

The Tyndale Society Journal



No. 41
Spring 2012

About the Tyndale Society

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Founded by Professor David Daniell in 1995, five hundred and one years after Tyndale's birth. The Society's aim is to spread knowledge of William Tyndale's work and influence, and to pursue study of the man who gave us our English Bible.

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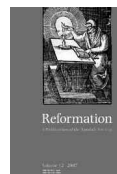
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Contents

The Tyndale Society Journal ♦ No.41

Spring 2012

	Submission Guidelines	11
Editorial	Neil Inglis	5
Articles		
Jonathan Moore	Tyndale's Influence on the 1611 Bible	10
Don Smeeton	Remembering Don Smeeton in his own words	34
Ramona Garcia	No Tyndale, No Tercentenary	41
Event Reports		
Brian Buxton	Great and Manifold Blessings and Elton Hall	44
Mary Clow	The KJB and its Cultural Afterlife, Ohio, USA	48
	London Grove Meeting, USA	49
	Kings College London Conference	50
	York University Conference	52
	Manifold Greatness	54
David Ireson	17 th Lambeth Tyndale Lecture	56
Book and Media Reviews		
David Surtees	Written on the Heart	60
Barry Ryan	Fires of Faith	62
Bill Cooper	WT: The Man who gave God an English Voice	64
Brian Buxton	The KJB: A Short History from Tyndale to Today	66
Brian Buxton	Bible: The Story of the KJV	67
Eunice Burton	The New Testament for Everyone	69
Bill Cooper	Hugh Latimer: An Introduction	70
Eunice Burton	Freedom & Order: History, Politics & the English Bible	71
Bill Cooper	Paradise Lost: A Biblically Annotated Edition	74
What are you Reading?		
Mary Clow	The Elizabethans by A N Wilson	77
Events in 2012		
Sat 26 th May	Tyndale Society EGM, <i>Notting Hill, UK</i>	83
Sat 26 th May	'Written on the Heart' Matinee & Talk, <i>London, UK</i>	83
Sat 8 th September	'Let Him Alone!' Conference, <i>Pennsylvania, USA</i>	83
Weds 19 th December	Carol Service, 12:30pm St. Mary Abchurch, <i>London, UK</i>	83

Press Gleanings	
Journal Staff	59
How I Met William Tyndale	
Bill Cooper	79
Society Notes	
Mary Clow	81
Obituary	
Donald Smeeton	82
Notices	
The New Testament 1526 - Special Offer	76
Dates for Your Diary	83
Advertising Rates and Specifications	55
Membership/Subscription Form - USA & Canada	84
Membership/Subscription Form - UK & EU	86
Key Contacts	87

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Guest Editor for Tyndale Society Journal No.42:

Neil Inglis

We invite your contributions for the next Journal
by 15th July 2012 please (see *p. 11*)

Especially Welcome...

contributions for: 'How I Met William Tyndale'

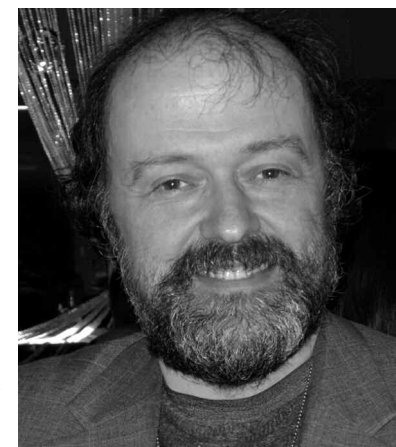
Editorial

Neil Inglis

Guest Editor - TSJ Nos. 38, 39, 40, 41

I want to pinch myself. If I had to sum up last year's events, I would say that the dreams of the Tyndale Society have come true. This is a tribute to the Society's efforts, as well as to renewed interest kindled by the *KJB* celebrations. But other forces are at work; the tide is turning, the wheel of fortune is on the upswing at last. We dare not be complacent, but we can and must celebrate.

A few years ago, who would have dreamed that the Tyndale story would be told, and warmly proclaimed and welcomed, in drama, television, and film? We have not only Howard Brenton's play *Anne Boleyn*, but also the new Royal Shakespeare Company production *Written on the Heart* reviewed in this issue.¹ Brigham Young University's *Fires of Faith* is reaching mass audiences on television and over the web,² new films are coming out or in development, e.g., *Fired Up*.³



Neil Inglis

As *TSJ* editor I am all agog; this is revolutionary, as revolutionary as the printed book was in its time, and just as instrumental in sending the Tyndale message to every corner of the world.

How do we monitor all these fast-breaking news stories around the globe? A few months ago, I subscribed to Google Alerts so that the *TSJ* editorial team could keep track of international Tyndale developments. The quality of hits is mixed to say the least. Some posts are repetitive, recycling press accounts of the *KJB* quatercentenary; others provide chill and drafty glimpses into the blogs and mindsets of conspiracy theorists. Yet in the main, we have found major news items to feed into the Society's blog, and to keep our members up-to-date in real time, as today's modern technology demands.

We have learned of Christmas stamps bearing WT's image, issued in the

Cayman islands.⁴ An animatronic Tyndale has been riveting spectators at the *Passages* traveling Bible history exhibition that debuted in Oklahoma City.⁵ One of the most important developments closer to Tyndale's birthplace was posted on the BBC site, announcing the purchase of land surrounding the Nibley Knoll memorial by the local Gloucestershire community.⁶

This is a multimedia Tyndale universe. Books will retain their primacy (or will they? see the section on the future of the book below). Whether you regard these changes as refreshing or unsettling, one thing is clear; there will be no further oblivion for Tyndale. Henceforward, he will be the central character in his story; no longer shall he be relegated to the inaccuracies of footnotes. We proclaim his legacy, and this year we have had some assistance... from surprising quarters.



CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS. Some unfamiliar persons have taken up the Tyndale baton, one of them was the recently deceased writer and contrarian Chris Hitchens. Hitch was feared by some Christians as an implacable debater and adversary (his withering rebukes, I learned from the net today, were called *'Hitchslaps'*). But less well understood was that he knew the Bible well, and he had latterly emerged as a Tyndale fan in the May 2011 issue of the magazine *Vanity Fair*. I met Hitch just once, at a pantomime (imagine a dialogue between us: *"Hitch, one day you will be a Tyndale enthusiast!"*, *"Oh no I won't!"*, *"Oh yes you will!"* – I am not that prescient, and no such dialogue occurred). In the 1980s I looked forward to his Washington DC dispatches for *The Spectator* (even in his post-Marxist firebrand days he wrote with disconcerting wit and brilliance for establishment audiences). Some of his devout critics will perceive a divine twitch on the thread; atheists and secular humanists in particular may feel betrayed. We all feel his loss in one shape or form. It seems fitting to allow Hitch the last word on the subject, quoted in a recent obituary:

"Until the early middle years of the 16th century, when King Henry VIII began to quarrel with Rome about the dialectics of divorce and decapitation, a short and swift route to torture and death was the attempt to print the Bible in English. It's a long and stirring story, and its crux is the head-to-head battle between Sir Thomas More and William Tyndale (whose name in early life, I am proud to say, was William Hychyns).

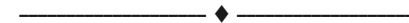
"For generations, [the Bible] provided a common stock of references and allusions, rivalled only by Shakespeare. A culture that does not possess this common store of image and allegory will be a perilously thin one. To seek restlessly to update it or make



An animatronic Tyndale awaits execution at the 'Passages' traveling Bible history exhibition

it "relevant" is to miss the point, like yearning for a hip-hop Shakespeare. "Man is born unto trouble as the sparks fly upward," says the Book of Job. Want to try to improve on that for Twitter?

"At my father's funeral I chose to read an injunction from St Paul's Epistle to the Philippians: 'Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.' As much philosophical as spiritual, with its conditional and speculative "ifs", and its closing advice – always italicised in my mind since first I heard it – to think and reflect on such matters: this passage was the labour of men who had wrought deeply with ideas and concepts."



THE FUTURE OF THE BOOK. The theme of mortality leads us to the issue of the book industry and its survival in an electronic universe. How is the book trade doing in Tyndale's home country? I had an illuminating visit to Cambridge, UK, in 2010 at which time the prospects for the printed word were thrown into stark relief. The block across from King's College on King's Parade contains one of my favorite second-hand bookstores, David's bookshop.⁷ I purchased a text on technological inventions from the first half of the 20th century and chatted with a staff member, who lamented that publishers will now pulp books rather than sell them at a discount to second-hand stores. The younger generation have lost the habit of browsing. To add to these woes, the block in which David's is located was at that time undergoing renovation to

build student accommodation in line with EU regulations.

But David's was still in business, in contrast to another bookstore 5 minutes away, in the throes of a closing down sale. So total was this latter establishment's obliteration that I can find no further mention of its existence on the web. As I entered the moribund bookshop back in 2010, the owners had posted a notice on the wall explaining their situation (the economics of bookselling), no doubt to pre-empt wearisome interrogations from tourists like me. I picked up a few paperbacks (cold comfort to them, or me, now), and wandered into the drizzle outside, bound for Cambridge Station, and eventually, London.

However, one local bookstore—Cambridge University Press!—was gleaming. And that is because academic and textbook publishers which control their own content are far better placed to manage the bumpy transition to the electronic universe. The publishing battlefield is strewn with casualties. There are lessons here, and we who deal in the written word must adapt or die.

ARMCHAIR HISTORIAN. And those who fail to adapt will face oblivion—an outcome of direct relevance to Tyndalians, who have toiled long and hard to rescue their man from the shadows. Why does oblivion occur, and what factors allow it to occur? This summer, I attended a National Geographic exhibit in Washington DC on the race to the South Pole by Scott and Amundsen, two figures who are most emphatically not forgotten today. The lecture area in the exhibit rooms was teeming with pupils taking notes. Scott's critics suggest that Scott's literary gifts outweighed his abilities as an explorer, his resonant sentences guaranteeing his place in history (*"Dear God, this is an awful place."*). A century from now, will Scott have pulled off a posthumous victory over Amundsen? In a stab at counterfactual history, I fantasize about the final outcome had each man swapped teams with his adversary, Scott in charge of the Norwegians and Amundsen skipping the Brits.

A footnote in the exhibit (never forget how important footnotes are for the study of Tyndale) proclaimed that Scott's crew listened to Dame Nellie Melba on their victrola during their southbound journey. But the National Geographic's own speakers were broadcasting an altogether different voice, that of the American Rosa Ponselle (a wonderful singer in her own right, but who did not record until the 1920s). I'm unsure whether the track was *"At the End of a Perfect Day,"* or *"Carry Me Back to Old Virginny,"* but either way, the message was clear; names and identities of historical or cultural figures, who are deemed not to be in

the first rank, become confused with the passage of time. As decades march on, these small (but important) cases of mistaken identity fossilize like trilobites in sedimentary rock. In much the same way, the British people people came to assume that Coverdale rather than Tyndale, was the first published English translator of the Bible. To the extent they cared at all about who came first and who deserved the credit. This is a perfect example of how deadly inaccuracies in footnotes can be. You, dear readers, can help to put a stop to this insidious practice.

THE CURRENT ISSUE—TSJ41. Jonathan Wright has contributed a formidably impressive lecture, of especial interest to all our readers. Ramona Garcia reminds us of the Tricentenary celebrations in a printed paper and newsprint world (what will the 500 year celebration be like?). We say our goodbyes to scholar and Tyndalian Don Smeeton in his own words (and publish our own obituary).

In this issue we are honoring watershed developments in the field of drama and TV (articles by David Surtees and Barry Ryan). Fear not, fans of our book reviews will not be disappointed. Don't miss the splendid contributions from Eunice Burton and Bill Cooper (who examines a new biography of Tyndale), as well as from David Ireson, Mary Clow, and Brian Buxton, (whose event reports provide cogent assessments for those unable to travel in person). Bill Cooper's *'How I Met Tyndale'* takes us back to the watershed year 1994 and tells us his highly personal, delightful memories of the *Let There Be Light* exhibition, which changed so many lives (mine included).

Neil L. Inglis
Bethesda, Maryland

Notes and References

¹ <http://www.rsc.org/whats-on/written-on-the-heart/>

² <http://byutv.org/show/123d4a82-3d47-488e-beda-2496a5a1ff2c>

³ <http://thetyndalesociety.blogspot.com/2011/12/tyndale-rolls-out-red-carpet-at-bafta.html?spref=fb>

⁴ <http://www.compasscayman.com/caycompass/2011/11/21/Now-is-time-to-buy-Christmas-stamps/>

⁵ http://www.accessatlanta.com/AccessAtlanta-sharing_/passages-seeks-to-biblically-1254739.html

⁶ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-gloucestershire-14606541>

⁷ <http://www.gdavidbookseller.co.uk>

William Tyndale's Influence on the 1611 Bible A Quadricentenary Appreciation

Dr Jonathan D. Moore

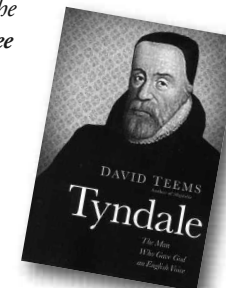
This article is the substance of a public commemorative lecture delivered on 21st May, 2011 in Magdalen College, Oxford on behalf of the Trinitarian Bible Society. Unless otherwise stated, biographical information concerning Tyndale is taken from David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1st ed., 1994) and David Daniell, "Tyndale, William (c.1494-1536)" in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: In Association with the British Academy: From the earliest Times to the Year 2000* Eds. Brian H. Harrison & H. Colin G. Matthew (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) – henceforth ODNB

In this 400th anniversary year of the Authorised Version (AV), it is most fitting that much is said in praise of that climactic English Bible version. Yet as admirable as the Authorised Version may be, even the AV translators themselves indicate in their preface "to the Reader" that their contribution was not to forge any new path in their production of a new Bible version, but simply, as they put it, "to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one." It is evident from the standard title page of the Authorised Version that the translators, typical of Renaissance Bible translators, were all the while "diligently comparing and revising the former translations" so that the resulting product was, in their own words not "a new Translation" at all. Overshadowing every preceding version was the revolutionary translation work of William Tyndale. It is hard to overstate the deep influence of Tyndale upon subsequent English Bible translations even up until the twenty-first century, and this is not simply because he had the first bite at the cherry, but rather that the man raised up to translate the Scriptures from the original Greek and Hebrew into the English tongue for the first time, was an eminently godly scholar who was a full-fledged genius and a master of the English language.

So who exactly was William Tyndale and where did he come from? What did he do and how did he die? The exact year of Tyndale's birth is unknown, but we believe it was around 1494 in a village in "God's Gloucestershire" – a county known for its Lollardy. From a comparatively wealthy family, he was launched early in life into the pursuit of studies at Oxford. In 1512 the young Tyndale graduated B.A. from Magdalen Hall before being ordained priest in 1515 and recommencing studies at Magdalen College, Oxford for the M.A. degree, this time in theology. Oxford furnished Tyndale with the tools of

MEMBERS' OFFER: David Teems' Biography of Tyndale

"Teems' biography will refresh many people's thinking concerning the unique and remarkable man, William Tyndale." Bill Cooper (See full review of David Teems' book on page 64, TSJ41)



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Guest Editor: Neil Inglis

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learning and exposed him to the critical study of ancient languages, and especially Greek – which was a controversial new Renaissance subject. Erasmus' newly printed Greek New Testament (1519) showed him the corruptions of the theology of his day, and the more grew Tyndale's sense of a divine calling to translate the Word of God afresh into the native tongue of his fellow countrymen.

But, unwelcome and opposed in England, he left for Germany in 1524. His first attempt at publishing an English Testament at Cologne was aborted by the authorities. In 1525 the printing hadn't even progressed beyond Mark's gospel when the print shop was raided [Ed.: *the BL's one surviving copy extends only to Matthew but there is evidence that other copies contained Mark*]. Tyndale was forced to flee to Worms where, finally, the first English New Testament translated from the Greek was published in 1526. The Bishop of London immediately prohibited the book and made a bonfire of confiscated copies outside St Paul's Cathedral, denouncing Tyndale's Testament as "*pestiferous and moste pernicious poison,*"¹ even though it contained no preface or marginal notes whatsoever. Notwithstanding such opposition and the threat of torture and death for anyone found in possession of one, Tyndale's 1526 Testament was reprinted at least four times, indicating a burgeoning appetite for the Word of God in sixteenth-century England. In God's providence, it was his time in Germany that in all probability enabled Tyndale to learn or at least to improve his Hebrew,² and in the early 1530s an English Pentateuch and a translation of the Prophet Jonah were published. Then, in 1534, Tyndale published a revision of his 1526 Testament and in 1535 a minor revision of this 1534 Testament.

In engaging in this work, unauthorised by the authorities of his day, Tyndale was deemed to be a heretic worthy of death and he was continually being hounded by the King's emissaries. Finally, a "*Judas Iscariot*" by the name of Henry Phillips betrayed him for the love of money and Tyndale was arrested on 21st May, 1535. After languishing in prison for over a year, in October 1536 Tyndale was tied to the stake, strangled and then burned at Vilvoorde in modern-day Belgium where there can be seen a monument to Tyndale to this day. Tyndale's famous last words were "*Lord, open the King of England's eyes.*"

But how could it be that a man should be put to death for simply translating the Scriptures into the ordinary language of the people of God? Indeed, how could it come to pass, as it did in Norwich, that a man should be burned alive for simply possessing a copy of the Lord's Prayer in English!³ Or

that another man should be imprisoned and tortured for embellishing some cloths for an inn in Colchester with vernacular Scripture texts?⁴ Well the answer lies in the Oxford Constitutions, masterminded by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, and adopted by a synod of bishops in 1408 at the time of John Wyclif. These constitutions, "*under pain of the greater excommunication,*" prohibited the translation of Scripture into English and the reading of Scripture in English unless permission was first obtained from the authorities.⁵ [Ed.: *Interested readers are referred to Anne Richardson's profile of Arundel in TSJ40.*]

At the outset of his translation project Tyndale sought such permission from the Bishop of London in whose diocese he had been ordained, but support was withheld, no doubt because implicit in the request, whether Tyndale realised it or not, was a seeking of permission to instigate the reform of the church, possibly along the lines of Martin Luther, which of necessity would require political change. Tyndale came to believe that the defensive stance of the Church concerning the Latin Vulgate arose not in fact from a desire to protect the pure teaching of the Word of God, but from a desire to protect a rival authority. This is illustrated by a famous story told by a contemporary of Tyndale while he was still back in Gloucestershire. Defending God's law to a supposedly "*learned*" divine, the cleric had retorted to Tyndale that "*we were better without God's law than the Pope's.*" To this assertion of the primacy of the Pope over God's Word, Tyndale is said to have replied "*I defie the Pope and all his laws ... if God spare my lyfe ere many yeares, I wyl cause a boye that dryueth ye plough, shall knowe more of the scripture than thou doest.*"⁶

It was to dispel this gross darkness and to give the ploughboy the Bible in his own language that Tyndale was to give his life – in both senses of that phrase. As Tyndale watched ordinary believers systematically tortured and burned alive simply for reading fragments of the Bible in English, he came to the conviction that he was being confronted with the Antichrist himself, and that it was better to obey God than the Oxford Constitutions.

Before we can appreciate the enormous influence of Tyndale upon the Authorised Version, we must consider Tyndale more closely as a translator of the Word of God. How did he go about his task? What was his general approach and what were his priorities? I suggest that there are three outstanding characteristics about Tyndale's translations and in this order: accuracy, clarity and beauty.

There can be no doubt about it that the aspect of his translation work that

was most important to Tyndale was accuracy.⁷ At first this might seem strange to some in the modern church where ease of communication seems to trump accuracy almost every time. How would Tyndale's ploughboy be adversely affected in any noticeable way by ironing out a few of the complexities of ancient Semitic culture or Greek grammar? We therefore cannot understand Tyndale aright as a translator until we understand him as approaching a sacred text.⁸ Indeed, if the Scriptures were not, why risk one's life to translate them? Let us not forget that as Tyndale pored over his draft translations wrestling with the finer points of Greek syntax, he had a huge price over his head and the king's bounty hunters were hot on his trail. If anyone had an excuse to do a rushed job and take short cuts, it was Tyndale.

Tyndale's internal driver for accuracy was his doctrine of Scripture. The external driver was that Tyndale well knew that any inaccuracies would be exploited by the authorities in order to support their claim that his translation was heretical. Although reading Tyndale's English Testament was illegal, Thomas More was given special permission by the Bishop of London to read it with the express purpose of finding "heresies" in it – i.e. minute inaccuracies. There was no point in making More's task any easier.

Accuracy of translation was well within Tyndale's reach as he was a naturally gifted linguist and an extremely diligent life-long student. By the time of his death he was fluent in at least eight languages,⁹ speaking the modern ones like a native and in the ancient ones being at the forefront of the scholarship of his day. Tyndale was undoubtedly one of the greatest Greek scholars of his generation, if not the greatest.¹⁰ Some believe that Tyndale "was a greater scholar even than Erasmus."¹¹ His proficiency in Greek displayed in his New Testament translations needs no defence here. His Hebrew has been criticized, however, and, while he was not as strong in Hebrew as in Greek, and inferior in Hebrew abilities to the AV translators, he was still highly proficient, and still better than Luther (which says a lot). He could even match varieties of English to differences in the Hebrew of the different Old Testament genres and writers.¹² In fact, Tyndale actually preferred translating Hebrew as he could see that English (in stark contrast to Latin) was syntactically and grammatically very close to Hebrew and therefore capable of a more literal word-for-word translation. In Tyndale we therefore see the preservation of the Hebrew style – as much as English would allow – in "its variations in word order, its use of verbal redundancies, and its readiness to hang verbless clauses on the end of poetic statements."¹³

For example, it is very characteristic of "AV English" to use the word "even"



Tyndale's grasp of Hebrew helped him recreate the effects of Hebrew poetry in his English translation

to join two related phrases together. But this comes directly from Tyndale who employed this ingenious linguistic device to aid him in the formidable task of recreating the effects of Hebrew poetry in English.¹⁴ For example, in Psalm 21:4 we read that "He asked life of thee, and thou gavest it him, even length of days for ever and ever." The "even" which appears here in the AV is in italics indicating that it is not present in the Hebrew, and even though Tyndale never translated the Psalms, it is Tyndale's use of 'even', via Miles Coverdale, that ends up permeating "AV English" even in those books Tyndale never translated.

Another example of how Tyndale established a pattern for early Protestant biblical English, is the fact that Hebrew and Greek syntax is often "noun-of-noun" as in "man of God", "fish of the sea", "the Kingdom of God", and so on. Tyndale avoids the more natural and fashionable English of his day at this

point – “a godly man”, “seafish”, “God’s kingdom” – as that would have been to invert the original language’s word order unnecessarily.¹⁵ Tyndale’s choice here has not only shaped the development of biblical English, but the English language in general. Today, for example, we speak of “the lamb of God” and never “God’s lamb;” of “the rule of law” and not “law’s rule.”

A final example is seen in the distinctively Tyndalian (and AV) Old Testament narrative which often seems to be a succession of “and someone did this, and someone did that, and someone said this, and someone said that.” In English narrative we are all conditioned to recoil from such “flat” story telling and, like good schoolboys, to insert explanatory conjunctions such as “when someone did this, then someone did that, and so someone said this, so that someone said that.” While Tyndale knew there are limits to how much the English language can contain the Hebrew approach to narrative, he clearly avoided inserting such explanatory conjunctions as much as he felt possible, as he wanted to avoid imposing any unwarranted interpretation upon the text. The original Hebrew juxtapositions must be allowed to stand in their own stark, yet pregnant, simplicity.¹⁶ Endeavouring to bring them to the birth was to be the role of the commentator, preacher and reader, if anybody, and not, generally speaking, of the translator.

We can therefore concur with the verdict of Dr Gerald Hammond, one-time Professor of English Literature at the University of Manchester: “Tyndale’s translation is marked by a willingness to be as literal as is reasonably possible within the bounds of producing a readable English version.” By ‘literal’ Hammond means that “Tyndale’s chief concerns were to achieve fullness of translation and to convey some of the alien nuances of Hebrew [and Greek] style. Fullness of translation is a matter of neither taking away from, nor adding to, the original.”¹⁷

But what happens in the pursuit of accuracy when there just isn’t an equivalent word in the receptor language? Even most purists at this point would concede, “Well, just do the best you can with the words available.” Not so Tyndale. So committed to accuracy was Tyndale that he often invents a word to do the job. Some of the better known words coined by Tyndale include Jehovah, birthright, fleshpots, Passover, scape-goat, stiff-necked, long-suffering, lovingkindness and even viper.

Finally, on Tyndale as an accurate translator of Holy Scripture, it might be said that in approaching Bible translation in this meticulous manner Tyndale was just being a child of his age and that things are different today. However, in Tyndale’s day, “When a Renaissance translator worked from a normal text it

was customary for him to expand, interpolate, and omit, according to his taste and what he assumed the taste of his readers to be.”¹⁸ It can be readily documented how sixteenth-century scholars happily expanded and massaged a passage in order to produce a more user-friendly and respectable text. This was not considered irresponsible in the way that it would be today. So Tyndale’s meticulously conservative approach to translating the sacred text of Scripture was actually counter-cultural.

But as much as Tyndale pursued accuracy, he never came to the point where he thought he had perfectly attained it. He always saw his translations as capable of improvement. He writes in the preface to his 1534 revised New Testament: “If I shall perceive either by myself or by information of other that ought be escaped me, or might more plainly be translated, I will shortly after, cause it to be mended.” But that is not to say that his translation was inherently unstable or would be readily amended, for he immediately adds in the same place: “Howbeit in many places me thinketh it better to put a declaration in the margin than to run too far from the text. And in many places, where the text seemeth at the first chop hard to be understood, yet the circumstances before and after, and often reading together, make it plain enough.”¹⁹ Tyndale was not generally open to changes simply because the suggested amendment was easier to understand. And most of the time a marginal comment would suffice.

Secondly, Tyndale as a translator also sought to achieve clarity. Tyndale wanted the Bible to be read and understood by the ploughboy, but it is important first to note that this was to be fundamentally achieved by giving him the Scriptures in English (which he spoke) as opposed to Latin (which he couldn’t speak, never mind read). This Tyndale most certainly did, and that alone was enough to cause a revolution. It is hard for us to imagine at this distance what impact Tyndale’s Bible would have had on the ordinary Christian. Hitherto they were used to hearing a priest mumbling at the altar in incomprehensible Latin with his back to the congregation. But now the ordinary Christian was able to hear ringing in his ears in plain and lucid English the simple words of, say, the Gospel or First Epistle of John.

But Tyndale’s mission to bring the Word of God to ordinary people in their mother tongue came second place to accuracy. Indeed, he didn’t actually translate the Bible into common speech at all, but rather “into a register just above common speech.”²⁰ According to Professor David Norton of the Victoria University of Wellington, Tyndale’s English to his original readers “did not seem as natural and easy as we are inclined to think it.”²¹ As long as overall it

could speak directly to the heart, it did not matter to Tyndale if an accurate translation of the Scriptures was not in “street language”. In fact, this was particularly impossible to achieve in the sixteenth century. The lack of modern communications and ease of travel meant that regional dialects could vary considerably, and in fact it is quite clear that Tyndale was consciously working hard to identify an “international” kind of English, and filtering out, for example, the way he would naturally say things himself coming from Gloucestershire.²² He does not always succeed in this – quite a bit of dialect still remained – but the fact that the majority of the English that he did write is so eminently readable even to this day is a great tribute to Tyndale’s genius with the English tongue.²³ Anyone who has dipped into David Daniell’s modern spelling edition of the Tyndale Bible will know that this is true. Had Tyndale written in conversational colloquialisms his work would have soon been outdated and would never have attained the degree of timeless clarity that it has, nor, ironically, its global influence and continuing relevance. To appreciate this, one only needs to consider the relative incomprehensibility of Shakespeare’s plays compared with the Tyndale Bible.

In Tyndale’s day even English at its best was despised by the educated as a barbaric and unwieldy tongue incapable of bearing the demands of a book worth reading.²⁴ The general perception was that if you wanted to say anything worth hearing, then you had better say it in Latin. And if you didn’t know Latin, that was because you hadn’t, in fact, got anything worth saying. But Tyndale’s quest for clarity for the ordinary Christian put this notion of barbaric English to rest – not because there was no truth at all in the claim, but because Tyndale enriched the existing English language by marrying it to the greatest book of all. He unashamedly adopted the simplicity of Saxon syntax and vocabulary and in so doing endued it with the power of the Word of God. Instead of the ornate and endless subordinate clauses of Latinized English, Tyndale, for the most part, wrote short sentences of subject–verb–object often using only monosyllabic words.²⁵

Tyndale as translator, however, did not believe that plain English was of necessity flat and two-dimensional. In fact, Gerald Hammond’s research illustrates how early English Bible translators like Tyndale “cultivated ambiguity and evocative vagueness,” in contrast to most modern English versions which “invariably move towards one fixed and unreverberative meaning.”²⁶ Let me give just one example to show what Hammond means by this. In Genesis 2:24 we read in Tyndale that “for this cause shall a man leave father and mother and cleave unto his wife and they shall be one flesh.” The AV

also says the man “shall cleave unto his wife.” But the NIV, for example, (following the NEB) says the man will “be united to his wife.” The Hebrew, however (dabaq), carries the sense of ‘sticking’ as in Deuteronomy 13:17 – “there shall cleave nought of the cursed thing to thine hand” – and in Lamentations 4:4 where “the tongue of the sucking child cleaveth to the roof of his mouth.” But if marriage is simply a uniting of two, then the act of “becoming one flesh” is simply a matter of sexual intercourse. But Tyndale could see that the Hebrew is far more powerfully evocative at this point, and he had every intention that the ordinary English reader should experience the resonances of the Hebrew – which readers of the AV do today in that “to cleave” well conveys the imagery “of clinging, clutching and separation from the rest of humanity.”²⁷ It is far more than the mere coupling of two railway carriages so that they become one train. And when we read Scripture christologically, as we should, and as Paul does in Ephesians 5:30-32, we begin to perceive something of the unfailing love and commitment of Christ ‘cleaving’ to His chosen bride.

Tyndale recognizes that his translation contains “wordes which are nott commonly used” (and this was a gross understatement for the ones he had just coined!) and acknowledges that “scripture useth many wordes which are other wyse understoode of the commen people.” It is to be noted that Tyndale’s response to this was to append tables to his translation of these “wordes which are nott commonly used” rather than dilute the translation itself or depart from the strict meaning of the original. The ploughboy was being set up for an education: a book that would not leave him where he was, but would elevate him not just spiritually but intellectually.²⁸

Hammond speaks of “the English biblical tradition of resonant obscurity” and what he means by that is that Tyndale (and the AV translators) “accepted that fidelity in translation would inevitably mean local ambiguity and obscurity – and, further, that such places should not be disguised, but made attractive and resonant.”²⁹ Tyndale even took this approach in those places where he did not provide any marginal notes.³⁰ This stands in marked contrast with most modern day English Bible translators for whom any hint of complexity is an embarrassment and must be ironed out immediately as if God did not have His or our best interests in mind when in His special providence the Hebrew and Greek defy any conclusive analysis. What is clear is that such a situation was no embarrassment to Tyndale, and he and the AV translators are done an injustice when obscurities in their translation are automatically dismissed as failure. Tyndale wanted for the English ploughboy a faithful translation, not a

deceptively simple paraphrase based on guesswork. If the ploughboy encountered the words of the Holy Spirit, that same Holy Spirit would continue His great work of illumination. That the ploughboy was not given the illusion of instant comprehension of every verse of Scripture was not a problem for Tyndale, nor for the ploughboy. At the very least it taught the ploughboy to pursue humility even as his knowledge increased.

Tyndale's desire for the ploughboy was therefore not a translation in the modern idiom at any price but an accurate translation in the native tongue no plainer than fidelity to the original languages would allow. Tyndale was aiming for simple English but also resonant English; for clarity but not banality.

The third characteristic of Tyndale's translations is beauty. Tyndale's Bible is not merely a literal translation, as if it were but a pre-cursor of Robert Young's literal translation of 1898. I suppose even "Google Translate" can come up with a decent literal translation from time to time, but what we have in Tyndale is, of course, far more. The words he chooses, while being faithful to the original, also happen to have great rhetorical effect and stylistic beauty. According to C. S. Lewis, Tyndale was "the best prose writer of his age,"³¹ and David Daniell argues that "without Tyndale, no Shakespeare."³²

Scholars differ over the extent to which they believe Tyndale consciously strove to create beautiful literature. Professor David Daniell has masterfully demonstrated the beauty of Tyndale as literature, but Professor David Norton argues that it was not Tyndale's conscious goal: Tyndale never approached the Word of God as a piece of literature, so any literary merit in Tyndale's translation was merely instinctive.³³ Norton acknowledges that this view could be challenged on the grounds that Tyndale indicates that he aspired to recreate in English not only the "sense and pure understanding" of the original biblical language, but also its "grace and sweetness."³⁴ But even if Norton is still right, Tyndale's genius for writing beautiful prose is only further emphasized: to excel without even trying is talent indeed. And there can be no doubt that part of Tyndale's motivation, conscious or otherwise, is his evident strong conviction that, as the Word of God, Scripture should be read with deep and appropriate feeling.³⁵ This is evident in the beauty of Tyndale's translations – the alliteration, consonance, assonance, cadences and so on. These are "better felt than telt", at least for this present lecturer, so one example is in order.

Personally, for most of my life I have found one of the most moving verses in the whole Bible to be that of 2 Samuel 18:33 which Tyndale translates as follows:

*"And the kynge was moved and went up to a chambre over the gate, and wept. And as he went, thus he sayde: my sonne Absalom, my sonne, my sonne, my sonne Absalom, woulde to God I had dyed for th[ee] Absalom, my sonne, my sonne!"*³⁶

The AV here takes up Tyndale almost verbatim, but, in my opinion, improves upon his cadences by adding some 'O's and emphasising "moved" with an alliteration:

"And the king was much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate, and wept: and as he went, thus he said, O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!"

Now apart from Absalom's name and "chamber" – everything here is monosyllabic, plain, Saxon English. It's hard to imagine what could possibly be a stumbling block to the modern reader, even if a child. And yet many modern English Bible translators seem unable to keep their fingers off! Consider what just three attempts have done to expunge the beauty, gravity and pathos of this passage for the alleged benefit of the modern reader:

The New Century Version reads, "Then the king was very upset, and he went to the room over the city gate and cried. As he went, he cried out, "My son Absalom, my son Absalom! I wish I had died and not you. Absalom, my son, my son!"³⁷ The Message styles itself as a "fresh" idiomatic translation, and so we might be forgiven for expecting a powerfully moving rendering at this point, but instead we find David engaging in a rather protracted and emotionally detached musing: "O my son Absalom, my dear, dear son Absalom! Why not me rather than you, my death and not yours, O Absalom, my dear, dear son!"³⁸ Finally, not to be outdone in this ever variegated pursuit of "relevance", the New Living Translation manages to portray David as a spoilt toddler: "The King was overcome with emotion. He went up to his room over the gateway and burst into tears"³⁹

Examples of this general pattern in modern English translations could be repeated over and over again. As Gerald Hammond puts it, "increase of scholarship often goes in tandem with a diminution in poetic perception" – "the search for the exact word to fit the shade of meaning the scholar has perceived" results in losing "sight of the general effect."⁴⁰ As Hammond puts it, "Tyndale moves continually towards the liveliness of narrative where modern translations retreat into the lifelessness of a scholarly document."⁴¹ Tyndale did not allow his scholarly insights to make him forget the big picture – nor to forget the literary impact his renderings would have on the ploughboy. In the last analysis, then, Tyndale's English was far from being "common English."⁴² Something of the amazing achievement of Tyndale is that while endeavouring

to translate for the ploughboy he also managed to produce translations that subsequent generations of ordinary Christians and scholars alike have recognised as uncommonly accurate, clear and beautiful.

So what can we say about the influence of Tyndale on our Authorised Version? A recent computerised study has revealed that about eighty-four per cent of the AV New Testament and about seventy-six per cent of the Old Testament is *verbatim* Tyndale.⁴³ In other words, if you understand and appreciate the approach and principles of Tyndale as a Bible translator, you understand the fundamental features of the approach and principles that underlie the AV. As Professor David Norton puts it, “*Tyndale’s English became the model for biblical English and he is indeed the father of English biblical translation.*”⁴⁴

So how did this come about? Between Tyndale’s Bible and that of 1611 there appeared five major Protestant English Bible versions, each building on the foundation laid by those preceding. Coverdale’s Bible of 1535 (which fully incorporated Tyndale’s work and translated the poetical and prophetic books he had not completed before his untimely death); Matthew’s Bible of 1537; the Great Bible of 1539; the Geneva Bible of 1560; and the Bishops’ Bible of 1568. These were the six Bibles that the AV translators were officially supposed to use in their revision work.⁴⁵ Priority was supposed to be given to the more politically correct Bishops’ Bible,⁴⁶ but in practice this clearly did not happen;⁴⁷ and the influence of Tyndale, both directly and as mediated through these other translations, especially the Geneva Bible, is everywhere apparent.⁴⁸

So what of the 16 to 24% of the AV that differs from Tyndale? How does the AV compare with Tyndale? In terms of accuracy the AV is marginally more accurate, most of the time. This is partly because by the early seventeenth century great advances had been made in both the quality and number of Hebrew and Greek scholars available to the Christian church. The AV translators had knowledge of the original tongues superior to Tyndale’s and were therefore often able to make his translation even more accurate, taking advantage of recent advances in philology.⁴⁹

Another reason for the increased formal accuracy of the AV is the slightly more rigid approach of the translators. Stylistically, the AV is even more literal than Tyndale and “*tidies up*” Tyndale in places.⁵⁰ Tyndale was often more open to translating the same Greek or Hebrew word with an alternative English one for stylistic variation. The AV translators were more likely to recreate the repetitiveness of the original Hebrew.⁵¹ There is also sometimes a

certain idiosyncrasy in the Tyndale Bible that we might expect from a one-man translation, especially given the conditions under which Tyndale laboured. Such idiosyncrasies, if they had so far survived into the Geneva Bible, the extended committees and formal revision process of the AV translators made a point of smoothing out.

Yet it would be wrong to imply that this whole revision process was a step forward every single time. Life is never so simple, and over the vast expanse of the near three quarters of a million words in the English Bible, there are inevitably going to be significant exceptions to every generalization in this area. Sometimes alien pressures from the wider polemical context proved decisive. On one occasion at least the AV capitulates on a rendering of Tyndale’s over which he had endured much bitter opposition from the authorities. In the AV Tyndale’s (and Geneva’s) “*love*” (for agape) is sometimes replaced by the term for which Thomas More had argued: “*charity*” – a word capable of being reduced to almsgiving. But the AV translators did not have an option in their rejection of Tyndale’s use of “*congregation*” in favour of the politically safer option of “*church*”, because this was explicitly enjoined upon them in their written instructions.⁵² Yet in chapters such as Ephesians 5 this is arguably still an improvement, as Tyndale had rather awkwardly spoken there about the marriage between “*Christ and the congregation.*”⁵³

So the fact that very generally speaking the AV is slightly more accurate than Tyndale should not be overstated, as very occasionally Tyndale still to this day shines more brightly as an outstandingly accurate and theologically insightful translator, not only well ahead of his time, but even ahead of much modern research. One notable example is Tyndale’s seeing a direct reference to the mercy seat in Romans 3:25 instead of just the AV’s abstract noun “*propitiation*” when Christ is said to be “*set forth to be a propitiation (hilasterion).*”⁵⁴ All subsequent major English Bible versions traditionally steered away from linking Paul’s thought with the mercy seat on the ark of the covenant, and opted for an abstract noun or some other phrase that makes hilasterion denote a sacrificial victim, be it the Geneva Bible’s “*pacification*”, the AV’s and ESV’s “*propitiation*”, or the NIV’s “*sacrifice of atonement*”. The problem is, as Daniel Bailey’s doctoral research at none other than Tyndale House in Cambridge has shown, secular Greek usage of hilasterion never carries that meaning – not even once – and in the Septuagint Pentateuch hilasterion refers every single time to the mercy seat. In fact, hilasterion is always a concrete object and never a sacrificial victim or an action. Furthermore, when we consider the function of the mercy seat in the

Pentateuch we see not only that it is a place of propitiatory sacrifice – as in Leviticus 16:14: “*he shall take of the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it ... upon the mercy seat*” – but also we see that it is a place of revelation and proclamation, as in Numbers 7:89, where Moses “*heard the voice of one speaking unto him from off the mercy seat.*”⁵⁵ Dr. Bailey has demonstrated by means of lexical semantics and syntactical and exegetical studies that Paul at this point is making a profound theological statement about the work of Christ. By identifying Jesus in 3:25 with the hilasterion, what Paul is saying is that Christ is the new mercy seat to replace the one that had gone missing at the time of the Babylonian captivity. Thus propitiation and proclamation are powerfully combined in Christ as the new mercy seat for the newly established New Covenant people of God, and this serves to “*declare [God’s] righteousness.*” So Tyndale’s simple Anglo-Saxon rendering of “*seate of mercy*” proves to be bang up to date over against the traditional Latinate rendering of “*propitiation*”.⁵⁶ So while extolling the virtues of the AV we should never forget that not only does Tyndale stand so largely behind them, but in some places we might wish that Tyndale’s influence had been even greater. We must at all times render honour to whom honour is due.

So much for Tyndale and the accuracy of the AV. In terms of clarity the AV translators were no more concerned to ensure the English Bible was in “*street language*” than Tyndale was. The AV was intentionally “*archaic*” from the year it was first published. There never was a time when the AV did not sound “*dated*” and from another world. But this was primarily because it was following the lead that Tyndale had set as the Father of Biblical English. As we have seen, in Tyndale and the AV the source language is allowed to dominate the receptor language. That is to say the Hebrew and Greek are allowed to shape and mould and even invigorate the final English form. In doing this they were being consistent with the nature of the sacred texts themselves. After all, Biblical Hebrew was never colloquial even when first written, but already included archaic idioms, obscure allusions and poetic diction designed to provoke prolonged meditation rather than instant comprehension. Similarly, the New Testament was not written in street language and differs significantly from “*secular*” Greek, with its Hebraic forms and structures deriving from its relationship to the Septuagint, the centuries-old Greek translation of the Old Testament from which the Apostles preached.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding Tyndale’s ambitions for the ploughboy, some of his language could never have made it into the AV. Late Middle-English words found in Tyndale, such as “*advoutry*” and “*grece*” become

respectively “*adultery*” and “*stairs*” in the AV. Numerous other instances of dialect and obsolete terms similarly fall away, not having anything to do with faithfulness to the Hebrew or Greek.⁵⁷ But it should be acknowledged that the AV is still often more Latinate than Tyndale and flees from colloquialisms more than Tyndale. This is often, however, only because the AV translators fundamentally agreed with Tyndale’s conviction that accuracy should be subordinated to clarity on those occasions when a choice has to be made, and because eventually even colloquialisms themselves can become unclear.

In terms of beauty, the AV translators not only approved most of Tyndale’s words, but they also followed his rhythmic, literary style. As a result, so many phrases from the AV have taken up a place in wider English literature and modern parlance. Some of the most well-known phrases which reappear in English literature, and which have even attained proverbial status in modern English due to the AV’s influence, go back originally to Tyndale. Examples include: “*be of good cheer*”, “*the last shall be first*”, “*eat, drink and be merry*”, “*fatted calf*”, “*let there be light*”, “*harden his heart*”, “*still as stone*”, “*fell flat on his face*”, “*dreamer of dreams*”, “*sheep’s clothing*”, “*go through the eye of a needle*”, “*the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak*”, “*go, and do thou likewise*”, “*riotous living*”, “*a shining light*”, “*the times or the seasons*”, “*a law unto themselves*”, “*the powers that be*”, “*let not the sun go down upon/on your wrath*”, “*suffer fools gladly*”, “*my brother’s keeper*”, “*let my people go*”, “*house of bondage*”, “*take the name of the Lord thy God in vain*”, “*a stumbling block*”, “*light a candle and put it under a bushel*”, “*eye for an eye*”, “*the blind lead the blind*”, “*the signs of the times*”, “*coals of fire on his head*”, “*eye hath not seen*”, “*fallen from grace*”, “*fight the good fight*”, “*wandering stars*”, “*no man can serve two masters*”, “*pearls before swine*”, “*seek and ye shall find*”, “*by their fruits ye shall know them*”, “*a prophet is not without honour, save in his own country*”, “*crumbs which fall from [the] table*”, “*where two or three are gathered together*”, “*all these things must come to pass*”, “*thirty pieces of silver*”, “*what shall it profit a man*”, “*physician, heal thyself*”, “*the harvest ... is great, but the labourers are few*”, “*signs and wonders*”, “*judge not*”, “*behold the man*”, “*death, where is thy sting*”, “*bear his own burden*”, “*filthy lucre*”, “*bottomless pit*”, “*that old serpent*”, and “*great whore*” – and that is but a selection!⁵⁸

But we should not assume that just because the AV rejected Tyndale’s translation of a certain phrase that it was therefore to be denied proverbial status. Due to the influence of the Geneva Bible we still use Tyndale’s phrase today, “*cast the first stone*” (where the AV has “*first cast a stone*”).⁵⁹

Nor is this to say that the powerful influence upon modern English that

the Authorised Version has had is all down to Tyndale. Here are some examples of literary or proverbial phrases that people still use today that are not in Tyndale's translations nor any English Bible prior to 1611 but do come directly from the AV: "*lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven*" (instead of Tyndale's "*gather ye treasure together in heaven*"), "*get thee behind me*" (instead of Tyndale's "*get thee hence from me*"), "*suffer little children*" (instead of Tyndale's "*suffer children*"), "*pearl of great price*" (instead of Tyndale's "*precious pearl*"), "*no small stir*" (instead of Tyndale's "*no little ado*"), "*turned the world upside down*" (instead of Tyndale's "*trouble the world*"), "*a thorn in the flesh*" (instead of Tyndale's "*unquietness of the flesh*"), and, "*unto the pure all things are pure.*"⁶⁰

Sometimes the AV translators followed the Geneva Bible over against Tyndale and still produced for us well-known phrases such as these: "*there were giants in the earth in those days*" (instead of Tyndale's "*there were tyrants in the world in those days*"), "*love thy neighbour as thyself*", "*grave, where is thy victory*" (instead of Tyndale's "*hell, where is thy victory*"), "*they know not what they do*", the beautiful, rhythmic phrase "*live, and move, and have our being*" (where Tyndale just gives "*live move and have our being*"), "*led as a sheep to the slaughter*" (where Tyndale has "*led as a sheep to be slain*"), and, "*all things to all men*" (where Tyndale has "*I fashioned my self to all men*").⁶¹

All these phrases, however, are but some of the highlights of Tyndalian, AV English. In reality, Tyndale's Biblical English, via the AV, has far more imperceptibly become warp and woof of modern English. Through Tyndale's immense influence on the AV translators, and, in turn, the immeasurable impact of the AV upon Christian civilisation in the English speaking world, David Norton is able to say that "*more of our English is ultimately learnt from Tyndale than from any other writer of English prose.*"⁶² We should be most thankful to God that this vernacular translation which is so readily available to us to this day is accurate, clear, beautiful, and that of the English language at its zenith.⁶³

By way of conclusion I would like to offer some lines of thought upon our own approach to Scripture in the light of what the marketing departments of many Bible publishing houses would have us believe today. We have seen repeatedly that in Tyndale and in the AV the original language of Holy Scripture is authoritative over against the receptor language – English – and must be allowed to determine the final English form. The English language and English culture were expected to make room for the source language, to have the courtesy to allow the visitor in the room to enrich the encounter by

bringing with him some treasures and insights from distant times and lands, not forcing him to leave anything distinctive in the locker in the corridor. Yet in so many modern English translations this relationship has been reversed, and it is contemporary English that dictates what the Bible now may or may not say to us. So whereas Tyndale coined a new word, enriched the English language and demanded of his readers to make the mental effort required to enter into the layers of meaning in the inspired Scriptures, the modern translations tend to eradicate nuances in favour of instant ease of comprehension. It should not be too hard to see how this can go hand-in-hand with an insufficient reverence for Scripture as the very words of God.

But secondly, let us be equally clear that just reading the translation of Tyndale or the King James men does not automatically solve the problem either. It is still possible to read the AV as if it simply contains the substance of a message, and to believe that once we have understood the message then the exact words God used to convey it are unimportant. This is to treat the text of Scripture like a dispensable husk that can be tossed aside once the kernel of meaning is grasped.⁶⁴ This attitude is often to be found in those Christians who dwell on systematic theology but who actually don't really know the text of their Bibles very well at all. They can logically defend their doctrinal corner, but rarely on the basis of specific passages of Scripture. Having attained to the kernel of orthodoxy, the husks of God's texts are simply thrown to the wind. But the approach of Tyndale and the AV translators teaches us otherwise. Their devotion to the shape and contours of the text as well as to its content are a reminder to us to meditate much upon the sacred text and to let the word of Christ dwell in us richly in all wisdom (Col. 3:16). So let us learn to say with David – and no doubt with Tyndale – "*How sweet are thy words unto my taste! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth!*" (Ps. 119:103).

Notes and References

¹ Quoted in ODNB.

² The long-held assumption that Tyndale learned his Hebrew on the Continent has recently been challenged by Jonathan Yates. Although Hebrew was largely unknown in early sixteenth-century England, there were in fact a few people learning Hebrew at that time and who had links with Oxford and Cambridge Universities (Jonathan P. Yates, “The Time and Place of Tyndale’s Hebrew Learning: A Reconsideration” *Reformation* 7 (2002): 23-47).

³ John Lambert, *A Treatyse made by Johan Lambert unto Kynge Henry the viij. concerynge hys Opynyon in the Sacrame[n]t of the Aultre as they call it, or Supper of the Lorde as the Scripture nameth it* Ed. John Bale (Wesel, Germany: n.p., 1st ed., 1548?), p. 3v; cited in David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1st ed., 2003), p. 136.

⁴ This was a painter named Edward Freese. His heavily pregnant wife coming to visit him in the prison of the bishop’s house was brutally kicked in the belly by the bishop’s porter, killing the infant immediately and, eventually, the poor mother. Edward Freese was only released after further torture had made him lose his mind (John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous Dayes, touching Matters of the Church, wherein ar comprehended and described the great Persecutions & horrible Troubles, that have bene wrought and practised by the Romishe Prelates, specialye in this Realme of England and Scotlande from the Yeare of our Lorde a Thousande, unto the Tyme nowe present. Gathered and collected according to the true Copies & Wrytinges certificatorie, as wel of the Parties them selves that suffered, as also out of the Bishops Registers, which wer the doers therof* (London: John Day, 1st ed., 1563), pp. 546-47). The four sixteenth-century editions of Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* are available online at www.johnfoxe.org.

⁵ The exact wording is as follows: “The Holy Scripture is not to be translated into the vulgar tongue, nor a translation to be expounded, until it shall have been duly examined, under pain of excommunication and the stigma of heresy. Moreover it is a perilous thing, as the Blessed Jerome testifies, to translate the text of Holy Scripture from one idiom into another, inasmuch as in the translations themselves it is no easy matter to keep the same meaning in all cases, like as the Blessed Jerome, albeit inspired, confesses that he often went astray in this respect. We therefore enact and ordain that no one henceforth on his own authority translate any text of Holy Scripture into the English or other language, by way of a book, pamphlet, or tract, and that no book, pamphlet, or tract of this kind be read, either already recently composed in the time of the said John Wyclif, or since then, or that may in future be composed, in part or in whole, publicly or privily, under pain of the greater excommunication, until the translation itself shall have been approved by the diocesan of the place or if need be by a provincial council. Whoever shall do the contrary [is] to be punished in like manner as a supporter of heresy and error” (Alfred W. Pollard (ed.), *Records of the English Bible: The Documents relating to the Translation and Publication of the Bible in English, 1525-1611* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1st ed., 1911], pp. 80-81).

⁶ Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, p. 570. Later editions of Foxe render this passage as reported speech. It is quite likely that Tyndale was consciously or subconsciously following Erasmus in this outburst, as Erasmus – one of Tyndale’s favourite authors – had already stated concerning the Scriptures that he “would that . . . the farmer sing some portion of them at the plough, the weaver hum some parts of them to the movement of his shuttle, the traveller lighten the weariness of the journey with stories of this kind” (quoted in David Norton, *A History of the English Bible as Literature* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1st ed., 2000], p. 19).

⁷ This is primarily evident from the quality of the translations themselves, but Tyndale himself says he strenuously sought to use “proper englysshe” (Preface to Tyndale’s 1526 New Testament), and the context in which Tyndale uses this phrase indicates that by it he meant the word that best conveys the original sense and meaning of the Hebrew or Greek (Cf. Norton, *History of the English Bible*, p. 20).

⁸ Cf. Theodore P. Letis, “From Sacred Text to Religious Text: An intellectual History of the Impact of Erasmian lower Criticism on Dogma as a Contribution to the English Enlightenment and the Victorian Crisis of Faith” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1995).

⁹ David Daniell, “William Tyndale, the English Bible, and the English Language” in *The Bible as Book: The Reformation* Eds. Orlaith O’Sullivan & Ellen N. Herron (London: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 1st ed., 2000) 39-50, p. 41.

¹⁰ As he grew in a knowledge of Hebrew he also became sensitive to the distinctively ‘Hebraic’ nature of New Testament Greek and this new appreciation is what Tyndale himself says was behind many of the changes he made in this 1534 revised New Testament (Preface to Tyndale’s 1534 New Testament).

¹¹ Daniell, “William Tyndale, the English Bible, and the English Language”, p. 41.

¹² Daniell, *The Bible in English*, pp. 136-37.

¹³ Gerald C. Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible* (Manchester, UK: Carcanet Press, 1st ed., 1982), p. 20.

¹⁴ Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, p. 20.

¹⁵ Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, pp. 49-52.

¹⁶ Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, pp. 23-26, 210. A not insignificant difference between the AV and the New King James Version is the abandonment of the AV’s Tyndalian conservatism in this area.

¹⁷ Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, p. 21.

¹⁸ Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, p. 30. Hammond provides examples of this.

¹⁹ Preface to Tyndale’s 1534 New Testament, quoted in Norton, *History of the English Bible*, p. 16.

²⁰Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 158.

²¹ David Norton, *The King James Bible: A short History from Tyndale to Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1st ed., 2011), p. 13.

²² Cf. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 12-18.

²³ Cf. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 16. Inevitably, half a millennium on, some words in Tyndale are now generally unknown. One random example would be “chevisance” in Deuteronomy 21:14, but for many others see the following detailed study of dialect and obsolete words in Tyndale: David Norton, “Buttons and Ribbons, Hartgoats and Hedgehogs, Soleams and Stellios: A wayward Courtesy Lecture for laborious fainty snoutnosed Runagates on some Words in Tyndale’s Old Testament but missing from the Authorized Version” *Reformation* 1 (1996): 129-37, 289-344.

²⁴ Norton, *King James Bible*, pp. 11-12.

²⁵ There are notable exceptions, however, such as in Romans 7:8 where Tyndale uses the Latinate term “concupiscence” even though he had just translated the same Greek word, epithumia, as “lust” in Romans 7:7. These renderings survive into the AV in this place and illustrate how, when comparing translations, we can only generalise.

²⁶ Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, p. 7. See also Gerald C. Hammond, “The Influence of Hebrew upon the Style of Tudor and Jacobean English Bible Translations” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University College London [University of London], 1973).

²⁷ Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, p. 8.

²⁸ This was quite in keeping with Erasmus’ earlier vision of a ploughboy enjoying Scripture (see above), for Erasmus himself believed that “things should not be written in such a way that everyone understands everything, but so that they are forced to investigate certain things, and learn” (quoted in Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 44). And Tyndale believed this not just concerning the ploughboy, but equally of the ignorant clergy of his day (cf. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 78-79, 83).

²⁹ Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, p. 115.

³⁰ Marginal notes were a device that in many later English translations, and especially the Geneva Bible, were to become a convenient safety valve for the tension created by obscure places, and became an accepted means of offering the reader some unofficial compensation for a refusal to close down interpretative options in the main text.

³¹ C. S. Lewis, *The Literary Impact of the Authorized Version* (London: The Athlone Press, 1st ed., 1950), p. 10.

³² ODNB.

³³ “He is indeed a lover of the Bible, but not of the Bible as literature, and he is ultimately a scholar” (Norton, *History of the English Bible*, p. 16). And, we might add, a theologian. Norton is arguing that Tyndale is not treating the Bible as a piece of literature or consciously trying to create great literature in English but just producing it instinctively. This is shown by the fact that all his other publications are theological, and the fact that he seldom makes any “[d]irect statements of literary awareness” while “literary questions hardly mattered to him” (Norton, *History of the English Bible*, p. 17; cf. pp. 19-26). Gavin Bone argued much earlier that Tyndale’s literary merit was “all unconscious” (Gavin D. Bone, “Tindale and the English Language” in *The Work of William Tindale*, Ed. Stanley L. Greenslade [London: Blackie & Son, 1st ed., 1938] 50-68, pp. 67-68).

³⁴ These words are found in Tyndale’s most important doctrinal treatise, *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (William Tyndale, *The Works of William Tyndale* Ed. Henry Walter [Cambridge: The Parker Society, New ed., 1848-50] 3 vols, I: 149).

³⁵ Norton, *History of the English Bible*, pp. 14-15.

³⁶ John Rogers, *William Tyndale & Miles Coverdale, The Byble, that is to say all the Holy Scripture: In whych are contayned the Olde and New Testamente, truly & purely translated into English, & nowe lately with greate Industry & Diligence recognised* Ed. Edmund Becke (London: For John Day, [1537] Revised ed., 1549).

³⁷ *The New Century Version*. Copyright © 2005 by Thomas Nelson, Inc. Used by permission. All rights reserved.

³⁸ *The Message*. Copyright © 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2000, 2001, 2002. Used by permission of NavPress Publishing Group.

³⁹ *The Holy Bible, New Living Translation*, copyright © 1996, 2004, 2007 by Tyndale House Foundation. Used by permission of Tyndale House Publishers, Inc., Carol Stream, Illinois 60188. All rights reserved.

⁴⁰ Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, p. 123.

⁴¹ Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, p. 55; cf. p. 56.

⁴² Norton, *History of the English Bible*, p. 26.

⁴³ Jon Nielson & Royal Skousen, “How much of the King James Bible is William Tyndale’s? An Estimation based on Sampling” *Reformation* 3 (1998): 49-74. Butterworth’s calculations that gave him a figure of only 18 per cent were deeply flawed methodologically, as Nielson and Skousen have shown (Charles C. Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 1st ed., 1941), p. 231). For an example of passages from Isaiah with the words retained by the AV italicised see David Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible: An Account of the Development and Sources of the English Bible of 1611 with special Reference to the Hebrew Tradition* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, [University of Chicago Press, 1941] Facsimile reprint ed., 1968), pp. 213-14.

⁴⁴ Norton, *History of the English Bible*, p. 10.

⁴⁵ This revision work was carried out very conservatively. As Samuel Ward, one of the AV translators, reported later to the Synod of Dort: "... caution was given that an entirely new version was not to be furnished, but an old version, long received by the Church, to be purged from all blemishes and faults; to this end there was to be no departure from the ancient translation, unless the truth of the original text or emphasis demanded" (Pollard, *Records*, p. 339).

⁴⁶ Pollard, *Records*, p. 54. They were to ensure that the Bishops' Bible was "as little altered as the Truth of the original will permit" (Pollard, *Records*, p. 53). Officially, the Translators' reference to making "a good one better" is to the Bishops' Bible, but in reality it refers to the Geneva Bible (David Daniell in William Tyndale, *Tyndale's New Testament: Translated from the Greek by William Tyndale in 1534 Ed. David Daniell [New Haven: Yale University Press, (1534) Modern-spelling ed., 1989]*, p. xiii). The Roman Catholic Douay-Rheims version of 1582–1610 was undoubtedly also used by the AV translators but not officially consulted (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 440).

⁴⁷ A superficial reading of the AV preface to King James outside of its historical context might appear to contradict this, but it must be remembered that the translators were hardly likely to imply in a deferential preface to the King that his wishes concerning the Bishops' Bible were unhelpful – though they most certainly were.

⁴⁸ David Daniell in Tyndale's *New Testament*, 1989, p. xiii.

⁴⁹ This does not mean that occasionally Tyndale is not more accurate than the AV in terms of, say, Hebrew usage (Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, pp. 38, 40).

⁵⁰ Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, p. 31.

⁵¹ Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, pp. 36, 174-233. This is despite their dismissal of such scruples in their preface (*Translators to the Reader*).

⁵² Cambridge University Library, MS. Gg.1.29, ff. 113v-114r. These fifteen "Rules" are reproduced in Pollard, *Records*, pp. 53-55, following an eighteenth-century printing. This instruction was despite Erasmus having got away with using the word *congregatio* in his own revision of the Vulgate.

⁵³ The Geneva Bible had already made a break with Tyndale at this point.

⁵⁴ Cf. "a seate of mercy" (Tyndale's 1526 *New Testament*) and "mercy-stool" (Tyndale, *Works*, I:11). Tyndale was most probably following Luther's "Gnadenstuhl" (1522) at this point, but he was never a slave to Luther and only followed him when he independently believed he was right.

⁵⁵ Cf. Ex. 25:22; Lev. 16:2.

⁵⁶ Daniel P. Bailey, "Jesus as the Mercy Seat: The Semantics and Theology of Paul's Use of Hilasterion in Romans 3:25" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1999), *passim*, but especially pp. 1-2, 8-9, 10, 174, 176, 221, 222.

⁵⁷ Cf. Norton, "Buttons and Ribbons".

⁵⁸ David Crystal, *Begat: The King James Bible and the English Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1st ed., 2010), pp. 271-89.

⁵⁹ Crystal, *Begat*, p. 299.

⁶⁰ Crystal, *Begat*, pp. 265-66.

⁶¹ Crystal, *Begat*, pp. 263-82.

⁶² Norton, *History of the English Bible*, p. 10.

⁶³ "In 1611, one of the last years of Shakespeare's writing life, the English language was at a peak" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 136).

⁶⁴ I owe this point and metaphor to Peter J. Leithart, *Deep Exegesis: The Mystery of Reading Scripture* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 1st ed., 2009), pp. 6-7.

Where did Tyndale Get His Theology? Remembering Don Smeeton in his own words

Don Smeeton

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(See Obituary p.82)

Considering how much at variance he was with the predominant theology of his day, it's fairly amazing that so many people today would consider Tyndale's theology so excellent on so many points: on justification and sanctification; on which books are canonical; on the Lord's Supper; on vernacular Scripture; on theology's need to be practical and down-to-earth; on his concern for the poor and his conviction that the corruption of riches had sidetracked the church from its true spiritual role; and on several others.

Even though during his own day the religious establishment branded him a heretic of the vilest sort and his views those of Antichrist, his views have now been adopted by a large cross-section of the church.

But whose views was he touting? Acknowledging that all theologians' views are shaped by their own life experiences and acquaintances, who or what shaped Tyndale's theology, against the grain of the religious establishment, into one we would likely applaud today?

Because, unlike with Martin Luther, we know little or nothing about Tyndale's family, childhood, readings habits or teachers, it is difficult to say for sure. By concealing so much of his life from the authorities of his day, he left very few traces for historians. Thus it is not easy to know what shaped his thinking. But there are several very likely influences that history tells us about.

The Renaissance Thinkers

A major force in the late 15th and early 16th centuries was the Renaissance; by the time Tyndale translated the New Testament into English, this wave of change was crashing across the entire European continent. It brought changes in art, in government, in economics, in literature, in learning—it even changed the way men thought about themselves: it stressed man's ability to think clearly and behave morally, and said that man could and should press to achieve new heights in every field of endeavor.

Called "*humanists*" because of their emphasis on humanity's potential, these people were tired of the hyper-spiritualized logic and fatalism that had previously dominated theology. Additionally, they opposed the reigning

scholasticism, which assumed that everything needed to be divided and subdivided to be understood.

These rising Renaissance scholars had become exasperated by teachers and leaders seemingly content to do nothing but create new terms and have semantical arguments about them. They longed for a new world order based on the achievements of the Greek and Roman civilizations; hence they valued the original sources of Greek and Latin literature.

They longed for the day when educated men could pursue truth in peace, without arousing religious or nationalistic reactionism. Naturally, they were also critical of many of the abuses of traditional piety. Renaissance literature contains many satires about the failings of the church and the immorality of the clergy.

Although when Tyndale attended them the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were just beginning to be affected by elements of "*the new learning*," he is almost certain to have been one of the students most attracted to their nascent forms. The groundwork was well-laid. Not too long before Tyndale came to Oxford, the scholar John Colet had sought to avoid the nit-picking of scholasticism and had aroused quite a stir simply by lecturing on the biblical text. Unlike other lecturers, he did not cite what the authorities said about the text; he straightforwardly quoted what the Bible itself said.

Only a little later at Cambridge, Desiderius Erasmus was establishing his reputation for Greek scholarship and study of the Bible in its original languages. Such men were still a minority at that time—as evidenced by the hostility they received from their conservative fellows—but a change was in the wind.

Exactly how much Tyndale was affected by such emphases is difficult to say, but somewhere he acquired a masterful knowledge of the biblical languages, as well as a disdain for obscurantism. He expressed his disgust with the Oxford doctors who argued passionately about the comparative moral benefits of virginity and widowhood, and, during his stay at Little Sodbury Manor, translated Erasmus's *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* into English. Later he used the Dutchman's Greek New Testament to prepare his own English translation. Undoubtedly he benefited from, and was apparently eager to use, the dictionaries, grammars and other linguistic tools that Renaissance learning was inspiring for the translation of Greek and Hebrew classics.

However, Tyndale was not so influenced by Renaissance thinking that he moved to the anti-supernatural, human-idolatry extremes of some Renaissance men. He denied that the Bible's writers were merely duplicating ideological systems already established by pagan thinkers, or that pagan philosophers' ideas had somehow crept into the Bible and irremediably distorted whatever truth it

contained. He stressed the fundamental authority of Scripture.

Also, he was critical of Erasmus and others who advocated reforms but continued to identify themselves with an apostate church. He was greatly disturbed with Erasmus's duplicity, for example, in the all-important matter of Bible translation; how could Erasmus keep advocating vernacular translations while still supporting those Roman Church authorities who were burning Tyndale's English New Testaments? When Sir Thomas More accused Tyndale of mistranslating the text, Tyndale defended his work by telling More that he had only done in English what More's "darling Erasmus" had done in Latin!

So Renaissance thinking was a significant, but not the entire, influence on Tyndale's theology.

Luther and Other Reformers

A second major influence on Tyndale, a major influence of the whole era, was of course that of Martin Luther and the other reformers. And certainly these other reformers, including Zwingli in Zurich, Lefevre in Paris and Farel in Geneva, each made significant contributions to the movement of Reformed theology and practice that were transforming the face of religion in Europe. But Luther's was probably the most widely-felt influence, and the one with which Tyndale had his closest encounters—though his actually ever meeting Luther cannot be clearly established.

For Tyndale not to have been influenced by the Reformation would have been almost impossible. The whole of the European continent was in turmoil over it, especially the area today called Germany. Manifestations of the reforming spirit were everywhere, ranging from the irenic to the revolutionary. Most everyone talked about changing the church; some extremists, in the name of such reformation, turned to violence.

In several parts of Germany, the peasants rose up against the rulers and were only put down by terrible bloodshed. And though Luther tried repeatedly to dissociate his cause from these events, words like Lutheran and Reformation had already been tainted.

By the time Tyndale started writing his theological works, Luther had been leading the church-reform movement for about a decade. Certainly Tyndale must have heard about these events, and almost certainly he had opportunity to observe some of the results of Luther's work during his visit to Wittenburg. From his translations and tracts, it's obvious he had read some of Luther's works and largely concurred with the contents of them.

Some scholars have therefore concluded that Tyndale was little more than an English mouthpiece for Luther, a star-struck young radical who merely parroted



Luther goes viral - as 800 brightly coloured plastic effigies of the Protestant reformer appear in the town square at Wittenburg, courtesy of contemporary German artist Ottmar Hörl, whilst the town's celebrated original is renovated

his German idol's ideas. This notion has a long history; in fact, it dates from the Reformation itself. Thomas More, for example, in his writings against Tyndale, frequently claimed that Luther was Tyndale's "master." And in many quarters of Europe in that day, this designation was anathema—but in few places more than in Henry VIII's and Cardinal Wolsey's England.

The last thing Henry wanted was for his kingdom to be ravaged by "the German plague," and he wasn't alone; the English bishops were among the most conservative and anti-reform in all of Europe. Evidence of this is clear: whereas many European nations had vernacular Bibles well before the Reformation, England did not. England still maintained a law made some 100 years earlier that said translation of the Bible into English was forbidden on penalty of death. English churchmen of the period pushed for this law in an effort to thwart the Lollards, followers of John Wycliffe who had encouraged translating the Bible into the common people's language.

But any hopes of keeping the English isle isolated from the "heresy" were dashed with the clandestine arrival of Tyndale's English New Testaments. Of course they came from Germany, where the "Lutheran devils" were prevalent and chaos was reputedly pandemic. Obviously, it was easy for English heresy-hunters to see Luther's shadow looming just behind Tyndale's.

And there were many links between the two men. As Luther first translated the New Testament into German, then the Old, so did Tyndale with the English.

In his biblical translations, Tyndale straight-out used some of Luther's introductions and marginal notes. Tyndale defended Luther against the accusations of Sir Thomas More. Furthermore, the Englishman emphasized many terms that Luther had stressed, such as law, gospel, grace and faith alone. The most prominent evidence of Luther's influence on Tyndale is that some of the passages in Tyndale's polemical and devotional works are fairly verbatim translations from Luther's writings. The second half of Tyndale's meditation on the Lord's Prayer (see *A Dialogue on the Lord's Prayer*) is a very close translation of one of Luther's meditations. Certain parts of Tyndale's *Introduction to the Book of Romans*, (which was published separately from the New Testament), his *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and *An Exposition of Matthew 5–7* were also translated from Luther.

However, it is easy to over-emphasize Tyndale's dependence upon Luther. One should note that none of the works above were merely direct translation. In every one of them, Tyndale expanded, adapted and modified the original. Sometimes he even completely changed the sense of the original. One must also remember that Tyndale published approximately six other works that are in no way taken from Luther's work.

Moreover, on several important points of theology, Tyndale deliberately distanced himself from Luther. For example, while Luther taught Christ's "real presence" in the wine and bread, Tyndale stressed the Lord's Supper as a commemoration of Christ's death. And while Luther expressed his doubts about the authority of the book of James, Tyndale declared that it definitely should be included in the scriptural canon.

Tyndale's theological independence from Luther can also be seen in his emphasis on the importance of good works in the life of the believer. The Englishman stressed that the Christian, prompted by the Holy Spirit and motivated by love, naturally produced good works. To illustrate this truth, he was especially fond of the biblical image of a tree producing fruit appropriate to its nature. Additionally, Tyndale wrote much more about God's covenants and Christ's promises than did Luther. And whereas Luther enjoyed music a great deal, both writing hymns and teaching Protestant congregations to sing, Tyndale was convinced that music tended to distract too much from the importance of preaching. To understand Tyndale as merely a translator of Luther is to do an injustice to the man's independent mind.

England and Wycliffe

A third formative influence on Tyndale is not frequently mentioned in studies, but consideration shows it was nonetheless significant. Unquestionably,

one of the shapers of Tyndale's theology was his own English background and context. In whatever ways Tyndale was touched by the Renaissance and the Reformation, he synthesized these contacts through his mindset as an Englishman, very possibly of common stock, who was deeply devoted to his country and people. Unlike Erasmus, Tyndale apparently did not write for the larger world of international scholarship. He played no part in the numerous trans-national conferences intended to promote unity within the emerging Protestantism. He showed no desire to be linked—economically, politically or militarily—with any great goings-on outside of Britain's isles.

Rather, he wrote in English to all Englishmen about English concerns. Though his writing is rich in Scripture citations and allusions, which obviously made him a learned man, his writing style is precise, direct and down-to-earth-accessible to the common English people. He frequently employs similes, metaphors and illustrations drawn from the commoners' everyday life. He speaks of, and to, the farmer, the weaver, the tanner, the shepherd, the housewife and the mother. He often quotes folk proverbs, revealing his confidence in the wisdom of the common man. The man or woman at the plow or loom could not have read, much less related to, the Latin literary works of Erasmus. But these people could understand and identify with every line from Tyndale.

Just the fact that Tyndale wrote about God in English was extraordinary, for most Englishmen were told, and believed, that their language was too coarse to accurately express the delicate nuances of theology. Furthermore, many English clergymen believed that some theological topics were simply not the concern of laymen—nor most parish priests. The social stigma against learning God's truths firsthand was very strong: several times in the 15th and early 16th centuries, people were accused of heresy, imprisoned and even executed merely for possessing religious books in English or discussing religious topics in English.

This official paranoia against religion in English was directly traceable back to the furor caused in the 14th century by the pre-reformer John Wycliffe, and his followers, the Lollards. These people too were very likely influences upon Tyndale.

Court records from Tyndale's era make it clear that Wycliffism had by no means died out. Lollard ideas were still around and germinating. Though Wycliffe had died nearly a century before, his ideas continued to trouble the church. And despite official hostility, Wycliffite groups continued meeting in private homes to hear the Bible read and preached. Such groups were linked by itinerant preachers. These preachers apparently used Wycliffe sermons that had been translated and simplified from the don's tortuous Latin, then copied for

distribution. Of course these secret gatherings, unauthorized preachings and contraband literature were strictly forbidden, but the people carried them on nevertheless.

Many of these Wycliffite sermons are still extant, and in both content and style, they reveal numerous similarities to Tyndale's works. Both appealed for the Bible to be released to the people in English, without any ecclesiastical glosses intended to mask the meaning of the text. Both assumed that the Bible could be understood in its literal meaning, without ecclesiastical assistance and without years of training. Both feared that the church authorities were intentionally trying to hide "God's law" while attempting to impose "man's law." Both said that morality was essential for salvation, and that to know what God required man must have easy access to His law. Both said that those obeying God's law would always be a minority, because the church was by definition the elect "small flock" among the larger mass who obeyed Antichrist. Both claimed that the church of Rome was poisoned by wealth, and both called on the king to discipline the church, thereby pushing it to fulfill its spiritual role.

William Tyndale and God

Although all the forces mentioned above certainly had some influence on Tyndale, altogether they still probably do not explain all the sources of his generally remarkable theology; the final sources we briefly suggest are Tyndale himself, and God. It appears clear that Tyndale was not a mindless slave to either Renaissance thinking, Lutheran thinking or Wycliffite thinking. In every case, he built upon what he saw as their strengths and discarded or opposed what he saw as their weaknesses. He said that by conscious choice, the greatest influence on his theology was Scripture, and thus God himself.

He is justly remembered as a translator. But he was also a theologian extraordinaire, though a commoners' theologian. Out of the milieu in which he lived, it was this man's particular gift to take these influences surrounding him and mold a cohesive theology that communicated clearly to the deepest needs of his own people.

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No Tyndale, No Tercentenary A look back in 1911 at the events of 1611

Ramona Garcia

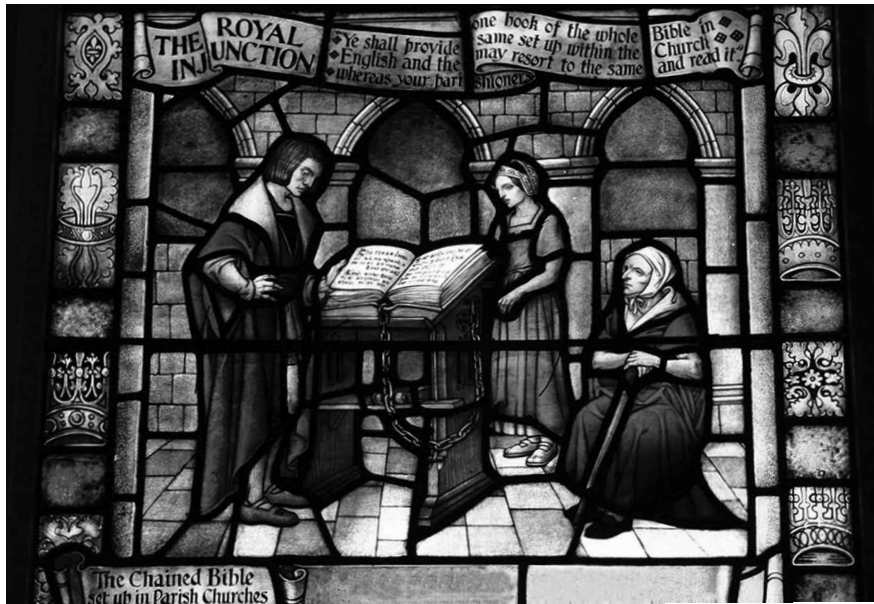
*"He [Tyndale] followed the method of work later carried on by the committee of fifty-four appointed by King James. He translated the Bible from the original tongues, but did not disdain to use other helps. He made good use of the Latin Vulgate, the German Bible of Luther, and other existing commentaries and translations"*¹

"No Tyndale, No Tercentenary: William Tyndale and the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the King James Bible" highlights the coverage that William Tyndale received in three articles about the three hundredth anniversary of the King James Bible. Opening a window onto views of William Tyndale at the beginning of the twentieth-century, *"The Tercentenary of the King James Bible"* in *The World To-Day* (January 1911); *"Three Centuries of the English Bible: Social and Literary Influence of the King James Version"* in *The American Review of Reviews* (May 1911); and *"The Inheritance of the Authorized Bible of 1611"* in *The Biblical World* (December 1911) provide their own assessments on the critical role that Tyndale played in what ultimately became the King James Version. More importantly, within the context of the tricentennial of the King James Bible, these three articles convey the distinct impression that without Tyndale there might be no tercentenary.²

Tyndale serves as the alpha and omega for J.M. Somerndike's *"The Tercentenary of the King James Bible"* in *The World To-Day* (January 1911). Perhaps the phrase *"the book and the dream"* best captures Somerndike's theme: here, the book is the Bible and the dream is to translate the Bible into the vernacular. Receiving an immense impetus from Tyndale, that dream turned into a personal nightmare that ended in his execution. Nevertheless, for Somerndike, the dream not only survived but also thrived thanks to the King James Bible for which Tyndale and his ploughboy played their vital part.³

*"The ambition of William Tyndale was at last fulfilled. He had said that if his life were spared he would make the Bible a familiar book to every plowboy in England. He did not live to do it, but his labors, fraught with such hardship and persecution, leading him to martyrdom, were as the dawn of the glorious day when the Scriptures were given free course throughout the Kingdom of England."*⁴

Motive, means, and opportunity played crucial roles in Tyndale's determination



Stained glass window at Wycliffe College, University of Toronto

to offer the Bible in the vernacular in J. Paterson Smyth's *Three Centuries of the English Bible: Social and Literary Influence of the King James Version* in *The American Review of Reviews* (May 1911). The motive came in the form of a literate audience; the means consisted of the new technology of printing; and the opportunity was provided by easier access to the New Testament in the original Greek. Tyndale was the right man at the right time for the right job. Unfortunately, for Tyndale, the English authorities did not view the situation in the same light, sending him on his travels. Although his personal story ended in tragedy, the work he had undertaken ended in triumph.⁵ As Smyth argues in *Three Centuries of the English Bible*: "Every succeeding version is little more than a revision of Tyndale's. Even the Authorized Version owes to him chiefly its wonderful ease and beauty."⁶

Estimating the impact that Wycliff, Tyndale, and Coverdale, as well as Taverner's Bible, the Geneva Bible, the Bishops' Bible and the Douai Bible had on the King James Bible, Robert Grenville Armstrong concludes that Tyndale provided a solid base for the KJB.⁷ As Armstrong declares in *The Inheritance of the Authorized Bible of 1611* in *The Biblical World* (December 1911): "the men who labored on the Bible under the command of King James were in the main revisers of the work of Tyndale who translated from the original tongues."⁸ Far from being the stone that the builders rejected, for the team bringing the King James Bible to fruition, Tyndale was not merely the cornerstone but also the stone of choice. Or maybe the correct

expression would be the quarry of choice.⁹

It has been computed that nine-tenths of Tyndale's work has been retained in I John, that five-sixths of the Epistle to the Ephesians is his also. The proportions are similar in all parts of the New Testament, and as far in the Old Testament as Tyndale had time to translate. Such an influence is indeed a tribute to the man who worked in obscurity, who sacrificed his home-land, who suffered martyrdom that "a boy that driveth the plough" might know the Scriptures.¹⁰

During the three hundredth anniversary of the King James Bible, *The World To-Day*, *The American Review of Reviews*, and *The Biblical World* not only explore the longevity and durability of the KJB but also the factors that shaped that Bible. One of those factors was William Tyndale. From his dream of translating the Scriptures into the vernacular, to his critical role as the man to carry out that task, to his translations which provided the bedrock for the King James Bible, Tyndale's contribution cannot and must not be ignored. Based on these assessments, the early twentieth-century readers of these articles might well have concluded that without Tyndale, there might have been no tercentenary.¹¹

Notes and References

* All the sources used for this article were accessed through Google Books.

¹ Robert Grenville Armstrong, "The Inheritance of the Authorized Bible of 1611," *The Biblical World*, Vol. 38 (December 1911): 405.

² J.M. Somerndike, "The Tercentenary of the King James Bible," *The World To-Day*, Vol. 20 (January 1911): 86-87; J. Paterson Smyth, "Three Centuries of the English Bible: Social and Literary Influence of the King James Version," *The American Review of Reviews*, Vol. 43 (May 1911): 571-576; Robert Grenville Armstrong, "The Inheritance of the Authorized Bible of 1611," *The Biblical World*, Vol. 38 (December 1911): 402-408.

³ "The Tercentenary of the King James Bible," *The World To-Day* (January 1911): 86-87

⁴ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁵ "Three Centuries of the English Bible," *The American Review of Reviews* (May 1911): 571-576.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 573.

⁷ "The Inheritance of the Authorized Bible of 1611," *The Biblical World* (December 1911): 402-408.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 408.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 402-408.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 406.

¹¹ "The Tercentenary of the King James Bible," *The World To-Day* (January 1911): 86-87; "Three Centuries of the English Bible," *The American Review of Reviews* (May 1911): 571-576; "The Inheritance of the Authorized Bible of 1611," *The Biblical World* (December 1911): 402-408.

Great and Manifold Blessings

Exhibition at the Cambridge University Library

January - June, 2011

Report by Brian Buxton

The opening of the Dunham Bible Museum, Texas, in 2008 (described in *The Tyndale Society Journal* No. 40 p.40ff) was the culmination of John Hellstern's lifetime enthusiasm for collecting Bibles. Visitors for years to come can see some of the rare and important items he gathered together and so be helped to understand how the Bible as they know it has evolved. Likewise many of the items displayed in the Cambridge University Library exhibition are only there because of the passion for Bibles of two nineteenth century collectors in England, Francis Fry (1803-1886) and Arthur Young (1852-1936), whilst those shown at Elton Hall, near Peterborough, are there because of another great collector, William Proby, 5th Earl of Carysfort (1836-1909).

The aim of the Cambridge exhibition was to trace the history of English Bible translation which culminated in the King James Version, and to look at its reception and use by its earliest readers. Central to the display were many of the treasures collected by Fry and Young.

Fry was a member of the Bristol chocolate manufacturing family of that name. There had been family interests in printing and it seems to have been this that led Francis to begin his collection of Bibles. He was criticised by some for replacing missing pages; he did this by taking pages from other copies of the same editions. When he died, an appeal raised money to buy his collection of 1,200 volumes for the Bible Society. With the Society's move from London to Swindon the collection was deposited at Cambridge in 1985.

Young came from a very different background. His father was a partner in Baring Brothers Bank and on his death Arthur received a considerable inheritance. After education at Eton and Cambridge he was called to the Bar in 1890. He was a very secret collector, sending others to sales to buy for him those books which formed the collection at his house in Hyde Park Terrace. His secrecy meant that the University Library was astonished in 1933 when Young offered his collection of 150 Bibles in book and manuscript form, including a Gutenberg Bible. The Library Chairman described it as *'probably the most valuable benefaction ... from any private individual in the long course of our Library's history'*.

Material displayed covered the centuries from a medieval Book of Hours,

through Wyclif, Tyndale, Geneva and the Bishops' Bible, to the King James Bible itself. This exhibition impressively brought to life some of the personalities who appear in the story of the King James Bible. John Bois, Greek scholar and author of recently discovered notebooks describing some of the translation process, was but an ordinary mortal. Also exhibited was an entry for his diary in 1638: *'In bed, since sleep did not come easily to me, I composed these rhyming verses in Latin and also in English'*. A verse written by Richard Bancroft as a student for Elizabeth I showed an early proficiency in Latin on the part of the man who, as Archbishop of Canterbury, was to preside over the translation project. Exhibit materials also included a fair copy of lectures by Lancelot Andrewes, given at Pembroke College, including a portrait drawn of him whilst at lunch.

Amongst the Biblical material was an unusual Tyndale item, a New Testament of 1553 from the collection of Arthur Young. This was printed by Richard Juge who, after an education at Eton and Cambridge, became one of the most notable printers of the period, Queen's Printer and Master of the Stationers' Company. In the exhibition this volume was open at the Title Page which depicts Edward VI and announces that the book was published with the King's licence. However, this honour to Tyndale's memory is rather overshadowed by the fact that his name appears nowhere in the volume!

Towards the end of the exhibition were reminders that the King James Bible was received with a great lack of enthusiasm by some. A copy of *A censure of the late translation for our churches* by Hugh Broughton (1549-1612), a notable Hebrew scholar, was one example. Broughton was a difficult man to deal with and had been left out of the translation *'companies'*.

Detailed notes about the items displayed in this exhibition can be found at www.lib.cam.ac.uk/exhibitions/KJV/. Anybody without access to the web but who would like a printout is welcome to write to me at: 26 Dodson Vale, Kesgrave, Suffolk IP5 2GT. A cheque for £3.00 towards printing and postage costs would be appreciated.



Cambridge University Library

Store of Heavenly Learning Early English Bibles from the Library of Elton Hall

Exhibition at Elton Hall
June - August, 2011

Report by Brian Buxton

The smaller, but no less distinguished, exhibition at Elton Hall displayed items taken from the fine private library of the Proby family who have lived at Elton since the seventeenth century. Mostly these items were collected by William Proby, 5th Earl of Carysfort, who financed his purchases by careful handling of the family estates in Ireland, much of which he sold, and the estate at Elton. The aim of this exhibition was described as being 'to highlight the steps along the way' from Wyclif to King James.

The items displayed included some of the key translations in the development of an English Bible from 'Wyclif' and Tyndale's *Pentateuch* and *New Testament*, both shown in 1534 editions, to the *King James Bible of 1611*. In addition there was a range of other illuminating volumes from both the pre-Reformation and Reformation periods.

The very full notes in the exhibition catalogue not only describe the items but place them in context and draw out their significance. In writing of a German vernacular Bible of 1483 it is pointed out that this was the ninth edition of a translation which first appeared in 1466. Unlike in England, translations in the vernacular were often acceptable on the European mainland. The catalogue mentions a complete translation into Czech as early as 1360. Italy, France and Holland also had their translations before the end of the fifteenth century, produced by the new technology of printing. The situation at home was so different. From the early years of the fifteenth century, interested persons faced the threat of burning at the stake for owning, reading or hearing read a Biblical text other than in Latin.

Despite these harsh laws many took the risks involved in the possession or study of the text of the Bible in the translation usually known as Wyclif's but almost certainly the work of a larger group. The exhibition included an illuminated manuscript of the 'Wyclif' New Testament, no hurried piece of work despite being produced in c1425 when it was undoubtedly illegal. A further reminder that some had been calling for an English translation long before Tyndale's time was a copy of *Polychronicon*, a fourteenth century history of the world from creation. This copy is a printing of the translation by John



Elton Hall

Trevisa, an associate of Wyclif, who, in his preface, argued for scriptures in English.

From the Reformation period were a number of non-Biblical items, including primers or prayer books issued by Henry VIII and Mary, homilies of Thomas Cranmer, and a copy of the first Prayer Book of 1549. Of unusual interest was a book of Psalms or prayers taken out of holy scripture by John Fisher bound together with *An exhortation unto prayer* by Thomas Cranmer.

Henry VIII gave the manor of Elton to Queen Katherine Parr, the last of his wives. This may explain the purchase of these volumes, in view of the likelihood that they were owned by her and the first actually translated by her – by then the connection with John Fisher had presumably been forgotten. These books are incredibly rare, only one other copy of each is known. The Psalms have handwritten notes by Henry VIII and Princess Elizabeth, whilst Cranmer's work has an address to Katherine from Princess Mary. Also in the exhibition was a Sarum Book of Hours which has associations with Katherine Parr.

The catalogue can be obtained by post from Mrs Linda M. Crossley, The Estate Secretary, Elton Estates Company Limited, The Estate Office, Elton Hall, Elton, Peterborough, PE8 6SH. The cost is £4.10 (inc p & p). Cheques should be made payable to 'W H Proby Elton Hall A/C'.

To the likes of Fry, Young, and Proby we owe a great deal for building these collections which help us to gain some fuller insight into the unfolding story of the Bible in English. These volumes could so easily have been lost or scattered amongst other collections and been forgotten.

The KJB and its Cultural Afterlife

The Ohio State University Conference, USA
May 5-7th, 2011

Report by Mary Clow

The year of the 400th anniversary of the King James Bible was overloaded with conferences and exhibitions: my reports cover one conference in the USA, two in England, and an exhibition that is still touring both countries. Elsewhere in this issue are articles on more conferences and exhibitions, and reviews of some of the books published in this connection. Throughout, Tyndale has had a strong showing.

Dr Hannibal Hamlin, Tyndale Society member and current Editor of *Reformation*, instigated (at the original suggestion of David Daniell) **The King James Bible and its Cultural Afterlife** conference at The Ohio State University, where he is an associate professor of English. The beautiful Ohio State campus is said to be the largest in the US, and a fleet of buses is necessary to ferry one about its grand expanse. In spite of maps we were sometimes lost, but faculty and students were tremendously courteous and we were treated as special guests.

Professor David Norton of the Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand gave the opening keynote paper on **The KJB's Presence, Use & Influence in Literature**. Those lucky enough to hear Professor Norton at Tyndale conferences in the past will remember his blend of wit and erudition. With brilliantly chosen quotes he demonstrated how even an apparently secular novel – Jane Eyre – is suffused with the rhythms and language of the KJB. (See book review).

The opening **Plenary Panel on The Making of the English Bible** covered translations prior to the KJB. It was sponsored by the Tyndale Society. Dr Leland Ryken of Wheaton College, Illinois described the **Geneva Bible**; Dr Gergely Juhász of K.U. Leuven (a close colleague of Tyndalian Dr Guido Latré) covered **Antwerp Bibles**; and Rev. Philip Arthur spoke on **Tyndale: The Exile and the Ploughboy**.

Rev. Arthur, an independent scholar, has made a special study of how English grew into the language that Tyndale used to communicate so vividly with the *'ploughboy'* of his time, and to us today. At the invitation of The Tyndale Society, and with generous sponsorship from the Five Talents Fund, Rev. Arthur had come especially to Ohio to take part in the opening panel of this conference, and he contributed a strong case for the importance of Tyndale's work and his lasting influence. On two other occasions, while in the USA, Rev. Arthur was able to expand on this subject at greater length, and a CD of his talk is now available (see details on facing page).

As suggested by the title of this conference, subject matter then moved to the long-range influence of the KJB on subsequent English Literature: of course **Milton and Defoe**, but also **the Romantic Poets**, then **Dickens and George Eliot**. The latter were discussed in a lively paper from Gordon Campbell of the University of Leicester (see book review). Among other speakers was Vivienne Westbrook of National Taiwan University, familiar to members from her contributions to past Tyndale events. Her subject was **Bible Translation & the Long Reformation**.

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William Tyndale: the Fugitive Hero who Invented English

London Grove Meeting, Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, USA
May 8th, 2011

Report by Mary Clow

In this beautiful old Quaker Meeting House, set in rolling Pennsylvania countryside, a large audience gathered to hear Philip Arthur describe the life and work of William Tyndale.

Rev. Arthur is a Baptist minister, with a Cambridge degree in history, and a passionate, deeply engaged style of speaking. Members who attended our Latimer conference - **Tasting the Word of God** - held in the cathedral city of Worcester in 2007, will recall his thrilling presentation. In London Grove Meeting his hearers were mostly new to the story, but no less held by Rev. Arthur's eloquence. There were several questions before we broke for refreshments in the adjacent hall.

◆

A CD audio recording of Philip Arthur's talk is available for purchase from the Tyndale Society as follows: **UK / Europe:** Please send your cheque in the sum of £10 incl p&xp made payable to *'The Tyndale Society'* / **USA:** \$20 US Dollars incl p&xp made payable to *'Tyndale Society USA'* to the UK / USA addresses listed on p.11 of this *Journal*, or email: tyndale.sec@btinternet.com to order online.

The King James Bible at 400

Kings' College, University of London, Conference, UK
July 4-6th, 2011

Report by Mary Clow

The Society of Biblical Literature hosted this conference at Kings' College, University of London.

The opening address was by the Archbishop of York, Dr John Sentamu, who described with passion Tyndale's *'masterpiece... whose influence fixed the general tone'* of the KJB with its musicality of phrasing, designed to read well when spoken aloud. He quoted David Daniell: *'Its words lift up a soul even from the lowest depths of human experience.'* He commented on what an extraordinary number of biblical scholars there were in the age of James I which enabled the KJV to be completed under pressure in the astonishingly short time of 2 years, 9 months. Sir Henry Savile's neglected wife complained: *'I wish I were a book for them, for then they would have more interest in me.'*

Another opportunity to hear David Norton was his paper *The KJB: Assessing its Genius as Bible Translation & Literary Influence*. He startled us with some strange facts about the mental world of the Translators: they were steeped in scholarship, but ignorant of English letters. John Rainolds knew no Shakespeare; William Branthwaite owned 1400 books, only one in English *'The Spider & the Fly'* (not a famous text); John Bois owned 60 grammars of Latin, Greek and Syriac, but no English literature; Miles Smith commented *'Latin was spoken almost from our very cradles.'* All these men would be astonished to hear that they were alive in the great period of writing in English: the KJB was most definitely not a product of *'the Jacobean moment'*.

Tyndale saw his work as a draft and told others to improve on it – exactly the instruction followed by the Translators. James I had previous bad experiences with sectarian dispute in Scotland and was determined on a Bible free of doctrinal notes and theologically neutral. This has been the secret of the KJB's long success, that it appeals to High Anglicans and Evangelicals alike. It has also become a Noah's Ark for vocabulary, its very language was more archaic to the 18th century reader than to us who have absorbed its phrases into everyday speech.



The guiding hand of the KJB makes its way to King's College London...

Professor Robert Alter of the University of California at Berkeley, spoke on the KJB from the viewpoint of a scholar of the Hebrew Bible. Tyndale was commended for earlier understanding the process of Hebrew into English, but the KJB often reads as English verse, eloquent but more Jacobean than biblical. Prose and poetry are not the same, but often the Translators do not differentiate. The parallel syntax of Hebrew is not natural in English. Hebrew writes with a deliberately limited vocabulary, but the Translators had no understanding of the Hebrew literary device of repeated words.

Alter gave examples of how the Translators were led astray by believing that in a sacred text words must have a heightened meaning, e.g. *'shadow of death'* for the Hebrew *'darkness'*, *'firmament'* for *'sky'*, *'tabernacle'* for *'tent'*. The KJB wanted a grandeur that was not in the original. A more serious fault was the introduction of alien religious terms, e.g. *'salvation'* where the Hebrew word meant *'rescue'*. The KJB has an impressive power with lofty dignity in many passages, but interrupted by stumbles and often quite different from the original.

The Bible in the 17th Century

University of York Conference, USA

July 7-9th, 2011

Report by Mary Clow

The Bible in the 17th Century conference at the University of York took place in historic buildings in the heart of that ancient City, never out of sight of the Cathedral. There were delightful overlaps of speakers – Hannibal Hamlin, Gordon Campbell – and old friends of the Tyndale Society – Anne O’Donnell, Tibor Fabiny.

Dr Hamlin spoke on *The Literary Style of the KJB* ‘*The noblest composition in the Universe – or Fit for the Flames?*’ a quotation from Samuel Jackson Pratt in 1770 when scorn of the KJB was still the fashion. Macaulay praised its ‘*beauty and power*’, and 19th century writers – Matthew Arnold, Ruskin, Newman – overwhelmingly admired it, a change that was followed in the 20th century by HL Menken. One writer rather too effusively called it ‘*finer and nobler than the original scriptures*’.

CS Lewis observed that its rhythms were unavoidable, and finally that quality empowered the oratory of Martin Luther King Jr.

Gordon Campbell (University of Leicester, UK) gave us **The Language of the KJB**, a subject also covered in his excellent book (see Review). Jan James (University of York, UK) enlarged on this with **Vocabulary & Doctrine: Tyndale’s contribution to the KJB New Testament**. He argued that Tyndale’s word choices had a great influence on later translations, and his impact on their theology was equally strong, both sometimes negatively: rules 3 & 4 stipulated by King James to the Translators could have been written by Thomas More. Tyndale dismissed any ‘*lewd connotation*’ in his preferred translation of agape as ‘*love*’, which More objected must have sexual overtones – and King James agreed, insisting on ‘*charity*’.

Anne O’Donnell (Catholic University of America, Washington DC) has made a speciality of the controversy over key words between Tyndale and More and, eventually, King James. In her paper **Presbyter, Diaconos, Episcopos in Tyndale, More & the KJB** she discussed the translation of those Greek words. Famously, James stated: ‘*No bishop, no king*’ – it was a bitterly contested point and, later, Milton wrote 5 tracts against the very institution of bishops. Tyndale wanted to demystify the office of bishop, writing that ‘*bishops and elders are all one*’, but in the KJB, as we know, he lost out to More - and King James.

Tibor Fabiny (University of Budapest, Hungary) is a long-standing member of the Tyndale Society who has often taken part in our events. His work is particularly



Dr Anne O’Donnell (left) and Dr Elizabeth McCutchen (right) at York

concerned with Tyndale’s interpretation of the Bible. In his paper **The Process of the Text in Tyndale’s Dynamic Hermeneutics** Dr Fabiny marvelled that Tyndale was the first person ever to write in English on this subject, requiring the development of a unique vocabulary. Tyndale acknowledged allegories, but expounded the literal meanings which reading could find, and ‘*prepare thy mind*’ as ‘*all God’s words are spiritual*’.

Manifold Greatness
The Creation & Afterlife of the KJB

A Touring Exhibition at: The Bodleian Library, Oxford,
The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC
and The Harry Ransom Center, University of Austin, Texas

Touring US until July, 2013

Report by Mary Clow

This exceptional free exhibition opened first in Oxford, travelled to the Folger Library and is touring the USA until July, 2013. Fourteen large textual panels tell the story in a lively style, scholarly but directed at a wide audience. There is information on earlier translations, and full profiles of King James's men with details of their extraordinary expertise, a level impossible for individuals today, e.g from the library of John Rainolds (the Puritan who originally suggested a new translation to the King) a study of insects, giving *nine* Hebrew words for *locust*.

The exhibition is designed so that the objects displayed with the text panels will change with each location: at the Bodleian, Anne Boleyn's 1534 New Testament translated by William Tyndale, a luxury version printed on vellum, illuminated in crimson and turquoise, with gilt edges; at the Folger, the KJB of the ship's carpenter on the Mayflower; in Memphis, the Bible belonging to Elvis Presley.

The gradual birth of modern English, the essential growth of literacy, and thus the framing of our culture's patterns of thought are graphically described through the development and use of the Bible – William Tyndale into King James.

See www.manifoldgreatness.com for dates and locations.

Manifold Greatness: the Making of the KJB catalogue & essays on the exhibition, by Helen Moore & Julian Reid paperback, ISBN 1851243496.

Even if you can get to the exhibition, this richly illustrated catalogue is much more than a record of the show. Eight chapters by leading scholars discuss the history of biblical translation, the political background of the KJB translation, the Translators themselves, and the reception and influence of their work, including a special essay on the KJB in America.

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17th Lambeth Tyndale Lecture
“What is Religion? An archeological Answer”
by Professor David Lewis-Williams
Professor Emeritus of Cognitive Archaeology,
University of Witwatersrand, South Africa

Lambeth Palace, London
24th October, 2011

Report by David Ireson

Each of us who commits to membership of the Tyndale Society comes with their own agenda and objectives. Questions about ‘religion’, as such, are not asked by all of us, whereas I suppose my agenda places healing the scandalous wounds of the Reformation high on my motivation to belong. Christians have spent two thousand years arguing over who holds to ‘right belief’ and uses the ‘right’ words. So this year’s Lambeth Lecture was most certainly different... it was about the origins of religion before any words were ever recorded... thousands of years before Revelation and the coming of the Word. Before he came to Britain to speak Professor David Lewis-Williams had made it clear[1] that “*after much intellectual agonizing... logically, there is no such thing as a supernatural realm – and consequently no such thing as God.*” Hearing that an atheist was speaking at Lambeth had led to some to objections. Science is neutral regarding religion and although Professor Lewis-Williams meticulous lifetime’s scientific researches have led him to atheism, on reading his books and hearing him speak I find nothing that would disturb the faith of any Christian. It was a brilliant lecture by a scientist searching for truth. There can be no objection to that.

Professor Lewis-Williams began his illustrated lecture by drawing attention to the title. He is one archaeologist, expressing his own findings and acknowledging that others differ from his conclusions, but all need to reach out to people with a different point of view. Archaeologists are skilled and happy to record their findings, but it takes some courage to interpret what an artefact or picture means. In his three key books, *The Mind in the Cave* 2002, *The Neolithic Mind* 2005, and now *Conceiving God* 2010, he has gone beyond the discipline of recording to the higher level of trying to interpret the finds of Prehistory. So, going back an extraordinary distance of 75,000 years, he spoke of the way systemically marked pieces of ochre found in Blombos Cave on the South African coast, might be understood. The patterns had no obvious utilitarian purpose, but the red ochre could well symbolize



Professor David Lewis-Williams Lectures to a packed house at the Lambeth Guard Room

blood and life itself. Does the evidence point to humans then having a capacity for belief, or even having a belief in something beyond immediate experience and nature... the supernatural?

Jumping forward in time to the Upper Palaeolithic age, Professor Lewis-Williams has explored many of the now world famous European caves with paintings of animals. Scrambling deep underground and coming across paintings of aurochs, reindeer, bison, horses, mammoths and woolly rhinoceros floating on the walls and ceilings would make anyone marvel and ask themselves if religion is at the back of it. At its simplest, people of 30,000 years ago did not summon up the courage to face the terrifying dark silence involved in penetrating half a mile underground to paint a picture to pass the time on a rainy afternoon. The paintings have deep meaning. Early humans did not set themselves apart from the animals they lived with and depended upon for survival. They honoured the animals they lived among.

Archbishop Rowan Williams[2], puts it this way: “*What I think you see in the art of this period is human beings trying to enter fully into the flow of life... so that they become part of the whole process of animal life that is going on around them in a way which is not just about managing the animal world or guaranteeing success in the hunt;*

it is more a desire to get inside... to be at home in the world at a deeper level, and that is actually a deeply religious impulse."

Since science cannot find evidence of God, Professor Lewis-Williams saw religion as an activity of the brain, initiated by a person seeking peace, or knowing fear, or having visions or working themselves up into an ecstatic state. He considered three aspects of religion; experience, belief and practice. He concentrated upon the activity of the brain and the cycles of consciousness the human animal goes through every day. He then looked at the way art in European caves (about 300 of them) follows a general pattern, with hand prints likely to be near the mouth of a cave, pictures of large herbivores where the whole clan could (with effort) see them and then in the deepest, furthest end of the cave, pictures of felines and bears where few members of the clan were likely to go. The cave experience could impact upon the brain. The awesome silence and darkness was a form of sensory deprivation with or without the use of hallucinogenic fungi. Rhythmic drumming and dance rituals have long been part of religious practice. The evidence for musical instruments, jewellery and necklaces suggests there was rhythmic drumming and dance rituals which are still very much part of charismatic worship today.

There were good questions about the art and about the differences between Neanderthals and Homo sapiens. Clearly there was discussion with no acrimony. Professor David Lewis-Williams life's work and continued research and publishing is respected around the world. His thought provoking lecture was memorable and left us all considering what it is to be human. Are we human beings hoping one day to be spiritual... or are we spiritual beings now hoping one day to be fully human.

[1] 'Conceiving God'

[2] 'History of the World in 100 Objects' Neil MacGregor, British Museum & BBC Radio 4.

A CD audio recording of Professor David Lewis-Williams' talk is available for purchase from the Tyndale Society as follows: **UK / Europe:** Please send your cheque in the sum of £10 incl p&p made payable to 'The Tyndale Society' / **USA:** \$20 US Dollars incl p&p made payable to 'Tyndale Society USA' to the UK / USA addresses listed on p.11 of this *Journal*, or email: tyndale.sec@btinternet.com to order online.

Press Gleanings

After reading the suggested reading lists for the government, I noticed that nobody had suggested that the politicians should read Sir Thomas More's Utopia. After all, More is their patron saint and highlights the conflicts of conscience that arise from governance.... More even offers some very sound advice for the financial crisis:

"If money disappeared, so would fear, anxiety, worry, toil and sleepless nights."

Ian Gray, Beverley, East Yorkshire.

From *The Guardian*, May 2011

If there was a genius behind the King James Bible, it was the English priest William Tyndale...In the minds of English reformers like Tyndale, the drive to make the Bible accessible to the plough boy and thereby dispossess the clergy of its traditional authority over scripture was consistent with Paul's exaltation of foolishness over the presumption of the "scribes" and the wisdom of "disputers". It was the reformist doctrine of "the priesthood of all believers" that mandated vernacular translations of the Bible.

...There had been earlier English versions of the Christian Bible, yet Tyndale - an extraordinary linguist with a remarkable literary ear - was the first to base his translations on the Greek and Hebrew texts.... Tyndale's translations proved so remarkable in their plain English idiom, so resolute in their phrasing, and so sonorous when read aloud that it was impossible to ignore what he had accomplished.

From *New York Review of Books* February 9, 2012

The Book from which our Literature Springs by Robert Pogue Harrison

ISTANBUL- Asked about allegations that a 1,500-year-old copy of Bible had been found in the archives of the Ankara Court House, Turkish Culture & Tourism Minister Ertugrul Gunay told reporters: *"The Court House has sent us a 1,500-year-old Bible which was probably written in Aramaic. It was written in a language like the one spoken by Jesus."*

The Bible needed repair and it would be shown to the world after it was repaired, the minister said.

From *Cumhuriyet*, Istanbul, Turkey, March 2012.



Tyndale and Andrewes in action on stage at The Swan

Book and Media Reviews

**Written on the Heart -
a New Play about William Tyndale
Written by David Edgar
Performed by the RSC at
The Swan Theatre, Stratford**

Tyndalians aplenty will have been warmed by the Royal Shakespeare Company's offering to the 400th Anniversary of the 1611 King James Version of the Bible. The playwright David Edgar has done Tyndale proud and given him

the credit he is due for his translation.

The play, rather like the KJB itself, grew from a conference held by the RSC to look at the KJB in the context of its publication and influence. David Edgar's research has been meticulous and the history comes over well and is engrossing. There are plenty of references to Tyndale's collaborators and the period that will have Tyndalians buzzing in their seats. Believe me, a knowledge such as Tyndalians have will increase their pleasure at what David Edgar has achieved. Chief among this is his acknowledgment from the start that the story of the Bible in English covers not just the span of 1604-11 but encompasses the 86 years from 1524 to 1611, with Tyndale as the chief begetter.

The play's two principal characters are Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Ely and one of the chief architects of the 1611 KJB, (played beautifully by Oliver Ford Davies), and Tyndale himself. Tyndale is played with huge energy and skill by Stephen Boxer. In Howard Brenton's *Anne Boleyn*, Tyndale spoke with a West Country accent. Here his voice is clear as a bell and a powerful mouthpiece for his beliefs and his work.

We first see Tyndale on the eve of his execution in a dank cell in the castle at Vilvoorde. In the play he has asked for a visit from a clergyman/priest who arrives and becomes engaged in an intense discussion with Tyndale, endeavouring to extract a confession of his "sins" but soon finding himself engrossed by Tyndale's achievements and by his faith. With author's license, David Edgar takes over what happens next as Tyndale's remaining translations

are effectively smuggled out to be given to John Rogers in Antwerp. Our credulity will be stretched, but as a theatrical device it works beautifully.

50 years later we find this same young priest now a not so young Archdeacon of York imposing his authority on a church in rural Yorkshire where a young Lancelot Andrewes is Chaplain. The Elizabethan settlement is being brought to bear. No chalices, no worshipping of saints, the creeds and commandments nailed over graven images of the Mother of Christ. The Archdeacon then remembers where he received some of his most profound teaching...

Here we move forward to Andrewes and the 1611 translators grappling with the final and more contentious biblical texts. Is it church or congregation, priest or elder, love or charity? Andrewes slaves away and wonders whether we are all missing something. He is visited by Tyndale's ghost and in a memorable scene he and Tyndale grapple over what is important to the people, and about the compromises one has to make. Translate the word. Tyndale, delighted that so much of his own work has been included, is then given a history of the Bible in English and sees quickly where all the credit has gone – to Rogers, Matthews, Coverdale, the Geneva translators, and even the Douai/Rheims. However he emerges from the play as the place where it all began and where the bible is rooted, in the word of God, written for the people in the language they speak and read.

I came away uplifted by what I saw. It is well worth reading the play which is available at the theatre, not the least because of David Edgar's essay at the back of the text where great tribute is paid to David Daniell. David Edgar himself is from Birmingham University where so much of Ralph Werrell's work has been done. I was a proud Ploughboy watching this play, and deeply moved by it.

The Theatre critics, with one or two notable exceptions in *The Times* and *The Guardian*, were intimidated by the play and the amount of knowledge needed to understand it. This bemuses me. It amazes me that critics go to a play like this so unprepared. If they have been opened to Tyndale's meaning and his life, then that is a good thing. In the play Tyndale's ghost accuses Andrewes of "*sacrificing meaning to the music*". Tyndale made "*music*" too for all to hear.

Written on the heart will run at The Duchess Theatre, London from 19th April to 21st July 2012. It should on no account be missed. See **Dates for Your Diary** for details of a special Society Matinee performance and Author Talk.

David Surtees
West Midlands Ploughboys



William Tyndale, betrayed, faces arrest

Fires of Faith The Coming Forth of The King James Bible

TV series in 3 parts made by
Brigham Young University, USA

During the year of the 400th anniversary of the King James Bible, Brigham Young University Television has

produced an important three part series related to the history of - as the series terms it - “one of the most enduring pieces of writing in the history of humanity.”

The production is generally well-written, and interweaves historical re-enactments with interviews of contemporary biblical and historical scholars. Notable among them – all of whom come across with tremendous lucidity and insight – are professors well-known to members of the Tyndale Society: Diarmaid MacCulloch, Alec Ryrie, Guido Latré, and David Norton. A number of other scholarly figures, primarily from the University of Notre Dame, fill out the complement of speakers.

The first part, entitled “*Yearning for the Word*,” bravely attempts to explain the exceedingly complex background that stretches from Jerome and the Vulgate, through the Black Death and the “*rise of the peasants*,” the Avignon Papacy and the Great Schism, Wycliffe and the Lollards, Luther and the Diet of Worms, William Tyndale and Miles Coverdale, Henry VIII’s “*Great Matter...*” well, the point is made. The mad dash through 1,200 years of history in 52 minutes of video must be nothing short of confusing for a viewer who lacks familiarity with the story and its key characters. It is a valiant attempt, nonetheless, and does get the key points right. Viewers should be encouraged to watch more than once, and glean more with each retelling.

Besides the attention to historical accuracy, one of the most welcome aspects of the initial installment of this trilogy is the visual texture of the story-telling. The acting is generally good, but even more striking is the care with which the scenes are designed and shot. Villages look like 16th century villages, Oxford really is Oxford, costumes are appropriate and not overly ornate. The look and feel is a bit gritty and seems authentic to place and time.

As the web site’s “*view counter*” indicates, there is an unfortunate drop-off in the number of visitors – 65,000 plus for part one, dropping to 43,000 for the

second. This is unfortunate, and possibly due to the overly-ambitious attempt to cram too much into the first installment. It is also unfortunate because the second part, “*Martyrs for a Book*,” is perhaps the best-done and certainly the most moving.

The actors and commentators alike capture the essence of commitment to the Word of God that would inspire sixteenth century persons to hold their views unto their very deaths. That translation task is not an easy one, from that time to our own secular age, but it has been managed very convincingly herein. This second part comes close – as does the entire series, in some ways – to becoming “*The William Tyndale Story*.” And rightly so! The powerfully compelling narrative of Tyndale’s life is deeply moving, as is apparent even in the commentary of the scholars that is interwoven with the dramatizations.

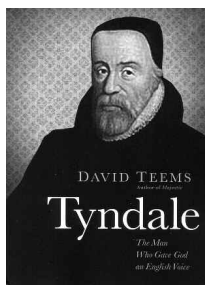
The context is brilliantly provided, as the viewer tracks simultaneously the lives and deaths of Tyndale, More, Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn. While partisans of each of these remarkable characters might quibble with certain aspects of their presentation, in large part each is given due deference and allowed to speak for themselves. That is a credit to the writers and producers.

The final installment, “*The King James Bible*,” (a further decline to 23,000 views) is perhaps the least-satisfying, though not without real merit. It is strongest when focused on Tyndale’s enormous and undisputed contribution to the King James version, weakest on the actual historical tidbits related to the committees’ work and their religious and political contexts. The latter is much too lightly treated. Once again, though, the significance of Tyndale is increasingly being recognized after centuries of neglect.

A number of “*man (person) on the street*” interviews appear sprinkled throughout the third part. Most are rambling and not very helpful, unless their primary purpose is to point out the lack of even passing familiarity with the Bible that characterizes typical British and North American English-speakers today.

The BYU Television efforts should be heartily commended. They have made a vital story more accessible, and have told it reasonably well. One wonders whether this more populist focus on Tyndale might help stimulate even greater attention to the life and work of the man who has, perhaps more than any other single person, shaped the trajectory of the English language and the influence of the Bible translated thereto.

Barry Ryan, California, USA



David Teems
Tyndale: The Man Who Gave God an English Voice

2012. Thomas Nelson, pp 302. £9.99
ISBN: 978-1-59555-221-1

Not long ago, a book arrived on the scene titled *Majestie*. It was about King James I, and is noted for its entirely new and revealing approach to that king, for it was more about the king as a person (child and man) than about the people and events which surrounded him, and it has quickly established itself as required reading for any who would study the man who gave us (under God) the *King James Bible*. Well, from the author of that book there has come another, and its subject this time is our own William Tyndale.

When first I heard that someone was writing a new biography of William Tyndale, a silent groan rose within me. The expectation that came immediately to mind was that this was to be a rehash of David Daniell's biography of Tyndale, a book which in any case would be a very hard act to follow. When Daniell wrote his book, he brought to his subject a level of scholarship which was not only very high, but was stated so clearly and so ably that it was difficult to imagine anyone even approaching it in sweep, quality and readability. So the best that one could ever hope for - so it seemed - was a mere rehash of Daniell's work. But then the galley proof arrived from the printers.

I am delighted to say that it is no rehash of Daniell, nor of any other work on Tyndale. The established sources are all there, of course: Mozley, Demaus, Daniell – the Bibliography runs to five pages – and our author makes full and proper use of each one of them. But it is the author's approach to his subject that is original. Let me explain.

To begin with, Teems, our author, is not afraid to recognise and to speak of the spiritual dimension of William Tyndale. It is an unfashionable thing today to speak of spiritual matters in any biography, but Teems, rightly, is not afraid to do so:

“The only explanation for William Tyndale is a spiritual one. All other explanations fail to satisfy or convince. What history we have of him is patchwork and unstable. Even a literary consideration of Tyndale fails to explain.... The suitable treatment of Tyndale, therefore, is always spiritual.”

Teems concentrates not on what was important to Tyndale's peers and contemporaries, nor yet to his more modern biographers, but on what was

important to William Tyndale himself. To do that, we must meet Tyndale on his own terms. We have to take him as we find him here and there, wherever he emerges into light of day. And, crucially, we have to listen to what Tyndale says, and not merely to what his contemporaries (or even his more modern critics) thought. It is an unusual and daring approach. But it works, and it works very well indeed.

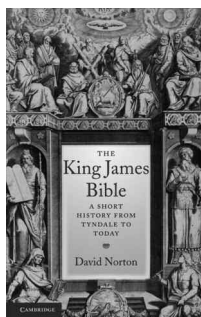
Teems uses his authorities wisely and well, and makes important connections between them and his subject. He writes pithily and concisely: this is no stodgy pudding served up on a pedant's plate, so don't expect to be left with the usual bout of mental indigestion halfway through. On the contrary, the book makes light reading at first, but then leads you inexorably into depths and heights which often and unexpectedly surprise in their implication.

The main thrust of Teems' book is to bring out for us the sheer uniqueness of William Tyndale as a man. The breadth and quality of Tyndale's scholarship are second to none for the early 16th century, and are hardly to be approached by modern scholars. Tyndale's mind, it appears, was a multi-lingual encyclopaedia, generating knowledge as well as absorbing it. But the true uniqueness lay in the fact that Tyndale was devoted utterly to the Word of God. Making the Word of God known to others – in terms which they could readily understand - was his all-consuming passion. It was the engine which drove him on into a lonely and hazardous life, even to the point of sacrificing that life in the flames.

With all this in mind, Teems' biography will refresh many people's thinking concerning the unique and remarkable man, William Tyndale, *'the man who gave God an English voice.'*

Bill Cooper

See Members' Discounted Offer on this book: p.11 of this Journal, with special thanks to the author, David Teems.



David Norton
The King James Bible:
A Short History from Tyndale to Today

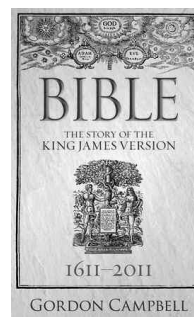
Cambridge University Press (2011), 218pp
ISBN 978-0-521-85149-7 Hardback, RRP £40.00
ISBN 978-0-521-61688-1 Paperback, RRP £14.99

Both authors of these surveys of the development of the King James Bible are experts in their field but are here writing for a wide readership rather than a purely academic audience. Gordon Campbell is Professor of Renaissance Studies at the University of Leicester. In his acknowledgements he makes special mention of David Norton, noting that 'I have drawn deeply on his scholarship, particularly his *Textual History of the King James Bible*' (p.x). Norton is Professor of English at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand and is a member of the editorial board of *Reformation*.

Each book traces the evolution of the English Bible from the work of William Tyndale up to the most recent presentations of the King James version, reminding readers that the 1611 translation was very much a revision of things that had gone before. Norton refers to the most significant earlier translations as 'drafts', his two final 'drafts' being the Geneva Bible (1557) and the Bishops' Bible (1568). His description of these documents as 'drafts' of the King James Bible does emphasise their importance, although it can be a little confusing to read that 'Coverdale took the drafting of the KJB in a false direction' (p.18)!

In order to illustrate the variant approaches from Tyndale to King James, Norton takes one passage from each of the Old and New Testaments and shows how different translators dealt with them. His conclusion is that Tyndale stood the test of time but that the King James revisers generally offered an even more literal translation. Of Tyndale he writes that his 'everyday religious language, coupled with his willingness to follow elements of the style of the original, forms the basis of our high religious English' (p.44).

Turning to the King James Bible itself, each author discusses the translation process, beginning with information about the 'companies' of translators between whom the work was divided. Both list the translators and provide some brief notes about each. They ranged from high office holders in church or university to little known parochial clergy with linguistic skills. Together they brought great learning to the project. Of Richard Brett, former student of Hertford College,



Gordon Campbell
Bible: The Story of the King James Version 1611 – 2011

Oxford University Press (2010), 354pp
ISBN 978-0-19-955759-2 Hardback RRP £16.99
ISBN 978-0-19-969301-6 Paperback RRP £9.99

Oxford, Campbell notes that: 'He was an outstanding oriental linguist with competence in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic and Ethiopic' (p.285). Whilst at Cambridge, William Bedwell had been encouraged to study Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac, and then Arabic. He drafted an Arabic-Latin dictionary. Campbell's conclusion is that 'it would be difficult now to bring together a group of more than fifty scholars with the range of languages and knowledge of other disciplines that characterised the KJV translators' (p.55). The kind of personal library which a translator might have is illuminated in Norton's book by a description of the library of William Branthwaite, now in Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (p.62ff).

Both authors outline the rules which were to govern the task and discuss the manner in which the translators worked, both as 'companies' and as individuals. Many questions remain unanswered but surviving documentation allows for some reasonable conjecture. Each book refers to the notebooks of John Bois, summoned from a country parish to work with the translators. Although Cambridge University Library has some of his material (shown in the Great and Manifold Blessings exhibition earlier this year), his notes on the King James Bible project were long thought missing. Norton, who discovered a partial copy in the British Library, writes in some detail about Bois and his notes (p.70ff). It is clear that a further advance could be made in these studies if the Bodleian Library would unbind a copy of the 1602 Bishops' Bible and so allow full study of marginal notes made by the translators (Campbell p.57). Perhaps something for the five hundredth anniversary!

The first edition is described in some detail in both books. Available for purchase by churches as a replacement for the Bishops' Bible, when required, the King James Bible initially faced stiff competition for personal reading from the Geneva Bible with its popular notes. Only after 1644, with measures to prevent the import of the Geneva Bible and its printing in England, did the new version gain the ascendancy.

The publication of 1611 was far from the end of the story of the King James

Bible. The subsequent history of revisions and printings is traced. What is so often not recognised is that the most commonly used basis for today's printings is that of Benjamin Blayney, published at Oxford in 1769, and not the book published in 1611. Revisers over the centuries have addressed a range of issues, including spelling, punctuation, paragraphing, and the addition of notes. Some of these considerations have been necessitated by new knowledge of ancient texts, new understanding of the relevant languages, changes in the English language, and the increasing use of the Bible for personal reading by a literate population.

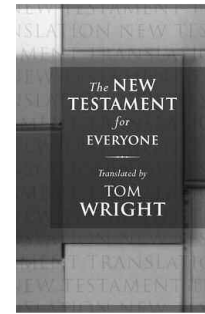
Campbell provides the fullest discussion of the more recent attempts at revision and the range of attitudes found towards the King James Bible. In his concluding chapters he looks in some detail at this Bible as it has been, and is today, viewed and used in the United States of America which he describes as being today *'the centre of gravity of the King James Version'* (p.193).

Each of these books provides an authoritative and readable history of the King James Bible. In the organisation of content and in its physical presentation (including the range of illustrations and the quality of reproduction) Campbell's book is the more appealing. He also has the fullest discussion of post-1611 developments. On the other hand, Norton has those illuminating sections in which he compares passages in various early translations and King James, where he examines Branthwaite's library, and where he discusses the notebooks of John Bois.

Both books show some disappointing errors of editing. In Campbell there is confusion between Tyndale's work at Cologne and Worms (pp.11 & 12), and page references are not always correct. The order of some material in Norton seems odd (e.g. the details of the translators appears before any account of the Hampton Court Conference), there are several factual errors (e.g. Edward VI certainly did not issue a proclamation in 1541 p.17), and some people and events appear without any background explanation (e.g. the Synod of Dort).

As with so many of the 1611 commemorative books, articles and programmes, both these volumes acknowledge the high importance of William Tyndale, something of which Tyndale Society members were already well aware. Norton writes: *'Without Tyndale, the English Bible would have been a different and, in all likelihood, lesser thing'*. (p.8). For Campbell: *'Tyndale is rightly known as 'the father of the English Bible'* (p.10).

Brian Buxton, Kesgrave, Suffolk, UK



Tom Wright
The New Testament for Everyone

SPCK (2011), 570pp
ISBN 9780281064267 Hardback RRP £14.99

During 2011 the 400th anniversary of the King James Bible (KJB), of 1611, was celebrated: this was the book which exemplified *'The Bible'* for over three hundred years. In 1881 the Revised Version was published, claiming more accuracy in the light of examination of recently found older manuscripts. It was in the style of the KJV, retaining *'thy', 'doth', 'beseech'* etc., but *'charity'* was *'love'* (cf William Tyndale's New Testament of 1526). Maps were at the back.

In an attempt to render the Bible more accessible to a modern reader, R.F. Weymouth introduced The New Testament in Modern Speech in 1903, but this was a paraphrase rather than translation. The years after World War II produced a plethora of new translations and paraphrases of varying quality, with major changes in presentation to increase attractiveness, e.g. the deletion of two columns per page, clearer typeset, poems and quotations were indented, together with modernisation of language. Some Christians were suspicious of their theological accuracy – were fundamental tenets of faith being diluted to appease the prevalent doubters and secularists? The status of the Virgin Mary was cited, as she is called a *'maiden'* or *'girl'* in the New English Version of 1970, but neither of these terms now conveys the certainty of virginity.

Today's English Version New Testament, 1966, had line drawing illustrations within the text. The Revised Standard Version, 1946, 1952 (from the American Standard Version of 1901, and eventually presented as the English Standard Version in the United Kingdom in 2001), sought to retain some elegance of language, while also eliminating male predominance. Evangelicals considered the RSV group to be *'liberal'* and chose the New International Version of 1978 in preference.

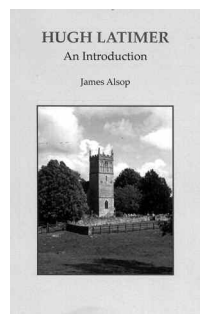
While omitting mention of many other recent versions, this is the background against which the translation by Tom Wright The New Testament for Everyone comes in 2011. One has been aware of Wright's sequential commentaries, containing his translations, since Mark for Everyone and Luke for Everyone in 2001, followed by Matthew and John in 2002. The final books of the New Testament series will be completed this autumn, epitomising ten years of unremitting work from which Bible students have profited and also derived pleasure.

The New Testament for Everyone contains all the improvements introduced over the years for clarity and attractive presentation, including helpful headings of sections, e.g. *The Magnificat: Mary's Song of Praise*, and for I Corinthians Chapter 13 *The need for love and the character of love*, while maps and diagrams are incorporated within the text. The language is designed to be graphic, e.g. *Jesus bursts into tears* instead of the familiar *Jesus wept*, but the duplicity inferred in *'hypocrites'* is not conveyed by *'play actors'* (Matthew Chapter 5 Verse 17). Sometimes the colloquialisms (e.g. I'm, didn't, bunch of children, off they went) descend to crudeness, e.g. the Virgin Mary *'turned out'* to be pregnant. But these criticisms apply more to the narratives in the Gospels than to the Epistles.

Tom Wright at the launch of *The New Testament for Everyone* in July paid tribute to William Tyndale, whom he regarded as his hero. Tyndale recognised that a translator is not an interpreter, although his choice of words had the ploughboy in mind. Most modern translations apply the principle of *'dynamic equivalence'* rather than that of *'formal (word for word) equivalence'*, but then how can the selection between words with subtle differences not fail to convey the author's convictions or prejudices?

Overall, Tom Wright's translation will prove a valuable addition to the Christian library. His hope and prayer is that many people will discover through it first how relevant and exciting the New Testament really is.

Eunice Burton, Shenfield, Essex, UK



Hugh Latimer: An Introduction
James Alsop

2011. Ex Libris Press. 76 pp. £5.00 (p&p free).
ISBN 978-1-906641-37-5.

In our Spring 2010 edition (TSJ 38), I had the privilege and pleasure of commending to our readers this author's *William Tyndale: An Introduction*.

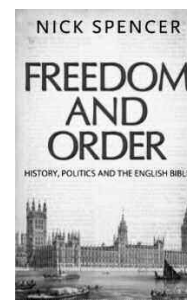
The commendation was warmly deserved, and here, from the same stable, is the next in what I sincerely hope will be a series on the Reformers. This book discusses a figure who is, at the same time, both well-known and too-little-known amongst students of the Reformation, Hugh

Latimer. We all know that he died at the stake alongside Nicholas Ridley at Oxford, and we remember his famous words uttered shortly before his execution (*"Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out!"*).

Sadly, that is about all that many of us have known about him. Alsop's treatment promises to eradicate that ignorance, and to bring about a keen interest in Latimer, who turns out to have been something of a spiritual giant of his times. Alsop takes us right back to Latimer's birth and upbringing and through his academic career and conversion, and he has achieved what many find difficult to accomplish – he provides (with commendable accuracy) a surprising amount of detail in a short book, yet makes it compellingly readable. He also avoids the partisan views of Foxe and other writers on the Reformation who are quick, for example, to damn Wolsey's eyes whilst ignoring his humaneness and humour. Alsop gives us, in short, an excellent and informative read, and it's a worthy companion to his Tyndale.

The book may be obtained from the author (at £5.00 with free p&p) at: James Alsop, 13 Meridian Walk, Trowbridge, Wiltshire BA14 9SX.

Bill Cooper



Nick Spencer
Freedom and Order: History, Politics and the English Bible

Hodder & Stoughton (2011), 370pp
ISBN 9780340996232 Hardback RRP £16.99

Most exhibitions and writers celebrating the 400th anniversary of the King James Version of the Bible of 1611 have paid tribute to its influence on English language, literature and culture, but in *Freedom and Order* Nick Spencer demonstrates its influence on English politics: he largely excludes Scottish affairs prior to 1603. It was the Bible in the vernacular that gave the common man the opportunity to assess truth and piety for himself, apply Biblical principles to his life and examine the way his country was governed. Spencer regards William Tyndale's New Testament of 1526 (translated from the original Greek) as pivotal in this, and there are frequent appreciations of Tyndale's accuracy and attractive prose

throughout the book. *The Coverdale Bible* (1535) and *Matthew's Bible* (1537) included Tyndale's Pentateuch, his other Old Testament translations and the complete New Testament, and these were later incorporated with little change into the King James version.

Freedom and Order is in three parts. Part I considers government prior to the English Bible, dealing with Pre and Post Conquest eras. Part II analyses the *Age of Biblical Politics*' (Tudor and Stuart periods) with references to Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christian Man* when dealing with such topics as obedience, disobedience, liberty, democracy etc. Part III focuses on the 17th century onwards – the impact of Reason, and the benefits of the Evangelical Revival, with the social reforms initiated by Wilberforce, Shaftesbury and others.

Part I: Spencer's overview of history begins in Biblical times with the Mosaic Law, the reigns of Kings Saul, David and Solomon, extending to the Roman Conquest of the Holy Land and death of Jesus whose *'kingdom was not of this world'*. In England, key texts of the Anglo-Saxon period are examined, especially Alfred's Codes and enunciation of the Golden Rule of Matthew Chapter 7 Verse 12: *'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them'*, and Archbishop Wulfstan's Sermon to the English concerning the case of widows, children, the poor and slaves. As the power of the church grew there were clashes, e.g. that between Henry II and Thomas à Becket, Chancellor and then Archbishop, in the 12th century. John of Salisbury produced *Policraticus*, with the *Statesman Book* in parts 4 – 6, at this time. King John's oppressions provoked the Barons and Magna Carta resulted in 1215, but social conditions led to the Peasants' Revolt in 1381. Wyclif attacked abuses in the church, but showed an interest in politics in his Treatises, and his followers, the Lollards, spread his views throughout the country. Ideas critical of the state were deemed dangerous and, in 1401, a fearful Henry IV forbade reading or owning a vernacular Bible: heresy was punished by burning alive (*De Heretico Comburendo*) and this continued for the next two hundred years. I found Part I enlightening and fascinating – the foundation epoch but generally neglected.

Part II: The prominence recently given by authors and playwrights to the Tudor Period ensures familiarity with Henry VIII's *'Great Matter'*, the Marian persecutions and Elizabethan Anglicanism. In the 17th century not all Puritans were politically minded, but the Puritan Sedition in its pursuit of liberty led to the Commonwealth. In common with Hobbes (*Leviathan* 1651), Milton is cited as an example of Biblical and classical erudition: he held radical political

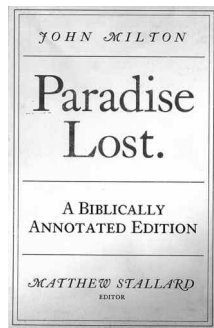
views, which he justified from Scripture in tracts such as *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649). John Locke produced tracts with a Biblical basis on *Order and Decency in Government and Toleration*. In the Glorious Revolution of 1688 the Bible was carried in the coronation procession of William and Mary and, for the first time, the sovereign swore to rule according to the Protestant reformed religion. At a coronation today the monarch is presented with a Bible (*'The Royal Law'*) and swears to maintain the laws of God.

Part III: The 19th century produced the Age of Reason, Radicals and Freethinkers, culminating in the secular society of today with its profound ignorance of the Bible. But it also produced a humanitarian awareness and the Nonconformist Conscience of loyal dissenters. Philanthropic institutions multiplied, often with a differentiation between the deserving and undeserving poor. The practical teaching of John Wesley and the presence of Evangelicals in Parliament directed reforming legislation. Victorian politicians such as Gladstone hoped to reduce venereal disease and prostitution by compulsive legislation, while Biblical authority was further undermined by Higher Criticism and Darwin's Theory of Evolution, and the emphasis shifted to temporal improvement. Chartists justified their radical views by Scriptural texts, often taken out of context. Christian Socialism, seeking to improve conditions for the working class, was supported by Archbishop William Temple, who believed that the earthly Kingdom of God merited political action. In times of crisis, politicians have appealed to Scripture e.g. Churchill in World War II.

The post-World War II government contained many practising Christians giving a false impression of religious affiliation, but the liberalising legislation of the 1960s reflected the Secular Society, e.g. Sexual Offences Act and Abortion Act both of 1967, and confirmed the prevalent view that personal liberty overrode the restrictions of Biblical morality. There was some revival of Christian Socialism under a reticent Prime Minister Blair, with active Christian fellowships inaugurated in the main parties. Orwell emphasised that loyalty to the *'brotherhood of humanity'* did not necessitate acknowledgement of God. Finally Spencer challenges us to develop a coherent, theological basis for politics.

This comprehensive book is stimulating, easy to read and invites further study: a comparison with other European countries where reading a vernacular Bible was discouraged by the Roman Catholic Church until recently would be interesting, as it is said that John Wesley saved England from the excesses of the French Revolution.

Eunice Burton, Shenfield, Essex, UK



John Milton
Paradise Lost: A Biblically Annotated Edition

Mercer University Press (ed. Matthew Stallard), 2011
ISBN 978-0-88146-236-4 (Hardback). pp. 506. \$60, £50

I regret to say that I have never been a 'Milton' man – until now. The fault of that lies squarely with all those scholars of the past who had once seen fit to comment on Milton. Their comments ranged all the way from the socio-historical through to the historico-social, with all the emptiness, tautology, turgidity and joy-killing nonsense that that implies. We were fed this gruel at school on a large wooden spoon, and it was ghastly. Why do some otherwise brilliant minds seek to present their subjects and their years of research in such benumbingly uninteresting prose that they place within their students the Pavlovian reaction of seeking something else to do whenever the name of Milton presents itself? The answer has to have something to do with the fact that Puritanism has long been the fall-guy, the straw man, of the modernist school. If you can bring down Puritanism, then the English Bible for which the Puritans struggled so manfully, will fall with it. The Bible will appear as boring as its champions, so let's make Milton, the archetypal Puritan, as uninteresting as is humanly possible. They succeeded brilliantly.

A new day has dawned, however, and with it a new edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. What distinguishes this edition from all the others is that it is a 'Biblically Annotated Edition'. The work is actually a great deal more than its name implies. With considerable misgivings, I had envisaged Bible references in the margins which tell the uninformed reader which particular verse of the Bible Milton is referring to in any given line of his poem. But I was very pleasantly surprised. This book surely opens up a whole new world on Milton, for it shows not just the fact that his epic is built on 'the Bible' – a fact which even I knew before opening this volume – but the array of English versions of the Bible which Milton used. In fact, he used the whole gamut that was available to him – the *Great Bible* of 1540 (Cranmer's Bible) which Coverdale issued mostly out of Tyndale; the *Bishops' Bible* of 1568; the incomparable *Geneva Bible* of 1560; and even the *Douay-Rheims Catholic Bible*. *The King James Bible* (1612 edition) was also one of the plinths upon which Milton built his edifice, all of which was wonderfully refreshing news to me.

Yet even that is not all. Stallard (our volume's editor) demolishes in a riveting Preface the common concept of the Puritanical Milton by simply mentioning his (Milton's) approach to the Bible and his expectations of others when they handle it. Milton was of the view that in an ideal world, those who teach the Bible should at least be literate in its original languages of Hebrew and Greek. But he also knew that such attainments were not always possible or even practicable, so he commended such teachers to use the English Bible, and to use it in all its glorious versions. I thank Matthew Stallard for introducing him so to me. The Milton I had been taught about was a self-righteous and spiritually constipated bore who suffered a perpetual cramp in his heart toward any who were not of his vein. But Stallard's Milton? Ah, now this is a man, a child and exponent of the English Bible, whom I could easily love and cherish.

Stallard's edition of *Paradise Lost* is based firmly upon the 1674 printing (its second edition). The typeface is large and clear, with plenty of white space on the page, making it a joy to read. Of slightly smaller print are the copious footnotes, but even these are very easy on the eye - and fascinating too, a delicious romp through all the Reformation Bibles (save that of Wycliffe) and a right royal feast for any Tyndalian! The volume (hardback) opens easily, and readily lies flat, sparing the reader the distraction of pages turning on their own as soon as you stop to take a sip of tea, as well as the task of finding something suitable with which to weigh them down. The quality of the edition certainly justifies its cost of \$60 (about £50 at time of writing), though it is available through Amazon for a much more agreeable £25 - the paperback is less of course at around £13).

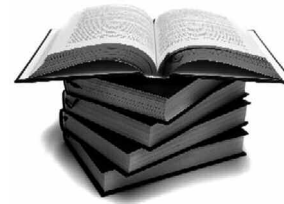
Mercifully for our readers, I am spared the daunting task of reviewing the actual poem. Having been made to shy away from Milton these past sixty years, I'd doubtless be out of my depth if I tried. Suffice it to say here that my eyes are being opened - thanks to this edition! - to a joy and pleasure (and high drama) which I can only regret having missed out on in the past.

To read Milton's *Paradise Lost* is very similar to reading Virgil or Homer, but with this edge and advantage. Milton's is not a translated work. The glories of Virgil or Homer are too often lost for the English reader in inept translations which fail to convey the subtle nuances of the originals. Puns and allusions which would have made their readers and audiences smile are simply and inevitably lost in translation (and even more in interpretation). But Milton wrote in fine 17th-century English, a form of our language which is readily understood and enjoyed by any modern English reader - and listener too.

Milton, like Shakespeare, would surely be best handled when read out to an audience, and were *Paradise Lost* ever to be narrated or performed on stage (the Globe perhaps? - now there's a thought!), then the public's appreciation of Milton would surely soar.

In the seventeen years since David Daniell founded the Tyndale Society, it has often and rightly been recognised that without Tyndale, there would have been no Shakespeare. Now, thanks to Stallard's edition, we can surely add to that. Unlike Shakespeare's, Milton's work was based entirely upon the English Reformation Bible, which in turn was almost entirely Tyndale's handiwork. So it most certainly can be said, no Tyndale, no Milton. In short, Stallard's is a groundbreaking and thoroughly enlightening edition of *Paradise Lost*, and long may it prosper. For my part, I shall treasure it always.

Bill Cooper.



What are you Reading?

Report by Mary Clow

The Elizabethans by A.N. Wilson (2011)
Hutchinson Random House, £25,
ISBN 9780091931513

So you have read all the books from Virginia Woolf through Edith Sitwell to AL Rouse, and you have seen her played by actresses from Bette Davis through Glenda Jackson to Cate Blanchett and Vanessa Redgrave. Why would you need to be told the story over again?

Answer: because it's AN Wilson and he makes an old tale unputdownable.

Wilson kicks off with the arresting statement that '*we have lived to see the Elizabethan Age come to an end*' - which he substantiates with short chapters on the English attempt to subdue Ireland, and the Elizabethan competition with the Spanish in the Americas, hence mainly Protestant, English-speaking Colonies, the USA, and the development of the British Empire. In both aggressive enterprises, the Queen was an instigator, investor and inspiration. She needed to be: her kingdom was broke from Mary Tudor's expensive wars, and isolated by her own Protestant religion.

The narrative then flashes back to the intricate details of Elizabeth's unlikely accession: under virtual house arrest at Hatfield House, she is told of her sister's death, drops to her knees and humbly accepts the throne with a quotation from Ps 18 (in Latin). Wilson cunningly supposes that she had prior information and had prepared this little drama.

He goes on to generalise that the English have always loved ceremonial, and Elizabeth used it to enchant the populace throughout her long reign. Her preparation for her Coronation was pure theatre. From Hatfield she moved to the house of Lord North (another of her girlhood gaolers), and thence to her former prison - the Tower of London. She had been a rare occupant to get out to higher state, not least alive. Her slow progress into London was marked by interruptions for wayside allegorical pageants and tributes. In one a child presented her with an English Bible, which she kissed, held up for the crowd to see, and placed over her heart. Tyndalians would yearn to know what Bible that was, obviously a small volume, presumably the New Testament: the Geneva NT had been published the year before, when you could be burned in England for owning it. In any case, it was a strong statement.

The first crisis was who would crown the Queen and administer the oaths?

SPECIAL OFFER: THE NEW TESTAMENT 1526

Courtesy of the British Library, the Tyndale Society has a few remaining copies of the facsimile of *The New Testament 1526: translated by William Tyndale* to offer for sale to members at the special discounted prices of:

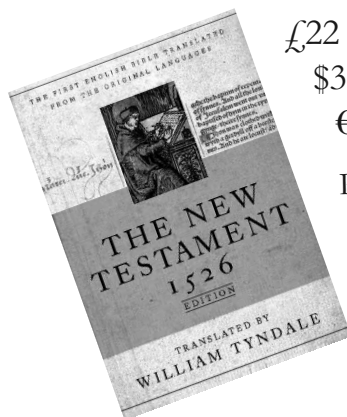
£22 (inc p&p) UK;

\$30 (+ p&p) USA;

€30 (+ p&p) Europe

Please send your cheque (made out to 'The Tyndale Society') with order to:

*The Tyndale Society,
Barnyard, Purdy St.,
Salthouse, Norfolk
NR25 7XA, UK*



All enquiries to be sent via email to: tyndale.sec@btinternet.com

Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury and her cousin, had died hours after Mary Tudor; the Archbishop of York declined; the Bishop of Carlisle agreed, but although instructed not to elevate the Host he did so anyway. Yet the Queen, perhaps once again pre-warned, had slipped behind a private curtain so did not witness this Catholic rite nor was it observed if she took Communion in one kind (Catholic) or both (Protestant). The ambivalence of her reign was skillfully set.

She was to be Queen for 45 years. Wilson lightens the telling with many references to the literature of her age and apt quotations. *'There were more than 230 Elizabethan poets'* he states, *'No other period of literature in the English language matches it'*. He is a voracious reader and his enthusiasms bring the story vividly to life. Spenser's *Fairy Queen* is the theme-song of the early reign, but the final chapter analyses *Hamlet* as *'the psychodrama of the Elizabethan age'*, while London awaited the death of one monarch and the arrival of another.

Astonishingly as Cranmer had been her godfather, Elizabeth asked to be buried in the Westminster Abbey tomb of Mary, who had burned him. The half-sisters lay together unmarked, until the present grand edifice was erected, fit for two Queens.

The Fugitive Scholar The Tudor King and the Bible Translator

www.cafecredo.org.uk

This year, the UK Credo storytelling trust, committed to promoting oral Biblical storytelling, has launched a vibrant story event for primary school aged children, centred on William Tyndale.

The day long workshop is designed for 7 to 11 year olds (KS2) linking with their history study of the Tudors. Learning materials are provided for teachers for classroom work. The balance of storytelling, drama and investigation provides a broad range of learning styles for the pupils.

The Fugitive Scholar Workshop Day invites children to Journey with *The Credo Storytellers* and *Scenechange Theatre Company* as they weave a wonderful tale of high drama, spies, smugglers and court intrigue in the time of King Henry VIII. This radical Tudor period brought us the English Bible and the English reformation, which continues to impact our lives today.

Workshop Bookings: Tel: 07930 255 697 / Email: admin@cafecredo.org.uk



How I Met William Tyndale...

Bill Cooper

Now, how did I meet William Tyndale? I suppose he had always been at the back of my thoughts since I had read about the Reformation as a teenager and as a young Christian. I remember seeing black and white plates in various books showing open English Bibles of various Tudor editions, those of Tyndale himself of course, and of Myles Coverdale, John Rogers' Matthew Bible, the Geneva, and so on. It was all wonderful stuff, and fired within me a deep and abiding love for the Reformation English Bible. Alas, modern technology, which can turn out a perfect digitised facsimile of a Bible quicker than I can take a sip of tea, had not yet been developed. If you wanted a Reformation Bible back then, you would need to take out a second mortgage and buy one. But then, in 1976, modern technology made its debut (for me at least) with the appearance of the Paradine colour facsimile of Tyndale's 1526 New Testament. It was published by the Nottingham Court Press (now unhappily defunct) and cost a *'mere'* £26 – a full week's wages for me back then, but worth every penny. I studied it avidly, and it still sits proudly in my bookcase, a lifelong and irreplaceable treasure.

Twenty years later, in the mid-90s, I was rushing through Hounslow West tube station when I saw a strangely familiar face peeping out at me from a poster. It was evocative enough to stop me in my tracks (somewhat to the annoyance of those behind me who likewise were rushing for the train). It was the face – or half the face – of William Tyndale, and he was advertising the *Let There Be Light* exhibition at the British Museum. I left the station, hunted for an unvandalised pay phone, and shamelessly cancelled the appointment to which I'd been rushing, reversing the charge as I did so – *toujours l'audace*. Then, returning to the station, I caught the next available train and alighted at Holborn. From there I walked hurriedly (as I could in those days) to the British Museum. I should have read the poster more carefully though, and taken note of the opening hours. 7.15 am is not the time to turn up at the British Museum – it doesn't open its doors till the crack of noon. So I had to kick my heels for a few hours, but I knew that it would be well worth the wait. At the exhibition (which bowled me over) I picked up information about the then fledgling Tyndale Society, joined immediately, attended its first conference at Oxford and was ever after completely and entirely hooked.

It was at the TSoc's second Oxford conference that an idea was born. Using

Society Notes

Compiled by Mary Clow

my facsimile of Tyndale's 1526 New Testament, I could produce an original-spelling edition so that, in true Tyndalian fashion, everyone could enjoy a copy. And that is how, in the year 2000, the British Library came to publish the Tyndale Society's original-spelling edition of 1526 – a book which is still selling after 11 years in print, something of a record for the British Library I believe.

Producing the edition was a joy – I cannot call it a labour – of some 4000 man-hours. Being retired, I had all the time in the world. I had begun copying the words of 1526 by typing with both index fingers, and had completed the four Gospels when, to my utter dismay, I decided to check my work for copying errors. They were innumerable, and trying to correct them was a hopeless task. But then something strange happened. Due to an auto-immune reaction whilst I slept one night, the triceps in my left arm divorced themselves from their tendons, making typing with that arm a particularly trying, not to say painful, exercise. I could only proceed by leaning on my left arm and typing solely with the index finger of my right hand, one letter at a time. But the great advantage was this. Despairing of ever being able to correct all my errors, I began the work again from scratch, and instead of looking at the words, I was now compelled to look at each letter individually, and copy them – well over half a million of them – just one at a time. And that is why, when the text of 1526 was checked by the British Library for copying errors, none were found! Fortuitous is not the word for it, but it had been time, energy and a left arm well spent.

Just before the edition went into print, however, something else strange occurred. Tyndale's 1526 New Testament was known to have survived in just two incomplete copies, that owned by the British Library, and a much more incomplete copy owned by St Paul's. The British Library copy lacked the title page and list of contents (which the St Paul's copy also lacked along with 70 other leaves), and I was resigned to sending the TSoc edition to press in an incomplete state. But then, news came from Stuttgart that a third copy had been found – with its title and contents pages intact! That was not fortuitous. It was Providential. It meant, of course, that Tyndale's 1526 New Testament could now be restored to the reading public complete and entire for the first time in 474 years!

So, that is how I met William Tyndale. It is a friendship which has deepened and widened out immensely over the years, and still I am bowled over by not just his scholarship, immense as that is, but by his truly God-given ability to render his learning into the richest and plainest English. His legacy of the Bible in English turned this world upside down, and changed our history (under God) forever. I'm glad that I met him!

David Daniell continues to follow the activities of the Tyndale Society, in spite of living in retirement and frail health. He especially enjoys references to Tyndale in the media, and recently was immensely amused by an episode of the ITV series *Midsomer Murders* in which a Vicar was seen reading 'William Tyndale's New Testament' - and immediately met a grisly end. Viewers of the programme will know that this is the usual outcome, and therefore no reflection on Tyndale. (The programme is widely available in the USA on PBS.)

Recently, David has moved into a nursing home for more professional care. His son, **Andy** continues to live at 17 Crossfell Rd, Leverstock Green, Hemel Hempstead, Herts HP3 8RF, UK, from where cards will be quickly passed to David, but please no lengthy correspondence or requests for replies.

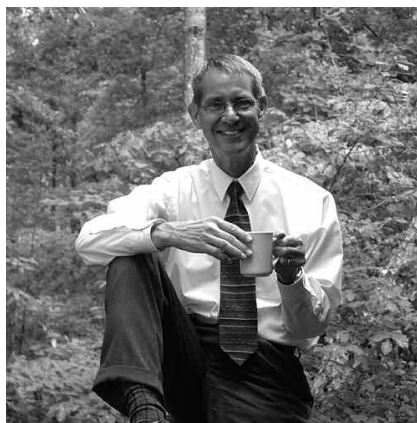
The Martin family, **Helen, Thomas and Bonnie Martin**, of Pennsylvania, USA - are owed our heartfelt thanks for generous sponsorship, through their Five Talents Fund, of **The Tyndale Society's** participation in the Ohio Conference (see Event Report), including their hospitality to our speaker **Phil Arthur**, and to **Mary Clow**. In the USA, Rev. Arthur eloquently told the story of Tyndale to two audiences: the recording of his lecture is now available on audio CD from The Tyndale Society (see details in this issue on p.49).

Guido Latré can be viewed, speaking knowledgeably about Tyndale, in *Fires of Faith*, the 3-part TV series made by Brigham Young University, Utah, USA. One of the distinguished 'talking heads' of top-flight historians used throughout the programme, (intercutting the dramatisations), Guido makes serious points with articulate comment. (See Review in this issue on p.62)

Valerie Offord in Geneva writes: '*Quite a lot of queries in connection with my role as archivist here and showing various groups around the Reformation Museum. I am about to plunge into work on a celebration of the first Thomas Cook's tour of Switzerland. I do hope it does not involve going up mountains on mules in period costume. Fortunately I did all the ground work on the subject for my exhibition at the Geneva State Archives in 2003/2004.*'

Tyndale Society (USA) has now been approved by the IRS as a non-profit organisation for tax purposes, making any future charitable contributions deductible for US tax payers.

Obituary of Don Smeeton 1946-2011



Don Smeeton of The Tyndale Society

Don Smeeton was born in Denver, Colorado, and received his B.A. from Central Bible College, and his M.A. from the Theological Seminary of the Assemblies of God, with whom he served for 25 years as a foreign missionary in Europe and South Africa.

His Ph.D in Historical Theology was from the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium, and he was a university professor both abroad and in the USA. Dr Smeeton was a published author and a specialist in church history, the history of modern missions, and Roman Catholic theology.

He served as a consulting theological editor for the Catholic University of America's publication of the works of William Tyndale.

Don was a teacher, librarian and scholar, who loved learning and people. He leaves his wife, Debra, son, step-children, and 17 grandchildren.

From Debbie Smeeton:

'Don loved being a part of the Tyndale Society because his life was so patterned after William Tyndale, his teachings and interpretations of the word. Don lived in and by the word with a simple love for God that has left a mark on many lives.'

Ralph Werrell writes:

'Donald Dean Smeeton in 1986 published Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology. This suggested that there was possibly a link between the Lollard movement and William Tyndale. Charles G. Nauert, the General Editor of Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies wrote "Dr. Donald D. Smeeton, is well aware that his own arguments are based on inference and that additional evidence on the main issues of the book would be highly desirable if only it were available." Donald was breaking into a new territory - breaking through the academic barrier that separated the Late Medieval and the Early Modern periods and suggested that Tyndale's Reformation theology had its roots in fourteenth century England and Wyclif, rather than Luther's sixteenth century Reformation. Tyndalians benefited from the paper he gave at the Lichfield Tyndale Conference in 2006.'

(See *Where did Tyndale get his Theology?* reprinted with permission from Christianity Today 1987, on p.34 of this issue)

Dates for Your Diary 2012

◆ **Saturday 26th May - 11:30am - 1pm, London, UK**
Extraordinary General Meeting of The Tyndale Society
17 Powis Terrace, Notting Hill, London, W11.
(with coffee & sandwiches)

◆ **Saturday 26th May - 2.30pm - 5:10pm, London, UK**
'Written on the Heart' by David Edgar
Duchess Theatre, Catherine Street, Covent Garden, London, WC2
Matinee seats reserved in Dress Circle at £40 each

◆ **Saturday 26th May - 5:30pm, London, UK**
Author David Edgar will speak to us about his play 'Written on the Heart'
There will be transport to take Members from Powis Terrace to the theatre and back again after the play. **PLEASE INFORM US IMMEDIATELY IF YOU WISH TO ATTEND AS TICKET NUMBERS ARE STRICTLY LIMITED.**

◆ **Saturday 8th September, in the USA**
One-day Conference at London Grove Meeting House, Kennett Square, PA.
"Let him alone!" Religious Persecution after the Great Ejection (1662)
Keynote Speaker: Dr Carl Trueman, Westminster Theological Seminary
In 1662, a series of new laws nearly destroyed the church in England. This year marks the 350th anniversary of the 'Great Ejection' when more than 2,000 ministers were deprived of their income and banished from their churches. Religious meetings outside of church buildings were outlawed and many were imprisoned whose only crime was preaching in unlicensed gatherings. This marked the beginning of a period of severe persecution for Quakers and Catholics. John Wesley, founder of Methodism, had a grandfather and two great grandfathers who all suffered as a result of the 'Great Ejection', and John Bunyan might never have written *Pilgrim's Progress* had his congregation in Bedford not been cast out. Even America was affected because the English Act of Habeas Corpus was adopted a century later as part of the US Constitution.
Please email: satteacher@aol.com for further details.

◆ **Wednesday 19th December, 12:30pm**
Tyndale Society Annual Service of Lessons and Carols, London, UK
St. Mary Abchurch, Abchurch Lane, City of London. All welcome.



The Tyndale Society (US/Can)

New US Membership Applications 2012-13

Please complete & return to: The Tyndale Society (USA),
PO Box 643, Unionville, PA19375, USA

Member Name: _____

Member Address: _____

Town: _____

State: _____

Zip Code: _____

Telephone Number: _____

Email Address: _____

Please select your chosen membership category:

'BASIC' MEMBERSHIP

with bi-annual *Tyndale Society Journal* (US Dollars) \$45 PER YEAR

OR

'SCHOLARLY' MEMBERSHIP

(plus annual *Reformation*) (US Dollars) \$90.00 PER YEAR

(please circle one of the above options, as appropriate)

I enclose my check payment in the sum of: (US Dollars) \$ _____

SIGNED: _____ DATE: __/__/__

Joining the Tyndale Society Frequently Asked Questions:

What is the Tyndale Society?

The Tyndale Society is a registered charity which exists to tell people about William Tyndale's great work and influence, and to stimulate study of the man who gave us our English Bible.

Who can be a Member?

Membership of the Tyndale Society is open to all who share an interest in the life and work of William Tyndale.

Where are Members based?

Our membership is worldwide, with a large proportion of members based in the UK and the USA and some as far afield as Japan and Australia.

What are the categories of Membership?

Individual Membership (£22.50/\$45 per year)
Reformation Membership (£45.00/\$90 per year)

What will I receive when I join?

All members receive: Two issues of the *Tyndale Society Journal* per year
Regular invitations to conferences, lectures and social events
Invitations to tour historical sites not generally open to the public
25% Discount on advertising in the *Tyndale Society Journal*

In addition, Reformation (US 'Scholarly') Members receive:
One issue of *Reformation* per year (representing a 50% discount)

What Payment Methods are Accepted?

Standing order, Cheque payment in £ (GBP) or \$ (US Dollars)
Cash (if you join the Society at a membership event)

So how do I apply to become a Member?

Fill in the form opposite or overleaf (depending on country) and send it to:

UK/EUR/ROW: Karen Wortley, Membership Secretary,
The Tyndale Society, Barnyard, Purdy Street, Salthouse, NR25 7XA.

US/CAN ONLY: The Tyndale Society (USA), PO Box 643,
Unionville, PA 19375, USA

email: tyndale.sec@btinternet.com



The Tyndale Society (UK/EU)

New UK Membership Applications 2012-13

Please complete & return to: K Wortley, Membership Secretary,
The Tyndale Society, Barnyard, Purdy St., Salthouse, NR25 7XA

Member Name: _____
 Member Address: _____
 Town: _____
 County: _____
 Post Code: _____
 Telephone Number: _____
 Email Address: _____

Standing Order Mandate To: **The Branch Manager**
 Bank/Building Society Name: _____
 Branch Address: _____

 Post Code: _____
 Name of Account Holder: _____
 Account No: _____ Sort Code: __ / __ / __
 Please pay: **The Tyndale Society, National Westminster Bank, Branch Sort Code: 60-70-03 Account No: 86110683**

EITHER £22.50 PER YEAR (For Single Membership)
OR £45.00 PER YEAR (Membership including Reformation)
OR £60.00 PER YEAR (For Friend Membership)
 (please delete two of the above, as appropriate)

Amount in words: _____
 Commencing on: _____ (Date/Month/Year)
 And Continuing **every year** on the same date until Further Notice
 (cancelling any previous instructions regarding this payee)

I am a UK taxpayer intending tax to be reclaimed under the Gift Aid scheme for Charity No. 1020405 (delete if necessary)

MEMBER SIGNATURE: _____ DATE: __/__/__

Alternatively, I attach my cheque payment in the sum of: _____

Tyndale Society Officers:

- Chairman Emeritus: Professor David Daniell
- Chairman: Mary Clow, maryclow@aol.com
- Vice-Chair USA: Dr Barry T. Ryan, drbarrytryan@aol.com
- Treasurer: Office Vacant
- Secretary to the Trustees: Rochelle Givoni, Rochelle.Givoni@ctl.com
- Membership Secretary: Karen Wortley, tyndale.sec@btinternet.com

Key Contacts for Members and Friends:

- Membership/Subscription Worldwide**
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email: tyndale.sec@btinternet.com
 Phone: +44 (0)207 221 0303
- USA**
 Tyndale Society, PO BOX 643, Unionville, PA19375
email: (subject: Tyndale Society): SatTeacher@aol.com
 Phone: +1 610 869 9087
- European Representative**
 Mrs Valerie Offord
email: valerie.offord@bluewin.ch
- UK Contact**
 Mrs Priscilla Frost, 27 Ditchley Road, Charlbury, Oxon. OX7 3QS, UK.
email: info@oxconf.co.uk
 Phone: +44 (0) 1608 811818. Fax: +44 (0) 1608 819010,
- Administration**
 Mrs Gillian Guest, **email:** PMG7515@aol.com
- Ploughboy Group**
 Revd. David Ireson, 50 Camperdown Terrace, Exmouth, Devon, EX8 1EQ
email: decuman@hotmail.co.uk
 Phone: +44 (0) 1395 263307
- Webmaster**
 Dr Deborah Pollard, **email:** d.e.pollard@qmul.ac.uk, www.tyndale.org

