

### 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   | <b>William</b> | Reid, Jr. |
| Stephen | <b>Tyndale</b> | 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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.

### **What Led Tyndale to Leave England to go to Germany**

- 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

### Vorrede.

**A**ls were wol recht vnd billich / das dis buch on alle vorrede vnd fremdden namen außgieng / vnd nur seyn selbs eygen namen vnd rede surete / Aber die weyl durch manche wilde deutung vnd vorrede / der Christen synn da byn vertrieben ist / das man schier nit mehr weys / was Euangelii oder gesetz / new oder alt testament / heysse / fodert die nothdurfft eyn antzeygen vñ vorrede zu stellen / da mit der eynfelltige man / aus seynem alten wahn / auff die rechte ban gefuret vnd vnterrichtet werde / wes er ynn disem buch gewarten solle / auff das er nicht gepott vnd gesetzet suche / daer Euangelii vnd verheysung Gottis suchen solle.

Darumb ist auffz erste zu wissen / das abtzu thun ist der wahn / das vier Euangelia vnd nur vier Evangelisten sind / vñ gantz zuwerwerffen / das etlich des newen testaments bucher teyllen / ynn legales / historiales / Prophetiales / vnd sapientiales / vermeynen damit weys nicht wie das newe / dem alten testament zuvergleichen / Sondern festiglich zu halten / das gleych wie das alte testament ist eyn buch / darinnen Gottis gesetz vñ gepot / da neben die geschichte beyde dere die selben gehalten vnd nicht gehalten haben / geschriben sind / Also ist das newe testament / eyn buch / darinnen das Euangelion vnd Gottis verheysung / danebe auch geschichte beyde / dere die dran glauben vnd nit glauben / geschriben sind / Also das man gewiss sey / das nur eyn Euangelion sey / gleych wie nur eyn buch des newen testaments / vnd nur eyn glawb / vnd nur eyn Gott / der do verheysset.

Denn Euangelion ist eyn Griechisch wort / vñ heysst auff deutsch / gute bottschafft / gute meher / gutte newzeytung / gutt geschrey / dan on man singet / saget vñ frolich ist / gleych als do David den grossen Balth vberwand / kam eyn gutt geschrey / vnd trostlich newzeytung vnter das Judisch volck / das yhrer gewlicher feynd erschlagen / vnd sie erloset / zu freud vnd frid gestellet weren / dauon sie sunge vñ sprungen vnd frolich waren / Also ist dis Euangelion Gottis vnd new testament / eyn gutte meher vñ geschrey ym alle welt erschollen durch die Apostell / von eynem rechten David / der mit der sund / tod vnd teuffel gestritten / vnd vberwunden hab / vnd damit alle die / so ynn sunden gefangen / mit dem todte geplagt / vom teuffel vberweldiget gewesen / on yhr verdienst erloset / rechtferdig / lebendig vnd selig gemacht hat / vnd da mit zu frid gestellet / vnd Gott wider heym bracht / da uon sie singen / dancken Gott / loben vnd frolich sind ewiglich / so sie des anders fest glawben / vnd ym glawben bestendig bleyben.

Solch geschrey vnd trostliche mehere odder Euangelisch vnd Boslich newzeytung / heysst auch eyn new testament / darumb / dz gleych wie eyn testament ist / wenn eyn sterbender man seyn gutt bescheydet nach seynem todt den benandten erben aus zu teylen / Also hatt auch Christus

## Tyndale's 1525 Prologue

### The prologge.



#### Haue here translated

( brethern and susters moost dere and tenderly beloved in Christ ) the new Testament for youre spirituall edifyinge / consolacion / and solas:

Exhortynge instantly and besedynge those that are better sene in the tonge then y / and that have hyer gyst of grace to interpret the sence of the scripture / and meanynge of the spiryte / then y / to consydre and pondre my labour / and that with the spirite

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 have not geven the right englyshe worde / that they put to there handys to amende it / remembryng that so is there duetie to doo. For we have not receyved the gyst of god for oure selues only / or for to hyde them: but for to bestowe them vnto the honomyng of god and chryst / and edifyinge of the congregacion / which is the body of chryst.

¶ The causes that moved me to translate / y thought better that other shulde ymagin / then that y shulde rehearse them. More over y supposed yt superfluous / for who ys so blynde to are why lyght shulde be shewed to them that walke in derknes / where they cannot but stamble / and where to stamble 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 derknes to procede oute of lyght / and that lyinge shulde be grounde in trougth and veritie / and nott rather clene contrary / that lyght destroyeth derknes / and veritie reproveth all manner lyinge.

A ü

# Luther's 1522 Table of Contents

## Die Bucher des nerven testa- ments.

- 1 Euangelion Sanct Matthes.
- 2 Euangelion Sanct Marcus.
- 3 Euangelion Sanct Lucas.
- 4 Euangelion Sanct Johannis.
- 5 Der Apostel geschicht beschriben 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 Philippem.
- 12 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Coloffern.
- 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 drit Epistel Sanct Johannis.

Die Epistel zu den Ebreern.  
Die Epistel Jacobus.  
Die Epistel Judas.  
Die offenbarung 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 booke conteyned in the new Testament.

|       |                                                     |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| i     | The gospell of saynct Mathew                        |
| ii    | The gospell of S. Marke                             |
| iii   | The gospell of S. Luke                              |
| iiii  | The gospel of S. Ihon                               |
| 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 Tesselonians   |
| xiiii | The seconde pistle of S. Paul vnto the Tesselonians |
| 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 | The 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. Ihon                         |
| xxii  | The seconde pistle of S. Ihon                       |
| xxiii | The thryd pistle of S. Ihon                         |

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

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.



Es ist das buch von der  
gepurt Ihesu Christi der  
do ist ein son Dawids des sons  
Abraham.

Abraham hat gepom den Isaac.  
Isaac hat gepom den Jacob.

Jacob hat gepom den Juda vnd  
seyne bruder.

Juda hat gepom den Pharez vnd  
den Zaram von der Thamar.

Pharez hat gepom den Dezron.

Dezron hat gepom den Ram.

Ram hat gepom den Amminadab.

Amminadab hat gepom den Na-

hasson.

Nahasson hat gepom den Salma.

Salma hat gepom den Boas von der Rahab.

Boas hat gepom den Obed von der Rhot.

Obed hat gepom den Jesse.

Jesse hat gepom den konig David.

Der konig David hat gepom den Salomon vnn dem weybe  
des Vile.

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 Ahas.

Ahas hat gepom den Ezechia.

Ezechia hat gepom den Manasse.

Manasse hat gepom den Amon.

Amon hat gepom den Josia.

Josia hat 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. Esdr. 2.

Sealthiel hat gepom den Zorobabel

Zorobabel hat gepom den Abiud.

Abiud hat gepom den Eliachim.

Eliachim  
2

Abraham vnd Da-  
uid werden fur  
nemlich antzogen  
darumb das den  
selben Christus  
sonderlich verhey-  
ssen ist.

S. Matthes le-  
bet erlich gelte  
auffessen vnd ha-  
ret Christus ge-  
schlecht von Sa-  
lomon nach dem  
gesetz aber Saut.  
Lucas furet es na-  
ch der natur vom  
Nathan Salomo-  
nis bruder. Denn  
das gesetz nennet  
auch die kinder /  
so vñ bawern auß  
nachgelassenem  
weyde gepom sind.  
Matth. 23.

# Tyndale's 1525 Matthew 1 with Marginal Notes

## The gospell of S. Mathew.

The fyrst Chapter.



**Thys ys the boke of**

the generaciō of Iesus Christ the so-

ne of David/The sonne also of Abia

¶ Abraham begatt Isaac: (hā.

Isaac begatt Jacob:

Jacob begatt Judas and hys bre-

Judas begat Phares: (thren:

and Saram of thamar:

Phares begatt Esrom:

Esrom begatt Aram:

Aram begatt Aminadab:

Aminadab begatt naassan:

Naasson begatt Salmon:

Salmon begatt boos of rahab:

Boos begatt obed of ruth:

Obed begatt Jesse:

Jesse begatt david the kynge:

¶ David the kynge begatt Solomon/of her that was the

Solomon begat roboam: (wyfe of vry:

Roboam begatt Abia:

Abia begatt asa:

Asa begatt iosaphat:

Josaphat begatt Joram:

Joram begatt Osias:

Osias begatt Joatham:

Joatham begatt Ahas:

Ahas begatt Ezechias:

Ezechias begatt Manasses:

Manasses begatt Amon:

Amon begatt Josias:

Josias begatt Jechonias and his brethren about the tyme of  
the captivite of babilon

¶ After they were led captive to babilon / Jechonias begatt the .xv. c.

\* Abraham and David are fyrst re-  
heard / because  
that churche was  
cheffy promysed  
vnto them.

Saynet mathew  
leveh out certe-  
yne generacions/  
2 describeth Ch-  
ristes linage from  
solomō/after the  
lawe of Moyses/  
but Lucas descri-  
beth it accordyng  
to nature/frō na-  
than solomōs br-  
other. For the la-  
we callerth them  
a mannes childrē  
which his broder  
begatt of his wy-  
fe lefte behynde  
hym after his des-

### 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 wihȝ his brother /shalbe in daunger of iudgement. Who  
soever shall say vnto his brother \*racha /shalbe in daunger  
a counseill. But whosoever shall say vnto his brother thou fo  
le /shalbe in daunger of hell fyre. Therefore whē thou offerd

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

Lead us not in to temptacion. but delivere us  
from evill/Amen. For and yf ye shall forgeve other men thes  
etrespasses/your father in heven shall also forgiue 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 brethre stande without/desyringe 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

**H**en. He answered and saide vnto them: At even ye saye/we shall have fayre wedder.and that be cause the skye yoreed: at the morninge: ye saye/to daye shalbe foule wedder/ that be cause the skye is trobleous and reed. O ye hypocryts/ye can discern the fassion of the skye: and can ye not discern the sygnes of the tymes? The frowerde naciō/and aduenturous/

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

**S**hulde eny thinge be vnpossible for you to do. But this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.

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

**I**sa. her/ which is i hevē. Ye and the sone of mā is come to save that which is loste. Howc thynke ye. If a mā had an hōdred

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

good? 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 despititions, 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

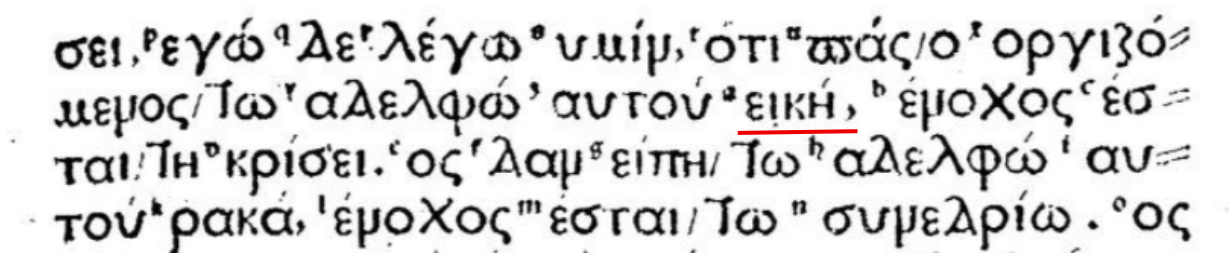
### *Tyndale's Treatment of "without a cause" in Matthew 5:22*

Prepared by Alex Bojko & Bryan C. Ross

#### Early Greek Evidence

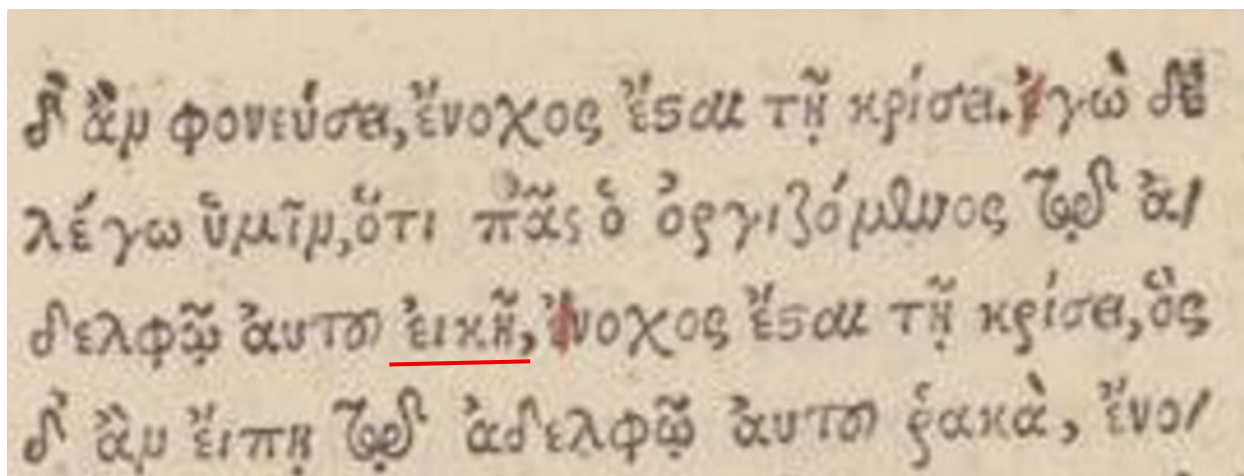
- In the body of Lesson 3 it was noted that the Cologne Fragment (1525) did not include the phrase “without a cause” in Matthew 5:22. This phrase was never added to the text by William Tyndale during his lifetime despite his later revisions to the New Testament. Put another way, the 1526 Worms New Testament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



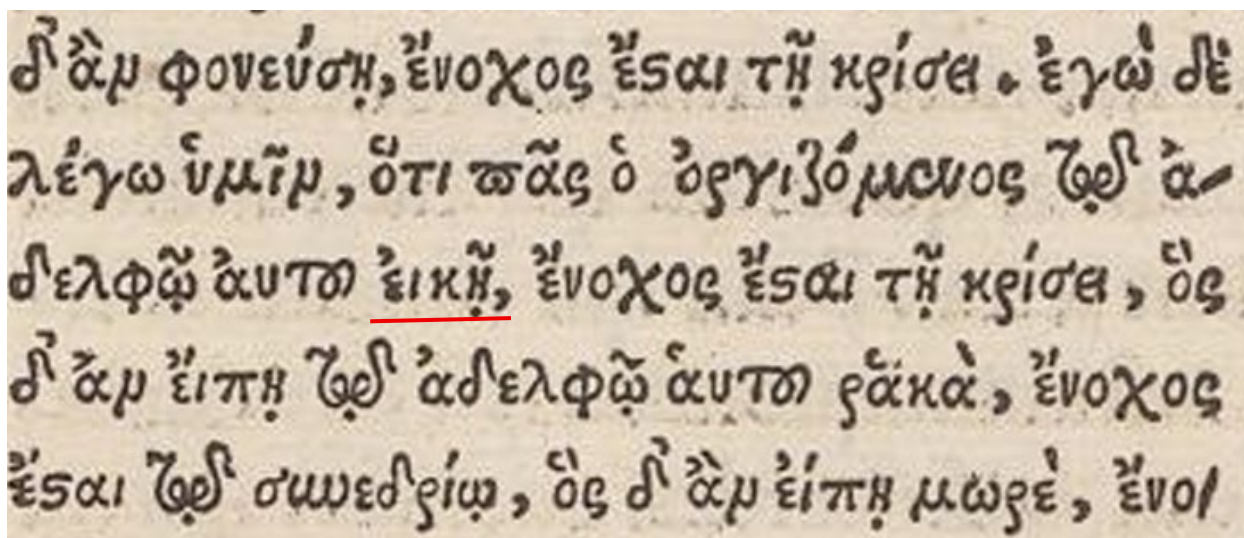
The Greek word *εἰκῇ* for “without a cause” in the text of Matthew 5:22 in the Complutensian Polyglot.

## 1516 Erasmus Greek NT



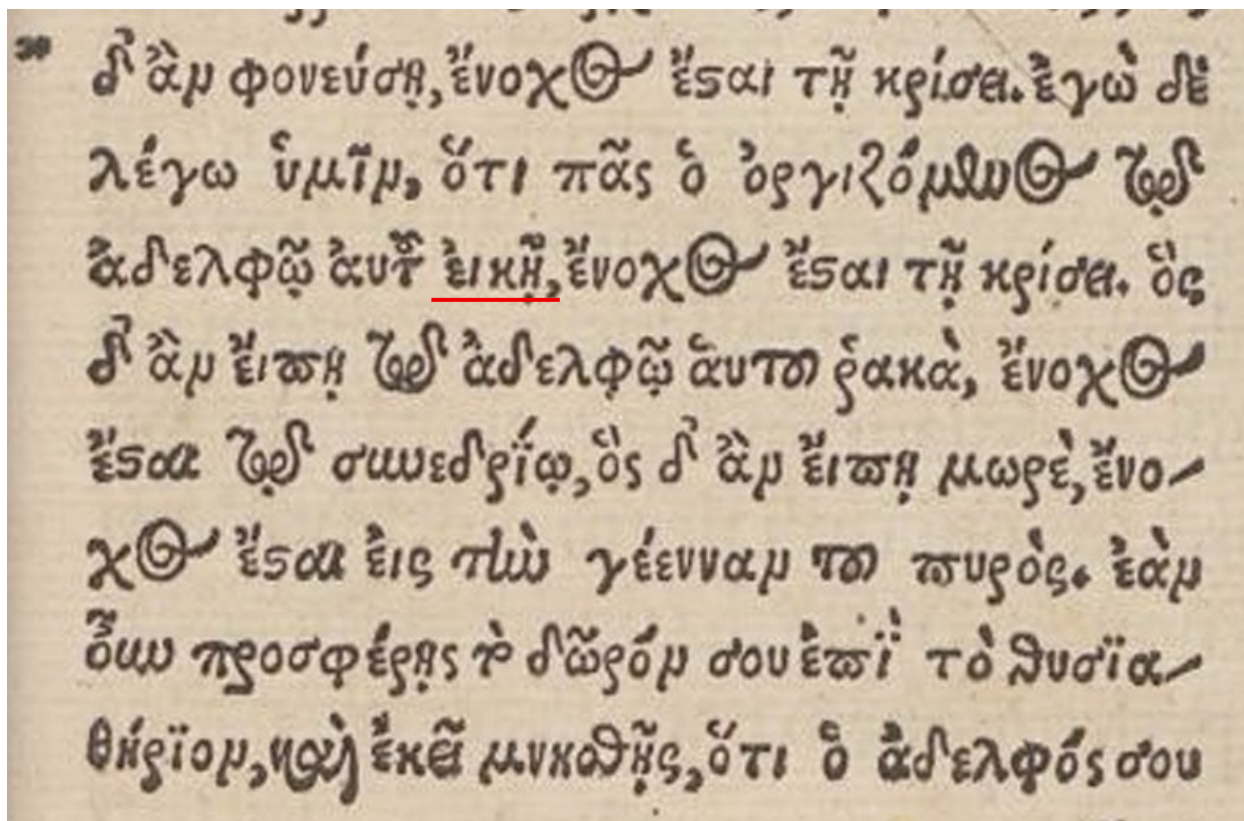
The Greek word *εἰκῆ* for “without a cause” in the text of Matthew 5:22 in Erasmus’s 1<sup>st</sup> edition of the Greek NT from 1516.

## 1519 Erasmus Greek NT



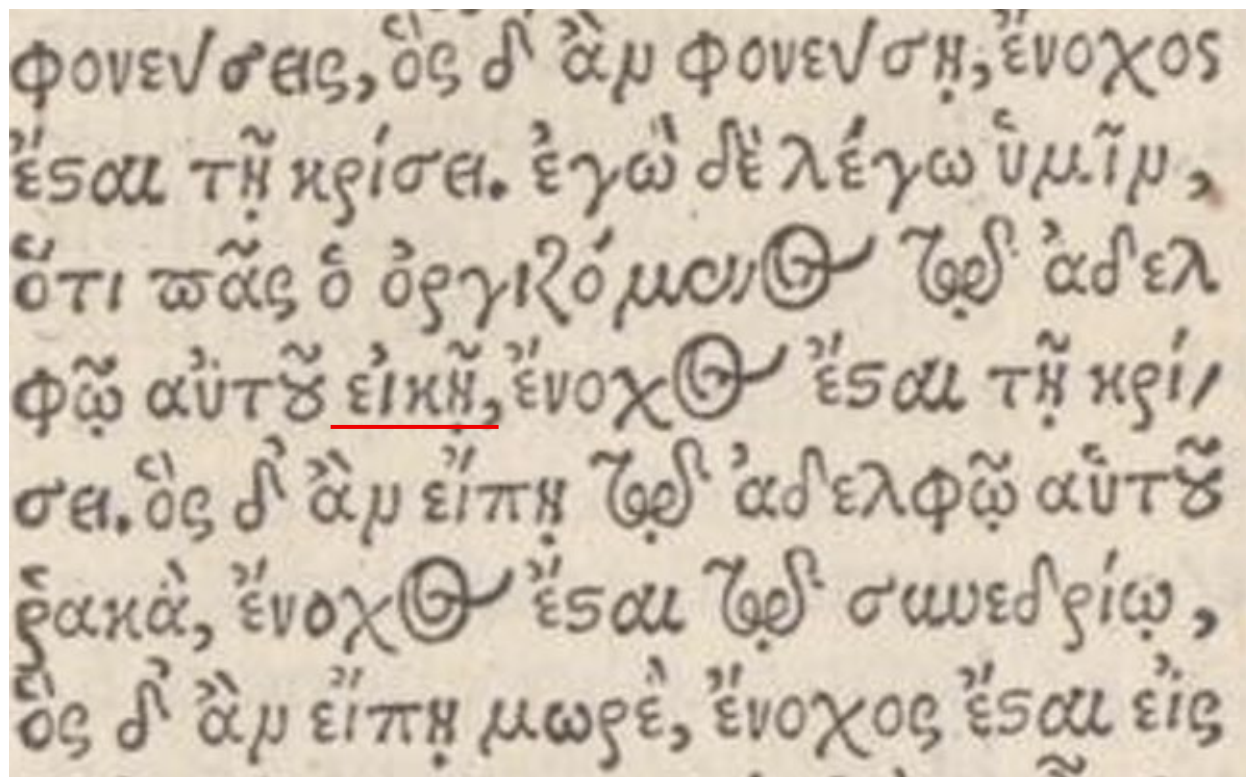
The Greek word *εἰκῆ* for “without a cause” in the text of Matthew 5:22 in Erasmus’s 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of the Greek NT from 1519.

## 1522 Erasmus Greek NT



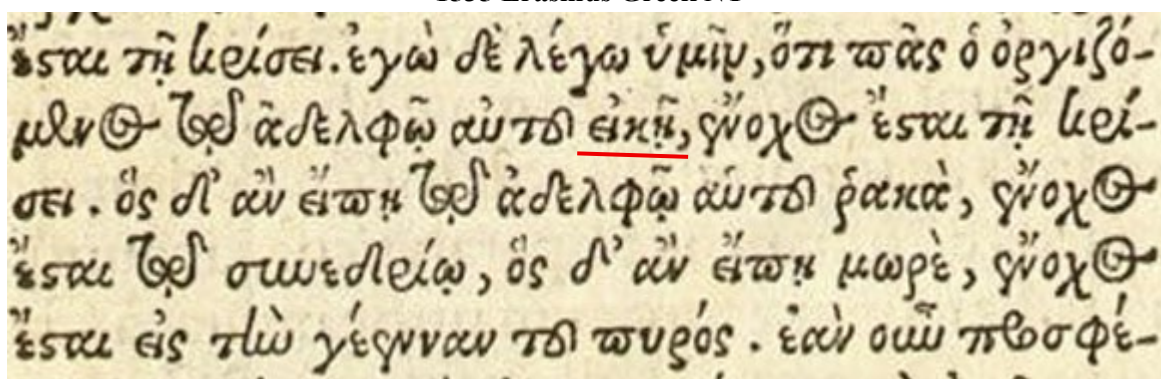
The Greek word *εἰκῇ* for “without a cause” in the text of Matthew 5:22 in Erasmus’s 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of the Greek NT from 1522.

## 1527 Erasmus Greek NT



The Greek word *εἰκῆ* for “without a cause” in the text of Matthew 5:22 in Erasmus’s 4<sup>th</sup> edition of the Greek NT from 1527.

## 1535 Erasmus Greek NT



The Greek word *εἰκῆ* for “without a cause” in the text of Matthew 5:22 in Erasmus’s 5<sup>th</sup> edition of the Greek NT from 1535.

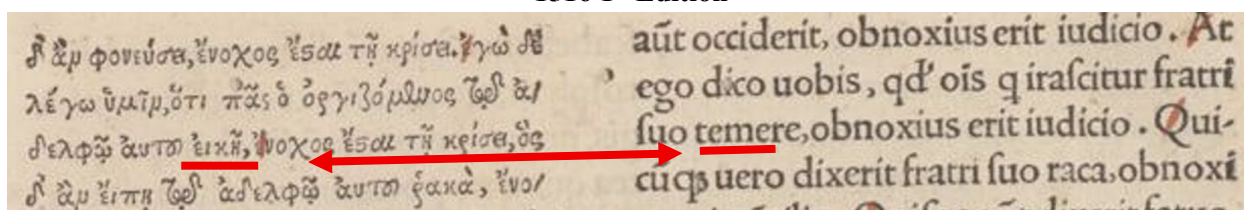
- The early Greek evidence presents a notable historical difficulty for explaining William Tyndale's omission of “without a cause” in Matthew 5:22. Every major printed Greek source available to Tyndale, including the Complutensian Polyglot and all five editions of Erasmus's Greek New Testament, contained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

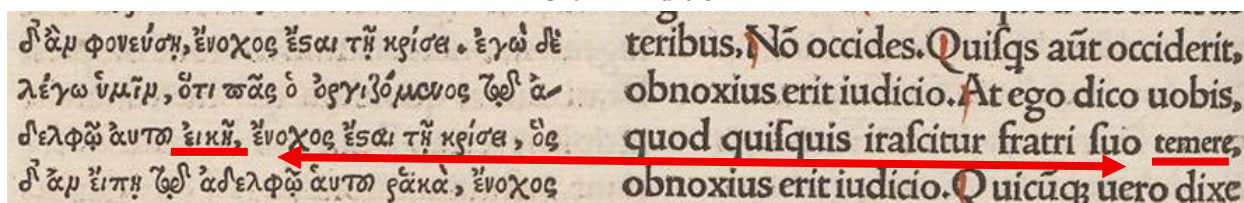
- As we consider why Tyndale might have not translated the Greek word *εἰκῇ* in Matthew 5:22, despite its clear presence in the Greek text, it is important to remember that all 5 editions of the Erasmian Greek were diglot Bibles containing both Greek and Latin columns. Consider the following images from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

#### 1516 1<sup>st</sup> Edition



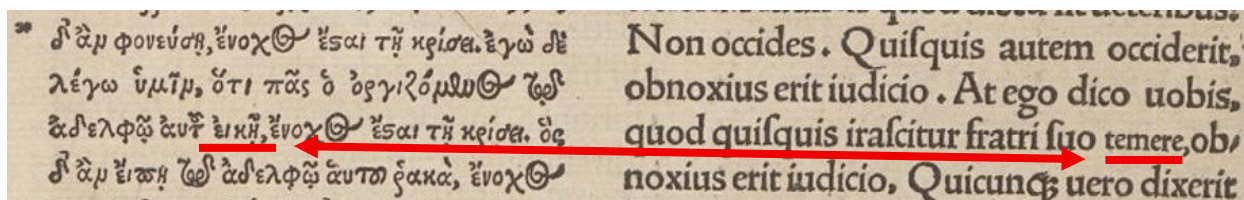
- Note that in Erasmus's first edition the Greek word *εἰκῇ* corresponds with the Latin word *temere* in the Latin column. Further note that *temere* is in the same font as the rest of the verse in the Latin column.

#### 1519 2<sup>nd</sup> 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' 3<sup>rd</sup> edition from 1522, which would have been the primary edition utilized by Tyndale.

#### 1522 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition

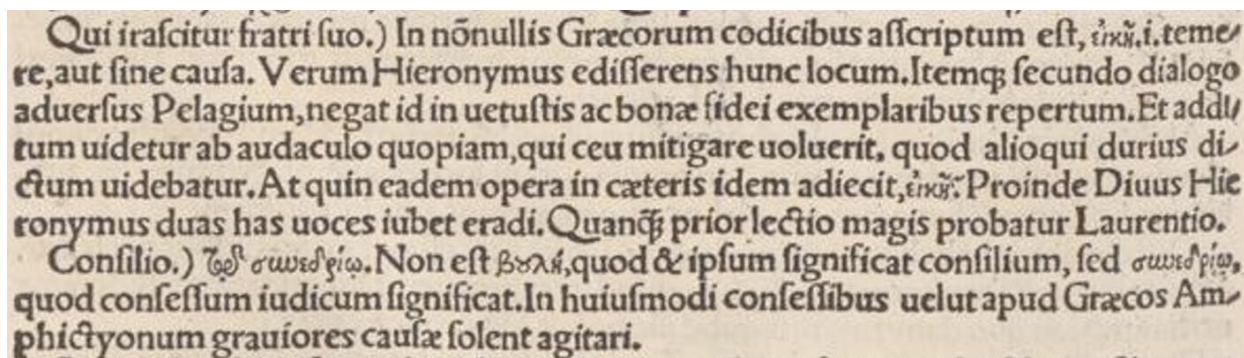


- The remaining two editions of Erasmus (1527 & 1535) are exactly the same as the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> edition pictured above.
- Could it be that Tyndale saw the italicization of the Latin word *temere* and elected not to translate the corresponding Greek word *εἰκῆ* despite its clear presence 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 *εἰκῆ*.
- Taken together, Erasmus's annotations (see the next section) and his treatment of *temere* in the Latin column suggest that the presence of *εἰκῆ* 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 *εἰκῆ* 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**



- 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, *εἰκῆ* 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

**Q**ui irascitur fratri suo.) In nonnullis Græcorum codicibus ascriptum est, *εἰκῆ*, id est, temere, aut sine causa. Verum Hieronymus edisserens hunc locum, itemq; secundo dialogo aduersus Pelagium, negat id in uetustis, ac bonæ fidei exemplaribus repertum. Et additū uidetur ab audaculo quopiam, qui ceu mitigare uoluerit, quod alioqui durius dictū 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. Quamq; prior lectio magis probatur Laurentio. Et Chrysostomus homilia in Matthæum decimalexta, legere uidetur *εἰκῆ*, distinguens iram opportunam ab intempestiua, & negans affectum penitus eximi nobis, sed cohiberi duntaxat ac regi.

Sine causa additum auctore Hieronymo.

- 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 *εἰκῆ* 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, *εἰκῆ*—‘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 *εἰκῆ*, 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

**Q**ui irascitur fratri suo.) In nonnullis Græcorum codicibus ascriptum est, *εἰκῆ*, id est, Temere, aut sine causa. Verum Hieronymus edisserens hunc locū, itemq; secundo dialogo aduersus Pelagium, negat id in uetustis, ac bonæ fidei exemplaribus repertum. Et additū uidetur ab audaculo quopiam, qui ceu mitigare uoluerit, quod alioqui durius dictū 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. Quamq; prior lectio magis probatur Laurentio. Et Chrysostomus homilia in Matthæū decimalexta, legere uidetur *εἰκῆ*, distinguens iram opportunam ab intempestiua, & negans affectum penitus eximi nobis, sed cohiberi duntaxat ac regi. Quid hic adferent qui contendūt hanc translationem ab Hieronymo fuisse castigatam? Quod damnat relictum est, & qd' relictū est ad sensum pertinet nō ad uerba, quæ uideat 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 *εἰκῆ*, 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, *εἰκῆ*, “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 *εἰκῆ*, 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 ascriptum est *εἰκῆ*, id est, Temere, aut sine causa. Verum Hieronymus edisserens hunc locū, itemq; secundo dialogo aduersus Pelagium, negat id in uetustis, ac bonæ fidei exemplaribus repertū. Et additum uidetur ab audaculo quopiam, qui ceu mitigare uoluerit, quod alioqui durius dictū uidebatur. At quā 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. Quāq; prior lectio magis probatur Laurentio. Et Chrysostomus homilia in Matthæum decimalexta, 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, si sentiamus

si sentiamus dominū hic loqui de ira uulgarī, qui est motus animi tendens ad ultionē doloris, nimirū primus ad homicidiū gradus. Alioqui & iudex qui cū ira punit nocentem, peccat aut certe imperfectus est, quū hic Christus doceat perfecta. Verū ut redeamus ad particulam *εἰκῆ*, id est, sine causa, quā diuus Hieronymus negat esse in ueris exemplaribus, quid hic adferent qui contendunt hanc translationem ab Hieronymo fuisse castigatam? Quod damnat relictū est, & quod relictū est ad sensum pertinet nō ad uerba, quæ uidet alicubi neglexisse. Augustinus lib. retract. 1. cap. 19. testatur in Græcis codicibus nō addi sine causa. Nā in sermone habito in monte, uult etiam in cæteris duabus partibus subaudi, qui dixerit, racha, sine causa, qui dixerit, fatue, sine causa.

- Erasmus in his 1527 Annotations states the following regarding “without a cause” in Matthew 5:22:
  - “Whoever is angry with his brother.” In some Greek manuscripts the word *εἰκῆ* 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 *εἰκῆ*—“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 *εἰκῆ*, 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 *εἰκῆ*, 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 Græcorū codicibus ascriptum est εἰκῆ, id est, Tere mere, aut sine causa. Verum Hieronymus edisserens hunc locum, itemq; secundo dialogo aduersus Pelagium, negat id in uetustis, ac bonæ fidei exēplaribus repertum. Et additum uidetur ab audaculo quopiam, qui ceu mitigare uoluerit, quod alioqui durius dictum 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 contentanea scribit Theophylactus. Non erat opus hic distinguere iram iustam ab iniusta, aut iram carnis ab ira animæ, aut iram qua irascimur hominī & qua irascimur hominis uitio, si sentiamus dominum hic loqui de ira uulgarī, 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 εἰκῆ, id est, sine causa, quam diuus Hieronymus negat esse in ueris exemplaribus, quid hic adferent qui contendunt hanc translationem ab Hieronymo fuisse castigatam? Quod damnat relictum est, & quod relictum est ad sensum pertinet non ad uerba, quæ uidetur alicubi neglexisse. Augustinus lib. retract. i. cap. 19. testatur in Græcis codicibus nō addi sine causa, Nam in sermōne habito in monte, uult etiam in cæteris duabus partibus 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, εἰκῆ 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, εἰκῆ? 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 εἰκῆ, 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 *εἰκῆ* ("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 *εἰκῆ* 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, page layout and metatextual material. The influence of Luther upon Tyndale may also be relevant to Tyndale's failure to translate the Greek word *εἰκῆ* in Matthew 5:22.
- Martin Luther published his German New Testament in September 1522. That same year, Erasmus published the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of the Greek New Testament. Without knowing exactly when in 1522 Erasmus published his 3<sup>rd</sup> edition it is difficult to discern whether Luther utilized while

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

- So, Luther utilized a Greek text, furnished by Erasmus, that contained the word *εἰκῆ* 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

**Yh: habt gehört / das zu den alten gesagt ist / du solt nicht todten / wer aber todtet / der soll des gerichtts schuldig seyn. Ich aber sage euch / Wer mit seynem bruder zurnet / der ist des gerichtts 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 addition to omitting the phrase “without a cause” from his text, Luther appended the following marginal note to Matthew 5:22.

cht werden  
(der Pharisee)  
Der Pharisee  
frommeyt steht al-  
lern in eufferlichen  
wercken vñ scheyn  
Christus aber fod-  
dert des hertzen  
frommeyt.  
(Racha) Racha  
ist das rauch schar-  
ren ym hals / vñ  
begreiffet alle zo-  
rige zeychen.

Ich hab gehört / das zu den alten gesagt ist / du solt nicht todten / wer aber todtet / der soll des gerichtts schuldig seyn. Ich aber sage euch / Wer mit seynem bruder zurnet / der ist des gerichtts 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 altar opfferst / vñ wirst alda eyndencen / das deyn bruder etwas widder dich hab / so las alda für dem altar deyn gabe / vñ gehe zuor hyn / vñ versue dich mit deynem bruder / vñ als denn kom vñ opffer deyn gabe.

Exodi. 23.  
Leui. 24.

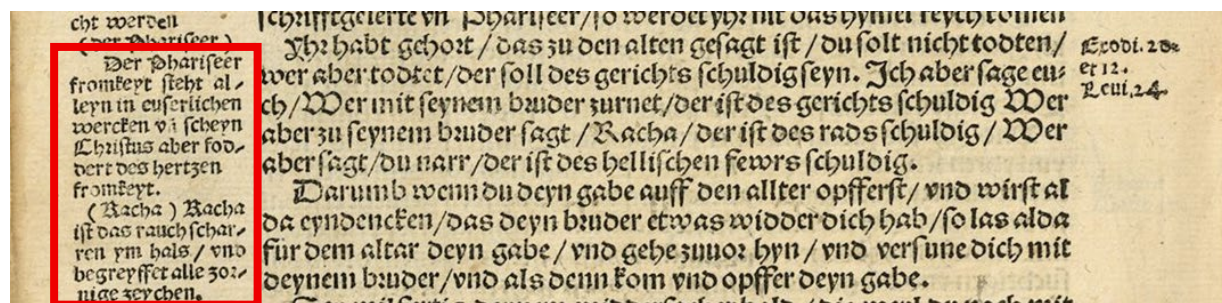
- Luther's marginal note reads as follows:
  - “The Pharisee's piety stands only in external works and outward show; Christ, however, demands the piety of the heart.  
(Racha) is the rough scraping sound in the throat and comprehends all angry expressions”  
(Translation provided by ChaptGPT).

- We have already noted that Tyndale never translated the Greek word *εἰκῆ* 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

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>S</b> Beate<br/>That is / shalbe<br/>moche sett by / 2<br/>had in reverence</p> <p>The goodnes of<br/>the pharisaies / sto<br/>dith in overwarde<br/>work 2 apiera /<br/>unce: but Criste<br/>requyret the good<br/>nes of the herte.</p> <p>* Racha.<br/>Is the whorace<br/>soud in the thro /<br/>ate / 2 betokeneth<br/>all sygns of wi /<br/>arh</p> | <p>to the kyngdom of heven.</p> <p><b>E</b> ye have herde howe it was sayd vnto them of the olden<br/>me. Thou shalt not kyll. Whosoever shall kyll / shalbe in da<br/>unger of iudgement. But I say vnto you / whosoever ys an<br/>gre wiht hys brother / shalbe in daunger of iudgemēt. Who<br/>soever shall say vnto his brother *racha / shalbe in daunger o<br/>a counsell. But whosoever shall say vnto his brother thou fo<br/>le / shalbe in daunger of hell fyre. Therefore whē thou offerst<br/>thy gyfte at the altre / and there remembrest that thy brothe<br/>hath eny thyng agaynst the: leue there thine effrynge be<br/>fore the altre / and go thy waye fyrst and recenyle thy sylf a<br/>thy brother / and then come and offere thy gyfte.</p> <p><b>A</b> gre with thine aduersary at once / whyles thou arte in th<br/>waye with hym / lest thine aduersary deliure the to the iudg</p> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

- 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.



**B**eware  
That is / shalbe  
in the sett by / 2  
had reverence

The goodnes of  
the pharisaies / sto  
dich in overwarde  
work & opiera/  
unce: but Christe  
requyret the good  
nes of the herte.

\* Racha.

To the who arce  
soude in the thro/  
ate / 2 herokeneth  
all synges of wi/  
rl?

to the kyngdom of heven.

**I** have herde howe it was sayd vnto them of the olden  
mc. Thou shalt not kyll. Whosoever shall kyll / shalbe in da  
unger of iudgement. But I say vnto you / whosoever ys an  
gre wiht his brother / shalbe in daunger of iudgemēt. Who  
soever shall say vnto his brother \*racha / shalbe in dañger o  
a counseill. But whosoever shall say vnto his brother thou fo  
le / shalbe in daunger of hell fyre. Therefore whē thou offerst  
thy gyfte at the altre / and there remembreth that thy brothe  
hath eny thyng agaynst the: leue there thine offrynge be  
fore the altre / and go thy waye fyrst and recynyle thy sylf a  
thy brother / and then come and offre thy gyfte.

**A**gre with thine aduersary at once / whyles thou arte in thy  
waye with hym / lest thine aduersary deliure the to the iudge

- 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 *eikēn* in his 1522 German New Testament despite using an Erasmian 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 layd vnto the  
of the olde tyme: + Thou shalt not kyll:  
whosoener killeth, shall be in daunger of  
iudgement. But I say vnto you: that who  
soener is agreue wyth his brother (unadvisedly  
sayd) shall be in daunger of iudgement. And  
whosoener saue vnto his brother his Racha,  
shall be in daunger of a counsell. But whoso-  
uer saue th thou folc, shall be 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, whosoever is angrie with his brother" vnaduisedly, shal be culpable of iudgement. And whosoever saith vnto his brother, ° Raca, shalbe worthie to be punished by the p Counsel. And whosoever 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 counsell: But, whosoever shall saye (thou) foole, shalbe in daunger of hell fire.

## 1602 Bishops Bible

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

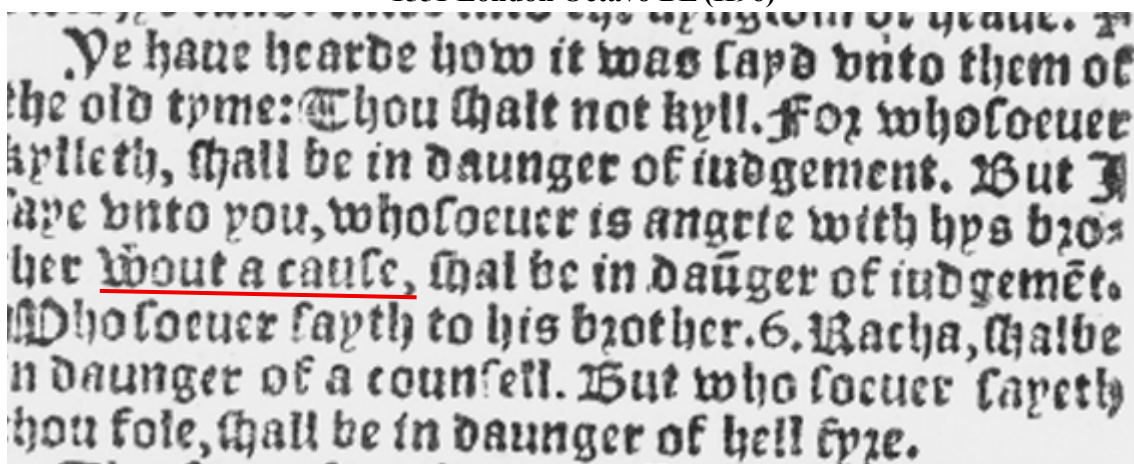
- The history of the English Bible after Tyndale demonstrates that his omission of “without a cause” was not universally retained by later Protestant translators. While the 1535 Coverdale Bible and the 1537 Matthew's Bible continued Tyndale's wording, subsequent revisions increasingly moved in the opposite 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

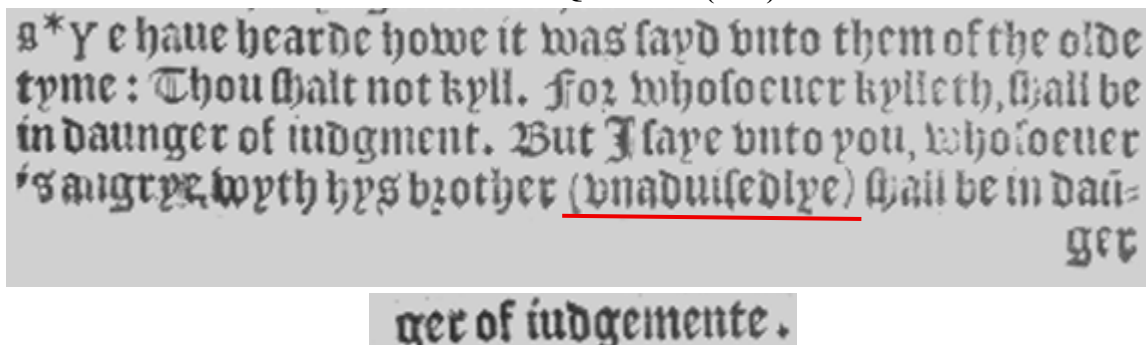
- After the publication of the Great Bible in 1539, editions of the Tyndale's New Testament appeared in print that more accurately conformed the English text with the Greek by translating the Greek word *εἰκῆ* as either "without a cause" or "unadvisedly." Consider the following specimens from 1551, 1552,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

#### 1551 London Octavo BL (H96)



Ye haue hearde how it was sayd vnto them of the old tyme: Thou shalt not kyll. For whosoever killeth, shall be in daunger of iudgement. But I saye vnto you, whosoever is angrie with hys brother wout a cause, shall be in daunger of iudgemēt. Who soeuer sayth to his brother. 6. Racha, shall be in daunger of a counsell. But whosoever sayeth thou fole, shall be in daunger of hell fyre.

#### 1552 London Quarto BL (H99)



s\*Ye haue hearde howe it was sayd vnto them of the olde tyme: Thou shalt not kyll. For whosoever killeth, shall be in daunger of iudgment. But I saye vnto you, whosoever is angrie wyth hys brother (vnaduisedlye) shall be in daunger of iudgemente.

## 1566 London Quarto BL (H121)

s\* Ye haue hearde, that it was sayd vnto you, that thou shalt not kill. For whosoever killeth, shall be in danger of iudgement. But I say vnto you, whosoever is angry with his brother, vnadvisedly, shall be in danger of iudgement. And whosoever shall say vnto his brother Racha, shall be in danger of a council: But whosoever shall say, thou foole, shall be in danger of hell fyre.

- 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)

treasvas vs. Ledde vs nort in to temptation. but delyvre vs  
from yvell/Amen. For and yf ye shall forgeve other men thes  
etreasvas/your father in heve shall also fortere you. But

## 1526 Worms New Testament (H2)

which treaspas vs. Leede vs not in to tempta-  
cion, but delyvze vs ffrom yvell / Amen. For ad

- 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 trespassers. And leade vs not into tēpta-  
cion: But delyver vs frō evell. For thynne is y  
kyngedome and y power / & y glozve for ever.  
Amen. For and yf ye shall forgeve othet 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

καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλεταῖς ἡμῶν· καὶ  
μὴ εἰσερέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν· ἀλλὰ ρύ-  
σαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. † ἀμήν. ἐὰν γὰρ

## 1514 Complutensian Polyglot Annotation

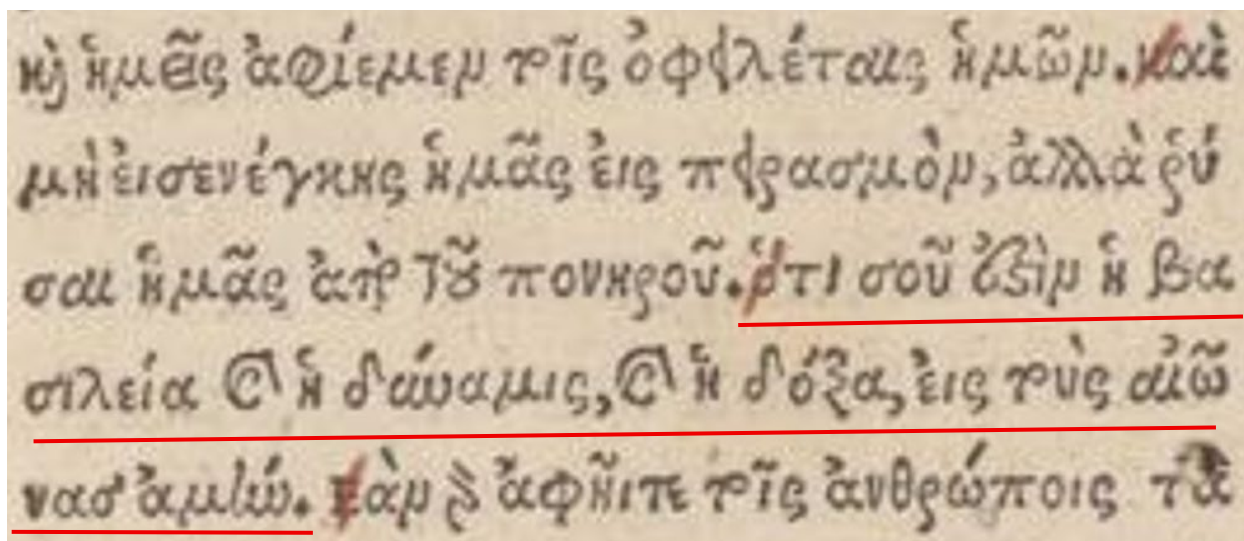
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>✠ In exēplari<br/> <u>b<sup>re</sup> grecorū post</u><br/> <u>hec x̄ba orōis</u><br/> <u>dñice v̄z. Sz li</u><br/> <u>bera nos a ma</u><br/> <u>lo: statiscitur</u><br/> <u>οτι σου εσ</u><br/> <u>τι η βασι</u><br/> <u>λεια και η</u><br/> <u>δυναμις</u><br/> <u>και η δόξα</u><br/> <u>εις τους</u><br/> <u>αιωνας.</u></p> | <p>Idest. Quoni<br/> am tuus est re<br/> gnū et potētia et<br/> glia in secula.<br/> Sed aduertē<br/> dū qđ in missa<br/> grecorū postq̄<br/> chor<sup>o</sup> dicit illa<br/> x̄ba orōis dñi<br/> ce. s. Sz libera<br/> nos a malo: sa<br/> cerdos rhidet i<br/> lla x̄ba supra<br/> dicta. s. qđ tuū<br/> est regnū. et c.</p> | <p>et dicunt greci<br/> qđ solus sacer<br/> dos pōt p̄fici<br/> are illa x̄ba et<br/> no ali<sup>o</sup>. et sic ma<br/> gis credibile vi<br/> det qđ ista ver<br/> ba non sint de<br/> integritate orō<br/> nis dñice: sz qđ<br/> vicio aliquorū<br/> scriptorū fuerūt<br/> hic inserta nā vi<br/> dētes qđ publi<br/> ce dicerēt i mis<br/> sa crediderunt<br/> esse de textu. et<br/> sz bñs chriso-</p> | <p>stom<sup>o</sup> i suis cō<br/> mētarijs super<br/> Matthēi ho<br/> me. 20. expōat<br/> ista x̄ba nāq̄ si<br/> essēt de textu:<br/> verisimili<sup>o</sup> tñ<br/> p̄sumit iā suis<br/> t̄porib<sup>o</sup> origia<br/> lia i isto passu<br/> fuisse corrupta<br/> ex q̄ null<sup>o</sup> lati<br/> norū ēt ex antiq̄s<br/> sanis interpreti<br/> b<sup>o</sup> sine tractato<br/> rib<sup>o</sup> legat<sup>o</sup> d hīs<br/> x̄bis aliquā se<br/> cisse mētiōez.</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

- 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 *οτι σου εστιν η βασιλεια και η δυναμις και η δόξα εις τους αιωνας* ('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 adiectam compio, & interpretat eā Vulgarius, ὅτι σου ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία, ὅτι ἡ δύναμις, ὅτι ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν. Quoniam tuum est regnum, & potestas & gloria in sæcula amen. Verum quādo nec in ullis Latinorum exemplaribus ascriptum uisitur, nec exponitur ab Hieronymo, aut ullo prorsus interpretum, præter recentem Vulgarium, apparet ex solenni consuetudine sic additum, ut angelicæ salutationi quædam adiecerunt, nec ab angelo dicta, nec a quopiam alio. Nam, Benedicta tu in mulieribus, Elizabeth uerba sunt. Et Quia peperisti saluatorem animarum nostrarum, a nemine dictum est. Cōsimili studio adiectum est in fine psalmodum, Gloria patri. Proinde non est cur Laurentius ualla stomachetur bonam orationis dominicæ partem fuisse decurtatam. Magis taxāda fuerat illorum temeritas, qui non ueriti sint, tam diuinæ orationi, suas nugas asfluere. Caterum Amen, quod Aquila interpretatur fideliter, & hic simili modo uideri poterat adiectum, Hieronymus 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

καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ  
 ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. ὅτι σοῦ ἔστιν ἡ βασι-  
λεία καὶ ἡ δυνάμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶ-  
νας ἀμὲν. \* Εἰ μὴ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ

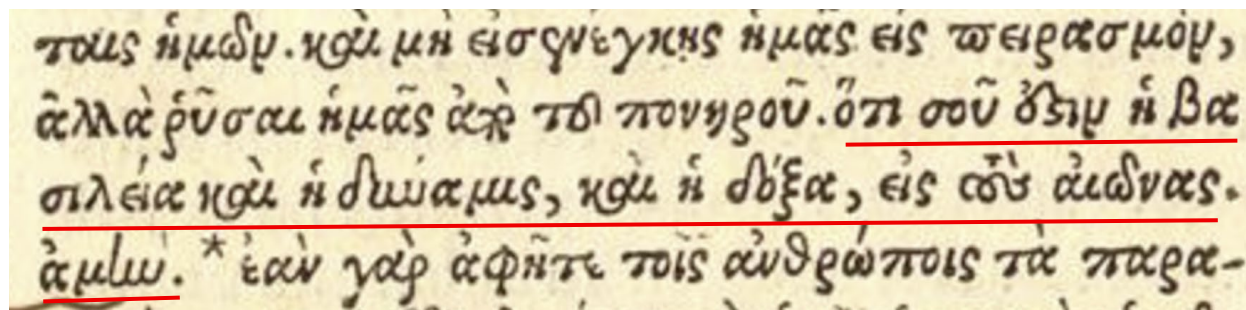
## 1522 Erasmus Greek NT

ὀφειλέταίς ἡμῶν. καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς  
 εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονη-  
 ροῦ. ὅτι σοῦ ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δυνάμις, καὶ  
ἡ δόξα, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμὲν. \* Εἰ μὴ ἀφῆτε

## 1527 Erasmus Greek NT

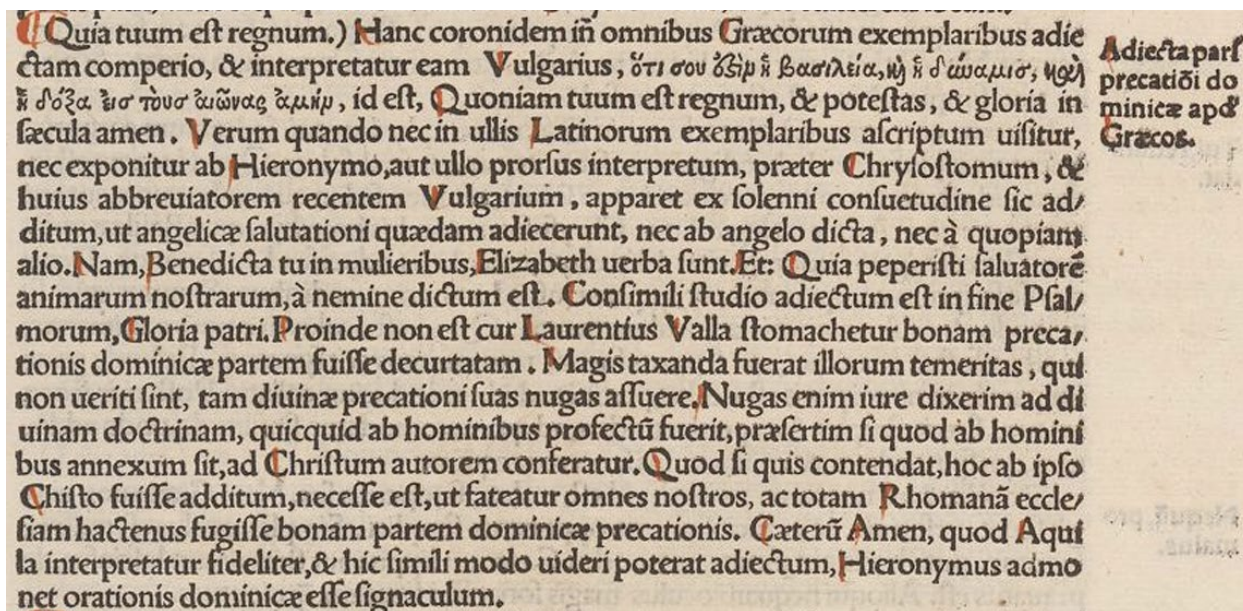
μῶν. καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πει-  
 ρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρ-  
 ονηροῦ. ὅτι σοῦ ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύννα-  
μις, καὶ ἡ δόξα, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμὲν.

## 1535 Erasmus Greek NT



- 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 σου ἔστιν 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 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of 1519 reads as follows.

## 1519 Annotation on Matthew 6:13



- The annotation in Erasmus's 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 Græcorū exemplaribus adie- *Adiecta pars*  
ctam cōperio, & interpretatur eam Theophylactus, ὅτι σου ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ἡ δόξα, καὶ *precationi do-*  
ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν, id est, Quoniam tuum est regnum, & potestas, & gloria in *minica apud*  
secula amen. Verum quando nec in ullis Latinorum exemplaribus ascriptum uisitur, *Græcos.*  
nec exponitur ab Hieronymo, aut ullo prorsus interpretem, præter Chrysostomum, &  
huius abbreviatorem recentem Theophylactum, apparet ex solenni cōsuetudine sic ad/  
ditum, ut angelicæ salutationi quædam adiecerunt, nec ab angelo dicta, nec à quopiam  
alio. Nam, Benedicta tu in mulieribus, Elizabeth uerba sunt. Et: Quia peperisti seruatore  
animarum nostrarum, à nemine dictum est. Cōsimili studio adiectum est in fine Psal/  
c 4 morum

32 A N N O T A T I O N E S  
morum, Gloria patri. Proinde non est cur Laurentius Valla stomachetur bonam preca/  
tionis dominicæ partem fuisse decurtatam. Magis taxanda fuerat illorum temeritas, qui  
non ueriti sint, tam diuinæ precationi suas nugas assuere. Nugas enim iure dixerim ad di/  
uinam doctrinam, quicquid ab hominibus profectum fuerit: præsertim si quod ab homi/  
nibus annexum sit, ad Christum autorem conferatur. Quod si quis contendat, hoc ab  
ipso Christo fuisse additum, necesse est, ut fateatur omnes nostros, ac totam Rhomanā  
ecclesiam hæcenus fugisse bonā partem dominicæ precationis. Ac ne Africanam quidē,  
Nam Cyprianus enarrans peculiari libello locū hunc Euangelij, ne uerbo quidem agno/  
scit hanc coronidē. Porro qui ideo putant ab Euangelista fuisse additā, quod Chrysosto/  
mus interpretetur, leui nituntur argumento. Siquidē interpretatur ille, quod solennis usus  
ecclesiæ quotidie sonabat: perinde quasi quis enarrās Psalmos, interpretaretur solennē illā  
Coronidē, Gloria patri & filio. Nec mirū si hoc dignatus est facere Chrysostomus, cū in  
homilijs diligenter exponat hymnū quo Monachi quidā soliti sunt consecrare conuiuīū  
suum. Qui contendunt hanc Coronidem ascriptam fuisse ab Euangelista, iūdemq; con/  
firmant hanc æditionem, aut esse Hieronymi, aut certe ab illo castigatam, uelim ut expli/  
cent nobis, cur ille tantam sacre precationis partem ausus sit omittere, qui ne in commen/  
tarijs quidem ullam huius fecerit mentionem. Hæc cum sint dilucidiora, q̃ ut argumētis  
egeant, tamen non defuerunt, qui mihi ex hoc quoq; loco grauem struerent calumniā.  
uid. Caterū Amen, quod Aquila interpretatur fideliter, & hic simili modo uideri poterat ad/  
iectum, 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 4<sup>th</sup> edition of the Erasmus's text from 1527 show evidence of further revision.

#### 1527 Annotation on Matthew 6:13

Quia tuū est regnū.) Hāc coronidē in omnibus Græcorū exēplaribus adiectā cōperio, *Adiecta pars precatōni dominicæ apud Græcos.* ὅτι· σου ἡ βασιλεία, & ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμὴν, id est, Quoniā tuū est regnū, & potestas, & gloria in secula amen. Verū quando nec in ullis Latinorum exemplaribus ascriptū uisitur, nec exponitur ab Hieronymo, aut ullo prorsus interpretum, præter Chrysostomum, & huius abbreviatorem recentem Theophylactū, apparet ex solenni cōsuetudine sic additum, ut angelicæ salutationi quædā adiecerūt, nec ab angelo dicta, nec a quopiam alio. Nam, benedicta tu in mulieribus, Elizabeth uerba sunt, Et: Quia peperisti seruatorem animarū nostrarum, a nemine dictum est. Cōsimili studio adiectum est in fine Psalmorū, Gloria patri, Proinde nō est cur Laurentius Valla stomachetur bonam precatōnis dñicæ partem fuisse decurtatam. Magis taxanda fuerat illorū temeritas, qui nō ueriti sint, tam diuinæ precatōni suas nugas asfluere. Nugas enim iure dixerim ad diuinam doctrinā, quicquid ab hominibus profectū fuerit: præsertim si quod ab hominibus annexum sit, ad Christū autorem conferatur. Quod si quis contendat, hoc ab ipso Christo fuisse additum, necesse est, ut fateatur omnes nostros, ac totam Rhomanā ecclesiā hactenus fugisse bonam partem dominicæ precatōnis. Ac ne Africanam quidem recte legisse. Nam Cyprianus enarrans peculiari libello locum hunc Euangelij, ne uerbo quidem agnoscit hanc coronidem. Porro qui ideo putant ab euangelista fuisse additam, quod Chrysostomus

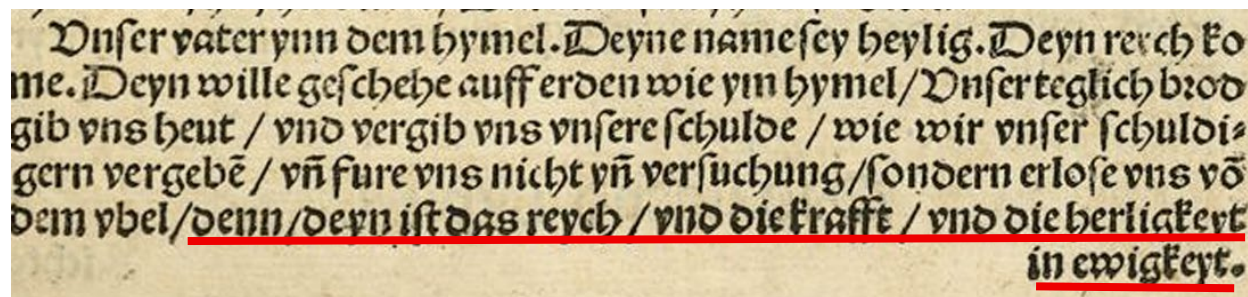
Chrysostomus interpretetur, leui nituntur argumento. Siquidē interpretatur ille, quod solennis usus ecclesiæ Græcanicæ quotidie sonabat: perinde quasi quis enarrās Psalmos, interpretaretur solennē illā Coronidē, Gloria patri & filio. Nec mirū si hoc dignatus est facere Chrysostomus, cū in homilijis diligenter exponat hymnū quo Monachi quidā soliti sunt consecrare cōuiuīū suū. In aurea Catena hoc modo citatur Chrysostomus, Quia uero sollicitos nos fecerat inimici memoria, in hoc quod dixerat libera nos a malo, rursus audaciam præbet per hoc, quod in quibusdam libris subdit, quia tuū est regnū &c. quod unde sumptū sit nescio. Qui cōtendunt hanc Coronidem ascriptam fuisse ab Euangelista, idemq; cōfirmant hanc additionem; aut esse Hieronymi, aut certe ab illo castigatam, uelim ut explicent nobis, cur ille tantam sacre precatōnis partem ausus sit omittere, qui ne in cōmentarijs quidē ullam huius fecerit mentionem. Hæc cum sint dilucidiora, q̄ ut argumentis egeant, tamen non defuerunt, qui mihi ex hoc quoq; loco grauem struerent calumniā. Cæterū Amen, quod Aquila interpretatur fideliter, & hic simili modo uideri 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 5<sup>th</sup> 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 ynn dem hymel. Deyne name sey heylig. Deyn reich ko-  
 me. Deyn wille geschehe auff erden wie ym hymel/Vnser teglich brod  
 gib vns heut / vnd vergib vns vnser schulde / wie wir vnser schuldi-  
 gern vergebē / vñ fure vns nicht yñ versuchung / sondern erlose vns vō  
 dem ybel / denn / deyn ist das reich / vnd die krafft / vnd die herliafeyt  
in ewigkheit.

- 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" (εἰκῆ), 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 εἰκῆ 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 *εἰκῆ* (“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 *εἰκῆ* 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 *εἰκῆ* 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 εἰκῆ 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.