

The Tyndale Society Journal



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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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Submission of Articles for The Journal

Please send items to the Editor at the address on the inside front cover of this issue. Submissions can be made on paper (post or fax) or electronically (floppy disk for PC or *e-mail*). Electronic submissions should be in the form of a word-processor document file (preferably Word, although we can deal with some versions of WordPerfect), and a version in plain text or Rich Text format. For *e-mail* submissions, the document or Rich Text files should if possible be sent as attachments and the body of the message should contain the article as simple plain text. However, in case of difficulty with *e-mail* attachments, it is acceptable to send the article solely as plain text in the body of the message. The deadline for submission of articles to the next issue is **Friday 7th March 2003**.

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

Editorial

Valerie Offord

1st Sunday in Advent 2002.

This Advent in Geneva a new bell named Hope (L'Espérance) embossed with the words '*I will sing praise to the Lord morning and evening*' was installed, using mediaeval methods, in the tower of St Pierre's Cathedral. This ceremony took place exactly a century after the installation of another bell named La Clémence (Compassionate Mercy). It was an interesting event in a year which is witnessing the Genevois celebrate with year-long fervour 400 years of the success of their reformation, something that is usually confined to a weekend of pageantry in December. Their struggle began in 1536 and was essentially ended in 1602 when they defeated the Savoyards in a battle on the night of 11/12 December, thus establishing their right to exist as an independent Protestant state. This night of defeat for the Savoyards (and incidentally Italians and Spaniards as well) has become known as 'L'Escalade' because the enemy attempted to scale the city walls by using long ladders. Thus, even now, the Reformation and its consequences are still a very live issue here in 'la Rome Protestante'. It has also been a year when the names of John Wycliffe and his mentor, Jan Hus of Bohemia, have been added to the International Reformation Monument erected in 1902. Thus they join the illustrious company of Jean Calvin, John Knox, Théodore de Bèze, Ulrich Zwingli, Guillaume Farel, Roger Williams, Martin Bucer and many other stars of the 16th century fight for religious reform in Europe.

Tyndale may have been eclipsed by Wycliffe as far as the Geneva Reformation Wall is concerned but it can be stated, without doubt, that in 2002 he has transmuted from martyr to media star. This autumn witnessed an unprecedented focus of attention on him – spoken of on the radio, mentioned in the press, voted on as one of the hundred Greatest Britons, seen on TV, figured in a major exhibition in Belgium, written of in a new biography and the subject of an apology by a Roman Catholic Bishop in Antwerp Cathedral. Truly a momentous year for a man who, until his quincentenary in 1994, was largely unfêted and unacknowledged by all but the most academic of historians and theologians.

One of Tyndale's ardent followers and publicists, Dr Guido Latré, the mentor of the greatly admired exhibition '*Tyndale's Testament*' at Antwerp's Plantin-Moretus Museum and the organizer of the Society's extraordinarily successful Antwerp Conference, has also become a media star in his own

right. During the Conference itself he gave many interviews to Belgian and European radio and TV stations and, even as I write, he is consulting and working with a BBC documentary film unit in Belgium on a programme scheduled for showing in early spring 2003.

As editor I was able to cash in on the infectious enthusiasm of the Antwerp Conference participants and persuade several of them to write reports. There is a comprehensive and very readable account by Eunice Burton of the five memorable days in Belgium; our new American representative, Dr Joe Johnson, has contributed a very original article on a Yankee's view of the events; Mary Clow was moved to report on the historic service of Evensong which preceded the opening ceremony of the exhibition. Brian Johnson, a comparatively new member, has written an enthusiastic overview of the exhibition '*Tyndale's Testament*' urging us to buy the catalogue if we are unable to go to see it. So good is his sales pitch that it crossed my mind to claim for the Journal the royalties of the subsequent sales from the publishing firm!

It has not been possible to do justice to the Conference in this one issue and it is hoped to include further reports and even some papers from it next year although most of the main lectures should eventually appear in *Reformation*. As a compromise I have taken the unusual decision to print the programme and abstracts.

Antwerp has not completely stolen the limelight. Our lead article '*Tyndale and the Ordeal of Bartolomeo Platina*' by Anne Richardson is an interesting and, to my knowledge, quite novel slant on Tyndalian studies. It urges us to take into account his debt to the Italian writer, historian and Vatican librarian, Platina. To accompany and broaden this Ralph Werrell has allowed us to reprint his paper entitled '*Tyndale's Theology*'.

Our reviewing stalwart, Neil Inglis, has triumphed yet again with his thoughts on Jasper Ridley's recent book *Bloody Mary's Martyrs*. He is joined in this issue by another reviewer from America, Prof Don Millus, to whom we attributed the task of assessing Brian Moynahan's new book on Tyndale *If God Spare My Life*. There is also a shorter review of Judith Middleton Stewart's book *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk 1370-1547*. Incidentally, all three book reviews provide essential homework for future Tyndale Society events – that of Inglis for the 3rd Geneva Tyndale Conference '*Not for Burning: The Marian Exiles in 16th Century Europe*' in October 2003, that of Millus for Brian Moynahan's question and answer session at the Tyndale Society Christmas party in London in mid-December and that of Litten for the East Anglian Day Conference in Norwich this coming March.

Our ploughboys have been frantically writing and learning as well as reading! Limited space has forced your editor to make tough selection decisions on their letters and contributions whilst fervently hoping that this will not discourage further efforts on their part. Indeed, some communications are already scheduled to appear in the next issue. A surfeit of articles is surely a sign of a healthy Society. Meanwhile, keep on reading your journal. There are a host of possibilities for meetings and research projects in it.

Those among you who are assiduous readers of cornflake packets, the inside covers of journals and so on will already have noted that Judith Munzinger has kindly agreed to become my official editorial assistant. I am extremely grateful to her. Mind you, if my postbag continues to expand as it has recently I shall have to clone her sooner than planned! Your new media star, a certain William Tyndale, is becoming difficult to manage. If there is anyone else who would like to join our editorial team we should be only too glad to hear from them – proof reading is very time consuming even though it can be done in unlikely places such as trains, tennis clubs, mountain chalets and airports.

At this season of hope, stars (be they astronomical or media ones) and bells may I wish all Tyndalians a friendly, joyful Christmas and may we ring in yet another successful year of exciting research.

Antwerp Conference- a sincere vote of thanks

The Tyndale Society owes a huge debt of gratitude to Dr Guido Latré (KU Leuven/Université Catholique de Louvain) for his organization of a superb landmark conference on our behalf in Antwerp.

Its members would also like to extend their thanks to his excellent team of helpers and collaborators in particular Dr Paul Arblaster and Gergely Juhasz, both of KU Leuven, and to Mary Clow for her encouragement and very practical support. We are also very grateful to the efficient administrative team headed by Sylvie van Dun of the Lessius Hogeschool in Antwerp who ensured the exceptional smooth running of the whole conference.

Tyndale and the Ordeal of Bartolomeo Platina (1421-1481)

Anne Richardson

In an unusual phase of his career, Tyndale based part of his saturnine church history of 1530, *The Practice of Prelates*, on *Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum* (*The Lives of the Popes*) of Bartolomeo Platina.¹ He probably read this 1479 work in its posthumous 1530 edition. We typically think of Tyndale as influenced in his independent writings by northern humanists and reformers. Platina, however, was not only an Italian and a southern humanist but also a papal Christian and member of two curias and – except for a calamitous interregnum which we shall look at – on excellent terms with the papacy. His achievements include, besides the *Lives*, a book on cooking that topped the European market for decades, a favourite with Erasmus. Alive to the emergent print technology, Platina has been designated the first historian in the West to see his works in print.² At the end of his life, he performed a glorious tour of duty as Vatican librarian. Sleek and prosperous, ensconced in the papal establishment, what did he have to say to our passionate northern fugitive?

Tyndale's debt to Platina may, actually, be immense: no less than the entire structural idea of *Prelates* as chronological annals of the Church. With this came the opportunity – the need – to distinguish between individual popes. For example, we find Tyndale praising Pope St. Sylvester I (pont. 314-335) as “so holy a man” that he would not have accepted the supposed Donation of Constantine even had it been offered him (PS2: 279).³ A figure like Sylvester would not be tolerated in the intellectual atmosphere of *The Obedience of a Christian Man* of 1528, in which “the pope,” regardless of who occupies the office, is a generic wellspring of evil.

Another reason for the importance of the *Lives* to Tyndale is the way Platina handles his material. Where he has been able to obtain proper documents, his work is both weighty and lively; these qualities stand out even in the deteriorating 1898 reprint of the 1685 anonymous, abridged translation in which the *Lives* are still exclusively available in English. When Tyndale introduces Platina, anonymously, as “A certain writer of stories” (PS2: 254), it is important to note that “stories” means histories, not myths or anecdotes. Platina's *Lives* are true histories, brimfull of armed conflicts, factional schemings, foreign and domestic achievements, art and architecture, fumbles and disasters, served up with deft humanist touches. He speaks dismissively of

“those perverse sort of heretics who say there never was any true vicar of Christ since Peter, but who had imitated Christ's poverty” (*Lives*, 2: 284). This amounts to a mild, liberal affirmation of the papacy's right to existence – to solvency--its obverse being a freedom to point out bad administrators and bad characters where they are to be found. Indeed, Pope Sixtus IV, who commissioned the *Lives*, urged the latter kind of frankness.

In this brief introduction to Platina's presence in *Prelates*, it would be unwieldy to try to rehearse all the closely woven details of influence. Tyndale uses Platina's material principally from fourteen pontificates of the seventh through tenth centuries. The *Lives* is a moralized history; and Tyndale paraphrases, or directly quotes from Platina's Latin, reflections such as, “Moreover, it was the custom even then, saith the author, to ask what the bishopric was worth,” not how many sheep its shepherd must care for (PS2: 255; *Lives*, 1: 142). Or: “from this time [the collapse of Lewis the Mild's reign] hitherto perished the power of the emperors and the virtue of the popes, saith Platina, in the life of popes” (PS 2: 267; *Lives*, 1: 236-237).

Platina's thinking seems to have effected some changes in Tyndale's political expressions. Platina, who had started out in life, improbably, as a mercenary soldier, assumed that emperors and princes – and popes – must engage in war. He was an adult in 1453 when Constantinople fell to the Turks; and his respected friend, Pope Pius II, died in a massive attempt to muster Europe against the Ottoman Empire. Tyndale, who had said in 1528 in *The Obedience of a Christian Man* that desiring “to kill a Turk, to slay a Jew” is one of the “bloody imaginations” we suck in with our mother's milk (PS1: 166; Daniell, 29), in 1530 takes on board Platina's position that military action of church and state to ward off “Mahomet” is tenable. He borrows from Platina on a situation in the pontificate of Boniface V in 619-25:

The prelates gaped when the laymen would take the war upon them against the Turks; and the laymen looked when the prelates would lay out their money, to make the war withal, and not spend it on worse use, as the most part of them were wont to do; spending the money that was gotten with alms and blood of martyrs upon goodly plate, and great vessels of gold and silver, without care of things to come, despising God, whom they worshiped for their belly's sake only, and also man (PS2: 254-5; *Lives*, 1: 146).

Prelatical greed is a “worse use” of resources: is warfare against the Turk an acceptable use? When Tyndale returns to his own unborrowed voice in the *Answer to More* in 1531, he prescribes loving behaviour towards an individual Turk (PS3: 7-8; O'Donnell, 7).⁴ Perhaps for Tyndale the two ways of thinking were not mutually exclusive.

As well as literary riches, Platina's *Lives* presented Tyndale with a biographical theme he could identify with: defiance of the religious authority and the cost of such defiance. Says the pope, as dramatized in the *Obedience*: "[T]orment them [heretical suspects] craftily, and for very pain make them deny the truth" (PS1: 233; Daniell, 89). Whether Platina sounded the note of torture for Tyndale depends on whether Tyndale read the last two lives in Platina's book, or was otherwise aware of Platina's life story.

In the last two pontificates he records, those of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II, pont. 1458-1464) and of Peter Barbo (Paul II, pont. 1464-1471) Platina's personal presence is felt to a remarkable degree. In Paul II's life, he is, effectively, the protagonist. In the life of Pius II, he is there by implication in its affectionate details, such as his account of the pope's daily regimen and a Boswellian list of his witty sayings (*Lives*, 2: 269-271, 273). Pius's wit finds its way, dangerously, into the life of Paul II:

. . . Peter Barbo was naturally fair-spoken, and could feign good nature, when occasion served. But he was sometimes so mean-spirited, that when he could not obtain what he aimed at by praying, entreating, and requesting, he would join tears to his petitions to make them the sooner believed. And therefore Pope Pius used sometimes to call him the godly Mary, by way of joke (*Lives*, 2: 276).

We can picture Platina laughing at this sobriquet, and repeating it to others in gregarious gaiety, oblivious of its lethality to his position when, after Pius's death at Ancona, Barbo was unexpectedly chosen as his successor on the first ballot.⁵ The ensuing near-mortal hostilities between Platina and Paul II give the life of Paul a gripping, if structurally unbuttoned, quality.

Platina and Paul first collided in 1464, with respect to the college of abbreviators, a group of expert Latinists ("humanists," by contemporary definition) who oversaw the drafting and final form of papal correspondence. Paul rescinded Pius II's expansion and bicameral restructuring of this body, firing all his new appointees, who included Platina. When the latter protested, asking that the case be referred democratically to a court of mediation, Paul said, sternly, 'Do you . . . refer me to judges, as if you were ignorant that all the laws were laid up in my breast? . . . I am Pope, and I may do as I please, either in rescinding or approving the acts of others' (*Lives*, 2: 278). To this declaration of papal inerrancy and sovereignty, Platina responded by organizing a quattroceto equivalent of a sit-in, joining with other dismissed abbreviators outside Paul's reception chamber during all practicable hours and petitioning for an audience. When they were ignored, Platina wrote an unbalanced letter threatening to appeal to various European princes for a

church council to be convened to challenge Paul's act. This, for a labour dispute! Paul's response to this insubordination was to place Platina, weighed down with "massy chains," in a tower open to the elements for four winter months, until a friend in the powerful Gonzaga family obtained his release (*Lives*, 2: 279).

For the second act of this drama, we shift to a different group, the young intellectuals in the Roman Academy Platina helped found. A rumour reached Paul that these men were conspiring to assassinate him.⁶ He summoned Platina to his bedchamber and questioned him in a hysterical fashion. "He being negligently dressed and looking pale, urged me still, and sometimes threatened me with torments and sometimes with death unless I would confess" (*Lives*, 2: 286-87). Platina says he answered him "fearlessly" because he was innocent. Perhaps there was pertness in his tone.

For after this personal interrogation, Paul had Platina – as the prime suspect--and some twenty other men tortured. Platina's report of this experience pulls out all the stops, complete with the horrid papal favourite, Vianesius, seated on a tapestry chair, mixing his interrogations with a banal conversation with one Sanga, about a jewel a girl had given him. Banality, an irritant added to pain, is a common torturer's tool. The story is ennobled, beyond its horror and grotesqueness, by Platina's naming of the young man who died under the torture, and of his kind cell-mates, a father and son, who helped him with food and "physic" when his hands and forearms were disabled by the rack (*Lives*, 2: 288-89).

Tragedy gave way to farce when Paul, satisfied that there was no conspiracy, was faced with the difficulty posed by a look of papal "levity" in a too-brief imprisonment. He kept the men in prison ten months, troubling Platina with abortive accusations of heresy and of inordinate valuation of the pagan classics (*Lives*, 2: 291). Platina, living obscurely after release, survived Paul; and was showered with blessings by Pope Sixtus IV, including (apparently) the permission to digress, at points in *The Lives of the Popes*, with remarks that put Paul in a ludicrous light.

In the *Obedience* Tyndale speaks out against torture, which, in tandem with the threat of purgatory, comprised the violent foundation of the pope's power over Christians. For him and his people, the pope is an absentee tyrant who "cometh never at us" (PS 1: 211; Daniell, 72), deploying his violent machinery at a transalpine remove. This is a contrast with the vivid proximity of Platina's pope in his bedchamber. Platina and his friends managed not to deny the truth: they were not persuaded to confess what they were not guilty of. Did Tyndale read Platina's story – admittedly not of a

religious martyr, but of a cashiered humanist--and did it reinforce his sense that he could suffer clerical violence? As early as *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* he hazarded a violent death for himself (PS1: 44). Did reading Platina aid his playing the torture card, as it can be termed, in his message to Henry VIII and Cromwell in 1531? In that instance, he was offered a safe-conduct to come to England; it was rumoured that he was being considered for a seat on the Privy Council; all the terminology was gentle and respectful. His reply, conveyed by Stephen Vaughan, was not an impolite prediction that the English authorities would rescind his safe-conduct – like Hus’s at Constance--once he put himself into their hands. Instead, he called their bluff in his immortal bargain: in exchange for the king’s permission for a vernacular Bible, “be it of the translation of what person soever shall please his majesty,” he would “most humbly submit [himself] at the feet of his royal majesty, offering my body to suffer what pain or torture, yea, what death his grace will, so this be obtained.” Did the experience of the man he introduced as “a certain writer of stories” help him clarify his resolve?

Notes

¹ The Latin text of Platina’s *Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum* (Venice: J. de Colonia and J. Manthen, 1479) was edited by Giacinto Gaida for the series *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Citta di Castello: 1913-1933). The only English translation available – an abridgment lacking Platina’s preface and the introductory life of Christ – was done “by an unknown hand” and published in 1685 by Sir Paul Rycout (London: printed for Christopher Wilkinson, Wing STC# 2403) with Rycout’s updated history of the papacy to his own day. The only reprint of that translation – without Rycout’s update, thus ending with Platina’s last completed life, that of Paul II – appears in *The Lives of the Popes*, ed. W. Benham, The Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature, 2 vols. (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh, 1898).

² Denys Hay, *Annalists and Historians: Western Historiography from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1977), 105.

³ Tyndale’s works are cited by volume numbers in the Parker Society edition: PS1, *Doctrinal Treatises* . . . 1848; PS2, *Expositions and Notes* . . . 1849; PS3, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More’s Dialogue* . . . 1850. In addition, page references are provided to David Daniell’s edition of *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000 – “Daniell”) and to *An Answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores Dialogue*, ed. Anne M. O’Donnell, S.N.D. and Jared Wickes, S.J., The Independent Works of William Tyndale 3 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2000 – “O’Donnell”).

⁴ I am indebted for this discussion to Clare M. Murphy, “The Turks in More and Tyndale,” in *Word, Church and State: Tyndale Quincentenary Essays*, ed. John T. Day, Eric Lund, and Anne M. O’Donnell, S.N.D. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1998), 231-33.

⁵ J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford and New York: OUP, 1986), 249.

⁶ As A. J. Dunston points out in “Pope Paul II and the Humanists,” *Journal of Religious History* 7 (1973), 306, no-one was convicted of the supposed conspiracy, even under torture. But many scholars believe that there could have been a genuine conspiracy: see Richard J. Palermino, “The Roman Academy, the Catacombs, and the Conspiracy of 1468,” *Archivum Historiae Pontificae* 18 (1980): 117-55. Mary Ella Milham, in *Platina, On Right Pleasure and Good Health: A Critical Edition and Translation of De Honesta Voluptate et Valetudine* [the famous cookbook] (Tempe, Arizona: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998), 23, even suggests that the absence of official records of the enterprise could be explained by Platina’s having destroyed them in his eventual capacity as librarian of the Vatican.

Tyndale’s Theology.¹

Ralph S. Werrell

Introduction.

Until recently we were taught that modern English stemmed from Shakespeare and the Authorised Version of the Bible. (Although Alister McGrath still took this position in the year 2000.)² We now know that modern English stems from William Tyndale and others in the early sixteenth century. Tyndale was martyred at Vilvoorde in Belgium in 1536. Shakespeare was born in 1564. The Authorised Version of the Bible was 1611. Tyndale’s translation is approximately eighty percent of the Authorised Version in those Books Tyndale translated. Many of the changes made in the Authorised Version do not improve it. The AV has ‘charity’, Tyndale has ‘love’ in 1 Corinthians 13.

Thomas More called Tyndale, “the captain of our Englyshe heretikes”. Tyndale was a threat to the mediaeval Church because his writings attacked Church doctrine harder than Luther’s. Thomas More could write about Tyndale, “He barketh agaynst the sacramentes moche more than Luther. For where as Luther lefte yet some confesson / and rekened his secrete confessyon necessary and profytable . . . / Tyndall taketh it away quyte / and rayleth thereon and sayth it was begonne by the deuyll. . . Luther also som-

tyme affermeth purgatory / somtyme doubteth / and somtyme denyeth. But Tyndall putteth no doubtte at all / but denyeth it as vtterly / as folysshly / withoute grounde / cause / or colour layde wherefore. Concernyng y^e holy masse / Luther as mad as he is was neuer yet as mad as tyndall is / ...”³

William Tyndale was probably born in 1494, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Berkeley, near Slimbridge in South Gloucestershire. Unfortunately we know little of his early life.

A hundred years before Tyndale was born John Trevisa was Vicar of Berkeley. He was a contemporary of John Wycliffe and was interested in the vernacular. He translated several works into English, and may have helped translate the second Wycliffe Bible. Had the importance of the vernacular remained in the Berkeley area in the century between Trevisa and Tyndale?

William Clebsch has been accepted as the definer of Tyndale’s theology over the years. He assumed Tyndale’s theology depended on Luther; then it changed, influenced by the Swiss Reformers. Finally, he developed his covenant theology. Clebsch was guilty of having a theory and making the evidence fit, ignoring anything which did not conform. It is what I call the *Glass Slipper Syndrome* (trying to make Cinderella’s slipper fit her sisters’ feet). Neither I nor others who have closely examined Tyndale’s writings can find his theology changed.

Possible sixteenth century influences

The first main section of my thesis looks at the influence of, and Tyndale’s divergences from, the various theological systems of the early sixteenth century, which are supposed to have contributed to his theology.

Tyndale accepted the central doctrines of Christianity, but there are no traces of the speculative theologies we associate with the Scholastic movement, nor did Catholic humanism influence his thinking.

Wycliffite doctrine does appear to have influenced Tyndale, possibly an influence going back to his childhood. He used words freely which had a Lollard meaning. His theology would not have seemed strange to a Lollard, although he had moved further from Roman Catholicism than the Lollards.

Luther’s influence was not as great as it appears from his use of large passages from Luther, for he makes radical changes to Luther’s theology, which is why Thomas More could write that Tyndale is more extreme than Luther.

Tyndale was influenced by Humanism, but there are few signs of Erasmian Humanism in Tyndale’s writings.

The covenant

Tyndale’s *covenant theology* is his theology. It has no links to the Swiss Reformers or Calvin. The covenant’s legal aspect, for Tyndale, is between the Persons of the Trinity. Man’s salvation from first to last depends on God alone. Any idea of a covenant between God and man detracts from the sovereignty and glory of God and gives man a part in his salvation. Tyndale regarded this as semi-Pelagian.

The covenant is revealed in the Scriptures, and from scripture our understanding of God and his creation is drawn. However reasonable and rational man’s thinking may seem, if it cannot be found and proved from Scripture it is damnable falsehood and to be rejected. Tyndale’s theology was possibly the most scriptural of all the Reformers, and this saved him from many problems other theologians faced. The mediaeval Church believed God only required us to do our best. The federal covenant had the problem of double predestination. Tyndale found neither of these in Scripture and rejected both.

Tyndale’s doctrine deprived fallen man of everything and is harder on him than Calvin or the Synod of Dort. Man can do nothing. He is powerless to even desire to escape since he is nailed, glued, and bound with a hundred thousand chains to the devil’s will. Moreover, “we were stone dead and without life or power to do or consent to good. The whole nature of us was captive under the devil, and led at his will. ... ; and we consented unto sin with soul and body and hated the law of God.”⁴ In Adam man chose to disobey God in spite of God’s warning of the consequences of disobedience, and all are under God’s wrath and condemned to eternal damnation. Man chose to have Satan as his father. Tyndale wrote, “God and the devil are two contrary fathers, ... as Christ saith, (John viii.) ‘Ye are of your father the devil, and therefore will do the lusts of your father.’”⁵

Commenting on the situation of those not God’s children, Tyndale drew a family picture. If a child has received a new coat and is asked, “Why did not your father buy another boy a new coat also?” The child would reply, “My father bought me my coat, let his father buy him his!”

To understand Tyndale’s soteriology we must go to the beginning. Before the foundation of the world God made a plan for man’s salvation. The covenant was made: God the Father would elect those to adopt as his children: God the Son would shed his blood to make this possible: God the Holy Spirit would apply the covenant to those God chose to be his children, who then cease to be children of the devil. For Tyndale there are no legal obstacles to be overcome between God and man.

Election means the chosen have God for their Father and are his children and part of God's family. Tyndale stresses many times the Father/child relationship as the key to our Christian life. This is important throughout our Christian life.

The blood of Christ is the key to Tyndale's theology. Every doctrine depends on it except the Fall. Through Christ's blood the Father is able to adopt the elect making them his children. The Holy Spirit can apply Christ's blood to make the elect part of God's family. For Christ's blood has satisfied God's justice breaking down the barrier between God and man. This is the legal aspect of the Covenant. For man, dead in sin, has no freedom or power of himself until he is born again when the covenant has been fulfilled.

The covenant works when the Holy Spirit applies Christ's blood to the heart and life of the elect and we are born again; he opens our ears to hear the gospel, giving us the will to respond, and the power to love God's law. Through Christ's blood we are given repentance and faith; and we know God is our Father and we are his children and members of his family. The blood of Christ changes our whole attitude to God's law. It enables us to love and keep God's laws and commandments, which we keep out of love and not for fear of punishment. The law becomes a delight to us as an expression of our love. We are part of God's family, and if we break his law we let ourselves and our loving Father down. The blood of Christ enables us to love our neighbour, and to please God with our good works. The blood of Christ also opens up our way to heaven.

Luther believed the Christian is *simul justus et peccator*. Tyndale would not agree for two reasons. Firstly, it denies the power of the blood of Christ to effect a full salvation for us. Secondly, the Christian's righteousness is not his own; we are righteous because Christ alone is our righteousness. Otherwise our position in God's family would be insecure, and the power of Christ's blood to save the elect would be denied. Like any child the Christian is not perfect, even though he wants to obey his Father, he sometimes lets him down and sins through frailty. Or, perhaps he disobeys his Father and does wrong, then our Father is angry with us, we feel rejected and want to run away from home, yet deep down we know we are still loved and still our Father's child. The blood of Christ cleanses us from sin and restores us to fellowship again with our loving Father.

The sacraments are covenantal signs, which are important. For Tyndale the sacraments of the Old Testament and the New are the same. The only difference is that Christ has now come and shed his blood for the salvation of

the elect. All the sacraments are signs of Christ's blood; the Passover and the Lord's Supper clearly show a sacramental meaning linked to the sacrificial blood-shedding of Christ, the Lamb of God.

Circumcision and baptism are the sign that the blood of Christ has made us children of God. We have promised to live lives worthy of God's children and this profession of our baptism (which is all important for us) is seen in our obedience and love of God's law and commandments.

The Lord's Supper is a constant reminder of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross when his blood was shed and his body was broken. The wine, which should be red, represents the blood of Christ, by which and through which the whole of our salvation and Christian life becomes a possibility. Tyndale rejected both Roman transubstantiation and Lutheran consubstantiation. Christ is in heaven, and the Lord's Supper is in remembrance of Christ's death on the Cross.

Society makes all equal as brothers and sisters. However, there are differences which enable society to function. God is king, and he gave kings and rulers, fathers and mothers to have rule in his stead, and we must submit. Through creation we are equal whether we be king or beggar, only the needs of society have made a difference.

The blood of Christ gives us love to our neighbour and a desire to do works which demonstrate our love. We love our neighbour because we are all created by our heavenly Father, and all brothers; therefore we will do anything to help him. Love to our neighbour depends only on God's creation and not our new birth as God's children. This is true if he is a Turk, Jew or our enemy and the good works we do for them are done in order to win them to Christ. The good works we do for other Christians is to strengthen their faith.

Unlike the mediaeval Church, Tyndale taught that the clergy belong to the temporal regiment and kings belong to the spiritual regiment: and their authority is only in the regiment in which they hold office for God. All mankind belong to the temporal, and all Christians belong also to the spiritual regiment. In both regiments all are equal, though God gives authority to some to govern on his behalf.

In the spiritual regiment we are doubly God's, through creation and through redemption. The blood of Christ enables God to blot out our sins, adopt us as his children and give us a place in the spiritual kingdom. Christ's blood has opened the way for us into God's presence, giving us eternal life and it has opened for us the gate in the kingdom of heaven.

Through Christ's blood we can always come to our Father's presence, even

as children come to their Father. It is through our prayers and our worship we enter into our Father's presence, and experience his love. "Neither is it possible to believe in God, to love him, or to love thy neighbour, but that prayer will spring out there-hence immediately. For to believe in God is to be sure that all thou hast is of him, and all that thou needest must come of him: which if thou do, thou canst not but continually thank him for his benefits, ... Secondly, this heaping of so many words together, 'ask, seek, knock,' signify that the prayer must be continual; and so doth the parable of the widow, that sued to the wicked judge."⁶

It is in society and the state; and the church and its worship that we find the Covenant people here on earth. But, as Christ taught, in the spiritual regiment there are tares mixed with the wheat, and the elect are "the little flock."

The mediaeval Church had departed from God, the pope and the spirituality had erected barriers against the faithful, preventing them from reading God's Word, substituting works for faith, and, with their covetousness, making people trust in vain and false ceremonies.

There was need for reform because the covenant had been broken, the pope and the spirituality had failed on three grounds. They taught a false faith, believing God would accept man by his works. God only required man to do his best, then the sacraments would make right what was lacking. Purgatory had been invented, so that after death through indulgencies, the saints' and our prayers, any deficit could be made up. But as it was not according to God's Word it had no real benefit. Secondly, the spirituality taught false actions as a means of appeasing God, especially if they provided benefits for the Church. Thirdly, they taught a false worship. Idolatry, through the Mass and worshipping the saints, encouraged the people to fear God as a stern judge, and not to know him as a loving Father.

Conclusion

There is a unity in Tyndale's theology found in all his writings, from the 1525 Preface to the New Testament through to his last published work.

The Covenant runs through every aspect of God's dealings with fallen man. It stretches from before the foundation of the world when the covenant was made between the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, through to the day when God's chosen people will take their place in heaven.

The blood of Christ alone made the Covenant possible. Without the blood of Christ God could not choose the elect to pour his love on them and be to them a loving Father. The Holy Spirit could not give life to the elect,

enabling those who are born again to desire to love and serve God, and to walk in obedience to God's laws.

Fallen man might still have some knowledge of his former glory, but he neither desires nor seeks the means to find the way back to God. The devil gives him ideas to quieten him, and make him feel 'safe', but which serve to bind him closer to the devil's will.

Today we could do with returning to Tyndale's theology. It is scriptural. It does not seek to give man a false hope in himself. It reveals the love and the power of God to save. It reveals the way God's plan for man's salvation is fulfilled leaving nothing to chance. It reveals love, enabling us to fulfil the law of love: to love God with heart, soul, mind and strength, and to love one's neighbour as oneself.

Tyndale had a broader vision of who is my neighbour than is common even today. A neighbour is anyone who needs our help, friend or enemy, those of other faiths or none. Their greatest need is their need of salvation. It is by being a good neighbour we help them by an act of love with the intent that, through love, we may win them to Christ.

Notes

¹ Summary of a paper given to *The Lambeth Diploma Association* at their A.G.M. in 2000, and was published in *The Lambeth Diploma Association Journal, 2000-2001*.

² McGrath, *In the Beginning: the Story of the King James Bible*, wrote, "The two greatest influences on the shaping of the English language are the works of Shakespeare and the English translation of the Bible that appeared in 1611." p. 1.

³ More, *Complete Works of St. Thomas More, vol 6*. p. 424f

⁴ Tyndale, *Exposition I John*, 2/199

⁵ *ibid.* 2/190

⁶ *Exposition Matthew v, vi, vii*, 2/115f

The 4th International Conference of the Tyndale Society

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

Antwerp, Belgium 30 August-3 September 2002

Speakers and Abstracts

Dr PAUL ARBLASTER

K.U.Leuven, Belgium

Paul Arblaster was educated in England and Belgium and holds MA, licence and DPhil degrees in Modern History from Oxford and Leuven. He is currently employed on the K.U.Leuven research project on English Bible translations printed in Antwerp, under the supervision of Guido Latré and is working on a doctorate in Literature.

His published articles on the Early Modern Low Countries concern religious refugees and the politics of print publication, and his book on Richard Verstegan is forthcoming from Leuven University press.

Prof PETER AUKSI

University of Western Ontario, Canada

Peter Auksi has taught in the English Dept. of the University of Western Ontario (London, Canada) since 1971, after completing undergraduate degrees at the University of Toronto and Oxford University, and a doctorate at Harvard University on Tyndale's prose style in his polemical writings.

He has produced about 20 articles and papers on Tyndale, and several dozen more on figures relating to the Reformation -- Wycliffe, Latimer, Foxe, Spenser, Milton, Erasmus, Knox, and the Lollards. A book-length study appeared in 1995, *Christian Plain Style: The Evolution of a Spiritual Ideal*.

Erasmus as Source, Influence, and Object of Criticism: Tyndale on the "Light" of Northern Humanism

Abstract – In the early sixteenth century in northern Europe there was almost no figure at work in the areas of biblical scholarship/translation and church reform who was not indebted to the overwhelming presence and example of Erasmus, and to his editions, translations, treatises, or satires. Not only did Tyndale translate Erasmus's "Enchiridion" (published in 1533), but in his "Obedience" he also refers directly to Erasmus's "Preface to the Paraphrase of Matthew" (1522); and John Foxe reports that Tyndale wished to place the Scriptures in the hands of every plow-boy behind his plow, in a direct allusion to Erasmus's "Paraclesis" (1516). Moreover, some of Tyndale's jabs at Julius II appear to recall "Julius Exclusus" (1513); and several of Erasmus's "Colloquies" were mined by Tyndale for anti-clerical satire. As

a biblical translator, Tyndale borrows Erasmus's theological perspectives, on repentance, for example, and on congregation (as opposed to 'ecclesia' or 'church'); and as a satirist of the unreformed church, he focuses (as did Erasmus) on the absurdities of scholastic language, on the plethora of pointless religious rules and regulations, and on the laziness and ignorance of overfed monks. Yost (1969) and Trinterud (1962) have emphasized Tyndale's debt to Erasmus and to Northern Humanism in general, but others (notably Goldrick in 1979) have described the relationship as casual, or co-incidental, or indeterminate.

This paper will examine some of the specific linguistic and theological links between the two men (Tyndale imitated Erasmus as a reformer in several crucial ways, and borrowed from the Dutch humanist through dozens of intriguing allusions), but Tyndale also roundly criticized Erasmus -- precisely as he did Thomas More and for the same reasons in similar terms! -- for having sold his soul to the religious/political establishment for money and preferment, and for having cozied up to the rich and powerful. But such criticism did not stop Tyndale from learning from Erasmus the secret of the enigmatic Dutchman's literary power: the methods by which a reformer could construct a voice and 'persona' that were sly, ironic, passionately determined, and politically indirect. The core of Tyndale's belletristic genius derives ultimately from the model of Erasmus as writer and critic.

Dr BRIAN A. CUMMINGS

Lecturer in English, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK

Dr Cummings has published "The Theology of Translation: Tyndale's Grammar," in *Word, Church, and State: Tyndale Quincentenary Essays* (Catholic University of America P, 1998) 36-59; "Reformed Literature and Literature Reformed" in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge UP, 1999; paper, 2002); and *The Literary Culture of the Reformation* (Oxford UP, November 2002).

The Luck of the English: Tyndale's Prologues to Genesis and Jonah

Abstract – The word "luck" occurs three times in Tyndale's Old Testament. It is then excised from the Geneva Bible and the Authorised Version, and does not reappear in scriptural English until the New English Bible 400 years later. It is not difficult to see why: "luck" is a shibboleth for any predestinarian outlook. Yet it does not fit either with the theodicy expressed in Tyndale's theological writings, in particular in the Prologues to the Old Testament books concerned, such as Genesis and Jonah.

This paper will consider how Tyndale's translations and prologues come to contradictory conclusions on English "luck," and in the process will offer

some commentary on the complex struggle between the different vocabularies of chance in Hebrew, Greek and English.

Dr RALPH DEKONINCK

Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium

Dr Dekoninck is Docteur en Philosophie et Lettres (Université Catholique de Louvain) and Chargé de recherches du Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique. His fields of research are Jesuit theology and theories of the image, and illustrated books and religious engravings of the 16th and 17th centuries.

His publications include Des “images” jésuites à l’ “Imago” des jésuites. Statuts et fonctions de l’image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite éditée à Anvers entre 1585 et 1640 (Forthcoming, Droz, coll. Travaux du Grand Siècle, Geneva, 2003)

«Imagines et figurae bibliorum». La genèse et le développement des «Prentenbijbels» à Anvers dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle.

(The Genesis and Development of «Picture Bibles» in Antwerp during the Second Half of the 16th Century)

Prof RICHARD DUERDEN

Associate Professor of English, Brigham Young University, USA

Rick Duerden (PhD, University of Chicago, 1989) has recently edited *The Tradition of Metaphysical Poetry and Belief* and has published articles on contemporary literary theory, sixteenth-century reformers, and the Bible and political authority in Reformation England. His current work on John Field developed during his term as Charlton Hinman Fellow at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C.

Who Brought Luther to the Elizabethans? The Translator of Luther’s Commentary on Galatians

Abstract – Arguably the most important book of the Reformation, Martin Luther’s *Commentary on Galatians* was translated into English in 1575 and went through six editions before the end of Elizabeth’s reign. The translators, however, have been unknown. Hoby and Florio are honored for their work; Thomas Norton may be as well known for his translation of Calvin’s *Institutes* as for his work in parliament or for the English stage, but no such recognition is possible for the translator of Luther on Galatians. Circumstantial evidence, however, may allow us to identify one translator, perhaps the leading one, as the puritan reformer John Field, and that identification fills in the lost years of his career and suggests an intriguing story of how Field redefined a career after his release from prison, and how a shift in the Archbishopric of the English Church redefined the authorities’ attitude toward Field.

Dr LIZ EVENDEN

British Academy John Foxe Project, University of Sheffield, UK

PhD thesis title: ‘Piety and Politics in Print: the Life and Work of John Day, Tudor Printer’. Publications include article for *16th Century Journal* on ‘William Cecil and the Lincolnshire Printing of John Day’; chapter with Dr T. S. Freeman in ‘Lives in Print’ (British Library, 2002), ed. Robin Myers; chapter entitled ‘Internal Evidence for the Editing and Proof-Reading of Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*’ in the *Foxe Colloquium* volume edited by Prof David Loades.

‘The fleeing Dutchmen? The influence of Dutch immigrants upon the print shop of John Day’.

Prof TIBOR FABINY

Pazmany Peter Catholic University / Karoli Gaspar University of the Reformed Church / Center for Hermeneutical Research, Hungary

Professor Fabiny studied English Literature at Eotvos Lorand University, Budapest, and Theology at the Lutheran Theological Academy, Budapest. He is Professor of English Literature at the Pazmany Peter Catholic University, Piliscsaba (Hungary), Head of the Department of English Literatures and Cultures at the Karoli Gaspar University of the Reformed Church, Budapest, and Director of the Center for Hermeneutical Research, Budapest

His publications include *The Lion and the Lamb. Figuralism and Fulfilment in the Bible, Art and Literature* (London, Macmillan, 1992) and he is the editor of the Hungarian publications *Hermeneutical Studies*, *Hungarian Luther Books* and *Hungarian Luther Studies*.

Reformation Apocalypse and Shakespearean Tragedy

Dr THOMAS S. FREEMAN

British Academy/University of Sheffield, UK

Dr Freeman is Research Editor for the British Academy John Foxe Project, and is affiliated with the University of Sheffield. He has published numerous articles on John Foxe.

Back to the Future: John Foxe, John Day and the Whole Works of Tyndale, Frith and Barnes

Abstract– In 1570, John Foxe had attained a position where he was free from the need for patronage and was able to write whatever pleased him. He believed (erroneously as it turned out) that his great book, the *Acts and Monuments*, was finished. His choice of topic, then, reveals a great deal about his interests and concerns at this stage of his life. In the second edition of the *Acts and Monuments*, published in 1570, he listed three projects which he would be working on: a history of Elizabeth’s reign; an edition of Wiclif’s works and an edition of the Works of Tyndale, Foxe and Barnes. The works of Tyndale, Frith and Barnes was the only one of these he actually completed.

My talk will examine why Foxe chose to work on this edition and the purposes which this work was supposed to achieve. It will also examine the influence which Tyndale's writings had on Foxe's later thought and argue that editing this work marked a turning point in Foxe's life and writings. Finally, I will discuss the importance of this edition and the editorial strategies behind it.

Prof PAUL GILLAERTS

Lessius Hogeschool, Antwerp, Belgium

Professor Gillaerts holds a doctorate from the K.U.Leuven, for a dissertation on Guillaume van der Graft/Willem Barnard. He teaches Dutch at the department of translators and interpreters of the Lessius Hogeschool. He has a special interest in bible translation, discourse analysis and genre theory, and has been involved in the NBV project (the first ecumenical bible translation in the Low Countries) since the early nineties. He is the editor of two recent volumes on bible translation (Effata, Talita Koem).

Dutch Bibles in Print: Some Parallels between Tyndale's Contemporaries and the Present Day

Abstract – My talk focuses on the ideas of Tyndale's contemporaries about bible translation. Special attention is paid to Luther's ideas. The main Dutch (Flemish) bible translations of the sixteenth century, Liesvelt's, Vorsterman's and Van Winghe's, are discussed.

Tyndale's ideas on bible translation appear to be in line with those of Luther and his Dutch followers. After Tyndale's death there was a Calvinistic turn in Dutch bible translation (Mierdman/Gheylliaert, Deux Aes and the Statenvertaling) that distanced itself from Lutheran bible translation. Only recently, with the NBV-project, can one speak of a reorientation towards a more reader and target-language oriented bible translation and thus of a revaluation of the ideas of early sixteenth-century bible translators such as Tyndale.

Prof JEAN-FRANCOIS GILMONT

Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium

Professor Gilmont, born in 1934, has since 1999 been Conservator and Emeritus Professor at the Université Catholique de Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve). He specializes in the history of the book and of reading, especially of the books of the sixteenth-century Reformation. He has published studies of the publisher Jean Crespin and of the publications of Jean Calvin, and has edited two volumes on the importance of the book in the expansion of the Reformation.

Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and the First French Bibles in Print

Prof BRAD S. GREGORY – Keynote Speaker

Stanford University, USA

Brad Gregory is Associate Professor of Early Modern European History at Stanford University. In addition to his training in history, he holds two degrees in philosophy from the K.U.Leuven. He earned his Ph.D. in history at Princeton University in 1996, and was a Junior Fellow in the Harvard Society of Fellows before joining the faculty at Stanford. His research interests range widely over Christianity in early modern Europe. His first book, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*, was published by Harvard University Press in 1999 and has received six book awards. He is the editor of *The Forgotten Writings of the Mennonite Martyrs*, which is forthcoming in the series *Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica* (E.J.Brill).

Tyndale and More, in Life and in Death

GERGELY JUHÁSZ

K.U. Leuven, Belgium

Gergely Juhász was born in Budapest in 1971. He was educated at the Pearl River High School (NY) and the Secondary School of the Piarist Fathers at Budapest. He studied theology in Hungary and at the K.U.Leuven, where he obtained the STB (1994), MTheol and STL (1996). He is presently working on his Ph.D. in Theology, on biblical anthropological terms relating to resurrection, and is employed on the K.U.Leuven research project on English Bible translations printed in Antwerp, under the supervision of Guido Latré.

He has published articles in Hungarian and English.

Dr GUIDO LATRÉ

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

Dr Latré read English and Dutch Literature and Linguistics at Leuven University (Ph.D. Eng. Lit., 1982). From 1983 to 2001, he taught English Literature at K.U.Leuven, and on a part-time basis at the French-speaking university of Louvain-la-Neuve (Belgium). In June/July 1999, he was a visiting professor at Point Loma Nazarene University, San Diego (U.S.A.). In 2001, he became a Senior Lecturer at the Université Catholique de Louvain. His main focus for teaching and research is English Literature and Culture of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. From 1990-96, he was a member of the Board of Governors of Westminster College in Oxford.

Dr Latré co-ordinates a project on sixteenth-century English Bible translations printed in Antwerp, and is a Member of the Advisory Board of Reformation. In 2002, the English-Speaking Union awarded him the Churchill Medal for his research and teaching of English language, literature and culture in a European context.

Prof DAVID LOADES

British Academy, UK

Director of the British Academy John Foxe Project, Professor Emeritus of the University of Wales, and Honorary Research Professor at the University of Sheffield, Professor Loades has taught at the universities of St Andrews, Durham, and Bangor.

He is the author of numerous books including *The Oxford Martyrs* (1992), *Mary Tudor, a life* (1989), *The Tudor Court* (1992) and *The Reign of Mary Tudor* (1991).

The English Bible during the Marian Reaction

Abstract – Vernacular translations of the scripture had never been banned by the Church, although unauthorised English versions had been forbidden by the Constitutions of Oxford (1408). The Great Bible (1539) had been authorised by Henry VIII and continued to be re-issued until 1553.

Neither Mary nor Stephen Gardiner, nor Reginald Pole were opposed to vernacular bibles in principle, and Pole made several general statements in their favour. In spite of vigorous representations from conservative clergy, particularly John Standish, the Great Bible was neither condemned nor withdrawn during Mary's reign, although no new editions were published. Pole intended a new translation, but it was never started. The Marian church was deeply divided on the issues, and the only new version issued during the reign was the Protestant Geneva Bible (New Testament, 1557).

Prof Dr FRITS van der MEIJ

Frits van der Meij is scientific co-ordinator and also translator of several prophetic books for the New Bible Translation in Dutch, to be published in 2004. After his studies in medieval Dutch literature, he worked as an editor and publisher for Bert Bakker, a literary publishing house, and as a translator of German plays.

The New Bible Translation in Dutch: why and how this translation came about.

Prof ANNE M. O'DONNELL, SND

Ordinary Professor of English, Catholic University of America, Washington DC, USA
Professor O'Donnell has degrees from Trinity College DC, Stanford University, and Yale (Ph.D., 1972). She has produced critical editions of Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis Christiani: An English Version* (Early English Text Society 282. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1981) and, with Jared Wicks S.J., of Tyndale's *An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000), co-edited the collection *Word, Church and State: Tyndale Quincentenary Essays* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1998), with John T. Day and Eric Lund, and was guest editor of a special issue on William Tyndale of *Moreana* 106-7 (July 1991). She has written many articles in learned journals.

Rituals in the Prologue to Leviticus and Vows in the Prologue to Numbers

Abstract – Tyndale's *Pentateuch* (1530) was published in between *Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528) and *Answer to More* (1531). Thus, his Prologue to Leviticus largely focuses on Roman Catholic sacraments and his Prologue to Numbers on monastic vows. Jewish circumcision anticipates Chris-

tian baptism, and the paschal lamb prefigures the crucified Christ. In turn, Christ's sacrifice on Calvary is commemorated in the Eucharist.

For Tyndale, none of these rituals confers grace; only faith justifies. Tyndale is indignant at the abuse of the discipline of penance. He recognizes the biblical commandment that lepers should show themselves to a Levite priest (Lev. 13.1-46), but he firmly rejects this custom as a precedent for auricular confession (cf. *Obedience*). Chapter 30 of Numbers addresses the validity of vows made by Hebrew women in a patriarchal society. Tyndale expands this topic to include true and false practices of poverty, pilgrimage, and chastity. He develops these criticisms in *Answer to More: wealthy shrines at Canterbury and Walsingham, pilgrimages, and clerical celibacy*. When the Torah is "written on the heart" (Jer. 31.33) through faith, we will love it and follow it.

Dr HELEN L. PARISH

Reading University, UK

Dr Parish holds an M.A. in History from the University of St Andrews and a D.Phil from the University of Oxford. She is currently Lecturer in History at the University of Reading, UK. Her current interests include the relationship between religion and superstition in the era of the Reformation, and the attitude of early modern religious polemicists to the history of the medieval church.

She is the author of *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation. Precedent, Policy and Practice* (Ashgate, 2000), and a number of articles on the Reformation in England.

Monks, Miracles and Magic: The Medieval Church and the English Reformation

Dr AMANDA J. PIESSE

Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland

Dr Piesse's special interests include early Tudor drama and polemical prose, and Shakespeare. She is co-founder of Early Modern Forum Ireland, a research group concentrating on the sixteenth century (see the website www.earlymodernforum.ie).

Her most recent publications include the editing of the collection *Sixteenth-Century Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) and contributions on identity and Kyd in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, edited by Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

Tyndale and Allegory

Abstract – Tyndale's *Obedience of A Christian Man* expresses a great deal of impatience with traditional teaching and learning, and the kind of thinking and writing it produces. This paper will focus specifically on the problem of allegorical representation and, with reference to a wider Protestant poetic, will examine Tyndale's preoccupation with precision in verbal representation.

Dr DEBORAH POLLARD

Dr Pollard is a graduate of Wellesley College, Massachusetts, USA, and earned a PhD from the University of Sheffield, England. All her degrees are in science, and her work experience has been in the fields of medicine, engineering and computing. She was formerly the Computer Manager for the Departments of Engineering and Materials at Queen Mary College, University of London, and currently works in the Systems Group of Computer Services at Lethbridge Community College, Alberta, Canada, where she is involved in the delivery of institutional data through a web browser.

Dr Pollard is an avid reader of the Bible and an admirer of William Tyndale's translation. From her long-standing interest in the development and transmission of the biblical text, she has applied her knowledge of web technologies and programming languages to the production of a Concordance for the Tyndale Bible, with the aim of furthering scholarship in this area.

Dr MARGRET POPP

University of Würzburg, Germany

Margret Popp, who holds a doctorate from the University of Cologne (1973) and is a member of the Institut für Englische Philologie of the university of Würzburg, is specialized in English linguistics, especially the language of Shakespeare, Old and Middle English, and theoretical linguistics. Her research on Tyndale was prompted by a 1996 request to lecture on the English Bible at the Annual Conference of German University Teachers of English. She has published numerous articles in learned journals.

What was Tyndale's model for his translation of Genesis?

Abstract – Sun and moon have been discovered already: without doubt Tyndale mastered the source languages of his Bible translation; he was a good stylist in his target language English, and he used the Greek and Hebrew original texts when he translated.

But matters are complicated when the translator in question is not the first for a given source text. To a German ear, Tyndale's wordings frequently ring like Luther's. Could there be cases where he depends on his German precursor rather than the source texts? Stylistic comparisons across language boundaries are precarious, early Modern English was closer to German than present-day English, and sometimes all translators depended on the Vulgate as a common source more than their avowed source texts in Greek or Hebrew. Such comparisons for the New Testament have led to an independence-scale for different passages in Tyndale's text, with very independent and excellent passages at one end and faulty and dependent ones at the other. That Tyndale was at Wittenberg while preparing his translation for the press is more probable than not and possibly explains part of that dependence. But how about Tyndale's practice in the Old Testament, his greatest literary achievement, a translation at which he worked with his skills as a translator greatly developed, and Luther far away? The matter is investigated on the

basis of the book of Genesis; Tyndale's version of 1530/1534 is systematically compared with that of Luther, as well as the new Latin version of Pagnini 1527/1528, the Vulgate, and the Biblia Hebraica.

Prof RICHARD REX

Queens College, Cambridge, UK

Richard Rex is a University Lecturer in Church History in the Faculty of Divinity of the University of Cambridge, and is also Director of Studies in History at Queens College, Cambridge.

He has published *The Theology of John Fisher* (CUP, 1991) and *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (Macmillan, 1993), and is currently writing articles on the Council of Trent for *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology*, edited by David Bagchi, and on the study of Hebrew and the Old Testament in Tudor England for *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: the History of its Interpretation*, edited by Magne Sæbø. His latest book is *The Lollards* (Palgrave, 2002), and his *The Tudors* (Tempus, 2002) is forthcoming. His next project will be a study of Propaganda and Politics in the Henrician Reformation (Boydell & Brewer).

New Light on Tyndale and Lollardy

Abstract – This paper presents some new information on the early career of William Tyndale as a prelude to a re-examination of the thesis proposed in the 1980s about the possible influence of Lollardy and Wycliffite teachings on Tyndale's development. Viewing Tyndale in the context of the author's recent arguments about the marginal relationship of Lollardy to the English Reformation, and analysing his ideas against the background of late medieval Catholic and early modern evangelical theology, it argues that there is nothing in Tyndale's work which cannot be understood in terms of the interplay between the new learning and the old, and applies Ockham's razor to suggest that there is therefore no need to invoke putative Lollard or Wycliffite influences in order to explain the character of his thought.

Prof MEG TWYXCROSS

Lancaster University, UK

Meg Twycross is Professor of English Medieval Studies at Lancaster University. She is a leading expert in medieval and early Renaissance theatre and pageantry, and in multimedia computing and its application to Medieval Studies. She is editor of the journal *Medieval English Theatre* (www.lancs.ac.uk/users/meth/intro.htm), and Co-director of the York Doomsday Project (www.lancs.ac.uk/users/yorkdoom/intro.htm). She is particularly interested in the connections between Britain and the Low Countries in the 14th to 16th centuries, especially in pageantry, and is currently working on an electronic edition of the Leuven Liber Boonen (with Dr Latré), and on the van Alsloot 1615 sequence of paintings of the Triumph of the Archduchess Isabella. She has published numerous articles in the learned press.

Famous Women of the Old Testament: the Ambachtsvrouwen of the Leuven Ommegang

Abstract – The Leuven ommegang or procession in honour of Our Lady Seat of Wisdom, patroness of the City and of the University, was recorded by the distinguished sixteenth-century local historian and Clerk of the Registry Willem Boonen as part of his comprehensive History of Leuven and its institutions. These show the procession as it stood in 1593/4, with its fabulous pageant wagons, cortèges of Famous Women of the Old Testament, sponsored by the craft and trade guilds (ambachten), and divers giants and fabulous beasts, presented as a Renaissance comic strip. The 34 Old Testament heroines, from Sara wife of Abraham to the Mother of the Maccabees, all types of the Blessed Virgin, are accompanied by the other characters in their stories, and are presented in an unconventionally female-centred way. The drawings are an expressive record of Biblical pageant costume of the late 16th century: but moreover, each drawing is accompanied by a page or more of detailed description which tells us more not only about the costumes and props, but also about the Biblical traditions in which these figures are to be read. These descriptions appear on external evidence to date from around 1500.

Prof Em. JOS E. VERCRUYSSSE, S.J.

Professor Vercruyssse was born in Schaarbeek (Brussels) in 1931 and has been a member of the Society of Jesus (Flemish Province) since 1949. Doctor in Theology of the Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome, with a dissertation on the ecclesiology of the young Martin Luther, *Fidelis Populus. Eine Untersuchung über die Ecclesiologie Martin Luther's Dictata super Psalterium* (Wiesbaden 1968). After having taught dogmatic theology at the Jesuit Theological Faculty in Heverlee, Leuven, and at the "Centrum voor Kerkelijke Studies" in Leuven he joined the Theology Faculty of the Catholic University, Leuven. In 1979 he became a professor of church history (Early Modern) and ecumenism at the Gregorian University in Rome and he also lectured at the "Istituto ecumenico San Bernardino" in Venice. He became Professor emeritus in 2000.

Professor Vercruyssse has published on Martin Luther, John Calvin, Jacobus Latomus, the Society of Jesus, the Council of Trent and ecumenical issues.

Dr GERRIT De VYLDER

Lessius Hogeschool, Antwerp, Belgium

Gerrit De Vylder obtained his PH.D. from Tilburg University in the Netherlands. He is presently Associate Professor of Economic History, History of Economic Thinking and Development Economics at the Lessius Hogeschool, Antwerp. He has written a number of articles and books on development projects in developing countries, the history of the publishing and printing sectors in Belgium, colonial trade and shipping history of Antwerp, international textile trade and economic history of India and Turkey. Besides his many research trips throughout Asia and the Middle East he has taught at institutions in India,

Poland and Portugal. He is currently working on the history of the international dairy sector and the history of development economics.

The Economic History of Tyndale's Antwerp

Abstract – In my contribution I would like to argue that Antwerp as a basis for Tyndale's activities was an obvious choice because of the city's economic importance during the first half of the 16th century. Tyndale was clearly looking for the availability of printing technology, an infrastructure and location which facilitated export activities and an open-minded, cosmopolitan environment which would be friendly toward his Protestant ideas.

I would also like to demonstrate that Antwerp was the obvious choice for anybody coming from England as England was in a certain way an extension of the Antwerp economy. Finally I would like to look at Antwerp from a broader international perspective. Too often the story of Antwerp's Golden Age has been told from a Eurocentric perspective. Here I argue that Antwerp was not one of the major metropolitan cities in the world. After referring to the economic and technological advances made by the Islamic cities during their Golden Age, I emphasize that Islam missed what would make the difference for the world's history from the 16th century onwards: they could not get hold of the precious metals from Latin America through Spain. The money reached Northern Europe and its distribution center was Antwerp. In the long run this European colonial trade would provide capital for England's Industrial Revolution. And the first time England had come in touch with this flow of new American precious metals was Antwerp at the time of Tyndale's presence in that city.

Revd Dr RALPH S. WERRELL

Dr Werrell purchased 42 Parker Society volumes while at theological college, and before ordination (1956) decided to work on a research doctorate on some aspect of the early English Reformation after retirement. In 1991 he obtained a Lambeth Diploma for the 30,000 word dissertation 'Church and State in the Theology of William Tyndale'. He obtained a PhD from the University of Hull in 2002 with the dissertation 'The Theology of William Tyndale'.

Divine Mercy and Human Compassion in Exodus and Deuteronomy

Dr VIV WESTBROOK

National Taiwan University, Taiwan.

Vivienne Westbrook gained her Ph.D. in Reformation Bibles at the University of Manchester in 1998.. In September 2000 she took up her post as Assistant Professor of Renaissance Literature at National Taiwan University, where she currently teaches

Renaissance Literature courses in the Graduate School. Her interests range across the whole field of Renaissance and Reformation studies.

She has published articles on English Reformation Bible revisers, John Rogers, Richard Taverner and William Whittingham, Shakespeare's History plays and Reformation Paratext. Her first book, *Long Travail and Great Paynes: A Politics of Reformation Revision*, was published by Kluwer Academic Press in May 2001. Her currently funded book project is *Richard Taverner: Reformation Humanist*.

Reading Paratexts as Signs of the Times

Abstract – Paying close attention to the paratext in Reformation books can reveal a great deal about the historical period and political situation out of which those books emerged. This study becomes more interesting as we trace the evolution of the paratext through subsequent editions of a book. Whilst the text may be minimally revised, the paratext is often very dynamic, engaging with current political issues and mediating the reading of the text to respond to the changing needs of the State. This paper will investigate the prefatorial and annotational paratext in Reformation works by such historiographers as John Bale and John Foxe, before exploring in more depth the fascinating paratextual dynamic of Reformation Bibles themselves, from Myles Coverdale's 1535 Antwerp Bible through to the 1560 Geneva Bible to reveal something of the politics of Reformation paratextual revision.

KAORU YAMAZAKI

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Part time lecturer at Meijigakuin University (Christian University) and several other universities in Tokyo. M.A. History (Nihon University). Subject of B.A and M.A. thesis: *The Controversy between Tyndale and More*.

Publications on the history of Tyndale studies, History and Computing, Computing for Historians, Oliver Cromwell (in Japanese)

The History of the Bible of the Reformation and the Personal Computer

Abstract – The Bible of the Reformation and the Personal Computer both brought decisive cultural transformations. Gutenberg's invention and the Bible of the Reformation are now available for retrospective consideration more than could be seen before the invention of the personal computer. This paper will consider and compare the development of technical processes and try to analyze their philosophies (Tyndale, Alan Kay and Richard M. Stallman).

A Report on the Antwerp Conference

Eunice Burton

October 2002.

Since the inaugural exhibition 'Let there be Light' at the British Library in 1994, conferences of the Tyndale Society have been characterised by "light", and this was no exception. The bright sunshine throughout enhanced the beauty of the historic buildings and enjoyment of meals al fresco, and we considered ourselves "lucky" in the Tyndalian sense; also the wide-ranging topics discussed and the musical and artistic "extras" brought light and joy to our minds and spirits. Superb preparatory organisation ensured smooth running events in a relaxed and genial atmosphere. For the group from England, including participants from Canada, Japan and Taiwan, the conference began on Eurostar when old friendships were renewed and new ones made.

The reason for holding the conference in Antwerp at this time was to coincide with celebrations commemorating 125 years of the Museum in the 16th century Plantin-Moretus Printing House, and the project featuring '*The First English Bibles in Print*', led by **Dr Guido Latré**, culminated in a superb exhibition entitled '*Tyndale's Testament*' in the Museum. This was sponsored by the two Universities, K.U. Leuven and Université Catholique de Louvain, and Antwerp Town Council, and there is an account of it elsewhere in the Journal. Rare printed books from the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Belgian Universities, Stuttgart, the British Library and Cambridge University were tastefully displayed on a neutral "hessian" background with appropriate legends and posters. One hardly noticed the beauty of the Museum, with its wonderful leather wall-hangings and tapestries, carved furniture and the portraits by Rubens of the Moretus family in what had been their home, as well as the old printing presses. The whole surrounds a rectangular inner courtyard with Tudor-style beds of simple flowers enclosed by low box hedges – in the peaceful sunshine it was difficult to imagine the scenes of activity in the past centuries, with the noise of the presses and the furnaces used to create the metal type.

The conference opened on Friday afternoon at the Lessius Hogeschool with a welcome from **Guido Latré** and explanation of the project and choice of the title '*Tyndale's Testament*' for the exhibition: he introduced the members of his team, **Paul Arblaster** and **Gergely Juhász**, (the third member **Andrew Hope** was unfortunately unable to attend) who had produced an exceptionally fine catalogue. This was followed by a lecture by **Dr Gerrit de Vylder** on the '*The*

Economic History of Tyndale's Antwerp, which set the scene: Antwerp's 'Golden Age' was due to the shift of the centre of commerce from Bruges to Antwerp, the trade in spices from the East and then the 'Sugar and Slaves' trade with the Atlantic Islands. Portuguese financiers settled in Antwerp, and the market in silver from South America expanded: then a slow decline occurred from the 16th century when England transferred its wool trade to Germany. But in the 1520's, Tyndale found an open cosmopolitan atmosphere, commercial pre-eminence, a liberal artistic city, religious toleration, hospitality in the English Merchants' Quarter and unequalled printing facilities.

Many of the conference lectures will be reported fully or in abstract form in the Journal, so are only noted here.

An interesting lecture on *'Tyndale & Allegory'* by **Dr Amanda Piesse** was next, emphasising Tyndale's insistence on the literal sense and faithful allegory of Scripture. The evening was memorable for the **Conference Dinner** held in the 'De Foyer Restaurant' of the 19th century neo-classical Bourla Theatre.

Saturday was devoted to lectures starting with **Professor Richard Rex** on *'New Light on Tyndale & Lollardy'* who examined the possibility that differences between Tyndale's theology and Luther's were due to the influence of Lollardy. **Professor Paul Gillaerts** spoke on *'Dutch Bible Translators, their Poetics and William Tyndale'* with comparisons with Luther's translations, and **Dr Frits Van der Meij** described the ecumenical background to the Dutch *'New Bible version'* to be published in 2004 "for everyone". **Professor David Loades** speaking on *'The English Bible during the Marian Reaction'* explained that there was no opposition to vernacular Bibles provided they were translated from the Vulgate, interpreted by the Church and free of "Reformation heresies".

After lunch, **Dr Margret Popp** lectured on *'What was Tyndale's Model for his Translation of Genesis?'* showing that he consulted the Vulgate and Luther's translations for comparison, and here some knowledge of Hebrew was required. Then there were two lectures in French (with translation) on *'Les Bibles Françaises de 1530 et 1534'* by **Professor J-F. Gilmont** and *'Images et figurae bibliorum: The Genesis and Development of "Picture Bibles" in Antwerp'* by **Dr Ralph Dekoninck**. This was where some of the less "academic" English played truant: I enjoyed 2 hours in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts with the superb Dutch masters, especially Rubens, and an interesting display of the restoration of Memling's "Man with a Roman Coin" and "Christ with the Angel Choir and Band", while others visited "The Rubens House".

Then back to **Professor Meg Twycross** on *'Famous Women of the Old Testament: the Ambachtsvrouwen of the Leuven Ommegang'*, when she showed

many slides of drawings of the mediaeval processions, which included 34 worthy women of the Old Testament starting with Sarah: she explained that the characters were sponsored by the appropriate guilds, for example Ruth the gleaner by the Thatchers, and were selected for their typology, e.g. Naomi representing Maternal Suffering, and the four Barren Mothers relating to the Virgin Birth (c.f. English Mystery plays).

Although some of the lectures were specialised, perseverance was rewarded and one could always glean impressions and details which increased appreciation of the difficulties encountered by the scholars and translators.

Sunday began with an optional Service of Holy Communion taken by the chaplain, **Revd Dr Dirk van Leeuwen**, at St. Boniface Anglican Church, followed by a **guided tour** of Antwerp in sunshine, which included "hidden areas", where an old Butchers' Hall was now a museum of musical instruments and also very attractive examples of social housing rebuilding schemes: there was a poignant memorial of "joined hands" in metal commemorating the old Jewish quarter and diamond trade. Then an afternoon of five lectures: first, **Dr Helen Parish** on *'Monks, Miracles & Magic: The Mediaeval church and the English Reformation'*, exploring the place of Christian hagiography, saints and sorcery, healing and fraudulent "cures", the accepted necessity of confirming authenticity of faith by signs and the evangelical view of Providential intervention. Next, **Dr Tibor Fabiny** on *'Reformation, Apocalypse & Shakespearean Tragedy'*, with fascinating comparisons of the Seven Churches and Shakespearean characters, citing Hamlet, King Lear and Cordelia as examples of sensitivity to deception, prophetic souls, duplicity (Christ and Antichrist), misogyny, endurance, etc. Then **Dr Tom Freeman** on *'Back to the Future: John Foxe, John Day and The Whole Works of Tyndale, Frith and Barnes'* stressing the generally faithful editing in *'Acts and Monuments'* by John Foxe and John Day (printer), although William Tyndale's comments on Thomas More were made more derogatory: Foxe's aim was the conversion of Roman Catholics and Jews as well as the confirmation of faith of believers. This was followed by **Dr Liz Evenden** on *'The fleeing Dutchmen? The Influence of Dutch Immigrants upon the Print Shop of John Day'*: she showed that the 16th century immigration of printers and weavers to London because of persecution improved both the standard of illustration and woodcuts and the theological knowledge of the compositors of Aldersgate.

The Keynote Lecture was delivered by **Professor Brad Gregory** on *'Tyndale and More, in Life and Death'*- a stimulating study on their attitudes to "Truth", but differing interpretations and their willingness to die for their beliefs. In **Life**, they disagreed on the authority of the Bible and place of Tradition, with

More insisting that all interpretation of the Bible must be by the Church, which Tyndale said hid the meaning from the people, who only needed to be exposed to the vernacular plain text, which generally should be interpreted literally. In **Death**, More was accused of “treason” and Tyndale of “Heresy” – the former wrote many documents during his imprisonment, some showing that he derived personal comfort from the Scriptures, while Tyndale’s single, simple letter to the Castle Governor spoke eloquently of his discomforts, undiminished faith and desire to continue his study of the Hebrew Scriptures. (Tyndale’s dying prayer was for England’s enlightenment.)

In the evening, the **English Chamber Choir** gave a wonderful concert, *Music from the Golden Age* in the Baroque Chapel of the Lessius Hogeschool, ranging from John Taverner (Tudor period) to John Rutter, and including anthems by Purcell, Handel and Stainer, based on the King James Version, and modern composers heard less frequently, such as Arvo Part.

Monday was spent at the **Plantin-Moretus Museum**, enjoying a preview of the exciting *Tyndale’s Testament Exhibition* (see full report by Brian Johnson), and then there was a choice of attending **Dr Deborah Pollard’s** ‘*Demonstration of the Tyndale concordance*’ on computer or a lecture by **Kaoru Yamazaki** on ‘*The History of the Bible of the Reformation and the Personal Computer*’. Further parallel sessions followed - a widely acclaimed lecture by **Professor Richard Duerden** on ‘*Who brought Luther to the Elizabethans? The Translator of Luther’s Commentary on Galatians*’ or **Dr Vivienne Westbrook** on ‘*Reading Paratexts as Signs of the Times*’ when we learned how illustrations revealed much about the contemporary life: also, how controversies were increased by some prefaces and annotations, as exemplified by John Bale and John Foxe etc., whereas Tyndale considered annotations a distraction and hoped to increase acceptability of his scriptures by their absence – the ultimate aim of all was to bring comfort to the church.

In the afternoon, there were three papers on ‘*Prologues to Tyndale’s Hexateuch*’ (Pentateuch & Jonah) which complemented each other: **Dr Anne O’Donnell** on ‘*Rituals in the Prologues to Leviticus & Vows in the Prologues to Numbers*’ when the topics of ritual and moral purity, cleansing through water and blood (pre-figuring Christ as the Paschal Lamb), and Tyndale’s criticisms of basic Catholic doctrines and sacraments, e.g. the Mass, Confession, prayers for the dead. etc., were discussed.

Secondly, **Dr Brian Cummings** on ‘*The Luck of the English: Tyndale’s Prologues to Genesis and Jonah*’ proved to be an interesting analysis of “luck” chance and misfortune, the possible results of sin, and God’s blessing on Israel when His law was kept, illustrated by events in the lives of Joseph

and Jonah. Lastly, **Dr Ralph Werrell** on ‘*Divine Mercy and Human Compassion in the Prologues to Exodus & Deuteronomy*’ in which he postulated that human compassion is a response to Divine Mercy and the two cannot be separated: we, the recipients of Divine Mercy, are charged to remember God’s love and show compassion on those in need, the stranger and even our enemies, and to treat animals humanely.

Professor Peter Auksi took the penultimate session, speaking on ‘*Erasmus as Source, Influence and Object of Criticism; Tyndale on the ‘Light’ of Northern Humanism*’ and described Tyndale’s rejection of classical and worldly wisdom because it is the Spirit of God who is necessary for the understanding of spiritual things: Tyndale contended that priests needed to be grounded in the Scriptures rather than in the philosophy of “pagans”. Although he conceded that “learning” does increase a believer’s sense of Scripture, Professor Auksi attributed Tyndale’s observations and the humour, irony and idealism displayed in the language of the English Bible to the influence of Erasmus, while focusing all credit on Christ.

The conference was then formally closed by **Dr Flora Carriijn**, Director of the Lessius Hogeschool, and **Professor David Daniell**, Chairman of the Tyndale Society, and we made our way to the **Cathedral of Our Lady** for an **Anglican Service of Choral Evensong** which proved to be an unforgettable occasion. The lofty Gothic arches, white plasterwork of the tower with clear glass windows through which the sunshine streamed, made a dramatic setting for the double triptych by Rubens of “Christ’s Ascent and Descent from the Cross”. The Bishop of Antwerp welcomed his Protestant brothers and sisters in Christ, and begged forgiveness for the unjust death of William Tyndale at the hands of his church, and as a sign of reconciliation he invited the Anglican Bishop of Europe to occupy his throne for the duration of the service. The service was taken by Revd Dr Dirk Van Leeuwen. The simplicity of the Prayer Book Service (1549), with lessons read from the translation of William Tyndale and canticles sung by the English Chamber Choir to settings by Tallis and Orlando Gibbons, was a fitting vindication of the Reformation; however, now the aim should be toleration and working together. The collect “Lighten our darkness...” in honour of William Tyndale seemed particularly apt.

The service was followed in the Cathedral by the **Official Opening of the Exhibition, Tyndale’s Testament**, and was directed by **Dr Guido Latré** with readings in Hebrew, Greek, Dutch, French and English, and speeches from the **Curator of the Plantin-Moretus Museum** and the **Alderman of Culture** from the city of Antwerp. Guido had earlier been interviewed for an

17th century engraving
of Vilvoorde Castle



hour on local T.V. about the significance of the exhibition, which had evoked much media interest.

From the Cathedral we crossed the Grote Markt to the impressive Renaissance **Town Hall**, bedecked with flags, for a **Civic Reception**, during which Guido was invested by Lord Watson of Richmond with the Churchill Medal of the English Speaking Union in recognition of his contribution to Belgian-English Cultural Relations. Then we followed a piper to the Pelgrom Restaurant for a candlelit dinner in the cellars and enjoyed a final celebration together before most of the 110 participants returned home across the continents.

But for the remaining enthusiasts, there was a further treat in store, as next morning we boarded a coach to **Leuven** and were guided around by Guido Latré, again in bright sunshine. Many mediaeval buildings have been acquired by the University, and we had coffee in an old Cloth Hall. Then to the beautiful flamboyant Gothic Town Hall, shaped like a reliquary, with its intricate carvings telling ‘sermons in stone’, and lunch at the Beguinage, again University property. The Beguines were aristocratic ladies who took temporary vows of Chastity and Obedience and modified Poverty, and who concentrated on ‘good works’: we lunched in the old Infirmary.

After parting from Guido, we continued to **Vilvoorde**, where Tyndale was imprisoned and martyred, to visit the **Tyndale Museum** in the Protestant Church, where we were kindly given tea, and to see the Tyndale Memorial in a small park. The exact site of Tyndale’s execution in 1536 is unknown, but shortly after his dying prayer, “Lord, open the King of England’s eyes”, a copy of the Great Bible was placed in every church in England (1539).

It was a truly memorable and challenging trip, with a reminder of the doubtful value of some modern amenities as we “snailed” our way through Brussels traffic to Eurostar and home. The example of William Tyndale continues to inspire, so why not attend the next Conference?

Evensong, Antwerp Cathedral

Monday 2 September 2002

Report compiled by Mary Clow, September 2002

Sir Francis Drake (1545-1596) is best known for defeating the Spanish Armada. On September 2nd in the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp, once a Spanish possession, Drake’s quintessentially English prayer was said in a service led by two Bishops for a congregation of more than one thousand:

‘Lord God, when you call your servants to endeavour any great matter, grant us also to know that it is not the beginning, but the continuing of the same, until it be thoroughly finished, which yields the true glory...’

The Roman Catholic Bishop of Antwerp, The Rt Revd Dr Paul Van den Berghe, had invited the Church of England’s Bishop in Europe, The Rt Revd Dr Geoffrey Rowell, to hold an Anglican Evensong in commemoration of William Tyndale in the magnificent Gothic cathedral of Antwerp. This was the crowning moment of the Tyndale Society’s 4th International Conference, and it was followed by the official announcement in the Cathedral of the exhibition *Tyndale’s Testament*, installed in the city’s world-famous Plantin-Moretus museum of printing.

The huge congregation, besides participants in the Tyndale Conference and members of the local Anglican parish of St Boniface, included Dr Francine de Nave, Curator of the Plantin-Moretus, Eric Antonis, Alderman of Culture for the City of Antwerp, Dr Flora Carriijn, Director of the Lesius Hogeschool that hosted the Conference, and many other officials and townspeople of Antwerp. All rose as the two Bishops – robed in purple and scarlet - processed up the nave while the choir sang, in Latin, an introit by Tyndale’s contemporary Thomas Tallis, *O nata lux de lumine*.

In a movingly graceful gesture of reconciliation, Dr Van den Berghe gave up his throne for the duration of the service to Dr Rowell and, standing beside a copy of Tyndale’s Hertford College portrait, welcomed us:

‘Your Grace Bishop Geoffrey Rowell,

Distinguished Guests,

Brothers and Sisters,

When months ago Professor Guido Latré came to me with the proposal to hold in this cathedral an opening academic ceremony for the major exposition on the work of William Tyndale in the Plantin-Moretus Museum of our city, we were honoured by this proposal. But in our opinion a cathedral as a Christian church cannot be reduced to a mere academic auditorium. Therefore I am grateful to the

organising staff that they accepted my proposal to combine the opening ceremony with a proper religious and liturgical ceremony.

At the same time this was for us a welcome occasion to express publicly our honest willingness to a fraternal ecumenical relationship between our churches. We know that there is not yet a full communion between us, but in the love of Christ we say welcome to Your Grace Bishop Geoffrey Rowell and the Anglican Community for this event and especially for the Evensong you will celebrate.

William Tyndale was a humanist and a protestant martyr, who was killed unjustly, not only from our modern point of view, but also from the view of the Almighty. As far as it is possible and as it gives sense, we ask You and the Lord forgiveness for this crime and we hope that one day our still divided churches will acknowledge the martyrs of the other churches as well as their own.

In this spirit I ask Your Grace Bishop Geoffrey to take for the time of this service the chair of the bishop of Antwerp. God bless us all!

Canon Dirk van Leeuwen, Chaplain of St Boniface's English church in Antwerp, then led the Choral Evensong, which was sung by the English Chamber Choir under their director Guy Protheroe. All the music was English, of Tyndale's time wherever possible, or shortly after as with the canticles by Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625).

Professor David Daniell read the Old Testament lesson from *Deuteronomy 17*, and Dr Deborah Pollard followed with the Epistle from *2 Timothy 3*. Both texts of course were from Tyndale, 1530 and 1534 respectively. The entire congregation together recited the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed in English (the service sheet gave them also in Dutch), and sang the English hymns *All people that on Earth do dwell* (based on Ps 100 in Daye's Psalter of 1561), and George Herbert's *Teach me, my God and King*.

Dr Rowell gave the following Homily:

'Events have an after-life, and sometimes that after-life is surprising. This service being held in this cathedral this evening would, I believe, have both rejoiced and astonished William Tyndale, burnt at the stake in Flanders in 1536. He would surely have been touched – as I am deeply touched by your words, and your wonderful gesture, Bishop Paul, in inviting me to sit on your bishop's chair for this service. On the night before he died Our Lord prayed for the unity of his church, and on the same night he stooped to wash his disciples feet in a gesture of humility, reminding us that without humility, reverence towards one another, there will and can be no unity.

Blessed in the sight of the Lord is the death of his holy ones – so the Psalmist proclaimed; and the Christian church has had a long history of remembering before God and praising him for those countless men and women in whom some-

thing of the life and love and grace of Christ has been shown. In a memorable phrase the poet-priest, John Keble, spoke of the saints of God as the Saviour in his people crowned. Pre-eminently in the early church it was the martyrs who were first so honoured, and the origin of saints' days is the pilgrimages to the tombs of the martyrs to celebrate the day of their death, their witness to Christ, and their heavenly birthday. For the same reason in the Catholic church relics are placed in the altar, linking the place of celebration of the Eucharist where Christ feeds his people with his own life, with that same life embodied in his holy ones.

But sharp questions arise when, in a divided Church, the martyrdom seen in one tradition, is seen as the crushing out of heresy by another. In the Reformation Church of England Foxe's Book of Martyrs was a powerful compendium of those who had died for their faith. It signalled to many that England was an elect nation, and sadly that the Catholic church was a persecutor of those concerned to renew and reform the church. The burning of martyrs under the Catholic Mary Tudor was matched, however, by the martyrdom of many Catholics under her sister, Elizabeth. If you go to the Venerable English College in Rome, under the altar are the relics of the English martyrs, and you are immediately made aware of the many who went from there to witness to the Catholic faith and to sustain those who were not won by the Reformation. As in our age the wounds of a divided Christendom are healed – of which this service is a sign and symbol – the healing of these memories, and the honouring of each other's martyrs can be a profound spiritual journey.

William Tyndale, who lived here in Antwerp for so many years, and whose precious gift to English Christians is the translation of the Scriptures into their own language, is a martyr whom we honour today. We do so here in this Catholic cathedral as a sign of the penitence that is needed for true ecumenism, and deep reconciliation – which is indeed needed for all reconciliation within human society with the family, or local communities, or between nations. A favourite saying that we find in many later Anglican writers is that men are usually right in what they affirm and wrong in what they deny. These are words of the philosopher, Leibniz, who was also in his day concerned with the reconciliation of different Christian communities and traditions. We need to see the truth with which each is concerned, and to see that truth in the light of Christ. For Tyndale the Gospel of God is good, merry, glad and joyful tidings, that maketh a man's heart glad, and maketh him sing, dance, and leap for joy. To know God's love in Christ as coming down to the lowest part of our human need means that we cannot but be glad and laugh from the low bottom of our hearts if we believe that the tidings are true. Faith is kindled and, Tyndale tells us, faith ever prayeth, our spirit waiting and watching on the will of God. As merciful as he feeleth God in his heart to himself-ward, so merciful he is to other; and as greatly as he feeleth his

own misery, so great compassion hath he on other. His neighbour is no less care to himself: he feeleth his neighbour's grief no less than his own. The Spirit of God whose love is poured into our hearts is the way in which Christ dwells within us, and, as another great Anglican writer, William Law, puts it: a Christ not in us is a Christ not ours.

Today as we honour the memory and the martyrdom and the Christian discipleship of William Tyndale we do so in Christ, and for Christ, and by the grace of Christ, and we pray in penitence and in faith for that unity which Christ willed, that we may be one, that the world may believe.

*God of God the One begotten,
Light of Light, Emmanuel,
In whose body joined together,
All the saints for ever dwell,
Pour upon us of thy goodness
That we may for evermore,
God the Father, God the Son, and
God the Holy Ghost adore.*

(Bishop Christopher Wordsworth)

Indeed, Blessed in the sight of the Lord is the death of his holy ones!

Each Bishop in turn blessed the congregation, and then together they prayed:

'And the blessing of God almighty, the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit, be among you and remain with you always.'

Evensong ended, we sat down for the formal opening of *Tyndale's Testament*, the international exhibition which would run for 12 weeks in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. The museum's Director, Dr de Nave, made the first speech in Dutch and, in tribute to the Tyndale Society present, also in perfect English. She was followed by Dr Guido Latré, of the Tyndale Society and also the curator of the exhibition, with his academic team of Paul Arblaster and Gergely Juhász. Dr Latré outlined the exhibition's theme in Dutch, French and English, and illustrated it with scholars reading from bibles in Hebrew, Greek, Dutch and also Tyndale's version.

After this, we moved out of the Cathedral and across to the great renaissance Town Hall for a splendid reception given by the City of Antwerp.

Tyndale's Testament

A personal tour of the exhibition, Tyndale's Testament, held in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, from 3 September to 1 December 2002.

Brian Johnson

One of the highlights of this year's Tyndale Conference must have been the exhibition *Tyndale's Testament* at the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp.

The exhibition fills about eight rooms of the museum, which houses an important historical collection connected with the printing industry. The building and its contents, which include a 1580's printing press (thought to be the earliest surviving press in the world), and a vast archive of manuscripts and printed material, have been recognised by UNESCO as being of world importance.

Gergely Juhász, one of the exhibition organisers, told me that during its two-year preparation, he and others had been encouraged by the cooperation received from the city of Antwerp, which had been very generous with financial assistance; by the nine libraries from all over Europe that had loaned exhibits; and by the many academics who had freely given their time and expertise.

Gergely explained that one of the purposes of the exhibition was to show that when Tyndale arrived in Antwerp it was a cosmopolitan, go-ahead city with a rich intellectual life. Also, having the technology, in the form of a thriving printing trade, it was an ideal base for the production of his life's work – the translation of the Bible into English.

Antwerp, Tyndale and the Bible – those are the themes of the exhibition, and even a brief tour revealed that the organisers, in their careful selection of exhibits, had done a superb job in showing the relationships between these themes.

When Tyndale chose Antwerp he did not choose a quiet backwater in which to carry out his work. He was welcomed by the large English-speaking community that was part of the wider European community engaged in trade in the Lowlands. Two exhibits in particular illustrated this. First, a rare print of the front elevation of the "English House" [cat. 26] where Tyndale lived, for a time at least, during his stay in Antwerp. Because the English were in a privileged position in Antwerp at this time, a number of religious dissidents who found it too hot to stay in England were attracted to the city. But it was not too far away so that they could find easy passage back to England via the many merchant ships trading between Antwerp and the east coast of England. Second, a five-language dictionary [cat. 25] printed in 1534, containing a word list in Latin, Dutch, French, Italian and Spanish (English had to wait until 1540!). This dictionary was equivalent to the modern tourist's

phrase book, but unlike modern ones, this has four chapters devoted to religious words and phrases!

I am sure that Tyndale would have made use of at least some of the large number of Biblical translation aids [cat. 39 to 48] that were printed in Antwerp at about the time of his stay. At this point I mention one of the many poignant exhibits, Tyndale's last surviving letter [cat. 115]. Written from his prison cell in Vilvoorde, he requests, as well as warmer clothing, his Hebrew Bible, grammar, and dictionary. We don't know what editions he used, perhaps it was the edition of Reuchlin's Dictionary, printed in nearby Leuven in 1520 [cat. 45].

As well as the printing of Tyndale's translations of the Bible, most of his polemical works were printed in Antwerp. Included in the exhibition are *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon* [cat. 97] and *The obedience of a Christen man* [cat. 98]. You have to ask who could have been responsible for the woodcut used on the title page of this profound theological treatise? An array of naked females does seem totally out of place here!

The best edition, according to David Daniell, of Tyndale's attempts at perfecting his translation *The newe Testament, dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by William Tindale* [cat. 103] is here. In order to distinguish it from inferior editions of the Worms New Testament, hurried out by Antwerp printers in 1531 and 1533, Tyndale, for the first time, put his name on the title page. The exhibited edition also includes Tyndale's vitriolic attack upon the revision carried out by his former colleague, George Joye. The exhibition catalogue does not spare Tyndale over this, calling it an "unjust and lewd" attack that "does not shed a very good light on the 'Father of the English Bible'." I prefer Daniell's view that Tyndale "was angry and rightly"². As far as Tyndale was concerned Joye had committed the greatest of crimes: he had mistranslated a number of words in order to propagate his own mistaken views on the doctrine of the resurrection.

One can stroll from one case of outstanding exhibits to another. Probably the greatest exhibit doesn't actually come from Antwerp, but is the only known complete copy of the Worms New Testament of 1526 [cat. 92]. It is in a case in the centre of the room, which for me was at a height that demanded a slight bow towards it in order to view that unique but, again, inappropriate title page.

For me, the most beautiful exhibit was Cardinal Ximénez's *Biblia Complutensis* (the Complutensian Polyglot), printed in 1515 in Alcadá, Spain,



Arms of Cardinal Ximenez compiler of the first Polyglot Bible (exhibit 29)

and published in 1520 [cat. 29]. The cut of the typefaces, particularly the Greek face, is outstanding, so is the page layout, and the quality of the printing. (Which only goes to prove that typographers could achieve great things before the invention of the Apple Mac!) Apparently the Greek New Testament used in this edition is superior to that of Erasmus's [cat. 33], which was used by Tyndale for his translations. Erasmus rushed to publish his inferior edition in order to beat Ximénez's, a piece of commercialism that is not uncommon in publishing today, but it is surprising to learn that it happened in the early sixteenth-century!

The ugliest exhibit was a portrait of King Henry VIII (supposedly by Holbein the Younger!) [cat. 17] – did he really look like this?

If you are unable to see the exhibition, the next best thing is to make sure that you have a copy of the catalogue. It consists of nearly 200 large-format pages, plus 10 pages of colour plates. Printed on good-quality paper, and bound as a sewn hardback, it is an excellently-produced resource that will be a must for any serious Tyndalian's library. As well as containing detailed descriptions of every exhibit, with illustrations of most of them, it contains essays that cover the three emphases of the exhibition: Antwerp, William Tyndale, and the Bible.

Francine de Nave, the museum's director, writes about the printers of Catholic Antwerp, and shows how many were driven by deep-rooted conviction for reform in religion. She also underlines the importance of the printed page for the spread of the Reformation. Guido Latré's excellent essay looks at the often-underrated significance of Tyndale in the spread of the Reformation in England and his influence upon the development of the English language. Gergely Juhász gives a detailed look at Bible translations before and during the Reformation. Andrew Hope's essays on '*On the Smuggling of Prohibited Books from Antwerp to England in the 1520s and 1530s*', and '*The Antwerp Origins of the Coverdale Bible*' are worth the price of the catalogue alone.

In her essay, Francine de Nave says that a museum should not be just a place for the cultural elite, but that today's museum should be "reoriented towards the visitor". I do hope that what might at first glance be an exhibition for the cultural elite will be seen and enjoyed by many in Antwerp, the city that gave a home and shelter to Tyndale, and enabled him to complete his life's work of translating the Bible into English (well, most of it anyway).

¹ *Tyndale's Testament*, edited by Paul Arblaster, Gergely Juhász, and Guido Latré, Brepols, Belgium, 2002.

² p. 321, Daniell, David, *William Tyndale*, Yale, London, 1994.



Photographs by David Ireson



Antwerp 2002

The Tyndale Conference



A Yankee at the Court of King Antwerp

Joe W. Johnson

Some weeks ago - never mind how long precisely - having little or no money in my purse, and nothing particular to interest me on shore in Florida, I thought I would fly about a little and see that which lies east of the watery part of the world. It is a way I have of driving off the spleen, and regulating the circulation¹.

With singleness of mind I departed from Paxton, Florida having bags packed and passport in hand. From Fort Walton Beach I would fly Delta Airlines to Atlanta connecting on to London where I would change to British Airways and fly to Brussels, Belgium. From Brussels I would enjoy a nice half hour journey by taxi to my hotel in Antwerp where I was determined to attend the International Tyndale Society Conference and 'Tyndale's Testament' exhibition. This would be my first visit to Europe and I had steadfastly purposed to go there.

My advice to you, don't ever fly international with electronic tickets. At Fort Walton Beach I was told there was no record of me in the computer. It is humbling to be told in no uncertain terms you don't exist. Delta finally determined my existence, but could not locate me on British Airways. Minutes zoomed by and ultimately I found myself against the time window of not being able to check baggage thirty minutes before departure. I reminded the gent of the approaching thirty minutes and he said there was nothing he could do. Since September 11 all bags must be checked thirty minutes before departure or they don't get checked!

"We can get you to London, but can't get you beyond there. Anyway we can't check your bags now," remarked the dude. I finally persuaded him to call British Airways so he could give them the locator number I had been holding in front of his face. After much effort he finally got the record straight. Fortunately, I had only two bags. Both bags would go on board with me: one as a personal item, and the other as my carry-on item. Although I would not lose my luggage in flight, it would now become my burden to lug over two continents and hemispheres.

With bags and boarding pass I charged toward the gate only to find a long and slow moving line to clear security. Once cleared by security and uncomfortably squeezed into a seat that fitted a small child in early youth, I departed for Atlanta, late of course. Upon arrival in there I had to run from one end of Atlanta to the other in a southerly direction, travel across all

concourses eastwardly, back across Atlanta in a northerly direction, and with bags in hand I barely made my connection. I was off to London.

I arrived with ample connection time to Brussels. Twenty minutes before departure the gate number was posted on the monitor. Once at the gate I was told I would have to get a paper ticket. This would require going all the way back to the very front of the airport. I pleaded with the young lady that I was travelling electronically. As I continued to sow my seeds of pleading: some fell by the wayside, and it was trodden under feet, and the fowls of the air devoured it up. And some fell on stone, and as soon as it was sprung up, it withered away, because it lacked moistness. And some fell among the thorns, and the thorns sprang up with it, and choked it. And I cried: She that hath ears to hear let her hear!²

And I heard a voice saying: unto her it is given not, that when she see, she should not see; and when she hear, she should not hear, and the devil hath cometh and taken the words out of her heart, lest she should understand. She also hath no root, and is choked with cares and with riches, and voluptuous living.³

Discerning the gate attendant to be densely compacted, stone-headed, and a thorn-bush, I begged for the plane not to leave, all-the-while quoting General Douglas MacArthur, "I shall return!" With my burden of luggage I began the run through the endless corridors until I came to an escalator going up, turned off of course. Looking up toward heaven I could barely see the top step through the clouds. Having scaled what seemed like Mt. Everest my heart sank when I noted there was yet another non-working escalator equally as high yet to be conquered. "Tush, yee shall not die!"⁴ I shouted to myself conquering one step at a time upward.

Feeling like I had just completed two marathon races back-to-back, I tried to find my way to the front, but got lost. Asking for directions, I was told the way was not marked well and that I would have to go through doors marked "Do Not Enter." Having asked for directions a second time I finally tried a door not marked and it led to other doors that were marked "DO NOT ENTER." Passing through I came to another set of doors marked "SECURITY AREA DO NOT ENTER." I could see myself being arrested post September 11 for breaching security. Indeed, I found myself face to face with security giving me an odd look. Hesitating not I shouted, "I have to get to the British Airways ticket counter for a paper ticket!" The Spirit of the Lord moved upon them and the security "parted" allowing me to pass out of bondage into the promised land of paper tickets!

With paper ticket in hand I began the marathon back to the gate having

to clear security with my burden of baggage. After another exhausting run I finally reached Mt. Everest. You guessed it! This time, turned off going down. Emerging from the stairs victorious I ran the gauntlet toward the gate being hindered by principalities and powers. “You have not yet resisted unto blood by cross or suffered fire by stake,” I kept repeating to myself. Reaching the gate, I proclaimed my “second coming” and produced the Holy Grail paper ticket! With a Monty Python smirk the gate attendant lifted her left brow, the sinister one, and said, “Sorry ‘bout that”. Quickly, I was hustled on to a shuttle waiting just for me. In a motorcade of one I was rushed toward the waiting plane. I felt even Presidential as they applauded when I finally walked into the cabin.

The flight from London to Brussels was without incident and pleasant. It was a time to catch my breath, allow the circulation to regulate, and allow for a calming of the spleen. With no one in the seats around me, at least a tithing of my flight would be delightful. I gave pause and thanked the Lord.

Clearing customs I found my taxi driver where I was told he would be. From Brussels it was a pleasant thirty-minute ride to Antwerp where I found myself warmly treated and welcomed by the staff at my hotel. Still trying to forget the nightmare of a trip across the watery part of the world, continuing to remind myself that I had not yet resisted unto blood or suffered fire by stake, I looked forward to a little rest and a shower to wash the trip away. Afterwards, I would be off steadfastly to the Tyndale Conference.

Let me say here that I am mindful there should be nothing more charming than an introductory chapter, nothing more delightful than the North American at the outset of his wandering with the Tyndale Society, nothing more powerful or inspiring than his splendid panoramic picture of Tyndale’s Antwerp and the learning through daily intercourse.⁵ *‘Tis a consummation devoutly to be wished.*⁶

This North American on his first trip to Europe found Antwerp to far exceed his wildest imaginations! I was transformed by experiences and interactions, and empowered with an awareness of the historic significance of Antwerp and why the LORD had placed Tyndale and others there. I was impressed with the scholarship of the conference and the new contributions to the field of study brought forth. The harmony and synergy was infectious and powerful, exponentially so.

I pondered how God with his control of history had the fall of Constantinople and its scholars fleeing across Europe with their knowledge and texts at the same time as the perfecting of the printing press allowed for the printing and distribution of that knowledge; how the New World opened trade

routes and merchandising flourished; and how God made Antwerp unique as a centre for commerce, trade, economics, ideology, culture, linguistics, and printing. Antwerp was the perfect place for Tyndale to carry out his refinement of the New Testament and work on the Old Testament. Antwerp was the ideal place for spreading forth the Scripture in the common tongue that would set the mind free of the dark ages and reformation. The LORD does not stint!

I am grateful for the opportunity of being in Antwerp and bathing in the significance of it all! Participating in the Tyndale Conference, *‘Tyndale’s Testament’* exhibition, ceremonies, meals, tours, lectures, presentations, and personal fellowship was a “Noble Honour” of extreme proportions. I count those of us who attended uniquely blessed.

Being in Antwerp made me mindful and cognizant of much. I thought of the love and passion of Tyndale and of his endurance and commitment to his calling. A greater love has no man than to lay down his life for a friend. Tyndale laid his life down for all so we might have the Gospel and Its unfolding in our own hands and tongue. Centuries roll on, and all the evil writings of the world combined never catch the sails of God’s Holy Word, the Bible, and Tyndale’s work.

Tyndale turned his “Valley of Baca” into a place of springs where others are blessed and refreshed. In his valley he dug springs out of dry land, and true to His Word the LORD added His blessings covering the Tyndale pools with rain sent by God. Tyndale was a man in a “state of blessing” understanding the ways of God. No matter his circumstance he was content in the LORD. He understood that his “strength” was in the LORD; who empowered, who enabled, who gave strength beyond what he could mount up within himself, who provided that which cannot change, who gave capacity to go forth and endure that others might see.⁷ One can only wonder why God allowed Tyndale to be captured, imprisoned and burned before seeing his task completed. However, the way of the LORD is to deliver us into eternity that He might put us on display that we might have angels as footstools.⁸

In Antwerp I felt the vibrations, harmony, and perfect pitch of those who laboured centuries before that I might have the joy of God’s Holy Word in the common vernacular and in my hands. A power and glow radiated from those like Dr Guido Latré, who had laboured tirelessly for so long towards the success of the conference and exhibition. I cannot express adequately my sincere appreciation to all that had a hand in the conference.

I marvelled at Professor David Daniell, Chairman of the Tyndale Society, as he worked the attendees and Trustees, like a bee carefully pollinating each

with his enthusiasm and wisdom. I am aware that one of the greatest gifts one can give is time, and I appreciate Dr Daniell and the attention given to us very much. I shall always treasure my Saturday evening dining experience shared with him. The two of us sat at an outdoor table enjoying the atmosphere of a perfect Antwerp evening. This was my first European private dining experience and it was very different from America. I noted right off that we were not being rushed as is typical in many American restaurants. We were allowed the opportunity to have an evening and truly enjoy the meal and fellowship. It was an experience I will never forget!

I was impressed with the cleanliness of Antwerp and that so much of the old city remained. Back home something is old after one hundred years and ancient by two hundred. In Antwerp the oldest building I saw was a castle dating from the 10th century. I delighted in walking down the same streets where Tyndale worked and printed.

My time spent in the Plantin-Moretus Museum was worth the trip. Having the opportunity to have the Museum privately restricted for conference attendees for an entire day was beyond belief. I was left speechless and I gave pause standing in reverence before “The” 1526 New Testament and Tyndale’s only surviving handwritten document, his prison letter.

The opening ceremony for ‘*Tyndale’s Testament*’ exhibition on Monday afternoon at the Cathedral of Our Lady was historic. Several events unfolded before a capacity crowd. Within the Cathedral, we enjoyed the Evensong and witnessed the Bishop of the Cathedral give up his seat to the Anglican Bishop of Europe while apologizing for the unjust murder of Tyndale. What a historic moment of such magnitude and significance!

Following the opening ceremony in the Cathedral, the City of Antwerp treated us to a reception in the Town Hall at Market Square. When I thought it could not get any better, the Tyndale Society was assembled at the steps of the Town Hall and, with a bagpiper leading the way, we strolled through the streets of old Antwerp to the Pelgrom Restaurant which is located in mediaeval cellars of the type used in Tyndale’s days to store goods for shipping. There we enjoyed a candlelight feast with delicious food and beverages punctuated by bagpipes, seasoned with conversation and fellowship. One could not escape the thought that some of Tyndale’s Bibles might have been prepared for cargo in the same cellars.

The last day of the conference we enjoyed an excursion to Leuven, Vilvoorde, Brussels, the Tyndale Museum, Tyndale Monument, and dined among the centuries of history and rich architecture. Splendid!

One thing this North American Yank with his rich Southern heritage can

say, King Antwerp’s Court was much more impressive than King Arthur’s Court. I have marked my calendar for all future Tyndale Conferences! You should, too!

Notes

- ¹ Herman Melville. ² William Tyndale. ³ William Tyndale. ⁴ William Tyndale. ⁵ Samuel Clemens. ⁶ William Shakespeare. ⁷ Dr Gene Scott. ⁸ Dr Gene Scott

Award of Churchill Medal to Dr Guido Latré

On 2 September 2002 in Antwerp City Hall during the reception at the opening ceremony of the exhibition ‘*Tyndale’s Testament*’, the Churchill Medal of the English Speaking Union was presented to Dr Guido Latré by Lord Watson of Richmond, Chairman of the English-Speaking Union and of the International Council of the ESU.

Winston Churchill was in his own time patron of the ESU, and this organisation is now the only one that has permission to use his name for a medal. The letter sent to Guido by Lord Watson on 28 November 2001 mentions his “*outstanding services*” to the key commitment of the ESU, namely “*to create international understanding through the English language.*” The citation continues “*Your scholarship and teaching have greatly extended the enjoyment by many generations of the English language and its portrayal of the human condition.*”

Guido, in a personal communication after the presentation, added that “*Needless to say I consider my research on Tyndale and the spreading of his message to be my principal research and teaching activity.*”

The members of the Tyndale Society heartily congratulate Guido on the reception of this prestigious award.



Letters to the Editor

Mr Robin Everitt has provided us with a copy of a letter which he sent to the publishers of *'If God Spare My Life'* by Bryan Moynahan (see review of this book elsewhere in this Journal by Prof Don Millus) pointing out errors in it. (They have since assured him a correction of his main point will appear in due course). Mr Everitt found it strange that Knibley Knoll (page 23 and elsewhere) on which the Tyndale's monument stands was spelt incorrectly. Mr Everitt's main point, which he describes as a serious error in an 'otherwise interesting narrative', is the following: -

'On page 177 we read 'The Muslims.... created such revulsion that English parsons prayed each Good Friday for more than a century that all 'Jews, Turks, infidels and Hereticks' should be punished as murderers of Christ and enemies of God'.

This simply will not do. The phrase 'Jews, Turks Infidels and Hereticks' is (presumably) taken from the Third Collect for Good Friday, which appeared in the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI, published in 1549. Except for the modernization of the spelling, it is still printed in the Book of Common Prayer, although in practice a more emollient prayer has replaced it in general usage. It is worth quoting this collect in full.

O merciful God, who has made all men, and hastest nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live: Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels and Hereticks, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of Thy word; and so fetch them home, blessed Lord, to Thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen.

Far from being an invocation of God's wrath, this is a plea for mercy and the conversion of enemies. If one remembers the brutality of the times, and the fact that the Turks had reached the gates of Vienna only 20 years earlier, one must say that it shows a remarkable degree of compassion.'

Dear Valerie,

I've been having an interesting time reading the Wycliffe New Testament. What a wonderful lot of words: rightwiseness; sourdough; hidels; grouched and dearworth. I have also been greatly enjoying '**If God Spare My Life**' by Brian Moynahan; delightful reading. I hope it will be published in the United States – it ought to be.

Best wishes,

Ronald Mansbridge
Connecticut, USA.
July 2002.

Vic Perry sent by email in August 2002 the following information concerning the Authorized Version 1611: -

'In the Tyndale Society Journal No. 19 (August 2001) it was said that Thomas Nelson had issued an edition of the AV described as 'a special reproduction of the original text of 1611', but that it was 'out-of-stock'.

This Bible is now available again, and, as suspected, it is a reprint of A. W. Pollard's edition of 1911 (DMH 2166). This, in turn, was based on the Oxford edition of 1833 (DMH 1792). But Thomas Nelson have omitted Pollard's 'bibliographical introduction'. None of this is stated in this reprint, which contains no bibliographical information at all, not even a date of publication. It is a 'He' Bible.'

Grace and peace,

Vic Perry

Book Reviews

Bryan Moynahan, *If God Spare My Life: William Tyndale, the English Bible and Thomas More - A Story of Martyrdom and Betrayal*. Little Brown, 2002, xxv + 422 pp., ISBN 0 316 8609 1 £17.99.

The greatest tribute to the life of William Tyndale is that his biography is so difficult to write. His accomplishments in translating, under almost unimaginably difficult circumstances, so much of the Bible so well and for the first time into early modern English, are, of course, historic. We have the evidence of this in Tyndale's translations and in their enshrinement in the King James Version, its predecessors, and its successors. But from the major biographical writings of Foxe in the sixteenth century to Demaus three hundred years later, Mozley in 1937, and Daniell's monumental work of scholarship in 1994 to Moynahan's present work, it becomes obvious that Tyndale covered his tracks too well for our purposes.

Tyndale hid from Church and State then and continues to let his translations and works of controversy, literally the sum of his life's work, speak for him. Barring the unlikely finding of a Tyndale diary, we have little else to go on. Certainly, he would have it no other way. Translating Scripture into the vernacular was for Tyndale the key to freeing Englishmen from the real and perceived evils of the Roman Church and giving the common people the true Gospel of salvation, which had been "locked up" by the Church. Of course, it wasn't that easy: as if self-exile, a decade of life as a fugitive from Continental and English authorities, ecclesiastical and secular, the difficulties of the scholarly work itself with colleagues perhaps even more difficult, and the suffering of cold prison, ended only by strangulation and burning, not of the holy book but of its translator, were easy.

After all this, an imagined but realistic twentieth-century descendant of the ploughboys Tyndale hoped would benefit from his life's work responds "not regularly, no" when asked if he reads his Bible. Of course, it is in a film, Pulp Fiction, but Tyndale wagered his life's work and his life on the efficacy of Scripture in the vernacular.

Moynahan re-tells this story well, filling the void of what we do not know about Tyndale's life by informing and entertaining us on politics, printing and the book trade, indulgences, Wycliffe, Henry VIII, Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Cardinal Wolsey, Luther, and Tyndale's fellow martyrs, foremost among them, of course, Thomas More. (I might suggest to both Daniell and Moynahan that they should light votive candles to St. Thomas for

giving them so much to write about in their hagiographies of Tyndale. I should add that I consider Tyndale worthy of sainthood, even apart from his martyrdom, although the appropriate Vatican congregation - a word Tyndale favoured, albeit with a different meaning - might have difficulty finding a miracle. I should also thank Moynahan for informing me that Catholicism is a "mystery" religion. (I knew those nuns at Holy Innocents Grammar School in Flatbush were holding something back from us boys!).

The miracle of William Tyndale is that he was able to accomplish so much so well under such difficult circumstances. (As for mystery, try learning Hebrew, as Tyndale did so well, even with the abundance of grammars and readers available today.) Moynahan is not the first to note that the portrait of William Tyndale that adorns his book's back cover (and Daniell's too) is of an imagined scholarly reformer and not of the man who protected his identity almost as well as the best of modern spies. He also makes it clear that neither Tyndale nor More wanted martyrdom. Tyndale had all of northern Europe in which to hide, while More had merely a technicality of law and a king who had grown impatient with technicalities whether they hurt his pocketbook or his efforts, in Tyndale's words, "to put a little lust into effect" (Exposition of 1 John).

Moynahan writes with a fine sense of humour. For example, his caption to the title page of Tyndale's revised New Testament of 1534 should bring a smile to the face of any author-reader: "Tyndale was his own publisher, proofreader, editor, distributor and blurb writer. He made more than five thousand changes to the 1526 edition. His description of the content is a gem of the copywriter's art: 'Here thou has the newe Testament or covenaut made wyth vs of God in Christes bloude.' " That last sentence sums up Tyndale's life's work, but Moynahan strives, entertainingly, to put it all in the context of its time.

There are some surprises: Wolsey is called a "humane and often kindly man", hardly an opinion Tyndale shared. Moynahan politely translates Tyndale's "emitteret spiritum per posteriora" (Exposition of 1 John) as he "farted his spirit through his backside". Granted that Tyndale was also being polite by switching into Latin here, but he clearly describes it as Wolsey's "shitten death". Bishop Tunstall, bitterly criticized by Tyndale for not supporting his New Testament translation, suddenly becomes "the humane Tunstall" a few years later. There is a paragraph, just one, on the joy of English Catholicism, "that Tyndale wilfully overlooked". Balanced reporting, anyone?

Moynahan even says something good about Thomas More. He defends More against Tyndale's charge of covetousness: "Covetousness blinded the eyes of that gleering fox more and more, and hardened his heart against the

truth, with the confidence of his painted poetry, babbling eloquence, and juggling arguments of subtle sophistry . . .” (Exposition upon the v, vi, vii Chapters of Matthew). “This is nonsense,” says Moynahan. “More was not covetous. . . The young humanist who wrote Utopia had changed into a reactionary, it is true, at least as far as heretics were concerned, but Tyndale was wrong to think that greed had played any part in the process”.

Having made one concession to More, Moynahan then credits the former chancellor with masterminding and financing Tyndale’s arrest from his captivity in the Tower of London: “News of Tyndale’s arrest would clearly have lightened More’s steps to the block.” Shades of the fanatic U.S. Air Force pilot in Doctor Strangelove, gleefully riding a bomb against a Soviet target to set off the nuclear destruction of the world! Just as Tyndale did not charge Thomas More with torturing heretics, he said nothing about More as the one behind his capture.

Moynahan graciously confesses his debt to Daniell and follows him for the most part in his attitude toward More, “Daniell Light” perhaps. His commentary on Tyndale as translator and English stylist, however, simply goes over the same ground as Daniell without adding anything to our appreciation of Tyndale’s achievement.

Moynahan or his publisher also made a disappointing decision not to cite sources, except in a generalized list at the end of the book. There is no excuse, even in so-called popular history, to cheat the scholar or serious amateur of accurate references. Just who was the pamphleteer who said that “divers malefactors have chosen to be hanged than go to Virginia”? Inquiring minds want to know, even if the answer is “anonymous”.

Despite its limitations, **If God Spare My Life** should bring the story of Tyndale’s life’s work to new readers. None or few would complain about yet another biography of Luther, More, Henry VIII, or Elizabeth I. Doubtless, Moynahan’s work is entertaining. Still, I hope that the next Tyndale biography will wait until there is something new and convincing to be said.

Donald J. Millus, Coastal Carolina University, October 2002.

Jasper Ridley, *Bloody Mary’s Martyrs*. Carroll & Graf 2002 (USA) (First published in the UK by Constable, an imprint of Constable & Robinson Ltd, 2001) ISBN 0–7867-0986-3

In late 2001, I went to New York to see Ground Zero. In parts of the city, mourners had posted up handmade obituaries of the dead. The casualties were ordinary folk, husbands and wives, with small children who depended on them. Back in Washington, an office colleague contemptuously informed me “Those New Yorkers—what happened to them on 9/11 was their own damn fault”.

These two traits—blaming the victim, a tide of violence engulfing ordinary citizens—are hallmarks of the story told by Jasper Ridley in *“Bloody Mary’s Martyrs”*. You could say it’s a shorter, more modern version of the saga recounted by John Foxe in the *“Acts and Monuments”*. This brevity leads to occasional oversimplifications. One gentleman in the text is described as Nicholas Ridley’s manservant, elsewhere as Hugh Latimer’s (maybe so, but why not clarify?). The Tyndale section is rushed, with no mention of Humphrey Monmouth or Cuthbert Tunstall. Perhaps this is pardonable in a work of popular history with much ground to cover.

“Bloody Mary’s Martyrs” takes us back to a period which Tyndalians already know in broad outline. And despite that familiarity, the era displays a topsy-turvy fanaticism which modern conceptual categories seem inadequate to describe. Time and again, heretics would refer to their coming execution as a “marriage” (which, I suppose, is better than describing one’s marriage as an execution).

The martyrs’ personal histories have many features in common. Religious controversies divided many families, as in Christ’s day. Guilt by association divided others (Alice, Crammer’s devout Catholic sister, lost her pension when she sought to intercede with Cardinal Pole on her brother’s behalf).

Ridley goes into unfamiliar detail about the martyrs’ last days and hours. The prisoners had a complicated relationship with their jailers, who were initially hostile and sometimes stayed that way, while others befriended their charges. Even from behind bars, the burned-to-be were able to sneak letters out to the outside world, sometimes using their valet for this purpose. Prisoners wealthy enough to have manservants were, by a mysterious loophole, permitted to keep them.

As the execution approached, there was a fine supper the night before or a hearty breakfast on the Big Day. Weather forecasting—an issue of pressing concern for the English throughout the centuries—assumed huge impor-

tance, for a rainy day meant moist, green faggots (and a slower, more lingering death).

Today, we give little thought to what burning at the stake actually involves. Contemporary woodcuts of execution scenes, in which the flames curl upward as flowers in blossom, encourage us in this self-deception. The author is at hand to jolt us back to reality with tales of savagery from Bloody Mary's reign, some of which tax belief. One "heretic" is pulled out of the blazing faggots, temporarily reprieved, then reconsigned to the stake a short while afterward (in the interim—small detail!—his legs had been burned off). And try this:

"Coberley's death was prolonged and horrible; because of the wind, the fire did not reach his body, but only his left arm. After a while the arm was burned off, and he leaned over the fire, holding his right arm in the flames, hoping that they would reach his body. The blood then began to pour out of his mouth and nose, and he fell into the fire. (...) After a while he rose and stood upright in the fire to the amazement and horror of the spectators. Then he died."

While most of the executions were held in the South, their effects were felt far and wide, galvanizing the people, and Mary's heresy hunt functioned as an unintended rural electrification programme for a previously splintered nation. The burnings were even an inspiration for literature, as the closing verses of the contemporary poem "*The Register*" attest.

"When last of all to take their leave
At Canterbury they did consume
Who constantly to Christ did cleave.
Therefore were fried with fiery fume.
But six days after these were put to death
God sent us our Elizabeth."

It is especially important to memorialize the victims today, when revisionist scholarship is downgrading the martyrs' trailblazing role. Much, of course, is already known about the deaths of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer and other leading Protestants in the London area. Elsewhere in Britain our information is meagre, sometimes we just have the name (or not even that) of the victim and his or her village. Scholarly detachment is fine as far as it goes, but to avoid a laundry list of executions, I would have welcomed a touch more conjecture about the motivations of the participants.

Take Bishop Edmund Bonner for example (not "Edward" as the index calls him). Ridley does not stint on Bonner's cruelty, and we hear much about the plump bishop's legendary techniques of interrogation. Less easy to understand are Bonner's flashes of leniency and fitful concern for due proc-

ess. Was Bonner a "good cop" and "bad cop" all rolled into one? Dangerously unstable? Why was Bonner allowed to ply his trade in such an untroubled way while Reginald Pole, by way of contrast, faced death threats on the continent?

Bishop John Hooper had early taken the view that while Mary was a Papist she was the lawful sovereign; he and others like him were to pay for their deference later. Happily, "*Bloody Mary's Martyrs*" portrays the gradual (and long-overdue) waning of traditional habits of submission to authority throughout the 1550s.

From our 21st-century vantage point, we can well imagine how Mary's targets might do everything in their power to *evade* capture. But alongside daring getaways, what we actually find are instances of extreme recklessness. Some reformers—knowing the consequences—went out of their way to bring themselves to the authorities' attention. Because punishing heresy was one of the few things that 16th century governments did exceedingly well, such self-exposure was riskier than skydiving. And the martyrs were steadfast till the end. Now, as armchair theologians we can accept isolated acts of bravery, but we do not expect fortitude from all of the victims, every step of the way. Yet that is what the stories show us. The concept that playing for time in this earthly life was worthless if you bought yourself damnation in the next is hard for us to grasp. What made them do it?

Here we come across another of the leitmotifs of martyrology. Some of the prisoners, upon their arrest, were found to have a copy of Tyndale's New Testament on their person! "*John Mandrel could not read or write, but when he heard that Tyndale had translated the Bible into English he bought a copy and carried it around with him; and when he met someone who was literate he asked him to read passages aloud. After a while he had learned large parts of the Bible by heart.*" In Tudor history, William Tyndale, even if mentioned in passing or not at all, is always standing behind a nearby pillar with copies of his Bible to distribute.

Unlike our poet in "*The Register*", Ridley does not attempt to romanticize the burnings (save for some disposable soapbox oratory in the epilogue). The verb "to burn" is seldom varied. A policy of strict neutrality hardly does the subject justice; but no sooner did I fear we were losing Ridley to the revisionist crowd, than I come across the following choice sentence. "*No one was more active in persecuting the Protestants who distributed the English Bible than Sir Thomas More, a brilliant lawyer, writer and intellectual who was a particularly nasty sadomasochistic pervert*". *Nasty sadomasochistic pervert?* Steady on, Jasper! Even Bonner gets more even-handed treatment than that. And what

of More's finer qualities that we keep hearing about – his education of his daughters, his authorship of *Utopia*, his friendship with Erasmus, etc., etc.? Oh well, a clear authorial voice is always refreshing.

All readers of this book will have their "favourite" burning anecdote, one that resonates with them in a special way. In amongst the militant self-confidence of the persecutors and wide-eyed fanaticism of their quarry, it is initially hard to locate a straightforward human-interest story that meets this requirement. But persevere. The tale of Joan Waste, the blind ropemaker, speaks to me across the centuries. "*Being blind she could not, of course, read herself, but she saved up the money which she made from her ropemaking and bought a copy of Tyndale's New Testament. (...) She found other people who were prepared to read the Bible to her; in some cases she paid them to do so. She learned long passages from it by heart. (...) Her brother Roger was allowed to take her by the hand and lead her to the stake in the Windmill-pit outside the town of Derby, just as he had always led her everywhere. As she could not see him, he stood beside the fire calling out to her while she was burning, so that she should know that he was there*". Tyndale's words strengthened her too.

"*Bloody Mary's Martyrs*" is a fitting memorial for these heroes and heroines who faced the supreme punishment with valour and grace.

Neil L. Inglis, Bethesda, Maryland

Judith Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk 1370-1547* Boydell & Brewer, £60 (0-85115-820-X)

Dr Middleton-Stewart provides an important account of how the 52 churches in the Dunwich deanery were built, extended and embellished between the reigns of Edward III and Henry VIII, as the result of testamentary gifts. Among these were Blythborough and Coverhithe, two of the more stately churches in the pre-Reformation deanery.

From the main title alone this may sound like a heavy book; but Dr Middleton-Stewart has a flowing style, and it reads more like a mediaeval detective story. Indeed, the only element missing is what the families thought of their inheritances being spent on the construction of an aisle, the addition of a tower, or the provision of a chalice and paten.

Wandering around the mediaeval churches of East Anglia, I have often wondered, not so much about the architecture, but about those who actually paid to have the church built: those who preferred to give a stained-glass

window rather than contribute towards a bay of the nave, or chose to present the parish with an altar missal rather than a set of low-mass vestments. Was there a pecking order that restricted the size of one's gift to one's social status? All of this, and more, is addressed in this book.

The book is divided into four parts. Part One examines the religious foundations, the leading families, church life, and the architectural development of the churches in the deanery. Part Two dwells on the doctrine of purgatory, requiem masses, obits, chantries, and parish guilds. Part Three itemises the provision of service books and ornaments for the mass and the altar (the chapter on mass vestments is particularly enthralling); and Part Four covers statuary, relics, stained glass, fonts, and funerary monuments.

There were a number of gems throughout the book. My favourites are an observation about those less able to make financial provisions for their parish church: 'Those who could pay; those who couldn't pray;' and one explaining how greater gifts were 'not so much keeping up with the Joneses but actually overtaking them.'

However, I am not so sure that I agree with Dr Middleton-Stewart that transubstantiation of the host took place at the moment of its elevation. I think that the holders provided for the incense grains are known as boats and not ships; and the third of the three holy oils is for extreme unction, not 'exorcism'. Though I would not want to go to the scaffold over the issue of censers 'suspended from the ceiling', I rather doubt their use in England during the late mediaeval period, or at any other time, come to that.

But these are just four tiny niggles in what is otherwise a splendid book. Dr Middleton-Stewart's work should be treated as the companion volume to '*The Stripping of the Altars*' by Eamon Duffy.

Dr Julian Litten.

Note

This review by Dr J. Litten, chairman of the Church Maintenance Trust, was published in the *Church Times* on 22 February 2002 and is reprinted here with their kind permission.



Ploughboy Notes and News

Ploughboy Group Notes: Journal 23

David Ireson, Ploughboy Group Convenor.

When copies of Tyndale's 1526 New Testament were burnt outside St. Paul's Cathedral in November 1526 William's attitude towards the ecclesiastical authorities changed. From that moment on he felt justified in writing against the abuses of the church. His anger was focused on the loss of books which had been so laboriously and patiently printed and shipped to England. He felt that the books which were destroyed in the bonfires were the Word of God. It was a sacrilege.

Today many often treat the book of the Bible and God in a more causal way. Instead of God Almighty, we have "God All Matey". The text of the Bible is, for some, just another work of literature. I encountered someone recently who has something of the reverence for the text which Tyndale would have had. The Bible is not just another book.

Rabbi Francis Berry took early retirement from his synagogue to move to the quiet harbour town of Watchet in Somerset. His ambition was to make a copy of the Torah Scroll. This is a scroll of the first five books of the Bible: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. He could not presume to take on this task of his own volition. A family in London wanted a Torah Scroll created for their son's Bar Mitzvah and a prominent Rabbi in the United States endorsed Rabbi Berry's scholarship and sanctity. He was allowed to undertake this extraordinary task. It took him a year and a half.

The scroll is made up from sheets of calf skin vellum - each sheet costing £80. The ink was made from oak-apples and tannin carefully prepared. This ink becomes darker over time. The pens he used were from goose feathers. The search for two species of goose was not easy. The main text was written with the quills from one type of goose, the name of God with special quills from another. Not only was every line of text checked meticulously for its accurate spelling, each word was examined to see that no letters ran into each other. There had to be a clear gap between each. Any mistakes had to be scraped off the vellum with a sharp piece of glass. No metal (used by man to make weapons) must ever defile what is sacred. Only once in the 18 months of hard

work did he have a problem when he examined a letter with his magnifying glass and wet ink was picked up on his beard and made hairline marks. In the end not one sheet of vellum was wasted. The writing was completed, the pages sewn together into a scroll, the boy taught how to read his chosen text in Hebrew, and the Bar Mitzvah took place at the appointed time.

Rabbi Berry is a cheerful and happy man. He has achieved his ambition. Writing the scroll was, for him, a profound spiritual labour. I think of how I hastily and casually download Biblical texts from a CD of half a dozen versions of the Bible, and how Rabbi Berry and William Tyndale treated the same words with such deep reverence.

New Regional Ploughboy Group

A few members of the Tyndale Society in the North Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, South Staffordshire and Birmingham areas are keen to organise a local Ploughboy Group. If any other members in the area are able to support us please contact one of the following: Ralph Werrell (email: rswerrell@hotmail.com); Brian Johnson (email: bandr@johnson373.fsnet.co.uk); or Robin Everitt, 75 Monastery Drive, Solihull B99 1DP (Telephone: 0121 7062161).

To William Tyndale

Wendy Martinek, 15 September 2002

To place the Bible in a ploughboy's hand
You wrote and taught, and toiled with scholar's pain.
We hold the word of God between our hands
And savour it, and turn the page again.
You, saintly scholar of an age gone by,
Gave up ambition, comfort, home and self
To translate truth, and would not let it lie
Buried in scroll dust on a clerky shelf.

You and your work were fuel for the flames
That sanctified your sacrifice to God.
Such holy fire changed ashes into fame.
The living word still lights the path you trod.

We read transcribed 'the truth shall make you free';
And we are blessed if we have eyes to see.

This poem was submitted for publication after the author attended the 4th International Conference of the Tyndale Society held at Antwerp, Belgium 30 August- 3 September 2002 and printed in Holy Trinity Church Newsletter, Geneva no.310, October 2002.

Tyndale and Theology – How does Scripture define sin?

Robin Everitt,

November 2002.

'Whosoever committeth sin transgresseth also the law: for sin is the transgression of the law'. So reads the Authorised Version of 1611 at 1 John 3.

'Whosoever committeth sin, committeth unrighteousness also, for sin is unrighteousness'. So Tyndale renders the same passage.

The two versions obviously differ: does the difference between them matter, or is discussion of it mere verbal quibbling? It will be contended here that the difference between the two versions is far from trivial, and that it is Tyndale who more nearly approaches the sense of the Greek original.

Most recent translations give us *'sin is lawlessness'*, though the widely used Good News Bible, in a decidedly free translation, gives us *'Whosoever sins is guilty of breaking God's law because sin is a breaking of the law'*. Of the older versions Geneva 1557 agrees with the Authorised Version while the Rheims New Testament (1582) is nearly identical with Tyndale: it gives us *'sin is iniquity'*.

To define sin as the transgression of the law is to run into serious difficulties in understanding other parts of scripture – certainly if we confine our thoughts to the Mosaic law: St Paul writes of those who have sinned without the law, and contrasts them with those who have sinned under the law. There can be no doubt that Tyndale and Rheims give the sense better than Geneva or the Authorised Version.

'Sin is lawlessness': we may take it that this gives the true meaning of St John's definition of sin. What does he mean? Quite certainly he is not thinking of the Mosaic law: rather he is defining and analyzing the nature of sin in general. For him sin is not so much the infraction of a legal code as a refusal to admit the importance of moral principle. It is the denial, not of the law but of the principle of law itself.

The Geneva and Authorised Versions (and some modern translations) mistranslate this passage and in doing so mislead the reader. Tyndale does far better. But why did Tyndale not use the term lawlessness which expresses St John's teaching most precisely? The answer may seem a little surprising: the word does not appear to have been in use in Tyndale's day. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* it first appeared in Spenser in 1591. We should curb our astonishment and remember that English was then (as now) in course

of development: the vocabulary of 1525 was not the same as that of 1591. Tyndale used a word which he knew would convey St John's thought and which would be understood by his readers. He was surely right in doing so.

A verbal quibble? Far from it: the point at issue here is of considerable theological importance.

Tyndale and Teesdale

David Green

November 2002.

I have recently been speaking to two more groups of folk very interested in Tyndale; but the occasion, which stays in my mind, is the AGM of the Gloucester branch of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (CPRE) held at Whitminster church in the vale of Berkeley. The chair was taken by Mr John Berkeley of Berkeley Castle, which is a few miles distant. (It will be remembered that William Tyndale's brother Edward became one of the Crown Stewards of the Berkeley estates in 1519 and that the castle was part of the background to the early life of WT who more than likely attended the Lady Katherine de Berkeley's grammar school in Wotton under Edge).

I had been invited to give the lecture following the meeting because one of the items on the agenda concerned the newly refurbished Tyndale Monument on the hill overlooking the vale, and a guided tour of it was being planned for early in 2003.

My talk was greeted very warmly by a most enthusiastic audience and I believe the Society gained one new member at least that evening! After the lecture a string of lights led from the church to the lovely old manor of Whitminster House where log fires were burning in three rooms and a buffet supper was laid out. Our hostesses were Mrs Anita Teesdale and her daughter, Anne, and the party that followed can be imagined. Above all I was struck by the wonderful collection of paintings, mainly portraits, and many by the late John M. Teesdale, the celebrated portrait painter and member of the Royal and West of England Academy. His lovely work was all around us and I asked, as a painter myself, to be allowed to return one day in daylight to see them again. I got my wish.

Who is Tyndale?

Ronald Mansbridge

July 2002

A few years ago in the quincentenary of Tyndale's birth, I set up a table and chairs outside our Public Library in Weston and quizzed people as they came out. Let me explain for readers outside the United States that Weston, Connecticut is an exurban town, 50 miles from New York City with 10,000 inhabitants in the upper brackets financially and educationally.

Believe it or not, out of 30 people I spoke with, not a single one knew who Tyndale was. The nearest was a lady who had heard the name and thought he might be an English 18th century philosopher. I had a bit more luck with the ministers and priest of our four local churches, Congregational, Episcopal, Roman Catholic and Unitarian. I suggested that on one Sunday in the year the lessons should be read from Tyndale's translation. This suggestion was accepted with some warmth; but I do not think that it was ever implemented.

This summer I repeated the experiment. I saw a total of 33, 18 women and 15 men, mostly Episcopalian, Jewish, Roman Catholic and agnostic. This time about a third of them recognized the name and two of them knew who Tyndale was. One of these was a man, Jewish, who knew it from his general educational background; the other, an Episcopalian lady, said she had learned about Tyndale during the last few years.

So we are making a tiny bit of progress. What can we do to speed things up? This time I tried to spread the word a bit by handing out copies of what Paul wrote to the Corinthians about Love.

I think the most successful thing we can do is to encourage the churches to have lessons read occasionally from the Tyndale translation. This has its own reward. I can remember more than 40 years ago reading the lessons in church from the New English Bible and being amused to watch one member of the congregation after another wake up as their ears caught an unfamiliar word or phrase. I hope that there may be a continuing effort in the churches along these lines.

Lambeth Diploma Week, 2003

Every year the Lambeth Diploma Association has a Study Week at St. Deiniol's Library at Hawarden in Flintshire, North Wales. There is room at the Library for other people to stay and any residents are entitled to attend the Lectures. Since it is a Study Week there are only lectures after dinner, giving people time to use the wonderful facilities of the Library; or explore Cheshire or North Wales; visit Chester or Liverpool; or other places reasonably accessible from Hawarden.

In 2003 the Lambeth Diploma Week is from Monday 17 November to Saturday 22 November. I have been asked to give the lectures on The Early English Reformation. The provisional lecture titles are: "The Premature Reformation – Wyclif and Lollardy"; "The Word of God – Tyndale and other translators"; "The Opposition – More, Fisher, etc."; "Martyrs and Survivors – Henrican and Marian Martyrs"; "Conclusion".

If any members of The Tyndale Society would like to go to St. Deiniol's Library that week please contact in the first instance: -

Revd Dr Ralph S. Werrell, 2a Queens Road, Kenilworth, Warwickshire, CV8 1JQ, United Kingdom. E-mail: rswerrell@hotmail.com.

STOP PRESS – BBC Documentary on Tyndale

Dr Guido Latré has kindly sent the editor details of this exciting new development which we hope to report more fully in the next issue of the Journal and on our website:-

Phil Cairney of the BBC and two vans with a BBC crew arrived in Antwerp on 22 November and stayed for four days to shoot a docudrama on Tyndale, half of which will consist of scenes played by very good actors, and the other half of interviews and images of a more scholarly nature. The backdrop will be Antwerp, Oxford and a few other locations.

I have the privilege of being among those who will be interviewed. I am also expected to stand among the exhibits of "Tyndale's Testament" and comment on the general scene of bible translation activities in Antwerp.'

This programme forms part of a series of three hour long documentaries on the subject of heretics and will be shown on BBC2 in the third week of February. The scriptwriter is Peter Ackroyd. Ian Glen will play William Tyndale and James Fox Thomas More.



Third Tyndale Conference Geneva, Switzerland 2003

Friday 24 October - Sunday 26 October

Not for burning: The Marian Exiles in 16th Century Europe

Speakers

Prof Andrew Pettegree

*Director of the Reformation Studies Institute,
University of St Andrews, Scotland*

Prof David Daniell

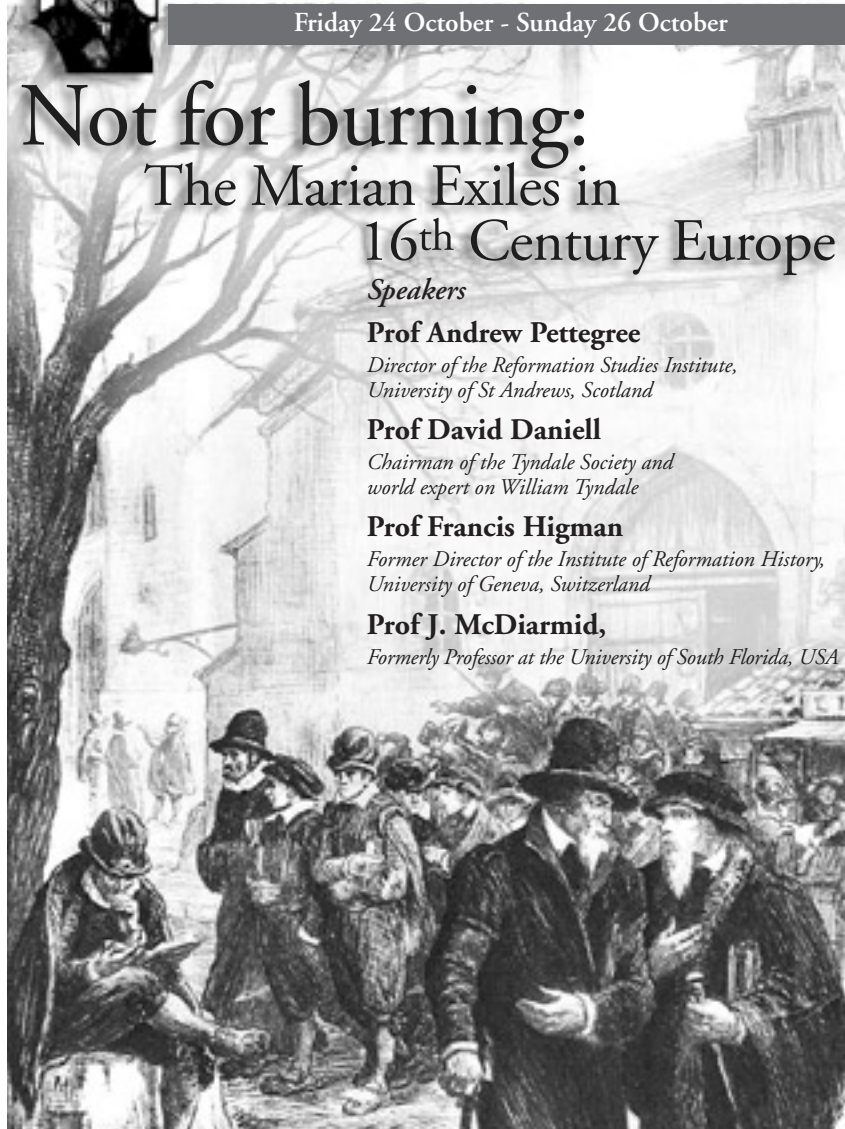
*Chairman of the Tyndale Society and
world expert on William Tyndale*

Prof Francis Higman

*Former Director of the Institute of Reformation History,
University of Geneva, Switzerland*

Prof J. McDiarmid,

Formerly Professor at the University of South Florida, USA



*As for the 2001 Geneva meeting the venue will be the Centre de Rencontres,
21 rue du Temple, Cartigny, Geneva. The programme has been designed to cater for
those travelling a considerable distance for the weekend and for those in Switzerland and
nearby France who would like to attend one day of the conference.*

About the speakers

Professor Andrew Pettegree

Andrew Pettegree is Director of Reformation Studies Institute and Professor in the Department of Modern History at the University of St Andrews, Scotland. After studying in Oxford, Hamburg and Cambridge, he has taught in St Andrews since 1986. His scholarly interests and writings have focused on Dutch and French Calvinism, on the English Reformation and on the printing history of the Reformation. He has recently completed a survey of the Reformation, *The Reformation World* (published in 2000) and has also recently published a general textbook on the Sixteenth Century for Blackwell. He is an editor of the St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, and director of the Institute's collaborative Sixteenth Century French Religious Book project. He is an associate editor of *Reformation* (the academic Journal of the Tyndale Society).

Professor Francis Higman

Francis Higman studied French and German at Oxford University, specializing in the style of John Calvin's French writings for his thesis. After holding various positions in the Universities of Bristol, Dublin and Nottingham he was appointed in 1988 as Director of the Institute for the History of the Reformation in Geneva, where he was able wholeheartedly to pursue his study of Calvin. His publications include studies of censorship in 16th century France, the spread of the French Reformation and religious printing in French in the early Reformation. To mark his retirement in 1998 a collection of his major articles *Live et Découvrir: La circulation des idées au temps de la Réforme* with a preface by Jean-François Gilmont was published by Librairie Droz, Geneva.

Professor David Daniell

David Daniell is Emeritus Professor of English in the University of London, an Honorary Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford and St. Catherine's College, Oxford. He was for twenty-five years in charge of Shakespeare studies at all levels at University College, London. He is author of over seventy books and journal essays, mainly on Shakespeare and the English Bible. He has toured with the Royal Shakespeare Company, and made many broadcasts (radio and television) in Europe and America.

In 1994 he published the first full biography of William Tyndale for sixty years from Yale University Press. His modern spelling editions of Tyndale's New and Old Testaments came also from Yale University Press in 1989 and 1992. He was curator of the British Library's Tyndale *Let There Be Light* Exhibition, seen in London, California, New York and in the Library of Congress by a total of a quarter of a million people. He is Chairman of the Tyndale Society, which has a worldwide membership. His edition of Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man* was published in 2000 by Penguin Classics. His Arden edition of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* was published in 1998. His latest book *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* is due to be published by Yale University Press in May 2003

Professor John F. McDiarmid

Prof John F. McDiarmid has recently retired from New College at the University of South Florida, USA. His Yale dissertation thesis was on an aspect of 16th century English linguistic thought and his principal teaching interests have been drama, literature and poetry with a particular emphasis on the Renaissance period. He is the author of several articles on Tyndale and Sir John Cheke, recently presented papers to the Renaissance Society of America on Tyndale's Practice of Prelates and the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference on Protestant Humanism and is currently preparing a book on Sir John Cheke and mid-Tudor Protestant Humanism. He will speak on 'Sir John Cheke and the Marian exiles in Padua, Italy'.

Preliminary programme



Friday 24 October

Conference registration and Residents' check-in.
Optional Visit to exhibition in Geneva
Welcome aperitif
Evening meal
Lecture

Saturday 25 October

Registration. Bookstall open
All day sessions featuring lectures on various aspects of the lives and achievements of the 16th century Marian exiles by the principal speakers, lunch and optional dinner.

Sunday 26 October

Church services at Holy Trinity and American Emmanuel Church followed by lunch and an afternoon of visits to Reformation sites.

Accommodation

The Centre de Rencontres is a residential house in an attractive historic setting run by the National Protestant Church in the country just outside Geneva. For non-resident participants, the village is on a bus route and has adequate parking facilities.

Further information and booking

Please contact: Valerie Offord: Tel/fax: +41 22 777 18 58;
E-mail: valerie.offord@bluewin.ch
or Judith Munzinger, 330 route de Jussy, 1254 Jussy, Geneva, Switzerland
Tel: +41 22 759 16 87;
E-mail: jmunzinger@compuserve.com

Organizing committee:

Antonia Bruce, Ann Elter, Lilian Iselin, Judith Munzinger, Valerie Offord (Chairman), Arthur Robinson, Joan Wilson.

News of Reformation (volume 7)

Reformation is the leading English-language journal for the publication of original research in scholarship of the Reformation era. Already academically highly regarded, it is published annually under the aegis of the Tyndale Society.

Volume 7 of the journal concentrates primarily on the progress of the English Reformation. Articles include: a study of Tyndale's knowledge of Hebrew, shedding light on his attempt to produce an accurate translation of the Bible by returning to the original sources; a painstaking and incisive analysis of Henry VIII's religious policy in the last decade of his reign, showing how vital his concept of the royal supremacy was to the functioning of both church and regime; a reconstruction of the events leading up to the martyrdom of John Philpot, showing how John Foxe deliberately constructed one of the most important martyrs represented in his Acts and Monuments of the Christian Church by carefully selecting and supplementing the evidence at his disposal; a consideration of the Marprelate tracts, the most important 'Puritan' controversy of late Elizabethan England where close reading of the tracts reveals them to be far more skilfully constructed than is generally assumed, showing how the anonymous authors were aware of the possibilities of printed texts as a medium of debate and propaganda, and an analysis of the status of Jerome's Vulgate Bible during the Counter-Reformation. The collection also includes John N. King's note on Milton's use of personal insult in his attacks on the English bishops demonstrating how a good Reformation controversialist involved the ability to belittle one's opponents as well as win the argument by more highbrow intellectual means. The volume concludes with a full guide to recent publications in the field.

Contents

Editorial

Articles:

The Vulgata Latina as sacred text: what did the Council of Trent mean when it claimed Jerome's Bible was Authentica?, Theodore P. Letis

The time and place of Tyndale's Hebrew Learning: a reconsideration, Jonathan P. Yates

The divine kingship and royal theology in Henry VIII's Reformation, Alec Ryrie

The heresy examination of John Philpot: defiance, bold speaking and the making of a martyr, Sarah Covington

Martin Marprelate and the fugitive text, Jesse Lander

Note: *The Bishop's stinking foot: Milton and antiprelatical satire*, John N. King

Review article: *Cardinal Pole*, David Loades,

Book reviews

Short notices

Society Notes

Compiled by Rochelle Givoni

Patrons

The Chairman wrote to the incoming Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Rowan Williams, with the Society's congratulations and asked whether he would honour us by becoming a Patron. We are delighted and, indeed, honoured that Dr Williams writes that it would give him great pleasure to act as a Patron. He hopes "of course that the lectures will continue at Lambeth", and sends his good wishes to all.

The Chairman also wrote to Archbishop George Carey on his retirement on 31 October 2002, to send him the Society's best wishes and thanks, and asked whether he would consider continuing as a Patron. Archbishop Carey sent his warm greetings to the Society, and is overjoyed to continue as a Patron of the Society, sending also his "expectations that through the support of us all the Tyndale Society will go on from strength to strength".

Vice-Chairman

As many members will know, through pressure of work Barry Ryan, though still our American Trustee, had to resign as Vice-Chairman of the Society. The Trustees are extremely pleased to announce that Mary Clow has accepted their invitation to be the new Vice-Chairman, alongside Sir Rowland Whitehead. Mary has already brought to the Society her distinctive wisdom and inspired enthusiasm, and we are honoured by her acceptance.

Christmas Celebrations

Celebrate Christmas with Tyndale and the Society this year.

The Society's Annual Carol Service, with readings from Tyndale, will be held at St. Mary's Abchurch, Abchurch Lane, London, EC4, on 18 December 2002, at 12.30pm. And, from 6.30pm on 18 December, Society members and their guests are invited to attend a Tyndale Society Christmas Party to be hosted by Mary Clow with a guest speaker and a buffet supper.

Norwich 2003

A chance to explore Norwich has been arranged for Saturday, 29 March 2003. This Tyndale Society day event will include a tour of the city guided by Society member, Michael Hammond. Dr Liz Evenden of the British Academy John Foxe Project will give a lecture on Norwich Printers of the

16th Century; and we will also have the opportunity to attend Evensong in Norwich Cathedral. (See Dates for Your Diary)

Antwerp

Events around the Tyndale Conference in Antwerp attracted the notice of the media.

On 7 September 2002 *The Times* reported on the service held in Antwerp Cathedral that was part of the opening ceremony for Guido Latré's *Tyndale's Testament* exhibition: "A Roman Catholic bishop has apologised for the execution of the Protestant martyr William Tyndale. In a significant ecumenical gesture, Bishop Paul Van den Berghe also invited the Anglican Bishop of Gibraltar in Europe, the Right Rev Geoffrey Rowell, to occupy his throne in Antwerp's Catholic cathedral during an Anglican service held there last week. The Catholic bishop said that Tyndale, who was strangled and burnt at the stake in Antwerp in 1536, was killed unjustly. 'We ask you and the Lord forgiveness for this crime and we hope that one day our still divided churches will acknowledge the martyrs of other churches', he told Dr Rowell. Tyndale had fled to Belgium to escape persecution after translating the Bible into English."

Guido Latré's very successful *Tyndale's Testament* exhibition at the Plantin-Moretus Museum has received unprecedented publicity, including the weekly *Bulletin* (a guide for Britons living in that part of Northern Europe), which devoted two full pages to a most favourable review.

Sightings of Tyndale

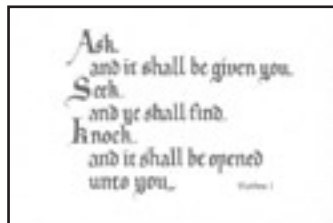
On BBC2 television on Monday 30th September 2002, Adam Hart-Davies, continuing his four-part series *What the Tudors Did For Us* with an account of the effects of the new printing, gave prominence to William Tyndale and his New Testament, especially as revolutionary and 'heretical'.

Repeated on BBC2 television on Sunday 6 October 2002, appropriately for Tyndale's Day, Simon Schama's episode of *A History of Britain*, entitled 'Burning Convictions', gave good attention to Tyndale and his works.

Following ITV television's similar exercise in the summer, BBC2 television broadcast a series through the autumn devoted to *Great Britons*, which called for viewers to vote. William Tyndale appeared in the top 100 in both series.

The British Library has included both the 1526 Tyndale New Testament in old spelling, and the 1388 Wycliffe New Testament in modern spelling in the *Museum Selection* Christmas catalogue. Both books are, of course, available direct from the Society.

A Selection of Items for Sale



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 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

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)

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)

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

Wednesday 18 December

Annual Carol Service, St Mary Abchurch, Abchurch Lane, London EC4, 12.30pm.

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.

2003

Saturday 29 March

Norwich Meeting Day Meeting with Michael Hammond and Dr Liz Evenden.

Guided tour of the city, lecture on 16th Norwich printers and evensong in Norwich Cathedral. The Norfolk Churches Trust has enthusiastically agreed to join us for this event.

More details from the organizer Mary Clow phone*44 (0) 20 7221 0303
email Mary.Clow@aol.com

Friday 9 May St Paul's Cathedral, London

Professor David Daniell will be giving a public lecture about his new book for Yale University Press, *The Bible in English*.

All members and their guests welcome. More information will be sent to you shortly.

Friday 24 October to Sunday 26 October

3rd Tyndale Conference, Geneva, Switzerland.

Not for Burning: The Marian Exiles in 16th century Europe.

Confirmed Speakers: Professor Andrew Pettegree, Director of the Reformation Studies Institute, University of St Andrews, Scotland; Professor David Daniell, Emeritus Professor University College, London; Professor Francis Higman, former director of the Institute for Reformation History, University of Geneva, Switzerland; Prof John McDiarmid, Associate Professor of Literature (retired) New College of Florida, USA.

Full details to be found in this issue of the Journal.
For further information and booking please contact Judith Munzinger,
330 route de Jussy, 1254 Jussy, Geneva, Switzerland email
jmunzinger@compuserve.com

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
Vice-Chairs	Sir Rowland Whitehead, rowlandwhitehead@hotmail.com Ms Mary Clow, maryclow@aol.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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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 Assistant, Tyndale Society, c/o Hertford College, Oxford, OX1 3BW, UK, enquiries.oxconf@pop3.hiway.co.uk

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