

The Tyndale Society Journal



No. 25
August 2003

About the Tyndale Society

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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.

Members receive 3 issues of the *Tyndale Society Journal* a year, invitations to social events, lectures and conferences, and 50% discount on subscriptions to *Reformation*.

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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 14 November 2003**.

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

Editorial

Valerie Offord

August 2003

We dashed with decorous determination through a Cotswold country church pursued by a dogged churchwarden trying to distract us with the many undoubted historical attractions of the ancient building. Undelected we triumphantly reached our quarry - the Bartholomew aisle known in Reformation times as the Holy Trinity Chapel. There on the east wall, where the altar used to be, was a barely readable inscription in a 16th century hand.

The churchwarden beamed – these were clearly goal-orientated and discerning visitors: with resigned interest, granddaughter no 1 sought confirmation that these were indeed the words of the man whose statue we had virtually bumped into on our previous outing together in London. I reflected that perhaps the said statue incident had not been a total accident and that my passion for Tyndale and all things Tyndalian now really was teetering on the verge of obsession. But here indeed, on a wall of Burford Parish Church in Oxfordshire, was a Biblical quotation in William Tyndale's masterly English. The cheerful churchwarden, his breath fully recovered, explained that at the Reformation the altar in the Holy Trinity Chapel in the south chancel aisle was dismantled and the wall, where the reredos once stood, plastered over. A little later the empty space below the window was filled by a challenging passage from St Paul's Epistle to the Romans (chapter 13 vv 12-14) beginning ` *The nyght is passed and the daye is come nye. Let us therefore cast awaie the dedes of darkness, and let us put on the armour of lyght* `.

Local explanation as to why this particular quotation from Tyndale's Bible was used is quite convincing. The Reformation and Lollard movement were strong in this town situated as it is between the Gloucestershire of William Tyndale and the Oxford base of William Wycliffe. For instance, in 1521 twelve local men and nine women were convicted of heresy for reading the Bible together without permission. It was natural then to have a Biblical quotation in English and the particular passage chosen rings with a sense of a new beginning. A new beginning for the chapel, where masses for the dead were no longer allowed but where the townsfolk of Burford would find an upbeat passage from the Bible in the vernacular on the wall of their parish church.

For those of you already reaching for the car keys or the train timetable it has to be said that an experienced eye, a helpful churchwarden, a helpful angle of the sun's rays and a good crib are necessary to decipher the faded

inscription. Restoration was decided against on the grounds that it was expensive, that it would make the writing look as if it had been done yesterday and, mysteriously, that the preferred restorer became pregnant every time she came near it and had more than once to postpone the work. I tactfully refrained from further inquiry!

This particular issue of the Journal is also largely devoted to these new beginnings of vernacular Bibles - their translation, their format, their illustration and their fortunes. We are very privileged that Prof. David Daniell has allowed us to publish his fascinating lecture given at St Paul's Cathedral entitled '*The Making of The Bible in English*'. This event preceded the official launch of his latest book *The Bible in English* by Yale University Press in June at Lambeth Palace. Lambeth's librarian, Christina Mackwell, mounted an excellent exhibition in conjunction with the launch and, in view of the fact that not all our members were able to attend the event, we have published the catalogue in full rather than attempt to give a report which would certainly not do justice to her efforts.

William Cooper was prompted to submit his paper on '*John Trevisa, the Translator of Wycliffe B*' as interest in Wycliffe is growing apace and he thought that readers would like to learn more fully the evidence for Trevisa's possible authorship. It is a useful follow up to Ralph Werrell's article published in the *Tyndale Society Journal* No 24 April 2003.

The theme of Bibles and Bible translation constitute the subject of the reports of papers from the Antwerp Conference. The synopsis of Jean-Francois Gilmont's paper on the French Bibles of Jacques Lefevre and Martin Lempereur enables us to consider developments on the continent of Europe. Kaoru Yamakazi's reflections and juxtaposing of *Reformation Bibles and the Personal Computer* drag us out of our 16th century mindsets!

The return of the Inglis book review slot will be welcomed in all quarters. He considers, with his usual quirky originality, the latest book on Michel Servet *Out of the Flames* by Lawrence and Nancy Goldstone. Reading the review on *Registers of the Consistory of Geneva* should enable those of you not so familiar with Geneva and the world of Calvin to understand the *Press Gleanings* on the *Auction of Calvin Manuscripts*. Scouring the press for interesting information is most enjoyable but writing up these gleanings does take time. If there is someone out there with a similar penchant for turning anything they read into an article with Tyndalian connotations for the Journal please let me know.

The Ploughboys have gone a little quiet this time. Rather than organizing events and lectures they appear to be exercising their pens/computers. David

Green amassed some interesting copy on Compton Abdale and Vic Perry teases us with thoughts on the translation of John 1 in '*Those Thats*'. My postbag is now filled with articles rather than letters. However, I am not complaining - keep them coming and apologies if there is a time lag in replying.

Registrations for the **Third Tyndale Conference Geneva** '*Not for Burning: The Marian Exiles in 16th century Europe*' are going well. This is no surprise considering the quality of speakers and their choice of subjects. Other attractions are: the visit to the Bodmer Institute, a privileged preview as this world renowned manuscript collection with rare Reformation documents is opening its doors especially for us after a three years' closure for complete renovation of its premises; a live musical lecture on the 16th century music of the Marian exiles and signings by Prof. David Daniell. Details of the whole weekend are to be found in this issue and if you have not yet signed up there is just time to do so. It promises to be a Conference not to miss.

Society Notes will give you an insight to long-term plans and important news. The chairman of the Publications Committee has written a short report on this new venture. Precise details of upcoming events are contained in *Dates for Your Diary*.

As always I extend grateful thanks to all the contributors to this issue. I sincerely hope my obsessional phase has not yet begun, but I confess that my attention was drawn to the open Tyndale New Testament in Ewelme Church, Oxfordshire but I failed to notice the fan vaulting on the tomb of Alice, Duchess of Suffolk and now remember only that the vicar was clearly a fan of Tyndale. It does not bode well!

‘The Making of The Bible in English’.

A lecture by Professor David Daniell

9 May 2003, OBE Chapel, St Paul's Cathedral, London.

It is moving for me to stand here to talk about the English Bible in the Cathedral where John Colet was Dean, not to mention John Donne, and to feel a sense of full circle - to talk about nearly five hundred years of the Bible in English, rejoicing in our liberty to read it freely, in the Cathedral where in 1526 Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall denounced Tyndale's New Testament and supervised the burning of many copies just outside, at Paul's Cross. One of the things that this lecture celebrates is the mere fact, as well as the glory, of an enduring English Bible.

My title as it is spoken, *'The Making of The Bible in English'*, is faintly ambiguous. It depends on whether you hear the last four words in italics. Certainly I want to talk about my experience in making my book. Though there has been a recent run of books about the 1611 'King James' Bible, not many people have surveyed the whole extraordinary history of the Bible in these islands, and then in America, from the earliest times in the first millennium until now, an ocean in which the 1611 King James Bible is only one wave. I thought there might be value in hearing this evening from someone who has seen the whole story.

I want to talk about five things: some background, and then, secondly, some puzzles; thirdly, some of the story; fourthly, the matter of linguistic register; and finally New Testament theology. Though the whole Bible is my subject in the book, this evening I shall limit myself to the New Testament - itself a large enough topic.

ONE - Background

First, and most important - the New Testament is a Greek thing. It was written in the everyday Greek of the Eastern Mediterranean world, a common language that was the legacy of Alexander's conquests. The four Gospel writers recorded the life of Jesus in the natural language to reach the known world. St Paul wrote his thirteen letters in Greek. Nothing in all this, except for a few verses by St Luke, is in classical Greek - the New Testament is in the fluent, fluid language of everyday life in that large region. New Testament Greek is capable of great simplicity and directness and feeling - think of the parables of Jesus - and also of St Paul's complex rhetorical elaboration in trying to record spiritual understanding at the frontiers of theology.

Moreover, the Greek New Testament is the best-attested ancient document in the world by far: over 5,000 Greek manuscripts survive. I need to stress first the Greekness, the ordinary Greekness, of the New Testament.

Had Alexander conquered the West, we might have inherited large talk but we would not have had those hundreds of years of civilization in the Roman Empire. This, largely at peace, allowed the new Christian communities good soil in which to grow: the Roman-engineered water, sanitation, education, medicine, road-building and town-building: the *pax romana* brought blessing. At first sight, this blessing included the translation of the Greek Bible into Latin, the common language of the vast Roman Empire. Various Latin versions of various parts of the Bible circulated in the empire for several centuries before in the fourth century the ambitious Jerome, who intended to be Pope, set out to make a regulated version. This, developed by others, not always wisely, became, with all its faults, and eventually known as the Vulgate, the Bible of the Church for fifteen hundred years, even though pretty soon Latin was known by few Christians. Across Europe, they were forbidden to have the Bible in their vernaculars.

Yes, Latin made the New Testament even more widespread, geographically, than the Greek had been. But in one important sense the Latin New Testament was unfortunate. At its highest, Latin is capable, as we all know, of great power and beauty: but it does not well receive Greek. One central reason is that Latin prefers nouns, but Greek prefers verbs. Nouns are good solid Roman things.

Shakespeare shows that he understood this in his *Julius Caesar*, which, underneath all the false arguing and killing emotions, has a deep noun structure of the solid pavements and columns and buildings of the city of Rome - quite unlike the play of *Hamlet*, also written in 1599, which sets its riddles and speculations effectively at play in a skull.

The fluidity of Greek does not go well into Latin at all. Partly this is in the Greek use of what are called particles, and in word-order and syntax. But the verbs are the thing. The Greek verbs of the New Testament are alive, refusing to lie down and be ill, registering healing and life, springing up in wholly unexpected ways - and it is the nature of the Gospels in particular to show the unexpected. Look at how St Mark opens his Gospel, the run of healings and releases there.

William Tyndale, first in 1526 and again in 1534, translated the New Testament into English for the first time from the Greek. The Greek New Testament had been newly printed by Erasmus. Tyndale also printed it, in, for an English book of the time, unusually large numbers. Certainly the

fact of printing was very important, as is said. But not enough has yet been made of the revolution caused by everyone who could read and hear having the New Testament in English from the Greek. Does it matter? You bet it does. Take one classic example. The frequent Greek verb *metanoeo* means to experience a complete change of heart and mind, to repent. Jerome, who wanted the power of a pope, made that *poenitentiam ago* - 'do penance', and it has been that ever after. Popes and bishops reacted with violence against the people having the open New Testament because Church practices were found not to be in it at all - the fiction of Purgatory, the necessity of celibacy, confession to the ear, and so on - the list is a long one. But much more significant were the differences between the New Testament in the original Greek and the New Testament in the church's Latin. In 1526, here in this Cathedral, the Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall, announced before burning piles of them just outside, that Tyndale's New Testament contained two thousand errors - because, of course, it was from the original Greek and not the church's Latin. Tyndale himself wryly noted that the bishops were so determined to find him a heretic that if he failed to dot an i that would be heresy. But Tunstall's number is revealing about the extent of the difference between the Latin and the Greek.

I cannot stress too strongly that Tyndale opened the door of the Greek. Tyndale's descendants, as it were, the New Testaments that we hold today, have not usually been bent out of shape by being first in Latin.

Tyndale's first 'Worms' New Testament of 1526 is a great national treasure. Three copies only have survived the burnings and readings-to-pieces. All are now kept in high security. One is in the British Library, and displayed. One is in Germany, in Stuttgart, close to where it was made. And one is here, in St Paul's Cathedral Library, only yards away from us. If, as you sit here, you are feeling stirrings of New Testament theology in your bloodstream, then it is that little book sending out its godly beams.

My second main point of background is to try to clarify numbers, the sheer volume of English Bibles made since Tyndale in 1526. This clarification falls into two parts. First, the numbers of new translations made. Second, the numbers of Bibles printed. Both figures startle people. Even before the 'King James Version' of 1611, after Tyndale in 1526 there were in England, uniquely in Europe, nine fresh translations or major revisions - Tyndale again, Coverdale, Matthew's, the Great Bible, the three Geneva Bibles, the Bishops' Bible and the Rheims New Testament. From Tyndale in 1526 until today, 9 May 2003, the number of completely fresh translations of the whole Bible, or of significant parts that have been published, is just over three thousand -

twelve hundred of them since the end of the World War II. These figures are easily assembled from standard documents. To many people more surprising still are the figures for fresh editions printed, of any translation - not reprintings, but fresh editions, as it might be of the Geneva Bible of 1560, which had 120 editions - not just reprintings - in its ninety years.

Numbers of Bibles printed is another thing. The numbers of complete Bibles, or large parts, in English bought just between 1526 and 1640, make a total of well over a million. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the figures for English Bibles bought, particularly in America, defy expression: one thinks of a number and then goes on and on adding noughts. The English Bible has been the most influential book in the history of the world.

In the writing of my book, linked with the revelation of the double numbers - of so many fresh translations, and of astronomical numbers bought - came several puzzles, my second topic.

TWO – Some Puzzles

The first puzzle is about America. From the first landfall by Raleigh's ships on the Outer Banks in 1584 in what soon became named North Carolina until the United States' Independence in 1776, Americans imported Geneva Bibles and King James Versions in large numbers. From 1777, they printed their own. By the 1870s the big printing presses that were making in every state newspapers, magazines, serializations, cheap novels, household handbooks and so on were also printing Bibles in all sorts of wonderful sizes and forms, some very big with a thousand pictures, some printed with special texts in colour, some so small they could hardly be read, and on and on -- but always the 1611 King James Version. Always. Why?

In 1776, America had good Greek and Hebrew scholars, and easy access to the original texts. Why did not the Founding Fathers seal their independence by making an American Bible? It strikes me odd that the new Republic was wedded to a Bible that was already out-of-date, and, moreover, so supposedly linked to an English monarch that many otherwise sane Americans still think that King James made the translation himself (with the help of Shakespeare) and even call it the 'Saint James Bible' - a reputable British newspaper, the *Guardian*, has called it that.

It was not that learned Americans, including the great Noah Webster, did not try: but it was not until 1952 that American scholars made a true American Bible, the triumphant and much to be praised Revised Standard Version, still with us. It set the modern standard.

Of course the 1611 King James Bible can be beautiful and powerful,

especially in the New Testament, where it is, we now know, 83% pure Tyndale. But though a good deal of the King James Old Testament poetry and prophecy is fine, a good deal of it is incomprehensible - not because of archaic language, but through bad translation, and loss of notes. Tyndale was killed before he could get to those books. And for the record, King James had almost nothing to do with that version, beyond receiving the obsequious dedication, where he is, surely blasphemously, described as 'the Author' of the work. Myths abound. We know now, thanks to a recent pioneering study by Patrick Collinson no less, that the standard account of the version's initiation at Hampton Court in January 1604, with its hatred of the Geneva Bible, reeks of the writer's prejudice and malice, a political gesture to the Bishop of London as a step to his own preferment. Moreover, in spite of another persistent myth, the 1611 King James Version was not instantly loved and taken to the hearts of English Christians ever after. Its publication was a non-event, the arrival of a large piece of church furniture, at best described irritably as 'the new translation without notes' (notes are essential for Hebrew poetry, half the OT). Many of those who noticed its arrival more carefully loathed it, and said so. Its publishing success was the result of murderous rivalry between printers fighting over a monopoly. It did not reach its near-divine status until the late 1760s. That was a political happening, lifting up God's England against the wicked French, and exactly paralleled the invention of Shakespeare as immortal genius at the same time, in 1769, marking the English as God's proper people.

Further puzzles trouble me more. One is the persistence of many other ineradicable myths - for example, that the great Geneva Bibles were failures, because they were unacceptably Calvinist. Both statements are quite untrue. That Protestant Bibles do not contain the books of the Apocrypha is again untrue. And I am regularly 'corrected' for my insistence that Wycliffe and Tyndale were the first to bring the bible to everyone. The rebuke always covers the same ground and is usually, curiously, in the same words. Tyndale was unnecessary. The 'brilliant' Vulgate was enough, even for the illiterate housewife in the 15th century who *'also knew the bible through the homilies of the parish priest, and through the Bible scenes from **The Golden Legend** and other popular collections, as well as the paintings in churches and the mystery plays'*. I sigh. How did an illiterate housewife know Latin? A trawl through sermons catches only the tiniest of biblical scraps, usually still in Latin. How did anyone except the rich afford ***The Golden Legend*** - which has anyway only a handful of fancifully expanded stories of a few Bible characters? What were those other collections? Church paintings cannot show many things,

and it is difficult to make a painting, or a play, out of the Epistle to the Romans. I sigh again. Tyndale and the sixteenth-century printed English Bibles, read and heard in huge numbers, were a revelation to the common people, and caused a revolution, but one must not say so.

My chief puzzle is best introduced by an anecdote. I was fortunate to be given a scholarship for five weeks to work on American Bibles at one of America's great libraries. At my request, they found for me a local research assistant, to work at my own expense. This young lady had three degrees in theology from good institutions, the latest a Ph.D. in theology. On the first morning I was approached by a reader who wanted to know the location of a Biblical phrase. I said I thought it was in the Psalms, possibly 113. As my hands were full, I pushed a Bible across to my new research assistant to confirm it. I was soon aware that something was wrong. Not only could she not find the Psalms: she was scrabbling about in 1 & 2 Thessalonians. She had no idea where the Psalms came. She had never before in her life, it turned out, had a Bible in her hands - not even a Latin Bible. She had come to me from being liturgist to one of America's senior Cardinals. I was on many levels flabbergasted.

How could that young lady's Christian, advanced theological education, even in a quite different system of the Faith, totally wipe out the Bible? It would be argued, no doubt by her Cardinal, that the Bible is always secondary, if that, and must be interpreted by the Church. It is true that the Bible first came from the church, if that word 'church' means those loose and independent congregations in the first century to whom Paul and others wrote. By Tyndale's time the word 'church' meant only the vast, hierarchical bureaucracy under a pope, with the tightest possible grip on everyone's life. The reformers argued that the New Testament said that the church was, or rather, churches were, to be interpreted by the Bible, the first revelation of Jesus. This they argued passionately and bravely, and many paid for it with their lives. My own non-conformist, strongly Bible, background made me sad about my research assistant's inculcated hostility even to the idea of the importance of the Bible. We made what we could of the five weeks of research.

For some decades, a focus of historical work on sixteenth-century Europe has been the great Conference for Sixteenth-Century Studies, held each year in America, attended by large numbers of historians and scholars right across the humanities from all over the world. Between 1994 and 2001 - a representative sample - there were given, at those conferences, a total of 2,500 papers on sixteenth-century European history. In all those eight years the papers on the Bible, all short, on any Bible at all, in any language at all,

including Latin, in any country of Europe, out of that 2,500 amounted to - six. Some years there were none at all. There was only one on an English Bible, a 20-minute paper on Taverner. Just as in Stalin's Moscow fallen officials were airbrushed out of photographs, so the Bible has been, from the last decades of the 20th century, airbrushed out of the writing of history. (In England, this is just beginning to change, in the work of the young historian, Alec Ryrie, in Birmingham.)

THREE – Some of the Story

Yet for nearly five hundred years the story of the Bible in English has been a triumphant one. Early in our history, parts of the Bible, especially the Psalms and the Gospels, were translated into Anglo-Saxon from the Latin from the ninth century. In Middle English, from the fourteenth century, poems and translations of bits of Bible stories, usually mixed with saints' lives, were made, both often enlarged to make more sensational fictions. Both Anglo-Saxon and Middle English Bible versions had limited readership. There was no complete Bible in English until the 1380s in the work of Wycliffite scholars. These manuscripts were wide spread: more have survived than of any other Middle English text. We have 230 Wycliffe Bible manuscripts, in spite of determined burnings of unknown numbers (probably large) by a hostile Church: the nearest is Chaucer, with 60 manuscripts surviving. The Church clamped down on them, and all they stood for, with extreme harshness, burning Bibles and, often, their owners. The accompanying extreme censorship, the most severe in our history, and in Europe, lasted 120 years, from 1408 into the 1530s, and was the cause of many cruel punishments. When Tyndale was revising his English New Testament in 1534, a young man was burned alive in Norwich for possessing a piece of paper on which was written the Lord's Prayer in English.

In the centuries after Tyndale, what is overwhelmingly visible in the history of Britain and America is the continual, maintained vigour of the work of translating the New Testament from the Greek into English. After Tyndale, there have been new editions, and often fresh translations in every year except one, 1667 - a reaction to the Commonwealth. Though the fashion among historians has been to brush them away, the effects of English Bibles on our national lives have been so big as to be almost incommunicable. The late Christopher Hill first pointed out as recently as 1993, in a definitive book, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution*, that in the political thinking that led to 'the English Revolution' of 1642-1660, the English Civil war, the prime influence was the English Geneva Bible, and

particularly the marginal notes. Valuable and surprising as this was, he did not go far enough. For a reason I did not discover, he ignored the Geneva New Testament. Looking at mid seventeenth century politics through that lens, work to my knowledge not yet even begun, will alter for ever our thinking about those events. The signs are there, to look no further than John Milton, or the Parliamentary speeches in the Commonwealth.

I can, in my book, do no more than sketch some selected influences on English and American life through to Victorian times - on our poetry, painting and music. But I want here to spend a moment on what I found to be the most significant influence of all, that of the English Bible on writing in English from the 1530s, say to the death of Shakespeare in 1616. The evidence is there - the very earliest English handbooks of rhetoric from the 1530s (newly in English, not Latin) acknowledge the English Bible as an essential model for writing.

The Bible has a very wide range of styles. Tyndale and his successors, especially those men in Geneva who first put the Hebrew prophets and poets into English, understood this, and reflected it. At their root is Tyndale's gift, an English Plain Style. One needs to understand what a miserable mess the English language was in about 1510 in what prose writing there was, its vocabulary drifting between some Saxon, a lot of Norman French and debased Latin, in shapeless sentences that meander on for ever. The court poet, John Skelton, at that time wrote a poem despairing of English as it was, and having no future.

Yet by the 1590s English was the most alive language in Europe, carrying all the freight of the ancient world in translation, and so creative that we can never again catch up: there cannot be another Shakespeare. Something in those decades threw the switch that energized English. Not only was there, suddenly, miraculous literature in English, especially between 1580 and 1620, capable of infinite expressiveness and resonances: suddenly every one could write. You did not have to be one of a classically-educated Italian and French-speaking elite, and a man. Everyone could write and be read, and did. Women, too, were liberated. Some of those were indeed highly cultivated, but some were not, and wrote well, as we are increasingly discovering.

What threw the switch? With over half a million English Bibles or parts in circulation by the 1590s, they have to be worth a glance. This is more than matter for a May evening. I need a day or two at this lectern (or a big book) to say anything properly. Two things will have to do for now. First, Tyndale broadcast, in his Bibles, that particularly English Plain Style - a register close to speech, sustained and varied - which has Saxon vocabulary and short

sentences in Saxon syntax, the regular subject-verb-object which simply gets on with it. This is Shakespeare's base (drama has above all to get on with it): he was a Geneva Bible man. Secondly, with everyone reading the New Testament in English - (and Psalms, incidentally - one can watch the excited discovery that as God wrote poetry in English, poetry is, as Audrey in *As You Like It*, wanted it to be, 'a true thing') - with everyone free to read and think and say, in England language and liberated imagination took off together. The result was *Hamlet* and *King Lear*, *The Faerie Queene* and *Paradise Lost*, and all the 'nest of singing birds' of those years.

The English Bible that was read from the highest to the lowest in the land (and soon in America) was that from Geneva - New Testament in 1557, whole Bible in 1560, New Testament revised in 1576, and Revelation freshly annotated in 1599. It was the most accurate (for its time), informative and influential Bible. It is one of the tragedies of English life that that Bible was not confirmed under James as the national book it had been for fifty years. To read, for example, chapter 40 of Isaiah, beginning '*Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people,*' in Geneva is to be amazed at both how good it is, and how much was taken over unchanged by the 1611 revisers. For political reasons, on arrival in London James was persuaded to retreat towards a new Latin influenced Bible to please his reactionary bishops. They gave out to the new panels of translators, as their base, the rather preposterous Bishops Bible of 1568, where their lordships had felt constrained to rework a lot of the Hebrew poetry, and had made a mess of it. The 1611 workers made a point, however. In their 1611 preface, 'The Translators to the Reader', rarely found now (I print it as an Appendix) their quotations from the Bible are given, not from their own translation, but from Geneva.

Between 1611 and 1881 there were in England many new translations of complete New Testaments, almost all made by Dissenters and other unspeakable people. They are all interesting, and some of them are important, in two main ways: the attempts to settle on an appealing register, and, from the late seventeenth century, the grappling with the new and much better Greek scholarship coming from Germany. An important part of the story is the steady elucidating of a firm base of the New Testament Greek text, the result of better methods as well as of important discoveries of manuscripts and papyri. I shall return in a moment to the matter of linguistic register.

Most notable in the whole story is the wider spread of translation work since World War II, an output, mainly from America, that can only be described as a torrent. After RSV in 1952, American scholars have made about 150 fresh translations of the whole Bible or significant parts. And

that is far from all. America is now awash with excellent new Bibles. Most of them have been made over some years by large committees on leafy campuses, with full secretarial back-up. Good as the work is, it seems a long way from William Tyndale in exile, cold and hungry, working alone in his room in Antwerp.

All the 87 fresh New Testaments made in England and America since 1945, with no exception, claim to be doing that miraculous thing, giving the Word of God, at last, to the people in a way that they can receive. This is a praiseworthy aim. If a truck driver in a lay-by puts aside a girlie mag for St Mark's Gospel in racy language and gets something from it, we should rejoice with the angels in heaven. But, but, but. We need to be far more alert, all my study shows, to what exactly the truck-driver is receiving. Versions which consist of flip one-line colloquialisms cannot convey the mystery of God and the power of New Testament theology. What New Testament will the truck-driver read to find these?

FOUR – Linguistic Register

The three essentials in making an English translation of the New Testament are accuracy to the Greek, clarity in English and - the hardest - the finding of an appropriate register of language.

As the popular English language has changed, in the eighteenth century for example from the wide influence of sentiment in novels, or in the later nineteenth century from severe limits of propriety, or in the twentieth from increasing global linguistic interaction, so the problem of register has been more and more present.

What is new now is the breadth of the spectrum of the registers available. It makes a serious, and now probably insoluble, problem. Faithfulness to the Greek can still produce great differences (cutting loose from the Greek, as we shall see, makes something else). Just to stay with the Gospels. The Christian world is divided according to whether, to take extremes, the New Testament has to be something necessarily holy, elevated above common life, where someone called Our Lord has a halo and is seen in fixed, stained-glass postures: or whether it recounts an incarnation which includes low human experiences, and someone called Jesus moves, as he was accused of doing, among drunks and prostitutes. Linguistically, the first produces (as I have heard) "Judge not" is an asseveration expressing dominical authority', and the second, 'Jesus said "Judge not".'

The trick - still, I think, eluding the most modern work - is to combine a proper dignity and an immediate grip on the reader's attention. I realize even

more how blest we are to have a foundation in Tyndale. His skill, as I said earlier, with Saxon vocabulary, a neutral word order, short sentences, was all governed by a wonderful ear for placing stresses - *'This thy brother was dead, and is alive again: he was lost, and is found'*.

I have elsewhere written and spoken about one modern version in which the opening of John 14 abandons the Greek and Tyndale's properly moving *'Let not your hearts be troubled'*. Jesus at that point is about to tell his disciples something of great weight and significance - that he will be killed, but that he goes *'to prepare a place'* for them. Tyndale's *'a troubled heart'* is exact for the Greek. In English now his words are for grief, or finding a life's vocation. For those Greek words, that widely-used version has the flippant *'Do not be worried and upset'* - that fails on every count. Register remains difficult. Too much trendiness, and you get for those words in John 14, *Jesus threw them a grin, and said, "Hey, you guys, lighten up!"* I made that up in California, but then I found worse, as you will hear. Too many Latinist nouns, and the text is impossible, as with the 1582 Rheims version's, at a different point, *'be you new paste as you are Azymes ... with conquinations and spots'*. Tyndale made a register of grounded, Saxon English which still endures. I explore at some length in the book how he might have come to craft this, most unusually for the time, and suggest and examine the influence of a short-lasting experiment at Magdalen College, Oxford, exactly while he was there in the early 1500s, to teach writing in English rather than Latin.

Of the translations made in England since 1945, including the 1966 Jerusalem Bible and its 1985 revision, I pick out the Revised English Bible of 1981, the New Testament revision of the New English Bible (1961) made under the chairmanship of Morna Hooker in Cambridge. As always, I wonder again and again why Tyndale had to be changed: why Tyndale's (and the King James's) *'Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven'* had to become *'Blessed are the poor in spirit; the kingdom of heaven is theirs'*. I do not see that anything is gained by the change, and an essential rhythmic stress, on the kingdom, is lost. But I would give REB to someone coming fresh to St Paul. You feel the Greek underneath your feet, it is clear, and it is all there, tough theology and all.

Those of us who were at Oxford just after the Second World War were able to meet people who had known the celebrated Fellow of New College, Dr Spooner. He had died not long before. Oxford was still full of his true, and apocryphal, Spoonerisms. My favourite verbal one has always been his announcement in Chapel that the lesson was from *'the epistle of Paul the colossal to the Aposhians.'*

For St Paul was - is - colossal; very, very far from the curmudgeonly misogynist of modern view. A devout Jew who was a full Hellenist and Roman citizen, he united learning in three essential cultural worlds for his Holy-spirit-led research into what it meant that God had revealed himself in Christ. God who was - is - God. A verb. A Greek verb, further animating what the Old Testament declared in Hebrew, *'I am that I am.'* St Paul is not an easy read, but he is worth a life-time of study. The test for gold in New Testament translations has to be applied to St Paul. His power in our last centuries is easily demonstrated: my private definition of the Reformation is *'people reading Paul.'*

Of the one or two modern New Testaments that I am not happy with, essentially in their treatment of St Paul's Epistles, I have time for only one example. There is a recent (1993) New Testament version, claiming to be 'from the original languages' [sic], but seriously fraudulent. It was made by Eugene H. Peterson who was originally from the state of Montana. He aims to make the New Testament easily accommodated into modern life. He does this by grotesque inaccuracy (his opening of John 14 is *'Don't let this throw you'* - as if someone had said, *'I don't like your haircut'*) and by omitting difficult things like theology or the nature of God. The result is a New Testament like the script of a bad television soap opera combined with vacuous uplift. He does not use the words, but Peterson's New Testament is intended to make you, in that familiar twenty-first-century phrase, *'feel good about yourself'*.

Now the New Testament, though St Paul did write to Timothy *'Godliness, with contentment is great gain'*, attacks that very feel-good idea. Think of Jesus's parable of the Pharisee and the Publican praying. The Pharisee feels wonderful, listing for God's benefit how good he feels about himself (*'I fast twice in the week'* and so on). In Tyndale, Jesus says he prays *'with himself'*. The despised Publican only knew the presence of God - look it up in Luke 18.

When you feel good about yourself, you become, of course, a good consumer. You go out and buy things. He says in his Introduction that his version is *'the language in which we do our shopping'*. Consumerism is not a biblical world - it is one in which Moses receives, as someone else said, 'The Ten Suggestions'. Jesus did not say (these are not quite Peterson's words, but they are not far off) *'I am come that they may have consumer goods, and have them more abundantly.'* You think I am exaggerating? Then consider the first chapter of Ephesians, one of the places where Paul fills out his sense of the otherness of God. Peterson turns it all round to be about our consumption. Where in verse 8 REB has *'In the richness of his grace God has lavished on us all wisdom and insight'*, Peterson has, in words not identifiable in the Greek

(as with most of his New Testament), *'He thought of everything, provided for everything we could possibly need'* - it is an advertisement for a luxury hotel. At Colossians 1, where REB has *'He exists before all things ... the head of the body ... its origin, the first to return from the dead'*, Peterson has *'He was (wrong tense) supreme in the beginning, and leading the resurrection parade ...'*. That is not just poor taste: the underlying notion of 'supreme' and 'parade' reduces the risen Christ to a local beauty contest.

These are not just the plums of a bad version: most lines are like that. Instead of St Paul's haunting *'then shall I know, even as I am known'*, in 1 Corinthians 13, Peterson has *'it won't be long before the weather clears and the sun shines bright!'* The relentless substitution of small-town feel-good sing-along consumerism for God's transcendent and sacrificial mystery in this version entitled *The Message* might not matter - except that its publishers announce 'over seven million copies sold'.

FIVE – New Testament theology

I want to introduce my last, and main, subject this evening by saying a little about Karl Barth. He was the great German-Swiss theologian of the mid-twentieth century. His writings, including the many volumes of the *Kirkliche Dogmatik*, transformed Protestant social and liberal theology as inherited from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He dismantled and decisively rebuilt the entire discipline. His theological expositions are tough, even in English translation. His ground is always, at all times, the New Testament, particularly St Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

Karl Barth belongs to a largely Protestant tradition of exclusively New Testament understanding, a tradition founded by two other giants - Tyndale and Calvin. They were all, Tyndale, Calvin and Barth, cutting away intrusive growths, digging down to the foundations, revealing the original text, whatever metaphor is best. The Greek New Testament, all three understood, from the deepest knowledge of the Greek text and widest sympathies, declares above all one revealed truth - the sovereignty of God. Everything is contained in that. It must never be lost from sight.

There is now no doubt that William Tyndale was, as well as a translator of genius, an original and important theologian, focused fully on St Paul. Tyndale has been reduced theologically to serving up slivers of Luther with a drizzle of Zwingli. This has changed. We are all in debt to the work begun by Dr Ralph Werrell, who is showing just how big, new and original - and far more New Testament-based even than Luther or Zwingli - Tyndale's theology was.

Like Tyndale, John Calvin, a generation later, returned to the earliest Christian experience of re-interpreting the New Testament. This re-interpreting happened in the congregations of the first centuries, and was fiercely shut down by the Rome.

Karl Barth, who was, in John Webster's words, *'talking of God with fluency and delight'*; and Calvin, and Tyndale - for all three of them God is above all sovereign, active in the individual and in history. Barth's rediscovery from the Greek New Testament was that, precisely because God is sovereign, Other, utterly beyond any cultural or religious project, God is the one in whom alone is found salvation and flourishing. Barth's strange and memorable phrase was *'the deep secret "yes"'*.

This gives a fuller and even more powerful touchstone for translations of the New Testament, a fuller and even more powerful meaning to St Paul's *'then shall I know, even as I am known'*. God's sovereignty is not so Other as to be absent. God includes being human - known imperfectly now, as St Paul (and Tyndale) put it, but *'then shall we see face to face.'* Paul's phrases include that sovereignty of God in all its otherness, found in love. (In Peterson's 'message' version, where those Greek words become *'it won't be long before the weather clears and the sun shines bright!'* God is simply not there.)

What I have learned in the years in which I have been writing this book is, among other things, the peculiar persistence of myths about the English Bible ('myths' being a polite word for 'lies'), and the extraordinary power of the hostility to it, the need to pretend it is not there, even among people who would be horrified not to be thought of as fully Christian. And how unsolved remains the problem of modern register, a slippery slope down to whether what is made is a religious book at all. People are no longer burned alive for the heresy of correctly translating the Greek word *ecclesia* as 'congregation' rather than 'church'. What alarms me is that we now do something not as physically cruel, but spiritually worse. We sell seven million copies of a New Testament that has removed God.

But I can only rejoice. I have learned to marvel at the massive energy given, since Tyndale, to re-translating. The freedom to read, study and re-translate as often as we wish has produced many, many achievements, in the United States, and to a lesser extent in England, some of them getting close to that 'Greek-in-English' which is needed.

We can be reasonably sure that we have now as base as firm a Greek text as we shall get. We also have now more New Testaments in English than ever before, far, far more in English than in any other language. We can see Tyndale's translation of Jesus's revelatory words at John 14:10, *'I am in the Father,*

and the Father is in me', coming down the centuries. What a precious thing this New Testament is - worth learning Greek for, but now so easily found in English. It has been burned and spurned, but it is still very much alive.

A religion is a revelation or it is nothing. The New Testament is a revelation not of obedience to a pope, nor of the inevitability of being for ever eaten up by guilt, nor of a remarkable system of ethics, and certainly not a handbook of retail therapy. It is a revelation of the deity of God and his redeeming Kingdom in Jesus Christ.

Absorb again the whole Gospel of St Luke and its world of the healing Kingdom of God. I have mentioned St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians with his attempted expression of God's Otherness. I finish with some sentences from that passage, as translated by William Tyndale in 1534, and still alive.

Eph. 1:3-10

Blessed be God the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath blessed us with all manner of spiritual blessing in heavenly things by Christ, according as he had chosen us in him, before the foundation of the world was laid, that we should be saints, and without blame before him, through love. And ordained us before through Jesus Christ to be heirs unto himself, according to the pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace wherewith he hath made us accepted in the beloved.

By whom we have redemption through his blood even the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace, which grace he shed on us abundantly in all wisdom, and perceivance. And hath opened unto us the mystery of his will according to his pleasure, and purposed the same in himself to have it declared when the time were full come, that all things, both the things which are in heaven, and also the things which are in earth, should be gathered together, even in Christ.

A note from the speaker

My special thanks to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's Cathedral for their generosity in making available the OBE chapel and the efficiency and the warmth of their welcome.

Prof David Daniell's book 'The Bible in English' published by Yale University Press was launched on 26 June 2003.

John Trevisa, the Translator of Wycliffe B: A consideration of the evidence

W R Cooper

Introduction

The identity of just who it was who translated Wycliffe B, the superior version of the two 'Wycliffite' translations of the English Bible, has needlessly racked the brains of scholars for more than 200 years. The cause of the puzzlement is one Waterland (otherwise Waterton), who decided in the 18th century, upon no good evidence, that it was the work of John Purvey, the 14th century Lollard priest and Wycliffite apologist. The quality of the 'evidence' that prompted this attribution was abysmal in the extreme. As A.W. Pollard points out to us: "...*Waterton [Waterland] says himself that he merely guessed and 'pitched upon' Purvey as the author...*"¹ Waterland's uninspired guess was then taken up by Forshall and Madden in 1850 in their otherwise invaluable printing of both Wycliffite versions of the English Bible, and that is how the attribution has come down to us with such an indelible stamp of authority.

This has left the field in great confusion, for the 19th and 20th centuries have seen such pre-eminent Bible scholars as F.F. Bruce speaking unquestioningly of Purvey as Wycliffe B's translator, and Alfred Pollard casting serious doubts about it, suspecting *Trevisa* to be the author, but being left uncertain how to offer sufficient and cogent proof that he was. Here might be a good place to supply that proof, and to set the record straight at last.

What About Purvey?

John Purvey (ca. 1353-1428) was an ordained priest who later became a follower of Wycliffe, preaching and disseminating Lollard doctrines until his arrest and imprisonment in 1390. In 1401 he was forced to recant, and for his reward was given the living of West Hythe in Kent, where he distinguished himself by making the same voracious demands for tithes as those corrupt churchmen whom he had formerly and very loudly denounced. Archbishop Arundel, who had supervised his recantation at Saltwood Castle in Kent, was scandalized by his conduct:

*"...I knowe none more couetouse shrewes that ye [Lollards] are, when that ye haue a benefice. For lo I gaue to John Puruay a benefice but a myle out of this Castel [Saltwood], and I heard more compleintes about his couetousnesse for tythes & other misdoings than I did of all men that were auauuced within my diocesse."*²

However, it is most significant that while Purvey was examined on many other articles of heresy, there exists not the hint of a suspicion on the part of Arundel, or his informants, that Purvey had ever translated the Scriptures into English, or even had had a hand in the project.³ Foxe lists some of the articles of heresy laid against Purvey, and notes the more literary complaints against him of Walden.⁴ They are the usual mix of not subscribing to the doctrines of transubstantiation or auricular confession, saying that those responsible for such doctrines were “fooles & Blockheades, Heretikes, Blasphemers, and Seducers of the Christian people..!” But not a word, from either Walden or Arundel, about translating the Scriptures. Walden complains only that he, Purvey, had openly defended Wycliffe’s doctrines in writing, calling him the very “...librarie of Lollardes, and gloser [commentator] upon WickliFFE.”

Had it been known then that Purvey had translated the Scriptures, surely Knighton, Walden or Arundel (and hence Foxe) would have mentioned it. The one man who did compile a list of Purvey’s heretical words and works at that time was Richard Lavenham, and he is notably silent on the subject of Purvey translating the Bible.⁵ None of which seems to have troubled Waterland (if he ever bothered to consider the matter). The identity of those who had translated the Scriptures into English was a matter of great interest to the Archbishop, and if he could have nailed the man or men responsible, he certainly would have, rewarding their industry by burning them alive. Yet he seemed to know that whoever the pernicious individual was, it was not John Purvey.

Indeed, it does not seem that Purvey was even asked *if he knew* who had translated the Scriptures. Which tells us something of just how far removed from the centre of things Arundel knew him to be. As Arundel was doubtless aware (and it was an easy enough matter for him to confirm) Purvey never was a student or fellow at Oxford, the place where much of the translating of the Scriptures had been inspired and carried out.

The only occasion that seems to tie Purvey to Oxford in any sense is his examination in that city on certain articles of heresy.⁶ But as the city of Oxford lay within the then very large diocese of Lincoln, Purvey could then have expressed his ‘heresies’ anywhere within that diocese and still have been examined at Oxford. According to John Bokyngham, one time bishop of Lincoln, on 13 March 1377 Purvey was known to be living and working at Lathbury, which certainly precludes him from being found amongst the student fellowship of Oxford at that time, whose records in any case, while they mention certain of his fellow Lollards, are silent concerning him.⁷ Had

he indeed belonged to one of the colleges, especially Queen’s Hall where Wycliffe taught, then he might well have been suspected of having had a hand in the Lollard Bible. But he was simply never there, and hence was never suspected.

When we add these points to the fact that, before Waterland, *no* scholar or even contemporary critic (Knighton, Walden, Lavenham or Arundel for instance) ever thought of attributing the Lollard Bible to Purvey, they become highly significant, and together they remove Purvey from the Bible-translating scene altogether. We must therefore look to another as the translator of the later Lollard Bible.

John Trevisa: A Survey of Past Opinions

In order to appreciate better the length of time over which Trevisa’s authorship of Wycliffe B was acknowledged, and by whom, we should consider the following extracts and statements. In 1482, Caxton, who printed in that year Trevisa’s translation of Higden’s *Polychronicon*, says in his ‘prohemye’ or foreword to the book:

“...[Trevisa] atte request of thomas lord barkley translated this sayd book [Polychronicon], **the byble** and bartylmew de proprietatibus rerum out of latyn into english.”⁸ (Emphasis mine)

Caxton is correct in several historical details here concerning Trevisa, so it is unlikely that he is wrong in attributing such an important translation as the Bible to his author, especially when there were those still living who would remember if it had been John Purvey or some other who had translated it. We may further rely upon it that Caxton, whose life’s interest was English literature, was something of an authority on the Lollard Bible, for there is very good evidence indeed that, in spite of the deadly ban on its ownership or use then extant, he possessed and read closely at least one copy of it. This is evidenced by a particular sentence that appears in his *Chronicles of England*, but which seems to have gone unnoticed by students of Caxton. In this sentence, he quotes from Isaiah 24:18 in the following words:

“...who that fleeth fro the face of drede he shall fall in to the diche And he that wendeth hym oute of the diche he shall be hold[en] & teide with a grenne.”⁹

The importance of this sentence is that it is lifted virtually word for word out of that proscribed translation of the Bible, Wycliffe A:

“He that shall flee fro the face of drede shall falle in to the dich and he that taketh hymself out of the dich shal be holden with the grene.”¹⁰

That Caxton interested himself in the Lollard Bible to the extent that he would risk his livelihood, if not his very life, by buying, owning and publish-

ing portions of either (or both) of its two main versions tells us something of the authority with which he was able to speak on the subject of who had translated it. Though no 'heretic', he was in every sense a dedicated scholar, and it would be interesting at some future date to compare certain portions of his *Golden Legend* (1483) with their Wycliffite counterparts to see just how much (or little) of the Lollard Bible was incorporated into this work. But suffice it to say here that, unlike Waterland, Caxton was no careless guesser who would merely have "pitched upon" the identity of his author. As far as Caxton was concerned, there was no question about it. Trevisa, who had died only twenty years before Caxton was born, was its translator.¹¹ We shall come to consider in the course of this paper further evidence which Caxton could not have known about, but which more than corroborates his statement concerning Trevisa's translating the Bible.

Later, in 1557, John Bale adds his testimony to the fact that Trevisa had translated the Bible, both Old and New Testaments, into English, going so far as to cite the *incipit* of the copy that he was consulting: "*Ego Ioannes Trevisa, sacerdos...*" ["I, John Trevisa, priest..."].¹²

There is a strange fashion abroad today which assumes that earlier writers existed only to deceive their readers, and it seems also to be supposed that 20th century scholars exist only to expose the fraud. The treatment that John Bale's entry has received concerning the Trevisa Bible is an excellent case in point, of which it is said that, rather than tell the simple truth, he must have falsified this entry and tried to pull a proverbial 'fast one' in order to elevate his hero in the eyes of his readers.¹³ But really, what would have been the point?

Trevisa, in Bale's day, was sufficiently regarded as a scholar not to need any artificial 'leg-up' on to the pedestal of fame. All his major works (the Bible excepted) had been printed and admired in England, and all the world held Trevisa in the highest esteem. So why should Bale have risked his own considerable reputation by making a statement that was patently unnecessary, and which many of his readers would have known to be false? It would be an interesting assumption if it made any sense. But it doesn't. However, our body of information is further added to in 1577 by Holinshed, who informs us that:

*"John Trevisa a Cornish man borne, and a secular Priest & Uicar of Berkeley, he translated the Byble...and diuerse other treatises."*¹⁴

It is well to note here that neither Caxton nor Bale, nor any other published author of the time, had yet stated that Trevisa was Cornish. Nor does anyone before Holinshed state that he was a *secular* priest or vicar of Ber-

keley. So clearly Holinshed was not relying upon any previously published authority for his information. Yet all three facts are entirely accurate. Why then should Holinshed be so ill-informed as to wrongly attribute the important translating of the Bible to Trevisa, when he was so right on other more minor and hitherto unpublished points? This is not explained by those who cast a fashionable doubt on his statement.

But then, in 1611, comes the Preface to the King James Version of the Bible, in which it is said against a backdrop of other Bible translations that had taken place on the Continent:

"Much about that time, euen in our King Richard the seconds dayes, Iohn Treuisa translated them [the Scriptures] into English, and many English Bibles in written hand are yet to be seene with diuers, translated as it is very probable, in that age."

"*King Richard the seconds dayes*" is entirely accurate, for the appearance of Wycliffe B did take place in his reign, ca 1388, the importance of which date will soon become evident. But it is insinuated that even this statement attributing the translation of the Bible to Trevisa cannot be trusted, because its author *may* have been swayed by earlier authorities like Bale and Caxton. Yet even if he had been 'swayed' by them, would this automatically make his statement unreliable? Of course not, especially when it can be demonstrated that the authorities so swaying are themselves reliable enough - as are Bale and Caxton in this instance. However, it has to be said that the author of the above Preface to 1611, neither alludes to, nor quotes from, either Bale or Caxton. Which leaves us wondering why the insinuation is ever made in the first place.

A considerable advance on our knowledge is made in the year 1662, by Thomas Fuller. He, it appears, had studied the Lollard Bible in sufficient depth to recognize that two distinct versions existed, the earlier of which he attributes to Wycliffe himself, and which we would call Wycliffe A, and the later improved version which we know as Wycliffe B, and which Fuller ascribes without hesitation to Trevisa. Fuller tells us:

*"Some much admire [that] he [Trevisa] would enter on this work [of translating the Bible], so lately performed...by John Wickliffe....Secondly, the time betwixt Wickliffe and Trevisa was the crisis of the English tongue, which began to be improved in fifty, more than in three hundred years formerly. Many coarse words (to say no worse) used before are refined by Trevisa, whose translation is as much better than Wickliffe's, as worse than Tyndal's."*¹⁵

To be brief, it is interesting to see that long after Waterland made his guess on Purvey, other authors were still convinced that Trevisa was responsible for

translating the Lollard Bible, none more august than the compilers of the first edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*:

*“As to the English versions of the Bible, the most ancient is that of John de Trevisa, a secular priest, who translated the Old and New Testament into English, at the request of Thomas lord Berkley. He lived in the reign of Richard II. and finished his translation in the year 1357 [read 1387].”*¹⁶

Thereafter, however, Waterland’s guess becomes gradually more respectable, until finally it is taken on board, as we have noted, by Forshall and Madden in 1850, and thence is cast in stone. But why should Waterland have been so interested in accrediting Purvey with the translation of Wycliffe B? That is a question which Pollard set his mind to answering. Writing in 1903, Pollard tells us:

*“The readiness with which the conjecture [of Purvey translating Wycliffe B] was accepted can only be accounted for by the desire to make the work of translation centre at Lutterworth instead of, as I believe to be the case, at Oxford. It seems to be considered that we shall be robbing Wyclif of his due unless the translations are connected with him as closely as possible.”*¹⁷

“...a professional translator, well equipped...”

Pollard goes on to tell us how Trevisa was “a professional translator, well equipped” to undertake Bible translation.¹⁸ Though he might have added that as well as being well equipped (which we shall consider shortly), Trevisa was also well *placed* to do his work. Where he was when the Bible was first being translated into English (Wycliffe A) is crucial, and if we examine the college records of his day, we shall see a striking pattern emerge that places Trevisa (unlike Purvey) right at the centre of things where Bible translation is concerned.

Our knowledge of his whereabouts begins at Canterbury Hall in Oxford, where the record shows that two men were expelled from that Hall in 1369. Their names were William Middleworth and John Wycliffe. Middleworth then joined and was promptly expelled from Exeter College, and another was expelled with him that same year (1369) who was our author, John Trevisa.

Both Middleworth and Trevisa then joined in that same year, *Quenehalle*, today’s Queen’s College, where they were joined by none other than the translator-in-chief-to-be of Wycliffe A, Nicholas Hereford.¹⁹ These three then remained at the college where they in turn were joined, five years later in 1374, by John Wycliffe himself.²⁰

In other words, John Trevisa was at Queen’s College in the very years

when his fellow Nicholas Hereford at least made a beginning on translating the Bible into English, and was seemingly still at the very centre of things when the translation (Wycliffe A) was finished by another hand, possibly his own.²¹ But even that is not the end of the matter, for at this point events take a most curious and illuminating turn.

The Books and the Parchments

Trevisa was expelled (temporarily) from Queen’s College in 1378 by order of the king.²² This had to do with a certain colourful episode of Trevisa’s life and those of his fellows that space allows no discussion of. What *is* important as far as this study is concerned is the list of books that Trevisa had filched from the college library the previous year (1377), but which, long after his expulsion, the college had to fight - tooth and proverbial nail - to recover.²³

The list of books is long, but it includes Higden’s *Polychronicon* in Latin, which Trevisa later translated into English (1385-7); a Latin Bible (*Unum bibliam*); a concordance (*concordancia*); a commentary on Genesis (*Librum super Genesim a diuersis tractatoribus*); a commentary of Chrysostom on Matthew’s Gospel (*Crisostomum super Matheum*); Nicholas of Lyra on Proverbs (*Doctorem de Lira super proueria Salomonis*); and Nicholas of Lyra on the Psalms (*Liram super salterium*).²⁴

These books are almost certainly the ones obliquely referred to in Wycliffe B’s Prologue, as “old Bibles and other doctors and common glosses...especially *Lira on the Old Testament*,” and it is with them, it seems, that Trevisa retired to Berkeley where he set about the translation of the Bible known to us as Wycliffe B.²⁵

A Matter of Words

Whilst at Berkeley, Trevisa certainly expressed the proper sentiments of a man who had attempted one translation of the Bible but would like to produce a better:

*“Clerkes knowe well ynough yf no synfull man dothe soo well that it ne myght do better/ne make so good translacion yf he ne myght be bettter [sic]. Therefore Origenes made two translacions. And Iherom translated thryes the Psalter. I desyre not translacion of these the best yf myght be for yf were an ydle desyre for ony man that is now a lyue. But I wolde haue a skylfull translacion that myght be knowe and understonden.”*²⁶

This fits well enough with the supposition that Trevisa, having had a hand at least in producing Wycliffe A, was unsatisfied with it. But is there any evidence at all, outside the Prologue to Wycliffe B, in which Trevisa betrays

a familiarity with this version's as yet *unpublished* text, but which could only have come from the translator himself? Indeed there is. It is a most illuminating passage from the 'Dyalogue' of his translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, in which Trevisa summarizes the Creation of the World. The crucial importance of the passage seems to have been overlooked, the comparison never having been made before. But the passage is reproduced below, with the key words and phrases which are peculiar to itself and Wycliffe B set in bold type:

"[God]...made heuen & erthe & lyght for to shyne/& **departed light & derkenes**. And called **lyght daye & derknes nyght**/and soo was made **euetyde & morowe tyde one daye**²⁷ that had noo morowe tyde. | The seconde daye he made the fyrmament bytwene waters. And **departed waters that were under the fyrmament fro the waters that were aboute the fyrmament**. And called **the fyrmamente heuen**. | The thyrde daye he gadred waters yt ben under the fyrmament in to one place & made the erthe unheled/& named **the gaderyng of waters sees**/and drye erthe londel/& made trees & gras. | The fourth daye he made sonne & mone and sterres & **sette**²⁸ hem in the fyrmament of heuen there for to **shyne**²⁹ and to be tokenes & sygnes to departe tymes & yeres nyght and daye. | The fyfthe daye he made fowles & byrdes in the ayre and fysshes in the water. | The sixte daye he made bestes of the londe & man of the erthe & putte hem in *paradyse* for he sholde wyrche and wonne therein."³⁰

A Matter of Time

The latest year in which these words could have been written is of immense importance. The *Polychronicon* itself was completed by Trevisa on 18th April 1387 - so its 'Dyalogue', in which the above passage appears, could not have been written after that date, and may indeed have been written as early as 1385.³¹ However, the Wycliffe B version of the Bible was not issued and circulated until 1388 at the earliest (according to modern wisdom - earlier sources say 1387), and this would place Trevisa's intimate familiarity with the text of Wycliffe B at a time *before* its publication date. Such a familiarity at such a time is something that we could only reasonably expect from the translator of Wycliffe B himself, which stamps Trevisa's authorship on that translation as forcefully as any fingerprint.

If we accept the modern dating of 1388 for the earliest appearance of Wycliffe B, then this gives Trevisa some eleven years after running off with the college library in 1377 to work on the translation. The work on Wycliffe A had been interrupted in 1382 when its original translator, Nicholas Hereford, was summoned to London to answer charges of heresy, after which

Hereford disappears from the Oxford scene altogether, leaving Trevisa, the only one that we know of at Oxford with any surpassing skill at translating and who had returned after his temporary expulsion to work on alone seemingly and hurriedly completing Wycliffe A in the very year of its disruption, 1382.³² In the 'Dyalogue' to the *Polychronicon*, moreover, he gives a veiled but unmistakable expression of dissatisfaction regarding an earlier attempt at translating the Bible, and yearns for a better, justifying the second attempt by alluding to the historical precedents of Origen and Jerome. It would seem from all that we have considered, that he fulfilled that yearning.

Conclusion

To conclude, were Trevisa and Purvey to be jointly charged with having translated the Lollard Bible, then on the evidence surveyed it is clear that Purvey would have no case to answer, whilst Trevisa would be sent down for a very long time indeed. The weight of evidence that makes Trevisa answerable to such a charge is overwhelming, and it is astonishing that in the face of it modern scholars should still think of Purvey as the 'culprit' who did the deed. On the strength of a previous bad guess, they would send Purvey down and acquit Trevisa, a miscarriage of justice if ever there was one. Perhaps the time has come to lay the proverbial blame where it is really due.

Acknowledgements

In many respects, this article is a tribute to Professor David Fowler of Washington University. Professor Fowler (who considers Trevisa's authorship of Wycliffe B an open question) has made it his life's work to bring Trevisa, his writings and his world to light, and without his sterling researches, untiringly carried out over some forty years, this present study would simply not have been possible. My thanks must also go to Professor David Daniell for his active encouragement in pursuing this subject to fruition, and for recovering a vital piece of information that I had carelessly lost - thus saving me much pains and labour! Thank you both.

Footnotes

- 1) Pollard, Alfred W. *Records of the English Bible*. 1911. Henry Frowde (for OUP). p.
- 2) citing *Waterton's Works*. vol. X, p. 361.
- 2) Foxe, John. *Actes & Monuments*. 1563. John Day. Aldersgate, London. p. 150.
- 3) Foxe, pp. 140-1.
- 4) *ibid*.
- 5) DNB. vol. 47. p. 52.
- 6) Foxe, p. 140.
- 7) DNB. vol. 47. pp 51-3.
- 8) Caxton. 'Prohemye' to Trevisa's *Polychronicon*. Westminster. 1482.
- 9) Caxton. *The Chronicles of England*. 1480. Westminster. folio 128r. (unpaginated). The verse is far too obscure to have filtered down into common usage as a proverb, and it betrays Caxton's reading and knowledge of the Lollard Bible to have been very close indeed.
- 10) Wycliffe B has it: "*He that shal fle fro*

the face of ferdfulness schall falle in to the diche: and he that schal delyuere hym silf fro the dich, schal be holdun of the snare."

- 11) Fowler, David. *The Life and Times of John Trevisa, Medieval Scholar*. 1995. University of Washington Press. Seattle & London. p. 85.
- 12) Bale, John. *Scriptorum Illustrum Maioris Brytanniae*. 1557. Basel. cit. Fowler, p. 214-5.
- 13) For a fair and fascinating treatment of the subject, and the confusion that has arisen through the newly conceived fashion of doubting everything in it, see Fowler, pp. 213-21.
- 14) Holinshed's *Chronicle*. vol. 2. p. 509.
- 15) Fuller. *History of the Worthies of England*. 1662. cit. Fowler, p. 216.
- 16) *Enc. Brit.* 1768. Vol 1. p. 550.
- 17) Pollard. *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*. 1903. p. xxij. cit. Fowler, p. 219.
- 18) *ibid*, p. xxiv.
- 19) It seems that Middleworth and others aided Hereford to some extent, so it is inconceivable that Trevisa, with his professional and active interest in translation, would not have had some hand in Wycliffe A. (See Fowler, p. 227).
- 20) These records are cited and discussed by Fowler, pp. 24-32.
- 21) Hereford, it is known, translated Wycliffe A as far as Baruch 3:20 - his original manuscript has survived, and is housed at the Bodleian. From then on,

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another takes over whose identity must remain a mystery - unless we consider the by no means improbable possibility that Trevisa made his first foray into translating the Bible at this point. His 'Dyalogue', by citing certain historical precedents for repeated and revised translations (Origen and Jerome), suggests strongly that he made more than one attempt.

- 22) Fowler, p. 28.
- 23) *ibid*, pp. 221-8. Apart from the books, the items on 'unauthorized loan' include the college seal, a chalice, some indentures and plate. It is interesting that this removal of certain key items from the college took place in the very year that Wycliffe was summoned to St Paul's in London to answer certain charges, but from which the London mob delivered him. Unaware of his deliverance, did his flock at Queen's Hall sense that it was about to be scattered?
- 24) *ibid*, pp. 226-7. Here Fowler gives the full list of works as originally cited.
- 25) Bruce, p. 221.
- 26) See Caxton. 'Prohemye' to Trevisa's *Polychronicon*. Westminster. 1482.
- 27) Wycliffe A has *euen and moru*.
- 28) Wycliffe A has *putte*.
- 29) Wycliffe A has *gyue lyght*.
- 30) See Appendix.
- 31) Fowler, p. 119.
- 32) Guppy, Henry. *The History of the Transmission of the Bible*. Rylands Library. 1935. p. 8.

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Antwerp Conference Paper 2002

The 1530 and 1534 French Bibles: Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Martin Lempereur

A Synopsis of a paper given in French

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Jean-François Gilmont is currently Conservator and Emeritus Professor at the Université Catholique de Louvain. He specializes in the history of the book and of reading, especially the books of the Reformation and their importance in expanding it. He has written about the publisher Jean Crespin and on the publications of Jean Calvin.

Two main actors were involved in the production of the French Bible in Antwerp: Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Martin Lempereur, and also several institutions: the Faculties of Theology of the University of Paris and of Louvain, as well as the City of Antwerp.

Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (1455/60 - 1536)

A mediaeval university professor, Lefèvre discovered Humanism in Italy. After publishing numerous editions of Aristotle, he turned to religious subjects. From 1507, he began to concentrate on the study of the Bible and published a critical edition of Latin versions of the Psalms.

As a major participant, with Guillaume Briçonnet, in the pastoral renovation of the Diocese of Meaux, he wanted the people to have a direct contact with Scripture. He published a French New Testament in 1523, followed in 1525 by a lectionary for preaching in the Diocese entitled the *Epistles and Gospels for the 52 weeks of the year* in 1525. But the Meaux reformers were soon accused of being Lutheran heretics. Lefèvre went into exile in Strasbourg for a while, but finally returned to France under the protection of King Francis I and his sister Marguerite of Navarre.

Lefèvre never made a clear choice for or against the Reform. He favoured a number of Protestant ideas, but he was a man of tradition who could not bring himself to leave the Church once and for all. An old man, he died soon enough to keep his dream intact.

His translation of the Bible was begun as a pastoral tool and aimed at giving all Christians access to God's Word. He began with the New Testament (1523) and published the Psalms the year after. These first editions came from Paris. Surprisingly for a humanist, his translation was based not on the original Greek and Hebrew but on the Latin of the Vulgate. This can be seen as a sign of his respect for the mediaeval tradition which knew only

this version. If it was an attempt to pacify the Faculty of Theology in Paris, which was highly critical of Erasmus and his new Latin translation of the New Testament, it was a failure.

The refusal of the Faculty of Theology in Paris

Since the Middle Ages, the Faculties of Theology, above all Paris, had considerable authority over matters of orthodoxy. But Paris was not the only university with a Theology Faculty. In the case of biblical translations, the Sorbonne had a completely negative attitude. The doctors blackballed Lefèvre's efforts. Beginning in 1525, all French translations of the Bible were forbidden - thus causing a break in my story.

Martin Lempereur or De Keyser

In that very year (1525), the French printer Martin Lempereur (or De Keyser) set up shop in Antwerp, certainly in the hope of enjoying a greater degree of liberty and, perhaps, with Lefèvre's encouragement. He quickly became Antwerp's most productive printer, specializing in Lutheran and Erasmian works. This was possible because of the more relaxed religious atmosphere in then Low Countries in general, and in Antwerp in particular.

Orthodoxy in the Low Lands under Charles V

In the Low Countries, Charles V and the Faculty of Theology at Louvain had different conceptions of the Bible translations. While they forbade translations with heretical commentary, they had nothing against good translations. Books were examined, but from a more liberal viewpoint. So, Martin Lempereur was permitted to publish French Bibles with the authorization of the Inquisitor and under a privilege from the Emperor.

Antwerp, land of liberty?

Lempereur went beyond the limits of orthodoxy established by the authorities. He took advantage of the climate of freedom in Antwerp, a major commercial centre and a rapidly growing city. The civil authorities were preoccupied by matters of economic development rather than by theology. They put up with dubious publications, at least as long as the printers avoided scandal.

Martin Lempereur printed books in several languages: Latin, Dutch, French, English, and some of these texts were critical of traditional Christianity. However, he generally steered clear of frontal attacks on the Church - except in his English publications. He was not always eager to have his name

associated with his publications, as can be seen from the numerous fictitious names he used to disguise the origin of the printing house.

The First French Bibles

Between 1528 and 1532, Martin Lempereur published a French translation of the Old Testament in 5 small volumes. In 1530, he put on sale a complete folio French Bible. This edition was revised and corrected for a new folio edition in 1534. As in the case of the 1525 New Testament, this Bible is a translation of Jerome's Vulgate text. In 1530, there are a few places where the text was amended to conform with the Greek or Hebrew. This tendency is considerably enhanced in the 1534 edition. Lempereur made use of Robert Estienne's 1532 Latin text. The 1534 edition also added marginal notes, drawing attention to the variations between the Vulgate and the original texts. Both of these Bibles were illustrated, which situates them clearly in the mediaeval and Lutheran traditions.

The religious authorities spotted the differences between the two folio editions. The 1534 edition, but not the early one, ended up on the Louvain Index.

Who was behind the Paris and Antwerp editions?

None of the editions just mentioned contains the name of Lefèvre d'Étaples. Traditionally, the partial versions and the complete 1530 transla-



La Bible
(Antwerp
Martin
Lempereur,
1530): Noah's
Ark

tion have been attributed to him. There are serious reasons to believe that is the case for the Paris editions. Furthermore, it is certain that he was involved in making a complete translation of Bible.

However, the authorship of the Antwerp Bibles is problematic, especially those passages which are based on the original Greek or Hebrew. It is possible that Lefèvre's version was in fact the work of a group under his responsibility, as was the case in some of his other undertakings. In addition, one wonders how he could control the work being done in Antwerp after he had taken refuge in Blois and later in Nerac. A certain responsibility must surely be given to the shop of Martin Lempereur and indeed our evangelical printer specifically mentioned the great costs that these editions entailed. These French Bibles have certainly not revealed all their secrets. They warrant a closer study and may yield further information on Martin Lempereur.

The 1530 and 1534 editions are the first complete versions of the Bible in French. They were put to use by Olivétan and later translators, and have thus left their mark on the entire tradition of French Bibles. The product of two Frenchmen, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Martin Lempereur, these Bibles could not have come to fruition without the religious policy of Charles V and of the Faculty of Theology of Louvain, and the liberal atmosphere of early 16th-century Antwerp.

Antwerp Conference Paper 2002

Reformation Bibles and the Personal Computer

Kaoru Yamazaki

The author gratefully acknowledges the help given by Judith Munzinger in adapting this paper, originally given at The Antwerp Conference 2002, for publication.

Introduction

The history of Reformation Bibles, the printing of the Bible in the vernacular and the Personal Computer have many similarities.

In the study of the English Bible, William Tyndale is without question one of the greatest pioneers. The idea for the personal computer came from an engineer, Alan Kay (1940-), but little attention has been given to the process and history of this invention. Here, we are concerned with the achievements of William Tyndale and Alan Kay from a new perspective. First, we will con-

sider and compare the development of technical processes from the Gutenberg Bible to the Reformation Bibles, and then the same development on the computer side from first-generation computers to personal computers.

Technical processes – the Bible

By the end of the second century AD the Chinese had apparently discovered that the two elements necessary for printing were paper and ink. In the sixth century, they invented the wood block. The technique of printing itself developed in Europe in the fifteenth century rather than in the Far East, even though the principle had been known there long before. There were two necessary elements in the invention of typographic printing in Europe. First, the invention of movable type cast from matrix and, second, the concept of the printing press itself, an idea that had never been developed in the Far East.

Then Gutenberg appeared on the scene. Born in Mainz, Germany, around 1397, his major contribution to printing came while he was working as a goldsmith. ⁽¹⁾ He published the 42-line Bible around 1455. *“The Gutenberg Bible provided a new orientation for the production of the Bible as a book, which pointed the way to the future, in particular to Luther’s translation project and the other vernacular Bibles.”* ⁽²⁾ However, the Gutenberg Bible is a royal folio, that is, made of royal-size sheets of paper (400 mm x 280 mm). The size of the printing itself is 292 mm x 198 mm. This was the standard size and format of all of the earliest printed Vulgate Bibles up to 1475, when Venetian Bible-printing began. *“The Venetian Bibles, though also folio format, were printed on the smaller sheets which may be called Chancery paper, producing a leaf height of about 30 cm (12 inches) or a little less if the trim is not too severe. Unfortunately, incunabula catalogues treat all folios as identical, without distinguishing paper size.”* ⁽³⁾

Smaller-format Vulgate Bibles were introduced: *“It is a commonplace that in 1491 Johann Froben of Basel produced the first ‘pocket bible’ – specially, an octavo Bible”* ⁽⁴⁾

A great Venetian printer, Aldus Manutius (1452-1516), established the Aldine Press and began the dissemination of classical texts as portable octavo books, and he introduced many innovations into the world of printing, thus providing a great service for travelling scholars. Nonetheless, this important development was not reflected immediately in the production of Reformation Bibles. Martin Luther (1483-1548) translated the Bible into German and published it in September 1522. However, the successful dissemination of a Reformation Bible had two requirements: portable size and the vernacular which were met not by Martin Luther, but by William Tyndale.

Professor David Daniell says in his biography of Tyndale “*Luther improved the looks as well as the comprehensibility. His first Testaments and Bibles were still big, however: it was Tyndale who began with smart, small, but very readable pocket-sized volumes, with his New Testaments and Pentateuch*”.⁽⁵⁾ Tyndale published many works in a small format - the New Testament, the Cologne quarto 1525, the Worms octavo 1526, the revised Antwerp octavo 1534. In effect, he brought us a portable and vernacular Bible and thus opened the door to individual experience with God. That was the beginning of the vernacular, portable Bibles we know today.⁽⁶⁾

Technical processes – Computers⁽⁷⁾

Now let us look at progress in the development of computers. By the mid-twentieth century a computer was a digital calculator with a stored changeable program as a scientific signification. In that sense, the Hungarian-American mathematician, John von Neumann, wrote in 1944 the *First Draft of a Report on the EDVAC* in which he outlined the architecture of a stored-program digital calculator. The first Neumann machine was completed in Cambridge in 1949 as EDSAC (Electric Delay Storage Automatic Calculator).

Since then, the development of the computer has kept pace with that of the semi-conductor. The semi-conductor accelerates the progress of downsizing and speed of the computer, also key elements necessary for developing the Personal Computer. However, the first-generation computers and big digital calculators were mainly built for military purposes. Then the big and expensive “super computers” appeared, but these machines were still for major institutions only.

Another element of progress for the Personal Computer is GUI (Graphical User Interface), a computer program that enables a person to communicate with a computer using symbols, visual metaphors, and pointing devices instead of the difficult textual interfaces of earlier computing. The GUI is now the standard computer interface and has made computer operation more pleasant and natural. There was no one inventor of the GUI. It evolved with the help of a series of innovators, each improving on a predecessor’s work.

The first theorist was Vannevar Bush, Director of the US Office of Scientific Research and Development, who, in an influential essay published in 1945, entitled *As We May Think*, envisaged how future information gatherers would use a computer-like device, which he called a “MEMEX” – an idea which anticipated hyper-linking. Bush’s essay impressed Douglas Engelbart of Stanford Research Institute who predicted that the computer would even-

tually become a tool to augment human intellect. In 1968, Engelbart gave a remarkable demonstration of the “NLS” (oNLine System) which featured a keyboard and a mouse. He invented the mouse so that the user could easily select a command from a menu of choices shown on the display screen. The screen was divided into multiple windows each able to display text or an image. Today, almost every popular computer comes with a mouse and features a system that uses windows on the display. This legendary demonstration, known as “*The Mother of All Demos*”, had a major effect on computer engineers of the time, including Alan Kay.

When he was still a graduate student in 1968, Alan Kay envisaged a design for a small computer, the “Dynabook”. In 1977 he published two papers: *Personal Dynamic Media* (from which the name “Dynabook” comes) and *Microelectronics and the Personal Computer*.⁽⁸⁾ Kay propounds the theory that the Dynabook is a personal computer that is easy to obtain, use and carry. It looks like a book and is very lightweight and thin. It has a keyboard, a pen for painting and a flat monitor with a wireless network. If the Dynabook were to become a reality, it would transcend all existing media and become “metamedia”. Metamedia is all the currently known media, as well as those which are still unknown.

Printing and Computing

The invention of computers or the information revolution is often described as having the biggest cultural impact since the Gutenberg invention. There exists a parallel between the development of printing and that of computing. Before Gutenberg, the manuscript books in Europe were owned by institutions (e.g. the church, the monarchy, etc.). In the case of computers, when the Neumann machines appeared, sometime around 1950, they were also owned by institutions. In the fifteenth century, Gutenberg’s printing press was the equivalent of computer workstations. Only wealthy people could own them, and only wealthy people and institutions could own the books produced by them. The number of books printed on the Gutenberg press was still small. Moreover, a Gutenberg Bible was not something to travel with; it was not designed to be replaced if it were lost or damaged. It was not until 50 years after Gutenberg that a printer, Aldus Manutius, and a Reformer, William Tyndale, began producing books that were affordable enough to be widely owned. They were still expensive, but they were replaceable and they were portable.

However, the real potential of the printing press was not fully realized until the seventeenth century. It therefore took about 150 years for writers

and publishers to really appreciate what the technology could do and to put it into practice. It is important to note that there was a considerable time lag between the development of a new technology and the realization of its potential. This was true of the printed book and of its modern equivalent the Dynabook.

Philosophy

Let us now consider Tyndale's and Kay's thinking behind the portable Bible and the Dynabook.

Tyndale's basic theology is the doctrine of "sola scriptura". For him, like Luther, it is evident that scripture is the sole and exclusive source of faith and the only standard and rule by which to judge it. He stresses the fact that only the person who can understand scripture is able to know the law of God and justify his faith. He reasons that everything necessary was written in scripture, and that there is no more to be taught us than scripture. Tyndale says in his *Answer*, "Christ and his apostles preached an hundred thousand sermons, and did as many miracles, which had been superfluous to have been all written. But the pith and substance in general of everything necessary unto our souls' health, both of what we ought to believe, and what we ought to do, was written."⁽⁹⁾

Tyndale's Bible has two characteristic elements: the vernacular tongue and its small size. His church is feeling, spiritual and invisible. The basis or authority of his church is individual experience with the Bible. The Bible for him is a medium to reach God. Luther thought likewise. However, Luther had no idea of interface with his users (readers). We could say that Luther was a pioneer of translation into the vernacular, therefore his role was to show a fundamental idea of a technique, and then Tyndale applied a user interface to this fundamental idea.

What was the thinking behind the Dynabook when Alan Kay started his project? Alan Kay's ideal model was Charles Babbage's machine, the "analytical engine".⁽¹⁰⁾ He also commented in an interview that the "MEMEX" of Bush is an ideal. Bush had a dream that MEMEX would become a sort of intellectual amplifier. In addition, Kay said that he devoted six months to reading Marshall McLuhan's 'Gutenberg Galaxy'. Kay discovered the concept that a computer was a medium, not a digital calculator with a stored program like a supercomputer or a PC.

In 1992, he said of the Dynabook "I made a cardboard model of what it might look like and started to think about what it should be able to do. One of the driving metaphors that came to mind was the analogy to the history of print

literacy as it developed following the middle of the fifteenth century. In 1968, the simultaneous hit of seeing the three landmark technologies forced me to remember Aldus Manutius, the Venetian printer who first decided that books should be the size they are today – because that size would fit in saddlebags of late 15th century Venice! In other words, Aldus was one of the first who realized that books could now be lost because you could just get another one without having to mortgage your house – and thus that books could now be intimately portable. McLuhan had pointed out in 'The Gutenberg Galaxy' that new media often initially take on the content of the old, and used the similar size and content of manuscript Bibles as one of his examples. I realized that desktop personal computers were the 'Gutenberg Bibles' after the institution time-sharing main frames".⁽¹¹⁾

The Dynabook is not a reality even now but Kay sees it as an amplifier for learning and a communication tool. His current project is a new programming system "Squeak" focused on children and education. He carries out educational experiments in pursuit of the realization of the Dynabook and says "Because without education, well, I don't care about the other things that might be done with the Dynabook."⁽¹²⁾

Conclusion

Tyndale's Bible was for everyone who spoke English. He thought the authority of his church was an individual experience with the Bible. Therefore he translated the Bible into English. Because the small-size printed book came into being in the late fifteenth century, he was able to offer a printed vernacular Bible, small enough to be held in anyone's hand.

In the 1960s, computers were big digital calculators installed in major institutions. However, Alan Kay thought that the computer should not be just a calculator but a communication tool. Therefore, he designed the Dynabook, which should be inexpensive, easy to carry and used by everyone freely.

Tyndale's Bible and Kay's Dynabook provided a new orientation for the production of the Bible as a book and of the computer as a communication tool, which pointed the way to the future. Moreover, thanks to the invention of the Personal Computer, Tyndale's Bible and his legacy are now more readily available for retrospective consideration.

Notes

- (1) Johannes Gutenberg is known as a symbol of the invention of printing, although there is some uncertainty about the invention. I would like to emphasize that there is no such thing as a "first" in any activity associated with human invention. I chose several people for this paper because of their names as a symbols of and spokesmen for the era.
- (2) Nigel F. Palmer, "Biblical block books", *The Bible As Book: The First Printed Editions*, Paul Henry Saenger, Kimberly Van Kampen, Anthony Kenny (ed.) (London, 1999) p.23
- (3) Paul Needham "The changing shape of the vulgate bible", *The Bible As Book: The First Printed Editions*, Paul Henry Saenger, Kimberly Van Kampen, Anthony Kenny (ed.) (London, 1999) p.61
- (4) Ibid
- (5) David Daniell, *William Tyndale* (Yale, New Haven and London, 1994) p.93
- (6) Tyndale is not precisely the first person who published a pocket-sized vernacular Bible. There were some portable Dutch Bibles before 1525 as could be seen at the exhibition of "Tyndale's Testament" at the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp. However, he is a first-generation translator of

References

- Alan Kay "The Reactive Engine", dissertation, University of Utah, 1969
- Herbert Marshall McLuhan, "The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man" (Toronto, 1962)
- Herbert Marshall McLuhan, "Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man" (New York 1964)
- Alan Kay in "Multimedia: from Wagner to Virtual Reality" <http://www.artmuseum.net/w2vt/archives/Kay/Kay.html>
- Matthias Müller-Prove "Vision and Reality

- pocket-sized vernacular bibles.
- (7) Cf. Howard Rheingold *Tools for Thought* (New York, 1985); *Encyclopaedia Britannica on the net*, <https://safe.britannica.com/>; *Virtual Museum of Computing*, <http://vlmp.museophile.com/computing.html>
- (8) Alan Kay "Personal Dynamic Media" *IEE Computer* (March, 1977), pp. 31-41; "Microelectronics and the Personal Computer" *Scientific American* (September 1977), pp. 231-244.
- (9) William Tyndale, *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, H. Walker (ed.) Cambridge, 1850.
- (10) "I wish to God these calculations were executed by steam" from the *Analytical Engine* by C. Babbage. In the 19th century, Charles Babbage designed a flexible calculator with a program, and his supporter, Augusta Ada Byron, believed that the engine could draw a picture to play music.
- (11) Alan Kay "What was it like back then?" Alan Kay Yasuki Hamano (ed.) (Tokyo 1992)
- (12) Interview with Alan Kay "The Dynabook Revisited" *Book and Computing* (2002) <http://www.honco.net/os/kay.html>

of hypertext and graphical user interface" (published as a report of the Department of Informatics, University of Hamburg, February 2002) <http://www.mprove.de/diplom/index.html> (1 March 2003). It includes the correspondence and bibliography of Alan Kay. Last access date of World Wide Web sites for this paper was 1 March 2003.

REFORMATION



Reformation is published annually by Ashgate under the aegis of the Tyndale Society. Volume 7 is available immediately, Volume 8 will be published in January 2004.

Contents of Volume 8 are as follows:

- Negotiating the Reformation in the northwest: the reinvention of the Chester Cycle, *Theodore K. Lerud*
- Sacred concordances: figuring scripture and history in Foxe's Acts and Monuments, *Christine Hutchins*
- Metaphor, metonymy, vestments, and Foxe, *Judith H. Anderson*
- Milton's 'Christian Talmud', *Thomas Festa*
- Papers from the 2002 Antwerp Conference**, ed. *Tom Betteridge and Andrew Hadfield*
- 'Monks, miracles and magic': the mediaeval church in English reformation polemic, *Helen Parish*
- New light on Tyndale and Lollardy, *Richard Rex*
- Tyndale and More, in life and in death, *Brad S. Gregory*

Review Articles:

- Recent English Reformation historiography: people, places and processes, *Tom Betteridge*
- Postcolonial studies, *Willy Maley*
- St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, *Alec Ryrie*
- Passion, providence and penitence, *William Wizeman*
- Book reviews; Shorter notices.**

Subscription to *Reformation* is £40 (free to Tyndale Society members paying the higher membership rate).

Volumes 4, 5 and 6 are available to purchase at £20 per issue plus postage and packing. Please send an email to journals@ashgatepub.co.uk to order any back issues.

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Lambeth Palace Exhibition

An Exhibition mounted at Lambeth Palace by Christine Mackwell on 26 June 2003 to mark the launch of Prof David Daniell's Book 'The Bible in English' published by Yale University Press.

Case 1 Sources: Wycliffite Bible

Richard Rolle on The English Psalter

Richard Rolle's commentary on the Psalms expanded to include Wycliffite doctrine. Probably late 14th century manuscript with characteristic English illumination. Originally from the royal library Henry VIII at Westminster. Rebound for Archbishop Bancroft.

Constitutions of Oxford

Drawn up in 1408 by Archbishop Arundel to control preaching, academic speculation and biblical translation, all of which had become associated with Lollardy. Wycliffe is mentioned by name in the sixth section. Arundel's Register II, ff.1 lv-12



Prof. David Daniell and Dr. Joe Johnson at the Lambeth Palace book launch 26 June 2003

Wycliffite Bible

First translation of the complete text of the Bible into English by the followers of Wycliffe. Late 14th century manuscript.

Wycliffite Tract

Only known extant copy of this version of a radical Wycliffite tract against the temporalities of the clergy. Written in the early 15th century probably by a wandering preacher. The arguments are supported by biblical texts cited in the margin. In pocket book form, possibly for concealment.

Wycliffe's Trialogus

Lollardy persisted into the early 16th century, but because of the continuing force of the Constitutions of Oxford, little appeared in print. The *Trialogus* was the earliest work by Wycliffe to be printed and was published in Basle in 1525. It is valuable as a brief compendium of his final views on many subjects including the Eucharist, based largely on the biblical texts of institution.

The Dore of Holy Scripture

The early Reformers were aware of their Wycliffite precursors, but the only part of the Wycliffite translation of the Bible to be printed in the 16th century was the General Prologue by John Purvey, published in London in 1540 as *The Dore of Holy Scripture*, by John Gowgh, who was frequently in trouble with authorities for dealing in prohibited books.

Case 2: Sources: Continental

Hebrew Grammar and Dictionary

The first edition of *De Rudimentis Hebraicis*, a Hebrew grammar and dictionary drawn up by Johann Reuchlin and printed at Pforzheim, the author's birthplace, in 1506. Reuchlin was a German humanist and pioneer in the development of Christian Hebrew studies which made possible the scholarly translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew.

Hebrew Pentateuch

The Hebrew Pentateuch, 1491, one of the Hebrew biblical texts printed by the Soncino family in Naples. It includes the commentary of Rashi, one of the greatest mediaeval Jewish commentators on the Bible, used by Luther in his German translation, by Pagninus in his Latin translation, and mentioned in Matthew's Bible, based on Tyndale's work.

Complutensian Polyglot

This splendid edition of the Bible in Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic and Latin marks the birth of modern biblical scholarship. It was produced under the patronage and at the expense of Cardinal Ximenes, founder of the University of Alcalá (Complutum). The New Testament was actually printed in 1514, two years before the publication of the edition by Erasmus, but the polyglot was not published until 1522 after papal authorization. Aids to the study of Hebrew were included.

Luther's Translation of The Bible

Luther's translation of the Bible into German was immediately and widely popular and influential, replacing older versions. It formed the basis of translations into Dutch, Swedish, Icelandic and Danish. This copy is from Sion College Library and is the 1536 third edition by Hans Lufft of Wittenberg, who published the first complete edition in 1534. Tyndale used Luther's biblical translations as an aid to his own work.

Greek New Testament

The first published edition of the New Testament in Greek, 1516, edited by Erasmus with his own Latin translation and Annotations. The first major challenge to the primacy of the Vulgate. Tyndale used Erasmus's edition as an aid in his own work and several of Tyndale's English New Testaments include the Latin version by Erasmus in parallel.

Annotations of Erasmus

The annotations on the New Testament by Erasmus, which had formed part of his 1516 edition of the Greek New Testament, were republished as a separate work in 1519.

Case 3: Early Reformation: Tyndale

Tyndale New Testament

Tyndale's English translation of the New Testament was first printed at Worms in 1526. He translated directly from the Greek but used the New Testaments of Erasmus and Luther as aids. He had hoped to produce the work in England but his approaches met with official hostility. Carefully revised editions were published by Tyndale at Antwerp in 1534 and 1535. The Lambeth copy on display was published in 1536 probably at Antwerp. Widely distributed, and one of the most influential books of the early Reformation in England.

Tyndale Pentateuch

The first printed edition of the Pentateuch in English, translated by Tyndale from the Hebrew, with the help of the Vulgate and Luther's German Pentateuch of 1523. Published at Antwerp in 1530. Sion College Library copy, imperfect, with the marginal notes cut out according to the Act of Parliament of 1543.

Tyndale Diglot

The earliest diglot edition of Tyndale's English New Testament with the Latin of Erasmus, printed in London in 1538.

Tyndale on Scripture

This volume comprises *A pathway into the Holy Scripture* and *A compendious introduction, prologue or preface unto the Epistle to the Romans*, both by Tyndale, and apparently both unique copies of the 1564 reprints by John Charlewood.

Tyndale on Matthew

An exposycyon upon the v. vi. vii. chapters of Mathewe ... Originally published in Antwerp in 1533 and reprinted probably in London in 1536. Based to some extent on Luther's exposition of 1532.

Tyndale's Translation Condemned

An Instrument issued by Archbishop Warham in May 1530 by order of Henry VIII denouncing works by Tyndale, Fish and Frith as heretical, including the 'translacyon also of scripture corrupted by Wyllyam Tyndall, as well yn the

olde Testament as yn the newe'. Warham had already issued an injunction for its suppression in 1526.

Life of Tyndale

Print of Tyndale and brief life in Holland's *Herwologia*, a collection of portraits and brief biographies of famous and learned Englishmen, published in 1620.

Execution of Tyndale

Illustration of the death of Tyndale in 1536 from the first edition of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, 1563. According to report his last words were "Lord, open the King of England's eyes".

Case 4: Early Bible Printing in England

Proverbs And Ecclesiastes 1534

These two volumes form the only known copy of the first part of the Bible to be printed in English in England, probably in 1534 by Thomas Godfray. The translator has been identified as George Joye on the evidence of Bale's *Summarium*, 1548. Joye was a Cambridge Lutheran, biblical translator and associate of William Tyndale.

Coverdale Bible 1535

The first edition of the whole Bible to be published in English, 1535. Miles Coverdale was a Cambridge Lutheran forced to flee to the Continent in 1528. He may have helped Tyndale in his work of biblical translation, though his scholarship was not on the same level as Tyndale's.

Matthew's Bible 1537

This Bible was published in 1537 by John Rogers, a close friend of Tyndale and later to be the first of the Marian martyrs. The name Thomas Matthew in the dedication probably stands for Tyndale himself, whose version was used from Genesis to 2 Chronicles and for the New Testament, the remainder being taken from Coverdale's version. The King's licence was obtained by Cromwell at Cranmer's request "untill such tyme that we the Bishops shall set forth a better translacion, which I thinke will not be till a day after domesday".

Taverner Bible 1539

An unusually fine and complete copy of the fourth translation of the Bible into English after the Tyndale, Coverdale and Matthew translations. Taverner was a Greek scholar whose patron was Thomas Cromwell. His translation was based on the Matthew version, but had little influence on the development of English biblical translation as it was overshadowed by the publication in the same year of the Great Bible.

Coverdale Illustrations

Biblich Historien, published in Frankfurt by Christian Egenolff in 1535. Woodcuts by Hans Sebald Beham of biblical scenes which were used in the illustration of Coverdale's Bible.

Holbein Biblical Illustrations

Historiarum Veteris Instrumenti icones, published in Lyons by Trechsel in 1538. The rare first edition of Holbein's woodcuts of biblical scenes from the Old Testament. The illustrations were deliberately made small in size to fit into their correct positions in the text. They were used in several Bibles but not surprisingly in the Great Bible of Henry VIII.

Case 5: Official publications

Royal Injunctions 1538

The second royal injunctions of Henry VIII, drawn up by Thomas Cromwell and sent by him to Archbishop Cranmer on 30 September 1538. Cranmer issued a mandate for the publication to the archdeacons of his province on 11 October. Among other matters it was ordered that the Great Bible, "the whole Bible of the largest volume in English", be set up in each church and its study by parishioners encouraged.

Cranmer's Register, f.215v

Great Bible

The first edition of the Great Bible, printed in 1539 and ordered by Thomas Cromwell to be placed in churches for the use of the congregation. The title page, ascribed to Holbein, depicts Henry VIII, Archbishop Cranmer and Cromwell distributing Bibles while the people cry 'Vivat Rex'. This version was a revision



Jonah from
'Historiarium
Veteris Testamenti
Icones by Hans
Holbein

sion by Coverdale of Matthew's Bible with the help of Munster's Latin translation of the Old Testament and Erasmus's Latin version of the New Testament.

New Testament Paraphrases

The *Paraphrases* of Erasmus, which form a biblical commentary, were first published in full in 1523. An English translation was instigated by Queen Catherine Parr and one of the translators was Princess Mary. By the injunctions of 1547 it was ordered to be placed in all parish churches. This is one of the volumes of the subsequent 1548-49 edition. Bishop Gardiner believed that the print run was the then enormous total of 40,000 copies.

Visitation Articles 1548

Canterbury diocesan visitation articles. Item 16 asks whether the clergy "have provided one boke of the whole Bible of the largest volume in Englishe, and the Paraphras of Erasmus ... in the Church, where their parishioners maie most commodiously resorte to the same". These instructions were repeated in the 1559 Injunctions of Elizabeth bound later in this volume.

Royal Injunctions 1547

Among other reforming injunctions were those leading to the increased use of English in church services: the liturgical Epistles and Gospels at High Mass, and the Bible readings at Mattins and Evensong. Item 7 requires each parish to obtain a copy of the Great Bible and Erasmus's Paraphrases in English for parishion-

ers to read in the church. The present copy has been corrected in a contemporary hand, possibly in preparation for a later edition. "Altar" has been amended to "table" and "Mass" to "Communion".

Liturgical Epistles and Gospels

The *Epistles and Gospels* edited by Richard Taverner in 1540, the year after the publication of his translation of the Bible. Cranmer is amongst the anonymous divines believed to have contributed. The liturgical epistles and gospels were to be used in English by royal injunction during services, and were popular works in their own right. The woodcut initials and title page are thought to be by Holbein.

Case 6: Elizabethan Church

Geneva Bible

First edition of the Geneva Bible produced by Whittingham and other scholars in 1560. Based on the Great Bible for the Old Testament and Whittingham's revision of Tyndale's 1534 edition of the New Testament. Published by Rouland Hall in Geneva, 1560. After Tyndale, the translators of the Geneva Bible had the strongest influence on the Authorized Version.

Whittingham's Geneva New Testament

Printed in 1557 at Geneva, this was the first English Testament printed in Roman type and with verse divisions. The translator was William Whittingham, an elder of the English exile church at Geneva. The division into verses was probably taken from Estienne's Greek-Latin

Testament of 1551 and the use of italics for explanatory words from Beza's New Testament of 1556. Used for the New Testament in the 1560 Geneva edition.

Metrical Psalter

The whole Psalter translated into English Metre, by Archbishop Parker, c. 1567. Elaborately bound by Parker's own binders and intended as a presentation copy by Margaret Parker, the Archbishop's wife, to the Countess of Shrewsbury.

Anglo-Saxon Gospels

The Gospels of the fower Evangelistes translated in the olde Saxons tyme out of Latin into the vulgare toung of the Saxons ..., 1571. Edition of the Gospels in Anglo-Saxon and in English (Bishops' Bible version), published under the direction of Archbishop Parker and with a preface by John Foxe the Martyrologist. Archbishop Whitgift's copy.

Bishops' Bible 1568

Revision of Cranmer's Great Bible undertaken by Archbishop Parker between 1563-68 with the assistance of a committee of scholars, mostly bishops. The revisers exercised restraint in correcting the Great Bible text, and were criticised for not removing all errors. In size, typography and illustration however the Bishops' Bible was outstanding. On display is the opening of Psalm 1 with an illustration of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, as *Beatus Vir*, the godly example for all.

Bishops' Bible 1573

2 volumes of the 5 volume set published in 1573. Printed on vellum and illuminated. Archbishop Whitgift's copy: his coat of arms appears on each cover.

Rheims New Testament

The first edition of the Roman Catholic version of the New Testament in English, printed at Rheims in 1582. It was translated from the Vulgate by Gregory Martin, supervised by William Allen and Richard Bristow, all members of the English College at Douai, temporarily moved to Rheims. Its purpose was to counter Protestant use of biblical argument. The Rheims New Testament, itself indebted

to Coverdale, exercised a strong influence on the translators of the Authorized Version. The Old Testament was not published until 1609-10 at Douai.

Fulke's New Testament

The Rheims New Testament and the Bishops' Bible version printed in parallel columns. This book was produced by William Fulke in 1589 with the object of refuting the arguments of the Rheims version, but in the event gave considerable publicity to the translation. The two volumes are open at the same section of the New Testament for comparison.

Case 7: Authorized Version

Authorized Version: Manuscript Draft

One of only two surviving manuscript drafts of part of the Authorized Version. The work of translation was divided among six companies of translators, each taking on certain books of the Bible. Using principally the Bishops' Bible, but also taking other versions into account, a new translation was made. A board of revisers then polished the copy. This manuscript contains the translators' version of the Epistles. Verses from the Bishops' Bible which were unaltered were left blank.

Authorized Version 1611

Second folio edition of the Authorized Version, 1613, 1611. The new translation was initiated after the 1604 Hampton Court Conference, and carried out with the active encouragement of King James. It was based on the Bishops' Bible but the other major English versions were considered, and the whole corrected from original Hebrew, Greek and Early Latin texts.

Authorized Version 1616

The first small folio edition of the Authorized Version. Printed in Roman type and with some textual revision. The large engraving shows Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden with a considerable menagerie of animals.

Cambridge Bible

First edition of the Authorized Version and Book of Common Prayer to be published at Cambridge by the University Press, 1629. Bound in dark blue velvet embroidered in

silver in a design of grapes and vine leaves. In the centre of the front cover is a pelican; on the back a phoenix. The border is of acorns and oak leaves.

Oxford Bible

First edition of the Authorized Version and Book of Common Prayer to be published at Oxford by the University Press, 1675. With engraved title pages for Old Testament, New Testament and Prayer Book.

Baskerville Bible 1763

A magnificent Cambridge Bible, the *magnum opus* of John Baskerville, Printer to the University. Interleaved with John Sturt's engraved plates. Excellent example of 18th century chinoiserie binding in the style of Baumgarten. Acquired from the Anglican Cathedral Library in Malta in 1985.

Case 8: Special and unusual Bibles

Coronation Bible of Elizabeth II

The Bible used at the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953. The binding, with royal arms, was designed by Lynton Lamb and executed by Sangorski and Sutcliffe.

Coronation Bible of Edward VII

The Bible used at the Coronation of King Edward VII in 1902. Printed, bound with elaborate gold tooling and presented by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Coronation Bible of George V

The Bible used at the Coronation of King George V in 1911. Published by the Cambridge University Press and bound with elaborate gold tooling at Oxford. Presented by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Nonesuch Apocrypha

Published in 1924 as part of the Nonesuch Press edition of the whole Authorized Version. The title page, engraved by S. Gooden, shows Tobias and the angel and other characters from the Apocrypha.

New Testament in Verse

The history of the New Testament attempted in verse, by Samuel Wesley (father of John Wesley

founder of Methodism), London, 1701. Engravings by John Sturt.

Hieroglyphick Bibles

Popular children's books which were frequently reprinted. Short passages of Scripture with some of the words represented by small cuts: "emblematical figures for the amusement of youth, designed chiefly to familiarize tender age, in a pleasing and diverting manner, with early ideas of the Holy Scriptures".

Children's Abridged Bible

The Holy Bible abridged ... illustrated with notes and adorned with cuts for the use of children 3rd edition, 1760. This work was dedicated "To the parents, guardians, and governesses of Great Britain and Ireland". The ownership inscriptions read "Hannah Foster her Book, 1769" and "Gave to Jane Jackson by her Mamma."

Abridged Bible for West Indian Slaves

Select parts of the Holy Bible, for the use of the Negro Slaves, in British West-India Islands (London, 1807). It is noticeable that the Old Testament has been heavily cut in comparison with the New Testament.

18th Century Revision

A Liberal Translation of the New Testament; being an attempt to translate the Sacred Writings with Freedom, Spirit and Elegance, by Edward Harwood, 1768. The translation unfortunately reflects the inflated style current at the period.

Confirmation New Testaments

Copies of the New Testaments on which Archbishops Davidson, Lang and William Temple took the oath of allegiance on the confirmation of their elections to the archbishoprics of Canterbury or York. They are surprisingly small and unpretentious.

Case 9

Gutenberg Bible

First book printed with moveable type. Presentation copy on vellum and illuminated in the English style. The Lambeth copy contains the New Testament only.

An Error of Dates?

Report by Paul Arblaster

*Adapted from an article published in the catalogue of the exhibition entitled
Tyndale's Testament, Antwerp 2002.*

Besides Tyndale's own prison letter, the State Archive in Brussels contains three official documents relating to his imprisonment and trial. Chronologically the first of these is the deputization, on 5 August 1536, of Ruard Tapper to exercise inquisitorial authority on behalf of Jacques de Lattre, who was indisposed. The next is a record of payment, in accordance with an order of the Council of Finances dated 1 September, of £4 19s 6d for the expenses of the ceremony by which Tyndale was degraded from the priestly state, so that he could be delivered to the lay power for punishment under Charles V's laws on heresy. This took place shortly after 5 August, and required the presence of a bishop, referred to in the accounts as 'the suffragan' ('den suffragan'), so it was probably William de Croy, coadjutor bishop of Cambrai. After a priest had been degraded and turned over to the secular authorities execution would normally follow very quickly, but in Tyndale's case it appears to have been held up for about another month.

The third document from the Comptes des Confiscations 1533-1538 (fo. 9V-10r) indicates that the lieutenant of Vilvoorde castle received £102 for keeping Tyndale in the castle for five hundred and one days. It also details the expenses of those involved in Tyndale's trial. These were three Doctors in Theology, five jurists, and a number of servants, officers and messengers. The theologians, all from the Leuven faculty, were Ruard Tapper Jacobus Latomus and Jean d'Oye. Their function was to establish that Tyndale's opinions were heretical and that he refused to renounce them. Four of the jurists, Godevaert de Mayer (d. 1540), Charles t'Seraets (d. 1555), Thibault Cottreau, lord of Glabbeek (resigned 1547) and Jacob Boonen (d. 1580), were all members of the Council of Brabant, the duchy's highest law court although Boonen was not an ordinary councillor until 1540. They were assisted by master Hendrik Van der Zijpen, not a member of the Council.

This document, giving as it does the length of Tyndale's imprisonment in Vilvoorde, does raise the question of the date of his arrest and execution. Tyndale was arrested at Antwerp while the English merchants were away at the fair at Bergen op Zoom, which opened at Easter (28 March in 1535) and ran for four weeks. The fair could be extended by a week or sometimes even two, but Tyndale cannot have been arrested any later than 15 May, when

Antwerp would have been full to overflowing for the opening of the city's own Whit Fair. This means that he cannot have been executed in October, as John Foxe thought, and the traditional commemoration of Tyndale's execution on 6 October has no basis. Two of Foxe's immediate predecessors as Protestant historians, Edward Hall (c. 1499-1547) and John Bale (1495-1563), put Tyndale's execution in September 1535: a year early, but almost certainly the right month. In the early sixteenth century the New Year was dated from Easter in Brabant, and the end of Bergen's Easter Fair was a customary date for settling accounts. In 1535 this would normally have been 24 April, and there is no evidence that the fair was prolonged that year. It seems likely that 24 April was deemed the most suitable day for Tyndale's arrest, as anybody trading in Brabant would be absent in Bergen for the end of the fair. This would give an execution on 6 September, Foxe being out by one month quite fortuitously, since he set down Tyndale in his calendar of martyrs simply as the sixth martyr whom he thought had died in the month of October.

Reference

Paul Arblaster, Gergely Juhasz, Guido Latré (eds) **Tyndale's Testament** hardback ISBN 2-503-51411-1 Brepols 2002 (pp 176-177).

Annual Tyndale Lecture Gloucester Cathedral 2003

Tuesday 7th October 3pm

TRANSLATING THE BIBLE: WHY TYNDALE IS STILL VITAL

To be given by Prof. David Daniell



Followed by evensong
5.30pm & supper 6.10pm

Lecture only £6
Lecture & Supper £11.50
Tickets from David Green
tel **44 (0)1285 821651



Letters to the Editor

El Adnyt Rides Again

Dear Valerie,

Just as, in the recent past El Adnyt stealthily rode into forbidden places in the east borne by his camel, so that camel again today bears him abroad this time to the west.

His translation of Holy Writ has, quietly but successfully, been introduced by myself to the parishioners of the Cornish Saint Briochus. Today, one of the parishioners is to read from El Adnyt. It will be, she says, a real privilege to read from his version, as well as a pleasure. Such is the nature of this conversion - undemonstrative but deep.

It is in this stealthy way that the word is slowly getting around.

Yours sincerely,
El Adnyt's Camel (alias Philip White)
6th Sunday after Trinity

Editor's note

Rowland Whitehead first reported on Philip White's Tyndalian interest in an article, written in code for security reasons, entitled *'El Adnyt in the Sand'* **Tyndale Society Journal** No 17 December 2000. Now that Philip is living in Cornwall, England rather than the Middle East it would appear his Tyndalian propaganda can continue openly and unabated. May we take this opportunity of welcoming him as a new member of the Society!

Dear Valerie,

While proof-reading material for the Journal, I noticed under "*Dates for your Diary*" that there were four major events scheduled for October this year – the Gloucester Cathedral lecture, the Hertford College lecture, the Lambeth lecture and the Geneva Tyndale Conference – and during the rest of the year very little. It seems unfortunate that so many things are happening at almost the same time. Rather a case of a feast in the month of October and famine for the remainder of the year!

In order to avoid this in future, would it be possible for the organizers of these various events to arrange a planning consultation, say eighteen months in advance, so that all these wonderfully interesting events could be spread a little more evenly over the year?

Yours, in friendship,
Judith Munzinger

Tyndale Society Publications Committee

The Society's Publications Committee held its inaugural meeting in April. Almost all the Committee were able to attend. The Society was pleased to welcome Dr Helen Parish and Dr Brian Cummings on to the Committee to share their expertise in the review of manuscripts and submissions.

In addition to acting as a catalyst for publishing issues arising from Reformation and the Journal, the Committee considered various other projects and tabled these for review, report and future discussion. It was felt that to further support the Society and the Ploughboys particular priority should be given to the issue of a new booklet on the life and achievements of William Tyndale building on the valuable initiatives of the British Library exhibition guide and David Ireson's audio-visual presentation *'Let There Be Light'*. Various explorations with regard to funding, content and format were agreed and the Committee will consider and review its findings when it meets again in the autumn.

Peter Clifford, chairman July 2003.

Book Reviews

Lawrence & Nancy Goldstone *“Out of the Flames” The Story of one of the Rarest Books in the World, and how it changed the Course of History* Century UK 2003 ISBN: 0 7126 7698 8

Michel de Villeneuve (1511?-1553) was a man of many parts and different identities. To the outside world, he was a well-respected physician who cured his patients rather than making them worse. To the world of French publishing, he was an author and researcher with varied interests. At home, when no-one was watching, Michel de Villeneuve was transformed into Michael Servetus, a Spanish-born fugitive, branded a heretic by the Inquisition, but also hunted by European reformers whom he had antagonized as a brash young man. Of these adversaries, Servetus’s enemy-in-chief, John Calvin, had the means and influence required to secure the Spaniard’s destruction.

The publication of Servetus’s theological manifesto, *“On the Restoration of Christianity” (Christianismi Restitutio, 1552)* ended his medical practice in rural France and led to his initial arrest by the Catholic authorities, his escape from jail and subsequent wanderings, capped by his foolhardy decision to go to Geneva, where Calvin - unable to believe his own good fortune - had Servetus tried by kangaroo court and executed horribly at Champel. Copies of *“Restitutio”* were burned at the stake along with him. Only 3 were known to have survived, but in time these passed into the emerging antiquarian book market. Gradually, their author’s story spread and left an impression on all who read about his fascinating life and monstrous end.

A small but vital section of *“Restitutio”* – a throwaway paragraph in an even more elusive text – discusses the pulmonary circulation of the blood, which Servetus had independently observed while performing dissections at medical school in Paris in the 1530s. This discovery broke with the misconceptions of mediaeval physiology, and marks Servetus as one of the fathers of modern medicine. It is hard to read this passage without gasping in amazement – Tyndale’s translation of the opening lines of Genesis has the same effect.

Does *“Out of the Flames”* add to our knowledge of the Spaniard? The existing bibliography has always been patchy. Reformation textbooks tend to dismiss Servetus in a paragraph or footnote, recycling one another’s entries (another parallel with Tyndale). New titles deliver less than they promise. When I chanced upon a Spanish-language book discussing Miguel Serveto in a bookstore in Seville in 1999 - an “ahah!” moment familiar to book-collectors everywhere - my purchase turned out to be a rehash of Roland Bain-

ton’s earlier account (still the best of the bunch). As a biographical subject, Servetus never seems to attract the attentions of a Roy Jenkins or Alan Bullock, for reasons that will soon become clear. But in Servetus studies, even a flawed biography – and they are all flawed in various ways – can bring the reader to a closer understanding of the subject.

This is especially true if - as with the Goldstones - the biographer’s enthusiasm is infectious. The authors revel in the paradoxes of this extraordinary character. Here was a man who eased the suffering of others but died in agony himself. Here was a fanatical yet secretive heretic who counted orthodox Catholic priests among his friends and moved smoothly through establishment circles, even taking the Mass (a big no-no for other Reformers).

Beyond the documentary record, the authors do not burrow down to the roots of why Servetus, a natural escape artist, allowed himself to get caught in Geneva. We do know that, in contrast to other Reformers, Servetus did not welcome his own sentence of death (*“Misericordia!”*, he shrieked). There is much more that will remain a mystery.

Servetus holds a powerful attraction for readers of a solitary disposition who root for the brilliant outsider trapped in battles with officialdom. History forgets such individuals and lauds their persecutors, who may have the benefit of a public-relations machine that keeps on ticking long after their deaths, drowning out the cries of their victims. The annals of science tell of inventor Nikola Tesla and his doomed confrontation with Thomas Edison. Calvin was another establishment bully. And Tyndalians know all about Thomas More.

Comparisons of the Servetus and Tyndale stories can be overdone, but they are instructive. Both were gifted linguists who knew the Classical languages inside out, including Hebrew; they were forced to leave home, and its comforts (including the everyday sound of their mother tongue), at an early age. They had a talent for making the wrong enemies. Other common denominators included the ability to make quick getaways; both men knew periods of high tension interspersed with calm. After their arrests, each penned jailhouse letters begging for fresh clothes and better treatment.

What, then, are the pros and cons of *“Out of the Flames”*?

The authors assume nothing about their readers’ knowledge of the subject – and I mean *nothing*. Each and every reference, from Erasmus to Luther, from indulgence-selling to the invention of the printing press or the logistics of burning at the stake, is explained in exhaustive detail.

Although Tyndalians may find this all too basic, this meticulous approach has its uses. Other writers and encyclopaedists short-change the confusing

logical linkages in the Servetus saga. Previous books used to say such things as “Next we find Servetus in Lyon” or “Servetus practised dissections alongside Vesalius at medical school in Paris”; but it takes the Goldstones to spell out the reasons for Servetus’s move to Lyon, or the precise nature of his connection to Vesalius, etc. Remember that “*Flames*” is not a conventional work of academic history, but one that approaches the subject from the perspective of antiquarian books, their rarity, their discovery, and their impact. There is novelty in this technique.

At times this feels more like a biography of “*Restitutio Christianismi*” than about Servetus. Indeed the second part of “*Flames*” speculates on the roamings through Europe by the handful of surviving copies of “*Restoration*” that Calvin did not burn. It also describes how the Servetus story touched the lives of intellectuals and booklovers along the way. I was cheered to learn that Voltaire was a Servetus admirer.

Now, “*Out of the Flames*” has much to offer college students who are new to the subject, but how many are likely to read it? The “great man” school of history - the idea that the movers of history are scientists or intellectuals working in isolation - is congenial to Tyndalians, and to me. Alas, this style of writing is poison in the academic world today, especially in the USA. I fear the Goldstones’ old-fashioned approach to scientific history is unlikely to earn their book much space on college reading lists, although I hope I am mistaken.

There are other quirks and solecisms which could put readers off. Perhaps in an effort to make their book contemporary, the Goldstones rope in modern-day references (Erasmus is the Oscar Wilde of his time; Galen was a practitioner of “sports medicine” at a gladiator training camp). The best of these comes when Calvin’s friends plead with him to get married in order to reduce his irritability (this was a simpler time, note the authors). This quest for street-credibility will annoy readers attuned to more traditionalist language; and they will blench at the cliffhanger sentences tacked on at the end of each section.

Other quibbles follow. The movement to professionalize the practice of medicine in the USA in the 19th century is oversimplified. Evidence-based (non-Galenic) medicine did not exactly start in Paris in the 1530s (Servetus’s namesake Arnaud de Villeneuve was making feints in an empirical direction a couple of centuries beforehand). The Servetus memorial at Champel is not neglected so much as ignored (on my three visits I struck a lonely figure snapping photos by the hillside as cars darted by). I was delighted to learn of the Annemasse memorial, however - and if the Goldstones read this review,

they ought to visit the Servetus mural at the Chicago Museum of Surgical Science.

This is not a scissors-and-paste book and it tries to make sense of its baffling subject in a fresh and personal way. The authors’ fascination with Servetus is obvious, and I share it. There are details here and there which justify this book’s inclusion in one’s library. The Goldstones mention that “resurrection stories” began to attach themselves to Servetus’s Parisian colleague, the pioneering anatomist Vesalius. In these anecdotes - presumably circulated by his foes - Vesalius brought patients back from the dead, albeit briefly. I noted this detail with interest, for I remembered how similar tales, implying the use of forbidden knowledge, had grown up around Paracelsus (another 16th century physician) and around Arnaud de Villeneuve! Furthermore, both Arnaud and Paracelsus were alleged to have created a sort of Frankenstein’s monster in their laboratories... In those days, practising medicine was bad for your reputation. Concentrating on medicine would have saved Servetus, but his fate lay elsewhere.

Neil L. Inglis, July 2003

Philip Benedict *Christ’s Churches Purely Reformed: A social history of Calvinism* Yale University Press £30 (ISBN 0-300-08812-4)

Benedict’s book is truly a tour de force. In nearly 700 pages, he provides a comprehensive and detailed examination of the Churches of the Reformed tradition, including those somewhat on the confessional fringes of “Calvinism”. Indeed, the use of “Calvinism”, while understandable, is somewhat misleading; the title’s emphasis upon “Reformed” is more accurate.

His work opens with a discussion of the beginnings of both the Swiss tradition and Calvin’s ministry in Geneva. Thus, one sees the conflicts between Zwingli and Luther as well as the rise of Bullinger. This first section ends with a close analysis of Calvin’s thoughts, work and struggles in Geneva.

The carefully nuanced evaluation of Calvin and Geneva sets the stage for what follows in the second section. Here, Benedict considers the major areas of Reformed expansion: France (with a particular analysis of Béarne), Scotland, the Netherlands, the Reformed states of the Holy Roman Empire, Anglicanism and the Reformed tradition (Puritanism), and eastern Europe (Poland, Lithuania and Hungary). Each of these studies is detailed and based on the most up-to-date research available. On their own, each stands as an excellent introduction to the work and place of Reformed thought and ministers in that given area.

However, this approach tends to present the Reformed tradition in a rather

episodic manner, and perhaps underplays the internationalist aspects of this brand of Protestantism. This minor defect, though, in no way detracts from the masterly handling of each case study.

The third section takes a more thematic approach, and goes some way to providing a pan-European overview of the Reformed tradition as a truly international movement. Benedict begins with a fascinating discussion of the theological disputes in the Reformed tradition, especially over predestination, and the rise of Reformed “orthodoxy and scholasticism”.

He then examines the fate of the Reformed tradition in the changing political climate of 17th-century Europe. He concludes this section with another case study: the part played by the Reformed tradition in the socio-political and religious struggles of 17th-century Britain.

The fourth section focuses on the socio-cultural impact of the Reformed tradition on the lives of individuals. He examines the ministers and other officers of the Church, then considers the place of discipline in detail. Finally, he looks at the development of a Reformed piety, with an emphasis upon family worship and godliness.

Each section has a brief conclusion that rather neatly brings the episodes and case studies together. The work is supported by nearly 20 illustrations, ten maps, two graphs, and nearly 20 tables. The depth of detail and scholarly research is impressive.

For scholars and students interested either in the Reformed tradition as a whole or in individual Churches in that tradition, this volume will be of great use. The episodic nature of the study (almost unavoidable), and the focus on case studies, may somewhat underplay the internationalism of the Reformed movement, but the two thematic sections largely compensate for this. It is a volume that will remain a standard source for scholars of Calvinism and the Reformed tradition for years to come.

Dr William Naphy

Stanley Malless & Jeffrey McQuain *Coined by God: Words and Phrases that First Appear in the English Translations of the Bible* Norton, New York hardback pp221 \$23.95 (ISBN 0-393-020445-2) 2003

It's easy to understand how popular English expressions like “*salt of the earth*” and “*reap the whirlwind*” derive from the Bible. But what about words like “*adoption*” and “*cucumber*”? In “**Coined by God: Words and Phrases That First Appear in the English Translations of the Bible**”, Stanley Malless and Jeffrey McQuain discuss how many everyday words from Hebrew,

Greek and Latin texts were transformed into English. Among their 131 fascinating examples: “*female*”, which first appeared in John Wycliffe's now familiar 1382 translation from Genesis: “*male and female he made them of nought*”; and “*botch*”, which, in his version of the Chronicles, meant simply “*repair*”. Shakespeare gave the word its modern meaning when he had Henry V dismiss those who “*botch and bungle up damnation [with pious motives]*”.

The authors mined seven translations, starting with the first English version by Wycliffe in 1382, and including the King James Bible from 1611. The information on each entry is thorough, quoting the passage in which each word is first found, discussing how others translated it and how the meaning has changed through history. They throw in fun, illuminating examples from modern usage, quoting Gandhi's famous twist on a phrase from Exodus “*an eye for an eye makes the whole world blind*”, and Virginia Woolf's rephrasing of Tyndale's “*a double edged sword*,” which inspired her to write in “*A Room of One's Own*”: “*The beauty of the world has two edges, one of laughter, one of anguish*”. It ensures you'll never watch “*Casablanca*” or even read the sports pages in quite the same way again.

Tara Pepper

This review entitled “*God and Language: a look at the Biblical origins of English*” by Tara Pepper was first published in **Newsweek** on 12 May, 2003

R. M. Kingdon, T. A. Lambert, I. M. Watt ed. trans. M.W. McDonald *Registers of the Consistory of Geneva in the Time of Calvin: Volume 1: 1542-4*. Eerdmans, The Meeter Center ii + 470pp. hbk, \$50 (ISBN 0 8028 4618 1)

This is an English translation of volume 1 of the meticulously prepared French edition of the Registers — the court reports — of the Consistory of Geneva. (Not to be confused with the ***Register of the Company of Pastors of Geneva in the time of Calvin*** trans. P E. Hughes, Eerdmans, 1996). Composed of syndics and councillors, representative of all the districts of the city, together with all the ministers, and elders (in excess of twenty members), the Court had jurisdiction in matters of ecclesiastical discipline over the entire population of Geneva (c. 13,000). Though constituted in this way, according to Calvin the ministers were to have no civil jurisdiction, using only the spiritual sword of the Word of God. Nevertheless, the Consistory may be said to have perpetuated an essentially mediaeval structure of church and state in so far as the church was regarded as coterminous with the political unit (or nearly so), even though the ideals it sought to uphold and inculcate were those of the Reformation, as then understood in Geneva.

Auction of Calvin Manuscripts

Report compiled by Valerie Offord

The Consistory was set up at Calvin's insistence on his return to Geneva in 1541. He took its activities with great seriousness, and was invariably present at its hearings, held usually on Thursdays. Extracts from the *Ordnances* that Calvin prepared, the Consistory's constitution, are reprinted as an Appendix. The Consistory had the power to admonish and to excommunicate and remitted the more serious cases, which it believed merited a fine or corporal punishment, to the Council of the City. It is estimated that in the first two years the Consistory summoned about six per cent of the entire population.

The chief reason for the publication of this voluminous material now (this is only the first of several volumes) is for the light that it throws on the daily life of Geneva at this time. It will undoubtedly be of great value to historians of the Reformation and to social historians of the period. The editors have traced with amazing thoroughness the family and other connection of those brought before the Consistory for various misdemeanours, and they offer explanations of many of the offences and their significance. The Consistory was concerned not only with breaches of the Second Table of the Decalogue, particularly the Seventh Commandment and matters associated with it, but also with the extirpation of the influence of the old religion, the use of the rosary, the dislike of hearing sermons, attendance at Mass, the use of Latin in worship, etc. Those under suspicion were typically asked to recite the Lord's Prayer (in French) and the Confession, and admonished for non-compliance. Reading the *Registers*, even flipping through them, quickly dispels any idealized view of Geneva that one might have had.

From the *Registers* it is clear that, being an inhabitant of Geneva, one could not but be a member of the Church of Christ, at least until excommunicated. If this equation between religious profession and citizenship is accepted, much in these pages is explained: the eldership '*with their eyes everywhere*' the suspicion, the gossiping that led to charges being preferred, even the inequity of the proceedings — and much may even be justified. But many of those who reject that equation may believe that the *Registers* are evidence of the sadly all too frequent attempts in the history of the Church to pull down strongholds by forging carnal weapons of war.

Paul Helm

Note

This review by Paul Helm first appeared in **The Banner of Truth** issue 452 May 2001.

On 12 June this year Sotheby's put up for auction in Paris two documents signed by Calvin from the collection of the well known Genevese Eynard family. This caused quite a stir not only because this type of manuscript had not appeared on the open market since 1982 but also because of the record prices they attained.

Lot 174, dated 23 January 1545, gives an account of Calvin's appearance at the deathbed of a certain Jean Vachat and records the unfortunate man's last utterances. Vachat's suicide attempt, effected by slashing his stomach with a kitchen knife, was successful some agonizing hours later in spite of the barber's attempt to repair the wound. As suicide was a very grave crime punishable by excommunication, Calvin — and this illustrates his humanity — sought to find a solution. The reformer, accompanied by the unfortunate man's brother and a witness, Matthew de Geneston, went to Vachat and asked what had possessed him to carry out such a horrific deed. He replied that he had had enough and, according to the report of the incident written by Geneston and preserved in the Geneva State Archives (**16th century Criminal Trials Collection**), Vachat was suffering dreadfully and sought by using the knife to free himself from earthly life and all its pain. Calvin for his part carefully avoided terms which would condemn Vachat to instant excommunication and urged the unfortunate man to be consoled by the grace of God and prayed with him.

Prof. Irene Backus of the Institute for the History of the Reformation at the University of Geneva commented that she found it a significant document on two counts. Firstly, there are very few documents of this nature in existence and, secondly, it portrays Calvin as a caring person — a trait not always prominent or evident in the many studies about him!

Lot 175 concerned the justification of the condemning to death of Jacques Gruet by Calvin. Composed in May 1550 it was entitled '*Consultation théologique adressée au Sénat de Genève*' signed by Calvin. It is of enormous significance as Gruet was the first person Calvin asked to be condemned to death — the second, of course, was Michel Servet whose case is very well documented (see book review '**Out of the Flames**' elsewhere in this issue for the latest study of him). Jacques Gruet appears to have been a

constant and irritating thorn in the Republic of Geneva's side and therefore Calvin's in particular. In 1546, in spite of being forbidden by the Consistoire, he danced at a wedding feast. The following year, and more seriously, he was suspected of placing posters on the walls of the Cathedral vilifying the protestant authorities - a very grave crime in the newly emerging city state.

Neither the State Archives nor the manuscript department of the University of Geneva's library were able to find the necessary funds to bid for these documents at the estimated reserve prices. In the event they went for record sums to the dealers Bernard Quaritch of London. The Jacques Gruet papers fetched 70'775 euros (109'325 francs) and the Jean Vachat suicide account was sold for 57'950 euros (89'390 francs).

The Geneva State Archivist, Catherine Santschi, expressed the hope that the sales would result in publications as it would be a shame if they simply ended up in a collector's safe.

Sources

Sotheby's Auctions *Books and Manuscripts (on line catalogue June)*

Le Temps 7 June 2003 *Deux manuscrits de Jean Calvin risquent d'échapper à Genève.*

Le Temps 17 June 2003 *Deux manuscrits de Calvin crèvent le plafond des enchères.*



David composing the Psalms - a woodcut from *Historiarum Veteris Testamenti*, *Icones* by Hans Holbein

A `Strine Bible`

Report compiled by Valerie Offord

In the beginning was the word, and the word was "G'day! That's how the New Testament might have begun if Jesus had been born Australian, according to an Australian author and broadcaster, Kel Richards, who has just completed a collection of favourite bible stories retold in Australian English.

To some, Australian English is a screech of tortured vowels and suppressed consonants parodied by "Seinfeld" and "The Simpsons" but to Kel Richards, author of "**The Aussie Bible**" (Well, bits of it anyway), it is a rich vein of regional idioms and unique slang expressions. He was inspired by last year's **Cockney Bible** and the **Surfers' Bible**. Richards' "**The Aussie Bible**" was backed by the Bible Society of New South Wales in an attempt to win new readers for some of the world's best-known stories.

The Virgin Mary is 'a pretty special Sheila' who wraps her nipper in a bunny rug, and tucks him up in a cattle-feed trough. Joe looks on. The Three Wise Men, 'three eggheads from out east', who go in search of the baby Jesus greet the infant king with 'G'day Your Majesty'. This version of the Bible has the Good Samaritan attacked by 'a bunch of bushrangers' while 'Australian Jesus' describes those who build their houses on sand as 'boofheads'.

The deviser, Kel Richards admitted to a Times journalist that he did not know what had inspired him to create the book by remarking 'I don't know if it was a brainwave, a seizure or a bad oyster.'

Sources

Church Times 6 June 2003,

Reuters Press Report (Sydney) 3 June 2003,

The Times July 2003

Prague Bible

Report compiled by Valerie Offord

A flood-damaged 500-year-old Czech Bible, regarded as one of the jewels of central European Christianity, has been saved by British and other experts in a painstaking restoration project using freezers and vacuums to bring it back to its former glory. The Bible is one of the most precious items among a vast array of books, manuscripts and ancient maps waterlogged after the



Ploughboy Notes and News

Working Party

David Ireson the Ploughboy Group Convenor is keen to hear from teachers prepared to join a working party looking at educational materials for use in the UK and USA.

Please contact him for further information: David.Ireson@btinternet.com or tel: **44 (0) 1984 631228.

worst floods in 200 years swamped the Czech capital, Prague, in August 2002. The Bible was the first printed version of the scriptures in the Czech language and one of the first to appear in any Slavonic tongue. Known as the Prague or Kampa Bible and printed in 1488, it is classified as *incunabula* — a work from the earliest period of typography.

Each of the dozen Prague Bibles printed was unique because artists made hand-painted additions reminiscent of the illumination techniques used when Bibles were copied by hand by monks. The volume was one of thousands in Prague's municipal library caught by the swiftly rising waters of the River Vltava.

The head of the Czech National Library's conservation department, Jiri Vnoucek, said millions of items were soaked and the first task was to prevent further deterioration. He said *"It was like being a civilian doctor who maybe sees two or three patients a day suddenly having to deal with thousands of patients on a battlefield, In an emergency, your first concern is to stop the bleeding."* Frozen food warehouses and vehicles were pressed into service to freeze the soggy documents to prevent rotting. However, conservationists had another problem — how to thaw and dry them out without causing further harm.

The British technique employed uses specially developed vacuum machines to package waterlogged items wrapped in materials that slowly absorb the moisture. A small version, which looks like a washing machine mated with a television, copes with most books. After repeated treatments the book is transferred to a gas bath of ethylene oxide to "kill" contaminants from the river water.

Mr Vnoucek, who had studied conservation techniques in Britain, said British experts phoned even before the floodwaters receded to offer help. The British Council paid for the first consignment of vacuum machines and for British specialists to train Czech colleagues. Jana Dvorakova has been restoring the damaged Bible since last February at the National Library's depository as part of her final exams in conservation work and she hopes to have it ready this autumn.

However millions of pieces still await rescue and restoration. A Czech expert calculated that it would take one restorer working alone, 5000 years to repair the 20,000 rare books damaged at the Municipal Library. Dvorakova and Vnoucek admit that this is a daunting thought!

Sources

The Daily Telegraph 24 May 2003

British Library website: bl.uk

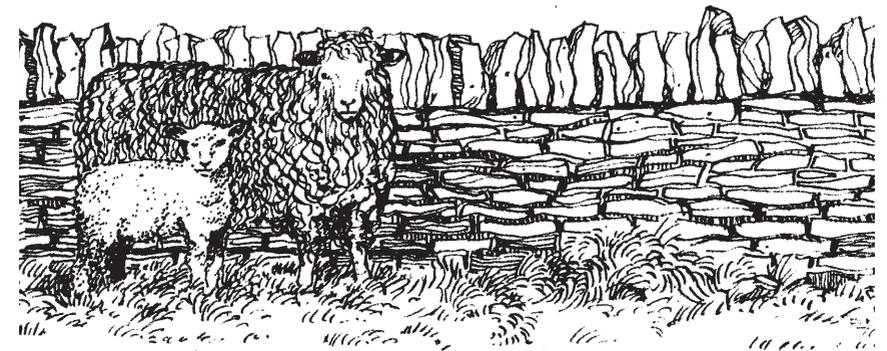
Notes from Tyndale Country

David Green

April 2003.

Living as I do in a small village on the watershed between Severn and Thames and close to the western scarp of the Cotswold hills, I can walk to the edge and look over the Severn valley and the vale of Gloucestershire to the tower of Gloucester Cathedral and beyond to the forest of Dean, the Malvern hills and the distant Welsh mountains.

Much closer to home is the tiny village of Compton Abdale in another fold of these hills. This was prime sheep rearing country in the 1400s when



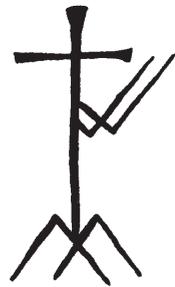
the Bishop of Worcester and the Lord of Berkeley ran great flocks and the worth of Cotswold fleeces was well told in the cloth halls of Ghent, Ypres and Bruges.

The wolds are now an officially designated 'Area of Outstanding Natural and Architectural Beauty' and only a few hundred of that famous 'lion' breed of long wool sheep survive. The word wold signifies wooded upland and the whole area was forested in the Middle Ages. Most houses were timber framed until wood became scarcer due to deforestation and the hills became largely bare sheep runs. Later centuries saw both poor and rich using the local honey-coloured limestone for house building, and the wool towns and wealthy merchants' houses now draw in tourists and 'incomers' like myself. In my spare time I work as a voluntary Cotswold Tree Warden and with other wardens from many parishes try to plant and care for as many new trees as possible.

In 1993 a local lady, Katja Kosmala, another 'incomer', wrote '**Compton Abdale in the Cotswolds**', a finely researched and superbly produced large format paperback of which only one thousand copies were printed. I never met Katja - sadly she died several years ago. I also found that Longhouse, her publisher in Winchcombe, was no longer operating in the UK. However, I have traced her son Rupert, who now lives in America, and have his permission to reprint a chapter from her book. Therefore in Katja's memory and on account of the coinciding interests of my adoptive landscape and Tyndale studies, I would like to quote in full her chapter 18 which describes the impact of the Reformation on a small Cotswold community.

Explanatory note on the chapter entitled 'The Reformation' from Katja Kosmala's book

The Priory referred to at the outset is the Priory of St Oswald in Gloucester. Together with the nearby barony of Churchdown on a hill midway between the town and village, it was held under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York. At the dissolution both were transferred to King Henry and then to the new Bishopric of Gloucester in 1542. The tithes and glebelands were eventually ceded to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Bristol.



William Midwinter's woolmark

The Reformation

being chapter 18 of Katja Kosmala's book 'Compton Abdale in the Cotswolds'

Though the connection between the manor of Compton and the Priory had been broken so long ago that it must have been forgotten, strong links remained between the parish and the canons until the Priory ceased to exist in 1536, for the Prior as Rector of the parish appointed the priest and also owned the glebe (Rectory Farm). True, the farm had been let for many, many years, but as we know, the Prior and Chapter had a room, a cellar and stables there. Remembering their fondness for country life, we can be sure that they made use of this pied-à-terre to the last.

John Rogers' will of 1498(1) confirms the good relations between the village and the Canons, or at least between John Rogers and the Canons. He leaves 4d to each of them, 6s 8d to one particular Canon, Sir Philipp Herford; to the mother-church in Gloucester 20s, "which John Cassy owes me",



The Parish Church of St. Oswald, King and Martyr - Compton Abdale

and 2s. to the three orders of friars, which is a tribute to their popularity as preachers. Canon Herford seems to have been a personal friend, for he witnesses the will and receives more than anybody else outside the family.

Then all this friendly intercourse suddenly came to an end. The Priory was dissolved, the canons dispersed. They would not come riding up from the vale any more and their room in the farmhouse -- and their cellar! -- would not be needed any longer. Rectory Farm had no more business in Gloucester and the traffic between village and town dwindled. St. Oswald's no longer had a mother-church and the priest was on his own, though nominally the Archbishop of York had spiritual jurisdiction until the new bishopric of Gloucester was created in 1542.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries was, of course, not the first of the profound changes and upheavals which we now call the Reformation and which would continue for a century and more. The king's divorce and the break with Rome had preceded the Dissolution, but how much these events which reverberated throughout Europe shook the small village in the Cotswolds, we have no means of knowing. The disappearance of the Priory would, we imagine, have affected Compton more than the royal Supremacy. But the king's private life, which was not so very private after all, would certainly have been irresistible to comment on unless people in 1535 were very different from people in 1935, although in hushed voices - for it was dangerous to take sides or to express sympathy for the wronged queen. Whatever happened in those fateful days happened in London, and few country people would go there and have firsthand knowledge. Hearsay and rumour must have been the main vehicles by which news travelled into the villages. Then, in 1535, the king and Anne Boleyn came to Gloucestershire. They stayed in Fairford with John Tame and, passing through Cirencester, rode on to Prinknash. Was anybody in Compton curious enough to travel to Cirencester to get a glimpse of the woman who apparently had caused all the turmoil? Who was the reason that the king had put himself in the place of the Holy Father as Head of the Church in England?

But although the King defied the Pope, he did nothing to disturb the faith of his people. He had been given the title Defender of the Faith for his polemic against Martin Luther and he remained as averse to the radical Reformers as he had been before his break with Rome. His Six Articles upheld the tenets of Catholic religion and were enforced with severity. Churches, as well as the Service, kept their reassuring familiarity. Mass was said in Latin, as it always had been, and Confession and Absolution eased the sinners' consciences. Joan Rogers (2) bequeaths "to ye hye alter a draper

bord cloth to make alterclothes and also to ye sacrament a kercheve to be upon ye pyx", and making her will in the 37th year of "our sovereign lorde king Henry ye 8th supreme head immediately under god of the church of England", (1546) she bequeaths "my sowle to Almyghty God, to our Lady Saint Mary and to all the wholly company in Heven" with all the trust of her forebears.

When, however, the young king followed his father on the throne, the Reformers were given free rein, and Protector Somerset constantly asked Calvin, the most radical of them, for advice. Calvin, though, complained that the Reformation in England was not thorough and quick enough. It was, in fact, too fast for the people to assimilate and absorb. Already in Edward's second year as king, Latin in the Service was abolished and the Liturgy had to be in English. Images, tapers, holy water and side altars were removed, the celibacy of the priests done away with, and many made use of the freedom to marry. The saints and - worst of all - the Virgin Mary were banished from Heaven. Belief in Purgatory was disapproved of and prayers for the dead forbidden. Confession was not prohibited outright, but gradually died out through discouragement.

All this went to the very heart of popular faith and religious life, and evasion and resistance were the natural response to such shattering deprivations. But King Edward in his turn was as severe as his father had been. Roman worship was prohibited and offenders were punished with prison for hearing Mass. The king would not even make an exception for Princess Mary, his half-sister, who had petitioned to have Roman Services privately in her residence. All these reforms could not be enforced everywhere at once. The diocese of Gloucester, however, was not allowed to ignore the new spirit for its bishop was one of the most ardent Reformers.

Bishop Hooper had early on come under the influence of the Continental Reformers, Zwingli and Bucer, and had had to leave England when the Six Articles came into force in about 1540. He stayed in Switzerland for some years and when he returned to his own country he was, more than ever, convinced of the rightness of the new teaching and more zealous for implementing it. His dedication was soon noticed and he was made Bishop of Gloucester in 1551. But his radical attitude nearly wrecked his episcopal career before it began because he chose to be imprisoned rather than consent to wear the traditional vestments at his consecration. A compromise was eventually reached, he was released from prison, consecrated, and went to Gloucester to redeem his province.

He found much to do. The backwardness of the diocese, the apathy and

the conservatism of the higher clergy, the corruptness and ignorance of the parish priests might have discouraged any but the most dedicated and zealous reformer. Nevertheless, Bishop Hooper attacked these evils with untiring energy and devotion, "going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there", acting as judge in the diocesan court to defeat the cumbersome mediaeval procedure, "he left no pains untaken nor ways unsought how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation." (3) This was always his ultimate aim, but to save the flock, he had to reform the shepherds first.

One of his first acts (4) was to examine the clergy in the fundamental and most important Christian subjects: the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and only 79 out of 311 examined clergy were wholly satisfactory. Nine did not know how many commandments there were, 33 did not know where to find them, the gospel of St. Matthew being the favourite place to look for them; 168 could not recite them. Only 10 could not recite the Creed, but most of them, - 216 - could not prove it from Scripture; 39 could not find the Lord's Prayer, 34 did not know its author and 10 could not recite it.

Judged against this background, Compton's minister, Johannes Roodes, appears quite satisfactory (5); he could answer all questions, bar one, the scriptural proof of the Creed, but 215 others failed in this point too.

Ignorance was not the only failing of the clergy which Hooper's unceasing vigilance brought to light. The low standard of morals and behaviour is reflected in the cases before the Diocesan Court. Violence, incontinence and keeping a woman in the house, sortilege or sorcery, and forging a will - all these occur. The hawking and hunting for which the vicar of Toddington is taken to task may not become the "sober, modest, keeping hospitality, honest, religious, chaste" parson who was the bishop's ideal, but it was one of the more innocent shortcomings.

A frequently recurring charge is "superstition", that is Roman practice. While the royal Supremacy was fairly easily accepted - the vicar of South Cerney, among others, even thought that the Lord's Prayer was so called because the Lord King had given it in his Book of Common Prayers - the spirit of the Edwardian reform penetrated the depth of the country but slowly. What had been believed and practised since time out of mind could not be eradicated overnight. The incumbents of Hazleton, Hampnett and Turkdean were found guilty of superstition, and the rector of Hawling was ordered to preach more often. Johannes Roodes, Compton's priest, is not mentioned in any of the Court records. He apparently led a quiet and blameless life and

conformed, at least enough to keep him out of court. Had he been a gross sinner, he certainly would not have escaped the bishop's attention.

The bishop seems to have been satisfied with Compton Abdale (6), church, priest and parish alike, for it is mentioned but only once in the extensive records of his episcopate and then only in respect of the church yard wall. This was found in need of attention and Compton was given a fortnight to repair it. Strangely enough, four men are recorded to have objected to this request and stranger still, one of them was Johannes Roodes.

There is no record of the Protestantization of Compton church, but no admonition to carry it out either. The reform of the parish churches had begun in piecemeal fashion before Hooper came to Gloucestershire: under his zealous eye, however, it gathered momentum. Of all the changes the Reformation brought the spoliation of their church certainly was the hardest to accept for the village people. The church then was not aloof from the village, to be visited for Sunday Service and not again until the next Sunday, but part of everyday life; church, village hall and even market place, all in one, the churchyard was a playground and meeting place. The old table-tomb just asked to be used as a seat, and the young men did not hesitate to chip holes into the slab for playing Nine Men's Morris. It was their church, familiar yet mysterious at Service time, when the priest celebrated Mass at the High Altar for which Joan Rogers had left the altar cloth only a few years before. There was the eternal lamp, which her kinsman, John Rogers, had provided by a bequest of 20 sheep to the church, there was the flicker of the candles on the side altars, given and lit in supplication to a saint or the Virgin or as thanks for help received. The paintings on the walls had been studied from childhood and Christ crucified, His Mother and St. John had looked down on them from the Rood Screen all their lives.

By royal command the church was stripped of all these sacred and familiar things. The rood-screen had to be dismantled, the lamp and the candles extinguished, the walls were whitewashed, the "idols" of the saints and Virgin Mary disappeared, the holy water stoop was removed - the church was bare and empty.

We can only try to imagine the pain and bewilderment of the people in Compton, and countless other parishes up and down the country, when they found themselves in this austere place of worship, deprived of the intercession of the "company in heaven" and the comfort of the Mother of Our Lord, venerated and dear, and nearer to the hearts and minds of the worshippers than the remote Godhead. Yet they had responded loyally, but when the bishop was still not satisfied and ordered the repair of the church yard

wall, reasonable though the request appears, they protested. They protested against perhaps more than the churchyard wall.

Bishop Hooper worked unceasingly and never sparing himself, not only in one diocese but two, for he had to look after Worcester as well (7). His wife worried because of his overworking and feared he might break down. He probably would have ruined his health, given time, but, after two and a half years of his episcopate, King Edward died and with the accession of Queen Mary the Reformation came to a halt. Hooper was ordered to London and deprived of his office because of his marriage and his denial of transubstantiation. After a stay in Fleetwood prison, where he was treated harshly, he was sent back to Gloucester. People lined the street and wept when he passed, though he had been such a severe task master. He was burned at the stake near the church of St. Mary Lode, half-way between St. Oswald's and the Cathedral, where his monument stands now, on February the 9th, 1554.



Bishop Hooper's monument. It was erected on the exact spot where he was burnt at the stake in 1554.

His diocese settled back into Catholicism easily; there were no martyrs in Gloucestershire. His successor, Bishop Brooke, was a mild man, a state of apathy returned and Gloucestershire "enjoyed much quiet". (Fuller)

Editor's note

We are very grateful to Rupert Kosmala, for allowing us to reproduce this chapter from his mother's book. It was a limited illustrated edition of 1000 copies published by Longhouse of Winchcombe in 1993 and is now out of print.

Notes and references

1. Hockaday Abstracts
2. Will no. 93 Gloucester Diocesan Register
3. Clarke, Dr A. *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* Ward Lock & Co London p.21
4. Gloucester Diocese under Bishop Hooper Brit. & Glos Archaeological Soc Trans Vol. 60 1938
5. vol 6, 124 Gloucester Diocesan Register
6. Bishop Hooper's Act Books
7. '...I entreat you to recommend master Hooper to be more moderate in his behaviour; for he preaches four, or at least three times a day; and I am afraid lest these over abundant exertions should occasion a premature decay by which the very many souls now hungering after the very word of God, and whose hunger is well known from the frequent desire to hear him, will be deprived of both their teacher and his doctrine'. Anne Hooper to Henry Bullinger, April 3rd 1551 from *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation* edited for the Parker Society by the Rev Hastings Robinson, the university Press MDCCCXLVI 1846.

John 1:1 in the Tyndale Bible Those Thats

Vic Perry

August 2003.

In 1526 Tyndale translated John 1:1, '*In the begynnynge was that worde, and that worde was with god: and god was thatt worde.*' In 1534 this was changed to, '*In the beginnyng was the worde, and the worde was with God: and the worde was God.*' The thats have gone. Neither Wycliffe, nor any translation after Tyndale inserts the three thats. The Geneva Bible of 1599 [DMH 247] followed by the Bishops' Bible, has, '*In the beginning was the Worde, and the Worde was with God, and that Worde was God*', but here '*That Worde*' could refer back to the previously mentioned 'Word'.

The thats are in 1526 Tyndale only. They are not in the Greek, and a recent

book says that Tyndale was here 'influenced by the Vulgate', but the Vulgate has simply 'In principio erat verbum'. And Erasmus's parallel Latin version in his *Novum Instrumentum*, which Tyndale would have used, agrees with the Vulgate. However, Erasmus's notes, in *Evangelium Ioannis annotationes Erasmi Roterodami*, may be the source of Tyndale's thats. In his comments on John 1:1 Erasmus wrote 'Verum illud propius ad hoc institutum pertinet, non simpliciter positum λόγος, sed additum articulum ὁ λόγος, ut non possit de quovis accipi verbo, sed de certo quoniam & insigni. Habet enim hanc vim articulus, quam latini utcunque redimus adiecto pronomine ille...' He goes on to illustrate the par excellence use of the article in Greek, which in Latin could be indicated by the use of *ille*.

This suggestion is supported by the use of *ille* by other writers Pagninus, Piscator and Beza are referred to by Poole. Beza, for example, has in his chapter heading, 'Sermo ille ante secula ex Deo genitus'; he translates the verse, 'In principio erat Sermo ille, & Sermo ille erat apud Deum, eratque ille Sermo, Deus'; and he annotates, 'Additus articulus excellentiam notat, discernitque hunc Sermonem, a mandatis divinis, quae alioqui sermo Dei dicuntur.'

Tyndale Conference Geneva 2003

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

Lecture Titles

Friday evening 24 October

Prof Francis Higman and Keith Dale
A lecture on the Geneva Psalter and music contemporary to the exiles.

Saturday 25 October

Prof David Daniell
The Forgotten Genius of the Geneva Bible Translators.

Prof Francis Higman
Calvin's Correspondence with the English exiles and Knox about the Anglican liturgy.

Prof John McDiarmid
Sir John Cheke and the English Exiles in Padua.

Ms Eleanor Merchant
'Voluntarium in Germania exilium' – aspects of exile in the works of Lawrence Humphrey

Prof Andrew Pettegree
The Marian Exiles and the European Book World

Dr Antoinina Bevan Zlatar
Protestant versus Protestant: Anthony Gilby's 'A Pleasaunt Dialogve betweene a Souldior of Barwicke and an English Chaplaine' and the Vestments Controversy of 1563-67.

Sunday morning 26 October

Prof David Daniell to preach at the 10.30am service in Holy Trinity Church, Geneva.



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 John F. McDiarmid

Former Associate Professor at the University of South Florida, USA

Ms Antoinina Bevan Zlatar

Institute of Reformation History, University of Geneva, Switzerland

Ms Eleanor Merchant

Queen Mary College, University of London



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.

Programme

Friday 24 October

Conference registration and residents' check-in from 14h. Visit to Bodmer Collection in Geneva. Leave Cartigny at 15h.

Evening Aperitif and dinner.

Lecture on 16th century music (with singers) by Prof. F. Higman and Keith Dale, organist at Holy Trinity Church

Saturday 25 October

9 - 9.45 Registration. Bookstall open.

9.45 All day conference (including lunch) featuring lectures by the speakers on various aspects of the lives and achievements of the 16th century Marian exiles.

Evening Conference dinner.

Sunday 26 October

Church service at Holy Trinity or morning free followed by lunch. Afternoon guided walk around The Geneva of the Marian exiles.



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, Liliane Iselin, Judith Munzinger, Valerie Offord (Chairman), Arthur Robinson, Joan Wilson.

Society Notes

Compiled by Rochelle Givoni

Publications Committee

The Society's Publications Committee held its first meeting on 7 April 2003 in Oxford. The members of this new committee are Mr Peter Clifford (Chairman), Dr Brian Cummings, Prof David Daniell, Ms Charlotte Dewhurst, Prof Andrew Hadfield, Mr Brian Johnson, Mrs Valerie Offord, and Dr Helen Parish. A short report on the work of the Committee appears in this issue of the Journal.

Reformation

Volume 8 of *Reformation* is scheduled for publication in January 2004. The winner of the annual Company of Stationers' and Newspaper Makers' prize for 2003 for the best article will be announced at that time.

Tyndale Conference Geneva

The Third Tyndale Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, 24 - 26 October is the Society's major conference for 2003. The theme of the conference, *The Marian Exiles in 16th Century Europe*, is an important aspect of Reformation history. The conference also includes social events and a guided walk around the Geneva of the Marian exiles.

The Bible in English

Yale University Press has published Professor David Daniell's new book, *The Bible in English* (ISBN 0 300 09930 4, £29.95). The launch on 26 June 2003 was held in Lambeth Palace Library, a venue that will be familiar to many members of the Society. In more than 900 pages, Professor Daniell charts the profound impact successive versions of the Bible, including that of William Tyndale, have had on the people and communities that read them.

USA Book Launch

The USA launch of *The Bible in English* will be held in New York on Monday, 22 September 2003. Vice Chairman of the Society, Mary Clow, and Yale University Press invite members of the Society and their guests to attend the launch at Apt. 7A, 3 East 85th Street, New York, NY10028.

Friends of Lambeth Palace Library

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury was in the Chair for the annual

meeting and lecture of the Friends of Lambeth Palace Library, which was held on 8 July 2003. Professor David Daniell gave the lecture on *Access to the English Bible in the Sixteenth Century: The Forgotten Story*.

Gloucester Cathedral

At the request of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester Cathedral, this year Tyndale's day will be celebrated on 7, rather than 6 October 2003. The lecture by Professor David Daniell will be *Translating the Bible: Why Tyndale is Still Vital*. The lecture will be followed by evensong in the Cathedral and supper.

Oxford

This year's Hertford Lecture will be held in the Examination Schools in Oxford on Thursday, 16 October 2003. The title of the lecture, to be given by Dr Brian Cummings of the School of European Studies at the University of Sussex, is *Hamlet's Luck: Shakespeare and the Sixteenth Century Bible*.

London

Why do the chattering classes hate Christianity? is the title of this year's Lambeth Palace Lecture, to be given by Cristina Odone at Lambeth Palace on Monday, 27 October 2003. Ms Odone is a writer and broadcaster, deputy editor of *The New Statesman*, and former editor of *The Tablet*.

Christmas 2003

We are delighted to have been invited once again by St. Mary Abchurch to hold our annual Tyndale Christmas service in this fine City of London church. The date for this event is Wednesday, 17 December 2003. We are also planning to hold another Tyndale Society Christmas party during the evening of the same day.

Future Conferences

The next International Tyndale Conference in Oxford will be held in late summer of 2005 which will be the tenth anniversary of the Society. A number of celebratory events are also being planned.

In addition, we are delighted to hear from Revd Dr Ralph Werrell that the West Midlands Ploughboy Group is planning a conference in Lichfield in May 2006. Current plans include papers on the theology of William Tyndale and translation issues. Other activities include Sunday morning worship in the Cathedral, and a tour of the Cathedral and a Dr Johnson tour.

A Selection of Items for sale

Tyndale Society Journal (ISSN 1357-4167)

Editor Valerie Offord M.A. Cantab

Most back issues are available. £2 +P&P

'A Tyndale Christmas' – Available now on CD!

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

Hertford College Chapel Choir

Reader: David Daniell

Conductor: Lee G K Dunleavy

Organ Scholar: William Falconer

Readings from Tyndale accompanied by the following carols:

It came upon the midnight clear, *John Stainer*: O come all ye faithful, *John Wade* arr. *David Willcocks*: Today the Virgin, *John Taverner*: Of Angel's Song, *Philip Wilby*: Unto us is born a Son, arr. *Aidan Liddle*: A Christmas Pastoral, *Bernard Luard Selby*: Alma redemptoris mater, *Peter Maxwell Davies*: O little town of Bethlehem, arr. *Ralph Vaughan Williams*: Shepherds loud their praises singing, *Alec Rowley*: Illuminare, Jerusalem, *Judith Weir*: Hark! the herald angels sing, *Felix Mendelssohn* arr. *David Willcocks*.

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

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

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

An ideal aid for lectures and talks about Tyndale, the first edition of this set of 100 slides, taped commentary and notes illustrating the life and work of William Tyndale sold out completely. The 2nd Edition has been in just as much demand and is about to be reprinted. This new Edition includes additional slides including the English House and mediaeval alleyways of Antwerp and printing presses from the Plantin Moretus Museum. The commentary can be provided on tape or minidisk. £25.00 (US\$ 37.50) + P&P.

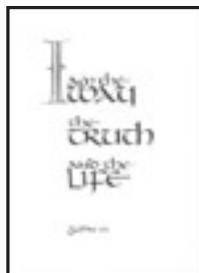
'Poems on the Underground' Posters

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

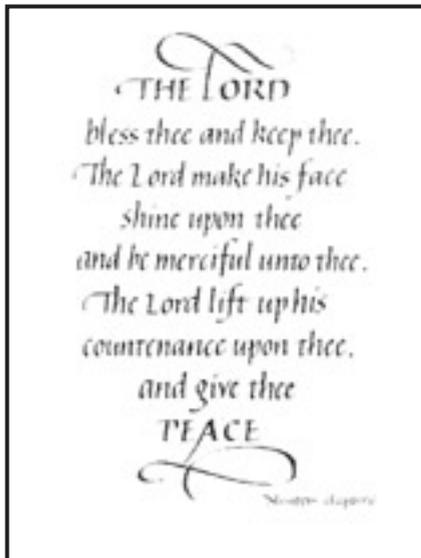
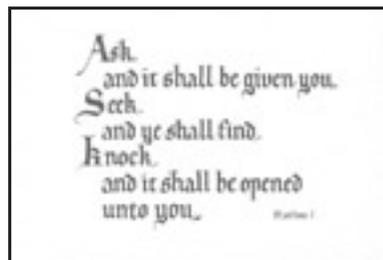
T-Shirts

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

Tyndale Calligraphy Cards



Back by popular demand! Reprints of our calligraphy cards have been made possible by David Green. These are now available in packets of ten with envelopes £7.50 +P&P



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:

Valerie Kemp, Tyndale Society, Hertford College, Oxford, OX1 3BW, UK.
valerie.kemp@hertford.ox.ac.uk

Dates for Your Diary

2003

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

Monday 22 September

USA Launch of Prof David Daniell's book 'The Bible in English'.

Hosts –Mary Clow and Yale University Press

Venue Apt.7A, 3 East 85th Street, New York, NY10028.

All Society members welcome. RSVP to tel. +1 212 288 5395 or maryclow@aol.com.

Tuesday 7 October 3pm

Annual Tyndale Lecture at Gloucester Cathedral

A lecture entitled 'Translating the Bible: Why Tyndale is still vital' will be given by Prof. David Daniell. It will be followed by evensong and supper.

Tickets for lecture only £6, for lecture and supper £11.50 obtainable from David Green, 22 Foss Field, Winstone, Gloucestershire, GL7 7JY tel+44 (0) 1285 821651.

Thursday 16 October 5pm

The Annual Hertford College Tyndale Lecture at the Examination Schools, High Street, Oxford.

This year's lecture entitled 'Hamlet's Luck: Shakespeare and the Sixteenth Century Bible' will be given by Dr Brian Cummings, School of European Studies, University of Sussex and will be followed by drinks in Hertford College (a five minute walk from the Examination Schools). All members, friends and their guests are welcome.

Friday 24 October to Sunday 26 October

Third Tyndale Conference Geneva, Switzerland.

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

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, Ms Antoinina Bevan Zlatar, University of Geneva, Switzerland and Ms Eleanor Merchant Queen Mary College, University of London

For further information and booking please contact Judith Munzinger, 330 route de Jussy, 1254 Jussy, Geneva, Switzerland jmunzinger@compuserve.com

Monday 27 October 6.00pm

9th Annual Lambeth Lecture at Lambeth Palace, London.

This year's lecture entitled '*Why the Chattering Classes hate Christianity*' will be given by Cristina Odone, writer and broadcaster, former editor of **The Tablet** and deputy editor of **The New Statesman**.

Admission by ticket only. Dinner at the nearby Novotel can be booked after the lecture. Please apply to Mrs Priscilla Frost, 27 Ditchley Road, Charlbury, Oxon. OX7 3QS, UK. Phone: +44 (0) 1608 811818. Fax: +44 (0) 1608 819010. enquiries.oxconf@pop3.hiway.co.uk

Wednesday 17 December 12.30pm

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

Come and join Society members for a service of carols and readings from Tyndale at this traditional Christmas event. As last year it is planned to hold a Tyndale Society Christmas party the same evening.

STOP PRESS

It was with immense regret that we learnt of the death on Friday 8 August of Sir Edward Pickering, one of the Tyndale Society's patrons. He was a founder member of the Society and wholeheartedly supported its many activities and events. He will be sorely missed. A full appreciation of him and his life will appear in the next issue of the Journal.

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Vice-Chairs	Sir Rowland Whitehead, rowlandwhitehead@hotmail.com Ms Mary Clow, maryclow@aol.com
Treasurer	Mr Peter Baker, peter.baker@hertford.ox.ac.uk
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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.

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