

# The Tyndale Society Journal



No. 29  
*August 2005*

## 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.

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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 4 November 2005**.

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

## Editorial

Valerie Offord

4 July 2005

*When the sweet showers of April fall and shoot  
Down through the drought of March to pierce the root,  
Then the people long to go on pilgrimages  
And palmers long to seek the stranger strands  
Of far-off saints, hallowed in sundry lands.*

*Geoffrey Chaucer*

This year another Geoffrey, the Bishop of Europe, invited the parishes in his Diocese of Gibraltar in Europe to observe the 25th Jubilee of its creation with pilgrimage as the theme. The chaplaincies of the Swiss Archdeaconry decided to organise a series of pilgrimage featuring the historic sites and beautiful scenery of each chaplaincy area to celebrate our common faith together. For instance, in June five of the chaplaincies (Montreux, Vevey, Lausanne, La Côte and Geneva) walked along the north shore of the Lake of Geneva to follow the traditional pilgrimage route of Santiago de Compostela. This section is on the route from Northern Germany which traverses Switzerland and exits at Geneva to continue across France and on to Northern Spain.

Christian pilgrimages began at least as early as the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The main destinations were Jerusalem and Rome and these were joined in time by Santiago de Compostela in Spain, the supposed site of the tomb of St James the Apostle. In England the most frequently visited sites were the shrines of St Thomas at Canterbury, of St Edmund at Bury St Edmunds and of Our Lady at Walsingham.

The desire of the believer and the penitent to visit holy sites is common to many religions. Historically the reasons for undertaking pilgrimages can best be summed up in three ways:- the desire to visit a holy site to make amends for having committed sin and as a penance in the hope of forgiveness - for example, officially at least, Henry II's pilgrimage after the murder of Thomas à Becket; the wish to see and touch places and objects (the cult of relics) considered to be holy; for the pleasure of travelling. In the Middle Ages – and even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century from our recent experience – a pilgrimage provided an exciting challenge and an opportunity to leave a familiar and mundane life. In medieval times naturally it was much more challenging – no mobile phone, no backup cars on hand for refreshments in case the local inn or bistro was closed or for when rucksacks became unnecessarily burdensome. It was a hard slog into the unknown for weeks and months on end. Medieval

pilgrimages were not just for the wealthy; the poor, the sick and afflicted also went. A pilgrimage was often the only chance people had to travel. It could be loosely described as the equivalent of a modern 'package' tour. The merchants of Venice offered to organise travel, food, accommodation and guided tours of Jerusalem! The *Mirabilia Urbis Romane* was a 12<sup>th</sup> century tourist guide which listed and described the sites of Rome that the pilgrim or stranger might like to explore.

Pilgrimages experienced a mass extinction event, though not quite of dinosaur magnitude, at the time of the Reformation. Henry VIII abolished pilgrimage in Britain when he dissolved the monasteries. There was a strong universal repudiation of relics in many countries of which Calvin's treatise *An Admonition showing the advantages which Christendom might derive from an inventory of relics* is arguably the most lucid and well known. Now in the 21<sup>st</sup> century pilgrimage could be said to be enjoying somewhat of a revival. Routes are being clearly indicated, travellers are anxious to experience a lesser dependence on the slavery of technology, enjoy the beauties of the countryside and possibly, as we in the diocese tried to do, to re-think spiritual faith and Christian commitment.

In no sense can this issue of the *Tyndale Journal* be described as a pilgrimage one. However members of the Tyndale Society were warmly greeted by the local residents rather in the manner of medieval pilgrims when they attended the spring meeting in Kirtling, Suffolk. Our lead article is the paper given on that occasion by Prof David Daniell entitled *No Tyndale, No Shakespeare*. Eunice Burton's report on this day conference will surely make many of you regret that you were unable to travel there. If pilgrimage is defined as travelling and arriving as a stranger in a distant land with good intentions then the journey undertaken to the New World by John Eliot, surely qualified. Dr Herbert Samworth's paper entitled *To Lay a Sure Foundation: John Eliot and the Algonquin Bible* was given at the Tyndale Society's Virginia Conference in September 2004.

Sadly both Justin Howes and Carsten Peter Thiede's pilgrimages through life have been cut tragically short. There are appreciations of both of them and also a reprint of Carsten's article on *The Greek Bible* which first appeared in the *Church of England Newspaper* in 2004. It gives a small taste of his scholarship for those who were not privileged to make his acquaintance.

Rowland Whitehead's report *Arboreal Tyndale* describes the recent planting of a tree in memory of William Tyndale in Lambeth Palace Garden – quite an honour for the Society as it continues its journey to heighten awareness of the achievements of this Protestant reformer and martyr.

There is a particularly lively book review section in this issue embracing a variety of subjects. The editor is especially pleased to welcome some new pens/keyboards to the task. As promised in *TSJ No. 28* Neil Inglis has reviewed a history of the Reformation in Spain written by Thomas McCrie in 1842. The reviewer remarks that this study is '*dated and quaint*'. Dr Korey Maas gives a measured assessment of the reissue of that essential volume for students *Documents of the English Reformation*. Pilgrimages were not the only practices suppressed at the Reformation as we learn from Dr C. Daniell's review of the recent paperback edition of Peter Marshall's *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*.

Dr Donald Smeeton not only found time to review a book but also travelled to review two exhibitions in America for us. The exhibition *Illuminating the Word: The Saint John's Bible* unfortunately closed in Minneapolis in July but will undoubtedly travel to other locations in the States. *Ink and Blood: Dead Sea Scrolls to the English Bible* is currently running in Lexington, Kentucky. *After Gutenberg*, a recent exhibition at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, also reviewed in this issue, had amongst its rare incunabula a pilgrimage map the *Rom Weg* and an illustration probably intended as a souvenir for pilgrims.

*Press Gleanings* continues to throw interesting light on a myriad of subjects. Who amongst us was aware that Captain Bartholomew Gosnold alighted from his ship the *Godspeed* on the shore of Virginia a full 13 years before the *Mayflower* set sail? *DNA may identify America's founding father* will provide the details.

My thanks go to all those who answered my appeal to review books and write articles. I am truly grateful even if I am not always as meticulous as I should be in replying to you all.

You will find within this Journal details of many interesting events in the coming year. The most imminent is the *Fourth Oxford Tyndale Conference Opening the Word to the World*. It has succeeded in attracting a remarkable line up of distinguished speakers from all over the world. You should all register without delay! Read your issue assiduously, sign up for events and conferences and encourage others to do so and, above all, keep on sending articles, information, letters and comments to the editor.

This issue was not taken on the Diocesan pilgrimage but, following the steps of John Eliot and Bartholomew Gosnold, it did journey to the New World – San Diego to be precise - and back but by plane rather than on foot, horseback and in a small ship.

*God of our pilgrimage you have led us thus far. Refresh and sustain us as we go forward on our journey.*

## No Tyndale, No Shakespeare

David Daniell

*A paper given at the Tyndale Kirtling Meeting, Suffolk  
16 April 2005*

Understanding that Shakespeare was a keen and intense reader has taken a long time to come. The 18th century strongly denied him any 'learning'. He was a sport of nature, totally lacking 'art', that is, conscious craft, knowledge of what he was doing as a poet and playwright. The Deity opened a flap in his head and poured it all in. Better grasp followed, though slowly. But until less than fifty years ago, Shakespeare was denied any great reading. The 21st century knows better, and, recognising the unprecedentedly rapid and powerful growth of a new mental world in Britain in the last half of the 16th century, allows Shakespeare, with one great exception, remarkable reading across a very wide spectrum and in several languages.

Before I come to the modern exception to his acknowledged reading skills, I want to spend a little time here in this wonderful place paying tribute to Sir Thomas North and his translation of Plutarch. A word first about Plutarch, the great first century AD Greek historian and moralist. He was a disciple of Plato and a student of Pythagoras, and a prolific writer, most well known for his *Bioi paralleloi - Parallel Lives of the Most Noble Greeks and Romans* (exact date unknown). Here in Greek are fifty lives, a Greek life matching a Roman life, to make them comment silently on each other. Plutarch is more interested in moral character than in political events, though he is always aware that the course of the world's history is being shaped, and he can do set pieces where needed, like the murder of Pompey, or huge battle scenes. But his unique appeal is in his skill in the choice of anecdote, sometimes very small, to reveal the nature of the man. As Sir Thomas North translated his words, *oftentimes a light occasion, a word, or some sport makes men's natural dispositions and manners appear more plain, than the famous battles won.*

Plutarch's powers of selection, description and narrative are seen in the big Roman lives, at critical times of Roman history, that Shakespeare used: Caius Martius Coriolanus, Pompey, Julius Caesar, Brutus, Antony, Cassius, Octavius Caesar, Cicero and many more, lives which include exotics like Cleopatra.

Now, though Plutarch never ceased to be read from the first century, and the *Lives* came to most of Renaissance Europe through Latin versions and a fine French translation by Amyot, for Roman history Elizabethan school-

masters and writers did not dare to move beyond the stock classroom texts of Tacitus and Livy and the 'Twelve Caesars' approach to Roman history propounded by the gossipy Suetonius. Then, suddenly and wonderfully in 1579, Sir Thomas North changed all that. Now in English (not Greek, Latin nor French) were the great dramatic events seen with fresh authority through Greek humanist eyes with republican sympathies, and, even more tellingly for a writer like Shakespeare, full of ordinary men and women caught up in the drama. At the dramatic heart of his *Julius Caesar*, for Caesar's progress across Rome to his death, Shakespeare uses from Plutarch the bad omen of the sacrifice, Caesar's wife's dream, the voices from the crowd, the Soothsayer, and much else. A tiny moment [Act 2. scene 4] is pure Shakespeare dramatising Plutarch, where Brutus's wife Portia desperately sends, in Plutarch, *'messenger after messenger [to the Senate House] to know what news'*. In Shakespeare, she three times urgently tells her servant Lucius to run to the Senate House, and three times chides him for not running - until he has to ask her to tell him why he is running anyway.

Sir Thomas North translated Plutarch from the French into marvellous English, likened a century ago to the 1611 Authorised Version, KJV. That, and the immensely attractive interlocking of human detail after detail into the white heat of drama, as in the events up to Caesar's death, have ensured that North still has eager readers. I conclude this all-too-brief section with two points: the first is that our unshakeable 21st century idea of Rome, as it has been since the early 17th century, is Shakespeare's. That means, essentially, Sir Thomas North's. That is a fine achievement of cultural valuation. The second is the sheer size of North's Plutarch. Shakespeare could have used one of several editions after 1579, all in big double-column folio size. A recent scholar noted that *'we have to read 1,010 pages of North before we get to the death of Cleopatra'*. In this size it was parallel to those other volumes found - and much read - in many late-Elizabethan households: Holinshed's *Chronicle* of English history, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (*'Foxe's Book of Martyrs'*), and, of course, the Bible in English.

Which brings me to the one exception in modern accounts of Shakespeare's reading - the Bible in English. The omission, which is marked in many recent accounts of Shakespeare, is unaccountable, except for those two giants, Ignorance and Prejudice. I am undecided which is the more powerful. Both giants are fed by large special interests. Prejudice holding hands with Ignorance can be so deep rooted as to produce bafflement, so that modern historians can ask *'What's the Bible got to do with anything?'*

I could spend time exploring these two giants: they are a curious recent

cultural phenomenon; but it is not relevant here. What I want to open up, under this title, is the great new richness of 16th-century intellectual and artistic life into which Shakespeare was born, and show that the source of much of it was the most important and central book in British life, the New Testament in English, first translated in 1526 from the original Greek by William Tyndale, and hugely reprinted in all the great popular Bibles of the 16th century - a succession unique to England - Coverdale 1535, Matthew's Bible 1537, the Great Bible 1539, the Geneva Bible of 1560 (especially that), the Bishops' Bible of 1568, the Rheims New Testament of 1582, and of course the Authorised Version/King James Bible of 1611, of which the New Testament, computer based studies have shown, is 83% pure Tyndale, unchanged. All except the Rheims Version were reprinted continually in great numbers. From the mid-16th century, the English Bible was read and heard quite remarkably. That is, as quite new, the whole Bible entire in English, including the eighteen books we call the Apocrypha, Genesis 1 to Revelation 22 complete, instead of tiny snippets. A young scholar of early modern history, Alec Ryrie in Birmingham, investigating the use of the Bible in everyday documents of the time, found its presence strong, and, importantly, always different: those ordinary writers were not handing on stock verses. My own private definition of the Reformation is *'people reading Paul'*, a real liberation into New Testament theology.

I shall follow two streams: the richness of mental life, using Shakespeare as a symbol of the high art newly being made under Elizabeth and James, triggered by what Tyndale did; and later, Shakespeare's own particular debt to Tyndale. Shakespeare probably did not directly know Tyndale's writing; but his own Bible, the Geneva Bible of 1560, with the New Testament revised in 1576 in Oxford, was unchallengeably his Bible, the New Testament being largely Tyndale. Shakespeare using Sir Thomas North's Plutarch in its widest powers of republican, moral, many-peopled freshness, and, as we saw, making out of a minute detail vivid drama, makes a good way in. Shakespeare, as with North's Plutarch, responded to the grand sweep of the bible stories, the great number of ordinary people (think of the Gospels and the parables in particular), the new possibilities of the English language pioneered by Tyndale, and the infinite resonances available in the simplest ordinary words at high moments, from Jesus' *'Rise, take up thy bed, and walk'* or *'Let not your hearts be troubled'*, to King Lear's *'Prithee, undo this button'* or Antony's *'I am dying, Egypt, dying'*.

I need to fill in some history. The story of the educational revolution in England between the middle of the 16th and the middle of the 17th cen-

turies must be in mind. Shakespeare wrote miraculously rich plays for - let us never forget - an audience whose minds were newly and richly hungry: a playwright, unlike any other artist, writes for the minds of the moment. The minds of Shakespeare's audience were remarkably - and newly - well stocked. The 16th-century educational revolution stemmed from the greatest scholar in Europe, Desiderius Erasmus. Through a small school book called *De Copia* written in 1512 for the Dean of St Paul's, John Colet, Erasmus revolutionised English education to make it devoted to not only the literature of ancient Greece and Rome, but through understanding of Latin rhetoric (the techniques of using words on the page) the analysis of how that literature worked. His methods controlled John Colet's school, St Paul's, the prototype of most Elizabethan grammar schools. Emrys Jones of New College Oxford recently wrote: *'The number of good writers to appear in the second half of Elizabeth's reign is more than surprising; it astonishes.'* He goes on:

*Without the intensive new study of language and literature which the grammar schools provided, the major writers at the turn of the century would not have been equipped to do their work. Without humanism, in short, there could have been no Elizabethan literature: without Erasmus, no Shakespeare.*

The Bible in English saturated English life and literature throughout Elizabeth's reign. That Bible was essentially Tyndale's. Tyndale's gift to 16th-century England was a simple, plain accessible English prose and resonant verse which greatly affected the Elizabethan writers, and particularly Shakespeare. I do not want to suggest that Shakespeare was a religious writer. He was not seen as that. To sixteenth-century and classical purists, fictions were lies. Shakespeare wrote entertainments, which people paid to see. In 1600, public readings of the Bible in a building concluded with prayer or Holy Communion or both: public performances of Shakespeare in the theatre ended with a jig, a rude (even obscene) dance.

The Erasmian revolution in education did provide the curriculum which was so fruitful. But that was all in Latin. It was, I claim, Tyndale, through the English Bibles that carried him forward, who made the most universally used model in English.

In the early 1500s, when Tyndale was a schoolboy and Oxford undergraduate, the English language was a poor thing, half Saxon, half Norman French, and half Latin, spoken by under 5 million people in islands off the shelf of Europe, a language unknown in Europe. That is hard for us to grasp. Now that English is the world language of all communication, with 2 billion speakers as first or second language, we have to work hard to realise that, in 1520, English was as irrelevant to life in Europe as Scots Gaelic is to the City

of London today. The great Erasmus, who spent three long periods in England, and was Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, neither wrote nor spoke a word of English. He had no need to: at his level Latin was universal. By the 1520s English was becoming used for wills, and for things like churchwardens' accounts. The Latin of all the professions (and a particularly barbarous Latin it was) - the law, medicine, education, the church - was just beginning to yield a little to English. But English, it was believed, was in no way a suitable vehicle to carry any serious freight at all.

There was no great poetry being written: there had been, of course, 150 years before, by Chaucer, whom the Tudor upper classes and the wealthy could read in splendid printed editions from about 1480 on. Henry VIII's court poet, John Skelton, roughly contemporary with Tyndale, openly despaired of English.

The highest art form from the dawn of literature was the epic: the idea of an epic in English was laughable in the 1520s. By mid-century, classical epics were being translated into English successfully (Virgil, Ovid; later even Homer) and only fifty years after Tyndale the first epic in modern English began to be published, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. In 1520 the idea of the whole of the Word of God printed in English did seem ridiculous, as well as dangerous. Yet again, by Shakespeare's birth in 1564 the whole Bible in wonderful English was in most households, and read and heard and learned by heart and known in detail even by those who could not read.

That great outflowing of poetry and prose in English from about 1580 on - to change the metaphor a great mountain range overtopped by Shakespeare - came from two generations of grammar school boys, and as we now know, educated women, brought up to follow Erasmus in the technical study of great classical literature and how it worked. Erasmus taught analysis of tropes and figures through showing how the great classical poets - especially Virgil - used them technically. So schoolboys learned and practised the technical devices of how to arrange words for the effect they wanted: I keep saying 'technical' because it was a matter as cool, emotionally, as the handbook for using a computer. It is the opposite of those ideas of creativity which came into Europe with the Romantic revolution at the start of the 19th century, art as unleashed imagination and the expression of the artist's inner self, ideas that still control us today. No. For Erasmus, expression, illustrated by the greatest Roman writers, was the ability to practice getting the right words in the right order. Thus in that little book on rhetoric, *De Copia*, written specially for the boys of Colet's new school, St Paul's, and then an influence on education throughout England for a century, he has an exercise in which

he writes 'Your letter gave me much pleasure' one hundred and fifty ways, and then 'I shall always remember you' two hundred ways - Latin, of course, as everything of Erasmus is.

So Spenser, in 1595, wrote one of the most beautiful love-poems in the English language for his new young wife, all about each hour of the day of their wedding, his *Epithalamium*. It is a celebration of love and joy and beauty unsurpassed, which is constructed not only of the most elaborate technical system of rhetorical tropes and figures, but also on a base of numbers, the mathematics of the heavens at the moment of their union. Spenser is making the point that only the highest possible verbal art is right for love as gift of God, and that art is found in the heavens and in human skill. For all that, the poem feels sensuous and immediate.

So Shakespeare, wanting to express strong feelings on the very threshold of our understanding, Othello's suddenly trapped mind makes him say to Iago

*By the word,*

*I think my wife be honest, and think she is not;*

*I think that thou art just, and think thou art not;*

*I'll have some proof. (3/3/388-90)*

These four expressive lines are made of the rhetorical figures of *anaphora*, *isocolon*, *parison* and *epitrope*.

So, eighty years earlier, and extraordinarily in English, Tyndale, fully trained in the art of rhetoric during ten years in Oxford, wanting to make his points strongly, made the fullest use of rhetorical devices. I give in my biography of Tyndale a number of examples of this: briefly here I shall use a sentence from Tyndale's influential book in 1528, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*: 'How wonderfully were the children of Israel locked in Egypt! In what tribulation, cumbrance, and adversity were they in!' Those sentences, and the two short ones about the power of God that follow, are the rhetorical devices *admiratio*, *deflexio*, *enallage*, *hyperbole*, *tractatio*, *catachresis*, *auxesis*, and *epanalepsis*. These technicalities are found throughout Tyndale's writing. We are blind to them.

I cannot express too strongly the revolutionary effect of this release of rhetoric into English. Yes, Erasmus was terrific in his educational revolution. But Erasmus was all in Latin.

Something happened to switch the power-lines of creativity into English, totally unexpectedly. The only literary work by a Tudor Englishman to win European fame was Thomas More's *Utopia*. But that was in Latin, published in Leuven in 1516. It was not translated into English for 35 years, until 1551. Thomas More refused strongly to have it in English on the grounds

that it would be mauled by ordinary English readers. No-one, absolutely no-one, could have foreseen that before the end of the century there would be Thomas North, Sidney, Spenser, Marlowe, Nashe, Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton, Drayton, and many hundreds of others. Though in Tyndale's time there was very restricted drama, like Skelton's own *Magnificence*, in English, confined to one performance in the two universities or at court, Shakespeare's plays for a vast and repeated public, thousands upon thousands, afternoon after afternoon in specially-built London public theatres, would simply have been beyond belief. It is always a shock to remember that around the time of Shakespeare there were over three hundred playwrights whose names we know, a figure that does not include the prolific 'Anon'. Something happened, before Shakespeare, to switch the power into English. What happened, I am sure, was the constant household reading of the Bible in English.

I can be confident about this because I am backed by a powerful research tool. Unique in the world for books printed in England from the beginning - and properly the ninth wonder of the world, after the many-volumed *Oxford English Dictionary* as the eighth, is the *Short Title Catalogue of Printed Books*, recently revised. I give full details of this in my *The Bible in English*. In its three big volumes up to 1640 it is totally comprehensive, and 100 per cent reliable. It gives overwhelming evidence of the colossal scale of the printing, in the 16th century, from 1526, of the New Testament, or whole Bible, in English. Reliable understanding of print runs, always high for Bibles, and kept without exaggeration, shows us a million English Bibles printed between 1526 and 1640, when the first *STC* volume cuts off, out of a population around six million. Printers are not fools: they are not going to print without assured sales. Other evidence, though not so statistical, shows us English people reading - or hearing - English Bibles. This is surely a big cause of that switching of the power-lines of written thought in the middle of the 16th century from Latin into English, which became so highly expressive, including the most advanced rhetorical skills.

I follow one particular strand of that stylistic influence and growth. Out of several I could have used - a rapidly-expanding English vocabulary, for example, to which I shall briefly return—I have chosen the sudden strengthening and dissemination of English plain style. Tyndale's keen rhetorical craft in his Bible translations did two things: it established a form of direct English prose for what I can only call un-courtly writers, the mass of ordinary men and women with something important to say, far removed from the Neoplatonic courtly poets and romancers or political and religious polemic of the last years of Elizabeth: and it established a form for addressing the widest

public. If something had to be communicated, by even the courtly, then this was now, suddenly, the way to do it. I quote in my biography a popular early history, Lord Berners' translation of Froissart, to show the long wandering sentences, one sentence often a whole page long, meandering about in a maze of subordinate clauses and lost verbs, showing off in rare Latin abstract nouns - most certainly not meant for the ploughboy. Tyndale wrote at the start of his Bible, '*Let there be light, and there was light*', and at the end, '*God shall wipe away all tears*'.

Thus great and influential exponents of plain style in the middle of the century learned, I strongly believe, their plain technique for addressing the widest public from Tyndale's Bible. I take two examples of good, common mid-century plain English style:

Thomas Cranmer in one of the *Homilies* (1547); and Roger Ascham in his handbook on archery, *Toxophilus* (1545);

Cranmer was Archbishop of Canterbury. Ascham was tutor to the young Princess Elizabeth. Both were learned men who could be expected to have been ultra-courtly and ornate.

Here, first, is Tyndale's plain style, from Luke 16:

*And it fortuneth that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom. The rich man also died, and was buried. And being in hell in torments, he lift up his eyes and saw Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom, and he cried and said: Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue: for I am tormented in this flame.*

How easy it sounds: until you begin to notice the native Saxon, not Latin, vocabulary, unusual for high language in 1526 ('beggar', not mendicant, 'died' not deceased, 'carried' not transported). You notice the story being developed in Greek-like finite verbs not Latin-like nouns (not 'After the death of the rich man, and his burial . . .' but 'The rich man died and was buried'.) Then you notice other effects. Tyndale's only predecessor, the manuscript English translations (from the Vulgate Latin, not the original Greek) by Wyclif in the 1380s, have, in the first one, Wyclif A, '*dip the last part of his finger*', and in the later revision, Wyclif B, '*dip the end of his finger*'. Tyndale goes for the three small high 'i' sounds, 'dip.. .tip... finger': a simple change which helps a good deal with the contrast of scale in the request, leading to the extended 'tormented'. (Just before, Tyndale had had '*the dogs came and licked his sores*', where Wyclif had '*the houndis came and likkiden his bilis*'. Tyndale's darker chime of 'dogs' and 'sores' is very effective.)

Here is a sentence of Cranmer, from the first of the twenty-one *Homilies*.

These were required by law to be preached in every parish. This is the third sentence of that very first homily:

*As drink is pleasant to them that be dry, and meat to them that be hungry: so is the reading, hearing, searching, and studying of holy scripture, to them that be desirous to know God or themselves, and to do his will.*

This has a forward drive which gets straight on, using Saxon syntax and vocabulary. Like Tyndale, it is grounded in an everyday world of meat and drink, as Cranmer wanted Scripture to be.

Here is a snatch of Roger Ascham, in his technical handbook about shooting with bow and arrow -- in which book, incidentally, he pleads for the use of English and not Latin:

*Take heed also when ye shoot near the sea coast although you be two or three miles from the sea; for there diligent marking shall espy in the most clear day wonderful changing.*

*The same is to be considered likewise by a riverside, especially if it ebb and flow, where he that taketh diligent heed of tide and weather, shall lightly take away all that he shooteth for.*

Ascham has something to say in the clearest English: the first twenty words are eighteen Saxon monosyllables.

It is true that there is good plain English to be found in some private medieval, and early Tudor, writing; and a tradition of fine craftsmanship in late medieval short private meditations (such as can be seen being used by Cranmer in the making of those miraculous phrases in the Collects in his successive *Books of Common Prayer*) - '*Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee, o Lord, and by thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers of this night*'. But these medieval writings were for private use, not wide printed circulation: and they do not have the range of effect that is found in Tyndale, even within the plain style. I haven't time here to comment on Tyndale's quite remarkable verbal range, not at all what is sentimentally now thought of as 'biblical', but true to the Bible - high epic, driving narrative, fine public and private poetry, gossip (the ends of Paul's letters), intimacy, declaration, waffling, cosmic landscapes, proverbs, and so on. Tyndale can do it all with the new register of language that he invented, a little above common speech, and always exact to the Hebrew and Greek and the occasion - qualities frequently lacking in recent bible translations. The English gift is a simple syntax of word-order that is subject-verb-object, generally without dependences -

*And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre, and went in: but found not the body of the Lord Jesus* (Luke 2 not 'and when they...' or 'finding...')

There is no time to develop here the peculiar modern Englishness of this

economical, direct prose, something which feels so easy, but contains great craft. The two most influential 16th-century treatises on rhetoric in English, by Thomas Wilson and Richard Sherry, were written as early as the reign of Edward VI, only a dozen years after Tyndale. Edward's was a reign when English Bibles were so often reprinted (forty editions printed in that short time, 1547-53). The earliest handbook of rhetoric in English, even before Wilson and Sherry, specifically commends Tyndale as a model.

The powerful rise of modern English (that is, Tyndale's) in the 16th century, on top of a Germanic base from Anglo-Saxon and Norman French in Middle English, both with a different syntax and vocabulary, alongside Latin, had two effects, grammatically and syntactically: a breakdown into something simpler (English, unlike Latin, French and German, has few inflected endings) and no gender systems (one of the reasons for the triumph of English as a world language).

In a different direction, in vocabulary, the rise of modern English meant that there tended to be three words for the same thing (Saxon holy, Norman French sacred, Latin sanctified) which then drifted off into subtly different shades of meaning. This meant that Shakespeare at the end of the century had a huge vocabulary at his disposal: the play *Hamlet* alone, for example, written at the great turning-point of his creative life, in 1599/1600, has nearly 5,000 different words. Moreover, the new modern English was always open to new words (as it still, vividly, is). So of those 5,000 different words in *Hamlet*, 600 had not been used by Shakespeare before, and 144 are Shakespeare's invention, never having appeared in English before. Tyndale was a great inventor of words - 'passover', 'mercy-seat' are two - and I am talking about liberation, a liberated understanding of what language can do, with God's full blessing because language is God's.

The 16th and 17th century North American settlers wrote naturally about their new Garden of Eden - the old sinful world, given, as it were, a second chance in the new - and at home most aspects of British life by the end of the century were seen automatically in a Biblical frame. We have to make an effort to see that Biblical matters in the second half of the sixteenth century were not just an interesting file to call up, but the very nature of life itself. This would not have happened if the Bible had remained in Latin, or in Latin-based versions. Recent work makes clear that the English revolution of the mid-17th century, the 'English Civil War' and the thought and events in the previous sixty years, were not just influenced by but controlled by the Bible. (The pioneer work was by the late Christopher Hill - a good friend of the Tyndale Society, incidentally.)

What went with language was liberation of thought. I spend time in my *The Bible in English* locating the beginning of true scientific enquiry under Elizabeth and James. After the Reformation, it was suddenly possible to write and think anything (apart from treason), without the terrible fear of a charge of heresy and its appalling consequences.

The English Bible brought a liberation of language itself, the Word of God being always creatively active. My principal illustrations have been about prose and its new Englishness: but a good deal of the explosion of magnificent poetry in the time of Shakespeare can be put down to not so much the latest Italian fashions, as Sir Philip Sidney commended in his seminal *Apology for Poetry* of the 1580s, but the firm understanding that in spite of Plato, poetry was on God's side after all, because God himself wrote poetry as the whole Bible shows.

Shakespeare, let us never forget, artistically changed and developed and grew over the twenty years of his writing life, either side of 1600. I shall now jump straight to the middle of his huge flowering, in 1598 and 1599, and three of the greatest prose-speakers in our language, Rosalind in *As You Like It*, Benedick in *Much Ado About Nothing*, and Falstaff in the two *Henry the Fourth* plays.

Hear Rosalind in *AYLI*:

*Love is merely [that is, essentially] a madness; and, I tell you, deserves as well a dark house and a whip as madmen do; and the reason why they are not so punished and cured is that the lunacy is so ordinary that the whippers are in love too.* (3/2/368-40)

Listen to Benedick after the masqued dance in *Much Ado*:

*O! She misused me beyond the endurance of a bloc! An oak with but one green leaf on it would have answered her: my very visor began to assume life and scold with her. She told me, not thinking I had been myself, that I was the Prince's jester, that I was duller than a great thaw, huddling jest upon jest with such impossible conveyance upon me that I stood like a man at a mark, with a whole army shooting at me. I would not marry her, though she were endowed with all that Adam had left him before he transgressed.* (2/1/223-36)

(He does, of course, enchantingly.) For a treat, hear too Beatrice, the subject of Benedick's sentences, responding to a sudden proposal of marriage to her from the visiting grandee Don Pedro, who asks 'Will you have me, lady?'

*No, my lord, unless I might have another for working days: your Grace is too costly to wear every day.* ((2/1/307-9)

Notice the everyday things, 'one green leaf', 'duller than a great thaw', 'another for working days' - just as Hamlet says to his mother, of the usurping Claudius

*A cut-purse of the empire and the rule,  
that from a shelf the precious diadem stole,  
And put it in his pocket.* (*Ham* 3/4/99-101)

This is the world of the parables in Tyndale: 'Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled.' (Luke 14C)

And finally Falstaff. As a Latin-educated knight, he is capable of elaborate syntactical structures and Latinist forms, especially when he is trying to slip out of responsibility: but when Shakespeare wants to turn our hearts over, he does not make Falstaff say in the night before the Battle of Shrewsbury, 'The advent of the imminent hostilities elevates my apprehensions' but 'I would 'twere bed-time, Hal, and all well.'

To illustrate the national steepage in the English Bible properly would take, as Tyndale put it, a lifetime and a day longer. I can only dip a spoon into that vast, rich soup. A strong feature of the 16th century was the arrival in English of the great classical texts. One of the half-dozen most significant of those, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, arrived first complete in English in 1563-7, translated into rather jogging verse by Arthur Golding, and with a long introductory book by Golding himself showing, to our modern surprise, how biblical Ovid is. Golding also, and more famously at the time, translated Calvin's sermons, and Ovid's epic arrives in English as a rather Calvinist work. The first real English epic, Spenser's unfinished *Faerie Queene* of the 1580s and 90's, takes the Protestant Bible as an understood common ground. The increasing crowd of English historians writing in English from Edward Hall in 1548 onwards can easily be shown to be assuming a structure of Old Testament history in their readers' minds: Hall (who was very widely studied and got almost complete into Holinshed's later famous *Chronicles*) like Tyndale's Old Testament historical books, has monarchs that do good in the sight of the Lord followed by those that do evil in the sight of the Lord, particularly good Edward VI and evil Mary,



Door head Kirtling Church

of course. The decades around Shakespeare show a huge number of popular ballads on biblical subjects - Hamlet refers to one, calling it '*the pious chanson*'. There were even more verse paraphrases of books of the Bible, some by better poets like John Donne, George Wither, Francis Quarles, Michael Drayton and Thomas Middleton.

Shakespeare's debt to the English Bible can be seen to exist on at least four levels:

(1) straight Biblical reference, as Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* tells a story about Laban from Genesis, or Claudio in *Measure for Measure* refers to the work of Christ in our redemption. Large numbers of such can be found, and have been listed. In this Shakespeare shares a contemporary, and automatic, habit.

(2) Secondly, there are occasions when Shakespeare expects from his audience a knowledge of the Bible because he is playing with it, as when Bottom in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* misapplies a crucial moment in Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians 2/9, Bottom saying

*The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report, what my dream was.* (4/1/209-12).

It is comic, but it is also profound: Bottom is reaching for some expression of something at the very frontiers of experience, and he turns naturally to the New Testament and Paul - and expects his hearers to share the reference. (Incidentally, learned Shakespearean commentators always give the original from the Bishop's Bible, whereas it is clearly Tyndale that Bottom is mishandling, though that has never been said until today.)

(3) Thirdly, he found, particularly in the Gospels, a range of people, right across from a king to a suppurating beggar, set out, as he turned the pages, in *speech*. His Geneva Bible had the verses for the first time numbered and separate, and so many of them are direct speech, and usually conflict, as well as in powerful, sweeping, mounting narrative, just what a playwright needs.

(4) A fourth level of Shakespeare's use of the English Bible belongs only to him. His seven great tragedies, from *Julius Caesar* in 1599 to *Coriolanus* in 1608, are profoundly biblical. True, they come from many sources: *Othello* mainly from an Italian novel, *Macbeth* mainly from Holinshed's *Chronicle*, the Roman ones from Plutarch and so on. At a deeper level than straight source-hunting, *Hamlet* is a Calvinist play, *Antony and Cleopatra* related to the events of the Incarnation as told in the New Testament, and the words of the last book, Revelation, and so on. Deeper still is the full awareness of the integrity of the individual, and how that is intimately set in the close,

then larger and then largest communities, particularly the relation of Prince and State. This as it came to Shakespeare was necessarily a pagan view of human tragedy, inherited from the Greeks. Shakespeare knew his Sophocles (incidentally, it is now clear from the work of a post-graduate of mine, in Greek as well as English.) But inside the great tragic work in each play is a sense of scale of human experience in the vastness of God's work for which the only two words I can find are 'awesome' and 'biblical' - the range from Genesis 1 to Revelation 22. Again, this needs vast development, beyond anything I can do here, except to say that I come away from, for example, a Roman tragedy of Shakespeare aware of a divine cosmic work in a way that I do not find when I come away from a Roman tragedy by Jonson or Massinger, good though those are. I have no doubt that Shakespeare not only knew the Geneva Bible very well, but that he also knew it in its last, 1599 revision, when the notes to the final book, Revelation, were newly incorporated from work by Franciscus Junius. This important new document, the final revision of the Geneva Bible, has been largely neglected, but it visibly affected Shakespeare's view of divine and human history most profoundly. Hold Shakespeare's *King Lear* up to that final 1599 Geneva Bible revision, and the play glows.

My title suggests that Tyndale helped to make Shakespeare what he was. Can I support that? Yes, I can. Without Tyndale we would not have had our Bible in that direct English which speaks at once to the heart - '*Father, forgive them: for they know not what they do*'; '*Let not your hearts be troubled. Believe in God and believe in me*' - or in Shakespeare the extraordinary power of '*The rest is silence*' or '*prithee, undo this button*', or '*I am dying, Egypt, dying*.'

Without Tyndale, I believe, the English would not have had a plain prose style of direct address, which was so important in the life of the nation under Elizabeth and after, and which led directly to address of great dramatic power in Shakespeare

*Why, there was a crown offer'd him; and being offer'd him  
he put it by with the back of his hand, thus; and then the people fell a-shouting.*  
(*Julius Caesar* 1.2.220)

Without Tyndale, I am sure, a range of verbal possibility, so characteristic of Shakespeare, would not have developed in England in that century. We have to keep stressing Tyndale's unusually great verbal range. Living for a while with other translators makes the comparison clear. Tyndale knows how ordinary - and extraordinary - people talk in English, as do the Greek and Hebrew originals (see the Old Testament historical books, or the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles). He can be trivial or epic, long-winded or cutting, work with

a phrase or a paragraph or a chapter, follow clearly a near-impossible sentence from Paul, shift from prose to poetry. In all this you feel the original, not the translator.

Tyndale was killed before he could work on the great Old Testament poetry - Job, the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah: we know enough from embedded passages in what he did do to know he would have been a master. Can I really maintain that the high poetry of *Hamlet* or *King Lear* comes straight from Tyndale? Without Tyndale no Shakespeare?

Shakespeare never mentions Tyndale, of course. He refers to Luther - Cardinal Wolsey in *Henry the Eighth* calls Anne Boleyn 'a spleeny Lutheran'. That doesn't matter. Shakespeare never mentions Holinshed or Plutarch - why should he? But, knowing both Tyndale and Shakespeare very well, I find a breadth of human sympathy, and an equal breadth of artistic challenge, in both. Shakespeare, like Tyndale, says what it is like to be human. The appeal of Shakespeare's highest poetry, which is often his simplest, as Hamlet's

*Had I but time - as this fell sergeant, death,  
Is strict in his arrest - O I could tell you -  
But let it be. (5/2/327-30)*

is that it expresses what we feel we might say (unlike Ben Jonson, who expresses what we feel Ben Jonson would say). Notice Hamlet's emotional range, and the range of dying thought, all in simple words. Not only that, it expresses thoughts which act as a sort of vast revelation of what it could be like, beyond what we expect. The extraordinary image there of the fell sergeant strictly arresting brings in a whole set of new possibilities, though said very simply. Guilt is suggested, and martyrdom, and horror, and inevitability, and unbreakable law, and an arresting being who is both outside and inside the dying body, all in the end of someone's time. It is here, I believe, that Shakespeare is close to Tyndale in that sense of simple words bringing in a new kingdom of possibilities - 'This thy brother was dead, and is alive again: was lost, and is found': or 'Now abideth faith, hope, and love, even these three: but the chief of these is love.'

## To Lay a Sure Foundation: John Eliot and The Algonquin Bible

Dr Herbert Samworth

What is the connection between William Tyndale and John Eliot? Both were translators of the Scriptures and both were concerned with the common person. Tyndale did his work for the ploughboy and Eliot for the American Indian. Eliot's work forms one of the most interesting, and yet controversial, events of the Puritan experiment in the New World: the translation and printing of the Bible in the Algonquin Indian language. Eliot arrived in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1631 and assumed the position of Teacher of the Roxbury Church, a position he held until his death in 1690 at the age of eighty-six. However, he is best known for his work with the American Indians to the degree that he was called the "Indian evangelist" or the "Apostle of the Red Indians".

### The Puritans in The New World

With the ascension of King James I in 1603 to the throne of England, a rigid conformity was imposed on the Church of England. A number of people sought refuge in Holland who later emigrated to New England to establish the Plymouth Colony in 1620. These individuals were the Pilgrims and they were Separatists from the Church of England.

There were others who also sought liberty from the imposition of the Anglican rites but who did not separate from the State Church. However, the religious situation continued to worsen during the reign of Charles I owing to the rigidity of William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Through a fortuitous series of circumstances, they obtained a charter to establish what later came to be known as the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Those who formed his colony were Puritans and they were Non-separating Congregationalists. They denied that they had come to the New World solely for the purpose of economic gain. John Winthrop, one of the first leaders, expressed this purpose clearly:

*The end is to improve our lives to do more service to the Lord; the comfort and increase of the body of Christ, whereof we are members, that ourselves and posterity may be the better preserved from the common corruptions of this evil world, to serve the Lord and work out our salvation under the power and purity of his holy ordinances.<sup>1</sup>*

Another reason that brought the Puritans to the New England shores was

the evangelization of the original inhabitants. On the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony was an Indian with the words, 'Come over and help us'. The Colony's charter contained the following words:

*...and for the directing, ruling and disposing of all other matters and things, whereby our said people, inhabitants there, may be so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation, may win and incite the natives of country, to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Savior of mankind, and the Christian faith, which in our royal intention, and the adventurers' free profession, is the principal end of this plantation.*<sup>2</sup>

The chief actor in this colonization effort was John Winthrop who arrived in Massachusetts in 1630. While still on board the ship *Arabella* that transported him to the New World, Winthrop outlined the purpose of the colony in a sermon entitled *A Model of Christian Charity*: a sober call for charity, or love, to be the governing principle of the Colony. Winthrop reminded his fellow colonists that they were a city set on a hill and the eyes of the world were on them. They were required to fulfil their covenant engagements lest they became a byword and reproach to the world.

### The Early Life of John Eliot

John Eliot did not come with Governor Winthrop but arrived in Boston a year later on the same ship that transported John Winthrop's wife and family. Eliot was born in 1604 and grew up in Nazing, England; he was educated at Jesus College Cambridge, the noted Puritan university. Apparently he had imbibed Puritan principles that brought him under the lash of Archbishop William Laud. For a time, Eliot was a schoolteacher at Little Baddow near Chelmsford, Essex serving under Thomas Hooker, a noted Puritan leader who served as minister of Newtown, Massachusetts (later Cambridge) and the founder of the Hartford, Connecticut Colony.

Seeing that any opportunity to minister in the Church of England was closed, Eliot decided in 1631 to emigrate to the New World. Upon his arrival, he was invited to preach at the First Church of Boston, pastored by John Wilson who was in England seeking to persuade his wife to come to the New World. Eliot preached with such acceptance that he was offered the position of Teacher in the Church when Wilson, minus his wife, arrived back in Boston. However, Eliot had previously agreed with a group from England that if they arrived in Massachusetts before he was officially settled in a church situation, he would consent to be their teacher. Such proved to be the case because in November 1632 Eliot became the Teacher at Roxbury as colleague to Thomas Weld. Previous to his settlement in Roxbury, Eliot married

his fiancée, Hannah Mumford, who proved to be a great blessing to him.

### The Work with the Indians

We have no exact information as to what first attracted Eliot to work with the Indians although many of them lived in the Colony and contact between them and the British was frequent. However, the documentary history of the Massachusetts Bay Colony's evangelization of the Indians is contained in a series of eleven publications printed in England between 1643 and 1670 that have received the unofficial title of *The Eliot Tracts*.

However, before we examine the tracts and chart a chronological overview of the work, it is necessary to understand the principles that guided the work.

First, John Eliot, as a true Puritan, founded everything on the Word of God. The Puritans were Biblicists and sought to under gird every action and decision from the authority of God's Word. In everything the Scriptures were central.

Second, the Puritans did not view Christianity in the individualistic manner that is so frequent in our days. While one could only become a Christian by a personal act of faith, the new life in Christ was not lived in isolation but in covenant fellowship with the other members of the body. Thus, when one became a church member, he entered into a covenant with the other members. The Puritans took those covenantal obligations, whether civil or ecclesiastical, very seriously. Note the words spoken by John Winthrop:

*Thus stands the cause between God and us. We are entered into covenant with Him for this work. We have taken out a commission.... We have professed to enterprise these and those accounts upon these and those ends. We have hereupon besought Him of favor and blessing. Now if the Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath He ratified this covenant and sealed our commission, and will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it; but if we shall neglect the observation of these articles... The Lord will surely break out in wrath against us, and be revenged of such a people, and make us know the price of the breach of such a covenant.*<sup>3</sup>

What did the application of these principles mean in a practical way for Eliot's work with the Indians?

First, Eliot would evangelize the Indians by preaching the Gospel to bring them to a saving relationship with Christ. His message would come from the Word of God and the purpose would be to convict them of sin and the necessity of faith in Jesus Christ.

Second, after they were evangelized, Eliot would guide them into what was

called “church estate” so the Indians could partake of the Church ordinances of baptism and communion. They would be formed into churches following the Congregational model that had several requirements. One, every prospective member would be required to give a relation or account of his conversion to satisfy the other members of the church that he was a genuine Christian. Two, a properly constituted Congregational Church required Biblically qualified teaching and ruling elders. Three, the Puritans practised church discipline in an attempt to insure the doctrinal and moral purity of the Church.

These requirements would not be waived for the Indians because the Puritans believed they were Biblical requirements. No matter how spiritually ignorant the Indians might be, the standard of God’s Word could not be lowered. This is a partial explanation of why it took nearly ten years for the first Indian church to be constituted and why many of the *Eliot Tracts* are replete with the conversion testimonies of the Indians. Even those in England needed to be convinced that the Indian accounts were in agreement with the Word of God.

These qualifications for church estate contributed to the most controversial decision in Eliot’s work: the decision to bring the Indians into the status of “civility” by living in villages governed on the English model. Because Eliot and others have been accused of “cultural genocide” in forcing this step, it is necessary to see the rationale behind this requirement. As long as the Indians continued to live their nomadic manner of life, it would be impossible to teach them on a consistent basis so they could understand the Christian faith. Also, church discipline could not be enforced because the Indian could just leave and go back to his former manner of life. However, Eliot believed if the Indians were living in a structured environment where it would be difficult to leave, they would be willing to submit to such discipline.

While it is true that many Puritans viewed the Indians as the “ruins of mankind”, the description refers primarily to their manner of unsettled living and not in a derogatory way. It is important to remember that the Indians themselves were the ones who desired to have Church Ordinances and agreed to adopt the English way of life so they could have them. Note Eliot’s comment on the situation:

*I have intimated in my other letters, what good hopes I have of sundry of them, and that they begin to enquire after baptism and Church Ordinances, and the way of worshipping God as the Churches here do; but I show them how uncapable they be to be trusted therewith, while they live so unfixed, confused, and ungoverned a life, uncivilized and unsubdued to labor and order; they begin*

*now to enquire after such things. And to that end, I have propounded to them a fit place be found out for cohabitation, wherewith they may subsist by labor and settle them in such a way: And then they may have a church and all the ordinances of Christ among them.*<sup>4</sup>

Another factor in Eliot’s desire to establish a church among the Indians was his view of the universal church. He envisioned a Presbyterian system of ascending church courts leading to an ecumenical assembly, constantly in session in Jerusalem, where all the delegates were required to converse in Hebrew! The Indian Church would assume its part in this ecumenical structure as Eliot described it in the book *The Communion of Christian Churches*.

The Indian work must also be set in the larger context of rampant millennial expectations that were stirring in England during this time. The monarchy had been overthrown and the saints were now ruling. Learned theologians in Europe had advanced the thesis that the native inhabitants of North America were, in reality, descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. God had promised in His Word that the Jews were to be restored and brought into the Kingdom through the proclamation of the Gospel. From the perspective of three hundred and fifty years such thoughts may bring a smile to our lips but for Eliot and his fellow Puritans they were sober realities. John Eliot was convinced that it was the beginning of a great work of God and he was given the honour to lay that sure foundation.

These steps flowed out of the Puritan interpretation of the Word of God. For the Puritans, the Word of God determined everything. It was the revelation of all that God commanded in evangelism, civil government, church government, and the ultimate reign of Christ over the entire earth. Although John Eliot was located in what some have termed “the waste howling wilderness” of New England far from the center of power and influence, he would not have agreed. From Eliot’s perspective, he was in the middle of a great work to build the Kingdom of God.

For the first time, *The Eliot Tracts* have been printed together and they provide the primary source for the history of the work. Although there are gaps in the narrative and the tracts were printed at irregular intervals, they provide a fascinating glimpse into the work of John Eliot.

The first tract, entitled *New England’s First Fruits*, was printed in 1643 before Eliot’s first recorded contact with the Indians. Although the writer is not named, it is believed to be Thomas Weld, Eliot’s colleague at the Roxbury Church. Weld, along with Hugh Peter, had been sent to England to solicit funds for the Colony. Previous to this time, the amount of funds flowing to

the West had met the Colony's financial needs. However, with outbreak of the Civil War in England, immigration to the Colony had slowed dramatically and a number of New Englanders returned to their home country to aid the cause of Parliament. As a result, the Massachusetts Colony was facing dire financial hardship.

In this first tract, the writer was concerned to refute the accusation that the colonists had failed to evangelize the native inhabitants. He conceded that one of the purposes of the Colony was to evangelize the Indians, many Indians were indeed seeking spiritual direction at that time and the people of England were not to despise the day of small things.

While it is not possible to work through the tracts because of their length, they will be our primary source. As we read *The Eliot Tracts* containing the accounts of his preaching, the confessions of the Indians, their desire for church estate, the rebuttal of the frequent accusations that the work was only a sham to solicit money, we note the steadfast purpose of a man who was motivated by the teaching of the Scripture.

From the first day that Eliot entered in the work of preaching to the Indians on 28th October 1646 until the translation and printing of the Indian Bible 1663, there is a record of faithfulness and perseverance. Eliot's motto is a summary of his methods, *'Prayer and pains through faith in Jesus Christ can accomplish anything.'* He also said, *'When we would have any great thing to be accomplished, the best policy is to work by an engine the world sees nothing of.'* On another occasion, after he had spent three days in the wilderness in wet clothes, he was reminded of Paul's admonition to Timothy to endure hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.

By 1649 Eliot had determined to translate and print the Word of God in the Indian language. Note his words:

*Besides, I do very much desire to translate some parts of the Scriptures into their language, and to print some Primer in their language wherein to initiate and teach them to read...I must have some Indians, and it may be other help continually about me to try and examine Translations, which I look at as a sacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence.*<sup>5</sup>

In 1650 the first village of praying Indians was established at Natick and they entered into a civil covenant in 1651. For nine more years Eliot laboured to bring them into church estate. There were disappointments when the Indians relapsed into their former ways but Eliot remained hopeful. Perhaps his greatest disappointment came from his fellow Colonists who did not share his goal of giving the Indians the word of God in their own language. There was a deep-seated distrust, and even fear, of the Indians.

But Eliot persevered even when the first confessions of the Indians were deemed inadequate in expressing clearly the doctrinal points of conviction and the knowledge of theological terms. *Fast enough if well enough* was the motto that sustained him. He realized that the work of organizing of the Indians into a church estate was to be a model for others to follow and he was determined to do it according to God's Word. When one works from the perspective of eternity, trials and setbacks are viewed in a different light. Additional discouragement came from those in England who said that the entire work was a fraud and only five or six Indians had professed conversion to Christianity.

Through this ten-year period Eliot continued to work on the translation of the Bible. Without the aid of grammars, dictionaries, and other helps he persevered. Although he had the help of bilingual Indians, one of these proved to be a disappointment when he was involved in drunkenness. How difficult was this task of translation that Eliot had undertaken? Cotton Mather expressed his opinion that the demons of the invisible world who had mastered Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were utterly baffled by the Algonquin language!

### **The Algonquin Indian Bible**

Eliot received help and encouragement from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England established in 1649 as the first Protestant Missionary Society. The Society underwrote the cost of printing of the Indian Bible, provided the paper, a press and even a printer by the name of Marmaduke Johnson.

In 1661 the printing of the New Testament in fifteen hundred copies was finished. Two years later the Old Testament followed. One thousand volumes were bound containing both Testaments. The Indian Bible was now complete. For the first time in their history, the Indians had a book, and it was the greatest of all books - the Word of God, in their own language.

Volumes containing both the English and Indian title pages were sent to England as presentation copies. One was given to Charles II, King of England. While Charles expressed little interest in the work of Eliot, he had permitted the Society to be reconstituted as the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and parts adjacent in America in 1662.

In addition to Natick, thirteen villages of Praying Indians were formed with a total population of about eleven hundred Indians. Both the civil and church governments were based on the word of God following the pattern Jethro had given Moses to organize the people of Israel into groups of ten,

fifty and one hundred. Note what Eliot wrote:

...I propound as a general rule through the help of the Lord; they shall be wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things both in Church and State; they shall have no other Law-giver; the Lord shall be their Law-giver; the Lord shall be their Judge, the Lord shall be their King, and He will save them.<sup>6</sup>

However, it was not only the Indians whom Eliot desired to have their government based on the teaching of God's Word. Note his desire for England:

Oh the blessed day in England when the word of God shall be their Magna Charta and chief Law Book; and when all lawyers must be divines to study the scriptures; and should the Gentile nations take up Moses policy so far as it is moral and conscionable, make the Scriptures the foundation of all their laws, who knoweth what a door would be opened to the Jewes to come in to Christ.<sup>7</sup>

### King Philip's War of 1675

We must briefly touch on the greatest trial that befell Eliot's work among the Indians. It was King Philip's war of 1675, called by some the bloodiest war ever fought on the American continent. The reasons for the uprising of the Indians against the European colonists are complex but the basic cause was the clash of two cultures regarding the use of the land. The Indian had no concept of the private ownership of land; he could freely roam over it. Although the colonists were careful to purchase the land from the Indians, often the price was insufficient or not understood by the Indians. When the white man began to enclose the lands with fences and did not permit them to pass through it, this was foreign to their understanding. The marks they had made on paper showing that they had sold the land and received payment meant nothing when it was exhausted.

When the war broke out, numerous towns were destroyed with a great loss of life. All Indians, including those who lived in the Praying Towns, were considered as the enemy. Part out of fear, and partly out of a concern to protect them, the Massachusetts Court ordered that the Praying Indians be taken from their villages and placed on Deer Island.

It is not possible to recount accurately all the suffering and deprivations suffered by the Indians. They were taken away from their villages at a half hours' notice. Bibles were left behind that were later destroyed by marauding bands. Eliot and Daniel Gookin met the boats taking the Indians to Deer Island seeking to encourage them. The winter of 1675 was exceedingly harsh and numerous Indians died of malnutrition and exposure. However, there is no record that the Praying Indians ever complained of this harsh treatment. Eliot visited them several times in an attempt to provide additional food



Eliot Bible

and clothing. On one occasion while taking supplies to them, his boat was swamped and Eliot nearly drowned.

As heartbreaking as the material deprivations were, Eliot lamented more the spiritual loss. The Indian work received a blow from which it never recovered. The spirit of prayer among the Indians was lost. Although the Indian Bible was reprinted in 1685 over much opposition, only four of the Praying Villages were rebuilt. An attempt to print a third edition of the Algonquin Bible after Eliot's death was rejected.

Eliot lived for fifteen years after King Philip's war and continued to minister to the Indians until his strength gave out. In a letter to Robert Boyle, the governor of the New England Society, Eliot stated that he 'was drawing home'. In 1690 he died, having been predeceased by his wife and four of his six children.

### Epilogue

How can one evaluate the life of John Eliot? Nathaniel Hawthorne, no friend of the Puritans, expressed it in these words: 'It is good for the world that such a man has lived'. This is high praise, indeed, from one who did not share Eliot's spiritual values.

Perhaps the best way would be to take Eliot's words at face value. Whether or not one would agree with John Eliot and his beliefs, common honesty requires us to take him at his word. Perhaps mistakes were made in the Indian work, perhaps things could, and should, have been done differently, but listen to what John Eliot, whose reticence about himself and his work is well attested, stated as the reason for his ministry to the Indians:

*The godly undertakers of this plantation had it so much in their hearts, to make the conversion of the Indians one end of their coming, as that they made it one cause in their patent, which did lay a public engagement upon us thereunto: and when God was pleased to put me upon that work of preaching to them, that public engagement, together with pity to the poor Indians, and desire to make the name of Christ chief in these dark ends of the earth, and not the rewards of men, were the very first, and chief movers, if I know what did first, and chiefly, move in my heart.*<sup>8</sup>

#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop, John. *A Model of Christian Charity, 1630*. Posted online at [www.religiousfreedom.lib.virginia.edu](http://www.religiousfreedom.lib.virginia.edu).

<sup>2</sup> Massachusetts Bay Colony Charter. Posted online at [www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/mass03.htm](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/mass03.htm).

<sup>3</sup> Winthrop, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Clark, Michael P., editor. *The Eliot Tracts with Letters of John Eliot to Thomas Thorowgood and Richard Baxter*. (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2003), p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 187.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 191, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 195.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 426.

This paper was given by Dr Herbert Samworth at the Tyndale Society Conference, *The Bible as Battleground*, Virginia, USA, September 2004 and we are grateful to him for allowing us to reproduce it.



*Pilgrim Stamps*

## The Greek Bible: A plea for the rediscovery of first century roots

The Rev. Prof. Carsten Peter Thiede

When the 27 writings of the New Testament were composed, none of the authors imagined that, some 300 years later, the Church would come to the conclusion that they are actually part of a “Canon“, of a collection called the “New Testament“. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, had the courage to draw up a list, in his 39th Easter festal letter of AD 367, which was approved by church leaders elsewhere. At long last, the consensus, which had developed over the past two centuries, was put into writing. To us, ever since, the New Testament has been a whole, and as such, it is more than the sum of its parts. But its parts remain individual Greek writings, most of them – Mark's and Luke's gospels and the Epistle to the Hebrews above all, in excellent hellenistic Greek. This is a challenge to editors, translators and readers today. Vernacular Bibles should recreate the greatness and individuality of these authors. We need this simply to understand the creative genius of these writers. For we should never forget that the writings of the Bible, and of the New Testament in particular, are indeed outstanding literature as well as God's message to us. Theological truth and literary genius are no contradictions, they are two sides of the same coin. To understand this, we have to re-learn that at the beginning of the Church, the whole Bible, Old and New Testaments, was transmitted in Greek.

Martin Luther in Germany and William Tyndale in Britain translated the Old Testament from the Hebrew and Aramaic editions and the Greek New Testament from manuscripts available to them by recreating the text in their own languages and by shaping, some would say by creating, these languages in the process. Tyndale in particular, who was an outstanding Hebrew scholar, surpassing Luther, Melancthon and others on the Continent by far, remains a model of accuracy and insight, and it is certainly one of the tragedies of the history of vernacular Bibles that he was burned at the stake, as a so-called protestant heretic, before he could finish his translation of the Old Testament. The textual basis of the Hebrew text has been improved in the 20th century, thanks to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. These later developments do not diminish Tyndale's achievement at all. What we have to take into account, however, is something else, something well-known to Tyndale and Luther: the first Christians, including the authors of the New Testament writings, hardly ever used the Hebrew Bible. They all knew it,

and they knew large sections by heart, as all Jews did, but in their quotations, and, for all we know, in their missionary work, they did not refer to it. Like all Jews in the Diaspora, like all non-Jews throughout the Roman Empire who were interested in the Jewish Bible – and there quite a few of them around – they read the Greek version, the so-called Septuagint. The Septuagint was the first Jewish translation for Jews who did not know enough Hebrew to read the original texts. It was produced in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC and thus, by definition, was not influenced by Christianity. In fact, the great first century Jewish philosopher and theologian Philo of Alexandria (c. 30 BC – to 50 AD) decreed that the Septuagint was to be seen on a par with the Hebrew Bible, as it was “*equally inspired by God*”.

In other words, all vernacular Christian Bibles, without exception, have given us and continue to give us translations based on a text which was not even used by the first Christians. What we need are vernacular editions of the Old Testament translated from the Greek Septuagint. One might consider this rather far-fetched, as it would be the translation of a translation. But this is not how Peter, Paul, John, Luke and the others saw it, and it certainly is not how the vast majority of first century Jews saw it. And what is more, the Dead Sea Scrolls have taught us that the Hebrew text used by the translators of the Septuagint was apparently older and less contaminated by scribal errors than the Hebrew text used by the Masoretes of the 8th century AD, which remains the textual basis of modern editions of the Hebrew Bible, and of translations based on it, to this day. In other words, vernacular versions of the Septuagint will serve a double purpose: they will provide all those who do not read Greek with the text used by the first Christians, including the New Testament authors, and, by proxy, it will give us both a valuable insight into a very old textual form of the Jewish Bible and into the way the Old Testament was already understood (including some textual additions) by Jews in the two centuries before Jesus.

Sir Launcelot Lee Brenton’s translation of the Septuagint, published by Bagster & Sons, is sadly out of print, but in view of the magisterial studies by Mogens Müller (*The First Bible of The Church. A Plea for the Septuagint*, Sheffield Academic Press 1996), Karen H Jobes and Moisés Silva, (*Invitation to the Septuagint*, Paternoster Press 2000), Martin Hengel (*The Septuagint as Christian Scripture*, T & T Clark 2002), and others, a new translation would be advisable, anyway.

However, and to avoid misunderstandings, one should not advocate a substitution. Translations from the Hebrew are part and parcel of our Christian heritage, and have shaped our understanding of the Jewish roots of Christi-

anity ever since men like Luther and Tyndale translated the Hebrew books into the vernacular. But without translations of the Greek Septuagint, we are simply abandoning another side of our Judaeo-Christian heritage. An Old Testament translated from the Greek does not alienate us from our roots, it gets us closer to our roots as they existed, throughout the Jewish world. Sir Launcelot Lee Brenton’s translation was and remains a valiant attempt, but it was not really a model of accuracy. We need a Septuagint Tyndale, as it were, and a popular edition which would be made available to Christians who, all over the English speaking world, have a right to know the Bible used by the first Christians. Readers would then understand why there are what seems to be contradictions between a quote from the Old Testament in a New Testament writing and the actual passage in the Old Testament once they realise that the New Testament author did not use the Hebrew, but the Greek text which was the one to be found on the book shelves of his readers. There already is a “*Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*”, edited by Martin Abegg Jr, Peter Flint and Eugene Ulrich (T & T Clark 1999), translating all Biblical texts discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls into English. This is an indispensable tool for anyone who would like to know what the Hebrew text looked like at the time of Jesus, and before the Masoretes edited it in the 8th century, much as the Byzantine Christians edited the Greek New Testament, creating some 90 per cent of all manuscripts in existence today, without dispensing us from the task of looking into the evidence of earlier, pre-Byzantine papyri and parchments. Thus, a new edition of “*The Bible of the First Christians*”, of the Old Testament translated from the Greek, should be the next logical step.

Let us look at just one textual example from the New Testament, William Tyndale’s translation of John 19:19. It is, at first sight, a somewhat indirect illustration, and there are many others which have been assembled by Septuagint scholars, but it helps us to understand that it is not just about getting quotations and allusions right: it underlines the overall case for a return to the Greek text of the whole Bible as the Early Church produced it in their complete codices, and thus to the Graeco-Roman context of the period in which Jesus lived and his first followers wrote. *And Pilate wrote his title, and put it on the cross. The writing was, Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews. This title read many of the Jews. For the place where Jesus was crucified, was nigh to the city. And it was written in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Then said the high priests of the Jews to Pilate: write not, King of the Jews: but that he said, I am the king of the Jews. Pilate answered: what I have written, that I have written.*

Those of you who know modern translations of this passage will have noticed that Tyndale differs from virtually all modern versions. They have the

three languages on the “Titulus“ in the order Hebrew, Greek, Latin, whereas the current Greek editions of Nestle-Aland and UBS, faithfully followed by translators, prescribe the sequence Hebrew, Latin, Greek. In this case, even Luther’s modern revisers have changed the order. Historically, we now know that the Greek text of Erasmus which Tyndale (and Luther) used followed the Byzantine or Majority Text. This Greek version was established on orders of Constantine the Great whose mother Helena had re-discovered the original Titulus in a cistern underneath a temple built by Hadrian, on the site of Golgotha. Manuscripts of John’s Gospel, written and copied before this discovery, preserve the sequence Hebrew, Latin, Greek. This is how John, the eyewitness, had remembered it. He got the three languages right, and the contents, but not their order. To him, the exact sequence was of secondary importance. In legal terms, however, it was necessary for Latin, the official language of the Roman administration, to come last, as the Roman prefect’s seal. This is how we see it on the Titulus itself. When Helena returned to Rome with her fragment, the correct sequence obviously influenced the editors of those 50 imperial copies of the Greek Bible, employed by her son Constantine. As a consequence, the majority of all Greek manuscripts of John’s Gospel, in the Byzantine or Majority text, copied this sequence, and via Erasmus, it reached the early translators into the vernacular, Luther, Tyndale, and others. Modern editors of the Greek text, however, reversed the order: decreeing that the pre-Constantinian manuscripts of John’s Gospel give us the original text, they re-instituted the order Hebrew-Latin-Greek, and this is how we find it in current translations.

Who is right? Historically and legally speaking, Luther and Tyndale, and the Byzantine text, are right. In terms of the oldest extant Gospel papyri, the people behind the modern Greek editions of Nestle-Aland and UBS are right, and, by implication, modern translators who follow them. Is it justifiable to go against what appears to be the oldest surviving version of the original text, if modern archaeology and papyrology tell us that the textual decision made by Constantine’s editors is historically accurate, after all? Can we correct “John against John“ in such a detail? I have chosen this example for a practical purpose: the inscription on the cross of Jesus was indeed in three languages. Hebrew, because this was the language of the Temple and the Bible and thus the cultic language of the alleged King of the Jews – Pilate obviously knew how to hurt the feelings of Caiaphas and the Sanhedrin who had forced his hand in the first place. Latin, again obviously, because it was the legal language of the Romans. Without it, the sentence of death passed on Jesus would not have been valid. And Greek, because it was the language

everyone understood, Jews, Romans, local residents and literally hundreds of thousands of passover pilgrims. Everyone was meant to understand who was crucified on Golgotha, and why. This was the reality of life at the time of Jesus, of New Testament times. The four gospels preserve only the Greek version. But the fact remains that Greek was the language of the Jews who had come to Jerusalem, and of many in the Holy Land itself. There is archaeological and literary evidence for at least two, perhaps even four Greek-speaking synagogues in Jerusalem. Their Bible was the Greek Bible, the Septuagint, and their language was given pride of place as the centrepiece, so to speak, of Pilate’s inscription.


And thus, by way of this example from John 19:19, we may do worse than try and find a present-day Tyndale to give us an Old Testament translated from the Greek, and scholars who will give us versions of the New Testament which combine the contextual knowledge provided by textual criticism, papyrology, archaeology, and classical scholarship, with the philological and literary genius of William Tyndale.

This article by Carsten Thiede first appeared in the *Church of England Newspaper* no 5725 on Thursday 8 July 2004. The editor would like to thank the publishing director for granting permission to reproduce it here.

Annual Tyndale Lecture Gloucester Cathedral 2005

## Late Medieval Religious Houses in the West Country and the Dissolution

A lecture by Dr J.H.Betty  
Thursday 6th October 3pm



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## Day Conference at All Saints Church, Kirtling, Cambridgeshire

Report by Eunice Burton

16 April 2005

On a sunny, chilly April Saturday, 25 members and friends of the Tyndale Society found their way to the isolated village of Kirtling, near Newmarket, approaching the church through lanes banked with wild cowslips. Cambridgeshire countryside in spring alone would have made the visit memorable, but the ancient church has been selected by Simon Jenkins as one of 'England's Thousand Best Churches'. One enters it through a fine Norman doorway: the light, airy church has an impressive array of hatchments of the North family, various memorials and roof bosses, and two Tudor tombchests - the older, classical one is that of Edward, 1st Lord North (died 1564), while that of his son, Roger, Elizabethan diplomat (died 1606), has a flamboyant 6-poster canopy whose columns are carved in arabesque spirals with a ferocious dragon supporting the feet of the effigy. Although there is evidence of different styles of architecture coinciding with different styles of worship, there was a sense of continuity leading to active services today.

Mary Clow, a descendant of the North family, welcomed us, explaining that the connection with William Tyndale was that he and Edward North were contemporaries, born at the end of the 15th century: North, a lawyer, was active in the Dissolution of the Monasteries, thus promoting freedom of thought, while Tyndale, a linguist, translated the Bible into English, making it accessible to the common man - a shared love of literature inspired their aim to educate. But whereas Tyndale suffered martyrdom, Edward North survived to the reign of Elizabeth I, and his family has contributed to the richness of English literature.

The opening lecture, entitled 'The Norths in the 16th Century', was given by Sir John Guinness who described how the castle, built by Edward North in red Tudor brick and where he entertained Elizabeth I, had been demolished after a fire in the 18th century, so that only the impressive gatehouse, Kirtling Towers, remains to give some indication of its magnificence. Fortunes were made (and lost) in the 16th century, and the Norths rose from being farmers to haberdashers, and through Edward North, a lawyer, to a family of statesmen, lawyers and poets. Edward was knighted in 1542, was M.P. for Cambridge, 1542-52, and eventually Lord Lieutenant. Although he had supported Lady Jane Grey, he was created Baron North of Kirtling by Mary

Tudor; he died in 1564. His son, Roger, held high office under Elizabeth I, being a Privy Councillor and Treasurer to her household, dying in 1606. His brother, Thomas, was a linguist and soldier, translating 'Plutarch's Lives of Noble Grecians and Romans' into English (Shakespeare's "Roman plays" were based on this): The first edition was dedicated to Mary Tudor, but the second to Elizabeth I, and a copy of this was brought by Sir John (1591 — Imprinted at London by Richard Field for Bonham Norton — Dedicated to Elizabeth I by Thomas North).

The following lecture, which is printed in full elsewhere in this Journal, was by Professor David Daniell on 'No Tyndale, No Shakespeare'; he stressed the importance of Plutarch's history as it emphasized the moral character of men apart from just the events in which they were involved. Tyndale's Bible contributed to the rich culture of 16th century life, overcoming ignorance and prejudice, so that the playwright could address the minds of people. The Bible in English was learned by heart, and illiterate men quoted it in their defence, when persecuted. Professor Daniell gave many examples of Shakespeare's familiarity with the English Bible, attributing to this his power to speak to the heart of his audience.

After tea, we examined the tombs in more detail and then toured the adjacent gardens to view Kirtling Towers: the Tudor brick of Edward's

Gatehouse glowed in the bright afternoon sunshine accentuating the diaper pattern and the modern wings, using handmade bricks, blended well with the original. The owner, Lady Fairhaven, had kindly arranged for the garden-designer to accompany us, so we saw the memorial garden, bounded by the moat, full of daffodils, narcissi, tulips and fritillaries growing in the grass. One quarter of the moat was dry and the banks were covered by ancient varieties of daffodils undisturbed since Tudor times; also under a large 'skeleton' copper beech tree, unique yellow Tudor tulips were flourishing.

The afternoon combined beauty of nature, language and architecture, and we felt William Tyndale would have approved of our seeing the God of Creation in His works and words.



Gargoyle north side



Roof Boss in north aisle

## Lambeth Tree Planting Arboreal Tyndale

Report by Rowland Whitehead

June 2005

The sun shone brightly over south-east London, birds twittered from the trees in one of the city's largest private gardens, the noise of passing traffic was muted and 18 members of the Tyndale Society were treated to a rare, indeed unique, occasion. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Rowan Williams and our Chairman, Prof. David Daniell, jointly, and with appropriate skill, heaped rich Anglican soil over the roots of *Davidia involu-crata*, trod in well the earth around the stem and wished this five foot high sapling a long and happy future.

The thought of planting a tree in Lambeth Palace garden occurred to me a year or two ago. Why not! Others have done it. Trees are very permanent things, they don't walk away and they can be a reminder to future generations, maybe a hundred years hence, of an occasion, an individual or a cause. In William Tyndale we have all three.

Derek Fullarton, Administrative Secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Alistair Cook, the Garden Manager, Sue Madden, his assistant, Malcolm Playford, gardener and Sarah Williams Head of Public Relations - there seemed to be quite a lot of people involved. All were helpful, all were charming and the logistics were sorted out very quickly. We were told that Dr Williams would be delighted to have a 'Tyndale Tree' in the garden and he would personally participate in the planting. Dates were suggested and agreed.



The question of what tree to plant was rather trickier. There really is no particular tree associated with Tyndale. He does mention the oak tree but only in the context of the '*Ivy of Catholicism growing up and smothering it*' - not, we felt, exactly the way it should be at Lambeth. Finally we settled on the 'Handkerchief Tree', *Davidia involu-crata* in its Linnean state, which is rather an unusual and very beautiful tree flowering in Maytime. The tree is somewhat of a 'one off' since the genus contains one species and is the only member of the family. Suitable for Tyndale, we thought.

The Handkerchief Tree gets its name from the huge white bracts that accompany the clusters of quite small inconspicuous flowers. In years to come we hope that we will have opportunities to see the Tyndale Tree in flower. It will be spectacular.

Dr Williams and his wife greeted us and we were happy to introduce to them Nicholas Tyndale who is a fourteenth generation descendant of Tyndale's brother. The Lambeth gardens were looking beautiful and the temptation to sink into a deck chair, surrounded by ten acres of green heaven and watch the red tops of the double-deckers quietly slipping past beyond the wall, must be considerable ... but the Anglican Church, and particularly our Archbishop, has a busy schedule. We are thus all the more grateful to Dr Williams for the time that he gave and the enthusiasm he displayed at our ceremony.

David Daniell spoke of the pleasure this planting afforded the Society and the significance of having such a tree in memory of William Tyndale in the gardens of Lambeth Palace. '*Tyndale must be smiling down on us from Heaven*' he said. Dr Williams reminded us of Tyndale's mission and some background to Pèrè Armand David, the French missionary who brought back a specimen from China of the tree which bears his name. He then said a short prayer for the Church, the man whose memory we were celebrating today and, indeed, also for the well being of *Davidia involu-crata*.

The Archbishop's spadework was deft and while Sue Madden, the Assistant Garden Manager, held the tree upright in its hole a very large quantity of soil was transferred. Our Chairman then took over followed by Nicholas Tyndale. After some necessary treading in we all returned to the Palace for refreshments with Dr Williams and his wife. There was, with us, a happy feeling that due and lasting tribute had been paid to one of England's greatest men.

This ceremony on behalf of the Tyndale Society, the first tree planting ceremony in the Lambeth Palace Garden by the present Archbishop, took place at 4pm on Friday 10th June 2005.



## Letters to the Editor

Dear Valerie,

With regard to the King James (Tyndale) 1611 Authorized Version of the Bible, it cannot be denied that this Bible reigned supreme for 350 years, and remains a powerful voice even today. The sufficiency of this Bible to convince anyone of the truth of Christianity is NOT questioned. There was more faith when this was virtually the only version of the word of God than there is today.

Tyndale wrote: - *“If any man search for the truth, and read the scriptures by himself, desiring God to open the door of knowledge unto him, God for his truths sake, will and must teach him.”*

It is a point of interest that while the Bible is a world best seller, it is little read. Not one in ten thousand have read it.

I read with interest in the *Tyndale Society Journal* No. 27 July 2004, the review by Neil L. Inglis of *Rome and the Bible. The History of the Bible through the Centuries, and Rome's Persecution Against it*. The author, David Cloud, obviously shares with William Tyndale a hatred of 'The blasphemous Roman Catholic System', which is still active today!

Have we forgotten that the reason that Tyndale produced his New Testament in 1526 was to expose the non-scriptural teachings of Rome, and the false power of the Pope? Tyndale's reward was to be burnt at the stake.

Tyndale translated 1 Tim. 2:5 as follows: - *‘For there is one God, and one mediator bitwene God and man, which is the man Jesus Christ’.*

In the same review it is suggested that the Tyndale Society is a BROAD church, and could be said to have an ecumenical philosophy. Broad churches, of course, believe everything and believe nothing. William Tyndale translated Matt. 7:14 as follows: - *‘For strayte is the gate, and narrow is the way which leadeth unto lyfe, and few there be that fynde it’.*

I fear that the so-called Tyndale Society has lost its way.

Anthony Mitchell,  
Tyndale Taught Ploughboy  
Shirehampton, Bristol, UK, 30 December 2004.

Editor's Note

It seemed fair to give the reviewer, Neil Inglis, the right of reply to Mr Mitchell's letter. Neil's comments are printed below.

Dear Mr Mitchell,

You raise the fascinating issue of religious tolerance and its relationship to the Tyndale Society. Your question is well worth raising, and well worth answering.

At the Society we impose no litmus tests and thus number Catholics, Protestants, Jews, atheists, and others among our membership. At the Journal, we strive to write articles that will be of interest to all of our readers and that will challenge without giving offence. The Journal, in short, reflects the Society's latitudinarian atmosphere (hence "broad church").

But there is an implicit paradox here, as you point out. We Tyndalians may be friendly, but the sectarian battles of Tyndale's time were anything but friendly. The Reformers (perhaps even Tyndale himself!) might have seen us as fence-sitters at best.

Even in the relative civility of 2005, there is a further problem for book reviewers like me. How are we to handle contemporary religious publications that adopt a sectarian tone, as many do? Dare we pretend they don't exist, especially if they contain at least some useful material? Society members don't have a monopoly on Tyndalian studies, and we have an obligation to look beyond our ranks to see how the outside world treats WT. Here the reviewer can act as a filter, extracting the useful points and leaving aside the chaff that Society readers have neither the time nor inclination to read.

Sincerely yours,  
Neil L. Inglis, February 2005.

Dear Mrs Offord,

With reference to the splendid hand-coloured copy of the 1534 Luther Bible, mentioned in *TSJ* No. 28 January 2005 p.57 as mercifully having

## Book Reviews

### Gerald Bray (ed.) *Documents of the English Reformation*

Corrected Reprint, James Clark & Co., Cambridge, 2004. 675pp, £25  
ISBN 0227172396

Upon its publication in 1994, Gerald Bray's *Documents of the English Reformation* quickly and quite rightfully established itself as an essential volume for students of the reformation in England. The reason for its success remains as evident now as it was then.

Bray's primary focus on theological documents, for instance, was a valuable complement to the political and economic documents which had been collected for publication in the preceding decades. And his decision to reprint documents in their entirety, while preventing the inclusion of a few important sources, was a welcome departure from cut-and-paste readers which can too often fall prey to an editor's pet interests. Likewise, the scope of the work - including documents from 1526 through to 1700 - wisely acknowledged that the turbulent events of Henry VIII's reign, and even those of his children's reigns, did not constitute the alpha and omega of the reformation, but were only an important part of what became the "long reformation" in England. Also ensuring the volume's warm welcome were helpful introductions, appendices, and indices, as well as a practical (if somewhat distracting) critical apparatus which highlighted the evolution of various documents and their relation to other sources.

Those who made fruitful use of the first edition will therefore be pleased to know that none of the above has been lost in what is being billed as the "corrected reprint" of that edition. The publisher's designation is important, as any who were hoping for a substantially "revised" or "enlarged" edition will be disappointed. Also bound to be unsatisfied are those who hoped the publisher might take to heart previous pleas for a volume in hardcover rather than paperback. Ultimately more disappointing, however, is that this "corrected" reprint does not contain as many corrections as one would have expected. Updated bibliographical information has been provided in the introduction, and some misspelling has been remedied; but, for example, on page 285 *quibus* still appears once as *guibus* and *Londinensi* still appears as *Londineusi*. Likewise, the Henrician reformer Robert Barnes still languishes in obscurity while an unknown "Richard" Barnes receives credit for representing the Crown in the negotiations which produced the 1536 Wittenberg Articles (p.118). Also unfortunate is that some minor typesetting errors have

been saved from the calamitous fire in the Herzogin Anna Amalia-Bibliothek at Weimar in September 2004, readers may wish to note that an excellent full-colour facsimile of this very copy was published as: *The Luther Bible of 1534* (complete facsimile edition. 2 vols and booklet) edited by Stephan Füssel, Cologne: Taschen, 2003. ISBN 3-8228-2470-4. It was reviewed in *The Times Literary Supplement*, No. 5,231 4 July 2003 p. 31.

Yours sincerely,  
John L. Flood (Prof.)  
jlf@johnlflood.fsnet.co.uk

Vic Perry was kind enough to comment on the last issue of the *TSJ* No 28 January 2005. His remarks on the tea towel illustration on page 63 are of interest. Naturally new members will have to buy a back copy of the Journal to understand his comments!

Vic wrote:-

'You have done Elkstone and the tea towel proud. The quote from Tyndale is only approximate. The only occurrence of a cobbler that my computer search found is in his *Obedience*:

*'Nevertheless the truth is, that we are all equally beloved in Christ, and God hath sworn to all indifferently. According, therefore, as every man believeth God's promises, longeth for them, and is diligent to pray unto God to fulfil them, so is his prayer heard; and as good is the prayer of a cobbler as of a cardinal, and of a butcher as of a bishop; and the blessing of a baker that knoweth the truth is as good as the blessing of our most Holy Father the Pope.'*

As this passage has a similar message to the tea towel the designer must have known his Tyndale well.'

been introduced where they did not previously exist, as for example with the inverted commas two-thirds of the way down page thirteen.

Such pedantic observations, however, can by no means overshadow the great benefits Bray's collection will continue to provide students of the English reformation. And for a work of nearly 700 pages, the very reasonable price offers yet one more reason to expect that this will remain a standard resource for some time to come.

Korey D. Maas, University of Oxford, April 2005

### **Thomas McCrie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century***

[Edinburgh theologian, 1772-1835. The spelling "M'Crie" is also found.] Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication 1842

When reading through the book that is the subject of today's review, I picked a passage for publication in the previous issue of the *TSJ*, as a "pre-view of coming attractions". I had a lot to learn! First, I was using voice recognition technology for my transcription. Dragon VRT has trouble placing my accent and sprinkles the output text with literals.

My troubles didn't end there. McCrie's spelling of place-names was out-moded, and later in the book he recanted one detail in the Juan Diaz story, which I had to delete altogether. Proofreading was a nightmare! I took pride, nonetheless, in bringing a rare antiquarian book to a Tyndalian audience - I found just one copy on Advanced Book Exchange (ABE) and splurged on it.

But what does "rare" mean, exactly? Tyndale Society members have David Daniell, Jasper Ridley, Geoffrey Elton, and even (eek!) "Colonel" Eamonn Duffy on their shelves, but few have McCrie - or so I thought. In our community you make such assumptions at your own risk. Later email traffic showed that "McCrie's Reformation in Spain" was not that uncommon, and can be found on CDRom. But even if we overlook the king's ransom I paid for the hard copy, the McCrie remains, by most definitions, an uncommon text (his history of the Italian Reformation will have to wait for another time, or another lifetime).

McCrie's historianship belongs to a different epoch. His was an era when Protestants wore white hats and Catholics black, when the Reformation saga marked an inexorable process toward fulfilment of God's plan. For McCrie, the Inquisition's body count was 2,000 a year, rather than the aggregate

2,000 asserted by today's revisionists. Confiscations and penances - now deemed a sign of the Inquisition's "leniency" and concern for "due process" - are an unmitigated evil. Who writes like this any more?

*"It is a fact now admitted on all hands, that the Reformation has ameliorated the state of government and society in all the countries into which it was received. By exciting inquiry and diffusing knowledge, it led to the discovery and correction of abuses; imposed a check, by public opinion, if not by statute, on the arbitrary will of princes; generated a spirit of liberty among the people; gave a higher tone to morals; and imparted a strong impulse to the human mind in the career of invention and improvement."* (pp. 276-277).

There is something about the very title which would stop even modern secular readers dead in their tracks. Reformation in *Spain*? Come again?

For sure, contemporary orthodox Catholics would have seen Spanish Protestantism, not as an oxymoron perhaps, but certainly as a deplorable condition to be hunted down and crushed. The thinking went like this: "English Protestants, German Protestants - well, what do you expect? But *Spanish* Protestants???"

Yes indeed. They are not a figment of McCrie's imagination. He honours their memory thusly:

*"But we are not on this account to conclude that the Spanish martyrs threw away their lives, and spilt their blood in vain. They offered to God a sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savour. Their blood is precious in his sight; he has avenged it, and may yet more signally avenge it."* (p. 255).

Where were these pockets of heterodoxy situated? The Monastery of San Isidro in Seville was one. And Spanish martyrs were not men only.

*"At Valladolid, as at Seville, the reformed doctrine penetrated into the monasteries. It was embraced by a great portion of the nuns of Santa Clara, and of the Cistercian order of San Belén; and had its converts among the class of devout women, called beatas, who are bound by no particular rule, but addict themselves to works of charity."* (p. 174).

Inquisitorial policy of the period showed a mix of denial and assertions of unity combined with a pitiless enforcement effort at home and abroad. According to hard-liners, the arrest of one Spanish heretic was far sweeter than the imprisonment of several Lutherans from other lands. Spanish reformers were the ultimate prize.

That explains why Spanish exiles bore such a price on their head, caused such grief for their families, and provided such an endless stream of Cain-and-Abel stories (of which Juan Diaz is only one example). Readers will recall how Michel Servet, while in Switzerland in the early 1530s, was con-

tacted by his brother who assured Michel that he could expect the warmest possible welcome back home.

But if Spaniards abroad wore the “*mask, which [none] can throw off without bidding an eternal farewell to his country,*” foreign travel and heretical influences also waylaid other orthodox children of the Church. Cardinal Pole got in trouble upon his return to Spain after re-inducting England back into the Catholic Church. In mainland Spain, Archbishop Carranza and Doctor Egidius likewise fell under suspicion. McCrie recounts one rumour that Emperor Charles V himself converted to the reformed faith in his final days, after retiring into the monastic life. If none were immune from allegations of heresy, even the obdurate might be touched by God’s grace. These are perennial Christian themes.

Members of the fairer sex were not spared; and the author’s pen quivers with a *frisson* of aghast fascination at tales of robbed female modesty and virtue.

“(…) *Dona Juana was conducted in her turn to the place of torture. Refusing to confess, she was put into the engine del burro, which was applied with such violence, that the cords penetrated to the bone of her arms and legs; and some of the internal vessels being burst, the blood flowed in streams from her mouth and nostrils.*” (p. 237).

You did expect at least one torture scene, didn’t you?

Perhaps the name of Anne Askew just popped into your head. The lives and deaths of the early Reformers are rich in parallelisms; and while the names of the fallen Spaniards mean little, their resemblances to our English friends will strike many a chord. And as Tyndalians, we spare a thought for translators of the Bible.

We read of Hebrew Bibles being burned in Seville by order of Torquemada. Later we hear of the publication of a Spanish-language version of the Pentateuch in Venice, intended specially for Spanish Jews, printed in Venice in 1497. An early version in the Valencian dialect by Bonifacio Ferrer was printed in Valencia in 1478. It makes for very strange reading.

The triumvirate of Francisco Enzinas, Juan Perez, and Cassiodoro de Reyna - pioneers of the Castilian tongue - are all given their due. As always, vernacular bibles have to be printed on friendly ground: Enzinas’s Spanish New Testament was published in Antwerp in 1543. A succession of Bibles follows. McCrie, a wishful thinker, sketches a picture of collegiality perhaps at odds with historical realities.

“[Juan Perez’s] *version of the New Testament came from the press, in 1556; his version of the Book of Psalms followed in the course of the subsequent year*

*(…). They were all printed at Venice. (…). The task which he left unfinished was continued by Cassiodoro de Reyna, who, after ten years’ labour produced a translation of the whole Bible, which was printed in 1569 at Basle. It was revised and corrected by Cypriano de Valera, who published the New Testament in 1596 at London and both Testaments in 1602 at Amsterdam.*” (pp. 152-153).

Most of the New Testaments of Perez and Enzinas were captured and burned by the Inquisition - but not all. “*Many copies of the Spanish Bible, published by Cassiodoro de Reyna (..) made their way into Spain notwithstanding the severest denunciations of the Holy Office, and the utmost vigilance of the familiars.*” (p. 246).

These Tyndales of Spain are far from home (Antwerp is a frequent stopping point on their journeys). They aren’t on chummy terms with their relatives. They must choose between their work and their families. For instance, Enzinas’s vocation estranged him from his mother. The apologists for the Inquisition exploited these private tragedies and specialized in blaming the victim; reformers were painted as sinister loners cut off from normal bonds of regeneration and kinship.

McCrie paints on a broad canvas, with bookends (i) in the early Christian era and (ii) the unwinding of the Inquisition’s operations in the 1700s. The Prohibition on Spanish bibles is lifted by an edict dated 20 December, 1782. McCrie implies that Spanish Catholicism was a macabre diversion. He quotes iconoclastic voices from the dawn of the Spanish Church, hinting at all manner of glorious possibilities that never came to pass. For instance, a National Council, in the beginning of the fourth century, prohibited the worship of images, and the use of pictures in churches. These yellowing press clippings from the First Millennium don’t exactly qualify as auguries of the Reformation and they hardly catapult us into the world of Luther and Tyndale.

McCrie is vague on the Islamic influence in Spain, better on the Jewish community, better still on the shifting linguistic and cultural boundaries between France and Spain. For him, the Complutensian Polyglot of 1517 is a triumph of the status quo rather than a hopeful Humanist interlude. And then he brings us to the final scaffold, where we honour the memory of an unknown *beata*.

“*The last person who was committed to the flames, was a beata, burnt alive at Seville, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of November 1781. (..) I myself (says Mr. Blanco White) saw the pile on which the last victim was sacrificed to human infallibility. It was an unhappy woman, whom the Inquisition of Seville committed to the flames, under the charge of heresy, about forty years ago. She perished on a spot where*

*thousands had met the same fate. I lament from my heart, that the structure which supported their melting limbs was destroyed...*" (pp. 251).

In short, this book, though dated and quaint, is a cherishable reference source.

Neil L. Inglis, June 2005.

**Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England***  
Paperback, Oxford University Press 344 pp 2004 ISBN 0199273723

This may seem at first sight a book on the periphery of academic debate concerning the Reformation, but its subject lies at the very heart of 16<sup>th</sup> century theology. The Reformation was essentially a battle, sometimes literally, between Protestant and Catholic believers about the best way for the soul to get to heaven. Protestant theology focussed upon the Bible, whereas Catholic belief gave more weight to tradition and the works of theologians, popes or saints - a theological position which holds true today. With the fate of the soul at stake, the nature and beliefs surrounding the dead became of critical concern. This book deals with these beliefs in Reformation England. The book takes a long view of the Reformation with a chronology from 1480 to 1630. This 150-year span is neat in terms of a numerical number, but does lead to unanswered questions - why 1480 and why 1630 as start and finish dates?

By the late 15<sup>th</sup> century when this book starts the notion of purgatory between heaven and hell had become a crucial part of religious belief and doctrine. Purgatory was not only a place where the souls of sinners were purged, but also the concept allowed for a direct interaction between the living and the dead. The living could pray or perform good works for the dead and so hasten the soul's passage through the terrors of purgatory to allow it to reach heaven. However, the Reformation swept away the notion of purgatory from the English Church.

Marshall therefore sets out to chart the process of how religious belief changed in relation to the dead in the seven chapters of the book. There is therefore a combination of analysis of the chronological development of thought and belief about the dead with thematic chapters on ghosts and the afterlife. Marshall tackles many questions head on, and whilst not coming to any definitive conclusions, offers many useful insights into the perpetual problems surrounding the analysis of evidence.

The evidence itself is difficult because all that remains in detail is the writ-

ings of theologians or clergymen, whether in treatises or sermons. The real difficulty therefore lies in trying to understand what the general population thought or believed. Wills and inscriptions on tombs or brasses therefore take on a heightened importance - but were only the wishes or thoughts of the elite. Marshall gives an interesting example of the difficulty of using such evidence when he explores church's attempt to ban the ringing of bells at Halloween. The authorities viewed such ringing as continuation of beliefs about purgatory (because the bells were rung to help the souls of the dead) but to the local population it might have been custom without any purgatorial overtones.

One of the themes running through the book is that of memory and commemoration of the dead. Memory for the deceased was a complex question for Protestants because on the one hand the state valued hierarchy (as shown on personal tombs and brasses in church) and individual morality, but on the other hand memory of a person could easily lead to prayers for their soul or 'idolatry'. Marshall charts the swings of the pendulum between the initial destruction of brasses and tombs which lead to the government successfully legislating to preserve them.

One welcome, and unexpected, chapter is that devoted to ghosts (Chapter 6). The ghost of Hamlet's father springs to mind in a Reformation context, and like this ghost, ghosts in general were a particularly intriguing theological problem, especially for the early Reformers. If souls either went to heaven or hell for eternity, how then could they return? The medieval Catholic church had less of a problem, for souls could come back from purgatory for a specific reason and so be seen in ghostly form. Protestants tried various explanations: the imagination of the weak, a devil or really souls from the afterlife, but none completely explained them. Ghosts stood outside the religious framework and could be good (such as giving warnings), frightening, or evil, but most of all they were haphazard and disorderly.

This is an important book which takes one crucial theme of the Reformation and explores the theological and social implications of changes in belief. The book examines the many different theological views about the dead and their place in heaven or hell through the writings of theologians or clergymen. Interspersed are fragments of evidence from parish life. Together they form a cohesive book which gives valuable insights into both the views of the dead and the changing theology of the time.

Christopher Daniell, June 2005

**David Price and Charles C. Ryrie, *Let It Go among Our People: An Illustrated History of the English Bible from John Wyclif to the King James Version***

The Lutterworth Press, 2004, 160pp. ISBN 0718830423

The year 2004 commemorated the quatercentenary of the Hampton Court Conference summoned by James I to settle disputes between bishops and Puritan divines, from which emerged an unexpected decision to make a new revision of the English Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek texts without controversial marginal notes. In 1611 the marvellous masterpiece of the Authorised Version (abr. AV) or the King James Version (abr. KJV) was eventually produced. It is no coincidence, therefore, that before and after 2004 there appeared several publications on the history of the English Bible, focusing on the AV. For example, David Norton, *A History of the English Bible as Literature* (2000: condensed revision of 1993 edition), Christopher De Hamel, *The Book. A History of the Bible* (2001), Alister E. McGrath, *In the Beginning* (2001), Benson Bobrick, *Wide as the Waters* (2001), David Daniell, *The Bible in English* (2003) David Norton's companion volumes, *A Textual History of the King James Bible* (2004) and *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible* (2005), apart from those on Tyndale by David Daniell and others. The year 2004 also witnessed the completion of Conrad Lindberg's monumental works on the Wycliffite Bible in the publication of *King Henry's Bible MS Bodley 277: the Revised Version of the Wyclif Bible*, Vol. IV.

The book under present review may be said one of the best introductions to the history of the English Bible from the Wycliffite Bible to the Rheims-Douay Bible for the general reader. Readers will learn with no small surprise, if they did not know already, that in England, unlike many countries in Europe, it was severely and rigidly prohibited on pain of death to translate the Bible - the word of God - into the vernacular language and '*Lives were lost along the way - not only for producing English Bibles, but also for merely owning or reading them.*' (p.7) John Wyclif in effect was condemned as heretical by church and university authorities. His followers, the so-called Lollards suffered continuous persecutions, and the Wycliffite Bible, the first complete English Bible, initiated by Wyclif and carried out by his followers, Nicholas Hereford and John Purvey among others, was rigorously proscribed. In like manner, William Tyndale, the first person to translate the Bible into English from its original Hebrew and Greek and the first to print the Bible in English, was martyred in 1536 for his religious activities including the translation of the Bible.

The book, with a title from the words attributed to King Henry VIII speaking of the Coverdale Bible, consists of eight chapters with two appendices, a select bibliography and an index. The eight chapters are arranged in chronological order with the titles which rather vaguely describe the contents of the book. More explicitly, Ch. 1 discusses the Wycliffite Bible (Early Version c1384, Later Version c1395) with a very brief note on the Bible in Old English; Ch.2 gives a short but adequate introduction to Renaissance scholarship, focusing on Desiderius Erasmus; Ch.3 deals with William Tyndale and his translation of the Bible (NT 1526, Pentateuch 1530, Jonah 1531). [Here the authors sometimes disagree with David Daniell, the latest biographer of Tyndale (pp. 42,48).]; Ch.4 is on Miles Coverdale and his Bibles (Coverdale Bible 1535, the Great Bible 1539); Ch.5 on the Geneva Bible produced by Puritan exiles at Geneva (1560/NT 1557); Ch.6 on the Bishops' Bible (1568), which was later used as the official basis of the AV; Ch.7 on the Rheims-Douay Bible prepared by Roman Catholic refugees in France (1610/NT 1582); Ch.8, the richest and best chapter, is on the Authorised Version (1611), which is a main topic of this book. At the end of the book there are two appendices: App.1 lists the partial revisions of the AV; App.2 gives an annotated list of some of the more significant Bible translations from 1876 to 2002.

The book is written throughout in lucid and succinct style and is adequately provided with a number of illustrative pictures of good quality and short textual specimens such as Tyndale (1526), Geneva (1560) and French Geneva (1554) compared in parallel. There are also a number of very informative boxes: Important Editions of the Bible in Greek and Hebrew; Tyndale's Lord's Prayer 1534; Hebrew Idioms from the AV; the Great Polyglot Bibles; Nicknames and Curiosities, and some others. Some readers will be particularly delighted to find many linguistic and stylistic comments illuminating the characteristics of each Bible, especially the AV which the authors call "An Audible Bible".

Useful and interesting information about each English Bible is distributed liberally throughout the book. Let us provide just a few random examples. In the 1572 Bishops' Bible, the text of the Psalms was unusually printed side by side with the earlier, more familiar version of the Great Bible, but by 1577 the Great Bible version of the Psalms, which was incorporated into the Prayer Book, had eliminated the original less happy translation of the Bishops' Bible itself. [It is regrettable that a very important Bodleian copy of the 1602 Bishops' Bible does not seem to be mentioned in this book, although the copy contains many relevant ms. corrections by some of the Jacobean

translators.] As to the AV, profiles of some of the Jacobean translators, all eminent and erudite scholars of the age but some of them full of eccentricities, are included (pp.119-123). For Lancelot Andrewes, there is T. S. Eliot's comment:

Andrewes *'takes a word and derives the world from it; squeezing and squeezing the word until it yields a full juice of meaning, which we should never have supposed any word to possess.'*; the checkered life of George Abbott who published a massive study of Jonah in 1600. [It might be more amusing for readers to know that he had preached a different sermon on Jonah every Thursday from 1594 to 1599 - 260 addresses on that single topic alone.] The AV has a number of marginal, mainly philological notes besides the references to parallel scriptures, although the current popular editions usually omit these. In the OT there are 6,637 philological notes, *'Over 4,000 of which give literal renderings of the Hebrew idioms and some 2,156 offer alternative ms. readings, while the NT has 765 notes, of which 35 give ms. variants, 112 literal renderings of Greek idioms and 582 possible translations.'* (p.128). In addition to these detailed statistics, the authors cite the often-quoted statistical data from Charles Butterworth (1941, p. 231) that in the AV, 39% is original; 19% derives from the Geneva Bible; 18% from Tyndale; 13% from Coverdale; 4% from Bishops' Bible. [Perhaps on this point John Nielson and Royal Skousen's recent article (*Reformation III*, 1998) should be referred to, because Butterworth's statistics require some qualifications.] Of no less importance is the authors' observation on the Hebrew idioms in the AV: *'More than their predecessors, the translators tried to replicate the style of the Hebrew syntax and they tried to do this systematically.'* (p.132) [Actually, however, not quite systematically in my view.] They refer to 'and' verbosity and distinctive Hebrew constructions such as infinitive absolute and casus pendens. Among Hebrew idioms from the AV, 'sour grapes' is cited. However, this popular English idiom alludes not to the Bible but, as is well-known, to Aesop's fable about a fox. As for matters typographical, one has wondered why the paragraph mark (!) abruptly and strangely enough disappears after Acts 20:36. The authors nonchalantly but perhaps correctly assume that *'Barker [the printer of the 1611 edition] simply ran out of them.'* (p.124).

The authors are occasionally careless with their facts and descriptions. There are also some moot points. On page 11 the authors write *'In truth, neither Wyclif nor James I is known to have translated a single word of the Bibles named after them.'* As to Wyclif, perhaps we should avoid making such a hasty assertion. On page 18 we read *'Note that the letter 'y' often designates either 'th' or 'i.'*' This is misleading even in a book intended for the general

reader. The medieval script for 'th' is the Runic thorn 'þ', though looking like 'y' it was later confused with that letter; the alternative letter for 'i' is 'y'. On page 20 the authors write about the wording of the Wycliffite Bible: *"We do not have the expression 'do no theft', and nor did fourteenth-century English."* Indeed the idiomatic expression in Present-day English is 'commit no theft', but things appear otherwise in Middle English, as the MED quotes five instances at least of *'do (no) theft'*. On page 54 the authors write *"Tyndale's colloquialism 'and all to rent you'"*, but I suspect that this was not colloquial in Tyndale's time, but rather literary or archaic denoting 'completely or entirely'. The expression is used in the AV, Milton, Bunyan and others. See OED *s. v.* 'all' 14b. On page 124 we read "Matthew 23:24 reads (and still mistakenly does) 'strain at a gnat' rather than 'strain out a gnat'." But 'strain at' cannot be definitely stigmatized as mistranslation or printer's error. See OED *s. v.* 'strain' 21. On page 140 we read about the revisions of the AV that *'This revision, the first to omit the Apocrypha, was printed in 1629 by two Cambridge printers, Thomas and John Buck.'* But in fact it does include the Apocrypha. See A. S. Herbert (ed.), *Historical Catalogue* (1968).

Some minor misprints have crept into this well-produced book: p. 121a, 1.13 "the room Apparently, Henry..." appears obscure; p.124a, 1.9 for "Acts 10: 36" read "Acts 20: 36"; p.126b, 1.14 for "Luke (with the ox) and John (with the eagle)" read "John (with the eagle) and Luke (with the ox)"; p. 135a, 1.18 for pent ('the face of') read pene ('the face of'); p.139b, 1.1Sf. for "as a present tense subjunctive" read "as a past subjunctive".

As a whole, *Let It Go among Our People* is a useful and readable synthesis of the historical development of the English Bible in the Renaissance period for readers who want to understand the tumultuous political and literary history of how the AV - *"the noblest monument of English prose"*---came to be. The spectacular and mysterious ups and downs of the translation and dissemination of the English Bible are successfully and vividly conveyed. We owe the authors David Price and Charles Ryrie, specialists respectively in Renaissance studies and in the history of the English Bible, great gratitude for an illuminating work which will certainly go among all people interested in the English Bible or in Renaissance and Reformation cultural history. The Lutterworth Press, the name of which is noted in connexion of John Wyclif, is also to be complimented for a handsome layout and printing produced at a reasonable price.

Yoshio Terasawa, May 2005  
Prof. Emeritus, University of Tokyo

**Melvyn Bragg, *The Adventure of English: The Biography of a Language*.**

Arcade Publishing, \$27.95 ISBN 155970710-0 (first published by Hodder & Stoughton 2003)

'Yo, g, here's the down low on the dope vibes'. That sentence is simply collespeak that can be roughly translated, 'Excuse me, friend, here's the information on the most current ways of communicating'. But, is it English? Of course, it is.

If one has any doubt, one could benefit from Melvyn Bragg's race through the 1500 year history of the English language that begins when a few thousand Frisian speakers invaded a relatively small island and ends with today's two billion English speakers spread across the globe. It is indeed an adventure with many narrow escapes and sudden twists, turning the language in unexpected ways at unexpected moments. It is a story well told by a master story teller. There is not a dull page in the book, but it must be understood that Bragg is neither a historian nor a linguist. He is, as many viewers of the British media know, a writer of fiction and non-fiction as well as a radio and television presenter. In fact this book has its origin an ITV series, but Bragg has added to the content and to the depth of his earlier treatment. There are many histories of the English language, but few authors of such books can match Bragg's mastery of the language itself.

Bragg presents a host of characters such as Shakespeare and Chaucer whose names are known around the world, but he makes it clear that millions of others have made their contribution to English, even though history cannot now document their names. Modern English - in its many variations around the world - has been influenced by kings in their royal courts and Creole slaves in the cotton fields. It has absorbed words and elements from Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, Arabic, Hindi and Gullah. And it continues to do so. In fact, the ability of English to change by absorbing new elements is, in Bragg's opinion, one of the characteristics that has allowed it to become the world's language. English no longer belongs only to the English but to all those who use it in the corporations and the campuses of the world. Each user leaves a contribution to the adventure.

Readers of this journal will be delighted by the recognition that Bragg gives to William Tyndale, but Tyndalians will be disappointed by the content. Introducing his chapter-length treatment of Tyndale, Bragg says that Tyndale, by his work as a translator, prepared a book that 'became the most influential book there has ever been in the history of the language, English or any other' (p.

98). And he adds, 'It is impossible to over-praise the quality of Tyndale's writings. Its rhythmical beauty, its simplicity of phrase, its crystal clarity have penetrated deep into the bedrock of English today wherever it is spoken' (p. 103). Bragg is to be commended for recognizing Tyndale's verbal contribution to the hoard of English words and phrases. He gets the big picture right, but stumbles over some historical facts. Contrary to Bragg, Tyndale never met Erasmus (p. 101). And when one recalls that Tyndale lived only long enough to translate about half of the Old Testament, it is certainly misleading to speak of Tyndale's Bible in the same way that one can speak of the Wycliffe Bibles and the King James Bible. To cite another example, when Bragg speaks of two hired assassins who trapped Tyndale and took him to Vilvoorde Castle (p. 104), the informed reader will certainly cringe and is left wondering if the author errs in other ways as well. For Bragg, Tyndale's significance is that his work, when incorporated into the work of others and authorized by the crown, propelled English forward by the fact that it was endorsed by both the royalty of earth and of heaven. 'English at last had God on its side. The language was authorized by the Almighty Himself' (p. 108). Valid or not, Tyndale deserves both a more accurate and nuanced treatment.

Melvyn Bragg is a word artist who covers the canvas with a wide brush, getting parts of the story wrong in small ways but somehow the big picture is still breathtakingly stunning.

Donald Dean Smeeton, February 2005

**Gerard B. Wegemer and Stephen W. Smith (eds) *A Thomas More Source Book***

Catholic University of America Press, USA 2004 paperback £22.95  
ISBN 0-8132-1376-2

Who was Sir Thomas More? Most people only know him through the play, *A Man for all Seasons*, through reading *Utopia*, through a knowledge of 16th century English history and, if they are members of the Tyndale Society, as the opponent of William Tyndale. Probably the majority only know some aspects of the man he was. This book claims to be 'an introduction to More's life and writings for the general reader'. It provides us with carefully selected passages from various aspects of More's life.

My main criticism of the book is that the first part *The Earliest Accounts of Thomas More's Life* takes up 150 pages, thus leaving only 250 pages for

More's writings. The introduction opens a window on Thomas More, his life, his writings and him as a person. One of the strong points is the footnotes referring to the passages from More's writings printed in this book.

Part 1 *The Earliest Accounts of Thomas More's Life* contains three sections. The first is *Erasmus on Thomas More*, in which More seems to be too good to be true. Just to quote one of the many similar statements, Erasmus wrote 'It would be difficult to find a more felicitous extempore speaker, so fertile are both his mind and the tongue that does his bidding' (p.12). The second is William Roper's *The Life of Sir Thomas More, Knight*. Roper married Thomas More's oldest and favourite daughter and he, like Erasmus, could see no faults in Thomas More. Thomas More's attitude to heretics was that he would 'let them have their churches quietly to themselves, so that they would be content to let us have ours quietly to ourselves' (p.33). The third section is an Elizabethan play of 1592, *Sir Thomas More*, written by Anthony Munday, Henry Chettle, William Shakespeare, and others. I failed to see the value, as part of a source book, of this play written approximately 57 years after his death. Once again, like the other two sections in this part of the book, he is portrayed as a man who had no dark side to his character. We get a picture of the sense of humour permeating his life 'For know, Erasmus, Mirth wrinkles up my face, and I still crave, When that forsakes me, I may hug my grave' (p. 111). Even with his fall his sense of humour was there, 'No, wife, be merry, and be merry all: You smiled at rising: weep not at my fall' (p 135): until, at last, 'Here More forsakes all mirth, good reason why: The fool of flesh must with her frail life die.' (p.156.)

Part 2 is *Writings on Love and Friendship*. In "On His First Love" we catch a glimpse of More, which is not normally seen, as he opens his heart to reveal his emotions and himself as a romantic lover. Two poems follow in which More has complete control over his mind and his emotions, the second, "On Detachment", could almost apply to the first, "Twelve Properties of a Lover". This is followed by four letters, to John Colet, to his children, to his wife Alice, and finally a letter written from prison to Antonio Bonvisi. This part ends with *Plutarch's Essay* and *More's Poem*.

Part 3 consists of *Writings on Education*. A letter to his children's teacher is followed by two letters to his children. A letter to Oxford University, warning them to deal with the "Trojans" who speak and act against the humanist learning, especially one who 'has chosen during Lent to babble in a sermon against not only Greek but Roman literature, and finally against all polite learning, liberally berating all the liberal arts' (p.206). The next two sections in this Part are short extracts on "Conscience and Integrity", "On Pride", and the final section, "Erasmus on More's Approach to Education". Erasmus was impressed by the

education of More's children (especially his daughters and two other girls who were 'included' in his family) 'setting thereby a new precedent which, if I mistake not, will soon be widely followed, so happy is the outcome' (p. 222).

Part 4 is entitled *Writings on Government*. The first section is "On Dealing with Lions", Thomas More's counsel to Thomas Cromwell, 'in counsel given to his Grace, ever tell him what he ought to do, but never tell him what he is able to do, so shall you show yourself a true faithful servant, and a right worthy Counselor. For if the lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him' (p. 232). That section is followed by "Poems on the Human Condition and the Art of Governing" and "Other Poems on Politics". "Thomas More's 'Petition for Freedom of Speech'" (pp 240-241) and "More Defends the Liberty of the House" (pp 243-245) are modern language versions from *Roper's Life of Thomas More* – these are also found on pages 22-27, and I wondered why this, and other extracts from this work, were included in different sections when the whole of *Roper's Life of Thomas More* is printed in Part 1. This Part finishes with two more sections, "On Private Property, Riches, and Poverty" and "On Law and Liberty".

Part 5 is *Writings on Religion*. It begins with "More's Conception of God", where a passage from *Dialogue of Comfort* is followed by several quotations from *A Treatise on the Passion*, finally two from Thomas More's *Prayer Book*. We then have "Private Judgement and God's Word," followed by "The Two Swords; Heresy and Just War". This Part ends with "More's Defense of the Clergy" and "On the Condition of Church and State in England".

The tone of the whole of this *Source Book*, I believe is summarised in a quotation from *The Apology of Sir Thomas More* 'For first, as for my own side, look at my Dialogue, my Supplication of Souls, and both parts of the Confutation, and you will clearly see that I have used with reference to neither the clergy nor the laity any hot, offensive word, and that I have refrained from discussing in particular the faults of either the one group or the other, but have acknowledged that the truth is that neither party is faultless'(p. 299).

Part 6, which ends this *Source Book*, is *More's Last Days*. The material in this Part consists of "Thomas More's letter to Erasmus after resigning as Lord Chancellor" followed by the inscription on his tomb and epitaph. "Thomas More's Account of his First Interrogation" in his letter to his daughter Margaret, is followed by "A Dialogue on Conscience" which comprises a letter from Alice Alington to Margaret, and Margaret's reply which is mainly Thomas More's explanation (without giving his reasons) why he is unable to take the oath regarding the king's supremacy. We then have a merry tale – "The Tale of Mother Maud" - which concerns one's conscience. "More's

Interrogation of 2 May 1535” is followed by his “Final Interrogation” before we pass onto his “Trial and Execution” and his “Last Words before Execution”. Some useful background information follows in the appendices.

It is a helpful introduction to Thomas More, the saint. I would have preferred more about Thomas More, the man. To have more of what Thomas More wrote and less of what others wrote or said about him would have made the *Source Book* more valuable. Having said that and with those reservations I would recommend it as a basic introduction, but for it to be read alongside John Guy’s biography *Thomas More*.

Ralph S. Werrell, January 2005.

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## North American News

Report by Jennifer Bekemeier

### Upcoming Events:

We would like to encourage U.S. members to attend the 2005 Oxford Tyndale Conference, ‘*Opening the Word to the World*’, to be held 15-18 September. Although we request that you register for the conference through Valerie Kemp at Oxford, the U.S. Membership Office will offer assistance with general travel information. Please contact Jennifer Bekemeier (jennbek@regent.edu) with questions.

Plans are being made to hold a Tyndale Society event at Houston Baptist University in November 2005. More details will be sent in the post.

### Recent Events:

2-4 June: During the course of 3 days Prof. David Daniell gave presentations to the Shakespeare Institute at Wheaton College, Illinois. He shared insights on the work of major translators, the history of influential translations following Tyndale, including Coverdale’s, the Geneva Bible and the King James Bible.

### Email:

U.S. members - are you interested in receiving a quarterly e-newsletter containing Tyndale Society news? If so, please email Jennifer Bekemeier at jennbek@regent.edu and request to be added to the list.

## NEW VOLUME Reformation 10



Edited by Professor Andrew Hadfield, University of Sussex, Falmer, UK

### NEW

#### Volume 10

**Contents:** Editorial; Articles: Anne Askew constructing her text, constructing herself, *Rudolph P. Almsay*; The Wittenberg Altarpiece and the image of identity, *Bonnie Noble*; The ‘Turk’ as antichrist in John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* (1570), *Stephan Schmuck*; An example from the diaspora of the Italian evangelicals: Galeazzo Caracciolo and his biographies, *Jeannine E. Olson*; Heresy, authority and filial piety: the universities and their Reformation past, *Alexander Faludy*. Note: Eighteenth-century folio publication of Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*, *John N. King*. Review Articles: Beasts, ballads, baths: means and instances of the diffusion of religious ideology in the Early Modern period, *Timothy B. Walsh*; The Reformation, *Tom Betteridge*; Power and authority in Tudor England, *Dan Breen*; The spoken word and print, 1300–1850, *Helen Parish*; Literature and history in Early Modern England, *Mark Rankin*. Book reviews; Shorter notices.

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## Ink and Blood: Dead Sea Scrolls to the English Bible

Any admirer of William Tyndale will appreciate this travelling exhibition that recounts the story of the English Bible from the advent of writing 5000 years ago in ancient Sumer to the earliest Bibles printed in America. William Tyndale, understandably, is in the center of the story; the linkage between the history of the Bible and the story of the English Bible. He is, however, part of a much longer story of the Bible that has indeed been preserved and propagated by ink and by blood.

When housed at the Knoxville (Tennessee) Convention Centre from 5 February until 17 April 2005, the show drew 50,000 visitors and is scheduled to reopen at the Lexington Center in the Rupp Arena Complex in Lexington, Kentucky, on 24 June. It offers a remarkable collection of artifacts that demonstrate the earliest forms of writing by showing pictographs on clay tablets dating from 3000 BC and Babylonian land deeds. It displays the seventh century BC Marzeah Papyrus that is considered to be the oldest known Hebrew writing (other than an inscription) as well as the earliest known use of "Elohim" as a name for God. A variety of Dead Sea Scroll fragments are shown and the accompanying text explains their significance in re-establishing confidence in the ancient Hebrew text. The exhibit displays a variety of papyri with Biblical and non-Biblical content. It explains the transition from the manuscript to the codex and shows facsimiles of the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus. It explains the importance of Jerome's Vulgate and its millennium of dominance in western Christendom. Wycliffe, who wanted to get the message out of Latin and who did so much to advocate the Bible in English, lacked the technology of printing and a means of mass distribution. These limitations were removed with the advent of printing.

Erasmus and Luther both employed the new technology and Tyndale knew that it was the key to releasing his translation to the people who desired it so deeply. At the exhibit, Tyndale is represented by Sir Francis Fry's 1862 facsimile of Tyndale's 1526 New Testament, his revised New Testament of 1536 and a 1528 first edition of *The Obedience of a Christian Man*. Additionally, at this point of the exhibit there is a video that describes the life and significance of the first man to translate and print a New Testament in English. (The DVD, which is available for purchase, features our Society's own David Daniell and Guido Latré.)

There is a 1535 Coverdale Bible, a 1537 Matthew Bible and, of course,

a 1539 Great Bible. These Bibles lead to the 1560 Geneva Bible which is accompanied by another video to explain its background, its significance and its ties to both ink and blood. It should be noted however that visitors sensitive to the ecumenical spirit of our times will not be offended. The history is told without anti-Roman Catholic denunciations and the story of the Douai-Rheims translation is told fairly and given its rightful place in the progression of the Bible in English. The exhibition ends with Robert Aitken's 1782 publication in Philadelphia of the first Bible printed in English on American soil. As the text explains this Bible was not the first published in the New World. That honor belongs to missionary John Eliot who published the Bible in 1663 for the Native American people known as the Algonquin.

In the centre of the exhibit space is a working reproduction of a Gutenberg era press, manned by a volunteer who demonstrates the setting of the letters, the inking of the plates and the pressing of the ink on the paper. The presenter also recounts a story recorded in Ben Franklin's autobiography of how his ancestors strapped an open Bible to the underside of a stool. When the family felt it was safe, the stool would be turned over on someone's lap and the text read to the rest of the family, but at the slightest indication of danger the stool would be reset on its four legs and the intruder would never uncover the dangerous activity of Bible reading that had occupied that family. Such an exhibit, including the demonstrations, awakens a new appreciation for the history of the English Bible and the significant role played by that obscure priest from Gloucestershire who fled to the Continent to provide his people with God's book in their language. And, as we know, he did it with such skill that his words and phrases continue to echo in our speech of the 21st century.

The exhibit, claiming to be "*the world's largest, most comprehensive exhibit on the history of the Bible,*" is really a multimedia journey through time. It should be of interest to those who love the Bible as well as those who want to learn more about the history of writing, printing and cultural change.

The show embodies the vision of the founder and chief Curator, William H. Noah, a physician from the Nashville (Tennessee) area. Over a long period of time and at great personal sacrifice, he sought out the items, created the exhibit signage, partnered with experts, secured the funding and organized lectures by academics to supplement this recital of the amazing series of events that has brought us the Bible in English. It is indeed the story of Ink and Blood.

This exhibition opens at the Lexington Centre in the Rupp Arena Complex in Lexington, Kentucky on 24 June 2005. Anyone desiring additional

information and more detail about the exhibit is encouraged to check the website, <http://www.inkandblood.com>.

Report by Donald Dean Smeeton, May 2005.

Bodleian Library Exhibition 2005

## After Gutenberg: History and Culture in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Printed Books

November 2004- April 2005

The Bodleian Library's decade-long project to catalogue its incunabula (15<sup>th</sup> century books printed in the period from Johannes Gutenberg c.1455 until 1500) was completed in 2004. Incunabula is a Latin word meaning swaddling clothes, cradle or, more generally, origin or beginning. The term was first used in the context of printing in 1639 when Bernard von Mallinckrodt described this period as being *prima typographiae incunabula*, the time when typography was in its swaddling clothes.

To mark the end of the project the Bodleian mounted an exhibition to bring together the incunables showing features, which will be described in a catalogue (unfortunately not printed in time to accompany the exhibition but it should be available this summer). Items displayed included the Library's copy of its world famous *Gutenberg Bible*, a *Bible in Hebrew* printed in Naples in 1492, a pilgrimage map (the *Rom Weg*) charting routes to Rome from European towns and Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* of 1486, the first printed travel guide; also on display were one of only two surviving copies of the first printed advertisement in English (Caxton's advertisement for the *Sarum Pye*) and the *Canon Missae*. The latter printed using Gutenberg's type survives only in two complete copies, and is therefore much more rare than Gutenberg's Bible.

Once incunables had been printed, it was assumed that they would be 'finished' by hand, with decorations and rubrication, as were manuscripts. Spaces were left for capital letters, and wide margins were provided to assist this. For some purchasers it was enough that initials, paragraph marks, and capital strokes (the medieval form of highlighting) were supplied. Others wanted the first page of the book decorated, and painted borders were the most common expression of this. For owners who were prepared to pay more, luxury copies of books printed on parchment were provided with sumptuous

borders and initials. One example of this is a stunningly decorated copy of Pliny's *Natural History* which has borders and initials painted by the Italian Monte di Giovanni di Miniato, for the banker Filippo Strozzi.

Whilst text alone was sufficient in some books others required accompanying illustrations. Wooden blocks continued to be used throughout the incunable period to provide such pictures and examples were on show in this exhibition. The blockbook *Apocalypse*, printed in Germany in the early 1470's and coloured by hand, shows the defeat of the Devil. The single sheet woodcuts on display included three English examples. The first was a unique illustration of *Death and the Last Judgement*, probably made for the Brigittine monastery at Syon Abbey, Middlesex. The others were two illustrations of the *Sacred heart and the Wounds of Christ*, one of which is unique, the other produced for the Charterhouse of Sheen near Richmond in Surrey, was probably intended as a souvenir for pilgrims.

All in all a fascinating exhibition – would that we could report that it was about to take place rather than it has. However, this time one can at least retrieve the situation by buying the catalogue whose high profile absence annoyed those who had the privilege of attending.

Report by Valerie Offord, June 2005

The Bodleian houses the fifth largest collection of incunabula in the world, and the catalogue to this exhibition represents a major contribution to the study of the history of the book – both in Britain and in Europe.

An Exhibition at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts,  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

## Illuminating the Word: The Saint John's Bible Exhibit

10 April to 3 July 2005

Since Bristol can be considered the heart of Tyndale country, it is interesting to note that a significant modern Bible project is currently underway less than one hour's drive west in Monmouthshire, Wales. In a converted mechanic's shed, the modern equivalent of the ancient scriptorium, illuminator and calligrapher Donald Jackson is applying himself to the medieval tradition of producing a handwritten, richly illuminated edition of the whole Bible on vellum. He is the artistic director of a team of talented individuals in the UK and the US reviving a tradition that has been nearly

absent from the Christian world since the invention of printing more than five centuries ago.

The multi-year, four million dollar project weds the ancient and modern, the quill and computer. It is understandable that The Saint John's Bible draws interest from art historians, specialists in medieval manuscripts, bibliophiles and those committed to the history of the scripture. But it also demands the attention of individuals who are not academic specialists and those with little or no interest in religion. People are struck by the sheer magnitude of the undertaking and its exceptional artistic qualities. The finished product will consist of seven distinct volumes, two feet tall and three feet wide and containing about 1,100 pages each. The team uses quills and natural handmade inks, hand ground pigments, and gold and silver leaf, but at the same time they employ state of the art technology to assist in page layout and for the communication of text and images across the Atlantic.

The Saint John's Bible is an attempt to engage the post-modern individual of an ecumenical age in a conversation about the sacred, about scripture and about religious devotion. The undertaking is sponsored by Saint John's Abbey, a Benedictine monastery of nearly 300 residents, located in central Minnesota two hours from Minneapolis. Along with Saint John's University, the abbey sees this project as consistent with its educational mission to ignite imagination, glorify God's word, preserve tradition and give voice to the gospel. To speak to the modern world, the team selected the text of the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) which means, of course, it is in English. (One does not have to explain the parallels to William Tyndale's passion to translate the Word into the media understood by his generation.)

The present exhibit at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, which features the first three volumes (the Gospels and Acts, the Pentateuch and the Psalms), is a "must see" for those who have the opportunity to be in Minnesota. The organizers, however, expect the exhibit to travel and are considering invitations from New York, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles and Seattle. Those who cannot see the exhibit in person can follow the project by checking the official website <http://saintjohnsbible.org>. Additionally, it should be noted that The Liturgical Press publishes two books based on the project: *Illuminating the Word: The Making of the Saint John's Bible* by Christopher Calderhead and *Gospels and Acts* by Donald Jackson. Those wanting to see the process of creating a manuscript Bible in modern times should obtain the 49-minute DVD produced by 3BM Television for BBC Wales and Saint John's University entitled *The Illuminator and a Bible for the 21st Century*.

Report by Donald Dean Smeeton.

## Fourth Oxford Tyndale Conference 2005

Hertford College, Oxford 15-18 September

The Fourth Oxford Tyndale Conference entitled *Opening the Word to the World* will take place at Hertford College, Oxford 15-18 September 2005. To celebrate the Society's tenth year our Chairman, Professor David Daniell, has assembled an international group of scholars to examine the twin themes of bible translation and the rediscovery Tyndale's theology.

As we go to press – some weeks before you will read this – numbers attending are building daily, while information about papers and events on the programme suggests more and more the usual Tyndale Society blend of serious scholarship with a wide appeal, open to all, or – in the words of William Tyndale- to '*the boy that follows the plough*'.

### Types of Registration

The Conference has been planned to be available at different levels ranging from a **full attendance** from Thursday 4pm to Sunday 1pm with all meals and accommodation in College at £269; a **day rate** (including lunch and refreshments) at £45; a **special Ploughboy afternoon** on Saturday 17 September 2-7pm at only £15 (22 euros or \$30).

### Speakers

The **keynote speaker**, Prof. Morna Hooker, a renowned scholar in her field, will open the conference with a paper entitled '*Translating the New Testament*'. Dr David Norton will speak on '*The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible*'. The Geneva Bible will be discussed by Prof. Francis Higman in '*The Genevan context of the Geneva Bible*', and Mrs Valerie Offord in '*Geneva Bibles and Briefs*'. Rev. Prof. Simon Oliver speaks on '*The Theology of William Tyndale*'; Prof. Peter Auksi on '*William Tyndale's Imagination: A Weapon of the Reformation*'; Mr Andrew Hope on '*The Publication History of William Tyndale's New Testament*'; Dr Tibor Fabiny on '*William Tyndale's Idea of the Literal Sense in the Context of the History of Hermeneutics*'; Rev. Dr Ralph Werrell on '*William Tyndale was never Luther's Protégé*'; and Dr Tom Berteridge on '*Tyndale's Christ*'.

The broad picture will be given us by the Rev. Edwin Robertson in '*The Bible in the World*', Dr Corey D. Maas in '*History as Handmaiden: sola scriptura and early evangelical historiography*'; and Dr John Court with '*The Seer of Revelation*'.

Intriguing insights are promised from Dr Helen Parish on "*To counseile*

with *elde dyuynis of harde sentencis*”: translations and interpretations of the Book of Daniel in 16th century England”; Prof. Donald Millus on ‘The Wycliffite text De Ecclesia et Membris Ejus’; and from Ms Kaoru Yamazaki with ‘The Bible of the Reformation and the Open Source Movement’.

Other speakers include Prof. Brian Cummings, Prof. R. Duerden, Prof. Andrew Hadfield, Mr Andrew Hope, Dr Guido Latré, Sister Anne O’Donnell and the Conference will end with Prof. David Daniell on ‘Shakespeare and the New Testament’.

### The Ploughboy Afternoon

This is being organized by our Trustee and Ploughboy Convenor, Rev. David Ireson, and will be held in the beautiful Hertford College Chapel starting at 2pm. The programme will consist of an introduction to the life and work of William Tyndale and will focus on the Reformation in England from two perspectives: Tyndale’s central role in the English Reformation and how at parish level ordinary people reacted and were made to submit to change imposed by Church and State. There will be a bookstall with plenty of material to enable participants to follow up the afternoon with further study.

### Concert

The English Chamber Choir under their conductor, Guy Protheroe, will sing a specially chosen programme of music connected with William Tyndale. Members who came to the Antwerp Conference in 2002 will remember how gloriously they sang then, and will not be disappointed this time round. Everyone is welcome to attend this concert at 6pm in the Chapel on Saturday evening  
Mary Clow, June 2005.



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## DNA may identify America's founding father

Researchers have taken DNA samples from bodies in two 17<sup>th</sup> century tombs in All Saints Church, Shelley, Suffolk, England in an attempt to establish whether a skeleton found at the site of the first permanent English settlement in Jamestown, Virginia in 2003 is that of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold. The only way of confirming the identity is to match DNA with that of a close relative. It is the first time that Anglican authorities have granted permission for a grave to be opened in a British church for scientific research.

Gosnold came from a family of minor landed gentry in Suffolk and he planned an expedition to make his fortune. Having set up the Virginia Company of London, he captained the ship *Godspeed* and sailed from Britain in December 1606. Incidentally it is interesting to note that *The Mayflower* did not arrive for another 13 years! His expedition led to the founding of Jamestown in 1607, in what is now Virginia. In effect, he was an English-speaking venture capitalist but his actions had a profound influence on the history of the country as Jamestown was the first permanent English presence in North America!

Archaeologists in Suffolk have located what they believe to be the grave of his sister Elizabeth Tilney and her husband Thomas inside the 13<sup>th</sup> century church in Shelley. She was buried on 10 April 1646 almost 30 years after her brother's death at the age of 36 in August 1607, four months after he arrived in America. Samples have also been taken from the body of Katherine Blackerby, Gosnold's niece who is thought to be buried under the floor of St Peter and Mary Church in Stowmarket, Suffolk.

Once scientists from the team led by William Kelso, director of archaeology at the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities have checked whether the bones match Elizabeth's age and gender a sample will be removed for DNA testing against those thought to be Gosnold's in America. The process of comparing the Suffolk DNA with the Jamestown bones will be undertaken by the Smithsonian Institute in Washington and is expected to be completed by the end of the year.

Kelso wants to see Gosnold recognized more for his role in the history of America. Historians see the establishment of Jamestown as crucial in having prevented Spain from colonizing North America and ensuring that English became the continent's principal language.

### Sources

*USA Today* DNA match sought for Jamestown bones Thursday 16 June 2005.

*The Times* Scientists dig for DNA that may identify America's lost father Tuesday 14 June 2005.

*The Sunday Times* Suffolk tombs hold key to US founding father 12 June 2005

## 'Perform this at your Peril'

*Royal Shakespeare Company Revives Sir Thomas More Play*

The Royal Shakespeare Company has revived a play that was banned during the Bard's lifetime and that they have never performed owing to uncertainty of its authorship. *Sir Thomas More* is included in this year's summer season of political plays at the Globe Theatre, London.

The play dramatizes the life of a leading Renaissance scholar Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) and is a sympathetic portrayal of this man who became Henry VIII's Lord Chancellor and ultimately a Catholic martyr. The part of the play probably written by Shakespeare centres round More's time as Sheriff of London when rioting broke out in May 1517 to protest against the presence of foreigners (mainly Protestants who had fled religious persecution in Northern Italy) and the privileges they enjoyed under the law. They were said to be undercutting the Londoners' trade. More pleads with the May Day rioters for calm and for people to live in peace and harmony with those seeking asylum. It is interesting to note that when the play was written in the 1590's it was the French who were seeking asylum in London and the subject was before Parliament as tradesmen were again complaining that their jobs were at risk.

This Elizabethan play survives only in a single manuscript now owned by the British Library. Its main claim to fame is that two pages of it may have been written by William Shakespeare. The manuscript is a complicated text of collaborative writing, revision and censorship. It is generally thought that it was originally written between 1592 and 1595 by playwrights Anthony Munday and Henry Chettle. Then, several years later, the play was heavily revised by other playwrights including Thomas Heywood, Thomas Dekker and, perhaps, William Shakespeare. The manuscript also includes comments by the censor, Edmund Tilney, who found fault with the play's depiction of anti-government protests and demanded the rewriting of several sections.

In fact, he wrote in the margin beside a speech in which More addresses the rioters *'Perform this at your peril'*.

The complete play will appear in the *Oxford Complete Works of William Shakespeare* for the first time next year. The previous edition of 1986 included only the two short extracts from the play that were almost certainly written by Shakespeare. Jonathan Bate, Professor of Shakespeare and Renaissance Literature at Warwick University, remarked that it is an interesting play but feared that putting it into the *Oxford Complete Works* might give the impression that Shakespeare wrote it all whereas the academic consensus was that he only wrote 147 lines.

Leaving aside the authorship controversy, by performing this play which had been banned from being performed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by Sir Edmund Tilney, the Master of Revels (censor), because he was concerned about some of the subject matter and, in particular, the riot scenes, the Royal Shakespeare Company will give it a certain respectability in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### Sources

Jack Malvern *'RSC stirs political debate with a play the Queen banned'* *The Times* 15 September 2004.

[www.timesonline.co.uk](http://www.timesonline.co.uk)

## Living History at Gloucester Cathedral

Tudor Times were brought to life at Gloucester Cathedral this February when Sarah Stanford, wife of John Stanford, a prominent citizen who owned several buildings on Westgate Street in the 1500s welcomed visitors. She told them stories about the happenings in her lifetime.

Mistress Stanford knew about the stripping of the Abbey of its possessions in 1540, about its being established as a cathedral the following year. She was there when John Hooper was nominated Bishop of Gloucester in 1550. He not only refused any reference to saints or angels in the Oath of Supremacy but protested against the wearing of vestments at his consecration. She was still there when Mary Tudor came to the throne in 1554 and Hooper was arrested for heresy. She might even have watched his gruesome execution when he was burned at the stake in Gloucester on 9 February 1555.

The cathedral education officer, Sarah Law, who played Mistress Stanford remarked that *'...this will really help bring the building to life and help young-*

*sters learn about the important events that helped shape Gloucester Cathedral and the city.'*

Perhaps we can persuade her to attend our Tenth Annual Tyndale Lecture in the Old Deanery at Gloucester Cathedral on 6 October 2005!

#### Sources

*Church Times* Report 25 February 2005

[www.glosdioc.org.uk](http://www.glosdioc.org.uk)

## Good News for Macclesfield

A year ago in issue No 27 July 2004 of the *Tyndale Society Journal* (*Press Gleanings* p.79) we ran a report on the Macclesfield Psalter. The Psalter created in Gorleston, East Anglia in the 1320's was sold to the Getty Museum in California last summer for more than £1.6 million after the Earl of Macclesfield left his home, Shirburn Castle, in Oxfordshire. The Government blocked the export licence to give the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge a chance to match the price.

In January 2005 we learnt that it was to stay in the UK thanks to a successful fund-raising campaign to stop its export. *The Times* reporter described it as *'one of the finest chronicles of late mediaeval life'*.

#### Source

*Chronicle stays in UK* *The Times* 25 January 2005.



*The Wife of Bath is one of Chaucer's most enduring figures*



Ploughboy Notes

## Common Worship: Daily Prayer

David Ireson, Group Convenor

It has taken the Church of England a long time to publish a “definitive” daily prayer book, but it is available at last! Having used it for the few weeks since it was published my first impression is entirely positive. It fulfils its purpose in helping to make the daily office far more rewarding and enjoyable.

Settling down before a cross and perhaps a candle, simply taking up this magnificent book becomes a part of your twice daily ritual. The text is beautifully printed on ivory paper with clear “Gill Sans” typeset and rubrics. There is a hardback or leather bound version; both look likely to last.

Unlike the much used Franciscan “Celebrating Common Prayer” learning how to navigate this prayer book can be mastered in minutes and used immediately. After a couple of weeks of using the basic format of Morning and Evening Prayer, one can start to use the rest of the six marker ribbons! Those who want to use the book just once each day can use the “Prayer during the Day” section which has short readings included. One could also then use the “Order for Night Prayer” (Compline). To follow the full office you need a current lectionary.

There are many pages of forms of intercession and then prayers from many traditions and even other faiths. Over time there is much to discover and value in this section. There are an extraordinary 87 canticles to be used for every time and season. The psalms are, of course, superbly and clearly set out for group worship. After each Old Testament psalm there is a thoughtful prayer with a New Testament dimension.

Church House describe this prayer book as ‘*the eagerly awaited definitive edition*’ and I agree. I am sure that many fellow clergy and many who have no formal commitment to the daily office will have the lives of prayer greatly enhanced by it.

There are critics of the Church of England’s new “*Common Worship*”. I have strong reservations about the language of some of it; the Baptism service is simply incomprehensible to those who have no lifelong experience of Anglican liturgy. Jean Mayland (who used to be on the Liturgical Commis-

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sion) says to the church she loves: *“for God’s sake grow out of Common Worship as soon as you can. Find new, inclusive, poetic language and symbolism from our own age to describe and worship God and meet the needs of the millions of this nation”*.

I think the new Daily Prayer provides a firm foundation from which personal prayer can flow. I think it is suitable for our present generation who need to root their faith in the ancient tradition of the psalms and their understanding of God in the accounts of events of salvation history. The Book of Common Prayer, the 1662, is a product of its time. From 2005 I will be happy to set my prayer within the framework of this “definitive” and enriching prayer book.

## Review: Old Bibles on CD

Ever fancied owning a 1537 Matthew Bible? Or a 1549 Great Bible (complete with Cranmer’s Prologue)? Of course you have. The astronomical prices that are asked for such books these days, however, guarantee that most of us will be left to look wistfully on whilst such treasures disappear into the few national and private libraries that can afford them - when they come on to the market at all, that is. But now, for the princely sum of just \$19.99 (or about £12 or so) you can own a Matthew, or a Coverdale - or, for just half that sum, the 1549 Book of Common Prayer. And much more besides can be had. Erasmus’s 1522 Greek and Latin New Testament, for example. How so?

It’s easy. Just go to [www.solascripturapublishing.com](http://www.solascripturapublishing.com) and there you can see an ever-growing list of such treasures that have been scanned on to CD and can thus be loaded on to your computer. So far, there are over one hundred titles to be had, rare and scholarly works about the English Bible as well as many early printed versions of the English Bible itself - including a 1536 Tyndale New Testament. The Greek NT, the Hebrew OT (Bomberg’s 1524-5 edition - the one that Tyndale famously pleaded to have with him in his prison cell) and various editions of the Geneva Bible are also there. So whether you just love to browse amongst old Bibles, or whether you are a serious student of the subject, Sola Scriptura Publishing is a great source of research material.

The CDs come in a surprisingly robust jewel case, and even contain the

Adobe Reader software that makes them useable on a PC. Not all the works are scans of the original Bibles, so you need to read the list carefully to make sure that it is not a later (usually Victorian) reprint - if a facsimile is required. But even the Victorian reprints are jolly rare these days, and just to have them on your PC means that you can study them at leisure, without having to undertake a long and tiresome journey to a library which happens to keep them.

The original Bibles that are used for these scans have sometimes deteriorated in some way, and the scan naturally reproduces the faults as well as the excellences. So please don’t expect a facsimile of a mint original to appear on your screen. But they are otherwise splendid reproductions, and make a truly invaluable addition to any library. (Yes, you can even print off those pages that you need to keep with your written work).

If you are not on-line (as it were), then the postal address of Sola Scriptura Publishing is:

Mark Langley  
Sola Scriptura Publishing,  
1118 SW Orleans St.  
Topeka, KS 66604, USA.

Or you can e-mail Mark on: [mlangley1@cox.net](mailto:mlangley1@cox.net)

Bill Cooper, January 2005.

Sightings of Tyndale

## Die Welt ist ein Dorf!

*(The World is a Village)*

At a recent Tyndale society event I found myself in conversation with Nicholas Tyndale, a descendant of Edward, one of William Tyndale’s two brothers. We lamented the lack of hard facts concerning William’s birthplace and early life: several weeks later I received by post from Nicholas a package containing two books on loan and a recent family tree of Henry Witton Tyndall. The books were *The Tyndales of Gloucestershire* by J.H.Cook (Bristol 1877), and *Notes relating to the family of Tyndale* by B.W.Greenfield (London 1878).

Of course, the collections of quotations from court rolls, the infamous Stokesley letter and other documents are well known to Professor Daniell,

other biographers and historians of the Tyndale era. It remains for future workers to search for more information, if any, amongst the archives and muniments of Gloucester, Worcester and Berkeley. At present the trail seems to have gone cold.

What did surprise me was to find the name of a friend lodged in the Henry Tyndall family tree! There she was, Esmée Cromarty, whom I have known for some 45 years, though latterly we have only exchanged greetings at Christmas. She is the widow of Bob Cromarty, the classics master and a colleague when we both worked at Woolverstone Hall, the boys' school in Suffolk. Esmée's grandmother was one of Henry Tyndall's seven children. This was a great surprise because I knew that she had been born in Northern Ireland of an Austrian mother!

It is so strange how the Tyndale Connection seems to creep into the odd corners of one's life!

David Green, March 2005

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## A Selection of Items for sale

**Tyndale Society Journal** (March 1995- ISSN 1357-4167)  
Editor Valerie Offord M.A. Cantab

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

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



## Society Notes

Compiled by Rochelle Givoni

### Tyndale Event, 'No Tyndale, No Shakespeare'

Organised by our Vice-Chairman, Mary Clow on the afternoon of Saturday, 16 April 2005, at All Saints Church, Kirtling, Newmarket, Suffolk., this well-attended occasion was held at the Tudor site of the North family seat. A lecture by Sir John Guinness on the Norths and their tombs in the church was followed by a paper from Prof. David Daniell outlining the special importance for Shakespeare of Sir Thomas North's translations of Plutarch's *Lives*, and of Tyndale's importance in opening the English language to the highest artistic use.

### Shakespeare Institute, Wheaton College, Illinois, USA, 1-4 June 2005

This biennial gathering of Shakespeare scholars was organised by Prof. Emerita Beatrice Batson. Prof. David Daniell presented two papers on 'Shakespeare and the New Testament', entitled '1: The Book' and '2: the Announcement'. Between the two he gave a special paper stressing the importance for America of the Bible in English, to which members of the public were invited and came in some numbers, including working Bible translators and senior historians of American life.

### Tree Planting, Lambeth Palace, London, Friday 10 June 2005

At the initiative of our Vice-Chairman, Sir Rowland Whitehead, a ceremony was held in the gardens of Lambeth Palace at which, in the presence of Palace staff and Society members, the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Prof. David Daniell and Nicholas Tyndale, planted a tree in commemoration of the life and work of William Tyndale.

### Fourth Oxford Tyndale Conference, Hertford College, 15-18 September 2005, *Opening the Word to the World*

All members and friends should have received personal notification of the forthcoming conference. Full details appear elsewhere in the journal, and we very much look forward to welcoming you to this event.

## Publications Committee Report

Obituaries

The Committee met on 14 April 2005 at Hertford College, Oxford.

Among subjects discussed were some exciting new developments with the Society's important journal *Reformation* (more about this in later issues of this publication). It is great to see how much *Reformation* is respected in the academic community, and its future looks secure. This would be a good time to remind those members of the Tyndale Society who do not subscribe to it to consider doing so.

The new Ploughboy booklet is making some progress, but we do need more relevant photographs and illustrations, so if you have any that might be suitable please contact me at the address at the bottom of this report.

As the Tyndale Concordance is not now going to be published in printed form, the Committee discussed the possibility of making it available to members of the Society and others on a CD.

Our next meeting will be held during the Oxford Tyndale Conference.

Brian Johnson, Acting Chairman, June 2005

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**Current committee members:** -

Prof. Brian Cummings, Prof. David Daniell, Ms Charlotte Dewhurst, Prof. Andrew Hadfield, Mr Nathan Jarvis, Mrs Valerie Offord, Dr Helen Parish.

## Stop Press: Stationers' Prize 2005

The Annual Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers' prize for 2005 has been awarded to Julia Major, teaching fellow at the University of California for her essay *The Arch of Serena as Textual Monument: Reading the Body of the Poem-Within-the-Poem*. It was published in the Tyndale Society's academic journal *Reformation volume 9 2004*.

## Appreciation: The Reverend Professor Carsten Peter Thiede

A headline of the Christmas Eve issue of *The Times* in 1994 was news of a discovery by Carsten Thiede, Director of the Institut für Wissenschaftstheoretische Grundlagenforschung (the Institute for Basic Epistemological Research) at Paderborn, Germany. He demonstrated that the three fragments of papyrus preserved in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford (Magdalen Greek 17, P64) scraps identifiable as parts of Matthew 26, should be dated as having been written before the Fall of Jerusalem in AD 70, probably AD 66.

This announcement, backed by exact scholarship, meant that we should think of this Gospel, at least, as written by men who had personal contact with Jesus. It produced a storm of controversy, which rose to gale force with the publication of a book-length version in 1996 by Professor Thiede, with Matthew d'Ancona (then of *The Times*, now at *The Sunday Telegraph*) under the title *The Jesus Papyrus*, quickly a best-seller internationally, and now in its fifteenth edition. His position had already been well set out in his *Rekindling the Word* (1995).

What surprised many Christians was not so much how exhilarating Professor Thiede's thinking was, and especially to what new understandings it might lead, but how intemperate his critics were. Calling down fire from heaven was mild in comparison. Professor Graham Stanton of King's College, London, to take one example, rushed out his denunciation, *Gospel Truth?*, in order to be ahead of the publication of *The Jesus Papyrus*.

With good grounds, Carsten Thiede's 'new paradigm' was challenging the standard twentieth-century scholarly view, that the Gospels were late, written at dates well into the second century, expressing 'unreliable' oral traditions, little more than folklore, and in any case heavily edited.

I had heard Carsten Thiede spoken of with admiration in 1993, while making a Radio 3 programme on Tyndale at the BBC. When I met him, like a host of other people across the world, I was instantly made a friend. I invited him to give a paper at the Tyndale Society's first Oxford Conference in 1994. In it, he revealed his long-standing admiration for William Tyndale as translator and Bible scholar. That lecture, *By Prayer and Fasting: William Tyndale's translation of Mark 9:29 and its consequences* (printed in *TSJ* No 13, August 1999, 17-23) demonstrated his skill with evaluating Greek textual evidence. He convincingly showed that, as Tyndale understood, 'and fasting' should not be omitted, as it usually is today.

Carsten was an early and enthusiastic member of the Tyndale Society. He

and I shared a dream of holding a conference of Luther and Tyndale scholars at Worms, as yet unrealised. He gave the Third Lambeth Tyndale Lecture in October 1996, a splendid scholarly account of the importance of Bible translations in the European Reformation (printed in *Reformation 2*, 1997, 283-300). His conclusion described Tyndale as 'an uncompromising, clear-sighted and circumspect philologist, analyst, translator, and interpreter of the groundwork of our Christian faith - Holy Scripture'.

Born in West Berlin in 1952, Carsten first studied Comparative Literature at Berlin University. A German scholarship took him in 1976 to research at Queen's College, Oxford, and then in 1978 he was appointed Lecturer in Comparative Literature at Geneva, followed by a Chair of Papyrology at the Independent Academy of Theology at Basle and, at the same time, at Ben Gurion University in Beer Sheba, southern Israel.

In 1982 he married Franziska Campbell: they lived part of each year in England, a marriage and a location which both gave him great happiness. His love and understanding of England meant that he was regularly commissioned by the German government to write about Europe and English themes -- one of his early gifts to me was his *Religion in England* (1994): the title and the book are both in German. His energies and intellectual grasp of many fields were extraordinary. He worked at the Institute for Germanic Studies in London. In his last seven years he co-coordinated the analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the Israeli Antiquities Authority.

His *Jesus Papyrus* became a television documentary, presented by him. Channel 4 commissioned his more recent *The Quest for the True Cross*, based on his book of that title, in which he argues that the 'Titulus', the headboard at Jesus' crucifixion, held at the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, in Rome, is in no way a quaint medieval forgery: the more it is analysed, the closer does it appear to the real thing.

Carsten Thiede's concern for re-evaluating Christian origins led him to think freshly about New Testament papyri. Undeterred by the closed minds of some historians of early Christianity, he happily imported to the field forensic techniques from other disciplines. A skilled archaeologist, he was also at home with an electronic microscope, and, with the Professor of Biology at Paderborn, he invented a new kind of laser microscope, which enabled him to analyse manuscript and papyrus writing in three dimensions: an unforgettable demonstration of this technique and its results for dating was given by him at the second Geneva Tyndale Conference, 2001.

Knowing his love for the Church of England, expressed in his writings and conversation, his friends were not too surprised when he was ordained priest

by the Bishop to the Armed Forces in 2000. He became Chaplain to the British forces at the army base in Paderborn, regularising the pastoral work he had been doing for a long time with the soldiers, especially those from the front line in the Balkans: he saw service in Iraq.

Many people will, like me, miss his excellent essays each month in the *Church of England Newspaper*, written always from the position of the fullest understanding of Gospels in Greek. He continued to produce challenging books. His *The Resurrection of Jesus - Fiction or Fact- Two Views*, in German with Gerd Ludermann, came out in 2002. (There is no room here to list his many publications in German.) Shortly before he died, *The Cosmopolitan World of Jesus* was published by SPCK.

Mercifully completed just before he died, at home, of a heart attack on 14 December 2004, at the age of 52, is probably his finest book, *The Emmaus Mystery* (ISBN 0 8264 6797 0), on his cherished discovery of the location of the village of Emmaus, so important in Luke's resurrection accounts in chapter 24. Exactly where Luke meant has always been a puzzle. Not only did Carsten locate it at the present village of Motza-Kolona, three and a half miles west of Jerusalem: he supported his textual, historical and topographical findings with archaeological digs over several seasons - and, characteristically and crucially, gave practical support as, with a group of his Basle students, he retraced the steps of the disciples, there and back in one evening.

His smiling presence was always powerful, and always instructive. Not only did one learn about the original Christian communities and their records: as a friend put it, to walk about an ancient city with him was a rare and unforgettable experience; he would know where to find a church in Jerusalem, where Assyrian is still spoken, and how to get a table at the best Jewish restaurant in Rome. The epigraph of his *Jesus: Life or Legend* (1990) is the classical scholar George Kennedy's 'Ancient writers sometimes meant what they said, and occasionally even knew what they were talking about.' Carsten was fond of quoting it.

For his widow Franziska, and his children Miriam, Emily and Frederick, we continue to offer prayers of support, and of thanksgiving for such a life of blessing.

David Daniell, June 2005.

Editor's Note

We have reprinted elsewhere in this Journal one of Carsten Thiede's many articles to the *Church of England Newspaper* no 5725 July 2004 entitled *The Greek Bible: A plea for the rediscovery of 1<sup>st</sup> century roots*.

The paper he gave at the *Geneva Tyndale Conference 2001 Books for Burning* was entitled *The Progress of Vernacular Bibles from Tyndale and Luther to the Present Day*:

*St John's Gospel as a Case Study in the Textual Tradition.* A summary of this paper was published in the **TSJ** No 20 December 2001 and a photocopy of the full typescript can be obtained on request from the UK office at Hertford College, Oxford.

## A tribute to Justin Howes

4.04.1963 - 21.02.2005

It was with a sense of tremendous loss that we heard recently of the passing of Justin Howes at the all too early age of 41. He will be remembered by calligraphers and students of the printed word around the world with gratitude and a deep admiration for his work and expertise in so many fields.

One of his culminating achievements was to design the stunning dust jackets and typefaces for the Tyndale Society's editions of the *Wycliffe New Testament of 1388*, and *William Tyndale's 1526 New Testament* (both published by the British Library and still available). All of us who knew him and worked with him will remember his kindness and patience – and his unbounded interest in and enthusiasm for the written word. When I last spoke with him, he was beginning the daunting project of replicating the typeface of Tyndale's original 1526 New Testament - the fruits of which labour would undoubtedly have taken their place in the Type Museum (London), of which he had been part-time curator.

Justin had begun a doctoral dissertation at Reading University and, as part of his research for that, was about to spend six months or so in Amsterdam studying the 16th and 17th-century typefaces kept there. But it was not to be. Justin died at his studies of a heart attack, and although the world of scholarship is much poorer for that, it is also that much richer for his having passed this way.

Justin is survived by both his parents to whom we extend our heartfelt condolences.

Bill Cooper, March 2005

## Appreciation: Justin Howes

Justin Howes, who has died at the age of 41, was outstanding in the world of typographical design and history. He will always be gratefully remembered - among many other things - for restoring Caslon Old Face, a clear type first cut by William Caslon in the 18th century, and eagerly received by London's printers. Weakened in successive generations, Caslon was purified by Justin for digital use.

He was an early and enthusiastic member of the Tyndale Society, which,

with the British Library, owes him large thanks for his design of what *The Times* called 'the immaculate editions of the Tyndale and Wycliffe translations of the New Testament, both edited by William Cooper'. These were steps in his journey of making computer based typography and book design as truly beautiful as print technology had in the past been able to make them. He personally designed several sets of software, all massive tasks.

Educated at Dulwich College and Christ Church, Oxford, he showed his mastery even at 18, corresponding with associates of Eric Gill. Supported by important and valuable grants (Leverhulme, the Pilgrim Trust) he held research fellowships at the Crafts Study Centre at Bath University, Manchester Metropolitan University, and the Type Museum (for which he was a part-time curator). He designed and wrote for the British Library. He was Chairman of the Friends of St Bride Printing Library (a society he founded) where he did remarkable work with their vast holdings of Eric Gill material. His list of important publications is long - to mention only one: his definitive study in 2000 of Edward Johnston's type for the London Underground. He lectured widely, including at Oxford, the RCA and the V&A, and in New York. At the University of Virginia his title was, characteristically, 'Things that go bump in the night'. He was working on research for a doctorate at Reading University on 18th century lettering.

I vividly recall one day in the late 1990s. Justin and I were at the British Library with Alan Sterenberg, Head of Exhibitions there. We had ideas about a possible facility at the BL (never achieved) whereby Justin would design a page of type from the 1526 Tyndale New Testament, to be fitted to the replica press there: members of the public, for a small fee, and under supervision, could pull their own sheet (as can happen at the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp, to which Justin was to go for six months).

After five happy years in Edinburgh at the University Press, he lived in a deserted shoe factory in Rushden, Northamptonshire. It was a place quite lacking modern amenities, but he had cleared out a thousand pairs of shoes to make space for two presses, a ton of type, and all his growing computer equipment, in order to complete more remarkable work. Increasingly troubled by ill-health, however, including diabetes from childhood, he had to abandon the solitary adventure, and moved to London to be near his parents. He died at his desk, of a heart attack, on 21 February. His moving memorial service at St Bride's Church, Fleet Street, on 9 May, was largely attended, including, from the Tyndale Society, Sir Rowland Whitehead and myself. I gave tribute from us all, and read the first lesson, part of the first chapter of John's Gospel, from *Justin's* Tyndale.

He was a thinker, and a supremely practical one. His understanding of all aspects of typography and its history was profound: but he was happiest working a press. Many people will always remember him with affection and admiration. We send our thoughts and prayers to his brother and his father and mother, Brian and Mimi.

David Daniell, June 2005.

### A Printer's Epitaph

Vpon The ingeniovs and lvdiciovs  
ARTIST, Mr. IOHN HAVILAND, sonne  
TO THAT Reverend PROFESSOR and  
DISPENSOR of GOD'S WORD, Mr. Iohn  
Haviland sometimes INCVMBENT  
Here at WINSTONE.

Anag; Iohn Havylande:hold ay in heav'n  
Objt Nov 15 Ao.Dni 1638

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None Led A Life That Had Lesse Error In't.  
None Had A State That Did More Good With It,  
None Lesse Appearing And More Full Of Wit,  
None Lesse Affected To Phantastick Fashion.  
None More Addressd To Christian Compassion,  
None Better Known To Th'Mystery Of His Art,  
None Of A Stronger Braine, A Clearer Hart;  
Well Has He Finish'd Then His Pilgrim Race,  
Who Ever Liv'd In Forme And Dide In Case.  
This Constant Impreze Then Shall Seale His Grave,  
Each Yeare My Works Must New Impressions Have.

#### EPITAPH

A MATRICE GAVE ME LIFE, A MATRICE GAINÉ  
AND EARTH THE MATRICE THAT DOES ME CONTAINÉ

The editor is grateful to David Green for sending a transcription of this memorial found in St Bartholomew's Church, Winstone, Gloucestershire.

## THE LICHFIELD CONFERENCE 2006

*The Bible and Theology –  
Wyclif to the Early English Reformation*

**Friday, 26 May to Sunday, 28 May**

*Keynote speakers include*

**Prof. Anne Hudson**  
**Prof. David Daniell**  
**Rev. Dr Ralph Werrell**

- The conference will be held in the Visitor's Centre of the Cathedral.
- The cost for the entire conference is £80. This includes: lunch on Saturday; all refreshments during the conference; and a tour of the Cathedral, including the Library (we will be shown the Lichfield Gospels and their copy of the Wyclif Bible out of their cases).
- Optional extras include dinner on Friday and Saturday, and a tour of Lichfield including Dr Johnson's House on Sunday.

Please request a brochure, list of accommodation and application form from:

Brian Johnson  
17 Earlstoke Close  
Banbury  
Oxfordshire OX16 3WL  
bandr@johnson373.fsnet.co.uk  
+44 (0) 1295 273120

## Requests from the Editor

### Appeal for Book Reviewers

I should like volunteers to review the following book for the next issue No 30 of the *Tyndale Society Journal* January 2006 (deadline for copy Friday 4 November 2005): -

### The Books of Henry VIII and his wives

I regret that the Tyndale Journal cannot afford to pay a fee but you can at least keep the review copy!

### Exhibition Reviewers

Reviews need not be confined to books and I should be delighted to receive more reviews of exhibitions especially in America.

### Book Request

I still urgently need a book by W.A. Bewes entitled *Church Briefs* published in 1896. Can anyone lend or sell me a copy please?

### Advertisements

The type of adverts we have in mind is for conferences, bookshops, private requests for buying and selling books, publishers flyers for books of interest to our readership.

If you would like to advertise in the Journal or can persuade someone else to do so please consult the rates printed in this issue. Remember attracting adverts will boost the Society's income and keep subscription prices down.

For any of these matters please contact the Journal editor Valerie Offord tel/fax 0041 22 777 18 58 email [valerie.offord@bluewin.ch](mailto:valerie.offord@bluewin.ch)

### Cost of advertisements in the Tyndale Society Journal

Full Page....£80                      1/2 Page....£60                      1/4 Page....£40

Inserts...£150                      [only if members of the Society are offered a discount on the book or other merchandise being advertised in the flyer]

25% discount will be given to members placing advertisements\*

\*For members placing small advertisements the charge is £1 a line (up to a maximum of 4).

## Dates for Your Diary

2005

**Thursday 15 September to Sunday 18 September**  
**Fourth Oxford Tyndale Conference, Hertford College, Oxford. 'Opening the Word to the World'.**

**Keynote speaker:** Prof. Morna Hooker, Cambridge University  
**Other speakers** include Prof. Peter Auksi, University of Ontario, Dr John Court, Kent University, Prof. David Daniell, Prof. Andrew Hadfield, University of Sussex, Dr Guido Latré, Catholic University of Leuven and Prof. Simon Oliver, University of Wales.

See feature elsewhere in the Journal for further information on the Conference.

**Thursday 6 October 3pm**

**The Tenth Annual Tyndale Lecture in the Old Deanery at Gloucester Cathedral to be given by Dr J.H. Bethey 'Late Medieval Religious Houses in the West Country and the Dissolution'** followed by Choral Evensong and supper.

Further information from David Green, 22 Foss Field, Winstone, Gloucestershire, GL7 7JY, UK. tel. +44 (0) 1285 821651.

**Tuesday 25 October 6pm**

**The Eleventh Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture, Lambeth Palace, London chaired by the Archbishop of Canterbury to be given by Canon Lucy Winkett of St Paul's Cathedral, London.**

Admission by ticket only – £10 lecture, £30 lecture and dinner afterwards at the Novotel across the road. Please apply to Mrs Priscilla Frost, 27 Ditchley Road, Charlbury, Oxon OX7 3QS, UK. Phone: +44 (0) 1608 811818. Fax +44 (0) 1608 819010. [info@oxconf.co.uk](mailto:info@oxconf.co.uk).

**Thursday 27 October 5pm**

**The Eleventh Annual Hertford Tyndale Lecture at the Examination Schools, High Street, Oxford chaired by Dr John Landers, Principal of Hertford College to be given by Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch, St Cross College, Oxford on 'The Latitude of the Church of England'.**

It will be followed by a reception in the Principal's Lodgings, Hertford College. All members, friends and their guests are welcome.

**November (date to be announced shortly)  
Event at Houston Baptist University, USA**

Further details from Ms Jennifer Bekemeier US Office.  
Tel. +1 757 226 4347 or jennbek@regent.edu

**Wednesday 21 December, 12.30pm  
Tyndale Society Annual Carol Service, St. Mary Abchurch, Abchurch Lane,  
London.**

It will be followed in the evening from 6pm by the traditional Christmas party with a mystery speaker at Mrs Mary Clow's flat, 17 Powis Terrace, London W11 1JJ (nearest tube stations Notting Hill Gate/ Westbourne Park).

Further details from and **essential to confirm** with Mary Clow  
Tel. +44 (0) 207 221 0303 or email:maryclow@aol.com.

2006

**Friday 26 May to Sunday 28 May  
A Tyndale mini-conference in Lichfield, *The Bible and Theology – Wyclif to the Early English Reformation.***

**Main speakers: Prof. Anne Hudson, University of Oxford, Prof. David Daniell and Rev. Dr Ralph Werrell.**

**Call for papers**

This is a conference organised by the West Midlands Ploughboys' Group. Papers of about 20 minutes in length are welcome on any aspect of the early English Reformation and related topics. Please send abstracts, as soon as possible, to Rev. Dr Ralph Werrell 2a Queens Road, Kenilworth, Warwickshire CV8 1JQ or rswerrell@hotmail.com.

**All other conference details** from Brian Johnson, 17 Earlstoke Close, Banbury, Oxfordshire OX16 3WL bandr@johnson373.fsnet.co.uk

To ensure that you have the latest information about forthcoming events consult our website at [www.tyndale.org](http://www.tyndale.org).

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