



S. L. GREENSLADE

STANLEY LAWRENCE GREENSLADE

1905-1977

STANLEY GREENSLADE was born on 14 May 1905, the son of William Greenslade and Alice Sear. His father was in business in Bristol and in Woodford in Essex. Times were not easy, and the family did not have substantial resources to assist their clever son on his way in the world. His mother had a deep feeling for books and was a voracious reader. It would be natural to suppose that from her he derived and developed his own impassioned love for books and bibliography. A valuable book, a *princeps* or an incunable, he would come to venerate almost as if it were a sacred relic preserved from a better past, and indeed there were moments when he seemed almost reluctant to concede that there could be any book unworthy of at least a moment's attention. The young Stanley was fortunate in being a pupil at the state school in Woodford which had special scholarships to Christ's Hospital. In the fierce competition for entry to Christ's Hospital, where admission to the school was conditional on some need for assistance, and where the number of candidates clamouring for admission was numerous, he succeeded comfortably. The Greenslade parents were Methodists, but were glad to send their gifted son to a Church of England school where he would receive a first-rate education. The school admitted children from the age of 9 onwards, and imparted everything he needed. It fed and clothed him as well as bringing out his special aptitudes in classics and history. Moreover, he loved music. The musical teaching at the school, which was simultaneously educating his contemporary Constant Lambert (with whom he did not otherwise have much in common), was strong. Choral performances in and out of school chapel came to be important in his life, and left a permanent mark. He was able always to hold his own in high-powered conversation about the works of Bach or Schütz or Monteverdi. In the school chapel at Christ's Hospital the services followed the Book of Common Prayer. He remained a Methodist during the holidays, and late in his time at school presented himself as a candidate for confirmation by the bishop. In his last year at school he was in a senior position as a 'Grecian'. From its foundation under Edward VI Christ's Hospital was a mixed school with a

girls' department that had greatly increased in strength from the 1880s. Among the senior girls at the school was Phyllis Dora Towell. Six years later, after she had completed her degree in medicine in 1929, she became his wife.

To the end of his days he looked back on Christ's Hospital as a uniquely kind nurse and fosterer of the development of his mind. In his seniority as an Oxford professor in his last decade, nothing gave him more satisfaction than the invitation to join the Governing Body of his old school, and so to be able to do something to ensure that the school would continue to do for other young people the great things it had once done for him and for his wife. Under the headmaster, William Hamilton Fyfe (later knighted), the school gave him so good a grounding in classics that he won an open scholarship to Hertford College, Oxford, to read for Mods. and Greats. At Hertford he was a pupil of J. D. Denniston (of *Greek Particles* fame) and received distinguished teaching in language and literature. In 1925 he was securely in the First Class in Classical Moderations. The ancient history in Greats was more to his taste than the philosophy, and in *Literae Humaniores* in 1927 he found himself disappointed not to attain more than a Second. On the other hand, his interests were shifting. When he first came up as an undergraduate, he had at the back of his mind that he might become a Methodist minister. During his time as an undergraduate he became an Anglican of enthusiastically evangelical sympathies, and decided to follow Lit. Hum. by reading for the Honour School of Theology in one year. In 1928 he had gathered First Class honours in that, which can only have been a *tour de force* in so short a time unless his reading had already taken him some distance into biblical studies during his last year reading Greats. He went on to Wycliffe Hall to train for the priesthood, and in the following year served as curate in Beeston on the south-west side of Leeds in Yorkshire.

But he was not left at Beeston for long. In 1930 St John's College, Oxford, needed a Fellow/Chaplain and invited him to accept the post, with responsibility for a beautiful college chapel, for pastoral care among the undergraduates, and for teaching Theology. His love of books soon led the Governing Body to make him College Librarian, and he rapidly acquired an intimate knowledge of the contents of the older books and the manuscript collection. On Sunday afternoons he so far extended his pastorate as to provide a short 'Sunday School' for the children of the dons, which met in his college rooms. Among the fellows of St John's he made several close and lifelong friends, including William Costin

the historian, Colin Roberts the papyrologist, and Gavin Bone the English Tutor, whose early death was a profound sadness to him. Costin became godfather to his son Philip, and he was given the greatest pleasure when thirty years later his friend was appointed to an Oxford chair.

Dining in the hall at Hertford College as an undergraduate, he was looked down upon by the portraits of very remarkable alumni of that society, including W. R. Inge and William Tyndale. He decided that Tyndale deserved a monograph. Although Tyndale did not approve Henry VIII's divorce of Catherine of Aragon, in the 1520s he vehemently advocated Protestant—mainly Lutheran—ideas in eloquent English long before the Reformation had much serious following in England (except among Lollards), and was a pioneer in the raising of some of the fundamental questions at issue in the English Reformation crisis. Moreover, he had another fascination for Stanley Greenslade: he was a pioneer in the translation of the New Testament into contemporary English. The Wycliffite translations, though widely read, were not written in a popular idiom and not based on the original languages. Tyndale had one conviction to share with his antagonist Thomas More, namely that the English language was capable of being the vehicle for the discussion of the most serious subjects, which need not therefore be consigned to Latin tomes. Unfortunately the projected monograph was not quite complete when a good biography of Tyndale appeared, from the pen of J. F. Mozley (1937). Stanley Greenslade had to abandon his original plan. He replaced it by a volume of well-chosen excerpts from Tyndale's writings, to which he prefixed some short but excellent chapters on the principal theological ideas. His own sympathy for the Reformation position, especially on justification by faith which he boldly described as a 'simple' doctrine (later he came to see it as much more complicated), was made evident in these clear-headed essays. He persuaded his friend and colleague Gavin Bone to contribute a valuable piece on Tyndale's diction and style.

During his time as a Fellow and Tutor of St John's, he was also concentrating on the Fathers of the Church, in particular making himself master of the North African Christians, Tertullian, Cyprian, and—most voluminous of all—Augustine. His battered copy of the Gaume reprint of the Benedictine text of Augustine has innumerable pencillings in the margin which show with what minute and meticulous attention he read the text. He also built up a considerable private library, not only of patristic texts but also of French, German, and Italian monographs specializing in North

African Christianity, until it could be said that in this large field of study there was next to nothing of importance which was not within immediate reach on his own shelves.

In 1943 he was invited to occupy the Lightfoot Professorship at the University of Durham, a chair annexed to and funded by a cathedral canonry. The decision to leave Oxford was not easy, his wife having founded and developed a highly successful medical practice in north Oxford and having an important career of her own. But he felt he could not refuse the honour. There were many attractions besides the dignity of the office and the teaching duties. There was the Durham Chapter Library with a noble collection of manuscripts and printed books, including old music. Moreover, he was drawn by cathedral music, at least when well sung. (When it was, on rare occasions, shoddily done, the pain this caused him could be enough to make him quietly walk out.) His principal professorial colleague, Michael Ramsey, also held a chair annexed to a canonry. Although Greenslade's background, both as a historian and as a strong sympathizer with much of the English Reformation, was very different, he immediately appreciated the depth and seriousness of Ramsey as a systematic theologian and thinker, and the distinction of his utterances in Durham Cathedral. One might have expected the Oxford historian and the Cambridge systematic theologian to stand in some tension with one another, but it was not so. Ramsey's respect for critical historical scholarship was paralleled by Greenslade's respect for serious systematic theology, and both men were deeply interested, from different standpoints, in the crucial question of the nature and being of the Church as both spirit and institution. The two men co-operated in bringing to Durham University the powerful New Testament scholar C. K. Barrett and so built up a strong team in the Theology Faculty. When Michael Ramsey left Durham in 1950 to accept the Regius Professorship at Cambridge, Greenslade succeeded him in the Van Mildert chair and became leader of the Faculty. An earlier invitation to accept a cathedral deanery he declined without hesitation; but he experienced sharper hesitations before declining an invitation to a bishopric. He felt that his *métier* was to serve the cause of learning and thereby the Church.

During his years at Durham, where the successive deans (Cyril Alington and John Wild) were good friends and allies to him, he rapidly found his way into the Library and the archives. A series of articles in the *Durham University Journal* from 1944 to 1949 illustrate some of these interests, especially on the late medieval

monks of Durham in the century before the Reformation; and one intriguing paper discussed the controversial Dean of the 1560s, William Whittingham, scholar and prime mover in the production of the Geneva Bible (1560), zealous Calvinist and iconoclast, destroyer of St Cuthbert's shrine, the Dean who could not bring himself to use the popish Book of Common Prayer or to wear a surplice or cope, and who was in the end delivered only by death from the humiliation (or glory) of being extruded by his bishop—on the no doubt reasonable ground that he had never received episcopal ordination and was therefore in wholly illegal occupation of the deanery. (Whittingham had got the job in reward for his services as military chaplain to the forces of the Queen trying to hold Dieppe and Le Havre, Bible in one hand, sword in the other.) The paper puts a remarkable defence of a man with most of whose prejudices Greenslade did not at heart sympathize, though one feels that something inside him warmed to the man responsible for so great a work as the Bible of Shakespeare. His studies in church history had greatly enlarged Greenslade's tolerance and range of sympathy. And he was never himself a man to be fussed about wearing a cope.

In 1949/50 he accepted an invitation from the University of Birmingham to give the Edward Cadbury Lectures. His former Durham colleague H. F. D. Sparks, editor of the Vulgate, was then professor at Birmingham, and knew that Stanley Greenslade had much to say if only he could bring himself to say it. The outcome was the printed book of 1953, *Schism in the Early Church*, a work which received an enlarged second edition in 1964. The book has remained a standard introduction to a complex piece of early Church history. It has the special interest of combining detailed historical knowledge with an essentially systematic concern for the doctrine of the nature of the Church presupposed by the language of 'schism'. He therefore combined his patristic studies on the historical side with a modern interest which mountingly developed in his mind until it became one of his major concerns. This interest was the problem of Christian unity and the ecumenical movement of the twentieth century. The book was therefore telling an ancient story with a continual eye upon the moral for the present, always asking the latent questions: What has the past done to create the modern problem, and in what ways can the past itself help to solve the problem bequeathed by history? There is an element of surprise in the book's central thesis. Cyprian of Carthage may be one of the favourite Church Fathers for high Anglican Laudians and those for whom Anglicanism, like its

twin Gallicanism, represents a continuation of pre-Tridentine, conciliar conceptions of ecclesiology; but he has not usually been so positively appreciated by those on the more left wing of the Reformation. He held strong views on the unicity of the visible Church as the ark of salvation, and on the episcopate as the divinely given vehicle of continuity and guarantee of authenticity in sacramental life. Augustine, on the other hand, also confronted in his own time by violent schism on an Ulster-like scale, advanced a doctrine of the Church which was to ease tension, to make reconciliation easier by acknowledging the full validity of Donatist sacraments. Cyprian regarded the apostolic succession of bishops as one of the guarantees of essential continuity in the religious community, and denied all positive significance to sacraments given outside the Church; whereas Augustine's conciliatory mind led him to acknowledge the validity of baptism and even orders (the two unrepeatable sacraments) among the Donatist schismatics of North Africa, while denying their efficacy until the persons concerned were united to the one authentic communion founded by Christ and built on the foundation of the apostles. Greenslade found himself thinking that Cyprian was in principle largely right, and Augustine largely mistaken—with fateful consequences.

The book on schism contains many deeply considered historical judgements, and some of the observations on the history of Donatism remain fascinating for their mastery of the texts and acuteness. The book also contains other intriguing historical observations, e.g. on the papal schism of 419, or on the hypothesis that the papal vicariate at Thessalonica was originally intended to keep down Milan rather than Constantinople. The problem central to the book, however, lies in the systematic part. Greenslade agreed with Cyprian against Augustine that, outside the Church, sacraments and the ministry serving them can have no meaning; Augustine's distinction between validity and efficacy seemed indefensible. Yet Cyprian's ecclesiology excludes divine action from any presence outside juridically defined limits, and offers no twig of an olive branch to make reconciliation easier to those who have received the sacraments outside the community of the *catholica*. Accordingly, Greenslade wanted to see the *Una Sancta* as unidentifiable with any existing communion, but located among now divided parts, on condition that they uphold the fundamentals—i.e. the Bible, the classical creeds, the gospel sacraments of baptism and eucharist, the tradition of pastoral ministry. He thought this last ought not to be specified as necessarily episcopate

in apostolic succession. The ecumenist's task is therefore to facilitate the coming together of those who share in these fundamentals but have become divided often in part by political, personal, or other non-theological factors. Meanwhile, he urged, Christian bodies that share these foundational points ought to dispel mutual prejudice and ignorance by sharing in each other's worship, and by deciding to accept without reservation each other's eucharists as not merely efficacious means of grace subjectively to believing individuals, but also ecclesially valid acts of the *catholica*. He thought it a paradoxical and absurd up-ending of Augustine's bizarre formula 'valid but not efficacious' when modern Roman Catholics regarded Anglican sacraments, or when modern Anglicans regarded Presbyterian or Methodist sacraments, as being 'efficacious but not valid'.

John Henry Newman once wrote (writing in 1836 as an Anglican) that 'in the medium of ecclesiastical history, the Protestant will find himself in an element in which he cannot breathe' (*Historical Sketches*, i. 417). In the sense being given to the term by Newman, Greenslade was no Protestant or at least had ceased to be one, even though there was always perhaps some tension between an evangelical sub-conscious and the trained historian in him, with a concentration on office and institution which marks much of his work. His studies in the patristic age of antiquity were enough to convince him at a deep level that 'the Church is a historical entity, founded by the Lord and the Apostles, which continues recognisably through history, preserving its identity by appointed means which makes it visible and distinguishable from false claimants to be the Church, that people can depart from it and have done so, that there are always tests available to show what is the Church and which people have left it' (*Schism*, pp. 212-13). It therefore seemed to him superficial to regret divisions between Christian communions as no worse than wasteful inconveniences. He granted that from division had sprung the good of greater freedom. But he did not think God could have intended his Church to consist of a large number of rival charismatic bodies. It also seemed to him superficial and just bad history to attribute all splits entirely to non-theological causes—to personal love of power, to social and economic factors, to regional patriotism (though he acknowledged a large nationalist ingredient in the English Reformation), to the rivalry of great sees, even to liturgical differences. Important and influential as these factors have been and remain in church history, nothing seemed to him more productive of division than factors with a theological

content, namely (a) the puritan quest for a perfect society, and (b) the over-reaction of the *catholica* against puritanism, producing exaggerated stress on ministerial order, whether, as for Anglicans, in the episcopal succession, or, as for Roman Catholics, in the papacy, as the one essential guarantee of continuity.

Yet it was typical of him to toss off the profound observation that what Protestants object to when they speak pejoratively of 'sacerdotalism' is not the notion that in the Church clergy are very important, but rather the notion that they have almost no importance at all (if only they are properly ordained by an acknowledged rite, and intend to do what the Church directs). The *opus operatum* is the crux, even though nothing could more strikingly formulate a concept of the sovereignty of divine grace which, in other contexts, one would expect a Reformation tradition to favour.

In 1953 he delivered the Frederick Denison Maurice Lectures at King's College, London, on 'Church and State from Constantine to Theodosius', published in the following year by the SCM Press. The book is a striking example of his characteristic fair-mindedness. The Donatists are seen as the only body of Christians to express any reserve about the authority of the emperor in matters ecclesiastical in the time of Constantine the Great, and probably even they would not have expressed reservations had he supported them as they asked. The exclusion of the Christian emperor from ecclesiastical causes developed only when the emperor Constantius II began to seek for a comprehensive 'interim' which included more Arianism than zealots like Athanasius could stomach. Theory arose from concrete historical situations. Before Constantine the Church pleaded for liberty of worship on the ground that coerced religion is no religion—'*nemo se ab invito coli volet*'—but simultaneously the Christians acknowledged a conscientious obligation to obey the State and its laws. After Constantine the orthodox emperor was a source of high authority. Yet even in the Byzantine world Justinian showered immunities on monks and clergy, and in John of Damascus (or, one might add, Maximus Confessor) one finds strongly dualistic language. That something of the dualistic tradition must be right seemed to Greenslade irresistibly correct, as long as there is no withdrawal of the Church from society or from having the least relationship with the State and the organs of government.

The themes of the last part of this book link with those of a little book or sketch which he published in 1948, *The Church and the Social Order*, again rejecting a radical dualism. Characteristically, he was

anxious to be utterly fair to the deeply held religious convictions of the Donatists, and was disturbed by the important but unbalanced and precariously argued thesis that their dissent could be explained in sociological terms, as that form of Christianity comprehensible to Berber peasants.¹ He anticipated A. H. M. Jones's sceptical attitude to the at one time fashionable opinion that ancient schisms and heresies were really social and economic movements in disguise.

In 1956 he published in the *Library of Christian Classics* a volume of translated texts from Tertullian, Ambrose, and Jerome, principally illustrating their conception of the Church. The restraints imposed by the series excluded both Hilary of Poitiers and Augustine, and enforced a laconic style of annotation, terse in volume, exhaustive in effect. It would have been congenial to him had he been able to include some of the anti-Donatist work of Optatus of Mileu, designed to argue that Donatism is a schism on the part of a group which is orthodox but has lost charity, rather than a heresy wishing to claim membership of the Church while reshaping its doctrines in ways unacceptable to the community.

In 1958 he was invited to succeed E. C. Ratcliff as Ely Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, a post which once again linked a divinity chair with a canonry at another sublime cathedral. To the canonry was attached a poetic but at that time almost unheatable medieval lodging. He enjoyed this post less than that at Durham, where his lodging was both warmer and more immediately adjacent to the University. The seventeen-mile journey from Ely to the University Library and the Divinity School he found inconvenient, though he enjoyed the greater scope for directing graduate students with theses. Ely had and has fine music, which he much appreciated; but perhaps the ceremonial of cathedral customs, with which he always wanted to co-operate, was not as simple as he had been accustomed to in Durham. Moreover, his wife Phyllis did not have scope for her medical work.

In January 1959 the Regius Professorship of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford fell vacant by the death of the aged Claude Jenkins. A bibliophagous scholar possessed of an astonishing library of over 80,000 books, and author of a few slim pieces of startling erudition, Jenkins had neither pension nor retiring age. The respect in which he was held was well grounded in his omnivorous learning, though it must also be conceded that occasionally he could drive his nearest colleagues to consulting

¹ *Classical Review*, n.s. iv (1954), 154-6.

the textbooks on justifiable homicide. He had held the chair for 25 years, latterly with failing powers. The appointment being in the gift of the Crown, Trollopian speculation about the succession began. The most obvious candidate, Norman Sykes, FBA (who had been strongly tipped for the post 25 years earlier, but had somehow alarmed the then Dean of Christ Church, H. J. White) had in 1958 left his Cambridge chair at the age of 61 to become Dean of Winchester; but during 1959 he developed the cancer which resulted in his tragically premature death early in the following year. The Crown offered the chair to Greenslade, despite the comparative brevity of his tenure of the Cambridge and Ely post. After struggles with his conscience about so soon leaving a Faculty where he had been made most welcome, and Selwyn College where he had happily been professorial fellow, he felt it right to accept the invitation with effect from Trinity Term 1960. The return to Oxford meant the resumption of many old friendships, and the easy possibility of congenial medical work for Phyllis his wife. Moreover, the music of Christ Church under Sydney Watson and, later, Simon Preston, was everything he could wish for. (There is no record that during his time at the House poor singing ever caused him to take the desperate course of walking out.) Since early in 1959 a change in the University Statutes, successfully petitioned for by the then Regius Professor of Divinity, made it possible for the holder of his chair to enter the university pension scheme, and therefore to retire on reaching the age of 67 without being plunged into penury. Shortly after moving to Oxford, he was elected Fellow of the British Academy.

His Oxford Inaugural, *The English Reformers and the Fathers of the Church*, is a highly characteristic piece, linking his principal interests of the early Church, the Reformation, and bibliography. A central theme is that 'our studies are conditioned by the books available to us', and in the light of that observation he asked what patristic texts were appealed to in the sixteenth century, and how the nature of the argument underwent modifications as works came to be printed for the first time, and as critical minds learnt to distinguish authentic texts from the many *spuria*. In the Reformation debate both sides appealed to the Fathers as attesting their tradition, the Protestants initially arguing negatively that in late medieval Catholicism innovation (synonymous with corruption) could be proved by the absence from early Christian texts of witnesses to transubstantiation, worship of images, or any language remotely comparable to Boniface VIII's *Unam Sanctam* concerning Roman primacy. Greenslade showed here, and in

a number of subsequent studies, how the English Reformers moved from the negative argument to regarding many features of the patristic age as a positive model. Their confidence was increased *vis-à-vis* their opponents by the fact that on the whole the critical investigation by humanist scholars of authenticity and spuriousness in the transmitted texts left the conservative case more damaged than theirs (though of course this was not true in every case). The lecture, though strikingly sympathetic to the Reformers on the critical, historical question, concludes with the remark that today one cannot think about the points of controversy of that age with the same presuppositions: critical history has served the cause of Christian unity by undermining the entrenched positions of an embittered age, and by enforcing the recognition of tradition and continuity.

While Greenslade was a professor in Cambridge, Dom David Knowles and Norman Sykes had conspired to persuade the Press Syndics to publish a *Cambridge History of the Bible*, a series of symposia on different periods. The third volume on 'The West from the Reformation to the Present Day' was entrusted to Greenslade's editorship. He gathered a strong force of contributors of many nationalities and ecclesiastical allegiances, and welded their work into a coherent story. He himself contributed a brief but masterly outline of the English Bible, seen as part of the history of the English Reformation, from Tyndale (1535) to the King James version of 1611. He also wrote an epilogue in which he tried to trace the influence of the diffusion of the Christian Bible on western literature and culture generally, and ended with a kind of confession of faith which, to all who knew the man, is a moving piece.

Meanwhile, an increasing proportion of his spare time was being absorbed by the concerns of the ecumenical movement. He became a member of the Faith and Order Committee of the World Council of Churches, and was a major participant during the sixties in Anglican-Methodist, Anglican-Orthodox, Anglican-Presbyterian, and Anglican-Lutheran conversations. He enjoyed the travel this work necessitated. In one form or another, he was constantly being asked what light the ancient Church could throw on contemporary problems, not only in restoring unity, but also in illuminating the tasks of 'younger churches' in Africa and elsewhere. A small paperback, *Shepherding the Flock* (1967), examined disciplinary problems both in antiquity and in churches outside Europe founded during recent centuries. The Strasbourg journal *Oecumenica* contained more than one

provocative historical paper by him on problems of authority in the English Reformers.

In the late sixties his friend J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink of Leiden had persuaded him to join in the enterprise of the great critical edition of Erasmus' works, the first volume of which appeared at Amsterdam in 1969 and remains in progress. The invitation was very congenial to him. He wished especially to investigate Erasmus' work as an editor of patristic texts (Jerome 1516, Cyprian 1520, Arnobius 1522, Hilary 1523, John Chrysostom 1525, Irenaeus 1526, Ambrose 1527, Augustine 1528-9, Basil 1532, a Latin version of Origen 1536). Jerome headed Erasmus' list; the erudition, wit, and satirical pen were inherently attractive to him. Froben suggested to Erasmus that he should replace Amerbach's Augustine of 1506; but Erasmus found Augustine much less congenial because of the issue of free will, and he turned aside to Cyprian, the *princeps* of whom had been edited by Bussi (Rome, 1471). Greenslade pieced together the story of Erasmus' Cyprian in a paper for the Oxford Bibliographical Society, showing that Erasmus failed to produce a proper critical edition, or even a good text; the printing pullulated with errors and omissions of entire lines. Characteristically Erasmus always found someone else to blame. But at least he had alerted everyone to the important fact that not everything transmitted under Cyprian's name was from his pen. And Cyprian was particularly approved not only for his Latin style, but also because he defended both grace and freedom without resolving the tension between them.

Greenslade's studies in the background and subsequent influence of Erasmus' edition of Cyprian led quickly on to the other patristic editions. The very complex problems of Erasmus' use of the Merlin *princeps* of Origen (1512) long absorbed his most detailed scrutiny; and he also gathered much information about the Hilary which Erasmus published in 1523. Unhappily none of this work was brought to the point of being ready for publication.

His Erasmian labours were set aside for a time when he was invited to write a substantial introduction to the facsimile edition of Miles Coverdale's Bible of October 1535, published by Dawson in 1975 in a large and sumptuous form. The introductory essay contains important observations that, in a volume so costly, can easily have escaped the attention they deserve. He traced Coverdale's career from priest in the Norwich diocese to Erasmian protestant, then under Edward VI Bishop of Exeter (1551-3), thus standing in the succession and qualified to be one of the four

participants in Matthew Parker's consecration as Archbishop on 17 December 1559. Coverdale's idiosyncratic vesture on that occasion, meticulously recorded by the lawyers, illustrated his movement towards left-wing puritanism, so that probably he was never offered restoration to the see of which Mary had deprived him, so fierce was his abhorrence of 'ceremonies' and of vestments such as the surplice. Holbein's title-page to the Bible of 1535 shows Henry VIII handing the volume to the kneeling bishops. Greenslade pointed out, among many exact observations, that Coverdale made much use of the Zürich Bible of 1534.

During this period he was also much engaged in work on a contribution to the vast undertaking of the *History of the University of Oxford*, and the chapter he drafted is part of the volume under the editorship of Professor James McConica, dealing with the early decades of the sixteenth century.

He retired from his chair and canonry in 1972, and moved to the village of South Moreton, where one room in his house was wholly devoted to containing his remarkable library. He used often to be driven into Oxford by his friend David Rogers of the Bodleian, who shared his love for bibliography and for sixteenth-century religious history (and balanced Greenslade by his vast knowledge of and enthusiasm for recusant texts). But in the later months of 1976 he began to experience pain and was taken ill. An operation temporarily checked the cancer, and for some of the early months of 1977 he was back at work. But through the Michaelmas Term of 1977 he was steadily deteriorating in health. He died on 8 December 1977 at peace in himself. The last book he read was *John Inglesant*.

A shy man, in the everyday sense of the term he had little small talk. He loved a serious discussion, and could be witty and very penetrating in criticizing or offering a paper at a meeting of a learned society. With those who shared none of his interests and his work, there might be silences. At Christ Church from 1960 he was warmly welcomed in the society of the Common Room. His common sense and manifest integrity marked not only his scholarship but his contributions to the business of the House in the Governing Body or in committee. For several years he carried a heavy burden of office as Chapter Treasurer at a period when the cathedral finances were alarmingly precarious and a source of time-consuming care and anxiety to him and the Dean. The great Upper Library at Christ Church, where the walls are lined with the intellectual history of old Christian Europe, was a ceaseless delight to him. In the splendid Hussey Library of patristic texts

and monographs, attached to the chair of Ecclesiastical History, he had many volumes rebound and refurbished. In full term he was always out one evening a week to sing great choral music with the Bach Choir. Otherwise he was unrelentingly at work, always feeling that there was so much to do and so little time in which to do it. He enjoyed his life very much, and conveyed that sense of serenity to all his friends.

HENRY CHADWICK