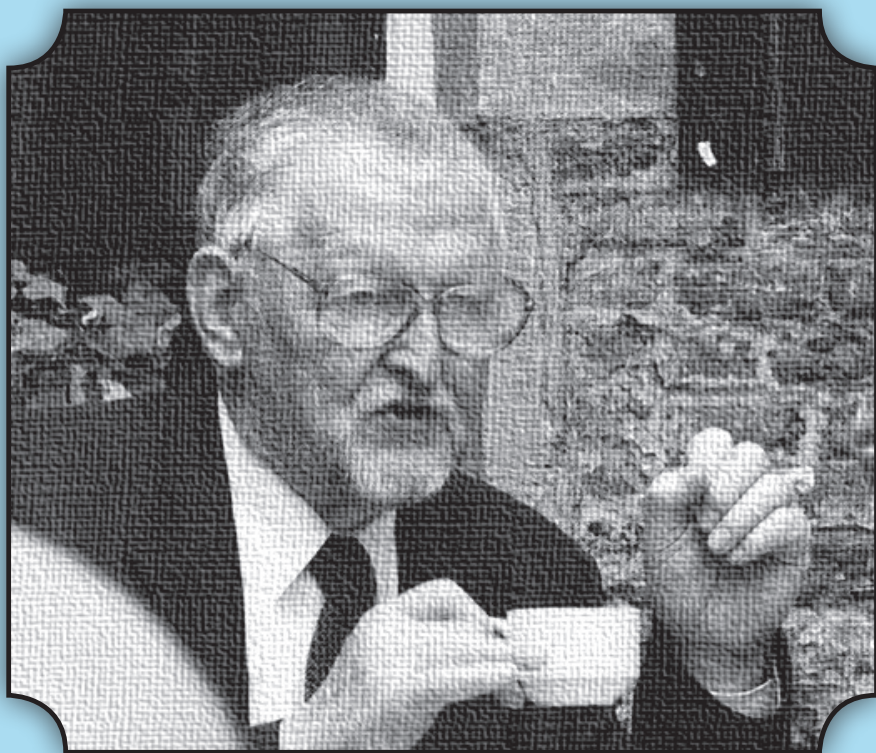


The Tyndale Society Journal



David Daniell, 1929-2016

No. 48
Spring 2017

About the Tyndale Society

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Founded by the late 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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Contents
The Tyndale Society Journal ♦ No.48
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Editorial 5

David Daniell

David Ireson	Tribute	13
Mary Clow	Report	14
Eunice Burton	Celebration for David Daniell, 18th February, 2017	15
Ann Manly	Music Notes	17

Features

Mary Clow	A Cope for the Cardinal	21
Lucy Nicholas	Johannes Sturm, Strasbourg and the European Reformation	23
Ramona Garcia	Tyndale Tourism	30
Robin Browne	The Bible, the Bishops and the Bard	36

Extracts

Diarmaid MacCulloch	Friars & Monks	40
Erasmus	Bible Story	42

Book Reviews

Ralph Werrell	A Companion to Lollardy	44
Deborah Pollard	The October Testament	48

What are you reading?

Mary Clow	The Tragic Imagination	51
-----------	------------------------	----

How William Tyndale made me laugh

Peter Lewis		53
-------------	--	----

Membership/Subscription Form – UK, EU & ROW	56
Membership/Subscription Form – USA & Canada	57
Key Contacts	58

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Neil Langdon Inglis

**We invite your contributions for the next Journal
by 15 September 2017 please (see *p. 22*)**



Especially Welcome...

contributions for: 'How I Met William Tyndale'

Editorial

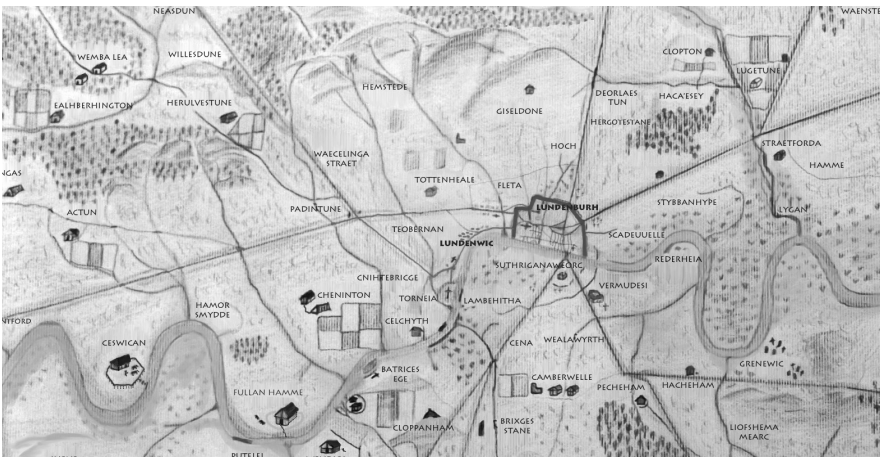
Neil Langdon Inglis

Editor - TSJ No. 48

A commendable effort to tabulate ancient London placenames recently caught my eye on the web. I already knew that the fair district of Leyton (East London) showed up in the Domesday Book as Leintun with a population of 43; and on a recent visit I surveyed the lay of the land from Leyton tube station, imagining how the village must have looked back in Norman times, with the sound of cowbells and beehives instead of traffic and diesel fumes, and only the topography more or less unchanged.

However, I gathered from the link below that the names of several London neighborhoods have their roots in the more distant past. In other words, they were already quite old by Tyndale's time! I thought of Herodotus imagining the age of the Pyramids, yet stopped before I stretched the metaphor too far. Still, I began to wonder whether the denizens of *Wemba Lea* ever played a certain game with a ball and goalposts, or whether the residents of *Cnihtebrigge* plied their wares at a market called Hay Roods....

The preparers note: "The map comes with a few caveats. We're attempting to show a period of several hundred years in one map. Some features might not have been present for the whole of that time span, and names changed. Features like marshland, forest coverage and farmland are often conjectural in their extent, as are certain roads. Corrections or additions can be left in the comments below."



At the TSJ we celebrate the achievements of our contributors. Thus, I begin my editorial with an excerpt from HuffPost acknowledging the latest publication by Lauren Johnson, who wrote for us on Queen Jane Seymour in TSJ44.

Lauren Johnson's accomplished debut "So Great a Prince: England in 1509" (The History Press, 178185985X) delves into the cultural, social, religious and political aspects of the first year of Henry VIII's reign. Often remembered as an obese despot, this Henry is a fresh-faced Prince in a pre-Reformation world, where Johnson charts the hand over of power from father to son in illuminating detail and inviting prose.

See: goo.gl/4aIWCU

And over at Auntie Beeb we hear news of one of the Society's oldest and dearest friends (who is also featured in this issue):

500 years after the Reformation, Diarmaid MacCulloch examines how the announcement of a university seminar in Germany led to the division of Europe. He examines the ideas of Martin Luther, where they came from and why they proved so revolutionary, tracing their development and influence, and reflecting on what they mean for us today.

See: bbc.co.uk/programmes/b087pr2y



A roundup of Tyndale sightings in the media follows below. As we shall see, the notion that Tyndale was executed for translating the Bible into English, while an oversimplification at best, has become firmly entrenched on the web.

I was pleasantly surprised to read the following kind words by Professor Bart Ehrman on his blog. (Registration: ehrmanblog.org) Ehrman is currently the James A. Gray Distinguished Professor of Religious Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

And so the church (in England – Wycliff's home turf) called a special convention in 1408 and established a policy that the Bible could not be translated (again) into English without authorization.

This policy was enforced for some 140 years. And then there appeared on the scene in England the single most important figure in the entire history of Bible translation, William Tyndale. Tyndale wanted to make the Bible available to the masses, and he wanted to translate it directly from the Hebrew and Greek – both of which he knew – instead of the Latin (which he also knew, of course. Every scholar did).

Tyndale had to leave England to do his translation and he set up shop in Germany. There he did the New Testament (based on the Textus Receptus as it was available — that is, the Greek version produced by Erasmus) and a good chunk of the Old Testament (Genesis through 2 Chronicles) (the rest of the OT was done by his followers). But as parts of his translation appeared and were circulated, the authorities became incensed and tracked him down. He was arrested, tried, and executed for his efforts, burned at the stake in 1536. But his Bible lived on.



Here is Harry Freedman writing in History Extra on the murderous history of Bible translations. His book of the same title was reviewed by Brian Buxton in TSJ47. The story is familiar, but deserves retelling.

William Tyndale

Wycliffe's translation was still banned, and although manuscript copies were available on the black market, they were hard to find and expensive to procure. (...)

But printing was becoming commonplace, and Tyndale believed the time was right for an accessible, up-to-date translation. He knew he could create one; all he needed was the funding, and the blessing of the church. It didn't take him long to realise that nobody in London was prepared to help him. (...)

The religious climate appeared less oppressive in Germany. Luther had already translated the Bible into German; the Protestant Reformation was gathering pace and Tyndale believed he would have a better chance of realising his project there. So he travelled to Cologne and began printing. (...) Tyndale spent the next few years dodging English spies and Roman agents. But he managed to complete his Bible and copies were soon flooding into England – illegally, of course. The project was complete but Tyndale was a marked man.

(...) In England, Cardinal Wolsey was conducting a campaign against Tyndale's Bible. No one with a connection to Tyndale or his translation was safe. (...) Thomas Bilney, a lawyer whose connection to Tyndale was tangential at the most, was also thrown into the flames. First prosecuted by the bishop of London, Bilney recanted and was eventually released in 1529. But when he withdrew his recantation in

1531 he was re-arrested and prosecuted by Thomas Pelles, chancellor of Norwich diocese, and burnt by the secular authorities just outside the city of Norwich.

(...) Tyndale's end was no less tragic. He was betrayed in 1535 by Henry Phillips, a dissolute young aristocrat who had stolen his [Phillips'] father's money and gambled it away. Tyndale was hiding out in Antwerp, under the quasi-diplomatic protection of the English merchant community. Phillips, who was as charming as he was disreputable, befriended Tyndale and invited him out for dinner. As they left the English merchant house together, Phillips beckoned to a couple of thugs loitering in a doorway. They seized Tyndale. It was the last free moment of his life. Tyndale was charged with heresy in August 1536 and burnt at the stake a few weeks later.

See: goo.gl/ovZfyh



From WT sightings, we move on to Thomas More. I recently had the pleasure of meeting Mark Rylance, the actor whose name brings us naturally to the topic of Thomas Cromwell and the work of Hilary Mantel. I had privately concluded that the actor playing Thomas More in *Wolf Hall* did a creditable job within avowedly narrow parameters, and now I find that Mantel shares my assessment in *History Today*.

I cannot agree that Anton Lesser's nuanced, masterly performance showed More as 'vile ... despicable'. His desiccated precision may have shocked those who expected a warmer portrait, but one must bear in mind that the story is not told from some lofty neutral viewpoint; it is seen through Cromwell's eyes and his inferences are ours. If you were a member of the London evangelical community in the 1520s and early 1530s, as many of Cromwell's friends were, More was a deeply unpleasant proposition. You feared him, you didn't trust him an inch and you certainly did not think he was holy.

See: goo.gl/HE0rvr

For further information on More, read on:

According to the National Catholic Register, TM's brown felt hat has been put on display through March 31, 2017 at the St. John Paul II National Shrine in Washington, along with "a fragment of a William Tyndale translation of the New Testament."

In the TSJ we are always keen to explore the multimedia aspects of Tyndalian history. Tyndale has been seen on stage of late; note this review of David Edgar's play "Written on the Heart," in which WT is described as a "lively ghost." Whoever would have guessed?

The moment calls for a theological and political diplomat in a place of high power. Edgar finds one in Lancelot Andrewes, the Bishop of Ely. (...) flashbacks reveal that Andrewes's moderation has come at a price, after his early days as something more like an inquisitor. Areon Mobasher plays the darker notes of an earlier Andrewes whose actions effectively condemned those who held differing religious views.

Though we don't entirely buy the older Andrewes's anguish when he repeatedly repents for this, we're charmed when he is upbraided by the lively ghost of William Tyndale (an irascible John Allore). Tyndale's early English translation of scripture formed much of the basis for the King James Bible, but because he did the work while it was still forbidden, he was killed for it in 1536. Tyndale criticizes Andrewes for elevated language that "sacrifice(s) the meaning for the music" of the words and for ceremonial trappings that abolish "the popish doctrine but kept its practices," though they find a sublime moment of accord in reading the Beatitudes.

See: goo.gl/oX42uf



John Allore, Sean Wellington and Juan Iser in Burning Coal Theatre Company's 2017 production of David Edgar's 'Written on the Heart'

©Right Image Photography Inc.

Such a protean figure this William Tyndale. Lively ghost one week... freedom fighter the next? From indyweek.com:

On October 6, 1536, in the prison yard of Vilvoorde castle near modern-day Brussels, a man named William Tyndale was strangled then burnt at the stake. His crime? To translate the Latin Bible into English, his native tongue. A priest and scholar, Tyndale was an information freedom-fighter, whose mission was to open up the scripture for ordinary men and women. "If God spare my life," he reportedly told a fellow priest, "I will cause the boy that drives the plough to know more of the scriptures than you!"

Tyndale worked in the midst of an extraordinary new information era, ushered in by the invention of Gutenberg's printing press. Prior to the press, there were just 30,000 books in all of Europe; some 50 years later, in 1500, there were more than 10 million. (...)

Tyndale set out to use the technology at his disposal to empower and liberate ordinary people, giving them the opportunity to understand, think and make decisions for themselves. Open information meant believing that people should be free to encounter and recombine ideas at will, without some grand designer dictating the appropriate ends.

See: goo.gl/ZrrIjy

Truly, William Tyndale makes appearances in all sorts of places, including on stage and on the airwaves. Stephen Hough (who made an appearance in my editorial in TSJ44), concert pianist, composer and longtime Tyndale Society member, chose his Desert Island Discs on the BBC Radio 4 programme on Sunday, October 9th. Every castaway is given the Bible, and the complete works of Shakespeare, but Stephen added a special request: 'Might it be Tyndale's translation? That way, I would get the inspiration with the beautiful poetry'. His request was granted.

In TSJ48, we are delighted to publish a review by our friend and colleague Ralph Werrell on "A Companion to Lollardy" by Hornbeck, Somerset, and Bose. Lucy Nicholas writes for us on the lesser-known yet important Strasbourg reformer Johannes Sturm (1507-89) (see her paper on King Henry's letters to Anne Boleyn, in TSJ45). TSJ stalwart Ramona Garcia continues her intensive investigation of Tyndale advocacy in the Victorian age in her paper on Tyndale-related tourism.

At the TSJ, it is our policy to encourage the efforts of young people who research the life of such a man as William Tyndale, and we were accordingly delighted to publish the paper on WT by Tylee Eck and Kelly Smith in TSJ44. In this spirit, let us raise three cheers for Dylan Edwards in Fort Campbell, Kentucky. The attached news report may be a trifle vague on Tyndale's theology, or on the precise grounds for his execution, but those important details may be briefly set aside as we celebrate a community's robust refusal to allow WT to languish in obscurity. From the *Fort Campbell Courier*:



Dylan Edwards as William Tyndale
© Leejay Lockhart, *Fort Campbell Courier*

Dylan Edwards portrayed William Tyndale, who created an early translation of the Bible in English, which would eventually have harsh consequences for Tyndale. Dylan chose Tyndale because of the world builder's desire to always do the right thing.

“He stepped outside of the normal bounds of religion and what was considered correct and politically correct at the moment to do with what he saw was right,” Edwards said. “He still did it even though he knew he'd be persecuted for it. He was tracked down his whole life and was eventually strangled and burned at the stake.”

Dylan had to use internet resources, books and other sources to find out about important dates in Tyndale's life and to learn more about his early years. He used well known portraits of Tyndale as he scoured thrift stores and consignment shops looking for clothes to use for his

costume. His main goal was to do his world builder justice.

Dylan learned more than just dates about Tyndale's life though, which is part of the reason why [teachers] Duerr and Loucks have students participate in the project.

“[Tyndale] teaches you a valuable lesson and gives you better morals to focus on your goals no matter what may happen later on down the road,” Dylan said. “It will leave an impact of what you did.”

See: goo.gl/u3cTsc

Never were truer words spoken.

TSJ Readers at all 4 corners of the globe will hasten to read the report on the David Daniell Celebration gathering on February 18, 2017.

Neil L. Inglis

1 Lancelot Andrew(e)s also figures in Robin Browne's paper on "The Bible, the Bishops, and the Bard" on page 36.

2 For more on Vilvo[o]rde, read Ramona Garcia's article on "Tyndale Tourism" on page 30.

Professor David Daniell, 1929-2016



Antwerp, 2002 (photograph by David Ireson)

Two scholars have much to say to each other. William Tyndale, who died in 1536 gave us the first printed Scriptures in English. He is acclaimed for having been a man of outstanding integrity, courage and faith. Then there is Professor David Daniell, an extraordinary scholar of our times, who died 480 years later in 2016. He made Tyndale's life and his works known to us today and went on to dedicate fifteen years to writing a profound overview of the development of the Bible in English. Printed Bibles and Shakespeare texts played an important part in the evolution of the English language: David Daniell spent his life studying both.

David read English at Oxford (St Catherine's College), then Theology before taking a Post Graduate year at Tübingen (what an inspiring experience that must have been). With a PhD in English he taught Sixth Form students at Apsley Grammar in Hemel Hempstead *for twelve years* before becoming a Professor at University College London. He retired in 1994 and a year later founded the Tyndale Society.

When Rowan Williams lectured in Oxford I was impressed with how he could handle very intelligent but sometimes difficult, challenging students. Nothing fazed him. David was the same. He was sure of his ground, very demanding, and wanted everyone to work to the high standard he expected of himself.

David Ireson

Report from Mary Clow

The 17th February, 2017 would have been the 88th birthday of David Daniell and so it seemed a happy date to remember him the next afternoon with a coming together of colleagues, friends and family to celebrate his long, productive life and the lasting legacy of his work.

Our location was Bridewell Hall, particularly appropriate as it is part of the St Bride Foundation, and in 1993 the first meetings to establish what became The Tyndale Society were held nearby in the crypt of St Bride's church under the auspices of Canon John Oates and Sir Edward Pickering (Chairman of Times Newspapers). It was delightful that Gillian Graham Dobson, who was part of the team at the early meetings, could be with us (see her recollections in TSJ47 p.8).

Also with us were David's sons, Andy, and Chris with his wife Alison and two boys, Matt and Jamie, who were the pride of their grandfather's last years. Chris Daniell commented that his father would have been incredibly appreciative of the range of his life that was encompassed by the contributions.

When you step out into Fleet Street from Bridewell Hall and look left, you can prominently see the tower of St Dunstons-in-the-West. Here Tyndale preached in 1523/4 when he lodged in London with Henry Monmouth and unsuccessfully petitioned the Bishop of London for permission to translate the Bible.



St Brides, Fleet Street

©e-architect.co.uk

A celebration of the life of David Daniell

17th February 1929 – 1st June 2016

Memories and Music: 18th February 2017

Eunice Burton

Saturday 18th February 2017 will be remembered as a very special day in the annals of The Tyndale Society as the life and work of its founder, David Daniell, was celebrated by his family and friends at Bridewell Hall, near Fleet Street, London. The invitation to an afternoon of ‘Memories and Music’ drew about 60 people from the United Kingdom and beyond, including Belgium, Switzerland, Japan and the United States of America, all eager to meet old friends and exchange memories of past events. In welcoming us, Mary Clow (chairman of The Tyndale Society) said that David would have been 88 on the previous day, so we should regard this celebration as his birthday party. She especially welcomed members of The John Buchan Society, who were present; David throughout his life had been an ‘encourager’ of both young colleagues and of old, neglected, deserving causes. Mary remembered her last visit to David, then very frail, but his eyes lit up with recognition as he stressed that there remained ‘so much work yet to be done’ - on Tyndale’s marginal notes for example. Mary felt sent away with the injunction that the society should continue the task until completion.

There followed a recording of David reading St. John’s Gospel chapter 14 verses 1-9 in Tyndale’s translation of the *The New Testament – ‘Let not your heart be troubled....’*, a passage which was included in the King James version of 1611 almost verbatim.

The programme had opened with a rendition of the anthem *If ye love me* by Thomas Tallis (c1505-1595), sung by the English Chamber Choir, which has become the signature tune of the society since the concert in Antwerp in 2002. Following the recording of David reading from St. John’s Gospel chapter 14, we listened to John Tavener’s *Song for Athene – Alleluia* chosen for the funeral services of many famous people.

Then Dr. Guido Latré, Professor of English Literature & Culture, Université Catholique de Louvain, and Trustee & vice-chairman (Europe) of the Tyndale Society, recounted his first meeting with David Daniell in 1994 when he was a young lecturer at KU Leuven and David’s insistence that his research should *go on, go on*. Guido then reminded us of the highlights of subsequent conferences, especially of the Antwerp conference of 2002, which he hosted,

and memorable for our visit to the Plantin-Moretus museum of printing. For Guido the apogee was the evensong service in Antwerp Cathedral when the Roman Catholic bishop insisted that the Anglican bishop occupied his 'throne', while for others it was the sunlight streaming down to the magnificent painting by Rubens of *The Descent from the Cross*. Guido paid tribute to David Daniell's appreciation of Tyndale's simple literary style and the musical register of words from his knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, e.g. the *troubled heart* of St. John's Gospel chapter 14. Guido also referred to the dictum of Erasmus that if the language is right and the syntax correct, morals and religious life will all be in order too. Truth was important to David – it could be said that *he lived in truth*. When the 2015 Oxford conference was reported to David his reaction was to repeat the initial exhortation *go on, go on*.

The next speaker was Dr. Kate MacDonald, Visiting Research Fellow, Reading University, representing The John Buchan Society. She had been supervised by David in the late 1980s while preparing her Ph.D. on John Buchan and she remembered his energetic enthusiasm as he rescued John Buchan's reputation. In 1975 David had produced *The Interpreter's House : A Critical Assessment of the Work of John Buchan*, the first critical study of Buchan's work rather than an additional biography. She had modelled her own work on David's scholarly style, factual accuracy, yet discursive, conversational register. She read extracts showing how Buchan was in fact shocked by late Victorian imperialism, although his characters were drawn from the aristocracy and his heroes were Augustus and Julius Caesar, Montrose, Cromwell and Walter Scott. Buchan's analysis of conditions in South Africa after the Boer War reached unpopular conclusions and David throughout referred to lesser known works, ignoring *The Thirty Nine Steps*. David assessed Buchan's literary merits in the light of modern critical fashion and felt that his fiction, both novels and historical, was never inferior, while the skill exhibited in producing very detailed plots made attractive recreational reading.

Dr. Michael Redley, editor of *The John Buchan Journal*, then paid tribute to David as responsible for putting John Buchan studies on the map with *The Interpreter's House* in 1975. For the last 25 years David gave many talks at the society's dinners, encouraged research and edited new editions of Buchan's short stories, giving brilliant brief introductions. David considered writing a literary biography of Buchan for Oxford University Press but this never materialised – instead the wonderful biography of William Tyndale was published in 1994, so that The John Buchan Society's loss was The Tyndale Society's gain. Dr. Redley concluded by referring to David's enjoyment of

Buchan's *Sir Walter Scott*, saying that if one had never read Scott before Buchan's book appeared, one certainly would after – *you will, you will*. In the introduction to Buchan's *The Blanket of the Dark* (1994 edition), set in Tudor England, David asserted that Buchan's graphic description of weather and landscapes would convey to the reader the feeling of having been there, just jolting the memory. David mentions that Tyndale's translation of *The New Testament* was in circulation then, thus linking his parallel interests.

More music followed – *Go down, Moses* (Michael Tippett), *When David heard that Absalom was slain* (Thomas Tomkins 1572-1656) and *The Lord bless you and keep you* (John Rutter), and then members of the choir gave readings from Shakespeare including Prospero in *The Tempest* - '*Our revels now are ended we are such stuff as dreams are made of and our little life is rounded with a sleep*'.

Then a complete change of mood to the party spirit in the choir finale – selections from *West Side Story* (Leonard Bernstein) and *Brush up your Shakespeare* from *Kiss me Kate* (Cole Porter) in a last reference to David's Shakespeare scholarship.

Mary Clow then gave appreciative thanks, followed by Christopher Daniell on behalf of the family, before we mingled over tea, all agreeing that David had been lovingly remembered and the importance of his work justly recognised.

I am grateful to Brian Buxton for his assistance with the preparation of this report.

Music For David

The English Chamber Choir

Ann Manly

The English Chamber Choir's association with the Tyndale Society doesn't go back quite as far as David Daniell's, but we were always aware of his guiding spirit and were delighted to encounter him at the various conferences at which we performed. So of course we were pleased to be asked to make a musical contribution to the celebration of his life at Bridewell Hall on 18 February.

When Mary Clow approached us about this, she gave us an outline brief: the event was to be a celebration, not a memorial service, so nothing too funereal; and David's principal interests apart from Tyndale were John Buchan and Shakespeare.

I have to confess we drew something of a blank on John Buchan, although someone at Bridewell Hall did tell me that apparently he wrote a 'New Year's Hymn' when he was aged about 11. It appears that the words have been included in later collections of his poems but the tune appears to have sunk without trace, so not much chance of singing it! We searched for maybe some music used in the film of *The 39 Steps* but again nothing useful came to light. So we left it to the speakers to cover that area of David's scholarship.

Of course we already have a collection of musical settings of words which came from Tyndale, usually via the King James Bible, which we have performed at the Society's gatherings over the years, and we had also devised a programme a few years ago which looked at the impact on religious worship of words freely translated into the vernacular – not only in England but also in Europe and the USA. And when it comes to musical settings of Shakespeare, one is spoiled for choice.

So we began our musical tribute with *If ye love me* by Thomas Tallis – a little gem of a piece which Tallis wrote for the newly-established services of Mattins and Evensong, in English, as included in the Church of England's Book of Common Prayer. Before the English Reformation, sacred music was in Latin, and the prevailing style of masses and motets in Tyndale's time consisted of long melodic lines, interwoven among several voices, and with one syllable probably extending over several bars. The fact that a congregation would not be able to follow easily what the choir was singing about, didn't really bother the clergy or of course the monks who were doing most of the singing. Post-Reformation, however, there were strict instructions to the effect that English words should be set with one syllable to each note of music, thus rendering them immediately recognisable to lay people. Tallis, and his colleague William

18



The English Chamber Choir performing at David Daniell's Memorial Service

Byrd, both began their careers in the Catholic Church and they remained Catholics at heart whilst nevertheless serving the protestant Queen Elizabeth and providing compositions for the new Church of England. [*If ye love me* does indeed begin with all four voices singing the words together, but in the second half of the piece, the lines follow each other in imitation, harking back to the earlier Latin style.]

If ye love me came to have a special significance in terms of music for the Tyndale Society. It was one of the pieces chosen for a programme we sang in the International Conference in Antwerp in 2002. A few days before the concert Guido Latré asked if we could provide a short piece of music which he could send to the radio to be broadcast as a sort of ‘trailer’ for the conference and the opening of an important exhibition on the history of printing at Antwerp’s famous Plantain-Moretus museum. So we rather hastily, during a rehearsal, made a recording of the Tallis and sent it off. I had thought it was for local radio use, but as those of you who were present on 18 February will know, I was quickly corrected by Guido who pointed out that we were played every day for a week on National Radio. By the time we arrived in Antwerp, everyone at the conference and a lot of other people we encountered were all talking about this wonderful piece they had heard on the radio, and then of course we had the amazing experience of singing it in Antwerp Cathedral at the Evensong in honour of William Tyndale as ‘martyr of another faith’, a service attended by over 1,000 people. Thus this little piece became something of a ‘mantra’ for the Tyndale Society and has been sung by us at every performance since (with the exception of the carol services).

Next, we turned to a very different, but similarly iconic, anthem by John Tavener. He composed his *Song for Athene* in memory of a young teacher of that name at London’s Hellenic College who was tragically killed in an accident

while cycling to work. Again, that piece might well have remained familiar only to those who follow trends in contemporary classical music, had it not been sung at the conclusion of the funeral of Diana, Princess of Wales. That exposure led to numerous concert performances, broadcasts and recordings, making John Tavener almost a household name and the piece a likely choice for *Desert Island Discs*. And, as it happens, the words are taken from the Orthodox Funeral Service and Shakespeare. So here was our first Shakespearian reference. This beautiful piece provided a few minutes in which the audience could reflect on their own memories of David and his work and it certainly appeared to make an impact. Lovely windows down the side of the hall resonated to send the sound onwards and upwards.

Our next group of three pieces were chosen for their associations with Tyndale, what he stood for, and the ongoing work of the Tyndale Society. *When David heard that Absalom was slain* by Thomas Tomkins is full of the most anguished word-painting – quite unusual for England in the early 1600s, although such emotional musical tension was already being exploited by people like Monteverdi in Italy. Michael Tippett's interpretation of the African-American spiritual *Go Down, Moses* came from our survey of the spread of vernacular texts in worship. John Rutter's *The Lord bless you and keep you* is another short anthem which has become very popular in recent years and is, in many respects a modern successor to *If ye love me*: words set very clearly, but with enough melody and interweaving to enrich the musical experience.

Having paid our tribute to David's work on Tyndale we wanted to end with something which would help to create a celebration. So we went back to Shakespeare and decided that instead of choosing settings of various speeches, sonnets or songs, we would look at a couple of re-workings of Shakespeare plays for the 20th-century American stage. Leonard Bernstein's 'West Side Story' tells the story of *Romeo and Juliet*, acted out in the gang culture of 1950s New York, and we have a short medley of numbers from the show created for concert performance. Cole Porter's *Kiss me Kate* portrays the antics of a theatre company putting on a performance of *The Taming of the Shrew* and what better way to end an affectionate tribute than a few rousing choruses of *Brush up your Shakespeare*.

We had no idea what David's thoughts on such re-workings of the Bard might be, so we were delighted when his son told us afterwards that he had the LP of *West Side Story* and played it often – and apparently somewhere in his record collection there was a Cole Porter album too. So we came away hoping that our musical choices had helped to reflect the very diverse interests of a remarkable man.

A Cope for the Cardinal

Mary Clow



Thomas More began his tale of the imaginary land of *Utopia* by placing its telling in a contemporary setting, full of verifiable names of real people and places - rather as Alice lies down one hot summer afternoon on a bank of ordinary English wild flowers, before she falls down the rabbit hole.

More is in Antwerp, coming from Mass in the newly-completed church of the Virgin with its high tower, a familiar landmark for seamen and travellers. His friend, Pieter Gillis, the town clerk of the city, greets him and makes the introduction ... well, to *Utopia's* own White Rabbit, the adventurer Raphael Hythlodæus, recently returned with his wild account of the extraordinary kingdom of golden chamber pots. More is the eager listener and incredulous questioner to Raphael Hythlodæus' sometimes shocking stories.

But - before he plunges us into his world, Raphael drops one other identifiable and well-known name, that of the pious and highly respected Chancellor of England, the Cardinal Archbishop John Morton. And the knowing readers for whom this playful folly was written would have chuckled to recognise the early mentor of their friend More, who as a boy had learnt the arts of the court when a page in Morton's service.

In the winter of 2016/17, London's Victoria & Albert museum mounted an exhibition, *Opus Anglicanum: Masterpieces of English Medieval Embroidery*. Long before the English gave the world football or parliamentary democracy, this showed that we were famous for our embroidery skills. Holy Roman Emperors commissioned examples, Popes received them as peace-offerings, Princes of the Church sent them as diplomatic gifts. So proud was the craft that the names of the master-embroiderers, both men and women, and the exceptionally high wages they could command, were recorded.

The Reformation swept away this tradition but, although much was lost, in chests and trunks, in attics and sacristies, hidden examples survived. Among them in the exhibition, Cardinal Morton's cope, made in 1493.

We know for certain that John Morton commissioned it because, in keeping with the humour of the age and with the word-play so enjoyed by More, the sumptuous embroideries on the cape include a pun on his name:

an eagle, as for the Evangelist = John

a beer cask/tun with the letters MOR = Morton

Perhaps this very cope was once slipped onto the Cardinal's shoulders by the young Thomas More?

Submission Guidelines

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Johannes Sturm, Strasbourg and the European Reformation

Lucy R Nicholas
King's College, London.

Johannes Sturm (1507-89) is not exactly a household name in Reformation scholarship. Whilst Martin Luther, Ulrich Zwingli and Jean Calvin are all figures that claim prominence, Sturm, the diplomat, humanist and Protestant reformer from Strasbourg, enjoys no such renown. This is especially the case among English-speaking historians.¹ It is curious that Sturm should have garnered so little attention, for Sturm's corpus is large and diverse, comprising educational, religious and political material, and it spans several critical decades of the Reformation. A major impediment to a deeper acquaintance with Sturm is that the vast majority of his works are in Latin and have not been translated into English. However, another reason may be that historians have failed to appreciate the full range and mode of Sturm's contributions to the Protestant movement.² This may in part be owing to the common (yet often highly misleading) distinction drawn between 'humanists' and 'religious reformers' which tends to preclude a proper engagement with religious and theological influence of humanists as the Reformation progressed.³ It may also be the case that scholars have not fully credited Strasbourg with the importance and influence as centre of the Reformation that it deserves,⁴ or taken full account of the style of reform being advanced by Bucer, the leading theological reformer from Strasbourg and a figure to whom Sturm remained ever loyal.

My research on Johannes Sturm is still in its infancy. The aim of this article therefore is simply to draw attention to a number of his little known works (especially those without an existing English translation), his concerns and activities and to suggest some possible new approaches for analysis.⁵ In doing so, I hope to highlight the opportunities for fresh and illuminating perspectives on the European Reformation that a fuller exploration of Sturm and Strasbourg can offer. I propose to consider Sturm under two (interrelated) heads: firstly, the nature of Sturm's Protestantism and, secondly, the relationship between Sturm's humanist projects and his commitment to Protestantism.

The nature of Sturm's Protestantism

There can be little doubt about Sturm's commitment to the Protestant cause. He was exposed at an early stage in his life to reforming ideas and enthusiastically embraced the central principles of the Protestant Reformation. At the age of

just twenty-seven, he was invited by Martin Bucer to run the Strasbourg Gymnasium, the educational foundation established by the Protestant council of Strasbourg. Throughout his career, Sturm worked closely with reformers like Philip Melancthon and Johannes Sleidan. He also had a strong connection with Jacob Sturm (no relation), a leading politician of Strasbourg who had been responsible for establishing Protestantism as the official religion of the city. However, if we are to gain a more nuanced understanding of Sturm's place in the Reformation, we need to go further than a simple application of the label of 'Protestant'. It would be useful to consider in more detail his relationship both with other Catholics and other Protestants.

Sturm's Protestantism cannot be understood solely in terms of a direct opposition to Catholicism. Sturm believed passionately in reform of the Church, and during his career he acknowledged Catholic attempts to do the same. In 1538, for example, Sturm responded directly (in a piece entitled *Epistola de emendanda Ecclesia*) to a report recently commissioned by the Pope, Paul III (*Consilium delectorum Cardinalium ... de emendanda Ecclesia*) on ways to reform the Church. Although, Sturm did not agree with the extent of the changes being proposed by the cardinals, he did acknowledge the areas they had highlighted for improvement (and these included papal abuses, bishops' duties, the education of the clergy). While older depictions of the Reformation as a Protestant revolution followed, only years later, by a Catholic 'Counter-reformation' have in more recent years been overturned, still too little is said about the dynamic relationship between the concurrent reform programmes of Catholics and Protestants and the influence they might have had on each other. Sturm's published correspondence with the Catholic humanist and reformer Bartholomew Latomus (*Epistolae Duae Duorum Amicorum*, 1541) is similarly suggestive of a more contested and overlapping landscape of reforming initiatives than is often shown to be the case.⁶ It may even reflect an underlying approbation of the Catholic reform programme.

Operating alongside Sturm's zeal for religious reform was a deep anxiety about confessional division. He was impelled to write on the issue, publishing in 1539 letters that explicitly concerned the topic of discord *Epistolae de disidiis religionis*. His abovementioned exchange with Latomus also centred on the dangers of disagreement. Such concerns did not abate, and in the early 1560s he was again articulating unease about the issue of division, this time in the context of the Council of Trent where a further session was being held. Sturm set out his thoughts on this front in a letter addressed to Nicholas Radziwil, a leading Protestant convert of Lithuania (*Epistola de refutatione Tridentini Concilii*

et dissidiis). Again, even in a letter which aimed to refute the conclusions and approaches of the Council of Trent, Sturm was simultaneously exercised by the problem of discord (*dissidiis*). Revealingly, this letter was included in a tract of 1565 that appeared to encapsulate a more unified Protestant position that had been worked on by a number of German Protestants at the Council of Naumburg in 1561.⁷ An aspect of Sturm's life that is often overlooked was his role as a religious diplomat and tireless work over the decades not just to give ballast to the Protestant cause but also to help unite an ever-fragmenting Christendom. Sturm was involved both at



Image: iglesiaspueblonuevo.es

home and abroad as a negotiator in some of the key discussions between Protestants and the Catholics who were still hoping to restore religious unity in the Holy Roman Empire through theological discussion, for example, the Diets of Hagenau and Worms in 1540 and Regensburg in 1541. Such attempts to seek common ground are often classified as 'eirenic'. Yet Sturm's approach seems to complicate the very notion of what such an approach might actually involve. As recent scholarly interest in moderation and toleration is beginning to highlight, it is far from clear that Sturm's ultimate aim was full religious compromise and peace at any cost.⁸ With Sturm, overt ecumenicism did not necessarily preclude entrenched dogmatism, and works reflect the way in which he cleaved to a very specific religious vision. It was a vision that subscribed to the broad principles of Lutheran doctrine but entailed a greater emphasis on the fundamentals of theology rather than the minutiae. It prioritised religious morality through Christ's example, a high level of education and a belief in the value of classical literature languages. It was an outlook that on the face of it looked inclusive and consensual but was in reality one Sturm refused to compromise on.

Sturm's outlook was one that had much in common with another Strasbourg

reformer, Bucer. Bucer has long been recognised for his non-dogmatic Christian beliefs, his constant quest for unity, especially around the issue of justification by faith, and his belief in the reforming power of education.⁹ In fact, there are examples of Sturm actively promoting Bucer's position on a number of religious issues. For example, Sturm composed and distributed his prefaces to Bucer's *Nova vetera quatuor eucharistica scripta Buceri* and his *Scripta Anglicana Buceri*, tracts in which Bucer had attempted to harmonise disparate viewpoints in the seemingly intractable issue of the Eucharist.¹⁰ Diarmaid MacCulloch has sensibly pointed out that Bucer, unlike other reformers, did not give his name to a worldwide Bucerian church and, as a result, his vision for reform has been neglected in accounts of the Reformation.¹¹ However, that should not discourage the modern scholar from exploring the sort of model for reform that Bucer established as regarding it as distinct from Calvinism or Lutheranism. Sturm's unwavering commitment to an unmistakably Bucerian legacy after Bucer's death (in 1551) cast him, at least in Strasbourg, as a solitary pariah rather than conciliator. In Strasbourg, Lutheranism became the dominant confession and some of Sturm's later works chart a series of bitter disagreements between Sturm and Lutheran hardliners, like Jean Pappas (in the *Antipappi* tracts, 1579-81). Another earlier example of the degree to which Sturm had separated himself from Luther in approach and method is Sturm's abovementioned refutation of the papal *Consilium*. This work by Sturm was published just one year after Luther's response to the same. A comparison of the respective tracts of Sturm and Luther points not just to traces of a personal rivalry but a divergence in theories about 'how' to reform.

The relationship between Sturm's humanist projects and his commitment to Protestantism

Over several decades Sturm produced materials that were informed by classical language and literature. In contrast to a common historical tendency to divide *bonae litterae* from *sacrae litterae*, especially in the later stages of the Reformation, I do not treat the classical techniques and ideas Sturm assimilated from the ancients as separate from his religious thought. It may even be possible to fit them into a broader reorientation of theology itself.

One area that merits especial attention is Sturm's enthusiasm for rhetoric, particularly Cicero and the Greek rhetorician Hermogenes. Sturm produced prefaces to and comments on both these ancient authors. A cursory review of these prefaces points to Sturm's marked interest in the marriage of rhetoric and logic (or dialectic) which he exhibited elsewhere.¹² Ideas about this union

of disciplines were rooted in the writings of the ancients themselves, most importantly, Aristotle and Cicero. It also informed the thought of early modern pioneers like Agricola, Erasmus and Melanchthon who in their different ways theorised and endorsed the relationship between rhetoric and dialectic.⁴¹³ For these men a full grasp of the union of logic and rhetoric was not a benign humanist preoccupation but an important religious tool. It represented an epistemological methodology or a set of resources that would direct thinking, reading and speaking, the ability to differentiate true from false, and ultimately contribute to knowing. As such, it might effect a means to instil a deeper comprehension of the Bible in Latin and Greek and a purer religious understanding. It may even be that such works represented an ambitious attempt by Protestant humanists to establish a theology of their own. If this was not the case, why was Sturm's *Amissa dicendi ratione* ('On the Lost Art of Speaking'), a didactic tract on rhetoric, placed on the Catholic Index of prohibited books?¹⁴

Sturm was also responsible for at least two commemorative eulogies, one for Erasmus, the bishop of Strasbourg (*De morte Erasmi Argentis. Episcopi*, 1569) and another for Jacob Sturm (*Consolatio ad Senatam Argentinensem De Morte Clarissimi et Nobilissimi viri D. Iacobi Sturmii*, 1553). At first glance, such eulogies seem to slot into a quintessentially humanist sphere of activity. They take as their model elegies of classical literature and are highly oratorical exercises. Sturm's eulogy to Jacob Sturm was certainly clothed in finely-spun classical Latin and full of rhetorical devices. Repeated allusions are made to figures from the classical past, including Solon, Demosthenes, Cicero, Caesar, Pompey and Cato.¹⁵ The appendix to the eulogy comprises a medley of poems, in both Greek and Latin, contributed by both Sturm himself, and others, and these were likewise brimming with classical allusions and idioms.

However, there is so much more to Sturm's eulogy on Jacob Sturm than rhetoric and classical posturing. A number of religious dimensions also underpinned it. Sturm's choice of subject necessarily entailed an engagement with the religious upheavals of the time: Jacob Sturm had been responsible for taking Strasbourg into the Schmalkaldic League in 1531 and for resisting the terms of the Interim of 1548 imposed by Charles V, and Sturm seems to allude to both through the eulogy. Jacob Sturm was presented as a spiritual as much as a political leader: Sturm refers to him as 'salvation-bringing' (*salutaris*), and able to keep his flocks 'safe and secure' (*salvos et incolumes*).¹⁶ He even described Jacob's birth as a blessing for 'Christ's people and the Church'.¹⁷ Jacob's moral qualities, which are repeatedly highlighted, are presented as

sacred. It seems likely too that certain Protestant doctrines gave shape to the structure of the eulogy.¹⁸ Sturm's eulogy shares much in common with other commemorative pieces being composed at the same time, such as those for Bucer and the Brandon brothers in England. John McDiarmid in his assessment of these has pointed out that positive moral qualities were being understood within a framework of the doctrine of justification by faith alone and therefore as essential signs of inward faith and a particularly strong sense that grace and faith could not really be present where good works were absent.¹⁹ The views on grief presented in this tract also embody an acknowledgement of this doctrine whereby grief is reconciled with an acceptance of God's gifts and the incapacity of man to influence God. Sturm in this eulogy refers frequently to the notion of 'fixing a limit' to sadness and desisting from mourning 'over a man more than religion permits'...²⁰ The concept of 'election' also appears to have served as an important driving force of the tract: Jacob Sturm was presented very much as one of the elect, as an individual who had been 'saved', was completely at one with Christ and exhibited the marks of saving faith.

It seems legitimate to suggest that in works by Sturm which we might be tempted to classify as 'humanist', something more complex was going on. In many of the tracts he produced, classical disciplines and forms were being applied to and incorporated within doctrinal and theological frameworks. New models and methods were being forged that were not simply distancing themselves from Catholic viewpoints but also providing new ways of doing theology.

Conclusion

I have here briefly surveyed some of the Latin works of Johannes Sturm, a marginalised but important religious reformer and humanist from Strasbourg. His writings can both serve to bring Sturm's role in the Reformation into sharper focus and offer a broader perspective on religious and cultural currents of the European Reformation. The outlooks manifested in Sturm's works can challenge standard assumptions about incompatibility of religious toleration and theological dogmatism. They can also raise interesting questions about the interaction between humanism and theological reform. Taken in the round, Sturm's approach to religion may be more fruitfully understood as one that conformed to a particular type of reform programme that had been defined and promoted by Martin Bucer. My research on Sturm will take time and results will emerge *gradatim*, but I hope in this article to have conveyed the potential for fresh interpretation and investigation this currently peripheral figure offers.

- 1 Studies of Sturm tend to be confined to French and German scholarship. For example, a nineteenth century French biography is still accepted as the most complete work on Sturm (Charles Schmidt, *La Vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm* (Strasbourg 1855)). In a recent collection of essays only four of the contributions are in English, the vast majority were in German and French (*Johannes Sturm, 1507-1589: Rhetor, Pedagogue*, ed., Matthieu Arnold (Tübingen, 2009)).
- 2 Sturm is regularly described as a 'pedagogue' but rarely connected with the realms of serious religious reform and theology.
- 3 A recent English volume of translated pedagogical writings of Sturm has added to this impression (Johann Sturm on Education, eds. Lewis W. Spitz and Barbara Sher Tinsley (St Louis, Mo., 1995). The same is true of English historical accounts of Strasbourg in the sixteenth century which tend to localise Sturm's achievements and, again, overly concentrate on his tenure at the Gymnasium.
- 4 An important exception is the research of Thomas Brady, for example: Thomas A Brady, *Ruling class, regime and reformation at Strasbourg 1520-1555* (Leiden, 1978) and *The Politics of the Reformation in Germany: Jacob Sturm (1489-1553) of Strasbourg* (New Jersey, 1997).
- 5 A full list of Sturm's works can be found in Schmidt, *La Vie et les travaux de Sturm*.
- 6 Bucer would be introduced to Latomus via Sturm and would enter into a theological controversy with him between 1543-6 (*Martin Bucer, De vera et falsa caenae dominicae administratione* (1546), ed., Nicholas Thompson (Leiden and Boston, 2014).
- 7 *Adversus synodi Tridentinae restitutionem seu continuationem à Pio III... indictam. opposita gravamina... pro defensione sincerae [sic] & orthodoxae religionis proposita primum Naoburgico conventu principum, et deinde repetita atque oblata Majestati Caesareae in imperii conventu publico qui... habitus fuit Francofurti...* (Strasbourg, 1565). A key purpose of the Council had been to establish a united front prior to the next session of the Council of Trent.
- 8 For example, Luc Racaut and Alec Ryrie, eds., *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation* (Aldershot, 2005); Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and intolerance in England 1500-1700* (Manchester, 2006).
- 9 D.F. Wright, *Martin Bucer, Reforming Church and Community* (Cambridge, 1994); Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer, A Reformer and his Times*, trans. Stephen Buckwalter (Louisville and London, 2004); Brian Lugioyo, *Martin Bucer's Doctrine of Justification: Reformation Theology and Early Modern Irenicism* (Oxford, 2010)
- 10 Sturm's preface in the first constituted a dedication of the work to Anthony Cooke in England in 1561 and the preface to the second was addressed to Francis Walsingham in 1577.
- 11 Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation, Europe's House Divided, 1490-1700* (London, 2004).
- 12 See Sturm's correspondence with Roger Ascham in *The whole works of Roger Ascham*, ed. Rev. Dr. Giles (London, 1864).
- 13 Peter Mack, *Renaissance argument: Valla and Agricola in the traditions of rhetoric and dialectic* (Leiden and New York, 1993). Sturm wrote the preface to Melancthon's work on dialectic.
- 14 This has been translated in *Johann Sturm on Education*, eds. Spitz and Tinsley.
- 15 Sturm, *Consolatio*, sigs. Biir-v.
- 16 *Consolatio*, sig. Aiiiv.
- 17 *Consolatio*, sig. Aiiiv.
- 18 See Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002); Peter Marshall and Bruce Gordon, *The Place of the Dead in late medieval and early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000); C.A. Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in late medieval Strasbourg* (Ashgate, 2011); and L. Tatlock, ed., *Enduring Loss in Early modern Germany*, (Leiden, 2010).
- 19 John McDiarmid, 'Classical Epitaphs for Heroes of Faith: Mid Tudor Neo-Latin Memorial Volumes and their Protestant Humanist context', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, vol.3, no.1 (1996), pp.23-47.
- 20 *Consolatio*, sigs. Aiir, Biiir and Biir. See also McDiarmid, 'Classical Epitaphs for Heroes of Faith'.

Tyndale Tourism

Ramona Garcia

**Ed: Vilvoorde is the spelling known to Tyndalians for the town, which is majority Dutch-speaking, but this article uses the French name more familiar to Victorian travellers.*

Dominating the cover of the July 16, 1914 issue of *The Christian Advocate* was a photograph of the impressive Tyndale memorial in the Belgian town of Vilvorde*. According to the photograph's caption:¹

“William Tyndale, an Englishman, was burned at the stake as a heretic, at Vilvorde, near Brussels, in Belgium, October 6, 1536, his chief offense being the translation of the Scriptures into the language of his countrymen. The site of his martyrdom remained unmarked until last year, when the various Bible societies and other religious bodies set up this monument at Vilvorde. It was dedicated October 26, in the presence of Protestants of many lands. The Belgian Bible Society on that day placed a souvenir edition of the New Testament in every house in Vilvorde.”²

Nevertheless, Vilvorde, with its Tyndalian connection, was appearing in a bible of another sort well before the unveiling of this memorial; I am referring to that indispensable bible of the British traveling public—the travel guide. Perhaps this emphasis on Tyndale was not surprising as such travel guides would have been aimed at the British tourist in Belgium. What better way to demonstrate the significance that this small town, now in Belgium, played in the history of England? The underlying message, borrowing from and anticipating Rupert Brooke, is that there is a corner of Belgium that is forever Tyndale.³

That Vilvorde was a destination for the British traveler can be seen in three travel guides spanning the years from 1852 to 1874: *Bogue's Guides for Travellers: Belgium and the Rhine* (1852); *Cook's Tourist's Handbook for Holland, Belgium, and the Rhine* (1874); and Karl Baedeker's *Belgium and Holland: Handbook for Travellers* (1874). All three guidebooks opened on a somber note. Vilvorde, a town, in the words of *Cook's Tourist's Handbook*, “sacred to the memory of Tyndale,” witnessed the violent end to a man's life, a man who would have an incalculable impact on the English-speaking world. Not surprisingly, *Bogue's*, *Cook's*, and Baedeker depicted Vilvorde through the prism of Tyndale's life, and Tyndale's life through the prism of the road to Vilvorde. Moving back in time to the forces

pushing Tyndale out of England and towards the Continent, *Bogue's* underscored the very real threat that Tyndale faced from “*the impending storm of persecution,*” while Baedeker made no bones about claiming that Tyndale had no option but exile. Although he could never return home, Tyndale did not forget England. His vernacular New Testament made the journey to England he dared not make in person, a journey that attracted the ire of enemies in high places. The forces set in motion foreshadowed the end of Tyndale’s life, bringing the tourist full circle back to Vilvorde. Neither *Bogue's*, *Cook's*, nor Baedeker spared potential sightseers from the graphic and gruesome details of Tyndale’s horrific death at the stake with *Bogue's* and Baedeker’s inclusion of his heart-wrenching cri-de-coeur to Henry VIII offering added poignancy. Yet as one life ended, that of the translator, another longer life began, that of the translation, which, as both *Bogue's* and Baedeker acknowledged lives on in the King James Version.⁴

The transportation revolution radically transformed travel. In particular, the train conferred on the traveler greater autonomy not only over itinerary but also over expenses. In much the same way that Tyndale’s translation broke down linguistic barriers for the Bible, the train broke down geographic barriers



Tyndale Monument in Vilvorde

essex100.com

for travel.⁵ With *Bogue's Guides for Travellers: Belgium and the Rhine* (1852) as inspiration, how would the Tyndalian tourist plan a trip from Britain to Belgium, or more specifically from London to Vilvorde? *Bradshaw's Continental Railway, Steam Navigation, & Conveyance Guide, A Traveller's Manual for the Whole Continent of Europe* (September 1852) would prove indispensable in handling any and all hurdles including boat and train schedules.⁶ The first and most essential stop was the Belgian Consulate in London, located at 52 Gracechurch Street, to secure a passport for 6 shillings, 6 pence, since before planning how to get to Belgium, tourists had to make sure they could get into Belgium.⁷

One convenient package for London to Ostend was available under the banner heading "*English & Belgian Government New Fast Steamers Between Dover & Ostend*" in *Bradshaw's Continental Railway, Steam Navigation, & Conveyance Guide, A Traveller's Manual for the Whole Continent of Europe* (September 1852). For the fixed price of either £1 17s 3d or £1 5s 3d, depending on class travelled, tourists would be able to make the trip from London to Dover to Ostend. The whole endeavor was definitely nocturnal as the journey began by catching an 8:30 PM train from London which within two and a half hours reached Dover at 11:00 PM. This nocturnal start was followed by a red-eye crossing as the ship left Dover at 11:15 PM Monday through Saturday. For those pressed for time or hearty enough to emerge unscathed from the channel crossing there was a 7:15 AM train from Ostend that three and a half hours later pulled into Brussels at 10:45 AM. If all went according to plan, you could theoretically get from London to Brussels in fourteen and a quarter hours.⁸ Brussels, which was only one train stop from Vilvorde, was the ideal location in terms of places to stay.⁹

But for those who reached dry land at Ostend suffering from exhaustion or the ravages of seasickness or both, a stay in this port city was probably necessary for rest, restoration of equilibrium, and rejuvenation for the next leg of the journey to Brussels. Ostend possessed at least three hotels: the Hotel Fontaine, the Hotel des Bains, and the Hotel D'Allemagne.¹⁰ The Hotel Fontaine provided the nineteenth-century equivalent of a shuttle in that "*Commissioners and carriages of the Hotel attend the packets and trains.*"¹¹ The Hotel d'Allemane boasted "*being close to the Railway Station.*"¹² The Hotel des Bains offered an ideal location "*close to the landing-place of the steam-packets, and not far from the Railway Station.*"¹³ More importantly, for the budget conscious, the Hotel des Bains offered the cost breakdown, in terms of francs and centimes, for food, refreshment, and accommodation.¹⁴

Three trains could take tourists from Ostend to Brussels. They could hop

on a 7:15 AM train that pulled into Brussels at 11:00 AM. Despite the early morning departure, this train was best in terms of trip length, number of stops, and arrival time. First, this train made the trip from Ostend to Brussels in three hours and forty-five minutes. Second, the trip was made with the fewest stops (only six before pulling into Brussels). Finally, the 11:00 AM arrival time was optimal in terms of allowing travelers to locate and check into their hotels in time for lunch. The two remaining Brussels bound trains had disadvantages far outweighing the early morning departure of the 7:15 AM train. The first left Ostend at noon and arrived in Brussels at 5:00 PM, definitely in time for dinner. Unfortunately, making approximately twenty stops between Ostend and Brussels resulted in a lengthy five hour journey. The other train departed from Ostend at 6:10 PM but arrived in Brussels at the relatively late hour of 9:55 PM.¹⁵

When deciding on where to stay in Brussels, the Hotel Windsor and the Hotel de la Grand Bretagne had names redolent of home, but the Hotel des Chasseurs and Bailey's Commercial Hotel and Tavern had the advantage of being under English management.¹⁶ Although Bailey's Commercial Hotel and Tavern targeted merchants and salesmen, the food and beverage selection, in

Website of the William Tyndale Museum in Vilvoorde

williamtyndalemuseum.be

particular “*Chops and Steaks*” and “*Draught Ale and Porter*,” might prove tempting for male travelers in general.¹⁷ The Hotel des Chasseurs held out the promise of “*economy with comfort*.”¹⁸ With accommodation costing one franc and meals ranging from one to two francs, the Hotel des Chasseurs would surely appeal to those on a fixed budget. The availability of the *Times* offered an added touch of home.¹⁹

Brussels also offered many amenities in the form of goods and services for the tourist. In terms of medical care, the “*English Directory of Brussels*” in *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway, Steam Navigation, & Conveyance Guide, A Traveller’s Manual for the Whole Continent of Europe* (September 1852) provided the names of a doctor, dentist, and pharmacist. In addition, Brussels had what looked like the nineteenth-century equivalent of UPS -- the Daily Express Office. Travelers could also find information, reading material, and, if necessary, a replacement for a mislaid copy of “*Bradshaw’s Monthly Guide*” at Kiesling & Co., a local bookstore.²⁰

The best opportunity for a leisurely, stress-free afternoon daytrip to Vilvorde began with a train departing Brussels at 2:30 PM and arriving in Vilvorde at 2:40 PM. Tourists departed Brussels fortified by lunch with the assurance that the 4:40 PM train would bring them back to Brussels at 5:00 PM, just in time for dinner. In the meantime they had a whole two hours not only to see where Tyndale met his tragic end but also to peek in at the local church renowned for²¹ “*exquisite carvings in wood*.”²²

Coming full circle to the coverage of the Vilvorde Memorial in *The Christian Advocate*, the most conspicuous feature was the date of the issue -- July 16, 1914. This date was half way between two events that in hindsight would bring tourism to Belgium let alone Vilvorde to a grinding halt. Eighteen days earlier the Habsburg heir’s assassination triggered a domino effect that would culminate in Britain’s entry into the First World War before this issue of *The Christian Advocate* was nineteen days old.²³ What impact did that cataclysmic upheaval known as the Great War have on Vilvorde? Brand Whitlock, who served as the American Ambassador to Belgium, not only provided a harrowing image of “*ruined villages like little Vilvorde*” but also wrote a telling reminder of Vilvorde’s unforgettable role as “*a spot sacred to the English-speaking race, for there William Tyndale was burned for having translated the Bible into our tongue*.”²⁴

1 * All the sources for this article, with the exception of Walter Arnstein’s *Britain Yesterday and Today, 1830 to the Present*, were accessed through Google Books.

“The Tyndale Monument at Vilvorde,” *The Christian Advocate*, Vol. 89 (July 16, 1914): cover.

2 “The Tyndale Monument at Vilvorde,” *The Christian Advocate* (July 16, 1914): cover.

3 “The Tyndale Monument at Vilvorde,” *The Christian Advocate* (July 16, 1914): cover; *Bogue’s Guides for Travellers. I. Belgium and the Rhine* (London: David Bogue, 1852): untitled introductory page; “Vilvorde,” pages 26-28; *Cook’s Tourists’ Handbook For Holland, Belgium, and the Rhine* (London: Thos. Cook & Son

- and Hodder & Stoughton, 1874): “Preface,” page [v]; “Vilvorde,” pages 51-52; K. Baedeker, *Belgium and Holland. Handbook for Travellers*, Third Edition (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1874): “Preface,” pages [V]-VI; “Vilvorde,” pages 88-89.
- 4 *Bogue’s Guides for Travellers. I. Belgium and the Rhine*, “Vilvorde,” page 27, see also pages 26-28; *Cook’s Tourists’ Handbook For Holland, Belgium, and the Rhine*, “Vilvorde,” pages 51-52; K. Baedeker, *Belgium and Holland. Handbook for Travellers*, “Vilvorde,” pages 88-89.
 - 5 *Bogue’s Guides for Travellers. I. Belgium and the Rhine*, untitled introductory page.
 - 6 *Bogue’s Guides for Travellers. I. Belgium and the Rhine*, “Vilvorde,” pages 26-28; *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway, Steam Navigation, & Conveyance Guide, A Traveller’s Manual for the Whole Continent of Europe*, No. 64 (September 1852), title page. Hereafter referred to as *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway*.
 - 7 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “Places in London Where Passports, Passes, or Visas are to be Obtained; And Other Necessary Information,” see specifically the entry on Belgium, page [2].
 - 8 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “English & Belgian Government New Fast Steamers Between Dover & Ostend,” page 218 [advertisement].
 - 9 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “Hotel de la Grand Bretagne,” page 234 [advertisement]; “Hotel Windsor,” page 234 [advertisement]; “Bailey’s Commercial Hotel and Tavern,” page 234 [advertisement]; “Hotel des Chasseurs,” page 234 [advertisement]; “Brussels to Malines and Antwerp,” page 45; Antwerp to Malines and Brussels,” page 45.
 - 10 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “English & Belgian Government New Fast Steamers Between Dover & Ostend,” page 218; “Hotel Fontaine,” page 231 [advertisement]; “Hotel des Bains,” page 231 [advertisement]; “Hotel D’Allemagne,” page [232] [advertisement].
 - 11 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “Hotel Fontaine,” page 231.
 - 12 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “Hotel D’Allemagne,” page [232].
 - 13 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “Hotel des Bains,” page 231.
 - 14 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “Hotel des Bains,” page 231.
 - 15 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “London To Ostend, Ghent, & Brussels,” page [38].
 - 16 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “Hotel de la Grand Bretagne,” page 234; “Hotel Windsor,” page 234; “Bailey’s Commercial Hotel and Tavern,” page 234; “Hotel des Chasseurs,” page 234.
 - 17 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “Bailey’s Commercial Hotel and Tavern,” page 234.
 - 18 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “Hotel des Chasseurs,” page 234.
 - 19 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “Hotel des Chasseurs,” page 234.
 - 20 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “English Directory of Brussels,” page 126, see also pages 126-[127].
 - 21 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “Brussels to Malines and Antwerp,” page 45; “Antwerp to Malines and Brussels,” page 45; “Vilvorde,” page 124.
 - 22 *Bradshaw’s Continental Railway* (September 1852): “Vilvorde,” page 124.
 - 23 “The Tyndale Monument at Vilvorde,” *The Christian Advocate* (July 16, 1914): cover; Walter L. Arnstein, *Britain Yesterday and Today, 1830 to the Present*, 7th edition (Lexington, Massachusetts and Toronto: D.C. Heath and Company, 1996): pages 249-252.
 - 24 Brand Whitlock, *Belgium: A Personal Narrative* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1919): Volume I, page 333, see also title page.

The Bible, the Bishops and the Bard

Robin Browne

'Before you judge be pleased to understand'

Sonnet 59

In 2011 we celebrated the 400th anniversary of the publication of The King James Bible, and in 2016 we celebrated the 400th anniversary of the Bard's death, on St George's Day. In the space of just a few years the two greatest books in the English language, Shakespeare's First Folio (1623) and the newly translated Bible were bestowed upon the World. The beauty of the language found in each book has never been overlooked, and for much of that we have William Tyndale to thank, his writings brought a richness and a freshness to our native tongue. The celebrations for these two events four hundred years later saw an out-pouring of books, articles and television programmes, and a growing interest in how the King James Bible may be linked to the works of Shakespeare .

What better place to start than Holy Trinity Church in Stratford-upon-Avon where Christians have worshiped for centuries and where the town's most celebrated citizen was baptized. It remains today the most visited church in Britain, and has many famous connections to Shakespeare, amongst them the Shakespeare Monument, and an encased 1611 copy of The King James Bible which lays open at Psalm 46, wherein the words, 'SHAKE' and 'SPEAR' appear equally spaced. The forty-sixth word from the beginning is *shake* and *spear* is the forty-sixth word from the end. It was not till around 1900 that the clever positioning of these two words was discussed in 'The Publishers Circular'. Not in the Geneva Bible nor in any previous English translations of the Old Testament are the words *spear* and *shake* so consciously placed.

Lancelot Andrewes, then Bishop of Winchester, was amongst the most senior clergy and translators responsible for the planning and



Shakespeare Monument in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford upon Avon

the execution of the King James Bible. He was in a great position to have arranged the wording of Psalm 46 and to have collaborated with a close friend, someone who could have enriched the English translation and influenced printing of the 1611 edition. The coincidence is too great to accept, it was not by pure chance that these two words now occupy their present position.

Towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, Archbishop Thomas Tenison came into the possession of some valuable papers to which he added his translation before publishing them in a small book of 'Physiological Remains'. The original Latin manuscript had been written almost sixty years earlier, and was given to Bishop Rawley for its safe keeping, with instructions that it be published after some time had passed; it was never intended that so many years would elapse before these pages saw the light of day. They may never have been printed other than the fact they fell into the enthusiastic hands of Archbishop Tenison, but yet it was another 320 years before a retired actor, Donald Strachan, whose work on early ciphers is unparalleled, discovered the true value of what this book contained. The work was entitled 'ABECEDARIUM NATURAE' and displayed a valuable set of keys which states the Three-fold "T" (TAU) is 67, and concerns the Earth. The three-fold "U" is 68 and concerns Water. The three-fold "W" is 69 and concerns Air and the three-fold "X" is 70 and concerns Fire. Of importance, Three-fold letter "I" (the personal pronoun) is 57. With the triple alphabet A = 49, B = 50, C = 51 and Z = 72.

There was a time before the works of Shakespeare appeared and into the seventeenth century when the English alphabet contained only twenty-four letters. The single alphabet is when numbers also relate to letters so that:

A = 1, B = 2, C = 3, and Z = 24, and when applied to Psalm 46 produces some interesting numbers.

P S A L M	F R A B A C O N (FRA Bacon his signature)
15+18+1+11+12 = 57	6+17+1 2+1+3+14+13 =57 Three-fold "I" = 57

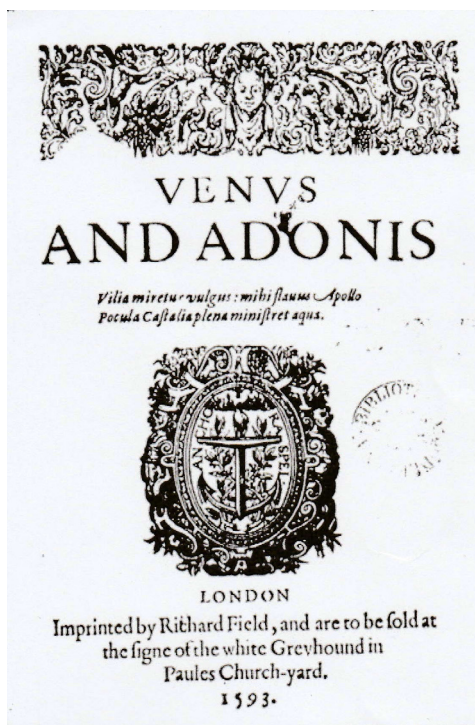
P S A L M +4+6 = 67	F R A N C I S B A C O N
	6+17+1+13+3+9+18 = 67 2+1+3+14+13 = 33
	Two-fold "I" = 33

P S A L M +46 = 103	S H A K E S P E A R E
	18+8+1+10+5+18+15+5+1+17+5 = 103

It has often been argued that there were no ciphers in early books, but to the contrary Archbishop Godwin wrote a history of the Tudor Royal Family, something extremely dangerous in Elizabethan times. His book was published anonymously, no author ascribed to these histories yet the beginning letter of each chapter spelt out his identity. Likewise, the early history plays attributed to Shakespeare were all published anonymously yet the author's identity was cleverly encrypted in some of the plays. Donald Strachan applied the triple alphabet to the Dedication in the First Folio and discovered some remarkable secrets and hidden history.¹ Many scholars responsible for translating and writing the Authorized Version, along with its editor, have also remained anonymous. Once the translation was completed the manuscript was entrusted to Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, and the future Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Miles Smith, for its final revision, but neither of these two men had the creative command of the English language to have delivered the Bible we have today. The final draft MSS was rewritten by the only man who had the ability to write such a lyrical and memorable masterpiece.

The intentional placing of the words, 'shake' and 'spear' in Psalm 46, also occurs in the Shakespeare plays when a count from the beginning of a scene and a count from the end of the scene identify the author. There is a subtle connection, described by William Smedley² in his 1905 book, when the identical decorative printer's design used in the Octavo edition of the 1612 Bible is repeated from the 1593 edition of Shakespeare's 'Venus and Adonis'. Another connection is a decorative printer's design found above 'To the Christian Reader' in the King James Bible, with the same design employed in both Shakespeare's First Folio of 1623 and Lord Bacon's 'Instauratio Magna' of 1620.³

Holy Trinity Church will forever



Title page from 1593 edition of *Venus and Adonis*

attract worshippers and tourists but few will know that three years after Shakespeare died the town's people of Stratford-upon-Avon complained about the crumbling chancel which had been neglected for a long time. In 1619, Francis Bacon appointed a new vicar (minister), repairs to the fabric began, and the idolatry of the Bard was to follow. In 1955, The Folger Shakespeare Library Prize was awarded to Colonel William Friedman, who had been cryptologist for the US Department of Defense during WW2 when he cracked the Japanese Diplomatic code. He was an eminent cryptographer whose research for The Folger Library, a Stratfordian Institution, was published under the title 'The Shakespeare Ciphers Examined'. The title itself suggests there are ciphers in the works of Shakespeare but Friedman's book concludes that there are no ciphers. Yet in response to Donald Strachan's correspondence he writes:

If these messages come to light as the direct result of the precise instructions as to where to look, and if a key book, of some sort is used in connection with another book, then I should say one would be warranted in calling the system a cipher. We shall be glad to hear from you whenever you are ready to send your book to some publisher. It may well contain valuable historical information.

The key book to which Friedman refers was that which Archbishop Tenison published in 1679 from the manuscript written by Frances Bacon a few years before his death.

1. Donald Strachan published a book explaining how the Triple Alphabet was applied to the Dedication and the plays in Shakespeare's First Folio, as well as to the Sonnets. His book was published anonymously.
2. William Smedley 'The Mystery of Francis Bacon' 1905.
3. Decorative design used for *Venus & Adonis*, the KJB and also for Lord Bacon's, INSTAURATIO MAGNA 1620, Part two:
"But such is the infelicity and unhappy disposition of the Human mind in the course of invention that it first distrusts and then despises itself. First will not believe that any such thing can be found out; and when it is found out cannot understand how the world should have missed it for so long."

Ed: *From time to time, the TSJ will publish esoterica, and in the current issue we include a striking example by Robin Browne, who discusses the Tyndale/Shakespeare connection. There are mysteries to ponder here, and pending further discoveries by sleuths and historians inside our Society and beyond, certain historical truths must remain unknowable.*

Monk or Friar?

Diarmaid MacCulloch

There is a problem of job description.. which is far more significant than usually appreciated: was Martin Luther a monk or a friar?... I have brooded on the question for much of a career spent writing on the Reformation, and in the past, with a certain amount of intellectual squirming, I too have come down on the side of Luther as monk. In recent years, my doctoral student Anik Laferrière, studying the Order of Augustinian Eremites of which Luther was a member, has convinced me I was wrong. Luther was a friar, without qualification. Anglophone historians should have been quick to spot this obvious truth because the common name for Luther's Order in England was 'Austin Friars'. Those familiar with the City of London will recognise the placename and the church rebuilt after the Blitz, on the site of the Austin Friars' principal house in medieval England.

Several questions arise. Why have we not noticed that Luther was a friar, not a monk? What is the difference? Why does it matter? First, our blindness has arisen from the fact that Luther is principally the property of Germans, and in German there is no great linguistic distinction between monks and friars. Germans would normally simply call a friar a *Mönch* just as they would a monk; even when he was named with the precision we expect from Germans, he would be a *Bettelmönch* ('begging monk'). Otherwise he would just be a *Bruder*, which although the German sounds much vaguer than the English word 'friar', is exactly the same in meaning: 'friar' is simply a mumbled version of the Latin word for brother, *frater*. It follows from this that Anglophone historians, not finding any great sense of distinction in the works of their German colleagues on Luther, decided not to bother much about the distinction when writing in their own language.

We fortunate Anglophones are given a nudge by the very strong difference between the words 'monk' and 'friar' that there is something important to attend to here. Monks predate friars, and their name comes from the Greek for 'single' or 'solitary', not because their communities were intended to withdraw from the everyday world to concentrate on prayer. To achieve this, they were expected to be self-supporting ruling economically on their own landed estates, to minimise contact with disruptive secularity. The movement which produced the friars in the late 12th century represented a criticism of this expectation and of the separateness of the monastic way of life, which



Diarmuid McCulloch

Photo: British Academy/YouTube

many felt led to laziness and self-indulgence. The new reforming orders of friars made sure they would never be tempted to withdraw in the same way by the simple structural device of forbidding their communities to hold property.

Friars consequently could only survive by begging for their living from the laity (hence *Bettelmönch*), and that would necessarily bring them into everyday contact with the whole of European lay society. Lay-people would only go on funding friars if they received benefits in return: these spiritual consumer services were principally preaching the Christian message and hearing confessions but since such services brought the friars much esteem, friary churches also became greatly in demand for intercessory masses in the purgatory industry. Because the friars rapidly became the Western Church's specialists in preaching, they needed to be intellectually alert and well informed, so they quickly moved to university towns to get the best intellectual training they could, and produced many academic stars before Martin Luther...

Far more friars than monks turned into campaigning Protestant leaders in the 16th century. It would be worth thinking about the Reformation as a revolution of friars, anguished at the way they had collaborated in the deception of the laity in doling out cheap forgiveness in the confessional, and now determined to make amends by preaching the message of salvation by God's grace alone.

Extract with permission from London Review of Books 11 August 2016 p.27.

A Bible Story by Erasmus of Rotterdam

from Epistle xlv of Erasmus, translated by JA Froude
Life and Letters of Erasmus; Lectures delivered at Oxford 1893-4

In the spring of 1498, a group of humanists met round the dinner table of Richard Charnock, Prior of St Mary's College, Oxford. John Colet, later Dean of St Paul's, was there, and possibly Thomas Wolsey.

‘The guests were well selected, Epicurus and Pythagoras would have been equally delighted’ says our informant, the letter-writer, who was on his first visit to England: Erasmus.

‘Among the rest we talked about Cain. Colet said that Cain’s fault had been want of trust in his Creator: Cain had trusted to his own strength, and had gone to work upon the soil, while Abel fed his sheep and was content with what the earth gave him of its own accord.... Colet beat us all down. He spoke with a sacred fury. He was sublime and as if inspired’.

In this volatile atmosphere, Erasmus ‘took on myself the part of a poet, and entertained the company with a story I said I had found in an ancient, moth-eaten manuscript’:

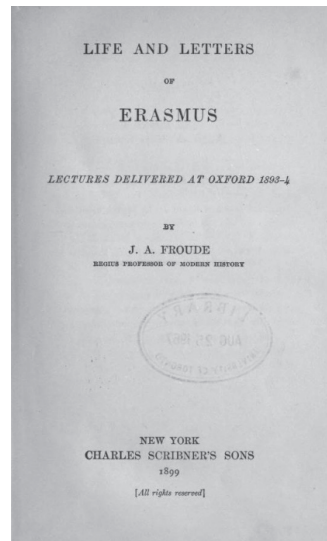
Cain was industrious but he was also avaricious. He had heard his parents say that splendid wheat crops grew in the garden from which they had been expelled.

The stalks and ears reached to their shoulders, and there was not a tare among them, or thorn, or thistle. Cain turned it over in his mind. He contrasted this wheat of Paradise with the scanty crop which was all that he could raise with his plough.

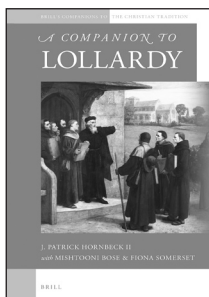
He addressed himself to the angel at the gate and begged for a few grains from the garden. God, he said, does not look nicely into such things, and if He noticed it He would not be angry. He had only forbidden the eating of certain apples. You should not be too hard a sentry. You may even displease God by over-scruple; on such an occasion as this He may very likely wish to be deceived. He would sooner see his creatures careful and industrious than slothful and negligent. This is no pleasant office of yours. From being an angel you have been set as a watchman at a gate, to keep us poor lost creatures out of our old home. You are used, in fact, as we use our dogs. We are miserable enough but I think you are even worse off than we are. We have been turned out of Paradise because we had too much inclination for a pleasant fruit that grew there; but you have been turned out of Heaven to keep us from going

near it, and you are not in Paradise yourself either. We can go where we please over the rest of the world, and a charming world it is. Thousands of trees grow in it whose names we have not had time to learn; we have beautiful shady groves, cascades foaming down among glens and rocks, limpid rivers gliding between grassy banks, lofty mountains, deep valleys, and seas teeming with living things. Earth, too, doubtless holds treasures in her entrails, which I and those who come after me will find a way to extract, and we have golden apples, figs, fruits of all varieties. If we might live in it forever we should not much miss Paradise. We are sick sometimes and in pain, but with experience we shall discover remedies. I have myself already discovered herbs with rare virtues, and it may be that we shall learn in the end how to battle death itself. I for one will never rest from searching. There is no difficulty which may not be conquered by obstinate determination. We have lost a single garden and in return we have the wide earth to enjoy. You can enjoy neither Heaven nor Paradise, nor earth either. You have to stay fixed at these gates, waving your sword like a weathercock. If you are wise, you will take our side. Give us what will cost you nothing, and accept in return what shall be common property to you and to us. We are miserable, but so are you; we are shut out from Eden, so are you; we are damned, you are worse damned.

The wickedest of mortals and the most ingenious of creators gained his abominable purpose. The angel gave Cain the wheat grains. He sowed them and received them back with increase. He sowed again, and gained more, and so from harvest to harvest. God looked down at last, and was wroth. The young thief, He said, desires to toil and sweat. He shall not be disappointed of his wish. An army of ants and caterpillars was let loose over his cornfields, with maggots, and lice, and locusts, to consume and devour. Great storms of rain came out of the sky, with wind that snapped the stalks, though they were strong as branches of oak. The angel was transformed into a man because he had been a friend of man. Cain tried to appease God by offering the fruits of the soil to Him upon an altar, but the smoke refused to ascend. He recognised the anger of God, and fell into despair.



Book Reviews



A Companion to Lollardy

J. Patrick Hornbeck II,
Fiona Somerset and Mishtooni Bose;
Brill
ISBN 9 769004 309791
251 pages.

Patrick Hornbeck wrote chapters 1-3, 5, 7 and 8; Fiona Somerset, chapter 4, and Mishtooni Bose chapter 6. It is a very readable book that enables us to state who was a Lollard, yet also make clear that in many ways Lollards differed greatly theologically.

The Introduction of Chapter 1 states the problem:

‘If you have picked up this book with the expectation of putting it down secure in the knowledge of what Lollardy was, and what role it played in English and Christian history, I am afraid that this volume will disappoint. If on the other hand you are willing to consider that the ways in which scholars and polemicists, literary critics and ecclesiastics have defined Lollardy and evaluated its significance are interesting in and of themselves, then there may be something here to help deepen your understanding of the way in which Lollardy has served as a window on religion, culture, and society in late medieval England.’ (p. 2.)

It introduces us to John Wyclif and some of his followers.

Part 1 of this chapter briefly takes us back to the second century, “when the Greek word *hairesis* began to be used,” (p.5.) and quickly moves on to Wyclif and the Lollards and of three broad phases in the history of writings about Wycliffism; (p. 7.) the medieval, the Reformation and the modern. Hornbeck mentions Tyndale’s place, quoting Thomas More that William Tyndale was a disciple of “Wycliffe, the fyrst founder here of that abominable heresy, that blasphemeth the blessed sacrament.” (p. 8.) He criticises modern writers on Wycliffism because of their concentration in the medieval period “rather than

those of the Reformation or the early modern period.” (p.10.)

Part 2 of this chapter tries to sort out the “Terminological Quandaries”, and deals with the assumptions facing the scholar who is studying Lollardy today. Hornbeck ends, “In the chapters that follow, I hope to demonstrate just how seductive, and how fallacious, these assumptions are.” (p. 23.)

Chapter 2, introduces us to the people who were Lollards. After a long introduction about Wyclif, we turn to those who were influenced by Wyclif in Oxford University, who were important in the early years of Wycliffism, some of whom later recanted. Nicholas Hereford became chancellor of St. Paul’s Cathedral, and Philip Repingdon became Bishop of Lincoln. Hornbeck then passes on to the Lollard knights; we consider later Lollards and Lollard communities. Hornbeck summarises this chapter, “The women and men who were – or who, had they been detected, might have been – called Lollards in late medieval England fit no single pattern,” (p. 57.)

Hornbeck in Chapter 3 “seeks in part to serve as a corrective to writings about Lollardy that privilege the intellectual over the personal and social.” (p. 59.) He goes on to enlarge on this statement, “The key insights of practical theology – that practices shape beliefs at least as often as beliefs shape practices.” (p. 60.) The idea of Wyclif’s poor preachers has “been shown to be largely mythological” (p. 62.) and that the early spread of Lollardy depended on those Oxford followers of Wyclif who had received livings.

Many Lollard groups met in houses with like-minded friends and neighbours, and, from court cases, what appears to have happened was reading from the vernacular Bible and theological discussion, It seems that the reading of English translations of the Bible and some form of theological discussion formed the basis of a Lollard meeting, and sometimes there was an itinerant Lollard preacher, but “Precisely how a Lollard gathering was conducted remains an open question, indeed a question unlikely ever to be resolved.” (p. 65.)

The section on “Lollard Spirituality” deals with eight characteristics of Lollard spirituality, and is the most positive part of this book because of “the recent growth of interest in the content of Lollards’ own spiritual writings,” (p. 74f.) although this is an ongoing area for research.

Fiona Somerset is the author of Chapter 4, “Their writings”. Here again we are faced with the uncertainty we have been made aware of in the earlier chapters. She asks, “What counts as a Lollard text?” (p. 76.) Here we are faced with many problems, only three of the “five massive works” have been critically published, and that of the Lollard “interpolated commentaries on Rolle’s *English Psalter*” (p. 79.) was only published in 2012-2014. Somerset has

brief statements about major Lollard writings, but also there are many writings that may or may not be of Lollard origin.

Hornbeck is the author of Chapter 5, “Their Beliefs.” In this chapter we are warned of the danger of trying to reduce Lollardy to a set of theological propositions. That their doctrine of predestination “anticipated the teaching of John Calvin a century later,” although “only in a few instances did Lollards approach the rigor of Calvin’s double predestination.” (p. 111f.)

Lollard “opinions about the sacraments varied widely among Lollards and Lollard communities.” (p. 117.) We find different ideas about Baptism, also whether Confirmation is necessary or not and whether it should be restricted to the bishop. Confession of sins was important, but auricular confession to a priest was not necessary. In the Eucharist there was generally a rejection of transubstantiation, but there were different views about Christ’s presence in the elements, whether the bread was spiritually or figuratively to commemorate Christ’s body. *Wycliffes Wycket* says “it semeth more that he blyssed hys disciples and apostles, whom he had ordained witnesses of his passion.” (p. 123.) The arguments for Extreme Unction did not justify its inclusion as a sacrament. In the *Trialogus*, we read, “If this bodily anointing were a sacrament,” Wyclif continued, “Christ and his apostles would not have been silent” (p. 131f.) about it.

Generally the Lollards wanted reform of the Church structure, although the pope and his curia were called Antichrist. The Head of the Church is Christ, and the pope the head of the Church in Rome. Wyclif and many later Lollards “traced much of the church’s decadence back to the Donation of Constantine.” (p. 135.) There is also the criticism of the religious orders, tithes, and the worship of images.

Chapter 6 is by Mishtooni Bose, and deals with the opponents of the Lollards. It gives us an account of those who opposed Wyclif and his followers. Much of the chapter is spent on Chronology, and I would have liked to see items spelt out in more detail. “1390-92: disputation of the anti-Wycliffite Richard Maidstone, O.Carm., against John Ashwardly” (p. 148.); makes me ask, ‘Who were they and what was the content of the disputation?’ The second half of the chapter, pp. 150-8, is more helpful, but still leaves us with unanswered questions. But we are told the reason for the problems facing the reader of this chapter, “I have previously written an account of Wyclif’s opponents, considering in particular elements of contact and distance between discursive and legislative responses to the challenges posed by his ideas; ...” (p.145.) and we are referred to “*A Companion to John Wyclif, Late Medieval Theologian*”.

We return to Patrick Hornbeck for the remaining two chapters. Chapter 7, “Their Trials” begins with Margery Baxter who admitted her offences and said “she wished to renounce these heresies.” Although she was flogged, “she also seemed to have continued to stir up trouble.” (p. 160.) The sections, “The Inquisitorial Process”, and, “A Survey of the Extant Records”, go into the details of the trials of Lollards and their results. However, Hornbeck warns us of the danger caused by the fact that all these records are written by Church recorders and therefore do not give us a full picture of the Lollards’ belief. “While extant documents such as bishop’s registers and court-books can reveal important details about a heresy defendants beliefs, they nevertheless cannot tell the full story.” (p. 186.) Neither do they tell us about the spread of Lollardy, only that the Diocesan Bishop at that time was trying to purge his diocese of heresy.

Chapter 8, ‘Their Afterlife’, takes us into the sixteenth century, and the survival of Lollardy. “The emergence in the late 1510s of a new brand of religious reform, that associated with the German Augustinian friar Martin Luther, complicates still further the task of ascertaining the persistence of Lollard ideas in England.” (p. 191.) There are those Reformers who “lived in places with longstanding traditions of religious radicalism. . . . ‘Tyndale ‘appears to have been in demand . . . as a preacher’ in part as a result of ‘the strong commitment to Lollardy in the county.’”¹ (p. 192.) He refers to Donald Smeeton’s book, *Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale*.² Also there were some Lollard works published in the early years of the sixteenth century.

Hornbeck then turns to John Frith and Robert Barnes, and the continuance of Lollardy “in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.” (p. 195.) He also draws our attention to the work of Margaret Aston, A.G. Dickens and J.F. Davies. We are then drawn to the Lollard links between England and Bohemia.

He then considers “the printing of Lollard texts by latter-day reformers” (p. 198.) and the work of people like “Bale, Foxe, and other evangelical writers” (p. 201.) At the end, Hornbeck warns us of the danger of following and being swayed by “the prevailing historical, theological, and intellectual climate.” (p. 207.)

The “Conclusion” is important to in explaining the complexity, importance and influence of Lollardy as “an English phenomenon, employing the resources of the English language, helping to craft distinctively English attitudes toward religious difference, and long after its heyday finding itself enshrined in the pantheon of English Protestantism.” (p. 213.)

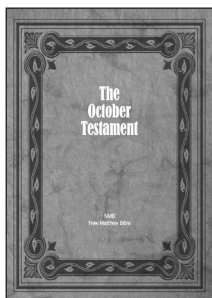
The “Bibliography” is very comprehensive and useful for anyone wanting to study Lollardy.

In spite of its weakness of trying to squeeze too much into a book this size, this book is well worth reading, and it is easy to read. I can strongly recommend it, not just to those wanting to learn about the Lollards, but by those who are interested in the development of the Protestant Reformed Church in England.

Revd Dr Ralph S. Werrell.

Honorary Research Fellow the University of Birmingham

- 1 Quote from Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.
- 2 He could also have referred to my book, *The Roots of William Tyndale's Theology*.



The October Testament, New Matthew Bible (NMB)

Ruth Magnusson Davis

Baruch House Publishing, 2015,

431 pp.

ISBN 978-0-9949227-1-7

(paperback)

At a time when new versions of the English Bible are popping up like mushrooms after a rainstorm, one might ask why yet another one. At a time when there are nearly too many translations of the English Bible to count, one might ask why present yet another one, and that from the 16th century. The answer was apparent within minutes of receiving, handling and reading *The October Testament*. Here is something special, and it's not just that we of the Tyndale Society take an interest in the history and development of the English Bible for this is not a musty academic tome, but a gently re-worked edition of a lively 16th century translation. Ruth Magnusson Davis (RMD) states the aims of this work very clearly in the Preface: 'not to make a modern bible from an old one, but to keep as much of the old as possible while making the language understandable for today'. Most of the pronouns have been modernised as have all of the verb forms and some of the vocabulary has been updated to contemporary English. Verse numbers have been added and also headings to the Prologue to Romans. The text is printed in a large enough font and stands out clearly on the page. The forepieces and endpiece are well laid out and use a different font (sans serif)

from the biblical text, creating a clear separation. Marginal and end notes by RMD are placed in square brackets and provide definitions, commentary, unit conversions and other helpful information. Unlike many paperbacks, The October Testament, with its wider pages, lies flat. These physical features make The October Testament a joy to handle and read. The wide margins and non-Bible-thin paper take notes very easily.

The question remains: why? To study a Bible from the 16th century, one would likely want a facsimile or at least an un-altered text. This is not that. To use a Bible for sermon preparation or personal devotions, one might want a Bible that was translated from the 'best' manuscripts, incorporating insights from the latest archaeological findings and linguistic studies. Or so we are led to believe. Yet I have taken The October Testament with me to church and followed along perfectly well, usually grasping the meaning of the text. Coming across unexpected vocabulary merely adds to the freshness and enjoyment of the text. For example: Galatians 1:16 'commune' where the New International Version (NIV) and English Standard Version (ESV) have 'consult' Galatians 2:13 'simulation' where NIV, ESV and even Geneva 1599 have 'hypocrisy'

This is not to ignore a few renderings which appear puzzling, e.g. Galatians 2:8 '(for he who was mighty in Peter in the apostleship over the circumcision was mighty in me among the Gentiles),' Compare ESV: '(for he who worked through Peter for his apostolic ministry to the circumcised worked also through me for mine to the Gentiles),' and NIV: 'For God, who was at work in Peter as an apostle to the circumcised, was also at work in me as an apostle to the Gentiles.'

Neither is this to ignore a few renderings where a modern translation brings out the fuller meaning, e.g. Galatians 2:4 'The issue arose because of incomers, being false brethren, who came in among others to spy out the liberty that have in Christ Jesus ...' The furtive or stealthy nature of these spies is better brought out in a modern translation, e.g. ESV: 'Yet because of false brothers secretly brought in—who slipped in to spy out our freedom that we have in Christ Jesus, ...', and NIV: 'This matter arose because some false believers had infiltrated our ranks to spy on the freedom we have in Christ Jesus ...' Even the Geneva Bible of 1599 communicates this: 'To wit, for the false brethren which were craftily sent in, and crept in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, ...' 'Incomers' is a lovely word, not much used nowadays, but it lacks the secretiveness conveyed by the Greek *pareisaktos*: something secretly introduced, brought in stealthily [Mounce's Complete Expository Dictionary, entry no. 4207], smuggled in [Strong's Dictionary, entry no. G3920].

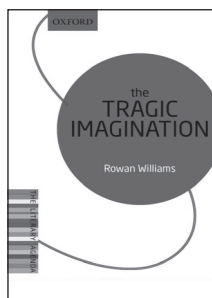
Indeed, there are instances where The October Testament stimulates further

reflection in ways modern translations miss. RMD alludes to this in the forepiece 'The Importance of the Matthew Bible' where she writes 'There are many examples of darkening and lost understanding in modern versions ...' and gives 1 Thessalonians 5:7 as an example. I think another would be at John 5:2, 'And there is a Jerusalem, by the slaughterhouse, a pool called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda ...' The margin notes that slaughterhouse is in the Greek, 'sheep house' and so the link can be made to the Lamb of God who will himself be sacrificed in Jerusalem, comes to pool to heal one who has been ill for a very long time. Modern translations simply call this the Sheep Gate and make no mention of the sacrifice of animals. RMD's forepiece has motivated me to look for more and perhaps will similarly motivate other readers.

The essays at the beginning and end of *The October Testament* set the historical context of this Bible translation, provide details of how the work was carried out, and the qualifications of RMD to do the work. The changes that have been made to the text are described and it is obvious that RMD, with her background in law and modern languages, has been able to bring an early modern English work to the 21st century reader. Her own language carries a scent of early modern English, so immersed in the work that she has been. It is clearly a labour of love and RMD has been successful in the stated aims for *The October Testament*. I for one look forward to further work from RMD. My one quibble lies in the inconsistent capitalisation of 'Bible'. Where the sacred book is referred to, my preference is for 'Bible'. But in *The October Testament* one sees 'English Bibles' on page 16 and 'English bibles' on page 18. In all *The October Testament* is a worthy addition to any Bible lover's library and it is worth noting that it is available for the Olive Tree Bible Study app (goo.gl/3thQps) though they have confusingly called it "Tyndale's New Testament for the 21st Century".

Dr Deborah Pollard

What are you reading?



The Tragic Imagination
Rowan Williams
OUP 2016
ISBN 978-0-19-873641-7

Report by Mary Clow

This short book (160 pages) calls for close reading, and re-reading of many passages to follow its deep, thoughtful arguments. I am certainly not qualified and would not attempt to review it here, but still I would highly recommend it to anyone. Rowan Williams, presently Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, once Archbishop of Canterbury, is remembered by Tyndale Society members for his love and appreciation of William Tyndale, which extended beyond words to energetic spade-work in planting a commemorative tree at Lambeth Palace in April 2005 (see TSJ29).

The ostensible subject of the book is theatre, and Dr Williams begins with the ancient Greeks and their tragedies grounded in ritual and liturgy. He contrasts the clashing imperatives of Sophocles' *Antigone* with Robert Bolt's Thomas More in *A Man for all Seasons*, showing in both cases the conflict of personal moral duty with the demands of the state. Total dissimilarities in worship and belief, culture, situation and the intervening gulf of time make no essential difference to the dilemma. For, as Dr Williams writes, "There is no intellectual progress over the millennia in theories about the problem of suffering as there may be in theories about the birth of stars or the working of the brain".

Naturally the discussion moves on to *Lear* and *Othello*, with their protagonists whose wilful blindness to the true nature of those close to them brings about their own destruction. 'Demand me nothing: what you know, you know' Iago goads on Othello, with terrible cunning. Dr Williams writes: '...dramatic representation shows us that disaster does not silence that excess of unearned, unexpected life that sustains us in going on...'

Reading this at Eastertime, after the privilege of hearing the words of St

John's gospel set to music by both Bach and Arvo Pärt, the Passion story is vividly relevant to any discussion of tragedy. Dr Williams addresses this in his Conclusions:

‘... the killing of the human form of God.. is a paradigm of tragic performance...’

‘Divine identity.. comes into our imagining as entailing the enduring of loss.. the divine exists.. as ‘bestowal’, as an unconstrained giving...’

‘...failure and loss are always there to be confronted in our history; they are not made painless ... by the affirmation that they are sufferings of or in ‘the Body’ which is the community of grace, but are made speakable and thinkable in that context.’



William made me Laugh

Peter E. Lewis

I would like to share with you an experience that I had recently. I am a retired surgeon and I have a strong Christian faith. For the last 40 years I have taken an interest in the academic side of Christianity, including obtaining an honours degree in divinity from London University.

I live in the city of the Gold Coast in Queensland, and near my home there is a Citizens' Centre which is used by various community groups. Every Tuesday night there is a karate class for children. Karate is one of the Japanese martial arts and students wear loose-fitting white clothes. The colour of the belt indicates the student's skill level. When the children arrive for their training on Tuesday nights they are already wearing their karate clothes, and I suppose because their parents expect them to grow quickly their outfits are much too large, and when I see the little children in these outsize white clothes I cannot help laughing to myself. They look so funny.

I am an admirer of William Tyndale. His translation of the Bible into English from the original Greek and Hebrew influenced all subsequent translations and the English language itself, and he was martyred for bravely following his vocation. I have a modest collection of Bible manuscripts such as leaves from early editions of Luther's German Bible, and when I saw a leaf from Tyndale's Bible advertised on eBay, I bought it. It is a page from the first illustrated quarto edition printed by Rycharde Juge in London in 1552. The text is Revelation 7:14 – 9:2a. In the top three lines are the words: *And he sayde to me: these are they whiche came oute of great tribulation, and made theyr garmentes large, & made them white.* The thought of these persons walking around in heaven wearing over-sized white clothes reminded me of the karate children, and I burst out laughing.

Modern versions of the Bible have: *Then he said to me, "These are they who have come out of the great ordeal; they have washed their robes and made them white. . ."* (NRSV) I would like to emphasize that William's surprising and amusing translation was NOT HIS FAULT. In the Greek manuscripts available to him the word which he correctly translated as "they enlarged" was *ἐπλατυναν*, but in other manuscripts the word is *ἐπλυναν*, which means "they washed."

In the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* the only Greek manuscripts with ἐπλατυναν are 1854 (11th c.), 2053 (13th c.), 2329 (10th c.) and M (with K superscript). The last represents a number of manuscripts of the Koine type and includes the 10th century uncial, 046. William Tyndale must have used one or more of these manuscripts. So it was not his fault. A careless scribe miscopied the word centuries before, and William simply translated it. He was not aware that in the most ancient manuscripts the word was ἐπλυναν.

On the page that I bought there is a coloured woodcut (below) showing God in heaven surrounded by angels blowing trumpets. God seems to be smiling, and I like to think that he is amused by the idea of persons like the karate children walking around in heaven in over-sized clothes. And I like to think that William himself has a chuckle when he thinks about it.





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