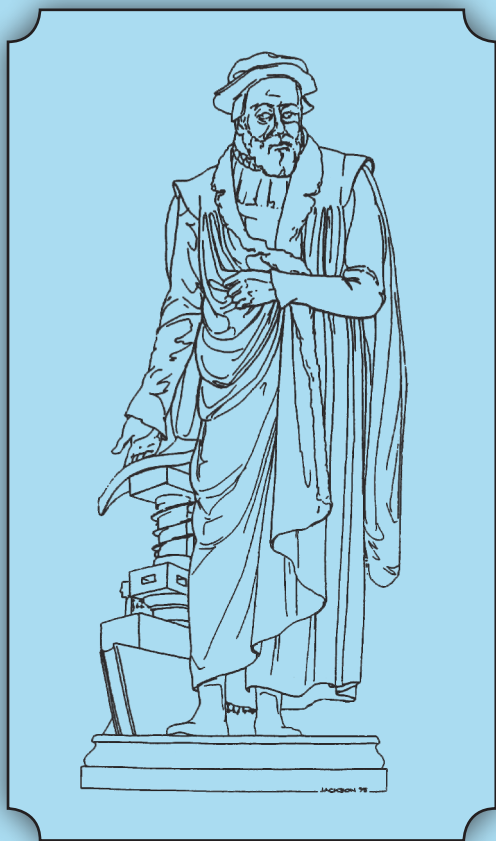


The Tyndale Society Journal



No. 43
Winter 2014

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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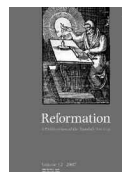
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Guest Editor for Tyndale Society Journal No.43:

Neil Inglis

**We invite your contributions for the next Journal
by 15th November 2013 please (see *p. 10*)**



Especially Welcome...

contributions for: 'How I Met William Tyndale'

Editorial

Neil Inglis

Guest Editor - TSJ No. 43

ONE DETAIL IN David Daniell's magisterial, life-altering Tyndale biography that escaped me back in the 1990s was the author's observation that reading aloud was customary in Tyndale's time. The significance of this was brought home to me recently when a family medical crisis left me no time to read books in print. And yet, I could listen to *talking* books while doing chores, and so I made the switch to audio-books and lending libraries, which I had not used before, and in the process discovered that you absorb as much, or more, through the ear as through the eye. I have covered much ground in the past two years. I have listened to numerous history books, and have also eavesdropped on other recordings in my household; it was unfair of me to dismiss the Harry Potter series, brought splendidly to life by narrator Jim Dale, whose capacity for characterization and scene-conjuring knows no bounds. If you only remember Dale as the callow youth in the Carry On movies, you owe it to yourself to give him a second chance and savor how splendid an audio-book can be.



Neil Inglis

We have rejoiced over the discovery of the series of novels about the “No. 1 Ladies’ Detective Agency” written by Alexander McCall Smith; these stories feature Mma Ramotswe, Botswana’s first lady private detective, who has a foot in both camps as a forward-looking woman in Botswana, a traditional society. Mma is married to the auto mechanic Mr. J.L.B. Matakone, an honorable man who adores his unusual wife and strives to understand her. The audio recordings are infused with linguistic, cultural, and local authenticity by the South African reader, who knows the terrain and lingers over the double “mm” in “Mma Ramotswe.” Another classic of the genre.

Alas, audio-books are not trouble-free. Library copies can have scratches and tracking problems (do fellow borrowers take the DVDs to the beach and

bury them in sand?). More seriously, the studio recordings can be muffled or the narrators may read the text at light speed, skimming on detail and nuance. Modern technology should fix the first set of issues but doesn't always; and as for the readers, you would imagine that the record producers had a multitude of fine classically trained actors to choose from. But apparently not...

I have been moved to “think aloud about reading aloud” by Bill Cooper’s review in the current issue of the British Library’s original pronunciation edition of Tyndale’s Gospel according to Matthew. As Bill explains, listening to Tyndale’s language in reconstructed period pronunciation creates an entirely different experience for the Tyndalian. Similar discoveries are being made in the world of Shakespeare, where the use of drama-school received pronunciation positively conceals a multitude of resonances and allusions, puns and in-jokes that the Bard intended for his audiences to appreciate. Father-son duo Professor David Crystal and actor Ben Crystal take up the story in a Daily Telegraph article:

[Professor David Crystal] gave the example of Sonnet 166, often colloquially known as the “marriage sonnet”, which carries the final lines: “If this be error and upon me proved/ I never writ, nor no man ever loved.”

In [received pronunciation], it is often considered an awkward ending with no rhyme, but in [original pronunciation] - according to Ben Johnson’s guide - both “proved” and “loved” take on the short vowel, pronounced to rhyme with the latter. (...)

[Actor Ben Crystal] used the example of Act II, scene VII of *As You Like It*, in which Jaques delivers the lines:

And then he drew a dial from his poke,
And, looking on it with lack-lustre eye,
Says very wisely, ‘It is ten o’clock:
Thus we may see,’ quoth he, ‘how the world wags:
‘Tis but an hour ago since it was nine,
And after one hour more ‘twill be eleven;
And so, from hour to hour, we ripe and ripe,
And then, from hour to hour, we rot and rot;
And thereby hangs a tale.

When modern audiences are shown the words for “hour” and “whore” were pronounced in the same way in Shakespeare’s day, they realize that whole

ranges of nuances have been closed off to them, and not just the discomfiting sexual imagery in the passage quoted. Of course plays are meant to be read aloud, but even reading aloud may fail to do justice to the text, if one lacks a full appreciation of contemporary appreciation.

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/william-shakespeare/10372964/Shakespeare-read-in-Elizabethan-accent-reveals-puns-jokes-and-rhymes.html>



IN RECENT YEARS THE TSJ has acquired a multidimensional perspective, encompassing discussions of journalism, television, film, and monuments.. In this task the Society is assisted by its new and improved website (see Brian Buxton's report in this issue). In keeping with this multimedia focus, TSJ43 carries Bill Cooper's reviews of some recent and not-so-recent documentaries of interest to our readers. The recent broadcasts on Tyndale by Melvyn Bragg and on Thomas Cromwell by Prof. MacCulloch show how television is giving a second look to long neglected figures, such as William Tyndale (long relegated to bibliographies and footnotes) and Thomas Cromwell (so often confused with Oliver Cromwell by the general public). Mark Rylance has been cast in the role of Cromwell in the forthcoming adaptation of Hilary Mantel's *Wolf Hall*. These critically acclaimed documentaries will of course reach wider



Diarmaid MacCulloch and Melvyn Bragg have both given public recognition to William Tyndale

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audiences than the path-breaking profile of Tyndale in *The Economist*, reprinted in TSJ37 a few years ago.

A common and endearing feature of these and other such programs is that they call upon their viewers to use their imagination, and to be sensitive to the historical resonances emanating from historical sites and locales. Typically the camera will pan over an unassuming tower block on the banks of the Thames, and a narrator will comment, “at this spot, seven centuries ago, numerous Lollards were put to death...” There are no costly special effects, although the execution of a heretic on a blazing bonfire is simple enough to re-enact (and you will note several examples of the latter). The important point, however, is that Hollywood budgets are not needed because the strength of the material and the power of the stories speak for themselves. In a future issue, we will review the splendid 1980s movie “God’s Outlaw,” a fictionalized account of Tyndale’s life enhanced by a quality script and superb acting. This reminds us that before the dawn of the modern Tyndale era and the rise of The Tyndale Society, advocates for Tyndale were laboring in the fields to ensure his name would never be forgotten.

One such advocate for Tyndale was Anne Richardson, a loyal TSJ contributor and personal friend who passed away recently, and who is profiled in this issue by Sister Anne O’Donnell (her long-time friend and colleague) and myself. As an editor one has multiple responsibilities and one soon becomes very attached to dependable regular contributors who submit worry-free copy on deadline. Working with Anne Richardson was a more demanding experience; but are not challenges the very essence, the “pith and marrow” of the editor’s role? Through our editorial partnership we sought and brought out the best in one another, through several peaks and the occasional trough. Her passing has left a huge gap and I shall miss her.

Yet as we bid farewell to old friends we welcome new ones, and I would ask TSJ readers to extend warmest greetings to Nasim Tadghighi of Bristol University, who discusses Tyndale in the aforementioned Melvyn Bragg documentary. Nasim has written a splendid contribution to our long-running and ever-popular “How I Met Tyndale” column. This is a series which demonstrates how synchronicity and serendipity--and God’s grace--have played a vital role in bringing our readers in touch with the man whose life and work we honor in these pages. The “How I Met WT” series exemplifies my own ideals as editor, and is the reason why I actively welcome a humane and personal touch in the magazine’s featured articles. The first person pronoun is acceptable here.



FEATURES. Ian Thain and Ruth Magnusson Davis kick off our features with philological articles. Ian examines Tyndale's preference for "congregation" over "church" as a translation for "ekkllesia," a debate that cuts to the very heart of the Thomas More/William Tyndale controversy. Ruth invites us to scrutinize "no room at the inn", a phrase etched on our hearts, but one concealing a range of tricky lexical issues. The troublemaking word, in Greek, is "kataluma". A Modern Greek dictionary translates the word used as "lodging." So, this is a term which has survived two millennia of linguistic evolution and language policy reforms, and which I recently encountered in a Greek newspaper article on hotel sector policy, in the sense of "hotel accommodation(s)". From the Nativity all the way through to the decidedly unspiritual world of transposed EU directives--that is a most unusual trajectory for a word, and I dare say there's a message in there somewhere. As a further twist, the Jehovah's Witness Bible's translation as 'khan' (mentioned in Ruth's paper) is a form of the Central Asian term 'han' (in Turkey 'caravanserai'), an enclosed place for travellers to lodge in security with their animals, especially for camel trains

Michael Servetus (c. 1509-1553), Tyndale's approximate contemporary and fellow sufferer in the flames, is in the spotlight once again as another new contributor (Francisco Javier Benjamin González Echeverría) ponders the question of where Servetus was born and why he had more than one name. The parallels with the story of Tyndale aka Hychyns are obvious and, we hope, illuminating.

The Rev. David Ireson, Brother Henry Wansbrough, and Society President Mary Clow round out a thought-provoking issue with book reviews. David examines "Evolution of the Word" by Marcus Borg; Brother Henry reviews "The Roots of William Tyndale's Theology" by Ralph Werrell (well-known to TSJ readers), while Mary tackles Reza Aslan's "Zealot," which has caused quite a stir in the United States and elsewhere. Brian Buxton looks ahead to the Ipswich Day event in 2014 and provides an intriguing and heartening update on the 2007 London Day. This issue is crammed with good things. Happy reading!

Neil L. Inglis
Bethesda, Maryland

Submission Guidelines

Tyndale Society Journal No. 43

Guest Editor: Neil Inglis

Please send all article submissions
(via email where possible) to Neil at:

lordstarlink@gmail.com

Articles may be supplied either via *Word Document*, or as *plain text* in the message body of your email. Alternatively, we can accept *typewritten copy* (for scanning in) or clear, *hand-written copy* submissions.

Artwork and photographs may be supplied electronically either via email or on CD-R (*minimum resolution for all digital images: 300dpi*). Alternatively, these can be supplied in *hard copy* form, for scanning.

All type-written/hand-written copy, digital artwork on CD-R/hard copy artwork for scanning should be sent to:

**Gillian Guest, Tyndale Society Journal No:43
28 St Paul's Crescent, Botley, Oxford OX2 9AG, UK.**

**Deadline for submission of articles for the next issue:
15 November 2013**

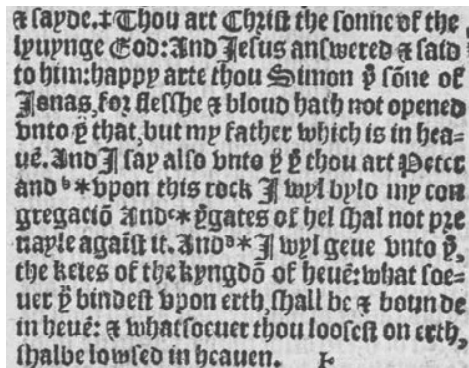
Tyndale's Congregation

Ian Thain

In his biography of William Tyndale¹ David Daniell sums up Sir Thomas More's antipathy towards Tyndale thus:-

*"Tyndale's offence has been to offer the people Paul in English, and translate four key New Testament words (presbuteros, ekklesia, agape, metaneo) in their correct Greek meanings (senior, congregation, love, repent) instead of priest, church, charity and do penance."*²

Each of these four words was, and still is, loaded with theological dynamite; we shall look here briefly at just one of them - ekklesia - and attempt to understand why it was that Tyndale defended to the death his translation of the word as Congregation and refused to accept Church.



¶ I saye. ¶ Thou art Christ the sonne of the
lyuynge God: And Iesus answered & said
to him: happy arte thou Simon & sone of
Jonas. for fleshe & bloud hath not opened
vnto þe that, but my father which is in hea-
uē. And I say also vnto þe þe thou art petre
and *vpon this rock I wyl byld my con-
gregaciō And *þe gates of hel shal nor pre-
uaile agayn it. And * I wyl geue vnto þe
the keyes of the kyngdō of heuē: what soe-
uer þe bindest vpon erth, shall be & bounde
in heuē: & whatsoeuer thou loosest on erth,
shalbe loosed in heauen. ¶

Tyndale's Matthew 2nd Edition 1549

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Simon Peter answered and said: Thou art Christ the son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him: happy art thou Simon son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not opened unto thee that, but my father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter: and upon this rock will I build my **congregation**. And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee, the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou bindest upon earth, shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou loosest upon earth, shall be loosed in heaven. (Matthew 16:18-21)

* Moreover * if thy brother trespace a-
 gainst thee. Go & tell him his faute betwe-
 ne him and thee alone. If he heare thee, thou
 hast wone thy brother: But if he heare thee
 not, then take yet wth thee one or two, that in
 the mouth of two or thre witnesses, al thyn-
 ges maye be stablished. If he heare not thee
 tell it vnto thee congregacion. If he heare
 not the cōgregacion, take him as an hethe
 mā & as a publican. Verely I say vnto you
 * whatsoeuer ye bynd on erth, shalbe boū-
 de in heauen. And whatsoeuer ye loose on
 erth, shalbe loosed in heuen. Verayne I say

Tyndale's Matthew 2nd Edition 1549

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Moreover if thy brother trespass against thee. Go and tell him his fault between him and thee alone. If he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother: But if he hear thee not, then take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, all things may be established. If he hear not them, tell it unto the **congregation**. If he hear not the **congregation**, take him as an heathen man and as a publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven. And whatsoever ye loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven. (Matthew 18:12-20)

Tyndale found himself in the almost unprecedented position of having to find English words with which to express the teaching, not of Rome but of the New Testament. In Matthew's gospel the word ekklesia occurs only twice and in the other gospels nowhere. Jesus had mentioned the ekklesia only briefly and almost in passing, and his few short words on the subject simply did not fit the powerful and wealthy religious organisation which in Tyndale's day claimed, as it does now, to be the body and bride of Christ's own founding. For Tyndale, scholar, thinker and theologian, there was an obvious mis-match between the very few words of Christ and the mighty mediæval church, and doctrines were taking shape in his mind of which, into the wrong ears, it was death even to speak.

The early English word Circe (church) described a physical building. Luther however had not used the closely related German word Kirche to translate ekklesia, he had used Gemeinde, which means something akin to community. Many Germans today refer to the church as kirche just as Scots refer to the kirk, but in the writer's experience a German house church today refers to itself as a hauskreis - house circle - laying the emphasis on people and not a building.

But the Gemeinde option was not open to Tyndale, writing as he was for his native Englishmen, and if he wouldn't translate Christ's ekklesia as Circe, neither could he borrow the other Greek word Synagogue, though it meant just a neutral "going together". Tyndale, who disliked Latin, settled upon Synagogue's Latin equivalent Congregation. He would already have been aware from his classical studies that although what happened then and happens now in a Jewish synagogue is very similar to what happened then and happens now in a Christian church, what happened in both of them was not remotely like anything which happened in a Greek ekklesia. Somewhat awkwardly for a translator, Jesus had employed a word which had neither correspondence in Jewish thought nor background in Jewish tradition. There were several Hebrew and Aramaic words he could have used which described various kinds of assembly familiar to the Jews, but he didn't use any of them. Instead he used a word, and used it twice, which came not from Moses but from Periclean Athens, and that word did not describe a religious assembly at all, not even a pagan one.

Clearly, translating ekklesia was always going to be a problem!

As commentators never tire of telling us the word ekklesia means "called-out ones", but two thousand years ago it also meant more than that. In the Golden Age of classical Greece (480 - 404 BC) the ekklesia was the governing body of a city state. It comprised all the free men of the city who had reached the age of eighteen years and who were otherwise eligible to try cases and pass laws (no slaves, no women). The ekklesia combined those functions which in a modern democracy we usually try to keep separate, the legislature and the judiciary. The ekklesia was the supreme civil authority, the governing body of a city, and its decisions were binding and final. The ekklesia held magistrates to account, it ratified or overturned decisions of the courts, and when necessary it declared war. Jesus' hearers knew well enough what an ekklesia was, because since the time of Alexander the Great, Greek language and Greek administration had prevailed throughout the whole of what we now call The Middle East, and much of it remained behind even after the Romans had fought their way through and enforced their own rule. The Romans allowed or adopted other nations' customs when they found them useful, and the ekklesia was one of those. In Matthew 18 we find Jesus describing an ekklesia functioning in a way which would have been perfectly familiar to his hearers, namely as a court of appeal in a case of tort. The ekklesia was a civil and legal body. It was not a standing committee and did not meet every week; it was an *ad hoc* assembly which met only when summoned, hence its name.

But for the translator into English, worse is to come. By the first century

AD only the Roman emperor could summon the ekklesia, so it is doubly surprising that we find Jesus using the word. The Greek city-states had long since lost their power, Rome ruled the world, and only the emperor could speak of his ekklesia. For an obscure Jewish rabbi in a backward province on the edge of the empire to speak of *his* ekklesia would have puzzled, and perhaps even embarrassed, his followers. It was incongruous to say the least. His use of the word would have furrowed brows then and it should furrow brows now, because an ekklesia didn't pray, it didn't sing hymns, it didn't read from any sacred writings, it didn't endure sermons, and it didn't take up any of those oh-so-essential offerings. Whatever Jesus meant by "my ekklesia" he certainly wasn't talking about a Jewish synagogue, nor indeed even about what we should now call a Christian church. When Jesus began his ministry the depraved and crafty Augustus had been succeeded by the more depraved though less crafty Tiberius, but nothing had changed about what people understood by the word ekklesia. The ekklesia was an assembly of free men which could be called together by the emperor for the purpose of ratifying his legal judgments and decrees. It had absolutely nothing to do with the weekly worship of God.

Why then did Jesus use such a word when he spoke about what he was going to build? If he had been speaking about an assembly for worship, why did he not use an Hebrew or an Aramaic word? Or if he was speaking in Greek, why didn't he simply use the familiar word Synagogue?

It so happens that in the King James translation of the New Testament we do sometimes find the word ekklesia rendered properly, when the context is such that it could not possibly have been translated in any other way. In Acts 19 we find Paul at Ephesus and as usual he was at the centre of a riot. The whole of Ephesus was in an uproar and had to be calmed down by the town clerk. The Greek word used of that crowd is ekklesia (vs 39 & 41) translated by Tyndale with perfect consistency as Congregation, but in the KJV it has now become Assembly. Under no circumstances could that shouting melee of pagan rioters possibly be described as a Christian Church, yet elsewhere in the King James and most other translations of the New Testament, Church is precisely how the same word is normally translated. Tyndale would not have tolerated such un scholarly inconsistency!

ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ

Ekklesia is still widely but wrongly translated Church. The only assembly which did then what in church we do now was a synagogue, but although Jesus taught in the synagogues he never used the word when teaching - except to condemn them for hypocrisy. The apostles' teaching has to be viewed in the light of what Jesus taught, and it has to be admitted that about the ekklesia Jesus actually taught very little, or at least very little that has reached us. Tyndale's use of Congregation was a brave step away from Church and towards what Jesus meant by ekklesia, but I venture to suggest that it was only a partial step. On both the occasions of which his use of the word is recorded, Jesus went straight on to talk about binding and loosing, a figure of speech which had nothing to do with the current fad for "binding" Satan but was a Hebraism for doing what Moses did amongst the twelve tribes, namely to lay down the law, to pronounce the decrees of the living God, and prophetically to judge hard cases. Now such a role demands of an ekklesia that it have the same prophetic relationship with God as was given to Moses, Joshua and Samuel, and later to Peter, Paul, and John. But such a relationship was certainly not given to the corrupt mediæval church of Rome, and still today it lies beyond our lax and lukewarm church experience. We still haven't got a functional English translation of ekklesia for the simple reason that we still haven't got a functional English ekklesia. Well indeed did Tyndale pray that God would open the king of England's eyes! Pent in that damp and evil fastness at Vilvoorde, did William Tyndale perhaps glimpse something of the living but mysterious prophetic relationship implied by the very un-Jewish word which the Lion of Judah had used?

But even his modest Congregation was heresy to More, for it laid an axe to the root of everything the mediæval church was. Tyndale's congregation could assemble itself together without a priest; it could be governed by un-learned men; the people owed their congregation nothing but love; and to turn from their sins they needed only to change their mind, wholly unencumbered by all those expensive and humiliating penances which for a thousand years had reinforced both the church's coffers and its dominance over the souls of men. No wonder the church hated William Tyndale! Tyndale's transparent humility, sincerity and Godliness were all a standing rebuke to More's pride, cleverness and uncleanness,³ and just as the learned Scribes and Pharisees had resolved upon the death of Tyndale's Master, the learned More resolved upon the death of William Tyndale.

Nevertheless in a dark and damp Flanders prison England's greatest classical scholar and Godliest theologian found the courage and faith to follow his divine Master: not only to a cruel execution but, when men had done all that

they could do, beyond it to the Father of lights and to “the congregation of first-born sons which are written in heaven”.⁴

© Ian H.Thain Banbury, Oxon. 30th August 2013

References

1. Daniell, Prof. David; William Tyndale - a Biography; pub. Yale University Press 1994, ISBN 0-300-06123-3.
2. op cit; Part 3; Ch 10; The Dialogue Concerning Heresies.
3. Offensively evident from the vocabulary of the midden which he employed in his assaults upon Tyndale, and from occasional unguarded lapses in Utopia.
4. Heb 12:23 *WT*.

◆

No Room in the Inn

Ruth Magnusson Davis
Canadian lawyer and founder of Baruch House Publishing

And she brought forth her first begotten son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn—Luke 2:7, KJV.

William Tyndale, servant of the Lord, was a linguist with great knowledge of ancient Greek and Hebrew, as well as of Latin and other languages. He was an accomplished grammarian and a gifted student of the Holy Scriptures. He was also the man chosen by God in the turbulent years of the Reformation to open up the Greek New Testament to the world in his native English.

In 1526 Tyndale published his first edition of the New Testament, and a significant revision followed in 1534. It was in this revision that Tyndale first used the word ‘*inn*’ in Luke’s Gospel where the physician tells us that Joseph and Mary, Mary then being ready to give birth to Jesus, were unable to find accommodation when they arrived in Bethlehem for the Roman census:

And it fortuneth while they were there, her time was come that she should be delivered. And she brought forth her first begotten son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them within in the inn.¹

Some moderns have said that the translation ‘*inn*’ here was incorrect, because it was unlikely that Joseph and Mary would have sought accommodation in

public lodgings. Rather, they would have been seeking a room in the private home of a relative, as was then the custom for weary travellers. Dr. Donald Brake recently wrote, commenting upon the King James version:

The term incorrectly translated from Greek into English as “inn” is a word used only twice in the New Testament. The other reference is Luke 22:11, where it refers to a “guest room” for Jesus and the disciples to eat the Passover... It seems more likely that Mary and Joseph intended to stay in the homes of their Bethlehem relatives, only to find other relatives had arrived for the census and occupied the “guest room”. The only room available was the room reserved for the animals.²

This criticism derives from our modern understanding of the word ‘*inn*.’ My *Webster’s Dictionary* defines ‘*inn*’ as: “1 a: a public house for the lodging and entertaining of travelers b: tavern.” This narrow definition of course precludes the possibility of there having been “no room” in a private house.

But when Tyndale wrote, the noun ‘*inn*’ was polysemous; that is, it had many ‘*semes*,’ or meanings. This was the case with many words in the 16th century, when the English vocabulary was much smaller and a few thousand words served where we now have tens of thousands; in other words, fewer words carried more meanings, but now we have more words with narrower meanings. An example is the noun ‘*mansion*,’ which once not only meant a large or stately house, but could refer to almost anything that served as a dwelling, including a tent, and was also used to refer to stopping-places in a journey.³ Clearly ‘*mansion*’ said to the ancients something quite different from what it now says to us at John 14:2: “*In my Father’s house are many mansions.*” We are familiar with this verse because the KJV followed Tyndale here, but the KJV committee preferred ‘*house*’ at 2 Corinthians 5:1-2 where Tyndale again had ‘*mansion*’ in a passage that illustrates its early polysemy:

We know surely if our earthy mansion wherein we now dwell were destroyed, that we have a building ordained of God, an habitation not made with hands, but eternal in heaven. And herefore sigh we, desiring to be clothed with our mansion which is from heaven.

While this state of affairs in early modern English, where one word could mean so many different things, no doubt led to misunderstandings, the ambiguity must also have been welcomed by translators when the facts were not known for certain, as was the case with the circumstances of Jesus’ birth.

In 1380, Wycliffe put ‘*chaumbre*’ at Luke 2:7. In his 1526 New Testament translation, William Tyndale first put ‘*hostrey*,’ but he then made the 1534 revision to ‘*inn*,’ which was carried into Mile Coverdale’s 1535 New Testament;

Coverdale put, “*for they had els no rowme in the ynne.*” Soon thereafter John Rogers utilized Tyndale’s translation in the Matthew Bible, as abbreviated by Tyndale in a 1535 revision: “*because ther was no roume for them within the ynne,*” from whence it went almost verbatim into the KJV.

When Tyndale, Coverdale, and Rogers published their works, and also in 1611 when the King James committee brought out its revision, the word ‘*inn*’ could be used to refer to not only to public inns, but also to private houses or seasonal residences, and it was used in interesting figurative senses. Below are only a few of the obsolete meanings and uses of ‘*inn*’ that I have taken from the *Oxford English Dictionary* online.⁴ Note the variety of spellings: ‘*yn,*’ ‘*Inne,*’ ‘*In*’—

1.a *A dwelling-lace, habitation, abode, lodging; a house (in relation to its inhabitant).*

An example from 1546: “Resty welth wylth me this widow to wyn, To let the worlde wag, and take myne ease in myne yn.” From 1657: “Queen Mary gave this House to Nicholas Heth, Archbishop of York, and his successors for ever, to be their Inne or Lodging for their repair to London.”

2.a *‘to take (up) one’s inn (or inns): to take up one’s abode, residence, quarters; so, ‘to have, keep (one’s) inn.’*

From 1590: “With me ye may take up your In for this same night.”

3. *Dwelling-place, abode, place of sojourn, in various figurative uses.*

From Coverdale’s 1549 translation of Erasmus’ paraphrases: “The bodie is the dwelling house of the soule and the soule is the Inne of God.”

Therefore, given the etymology of the word and our lack of certain knowledge about that wondrous night so long ago, ‘*inn*’ was surely an apt choice for Tyndale, and it was fitting for the KJV to retain it.

Whether modern translations should keep ‘*inn*’ at Luke 2:7 is, of course, another question. Here becomes evident one of the challenges faced by those who attempt to modernize 16th century English – or, for that matter, who translate biblical Greek; judging by Tyndale’s translation, this ancient language often showed polysemy that paralleled early modern English. Faced with uncertainty, the translator cannot take refuge in ambiguity if there is no word in the target language that carries all the desired *semes*. Or if the problem is not uncertainty, it may still be difficult to find a modern word rich enough to convey the nuances of the original.

One is tempted to speculate, considering Tyndale’s slightly awkward 1534 rendering – “*no room for them within in the inn*” – that he considered the possibility that Joseph and Mary were obliged to take up their lodging ‘without in the inn,’ as it were: outside in the stable rather than within in a guest room.



Was Jesus born in a cave? – 'Adoration of the Shepherds, Giorgione', 1500

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Some have suggested that the stable could have been a cave adjoined to or nearby a private home:

Justin Martyr first mentioned Jesus' birth in a cave in the second century. It was not uncommon for houses in the Judean hillsides to be built as extensions of a cave. The ground around the cave was simply leveled and a stone-like structure built adjacent to the cave. The cave area would be shared with the animals during the cold winter rains and the heat of summer.

The common house was composed of four rooms consisting of a main hall, guestroom, a private family room, and then a storage room to house the animals, which was often a cave with a shared entrance. Perhaps the guest room was full, so Joseph and Mary were offered the cave room where the animals lived...⁵

Whatever the case, Tyndale reconsidered his translation a final time, and in 1535 left us with his last revision: "no roume for them within the ynnne." Would it be better now to put at this verse 'no room within the house,' or, 'no room inside at their lodgings,' to allow for the possibility of public or private accommodations? Or is it best not to change 'inn,' a word we know, love, sing in hymns, and read in our Prayer Book? After all, to know exactly where Jesus was born is not only not possible, it is also not doctrinally significant, and

nothing turns on it for our salvation. In any case, in a random sampling from modern Bible revisers we find at Luke 2:7:

Jerusalem Bible 1968: “*no room for them at the inn,*” revised to “*no room for them in the living-space*” in 1985.

NEB 1970: “*no room for them to lodge in the house.*”

Living Bible 1971: “*no room for them in the village inn.*”

NIV 1984: “*no room for them in the inn.*”

NWT 1984: “*no place for them in the lodging room.*”⁶

Moffatt 1985: “*no room for them inside the khan.*”

This last rendering does not appear to be a transliteration of the Greek, which is pronounced *kataluma* according to *Strong’s Exhaustive Concordance*.

Tyndale evidently struggled somewhat with how to best render Luke 2:7. However modern translators who wish to change his reference to an ‘*inn*’ face an added challenge, given the narrow precision of contemporary English words.

Ruth Magnusson Davis received a B.A. in French language studies with a German minor, and then a Bachelor of Laws degree. She practised law for 28 years. As a young believer, she founded Baruch House Publishing in 2005 to publish a book she wrote examining problems in the Charismatic Church, *True to His Ways: Purity and Safety in Christian Spiritual Practice*. She then retired from her law practice in 2009 to study and begin full-time work on the New Matthew Bible Project, dedicated to minimally updating and restoring the 1537/1549 Matthew Bible, which was the joint work of William Tyndale, Miles Coverdale, and John Rogers. The 21st century version will be known as the NMB, or New Matthew Bible. NMB scriptures are posted on-line at www.newmatthewbible.org as they are completed. Ruth resides in British Columbia, Canada, and is a member of the Traditional Anglican Church of Canada, formed in 2010.

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- 1 From Daniell, David, *Tyndale’s New Testament*, Yale University Press (New Haven and London 1995). Scripture quotations are from this version unless otherwise indicated.
- 2 Donald L. Brake, Ph.D, ‘The King James Bible’s Christmas Season’, article in *Bible Editions and Versions*, October-December 2012 edition, Volume 13, No. 4. (hereafter *BE&V*), p.26.
- 3 My source for this information is the entry for ‘*mansion*’ in the longer *Oxford English Dictionary* online as at November 28, 2012. Access to the online dictionary is only by subscription, or for members through their libraries or other such organizations.
- 4 From the *OED* online entry for ‘*inn*’ as at November 28, 2012.
- 5 Brake, *BE&V*, p 25.
- 6 The NWT, or New World Translation, is the Bible of the Jehovah Witnesses, wherein a concerted effort has been made to change the language of the faith. For example, Jesus was not crucified, he was “impaled,” and this not upon a cross, but upon a “torture stake.”

The concept of *persona* in the work of Servetus (Miguel de Villanueva)

Francisco Javier Benjamín González Echeverría
Translated from the Spanish by Peter Robertson

Servetus, theologian and discoverer of the pulmonary circulation of the blood, throughout his life used different surnames although his Christian name was unchanged always - 'Miguel' (Spanish) or 'Michel' (French): in contrast Calvin, his contemporary, as an author modified both his Christian and surname, adopting pseudonyms such as 'Charles D'Espeville' and 'Martinus'.

Servetus stands alone in that his effigy was set alight in France by the Inquisition, and he himself was burned at the stake by Protestant followers of Calvin in Switzerland—all in the course of the same year. On account of these historical facts alone, Servetus would be deserving of the closest scholarly consideration.

In 1999 a new registry document pertaining to Beatriz Conesa, Servetus's aunt, was discovered, showing that his grandmother, Beatriz Zaporta, was a member of a famous Spanish *converso* family. In fact, his great-uncle had been the banker and merchant Gabriel Zaporta. These findings shed light on the quest for the Hebraic connection in the many bibles to which Servetus contributed commentaries.

Servetus's other surname, De Villanueva, was shared by many families who had been Jewish *conversos*. In Tudela in Navarra, 'De Villanueva' appears on the Cathedral



Michael Servetus. Line engraving, 1696, after C. van Sichem, 1607.

©: Wellcome Library, London

tapestry *La Manta de Tudela* in the list of names of *conversos*, amounting to four out of 185 *converso* surnames in the 15th and 16th centuries. In Zaragoza (*Libro verde de Aragón*) the De Villanuevas were a prominent and influential family in the Aragonese nobility that included many *notarios* or solicitors. Tudela, the city of Servetus's birth, and Zaragoza, his final place of residence, are the only two cities that appear in Servetus' official French documentation.

Servetus lived in Spain, Italy and Germany but spent a total of over twenty years in France. He was to describe these countries in *Ptolemy's Geography* (first edition published in Lyons, second edition in Vienne, Isère, in 1541), in which he appeared as Michel De Villeneuve on the title page. Pointing out the differences between Spain and France, 'De Villeneuve' stated that the Spanish Inquisition behaved with particular cruelty towards "*marranos, conversos, heretics and Muslims*". In the same publication, he expressed his support for German peasants who lived in deplorable conditions in subterranean caves, existing on a meager diet, and he indicated his understanding of the reasons why, some years previously, these peasants had rebelled against their feudal masters. While aware of the failure of their revolt, he concluded his remarks by stating that those who were poor were always on the losing side. In adopting such a position, Servetus was at odds with Luther who took the side of the princes against the peasants.

Everywhere he lived, Miguel had close ties with scholars of Hebrew such as Oecolampadius in Basel, Fabricius Capito in Strasbourg, and Xanthus Pagninus in Lyons, and in discussions with Philip Melancthon he even emphasized some terms in Hebrew. Before his death, Pagninus named Servetus as his heir and successor in terms of biblical scholarship, and Miguel De Villanueva (Michel De Villeneuve) would follow in the footsteps of the renowned Hebraic scholar by publishing a bible in Lyons in 1542 that was "in accordance with Hebraic truth." In fact, Servetus was to produce other bibles that represented Hebraic interpretations (such as that of 1545) influenced by Pagninus' version.

In his most controversial works Servetus expressed himself in Mediterranean or Sephardic variants of Hebrew. Without giving the name of his city of residence on the title page, he adopted the *persona* of 'Servet' in *The Errors of the Trinity* (1531), *Dialogues on the Trinity* (1532), and his final work, *The Restoration of Christianity* (1553). In *The Restoration of Christianity* (*Restitutio*) while citing the prophet Daniel he went so far on the title page as to write a phrase and his name, Miguel, in Hebrew. Furthermore, he often mentioned

celebrated authors such as Maimonides, Abraham ibn Ezra—also born in Tudela—and other near-contemporary Spanish rabbis, and he even quoted from rabbinical works that had not at that time been published. In the *Restitutio*, he describes his concept of the pulmonary circulation of the blood with its concomitant theory that the soul is immanent in the bloodstream itself and writes of “the divine spark” that we harbor inside us. And while on the subject of circumcision, Servetus would appear to indicate that he had personally been circumcised.

Servetus adopted the *persona* of ‘Servet’ when he wrote his most controversial works and, in order to avoid possible reprisals, the first two texts published by the German printer Setzer in Hagenau, and his last work of 1553 printed by the French publisher Balthazar Arnoullet, do not include his name or the location of the city where the works were published. The first two publications appeared in 1531 and 1532 respectively, with the extended surname ‘Miguel Servet alias Revés’, and in his final work, *Restitutio*, the name Servet is given inside (with Miguel on the title page only, and in Hebrew script).

According to official French documents, in giving his name as Michel De Villeneuve, Servetus always declared that he was “a native of Tudela in Navarra”; he adopted that same name at the University of Paris as well as in French naturalization documents (1548-1549) issued by Henry II of France—sent from Moulins and validated later in Grenoble—and also at the time of the Vienne (Isère) trial in 1553. Servetus not only used the surname ‘De Villanueva’, reflecting birth in Tudela (Navarra) for official use, but also when writing books, with the surname ‘De Villeneuve’ appearing on the title pages of his work in French editions and one Venetian edition.

In 1538 Servetus, then a medical student, was tried in Paris and condemned to death on account of his confrontation with Tagault, the head of the University. The sentence was later commuted, and he was ordered not to attack doctors in Paris if he wished to avoid imprisonment and an arbitrary fine. Servetus fled Paris, and his name did not appear again on the title pages of new editions, as evidenced by the aforementioned Xanthus Pagninus bible, in which his name was in the preface only. Subsequently his writings were published anonymously and one has to check the fine print of contracts and published works in order to find any trace of authorship—for example, the contracts Michel De Villeneuve signed with the Lyons Company of Book-Sellers or in the works published by the Lyons-based printer Jean Frelon who referred to him as “his good brother and friend, the scholar Michel De Villeneuve”.

In 1529-1530 Servetus accompanied the imperial entourage for the

coronation of Charles V, but apart from Juan de Quintana, the Emperor's confessor (who kept his own counsel on the matter), not one senior Aragonese official at the 1532 Court, irrespective of rank, knew of a Miguel with such an unusual name as "Servet," and letters had to be sent to Spain to trace his whereabouts. It would seem that by the time Servetus had embarked upon the journey to Genoa, and later in Bologna, he had already adopted his actual name of 'De Villanueva' and as a result the true identity of 'Miguel Servet' was unrealized by members of the Spanish Court and the imperial entourage who were accompanying him. In Protestant territories such as Basel, Strasbourg, and Haguenau, Servetus was familiar as Servet from the title pages of his books, but he was never again to publish as Servet except in his final controversial work, and at the Geneva trial before Calvin where he stated (no official documentation was in evidence) that he had been born in Villanueva de Sigena (currently Huesca in Aragón).

The likely reason for this twofold name is that he was indeed born in Tudela de Navarra, as official documents attest, but that his mother married twice and he lacked the legal authority to use the surname Servet because Antón Servet was his adopted father. In his work Servetus only mentions his family—whether father, mother, or brother—in passing, except for two sentences when he adopts the *persona* of 'Servet', and for the last time, when he was face to face with Calvin and spoke of his father, a "solicitor" (*notario*) and affirmed that his family was not Jewish. Servetus himself gives the explanation for these two surnames Servet/De Villanueva in his initial work "The Errors of the Trinity," in the opening pages of his final publication "The Restoration of Christianity," and also at the Vienne (Isère) trial in 1553. For him such behavior is inextricably linked with the concept of the *persona*, a "mask, representation, image, emissary, etc.," with Servetus making it clear that he was not Servet but rather had adopted the *persona* of Servet in order to "argue with Calvin".

Thus, in the opening pages of his works Servetus demonstrates that "Jesus was always Jesus" but that, depending on who was interrogating him or who was around him, Jesus became "Jesus of Nazareth", in other words Jesus, the son of Joseph who was the Carpenter of Nazareth, or "Jesus Christ", the Son of God.—Yet, Servetus insists, Jesus was always the same, "Jesus was always Jesus" and that Jesus changed his surname according to his identification with either of his two "parents", whether Joseph of Nazareth" or God himself, "Christ". In stark contrast to Calvin or Melanchthon, Servetus took this concept of *persona* to be of the utmost importance in understanding the Trinity, and that perspective was expressed in his first two works and in the *Restitutio*,



Detail from Tudela Tapestry in the San Diosis chapel at the Tudela Cathedral

© Francisco Javier Benjamín González Echeverría

of “Jesus, the Son of Eternal God”. In any case, Servetus stated that his contemporaries failed to comprehend the rationale behind his own *persona*.

Servetus had nothing to do with his family in Villanueva De Sigena, but in 1532 he may have led the Spanish Inquisition to the Servet home in the same town. Although only too well aware of what would happen to his family if they were discovered during these Inquisitorial times, nonetheless when publishing his two earliest works in 1531 and 1532 he appeared on the title page as Servet on two occasions, adding ‘alias Revés’ and declaring that he was from ‘Aragón’. His ‘brother’ Juan, who lived from 1532 in a small town near Sigena (and who may have been a biological brother), was to suffer deleterious consequences in his ecclesiastical career and was compelled, on the orders of the Spanish Inquisition, to undertake a search for Servetus. We do not know whether or not he was found. Nothing untoward was to happen to Antón Servet, who continued to practice law and was to remain a member of the minor Aragonese nobility. This relatively peaceful outcome was thoroughly atypical in Spain in cases of the families of authors of works so intensely heretical that, in the eyes of the papal nuncio Aleandre, they deserved the death penalty. It is noteworthy that Antón Servet was never even disqualified from his profession as a solicitor. As observed, Servetus never, in fact, mentioned his family in his work and only when he adopts the *persona* of Servet before Calvin does he provide rudimentary details concerning the Servet family. We can therefore begin to gain a clearer sense of Servetus’ solitary life, isolated as he was from his family, with his

surrogate family being the publishers, especially those in Lyons and Jean Frellon in particular.

In addition to this concept of *persona* that figured so fundamentally both in his life and his writing, Servetus was the soul of tolerance in his life and work, affirming as he did that civil society had no authority to punish those religious beliefs that were personally held. In all his books and letters, from his earliest writings to Oecolampadius in 1531 to the letters he addressed to Calvin in 1553, his position was widely divergent from that of his contemporaries. Consequently, it is true to say that Servetus' world-view is highly relevant for us today, as it provides us with an example of how we can live better lives. His insights are of untold benefit to the present generation, urging us to cherish the values of freedom of expression and freedom of conscience.

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Anne Richardson

Died October 2nd, 2013 Aged 70.

A Daughter of the Golden State

Anne M. O'Donnell S.N.D.

I first met Anne Richardson at the Thomas More Project, founded by Richard S. Sylvester at Yale University. Its seminar room with select library was a microcosm of the world of scholarship: visiting editors, graduate students, even a token undergrad, Richard J. Schoeck's son Eric, who brought us the "Yale Daily." In 1968 I was beginning to look for a dissertation topic, but at that time I found Erasmus' *Enchiridion* (dissertation, 1972; published, 1981) more appealing than Tyndale's *Answer to More*, co-edited with Jared Wicks S.J. (published, 2000).

While a team of full professors edited More's *Confutation of Tyndale* (1973), Mr. Sylvester invited four other graduate students to edit some of Tyndale's exegetical and polemical works for their doctoral dissertations: Donald J. Millus (1939-2009), *Exposition of 1 John* (1973); John A.R. Dick, *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (1974); Stephen J. Mayer, *Exposition of Matthew 5, 6, 7* (1975); Anne Richardson, *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1976). Tyndale's longest independent work, the *Obedience* is arguably the most important of his non-biblical translations because it advocated nearly absolute obedience to the monarch.

After Yale, Anne spent three years in Washington D.C., teaching at George Washington University (1971-74) and working on her dissertation at the Folger Shakespeare Library (1972-73). Before I began teaching fulltime at Catholic University of America (1973), I invited her to spend some holidays at the convent at Trinity College (now University). Anne thanked the Sisters by giving us a concert on her cello. From her youth, Anne delighted to take part in chamber music groups, orchestras, and choirs.

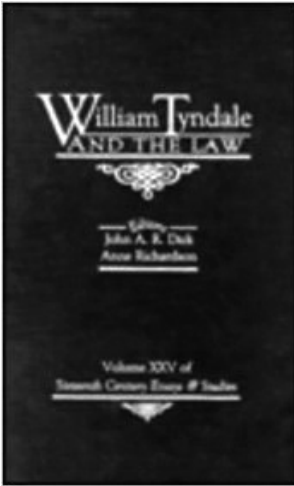
In 1974 Anne returned to the San Francisco Bay Area because of illness. She was born in Berkeley December 22, 1942 and completed her primary and secondary education there. Anne transferred from Radcliffe College (1960-62) to the University of California, Berkeley. There she earned her B.A. with Distinction in General Studies and English and was admitted to Phi Beta Kappa (1965). Later she earned an M.L.S., from the School of Library and Information Studies, also at UC Berkeley (1978). The following academic year, she served as Assistant Reference Librarian, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS (1978-79). All her higher education, except her B.A. at Berkeley, was supported by scholarships or fellowships.

In 1979, Anne again returned to the Bay Area because of illness. She retired from full-time work and relied chiefly on Social Security and Supplemental Income Security (SSI). Anne's mother, Lenore H. Richardson, rented her a studio apartment for a nominal fee for a dozen years. A friend from Radcliffe, Susan Harris Shefter, bought Anne Xeroxed copies of sixteenth-century books from University Microfilm. Her sister Joan (d. 2002), an estate lawyer, helped Anne draw up her will. Another friend, Kathy Kahn, set up a special-needs trust for Anne. Her niece Jennifer was Anne's contact person with Sister Thea Bowman Manor, Oakland, where Anne lived for the last two years of her life (2011-13). Her sister Connie, as executor of Anne's last will, has forwarded her books and papers to the Tyndale Project.

Probably after Anne returned to California for good, I dubbed her "Anne West" and myself "Anne East." It was narcissistic to begin a letter "Dear Anne" and end it "Love, Anne." We were able to meet at a few academic conferences where we usually shared a room. I am grateful to those who gave her travel money for those professional experiences.

In 1987, the Modern Language Association of America (MLA) held its annual meeting in San Francisco. Anne's paper, "Scripture as Evidence in *Obedience of a Christian Man*," was published in the Tyndale issue of *Moreana* (July 1991), which I edited.

In 1990, when the American Historical Association met in New York, Anne



Anne's 1994 book *William Tyndale and the Law* co-edited with John Dick

gave a paper published as “Tyndale’s Quarrel with Erasmus” in *Fides et Historia* (Fall 1993).

In 1991, Anne outdid herself by organizing four panels for the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in Philadelphia. These papers were published in *William Tyndale and the Law* (1994), which Anne co-edited with John Dick. If you type “Anne Richardson” and “Tyndale and the Law” into Google, you will retrieve about 10,300 references to this book.

In 1993 when MLA met in Toronto, Anne gave a paper for the Renaissance English Text Society, “On Representing Tyndale’s English,” published in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts 2* (1998).

In 1994, when a Tyndale conference met in Washington, D.C., Anne declared that Tyndale was NOT a Renaissance Humanist. Anne reviewed the conference proceedings, *Word, Church, and State* (1998), which I co-edited with John T. Day and Eric Lund, in *Moreana* (June 2000). Her revised paper from this conference was published as “Tyndale and the Ordeal of Bartolomeo Platina (1421-1481),” in *Tyndale Society Journal* (Dec. 2002).

In 1997, when I gave a paper at the Huntington Library in San Marino, CA, Anne attended this Tyndale conference. I believe this was the last time we met in person.

In recent years our correspondence was infrequent. My mother had sole responsibility for her elderly mother for ten years (1960-70), while I had primary responsibility for my elderly mother for six years (1997-2003). After a long campaign against mortality, there was a great recession. Periodically, Anne sent me long, detailed letters about the Tyndale Project, which I dropped unread into a bottom drawer. After I retired from teaching (2007), I read and catalogued them all for the CUA Archives. Anne formally resigned from the Tyndale Project on August 1, 2009. Recently, when I saw an e-mail from an unknown sender (her sister Connie) with the subject line “Anne Richardson,” I braced myself to read that Anne had died of a heart attack in Berkeley on October 2, 2013.

Others responded to Anne better than I did. In 2008, Anne mailed me a typescript of nine hundred biblical references in Tyndale’s *Obedience* compiled by Donald D. Smeeton (1946-2011). In 2009, Anne e-mailed me a computer

file of two-hundred forty pages of the text of Tyndale's Obedience corrected and re-typed by Douglas H. Parker. Anne also enjoyed e-mail friendships with Marie-Claire Phélippeau, current editor of *Moreana*, and Neil L. Inglis, current editor of the *Tyndale Society Journal*. Anne remained an active member of The Institute for Historical Study, an organization for independent scholars in the Bay Area. Susan M. Felch, Ph.D. from CUA and Full Professor at Calvin College, is my successor as Executive Editor of the Tyndale Project and Anne Richardson's successor as major editor of Tyndale's Obedience of a Christian Man.

Anne M. O'Donnell S.N.D.,
Emerita Professor of English,
Catholic University of America

Sources: Letters and documents sent to "Anne East" from "Anne West," especially "Anne Maureen Richardson, Radcliffe Class of 1964: 25th Anniversary Report" (1989)

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Anne Richardson An Editorial Friendship

Neil L. Inglis, Editor, TSJ

Anne Richardson was instinctively and distinctively brilliant, able to draw connections between widely divergent concepts and nuggets of information. She asked questions about William Tyndale that others never thought of (how did WT support himself in his early days in Europe, when remittances from well-wishers failed to materialize?). Anne understood that when we speculate intelligently on the gaps in Tyndale's historical record, the questions we ask will help to guide researchers, expedite the quest for solutions, and leave us better placed to interpret future revelations as and when they appear. And yet Anne remained a scrupulous scholar who cared about the judgment of her peers, and who detested the gremlins that creep into the editorial process at every stage.

She was, in short, not the easiest of contributors to work with, but with her I enjoyed an epistolary (or should I say, e-pistolary) friendship that lasted for just a few brief years. When I began emailing her to discuss her TSJ submissions, I pondered the electronic friendships that create a closeness with people, like Anne, whom one has never met in person (I was mistaken on the latter point—more on that later). As Anne and I talked about the (very different) personal challenges we were each facing, I learned something else about her—that she

was as devoted to friends as she was to Tyndale and to writing on a diversity of subjects. For my money, her obituary of her colleague and fellow-Tyndalian Don Millus (TSJ39) was one of the finest pieces of writing I had been privileged to read, on any subject, in any publication.

She would not let me despair! Soon, the care packages from the West Coast began to arrive at my Washington doorstep. First up—A magnificent DVD docudrama on Tyndale from the 1980s (“God’s Outlaw—The Story of William Tyndale”). Paul Shelley as John Frith is quite remarkable—you owe it to yourselves to see it! She sent me a tape of another very early radio broadcast in which she was interviewed on Tyndale—Anne specialized in plowboy lectures—and as I listened to her insightful comments in her soft-spoken delivery, my face fell. It turned out I had in fact met her before; at a Tyndale conference at Point Loma in 2000, AR took me to task for delivering a bad-taste joke in my presentation. Anne was not to be trifled with.

The linking thread in these materials and experiences soon emerged. Anne was a Tyndalian long before the advent of the modern Tyndale era and well before the dawn of the Tyndale Society. Yes indeed: Anne Richardson was battling in the Tyndale trenches in the bad old days when WT was relegated to footnotes and bibliographies, and Miles Coverdale et al. took all the credit for the English Bible. In another email, she described a long-ago visit to Nibley Knoll, and my editorial instincts swung into gear: I wanted her reminiscences committed to paper for the TSJ, but she declined. The whole experience was way too personal (there had been a companion), and so I did not pursue it.

My toughest assignment with her came over her profile of Archbishop Arundel; she was drawn to characters of unfathomable psychology (Tunstall, More, and of course WT), but my rewrites of her analysis of Arundel’s Oxford Constitutions came at a time when she was battling her own demons. She took me to task again (for pushing her too hard), although the paper did see the light of day, and it is predictably magnificent (TSJ40).

The care packages began to change, and I discovered more facets of AR’s wide-ranging personal interests. She sent me what she called her “flotsam and jetsam from the front lines,” some of which dot my bookshelves to this day; bookmarks from radical bookstores, invitations to gallery openings, flyers for eateries with progressive themes (vegetarian and otherwise), calls to demonstrate at health-care rallies. There was an element of the Berkeley protester in Anne. She and her colleagues lobbied hard for their beliefs; and jobsworths in the government bureaucracy who imagined AR to be a pushover were in for a shock. Health-care reform was a matter of intense personal concern for her, she

turned her powers of persuasion on me as well, and she very nearly convinced me—battered as I was by my family’s own health insurance woes—that single-payer was the way to go. She fought with the courage of ten tigresses and could not bear to see others suffer, or to suffer injustice.

Yet Anne was never personally or politically narrow and could not be pigeonholed. She had interesting observations to make on Whittaker Chambers’ “Witness,” the conservative classic. When I reported to Anne on a performance of Beethoven’s *Missa Solemnis* in Washington, where the orchestral ensemble in the *Sanctus* movement had fallen apart not once but twice, Anne’s sympathies (as a cellist herself) were with the cellists, who must cope Beethoven’s intricate writing for their instrument.

It is fitting, I think, to end with a quote from Anne’s own correspondence. “I lucked into a friendship with Sir Frank Kermode in about the last year of his life. He said, “If I may say so, you write a decorative prose that sometimes obscures your argument. But you give us a delightful reading experience. And you know your Tyndale.”” She knew that, and much else besides—and we shall miss her.

Nones



Anne Richardson

NONES Sunday in 2014 will be on May 4. Last year more than 1900 people participated, a generous flowering from the modest assembly described

in TSJ35. The ancient monastic office was said in 120 churches, and Friends of Merton Priory (friendsofmertpri@aol.com) invited three main groups: churches once cared for by the Canons of Merton, churches dedicated to Thomas a Becket (a student at Merton Priory), and Augustinian foundations. Elsewhere others took part at home simply by remembering and acknowledging the day.

Celebrations took place in the ruins of several former Abbeys and Priors, attracting passers-by who stopped to join in. Among comments were:

‘It was a beautiful day. We had some moments of silent contemplation and afterwards we all felt we had achieved something rather wonderful... We hope to pass on the idea of sharing Nones to other Christian churches and organisations in our area.’

Our universities owe their foundation to the Rule of Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. The Order in his name educated Wyciffe, Luther and Tyndale’s friend and co-translator, Miles Coverdale. Above all,

Augustine was known for his understanding of the Doctrine of Grace.

Sheila Fairbank

Tyndale and co. on the Web and YouTube

HOME	William Tyndale	Tyndale's Works	Resources	Journals	Links	Contacts
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The Tyndale Society

On this page: [Society Aims](#) • [Society History](#) • [Membership](#) • [Blogspot](#) • [Events](#)


William Tyndale

Forbidden to work in England, Tyndale translated and printed in English the New Testament and half the Old Testament between 1525 and 1535 in Germany and the Low Countries. He worked from the Greek and Hebrew original texts when knowledge of those languages in England was rare. His pocket-sized Bible translations were smuggled into England, and then ruthlessly sought out by the Church, confiscated and destroyed. Condemned as a heretic, Tyndale was strangled and burned outside Brussels in 1536.

Photo: Statue of William Tyndale by Lawrence Holofcener (2000), Millennium Square, Bristol, United Kingdom. © Brian Buxton.

Tyndale’s English translation of the New Testament was taken almost word for word into the much praised Authorised Version (King James Bible) of 1611, which also reproduces a great deal of his Old Testament. From there his words passed into our common understanding.

People across the world honour him as a great Englishman. His solitary courage, and his skill with languages - including, supremely, his own - enriched English history and then reached out to affect all English-speaking nations.



The new society website at: www.tyndale.org See p33 opp.

www.tyndale.org

Brian Buxton

Members who have recently accessed the society's website will have noticed that it underwent a major revamp during the summer of 2013. If you have not so far seen the changes do take a look. It is hoped now to revise the site from time to time and to keep it up to date. Comments and suggestions which might help to attain these objectives are welcomed and can be directed to brian.buxton47@yahoo.com.

The society is deeply grateful to Richard Carr who most generously offered his time and expertise to set up the website.

In revising the site the aim has been to provide basic information about the Tyndale Society and about William Tyndale himself, along with pointers to further sources of information. It is intended that this approach might make it useful both to members of the society and to enquirers seeking information about Tyndale. It is our hope that some who find the site after a web search may be encouraged to join the society and, to this end, membership details and application forms are provided.

The Home Page gives a brief introduction to William Tyndale himself and then outlines the purposes of the society, membership details and forthcoming events.

There is a link from the Home Page to the society's blog (www.tyndalessociety.blogspot.co.uk). It is intended that as it evolves the blog should be the principal online means of providing members and newcomers with up to date information about society activities as well as drawing attention to relevant items such as articles and programmes in the media and events of interest beyond the society like exhibitions or conferences. Any suggestions regarding items which might be included in the blog would be welcomed. Further changes to the blog are expected in due course. Queries regarding the blog can be directed to TSJ editor Neil Inglis (at lordstarlink@gmail.com) with copy to Dave Steele (dave.steele@me.com).

In view of the intended use of the blog as a key information channel, the website does not have a news section but details of forthcoming events will be posted on the Home Page.

At the top of the Home Page are links to other areas of the site. The section on 'William Tyndale' consists of an outline of his life and work, together with a timeline. Under 'Tyndale's Works' are brief introductions to

some of his writings.

The remaining areas provide pointers for those wishing to pursue Tyndale-related matters in greater depth. 'Resources' is chiefly a bibliography of some key books currently in print. 'Links' directs the enquirer to other websites of interest. This list has been kept brief and concentrates on well-established sites. Many websites are short and the use of a search engine will lead to more current sites for those wishing to pursue enquiries further.

Under 'Journals' there can be found the contents lists from all past editions of the Tyndale Society Journal together with links to a selection of articles. There is a search box to aid access to this material. Information is also given as to how to access material from Reformation. Further details regarding on-line access arrangements will be forthcoming in due course.

The 'Contacts' section provides details of the Trustees and other Officers of the society, including the Editors of both The Tyndale Society Journal and Reformation.

As shown on the website, we now have a PayPal account, available for payment by Members who also have PayPal accounts, and or would like to pay by credit card. PayPal is an international system that accepts different currencies.

We trust that these resources will be useful for members.

◆

The Most Dangerous Man in Tudor England

BBC2 Thursday 6th June 2013

Presented by Melvyn Bragg

Reviewed by Brian Buxton

'I think William Tyndale is one of the greatest men in English history'. So said Melvyn Bragg at the start of this documentary. Bragg has a lifetime of broadcasting behind him and uses in particular the skills which are evidenced in his weekly radio programme In our time when he draws upon a range of experts to paint a picture of some historical character, philosophy, idea, religion or event. Here he presented the result of his questionings about Tyndale to explain why he attributed such importance to him. As the programme developed he sought to show Tyndale as a major contributor to the development and use of the English language, along with Shakespeare, and, through making the Biblical text available in English, encouraging liberty of thought which was to have both political and religious significance



Melvyn Bragg dwells on the fiery fate of Tyndale and many of his followers.

© BBC

for all time to come.

The programme gave a clear chronological account of Tyndale's life and activities, already well known to Tyndale Society members. It followed him from his Gloucestershire roots, through Oxford, back to Little Sodbury, then to London and so abroad – this last first described as a 'hounding out of England' but then later, more correctly, as 'a self-imposed exile'. Once abroad there was first his publication of the New Testament in English. Bragg showed how this upset the powerful in England who felt that it threatened the authority of state and church, thus making Tyndale 'the most dangerous man in England'. There followed the preachings and book burnings at Paul's Cross – curiously this section was filmed in St. Paul's Cathedral without any reference to the fact that the events actually took place in and around the pre-Great Fire building.

With the help of the Cambridge historian John Guy, Bragg spent some time looking at the heated written dispute between Thomas More and William Tyndale, emphasising More's passion to retain the traditional authority, teaching and practice of the church, a passion which was to lead to his own execution in 1535.

Turning to Tyndale and Henry VIII, Bragg discussed with Nasim Tadghighi¹ of Bristol University The obedience of a Christian man and The practice of prelates. The former pleased Henry with its emphasis on kingly authority but the latter upset the king by its opposition to his proposed divorce from Catherine of Aragon in order to marry Anne Boleyn. The

attempts of Henry to lure Tyndale back to England were considered, with emphasis on Tyndale's indication that he might return once the king authorised a Bible in English.

Although Bragg had begun the programme by stating that Tyndale died for translating the Bible into English it became quite clear as the programme unfolded that his death was the result of much more. It was his theology as reflected in some aspects of his translation and more fully in his theological writings that sealed his fate.

The last scenes in Antwerp followed John Foxe's account, from the intervention of Henry Phillips to the execution at Vilvoorde. These episodes were presumably amongst the areas on which advice was given by Tyndale Society Trustee Guido Latré as acknowledged in the credits.

A number of quibbles could be raised on some statements made as fact when the issues are really less certain. Opinions expressed might not be agreed by all. As with so many historical documentaries, the visuals were of little interest but then this was probably inevitable in view of the few places linked with Tyndale that bear any resemblance to what he would have known.

However, these are minor criticisms. Overall this was a quite full and generally accurate presentation of its subject's life, work and death. It kept going at a good pace, explaining most issues and developments with clarity, and these two features should have kept the interest of a wide range of viewers. Melvyn Bragg enthused about his subject without the irritating over-excitement so often encountered in these documentaries!

'His greatness now acknowledged makes him, alongside Shakespeare, one of the co-creators of the modern English language.'

'This man's language lives on in every English speaking country.'

'It wasn't the turn of phrase that mattered, it was the purpose of those phrases to bring alive the word of God to every man and woman in England and through that save their souls.'

'The Biblical ideas which he released into the common language fired the English Reformation.'

'He gave to English people the liberty to think rather than the duty to believe.'

1. Ed.: See "How I Met Tyndale" on page [...] in this issue.

2. Full programme available on YouTube: http://youtu.be/_JW-eLzkHk4

Devil's Words: The Battle for an English Bible. BBC (2003).

YouTube.

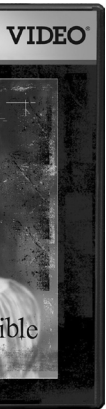
Reviewed by Bill Cooper

This is an old BBC drama-documentary which most of us missed first time around. Alas, it hasn't been issued on DVD, but it is posted on YouTube in 7 parts. This is an extremely well done presentation of the battle of words that took place between William Tyndale and Thomas More. It's the Beeb at its finest. One does have to listen to a small amount of Thomas More's somewhat unsanctified speech here and there (taken from his own writings), but that's historical accuracy for you. In giving More a voice at all, the programme treats him fairly. But more than that, Tyndale's antagonist gets to explain why he is so determined to resist the translating of the Bible into English. Thus More sheds light on the many tortuous twists and turns of Henrician politics, and provides a stunning backdrop to the reasons why Tyndale was so intent on translating the Bible. William Tyndale is played superbly by Iain Glen, as is Thomas More by James Fox. Peter Hugo-Daly plays John Frith, and the whole is narrated by Geraldine James. The programme was written by Peter Ackroyd. Amongst the commentators are David Daniell and Guido Latré, as well as Diarmaid MacCulloch and Brian Moynahan. A superb programme, and a must-watch for any Tyndalian. To view the video visit: <http://goo.gl/ViS5v0>



Brian Moynahan interviewed in this 2003 BBC Documentary now posted on YouTube.

© YouTube



Battle for the Bible

Secrets of the Dead: Battle for the Bible. PBS (Direct). 60 mins. Region 1 DVD. ASIN: B000PSJBGQ. £10.51 Amazon.

Reviewed by Bill Cooper

Now here's a treat indeed – a DVD all about William Tyndale and the early English Bible. Wycliffe makes an appearance, of course, but mostly it's about Tyndale. Contributors include our own David Daniell, Guido Latré, Diarmaid MacCulloch (to whom we extend our warmest congratulations on his recently conferred knighthood), and Lori Anne Ferrell. It is rare these days to see such a sympathetic and sensitive treatment being given to the subject of our William Tyndale, but this one ticks all the boxes. The commentaries, the script, the actors, and the settings are all exactly right, and it comes with the built-in compulsion to watch it over and over again. It is a superb and often deeply moving programme, following the course of the English Bible from Wycliffe, through Tyndale to King James. The DVD is available on Region 1 format, also playable on a region-free DVD player. It is currently listed on YouTube.



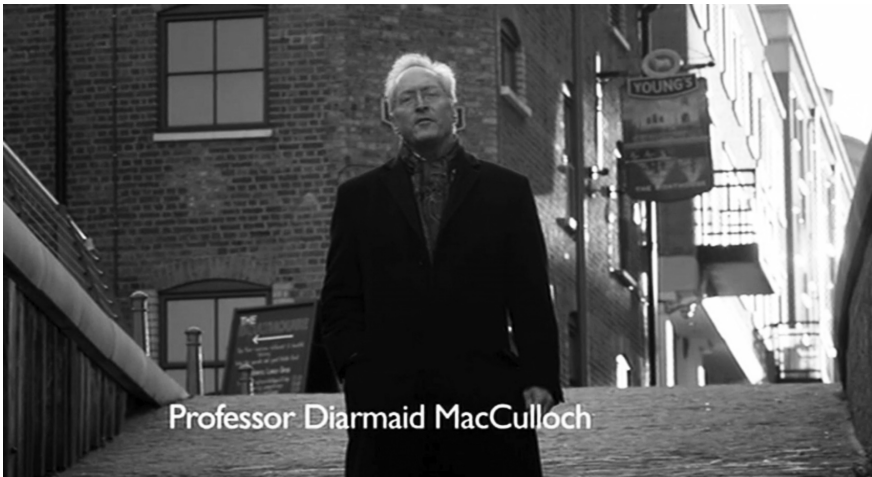
Henry VIII's Enforcer: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Cromwell

BBC2 Documentary (broadcast date, Friday 24th May 2013)

Presenter: Diarmaid MacCulloch¹

Reviewed by Bill Cooper

Here is a Tyndalian's corker. Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch takes us through the life of Thomas Cromwell, the notorious Vicar General of Henry VIII who has been receiving bad press ever since he first put his head above the parapet. The only man I can find to say anything nice about him is John Foxe, the martyrologist, and he only commends Cromwell for bringing down the monasteries and abbeys – oh yes, and for persuading King Henry that an English Bible was a good idea. Otherwise, it is black marks all the way. Even John Stowe, the surveyor of London, didn't like him, though to be fair, he was given good reason not to. He tells us how Cromwell, having bought a house in Throgmorton Street, London, pulled down all the fences around his garden and shaved twenty-two feet off all the neighbouring gardens and then built a high brick wall around. Stowe's father was one of the suffering neighbours, and he still had to pay the six shillings and sixpence rent for what remained. Stowe



Diarmaid MacCulloch in Brewhouse Lane, Putney where Thomas Cromwell grew up.

© BBC

wryly observes that, “...the sudden rising of some men causeth them in some matters to forget themselves.” What his father said is not recorded.

MacCulloch, however, protests against this universal disdain for Cromwell, and presents us with a programme that takes a much more balanced – a much more *informed* - and fair view of the man. Was Cromwell a knave and a rascal? Yes, of course he was, but living under Henry VIII and his aristocratic bully boys, he had to be. Of immense interest to me, though, are the details MacCulloch provides concerning Cromwell’s boyhood and the family into which he was born. His father, Walter Cromwell, was a brewer in Putney – the programme takes us to Brewers’ Lane there where young Thomas grew up – and his name appears no less than forty-eight times in the local court rolls in which fines are imposed on each of those occasions for selling bad ale and for assaulting his neighbours. Cromwell, in other words, was raised very much in the School of Hard Knocks. And yet this rough upbringing was to transform the history, not just of England, but of all Europe and even the New World.

What MacCulloch presents us with – as a product of this upbringing - is a statesman so revolutionary, so radical, and so courageous, that he laid the groundwork for, and transformed for all time, modern politics. Cromwell kickstarted the modern state and the way it is run, and the immensity of his achievement is seen not just in the overthrow of the papal power in England, but the very concept of a sovereign monarch who is answerable to no foreign power. It is impossible to overstate the magnitude of that achievement; and Cromwell carried it all off with no wars and very little bloodshed. Of course,

it did not commend him to the conservative element of his day, and he was made to pay a bloody price indeed, leading to a deliberately botched and sickeningly brutal execution.

In short – and though it means damning Cromwell with praise to some extent – MacCulloch gives us Thomas Cromwell the visionary; Thomas Cromwell the statesman of incomparable ability; and Thomas Cromwell the man, a sinful saint and a saintly sinner whose legacy is still very much with us today in the way we are governed, and in the many ways in which we are free (in theory at least) under the sovereign monarch of a sovereign nation.

References

Ed. At the time TSJ43 went to press, short segments were available for viewing at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01t03ky/clips>

Event Reports

Tyndale Society London Day 2007

A Footnote

Brian Buxton

Readers who took part in the London Day 2007 (TSJ No.33 August 2007 pp.32/33) may recall hearing of the mysterious shooting of Robert Packington in Cheapside on a foggy Monday morning in November 1536. Only weeks after the execution of William Tyndale, this killing too may have had a religious motive. Packington was known as a member of parliament who spoke out critically of the clergy. Further, it may be that he was involved in the importing of forbidden religious books. As a leading citizen his murder shook the city and was recounted and commented upon by all the chroniclers of the century.

Those who were present in 2007 saw the entry in the Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company which recounted the election of a new Upper Warden of the company in place of 'Robert Packington deceased which the Monday afore was piteously slain and murdered with a gun'. Passing the site of the murder in Cheapside the group walked a few hundred yards to St. Pancras Lane, the site of St. Pancras Church where Packington's funeral took place, with Robert Barnes as preacher, and where the murdered man was buried.

The site is small and hemmed in by tall office buildings. In 2007 it was a scruffy patch of ground with a few tall trees seemingly desperate to grow

high enough to catch some light. On a subsequent visit bicycles were found chained to the railings! Enquiries of the City of London as to the disgraceful state of the site elicited the response that the City's long term plan was to enhance it but at that stage it did not possess either the freehold or a lease.

Presumably this issue must have been resolved in some way as a recent visit found that in 2012 the site had been cleared, apart from the trees, and set out with paving, planting and seating. The new design was the work of Studio Weave which describes itself as 'a London-based architecture practice set up in 2006. We balance a joyful, open-minded approach with technical precision to create a diverse body of work in the UK and abroad for public, private and commercial clients'.

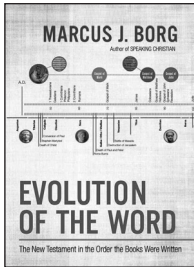
Studio Weave describes its approach to the site: 'Our proposal imagines that this safe, protected space, left alone for almost 350 years, has allowed St. Pancras Church to grow a new shoot and re-emerge as an untrimmed and happily rambling new pew-species. Like fire ephemerals (plants that flower only after being burnt) the lost church has renewed itself and, a little wildly, become overgrown' (<http://www.studioweave.com/projects/pancras-lane>).

The 'pew' seating is unusual. Short lengths of seat with backs and arms and heavily carved are scattered around the site at various angles. Carving was put in the hands of historic carvers who have produced a range of designs. For a church site some of the carvings seem bizarre.!

Sadly there is still no memorial to Packington. Despite this, and however one reacts to the carving, the overall appearance of the site is much improved and does give another shady spot for city workers to eat their lunch.



Book and Other Reviews



Evolution of the Word

The New Testament in the Order the Books Were Written

Marcus J. Borg

Harper One. (2012)

ISBN 978-0-06-208210-7

This review might catch your eye because you have shelves of books on the New Testament. Most scholars buying it will lament that it was not available a generation ago, but will thankfully treasure it now. For anyone about to buy their very first theological book, this can be recommended wholeheartedly. Marcus Borg's "Evolution of the Word" is a concise, invaluable introduction to the New Testament. Actually, it could not have been written a generation ago. Borg has drawn upon the meticulous research of contemporary New Testament scholars and, for the most part, sought to reflect a wide consensus of their findings. He writes (page 424): "The rule I have sought to follow... is to reflect consensus conclusion when possible and, when there is no consensus, to follow majority opinion."

So here we find the complete NRSV version of the New Testament, *set out in the order the 'books' were written*, with a concise introduction to each. It is not a verse by verse commentary but an introduction which includes insights into both the background and the context of each of the 27 documents. These enable us to begin to see how the first three generations of disciple-communities developed their understanding of who Jesus is. If we stop to think about it, of course, we know that Paul never had the *written* Gospels before him, but since they are traditionally set out first in the New Testament order we have become used to, it is easy to imagine he did. Paul had no 'New Testament'. The only Bible he knew was what we regard as the 'Old Testament.' Having the books set out in their chronological order is very revealing and helpful. After reading "Evolution of the Word" we are well placed to go on to study each individual Gospel and Letter. I had already read Marcus Borg's simply brilliant "Meeting Jesus in Mark" (2011) so knew his "Evolution of the Word" would be an equally invaluable scholarly resource.

In dating each manuscript he has some surprises, especially putting Luke-Acts *after* John's Gospel. Time and again he points out that the later the document the more often one finds that the disciple-communities have

conceded their stance to the prevailing standards in society. “Some of the later documents in the New Testament reflect a domestication of the radicalism of Jesus...” (p2). An obvious example is the question of the Christian treatment of slaves: In the very first document to be written, Paul’s Letter to the Galatians, we read, from 3:26-28:

“In Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith... There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus.”

By the time the Letter to the Ephesians came to be written “a generation or so after Paul’s death” (Borg p 351) we read: “Slaves, obey your earthly masters with fear and trembling.” (6:5) This is “part of the process of late first-century Christian accommodation to the hierarchical values of the Roman world.” For centuries Christian states preferred to turn to Ephesians rather than the much earlier Letter to the Galatians or Paul’s Letter to Philemon when he set out to persuade Philemon to free his slave Onesimus. Slavery has taken centuries to be condemned and it still covertly exists, even in both rich and poor regions of the world.

The contradictions and changes found in New Testament documents can alarm some Christians who hold firmly to the words in 2 Timothy 3:16: “all scripture is inspired by God.” It is obvious that the Bible may be inspired but it is *not* infallible. Borg writes “...the Bible as the inerrant Word of God is the foundation of fundamentalism and most of conservative-evangelical Protestantism. For these Protestants, the Bible as the inspired and therefore inerrant and infallible Word of God defines who they are.” (p576) There is nothing to fear in using common sense and academic rigor in approaching these first century texts. I see no threat to anyone’s “faith”. Both liberal and more conservative evangelicals project their own agenda and interpretation on Scripture even today: As many have said “we look down a well two thousand years deep and at the bottom see our own reflection.” Marcus Borg offers us a panorama of the New Testament which should speak truth to people of any faith or of none.

So, for example, although there are “three forms of the Lord’s Prayer... they are the way the prayer developed in three different communities.” (p14). “By viewing the documents of the New Testament in their historical context, we recognize that they were not written to us or for us, but to and for the ancient communities that produced them.” Christianity is essentially, as Paul understood right from the start, rooted in historical events, including the scandal of the cross, rather than in any human philosophy.

Marcus Borg makes it clear that his book “presents a literary chronology – a panoramic view of how the ideas and stories of the New Testament changed over time.” (p2) Each document comes from a writer belonging to one of the many early Christian communities. The texts “are not the source of early Christianity, but its product.” The documents addressed the needs and concerns of quite small groups of Christ-disciples 2000 years ago. What was written may have meaning for us, although some of the text may be of no interest to us at all because, like any letter, it includes comments to individuals we know nothing about. Some of the Letters were general; to be read to communities in a region and not to a specific person or group. Essentially the evolving understanding of who Jesus is and what the phrase “Kingdom of God” meant then can speak loudly enough to us today. A mind open to truth from whatever source and a bit of common sense will suffice.

Borg attributes seven Letters to Paul himself (no surprise there) and explains and dates many of the other Letters which earlier tradition (or the text itself taken at face value) say were written by him. So “The Second Letter of Paul to the Thessalonians” he describes as “a ‘slight’ Letter – a minor one that would not be missed if it were not included. But it is a window into a Pauline community around the year 100.” (p548)

The first disciple-communities were often likely to be little more than a few dozen people, but by the time the first ‘pastoral’ Letter, 1 Timothy, the text speaks of pastors, deacons, elders and even bishops. The communities are rapidly moving towards becoming the institutional church. In chapter 3 we read of the qualifications needed to be a bishop. It speaks of a bishop being “married only once” (3.2), “(...) keeping his children submissive and respectful”.

Bishop Peter Price (Bath and Wells Diocese) wrote a report for the Archbishop’s Council in 2006 entitled “Resourcing Mission for the 21st Century Church”. In this he stated “In the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Church has all the resources it needs to conduct its mission task.” If this is so, and I think it is, then we have to root our Christian faith today in the historical events of two thousand years ago.

Marcus Borg has described each of the 27 books of the New Testament to encourage us to approach each manuscript as a unique creation and so trace the evolving theology of the first three generations of Christians. The obvious differences and the contradictions of John’s Gospel compared with Mark, then Matthew and then Luke-Acts are explained easily enough. It is almost impossible, and not very sensible, to merge the four Gospels into one narrative.

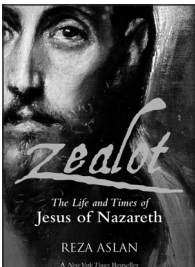
There are theologians who offer us a continuous detailed story of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus. If, however, you prefer to study the New Testament in this way there is now a most readable and scholarly book which is totally absorbing. It too is written to reflect the most up to date findings of New Testament research: “Jesus: An Historical Approximation” was written in Spanish by José Antonio Pagola, recently translated into English and printed by Convivium Press (2011). This is another book of over 550 pages.

Reading just a few pages a day seems to make sense. Every page is absorbing. Perhaps it is a book to read *after* Borg’s wonderful introduction.

Reading Marcus Borg’s “Evolving the Word” is an outstanding introduction to each Gospel and Letter. It helps us make the leaps necessary to cross the chasms of culture, language, geography and history to make sense of New Testament documents written so long ago. Obviously it then enables us to relate it to our lives today. He wonderfully unpacks the meaning and development of the phrase “The Kingdom of God”. Essentially he sees it being concerned with the present. We are justified to link the two different visions of how the world should be as understood in the first and twenty-first centuries. Of both we can contrast two different visions which existed then and still exist in our time: (p10) “The world of the domination system is a world of political oppression, economic exploitation and chronic violence. The alternative is a world in which everyone has enough and no one needs to be afraid. The Gospel phrase for this is the “kingdom of God.””

Marcus Borg has produced a user’s guide to the New Testament for theologians and *anyone* of any faith or of none. In an age when so many reject what they imagine “Christianity” to be, here is an intellectually honest introduction. We no longer have to cringe and expect a secular world to accept the absurd.

David Ireson



Zealot

Reza Aslan

The Westbourne Press (2013)

ISBN 978-1-908906-27-4

Reza Aslan wrote a best-seller about Islam, *No god but God*, and has now topped the charts with this comprehensive study of the historical Jesus, ‘someone worth believing in’.

He sets the story in a grim period of brutality and conflict.

The Romans rule Palestine with violence, helped by the collaborating Temple priesthood who live richly by extorting tribute from the subsistence farmers of the countryside beyond Jerusalem. The Jewish secular hierarchy exist as puppet rulers, violating the Law and imitating their Roman masters in their decadence. With the frenzy of today's suicide bombers, rebels spring up frequently to attack these corrupt figures of religious or state power, and are viciously executed.

Jesus is born in Nazareth (the Bethlehem story must be a fable), a poor, small village where he grew up certainly illiterate, as were 97% of the population, and ignorant of the Torah (archaeology reveals no synagogue). 'The vast majority of Jews could neither access nor read' the scriptures (p.225). The family trade translated as 'carpenter' was more likely jobbing builder/woodworker.

Tyndalians remember from our 2004 Oxford Conference the late Carsten-Peter Thiede's remarkable paper which proposed that the young Jesus worked on the rebuilding of the great city of Sepphoris nearby, and may have learnt Greek from its cosmopolitan population. Reza Aslan also sets Jesus working in Sepphoris:

'six days a week toiling.. to build yet another mansion for a Jewish nobleman... a peasant boy in a big city'.

But this is the 'historical Jesus', Jesus of Nazareth, who grew up with a mission to overthrow the Temple system and destroy the Jerusalem priesthood. He gained followers by working the country as a professional exorcist, and was soon arrested and executed by the Romans as a state criminal, one of many.

Dr Aslan stresses that there is no factual identification between this person and Jesus *Christ* (Greek translation of the Hebrew word *Messiah*).

The book's second half traces the development of what was to become Christianity. Paul, author of the first written accounts that we have, was bitterly opposed by Peter, and most importantly by James, brother of Jesus, and leader of the Christian community. They regard his teachings as 'deviant', particularly in his setting aside of the Law to accommodate the uncircumcised. Paul ignores the Jerusalem-based believers and goes his own way, developing a Christology that is absent in the much later Gospels.

At the heart of this conflict, Dr Aslan puts language – the Aramaic speakers vs the Greek - and the concepts that the words we use inevitably bring with

them. Tyndalians will hear echoes of his fierce defence of the Word in the 'mother tongue' ; of course the written record that has come down to us is almost entirely Greek.

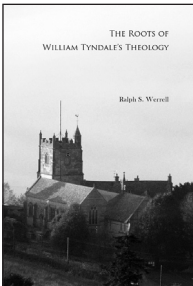
Whoever wrote the Gospels, they were not interested in history, but in mythology that supported the ideas of a tiny sect, persecuted by the Jews as blasphemers and by the Romans as subversives. The Passion story was constructed to be part of an elaborate liturgy.

A wise man said recently that thoughtful reading of sincere criticism can only strengthen faith. Dr Aslan's arguments are convincing, his historical facts irrefutable and his background information on the political conflicts raging in Roman Palestine are invaluable to any reading of the New Testament. And no-one could surpass the accounts of dissension among the early Christians given in Acts, just as the four Evangelists most vividly detail the total failure on Good Friday of Jesus' mission and the despairing reaction of the terrified men and women who had believed in him.

What happened to turn those broken followers into a movement that swept the world is a mystery also to Reza Aslan. Bravely he tries to address it with a chapter entitled 'If Christ has not been risen' I Cor. 15:17* but his best conclusion is that 'the resurrection is not an historical event'. Easter Morning is as much as ever a matter of faith.

Mary Clow

*KJB: how much better is Tyndale's 'If Christ be not risen'.



The Roots of William Tyndale's Theology

Ralph S. Werrell

James Clarke & Co, 2013, 195pp.

ISBN 9780227 174029

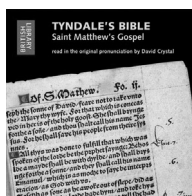
It has long been assumed that the unpopularity of William Tyndale among Catholics in general and with Thomas More in particular was due to the fact that his theology, already when he applied to Cuthbert Tunstall for permission to translate the Bible into English, was tinged with Luther's Protestantism. The most obvious evidence for this is normally taken to be his translation of Luther's *Preface to Romans* in 1526, combined with More's vigorous polemic that Tyndale is even worse than Luther. Dr Werrell has already published a book on the theology of William Tyndale. He now follows up with this book on the roots of that theology. He seeks to prove that Tyndale was no Protestant, but rather a Wycliffite or Lollard. For many 'Lollardy' is taken to mean simply

heresy in general, the grumbles of dissent particularly in south-west England, which merged seamlessly into Lutheranism.

On the contrary, pleads Werrell, there is plenty of evidence that a specifically Wycliffite Lollardy was flourishing on the banks of the Severn, to which Tyndale was introduced already as a boy by his reading of Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon* and other works in the library of Berkeley Castle, long before Luther raised his head. The decisive influences on the young Tyndale were John Trevisa and William Tracy, well before he made any contact with the continental reformers. He admired the humanists, translated Erasmus' *Enchiridion*, and it was of course Erasmus' praise of Tunstall that led Tyndale to apply to him, but Tyndale had significant differences with Erasmus. After the general study of the background in Part I, Part II surveys Tyndale's theology topic by topic. Three interesting emphases run through them all, principally a far stricter emphasis on *sola scriptura* than Luther's (apart from Augustine, Tyndale had less time for the Fathers than did Luther), a stress on the covenant (Tyndale viewed the Christian covenant as being in close continuity with the old covenant), and salvation specifically through the blood of Christ.

It is always difficult to establish the exact provenance of ideas, but this is a work of careful and convincing scholarship. On point after point differences from Luther's theology are made clear, so that cumulatively a considerable gulf is seen to separate them. Thomas More proclaimed that Tyndale was worse than Luther. This was not because he went further than Luther, but that his starting-points were different. If Wycliffe was the morning-star of the Reformation, in England it reached the full light of day with Tyndale.

Henry Wansbrough



Tyndale's Bible: Saint Matthew's Gospel

Read by David Crystal.

Audio CD (2 discs) 148 mins.

British Library (2013)

ISBN 978 0 7123 5127 0. NSACD 112-113.

£16.00 for the 2 disc set; or £11.00 for audio download.

The producers of this recording have earned our lasting gratitude. This is a gem to thrill any Tyndalian, as it is not only a reading of Tyndale's Matthew from the 1526 printing, but it is read in the pronunciation of the time. The pronunciation of early Tudor English has been carefully researched and reconstructed for more than a hundred and fifty years past, and is now about as reliable as it will ever get. It does take a little getting used to, but by the end



of Track One (which corresponds to the first chapter of Matthew) the ear becomes tuned, and the listener can relax and allow the words to simply flow into the heart and mind. What does help immensely is to have the 1526 edition in front of you so that you can read the words as they are spoken. You can do this by using either the Tyndale Society's own edition of 1526, or by using the British Library/Hendrickson facsimile.

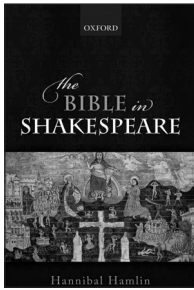
One of the happy surprises for me is the recording's authentic pronunciation of the word 'Christ'. I have always been baffled by our present pronunciation of the Title. I have always been baffled by it. After all, we pronounce 'wrist' as wrist, not 'wry-st'; and list as list, not lie-st. In every other language that I do know of, the Name of Christ is pronounced the same as 'creased', an entirely logical pronunciation which obeys all the rules, and again – because it is the natural pronunciation - the ear very soon gets used to it. That is how it is pronounced in this recording, and it is very pleasing to hear.

The regional accent chosen for the reading seems to be London. Though it possesses a definite and very pleasant lilt of its own, someone from Norfolk, or Gloucester, or Somerset, would clearly have voiced the words differently. But the choice of London presents us with a very clear and distinct voice, due to the very great skills of the reader, David Crystal, a master of his subject who has made spoken Tudor English his very special study over many years. This is why the quality simply shines through. This is no amateur actor hesitating now and then through unfamiliar territory. It is the voice of one who is well versed and practiced in speaking Tudor English, and he speaks it as a native.

Each track represents one chapter of Matthew. This makes it very easy indeed to pick up where you left off in the event of an interruption. The whole recording lasts 148 minutes – that's two and a half hours of sheer delight, and I sincerely hope that we can look forward to the appearance of the other Gospels – or, dare I hope, for the rest of the New Testament. Well done, British Library and David Crystal, and our warmest thanks to all concerned in the production of this masterpiece.

Bill Cooper





What Are You Reading?

Report by Mary Clow

The Bible in Shakespeare by Hannibal Hamlin

ISBN 978-0-19-967761-0 OUP 2013

It is unlikely that Shakespeare – a voracious reader – ever knowingly read a book of Tyndale’s, but every line he wrote was imbued with the Bible, in his day the Geneva and Bishops’ translations, meaning mostly the words of William Tyndale. David Daniell’s bold ‘No Tyndale, no Shakespeare’ is overwhelmingly supported by Hannibal Hamlin’s meticulous study.

Nowadays productions of the plays focus on Shakespeare’s political cunning, his psychological insight, his social observation, his deep understanding of the human heart. Endless debates backed up by close readings of the text pick apart evidence of his personal faith, or lack of it, and where he stood in the religious conflicts of his time. Skipping all that, Dr Hamlin (editor of *Reformation*) pays attention to Shakespeare’s language, metaphors and allusions and finds that more than any other source they go back to the Bible. For an Elizabethan audience this was popular culture, shared by high and low, and what to us is an obscure reference would have been picked up as immediately as we get the point of a satire on television.

Further, the very concept of *allusion* springs from Bible study, even the first use of the word in a literary sense was in a Latin exposition of the psalms. Protestant reading of the Bible, with the understanding essential for salvation, depended hugely on marginal notes, glosses and cross-referencing, much a part of the Geneva Bibles. Shakespeare’s audience would have been skilled at this; the very mention of an apple transported them to Eden, ready for what came next.

And it went much deeper. Dr Hamlin makes connections that are astonishing, but against my initial surprise, I was convinced. In *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, Bottom wakes from his dream with a rambling monologue, on the surface glorious comic nonsense, quite right for his character and his dream-time adventures as an ass. On closer reading though his words are a delicious muddling of one of the most treasured verses of St Paul, his description of the mysteries of the love of God (in the Bishops’ Bible I Cor. 2:9). So, Bottom ‘the rude mechanical’ returns to his own skin with a description of an extrasensory experience that parallels St Paul’s own inspired imaginings.... And, if that were not enough, the 1557 Geneva Bible concluded the passage with Tyndale’s version:

*For the spirit searcheth all things, yea the **bottom** of God’s secretes’.*

Future Events

RSA Conference, New York , March 2014 {NLI: I'll let you add}

This is article is missing - please forward

A Study Day in Ipswich, Suffolk

Saturday 10th May 2014 11.00 a.m. – 4.00 p.m.

The day will be based at St. Peter's by the Waterfront (featured in the recent BBC2 documentary on Thomas Cromwell).

In the morning there will be papers on two notable Reformation period figures associated with Ipswich, Thomas Wolsey as an educationalist who utilised St. Peter's as his college chapel, and the Protestant playwright and literary historian John Bale, a Suffolk man and one-time prior of the Carmelite friars in Ipswich who wrote one of the earliest accounts of William Tyndale. Between the papers there will be a short walk around the streets associated with Wolsey.

Speakers: On Wolsey, Dr. John Blatchly, noted historian of Suffolk and author of many publications, most recently (with Diarmaid MacCulloch) *Miracles in Lady Lane* (2013). On Bale, Dr. Oliver Wort, Fellow of Murray Edwards College, Cambridge, and author of *John Bale and Religious Conversion in Reformation England* (2013).

In the afternoon attention will turn to late medieval trade between England and Europe, often a means of transmitting new ideas and publications. The significant medieval port of Ipswich and its trade will be highlighted.

Speakers: On the port of Ipswich, Dr. Nicholas Amor, author of *Late Medieval Ipswich: Trade and Industry* (2011) and chairman of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History. The day will conclude with a presentation on one or more merchants who became involved in the unfolding Reformation.

Between the papers there will be a short walk along the waterfront.

Ipswich has good road and rail links with London, the Midlands and East Anglia. For those wishing to stay in Ipswich there is a range of hotel accommodation on and near the waterfront. The town is within a short drive from 'Benjamin Britten country', 'Constable country', the Suffolk 'wool churches', historic Colchester, the extensive Museum of East Anglian Life at Stowmarket and Britain's largest container port at Felixstowe.

Booking information can be found on the enclosed flyer. The cost for the day (including tea/coffee and sandwich lunch) will be confirmed before final bookings are taken but will probably be £20.



Lambeth Palace, London, July 2014 [NLI: I'll let you add]

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Media Gleanings

'William Tyndale' at Downton Abbey

*"I am Sir William Tyndale.
Good evening to ye and welcome to this place of learning."*



Patrick Kennedy, as Downton Abbey's, Terence Sampson

© downtonabbeyaddicts.com

With these words actor Patrick Kennedy, appropriately costumed in cap, ruff and Tudor academic gown, introduced himself at the Liverpool Hope University 'Tyndale, More and their Circles' conference in July, 2008. He then read from Tyndale's *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, an exposition of possibly one of the New Testament's most challenging passages. With consummate skill Kennedy convincingly tackled the complicated text as if he were indeed its author.

Tyndale Society members will be amused to recognise the same Patrick Kennedy, equally convincing as the caddish 'Terence Sampson', in the Christmas 2013 episode of the TV series *Downton Abbey*,



How I met William Tyndale

Nasim Tadghighi

In the summer of 2009, I decided to retrace the journey taken by Henry VIII and the court in 1535. I had been interested in sixteenth-century English history for a number of years and by my early teens I had already decided to study the subject at university. As a child, I visited the most prominent sites connected to the age. Though these various palaces, castles, and other grand sites, retained some of their original splendour, and justifiably attract huge crowds, there was something distinctly impersonal about them. They aided but did not create my enthusiasm for the period. I started to consider neglected historical sites closer to home. I grew up in South Gloucestershire and had always been aware of a few nearby attractions. Yet these were predominantly castles, and I felt the need to explore the overlooked and, what may be termed 'lost heritage'.

As a historian of Tudor political and religious history, I have long been fascinated by the immediate aftermath of the Break with Rome, receptions to the Reformation across the realm, and the monarch's relationship with his subjects. I was aware that the court visited the West Country in 1535; and in 2009 I came upon an article on this royal progress. It contained a map of the route, with reference to the main places of residence. I realised that my home was next to the route and would have been on the path had the original plans for the progress to Bristol not been thwarted by an outbreak of plague. I set out to discover what remained of that occasion, prompting visits to such nearby sites as Thornbury Castle and Acton Court.

I was particularly intrigued by the court's residence at Little Sodbury Manor, located in a village that borders the better known town,



Nasim Tadghighi was intrigued by the court's residence at Little Sodbury Manor,

© bathintime.co.uk

Chipping Sodbury. I found some information on the manor in various books on historical homes in Gloucestershire. The house boasted a very intriguing history and yet I could never remember seeing it, and there were no local signs advertising its location. I made the short trip to the village to discover that the manor was privately owned. Just as I was preparing to abandon this part of the journey, a local resident introduced himself and offered to show me remnants of the original manor that surrounded his land. There in the serene setting of his garden stood some stones. He informed me that this was all that remained of the manor's chapel. It faded in comparison to many of the other sites I had encountered along my trip. In appearance, it could not rival St Mary's Church in Sudeley Castle, where Henry VIII's sixth queen, Katherine Parr, was laid to rest, nor St Mary's, Thornbury, once attached to the neighbouring castle, where Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn stayed for a few nights. Despite its state I was pleased, but mostly privileged, to be able to see, and touch, something which lay unobserved.

I only realised the site's full significance once I walked down to the parish church. St Adeline's, the only church in the country dedicated to this mysterious saint, was constructed in the nineteenth-century. A plaque proudly proclaims the area's association with Tyndale. It states that the new church was built 'from the stones and plans of William Tyndale's Little Church' where 'he heard the call to translate the Bible'.

It seemed incredible that this tiny village in South Gloucestershire held such a momentous site unbeknownst to many, including locals. I had approached the ruins with the rather narrow interest in the court's time there; had Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn, and members of their household used the chapel? This seemed inconsequential in light of its prior connection to Gloucestershire's most famous son; be that as it may, it is almost forgotten.

Till then, my knowledge of Tyndale's life and career was fairly limited. I never learnt about him in school despite being educated in Bristol, a city which has its own connection to him. He rarely features in the numerous film and TV adaptations set in the Tudor age. The public are more apt to remember other illustrious martyrs of the period. When asked, most people will probably acknowledge Tyndale's connection to the Bible, but delve little further into the specifics. Admittedly, Tyndale managed to reach a respectable '26' in the 2002 BBC poll on the '100 Greatest Britons', leading some to optimistically conclude that he 'has some sort of a place in the British historical imagination'.¹ Reactions to the recent BBC documentary, 'The Most Dangerous Man in Tudor England' appear to contradict this; many reviewers recorded the general lack of knowledge on this figure. One even argued that 'Tyndale has been justly

elevated from relative obscurity’, a rather bittersweet observation.² [Ed.: Please see Brian Buxton’s review on page (...)].

It is perhaps fitting that my interest in Tyndale was sparked by a piece of ‘lost heritage’. The unexpected trip to the chapel proved a source of inspiration for me. It encouraged me to broaden my knowledge of Tyndale’s works, resulting in several hours on Early English Books Online consulting his writings! I remain interested in political developments of the age, and was intrigued by the support, but especially the opposition, shown towards Tyndale from mighty figures. Two individuals emerged – John Stokesley, Bishop of London, and Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham. My research evolved to focus increasingly on these, and fellow, religious conservatives who upon the Break with Rome came to accept the royal supremacy but remained attached to many of the ‘old ways’. I also became interested in why Tyndale had been forgotten by many. Had he not received ample attention in John Foxe’s hugely influential, *Acts and Monuments*? This in turn sparked another line of research – later narratives of the Henrician reformation and varied attention paid to particular figures, and not to others.

I am now in the middle of my PhD research on the religious conservatives at the court of Henry VIII. I am working on the years following Tyndale’s death, and sadly he features little in my study. Yet, I am still passionate about the need to draw attention to neglected subjects. I continue to be enthralled by pieces of ‘secret history’, including, appropriately, those related to Tyndale. I am writing this just a few minutes walk from Bristol’s former Baptist College, a building now owned by my university. It was here that a complete copy of Tyndale’s New Testament (1526) was kept within an impressive vault. Of course it is no longer there, having found a safer home in the British Library. Like the stones of the old church in Little Sodbury that were reclaimed for a place of new worship, the book had been appropriated for use again. But what is left behind – whether a few simple stones or an empty vault – still holds the potential to inspire and, perhaps, to inform.



Nasim Tadghighi

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- 1 Gergely Juhász and Paul Arblaster, ‘Can Translating the Bible Be Bad for Your Health? William Tyndale and the Falsification of Memory’, in Johan Leemans (ed.), *More than a Memory: The Discourse of Martyrdom and the Construction of Christian Identity in the History of Christianity* (Leuven, 2005), p. 332.
- 2 Jake Wallis Simons, ‘The Most Dangerous Man in Tudor England, BBC Two, review’, *The Telegraph*, 6 Jun 2013.

Society Notes

Do we have any this time?

Dates for Your Diary

◆ **Thursday, 27th – Saturday, 29th March, USA.**

Renaissance Society of America Conference, New York

‘Thomas More Facing his Time’ session with participants from:
Amici Thomae Mori, the Catholic University of America and the
Tyndale Society

(open to RSA members only, full schedule RSA.org)

◆ **Sunday, 30th March, New York, USA. 10-10:45 am**

The Rector’s Forum: More meets Tyndale

St Bartholomew’s Church, 51st St & Park Avenue Marie-Claire
Phélippeau of Amici Thomae Mori and Mary Clow of the Tyndale
Society debate in an informal weekly discussion period, hosted by the
Revd Stallings. All are welcome.

◆ **Sunday, 30th March, 6 pm**

Tyndale Society Reception

3 East 85th St, Apt 7a. New York, USA.

please come to this friendly meeting, open to all members and
associates, with brief speakers and refreshments.

RSVP to maryclow@aol.com

◆ **Saturday, 10th May, 11 am – 4 pm**

A Study Day at St Peter’s-by-the-Waterfront

Ipswich, Suffolk, UK.

See details in this Journal and use the flyer to sign up provisionally.

◆ **Friday, 4th July,**

Tyndale Lecture

Lambeth Palace, London, UK.

Details to be announced.

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: Gillian Guest, Membership Secretary,
28 St Paul's Crescent, Botley, Oxford OX2 9AG, UK.

US/CAN: Ron Ferner, The Tyndale Society (USA),
220 Quakerbridge Ct, Moorestown, NJ 08057, USA.

email: maryclow@aol.com



The Tyndale Society (UK/EU)

New UK Membership Applications 2013-14

Please complete & return to: Gillian Guest, The Tyndale Society,
28 St Paul's Crescent, Botley, Oxford OX2 9AG, UK.

Member Name: _____
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Account No: _____ Sort Code: __ / __ / __

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Bank, Branch Sort Code: 60-70-03 Account No: 86110683**

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New US Membership Applications 2013-14

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