elements (*ibid.*).[61]

The existence of a Welsh Bible and, perhaps more importantly, the permission to use Welsh allowed preachers to conduct sermons in their parishioners' native tongue without fear of reprisal. It also finally exposed the Welsh people to the scriptures in a language they understood, thus allowing the spread of the Protestant faith throughout Wales, which was Queen Elizabeth I's political goal—one cannot conceive that she would have allowed the translation of the Bible into Welsh if she had not thought she could achieve religious unity through this.[62] The 1563 Act guaranteed that the Welsh language would be used in public worship throughout Wales, providing the language with a status and paving the way for the acceptance of Anglicanism in Wales (White 2013, 118). This meant that the language continued to play a part in the daily lives of the Welsh.

Beyond its significant effect on the language and literature of Wales, the Welsh Bible "provided Welsh Protestants with the essential basis for their mission" (Jones 1984, 115). At last, these humanists had access to the Scriptures in Welsh, and could share the Word with their

[61] This claim should not be accepted at face value, as Salesbury's Latinization of the text constitutes foreignization. That question is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis.

[62] Before 1600, the Anglican Church, and its rituals and doctrines were in flux (Olson 2014, 98).

countrymen in their own mother tongue. Yet, at the time of the Bible's publication, there was a lack of Welsh-speaking clergymen; in many parts of Wales, it would be a while before the Welsh Bible came into regular use (Olson 2014, 98). Training for clergy had only just begun to emphasize preaching, and the Church did not have the means to offer more comfortable livings to better-educated clergymen (Williams 1997a, 226). Still, Protestant catechisms were a popular form of Welsh prose in the years following the publication of the Bible (Williams 1997a, 219).

Had Elizabeth I's government not ordered and authorized the translation of the Bible into Welsh, following the Reformation, the language of worship in Wales would have been English; one need only look at the case of Cornwall, Cornish now being extinct, to imagine what might have happened to Welsh under such circumstances (Currie 2016, 154). In succeeding Latin as the language of worship, the Welsh language reinforced its cultural position (*ibid*.). Prior to the Reformation, the Bible had been linguistically foreign to the Welsh, but they may have been aware of its contents to some degree, given the prevalence of Christianity in Wales (*ibid.*). Language planning occurs through more than mere political declarations; management of the language ecology is also required, through cultural, educational, demographic, and social structures (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 13). When Welsh became the language of the Church, it took its place in an important social sphere.

The progress of the Reformation was significantly slower than many had expected (Roberts 1997, 83), but, in Wales, the Reformation was considered a success by the time of Elizabeth's death in 1603 (Olson 2014, 92). The process of conversion was slow and arduous, but the majority of the population did convert, with some laypeople espousing strong Protestant beliefs during Elizabeth's reign (*ibid.*, 107). Of course, a cornerstone of the Protestant faith was the need for material in the vernacular language.

In the following centuries, Wales was to become known for its Non-Conformist, or Dissenting, churches, which diverged from the Church of England's standard form of Protestantism, but for which the careful study of the Bible was also an intrinsic part of worship (Jones 1989, 115).[63] Whereas the English brand of Protestantism did not have the long-term success in Wales that Elizabeth had hoped for, due to the progression towards Non-Conformism,

[63] Dissenting and Non-Conformist are synonymous, with the former pertaining to doctrine, and the latter referring to ritual (Schlicke 2011, n.p.). These sects tended towards the evangelical (*ibid.*), i.e. they were "concerned with religious revival through an emphasis on the Bible, preaching, personal conversion, and salvation through faith in Jesus Christ" (Scott 2015, n.p.).

the Welsh language and the Morgan Bible continued to be used by those other churches. Religion and language would soon become tightly woven into the Welsh identity. "The Bible, the Welsh language, print culture, and Dissent seemed to be bound together" (White 2013, 132). Thus, inadvertently, and ironically, Elizabeth's enthusiastic imposition of her religion contributed to saving the language the English had previously been stamping out, without enshrining Anglicanism in the long term.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the majority of the population was Non-Conformist (Williams 1979, 104; Jenkins 1992, 190). Liberal Dissenters sought the reform of Anglican Church government (Schlicke 2011, n.p.), but also worked to change local government and society (Jenkins 1988, 17).[64] Dissenting sects included Unitarians, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists (Schlicke 2011, n.p.), all of which became popular in Wales.[65] Methodism eclipsed the other Dissenting factions in importance: by the 1850s, Methodists represented approximately 35% of Dissenters (Jenkins 1992, 192).

Thorough knowledge of the Bible was deemed essential by all the Welsh Protestant groups, both Anglican and Dissenting. A practice of close intellectual study of the Bible and an emphasis on education emerged from the Dissenting tradition, with a view to enabling people to understand Biblical principles (White 2013, 120). Part of the success of Dissenting factions lay in their use of language, literacy and the press, "at the heart of which was the Bible" (White 2013, 116), and this also explains why these religious movements did not take hold the same way in England. The threat of defection to Dissenting congregations may have played some role in encouraging the Anglican Church in Wales to continue providing Welsh services even in border areas where English was beginning to creep in; Dissenting chapels and Methodist societies were generally more welcoming to speakers of Welsh, and were more concerned with the spiritual needs of the masses (Jenkins 1997, 9). By the time Non-Conformism really took hold, "three or four generations of Welsh prose authors, building on the foundation laid by the Welsh Bible, had shaped a new, pliant, and virile prose, which conveyed to those of their countrymen who could

[64] Non-conformism played an important role in fashioning the political agenda in Wales (Jenkins 1992, 209). Political divisions coincided with attitudes towards religious factions, as a result of "the complex and closely intertwined relationship between religion, social structure and history" (Jenkins 1988, 13). See the contributions of Jenkins and Williams to Herbert and Jones 1988a for examinations of the link between religion and politics in eighteenth-century Wales, and the evolving religious denominations and their links to political action, respectively.

[65] In 1810, there existed nearly 830 Anglican churches in Wales, 430 non-conformist chapels, and 525 Methodist institutions still nominally tied to the Anglican Church. By 1832, there were 1420 Dissenting chapels, including those affiliated with Methodism (Jenkins 1992, 203). Methodism was originally solidly aligned with the established Church, from which it slowly separated; it would later become closely associated with Dissent (*ibid*., 157).

read the core truths of the Reformation" (*ibid.*). The links between religion, language, literature, and national identity in Wales were strengthening (Williams 1997a, 232-3).

It is noteworthy that the many diverging religious sects all used the Morgan Bible—specific denominations did not produce distinct versions. This points towards the work's universal acceptance as the Word of God in Welsh, which is highly significant.

3.4. Early Educational Efforts: A Country of One Book

When movements for popular education, buoyed by the desire to spread knowledge of the Bible, sprang up in the eighteenth century, the Welsh Bible was used to promote literacy, and in view of the dearth of secular books, Wales became known as "'a nation of one book', and that book was the Bible of William Morgan" (Morgan 2015, n.p.). In the eighteenth century, Welsh was renewed as a language of scholarship, and institutions were founded "which enabled not only men of letters but also the articulate populace to defend the language against the scorn and hostility of the English" (Jenkins 1997, 4). As a "religion of a book," Protestantism was geared towards literate individuals, with an emphasis on reading the Bible oneself; only when literacy flourished could the Protestant faith truly come of age (Williams 1997a, 229).

The first charity schools in Wales, established between 1650 and 1740, were funded by English philanthropists, who felt the best way to overcome ignorance and illiteracy was to foster political and religious union by favouring the English language. They were not very successful (Jenkins 1997, 10).

The early 1700s saw a push for literacy among Welshmen, in the language of the people. The Welsh Trust and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), both of which aimed to promote religious education and publishing, each produced Welsh-language material, including more affordable editions of the Bible, some of which were given to the poor free of charge (White 2013, 118). Between 1718 and 1752, the SPCK printed more than 50,000 copies of the Welsh Bible, many of which would be used in the circulating schools of the mid-eighteenth century (*ibid*., 9).

Initiated in 1731 by Griffith Jones, an energetic preacher from Carmarthenshire, South Wales, the circulating schools relied on the reasonably priced Bibles distributed by the SPCK, as well as inexpensive venues such as church halls (White 2007, 63). Jones was "not only an inspired and inspiring preacher, but an organiser to boot" (R.M. Jones 1969, 63), and one who

perceived English as a threat to both the Welsh language and the Protestant religion (Jenkins 1997, 10).[66] The circulating schools functioned as follows: Jones and his fellow teachers travelled to communities across the country, selecting capable leaders whom they spent three months teaching to read the Welsh Bible, before heading off to the next stop; those leaders in turn instructed their community, and fostered further desire for Welsh-language education (Friend 2012, 54; White 2007, 63). These temporary schools, which taught literacy and piety, but little else, were open to adults and children (Friend 2012, 54). Approximately 3,500 such schools were established, all of which used the Bible as their textbook (R.M. Jones 1969, 64).[67] More than 200,000 learners of all ages had benefited from this instruction by the time of Jones's death in 1761, when the total population of Wales was around 450,000 (White 2013, 118-9). Writing only eight years later, Thomas Llewelyn stated that reading was becoming commonplace among the lower classes and that, since 1737, more than 250,000 people had been taught to read in circulating schools (1769, 2).[68] "In terms of safeguarding the Welsh language, this achievement was of incalculable significance" (Jenkins 1997, 10). Teaching people across the country to read from one same book was a significant step towards standardization of speech, more so even than ensuring consistency in the language used in church services. "To Jones more than any man the Welsh owed a massive break-through to literacy. It did more than anything else to preserve and fortify the Welsh language and literature, of which the Bible was the cornerstone" (Williams 1979, 215).

Following the death of Griffith Jones's successor, Bridget Bevan, in 1779, the circulating schools were brought to a halt, and succeeded by Sunday schools, which afforded one of the few educational opportunities in Wales until formal education was instituted (White 2013, 115). Thomas Charles, one of the principal leaders of the Calvinistic Methodists, and a key player in the Methodist Revival in Wales, was responsible for initiating these schools (White 2013, 115;

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[66] Jones was gravely concerned by the state of his fellow Welshmen's souls. There had recently been a typhoid epidemic, and he worried that many people were dying unsaved (White 2007, 63-4).

[67] Note that Jones was from South Wales, but was quite happy to use the Morgan Bible, which was predominantly based on North Welsh.

[68] Llewelyn (no known relation to the author of this thesis) was a Baptist minister and fervent advocate for the supply of Welsh Bibles to the poor. He published two works on the Welsh Bible: *Historical Account of the British or Welsh Versions and Editions of the Bible*, and *Historical and Critical Remarks on the British Tongue*, which convinced the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to print 8,000 more copies of the 1769 Welsh Bible than originally planned. Llewelyn joined the Book Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge Among the Poor, and played a pivotal role in launching the Welsh Baptist Mission to North Wales in 1776 (Owens and Roberts 1959, n.p.). The latter of Llewelyn's two books examines the state of the Welsh language as it appears in the Bible, including an analysis of the influence of the original languages on the Welsh translation (Thomas 1769, 4).

Jenkins 1997, 10; Williams 1979, 215), which involved the learning and recitation of Bible verses.[69] Those who attended Sunday schools may well have been propelled by a "dual motivation, combining piety with yearning for self-improvement through the acquisition of literacy and knowledge" (White 2013, 132). The Sunday schools enabled Wales to become a truly literate nation without a formal education system; alas, when formal education was instituted in the nineteenth century, this was to be entirely in English (Morgan 2003, 21).

In the nineteenth century, Dissenting churches set syllabi and required children to sit examinations; those who performed the best were rewarded with certificates and prizes (White 2007, 124-5). Chapels held *eisteddfodau*, with competitions involving recitations of the Scriptures—something that persists to this day—along with hymns which frequently referred to the Welsh Bible (*ibid.*, 125).[70] The larger denominations each published their own hymn books, as well (*ibid.*, 126). Even once people became literate, the bulk of the reading material available to them was of a religious nature (Williams 1971, 8).

The success of the circulating schools and Sunday schools may be attributed in some measure to the fact that the Welsh population was already familiar with the contents of the Bible, through having heard it in Church their whole lives. Prior exposure to the text may have facilitated the process of achieving literacy. While cheaper printing was an important development, oral transmission remained highly significant, as people still heard sermons preached out loud, and only read on their own later (Jenkins et al. 1997, 93). The repercussions of allowing the use of Welsh and the Welsh Bible in religious life continued to be felt for centuries. "It would be rash to assume that scriptural language permeated the daily speech of common people before the coming of the Sunday schools at the end of the eighteenth century" (*ibid.*, 100), but we would suggest that long-time exposure to the Morgan Bible played a significant role in enabling this as the population acquired literacy. By the turn of the nineteenth century, Welsh was the only means of communication for the majority of the population, and "also the most tangible and significant badge of national identity. In many ways, the language was stronger in 1800 than it had been in 1500" (Smith 1997, 22).

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[69] Williams believes the inroads made by the Methodist Revival to have been a result of increased literacy (1971, 8). Revival refers here to movements centred on intense religious excitement (Scott and Marshall 2015, n.p.).

[70] *Eisteddfodau* are festivals which celebrate the culture and language of Wales, and involve bardic competitions. In modern times, the National Eisteddfod takes place every August, and attracts over 6,000 people each year. "The history of the Eisteddfod in Wales can be traced back to 1176, with the modern history of the organisation dating back to 1861" (Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru n.d., n.p.).

Wales was quite atypical in having a literate majority before the Industrial Revolution. By 1800, as many as seven out of ten people still spoke only Welsh, and the language was spoken by upwards of half a million people (Jenkins et al. 1997, 48). Dialects and non-standard variations of Welsh were still much in use, and English again exerted some influence from 1660 onwards, but "the general impression is that the language of the articulate populace continued to be exceptionally correct, robust and colourful" (Jenkins 1997, 4). By this point, "the native tongue was the most distinctive and widely recognized badge of the collective identity of the Welsh people and one of the few unifying factors within Wales. Language was a central element which set the Welsh apart from the English" (Jenkins et al. 1997, 46).

3.5. Literature in Wales

Notwithstanding the increasing publication of religious works in Welsh, the Welsh Bible did not truly reach the greater population for nearly 200 years, but the prose appearing subsequent to its publication set the tone for the tradition of modern Welsh writing, even as the common people remained unaware of this (R.M. Jones 1969, 52-3).[71] Only later would it permeate the national consciousness, and the experience of having been exposed to the sounds of the Bible in church no doubt played a significant role in this. "The standard literary language of the Welsh Bible of 1588 and 1620 became a lantern to light the way for prose writers in the centuries which followed" (Jenkins 1997, 12). In the eighteenth century, Protestant theologians viewed the Bible as the revealed word of God, and turned to studying it vigorously. "At last, the Welsh translation came into its own" (*ibid.*, 68). By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Wales had become "the Land of the Book" (*ibid.*, 53). The Welsh were more aware of the geography of Israel than of their own.

> People were going to be obsessed by the presence of this book: it was to become the centre of existence, the subject of nearly every conversation, the guide-line to every day's task, the linguistic instructor. The translation of the Bible was going to become in the history of Welsh literature a force that the Bible hardly mustered in the history of any other European literature. It left its mark indelibly on almost everything

[71] Jenkins voices concern that, in prioritizing the spiritual needs of their countrymen, Welsh Protestant humanists overlooked the other subjects at the heart of Renaissance philosophy (1997, 11). Indeed, between 1588 and 1660, approximately seven out of eight religious prose works in Wales were translations into Welsh, with a view to enhancing spiritual welfare rather than supporting their own literary reputation (quoted in Williams 1997a, 220). Williams even writes that "if from the fields of Welsh education, literature, and book-publishing, the names of clergy and ministers were removed, little of substance would be left" (*ibid.*, 230).

> written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as if it had become a living power, shaping men's minds in such a way, that it (itself) began to write books in its own style and from its own standpoint. (*ibid.*, 53-4)

Eighteenth-century scholars expressed similar views, showing that there was already an awareness of the significance of the Welsh Bible's influence on the language and literature of the time:

> The bible is the common book of christians: it appears in the language of every Protestant country: in Wales especially it is a principal book, the most known and the most read of any: and it has the best claim to be reckoned the standard for the language. To this, other publications being mostly of a later date accommodate themselves; and hence their stile derives its manner and coloring. (Llewelyn 1769, 3)

By then, the difficulty in meeting the demand for Bibles was easing (*ibid.*, 3-4), thanks to efforts to make books—and the Bible in particular—more accessible (Williams 1971, 7). The fact that most of the Welsh bishops and higher clergy were now themselves Welsh speakers contributed to the understanding that the Welsh language and religion were intertwined (Williams 1997a, 230).

While the mass of the population in Ireland, Brittany and even England was largely illiterate in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this was hardly the case in Wales. Thanks to the circulating schools, a great proportion of the Welsh population "not only could read, but exercised daily this reading ability, first of all to read the Bible, and then a continuing flow of both religious and secular works" (R.M. Jones 1969, 54). In 1769, Llewelyn wrote that "the British tongue is a language daily spoke by thousands and by hundreds of thousands in the principality of Wales. It is a language in which a considerable number of books have been composed and published," adding that these books included both original compositions and translations (1769, 1-2). In the eighteenth century, in excess of 2,600 books were published in Welsh (Phillipson 2012, 204; Friend 2012, 54). "The centre that inspired this wealth of activity was the Bible itself, a book that had come out of the Reformation and the Renaissance, but had in Wales lain undiscovered to all intents and purposes for well over a century" (R.M. Jones 1969, 54). Some 170 Welsh editions of the Bible were published during the nineteenth century, still based on the Morgan Bible.[72]

[72] For thorough discussions of the many editions published, see Hughes 1891, Ballinger 1906, and White 2007.

The arrival of the printing press in Wales at the end of the eighteenth century allowed the publication and distribution of a growing number of books which "brought saving knowledge to pious and literate farmers and craftsmen but also encouraged them to respect their mother tongue as a language of learning, religion and popular culture" (Jenkins 1997, 12). A new iteration of the bardic order sprang up, and a noteworthy number of religious books were published, as the language become more and more closely tied to the expansion of evangelical and Dissenting religion (*ibid.*, 12-3). Welsh was becoming "an indispensable part of the cultural self-image of the Welsh people" (*ibid.*, 13). The Welsh language provided both spiritual nourishment and a literary model for writers, and the Welsh book trade was thriving (Smith 1997, 22). "It is not an exaggeration to say that the Welsh language had survived its first crisis of identity" (*ibid.*).

The fact that religion remained the only public sphere in which the use of the Welsh language was sanctioned accounts to a great extent for the close ties between religion and print culture, "since the major justification for the use of Welsh in the public sphere was the need to spread knowledge of Christian principles through the only language the majority of the population could understand" (White 2013, 130). Since church was the one venue in which the use of the language went unquestioned, religion necessarily became central to the literary polysystem. Jones claims that there was not a single agnostic or pagan writer from the sixth to the nineteenth century (Jones 1969, 99-100). Considering that attendance at church was essentially universal, this may not represent quite as ground-breaking a statement as he would like. Still, he is not incorrect in pointing out that "there is an unbroken chain of absolutely consistent Christian tradition for thirteen centuries" (*ibid.*).

The eighteenth century also brought about several waves of antiquarian scholarly activity, "all of them inextricably associated with the history and language and literature of Wales," inspired by the myth that the Celtic language was the original language of Europe and even the language communicated by God (Williams 1971, 9).[73] An obsession with the idea that Welsh poets were descended from Druids was also perpetuated, and this enthusiasm for antiquarian history brought about the foundation of Welsh societies in London, with the primary purpose of fostering social contact (*ibid.*).[74] Iolo Morganwg and, later, William Owen Pughe would continue

[73] Popular antiquarianism refers to the analysis of British culture and vernacular languages, and their oral and written traditions (McCalman et al. 2009, n.p.).

[74] Williams points out that Wales had no capital at the time, and that London was the centre for culture and wealth; "Welshmen are proverbial for their *hiraeth*, that nostalgia for home and kin that defies exact translation. In London

this London-based tradition of antiquarianism, adding to it romanticized patriotism, by publishing old Welsh poems, a grammar and dictionary, and "the monumental *Myvyrian Archaiology*, which was much the bulkiest collection, however uncritical and spurious in parts, of ancient and medieval Welsh verse and prose hitherto published" (*ibid.*, 10).[75] These men were skeptical of the rise of industry and Methodism in Wales, but in the following century, "their own patriotic urges were ultimately to infect and capture industrial and Nonconformist Wales" (*ibid.*).

Peter Williams, a farmer's son, was ordained in the Church, but devoted his time to the Methodist cause, and became a prolific author. "His literary career encapsulates the concerns of the age regarding the promotion of knowledge of the Bible" (White 2013, 121). He was responsible for the first printing of the Welsh Bible on Welsh soil, in 1770, "a major milestone in the history of Welsh religion and publishing" (*ibid*.). Up to that point, most Welsh books had been printed in London, where, owing to the language barrier, as we have seen, there was necessarily a greater likelihood of typographical errors in the final product. Williams's 1770 Bible was actually published as a commentary on the Welsh Bible, in order to avoid copyright issues, as the King's Printer appeared to retain the rights to the authorized Welsh Version. It "contained the entire text with notes in small print at the bottom of each chapter, in a way which did not break up the text and which allowed the reader to treat the book as if it were simply an ordinary edition of the Bible" (*ibid*., 12). Williams, like all translators who provided notes and prologues, believed the commentary to be extremely important, as he felt the readers needed to be guided in their understanding of the Bible. In any case, the consensus "among Welsh religious and literary leaders" was that the 1770 edition was "admirable" (*ibid*.), and the nineteenth century saw it run to thirty-five editions, most of which also contained commentary.

In the late eighteenth century, thanks to the Methodist Revival, hymn singing took on increased importance, persisting for many years. One of the key figures in this movement was William Williams of Pantycelyn, who became something of an ambassador for Welsh Methodists. As the best-known Welsh hymn writer, he is often simply known as "Pantycelyn."[76] He and his contemporaries were all inspired by and exploited Biblical imagery, and Williams

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these Welsh exiles sought to preserve the old institutions that they had left behind them" (1971, 10). This is not to say that institutions promoting the Welsh language did not spring up in Wales as well, as previously mentioned.

[75] Iolo Morganwg was also responsible for the institution of the *Gorsedd* of the Bards of Britain, a gathering of poets, at the *Eisteddfod* (Williams 1971, 10).

[76] Pantycelyn was converted by Howell Harris and Daniel Rowland, both prominent Methodist Reformers (Roberts 1959, n.p.).

even explicitly claimed to write in the "sound and language" of the Bible (White 2007, 93-4). In this same era, spiritual journals and autobiography took off as a literary genre (*ibid.*, 95). Throughout the Early Modern period, Protestant literature continued to emphasize the ties between the Church in Wales and the Ancient Britons (Bowen 2014, 142).

Bible commentary remained an ongoing preoccupation of the Dissenters. Thomas Charles, instigator of the Sunday schools, published *Geiriadur Ysgrythurol* (Scriptural Dictionary), which contained information about the Bible, its content and context in four volumes between 1805 and 1811 (White 2013, 125). He was further responsible for the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) 1814 edition of the Welsh Bible. Before that, he had been among those who had inspired the Religious Tract Society to establish the BFBS in 1804, following an instance in which a young girl, Mary Jones, walked twenty-five miles to his home to purchase a Bible only to be told none were available.[77] His philanthropy "stemmed from his fervent belief in the need to study the Bible carefully" (*ibid.*). In his Scriptural Dictionary, Charles wrote under "Hymns" of the importance of maintaining Scriptural terms and language (White 2007, 94).

In the nineteenth century, the various Dissenting factions all believed in the need to publish instructional literature to go hand in hand with the Scriptures, and this engendered great growth in religious publishing during the nineteenth century, the second half of which "had been widely heralded as the golden age of Welsh publication" (White 2013, 128-9). In the centuries immediately following the Reformation, most works written and published in Wales had been of a religious nature, and many of these were also didactic (Williams 1997a, 233). In the nineteenth century, there continued to be a steady output of religious literature, including some 370 editions of the Welsh Bible, but these stood alongside poetry, histories of Wales, biography, and general knowledge (Williams 1971, 12). Still, religion influenced even works that were not overtly religious in nature. Daniel Owen, an important figure in nineteenth-century Non-Conformist literature, produced translations, poetry, and serialized novels featuring spiritual experiences and the role of the Welsh language, all the while sprinkling Biblical terms throughout his writing (White 2007, 140-1). By 1870, there existed thirty Welsh periodicals and newspapers covering a wide range of subjects, though mostly religious, and a number of dictionaries and encyclopaedias published in Wales (Jones 1969, 78; Williams 1971, 12). These periodicals reached a wide

[77] Concerned about the fate of the sixteen-year-old, Charles is said to have given her his own Bible. Jones's quest to secure a copy of the 1799 Welsh Bible produced by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge purports to have been the basis for the founding of the British and Foreign Bible Society (White 2007, 106-7).

public, as the assumed readers were the Welsh-speaking intellectual elite and the clergy, who were "strategically placed to mould an informed public opinion among the Welsh-speaking population over practically the whole of Wales for the first time. Its effect was to make for a much stronger sense of ideological cohesion and solidarity" (Williams 1971, 13). The majority of the population was now Non-Conformist, and a large class of people were being kept informed via the press in their own vernacular, often highly critical of the Anglicized upper classes and the Anglican Church; the stirrings of Welsh nationalism were slowly beginning to be felt (*ibid.)*. Non-Conformist chapels were "intensely Welsh in character," and the acquisition of literacy remained a central part of their raison d'être (Williams 1971, 11-2).[78]

Owen Pughe, in the introduction to his 1866 Welsh-English dictionary, wrote in English about the books available in Welsh:

> Respecting printed books, in the Welsh language . . . we have about one thousand volumes of them, upon various topics; some of which have gone through several editions. Our catalogue, to be sure, is not large; but arising from the spirit for reading, among peasants of a small mountainous country, it must acquire some degree of importance in the opinion of strangers, to whom the circumstance may be hitherto unknown altogether, that we should have any books in our language. For, to the rest of the world, we are nearly like the newly discovered asteroids, hardly recognized as moving in the system of the sun of literature . . . . (Owen Pughe 1866, vii)[79]

The last comment illustrates the place of Welsh literature in the literary polysystem: inching towards the centre of the literary system in Wales, but remaining entirely peripheral overall. Owen Pughe goes on to discuss the rich variety of religious books available in Welsh, along with the enormous demand for Bibles. He further extols the virtues of the printing press having reached Wales. He also laments the fact that educated Welshmen were turning more and more towards English, but takes heart that the country has "not been wholly divested of its former character" (*ibid.*), displaying a sense of nationhood.

Industrialization would later present a major threat to the continued survival of the Welsh language in the form of mass immigration to Wales by English speakers (Williams 1971, 14),

[78] The Welsh words for *nationalism*, *nationalist*, and *nationality* all first appeared in the University of Wales Dictionary in the nineteenth century, mostly between 1850 and 1870, with the exception of two which appeared in the late eighteenth century (Williams 1971, 13).

[79] The entire introduction is quite revealing as to the views of at least a certain segment of the educated population in late nineteenth-century Wales.

but, initially, it served as a means for the Welsh to colonize their own country, establishing Welsh-speaking industrial areas, in contrast with Ireland and Scotland (*ibid.*, 11). For the first time, there was an urban Welsh-speaking population, which merited the establishment of societies and institutions, along with an increasingly important publishing industry. Welshmen who moved to London, Liverpool or Manchester founded Welsh-speaking communities as well (*ibid.*). Conversely, the influx of English-speakers to Welsh industrialized areas following the appearance of a railway network would prove to be a major threat to the continued survival of the language (*ibid.*, 14).

The now infamous 1847 British government report on the condition of education in Wales, known as the "Treachery of the *Blue Books*," considered the Welsh language to be detrimental to the Welsh, and depicted them as an uneducated, backward people (Baumgarten and Gruber 2014, 36).[80] Many Welshmen realized that speaking English could help their children get ahead in the world. An even more serious threat came about with the 1870 *Education Act*, which made schooling mandatory, whilst simultaneously banning the Welsh language from schools (Thomas 1992, 255; Williams 1971, 15). These schools offered more comprehensive instruction than the previous educational opportunities in Wales, but only in English (Williams 1971, 15). What is more, English military exploits were a great source of pride among the Welsh, and "this taste for empire on the part of the Welsh people as 'dominated oppressors' constituted a crucial element in Welsh history" (Baumgarten and Gruber 29).

Still, the Morgan Bible would remain at the centre of the literary system. "Biblical language and imagery continued to be woven into Welsh poetry well into the twentieth century, despite the agnosticism of several prominent poets . . . since it remained a common cultural influence even amongst those who had turned away from their pious upbringing" (White 2007, 143-4). Williams claims that the twentieth century produced some of the best literature written in Welsh in centuries (1971, 14). White further asserts that the Welsh Bible's influence extended as far as Welsh writing in English, citing prominent authors Caradoc Evans and R. S. Thomas "whose language reflects some of the cadences of the Welsh literary and pulpit idiom" (White

[80] Statistics regarding literacy took into account only those literate in English, which excluded much of the literate population (Williams 1971, 15).

2007, 142-3).[81] Evans's stories were written in the style of Non-Conformist services and Sunday schools, resulting in a peculiar form of English (*ibid.*, 143).

More recently, there has been a resurgence in Welsh strict-metre poetry, but the Bible's influence is not as prominent as in early works. In the late twentieth century, Welsh-language publishing relied heavily on government subsidies, but there continued to be a healthy output (Williams 1971, 15). Fowkes believes that the source of standard literary Welsh is not the 1588 Bible, but rather the writing of the last few centuries; to him, preachers and orators, professors and teachers, and the media are the source of the standard language (1993, 150). The evidence provided by the other scholars cited points overwhelmingly to the Morgan Bible having in turn informed the language use of these preachers and teachers.

3.6. Legacy

The success of the initial Welsh Bible translations can be measured by the fact that the 1620 revision of the Morgan Bible remained in universal use in Welsh churches until 1977, "and in the minds of many Welsh individuals and congregations it has still not been supplanted by the new Welsh Bible!" (Williams 1997a, 218-9). Williams highlights the debt owed by the Welsh to William Salesbury, William Morgan, and their collaborators, without whom the Welsh would not have experienced the Reformation in their own language (*ibid.*, 228). In our view, Reformation doctrine might not have taken hold in Wales as it did had it not been for the Welsh Bible translators. "Their pride in a unique blend of religiosity and Welshness, founded in the early modern period, continued for centuries afterwards" (*ibid.*, 233).

Ultimately, the extent to which the Morgan Bible exerted its influence on the Welsh language and its literature is eclipsed by the undeniable place it occupies in the fabric of the nation. Distinct from any measurable impact, the mythology surrounding the Welsh Bible took on a life of its own—to this day, Welsh people everywhere are aware of William Morgan as a national hero, to whom they owe a great debt of gratitude. Whether the Bible established literary norms or not, the notion that it did is widely repeated as fact. The symbolic capital of the Morgan Bible remains great.

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[81] R.S. Thomas wrote the poem *Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant* about Morgan and his work on the Bible translation (2004, 192).

Conclusion

The smooth words
Over which his mind flowed
Have become an heirloom. Beauty
Is how you say it, and the truth,
Like this mountain-born torrent,
Is content to hurry,
Not too furiously by.
(Thomas 2004, 192)

We believe there is sufficient evidence to support our initial hypothesis. Elizabeth I's decision to prioritize imposing Protestantism, rather than the English language, on the Welsh people had the unexpected effect of ensuring the survival of the Welsh language through normalization and codification, and redefined the literary system. The combination of allowing the language in Church and providing a translation of great scholarship allowed Welsh to survive and thrive, providing a lasting model for the language. That this model was used for literacy training before the Industrial Revolution allowed the uniformization of the language throughout Wales, and ensured Welshmen were familiar with the same literary foundation. While we cannot ascertain the degree to which the 1588 Bible alone was responsible for the continued existence of the language, we would point towards the status that this book has taken on within Welsh lore. Ultimately, the importance ascribed to the 1588 Welsh Bible is as significant as its actual impact. The Morgan Bible has come to be seen as a symbol of the survival and strength of the Welsh language, permeating the nation's psyche.

The contribution of the translators of the Welsh Bible to their nation should not be underestimated. In a country as small and remote as Wales, it was remarkable to find men up to the task of translating the Scriptures. It was a task necessitating a staunch commitment to what they viewed as service to God and the good of their fellow Welshmen (Williams 1997b, 240). Salesbury in particular ushered in the Reformation, bringing religion and learning to Wales. "By virtue of his great talent and immense labours he opened a channel which has fertilized Welsh life for four hundred years" (Thomas 1972, 103). Morgan compounded Salesbury's efforts. Following in the tradition of early Bible translators, such as Luther and Tyndale, in providing the Scriptures in the native language of his people, Morgan fulfilled for the Welsh one of the most ardent ambitions of Early Modern Europe (Williams 1976, 347).

It was not until the twentieth century that the Welsh language truly began to struggle, with the number of speakers declining as English took hold. As the language weakened, so did Non-Conformist Protestant religion, which was so closely linked to Welshness (Friend 2012, 66). A legacy of humanism remained, however. Labour unions, and the working class culture, with their focus on publications, education and preserving history, continued to be a major force in Welsh society. By then, the Welsh language had come to be associated with the social constructs of identity, nationhood and culture (Barakos 2016, 385). Even as the language faltered, it retained a considerable symbolic importance—even monoglot English-speaking Welsh people consider the Welsh language to be part of their identity (Kaufmann 2012, 329). Today, English is the mother tongue of the vast majority of Welsh people, but close to 20% of the population speaks Welsh (StatsWales n.d., n.p.), and tremendous efforts are being made to increase the numbers. Echoing the spirit of the Welsh national anthem, which includes in its chorus "may the language endure for ever" (Welsh Government 2016, n.p.), the Welsh Government has stated that "the Welsh language is an essential and enduring component in the history, culture and social fabric of our nation. We must respect that inheritance and work to ensure that it is not lost for future generations" (Welsh Language Unit 2003, 1).

According to UNESCO, unless action is taken, more than 3,000 languages spoken today will disappear by the end of this century (2016, n.p.). Were it not for the translation of the Bible into Welsh in 1588, Welsh would likely be one of those languages.[82] This thesis has highlighted the importance of translation as a tool for preserving a language. Translating a key text—the Bible—into Welsh was vital in ensuring the language's continued use and relevance. There is little doubt that the Welsh Bible had an enormous effect on Welsh nationalism, culture, language, and religion. From the positive initial reception from learned men, to the ongoing influence on literature, even in English, via the tremendous impact on religion and education, we have seen that the Welsh Bible played a key role in the codification, standardization, and ultimate survival of the Welsh language.

Today, there is serious debate in the Welsh Assembly as to whether it is necessary to translate all government proceedings. Our research clearly shows that having access to critical

[82] Case in point: the last native Cornish speaker died in 1777. The first complete Cornish Bible was published only in 2011 (Bingham 2014, n.p.), following a twentieth-century revival, largely based on the few Cornish texts still in existence, and extrapolation from Welsh and Breton (McArthur 2003b, n.p.). Pseudo-Cornish has only about 500 fluent speakers (Bible Society n.d., n.p.). McArthur cites the non-use of Celtic languages in the sphere of religion as a factor in their decline (2003a, n.p.).

texts in one’s own language is crucial for that language’s continued use. Furthermore, the preservation of minority languages is an ethical and human rights issue. A society that does not value all languages and cultures risks descending into divisive, hateful rhetoric. The 1588 Welsh Bible, directly and indirectly, was vital in ensuring the survival and growth of Welsh, and further played an important role in redefining the Welsh literary system, allowing it to remain relevant into the twenty-first century, and beyond.

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