

The Tyndale Society Journal



No. 22
July 2002

About the Tyndale Society

Registered UK Charity Number 1020405

Founded in 1995, five hundred and one years after Tyndale's birth, and with members worldwide, the Tyndale Society exists to tell people about William Tyndale's great work and influence, and to pursue study of the man who gave us our English Bible.

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Tyndale Society Publications

Reformation

Editor: Prof. Andrew Hadfield, *University of Wales, Aberystwyth* e-mail: adh@aber.ac.uk
Ashgate Publishing, Commenced Publication 1996 • 1 issue a year • ISSN: 1357 – 4175

The Tyndale Society Journal

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Commenced publication 1995 • 3 issues a year • ISSN: 1357-4167

Cover Illustration by Paul Jackson • Design by Paul Barron Graphics • Copyright of all material remains with the contributors.

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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 *email*). 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 *email* 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 *email* 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 8th November 2002**.

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

Editorial

Valerie Offord

August 2002

On browsing through an old publicity leaflet on the Society, I decided – admittedly a trifle tardily – to check if I have carried out all the tasks attributed therein to an editor of your Journal. Mercifully, by an immense stroke of luck, it appeared that I have but for one glaring omission – crosswords. Since these are not my forte either as solver or composer, I thought that, in a conscientious attempt to fulfil my mandate, instead of a long editorial with the consequent loss of many trees, I could simply present you all with the following cryptic puzzle to decipher. Antwerp, Bishop, Erasmus, Garamond, Japan, Latré, Louvain, Plantin–Moretus, translation, Tyndale and umbrellas - what do these words have in common? This should serve to while away the hours you will all be spending in trains, planes and cars in order to attend the next Tyndale conference in Belgium! But even as I write I am relenting and so will decode it for you.

The lead article in this issue on '*Tyndale as Translator*' is a transcript of the Seventh Annual Hertford Tyndale Lecture given by Professor Morna Hooker at Oxford in 2000. A distinguished New Testament scholar who chaired the New Testament panel of the Revised English Bible she was, until her recent retirement, Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. The second holder of this chair was Erasmus and he figures large in the history of Louvain from where Guido Latré, the organizer of the 4th **International Tyndale Conference Antwerp, Belgium** hails. The speakers at this conference will discuss the expanding Reformations and Bible translation in the context of the Low Countries and Europe.

This is more than a Conference - it has something for everyone, be they academics, writers, publishers, artists, musicologists, computer freaks, clerics, architectural historians or ploughboys! This Journal brings you the details on the Conference itself, the concert of '*Music from the Golden Age*' by the English Chamber Choir, and the exhibition entitled '*Tyndale's Testament*' at the Plantin-Moretus printing museum. The exhibition's opening ceremony will be incorporated in a solemn service presided over by the Catholic Bishop of Antwerp, the Anglican Bishop of Europe and the Anglican chaplain of Antwerp in the city's splendid Cathedral and there will be a reception by the City Fathers afterwards in the renaissance Town Hall. The last day of the conference will be an excursion to Louvain and the site of

Tyndale's martyrdom. We are truly privileged to be treated so graciously by the Belgian authorities.

This spirit of ecumenism by our 21st century bishops is highly infectious. Chas Raws, the Tyndale Society's newly appointed ecumenical adviser, writes on his ideas for the way forward in '*Tyndale and Today's Ecumenism*'.

It is very apt that our new look Journal is now printed in Garamond typeface. Claude Garamond was born in Paris in 1490 and began his career there as an apprentice printer in 1510, in that exciting (and dangerous) era when printing was in its infancy. With true entrepreneurial instinct akin to our era's dotcom speculators he became the first printer to specialize in type design, punch cutting and type founding as a service to fellow publishers. His roman and italic fonts were innovatory in that they were designed specifically as metal types rather than as imitations of handwriting and won general acceptance. His clear and elegant roman forms were a major factor in establishing this type of lettering as standard in place of black letter or gothic. Garamond's first roman font was used in the 1530 edition of Erasmus's Paraphrases. Because of the soundness of his designs, his typefaces have had historical staying power. Reading a Garamond text is almost effortless, a fact that has been well known to book designers for over 450 years. When Garamond died in 1561, Christopher Plantin bought part of his stock at auction and some of his punches are, to this day, in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

I do not know whether Platina's original work was printed in Garamond typescript but certainly the article due to appear in the next issue by Anne Richardson entitled '*Tyndale and the Ordeal of Bartolomeo Platina*' will be. Her interesting paper sheds light on possible Tyndale influence on the development of the Renaissance Church of Rome.

Kai Kawabata, the foreign correspondent of the Japan Times, has contributed an article on '*Tyndale and the English Bible*' describing the scholarship and achievements of Professor Kenzo Tagawa, a Tyndale enthusiast and the translator of the biography by David Daniell. This draws to our attention just how broad the Tyndale net is now cast. Asia, Europe, America, Australasia – the only continent remaining is Antarctica! It will be interesting to see if Professor Tagawa will take on the task of translating the new Tyndale biography '*If God Spare My Life: William Tyndale, the English Bible and Sir Thomas More*' by Brian Moynahan published this year. Professor Don Millus of the University of South Carolina is, at this very moment, reviewing this book for the December issue.

The English Chamber Choir's musical selection for the Antwerp Conference will not include '*Tyndale - A Lyric Drama*'. However, you will be able to

read all about this interesting work in the article reprinted from the **Musical Times** in the December 2002 issue. Incidentally whilst talking of music, 16th century musical settings of the psalms will be discussed and performed in one of the lectures at the next **Geneva Conference in October 2003**.

The editor has derived much pleasure from all your various communications. One correspondent even burst into spontaneous verse! It was encouraging to have such enthusiastic feedback and interesting to note how closely you all read the Journal and how David Ireson's article '*Getting into Deep Water...*' in the last issue particularly struck a cord with many of you. Our ploughboys are furrowing well and sowing the message – David Green in the West Country and Germany: Rowland Whitehead has also widened his geographical base to Guernsey as can be seen in his contribution '*Tyndale Wanderings*'.

Under *American News* you can read of Dr John Hellstern's plans and progress with his exhibition in Tulsa, Oklahoma and also the Bible Collecting Conferences he is involved in organizing in Atlanta and Oxford. Neil Inglis continues his successful search for topical articles in the *Anglo-American Press Gleanings*.

Neil has also been busy yet again on the book-review front and produced another very enjoyable one. This time he has turned his attention to Benson Bobrick's recently published book '*Wide as Waters. The Story of the English Bible and the Revolution it Inspired*'. Peter Clifford, a comparatively new member, has written a very thoughtful review of Carsten Thiede and Matthew D'Ancona's book '*The Quest for the True Cross*'. Dr William Cooper has just seen his new book '*Wycliffe's New Testament 1388*' published and launched by the British Library in May. It was favourably remarked on in **The Times** newspaper.

As always my thanks go to all the many contributors who have made this issue academic, informative and outward looking. I am especially grateful to Robin Offord and Paul Barron for their painstaking cracking of the 'Greek' problem – punching a set of Garamond typefaces would have presented fewer problems than the computer manipulations required to reproduce the text. Above all my thanks must go to my tireless editorial assistant, Judith Munzinger, without whose meticulous eye many a comma would stray, many a sentence remain unintelligible and many a fact rest obscure.

Dear reader, as I write this on 12th July, the anniversary of the death of Desiderius Erasmus in Basle in 1536, the words are explained and the puzzle solved. May we meet soon, under our umbrellas if we have to, be it in Antwerp, Gloucester or Geneva.

Tyndale as Translator

Professor Morna Hooker

This is the full text of the seventh annual Hertford Tyndale Lecture 19 October 2000

I have on my shelves at home a book which I confess I have rarely opened entitled 'The Bible designed to be Read as Literature'. It was given to me many years ago by a kind and well-meaning but misguided neighbour. 'Misguided' because, of course, the Bible was *not* designed to be read as literature, and to present it with the sole aim of appreciating its literary impact is to obscure its original purpose, which is unashamedly *theological*. The editor of the book, in his Introduction, protested against the fact that the Bible had 'for centuries been studied apart from its literary form and value',¹ the poetry being printed as prose, the prose arbitrarily broken up into verses and chapters. For all his protests, however, the translation he was presenting – the Authorised Version – is still valued by many for its literary merit, rather than for its theological message, which is so often difficult to discern.

In any debate concerning the value of literary prose and poetry on the one hand and theological meaning on the other, there can be no doubt as to the position which would have been taken by William Tyndale. Tyndale's primary purpose was to convey the meaning of scripture; what moved him to translate the New Testament was, he tells us, the fact that he

had perceived by experience how that it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order and meaning of the text.²

It was a happy accident that Tyndale's literary skills were such that his translation was a literary masterpiece and had an immense impact on the English language. His primary purpose was eloquently expressed in his famous declaration to a learned opponent: 'If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou doest.'³ His words echo those of Erasmus in the preface to his first edition of the Greek New Testament (1516):⁴

I disagree very much with those who are unwilling that Holy Scripture, be translated into the vulgar tongue I would that even the lowliest women read the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles. And I would that they were translated into all languages... that as a result, the farmer sing some portion of them at the plow, the weaver hum some parts of them to the movement

of his shuttle, the traveller lighten the weariness of the journey with stories of this kind!

David Norton has recently argued that while literary and religious enjoyment here seem inseparable, *Tyndale's* words say nothing about pleasure, and are apparently concerned only with *knowledge* of the scriptures.⁵ Whether or not that distinction is a fair one, it seems to be true that Tyndale's primary concern was with meaning. When he writes of his concern to translate into 'proper English', he is thinking of accuracy, not quality.⁶ Yet his arguments that Hebrew can be more easily translated into English than into Latin, and that it must be done 'well-favouredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding',⁷ show his awareness of the power of language to convey meaning. If the medium is not itself the message, it certainly has a large part to play. In Tyndale, meaning and medium were perfectly wedded, and his work had a profound influence on both the theology and the literature of this country.

Critics of modern translations of the Bible frequently protest about the banality of their everyday language, which jars on those who are accustomed to the language of the Authorised Version. The latter transports us with its beauty; the former brings us down to earth with a bump. Yet part of Tyndale's genius was that he used the everyday language of his own day – the language spoken and understood by the boy driving the plough. He was doing for his time precisely what modern translators are attempting to do today. If the results are very different, is it simply because Tyndale was a genius and modern translators are not, or is it because of the changes in our English language over the past 500 years, which mean that the cadences are now totally different?

Tyndale himself was accused by Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London in the 1520s, of 'attempting to ... profane the majesty of Scripture ... and craftily to abuse the most holy word of God'. The accusation sounds familiar: was Tunstall simply protesting against replacing the beauty of the Latin (however little it might have been understood by the ordinary people) with a vulgar, down-to-earth, English version? The answer to that question is in fact 'No', for Tunstall's real objection is more fundamental: it is not simply that Tyndale has substituted meaningful words for magical, and attempted to express in comprehensible words that which is beyond comprehension, but rather that he has corrupted the sense and introduced false doctrines. In short, he is a Lutheran:

Many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth and the Catholic

faith, have craftily translated the New Testament into our English tongue, intermeddling therewith many heretical articles and erroneous opinions, seducing the common people; attempting by their wicked and perverse interpretations to profane the majesty of Scripture, which hitherto had remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy word of God, and the true sense of the same.⁸

We shall find that the gravest charge brought against Tyndale in his lifetime was not that he was deficient in his understanding of the Greek and Hebrew languages, but that he was a heretic, and had introduced heretical teachings into his translation. It was not the last time that a translation would be condemned outright because of the suspect views of those who produce it. As recently as 1952, in the USA, opponents of the RSV sought to undermine it by accusing its translators of being communists or communist sympathisers; their allegations were treated with the utmost seriousness by Senator Joseph McCarthy.⁹

That Tyndale produced, in his translation, a work of literary genius cannot now be doubted. But that was not his aim. His aim was to translate the scriptures faithfully. How successful was he? Did he convey the true meaning of the text, or were his detractors right in accusing him of abusing its meaning?

It has to be recognized straight away that there must always be an element of truth in the charge that translators distort the original meaning. Every language is unique. Sometimes it is easy – especially when languages are related – to find an exact equivalent to translate a particular term; often, however, a word in one language has a range of meanings that cannot be conveyed in another, and any translation will inevitably restrict its meaning and so distort it. The Greek word *δικαιοσύνη* is a good example. It can mean ‘righteousness’ or ‘justification’, even ‘vindication’. Translating the words *πίστις* and *πιστεύω*, meaning ‘faith’ and ‘to believe’, into English involves a variety of English terms: faith, faithfulness, trust, belief, to believe. Translate them into German and you also have a variety of terms – Glaube, Treue, Vertrauen – but their relation to the Greek is just as complex, and they do not correspond to the English words. Here, incidentally, is one reason why English and German theology have often developed in very different ways, and why, to this day, English and German scholars often fail to understand one another. Differences in syntax multiply the problems. There are, for example, constructions in English that are impossible in German, and constructions in German that one would never wish to reproduce in English. There is much truth in the Italian proverb: *traduttore traditore* –

‘the translator is a traitor’. Distortion is inevitable. Nevertheless, the task of translation has to be undertaken.

There are, I suggest, four important factors that contribute to the success or otherwise of a translation. They are, first, the accuracy of the text that is used as the basis for the translation, second, the knowledge of the original language available at the time, third, the ability of the translator, and fourth, the method of translation that is adopted.

Tyndale’s first edition of the New Testament in English was published early in 1526. Its uniqueness lay not simply in being the first English printed New Testament, but in the fact that it was based on the Greek text. The earlier Wycliffe Bible had been translated from the Vulgate, the Latin text in use throughout Western Christendom. Tyndale was fortunate, in that Erasmus had published his Greek and Latin New Testament in 1516 – quickly followed by a second edition in 1519 and a third in 1522. For the first time, the Greek text was easily available. One hesitates, however, to refer to the text he published as ‘the original Greek text’. Certainly it represented the underlying Greek text rather than a later Latin translation, but Erasmus’ text had been hastily edited on the basis of six or seven very late manuscripts, most of which dated from the twelfth century. The manuscripts he used were those that happened to be available in Basle, where he was working at the time, and unfortunately they were not only late but full of mistakes. Erasmus appears to have ‘corrected’ the text in places from the Latin Vulgate, though without explaining his reasons for doing so, and thus made things worse. In one manuscript a whole page was missing, and he re-created the text on the basis of the Vulgate. The printed edition introduced further mistakes, in the form of typographical errors. By modern standards, the text was unreliable and corrupt – from time to time less accurate than the Vulgate, which Tyndale’s opponents maintained was the only proper text to use.

The haste with which Erasmus had produced his text seems to have been largely due to the urgent request of his publisher that he do so before a rival edition appeared on the scene. In those days too, careful research could be curtailed by deadlines and publishing schedules. But even with more time, the result might not have been very different. Early manuscripts were rare and widely distributed; the complexities of textual corruptions were not yet understood. Above all, Erasmus was not even trying to produce a critical edition of the New Testament. His aim was to publish his extensive annotations of the Vulgate, together with his own Latin translation; the Greek text was required in order to justify this translation.

However imperfect, the Greek text was nevertheless a godsend to Tyndale.

Without it, his work would hardly have been possible. He was able to translate directly from the Greek and though, by modern standards, his Greek text is poor, yet at the time and for centuries after, it was the best available. Tyndale used both the second edition of Erasmus' text, published in 1519, and the third, published in 1522, but it is difficult to decide whether he deliberately switched from the earlier to the later or used whichever happened to be available to him. The former explanation seems more likely¹²; yet there is a puzzle. The clues come in 1 John 5:7 and in James 4:2. In 1 John 5, unlike Luther, Tyndale includes the explanatory gloss 'For there are three which bear record in heaven, the father, the word and the holy ghost. And these three are one'. The words, present in the Vulgate, are missing from Erasmus' earlier editions but were included in the 1522 edition because he had rashly promised to restore them if a Greek manuscript were found which contained them. Unfortunately one such manuscript was conveniently discovered, and Erasmus therefore added them to the text of the 1522 edition. We know, then, that Tyndale was using that edition when he translated 1 John. In James 4:2, Erasmus' 1519 Greek text runs **φθονεῖτε**, meaning 'you are jealous', a reading which appears to have been a conjecture on his part, and his Latin translation is *invidetis*. In the 1522 edition, he changes **φθονεῖτε** to **φονεύετε**, meaning 'you kill', but, remarkably, keeps the same Latin, *invidetis*! Tyndale translates 'ye envy'; either he was using Erasmus' 1519 text at this point or, if he had the 1522 edition before him, he must have been influenced by the Latin; or was he perhaps simply following Luther's translation, which runs 'ihr hasset und neidet'? The logical conclusion might be that he was using the 1519 edition for James and that when he came to 1 John he had acquired the 1522 edition – except that in his New Testament he follows Luther's ordering of the books, and 1 John comes *before* James.

When Tyndale turned to the Old Testament, he used the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, which had been published in 1488. Like the Greek text, this incorporated the mistakes of generations of copyists. Unlike the Greek text, however, it was regarded as fixed, and modern translators work from the same text, though aware of many more alternative readings.

Tyndale's grasp of the biblical languages would have been greatly aided by the publication of Greek grammars at the end of the fifteenth century, and by the appearance of Hebrew lexica and grammars at the beginning of the sixteenth. He was able to use the best tools of the day. He came to the New Testament with a classical education, but much of the New Testament vocabulary is colloquial rather than classical: the discovery of papyri and inscrip-

tions enables modern translators to understand some texts rather better. One example will suffice. In Matt 6:27, Jesus asks the somewhat strange question: 'Which of you could put one cubit unto his stature?' Were there so many people at the time eager to be taller than their neighbours? But the word **ἡλικία**, here given by Tyndale its classical sense of 'stature', never has that sense in the papyri, where it means 'age'. Jesus was thinking of the common anxiety to prolong one's life, but Tyndale could not have known that.

Translating from Hebrew presents a very different set of problems. Here, there are no classical texts to help or to confuse the issue. Some of the vocabulary occurs only once, and it is frequently necessary to guess at a word's meaning. Once again, the modern translator is at an advantage. Inscriptions, similar texts in cognate languages, and the discovery of older manuscripts and translations of the text, have all helped to elucidate the meaning. Tyndale could use only what was available at the time.

How able was Tyndale as a translator? From time to time questions have been raised about his scholarship, but these seem to have sprung from ignorance and prejudice. It has been said, for example, that Tyndale knew only German and Latin. The charge is extraordinary. Tyndale's translations were clearly made from Greek and Hebrew, and he was described in his lifetime as learned in seven languages¹¹. Greek he must have learned at Oxford: as proof of his qualifications to translate the New Testament he produced a translation of one of Isocrates' orations – no mean achievement, since Isocrates was a master of rhetoric. Hebrew he must have learned later, for it was not taught in England until 1524. If Tyndale studied at Cambridge after Oxford, as is often claimed, it was too late for him to learn Greek from Erasmus, too soon to learn Hebrew. He probably taught himself Hebrew on the continent, where the language was already studied. His translations from the Old Testament indicate that he had a good understanding of the language.

Perhaps the best testimony to Tyndale's skill as a translator is the fact that though his contemporaries accused him of countless faults, they were able to list very few actual errors. Thomas More, to be sure, claimed that to do so would be to rehearse 'the whole book, wherein there were found and noted wrong or falsely translated above a thousand texts by tale'. Pressed to enumerate them, he listed three: Tyndale's 'mistranslation' of three Greek terms which should, in More's view, have been rendered 'priest', 'church' and 'charity'.¹²

The terms in dispute – **πρεσβύτερος**, **ἐκκλησία** and **ἀγάπη** – reveal the real issue. Tyndale's ability in Greek could not be doubted, but he had been corrupted by Lutheran doctrines. His fault was to introduce 'wicked and perverse interpretations' into Scripture. Instead of translating the Greek

ἐκκλησία by ‘church’, Tyndale used ‘congregation’; instead of ‘priest’ for πρεσβύτερος, he used ‘senior’ or ‘elder’; and instead of ‘charity’ for ἀγάπη, ‘love’. Behind all these changes, More sees the influence of Luther. Protesting that the terms Tyndale uses do not express in the English tongue the things that are meant by them, he concludes that Tyndale has a ‘mischievous mind’ in changing them.

That Tyndale was influenced by Luther there can be no doubt. The prologues he attaches to the epistles and the marginal glosses in the 1534 edition of his translation lean heavily on Luther’s, and make his debt plain. Presumably this is why it has been argued from time to time that his translation of both the New Testament and the Old Testament was made from Luther’s German rather than the original Greek and Hebrew. Certainly Tyndale knew and used Luther’s translation. Like any canny translator he would have kept an eye on the German version, just as he referred to the Vulgate and to Erasmus’ Latin version for the New Testament, the LXX for the Old Testament. But his primary texts were Erasmus’ Greek New Testament and the Hebrew Masoretic text. The fact that his translation of certain words was branded by More as heretical was due to the fact that he was translating from Erasmus’ Greek text, not the Latin, and that he was translating correctly. For More, faithful translation was that which faithfully represented the meaning of the *Vulgate*.

Like so much else in this story, there is considerable irony in this devotion to the Vulgate, since the Vulgate itself, when it was first edited by Jerome, produced protests just as great as those that greeted Tyndale’s translation. Jerome had described his critics as ‘two-legged asses’ and as people who thought that ‘ignorance is equivalent to holiness’. Centuries later, his text was now regarded as unchallengeable.

More’s complaints about Tyndale’s shortcomings centred on his translation of three key terms. The word that Tyndale translated by ‘senior’ or ‘elder’ (though in the 1534 edition he wisely decided to use ‘elder’) is in Greek πρεσβύτερος. The basic meaning of the term is ‘an older person’, as More himself recognized. In the New Testament, however, it is most commonly used in one of two special senses: firstly, of the elders in the Jewish Sanhedrin, and secondly of people exercising some kind of authority within the Christian community: what exactly they did is not clear, though they probably took decisions and exercised discipline over the community. The word πρεσβύτερος is never used of the Jewish *priests*, and these priests have no equivalent in the New Testament. More protested that ‘senior’ and ‘elder’ were bad translations into English, because not all old men were priests and

not all priests were old; that, of course, was true, but underlying his objection lies the assumption that the word πρεσβύτερος refers to a priest, whose function was to offer the sacrifice of the mass, whereas underlying Tyndale’s translation is the recognition that in the New Testament a πρεσβύτερος was not a priest in that sense. I have not checked every use of the term in the New Testament, but I find that both Erasmus, in his Latin translation, and the Vulgate, commonly transliterate *presbuteros*, or else use the Latin *senior*. To the modern ear, ‘senior’ does seem an inappropriate term: there is more to being a πρεσβύτερος than simply being a senior citizen; ‘elder’ seems more appropriate – but perhaps that is because Tyndale’s choice of it gave the word a life of its own, and ‘elder’ became a recognized office in some churches. Perhaps in the sixteenth century, the term ‘elder’ would have seemed as strange as ‘senior’. But Tyndale was certainly right to reject the term ‘priest’ here: the word πρεσβύτερος did not mean what More wanted it to mean, and even the Vulgate does not support him here.

More’s objection to Tyndale’s translation of ἐκκλησία by ‘congregation’, rather than ‘church’, is understandable: to him, the Church meant the institution established by Christ and entrusted with authority and doctrine, the infallible source of divinely-revealed truth. By using ‘congregation’ rather than ‘church’, Tyndale appeared to be denying the authority of the Catholic Church.¹³ On philological grounds, however, one must uphold Tyndale’s translation here also. The term ἐκκλησία means, literally, the company of those who have been called out. When Paul wrote to the ἐκκλησία in Corinth, he was not writing to an institution, to a building, or to the clergy, but to a company of people united in their common faith in Christ.

Tyndale’s use of ‘love’ instead of ‘charity’ for ἀγάπη is interesting. His rendering of 1 Corinthians 13 seems much more up-to-date than the translation found in the Authorized Version. More attacks him on the grounds that ‘charity’ has a more particular meaning than ‘love’, and that the word ‘love’ did not convey the proper sense of the word to the English mind. Today, the meaning of ‘love’ has been debased, and one has a certain sympathy with More’s objection to it. But of course, the word ‘charity’ is today *totally* unsuitable as a rendering for the Greek ἀγάπη. And it was the narrower meaning of the word ‘charity’, with its implication of good works, that commended it to More. To what extent this was the dominant meaning of the word in the sixteenth century I am not clear: it is often said that the word ‘charity’ has changed its meaning since the time of the Authorized Version, but clearly it must have been more even then than a simple synonym for love, or More would not have advocated it. This comes out in the *Dialogue*.

He writes:

‘The cause why [Tyndale] changes the name of *charity*, and of the *church*, and of *priesthood*, is no very great difficulty to perceive. For since Luther and his fellows among their other damnable heresies have one that all our salvation standeth in faith alone, and toward our salvation nothing force of good works, therefore it seemeth that he laboureth of purpose to minish the reverent mind that men bear to charity, and therefore changeth the name of holy virtuous affection into the bare name of love.’¹⁴

The real debate, then, is not between the alternative translations of ‘love’ and ‘charity’, but between the principles of faith and good works. The translation ‘love’ is, in More’s eyes, a deliberate attempt by Tyndale to exclude the notion of good works, and so leave room for the principle of salvation *sola fide*. In support he appeals to 1 Corinthians 13 itself: ‘if a man have so great faith that he might by the force of his faith work miracles, and also such fervent affection to the faith that he would give his body to the fire for the defence thereof, yet if he lacked charity, all his faith sufficed not.’¹⁵

Other terms, also are seen by More as ‘mistranslations’. One of these is the verb *μετανοέω*, meaning ‘to repent’ – which is the way Tyndale translated the term; but according to More, he should have rendered it ‘do penance’. The notion that what John the Baptist proclaimed was the Catholic practice of penance is, of course, absurd. What he demanded was a change of heart. Here More is clearly doing precisely what he had accused Tyndale of doing – reading the text in the light of his beliefs. The Greek means, literally, to change one’s mind, not to perform acts of contrition. Erasmus, following the Vulgate, used *poeniteo*, ‘to repent;’ Luther, strangely, seems here to support More, since he translates ‘Thut Busse’.

More’s complaint that Tyndale uses ‘acknowledge’ instead of ‘confess’ to translate the Greek *ἔξομολογέω*, is difficult to substantiate. I found only two places – Rom 14:11, where ‘confess’ is hardly appropriate, and James 5:16, where there is little difference in meaning; More’s insistence on the translation ‘confess’ is once again based on a particular theological understanding of the word ‘confess’.

Another of More’s complaints was that in translating the Greek term *χάρις*, Tyndale substituted ‘favour’ for ‘grace’. ‘Favour’ is a less specific term than ‘grace’, and was in More’s view capable of an evil sense. In fact, there is little real difference between the terms. The expression ‘grace and favour’ sounds well, but the two words appear to be synonyms. Nor does Tyndale use ‘favour’ often, since he normally prefers grace. Although in Rom. 4:4 we find him writing of Abraham: ‘To him that worketh, is the reward not reck-

oned of favour; but of duty’, he consistently uses the term ‘grace’ throughout the following chapter.

The real issue here is in fact a rather different one. Tyndale does not always use the same English term to translate a Greek word, preferring to vary the translation. Since words in different languages rarely have an exact equivalence, this variation is often appropriate. More complained that Tyndale mistranslated the verb *ἔξομολογέω*. In Phil. 2:11, in a reference to Isaiah 45, Tyndale translates ‘that in the name of Jesus should every knee bow ... and that all tongues should confess that Jesus is the Lord’. The modern NRSV follows suit. This was, in fact, the translation that More wanted.¹⁶ In Rom. 4:11, on the other hand, in another echo of the same Old Testament passage, the verb is followed by a noun, not a clause. Here Tyndale translates: ‘as truly as I live saith the Lord, all knees shall bow to me, and all tongues shall give a knowledge to God’ – or, as we would put it in modern English, ‘acknowledge God’. The NRSV, noting in the margin that the verb means ‘confess’, translates: ‘As I live, says the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall give praise to God’ – much further from the Greek than Tyndale’s version.

Attempts to use the same English word every time to translate a Greek term are not simply wooden, but distort the meaning. Tyndale was right to vary his terms, even if he may not have made the correct choice every time. On occasions, however, he seems to have used different terms in the interests of euphony. There is, for example, a story in the Gospels where the Greek term *ἐξουσία* is used twice in one verse. In Mark 11:28, Tyndale translates this accurately: ‘by what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority, to do these things?’ He does the same in Luke. In the Matthaean parallel, however (21:23), he varies the translation: ‘By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this power?’ Presumably, he thought the variation would sound more effective. In fact, however, the questions are considerably more forceful in Mark than Luke.

In this last example, Tyndale was clearly aiming for something that would *sound* good, since accuracy alone would have dictated that the word *ἐξουσία* was translated in the same way in each case. So was he aiming primarily for accuracy or for English idiom? Anyone who has struggled to translate from one language to another knows that the two objectives must be constantly balanced. A good translation should read well – in other words, the result should be good English – but it must also attempt to convey the original meaning as faithfully as possible. Balancing *accurate* translation and *pleasing* translation is a difficult art. Tyndale’s repeated revisions show his concern for

philological and textual accuracy as well as for English idiom. He describes his aims as seeking ‘proper English’,¹⁷ meaning ‘accurate English’, and as finding ‘the right English word’,¹⁸ but also as aiming for ‘good English’.¹⁹ But what he was translating was rarely good, literary Greek. Much of it was everyday, colloquial Greek, some of it was uncouth. Tyndale’s English is also colloquial – at times anachronistic, as in his use of words such as ‘Easter lamb’ and ‘Sunday’. Modern translators sometimes do the same, referring, for example, to metres or to miles. A great deal of the Greek showed the influence of the Hebrew scriptures, as Tyndale himself noted. One interesting indication of Tyndale’s intention to convey accurately the feel of the Greek is seen in his use of the simple word *καί*, meaning ‘and’. Faithful translation of the innumerable uses of this word by ‘and’ can become exceedingly monotonous. Modern translators, aiming to produce something more elegant, frequently omit many of them, rearranging the sentences in order to produce something that will sound like contemporary English. So should one, for example, faithfully translate all Mark’s ‘καί’s, or should one tidy him up? There is much to be said for retaining his breathless style, conveying eagerness and urgency, but the result is certainly not polished English. In his own translation, Tyndale omitted a considerable number of the ‘καί’s, but some of these were restored in later editions.²⁰ He had presumably decided that the rhythm of the original Greek was more important than English idiom. Was it, perhaps, the fact that he had now learned Hebrew, and was aware of the source of this peculiar characteristic of New Testament Greek, that led him to believe that the ‘and’s should not be ignored? Certainly his famous preface to the 1534 edition indicates that he had become aware of ‘the Hebrew phrase or manner of speech left in the Greek words’.

The Hebrew underlying the Greek is an important factor in another case where Tyndale uses different English words to translate one Hebrew root. In classical Greek the verb *δικαιοῦν*, ‘to do justice’, is frequently used in a negative sense, meaning ‘to condemn’. In the LXX, however, it is used to translate the Hebrew *sadaq*, which has a much more positive meaning, and is used of acquitting and declaring to be in the right. The cognate noun can thus be used as a synonym for salvation. This positive sense spills over into the New Testament. In Rom. 3:4, we even find that God himself is said to be ‘justified’, since he is shown to be righteous.

But the complexities of translating Hebrew into Greek are made far greater when we try to translate into English. Take, for example, Tyndale’s translation of Rom. 1:17:

By [the Gospel] the righteousness which cometh of God is opened, from

faith to faith. As it is written: the just shall live by faith.

Here we have the theme of Romans in a nutshell. But we also have the linguistic problem in a nutshell. Tyndale has translated the noun *δικαιοσύνη* by ‘righteousness’, the cognate adjective, *δικαιος*, by ‘just’. To complete the list – and to add to the confusion – there is also the verb, *δικαιοῦν*. Because of the different nuances of the verb in classical and biblical Greek, a Latin word *justificare* had been coined to translate it in its biblical setting. With one exception (in Gal 3:24), Tyndale consistently uses the equivalent Anglicized verb ‘justify’ to translate *δικαιοῦν* while, just as consistently, he uses the Anglo-Saxon word ‘righteousness’ to translate the noun *δικαιοσύνη*. As for the adjective, *δικαιος*, he uses various terms – ‘just’, ‘righteous’, ‘good’, ‘perfect’, according to the context, where the Vulgate consistently uses *justus*.²¹

As a Pauline scholar, I am bound to say that I regard Tyndale’s use of two roots, ‘just’ and ‘righteous’, as unfortunate, since it has obscured much of Paul’s logic. In German there is no such problem – verb, noun and adjective are all based on the root ‘Recht’. The difficulty is that in English the two roots are defective. One can use the words ‘just’, ‘justification’, ‘justify’, but the verb is essentially forensic, and there is no equivalent noun to express what we mean by ‘righteousness’. In modern English the problem with the root is intensified, since the verb ‘to justify’ has fallen out of usage – except, that is, when my computer asks me whether I wish to justify my margins, or when politicians attempt to justify themselves.

There is a similar problem with ‘right’ and ‘righteousness’; for the verb, we have to use ‘to put things right’ or ‘to make righteous’, which may or may not be what we mean. But in Tyndale’s day there was a verb ‘to rightwise’, which had been used in some of the Psalters, and which would have served his purpose well. *Why* did he here – unusually – prefer a verb derived from Latin? The word ‘justify’ had, indeed, been used already in the Wycliffe translation, and it has been suggested that the meaning it had acquired – to acquit, to show someone to be in the right, to vindicate – seemed preferable to a word that suggested that the sinner was *made* righteous.²² For behind the choice of words lies the Reformation debate as to whether righteousness was imparted, and the sinner *made* righteous, or imputed, the sinner being *reckoned* as righteous on the basis of Christ’s death. Tyndale’s choice of the verb ‘justify’ certainly conveys the latter sense rather than the former, and so helped to exacerbate the conflict. It has to be added that today, Catholic and Protestant scholars are agreed that both sides in this Reformation dispute were right and both were wrong! Wrong, that is, on insisting on *one* aspect of the truth. Paul held that righteousness was indeed ‘reckoned’ to sinners – that is, to those who died

and rose in Christ – but, *in Christ*, they shared his righteousness – became like him. It seems to me that the old English verb ‘to rightwise’ conveys *both* aspects of this process admirably: would that Tyndale had chosen to use it!

I have argued that Tyndale, though he kept an eye on Luther’s translation, had no need to translate from the German, since he was fully competent in Greek and Hebrew. Nevertheless, one has to admit that there are times when he seems to have kept more than *one* eye on the German. To discover the extent of his debt to Luther would involve a very long investigation, but one passage in Romans struck me immediately for its remarkable similarity to Luther’s version. Perhaps it is significant that the passage is from Romans, which formed the basis of Luther’s theology, and perhaps it is significant also that the passage I have in mind comes from Romans 3, where Paul sums up the principle we know as ‘justification by faith’ – or, more properly, ‘justification by grace’. The passage I have in mind is Rom. 3:21–31.

What struck me immediately about Tyndale’s translation of this passage is his repeated use of an explanatory phrase after the noun ‘righteousness’. He begins with a reference to ‘the righteousness that cometh of God’ – a fair enough translation of *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ*. But then we have ‘the righteousness no doubt which is good before God’, ‘the righteousness which before him is of valour’, ‘the righteousness that is allowed of him’ – all very expansive ways of translating *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ*. A similar phrase in v.23 turns the simple *ἡ δόξα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, the glory of God, into ‘the praise that is of valour before God’. These glosses all give the translation a clear spin in the direction of Reformation principles. But the spin was unnecessary, and obscures Paul’s meaning. Paul is not talking here about a righteousness acceptable to God, but about *God’s* righteousness and *God’s* glory: it is *his* righteousness that is displayed, *his* righteousness that is offered to believers and that is active in their salvation.

So why did Tyndale expand the translation in this way? When we turn to Luther, we find exactly the same phenomenon. According to his translation, the passage is about ‘die Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt’, or which is ‘vor Gott’. Luther, too, expands the translation of *δόξα Θεοῦ*: it is ‘der Ruhm, den sie an Gott haben sollten’. Further evidence of Luther’s influence on Tyndale is found in Rom. 3:25, where *ἱλαστήριον* is rendered ‘Gnadenstuhl’ by Luther, ‘a seat of mercy’ by Tyndale. Luther and Tyndale both appreciated the Old Testament background of this term, which is used in the LXX to refer to the cover of the ark of the covenant, the symbol of God’s presence with his people. Sadly, later translations, from the Authorised Version onwards, failed to understand this link and followed the Vul-

gate, rendering the term ‘propitiation’. Commentators have from time to time upheld the translation ‘mercy stool’, and one of my own research students has recently completed a PhD. dissertation on Paul’s use of the term, which to my mind convincingly demonstrates that Luther and Tyndale here got it right.²³

All this might suggest that Tyndale was, as his critics say, simply copying Luther. But he was not. For when we come to Rom. 3:28, we find him translating ‘For we suppose that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law’, which is about as close as one can get to the Greek. When we turn to Luther’s version, we find that this is the passage where he added the famous *allein* to the text, so making it declare that man is justified by *faith alone*. The Reformation principle of *sola fide* has coloured his interpretation of the text, but Tyndale does not follow suit.

The way in which Luther and Tyndale handled the text here raises interesting hermeneutical principles – for translating is, indeed, always a matter of hermeneutics, that is of interpretation. Over-literal translations are not only ugly from an aesthetic point of view, they can frequently fail in their purpose, since they are often difficult to understand. But any attempt to convey the meaning in a more dynamic way will inevitably introduce the translator’s understanding of the text into the translation, and often topple over into paraphrase. The glosses that Luther and Tyndale put onto the expression *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ* made plain what they felt was the real meaning of the text – but that is the job of the commentator, not the translator.

Finally, what of Tyndale’s translation of the Old Testament? Here again, there has been considerable debate as to the extent of Tyndale’s dependence on Luther.²⁴ On the whole, the consensus is that he translated directly from the Hebrew,²⁵ even though, as Gerald Hammond has argued, he seems to have ‘relied heavily on Luther’.²⁶ He clearly had a good grasp of the language and was aware of its subtleties. He reproduces many of the quirks of Hebrew – the frequent use of the infinitive, for example, where ‘normal’ English would use a finite verb. Thus in Gen. 9:16, in contrast to both Luther and the Vulgate, Tyndale translates:

The bow shall be in the clouds, and I will look upon it, to *remember* the everlasting testament between God and all that liveth upon the earth.

Again, Tyndale often includes repetitions in Hebrew which seem redundant in English. Thus Gen. 35:12, expressed succinctly in the Vulgate, is, like the Hebrew, far more sonorous in Tyndale:

And the land which I gave Abraham and Isaac, will I give unto thee and unto thy seed after thee will I give it also.

Another clear indication of the influence of the Hebrew text is in Tyndale's faithfulness to the word order, which often leads to apparent inversions in the English. Thus in Gen. 47:3-4, Pharaoh asks Joseph's brothers

What is your occupation? And they said unto Pharaoh: feeders of sheep are thy servants, both we and also our fathers. They said moreover unto Pharaoh: for to sojourn in the land we are come, for thy servants have no pasture for their sheep.

Here, incidentally, we see one of the reasons for the rhythmic quality of Tyndale's prose. It sounds so much better than the down-to-earth 'thy servants are feeders of sheep' and 'we are come to sojourn in the land'.

Once again, this raises a fascinating question of the principle of translation. Tyndale's version produces something close to the original syntax of the Hebrew: but if the inversion of order is *normal* in the Hebrew and *abnormal* in German and English, who is producing the closest translation of the *effect* of the original – Luther, who changes the order, or Tyndale, who *keeps* it?

Another feature of Tyndale's translation is what Hammond terms his 'literalness in the rendering of minutiae'.²⁷ As an example, he points to Gen. 7:11, where Tyndale translates literally:

In the six hundredth year of Noe's life, in the second month, in the seventeenth day of the month, that same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.

The result is far more dramatic than in the Vulgate and Luther, who compress the text. At times, however, one feels that this literalness goes too far. Gen. 21:3 informs us that Abraham called his son Isaac, but Tyndale ponderously reproduces the repetition of the Hebrew:

And Abraham called his son's name that was born unto him which Sarah bare him Isaac.

By contrast, his faithfulness in translating pronouns can be effective. There are twelve second person pronouns in Deut. 7:13, where Moses says that the Lord

will love thee, bless thee and multiply thee: he will bless the fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy field, thy corn, thy wine and thy oil, the fruit of thine oxen and the flocks of thy sheep in the land which he sware unto thy fathers to give thee.

In the Old Testament, as in the New Testament, we find the same word repeated within a single verse. I suggested earlier that Tyndale slipped up when translating Matt. 21 by substituting 'power' for 'authority'. In Gen. 3:15 we find him redeeming himself. The Hebrew verb *shapak* is used to describe first Eve's seed stamping on the serpent's head and then the serpent

biting man's heel. The Vulgate and the German both resort, as I have done, to using two different verbs. Tyndale, appreciating the force of the repetition, translated 'and that seed shall tread thee on the head, and thou shalt tread it on the heel'. Not perhaps, a very *good* translation, but at least he tried! The NRSV and REB do better: 'he will strike your head, and you will strike his heel.'

One cause of repetition in Hebrew is the use of the cognate accusative, and this is often echoed in Tyndale's translation. An obvious example, ignored by Luther, is found in Ex. 32:30, where Moses tells his people 'Ye have sinned a great sin'. These are just a few examples of the ways in which Tyndale shows himself to be fully aware of the character of the Hebrew original.

The task of translation is, I have suggested, an impossible one – which is why no one translation can ever be perfect, and why attempts to translate the Bible will continue *ad infinitum*. Only those who have themselves struggled with the task are fully aware of the complex problems and the pitfalls. As one who has, in a very minor way, experienced the problems and fallen into the pits, I have to say that I have the profoundest admiration for William Tyndale as translator.

Notes and References

¹ *The Bible designed to be Read as Literature*, ed. E.S. Bates, London: Heinemann, no date, p. vii.

² 'W.T. to the Reader'; see David Daniell, *Tyndale's Old Testament*, New Haven & London: Yale, 1991, p.4.

³ Quoted by J.F. Mozley, *William Tyndale*, London: SPCK, 1937, p. 34.

⁴ *Paraclesis* (preface to New Testament). See John C. Olin, ed., *Christian Humanism and the Reformation: Selected Writings of Erasmus*, New York: Fordham University Press, 1975, p. 97.

⁵ David Norton, *A History of The English Bible as Literature*, Cambridge: CUP, 2000, p.19.

⁶ *Ibid*, p.20.

⁷ *Doctrinal Treatises*, ed. Henry Walter, Cambridge: The Parker Society, 1848, p.149.

⁸ Quoted by David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography*, New Haven & London: Yale, 1994, p.190.

⁹ Bruce M. Metzger, in Bruce M. Metzger, Robert C. Dentan and Walter Harrelson, *The Making of the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible*, Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1991, pp. 50-51.

¹⁰ Cf. W. F. Moulton, *An Abridged Edition of the History of the English Bible*, London: Epworth, 1937, p.59. For a fuller discussion, see W. F. Moulton, *The History of the English Bible*, 1911⁵, pp. 75-7.

¹¹ The comment is attributed to the humanist Buschius.

¹² T. More, *Dialogue* iii.8.

¹³ According to C.P. Thiede, 'Tyndale and the European Reformation', *Reformation 2*, 1997, pp. 283-300, Erasmus used *congregatio* in his Latin text (p.289). In fact, he normally uses *ecclesia*, and only occasionally does he use *congregatio*. In one or two Pauline texts he uses it of a congregation meeting in a house: Rom. 16:5; Col. 4:15 and Phm. 2. Other examples are Acts 5:11 and 11.26; 1 Cor. 14:4, 33; 2 Cor. 1:1 and 3 John 10. Elsewhere he translates *ἐκκλησία* by *ecclesia*.

¹⁴ *Dialogue concerning Heresies*, III.8.

¹⁵ *Dialogue concerning Heresies*, IV.11.

¹⁶ More insisted that the verb should be translated 'confess' whenever it is used. Tyndale in fact commonly uses this translation, with the exception of Rom 4:11 and James 5:16.

¹⁷ See Norton p.20, quoting from 1526 NT.

¹⁸ See Daniell, *Biography*, p.120, quoting from 1525 NT.

¹⁹ See Norton p.21.

²⁰ Cf. Moulton, op. cit., pp. 57f.

²¹ E.g. Matt. 13:43; Luke 23:47; Matt 13:49; Mark 2:17.

²² Brian Cummings, 'Justifying God in Tyndale's English', in *Reformation 2*, 1997, pp. 143-172.

²³ Daniel P. Bailey, *Jesus as the Mercy Seat: The Semantics and Theology of Paul's Use of Hilasterion in Romans 3:25*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1999.

²⁴ Argued, e.g., by J.I. Mombert, ed., *William Tyndale's Five Books of Moses Called the Pentateuch*, 1884 (Fontwell, 1967); Dahlia Karpman, 'Tyndale's Response to the Hebraic Tradition', *Studies in the Renaissance* 14, 1967, pp. 110-130, questions Tyndale's competence in Hebrew, while maintaining his familiarity with Hebrew scholarship.

²⁵ B.F. Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, London, 1905³, p.154, W.F. Moulton, *The History of the English Bible*, London 1911⁵, pp. 88-9; J.F. Mozley, 'Tyndale's Knowledge of Hebrew', *JTS* 36, 1935, p.392-6.

²⁶ 'William Tyndale's Pentateuch: Its Relation to Luther's German Bible and the Hebrew Original', *Renaissance Quarterly* 33, 1980, pp. 351-85, at p.354.

²⁷ Op. cit., p.373.

About the author

Professor Hooker was until her recent retirement Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at the University Cambridge, a chair of which the second holder was Erasmus. She is a most distinguished New Testament scholar: her edition of St Mark's Gospel (1991) is definitive. She was Chairman of the Revised English Bible, published by Oxford and Cambridge University Presses in 1989.

Members of the Society who were at the second International Tyndale Conference in Oxford in 1996 will recall with great pleasure and admiration her lecture there on a similar subject. That was printed in *Reformation 2*, which we intend eventually to bring back into print; meanwhile, many members will be glad to see this revised version of her lecture.

Tyndale and the English Bible: The martyred genius who brought the Word to the people

Tai Kawabata

June 2002

History sometimes fails to recognize the brilliance of a true pioneer and instead glorifies those who profit from his innovation. William Tyndale (1494?-1536), who first translated the Bible into English from the original Greek and Hebrew texts, is one such forgotten pioneer. In fact, large portions of the renowned King James Version of 1611 are actually Tyndale's own sentences. His contribution, however, goes unrecognized by most readers.

It is not surprising that in non-English-speaking countries like Japan, Tyndale is a relatively unknown historical figure. In 1997, Kenzo Tagawa, one of Japan's leading Bible scholars, published '*Shomotsu to shite no Shinyaku Seisho*' (The New Testament as a Book), which devoted many pages to Tyndale. The book dealt with such topics as the canonical selection process of the New Testament, the language situation in the first century Mediterranean world including Palestine and Hellenistic cities, history of the textual criticism of the New Testament and history and assessment of Bible translations.



Prof. Kenzo Tagawa

The 800-page scholarly book sold more than 10,000 copies within a short period of time. But Tagawa was astounded to find that very few readers knew about Tyndale. He therefore decided to translate David Daniell's book '*William Tyndale*' (Yale University Press, 1994) to help Japanese readers learn about him - a task that took him three years to complete. The 788-page-long translation, entitled '*Uiriamu Tindaru*' (*William Tyndale*) and subtitled '*Aru Seisho Honyaku-sha no Shogai*' (The Life of a Bible Translator), was published in January 2001 by Keiso Shobo Publishing Co. in Tokyo.

'Tyndale is one of the few truly important people in history,' says Tagawa. 'The vernacular Bible became a dynamo for social transformation. It showed people that all human beings were created equal before God and that people owed each other nothing but love. The members of King James I's committee had no intention of producing a new translation of the Bible. Instead, they intended to make a revision of existing translations. This is basic knowl-

edge shared by all biblical scholars. My sense of justice told me that it was unforgivable that a version based on literary borrowing had become more famous than the original. That was my motivation for translating Daniell's book.' Tagawa added to the value of Daniell's book by appending a chronology, some 140 translator's notes, many of them on biblical text concerned from the viewpoint of a biblical scholar, and a 50-page epilogue.

Tagawa, who is 67 years old and a Protestant, obtained his doctorate at the University of Strasbourg in 1965 for his dissertation *'Miracles et Evangélie'* (Miracles and Gospel), a study on the Gospel of Mark by a method of Redaktionssgeschichte, especially on its miracle stories and the evangelist's own thoughts expressed through such stories. For more than 30 years, he has been writing a detailed commentary on Mark's gospel, the first volume of which appeared in 1972, and has recently embarked on a Japanese translation of the whole New Testament. Before studying at Strasbourg, he studied Greek and Latin and religious studies at the University of Tokyo. He taught at the Protestant theological faculties of Strasbourg, the University of Goettingen and the National University of Zaire. He also served as Professor of Western Thoughts at the Osaka Women's University, Japan.

Generally speaking, translating academic English books into Japanese is not so difficult because Japan has more than 100 years' history of translating books written in European languages into Japanese, Tagawa explains. 'As far as Daniell's book is concerned, it would be a difficult task if the translator is not equipped with the knowledge of biblical studies. The translator also needs general knowledge of European history in the 16th century. The most difficult part in my work was translation of Thomas More's sentences and sentences from John Foxe's *'The Acts and Monuments'*, he recalls. 'In comparison, translation of sentences written by Tyndale, who was their contemporary, was not so difficult, proving how excellent Tyndale's English was. More's English would be very hard to translate unless the translator has read quite a lot of Latin and is used to Latin syntax.'

Tagawa states that a 'decisive' thing happened when Tyndale translated the Bible into English. 'Through Tyndale's work, written English became English-like English,' he says, referring to the fact that Tyndale's writing conformed more closely to the syntax of English than to that of Latin. 'More's English is Latin written in English. Tyndale's English is English written in English. It is a surprising accomplishment that he wrote English that is so clear and so easy to understand.'

'The situation in which Tyndale found himself is comparable in one sense to the last third of the 19th century in Japanese history when the people were

struggling to create modern written Japanese appropriate for modern society,' Tagawa points out. 'In the years when Tyndale was translating the Bible, English had not yet been established as a written language. He had two tasks: to establish the written language and to select English words appropriate for Bible translation.'

Answering the question of why Professor David Daniell's book has any appeal for Japanese readers, Tagawa is of the opinion that the appeal is Tyndale himself. 'Tyndale has been virtually unknown among the Japanese public. Scholars of English language and history in Japan should not be blamed for this. Japan's situation is a reflection of the fact that Tyndale has not received due appreciation in England itself. But the historical facts must be conveyed accurately and the Japanese need to know much about Tyndale because they are influenced by the English language and cultures of the English-speaking world. Daniell's book helps readers sufficiently recognize the greatness of Tyndale's achievements, opens the eyes of many people who are studying English in Japan and rouses their interest in historical surroundings of Tyndale.'

Besides translating Daniell's book, Tagawa also translated Hans Conzelman's *'Die Mitte der Zeit. Studien zur Theologie des Lukas'*, Etienne Trocme's *'Le livre des Actes et l'Histoire'* and two other German books. His numerous books written in Japanese include *'Yesu to iu Otoko'* (A Man Called Jesus), which was first published in 1980 and is still popular among readers. In the book, Tagawa puts Jesus back into the political, social and economic environment of ancient Palestine and depicts him not as an expounder of religious beliefs but as a person who rebelled in his daily life against the harsh conditions imposed on people by the Roman Empire's colonial rule and the religious and political authorities of Jerusalem.

Tagawa regards many of Jesus's sayings as paradoxical statements used as rhetorical weapons against the powers that be. He also sees behind Jesus's miracles the wretched situation in which people in Palestine found themselves. As in the case of the historical Jesus, Tagawa pays attention to the social situation surrounding Tyndale. In order to understand why Tyndale had to be killed, one has to understand the impact vernacular Bibles had on society in general. He explains that by reading the Bible in their own language, people found that it contained no theoretical justification for social and economic rule by the Roman Catholic Church.

'The impact of the vernacular Bibles was all the greater because at the time Christianity permeated all aspects of society and people thought in Christian language and created and ran social institutions in accordance with Chris-

tian doctrines,' Tagawa explains. A look at the Peasants' War in Germany (1524-25) provides a concrete example of the effect the vernacular Bibles had. By reading the Bible, the people learned, for example, that rivers were created and given to all humanity by God. In letters addressed to territorial princes, German peasants asked them to show exactly what part of the Bible said that rivers should belong to the princes as their private property. This way, ordinary people gained strong confidence in themselves. But Tyndale shared the same fear as Martin Luther - that the spread of vernacular Bibles would lead people to revolt, not only against holy authority, but also against secular authority. That is why Tyndale wrote *'The Obedience of a Christian Man.'* As this shows, his thinking was Lutheran.

Despite Tyndale's conservative approach to the existing social order, Tagawa believes that the principle he established for interpretation of the Bible - that the meaning of its texts must be taken 'literally' - is still relevant today. Tyndale's principle put an end to allegorical interpretation of biblical texts, whereby the Roman Catholic Church read its own doctrinal ideas into the texts.

Today, the importance of this principle must be upheld all the more. With the spread of structuralism, many students in various academic domains have started reading their own, often just cheap and banal, ideology into literary and historical texts under the name of 'interpretation'. By doing so, they are deviating from or bending the original meaning of the text. 'We must uphold the importance of accurately determining the meaning of each word in the text and discovering the historical background behind it.'

Modern biblical studies started with the Reformation. Biblical scholars have inherited Tyndale's principle and spirit. Their basic posture is the same as Tyndale's. The only difference is that a large amount of knowledge has accumulated over several centuries of research. Tagawa points out that after the Reformation, Protestants succumbed to an orthodoxy that held that all the books and sentences of the Bible were expressions of a single coherent message; but accumulated research by biblical scholars has shown that the New Testament contains a wide range of different thought. Christianity is like a gigantic river into which various types of thought flow.

Touching on the fact that Tyndale has not been paid due honour and respect, Tagawa thinks this has its roots in the political situation of 16th-century England. 'After the Anglican Church was established, the powers that be in England wanted to claim the English Bible as their own. But it was an embarrassing fact that the person who originally produced it was Tyndale, whom the authorities of England had left to his fate when he was imprisoned

at Vilvoorde Castle. The English Bible ended up being handed down from generation to generation with the tacit understanding that no one would ask who its originator was.'

Tagawa also points out that the fact that the scholars on the committee approved by King James I were not working directly from Tyndale's translation, but rather from the Bishops' Bible, the Geneva Bible and the Vulgate, is the main reason why people cannot properly appreciate Tyndale's achievements.

One of the most interesting and informative aspects of Daniell's book is its discussion of Thomas More as a person who led the English forces against the Reformers, opposing Luther and Tyndale and the latter's English translation of the Bible. Tagawa says 'Daniell shows the negative side of More, which is meaningful because it is not well known in Japan.'

Editor's Note

We are extremely grateful to Tai Kawabata, the foreign news editor of the **Japan Times**, for writing this article especially for the Tyndale Society Journal. It is based on his feature article which was published in **The Japan Times** on 24 September 2001. This can be found at: www.japantimes.co.jp. using Tyndale as a search word.



Letters to the Editor

Poor Tyndale

Thank you for the copy of the TSJ,
Which fell on my doormat earlier today.
I stared at the cover and then began thinking,
“Is it my eyes, or is Tyndale shrinking?”
“Perhaps he’s the same and the cover is bigger?”
Suggested my dear wife, making me snigger.
“For no, the cover is of uniform size,
With the previous issues,” I dogmatized.
“He’s certainly shrinking, his picture’s much smaller.
I definitely recall he was somewhat taller.”
So up to London I hastily raced,
To see if his statue had begun to waste.
Perhaps this shrinkage was rightly portrayed,
In the picture that had been so recently made?
Perhaps the pigeons that sat on his head,
Had reduced him to the height of a slice of bread?
Perhaps the foundations had eventually sunk,
Causing his image to appear as though shrunk?
But no, all is now as it was before,
His head was still the same height from the floor.
So why has his picture been made to shrink?
Are we really compelled to save so on ink?
Perhaps this reduction should be straightway banished,
Before Tyndale’s image has totally vanished?
Having made my protest, I now rest my quill.
The rest of the Journal was excellent,
love,
Bill.

May 2002.

Editor’s Reply – Smaller is Beautiful

Yes, dear Bill, you can trust your eyes,
Tyndale’s picture has changed in size
But as the Editor might gently mention
Greatness is more than mere dimension.

Dear Valerie,

I appreciated David Daniell’s article entitled “The Geneva English Bible: The Shocking Truth” published in the April edition of the Journal. I lived in Rolle, Canton of Vaud, Switzerland, from 1993-1997 and was a frequent visitor to Geneva.

As I walked around Geneva’s Old Town, I often thought about the lives of Whittingham, Sampson, Gilby, and Cole, who contributed so much to the publishing of the Geneva Bible in 1560. These scholars were worthy successors to William Tyndale and their work needs to be better understood and appreciated. Dr. Daniell’s article affirms that the Geneva Bible is one of the most eminent texts in the history of the English Bible.

Sincerely,
Alistair Budd
Elsah, Illinois, USA
28 June, 2002.

Dear Valerie,

Thank you for your letter of a few weeks back....I have now had TSJ No 21 and like the new cover. I enjoyed David Daniell’s piece and learned a lot from it, as I have written to tell him. But ..why did they backdate all those printings to 1599? One of my copies has this date, and I have known it was false but have never been able to discover why it was done.

I warmly agree with David Norton’s review of the McGrath book. A very poor job. Surprising.

Thanks for your encouragement to send you something. I thought I had shot my bolt with a couple of pieces a few years ago. But on thinking about it, I may be able to scrape something together. In the quincentenary year, on a summer afternoon, I set up a table and chairs outside our local public library, collared people as they came out and quizzed them about Tyndale. Would you believe it? Not one out of thirty had heard of him! Well, I am thinking of repeating the experiment next month, and will see if there is any difference.

But this time I will give each person a copy of Corinthians (1st epistle

ch.13) with a very brief account of WT, and see whether I can make something out of their reactions.

Sincerely,
Ronald
Connecticut, USA.

Editor's note

Ronald Mansbridge's article entitled 'William Tyndale and William Shakespeare' appeared in volume 2 of the TSJ June 1995. As he is 96 years old we can only admire his dedication to the Tyndale cause and his energy in pursuing it.



Dear Mrs Offord,

I enjoyed Mary Clow's piece in issue number 20 about a Tyndale heritage walk in the City of London. Next time anyone thinks of arranging such a walk, she might like to know that members of the Society are most welcome to visit St Sepulchre's which is on your route – just round the corner, in fact, from St Bartholomew's which was part of your itinerary last time. My predecessor John Rogers assisted Tyndale in his translation work. Rogers was the first Protestant to be executed by Queen Mary at Smithfield in 1555. Rowland, your vice-chairman, is of course a near neighbour of mine and we have become good friends since he came to preach about Tyndale at my other church – St Michael's, Cornhill.

With all good wishes,
Yours sincerely,
Peter Mullen,
St Sepulchre-without-Newgate, London
March 2002

Editor's note

A Tyndale walk round London incorporating a visit to St Sepulchre's seems a good idea and perhaps some keen member would like to follow it up.

Book Reviews

Lynne Long, *Translating the Bible: From the seventh to the seventeenth century*. Ashgate December 2001 (ISBN 0-7546-1411-5) £40

Richard Griffiths (editor) *The Bible in the Renaissance: Essays on biblical commentary and translation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*. Ashgate October 2001 (ISBN 0-7546-0394-6) £47.50

The 16th century saw an unprecedented explosion in the translation of the scriptures into the main languages of Europe. Most notably in English and German, version after version appeared, making use of each other in convoluted controversy and imitation.

Though, of course, the work came to be bound up with the gradual hardening of division between Catholic and Protestant, it antedated that conflict, going back to the previous century under the twin influences of the invention of printing and of the new scholarship that brought alive the study of Greek and Hebrew. The long monopoly of the Latin Vulgate version in Western Europe was at last broken down, despite the kind of last ditch defence that the English Authorised Version has received in recent times, though now more often for literary than for theological reasons.

The two books under review are concerned with this fascinating and thought-provoking process. The second of them is more closely devoted to the history, including some of its more unexpected byways, while the first attends to some of the issues relating to the business of translation which it exemplifies.

Lynne Long's survey goes back to the early Anglo-Saxon forays into the translation of the Latin text, but attends chiefly to the process in the Reformation period, in both Germany and, more, in England, which culminated in the Authorised or King James Version of 1611. Her key sentence is: 'This period of English history highlights just how politically sensitive the act of translating could be, and underlines the idea that every translation is at the least a rewriting of the source material, and can amount to a complete reorganization of it. Changing an ideology is as easy as inserting a single word'.

It is a lesson often far from the minds of those who select a version largely on the basis of its modern and traditional feel. Not many now attend to the detail, or allow their beliefs to be affected by the minutiae of verbal usage in particular passages of scripture. In the 16th century, for Luther as for many others, it was a revelation to discover that the Greek text simply did not

support the Vulgate, and that the theological construction placed upon it must fall. 'Do penance and believe in the gospel' was simply not the same as 'Repent and believe in the Gospel' (Mark 1.15). But who would have known, until Erasmus (and the printers) made a decent Greek text accessible in 1516?

It was, of course, some time before the process went further and there was a wider development of the sense that there was more to it than wording – perhaps, when the various parts of the Old Testament, for example, were written, times were different, and one had better take account of date and context.

The work edited by Richard Griffiths is a collection of ten essays that began as conference papers, and some illustrate how slowly the new learning affected biblical interpretation. The old ways of reading, of drawing moral lessons and illuminated doctrinal and edificatory points from the Old Testament, were alive and well in Savonarola at the end of the 15th century and in Erasmus in the early decades of the 16th.

These essays bring out well how the later hardening of the Catholic-Protestant frontier in these matters (only recently transcended) was simply not apparent in the earlier period. Though there could indeed be dispute about the sensitive words (could you really translate the Greek word *presbuteros* as 'priest', as it has been traditionally understood in Latin Christendom, or did it simply mean 'elder', with entirely different connotations?), the discussion was generally in a single world of learned discourse, whether you were Cardinal Cajetan or William Tyndale.

Luther was, perhaps, the greatest innovator as a translator, making a definite policy of putting the text of scripture into everyday German and not a stilted Latinate German that nobody actually spoke: a good news Bible, one might say.

The contributors to the book of essays are experts who fascinate and write with authority. Lynne Long is more of a 'translation theorist' than either a theologian or, strictly, a historian, and her touch is sometimes rather less secure.

Note

This review by the Revd Professor Houlden, Emeritus Professor of Theology at King's College, London, was first published in the Church Times in 2002.

Benson Bobrick, *Wide as the Waters The Story of the English Bible and the Revolution It Inspired*. Simon & Schuster, 2001 ISBN: 0-684-84747-7

Returning to Washington DC from a congress in Los Angeles, I found myself sitting next to an eminent political columnist. Our conversation turned to books—I felt ashamed for buying so many at the conference—and my seatmate asked me how big my home library was. "Personally I own 15,000 books!" he said. "Then I shouldn't feel bad - I have a long way to go!" I replied. "Don't emulate my example, don't try to get to 15,000" he begged, "for that way lies madness!"

For that way lies madness. I remembered this dialogue while reviewing "*Wide as the Waters*," one of the latest crop of Bible history texts. My heart was a little heavy, for how many more publications on this subject do we need?

Time was when any new title on Christianity would command a "pre-sold audience," especially in the USA. Many theologians stepped in to meet the public's demand for new reading matter, gaining fame and fortune as a result; consider the example of John Dominic Crossan, whose books on the "Jesus Movement" and the post-Crucifixion period fly off the bookstore shelves. Many fine books have emerged from this publishing bonanza. One recent example is Christopher de Hamel's "*The Book - A History of the Bible*" which is not strictly comparable to other publications and thus occupies a niche (TSJ no 21).

At some stage, however, the market must reach saturation point. Readers have expressed anxiety about "*Wide as the Waters*," and the search for historical errors in its text has begun. I will leave that task to others, although I glimpsed one whopper all by myself (was Robert Barnes really martyred under Queen Mary? Well, no.).

Which is not to say that historical accuracy doesn't matter - of course it does. Still, having researched a book slated for publication in late 2002, my sympathies are with the author; gremlins can defy the most rigorous fact-checking and sneak into one's manuscript through the back door. Nor are Bibles immune from this - witness the "thou shalt commit adultery" Bible which, according to legend, Bill Clinton studied while at Oxford. Perhaps, when judging the author, we should be on the lookout for a pattern of error and mendacity, or deeply ingrained unprofessionalism.

Neither of which you will find in Bobrick. The verdict is in, and "*Wide as the Waters*" is a credible effort, smoothly written, with some surprising touches. Bobrick keeps a steady pace, seldom delving beneath the surface. The world is not a different place since the arrival of "*Wide as the Waters*," as

it was after the publication of David Daniell's Tyndale biography, but that is a cruel standard to apply to any book.

There are grace-notes in Bobrick's pages. I enjoyed the tale of the Czech copyist driven to distraction by the demands of John Wycliffe's knotty, abstruse Latin prose. How charming to discover that Protestant-baiter Johann Dobneck loathed his own nickname "Cochlaeus" ("snail") but couldn't shake it off. And I now know more about Tyndale's patron Humphrey Monmouth (we owe him much) than I did before.

Which brings us to Tyndale, whose familiar but imagined likeness graces the dust jacket. Historical scholarship about Tyndale's origins and family background is in flux, and this may affect the validity of Bobrick's and other books in the years ahead. What a relief, though, to have an entire chapter devoted to WT instead of the usual footnote, or polite-but-distant paragraph smothered with Thomas More hagiography. Not that More is omitted; Bobrick cannot fathom (who can?) why the farsighted Humanist scholar, who had the talent to prepare a vernacular Bible translation himself had he been so inclined, turned so vicious at the end.

Sharply divergent personalities figure elsewhere in the book. I was glad for the portrait of James I, whose hands-on management style in organizing the AV contrasted with Henry VIII's coolly ambivalent approach to the Great Bible.

I noticed some odd shifts in readability and register in "*Wide as the Waters*." There are gnomic utterances (Elizabeth I was a popular but autocratic ruler, we are told) along with elegantly turned phrases ("But the king's punitive impulse now assumed a widening arc"). In passages dealing with the late Elizabethan period, I found myself reading the same page twice over, taking in nothing the first time around. The Wycliffe chapter, on the other hand, is vivid and clear, stitching together material on Lollardy and the evolving English language of the 1300s in a style I had not encountered before.

Perhaps the finest section is the rogues' gallery of Authorized Version translators - and here the content may at last be new to Tyndale Society members. As a translator myself, I envied the curriculum vitae of one linguist with a prodigious memory, a kind of "human search engine" who could call to mind any word, in any context, at any time. Bobrick swallows the canard that translators are an intriguingly wacky bunch of eccentrics - I call this "The Great Lie" - and he is ever so slightly at sea with the contemporary language of flattery used to describe the AV team members and other historical figures. "Sycophancy and the Reformation" - there's a PhD dissertation title for our younger members.

Are Bibles best translated by lone rangers (Tyndale), pairs (Tyndale/Coverdale), or committees? Bobrick leaves this question moot. To shed light on this question, we need only consider the much later New Testament edition prepared by the 20-century Jesus Seminar - a bureaucratic, cloth-eared nightmare. Even with the best talent available, ingenious but controversial ideas get swept aside in committee, while the lame suggestions of chairpersons are foisted on the rest.

James's men avoided this trap; and thanks to recent scholarship, we have a better idea of how they deliberated. They had at their disposal a blossoming English language, and thus a richer range of linguistic choice. In one of the many comparative translations provided in the book, Bobrick shows how an immortal phrase like "swords and plowshares" sprang into being.

Coverdale: "they shall break their swords and spears to make scythes, sickles, and saws thereof. From that time forth shall not one people lift up weapon against another, neither shall they learn to fight from thenceforth."

Geneva: "they shall break their swords also into mattocks, and their spears into scythes; nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn to fight any more."

KJV: "they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

What of Bobrick's ideological outlook? This rather old-fashioned text contains little to offend anybody; its loyalties are with the Bible rather than Church tradition and superstition. The author seems to view Bible history as a pageant procession (with fits and starts) towards the pinnacle of the Authorized Version; that is anathema to present-day scholars, but there is a kernel of truth to it. Also, we find a certain amount of mythologizing about the youthful Tyndale and Wycliffe trudging through the respective regions of their birth and surveying England's green and pleasant land. This would not have disconcerted readers in an earlier age; and there is no harm in it. In contrast to this pastoral quality, what I took away from Bobrick's book is the sense that no religious reforms take place without the spilling of blood. I knew this already; but it is good to be reminded.

However, if your personal library amounts to 15,000 titles or even a fraction of that amount, and if you're being squeezed out of your own home by mountains of religious books, you may decide that worthwhile reminders simply aren't important enough to merit a slot on your bookshelves. Oh, the dilemmas we Tyndalians face!

Neil Langdon Inglis, Bethesda, Maryland.

Carsten Peter Thiede and Matthew D’Ancona: *The Quest for the True Cross*, Phoenix, 2000 (ISBN 0 75381 082 4) Paperback £7.99

I am neither an archaeologist nor a New Testament scholar but I am a publisher, so when David Daniell suggested that I should review *The Quest for the True Cross* I imagined that it was as the publisher of Martin Biddle’s *The Tomb of Christ* that he had thought of me. Perhaps subconsciously this influenced my approach. Martin’s extraordinary achievement at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre – as well as gaining him the respect and confidence of all the major religious parties – resulted in an authoritative work, reconstructing the architectural history of the Tomb of Christ. This work was, from the outset, one of architectural history and archaeology – remarkable, groundbreaking, but objective – it pretended to nothing else.

The opening sentences of Thiede and D’Ancona’s book actually set a rather different agenda – the canvas is huge: ‘This is a book about a symbol, perhaps the most powerful symbol in the history of the world. It is also a book about the sacred object which that symbol is said to represent and an exploration of the moment in history when one became the other. It is an argument about the threads which link history and belief, and the role of scholarship in making those threads visible and intelligible.’

The authors have impressive and varied qualifications – in New Testament history and mediaeval history, in papyrology and in mainstream journalism – but the task they had undertaken often left me poised uneasily between their search for hard, stark evidence and an intangible consideration of beliefs, purpose and motivation. I found myself asking what was the real driving force for their book? Finally, I concluded that its hallmarks were really those of a carefully choreographed detective story – thorough and well-plotted – but nevertheless constructed with a specific dénouement in mind. The authors certainly seem at their happiest when speculating on the cryptography of the early Christians, deciphering ancient lettering on the priceless Titulus, tracing the dispersal of small fragments of wood, or searching out corroboration in contemporary writings and differing Gospel accounts. This is not a criticism – in fact in the last few pages of the book they set out their purpose quite simply: it is ‘to make an historical case’.

In many ways this is the key to the framework for this book – it is almost a courtroom drama. The case has been formulated, the evidence assembled and the jury is now to be convinced. As such it works well – once one accepts the necessary focus and organization of the case. The arguments are certainly substantial and highly detailed – it makes for a good read.

A brief history of the Cross is followed by carefully presented evidence to show that ‘the Cross of Christ was honoured, visualized and depicted from the very first moment of the Crucifixion’. Controversially, the authors go on to argue that ‘the first Christians did not have to wait for Helena to rediscover the True Cross, or for her son to have his vision’ before adopting this powerful symbol. The portrait of the Empress Helena is one of the unexpected bonuses of this book. The authors give us a splendid account of this Constantinian double-act – mother and son. They set out to restore the formidable lady to her rightful place in history, presenting a gripping account of her mission and motivation, her epic journey in search of the True Cross, her foray into archaeology and her political and theological impact on early Christendom. Her stature is in no way reduced by their argument that her discovery of the True Cross was more the culmination of a tradition than the beginning of one. In fact, the authors’ powerful case for giving the Cross a continuous position at the centre of the earliest Christian worship only strengthens the platform for the subsequent achievements of Helena and the pivotal position of the Constantinian era in the development of Western civilization.

From here, we leave the Empress to her ‘position of near cosmic significance’ and turn to a microscopic scrutiny of her trophy, the Titulus, which she reportedly brought back to Rome. The detailed debate which follows in a section aptly titled ‘*The Case of the Triumphal Superscription*’ is a breathtaking exercise in the analysis of fragmentary script, the development of letter forms and symbols, and the detection of essential clues and motives from deep within ancient writings. It is another of those fascinating cameos which populate this intriguing book. At times the enthusiasm seems to get the upper hand however. One can almost hear the measured intervention of the judge when the authors actually present us with the intimate thoughts and feelings of the Jewish writer himself as he hurriedly inscribes the words on the Titulus – they hastily add ‘This is speculation, of course’. But the rationale is fascinating and the case for the authenticity of this revered relic is clever, well argued and persuasive.

The presentation of all this is dramatic and documentary in style. I was not surprised to learn that the authors worked with television to produce a documentary of their first book, *The Jesus Papyrus*, and it is interesting that they attribute the idea for *The Quest for the True Cross* to the period when they were filming this earlier book. In due course *The Quest for the True Cross* was also made into a television documentary. Inevitably, it distils the plot to fit a standard documentary length and in the process it loses much of the

Update on The Living Word National Bible Museum

(see TSJ, number 17, December 2000 for previous information on this project)

Report by John R.Hellstern

detail of their finer analysis. Not unsurprisingly, it makes ‘good television’ but the ‘factual’ format also emphasizes the quandary which I think lies at the heart of Thiede and D’Ancona’s quest. I suspect that this arises from the fact that the Cross can only partially be brought into such an arena – subjected to forensics and scrutinized with a magnifying glass. As the authors themselves say at the outset, this is not just a physical sacred object but one of the ‘most powerful symbols in the history of the world’.

The real power of the Christian tradition surely lies in *faith*. The future of the Church which grew from that small band of early disciples depended on those who had the faith to believe without the ‘physical proof’. Jesus said to Thomas: ‘because thou hast seen me, therefore thou believest: Happy are they that have not seen, and yet believe’ and I cannot help feeling that this book makes for a good documentary investigation, an intriguing and fascinating read and an excellent courtroom drama, but in promising an insight into ‘the most powerful symbol in the history of the world’ it is also somehow rather missing the point.

Peter Clifford, Publishing Director, Sutton Publishing Limited

The Wycliffe New Testament 1388 – an edition in modern spelling, with an introduction, the original prologues and the Epistle to the Laodiceans. Edited by W R Cooper. British Library hardback 544pp July 2002. ISBN 0712347283.

Jim McCue in his column *Notebook Bibliomane* published in **The Times** of Monday 1 July 2002 wrote –

“The British Library has just published a new modern-spelling edition of the 14th century New Testament translation by Chaucer’s friend John Wycliffe. Because printing had not been invented, it circulated originally in manuscript, and this transcript, by W.R.Cooper, is from one of the 170 or so surviving early copies. The format is larger and handier than the library’s edition of the Tyndale translation of 1526, published two years ago, but a fine companion.

Stepping back a century and a half from Tyndale, Jesus no longer says ‘Geve not that which is holy to dogges, neither cast ye youre pearles before swyne’ he says, ‘Nil ye give holy thing to hounds, neither cast ye your margarites before swine’. This margarite of great price is yours for £20”.

“*The Fire of Devotion*” continues as a temporary exhibit in Tulsa, Oklahoma as a major part of The Mission’s Memorial Museum and Gardens. In the first full year of being open the exhibition has welcomed some 175,000 visitors.

In approximately 1,500 square feet of space, 65 Bibles present the three periods of the Manuscript Bible, Early Printed Bible of the 15th century, and the Early English Bible to the King James. The artefacts, scrolls, and Bibles range in age from 1,000 years before Abraham with some of the pottery used as ambience in displays of Hebrew scrolls, to two King James’ Bibles, a 1611 “He” edition and the Third Great Folio of 1617 opened to the near perfect two-page map in the preliminary pages. Media, graphics, and a full-size Gutenberg-style press help tell the dramatic story how the Bible has come down through the centuries. A thirty-three foot Bible and history timeline stretches across the top of the lighted cases to help visitors coordinate major Bible and world-history events. The Bibles in this exhibit, and a core collection in the permanent home for the Bible Museum, are from the approximately 4,000 Bibles, scrolls, and artefacts, in the private collections of Dr Donald L. Brake Sr, Dean of Multomah Biblical Seminary, Portland, Oregon, and Museum.

Outstanding settings for the Bibles exhibited in Tulsa also contribute to the effectiveness of the presentation. For example, as you enter the Early English Bible period, you are confronted with a stone-walled jail cell. Within the recesses of the dungeon cell, dimly lit by the light of a single candle on a crude table, sits a life-size depiction of William Tyndale working on his translation of the Bible. An adjacent large screen TV shows a continuous loop of the 6 minutes movie, ‘*The Fire of Devotion*’, highlights of William Tyndale’s life, which was produced by The Living Word National Bible Museum.

The Mission’s Memorial Museum and Gardens is located at 8863 E 91st Street, Tulsa, Oklahoma. For additional information and reservations call AC 918-459-0431 or go to www.missionary.net/memorial.

Whilst this temporary exhibit continues, so does the search for funding

the permanent home for The Living Word National Bible Museum. Thankfully this has greatly accelerated in the past few months, although we are not ready at this time to release information on the location of the permanent home. Interested persons can follow the progress at the personal web site of the director, Dr J.Hellstern: <http://webpages.charter.net/johnhellstern/>.

Annual Meeting of the International Society of Bible Collectors, 13-14 September, 2002, Atlanta, Georgia, USA

The **International Society of Bible Collectors** will hold its annual meeting at Columbia Theological Seminary in Atlanta, Georgia, 13 and 14 September 2002. Featured presentations will be made by Dr Walter Brueggemann, Professor of Old Testament Studies at Columbia, Dr Kent Richards, President of the Society of Biblical Literature, and Dr Pat Graham, Librarian, Pitts Theological Library, Emory University. Attendees will be hosted on a tour of Pitts Theological Library where Dr Graham will show some select rare books from its Reformation and Wesley collections. At the Carlos Museum at Emory University there will be a special presentation on some of the museum's Egyptian and other archaeological antiquities. Michael Morgan, local host of the convention, will show attendees his collection of over 1,000 English Bibles and Psalm books. Michael is organist for the Central Presbyterian Church and organist and musician at Columbia Seminary, where he also teaches music.

For more information, call Michael Morgan at 770-964-0085, or email him at: morgan.isbc@earthlink.net.

Plans are underway for the **2003 International Society of Bible Collectors' Meeting** to be held at Hertford College, Oxford, 3-6 September. More information will be in the October-December 2002 edition of *'Bible Editions and Versions'*.

For further information on this 38 year old organization (ISBC) and its quarterly *'Bible Editions and Versions'*, go to: www.biblecollectors.org.

Britain Bars Divorce Documents of King Henry VIII Leaving Country

Contributed by Neil Inglis, from a press release by Sue Leeman
on 13 May, 2002.

The British government barred the foreign sale of a treatise that helped bring about the historic divorce of King Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, saying it is of "immense historical importance" to Britain. British buyers have until 13 July to come up with \$940,000 to prevent the document from being offered on the international market. The treatise, which addresses the question of whether a man may marry the widow of his deceased brother, as Henry had done in wedding Catherine, was written in 1530 by Jacobus Calchus, a Carmelite friar.

"The argument set out in its pages was part of the process that led to a critical moment in English history - the break with Rome and the establishment of the Church of England," said Arts Minister Baroness Blackstone. "Even in its own right, the document is remarkable, representing as it does one of the finest of the earliest gilt bindings. I very much hope that sufficient funds will be raised to allow it to stay in the country." Blackstone's decision is in line with a recommendation by the government's Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art, which controls the foreign sale of British artworks. If a serious British bid emerges before 13 July, Blackstone has the power to extend the period of grace to 13 October.

Calchus first came to England in 1529, when Henry was urgently seeking opinions supporting a divorce from Catherine, so that he could marry Anne Boleyn, the second of his six wives. Calchus' argument in the 34-page Latin treatise that conscience takes moral priority over the pope helped persuade Henry to go ahead with the divorce.

Henry, who had the manuscript bound in calf leather by his favorite binder, claimed his marriage to Catherine was invalid because she was the widow of his brother, Arthur. Church authorities agreed with her argument that her first marriage did not count because it had not been consummated.

The Department of Arts and Culture could provide no details of who is selling the document. From 1687 until the 20th century, the document was part of the collection of the 11th Earl of Kent, housed at Wrest Park in southern England.

The White Horse Inn

Compiled by Valerie Offord

Taken from an article, drawn to her attention by Neil Inglis, entitled 'The White Horse Inn' by Zach Kincaid in Tedsbridge (Spring edition 2002), a publication of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, USA.

The name 'White Horse Inn' stained in glass over the entrance to the meeting rooms below the chapel at Trinity College could easily go undetected. 'Inn' is, in fact, the result of a typical compromise. 'Tavern' was the first suggestion of Trinity faculty members: the original 'White Horse Tavern' was located King's Parade, just past King's College in St Edward's parish, Cambridge, England. This tavern, dating from the 16th century, was demolished in 1830 during reconstruction of the west side of the street.

It was only a short time after the flurry of reformation begun by Martin Luther in 1517 with the nailing of his 95 theses to the door of Wittenberg castle church in Germany that this gale of reform reached England and, more particularly, as the story goes, a pub on King's Parade called the White House Tavern. Eamon Duffy maintains that 'It was known as Little Germany because it was the centre for discussion about the exciting and dangerous ideas of Martin Luther'. The men who met here would convey these ideas from commoner to king, from England to Europe yet again. The messengers, however, would offer their lives to establish the truths of faith they had disputed over pints in that Cambridge alehouse.

The author of the article then continues by speculating on a list of men who may have gathered there and briefly discusses their activities: - Robert Barnes, Thomas Bilney, Thomas Cranmer, Hugh Latimer, Matthew Parker, Nicholas Ridley and William Tyndale.

He concludes by remarking to his readers that as you gaze on the walls of the Trinity White Horse Inn, adorned with the block prints from Theodore Beza's Icones (1580), as you discuss the peculiarities of God and his person, as you pray, count the cost of the gospel. As those who have gone before, you too may sit in the tavern but a moment and then be asked by Christ 'Take up your cross and follow me.'

Reports

Tyndale And Today's Ecumenism

Since his appointment in 2001 as Ecumenical Adviser to the Tyndale Society, Chas Raws has brooded on the way forward in this context without setting anything in motion as yet. A stimulating meeting with our Chairman generated some promising ideas and, although these will require quite a long lead time before coming to fruition, it seemed worth keeping members in touch with developments even at the pre-planning stage.

Our ecumenical mission is based on the fact that the Society has members from a wide range of churches, embracing conservative evangelicals, black majority churches, Quakers and Roman Catholics.

Nationally, this suggests two ways forward. First, it seems a good idea to apply for recognition as a "Body in Association" with Churches Together in England which is a focus for ecumenical relations. Bodies in Association include organizations as diverse as Bible Society, the Focolare Movement and L'Arche Community. Second, it would be interesting to organize a theological round table at which young theologians from some of the traditions represented in our membership could set out and debate the influence of Tyndale's translation and theology on their church and on them personally. Chas has several names in mind and a date in 2003 would seem a possibility.

Regionally, it would be a great advantage to develop more clusters like the Gloucester/West Cotswold grouping. While recognizing that such growing points depend on the enthusiasm of one or two local members and cannot be wished into being from the centre, it seems worth trying a regional day conference, again in 2003, in the hope that this might lead to a regular or occasional gathering. Since Chas lives in the North West of England, he is minded to contact members in that region to see whether they would be likely to support such a venture, whether it would be best to hold it on a Saturday or during the week and whether Manchester, Merseyside, Preston or further north would attract the most support. A thriving "Churches Together" at the venue would be a great advantage as another purpose of such a day would be to attract new members by providing an attractive programme and speaker(s).

If you have any comments on these proposals or suggestions for other initiatives, please get in touch with Chas Raws e-mail: chasraws@onetel.net.uk. Postal address: 38 The Mount, Heswall, Wirral CH60 4RA, England.

The Tyndale Memorial Trust

David Green

On Saturday 29 June the chairman and secretary of the trust, Mr. Peter Gadsden and Mrs Liz Hicks, invited some sixty friends and neighbours to a wine and cheese evening at Nibley House to celebrate the achievement of the appeal fund target of £60,000 for the Tyndale Tower restoration. It was a fine, calm midsummer evening and the memorial shone from the hill above the village.

Peter Gadsden welcomed us all and told how the total had been raised relatively quickly, partly over a sad period of time which had also seen the virtual closure of the surrounding countryside of Berkeley Vale and the tragic funeral pyres of local herds of cattle and sheep.

The plague season mercifully had passed, and the money was there, at least for the monument, the funds having been recently boosted by a generous, anonymous donation to ensure that a substantial part of the new capital could be devoted to future maintenance costs. The tower, with its cleaned and re-pointed masonry, had been fitted with a power line to supply internal lighting and floodlighting. The railings around the base were now being attended to and the pinnacle cross had not only been repaired and re-gilded by local craftsmen, but was also now firmly seated upon a new gablet stone, with the time-capsule replaced in its shaft and sealed until it might be found by future restorers,

As the sole representative of the Tyndale Society, I delivered our greetings and congratulations to the gathering which included the mayor of nearby Wotton-under-Edge, Mrs June Cordwell and her husband, Councillor John Cordwell of the Gloucestershire County Council. Mr Chris Galbraith, the deputy mayor, and Mr Michael Smith of the Bristol Bible College, were also present, as were many others with a keen interest in the success of the restoration fund. I was also able to give a brief description of the work of the Society and its Ploughboy group, and to repeat Professor Daniell's offer to advise with the wording of the proposed information boards.

The monument is open to the public daily on payment of a £2 deposit for the key from the village shop or congregational chapel. We do urge everyone who may be travelling between Bristol and Gloucester, or walking the Cotswold Way, to make the detour to North Nibley, to climb both the hill and the steps to enjoy the view over the Severn Vale, the land of William Tyndale's birth.

Recent Tyndale Wanderings

Rowland Whitehead

Feeling rather like a mediaeval minstrel I wandered in the early months of this year giving talks on Tyndale – one hopes entertaining as I went.

First, on 31st January, I returned to the North London Collegiate School for girls to give a second lecture to the sixth form. The school is consistently top in A level results putting Cheltenham Ladies College, Eton and Winchester to shame. Bright lot. Actually I am an 'Old Boy' but that's another story ... The previous talk had covered Language and Translation. This time it was William Tyndale straight from the shoulder. In fact the school's pupils comprise 30% Asians, 20% Jewish and the rest the usual agnostic bunch of C of E's. A nice task and they asked really good questions. The Tyndale OT and NT, with our society's dedication, are already in their excellent and comprehensive library.

Next, on 3rd February, I was in the pulpit of St Michael's Cornhill in the City of London. This is a very beautiful church which manages a Sunday service and an enthusiastic congregation comes up from Kent and outlying places to worship. Rev. Peter Mullen is well known for his views on preserving the Book of Common Prayer and the KJB, so I was on a secure foundation. A fifteen-minute, at the most, sermon is hardly time to expand on Tyndale and there are no visual aids to prop the text but the congregation responded with interesting comments over coffee afterwards.

The 27th February saw me in Guernsey where I lectured at the Christian Centre of St Peter Port to about 70 people who belong or are associated with it. Rather oldish lot I thought, my sort of age, but they asked excellent questions. The director of the Centre is a Catholic and I think that the bias of activity and interest takes its cue from Rome. We are knocking at the Trans Alpine doors!

On 25th April, I gave an hour-long lecture to the Prayer Book Society of Winchester at Odiham church hall in Hampshire. This was an audience of about 50 'worthies' all of whom seemed to 'take it in' quite well. The talk expanded my thoughts on the theory of translation and the contribution of William Tyndale. It is quite difficult, one must say, to prepare a lecture when one has no idea of the background of the listeners. Slides depicting 'homonyms' and 'onomatopoeia' with Tyndale's wonderful Gloucestershire slang expressions (it was mizzling out over the hillside, at the time) seemed to go down well and the questions ran into overtime.

That is my Tyndale work so far. On a final and happy note His Grace George Carey, Archbishop of Canterbury, asked me to contact him when the new archbishop is elected so that our Society can present the Tyndale story to him. The doors of Lambeth are always open to us.

‘William Tyndale’ Replies to David Ireson

A.D.H. Thomas

14 May 2002

Dear Revd. Ireson,

You have invited responses to your thoughts on a modern ploughboy’s reading of the Bible. As you have assumed the role of ploughboy I have assumed the part of William Tyndale, and the following is a watered down response he may have given to your article.

“Thou art correct in assuming that the ploughboy whom I had in mind would indeed believe the accounts recorded and the words of Jesus in those Scriptures, which I translated into English, as authentic and literally true. The ploughboy whom I had in mind would be of that straightforward uncomplicated faith that accepted the words of Scripture as a little child. He would, Sir, have struggled to understand the point you are seeking to make, as I confess, I do also. You use words that I take to mean one thing, and which you may claim to mean another as, for example, your use of the word myth in relation to the account of Creation, and the word “gospel” as inapplicable to every sentence or phrase in the Scriptures.

My friend the ploughman did not recognise you as a fellow ploughman in describing the Scripturally recorded account of creation as a myth. He is a simple and straightforward fellow, not one for wrapping things up, but speaketh his mind plainly.

He avows that your rejection of the Genesis account of Creation as literal, and your unwillingness to accept all Scripture as “true,” if indeed that is what you mean by your use of the word “gospel”, dishonours His Word, which saith the Psalmist, He “hast magnified above all His name”. He has been diligently reading my translation of the New Testament into English and quoted the words of Jesus that “if they believe not Moses (who wrote the words of Genesis under God’s inspiration) and the Prophets, neither will

they believe though one rose from the dead”. He wholeheartedly believes in the creation of Adam and Eve and the events recorded concerning them, and he is of course in good company, indeed the best company, for he knows that the Lord Jesus Christ and the Apostle Paul specifically endorsed this God-given record as a factual account.

That is not to say he does not appreciate the poetry of the Psalms and Song of Songs, or understand the allegorical significance of certain things, but he follows the principle laid down by the Apostle Paul, that “first that which is natural, then that which is spiritual”. By allowing the Scriptures, not Jewish midrash, to guide his understanding of spiritual things, he does not ‘get into deep water’. He was, to say the least, puzzled by your claim that the Hebrews thought that water had nothing to do with washing. “What”, he asked me, “can the man be thinking of; has he not read of the washing of animals offered in sacrifice, of the priests, and of those Israelites who needed to be washed from their uncleanness, as required under the Mosaic ordinances?” He drew my attention to the Apostle Paul’s letter to the Ephesian believers and his reference to the figurative washing of the ecclesia by the Word (you will know my mind as to the wrong connotation of the word “church”) and how that Eve, who was literally formed out of Adam, was allegorical of the ecclesia, who is being formed out of Christ, to be presented to him as his bride, when he returns.

I take issue with you, Sir, that part of the Biblical record is the result of stories fermented over time and the poetic interpretation of events, as apparently discovered by a later “body of scholarship”. It is not so much that “I could not know” these things but that I cannot accept that this scholarly portrayal has more fact than theory for its basis.

I appeal to the testimony of the Apostles Paul and Peter for my authority. They declare the Scriptures to be of Divine Inspiration, not “of any private interpretation”, but the writing of Spirit Inspired men.

I also take issue with you, Sir, that water is the source of life. This is not what the Scriptures say. Water is one of the elements that sustains life, but it was the Spirit of God that produced life. This misunderstanding may, I fear, have led you into ‘deep water’.

I am, like my ploughboy friend, puzzled by your linking of certain events which have water as common theme. It must not be lost sight of that water is used to represent different things in the Bible. There is undoubtedly a link between the literal passage of the children of Israel through the Red Sea and the later passage of the survivors from the forty-year wilderness wanderings, through the river Jordan. The link is supplied by the Apostle Paul who



Ploughboy Notes and News

Ploughboy Group Notes

Thank you, Mr Thomas from Buckinghamshire, for assuming the part of William Tyndale in responding to the article “Getting into deep water” in Issue 21. Just a few years ago I would have reacted in the same way as you have, and I believe you have probably represented William’s understanding very well. Jesus did not spare us the ever-changing ideas of Biblical scholars by writing a Gospel himself. Each age creates its own Jesus of Nazareth. As George Bernard Shaw put it, God created us in his own image and we have returned the compliment!

I used to be alarmed by John Robinson, David Jenkins, John Dominic Crossan and, more recently, John Shelby Spong but now I think they have much to offer. Youngsters in schools are taught by many teachers who themselves have rejected the closed package of religious education they received years ago. The Ploughboy of Tyndale’s time did not question. Today both the ploughboy and his teacher question all the time. The result is confusion of ideas and resistance to accepting authority... both the authority of traditional theism and the authority of those who hold power in the hierarchical churches. The confusion can lead to anarchy, but for many it can lead to a deeper life-enhancing faith. If theism dies it does not mean a victory for atheism. There is a new Reformation under way and the Tyndales of the new Reformation want to save Christianity once more. William was a man of extraordinary faith, courage and integrity. There are many potential Tyndales preparing themselves to express the Gospel truth in our own time. We must not send them into exile. We must open our eyes.

What do you think? The issues may seem trivial; but they are not. William did not conquer Greek and Hebrew texts “because they were there” as if he were a scholastic mountaineer. He had definite objectives. The Ploughboy of 1526 needed access to the Truth. The checkout girl of today needs the same.

Those reading this Journal will, over time, have come to treasure the language and perhaps the theology William has given us. The Ploughboy Group needs to know how that treasure might be presented to young people, including those at school. How can Tyndale find a place in the National

wrote that “Israel were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea”. Likewise the literal passage through the river Jordan under Joshua was a typical baptism relating to that day when the children of Israel, on recognising Jesus as their Messiah, will be baptised into Jesus before entering the land of promise and the kingdom.

This, however, is not what water represents in the account of Jesus literally walking on the sea, or stilling the waves. The God-inspired Hebrew prophets and the Lord Jesus Christ himself show us that water, in these instances, represents the angry nations, i.e. “the sea and the waves roaring”, which will be conquered, subdued or “stilled” by him when he returns.

And finally, do you not recognise in your quotation of Paul’s letter to the Romans, concerning baptism, that this ordinance, in so far as it represents a typical burial, requires according to the plain figure of burial, a total immersion in water, not the sprinkling of a few drops of ‘holy’ water upon the head? You will know my mind on this subject also, which is that a puling infant has not developed the thinking of what Paul describes as “the old man of the flesh” which is figuratively put to death and buried by baptism, nor is such a one capable of exercising that necessary faith in a future resurrection, which the Apostle says must accompany the rising out of the water, and which it prefigures.

I know not whether those who publish the magazine under my name will tolerate my epistle to you. They will know that, though gentle to all, I reserve the right to “earnestly contend” with a good sprinkling of salt, those principles of truth enshrined in the Word of God.”

Your faithful witness to the authenticity of the Scriptures,
A.D.H. Thomas alias
William Tyndale

Editor’s note:

This refers to David Ireson’s article ‘*Getting into Deep Water ...*’ which was published in **Tyndale Society Journal** no 21 April 2002. We have printed comments from another member, Mary Clow, who was similarly moved to commit pen to paper on the subject. Also David Ireson has replied in this issue to the above letter.

Curriculum? How might youngsters surfing the net stumble across him? Can you suggest any initiatives?

Finally, a note for all members in Australia and New Zealand: A new member, Alexander Cope in Wellington, does not know the whereabouts of any members and would like to make contact. Could you support him and he support you? His address is 60 Nalanda Crescent, Broadmeadows, Wellington, New Zealand. His email is alexander_cope@hotmail.com Please do get in touch with him.

Ploughboys - your letters and articles are most welcome, please do write!

Very best wishes,
David Ireson
Ploughboy Group Convenor.

Deep Water ... a Ploughboy responds

Mary Clow
July 2002.

I have read and reread David Ireson's piece in Journal No 21, and I cannot agree that William Tyndale took everything he translated as Gospel, for two strong reasons:

One - Tyndale himself was educated in what was still a mediaeval system of learning, being drilled how to think, not to question accepted truths. He rejected this, and his dangerous ideal of making the holiest books available to ordinary people to read and understand for themselves suggests he welcomed the possibility that they might not take 'everything as Gospel'.

Two - he was a countryman, not squeamish about the natural world. His writings are full of animals and mud and worse. He grew up using his eyes and his nose to tell him what was real. He was also not prim about human life, joyfully writing of his own conception:-

'God... for his goodly pleasure provided an hour that thy father and mother should come together to make thee'.

But I do agree wholeheartedly with David Ireson's last paragraph where he says: 'we need to see the reality in the whole and not in the detail'. This to me, again and again, is the message of the Gospels. Gospel Truth.

To demonstrate Tyndale's instinct to call a spade a spade, here are two

columns of words, taken from St Mark's Gospel in AV and Tyndale. Funny which list is nearer to modern English (no prizes for identifying Tyndale):-

stern	the hinder part of the ship
swineherd	they that fed the swine
drowned	choked
tenants	husbandmen
a wine press	the winefat

Tracking Tyndale in Germany

David Green
May 2002

This ploughboy representative has travelled far afield over the past month – to Stuttgart and to Worms am Rhein. It was part holiday to visit my younger daughter, Anja, and my son-in-law, Luitger, who live and work in that part of Germany, but I also wanted to seek an interview with Dr Eberhard Zwink, the curator of the celebrated Bible collection of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek.

I had previously met Dr. Zwink when he spoke to us in London soon after the amazing discovery of a third copy of the 1526 Tyndale New Testament. Now he was very generously giving us over an hour of his time. His enthusiasm in recounting the story yet again was heartwarming. He led us to a private office where he called up several of the treasures of the Stuttgart library, including a rare Dutch bible. He was not to know that my daughter had made a special study of Dutch at university. However, there came a moment I could only have dreamed about when I was allowed, without gloves, mask or security guard, to hold the priceless little book and to read aloud from it. The two younger people also recognized this wonderful, privileged event. What an experience!

Dr. Zwink told us that he and his wife hoped to attend the Tyndale Conference later in the year and would be accompanied to Antwerp by Frau Dr. Margret Popp, a colleague and expert from the University of Würzburg.

It was almost an anticlimax to be driven the next morning by Luitger and Anja to Worms. Bless Luitger – the distance I discovered was about the same

Humanity As Victim: From Tyndale To 2002

Followed by evensong and supper

To be given by Chas Raws

Friday 4 October 2002, 3pm

Tickets £11.50 from David Green tel +44 (0)1295 821651



As announced in the last issue of the Journal, the 2002 Tyndale Gloucester Lecture will be given by Chas Raws, a Life Member of the Tyndale Society who joined after attending the initial Oxford Conference in 1994. As a graduate in English and Divinity from the University of London, he treasures Tyndale both for his matchless command of the language and for his theological thinking but the lecture will focus on another of Chas's concerns, that of human rights. He has been an active member of Amnesty International since founding a local Group in 1981 and now works as UK Coordinator for South East Asia (mainland) and some of the island states such as The Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore. He was involved in the establishment of Action by Christians Against Torture in 1984 and has served as its Chairman for the past two years. Also in the last two years he has been able to ensure that Quakers in Wirral, Chester and North Wales have assumed responsibility on behalf of the whole Society of Friends in Britain for the historic Quaker concern for the abolition of torture.

His lecture will draw on some of this experience, suggesting why torture remains a very real problem in today's world (documented in 111 countries in the recently published Annual Report of Amnesty International) and why Christians have a special responsibility to work for its abolition. This will involve developing a theological perspective which has engaged him for a few years.

Recognizing that torture is not a subject to attract an audience, Chas assures members that, while the lecture will not offer light entertainment, he will not be dwelling on the physical and psychological aspects of torture but rather on the movement for its prevention and the churches' potential role in this.

as between Bristol and London! Of course, I knew about the famous Luther connection and the edict of that celebrated Diet in 1521 but was hoping to find some reference to Tyndale's stay in the city.

Worms is reputed to be the oldest city in Germany. The cathedral was vast and dusty; the Rhine was there in the background though rather hidden from us by the architecture and the bustle. The superb modern museum with rooms dedicated to Martin Luther we judged well worth a visit. Sadly there was not a single pamphlet, card, plaque, inscription or street name to remind anyone of my great Gloucestershire hero. This was not unexpected. What I did discover was the perfect little museum of Judaica attached to a splendidly refurbished synagogue and mikva (ritual bath house) which had survived the psychic storm of hate in the war. Unhappily the entire Jewish community did disappear in the Shoah between 1940 and 1945. Yet the history of important philosophers and rabbis was enough to convince me that William Tyndale must have leaned a great deal of his Hebrew in that ancient city on the Rhine.

Death at Vilvoorde

Poem by David Green, 2002.

*Let unloosed like their fair talents
His most righteous ashes fly;
Freedom, blind kings still denied him,
Priests supplied a narrow cell,
Only gaolers let him lie.*

*Now those words he wove to bless us,
Burning fiercer than the faggots
Breathe his life into the sky:*

*Chosen words in faultless order,
Ancient verses understood,
Shine through flames designed to quench him
Who goes praying to the flood.*

*Meekness gains his promised country;
Face to face, he God will know,
Our great wordsmith finds his Horeb,
That `within` where all may go.*

Author's Note

The word 'mountain' in scripture usually signifies a high place in human consciousness or a state of high spiritual realization. The 'mountain of God', or Horeb in Sinai is the place where Moses met God in the burning bush and where Elijah heard the 'small still voice'. Among the meanings of the Hebrew name 'horeb' is the idea of solitude. Horeb is said by some to mean the solitude of the inner mind where we must lead our flock of sheep (thoughts) to their rightful place in conscious union with the Divine.

Antwerp Conference Update

Tardy Tyndalians - and those who wait for dry weather before deciding to go adventuring - can take heart there are still places at the **4th International Tyndale Conference in Antwerp 30 August - 3 September**, but only just. AND a favourite local joke is 'You think it rains in England? It rains MUCH more here!' So pack mac & broly, flat shoes for the cobbles (though no conference venues are more than 15 minutes apart), start a diet against the excellent cuisine, and sign up for the Conference. Some of the highlights of a truly international, interdenominational event are:

Professor David Daniell, Chairman of the Tyndale Society, will introduce the principal Keynote Speaker **Professor Brad Gregory** of Stanford University, a rising star of reformation studies whose prize-winning book *Salvation at Stake* explores how martyrs Catholic, Protestant and Anabaptist met the fire. His theme will be the notorious Tyndale/More controversy, their divergent views of sanctity and thus of truth.

The Low Countries home team is strongly represented by scholars including K.U.Leuven theologian **Professor Dr Matthijs Lamberigts** and Louvain-la-Neuve Calvin specialist **Professor Jean-Francois Gilmont** (their 16th century colleagues convicted Tyndale, remember). From our associates at the Lessius Hogeschool, we have a specialist in the history of Antwerp, **Dr Gerrit De Vylder** and a specialist on the Dutch Bible translations, **Professor Paul Gillaerts**. **Dr Guido Latré** with **Paul Arblaster** and **Gergely Juhasz** will introduce us to their large-scale project on Tyndale in the context of Antwerp vernacular bibles.

From Cambridge, we will hear from **Professor Richard Rex** and from **Dr Tom Freeman** who has been described as "virtual Foxe"; while another speaker, **Professor David Loades**, is involved in the prestigious British Academy's Foxe project – publishing in complete form for the first time *Acts and Monuments* (popularly known as *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*). Among a hornets' nest of historians and literary scholars there are contributions from **Dr Helen Parrish** of Reading, **Professor Meg Twycross** of Lancaster and **Dr Amanda Piesse** of Trinity College, Dublin and **Dr Vivienne Westbrook** from the National University of Taiwan.

Giants of the Reformation will be discussed by **Professor Peter Auksi** of the University of W. Ontario who will speak on Erasmus and Tyndale, and **Professor Richard Duerden** of BYU on Luther: while **Father Jos Vercruysse**,

SJ will chair a panel of 3 papers - *Prologues to Tyndale's Hexateuch* - from Anglican **Revd Ralph Werrell** (who recently completed a doctorate on Tyndale's theology), **Sister Anne O'Donnell**, SND of the Catholic University of Washington DC, and Sussex University historian, **Dr Brian Cummings**.

Dr Deborah Pollard will dazzle us with 21st century technology in her preview powerpoint demonstration of the *Concordance to the Tyndale Bible* which she has produced on CD-ROM (publication details eagerly awaited): and **Kaoru Yamazaki** of Meijigakuin University, Tokyo will compare the bible post-Gutenberg with the bible in the world of PCs.

To refresh us, on Sunday evening **The English Chamber Choir** will give a concert in the beautiful 18th century Lessius chapel - *Music from the Golden Age* that Tyndale might have heard in his Antwerp years, plus later music inspired by his words. The programme includes some rare pieces from the Low Countries.

On Monday the Conference continues in the humanist setting of the lovely **Plantin-Moretus Museum**, exclusively reserved for us, where between



Tyndale's execution as portrayed in the 1657 edition of Haemstede's Dutch Book of Martyrs, one of the 120 exhibits in 'Tyndale's Testament'.

lectures and prior to the opening we will be free to examine the important international exhibition *'Tyndale's Testament'*, curated and catalogued by **Dr Guido Latré** (details elsewhere in this Journal).

Later we will cross to the **Cathedral of Our Lady** where, under world-famous paintings by Rubens (including his masterpiece 'Descent from the Cross'), in the presence of the **Rt Revd Dr Geoffrey Rowell, the Church of England's Bishop in Europe, and Monsignor Van den Berghe, Catholic Bishop of Antwerp**, the Anglican service of Evensong, written by Cranmer, will be celebrated by **Canon Dirk van Leeuwen, with The English Chamber Choir**. The **Bishop in Europe** will give the bidding prayer, and the **Bishop of Antwerp**, at whose express invitation this historic worship is being held, will speak in commemoration of Tyndale *'A Martyr from another Faith'*.



A burin engraving of Christopher Plantin 1572

Following the official announcement in the Cathedral of the opening of *'Tyndale's Testament'*, we will walk over to the historic renaissance Town Hall for a reception as guests of the Mayor. To end the evening there is an optional dinner in mediaeval cellars of the type used in Tyndale's time to store English wool.

On Tuesday 3 September an optional day's excursion to sites associated with Tyndale (Louvain and Vilvoorde/Brussels) still has places available.

Please contact Mary Clow for last minute registration
e-mail: maryclow@aol.com tel. +44 (0)20 7221 0303
or write to 17 Powis Terrace, London W11 1JJ.

You can also check our website: www.tyndale.org/antwerp

Stop Press – Antwerp Conference

At the time of publication the complete programme was not available. However, Conference delegates and Journal readers may like to browse through the following information which may still be subject to change.

Speakers And Titles Of Papers:

Prof Brad S. Gregory, Stanford University, USA – **KEYNOTE SPEAKER** – The Famous Controversy between Tyndale and More, and Their Divergent Views of Christian Sanctity, and how this related to their discrepant views of Christian Truth

Prof Peter Auksi, University of Western Ontario, Canada. Erasmus as Source, Influence and Object of Criticism: Tyndale on the Light of Northern Humanism

Prof Richard Duerden, Brigham Young University, USA. Who Brought Luther to the Elizabethans? The Translator of Luther's Commentary on Galatians.

Prof Fabiny, Budapest, Hungary. Reformation Apocalypse and Shakespearean Tragedy

Dr Tom S. Freeman, British Academy/ Cambridge University, UK, Back to the Future: John Foxe, John Day and The Whole Works of Tyndale, Frith and Barnes

Prof Dr Paul Gillaerts, Lessius Hogeschool, Belgium. Dutch Printed Bibles in Print: Some Parallels between Tyndale's Contemporaries and the Present Day

Prof Jean-François Gilmont, Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium. *Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and the First French Printed Bibles (in French)*

Dr Ralph de Koninck *'Imagines et figurae bibliorum': The Genesis and Development of 'Picture Bibles' in Antwerp in the Second Half of the 16th Century (in French)*

Prof Dr Matthijs Lamberigts, KU Leuven

Prof David Loades, British Academy, UK

Dr Helen L. Parish, Reading University, UK

Dr Amanda Piesse, Trinity College, Dublin, Republic of Ireland. Tyndale and Allegory

Dr Deborah Pollard, Queen Mary College, London University, UK/ Lethbridge College, Alberta, Canada. Demonstration: *The Tyndale Concordance*

Prof Richard Rex, Cambridge University, UK. Lollardy and Lutheranism in Tyndale's Theology

Prof Meg Twycross, Lancaster University, UK. Visual Representations of the Bible in the Low Countries in the late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance

Dr Gerrit de Vylder, Lessius Hogeschool, Belgium. The Economic History of Tyndale's Antwerp

Dr Vivienne Westbrook, National University of Taiwan, Taiwan. Reading Paratexts as Signs of the Times

Dr Kaoru Yamazaki, Meijigakuin University, Tokyo, Japan. The History of the Bible of the Reformation and the Personal Computer

Panel – Papers And Discussion

Prologues to Tyndale's Hexateuch

Chair: **Dr Jos E. Vercauteren S.J.**

Dr Anne M. O'Donnell SND Catholic University of Washington, USA. Rituals in the Prologue to Leviticus and Vows in the Prologue to Numbers

Dr Brian A. Cummings Sussex University, UK. The Luck of the English: Tyndale's Prologues to Genesis & Jonah

Revd Dr Ralph S. Werrell, UK. Divine Mercy and Human Compassion in the Prologues to Exodus and Deuteronomy

Presentation

Vernacular Bibles in Antwerp 1526-1538

K.U.Leuven/ Université Catholique de Louvain project, Belgium

Dr Guido Latré, Paul Arblaster, Gergely Juhasz

Tyndale's Testament Exhibition, Antwerp 2002.



The symbol adopted by Plantin in 1557: the golden compasses and the motto *Labore et Constantia*

The 4th International Tyndale Conference will include the formal opening of the exhibition 'Tyndale's Testament', in the UNESCO-listed Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp. The opening itself will take place in the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp on Monday 2 September at 5.30pm.

The exhibition provides glimpses of the humanist learning available to Tyndale, the Antwerp context in which most of his work was done, and the transformation of scriptural piety in the era of the early Reformation. The exhibits also include documents relating to Tyndale's imprisonment and trial, especially his prison letter, and the only complete copy of the Worms New Testament, from the Wuerttembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart. A short introductory section gives an overview of Tyndale's posthumous reputation, from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* to the quincentenary celebrations of 1994, for those not yet acquainted with his importance.

The initial response of those in authority to evangelical reformation in England, France and Denmark made Antwerp an important location for

printing dissident religious works to be shipped to those countries, as well as being a vibrant centre of cultural life in the Low Countries of Charles V. Tyndale (all of whose works, except the Cologne Fragment and the Worms New Testament, were first printed in Antwerp) was a small part of a big scene, which saw the publication of the Dutch Liesvelt Bible (Antwerp, 1526), the French Bible attributed to Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Antwerp, 1530) and the English Coverdale Bible (Antwerp ? 1535), the first complete bibles in print in their respective languages. Tyndale was a man whose long-term impact was to be greater than that of any of those around him.

The richly illustrated, hardback exhibition catalogue will be available to conference attendees at the special price of 26 euros. It includes an introduction on the Antwerp book trade by Francine de Nave, an overview of Tyndale's contribution to the English language and culture by Guido Latré, an essay by Gergely Juhász on the versions of the Bible available in the early Reformation and how they were put to use, and essays by Andrew Hope on sixteenth-century book smuggling and on the precipitate nineteenth-century rejection of Antwerp as the place of printing of the Coverdale Bible. It also includes several short contributions by Jean-François Gilmont on the French Bible translations printed in Antwerp, and by Gilbert Tournoy on humanist critical and linguistic scholarship, scholars of international renown in their respective fields.

The concept of the exhibition was developed through a research project headed by Professor Guido Latré of the KU Leuven and of the Université Catholique de Louvain. Professor Jean-François Gilmont of the UCL is associated with the project and Andrew Hope has worked on the project team, which also includes the young scholars Gergely Juhász and Paul Arblaster.

Society Notes

Compiled by Rochelle Givoni

Antwerp

The 4th International Tyndale Conference in Antwerp is now almost upon us. This Conference is the most complex and important the Society has held so far, and is testament to the imagination, determination, good will, and hard work of Dr. Guido Latré, Sylvie Van Dun, Mary Clow, Valerie Offord, and Charlotte Dewhurst. This team is spread across Europe, but has worked closely together to build a programme of tremendous academic and theological significance, as well as fine music and great occasions.

Sir Edward Pickering

The Society sent congratulations and good wishes to Sir Edward Pickering on his 90th birthday. As many members will remember, Sir Edward, Executive Vice-Chairman of Times Newspapers (as he still, actively, is) arranged a letter to *The Times* in May 1992 signed by Robert Runcie, Ted Hughes, Veronica Wedgewood, Phyllis James, Iris Murdoch and William Golding proposing celebrations of William Tyndale's quincentenary in 1994, and inviting responses to St. Brides church in London. The responses, which were almost overwhelming in number, were wonderfully handled by Gillian Graham - and out of those celebrations was born the Tyndale Society in January 1995. Sir Edward is indeed the Father of the Society.

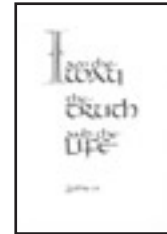
Bill Cooper

We congratulate Bill Cooper and the British Library on the publication in June of the most handsome *The Wycliffe New Testament 1388 transcribed into modern spelling* (ISBN 0-7125-4728-3) UK £20.00. This, a volume matching the very successful edition of Tyndale's 1526 Worms New Testament, also from Bill Cooper and the British Library, is again 'Edited for the Tyndale Society'. We are all very greatly indebted to Bill for his monumental work on this significant, and neglected, part of English-speaking Christian history.

Ecumenical Tyndale

It is one of the Society's great strengths that our membership extends right across the Christian denominational spectrum. Chas Raws, the Society's Ecumenical Coordinator, is hoping to set in motion Tyndale occasions when

distinguished figures from different denominations come together for public discussion of theological issues raised by the life and work of Tyndale, as they apply today. The intention is to host events in the North of England, possibly repeated in London. Watch this space.



Calligraphic Cards

Many members will remember with pleasure the beautiful calligraphic cards of Tyndale's Bible quotations that were organised by Priscilla Frost. We are delighted that David Green has very kindly remade these for us. There are ten different wordings, and the cards will be available at conferences and lectures.

Obedience of a Christian Man

We were delighted to welcome the publication in 2000 by Penguin Classics of William Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man* (1526), edited and with an Introduction by David Daniell (ISBN 0-14-043477-1) UK £8.99. We have to report, however, that Pearson, Penguin's new owners, now intend to discontinue this unique and important publication. Sales of the book may offer a stay of execution for the volume, so ask your local bookshop to order a copy!

Sightings of Tyndale

National newspapers, GMTV Sunday, and 'good bookshops everywhere' - Tyndale has been appearing in the media thanks to Brian Moynahan's new book *If God Spare My Life*. Moynahan's interesting and enjoyable book is a very welcome contribution to public awareness of Tyndale's life and works, and to the debate on Tyndale's relationship with Thomas More. This book is being reviewed for the Journal.

Events

The Gloucester Cathedral Annual Tyndale Service and Lecture will be held this year on Friday 4 October 2002 at 3pm. It will be given by Chas Raws, a senior member of the Society of Friends with strong international concerns, who will speak on **Humanity as Victim: From Tyndale to 2002**. Choral Evensong in the Cathedral and a supper follow the lecture. We are very grateful to David Green for organising this event once again, and for further details please contact him at 22 Foss Field, Winstone, Glos. GL7 7JY, Tel:+44 (0)1285 821651.

Gerald Hammond, Professor of English in the University of Manchester, will give the Ninth Annual Hertford Tyndale Lecture on Thursday 17 October 2002 at 5pm in the Examination Schools, University of Oxford. Professor Hammond is also a Hebraist, and author of *The Making of the English Bible* (1982). The confirmed title of the lecture is 'Tyndale's Other Hebrew Translations': he will discuss the Old Testament passages translated by Tyndale for use in services newly in English, printed in the final pages of Tyndale's 1534 New Testament.

The Eighth Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture entitled 'Ethics and the national interest - is there a contradiction?' will be given at Lambeth Palace at 6pm on Monday 4 November 2002 by the Rt. Hon. **Chris Patten**, CH, Commissioner for External Relations, European Commission, Brussels.

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*.

Order your copy now £10.00 (US\$ 15.00) + P&P.

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

'Let There be Light' – The Slide Talk, 2nd Edition

An ideal aid for lectures and talks about Tyndale, the first edition of this set of 100 slides, taped commentary and notes illustrating the life and work of William

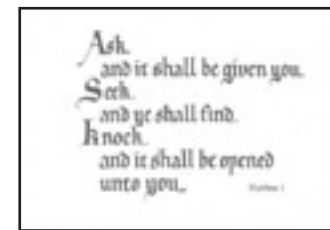
Tyndale sold out completely. The 2nd Edition has been in just as much demand and is about to be reprinted. This new Edition includes additional slides including the English House and mediaeval alleyways of Antwerp and printing presses from the Plantin Moretus Museum. The commentary can be provided on tape or minidisk. **£25.00 (US\$ 37.50) + P&P.**

'Poems on the Underground' Posters

If you enjoyed the extracts from Tyndale's version of 1 Corinthians 13 on the London tube, you might like to have one of these colourful posters of your own. They are a bargain at **only £1.50 (US\$2.25) + P&P.**

T-Shirts

Tyndale Society T-Shirts bearing an image of Tyndale similar to the cover of this journal are available in S, M and L. T-Shirts are 100% cotton in white with a black print. All sizes are **£8.00 (US\$12.00) + P&P.**



Tyndale Calligraphy Cards

Back by popular demand! Reprints of our calligraphy cards have been made possible by David Green. These are now available in packets of ten with envelopes **£4.50 +P&P**

The following books are now available to members and friends via the Tyndale Society – Postage & Packing is FREE

The New Testament 1526

Translated by William Tyndale
Transcription by W. Cooper
Introduction by David Daniell

The publication in 1526 of a modestly-priced pocket edition of the New Testament in English was arguably the most important single event in the history of the English Reformation. This new edition is the first complete reprint of William Tyndale's pioneering translation of the New Testament from Greek into English. Not much larger in format than the original edition, it presents Tyndale's words in the original spelling. It has been transcribed and edited by Dr W. R. Cooper, and has an introduction by Professor David Daniell.

British Library Publications * Hardback * 2000 * ISBN: 0-7123-4664-3 * **£15.00 (US\$22.50)**

The Obedience of a Christian Man

William Tyndale
Editor: David Daniell

Tyndale's vigorous direct English was substantially incorporated into the Authorized Version of 1611, and it made the New Testament available for the first time – in Tyndale's famous determination – even to the 'boy that driveth the plough'. The Obedience of a Christian Man (1528) boldly develops the argument that ordinary believers should take their spiritual sustenance direct from Scripture, without the intervention of (often worldly and corrupt) Popes and prelates. Its vivid discussion of sacraments and false signs, the duties of rulers and ruled, and valid and invalid readings of the Bible, makes the book a landmark in both political and religious thinking. This fine example of English prose also raises, even today, some powerful questions about the true challenge of living a Christian life.

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

William Tyndale, A Biography

David Daniell

This important book, published in the quincentenary year of his birth, is the first major biography of Tyndale in sixty years. It traces the dramatic life of William Tyndale and discusses the profound religious, literary, intellectual, and social implications of his immense achievement.

"A massive contribution to the history of the Reformation in England. It is novel and important in its focus upon the language of the English scriptures in the formative period and in its long-range perspective." J. Enoch Powell, Times Higher Education Supplement.

Paperback version now available!

Yale University Press * Hardback * 1994 * ISBN 0-300-06132-3 * £25.00 (US\$37.50)

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.

"This volume deserves wide circulation." Library Journal

"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)

Special offer for Tyndale Society Members - £35.00 (US\$52.50)

The Wycliffe New Testament 1388

Edited by William Cooper

An Edition in modern English language.

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 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. For the first time in over 600 years, the Wycliffe New Testament has been produced in modern English language by one of our members, Bill Cooper, also the editor of the recent edition of Tyndale's 1526 New Testament, published in 2000.

British Library Publications * Hardback * 2002 * ISBN:0-7123-4728-3

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:

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

E-mail: enquiries.oxconf@pop3.hiway.co.uk

Please note that orders are now being fulfilled by Gill who works in the office only once 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 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 email: tyndale@lessius-ho.be

For general conference matters: Mary Clow tel: +44 (0) 207 221 0303 email: maryclow@aol.com.

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

Friday 4 October 2002

Annual Tyndale Lecture at Gloucester Cathedral, 3pm.

A lecture entitled '*Humanity as Victim: From Tyndale to 2002*' will be given by Chas Raws. It will be followed by evensong and supper. Tickets £11.50. 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, 5pm.

This year's lecture entitled '*Tyndale's other Hebrew Translations*' will be given by Professor Gerald Hammond and will be followed by drinks in the Principal's Lodgings, Hertford College (a 5 minute walk from the Examination Schools). All members, friends and their guests are welcome and there is no need to book for this event.

If you require further information please call Charlotte Dewhurst on +44 (0) 1865 316000 (evenings).

NB: Please ensure that you arrive in good time (parking in Oxford can take a while!) as we must start promptly at 5pm to give time for the lecture and the questions before we leave the Examination Schools at 6pm.

Monday 4 November 2002

8th Annual Lambeth Lecture in The Guard Room, Lambeth Palace, London, 6pm.

This year's lecture entitled '*Ethics and the national interest – is there a contradiction?*' 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 (across the road) from 8pm.

Further information about this event is available from Priscilla Frost on +44 (0) 1865 256816 but you should find all the information together with a booking form enclosed with this Journal

NB: The Lambeth lecture will begin at 6pm NOT 5pm as stated in the last issue of the Journal.

Wednesday 18 December 2002

Annual Carol Service, St Mary Abchurch, Abchurch Lane, London, 12.30pm.

We are delighted that the Reverend Oswald Clarke has kindly invited us to join the City Church of St Mary Abchurch again for carols and readings from Tyndale. The service is a wonderful Christmas experience and a chance to get together for a mince pie and a chat afterwards. Please come along and join us.

Nearest underground stations: Canon Street and Bank.

2003

Friday 24 October to Sunday 26 October 2003

3rd Tyndale Conference, Geneva, Switzerland.

Not for Burning: The life and achievements of the Marian Exiles in 16th century Europe. Speakers: Professor Andrew Pettegree, Director of the St Andrews Reformation Studies Institute, University of St Andrews: Professor David Daniell, Emeritus Professor University College, London: Professor Francis Higman, recently retired director of the Reformation Institute, University of Geneva.

Organisers Valerie Offord email: offordv@cmu.unige.ch
Judith Munzinger email: jmunzinger@compuserve.com
Further details will be announced in the next issue.

To ensure that you have the latest information about forthcoming events bookmark our website at www.tyndale.org.

Tyndale Society Officers:

Chairman	Professor David Daniell, david.daniell@hertford.ox.ac.uk
Vice-Chairman	Sir Rowland Whitehead, rowlandwhitehead@hotmail.com
Treasurer	Mr Peter Baker, peter.baker@hertford.ox.ac.uk
Secretary to the Trustees	Ms Rochelle Givoni, rochelle@ctl.com

Key Contacts For Members And Friends:

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Revd. David Ireson, Tyndale Society Membership Secretary
The Vicarage, Brendon Road, Watchet, Somerset, TA23 0HU, UK
Phone: +44 (0) 1984 631228, David.Ireson@btinternet.com

NB: David has kindly volunteered as membership secretary on a temporary basis. We will announce new arrangements in the journal shortly.

Marketing/PR/General

Ms Charlotte Dewhurst
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Phone/Fax: +44 (0) 1865 316000, charlotte.dewhurst@mouse29.fsnet.co.uk

European Representative

Mrs Valerie Offord, Le Grouet, 31 route de Pre-Marais, 1233 Bernex, Switzerland. Phone/fax +41 (0) 22 777 18 58 offordv@cmu.unige.ch

Events

Mrs Priscilla Frost, Events Co-ordinator
Tyndale Society, c/o Hertford College, Oxford, OX1 3BW, UK
Phone: +44 (0) 1865 256816, enquiries.oxconf@pop3.hiway.co.uk

NB: Priscilla will be able to provide members with information about all our events BUT members should refer to the 'Dates for Your Diary' section for the main contact/organiser of each event.

Administration/Ordering of 'Items for Sale'

Mrs Gillian Guest, Administrative Assisitant, Tyndale Society, c/o Hertford College, Oxford, OX1 3BW, UK, enquiries.oxconf@pop3.hiway.co.uk

Ploughboy Group

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ISSN: 1357-4167

