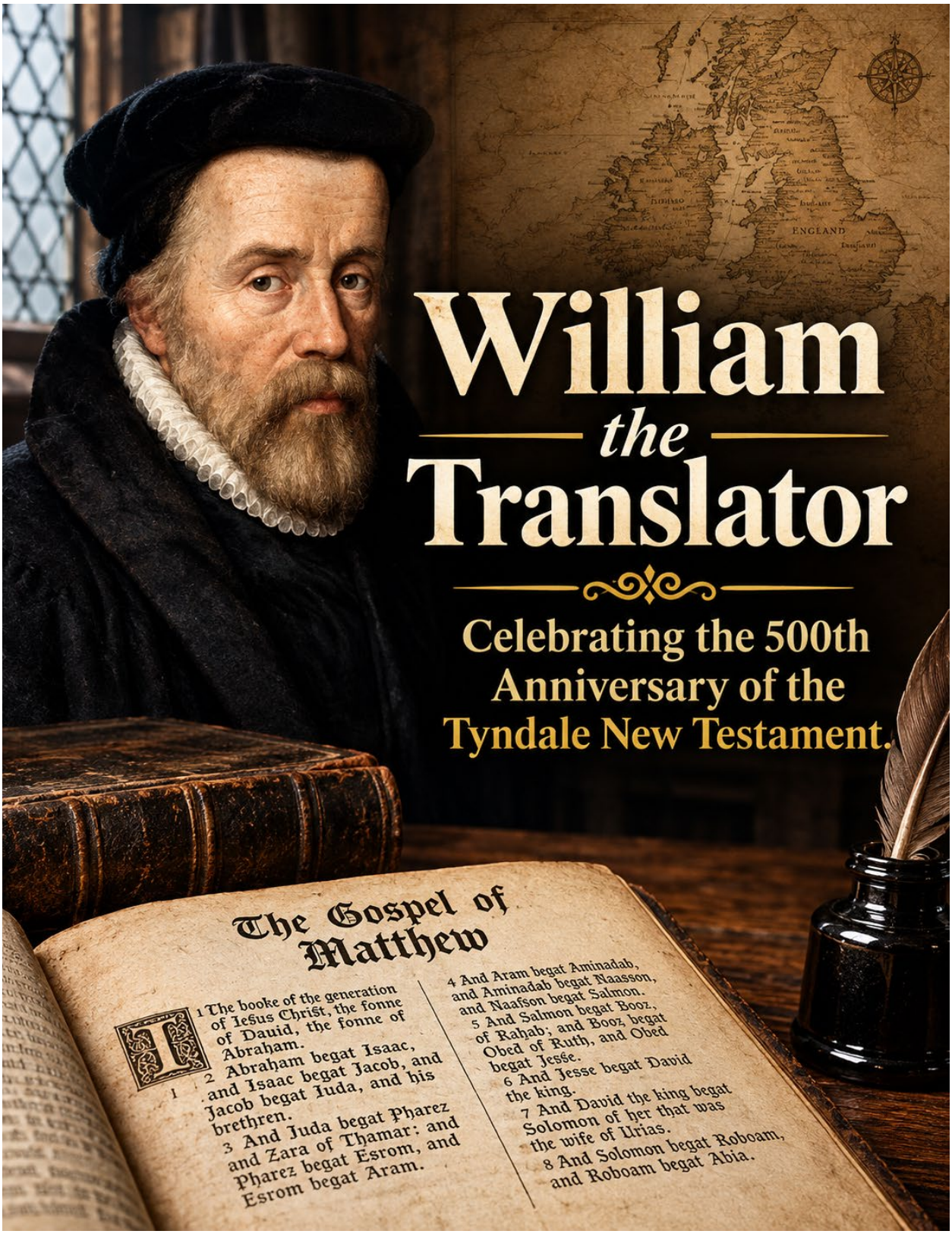

ENGLAND
William
the
Translator
Celebrating the 500th Anniversary of the Tyndale New Testament.
The Gospel of Matthew
1 The booke of the generation of Iesus Christ, the sonne of Dauid, the sonne of Abraham.
2 Abraham begat Isaac, and Isaac begat Jacob, and Jacob begat Iuda, and his brethren.
3 And Juda begat Pharez and Zara of Thamar: and Pharez begat Esrom, and Esrom begat Aram.
4 And Aram begat Aminadab, and Aminadab begat Naasson, and Naasson begat Salmon.
5 And Salmon begat Booz, of Rahab, and Booz begat Obed of Ruth, and Obed begat Jesse.
6 And Jesse begat David the king.
7 And David the king begat Solomon of her that was the wife of Urias.
8 And Solomon begat Roboam, and Roboam begat Abia.

Introduction

The quincentenary (500th Anniversary) of William Tyndale's 1526 New Testament provides a fitting occasion to reexamine the life, work, and enduring legacy of the man often described as "the father of the English Bible." Few individuals have exercised a greater influence upon the religious, linguistic, and cultural development of the English-speaking world. Tyndale's translation enterprise not only furnished the textual foundation for later Reformation-era English Bibles, culminating in the Authorized Version of 1611, but also helped shape the very vocabulary and expression of modern English Christianity. Any serious assessment of the English Bible tradition must therefore reckon with the historical circumstances that produced Tyndale, the translational methods he employed, and the theological convictions that motivated his life's work.

The studies gathered in this volume were originally presented at William The Translator: Celebrating the 500th Anniversary of the Tyndale New Testament, a Bible conference held at Columbus Bible Church in Columbus, Ohio, during the weekend of October 16-18, 2026. The conference brought together the research and teaching ministries of Bryan Ross, David Reid, and Alex Bojko in commemoration of the quincentenary of William Tyndale's landmark 1526 New Testament. Through a series of historical, textual, linguistic, and theological presentations, the conference sought to reassess Tyndale's enduring contribution to the English Bible, the English language, and the broader history of Protestant Christianity.

The notes prepared for this conference approach these questions from complementary perspectives. Bryan Ross examines the broader historical and intellectual world that preceded Tyndale, tracing the development of the English language, the rise of vernacular Scripture, the Renaissance recovery of biblical languages, and the influence of Erasmus and the printed Greek New Testament. Ross also describes the production and dissemination of William Tyndale's 1526 Worms New Testament, controversial translational choices of William Tyndale, and how William Tyndale's New Testament translation served as a rough draft of the King James Bible. Through these studies, Ross situates Tyndale within the larger continuum of English Bible history and demonstrates that the Reformation translator emerged from a rich and complex historical context rather than from an intellectual vacuum.

David Reid's studies focus on addressing popular misconceptions about William Tyndale. Alongside his discussion of Tyndale's 1525 Cologne fragment, Reid explains the origins of Tyndale's famous ploughboy statement and provides insights into whether Tyndale actually said, "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the ploy to know more of the Scripture than thou doest!" Reid also addresses how the ploughboy statement is misused by advocates of modern versions of the Bible to argue for a dynamic equivalent translation. Reid also discusses Tyndale's relationship to King Henry VIII and Tyndale's enduring legacy in the twenty-first century.

Finally, Alex Bojko provides critical analysis of Tyndale's life, translation work, and theological legacy. His investigations explore the formative influences that shaped Tyndale; Tyndale's Old Testament translation work and translation philosophy; and theological commitments reflected in his prologues, prefaces, and theological treatises. Throughout his studies, Bojko argues that the theology of John

Wycliffe and the Lollards influenced William Tyndale to translate the New Testament, more so than Lutheranism. Regarding Tyndale's theology and interpretive legacy, Bojko engages in questions related to biblical authority, covenant theology, Augustinian influence, and the relationship between Tyndale's thought and later Protestant traditions. Bojko's work seeks not merely to celebrate Tyndale but to evaluate his theological positions within their historical setting and in light of subsequent doctrinal developments.

Taken together, these studies demonstrate that William Tyndale was more than a translator. He was a product of centuries of linguistic development, a beneficiary of Renaissance scholarship, a catalyst for religious reform, and an architect of English biblical expression whose influence continues to be felt five hundred years after the publication of his New Testament. By bringing together the investigations of Ross, Reid, and Bojko, this conference seeks to provide a comprehensive reassessment of Tyndale's life, work, and legacy for a new generation of students and readers of the English Bible.

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Lesson 1

Assessing the Pre-Tyndale Historical Context (900-1500)

Prepared & Taught by Bryan C. Ross

A Brief History of the English Language

- "The English language, like all languages, has been evolving for centuries and will continue to do so throughout the twenty-first century. . . Compared with language development of many civilizations, however, English developed relatively rapidly. For instance, while the development of Greek and other ancient languages spanned several thousand years, the time it took for the Anglo-Saxon language (forerunner of modern English) to develop into words similar to those we speak today can be measured in a few hundred years" (Brake, *King James Bible*, 21).

- Three distinct periods mark the development of English:

    - Old English—6th century to the Norman Conquest of 1066

    - Middle English—1100 to 1500

    - Modern English—1500 to the present

- When the Romans landed on the island of England a few years before the birth of Christ, English did not exist. The language of this time and place included both Germanic and Celtic elements. It was not until the sixth century that a small percentage of people in Britain spoke a prototype of English (Brake, *King James Bible*, 22).

- "During this period, from the sixth century until the Norman Conquest, the British were tossed about by an influx of invasions and missionary endeavors that added to the flavor and texture of the English language. The development of English was shaped, in part by the Germanic tribes, Angles, Saxons, Jutes, who battled for supremacy among themselves and with tribal Picts, Scots, and Gaels who inhabited the island. In the sixth century, Pope Gregory, who viewed the island dwellers as pagans, sent a monk named Augustine [not the famous Church Father] to convert King Ethelbert to Christianity. . . Augustine's mission was successful and, over time, Latin and Greek words found their way into the English vocabulary. Over the course of one thousand years, these combined cultural forces created a hybrid language that assimilated elements of Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman into a new strain of English" (Brake, *King James Bible*, 22).

- "The politics of invasion and conquest take language captive, along with its people. The early invaders' language, today known as Old English or Anglo-Saxon English, formed a rudimentary base for the English we speak today. The Anglo-Saxon conquest was so successful that very few

words have survived from the original British language (Celtic)" (Brake, *King James Bible*, 22-24).

- Viking invasions between 750 and 1050 also impacted the development of Old English. Monosyllabic words such as sky, skin, and root have their roots in the Old Norse language (Brake, *King James Bible*, 24).

- "The English Language went through a period of severe neglect in the Middle Ages. The conquest of England by the Normans in 1066 (Battle of Hastings) had led to the suppression of English in public life. French—or, more accurately, the form of Anglo-French that arose after the Norman conquest—dominated public discourse, particularly government departments and courts. The English upper class spoke Anglo-French as a matter of principle, to distinguish themselves from the lower classes, who spoke Middle English. . ." (McGrath, 26).

- "The widespread perception that French had established itself as the lingua franca of the cultural elite of Europe inevitably led to English being dismissed as a crude language, incapable of conveying the subtle undertones necessary for diplomacy, the fine distinctions of philosophy, and the complexities of legal and financial negotiations. English would do very well for the common laborer; French was the language of choice for the elite" (McGrath, 27).

- In the 13th and 14th centuries things began to change. William of Shoreham and Richard Rolle, both translated the Psalter into Anglo-Norman from the Latin Vulgate. From the middle of the 12th century a genuine English language began to replace the Anglo-Norman language (Brake, *King James Bible*, 42).

- It was during this Middle English period that John Wycliffe began the process of translating the Bible into the vernacular English of his day. There was much anxiety amongst the academic elite of England whether English as a language was capable of expressing the deep nuanced truths of the Bible in particular and the Christian faith in general (McGrath, 33).

- In 1401 a debate over the use of English in church life ensued at Oxford. In 1407, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury issued the following statement:

    - "We therefore legislate and ordain that nobody shall from this day forth translate any text of the Holy Scripture on his own authority into the English, or any other, language, whether in the form of a book, pamphlet or tract; and that any such book pamphlet or tract whether composed recently or in the time of John Wycliffe, or in the future, shall not be read in part or in whole, in public or in private."

- "English thus became the language of the religious underground. To write in English was tantamount to holding heretical views" (McGrath, 33).

- In describing the circumstances John Wycliffe and his followers lived under when translating the Bible, Melvyn Bragg in his *The Adventure of English: The Biography of a Language* writes,

    - "It is difficult to appreciate the extent and the audacity of this enterprise [the work of developing the Wycliffe Bible]. Wycliffe was leading them [the Lollards] into the cannon's mouth. All of them knew it and yet behind the obedient honey-coloured Latinate walls of Oxford colleges, the medieval equivalent of the subversive samizdat press which bypassed Stalin's controls in Russia was organized, and effectively" (Bragg, 81).

- "The Hundred Years War (1337-1453) served to consolidate the growing popular impression that French was the language of England's enemy. . . The war with France at an end, English became the language of choice of the upper class and government departments. No longer was English dismissed as the language of the lower classes; it was now the language of choice of a nation with an increasing sense of national identity shared purpose, strengthened by England's growing maritime enterprise" (McGrath, 29-31).

- "The story of the King James Bible cannot be told without an understanding of the remarkable rise of confidence in the English language in the late sixteenth century. What was once scorned as the barbarous language of plowmen became as the language of patriots and poets—a language fit for heroes on the one hand, and for the riches of the Bible on the other. Gone were any hesitations about the merits of the English language. Elizabeth's navy and armies had established England's military credentials; her poets, playwrights, and translators had propelled English into the front rank of the living European languages. The King James Bible consolidated the enormous advantages in the English language over the centuries, and can be seen as the symbol of a nation and language that believed that their moment had finally arrived" (McGrath, 24-25).

- "In his 1589 *Art of English Poesy*, written at the height of the Elizabethan Age, George Puttenham declared that English was just as sophisticated as Greek or Latin, and perfectly capable of expressing the full range of human emotions and thoughts" (McGrath, 25).

- "To write in English—or translate into English—was a political act, affirming the intrinsic dignity of the language of a newly confident people and nation. And why should not that nation have its own bible in its own language?" (McGrath, 26).

The English Bible Before Wycliffe

- According to Bible historian Donald L Brake, "no complete Bible in the language of the people of England existed before the fourteenth century. Even for the mostly educated clergy, the Bible was inaccessible—available only in the Latin Language" (Brake, *English Bible*, 34).

- David L. Brake also notes the connection between the Gothic Bible and the Anglo-Saxon language of the Old English period:

    - "A Gothic translation of the Gospels called *Codex Argenteus* or "Silver Book," so called because it was copied in letters with a silvery hue, represented a pre-English language. Translated by the famous missionary Ulfilas in about AD 360 for the heathen Goths, it represents a pre-Old English version in the first vernacular translation ever produced. It is also a prototype of the Old English. Several phrases when compared, reveal many similarities of the Germain tongue to Old English" (Brake, *English Bible*, 38-39).

- Brake reports that, "The earliest portions of Scripture in Anglo-Saxon were songs set to verse by a layman, Caedmon, at Yorkshire monastery. A legend describes his habit of singing portions of Scripture in a highly complicated vernacular meter. The only surviving manuscript attributed to Caedmon is a hymn about creation" (Brake, *English Bible*, 38-39).

- The first known translation of an actual Biblical text into Old English was a portion of the Psalter (Psalms) which dates from the beginning of the eighth century (700s). The work was the product of Aldhelm, the first Bishop of Sherboren in Dorset. Upon his death, the work was continued and completed by the Venerable Bede according to church tradition. Unfortunately, no copies of this Psalter are known to be extant (Brake, *English Bible*, 40).

- The greatest achievement in terms of Bible translation during the Old English period was far and away the Lindisfarne manuscript.

    - "The Old English period (to AD 1066) is characterized by its interlinear glosses in Latin manuscripts. Glossing, an Anglo-Saxon pedagogical method for introducing Latin to the reader, placed a word-for-word vernacular translation in direct juxtaposition to the Latin text. Undoubtedly the most famous example of this is seen in the eighth-century Lindisfarne manuscript, which contains a literal rendering of the text into an Anglo-Saxon dialect by the scribe named Aldred. . .the first extensively written Old English that has survived. Later scribes drew from these glosses to craft their translations" (Brake, *English Bible*, 40).

- In 2003, Yale professor and author David Daniell penned a massive work titled *The Bible In English: Its History and Influence*. Regarding this "glossing" described by Brake during the Old English period, Daniell stated the following:

    - "The Gospels, Psalms, and other parts of the Old Testament were several times translated: most often only as Old English glosses between the lines of the Latin, keeping the Latin word order rather than writing fluent English. Old English prose—for the language, the phrases 'Old English' and 'Anglo-Saxon' are usually interchangeable—is capable of stylistic excellence, even nobility, but the glory of Anglo-Saxon literature is in its poetry, of which thirty thousand lines have survived. Most of the poetry has some Christian basis, and much of it is directly biblical in origin, as will be seen: no account of the Bible in England should neglect this body of superb poetry (Daniell, 44).

- Stemming the tide of the Viking invasions, Alfred the Great (AD 849-901) contributed to the development of English by insisting that schools teach in the vernacular. Alfred even learned Latin at the age of 40 so that he could translate various Biblical texts into Old English: Ten Commandments, Exodus, Acts, and a form of the Golden Rule (Brake, *English Bible*, 41).

- The tenth-century translation of the four Gospels into Old English known as the Wessex Gospels is the first extended portion of the Bible into English. The Wessex Gospels is anonymous and does not bear a date. The earliest known manuscript dates from the 12th century (Brake, *English Bible*, 41).

- Daniell reports the following regarding the English Bible after the Norman conquest of 1066:

    - "After 1066 there is no record of new attempts to translate the Bible into English for two and a half centuries. The Bible in England was in either Latin, or, occasionally, part of it in Norman French. In spite of the strength of their earlier work, the ordinary English people became deprived of access to much of the Bible. . ." (Daniell, 56).

- Thus, in summation, the pre-Wycliffe period epitomized the notion that only the clergy could own and read the Scriptures. The clergy not only prevented the laity from reading the Scriptures; copies of the sacred text were simply not available. They were either not in the laity's language, or they were too expensive to purchase. Thus, the use of the Bible by the poor was not possible until the end of the fourteenth century (Brake, *English Bible*, 43).

- Condit records that, at the Council of Toulouse in 1229, the Catholic move to canonize the functional situation that had been in existence in England for some time and that it banned layman from possessing the scriptures in the common tongue.

    - "We forbid that Laymen be permitted to have the books of the Old and New Testaments, unless some out of Devotion desire to have the Psalter or Breviary for Divines Offices, and the Hours of the Blessed Virgin; but even these, they may not have in the Vulgar Tongue" (Condit, 19).

Saxon Gospels

- Blackford Condit author of *The History of the English Bible: Extending from the Earliest Saxon Translations to the Present Anglo-American Revision, With Special Reference to the Protestant Religion and the English Language* (1882) states the following regarding the Saxon Gospels:

    - "The Anglo-Saxon versions of the Four Gospels may be referred to as the age of Alfred; though the manuscripts differ widely from the time of Bede to that of the Norman Conquest" (Condit, 35).

- Joseph Bosworth added the following regarding the Old English Bible in his *The Gospels: Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Wycliffe, and Tyndale Version Arranged in Parallel Columns*:

    - "We are not certain as the names of those patriotic Anglo-Saxons, who devoted their time, talents, and learning to the translating of the Scriptures into Anglo-Saxon, that they

might be read by the people, and their churches; but we have an indisputable evidence in the Rubrics, printed in our notes from the MS that they were constantly read in Anglo-Saxon churches, as the rubrical directions declare what part of the Scriptures was appointed for successive seasons. We have no more knowledge of the exact date when the Gospels were first translated into Anglo-Saxon, than we have of the translators" (Bosworth, xii).

- Bosworth repeats the common speculation from the pen of Cuthbert, a pupil of the Venerable Bede, that Bede finished his translation of St. John on his death bed in May of 735. Since John is the fourth gospel, it is extrapolated by some that Bede succeeded in translating the Gospels into Anglo-Saxon before his death.

    - "We have no satisfactory evidence to prove that his was the first translations of the Gospels, nor that Bede's version has come down to us. The Scriptures, in their own tongue, were revered by the Anglo-Saxons, for Alfred the Great placed the Commandments at the head of his Laws, and incorporated many passages from the Gospels. Subsequent translations would naturally avail themselves of the versions made by their predecessors, and write them in the orthography, the language, and the style of the time in which they lived" (Bosworth, xii).

- In his "Preface" Bosworth catalogues the extant textual witnesses to the Anglo-Saxon gospels. Please note the following summary points from Bosworth's "Preface":

    - "I. B. . . . is said to be copied from an older MS. Before the Conquest [1066]. I think between A.D. 990 and 1020. . .

      II. C. denotes the MS. Of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, in the University of Cambridge marked Ii. 2.11. This MS. is small folio, written in a good clear hand about the time of the Norman Conquest if not earlier, it is very valuable for its accuracy in grammatical forms, and orthography as adopted in the best West-Saxon; and because it is the only copy which has the Rubrics complete and written in the same hand and just after the other parts of the MS.

      III. This is what remains of the once fine MS. written on vellum before the Norman Conquest, and denoted by Cot. because it is in the Cotton Library, British Museum, Otho C. I. . . Planta, in his Catalogue of the Cotton MSS., describes it as "once containing 290 leaves but now (1802) so much burnt and contracted as to render the binding of impracticable [Accounts differ as to the extent of the damage.]. . .St. Luke is nearly complete, and occupies fol. 39-93. St. John fills fol. 95-135, and is nearly perfect especially in the latter part. There are no rubrical directions, and only a few badly formed capital letters of a dingy red colour in this MS.

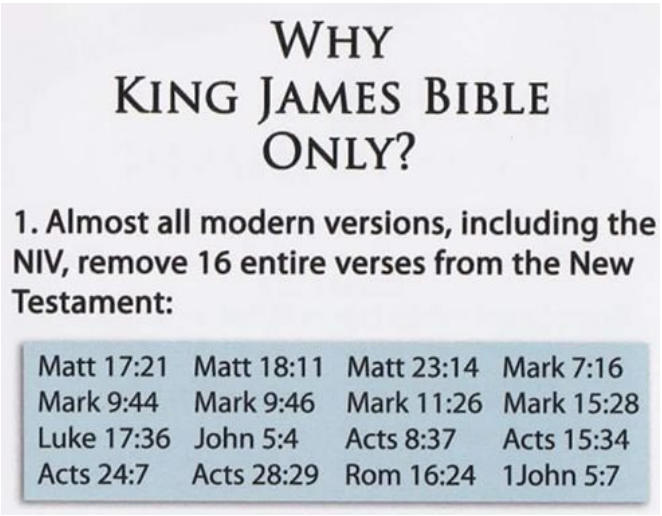
      IV. H. The Hatton MS. No. 38 in Bodleian, Oxford, is the size of a large 8vo. and written on vellum in a very uniform and beautifly, but late hand about the time of Henry II. The letters are so uniform, upright, and near together, as to appear like printing in facsimili types. . . The four Gospels are arranged not in the usual order, but St. Matt. Is placed after

> St. Luke; thus, Mark, Luke, Matthew, and John [The only Anglo-Saxon Rubric is at the beginning of St. John.].
>
> V. This MS. denoted by RL is in the Royal Library, British Museum, I.A. XIV. It is very similar to the Hatton in the 8vo. size, but a little smaller. The writing is somewhat earlier in date, and less regular than Hatton. The Rubrics are very few, and of a brighter red than Hatton. . . The four Gospels are placed in this order,--Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John. . .
>
> VI. O. The Oxford MS. in the Bodlean, No. 441, is closely allied to the best MSS. B, C. and Cot.; names to I, II, and III.—This Oxford MS. of the four Anglo-Saxon Gospels is in a small folio, written before the Norman Conquest, in a fine bold Anglo-Saxon character. . . The Rubrics are written in small and recent hand, between the paragraphs or, for want of room in the margin. . . The first [printed] edition of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels by John Foxe, in 1571 was printed from this Oxford MS. No. 441. It was also the basis of the edition of Junius and Marshall in 1665.
>
> VII. The Latin of the Lindisfarne Gospels, or the Durham Book, is said to be have been written about A.D. 687 by Eadfrith, a monk, and the interlinear and verbal Anglo-Saxon Gloss by Aldred a Priest, between 946 and 968. Both Eadfrith and Aldred became Bishops of Durham. It is one of our finest MSS.
>
> VIII. The Latin of the Rushworth Gospels appears to have been written about the end of the 7th century; and the interlinear and verbal Anglo-Saxon Gloss of the 10th. . .” (Bosworth, xiii-xvi).

- David Daniell reports that one result of the Norman Conquest in 1066 was that “the capacity to read Anglo-Saxon had been quite lost.” He also reports that:
    - “The Old English versions of the Bible were rediscovered and published in the second half of the 16th century [1500s] for antiquarian, linked with nationalist reasons by Elizabeth’s first Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker: before the ‘Norman Yoke”, the sturdy English yeoman had no truck with papist practices” (Daniell, 59).
- In terms of printed editions, Bosworth’s “Preface” includes the following entries:
    - 1571—“The Anglo-Saxon Gospels were first printed at the suggestion of and expense of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, under the care of John Foxe, the Martyrologist, . .”
    - 1665—“A much improved edition of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels was published with the Gothic by Junius and Marshall, in 1665. . .”
    - 1842—Benjamin Thorpe printed “a very neat and handy edition of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.”

- Textually, like the Gothic Bible, the extant Anglo-Saxon Gospels represent a *mixed text*. In terms of major variants, the Anglo-Saxon Gospels include the long ending of Mark (16:9-20) and the Woman Taken in Adultery (John 7:53-8:11).

- The following is a portion of a popular meme that circulates on the internet which describes the verse omissions in modern versions.



- Of the sixteen verses listed on this meme, ten of them are taken from the Gospels. When one compares the extant Anglo-Saxon Gospels against this list of verses that are missing from modern versions, one observes the following:

    - The extant Anglo-Saxon Gospels contain all the following verses: Matthew 12:21, 18:11; Mark 7:16, 9:44, 46, 15:28; Luke 17:36; John 5:4.

    - Only Matthew 23:14 is missing in its entirety whereas Mark 11:26 is missing the second half of the verse.

- From this we can conclude that the extant Anglo-Saxon Gospels are in far better textual shape than are modern versions.

Wycliffe Bible & Catholic Response

- In the 1380s, John Wycliffe translated the Bible out of Latin into the Middle English. These Bibles were all copied by hand before the invention of the printing press. Donald L Brake author of *A Visual History of the English Bible* reports the following regarding the influence of the Wycliffe Bible:

    - "In spite of the bitter opposition, the reading of the English Bible continued. There are today—six hundred years later—about 250 recorded copies of the Wycliffe Bible. The

large number in spite of intense Bible destructions and confiscations testifies to the widespread distribution of the bible during those early years" (Brake, 66).

- Earlier Brake stated the following regarding Catholic opposition to the Wycliffe Bible:
    - "Not everyone embraced the arrival of a Bible in the English tongue. The English Catholic Church's opposition to a vernacular translation was predictable. The Authority of the priests rested solely in the church. The church's powerful hold on the laity depended on biblical ignorance. Any free use of the Bible in worship and though signaled a deep threat to the church's authority" (Brake, 63).

- Blackford Condit author of *The History of the English Bible* states the following regarding Catholic reception to the Wycliffe Bible:
    - "The English version of the Bible by Wycliffe was such an offense, that a bill was introduced into the House of Lords in 1390, to suppress it. In the course of the debate the Duke of Lancaster is reported to have said: "We will not be the dregs of all: seeing other Nations have the Law of God, which is the Law of Faith, written in their own Language. . . That he would maintain our having the Law in our own tongue against those, whoever they should be, who first brought in the Bill." He was sustained by others, and finally the "Bill was thrown out of the House" (Condit, 62-63).

- The Wycliffe translation also gave rise to the established church's intense hatred for a vernacular Bible. First, the *De heretico comburendo* (*On The Burning of Heretics*) from 1401 promised death to heretics by means of burning the offender alive. In 1408 the infamous *Constitutions* were formulated in direct response to the overwhelming reception of Wycliffe's ideas that every man should have a Bible in his own language. The *Constitutions* forbade the Sacred Latin Vulgate Bible to be translated into a common tongue without express supervision of the church. It soon followed that translating Scriptures into English or reading the Bible in English were heretical acts" (Brake, 47).

- "The Oxford Council summoned in 1407-8 by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, restated the restriction of English translations. The church historian John Foxe quotes the seventh enactment:
    - "We therefore decree and ordain, that no man, hereafter, by his own authority translate any text of the Scripture into English or any other tongue, by way of a book, libel, or treatise, now lately set forth in the time of John Wycliffe, or since, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, privily or apertly, upon pain of greater excommunication, until said translation be allowed by the ordinary of the place, or, if the case so require, by the council of provincial. He that shall do contrary to this, shall likewise be punished as a favourer of error and heresy" (Brake, 66).

- From the early 15th century, the *Constitutions* held sway over England and continued to do so at the time of William Tyndale.

Invention of the Printing Press

- Johannes Gutenberg invented his mechanical movable type printing press in Mainz, Germany, around 1440. While development began in the late 1430s, the technology was finalized by 1450, with the famous Gutenberg Bible printed between 1452 and 1455.

- Roger B. Beck and the authors of *World History: Patterns of Interaction* state the following regarding the historical impact of Gutenberg's Press:

    - "During the 13th century, block-printed items reached Europe from China. European printers began to use block printing to create whole pages to bind into books. However, this process was too slow to satisfy the Renaissance demand for knowledge, information, and books.

      Around 1440 Johann Gutenberg, a craftsman from Mainz, Germany, developed a printing press that incorporated a number of technologies in a new way. The process made it possible to produce books quickly and cheaply. Using this improved process, Gutenberg printed a complete Bible, the Gutenberg Bible, in about 1455. It was the first full-sized book printed with movable type.

      The printing press enabled a printer to produce hundreds of copies of a single work. For the first time, books were cheap enough that many people could buy them. At first printers produced mainly religious works" (Beck, 484).

- In a cutout titled "Global Impact" at the bottom of page 484 Roger B. Beck and company state the following regarding how the printing press increased book production:

    - "A copyist took five months to produce a single book. One man and a printing press could produce 500 books in the same amount of time" (Beck, 484).

Fall of Constantinople

- Constantinople was established by Emperor Constantine as the Eastern capital of the Roman Empire in 330 AD. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the late 5th century (400s), the Eastern Roman Empire in Constantinople lasted for another 1,000 years. Historians have called the Eastern Roman Empire the Byzantine Empire or Byzantium. The citizens of Byzantium called themselves Romans believing that they were a continuation of the Ancient Roman Empire.

- Situated on major trade routes, Constantinople earned its wealth through the spice trade. Traders passing back and forth between Europe and Asia would inevitably pass though Byzantine

controlled lands if not the city of Constantinople itself. Situated on a strategic chokepoint, the Byzantines could control access to the Black Sea through the Bosporus Strait.

- Consequently, given its strategic importance, the city of Constantinople had been sieged 23 times, in its history, without being breached.

- In 1453, Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II, a Muslim, began an eight-week siege of the city on Monday, April 2, 1453. By 1453, the city of Constantinople was the last Christian stronghold in the East as Muslim armies had already taken all of modern-day Turkey and the bulk of the Hinter Land beyond the Bosporus in the Balkan region of Europe.

- The Islamic conquest of Constantinople contributed to the Renaissance, as Greek scholars left the city and immigrated to Italy, bringing Greek texts with them. Greek not Latin had been the official language of the Byzantine Empire. The fall of Constantinople is one mechanism that served to introduce Byzantine Greek MSS into Europe on the eve of the Protestant Revolution during the same time frame that the printing press was invented. Another mechanism that exposed Europe to the Byzantine readings of the Greek Church before 1453 was the ministry of the Paulicians.

The Spirit of the Renaissance

- During the Renaissance people became interested in ancient culture. Knowledge from ancient Greece and Rome that had been largely lost during the Middle Ages was rediscovered. Scholars thought that ancient Greek and Roman writings could help them solve contemporary problems. (Beck, 472)

- The study of classical texts led to the creation of a new type of scholar, the humanist. Alister McGrath explains how the Renaissance usage of the term "humanism" differs from its modern connotation. McGrath writes,

    - "The term humanism has now come to mean a worldview which denies the existence or relevance of God, or which is committed to a purely secular outlook. This is not what the word meant at the time of the Renaissance. Most humanists of the period were religious, and concerned to purify and renew Christianity, rather than eliminate it" (McGrath, 37).

- As an intellectual movement, humanists focused on human potential and achievements. Rather than trying to make classical texts agree with Christian teachings as medieval scholars had (Scholastics), humanists studied them to understand ancient Greek values (Beck, 472). The Italian Renaissance of the Southern Europe therefore took on a more secular flavor than did the Northern Renaissance.

- In Northern Europe the ideals of the Renaissance took a more religious track and planted the seeds of the Reformation across this region of Europe.

- "Italian humanists were very interested in reviving classical languages and classical texts. When the Italian humanist ideas reached the north, people used them to examine the traditional teaching of the Church. The northern humanists were critical of the failure of the Christian Church to inspire people to live a Christian life. This criticism produced a new movement known as Christian humanism. . . The best known of the Christian humanists were Desiderius Erasmus of Holland and Thomas More of England. . . Erasmus believed in a Christianity of the heart, not one of ceremonies and rules. He thought that in order to improve society, all people should study the Bible" (Beck, 482).

- In terms of literature, Renaissance writers popularized the practice of writing in the vernacular or native language of the people instead of Latin.

- Taken together, these developments created an opportune yet perilous environment on the eve of William Tyndale's ministry. The Wycliffe Bible had awakened a hunger for Scripture in the vernacular, even as the Church responded with legal prohibitions and lethal penalties. The invention of the printing press made the mass dissemination of Scripture technologically possible, while the fall of Constantinople and the rise of Renaissance humanism restored access to Greek learning and the original biblical languages. In Northern Europe, this renewal took on a distinctly religious character, calling for reform grounded in Scripture itself. Tyndale would step onto this stage as the first Englishman positioned to unite these forces—vernacular translation, Greek scholarship, and print technology—yet he would do so under the shadow of laws specifically designed to prevent precisely the work he believed God had called him to do.

The Life and Career of Erasmus

- Alister McGrath, author of *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, discusses how the Northern Renaissance took a more religious tone than the Italian Renaissance. McGrath states:

  - "Although there are major variations within northern European humanism, two ideals seem to have achieved widespread acceptance throughout the movement. First, we find the same concern for written and spoken eloquence after the fashion of the classical period, as in the Italian Reformation. Second, we find a religious program directed toward the corporate revival of the Christian church. The Latin slogan *Christianismus renascens,* "Christianity being born again," summarizes the aims of the program . . ." (McGrath, 40).

- Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) is generally regarded as the most important humanist writer of the Renaissance. Consequently, Erasmus had a profound impact upon Christian theology during the first half of the sixteenth century. Although not a Protestant in any sense of the term, Erasmus did much to lay the intellectual foundations of the Reformation (McGrath, 40).

- According to the entry in the *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* edited by Walter E. Elwell on Erasmus:

- ". . . [Erasmus] was educated at Deventer by the Brethren of the Common Life (1475-84), he spent six years as a monk and then attended the College de Montaigu in Paris (1494). In 1499 he visited England, where he met John Colet and Thomas More. This experience influenced him to employ literary talent, intellectual brilliance and clever wit in the service of Christ" (Elwell, 383).

- The following is a summary of the life and career of Erasmus presented in the *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*:
  - From Paris
    - 1500—*Adages,* an annotated collation of classical proverbs, was published.
    - 1503—*Enchiridion,* a handbook of practical theology, as well as editions of Cicero and Jerome and a critical edition of the *Annotation of the New Testament* by Lorenzo Valla went to press.
  - From England
    - 1505—began his translation of the New Testament.
  - Traveled to Italy in 1506 and experienced direct contact with humanist culture.
  - In 1509 Erasmus went back to England where he finished and published *Praise of Folly*.
  - Between 1509 and 1516, when his Greek edition of the New Testament was published, Erasmus traveled all over Europe studying Greek manuscripts. Moreover, it was also during this time period that critical editions of Jerome, Seneca, Plutarch, and Cato were published. Lastly, it was during these years that the *Education of a Christian Prince* was printed (Elwell, 384).

- David Daniell, author of *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence,* reports that in the 1480s Erasmus was a youth in the Dutch monastery of Steyn, one of the most "austere" and "anti-intellectual" monastic orders of the late Middle Ages (Danniel, 113). The early letters of Erasmus reveal that upon leaving the monastery he became acquainted and fell in love with the writings of the Italian Renaissance, especially Lorenzo Valla.
  - "Erasmus's earliest surviving letters, however, written only a few years after his time at Steyn, reveal him as an enthusiastic and slightly intoxicated disciple of Italian humanism. This shift to a mental Italy was not—or not only—a rebellious later-adolescent separation from the monastic life in which he had been brought up. Everything that had been given to him by the *Devotio moderna* [his monastery] he took with him, making it more and more personal through the rest of his life.

    Yet he fell in love with secular Italy and the ancient world. All his realism and growing awareness of the fullness of humanity, all his sense of the possibility of life's experience, grew as he understood that the new Italians were showing him something 'bold and

> disturbing', contrasting with what was 'worn out or dead or medieval religiosity'. The new Italian books offered instead 'a humanity eager for self-expression and full of self-confidence'. In his new Italian citizenship, as it were, the spiritual ideals of the *Devotio moderna* stayed with him, and leavened the whole. From the pairing grew his response to Lorenzo Valla's gift of Bible understanding—nothing less than the sudden rediscovery of the New Testament.
>
> Lorenzo Valla (1407-57), pioneering theoretician of the new Italian humanism, both in its philological base and as *Miles Christianus* ('soldier of Christ'), wrote at Rome towards the end of his life his *Adnotationes in Novum Testamentum*. Erasmus read Valla. At eighteen, he made a summary of Valla's famous *Elegantiae*. . . Early in 1504, Valla was for Erasmus, as for many, simply an exciting model of literary humanism. Later that same year Erasmus, then in Premonstratensian monastery at Louvain, apparently by chance opened the pages of Valla's *Adnotationes*. It is not too fanciful to suggest that the opening of that book on his desk in the Abby of Park in Heverelle on that day, was, to the world of Bible studies, the moment of the break from the medieval to the modern. Erasmus, at once began to set out for himself his life's work, which would be on the Bible" (Daniell, 113-114).

- Prior to reading Valla's *Adnotationes* at Louvain Library late in 1504, Erasmus had discovered Jerome and done a study of Origen's *Hexapla*. Between 1504 and 1509 Erasmus traveled all over Europe including two stays in England where he befriended Thomas More and later in Venice. After causing Valla's *Adnotationes* to be represented in 1505, he published his own new Latin version of the Gospels and Epistles based on a Greek manuscript shown to him at St. Paul's by his friend John Colet. Regarding Valla's *Adnotationes* William W. Combs of Detroit Baptist Seminary writes:
    - "Valla's purpose was to evaluate the Vulgate as a translation of the Greek New Testament, and his work consisted of a compilation of annotations on the Vulgate in light of Greek manuscripts" (Combs, 4).
- Put another way, the humanist Valla was seeking to improve the Vulgate by conforming it more closely with Greek MSS. Taking his cue from Valla, Erasmus sought to do likewise:
    - "Like Valla, Erasmus was convinced that the Vulgate New Testament had many deficiencies that could only be corrected by comparing to the Greek New Testament" (Combs, 5).
- Daniell credits Erasmus with a public renewal in Biblical studies during the first decade of the 16th century. Simply stated, Erasmus desired to "reform the church from within by a renewal of biblical theology based on philological study of the New Testament text, and supported by a knowledge of patristics, itself renewed by the same methods" (Daniell, 114-115).
- In order to accomplish this task Erasmus advanced on four fronts: 1) "establish a sound Greek New Testament text and print it with critical commentary and notes," 2) "edit and print equally sound editions of those Fathers who were great biblical commentators," 3) "proposed further editions and commentaries of the greatest biblical texts", and 4) "expand his Preface to his Greek

New Testament into a treaties of methodology. . . which both summed up and fed back into the other biblical work" (Daniell, 115-116).

- In summation Daniell states:

    - "All this he did. The importance was not simply in the works themselves, though that was very high. It was even more that the greatest and most famous scholar in all Europe, the author of *The Praise of Folly*, *The Enchiridion*, *De copia* and *Adagia* (to whom More's Utopia was dedicated), was, as one might put it, 'doing' the Bible. He was undercutting the texts of the Fathers, including some that, to his dismay, he had discovered to be fakes. Not only was he focusing on biblical theology; he was editing the New Testament in Greek" (Daniell, 116).

- Erasmus was a prolific writer, and each main category of his works reveals something of his personality:

    - "First, he produced many scholarly books including historical material, lexicons, translations, and critical editions of earlier books. His purpose was to combat ignorance. He believed truth was attainable through clarity of expression.

      A second element of his approach is revealed in his satirical works such as *Praise of Folly*. Here Erasmus ridicules humanists and scholars who take themselves too seriously, but he saves his most biting satire for bigoted churchmen, pompous lawyers, warmongering rulers.

      A final category of his work, the more overtly Christian writings, demonstrates that neither scholarship nor humor was to be an end in itself. These elements were pursued to reach the goal of the restoration of primitive Christianity. Erasmus felt called to cleanse and purify the church through the application of humanistic scholarship to Christian tradition" (Elwell, 384).

- According to Alister McGrath, *Handbook of the Christian Soldier* was a landmark in religious publishing.

    - "Although the work was first published in 1503, and then reprinted in 1509, its real impact dates from its third printing in 1515. From that moment onward it became a cult work, apparently going through twenty-three editions in the next six years. Its appeal was to educated lay men and women, whom Erasmus regarded as the most important resource that the church possessed" (McGrath, 47).

- The *Handbook of the Christian Soldier* developed the revolutionary thesis that the church of the day could be reformed by a collective return to the writings of the Fathers and Scripture. The regular reading of Scriptures is put forward as the key to a new lay piety, on the basis of which the church may be renewed and reformed . . . Erasmus does not understand Christianity to be a mere external observance of a moral code. His characteristically humanist emphasis upon inner religion leads him to suggest that reading Scripture transforms its readers, giving them a new motivation to love God and their neighbors (McGrath, 47).

Erasmus and the Greek New Testament

- Bible collector and historian Donald L. Brake notes in *A Visual History of the English Bible* that from the birth of printing in 1450s until years of the 16th century, no Greek New Testament had been printed.

    - "It may seem strange that for more than fifty years after the invention of moveable type, no Greek New Testament had been printed. The absence of the forbidden English Bible is understandable, but there was no printed Greek New Testament either" (Brake, 92).

- One cannot adequately tell the story of the first Greek New Testament without noting the role that the fall of Constantinople played.

    - "Greek learning remained the domain of the Eastern Church until the fall of Constantinople (1453). When the Turks took control of this center of learning, scholars fled to the West and with them came the resurgence of the Greek language.

      Both the emphasis on the interpretation of Scriptures, now available to all, and the rebirth of Greek language studies brought great promise for a resurgence of a reformed Christianity. The recipients of the new academic climate were the pre-reformed and able humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam and a Roman Catholic priest and scholar, Ximenes of Alcala, Spain" (Brake, 92-93).

- E.H. Broadbent, author of *The Pilgrim Church,* highlights that the single biggest outcome of the Renaissance's (humanist) interest in classical literature was the restoration and publication of the text of the Greek New Testament (Broadbent, 134).

- The first printed Greek New Testament was published by Erasmus in 1516. Bible historians such as David Daniell and Donald L. Brake note that while Erasmus was first to publish with his Greek New Testament, he might not have been the first to produce such an edition. Regarding the matter, Brake states the following:

    - "Cardinal Ximenes edited the first printed Greek New Testament in his massive six-volume multilingual bible in 1514. His carefully edited Greek New Testament was not published until 1520. It could have been the standard for years to come except for the work of Johann Froben, an enterprising publisher who wanted to be the first to publish a New Testament in Greek.

      A modern business person will not be surprised that an entrepreneur would emerge to fill the economic gap. Johann Froben, seeing an opportunity, employed Desiderius Erasmus to edit a Greek New Testament after receiving word or rumor of Ximenes's project. In 1515, Erasmus began searching for manuscripts of sufficient quality to be typeset. Since the project required the utmost haste, Erasmus did not take the time to find a complete manuscript of the Greek New Testament. After all, these manuscripts were hand copied centuries before and were quite rare even in the sixteenth century. With approximately five manuscripts in hand, he began the task of editing. When parts of the text were

indecipherable, Erasmus used the Latin text and translated it back into Greek. Oddly, several of his renderings do not appear in any known Greek manuscripts, and they are still used in some modern translations.

Although Erasmus's text appeared to be inferior in quality to the one produced by Ximenes, it gained early dominance because it was published in 1516, four years before Ximenes's *Complutensian* (1520)" (Brake, 93).

- Regarding Cardinal Ximenes' *Polyglot*, Dr. William W. Combs adds:
    - "The *Complutensian Polyglot* was actually a complete Bible in six volumes. The OT had the Hebrew, Latin Vulgate, and Greek Septuagint texts in parallel columns, and in the NT, the Latin Vulgate, and Greek in parallel columns. Only 600 copies of the Complutensian Polyglot were ever printed. Because of its expense, its influence was limited in comparison to the more popular editions of Erasmus" (Combs, 7).

- Historical evidence has caused some to believe that when Erasmus came to Basel in 1514 it was not with the intention of publishing the Greek New Testament but rather to print his life's work to date, i.e., a copy of the Latin Vulgate accompanied by his *Annotations*. In addition, Combs reports that Erasmus may have not originally planned on using Froben to print his volume, favoring a printer named Aldus instead. But alas, Aldus died in February 1515 thereby forcing Erasmus to find a different printer. It is at this point that many scholars believe that Froben heard of Cardinal Ximenes's project and persuaded Erasmus against his original plans to include the Greek New Testament in his work (Combs, 8).

- Dr. Combs states the following regarding the inaugural edition of the *Novum Instrumentum* by Erasmus in 1516.
    - ". . . Erasmus' Greek NT of 1516 was the first one to be published. It was, as has been noted, a Latin-Greek edition, which he called *Novum Instrumentum*. Years later, in 1527, Erasmus explained that he "chose the word *Instrumentum* in the title because it conveyed better than *Testamentum* the idea of a decision put down in writing: *Testamentum* could also mean an agreement without a written record." More than one thousand pages of *Novum Instrumentum* contain three parts: the Greek text, Erasmus' Latin translation [not the Vulgate], and his *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*. The latter. . . were his explanatory remarks. Erasmus felt they were essential in order to explain and defend his Latin translation according to its Greek base. The Greek and Latin texts are set out in parallel columns with *Annotationes* following on separate pages. To forestall criticism Erasmus prefaced the text of the NT with a number of apologetic writings. These included a letter addressed to the reader, a dedication to Pope Leo X, an appeal to study Scripture (*Paraclesis*), a program of theological studies (*Methodus*), and a defense of his work (*Apologia*)" (Combs, 9).

- Many scholars have questioned whether Erasmus' main purpose behind the *Novum Instrumentum* was to produce the first Greek New Testament.

- "Erasmus and his contemporaries regarded the *Novum Instrumentum* and its later editions in the first place as the presentation of the NT in a new Latin form, and not as an edition of the Greek text." The primary purpose of Erasmus was to publish his annotations along with his Latin translation. The Greek text was only there for the purpose of confirming the Latin translation. This is easily demonstrated" (Combs, 9-10).

- In order to prove this assertion, Combs goes on to state the following:

  - "First, the title under which Erasmus published his work includes these words, *Novum Instrumentum . . . recognitum et emendatum*, which means "The New Testament. . . revised and improved." These words must refer to the Erasmus' Latin translation, not to the Greek text, since there was not at that time a printed edition of the Greek NT in circulation that could be "revised and improved." They mean: here you have a NT, obviously in the language in which it was current, Latin, but in an improved and revised form, i.e., no longer the generally current Vulgate version. The title offers no evidence at all that *Novum Instrumentum* contains an edition of the Greek text.

    Second, in his dedication to Pope Leo X, Erasmus says:

    > I perceived that the teaching which is our salvation was to be had in a much purer and more lively form if sought at the fountain-head and drawn from the actual sources than from pools and runnels. As so I have revised the whole New Testament (as they call it) against the standard of the Greek original. . . I have added annotations of my own, in order in the first place to show the reader what changes I have made, and why; second, to disentangle and explain anything that may be complicated, ambiguous, or obscure.

    In Erasmus' own words, then, what he offers is his new translation based on the Greek. In addition, he has included his explanatory remarks (*Annotationes*), which were to justify the new translation's deviations from the Vulgate. In all of this, Erasmus gives not a hint that he is also offering an edition of the Greek text.

    Third, numerous statements in the Apologia clearly demonstrate that what Erasmus was defending was not the Greek text, but his new Latin translation. At one point he says the "Greek text has been 'added' so that the reader can convince himself that the Latin translation does not contain any rash innovations, but is solidly based." This is not to say that the Greek text was not important, but clearly it was subordinate to the Latin translation. Erasmus was concerned about the Greek text only to the extent that it proved his Latin translation was not plucked out of thin air. That he was not primarily interested in the Greek text is clear from the fact that he never brought out a separate edition of just the Greek text, in spite of the fact he was encouraged to do so" (Combs, 10-11).

- While I do not agree with Combs' conclusion regarding preservation and the Biblical text, his comments regarding the primary motives of Erasmus in publishing *Novum Instrumentum* appear to be consistent with the historical facts. Erasmus' main goal was not to produce the first Greek New Testament as much as it was to textually justify his new Latin translation. Furthermore,

viewing Erasmus' work in this fashion places him in complete agreement with his idol and fellow humanist Valla.

Conclusion

- Will Durant, in his landmark series the Story of Civilization, states the following regarding the publication of the Greek New Testament.
    - "These two works marked the application of humanistic learning to the early literature of Christianity, and the beginning of Biblical criticism which in the nineteenth century restored the Bible to human authorship and fallibility" (Durant, 283).
- "Reuchlin and Erasmus gave the Bible to the learned; Luther gave it to the people" (Miller, 501).
    - Erasmus performed the necessary groundwork of compiling the correct Greek text. This is the foundation for Tyndale's English Bible, Luther's German Bible, etc., which made the word of God available in the vernacular tongues.
    - Since God's word does not return unto him void but accomplishes that which he pleases (Isaiah 55:11), the translation of the word of God into the vernacular tongues was the most enduring and impactful consequence of the Reformation.

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Lesson 2

The Life and Times of William Tyndale (1494-1524)

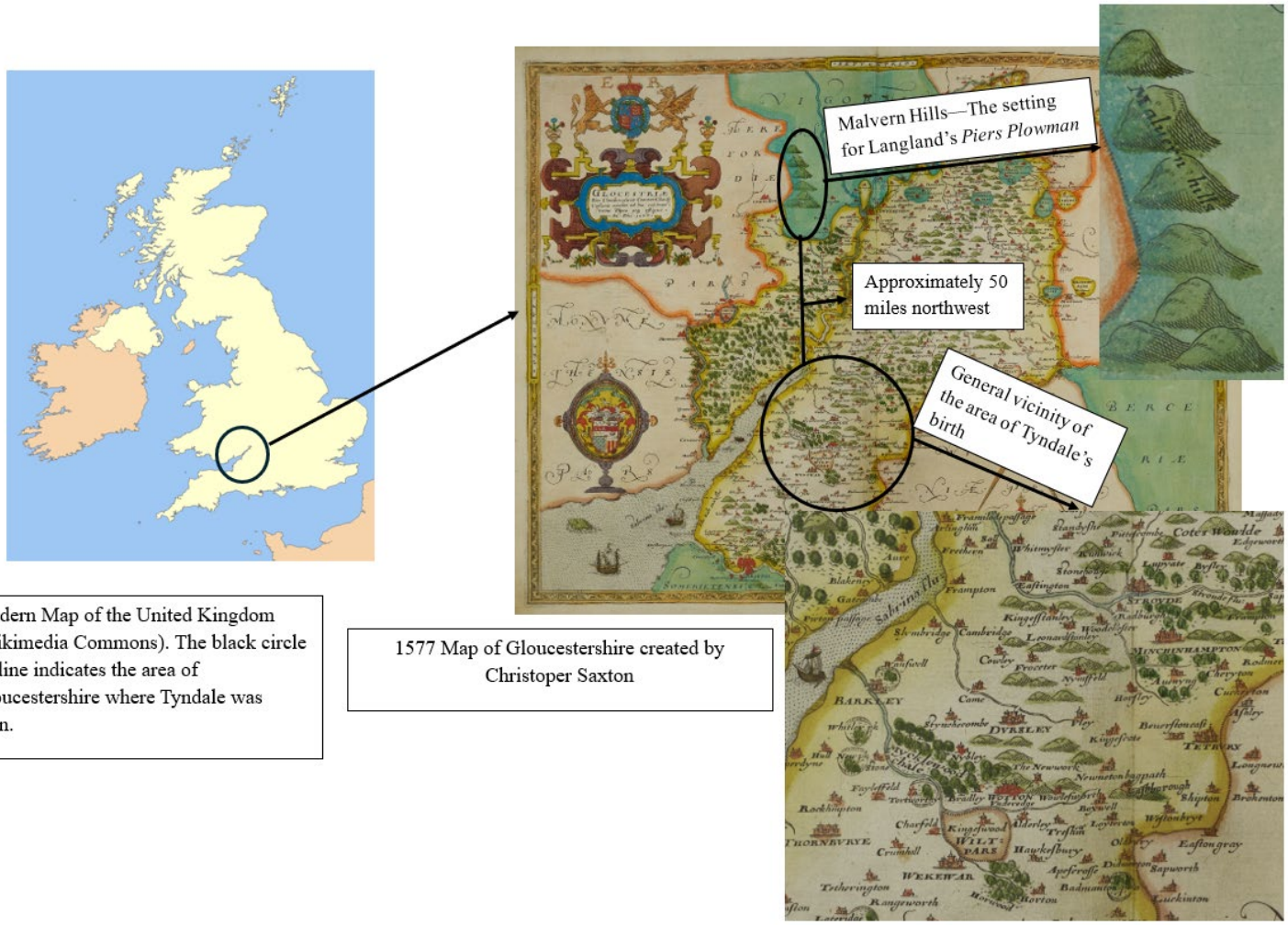
Prepared & Taught by Alex Bojko

Introduction

- In this lesson, I will outline the following regarding the life and times of William Tyndale:
    - Tyndale's exposure to Lollardy in Gloucestershire and the influence it had on him as a translator.
    - Tyndale's self-education and formal Oxford education.
    - Tyndale's time at the Walsh household and his failed meeting with Cuthbert Tunstall.
- This lesson will also provide important foundational material for my Sunday morning lesson on the theological beliefs of William Tyndale.

William Langland's *Piers Plowman* and Lollard Influence

- In his historical survey of the English language titled *The Adventure of English: The Biography of A Language*, Melvyn Bragg provides the following description of William Langland and his famous poem *Piers Plowman*:
    - "William Langland was a Lollard and his religious poem, *Piers Plowman*, was published in 1390. It was the most popular poem of its day, and it shows how deeply Wycliffe's ideas had bitten in. Langland wrote in the West Midlands dialect and while Chaucer's base was London and the cognoscenti, *Piers Plowman* gathered in the provincial and the strongly religious-minded rural population with whose often desperate plight he sympathized wholly" (Bragg, 85).
- When comparing the acknowledged birthplace of William Tyndale with the setting of *Piers Plowman*, one finds that there is a shared geographic connection. Consider the following annotated map:



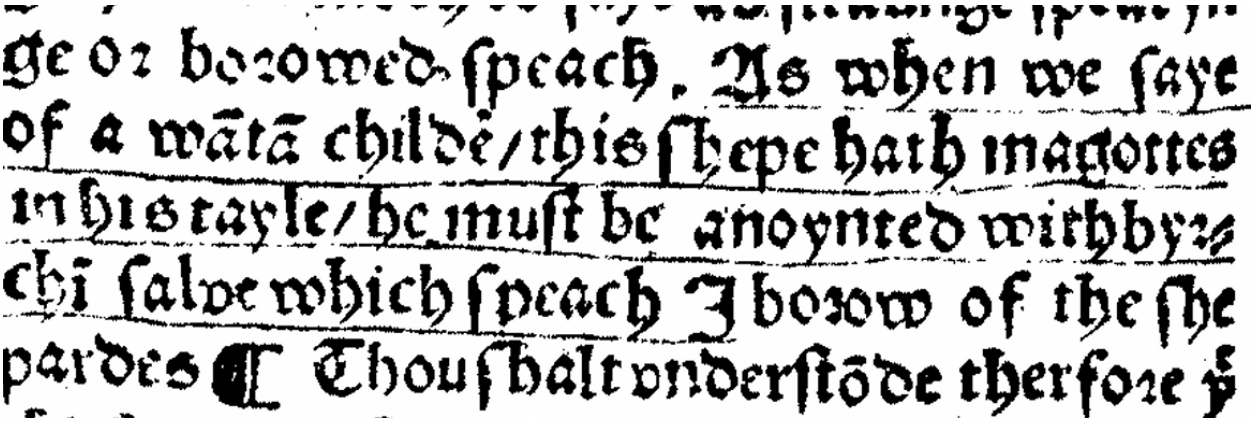
Modern Map of the United Kingdom (Wikimedia Commons). The black circle outline indicates the area of Gloucestershire where Tyndale was born.

1577 Map of Gloucestershire created by Christoper Saxton

- Tyndale scholar David Daniell also mentions this geographical connection in discussing the early life of William Tyndale. He writes in *William Tyndale: A Biography*:
    - "The great interlacing allegorical poem by William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, mostly written at the time of Wyclif, between 1360 and 1390, and like him critical of much in the practice of the Church, is set in the Vale of Berkeley and also a little further north in the Malvern Hills" (Daniell, 15-16).
- Nine years later in *The Bible English*, Daniell makes more connections between Langland and Tyndale:

- “What were Tyndale’s models? [for his translation style] West Country speech may be one: Tyndale was a Gloucestershire man. William Langland’s *Piers Plowman* was written in the 1380s just a few miles north of the Tyndale’s home in Gloucestershire, still by the River Severn. Though England’s first printer of note, Caxton, printed edition after edition of Chaucer for his courtly readership, no one printed Langland, in his country speech, until Robert Crowley, a man of some importance as printer and writer, produced an edition in 1550” (Daniell, 257).

- Tyndale was born in Gloucestershire in 1494. There is testimony from William Tyndale’s writings that indicates he was born in Gloucestershire. Through reading Tyndale’s writings, one finds that he frequently used metaphors and similes. The metaphors and similes frequently represent aspects of everyday life. Thus, one can learn from Tyndale about his life simply from the figures of speech he uses in his writings. In *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, Tyndale provides an example of an allegory that connects with his early life while he is discussing the differences between various modes of interpretation of the Scriptures:


ge or borowed ſpeach. As when we ſaye
of a wātā childe/this ſhepe hath magottes
in his tayle/he muſt be anoynted with byr
chi ſalve which ſpeach I borow of the ſhe
pardes ¶ Thou ſhalt vnderſtōde therfore

Transcription: “As when we say of a wanton child, ‘This sheep hath magots in his tail, he must be anointed with birchen salve;’ which speech I borrow of the shepherds.”

- The historical record indicates that Tyndale was present in roughly four to five locations in his early life before leaving for Germany: Gloucestershire, Oxford, Cambridge (no hard evidence), Gloucestershire (again), and London. Out of these five places, the only one where Tyndale would have the background knowledge to make the statement he did was when he was in Gloucestershire, which was known for its wool and cloth industry.

- David Daniell provides the following comments on the wool and cloth industry in Gloucestershire in *William Tyndale: A Biography*:

- "From Gloucestershire several generations of English merchants had been travelling to the Low Countries and France and further afield, as far as Italy and Spain; their foreign counterparts had from long before taken to coming to Gloucestershire to buy the strong, white wool of the Cotswold sheep, in fleeces as well in the best of the spring and autumn clips, for themselves. The trade was refined when it was recognized that, instead of raw wool, woolen cloth would be more profitable still" (Daniell, 14).

- Though semi-allegorical, Langland's *Piers Plowman* provides an important window into the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church in rural England and sets the stage for the greater English reformation to come under Tyndale. Consider the following excerpts from the preface of *Piers Plowman* compared with statements Tyndale makes in his 1528 work *The Obedience of a Christian Man* and his 1531 Prologue to Jonah (a screenshot of a handwritten manuscript copy of *Piers Plowman* is provided, followed by a modern English transcription. Bolding and [#] indicate similarities between the passages):

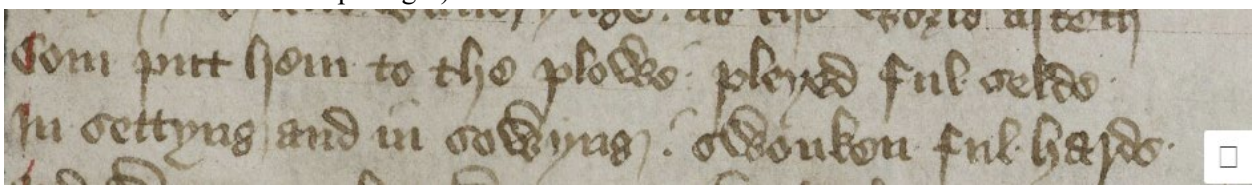


Image 9

Piers Plowman (ca. 1390)	*The Obedience of A Christian Man* (1528)
"Some put them to the plow **pleyed full selde [1]** [no time for pleasure] In settying [planting] and in sowying [sowing] swonken [toiling] full hard"	"They [Rome] will say haply, the scripture requireth a pure mind and a quiet mind: and therefore the lay-man, **because he is altogether cumbered with worldly business [1]**, cannot understand them. If that be the cause, then it is a plain case that our prelates understand not the scriptures themselves: for no lay-man is so tangled with worldly business as they are. The great things of the world are ministered by them; neither do the lay-people any great thing, but at their assignment" (Tyndale, 1:146).

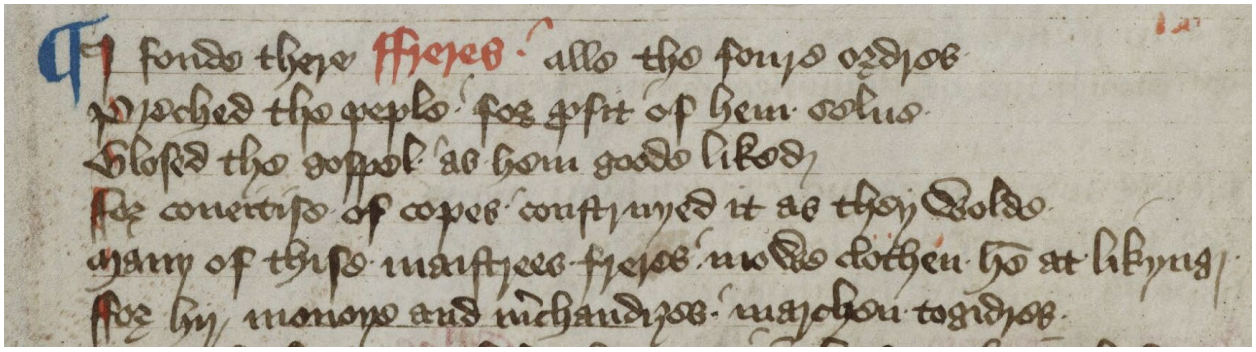
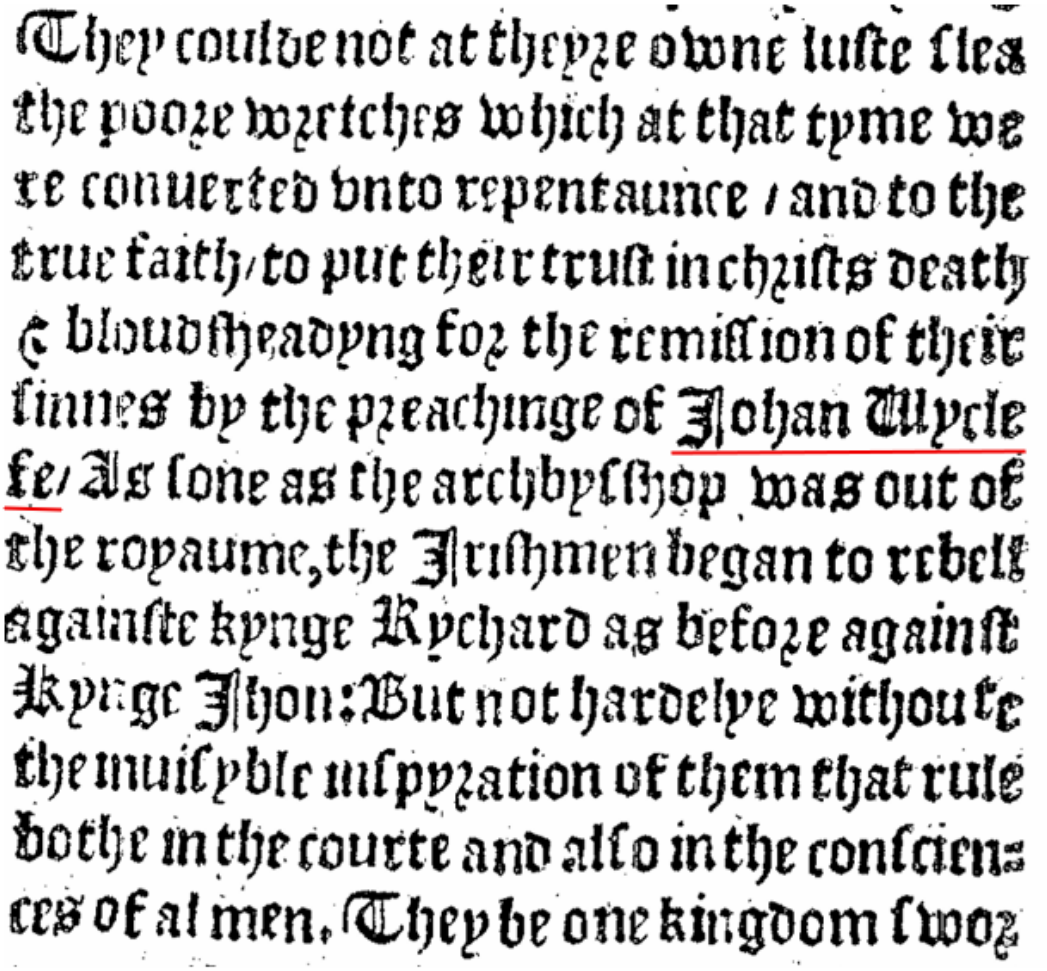


Image 10

Piers Plowman (ca. 1390)	Prologue to Jonah (1531)
"I found there the fryers [friers] all the four orders Preached to the people for profite of themselves **Glosed [comment on, interpret, explain, paraphrase] the gospel as them good liked [1]** **For covetous of copes [ecclesiastical outer garment], construed it as they would [2]** **Many of these master friers might clothen them at liking, for her money and her merchandise marchen together" [3]**	"And **when they come to the gospel [1]**, there they mingle their leaven, and say, God now receiveth us no more to mercy, but of mercy receiveth us to penance, that is to wete, **holy deeds that make them fat bellies and us their captives [2]**, both in soul and body. And yet they feign their idol the pope so merciful, **that if thou make a little money glister in his Balam's eyes, there is neither penance nor purgatory nor any fasting at all but to fly to heaven as swift as a thought and at the twinkling of an eye [3]**." (Daniell, *Tyndale's Old Testament*, 629).

- When comparing the preface of *Piers Plowman* with Tyndale's *The Obedience of A Christian Man* and prologue to Jonah, it is clear that there are distinct parallels.

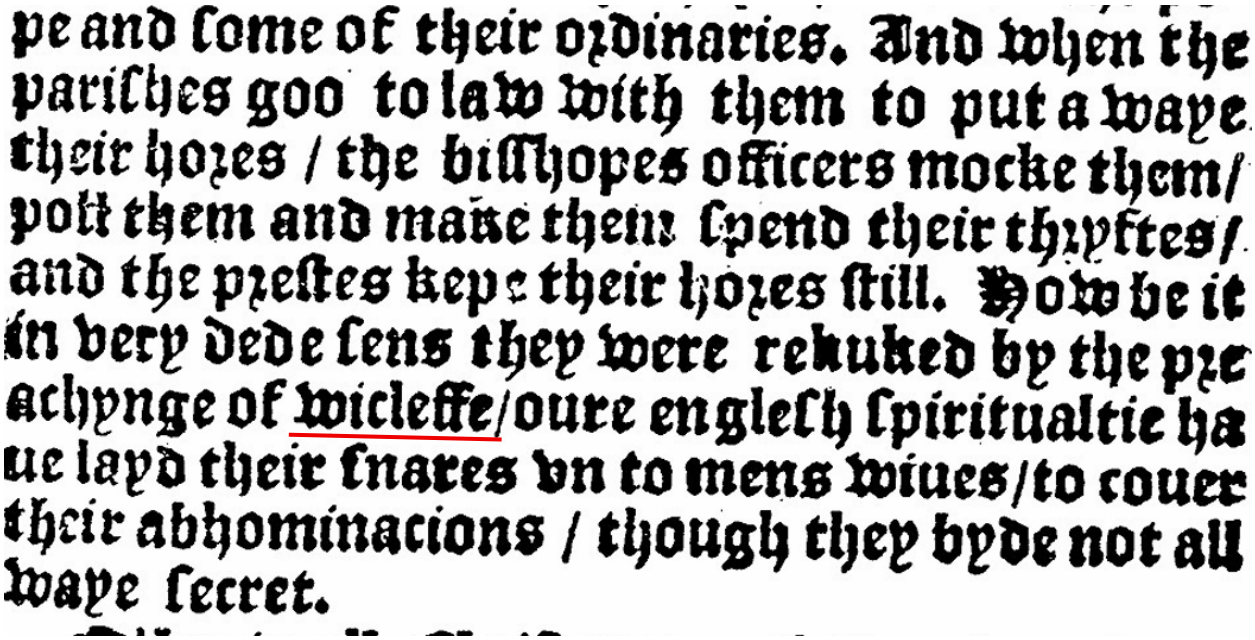
- It is also worth noting that Tyndale directly mentions the Lollard John Wycliffe four times in his writings and quotes Sir Thomas More's two mentions of Wycliffe from More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1529) in *An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* (1531):



They coulde not at theyze owne luſte ſlea
the pooze wzetches which at that tyme we
re conuerted vnto repentaunce / and to the
true faith / to put their truſt in chziſts death
& bloudſheadyng foz the remiſſion of their
ſinnes by the pzeachinge of Johan Wycle
fe / As ſone as the archbyſhop was out of
the zopaume, the Iriſhmen began to rebell
againſte kynge Rychard as befoze againſt
kynge Ihon: But not hardelye withoute
the muiſyble inſpyzation of them that rule
bothe in the courte and alſo in the conſcien-
ces of al men. They be one kingdom ſwoz

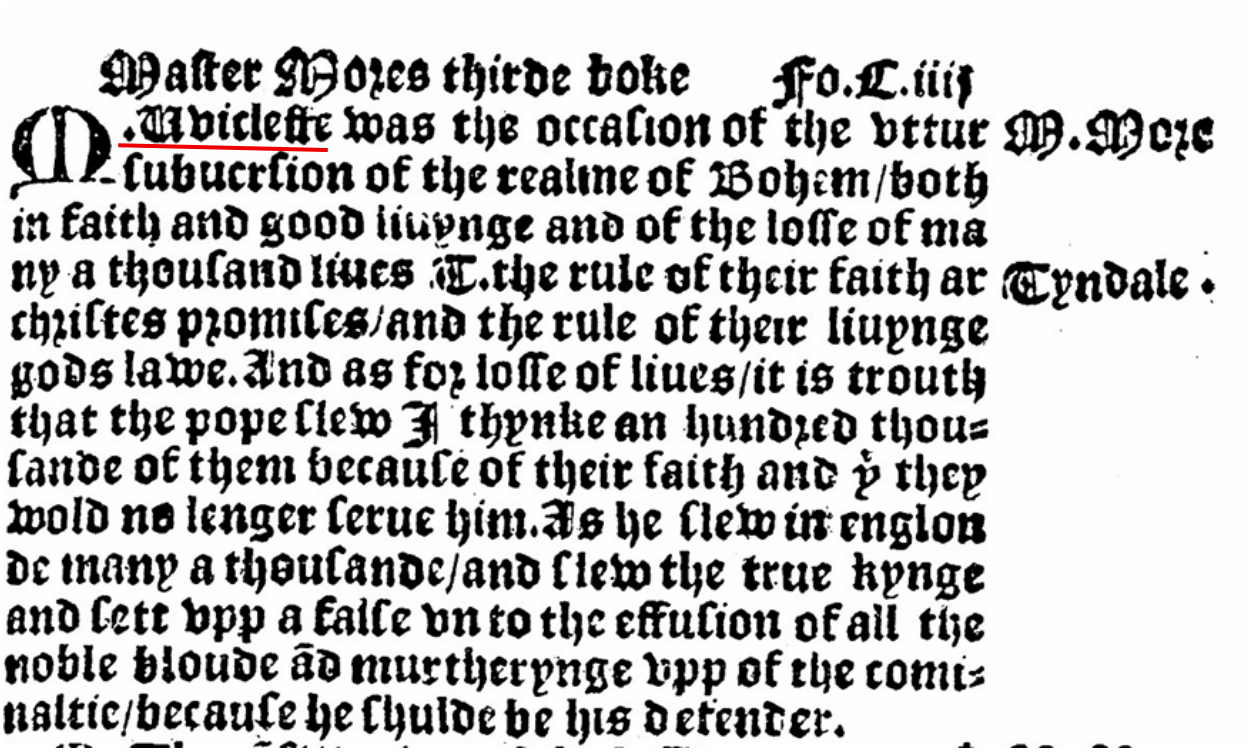
Practice of Prelates, 1530

Transcription: “They could not at their own lust slay the poor wretches which at that time were converted unto repentance and to the truth faith, to put their trust in Christ’s death and blood-shedding for the remission of their sins, by the preaching of John Wicliffie. As soon as the archbishop was out of the realm, the Irishmen began to rebel against king Richard, as before against king John; but not, hardly, without the invisible inspiration of them that rule both in the court and also in the consciences of all men.”


pe and ſome of their ordinaries. And when the
pariſhes goo to law with them to put a waye
their hores / the biſſhopes officers mocke them/
poll them and make them ſpend their thryftes/
and the prieſtes kepe their hores ſtill. Howbe it
in very dede ſens they were rebuked by the pre
achynge of wicleffe/oure engleſh ſpiritualtie ha
ue layd their ſnares vn to mens wiues/to couer
their abhominacions / though they byde not all
waye ſecret.

An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, 1531

Transcription: "And when the parishens go to law with them, to put away their whores, the bishop's officers mock them, poll them, and make them spend their thrifts, and the priests keep their whores still. Howbeit, in very deed, since they were rebuked by the preaching of Wicliffie, our English spirituality have laid their snares unto men's wives, to cover their abominations, though they bide not alway secret."



Maſter Moꝛes thirde boke Fo.C.iiij

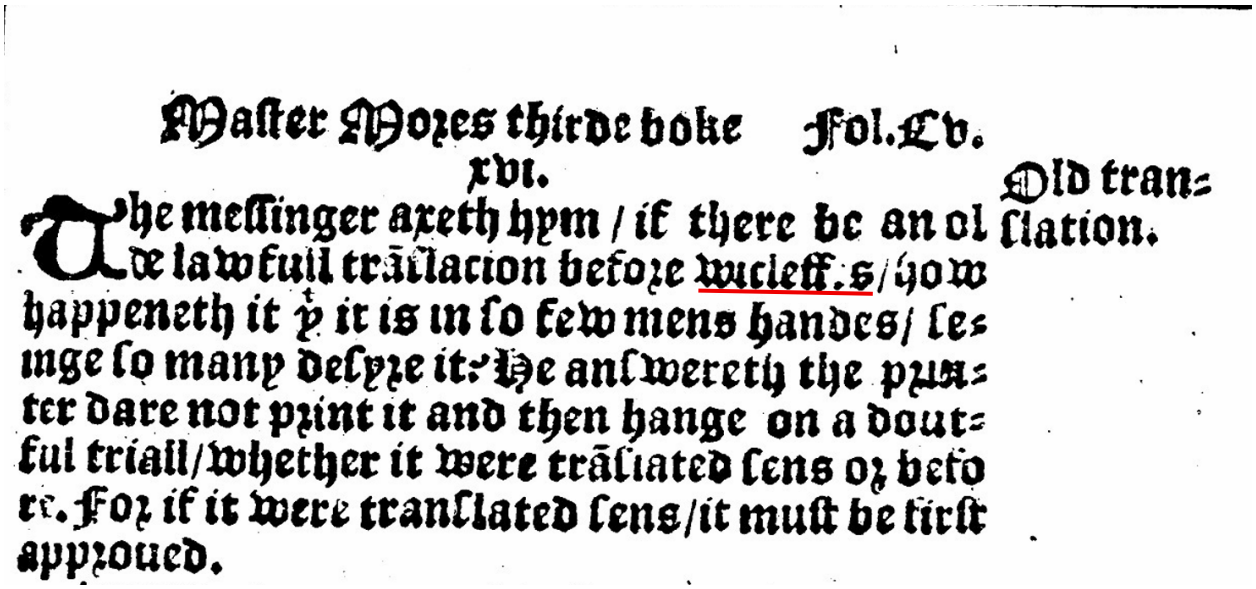
M. Wicleffe was the occaſion of the vttur M. Moꝛe
ſubuerſion of the realme of Boheme/both
in faith and good liuynge and of the loſſe of ma
ny a thouſand liues T. the rule of their faith ar Tyndale.
chriſtes pꝛomiſes/and the rule of their liuynge
gods lawe. And as foꝛ loſſe of liues/it is trouth
that the pope ſlew I thynke an hundꝛed thou=
ſande of them becauſe of their faith and ꝑ they
wold no lenger ſerue him. As he ſlew in englon
de many a thouſande/and ſlew the true kynge
and ſett vpp a falſe vn to the effuſion of all the
noble bloude ād murtherynge vpp of the comi=
naltie/becauſe he ſhulde be his defender.

An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, 1531

Transcription:

More "(M.) Wicliffe was the occasion of the utter subversion of the realm of Boheme, both in faith and good living, and of the loss of many a thousand lives."

Tyndale (T.) "The rule of their faith are Christ's promises, and the rule of their living God's law. And as for loss of lives, it is truth that the pope slew, I think, an hundred thousand of them, because of their faith, and that they would no longer serve him: as he slew in England many a thousand, and slew the true king and set up a false, unto the effusion of all the noble blood and murdering up of the commonalty, because he should be his defender."



Master Moyes thirde boke Fol.Cv.

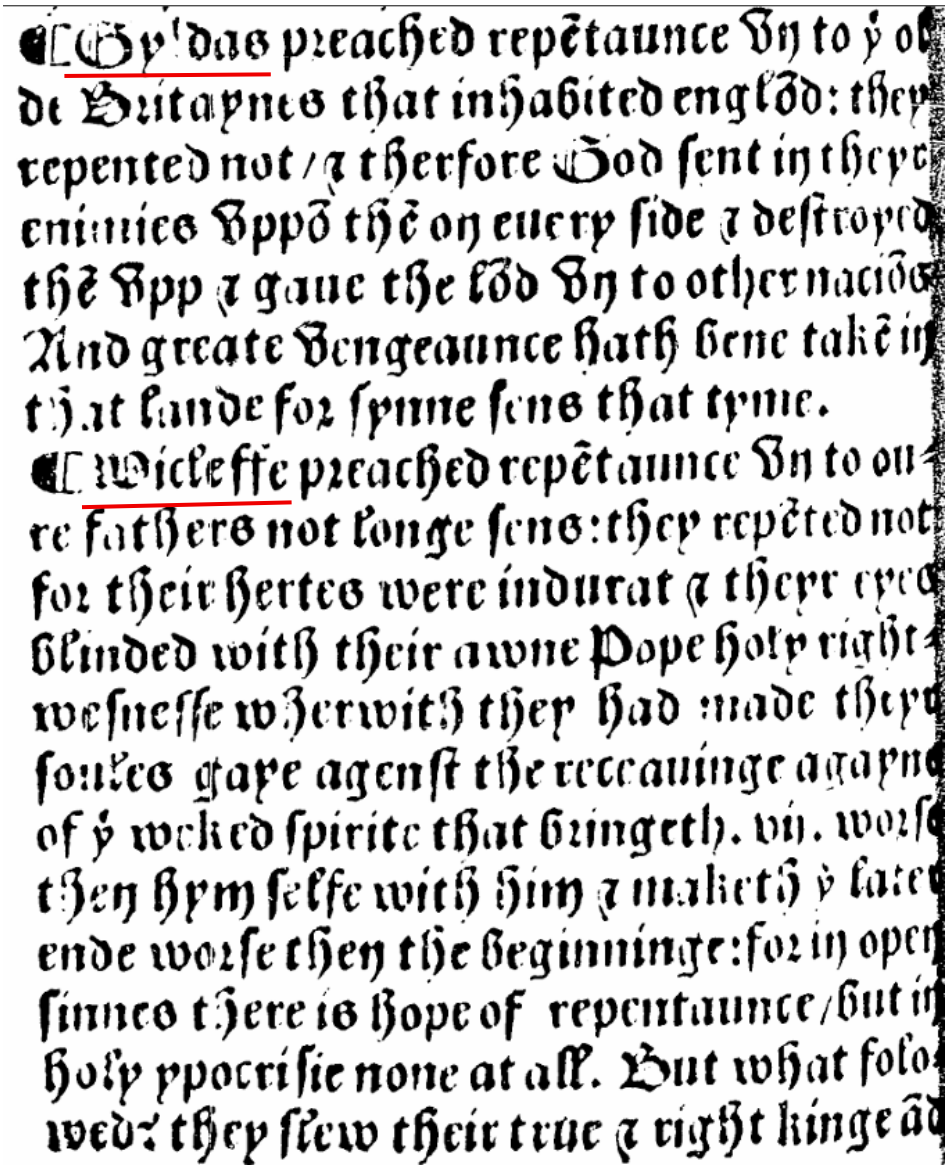
xvi.

Old translation.

The messinger axeth hym / if there be an olde lawfull trãslacion before wicleff.s / how happeneth it ẏ it is in so few mens handes / seinge so many desyre it? He answereth the printer dare not print it and then hange on a doutful triall / whether it were trãslated sens or before. For if it were translated sens / it must be first approued.

An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, 1531

Transcription: "The messenger [a character in More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* who converses with More] asketh him [More], 'If there be an old lawful translation before Wicliffe's, how happeneth it that it is in so few men's hands, seeing so many desire it?' He [More] answereth, 'The printer dare not print it, and then hang on a doubtful trial, whether it were translated since or before; for if it were translated since, it must be first approved."

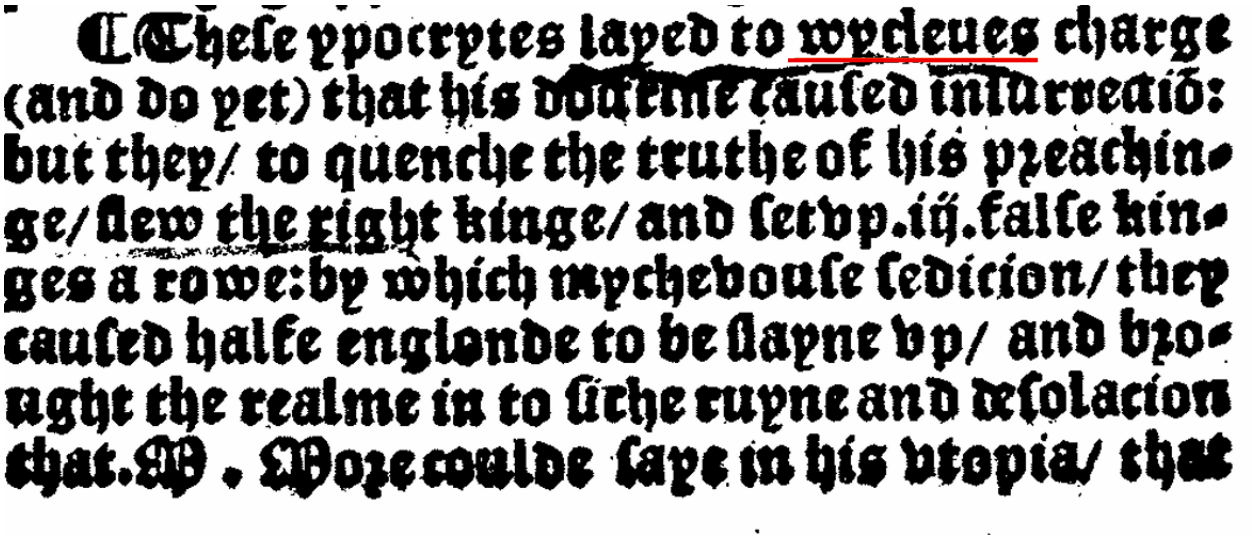

¶ Gyldas preached repẽtaunce vn to ỹ old
de Britaynes that inhabited englõd: they
repented not / & therfore God sent in theyr
enimies vppõ thẽ on euery side & destroyed
thẽ vpp & gaue the lõd vn to other nacions
And greate vengeaunce hath bene takẽ in
that lande for synne sens that tyme.
¶ Wicleffe preached repẽtaunce vn to our
re fathers not longe sens: they repẽted not
for their hertes were indurat & theyr eyes
blinded with their awne Pope holy right
wesnesse wherwith they had made theyr
soules gaye agenst the receauinge agayne
of ỹ wicked spirite that bringeth. vij. worse
then hym selfe with him & maketh ỹ laste
ende worse then the beginninge: for in open
sinnes there is hope of repentaunce / but in
holy ypocrisie none at all. But what folo
wed: they shew their true & right kinge ād

Prologue to Jonah, 1531.

Transcription: “Gildas preached repentance unto the old Britains that inhabited England: they repented not, and therefore God sent in their enemies upon them on every side and destroyed them up and gave the land unto other nations. And great vengeance hath been taken in that land for sin since that time.”

“Wicliffe preached repentance unto our fathers not long since: they repented not for their hearts were indurate and their eyes blinded with their own pope holy righteousness wherewith they had made their souls gay against the receiving again of the wicked spirit that bringeth seven worse than himself

with him, and maketh the latter end worse than the beginning: for in open sins there is hope of repentance, but in holy hypocrisy none at all."


¶ These ypocrytes layed to wycleues charge (and do yet) that his doctrine caused insurrectiō: but they/ to quenche the truthe of his preachinge/ slew the right kinge/ and set vp .iij. false kinges a rowe: by which mychevouse sedicion/ they caused halfe englonde to be slayne vp/ and brought the realme in to suche ruyne and desolacion that. ¶ . Moze coulde saye in his vtopia/ that

An Exposition Upon the First Epistle of John, 1531

Transcription: "These hypocrites laid to Wicliffe's charge (and do yet) that his doctrine caused insurrection. But they, to quench the truth of his preaching, slew the right king, and set up three false kings a row: by which mischievous sedition they caused half England to be slain up, and brought the realm into such ruin and desolation . . ."

- The six mentions of Wycliffe by Tyndale indicate Tyndale's knowledge of Wycliffe both in regards to his theological beliefs and even his Bible translation of the 1380s. The mention of Gildas in the 1531 prologue to Jonah is also significant. Gildas was a British monk of the fifth and sixth century whose work *De excidio Britanniae* portrays him as "Old Testament prophet, warning the Britons of their sinful behavior and God's response to it. His history of Britain served to show the hand of God at work, and to warn the Britons of the consequences of their behavior" (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. "Gildas").

Tyndale's Knowledge of the Wycliffe Bible and editing of Lollard Tracts

- In his various writings, Tyndale free-quotes verses from the Old Testament that he does not provide in a full translation elsewhere. Studying these quotations can provide us with possible insight into the influences that played a role in Tyndale's translation. Furthermore, some of these quotations tell us that Tyndale in his younger years either heard a Wycliffe Bible preached or read

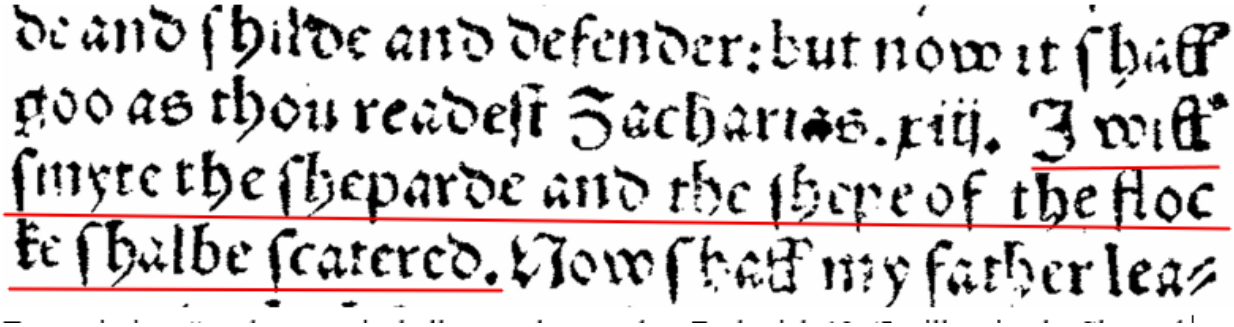
fragments of a Wycliffe Bible both of which contributed to his Scriptural understanding that would prove useful later.

- Tyndale's knowledge of the Wycliffe Bible is significant because the word of God is a book whose truths are meant to be preached and proclaimed publicly, even in the midst of opposition. Nehemiah 8:1-8 describes Ezra and others reading the book of the law of Moses before the congregation, giving the sense, causing the people to understand the reading. Nehemiah 13:1-3 shows the effect of proper preaching of the word of God, which is separation from error and understanding of the truth (2 Tim. 3:16-17). Paul boldly proclaimed to the superstitious Athenians at Mars' Hill the God that made the world and all things therein. There was certainly scoffing and rejection; however, there were some that believed (Acts 17:22-34). In his ministry, Paul held nothing back and sought to please God, not man (Acts 20:20; Gal. 1:10). Paul tells Timothy to preach the word and be instant in season and out of season (2 Tim. 4:2).

- When members of the body of Christ, who are committed with the task of preaching the gospel (2 Cor. 5:17-21), preach the gospel of the grace of God properly to lost people, it gives lost people the opportunity to hear the gospel, believe it, and trust it (Eph. 1:12-13). The word of God works effectually in them that believe (1 Thess. 2:13). The word of God must be preached and proclaimed and that is what Wycliffe and the Lollards did throughout the rural counties of England. Their work influenced people, including Tyndale. It is quite possible that through hearing a Wycliffe Bible preached, Tyndale heard the gospel, got saved, and as such the spirit of God was in Tyndale. One cannot separate the spirit of God from the word of God (Dt. 8:3; Mt. 22:29-32; Jn. 6:63; 1 Cor. 2:9-16; 2 Pt. 1:21). Thus, Tyndale got saved at a young age and over time grew into maturity when it came to the Scriptures.

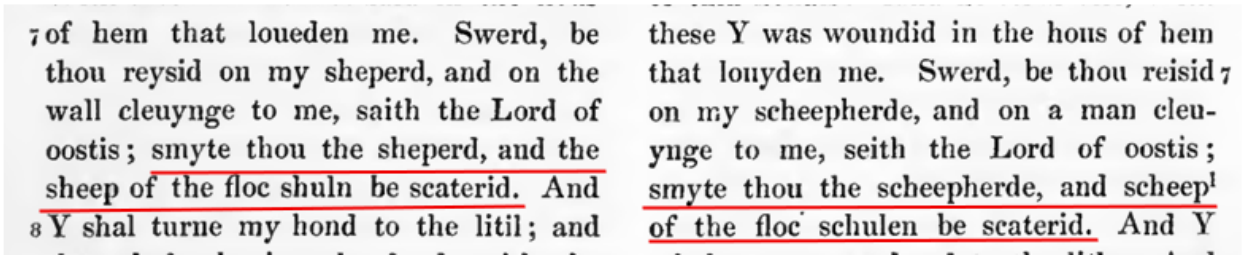
- Tyndale's exposure to the Wycliffe Bible is also supported by manuscript evidence. Mary Dove in *The First English Bible: The Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions* mentions that there are 250 surviving Wycliffe Bible manuscripts. 20 of the 250 manuscripts are complete Bibles. Dove argues that given the large size of the complete Wycliffe Bibles she has studied, and the inclusion of lectionaries in some of them, Wycliffe Bibles were read aloud in public settings and studied privately (Dove, 17, 64-67).

- Consider Zechariah 13:7 quoted in *The Obedience of A Christian Man* compared with a Wycliffe Bible and other English Bibles of the Reformation-era:


de and ſhilde and defender: but now it ſhall
goo as thou readeſt Zacharias. xiij. I will
ſmyte the ſheparde and the ſhepe of the floc
ke ſhalbe ſcatered. Now ſhall my father lea-

Transcription: ". . . but now it shall go as thou readest Zachariah 13. 'I will smite the Shepard and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered.'"

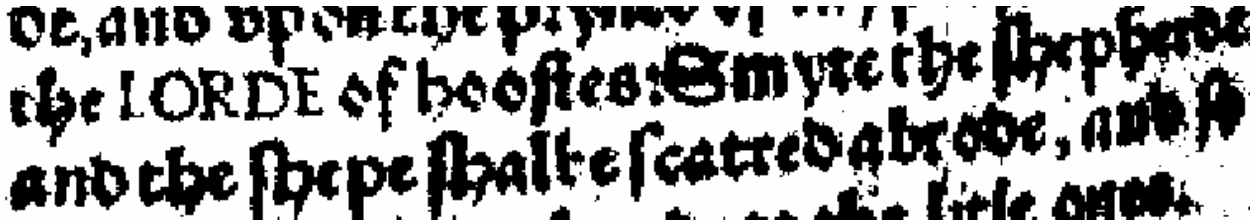
- The red underlined portion is the latter half of Zechariah 13:7. It is interesting to note that the red underlined portion is identical to Zechariah 13:7 in the early and late versions of a Wycliffe Bible.


7 of hem that loueden me. Swerd, be
thou reysid on my sheperd, and on the
wall cleuynge to me, saith the Lord of
oostis; smyte thou the sheperd, and the
sheep of the floc shuln be scaterid. And
8 Y shal turne my hond to the litil; and

these Y was woundid in the hous of hem
that louyden me. Swerd, be thou reisid 7
on my scheepherde, and on a man cleu-
ynge to me, seith the Lord of oostis;
smyte thou the scheepherde, and scheep[1]
of the floc schulen be scaterid. And Y

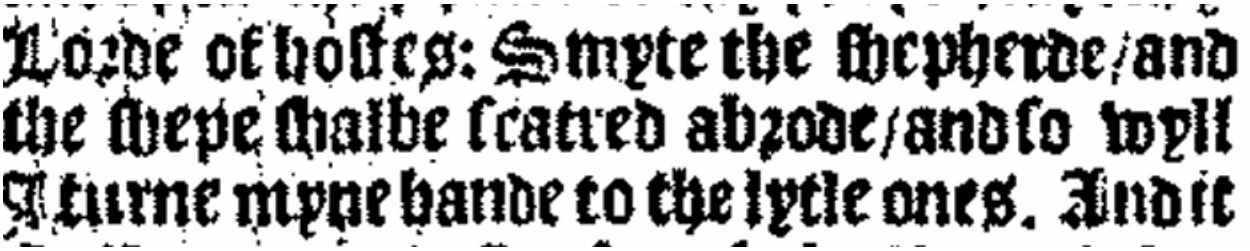
Early Version (left) and Late Version (right) of the Wycliffe Bible in Zechariah 13:7 (Forshall and Madden, 763)

- No other Bible of the English Reformation reads the same way in Zechariah 13:7. The fact that they do not read the same is significant as it shows that Tyndale is unique in hearkening back to Wycliffe in his free-quoting of Scripture which shows the influences of Lollardy in his younger years.



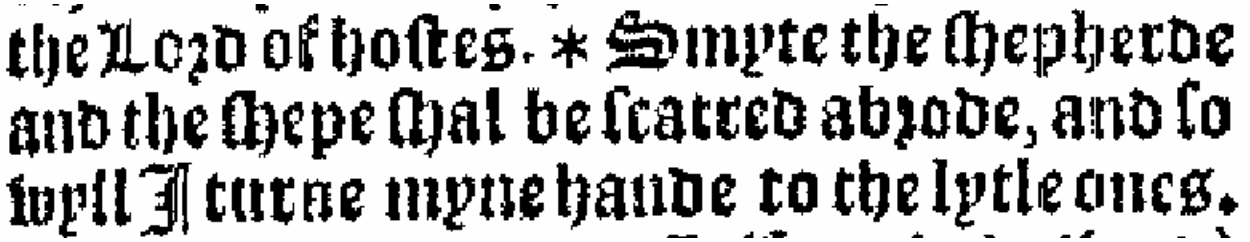
1535 Coverdale Bible BL (H18)

"Smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered abroad"



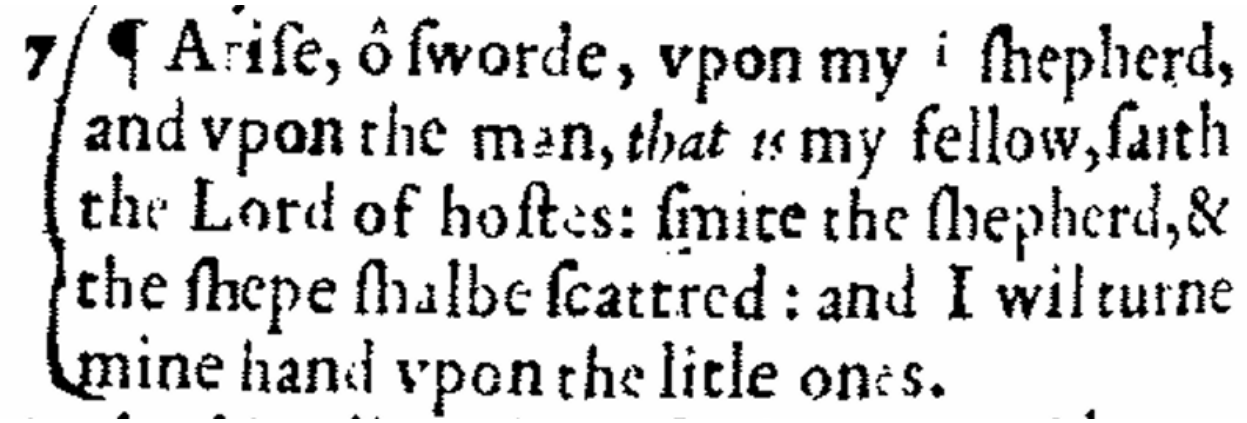
1537 Matthew's Bible Folio BL (H34)

"Smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered abroad"



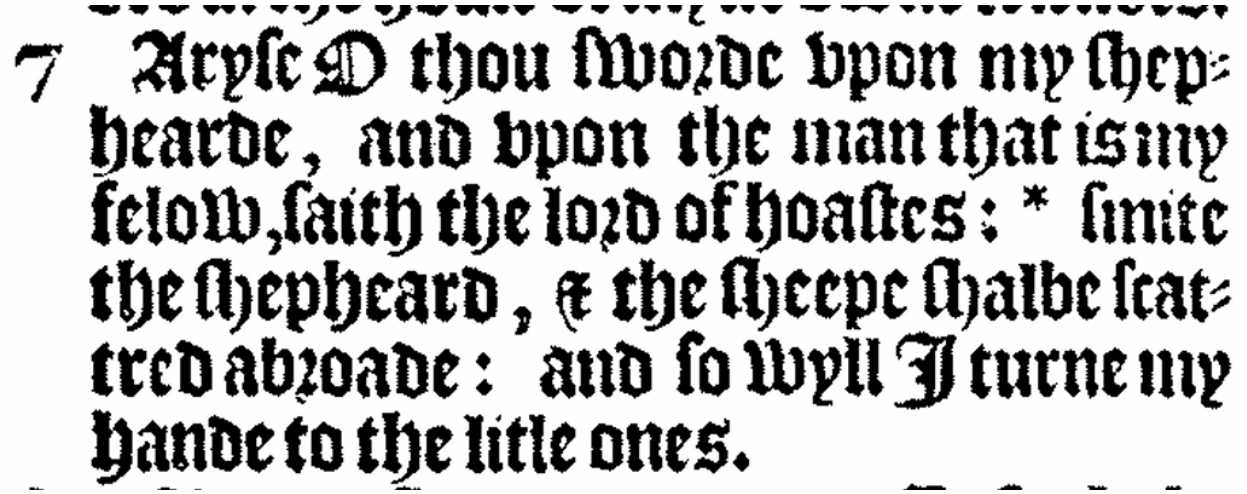
1540 Great Bible Folio BL (H52)

"Smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered abroad"


7 ¶ Ariſe, ô ſworde, vpon my i ſhepherd,
and vpon the man, *that is* my fellow, ſaith
the Lord of hoſtes: ſmite the ſhepherd, &
the ſhepe ſhalbe ſcattred: and I wil turne
mine hand vpon the litle ones.

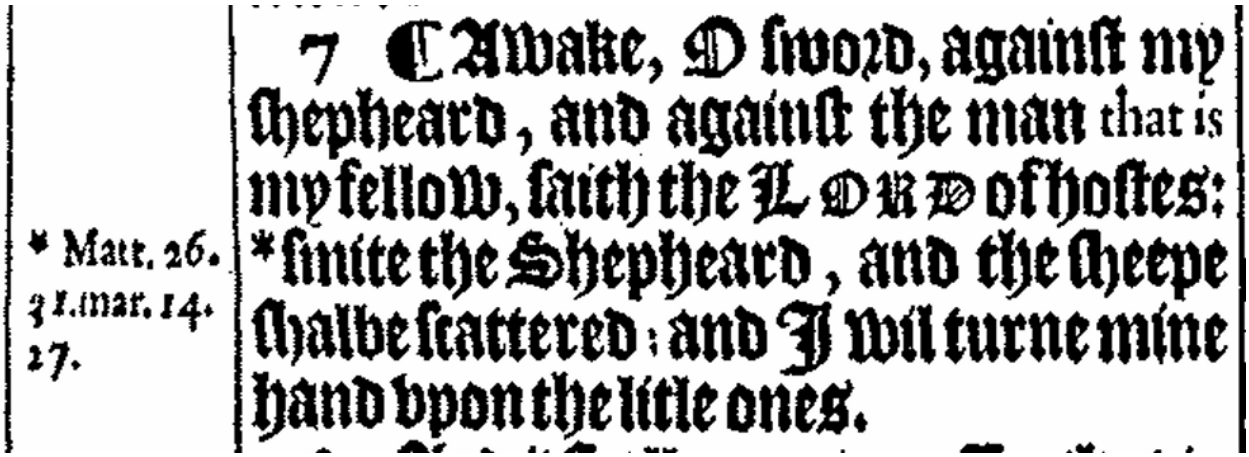
1560 Geneva Bible Folio RF (H107)

"Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered"


7 Aryſe O thou ſworde vpon my ſhep-
heard, and vpon the man that is my
felow, ſaith the lord of hoaſtes: * ſmite
the ſhepheard, & the ſheepe ſhalbe ſcat-
tred abroade: and ſo Wyll I turne my
hande to the litle ones.

1568 Bishops Bible Folio BL (H125)

"Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered abroad"



1611 King James Bible Folio BL (H309)

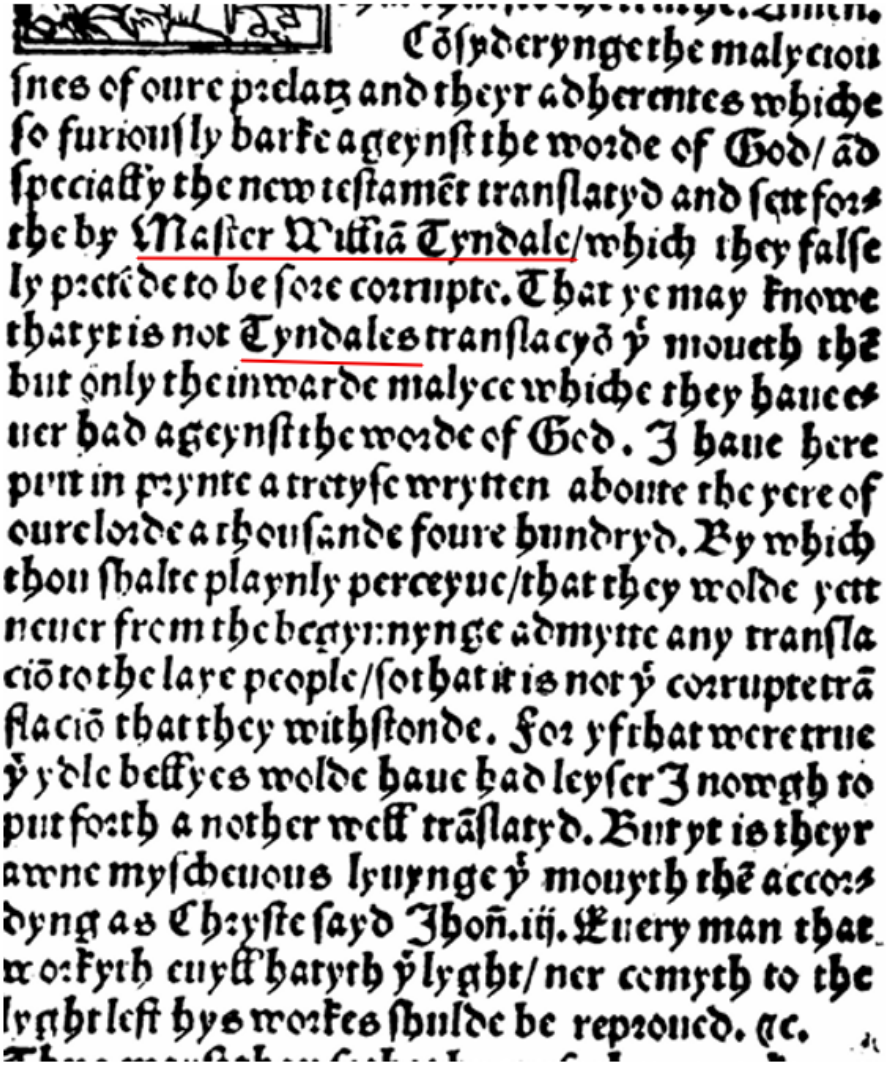
"Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered"

- David Daniell in *The Bible in English* also acknowledges a connection between Tyndale and Wycliffe when Tyndale is free-quoting Scripture from memory. Daniell argues, using Tyndale's 1525 Cologne Fragment prologue as an example, that:
    - "Tyndale's first attempt at printing an English New Testament from Greek was begun in Cologne in 1525, and abandoned near the end of the first Gospel when the city authorities raided the printing shop. Sheets survived, and circulated in England, being the first printed 'Lutheran' tracts to arrive there. Tyndale had written for the edition a Prologue, which also circulated in England on its own (before being reissued by Tyndale later). These fourteen pages are an expansion of and alteration to, Luther's *Vorrhede* to his first, 1522, New Testament in German from the Greek. There is in them a curious effect. When Tyndale has left Luther's *Vorrhede* and is writing on his own, he makes whole passages out of Scripture, usually from the Epistles of Paul and John. The strong effect is of someone quoting Scripture from memory. Occasionally there is an exact parallel with Wycliffe LV, but most of the time there is no relation to any other version, including his own translation that he is now introducing. If Tyndale wrote these solid paragraphs of argument by quoting Scripture in an English version from memory—then memory of what? . . . We may for the moment postulate that one effect of solid preaching from Wycliffe's Bibles, before the standardization that came with printed Bibles, was the creation of just such a common pool of English Bible phrases and passages in people's memories" (Daniell, 88-89).
- Thus, it is not surprising to acknowledge that Tyndale was aware of the Wycliffe Bible in his youth. This is not to say that Tyndale copied the Latin Vulgate when it came to translating the Hebrew or the Greek nor that the Roman Catholic Church accepted the translation of the Bible

into English. Tyndale is not like Wycliffe as Tyndale translates the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek original source texts for the first time not the Latin Vulgate. Furthermore, there are plenty of records which show that in Tyndale's early life, the Roman Catholic Church would burn people at the stake for even possessing a fragment of the Scriptures in English. Rather, Tyndale's awareness and free-quoting of the Wycliffe Bible in parts of his writings demonstrates that Tyndale had in his mind the importance of the Bible and the power it had when the people had access to it and believed it.

- These mentions and translation influences prompt the following question: If Tyndale was Lutheran, why is he hearkening back to the Lollards and John Wycliffe to explain certain aspects of his beliefs? The evidence shows that Tyndale was influenced by Lollardy in the area of Gloucestershire.

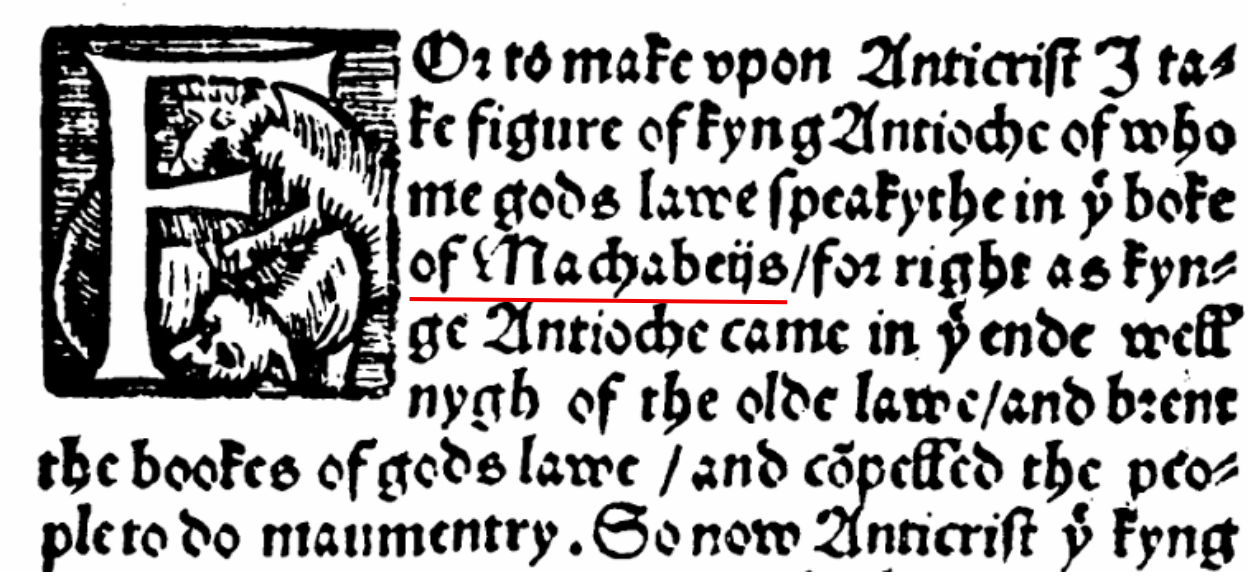
- An additional piece of evidence that shows William Tyndale was influenced by Lollardy is in his editing of Lollard tracts. In 1530, a tract appeared from the press of Hans Luft titled *A Compendious Olde Treatyse Showing How that we Ought to Have the Scripture in English*. The tract dates to "a thousand four hundred" (1400). In a short preface before the tract, Tyndale is mentioned by name:



Cõſyderynge the malycious
ſnes of oure prelatz and theyr adherentes whiche
ſo furiouſly barke ageynſt the worde of God/ ād
ſpecially the new teſtamēt tranſlatyd and ſett for-
the by Maſter Willia Tyndale/which they falſe
ly pretende to be ſore corrupte. That ye may knowe
that yt is not Tyndales tranſlacyō ẏ moueth the
but ōnly the inwarde malyce whiche they haue ev-
uer had ageynſt the worde of God. I haue here
put in prynte a tretyſe wrytten aboute the yere of
oure lorde a thouſande foure hundryd. By which
thou ſhalte playnly perceyue/that they wolde yett
neuer from the begynnynge admytte any tranſla
cīō to the laye people/ſo that it is not ẏ corrupte trā
ſlacīō that they withſtonde. For yf that were true
ẏ ydle bellyes wolde haue had leyſer Inowgh to
put forth a nother well trāſlatyd. But yt is theyr
awne myſchieuous lyinge ẏ mouyth thē accor-
dyng as Chriſte ſayd Jhoñ.iij. Euery man that
worſkyth euyll hatyth ẏ lyght/ ner comyth to the
lyght leſt hys worſkes ſhulde be reproued. ꝛc.

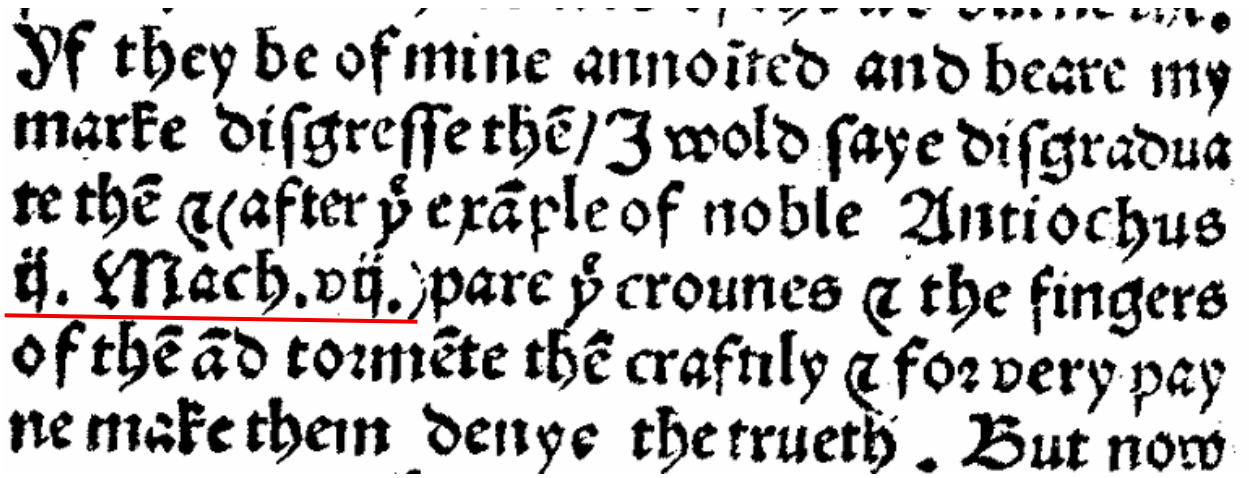
Transcription: “Considering the maliciousness of our prelates and their adherents which so furiously bark against the word of God, and specially the New Testament translated and set forth by master William Tyndale, which they falsely pretend to be sore corrupt. That ye may know that it is not Tyndale’s translation that moveth them but only the inward malice which they have ever had against the word of God. I have here put in print a treatise written about the year of our lord a thousand four hundred. By which thou shalt plainly perceive, that they would yet never from the beginning admit any translation to the lay people, so that it is not the corrupt translation that they withhold. For if that were true the idle bellies would have had leisure enough to put forth another well translated. But it is their own mischievous lying that moveth them according as Christ said (John 3). Every man that worketh evil hateth the light, nor cometh to the light lest his works should be reproved, etc.”

- Upon analyzing the contents of the tract, one finds a reference to the Apocrypha, specifically the book of 1 Maccabees:


For to make vpon Antichriſt I take figure of kyng Antioche of whome gods lawe ſpeakythe in ỹ boke of Machabeüs/for right as kynge Antioche came in ỹ ende well nygh of the olde lawe/and brent the bookes of gods lawe / and cõpelled the people to do maumentry. So now Antichriſt ỹ kyng

Transcription: “For to make upon Antichrist I take figure of king Antiochus of whom God’s law speaketh in the book of Maccabees. For right as king Antiochus came in the end well nigh of the old law, and brent the books of God’s law, and compelled the people to do maumetry.”

- Tyndale also makes a reference to the Apocrypha, although he references 2 Maccabees not 1 Maccabees, in *The Obedience of A Christian Man*:


Yf they be of mine annoīted and beare my
marke diſgreſſe thē/ I wold ſaye diſgradua
te thē (after ꝑ exāple of noble Antiochus
ij. Mach. vij.) pare ꝑ crounes & the fingers
of thē ād tormēte thē craftily & for very pay
ne make them denye the trueth. But now

Transcription: “If they be of mine anointed, and bear my mark, disgrace them, (I would say, disgraduate them,) and (after the example of noble Antiochus 2 Macc. 7) pare the crowns and the fingers of them, and torment them craftily, and for very pain make them deny the truth.”

- In *A Compendious Olde Treatyse*, the writer makes reference to King Antiochus Epiphanes who after going through Egypt sieged the city of Jerusalem. 1 Maccabees 1:55-64 describes the burning [brent] of the books of the law and the forced worship of idols [maumetry]. In 1528, Tyndale uses a similar trope from the Apocrypha by citing 2 Maccabees 7 which details the killing of a mother and her children for refusing to eat swine because it was against the law of God. The event also occurs under King Antiochus Epiphanes’s reign. Tyndale, like the writer of *A Compendious Olde Treatyse*, uses King Antiochus Epiphanes as an example to explain the corrupt practices of the Roman Catholic Church. In *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, Tyndale references 2 Maccabees 7 not because it is inspired Scripture, but because it proves a point. It is also worth noting that before Tyndale translated the New Testament and parts of the Old Testament out of the original Greek and Hebrew source texts, the Latin Vulgate, and Wycliffe’s translation of it, was the only vernacular Bible around. The Latin Vulgate contains the Apocrypha. That is why the Lollard tract cites it and it is through looking at this Lollard tract that Tyndale becomes aware of this reference. The Apocryphal books that the Roman Catholic Church calls inspired reveal an inconvenient truth that they are like King Antiochus Epiphanes, killing people who do not agree with their decrees and burning the word of God, replacing it with their man-made traditions. Given the similarity of both accounts, despite being from different Apocryphal books, it is clear that the trope goes back to Lollardy, at least in Tyndale’s mind.

- In 1998, the academic journal *Reformation* published an article documenting new research into William Tyndale’s editing of Lollard tracts. While searching the John Foxe papers at the British Library, researcher W.R. Cooper managed to find a fragment of writing that contained some of the words of *A Compendious Olde Treatyse*. Upon close comparison with the only handwritten

document from Tyndale ever known to exist, his letter from Vilvorde Castle, Cooper come to the conclusion that this fragment of writing that contained a portion of *A Compendious Olde Treatyse* was in the handwriting of William Tyndale. For more information see "A Newly Identified Fragment in the Handwriting of William Tyndale."

- Many claim that Lollardy was only a pre-cursor to the English Reformation and that it did not change the direction of the English Reformation. However, it is clear that the Lollards influenced William Tyndale. I argue, more so than Martin Luther, as Tyndale developed his desire for the translation of the Scriptures into English before he left for Germany. Furthermore, I do not believe that Tyndale attached himself to Lollardy to gain legitimacy to what he was doing, as some English Reformation historians argue. The desire to properly study the word of God and get it to other members of the body of Christ requires the spirit of God to be in a person. The desire for the things of the word of God come from the spirit of God (1 Cor. 2:9-16). The reading and believing of God's word was the motivation for Tyndale to do what he did. He suffered infirmities, but gloried in them (2 Cor. 11:21-33) and he was willing to give his life, and ultimately did, to translate the New Testament into English. He embodied Philippians 1:21: "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." Tyndale had to have the spirit of God in him to rejoice and continue on with what he was doing, especially in the midst of tense persecution (1 Cor. 13:4-7; Phil. 4:11-13). Bible doctrine is working in Tyndale to strengthen his inner-man. Thus, Tyndale did not follow Lollard material to legitimize his goal of Bible translation. The legitimization of Tyndale's goal came from God's word, which matters more than the word or approval of men. I believe Tyndale read Lollard material and sympathized with it because it was in accordance with the Scriptures and as such, he edited Lollard materials and Lollard ideas became a part of his thinking. Tyndale frequently affirms to prove all things by the Scriptures in his writings.

The Self-Education of Tyndale

- In his *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Tyndale provides the following insights into how he learned and internalized information:

    - "And concerning outward teaching, we allege for us scripture, older than any church that was this fourteen hundred years, and old authentic stories which they had brought asleep, wherewith we confound their lies. Remember ye not how in our own time, of all that taught grammar in England, not one understood the Latin tongue? How came we then by the Latin tongue again? Not by them, though we learned certain rules and principles of them, by which we were moved and had an occasion to seek further; but out of the old authors. Even so we seek up old antiquities, out of which we learn, and not of our church; though we received many principles of our church at the beginning, but more falsehood among [them] than truth" (Tyndale, 3:55).

- The above quotation is incredibly telling about William Tyndale's early life. First, it reveals the state of education in the area of Gloucestershire in Tyndale's early life. Foster Watson in his *The Old Grammar Schools* published by Cambridge University Press in 1916, mentions the following regarding the state of teaching Latin in English grammar schools in the Medieval era:

    - "The study of Latin in the English medieval grammar schools was not of a literary or prevailingly grammatical character. Roman and Greek authors were not largely read. Instruction was oral and traditional. The Latin learned was decadent and 'barbarous.' It was often spoken by the men who had not had living intercourse with any good Latinists, and the grammar learned was such as would be of use for disputations—a type of Latin *sui generis*" (Watson, 7-8).

- Watson also notes the standard curriculum of the English grammar school:

    - "The curriculum of earlier education, at its fullest, consisted of the seven liberal arts, *i.e.* the trivium consisting of grammar, dialectic (or logic) and rhetoric, and the quadrivium, viz. arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy. These seven arts were regarded as the intellectual equipment with which the theologian, the doctor and the lawyer might start out to solve by disputational processes the problems relating to professional practice. The Medieval Ages were dominated by authority—and in the period of Scholasticism regarded Aristotle as the final court of appeal. . . . It is essential to realise that the earlier medieval schools, even if they claimed to be grammar schools, did so usually in recognition of the Roman usage; for in ancient Rome the scholars had studied language and literature under the name of grammar. But the later medieval schools, with both the younger and the older pupils, laid their chief stress on the logic and dialectic which prepared the skilled student for metaphysical subtlety. Even the small amount of grammar studied was surrounded by 'glosses,' and belonged more to metaphysics than to linguistics" (Watson, 5-6).

- Watson thus argues that the proper terminology by which to call the grammar schools of Medieval England are "logic schools" rather than "grammar schools." Grammar schools were also connected to the Roman Catholic Church of the day and as such were established for the purpose of making their students successful for occupations in the church or as government officials. On this point, Watson explains that the result of this was the teaching of a Latin "which enabled its students to attain the proficiency suited to their future pursuits, *i.e.*, the medieval grammar schools gave a successful technical education" (Watson, 12). However, this "technical education" rarely included the teaching of classical Greco-Roman authors. The teaching of a humanistic style of Latin would start to take place in the early 1500s, which does include the early years of Tyndale's life.

- Throughout his writings, Tyndale makes mention of the fact that the Roman Catholic clergy did not understand the meaning of certain Greek, Hebrew, and Latin words and they preached against the teaching and use of the original languages behind their pulpits. Furthermore, Tyndale also notes times when Roman Catholic prelates purposefully mistranslate the Greek to prove their own points (i.e. Tyndale's interactions with John Fisher).

- Thus, Tyndale's statement in *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* shows that Tyndale was in his early years involved in the educational structures of his native Gloucestershire, that was run by the Roman Catholic Church to some extent and done for the purpose of training individuals to do the work of the Roman Catholic Church. However, Tyndale's statement also indicates that Tyndale was a self-learner. While Tyndale was surrounded by Roman Catholic influences in his early years, he did not succumb to them. By the time he became a student at Oxford University in the early 1500s, he understood the errors of Scholasticism and the importance of the Renaissance maxim of Ad Fontes. He realized that the New Testament translated into English would be the sole thing which would bring light to the spiritual darkness of his age, giving people Godly wisdom and discernment to understand and properly refute the errors of Rome.

- The 1531 quote also indicates Tyndale learned things from "old antiquities." Elsewhere in *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Tyndale makes references to "old authentic stories" in the context of the writings of church fathers. Thus, it is possible that the "old antiquities" could be a reference to that. The "old antiquities" could also mean classical Greco-Roman authors, which is most likely what Tyndale is referring to given the state of education in the grammar schools at his young age. English grammar schools by the early 1500s were replacing Medieval Latin with the humanist Latin of the Renaissance. However, it is also worthy to consider the English sources Tyndale may have read while he was in grammar school. Given that Tyndale's birth home was close to Wotton-Under-Edge grammar school (founded by Lady Katherine Berkeley who was part of the prominent and wealthy Berkeley family) and makes references to several historical chronicles in his later 1530s works, this is a possibility that warrants consideration. One such example of a chronicle Tyndale might have been exposed to in his formative years is the *Polychronicon*.

- The work of Ralph S. Werrell has helped to shed some light on the circumstances of Tyndale's upbringing that led him to become the thinker and translator he was. In *The Roots of William Tyndale's Theology*, Werrell argues that Tyndale, as a boy, read the *Polychronicon* most likely at the Library of Berkeley Castle. Specifically, the version translated into English by John Trevisa (23).

- Concerning John Trevisa and the *Polychronicon*, David Daniell writes in *The Bible in English*:

- "Trevisa, a Cornishman as might be guessed from the 'Tre-' of his name was born in 1342, and after Oxford served as chaplin to Thomas, Lord Berkeley, whose ancient castle stands by the River Severn in Gloucestershire, clearly visible from Tyndale's birthplace on the Cotswold slopes at North Nibley. . . . Trevisa was a translator into English, most famously of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, written between 1327 and 1352. Recently described as 'Wyclif's favorite history book,' *Polychronicon* is a universal history, which, like the *Cursor mundi*, divides it into the seven ages of the world, all with a strong base in the Bible, beginning with Genesis. In this it differs from Geoffrey of Monmouth and the expanded *Brut* chronicle, which starts with Aeneas and Troy. Trevisa translated Higden with vigour, adding his own notes and comments: he objected to some of the monk Ranulph's assumptions. Trevisa also translated Bartholomeus's *De Proprietatibus Rerum* and at least four other books as well. He prefaced his *Polychronicon* with two statements in which the theory of translation is discussed" (Daniell, 91).

- Comparing Trevisa's "Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk" included in the frontmatter of the *Polychronicon* with a famous statement on Bible translation made by William Tyndale in *The Obedience of A Christian Man* reveals interesting parallels. Consider the following table [bolding and [#] indicate similarities between the passages]:

Trevisa—"Dialogue" late 1380s	Tyndale—*Obedience* (1528)
The Clerk: "**The Latin is both good and fair, therefore it needeth not to have an English translation**." **[1]** The Lord: "The reason is worthy to be plunged in a puddle and laid in powder of lewdness and of shame. It might well be that thou makest only in mirth and in game" The Clerk: "The reason must stand but it be assoiled." The Lord: "A blear-eyed man, but he were all blind of wit, might see the solution of this reason; and though he were blind he might grope the solution, but if his feeling him failed. For if this reason were aught worth, by such manner arguing men might prove that the three score and ten interpreters, and Aquilla, and Symmachus, and Theodosian, and Origenes were lewdly occupied when they translated holy writ out of Hebrew into Greek and also that **Saint Jerome was lewdly occupied when he translated holy writ out of Hebrew into Latin**, **[2]** for the Hebrew is both good and fair and y-written by inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and all these for their translations be highly praised of all Holy Church. Then the foresaid lewd reason is worthy to be powdered, laid a-water and y-soused. Also holy writ in Latin is both good and fair, and yet for to make a sermon of holy	"The sermons which thou readest in the Acts of the apostles, and all that the apostles preached, were no doubt preached in the mother tongue. **Why then might they not be written in the mother tongue? As, if one of us preach a good sermon, why may it not be written? [3A, 3B] Saint Jerom also translated the bible into his mother tongue: why may not we also? [2] They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude**. **[1]** It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one; so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English, word for word; when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shall have much work to translate it well-favouredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin, and as it hath in the Hebrew. A thousand parts better may it be translated into the English, than into the Latin. Yea, and except my memory fail me, and that I have forgotten what I read when I was a child, **thou shalt find in the English chronicle, how that king Adelston caused the holy scripture to be translated into the tongue that then was in England**, **[4]**

writ all in Latin to make men that can English and no Latin, it were a lewd deed, for they be never the wiser for the Latin, but it be told them in English what the Latin is to mean; and it may not be told in English what the Latin is to mean without translation out of Latin into English. Then it needeth to have an English translation, and for **to keep it in mind that it be not forgotten, it is better that such a translation be made and written than said and not written**. **[3A]** And so this foresaid lewd reason should mean no man that hath any wit to leave the making of English translation. . . . **Also, King Alfred that founded the university of Oxford, translated the best laws into English tongue, and a great deal of the Psalter out of Latin into English [4]** . . . Then the gospel, and prophecy, and the right faith of holy church must be told them in English, and that is not done but by English translation, **for such English preaching is very translation, and such English preaching is good and needful; then English translation is good and needful**" **[3B]** (John Trevisa, "Dialogue Between a Lord and a Clerk upon Translation" in *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, 205-7).	and how the prelates exhorted him thereto" (Tyndale, 1:148-49).

- Notice the similarities. Tyndale writes "Saint Jerom also translated the Bible into his mother tongue: why may not we also?" Trevisa writes, "For if this reason were aught worth, by such manner arguing men might prove that the three score and ten interpreters and Aquilla, and Symmachus, and Theodosian, and Origenes were lewdly occupied when they translated holy writ out of Hebrew into Greek; and also that Saint Jerome was lewdly occupied when he translated holy writ out of Hebrew into Latin. . . ." The mention of King Adelston (most likely Alfred), Jerome, as well as the similar styles between Tyndale and Trevisa show that Tyndale was influenced by Lollard theology when it came to translating the Scriptures into the vernacular.

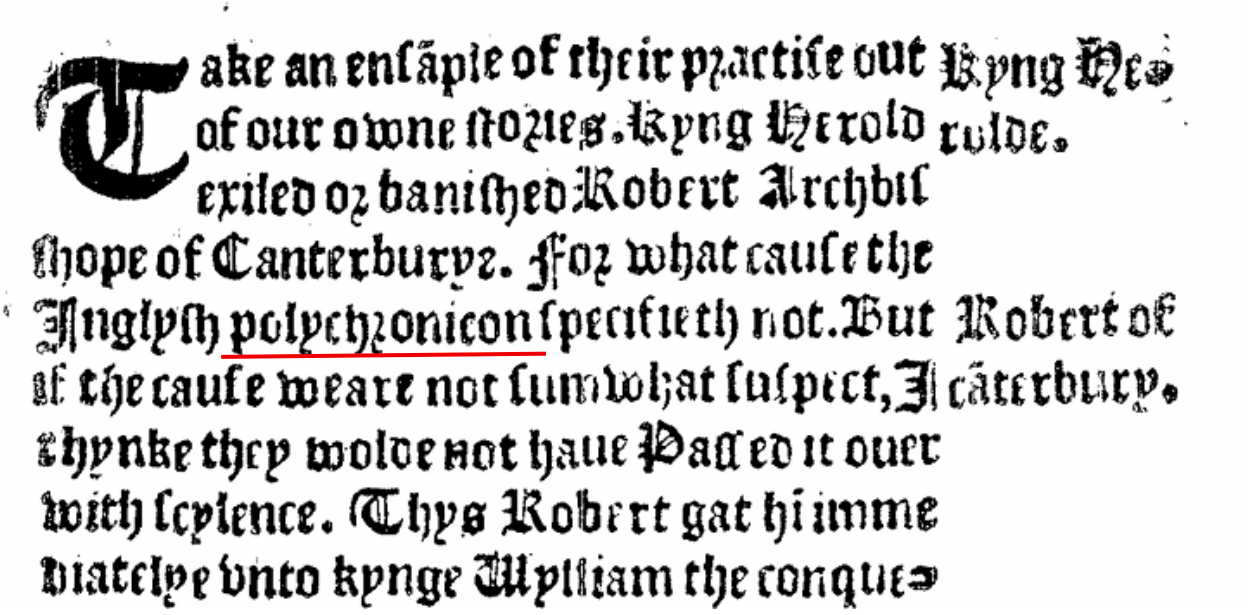
- In *The Roots of William Tyndale's Theology* (2013), Ralph S. Werrell acknowledges the same parallels and argues this points towards Lollard influence on Tyndale:

    - "John Trevisa also makes a statement about the difficulties of translating Latin into English, and the grammatical changes which are needed in order to make the Latin text able to be translated into idiomatic English. Tyndale's similar statement about translating Greek into English could have originated from his reading of Trevisa's *Preface*. The fact that Latin and Greek need different grammatical changes to be made to translate them into English is essentially the only difference between their statements. . . . Another similarity between them

is seen where Trevisa wrote in reference to his translation of the *Polychronicon*, 'If any man can make of the books of these Chronicles a better English translation, and one that is more help to the reader, let God enable him' . Did that remark inspire Tyndale to write, 'And as I offered that to all men, to correct it, [the New Testament] whosoever could, even so do I this' ." (Werrell, 41).

- Writers before Werrell have also connected William Tyndale with John Trevisa and Lollardy. Henry Worsley in his *The Dawn of the English Reformation* (1892), writes,
    - "The county of Tyndale's birth was in that age beyond measure benighted and priest-ridden. Yet, amidst dense darkness—darkness that might be felt—light, in God's merciful providence, had been lifted up in the preceding century. The fifth baron, Thomas, Lord Berkeley, Wycliffe's pupil, had as his own chaplain, and also as vicar of his parish church, John de Trevisa, who, at the request of his patron, to whom he was a compliant and, to quote his own phrase, 'buxom' servant, translated into English the 'Polychronicon' of Ranulph Higden, a Benedictine monk of St. Werburg, Chester, who flourished at the close of the thirteenth century" (Worsley, 59).

- There is also further testimony from Tyndale's own writings that he was familiar with the *Polychronicon*:


Take an enſãple of their practiſe out Kyng He
of our owne ſtories. Kyng Herold rulde.
exiled or banished Robert Archbiſ
hope of Canterbury. For what cauſe the
Engliſh polychronicon ſpecifieth not. But Robert of
of the cauſe weare not ſumwhat ſuſpect, Cãterbury.
thynke they wolde not haue Paſſed it ouer
with ſcyence. Thys Robert gat him imme
diatelye vnto kynge Wylliam the conque

Practice of Prelates, 1530

Transcription: "Take an ensample of their practice out of our own stories. King Herold exiled or banished Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, for what cause the English *Polychronicon* specifieth not."

The Formal Education of William Tyndale

- In addition to the influence of the Lollards in Gloucestershire, Tyndale went to Oxford University. Robert Demaus, a Victorian era biographer of Tyndale, provides the following Latin entries of Tyndale's Oxford records and an English translation of them:

(1) 13 May, 1512, supplicat Willelmus Hychyns scolaris artium quatenus studium duorum (annorum) cum termino infra universitatem cum responsione uni bacillario in quadragesima cum creatione unius generalis et duabus variationibus in Parviso et oppositione et responsione racione officii collectoris in Parviso sufficiat etc. Hec est

B 2

concessa (ita) quod determinet proxima quadragesima et bis disputet preter formam.

[*Translation.*] "13 May, 1512, William Hychyns, scholar in arts, supplicates that a study of two years and a term within the University, together with a *responsion* to one bachelor in Lent, and the creation of one *general*[1] and with two *variations*[2] in the Parvise[3], and an *opposition* and *responsion* under a Collector in the Parvise, may suffice him to be admitted to the degree of bachelor. This grace is granted on condition of his determining next Lent, and disputing twice out of the usual course."

(2) 4 July, 1512, admissus est ad lecturam alicuius libri decretalium [a mistake for *facultatis artium*, the admissions to read the Decretals occur previously] dominus Jo. Knygley . . . . . dominus[4] Willelmus Hychyns . . . . .

[*Translation.*] "4 July, 1512, there was admitted to the reading of some book of the Decretals [a mistake for 'of the faculty of arts'] Sir [dominus] John Knygley . . . . . Sir William Hychyns . . . ."

(3) Nomina determinatorum Feb. 1512 (i.e. $151\frac{2}{3}$) . . . . . dominus Willelmus Hychens (53 names).

[*Translation.*] "Feb. $151\frac{2}{3}$ names of determiners . . . . . Sir William Hychyns [53 names]."

(4) 26 June, 1515, licentiati sunt in artibus dominus Willelmus Hychyns . . . .

[*Translation.*] "26 June, 1515, there were licensed in arts Sir William Hychyns . . . ."

(5) 2 July, 1515, creati sunt in artibus magistri quorum nomina sequuntur dominus . . . . . Mr. Willelmus Hochyns (22 names).

[*Translation.*] "2 July, 1515, there were created Masters of Arts those whose names follow . . . . . Mr. William Hochyns (22 names)."

Demaus, *William Tyndale*, 3-4.

- Before continuing further, it is important to explain some of the terms in the entries listed above to understand what Tyndale's Oxford records mean. It is beyond the scope of this lesson to provide a detailed structure of university life at Oxford during the Medieval era. Thus, I will only focus on the first entry (May 13, 1512) as it is key to understanding the rest of Tyndale's Oxford records.

- In volume 1 of *A History of the University of Oxford*, Charles Edward Mallet explains the following:

    - "When a candidate was ready to graduate and thought that he had studied enough for the purpose, he presented his *supplicat*, stating the terms he had kept, the lectures and exercises which he had attended, and asking for the other formalities to be dispensed with" (Mallet, 1:199-200).

- The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists a definition of "supplicate" as "In Oxford University, to present a formal petition for a degree or for incorporation" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, s.v. "Suplicate" no. 3, 17:253).

- Thus, the May 13, 1512 entry is important as it indicates the point in time in which William Tyndale submitted his supplicat, based on the coursework he had completed at that point, to graduate from Oxford University with his Bachelor of Arts (BA). The date of July 4, 1512 then must indicate the time when Tyndale graduated from Oxford University with his BA and the June and July 1515 dates indicate the time when Tyndale graduated with his Master of Arts (MA) from Oxford.

- One of the main issues Tyndale had with university life at Oxford was the presence of Scholasticism, the mixing of Aristotelian and Greek philosophy with the Scriptures. In *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, Tyndale provides the following critique of the Scholastic curriculum at Oxford:

The Obedience of A Christian Man (1528)

    - "But now do ye clean contrary: ye drive them from God's word, and will let no man come thereto, until he have been two years master of art. First, they nosel them in sophistry, and in *benefundatum*. And there corrupt they their judgments with apparent arguments, and with alleging unto them texts of logic, of natural *philautia*, or metaphysic, and moral philosophy, and of all manner of books of Aristotle, and of all manner doctors which they yet never saw. . . . When they have thiswise brawled eight, ten, or twelve or more years, and after that their judgments are utterly corrupt, then they begin their divinity; not at the scripture, but every man taketh a sundry doctor; which doctors are as sundry and as divers, the one contrary unto the other, as there are divers fashions and

> monstrous shapes, none like another, among our sects of religion. Every religion, every university, and almost every man, hath a sundry divinity. Now whatsoever opinions every man findeth with his doctor, that is his gospel, and that only is true with him; and that holdeth he all his life long: and every man, to maintain his doctor withal, corrupteth the scripture, and fashioneth it after his own imagination, as a potter doth his clay. Of what text provest hell, will another prove purgatory; another *limbo patrum*; and another the assumption of our lady: and another shall prove of the same text that an ape hath a tail. And of what text the gray friar proveth that our lady was without original sin, of the same shall the black friar prove that she was conceived in original sin" (Tyndale, 1:156-59).

- Throughout the corpus of his theological treatises, Tyndale makes references to the following Scholastic theologians, philosophers, and Greco-Roman writers that highlights the material he was exposed to in his Oxford days:
    - Thomas Aquinas
    - Bonaventura
    - Duns Scotus
    - Aristotle
    - Socrates
    - Plato
    - Ovid
    - Jerome
    - Appelles
    - Terrence
    - Virgil
    - Orestes

- David Daniell writes concerning the Oxford curriculum for the BA in *William Tyndale: A Biography* that:
    - "The set texts [for the Oxford curriculum], it seems, were traditional: for the BA, Priscian, Aristotle, Boethius, Euclid, Ptolemy, though there was a possibility of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or Virgil's poetry in the first year. For the MA, the three philosophies, natural, moral and metaphysical, were taught over eight terms, and were almost wholly dependent on Aristotle" (Daniell, 29).

- Melvyn Bragg in *William Tyndale: A Very Brief History* mentions:
    - "Throughout his life he was to criticize the Oxford curriculum. The insistence on drumming in a knowledge of Latin by way of classical authors at school and at university left what in Tyndale's view was the crux of learning, the Scriptures, far too late. The

classical ‘pagan’ authors received far more attention than the Scriptures. . . . Oxford, he thought, wasted valuable time on Roman literature which was useful for fluency in Latin but irrelevant to the main purpose” (Bragg, 9).

- David Teems in *Tyndale: The Man Who Gave God An English Voice* writes,
    - “On completing his degree requirements, the university student came away with, first, a very refined knowledge of Latin. Latin was the *lingua franca* (common language) of the academic community, as it was the sacred language of the Church. . . . Second, the most important university subject outside Latin was logic. These two disciplines together armed the student for dispute, and disputation was the major emphasis of an academic degree program. The graduate was able to argue skillfully, and with the language skills to get it done. . . . A successful student would come out of it with much sharpness and mental agility, but little spiritual fire or reverence for truth. The course was an education in names rather than in things, a mental gymnastic rather than a cultural training” (Teems, 15-16).

- What Tyndale is against when it comes to Scholasticism was not necessarily the study of Latin or the study of logic. In fact, one could argue that he uses both of these very well against his opponents in his theological treatises. What Tyndale is against is the elevating of human wisdom above Godly wisdom. Oxford University had embraced the Scholasticism of the thirteenth century to the point where they disregarded the Bible and placed secular philosophy in its place.

- Andrew Miller in his *Church History* provides the following summation of the Scholasticism of the thirteenth century and how true Bible doctrine trumps it:
    - “One salutary lesson we may at least learn from the examples before us, and that is, the utter darkness and perplexity of the mind, however great the learning and study, when the word of God, in its divine simplicity, is not known and believed. One single text, ‘The just shall live by faith,’ [Rom. 1:17] when used of God in the hands of Luther, was sufficient to clear away the darkness of the middle ages, while the seventeen volumes folio of Thomas Aquinus, and all the other folios of all the great schoolmen, only deepened the gloom of ignorance and perplexity as to the knowledge of God and the way of salvation. The greatest development of the natural powers of the human mind leads no guilty sinner to the cross of Christ–to the precious blood which alone cleanseth from all sin. The enemy of souls, taking advantage of the growing celebrity of the Aristotelian philosophy, seduced the best of the doctors to believe that the most important work they could be engaged in, was the reconciling of the teaching of Christ with the decrees of the Greek philosopher, lest the scholars should think more highly of the latter than the former. Such was the miserable work of the best of the schoolmen at that time; but no doubt many of simpler minds, who were not blinded by the subtleties of logic, found the

way of truth and salvation amidst the darkness, though much perplexed and bewildered" (Miller, 628-29).

- Miller's statement highlights the simplicity Tyndale is after. It is found in (Rom. 3:19-28, 4:4-5, 5:1-11; Gal. 2:16-21; Eph. 2:8-9). Making people understand the simplicity of justification by grace through faith and how a man can be made righteous before God is Tyndale's goal. He wants the common Englishman to have the Scriptures in the vernacular to prove all things, and let the spirit of God teach him not the Scholastics.

- Tyndale is not against people reading other sources such as the church fathers. He mentions in *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, "What is the cause that we damn some of Origen's works, and allow some? How know we that some is heresy and some not? By the scripture, I trow. How know we that St. Augustine (which is the best, or one of the best that ever wrote upon the scripture) wrote many things amiss at the beginning, as many other doctors do? Verily by the scriptures; as he himself well perceived afterward, when he looked more diligently upon them, and revoked many things again" (Tyndale, 1:154). Again, Tyndale desires for people to have access to the Scriptures so they can prove all things.

- In 1516, Erasmus published the first edition of his Greek New Testament. David Daniell in *The Bible in English*, writes,

    - "Erasmus, whose Oxford home some years before had been Magdalen College, and who until recently had been Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, published in March 1516 in Basle the *Novum instrumentum*, his Latin translation of the New Testament, with the original Greek alongside. It is more than likely that it was from this influential volume that Tyndale led those private studies. Foxe states that Tyndale went on to Cambridge, but no records support this" (Daniell, 140-41).

- It is clear William Tyndale had access to Erasmus's Greek New Testament as he instructs readers in *The Obedience of A Christian Man* to "read also Erasmus's Annotations in the said places" concerning Mary and the fact that she was not sinless and should not be exhalted above God (Tyndale, 1:316). Of course, based on prior points made about Lollardy in Tyndale's area of birth, this is not surprising. Tyndale, from his youth, desired to translate the Scripture into English. Now, he finally had his chance.

<u>William Tyndale at the Walsh Household and his Journey to London</u>

- In the late 1510s and early 1520s, Tyndale returned to his birthplace of Gloucestershire, to serve as a tutor for the children of Sir John and Lady Walsh. David Daniell in *The Bible in English* provides the following account:

- "Tyndale went back to Gloucestershire, at an unknown date. He became tutor to the children of Sir John and Lady Walsh at Little Sodbury Manor, a dozen miles south of the district of his birth. Sir John, a county squire of importance, who had been at court with the young Henry VIII (he was later twice High Sheriff) had recently handed over the position of Crown Steward for the Berkeley estate to Edward Tyndale. Lady Walsh came from the Poyntz family, which closely had been connected to the Tudor court since the 1470s; Anne Walsh's nephew Nicholas, their neighbor, was close to King Henry and Queen Anne. Tyndale's duties at Little Sodbury cannot have been heavy. It is probable that he used his time to study, and even begin to translate into English, Erasmus's Greek New Testament. For the Walshes he translated Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis christiani* into English, a book which drew them more to the reformed position, a topic of debate in the house. It is likely that this translation is lost, and is not the version printed by Wynkyn de Worde in London in 1533, revised in 1534" (Daniell, 141).

- Given the high status of the Walshes, many prominent members of the clergy were invited to Little Sodbury Manor for banquets or the Walshes were invited to banquets. Tyndale frequently interacted with such clergy members and he answered every one of their points from the Scriptures. John Foxe records the following in his *Acts and Monuments*:

  - "Not long after this, it happened that certain of these great doctors had invited Master Welch and his wife to a banquet; where they had talk at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance or gainsaying. Then Master Welch and his wife, coming home, and calling for Master Tyndale, began to reason with him about those matters whereof the priests had talked before at their banquet. Master Tyndale, answering by the Scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions." (Foxe, 5:115).

- It was also at this time that Tyndale uttered his famous ploughboy statement, "if God spared him life, ere many years he would cause a boy that driveth the plough, to know more of the Scripture than he did" (Foxe, 5:117).

- Needless to say, Tyndale was not welcomed in his native Gloucestershire and he desired to begin work on his translation of the Scriptures. Under the Oxford Constitutions of 1408, Tyndale had to receive permission of the church to do so. Thus, he left for London at around 1523-24 to seek the permission of Cuthbert Tunstell. The following biographical sketch provided by Tyndale in the general prologue titled "W.T. Unto the Reader" to his 1530 Pentateuch highlights the exchange:

  - "And even in the bishop of London's house I intended to have done it. For when I was so turmoiled in the country where I was that I could no longer there dwell (the process whereof were too long here to rehearse) I this wise thought in myself, this I suffer because the priests of the country be unlearned, as God it knoweth there are a full ignorant sort which have seen no more Latin than that they read in their portesses and

missals which yet many of them can scarcely read, (exepct it be Albertus *de secretis mulierum* in which yet, though they be never so sorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein and all to teach the midwives as they say, and Linwode a book of constitutions to gather tithes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call, not theirs, but God's part and the duty of holy church, to discharge their consciences withal: for they are bound that they shall not diminish, but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers) and therefore (because they are thus unlearned, thought I) when they come together to the ale house, which is their preaching place, they affirm that my sayings are heresy. And besides that they add to of their own heads which I never spake, as the manner is to the prolong the tale to short the time withal, and accused me secretly to the chancellor and other the bishop's officers. And indeed, when I came before the chancellor, he threatened me grievously, and reviled me, and rated me as though I had been a dog, and laid to my charge whereof there could be none accuser brought forth, (as their manner is not to bring forth the accuser) and yet all the priests of the country were the same day there. As I this thought the bishop of London came to my remembrance whom Erasmus (whose tongue maketh of little gnats great elephants and lifteth up above the stars whosoever giveth him a little exhibition) praiseth exceedingly among other in his annotations the new testament for his great learning. Then thought I, if I might come to this man's service, I were happy. And so I gat me to London, and, through the acquaintance of my master came to sir Harry Gilford the king's grace's controller, and brought him an oration of Isocrates which I had translated out of Greek into English, and desired him to speak unto my lord of London for me, which he also did as he shewed me, and willed me to write an epistle to my lord, and to go to him myself which I also did, and delivered my epistle to a servant of his own, one William Hebilthwayte, a man of mine old acquaintance. But God which knoweth what is within hypocrites, saw that I was beguiled, and that that counsel was not the next way unto my purpose. And therefore he gat me no favor in my lord's sight."

- "Whereupon my lord answered me, his house was full, he had more than he could well find, and advised me to seek in London, where he said I could not lack a service. And so in London I abode almost a year, and marked the course of the world, and heard our praters, I would say our preachers how they boasted themselves and their high authority, and beheld the pomp of our prelates, and how busied they were as they yet are, to set peace and unity in the world (though it be not possible for them that walk in darkness to continue long in peace, for they cannot but either stumble or dash themselves at one thing or another that shall clean unquiet all together) and saw things whereof I defer to speak at this time and understood at the last not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the new Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England, as experience doth now openly declare" (Daniell, *Tyndale's Old Testament*, 4-5).

- After Cuthbert Tunstell's rejection of William Tyndale's offer to translate the Greek New Testament into English, Tyndale traveled to Germany where Lutheran sentiments would provide him with a better opportunity to do so.

Conclusion:

- William Tyndale's upbringing in Gloucestershire and his Oxford education is important to understanding not just his desire to translate the New Testament into English, and the way in which he translated the Greek into English, but also his theological beliefs.

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Lesson 3
The Cologne Fragment: The Thwarted First Attempt (1525)
Prepared & Taught by David W. Reid

Disclosures

- First disclosure: Bryan is the driving intellectual force behind this conference. Columbus Bible Church is honored to host the meeting.

- Second disclosure: Bryan has extensively taught on William Tyndale in his series, From This Generation Forever. I have drawn heavily from Bryan's notes in all of my lessons. These notes, in particular, are based heavily on, and quote extensively from, Bryan's notes on From This Generation Forever Lesson 104.

- Third disclosure: In some of the quotations, we have used modernized spelling to make the quotations easier to read.

- Fourth disclosure: My second son, Stephen, is named after William Tyndale. I come to this topic with a favorable view of William Tyndale.

David	**William**	Reid, Jr.
Stephen	**Tyndale**	Reid

The Political Climate in England from 1421-1521

- 1421: Henry VI is born. Henry VI is not the direct ancestor of Henry VIII, but he is a close relative.

- 1422: Henry VI becomes King of England before his 1st birthday.

- 1429: Henry VI is crowned King of England at age 7.

- 1431: Henry VI is crowned King of France at age 10. He is the only English king crowned both King of England and King of France.

- 1453: Henry VI suffers a severe mental breakdown. His perceived weakness leads to the Wars of the Roses in 1455.

- 1455: The Wars of the Roses begins. It is a civil war between the House of York and the House of Lancaster.

- 1461: Henry VI is deposed and flees to Scotland.

- 1465: Henry VI is captured and imprisoned in the Tower of London.

- 1470: Henry VI is briefly restored to the throne.

- 1471: Henry VI is recaptured and placed in the Tower of London. His only son, Prince Edward, is killed, and Henry VI is murdered seventeen days later. This ends Henry VI's male lineage. The Wars of the Roses will continue on for an additional 14 years.

- 1485: Henry VII defeats Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth Field, ending the Wars of the Roses, which lasted for 30 years. Richard III dies in battle. Henry VII becomes King of England. He is the first king of the House of Tudor.

- 1486: Henry VII's oldest son is born, Arthur, Prince of Wales.

- 1491: Henry VIII is born.

- 1497-1498: At the age of 10, Arthur is betrothed by proxy to Catherine of Aragon, the daughter of Ferdinand II, the Catholic monarch of Spain. Spain is one of the most powerful European states at the time. This betrothal is designed to strengthen England's relationship with Spain. Arthur is under the canonical age (14) at which one can enter a contract to marry. Henry VII secures a papal dispensation to allow Arthur to enter a marriage contract with Catherine.

- 1501: Arthur and Catherine marry.

- 1502: Less than six months into his marriage with Catherine, Arthur dies. Catherine would later insist that the marriage had not been consummated. Henry VIII is now heir to the throne.

- 1509: Henry VII dies, and Henry VIII becomes King of England at age 17. Henry VIII decides to marry Catherine to maintain England's alliance with Spain. Henry VIII needs a papal dispensation to marry Catherine because she was his brother's widow, and marriage to her was understood to violate canon law based on Leviticus 20:21. The papal dispensation is granted, and Henry VIII marries Catherine. We will consider this in more detail below.

- 1509 – 1518: Catherine has six pregnancies by Henry VIII. Three are male, which all die in childbirth or infancy. One daughter, Mary, lives to adulthood. She will later be known as Bloody Mary.

- 1517: Luther posts his 95 Theses on the Wittenberg door. This is typically considered the beginning of the Protestant Revolution.

- 1521: Henry VIII writes "Defense of the Seven Sacraments" as a refutation of Lutheran theology. Sir Thomas More assists with the book. Pope Leo X awards Henry VIII the title of "Defender of the Faith."

    - In 1534, Parliament will adopt the Act of Supremacy declaring Henry the "Supreme Head" of the Church of England. In 1538, the Pope excommunicates Henry and revokes the title "Defender of the Faith." Henry ignores the revocation and keeps using the title anyway.

    - In 1544, Parliament will ratify the style of referring to the British Monarch as "Defender of the Faith." To this day, the King / Queen of England bears the title "Defender of the Faith."

- Key takeaways from this chronology:
    - Based on the life experiences of Henry VI and Henry VII, Henry VIII is keenly aware of the danger of not being perceived as a strong ruler.
    - Henry VIII is also aware of what danger can follow when there is not a clear line of succession. His obsession with producing a male heir is not without basis.
    - Henry VIII is the son of a Catholic king, married a Spanish Catholic princess, obtained a papal dispensation to marry her, has authored a refutation of Protestant theology, and has received from the Pope the title of "Defender of the Faith." He is about as Catholic as one can be.

The Leviticus 20 Confusion

- 1509: In April, Henry VII dies, and Henry VIII becomes King of England at age 17. Henry VIII decides to marry Catherine to maintain England's alliance with Spain. Henry VIII needs a papal dispensation to marry Catherine because she was his brother's widow, and marriage to her was understood to violate canon law based on Leviticus 20:21. The papal dispensation is granted, and Henry VIII marries Catherine.
- 1527: Catherine is age 41 and will turn 42 on December 16, 1527. She has borne no children in the prior nine years, and Henry believes Catherine is past childbearing age. Henry wants a male heir to put the Tudor dynasty on more stable footing. Recall that Henry's father was the survivor of a civil war involving disputed claims to the throne.
- Henry decides that he wants his marriage to Catherine declared null and asks Rome for a decree of nullity.
    - The repeated necessity of English royalty to obtain papal permission indicates both the power that Rome held in England at the time, and England's willingness to submit to the Pope.
- Henry's argument for the annulment is that the marriage was never valid based upon Leviticus 20:21. One of the ironies in this situation is that Henry previously requested a papal dispensation based on Leviticus 20:21, which is in fact canon law. None of this makes any scriptural sense.
    - Lev 20:21 KJV - And if a man shall take his brother's wife, it [is] an unclean thing: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless.
    - Lev 20:21 prohibits taking the brother's wife while the brother is alive.
    - Deuteronomy actually commands marrying the brother's widow in certain situations.
    - Deu 25:5 KJV - If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her.

Deu 25:6 KJV - And it shall be, [that] the firstborn which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother [which is] dead, that his name be not put out of Israel.
Mat 22:24 KJV - Saying, Master, Moses said, If a man die, having no children, his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.

- Henry's argument that his marriage to Catherine is not valid does not make any sense under the Old Testament law, let alone the dispensation of grace. It is the intentional misreading of a verse to accomplish Henry's objective.

- Even under the Old Testament law, it was perfectly proper for Henry to marry Catherine. During the dispensation of grace, there is absolutely no problem with Henry marrying his brother's widow. The only reason for all of these maneuverings is Catholic canon law that is completely unscriptural.

- Pope Clement VII was not inclined to grant Henry VIII's requested decree of nullity for a couple of reasons.

  - The first reason is that he would be saying that the earlier dispensation granted by Pope Julius II was in error. This would undercut papal authority and perhaps encourage other kings to challenge previous papal decrees.

  - The second reason is that Catherine was the aunt of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor. The Holy Roman Empire included Germany, Austria, Northern Italy, and other regions. The Holy Roman Empire did not govern Rome and the Papal States, which were ruled by the Pope, but the armies of Charles V did physically occupy Rome. As a matter of realpolitik, Pope Clement VII does not want to create unnecessary problems with the Holy Roman Emperor.

- The Leviticus 20 controversy illustrates the power of Rome. English monarchs felt obligated to obtain Rome's permission for marriage and divorce, and Rome had the ability to adopt canon law in complete defiance of the scriptures.

<u>What Led Tyndale to Leave England to go to Germany</u>

- Tyndale's life, upbringing and education made him ideally situated to translate the New Testament into English:

  - "[We] can see in Tyndale's early life the seeds that came to fruition in his later life. These include knowledge of the Christian faith, personal acquaintance with Catholicism, a capacity for hard work, being subject to the control of the king and church in every sphere of thought and action, and awareness of what could be achieved by means of the printed word" (Ryken, 22).

  - "After all, he spoke seven languages in addition to his native English. Those languages were Latin, Hebrew, Greek, German, Italian, Spanish, and French" (Ryken, 32).

- "The list of what Tyndale carried away from his years of education is as follows: (1) a brilliant and well trained mind; (2) mastery of the Greek language and skill with language more generally; (3) salvation of his soul through belief in the work of Christ; (4) a grasp of Christian theology in the Reformation tradition; (5) an addiction (John Foxe's term) to the Bible; (6) independence of thought and courage to pursue truth as he understood it, even in the face of opposition from the Catholic church" (Ryken, 34).

- Ryken suggests that Tyndale was saved and came to understand Reformation theology through his college education. As argued forcefully in Alex's earlier lesson, it is far more likely that Tyndale was saved and familiar with Reformation theology prior to college though his early exposure to Lollard thinking. Whichever is the case, it is evident that by the time Tyndale's education in England concludes, he is ideally qualified to faithfully translate the New Testament into the English language.

- 1523: Tyndale moved to London and reached out to Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall, hoping that Tunstall would support Tyndale's effort to translate the New Testament into English. Tunstall replied that "his house was full."

    - Tunstall was philosophically opposed to the translation of the word of God into English but rather than say so, he used the passive voice and said that he lacked the resources to support Tyndale's aspiration. The truth is that he lacked the desire.

    - "At the very time of Tyndale's residence in London, Tunstall called a meeting of London printers and booksellers to announce a strict policy of censorship. No book was allowed to enter the country from the Continent without episcopal permission. Books printed in London itself needed to be approved by a board of censors. Tyndale saw that while printing of Reformation materials was flourishing on the Continent, it was a dead end in England" (Ryken, 43).

    - "Tyndale realized it would be impossible to translate the Bible in England. It had been more than a century since the enactment of the *Constitutions* at Oxford in 1408 forbade the reading of any non-approved English Bible. Neither Bishop Tunstall nor Cardinal Wolsey made any attempt to authorize the reading or translating of any Bible other than the Latin. The bishops were unrelenting in their attempts to enforce the *Constitutions*. . . .

      Tyndale had two choices. He could remain in London and wait for better days or leave his beloved England and translate elsewhere. His enthusiasm and burden to see even the plowboy have the Scriptures in his language dictated against postponement. The only option was to set sail for Germany. After all, Germany was a hotbed of the reformation and there he could find sympathizers and proceed unhindered in his work" (Brake, 96-97).

- 1524: Tyndale fled to the Lutheran provinces in Germany where he could work on his translation without interference.

    - "He was aware of what he was foregoing—marriage, family, a stable life, security, and a predictable income. Because Tyndale was leaving England to engage in the illegal act of Bible translation, he left in secrecy. . . . A register at the university [Wittenberg] may indicate

that Tyndale maintained his anonymity by adopting a fictitious name based on a somewhat common practice of reversing the order of the two syllables of his last name" (Ryken, 49).

- "Luther's vernacular New Testament had made its appearance in 1522, just two years before Tyndale's residence in Wittenberg. It gave Tyndale both an inspiration and model or prototype for how to do it" (Ryken, 49).

- Since Tyndale is present in Wittenberg in 1524, the obvious question is what interaction and relationship did Tyndale have with Martin Luther. Alex will examine this subject carefully in Lesson 8: Prologues, Prefaces, & Protestantism: Assessing Tyndale's Theological Beliefs Through the Lenses of His Own Writings.

    - "Luther famously produced his New Testament in five months, and Tyndale possibly in the equivalent of a year" (Ryken, 50).

- Tyndale relocated from Wittenberg to Cologne.

    - "Why Tyndale wished to leave Wittenberg for Cologne is easy to reconstruct. Cologne was a hub of printing, with no fewer than twenty presses in operation. It was also a port city with a thriving commercial export business. A specialty was extensive business connections in England. . . . A downside of Cologne was that it was a Catholic city where Protestants needed to guard their activities from public view" (Ryken, 51).

Persecution in Cologne

- In 1525 (or perhaps 1526), Tyndale settled in the German city of Cologne, with his new assistant William Roye. With the translation of the New Testament into English now complete; the next task was to ensure its printing and distribution. They chose to produce the work at the printing house of Peter Quentell (McGrath, 72).

    - "However, Quentell's presses were also producing the works of Johannes Cochlaeus, a noted opponent of Luther, who happened to learn of Tyndale's project. It seems that some of Quentell's printers became drunk in a public tavern one evening, and let slip that three thousand Lutheran New Testaments were being produced in English, right under the noses of the Catholic authorities. Word of this soon reached Cochlaeus, who was no fool, and could see his star rising in the German Catholic firmament if he were to expose and block this project. He arranged for a raid on Quentell's presses. Tyndale and Roye, however, managed to escape and salvage at least some of their printing, along with the text of the translation. . . . Undeterred, they moved their printing operation farther up the Rhine to the city of Worms, and began the tedious process all over again using the presses of Peter Schoeffer" (McGrath, 72).

- Not only did Cochlaeus interrupt the printing in Cologne, he also notified King Henry VIII of Tyndale's clandestine activities:

- "Cochlaeus took immediate steps to inform the public authorities, and through an order from the senate the press was stopped. He likewise, by letters, warned Henry VIII and his councilors, and directed them to give orders at every seaport to prevent the introduction of the baneful merchandise. Anticipating any further action of the senate, Tyndale hastens to the printers, and securing his manuscript and the pages already printed, escapes the net of the fowler by fleeing the city. We next hear of Tyndale at Worms, where, without further opposition, he succeeds in his long cherished design" (Condit, 100).

- "Through avenues unknown to posterity, Tyndale was alerted to his impending danger and escaped not only in person but with the printed pages of his translation of Matthew's gospel" (Ryken, 52).

- Tyndale fled to Worms.

  - "The city was not only Protestant in sympathy; it also had well established ties with England. . . . A side benefit of Worms was that it was the site of an esteemed Jewish community. . . . In fact, 'Worms was as good a place to study Hebrew as any in Christendom'" (Ryken, 52).

  - Consider whether God was working his purposes in some of the opposition that Tyndale encountered.

  - Pro 16:9 KJV - A man's heart deviseth his way: but the LORD directeth his steps.

  - Rom 8:28 KJV – And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to [his] purpose.

- It was long believed that nothing of the Cologne printing survived. However, in 1836, eight of the original quarto sheets were discovered bound into another work. These sheets help us to gauge the influence of Luther upon Tyndale's work.

  - "The pages include a "prologue," which is dependent at points upon Luther's own prologue to his 1522 German New Testament. This was not included in the 1526 printing of Tyndale's work, . . .

    The list of contents of the New Testament follows a convention that existed within Lutheran circles at this stage, which regarded four New Testament works—Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation—as being of dubious authenticity. These were placed at the end of the contents, and not numbered. Tyndale appears to have been obliged to follow this convention by Peter Quentell himself. The 1526 printing abandoned this convention" (McGrath, 72-73).

The Surviving Cologne Fragment

- The surviving Cologne Fragment consists of 31 leaves (62 printed pages), although some sources informally describe it as "31 pages" because they are counting the surviving leaves rather than both sides. Only one copy of the Cologne Fragment is known to exist. It is preserved in the British Library's Grenville Collection.

- The fragment contains:

    - Tyndale's Prologue to the New Testament

    - A table of contents

    - A woodcut illustration of St. Matthew

    - Matthew 1:1-22:12 with marginal notes and cross-references.

- The rest of the original Cologne New Testament was lost after the printing was interrupted by authorities.

Luther's Influence on Tyndale is Evident in the Cologne Fragment

- The following screenshots illustrate that Tyndale's 1525 New Testament was greatly influenced by Martin Luther's 1522 New Testament in terms of both content and formatting.

Luther's 1522 Prologue

Vorrhede.

ES were wol recht vnd billich / das dis buch on alle vorrhede vnnd frembden namen ausgieng / vnnd nur sein selbs eygen namen vnd rede furete / Aber die weyl durch manche wilde deutung vnd vorrhede / der Christen synn da hyn vertriebē ist / das man schier nit mehr weys / was Euangeli oder gesetz / new oder alt testament / heysse / fodert die nodturfft ein antzeygen vñ vorrhede zu stellen / da mit der einfeltige man / aus seinem alten wahn / auff die rechte ban gefüret vnd vnterrichtet werde / wes er ynn disem buch gewarten solle / auff das er nicht gepott vnnd gesetze suche / da er Euangeli vnd verheyssung Gottis suchen solle.

Darumb ist auffs erste zu wissen / das abtzuthun ist der wahn / das vier Euangelia vnd nur vier Euangelisten sind / vñ gantz zuwerffen / das etlich des newen testaments bucher teylen / ynn legales / historiales / Prophetales / vnnd sapientiales / vermeynen damit (weys nicht wie) das newe / dem alten testament zuvergleychen / Sondern festiglich zu halten / das gleych wie das alte testament ist eyn buch / darynnen Gottis gesetz vñ gepot / da neben die geschichte beyde dere die selben gehalten vnd nicht gehalten haben / geschrieben sind / Also ist das newe testament / eyn buch / darynnen das Euangelion vnd Gottis verheyssung / dan ebe auch geschichte beyde / dere die dran gleuben vnd nit gleuben / geschrieben sind / Also das man gewiss sey / das nur eyn Euāgelion sey / gleych wie nur eyn buch des newen testaments / vnd nur eyn glaub / vnd nur eyn Gott / der do verheysset.

Denn Euangelion ist eyn kriechisch wortt / vñ heyst auff deutsch / gute botschafft / gute mehr / gutte newzeytung / gutt geschrey / davon man singet / saget vñ frolich ist / gleych als do David den grossen Goliath vberwand / kam eyn gutt geschrey / vnd trostlich newtzeyttung vnter das Judisch volck / das yhrer grewlicher feynd erschlagen / vnd sie erloset / zu freud vnd frid gestellet weren / davon sie sungen vñ sprungen vnnd frolich waren / Also ist dis Euangelion Gottis vnnd new testament / eyn gutte meher vñ geschrey ynn alle welt erschollen durch die Apostell / von eynem rechten David / der mit der sund / tod vnnd teuffel gestritten / vnd vberwunden hab / vnnd damit alle die / so ynn sunden gefangen / mit dem todt geplagt / vom teuffel vberweldiget gewesen / on yhr verdienst erloset / rechtfertig / lebendig vnd selig gemacht hat / vnd da mit zu frid gestellet / vnd Gott wider heym bracht / da von sie singen / dancken Gott / loben vnd frolich sind ewiglich / so sie des anders fest glauben / vnd ym glauben bestendig bleyben.

Solch geschrey vnd trostliche mehre odder Euangelisch vnd Gotlich newzeytung / heyst auch eyn new testament / darumb / dz gleych wie eyn testament ist / wenn eyn sterbender man sein gutt bescheydet nach seinem todt den benandten erben aus zu teylen / Also hatt auch

Christus

Tyndale's 1525 Prologue

The.prologge.



Have here translated (brethern and ſuſters moſt dere and tenderly beloued in Chriſt) the newe Teſtament for youre ſpirituall edyfyinge/conſolacion/and ſolas: Exhortynge inſtantly and beſechynge thoſe that are better ſene in the tongȝ then y/ and that have hyer gyftȝ of grace to interpret the ſence of the ſcripture/and meanynge of the ſpyrite/then y/to conſydre and pondre my laboure/ and that with the ſpyrite of mekenes. And yf they perceyve in eny places that y have not attayned the very ſence of the tonge/ or meanynge of the ſcripture/ or haue not geven the right englyſſhe worde/ that they put to here handȝ to amende it/remembrynge that ſo is there dutie to do. For we have not receyved the gyftȝ of god for oure ſelues only/or for to hyde them: but for to beſtowe them vnto the honorynge of god and chriſt/and edyfyinge of the congregacion/wchich is the body of chriſt.

¶ The cauſes that moved me to tranſlate/y thought better that other ſholde ymagion/then that y ſholde rehearce them. Moreover y ſuppoſed yt ſuperfluous/for who ys ſo blynde to are why lyght ſholde be ſhewed to them that walke in derckenes/where they cannot but ſtomble/and where to ſtomble ys the daunger of eternall dammacion/ other ſo deſpyghtfull that he wolde envye eny man (y ſpeake nott his brother) ſo neceſſary a thinge/or ſo bedlem madde to affyrme that good is the naturall cauſe of ynell/and derkenes to procede oute of lyght/ and that lyinge ſholde be grounded in trougth and verytie/and nott rather clene contrary/ that lyght deſtroyeth derckenes/and veritie reprovcth all manner lyinge.

Luther's 1522 Table of Contents



Die Bucher des
newen testa-
ments.

1 Euangelion Sanct Matthes.
2 Euangelion Sanct Marcus.
3 Euangelion Sanct Lucas.
4 Euangelion Sanct Johannis.
5 Der Apoſtel geſchicht beſchrieben von Sanct Lucas
6 Epiſtel Sanct Paulus zu den Romern.
7 Die erſte Epiſtel Sanct Paulus zu den Corinthern.
8 Die ander Epiſtel Sanct Paulus zu den Corinthern
9 Epiſtel Sanct Paulus zu den Galatern.
10 Epiſtel Sanct Paulus zu den Epheſern.
11 Epiſtel Sanct Paulus zu den Philippern.
12 Epiſtel Sanct Paulus zu den Coloſſern.
13 Die erſte Epiſtel Sanct Paulus zu den Theſſalonicern.
14 Die ander Epiſtel Sanct Paulus zu den Theſſalonicern.
15 Die erſt Epiſtel Sanct Paulus an Timotheon.
16 Die ander Epiſtel Sanct Paulus an Timotheon.
17 Epiſtel Sanct Paulus an Titon.
18 Epiſtel Sanct Paulus an Philemon.
19 Die erſt Epiſtel Sanct Peters.
20 Die ander Epiſtel Sanct Peters.
21 Die erſte Epiſtel Sanct Johannis.
22 Die ander Epiſtel Sanct Johannis.
23 Die dritt Epiſtel Sanct Johannis.

Die Epiſtel zu den Ebreern.
Die Epiſtel Jacobus.
Die Epiſtel Judas.
Die offinbarung Johannis.

Note that Luther set Hebrews, James, Jude, & Revelation apart from the rest of the NT in his 1522 New Testament

Tyndale's 1525 Table of Contents

The bokes conteyned in the newe Testament.

i The goſpell of ſaynct Mathew
ii The goſpell of S. Marke
iii The goſpell of S. Luke
iiii The goſpel of S. Jhon
v The actes of the apoſtles written by S. Luke
vi The epiſtle of S. Paul to the Romans
vii The fyrſt piſtle of S. Paul to the Corrinthians
viii The ſecond piſtle of S. Paul to the Cortinthians
ix The piſtle of S. Paul to the Galathians.
x The piſtle of S. Paul to the Epheſians.
xi The piſtle of S. Paul to the Philippians
xii The piſtle of S. Paul to the Colloſſians
xiii The fyrſt piſtle of S. Paul vnto the Teſſalonians
xiiii The ſeconde piſtle of S. Paul vnto the Teſſalonians
xv The fyrſt piſtle of S. Paul to Timothe.
xvi The ſeconde piſtle of S. Paul to Timothe.
xvii The piſtle of S. Paul to Titus
xviii Te piſtle of S. Paul vnto Philemon
xix The fyrſt piſtle of S. Peter
xx The ſeconde piſtle of S. Peter
xxi The fyrſt piſtle of S. Jhon
xxii The ſeconde piſtle of S. Jhon
xxiii The thryd piſtle of S. Jhon

The piſtle vnto the Ebrues
The piſtle of S. James
The piſtle of Jude
The revelacion of Jhon.

Note that Tyndale copied Luther in setting Hebrews, James, Jude, & Revelation apart from the rest of the NT in the Cologne Fragment

Luther's 1522 Matthew 1 with Marginal Notes

Euangelion Sanct Matthes. I.

Das erst Capitel.

Luce. 3.



Is ist das buch von der gepurt Jhesu Christi der do ist ein son Dauids des sons Abraham.

Abraham hat gepom den Jsaac.
Jsaac hatt gepom den Jacob.
Jacob hatt gepom den Juda vnnd seyne bruder.
Juda hat gepom den Pharez vnnd den Zaram von der Thamar.
Pharez hat gepom den Hezron.
Hezron hat gepom den Ram.
Ram hat gepom den Amminadab.
Amminadab hatt gepom den Nahasson.
Nahasson hatt gepom den Salma.
Salma hat gepom den Boas von der Rahab.
Boas hat gepom den Obed von der Rhut.
Obed hat gepom den Jesse.
Jesse hatt gepom den konig Dauid.

Abraham vnd David werdenn furnemlich angezogen darumb das den selben Christus sonderlich verheyssen ist.

S. Matthews leser ertzelt gelt auffgenn/vnnd fert Christus geschlecht von Salomon nach dem gesetz aber Sanct Lucas furet es nach der natur vom Nathan Salomonis bruder. Denn das gesetz nennet auch die kinder/ so vō brudern auf nachgelassenem weyb gepom sind. Deuter. 25.

Der konig Dauid hat gepom den Salomon vonn dem weybe des Vrie.
Salomon hat gepom den Roboam.
Roboam hat gepom den Abia.
Abia hat gepom den Assa.
Assa hat gepom den Josaphat.
Josaphat hat gepom den Joram.
Joram hat gepom den Osia.
Osia hat gepom den Jotham.
Jotham hat gepom den Achas.
Achas hat gepom den Ezechia.
Ezechia hat gepom den Manasse.
Manasse hatt gepom den Amon.
Amon hat gepom den Josia.
Josia hatt gepom den Jechonia vnd seyne bruder/vmb die zeyt der Babyloniſchen gefencknis.

4. Reg. 25.

Nach der Babyloniſchen gefencknis/hat Jechonia gepom den Sealthiel.

1. Chro. 2.

Sealthiel hatt gepom den Zorobabel
Zorobabel hatt gepom den Abiud.
Abiud hat gepom den Eliachim.

Eliachim
a

Tyndale's 1525 Matthew 1 with Marginal Notes

The gospell of S. Mathew.

The fyrst Chapter.

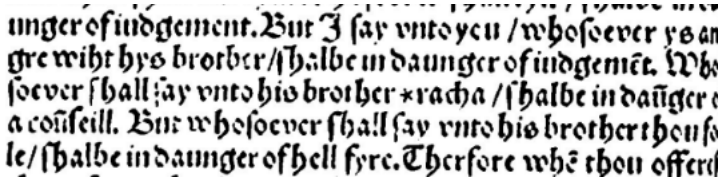


Hys ys the boke of
the generacio of Jesus Christ the so= * Abraham and
ne of David/The sonne also of Abra David are fyrst re
CAbraham begatt Isaac: (ha. hearsid/ because
Isaac begatt Jacob: that christe was
Jacob begatt Judas and hys bre= chefly promysed
Judas begat Phares: (thren: vnto them.
and Zaram of thamar:
Phares begatt Esrom:
Esrom begatt Aram:
Aram begatt Aminadab:
Aminadab begatt naasson:
Naasson begatt Salmon:
Salmon begatt boos of rahab:
Boos begatt obed of ruth:
Obed begatt Jesse:
Jesse begatt david the kynge:
CDavid the kynge begatt Solomon/of her that was the Sayncte mathew
Solomon begat roboam: (wyfe of vry: leveth out certe=
Roboam begatt Abia: yne generacions/
Abia begatt asa: z describeth Chri=
Asa begatt iosaphat: stes linage from
Josaphat begatt Joram: solomō/after the
Joram begatt Osias: lawe of Moses/
Osias begatt Joatham: but Lucas descri=
Joatham begatt Achas: beth it accordyng
Achas begatt Ezechias: to nature/frō na=
Ezechias begatt Manasses: than solomōs bro=
CManasses begatt Amon: ther. For the la=
Amon begatt Josias: we calleth them
Josias begatt Jechonias and his brethren about the tyme of a mannes childrē
the captivite of babilon which his broder
CAfter they were led captive to babilon/Jechonias begatt begatt of his wy=
fe lefte behynde
hym after his de=
the.deu.xxv.c.

Examples of The First Verses Translated by Tyndale into English

- The Cologne Fragment consists only of Matthew 1:1-22:12.

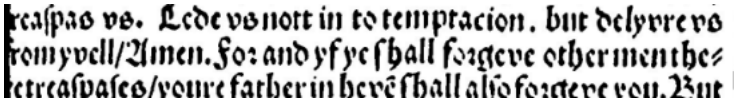
Matthew 5:22


unger of iudgement. But I ſay vnto you / whoſoever ys an
gre wiht hys brother / ſhalbe in daunger of iudgemēt. Wh
ſoever ſhall ſay vnto his brother *racha / ſhalbe in dañger
a coũſeill. But whoſoever ſhall ſay vnto his brother thou fo
le / ſhalbe in daunger of hell fyre. Therfore whē thou offer

But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his brother, shall be in danger of judgement. Whosoever shall say unto his brother racha, shall be in danger of a council. But whosoever shall say unto his brother thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.

Comment: Tyndale does not include "without a cause"

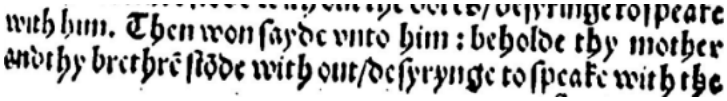
Matthew 6:13


treaſpas vs. Lede vs nott in to temptacion. but delyvre vs
from yvell / Amen. For and yf ye ſhall forgeve other men the
tretreaſpaſes / youre father in hevē ſhall alſo forgeve you. But

Lead us not in to temptation: but deliver us from evil/Amen.

Comment: Tyndale does not include Matt 6:13b – "For thine is the kingdom and the power, and the glory for ever." But Tyndale will add this in his 1534 New Testament. This is evidence of Tyndale translating under exigent circumstances with the hope that others would review his work and correct it as needed and that Tyndale himself would correct it in the future as opportunity allowed.

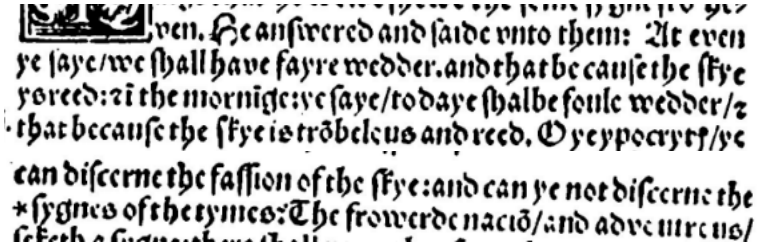
Matthew 12:47


with him. Then won ſayde vnto him: beholde thy mother
and thy brethrē ſtōde with out / deſyrynge to ſpeake with the

Then one said unto him: behold thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee.

Comment: Tyndale includes Matthew 12:47, which is omitted in the Critical Text.

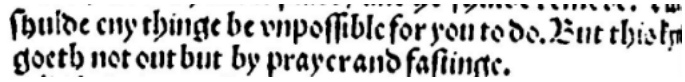
Matthew 16:2-3


ven. He anſwered and ſaide vnto them: At even
ye ſaye/we ſhall have fayre wedder. and that be cauſe the ſkye
roreed: ¶ the morninge: ye ſaye/to daye ſhalbe foule wedder/
that becauſe the ſkye is tröbelous and reed. O ye hypocrytes/ye
can diſcerne the faſſion of the ſkye: and can ye not diſcerne the
*ſygnes of the tymes: The frowerde naciö/and adulterous/

He answered and said unto them: At even ye say, we shall have fair weather, and that because the sky is red: in the morning: ye say, today shall be foul weather, and that because the sky is troublous and red. O ye hypocrites, ye can discern the fashion of the sky: and can ye not discern the signs of the times?

Comment: Tyndale includes Matthew 16:2-3, which is questioned in the Critical Text.

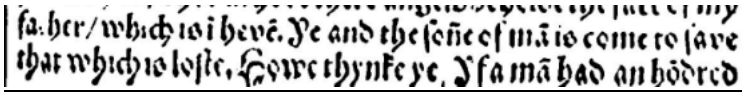
Matthew 17:21


ſhulde eny thinge be vnpoſſible for you to do. But this kynd
goeth not out but by prayer and faſtinge.

But this kind, goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.

Comment: Tyndale includes Matthew 17:21, which is questioned/omitted in the Critical Text

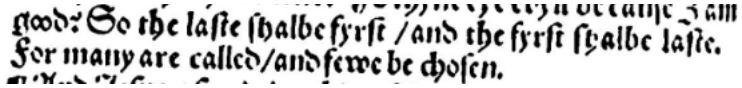
Matt 18:11


fa.her/which is i heve. Ye and the ſöne of mā is come to ſave
that which is loſte. How thynke ye. If a mā had an hödred

Yea, and the son of man is come to save that which is lost.

Comment: Tyndale includes Matthew 18:11, which is questioned/omitted in the Critical Text.

Matthew 20:16


goode: So the laſte ſhalbe fyrſt / and the fyrſt ſhalbe laſte.
For many are called/and fewe be choſen.

So the last shall be first, and the first shall be last. For many are called, and few be chosen.

Comment: Tyndale includes "for many are called and few be chosen" which is questioned/omitted in the Critical Text.

- A couple clear observations can be drawn from the Cologne Fragment.
    - These Cologne readings largely agree with the Greek text later called the Textus Receptus, and with the KJV, against later critical omissions at Matthew 12:47; 16:2–3; 17:21; 18:11; and 20:16. Matthew 5:22 and 6:13b are the exceptions, and both follow Erasmus. The 1525 text is an interrupted first printing, not yet Tyndale's revised New Testament.
    - Tyndale's wording is very similar to the KJV.

The Prologue to the Cologne Fragment Reveals Tyndale's Mindset and Approach to Translation

- Similar to Martin Luther's 1522 German New Testament, Tyndale included a Prologue to his 1525 New Testament. The Prologue is revealing of Tyndale's thinking.
- "I have here translated (brethren and sisters most dear and tenderly beloved in Christ) the new Testament for your spiritual edifying, consolation and solace: Exhorting instantly and beseeching those that are better seen in the tongues than I, and that have higher gifts of grace to interpret the sense of the Scripture, and meaning of the Spirit, than I, to consider and ponder my labor, and that with the spirit of meekness. And if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue, or meaning of the Scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put to their hands to amend it, remembering that so is their duty to do. For we have not received the gifts of God for ourselves only, or for to hide them; but for to bestow them unto the honoring of God and Christ, and edifying of the congregation, which is the body of Christ" (Tyndale, Prologue).
    - Tyndale's humility is evident. He has no pride of authorship. He wants his work to be revised and improved upon because his sole concern is that the scriptures be accurately translated into English. Tyndale believed it was the duty of other members of the body of Christ to review and improve his translation. Service in the body of Christ is a team sport.
- "The causes that moved me to translate, I thought better that others should imagine, then that I should rehearse them. Moreover I supposed it superfluous, for who is so blind to ask why light should be shewed to them that walk in darkness . . . " (Tyndale, Prologue).
    - Tyndale is saying that his purpose in translating is self-evident and more than obvious. His desire is to give light to those in darkness.

    - Psa 119:130 KJV - The entrance of thy words giveth light; it giveth understanding unto the simple.

- "After it had pleased God to put in my mind, and also to give me grace to translate this fore rehearsed new testament into our English tongue, howsoever we have done it. I supposed it very necessary to put you in remembrance of certain points, which are: that ye well understand what these words mean: the old testament, the new testament, the law, the gospel, Moses, Christ, nature, grace, working and believing, deeds and faith; lest we ascribe to the one that which belongeth to the other, and make of Christ Moses, of the gospel the law, despise grace and rob faith, and fall from meek learning unto idle despitions, brawling and scolding about words" (Tyndale, Prologue).

    - Tyndale spends most of the Prologue defining basic terms such as old testament, new testament, law, gospel, etc.

    - Q: Why does Tyndale spend so much of the Prologue defining basic terms?

    - The English people have not had the scriptures in their own language. Tyndale is keenly aware that the English people have been deceived as to the meaning of basic Bible terms, and Tyndale is trying to eliminate the confusion.

    - "If ye would teach, how could you do it so well, and with so great profit, as when the lay-people have the scripture before them in their mother tongue? For then should they see, by the order of the text, whether thou jugglest or not" (Tyndale, Obedience).

- The Prologue is essentially an extended gospel presentation.

    - "By faith are we never with out love and good works, yet is our saving imputed neither to love nor unto good works, but unto faith only." (Tyndale, Prologue)

    - "Whatsoever good thing is in us, that is given us freely with out our deserving or merits for Christ's blood's sake." (Tyndale, Prologue)

    - "but because I am heir of Heaven by grace and Christ's purchasing." (Tyndale, Prologue)

- The Cologne Fragment reveals Tyndale's clear motivation to give light to those in darkness. Accordingly, his translational choices were designed to produce a readable text accessible to English speakers.

- Ignoring the spelling difference, what is immediately apparent upon review of the Cologne Fragment is its similarity to the KJV phrasing. Tyndale's language was going to endure, and the wording of his subsequent translation work will ultimately account for the vast majority of the KJV New Testament.

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Appendix A

Tyndale's Treatment of "without a cause" in Matthew 5:22

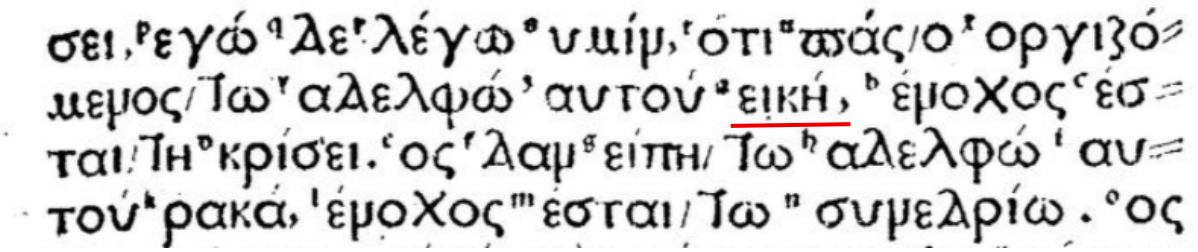
Prepared by Alex Bojko & Bryan C. Ross

Early Greek Evidence

- In the body of Lesson 3 it was noted that the Cologne Fragment (1525) did not include the phrase "without a cause" in Matthew 5:22. This phrase was never added to the text by William Tyndale during his lifetime despite his later revisions to the New Testament. Put another way, the 1526 Worms New Testament as well as his 1534 and 1535 revisions never added the phrase "without a cause" to Matthew 5:22.

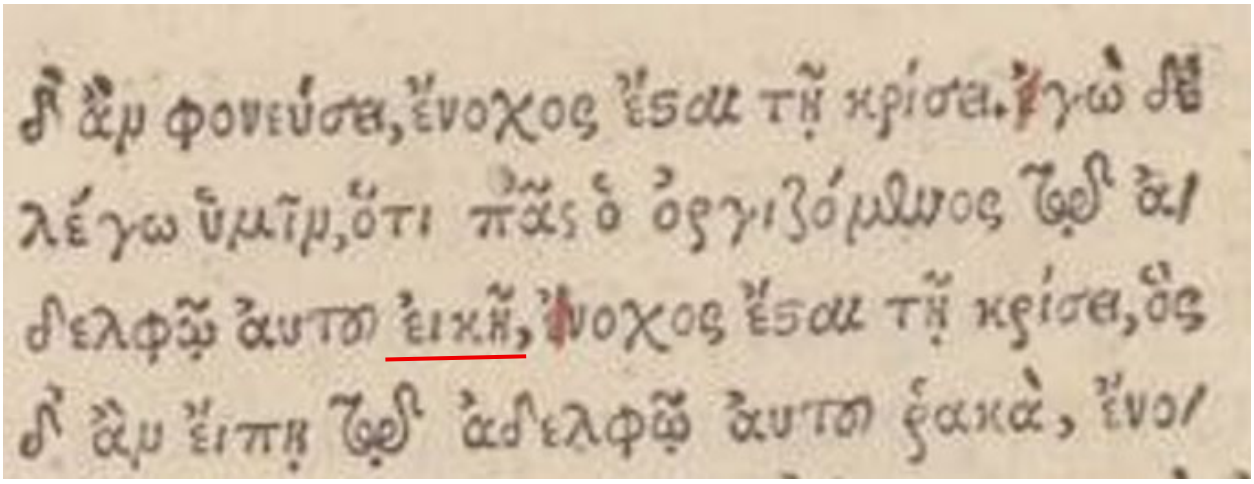
- This is curious given the fact that all the Greek evidence available to Tyndale during his lifetime testified to the inclusion of the phrase in the text. The following screenshots from the 1514 Complutensian Polyglot and the five editions of Erasmus's Greek New Testament all bear witness to the fact that the Greek word *εἰκῇ*, underlined below in red, for "without a cause" was in the text of Matthew 5:22.

1514 Complutensian Polyglot



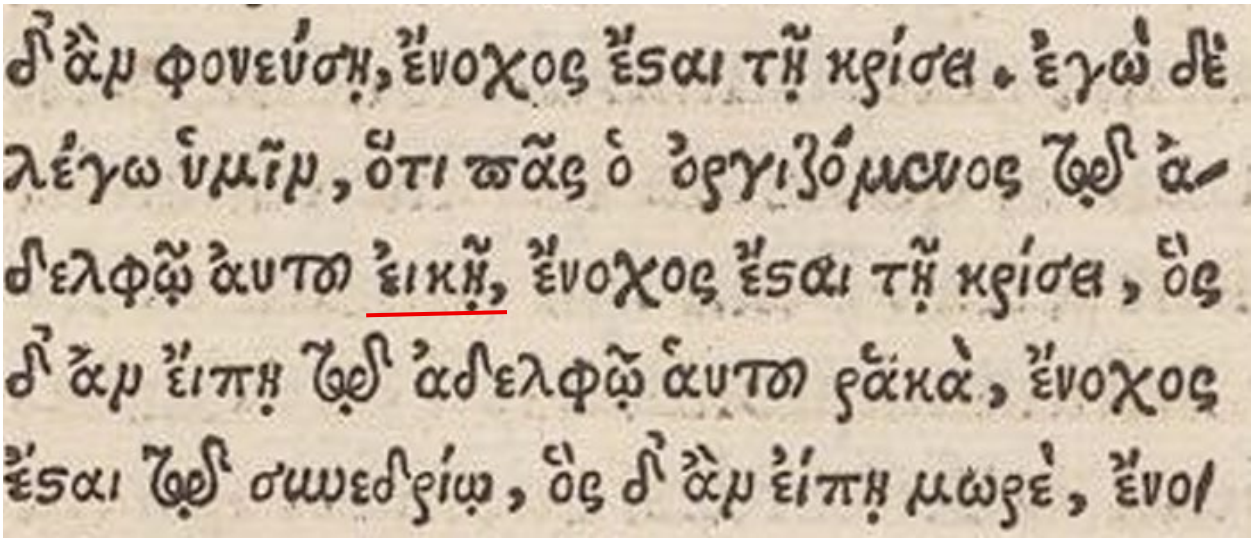
The Greek word *εἰκῇ* for "without a cause" in the text of Matthew 5:22 in the Complutensian Polyglot.

1516 Erasmus Greek NT



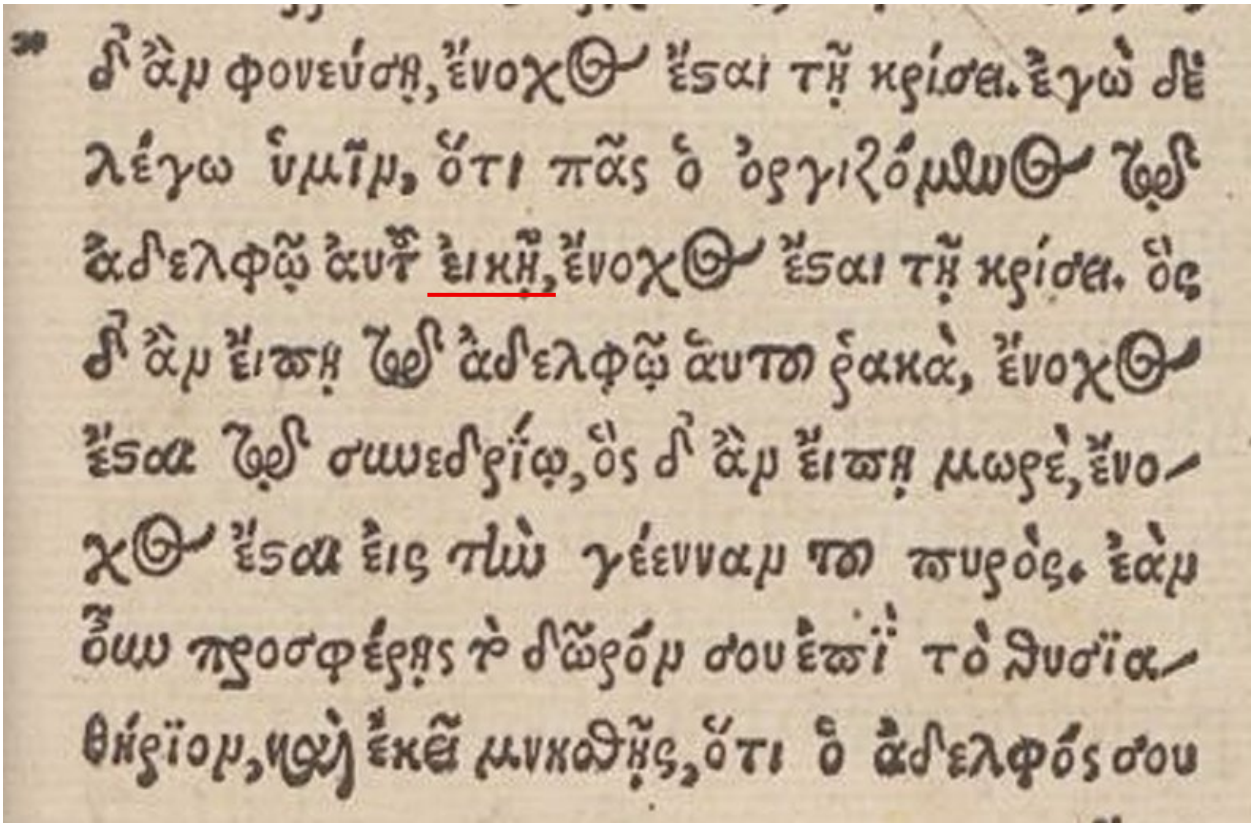
The Greek word *εἰκῇ* for "without a cause" in the text of Matthew 5:22 in Erasmus's 1st edition of the Greek NT from 1516.

1519 Erasmus Greek NT



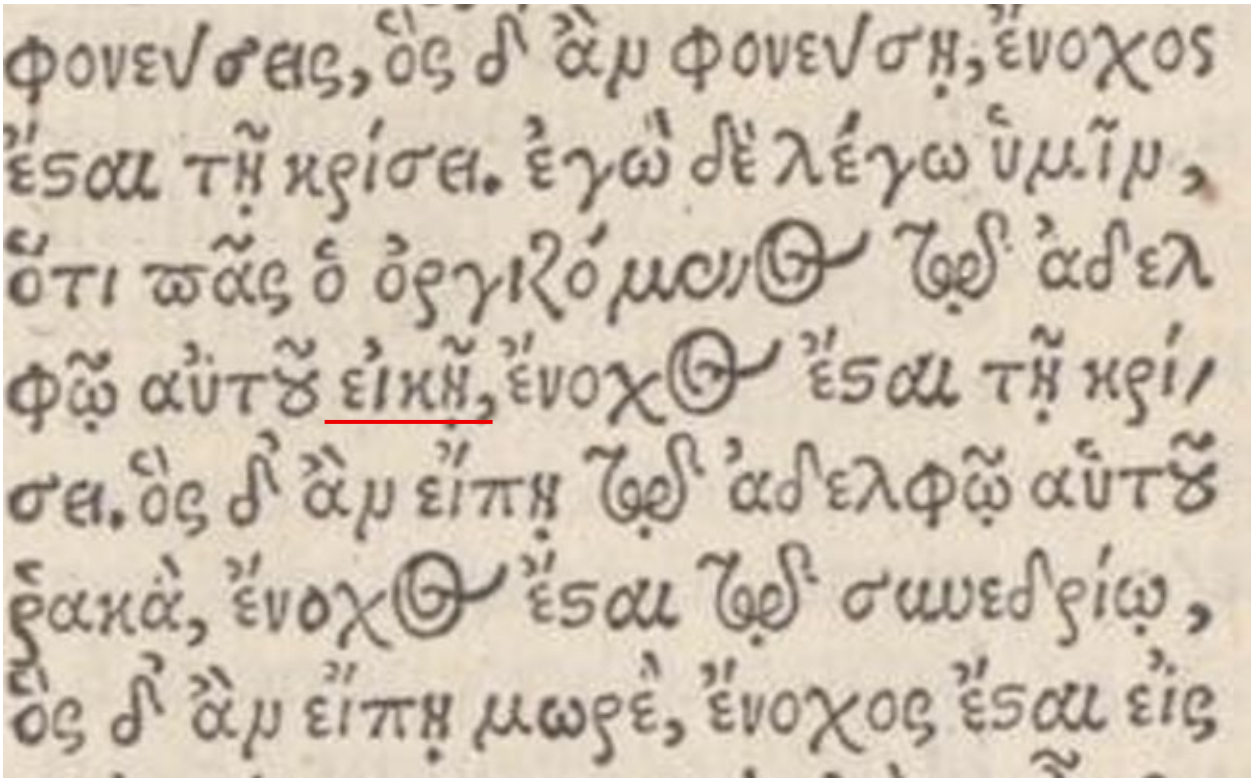
The Greek word *εἰκῇ* for "without a cause" in the text of Matthew 5:22 in Erasmus's 2nd edition of the Greek NT from 1519.

1522 Erasmus Greek NT



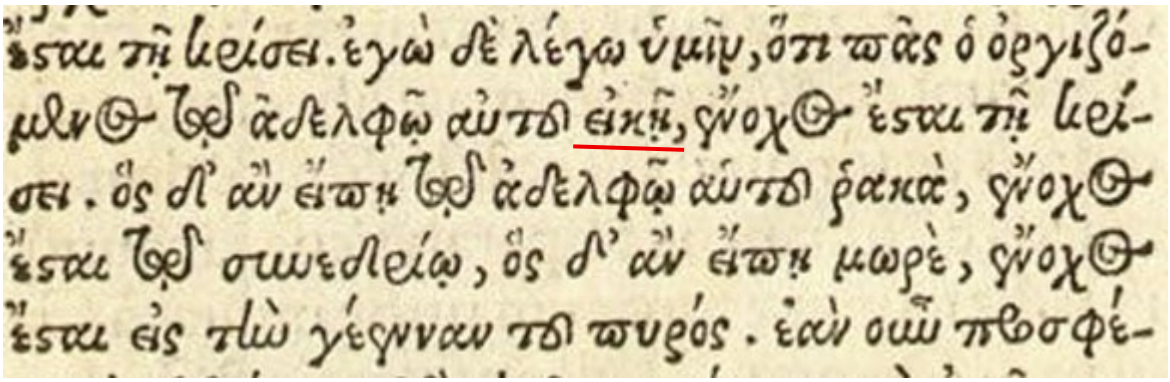
The Greek word *εἰκῇ* for "without a cause" in the text of Matthew 5:22 in Erasmus's 3rd edition of the Greek NT from 1522.

1527 Erasmus Greek NT



The Greek word *εἰκῇ* for "without a cause" in the text of Matthew 5:22 in Erasmus's 4th edition of the Greek NT from 1527.

1535 Erasmus Greek NT



The Greek word *εἰκῇ* for "without a cause" in the text of Matthew 5:22 in Erasmus's 5th edition of the Greek NT from 1535.

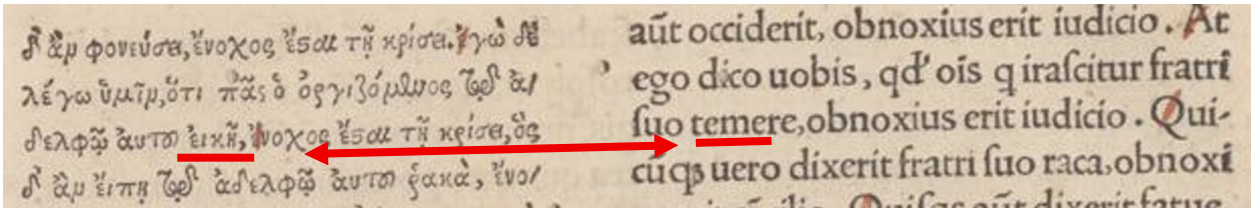
- The early Greek evidence presents a notable historical difficulty for explaining William Tyndale's omission of "without a cause" in Matthew 5:22. Every major printed Greek source available to Tyndale, including the Complutensian Polyglot and all five editions of Erasmus's Greek New Testament, contained the word *εἰκῇ*, meaning "without a cause," "rashly," or "unadvisedly."

Consequently, there was no known printed Greek evidence accessible to Tyndale that would have justified omitting the phrase on strictly textual grounds.

Erasmus's Latin Column

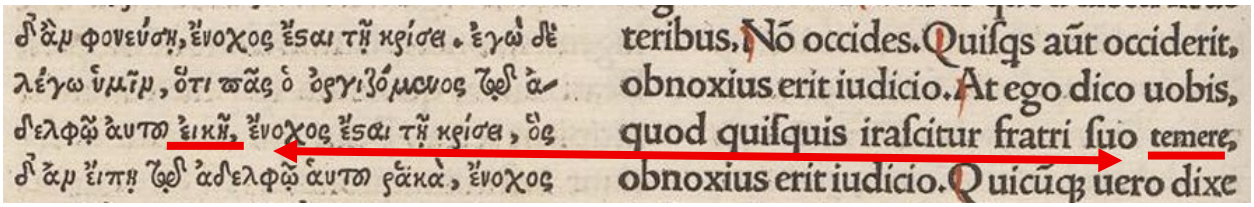
- As we consider why Tyndale might have not translated the Greek word *εἰκῇ* in Matthew 5:22, despite its clear presence in the Greek text, it is important to remember that all 5 editions of the Erasmine Greek were diglot Bibles containing both Greek and Latin columns. Consider the following images from the 1516, 1519, and 1522 editions.

1516 1st Edition



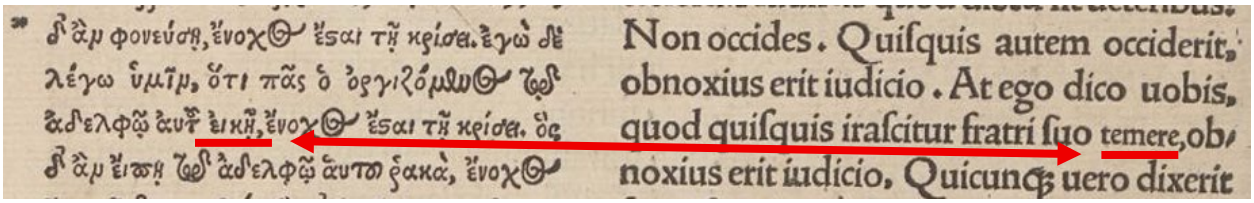
- Note that in Erasmus's first edition the Greek word *εἰκῇ* corresponds with the Latin word *temere* in the Latin column. Further note that *temere* is in the same font as the rest of the verse in the Latin column.

1519 2nd Edition



- The second edition of Erasmus places the Latin word *temere* in italics visually distinguishing it from the rest of verse 22 in the Latin text. The same thing occurs in the Erasmus' 3rd edition from 1522, which would have been the primary edition utilized by Tyndale.

1522 3rd Edition



- The remaining two editions of Erasmus (1527 & 1535) are exactly the same as the 2nd and 3rd edition pictured above.

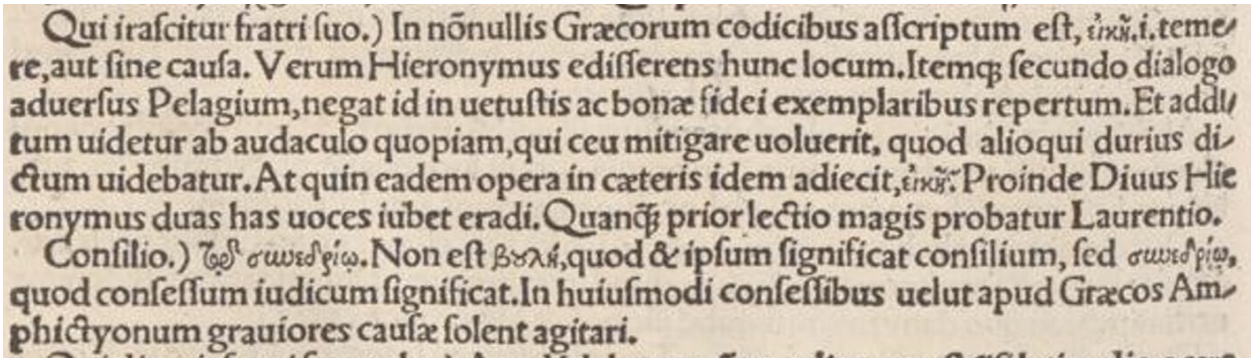
- Could it be that Tyndale saw the italicization of the Latin word *temere* and elected not the translate the corresponding Greek word *εἰκῇ* despite its clear presence in the text? Whether Erasmus intended the italicization of *temere* as a signal of textual uncertainty remains unclear. Nevertheless, the visual distinction is noteworthy because it occurs precisely at the point where Erasmus's annotations repeatedly question the originality of the corresponding Greek word *εἰκῇ*.

- Taken together, Erasmus's annotations (see the next section) and his treatment of *temere* in the Latin column suggest that the presence of *εἰκῇ* in the printed text did not necessarily imply confidence in its authenticity. While Erasmus preserved the traditional reading in all five editions of his Greek New Testament, he simultaneously drew attention to evidence that called the word into question. This distinction may help explain how early translators such as Luther and Tyndale could omit "without a cause" despite encountering *εἰκῇ* in the Greek texts available to them.

Erasmus's Annotations

- In addition to being included in the text in the Complutensian Polyglot (1514) and all five editions of Erasmus the passage is also explicitly addressed in Erasmus's "Annotations" or comments about the text as the following screenshots demonstrate.

1516 Annotation on Matthew 5:22



Qui iraſcitur fratri ſuo.) In nõnullis Græcorum codicibus aſſcriptum eſt, εἰκῆ, i. temere, aut ſine cauſa. Verum Hieronymus ediſſerens hunc locum. Itemq; ſecundo dialogo aduerſus Pelagium, negat id in uetuſtis ac bonæ fidei exemplaribus repertum. Et addi tum uidetur ab audaculo quopiam, qui ceu mitigare uoluerit, quod alioqui durius dictum uidebatur. At quin eadem opera in cæteris idem adiecit, εἰκῆ. Proinde Diuus Hieronymus duas has uoces iubet eradi. Quanq; prior lectio magis probatur Laurentio.

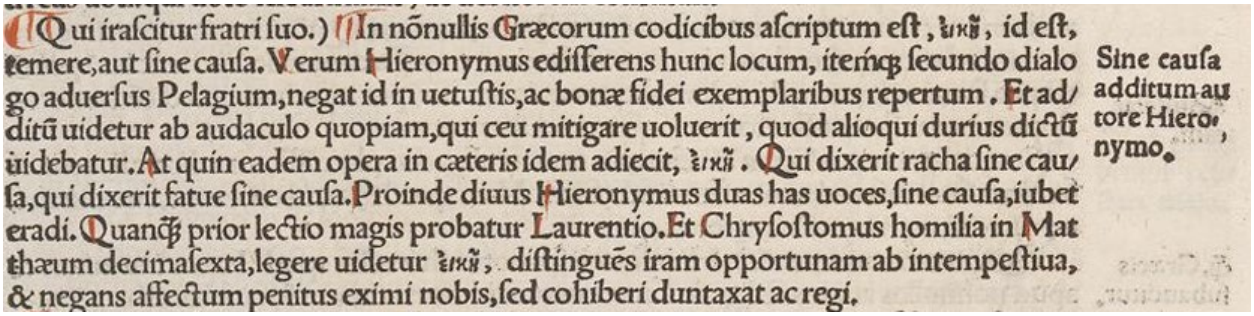
Conſilio.) Τῷ συνεδρίῳ. Non eſt βουλή, quod & ipſum ſignificat conſilium, ſed συνεδρίῳ, quod conſeſſum iudicum ſignificat. In huiuſmodi conſeſſibus uelut apud Græcos Amphictyonum grauiores cauſæ ſolent agitari.

- Erasmus in his 1516 Annotations states the following regarding "without a cause" in Matthew 5:22:

  - "Whoever is angry with his brother." In some Greek manuscripts, *εἰκῇ* is written, that is, *rashly* or *without cause*. But Jerome, explaining this passage, and likewise in the second dialogue *Against Pelagius*, denies that it is found in the ancient and reliable copies. And it seems to have been added by some rather audacious person, who wished, as it were, to soften what appeared to have been stated somewhat harshly. Yet, by the same procedure, he added the same word in the other passages. Therefore, Saint Jerome orders these two words to be

erased. Although the earlier reading is preferred by Laurentius [Lorenzo Valla]" (Translation provided by ChatGPT).

1519 Annotation on Matthew 5:22

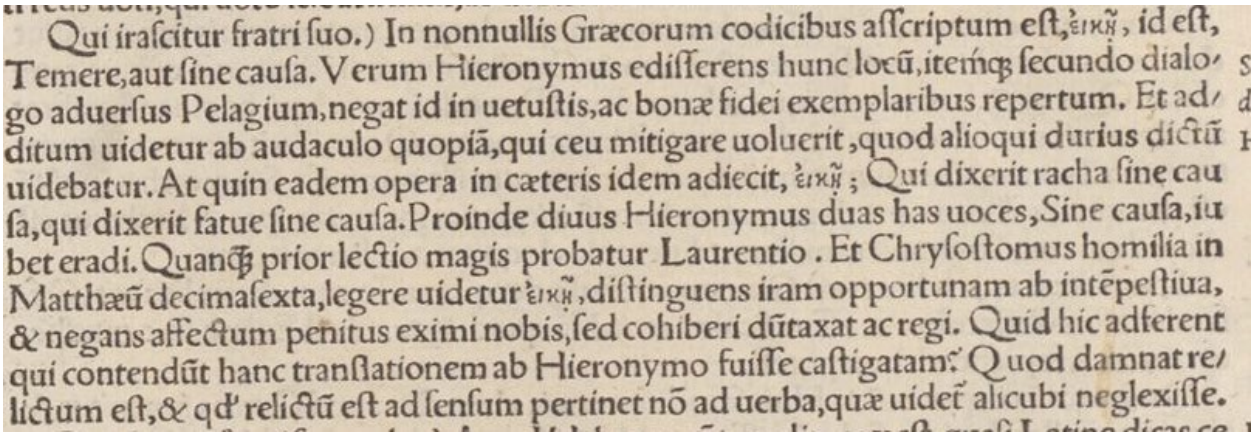


Qui iraſcitur fratri ſuo.) In nõnullis Græcorum codicibus aſcriptum eſt, εικῆ, id eſt, temere, aut ſine cauſa. Verum Hieronymus ediſſerens hunc locum, itemq; ſecundo dialo go aduerſus Pelagium, negat id in uetuſtis, ac bonæ fidei exemplaribus repertum. Et ad/ ditũ uidetur ab audaculo quopiam, qui ceu mitigare uoluerit, quod alioqui durius dictũ uidebatur. At quin eadem opera in cæteris idem adiecit, εικῆ. Qui dixerit racha ſine cau/ ſa, qui dixerit fatue ſine cauſa. Proinde diuus Hieronymus duas has uoces, ſine cauſa, iubet eradi. Quanq; prior lectio magis probatur Laurentio. Et Chryſoſtomus homilia in Mat thæum decimaſexta, legere uidetur εικῆ, diſtinguẽs iram opportunam ab intempeſtiua, & negans affectum penitus eximi nobis, ſed cohiberi duntaxat ac regi.

Sine cauſa additum au tore Hiero nymo.

- Erasmus in his 1519 Annotations states the following regarding "without a cause" in Matthew 5:22:
    - "Whoever is angry with his brother." In some Greek manuscripts the word *εἰκῇ* is added—that is, *rashly* or *without cause*. But Jerome, in his exposition of this passage and likewise in his second dialogue against Pelagius, says that it is not found in the ancient and trustworthy copies, and that it seems to have been added by some bold person who wished to soften what otherwise appeared too harshly expressed. Indeed, by the same liberty he added in the following clause as well, *εἰκῇ*—'Whoever shall say "Raca" without cause,' and so on. Therefore, Jerome orders that these two words, *without cause*, be erased. Yet the earlier reading is preferred by Laurentius [Lorenzo Valla]. And Chrysostom, in his sixteenth homily on Matthew, seems to read *εἰκῇ*, distinguishing appropriate anger from intemperate anger, and asserting that the emotion should not be entirely removed from us, but merely restrained and governed" (Translation provided by ChatGPT).

1522 Annotation on Matthew 5:22

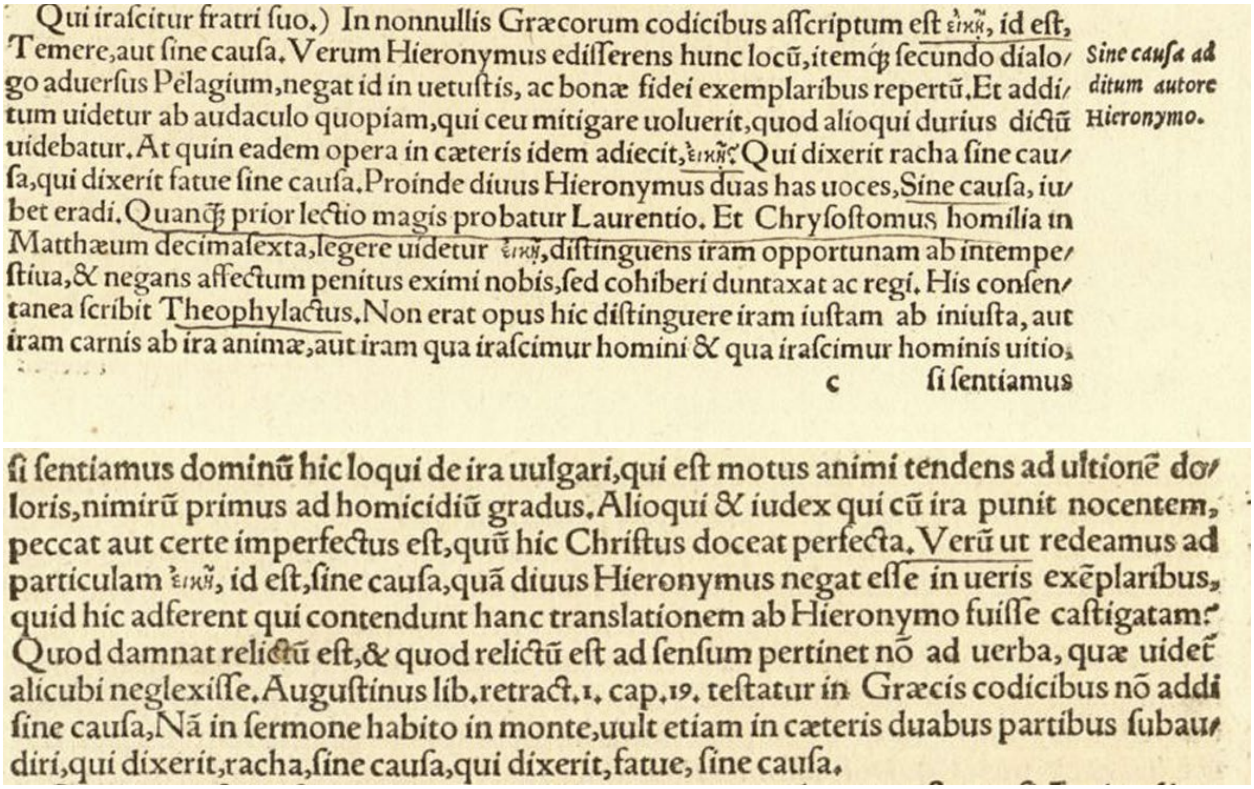


Qui iraſcitur fratri ſuo.) In nonnullis Græcorum codicibus aſſcriptum eſt, εικῆ, id eſt, Temere, aut ſine cauſa. Verum Hieronymus ediſſerens hunc locũ, itemq; ſecundo dialo/ go aduerſus Pelagium, negat id in uetuſtis, ac bonæ fidei exemplaribus repertum. Et ad/ ditum uidetur ab audaculo quopiã, qui ceu mitigare uoluerit, quod alioqui durius dictũ uidebatur. At quin eadem opera in cæteris idem adiecit, εικῆ; Qui dixerit racha ſine cau ſa, qui dixerit fatue ſine cauſa. Proinde diuus Hieronymus duas has uoces, Sine cauſa, iu bet eradi. Quanq; prior lectio magis probatur Laurentio. Et Chryſoſtomus homilia in Matthæũ decimaſexta, legere uidetur εικῆ, diſtinguens iram opportunam ab intẽpeſtiua, & negans affectum penitus eximi nobis, ſed cohiberi dũtaxat ac regi. Quid hic adferent qui contendũt hanc tranſlationem ab Hieronymo fuiſſe caſtigatam? Quod damnat re/ lictum eſt, & qđ relictũ eſt ad ſenſum pertinet nõ ad uerba, quæ uidet alicubi neglexiſſe.

- Erasmus in his 1522 Annotations states the following regarding "without a cause" in Matthew 5:22:

- "In certain Greek manuscripts it is written *εἰκῇ*, that is, "rashly" or "without cause." But Jerome, when he published this passage, likewise in the second dialogue against Pelagius, denies that it is found in the better Greek copies. And from what has been said it appears to have been added by someone audaciously, who wished to alter what seemed to be somewhat difficult. And although in the same work he adds the same word, *εἰκῇ*, "without cause," he says: **"**Whoever has said Raca without cause, and whoever has said 'fool' without cause." Therefore the two words of the divine Jerome, "without cause," ought to be understood. And the earlier reading is more strongly supported by Laurentius [Lorenzo Valla]. Chrysostom, in his homily on the tenth chapter of Matthew, reads *εἰκῇ,* distinguishing the matter between "without cause" and "inconsiderately," and entirely removes from us the emotion of anger, but only restrains us from the abuse of it. What could those who maintain that this translation was corrupted by Jerome bring forward? For he condemns the thing itself, and what remains pertains to the sense, which he seems to have neglected in some places" (Translation provided by ChatGPT)

1527 Annotation on Matthew 5:22



Qui iraſcitur fratri ſuo.) In nonnullis Græcorum codicibus aſſcriptum eſt εἰκῆ, id eſt, Temere, aut ſine cauſa. Verum Hieronymus ediſſerens hunc locũ, itemq; ſecundo dialogo aduerſus Pelagium, negat id in uetuſtis, ac bonæ fidei exemplaribus repertũ. Et addi/tum uidetur ab audaculo quopiam, qui ceu mitigare uoluerit, quod alioqui durius dictũ uidebatur. At quin eadem opera in cæteris idem adiecit, εἰκῆ? Qui dixerit racha ſine cauſa, qui dixerit fatue ſine cauſa. Proinde diuus Hieronymus duas has uoces, Sine cauſa, iubet eradi. Quanq; prior lectio magis probatur Laurentio. Et Chryſoſtomus homilia in Matthæum decimaſexta, legere uidetur εἰκῆ, diſtinguens iram opportunam ab intempeſtiua, & negans affectum penitus eximi nobis, ſed cohiberi duntaxat ac regi. His conſentanea ſcribit Theophylactus. Non erat opus hic diſtinguere iram iuſtam ab iniuſta, aut iram carnis ab ira animæ, aut iram qua iraſcimur homini & qua iraſcimur hominis uitio,

Sine cauſa ad ditum autore Hieronymo.

c ſi ſentiamus

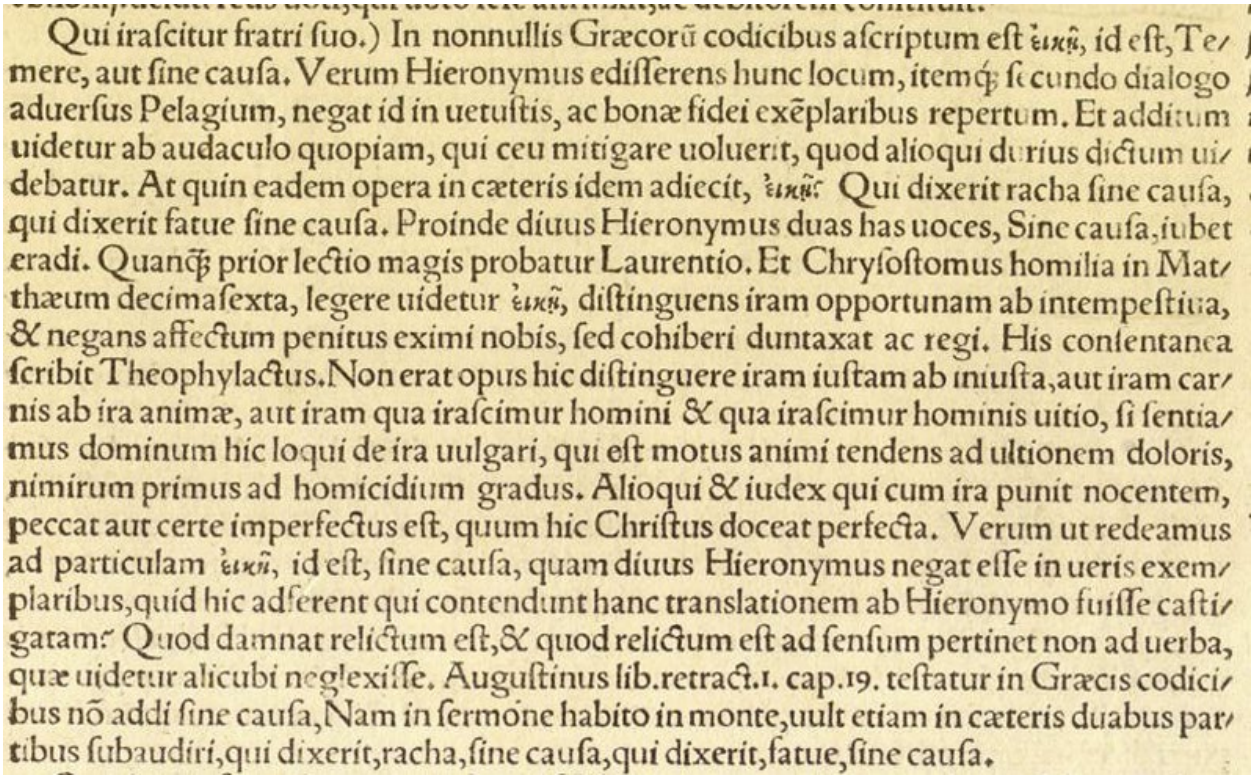
ſi ſentiamus dominũ hic loqui de ira uulgari, qui eſt motus animi tendens ad ultionẽ doloris, nimirũ primus ad homicidiũ gradus. Alioqui & iudex qui cũ ira punit nocentem, peccat aut certe imperfectus eſt, quũ hic Chriſtus doceat perfecta. Verũ ut redeamus ad particulam εἰκῆ, id eſt, ſine cauſa, quã diuus Hieronymus negat eſſe in ueris exẽplaribus, quid hic adferent qui contendunt hanc translationem ab Hieronymo fuiſſe caſtigatam? Quod damnat relictũ eſt, & quod relictũ eſt ad ſenſum pertinet nõ ad uerba, quæ uidet alicubi neglexiſſe. Auguſtinus lib. retract. 1. cap. 19. teſtatur in Græcis codicibus nõ addi ſine cauſa, Nã in ſermone habito in monte, uult etiam in cæteris duabus partibus ſubaudiri, qui dixerit, racha, ſine cauſa, qui dixerit, fatue, ſine cauſa.

- Erasmus in his 1527Annotations states the following regarding "without a cause" in Matthew 5:22:

    - Whoever is angry with his brother." In some Greek manuscripts the word *εἰκῇ* is added—that is, *rashly* or *without cause*. But Jerome, in his exposition of this passage and likewise in his

second dialogue against Pelagius, says that it is not found in the ancient and trustworthy copies, and that it seems to have been added by some rash person who wished to soften what otherwise appeared too harshly expressed. Indeed, the same person also added in the following clause *εἰκῇ*—"Whoever shall say 'Raca' without cause," and so forth. Therefore, Jerome for a long time ordered that these two words, *without cause*, be erased. Yet the earlier reading is preferred by Laurentius [Lorenzo Valla]. And Chrysostom, in his sixteenth homily on Matthew, seems to read *εἰκῇ*, distinguishing appropriate anger from unseasonable anger, and teaching that the emotion is not to be entirely removed from us, but merely restrained and governed. Theophylact writes in agreement with these things. It was not necessary here to distinguish just anger from unjust anger, or the anger of the flesh from that of the soul, or the anger by which we are angry with a man from that by which we are angry with a man's vice. If we take the Lord here to be speaking of ordinary anger—that is, a movement of the soul tending toward vengeance for injury—it is clearly the first step toward murder. Otherwise, the judge who punishes the guilty in anger would also sin, or at least be imperfect, which cannot be, since Christ here teaches perfection. But to return to the phrase *εἰκῇ*, that is, *without cause*, which the blessed Jerome says is not found in genuine copies: what answer will those give who claim that this rendering was criticized by Jerome? What he condemns has been omitted, and what has been omitted pertains to meaning, not to words, which he seems in some cases to have neglected. Augustine, in *Retractions* Book I, Chapter 19, bears witness that in the Greek manuscripts *without cause* is not added. For in the Sermon on the Mount he wishes also in the other two clauses that it be understood: *whoever shall say, "Raca," without cause; whoever shall say, "Fool," without cause*" (Translation provided by ChatGPT).

1535 Annotation on Matthew 5:22



Qui iraſcitur fratri ſuo.) In nonnullis Græcorũ codicibus aſcriptum eſt εἰκῇ, id eſt, Te/
mere, aut ſine cauſa. Verum Hieronymus ediſſerens hunc locum, itemq; ſecundo dialogo
aduerſus Pelagium, negat id in uetuſtis, ac bonæ fidei exẽplaribus repertum. Et additum
uidetur ab audaculo quopiam, qui ceu mitigare uoluerit, quod alioqui durius dictum ui/
debatur. At quin eadem opera in cæteris idem adiecit, εἰκῇ? Qui dixerit racha ſine cauſa,
qui dixerit fatue ſine cauſa. Proinde diuus Hieronymus duas has uoces, Sine cauſa, iubet
eradi. Quanq; prior lectio magis probatur Laurentio. Et Chryſoſtomus homilia in Mat/
thæum decimaſexta, legere uidetur εἰκῇ, diſtinguens iram opportunam ab intempeſtiua,
& negans affectum penitus eximi nobis, ſed cohiberi duntaxat ac regi. His conſentanea
ſcribit Theophylactus. Non erat opus hic diſtinguere iram iuſtam ab iniuſta, aut iram car/
nis ab ira animæ, aut iram qua iraſcimur homini & qua iraſcimur hominis uitio, ſi ſentia/
mus dominum hic loqui de ira uulgari, qui eſt motus animi tendens ad ultionem doloris,
nimirum primus ad homicidium gradus. Alioqui & iudex qui cum ira punit nocentem,
peccat aut certe imperfectus eſt, quum hic Chriſtus doceat perfecta. Verum ut redeamus
ad particulam εἰκῇ, id eſt, ſine cauſa, quam diuus Hieronymus negat eſſe in ueris exem/
plaribus, quid hic adferent qui contendunt hanc translationem ab Hieronymo fuiſſe caſti/
gatam? Quod damnat relictum eſt, & quod relictum eſt ad ſenſum pertinet non ad uerba,
quæ uidetur alicubi neglexiſſe. Auguſtinus lib. retract. 1. cap. 19. teſtatur in Græcis codici/
bus nõ addi ſine cauſa, Nam in ſermone habito in monte, uult etiam in cæteris duabus par/
tibus ſubaudiri, qui dixerit, racha, ſine cauſa, qui dixerit, fatue, ſine cauſa.

- Erasmus in his 1535 Annotations states the following regarding "without a cause" in Matthew 5:22:
    - "Whoever is angry with his brother." In some Greek manuscripts, *εἰκῇ* is written, that is, *rashly*, or *without cause*. But Jerome, explaining this passage, and likewise in the second book of his *Dialogue Against the Pelagians*, denies that this was found in ancient and reliable copies. He adds that it seems to have been inserted by some rash person who wished to soften what appeared to be a rather harsh saying. But why, by the same process, did he not add the same word in the other instances, *εἰκῇ*? For the one who said, "Raca, without cause," would also have said, "Fool, without cause." Therefore, the holy Jerome orders these two words, "without cause," to be removed. Nevertheless, the former reading is preferred by Laurentius [Lorenzo Valla]. And Chrysostom, in his sixteenth homily on Matthew, appears to read *εἰκῇ*, distinguishing a proper and appropriate anger from anger that is inappropriate, and denying that the emotion itself can be completely removed from us, but saying that it must merely be restrained and governed. Theophylact writes things consistent with this. There was no need here to distinguish righteous anger from unrighteous anger, or anger of the flesh from anger of the soul, or the anger by which we are angry with a man from that by which we are angry with a man's fault. We judge that the Lord is speaking here about ordinary anger, which is a movement of the mind tending toward the infliction of punishment for an injury—in other words, the first step toward murder. Some [say] that even a judge who punishes a guilty

> person in anger sins, or at least is imperfect, since here Christ teaches perfection. But, to return to the particle *εἰκῆ*, that is, “without cause,” which the holy Jerome denies to be present in the true copies: what do they bring forward? What do they argue, when they contend that this translation was corrected by Jerome? What he condemns has been left out, and what he leaves [or retains] pertains to the meaning rather than to the words, which he seems to have neglected in some places. Augustine, in Book I of his *Retractations*, chapter 19, testifies that “without cause” is not added in the Greek manuscripts. For, in the Sermon on the Mount, he wishes it also to be understood in the other two parts [of the saying]—[namely, in the clauses concerning] “Raca” and “fool”—” (Translation provided by ChatGPT)

- Across the successive editions of the Annotations on Matthew 5:22, Erasmus's fundamental textual judgment remains remarkably consistent. From 1516 through 1535, he maintains that the words *εἰκῇ* ("without cause" or "rashly") were probably not part of the original text of Matthew. Following Jerome's testimony, Erasmus repeatedly argues that the phrase was absent from the oldest and most trustworthy Greek manuscripts and was likely added by a scribe who wished to soften what appeared to be Christ's severe condemnation of anger. While the earliest annotations are brief and primarily concerned with the textual evidence, later editions gradually incorporate additional patristic witnesses, such as Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Augustine, and develop into a much fuller discussion of both textual criticism and interpretation.

- The most significant change over time is therefore not Erasmus's view of the text itself but the scope of his argument. By 1527 and 1535, the annotation has expanded into a sophisticated defense of his editorial method and a theological exposition of Christ's teaching. Erasmus acknowledges that some Fathers appear to have read the passage with *εἰκῇ* and consequently distinguished proper anger from improper anger. Nevertheless, he never concludes that the phrase should be restored to the text. Instead, he argues that such a qualification is unnecessary, since Christ is addressing ordinary anger as the inward disposition that leads ultimately to murder. Thus, the mature Erasmus remains convinced that "without a cause" is not original to Matthew 5:22, even while treating the opposing patristic tradition with greater respect and exploring more carefully the interpretive issues that gave rise to the variant.

Luther Evidence

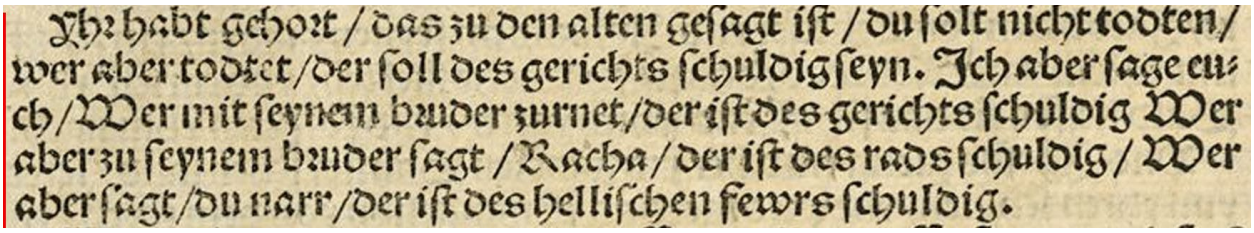
- In Lesson 4 the influence of Martin Luther upon William Tyndale was discussed in terms of formatting, pay layout and metatextual material. The influence of Luther upon Tyndale may also be relevant to Tyndale’s failure to translate the Greek word *εἰκῇ* in Matthew 5:22.

- Martin Luther published his German New Testament in September 1522. That same year, Erasmus published the 3rd edition of the Greek New Testament. Without knowing exactly when in 1522 Erasmus published his 3rd edition it is difficult to discern whether Luther utilized while

doing his translation work. That Luther utilized the 2nd edition of Erasmus from 1519 is virtually certain.

- So, Luther utilized a Greek text, furnished by Erasmus, that contained the word *εἰκῇ* in the main body of the text as well as an annotation questioning its veracity (See the 1519 annotation above.). Therefore, when Luther translated Matthew 5:22 into German he omitted the phrase "without a cause" from the text. Consider the following screenshot.

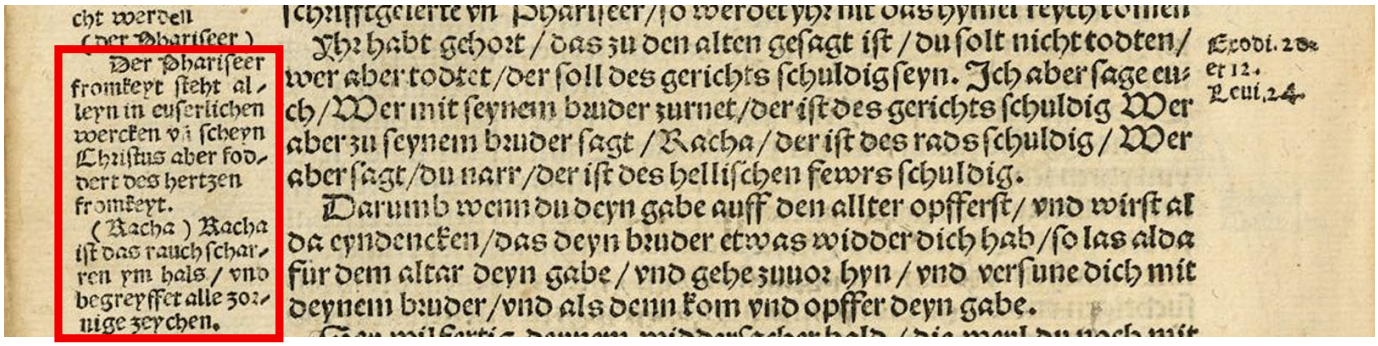
Luther's 1522 New Testament



Ihr habt gehort / das zu den alten geſagt iſt / du ſolt nicht todten/ wer aber todtet/der ſoll des gerichts ſchuldig ſeyn. Ich aber ſage euch/Wer mit ſeynem bruder zurnet/der iſt des gerichts ſchuldig Wer aber zu ſeynem bruder ſagt / Racha / der iſt des rads ſchuldig / Wer aber ſagt/du narr/der iſt des helliſchen fewrs ſchuldig.

You have heard that it was said to those of old, "You shall not kill"; and whoever kills shall be liable to judgment. But I say to you, whoever is angry with his brother shall be liable to judgment. Whoever says to his brother, "Raca," shall be liable to the council. And whoever says, "You fool," shall be liable to the fire of hell. (Translation provided by ChatGPT)

- In additional to omitting the phrase "without a cause" from his text, Luther appended the following marginal note to Matthew 5:22.



cht werden (der Phariſeer) Der Phariſeer fromkeyt ſteht al-leyn in euſerlichen wercken vñ ſcheyn Chriſtus aber fod-dert des hertzen fromkeyt. (Racha) Racha iſt das rauch ſchar-ren ym hals / vnd begreyffet alle zor-nige zeychen.

Ihr habt gehort / das zu den alten geſagt iſt / du ſolt nicht todten/ wer aber todtet/der ſoll des gerichts ſchuldig ſeyn. Ich aber ſage euch/Wer mit ſeynem bruder zurnet/der iſt des gerichts ſchuldig Wer aber zu ſeynem bruder ſagt / Racha / der iſt des rads ſchuldig / Wer aber ſagt/du narr/der iſt des helliſchen fewrs ſchuldig.

Darumb wenn du deyn gabe auff den allter opfferſt/ vnd wirſt al da eyndencken/das deyn bruder etwas widder dich hab/ſo las alda für dem altar deyn gabe / vnd gehe zuuor hyn / vnd verſune dich mit deynem bruder/vnd als denn kom vnd opffer deyn gabe.

Exodi. 20. et 12. Leui. 24.

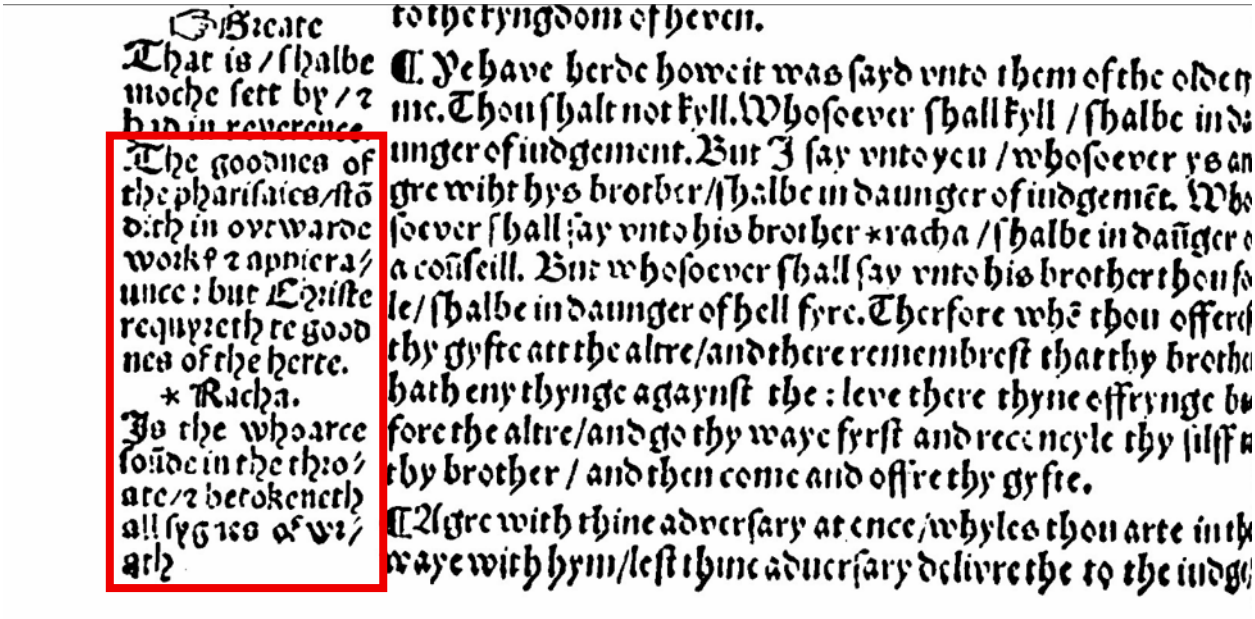
- Luther's marginal note reads as follows:

  - "The Pharisee's piety stands only in external works and outward show; Christ, however, demands the piety of the heart.
    (Racha) is the rough scraping sound in the throat and comprehends all angry expressions" (Translation provided by ChaptGPT).

- We have already noted that Tyndale never translated the Greek word *εἰκῇ* in any of his editions thereby omitting the phrase "without a cause" or its equivalent from all the edition of his New Testament published during his lifetime. Could his decision to do so also have been influenced by Luther in addition to Erasmus.

- A comparison between Luther's 1522 New Testament and the 1525 Cologne Fragment is interesting and pertinent to our discussion of Matthew 5:22.

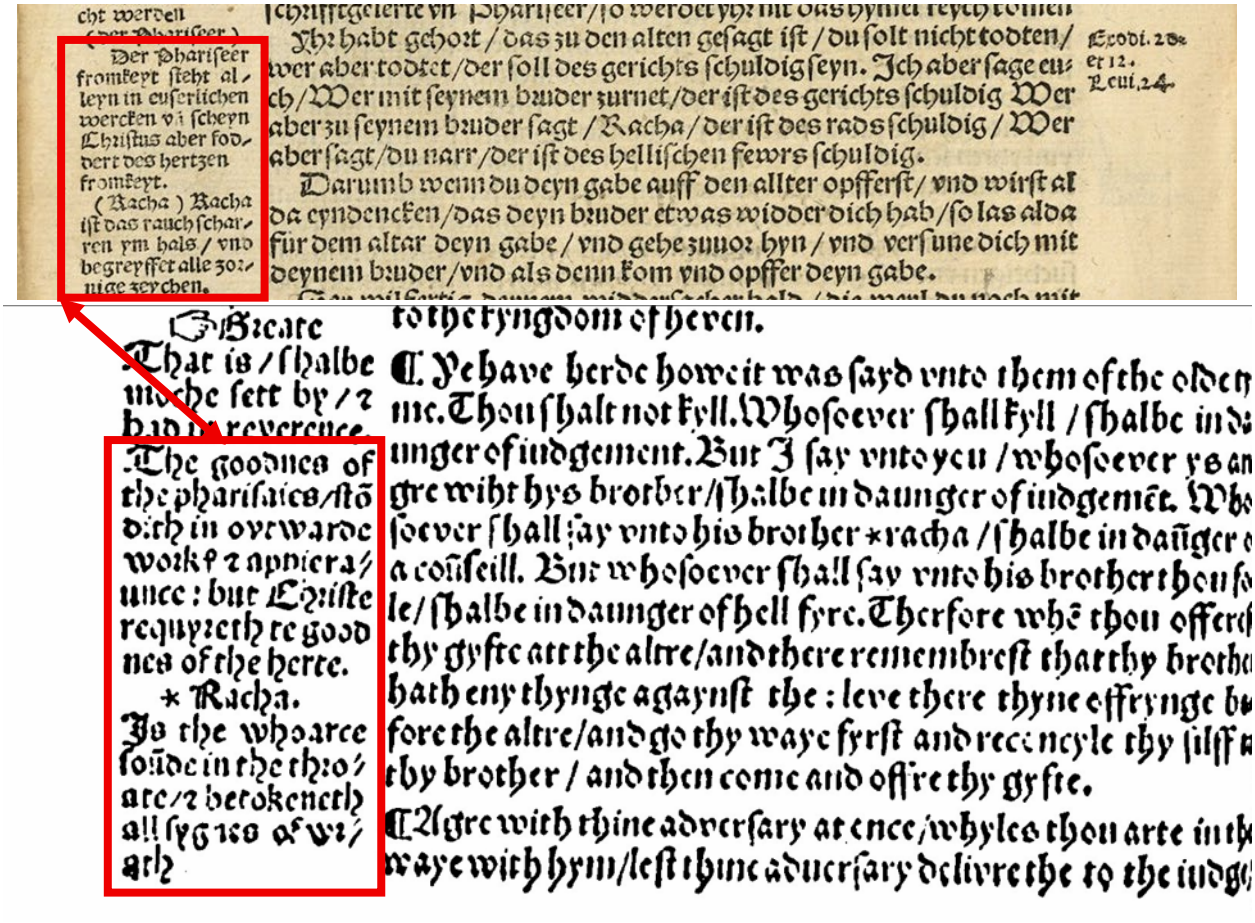
1525 Cologne Fragment


Breake
That is / ſhalbe
moche ſett by / ꝛ
The goodnes of
the phariſaices / ſtõ
dith in outwarde
workꝭ ꝛ appiera /
unce : but Chriſte
requyreth te good
nes of the herte.
* Racha.
Is the whoarce
ſoũde in the thro /
are / ꝛ betokeneth
all ſygnes of wr /
arh
to the kyngdom of heven.
C Ye have herde howe it was ſayd vnto them of the olde
me. Thou ſhalt not kyll. Whoſoever ſhall kyll / ſhalbe in
unger of iudgement. But I ſay vnto you / whoſoever is an
gre wiht hys brother / ſhalbe in daunger of iudgemẽt. Wh
ſoever ſhall ſay vnto his brother *racha / ſhalbe in daũger
a coũſeill. But whoſoever ſhall ſay vnto his brother thou fo
le / ſhalbe in daunger of hell fyre. Therfore whẽ thou offer
thy gyfte att the altre / and there remembreſt that thy brethe
hath eny thynge agaynſt the : leve there thyne offrynge be
fore the altre / and go thy waye fyrſt and recencyle thy ſilff
thy brother / and then come and offre thy gyfte.
C Agre with thine adverſary at ence / whyles thou arte in th
waye with hym / leſt thine aduerſary delivre the to the iudg

- Tyndale's marginal note appended to Matthew 5:22 is essentially identical with Luther's. It reads as follows:

    - "The goodness of the Pharisees standeth in outward works and appearance only; but Christ requireth the goodness of the heart.
      Racha.
      Is the whearing sound in the throat, and betokeneth all signs of wrath."

- Note the similarities in wording and formatting between Luther and Tyndale. Consider the images stacked on top of each other.



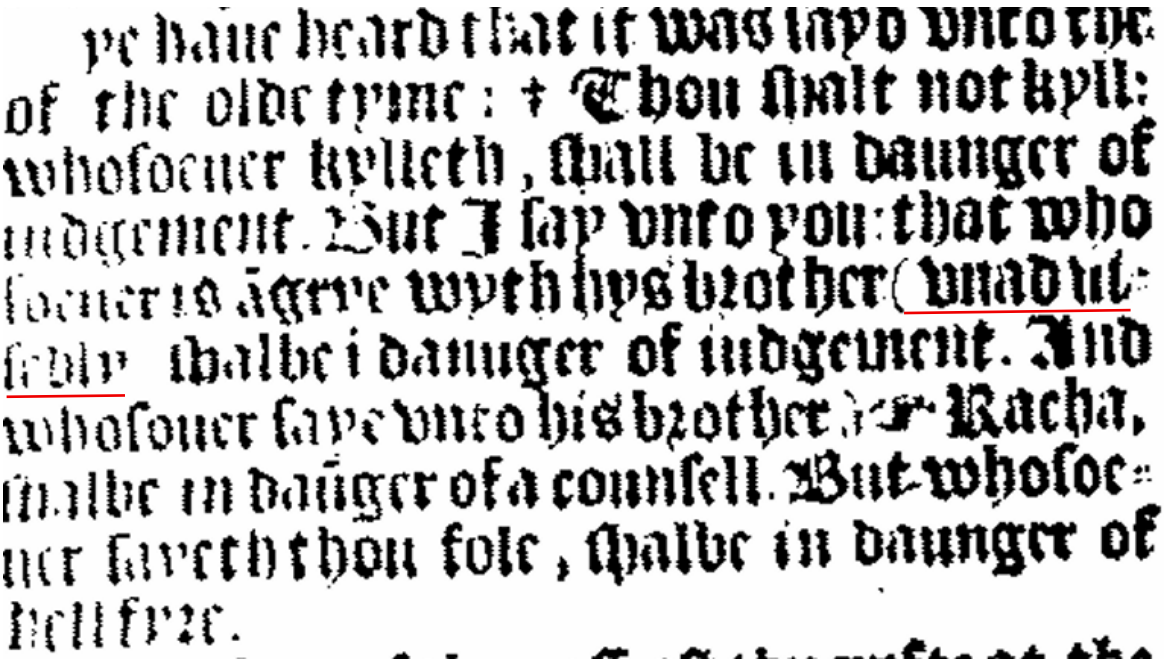
- Erasmus's annotations coupled with Luther's 1522 New Testament, the lone printed Protestant Era vernacular translation exemplar predating Tyndale, makes in very difficult to argue that Tyndale was not influenced by the works of Erasmus and Luther.

- The cumulative evidence suggests that Tyndale's handling of Matthew 5:22 did not occur in isolation. Before the appearance of the Cologne Fragment in 1525, Luther had already translated the verse without an equivalent for *εἰκῇ* in his 1522 German New Testament despite using an Erasmine Greek text that contained the word. Furthermore, Luther's accompanying marginal note bears striking similarities to the note later printed in Tyndale's New Testament. While this evidence cannot establish direct literary dependence with certainty, it demonstrates that Tyndale's treatment of Matthew 5:22 had a clear precedent within the early Reformation tradition and that Luther had already shown one way in which translators could navigate the tension between Erasmus's printed text and his annotations.

English Bibles After Tyndale

- The Coverdale (1535) and Matthew's (1537) Bibles follow William Tyndale in omitting the phrase "without a cause" from Matthew 5:22. The 1539 Great Bible is the first Reformation Era English Bible to have the equivalent of "without a cause" in Matthew 5:22.

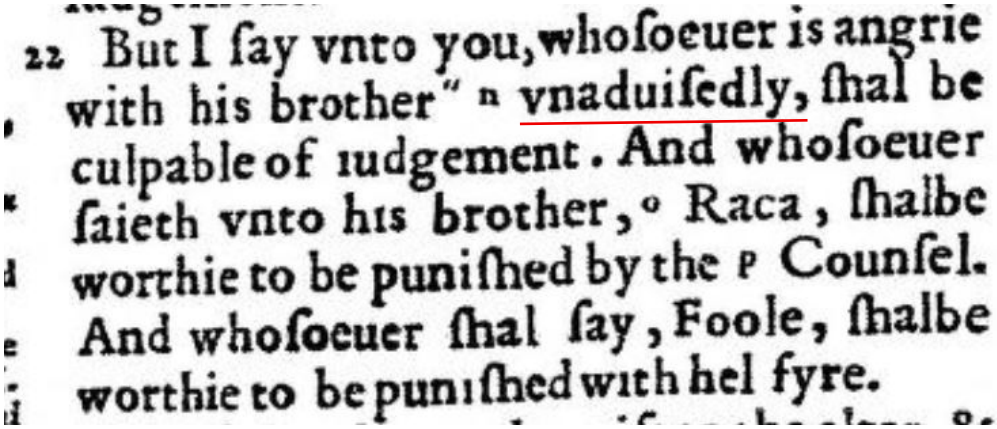
1539 Great Bible


ye haue heard that it was sayd vnto them
of the olde tyme: † Thou shalt not kyll:
whosoeuer kylleth, shall be in daunger of
iudgement. But I say vnto you: that who
soeuer is angry wyth hys brother (vnadui-
sedly) shalbe i daunger of iudgement. And
whosoeuer saye vnto his brother Racha,
shalbe in daunger of a counsell. But whosoe-
uer sayeth thou fole, shalbe in daunger of
hell fyre.

- The Great Bible departs from Tyndale in Matthew 5:22 by inserting the English word "unadvisedly" into the text. The addition of "unadvisedly" corresponds with the Greek word *εἰκῇ* in the Complutensian Polyglot (1514) and the 5 editions of Erasmus noted above.

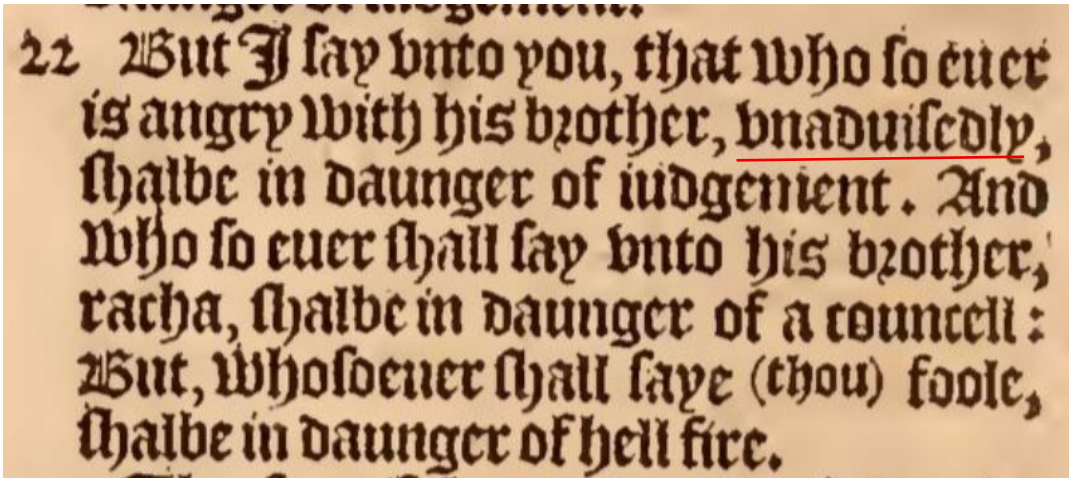
- The Geneva Bible of 1560 followed the Great Bible by translating *εἰκῇ* as "unadvisedly." Likewise for the 1568 Bishops Bible and the 1602 Bishops which served as the base text for the King James Bible.

1560 Geneva Bible



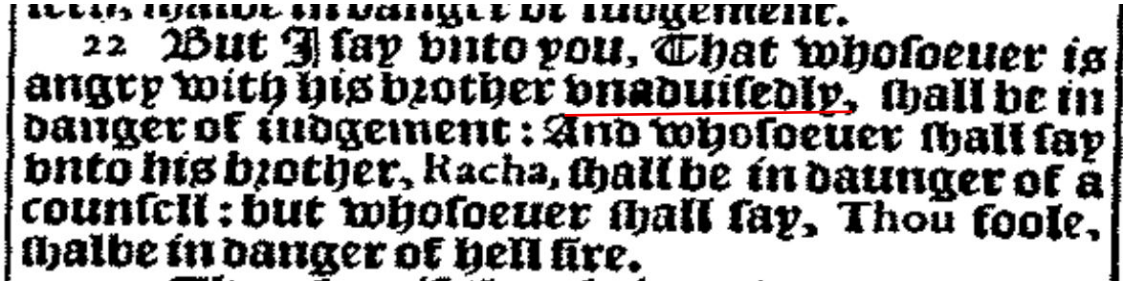
22 But I ſay vnto you, whoſoeuer is angrie
with his brother" n vnaduiſedly, ſhal be
culpable of iudgement. And whoſoeuer
ſaieth vnto his brother, o Raca, ſhalbe
worthie to be puniſhed by the p Counſel.
And whoſoeuer ſhal ſay, Foole, ſhalbe
worthie to be puniſhed with hel fyre.

1568 Bishops Bible



22 But I ſay vnto you, that who ſo euer
is angry with his brother, vnaduiſedly,
ſhalbe in daunger of iudgement. And
who ſo euer ſhall ſay vnto his brother,
racha, ſhalbe in daunger of a councell:
But, whoſoeuer ſhall ſaye (thou) foole,
ſhalbe in daunger of hell fire.

1602 Bishops Bible



22 But I ſay vnto you, That whoſoeuer is
angry with his brother vnaduiſedly, ſhall be in
danger of iudgement: And whoſoeuer ſhall ſay
vnto his brother, Racha, ſhall be in daunger of a
counſell: but whoſoeuer ſhall ſay, Thou foole,
ſhalbe in danger of hell fire.

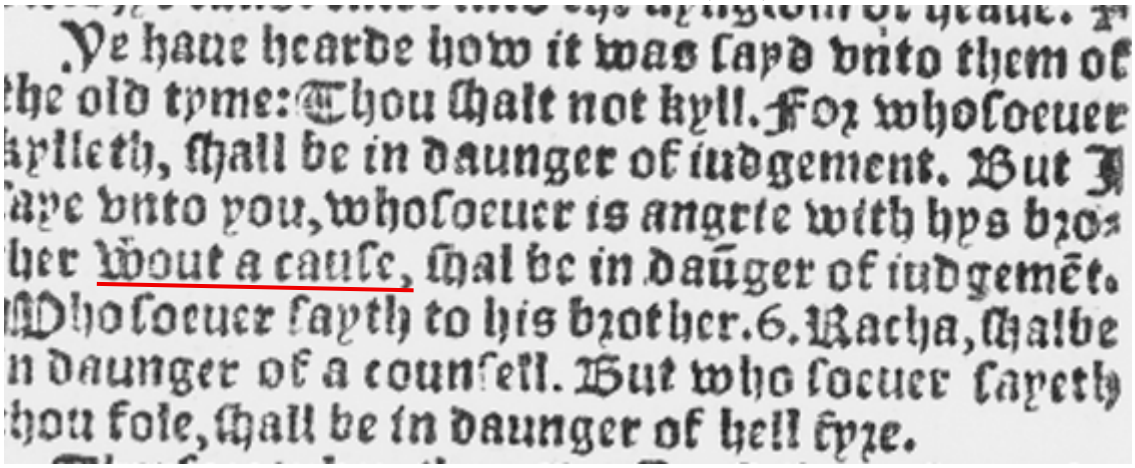
- The history of the English Bible after Tyndale demonstrates that his omission of "without a cause" was not universally retained by later Protestant translators. While the 1535 Coverdale Bible and the 1537 Matthew's Bible continued Tyndale's wording, subsequent revisions increasingly moved in the opposite direction. The Great Bible of 1539 restored a translation of *εἰκῇ* ("unadvisedly"), and the Geneva Bible of 1560 followed suit. Significantly, these revisions

were made despite the continued uncertainty expressed by Erasmus regarding the authenticity of the word. The trajectory of the English Bible tradition therefore reveals an effort to bring the vernacular text into closer conformity with the Greek texts available to translators. Whether Tyndale's original omission resulted from dependence upon Erasmus's annotations, influence from Luther, or simple oversight, later English revisers evidently judged that the wording should more fully reflect the Greek text before them. As a result, Tyndale's rendering of Matthew 5:22 ultimately proved to be the exception rather than the enduring form of the verse within the mainstream English Protestant tradition.

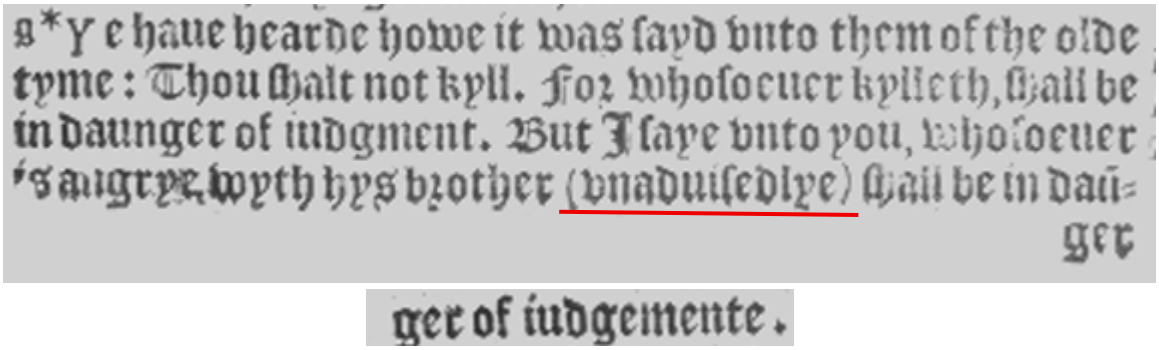
Posthumous Printings of Tyndale

- After the publication of the Great Bible in 1539, editions of the Tyndale's New Testament appeared in print that more accurately conformed the English text with the Greek by translating the Greek word *εἰκῇ* as either "without a cause" or "unadvisedly." Consider the following specimens from 1551, 1552, and 1566.

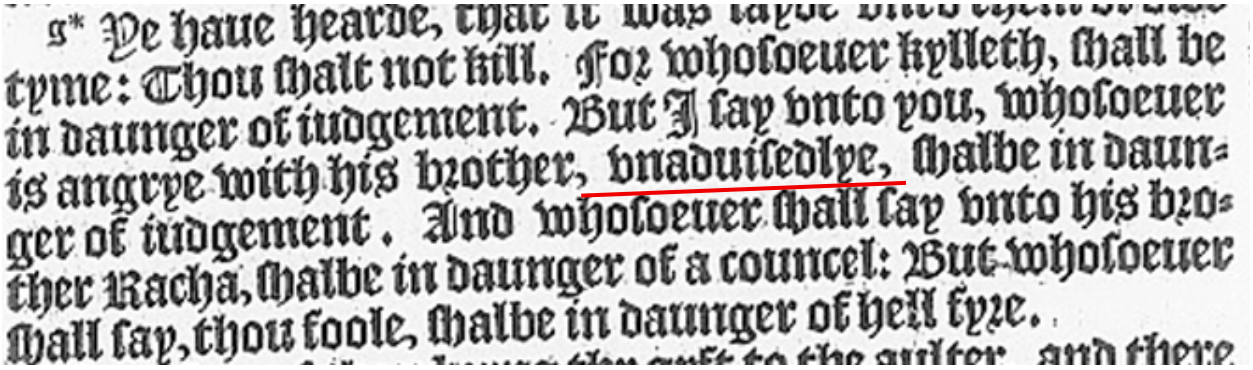
1551 London Octavo BL (H96)


Ye haue heard how it was sayd vnto them of
the old tyme: Thou shalt not kyll. For whosoeuer
kylleth, shall be in daunger of iudgement. But I
saye vnto you, whosoeuer is angrie with hys bro-
ther wout a cause, shal be in daūger of iudgemēt.
Whosoeuer sayth to his brother. 6. Racha, shalbe
in daunger of a counsell. But whosoeuer sayeth
thou fole, shall be in daunger of hell fyre.

1552 London Quarto BL (H99)


8*Ye haue heard howe it was sayd vnto them of the olde
tyme: Thou shalt not kyll. For whosoeuer kylleth, shall be
in daunger of iudgment. But I saye vnto you, whosoeuer
is angrye wyth hys brother (vnadvisedlye) shall be in dan-
ger
ger of iudgemente.

1566 London Quarto BL (H121)

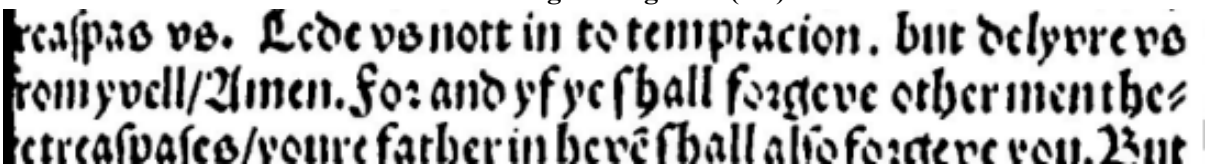


- The posthumous restoration of "without a cause" in editions associated with Tyndale's translation is an important piece of evidence in the history of Matthew 5:22, but it must be evaluated with appropriate caution. On the one hand, the inclusion of the phrase in later printings demonstrates that some early revisers and printers believed the English text should more closely reflect the Greek wording preserved in the editions of Erasmus and the Complutensian Polyglot. On the other hand, Tyndale himself warned in the prologue to his 1534 New Testament that copies were being sold in his name containing alterations that he had neither made nor authorized. Consequently, the appearance of "without a cause" in posthumous editions cannot be cited as definitive proof that Tyndale personally changed his view of Matthew 5:22. At the same time, neither should these revisions be dismissed, for they demonstrate that within only a few years of Tyndale's death there were individuals within the English Protestant translation tradition who regarded the omission as requiring correction. The posthumous editions therefore provide valuable evidence for the reception and revision of Tyndale's work, while leaving unresolved the question of what Tyndale himself might have done had he lived to undertake further revision.

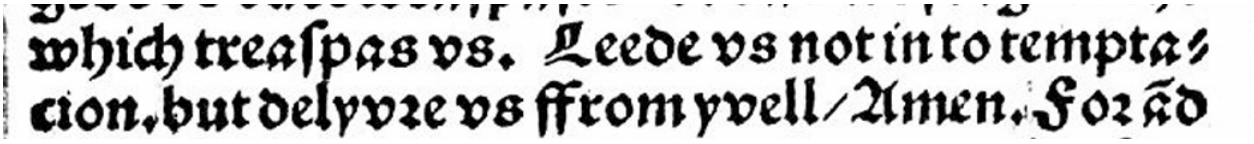
Lord's Prayer Comparison

- It was noted in the main portion of Lesson 3 that William Tyndale did not originally translate the doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer in Matthew 6:13. Even though the phrase was present in all five editions of Erasmus's Greek New Testament.

1525 Cologne Fragment (H1)

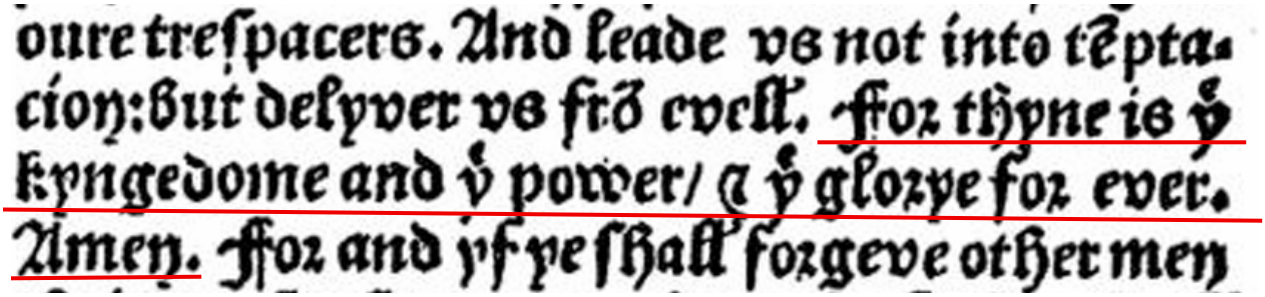


1526 Worms New Testament (H2)


which treaſpas vs. Leede vs not in to tempta-
cion, but delyvre vs ffrom yvell/Amen. Foꝛ ãd

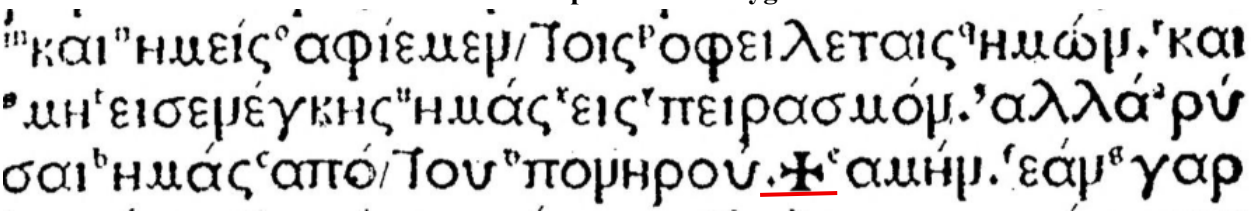
- It is worth noting that William Tyndale in his 1534 New Testament corrected his mistake at Matthew 6:13 by adding the rest of the words containing the doxology.

1534 Antwerp Octavo BL (H13)

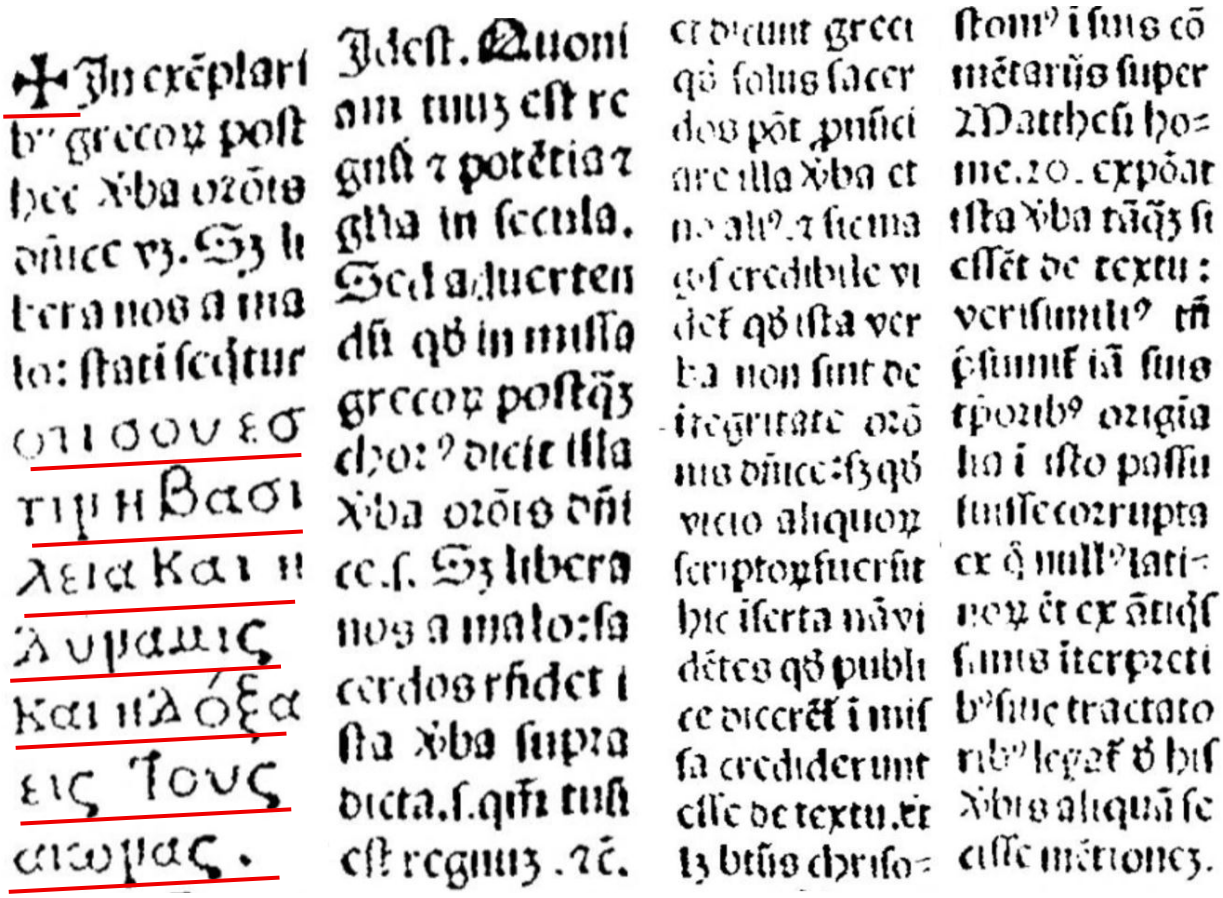

oure treſpacers. And leade vs not into tẽpta-
cion: but delyver vs frõ evell. ffor thyne is ỹ
kyngedome and ỹ power/ & ỹ glorye for ever.
Amen. ffor and yf ye ſhall forgeve other men

- For the sake of completeness, it important to consider the state of the Greek text of Matthew 6:13 at the time of Tyndale. As the following images demonstrate, the 1514 Complutensian Polyglot does not include the doxology in its main text but does note its existent in extant Greek copies in an annotation. Note the underlined dagger in the following image prompting the reader to consider the appended annotation.

1514 Complutensian Polyglot


[m]καὶ [n]ἡμεῖς [o]ἀφίεμεν/τοῖς [p]ὀφειλέταις [q]ἡμῶν. [r]καὶ
[s]μὴ [t]εἰσενέγκῃς [u]ἡμᾶς [x]εἰς [y]πειρασμόν. [z]ἀλλὰ [a]ῥῦ
σαι [b]ἡμᾶς [c]ἀπὸ/τοῦ [d]πονηροῦ. ✝ [e]ἀμήν. [f]ἐὰν [g]γὰρ

1514 Complutensian Polyglot Annotation



- The above 4 column annotation from the Complutensian Polyglot consisting of both Latin and Greek text reads as follows:

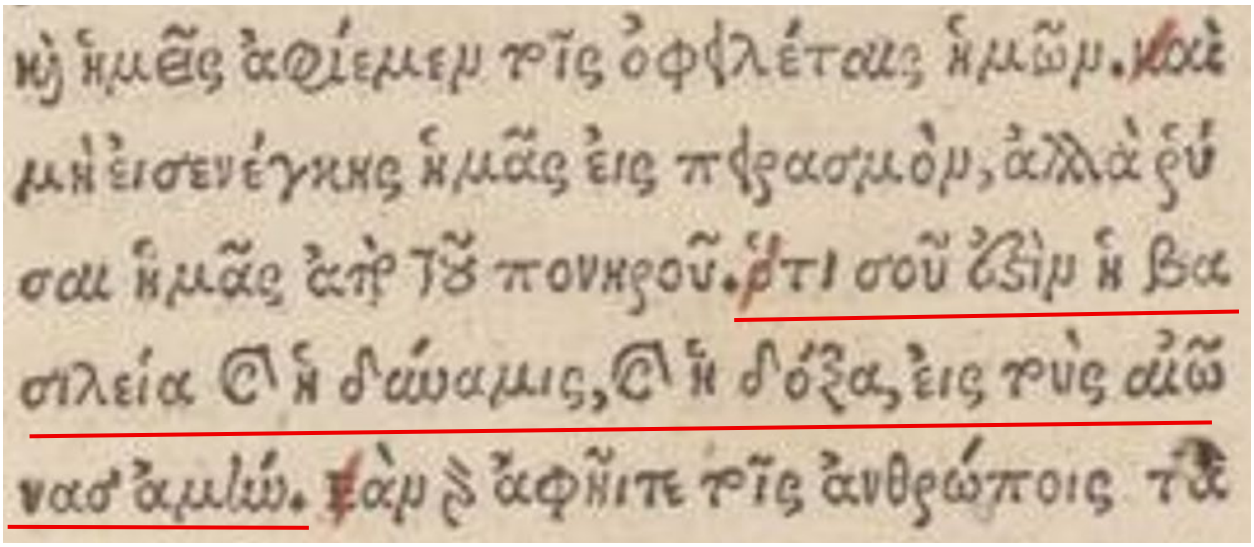
    - “In the Greek manuscripts, after 'deliver us from evil,' there is added: 'For yours is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever. Yet Blessed Jerome, in his commentary upon Matthew, seems to have omitted these words, for he interpreted the prayer only as far as 'but deliver us from evil.' Therefore it appears that these words were not found in the copies from which Jerome translated. Nevertheless, because they occur in various Greek manuscripts, we judged that they should not be omitted” (Translation provided by ChaptGPT).

- Although the doxology is not present in the biblical text shown, the accompanying annotation explicitly reproduces the Greek words ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ('For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever') and discusses their manuscript support. The wording of the annotation indicates that the editors were inclined to

regard the doxology as authentic, since they explicitly appealed to Greek manuscript evidence as grounds for retaining the words rather than omitting them.

- The first edition of the Erasmus Greek New Testament from 1516 included the doxology in the main text of Matthew 6:13 as the following screenshot demonstrates.

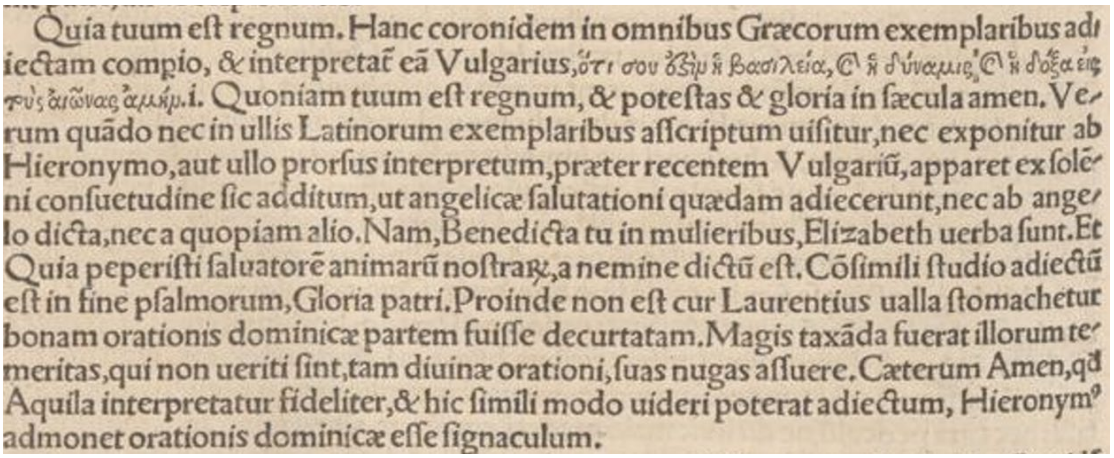
1516 Erasmus Greek NT



And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors.
And do not lead us into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one.
For yours is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever. Amen.

- The following is the accompanying annotation appended to Matthew 6:13 in the 1516 Erasmus text.

1516 Annotation on Matthew 6:13



Quia tuum eſt regnum. Hanc coronidem in omnibus Græcorum exemplaribus adi iectam compio, & interpretatẽ eã Vulgarius, ὅτι σου ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν. i. Quoniam tuum eſt regnum, & poteſtas & gloria in ſæcula amen. Ve rum quãdo nec in ullis Latinorum exemplaribus aſſcriptum uiſitur, nec exponitur ab Hieronymo, aut ullo prorſus interpretum, præter recentem Vulgariũ, apparet ex ſolẽ ni conſuetudine ſic additum, ut angelicæ ſalutationi quædam adiecerunt, nec ab ange lo dicta, nec a quopiam alio. Nam, Benedicta tu in mulieribus, Elizabeth uerba ſunt. Et Quia peperiſti ſaluatorẽ animarũ noſtrarũ, a nemine dictũ eſt. Cõſimili ſtudio adiectũ eſt in fine pſalmorum, Gloria patri. Proinde non eſt cur Laurentius ualla ſtomachetur bonam orationis dominicæ partem fuiſſe decurtatam. Magis taxãda fuerat illorum te meritas, qui non ueriti ſint, tam diuinæ orationi, ſuas nugas aſſuere. Cæterum Amen, qđ Aquila interpretatur fideliter, & hic ſimili modo uideri poterat adiectum, Hieronym⁹ admonet orationis dominicæ eſſe ſignaculum.

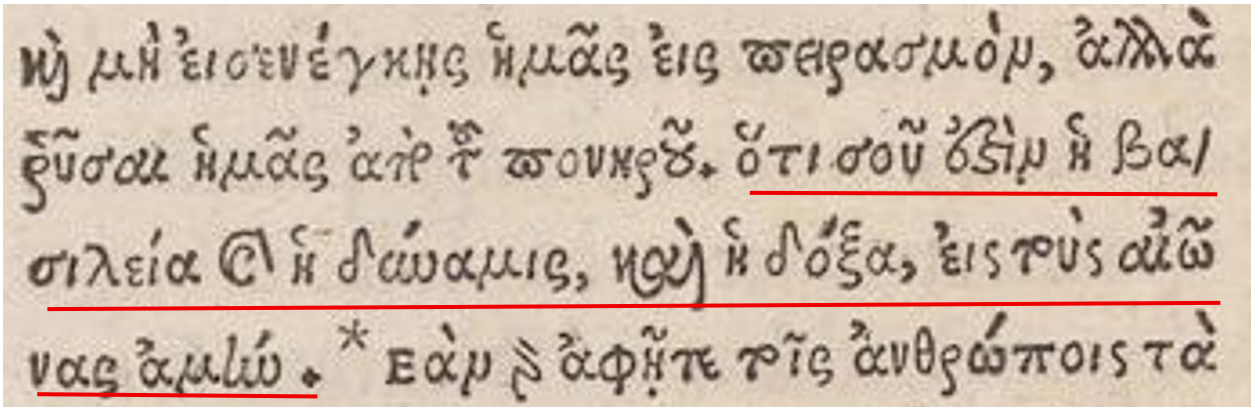
- Erasmus’s annotation regarding Matthew 6:13 reads as follows:

    - “"For thine is the kingdom." I find this concluding clause added in all the Greek manuscripts, and the common translator (the Vulgate) renders it: 'For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.' But since it is found written in none of the Latin manuscripts, nor is it discussed by Jerome, nor indeed by any interpreter at all except the recent Vulgate commentator, it appears to have been added from custom, just as some have added certain words to the angelic salutation, words spoken neither by the angel nor by anyone else. For the words, 'Blessed art thou among women,' were spoken by Elizabeth. And the words, 'because thou hast borne the Savior of our souls,' were spoken by no one. By a similar zeal the phrase 'Glory be to the Father' has been added at the end of the Psalms. Therefore there is no reason why Laurentius Valla should complain that a good portion of the Lord's Prayer had been cut off. Rather, blame should be laid upon those who were unwilling that their trifles should be removed from the divine prayer. As for the word Amen, which Aquila translates faithfully, it could seem to have been added here in the same way. Nevertheless, Jerome notes that it serves as a seal to the Lord's Prayer” (Translation provided by ChatGPT).

- Erasmus's annotation on Matthew 6:13 reveals a nuanced position regarding the Lord's Prayer's doxology. While he acknowledged that the phrase, "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen," was present in all the Greek manuscripts available to him and therefore printed it in his 1516 Greek New Testament, he nevertheless expressed doubts about its originality. Erasmus observed that the doxology was absent from the Latin manuscripts known to him and was not discussed by Jerome or other major interpreters. Consequently, he suggested that the phrase may have entered the text through ecclesiastical or liturgical custom, comparing it to other devotional additions that had become attached to biblical passages over time. At the same time, Erasmus rejected the criticism of Laurentius Valla, who argued that a portion of the Lord's Prayer had been omitted, maintaining instead that the stronger concern was the tendency to preserve later additions within the biblical text. Thus, Erasmus's annotation demonstrates a distinction between his commitment to reproducing the Greek manuscript evidence and his historical reservations about the doxology's authenticity.

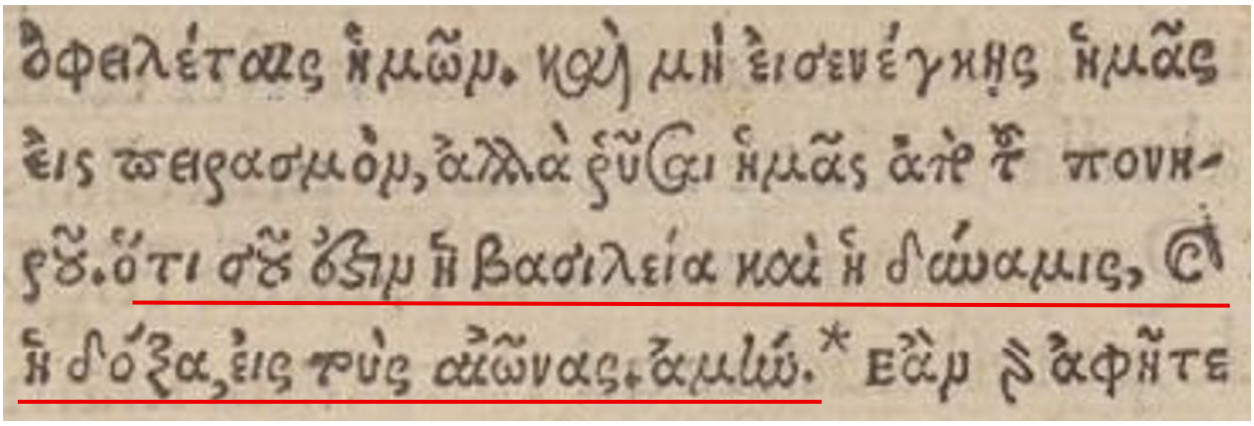
- The remaining four editions of the Erasmus Greek New Testament also include the doxology in Matthew 6:13 in the main body of the text.

1519 Erasmus Greek NT



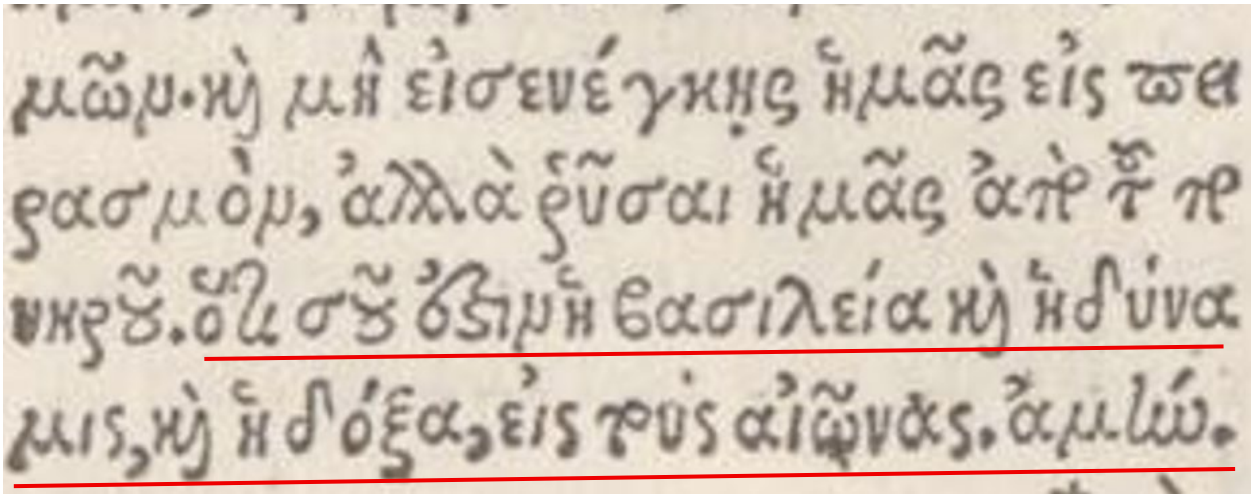
μὴ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ
ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βα/
σιλεία ⁋ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶ
νας ἀμήν. * Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ

1522 Erasmus Greek NT



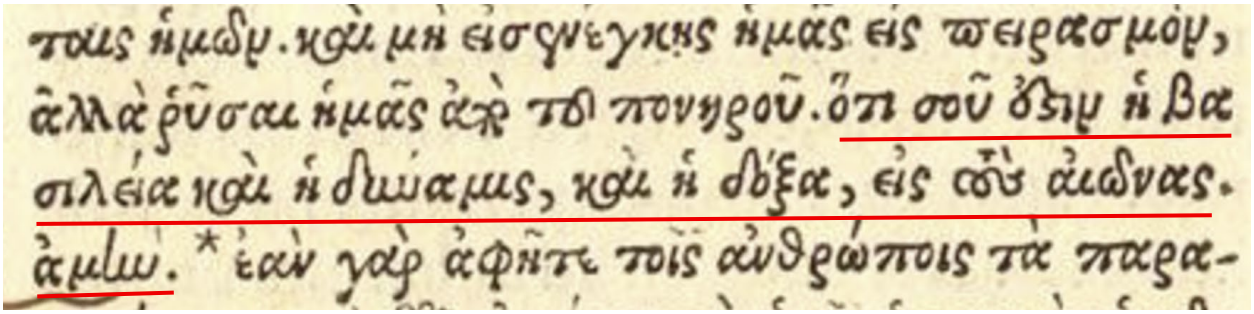
ὀφειλέτας ἡμῶν. καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς
εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονη-
ροῦ. ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις, ⁋
ἡ δόξα, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν. * Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀφῆτε

1527 Erasmus Greek NT



μῶν. καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πει
ρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πο
νηροῦ. ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύνα
μις, καὶ ἡ δόξα, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

1535 Erasmus Greek NT

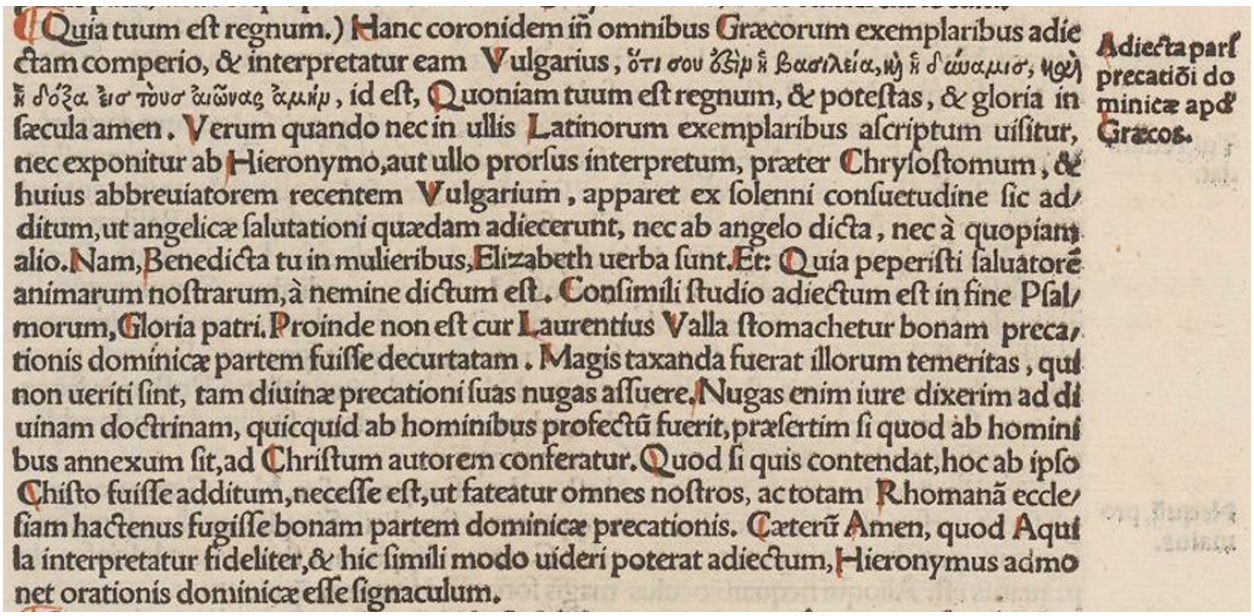


τους ἡμῶν. καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν,
ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βα
σιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
ἀμήν. * ἐὰν γὰρ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρα-

- Examination of Erasmus's five editions of the Greek New Testament (1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535) reveals that each edition contains the Matthaean doxology ("ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν") within the body of Matthew 6:13. The doxology is not confined to a marginal note or annotation but is printed as part of the continuous text of the Lord's Prayer in every edition issued during Erasmus's lifetime. This is historically significant because it means that every edition of Erasmus's Textus Receptus contained the doxology in the main text, and therefore the phrase was inherited by later printed Greek texts dependent on Erasmus and, ultimately, by many Reformation-era vernacular translations.

- As noted above with Matthew 5:22, Erasmus's discussion of Matthew 6:13 in his annotations changed over time (See the screenshot and translations of his 1516 annotation above). The annotation in his 2nd edition of 1519 reads as follows.

1519 Annotation on Matthew 6:13



Quia tuum eſt regnum.) Hanc coronidem in omnibus Græcorum exemplaribus adiectam comperio, & interpretatur eam Vulgarius, ὅτι σου ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν, id eſt, Quoniam tuum eſt regnum, & poteſtas, & gloria in ſæcula amen. Verum quando nec in ullis Latinorum exemplaribus aſcriptum uiſitur, nec exponitur ab Hieronymo, aut ullo prorſus interpretum, præter Chryſoſtomum, & huius abbreuiatorem recentem Vulgarium, apparet ex ſolenni conſuetudine ſic additum, ut angelicæ ſalutationi quædam adiecerunt, nec ab angelo dicta, nec à quopiam alio. Nam, Benedicta tu in mulieribus, Elizabeth uerba ſunt. Et: Quia peperiſti ſaluatorẽ animarum noſtrarum, à nemine dictum eſt. Conſimili ſtudio adiectum eſt in fine Pſalmorum, Gloria patri. Proinde non eſt cur Laurentius Valla ſtomachetur bonam precationis dominicæ partem fuiſſe decurtatam. Magis taxanda fuerat illorum temeritas, qui non ueriti ſint, tam diuinæ precationi ſuas nugas aſſuere. Nugas enim iure dixerim ad diuinam doctrinam, quicquid ab hominibus profectũ fuerit, præſertim ſi quod ab hominibus annexum ſit, ad Chriſtum autorem conferatur. Quod ſi quis contendat, hoc ab ipſo Chriſto fuiſſe additum, neceſſe eſt, ut fateatur omnes noſtros, ac totam Rhomanã eccleſiam hactenus fugiſſe bonam partem dominicæ precationis. Cæterũ Amen, quod Aquila interpretatur fideliter, & hic ſimili modo uideri poterat adiectum, Hieronymus admonet orationis dominicæ eſſe ſignaculum.

Adiecta par precatiõi dominicæ apd Græcos.

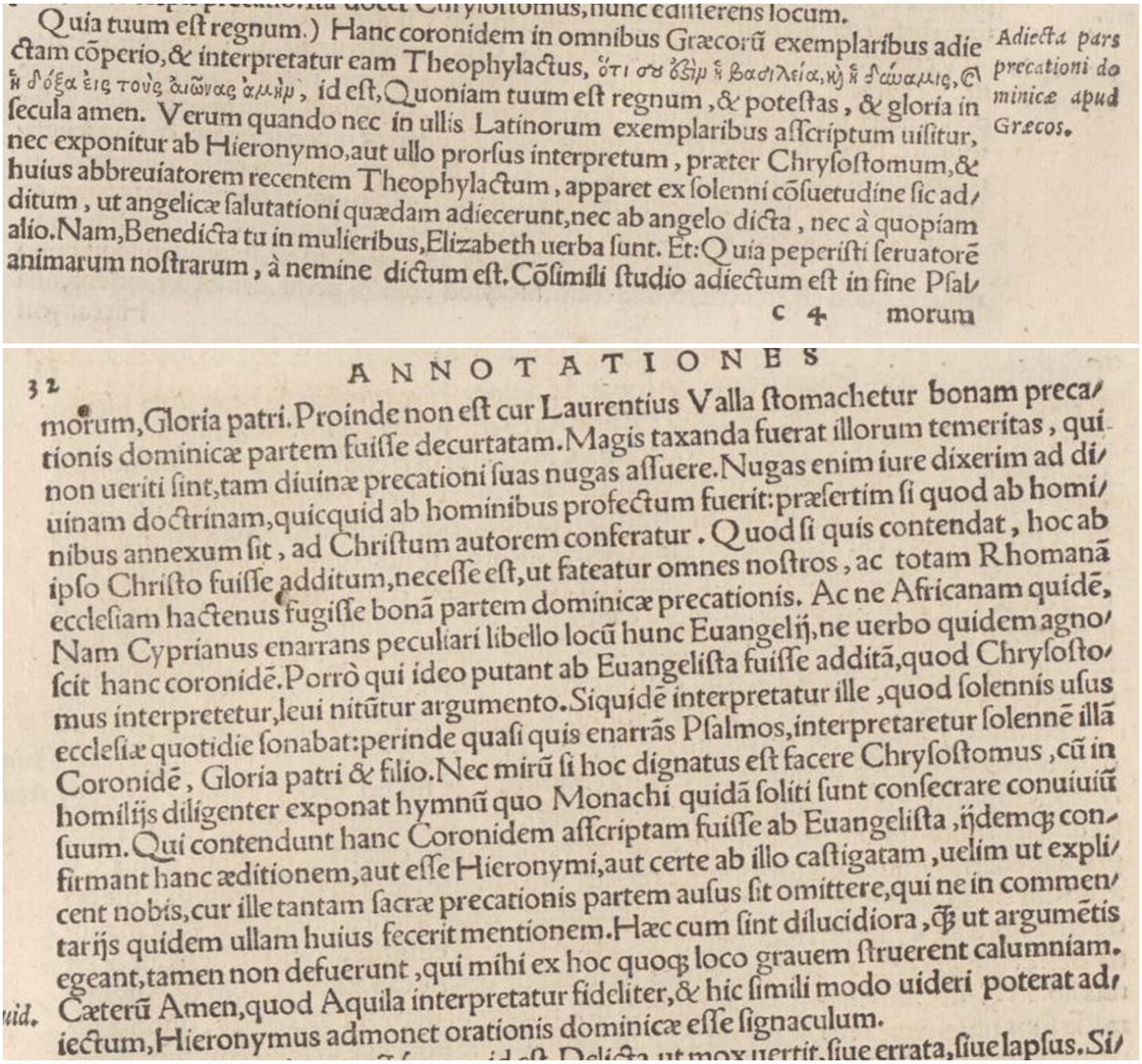
- The annotation in Erasmus's 2nd edition from 1519 edition reads as follows:

    - "For thine is the kingdom." I have found this conclusion added in all the Greek manuscripts, and the common translator renders it thus: 'For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever. Amen.' Yet since it is found written in none of the Latin manuscripts, nor is it explained by Jerome or by any commentator whatsoever except Chrysostom and a recent abridger of his among the common commentators, it appears to have been added from a longstanding custom, just as some things were added to the angelic salutation which were spoken neither by the angel nor by anyone else. For example, 'Blessed art thou among women' were the words of Elizabeth. Likewise, 'For thou hast brought forth the Savior of our souls' was said by no one. By a similar practice there has been added at the end of the Psalms, 'Glory be to the Father.' Therefore there is no reason why Lorenzo Valla should be attacked because he maintained that a good portion of the Lord's Prayer had been omitted. Rather, those deserve criticism who, being unwilling to endure this, have poured their own trifles into the divine prayer. Indeed, I would truly call it trifling to add to divine teaching whatever has originated from men, especially if what has been added is attributed to Christ as its author. But if anyone should contend that this was added by Christ himself, he must necessarily admit that all our copies, and the entire Roman Church up to this point, have lacked a considerable portion of the Lord's Prayer. As for the Amen, which Aquila faithfully translated, it could seem to have been added in a similar way; yet Jerome reminds us that in the Lord's Prayer it serves as a seal or concluding mark of the prayer" (Translation provided by ChatGPT).

- The annotation on the Lord's Prayer doxology in Erasmus's 1519 Annotations is not a substantially different opinion from that found in 1516, but rather a revised and expanded treatment of the same issue. In both editions Erasmus notes that the words "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever. Amen" were found in Greek manuscripts but were absent from the older Latin tradition, leading him to suggest that the passage had entered the text through ecclesiastical or liturgical usage. The 1519 version, however, adds important qualifications. Erasmus corrects his earlier statement by acknowledging that Chrysostom commented on the doxology, expands his discussion of how pious additions sometimes became attached to biblical texts, and argues that anyone who regarded the clause as an original saying of Christ would have to explain why it had been omitted from the Latin tradition for so many centuries. These additions make the 1519 annotation more nuanced and historically informed, but they do not represent a reversal of his earlier position. Rather, Erasmus continues to view the doxology with a measure of skepticism while refining and strengthening the arguments he presents in support of that conclusion.

- The annotation appended to Matthew 6:13 in the 3rd edition of Erasmus from 1522 is significantly longer than the 1519 version. Erasmus retains all of the earlier discussion, but he adds a substantial new defense of his position in response to critics.

1522 Annotation on Matthew 6:13



Quia tuum eſt regnum.) Hanc coronidem in omnibus Græcorũ exemplaribus adiectam cõperio,& interpretatur eam Theophylactus, ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν, id eſt,Quoniam tuum eſt regnum,& poteſtas, & gloria in ſecula amen. Verum quando nec in ullis Latinorum exemplaribus aſſcriptum uiſitur, nec exponitur ab Hieronymo,aut ullo prorſus interpretum, præter Chryſoſtomum,& huius abbreuiatorem recentem Theophylactum, apparet ex ſolenni cõſuetudine ſic additum, ut angelicæ ſalutationi quædam adiecerunt,nec ab angelo dicta, nec à quopiam alio.Nam,Benedicta tu in mulieribus,Elizabeth uerba ſunt. Et:Quia peperiſti ſeruatorẽ animarum noſtrarum, à nemine dictum eſt.Cõſimili ſtudio adiectum eſt in fine Pſal-

Adiecta pars precationi dominicæ apud Græcos.

c 4 morum

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morum,Gloria patri.Proinde non eſt cur Laurentius Valla ſtomachetur bonam precationis dominicæ partem fuiſſe decurtatam.Magis taxanda fuerat illorum temeritas, qui non ueriti ſint,tam diuinæ precationi ſuas nugas aſſuere.Nugas enim iure dixerim ad diuinam doctrinam,quicquid ab hominibus profectum fuerit:præſertim ſi quod ab hominibus annexum ſit, ad Chriſtum autorem conferatur. Quod ſi quis contendat, hoc ab ipſo Chriſto fuiſſe additum,neceſſe eſt,ut fateatur omnes noſtros, ac totam Rhomanã eccleſiam hactenus fugiſſe bonã partem dominicæ precationis. Ac ne Africanam quidẽ, Nam Cyprianus enarrans peculiari libello locũ hunc Euangelij,ne uerbo quidem agnoſcit hanc coronidẽ.Porrò qui ideo putant ab Euangeliſta fuiſſe additã,quod Chryſoſtomus interpretetur,leui nitũtur argumento.Siquidẽ interpretatur ille,quod ſolennis uſus eccleſiæ quotidie ſonabat:perinde quaſi quis enarrãs Pſalmos,interpretaretur ſolennẽ illã Coronidẽ, Gloria patri & filio.Nec mirũ ſi hoc dignatus eſt facere Chryſoſtomus,cũ in homilijs diligenter exponat hymnũ quo Monachi quidã ſoliti ſunt conſecrare conuiuiũ ſuum.Qui contendunt hanc Coronidem aſſcriptam fuiſſe ab Euangeliſta,ijdemq; confirmant hanc æditionem,aut eſſe Hieronymi,aut certe ab illo caſtigatam,uelim ut expli-
cent nobis,cur ille tantam ſacræ precationis partem auſus ſit omittere,qui ne in commentarijs quidem ullam huius fecerit mentionem.Hæc cum ſint dilucidiora,& ut argumẽtis egeant,tamen non defuerunt,qui mihi ex hoc quoq; loco grauem ſtruerent calumniam.
uid. Cæterũ Amen,quod Aquila interpretatur fideliter,& hic ſimili modo uideri poterat adiectum,Hieronymus admonet orationis dominicæ eſſe ſignaculum.

- The 1522 annotation reads as follows:

    - "For thine is the kingdom." I have found this conclusion added in all the Greek manuscripts that I possess, and Theophylact interprets it: "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever. Amen." Yet since it is found written in none of the Latin

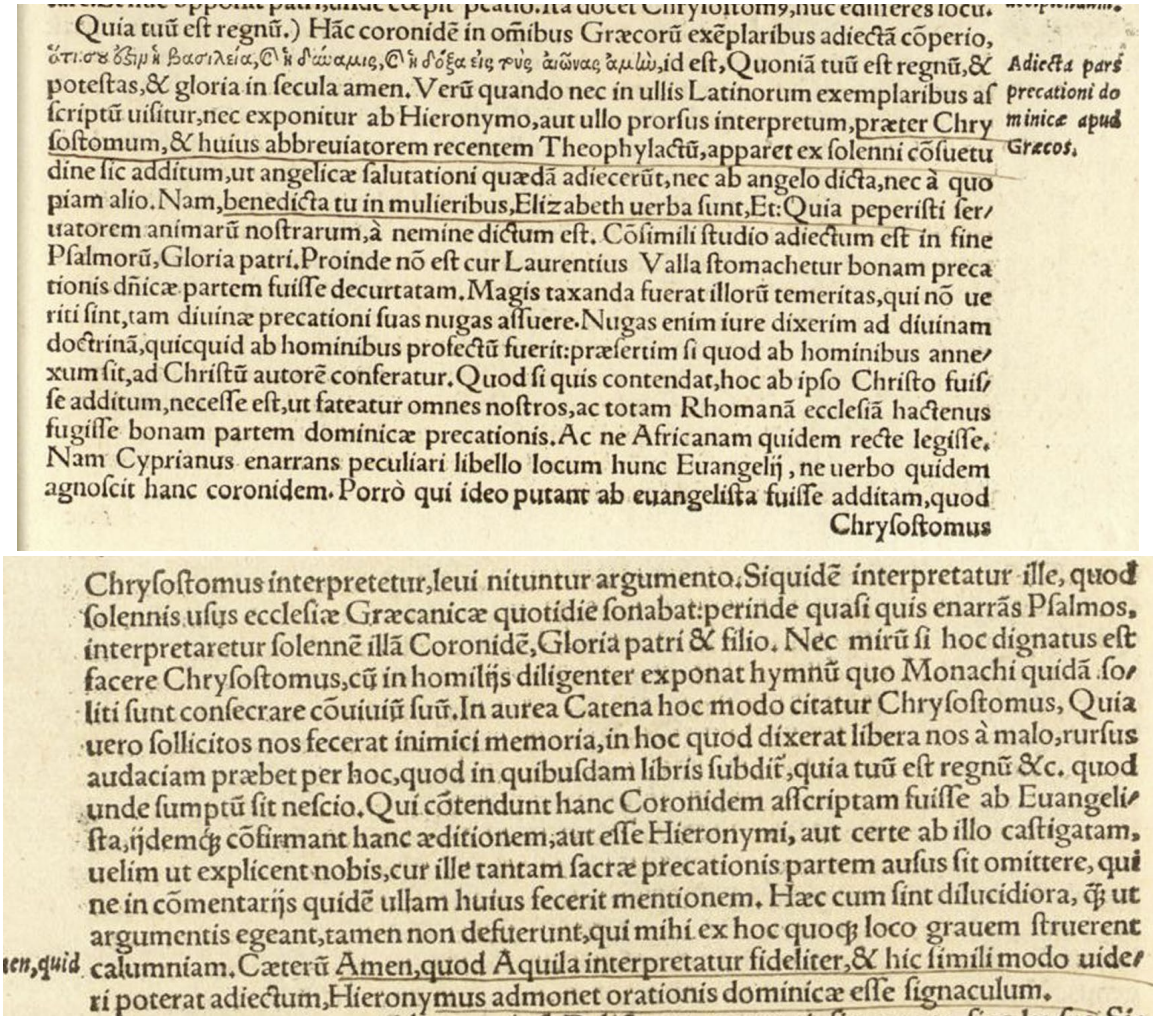
manuscripts, nor is it expounded by Jerome, nor indeed by any interpreter at all except Chrysostom and a recent abridger of Chrysostom, it appears to have been added from longstanding custom, just as certain things have been added to the angelic salutation which were spoken neither by the angel nor by anyone else. For example, “Blessed art thou among women” were Elizabeth's words. And “For thou hast brought forth the Savior of our souls” was spoken by no one. By a similar zeal there has been added at the end of the Psalms, “Glory be to the Father.” Therefore there is no reason why Lorenzo Valla should be attacked because he maintained that a portion of the Lord's Prayer had been curtailed. Rather, the rashness of those should have been censured who, unwilling to endure this, have mixed their own trifles into the divine prayer. For I would rightly call it trifling to add to divine doctrine anything that proceeds from men, especially if that which has been attached by men is attributed to Christ as its author. But if anyone should contend that this was added by Christ himself, he must admit that all our copies, and indeed the entire Roman Church up to the present, have lacked a considerable portion of the Lord's Prayer. And not the African Church either. For Cyprian, explaining this passage in a treatise devoted specifically to it, makes no mention whatever of this conclusion, though it is an important one. But those who think that it was added by the Evangelist because Chrysostom comments upon it are proving nothing by that argument. Chrysostom may simply have interpreted what the church's customary usage daily sounded forth, just as someone explaining the Psalms might expound that customary conclusion, "Glory be to the Father and to the Son." Nor would it be surprising if Chrysostom considered this worthy of comment, since in his homilies he carefully explains the hymn which certain monks had recently composed. Those who maintain that this conclusion was written by the Evangelist either affirm that this edition is Jerome's, or else they must certainly explain to us why Jerome either dared to omit so large a portion of so sacred a prayer, or at least why he made no mention of it in his commentaries. Although these considerations are rather clear, those who formerly raised a serious accusation against me on account of this passage were nevertheless not persuaded by such arguments. As for the Amen, which Aquila translated faithfully, this too could seem to have been added in a similar way; yet Jerome reminds us that in the Lord's Prayer it serves as the seal of the prayer” (Translation provided by ChatGPT).

- The 1522 edition of Erasmus's annotation on the Lord's Prayer doxology is best understood as an expansion and defense of the position he had already articulated in 1519 rather than a change of opinion. While the 1519 annotation argued that the doxology was present in all the Greek manuscripts known to Erasmus but absent from the older Latin tradition and likely entered through ecclesiastical usage, the 1522 version develops these arguments in much greater detail. Erasmus adds the testimony of Cyprian, noting that in his treatise on the Lord's Prayer he makes no mention of the doxology, which Erasmus regards as significant evidence against its widespread early use in the Latin church. He also answers a potential objection based on Chrysostom's commentary, arguing that Chrysostom's discussion of the passage does not

necessarily prove that it belonged to the original text of Matthew, since preachers often explained liturgical material familiar to their congregations. In addition, Erasmus sharpens his challenge to defenders of the doxology by asking them to explain why Jerome omitted so substantial a portion of the prayer or failed to discuss it in his commentaries. Finally, the 1522 annotation reveals that Erasmus was responding to actual critics who had attacked him over the issue. Thus, compared with the 1519 edition, the 1522 annotation presents a more fully developed historical and patristic case while maintaining essentially the same conclusion regarding the doxology's uncertain textual status.

- The annotation attached to Matthew 6:13 in 4th edition of the Erasmus's text from 1527 show evidence of further revision.

1527 Annotation on Matthew 6:13



Quia tuũ eſt regnũ.) Hãc coronidẽ in omĩbus Græcorũ exẽplaribus adiectã cõperio, ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν, id eſt, Quoniã tuũ eſt regnũ, & poteſtas, & gloria in ſecula amen. Verũ quando nec in ullis Latinorum exemplaribus aſ ſcriptũ uiſitur, nec exponitur ab Hieronymo, aut ullo prorſus interpretum, præter Chry ſoſtomum, & huius abbreuiatorem recentem Theophylactũ, apparet ex ſolenni cõſuetu dine ſic additum, ut angelicæ ſalutationi quædã adiecerũt, nec ab angelo dicta, nec à quo piam alio. Nam, benedicta tu in mulieribus, Elizabeth uerba ſunt, Et: Quia peperiſti ſer/ uatorem animarũ noſtrarum, à nemine dictum eſt. Cõſimili ſtudio adiectum eſt in fine Pſalmorũ, Gloria patri. Proinde nõ eſt cur Laurentius Valla ſtomachetur bonam preca tionis dñicæ partem fuiſſe decurtatam. Magis taxanda fuerat illorũ temeritas, qui nõ ue riti ſint, tam diuinæ precationi ſuas nugas aſſuere. Nugas enim iure dixerim ad diuinam doctrinã, quicquid ab hominibus profectũ fuerit: præſertim ſi quod ab hominibus anne/ xum ſit, ad Chriſtũ autorẽ conferatur. Quod ſi quis contendat, hoc ab ipſo Chriſto fuiſ/ ſe additum, neceſſe eſt, ut fateatur omnes noſtros, ac totam Rhomanã eccleſiã hactenus fugiſſe bonam partem dominicæ precationis. Ac ne Africanam quidem recte legiſſe. Nam Cyprianus enarrans peculiari libello locum hunc Euangelij, ne uerbo quidem agnoſcit hanc coronidem. Porrò qui ideo putant ab euangeliſta fuiſſe additam, quod Chryſoſtomus

Adiecta pars precationi dominicæ apud Græcos.

Chryſoſtomus interpretetur, leui nituntur argumento. Siquidẽ interpretatur ille, quod ſolennis uſus eccleſiæ Græcanicæ quotidie ſonabat: perinde quaſi quis enarrãs Pſalmos, interpretaretur ſolennẽ illã Coronidẽ, Gloria patri & filio. Nec mirũ ſi hoc dignatus eſt facere Chryſoſtomus, cũ in homilijs diligenter exponat hymnũ quo Monachi quidã ſo/ liti ſunt conſecrare cõuiuiũ ſuũ. In aurea Catena hoc modo citatur Chryſoſtomus, Quia uero ſollicitos nos fecerat inimici memoria, in hoc quod dixerat libera nos à malo, rurſus audaciam præbet per hoc, quod in quibuſdam libris ſubdit, quia tuũ eſt regnũ &c. quod unde ſumptũ ſit neſcio. Qui cõtendunt hanc Coronidem aſſcriptam fuiſſe ab Euangeli/ ſta, ijdemq; cõfirmant hanc æditionem, aut eſſe Hieronymi, aut certe ab illo caſtigatam, uelim ut explicent nobis, cur ille tantam ſacræ precationis partem auſus ſit omittere, qui ne in cõmentarijs quidẽ ullam huius fecerit mentionem. Hæc cum ſint dilucidiora, q; ut argumentis egeant, tamen non defuerunt, qui mihi ex hoc quoq; loco grauem ſtruerent calumniam. Cæterũ Amen, quod Aquila interpretatur fideliter, & hic ſimili modo uide/ ri poterat adiectum, Hieronymus admonet orationis dominicæ eſſe ſignaculum.

- The 1527 annotation reads as follows:

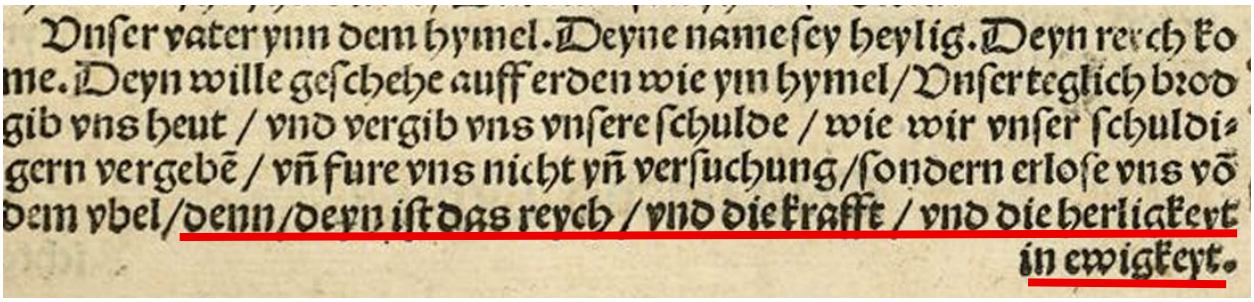
- “For thine is the kingdom.” I have found this conclusion added in all the Greek manuscripts which I possess, and it is interpreted by Theophylact: "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever. Amen." Yet since it is found written in none of the Latin manuscripts, nor is it explained by Jerome or by any commentator whatsoever except Chrysostom and his recent abridger Theophylact, it appears to have been added from longstanding custom, just as certain things have been added to the angelic salutation which were spoken neither by the angel nor by anyone else. For example, "Blessed art thou among women" were the words of Elizabeth. And "For thou hast brought forth the Savior of our souls" was spoken by no one. By similar zeal there has been added at the end of the Psalms, "Glory be to the Father." Therefore there is no reason why Lorenzo Valla should be criticized because he held that a considerable portion of the Lord's Prayer had been curtailed. Rather should the rashness of those be censured who, unwilling to endure this, have added their own trifles to the divine prayer. For I would rightly call it trifling to add to divine doctrine whatever has proceeded from men, especially if what has been appended by men is attributed to Christ as its author. But if anyone contends that this was added by Christ himself, he must admit that all our copies, and indeed the whole Roman Church up to the present time, have lacked a considerable portion of the Lord's Prayer. Nor did the African Church read it either. For Cyprian, explaining this passage in a treatise devoted specifically to it, does not even mention this conclusion, though it is no insignificant one. Moreover, those who think it was added by the Evangelist because Chrysostom comments upon it rely on a weak argument. Chrysostom may simply have interpreted what the customary usage of the Greek Church sounded forth daily, just as someone explaining the Psalms might interpret that customary conclusion, "Glory be to the Father and to the Son." Nor is it surprising that Chrysostom thought this worthy of exposition, since in his homilies he carefully explains a hymn which certain monks had recently composed. In the Catena Aurea Chrysostom is cited in this manner. But because the memory of certain opponents made us investigate the matter more carefully, I found in the very manuscripts from which the passage had been copied: "For thine is the kingdom," etc., which I suspect happened by mistake. Those who contend that this conclusion was written by the Evangelist, while also defending this reading, must either maintain that this edition is Jerome's or that it was approved by him; otherwise let them explain to us why Jerome either dared to omit so large a portion of so sacred a prayer, or why he made no mention of it whatever in his commentaries. Although these points are sufficiently clear and supported by arguments, those who formerly raised serious accusations against me on account of this passage were nevertheless not persuaded. As for the Amen, which Aquila translated faithfully, this too might seem to have been added in a similar way. Yet Jerome reminds us that in the Lord's Prayer it serves as the seal of the prayer” (Translation provided by ChatGPT).

- Compared with the 1522 annotation, the 1527 version does not alter Erasmus's basic assessment of the doxology but expands his defense of it against critics. He strengthens his appeal to Cyprian by arguing more explicitly that the African Church did not read the doxology, characterizes the appeal to Chrysostom as a weak argument, and introduces a new discussion of Chrysostom's citation in the Catena Aurea, explaining that further investigation of the evidence led him to question the strength of that testimony. The 1527 annotation also provides additional insight into the controversy surrounding Erasmus's views, indicating that attacks from opponents prompted him to reexamine the evidence more closely. Nevertheless, the overall argument remains fundamentally the same as in 1522: although the doxology appeared in all the Greek manuscripts known to him, Erasmus continued to view its absence from the older Latin tradition and from important patristic witnesses as a serious historical problem that required explanation.

- The 1535 5th edition of Erasmus's annotation (not pictured here) on the doxology of Matthew 6:13 represents the final form of an argument that had largely reached maturity by 1527. Unlike the substantial expansions that occurred between the 1519 and 1522 editions or the additional discussion introduced in 1527, the 1535 annotation contains virtually no significant changes in either evidence or reasoning. Erasmus continues to affirm that the doxology was present in all the Greek manuscripts available to him, while emphasizing its absence from the Latin manuscript tradition, Jerome's commentaries, and Cyprian's treatment of the Lord's Prayer. He also maintains his argument that Chrysostom's discussion of the passage does not prove its originality, since liturgical usage could explain why Greek preachers commented on it. The discussion of the Catena Aurea, the challenge posed to defenders of the doxology to explain Jerome's silence, and the references to criticism directed against Erasmus all remain essentially unchanged. As a result, the 1535 annotation should be viewed not as a new stage in Erasmus's thinking but as the settled and definitive expression of a position he had progressively developed and defended through the earlier editions.

- Evidence from Martin Luther's 1522 New Testament should not be overlooked when discussing the doxology in Matthew 6:13. Luther included the doxology from the beginning in his German Bible as the following photographic evidenced demonstrates.

Luther's 1522 New Testament


Vnſer vater ym dem hymel. Deyne name ſey heylig. Deyn reych ko
me. Deyn wille geſchehe auff erden wie ym hymel/ Vnſer teglich brod
gib vns heut / vnd vergib vns vnſere ſchulde / wie wir vnſer ſchuldi-
gern vergebē / vñ fure vns nicht yñ verſuchung/ ſondern erloſe vns vō
dem vbel/ denn/ deyn iſt das reych / vnd die krafft / vnd die herligkeyt
in ewigkeyt.

- Luther's 1522 New Testament demonstrates that a major Reformation translator included the doxology of Matthew 6:13 despite Erasmus's well-known reservations regarding the passage in his annotations. Unlike Matthew 5:22, where Luther omitted “without a cause” (*εἰκῇ*), Luther retained the doxology of Matthew 6:13, showing that his translation decisions were not determined solely by Erasmus's textual commentary. The inclusion of the doxology in Luther's German New Testament confirms that translators working with Erasmus's Greek text could still choose to translate readings that Erasmus himself considered doubtful. Tyndale's initial omission of the doxology in 1525 and 1526 therefore cannot be explained simply by appealing to Erasmus's textual doubts, since Luther had already translated the passage directly from a Greek text that contained it. The later restoration of the doxology in Tyndale's 1534 revision provides a documented example of a reading present in Erasmus's Greek text being omitted in an earlier English translation and subsequently corrected in a later revision. As a result, the history of Matthew 6:13 demonstrates that the presence of a reading in the Greek text did not guarantee its immediate appearance in every vernacular translation, nor did an initial omission necessarily indicate a deliberate rejection of the reading's authenticity.

- The comparison between Matthew 5:22 and Matthew 6:13 is significant because the textual situation in both passages was remarkably similar. In each case, Tyndale's Greek sources supported inclusion of the disputed wording, and in each case, Erasmus printed the words in his Greek text while expressing varying degrees of doubt in his annotations. The example of Luther's 1522 New Testament demonstrates that a Reformation translator could choose to follow the wording of Erasmus's printed Greek text despite such doubts, as Luther retained the doxology in Matthew 6:13. Tyndale's later restoration of the doxology in his 1534 revision likewise demonstrates that omissions could occur in the translation process and subsequently be corrected. Given these precedents, together with the extraordinary circumstances under which Tyndale labored as an exile under constant threat of arrest, the omission of "without a cause" in Matthew 5:22 appears more plausibly explained as an oversight that remained uncorrected than as a deliberate rejection of the Greek text. Although absolute certainty is unattainable, the evidence from Matthew 6:13 substantially strengthens the case for this interpretation.

- The subsequent history of Tyndale's text is also noteworthy. Although Tyndale never added "without a cause" to Matthew 5:22 during his lifetime, later editors of the English Bible increasingly brought the verse into closer conformity with the Greek text by translating εἰκῇ as either "without a cause" or "unadvisedly." This pattern is significant because it mirrors the broader history of Matthew 6:13. While Luther included the doxology in his 1522 New Testament, Tyndale initially omitted words that were present in the Greek text before restoring them in his 1534 revision. Although such later revisions cannot prove what Tyndale himself intended, they demonstrate a recurring tendency among translators and editors to align disputed passages more closely with the wording of the Greek text. When combined with Tyndale's restoration of the doxology in Matthew 6:13 and the difficult circumstances under which he carried out his work, the posthumous inclusion of "without a cause" lends additional weight to the

view that Matthew 5:22 may represent an uncorrected oversight rather than a deliberate rejection of the Greek reading.

Conclusion

- The omission of the phrase “without a cause” in William Tyndale's translation of Matthew 5:22 presents an interesting question in the history of the English Bible. The Greek word *εἰκῇ* (“without a cause,” “rashly,” or “unadvisedly”) was present in all major printed Greek New Testaments available to Tyndale, including the Complutensian Polyglot and all five editions of Erasmus's Greek New Testament. Nevertheless, Tyndale omitted the expression not only in his earliest New Testament editions but also in the revisions completed during his lifetime.

- One possible explanation is that the omission was deliberate. Erasmus consistently retained εικῇ in the printed Greek text while expressing doubts regarding its authenticity in his annotations and, beginning in later editions, drawing attention to the corresponding Latin word temere through typographical distinction in the Latin column. Because Tyndale was familiar with contemporary biblical scholarship and drew extensively upon Erasmus and Luther, it remains possible that he viewed the phrase as textually uncertain and intentionally chose not to represent it in English.

- At the same time, the evidence demonstrates that early Reformation translators did not respond uniformly to Erasmus's textual judgments. Although Luther omitted "without a cause" in Matthew 5:22, he retained the doxology in Matthew 6:13 despite Erasmus's reservations regarding that passage. Likewise, Erasmus himself continued to print both readings in all of his Greek editions. These examples show that the presence of textual doubts did not necessarily lead translators to omit a reading from the text.

- The comparison with Matthew 6:13 provides an important parallel. In his earliest New Testament editions, Tyndale omitted the doxology despite its presence in the Greek text available to him. He later restored the words in his 1534 revision. This demonstrates that departures from the Greek text could occur during the translation process and subsequently be corrected when an opportunity for revision arose.

- The subsequent history of the English Bible is also noteworthy. Although Tyndale never added "without a cause" during his lifetime, later English translators and editors increasingly brought Matthew 5:22 into closer conformity with the Greek text by rendering *εἰκῇ* as either “unadvisedly” or “without a cause.” The Great Bible, Geneva Bible, later editions of the Bishops' Bible, and numerous posthumous printings of Tyndale's New Testament all moved in this direction. While such revisions cannot establish Tyndale's personal intentions, they demonstrate that later editors regarded the omission as something requiring correction rather than preservation.

- Taken together, the evidence does not permit a definitive conclusion regarding Tyndale's intentions. It remains possible that he intentionally omitted εἰκῇ because of the doubts expressed by Erasmus and reflected in contemporary scholarship. Yet the cumulative evidence presented in this appendix points in another direction. Erasmus continued to print the word in every edition of his Greek New Testament, Luther's treatment of comparable textual questions was not always governed by Erasmus's doubts, Tyndale himself later corrected a similar omission in Matthew 6:13, and subsequent editors repeatedly restored Matthew 5:22 to closer conformity with the Greek text. These considerations are particularly noteworthy when viewed against the extraordinary circumstances under which Tyndale carried out his translation work. As an exile forced to work in secrecy while moving from place to place under constant threat of arrest, imprisonment, and ultimately execution, Tyndale labored under conditions far removed from those enjoyed by later revisers and editors. In light of these considerations, an uncorrected oversight remains a historically plausible explanation for Tyndale's omission of "without a cause," and perhaps a more satisfactory explanation than the claim that he consciously rejected a reading that continued to stand in every major Greek text available to him.

Lesson 4

The 1526 Worms New Testament: Assessing the First Printed English Bible

Prepared & Taught by Bryan C. Ross

Introduction

- In 1526, a small pocket-sized New Testament rolled off a printing press in the German city of Worms. At first glance it appeared unremarkable, but this book would change the English-speaking world forever. It was the first printed English New Testament translated directly from Greek, and it reached England despite determined efforts by both church and state to prevent its circulation. Yet few realize that this famous edition was actually Tyndale's second attempt. A year earlier (1525), he had begun printing a very different New Testament in Cologne, only to see the project interrupted and nearly destroyed. Today we will examine the relationship between those two editions and consider what the surviving evidence tells us about Tyndale's goals, methods, and enduring influence.

- To accomplish this task, we will be considering the following points:
    - Cologne vs. Worms
    - Comparing the Cologne Fragment (1525) with the New Testament (1526)
    - 1526 Worms New Testament
    - Source Text Examples: What Was Tyndale Translating?
    - Impact & Outcome

Cologne vs. Worms

- Cologne (First Printing Attempt, 1525)
    - Cologne was still a strongly Catholic city with authorities opposed to the spread of Lutheran and Reformation teachings.
    - Civic and church leaders worked together to suppress Protestant publications.
    - Tyndale's English New Testament was discovered by Johann Cochlaeus, a leading Catholic opponent of Luther.

    - Cochlaeus informed local authorities, resulting in the printing project being shut down before completion.
    - Tyndale was forced to flee the city, taking with him the printed sheets that had already been completed.

- The atmosphere in Cologne was characterized by:
    - Strong Catholic control.
    - Active censorship.
    - Enforcement against reformist literature.
    - Little tolerance for vernacular Bibles linked to Protestant ideas.

- Worms (Successful Printing, 1526)
    - Worms (the site of the famous Diet of Worms in 1521 i.e. the assembly held in the city of Worms where Martin Luther refused to recant) had become a center of sympathy for the Reformation after the controversy surrounding Martin Luther.
    - By 1526, Lutheran influence in the city was significantly stronger than in Cologne.
    - Local printers were more willing to produce Protestant and reformist works.
    - Tyndale was able to complete and publish his English New Testament there.
    - The Worms edition was printed in a smaller format, making it easier to smuggle into England.

- The atmosphere in Worms was characterized by:
    - Growing acceptance of Lutheran ideas.
    - Weaker enforcement of anti-Lutheran policies.
    - Greater freedom for Protestant printers.
    - Supportive conditions for distributing reformist literature.

- Cologne = Catholic opposition and censorship, causing Tyndale's project to fail.

- Worms = Reformation-friendly environment, allowing Tyndale's New Testament to be successfully printed and distributed.

Comparing the Cologne Fragment (1525) with the New Testament (1526)

- The Cologne Fragment was printed in quarto format. A quarto is produced by folding a full printed sheet twice, creating four leaves (eight pages). Scholars generally identify the surviving fragment as a large quarto edition. The exact measurements of the surviving British Library copy are not commonly reported in standard references, but because it was a quarto, the page size was approximately:

    - Height: 9 to 11 inches (23 to 28 cm)

    - Width: 7 to 8½ inches (18 to 22 cm)

- Most bibliographers place the Cologne Fragment among the larger Continental quartos of the early sixteenth century, making it noticeably larger than Tyndale's later 1526 Worms octavo New Testament, which was designed to be smaller and easier to conceal and smuggle into England.

- The Cologne edition was intended as a more traditional, heavily annotated scholarly publication, while the Worms edition was a compact volume that could be transported secretly into England after the Cologne printing was interrupted by authorities.

- A consideration of the Cologne Fragment leaves little doubt that Luther influenced Tyndale heavily in terms of formatting and layout. The following images demonstrate the degree to which Tyndale followed Luther's 1522 September Testament in his original 1525 Cologne edition. Both editions contain Prologues, identical lists of Contents, and a text filled with marginal notes, many of which Tyndale copied from Luther, according to McGrath.

- While Tyndale's 1526 Worms edition abandoned these formatting and metatextual features in favor of a stripped-down text, that Tyndale still favored them is evidenced by his 1534 revision. Tyndale's revision included two Prologues, an identical Contents page to the one found in the original 1525 project which answers to Luther's 1522 September Testament, and a text laden with marginal notes and cross references.

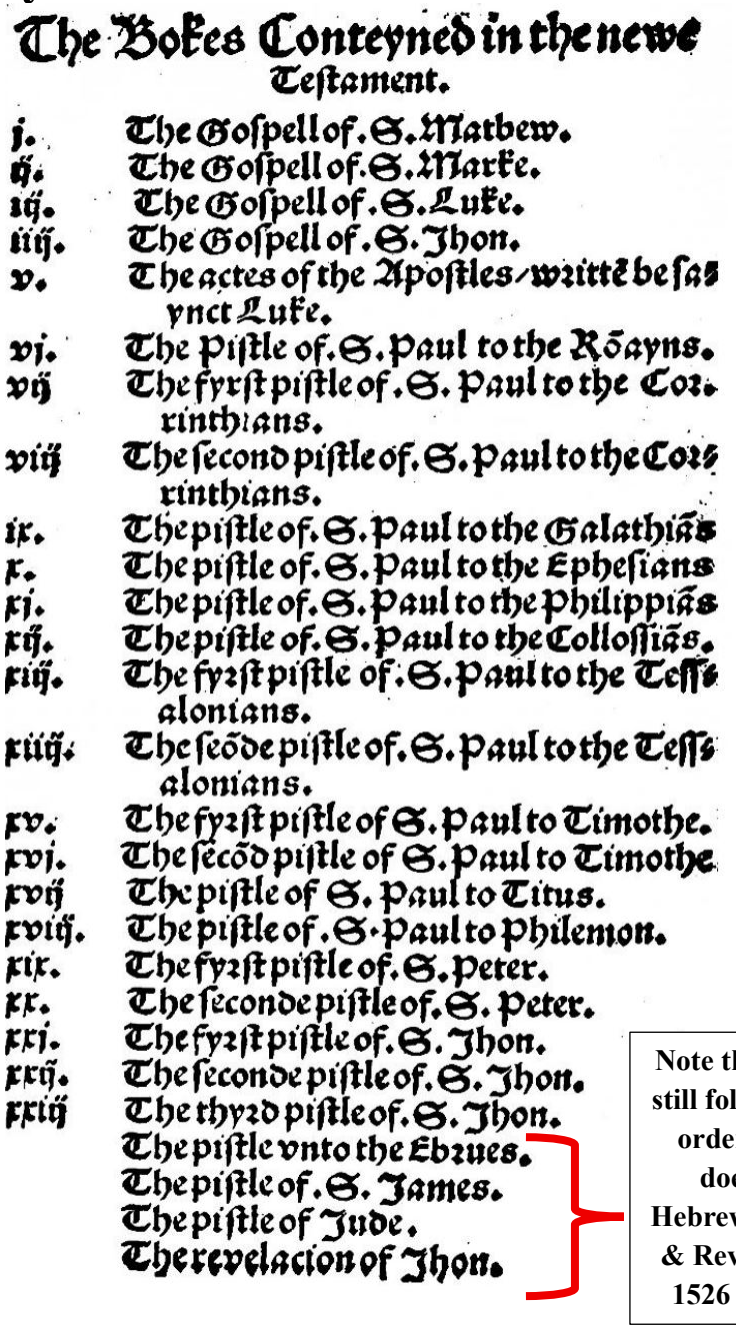
- The 1525 Prologue runs 14 pages in length containing 31 paragraphs and roughly 6,400 words. There are 18 different subsections in Tyndale's original Prologue. The subsections were as follows:

  - The Old Testament
  - The New Testament
  - The Gospel or Evangelion
  - Which evangelion is called a Testament
  - A justiciary
  - A sensual man
  - A Christian man
  - Nature
  - Faith, love, works
  - Righteousness otherwise justifying or justice
  - Adam bringeth us to bondage
  - Christ letteth us at liberty
  - The evangelion bringeth faith, faith bringeth love: love worketh
  - Christ bringeth all goodness freely, and giveth an example how to bestow in godly
  - Faith receiveth of God, and love bestoweth the same on his neighbour
  - A true Christian man believeth that heaven is his already by Christ's purchasing, and therefore loveth, and worketh, to honour God only and to draw all things to God
  - To bind and loose
  - A Christian man feeleth the working of the Holy Ghost in his soul, and in all tribulations and adversities feeleth God a merciful and a loving Father

- Tyndale's "To The Reader" in the 1526 New Testament (found at the end of the volume) differs signify from the Prologue to the 1525 Cologne fragment. In 1526 NT there are only 5 paragraphs of about 800 words with zero headings or subsections. The Cologne Fragment Prologue (1525) is a full theological introduction to the New Testament, while the shorter "To The Reader" (1526) is a concise guide on how to read Scripture, understand Law and Gospel, and receive the translation charitably despite its imperfections. This underscores one of our main points. Tyndale totally rethought his entire enterprise after his first attempt was thwarted.

- Both editions contain a table of contents or list of books contained in the New Testament.

Tyndale's 1526 Table of Contents



The Bokes Conteyned in the newe Teſtament.

j. The Goſpell of. S. Matbew.
ij. The Goſpell of. S. Marke.
iij. The Goſpell of. S. Luke.
iiij. The Goſpell of. S. Jhon.
v. The actes of the Apoſtles/writtē be ſayncte Luke.
vj. The Piſtle of. S. Paul to the Rōayns.
vij The fyrſt piſtle of. S. Paul to the Corinthians.
viij The ſecond piſtle of. S. Paul to the Corinthians.
ix. The piſtle of. S. Paul to the Galathiās
x. The piſtle of. S. Paul to the Epheſians
xj. The piſtle of. S. Paul to the Philippiās
xij. The piſtle of. S. Paul to the Colloſſiās.
xiij. The fyrſt piſtle of. S. Paul to the Theſſalonians.
xiiij. The ſeōde piſtle of. S. Paul to the Theſſalonians.
xv. The fyrſt piſtle of S. Paul to Timothe.
xvj. The ſecōd piſtle of S. Paul to Timothe
xvij The piſtle of S. Paul to Titus.
xviij. The piſtle of. S. Paul to Philemon.
xix. The fyrſt piſtle of. S. Peter.
xx. The ſeconde piſtle of. S. Peter.
xxj. The fyrſt piſtle of. S. Jhon.
xxij. The ſeconde piſtle of. S. Jhon.
xxiij The thyrd piſtle of. S. Jhon.
The piſtle vnto the Ebrues.
The piſtle of. S. James.
The piſtle of Jude.
The revelacion of Jhon.

Note that the 1526 NT still followers Luther's order of books but does not off set Hebrews, James, Jude, & Revelation like the 1526 Cologne Frag.

- The following exercise is designed to determine to what extent Tyndale changed/edited the Biblical text between the Cologne Fragment of 1525 and his New Testament of 1526. To accomplish this task, I have chosen three passages from the book of Matthew. The table below

identifies the passage being compared and the reading from both source texts. Please note that I have modernized the spelling for ease of reading. I have not changed any of the words.

Passage	Cologne Fragment (1525)	Worms NT (1526)
Matt. 1:18-25	18) ℂ The birth of Christ was on this wise/ When his mother Mary was married unto Joseph/ before they came to dwell together/ she was found with child by the Holy Ghost. 19) Then her husband Joseph/ being a perfect man, and loathe to defame her/ was minded to put her away secretly. 20) While he thus thought/ behold/ the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in sleep saying: Joseph, the son of David/ fear not to take unto thee/ Mary thy wife. For that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. 21) She shall bring forth a son/ and thou shalt call his name Jesus. For he shall save his people from their sins. 22) ℂ All this was done/ to fulfil that which was spoken of the Lord/ by the prophet saying: 23) Behold a maid shall be with child/ and shall bring forth a son/ and they shall call his name Emmanuel/ which is as much to say, by interpretation, as God with us. 24) ℂ Joseph as soon as he awoke out of sleep/ did as the angel of the Lord bade him/ and took his wife unto him/	18) ℂ The birth of Christe was on this wise/ When his mother Mary was married unto Joseph/ before they came to dwell together/ she was found with child by the holy ghost. 19) Then her husband being a perfect man/ and loth to defame her/ was minded to put her away secretly. 20) Whill he thus thought/ behold the angel of the lord appeared unto him in sleep saying: Joseph the son of David/ fear not to take unto thee/ Mary thy wife. For that which is conceived in her is of the holy ghost. 21) She shall bring forth a son / and thou shalt call his name Iesus. For he shall save his people from their sins. 22) ℂ All this was done to fulfill that which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet saying: 23) Behold a maid shall be with child/ and shall bring forth a son/ and they shall call his name Emmanuel/ which is as much to say by interpretation / as God with us. 24) Joseph as sone as he awoke out of sleep/ did as the angel off the Lord bade him/ and toke his wife unto him/

	25) and knew her not/ till she had brought forth her first son/ and called his name Jesus. *There are 5 marginal notes attached to this passage in the Cologne Fragment.	25) and knew her not/ till she had brought forth her first son/ and called his name Jesus.
Matt. 5:13-20	13) ℂ Ye are the salt of the earth. but and if the salt be once unsavour/ what can be salted therewith? It is thenceforth good for nothing/ but to be cast out at the doors/ and that men tread it under foot. 14) Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid/ 15) neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel/ but on a candlestick, and it lighteth all those which are in the house. 16) See that your light so shine before men/ that they may see your good works/ and glorify your Father which is in heaven. 17) ℂ Ye shall not think/ that I am come to disannul the Law/ or the prophets: No, I am not come to disannul them/ but to fulfil them. 18) For truly I say unto you/ till heaven and earth perish, one jot/ or one tittle of the Law shall not escape/ till all be fulfilled. 19) ℂ Whosoever breaketh one of these least commandments/ and shall teach men so/ he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven. But whosoever shall observe and teach them/ that	13 ℂ Ye are the salt of the earth. but and if the salt be once unsavery/ what can be salted therewith? it is thenceforth good for nothing/ but to be cast out at the doors/ and that men tread it under foot. 14) Ye are the light of the world. A cite that is set on an hill cannot be hid/ 15) nether do men light a candle and put it under a bushel/ but on a candlestick/ and it lighteth all them which are in the house. 16) Se that your light so shine before men/ that they may see your good works/ and glorify your father which is in heaven. 17) ℂ Ye shall not think that I am come to disannul the Law/ or the prophets. no I am not come to disannul them/ but to fulfill them. 18For truly I say unto you/ till heaven and earth perish/ one jot/ or one tittle of the Law shall not escape/ till all be fulfilled. 19) ℂ Whosoever breaketh one of these lest commandment/ and shall teach men so/ he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven. But whosoever shall observe and teach

	person shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven. 20) ℂ For I say unto you/ except your righteousness exceed/ the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees/ ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. *There are 5 marginal notes attached to this passage in the Cologne Fragment.	them/ that person shall be called great in the kingdom̄ off heaven. 20) ℂ For I say unto you/ except your righteousness exceed/ the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees/ ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.
Matt. 15:21-28	21) ℂ And Jesus went thence/ and departed into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. 22) And behold a woman which was a Canaanite came out of the same coasts/ and cried unto him/ saying: Have mercy on me Lord the Son of David/ my daughter is piteously vexed with a devil. 23) And he gave her never a word to answer. Then came to him his disciples/ and besought him saying: Send her away/ for she followeth us crying. 24) He answered/ and said: I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel. 25) Then she came and worshipped him/ saying: Master sucker me: 26) He answered and said, It is not good, to take the children's bread, and to cast it to whelps. 27) She answered and said: It is truth/ nevertheless the whelps eat of the	21ℂ And Iesus went thence/ and departed into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. 22And behold a woman which was a Canaanite came out of the same coasts/ and cried unto him/ saying: have mercy on me Lord the Son of Dauid/ my daughter is piteously vexed with a devil. 23) And he gave her never a word to answer. Then cam to him his disciples/ and besought him saying: send her away/ for she followeth us crying. 24) He answered/ and said: I am not sent/ but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel. 25) Then she came and worshipped him/ saying: master sucker me: 26) He answered and said: it is not good/ to take the children's breed/ and to cast it to whelps. 27) She answered and said: it is truth/ nevertheless the whelps eat of the

	crumbs/ which fall from their master's table. 28) Then Jesus answered and said unto her. O woman great is thy faith/ be it to thee/ even as thou desirest. And her daughter was made whole even at that same time. *There is 1 marginal note in the form of a cross reference attached to verse 21 in the Cologne Fragment.	crumbs/ which fall from their master's table. 28) Then Iesus answered and said unto her. O woman great is thy faith/ be hit to the/ even as thou desirest. And her daughter was made whole even at that same time. *The Tyndale's Bible website was used as a resource to create this table.

- The above comparison only considers three passages, so it is admittedly not exhaustive. That said, it does seem to suggest that Tyndale made few changes to the Biblical text found in Matthew chapters 1-22 between 1525 and 1526. The most glaring difference is the complete lack of marginal notes found in the 1526 New Testament.

- During this time in his life Tyndale was operating under great duress. That he would have simply reprinted those portions of the text that he already had complete makes perfect sense. As we will see in later study this weekend it was not until 1534 that Tyndale was able to revise his text. Revision does not appear to have been a concern in 1526, rather his goal was to just get the text into print.

- Given that Tyndale's actions were made known to the English authorities, many Bible historians believe that this prompted Tyndale to alter the size and contents of his Bible.

    - "The explanation seems to be, that while Tyndale intended the quarto edition should be the first printed, and so the work was actually begun at Cologne, yet, because it was interrupted and the English authorities were instructed particularly as to the character of the book issuing from the press at Cologne, he changed the form to an octavo, leaving out the prologues and glosses [marginal notes & cross reference]" (Condit, 101).

- Altering the project may have given Tyndale's Bible a fighting chance of surviving introduction into England. A dated letter (March 1526) from King Henry VIII to Martin Luther reveals that the English King had knowledge of Tyndale's clandestine project.

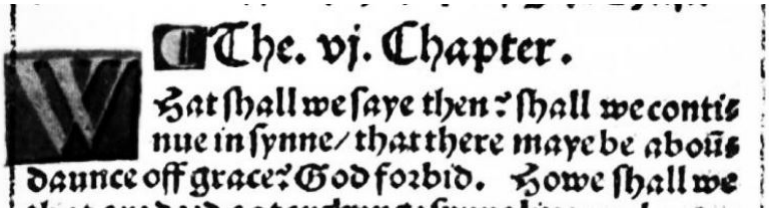
    - ". . . in deuyce with one or two lewd persons (referring to Tyndale and Roye) borne in this our realm, for the translating of the New Testament in to English, as well as with

> many corruptions of that holy text, as certain prefaces, and other pestilent glosses in the margins for the advancement and setting forth of his abominable heresies. . . In the aduoydynge whereof, we of our especial tender zeal . . . determined the said venture translations to be burned, with further sharp correction and punishment against the keepers and reads of the same" (Arber, 48-49).

1526 Worms New Testament

- Tyndale's 1526 New Testament represents the first time the original languages i.e., Greek was translated into English. I have selected the following passages for our consideration to get a feel for Tyndale's ability as a translator.
    - Romans 6:1
    - Romans 16:25-26
    - I Corinthians 15:3-4
    - Ephesians 3:1-11
    - II Timothy 2:15
- For each example I have included a screenshot from the 1526 NT with a modern spelling reading underneath. I have only updated the spelling for ease of reading. None of the wording has been changed.

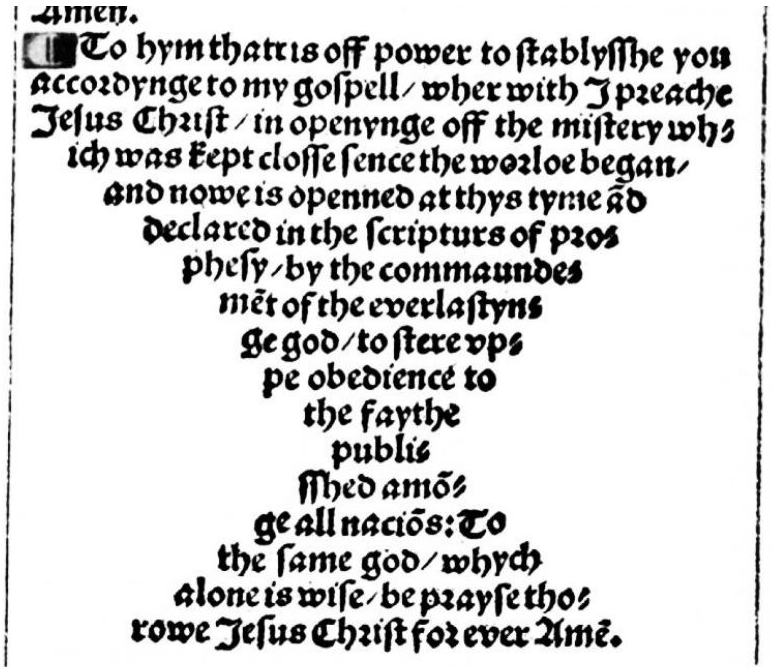
Romans 6:1



What shall we say then ? shall we continue in sin/ that there may be abundance of grace? God forbid.

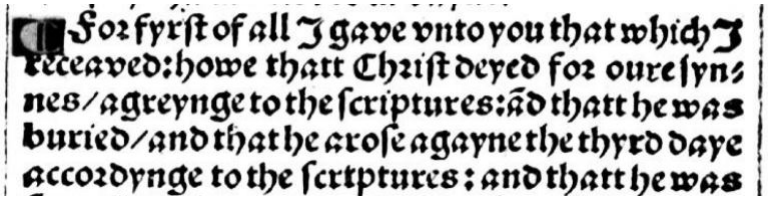
- I included this example because the use of "God forbid" in the King James Bible is often used by critics to talk about the use of so-called dynamic equivalence by the KJB translators. Tyndale's use of the same expression demonstrates that he cared more about conveying the force and sense of the Greek in English even if meant not always being woodenly literal in his English renderings.

Romans 16:25-26


Amen.
¶ To hym that is off power to stablysshe you
accordynge to my gospell / wher with I preache
Jesus Christ / in openynge off the mistery wh-
ich was kept closse sence the worloe began /
and nowe is openned at thys tyme ād
declared in the scripturs of pros
phesy / by the commaundes
mēt of the everlastyns
ge god / to stere vp-
pe obedience to
the faythe
publis
shed amō-
ge all naciōs: To
the same god / whych
alone is wise / be prayse tho-
rowe Jesus Christ for ever Amē.

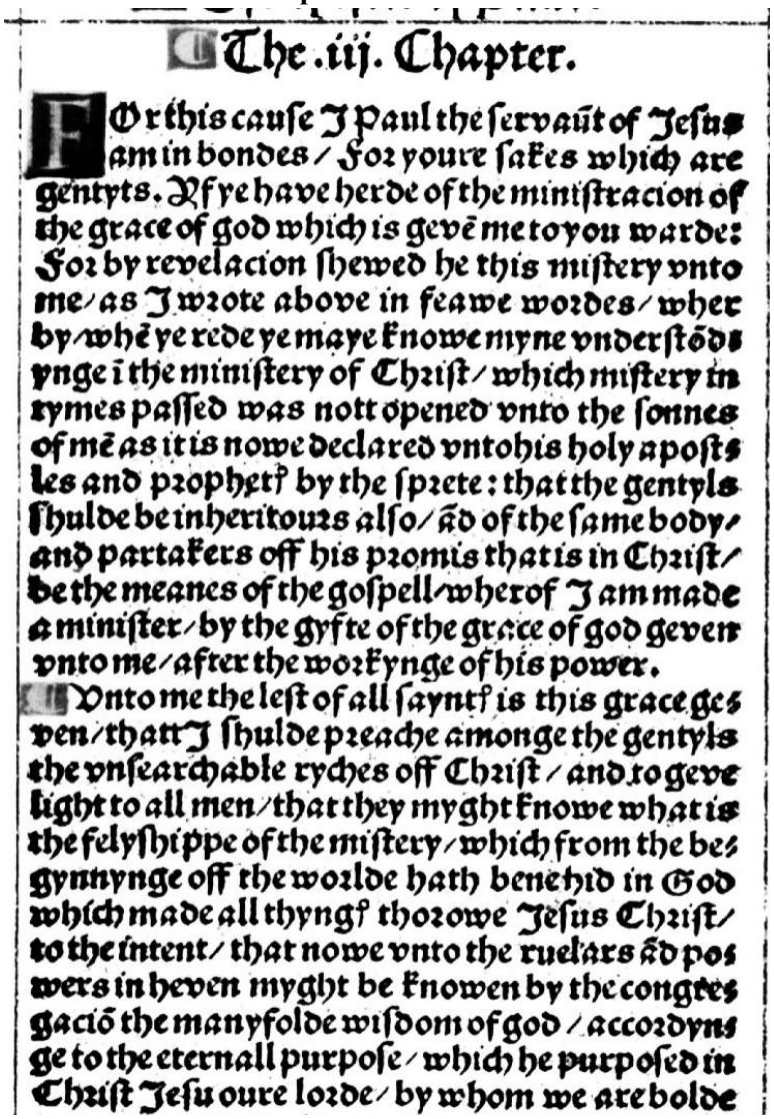
To him that is oft' power to stablish you according to my gospel/ where with I preach Jesus Christ/ in opening of" the mystery which was kept close since the world began / and now is opened at this time and declared in the scriptures of prophesy/ by the commandment of the everlasting god/ to stir up obedience to the faith published among all nations To the same god/ which alone is wise/ be praise through Jesus Christ for ever Amen.

I Corinthains 15:3-4


¶ For fyrst of all I gave vnto you that which I
receaved: howe thatt Christ deyed for oure syn-
nes / agreynge to the scriptures: ād thatt he was
buried / and that he arose agayne the thyrd daye
accordynge to the scriptures: and thatt he was

For first of all I gave unto you that which I received : how that Christ died for our sins/ agreeing to the scriptures: and that he was buried / and that he arose again the third day according to the scriptures :

Ephesains 3:1-11



The .iij. Chapter.

FOr this cause I Paul the servaũt of Jesus am in bondes / For youre sakes which are gentyls. Yf ye have herde of the ministracion of the grace of god which is gevẽ me to you warde: For by revelacion shewed he this mistery vnto me / as I wrote above in feawe wordes / wherby / whẽ ye rede ye maye knowe myne vnderstõdynge ĩ the ministery of Christ / which mistery in tymes passed was nott opened vnto the sonnes of mẽ as it is nowe declared vntohis holy apostles and prophetꝭ by the sprete: that the gentyls shulde be inheritours also / ãd of the same body / and partakers off his promis that is in Christ / be the meanes of the gospell / wherof I am made a minister / by the gyfte of the grace of god geven vnto me / after the workynge of his power.

Vnto me the lest of all sayntꝭ is this grace geven / that I shulde preache amonge the gentyls the vnsearchable ryches off Christ / and to geve light to all men / that they myght knowe what is the felyshippe of the mistery / which from the begynnynge off the worlde hath benehid in God which made all thyngꝭ thorowe Jesus Christ / to the intent / that nowe vnto the rulers ãd powers in heven myght be knowen by the congregaciõ the manyfolde wisdom of god / accordynge to the eternall purpose / which he purposed in Christ Jesu oure lorde / by whom we are bolde

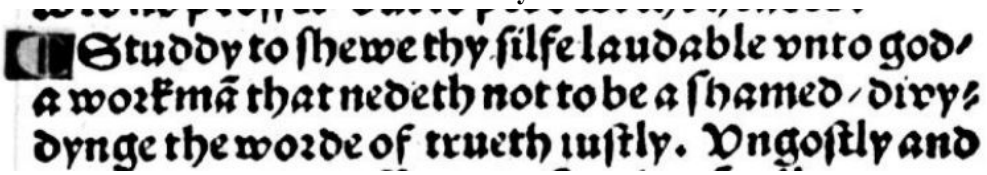
For this cause I Paul the servant of Jesus am in bonds/ For your sakes which are gentiles. If ye have heard of the ministration of the grace of god which is given me to you ward:

For by revelation shewed he this mystery unto me/ as I wrote above in few words/ whereby/ when ye rede ye may know mine understanding in the mystery of Christ/ which mystery in times passed was not opened unto the sons of men as it is now declared unto his holy apostles and prophets by the sprite: that the gentiles should be inheritors also/ and of the same body/ and partakers of his promise that is in Christ/ be the means of the gospel/ whereof I am made a minister/ by the gift of the grace of god given unto me/ after the working of his power.

Unto me the lest of all saints is this grace given/ that I should preach ainonge the gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ/ and to give light to all men/ that they might know what is the fellowship of the mystery/ which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God which made all things

thorowe Jesus Christ/ to the intent/ that now unto the rulers and powers in heaven might be known by the congregation the manifold wisdom of god/ according to the eternal purpose/
which he purposed in Christ Jesus our lord/

II Timothy 2:15


Studdy to ſhewe thy ſilfe laudable vnto god/
a workmā that nedeth not to be a ſhamed/ diry-
dynge the worde of trueth iuſtly. Vngoſtly and

Study to show thy self laudable unto god / a workman that needeth not to be a shamed/ dividing the word of truth justly.

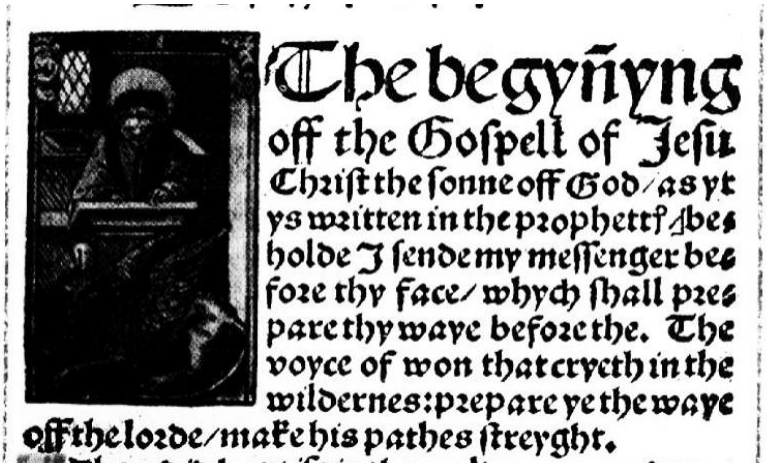
Source Text Examples: What Was Tyndale Translating?

- Historical records show William Tyndale used Desiderius Erasmus's printed Greek New Testament as the primary source for his 1526 English translation. The term "Textus Receptus" (Received Text or TR) was coined retroactively in 1633, but it refers directly to the family of Greek texts started by Erasmus and later refined by Stephanus and Beza.

- Because modern translations (like the ESV or NASB) rely on an "eclectic" text derived from older Alexandrian manuscripts, there are distinct differences in specific verses. When Tyndale's 1526/1534 New Testament matches certain specific phrases found in the Textus Receptus tradition, it provides textual proof that he translated from Erasmus's "Textus Receptus."

- We will look at the following textual examples:
    - Mark 1:1-3
    - John 7:53-8:1-11
    - Mark 16:9-20
    - Acts 8:37
    - I John 5:7

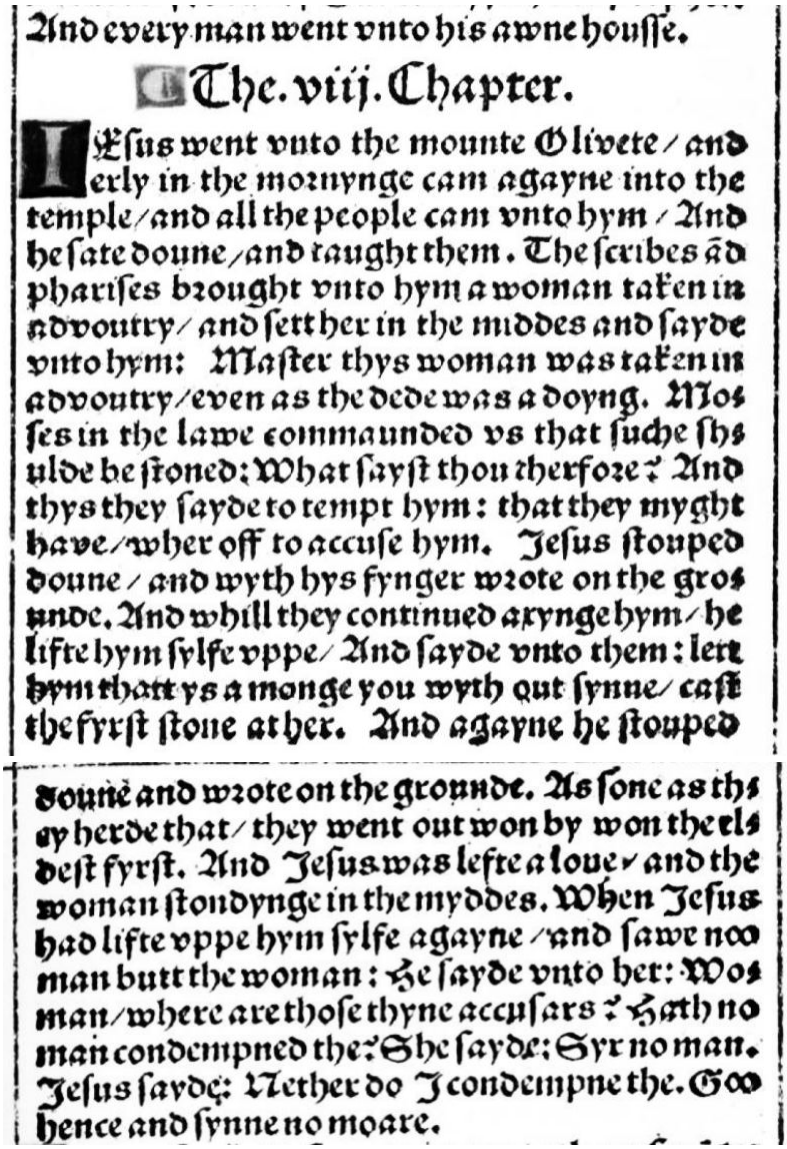
Mark 1:1-3


The begynnyng
off the Goſpell of Jeſu
Chriſt the ſonne off God / as yt
ys written in the prophettſ / be
holde I ſende my meſſenger be
fore thy face / whych ſhall pre
pare thy waye before the. The
voyce of won that cryeth in the
wildernes: prepare ye the waye
off the lorde / make his pathes ſtreyght.

The beginning off the Gospel of Jesu Christ the Sonne off God / as it is written in the prophets/ behold I send my messenger before thy face / which shall prepare thy way before thee. The voice of won that cryeth in the wilderness : prepare ye the way of the lord / make his paths straight.

- The textual issue is in Mark 1:2. Tyndale's translation reads "as it is written in the prophets," thereby indicating that the rest of verse 2 as well as verse 3 are quotations of more than one prophet, i.e., Malachi 3:1 and Isaiah 40:3. The modern Critical Text and its corollary Modern Versions all read "as it is written in the prophet Isaiah" in Mark 1:2. The "prophets" reading in Tyndale indicates that the TR was the text basis for Tyndale's work.

John 7:53-8:11



And every man went vnto his awne houſſe.

The. viij. Chapter.

IEſus went vnto the mounte Olivete / and erly in the mornynge cam agayne into the temple / and all the people cam vnto hym / And he ſate doune / and taught them. The ſcribes ād phariſes brought vnto hym a woman taken in advoutry / and ſett her in the middes and ſayde vnto hym: Maſter thys woman was taken in advoutry / even as the dede was a doyng. Moſes in the lawe commaunded vs that ſuche ſhulde be ſtoned: What ſayſt thou therfore? And thys they ſayde to tempt hym: that they myght have / wher off to accuſe hym. Jeſus ſtouped doune / and wyth hys fynger wrote on the groūnde. And whill they continued aſkynge hym / he lifte hym ſylfe vppe / And ſayde vnto them: let hym that ys a monge you wyth out ſynne / caſt the fyrſt ſtone at her. And agayne he ſtouped doune and wrote on the groūnde. As ſone as they herde that / they went out won by won the eldeſt fyrſt. And Jeſus was lefte a loue / and the woman ſtondynge in the myddes. When Jeſus had lifte vppe hym ſylfe agayne / and ſawe noo man butt the woman: He ſayde vnto her: Woman / where are thoſe thyne accuſars? Hath no man condempned the? She ſayde: Syr no man. Jeſus ſayde: Nether do I condempne the. Goo hence and ſynne no moare.

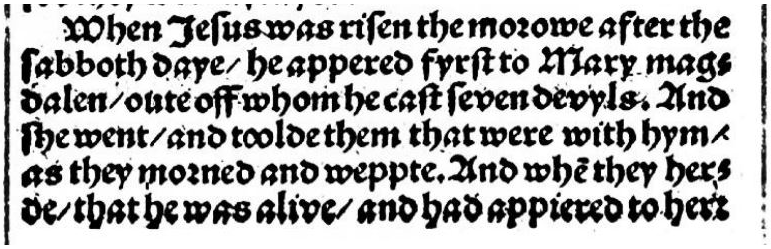
And every man went unto his own house.

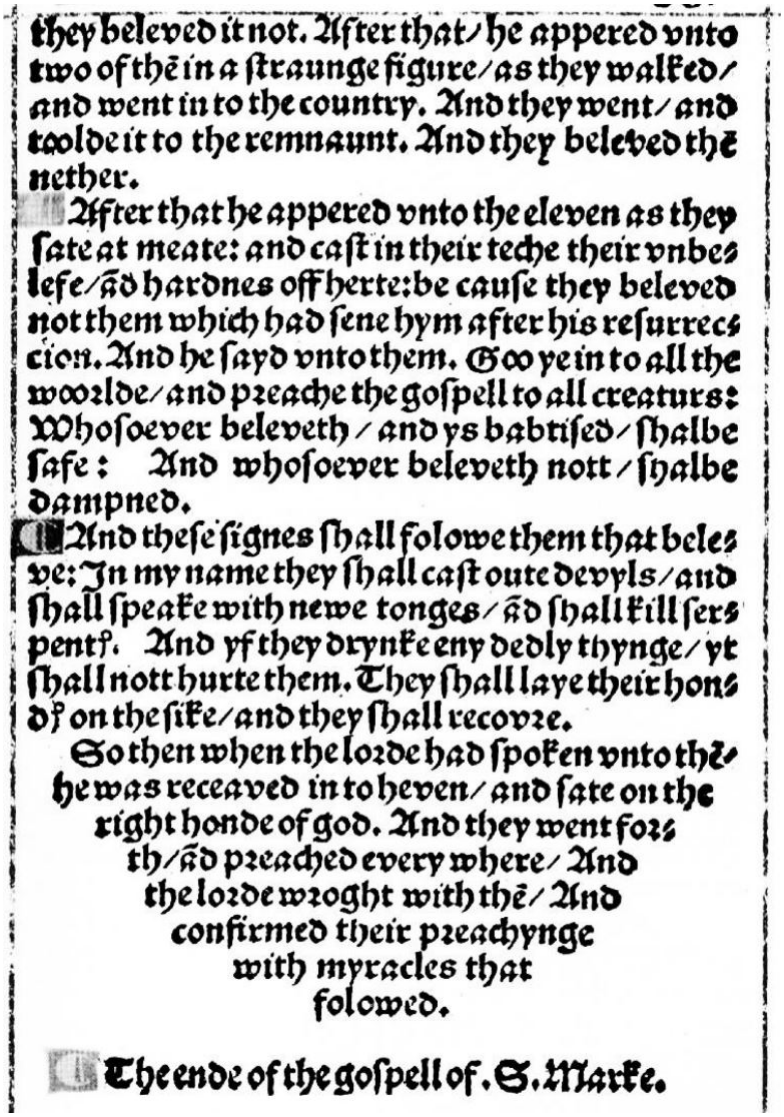
Jesus went unto the Mount Olivete/ and early in the morning cam again into the temple / and all the people cam unto him. And he sat down / and taught them. The scribes and pharisees brought unto him a woman taken in adultery / and set her in the midst and said unto him : Master this woman was taken in adultery / even as the deed was a doing. Moses in the law commanded us that such should be stoned : What sayst thou therefore? And this they said to tempt him: that they might have/ whereof to accuse him. Jesus stooped down / and with his finger wrote on the ground. And while they continued asking him / he lifted him self up/ And said unto them: let him that is among you with out sin / cast the first stone at her. And again he stooped down and wrote on the ground. As sone as they heard that / they went out one by

one the eldest first. And Jesus was left alone / and the woman standing in the middles. When Jesus had lifted up him self again/ and saw no man butt the woman : He said unto her : Woman / where are those thin accusers? Hath no man condemned thee? She said : Sir no man. Jesus said : Nether do I condemn thee. Go hence and sin no more.

- Once again, the modern Critical Text questions the authenticity of the woman taken in adultery narrative. Consequently, Modern Versions use various means to indicate the alleged questionable nature of the passage. William Tyande did not do this because his source text, the TR accepts the passage as authentic.

Mark 16:9-20


When Jesus was risen the morowe after the
sabboth daye/ he appered fyrst to Mary mags
dalen/ oute off whom he cast seven devyls. And
she went/ and toolde them that were with hym/
as they morned and weppte. And whē they hers
de/ that he was alive/ and had appiered to hem



they beleved it not. After that/ he appered vnto two of thē in a ſtraunge figure/ as they walked/ and went in to the country. And they went/ and tolde it to the remnaunt. And they beleved thē nether.

After that he appered vnto the eleven as they ſate at meate: and caſt in their teche their vnbeleſe/ād hardnes off herte: be cauſe they beleved not them which had ſene hym after his reſurrecsion. And he ſayd vnto them. Goo ye in to all the woorlde/ and preache the goſpell to all creaturs: Whoſoever beleveth/ and ys babtiſed/ ſhalbe ſafe: And whoſoever beleveth nott/ ſhalbe dampned.

And theſe ſignes ſhall folowe them that beleve: In my name they ſhall caſt oute devyls/ and ſhall ſpeake with newe tonges/ād ſhall kill ſerpentſ. And yf they drynke eny dedly thynge/ yt ſhall nott hurte them. They ſhall laye their hondſ on the ſike/ and they ſhall recovre.

So then when the lorde had ſpoken vnto thē he was receaved in to heven/ and ſate on the right honde of god. And they went forth/ād preached every where/ And the lorde wroght with thē/ And confirmed their preachynge with myracles that folowed.

The ende of the goſpell of. S. Marke.

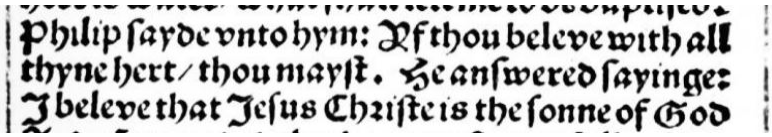
When Jesus was risen the morrow after the sabbath day / he appeared first to Mary magdalen / out off whom he cast seven devils. And she went/ and told them that were with him/ as they mourned and wept. And when they heard/ that he was alive/ and had appeared to her: they believed it not. After that/ he appeared unto two of them in a strange figure/ as they walked/ and went in to the country. And they went/ and told it to the remnant. And they believed them neither After that he appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat : and cast in their teeth their unbelief/ and hardness of heart : be cause they believed not them which had seen him after his resurrection. And he said unto them. Goo ye in to all the world/ and preach the gospel to all creatures : Whosoever believeth/ and is baptized/ shall be safe : And whosoever believeth not/shall be dammed. And these signs shall follow them that believe : In my name they shall cast out devils/ and shall speak with new tongues / and shall kill serpents. And if they drink any deadly thing/ it shall not hurt them. They shall lay their hands on the sike/ and they shall recover. So then when the lord had spoken unto them he was received into heaven / and sate on the right hand of god.

And they went forth/ and preached every where/ And the lord wrought with them/ And confirmed their preaching with miracles that followed.

The end of the gospel of St. Mark

- Once again, Tyndale did not question that authenticity of Mark 16:9-20 thereby indicating that he used the TR as his source text.

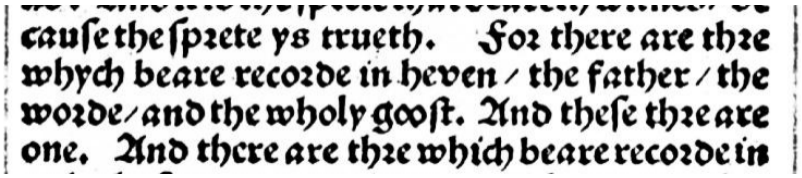
Acts 8:37


Philip ſayde vnto hym: Yf thou beleve with all
thyne hert/ thou mayſt. He anſwered ſayinge:
I beleve that Jeſus Chriſte is the ſonne of God

Philip said unto him : If thou believe with all thine heart/ thou mayst. He answered saying : I believe that Jesus Christe is the Sonne of God

- Acts 8:37 is missing in modern editions of the Critical Text. Therefore, modern English translations use a variety of means to signal to the English reader the supposed questionable nature of the verse. Yet again, Tyndale accepted the verse as a genuine part of the inspired text.

I John 5:7


cauſe the ſprete ys trueth. For there are thre
whych beare recorde in heven / the father / the
worde/ and the wholy gooſt. And theſe thre are
one. And there are thre which beare recorde in

For there are three which bear record in heaven/ the father/ the word/ and the holy ghost. And these three are one.

- This verse is omitted in modern editions of the Critical Text. It was, however, present in the 3rd edition of the Erasmus Greek text published in 1522. Known as the Johannine Comma, I John 5:7 remains a lightning rod for controversy even today in the 21st century. In his 1534 and 1535 editions Tyndale placed parenthesis around I John 5:7. As one can plainly see in the screenshot provide there were no markings around the verse in the Worms New Testament from 1526. For more information about this verse please see Appendix A.

Impact & Outcome

- "The first printed New Testament in the English language was completed in Worms in 1526 in a small octavo edition" (Brake, 100). David Daniell chronicles how the 1526 Worms New Testament differed from the one Tyndale attempted to produce in Cologne the year before.

- "Tyndale and Roye arrived, probably late in 1525, in the safe Lutheran city of Worms, and the small printer Peter Schoeffer undertook an English New Testament, the first ever made, completed in 1526. This is very different from the Lutheran Cologne fragment. It was octavo (pocket-size like all Tyndale's books printed in his lifetime) and without Prologue or marginal notes, or attribution to him. This "bare text" had impact enough. Smuggled down the Rhine and into English and Scottish ports in bales of cloth, copies circulated quickly. For the first time, the whole New Treatment, faithfully translated from the Greek could be read by anyone. That this immediately alarmed the English authorities is amply testified" (Daniell, 144).

- The difficulties and dangers involved in getting Tyndale's New Testament into England were almost as great as those which lay in the way of their distribution. The clergy opposed the new translation with all their might. Sir Thomas More was one who wrote violently against it (Broadbent, 248).

- Perhaps it was Tyndale's decision to alter his original plans by altering the size and contents of his Bible but Blackford Condit reports that the initial shipment of New Testaments for Germany avoided detection and arrived safely in London.

    - "The English merchants abroad who had to do with the introduction of this newly printed Testament into England, were aware that the public authorities had been warned by Cochlaeus, and of the consequent difficulties to be overcome. But notwithstanding the impending danger, five Hanseatic merchants took the precious books into their ships, and sailed for London. They expected to find the enemy on guard, but instead, the way was open and the books were landed and safely conveyed to the Merchant's warehouse in Thames Street. If the enemy slept, the friends of the bible were awake and expectant. Not only in London, but in Oxford and Cambridge, they anxiously awaited the coming of the newly printed English Testaments. . . Thus the way was fully prepared, and from the first the people received these newly printed Testaments joyfully, but, from necessity, secretly" (Condit, 104).

- Condit identifies Thomas Garret as the first distributor of the Tyndale New Testament in England.

    - "The first distributer of these testaments was Thomas Garret, curate of Honey Lane, London. He was a plain man, timid in disposition, but bold in faith, whose preaching was an offense to the hierarchy but a joy to the people. From the Merchants' warehouse these New Testaments were taken to the house of Garret. Other places of deposit were afterwards found, but the "dark corners" of Garret's house were the first hiding places of these lights, which must soon light up all England. So there were others who afterwards engaged, at the risk of personal liberty, in distributing, by sale, the precious volumes, yet as the story comes to us, Thomas Garret was the first to do so, and first to suffer. The

books came into his possession, probably in the early part of the year 1526. He proceeds cautiously in his work, selling to priest and laymen alike, but in every case with a special charge: "that they would keep it close." How the good news must have spread . . . that a printed New Testament in English could be bought of Thomas Garret, in Honey Lane, near Cheapside. . ." (Condit, 104).

- Once introduced to the English people, it did not take the authorities long to figure out what was going on.

    - "While Thomas Garret, Father Hacker and others are diligent in distributing these Testaments in London, Cambridge, and other places, the hierarchy is on the alert. It has examined these books and has determined to condemn them, and all such persons as have to do with them. Bishop Tunstall, by advice of Cardinal Wolsey, sent forth an injunction to the archdeacons on his diocese, under the date of October 24, 1526, for the calling in of New Testament translated by Tyndale; enjoining, "that within XXX days space . . . under pain of excommunication and incurring the suspicion of heresy, they do bring in and really deliver unto our vicar general, all the singular such books as contain the translations of the New Testament into the English tongue" (Condit, 105).

- Brake reports the following regarding the actions Bishop Tunstall engaged in to subdue Tyndale's New Testament in October 1526. Around this time (October or November 1526) Bishop Tunstall preached a sermon at Paul's Cross in which he told people that there were three thousand errors in Tyndale's translation and during which it was officially denounced and publicly burnt (Condit, 105).

    - "In October 1526, Bishop Tunstall, the champion defender of the *Constitutions* [the formal action of the English church taken against Wycliffe and the Lollards in the early 1400s], began confiscating the New Testaments as they were smuggled into England. Public burnings of the copies and punishment of all offenders blackened the spirits of the masses" (Brake, 105).

        - Recall that it was Bishop Tunstall who Tyndale sought out in London to support his work of translating the New Testament into English. Tunstall informed Tyndale that "his house was full", prompting Tyndale's departure for Germany. Tunstall was never supportive of Tyndale's efforts, and Tunstall is now openly waging war on the scriptures in English.

- Public renunciations and burnings could not stop the juggernaut that was the Tyndale New Testament:

- "But if now the New Testaments of Tyndale are burned, for every book thus destroyed hundreds of others will arise from its ashes. Already Dutch printers had taken up the work of printing English Testaments as a commercial enterprise. Christopher Endhoven printed an edition in 1527, at Antwerp; two other editions by Ruremond following in 1528, so that English Testaments became plentier and cheaper. The years 1527 and 1528 were remarkable for the large number of New Testaments imported into England. The authorities were perplexed. They decided to purchase all the books printed and thus stop their circulation" (Condit, 106).

- The following passage from Brake indicates that lengths that Tunstall was willing to go to ensure that Tyndale's Bible was not available for sale and distribution within England.

    - "A popular story tells how Tunstall began using merchants to purchase copies on the Continent to slow down the supply. Augustine Pakington, a London businessman, was one such merchant. Pakington met with Tyndale to inform him of the plot, believing that the bishop had overstepped his prerogative. To his surprise, Tyndale met the news with enthusiasm. He encouraged Pakington to do as Tunstall commanded. Tyndale felt the burning of "God's Word" would gain popular condemnation, and the profits from the sale could enable him to relieve his debt and provide for future revisions.

      Tunstall's plot for destruction utterly failed. New Testaments continued to pour into England, and the demand increased at an alarming rate. In fact, pirated copies were circulating and selling in England with very little fear of consequences. Tyndale had a "London Times" bestseller on his hands" (Brake, 100).

- Unable to stop the importation and sale of Tyndale's New Testament within England, the authorities turned their attention to the persecution of those possessing the word of God in English.

    - "In 1528, persecution began in earnest. Wolsey's agents abroad are instructed to search out and arrest Tyndale the chief doer of this mischievous work. At home the prisons are already filled to the full with those whose only crime is that of reading the New Testament in English" (Condit, 107).

Conclusion

- The story of the 1526 Worms New Testament is ultimately a story of providence triumphing over opposition. What began as a failed printing project in Cologne became the first successfully printed English New Testament after Tyndale relocated to Worms and adapted his plans to meet the dangers of the moment. By removing the extensive prologues, marginal notes, and larger quarto format that characterized the Cologne project, Tyndale produced a smaller and more

practical volume that could be smuggled into England and placed into the hands of ordinary people. The evidence suggests that while the presentation of the work changed dramatically between 1525 and 1526, the biblical text itself underwent comparatively little revision. Tyndale's immediate concern was not refining his translation but ensuring that the Scriptures could reach the English people.

- The lasting significance of the 1526 New Testament cannot be overstated. It provided English readers with the first printed New Testament translated directly from the Greek, laid the foundation for later English Bibles, and helped shape the language of English-speaking Christianity for centuries to come. Despite public burnings, official condemnations, and relentless efforts to suppress it, Tyndale's New Testament continued to spread throughout England. The authorities could confiscate books and punish readers, but they could not stop the demand for God's Word in the English tongue. The success of the 1526 Worms New Testament demonstrated that the age of the English Bible had arrived, and neither church nor state would be able to reverse it.

- Though William Tyndale did not live to see the full fruit of his labor, the 1526 Worms New Testament proved that the English Bible was no longer merely an idea or a dream. It had become a reality that would transform England, the language, and ultimately the world.

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Appendix A

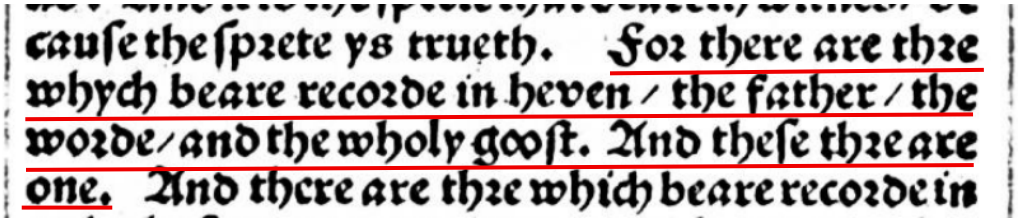
Tyndale on I John 5:7

Prepared by Bryan C. Ross & Alex Bojko

Tyndale's Handling of the Johannine Comma

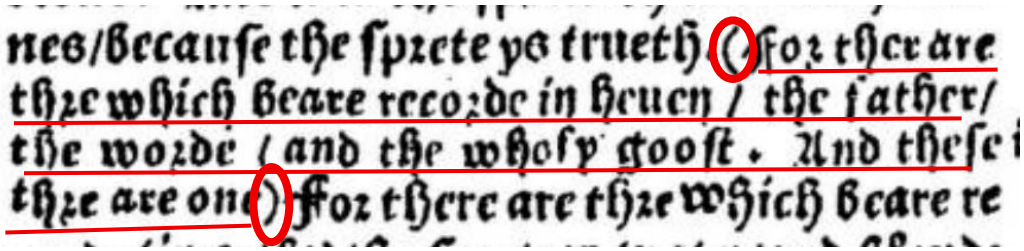
- In the main portion of Lesson 4, the Johannine Comma was cited as a "Source Text Example" of what Tyndale was translating i.e., the Textus Receptus. We noted that Tyndale included I John 5:7 in the main body of the 1526 Worms New Testament without any parenthetical brackets.

1526 Worms New Testament

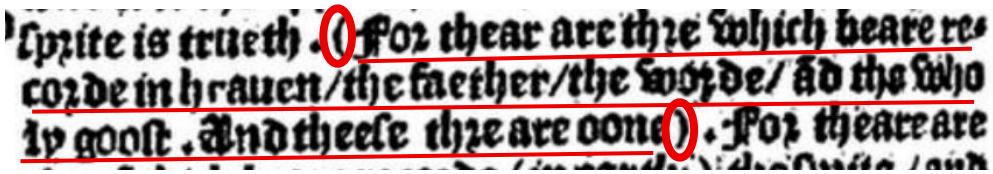

cauſe the ſprete ys trueth. For there are thre
whych beare recorde in heven / the father / the
worde / and the wholy gooſt. And theſe thre are
one. And there are thre which beare recorde in

- Later in his 1534 and 1535 revised New Testaments, Tyndale altered his practice regarding the Comma. In these editions he bracketed I John 5:7 with parenthesis thereby demarking the verse from the rest of the text. Consider the following photographic evidence.

1534 New Testament


nes/becauſe the ſprete ys trueth. (For there are
thre which beare recorde in heuen / the father/
the worde / and the wholy gooſt. And theſe
thre are one.) For there are thre which beare re

1535 New Testament


ſprite is trueth. (For thear are thre which beare re-
corde in hrauen/the faether/the worde/ and the who
ly gooſt. And theese thre are oone.) For theare are

- The evidence presented above demonstrates a clear progression in Tyndale's handling of the Johannine Comma. In his 1526 New Testament, the passage appeared as part of the continuous text without any special notation. In his later revisions of 1534 and 1535, however, Tyndale enclosed the words in parentheses, marking them differently from the surrounding text. The reproduced images from these editions document this change in presentation and provide a visual

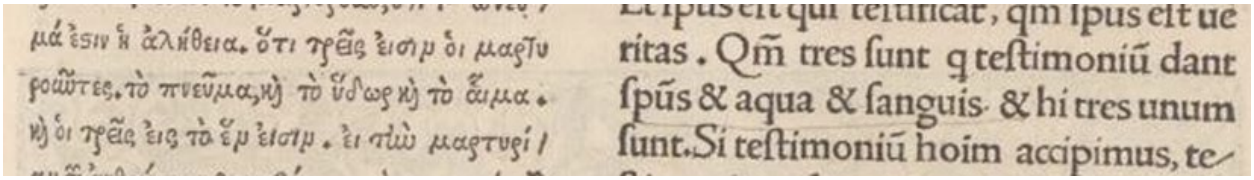
record of how the passage appeared across the major English New Testament editions associated with Tyndale's work.

- We will consider why Tyndale did this in the next section on Erasmus.

Erasmus & The Johannine Comma

- When Erasmus published the 1st edition of the Greek New Testament in 1516, he omitted I John 5:7 from both his Greek and Latin columns. Consider the following image.

1516 Erasmus 1st Edition



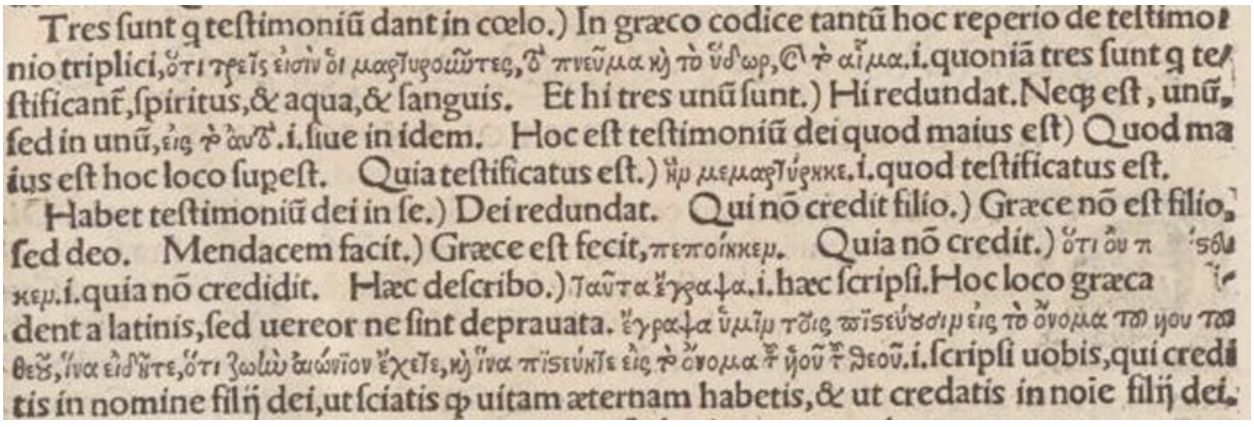
There are three that bear witness: the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three are one.

For there are three who bear witness: the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three are one.

- The screenshot above omits the Comma Johanneum ("the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one") and proceeds directly from verse 7 into 1 John 5:8.

- In the following annotation Erasmus explained his reasons form omitted the Comma from his 1516 edition.

1516 Erasmus Annotation


Tres ſunt q teſtimoniū dant in cœlo.) In græco codice tantū hoc reperio de teſtimo-
nio triplici, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα. i. quoniā tres ſunt q te-
ſtificant, ſpiritus, & aqua, & ſanguis. Et hi tres unū ſunt.) Hi redundat. Neq; eſt, unū,
ſed in unū, εἰς τὸ αὐτό. i. ſiue in idem. Hoc eſt teſtimoniū dei quod maius eſt) Quod ma-
ius eſt hoc loco ſupeſt. Quia teſtificatus eſt.) ὅτι μεμαρτύρηκε. i. quod teſtificatus eſt.
Habet teſtimoniū dei in ſe.) Dei redundat. Qui nō credit filio.) Græce nō eſt filio,
ſed deo. Mendacem facit.) Græce eſt fecit, πεποίηκεμ. Quia nō credit.) ὅτι οὐ π
κεμ. i. quia nō credidit. Hæc deſcribo.) Ταῦτα ἔγραψα. i. hæc ſcripſi. Hoc loco græca
dent a latinis, ſed uereor ne ſint deprauata. ἔγραψα ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ
θεοῦ, ἵνα εἰδῆτε, ὅτι ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχετε, καὶ ἵνα πιστεύητε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. i. ſcripſi uobis, qui credi
tis in nomine filij dei, ut ſciatis q̃ uitam æternam habetis, & ut credatis in noīe filij dei.

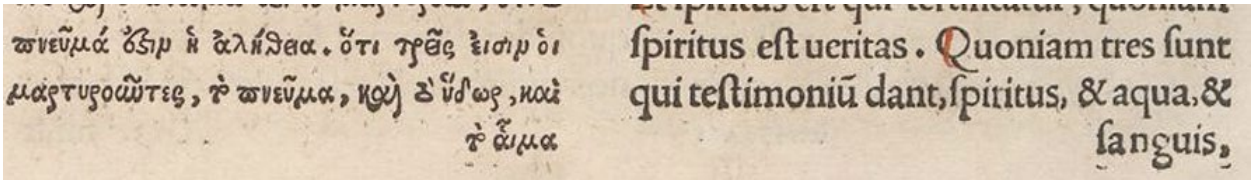
- The annotation reads as follows:

- ““There are three that bear witness in heaven.” In the Greek manuscript, I find only this concerning the threefold testimony “Because there are three that bear witness: the Spirit, and the water, and the blood, and these three are one.” Here there is a redundancy. It is not “one” (unum), but “unto one” (in unum), that is, ‘toward the same thing’ (in idem). "This is the testimony of God, which is greater." The words “which is greater” remain in this place. “Because he has testified.” Then there is another redundancy. “Who does not believe the Son.” In Greek it is not the Son but God. “Makes Him a liar.” In Greek it is has made (perfect tense). “Because he does not believe.” I transcribe these things as I find them: “These things I have written…” **At this point the Greek does not correspond to the Latin; however, I fear that the Greek manuscripts have been corrupted**.” (Translation provided by Copilot)

- Erasmus's annotation explains why the Greek text before him lacked the heavenly witnesses (“in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost...”), while the Latin Vulgate contained them. He notes the discrepancy and expresses concern that the Greek manuscripts available to him may have suffered corruption. This statement became significant in later debates about Erasmus's view of the Johannine Comma because it indicates that in 1516, he did not simply dismiss the Latin reading as an interpolation, but regarded the disagreement between Greek and Latin as a textual problem requiring explanation.

- Erasmus’s 2nd edition from 1519 also omitted the Comma from both columns of his diglot.

1519 Erasmus 2nd Edition

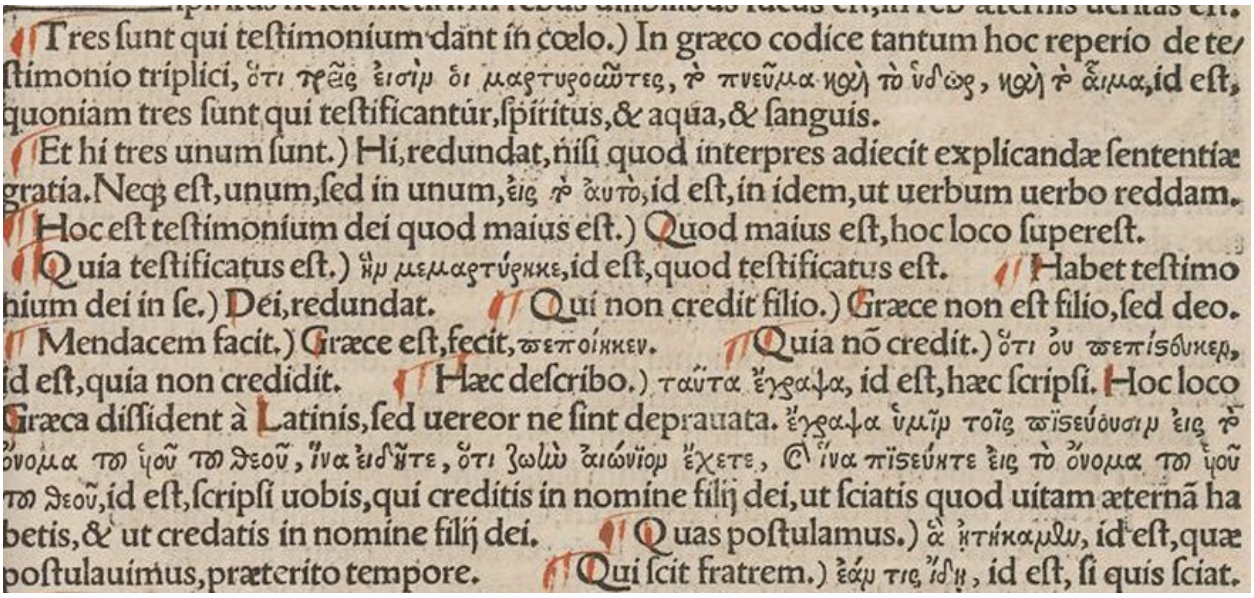


There are three that bear witness: the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three are one.

For there are three who bear witness: the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three are one.

- The 2nd edition of Erasmus also omitted the three heavenly witnesses. The following is Erasmus’ expanded annotation regarding his decision.

1519 Erasmus Annotation



Tres ſunt qui teſtimonium dant in cœlo.) In græco codice tantum hoc reperio de teſtimonio triplici, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα, id eſt, quoniam tres ſunt qui teſtificantur, ſpiritus, & aqua, & ſanguis.
Et hi tres unum ſunt.) Hi, redundat, niſi quod interpres adiecit explicandæ ſententiæ gratia. Neq; eſt, unum, ſed in unum, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ, id eſt, in idem, ut uerbum uerbo reddam.
Hoc eſt teſtimonium dei quod maius eſt.) Quod maius eſt, hoc loco ſupereſt.
Quia teſtificatus eſt.) ὅτι μεμαρτύρηκε, id eſt, quod teſtificatus eſt. Habet teſtimonium dei in ſe.) Dei, redundat. Qui non credit filio.) Græce non eſt filio, ſed deo.
Mendacem facit.) Græce eſt, fecit, ψεύστην πεποίηκεν. Quia nō credit.) ὅτι οὐ πεπίστευκεν, id eſt, quia non credidit. Hæc deſcribo.) ταῦτα ἔγραψα, id eſt, hæc ſcripſi. Hoc loco Græca diſſident à Latinis, ſed uereor ne ſint deprauata. ἔγραψα ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα εἰδῆτε, ὅτι ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχετε, & ἵνα πιστεύητε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, id eſt, ſcripſi uobis, qui creditis in nomine filij dei, ut ſciatis quod uitam æternā habetis, & ut credatis in nomine filij dei. Quas poſtulamus.) ἃ ᾐτήκαμεν, id eſt, quæ poſtulauimus, præterito tempore. Qui ſcit fratrem.) ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, id eſt, ſi quis ſciat.

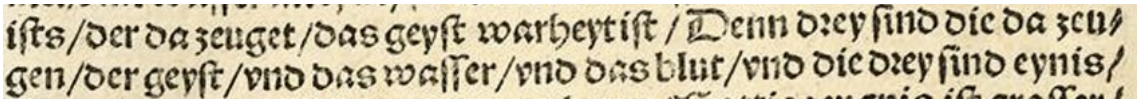
- The annotation in the 2nd edition of Erasmus from 1519 differing slightly from the 1st edition from 1516.
    - “There are three who bear witness in heaven." In the Greek manuscript I find only this concerning the threefold testimony: "For there are three that bear witness: the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three are one." "And these three are one." **This is redundant, unless perhaps it was added by way of explanation of the sense**. It is not one (unum), but unto one (in unum), that is, into the same thing (in idem), if I may render word for word. "This is the testimony of God, which is greater." The words "which is greater" remain in this place. "Because He has testified." That is, because He has borne witness. "He has the witness of God in him." The word of God is redundant. "He who does not believe the Son." In Greek it is not the Son but God. "Makes Him a liar." In Greek it is has made (fecit), not makes. "Because he does not believe." That is, because he has not believed. I transcribe these things: "These things I have written." That is, "I have written these things to you who believe in the name of the Son of God, that you may know that you have eternal life, and that you may believe in the name of the Son of God." At this point the Greek differs from the Latin, but I fear that the Greek manuscripts have been corrupted.” (Translation provided by Copilot)

- Between the 1516 and 1519 editions, Erasmus did not alter his basic description of the textual situation regarding the heavenly witnesses. In both annotations, he stated that the Greek manuscripts available to him contained only the testimony of the Spirit, the water, and the blood, and he concluded by observing that the Greek text did not correspond to the Latin text while

expressing concern that the Greek manuscripts may have been corrupted. The principal development in the 1519 annotation is that Erasmus added an explanation concerning the phrase "and these three are one," which he regarded as redundant and suggested may have been added by an interpreter to clarify the sense. Thus, while the 1519 annotation expands the discussion of the earthly witnesses and offers additional textual observations, it does not add any new direct discussion of the heavenly witnesses themselves. Instead, Erasmus continued to note their absence from the Greek manuscripts known to him and retained his earlier observation that the divergence between the Greek and Latin traditions raised the possibility of corruption in the Greek textual tradition.

- Martin Luther translated the Greek New Testament in German in 1522. Utilizing the 2nd edition of Erasmus from 1519 as his primary Greek text, Luther omitted the Comma in his famous September Testament.

1522 Luther New Testament



For there are three that bear witness: the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and the three are one.

- Notably, as in Erasmus's 1516 and 1519 Greek texts, Luther's 1522 New Testament moves directly to the earthly witnesses ("the Spirit, the water, and the blood") and does not contain the Comma Johanneum ("the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one"). This reflects the Greek text available to Luther at the time.

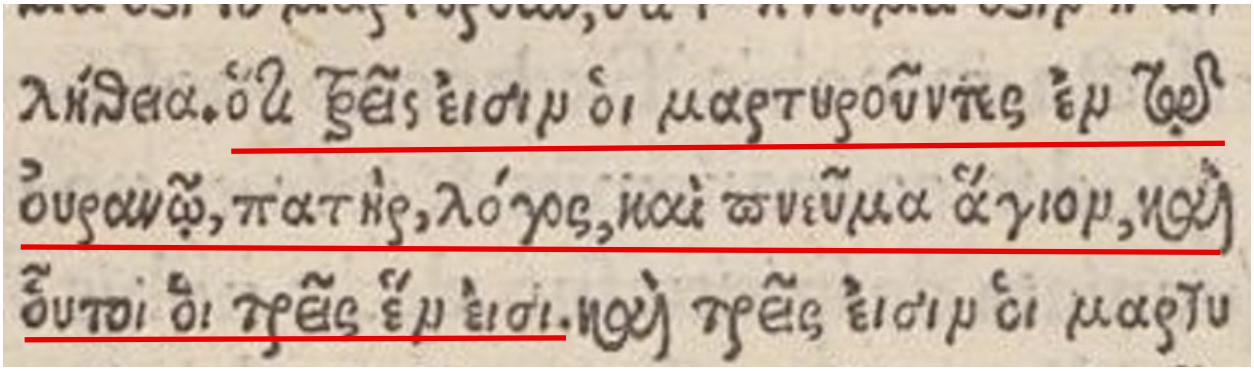
- Erasmus's omission of the Comma Johanneum from the first two editions of his Greek New Testament (1516 and 1519) sparked considerable controversy because the passage was familiar from the Latin Vulgate and had long been used in discussions of the doctrine of the Trinity. Erasmus explained that he had omitted the words because he could not find them in the Greek manuscripts available to him, not because he rejected Trinitarian doctrine. Nevertheless, some critics questioned his orthodoxy and accused him of weakening or undermining an important proof text for the Trinity. Erasmus repeatedly defended himself against these charges, insisting that he fully affirmed the doctrine and that his editorial decisions were based on the Greek textual evidence rather than on theological doubts.

- A famous legend later arose from this controversy, commonly known as the "rash wager." According to the traditional story, Erasmus promised that he would include the Comma if a single Greek manuscript could be produced containing it. When such a manuscript was later presented, Erasmus allegedly felt obligated to keep his word and therefore included the Comma Johanneum in his 3rd edition of 1522. The story has often been repeated as an explanation for the passage's entry into later editions of the Textus Receptus. Modern scholarship, however, has questioned

whether Erasmus ever made such a promise, and many scholars now regard the wager itself as a later embellishment of a more complex historical dispute. What remains clear is that the controversy over the Comma brought Erasmus's textual methods under intense scrutiny and even led some opponents to cast suspicion upon his Trinitarian orthodoxy, despite his repeated affirmations of the doctrine.

- In 1522 Erasmus included I John 5:7 in the Greek text of his 3rd edition.

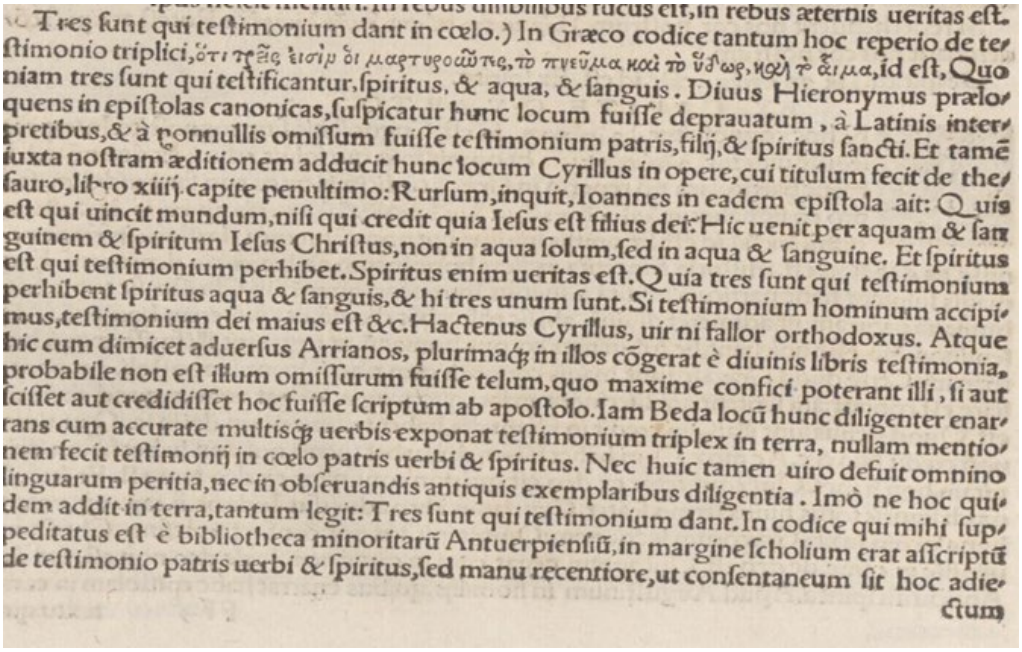
1522 Erasmus 3rd Edition


λήθεια. ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ
οὐρανῷ, πατὴρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ
οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυ

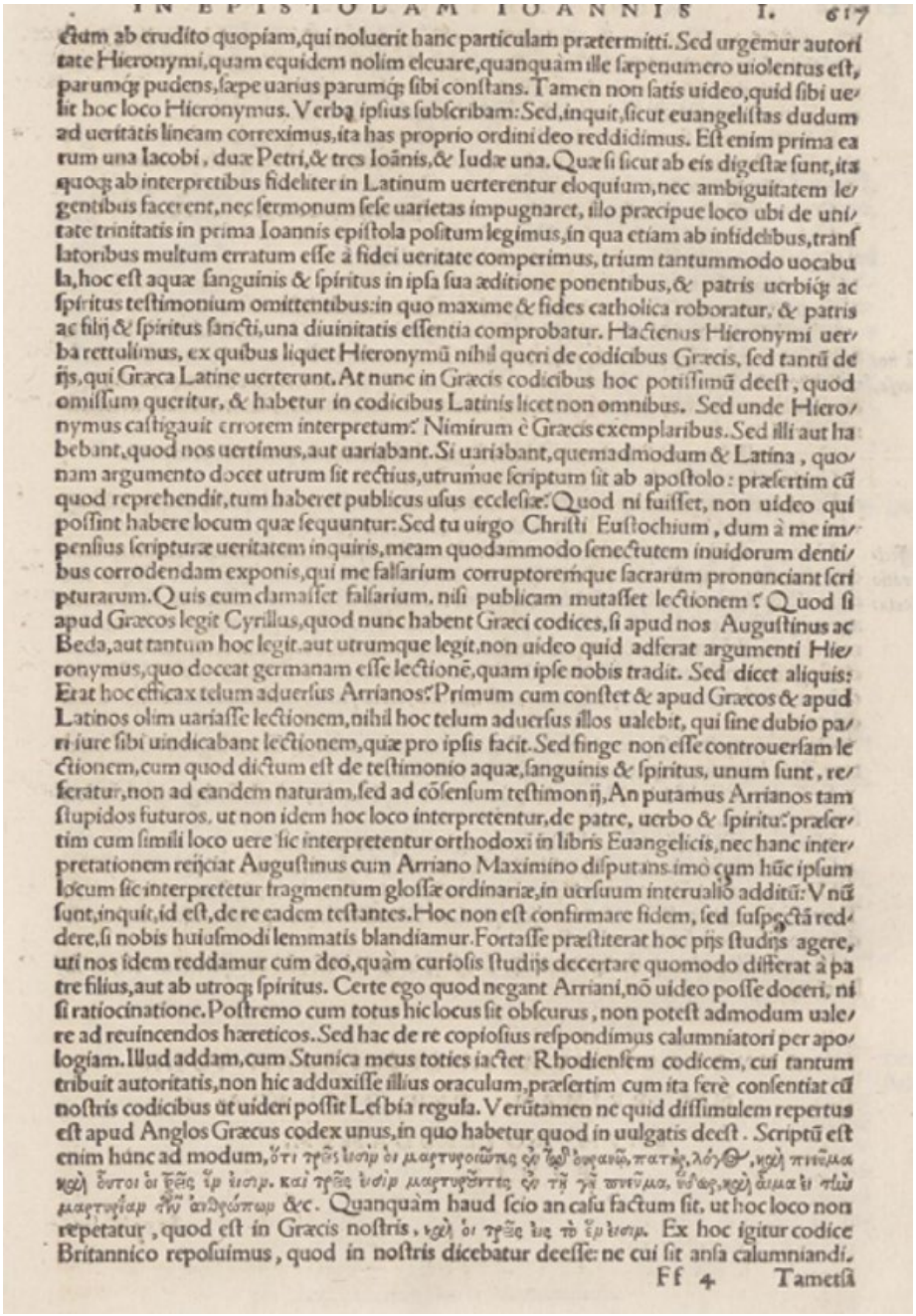
For there are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one.

- This is the portion of 1 John 5:7 that was absent from Erasmus's 1516 and 1519 Greek New Testaments but appeared in his 1522 edition and later editions. The image appears to show the transition from the heavenly witnesses ("the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit") to the earthly witnesses that follow in verse 8. In addition to including the Greek text in his 3rd edition, Erasmus also wrote the longest annotation to date commenting on the Comma.

1522 Erasmus Annotation



Tres ſunt qui teſtimonium dant in cœlo.) In Græco codice tantum hoc reperio de teſtimonio triplici, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα, id eſt, Quoniam tres ſunt qui teſtificantur, ſpiritus, & aqua, & ſanguis. Diuus Hieronymus prælo-quens in epiſtolas canonicas, ſuſpicatur hunc locum fuiſſe deprauatum, à Latinis interpretibus, & à nonnullis omiſſum fuiſſe teſtimonium patris, filij, & ſpiritus ſancti. Et tamẽ iuxta noſtram ædítionem adducit hunc locum Cyrillus in opere, cui titulum fecit de theſauro, libro xiiij. capite penultimo: Rurſum, inquit, Ioannes in eadem epiſtola ait: Quis eſt qui uincit mundum, niſi qui credit quia Ieſus eſt filius dei? Hic uenit per aquam & ſanguinem & ſpiritum Ieſus Chriſtus, non in aqua ſolum, ſed in aqua & ſanguine. Et ſpiritus eſt qui teſtimonium perhibet. Spiritus enim ueritas eſt. Quia tres ſunt qui teſtimonium perhibent ſpiritus aqua & ſanguis, & hi tres unum ſunt. Si teſtimonium hominum accipimus, teſtimonium dei maius eſt &c. Hactenus Cyrillus, uir ni fallor orthodoxus. Atque hic cum dimicet aduerſus Arrianos, plurimaq; in illos cõgerat è diuinis libris teſtimonia, probabile non eſt illum omiſſurum fuiſſe telum, quo maxime confici poterant illi, ſi aut ſciſſet aut credidiſſet hoc fuiſſe ſcriptum ab apoſtolo. Iam Beda locũ hunc diligenter enarrans cum accurate multisq; uerbis exponat teſtimonium triplex in terra, nullam mentionem fecit teſtimonij in cœlo patris uerbi & ſpiritus. Nec huic tamen uiro defuit omnino linguarum peritia, nec in obſeruandis antiquis exemplaribus diligentia. Imò ne hoc quidem addit in terra, tantum legit: Tres ſunt qui teſtimonium dant. In codice qui mihi ſuppeditatus eſt è bibliotheca minoritarũ Antuerpienſiũ, in margine ſcholium erat aſſcriptũ de teſtimonio patris uerbi & ſpiritus, ſed manu recentiore, ut conſentaneum ſit hoc adiectum



IN EPISTOLAM IOANNIS I. 617

ctum ab erudito quopiam, qui noluerit hanc particulam prætermitti. Sed urgemur autoritate Hieronymi, quam equidem nolim eleuare, quanquam ille sæpenumero uiolentus est, parumq; pudens, sæpe uarius parumq; sibi constans. Tamen non satis uideo, quid sibi uelit hoc loco Hieronymus. Verba ipsius subscribam: Sed, inquit, sicut euangelistas dudum ad ueritatis lineam correximus, ita has proprio ordini deo reddidimus. Est enim prima earum una Iacobi, duæ Petri, & tres Ioānis, & Iudæ una. Quæ si sicut ab eis digestæ sunt, ita quoq; ab interpretibus fideliter in Latinum uerterentur eloquium, nec ambiguitatem legentibus facerent, nec sermonum sese uarietas impugnaret, illo præcipue loco ubi de unitate trinitatis in prima Ioannis epistola positum legimus, in qua etiam ab infidelibus, translatoribus multum erratum esse à fidei ueritate comperimus, trium tantummodo uocabula, hoc est aquæ sanguinis & spiritus in ipsa sua æditione ponentibus, & patris uerbiq; ac spiritus testimonium omittentibus: in quo maxime & fides catholica roboratur, & patris ac filij & spiritus sancti, una diuinitatis essentia comprobatur. Hactenus Hieronymi uerba rettulimus, ex quibus liquet Hieronymū nihil queri de codicibus Græcis, sed tantū de ijs, qui Græca Latine uerterunt. At nunc in Græcis codicibus hoc potissimū deest, quod omissum queritur, & habetur in codicibus Latinis licet non omnibus. Sed unde Hieronymus castigauit errorem interpretum? Nimirum è Græcis exemplaribus. Sed illi aut habebant, quod nos uertimus, aut uariabant. Si uariabant, quemadmodum & Latina, quonam argumento docet utrum sit rectius, utrumue scriptum sit ab apostolo: præsertim cū quod reprehendit, tum haberet publicus usus ecclesiæ? Quod ni fuisset, non uideo qui possint habere locum quæ sequuntur: Sed tu uirgo Christi Eustochium, dum à me impensius scripturæ ueritatem inquiris, meam quodammodo senectutem inuidorum dentibus corrodendam exponis, qui me falsarium corruptoremque sacrarum pronunciant scripturarum. Quis eum damasset falsarium, nisi publicam mutasset lectionem? Quod si apud Græcos legit Cyrillus, quod nunc habent Græci codices, si apud nos Augustinus ac Beda, aut tantum hoc legit, aut utrumque legit, non uideo quid adferat argumenti Hieronymus, quo doceat germanam esse lectionē, quam ipse nobis tradit. Sed dicet aliquis: Erat hoc efficax telum aduersus Arrianos? Primum cum constet & apud Græcos & apud Latinos olim uariasse lectionem, nihil hoc telum aduersus illos ualebit, qui sine dubio pari iure sibi uindicabant lectionem, quæ pro ipsis facit. Sed finge non esse controuersam lectionem, cum quod dictum est de testimonio aquæ, sanguinis & spiritus, unum sunt, referatur, non ad eandem naturam, sed ad cōsensum testimonij, An putamus Arrianos tam stupidos futuros, ut non idem hoc loco interpretentur, de patre, uerbo & spiritu? præsertim cum simili loco uere sic interpretentur orthodoxi in libris Euangelicis, nec hanc interpretationem reijciat Augustinus cum Arriano Maximino disputans imò cum hūc ipsum locum sic interpretetur fragmentum glossæ ordinariæ, in uersuum interualio additū: Vnū sunt, inquit, id est, de re eadem testantes. Hoc non est confirmare fidem, sed suspectā reddere, si nobis huiusmodi lemmatis blandiamur. Fortasse præstiterat hoc pijs studijs agere, ut nos idem reddamur cum deo, quàm curiosis studijs decertare quomodo differat à patre filius, aut ab utroq; spiritus. Certe ego quod negant Arriani, nō uideo posse doceri, ni si ratiocinatione. Postremo cum totus hic locus sit obscurus, non potest admodum ualere ad reuincendos hæreticos. Sed hac de re copiosius respondimus calumniatori per apologiam. Illud addam, cum Stunica meus toties iactet Rhodiensem codicem, cui tantum tribuit autoritatis, non hic adduxisse illius oracullum, præsertim cum ita ferè consentiat cū nostris codicibus ut uideri possit Lesbia regula. Verūtamen ne quid dissimulem repertus est apud Anglos Græcus codex unus, in quo habetur quod in uulgatis deest. Scriptū est enim hunc ad modum, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πατὴρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσιν. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον τῶν ἀνθρώπων &c. Quanquàm haud scio an casu factum sit, ut hoc loco non repetatur, quod est in Græcis nostris, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν. Ex hoc igitur codice Britannico reposuimus, quod in nostris dicebatur deesse: ne cui sit ansa calumniandi.

Ff 4 Tametsi

- The 1522 expanded annotation reads as follows:
    - “There are three who bear witness in heaven." In the Greek manuscripts I formerly found only this concerning the threefold testimony: "For there are three who bear witness: the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three are one." The divine Jerome, in the prologue to the Canonical Epistles, complains that this passage had been corrupted by

unfaithful translators and removed from Latin manuscripts. Therefore, following the authority of that edition, we have restored this passage. Cyril also seems to have used this passage in Book Twelve of his work. Again, John himself says in the same epistle: "Who is he that overcomes the world except he who believes that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he who came by water and blood, Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And the Spirit bears witness, because the Spirit is truth. For there are three who bear witness, the Spirit, the water, and the blood; and these three are one." If one removes the testimony of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, one weakens the force of the argument. The Spirit bears witness because the Spirit is truth. The water and the blood bear witness. And these three are one. If we receive the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater, and so forth. Thus Cyril, whether through the mistake of orthodox copyists or otherwise, appears very clearly in these books to cite the testimony concerning the divinity of the Son. This could not be the case unless he had read it in his manuscript, or unless he believed this testimony had been inserted into Scripture by the Apostle. At this place Bede complains that certain Greeks, when they frequently read the threefold testimony on earth, made no mention of the testimony in heaven concerning the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. Nor should we lightly dismiss the judgment of so learned a man in examining ancient manuscripts. Yet, in one Greek manuscript from the library of the Minorites at Antwerp, I found written in the margin: "the testimony of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit," but written in a recent hand, and apparently contemporary with that annotation. But one might ask why I did not discuss this matter more fully. I preferred not to do so, although Jerome's authority urges me in that direction. I do not clearly understand Jerome's meaning, although he seems at times to speak rather harshly and somewhat inconsistently with himself. Nevertheless, I do not see enough reason why Jerome should be charged with error in this passage. Therefore, if there was any mistake, we corrected it according to the standard of truth, but restored the proper order. For the first enumeration is that of James, one; Peter, two; John, three; Jude, one. What was said about the omission by unfaithful translators was intended so that no ambiguity might be created among the Gentiles and so that the Arians might not attack the truth, especially in that passage in the First Epistle of John where we read concerning the unity of the Trinity. Yet in all the ancient copies, only the words concerning the water, the blood, and the Spirit are found in that place and edition; the testimony of the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit is omitted, though upon it especially rests the strength of the catholic faith, and by it the unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the one divine essence, is established. Thus far Jerome. Whether he used Greek manuscripts from which that reading had already disappeared, or whether he knew only manuscripts that contained it, is uncertain. At present, however, this passage is found in the Greek manuscripts, though it is lacking in all the manuscripts of the Latins. Therefore Jerome appears to have complained of the error of the translators, not of the Greek exemplars. Yet the matter remains doubtful. If the Arians, just as the Latins, used this argument, that does not prove that the passage was rightly written by the Apostle, especially since ecclesiastical usage

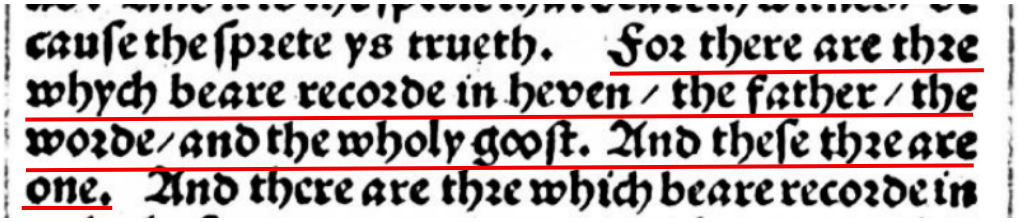
often approves what it has received. But if this were not so, I do not see who would be able to determine which passages should be retained and which rejected. Yet in the investigation of Holy Scripture I follow the judgment of Christ rather than the opinions of men, however numerous. Whoever pronounces those corrupt who differ from himself condemns others too readily. Why should one call the reading false if it has not been publicly altered? What Cyril read among the Greeks is what the Greek manuscripts now contain. If among us Augustine and Bede read no more than that, or if they did read more, why did none of them employ Jerome's argument, which certainly should have taught the genuine reading if it had been handed down to them? But someone will say: was not this passage very useful against the Arians? First, that argument applies equally among Greeks and Latins, since both once had the same reading. Nor would that passage alone have been useful against them, because they themselves doubtless indicated the reading by which they sought to defend their position. But suppose they granted that the testimony of the water, blood, and Spirit is one. They would reply that the three are one not in nature but in agreement of testimony. Should we think the Arians so foolish that they would not interpret the passage in the same way concerning the Father, the Word, and the Spirit? Indeed, Augustine rejects such an interpretation in disputing against the Arian Maximinus, explaining this passage as referring to the three testimony-bearers according to the customary gloss. "And the three are one," he says, "that is, they are of one substance." This does not establish the faith but rather presupposes the faith. For to those who are more kindly disposed we can make the same point from many passages. Perhaps this passage should be understood more sharply if we are to render the same meaning as those who, with excessive curiosity, attempt to determine how the three differ from one another and from the Spirit. Certainly I do not see how what Arius denied could be proved from this reasoning, nor how the matter could be demonstrated. Since the whole passage is obscure, it cannot greatly help in refuting heretics. But of these matters we have replied sufficiently to the slanderer in the Apology. I will add only this: Stunica repeatedly objected that the Rhodian manuscript, whose authority alone he relied upon, had not supplied this reading from the Greek text but had adapted it from the Latin copies, as was evident from the rule of the language. Yet among the English there has now been found one Greek manuscript which contains what we have published in our editions: "For there are three who bear witness in heaven: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one. And there are three who bear witness on earth: the Spirit, the water, and the blood, and these three are one." Although I suspect that this manuscript was prepared for that very purpose, nevertheless, since the passage is found in Greek manuscripts, namely: "And there are three who bear witness on earth," therefore, having been advised by this British manuscript, we have restored what was said to be lacking in our editions, lest anyone have occasion to slander us further." (Translation provided by Copilot)

- The 1522 annotation represents a substantial expansion of Erasmus's earlier comments on 1 John 5:7. Whereas the 1519 annotation primarily noted that the Greek manuscripts available to him lacked the heavenly witnesses and briefly discussed related textual details, the 1522 annotation introduces a much broader defense of the passage's inclusion. Erasmus appeals to the testimony of Jerome, who had complained that the passage was omitted from certain copies, and he adds discussions of other patristic witnesses, including Cyril, Bede, and Augustine. He also argues that removing the testimony of the Father, Word, and Holy Spirit weakens the flow of the argument in the epistle, while exploring the significance of the passage in the context of debates with the Arians.

- The most important new material concerns Erasmus's explanation for why the heavenly witnesses now appeared in his printed Greek text. In the 1522 annotation, he responds to criticisms surrounding the passage, discusses the reliability of various manuscripts, and reports that a Greek manuscript from Britain contained the reading. Although he expresses some reservations about the manuscript and acknowledges lingering uncertainties, he states that this manuscript led him to restore the passage to his edition. As a result, the 1522 annotation moves beyond the relatively brief textual observations of 1519 and becomes a detailed discussion of the manuscript evidence, patristic testimony, theological arguments, and editorial decisions related to the Comma Johanneum.

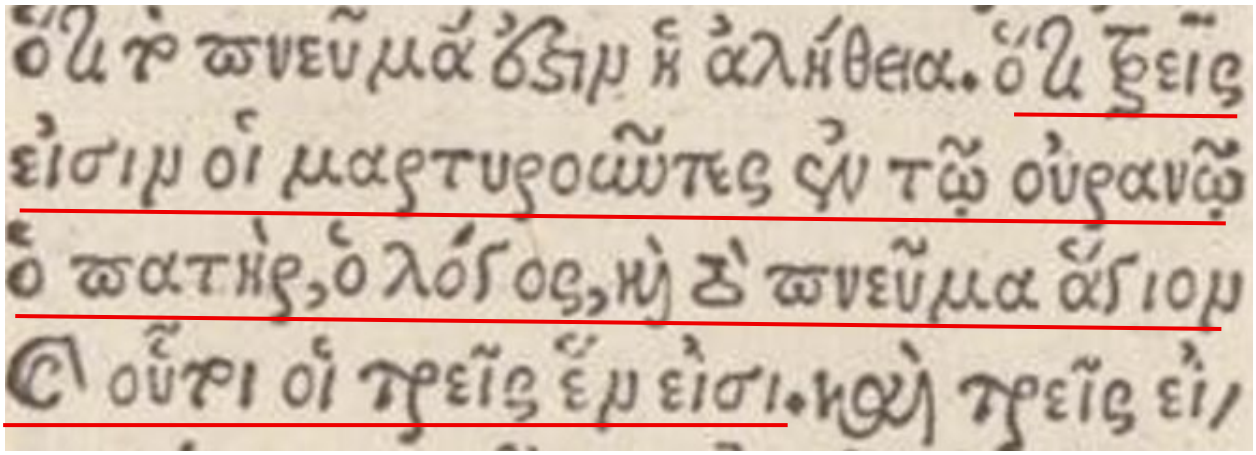
- By the time William Tyndale began his translation work in 1525 and 1526 the 3rd edition of Erasmus from 1522 would have been viewed as the most up-to-date edition of the Greek available. Therefore, Tyndale utilized the 3rd edition of Erasmus as his base Greek text. As we have already seen, this prompted Tyndale to include the Comma in his 1526 Worms New Testament whereas Luther left it out of his 1522 September Testament.

1526 Worms New Testament


cauſe the ſprete ys trueth. For there are thre
whych beare recorde in heven / the father / the
worde / and the wholy gooſt. And theſe thre are
one. And there are thre which beare recorde in

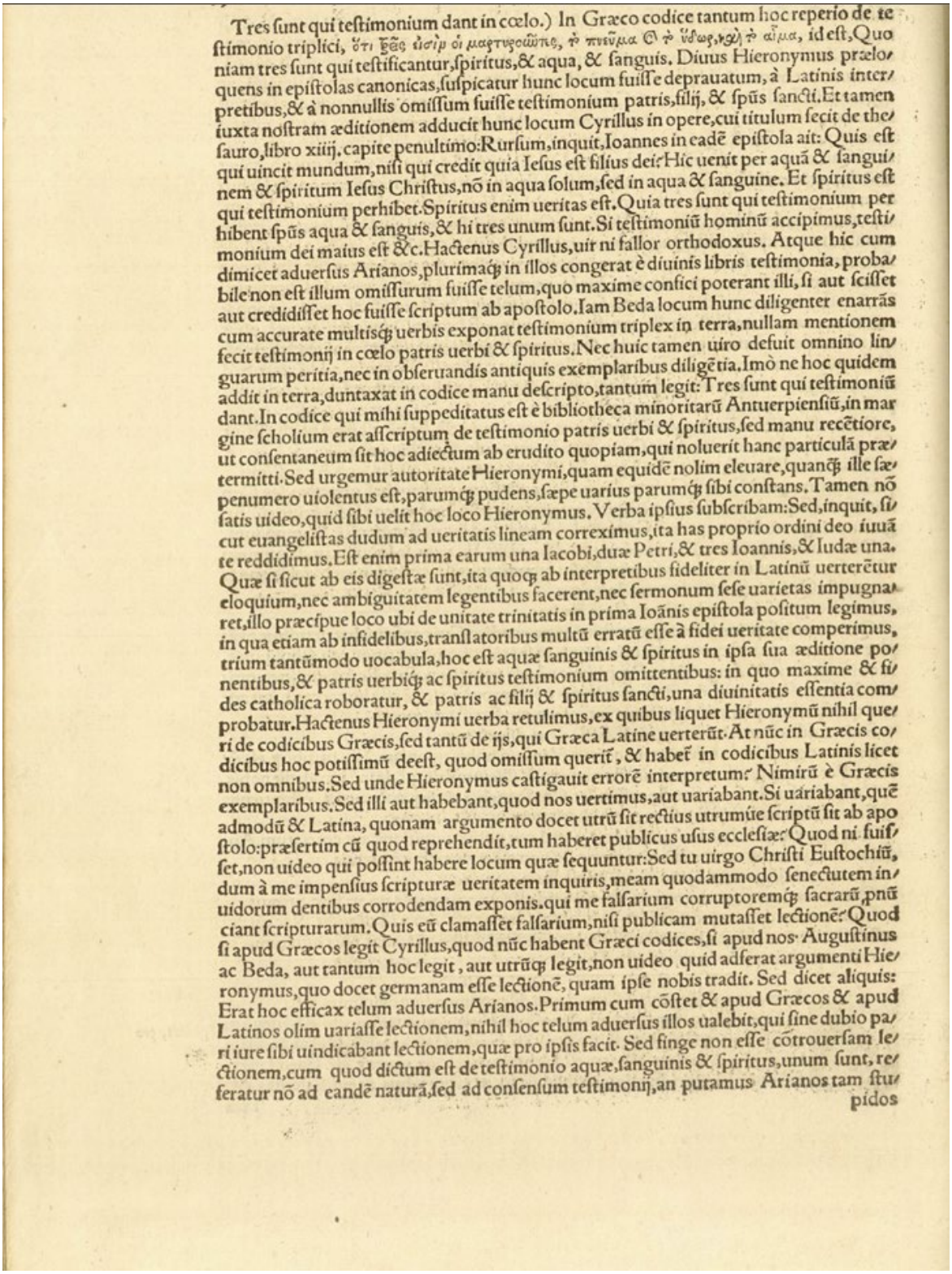
- The controversy regarding 1 John 5:7 continued throughout the 1520s and 1530s. Erasmus's 4th edition of the Greek New Testament from 1527 included the verse in the text along with the longest annotation to date running a full three pages.

1527 Erasmus 4th Edition



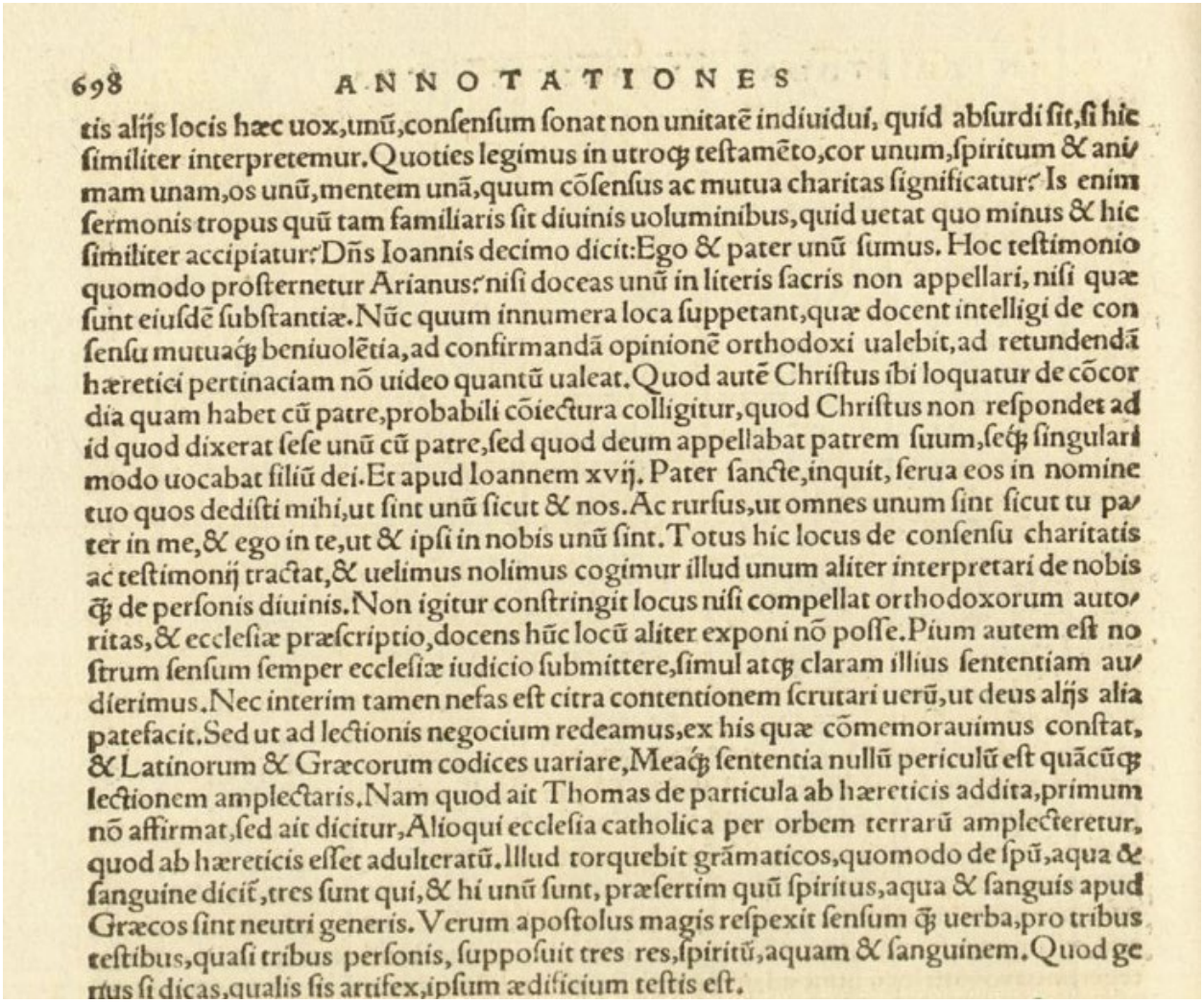
For there are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one.

1527 Erasmus Annotation



Tres ſunt qui teſtimonium dant in cœlo.) In Græco codice tantum hoc reperio de teſtimonio triplici, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα ⁊ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα, id eſt, Quoniam tres ſunt qui teſtificantur, ſpiritus, & aqua, & ſanguis. Diuus Hieronymus prælo-quens in epiſtolas canonicas, ſuſpicatur hunc locum fuiſſe deprauatum, à Latinis interpretibus, & à nonnullis omiſſum fuiſſe teſtimonium patris, filij, & ſpūs ſancti. Et tamen iuxta noſtram æditionem adducit hunc locum Cyrillus in opere, cui titulum fecit de theſauro, libro xiiij. capite penultimo: Rurſum, inquit, Ioannes in eadē epiſtola ait: Quis eſt qui uincit mundum, niſi qui credit quia Ieſus eſt filius dei? Hic uenit per aquā & ſanguinem & ſpiritum Ieſus Chriſtus, nō in aqua ſolum, ſed in aqua & ſanguine. Et ſpiritus eſt qui teſtimonium perhibet. Spiritus enim ueritas eſt. Quia tres ſunt qui teſtimonium perhibent ſpūs aqua & ſanguis, & hi tres unum ſunt. Si teſtimoniū hominū accipimus, teſtimonium dei maius eſt &c. Hactenus Cyrillus, uir ni fallor orthodoxus. Atque hic cum dimicet aduerſus Arianos, plurimáq; in illos congerat è diuinis libris teſtimonia, probabile non eſt illum omiſſurum fuiſſe telum, quo maxime confici poterant illi, ſi aut ſciſſet aut credidiſſet hoc fuiſſe ſcriptum ab apoſtolo. Iam Beda locum hunc diligenter enarrās cum accurate multisq; uerbis exponat teſtimonium triplex in terra, nullam mentionem fecit teſtimonij in cœlo patris uerbi & ſpiritus. Nec huic tamen uiro defuit omnino linguarum peritia, nec in obſeruandis antiquis exemplaribus diligētia. Imò ne hoc quidem addit in terra, duntaxat in codice manu deſcripto, tantum legit: Tres ſunt qui teſtimoniū dant. In codice qui mihi ſuppeditatus eſt è bibliotheca minoritarū Antuerpienſiū, in margine ſcholium erat aſſcriptum de teſtimonio patris uerbi & ſpiritus, ſed manu recētiore, ut conſentaneum ſit hoc adiectum ab erudito quopiam, qui noluerit hanc particulā prætermitti. Sed urgemur autoritate Hieronymi, quam equidē nolim eleuare, quanq; ille ſæpenumero uiolentus eſt, parumq; pudens, ſæpe uarius parumq; ſibi conſtans. Tamen nō ſatis uideo, quid ſibi uelit hoc loco Hieronymus. Verba ipſius ſubſcribam: Sed, inquit, ſicut euangeliſtas dudum ad ueritatis lineam correximus, ita has proprio ordini deo iuuāte reddidimus. Eſt enim prima earum una Iacobi, duæ Petri, & tres Ioannis, & Iudæ una. Quæ ſi ſicut ab eis digeſtæ ſunt, ita quoq; ab interpretibus fideliter in Latinū uerterētur eloquium, nec ambiguitatem legentibus facerent, nec ſermonum ſeſe uarietas impugnaret, illo præcipue loco ubi de unitate trinitatis in prima Ioānis epiſtola poſitum legimus, in qua etiam ab infidelibus, tranſlatoribus multū erratū eſſe à fidei ueritate comperimus, trium tantūmodo uocabula, hoc eſt aquæ ſanguinis & ſpiritus in ipſa ſua æditione ponentibus, & patris uerbiq; ac ſpiritus teſtimonium omittentibus: in quo maxime & fides catholica roboratur, & patris ac filij & ſpiritus ſancti, una diuinitatis eſſentia comprobatur. Hactenus Hieronymi uerba retulimus, ex quibus liquet Hieronymū nihil queri de codicibus Græcis, ſed tantū de ijs, qui Græca Latine uerterūt. At nūc in Græcis codicibus hoc potiſſimū deeſt, quod omiſſum queritᷣ, & habeᷣ in codicibus Latinis licet non omnibus. Sed unde Hieronymus caſtigauit errorē interpretum? Nimirū è Græcis exemplaribus. Sed illi aut habebant, quod nos uertimus, aut uariabant. Si uariabant, quē admodū & Latina, quonam argumento docet utrū ſit rectius utrumúe ſcriptū ſit ab apoſtolo: præſertim cū quod reprehendit, tum haberet publicus uſus eccleſiæ? Quod ni fuiſſet, non uideo qui poſſint habere locum quæ ſequuntur: Sed tu uirgo Chriſti Euſtochiū, dum à me impenſius ſcripturæ ueritatem inquiris, meam quodammodo ſenectutem inuidorum dentibus corrodendam exponis. qui me falſarium corruptoremq; ſacrarū, pnūciant ſcripturarum. Quis eū clamaſſet falſarium, niſi publicam mutaſſet lectionē? Quod ſi apud Græcos legit Cyrillus, quod nūc habent Græci codices, ſi apud nos Auguſtinus ac Beda, aut tantum hoc legit, aut utrūq; legit, non uideo quid adferat argumenti Hieronymus, quo docet germanam eſſe lectionē, quam ipſe nobis tradit. Sed dicet aliquis: Erat hoc efficax telum aduerſus Arianos. Primum cum cōſtet & apud Græcos & apud Latinos olim uariaſſe lectionem, nihil hoc telum aduerſus illos ualebit, qui ſine dubio pari iure ſibi uindicabant lectionem, quæ pro ipſis facit. Sed finge non eſſe cōtrouerſam lectionem, cum quod dictum eſt de teſtimonio aquæ, ſanguinis & ſpiritus, unum ſunt, referatur nō ad eandē naturā, ſed ad conſenſum teſtimonij, an putamus Arianos tam ſtupidos

pidos futuros, ut non idem hoc loco interpretentur, de patre, uerbo & spiritu: præsertim cum simili loco uiri sic interpretentur orthodoxi in libris Euangelicis, nec hanc interpretationem reijciat Augustinus cum Ariano Maximino disputans: imò cum hūc ipsum locum sic interpretetur fragmētum glossæ ordinariæ, in uersuum interuallo additum: Vnū sunt, inquit, id est, de re eadem testantes. Hoc non est confirmare fidem, sed suspectam reddere, si nobis huiusmodi lemmatis blandiamur. Fortasse præstiterat hoc pijs studijs agere, uti nos idem reddamur cum deo, quàm curiosis studijs decertare quomodo differat à patre filius, aut ab utroq; spiritus. Certe ego quod negant Ariani, nō uideo posse doceri, nisi ratiocinatione. Postremo cum totus hic locus sit obscurus, nō potest admodum uale re ad reuincendos hæreticos. Sed hac de re copiosius respondimus calumniatori per apologiam. Illud addam, cum Stunica meus toties iactet Rhodiensem codicem, cui tantū tribuit autoritatis, mirū non hic adduxisse illius oraculum, præsertim cum ita ferè cōsentiat cū nostris codicibus ut uideri possit Lesbia regula. Verūtamē ne quid dissimulem repertus est apud Anglos Græcus codex unus, in quo habetur quod in uulgatis deest. Scriptū est em̄ hunc ad modū, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πατὴρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσιν. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα εἰς τὸν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων &c. Quanquàm haud scio an casu factum sit, ut hoc loco nō repetatur, quod est in Græcis nostris, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν. Ex hoc igitur codice britannico reposuimus, quod in nostris dicebat deesse: ne cui sit ansa calumniandi. Tametsi suspicor codicē illū ad nostros esse correctū. Duos consului codices miræ uetustatis Latinos in bibliotheca quæ Brugis est diui Donatiani. Neuter habebat testimoniū patris uerbi & spiritus. Ac ne illud quidē in altero addebatur, In terra. Tātum erat, Et tres sunt qui testimoniū dant, spiritus aqua & sanguis. In exemplari Constantiensi utroq;, post testimonium, aquæ, sanguinis & spiritus, adiectū erat testimoniū patris, uerbi, & spiritus, his uerbis, Sicut in cœlo tres sunt, pater, uerbum, & spiritus, & tres unum sunt. Nec erat additum, testimonium dant, nec pronomen hi. In codice quē exhibuit publica bibliotheca scholæ Basilienſis, nō erat, testimoniū spiritus, aquæ & sanguinis. Ad hæc Paulus Bombasius uir doctus & integer, meo rogatu locū hunc ad uerbum descripsit ex bibliothecæ uaticanæ codice peruetusto, in quo non habebatur testimoniū patris, uerbi, & spiritus. Si mouet autoritas uetustatis, liber erat antiquissimus, si Pontificis, ex illius bibliotheca petitū est testimoniū. Cum hac lectione consentit æditio Aldina. Quid Laurentius legerit non satis liquet. Interea perlata est ad nos æditio Hispanienſis, quæ dissidebat ab omnibus. Habet enim hunc in modum, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατὴρ, καὶ ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι, καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα. Primum in hoc dissonat exemplar quod ex eadem ni fallor bibliotheca petitum sequuti sunt Hispani, ab exemplari Britannico, quod hic adduntur articuli, ὁ πατὴρ, ὁ λόγος, τὸ πνεῦμα, qui non addebantur in Britannico. Deinde quod Britannicum habebat οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς, Hispanienſe tantū, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς, quod idē fit in spiritu, aqua, & sanguine. Præterea quod Britannicum habebat ἕν εἰσι, Hispanienſe εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι: postremo quod Britannicum etiā in terræ testimonio adijciebat, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι, quod non addebatur hic duntaxat in æditione Hispanienſi. Equidē arbitror illud εἰς τὸ ἕν, esse ex idiomate sermonis Hebraici, Ego ero illi in patrem, non potest aliud sonare, quàm ero illi pater. Iam Hispanienſis æditio scholiū è decretalibus adiecerat, quod diuo Thomæ tribuitur, Id declarat iuxta codices emendatos, in testimonio spiritus, aquæ, & sanguinis, non addi, & hi tres unum sunt, Verum id adiectū uideri ab ijs qui fauebant Ariano dogmati. Nam si hic adderetur, nō posset exponi nisi de consensu testimonij, quando natura non possunt unū dici, spiritus, aqua, & sanguis. Ex hoc cōsequeretur, & illud quod præcessit de patre & filio & spiritu sancto, & hi tres unum sunt, accipi posse de consensu charitatis ac testimonij. Nūc his uerbis Ioannes asseruit eandem essentiam patris & filij & spiritus sancti. Principio quod colligunt uerissimum est, patris & filij & spiritus sancti eandem esse naturam simplicissimam & indiuiduam. Id nisi esset, non uere nasceretur è patre filius, nec uere spūs sanctus à patre filioq; procederet, utiq; deus de substantia dei. De collectiōe tantū agimus. Constat hic agi de fide testimonij, non de substantia personarum. Quod si mul-



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tis alijs locis hæc uox,unũ,conſenſum ſonat non unitatẽ indiuiduí, quíd abſurdí ſit,ſi hic ſimíliter interpretemur.Quoties legimus in utroq; teſtamẽto,cor unum,ſpiritum & animam unam,os unũ,mentem unã,quum cõſenſus ac mutua charitas ſignificatur? Is enim ſermonis tropus quũ tam familiaris ſit diuinis uoluminibus,quíd uetat quo minus & hic ſimiliter accipiatur? Dñs Ioannis decimo dicit:Ego & pater unũ ſumus. Hoc teſtimonio quomodo proſternetur Arianus? niſi doceas unũ in literis ſacris non appellari, niſi quæ ſunt eiuſdẽ ſubſtantiæ.Nũc quum innumera loca ſuppetant,quæ docent intelligi de conſenſu mutuaq; beniuolẽtia,ad confirmandã opinionẽ orthodoxi ualebit,ad retundendã hæretici pertinaciam nõ uideo quantũ ualeat.Quod autẽ Chriſtus ibi loquatur de cõcordia quam habet cũ patre,probabili cõiectura colligitur,quod Chriſtus non reſpondet ad id quod dixerat ſeſe unũ cũ patre,ſed quod deum appellabat patrem ſuum,ſeq; ſingulari modo uocabat filiũ dei.Et apud Ioannem xvij. Pater ſancte,inquit, ſerua eos in nomine tuo quos dediſti mihi,ut ſint unũ ſicut & nos.Ac rurſus,ut omnes unum ſint ſicut tu pater in me,& ego in te,ut & ipſi in nobis unũ ſint.Totus hic locus de conſenſu charitatis ac teſtimonij tractat,& uelimus nolimus cogimur illud unum aliter interpretari de nobis q; de perſonis diuinis.Non igitur conſtringit locus niſi compellat orthodoxorum autoritas,& eccleſiæ præſcriptio,docens hũc locũ aliter exponi nõ poſſe.Pium autem eſt noſtrum ſenſum ſemper eccleſiæ iudicio ſubmittere,ſimul atq; claram illius ſententiam audierimus.Nec interim tamen nefas eſt citra contentionem ſcrutari uerũ,ut deus alijs alia patefacit.Sed ut ad lectionis negocium redeamus,ex his quæ cõmemorauimus conſtat, & Latinorum & Græcorum codices uariare,Meaq; ſententia nullũ periculũ eſt quãcũq; lectionem amplectaris.Nam quod ait Thomas de particula ab hæreticis addita,primum nõ affirmat,ſed ait dicitur,Alioquí eccleſia catholica per orbem terrarũ amplecteretur, quod ab hæreticis eſſet adulteratũ.Illud torquebit grãmaticos,quomodo de ſpũ,aqua & ſanguine dicit,tres ſunt qui,& hi unũ ſunt, præſertim quũ ſpiritus,aqua & ſanguis apud Græcos ſint neutri generis. Verum apoſtolus magis reſpexit ſenſum q; uerba,pro tribus teſtibus,quaſi tribus perſonis, ſuppoſuit tres res,ſpiritũ,aquam & ſanguinem.Quod genus ſi dicas,qualis ſis artifex,ipſum ædificium teſtis eſt.

- The 1527 annotation reads as follows:
    - "There are three who bear witness in heaven." In the Greek manuscript I formerly found only this concerning the threefold testimony: "For there are three that bear witness: the Spirit, and the water, and the blood." That is: "For there are three that testify: the Spirit, and the water, and the blood." The divine Jerome, in the prologue to the Canonical Epistles, complains that this passage had been corrupted by Latin translators and that among some copies the testimony of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit had been omitted. Yet, following our edition, Cyril also appears to have included this passage in his work Against Julian, Book XIII, near the end. Again, John says in the same epistle: "Who is he that overcomes the world except he who believes that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he who came through water and blood and Spirit, Jesus Christ; not in water alone, but in water and blood. And the Spirit is he who bears witness, because the Spirit is truth. For

there are three who bear witness: the Spirit, the water, and the blood; and these three are one. If we receive the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater," etc. Thus far Cyril, whether through error or through orthodox sources. And although he argues there against the Arians, it is unlikely that he omitted that testimony, since from it he could have made a particularly strong argument, if he had either read it or believed it had been written by the Apostle. Bede likewise narrates this passage carefully, and although he accurately expounds the threefold testimony on earth in many words, he makes no mention of the testimony in heaven of the Father, Word, and Spirit. Nor, however, should the knowledge of so learned a man be entirely disregarded, nor should diligence in examining ancient manuscripts be lacking. Moreover, in this place he indeed added only the words concerning the earthly witnesses: "There are three who bear witness." In the manuscript supplied to me from the library of the Minorites at Antwerp, a marginal note was written: "concerning the testimony of the Father, Word, and Spirit," but by a recent hand, so that the addition appears to have been contemporary with the annotation. But one may ask why I wished this section not to be omitted. We are urged by the authority of Jerome, which I indeed do not wish to reject, although he seems at times somewhat harsh and, at times, somewhat inconsistent with himself. Yet I do not sufficiently understand what Jerome's intention was in this place. Jerome's words are these: "But, just as we have recently corrected the Evangelists according to the standard of truth, so also we have restored the proper order to these. For the first enumeration is one of James, two of Peter, three of John, and one of Jude. Which having been translated faithfully into Latin by unfaithful translators, produced ambiguities for readers and gave occasion to heretics; especially in that place concerning the unity of the Trinity in the First Epistle of John, where we find that much has been omitted by unfaithful translators from the truth of the faith, namely only the three words concerning the water, blood, and Spirit being retained in that edition, while the testimony of the Father, Word, and Spirit was omitted, though upon this especially the catholic faith is strengthened and the one divine essence of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is established." Thus far Jerome's words. From these words it is clear that Jerome either used Greek manuscripts from which this reading had already disappeared, or manuscripts that agreed with the Latin. Yet now this passage is found in Greek manuscripts, although the omitted reading is found in Latin manuscripts, though not in all of them. Therefore Jerome appears to have complained about the error of translators, not about Greek exemplars. But even if Greek exemplars had the reading which we use, the matter would still remain uncertain. For Arians, just like the Latins, used arguments from Scripture, although ecclesiastical usage may have accepted one reading over another. If this were not so, I do not see who could determine from ordinary usage which passages ought to be retained. Yet in Christ's sacred Scriptures I seek truth rather than the authority of men, although I freely acknowledge that in explaining difficult matters I have in some measure grown old among the writings of learned men. Whoever condemns a reading as corrupt merely because it differs from his own judges too rashly. If Cyril read among the Greeks what is now found in Greek manuscripts, and

if Augustine and Bede among us either read only this or, if they read both forms, did not employ Jerome's argument which should have taught them the genuine reading, then the matter remains unresolved. But someone may say: "This passage was very effective against the Arians." First, since among both Greeks and Latins there once existed a varied reading, this passage alone would have carried little weight against them, because each side could appeal to the reading favorable to itself. But let us suppose they did not dispute the reading and admitted that the testimony of the water, blood, and Spirit is one. They would reply that the three are one, not by nature, but by agreement in testimony. Do we think the Arians so foolish that they would not interpret the passage in the same way concerning the Father, Word, and Spirit? that they would not interpret this passage concerning the Father, the Word, and the Spirit in the same way, especially since orthodox writers themselves interpret a similar passage in the Gospels in this manner, and Augustine, in disputing with the Arian Maximinus, does not reject that interpretation. Indeed, when treating this very passage, he explains it according to the ordinary gloss, as though the words had been inserted parenthetically: "And these three are one," that is, they testify concerning the same thing. This does not establish faith, but rather presupposes faith, if we desire to deal gently with those less learned than ourselves. Perhaps the passage would serve better for those who curiously investigate how the Son differs from the Father, or how both differ from the Spirit. Certainly, I do not see how the Arians could be convinced by this argument, nor do I see how the matter could be demonstrated from this reasoning. Since the whole passage is obscure, it cannot be of very great value for refuting heretics. But concerning these matters we have responded sufficiently to the slanderer in the Apologia. I will add this: when Stunica repeatedly asserted that the Rhodian manuscript, upon whose authority he greatly relied, did not provide this reading from the Greek text, but rather that it had been brought into agreement with the Latin copies, as was obvious from the character of the language. Yet, lest anything should remain doubtful, a Greek manuscript has been found among the English in which there appears what is lacking in the common editions. It is written in this manner: "For there are three who bear witness in heaven: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one. And there are three who bear witness on earth: the Spirit, the water, and the blood, and these three bear witness." Although I do not think this was done without design, since in the copies known to us the passage is not repeated in this manner: "And there are three who bear witness on earth." Therefore, prompted by this British manuscript, we restored in our editions what was said to be lacking, lest anyone should continue to accuse us falsely. Nevertheless, I suspect that this manuscript was corrected for our benefit. I consulted two manuscripts, very old and faithfully preserved among the Franciscans at Bruges in the library of Donatianus. Neither contained the testimony of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. Nor was it added in the margin of either manuscript. Concerning the earthly witnesses the text simply read: "There are three who bear witness: the Spirit, the water, and the blood." In the manuscript of Constantine, however, after the testimony concerning the water, blood, and Spirit,

there was added: "the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one," but the words "bear witness" and the pronoun "these" were not added. In the manuscript shown to me from the public library of the Basel school there was no testimony of the Father, Word, and Spirit, but only that of the Spirit, water, and blood. Thereafter the learned and diligent Paulus Bombasius, at my request, copied for me from a manuscript in the Vatican Library a passage in which the testimony of the Father, Word, and Spirit was likewise absent. If antiquity carries authority, and if that witness from the Vatican Library is trustworthy, it is certainly of great weight. This reading agrees with the Aldine edition. What Laurentius read is not entirely certain. Afterwards the Spanish edition came to our attention, differing from all the others. It reads: "For there are three who bear witness: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one. And there are three who bear witness: the Spirit, the water, and the blood." First, this differs from the British manuscript because it omitted the articles which the British manuscript included before Father, Word, and Spirit. Secondly, the British manuscript had: "and these three," while the Spanish edition has simply: "the three." The same difference appears in the words concerning the Spirit, water, and blood. Furthermore, the British manuscript added: "on earth," in connection with the earthly witnesses, whereas this was not added in the Spanish edition. In my judgment, the phrase "are one" seems to be a Hebrew way of speaking, just as when someone says: "I and the Father are one." The Spanish editors added in their scholia and determinations, attributed to Thomas, that according to corrected manuscripts, after the testimony of the Spirit, water, and blood there should be added: "and these three are one." This they no doubt inserted to strengthen their argument against the Arian doctrine. For if this is not added, it cannot easily be explained how there is a unity of testimony when the Spirit, water, and blood are not one in nature. From this the further consequence would follow that the statement concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, "and these three are one," might likewise be understood of agreement in testimony. Yet John is advancing the same essence of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The principle from which they argue is this: that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit possess one and the same nature. But this does not follow. For it is not true that the Son is generated by the Father, nor that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, because both are of the substance of God. We are therefore dealing here with an argument drawn from collection and inference. Here the testimony concerns the faith, not the substance of the persons. in other passages this expression signifies agreement rather than numerical unity of an individual thing, and there would be nothing absurd if we understood it similarly here. How often do we read in both Testaments that those who are one in mind, one in purpose, one in affection, are said to be one. This figure of speech is so common in the sacred books that there is no reason why it should not be understood in the same way here. In John chapter 10 the Lord says: "I and the Father are one." How would an Arian answer this testimony, unless you first prove that in the Sacred Scriptures things are not called one except when they are of the same substance? Since countless passages teach that unity can be understood in a benevolent or harmonious sense, such

passages seem more useful for confirming the orthodox position than for overcoming the stubbornness of heretics. Moreover, from what Christ says there concerning honoring the Father, a probable inference may be drawn that Christ was not replying to the statement that he was one with the Father, but rather to the fact that he called God his Father and uniquely called himself the Son of God. Likewise in John 17: "Holy Father, keep those whom thou hast given me in thy name, that they may be one as we are one." Again: "That all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." The whole passage speaks of a unity of love and testimony. Therefore, unless we are willing to interpret the word one differently when applied to us than when applied to the divine persons, this passage compels no certain conclusion. Thus the passage does not constrain us, unless the authority of orthodox writers and the decree of the Church require that it be understood otherwise. It is indeed a pious and sound practice always to submit one's understanding to the judgment of the Church whenever the meaning is not clear. Meanwhile, however, it is not right to raise bitter controversies over matters that God may have preferred to leave less fully explained. Returning to the question of the reading itself, it is clear from what we have discussed that both Latin and Greek manuscripts vary. In my judgment there is no danger in accepting either reading. For what Thomas says, namely that the passage was added by heretics, he does not affirm outright but merely reports. Otherwise the Catholic Church throughout the world would have accepted as genuine something corrupted by heretics. The grammatical argument also has little force, namely that after speaking of the Spirit, water, and blood it says: "There are three who bear witness, and these three are one," especially since Spirit, water, and blood are neuter nouns among the Greeks. Rather, the Apostle seems to have considered the meaning more than the grammatical form, and instead of three witnesses as though they were three persons, he set forth three things: spirit, water, and blood. Since this is so, whatever sort of craftsman one may be, the structure itself bears witness to the point." (Translation provided by Copilot)

- The annotation accompanying Erasmus's 1527 4th edition represents a significant expansion of the discussion first introduced in the 1522 edition. Whereas the 1522 annotation largely focused on explaining the inclusion of the Comma Johanneum after the appearance of a Greek manuscript containing the passage, the 1527 annotation develops into a far more detailed investigation of both the manuscript evidence and the interpretation of the text. Erasmus broadens his survey of the available witnesses by discussing multiple Greek manuscripts, including the British manuscript, manuscripts from Bruges, the Antwerp Minorite manuscript, a Basel manuscript, a Vatican manuscript, and the text of the Complutensian Polyglot. Rather than merely reporting the existence of a manuscript containing the Comma, he compares readings among the various witnesses and notes points of agreement and disagreement.

- The 1527 annotation also reveals Erasmus's continued caution regarding the textual evidence. While retaining the Comma in the printed text, he again expresses suspicion about the British

manuscript that had prompted its inclusion and observes differences between that manuscript and other sources known to him. As a result, the annotation moves beyond a simple defense of the passage's inclusion and becomes a broader examination of competing textual traditions. In doing so, Erasmus demonstrates an increasing interest in weighing the evidence of individual manuscripts rather than relying on a single witness.

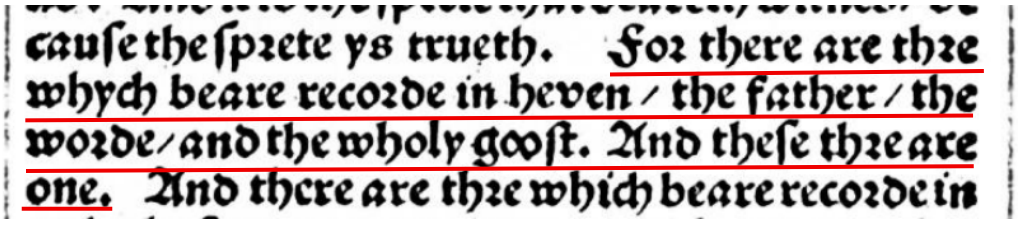
- A further development in the 1527 annotation is the substantial expansion of Erasmus's discussion of the phrase, "and these three are one." He argues that similar language elsewhere in Scripture can signify unity of agreement, testimony, or purpose rather than numerical or essential unity. To illustrate this point, he appeals to passages such as John 10 and John 17, where the concept of being "one" is used in different contexts. This leads Erasmus into a more extensive consideration of how the text was employed in Trinitarian controversies and whether it could serve as a decisive argument against Arian interpretations.

- By the conclusion of the annotation, Erasmus adopts a notably measured position regarding the variant readings. Although he continues to print the Comma Johanneum, he emphasizes the existence of variation among both Greek and Latin witnesses and states that he perceives no danger in accepting either reading. The result is an annotation that is considerably more expansive than its 1522 predecessor, combining textual criticism, manuscript comparison, and theological reflection into Erasmus's most detailed discussion of the Comma Johanneum up to that point.

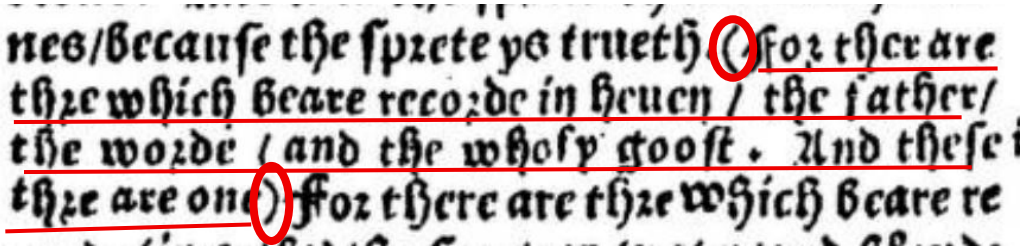
Erasmus's Impact On Tyndale

- As noted above, Tyndale followed Erasmus's 3rd edition from 1522 and included the Comma in his 1526 Worms New Testament without any textual markings. This changed in 1534 when Tyndale revised his New Testament and again in 1535. Consider once again the following 3 images.

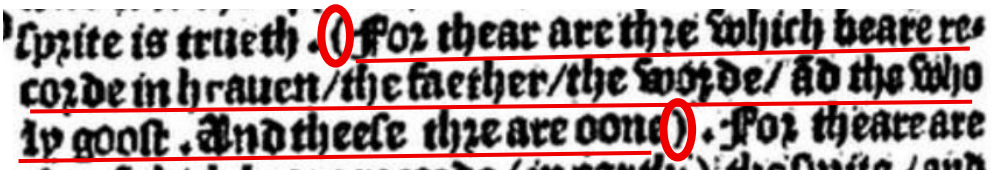
1526 Worms New Testament


cauſe the ſprete ys trueth. For there are thre
whych beare recorde in heven / the father / the
worde / and the wholy gooſt. And theſe thre are
one. And there are thre which beare recorde in

1534 New Testament


nes/because the ſprete ys trueth (for there are
thre which beare recorde in heuen / the father/
the worde / and the whoſy gooſt . And theſe
thre are one) For there are thre which beare re

1535 New Testament


ſprite is trueth . (For thear are thre which beare re-
corde in hrauen/the faether/the worde/ ad the who
ly gooſt . And theese thre are oone) . For theare are

- Was the purpose of the parenetical markings around 1 John 5:7 in Tyndale's 1534 and 1535 revisions designed to reflect textual doubt as expressed in the annotations of Erasmus?

- In an effort to determine whether William Tyndale ever explicitly explained the significance of the parenthetical markings surrounding 1 John 5:7 in his 1534 New Testament, several portions of the 1534 revision were examined. These included the general prologues to the New Testament, the prologue to the Epistles of John, and the end material printed with the 1534 edition. Across all of this material, no direct statement was located in which Tyndale explains that parentheses were intended to denote a textual variant, a doubtful reading, an interpolation, or material absent from some Greek manuscripts.

- The general prologues were reviewed first. While Tyndale discusses his use of marginal notes, explanatory comments, and various reader aids, no explanation was found regarding the use of parentheses within the biblical text itself. Likewise, no discussion was located concerning the textual status of 1 John 5:7, the Comma Johanneum, or the manuscript evidence underlying that passage.

- The Prologue to the Epistles of St. John was then examined. Although Tyndale provides a theological overview of the Johannine epistles, emphasizing faith, justification, love, and opposition to heresy, he does not specifically mention 1 John 5:7. Nor does he discuss the Three Heavenly Witnesses, the doctrine of the Trinity in connection with that verse, Erasmus's treatment of the passage, or any textual controversy relating to it. Most importantly for this inquiry, no explanation of the parenthetical formatting found in the biblical text was identified.

- Finally, the end material accompanying the 1534 New Testament was reviewed. This section consisted primarily of lectionary and liturgical material rather than textual or editorial

commentary. No discussion was found regarding 1 John 5:7, textual variants, or the significance of parentheses.

- Beyond Tyndale's own writings, a search was made for modern discussions of the issue. While a number of articles and discussions address Tyndale's inclusion of the Comma Johanneum and his dependence upon Erasmus's third edition of the Greek New Testament, very few discuss the parenthetical presentation of the passage in the 1534 edition specifically. Sources were located that examine the history of the Comma Johanneum and its appearance in early English Bibles, but no source was identified that cites a direct statement from Tyndale explaining the purpose of the parentheses around 1 John 5:7.

- Accordingly, the present investigation has established the following:

    - The general prologues of the 1534 New Testament were checked.

    - The Prologue to the Epistles of St. John was checked.

    - The end material of the 1534 New Testament was checked.

    - Modern online discussions concerning Tyndale and the Comma Johanneum were surveyed.

- Based upon these sources, no direct statement by William Tyndale has been located explaining either:

    - why 1 John 5:7 was enclosed in parentheses in the 1534 & 1535 editions, or

    - what those parentheses were intended to signify.

- Likewise, no direct discussion by Tyndale of the textual status of 1 John 5:7 has been identified in the materials examined. Consequently, any interpretation of the parentheses as a textual-critical marker remains an inference that would need to be demonstrated from the typography of the edition itself, comparison with other parenthetical passages in the 1534 New Testament, contemporary printing conventions, or other external evidence rather than from an explicit statement by Tyndale.

- The same could be said for Tyndale’s 1535 revision.

- The parenthetical presentation of 1 John 5:7 in Tyndale's 1534 and 1535 New Testament is consistent with the possibility that Tyndale was influenced by the textual doubts expressed in Erasmus's annotations of 1522 and 1527. Since Tyndale depended extensively upon Erasmus's

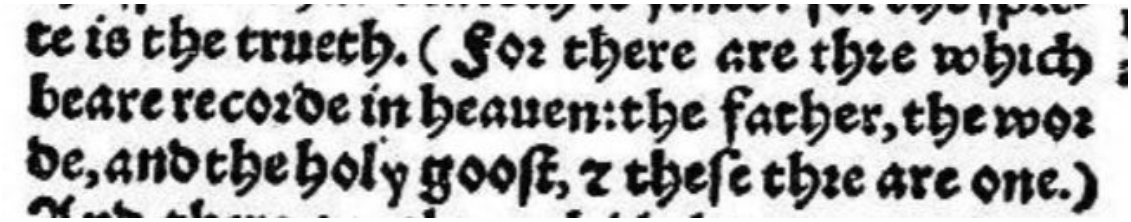
work and no alternative explanation has yet been identified in Tyndale's own writings, the connection is plausible. Nevertheless, no known statement from Tyndale explicitly confirms that the parentheses were intended to communicate Erasmus's reservations about the passage.

English Bibles After Tyndale

- Since we cannot find any explication from the pen of Tyndale himself it behooves us to look at what can be gleaned by considering other Reformation Era English Bibles.

- The first complete English Bible was published by Myles Coverdale in 1535. In the case of 1 John 5:7, Coverdale followed Tyndale's 1534 revision in placing paratheses around 1 John 5:7. Like Tyndale, Coverdale offered no marginal explanation for why he did so.

1535 Coverdale Bible


te is the trueth. (For there are thre which
beare recorde in heauen: the father, the wor
de, and the holy gooſt, & theſe thre are one.)

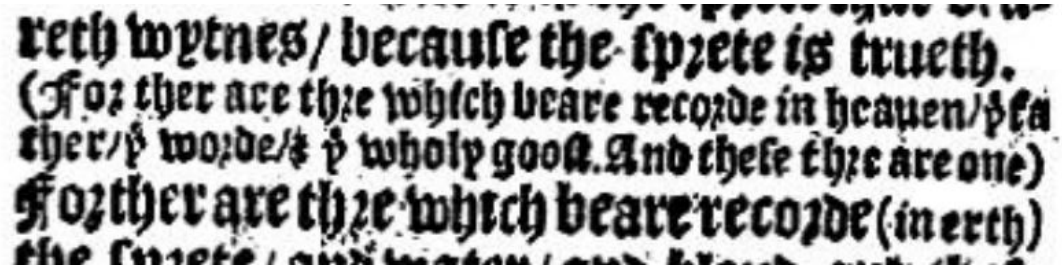
- An examination of the prologue to Myles Coverdale's 1535 Bible did not uncover any explicit explanation of the significance of parentheses, brackets, or other editorial marks placed around portions of the biblical text. Although Coverdale discusses his translation method, acknowledges the possibility of translation and printing errors, and encourages the correction of mistakes when they are discovered, he does not explain the purpose of parenthetical markings.

- Likewise, no discussion was found concerning 1 John 5:7, the Three Heavenly Witnesses, the Comma Johanneum, manuscript evidence, or any textual controversy associated with that passage. The prologue contains general remarks about translation and interpretation but does not address the textual status of any specific verse in the New Testament.

- Accordingly, the evidence presently available from Coverdale's prologue does not provide a basis for determining why certain passages may have been enclosed in parentheses, nor does it offer any direct explanation of the treatment of 1 John 5:7. Any attempt to interpret such parenthetical markings as indicators of textual doubt, variant readings, or awareness of contemporary debates must therefore rest on evidence external to the prologue itself rather than on an express statement by Coverdale.

- The next Reformation Era English Bible to be published was the Matthew's Bible in 1537. This Bible introduced a third way of handling I John 5:7. Not only was the verse placed in parathesis it was also printed in smaller font when compared the verses immediate before and after it.

1537 Matthew's Bible

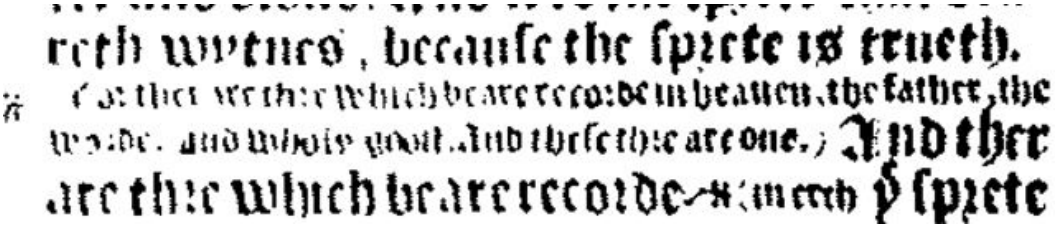

reth wytnes/ because the ſpyrete is trueth.
(For ther are thre which beare recorde in heauen/ the
ther/ the worde/ & the wholy goost. And these thre are one)
For ther are thre which beare recorde (in erth)

- An examination of the front matter of the Matthew Bible (1537) did not reveal any explanation of the use of parentheses or smaller type within the biblical text. Although the editors provide extensive prefatory and instructional material, no statement was located describing a typographical system for marking textual variants, doubtful readings, or passages of uncertain authenticity. This finding is noteworthy because 1 John 5:7 appears in the Matthew Bible enclosed in parentheses and printed in smaller type than the surrounding text. The formatting clearly distinguishes the passage from its context, but the front matter does not explain the reason for that distinction. Nor does it discuss the textual status of the Comma Johanneum itself.

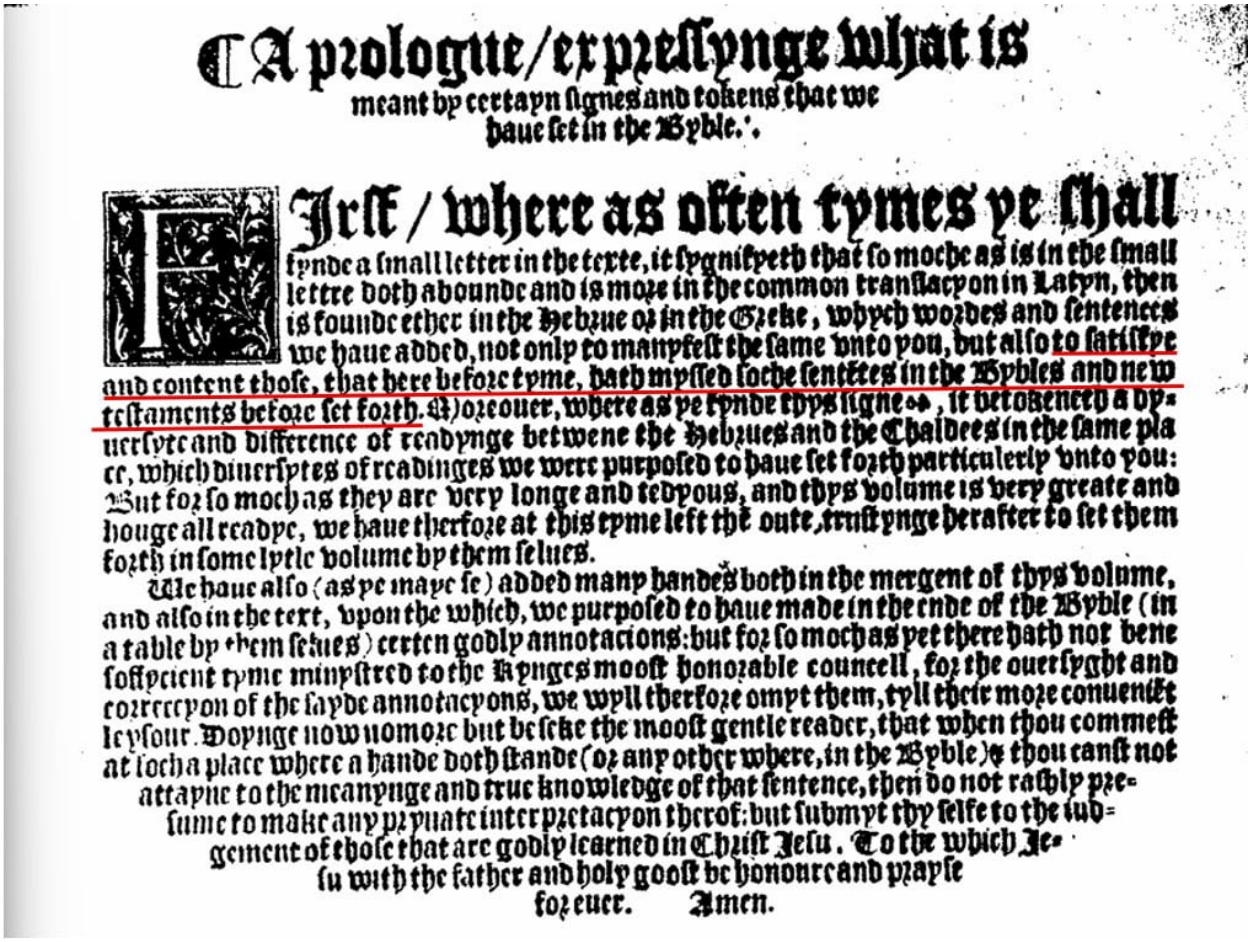
- Accordingly, while the typography demonstrates that 1 John 5:7 was treated as a special case in the Matthew Bible, the surviving front material and lack of a marginal note provides no explicit explanation of what the parentheses or smaller type were intended to signify. Any interpretation of those features must therefore be based on other evidence rather than on a direct statement from the Bible's editors.

- The Great Bible from 1539 followed the Matthew's Bible in printing 1 John 5:7 in smaller font with parenthesis around the verse.

1539 Great Bible


reth wytnes, because the ſpyrete is trueth.
For ther are thre which beare recorde in heauen, the father, the
worde, and wholy goost. And these thre are one.) And ther
are thre which beare recorde (in erth) the ſpyrete

- There is a Prologue in the front of the 1539 Great Bible titled, "A Prologue Explaining What Is Meant by Certain Signs and Tokens That We Have Set in the Bible." In this section, Myles Coverdale the editor of the Great Bible explains why he used smaller letters in certain places.



¶ A prologue/ exprẽssynge what is meant by certayn signes and tokens that we haue set in the Byble.

FIrst / where as often tymes ye shall fynde a small letter in the texte, it sygnifyeth that so moche as is in the small lettre doth abounde and is more in the common translacyon in Latyn, then is founde ether in the Hebrue or in the Greke, whych wordes and sentences we haue added, not only to manyfest the same vnto you, but also to satisfye and content those, that here before tyme, hath mysſed soche sentẽces in the Bybles and new testaments before set forth. Moreouer, where as ye fynde thys signe ❧, it betokeneth a dyuersyte and difference of readynge betwene the Hebrues and the Chaldees in the same place, which diuersytes of readinges we were purposed to haue set forth particulerly vnto you: But for so moch as they are very longe and tedyous, and thys volume is very greate and houge all readye, we haue therfore at this tyme left thē oute, trustynge hereafter to set them forth in some lytle volume by them selues.

We haue also (as ye maye se) added many handes both in the mergent of thys volume, and also in the text, vpon the which, we purposed to haue made in the ende of the Byble (in a table by them selues) certen godly annotacions: but for so moch as yet there hath not bene soffycient tyme mynystred to the Kynges mooſt honorable counceil, for the ouersyght and correccyon of the sayde annotacyons, we wyll therfore omyt them, tyll their more conuenyent leysour. Doynge now no more but beseche the mooſt gentle reader, that when thou commeſt at soch a place where a hande doth stande (or any other where, in the Byble) & thou canst not attayne to the meanynge and true knowledge of that sentence, then do not rashly presume to make any pryuate interpretacyon therof: but submyt thy selfe to the iudgement of those that are godly learned in Christ Jesu. To the which Jesu with the father and holy gooſt be honour and prayse for euer. Amen.

A Prologue Explaining What Is Meant by Certain Signs and Tokens That We Have Set in the Bible

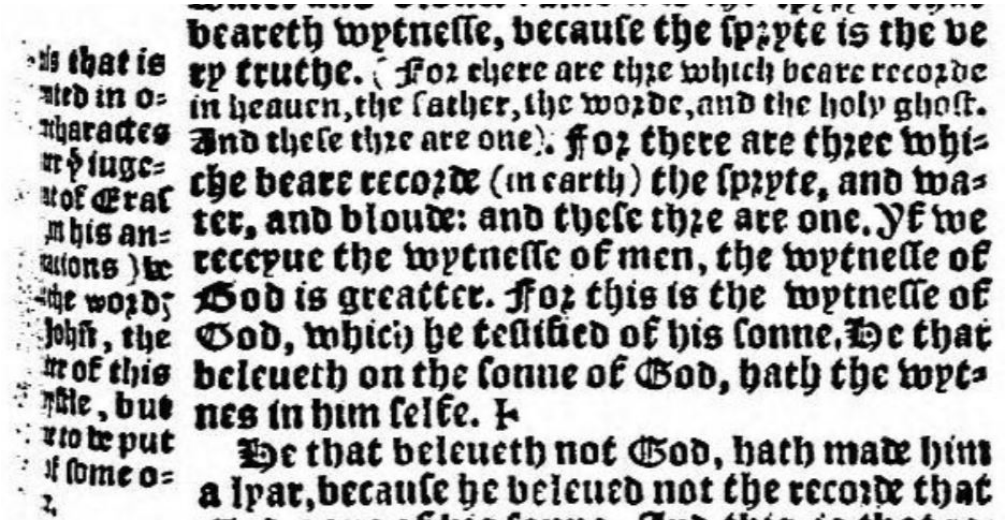
First, whereas oftentimes **you shall find a small letter in the text**, it signifies that so much as is in the small letter does abound and **is more in the common translation in Latin than is found either in the Hebrew or in the Greek**. **These words and sentences we have added, not only to make the same manifest unto you, but also to satisfy and content those that heretofore have missed such sentences in the Bibles and New Testaments before set forth**. Moreover, whereas you find this sign [symbol], it betokens a diversity and difference of reading between the Hebrews and the Chaldees in the same place. Those differences of reading we intended to have set forth particularly unto you. But because they are very long and tedious, and this volume is already very great and huge, we have therefore at this time left them out, trusting hereafter to set them forth in some small volume by themselves.

We have also (as you may see) added many hands, both in the margin of this volume and also in the text, upon which we intended to have made, at the end of the Bible (in a table by themselves), certain godly annotations. But because there has not yet been sufficient time allowed to the King's most honourable council for the oversight and correction of the said annotations, we will therefore omit them until a more convenient leisure. Doing now no more but beseech the most gentle reader that when you come to such a place where a hand stands (or anywhere else in the Bible) and you cannot attain to the meaning and true knowledge of that sentence, then do not rashly presume to make any private interpretation thereof, but submit yourself to the judgment of those who are godly learned in Christ Jesus. To whom, with the Father and Holy Ghost, be honour and praise for ever. Amen.

- This brief prologue from the Great Bible (1539) is important because it provides one of the clearest contemporary explanations of a typographical convention used in an early English Bible. The editors explicitly state that words and sentences printed in small letters were material found in the traditional Latin translation but not found in the Hebrew or Greek texts. They further explain that these readings were retained “to satisfy and content” readers who had previously missed such passages in earlier English Bibles. As a result, the note demonstrates that sixteenth-century English Bible editors consciously distinguished certain readings from the main text through special typography while still preserving them for readers accustomed to the traditional form of the Bible. For studies of passages such as 1 John 5:7, this statement is especially significant because it proves that early English Bible publishers used textual markers to identify material lacking support in the Hebrew or Greek originals, providing an important historical context for interpreting the use of smaller type and other distinguishing marks in Reformation-era Bibles.

- Also translated in 1539, the Tavener Bible translated by Richard Tavener is explicit as to why the text of the Comma was placed in parenthesis along with smaller font. As the following screenshot demonstrates, Tavener appended a marginal note to the verse.

1539 Tavener's Bible



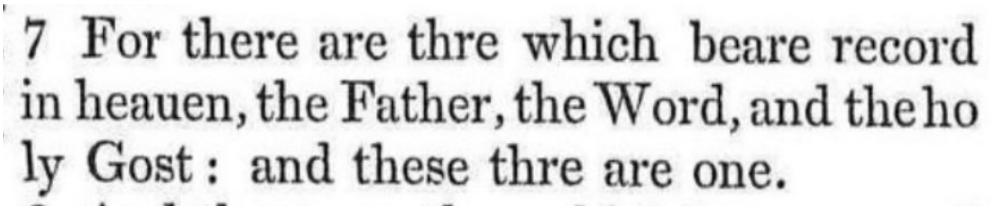
bereth wytnesse, because the spyryte is the ve
ry truthe. ¶ For there are thre which beare recorde
in heauen, the father, the worde, and the holy ghost.
And these thre are one). For there are three whi-
che beare recorde (in earth) the spyryte, and wa-
ter, and bloude: and these thre are one. If we
receyue the wytnesse of men, the wytnesse of
God is greatter. For this is the wytnesse of
God, which he testified of his sonne. He that
beleueth on the sonne of God, hath the wyt-
nes in him selfe. ¶
He that beleueth not God, hath made him
a lyar, because he beleued not the recorde that

- The marginal note reads as follows according to Timothy Berg in an article by Peter Gurry for the "Evangical Textual Criticism" blog.
    - "This that is printed in other characters after the judgment of Erasmus in his annotations be not the words of John, the writer of this Epistle, but came to be put in, of some other." (Gerry)

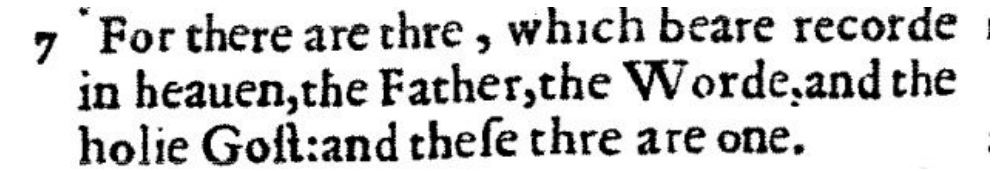
- Tavener's marginal note is significant because it explicitly connects the special typography of the passage to the textual judgments expressed by Erasmus in his annotations. According to the note, the words printed in different characters were regarded by Erasmus as not belonging to the original text of John's epistle but as having been introduced by another hand. At the same time, the explanatory prologue to the Great Bible (1539) demonstrates that special typography was also used in contemporary English Bibles to identify words and sentences found in the Latin tradition but absent from the Hebrew or Greek text, while still preserving those readings for readers accustomed to them. Consequently, Taverner's note is valuable not merely because it identifies the passage as typographically distinct, but because it explicitly explains the reason for that distinction. Unlike the more general explanations found elsewhere, Taverner directly links the special formatting of the Comma Johanneum to Erasmus's judgment that the words were not part of the original text of the epistle.

- After the publication the Taverner and Great Bibles in 1539, later Bibles changed their printing conventions for 1 John 5:7. The Geneva New Testament from 1557 and complete Geneva Bible from 1560 published the text in normal Roman font with not paratheses or marginal notes.

1557 Geneva New Testament

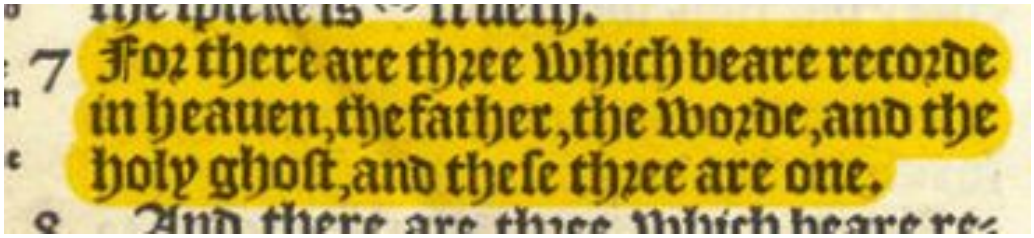

7 For there are thre which beare record
in heauen, the Father, the Word, and the ho
ly Gost: and these thre are one.

1560 Geneva Bible

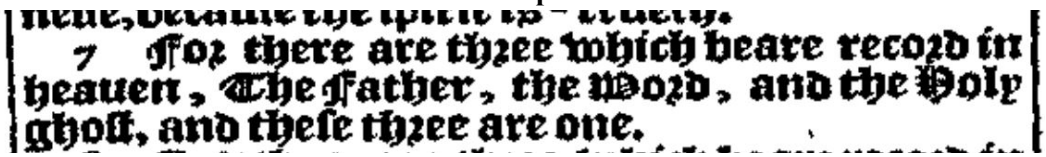

7 For there are thre, which beare recorde
in heauen, the Father, the Worde, and the
holie Goſt: and theſe thre are one.

- In 1568 the Great Bible was revised by the Bishops of the Anglican Church to create the Bishops Bible. As the following screenshots demonstrate from the 1568 and 1602 editions of the Bishops Bible printed the text of the Comma in normal font without any textual footnotes.

1568 Bishops Bible

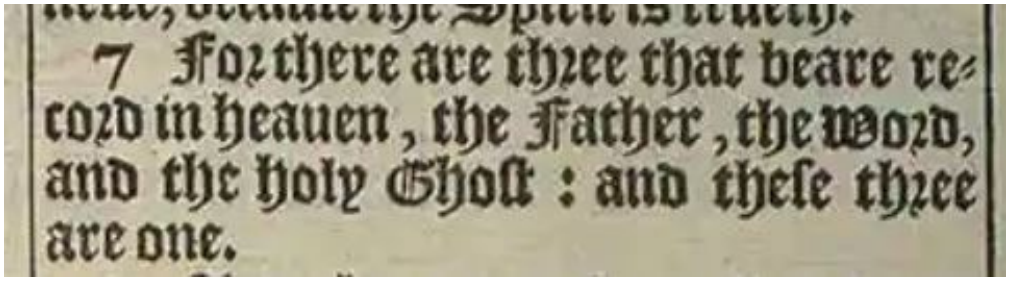

7 For there are three which beare recorde
in heauen, the father, the worde, and the
holy ghost, and these three are one.

1602 Bishops Bible


7 For there are three which beare record in
heauen, The Father, the Word, and the Holy
ghost, and these three are one.

- Finally, the King James Version was published in 1611. A revision of the Bishops Bible, the King James published the text of 1 John 5:7 in normal black letter font without any textual notes in the margin.

1611 King James Bible


7 For there are three that beare re-
cord in heauen, the Father, the Word,
and the holy Ghost: and these three
are one.

- Viewed chronologically, the treatment of 1 John 5:7 in English Bibles underwent a noticeable evolution during the Reformation era. Tyndale's 1534 and 1535 revisions first distinguished the passage through the use of parentheses, a practice continued by Coverdale in 1535. The Matthew's Bible (1537) and Great Bible (1539) went further by combining parentheses with smaller type, while Taverner's Bible (1539) explicitly connected this special formatting to Erasmus's doubts regarding the passage's authenticity. By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, this practice largely disappeared. The Geneva Bible, Bishops' Bible, and ultimately the King James Version printed 1 John 5:7 as ordinary text without special typography, brackets, or explanatory notes. Thus, the history of the passage in early English Bibles reflects a progression from visible typographical distinction and occasional explanatory comment toward its eventual presentation as an unmarked part of the biblical text

Conclusion

- The evidence presented in this appendix demonstrates that William Tyndale altered his treatment of 1 John 5:7 between the 1526 and 1534 editions of his New Testament. In 1526, the passage appeared as part of the continuous text without special markings, whereas in the 1534 and 1535 revisions it was enclosed in parentheses.

- The timing of this change coincides with the increasingly detailed discussions of the passage found in Erasmus's Greek New Testaments and annotations, particularly the expanded treatments in the 1522 and 1527 editions. During this period, Erasmus drew attention to the textual difficulties surrounding the Comma Johanneum, the variation among Greek and Latin witnesses, and the ongoing debate concerning its authenticity.

- No direct statement has been located in Tyndale's surviving prologues, prefaces, or other material explaining why he introduced the parentheses around 1 John 5:7. Likewise, no explicit declaration has been found in which Tyndale attributes this change to Erasmus or to any specific textual source.

- Nevertheless, the chronology of the evidence suggests that Tyndale's revised presentation of the passage is consistent with an awareness of the concerns that Erasmus had publicly raised

regarding the text. The change from unmarked inclusion in 1526 to parenthetical treatment in 1534 and 1535 reflects a departure from Tyndale's original practice.

- Subsequent English Bibles continued and, in some cases, expanded this practice. Coverdale's Bible (1535), Matthew's Bible (1537), the Great Bible (1539), and Taverner's Bible (1539) each distinguished the passage through typography, parentheses, smaller type, or explanatory comments. Taverner's Bible is particularly noteworthy for explicitly connecting its treatment of the text to Erasmus's judgments.

- By contrast, later English Bibles such as the Geneva Bible, Bishops' Bible, and the King James Version eventually printed 1 John 5:7 as part of the ordinary text without the visual distinctions that characterized many earlier Reformation-era editions.

- Taken as a whole, the evidence preserved in this appendix places Tyndale's changing treatment of 1 John 5:7 within a broader Reformation-era discussion concerning the text's authenticity, manuscript support, and theological significance. Between 1516 and 1527, Erasmus moved from noting the absence of the heavenly witnesses in the Greek manuscripts available to him to providing increasingly extensive discussions of the passage, its manuscript history, and its use in Trinitarian controversy. The influence of these debates extended beyond Erasmus himself and formed part of the intellectual environment in which Reformers such as Luther and Tyndale produced vernacular translations of the New Testament. Against this backdrop, Tyndale's decision to move from unmarked inclusion of the Comma in 1526 to parenthetical treatment in 1534 and 1535 represents a noteworthy departure from his earlier practice. Although no surviving statement from Tyndale explicitly explains the change or directly attributes it to Erasmus, the chronology and character of the evidence suggest that his revised presentation was consistent with the growing awareness of textual uncertainty that Erasmus's scholarship had helped bring to the forefront. The subsequent treatment of the passage in the English Bible tradition, from Coverdale and Matthew to the Great Bible and Taverner, further demonstrates that these concerns were neither isolated nor confined to a single translator. Accordingly, the documentary record reveals a progression from simple inclusion of the passage to various forms of typographical qualification intended to alert readers to its disputed status, before its eventual return to unmarked presentation in many later English Bibles. In this respect, the history of 1 John 5:7 in the English Bible reflects not only the transmission of a particular text but also the gradual incorporation of Renaissance humanist textual criticism into the work of Reformation translators and editors.

Works Cited

Gurry, Peter. "The Comma Johanneum in the Earliest English Bibles" in *Evangelical Textual Criticism Blog*. August 17, 2022.

Lesson 5

The 1530 Pentateuch and Other Old Testament Translations: Giving the Hebrew an English Voice

Prepared & Taught by Alex Bojko

Introduction

- In this lesson, I will seek to explain the following regarding Tyndale and his Old Testament translation work:
    - Hebrew learning on the continent and Old Testament English translations pre-Tyndale.
    - The contents and source of Tyndale's Pentateuch.
    - Examples of Tyndale's translation work on the Old Testament.

Hebrew Learning On the Continent and Prior Old Testament English Translations

- John Rothwell Slater in his doctoral dissertation titled "The Sources of Tyndale's Version of the Pentateuch" provides the following description of Hebrew learning on the continent at the time of Tyndale:
    - "When it [the Pentateuch] appeared, the study of Hebrew was a novelty in England, the first chair of Hebrew in an English university having been established in 1524 at Cambridge, in the year that Tyndale had left his native land never to return. On the continent scholars had been studying Hebrew, with the aid of learned Jews, for half a century. Hebrew studies flourished in Italy and Spain. Johann Reuchlin, Sebastin Münster, and others had cultivated the language with zeal and genius in Germany, and in several of the German universities great advance had been made in this difficult branch of philology" (Slater, 5).
- Recall from the Early Life and Times of William Tyndale lesson that Tyndale left England for Germany in 1524 because Lutheranism there allowed for Tyndale to do his translation work. Carolus Eduardus Foerstemann in 1841 published the first of three volumes detailing the records of the University of Wittenberg. Volume 1 covers the years 1502-1560. In the matriculation records of Wittenberg for 1524, Guillelmus Daltici is listed which could be William Tyndale:

Anno m. d. XXIIII

Sub Magistratu venerabilis viri d. Casparis Glacij Theologie Doctoris infrascripti in album excepti sunt a primo die Maij ad festum usque Luce.

Heinricus Plintzler Francigena dioc. Herbipolen. 6 Maij.
Johannes Sinapius Sweinfordianus dioc. Herbipolen. 7 Maij.
Hieronimus Praun dioc. Vratislauien. 9 Maij.
Guendelinus Girrich Phortzen. Dioc. Spiren. 18 Maij.
Raphael Wanner de Helffis 19 Maij.
Vipertus Hagenius dio: Herbipo: 19 Maij.
Paulus Gurlus Bohemus ex opido Tlutz 20 Maij.
Gregorius Gurunzi Bohemus Zeulitz 22 Maij.
Paulus Vuermus Reusporgen. Dioc. Bremen. 22 Maij.
Theodericus kappenburg Luneburgen. 22 Maij.
Joachimus Heytzko Littenbergen. Dioc. Bremen. 22 Maij.
Heinricus Smedenstede Lunaburgen. 22 Maij.
Vrbanus Zolstainer Dio. Saltzpurgen. 24 Maij.
Jacobus de Vratislauia 24 Maij.
Jacobus Bachenhemius Bubonius Dio: Worma: 24.
Joannes Nhon de Hochstadt Dioc. Halberstaden. 24 Maij.
Mathias Erich dioc. Halberstaden. 24 Maij.
Joannes Gollerus Halliopolis Dioc. Saltzpurgen. 24 Maij.
Johannes Trangerus vratislauien.
Valentinus Mollerus dioc. Misnen. 25 Maij.
Paulus kemp dioc. Ruppen. 25 Maij.
Johannes Lindenfels ex kircheym dioc. Magun: 25 Maij.
Christophorus Rothfuss ex Gersspach dioc. Spiren. 25 Maij.
Christophorus ex Vonningen dioc. Spiren. 25 Maij.
Jacobus Jacobi Polonus dioc. Gniesnen.
Georgius Bernhard dioc. Vratislauien.
Anthonius Priellius Obirweiler Dioc. Maguntinen.
Thomas Rutthe dioc. Caminen.
Nicolaus Adeus dioc. Sleswiccen.
Johannes Widdelstet de dutz.
Wolmannus Grasser de Storeck Dioc. Buttauien.
Paulus Bachammer ex gmunden Dioc. Buttauien. 25 Maij.
Volfgangus Machimus Bauarus Dioc. Ratispanen. 26 Maij.
Franciscus Ricko de Rostock.
Jacobus Liskau vratislauien.
Marcus Schulte Stendalien. Dioc. Halberstaden.
Franciscus Hector Magdenburgen.
Johannes Holsten Magdenburgen.
Fridericus Leoner Magdenburgen.
Guillelmus Daltici Ex anglia 27 Maij.
Joannes vraingcr auentinus Dioc. Ratispanen.
Matthias Retter Parochus Michelfelt 29 Maij.
Gaspar Pehr australis dioc. Saltzpurgen.
Paulus Hynsken dioc. Caminen.

16

Foerstemann, *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, 121.

- J.F. Mozley in his 1937 Tyndale biography provides a possible theory as to the name Guillelmus Daltici and makes the case for it being the concealed identity of William Tyndale:

    - "I could not trace it as a place name, or a family name, or a Christian name. Its form seems not at home in English, or Latin, or in any other tongue that Tyndale was likely to use. But suddenly it flashed upon me that by reversing the two syllables of *Tindal* you get *Daltin*, which only differs from *Daltici* by one letter. The present register is but a copy of the original, and if the copyist misread the final letter, all becomes clear. In those perilous times it was common enough for men to disguise their names. Robert Barnes is entered in the Wittenberg register of 1533 as *Antonius Anglus*, though his real name was added in the margin by Melanchthon" (Mozley, 53).

- Given the widespread nature of Hebrew learning in Germany, it is possible that one of the places Tyndale went to learn Hebrew was Wittenberg. Tyndale's inclusion in the Wittenberg matriculation records for 1524 also provides possible proof that Tyndale met Martin Luther. Even if Tyndale did meet Luther, this does not mean he agreed with him theologically. I believe there are enough differences between Tyndale and Luther's theology to say that Tyndale was not Lutheran. He is Tyndale and nothing more.

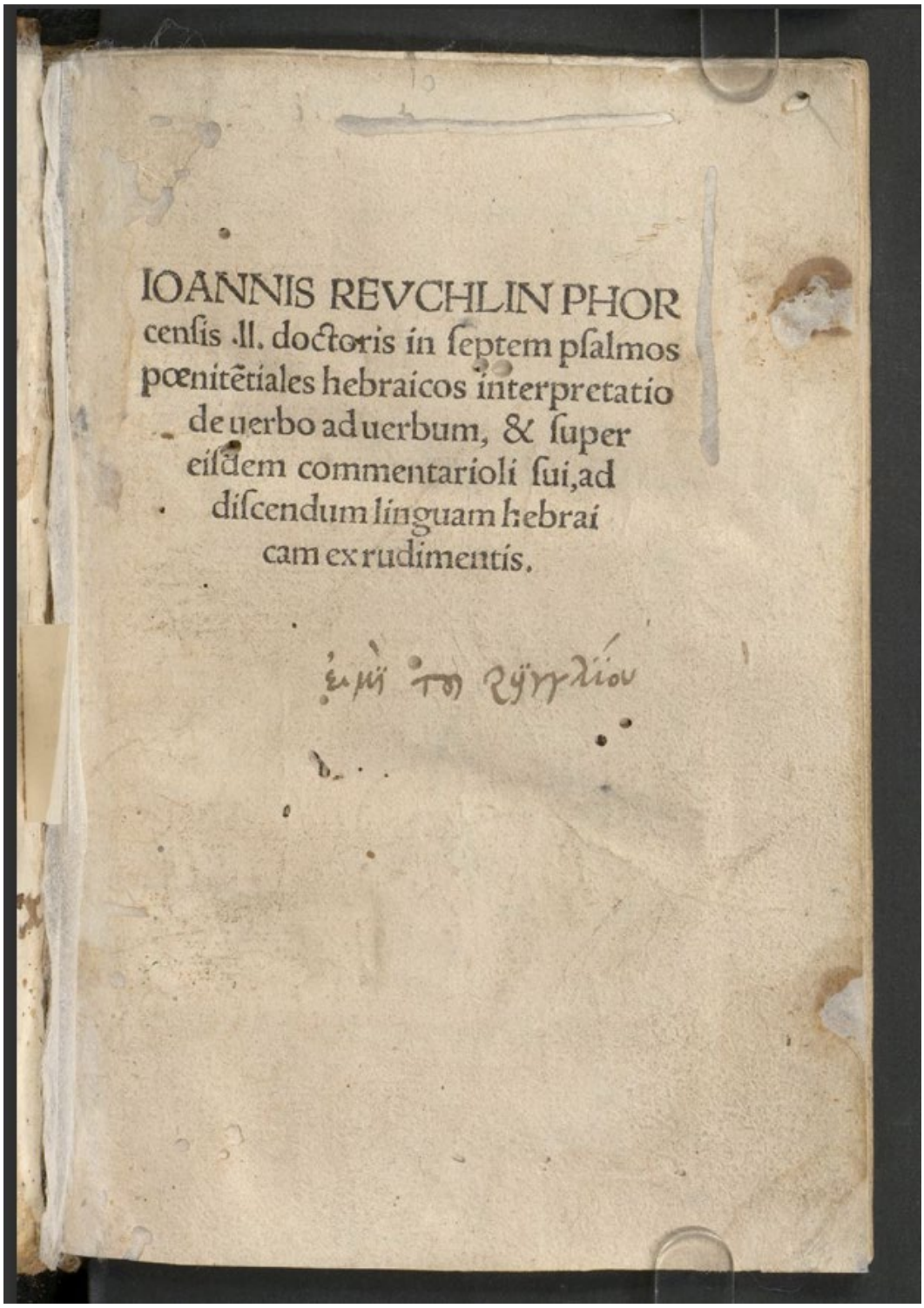
- To demonstrate the widespread popularity and interest in Hebrew learning in Germany and Europe, Slater in his doctoral dissertation provides a list of Hebrew language textbooks available in the sixteenth century:

[1] The following list of Hebrew textbooks published from 1500 to 1530 is given in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Many of these ran through several editions.

1504. Pellicanus, Conrad. *De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum* (Strasburg).
1506. Reuchlin, Johann. *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae una cum Lexico* (Pforzheim)
1508. Tissardus, Franciscus. *Grammatica Hebraica et Graeca* (Paris).
1513–1521. Guidaccerius, Agathius. *Institutiones Graecae Hebraicae* (Rome).
1516. Capito, W. F. *Institutiuncula in Hebraicam Linguam* (Basel).
1518. Boeschenstein, John. *Hebraicae Grammaticae Institutiones* (Wittenberg).
1502. Münster, Sebastian. *Epitome Hebraicae Grammaticae* (Basel).
1520. Pagninus, Sanct. *Institutiones Hebraicae* (Lyons).
1522. Anonymous. *Rudimenta Hebraicae Grammaticae* (Basel).
1524. Münster, Sabastian. *Institutiones Grammaticae in Hebraicam Linguam* (Basel).
1525. Aurigallus, Matthew. *Compendium Hebraicae Chaldaeaeque Grammaticae* (Wittenberg).
1526. Zamorensis, Alphonsus. *Introductiones Artis Grammaticae Hebraicae* (Complutum).
1528. Van Campen, John. *Ex Variis Libellis Eliae . . . . quidquid ad Graecam Hebraicam est necessarium* (Louvain).
1528. Fabricius, Theodorus. *Institutiones Linguae Sanctae* (Cologne).
1528. Pagninus, Sanct. *Institutionum Hebraicarum Abbreviatio* (Lyons).
1529. Clendardus, Nicolas. *Tabulae in Graecam Hebraicam* (Louvain).
1530. Sebastianus, Augustus. *Grammatica Linguae Ebraae* (Marburg)

Slater, *Sources*, 20.

- Though I was not able to find some of the exact textbooks on this list, my research agrees with Slater's findings concerning the large presence of Hebrew language sources on the continent. The following pages contain screenshots of the title pages of such language works:

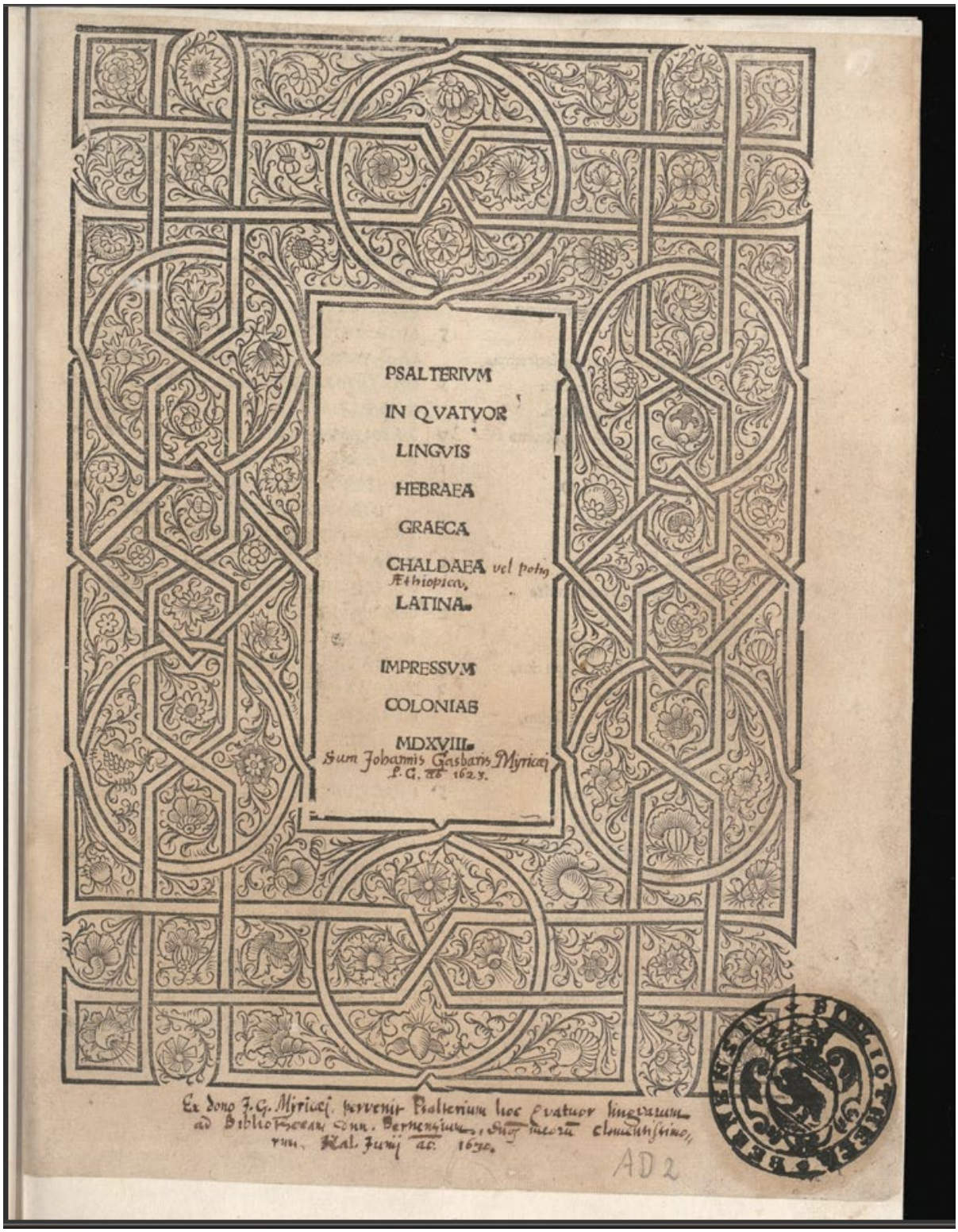

IOANNIS REVCHLIN PHOR
censis .ll. doctoris in septem psalmos
pœnitẽtiales hebraicos interpretatio
de uerbo ad uerbum, & super
eisdem commentarioli sui, ad
discendum linguam hebrai
cam ex rudimentis.

ἐμὴ τοῦ Ῥεύχλίου

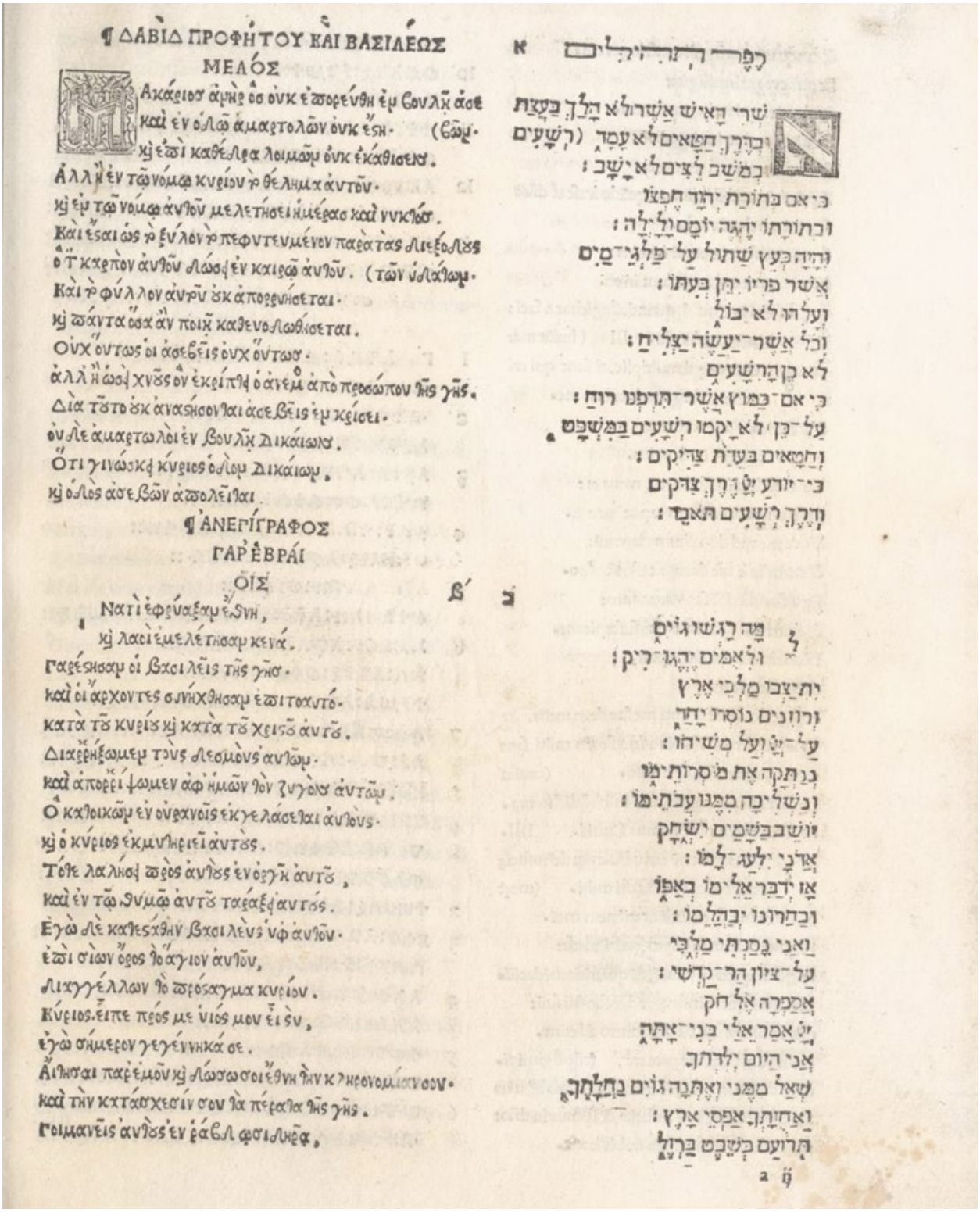
[Johann Reuchlin, Hebrew Grammar Book from the seven Hebrew penitential Psalms (1512).]



Conrad Pellicanus, Hebrew Psalter (1516).



Psalms in four languages: Hebrew, Greek, Chaldee, and Latin. Cologne, (1518).



¶ ΔΑΒΙΔ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΜΕΛΟΣ

Ακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσε
καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ἁμαρτολῶν οὐκ ἔστη. (Εωμ.
καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδρᾳ λοιμῶν οὐκ ἐκάθισεν.
Ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ.
καὶ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ μελετήσει ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.
Καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους
ὃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ. (τῶν ὑδάτων.
Καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀποῤῥυήσεται.
καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ κατευοδωθήσεται.
Οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἀσεβεῖς οὐχ οὕτως.
ἀλλ' ἢ ὡσὶ χνοῦς ὃν ἐκρίπτει ὁ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς.
Διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναστήσονται ἀσεβεῖς ἐν κρίσει.
οὐδὲ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐν βουλῇ δικαίων.
Ὅτι γινώσκει κύριος ὁδὸν δικαίων.
καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολεῖται.

¶ ΑΝΕΓΡΑΦΟΣ
ΓΑΡ ΕΒΡΑΙ
ΟΙΣ

Ναὶ ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη,
καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά.
Παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς.
καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό.
κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.
Διαῤῥήξωμεν τοὺς δεσμοὺς αὐτῶν.
καὶ ἀποῤῥίψωμεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτῶν.
Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐκγελάσεται αὐτούς.
καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐκμυκτηριεῖ αὐτούς.
Τότε λαλήσει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ ταράξει αὐτούς.
Ἐγὼ δὲ κατεστάθην βασιλεὺς ὑφ' αὐτῶν.
ἐπὶ σιὼν ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ,
διαγγέλλων τὸ πρόσταγμα κυρίου.
Κύριος εἶπε πρός με υἱός μου εἶ σύ,
ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.
Αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου.
καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς.
Ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ,

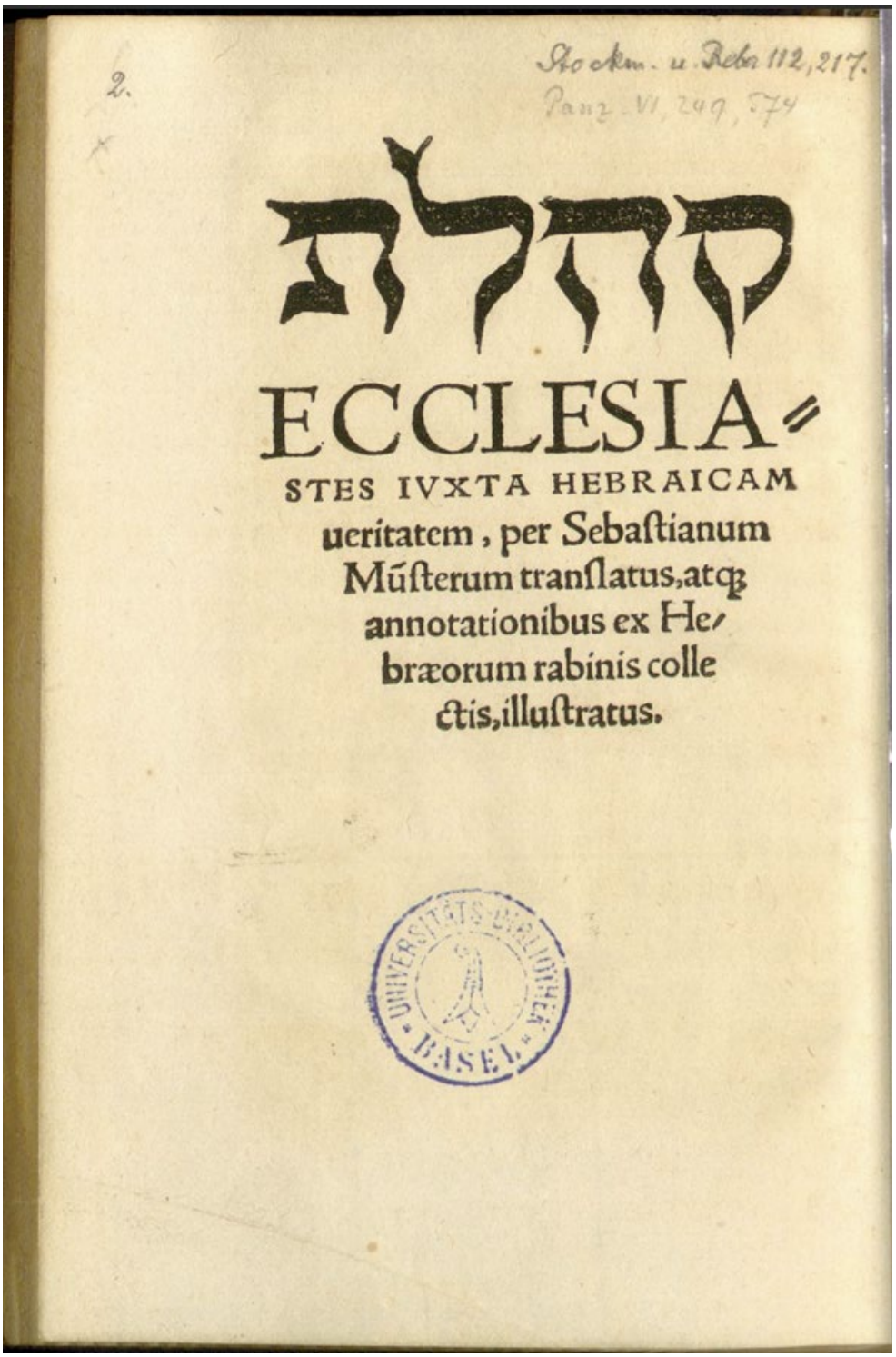
א

שְׁרֵי הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר לֹא הָלַךְ בַּעֲצַת
וּבְדֶרֶךְ חַטָּאִים לֹא עָמָד (רְשָׁעִים
וּבְמוֹשַׁב לֵצִים לֹא יָשָׁב׃
כִּי אִם בְּתוֹרַת יְהוָה חֶפְצוֹ
וּבְתוֹרָתוֹ יֶהְגֶּה יוֹמָם וָלָיְלָה׃
וְהָיָה כְּעֵץ שָׁתוּל עַל־פַּלְגֵי־מָיִם
אֲשֶׁר פִּרְיוֹ יִתֵּן בְּעִתּוֹ׃
וְעָלֵהוּ לֹא־יִבּוֹל
וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂה יַצְלִיחַ׃
לֹא כֵן הָרְשָׁעִים
כִּי אִם־כַּמֹּץ אֲשֶׁר־תִּדְּפֶנּוּ רוּחַ׃
עַל־כֵּן לֹא־יָקֻמוּ רְשָׁעִים בַּמִּשְׁפָּט
וְחַטָּאִים בַּעֲדַת צַדִּיקִים׃
כִּי־יוֹדֵעַ יְהוָה דֶּרֶךְ צַדִּיקִים
וְדֶרֶךְ רְשָׁעִים תֹּאבֵד׃

ב

לָמָּה רָגְשׁוּ גוֹיִם
וּלְאֻמִּים יֶהְגּוּ־רִיק׃
יִתְיַצְּבוּ מַלְכֵי־אֶרֶץ
וְרוֹזְנִים נוֹסְדוּ יָחַד
עַל־יְהוָה וְעַל מְשִׁיחוֹ׃
נְנַתְּקָה אֶת מוֹסְרוֹתֵימוֹ
וְנַשְׁלִיכָה מִמֶּנּוּ עֲבֹתֵימוֹ׃
יוֹשֵׁב בַּשָּׁמַיִם יִשְׂחָק
אֲדֹנָי יִלְעַג־לָמוֹ׃
אָז יְדַבֵּר אֵלֵימוֹ בְאַפּוֹ
וּבַחֲרוֹנוֹ יְבַהֲלֵמוֹ׃
וַאֲנִי נָסַכְתִּי מַלְכִּי
עַל־צִיּוֹן הַר־קָדְשִׁי׃
אַסַּפְּרָה אֶל חֹק
יְהוָה אָמַר אֵלַי בְּנִי־אַתָּה
אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יְלִדְתִּךָ
שְׁאַל מִמֶּנִּי וְאֶתְּנָה גוֹיִם נַחֲלָתֶךָ
וַאֲחֻזָּתְךָ אַפְסֵי אָרֶץ׃
תְּרוֹעֲעֵם בְּשֵׁבֶט בַּרְזֶל

Example of the Greek and the Masoretic Hebrew in the 1518 Psalms in four languages work.



Sebastian Münster, Hebrew of Ecclesiastes, (1525).

- It is clear that Tyndale had access to numerous Hebrew language resources by the time he arrived on the continent. David Daniell in *William Tyndale: A Biography* explains the following regarding how Tyndale learned Hebrew:

    - "A printed Hebrew text of Scripture would not have been too hard to come by from a German bookseller. Access to the volumes of the Complutensian Polyglot would have been of great value to him, giving him comparative texts and supporting grammar and dictionary and, for most of the Hebrew Bible, Targums, that is, Aramaic commentaries and paraphrase. For those volumes he would certainly have needed access to a library, in a university or well-equipped monastery—the notion that he did much of his Hebrew work at Wittenberg begins to look a little more attractive" (Daniell, 295).

- It is also worth noting that other Old Testament English translations were published during the time Tyndale did his own translation work. Most of them were done by Tyndale's accomplice George Joye. These translations included the Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. However, these are nowhere near the accuracy and literalness of Tyndale's Pentateuch which was based on the Masoretic Hebrew text. George Joye produced his versions by translating into English Latin versions of Old Testament books. David Daniell writes in *The Bible in English*,

    - "Joye's general method was to stay close to his main authority (usually Zwingli) but to introduce variations from the Vulgate and elsewhere. He was not trying for any literal accuracy, and he liked to fill out the text with words and ideas of his own. . . . Joye did not break new ground. He made no fresh work from the Hebrew. Early on he showed a certain gift with trenchant English. Yet he was an innovator in that all the books he translated into English had not been touched by Tyndale" (Daniell, 167-68).

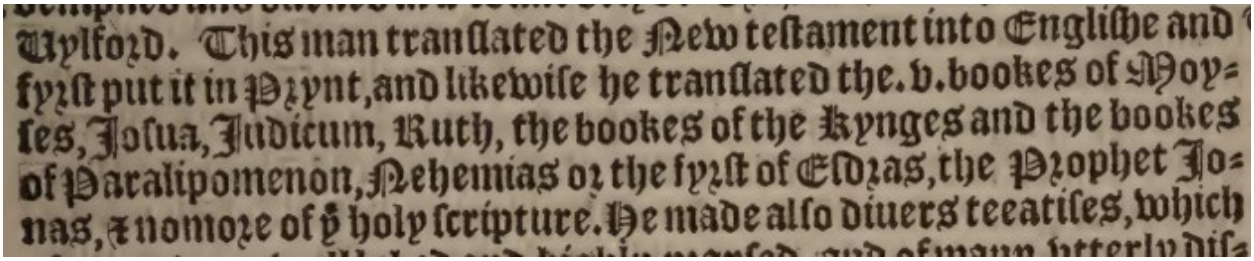
- Thus, Tyndale is in a class of his own and the first to produce a literal, English translation of the Hebrew.

Contents and Source of William Tyndale's Pentateuch and Other Old Testament Translations

- Tyndale's 1530 Pentateuch included the following contents in the order shown below:
    - "W.T. to the Reader"—General Prologue to the Pentateuch.
    - "A Prologue Showing the Use of the Scripture"—A prologue providing insights to Bible study, roughly four paragraphs were added in a 1534 revision of the Pentateuch. Also serves as Tyndale's prologue to the book of Genesis.
    - Genesis
    - "A Table Expounding Certain Words"—This is the first time such a table exists to, as Tyndale explains, "expound the words which are not commonly used, and show how the Scripture useth many words which are otherwise understood of the common people, and to help with a declaration where one tongue taketh not another" ("To the Reader" 1526 New Testament, Tyndale, 1:390).
    - Prologue to Exodus
    - A table of words
    - Exodus
    - Prologue to Leviticus
    - Leviticus
    - Prologue to Numbers
    - Numbers
    - Prologue to Deuteronomy
    - Deuteronomy
    - A table of words
- Tyndale revised his Pentateuch in 1534. The only changes of significance Tyndale made to this edition were to "A Prologue Showing the Use of the Scripture" and the text of the book of

Genesis. The title page to Genesis reads, "The first book of Moses Newly corrected and amended by W.T." The five books of the Pentateuch could either be purchased separately or in one volume.

- In 1531, Tyndale would go on to publish his translation of the book of Jonah. Edward Hall in his 1548 chronicle titled *The Union of the Two Noble and Ilustre Families of Lancastre and York* provides the following information regarding Tyndale as the translator of the historical books:


Uylford. This man translated the New testament into Englishe and fyrst put it in Print, and likewise he translated the. v. bookes of Moyses, Josua, Judicum, Ruth, the bookes of the Kynges and the bookes of Paralipomenon, Nehemias or the fyrst of Esdras, the Prophet Jonas, & no more of ỹ holy scripture. He made also diuers treatises, which

Transcription: "This man translated the New Testament into English and first put it in print, and likewise he translated the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judicum [Judges], Ruth, the books of the kings [1 Sam. – 2 Kings] and the books of paralipomenon [1 and 2 Chronicles], Nehemias or the first of Esdras [Ezra and Nehemiah], the prophet Jonas, and no more of the holy Scripture."

- Hall believed the historical books were translated by Tyndale, not Miles Coverdale or John Rogers [Thomas Matthew].

- Furthermore, there is testimony from Tyndale that he was aware of the content of the historical books, before the Pentateuch was published, as he mentions content from the historical books in his own writings. In addition to mentioning content from the historical books, Tyndale also frequently translates and cites the Psalms and certain verses from other portions of the Hebrew Old Testament such as the Minor Prophets.

- In explaining the source text from which Tyndale did his Old Testament translation work, Slater concludes in his doctoral dissertation after comparing several passages from the book of Genesis that:

    - "Tyndale in translating his Pentateuch kept constantly before him the Hebrew text and Luther's version, with the Septuagint and Vulgate within easy reach, and fragments of the Middle English archaisms running through his mind as he worked; that he probably made his first draft from the German, checking it constantly by the Hebrew, and departing from it in nearly every case where he detached Luther in an evasion . . ." (Slater, 54).

    - Thus, Tyndale first looks at the Hebrew and then whatever he has at his disposal which can mean Luther's translation of the Pentateuch, Hebrew helps on the continent, the Latin Vulgate, and anything else he could get his hands on. However, he is mostly on his own. The

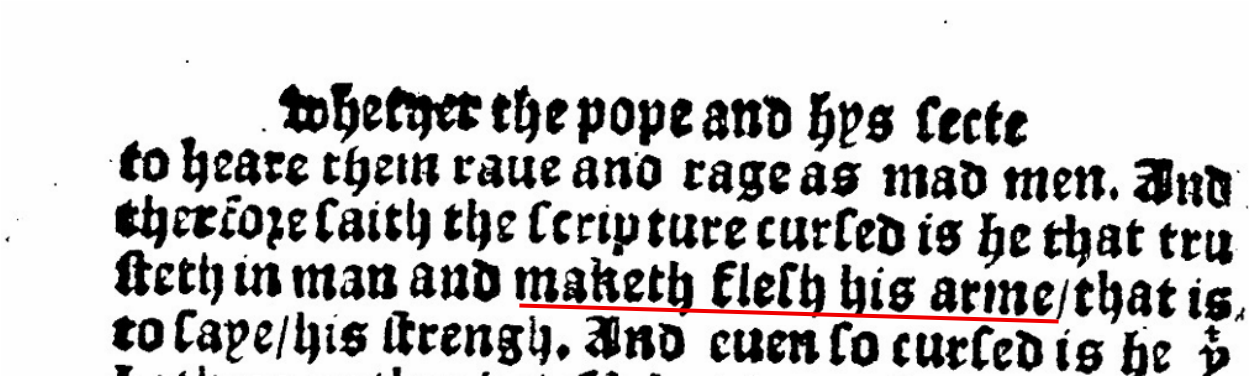
"Middle English archaisms" Slater mentions provide further evidence to the argument that Tyndale had knowledge of the Wycliffe Bible.

Tyndale and his Handling of the Hebrew Old Testament Narrative

- Gerald Hammond in his work *The Making of the English Bible* provides the following summation regarding Tyndale's translation work on the Old Testament and its connection to the Authorized Version:
    - "From the start, then, Bible translation was crucially different from other forms of translation. Not only were there no substantial additions to the original, or omissions from it—to have made either would have been tinkering with God's word—but at the level of sentence and clause translators did their best to maintain a word for word equivalence. No English version maintains the equivalence more strictly than the Authorized Version, but its basis for doing so rests on Tyndale's example. His scrupulousness is sometimes remarkable, extending as it does from his readiness to include formulaic repetitions, as in the Leah-Rachel passage, to the registering of individual pronouns; and the result is the creation of that *sui generis* Bible English which, through the Authorized Version, has had so much influence on our ways of thought and forms of expression" (Hammond, 30-31).

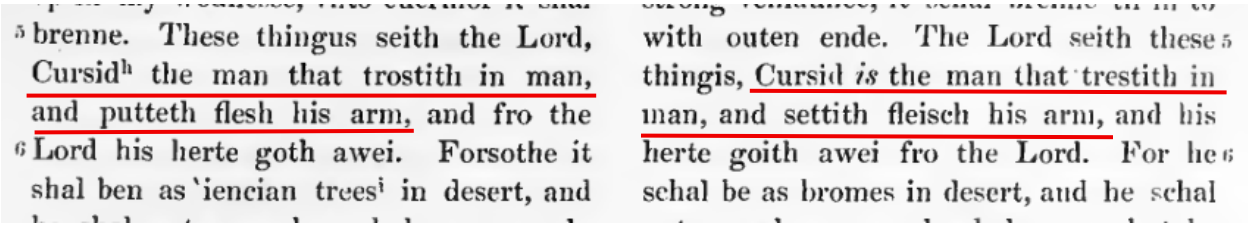
- Leland Ryken, in his book commemorating the 500th anniversary of William Tyndale's New Testament titled *William Tyndale's New Testament: A Biography of the Book That Changed Our World* echoes Hammond's sentiments and comes to the following conclusion:
    - "If the King James Version, the very touchstone of elegant English, is largely the product of Tyndale, then obviously Tyndale is not the racy and colloquial translator that his enthusiasts and the modern advocates of dynamic equivalence portray him as being. Whatever we decide regarding the King James Bible is largely true of Tyndale also" (Ryken, 141).

- Consider Jeremiah 17:5 that Tyndale quotes in *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*:


whether the pope and hys secte
to heare them raue and rage as mad men. And
therfore saith the scripture cursed is he that tru
steth in man and maketh flesh his arme/that is,
to saye/his strengh. And euen so cursed is he

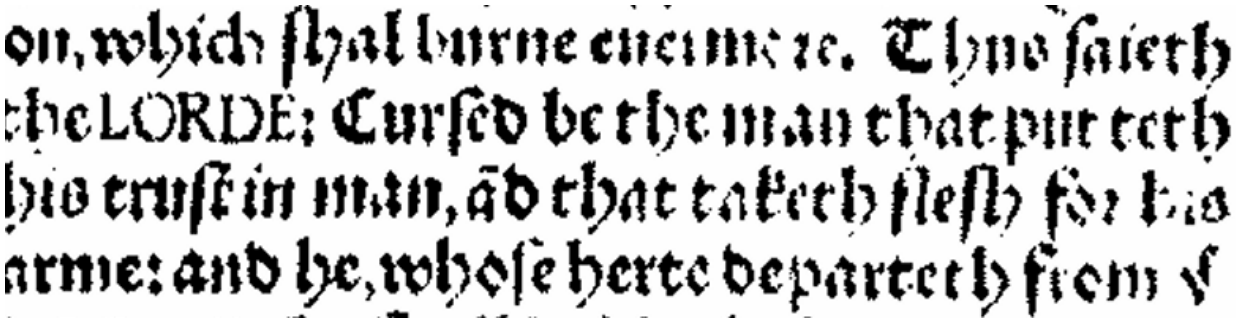
Jeremiah 17:5 referenced in *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* (1531)

Transcription: "And therefore saith the Scripture cursed is he that trusteth in man and maketh flesh his arm, that is to say, his strength."


5 brenne. These thingus seith the Lord,
Cursid[h] the man that trostith in man,
and putteth flesh his arm, and fro the
6 Lord his herte goth awei. Forsothe it
shal ben as `iencian trees[i] in desert, and

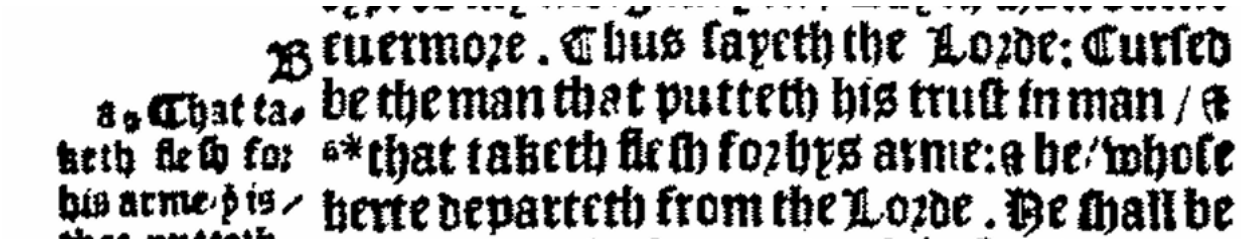
with outen ende. The Lord seith these 5
thingis, Cursid *is* the man that trestith in
man, and settith fleisch his arm, and his
herte goith awei fro the Lord. For he 6
schal be as bromes in desert, and he schal

Early Version (left) and Late Version (right) of the Wycliffe Bible of Jeremiah 17:5 (Forshall and Madden, 381)


on, which shal burne euermore. Thus saieth
the LORDE: Cursed be the man that putteth
his trust in man, ād that taketh flesh for his
arme: and he, whose herte departeth from

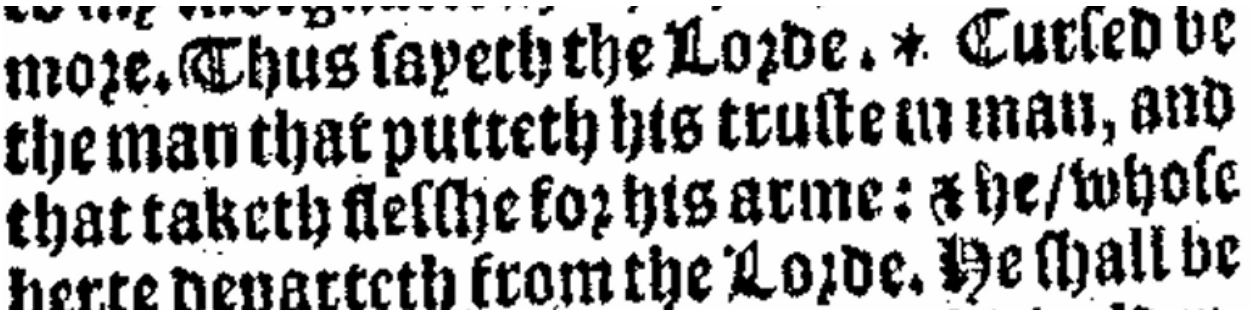
1535 Coverdale Bible BL (H18)

"Cursed be the man that putteth his trust in man, and that taketh flesh for his arme"


Bermore. Thus sayeth the Lorde: Cursed
a That ta- be the man that putteth his trust in man / &
keth flesh for *that taketh flesh for hys arme: & he whose
his arme / & is / herte departeth from the Lorde. He shall be

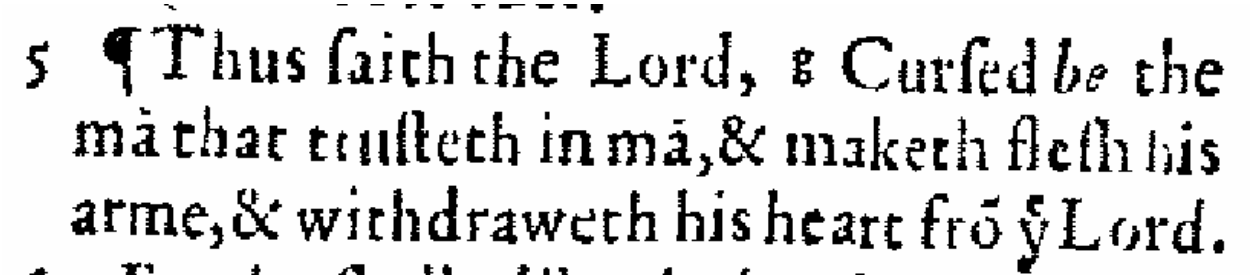
1537 Matthew's Bible Folio BL (H34)

"Cursed be the man that putteth his trust in man, and that taketh flesh for his arme"


more. Thus sayeth the Lorde. * Cursed be
the man that putteth his truste in man, and
that taketh flesshe for his arme: & he/whose
herte departeth from the Lorde. He shall be

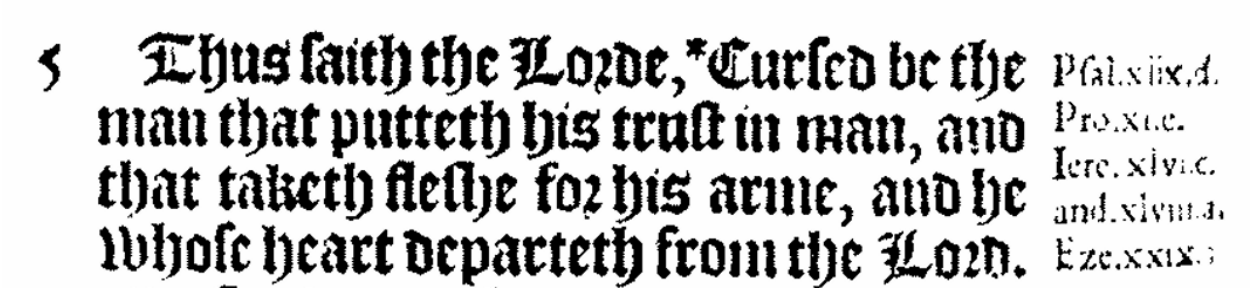
1540 Great Bible Folio BL (H52)

"Cursed be the man that putteth his trust in man, and that taketh flesh for his arme"


5 ¶ Thus saith the Lord, & Cursed *be* the
mà that trusteth in mà, & maketh fleth his
arme, & withdraweth his heart frō ỹ Lord.

1560 Geneva Bible Folio RF (H107)

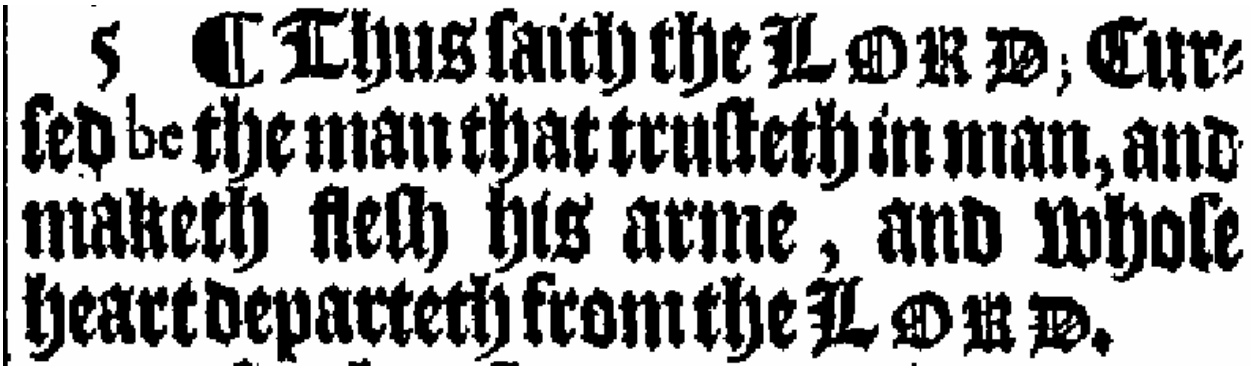
"Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arme"


5 Thus saith the Lorde, *Curſed be the man that putteth his truſt in man, and that taketh fleſhe for his arme, and he whoſe heart departeth from the Lord.

Pſal.xlix.d. Pro.xi.c. Iere.xlvi.c. and.xlvii.a. Eze.xxix.

1568 Bishops Bible Folio BL (H125)

"Cursed be the man that putteth his trust in man, and that taketh flesh for his arm"


5 ¶ Thus ſaith the LORD; Curſed be the man that truſteth in man, and maketh fleſh his arme, and whoſe heart departeth from the LORD.

1611 King James Bible Folio BL (H309)

"Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm"

- Tyndale introduces the phrase "maketh flesh his arm" to the English language and it is incorporated in the King James Bible. The example proves the point of Hammond and Ryken that what is true for Tyndale is also true of the King James Bible. It also allows us to ask, if Tyndale's quotation of Jeremiah 17:5 ended up being verbatim to the King James Bible how much similarity would there have been with the Old Testament if Tyndale went beyond the Pentateuch and Jonah?

- We must understand this about Tyndale before we study his translation work. His main guide was the Hebrew and the Greek text. Gerald Hammond mentions how Tyndale followed the original Hebrew word order while also maintaining his own English style. He uses Tyndale's translation of Genesis 3:1-19 as an example:

    - "The power of this passage lies in its revelation of how disturbingly close to comedy this archetypal tragedy comes, in the contrasts of God's omniscience and the serpent's guile with the humans' ignorance and naivete. What gives the contrasts their strength is the unsophisticated sequential narrative. Tyndale seldom ignores the Hebrew *waw* and rarely

gives it any other form of translation than 'and'. And to a remarkable extent the original's word order is followed, even to the point of reproducing most of the subject-verb or verb-qualifying clause 'inversions' of the Hebrew. Their narrative function is that they come to represent the voice of God, giving his words a rhetorical emphasis which detaches it from more common discourse of the snake and Adam and Eve" (Hammond, 49).

- Consider the following table of similarity of select verses between William Tyndale's translation of Genesis 3 and the King James Bible [the text in the table is that of William Tyndale's 1530/34 Pentateuch. Bolding indicates where the wording of the King James Bible is different from that of William Tyndale. Brackets indicate changes in punctuation and word order in the King James Bible]:

Tyndale's Pentateuch (1530/34)
"**But** the serpent was **subtler** than **all the** beasts of the field which the Lord God had made [.], and [he] said unto the woman. **Ah sir**[1], **that** God **hath** said, ye shall not eat of **all manner trees in** the garden" (Gen. 3:1).
"**But** God doth know, [no comma] that **whensoever** ye **should eat of it**, [no comma] your eyes **should** be opened and ye **should** be as **God and know both** good and evil (Gen. 3:5).
"And the eyes of **both of them** were opened, **that** [no comma] they **understood how** that they were naked. **Then** they sewed fig leaves together and made **them** aprons (Gen. 3:7).
"And the Lord God called [unto] Adam [,] and said unto him: [comma instead of colon] where art thou?" (Gen. 3:9).
"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, until thou return unto the **earth whence thou wast taken**: for **earth** thou art, and unto **earth** shalt thou return" (Gen. 3:19).

- The other way in which Tyndale captured the word order of the Hebrew was by maintaining the noun+of+noun construction, which is how the Hebrew uses the superlative. This is evident in phrases such as "the mother of all that liveth," "the beasts of the field," etc.

- Tyndale is also well-known for coining terms to meet the standard of the Hebrew. In his latest book on William Tyndale titled *William Tyndale and the English Language*, David Crystal provides five appendices alone for first recorded uses of compound nouns, gerunds, noun suffixes, abstract nouns and people nouns; one appendix on adjective suffixes; and one appendix on phrasal verbs (176-188). David Teems also provides an appendix of words Tyndale coined in

[1] In French, there is a grammar rule known as "le masculine l'emporte sur le féminin" or "the masculine takes precedence over the feminine. When using a third-person plural pronoun in a sentence to describe a group of people, and there is a group of females and one male is present in the group, the plural pronoun "ils" is used. Tyndale uses "ah sir" in Genesis 3:1 to show that Adam and Eve were in the garden together. Based on the plural pronouns used throughout Genesis 3:1-6, I agree that Adam and Eve were in the garden together when Satan tempted Eve to eat the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. The use of "ah sir" also shows Tyndale understood the importance of male headship in the family and that there is a difference between how God made man and woman in their respective roles (1 Cor. 11:3, 7-9). "Ah sir" in Genesis 3:1 is also emblematic of the remnants of the Anglo-French that came to England after the Norman Conquest, as discussed in Bryan Ross's message "Assessing the Pre-Tyndale Historical Context."

Tyndale: The Man Who Gave God an English Voice (268-272). Notable words include, "Passover," "free will," "birthright," "scapegoat," and "thank-offering."

- David Teems in his Tyndale biography writes a fictious narrative and italicizes the words that Tyndale coined when used in the narrative. The narrative is meant to show the reader the magnitude of William Tyndale's contribution to the English language:

    - "If you have ever been to the *sea-shore* just because the *waves* somehow enchanted you, or if on a particular visit someone kicked sand in your boyfriend's face (an outdated and *inexcusable* act) thinking him a *weakling*, though you *refused* to believe it because you happened to be wearing *rose-colored* glasses and because of a *long-suffering* faith in your *dearly beloved*, or simply because you consider him a *goldy* man, *unbeliever* that he used to be, William Tyndale gave you the words to tell your story.
      "If by some act of *childishness* on the part of one of your friends (some particular *busybody*, though you once though them the *salt of the earth*) you have ever been used as a *scapegoat*, or if that bad grade you got in English caused an *uproar* in your home, in spite of how *zealous* you were about Keats, how much time you spent at your *writing-table*, or how that *stiff-necked* teacher, that *taskmaster*, Mr. Jones, *grossly* misunderstood it when you said you *lost* your homework or that the dog buried it in some *ungodly* place. The *peace offering* you made him hardly moved him a single *jot*, which I am sure left you disillusioned and *brokenhearted*" (Teems, xxii).

- David Crystal writes concerning "thank-offering" in *William Tyndale and The English Language*:

    - "*Thank-offering* is less often encountered, but it's still around. In Lev. (7.12) it takes the form of 'sweet cakes mingled with oil'. Today it's generally encountered in a religious setting, and there's always a biblical echo even in a secular context. Between 1966 and 2004 a lecture series at the British Academy in London was initiated by the Association of Jewish Refugees: they called it 'A Thank-Offering to Britain'." (Crystal, 54).

- Clearly, Tyndale is not archaic in the twenty-first century and remember, whatever is true for Tyndale is also true for the King James Bible.

Conclusion

- Through a study of William Tyndale's Old Testament translation work, it is clear that William Tyndale had a way with words and he was ahead of his time when it came to not just the standards necessary for proper Bible translation but also the development of the English language itself. He truly set off a wave of sixteenth and seventeenth century Bible translation

that would be based on the proper text and method and would ultimately culminate in the King James Bible we hold in our hands today.

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Lesson 6
The Use & Misuse of Tyndale's Famous Ploughboy Statement
Prepared & Taught by David W. Reid

Tyndale's Ploughboy Statement

- The most famous statement attributed to Tyndale is the "ploughboy" quote, which is first attributed to Tyndale in Foxe's Book of Martyrs.

  "Then Master Tyndale, as he was learned and well practiced in God's matters, spared not to show unto them simply and plainly his judgment, and when they at any time did vary from Tyndale in opinions, he would show them in the Book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers times, until at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

  As this grew on, the priests of the country, clustering together, began to grudge and storm against Tyndale, railing against him in alehouses and other places, affirming that his sayings were heresy; and accused him secretly to the chancellor, and others of the bishop's officers.

  . . .

  There dwelt not far off a certain doctor, that had been chancellor to a bishop, who had been of old, familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, and favored him well; unto whom Master Tyndale went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scripture: for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. Unto whom the doctor said, 'Do you not know that the pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life.'

  Not long after, Master Tyndale happened to be in the company of a certain divine, recounted for a learned man, and, in communing and disputing with him, he drove him to that issue, that the said great doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, 'We were better to be without God's laws than the pope's.' Master Tyndale, hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied, 'I defy the pope, and all his laws;' and added, 'If God spared him life, ere many years he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture than he did'" (Foxe).

- While the above quote is commonly attributed to Tyndale, it is not certain that Tyndale actually said it.
  - "We come, then, to Tyndale's epoch-making statement about the plowboy, which we should note, does not appear in anything written by Tyndale but instead has the status of hearsay recorded by Foxe many years later" (Ryken, *New Testament*, 40).
  - Foxe was not present when the quote was supposedly said, which raises the question of how Foxe would know the quote and how accurate the quotation is.

- In "The Very Vulgar," Christopher Yetzer observes that the authenticity of the ploughboy quote attributed to Tyndale has been questioned and that the ploughboy imagery predated Tyndale by centuries.

  "Jerome seems to be one of the earliest witnesses to the type of language that has come to be associated with the ploughboy as it relates to his use of Scripture. Around 386AD he wrote to Marcella describing the condition of the Holy Land using these words: 'in the cottage of Christ all is simple and rustic: and except for the chanting of psalms there is complete silence. Wherever one turns the laborer at his plough sings alleluia, the toiling mower cheers himself with psalms, and the vine-dresser while he prunes his vine sings one of the lays of David. These are the songs of the country; these, in popular phrase, its love ditties: these the shepherd whistles; these the tiller uses to aid his toil'" (Yetzer). (emphasis added)

  "Therefore the image of the ploughman (while a historical occupation and also a figure throughout the Bible) was originally an application made famous by Erasmus who seems to have taken it from Jerome. In the following decades the ploughman continued to be employed for his musical use of Scripture. After the Council of Trent, the Protestants adopted him for their arguments regarding the perspicuity of the Scriptures" (Yetzer).

- Whether Tyndale actually uttered the "ploughboy" quote or not, he was clearly not the first one to use the ploughboy imagery. Tyndale was a wordsmith and invented many wonderful words – atonement, Passover, scapegoat, mercyseat. But Tyndale did not invent the ploughboy image.

- Whoever first invoked the ploughboy image, it is nothing more than a specific example of the universal truth that all men, whether they be ploughboys or blacksmiths or lawyers or doctors or soldiers or vegetarians, should teach God's word, and think on it, and speak of it moment by moment.

  - Deu 6:6 KJV - And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart:
    Deu 6:7 KJV - And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.

  - Deu 11:18 KJV - Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes.
    Deu 11:19 KJV - And ye shall teach them your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.

  - Psa 119:172 KJV - My tongue shall speak of thy word: for all thy commandments [are] righteousness.

- Whether Tyndale actually uttered the ploughboy quote or not, the key point is that it was a sentiment that Tyndale deeply believed. It is clear from Tyndale's writings that he wanted the scriptures to be directly accessible to the common man so that he would not be dependent on the clergy's interpretation.

- "Which thing only moved me to translate the New Testament. Because I had perceived by experience, how that it was impossible to stablish the lay people in any truth, except the scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text . . ."
  (Tyndale, *The Five Books of Moses*, To The Reader).

- "The sermons which thou readest in the Acts of the apostles, and all that the apostles preached, were no doubt preached in the mother tongue. Why then might they not be written in the mother tongue? As, if one of us preach a good sermon, why may it not be written? Saint Jerom also translated the bible into his mother tongue: why may not we also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one; so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English, word for word; when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shall have much work to translate it well-favoredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin, and as it hath in the Hebrew. A thousand parts better may it be translated into the English, than into the Latin. Yea, and except my memory fail me, and that I have forgotten what I read when I was a child, thou shalt find in the English chronicle, how that king Adelstone caused the holy scripture to be translated into the tongue that then was in England, and how the prelates exhorted him thereto. Moreover, seeing that one of you ever preacheth contrary to another; and when two of you meet, the one disputeth and brawleth with the other, as it were two scolds; and forasmuch as one holdeth this doctor, and another that; one followeth Duns, another St Thomas, another Bonaventure, Alexander de Hales, Raymond, Lyre, Brygot, Dorbel, Holcot, Gorram, Trumbett, Hugo de Sancto Victore, De Monte Regio, De Nova Villa, De Media Villa, and such like out of number; so that if thou hadst but of every author one book, thou couldst not pile them up in any warehouse in London, and every author is one contrary unto another. In so great diversity of spirits, how shall I know who lieth, and who sayeth truth? Whereby shall I try and judge them? Verily by God's word, which only is true. But how shall I that do, when thou wilt not let me see scripture?" (Tyndale, *Obedience of A Christian Man*, "To The Reader"). (emphasis added)

- "But how shall I do that, when you will not let me have his testimonies, or witnesses, in a tongue which I understand? Will you resist God? Will you forbid him to give his Spirit unto the lay as well as unto you? Hath he not made the English tongue? Why forbid ye him to speak in the English tongue then, as well as in the Latin?
  Finally, that this threatening and forbidding the lay people to read the scripture is not for the love of your souls (which they care for as the fox cares for the geese) is evident and clearer than the sun: inasmuch as they permit and suffer you to read Robin Hood, and Bevis of Hampton, Hercules, Hector and Troilus, with a thousand histories and fables of love and wantonness, and of ribaldry, as filthy as the heart can think, to corrupt the minds of youth withal, completely contrary to the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles." (Tyndale, *Obedience of A Christian Man*, To The Reader). (emphasis added)

- "He perceived that it was not possible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the Scriptures were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue that they might see the

meaning of the text; for else, whatsoever truth should be taught them, the enemies of the truth would quench it, either with reasons of sophistry, and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture; or else juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense as it were impossible to gather of the text, if the right meaning thereof were seen.

Master Tyndale considered this only, or most chiefly, to be the cause of all mischief in the Church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the people's eyes; for so long the abominable doings and idolatries maintained by the pharisaical clergy could not be espied; and therefore all their labor was with might and main to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right
sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle those who rebuked or despised their abominations; wresting the Scripture unto their own purpose, contrary unto the meaning of the text, they would so delude the unlearned lay people, that though thou felt in thy heart, and wert sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst thou not solve their subtle riddles" (Foxe). (emphasis added)

Tyndale's Choice of Language and Intended Audience

- Tyndale's ploughboy statement has been misunderstood to suggest that Tyndale was focused on the lowest common denominator.
    - *"Fallacy #1: Tyndale aimed his translation at an illiterate or nonreading public.*

      [ ] It is not a designation of teenage farm boys as a target audience for a niche Bible. [ ] The background is Tyndale's growing agitation at the prevailing Catholic ignorance of the Bible. [ ] Second, the reference to the plowboy is not a comment about a social class toward which Tyndale slanted his translation. [ ] He was using a particular example to make the general point that he wanted the whole cross section of the English population to have access to the Bible.

      Fallacy #2: Tyndale was in favor of a colloquial English style for Bible translation.

      [ ] It is equally evident that Tyndale did not lower the style to match the way the local plowboy talked" (Ryken, *Legacy*, 21-23).

- Tyndale wrote for the layman not the barely literate. Tyndale wanted the word of God in the native tongue, not the basest form of the native tongue.
    - "writers can never predict into whose hands a book will fall, so it is futile and self-defeating to project a specific audience" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 126).
    - "If ye would teach, how could ye do it so well, and with so great profit, as when the lay-people have the scripture before them in their mother tongue? For then should they see, by the order of the text, whether thou jugglest or not. [ ] The curates themselves (for the most part) no more know what the New or Old Testaments mean than the Turks do. Nor do they know any more than what they read at mass, matins, and evensong, which they still do not

understand. Nor do they care, except to mumble as much each day as the magpie and popinjay speak – which do not know what to fill their bellies with. They will not let the layman have the word of God in his native tongue, and yet they let the priests have it – when a great part of them do not understand Latin at all. They only sing, say, and patter all day with their lips, what their heart does not understand" (Tyndale, *Obedience of A Christian Man*, To The Reader).

- "The plowboy is here a representative figure for all of English society, from the top to the bottom of the social scale. Above all, the plowboy represents the layperson, who had been systematically excluded from knowing the content of the Bible . . ." (Ryken, *New Testament,* 41).

- Tyndale did not write in the simplest form of English. With any language, there are different levels and degrees of complexity. Tyndale was writing in language that the common man could learn to understand, but he was not writing in language that the common man already understood.

  - ". . . Tyndale's English—and subsequently that of the KJB—did not seem as natural and easy as we are inclined to think it. Nor did it seem grand or majestic. England did learn English from Tyndale. In drafting the KJB he shaped English so that, as the years passed, many came to see the KJB as English perfected" (Norton, 13-14). (emphasis added)

  - "Two elements of the model Tyndale gave for English biblical translation are apparent in this passage. One is the judicious fidelity to the syntax and grammar of the original languages, even to the point of including a present participle in the Mathew passage, 'being a perfect man' (v. 19), and so delaying the main verb until the latter part of the sentence: this would not have troubled an educated man, but was not the basic English of the ploughboy. The other key elements are the choice of predominantly native English vocabulary. 'Married' (1525), 'perfect,' 'defame' (1525), 'example' (1534), 'secretly,' 'appeared' and 'conceived' come from the Latin by way of Old French and Middle English. All were familiar English. Only 'perfect' is used in a sense that might have eluded an ordinary reader or hearer" (Norton, 35). (emphasis added)

  - "The Bible in English shaped Protestant English-speaking culture. It was not just that the Bible was read, heard and known: the Bible in English made the individualistic act of reading and understanding primary, creating a culture wedded to the belief that understood words were of the highest importance. Besides this, the Bible, more than any other writing in English, shaped the English language. This was an unlooked-for consequence of Tyndale's work, for he never set out to create a linguistic or literary revolution. Yet this, besides the religious revolution, is what he created. The decisions he made as to the kind of English he should use have affected every speaker and writer of English. Thomas More, his arch-antagonist, mockingly suggested that 'all England list now to go to school with Tyndale to learn English.' His point was the difficulty of Tyndale's language. That we now find it remarkably straightforward and even powerful is precisely because all England went to school with Tyndale and learnt English from him and his successors, most notably from the principal form his work took, the KJB" (Norton, 11). (emphasis added)

- The scriptures are both simple and difficult. While salvation requires just the simple faith of a child, the Bible contains both simpler (milk) and more complex (meat) content. Accurately communicating meat doctrine may require a greater degree of complexity than the lowest form of English.

    - 1Co 3:2 KJV - I have fed you with milk, and not with meat: for hitherto ye were not able [to bear it], neither yet now are ye able.

    - Heb 5:12 KJV - For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which [be] the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat.

    - "A basic paradox that permeates the Bible is its simultaneous simplicity and complexity. [ ]

      The bias of Tyndale scholarship is so strongly in the direction of simplicity that it has drastically distorted the nature of Tyndale's view of the Bible and of his English New Testament. The simple half of the equation needs to be balanced by Tyndale's explicit acknowledgment that the Bible is a difficult book that requires scholarly expertise to understand fully. [ ]

      The context within which to understand Tyndale's statements about the simplicity of his translated book is the centuries-long Catholic manner of disseminating Scripture to churchgoers. The Catholic Bible was a scholars' Bible—a Latin version accessible only to priests. [ ]

      Within such a context, any English translation of the Bible ranks as a simple or plain book.

      One aspect of the simplicity of Tyndale's New Testament is thus that it was an English-language book instead of a Latin one. A second aspect of the simplicity of Tyndale's New Testament is that it was intended for laypeople and not only the educated clergy" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 96-98).

- Tyndale's chief objective was not to write simply but to translate accurately. He frequently used exalted language when translating long passages of the New Testament:

    - "showing that Tyndale gave his chief allegiance to the nature of the specific passage he was translating, not to a target audience of readers with minimal linguistic ability. Contrary to a common misconception, Tyndale did not hesitate to use 'big words' when the biblical authors used them" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 77).

- Einstein: "It can scarcely be denied that the supreme goal of all theory is to make the irreducible basic elements as simple and as few as possible without having to surrender the adequate representation of a single datum of experience."

    - Einstein's quote has been restated as "Everything should be made as simple as possible, but not simpler." Some truths have a degree of complexity that they cannot be expressed in first grade English. Attempting to do so is oversimplification and unfaithful to the word of God.

- There are meat doctrines that cannot be adequately expressed using one or two syllable words. Accordingly, Tyndale used the following words in his translation:
    - congregation
    - propitiation
    - sanctification
    - consolation
    - interpretation
    - ministration
    - condemnation

- In Tyndale's various printings of the New Testament, he invented numerous English words that did not previously exist (Teems, 269-270).
    - "A famous feature of Tyndale's 1526 text was his decision to coin words from the Greek that did not have an existing English parallel" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 100).
    - "Tyndale's commitment to conveying the very words of the New Testament was so complete that in a few instances he coined new words to approximate the biblical original" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 106-07).
    - Examples of such words include the following:
        - achange
        - a-doors
        - baning
        - bruterer
        - castor
        - deceivableness
        - harborous
        - housewifely
        - incomer
        - lowth
        - royetous
        - unghostly (Teems, 269-270).

- It is obvious that Tyndale was not writing for the illiterate or nonreading. Tyndale's ploughboy statement reflected the reality that the word of God, if placed in the vernacular language, would benefit all of society.
    - "In the words of Jonathon Moore, 'The ploughboy was being set up for an education: a book that would not leave him where he was but would elevate him not just spiritually but intellectually" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 101).

- "Contrary to the stereotype of Tyndale as 'dumbing down' his translation to meet the current ability of the local plowboy, he in fact expected a lot from his readers" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 108).

- "Tyndale the translator did not condescend downward but instead expected his readers to rise upward" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 117).

- "In his preface [1526 New Testament], Tyndale was honest in recognizing the challenges of translating the Scriptures into English. He knew that some of the language used in the Bible would not communicate to the daily lives of the 16th century ploughman. He also knew that some of his terms and phrases would be unclear and in some points completely unintelligible to his readers. That does not mean that he did not want the illiterate to understand the Scriptures, just that he didn't translate it on their level."

  "Clearly, like the English Bibles that came before and those that were translated afterward, they all desired, challenged and expected the common man to read the Scriptures, but they didn't expect them to understand everything initially, to the contrary they wanted them to grow into understanding the language of Scripture"
  (Yetzer).

- Books written to the barely literate are children's books. The Bible can be read by children, but it is not a children's book. Tyndale was not saying that the ploughboy could understand all of the deep truths of the word of God using only his present vocabulary. He was saying that the ploughboy would understand far more than he currently understood because he would have access to the scriptures in his own language, and the ploughboy could more easily learn difficult words in his own language than he could Latin, of which the ploughboy understood nothing.

  - "It is time to lay to rest the fallacy that Tyndale's New Testament was pitched to grade schoolers. Tyndale's allegiance was to what the New Testament authors actually wrote. It is true that he wrote *for* the entire Bible-reading public, including what we often call the common person but that is more accurately called the layperson. But if Tyndale translated *for* these people, he did not translate *to* them in the sense of allowing their supposed low linguistic ability to determine how he translated the Greek text." (Ryken, *New Testament,* 119)

False Friends as a Basis for Revision

- Some modern commentators interpret Tyndale's ploughboy statement to mean that scripture should be translated into the most basic form of any language.

  - "The KJV translators cared about people with lower educational levels, too. Their statement about the 'very vulgar' – the common people – occurs in their masterful preface to the 1611 KJV:

    'We desire that the Scripture may speak like itself, as in the language of Canaan, that it may be understood even of the very vulgar.'

> Whether the very vulgar considered the translation successful or not, the KJV in this respect followed directly in the line of English Bible translator William Tyndale, much of whose work persists verbatim in the KJV, released seventy-five years after his martyrdom. Tyndale boldly told a clerical opponent, in words I myself uttered acting as Tyndale in a school play in twelfth grade, 'If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou dost.
>
> As David Norton observes, 'boy that driveth the plough' translates into modern English as 'man on the street'" (Ward, 21).

- Ward quotes the ploughboy statement and then observes that the ploughboy statement would be rendered in contemporary English as "man on the street." In other words, in Ward's view, even Tyndale's easily graspable concept of the ploughboy as everyman may require updating to be understandable to the modern common man. Ward then makes the argument that the biggest obstacle in understanding the KJV is false friends.
    - "*The biggest problem in understanding the KJV comes from 'false friends,' words that are still in common use but have changed meaning in ways that modern readers are highly unlikely to recognize*" (Ward, 31). (italics in original)
    - "That's why I've alerted you to the phenomenon of 'false friends': a particular kind of change in the last four-hundred-plus years of English that you could have almost no way of knowing about if you hadn't picked up this book" (Ward, 43).
    - "You can teach people to look up unfamiliar words, but *the issue here is not words you know you don't know; it's words (and phrases and syntax and punctuation) you don't know you don't know* – features of English that have changed in subtle ways rather than dropping completely out of the language" (Ward, 49).
- Even if Ward's reasoning were correct, it would only justify updating the comparatively few words in the KJV that are actually false friends. It would not justify abandoning the Textus Receptus and adopting the Critical Text with entirely different Greek readings. The false friends argument offers zero justification for the numerous textual changes supported by Critical Text proponents, such as omitting the last twelve verses of Mark.
- Further, it should be noted that the concept of false friends is inherently subjective. Some readers understand exactly what a word means, and the word is not a false friend to them at all. A word is a false friend only to those who do not understand its meaning. Accordingly, revising the scriptures to modify all words that some might misunderstand as a false friend, requires that the scriptures be revised to cater to the least literate and most easily confused. Consider whether the word of God should be revised so that it reads at the level of the least literate in society.
- In Ward's book, he identifies a couple dozen false friends in the KJV, and since that time, he has identified more. We don't agree that all of his supposed false friends are in fact false. For example, he thinks "remove" is a false friend because the KJV uses the word in the sense of "move." But, to be generous, let's say that the number of false friends in the KJV is 200.

- Does it actually make sense to revise the KJV on the basis of this handful of false friends? We don't amend the US Constitution because it contains language unfamiliar to most contemporary Americans: chuse, presentment, Bills of Attainder, Letters of Marque and Reprisal. People just use a dictionary. It is not that hard.

- Ward, however, rejects the idea that someone studying the scriptures should have to use a dictionary.

    - "I do not believe that competent speakers of contemporary English should be required to look up English words in a Bible translation when commonly known equivalents are available" (Ward 55).

- Let's see what Tyndale thought about dictionaries. And recall that Ward began his argument with an appeal to Tyndale's ploughboy quote.

What Tyndale Actually Thought About Dictionaries

- Consider what Tyndale wrote in the Preface to his 1526 New Testament.

    - "Them that are learned Christianly I beseech—forasmuch as I am sure, and my conscience beareth me record, that of a pure intent, singly and faithfully I have interpreted it, as far forth as God gave me the gift of knowledge and understanding—that the rudeness of the work now at the first time offend them not, but that they consider how that I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like things in the Scripture beforetime. Moreover, even very necessity and cumbrance (God is record) above strength—which I will not rehearse, lest we should seem to boast ourselves—caused that many things are lacking which necessarily are required. Count it as a thing not having his full shape, but as it were born before his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished. In time to come (if God have appointed us thereunto) we will give it his full shape, and put out if aught be added superfluously, and add to if aught be overseen through negligence, and will enforce to bring to compendiousness that which is now translated at the length, and to give light where it is required, and to seek in certain places more proper English, and with a table to expound the words which are not commonly used and show how the Scripture useth many words which are otherwise understood of the common people, and to help with a declaration where one tongue taketh not another; and will endeavor ourselves, as it were, to seeth it better, and to make it more apt for the weak stomachs; desiring them that are learned and able, to remember their duty, and to help thereunto, and to bestow unto the edifying of Christ's body (which is the congregation of them that believe) those gifts which they have received of God for the same purpose. The grace that cometh of Christ be with them that love him" (Tyndale, Preface to the New Testament). (emphasis added)

- Tyndale is acknowledging that what he produced needs further refinement. He does not view his work as a finished product. Recall that Tyndale translated the entire New Testament by himself in around a year's time while trying to evade the evil powers that sought his harm.

- As to the suggestion that Tyndale sought to write at the level that the ploughboy could easily understand the scriptures in his own vocabulary, notice that was not Tyndale's aim.

    - Tyndale desired "to seek in certain places more proper English." Tyndale didn't think the scriptures should be at the lowest form of language but at a higher level.

    - Tyndale wanted to include a "table to expound the words which are not commonly used." While some say it is too much trouble to look up words in a dictionary and therefore the scriptures should only use words known to even the least literate, Tyndale used words that were not commonly known and thought the proper solution was a table to expound the words, i.e. a dictionary.

    - Tyndale also wanted to "expound the words which are not commonly used and show how the Scripture useth many words which are otherwise understood of the common people." When Tyndale says that the "Scripture useth many words which are otherwise understood of the common people," Tyndale is referring to something very similar to the concept of false friends! Tyndale is saying that Scripture has many words that the common people understand to mean one thing when Scripture is actually using those words in a different sense. Tyndale's solution was not to avoid such words but to create a table (i.e. a dictionary) with the correct meaning.

    - "It is noteworthy that Tyndale never thought to adopt such a strategy, despite his concern that the boy at the plow know the Bible. He understood perfectly well that many of the English words a faithful translation required him to employ would be unknown to many of his readers; however, his response to this problem was not to use only common words but to append to his translation a glossary of difficult terms. (At a time when real dictionaries were unheard of, this was a brilliant and innovative solution. Alas, Tyndale did not live to implement it)" (Jacobs).

- Note carefully what is happening. Tyndale's solution to the problem of readers not understanding the meaning of Bible words was NOT to use the simpler language of the common man but to create a dictionary. Tyndale proposed this idea in 1526, more than 75 years before the first monolingual English dictionary, the *Table Alphabeticall*, was published in 1604! Tyndale was an innovative genius.

- What Tyndale said about a table in his 1526 Preface to the New Testament, Tyndale subsequently performed in his 1530 translation of the Pentateuch, in which he included multiple tables expounding certain words. Immediately following Genesis, there is a table consisting of 7 pages expounding upon certain words in Genesis.

A table expoundinge certeyne wordes

Abrech/ tender father/or as some will) bowe the knee.

Arcke/a shippe made flatte as it were a chest or a cofer.

Bisse: fyne whyte/whether it be silke or linen.

Blesse: godes blessinges are his giftes/as in the firste chaptre he blessed them sayng: growe & multiplye & haue dominion &c. And in the.ix. chaptre he blessed Noe & his sonnes & gaue the dominiō over all beestes & authoryte to eate the And god blessed Abrahā with catell ād other ryches. And Jacob desyred Esau to receaue his blessinge which he brought him/ý is the present & gifte. God blessed the.vij. daye/ý is/ gaue it a prehemynence ý men shuld rest therin from bodely labour & lerne to know the will of god & his lawes & how to worke their workes godly all the weke after. God also blesseth all nations in Abrahams seed/that is/he turneth his loue & favoure vnto the and geveth the his spirite and knowledge of the true waye/ ād lust and power to walke therin/and all for christes sake Abrahams sonne.

Cain/so is it writen in Hebrue. Notwithstōdinge whether we call him Cain or caim it maketh no matter/so we vnderstond the meaninge.

- In sum, appealing to Tyndale's ploughboy statement to argue against the use of dictionaries and to justify revising the Scriptures to a lower form of language is directly contrary to what Tyndale himself believed.

The Tyndale Hero Dynamic

- "There's an old saying that victory has a hundred fathers and defeat is an orphan." John F. Kennedy.

- William Tyndale is one of the foremost heroes of the faith.

    - He was the first to publish a complete New Testament in English translated from the Greek, principally Erasmus's text.

    - He was a "linguistic genius who was conversant in at least seven languages" (Ryken, *Legacy*, 19).

    - He was a gifted translator and wordsmith. A large share of the KJV New Testament follows his wording.

    - He was a martyr and the father of the English Reformation.

- Because Tyndale is such a hero, people want to associate with him. People correctly view Tyndale's action as noble, and since people generally think of themselves as noble, they see him in themselves. Thus, people often appeal to Tyndale and other heroes as justification for their own actions, even when Tyndale would have completely disapproved of what they are doing.

- Tyndale House Publishing

    - "**Our Mission**
      For more than 60 years, Tyndale has helped readers discover the life-giving truths of God's Word. . . Today we're one of the largest independently owned Christian publishers in the world. Though our business has grown, our mission remains the same: to open God's Word to as many as possible in language they can relate to and understand" (Tyndale House).

    - Notice that this publisher refers to itself simply as "Tyndale." Their appropriation of his name is so complete that they refer to themselves using only his name

    - Tyndale House is best known for publishing The Living Bible and The New Living Translation. Below are comparisons between how Tyndale and the KJV rendered the verse and how the verse is rendered in the Tyndale House modern versions. Consider whether Tyndale would approve of the publishing house that has appropriated (misappropriated?) his name.

- As context, consider what Tyndale wrote to fellow Reformer John Frith as to Tyndale's solemn approach to the holy responsibility of translating the scriptures.

  "I call God to record, against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches might be given me" (Quoted in Teems, *Tyndale*, 98).

Reference	**Tyndale (Matthew's Bible 1537)**	**KJV**	**The Living Bible / New Living Translation**
1Sam 20:30	Then was Saul angry with Ionathas and sayde vnto hym: O frowarde and rebellyous, thy[n]kest thou I knowe not howe thou hast chosen the sonne of Isai vnto thine owne rebuke, and vnto the rebuke & shame of thy mother.	Then Saul's anger was kindled against Jonathan, and he said unto him, Thou son of the perverse rebellious [woman], do not I know that thou hast chosen the son of Jesse to thine own confusion, and unto the confusion of thy mother's nakedness?	TLB (1971): Saul boiled with rage. "You son of a bitch!'' he yelled at him. "Do you think I don't know that you want this son of a nobody to be king in your place, shaming yourself and your mother? NLT: Saul boiled with rage at Jonathan. "You stupid son of a whore!" he swore at him. "Do you think I don't know that you want him to be king in your place, shaming yourself and your mother?
1Kings 18:27	And at none Eliah mocked them and sayd: call loud, (for he is a God: but he is talking or occupied or in the waye, or happely he slepeth) that he may awake.	And it came to pass at noon, that Elijah mocked them, and said, Cry aloud: for he [is] a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, [or] peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked.	TLB: About noontime, Elijah began mocking them. "You'll have to shout louder than that," he scoffed, "to catch the attention of your god! Perhaps he is talking to someone, or is out sitting on the toilet, or maybe he is away on a trip, or is asleep and needs to be wakened!"
2Kings 15:9	and dyd that displeaseth the Lorde, as dyd hys fathers, and turned not from the synnes of Ieroboam the sonne of	And he did [that which was] evil in the sight of the LORD, as his fathers had done: he departed not from the	TLB (1971): But Zechariah was an evil king in the Lord's opinion, just like his ancestors. Like Jeroboam I (the son of Nebat), he

	Nabat which made Israel synne.	sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.	encouraged Israel in the sin of worshiping idols.
2Chron 26:4	And he dyd that pleased the Lord, in al pointes as dyd hys father Amaziah.	And he did [that which was] right in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his father Amaziah did.	TLB (1971): He followed in the footsteps of his father Amaziah, and was, in general, a good king so far as the Lord's opinion of him was concerned.
2Ch 29:2	And he dyd that was right in the syght of the Lorde in all poyntes as did Dauid his father.	And he did [that which was] right in the sight of the LORD, according to all that David his father had done.	TLB (1971): His reign was a good one in the Lord's opinion, just as his ancestor David's had been.
Mark 1:2	As yt is wrytten in the Prophetes: beholde I sende my messenger before thy face which shall prepared thy waye before ye.	As it is written in the prophets, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.	TLB: In the book written by the prophet Isaiah, God announced that he would send his Son[a] to earth, and that a special messenger would arrive first to prepare the world for his coming.
John 9:34	They answered and sayd vnto him: thou arte altogeder borne in synne, and dost thou teache vs? And they cast him out	They answered and said unto him, Thou wast altogether born in sins, and dost thou teach us? And they cast him out.	TLB: "You illegitimate bastard,[b] you!" they shouted. "Are you trying to teach *us?"* And they threw him out. Fn. *You illegitimate bastard,* literally, "You were altogether born in sin." NLT: "You were born a total sinner!" they answered. "Are you trying to teach us?" And they threw him out of the synagogue.
Acts 23:3	Then sayde Paul to him: God smyte the thou payntyd wall. Sittest thou and iudgest me after the lawe and	Then said Paul unto him, God shall smite thee, [thou] whited wall: for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and	TLB: Paul said to him, "God shall slap you, you whitewashed pigpen.[a] What kind of judge are you to break the

	commaundest me to be smytten contrary to the lawe?	commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?	law yourself by ordering me struck like that?"
1Cor 1:18	For ye preachinge of the crosse is to them yt perisshe folishnes: but vnto vs which are saved it is ye power of God.	For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God.	NLT: The message of the cross is foolish to those who are headed for destruction! But we who are being saved know it is the very power of God.
2Cor 2:17	For we are not as many are which choppe and chaunge with the worde of God: but even oute of purenes and by the power of God and in the sight of God so speake we in Christ.	For we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God: but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ.	NLT: You see, we are not like the many hucksters who preach for personal profit. We preach the word of God with sincerity and with Christ's authority, knowing that God is watching us.

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Lesson 7

Tyndale the Terrific Translator: Assessing Tyndale's Translational Choices & Use of the English Language

Prepared & Taught by Bryan C. Ross

Introduction

- Few figures have exerted a greater influence upon the English Bible than William Tyndale. Although he did not live to see the completion of an English Bible bearing his name, his translation work became the foundation upon which virtually every subsequent English Bible was built, especially the Authorized Version of 1611. Many of the familiar words, phrases, and expressions that English-speaking Christians associate with the King James Bible first entered the biblical vocabulary through Tyndale's pioneering labors.

- Over the years many authors have sought to demonstrate Tyndale's impact upon the English langue by listing and quantifying words coined by Tyndale. David Teems author of *Tyndale: The Man Who Gave God an English Voice* included an Appendix (B) at the back of his work titled "Frist Usage of Words by William Tyndale."

    - "The following list includes the first appearance of words introduced into the English Language by William Tyndale as documented in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The list, however, is incomplete. Many of the words introduced by Tyndale have been credited to other authors (most particularly Myles Coverdale [The Coverdale Bible, 1535], but also William Shakespear, the King James Bible, and others). One example of this oversight is the word behold, which is credited to the Coverdale Bible for the first usage (Mal. 3:1). Yet this same word appears in Tyndale's 1526 New Testament (Matt. 1:20; 7:4; 8:29; 12:49; 18:10; 26:65; John 11:3, Rev. 21:5).

      Here is a small sample of familiar words, also miscredited that have their start in Tyndale: *fig leaves* (Gen. 3), *birthright* (Gen. 25), *ingathering* (Ex. 34), *whoring* (Ex. 34), *sin offering* (Lev. 4), *morning watch* (1 Sam. 2), *hand-breath* (1 Kings 7), *spoiler* (2 Kings 17), *swaddeling cloths* (Luke 2), *slaughter* (Acts 9, Heb. 7, James 5), *ministering* (Heb. 1)" (Teems, 268).

- After discussing some additional examples of Tyndallian words falsely credited to other authors (Shakespeare, Coverdale, & the King James translators), Teems presents two lists of first usage examples for the works of Tyndale. Regarding these lists Teems states:

- "The first list includes the words found (first usage) in the William Tyndale New Testament (1526-1534). The second list includes the words found in Tyndale's nontranslation works" (Teems, 269).

- The first list contains a total of 128 words whose English origin is found in Tyndale's New Testament translation work. Some of the more notable examples include the following:

  - Agreeing, anathema, apostleship, Athenian, beggarly, betrayer, broken-hearted, brotherly, busybody, castaway, chasten(ing), childishness, Corinthian, daughter-law, divider, divorcement, excommunicate, eye-service, finisher, fisherman, godly, God-speed, grossly, holy place, house-top, incorruption, intend, intercession, Jehovah, jesting, jot, judgement-seat, justifier, long-suffering, lost, Mercy-seat, mother-law, network, Nicolaitan, offscouring, open door, ourselves, Passover, peace offering, sanctifying, scapegoat, sea-shore, shewbread, singleness, stiff-necked, stumbling-block, taskmaster, thank-offering, two-edged, unbeliever, uncircumcision, ungodly (noun, adjective), unleavened, untoward, uproar, viper, wave, weakling, whoremonger, wine-press, yoke-fellow, zealous (Teems, 269-270).

- Teem's second list contains 104 found in Tyndale's non-translational theological writings. Some notable examples include:

  - Allegorical, antiquate, appropriate, clear-eyed, creating, deaconess, devilishly, discontent, dunce, evangelical, Galatian, German, godless, impure, incarnate, knavery, landlady, Moses, popishness, Romish, satisfactory, Scotist, self-minded, servant, studied, thanksgiving, toy, trope, unblameable (Teems 270-272).

- For a more through discussion of Tyndale's impact on the English language interested parties are encouraged to read David Crystal's recently authored book (2026) *William Tyndale and the English Langue* published by the Bodleian Library in commemoration of the 500th anniversary of Tyndale's New Testament. Crystal's entire book is devoted to breaking down in great detail the material that Teems relegated to an Appendix.

- In additional to coining hundreds of English words, Tyndale is often remembered for a number of controversial translational choices. His preference for words such as *congregation* instead of *church*, *love* instead of *charity*, and *repent* instead of *do penance* brought him into direct conflict with the religious establishment of his day. These decisions have generated centuries of discussion regarding translation philosophy, doctrinal bias, ecclesiastical influence, and the proper way to communicate biblical truth in English.

- The purpose of this lesson is neither to praise Tyndale uncritically nor to condemn his choices reflexively. Rather, we will examine a series of words and phrases commonly discussed in debates about the English Bible and trace their usage from Tyndale through later English translations, culminating in the Authorized Version. By comparing historical evidence, translation practices, and the development of English vocabulary, we will seek to determine whether popular claims regarding these words are supported by the facts.

- In doing so, we will discover that many differences between English Bible translations are not necessarily matters of corruption or doctrinal compromise. Often, they reflect the normal development of the English language, changing spelling conventions, shifting vocabulary preferences, or differing but legitimate translation decisions. By studying examples such as *church/congregation*, *charity/love*, *ensample/example*, *stablish/establish*, *replenish/fill*, *science/knowledge*, and *atonement/reconciliation*, we will gain a deeper appreciation for both Tyndale's contribution to the English Bible and the historical process through which biblical English developed.

- Ultimately, this lesson seeks to answer a simple but important question: When Tyndale made his translational choices, was he changing the meaning of Scripture, or was he expressing biblical truth in the living English of his day? The evidence will allow us to assess Tyndale's work on historical and linguistic grounds rather than merely repeating assumptions inherited from later controversies.

- For each of the following words, pairs of words, or phrases we will be looking at Tyndale's translations to trace their historical development through to the Authorized Version of 1611. The goal will be to ascertain whether the things commonly said about the meaning and usage of the words in question are in fact correct. The words, pairs of words, or phrases up for consideration are the following:

    - Church/Congregation
    - Charity/Love
    - Ensample/Example
    - Stablish/Establish
    - Replenish/Fill
    - Science/Knowledge
    - Atonement/Reconciliation

Church/Congregation

- The Greek word *ekklēsia* occurs 118 times in the *Textus Receptus*. Of these 118 occurrences, the King James translators rendered it in English as "church" 77 times, "churches" 37 times, and "assembly" four times. Put another way, the predominant word used in English by the King James translators to capture the meaning of the Greek word *ekklēsia* was some form of "church" (114 times).

- In contrast, William Tyndale used the words "congregation" or "congregations" 115 times to express the meaning of the Greek word *ekklēsia* in English. The remaining three occurrences were rendered in English as follows by William Tyndale. Please note that I have updated Tyndale's spelling for ease of reading.

    - Romans 16:5—Likewise greet all **the company** that is in thy house. Salute my well-beloved Epenetus which is the first fruit among them of Achaia.

    - I Peter 5:13—The **companions of your election** that are at Babylon saluteth you and Marcus my son.

    - Acts 19:37—For ye have brought hither these me which are neither robbers of **churches** nor yet despisers of your goddess.

- Acts 19:37 is the only time that Tyndale used the word "church" to capture the meaning of the Greek text in English. When one considers that John Wycliffe used the word "church" (chirche in Middle English) extensively in his translation, Tyndale's choice to avoid the word is nothing short of intentional. In fact, it is well known that Tyndale intentionally avoided using certain words that he deemed to be too "ecclesiastical" or Roman Catholic (See Appendix A for a lengthy quote from Tyndale on this very issue). Bible collector and historian Donald L. Brake states the following regarding how Tyndale's translation was received by his Catholic opposition:

    - "The translation of the following words brought condemnation from the Roman Catholics: church—congregation; priest—elder or senior; charity—love; do penance—repent" (Brake, 108-110).

- Tyndale was excoriated by his chief Catholic opponent Sir Thomas More for using the word "repent" instead of the Catholic phrase "do penance." Tyndale stated the following in *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*:

    - "And in like manner, by this word *penance* they make the people understand holy deeds of their enjoining; with which they must make satisfaction unto God-ward for their sins: when all the scripture preacheth that Christ hath made full satisfaction for our sins to God-ward; and we must now be thankful to God again, and kill the lusts of our flesh with holy works of God's enjoining. And I am bound to take patiently all that God layeth on my back; and, if I have hurt my neighbour, to shrive myself unto him, and to make him

> amends, if I have wherewith; or if not, then to ask him forgiveness, and he is bound to forgive me. And as for their *penance*, the scripture knoweth not of [it]. The Greek hath *Metanoia*, and *Metanoite*, repentance and repent; or forethinking and forethink. As we say in English, "It forethinketh me, or I forethink;' and 'I repent, or it repenteth me;' and 'I am sorry that I did it.' So now the scripture saith, 'Repent, or let it forethink you; and come and believe the gospel, or glad tidings, that is brought you in Christ, and so shall all be forgiven you; and henceforth live a new life.' And it will follow, if I repent in the heart, that I shall do no more so, willingly and of purpose. And if I believed the gospel, what God hath done for me in Christ, I should surely love him again, and of love prepare myself unto his commandments" (1531 *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Tyndale, 3:22-23).

- Consider the following table comparing the Wycliffe, Tyndale, and Rheims translations for the following famous verses in which we find the word "repent" in the KJB.

Verse	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Rheims
Matt. 3:2	and seide, **Do ye penance**, for the kingdom of heuenes shal neiye.	Saying; **Repent** the kingdom of heaven is at hand.	And saying: **Do penance**: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.
Acts 2:38	And Petre seide to hem, **Do ye penaunce**, and eche of you be baptisid in the name of Jhesu Crist, in to remissioun of youre synnes; and ye schulen take the yifte of the Hooli Goost.	Peter said unto them: **repent** and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins and ye shall receive the gift of the holy ghost.	But Peter said to them: **Do penance**: and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins. And you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.

- Not only did Tyndale's decision to use the word "repent" break with Catholic tradition it also more accurately communicated the meaning of the Greek word *metanoeō* which means to change one's mind.

- For Tyndale, the question was not merely about vocabulary. It was about whether the New Testament presented the church primarily as an institutional hierarchy or as the gathered community of all believers. His preference for "congregation" reflected his conviction that *ekklēsia* referred to the latter.

- My point here is that sometimes Tyndale's translational decisions were impacted by his desire to not be like the church he was criticizing. His choice to use the word "congregation" nearly exclusively over the word "church" stands out as one prime example.

Charity/Love

- Much ink has been spilt by King James advocates defending the use and/or superiority of "charity" in I Corinthians 13 by the KJB when compared with Modern Versions which utilize the English word "love" in these passages. The word "charity" occurs 28 times in 24 verses in the KJB.[2] In every one of these instances Modern Versions read "love" instead of "charity." On account of this fact, many proponents of the King James view the change from "charity" to "love" in Modern Versions as a "corruption" that substantively alters the doctrinal content of the passages in question.

- Beginning with William Tyndale, every English translation of the *Textus Receptus* from Tyndale to the first edition of the Bishops Bible in 1568 rendered the Greek word *agape* as "love" in English with only one exception. That exception being the original Bishops reading in Jude verse 12:

    - "These are spots in your feasts of **charity**, when they feast with you, without all fear feeding the selves: clouds they are without water, carried about of winds, corrupt trees, and without fruit, twice dead, and plucked up by the roots"

- So, Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthew, Great, Geneva, and the first edition of the Bishops all read "love," as do Modern Versions, in the passages listed in the footnote below. Yet, all of these Bibles are supposed to be "pure" and uncorrupted according the Two Streams of Bibles model of transmission.

- The word "charity" did not appear in a printed English Bible until the second edition of the Bishops Bible published in 1572 despite having been used extensively by John Wycliffe in his manuscript translations from the 1380s. Drawing from A. S. Herbert's 1968 publication *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525–1961*, we can note the following regarding the 1572 revision of the Bishops Bible:

    - "A reprint of the 1568 Bible (No 125), so far as the Old Testament is concerned; but the New Testament has undergone further careful revision since the quarto edition of 1569 (see no 126) . . . All later issues, with two exceptions, appear to follow this quarto of 1569 in the Old Testament, but generally adopted the text of this Bible of 1572 in the New Testament" (Herbert, 75).

- This would include the 1602 Bishops Bible which served as the base text for the Authorized Version, according to Rule 1 given to the King James translators. In the 1572 revision, several switches were made to the New Testament in the direction of more "ecclesiastical" language, a

[2] I Corinthians 8:1; 13:1-4, 8, 13; 14:1; 16:14; Colossians 3:14; I Thessalonians 3:6; II Thessalonians 1:3; I Timothy 1:5; 2:15; 4:12; II Timothy 2:22; 3:10; Titus 2:2; I Peter 4:8; 5:14; II Peter1:7; III John 1:6; Jude 12; Revelation. 2:19)

phenomenon Tyndale was conscious to avoid, such as introducing the term "charity" into I Corinthians 13.

- The waters are further muddied when one considers that the word "charity" entered the English Bible via Wycliffe and was utilized heavily by the Rheims New Testament (1582) both of which are translations of the Latin Vulgate. Of the 28 occurrences of "charity" in the revised Bishops New Testament and the King James, 25 times it agrees with Wycliffe and the Rheims and differs from Tyndale, Coverdale, the Great Bible, Geneva, and the first edition of the Bishops.[3]

- Does this mean that these pre-1611 translations of the *Textus Receptus* were corrupt because they elected to use the word "love" instead of "charity?" As noted above, Tyndale purposely sought to avoid "ecclesiastical" words or words connected with Roman Catholicism (See Appendix B for quote from Tyndale on the matter.). Does this mean that Tyndale's translation was corrupt for not using words that are a verbatim match to the King James? Could it be that either "charity" or "love" would both be correct and constitute a different way of saying the same thing? Regardless of what one chooses to believe on this matter, the King James translators cannot be granted some uber spiritual insight for using "charity" over "love" since it was not their decision to make the change. They were simply following the revised Bishops text of 1572/1602.

Ensample/Example

- As I discussed in my book *The King James Bible in America: A Orthographic, Historical, and Textual Investigation* much discourse has transpired around the words "ensample" and "example" among King James Bible Believers. Many argue that these words are wholly different words possessing discriminated meanings while others view them as spelling variants conveying the exact same meaning. Some acknowledge that the words are of synonymous meaning in the dictionary but then maintain that they mean different things when used in the KJB. I maintain that the words in question are spelling variants because a host of English language resources and dictionaries bear witness to this fact.

- 1658—Edward Philipps' *New World of Words* originally published in 1658 contains the following entry for the word "ensample:"

    - **ENSAMPLE** (old world) an example, model, or pattern.

- 1721—Noah Bailey's *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* from 1721 defines "ensample" as "example or pattern."

- According to some of the earliest known English dictionaries the word "ensample" is an "old world" way of saying "example." These dictionaries do not present a discriminated or nuanced meaning between the two words. The same could be said for prominent English dictionaries of the 19th and 20th centuries as well.

[3] Wycliffe and Rheims read "love" in the following verses: I Timothy 2:15; II Timothy 3:10; Titus 2:2, & II Peter 1:7

- 1828—Noah Webster's famous *American Dictionary of the English Language* from 1828 defines "ensample" as follows:

    - **ENSAMPLE**

      Ensample, *noun* [Latin exemplum.] An example; a pattern or model for imitation. Being ensamples to the flock. 1 Peter 5:3.

      Ensample, *verb transitive* To exemplify; to shew by example. **This word is seldom used, either as a noun or a verb**. [**See Example**.]

- According to Webster, the word "ensample" is seldom used and means "an example, a pattern or model for imitation." Not only is this definition identical to those offered in 17th and 18th centuries dictionaries but readers of Webster are explicitly told to see the word "example" for further clarification.

- 1881—Walter W. Skeat's *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* from 1881 informs its readers similarly. Skeat defines "ensample" as "an example" and tells his readers to "see Example."

- The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) presents similar findings in an expanded format. The *OED* clearly identifies the word "ensample" as an archaic form of the word "example."

    - **ENSAMPLE**, n. *arch*.

      =EXAMPLE in various senses.
      The mod. Archaistic use is almost wholly due to reminisce of the passages in which the word occurs in the New Testament. In four of these passages it is used in sense 2, and is retained unaltered in the R.V.; in the remaining two it has sense 3, and has in the R.V. been replaced by example.

      3. An illustrative instance.

      †b. quasi-*adv*. = 'for example'. *Obs*.

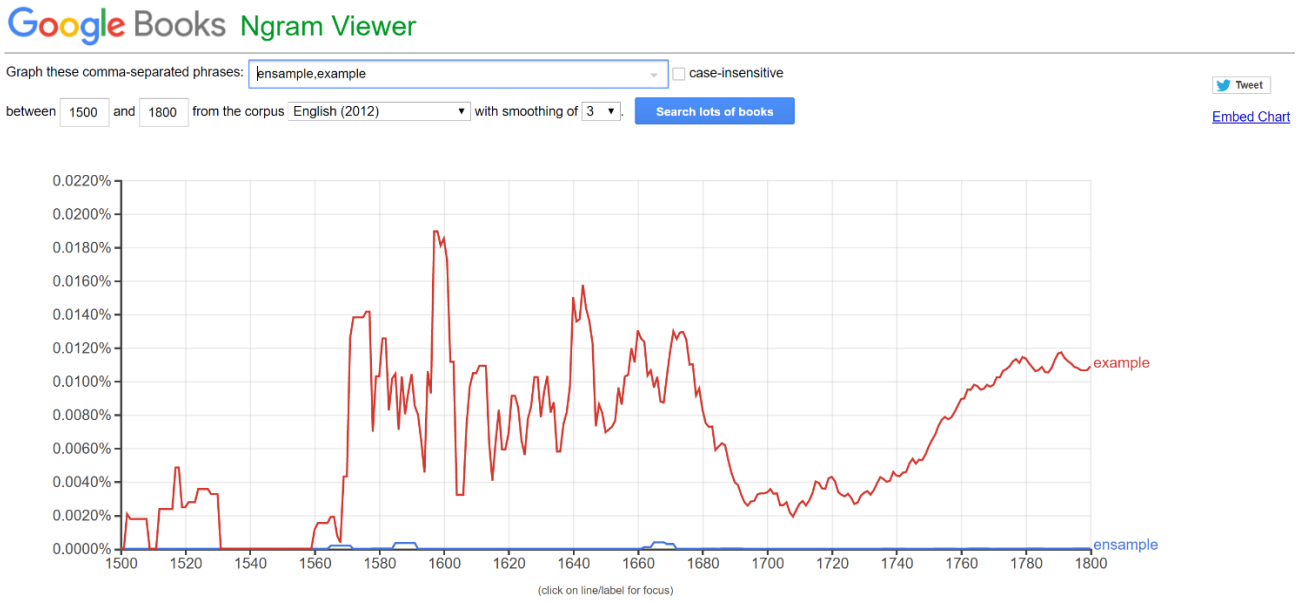
      2. A precedent which may be followed or imitated; a pattern or model of conduct.

      b. Phrases: ***+in (+to) ensample; to give, set (an) ensample; to take ensample (+at, by, of).***

      †c. ***in ensample***: after the model (*of*); in imitation of the fact (that). *Obs*.

3. A deterrent instance of punishment, or of the evil consequences of any course of conduct; a practical warning. Const. *to*, *of* (the person to be warned), also with possessive pronoun. Phrases, ***for, †in ensample***.

- The following graph confirms our findings gleaned from multiple dictionaries spanning more than three centuries. The word "ensample" is a more archaic form of "example" that carries the exact same meaning. The following line graph compares the historical frequency of usage of the two words between 1500 and 1800. Note how the facts presented by the graph correspond perfectly with the following statement from Noah Webster in 1828, "This word is seldom used, either as a noun or a verb."



- Despite the overwhelming evidence presented above as to the synonymous meaning of the words in question, some King James advocates insist that "ensample" and "example" do not mean the same thing in the KJB. Put another way, some assert that they might mean the same thing in the dictionary but not in the KJB. Ironically, those arguing that the words do not mean the same thing in the KJB cannot even agree as to the supposed difference in meaning.

Author/Bible Teacher	Ensample	Example	Commentary
Matthew Verschuur (Bible Protector) *Glistering Truths*	"an "ensample" is one that can be **internalized through specific personal knowledge of the object** looked at" (28).	"An "example" is **an outward sample**" (28).	Philippians 3:17 is cited in support (28). No English language reference book is provided to substantiate these statements.
Kyle Stephens *The Certainty of the Words: How the King James Bible*	"*Examples* in the scriptures are loosely fitted lessons, warnings and applications. They cannot be copied or	"In the King James Bible, an *example* serves as a warning or a pattern for those who are not in	"There is a profound and genuinely substantial difference between *example(s)* and

Resolves the Ambiguity of the Original Languages	emulated precisely to certain boundaries or constraints of circumstance. *Ensamples* are to be followed as precisely and as exactly as possible. They are literally the samples of how we should live, respond or act" (359).	the exact predicament or scenario. An *example* is a pattern of behavior that is not necessarily intended to be exactly mimicked or emulated or precisely repeated, but a lesson drawn from and even extended to apply other unrelated exercise" (356).	*ensample(s)* in the AV 1611 King James Bible. . .There are distinct and discernable characteristics between them that are manifest in the KJB" (362). "Let us face facts: Either there is a stumbling in the translation of the KJB, or else the Greek scholars missed something that was not missed in the AV. The two languages set forth different revelation of knowledge that is not mutually consistent. What is revealed in the two languages conflicts. . . the Greek is the final authority and the AV is precipitous, or else **the AV reveals, manifests and instructs beyond the Greek**" (370-371).
Dr. John M. Asquith *Shall we View "Ensample" as Just an Archaic Form of "Example"?*	"The point is, ensample always and only refers to man's characteristic and behavior. Ensample never applies to an inanimate product." Watch the context and key words in 1 Peter 5:1-3 where ensample is used: "Among you…partaker…among you…being ensamples…" In other words, live among them, let them see your personal characteristics, your personal habits and such. Being ensamples is a charge to their person: be a living pattern that others can emulate. (You do not emulate inanimate objects, you copy them).	"Example, on the other hand, may apply to both personal or (and as typically used), general products and processes (not personal)." "1 Corinthians 10: 6: "Now these things were our examples…" Note these things, these experiences (vs. 1-4). Things are the patterns for us to learn from, the cause and effect of things past. Notice in vs 1-6 there is no personal characteristic revealed. We only know 'all' did this and that, and then God overthrew them. 1 Corinthians 10:11: "Now all these happened unto them for	"So, in conclusion, when the word ensample(s) is used, look for a pattern of personal behavior and conduct, be it good or bad. A subtle difference in spelling cues the reader about the context. We see times wherein the word "example" is used to explain personal conduct in one or two verses, but we never see "ensample" used in any other sense. . . Keep in mind, I am not suggesting that "ensample" is an advanced revelation above the Greek. I am suggesting that when the King James translators read the Greek

		ensamples" After a list a personal characteristics (lusted, idolaters, fornication, tempters, murmurers), the word ensamples is used, with an exact admonition to follow "flee from idolatry" (10:14). It's a very personal and detailed pattern; and in this case, one to avoid!"	manuscript, and when they read certain passages, they employed a highly specialized word from within the range of words that are roughly equivalent to "example". That is the beauty of good translation work. . . What the King James Bible does is to give you the exact thoughts of men who could actually think and meditate in Greek when they read a passage. In that sense, yes, the King James Bible is head and shoulders above any Greek manuscript in the sense that you can read it. . . There are 6 places in your King James Bible where the translators saw a slightly more accurate and illustrative word than "example" to express what they saw and thought when they read it."

- Ironically, the three authors cited in the above table agree that "ensample" and "example" do not mean the same thing, yet they do not agree as to the specific discriminated meaning of each word. Yet, all three claim to be arriving at their preferred definitions via the KJB alone without the aid of English dictionaries or the original language. This is nothing short of private interpretation.

- Others maintain that "ensample" and "example" are wholly different words of discriminated meaning by utilizing a prefix argument. It is argued by those espousing this position that the prefix "ex" on "example" signifies an external or outward "pattern" as in "exit." Whereas the prefix "en" on "ensample" speaks of internal or inward issue as in "entrance." Paradoxically, even among those espousing the prefix argument there is not uniformity of agreement as to the meaning of the words. All told, I have seen three different presentations of the prefix argument which resulted in three different discriminated definitions for the words in question.

- Statistically, the KJB uses the word "example" eight times in eight verses, "examples" one time, "ensample" three times in three verses, and "ensamples" three times in three verses. Meanwhile,

William Tyndale used the word "ensample" in every passage. The following tables chart the historical usage of these words in the English Bible. Please note that I have bolded all the occurrences to "example" to make them stand out.

Ensample/Ensamples

Verse	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew	Great	Geneva	Bishops	Rheims	A.V.
1 Cor. 10:11	figure	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	figure	ensamples
Philip. 3:17	fourme	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	model	ensample
1Thes. 1:7	ensaumple	ensample	**example**	ensample	ensample	ensamples	ensample	pattern	ensamples
2Thes. 3:9	ensaumple	insample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	pattern	ensample
1Peter 5:3	ensaumple	insample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensamples	ensample	pattern	ensamples
2Peter 2:6	ensaumple	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	**example**	ensample

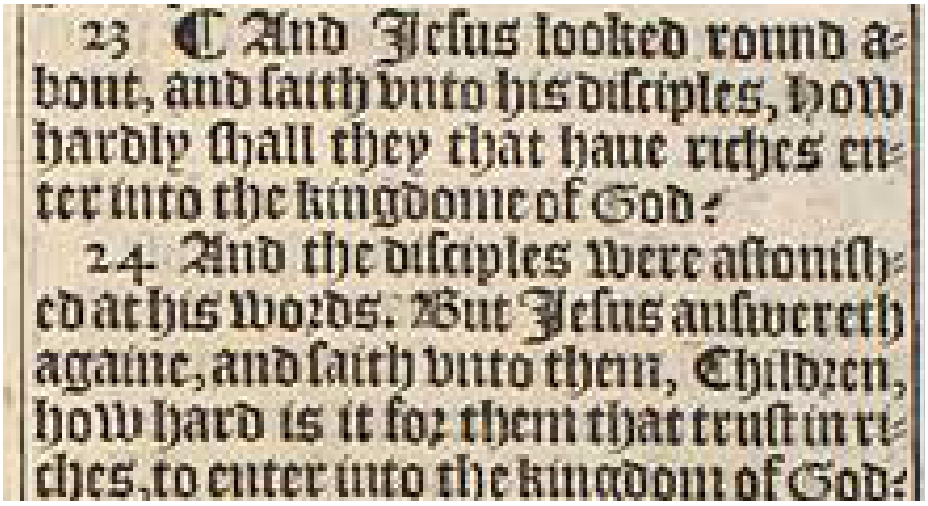
Example/Examples

Verse	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew	Great	Geneva	Bishops	Rheims	A.V.
Matt. 1:19		ensample		ensample		**example**	**example**	open shame	**example**
John 13:15	ensaumple	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	**example**	ensample	**example**	**example**
1 Cor. 10:6	done in figure	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	done in a figure	**examples**
1Tim. 4:12	ensaumple	insample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	pattern	**example**	**example**
Heb. 4:11	ensaumple	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	**example**	**example**	**example**
Heb. 8:5	saumpler	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	pattern	**example**	**example**	**example**
Jam. 5:10	ensaumple	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	**example**	**example**	**example**
1Peter 2:21	ensaumple	insample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	**example**	**example**
Jude 7	ensaumple	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	**example**	**example**

- First, note the variation in the spelling between Wycliffe's "ensaumple" and Tyndale's "ensample." Next, notice how Tyndale varies his spelling within his own work between "ensample" and "insample." These observations are not indicative of two wholly different words but rather unsettled orthographical standards in terms of how to spell the word in English. Lastly, observe

how the use of "example" increases as one works from left to right. This is illustrative of a further orthographic change as "example" began to replace "ensample" as the preferred English orthography.

- These tables, like the dictionary entries, and line graph above indicate a shift in the usage of the English words over time. Given the fact that "ensample" finds its origin in Anglo-Norman/French or the mixing of Anglo Saxon with French that occurred after the Norman invasion of England in 1066 it makes perfect sense that Wycliffe would have used an early form of the word when making his translation in the 1380s. Likewise, Tyndale translating during the first half of the 16th century when Modern English was in its infancy utilized a form of "ensample" exclusively because it was the most prevalent form of the word. Meanwhile, the word "example" comes into English out of Old French which was derived directly from Latin. Over time "example" began to replace "ensample" in English usage in much the same way that "Passover" replaced "Easter" as a refence to the Jewish feast day. The KJB stands at a crossroads in the process or orthographic change when both spellings were perfectly acceptable. This is not an uncommon occurrence in the textual history of the KJB given the fact that the 1611 spelled the same English word differently within the same passage. Consider the following example of two different spellings of the word "kingdom" in adjacent verses in Mark 10:23-24 in the 1611:


23 ¶ And Jesus looked round a-
bout, and saith vnto his disciples, how
hardly shall they that haue riches en-
ter into the kingdome of God?
24 And the disciples were astonish-
ed at his words. But Jesus answereth
againe, and saith vnto them, Children,
how hard is it for them that trust in ri-
ches, to enter into the kingdom of God?

- Any perceived difference in meaning between the prefixes "ex" and "en" is unfounded. First, if there are prefixes involved, they have not been correctly identified. In the case of "example" and "ensample" the root word would be the word "ample." Which would make the prefixes "ex" and "ens" not "ex" and "en" as has been asserted. According to the (OED), the prefix "ens" does not exist.

- Notwithstanding, if one still wished to argue a discriminated difference in meaning based upon the misidentified prefix's "ex" and "en" they would encounter a dead end. the prefix "ex" is "of Latin origin" whereas the prefix "en" is a "form assumed in French," according to the OED. Regarding the French prefix "en" the OED states:

- "The English words in which it appears are partly adaptations of French (occasionally Spanish) words, either of Latin descent or formed in Romanic, and partly original formations upon English words. . . The applications of the prefix in French (Provençal, Spanish, Portuguese), and hence in English, are substantially identical with those of the Latin . . ."

- This means of course that the prefix argument is a dead end. The "ex" on "example" and the "en" on "ensample" carry the exact same meaning and are only spelled differently on account of the route through which they made their way into English.

    - Latin—French—Anglo-Saxon—Anglo-Norman/French (Middle English) = Ensample

    - Latin—French—English (Modern English) = Example

- The difference in orthography is not substantive but rather signifies the way each word entered the English language. "Ensample" came into usage indirectly through the blending of Anglo-Saxon with French after 1066 and therefore constitutes the earliest form of the word in Middle English. In contrast, "example" entered the English more directly from Latin. The KJB stands at crossroads in the orthographic development of English when both words were acceptable spellings to convey the same concept.

- Tyndale did not err when he used the word "ensample" exclusively in his translation. He was simply following the predominant English orthography of his time. A time when Modern English was just beginning to emerge from the Medieval quagmire of Anglo-Norman/French.

Stablish/Establish

- This pair of words is also discussed in great detail in my book *The King James Bible in America*. Like we saw above with "ensample" and "example", there are many King James advocates who maintain that "stablish" and "establish" are wholly different words of discriminated meaning. As with the previous example, I believe that "stablish" and "establish" are spelling variants that convey the same substantive meaning. Furthermore, they are used interchangeably in the Old Testament by the King James translators to describe the various aspects of the Davidic Covenant. Readers interested in obtaining the documentation substantiating this claim are encouraged to obtain a copy of my book.

- The following table compares occurrences of the various forms of "stablish" and "establish" from the New Testament found in the line of English Bibles translated from the *Textus Receptus* stretching from Tyndale to King James.

Stablish/Establish

Verse	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew	Great	Geneva	Bishops	Rheims	A.V.
Matt. 18:16	stablisshed	stablyshed	stablished	stablysshed	confirmed	stablyshed		**established**
Acts 16:5	stablisshed	stablyshed	stablysheth	stablyshed	stablished	stablisshed	confirmed	**established**
Rom. 1:11	strength	stregth	strength	strength	strengthened	**established**	strengthen	**established**
Rom. 3:31	stablischen	mantayne	mayntayne	maintayne	**establish**	mayntayne	**establish**	**establish**
Rom. 10:3	stablisshe	manteyne	stablish	stablysshe	stablish	stablyshe	**establish**	**establish**
Rom. 16:25	stablisshe	stablyshe	stablysh	stablisshe	**establish**	stablisshe	**establish**	stablish
2Cor. 1:21	stablissheth	stablysheth	stablisheth	stablyssheth	stablisheth	stablysheth	confirmith	stablisheth
2Cor. 13:1	stonde	stablisshed	stande	stablysshed	stand	**established**	stand	**established**
Col. 2:7	stedfaste	stedfaste	stedfaste	stablysshed	stablished	stablished	confirmed	stablished
1Thes. 3:2	stablysshe	stablysh	stablishe	stablisshe	stablish	stablishe	confirm	**establish**
1Thes. 3:13	stable	stable	stable	stable	stable	stablyshe	confirm	stablish
2Thes. 3:3	stablysshe	stablyshe	stablyshe	stablysshe	stablish	stablyshe		stablish
Heb. 8:6	made for better	made for better	made for better	confirmed	**established**	confirmed	**established**	**established**
Heb. 10:9	stablisshe	stablysshe	stablysshe	stablisshe	stablish	stablyshe	**establish**	**establish**
Heb. 13:9	stablisshed	stablysshed	stablyshed	stablysshed	stablished	stablisshed	**established**	**established**
James 5;8	settle	settle	setle	settle	settle	settle	strengthen	stablish
1Peter 5:10	stablishe	stablish	stablishe	stablisshe	stablish	stablyshe	**establish**	stablish
2Peter 1:12	stablisshed	stablished	stablyshed	stablished	stablished	stablysshed	confirmed	**established**

- First, note that Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthew, and the Great Bible never utilize any form of the word "establish." Second, observe the variation in spelling employed across the board when the word "stablish(ed)" is used. Even the Bishops Bible the immediate predecessor to the King James spells "stablish(ed)" at least six different ways (stablyshed, stablisshed, stablysshed, stablished, stablishe, stablyshe). According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), the word "stablish is derived from the Middle English word "stablishen" which means "to establish, found, or create," according to the Middle English Dictionary.

- Meanwhile, "establish(ed)" is not used in the English Bible until the Geneva Bible (1557 NT, 1560 complete Bible) where it is found three times in the New Testament. The King James itself is a mixed assortment, electing to utilize "establish(ed)" eleven times and "stablish(ed)" seven times. These observations are not indicative of two wholly different words but rather the unsettled orthographical standards in terms of how to spell the word in English. Lastly, observe how the use of "establish" increases as one works from left to right. This is illustrative of a further orthographic change as "establish(ed)" began to replace "stablish(ed)" as the preferred English spelling. These observations are reflected in the following line graph charting the historical usage of the words in question in English literature.



- This data coheres exactly with what Noah Webster states in his entry for "stablish" in his 1828 *American Dictionary of the English Language*:

    - STABLISH, verb transitive [Latin See Stab.] To fix; to settle in a state for permanence; to make firm. [**In lieu of this, establish is now always used**.]

- Tyndale's exclusive use of "stablish" is reflective of the spelling standards of his day.

Replenish/Fill

- Advocates of the "Gap Theory," or the theological position that there is a space of time between Genesis 1:1 and Genesis 1:2 during which the Satanic rebellion occurs followed by God's judgment of it, frequently use the word "replenish" in Genesis 1:28 in the KJB to justify their position.

- At the outset, let me be clear that it is not my intention to argue for or against the "Gap Theory." Rather, I want to look at whether the "Gap Theory" has properly understood/used the word "replenish" in Genesis 1:28. The word "replenish" can be found in the following verses in the KJB:

    - Genesis 1:28—And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and **replenish** the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.

    - Genesis 9:1—And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and **replenish** the earth.

- Gap Theorists observe from the account of Noah in Genesis 6-8 that God destroyed the entire population of the earth save Noah, his sons, and their families. Therefore, they take "replenish" in Genesis 9:1 to be a reference to Noah and his seed "refilling" the earth after God's judgment as one might get their cup refilled at a restaurant. In other words, the earth was once full of people, God destroyed those people, and now Noah and his sons are tasked with the job of refilling or "replenishing" the earth with more people. On this view, "replenish" is used/understood in the sense of redoing something that had previously already been done like when my students' "retake" a test. When this understating of "replenish" is applied to Genesis 1:28 the supposed implication is clear, the earth was originally filled with beings (Gap Theorists disagree about whether this included humans.), these beings were negatively impacted by God's judgment of the Satanic rebellion between verses 1 and 2, and therefore Adam and Eve are given the charge to "replenish" or "refill" the earth.

- Is that what the word "replenish" means? Have Gap Theorists accurately understood the historical meaning/usage of the word? The first English Dictionary, *A Table Alphabetical* published in 1604 by Robert Cawdrey, would say no. Published in 1604, the same year King James authorized the translation that bears his name, *The Table Alphabetical* serves as a primary source for the meaning and usage of English words in the early 17th century when the KJB was translated. According to Cawdrey's *Table*, the word "replenish" simply meant to "fill" not "refill."



- Furthermore, The Middle English Dictionary (MED) reports that "replenishen", an earlier form of "replenish", means "to fill (an empty space, glandular flesh)" (click here to view the full MED entry). Lastly, the *Online Etymological Dictionary* provides the following entry for "replenish:"

- "mid-14c., from Old French repleniss-, extended present participle stem of replenir "**to fill up**," from re-, here probably an intensive prefix, + -plenir, from Latin plenus "full" (from PIE root *pele- (1) "**to fill**"). Related: Replanished; replenishing."

- Therefore, the evidence is strong that at the time the King James was translated, "replenish" simply meant to "fill" not "refill" as the word has been used/understood by Gap Theorists.

- William Tyndale translated Genesis 1:28 as follows in his 1530 Pentateuch:

  - "And God blessed them and God said unto them. Grow and multiply and **fill** the earth and subdue it and have dominion over the fish of the see and over the fowels of the air and over all the beasts that move on the earth."

- Tyndale was preceded in his rendering of "fill" by Wycliffe and followed by the Coverdale, Matthew, and Geneva Bibles. In contrast, the Great Bible, Bishops Bible, and King James all have "replenish."

- Consequently, we can conclude that "fill" and "replenish" are synonymous words that mean the same thing. Therefore, Gap Theorists should not base the veracity of their position based upon a misuse of the term "replenish."

Science/Knowledge

- Much has been made about the meaning of the phrase "science falsely so called" in I Timothy 6:20 in the KJB in recent days. Many are interpreting the phrase to be a reference to the empirical or observational sciences such as: astronomy, physics, and chemistry to name but a few. At first blush, it is understandable why readers of the KJB in the 21st century would ascribe a modern understanding of the word "science" or the phrase "science falsely so called" when it is encountered in the KJB. This, however, does not answer the question of how this word/phrase was used and understood in the early 17th century when the translation was made. It is my contention that the phrase "science falsely so called" is not a direct reference to the observational sciences of the Scientific Revolution.

- First, the word "science" in I Timothy 6:20 is a translation of the Greek word *gnōsis*. *Gnōsis* occurs 29 times in 28 verses in the Greek text supporting the KJB. Of these 29 occurrences, *gnōsis* is rendered as "knowledge" in English 28 times. *Gnōsis* is translated as "science" only one time in I Timothy 6:20.

  - https://www.blueletterbible.org/lang/lexicon/lexicon.cfm?Strongs=G1108&t=KJV

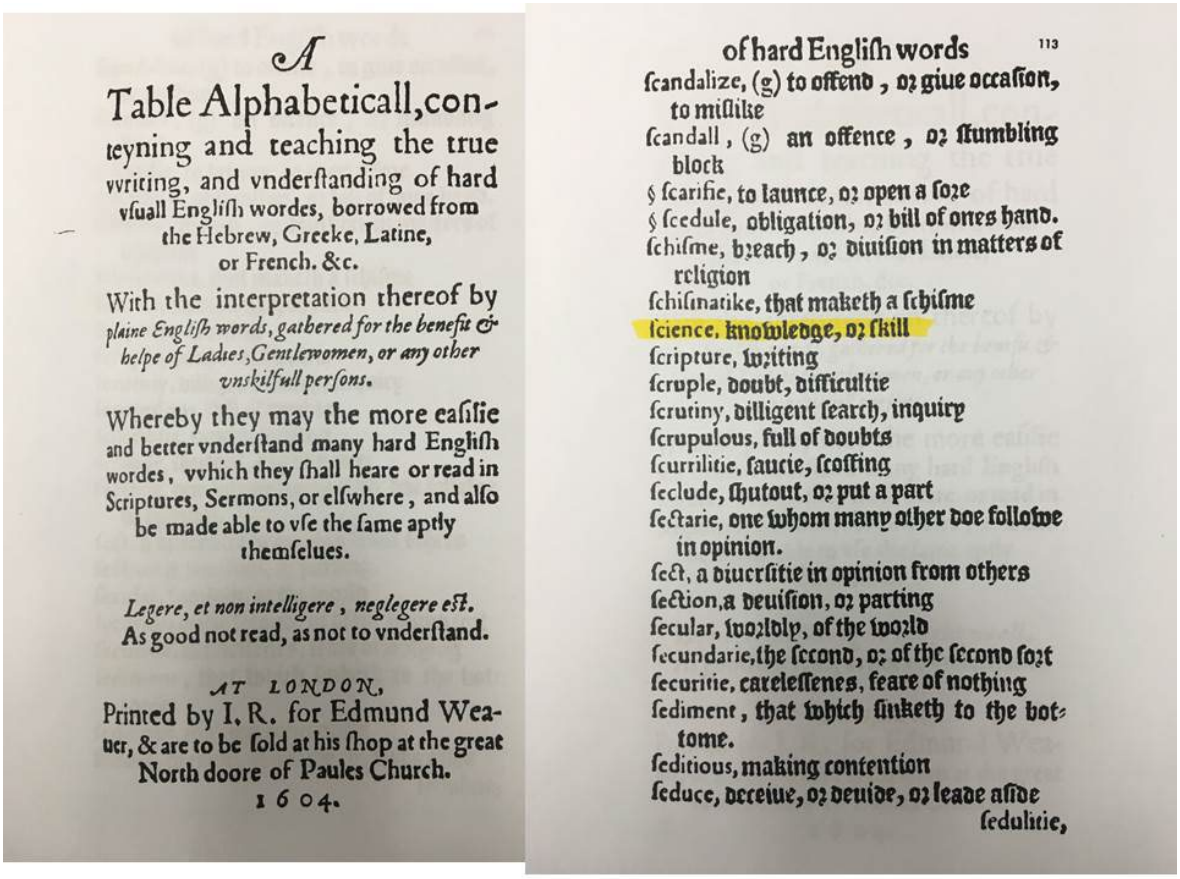
- Second, the KJB was neither the first nor the only English translation of the *Textus Receptus* to render *gnōsis* as "science" in I Timothy 6:20.

- Tyndale 1526—"O Timothy save that which is given ye to keep and avoided vngostly vanities of voyces and opposicios of SCIENCE falsly so called"
- Coverdale 1535—"O Timothy, kepe that which is committed vnto the, and avoyde vngoostly vayne wordes, and opposicions of SCIENCE falsly so called,"
- Matthew 1537—"O Timothe saue that whiche is geuen the to kepe, and auoyde vnghostlye vanytyes of voyces and opposicyons of SCIENCE falslye so called,"
- Great Bible 1539—"O Timothe, saue that which is geuen the to kepe, and avoyde vngostly vanyties of voyces and opposycyons of SCIENCE falsly so called:"
- Geneva Bible 1560—"O Timotheus, keepe that which is committed vnto thee, and auoide prophane and vaine babblings, and oppositios of SCIENCE falsely so called,"
- Bishops Bible 1568—"O Timotheus, saue that which is geuen thee to kepe, auoydyng prophane [and] vayne bablynges, and oppositions of SCIENCE, falslie so called"

- Therefore, King James advocates cannot claim any special spiritual significance for the inclusion and use of the word "science" in I Timothy 6:20 for the KJB.

- Third, Robert Cawdrey published *A Table Alphabetical* in 1604, the same year King James authorized the translation of the Bible that bears his name. Consequently, Cawdrey's *Table* is contemporary with the translation process and records what English words meant at the time the KJB was translated.

- *A Table Alphabetical* contains the following entry for the word "fcience" (science): "knowledge, or skill." So, at the time the KJB was translated, the English word "science" meant "knowledge," according to a contemporary English dictionary (See photographic evidence below). Therefore, in the early 17th century when the KJB was translated, the English words "knowledge" and "science" meant the same thing, i.e., they were synonyms.



A
Table Alphabeticall, conteyning and teaching the true vvriting, and vnderſtanding of hard vſuall Engliſh wordes, borrowed from the Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, or French. &c.

With the interpretation thereof by *plaine Engliſh words, gathered for the benefit & helpe of Ladies, Gentlewomen, or any other vnskilfull perſons.*

Whereby they may the more eaſilie and better vnderſtand many hard Engliſh wordes, vvhich they ſhall heare or read in Scriptures, Sermons, or elſwhere, and alſo be made able to vſe the ſame aptly themſelues.

Legere, et non intelligere, neglegere eſt.
As good not read, as not to vnderſtand.

AT LONDON,
Printed by I. R. for Edmund Weauer, & are to be ſold at his ſhop at the great North doore of Paules Church.
1604.

of hard Engliſh words 113

ſcandalize, (g) to offend, or giue occaſion, to miſlike
ſcandall, (g) an offence, or ſtumbling block
§ ſcarifie, to launce, or open a ſore
§ ſcedule, obligation, or bill of ones hand.
ſchiſme, breach, or diuiſion in matters of religion
ſchiſmatike, that maketh a ſchiſme
ſcience, knowledge, or ſkill
ſcripture, writing
ſcruple, doubt, difficultie
ſcrutiny, dilligent ſearch, inquiry
ſcrupulous, full of doubts
ſcurrilitie, raucie, ſcoffing
ſeclude, ſhutout, or put a part
ſectarie, one whom many other doe followe in opinion.
ſect, a diuerſitie in opinion from others
ſection, a deuiſion, or parting
ſecular, worldly, of the world
ſecundarie, the ſecond, or of the ſecond ſort
ſecuritie, careleſſenes, feare of nothing
ſediment, that which ſinketh to the bottome.
ſeditious, making contention
ſeduce, deceiue, or deuide, or leade aſide
ſedulitie,

- Other English language resources confirm that the earliest uses of the English word "science" had more to do with "knowledge" and/or the process of knowing things than with modern empirical/observational science. The following are the primary meanings of the word "science" in resources that trace the etymology or historical development and usage of English words.

    - *Oxford English Dictionary*—"The state or fact of knowing; knowledge or cognizance *of* something; knowledge as a personal attribute. Now *arch.* and *rare*."

    - *Middle English Dictionary*—"What is known, knowledge; information; (b) accurate knowledge, certain knowledge; (c) experiential or empathic knowledge; (d) the knowledge in someone's mind or memory."

    - *Online Etymological Dictionary*—" mid-14c., "what is known, knowledge (of something) acquired by study; information;" also "assurance of knowledge, certitude, certainty," from Old French *science* "knowledge, learning, application; corpus of human knowledge" (12c.), from Latin *scientia* "knowledge, a knowing; expertness," from *sciens*(genitive *scientis*) "intelligent, skilled," present participle of *scire* "to know," probably originally "to separate one thing from another, to distinguish," related to *scindere* "to cut, divide," from PIE root ***skei-** "to cut, spli" (source also of

Greek *skhizein* "to split, rend, cleave," Gothic *skaidan,* Old English *sceadan* "to divide, separate")."

- So, the English word "science" had a nearly 300-year history of being used as a reference to knowledge and the process of knowing things before the advent of the Scientific Revolution in the mid-16th century (1500s).

- Fourth, William Tyndale used the English word "science" in I Timothy 6:20 when he translated the New Testament in 1526. When he did so, he was using an already established English word to capture the meaning of the Greek word *gnōsis*. When Tyndale made this choice, he was not referring to any particular cosmological model of the universe. Copernicus did not publish his *On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres* until 1543 nearly two decades after Tyndale translated the New Testament and nearly a decade after Tydale's death. Therefore, the phrase "science falsely so called" in 1 Timothy 6:20 is not a direct reference to Copernican Heliocentrism, Newtonian Physics, Darwinian Evolution, or any other theory of the so-called Scientific Revolution.

- The passage as penned by Paul in the 1st century is simply referring to people claiming to have knowledge or some sort of special *gnōsis* when they really do not, as in the case of Gnostic philosophy. In other words, the passage had an immediate application to Timothy living in the first century AD. By extension, the passage has application to any theory or system of knowledge that exalts itself against the knowledge of God. That being said, I Timothy 6:20 is not a direct reference to any specific system of thought or theory that would not be enunciated until 1,500 years later.

Atonement/Reconciliation

- The word "atonement" occurs one time in the New Testament of the KJB. That occurrence can be found in Romans 5:11 which reads as follows in the King James:

    - "And not only so, but we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the **atonement**."

- The word rendered "atonement" in Romans 5:11 by the King James translators is the Greek noun *katallagē*. This word occurs four times in four verses in the Greek text supporting the KJB. Romans 5:11 is the only time *katallagē* is translated as "atonement" by the King James translators, in the remaining three occurrences it is rendered as some form of "reconciliation."

    - Romans 11:15—"For if the casting away of them be the **reconciling** of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?"

    - II Corinthians 5:18—"And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of **reconciliation**;"

- II Corinthians 5:19—"To wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of **reconciliation**."

- Notice that in II Corinthians 5:18-19 the reader encounters two other forms of the word in "reconciled" (v. 18) and "reconciling" (v. 19) and, then again, in verse 20 where we read:

  - II Corinthians 5:20—"Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God."

- The underlined words in verses 18-20 are translations of the Greek verb *katallassō,* a related but slightly different word from the noun *katallagē*. In II Corinthians 5 both the noun and verb forms are translated into English by the KJB using some form of the word "reconciliation."

- In Romans 5:10-11 we have a similar situation. The Greek verb *katallassō* occurs twice in verse 10 where it is translated "reconciled" both times in the King James. But then in verse 11 we encounter the Greek noun *katallagē* which is rendered in English as "atonement" when it was not so translated in II Corinthians 5:18 and 19.

- For critics of the KJB, the use of "atonement" in Romans 5:11 is ridiculed as a translational error and therefore serves as proof that the King James is not inerrant. On the flip side, some King James Onlyists go to great lengths to defend that exact word choice of "atonement" instead of "reconciliation." Some, either implicitly or explicitly, claim that the King James translators were inspired when they chose "atonement" in Romans 5:11 instead of "reconciliation." Which view is correct? Can Tyndale help us to think about the matter soberly?

- Let us begin with the following observation, Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthew, the Great Bible, Geneva, and Bishops all used "atonement" in Romans 5:11. Whereas Wycliffe and the Rheims New Testament utilized "reconciliation." This means that the KJB can claim no special divine revelation in its use of "atonement" since all previous English translations of *Textus Receptus* used the word "atonement" in Romans 5:11.

- Widening our gaze beyond Romans 5:11, we observe that the word "atonement" was used quite frequently by the predecessors to the King James in places where the word "reconciliation" is now utilized. Please consider the following table.

Atonement/Reconcile

Verse	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew	Great	Geneva	Bishops	Rheims	AV
Rom. 5:10	recounselid recounselid	reconciled reconciled	recocyled recocyled	reconciled reconciled	recocyled recocyled	reconciled reconciled	reconciled reconciled	reconciled reconciled	reconciled reconciled
Rom. 5:11	recounseling	**attonment**	**attonment**	**attonment**	**attonment**	**atonment**	**atonment**	reconciliation	**attonment**

2Cor. 5:18	Recounselide recounselyng	reconciled **atonment**	reconcyled **attonement**	reconcyled **attonement**	reconcyled **attonement**	reconciled reconciliation	reconciled reconciliation	reconciled reconciliation	reconciled reconciliation
2Cor. 5:19	Recounselynge recounselyng	made agreement **atonme**t	reconcyled **attonemet**	made agreement **atonemet**	reconcyled **attonemet**	reconciled reconciliation	reconciling **atonement**	reconciling reconciliation	reconciling reconciliation
2Cor. 5:20	recounselid	**atone**	**at one**	**atone**	reconcyled	reconciled	reconciled	reconciled	reconciled

- Once again, the King James Bible Believers can claim no special divine insight in Romans 5:11 on the part of the King James translators given the translational history of the verse. Every English translation of the *Textus Receptus* before 1611 rendered *katallagē* as "atonement" in this verse.

- The textual facts presented in the above table suggest that "atonement" and "reconciliation" are synonymous. The OED defines the word "atonement" as follows:

  - " †1. The condition of being at one with others; unity of feeling, harmony, concord, agreement.

    †2. The action of setting at one, or condition of being set at one, after discord or strife:

    a. Restoration of friendly relations between persons who have been at variance; reconciliation. *Obsolete*.

    †b. The settling of differences, staunching of strife; appeasement. *Obsolete*.

    †c. The means or agent of appeasement. *Obsolete*.

    3. *spec*. in *Theology*. Reconciliation or restoration of friendly relations between God and sinners.

    1526 Bible (Tyndale) 2 Cor. v. 18 God..hath geven unto us the office to preache the atonement.

    1611 Bible (King James) Rom. v. 11 Our Lorde Iesus Christ, by whom we haue now receiued the atonement [Wyclif, recouncilyng, or accordyng; Tindale, Cranmer, attonment; Coverdale, attonement; Genev. atonement; Rhem. & Revised, reconciliation].

    4.

    a. Propitiation of an offended or injured person, by reparation of wrong or injury; amends, satisfaction, expiation.

> 1611 Bible (King James) Job xxxiii. 24 Deliuer him from going downe to the pit; I haue found a ransome [margin. atonement].

b. *Theology*. Propitiation of God by expiation of sin.

> 1611 Bible (King James) Lev. i. 4 It shall be accepted for him to make atonement for him."

- The OED views "atonement" and "reconciliation" as words of synonymous meaning. They are also used interchangeably within the Biblical text.
    - Leviticus 6:7, 30—"atonement" in verse 7 and "reconcile" in verse 30 are translations of the same Hebrew word *kaphar*.
        - Same in Tyndale.
    - Leviticus 8:15, 34—*kaphar* in both cases.
        - Tyndale had "reconcile" in both verses.
    - Leviticus 16:16-20— *kaphar* in both cases.
        - Tyndale used "atonement" and "reconcile" interchangeably in this passage.
    - II Chronicles 29:24—*"*And the priests killed them, and they made **reconciliation** [*chata'*]with their blood upon the altar, to make an **atonement** [*kaphar*] for all Israel: for the king commanded that the burnt offering and the **sin** offering should be made for all Israel."
        - Hebrews 2:17—"Wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people."
- Tyndale clearly used both words interchangeably in his translations. Does this mean that Tyndale was "corrupt" because his use of "atonement" and "reconciliation" did not cohere *exactly* with the KJB? In my mind it would be absurd to so argue.

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Appendix A

Tyndale on the word Church vs Congregation

Prepared by Alex Bojko & Bryan C. Ross

In the beginning of his *Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Tyndale answer's More's accussations concerning why Tyndale changed "church" to "congregation""

"Wherefore, inasmuch as the clergy (as the nature of those hard and indurate adamant stones is, to draw all to them) had appropriate unto themselves the term that of right is common unto all the whole congregation of them that believe in Christ; and with their false and subtle wiles had beguiled and mocked the people, and brought them unto the ignorance of the word; making them understand by this word *church* nothing but the shaven flock of them that shore the whole world; therefore in the translation of the new Testament, where I found this word *ecclesia*, I interpreted it by this word *congregation*. Evern therefore did I it, and not of any mischievous mind or purpose to stablish heresy, as Master More untruly reporteth of me in his dialogue, where he raileth on the translation of the new Testament."

"And when M. More saith, that this word *church* is known well enough, I report me unto the consciences of all the land, whether he say truth or otherwise; or whether the lay-people understand by *church* the whole multitude of all that profess Christ, or the juggling spirits only. And when he saith that *congregation* is the more general term; if it were, it hurteth not: for the circumstance doth ever tell what congregation is meant. Nevertheless yet saith he not the truth. For wheresoever I may say a *congregation*, there may I say a *church* also, as the church of the devil, the church of Satan, the church of wretches, the church of wicked men, the church of liars, and a church of Turks thereto. For M. More must grant (if he will have *ecclesia* translated throughout all the new Testament by this word *church*) that *church* is as common as *ecclesia*. Now is *ecclesia* a Greek word, and was in use before the time of the apostles, and taken for a congregation among the heathen, where was no congregation of God or of Christ. And also Lucas himself useth *ecclesia* for a church, or congregation, of heathen people thrice in one chapter, even in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, where Demetrius the goldsmith, or silversmith, had gathered a company against Paul for preaching against images" (Tyndale and Walter, *Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, 3:13-16).

Summary/Explanation

Tyndale is defending his decision to translate the Greek word *ecclesia* as "congregation" rather than "church" in his English New Testament.

He argues that the clergy had wrongly claimed the word *church* for themselves, causing ordinary people to think only of priests, bishops, monks, and the institutional hierarchy rather than the entire body of believers in Christ. According to Tyndale, the New Testament meaning of *ecclesia* refers to the whole assembly of Christians, so he chose *congregation* to restore that original sense. He insists that his translation was not an attempt to promote heresy, despite Sir Thomas More's accusations, but rather an effort to communicate the biblical meaning accurately.

Tyndale further challenges More's claim that *church* was the better-known and more precise term. He argues that most common people understood *church* primarily as the clergy rather than all Christians. He

also contends that *church* is just as broad a term as *congregation*, since one could speak of a "church of Satan," a "church of wicked men," or even a "church of Turks." To support this point, he notes that the Greek word *ecclesia* was used before Christianity and could refer simply to any public assembly, including pagan gatherings. He points to Acts 19, where Luke uses *ecclesia* to describe the assembly gathered by Demetrius against Paul, demonstrating that the word itself does not inherently mean a Christian institution.

In essence, Tyndale's argument is that the New Testament "church" is not primarily an ecclesiastical institution governed by clergy, but the gathered community of believers. Therefore, he believed "congregation" translated the Greek word more faithfully and helped correct what he saw as a misleading understanding promoted by the medieval church.

Appendix B

Tyndale on the Words Love & Charity

Prepared by Alex Bojko & Bryan C. Ross

Tyndale also addresses this in his *Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*:

"He [More] rebuketh me also that I translate this Greek word *agape* into *love*, and not rather into *charity*, so holy and so known a term. Verily*, charity* is no known English, in that sense which *agape* requireth. For when we say, 'Give your alms in the worship of God, and sweet St Charity;' and when the father teacher his son to say, 'Blessing, father, for St Charity;' what mean they? In good faith they wot not. Moreover, when we say, 'God help you, I have done my charity for this this,' do we not take it for alms? And, 'I beshrew him, saving my charity;' there we take it for patience. And when I say, 'A charitable man,' it is taken for merciful. And though mercifulness be a good love, or rather spring of a good love, yet is not every good love mercifulness. As when a woman loveth her husband godly, or a man his wide or his friend that is in none adversity, it is not always mercifulness. Also we say not, This man hath a great charity to God; but a great love. Wherefore I must have used this general term *love* in spite of mine heart oftentimes. And *agape* and *caritas* were words among the heathen, ere Christ came and signified therefore more than a *godly love*. And we may say well enough, and have heard it spoken, that the Turks be charitable one to another among themselves, and some of them unto the Christians too. Besides all this, *agape* is common unto all loves"

"And when M. More saith, 'Every love is not charity;' no more is every apostle Christ's apostle; nor every angel God's angel; nor every hope Christian hope; nor every faith, or belief, Christ's belief; and so by an hundred thousand words: so that if I should always use a word that were no more general than the word I interpret, I should interpret nothing at all. But the matter itself and the circumstances do declare what love, what hope, and what faith is spoken of. And finially, I say not, charity God, or charity your neighbour; but, love God, and love your neighbour; year, and though we say a man outght to love his neighbour's wife and his daugher, a christian man doth not understand that he is commanded to defile his neighbour's wife or his neighbour's daughter." (Tyndale and Walter, *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, 3:20-21).

Summary/Explanation

Tyndale defended his use of "love" instead of "charity" by arguing that *love* was the broader and more accurate English equivalent of the Greek word *agapē*. In his view, the word *charity* had acquired a variety of specialized meanings in common speech, often referring to almsgiving, mercy, patience, or acts of benevolence. While these qualities are certainly expressions of Christian love, Tyndale contended that they do not encompass the full scope of *agapē*. A husband's love for his wife, a friend's love for another friend, or a believer's love for God are not primarily acts of charity in the sense commonly understood by English speakers. Therefore, Tyndale believed that *love* more faithfully conveyed the general meaning of the Greek term and was more readily understood by ordinary readers.

Tyndale further rejected Sir Thomas More's criticism that *love* was too broad a word to express the specifically Christian meaning of *agapē*. He argued that many biblical terms function in the same way.

Not every faith is saving faith, not every hope is Christian hope, and not every apostle is an apostle of Christ. The surrounding context determines the intended meaning. In the same manner, readers naturally understand what sort of love is being discussed from the subject and circumstances of the passage. Consequently, Tyndale maintained that translators should use clear and natural English rather than specialized ecclesiastical language. For him, the choice of *love* over *charity* was not an attempt to diminish Christian doctrine but an effort to communicate the meaning of Scripture in language that ordinary people could readily understand.

Lesson 8

Prologues, Prefaces, & Protestantism: Assessing Tyndale's Theological Beliefs Through the Lens of His Own Writings

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Introduction

- Up to this point, conference lessons have focused on William Tyndale as a translator. In this lesson, I have been tasked with assessing the theological beliefs of William Tyndale and their roots. This has proved to be a daunting task given the fact that Tyndale wrote extensively on various theological issues of his day ranging from justification and sanctification, the Godly role of political leaders, sacramental theology, and the Roman Catholic Church's power over the lives of the people.

- With this in mind, I have decided to focus on five key aspects of William Tyndale's theology:

    - Tyndale's Bibliology
    - Tyndale's view of understanding the Bible
    - Tyndale's Covenant Theology
    - Tyndale's Augustinianism
    - Tyndale's view on the Christian walk

- To conduct this analysis, I have consulted and read the following works of William Tyndale:

    - Prologue to the Cologne Fragment (1525)
    - "To the Reader" in the Worms New Testament (1526)
    - Prologue to Romans (1526/34)
    - *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (1527)
    - *The Obedience of A Christian Man* (1528)
    - *The Practice of Prelates* (1530)
    - All the prologues in the Pentateuch (1530)
    - *A Pathway into the Holy Scriptures* (ca. 1530)
    - Prologue to Jonah (1531)
    - *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* (1531)
    - *An Exposition Upon the First Epistle of John* (1531)
    - *An Exposition Upon the V, VI, and VII Chapters Of Matthew* (1533)
    - All the prologues in the 1534 New Testament (1534)

- I argue Tyndale believed the Bible was the word of God and that believers were the sole custodians of the Biblical text. Tyndale believed the words of the Scriptures were from God, needed to be preserved by believers, and needed to be translated in the languages of the nations for people to understand and grow spiritually. The Bible needed to be translated and interpreted literally without Greek philosophy or worldly wisdom of the scholars. Such thinking led to Tyndale adopting a covenant theology present from his 1527 work *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* to his 1534 New Testament prologues. Tyndale also promoted a legalistic framework when it came to the Christian walk. He also approached Scriptural understanding from an Augustinian lens. While Tyndale clearly encountered the works of Martin Luther, he proved all things by the Scriptures and as such differed from Luther in several key areas.

Bibliology

- In the prologue to the 1525 Cologne Fragment, Tyndale stated the following concerning the state of his translation:

    - "I have here translated (brethren and sisters most dear and tenderly beloved in Christ) the New Testament for your spiritual edifying, consolation, and solace; Exhorting instantly and beseeching those that are better seen in the tongues then I, and that have better gifts of grace to interpret the sense of the Scripture and meaning of the Spirit than I, to consider and ponder my labor, and that with the spirit of meekness; and if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue, or meaning of the Scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put to their hands to amend it, remembering that so is their duty to do. For we have not received the gifts of God for ourselves only or for to hide them; but for to bestow them unto the honoring of God and Christ, and edifying of the congregation, which is the body of Christ" (Tyndale, 1:7).

- Notice that Tyndale realizes his limitations. Remember, he is the very first to translate the New Testament from the proper Greek text and he is also on the run from the Catholic authorities. Tyndale also believed the text is to be in the hands of believers who know the original languages and have the spirit of God in them and not unbelievers. Tyndale writes in the opening prologue to his 1530 Pentateuch, "When I had translated the new testament [1526 New Testament], I added an epistle unto the latter end ["To the Reader" in the 1526 New Testament], in which I desired them that were learned to amend if ought were found amiss" (Tyndale, *Old Testament*, 3). Thus, revisions are necessary and this is evident when one looks at the changes Tyndale made to his New Testament. Tyndale elaborates in a short piece titled "To The Reader" included in his 1526 New Testament:

    - "Them that are learned Christianly I beseech, forasmuch as I am sure, and my conscience beareth me record, that of a pure intent, singly and faithfully, I have interpreted it, as far forth as God gave me the gift of knowledge and understanding, that

> the rudeness of the work now at the first time offend them not; but that they consider how that I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like thing in the Scripture before time. Moreover, even very necessity, and cumbrance (God is record) above strength, which I will not rehearse, lest we should seem to boast ourselves, caused that many things are lacking which necessarily are required. Count it as a thing not having his full shape, but as it were born afore his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished. In time to come (if God have appointed us there unto) we will give it his full shape, and put out, if ought to be added superfluously, and add to, if ought be overseen though negligence; and will enforce to bring to compendiousness that which is now translated at the length, and to give light where it is required, and to seek in certain places more proper English, and with a table to expound the words which are not commonly used, and show how the Scritpure useth many words which are otherwise understood of the common people, and to help with a declaration where one tongue taketh not another; and will endeavor ourselves, as it were, to seethe it better, and to make it more apt for the weak stomachs; desiring them that are learned, and able, to remember their duty, and to help thereunto, and to bestow unto the edifying of Christ's body, which is the congregation of them that believe, those gifts which they have received of God for the same purpose. The grace that cometh of Christ be with them that love him." (Tyndale, 1:390-91).

- Notice the following statement, "Count it as a thing not having his full shape, but as it were born afore his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished. In time to come (if God have appointed us there unto) we will give it his full shape, and put out, if ought to be added superfluously, and add to, if ought be overseen though negligence; and will enforce to bring to compendiousness that which is now translated at the length, and to give light where it is required." This presents an issue for those who use William Tyndale to advocate for the modern critical text and modern Bible versions. Tyndale realized that his translation had limitations and he was willing for people to come and offer suggestions for correction. However, he also understood that there would come a time when the English-speaking world would have their Bible that was the standard and did not change. He did not subscribe to the modern-day notions of never ending and never arriving textual criticism.

- Tyndale also believed it was important for other nations of the world to have the word of God in their language. In a ca. 1530 work titled *A Pathway Into The Holy Scripture*, an update to the 1525 Cologne Fragment prologue, Tyndale writes:

    - "I do marvel greatly, dearly beloved in Christ, that ever any man should repugn or speak against the Scripture to be had in every language and that of every man." (Tyndale 1:7).

- Tyndale did not desire to translate the Bible to dumb it down or put it into the language of the man on the street as critical text and modern version advocates falsely assert. Tyndale desired to

translate the Scriptures so that people could get saved, learn the word of God, and understand the errors of the Roman Catholic Church:

- "And therefore are there divers introductions ordained for you, to teach you the profession of your baptism, the only light of the scripture; one upon the epistle of Paul to the Romans, and another called "The Pathway into the Scripture." And for the same cause have I taken in hand to interpret this epistle of St. John the evangelist to edify the layman, and to teach him how to read the scripture, and what to seek therein; and that he may have to answer the hypocrites, and to stop their mouths withal" (1531 *An Exposition Upon the First Epistle of John*, Tyndale 2:144).
    - Tyndale is challenging his readers here. He wants them to learn and understand what are the errors in the religious system of the Roman Catholic Church. The fact that Tyndale includes introductions and feels the need to explain certain aspects of the Biblical text shows that Tyndale's goal was not to dumb down the Bible but rather to get believers to understand the Bible they were seeing for the first time (Ryken, 99).

- Furthermore, lest anyone think that Tyndale would accept the modern critical text consider this passage from Tyndale's *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More Dialogue*:
    - "And when he asketh, 'who taught the church to know the true Scripture from false books'? I answer, true miracles, that confounded the false, gave authority unto the true scripture. And thereby have we ever since judged all other books and doctrine; and by that we know that your legends be corrupt with lies: as Erasmus hath improved many false books, which ye have feigned and put forth in the name of St. Jerome, Augustine, Cyprian, Dionyse, and of other, partly with authentic stories, and partly by the style and Latin, and like evident tokens" (1531 *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Tyndale 3:135).

- Here we have Tyndale acknowledging that the Roman Catholic Church was responsible for changing the content of works written by the church fathers. Tyndale would not accept the modern critical text today with its Roman Catholic bias. Tyndale also believed in the Trinity and as such would also reject the modern critical text because of its Unitarian readings. For more on the Unitarian background of the modern critical text see my book review of Stephen Tyndale Reid's *Where is God's Word Today*. In *An Exposition Upon the First Epistle of John* (1531), Tyndale writes,
    - "And when he saith, 'Which we heard, and saw with our eyes, and our hands handled' him; he testifieth that Christ is very man also; as he doth in the beginning of his gospel, saying: 'The word,' or that thing, 'was made flesh,' that is, became man. And thus we

have in plain and open words a manifest article of our faith, that our Saviour Christ is very God and very man" (Tyndale, 2:145).

Understanding the Bible

- Tyndale believed the correct way to understand the Bible was to take it literally, not make any dispensational distinctions, and compare Scripture with Scripture to understand the Biblical text. Tyndale's view of understanding the Bible was contrary to the Roman Catholic Church's view of understanding the Bible which was to take it allegorically and insert their own tradition and Greek philosophy in their interpretations of the Biblical text:

    - "For though that the philosophers and worldly wise men were enemies above all enemies to the gospel of God; and though the worldly wisdom cannot comprehend the wisdom of God . . . and though worldly righteousness cannot be obedient unto the righteousness of God, yet whatsoever they read in Aristotle, that must be first true; and to maintain that, they rend and tear the scriptures with their distinctions, and expound them violently, contrary to the meaning of the text, and to the circumstances that go before and after, and to a thousand clear and evident texts. Wherefore I have taken in hand to expound this gospel. And certain other places of the New Testament and . . . to bring the Scripture unto the right sense . . ." (1527 *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, Tyndale, 1:46).
    - "So would it come to pass, that as we know by natural wit what followeth of a true principle of natural reason; even so, by the principles of the faith, and by the plain scriptures, and by the circumstances of the text, should we judge all men's exposition, and all men's doctrine, and should receive the best, and refuse the worst. I would have you to teach them also the properties and manner of speakings of the scripture, and how to expound proverbs and similitudes. And then, if they go abroad and walk by the fields and meadows of all manner doctors and philosophers, they could catch no harm: they should discern the poison from the honey, and bring home nothing but that which is wholesome" (1528 *The Obedience of A Christian Man* Tyndale, 1:156).

    - "Thou shalt understand, therefore, that the scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense. And that literal sense is the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth whereunto if thou cleave thou canst never err or go out of the way. And if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way. Neverthelater, the scripture useth proverbs, similitudes, riddles, or allegories as all other speeches do; but that which the proverb, similitude, riddle, or allegory signifieth, is ever the literal sense, which thou must seek out diligently. . . . " (1528 *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, Tyndale, 1:304).

- Notice in these quotes that Tyndale is not against believers encountering other works of human wisdom. Rather, he is instructing believers to have a firm understanding of the Scriptures and it is through that firm understanding of the Scriptures that they judge all human wisdom by. He is instructing believers to prove all things and hold fast that which is good (1 Thess. 5:21).

Covenant Theology

- Consider what William Tyndale writes in his *An Exposition Upon the V, VI, and VII Chapters Of Matthew*:

    - "For God had made them of the old testament as great promises, that he would be their God, and that his Spirit and all grace should be with them if they kept his laws, as he hath made to us" (Tyndale, 2:43).

- From this quote, one concludes that William Tyndale viewed the church, the body of Christ, as spiritual Israel. Tyndale believed that the covenants and promises God made with Israel need to be interpreted in a spiritual manner.

- Tyndale is also Amillennial given that he never refers to a literal, physical, earthly, Davidic kingdom for the nation of Israel in his writings but rather describes the kingdom of heaven in Matthew for instance as "The kingdom of heaven is within us" (1527 *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, Tyndale, 1:103). Tyndale also states in *The Practice of Prelates* that "Christ's kingdom is altogether spiritual" (Tyndale, 2:249). Furthermore, Tyndale in his explanation of Old Testament prophecy explains:

    - "For all that were before Christ were in the infancy and childhood of the world and saw that sun which we see openly, but through a cloud and had but feeble and weak imaginations of Christ, as children have of men's deeds, a few prophets except, which yet described him unto others in sacrifices and ceremonies, likenesses, riddles, proverbs, and dark and strange speaking, until the full age were come that God would shew him openly unto the whole world and deliver them from their shadows and cloudlight and the heathen out of their dead sleep of stark blind ignorance. And as the shadow vanisheth away at the coming of the light, even so do the ceremonies and sacrifices at the coming of Christ, and are henceforth no more necessary that a token left in remembrance of a bargain is necessary when the bargain is fulfilled" (1530 "Prologue to Leviticus," Tyndale, *Old Testament*, 145).

- It is safe to say from the quotes above that Tyndale viewed Old Testament prophecy as figurative and symbolic rather than literal and future. Such a view of Old Testament prophecy is typical of an Amillennial view (Erickson, 399). From understanding Tyndale's covenant theology, a natural progression of though emerges: Adopt covenant theology (No dispensational distinctions, spiritualizing of the Scriptures, Amillennialism) → Justification by covenant (If/then system of performance-based acceptance)→ Operating under the law and not grace → Realization that one cannot keep the law (Rom. 3:19-20, 7:5, 13; 1 Tim. 1:9) → Total Depravity (total inability from Augustine)→ The rest of the points of TULIP.

- Tyndale's view of spiritualizing the promises made to Israel and applying them to the church today is emblematic of a typical covenant theology one would expect in Reformed circles. Charles F. Baker in his *A Dispensational Theology* explains the following regarding covenant theologians' spiritualizing of Israel's promises:

  - "Most Covenant theologians are Amillennial and must therefore argue that the present dispensation is the final one in which all of the Old Testament promises must find their fulfillment. These promises were made to Israel; hence the Church must be spiritual Israel, since the Church comprises God's people today. Not only must Israel be spiritualized to mean Gentiles, but the physical and material earthly promises must be spiritualized to mean purely spiritual blessings in heaven. This type of *spiritualizing* interpretation (there is nothing spiritual about it) is forced to make the Scripture mean something different from what it says" (Baker, 535-36).

- Carl Trueman in *Luther's Legacy: Salvation and English Reformers, 1525-1556* provides an accurate description of how the adoption of covenant theology by Reformed theologians leads to the idea of justification by covenant:

  - "Reformed thinkers developed their doctrine of salvation on the basis that both Old and New Testaments represented a substantial unity around God's one covenant which both articulated God's promise of salvation to man and defined the relationship between God and man. Thus, one clear sign of Reformed influence on, for example, William Tyndale, is his increasing use of the idea of covenant as a soteriological motif" (Trueman, 76).

- It is as a result of failing to rightly divide the word of truth that Tyndale's theology is the way that it is. Such an example should remind us that we must continue to rightly divide the word of truth; otherwise, we will end up in the same position as Tyndale. A proper understanding of Tyndale's theology should also teach us that we need to be more precise when it comes to accurately explaining what Tyndale believed.

- Tyndale's covenant theology is not compatible with a Mid-Acts dispensational view towards studying and understanding the Bible. The covenants God made in time past all pertain to the nation of Israel, not the body of Christ (Rom. 9:4-5; Eph. 2:12). Furthermore, God has set Israel aside today in the dispensation of grace and salvation has now come to the Gentiles (Rom. 11:11-12). Israel stumbled at the stumbling stone, which Isaiah prophesied to be Jesus Christ (Rom. 9:32-33; Is. 8:14). Israel stumbled but did not fall when they crucified Christ (Rom. 11:11a; 1 Cor. 1:23). Israel was given a one-year extension of mercy and if Israel rejected her Messiah again, she would fall (Lk. 13:6-9). The fall of Israel happened at the stoning of Stephen with Israel blaspheming the Holy Ghost (Acts 7:54-60; Mt. 12:24-32; Mk. 3:22-30; Lk. 12:1-12). A proper understanding of dispensational truth reveals that an Old Testament Jew was not looking forward to Christ dying on the cross, like Tyndale and other Protestant Reformers falsely claim. Rather, they were looking forward to a physical land (Gen. 12:1-3) and a literal, earthly, visible, Davidic kingdom on that land (2 Sam. 7:12-17).

- Additionally, the covenants God made with Israel were corporate in nature and concern future promises God will bestow on the nation of Israel. They were not individual. The body of Christ does not function on the basis of a covenant today where one makes an agreement with God to do something so He will give them something in return. That is not grace; that is law. When a believer knows what Christ did for them freely by grace, they are motivated by grace to serve God not to gain acceptance but because they already are accepted. Tyndale failing to recognize the distinctions made between Israel and the body of Christ cause major contradictions to form within his theology when it comes to practical Christian living.

- There are only two questions that remain when considering William Tyndale's covenant theology: 1.) When did he develop this covenant theology? and 2.) Where did he get this covenant theology? Tyndale's covenant theology is hotly debated among Tyndale scholars. The mainstream view is that Tyndale's covenant theology became prominent in the early 1530s and was non-existent in his 1520s writings. The less commonly held view is that from the start William Tyndale had his distinct view of covenant. I hold to the less commonly held view given the testimony found in Tyndale's own writings starting with *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*:

The Parable of the Wicked Mammon (1527)	*An Exposition Upon the V, VI, and VII Chapters of Matthew* (1533)	"A Prologue Showing the Use of the Scripture" 1534 Pentateuch Revision	1534 New Testament
"Our mind, intent, and affection or zeal, are blind; and all that we do of them, is damned of God: and for that cause **hath God made a testament between him and us** [God makes the covenant not man], wherein is contained both **what he would have us to do** [God tells man what man needs to do for God], and what he **would have us to ask of him**" [Man can ask God what they want of Him] (Tyndale, 1:105).	"If thou look well on **the covenant that is between thee and thy Lord God** [Man can ask God what they want of Him], on the one side, and the temptations of the world, the flesh, and Satan on the other, thou shalt soon perceive that the day present hath ever enough to be cared for, and for which thou must cry instantly to God for help also, **though thou do thy best** [God tells man what man needs to do for God]." (Tyndale, 2:109-110).	"Seek therefore in the scripture as thou readest it, chiefly and above all, the **covenants made between God and us** [God makes the covenant not man]. That is to say: the law and **commandments which God commandeth us to do** [God tells man what man needs to do for God]. And then the mercy promised unto all them that submit themselves unto the law. For all the promises throughout the whole scripture do include a covenant. That is: God bindeth himself to fulfill that mercy unto thee only, **if thou wilt endeavor thyself to keep his laws** [God tells man what man needs to do for God]: so that no man hath his part in the mercy of God, save he only that loveth his law and consenteth that it is righteous and good, and fain would do it, and **ever mourneth because he now and then breaketh it through infirmity, or doth it not so perfectly as his heart would**." [God tells	"Lo, here **God hath made a covenant with us** [God makes the covenant not man], to be merciful unto us, **if we will be merciful one to another** [God tells man what man needs to do for God]: so that the man which sheweth mercy unto his neighbour, may be bold to trust in God for mercy at all needs." (Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, 4).

		man what man needs to do for God] (Daniell, *Tyndale's Old Testament*, 10).	

- From the above table it is clear that Tyndale's covenant theology was consistently inconsistent from the 1520s on through the 1530s. Because when one fails to rightly divide the word of truth, one naturally adopts a covenant framework which operates on an if/then basis. This is true regardless if God makes the covenant or man makes the covenant. By not making the necessary distinctions in God's word between Israel and the body of Christ, Tyndale places demands on believers that they cannot meet. There are more problems when one takes into account Tyndale's Augustinianism which answers the second question of where Tyndale got his covenant theology.

Augustinianism

- William Tyndale makes reference to Augustine in his writings:
    - "What is the cause that we damn some of Origen's works, and allow some? How know we that some is heresy and some not? By the scripture, I trow. How know we that St. Augustine (which is the best, or one of the best, that ever wrote upon the Scripture) wrote many things amiss at the beginning, as many other doctors do? Verily, by the scriptures; as he himself well perceived afterward, when he looked more diligently upon them, and revoked many things again." (1528 *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, Tyndale 1:154).
    - "St. Augustine, before he was converted, was an heathen man, and a philosopher, full of worldly wisdom, unto whom the preaching of Christ is but foolishness, saith Paul (1 cor. i.). And he disputed with blind reasons of worldly wisdom against the Christen. Nevertheless, the earnest living of the Christen, according unto their doctrine, and the constant suffering of persecution and adversity for their doctrine's sake, moved him, and stirred him to believe that it was no vain doctrine; but that it must needs be of God, in that it had such power with it. For it happeneth that they which will not hear the word at the beginning, are afterward moved by the holy conversation of them that believe . . ." (1531 *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Tyndale 3:50).
    - "As St. Augustine protesteth of his works, that men should compare them unto the scripture, and thereby judge them, and cast away whatsoever the scripture did not allow" (1531 *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Tyndale 3:136).
- Tyndale also mentions supporters of Augustine such as Prosper of Aquitaine:
    - "'How can they prepare themselves unto the favor of God, and to that which is good, when they themselves can do no good, nor can once think a good though, or consent to do good, the devil possessing their hearts, minds, and thoughts captive at his pleasure? Can those works please God, thinkest thou, which are done with grief, pain, and tediousness, with an evil will, with a contrary and grudging mind?' O holy Prosperous, how mightily with the Scripture of Paul didst thou confound this heresy twelve hundred years ago, or thereupon!" (1526 Prologue to Romans, Tyndale 1:487).

- *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* provides the following entry on Prosper of Aquitaine:

    - "Prosper Tiro of Aquitania was living at Marseilles at the outbreak of the Semipelagian controversy (426), probably as a lay monk. In 427/8 he wrote to St. Augustine, whose theology of grace and predestination he warmly accepted, informing him of the opposition which his teaching was encountering among the disciples of Cassian" (Cross and Livingstone, 1338).

- Tyndale also connects Pelagianism, with its emphasis on works-based salvation, to the Roman Catholic Church in *An Exposition Upon the First Epistle of John*:

    - "'How was,' say I again to thee, 'Pelagius, whose doctrine the bishop of Rome defendeth in the highest degree, antichrist, and all other heretics?' Verily, sir, the bishop of Roman seeketh himself, as all heretics did; and abuseth the name of Christ, to gather offerings, tithes and rents in his name, to bestow them unto his own honour and not Christs's, and to bring to conscience of the people into captivity under him through superstitious fear, as though he had such authority given him of Christ. And every syllable, that hath a sound as though it made for him purpose, that he expoundeth falsely and fleshly; and therewith juggleth and bewitcheth the ears of the people, and maketh them his own possession, to believe what him listeth, as though it made no matter to them whether he preached true or false, so they believe and do as he biddeth them. But all the texts that shew him to do his duty, he putteth out of the way; and all the texts thereto, that set the consciences at liberty in Christ, and prove our salvation to be in Christ only. And, with Pelagius, he preacheth the justifying of works; which is the denying of Christ. He preacheth a false binding and loosing with ear confession, which is not in the trust and confidence of Christ's blood-shedding. He preacheth the false penance of deeds; not to tame the flesh that we sin no more, but to make satisfaction, and to redeem the sin that is past: which what other can it be, save the denying of Christ, which is the only redemption of sin? He maketh of the works of the ceremonies, which were wont to be signs and remembrances of things to be believed or done, image-service unto God and his saints, which are spirits, to purchase with the merits of them whatsoever the blind soul imagineth; which all are the denying of Christ" (1531 *An Exposition Upon the First Epistle of John*, Tyndale 2:181-82).

- Thus, one concludes that Tyndale was familiar with Augustine and was highly influenced by his theology. Carl Trueman in *Luther's Legacy* writes concerning this:

    - "There is evidence Tyndale was exposed to the teachings of Augustine before he travelled to Wittenberg. In his commentary on William Tracy's will, Tyndale makes the following comment concerning the author: he was 'a learned man, and better seen in the works of St. Austin twenty years before he died, than ever I knew doctor in England.' Tracy's patristic learning clearly impressed Tyndale, and it is possible that Tyndale's interest in Augustine dates from as early as 1510-11, twenty years before Tracy died. This means that his earliest theological impulses may well have come from first-hand encounters with patristic sources" (Trueman, 32).

- Ralph S. Werrell in *The Roots of William Tyndale's Theology* argues that Tyndale most likely received his Augustinianism from Wycliffite sources, which given the information presented in the Early Life and Times lesson is not out of the ordinary:

    - "Like that of most of the Reformers, Tyndale's theology was Augustinian. The Augustinian parts of Tyndale's theology probably originate in the writings of medieval theologians or the other theological sources we are about the discuss. Tyndale may have had access to Augustine's writings but it seems to me that Tyndale's Augustinianism came through Wyclif and Wycliffite writings" (Werrell, 20).

- Donald Dean Smeeton in his *Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale* explains that Wycliffe and the Lollards frequently hearkened back to Augustine in their writings and Tyndale was influcned by them in some way:

    - "The views of this Father are seem on almost every page, even in Wyclif's philosophical treatises. Augustine, in Wyclif's judgment, knew the truth better than Plato or Aristotle. But the testimony of Augustine or Jerome or any other saint would be accepted only insofar as it was grounded on and measured by Scripture" (Smeeton, 110).

- As early as his 1525 prologue to the Cologne Fragment, Tyndale articulated the five points of Calvinism before the Synod of Dort occurred in 1618:

    - "For our nature is to do sin, as is the nature of a serpent to sting. . . . because that of nature we are evil, therefore we both think and do evil, and are under vengeance under the law, convict to eternal damnation by the law, and are contrary to the will of God in all our will, and in all things consent to the will of the fiend [**total depravity**]. By grace (that is to say, by favor) we are plucked out of Adam, the ground of all evil, and graffed in Christ, the root of all goodness [**unconditional election**]. In Christ God loved us, his elect and chosen, before the world began, and reserved us unto the knowledge of his Son and of his holy gospel; **[limited atonement]** and, when the gospel is preached to us, openeth our hearts, and giveth us grace to believe, and putteth the Spirit of Christ in us; and we know him as our father most merciful [**irresistible grace**], and consent to the law, and love it inwardly in our heart, and desire to fulfill it, and sorrow because we cannot: which will (sin we of frailty never so much) is sufficient, till more strength be given us; the blood of Christ hath obtained all things for us of God." [**perseverance of the saints**] (1525 Cologne Fragment Prologue, Tyndale 1:14-15).

- Tyndale also believed in the doctrine of predestination and describes it in an Augustinian sense:

    - "In the nineth, tenth, and eleventh chapters [of Romans] he treateth of God's predestination, whence it springeth altogether, whether we shall believe or not believe, be loosed from sin or not be loosed. By which predestination our justifying and salvation are clean taken out of our hands, and put in the hands of God, only which thing is most necessary of all. For we are so weak and so uncertain, that if it stood in us, there would of a truth no man be saved, the devil no doubt would deceive us. But now is God sure, that his predestination cannot deceive him, neither can any man withstand or let him, and

therefore have we hope and trust against sin." (1526/34 *Romans* Prologue, Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, 221).

- "But here must a mark be set unto those unquiet, busy, and high climbing spirits how far they shall go, which first of all bring hither their high reasons and pregnant wits, and begin first from on high to search the bottomless secrets of God's predestination, whether they be predestinate or not. These must needs either cast themselves down headlong into desperation or else commit themselves to free chance careless. But follow thou the order of this epistle, and noosell thyself with Christ, and learn to understand what the law and the gospel mean, and the office of both two, that thou mayst in the one know thyself, and how that thou hast of thyself no strength, but to sin: and in the other the grace of Christ. And then see thou fight against sin and the flesh as the seven first chapters teach thee. After that when thou art come to the eighth chapter, and art under the cross and suffering of tribulation, the necessity of predestination will wax sweet and thou shalt well feel how precious a thing it is. For except thou have born the cross of adversity and temptation, and hast felt thyself brought unto the very brim of desperation, yea and unto hell gates, thou canst never meddle with the sentence of predestination without thine own harm, and without secret wrath and grudging inwardly against God, for otherwise it shall not be possible for thee to think that God is righteous and just. Therefore must Adam be well mortified and the fleshly wit brought utterly to nought, ere that thou mayst away with this thing, and drink so strong wine. Take heed therefore unto thyself, that thou drink not wine, while thou art yet but a suckling. For every learning hath her time, measure and age, and in Christ is there a certain childhood, in which a man must be content with milk for a season, until he wax strong and grow up unto a perfect man in Christ, and be able to eat of more strong meat." (1526/34 *Romans* Prologue Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, 221).

- Tyndale's view in the total depravity of man leads man to have no say in his justification when God's word says that man must chose to believe the gospel otherwise he cannot be saved (Eph. 1:12-14):
  - "The text is plain: we were stone dead, and without life or power to do or consent to good. The whole nature of us was captive under the devil, and led at his will. And we were as wicked as the devil now is (except that he now sinneth against the Holy Ghost); and we consented unto sin with soul and body, and hated the law of God. But God, of his grace only, quickened us in Christ; and raised us out of that death, and made us sit with Christ in heavenly things: that is, he set out hearts at rest, and made us sit fast in the life of Christ's doctrine, and unmovable from the love of Christ. And finally we are, in this our second birth, God's workmanship and creation in Christ; so that, as he which is yet unmade hath no life nor power to work, no more had we, till we were made again in Christ." (1531 *An Exposition Upon the First Epistle of John*, Tyndale 2:199-200).

- Tyndale's Augustinianism presents a major contradiction in his theology. If Tyndale believes that man was stone dead and cannot respond to God or do any works to please God, then how will they be able to perform under the legalistic standard that Tyndale requires of them? Not recognizing this reality leads to contradictory statements in Tyndale's various writings. Consider the following example:

1527 *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*	
"Whosoever hearth the word and believeth it, the same is thereby righteous; and thereby is given him the Spirit of God, which leadeth him unto all that is the will of God; and is loosed from the captivity and bondage of the devil; and his heart is free to love God and hath lust to do the will of God." (1527 *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, Tyndale 1:51).	"**Secondarily, of the whole multitude of the nature of man, whom God hath elect and chosen, and to whom he hath appointed mercy and grace in Christ, to them sendeth he his Spirit; which openeth their eyes, sheweth them their misery, and bringeth them unto the knowledge of themselves; so that they hate and abhor themselves, are astonied and amazed, and at their wits ends, neither wot what to do, or where to seek health**. Then, lest they should flee from God by desperation, he comforteth them again with his sweet promises in Christ; and certifieth their hearts that, for Christ's sake, they are received to mercy, and their sins forgiven, and they elect and made the sons of God, and heirs with Christ of eternal life: and thus through faith are they set at peace with God. **Now may not we ask why God chooseth one and not another; either think that God is unjust to damn us afore we do any actual deed; seeing that God hath power over all his creatures of right, to do with them what he list, or to make of every one of them as he listeth**. Our darkness cannot perceive his light. God will be feared, and not have his secret judgments known. Moreover we by the light of faith see a thousand things which are impossible to an infidel to see: so likewise, no doubt, in the light of the clear vision of God we shall see things which now God will not have known. For pride ever accompanieth high knowledge, but grace accompanieth meekness. Let us therefore give diligence rather to do the will of God, than to search his secrets, which are not profitable for us to know." (1527 *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, Tyndale 1:89).

Notice the contradiction, Tyndale says that those who repent and believe get the spirit of God. However, he later says in the same work that only those whom God elects get the spirit of God. It is important to note that a common theme throughout Tyndale's writings is the rejection of eternal security. When one believes in total depravity and perseverance of the saints, that is the natural result.

The Christian Walk

- In *The Theology of William Tyndale*, Ralph S. Werrell provides the following explanation when it comes to Tyndale's view of justification and how it differed from Luther:
    - "Although Tyndale's terminology often echoed that of Luther, his usage of the words differed. Although Tyndale wrote of 'justification by faith alone,' he understood it in a different way to Luther. For Luther justification was 'the imputation of righteousness' but for Tyndale it was 'making righteous'" (Werrell, 16).
- Carl Trueman in *Luther's Legacy* argues that Tyndale's view of justification matches that of Augustine and German reformer Martin Bucer:
    - "Such emphasis upon outward works as testifying to prior justification by God through faith is a common element amongst early Reformed thinkers and Tyndale's loose use of the word 'justification' echoes that of Martin Bucer. While Luther does refer to the idea that outward words testify to prior justification by faith alone before God, Tyndale uses the idea in order to deal with the problem of interpreting the difficult passages in James, a problem which Luther solved simply by denying the importance of the letter's teaching. This points away from Lutheran influence in this matter and towards that of Reformed thinkers. Reformers such as Bucer followed Augustine's interpretation of James and stressed that the works referred to in James 2 were a consequence, and not a cause, of justification. It is to this tradition of interpretation that Tyndale belongs" (Trueman, 103-104).
- It is true that one of the reasons William Tyndale adopted the position on justification that he did was because, contrary to Martin Luther, he correctly believed that the Hebrew epistles, specifically Hebrews and James, were canonical. However, Tyndale's failure to rightly divide the word of truth and understand the distinct ministry of the Apostle Paul led to him adopting a performance-based acceptance system. Consider the following information from William Tyndale's prologues to Hebrews and James in his 1534 New Testament:
    - "Moreover, many there hath been which not only have denied this epistle to have been written by any of the apostles, but have also refused it altogether as no catholic or godly epistle, because of certain texts written therein. . . . Wherefore seeing no scripture is of private interpretation: but must be expounded according to the general articles of our faith and agreeable to other open and evident texts, and confirmed or compared to like sentences, why should we not understand these places with like reverence as we do the other, namely when all the remnant of the epistle is so godly and of so great learning?. . . And seeing the epistle agreeth to all the rest of the scripture, if it be indifferently looked on, how should it not be of authority and taken for holy Scripture?" ("Prologue to Hebrews," 1534 New Testament, Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, 345-47).
    - "Though this epistle were refused in the old time and denied of many to be the epistle of a very apostle, and though also it lay not the foundation of the faith of Christ, but speaketh of a general faith in God, neither preacheth his death and resurrection, either the mercy that is laid up in store for us in him, or everlasting covenant made us in his blood,

> which is the office and duty of a very apostle, as Christ sayeth (John 15) ye shall testify of me: yet because it setteth up no man's doctrine, but crieth to keep the law of God, and maketh love which is without partiality the fulfilling of the law, as Christ and all the apostles did, and hath thereto many good and godly sentences in it: and hath also nothing that is not agreeable to the rest of the scripture, if it be looked indifferently on: me thinketh it ought of right to be taken for holy scripture" ("Prologue to James and Jude," 1534 New Testament, Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, 361).

- It is also important to note that Tyndale in his writings did not focus on the objective nature of righteousness (i.e. positional truth). He focused heavily on Christian living and mixed justification with sanctification. Carl Trueman in *Luther's Legacy* elaborates this point:
    - "It is important to note that Tyndale rarely speaks in terms of an order of salvation. His interest lies more in the existential effects of salvation than in its objective foundations. He does make occasional references to election, which he defines as the act of God in eternity by which a certain portion of mankind were chosen for salvation in Christ" (Truman, 85).

- Trueman later goes on to describe a major contradiction in Tyndale's theology when it comes to faith and works:
    - "[Tyndale's] failure to harmonize his doctrine of a works-based assurance with the causal relationship between faith and works demonstrates that consistency is not a major concern in his formulation of doctrine. Instead, he is willing to subordinate logical consistency in order to maintain emphasis upon the ethical aspects of the Christian life. Indeed, this tension leaves the way open for increased emphasis upon works in the future."

      "The second conclusion is closely related to the first: by basing assurance upon works, Tyndale once again demonstrates his tendency to place his major emphasis upon the subjective effects of salvation within the believer. His overriding concerning is with the practical outworkings of Christianity, and this concern with morality flavors all aspects of his doctrine, even to the point of introducing stark tensions into his thought" (Trueman, 96-97).

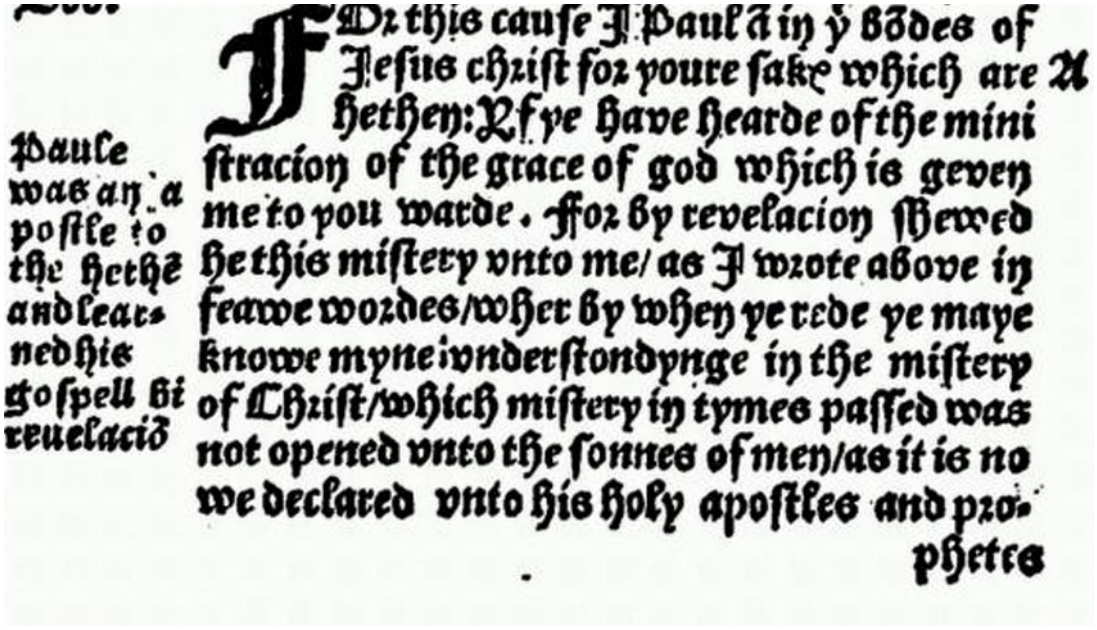
- These above quotes are proven throughout William Tyndale's writings:

Works Save	Works Do Not Save
"**If works follow not, it is a sure and an evident sign, that there is no faith in the heart**; but a dead imagination and dream, which they falsely call faith." (1527 *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, Tyndale 1:61).	"For **a Christian man is not saved by works, but by faith in the promises before all good works**; though that the works (when we work God's commandment with a good will, and not works of our own imagination) declare that we are safe, and that the Spirit of him that hath made us safe is in us: yea, and as God, through preaching of faith, doth purge and justify the heart, even so through working of deeds doth he purge and justify the members, making us perfect in body and soul after

	the likeness of Christ." (1528 *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, Tyndale 1:280-81).
Notice the contradiction that comes as a result of Tyndale focusing on the subjective aspects of the Christian walk rather than the objective aspects of justification. He overemphasizes works to the point where it contradicts other portions of his writings where he says that one is saved by grace through faith without works. I do believe that Tyndale was saved. However, he had a hard time reconciling the issue of justification by grace through faith and the issue of good works that follow after salvation. Because of Tyndale's failure to rightly divide, he came up with an incorrect view of justification that was highly influenced by his view on sanctification.	
Heirs of the Inheritance by Faith	Get the Inheritance by Suffering
"How can or ought we then to work, for to purchase that inheritance withal, whereof we are heirs already by faith?" (1527 *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, Tyndale 1:63).	"Moreover comfort thyself with the hope of the blessing of the inheritance of heaven, there to be glorified with Christ, if thou here suffer with him. For if we be like Christ here in his passions, and bear his image in soul and body, and fight manfully that Satan blot it not out, and suffer with Christ for bearing record to righteousness; then shall we be like him in glory" (1533 *An Exposition Upon the V, VI, and VII Chapters of Matthew*, Tyndale 2:28).
The Tyndale quote to the left teaches what Romans 8 and Ephesians 1 correctly teach: we are joint-heirs with Christ by faith and we have an inheritance as part of the family of God in the heavenly places. The Tyndale quote on the right is, interestingly, more in line with what a group like Sonship Edification would teach. Sonship Edification incorrectly teaches that one needs to suffer to become a joint-heir with Christ.	

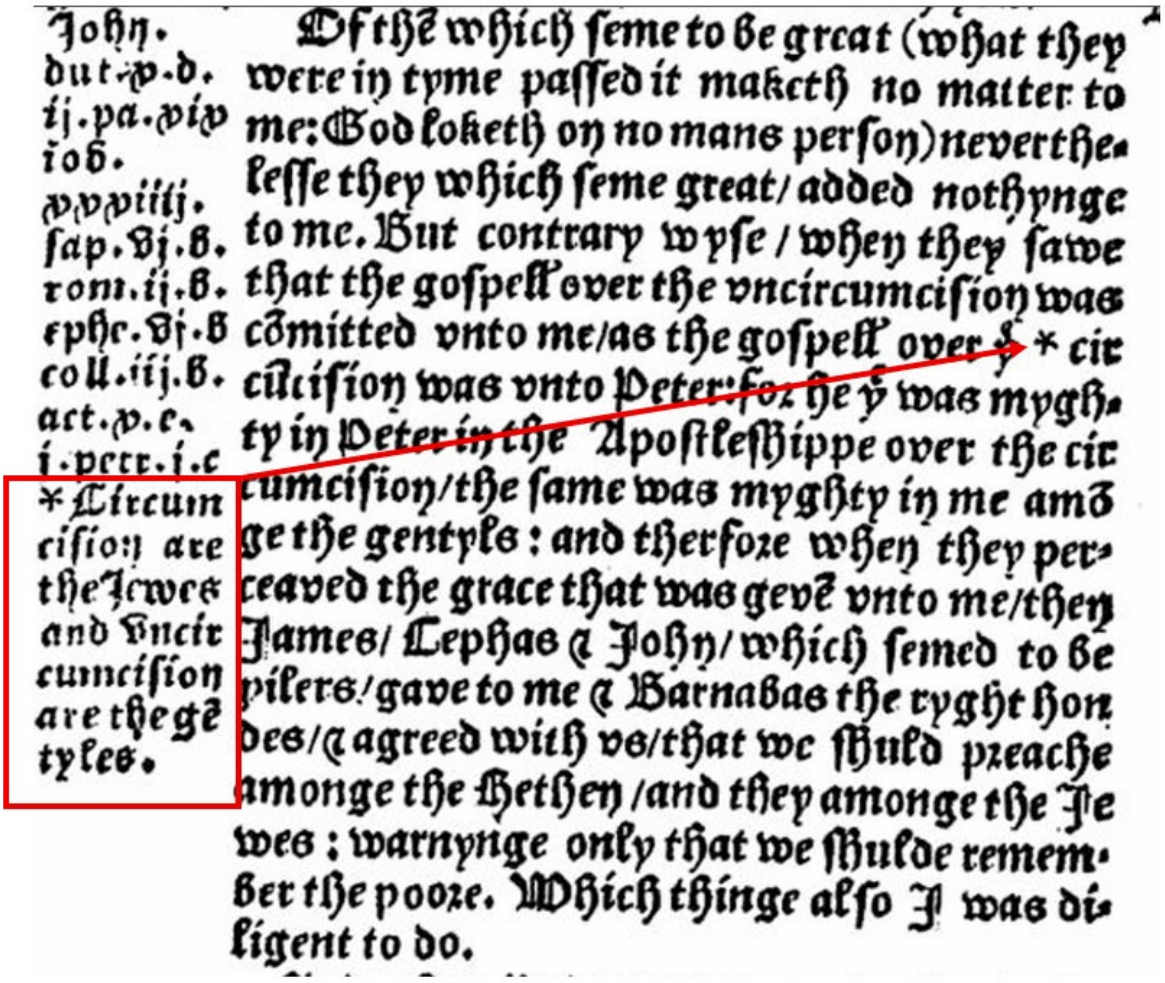
Dispensational Aspects

- It is worth noting that in his 1534 New Testament, Tyndale did recognize some dispensational distinctions that we hold to. However, it is clear he did not internalize or understand them like we would. Nonetheless, the following screenshots are important to mention as they show that what we believe is not a new invention:



1534

Antwerp Octavo BL (H8)—"Paul was an apostle to the heathen and learned his gospel by revelation." (Ephesians 3 marginal note)



1534 Antwerp Octavo BL (H8)— "Circumcision are the Jews and uncircumcision are the gentiles." (Galatians 2 marginal note)

- Let these mentions serve as a lesson for us Mid-Acts Dispensationalists. Tyndale did not understand the distinctions between prophecy and mystery; Israel and the body of Christ; law and grace. However, there were some aspects of Pauline revelation he got just be reading the Scriptures. It proves that Pauline truth was willfully abandoned by religion and overtime starts to be proclaimed again. It has always been on the pages of God's word and people have discovered and learned about it through just reading the Scriptures. Not the church fathers, reformers, or theologians. Tyndale was against relying on their authority and constantly proved all things with the Scriptures. Church history is in favor of the Roman Catholic Church and religion and we are not recognized by them. However, that doesn't mean that there were not people like us back in history—Bryan Ross has done an exceptional job in pointing that out.

- This should encourage us to read the word of God, study it, and meditate upon its precepts Tyndale understood that the Bible was to affect all aspects of one's life, even though he got some of the application wrong. He clearly understood its power, yet many forget it today. We have definitely fallen from Tyndale's day. We have more than Tyndale had when it comes to Bible study, yet people make excuses. It will take time. Get busy and away from the distractions. What is more important God's word or the things of the world? Tyndale knew the answer.

Conclusion

- Based on the information presented in this lesson, I conclude that Tyndale was not strictly Lutheran. He held to a different view of canon than Luther and he had a different definition of justification than Luther. While it is evident that Tyndale relied on Luther's work when it came to the formatting of his translations and marginal notes and there are mentions of Luther in Tyndale's theological treatises, there are enough differences to say that Tyndale was not fully Lutheran.

- Some, such as Ralph S. Werrell and Donald Smeeton, argue that Tyndale's Augustinianism came not from Luther but from John Wycliffe and the Lollards. Recall from lesson 2 of this conference the influence of John Trevisa and the *Polychronicon*, Tyndale's editing of *The Compendious Olde Treatyse*, the six mentions of John Wycliffe in his writings. It is quite plausible that Tyndale was more Lollard than Lutheran.

- In the end, Tyndale was someone who proved all things by the Scriptures. He encountered various ideas, read various church fathers and theologians, and fought against the major religious system of his day. In this regard, he is not Lutheran, he is not Lollard, he is Tyndale and nothing more.

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Lesson 9

Rough Draft: Assessing Tyndale's Impact on the KJB

Prepared & Taught by Bryan C. Ross

Introduction

- The King James Bible is often celebrated as the greatest achievement in the history of the English Bible, yet its translators did not view themselves as creating an entirely new translation. Rather, they saw their task as revising and refining the work of earlier English translators, chief among them William Tyndale.

- Modern readers are often surprised to learn that approximately 80-90% of the King James New Testament can be traced directly to Tyndale's translation work. In many passages, when we read the King James Bible, we are essentially reading Tyndale's English with only minor revisions.

- William Tyndale not only laid the textual foundation for the King James Bible, but he also helped shape the English language itself. Many of the most memorable expressions in English-speaking Christianity first appeared in Tyndale's translations and were later preserved in the King James Bible.

- It is often claimed that the King James Bible can be likened to a finished masterpiece and that, William Tyndale's translation work can be viewed as its rough draft. The purpose of this lesson is to examine the evidence for this claim and to assess the extent of Tyndale's influence on the most famous English Bible ever produced.

William the Translator

- David Daniell attributes the enduring impact of Tyndale's Bible to its simple, elegant language.

    - "The Bible translations of William Tyndale in the 1520s and 1530s are the reason why, reading the English New Testament, and thus in English speaking churches, we do not say at Matthew 6:11,

        > We should be obliged for Your attention in providing our nutritional needs and for so organizing distribution that our daily intake of cereal filler be not in short supply,

      but 'Give us this day our daily bread.' The first passage was written in the 1940s as a parody: but the point is that the language of civil servants in London just after the Second World War is both dated and datable, whereas Tyndale's sentence in the Lord's Prayer is timeless. The simplicity of those seven words, in Saxon vocabulary and syntax, matching the original *koine* (common) Greek, has continued since 1526 in almost all English Bible translations, in the twentieth century made in their scores, with only occasionally the

substitution of 'today' for 'this day.' So it is with hundreds of memorable phrases of English-speaking New Testament Christianity: 'blessed are the poor in spirit' (Matthew 5:3); 'I am the good shepherd' (John 10:14); 'Fight the good fight of faith' (I Timothy 6:12; and many, many more" (Daniell, 133).

- Daniell explains how Tyndale was uniquely equipped to produce a translation that would transcend time in its ability to communicate the truth of God's word in English to people centuries later.

    - "Tyndale's gift not only to English-speaking Christianity, but to language and literature, secular as well as religious, came from a unique ability as a translator. He had the technical skills of fluent and accurate Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and German (and other languages) and the machinery of recent dictionaries and grammars. He had a complete understanding of the complex art of rhetoric. His twin achievements as a translator, still admired, were accuracy and clarity, the latter allowing him variety of expression. Feeling himself free not to use the same English word every time for the same word in Hebrew or Greek (a method labelled in the late twentieth century 'formal correspondence'), he made his own meaning-for-meaning translations (lately labelled 'dynamic equivalence'). [I am not convinced that Daniell is using these concepts accurately.] Tyndale's simplicity, for example in narrative, where he was always superb (as in the Passion narratives in all the Gospels), comes also from a carefully judged flexibility" (Daniell, 133-134).

<u>Tyndale as a Rough Draft of the KJB</u>

- In his book *The King James Bible: A Short History from Tyndale to Today*, Professor David Norton argues that the translational work of William Tyndale served as the rough draft for the KJB.

    - "The KJB translators thought of themselves as revisers, not as creators of a new translation. In the preface, 'the translators to the reader,' they say:

        > Truly, good Christian reader, we never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one... but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be expected against, that hath been our endeavor, that our mark.

      The 'good one' they were to make better was the official Bible of the Church of England, the Bishops Bible 1568, the 'many good ones' were the Testaments and Bibles made by William Tyndale and his successors. These men drafted and re-drafted the KJB" (Norton, 7).

- While he does not explicitly call Tyndale a rough draft of the KJB, Dr. Daniell presents the following statistical information that supports Dr. Norton's thesis.

- "Tyndale clarified the English language. Since the early eighteenth century, the greatest praise has been heaped upon the language of the King James Bible (the 'Authorized Version'), made in 1611. Yet over four-fifths of the New Testament of that version is simply Tyndale's work from eighty years before

  ["Eighty-three per cent of the King James ('Authorized') Version New Testament is directly from Tyndale in 1534" (Daniell, 152).
  "It has been estimated that 80 to 90 percent of the King James Version is the direct expression of Tyndale" (Brake, 106).

  In 1611, one of the last years of Shakespeare's writing life, the English language was at a peak. It surprises nobody that the Bible from that time has immortal glory. Yet it should surprise everyone. The work of Tyndale that was taken over in 1611 was done three generations before, when the English language was a poor thing indeed, almost dead at the bottom of the pond" (Daniel, 136).

- In assessing Tyndale's impact on the English Bible, Dr. Norton states:

  - "Without Tyndale, the English Bible would have been a different and, in all likelihood, lesser thing. Reading the KJB, we are for long stretches reading Tyndale, sometimes little revised, sometimes substantially worked over. A single spirit animates the Protestant—even, to a significant extent, the Catholic—English Bible from Tyndale to the KJB, and Tyndale was its first and most important manifestation" (Norton, 8).

- In terms of his translation work in English, Tyndale truly was a pioneer. While manuscripts of Wycliffe's Lollard Bible were still extant and available for Tyndale to use, Dr. Norton presents the following reasons why imitating Wycliffe was out of step with Tyndale's goals:

  - "'I had no man to counterfeit [imitate], neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same like thing in the Scriptures beforetime' . . . He was indeed a pioneer, yet, as this recognizes, there had been other translations of the Bible or parts of it into English. Most notable among these was the Wycliffe or Lollard Bible which appears in two version about 1382 and 1388. This pre-Reformation manuscript Bible was translated from the Vulgate, first with such literalness that it is like a crib for the Latin, then revised toward slightly more idiomatic English. Tyndale may have been familiar with this, but the Latin source, the very dated English and the excessive literalness would have made it a model to avoid" (Norton, 8).

- Moreover, with the possible exception of Luther, Tyndale did not have very many non-English models to follow when translating. Therefore, Tyndale was very reliant upon original language texts. Tyndale's last surviving letter, written from prison while awaiting martyrdom, asks for "the Hebrew bible, Hebrew grammar, and Hebrew dictionary, that I may pass the time in that study." Regarding this request, Dr. Norton writes:

- "We should not take this as suggesting that he continued his translation in prison—he would have needed much more for that, paper not least—but it does show what he considered basic for this study: text, grammar, and dictionary" (Norton, 9).

- Tyndale's 1534 revision of his New Testament bears similar witness to Tyndale's reliance upon Greek. The title itself reads, "diligently corrected and compared with the Greek." Moreover, in his preface "W.T. unto the reader" Tyndale states the following:

    - "I have looked over it again (now at the last) with all diligence, and compared it unto the Greek, and have weeded out of it many faults, which lack of help at the beginning, and oversight, did sow therein. If ought seemed changed, or not altogether agreeing with the Greek, let the finder of the fault consider the Hebrew phrase or manner of speech left in the Greek" (Tyndale 1534).

- Therefore, Professor Norton writes, "Tyndale's first study was the original language text, and his primary effort was to be as true to it as possible, including keeping to its 'phrase or manner of speech'" (Norton, 9). In addition to original language texts, grammars, and dictionaries Tyndale also had the following additional helps:

    - "For the NT he had Erasmus's Greek text and Latin translation, and the Vulgate; he appears also to have had a general knowledge of other translations, for he writes of 'all the translators that ever I heard of in what tongue soever it be.' And he had Luther. Martin Luther, giant among giants of the Reformation, published the first edition of his German NT in 1522; the Pentateuch followed in 1523, and Joshua to the Song of Solomon in 1524. For the OT, Tyndale had the Vulgate, the Septuagint, Luther, and possibly Pagninus.

      Estimates of Tyndale's dependence on these aids vary. Westcott and Hammond are most persuasive. Westcott demonstrates that 'both in his first translation and in his two subsequent revisions [1534, 1535] of the NT, [Tyndale] dealt directly and principally with the Greek text. If he used the Vulgate or Erasmus or Luther it was with the judgment of a scholar. His Greek was proficient, but he probably needed more help with the Hebrew, since he began to learn that language late, probably about 1526. . .

      While truth to the original languages was Tyndale's scholarly priority, his motivation was to make the Scriptures comprehensible [Norton's word choice here conveys that Tyndale dumbed down the language of the New Testament to match that of the man on the street, which he did not do.] to his fellow countrymen" (Norton, 9-10).

- Dr. Norton chronicles how Tyndale's Bible literally touched off a linguistic and literary revolution.

    "The Bible in English shaped Protestant English-speaking culture. It was not just that the Bible was read, heard and known: the Bible in English made the individualistic act of

reading and understanding primary, creating a culture wedded to the belief that understood words were of the highest importance. Besides this, the Bible, more than any other writing in English, shaped the English language. This was an unlooked-for consequence of Tyndale's work, for he never set out to create a linguistic or literary revolution. Yet this, besides the religious revolution, is what he created. The decisions he made as to the kind of English he should use have affected every speaker and writer of English. Thomas More, his arch-antagonist, mockingly suggested that 'all England must now to go to school with Tyndale to learn English.' His point was the difficulty of Tyndale's language. That we now find it remarkably straightforward and even powerful is precisely because all England went to school with Tyndale and learned English from him and his successors, most notably from the principal form his work took, the KJB" (Norton, 11).

- In his book, Dr. Norton highlights that before Tyndale, English was not perceived as a suitable language for literature or scholarship, much less the Bible.
    - "In spite of the many English literary achievements we now recognize for times before Tyndale, English had no prestige as a language for literature or scholarship. . . to translate the Bible into English was both to debase it and put it into a langue many felt had not the ability to express meaning" (Norton, 11-12).
- Given his goal to provide the ploughboy with a Bible he could read while at the same time being accurate to the original languages, Tyndale elected to approximate the English he heard spoken around him in his Bible.
    - "He had his duty to the text, and we have already seen that he tried to shape his style to its styles. He also had his duty to his audience, imagined as the 'boy that driveth the plough" (we would say, the man in the street): it was a duty to be comprehensible to an unsophisticated audience, so the unavoidable choice was to write in a way that approximated the English he heard spoken all around him. These two duties were paramount, and the choices seem inevitable.

      He probably had two other choices. One was to make the translation thoroughly literal, following the word order of the original and imitating its vocabulary whenever possible. This would sometimes have worked against the duty to be comprehensible. Another way to try to write appropriately majestic religious English, if only such a thing existed—but it did not. The nearest he might have come would have been to try to write majestically by shaping his langue according to the best standards of eloquence he knew, those of the classical Latin and Greek. Again the question of comprehensibility would have arisen, for the audience he had in mind did not know Latin. Latin was far less assimilated into English then than it is now. The common people would have heard much of what we take for granted as English as a foreign language only partly assimilated into their own, and they would have found Latin sentence structures very alien to their own way of talking. Any attempt to write with the eloquence of the classics would have sinned

against both comprehensibility and the English language just as much as a literal translation would have.

There was a further, political reason for avoiding a Latinate way of writing, either in vocabulary or sentence structure. It would have seemed too close to the language of the Vulgate and the Catholic Church, and so to be supporting the institution he opposed.

Tyndale's choice was to attempt a balance between ordinary English and the ways of writing he found in the original languages. Fortunately, as he observed, the Hebrew (and to some extent the Greek) way of writing, especially in its simple sentence structures and its vocabulary tied to the very word, fitted well with English. . . [Tyndale stated the following in *Obedience of a Christian Man*]

> Saint Jerome also translated the Bible into his mother tongue. Why may not we also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English word for word, when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shall have much work to translate it well-favouredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin, as it hath in the Hebrew. A thousand parts better it be translated into the English than into the Latin.

This perception of qualities in English that matched the Greek and, especially, the Hebrew is crucial to the way Tyndale translated. He could often translate 'word for word,' that is, literally, and still write natural English that would reveal the full meaning of the original. It would be as true to the meaning of the Vulgate, and truer to the way the originals were written. This in general terms, was to be the method, style, and purpose of the KJB" (Norton, 12-13).

- It is important to note that the statistics cited above by Dr. Daniell apply to the New Testament only. This is due largely to the fact that Tyndale was not able to finish his work on the Old Testament before his martyrdom in 1536.

- It was Tyndale's 1534 and 1535 revisions that served as base text for the KJB New Testament. John Rogers, a friend of Tyndale's and author of the 1537 Matthew's Bible, move forward the text of Tyndale's 1535 revision in the New Testament of 1537 Bible. In this manner, the readings found in the 1535 edition of Tyndale passed into King James' Bible.

- In his classic work from 1883 titled *Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible*, J.I. Mombert offers the following insight into the level of revision that Tyndale foisted upon his 1526 New

Testament in 1534. The following table compares Tyndale's 1526 translation with his revision in 1535 for Matthew 6. Please note that I have updated the spelling for ease of reading.

Verse	1526	1534
Matt. 6:1	your father in heaven.	your father **which is** in heaven.
Matt. 6:7	But when ye pray. gentiles.	**And** when ye pray. **heathen**.
Matt. 6:12	as we forgive them which trespass us	as we forgive **our trespassers**.
Matt. 6:13	Lead us not into temptation, but deliver vs from evil. Amen.	And lead us not into temptation, but deliver vs from evil. **For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever**. Amen.
Matt. 6:16	that they might appear unto men that they fast.	that they might **be seen of men how** they fast.
Matt. 6:21	there are your hearts also.	there **will** your hearts **be** also.
Matt. 6:22	The light of thy body. is full of light.	The light of the body. **shalbe** full of light.
Matt. 6:24	he shall lene the one.	he shall lene **to** the one.
Matt. 6:25	what raiment ye shall wear.	**what ye shall put on**.
Matt. 6:26	Are ye not better than they?	Are ye not **much** better than they?
Matt. 6:28	Behold the lilies.	**Consider** the lilies.
Matt. 6:34	Care not therefore for the day following; For the day following shall care for it self. Each days trouble is sufficient for the same self day.	Care not **then** for the **morrow**, but let the **morrow** care for it self; **for the day present hath ever enough of his own trouble**, (Mombert, 132-133)

- In his *The King James Bible: A Short History from Tyndale to Today*, Dr. Norton provides an additional example of the level of revision that Tyndale visited upon his 1526 text in 1534. The table below compares Tyndale's 1526 New Testament with his 1534 edition in Matthew 1:18-21. I have added the column making an additional comparison with the KJB. Please note that bold words indicate wording changes from the previous column.

Tyndale (1526)	Tyndale (1534)	AV 1611
18) The birth of Christ was on this wise, when his mother Mary was married unto Joseph, before they came to dwell together, she was found with child by the holy Ghost. 19) Then her husband Joseph, being a perfect man, and loath to	18) The birth of **Jesus** Christ was on this wise, when his mother Mary was **betrothed** unto Joseph, before they came to dwell together, she was found with child by the holy Ghost. 19) Then **Joseph her husband**, being a perfect man, and loath to	18) **Now** the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When as his mother Mary was **espoused** to Joseph, before they **came together**, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. 19) Then Joseph her husband, being a **just** man, and **not willing** to make her a **publick**

defame her, was minded to put her away secretly. 20) While he thus thought, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in his sleep, saying, 'Joseph the son of David, fear not to take unto thee, Mary thy wife. For that which is conceived in her, is of the holy Ghost. 21) She shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus. For he shall save his people from their sins.	**make an example of** her, was minded to put her away secretly. 20) While he thus thought, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him **in a dream**, saying, 'Joseph the son of David, fear not to take unto thee, Mary thy wife. For that which is conceived in her, is of the holy Ghost. 21) She shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus. For he shall save his people from their sins.	**example**, was minded to put her away **privily**. 20) **But** while he thought **on these things**, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the **H**oly Ghost. 21) **And** she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name **JESUS**: for he shall save his people from their sins.

- As one can see, the King James New Testament from 1611 is essentially Tyndale's 1534 edition with only slight revisions. Regarding the revisions made by Tyndale in 1534, Dr. Norton states the following:

    - "Tyndale's 1534 revisions make the translation more literal. 'Married' becomes 'bethrothed,' and opens up the question of were they actually husband and wife. 'Loath to defame her' becomes 'loath to make an example of her,' which is closer to the literal sense of the Greek to make a paradigm of her. Now, 1534 has some annotations; one of them explains 'example': 'that is to say, to bring her out to punishment for the example of others.' Evidently he felt that 'defame' was too vague, simply giving a rough sense of the situation, and that, with the help of annotation, he could now give a truer sense of the original. In v. 18, 'Christ' becomes the Greek's 'Jesus Christ:' his first translation, whether deliberately or not, corresponded to the Vulgate, Erasmus's Latin and Luther. 'Her husband Joseph' is changed to the Greek word order, 'Joseph her husband.' In the first version of v. 20, 'the Lord appeared unto him in his sleep,' 'his' has no equivalent in the Greek (or the Latin), but 'in. . . sleep' follows the Latin. The Greek is literally what Tyndale changed it to, 'in a dream.'

      There are limits to how far Tyndale is prepared to move towards literalness: he does not make Greek word order into a fetish, and he frequently avoids participial phrases. Overall, his choices and changes show him as a deeply thoughtful translator whose priority having once translated, was to bring his work closer to the literal meaning, and even to the word order of the Greek, while always maintaining a strong sense of normal English structures.

> Two elements of the model Tyndale gave for English biblical translation are apparent in this passage. One is the judicious fidelity to the syntax and grammar of the original languages, even to the point of including a present participle in the Mathew passage, 'being a perfect man' (v. 19), and so delaying the main verb until the latter part of the sentence: this would not have troubled an educated man, but was not the basic English of the ploughboy. The other key element is the choice of predominantly native English vocabulary. 'Married' (1526), 'perfect,' 'defame' (1525), 'example' (1534), 'secretly,' 'appeared' and 'conceived' come from the Latin by way of Old French and Middle English. All were familiar English. Only 'perfect' is used in a sense that might have eluded an ordinary reader or hearer" (Norton, 35).

- On the matter of Tyndale's work furnishing the rough draft for the KJB, Mombert offers substantial documentary evidence for this conclusion, though this is not his main point.

    - "A few brief examples of Tyndale's version, in which the portions in Roman type show what remains of it in the Authorized Version, will be perused with interest; no change has been made in the spelling. The first is a passage from the Pentateuch; the others are taken from the edition of 1534" (Mombert, 142).

- In the following selected examples, provided by Mombert, I have kept his formatting with the addition of underlining and bolding words italicized by Mombert to help them stand out. I have also modernized Mombert's spelling for ease of reading. Simply stated, words in plain font indicate words and phrases where the King James translators followed Tyndale without alteration. Words that are italicized, underlined, and bolded words indicate places where Tyndale's wording was changed by the King James translators. Please note that the italicized words do not correspond with italicized words in the KJB but rather changes the King James translators made to Tyndale's text.

- Numbers 16:28-30
    - 28. And Moses said: Hereby ***ye shall*** know that the Lord hath sent me to do all these works, ***and that*** I have not done them of mine own mind.
      29. If these men die the common death of all men, or if they be visited after the visitation of all men, then the Lord hath not sent me.
      30. But, ***and*** if the Lord make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth, and swallow them, ***and*** all that ***pertain*** unto them, ***so that*** they go down quick into *hell*, then ye shall ***understand that these men have railed upon*** the Lord.

- Matthew 8:1-13
    - 1. When he was come down from the mountain, ***much people*** followed him.
      2. And ***lo***, there came a leper, and worshiped him saying: ***Master***, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.

3. And Jesus put forth his hand and touched him saying: I will, be thou clean, and immediately his leprosy was cleansed.
4. And Jesus ***aside*** unto him. See thou tell no man, but go *and* show thyself to the priest, and offer the gift that Moses commanded, ***in witness*** to them.
5. When Jesus was entered into Capernaum there came unto him a ***certain*** Centurion, and ***besought*** him
6. Saying: ***Master*** my servant lieth sick at home-of the palsy, and is grievously ***pained***,
7. And Jesus *said* unto him: I will come and heal him.
8. The Centurion answered and ***aside***: ***Sir*** I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof, but speak the word only and my servant shall be healed.
9. For I ***also myself*** am a man under ***power, and have*** soldiers under me, and I say to ***one***, go, and he goeth, and to another come, and he cometh: and to my servant, do this, and he doeth it.
10. When Jesus heard ***that***, he marveled and said to them that followed ***him***. Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith: no, not in Israel.
11. I say ***therefore*** unto you that many shall come from the east and west, and shall ***rest*** with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven:
12. ***And*** the children of the Kingdome shall be cast out into otter darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.
13. ***Then*** Jesus said unto the Centurion, go thy way, and as thou ***believest*** so be it unto the. And his servant was healed the self [KJB—"selfsame"] hour.

- Acts 15:36-41
    - 36. ***But after a certain space***, Paul said unto Barnabas: Let us go again and visit our brethren in every cite where we have ***shewed*** the word of the Lorde, and see how they do.
      37. And Barnabas ***gave counsel*** to take with them John, ***called also*** Mark.
      38. But Paul thought ***it not mete*** to take him ***unto their company***, ***whiche*** departed from them at Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work.
      39. And the ***dissension*** was so sharp between them, that they departed a sunder one from the other: so ***that*** Barnabas toke Mark, and sailed unto Cyprus.
      40. And Paul chose Sylas and departed ***delivered*** of the brethren unto the grace of God.
      41. And he went through ***all*** Syria and Cilicia, ***stablishing the congregations***.

- Romans 3:1-8
    - 1. What ***preferment*** then hath the Jew? ***other what a vauntageth*** circumcision?
      2. ***Surely*** ***very*** much. First unto them ***was*** committed the ***word*** of God.
      3. ***What then though*** some ***of them*** did not believe? shall their unbelieve make the ***promise*** of god with out effect ?
      4. God forbid. Let god be true, and ***all men liars***, as it is written: That thou mighest be justified in thy sayings and ***shouldest*** overcome when thou art judged.

5. If our unrighteousness make the righteousness of God ***more excellent***: what shall we say? Is God unrighteous which taketh vengeance? I speak ***after the manner of men***.
6. God forbid. For how then shall God judge the world?
7. If the ***verity*** of God ***appear more excellent*** through my lie, unto his ***praise*****,** why am I ***henceforth*** judged as a sinner?
8. And ***say*** not rather (***as men evil speak of us***, and as some affirm that we say) let vs do evil, that good may come ***thereof***. Whose damnation is just.

- I Corinthians 15:51-53
  - 51. Behold I shew you a mystery. We shall not all sleep; but we shall all be changed, ***and that*** in a moment, and in the twinkling of an eye, at the ***sound of the*** last trompe.
  - 52. For the trompe shall ***blow***, and the deed shall ***rise*** incorruptible, and we ***shalbe*** changed.
  - 53. For this corruptible must put on ***incorruptibility***; and this mortal must put on immortality.

- Revelation 2:12-17
  - 12. And to the ***messenger*** of the ***congregation*** in Pergamos write: ***This*** sayth he which hath the sharp sword with two edges.
  - 13. I know thy works and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is, and thou ***keepest*** my name and hast not denied my faith. ***And in my*** days Antipas was a faithful ***witness of mine***, which was slain among you where Satan dwelleth.
  - 14. But I have a few things against the: ***that*** thou hast there, ***they*** that ***maintain*** the doctrine of Balaam ***which taught in*** balake, ***to put occasion of sin*** before the children of Israel, ***that they should*** eat ***of meat dedicated*** unto idols, and to commit fornication.
  - 15. Even so hast thou them that maintain the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate.
  - 16. ***But be converted*** or else I will come unto the ***shortly*** and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth.
  - 17. Let him ***that hath ears*** hear what the sprite sayeth unto the ***congregations***: To him that overcommeth will I give to eat manna ***that is hid***, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knowneth, saving he that receiveth it.

- Simply from a visual inspection of the foregoing, it is evident that that the vast majority of the words in the KJV are Tyndale.

- The form of English found in Tyndale's translations was neither "natural" nor "majestic" when it first appeared on the stage of history. That said, Tyndale's English served not only as the rough draft for the King James Bible but also as the English tutor for an entire nation. So much so that by the time the King James Version was translated in the early 17th century it was viewed by many as "English perfected."

- ". . . Tyndale's English—and subsequently that of the KJB—did not seem as natural and easy as we are inclined to think it. Nor did it seem grand or majestic. England did learn English from Tyndale. In drafting the KJB he shaped English so that, as the years passed, many came to see the KJB as English perfected" (Norton, 13-14).

The Matthew's Bible: The Complete Work of Willian Tyndale

- William Tyndale was arrested in Antwerp, Belgium on May 21, 1535. This puts Tyndale and John Rogers together in Antwrep and living in the English House at the time of Tyndale's apprehension. It is, therefore, beyond historical doubt that the two men knew each other.

  - "Tyndale was strangled and burned on 6 October 1536. In the sixteen months after his arrest and removal from Antwerp to Brussels, it is not known what had happened to his manuscript translations of Joshua to 2 Chronicles. The papers would be bulky. Somehow on Tyndale's arrest they survived Pierre Dufief's (illegal raid) on the English House to seize all his property. He [Rogers] was the man who made sure that they were printed, in what became the most influential of all the early printed English Bibles, "'Matthew's Bible.'" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*,190)

  - "In 1535 and 1536, Rogers, friend of Tyndale, was an ideal person to take the translator's work further. He [Rogers] was a graduate with an undoubted flair for languages. . . he could hardly go to Antwerp not knowing the name of Tyndale" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 192-193).

- Therefore, the Matthew's Bible is of major historical significance because in it we find the complete work of William Tyndale, i.e., all the portions of the Bible that he translated before he died. Regarding this matter Professor Daniell states the following:

  - "To this steadfast and courageous reformed pastor and preacher the English-speaking Christian world owes a debt of particular gratitude. Working with, apparently, the printer Matthew Crom in Antwerp, John Rogers put together in 1537 a handsome thick folio, well printed in clear black letter in double columns. This contained, for the first time as part of a large complete Bible, all Tyndale's printed Bible translations: that is, the 1534 New Testament and the Pentateuch, the 'Five Books of Moses': they were given almost unchanged. For the first time, moreover, there appeared an English translation of the nine historical books ending at 2 Chronicles made from Hebrew. That this was the work of Tyndale is now beyond doubt. Tyndale's vulnerable manuscript pages had safely arrived in print" (Daniel, *The Bible in English*, 193).

- Therefore, I think it is safe to conclude that Tyndale's translation accomplishments with respect to the Old Testament include the following before his martyrdom in 1536.

- 1530 Pentateuch
  - *W.T. to the Reader*
  - *A Prologue Showing the Use of Scripture*
  - The First Book of Moses, called Genesis
  - *A Table Expounding Certain Words*
  - *A Prologue into the Second Book of Moses, called Exodus*
  - *A Table Expounding Certain Words of the Second Book of Moses*
  - The Second Book of Moses, called Exodus
  - *A Prologue into the Third Book of Moses, called Leviticus*
  - The Third Book of Moses, called Leviticus
  - *A Prologue into the Fourth Book of Moses, called Numbers*
  - The Fourth Book of Moses, called Numbers
  - *A Prologue into the Fifth Book of Moses, called Deuteronomy*
  - The Fifth Book of Moses, called Deuteronomy

- 1537 Matthew's Bible
  - The Book of Joshua
  - The Book of Judges
  - The Book of Ruth
  - The First Book of Samuel
  - The Second Book of Samuel
  - The First Book of the Kings
  - The Second Book of the Kings
  - The Chronicles of the Kings of Juda, The First Book
  - The Chronicles of the Kings of Juda, The Second Book
  - The Prologue to the Prophet Jonah
  - The Story of the Prophet Jonah

- All told, Tyndale is responsible for penning the rough draft for 15 of the 39 books or 38 % of the Old Testament found in the KJB. In addition to producing full English renderings for the fifteen books listed above, it is important to note that Tyndale's 1534 and 1535 New Testament revisions also included English translations for a select number of Old Testament passages not included in the preceding list.

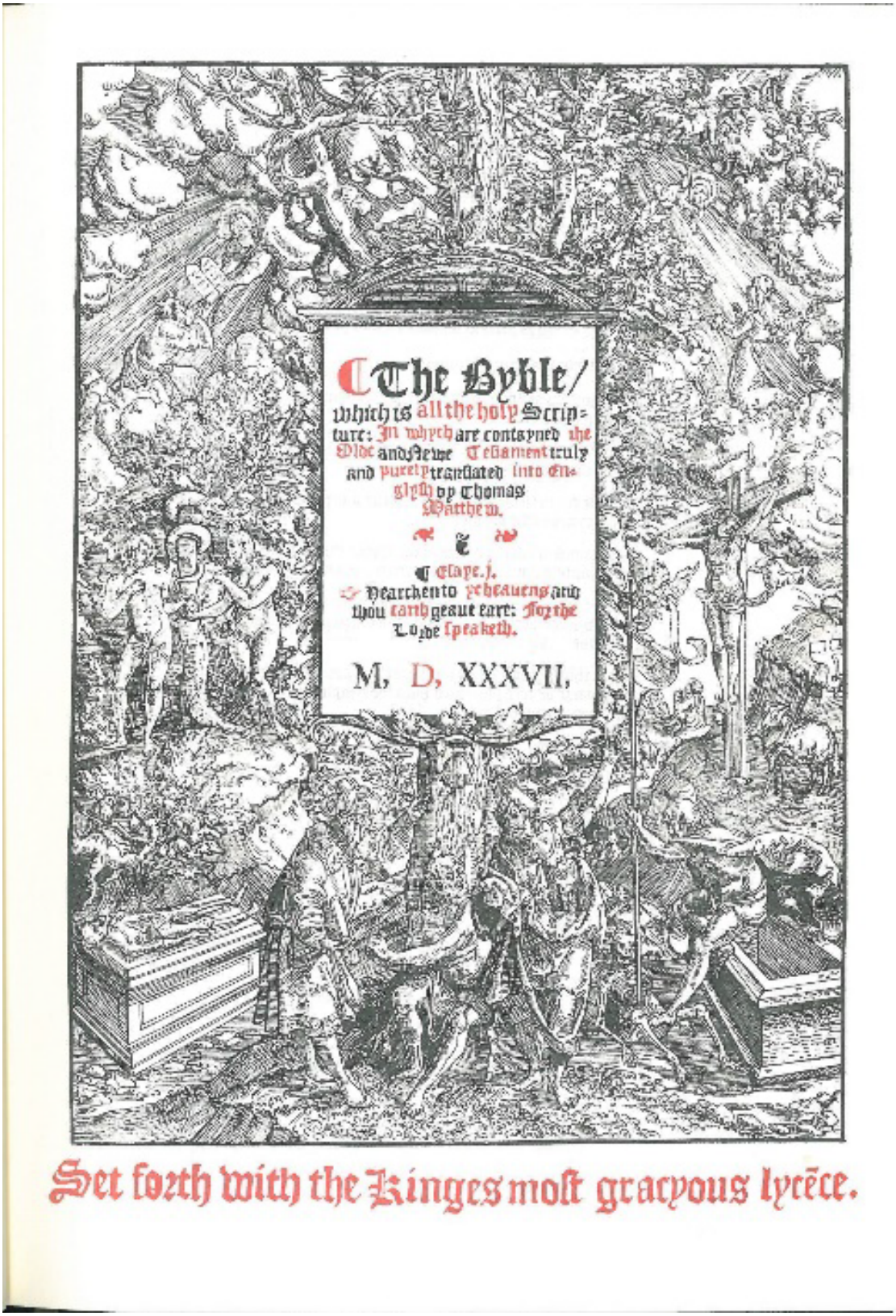
- The parts of the scripture found in the Matthew's Bible that had not been supplied by Tyndale were taken from Coverdale's 1535 Bible.

  - "For the parts of the Bible that Tyndale did not live to reach (or, just possibly, finish), Rogers printed Coverdale. So the high poetry from Job to Malachi, half the Old Testament, twenty-two books of poems and prophecy, and thirteen of the fourteen books

> of the Apocrypha, Rogers gives a version, albeit made by dedicated and learned men, who could sometimes be splendid in his formulations as we saw above, but who knew neither Hebrew nor Greek, Miles Coverdale" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 193).

Henry VIII Licenses the Matthew's Bible

- The title page to the 1537 Matthews Bible reads as follows:
    - "The Bible which is the holy Scripture: in which are contained the Old and New Testaments truly and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew."
- Then, across the bottom of the page in large letters one reads the following words:
    - "Set forth with the Kings most gracious license."


The Byble/
which is all the holy Scripture: In whych are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament truly and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew.
Esaye. j.
Hearken to ye heauens and thou earth geaue eare: For the Lorde speaketh.
M, D, XXXVII.
Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous lycēce.

- How did this Bible, which was largely the work of William Tyndale, receive the approval of King Henry VIII? The answer is found largely in the activities of Archbishop Cranmer and Vicar-General Cromwell, according to Bible historian and collector Donald L. Brake. Cranmer and Cromwell had sought without success for the King to sanction the Coverdale Bible in 1535.

    - "On August 4. 1537, Archbishop Cranmer wrote a letter to Vicar-General Cromwell commending a new Bible translation and seeking his approval. Pollard recorded the letter:

        > That you shall receive by the bringer hereof, a Bible in English, both of a new translation and of a new printing dedicated unto the Kings Majesty, as farther appeareth by an epistle unto his grace in the beginning of the book, which, in my opinion is very well done, and therefore I pray your lordship to read the same... and forasmuch as the book is dedicated unto the kings grace, and also great pains and labour taken in setting forth the same, I pray you my Lord, that you would exhibit the book unto the kings highness: and to obtain of his Grace, if you can, a license that the same may be sold and read of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore, granted to the contrary, until such time that we, the Bishops shall set forth a better translation, which I think will not be till a day after doomsday." (Quoted in Brake, 127)

- The success of Cromwell's venture is evidenced by Cranmer's letter dated August 13, 1537 in which he thanks him (Cromwell) for his good offices in that he:

    - "... hath not only exhibited the Bible... to the king's majesty, but also have obtained of his grace that the same shall be allowed by his authority to be bought and read within the realm" (Mombert, 178).

- Regarding the outcome of Cranmer's letter to Cromwell, Brake reports the following:

    - "Cromwell acted immediately by presenting this new Bible (Matthew's) to Henry VIII for his approval. Henry, after some consideration, granted the request. It was official. A new Bible translation received the "divine" blessing of the king.

      Clearly an authorized Bible would be a bestseller. For years the only Bibles one could get were either Latin or black-market Tyndale versions. The price for printing the first "officially licensed Bible" was still in question... Richard Grafton received the license to print the Matthew's Bible (1537) and it is so stated on the title page. He sought to enlist Cromwell to help him receive royal support for permission to be the sole publisher of all

"authorized" Bibles (which would have included the Coverdale Bible as well). Cromwell did not grant his petition" (Brake, 128).

- As usual, Professor David Daniell offers more detail on the King's Licensing of the Matthew's Bible:

    - "So in 1537, the London reforming merchants Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch underwrote an edition of 1,500 copies which were shipped to England... It was Grafton who sent to—now Archbishop—Cranmer a copy of Matthew's Bible. Cranmer on 4 August 1537 wrote to Thomas Cromwell—now King Henry's VIII's Vicegerent for ecclesiastical affairs—a letter accompanying this copy, saying '... as the translation, so far as I have read heretofore I like it better than any other translation heretofore made.' [This is ironic. It is essentially the same language as the prior Tyndale versions.] The Archbishop asked the Vicegerent to show the book to the king, in the hope that he would allow it to go forth to the people, without any danger from any act, ordinance or proclamation.

      Cromwell had been able to ensure not just the dedication of this English Bible to the king, as had happened with Coverdale's version, but a license... Cromwell, having showed the new book to the king, began proceedings for setting up an English Bible in every parish church...

      Henry licensed it for distribution at once, prompting Grafton to send six copies to Cromwell as a gift... Cromwell then encouraged bishops to order copies for their churches. He did more. Early in 1538 he required local Justices of the Peace to make sure that the parish priests were preaching the Word of God, and recommending the people to have an English Bible. Both Archbishops, Canterbury and York, and at least one other bishop, ordered every beneficed priest to have at least a Latin-English New Testament and to read a chapter a day in it. Demand was high. The first English/Latin diglot New Testament was in 1538, with Tyndale's English and Erasmus's Latin. There were three editions of Coverdale's slightly more Vulgate-based New Testament, with the Vulgate alongside, in 1538.

      Less than twelve months before, Tyndale's dying words outside of Brussels had been, "Lord open the King of England's eyes." Now the king was licensing a complete Bible in English. The ironies are truly tragic. Had Tyndale escaped arrest, had Henry Phillips, the Judas who betrayed him at the English House, not also succeeded in blocking all the English court's attempts to release him; had Tyndale lived for a few more months until the king changed his mind, and even welcomed him home—then we would have had in our English Bibles for ever after as a base text the poetry of the Psalms and the Song of

> Songs, of Job, the Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, and so much else, a version made by a master both of Hebrew—and of Hebrew poetry—and of English.
>
> Cromwell found that there were simply not enough copies available. He wanted to place one in every parish church in the land, of which there were about 9,000"
> (Daniell, 194-195).

- As to the question of whether Cromwell and Cranmer knew that the Matthew's Bible was nearly two-thirds the work of William Tyndale, Professor Daniell states the following:
    - "We do not know whether Cranmer knew that the bulk of this admired volume was the work of Tyndale: Cromwell certainly did" (Daniell, 195).
- Condit sums up the long-term impact of the Matthew's Bible in the following statement:
    - "The pre-eminence of Matthew's Bible consists in the fact that while it was largely based upon Tyndale's translation, it became the basis of subsequent English versions, including at the last our present English Bible. The several links in the chain are traceable, since Matthew's Bible (1537), through revision, became the Great Bible of 1539–1540; which in turn, by revision, became the Bishop's Bible of 1568; which again in turn, became King James' Bible of 1611. There are other very important links, but these indicate the line of authorized succession; although the authority does not always appear, since the revisers from the first manifested great liberality and good sense in the use of the various helps before them" (Condit, 189-190).

Conclusion

- William Tyndale's work did not merely influence the King James Bible—it formed its foundation. Roughly 80–90% of the KJB New Testament derives directly from Tyndale's 1534–1535 revisions, reflecting the fact that the KJB translators saw themselves as revisers of an already strong English Bible rather than creators of a new one. Tyndale established the translation philosophy the KJB would adopt: fidelity to the original Greek and Hebrew, clarity for ordinary readers, and natural yet dignified English.
- Beyond translation, Tyndale reshaped the English language itself. At a time when English lacked scholarly prestige, his biblical English became the standard by which later English prose—including the KJB—was judged, effectively schooling an entire nation in biblical English. His influence was preserved and completed through the Matthew's Bible (1537), which gathered all of Tyndale's extant biblical work and became the basis for subsequent authorized English Bibles leading directly to the KJB.

- Although Tyndale was martyred in 1536, his dying prayer—"Lord, open the King of England's eyes"—was answered within a year when a Bible largely composed of his work was officially licensed by Henry VIII. The King James Bible stands as the crown of the English Bible tradition, but Tyndale remains its indispensable foundation.

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Lesson 10
Arrest, Execution & Legacy: Assessing Tyndale's Impact on the English Language
Prepared & Taught by David W. Reid

The Political Climate in England from 1522-1535

- 1522: Anne Boleyn returns to England from travelling abroad in the Netherlands and serving in the court of Queen Claude of France. Anne is fluent in French, has learned courtly manners, became familiar with humanism, and is skilled in music, dance and poetry. She is conversant in politics and is known for her intelligence and wit. She becomes lady-in-waiting to Catherine and is noticed by Henry VIII.

- 1525-1526: Henry begins pursuing Anne, but she refuses to become his mistress, resulting in Henry becoming even more obsessed with her.

- 1526: Tyndale publishes his first New Testament in Germany. Tyndale's New Testament was illegal at that time in England and had to be smuggled into the country.

- 1527: Catherine is age 41 and will turn 42 on December 16, 1527. She has borne no children in the prior nine years, and Henry believes Catherine is past childbearing age. Henry still wants a male heir to put the Tudor dynasty on more stable footing. Recall that Henry's father was the survivor of a civil war involving disputed claims to the throne.

- Henry decides that he wants to annul his marriage to Catherine. His argument for the annulment is that the marriage was never valid based upon Lev 20:21. One of the ironies in this situation is that Henry previously requested a papal dispensation based on Lev 20:21, which is in fact canon law. None of this makes any scriptural sense.

- 1527-1532: After Henry requests the annulment in 1527, there are several years of diplomatic and political struggles between England and Rome, but Pope Clement VII never grants the annulment.

- 1528: Tyndale writes *The Obedience of A Christian Man*. It addresses the scriptural obligations for different roles – e.g., husbands, fathers, children, landlords, servants, masters, kings, princes, etc. Significantly, Tyndale advocates not for rising up against the king but with the king against the bondage of the papists.

    - "And he ought to take away from these papists their lands which they have gotten with their false prayers, and restore it to the rightful heirs again – or with advice and consent, turn these lands toward maintaining the poor, and bringing up youth virtuously, and maintaining necessary officers and ministers to defend the commonwealth. If he will not do it, then the commoners ought to take it patiently, and take it as God's scourge; and think that God has blinded the king for their own sins' sake; and commit their cause to God" (Tyndale, *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, A Compendious Summary).

    - "Yes, a man might be thoroughly persuaded that it is not lawful to resist his king, even if the king were to wrongfully take away his life and goods; yet might he think that it is lawful to

resist the hypocrites, and to rise up, not *against* his king but *with* his king, to deliver his king out of the bondage and captivity in which the hypocrites hold him with their wiles and falsehood, so that no man may be allowed to come to his king, to tell him the truth" (Tyndale, *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, Prologue).

- "There you see the cause why it is impossible for kings to come to the knowledge of the truth. For the sprites lay in wait for them, and serve their appetites at all points; and through confession they buy and sell and betray both the kings and all their true friends, and lay baits for them, and never leave them till they have blinded them with their sophistry, and have brought them into their nets. And then, when the king is captive, they compel all the rest by the violence of his sword. For if any man will not obey them, whether right or wrong, they cite him, suspend him, and curse or excommunicate him. If then he does not obey, they deliver him to Pilate, that is, to the temporal officers, to destroy him. Last of all, there you find the very cause of all persecution, which is preaching against hypocrisy" (Tyndale, *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, A Compendious Summary).

- 1529: More writes *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* as a refutation of Lutheranism in general and in particular, *The Obedience of A Christian Man*. More advocates capital punishment as a proper punishment for heresy. More becomes Lord Chancellor in 1529.
  - "The most famous attack came from Thomas More, who had become Lord Chancellor of England. More's attacks on Tyndale were vicious, and so extreme as to be a form of madness" (Ryken, 59).

- 1530: Tyndale writes *The Practice of Prelates* for the purpose of opposing Henry VIII's divorce proceeding against Catherine. Tyndale believed the divorce proceeding was a trap set by Cardinal Wolsey to weaken England's alliance with Emperor Charles V and the Habsburgs and to precipitate the French invasion of England and to keep England under the power of France.
  - Tyndale should be viewed as an English patriot.
  - "Tyndale's New Testament was a patriotic book that grew out of loyalty to his nation" (Ryken, 91).

- 1530: Thomas Hitton is martyred.

- 1531: Thomas Bilney, Richard Bayfield, and John Tewkesbury are all martyred.

- 1531: Tyndale writes *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*.

- 1532: James Bainham is martyred. England is regularly killing Protestants for the crime of being Protestants.

- 1532-1533: More writes *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* and forcefully advocates the death penalty for heretics. More is attempting, unsuccessfully, to provide a valid intellectual justification for burning people at the stake for desiring the word of God.

- "But Tyndale's books and their own malice maketh them heretics. And for heretics, as they be… the clergy doth denounce them. And as they be well worthy, the temporalty doth burn them. And after the fire of Smithfield, hell doth receive them … where the wretches burn forever" (More, Book V).

- Notice what More is saying. The clergy gets to pronounce who is the heretic, and the "temporalty" i.e. the state then does the clergy's bidding. This gives full power to Rome, and the king does the dirty work.

- Consider whether Henry is a fool for allowing himself to be advised by More, whose true allegiance is to the papacy and not England or Henry.

- 1533: In January, Henry secretly marries Anne. Hall also records an earlier private marriage between them in November 1532.

    - Henry VIII has made up his mind to split from Rome.

- 1533: In May, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, annuls Henry's marriage to Catherine, six years after Henry first sought the annulment.

- 1533: In June, Anne is crowned Queen. Anne was outspoken in advocating for reform and Protestantism, which did not sit well with the rest of the court and Henry's advisors.

    - Anne's outspokenness demonstrates remarkable courage. Henry VIII and his court are not Protestant. He just doesn't want to be under the Pope's authority as to who he can marry.

- 1533: In September, Anne gives birth to Elizabeth I. Henry is disappointed that Anne failed to provide a male heir. It won't be until 1905 that science realizes that the sex of a child is determined by the male gamete.

- 1534: Tyndale publishes a revised version of his New Testament. Anne Boleyn comes into possession of a Tyndale New Testament with her arms on the title page and her name on the on the fore-edge. The mere fact that Anne, as a member of the royal court, possessed a Tyndale New Testament speaks to her courage and the depth of her Protestant convictions.

- 1534: Parliament passes the Act of Supremacy recognizing Henry as the Supreme Head of the Church of England. This formalizes and solidifies England's break with Rome.

    - Henry's break with Rome is not based on doctrinal disagreement but to obtain an annulment so that he can split from Catherine and remarry to produce a male heir. Under Henry's leadership, the Church of England remains predominantly Catholic in theology with the key difference that it is ruled by Henry rather than the Pope.

    - Even after the split with Rome, it was still illegal in England to possess a Tyndale New Testament.

- 1535: Henry begins to take interest in Jane Seymour, who is lady-in-waiting to Anne.

- 1535: In May, Tyndale is betrayed and arrested at Antwerp.

- 1535: In July, Sir Thomas More is executed for treason because he refused to recognize Henry as the Supreme Head of the Church of England.

    - This is fascinating. More has been aggressively leveraging the power of the state to put so-called heretics to death, and yet, More goes to his reward before his archrival, Tyndale.

    - Generally speaking, those who persecute the body of Christ have the satisfaction of outliving those that they persecute. They can thus delude themselves into thinking they have prevailed in some sense because they have outlived their enemies. This is the coldest of comfort as the persecutors still bow before the Lord Jesus Christ (Philippians 2:10) and end up in the lake of fire while the body of Christ ends up in paradise with the crown of life for their troubles. More is deprived even of the satisfaction of outliving Tyndale on this earth. More has an appointment at the great white throne at which the full magnitude of his crimes will be revealed and punished.

    - To this day, there are hundreds of colleges, universities, institutes, schools, organizations, societies, and buildings named after Thomas More. Consider what this suggests as to whether Rome's attitude toward Protestantism has changed.

- 1536: On May 19, Anne is executed on charges of adultery, incest and treason. These charges are almost certainly false and on the basis of evidence manufactured by Thomas Cromwell. Anne's real crime is giving birth to a female heir and not a male heir. Recall that it took Henry six years to secure the annulment from Catherine. Executing Anne is much quicker and simpler than a divorce, and it gives Henry the immediate freedom to pursue Jane Seymour, who he had already taken notice of.

- 1536: On May 20, the day after Anne's execution, Henry is betrothed to Jane Seymour. They marry on May 30.

- 1536: In August, Tyndale is sentenced to death.

- 1536: On October 6, Tyndale is strangled and his body is burnt for heresy. His offenses included the English scriptures and his rejection of Roman doctrine. His dying prayer is "Lord, open the King of England's eyes."

Tyndale's Betrayal

- "In the spring of 1535, however, a debauched and villainous young Englishman wanting money, Henry Phillips, insinuated himself into the English House and Tyndale's trust, pretending interest in the work of Bible translation, and borrowing money from him. Phillips had gambled away money entrusted to him by his father to give to someone in London, and, full of self-pity, had fled abroad. He promised someone in authority, it is not known whom (suspicion falls on Stokesley), that he could betray Tyndale, Barnes, and Joye, for cash. On the morning of 21 May 1535, having arranged for the imperial officers to be ready, Phillips tricked Tyndale into leaving the English House. In the alley he

was seized. The officers later said 'that they pitied to see his simplicity when they took him'. Tyndale was taken at once to the procurer-general, who immediately raided Poyntz's house and took away all Tyndale's property, including his books and papers. The Old Testament historical books in English were safely somewhere else, probably with Rogers. We cannot know what further translations were removed and destroyed. Tyndale was taken to the castle of Vilvorde, outside Brussels, where he was incarcerated for the next sixteen months" (Daniell, *Biography*, 153).

- "The English merchants of Antwerp made every possible effort for Tyndale's release. They applied to the Brussels court, also to the English court, and received favorable answers, and when Poyntz, who was especially active, was about to obtain letters authoring the delivering up of Tyndale, the sly and wily Phillipps frustrated all, by entering complaint against Poyntz, 'that he had been a succourer of Tyndall and was one of the same opinion.' And on this charge, he had him arrested" (Condit, 135).

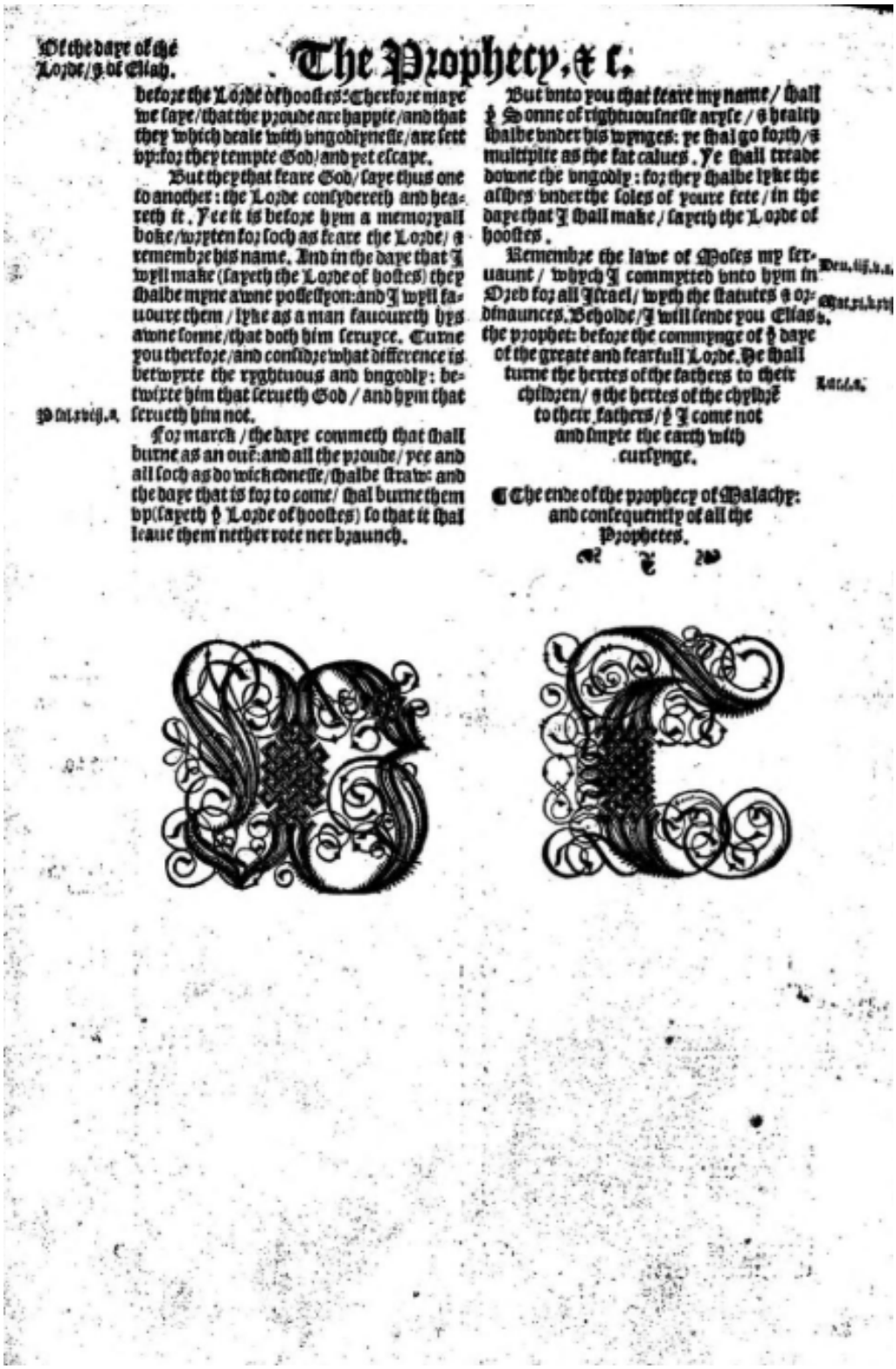
- "Tyndale's crime was heresy, being a Lutheran. To his enemies he was the greatest English catch, and his downfall, it was believed, would remove heresy from England, and give glory to his captors" (Daniell, *Biography*, 154).

- "He was first chained to the stake, then strangled, and then burned. Just before his death, he cried out, 'with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice: 'Lord open the King of England's eyes'" (Condit, 137).

The Aftermath of Tyndale's Death

- 1537: Henry VIII licenses the Matthew's Bible, which is mostly Tyndale's translation work, with Coverdale supplying what Tyndale had not finished. The Matthew's Bible is attributed to Thomas Matthew, a pseudonym for John Rogers. This pseudonym helps conceal the fact that Henry is giving his approval to what is largely the work of Tyndale, who he had executed the year prior. The dedication refers to Jane Seymour's pregnancy (and expected male heir) and states with regard to Henry that "He only under God is the Chief Head of all the congregation of the Church." Henry's vanity allowed him to be manipulated into approving the publication of Tyndale's work.

  In perhaps the greatest veiled tribute of the 16th Century, less than a year after Tyndale's execution, the publishers of the Matthew's Bible, (1) secure the Crown's permission to print the Bible in English, (2) utilize for that translation the books that Tyndale was able to translate before his death, and (3) place Tyndale's initials in huge ornamental script at the end of the Old Testament.



Of the daye of the Lorde/ & of Eliah.

The Prophecy, &c.

before the Lorde of hooſtes: therfore maye we saye/ that the proude are happie/ and that they which deale with vngodlynesse/ are sett vp: for they tempte God/ and yet escape.

But they that feare God/ saye thus one to another: the Lorde considereth and heareth it. Yee it is before hym a memoryall boke/ wrytten for soch as feare the Lorde/ & remembre his name. And in the daye that I wyll make (sayeth the Lorde of hooſtes) they shalbe myne awne possession: and I wyll fauoure them/ lyke as a man fauoureth hys awne sonne/ that doth him seruyce. Turne you therfore/ and considre what difference is betwyxte the ryghteous and vngodly: betwixte him that serueth God/ and hym that Malach.3. serueth him not.

For marck/ the daye commeth that shall burne as an ouē: and all the proude/ yee and all soch as do wickednesse/ shalbe straw: and the daye that is for to come/ shal burne them vp (sayeth ye Lorde of hooſtes) so that it shal leaue them nether rote ner braunch.

But vnto you that feare my name/ shall ye Sonne of righteousnesse aryse/ & healthe shalbe vnder his wynges: ye shal go forth/ & multiplie as the fat calues. Ye shall treade downe the vngodly: for they shalbe lyke the ashes vnder the soles of youre fete/ in the daye that I shall make/ sayeth the Lorde of hooſtes.

Remembre the lawe of Moses my seruaunt/ whych I commytted vnto hym in Oreb for all Israel/ wyth the statutes & ordinaunces. Beholde/ I will sende you Elias the prophet: before the commynge of ye daye of the greate and fearfull Lorde. He shall turne the hertes of the fathers to their children/ & the hertes of the children to their fathers/ lest I come not and smyte the earth with curssynge.

Deu.iij.v.a. Mat.xi.b.xij. Luc.i.a.

¶ The ende of the prophecy of Malachy: and consequently of all the Prophetes.

(Matthew's Bible, last page of Old Testament)

  - "We do not know whether Cranmer [archbishop] knew that the bulk of this admired volume was the work of Tyndale: Cromwell [viceregent for ecclesiastical affairs] certainly did" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 195).

- 1537: Jane gives birth to Edward VI and then dies of postnatal complications. Henry has his male heir. But Edward VI will not be an enduring solution to the issue of succession.

- 1538-1539: Henry VIII authorizes the Great Bible, which is largely based on Tyndale's translation of the New Testament and parts of the Old Testament. It is called the Great Bible because of its large size, and it is the officially-approved bible of the Church of England. Thomas Cromwell issues an injunction requiring that a copy be placed in every parish church for public reading.

Did God Grant Tyndale's Prayer That the King of England's Eyes Be Opened?

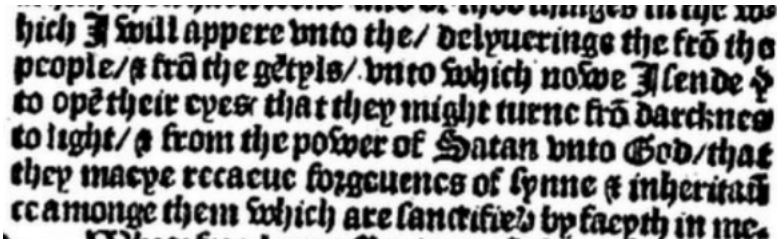
- Q: Is the issuance of the Matthew's Bible and/or the Great Bible an answer to Tyndale's prayer to open the king of England's eyes?

- Q: What does Tyndale actually pray?

  - Tyndale's dying prayer is quoted as "Lord, open the King of England's eyes."

- In Acts 26:18, the Tyndale New Testament 1535 (Antwerp) is verbally equivalent to the KJV.

  Tyndale 1535 screenshot

  
  hich I will appere vnto the/ deliueringe the frō the
  people/& frō the gētyls/ vnto which nowe I sende ye
  to opē their eyes/ that they might turne frō darckne
  to light/& from the power of Satan vnto God/that
  they maye receaue forgeuenes of synne & inherita
  ce amonge them which are sanctified by faeyth in me.

  Tyndale (1535) modern spelling

  Act 26:18 to open their eyes that they might turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith in me.

  - KJV (1769)

  Act 26:18 To open their eyes, [and] to turn [them] from darkness to light, and [from] the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me.

- When Tyndale asks that God open the King of England's eyes, based on his own translation, he is praying for Henry's salvation. Tyndale's logic seems to be that if Henry gets saved, he will see the wisdom and need of authorizing an English translation of the Scriptures.

- Q: Did God grant Tyndale's request to open the king of England's eyes?

- A: Yes and No.

- No: Sadly, there is no evidence in the historical record that Henry VIII ever came to believe in justification by faith. Unless Henry VIII privately came to faith, Henry's eyes remained blinded, and he died unreconciled to God.

  - 2Co 4:3 KJV - But if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost:
    2Co 4:4 KJV - In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.

- Yes: The Matthew's Bible in 1537 can be viewed as the granting of Tyndale's prayer.

  - "Less than twelve months before, Tyndale's dying words outside of Brussels had been, 'Lord open the King of England's eyes.' Now the king was licensing a complete Bible in English. The ironies are truly tragic. Had Tyndale escaped arrest, had Henry Phillips, the Judas who betrayed him at the English House, not also succeeded in blocking all the English court's

attempts to release him; had Tyndale lived for a few more months until the king changed his mind, and even welcomed him home—then we would have had in our English Bibles for ever after as a base text the poetry of the Psalms and the Song of Songs, of Job, the Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, and so much else, a version made by a master both of Hebrew—and of Hebrew poetry—and of English" (Daniell, *The Bible in English,* 194-195).

- "His final words were, 'Lord, open the king of England's eyes,' in reference to the fact that Henry VIII possessed the authority to make the dissemination of a vernacular Bible legal. Henry did exactly that two years later, lending credence to the claim of scholars that if Tyndale had been able to escape death just a few more years, he might have returned to England as a hero" (Ryken, 63).

- Yes: The World History Encyclopedia views the Great Bible as an answer to Tyndale's prayer.
  - "In 1539, three years after Tyndale's death, his dying prayer was answered when Henry VIII authorized an English translation of the Bible – the Great Bible – the creation and printing of which was overseen by Coverdale working from Tyndale's translations" (Mark).

- Yes: God turned the heart of Henry VIII to allow the printing of the Great Bible.
  - Pro 21:1 KJV - The king's heart [is] in the hand of the LORD, [as] the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will.
  - Isa 45:1 KJV - Thus saith the LORD to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two leaved gates; and the gates shall not be shut;
    Isa 45:4 KJV - For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.
    Isa 45:5 KJV - I [am] the LORD, and [there is] none else, [there is] no God beside me: I girded thee, though thou hast not known me:
  - Jer 27:6 KJV - And now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant; and the beasts of the field have I given him also to serve him.
  - Isa 10:5 KJV - O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in their hand is mine indignation.
    Isa 10:6 KJV - I will send him against an hypocritical nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets.

- Yes: Henry does not appear to authorize the Great Bible because he has had a change of heart and desires for the word of God to have free course throughout England. Tyndale's translation is still forbidden. But the Great Bible in its substance is Tyndale. Thus, Henry's decision is not one of principle but of political calculation. Permitting issuance of The Great Bible accomplishes at least three things.

- 1. It pacifies the Reformist elements within his country clamoring for the scriptures while Henry visibly shows his control.

- 2. It demonstrates his authority as the head of the Church of England, and portrays him as a pious ruler interested in providing for the spiritual benefit of his subjects.

- 3. It creates a single authoritative English version under the supervision of the local parish accountable to Henry. The Great Bibles were literally chained to church pulpits.

- 1547: Henry dies, and Edward VI becomes king at age 9.

- 1553: Edward VI dies, and Mary I, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, becomes Queen. Mary attempts to restore Catholicism in England and executes an estimated 280-300 Protestants for heresy during her reign. She justly earns the nickname Bloody Mary, and it is her cruelties that are the motivating force for John Foxe to write Actes and Monuments, commonly called Foxe's Book of Martyrs.

- 1558: Bloody Mary reigns for five years and then dies. Elizabeth I, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, becomes Queen. Elizabeth I will reign for 44 years and plays a significant role in establishing England in Protestantism.

    - If Tyndale is the leading man of the English Reformation, consider whether Anne Boleyn is the best supporting actress. Anne Boleyn does all of the following:

        - Possesses a Tyndale New Testament when it is illegal to do so,
        - Advocates openly for Protestant Reform in Henry's court,
        - Dies, at a minimum under false pretenses, if she is not in fact an actual martyr, and
        - Bears the child who will put England on solid Protestant footing.

- England, as a Protestant nation, will subsequently become The Empire on Which the Sun Never Sets, and during the 19th Century, England will conduct arguably the greatest missionary effort since the Apostle Paul. These missionary efforts will be undertaken with the KJV, the vast majority of whose New Testament is Tyndale.

Tyndale's Sale of Flawed Copies to the Catholic Authorities

- "For these and such other considerations this good man was stirred up of God to translate the Scripture into his mother tongue, for the profit of the simple people of his country; first setting in hand with the New Testament, which came forth in print about A.D. 1525. Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, with Sir Thomas More, being sore aggrieved, devised how to destroy that false erroneous translation, as they called it.

  It happened that one Augustine Packington, a mercer, was then at Antwerp, where the bishop was. This man favored Tyndale, but showed the contrary unto the bishop. The bishop, being desirous to bring his purpose to pass, communed how that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said, 'My lord! I can do more in this matter than most merchants that be here, if it

be your pleasure; for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have brought them of Tyndale, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them: and so I will assure you to have every book of them that is printed and unsold.' The bishop, thinking he had God 'by the toe,' said, 'Do your diligence, gentle Master Packington! get them for me, and I will pay whatsoever they cost; for I intend to burn and destroy them all at Paul's Cross.' This Augustine Packington went unto William Tyndale, and declared the whole matter, and so, upon compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money.

After this, Tyndale corrected the same New Testaments again, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, 'How cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would buy them all.' Then answered Packington, 'Surely, I bought all that were to be had, but I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters and stamps: wherefore you were best to buy the stamps too, and so you shall be sure,' at which answer the bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

In short space after, it fortuned that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, who was then chancellor of England, as suspected of certain heresies. Master More asked of him, saying, 'Constantine! I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask; and I promise thee I will show thee favor in all other things whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you: I know they cannot live without help. There are some that succor them with money; and thou, being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest whence it came. I pray thee, tell me, who be they that help them thus?' 'My lord,' quoth Constantine, 'I will tell you truly: it is the bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them; and that hath been, and yet is, our only succor and comfort.' 'Now by my troth,' quoth More, 'I think even the same; for so much I told the bishop before he went about it'" (Foxe).

- This is a great feel good story. It portrays Tyndale while in peril and severely outnumbered using his wits to outsmart the evil, dominant powers that be. It even has a catchy synopsis – "the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money." Those who are fans of Tyndale want this anecdote to be true.

- Leading Tyndale scholar, David Daniell, doubts the veracity of Foxe's account, noting that the story isn't even internally consistent and seems at odds with Tyndale's character and life purpose.

    - "Mozley is right to say that the tale has lost nothing in the telling, and that it doesn't even agree with itself about who owns the books that are being sold" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 197).

    - "though Tyndale's agreement to sell Testaments for burning is unlikely" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 200).

- Notice the following contradictory sentences within the same paragraph in Foxe's account:
    - The Dutchmen have the books: "My lord! I can do more in this matter than most merchants that be here, if it be your pleasure; for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have brought them of Tyndale, and have them here to sell" (Foxe).
    - Tyndale himself has the books: "This Augustine Packington went unto William Tyndale, and declared the whole matter, and so, upon compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money" (Foxe).
- A further reason to doubt this anecdote is that while Tyndale did perceive opportunities to improve his translation, it seems hard to believe that he would willingly sell his books to his enemies to be destroyed given his life's purpose was to translate the word of God into English.
- As noted previously, Tyndale recognized that his translation could be improved upon, and he expected that to happen by believers reading his New Testament text and performing what he viewed as their Christian duty to supply correction and improvement. Selling copies for destruction would defeat this purpose.
    - "Them that are learned Christianly I beseech—forasmuch as I am sure, and my conscience beareth me record, that of a pure intent, singly and faithfully I have interpreted it, as far forth as God gave me the gift of knowledge and understanding—that the rudeness of the work now at the first time offend them not, but that they consider how that I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like things in the Scripture beforetime. Moreover, even very necessity and cumbrance (God is record) above strength—which I will not rehearse, lest we should seem to boast ourselves—caused that many things are lacking which necessarily are required. Count it as a thing not having his full shape, but as it were born before his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished. In time to come (if God have appointed us thereunto) we will give it his full shape, and put out if aught be added superfluously, and add to if aught be overseen through negligence, and will enforce to bring to compendiousness that which is now translated at the length, and to give light where it is required, and to seek in certain places more proper English, and with a table to expound the words which are not commonly used and show how the Scripture useth many words which are otherwise understood of the common people, and to help with a declaration where one tongue taketh not another; and will endeavor ourselves, as it were, to seeth it better, and to make it more apt for the weak stomachs; desiring them that are learned and able, to remember their duty, and to help thereunto, and to bestow unto the edifying of Christ's body (which is the congregation of them that believe) those gifts which they have received of God for the same purpose" (Tyndale, New Testament, 1526, To The Reder).
- Tyndale is not satisfied with his own work and recognizes that it needs improvements, such as being put in more proper English. But Tyndale doesn't know if he will be alive to do such work. Thus, Tyndale publishes what he has and implores other believers to do their duty to improve on it. The notion that Tyndale sold his New Testaments to the papists to get money to do a future version is contrary to Tyndale's expressed mindset in the To The Reder section of his 1526 New Testament.

No Tyndale, No Shakespeare

- In the previous lesson, Bryan reviewed Tyndale's influence on the King James Version as demonstrated by the percentage of the wording of the King James Version that comes directly from Tyndale. Tyndale's influence on the King James Version is obvious.

- But Tyndale's legacy extends far beyond his influence on the King James Version. Tyndale influenced the development of the English language itself. The phrase "No Tyndale, no Shakespeare" is commonly repeated among scholars. It is the idea that without William Tyndale elevating the English language from where it was when he found it, there would have been little for Shakespeare to work with.

- "'What most Reformers accomplished through preaching, Tyndale did by his Bible translation . . . . Instead of proclaiming the Scripture, he gave the actual words of the Bible to Englishmen in their native tongue (Steven Lawson)'" (Ryken, 131).

- "'With his New Testament, Tyndale became the father of the Modern English language. He shaped the syntax, grammar, and vocabulary of the English language more than any other man who ever lived…. Tyndale shaped the language at its transition point from Middle English to Early Modern English'—Steven Lawson" (Ryken, 150).

- "In 1611, one of the last years of Shakespeare's writing life, the English language was at a peak. It surprises nobody that the Bible from that time has immortal glory. Yet it should surprise everyone. The work of Tyndale that was taken over in 1611 was done three generations before, when the English language was a poor thing indeed, almost dead at the bottom of the pond" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 136).

- "Tyndale's gift to the English language is unmeasurable. He translated into a register just above common speech, allied in its clarity to proverbs" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 158).

- "The material covered in this chapter thus far has covered explicit verifiable statements by Tyndale about how he conceived of Bible translation. The governing principle of these statements is accuracy. When we turn to Tyndale's actual New Testament, we can see that other criteria were also important to him. The most obvious ones are clarity of communication, verbal beauty, smooth-flowing rhythm, and retention of the literary genres and rhetorical forms used by New Testament authors" (Ryken, 113).

- "[A] common claim of scholars that Tyndale's style (and the King James Version's after him) is an *oral* style. [ ] What is predominantly in view is *cadence*—the smooth flow of words and the rise and fall of language in a regular nature" (Ryken, 121).

    - Tyndale's giving the English language an oral style paved the way for England's greatest author, a playwright whose work was meant to be experienced orally.

- "His rhetorical aims were always accuracy and clarity. King James's revisers adopted his style, and his words, for a good deal of their version. At a time when European scholars and professionals

communicated in Latin, Tyndale insisted on being understood by ordinary people. He preferred a simple Saxon syntax of subject-verb-object. His vocabulary is predominantly Saxon, and often monosyllabic. An Oxford scholar, he was always rhetorically alert. He gave the Bible-reading nation an English plain style. It is a basis for the great Elizabethan writers, and, will be seen, there is truth in the remark 'without Tyndale, no Shakespeare.' It is not fanciful to see a chief agent of the energizing of the language in the sixteenth century the constant reading of the Bible in English, of which Tyndale was the great maker" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 157-158).

- "the English language was at a transition point between Middle English and Modern English. The ground rules of vocabulary, syntax, spelling, grammar, and punctuation were in disarray. The old order was definitely 'out,' but the new order had not yet been born.

  Tyndale himself apologized for the 'rude' state of the language he inherited, so it is no discredit to him to say that his own prose writings outside of his translation of the Bible are for the most part undistinguished and toilsome to read. [ ]

  While we cannot prove that Tyndale's translation of the Bible was what produced the transformation of Modern English from its awkward state early in the sixteenth century to its masterful state at the end of it, there is no viable alternative explanation. 'No Tyndale, no Shakespeare' is a byword among literary scholars and historians of the English language.

  Such transformation was more than scholarly achievement of a handful of language experts. It was a grassroots movement as well. In the sixteenth century, only one means of mass dissemination existed, and that was the publication and reading of the English Bible. [ ]

  When we compare Tyndale's pedestrian prose outside his Bible translation to the following passage from his New Testament, it is entirely plausible to credit the very process of translating 'word for word' as the thing that unlocked the English language to him:" (Ryken, 145-47).

- "Tyndale's most important legacy was that he gave the English-speaking world the Bible, but when judged by the criteria of magnitude and extensiveness, his transformation of the English language was just as far-reaching and permanent a contribution" (Ryken, 151).

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