

The Tyndale Society Journal



No. 21
April 2002

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Editorial

Valerie Offord

Easter 2002

'And they took Jesus and led him away. And he bare his cross..'

At this point in the reading of the Passion on Good Friday in the church of Romont situated in the canton of Fribourg, Switzerland, the congregation begin their procession out of the church and through the streets of the village. **Les Pleureuses** (the mourners), clothed and veiled in black, slowly follow the Virgin Mary, portrayed by a young girl; she walks behind the large wooden cross carried by a penitent wearing a black hood. The symbols of the Passion are carried on scarlet cushions: namely a crown of thorns, a whip, nails, tongs and St Veronica's shroud.

This Pre-Reformation custom dates back to the fifteenth century and is, to this day, taken so seriously by the churchgoers in this small fortified hilltop town that there is virtually no publicity. The only concession to a congregation larger than normal is the loudspeakers to relay the proceedings to the faithful unable, or unwilling, to enter the church. The message of Christ on the Cross, the despair of Good Friday is still being communicated simply, solemnly and reverently, as it has been for many centuries, to all who will listen.

After such an experience it was not possible to contemplate writing an editorial until Easter – the joyful news of the resurrection and the beginning of a new Christian year celebrated in a flower-bedecked church. This new beginning also heralds changes in the organization and look of the Journal. After many years of successful collaboration with our printer/publisher Keith Diment, we are moving on. We are indebted to Keith for his unstinting loyalty and cheerful help in spite of the stress we Journal editors must have inflicted on him at times. We wish him a happy and deadline-free life!

For this Journal I have been fortunate to receive copious and quality copy. David Daniell has been kind enough to let us publish in full his Geneva Conference lecture '*The Geneva English Bible: the Shocking Truth*'. His forthcoming book '**The Bible in English: Its History and Influence**' to be published by the Yale University Press in May 2003 includes pioneering chapters on the Geneva Bibles – a scoop indeed. To broaden your knowledge there is a report on the exhibition at the Bodleian Library about its founder, Thomas Bodley. His father, John, helped finance the Geneva Bible and I will be writing about the family in future issues.

Carsten Thiede has allowed me to print a full report on his fascinating 'amuse bouche' entitled *'Reconstructing Manuscripts using Confocal Laser Scanning Microscopy'* which he delivered to the delight and interest of the Geneva delegates before his main talk, which has already been fully reported in the last Journal issue No. 20. This paper describes the way theologians and historians are employing cutting edge technology to further their research – a trend, I feel, of which Tyndale would have wholeheartedly approved! David Norton, a renowned expert on the bible as literature and author of a recent book entitled **'A History of the English Bible as Literature'** published by Cambridge University Press June 2000, has found time in his New Zealand summer to write a review of Alister McGrath's recent book **'In the Beginning: The Story of the King James Bible'**.

Although the information is available on the Society's website, we still have some 'unnetted' members, and I am totally unrepentant about publishing all the details available to date of the **4th International Tyndale Conference in Antwerp** entitled *'The Reformation in the Low Countries and Beyond: Impact and Identity'* organized by Dr Guido Latré from Leuven, Belgium. It promises to be an excellent event certainly the largest, and possibly the best, the Society has ever run. We are hoping that you will all leave your Journals ostentatiously around to recruit as many delegates as possible. I have always maintained that members of our Society have benefited from Leuven's centuries old conscience for martyring Tyndale and this conference is certainly proof of that. Furthermore, rumour has it that during the Conference the Bishop of Antwerp – no less – is offering to make a gesture of reconciliation in his Cathedral for the whole affair. Surely if this is the case, I muse to myself, the Bishop of London should bear some responsibility and even issue a counter apology since his rejection of Tyndale caused the poor man to flee abroad in the first instance? But that would be resurrecting the quarrels of the Reformation and its Counterpart anew.

Returning to websites, Deborah Pollard has written an excellent guide and description of ours in this issue. It is being updated and improved all the time. Perhaps after reading her article, the 'unnetted' will be tempted to go forth and buy computers! Our website is certainly expanding and getting more interesting under Deborah's management from Canada.

You will notice that the usual regular features are still appearing. There is yet another of Neil Inglis's book reviews in his very personal style and he supplies me enthusiastically with snippets for the *Anglo-American Press Gleanings*. Decorated murals and Bible thefts are this issue's themes. Many of his other fascinating snippets will be sifted, sleuthed and reported on in due

course. Our faithful ploughboys, David Ireson and David Green, have again ensured that the editor is not short of material but their fellows have been rather silent! David Green has reported on the Gloucester Lecture given by the Revd Nicholas Bury *'New Wine in Old Bottles'* in October 2001 and David Ireson has contributed his early morning Lent meditations in *'Getting into Deep Water'*. A large part of the summer Journal will be devoted to poetry and music about Tyndale, and it, therefore, seemed appropriate to publish David Green's *'Death at Vilvoorde'* poem then as it is extremely relevant to the Antwerp Conference.

I should like to express my gratitude to my faithful band of contributors and to the new ones who have recently jumped on board. For this issue a special debt of thanks is due to Judith Munzinger for her welcome and efficient help with editing and proof reading. Perhaps the Swiss Post Office should also be thanked for an incredible overnight delivery services from Judith's computerless mountain chalet to a small town in the Genevan countryside!

I enjoy and appreciate receiving letters, comment and copy from everyone. Please keep communicating and let us hope that the new look Journal for the new Christian year with your help and support will continue to intrigue, inform and improve.

Submission of Articles for The Journal

Please send items to the Editor at the address on the inside front cover of this issue. Submissions can be made on paper (post or fax) or electronically (floppy disk for PC or *e-mail*). Electronic submissions should be in the form of a word-processor document file (preferably Word, although we can deal with some versions of WordPerfect), and a version in plain text or Rich Text format. For *e-mail* submissions, the document or Rich Text files should if possible be sent as attachments and the body of the message should contain the article as simple plain text. However, in case of difficulty with *e-mail* attachments, it is acceptable to send the article solely as plain text in the body of the message. The deadline for submission of articles to the next issue is **Friday 5th July 2002**.

Please note that neither the Tyndale Society nor the Editor of this journal necessarily share the views expressed by contributors.

The Geneva English Bible: The Shocking Truth

David Daniell

A lecture given at the Geneva Tyndale Conference in October 2001. Professor Daniell's pioneering material on the Geneva Bibles will appear in greater detail in his forthcoming book 'The Bible in English: Its History and Influence' (Yale UP, 1 May 2003).

The Geneva New Testament, 1557.

After the Great Bible of 1539, the next newly prepared English New Testament was printed in Geneva in June 1557. It marked both a great contrast to the Great Bible, and -- though at first it might not seem so today -- a long stride forward.

For one thing, it is small, an octavo for the hand or pocket (roughly the size of a Prayer Book in a church pew) as editions of the New Testament had been since Tyndale's and Coverdale's over twenty years before. That made a contrast to Henry VIII's original huge folio Great Bible, or Matthew's before that: but the contrast was not only in the pleasing small size. It is also handsome. For the first time, an English bible text was printed not in heavy 'Gothic' Black Letter in northern Europe by printers in Antwerp or London, but in Switzerland, by Conrad Badius, the son of the master-printer of Paris, in a clean, clear Roman, a French style also influenced by Italian printers trained in the more refined humanist manner.¹ Its pages are uncluttered, the text ruled off with red lines, with wide margins at the sides, top and bottom, giving an attractive sense of space. The paper shows signs of having been carefully selected: some surviving copies remain unusually fresh; one of the two copies in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the copy in Lambeth Palace Library, have paper of still remarkable whiteness, as no doubt do others. The neat notes, an average of two per page, are in the outer margins in roman, with occasional references in italic on inside margins. The thickest cluster of marginal notes accompanies the opening chapters of Matthew's Gospel. Some pages, even of the



Epistle to the Romans, have no notes at all. Also for the first time in an English Bible, while the traditional markers A,B,C, and so on are retained in the margins, the text is divided into numbered verses, following the Greek New Testament by Stephanus made in Geneva in 1551, ultimately from Pagninus's edition of the Vulgate made at Lyon in 1527, though -- also for the first time in this 1557 New Testament -- each verse starts a fresh line with its number, whether it is the beginning of a new sentence or not.² This again was new, for the first time outside Latin or Greek. Again for the first time in an English Bible, words not in the Greek, thought to be necessary additions for English clarity, are in italic.

The title page is another contrast to that of the Great Bible. Instead of announcing its authority by declaring it to be the result of 'the diligent study of diverse excellent learned men, expert in the ... tongues', it states:

The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ. Conferred diligently with the Greek, and best approved translations. With the arguments, as well before the chapters, as for every Book and Epistle, also diversities of readings, and most profitable annotations of all hard places: whereunto is added a copious Table.

In other words, critical study is invited. Further, the title page does not announce absolute royal power, as in the Great Bible, in the later Bishops' Bibles, and in the first KJV with massive constructions that block the entrance of the reader. It will be noticed that there are no names, unlike the central panel of KJV, where King James and Robert Barker are prominent. Here, inviting the reader in, is a small, simple engraving in the middle of the page. It is in the manner of an emblem, showing Time leading Truth up out of a cavern. Modern eyes are used to sixteenth-century Bible title pages being architecturally organised for essential weight, with pillars and statues. The crowded title page of Henry VIII's Great Bible is dominated by the King (God, above him, has to squeeze to get in) and his largesse in giving -- in Latin, note -- the *Verbum Dei* to the inattentive people below. The title page of the King James Version of 1611 is essentially an unbroken wall forbidding entrance, dominated partly by two judgmental saints, Peter and Paul, but above all by the names of the King, James 1, and the printer, Robert Barker. For printers making an English New Testament in the 1550s, the new style for this 1557 New Testament spoke strongly. This can be demonstrated. That very device was the inspiration for a pageant held in Cheapside at the celebration of Elizabeth's succession. On 14 February 1558 the Queen proceeded to a place between two hills where there had been contrived a cave with a door and a lock. At her approach an old man, scythe in hand, and

‘having wings artificially made’, was seen to come forth. He was leading a person of lesser stature than himself, which was finely and well appalled, all clad in white silk, and directly over her head was set her name and title in Latin and English, *Temporis filia*, the Daughter of Time. Which two so appointed went forward toward the South-side of the pageant. And on her breast was written her proper name, which was *Veritas*, Truth, who held a book in her hand upon which was written verbum veritas, the word of Truth.

After a recitation by a small child ‘he reached the book to the Queen, who thereupon kissed it, held it aloft for all to see, and so ‘laid it upon her breast, with great thanks to the City therefor’ ... the Queen said that ‘she would often read over that book.’³ One might have difficulty thinking of the slightly-built Queen clutching a massive folio or thick quarto and at the same time retaining her dignity. It is easy to contemplate that little 1557 New Testament volume as it was being ‘laid ... upon her breast’.

1557 and Geneva were both the time and the place for a new English translation. For twenty years, revisions of Olivetan’s French New Testament had been published in Geneva, revised by Calvin and Genevan ministers, the latest in 1556. Italian exiles there printed a revised Italian New Testament in 1555, on the way to a whole Bible. A revised New Testament in Spanish was printed there in 1556. The last new English Bible had been made, in England, eighteen years before, and that was Coverdale’s revision of his work four years before that, nearly a quarter of century distant.

The first Geneva translators

After the coronation of Queen Mary on 19 July 1553, the great movement of Protestants to the continent in January and February 1554 happened before the most serious persecution got under way: the first burning, of John Rogers, maker of Matthew’s Bible, took place on 4 February 1555. In the eighteen months before that martyrdom, the migration was carefully organised. The dangers in England were real; the restrictions of Protestants began within a few days of Mary’s accession. Before Mary died in November 1558 over three hundred Protestants had been burned alive in England.

The work of preparation of this New Testament was anonymous. So was the Preface, which was less customary: evidence points to it being the single-handed work of William Whittingham, an English gentleman and Oxford scholar. A manuscript *Life of Whittingham* in the Bodleian Library in Oxford tells of a group of ‘learned men’ in Geneva meeting to ‘peruse’ the existing English versions of the New Testament (thus making the first such revising

committee in English Bible history.) The ‘learned men’ mentioned were indeed learned: Miles Coverdale; Christopher Goodman, another Oxford man from Brasenose and then Christ Church, who had become Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity; Anthony Gilbey; Thomas Sampson, from Oxford and Cambridge, who went on to be Dean of Christ Church, Oxford -- he had most recently been close to the Hebrew scholar Immanuel Tremellius at Cambridge and Strasbourg; Dr William Cole; and William Whittingham himself. They were possibly joined in committee by John Knox, and certainly later for the whole Bible by William Kette (or Kethe), John Baron, John Pullain, John Bodley and W. Williams.⁴ Knox had been chosen as minister from its first day by the English-speaking congregation at Geneva, but did not arrive there until September 1556. He left for Scotland in 1557, but returned early in 1558, finally departing in January 1559, having received the freedom of the city of Geneva.

If William Tyndale had survived, and gone to Geneva as a Marian exile in 1553 at the age of 59 -- not an impossibility -- he would have found a city humming with Bible activity. In many ways he would have been a happy man. Even more than in Antwerp, in his day the northern centre of translating and printing Scripture, he would have found areas of the city life of Geneva given to scholarship and fine printing (it is estimated that between 1550 and 1600 some two and a half thousand titles were printed in Geneva⁵). Much more, he would have found a new university at the heart of the work: the Academy of Geneva was formally inaugurated on 5 June 1555, with Theodore de Beze, or Beza, as its first rector. Geneva’s new Reformed university, with its new fields of knowledge and study, became rapidly famous for scholarly enterprise, which included the establishment of good texts of classical writers of all kinds -- Virgil, Cicero, even Catullus -- and translating them, as well as the Scriptures, into French, Italian and Spanish. Tyndale would have been content to be a senior engineer in that powerhouse.

How much the ‘learned men’ who were in Geneva contributed to the New Testament (as opposed to the whole Bible that followed) is unclear: there has been persistence in the statement, certainly implied in the Preface, that one man, Whittingham, did it all alone.

Prefatory matter by Calvin and Whittingham

Not only is the whole work anonymous; but how much Calvin associated himself with this New Testament, if he did at all, is also unclear. He apparently wrote an eight-page introductory Epistle, declaring with good Epis-

tle-to-the-Romans force 'that Christ is the end of the Law', an important endorsement of this new work. Yet this Epistle Dedicatory is a translation of a piece written twenty years before, and Calvin's second published work, his Preface (in Latin) to the New Testament in Olivetan's Bible of 1535, the first French Protestant Bible (Olivetan was Calvin's cousin). The unsigned three page address, probably by Whittingham, 'To the Reader Mercy and peace through Christ our Saviour' echoes Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man* in its awareness of opposition to the Bible, and of Jesus's Parable of the Sower at Matthew 13, Mark 4 and Luke 8. It continues:

For this cause we see that in the Church of Christ there are three kinds of men: some are malicious despisers of the word, and graces of God, who turn all things into poison, and a farther hardening of their hearts: others do not openly resist and contemn the Gospel, because they are stricken as it were in a trance with the majesty thereof, yet either they quarrel and cavil, or else deride and mock at whatsoever thing is done for the advancement of the same. The third sort are the simple lambs, which partly are already in the fold of Christ, and so hear willingly their Shepherd's voice, and partly wandering astray by ignorance, tarry the time till the Shepherd find them and bring them unto his flock. To this kind of people, in this translation I chiefly had respect, as moved with zeal, counselled by the godly, and drawn by occasion, both of the place where God hath appointed us to dwell, and also of the store of heavenly learning and judgement, which so aboundeth in this city of Geneva, that justly it may be called the patron and mirror of true religion and godliness.⁶

On his annotations, Whittingham (if he was the author) risks a boast:

I have endeavoured so to profit all [help everyone] thereby, that both the learned and others might be holpen: for to my knowledge I have omitted nothing unexpounded, whereby he that is exercised in the Scriptures of God, might justly complain of hardness ...⁷

Indeed, so comprehensive has he been, that readers have no need of 'the Commentaries'. He is rightly proud of his 'arguments the summaries of the contents at the head of each book, or of the four Gospels together, made 'with plainness and brevity'⁸ to be understood and remembered, which 'may serve instead of a Commentary to the Reader'.⁹ The idea of such summaries was not new: Coverdale in 1535 had a page of 'The first book of Moses, called Genesis what this book containeth', though only that page: Matthew's Bible had in the preliminary leaves two large pages of 'The sum and content of all the holy Scripture ...'. What was in this 1557 volume was fresh.

The Geneva Bible, 1560

This compact volume, in size 'a moderate quarto',¹⁰ with its excellent text generally always in roman type, the numbered verses set out in two columns, had in addition what amounted to an encyclopaedia of Bible information. It was very popular and successful indeed. It was a masterpiece of Renaissance scholarship and printing, and Reformation Bible-thoroughness.¹¹ Having been the people's Bible in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it was driven out by political and commercial interests from 1611, and forced out of the public view from 1660. It was made an object of horror by the Victorian High Church, which invented for it a myth of unacceptably total and aggressive Calvinist colouring, not easy to refute as copies were scarce. That 'shocking truth' is still kept alive, as is the notion that Geneva Bibles were popularly disliked before 1600, for which there is no evidence. The value of this remarkable volume in all its wealth, and all its editions, and all its influence, was reduced to a single schoolchild snigger by referring to it only as 'The Breeches Bible', because in Genesis 3 Adam and Eve are given 'breeches' (as in Wyclif and Caxton's *Golden Legend*, incidentally) instead of the KJV's 'aprons'.

The work of the Geneva Academy

The Academy of Geneva under Beza was based on the model established at Strasbourg. The aim was the specialised one of educating men, in large numbers: a learned ministry was always the goal of the reformers, in whatever country. The Academy began with 162 students, but five years later, in 1560, it had 1,500.¹²

The educational ideal was much broader than studying theology. The Strasbourg Academy had nine faculties, Geneva many more: the academics there became what would now be called 'European leaders in a centre of excellence with best practice in teaching and research right across the humanities.' In the last decades of the sixteenth century Geneva became for many distinguished Englishmen a necessary place in which to study. Beza's scholars were the 'specialist experts' in the 'humane' work of editing ancient texts. The first texts that Calvin edited were classical, and his love for, and knowledge of, the Greek and Roman writers, were profound. The weightiest work, however, was the making of vernacular bibles from the best Hebrew and Greek texts.

The scholar-printers in Geneva -- Robert Estienne, Conrad Badius, Jean Crespin, Jean Girard, Nicholas Barbier, Thomas Courteau, Jean Rivery -- made 22 French Bibles.¹³ This was the context in which there appeared in April 1560 the first English Geneva Bible.

Geneva printing in English

Two, at least, of the English exiles were printers. One of them, Rowland Hall, an original member of the Stationers' Company in London, set up his press in Geneva in 1558. One of the ministers of the English Church at Geneva was the Hebrew scholar Anthony Gilbey. Another scholar was Thomas Sampson. William Whittingham, New Testament translator, was there. Miles Coverdale received permission to settle in Geneva in October 1558. The 'simple lambs' on the continent and in England, so helped by Whittingham's New Testament, surely needed a complete Bible on the same model. It was begun a few months after the 1557 New Testament was published and continued, we are told, 'for the space of two years and more day and night'.¹⁴

So the first Geneva Bible was made, printed by Hall in Geneva on his press in April 1560. The costs of the making were borne by the English congregation generally, and by one member in particular, the wealthy merchant John Bodley, whose son Thomas would later found the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Though Queen Mary had died on 17 November 1558, and all over the continent exiles (said to number 800 in total during Mary's reign) returned to Protestant England under Good Queen Bess, some of the men who made the Geneva Bible remained there until it was completed in April 1560 --¹⁵ probably Whittingham, Gilbey and Sampson, and probably Cole, Kethe and Baron. An early copy was presented to the Queen.

This remarkable volume, 'the first great achievement in Elizabeth's reign',¹⁶ printed in London and in Edinburgh after 1575, and always in large quantities, became at once the Bible of the English people. It remained so, through 140 editions -- editions, not simple reprintings -- before 1644. The New Testament was revised by Laurence Tomson in 1576, and new notes by 'Junius' replaced those to Revelation in 1599. In 1610, fifty years after the first making, all three versions were in full printing flood, 120 editions of all sizes having been made. It seemed that nothing would stop them. The translators working for King James after 1604, aiming 'to make a good one, better' referred to the Geneva versions, and in that wonderful long Preface to KJV, 'The Translators to the Reader', quoted Scripture almost always from a Geneva Bible. But politics ruled. Even the inception, in January 1604, of the 1611 KJV was a political act by reactionary bishops against Geneva Bibles. As will be seen, the large printing of that 'King James' version, in spite of its immediate unpopularity, was organised in order to push out the Geneva Bibles. Ugly and inaccurate quarto editions of the Geneva Bible, all falsely dated 1599, were printed in Amsterdam, and possibly elsewhere in the Low

Countries, up to 1640, and smuggled into England and Scotland against Establishment wishes. The last with full text and notes in England was printed in 1644. Between 1642 and 1715, eight editions of KJV were published with Geneva notes, seven of them in folio, and two of them in one year (1679), statistics which tell their own story.

The influence of the Geneva Bible is incalculable. Before the London printings, it was freely in England in large enough numbers to stir Archbishop Parker into initiating his rival Bishops' Bible in 1568. For over fifty years it was sometimes second to that in Anglican pulpits and on Anglican lecterns. Even so, a study of more than fifty sermons by bishops between 1611 and 1630, including Andrewes, the chief of the KJV revisers, and Laud, the enemy of all things evangelical, shows that in twenty-seven sermons the preacher took his text from the Geneva version, and only in five from the Bishops'.¹⁷ Of the remaining twenty-odd, only about half quote from KJV, and half seem to have made their own version.¹⁸

The Geneva Bible was, however, the Bible of the English and the Scots at home, and in local reading-groups and 'prophesyings'. What arrived in April 1560, and was rapidly developed, was the first complete study guide to the Bible in English, intended to illuminate at every point. In Scotland, the Edinburgh 'Bassandyne Bible' of 1579, the first Bible printed in Scotland, a straight reprint of the first Geneva Bible in folio, made in 1561, was ordered to be in each parish kirk. It was dedicated to 'Prince James' -- so much for his reported claim at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 that he had only recently been shown a copy.

The triumph of the Geneva Old Testament text (and Apocrypha), can be shown in detail to be based on Coverdale's revisions in the Great Bible, but now with corrections from the Hebrew and Latin, freshly compared with Leo Juda's Latin version made in Zurich in 1543, and other helps -- Geneva was rich in resources -- particularly Olivetan's frequently revised French Bible, from the 1559 revision of which the 'Arguments' before Job and Psalms were directly translated. The Geneva translators' aim, successfully achieved, was to reproduce what the original says from Genesis to Malachi. It is more important to note that the KJV translators' denial of marginal notes removed at a stroke that essential element of understanding Hebrew, the openness to engagement, the in-and-out movement between literal sense and meaning, the many kinds of explanations, which the Geneva annotators so constantly used. Often the best that King James's workers could do was to lift 'the literal Hebrew phrase from Geneva's margin into its own text'.¹⁹ Gerald Hammond writes:

These notes [in the Geneva Old Testament margins], constantly explaining and interpreting, have a significant effect upon the nature of the translation. Because the translators could always use them to clear up ambiguities, explain obscurities, and fill in ellipses, it meant that the actual translation could afford to retain, to a great degree, the ambiguities, obscurities, and ellipses of the original. While the margin is specific and discursive, the text can stand as an evocatively simple rendering of the Hebrew images and metaphors.²⁰

Hammond's fifty pages of examination of the Geneva translators at work with the Hebrew remain the best introduction to the subject.²¹

For what has often been overlooked is that the Geneva scholars translated the poetic and prophetic books of the Old Testament into English from Hebrew for the first time. Working from Genesis to 2 Chronicles, they had, besides Coverdale's two versions, the translations of Tyndale directly from Hebrew. But Coverdale thereafter, from Job to Malachi, half the Old Testament, did not translate from Hebrew.

The gain in the sense of Hebrew idiom in English is startling. In the Geneva Old Testament there are more notes in the poetic and prophetic books than in the narrative histories and laws. Here the Geneva translators show two advantages. First, the sheer strangeness of Hebrew poetry needs interpretative help if it is to mean anything in English, and they have felt free to use whatever kind of comment is best. Sometimes the literal meaning is in the text, and metaphor is in the margin, and sometimes the other way round -- but in both cases the strategy is made clear. The KJV panels deserve commendation in their frequent preservation of Geneva's richness of internal Scriptural reference. (The Geneva translators did not, of course, invent cross-referring; but they developed it.) This makes it all the more depressing that the KJV panels so dogmatically dropped all the Geneva notes.

The other advantage that the Geneva translators took for their poetic and prophetic books was the division into verses. Paragraphs suited Tyndale's excellent understanding of Hebrew narrative drive. Hebrew poetry works differently. The complex and cumulative imagery, and above all the parallelisms, are more than weakened if printed as a paragraph.

Additional matter

Almost every chapter begins with a brief summary, numbered to verses, longer in the New Testament. Each Old Testament book begins with a quite extensive precis, 'The Argument'. (It is not explained why Whittingham's fine New Testament 'Arguments' were dropped.) Titles run across the top

of every page, and summaries of every column. Books begin with an ornamental letter. There are pages of tables and concordances. There are maps, one at the beginning large, across a double page, and full of detail, followed, or enclosed, by a two-page 'Description of CANAAN and the bordering Countries.' The map presumes close and lengthy attention. Some pages later, a half-page map of a large area north of the Gulf, with a long note, explains 'The Situation of the Garden of Eden.' Before the New Testament is a map of the Holy Land. In Exodus and elsewhere, woodcut illustrations are inset where what is being described is particularly baffling, like the fittings of the Tabernacle or the clothing of the priests. At the beginning of 1 Kings, there are effectively five pages of pictures of, or relating to, the Temple. In 1560, the first edition had twenty-six engravings. In other words, the commonly repeated observation that there are no illustrations in Geneva Bible is not true.

The preliminary matter in later editions can fill many pages, including thirty-two pages of charts of the genealogies of the patriarchs. Many editions begin with the full Book of Common Prayer, including, as standard, all the Psalms in Coverdale's translation. So, between the covers, the complete Psalms appear three times: at the front, as Coverdale made them, in the Prayer Book; in the middle, as the Geneva translators made them; and at the end, as Sternhold and Hopkins made them.

The first edition began with an Epistle to the Queen, and an address, 'To our beloved in the Lord the brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland &c', both dated 'From Geneva. 10. April 1560.' The address is an expanded version of Whittingham's to his New Testament.²² Later editions added a two-page address 'To the Christian Reader', a poem and a prayer, and a full-page scheme of 'How to take profit in reading of the Holy Scripture'.

The 1560 Geneva Bible has 33 illustrations, most of which went forward into most following editions: some later editions varied this.²³ Two of these are title page emblems, and five are maps four of them being spread over two pages. The rest are to illuminate details in the Tabernacle or Temple, or of the visions of Ezekiel, again one being spread over two pages. The intention is edification rather than titillation: unlike other Bibles of the time, there are no jolly pictures of a half-clad Potiphar's wife reaching out to catch the coat of a fleeing Joseph, of David watching Bathsheba bathing, or a naked Susannah being spied on by lascivious elders.²⁴

Between 1568 and the last printed in 1715 (a KJV with Geneva notes), it was precisely the Geneva Bible which carried the tradition forward. Tyndale's Pentateuch had pictures, and his 1534 New Testament had a heavily illus-

trated Revelation. Continental Bibles were often lavishly illustrated. What historians should have noted is that there are no illustrations in the 1611 KJV, nor in the 1610 Douai Bible. The Reformation interest in pictures in Bibles became pushed to one side into the making of Children's Bibles.²⁵

The Geneva Bible notes

Throughout this volume the margins make what can best be described as a running commentary on the whole Bible. It has been commonplace among historians that the Geneva Bible had to be replaced in 1611, or was later absolutely to be rejected, because of the 'unacceptable Calvinism' of its notes. Nineteenth and twentieth-century rejection of the 'objectionable Calvinism' ignored the Elizabethan theological context, when Elizabeth's court read Calvin, when the nation followed Calvin in much of its theology (as in the Book of Common Prayer, particularly the Thirty-Nine Articles), its philosophy and literature, as did Sidney, Spenser and Shakespeare -- *Hamlet* demands Calvin's help in understanding the play.²⁶ It is important to recognise two things: first, that in sixteenth-century England Calvin's emphasis on the word, living with the emphasis on the Word, contributed to the liberation of poetry, and particularly the flowering of drama; and second, that Calvin was not a 'Calvinist'. Many of the fiercer doctrines were later developments. (What happened in South Africa throughout the twentieth century, in social deeds originating in the beliefs of the Dutch Reformed Church, should not be laid at the door of the Calvin of the *Institutes*.) Under Elizabeth, the works of John Calvin were much printed and bought. A translator of his sermons, Arthur Golding, first gave the world Ovid's complete *Metamorphoses* in English verse (plundered by Shakespeare) in Calvin's colours.

Ignorance of the period making the Geneva Bible 'unacceptable' because it is 'Calvinist' is one thing: distorting the Geneva Bible itself is quite another. Everyone knows that the Geneva marginal notes are 'bitter' and 'regrettable'. Like most things that everyone knows, it is plain wrong.

The later history of the Geneva Bible

In histories written in the last 150 years, with some rare exceptions, the Geneva Bible has generally been treated briefly, if mentioned at all, and condemned. A complete list of such dismissals and omissions would be a long, sad and depressing revelation of ignorance or bias. It was too shockingly Calvinist for the British, who wisely rejected it. The overwhelming evidence is of overwhelming popularity at every level of British life. In 1868 and 1905,

Bishop Westcott and W.A. Wright observed of the Geneva 'marginal commentary ... if slightly tinged with Calvinistic doctrine, [it is] on the whole neither unjust nor illiberal.'

Let us look for a moment at the 'failure'. In 1610, when it was fifty years old, it was, in three versions, apparently unstoppable. The publication figures show the opposite of 'failure'. It was the Bible of the poets, politicians and preachers, even anti-'puritan' preachers like Laud.

Distortion began with the report of King James's seemingly hostile remarks at his Hampton Court Conference in 1604. At that conference there was apparently agreed denunciation of the badness of the Geneva Bibles. Closer observation reveals the heavy bias of the official reporter, Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London. Already noted was the Victorian reduction of this masterpiece of Renaissance and Reformation scholarship to a snigger in the term 'Breeches Bible', still current. The Victorian hostility to this version can be further shown.

Virginia Woolf's father, Sir Leslie Stephen, whose multi-volume *Dictionary of National Biography*, became, with the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the eighth and ninth wonders of the world is not without blame. Some of the biographical essays in Sir Leslie's *DNB* revealed, to put it mildly, marked bias: Two of the worst entries, not previously noted, are those by 'Miss Bradley' about the Marian exiles who made the Geneva Bible. Christopher Goodman is 'said to have become Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity'. 'Said to have become?' That is like saying 'Mary Tudor is said to have become Queen of England'. The 'violence' of his 'very acrimonious tracts ... was generally disapproved.' On his commentary on Amos, 'so bitter was the feeling' that Goodman 'did not dare to return'. For this extraordinary statement, no evidence is given: her case is weakened by the absence of any record of any such commentary, by Goodman or anyone else. There is no mention of all his work on the Geneva Bible. It does get ten words in her entry on Anthony Gilbey, described as 'one of the most acrimonious and illiberal writers ...' of 'two original works of bitter invective.' 'Bitter' is used of Thomas Sampson, though there, as in the entries for William Cole and William Kethe, the Geneva Bible is ignored. This is all in the supposedly standard reference work, *DNB*.

Readers in later ages need not feel smug, however. The hostility to the Geneva Bible persists. It is possible to accumulate pages of references to books (and broadcasts) in which what has become the standard negative description is stated, or in which the Geneva Bible and its massive popularity have been omitted. Here, to avoid tedium, are but two random examples

from the later twentieth century. A useful survey published in 1992, dealing thoroughly under the heading of 'Reformation-era English translations', with Wyclif, Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthew's, the Great Bible, KJV and so on, even discussing the fragments from William Roye, and official failed attempts, makes absolutely no mention whatsoever of any Geneva Bible.²⁷ The few lines about the Geneva Bible in a popular history of the English Bible published in 1996 conclude with the remark, 'Its notes and commentary, for all their scholarliness, were peppered with barbs and ill will.'²⁸ 'Peppered' is simply untrue.

Hebrew into English for the first time

Most significant is the most sophisticated element of all in the 1560 complete Bible. Here, in the second half of the Old Testament, is the translation into English of the twenty-five books after the end of 2 Chronicles, for the first time directly with reference to the Hebrew.

How this important fact has been allowed to be obscured is an enigma. The Geneva translators used the Hebraist Tyndale closely for the first half of the Old Testament. Throughout, they had an eye to Coverdale in his own 1535 Bible, as transmitted also through Matthews Bible of 1537, and the revision of it that he made into Henry VIII's Great Bible. But Coverdale knew no Hebrew. Attempts to challenge his own statement and show that he did, all fail, and quickly. The books from Ezra to Malachi were translated from the Hebrew into English by no one else before 1560. Christopher Goodman, Anthony Gilbey and their colleagues were first. They were, it is now clear, exceptional Hebrew scholars. They were the first to use at first hand the Hebrew commentary of David Kimshi, followed in those readings in many places in KJV.²⁹ They had also a remarkable, almost Tyndalian, grasp of English; the knowledge to use available helps in at least five languages (Aramaic, Latin, Greek, German and French); and the ability to work fast. Why are they not better known?

A translation of Hebrew poetry demands marginal notes. The impression given by the authorities who insisted that they be absent (from the Great Bible, the Bishops' Bible and KJV) is that they are political and 'bitter', and only political and 'bitter'. This judgement is passed down, still, from writer to modern writer, obviously without any of them having studied even a page.

A faithful translation of Hebrew poetry deals in ellipses and ambiguities, and downright obscurities. The margins can make plain, and can also open up. There can be -- and in the Geneva Bible there was -- a continual and fruitful dialogue between text and margins. The KJV's occasional printing

of the literal sense of a Hebrew metaphor is not adequate. Stripping away Geneva's marginal notes to the prophets can produce in a reader of KJV a nearly total lack of understanding, something often close to gibberish, though one has not been encouraged to say so.

An example of purely factual help, entirely as KJV fell open at random, is Hosea 12:11.

Is there iniquity in Gilead? surely they are vanity: they sacrifice bullocks in Gilgal; yea, their altars are as heaps in the furrows of the fields.

Read out at Morning Prayer, those words might not convey very much. The Geneva text is identical, except that it italicises only the second *are*, and gives the final word as 'field'. Whereas, however, the margin of KJV has cross-references to 4:15 and 9:15, which are simply to the presence of 'Gilgal' in the text, the Geneva margin has:

The people thought that no man durst have spoken against Gilead, that holy place, and yet the Prophet sayeth, that all their religion was but vanity.

The poetic and prophetic books which make up those twenty-five are for the most part in Hebrew which is difficult to very difficult. Even so, half a century later the work of Goodman and Gilbey and the others was good enough to be taken forward into KJV, when King James's revisers were not following the inferior Bishops' Bible. Four entire centuries later, their work was good enough to be the basis of quite a number of modern versions.

Enough has been written perhaps barely to suggest the wonderful richness of Geneva's Old Testament. Britain was truly blessed in the men who made it. They make a notable contrast with the experience of KJV. The first two and a quarter pages of KJV are to modern eyes almost unbearably oleaginous flattery of 'The Most High and Mighty Prince James, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Etc', extending even to naming him, doubly erroneously, with one meaning blasphemous, 'Author of the work'. Such oil and butter were lacking from the dedication of the Geneva Bible to Queen Elizabeth. Ever after, that odd fellow James lives on everyone's lips, as the 1611 version has carried his name, particularly in America, where he is often raised to impossible authorship of the translation and to an even more impossible sainthood. The makers of the 1560 Geneva Bible remain out of sight, in the shadows. We are not even certain how many, or who, they were. They were clearly fine Hebrew scholars. There seem to have been not many of them, perhaps no more than two or three Hebraists. Their sense of ministry, of what 'the lambs' needed, and in what kind of English, was strong. They did all their work in three years

Isaiah 40 as an example

There is space here for only one fuller illustration of their excellence. Isaiah chapter 40 is the beginning of the words of an unknown prophet, a poet and man of genius, whose name or details we do not know, except that he was with the people in captivity in Babylon. From the position of his writing, chapters 40-55 in Isaiah, he is named most prosaically 'Second Isaiah', or 'Deutero-Isaiah'. What follows here is the Geneva Bible rendering of the first eleven verses of Isaiah 40 and then some of the remaining twenty in the chapter, with a selection of the marginal notes. Tyndale did not live to translate any of the poetic books -- Job, Psalms, or the prophets (except Jonah). The last time these verses had appeared in English had been in Miles Coverdale's revision for the Great Bible of 1539 of his Bible of 1535, made from five contemporary versions: Coverdale knew no Hebrew. This is the first time that these words have been in English direct from the Hebrew. Moreover, Coverdale had written in long paragraphs. The Geneva translators both numbered the verses and separated them out, so that Hebrew-poetry-in-English is immediately visible, and even audible. Moreover again, it is English poetry that these undeclared translators, working in a room in a house somewhere in Geneva, achieved. 'The crooked shall be straight, and the rough places plain' is not only accurate to the Hebrew but it is fine English, in rhythm, and in the increasing chime of the parallel words 'crooked -- rough' / 'shall ... straight' / 'places plain'. Not for nothing did Handel's librettist, the gifted Jennens, working with these words as they had been taken over almost exactly into KJV, understand how well the verses would go with music, nor Handel fail to set them, in *Messiah*, so that many people cannot hear them without also hearing tenor solo, choir and orchestra. But the point is the musical poetry, and that it is here in the Geneva Bible in English for the first time, and for the first time, directly from the Hebrew.

Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, will your God say.

2 Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned: for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins.

3 A voice crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord: make straight in the desert a path for our God.

4 Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be straight, and the rough places plain.

5 And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

6 A voice said, Cry. And he said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the grace thereof is as the flower of the field.

7 The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, because the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass.

8 The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand for ever.

9 O Zion, that bringest good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain: O Jerusalem, that bringest good tidings, lift up thy voice with strength: lift it up, be not afraid: say unto the cities of Judah, Behold, your God. ...

11 He shall feed his flock like a shepherd: he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and shall guide them with young. ...

18 To whom will ye liken God? Or what similitude will ye set upon him? ...

22 He sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers, he stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in.

23 He bringeth the princes to nothing, and maketh the judges of the earth, as vanity. ...

26 Lift up your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, and bringeth out their armies by number, and calleth them all by names? by the greatness of his power and mighty strength nothing faileth.

27 Why sayest thou, O Jacob, and speakest, O Israel, My way is hid from the Lord, and my judgement is passed over my God?

28 Knowest thou not? or hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord hath created the ends of the earth? he neither fainteth, nor is weary: there is no searching of his understanding.

29 But he giveth strength unto him that fainteth, and unto him that hath no strength, he increaseth power.

30 Even the young men shall faint, and be weary, and the young men shall stumble and fall.

31 But they that wait upon the Lord, shall renew their strength: they shall lift up the wings as the eagles: they shall run, and not be weary, and they shall walk, and not faint.

The first marginal note, to 'Comfort ye', is

This is a consolation for the Church, assuring them that they shall be never destitute of Prophets, whereby he exhorteth the true ministers of God that then were, and those also that should come after him, to comfort the poor and afflicted, and to assure them of their deliverance both of body and soul.

Five notes later, to 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord', is:

Meaning Cyrus and Darius which should deliver Gods people out of captivity, and make them a ready way to Jerusalem: and this was fully accomplished, when John the Baptist brought tidings of Jesus Christ's coming, who was the true deliverer of his Church from sin and Satan, Matthew 3.3.

Two notes later, to 'All flesh shall see it together', is:

This miracle shall be so great, that it shall be known through all the world.

The final note to the chapter, out of 32, against 'Even the young men shall faint', is

They that trust in their own virtue, & do not acknowledge that all cometh of God.

What the chapter is about is the power of God, the sovereignty of God, the impossibility of 'figuring' the scale of him, as the heading to the Geneva page has it, and yet his concern for his people cosmically, strategically and personally. This is the point of the Hebrew now in English. This is the point of the Geneva Bible.

Gerald Hammond, the wisest writer on the Geneva Old Testament, observed of it that it was so good that it might reasonably have stood as the definitive English version, as the KJV was destined to do for three hundred years.³⁰ There is indeed something shocking about the Geneva English Bible. It is not its Calvinism, which in the theology of the supremacy of the sovereignty of God is its glory: nor its supposed failure, which is a lie. What is shocking is, from 1611, the systematic destruction of it for political, and above all, crude commercial, reasons.

It could never, however, be destroyed. Now, apart from some copies in private hands or specialist libraries, it only exists with the full notes for twenty-first century readers in two modern facsimiles (of the 1560 and 1602 editions) both also generally confined to libraries, and the first of them long out of print.³¹ But it is still alive. So much of it went, flatly against King James's wishes, into the KJV, a story still untold. It affected our greatest writers, Shakespeare and Milton. It lit the beacon of liberty in the English seventeenth century. Its notes were even added to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century KJVs. The Geneva Bible was 'killed': but it is alive.

Tyndale, on an early page in his *Obedience of a Christian Man*, wrote about the power of God. He explained how the enemies of Christ had the power to arrest Christ, to put him on trial and condemn him to death, with the whole might of Roman and Jewish law, and crucify him.

Finally when they had done all they could and that they thought sufficient,

and when Christ was in the heart of the earth and so many bills and poleaxes about him, to keep him down, and when it was past man's help: then help God. When man could not bring him again, God's truth fetched him again.³²

Notes and References (Endnotes)

¹. For the first time, that is, apart from Exodus, Leviticus and Deuteronomy in Tyndale's 1530 Pentateuch.

². 'The Hebrew Old Testament had long been divided into verses, but not chapters; the New Testament into chapters, not verses. The compilation of dictionaries and concordances led inevitably to chapter and verse divisions in both by the 1550s.' (Gerald Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible*, (Manchester, 1982), 238).

³. John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (1823), l. 35.

⁴. Christina H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles* (CUP, 1938), *passim*.

⁵. Paul Chaix, Alain Dufour and Gustave Moeckli, *Les Livres Imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600* (1959).

⁶. Printed in A. W. Pollard *Records of the English Bible* (OUP, 1911), 275-6.

⁷. Pollard, 277.

⁸. Pollard, 278.

⁹. Pollard, 277.

¹⁰. B. F. Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 3rd. edit. revised W. A. Wright (Macmillan, 1905), 93.

¹¹. The best general account remains the 28 pages of introduction by Lloyd E. Berry to the facsimile of the 1560 Geneva Bible published by the University of Wisconsin Press in 1969. Thorough as he was, Berry remarked how much remained to be done; little has changed since 1969. Lewis Lupton left unfinished at his death in 1995 his 25-volume, lavishly illustrated but curiously produced, *The History of the Geneva Bible* (The Olive Tree Press, 1968 foll.); though one commends the intention, the title is misleading, as a great deal of pre-Reformation and Reformation English Bible material is described volume by volume, not always accurately.

¹². Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1991), 394-5.

¹³. Berry, 7. See also Paul Chaix, Alain Dufour and Gustave Moeckli, *Les Livres Imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600* (1959).

¹⁴. Pollard, 280.

¹⁵. Some evidence from a letter from Miles Coverdale to William Cole: Alexander, ii, and Mozley, *Coverdale*, 316.

¹⁶. Gerald Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible* (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1982), 89.

¹⁷. See Randall T. Davidson, 'The Authorisation of the English Bible', *Macmillan's Magazine*, xlv (1881), 436-444.

¹⁸. Randall T Davidson, quoted by Berry, 19.

¹⁹. Hammond, 101.

²⁰. Hammond, 106

²¹. Hammond, chapters 4 and 5, pp. 89-136.

²². It is reprinted in Pollard, 279-83.

²³. The 1602 folio edition, for example, has a dozen illustrations in the early chapters of Exodus.

²⁴. See Ruth B. Bottigheimer, *The Bible for Children: From the Age of Gutenberg to the Present* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1996), 116 foll.

²⁵. Bottigheimer, *passim*.

²⁶. Alan Sinfield, 'Hamlet's Special Providence', *Shakespeare Survey*, 33, (1980), 89-97.

²⁷. R.H. Worth Jr., *Bible Translations: A History through Source Books* (Jefferson NC, 1992). In a small-print note 'Breeches Bibles' are mentioned in a collection of 'Singular Renderings': otherwise there is no mention at all.

²⁸. Mary Metzner Trammell and William G. Dawley, *The Reforming Power of the Scriptures* (Boston, Mass.: The Christian Science Publishing Society 1996), 163.

²⁹. Berry, 11. See David Daiches, *The King James Version* (1941), 179 foll. For their translation methods see David Alexander, 100-175.

³⁰. Hammond, 137.

³¹. Berry, *op. cit.*; and *The Geneva Bible: The Annotated New Testament, 1602 edition*, ed. by Gerald T. Sheppard (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1989)

³². Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (Penguin Classics, 2000), 5.

Reconstructing Manuscripts Using Confocal Laser Scanning Microscopy

Professor Carsten P. Thiede

Report by Peter Parry, on the introduction to Prof. C. Thiede's paper at the Geneva Tyndale Conference, October 2001.

Carsten P. Thiede gave what he called an 'amuse-bouche' (appetiser) as an introduction to his Tyndale presentation which he entitled 'The Hard Work of Textual Criticism'. This took us into the realms of working on manuscripts using a method called 'Confocal Laser Scanning Microscopy', which is normally applied in biological research, but which he has helped pioneer in its archaeological applications using equipment installed at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. The technique permits the analysis of manuscripts so badly damaged as to be otherwise unusable in whole or in part. It is currently being used on the Dead Sea Scrolls particularly where they have been subjected to physical or organic damage such as attack by fungi.

It is now possible to reconstruct original letters that have long since disappeared from the surface. There are also many manuscripts where the text is highly controversial or where it is impossible to say, with accuracy, what the

actual text was. It may be that some or all of the ink has disappeared. Now we can reconstruct what some, at least, of those those apparently lost letters actually were.

Using this new technique up to 19 levels can be distinguished on any organic writing material. Ink can be found where nobody has seen it before, and even when it has gone; the microscope is often able to find the imprint left by the writing instrument of the scribe. This imprint can be measured and the direction the pen or stylus took in forming each letter can be determined. Furthermore, the technique allows one to distinguish between ink and stains made up of microscopic fungi which attack the papyrus when it has not been properly conserved. Ink can also be distinguished from other foreign material, such as dust and dirt. Hence it is possible to reconstruct each individual letter. The capability exists to discern the text on documents long since thought not to contain any valuable information, and in other cases, by correctly reconstructing doubtful letters, to avoid an incorrect exegesis of the texts.

Carsten Thiede then went on, with the aid of slides and with the participants wearing special 3D enabling glasses, to demonstrate the techniques he employs. Using a Septuagint manuscript of a Psalm, we were shown a piece of text, of a Dead Sea Scroll papyrus, initially without 3D images. First examination seemed to show that the writer marked a letter with a small sign of the Cross in one corner. Could this have been written by a Christian scribe marking a letter of this Old Testament text in the way that the printers of the Tyndale Bible left their marks on their typefaces? Slides showing an ordinary view of the letter would seem to support the possibility that, indeed, this could have been made by an early Christian. However, applying the microscopy techniques and using 3D images it was possible to see, in the lower layers of the material, that fibres had been dislocated and had formed a cross. Clearly this was not done intentionally by the writer.

Taking the analysis further, and reconstructing the likely extent of the surface ink, it is possible to see what the missing parts of the letters are supposed to be and in this way to recover the text of the scroll. We were shown a number of examples of the recovery of letters and text from fragmented and damaged manuscripts. However, Carsten Thiede emphasised that these techniques do not give a carte blanche for manuscripts not to be kept in proper protective environments. But it does allow documents to be resealed for subsequent storage, before they are damaged beyond the point of no return. The door has been opened to enrich our knowledge of ancient text further than has been thought possible up until now.

New Wine in Old Bottles

by the Very Reverend Nicholas Bury

Report by David Green, October 2001.

Christ's parable was neatly brought home to us by the Dean of Gloucester, the Very Reverend Nicholas Bury, as we began to grasp its modern significance in relation to the immense changes which the Church of England encountered, long before the Millennium. Nicholas Bury illustrated so well how close the 'bottle of wine' had been to bursting.

He began his lecture by reading Sir John Betjeman's witty poem 'Septuagesima':-

<i>Septuagesima – seventy days To Easter's primrose tide of praise. The Gesimas – septa, sexa, quinc Mean Lent is here, which makes you think. Septuagesima – when we're told To 'run the race', to 'keep our hold', Ignore injustice, not give in, And practise stern self-discipline; A somewhat unattractive time Which hardly lends itself to rhyme. But still it gives the chance to me To praise the dear old C. of E. So other churches please forgive Lines on the church in which I live, The Church of England of my birth, The kindest church to me on earth, There may be those who like things fully Argued out, and call you 'woolly'</i>	<i>Ignoring creeds and catechism They say the C of E's in 'schism' There may be those who much resent Priest, liturgy and sacrament, Whose worship is what they call 'free' Well, let them be so, but for me There's refuge in the C of E. And when it comes that I must die I hope the vicar's standing by – I won't care if he's 'low' or 'High' For he'll be there to aid my soul On that dread journey to its goal, With sacrament and prayer and blessing, After I've done my last confessing And at that time may I receive The grace most firmly to believe, For if the Christian faith's untrue What is the point of me and you?</i>
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The lecturer then proceeded with a wonderful description of the birth of the Anglican church as shown in the very fabric of Gloucester cathedral: stressing that Gloucester was originally a Benedictine abbey with an unbroken history of prayer; that the partly smashed reredos in the sanctuary was a mark of the iconoclasm of 16th century protest; that some lovely memorials had been created by and for the Oxford movement members; and also that plainsong chants were still today to be heard here and that a modern embroidered tapestry with an image of the Virgin now hung over the rere-

dos. All these things spoke of the healing quality of time or that the wheel had turned full circle.

We were brought up to date by the fact that today's cathedral chaplain is an ordained woman who could celebrate eucharist besides the tombs of clerics who would have found this 'bizarre – even offensive'.

We were treated to a thoroughgoing assessment of the history of Anglican thought and the story of our national church from its beginnings in the rejection of the Papacy, the translation of the Bible into English and the acceptance of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith from the Lutheran influence.

The nature of Anglican thought, we were assured, had the infuriating reputation of being imprecise. Our national protestant church had produced no theologians of the calibre or productiveness of a Luther or a Calvin and a debate had arisen as to whether the Reformation had proceeded far enough. With the Tudor reestablishment under Elizabeth, the church was said to be moderate and inclusive, and those two words have proved to apply to its nature ever since. In the 17th century that wonderful priest and poet, George Herbert praised the Church of England as a 'middle wayneither too mean nor yet too gay.'

Anglican thought, we were reminded, is rooted in orthodox trinitarianism and this is confirmed by the 39 Articles. Moreover, it has always been sustained and informed by the Book of Common Prayer – the creative compilation from several sources by the genius of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. Anglicans continue to revise this book amid opposition from some quarters – for its exclusive use is prescribed by canon law. The prayer book always functioned both as a public prayer manual and as a set of norms for teaching. Anglicans regularly profess that their church is one part of a Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church – believing in the catholic faith and celebrating the catholic sacraments and handing on the apostolic ministry subject to the Gospel.

Anglicans also justified the threefold order of Bishops-Priests- Deacons, though they denied the necessity of being in communion with the Pope. Our speaker also outlined the whole problem and structure of authority within the church and it was remarkable how loose, open and inspired the framework of the English church had remained over the centuries, especially during the testing times of the last two.

We were told of thinkers like the pragmatic Richard Hooker in the late 16th century, who had steered such a positive line in his writings between the extremes of belief and practice. Hooker died in 1600 and in the follow-

ing century his influence was widely acknowledged and strongly contributed to the growing sense of a distinctive Anglican tradition; in fact, a critical edition of Hooker's works was published by John Keble. The term 'Anglicanism' was coined at this time, and Anglicanism has tended ever since to be a construct, a selection from the broad stream of English theological thought and spirituality. The revivals of the 19th century were to be expected after the lowest period of the church's history – the previous century's rather arid rationalism. However, the sacramental edifice of the 17th century was not found entirely to be lost.

The time came for the Anglican church to spread its wings and become a worldwide communion. The first American bishop was installed in 1784, and in 1867 the Archbishop of Canterbury called the first Lambeth conference. Here again, the free, unstructured nature of the English church became evident, since no official meeting of bishops has ever been called. The bishops continue to arrive at Lambeth by invitation only from the Archbishop who does not even consult the titular head of the established church in doing so.

Nicholas Bury developed his theme toward the severe problems and controversies which have beset all modern Christian liberal and orthodox organizations. One of these problems is biblical criticism, the ongoing debate in historical/critical bible studies. Here we were struck by the wording and spirit of the encyclical letter originated at the 1897 conference which declared: 'A faith which is always or often attended by a secret fear that we dare not enquire lest enquiry should lead us to a result inconsistent with what we believe, is already infected with the disease which may soon destroy it.'

Biblical criticism has not gone away, but the openness of Anglican thinkers is remarkable in the way it allows the church to weather all storms – and tempests there certainly are. Several doctrines have come under sharp attack in recent years and our speaker assured everyone that, since the disbelieving days of the mid 20th century, traditional Trinitarian and incarnational belief had been fully reasserted.

Other difficulties were brought to mind. The dissension concerning the 39 Articles which has raged from the 1860's to this day and their removal from the church's printed matter. This had the result that some alternative stated basis of the church communion had to be sought. The prayer book was always there to provide inspiration and in recent years some other fine documents setting out belief have been published (1987-1996). Liturgical revision has also proved a stumbling block over the years and though new

forms have found some acceptance at home, there was a need for revision to the liturgies of Anglican/Episcopalian congregations in other parts of the world.

Other problems relating to spiritual authority have also surfaced in our own day. The deeply embedded tradition of Christian patriarchy has been tried by the Women's Movement and the attendant feminist awakening. Again, the Anglican church has risen to this challenge though not without much anxiety and soul searching. By 1978 however, the ordination of women to the priesthood became fact and by 1998 ordination to the episcopate was accepted as inevitable by the General Synod.

The bottle has been ready to break, or so it has seemed on several occasions. The new wine can be explosive in nature. But the story is not over. The continuing debate about same-sex relations has exposed once more the problem of authority and all the churches, not just the Church of England, are caught up in the toils of the same argument. The Ecumenical Movement was the last of the modern controversies to which the lecturer drew our attention. The notion of the constitution of a comprehensive Christian church has met with all kinds of difficulty. While a body of Anglicans realized that they found it difficult to justify retaining ancient traditions such as the episcopate, they still clung to them, and their insistence had irritated ecumenical partners, Again, the unstructured character of Anglicanism had provided problems and puzzles for its own thinkers.

In recent times, an agreement (Porvoo) had been reached on the understanding of the episcopate and published in a document jointly produced by Anglicans of the United Kingdom and Ireland and the Lutherans of the Nordic and Baltic countries. It had not, however, been endorsed by the Lambeth conference.

Our speaker closed with the affirmation of his view that, in spite of the testing days of the closing decade of the 20th century, Anglican thought continues to be vigorous and productive.

Note

We are very grateful to Nicholas Bury for all his insights and their lucid exposition. We learned a lot and with learning comes a deeper understanding and appreciation of the problems facing the Established Church.

Many attended sung evensong in Gloucester Cathedral quire following the lecture, and prayers were led by Canon Norman Chatfield. Twenty one guests stayed for supper in the Undercroft Restaurant.

Tyndale Society Website

Dr Deborah Pollard,

March 2002, debs.pollard@shaw.ca

The Tyndale Society has been present on the World Wide Web for a few years now and the website is continually growing with new material. The address is:

<http://www.tyndale.org>

The website can be viewed by users connected to the internet anywhere in the world. It has been registered with as many search engines and directories as possible and we have been exchanging “links” with related websites from anywhere in the world.

The left-hand side of each web page has a navigation panel with links to major sections of the site. To help visitors find what they are looking for quickly, a type-in search field features at the top of the navigation panel. The site is automatically re-indexed each Wednesday and I can rebuild the index manually at any time too.

The right-hand side of each web page displays the content of the section. The first page of our site is a general introduction to the aims of the Tyndale Society and to William Tyndale. There are other pages with more information about the Society and how to join. The focus of our website is the **Tyndale Society** in the first instance, rather than William Tyndale. The first page should make this plain. There are other websites such as www.williamtyndale.com that centre on the man. We also have visitors to our site who apparently expect to have reached the website of Tyndale House Publishers. As a commercial venture their site name ends in “.com”, www.tyndale.com. Because the Tyndale Society is a charity and an organization, our site name ends in “.org”.

The **Events** section changes most often as new events are listed with information about them and past events are removed. In most web browsers, clicking on the Events link in the navigation panel will expand the link into the list of events. One can then click on the individual item and go directly to further information about the event. In a few browsers, the Events link takes one to a page of Events information. It might be an idea for the future to set up a separate page of reports on events. At the moment write-ups appear in the Journal and articles from the Journal are gradually appearing at the website.

The **Publications** link works in a similar fashion. The tables of content for

Tyndale Society Journals are displayed at our website along with the full text of a number of articles. Readers should be able to gain an idea of the interests of the Society. The tables of content for the academic journal of the Society, *Reformation*, have also been posted on the website. For those issues in which there were abstracts, these too, have been put up on the site.

By popular demand a **Genealogy** section has been added. Over 100 individuals in the Tyndale family tree have been organized for the web. There are background papers by Tyndale family members and others. Of course, William never married and had no children but the family line through his sister Margaret gave rise to American President Zachary Taylor and to American Civil War General Robert E. Lee so there is much known about this branch of the family tree. The family line through William’s brother Edward is also illustrious and has been delineated by descendants. I am indebted to several people who have spontaneously contributed details and as soon as possible more will be mounted at the website.

The very nature of the world wide web is “links” highlighted text or images that one clicks on to go to another web page, website or section of a web page. And so it seemed that the Tyndale Society website could not be complete without an entire section devoted to “links”. Our Links page contains a list of websites that may be of interest to our website visitors. There is a form at the bottom for visitors to suggest a new link. After checking the suggested website, the link is added to our page. There are so many links now, that it will soon be necessary to subdivide them into groups.

The website currently announces a few of the items for sale through the Society’s office. This area of the website will expand in the next few weeks. We will be exploring the possibility of enabling secure transactions online so that visitors could order online.

We are also exploring the addition of a “discussion board” to the website. This would be a forum for posting messages related to the work and interests of the Society. Discussion could focus on Society events for example. Because Tyndale Society members live around the world and because the website exists to bring the Society to the internet world, a message board seems more appropriate than a “chat room” which expects users to be using their computers at the same time.

Although not the principal concern of the website, there is a link to an attractive section on the life and work of William Tyndale. These pages constituted a separate web project that has been donated to our site.

In all, it is hoped that the website adequately reflects the work and interests of the Tyndale Society and I welcome suggestions for further development.



Letters to the Editor

Dear Valerie,

It was good to have the Tyndale Society Journal in yesterday's post: as usual it provides a good read and plenty of stimulus to thought.....

...I was glad to read about the Geneva conference. I really seem to have missed an excellent occasion. I must hope to be fit enough to be able to visit Antwerp at the end of August.....

It was good to see that you quoted the opening verse of the Advent hymn 'Hark the glad sound, the Saviour comes'. But may a retired schoolmaster get out his red pencil? The tune (Bristol) is indeed by Thomas Ravenscroft (Psalmes 1621), but the words are those of Philip Doddridge (1702-1751). Doddridge seems to me a most interesting person: a dissenter he was nevertheless on good terms with the Archbishop of Canterbury of his day and with Secker, Bishop of Oxford. He had a friendly correspondence with both men. He became quite a national figure – it was a tragedy that consumption killed him when he was only 49.

The simplicity and directness of Doddridge's hymn appeal to me very much: it has a subtle elegance of its own. And I think it would have appealed to Tyndale.....

All good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Robin Everitt, 19 January 2002.

Editor's reply

I am pleased that Mr Robin Everitt has corrected my small error and I have made a mental note for the future not to scrawl references hastily on a scrap of paper after the church service!

Dear Valerie,

Let me say first what a joy it is to read the Tyndale Journal in the lighthearted, unstuffy way that you have. Keep it up.

In the recent issue you refer to David Daniell speaking on the 1560

Geneva Bible: the Shocking Truth. I am agog to know what his shocking truth is. Has David's lecture been published? Or will it be given in a future issue of the Journal?....

My own interest in Tyndale is largely for what he did for English prose. I am not much of a Christian these days: but if I believe anything, it is what St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians (1st Epistle chapter 13), especially in the words William Tyndale used, before the wretched King James men mucked it up with their Latinity.

Best wishes

Ronald Mansbridge

February 2002

Weston, Conn., USA.

Editor's Note

It is nice to hear from an American reader. David Daniell's Geneva Conference lecture is printed in this issue.

Dear Valerie,

Many thanks for another Journal and just in case you have not heard Still Waters Revival Books have reissued:

1. Robert Demaus, ed Richard Lovett, William Tyndale: A Biography
2. William Tyndale, An answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue (Parker Society ed.)

Three comments:

1. The books are a surprising size: 11 1/4" x 8 5/8", although they are reprints of octavos. The reason is that two pages are reproduced side by side on each page, so the book has to be read turned 90°. four pages being seen at an opening. Awkward.

2. SWRB follows its practice of including adverts and 'extracts'. In Demaus not only are there 46 such pages at the back, but furthermore blank pages at the front of the original have not been left blank. Tyndale has 16 such pages at the back, some of which duplicate pages in Demaus.

3. The two books are back in print in legible type.

The bad news for United Kingdom and Ireland residents is that SWRB have appointed Book Academy, Southsea, as their agent here. When this was first announced, I emailed Book Academy, but received no reply. Fortunately for me SWRB agreed to continue to sell me CDs direct. Then I saw a US book on Book Academy's web site priced @ £25, the US price

is \$25, so it would appear that they are using a rather advantageous (to them) exchange rate.

Grace and peace
Vic Perry
Email February 2002.

Dear Valerie,

Thank you so much for getting in contact about the Adam Foster article in the Gleanings from Foxe series I started a while ago. I am pleased that it will eventually be published in the Tyndale Journal.

I do appear to have neglected you all of late - sorry! Health to one side, I have been immensely busy working on an interlinear translation of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels and which, when published, will again belong to the Tyndale Society (copyright, royalties etc).

Its appearance will complete the trilogy of the earliest translations of the Bible into English: the Anglo-Saxon (10th century), the Wycliffe (1388) and, as a crowning glory, the Tyndale of 1526. That is some legacy for the Tyndale Society to give the world - but that is also why my head scarcely appears above the parapet.

God bless you, and have a wonderful Easter!
Bill Cooper
Email March 2002.

Dear Valerie,

Would you be so kind as to inform me of how to keep up to date on modern publications of the old English Bibles like the modern spelling Wycliffe etc?

Are you aware of any electronic editions of the pre-Authorized Version (a.k.a. King James Version) freely accessible on the internet? I know about the licensed ProQuest Information and Learning product - Early English Bibles Online - but I do not have access since I am not a student. I can pay \$400 for a one year subscription or buy the CD set for some \$2,500! Also, Greydon Press put out a CD with the English Hexapla, but this also costs \$200! Being a common man (ploughboy) and a believer in Tyndale's philosophy, this situation is outrageous. Is the Tyndale Society working to rectify this problem in any way?

I am wondering if Professor David Daniell would be inclined to give permission to make his modern-spelling Tyndale Bible available freely to the public through a website and/or with Bible search programs that can be downloaded for free off of the internet?

Sincerely,
Ross J Purdy
rossjpurdy@hotmail.com

Exhibition in Oxford



Thomas Bodley & His Library

4 February - 1 June 2002

The Bodleian Library, Oxford, opened its doors to readers on 8 November 1602. This exhibition marks the library's four-hundredth anniversary. It focuses on the character and career of founder Sir Thomas Bodley, and on the early development of the library (1598–1620) under Bodley and his first Librarian, Thomas James. Rarely-seen exhibits include:

- Bodley's own description of his struggles in Elizabeth I's diplomatic service
- the only 16th-century picture of the Divinity School and Duke Humfrey's Library (used by David Gentleman in his design of the Bodleian's logo)
- the magnificent Benefactors' Register, 1604
- wonderful donations to the new library: a 10th-century Boethius manuscript, an English bestiary (12th century), 'Codex Bodley' (Mixtec genealogies of pre-Conquest Mexico)
- the first catalogues, showing the development of this vital research tool
- the first 'reader's ticket', dated 13 February 1613
- Bodley's funeral helm, from his tomb in Merton College chapel

Admission is free

Entrance to the Exhibition Room is from the Old Schools Quadrangle, Catte Street.

Sir Thomas Bodley and his library

The Bodleian Library, founded by the scholar and diplomat Sir Thomas Bodley (1545-1613), this year celebrates the 400th anniversary of its opening.

It is of particular interest to Tyndale Society members as Thomas Bodley received his early education in the Geneva of John Calvin. His father, John Bodley, a rich Devon merchant had sought refuge on the continent together with his household as a zealous Protestant in the reign of Mary Tudor. John Bodley was closely involved in the financing and production of the Geneva Bible 1560 and held the patent for its production.

Shortly after the family's return to England on the accession of Queen Elizabeth Thomas went to Oxford to pursue his studies. He graduated in 1563, and the following year became a fellow of Merton, where he lectured in Greek and promoted the study of Hebrew. His years in Geneva had broadened his horizons and increased his linguistic skills and by 1576 he 'waxed desirous to travel beyond the Seas' with a view to entering 'the publique service of the state'. This he did and was involved in a variety of diplomatic missions culminating in his appointment as ambassador to the United Provinces in The Hague in 1588. He took his 'farewell of State employments' in 1597.

Within a year Bodley had decided on the great undertaking which was to occupy the last fifteen years of his life – the re-establishment of the University Library at Oxford. Eleven years previously he had married Ann, the widow of Nicholas Ball, a wealthy merchant of Totnes in Devon, whose fortune (with that he inherited from his father) enabled him to make an offer to the vice chancellor. In 1598 he wrote 'where there hath bin heretofore a publicke library in Oxford ... I will take the charge and cost upon me, to reduce it again to its former use'. In his autobiography Bodley enumerated his qualifications for this self-appointed task – learning, leisure, money and friends. He, indeed, proved endlessly adept at encouraging benefactions, both of money and of books.

Under the watchful eye of the founder, the first librarian, Thomas James, laboured at the cataloguing of the flood of incoming books. On 8 November 1602, the Library was opened to readers, and soon scholars were travelling from all over northern Europe to study there. In 1610 Bodley astutely made an agreement with the Stationers' Company for the deposit in his library of one copy of every book registered at Stationers' Hall – an arrangement which still stands to this day. A recent Bodley Librarian pointed out rather

wryly that the founder could not have envisaged how much shelf space that advantageous arrangement would entail some 400 years later! Nonetheless, Thomas Bodley's vision of a library serving not only Oxford but the whole scholarly world has stood the test of time.

Source

Catalogue 'Sir Thomas Bodley and his Library: An exhibition to mark the quatercentenary of the Bodleian' Bodleian Library 2002.

Book Reviews

Alister McGrath, *In the Beginning: the Story of the King James Bible and how it changed a Nation, a Language and a Culture*, Hodder and Stoughton, 2001 (ISBN 0340 78560 8) Hardback £14.99

In the preface, Alister McGrath tells how, like every child born in the coronation year, 1953, he was given a copy of the King James Bible (KJB) by order of the Queen. 'As I grew older,' he relates, 'I often wondered how the whole thing came about. How was the translation process started? Who were the people who created it? What issues did they face? How did they go about producing the translation? How was it received? And why had Elizabeth II asked for this specific version of the Bible to be given to all born in the year of her coronation? What was so special about it?' These are fair questions about the book he 'now knew to be a literary and religious classic'.

The subject is beguiling, the author appears to have considerable credentials as a historian, and the book is good-looking. Would this turn out to be something worthwhile, or would it turn out to belong with those many, many books, articles and remarks that make up what I have called 'the pious chorus'? Would it be a genuine new investigation or another reverential piece of half-thinking praise, an example of what I have called AVolatry?

The contents look promising, ranging from the development of printing and the rise of English through early English Bibles by way of an account of the Reformation to four chapters on King James, why and how the KJB was made, and the early printings, then moving on to problems of translation, how the Bible shaped modern English and how the KJB was finally acclaimed. History, Bible translation and language are appropriately mixed, though one wonders quite how the 'culture' of the title will fit in.

The result, however, is disappointing. Not only is this another piece of AVolatry, but it reads like a hasty patchwork pot-boiler. Alarm bells ring early: ‘without the King James Bible, there would have been no Paradise Lost, no Pilgrim’s Progress, no Handel’s Messiah, no Negro spirituals, and no Gettysburg Address. These, and innumerable other works, were inspired by the language of this Bible. Without this Bible, the culture of the English-speaking world would have been immeasurably impoverished.’ It is the emphasis on ‘the language of this Bible’ that is worrying, though it is obviously true that the KJB was the particular form in which English Protestants (and some Catholics) knew the Bible.

If one could show that Paradise Lost and the others would have been quite different or even impossible if the KJB had never been made and the Geneva Bible, say, had become the Bible of England, then the claims would have real meaning, and a lot would have been said about how the KJB ‘changed... a culture’. But Paradise Lost, for instance, has only one line quoted verbatim from the KJB, ‘she gave me from the tree and I did eat’ (Gen. 3: 12). It is wonderfully effective in its plangent simplicity amidst the elaborations of Milton’s verse, but it isn’t unique to the KJB. The reading goes back through the Bishops’ and Geneva Bibles to the Great Bible. Little of Paradise Lost -- and one could say the same for so many literary works based on the Bible -- depends on the precise words of the KJB. Rather, the biblical story, available in so many versions as well as in art and popular mythology, is the prime but not the only source. Is there really anything in it that depends uniquely on the KJB? Would Paradise Lost have been different by a single word if the KJB had never been made?

McGrath does not answer such questions. What is perhaps more surprising is that none of the works he mentions except the Messiah receives another mention in the book. This is part of what I take to be the haste of the book: tough questions untouched, relevant areas unexplored.

Here are two more examples of apparent haste resulting in omission -- and error.

First, there are ten pages on the Bible in America, of which three are on Robert Aitken’s efforts to produce the first KJB printed in America. Following this are two paragraphs on rival translations in relation to the KJB, and the chapter stops. The Bible in America is a huge subject, fully relevant to this book, yet it simply isn’t there. There is a chasm where one expected a mountain; or, if not a mountain, at least a mention of the Gettysburg Address.

Second, there is the treatment of the printing of the KJB. There is a whole chapter on this, but nothing on the development of the text; instead,

the chapter concludes with the easier topic of printing errors. Following a mention of the ‘Wicked Bible’ of 1631 (incorrectly attributed, as reference to A.S. Herbert’s indispensable Historical Catalogue would have shown), McGrath notes that the first edition of the KJB printed by Oxford University Press appeared in 1675, and that this ‘was followed in 1682 by a sumptuous edition prepared by the Oxford printer John Baskett’, the notorious ‘Baskett-full of Printer’s Errors’. The true date is 1717.

What, one might ask, of Cambridge University Press, which made crucial contributions to the text in 1629 and 1638? Well, there is a mention in the ‘biblical timeline’ given at the end: the last entry is for 1675, the year McGrath correctly gave for the first Oxford Bible: ‘King James Bible published by Cambridge University Press’. What an error to finish with, and what a date to choose for the final entry! There is no mention at all of Benjamin Blayney’s Oxford folio of 1769, the edition that established the received form of the text in England, nor any noting of later key moments in the history of the Bible such as the publication of the Revised Version in 1885. Such a set of errors and omissions is remarkable, especially given that Scrivener’s The Authorized Edition of the English Bible (1611) is cited in the bibliography.

Haste and carelessness ruin the book. The uninformed reader, wanting a decent introduction to the whole subject, would have no way of telling when the information is reliable and when not. If this reader wanted to trace the phrase, ‘the noblest monument of English prose’, he or she would have a long and fruitless hunt to find it in Robert Lowth, to whom McGrath attributes it; with antecedents, it comes from a man with a similar surname, John Livingston Lowes 180 years later.

Just as bad is the reference to Robert Cawdray’s early dictionary, A Table Alphabetical (to give it its right title): this deals with ‘hard usual English words’, not unusual ones, as Simon Winchester’s The Surgeon of Crowthorne would also have us believe. The mistake falsifies the early history of English lexicography.

Perhaps less culpable is the discussion of ‘his’ and ‘its’. There are some good examples and some good points made, but ‘its’ did not appear in the KJB of 1611 at Lev. 25: 5 (the one place where ‘its’ is now found), and McGrath’s opening point is about the state of the language when the KJB was made. The reading was ‘that which groweth of it owne accord’ until first changed (as the OED notes) in 1660.

I suggested earlier that this book has a patchwork quality. There are no footnotes, which is fair enough in a book intended for the popular market,

but, as the author of one of the books in the bibliography, I recognise rather a lot. I suppose other authors of books in the bibliography might have the same experience. It's flattering to be used, but I wish it had been in a book I could recommend.

David Norton
Victoria University of Wellington

Editor's Note

David Norton's most recent book is entitled 'A History of the English Bible and Literature', Cambridge UP 2000

Christopher De Hamel, *The Book A History Of The Bible*, Phaidon Press Limited, 2001 (ISBN 0 7148 3774 1)

I adore bookshops and hate libraries. Why? Because I love to ruin books with marginal notes and pencil scratchings. This habit is an aggravation to my family and friends. But "A History of the Bible" is one publication I will not deface. It is a book to cherish--much like the grand historic Bibles it so beautifully describes.

De Hamel (who for 25 years was responsible for mediaeval and illuminated manuscripts at Sotheby's) has done his readers several good turns. First, his bibliography seems to embrace many lifetimes of reading, a god-send for harried, overworked Tyndalians. Second, the exquisite (and expensively produced) illustrations bring us face-to-face with fragile manuscripts we might never get a chance to see in person.

Quibbles? A few. The Tyndale material is a tad perfunctory, as is so often the case with old-school Tyndalian analysis (the Gutenberg section is zip-pier). Nicholas Love, he of the dumbed-down Bible stories, gets a mention. Never a man to break the rules, Love sought and obtained an ecclesiastical exemption from Archbishop Arundel under the Oxford Constitutions of 1409, letting him quote from the Bible in English.

The Lollards receive close attention, and De Hamel asks some pointed questions about their work. Were those early Lollard Bible translations Latinate on purpose, reflecting an effort by the translators to convince ecclesiastical authorities of their loyalty to Jerome? Were the Lollard Bibles used, at

least at first, as cribs ("Bibles for dummies" we might say today) to simplify the study and memorization of their "authentic" Latin counterparts?

Today, we think of Lollardy as a samizdat. However, a good many Lollard books - often prepared under visibly optimal conditions with loving care - survive, and this in an era when book burning was one of the few things that governments did well. Some 250 copies have been recorded. In the face of adversity, the Lollards have a proud record of achievement. Therein lies a conundrum - do reformers and bible translators get best results when under stress (e.g. Tyndale) or in a state of relative peace (Erasmus, Jerome)?

Before reaching for your wallet, remember that "A History of the Bible" is a history about how books are made. There is a focus on print shop logistics; the mechanics of publication throughout the ages are a constant theme. The author compares the merits of papyrus, parchment, and uterine parchment (don't ask!). Scarce materials made for scarce books in the first millennium; however, the democratization of book readership took place long before the Protestant reformers showed up. Parisian workshops in the 1300s churned out Old and New Testaments a-plenty. Granted, these were not for the ploughboy reader - at least not yet. But a critical mass of educated readers was developing, and their needs were catered to.

Mediaeval manuscripts displayed these shifts. As time passed, bible searchability was enhanced through wider use of visual aids to the reader (signposts and markings embedded within the text). Some manuscripts would use the colour red to distinguish actual Biblical text from patristic commentary. Thank goodness de Hamel ignores the 20th century Jesus Seminar and their silly colour-coded Bible.

In focusing on "look and feel", the author is stressing an issue long overlooked in the Bible world. No-frills Bibles come into vogue from time to time, but never for long. Complain all you like about the focus on appearances, but the urge to embroider bibles has been a fixture for centuries. The Scriptures have been a catalyst for the ingenuity of artists and calligraphers since the dawn of the Christian era; the injunction against images never stood a chance. Sometimes this "interior decorating" has been interactive. In the 19th century, American readers would bind their own chosen illustrations into their own private Bibles ("Grangerizing"); then as now, customization was vital in a consumer society.

Lest you feel this sounds too much like a Versace catalogue, fear not, there is plenty of hard scholarship in these pages. The author is a born historian who always uses particular examples to illustrate broader conclusions. In de Hamel's analysis, the Good Book is a kaleidoscope through which an array

of scholarly, societal, and economic trends can be viewed in fascinating and unexpected ways.

Through this prism, we note how standards of scribal precision and presentation have changed over time (although the highest standards of accuracy in transmission were unvaryingly found in the Judaic world). We see the genesis of copyright law, propelled by the King James Version. We observe the evolving treatment of children, who came to be viewed as individuals and as customers for Bibles in their own right (the “thumb bibles” are a glorious curiosity). Nor should sociology blind us to business issues. After all, the Bible has always done a roaring trade (one Bible producer, attempting to store ill-gotten royalties down a privy, keels over from the stench).

There is nothing new under the sun or under de Hamel’s microscope, and genuine watersheds in church history are rare. All key figures in Christendom tend to have their own archetypes or forerunners. The incredibly prolific Jerome put this reviewer in mind of Erasmus. In the author’s account, the pulsating forces of ecclesiastical action and reaction are thrown into relief as seldom before.

At one end of the spectrum, we are reintroduced to the back-to-basics Bible pioneers epitomized by Jerome. We discover mediaeval scholar Stephen Harding (abbot of Cîteaux 1109-34) who consulted Judaic scholars in the “lingua romana” (i.e. in French!) to discuss original Hebrew texts. At the opposite pole, we meet the everything-but-the-kitchen sink crowd who revere the whole miasma of church tradition, see all Bible stories as equally sacrosanct, and hate to leave anything out. Later scribes reinstated doubtful Bible passages which Harding had pruned away.

The treatment of purely religious material here is uneven. De Hamel gives a fine account of the analytical methods used by the patristic authors. Best of all, he avoids the smirking, reductionist tone of much contemporary Bible commentary, so fatal to an understanding of the Scriptures.

But by De Hamel’s own confession, theology is not his strength. He lacks the suspicious mindset which Tyndalians have learned through force of habit and bitter experience. He mentions certain Bibles from the 1100s that are missing the four gospels, postulating that the gospel texts might already be present in the form of lectionaries within the same monastic institution. Indeed, not all Bibles were “pandects” in those days, but one’s sceptical Tyndalian brain wonders if substantive disputes, rather than document formatting issues, lay behind this omission.

And is it really true, as the author suggests, that the content of the Bible has remained largely unchanged over the past two millennia, small discrep-

ancies aside? Are those tiny differences as minor as he thinks? De Hamel is blind to the miss-is-as-good-as-a-mile atmosphere dominating the doctrinal debates of the Reformation, where tiny distinctions (such as “church” versus “congregation”) made all the difference in the world. In those days, people really did believe - as opposed to merely professing to believe - that what they did in this life would determine their salvation in the next.

The author keeps out of the alkali bog of sectarian controversy. He avers that Bible-focused Protestant missionaries were forced - despite themselves - to take the full measure of indigenous cultures and to interact with them (the implication being that Catholic ritual could be imposed on distant societies on a like-it-or-lump-it basis). The Bible was often (although not always) the first book produced in native languages. Translating into the language of an oral culture not one’s own has to be one of the greatest challenges of all.

If the religion is secondary here, it doesn’t matter. We have other books on that. This ‘History’ magnificently complements - it does not replace - the many past, present, and future books on the subject

Neil L. Inglis Bethesda, Maryland
March 2002.

Reformation – latest news

The date for the publication of Reformation 6 has unfortunately been put back yet again to June 2002. The editor is extremely sorry about the length of time this volume has taken to appear and can only ask for a little more patience.

However, the good news is that Reformation 7 is virtually ready to go to the publishers so should be out Oct./Nov. 2002, by which point we will finally have caught up with our publishing schedule.

Reformation 7 will include essays on the Vulgate Bible; Tyndale’s knowledge of Hebrew; Henry VIII’s Royal Theology; the examinations of John Philpot; and the Marprelate tracts.

Andrew Hadfield, March 2002.

American News

The new United States Tyndale Office address is:

*Tyndale Society, Woods Corner, 1920 Centerville Turnpike, no 117 Box no 154,
Virginia Beach, VA 23464, USA.*

e-mail: vpacad@regent.edu tel 001 757.226.4320 fax 001 757.226.4448

It would be most helpful if North American members could contact Barry Ryan about any events and activities they know of or are organizing. He would also like to receive suggestions for future events and where to locate them. It seems that Southern California is a natural base but members in New York and Washington DC may have other ideas. Anyway, this is a wake up America plea from our vice Chairman!

The Antwerp Conference (Belgium) 30 August thru 3 September 2002 (see details elsewhere in this Journal) is getting better by the day and members from the United States and Canada might like to seriously consider attending. It is possible to pay with a Master/Visa card – rest assured the new fangled Euro is not obligatory. Furthermore, this year is a great deal for the US dollar given the direction of the Euro on the currency markets!

Information presented on behalf of Barry Ryan, vice chairman of the Tyndale Society.

Call for Papers for the Antwerp Conference

Additional short papers (20-30 minutes in length) are welcome in the following fields:- European and/or British Early Modern and Reformation History: Reformation theology: European literature and art of the time: translation theory: the history of the book as it applies to the time: Bible studies (particularly New Testament).

The official language of the conference is English. Papers presented at the conference maybe considered for publication in Reformation and the Tyndale Society Journal

Deadline for submission of abstracts: 31 April 2002
Abstracts should be sent to Dr Barry Ryan.

Anglo-American Press Gleanings

Rare 15th Century Bible Stolen in Lanark

Valerie Offord,

March 2002.

A rare 15th-century Bible, believed to be worth about £800,000, has vanished from a council safe. It was gifted to the people of Lanark in 1910 and was thought to be secure but it has now emerged that it has been missing for at least eight years.

In the early 1990s it was kept in a safe in the treasury office of the former Clydesdale District Council, now South Lanarkshire Council. But records show that by the time of local government reorganization in 1996 the book had disappeared from the council inventory. Since then all attempts to trace it, including a police investigation, have failed. Now Lanark Community Council is demanding an inquiry and is asking for assurances that other valuable artifacts are safe.

Leslie Reid, community councillor, said: "The book is extremely valuable. It belongs to the early ages of printing and is undoubtedly one of the town's treasures. We want the council to find it, but they don't seem to care. Our worst fear is that it has been sold somewhere in the world and is sitting in a private collection."

The missing book, written in Latin, was thought originally to be a rare Carbusier Bible, printed in 1477 by Bernhard Richel of Basle in Switzerland, and one of only 27 in the world. But it is now thought that it is an equally rare Koberg Bible, printed at Nuremberg in 1478. It was part of a large book collection given to Lanark in 1910 by William Hunter Selkirk, a local businessman who made his money in coal. Much of the collection was sold by the council the following year, but the Bible was among a handful of rare books kept in the town library until it was moved to the treasury safe.

Margaret Hodge, community council vice-chairman, has written to the council seeking an explanation. "We know it was last seen in 1994 when it was still in council offices in Lanark. But from there we have no idea what happened to it," she said.

Newspaper Sources

English, Shirley Bible vanishes from Council Safe The Times 6 February 2002.
Kelbie, Paul Report in the Independent 7 February 2002.

Bible Theft in Hungary

Valerie Offord

March 2002.

A rare and extremely valuable copy of the Bible was stolen from the Protestant church in Vizsoly, northern Hungary close to the border with Slovakia in February 2002. As another original copy had been sold for close to \$100,000 at a Christies' auction in London last November it is possible that this event alerted the thieves to the value of the book. Only 20 copies of the Vizsoly Bible exist around the world and several of them are in Hungary.

Gaspar Karolyi, a Reformed minister with his co-workers at Goric, translated the Bible into Hungarian in 1590 and it was then printed with the aid of rich and powerful merchants in nearby Vizsoly. One of the most important centres of the Hungarian Reformation was the north-eastern area of the country, and therefore it is not by chance that the dialect of that region became the basis of the developing Hungarian literary language. The language of the Vizsoly Bible is unified and superb. It became the Hungarian Protestant Bible, which was published with revisions for centuries. Its expressions and phrases are indelibly incorporated into spoken Hungarian: In fact, this Bible together with the Psalter, translated by Albert Szenczi Molnar in 1607 (from the Geneva version of Theodore de Beze and Clement Marot), are still read and sung respectively by the Hungarian Church today.

A Reformed Church bishop described the theft as a loss to the whole of Hungarian culture and the authorities have offered a reward of some \$12,630 for information to help in its recovery.

Sources- Internet Sites

BBC News: www.news.bbc.co.uk

Hungarian Reformed Church: www.reformatus.hu/english

Uncovering Ancient Murals

Valerie Offord

March 2002.

There have been two recent press reports of the discovery of mediaeval wall paintings – one at Ilketshall St Andrew in Suffolk and one at Chesterton in Cambridgeshire.

During routine decorating work in December 2001 at St Andrew's, a Norman church in Ilketshall St Andrew, depictions of angels in wall paintings believed to date from the 1320's were uncovered. Experts were excited by the find, as they have reason to believe that the paintings may extend over the whole nave. They have lain forgotten for centuries beneath a layer of plaster and whitewash, having been covered up during the Reformation.

David Park, Director of the Conservation of Wall Paintings Department at the Courtauld Institute of Art, regards it as a very significant find. Furthermore, he remarked that it is not often that really interesting and unknown mediaeval paintings suddenly appear. So far it is known that there is a large female figure on the south wall of the nave, a small figure of an angel with the arms raised and a flying angel. On the nave wall there is a large representation of a church with a cross. Mr. Park stated that it was too early to identify precisely what any of the imagery, which is well-preserved, represents and he does not recognize the hand or the workshop. The rector stated that he was 'scared of the financial implications' of the discovery for his small parish.

The 13th century church of St Andrew, Chesterton revealed this Easter one of Britain's finest mediaeval wall paintings in its entirety for the first time since it was covered during the Reformation. The full extent of a striking depiction of the Last Judgment, along with decorative work that predates it by two centuries, is now visible after experts removed a layer of limewash.

Toby Curteis, the wall painting conservator, remarked that the survival of so large an area makes the painting one of the most important of its period. It was expensively painted with a sophisticated technique. Figures include the Virgin, St John the Baptist, apostles and trumpeting angels set against a hilly landscape with elaborate flora and a starred sky. Below them are the Dead climbing out of their tombs, accompanied by angels. The figures of the Virgin and Apostles are looking up, to an area where a figure of Christ in Majesty may have originally been painted. On the north side are the Blessed, entering the Holy City with guiding angels and St Peter. On the south side

are the Damned, being tortured by all manner of demons. They are either being welcomed to heaven, depicted as a turreted city, on the north side, or the Devil is dragging them down to the mouth of Hell, on the south side.

It is thought that the church's close links with the Kings of England may explain the quality of the paintings. In 1217 Henry III presented the church to a papal legate who, in turn, gave it to his monastery at Vercelli, near Milan, Italy. Under Vercelli's patronage it was rebuilt in the 1300s and decorated with some of the images that have now been uncovered. Henry VI reclaimed it in 1440 and it was given to King's Hall (now Trinity College) Cambridge. The style of the Last Judgment indicates that it was possibly painted in the second half of the 15th century.

Sources

Alberge, Danya 'Lost' Last Judgment resurrected for Easter The Times March 30 2002

Alberge, Danya Church decorators uncover ancient murals The Times December 28 2001.



Ploughboy Notes and News

Getting into deep water...

David Ireson,

13 March, 2002.

I suppose William took everything he translated as Gospel. I imagine he assumed the ploughboy would believe the biblical stories and the words of Jesus that he translated to be authentic and literally true. The present day "ploughboy" in his air-conditioned, computer controlled tractor, is not likely to accept every word of the Bible as literal truth. Most look upon their local church with complete indifference. It is irrelevant, out of touch, and dying. Sadly he has summed up the reality of the situation. Some think the church of today has little more than a generation left; unless there is another Reformation. If those who are calling for a new Reformation get their way then the words of the Bible will be read again with excitement and joy, and many, like me, will choose to read prayerfully Tyndale's New Testament every day.

William translated from the Greek and Hebrew, but he did not have the body of scholarship to really understand the Greek or the Hebrew mind. He could not know how each biblical story originated, was fermented over time, then eventually committed to scroll. For the most part the Bible is a Hebrew book and the Gospels are full of the imagery which came from Jewish midrash; the poetic interpretation of events. God in Christ is real enough to me, but now I see Biblical stories from a very different perspective from that which was possible in William's day. Reading Tyndale as inspired story was not what William intended, but it is where the wonder of his translation becomes a joy for we "ploughboys" of today.

Let me plunge into deep water. The post-modern mind is sceptical of any truth to be expressed in poetry, myth or story, but these are the means by which human-kind can begin to comprehend the experience of God and the sacred. God is rightly explained through story. The question we should ask is "What does this biblical story mean?" rather than "Did this really happen as Tyndale translated it?"

We need to understand what the Jews believed when they heard stories

PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

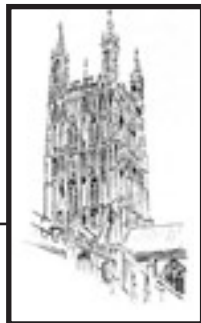
Annual Tyndale Lecture Gloucester Cathedral 2002

Friday 4th October 3pm

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from their scriptures concerning water. From the very first verses of the Bible, in Genesis, we hear of the Spirit of God creating life out of water... out of the dark turbulent waters of chaos:

“In the beginning God created heaven and earth. The earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the deep, and the spirit of God moved upon the water.”

There follows the creation story. In this myth are found the simple and the profound: God creates everything, and water is seen as the source of life.

Moving on to Noah and the Flood we have a story of water bring life to Noah and the animals; but death as well. Water is to be feared and deadly, as well as life-giving and beautiful.

Deep in Jewish memory is the story of the Exodus when the Hebrew people had an experience of God leading them to freedom from the power of Egypt through the water of the Sea. This story was passed down for several hundred years before it was recorded. Looking at the text carefully one can see two accounts interwoven... one speaking of a wind holding back the tide... the other of the walls of water which so delighted Cecil B. DeMille:

“When now Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, the Lord carried away the sea with a strong east wind that blew all night, and made the sea dry land and the water divided itself. And the children of Israel went in through the midst of the sea upon the dry ground. And the water was a wall unto them, both on their right hand and on their left hand. And the Egyptians followed and went in after them to the midst of the sea, with all Pharaoh’s horses, his chariots and his horsemen.” (Exodus 14)

The Exodus experience of God was repeated again and again.

Moses strikes a rock and out of it comes a spring of water. Joshua takes over from Moses and leads the people towards the River Jordan:

“And when the people were departed from their tents to go over Jordan, (the priests bearing the ark of the appointment before the people) as soon as they that bare the ark came unto Jordan, and the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brim of the water. Jordan being full over all his banks all the time of the harvest: the water that came down from above did stop and stood upon an heap, a great way from Adam, a city beside Zarathan. And the water that went down vanished into the sea of the wilderness called the salt sea as soon as it was divided: and the people went right over against Jericho. And the priests that bare the ark of the appointment of the Lord stood still upon dry land, until all the people were clean over Jordan.” (Joshua 3)

Thereafter even the prophets are described as experiencing God’s power in

the controlling of water. The prophet Elijah literally hands his mantle over to the prophet Elisha and so we read:

“Then said Eliah to Eliseus: tarry here a fellowship, for the Lord hath sent me to Jericho. And he said: as surely as the Lord liveth, and as surely as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee, and so they went to Jericho. And the children of the prophets that were at Jericho came to Eliseus and said unto him: art thou not ware that the Lord will take away thy master from thee this day? And he answered: I know it also, hold your peace. And Eliah said to him: tarry I pray thee here, for the Lord hath sent me to Jordan. But he said: as surely as the Lord liveth, I will not leave thee. And so they went both of them together. And fifty men of the sons of the prophets went and stood in sight afar off, as they two stood by Jordan.

And then Eliah took his mantle and wrapped it together and smote the water, and it divided itself, part one way and part the other, and they two went over on the dry land. And as soon as they were over, Eliah said to Eliseus, ask what I shall do for thee ere I be taken away from thee. And Eliseus said: let me, I pray thee, have thy spirit double in me. And he said: Thou hast asked a hard thing”. Elijah is then swept up into heaven in a whirlwind and Elisha then returns to the River Jordan, and, guess what! “he took the mantle of Eliah that fell from him, and smote the water and said: where is the Lord God of Eliah where is he? And when he had smitten the water it divided part this way and part that way, and Eliseus went over. And the children of the prophets of Jericho which saw from afar, said: the spirit of Eliah doth rest on Eliseus.” (Tyndale’s 4th Book of Kings Chapter 2)

The power of God and of his prophets over water was deeply embedded in Hebrew thought. When we come to the New Testament, therefore, is it surprising that Jesus too has to enter the water of the River Jordan? He does, and John baptizes him, but Jesus is far more important than Moses, Elijah or Elisha: This time it is not the waters of the Jordan which are parted, but the waters of the heavens above:

“And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth, a city of Galilee: and was baptized of John in Jordan. And as soon as he was come out of the water, John saw heaven open, and the holy ghost descending on him, like a dove. And there came a voice from heaven: Thou art my dear son in whom I delight.” (Mark 1)

The symbolism of water remains to this day. Parents bring their babies to be baptized and I still have bottles of water to use which I filled in the River Jordan some years ago. Recently the ancient sacred St. Decuman’s Well below my church has been restored and opened by the bishop with a bap-

tism. To the modern mind, water symbolizes little more than washing. To the Hebrew mind it had nothing to do with washing at all: Water is the symbol of life and death... of being drowned to all this is evil and coming to new life in Christ. It is, as Paul puts it:

“Remember ye not that all we which are baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, are baptized to die with him? We are buried with him by baptism, for to die, that likewise as Christ was raised up from death by the glory of the father: even so we also should walk in a new life. For if we be graft in death like unto him: even so must we be in the resurrection.” (Romans 6)

Water had profound meaning for the Hebrews and is almost certainly still deep in the psyche of people today. There are many who shy away from trying to interpret the stories of Jesus walking on the water, or calming the storm. Knowing the way the Hebrew mind worked I have no problem with these accounts in the least. My faith is not shaken one jot.

I have a problem with people who latch on to one sentence or even one short phrase from Scripture and treat it as “Gospel”. The Gospels points us to the reality of Jesus Christ, but we need to see the reality in the whole and not in the detail. For this reason we can turn to Tyndale’s glorious work in a new way, reading it as story and letting it flow over us like deep water.

Fellow Ploughboys - how do you approach Tyndale’s Scriptures? May I invite you to respond to these thoughts in the next edition?

Note

Biblical extracts from David Daniell’s editions of Tyndale’s Old and New Testaments.

4th International Tyndale Conference, Antwerp

Friday 30th August – Tuesday 3rd September 2002

This year’s conference “The Reformation in the Low Countries and Beyond: Impact and Identity” is the fourth in a series of International Tyndale Conferences. While the series forms a major part of the Tyndale Society’s academic programme, previous conferences have excelled in making the subject matter attractive and accessible to interested members of the general public. Since the formation of the Society in 1994, Tyndale conferences have been held in Oxford, Wells, London, Geneva, Toronto, and San Diego.

This conference is of particular historic significance as it brings together scholars and theologians from protestant and catholic institutions to honour Tyndale’s unique achievement.

The Theme

In Tyndale’s most prolific years (1526-1535) the Low Countries and the city of Antwerp, especially, offered unique opportunities, both for the preparation and the publication of Bibles and polemical works. Among the most important factors in the special relationship between Antwerp and Bible translation were humanism, the art of printing and trade relationships with England.

The speakers at the *4th International Tyndale Conference* will discuss the expanding Reformations and Bible translation in the context of the Low Countries and Europe. The conference will also deal with relevant developments before and after the age of Tyndale.

The climax of the conference will be the opening, on Monday 2nd September, of a large-scale exhibition entitled “Tyndale’s Testament” in the world-famous Plantin-Moretus printing museum.

The Venues

Lectures and talks will be held in the centre of Antwerp at the Lessius Hogeschool and the historic Plantin-Moretus Museum.

The Organisers

The conference is co-organised by the Tyndale Society (Hertford College, Oxford), the Lessius Hogeschool (Antwerp), K.U. Leuven, the Université Catholique de Louvain and the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

The Speakers

Keynote Speaker: Professor Brad Gregory, Stanford University, USA and many other distinguished scholars (see inside back cover).

Exhibition

“Tyndale’s Testament”, Plantin-Moretus Museum, 2nd September - 1st December 2002

This exhibition, sponsored by the Antwerp Town Council, is the culmination of a joint K.U. Leuven - Université Catholique de Louvain project, led by Dr Guido Latré. The project ‘The First English Bibles in Print’ explores the interaction between the translators of these and other Antwerp Bibles,

as well as the economic and political context in which Tyndale was working and the theological debates of the day.

Registration

Full delegate registration fee: 200 euro

Daily rate (Available Friday, Saturday or Sunday only): 80 euro

The full delegate registration fee includes:

- Attendance at all lectures and talks
- Coffee breaks (except Monday)
- Conference dinner
- Special guided tour of Tyndale's Antwerp
- Concert of choral music by The English Chamber Choir
- Exclusive tour of the Plantin-Moretus Museum
- Private view of "Tyndale's Testament"
- Attendance in Antwerp Cathedral at the official opening ceremony of the "Tyndale's Testament" exhibition
- Invitation to the opening reception at Antwerp Town Hall
- Special exhibition catalogue discount

Please note that the delegate fee does not include accommodation, travel or meals (with the exception of the conference dinner on Friday night). Accommodation and travel should be arranged and paid directly to the hotel/travel company you choose. Special rates for accommodation and travel have been negotiated.

Optional Additional Activities

Monday 2nd September: Farewell Dinner. Cost: 30 euro

This will be held at Pelgrom Restaurant, situated in historic candlelit cellars once used to store goods for shipping.

Tuesday 3rd September: Day trip to Leuven and Vilvoorde. Cost: 50 euro

For information about registration, travel and accommodation contact:

Ms Sylvie Van Dun, Tyndale Conference Manager, Lessius Hogeschool, 2 Sint-Andriesstraat, B-2000 Antwerpen, Belgium; Tel. +32 3 2060496; Fax +32 3 2060497; *E-mail*: tyndale@lessius-ho.be

For general conference matters:

Mary Clow tel: **44 (0) 207 221 0303 *E-mail*: maryclow@aol.com

Information about the conference will be continually updated on the Tyndale Society website at: www.tyndale.org/antwerp

THE BRITISH LIBRARY

The Wycliffe New Testament 1388

An edition in modern English language, with an introduction, the original prologues and the Epistle to the Laodiceans. **Edited by William Cooper**

John Wycliffe's preaching and writing inspired the translating of the Bible from the Latin Vulgate into English, and the impact of the translation was so great that within a decade of publication, a law was passed condemning anyone caught reading it to be burned alive as a heretic.

Despite such resistance, the Wycliffe Bible was read by thousands, and even after the advent of printing and the arrival of Tyndale's New Testament, handwritten copies of Wycliffe's Bible were still cherished and read.

Now, for the first time in over 600 years, the Wycliffe New Testament has been produced in modern English language. Forshall and Madden produced an old-spelling edition of it under in 1850, but the huge four volumes are a daunting prospect for the modern reader, even when a copy may be found. This present edition, published in association with the Tyndale Society, has been rendered into modern language and punctuation, so that the reader can enjoy this remarkable text for themselves.

WR.Cooper is the editor of the recent edition of Tyndale's 1526 New Testament, published in 2000.

Publication May 2002

544 pages, 186 x 124mm, hardback, ISBN 0 7123 4728 3
£20.00

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Obituary

Ian Sciortino

His many friends in the Society will have learned with sorrow of the death just before Christmas of Ian Sciortino, at the age of 88.

His sprightly figure and eager mind were features of many Tyndale gatherings. He came to the Wells conference last May, and, though his capacities were a little more limited, he took part in everything. Many of us have memories of his lovely presence at other conferences and events. There was competition to sit next to him at meals, and faces always lit up as he approached.

He had led a full life, full also of gratitude for everything he had experienced and received. His father was Maltese, and had been appointed by Lord Lugard as administrator in Northern Nigeria, with instructions to learn the language, map the country and win the confidence of the local rulers. Ian had vivid stories of adventures in Africa as a child. At Oxford, he rowed for the university second eight and was a member of the Leander Club. He was already concerned about the international situation and unemployment at home: he found purpose in Christian faith through what was then called the Oxford Group, later Moral Re-Armament.

War service -- he was badly wounded in the arm -- ended with the army of occupation on the Rhine. Later, and in the course of a 50-year marriage to Sheena (who also came to Tyndale events in a wheelchair proudly pushed by Ian) he travelled from work in post-war Germany to further work in Switzerland, Italy, Nigeria, the USA, Cyprus, Brazil and many parts of the UK. Most importantly, he and Sheena spent 20 years in Malta, where they were loved by everyone in, it seems, the whole island. Ian and Sheena's daughter Joanna married Denis Nowlan, a BBC Religious Affairs producer who has done fine programmes on Tyndale. Denis noted in Malta Ian's friendships with 'dockers, fishermen, barefoot farmers, bishops, diplomats ... Ian made a difference to Maltese life in his vision of a bridge between Europe and Africa, Christianity and Islam.'

He was a witty and prolific poet, as a number of Society members know.

Ian and Sheena are already greatly missed. The Society extends to their family our thoughts and prayers.

David Daniell, March 2002

Society Notes

Compiled by Rochelle Givoni

New Trustee

We are delighted to introduce the Revd Simon Oliver as a Trustee of the Society. Simon is the new Chaplain at Hertford College, Oxford. Hertford has been part of the Tyndale story past and present, and a major supporter since the inception of the Society. We are very pleased to welcome Simon to the Society, and grateful that he has agreed to work with us.

Dr Ralph Werrell

We warmly congratulate Society member Ralph Werrell on his doctorate. The award to him of the degree of PhD, University of Hull, was made for his dissertation 'The Theology of William Tyndale'. The Graduation Ceremony will be on 17th July 2002 at Hull. Dr Werrell, we learn, was congratulated by his examiners on the clarity of his argument and his fairness to those with whom he disagreed. His thesis is important. Tyndale was, as he showed, a first-class theologian, superior to any other Reformation figure. His consistent theology relied solely on the Scriptures, rejecting any influence from the Greek philosophers. His covenant theology based on the Fatherhood of God, the blood of Christ and the work of the Holy Spirit does not create the problems raised by Lutheranism or the federal theology of the Swiss Reformers. We hope to hear more.

Exhibition in Florida

Society member Joe Johnson is once again mounting a remarkable History of the Bible Exhibition in Florida, this time at Easter in DeFuniak Springs. This is part of a celebration of the founding 150 years ago of the YMCA, originally a London bible-study group. There are many exhibits from 1220 AD to 1900, with full recognition of Tyndale. Dr Johnson is able to use the large panels from the British Library's 'Let There Be Light' Tyndale exhibition in 1994, and the latest version of David Ireson's 'William Tyndale' pictures and commentary, now on CD ROM.

Ninth Annual Hertford Tyndale Lecture

This lecture will be given at 5.00pm on Thursday 17th October 2002 in the Examination Schools, University of Oxford, by Gerald Hammond, Professor of English in the University of Manchester. Professor Hammond is also a Hebraist, and author of *The Making of the English Bible* (1982). The provisional title of the lecture is 'Tyndale's Other Hebrew Translations'.

Eighth Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture

This lecture will be given at Lambeth Palace at 6.00pm on Monday, 4th November 2002 by the Rt. Hon. Chris Patten, CH, Commissioner for External Relations, European Commission, Brussels. The title of the lecture, and application details will be published in the next issue of the Journal.

International Tyndale Conference 2002

Members should now have received the application pack for the International Tyndale Conference to be held in Antwerp this year. A summary of key information and contact details can be found elsewhere in this issue of the Journal. The conference features important academic lectures in a wide range of subjects, as well as a fascinating programme of Tyndale events in this beautiful historic setting. We very much look forward to welcoming members, and their family, friends and colleagues to Antwerp.

Sightings of Tyndale

The lecture on William Tyndale's interest in motoring remains to be written, but our thanks to Society member, Michael Boneham in Coventry, for spotting that Tyndale has come to the notice of the car industry. A recent issue of The Hyundai Magazine, the magazine of the Hyundai Motor Co., featured a photograph of the Tyndale Tower on Nibley Knoll with an explanation that the monument was "named after William Tyndale who was strangled and burnt at the stake for translating the Bible into English".

News from Charlotte

Dear Members and Friends,

By now, many of you will have noticed that I am not on the end of my usual *e-mail* and that letters/renewals/queries may be taking rather longer to be acknowledged and acted on. You should all have received information about this by letter with the Antwerp information. Please bear with us. We will get back to everyone who is waiting, and all mail sent to Hertford College will be answered as soon as possible.

I am currently working in Elsevier Science's San Diego Office, where I am also enjoying the sun, sea and seals. I will be back on 5th June but the changes to the administration of the membership, ordering and events (as detailed in this journal) will continue after my return.

The reason for this is two-fold. I am very honoured to have been appointed a Trustee of the Society, and that will entail a different role for me in the Society's development and administration. We are also in the process of trying to re-distribute the administrative workload of our various volunteers. As we continue to grow, more opportunities for growth arise and these workloads are increasing. Indeed, they have already increased to such an extent that the Secretary's role, in particular, has become too great for one person to carry out as a spare time activity. We are now looking at a structure where additional volunteers will cover some of the individual tasks which were performed by the Secretary. Whilst I am still be available for general queries until things settle down and are running smoothly, it would be much appreciated if, where possible, you could direct your inquiry to the most appropriate person listed from now on.

For now, though, I should like to say how encouraging it is that so many of you have renewed your membership this year. The Society is extremely grateful to you for your support - without it we would not be able to continue to provide you with this wonderful journal and our steadily expanding programme of events.

I would also like to thank all those of you who have sent me so many good wishes for my marriage - they are much appreciated. The warmth and friendship of members is one of the many things that I love about being part of the Tyndale Society.

Best wishes,
Charlotte

ITEMS FOR SALE

'A Tyndale Christmas' – Available now on CD!

The Service of Nine Lessons and Carols from Hertford College, Oxford

Hertford College Chapel Choir
Reader: David Daniell
Conductor: Lee G K Dunleavy
Organ Scholar: William Falconer

Readings from Tyndale accompanied by the following carols:

It came upon the midnight clear, John Stainer: O come all ye faithful, John Wade
arr. David Willcocks: Today the Virgin, John Taverner : Of Angel's Song, Philip

Wilby :Unto us is born a Son, arr. Aidan Liddle: A Christmas Pastoral, Bernard Luard Selby: Alma redemptoris mater, Peter Maxwell Davies: O little town of Bethlehem, arr. Ralph Vaughan Williams: Shepherds loud their praises singing, Alec Rowley :Illuminare, Jerusalem, Judith Weir: Hark! the herald angels sing, Felix Mendelssohn arr. David Willcocks.

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NB: Cheques for 'A Tyndale Christmas' should be made out to Hertford College, Oxford.

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Transcription by W. Cooper
Introduction by David Daniell

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William Tyndale
Editor: David Daniell

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Penguin Classic * Paperback * 2000 * ISBN: 0140434771 * **£8.99 (US\$13.50)**

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David Daniell

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Yale University Press * Paperback * 2001 * ISBN 0-300-06880-8 * **£8.99 (US\$13.50)**

Tyndale's New Testament

Translation by William Tyndale
Edited by David Daniell

Printed in Germany in 1534 and smuggled into England for distribution, Tyndale's masterly translation of the New Testament outraged the clerical establishment by giving the laity direct access to the word of God for the first time. Despite its suppression, it ultimately formed the basis of all English bibles - including much of the King James Version - until after the Second World War. Now for the first time Tyndale's translation is published in modern spelling so that this remarkable work of English prose by one of the great geniuses of his age is available to today's reader.

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"For Dr. Daniell, Tyndale rather than the Authorised Version is the true source of the English Bible. Anyone can now test this claim for themselves by reading this splendid book." Joseph Robinson, Church Times

"The work is a welcome contribution to historical scholarship."
Harvey Minkoff, Bible Review

Yale University Press * 1989 * Hardback * ISBN 0-300-04419-4 * **£25.00 (US\$37.50)**
Paperback * ISBN 0-300-06580-9 * **£10.95 (US\$16.50)**

Tyndale's Old Testament

Translation by William Tyndale
Edited by David Daniell

Tyndale translated and printed the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Old Testament) in 1530 as a pocket book, revising Genesis in 1534. He also translated and printed the Book of Jonah, probably in 1531. In addition, there is now little doubt that after translating the Pentateuch, Tyndale went on to translate the historical books of the Old Testament – Joshua to 2 Chronicles – for there is overwhelming evidence that those books, as they appeared in the 1537 'Matthew's' Bible, were Tyndale's work.

This volume contains the Pentateuch (unavailable now except in an out of print and unreliably edited Victorian facsimile) and the historical books, which have not been in print since 1551 and are of great importance both to scholars and the general reader. The spelling in the texts has been modernised to show them as the modern productions they once were, and Tyndale's introductions and marginal notes are included. David Daniell's introduction explores Tyndale's astonishing achievement in single-handedly turning the Hebrew into English of great variety, force and beauty.

Yale University Press * Hardback * 1992 * ISBN: 0-300-05211-1 * **£30.00 (US\$ 45.00)**

The Bible as Book: The Reformation

Editor: Orlaith O'Sullivan

The third volume in the series, The Bible as Book, examines aspects of the bible produced during the Reformation period, which marked a time of crisis and blossoming for the bible. Many lay people were offered the biblical text in the vernacular for the first time; however the biblical text was also being exploited for political and other ends.

British Library Publications * 2000 * Hardback * ISBN: 0-7123-4675-9 * **£40.00 (US\$60.00)**

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All of the above items are available at Tyndale events or via mail order. Payment should be made by CHEQUE or POSTAL ORDER in GBP or US\$ made payable to 'The Tyndale Society'. We are sorry but we are currently unable to accept credit card payments. Orders should be sent to:

Gillian Guest, Tyndale Society, Hertford College, Oxford, OX1 3BW.

E-mail: gill.guest@hertford.ox.ac.uk

Please note that orders are now being fulfilled by Gill who is only in the office on one day a week. Whilst she will make every attempt to despatch orders promptly they may not be processed quite as rapidly as before. Thank you in advance for your patience.

Dates for Your Diary

2002

Friday 17 May 2002, Assembly Rooms Alton, Hants, 7.45pm.

William Tyndale: Courage and genius in translating the Bible. A talk by Professor David Daniell. All welcome. Further details from Rev Clive Anderson phone **44 (0)1420 89360

Friday 30 August – Tuesday 3 September 2002, Antwerp, Belgium

The 4th International Tyndale Conference entitled 'The Reformation in the Low Countries and Beyond: Impact and Identity' will take place in the mediaeval town of Antwerp. More details about the academic programme, activities and accommodation appear elsewhere in this Journal.

For registration please contact the Tyndale Conference office: Ms Sylvie Van Dun, Lessius Hogeschool, 2 Sint-Andriesstraat, B-2000 Antwerpen, Belgium. Phone: **32 3 2060496 Fax: **32 3 2060497 *E-mail:* tyndale@lessius-ho.be

For general conference matters: Mary Clow tel: **44 (0) 207 221 0303 *E-mail:* maryclow@aol.com.

For academic programme: Dr Barry Ryan *E-mail:* vpacad@regent.edu.

Friday 4 October 2002 Annual Tyndale Lecture at Gloucester Cathedral 3p.m.

Humanity as Victim: From Tyndale to 2002 will be given by Chas Raws. The lecture will be followed by evensong and supper. All welcome. Further details from: David Green, 22 Foss Field, Winstone, Gloucestershire, GL7 7JY. Tel: **44(0)1285 821651.

Thursday 17 October 2002 The Annual Hertford College Tyndale Lecture at the Examination Schools, High Street, Oxford, 5.00p.m.

The lecture will be given by Prof Gerald Hammond and will be followed by drinks in the Principal's Lodgings, Hertford College. Contact details for this event will be published in the next issue of the Journal.

Monday 4 November 2002 8th Annual Lambeth Lecture in The Guard Room, Lambeth Palace, London at 5p.m.

This year's lecture will be given by the Rt. Hon Chris Patten ,CH, Commissioner for External Relations, European Commission, Brussels and will be followed by dinner at the Novotel. Contact details for this event will be published in the next issue of the Journal.

2003

**October 2003 (details to be announced in due course)
3rd Tyndale Conference, Geneva, Switzerland.**

To ensure that you have the latest information about forthcoming events bookmark our website at www.tyndale.org. For events which have no contact information at present details will be included in the next issue of the Journal.

THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL TYNDALE CONFERENCE

In association with The Tyndale Society, Lessius Hogeschool, K.U. Leuven, the Université Catholique de Louvain, and the Plantin-Moretus Museum

The Reformation in the Low Countries and Beyond: Impact and Identity

Antwerp - Belgium, Friday 30th August - Tuesday 3rd September 2002



THE ANTWERP HARBOUR IN TYNDALE'S TIME

Keynote Speaker

Professor Brad Gregory, *Stanford University, USA*

Other speakers include

Professor Peter Auksi,
University of Western Ontario, Canada

Dr Gerrit De Vylder,
Lessius Hogeschool, Antwerp, Belgium

Professor Paul Gillaerts,
Lessius Hogeschool, Antwerp, Belgium

Professor J.-F. Gilmont,
Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium

Professor John King,
Ohio State University, USA

Professor Matthijs Lamberigts,
K.U. Leuven, Belgium

Professor David Loades,
University of Sheffield, UK

Dr Amanda Piesse,
Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland

Professor Jan Roegiers,
K.U. Leuven, Belgium

Professor Meg Twycross,
Lancaster University, UK

Distinguished international speakers discuss the expanding Reformations and Bible translation in the Low Countries and Europe. The climax of the conference will be the opening, of a large-scale exhibition entitled 'Tyndale's Testament' in the world-famous Plantin-Moretus printing museum.

For further information visit: www.tyndale.org/antwerp

Tyndale Conference Office, Antwerp: Ms Sylvie Van Dun, Tyndale Conference Office, Lessius Hogeschool, 2 Sint-Andriesstraat, B-2000, Antwerpen, Belgium; Tel. +32 3 2060496; Fax +32 3 2060497; E-mail: tyndale@lessius-ho.be

