Lesson 6
The Use & Misuse of Tyndale's Famous Ploughboy Statement
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Tyndale's Ploughboy Statement

- The most famous statement attributed to Tyndale is the "ploughboy" quote, which is first attributed to Tyndale in Foxe's Book of Martyrs.

  "Then Master Tyndale, as he was learned and well practiced in God's matters, spared not to show unto them simply and plainly his judgment, and when they at any time did vary from Tyndale in opinions, he would show them in the Book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers times, until at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

  As this grew on, the priests of the country, clustering together, began to grudge and storm against Tyndale, railing against him in alehouses and other places, affirming that his sayings were heresy; and accused him secretly to the chancellor, and others of the bishop's officers.

  . . .

  There dwelt not far off a certain doctor, that had been chancellor to a bishop, who had been of old, familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, and favored him well; unto whom Master Tyndale went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scripture: for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. Unto whom the doctor said, 'Do you not know that the pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life.'

  Not long after, Master Tyndale happened to be in the company of a certain divine, recounted for a learned man, and, in communing and disputing with him, he drove him to that issue, that the said great doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, 'We were better to be without God's laws than the pope's.' Master Tyndale, hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied, 'I defy the pope, and all his laws;' and added, 'If God spared him life, ere many years he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture than he did'" (Foxe).

- While the above quote is commonly attributed to Tyndale, it is not certain that Tyndale actually said it.
  - "We come, then, to Tyndale's epoch-making statement about the plowboy, which we should note, does not appear in anything written by Tyndale but instead has the status of hearsay recorded by Foxe many years later" (Ryken, *New Testament*, 40).
  - Foxe was not present when the quote was supposedly said, which raises the question of how Foxe would know the quote and how accurate the quotation is.

- In "The Very Vulgar," Christopher Yetzer observes that the authenticity of the ploughboy quote attributed to Tyndale has been questioned and that the ploughboy imagery predated Tyndale by centuries.

  "Jerome seems to be one of the earliest witnesses to the type of language that has come to be associated with the ploughboy as it relates to his use of Scripture. Around 386AD he wrote to Marcella describing the condition of the Holy Land using these words: 'in the cottage of Christ all is simple and rustic: and except for the chanting of psalms there is complete silence. Wherever one turns the laborer at his plough sings alleluia, the toiling mower cheers himself with psalms, and the vine-dresser while he prunes his vine sings one of the lays of David. These are the songs of the country; these, in popular phrase, its love ditties: these the shepherd whistles; these the tiller uses to aid his toil'" (Yetzer). (emphasis added)

  "Therefore the image of the ploughman (while a historical occupation and also a figure throughout the Bible) was originally an application made famous by Erasmus who seems to have taken it from Jerome. In the following decades the ploughman continued to be employed for his musical use of Scripture. After the Council of Trent, the Protestants adopted him for their arguments regarding the perspicuity of the Scriptures" (Yetzer).

- Whether Tyndale actually uttered the "ploughboy" quote or not, he was clearly not the first one to use the ploughboy imagery. Tyndale was a wordsmith and invented many wonderful words – atonement, Passover, scapegoat, mercyseat. But Tyndale did not invent the ploughboy image.

- Whoever first invoked the ploughboy image, it is nothing more than a specific example of the universal truth that all men, whether they be ploughboys or blacksmiths or lawyers or doctors or soldiers or vegetarians, should teach God's word, and think on it, and speak of it moment by moment.

  - Deu 6:6 KJV - And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart:
    Deu 6:7 KJV - And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.

  - Deu 11:18 KJV - Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes.
    Deu 11:19 KJV - And ye shall teach them your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.

  - Psa 119:172 KJV - My tongue shall speak of thy word: for all thy commandments [are] righteousness.

- Whether Tyndale actually uttered the ploughboy quote or not, the key point is that it was a sentiment that Tyndale deeply believed. It is clear from Tyndale's writings that he wanted the scriptures to be directly accessible to the common man so that he would not be dependent on the clergy's interpretation.

- "Which thing only moved me to translate the New Testament. Because I had perceived by experience, how that it was impossible to stablish the lay people in any truth, except the scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text . . ."
  (Tyndale, *The Five Books of Moses*, To The Reader).

- "The sermons which thou readest in the Acts of the apostles, and all that the apostles preached, were no doubt preached in the mother tongue. Why then might they not be written in the mother tongue? As, if one of us preach a good sermon, why may it not be written? Saint Jerom also translated the bible into his mother tongue: why may not we also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one; so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English, word for word; when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shall have much work to translate it well-favoredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin, and as it hath in the Hebrew. A thousand parts better may it be translated into the English, than into the Latin. Yea, and except my memory fail me, and that I have forgotten what I read when I was a child, thou shalt find in the English chronicle, how that king Adelstone caused the holy scripture to be translated into the tongue that then was in England, and how the prelates exhorted him thereto. Moreover, seeing that one of you ever preacheth contrary to another; and when two of you meet, the one disputeth and brawleth with the other, as it were two scolds; and forasmuch as one holdeth this doctor, and another that; one followeth Duns, another St Thomas, another Bonaventure, Alexander de Hales, Raymond, Lyre, Brygot, Dorbel, Holcot, Gorram, Trumbett, Hugo de Sancto Victore, De Monte Regio, De Nova Villa, De Media Villa, and such like out of number; so that if thou hadst but of every author one book, thou couldst not pile them up in any warehouse in London, and every author is one contrary unto another. In so great diversity of spirits, how shall I know who lieth, and who sayeth truth? Whereby shall I try and judge them? Verily by God's word, which only is true. But how shall I that do, when thou wilt not let me see scripture?" (Tyndale, *Obedience of A Christian Man*, "To The Reader"). (emphasis added)

- "But how shall I do that, when you will not let me have his testimonies, or witnesses, in a tongue which I understand? Will you resist God? Will you forbid him to give his Spirit unto the lay as well as unto you? Hath he not made the English tongue? Why forbid ye him to speak in the English tongue then, as well as in the Latin?
  Finally, that this threatening and forbidding the lay people to read the scripture is not for the love of your souls (which they care for as the fox cares for the geese) is evident and clearer than the sun: inasmuch as they permit and suffer you to read Robin Hood, and Bevis of Hampton, Hercules, Hector and Troilus, with a thousand histories and fables of love and wantonness, and of ribaldry, as filthy as the heart can think, to corrupt the minds of youth withal, completely contrary to the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles." (Tyndale, *Obedience of A Christian Man*, To The Reader). (emphasis added)

- "He perceived that it was not possible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the Scriptures were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue that they might see the

meaning of the text; for else, whatsoever truth should be taught them, the enemies of the truth would quench it, either with reasons of sophistry, and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture; or else juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense as it were impossible to gather of the text, if the right meaning thereof were seen.

Master Tyndale considered this only, or most chiefly, to be the cause of all mischief in the Church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the people's eyes; for so long the abominable doings and idolatries maintained by the pharisaical clergy could not be espied; and therefore all their labor was with might and main to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right
sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle those who rebuked or despised their abominations; wresting the Scripture unto their own purpose, contrary unto the meaning of the text, they would so delude the unlearned lay people, that though thou felt in thy heart, and wert sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst thou not solve their subtle riddles" (Foxe). (emphasis added)

Tyndale's Choice of Language and Intended Audience

- Tyndale's ploughboy statement has been misunderstood to suggest that Tyndale was focused on the lowest common denominator.
    - *"Fallacy #1: Tyndale aimed his translation at an illiterate or nonreading public.*

      [ ] It is not a designation of teenage farm boys as a target audience for a niche Bible. [ ] The background is Tyndale's growing agitation at the prevailing Catholic ignorance of the Bible. [ ] Second, the reference to the plowboy is not a comment about a social class toward which Tyndale slanted his translation. [ ] He was using a particular example to make the general point that he wanted the whole cross section of the English population to have access to the Bible.

      Fallacy #2: Tyndale was in favor of a colloquial English style for Bible translation.

      [ ] It is equally evident that Tyndale did not lower the style to match the way the local plowboy talked" (Ryken, *Legacy*, 21-23).

- Tyndale wrote for the layman not the barely literate. Tyndale wanted the word of God in the native tongue, not the basest form of the native tongue.
    - "writers can never predict into whose hands a book will fall, so it is futile and self-defeating to project a specific audience" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 126).
    - "If ye would teach, how could ye do it so well, and with so great profit, as when the lay-people have the scripture before them in their mother tongue? For then should they see, by the order of the text, whether thou jugglest or not. [ ] The curates themselves (for the most part) no more know what the New or Old Testaments mean than the Turks do. Nor do they know any more than what they read at mass, matins, and evensong, which they still do not

understand. Nor do they care, except to mumble as much each day as the magpie and popinjay speak – which do not know what to fill their bellies with. They will not let the layman have the word of God in his native tongue, and yet they let the priests have it – when a great part of them do not understand Latin at all. They only sing, say, and patter all day with their lips, what their heart does not understand" (Tyndale, *Obedience of A Christian Man*, To The Reader).

- "The plowboy is here a representative figure for all of English society, from the top to the bottom of the social scale. Above all, the plowboy represents the layperson, who had been systematically excluded from knowing the content of the Bible . . ." (Ryken, *New Testament,* 41).

- Tyndale did not write in the simplest form of English. With any language, there are different levels and degrees of complexity. Tyndale was writing in language that the common man could learn to understand, but he was not writing in language that the common man already understood.

  - ". . . Tyndale's English—and subsequently that of the KJB—did not seem as natural and easy as we are inclined to think it. Nor did it seem grand or majestic. England did learn English from Tyndale. In drafting the KJB he shaped English so that, as the years passed, many came to see the KJB as English perfected" (Norton, 13-14). (emphasis added)

  - "Two elements of the model Tyndale gave for English biblical translation are apparent in this passage. One is the judicious fidelity to the syntax and grammar of the original languages, even to the point of including a present participle in the Mathew passage, 'being a perfect man' (v. 19), and so delaying the main verb until the latter part of the sentence: this would not have troubled an educated man, but was not the basic English of the ploughboy. The other key elements are the choice of predominantly native English vocabulary. 'Married' (1525), 'perfect,' 'defame' (1525), 'example' (1534), 'secretly,' 'appeared' and 'conceived' come from the Latin by way of Old French and Middle English. All were familiar English. Only 'perfect' is used in a sense that might have eluded an ordinary reader or hearer" (Norton, 35). (emphasis added)

  - "The Bible in English shaped Protestant English-speaking culture. It was not just that the Bible was read, heard and known: the Bible in English made the individualistic act of reading and understanding primary, creating a culture wedded to the belief that understood words were of the highest importance. Besides this, the Bible, more than any other writing in English, shaped the English language. This was an unlooked-for consequence of Tyndale's work, for he never set out to create a linguistic or literary revolution. Yet this, besides the religious revolution, is what he created. The decisions he made as to the kind of English he should use have affected every speaker and writer of English. Thomas More, his arch-antagonist, mockingly suggested that 'all England list now to go to school with Tyndale to learn English.' His point was the difficulty of Tyndale's language. That we now find it remarkably straightforward and even powerful is precisely because all England went to school with Tyndale and learnt English from him and his successors, most notably from the principal form his work took, the KJB" (Norton, 11). (emphasis added)

- The scriptures are both simple and difficult. While salvation requires just the simple faith of a child, the Bible contains both simpler (milk) and more complex (meat) content. Accurately communicating meat doctrine may require a greater degree of complexity than the lowest form of English.

    - 1Co 3:2 KJV - I have fed you with milk, and not with meat: for hitherto ye were not able [to bear it], neither yet now are ye able.

    - Heb 5:12 KJV - For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which [be] the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat.

    - "A basic paradox that permeates the Bible is its simultaneous simplicity and complexity. [ ]

      The bias of Tyndale scholarship is so strongly in the direction of simplicity that it has drastically distorted the nature of Tyndale's view of the Bible and of his English New Testament. The simple half of the equation needs to be balanced by Tyndale's explicit acknowledgment that the Bible is a difficult book that requires scholarly expertise to understand fully. [ ]

      The context within which to understand Tyndale's statements about the simplicity of his translated book is the centuries-long Catholic manner of disseminating Scripture to churchgoers. The Catholic Bible was a scholars' Bible—a Latin version accessible only to priests. [ ]

      Within such a context, any English translation of the Bible ranks as a simple or plain book.

      One aspect of the simplicity of Tyndale's New Testament is thus that it was an English-language book instead of a Latin one. A second aspect of the simplicity of Tyndale's New Testament is that it was intended for laypeople and not only the educated clergy" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 96-98).

- Tyndale's chief objective was not to write simply but to translate accurately. He frequently used exalted language when translating long passages of the New Testament:

    - "showing that Tyndale gave his chief allegiance to the nature of the specific passage he was translating, not to a target audience of readers with minimal linguistic ability. Contrary to a common misconception, Tyndale did not hesitate to use 'big words' when the biblical authors used them" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 77).

- Einstein: "It can scarcely be denied that the supreme goal of all theory is to make the irreducible basic elements as simple and as few as possible without having to surrender the adequate representation of a single datum of experience."

    - Einstein's quote has been restated as "Everything should be made as simple as possible, but not simpler." Some truths have a degree of complexity that they cannot be expressed in first grade English. Attempting to do so is oversimplification and unfaithful to the word of God.

- There are meat doctrines that cannot be adequately expressed using one or two syllable words. Accordingly, Tyndale used the following words in his translation:
    - congregation
    - propitiation
    - sanctification
    - consolation
    - interpretation
    - ministration
    - condemnation

- In Tyndale's various printings of the New Testament, he invented numerous English words that did not previously exist (Teems, 269-270).
    - "A famous feature of Tyndale's 1526 text was his decision to coin words from the Greek that did not have an existing English parallel" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 100).
    - "Tyndale's commitment to conveying the very words of the New Testament was so complete that in a few instances he coined new words to approximate the biblical original" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 106-07).
    - Examples of such words include the following:
        - achange
        - a-doors
        - baning
        - bruterer
        - castor
        - deceivableness
        - harborous
        - housewifely
        - incomer
        - lowth
        - royetous
        - unghostly (Teems, 269-270).

- It is obvious that Tyndale was not writing for the illiterate or nonreading. Tyndale's ploughboy statement reflected the reality that the word of God, if placed in the vernacular language, would benefit all of society.
    - "In the words of Jonathon Moore, 'The ploughboy was being set up for an education: a book that would not leave him where he was but would elevate him not just spiritually but intellectually" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 101).

- "Contrary to the stereotype of Tyndale as 'dumbing down' his translation to meet the current ability of the local plowboy, he in fact expected a lot from his readers" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 108).

- "Tyndale the translator did not condescend downward but instead expected his readers to rise upward" (Ryken, *New Testament,* 117).

- "In his preface [1526 New Testament], Tyndale was honest in recognizing the challenges of translating the Scriptures into English. He knew that some of the language used in the Bible would not communicate to the daily lives of the 16th century ploughman. He also knew that some of his terms and phrases would be unclear and in some points completely unintelligible to his readers. That does not mean that he did not want the illiterate to understand the Scriptures, just that he didn't translate it on their level."

  "Clearly, like the English Bibles that came before and those that were translated afterward, they all desired, challenged and expected the common man to read the Scriptures, but they didn't expect them to understand everything initially, to the contrary they wanted them to grow into understanding the language of Scripture"
  (Yetzer).

- Books written to the barely literate are children's books. The Bible can be read by children, but it is not a children's book. Tyndale was not saying that the ploughboy could understand all of the deep truths of the word of God using only his present vocabulary. He was saying that the ploughboy would understand far more than he currently understood because he would have access to the scriptures in his own language, and the ploughboy could more easily learn difficult words in his own language than he could Latin, of which the ploughboy understood nothing.

  - "It is time to lay to rest the fallacy that Tyndale's New Testament was pitched to grade schoolers. Tyndale's allegiance was to what the New Testament authors actually wrote. It is true that he wrote *for* the entire Bible-reading public, including what we often call the common person but that is more accurately called the layperson. But if Tyndale translated *for* these people, he did not translate *to* them in the sense of allowing their supposed low linguistic ability to determine how he translated the Greek text." (Ryken, *New Testament,* 119)

False Friends as a Basis for Revision

- Some modern commentators interpret Tyndale's ploughboy statement to mean that scripture should be translated into the most basic form of any language.

  - "The KJV translators cared about people with lower educational levels, too. Their statement about the 'very vulgar' – the common people – occurs in their masterful preface to the 1611 KJV:

    'We desire that the Scripture may speak like itself, as in the language of Canaan, that it may be understood even of the very vulgar.'

> Whether the very vulgar considered the translation successful or not, the KJV in this respect followed directly in the line of English Bible translator William Tyndale, much of whose work persists verbatim in the KJV, released seventy-five years after his martyrdom. Tyndale boldly told a clerical opponent, in words I myself uttered acting as Tyndale in a school play in twelfth grade, 'If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou dost.
>
> As David Norton observes, 'boy that driveth the plough' translates into modern English as 'man on the street'" (Ward, 21).

- Ward quotes the ploughboy statement and then observes that the ploughboy statement would be rendered in contemporary English as "man on the street." In other words, in Ward's view, even Tyndale's easily graspable concept of the ploughboy as everyman may require updating to be understandable to the modern common man. Ward then makes the argument that the biggest obstacle in understanding the KJV is false friends.
    - "*The biggest problem in understanding the KJV comes from 'false friends,' words that are still in common use but have changed meaning in ways that modern readers are highly unlikely to recognize*" (Ward, 31). (italics in original)
    - "That's why I've alerted you to the phenomenon of 'false friends': a particular kind of change in the last four-hundred-plus years of English that you could have almost no way of knowing about if you hadn't picked up this book" (Ward, 43).
    - "You can teach people to look up unfamiliar words, but *the issue here is not words you know you don't know; it's words (and phrases and syntax and punctuation) you don't know you don't know* – features of English that have changed in subtle ways rather than dropping completely out of the language" (Ward, 49).
- Even if Ward's reasoning were correct, it would only justify updating the comparatively few words in the KJV that are actually false friends. It would not justify abandoning the Textus Receptus and adopting the Critical Text with entirely different Greek readings. The false friends argument offers zero justification for the numerous textual changes supported by Critical Text proponents, such as omitting the last twelve verses of Mark.
- Further, it should be noted that the concept of false friends is inherently subjective. Some readers understand exactly what a word means, and the word is not a false friend to them at all. A word is a false friend only to those who do not understand its meaning. Accordingly, revising the scriptures to modify all words that some might misunderstand as a false friend, requires that the scriptures be revised to cater to the least literate and most easily confused. Consider whether the word of God should be revised so that it reads at the level of the least literate in society.
- In Ward's book, he identifies a couple dozen false friends in the KJV, and since that time, he has identified more. We don't agree that all of his supposed false friends are in fact false. For example, he thinks "remove" is a false friend because the KJV uses the word in the sense of "move." But, to be generous, let's say that the number of false friends in the KJV is 200.

- Does it actually make sense to revise the KJV on the basis of this handful of false friends? We don't amend the US Constitution because it contains language unfamiliar to most contemporary Americans: chuse, presentment, Bills of Attainder, Letters of Marque and Reprisal. People just use a dictionary. It is not that hard.

- Ward, however, rejects the idea that someone studying the scriptures should have to use a dictionary.

    - "I do not believe that competent speakers of contemporary English should be required to look up English words in a Bible translation when commonly known equivalents are available" (Ward 55).

- Let's see what Tyndale thought about dictionaries. And recall that Ward began his argument with an appeal to Tyndale's ploughboy quote.

What Tyndale Actually Thought About Dictionaries

- Consider what Tyndale wrote in the Preface to his 1526 New Testament.

    - "Them that are learned Christianly I beseech—forasmuch as I am sure, and my conscience beareth me record, that of a pure intent, singly and faithfully I have interpreted it, as far forth as God gave me the gift of knowledge and understanding—that the rudeness of the work now at the first time offend them not, but that they consider how that I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like things in the Scripture beforetime. Moreover, even very necessity and cumbrance (God is record) above strength—which I will not rehearse, lest we should seem to boast ourselves—caused that many things are lacking which necessarily are required. Count it as a thing not having his full shape, but as it were born before his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished. In time to come (if God have appointed us thereunto) we will give it his full shape, and put out if aught be added superfluously, and add to if aught be overseen through negligence, and will enforce to bring to compendiousness that which is now translated at the length, and to give light where it is required, and to seek in certain places more proper English, and with a table to expound the words which are not commonly used and show how the Scripture useth many words which are otherwise understood of the common people, and to help with a declaration where one tongue taketh not another; and will endeavor ourselves, as it were, to seeth it better, and to make it more apt for the weak stomachs; desiring them that are learned and able, to remember their duty, and to help thereunto, and to bestow unto the edifying of Christ's body (which is the congregation of them that believe) those gifts which they have received of God for the same purpose. The grace that cometh of Christ be with them that love him" (Tyndale, Preface to the New Testament). (emphasis added)

- Tyndale is acknowledging that what he produced needs further refinement. He does not view his work as a finished product. Recall that Tyndale translated the entire New Testament by himself in around a year's time while trying to evade the evil powers that sought his harm.

- As to the suggestion that Tyndale sought to write at the level that the ploughboy could easily understand the scriptures in his own vocabulary, notice that was not Tyndale's aim.

    - Tyndale desired "to seek in certain places more proper English." Tyndale didn't think the scriptures should be at the lowest form of language but at a higher level.

    - Tyndale wanted to include a "table to expound the words which are not commonly used." While some say it is too much trouble to look up words in a dictionary and therefore the scriptures should only use words known to even the least literate, Tyndale used words that were not commonly known and thought the proper solution was a table to expound the words, i.e. a dictionary.

    - Tyndale also wanted to "expound the words which are not commonly used and show how the Scripture useth many words which are otherwise understood of the common people." When Tyndale says that the "Scripture useth many words which are otherwise understood of the common people," Tyndale is referring to something very similar to the concept of false friends! Tyndale is saying that Scripture has many words that the common people understand to mean one thing when Scripture is actually using those words in a different sense. Tyndale's solution was not to avoid such words but to create a table (i.e. a dictionary) with the correct meaning.

    - "It is noteworthy that Tyndale never thought to adopt such a strategy, despite his concern that the boy at the plow know the Bible. He understood perfectly well that many of the English words a faithful translation required him to employ would be unknown to many of his readers; however, his response to this problem was not to use only common words but to append to his translation a glossary of difficult terms. (At a time when real dictionaries were unheard of, this was a brilliant and innovative solution. Alas, Tyndale did not live to implement it)" (Jacobs).

- Note carefully what is happening. Tyndale's solution to the problem of readers not understanding the meaning of Bible words was NOT to use the simpler language of the common man but to create a dictionary. Tyndale proposed this idea in 1526, more than 75 years before the first monolingual English dictionary, the *Table Alphabeticall*, was published in 1604! Tyndale was an innovative genius.

- What Tyndale said about a table in his 1526 Preface to the New Testament, Tyndale subsequently performed in his 1530 translation of the Pentateuch, in which he included multiple tables expounding certain words. Immediately following Genesis, there is a table consisting of 7 pages expounding upon certain words in Genesis.

A table expoundinge certeyne wordes

Abrech/ tender father/or as some will) bowe the knee.

Arcke/a shippe made flatte as it were a chest or a cofer.

Bisse: fyne whyte/whether it be silke or linen.

Blesse: godes blessinges are his giftes/as in the firste chaptre he blessed them sayng: growe & multiplye & haue dominion &c. And in the.ix. chaptre he blessed Noe & his sonnes & gaue the dominiō over all beestes & authoryte to eate the And god blessed Abrahā with catell ād other ryches. And Jacob desyred Esau to receaue his blessinge which he brought him/ý is the present & gifte. God blessed the.vij. daye/ý is/ gaue it a prehemynence ý men shuld rest therin from bodely labour & lerne to know the will of god & his lawes & how to worke their workes godly all the weke after. God also blesseth all nations in Abrahams seed/that is/he turneth his loue & favoure vnto the and geveth the his spirite and knowledge of the true waye/ ād lust and power to walke therin/and all for christes sake Abrahams sonne.

Cain/so is it writen in Hebrue. Notwithstōdinge whether we call him Cain or caim it maketh no matter/so we vnderstond the meaninge.

- In sum, appealing to Tyndale's ploughboy statement to argue against the use of dictionaries and to justify revising the Scriptures to a lower form of language is directly contrary to what Tyndale himself believed.

The Tyndale Hero Dynamic

- "There's an old saying that victory has a hundred fathers and defeat is an orphan." John F. Kennedy.

- William Tyndale is one of the foremost heroes of the faith.

    - He was the first to publish a complete New Testament in English translated from the Greek, principally Erasmus's text.

    - He was a "linguistic genius who was conversant in at least seven languages" (Ryken, *Legacy*, 19).

    - He was a gifted translator and wordsmith. A large share of the KJV New Testament follows his wording.

    - He was a martyr and the father of the English Reformation.

- Because Tyndale is such a hero, people want to associate with him. People correctly view Tyndale's action as noble, and since people generally think of themselves as noble, they see him in themselves. Thus, people often appeal to Tyndale and other heroes as justification for their own actions, even when Tyndale would have completely disapproved of what they are doing.

- Tyndale House Publishing

    - "**Our Mission**
      For more than 60 years, Tyndale has helped readers discover the life-giving truths of God's Word. . . Today we're one of the largest independently owned Christian publishers in the world. Though our business has grown, our mission remains the same: to open God's Word to as many as possible in language they can relate to and understand" (Tyndale House).

    - Notice that this publisher refers to itself simply as "Tyndale." Their appropriation of his name is so complete that they refer to themselves using only his name

    - Tyndale House is best known for publishing The Living Bible and The New Living Translation. Below are comparisons between how Tyndale and the KJV rendered the verse and how the verse is rendered in the Tyndale House modern versions. Consider whether Tyndale would approve of the publishing house that has appropriated (misappropriated?) his name.

- As context, consider what Tyndale wrote to fellow Reformer John Frith as to Tyndale's solemn approach to the holy responsibility of translating the scriptures.

  "I call God to record, against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches might be given me" (Quoted in Teems, *Tyndale*, 98).

Reference	**Tyndale (Matthew's Bible 1537)**	**KJV**	**The Living Bible / New Living Translation**
1Sam 20:30	Then was Saul angry with Ionathas and sayde vnto hym: O frowarde and rebellyous, thy[n]kest thou I knowe not howe thou hast chosen the sonne of Isai vnto thine owne rebuke, and vnto the rebuke & shame of thy mother.	Then Saul's anger was kindled against Jonathan, and he said unto him, Thou son of the perverse rebellious [woman], do not I know that thou hast chosen the son of Jesse to thine own confusion, and unto the confusion of thy mother's nakedness?	TLB (1971): Saul boiled with rage. "You son of a bitch!'' he yelled at him. "Do you think I don't know that you want this son of a nobody to be king in your place, shaming yourself and your mother? NLT: Saul boiled with rage at Jonathan. "You stupid son of a whore!" he swore at him. "Do you think I don't know that you want him to be king in your place, shaming yourself and your mother?
1Kings 18:27	And at none Eliah mocked them and sayd: call loud, (for he is a God: but he is talking or occupied or in the waye, or happely he slepeth) that he may awake.	And it came to pass at noon, that Elijah mocked them, and said, Cry aloud: for he [is] a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, [or] peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked.	TLB: About noontime, Elijah began mocking them. "You'll have to shout louder than that," he scoffed, "to catch the attention of your god! Perhaps he is talking to someone, or is out sitting on the toilet, or maybe he is away on a trip, or is asleep and needs to be wakened!"
2Kings 15:9	and dyd that displeaseth the Lorde, as dyd hys fathers, and turned not from the synnes of Ieroboam the sonne of	And he did [that which was] evil in the sight of the LORD, as his fathers had done: he departed not from the	TLB (1971): But Zechariah was an evil king in the Lord's opinion, just like his ancestors. Like Jeroboam I (the son of Nebat), he

	Nabat which made Israel synne.	sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.	encouraged Israel in the sin of worshiping idols.
2Chron 26:4	And he dyd that pleased the Lord, in al pointes as dyd hys father Amaziah.	And he did [that which was] right in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his father Amaziah did.	TLB (1971): He followed in the footsteps of his father Amaziah, and was, in general, a good king so far as the Lord's opinion of him was concerned.
2Ch 29:2	And he dyd that was right in the syght of the Lorde in all poyntes as did Dauid his father.	And he did [that which was] right in the sight of the LORD, according to all that David his father had done.	TLB (1971): His reign was a good one in the Lord's opinion, just as his ancestor David's had been.
Mark 1:2	As yt is wrytten in the Prophetes: beholde I sende my messenger before thy face which shall prepared thy waye before ye.	As it is written in the prophets, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.	TLB: In the book written by the prophet Isaiah, God announced that he would send his Son[a] to earth, and that a special messenger would arrive first to prepare the world for his coming.
John 9:34	They answered and sayd vnto him: thou arte altogeder borne in synne, and dost thou teache vs? And they cast him out	They answered and said unto him, Thou wast altogether born in sins, and dost thou teach us? And they cast him out.	TLB: "You illegitimate bastard,[b] you!" they shouted. "Are you trying to teach *us?"* And they threw him out. Fn. *You illegitimate bastard,* literally, "You were altogether born in sin." NLT: "You were born a total sinner!" they answered. "Are you trying to teach us?" And they threw him out of the synagogue.
Acts 23:3	Then sayde Paul to him: God smyte the thou payntyd wall. Sittest thou and iudgest me after the lawe and	Then said Paul unto him, God shall smite thee, [thou] whited wall: for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and	TLB: Paul said to him, "God shall slap you, you whitewashed pigpen.[a] What kind of judge are you to break the

	commaundest me to be smytten contrary to the lawe?	commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?	law yourself by ordering me struck like that?"
1Cor 1:18	For ye preachinge of the crosse is to them yt perisshe folishnes: but vnto vs which are saved it is ye power of God.	For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God.	NLT: The message of the cross is foolish to those who are headed for destruction! But we who are being saved know it is the very power of God.
2Cor 2:17	For we are not as many are which choppe and chaunge with the worde of God: but even oute of purenes and by the power of God and in the sight of God so speake we in Christ.	For we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God: but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ.	NLT: You see, we are not like the many hucksters who preach for personal profit. We preach the word of God with sincerity and with Christ's authority, knowing that God is watching us.

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Lesson 7

Tyndale the Terrific Translator: Assessing Tyndale's Translational Choices & Use of the English Language

Prepared & Taught by Bryan C. Ross

Introduction

- Few figures have exerted a greater influence upon the English Bible than William Tyndale. Although he did not live to see the completion of an English Bible bearing his name, his translation work became the foundation upon which virtually every subsequent English Bible was built, especially the Authorized Version of 1611. Many of the familiar words, phrases, and expressions that English-speaking Christians associate with the King James Bible first entered the biblical vocabulary through Tyndale's pioneering labors.

- Over the years many authors have sought to demonstrate Tyndale's impact upon the English langue by listing and quantifying words coined by Tyndale. David Teems author of *Tyndale: The Man Who Gave God an English Voice* included an Appendix (B) at the back of his work titled "Frist Usage of Words by William Tyndale."

    - "The following list includes the first appearance of words introduced into the English Language by William Tyndale as documented in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The list, however, is incomplete. Many of the words introduced by Tyndale have been credited to other authors (most particularly Myles Coverdale [The Coverdale Bible, 1535], but also William Shakespear, the King James Bible, and others). One example of this oversight is the word behold, which is credited to the Coverdale Bible for the first usage (Mal. 3:1). Yet this same word appears in Tyndale's 1526 New Testament (Matt. 1:20; 7:4; 8:29; 12:49; 18:10; 26:65; John 11:3, Rev. 21:5).

      Here is a small sample of familiar words, also miscredited that have their start in Tyndale: *fig leaves* (Gen. 3), *birthright* (Gen. 25), *ingathering* (Ex. 34), *whoring* (Ex. 34), *sin offering* (Lev. 4), *morning watch* (1 Sam. 2), *hand-breath* (1 Kings 7), *spoiler* (2 Kings 17), *swaddeling cloths* (Luke 2), *slaughter* (Acts 9, Heb. 7, James 5), *ministering* (Heb. 1)" (Teems, 268).

- After discussing some additional examples of Tyndallian words falsely credited to other authors (Shakespeare, Coverdale, & the King James translators), Teems presents two lists of first usage examples for the works of Tyndale. Regarding these lists Teems states:

- "The first list includes the words found (first usage) in the William Tyndale New Testament (1526-1534). The second list includes the words found in Tyndale's nontranslation works" (Teems, 269).

- The first list contains a total of 128 words whose English origin is found in Tyndale's New Testament translation work. Some of the more notable examples include the following:

  - Agreeing, anathema, apostleship, Athenian, beggarly, betrayer, broken-hearted, brotherly, busybody, castaway, chasten(ing), childishness, Corinthian, daughter-law, divider, divorcement, excommunicate, eye-service, finisher, fisherman, godly, God-speed, grossly, holy place, house-top, incorruption, intend, intercession, Jehovah, jesting, jot, judgement-seat, justifier, long-suffering, lost, Mercy-seat, mother-law, network, Nicolaitan, offscouring, open door, ourselves, Passover, peace offering, sanctifying, scapegoat, sea-shore, shewbread, singleness, stiff-necked, stumbling-block, taskmaster, thank-offering, two-edged, unbeliever, uncircumcision, ungodly (noun, adjective), unleavened, untoward, uproar, viper, wave, weakling, whoremonger, wine-press, yoke-fellow, zealous (Teems, 269-270).

- Teem's second list contains 104 found in Tyndale's non-translational theological writings. Some notable examples include:

  - Allegorical, antiquate, appropriate, clear-eyed, creating, deaconess, devilishly, discontent, dunce, evangelical, Galatian, German, godless, impure, incarnate, knavery, landlady, Moses, popishness, Romish, satisfactory, Scotist, self-minded, servant, studied, thanksgiving, toy, trope, unblameable (Teems 270-272).

- For a more through discussion of Tyndale's impact on the English language interested parties are encouraged to read David Crystal's recently authored book (2026) *William Tyndale and the English Langue* published by the Bodleian Library in commemoration of the 500th anniversary of Tyndale's New Testament. Crystal's entire book is devoted to breaking down in great detail the material that Teems relegated to an Appendix.

- In additional to coining hundreds of English words, Tyndale is often remembered for a number of controversial translational choices. His preference for words such as *congregation* instead of *church*, *love* instead of *charity*, and *repent* instead of *do penance* brought him into direct conflict with the religious establishment of his day. These decisions have generated centuries of discussion regarding translation philosophy, doctrinal bias, ecclesiastical influence, and the proper way to communicate biblical truth in English.

- The purpose of this lesson is neither to praise Tyndale uncritically nor to condemn his choices reflexively. Rather, we will examine a series of words and phrases commonly discussed in debates about the English Bible and trace their usage from Tyndale through later English translations, culminating in the Authorized Version. By comparing historical evidence, translation practices, and the development of English vocabulary, we will seek to determine whether popular claims regarding these words are supported by the facts.

- In doing so, we will discover that many differences between English Bible translations are not necessarily matters of corruption or doctrinal compromise. Often, they reflect the normal development of the English language, changing spelling conventions, shifting vocabulary preferences, or differing but legitimate translation decisions. By studying examples such as *church/congregation*, *charity/love*, *ensample/example*, *stablish/establish*, *replenish/fill*, *science/knowledge*, and *atonement/reconciliation*, we will gain a deeper appreciation for both Tyndale's contribution to the English Bible and the historical process through which biblical English developed.

- Ultimately, this lesson seeks to answer a simple but important question: When Tyndale made his translational choices, was he changing the meaning of Scripture, or was he expressing biblical truth in the living English of his day? The evidence will allow us to assess Tyndale's work on historical and linguistic grounds rather than merely repeating assumptions inherited from later controversies.

- For each of the following words, pairs of words, or phrases we will be looking at Tyndale's translations to trace their historical development through to the Authorized Version of 1611. The goal will be to ascertain whether the things commonly said about the meaning and usage of the words in question are in fact correct. The words, pairs of words, or phrases up for consideration are the following:

    - Church/Congregation
    - Charity/Love
    - Ensample/Example
    - Stablish/Establish
    - Replenish/Fill
    - Science/Knowledge
    - Atonement/Reconciliation

Church/Congregation

- The Greek word *ekklēsia* occurs 118 times in the *Textus Receptus*. Of these 118 occurrences, the King James translators rendered it in English as "church" 77 times, "churches" 37 times, and "assembly" four times. Put another way, the predominant word used in English by the King James translators to capture the meaning of the Greek word *ekklēsia* was some form of "church" (114 times).

- In contrast, William Tyndale used the words "congregation" or "congregations" 115 times to express the meaning of the Greek word *ekklēsia* in English. The remaining three occurrences were rendered in English as follows by William Tyndale. Please note that I have updated Tyndale's spelling for ease of reading.

    - Romans 16:5—Likewise greet all **the company** that is in thy house. Salute my well-beloved Epenetus which is the first fruit among them of Achaia.

    - I Peter 5:13—The **companions of your election** that are at Babylon saluteth you and Marcus my son.

    - Acts 19:37—For ye have brought hither these me which are neither robbers of **churches** nor yet despisers of your goddess.

- Acts 19:37 is the only time that Tyndale used the word "church" to capture the meaning of the Greek text in English. When one considers that John Wycliffe used the word "church" (chirche in Middle English) extensively in his translation, Tyndale's choice to avoid the word is nothing short of intentional. In fact, it is well known that Tyndale intentionally avoided using certain words that he deemed to be too "ecclesiastical" or Roman Catholic (See Appendix A for a lengthy quote from Tyndale on this very issue). Bible collector and historian Donald L. Brake states the following regarding how Tyndale's translation was received by his Catholic opposition:

    - "The translation of the following words brought condemnation from the Roman Catholics: church—congregation; priest—elder or senior; charity—love; do penance—repent" (Brake, 108-110).

- Tyndale was excoriated by his chief Catholic opponent Sir Thomas More for using the word "repent" instead of the Catholic phrase "do penance." Tyndale stated the following in *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*:

    - "And in like manner, by this word *penance* they make the people understand holy deeds of their enjoining; with which they must make satisfaction unto God-ward for their sins: when all the scripture preacheth that Christ hath made full satisfaction for our sins to God-ward; and we must now be thankful to God again, and kill the lusts of our flesh with holy works of God's enjoining. And I am bound to take patiently all that God layeth on my back; and, if I have hurt my neighbour, to shrive myself unto him, and to make him

> amends, if I have wherewith; or if not, then to ask him forgiveness, and he is bound to forgive me. And as for their *penance*, the scripture knoweth not of [it]. The Greek hath *Metanoia*, and *Metanoite*, repentance and repent; or forethinking and forethink. As we say in English, "It forethinketh me, or I forethink;' and 'I repent, or it repenteth me;' and 'I am sorry that I did it.' So now the scripture saith, 'Repent, or let it forethink you; and come and believe the gospel, or glad tidings, that is brought you in Christ, and so shall all be forgiven you; and henceforth live a new life.' And it will follow, if I repent in the heart, that I shall do no more so, willingly and of purpose. And if I believed the gospel, what God hath done for me in Christ, I should surely love him again, and of love prepare myself unto his commandments" (1531 *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Tyndale, 3:22-23).

- Consider the following table comparing the Wycliffe, Tyndale, and Rheims translations for the following famous verses in which we find the word "repent" in the KJB.

Verse	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Rheims
Matt. 3:2	and seide, **Do ye penance**, for the kingdom of heuenes shal neiye.	Saying; **Repent** the kingdom of heaven is at hand.	And saying: **Do penance**: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.
Acts 2:38	And Petre seide to hem, **Do ye penaunce**, and eche of you be baptisid in the name of Jhesu Crist, in to remissioun of youre synnes; and ye schulen take the yifte of the Hooli Goost.	Peter said unto them: **repent** and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins and ye shall receive the gift of the holy ghost.	But Peter said to them: **Do penance**: and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins. And you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.

- Not only did Tyndale's decision to use the word "repent" break with Catholic tradition it also more accurately communicated the meaning of the Greek word *metanoeō* which means to change one's mind.

- For Tyndale, the question was not merely about vocabulary. It was about whether the New Testament presented the church primarily as an institutional hierarchy or as the gathered community of all believers. His preference for "congregation" reflected his conviction that *ekklēsia* referred to the latter.

- My point here is that sometimes Tyndale's translational decisions were impacted by his desire to not be like the church he was criticizing. His choice to use the word "congregation" nearly exclusively over the word "church" stands out as one prime example.

Charity/Love

- Much ink has been spilt by King James advocates defending the use and/or superiority of "charity" in I Corinthians 13 by the KJB when compared with Modern Versions which utilize the English word "love" in these passages. The word "charity" occurs 28 times in 24 verses in the KJB.[2] In every one of these instances Modern Versions read "love" instead of "charity." On account of this fact, many proponents of the King James view the change from "charity" to "love" in Modern Versions as a "corruption" that substantively alters the doctrinal content of the passages in question.

- Beginning with William Tyndale, every English translation of the *Textus Receptus* from Tyndale to the first edition of the Bishops Bible in 1568 rendered the Greek word *agape* as "love" in English with only one exception. That exception being the original Bishops reading in Jude verse 12:

    - "These are spots in your feasts of **charity**, when they feast with you, without all fear feeding the selves: clouds they are without water, carried about of winds, corrupt trees, and without fruit, twice dead, and plucked up by the roots"

- So, Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthew, Great, Geneva, and the first edition of the Bishops all read "love," as do Modern Versions, in the passages listed in the footnote below. Yet, all of these Bibles are supposed to be "pure" and uncorrupted according the Two Streams of Bibles model of transmission.

- The word "charity" did not appear in a printed English Bible until the second edition of the Bishops Bible published in 1572 despite having been used extensively by John Wycliffe in his manuscript translations from the 1380s. Drawing from A. S. Herbert's 1968 publication *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525–1961*, we can note the following regarding the 1572 revision of the Bishops Bible:

    - "A reprint of the 1568 Bible (No 125), so far as the Old Testament is concerned; but the New Testament has undergone further careful revision since the quarto edition of 1569 (see no 126) . . . All later issues, with two exceptions, appear to follow this quarto of 1569 in the Old Testament, but generally adopted the text of this Bible of 1572 in the New Testament" (Herbert, 75).

- This would include the 1602 Bishops Bible which served as the base text for the Authorized Version, according to Rule 1 given to the King James translators. In the 1572 revision, several switches were made to the New Testament in the direction of more "ecclesiastical" language, a

[2] I Corinthians 8:1; 13:1-4, 8, 13; 14:1; 16:14; Colossians 3:14; I Thessalonians 3:6; II Thessalonians 1:3; I Timothy 1:5; 2:15; 4:12; II Timothy 2:22; 3:10; Titus 2:2; I Peter 4:8; 5:14; II Peter1:7; III John 1:6; Jude 12; Revelation. 2:19)

phenomenon Tyndale was conscious to avoid, such as introducing the term "charity" into I Corinthians 13.

- The waters are further muddied when one considers that the word "charity" entered the English Bible via Wycliffe and was utilized heavily by the Rheims New Testament (1582) both of which are translations of the Latin Vulgate. Of the 28 occurrences of "charity" in the revised Bishops New Testament and the King James, 25 times it agrees with Wycliffe and the Rheims and differs from Tyndale, Coverdale, the Great Bible, Geneva, and the first edition of the Bishops.[3]

- Does this mean that these pre-1611 translations of the *Textus Receptus* were corrupt because they elected to use the word "love" instead of "charity?" As noted above, Tyndale purposely sought to avoid "ecclesiastical" words or words connected with Roman Catholicism (See Appendix B for quote from Tyndale on the matter.). Does this mean that Tyndale's translation was corrupt for not using words that are a verbatim match to the King James? Could it be that either "charity" or "love" would both be correct and constitute a different way of saying the same thing? Regardless of what one chooses to believe on this matter, the King James translators cannot be granted some uber spiritual insight for using "charity" over "love" since it was not their decision to make the change. They were simply following the revised Bishops text of 1572/1602.

Ensample/Example

- As I discussed in my book *The King James Bible in America: A Orthographic, Historical, and Textual Investigation* much discourse has transpired around the words "ensample" and "example" among King James Bible Believers. Many argue that these words are wholly different words possessing discriminated meanings while others view them as spelling variants conveying the exact same meaning. Some acknowledge that the words are of synonymous meaning in the dictionary but then maintain that they mean different things when used in the KJB. I maintain that the words in question are spelling variants because a host of English language resources and dictionaries bear witness to this fact.

- 1658—Edward Philipps' *New World of Words* originally published in 1658 contains the following entry for the word "ensample:"

    - **ENSAMPLE** (old world) an example, model, or pattern.

- 1721—Noah Bailey's *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* from 1721 defines "ensample" as "example or pattern."

- According to some of the earliest known English dictionaries the word "ensample" is an "old world" way of saying "example." These dictionaries do not present a discriminated or nuanced meaning between the two words. The same could be said for prominent English dictionaries of the 19th and 20th centuries as well.

[3] Wycliffe and Rheims read "love" in the following verses: I Timothy 2:15; II Timothy 3:10; Titus 2:2, & II Peter 1:7

- 1828—Noah Webster's famous *American Dictionary of the English Language* from 1828 defines "ensample" as follows:

    - **ENSAMPLE**

      Ensample, *noun* [Latin exemplum.] An example; a pattern or model for imitation. Being ensamples to the flock. 1 Peter 5:3.

      Ensample, *verb transitive* To exemplify; to shew by example. **This word is seldom used, either as a noun or a verb**. [**See Example**.]

- According to Webster, the word "ensample" is seldom used and means "an example, a pattern or model for imitation." Not only is this definition identical to those offered in 17th and 18th centuries dictionaries but readers of Webster are explicitly told to see the word "example" for further clarification.

- 1881—Walter W. Skeat's *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* from 1881 informs its readers similarly. Skeat defines "ensample" as "an example" and tells his readers to "see Example."

- The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) presents similar findings in an expanded format. The *OED* clearly identifies the word "ensample" as an archaic form of the word "example."

    - **ENSAMPLE**, n. *arch*.

      =EXAMPLE in various senses.
      The mod. Archaistic use is almost wholly due to reminisce of the passages in which the word occurs in the New Testament. In four of these passages it is used in sense 2, and is retained unaltered in the R.V.; in the remaining two it has sense 3, and has in the R.V. been replaced by example.

      3. An illustrative instance.

      †b. quasi-*adv*. = 'for example'. *Obs*.

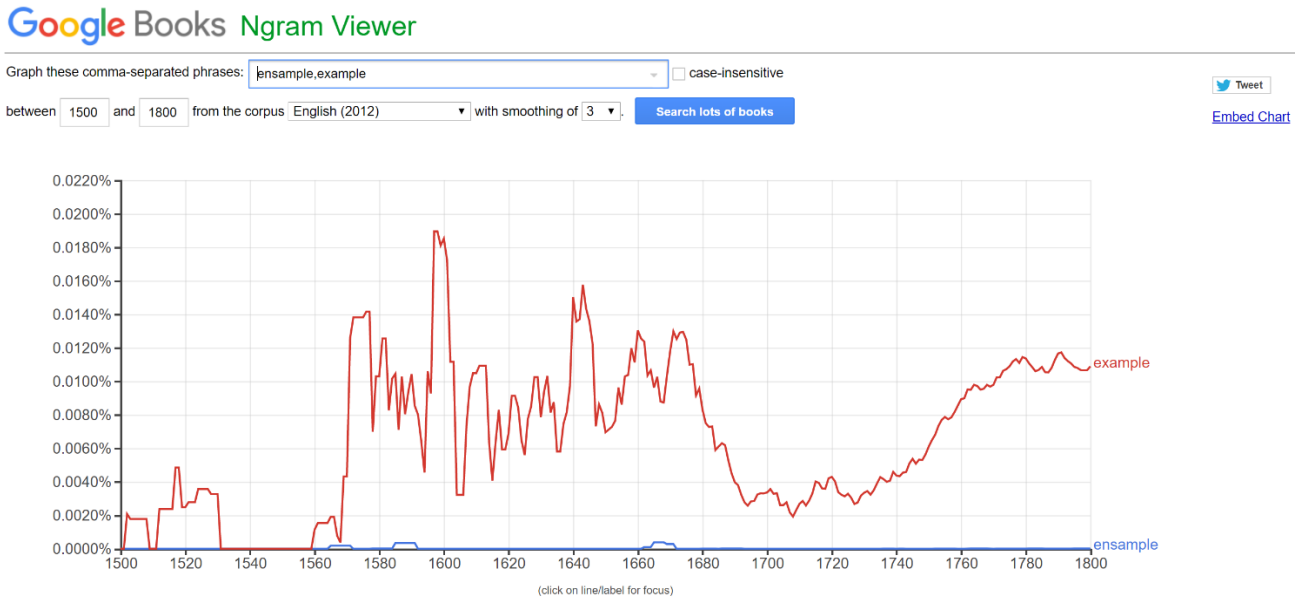
      2. A precedent which may be followed or imitated; a pattern or model of conduct.

      b. Phrases: ***+in (+to) ensample; to give, set (an) ensample; to take ensample (+at, by, of).***

      †c. ***in ensample***: after the model (*of*); in imitation of the fact (that). *Obs*.

3. A deterrent instance of punishment, or of the evil consequences of any course of conduct; a practical warning. Const. *to*, *of* (the person to be warned), also with possessive pronoun. Phrases, ***for, †in ensample***.

- The following graph confirms our findings gleaned from multiple dictionaries spanning more than three centuries. The word "ensample" is a more archaic form of "example" that carries the exact same meaning. The following line graph compares the historical frequency of usage of the two words between 1500 and 1800. Note how the facts presented by the graph correspond perfectly with the following statement from Noah Webster in 1828, "This word is seldom used, either as a noun or a verb."



- Despite the overwhelming evidence presented above as to the synonymous meaning of the words in question, some King James advocates insist that "ensample" and "example" do not mean the same thing in the KJB. Put another way, some assert that they might mean the same thing in the dictionary but not in the KJB. Ironically, those arguing that the words do not mean the same thing in the KJB cannot even agree as to the supposed difference in meaning.

Author/Bible Teacher	Ensample	Example	Commentary
Matthew Verschuur (Bible Protector) *Glistering Truths*	"an "ensample" is one that can be **internalized through specific personal knowledge of the object** looked at" (28).	"An "example" is **an outward sample**" (28).	Philippians 3:17 is cited in support (28). No English language reference book is provided to substantiate these statements.
Kyle Stephens *The Certainty of the Words: How the King James Bible*	"*Examples* in the scriptures are loosely fitted lessons, warnings and applications. They cannot be copied or	"In the King James Bible, an *example* serves as a warning or a pattern for those who are not in	"There is a profound and genuinely substantial difference between *example(s)* and

Resolves the Ambiguity of the Original Languages	emulated precisely to certain boundaries or constraints of circumstance. *Ensamples* are to be followed as precisely and as exactly as possible. They are literally the samples of how we should live, respond or act" (359).	the exact predicament or scenario. An *example* is a pattern of behavior that is not necessarily intended to be exactly mimicked or emulated or precisely repeated, but a lesson drawn from and even extended to apply other unrelated exercise" (356).	*ensample(s)* in the AV 1611 King James Bible. . .There are distinct and discernable characteristics between them that are manifest in the KJB" (362). "Let us face facts: Either there is a stumbling in the translation of the KJB, or else the Greek scholars missed something that was not missed in the AV. The two languages set forth different revelation of knowledge that is not mutually consistent. What is revealed in the two languages conflicts. . . the Greek is the final authority and the AV is precipitous, or else **the AV reveals, manifests and instructs beyond the Greek**" (370-371).
Dr. John M. Asquith *Shall we View "Ensample" as Just an Archaic Form of "Example"?*	"The point is, ensample always and only refers to man's characteristic and behavior. Ensample never applies to an inanimate product." Watch the context and key words in 1 Peter 5:1-3 where ensample is used: "Among you…partaker…among you…being ensamples…" In other words, live among them, let them see your personal characteristics, your personal habits and such. Being ensamples is a charge to their person: be a living pattern that others can emulate. (You do not emulate inanimate objects, you copy them).	"Example, on the other hand, may apply to both personal or (and as typically used), general products and processes (not personal)." "1 Corinthians 10: 6: "Now these things were our examples…" Note these things, these experiences (vs. 1-4). Things are the patterns for us to learn from, the cause and effect of things past. Notice in vs 1-6 there is no personal characteristic revealed. We only know 'all' did this and that, and then God overthrew them. 1 Corinthians 10:11: "Now all these happened unto them for	"So, in conclusion, when the word ensample(s) is used, look for a pattern of personal behavior and conduct, be it good or bad. A subtle difference in spelling cues the reader about the context. We see times wherein the word "example" is used to explain personal conduct in one or two verses, but we never see "ensample" used in any other sense. . . Keep in mind, I am not suggesting that "ensample" is an advanced revelation above the Greek. I am suggesting that when the King James translators read the Greek

		ensamples" After a list a personal characteristics (lusted, idolaters, fornication, tempters, murmurers), the word ensamples is used, with an exact admonition to follow "flee from idolatry" (10:14). It's a very personal and detailed pattern; and in this case, one to avoid!"	manuscript, and when they read certain passages, they employed a highly specialized word from within the range of words that are roughly equivalent to "example". That is the beauty of good translation work. . . What the King James Bible does is to give you the exact thoughts of men who could actually think and meditate in Greek when they read a passage. In that sense, yes, the King James Bible is head and shoulders above any Greek manuscript in the sense that you can read it. . . There are 6 places in your King James Bible where the translators saw a slightly more accurate and illustrative word than "example" to express what they saw and thought when they read it."

- Ironically, the three authors cited in the above table agree that "ensample" and "example" do not mean the same thing, yet they do not agree as to the specific discriminated meaning of each word. Yet, all three claim to be arriving at their preferred definitions via the KJB alone without the aid of English dictionaries or the original language. This is nothing short of private interpretation.

- Others maintain that "ensample" and "example" are wholly different words of discriminated meaning by utilizing a prefix argument. It is argued by those espousing this position that the prefix "ex" on "example" signifies an external or outward "pattern" as in "exit." Whereas the prefix "en" on "ensample" speaks of internal or inward issue as in "entrance." Paradoxically, even among those espousing the prefix argument there is not uniformity of agreement as to the meaning of the words. All told, I have seen three different presentations of the prefix argument which resulted in three different discriminated definitions for the words in question.

- Statistically, the KJB uses the word "example" eight times in eight verses, "examples" one time, "ensample" three times in three verses, and "ensamples" three times in three verses. Meanwhile,

William Tyndale used the word "ensample" in every passage. The following tables chart the historical usage of these words in the English Bible. Please note that I have bolded all the occurrences to "example" to make them stand out.

Ensample/Ensamples

Verse	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew	Great	Geneva	Bishops	Rheims	A.V.
1 Cor. 10:11	figure	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	figure	ensamples
Philip. 3:17	fourme	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	model	ensample
1Thes. 1:7	ensaumple	ensample	**example**	ensample	ensample	ensamples	ensample	pattern	ensamples
2Thes. 3:9	ensaumple	insample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	pattern	ensample
1Peter 5:3	ensaumple	insample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensamples	ensample	pattern	ensamples
2Peter 2:6	ensaumple	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	**example**	ensample

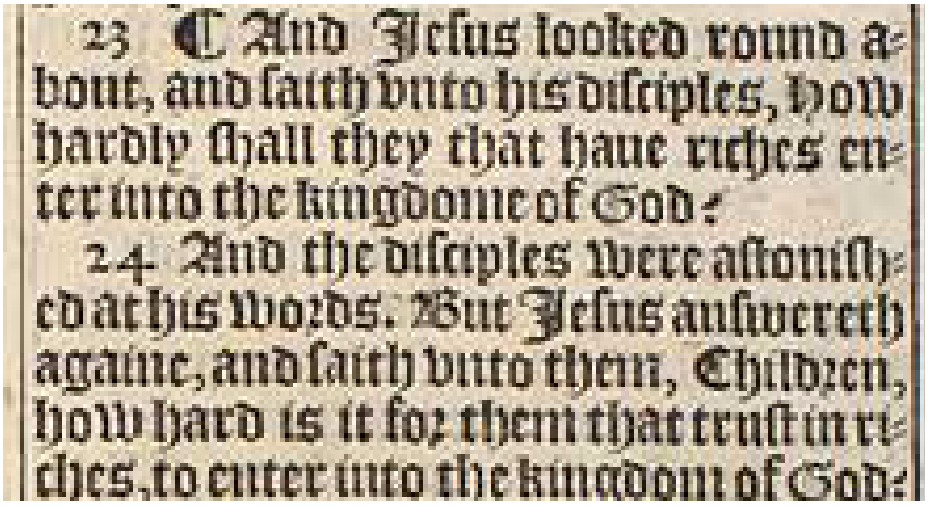
Example/Examples

Verse	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew	Great	Geneva	Bishops	Rheims	A.V.
Matt. 1:19		ensample		ensample		**example**	**example**	open shame	**example**
John 13:15	ensaumple	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	**example**	ensample	**example**	**example**
1 Cor. 10:6	done in figure	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	ensamples	done in a figure	**examples**
1Tim. 4:12	ensaumple	insample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	pattern	**example**	**example**
Heb. 4:11	ensaumple	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	**example**	**example**	**example**
Heb. 8:5	saumpler	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	pattern	**example**	**example**	**example**
Jam. 5:10	ensaumple	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	**example**	**example**	**example**
1Peter 2:21	ensaumple	insample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	**example**	**example**
Jude 7	ensaumple	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	ensample	**example**	**example**

- First, note the variation in the spelling between Wycliffe's "ensaumple" and Tyndale's "ensample." Next, notice how Tyndale varies his spelling within his own work between "ensample" and "insample." These observations are not indicative of two wholly different words but rather unsettled orthographical standards in terms of how to spell the word in English. Lastly, observe

how the use of "example" increases as one works from left to right. This is illustrative of a further orthographic change as "example" began to replace "ensample" as the preferred English orthography.

- These tables, like the dictionary entries, and line graph above indicate a shift in the usage of the English words over time. Given the fact that "ensample" finds its origin in Anglo-Norman/French or the mixing of Anglo Saxon with French that occurred after the Norman invasion of England in 1066 it makes perfect sense that Wycliffe would have used an early form of the word when making his translation in the 1380s. Likewise, Tyndale translating during the first half of the 16th century when Modern English was in its infancy utilized a form of "ensample" exclusively because it was the most prevalent form of the word. Meanwhile, the word "example" comes into English out of Old French which was derived directly from Latin. Over time "example" began to replace "ensample" in English usage in much the same way that "Passover" replaced "Easter" as a refence to the Jewish feast day. The KJB stands at a crossroads in the process or orthographic change when both spellings were perfectly acceptable. This is not an uncommon occurrence in the textual history of the KJB given the fact that the 1611 spelled the same English word differently within the same passage. Consider the following example of two different spellings of the word "kingdom" in adjacent verses in Mark 10:23-24 in the 1611:


23 ¶ And Jesus looked round a-
bout, and saith vnto his disciples, how
hardly shall they that haue riches en-
ter into the kingdome of God?
24 And the disciples were astonish-
ed at his words. But Jesus answereth
againe, and saith vnto them, Children,
how hard is it for them that trust in ri-
ches, to enter into the kingdom of God?

- Any perceived difference in meaning between the prefixes "ex" and "en" is unfounded. First, if there are prefixes involved, they have not been correctly identified. In the case of "example" and "ensample" the root word would be the word "ample." Which would make the prefixes "ex" and "ens" not "ex" and "en" as has been asserted. According to the (OED), the prefix "ens" does not exist.

- Notwithstanding, if one still wished to argue a discriminated difference in meaning based upon the misidentified prefix's "ex" and "en" they would encounter a dead end. the prefix "ex" is "of Latin origin" whereas the prefix "en" is a "form assumed in French," according to the OED. Regarding the French prefix "en" the OED states:

- "The English words in which it appears are partly adaptations of French (occasionally Spanish) words, either of Latin descent or formed in Romanic, and partly original formations upon English words. . . The applications of the prefix in French (Provençal, Spanish, Portuguese), and hence in English, are substantially identical with those of the Latin . . ."

- This means of course that the prefix argument is a dead end. The "ex" on "example" and the "en" on "ensample" carry the exact same meaning and are only spelled differently on account of the route through which they made their way into English.

    - Latin—French—Anglo-Saxon—Anglo-Norman/French (Middle English) = Ensample

    - Latin—French—English (Modern English) = Example

- The difference in orthography is not substantive but rather signifies the way each word entered the English language. "Ensample" came into usage indirectly through the blending of Anglo-Saxon with French after 1066 and therefore constitutes the earliest form of the word in Middle English. In contrast, "example" entered the English more directly from Latin. The KJB stands at crossroads in the orthographic development of English when both words were acceptable spellings to convey the same concept.

- Tyndale did not err when he used the word "ensample" exclusively in his translation. He was simply following the predominant English orthography of his time. A time when Modern English was just beginning to emerge from the Medieval quagmire of Anglo-Norman/French.

Stablish/Establish

- This pair of words is also discussed in great detail in my book *The King James Bible in America*. Like we saw above with "ensample" and "example", there are many King James advocates who maintain that "stablish" and "establish" are wholly different words of discriminated meaning. As with the previous example, I believe that "stablish" and "establish" are spelling variants that convey the same substantive meaning. Furthermore, they are used interchangeably in the Old Testament by the King James translators to describe the various aspects of the Davidic Covenant. Readers interested in obtaining the documentation substantiating this claim are encouraged to obtain a copy of my book.

- The following table compares occurrences of the various forms of "stablish" and "establish" from the New Testament found in the line of English Bibles translated from the *Textus Receptus* stretching from Tyndale to King James.

Stablish/Establish

Verse	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew	Great	Geneva	Bishops	Rheims	A.V.
Matt. 18:16	stablisshed	stablyshed	stablished	stablysshed	confirmed	stablyshed		**established**
Acts 16:5	stablisshed	stablyshed	stablysheth	stablyshed	stablished	stablisshed	confirmed	**established**
Rom. 1:11	strength	stregth	strength	strength	strengthened	**established**	strengthen	**established**
Rom. 3:31	stablischen	mantayne	mayntayne	maintayne	**establish**	mayntayne	**establish**	**establish**
Rom. 10:3	stablisshe	manteyne	stablish	stablysshe	stablish	stablyshe	**establish**	**establish**
Rom. 16:25	stablisshe	stablyshe	stablysh	stablisshe	**establish**	stablisshe	**establish**	stablish
2Cor. 1:21	stablissheth	stablysheth	stablisheth	stablyssheth	stablisheth	stablysheth	confirmith	stablisheth
2Cor. 13:1	stonde	stablisshed	stande	stablysshed	stand	**established**	stand	**established**
Col. 2:7	stedfaste	stedfaste	stedfaste	stablysshed	stablished	stablished	confirmed	stablished
1Thes. 3:2	stablysshe	stablysh	stablishe	stablisshe	stablish	stablishe	confirm	**establish**
1Thes. 3:13	stable	stable	stable	stable	stable	stablyshe	confirm	stablish
2Thes. 3:3	stablysshe	stablyshe	stablyshe	stablysshe	stablish	stablyshe		stablish
Heb. 8:6	made for better	made for better	made for better	confirmed	**established**	confirmed	**established**	**established**
Heb. 10:9	stablisshe	stablysshe	stablysshe	stablisshe	stablish	stablyshe	**establish**	**establish**
Heb. 13:9	stablisshed	stablysshed	stablyshed	stablysshed	stablished	stablisshed	**established**	**established**
James 5;8	settle	settle	setle	settle	settle	settle	strengthen	stablish
1Peter 5:10	stablishe	stablish	stablishe	stablisshe	stablish	stablyshe	**establish**	stablish
2Peter 1:12	stablisshed	stablished	stablyshed	stablished	stablished	stablysshed	confirmed	**established**

- First, note that Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthew, and the Great Bible never utilize any form of the word "establish." Second, observe the variation in spelling employed across the board when the word "stablish(ed)" is used. Even the Bishops Bible the immediate predecessor to the King James spells "stablish(ed)" at least six different ways (stablyshed, stablisshed, stablysshed, stablished, stablishe, stablyshe). According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), the word "stablish is derived from the Middle English word "stablishen" which means "to establish, found, or create," according to the Middle English Dictionary.

- Meanwhile, "establish(ed)" is not used in the English Bible until the Geneva Bible (1557 NT, 1560 complete Bible) where it is found three times in the New Testament. The King James itself is a mixed assortment, electing to utilize "establish(ed)" eleven times and "stablish(ed)" seven times. These observations are not indicative of two wholly different words but rather the unsettled orthographical standards in terms of how to spell the word in English. Lastly, observe how the use of "establish" increases as one works from left to right. This is illustrative of a further orthographic change as "establish(ed)" began to replace "stablish(ed)" as the preferred English spelling. These observations are reflected in the following line graph charting the historical usage of the words in question in English literature.



- This data coheres exactly with what Noah Webster states in his entry for "stablish" in his 1828 *American Dictionary of the English Language*:

    - STABLISH, verb transitive [Latin See Stab.] To fix; to settle in a state for permanence; to make firm. [**In lieu of this, establish is now always used**.]

- Tyndale's exclusive use of "stablish" is reflective of the spelling standards of his day.

Replenish/Fill

- Advocates of the "Gap Theory," or the theological position that there is a space of time between Genesis 1:1 and Genesis 1:2 during which the Satanic rebellion occurs followed by God's judgment of it, frequently use the word "replenish" in Genesis 1:28 in the KJB to justify their position.

- At the outset, let me be clear that it is not my intention to argue for or against the "Gap Theory." Rather, I want to look at whether the "Gap Theory" has properly understood/used the word "replenish" in Genesis 1:28. The word "replenish" can be found in the following verses in the KJB:

    - Genesis 1:28—And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and **replenish** the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.

    - Genesis 9:1—And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and **replenish** the earth.

- Gap Theorists observe from the account of Noah in Genesis 6-8 that God destroyed the entire population of the earth save Noah, his sons, and their families. Therefore, they take "replenish" in Genesis 9:1 to be a reference to Noah and his seed "refilling" the earth after God's judgment as one might get their cup refilled at a restaurant. In other words, the earth was once full of people, God destroyed those people, and now Noah and his sons are tasked with the job of refilling or "replenishing" the earth with more people. On this view, "replenish" is used/understood in the sense of redoing something that had previously already been done like when my students' "retake" a test. When this understating of "replenish" is applied to Genesis 1:28 the supposed implication is clear, the earth was originally filled with beings (Gap Theorists disagree about whether this included humans.), these beings were negatively impacted by God's judgment of the Satanic rebellion between verses 1 and 2, and therefore Adam and Eve are given the charge to "replenish" or "refill" the earth.

- Is that what the word "replenish" means? Have Gap Theorists accurately understood the historical meaning/usage of the word? The first English Dictionary, *A Table Alphabetical* published in 1604 by Robert Cawdrey, would say no. Published in 1604, the same year King James authorized the translation that bears his name, *The Table Alphabetical* serves as a primary source for the meaning and usage of English words in the early 17th century when the KJB was translated. According to Cawdrey's *Table*, the word "replenish" simply meant to "fill" not "refill."



- Furthermore, The Middle English Dictionary (MED) reports that "replenishen", an earlier form of "replenish", means "to fill (an empty space, glandular flesh)" (click here to view the full MED entry). Lastly, the *Online Etymological Dictionary* provides the following entry for "replenish:"

- "mid-14c., from Old French repleniss-, extended present participle stem of replenir "**to fill up**," from re-, here probably an intensive prefix, + -plenir, from Latin plenus "full" (from PIE root *pele- (1) "**to fill**"). Related: Replanished; replenishing."

- Therefore, the evidence is strong that at the time the King James was translated, "replenish" simply meant to "fill" not "refill" as the word has been used/understood by Gap Theorists.

- William Tyndale translated Genesis 1:28 as follows in his 1530 Pentateuch:

  - "And God blessed them and God said unto them. Grow and multiply and **fill** the earth and subdue it and have dominion over the fish of the see and over the fowels of the air and over all the beasts that move on the earth."

- Tyndale was preceded in his rendering of "fill" by Wycliffe and followed by the Coverdale, Matthew, and Geneva Bibles. In contrast, the Great Bible, Bishops Bible, and King James all have "replenish."

- Consequently, we can conclude that "fill" and "replenish" are synonymous words that mean the same thing. Therefore, Gap Theorists should not base the veracity of their position based upon a misuse of the term "replenish."

Science/Knowledge

- Much has been made about the meaning of the phrase "science falsely so called" in I Timothy 6:20 in the KJB in recent days. Many are interpreting the phrase to be a reference to the empirical or observational sciences such as: astronomy, physics, and chemistry to name but a few. At first blush, it is understandable why readers of the KJB in the 21st century would ascribe a modern understanding of the word "science" or the phrase "science falsely so called" when it is encountered in the KJB. This, however, does not answer the question of how this word/phrase was used and understood in the early 17th century when the translation was made. It is my contention that the phrase "science falsely so called" is not a direct reference to the observational sciences of the Scientific Revolution.

- First, the word "science" in I Timothy 6:20 is a translation of the Greek word *gnōsis*. *Gnōsis* occurs 29 times in 28 verses in the Greek text supporting the KJB. Of these 29 occurrences, *gnōsis* is rendered as "knowledge" in English 28 times. *Gnōsis* is translated as "science" only one time in I Timothy 6:20.

  - https://www.blueletterbible.org/lang/lexicon/lexicon.cfm?Strongs=G1108&t=KJV

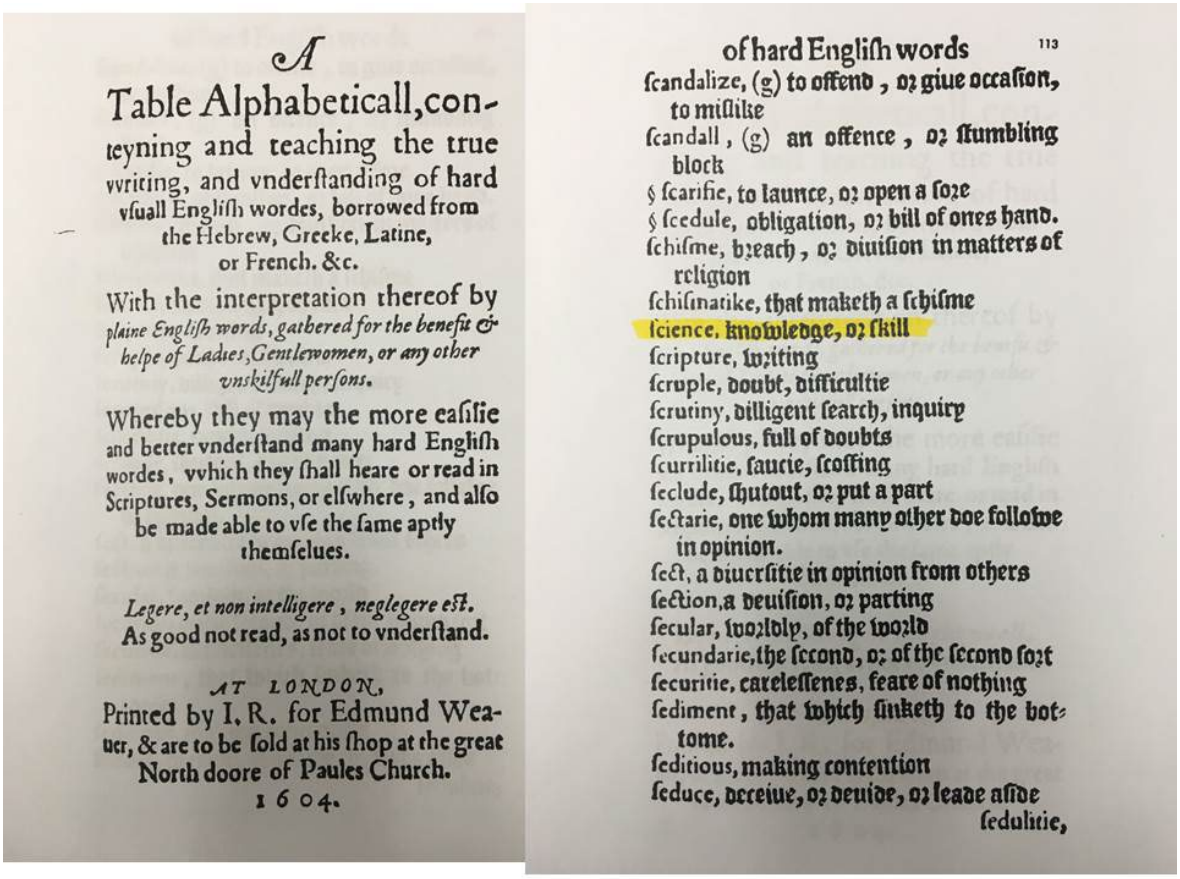
- Second, the KJB was neither the first nor the only English translation of the *Textus Receptus* to render *gnōsis* as "science" in I Timothy 6:20.

- Tyndale 1526—"O Timothy save that which is given ye to keep and avoided vngostly vanities of voyces and opposicios of SCIENCE falsly so called"
- Coverdale 1535—"O Timothy, kepe that which is committed vnto the, and avoyde vngoostly vayne wordes, and opposicions of SCIENCE falsly so called,"
- Matthew 1537—"O Timothe saue that whiche is geuen the to kepe, and auoyde vnghostlye vanytyes of voyces and opposicyons of SCIENCE falslye so called,"
- Great Bible 1539—"O Timothe, saue that which is geuen the to kepe, and avoyde vngostly vanyties of voyces and opposycyons of SCIENCE falsly so called:"
- Geneva Bible 1560—"O Timotheus, keepe that which is committed vnto thee, and auoide prophane and vaine babblings, and oppositios of SCIENCE falsely so called,"
- Bishops Bible 1568—"O Timotheus, saue that which is geuen thee to kepe, auoydyng prophane [and] vayne bablynges, and oppositions of SCIENCE, falslie so called"

- Therefore, King James advocates cannot claim any special spiritual significance for the inclusion and use of the word "science" in I Timothy 6:20 for the KJB.

- Third, Robert Cawdrey published *A Table Alphabetical* in 1604, the same year King James authorized the translation of the Bible that bears his name. Consequently, Cawdrey's *Table* is contemporary with the translation process and records what English words meant at the time the KJB was translated.

- *A Table Alphabetical* contains the following entry for the word "fcience" (science): "knowledge, or skill." So, at the time the KJB was translated, the English word "science" meant "knowledge," according to a contemporary English dictionary (See photographic evidence below). Therefore, in the early 17th century when the KJB was translated, the English words "knowledge" and "science" meant the same thing, i.e., they were synonyms.



A
Table Alphabeticall, conteyning and teaching the true vvriting, and vnderſtanding of hard vſuall Engliſh wordes, borrowed from the Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, or French. &c.

With the interpretation thereof by *plaine Engliſh words, gathered for the benefit & helpe of Ladies, Gentlewomen, or any other vnskilfull perſons.*

Whereby they may the more eaſilie and better vnderſtand many hard Engliſh wordes, vvhich they ſhall heare or read in Scriptures, Sermons, or elſwhere, and alſo be made able to vſe the ſame aptly themſelues.

Legere, et non intelligere, neglegere eſt.
As good not read, as not to vnderſtand.

AT LONDON,
Printed by I. R. for Edmund Weauer, & are to be ſold at his ſhop at the great North doore of Paules Church.
1604.

of hard Engliſh words 113

ſcandalize, (g) to offend, or giue occaſion, to miſlike
ſcandall, (g) an offence, or ſtumbling block
§ ſcarifie, to launce, or open a ſore
§ ſcedule, obligation, or bill of ones hand.
ſchiſme, breach, or diuiſion in matters of religion
ſchiſmatike, that maketh a ſchiſme
ſcience, knowledge, or ſkill
ſcripture, writing
ſcruple, doubt, difficultie
ſcrutiny, dilligent ſearch, inquiry
ſcrupulous, full of doubts
ſcurrilitie, raucie, ſcoffing
ſeclude, ſhutout, or put a part
ſectarie, one whom many other doe followe in opinion.
ſect, a diuerſitie in opinion from others
ſection, a deuiſion, or parting
ſecular, worldly, of the world
ſecundarie, the ſecond, or of the ſecond ſort
ſecuritie, careleſſenes, feare of nothing
ſediment, that which ſinketh to the bottome.
ſeditious, making contention
ſeduce, deceiue, or deuide, or leade aſide
ſedulitie,

- Other English language resources confirm that the earliest uses of the English word "science" had more to do with "knowledge" and/or the process of knowing things than with modern empirical/observational science. The following are the primary meanings of the word "science" in resources that trace the etymology or historical development and usage of English words.

    - *Oxford English Dictionary*—"The state or fact of knowing; knowledge or cognizance *of* something; knowledge as a personal attribute. Now *arch.* and *rare*."

    - *Middle English Dictionary*—"What is known, knowledge; information; (b) accurate knowledge, certain knowledge; (c) experiential or empathic knowledge; (d) the knowledge in someone's mind or memory."

    - *Online Etymological Dictionary*—" mid-14c., "what is known, knowledge (of something) acquired by study; information;" also "assurance of knowledge, certitude, certainty," from Old French *science* "knowledge, learning, application; corpus of human knowledge" (12c.), from Latin *scientia* "knowledge, a knowing; expertness," from *sciens*(genitive *scientis*) "intelligent, skilled," present participle of *scire* "to know," probably originally "to separate one thing from another, to distinguish," related to *scindere* "to cut, divide," from PIE root ***skei-** "to cut, spli" (source also of

Greek *skhizein* "to split, rend, cleave," Gothic *skaidan,* Old English *sceadan* "to divide, separate")."

- So, the English word "science" had a nearly 300-year history of being used as a reference to knowledge and the process of knowing things before the advent of the Scientific Revolution in the mid-16th century (1500s).

- Fourth, William Tyndale used the English word "science" in I Timothy 6:20 when he translated the New Testament in 1526. When he did so, he was using an already established English word to capture the meaning of the Greek word *gnōsis*. When Tyndale made this choice, he was not referring to any particular cosmological model of the universe. Copernicus did not publish his *On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres* until 1543 nearly two decades after Tyndale translated the New Testament and nearly a decade after Tydale's death. Therefore, the phrase "science falsely so called" in 1 Timothy 6:20 is not a direct reference to Copernican Heliocentrism, Newtonian Physics, Darwinian Evolution, or any other theory of the so-called Scientific Revolution.

- The passage as penned by Paul in the 1st century is simply referring to people claiming to have knowledge or some sort of special *gnōsis* when they really do not, as in the case of Gnostic philosophy. In other words, the passage had an immediate application to Timothy living in the first century AD. By extension, the passage has application to any theory or system of knowledge that exalts itself against the knowledge of God. That being said, I Timothy 6:20 is not a direct reference to any specific system of thought or theory that would not be enunciated until 1,500 years later.

Atonement/Reconciliation

- The word "atonement" occurs one time in the New Testament of the KJB. That occurrence can be found in Romans 5:11 which reads as follows in the King James:

    - "And not only so, but we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the **atonement**."

- The word rendered "atonement" in Romans 5:11 by the King James translators is the Greek noun *katallagē*. This word occurs four times in four verses in the Greek text supporting the KJB. Romans 5:11 is the only time *katallagē* is translated as "atonement" by the King James translators, in the remaining three occurrences it is rendered as some form of "reconciliation."

    - Romans 11:15—"For if the casting away of them be the **reconciling** of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?"

    - II Corinthians 5:18—"And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of **reconciliation**;"

- II Corinthians 5:19—"To wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of **reconciliation**."

- Notice that in II Corinthians 5:18-19 the reader encounters two other forms of the word in "reconciled" (v. 18) and "reconciling" (v. 19) and, then again, in verse 20 where we read:

  - II Corinthians 5:20—"Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God."

- The underlined words in verses 18-20 are translations of the Greek verb *katallassō,* a related but slightly different word from the noun *katallagē*. In II Corinthians 5 both the noun and verb forms are translated into English by the KJB using some form of the word "reconciliation."

- In Romans 5:10-11 we have a similar situation. The Greek verb *katallassō* occurs twice in verse 10 where it is translated "reconciled" both times in the King James. But then in verse 11 we encounter the Greek noun *katallagē* which is rendered in English as "atonement" when it was not so translated in II Corinthians 5:18 and 19.

- For critics of the KJB, the use of "atonement" in Romans 5:11 is ridiculed as a translational error and therefore serves as proof that the King James is not inerrant. On the flip side, some King James Onlyists go to great lengths to defend that exact word choice of "atonement" instead of "reconciliation." Some, either implicitly or explicitly, claim that the King James translators were inspired when they chose "atonement" in Romans 5:11 instead of "reconciliation." Which view is correct? Can Tyndale help us to think about the matter soberly?

- Let us begin with the following observation, Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthew, the Great Bible, Geneva, and Bishops all used "atonement" in Romans 5:11. Whereas Wycliffe and the Rheims New Testament utilized "reconciliation." This means that the KJB can claim no special divine revelation in its use of "atonement" since all previous English translations of *Textus Receptus* used the word "atonement" in Romans 5:11.

- Widening our gaze beyond Romans 5:11, we observe that the word "atonement" was used quite frequently by the predecessors to the King James in places where the word "reconciliation" is now utilized. Please consider the following table.

Atonement/Reconcile

Verse	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew	Great	Geneva	Bishops	Rheims	AV
Rom. 5:10	recounselid recounselid	reconciled reconciled	recocyled recocyled	reconciled reconciled	recocyled recocyled	reconciled reconciled	reconciled reconciled	reconciled reconciled	reconciled reconciled
Rom. 5:11	recounseling	**attonment**	**attonment**	**attonment**	**attonment**	**atonment**	**atonment**	reconciliation	**attonment**

2Cor. 5:18	Recounselide recounselyng	reconciled **atonment**	reconcyled **attonement**	reconcyled **attonement**	reconcyled **attonement**	reconciled reconciliation	reconciled reconciliation	reconciled reconciliation	reconciled reconciliation
2Cor. 5:19	Recounselynge recounselyng	made agreement **atonme**t	reconcyled **attonemet**	made agreement **atonemet**	reconcyled **attonemet**	reconciled reconciliation	reconciling **atonement**	reconciling reconciliation	reconciling reconciliation
2Cor. 5:20	recounselid	**atone**	**at one**	**atone**	reconcyled	reconciled	reconciled	reconciled	reconciled

- Once again, the King James Bible Believers can claim no special divine insight in Romans 5:11 on the part of the King James translators given the translational history of the verse. Every English translation of the *Textus Receptus* before 1611 rendered *katallagē* as "atonement" in this verse.

- The textual facts presented in the above table suggest that "atonement" and "reconciliation" are synonymous. The OED defines the word "atonement" as follows:

  - " †1. The condition of being at one with others; unity of feeling, harmony, concord, agreement.

    †2. The action of setting at one, or condition of being set at one, after discord or strife:

    a. Restoration of friendly relations between persons who have been at variance; reconciliation. *Obsolete*.

    †b. The settling of differences, staunching of strife; appeasement. *Obsolete*.

    †c. The means or agent of appeasement. *Obsolete*.

    3. *spec*. in *Theology*. Reconciliation or restoration of friendly relations between God and sinners.

    1526 Bible (Tyndale) 2 Cor. v. 18 God..hath geven unto us the office to preache the atonement.

    1611 Bible (King James) Rom. v. 11 Our Lorde Iesus Christ, by whom we haue now receiued the atonement [Wyclif, recouncilyng, or accordyng; Tindale, Cranmer, attonment; Coverdale, attonement; Genev. atonement; Rhem. & Revised, reconciliation].

    4.

    a. Propitiation of an offended or injured person, by reparation of wrong or injury; amends, satisfaction, expiation.

> 1611 Bible (King James) Job xxxiii. 24 Deliuer him from going downe to the pit; I haue found a ransome [margin. atonement].

b. *Theology*. Propitiation of God by expiation of sin.

> 1611 Bible (King James) Lev. i. 4 It shall be accepted for him to make atonement for him."

- The OED views "atonement" and "reconciliation" as words of synonymous meaning. They are also used interchangeably within the Biblical text.
    - Leviticus 6:7, 30—"atonement" in verse 7 and "reconcile" in verse 30 are translations of the same Hebrew word *kaphar*.
        - Same in Tyndale.
    - Leviticus 8:15, 34—*kaphar* in both cases.
        - Tyndale had "reconcile" in both verses.
    - Leviticus 16:16-20— *kaphar* in both cases.
        - Tyndale used "atonement" and "reconcile" interchangeably in this passage.
    - II Chronicles 29:24—*"*And the priests killed them, and they made **reconciliation** [*chata'*]with their blood upon the altar, to make an **atonement** [*kaphar*] for all Israel: for the king commanded that the burnt offering and the **sin** offering should be made for all Israel."
        - Hebrews 2:17—"Wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people."
- Tyndale clearly used both words interchangeably in his translations. Does this mean that Tyndale was "corrupt" because his use of "atonement" and "reconciliation" did not cohere *exactly* with the KJB? In my mind it would be absurd to so argue.

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Appendix A

Tyndale on the word Church vs Congregation

Prepared by Alex Bojko & Bryan C. Ross

In the beginning of his *Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Tyndale answer's More's accussations concerning why Tyndale changed "church" to "congregation""

"Wherefore, inasmuch as the clergy (as the nature of those hard and indurate adamant stones is, to draw all to them) had appropriate unto themselves the term that of right is common unto all the whole congregation of them that believe in Christ; and with their false and subtle wiles had beguiled and mocked the people, and brought them unto the ignorance of the word; making them understand by this word *church* nothing but the shaven flock of them that shore the whole world; therefore in the translation of the new Testament, where I found this word *ecclesia*, I interpreted it by this word *congregation*. Evern therefore did I it, and not of any mischievous mind or purpose to stablish heresy, as Master More untruly reporteth of me in his dialogue, where he raileth on the translation of the new Testament."

"And when M. More saith, that this word *church* is known well enough, I report me unto the consciences of all the land, whether he say truth or otherwise; or whether the lay-people understand by *church* the whole multitude of all that profess Christ, or the juggling spirits only. And when he saith that *congregation* is the more general term; if it were, it hurteth not: for the circumstance doth ever tell what congregation is meant. Nevertheless yet saith he not the truth. For wheresoever I may say a *congregation*, there may I say a *church* also, as the church of the devil, the church of Satan, the church of wretches, the church of wicked men, the church of liars, and a church of Turks thereto. For M. More must grant (if he will have *ecclesia* translated throughout all the new Testament by this word *church*) that *church* is as common as *ecclesia*. Now is *ecclesia* a Greek word, and was in use before the time of the apostles, and taken for a congregation among the heathen, where was no congregation of God or of Christ. And also Lucas himself useth *ecclesia* for a church, or congregation, of heathen people thrice in one chapter, even in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, where Demetrius the goldsmith, or silversmith, had gathered a company against Paul for preaching against images" (Tyndale and Walter, *Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, 3:13-16).

Summary/Explanation

Tyndale is defending his decision to translate the Greek word *ecclesia* as "congregation" rather than "church" in his English New Testament.

He argues that the clergy had wrongly claimed the word *church* for themselves, causing ordinary people to think only of priests, bishops, monks, and the institutional hierarchy rather than the entire body of believers in Christ. According to Tyndale, the New Testament meaning of *ecclesia* refers to the whole assembly of Christians, so he chose *congregation* to restore that original sense. He insists that his translation was not an attempt to promote heresy, despite Sir Thomas More's accusations, but rather an effort to communicate the biblical meaning accurately.

Tyndale further challenges More's claim that *church* was the better-known and more precise term. He argues that most common people understood *church* primarily as the clergy rather than all Christians. He

also contends that *church* is just as broad a term as *congregation*, since one could speak of a "church of Satan," a "church of wicked men," or even a "church of Turks." To support this point, he notes that the Greek word *ecclesia* was used before Christianity and could refer simply to any public assembly, including pagan gatherings. He points to Acts 19, where Luke uses *ecclesia* to describe the assembly gathered by Demetrius against Paul, demonstrating that the word itself does not inherently mean a Christian institution.

In essence, Tyndale's argument is that the New Testament "church" is not primarily an ecclesiastical institution governed by clergy, but the gathered community of believers. Therefore, he believed "congregation" translated the Greek word more faithfully and helped correct what he saw as a misleading understanding promoted by the medieval church.

Appendix B

Tyndale on the Words Love & Charity

Prepared by Alex Bojko & Bryan C. Ross

Tyndale also addresses this in his *Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*:

"He [More] rebuketh me also that I translate this Greek word *agape* into *love*, and not rather into *charity*, so holy and so known a term. Verily*, charity* is no known English, in that sense which *agape* requireth. For when we say, 'Give your alms in the worship of God, and sweet St Charity;' and when the father teacher his son to say, 'Blessing, father, for St Charity;' what mean they? In good faith they wot not. Moreover, when we say, 'God help you, I have done my charity for this this,' do we not take it for alms? And, 'I beshrew him, saving my charity;' there we take it for patience. And when I say, 'A charitable man,' it is taken for merciful. And though mercifulness be a good love, or rather spring of a good love, yet is not every good love mercifulness. As when a woman loveth her husband godly, or a man his wide or his friend that is in none adversity, it is not always mercifulness. Also we say not, This man hath a great charity to God; but a great love. Wherefore I must have used this general term *love* in spite of mine heart oftentimes. And *agape* and *caritas* were words among the heathen, ere Christ came and signified therefore more than a *godly love*. And we may say well enough, and have heard it spoken, that the Turks be charitable one to another among themselves, and some of them unto the Christians too. Besides all this, *agape* is common unto all loves"

"And when M. More saith, 'Every love is not charity;' no more is every apostle Christ's apostle; nor every angel God's angel; nor every hope Christian hope; nor every faith, or belief, Christ's belief; and so by an hundred thousand words: so that if I should always use a word that were no more general than the word I interpret, I should interpret nothing at all. But the matter itself and the circumstances do declare what love, what hope, and what faith is spoken of. And finially, I say not, charity God, or charity your neighbour; but, love God, and love your neighbour; year, and though we say a man outght to love his neighbour's wife and his daugher, a christian man doth not understand that he is commanded to defile his neighbour's wife or his neighbour's daughter." (Tyndale and Walter, *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, 3:20-21).

Summary/Explanation

Tyndale defended his use of "love" instead of "charity" by arguing that *love* was the broader and more accurate English equivalent of the Greek word *agapē*. In his view, the word *charity* had acquired a variety of specialized meanings in common speech, often referring to almsgiving, mercy, patience, or acts of benevolence. While these qualities are certainly expressions of Christian love, Tyndale contended that they do not encompass the full scope of *agapē*. A husband's love for his wife, a friend's love for another friend, or a believer's love for God are not primarily acts of charity in the sense commonly understood by English speakers. Therefore, Tyndale believed that *love* more faithfully conveyed the general meaning of the Greek term and was more readily understood by ordinary readers.

Tyndale further rejected Sir Thomas More's criticism that *love* was too broad a word to express the specifically Christian meaning of *agapē*. He argued that many biblical terms function in the same way.

Not every faith is saving faith, not every hope is Christian hope, and not every apostle is an apostle of Christ. The surrounding context determines the intended meaning. In the same manner, readers naturally understand what sort of love is being discussed from the subject and circumstances of the passage. Consequently, Tyndale maintained that translators should use clear and natural English rather than specialized ecclesiastical language. For him, the choice of *love* over *charity* was not an attempt to diminish Christian doctrine but an effort to communicate the meaning of Scripture in language that ordinary people could readily understand.

Lesson 8

Prologues, Prefaces, & Protestantism: Assessing Tyndale's Theological Beliefs Through the Lens of His Own Writings

Prepared & Taught by Alex Bojko

Introduction

- Up to this point, conference lessons have focused on William Tyndale as a translator. In this lesson, I have been tasked with assessing the theological beliefs of William Tyndale and their roots. This has proved to be a daunting task given the fact that Tyndale wrote extensively on various theological issues of his day ranging from justification and sanctification, the Godly role of political leaders, sacramental theology, and the Roman Catholic Church's power over the lives of the people.

- With this in mind, I have decided to focus on five key aspects of William Tyndale's theology:

    - Tyndale's Bibliology
    - Tyndale's view of understanding the Bible
    - Tyndale's Covenant Theology
    - Tyndale's Augustinianism
    - Tyndale's view on the Christian walk

- To conduct this analysis, I have consulted and read the following works of William Tyndale:

    - Prologue to the Cologne Fragment (1525)
    - "To the Reader" in the Worms New Testament (1526)
    - Prologue to Romans (1526/34)
    - *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (1527)
    - *The Obedience of A Christian Man* (1528)
    - *The Practice of Prelates* (1530)
    - All the prologues in the Pentateuch (1530)
    - *A Pathway into the Holy Scriptures* (ca. 1530)
    - Prologue to Jonah (1531)
    - *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* (1531)
    - *An Exposition Upon the First Epistle of John* (1531)
    - *An Exposition Upon the V, VI, and VII Chapters Of Matthew* (1533)
    - All the prologues in the 1534 New Testament (1534)

- I argue Tyndale believed the Bible was the word of God and that believers were the sole custodians of the Biblical text. Tyndale believed the words of the Scriptures were from God, needed to be preserved by believers, and needed to be translated in the languages of the nations for people to understand and grow spiritually. The Bible needed to be translated and interpreted literally without Greek philosophy or worldly wisdom of the scholars. Such thinking led to Tyndale adopting a covenant theology present from his 1527 work *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* to his 1534 New Testament prologues. Tyndale also promoted a legalistic framework when it came to the Christian walk. He also approached Scriptural understanding from an Augustinian lens. While Tyndale clearly encountered the works of Martin Luther, he proved all things by the Scriptures and as such differed from Luther in several key areas.

Bibliology

- In the prologue to the 1525 Cologne Fragment, Tyndale stated the following concerning the state of his translation:

    - "I have here translated (brethren and sisters most dear and tenderly beloved in Christ) the New Testament for your spiritual edifying, consolation, and solace; Exhorting instantly and beseeching those that are better seen in the tongues then I, and that have better gifts of grace to interpret the sense of the Scripture and meaning of the Spirit than I, to consider and ponder my labor, and that with the spirit of meekness; and if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue, or meaning of the Scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put to their hands to amend it, remembering that so is their duty to do. For we have not received the gifts of God for ourselves only or for to hide them; but for to bestow them unto the honoring of God and Christ, and edifying of the congregation, which is the body of Christ" (Tyndale, 1:7).

- Notice that Tyndale realizes his limitations. Remember, he is the very first to translate the New Testament from the proper Greek text and he is also on the run from the Catholic authorities. Tyndale also believed the text is to be in the hands of believers who know the original languages and have the spirit of God in them and not unbelievers. Tyndale writes in the opening prologue to his 1530 Pentateuch, "When I had translated the new testament [1526 New Testament], I added an epistle unto the latter end ["To the Reader" in the 1526 New Testament], in which I desired them that were learned to amend if ought were found amiss" (Tyndale, *Old Testament*, 3). Thus, revisions are necessary and this is evident when one looks at the changes Tyndale made to his New Testament. Tyndale elaborates in a short piece titled "To The Reader" included in his 1526 New Testament:

    - "Them that are learned Christianly I beseech, forasmuch as I am sure, and my conscience beareth me record, that of a pure intent, singly and faithfully, I have interpreted it, as far forth as God gave me the gift of knowledge and understanding, that

> the rudeness of the work now at the first time offend them not; but that they consider how that I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like thing in the Scripture before time. Moreover, even very necessity, and cumbrance (God is record) above strength, which I will not rehearse, lest we should seem to boast ourselves, caused that many things are lacking which necessarily are required. Count it as a thing not having his full shape, but as it were born afore his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished. In time to come (if God have appointed us there unto) we will give it his full shape, and put out, if ought to be added superfluously, and add to, if ought be overseen though negligence; and will enforce to bring to compendiousness that which is now translated at the length, and to give light where it is required, and to seek in certain places more proper English, and with a table to expound the words which are not commonly used, and show how the Scritpure useth many words which are otherwise understood of the common people, and to help with a declaration where one tongue taketh not another; and will endeavor ourselves, as it were, to seethe it better, and to make it more apt for the weak stomachs; desiring them that are learned, and able, to remember their duty, and to help thereunto, and to bestow unto the edifying of Christ's body, which is the congregation of them that believe, those gifts which they have received of God for the same purpose. The grace that cometh of Christ be with them that love him." (Tyndale, 1:390-91).

- Notice the following statement, "Count it as a thing not having his full shape, but as it were born afore his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished. In time to come (if God have appointed us there unto) we will give it his full shape, and put out, if ought to be added superfluously, and add to, if ought be overseen though negligence; and will enforce to bring to compendiousness that which is now translated at the length, and to give light where it is required." This presents an issue for those who use William Tyndale to advocate for the modern critical text and modern Bible versions. Tyndale realized that his translation had limitations and he was willing for people to come and offer suggestions for correction. However, he also understood that there would come a time when the English-speaking world would have their Bible that was the standard and did not change. He did not subscribe to the modern-day notions of never ending and never arriving textual criticism.

- Tyndale also believed it was important for other nations of the world to have the word of God in their language. In a ca. 1530 work titled *A Pathway Into The Holy Scripture*, an update to the 1525 Cologne Fragment prologue, Tyndale writes:

    - "I do marvel greatly, dearly beloved in Christ, that ever any man should repugn or speak against the Scripture to be had in every language and that of every man." (Tyndale 1:7).

- Tyndale did not desire to translate the Bible to dumb it down or put it into the language of the man on the street as critical text and modern version advocates falsely assert. Tyndale desired to

translate the Scriptures so that people could get saved, learn the word of God, and understand the errors of the Roman Catholic Church:

- "And therefore are there divers introductions ordained for you, to teach you the profession of your baptism, the only light of the scripture; one upon the epistle of Paul to the Romans, and another called "The Pathway into the Scripture." And for the same cause have I taken in hand to interpret this epistle of St. John the evangelist to edify the layman, and to teach him how to read the scripture, and what to seek therein; and that he may have to answer the hypocrites, and to stop their mouths withal" (1531 *An Exposition Upon the First Epistle of John*, Tyndale 2:144).
    - Tyndale is challenging his readers here. He wants them to learn and understand what are the errors in the religious system of the Roman Catholic Church. The fact that Tyndale includes introductions and feels the need to explain certain aspects of the Biblical text shows that Tyndale's goal was not to dumb down the Bible but rather to get believers to understand the Bible they were seeing for the first time (Ryken, 99).

- Furthermore, lest anyone think that Tyndale would accept the modern critical text consider this passage from Tyndale's *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More Dialogue*:
    - "And when he asketh, 'who taught the church to know the true Scripture from false books'? I answer, true miracles, that confounded the false, gave authority unto the true scripture. And thereby have we ever since judged all other books and doctrine; and by that we know that your legends be corrupt with lies: as Erasmus hath improved many false books, which ye have feigned and put forth in the name of St. Jerome, Augustine, Cyprian, Dionyse, and of other, partly with authentic stories, and partly by the style and Latin, and like evident tokens" (1531 *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Tyndale 3:135).

- Here we have Tyndale acknowledging that the Roman Catholic Church was responsible for changing the content of works written by the church fathers. Tyndale would not accept the modern critical text today with its Roman Catholic bias. Tyndale also believed in the Trinity and as such would also reject the modern critical text because of its Unitarian readings. For more on the Unitarian background of the modern critical text see my book review of Stephen Tyndale Reid's *Where is God's Word Today*. In *An Exposition Upon the First Epistle of John* (1531), Tyndale writes,
    - "And when he saith, 'Which we heard, and saw with our eyes, and our hands handled' him; he testifieth that Christ is very man also; as he doth in the beginning of his gospel, saying: 'The word,' or that thing, 'was made flesh,' that is, became man. And thus we

have in plain and open words a manifest article of our faith, that our Saviour Christ is very God and very man" (Tyndale, 2:145).

Understanding the Bible

- Tyndale believed the correct way to understand the Bible was to take it literally, not make any dispensational distinctions, and compare Scripture with Scripture to understand the Biblical text. Tyndale's view of understanding the Bible was contrary to the Roman Catholic Church's view of understanding the Bible which was to take it allegorically and insert their own tradition and Greek philosophy in their interpretations of the Biblical text:

    - "For though that the philosophers and worldly wise men were enemies above all enemies to the gospel of God; and though the worldly wisdom cannot comprehend the wisdom of God . . . and though worldly righteousness cannot be obedient unto the righteousness of God, yet whatsoever they read in Aristotle, that must be first true; and to maintain that, they rend and tear the scriptures with their distinctions, and expound them violently, contrary to the meaning of the text, and to the circumstances that go before and after, and to a thousand clear and evident texts. Wherefore I have taken in hand to expound this gospel. And certain other places of the New Testament and . . . to bring the Scripture unto the right sense . . ." (1527 *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, Tyndale, 1:46).
    - "So would it come to pass, that as we know by natural wit what followeth of a true principle of natural reason; even so, by the principles of the faith, and by the plain scriptures, and by the circumstances of the text, should we judge all men's exposition, and all men's doctrine, and should receive the best, and refuse the worst. I would have you to teach them also the properties and manner of speakings of the scripture, and how to expound proverbs and similitudes. And then, if they go abroad and walk by the fields and meadows of all manner doctors and philosophers, they could catch no harm: they should discern the poison from the honey, and bring home nothing but that which is wholesome" (1528 *The Obedience of A Christian Man* Tyndale, 1:156).

    - "Thou shalt understand, therefore, that the scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense. And that literal sense is the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth whereunto if thou cleave thou canst never err or go out of the way. And if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way. Neverthelater, the scripture useth proverbs, similitudes, riddles, or allegories as all other speeches do; but that which the proverb, similitude, riddle, or allegory signifieth, is ever the literal sense, which thou must seek out diligently. . . . " (1528 *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, Tyndale, 1:304).

- Notice in these quotes that Tyndale is not against believers encountering other works of human wisdom. Rather, he is instructing believers to have a firm understanding of the Scriptures and it is through that firm understanding of the Scriptures that they judge all human wisdom by. He is instructing believers to prove all things and hold fast that which is good (1 Thess. 5:21).

Covenant Theology

- Consider what William Tyndale writes in his *An Exposition Upon the V, VI, and VII Chapters Of Matthew*:

    - "For God had made them of the old testament as great promises, that he would be their God, and that his Spirit and all grace should be with them if they kept his laws, as he hath made to us" (Tyndale, 2:43).

- From this quote, one concludes that William Tyndale viewed the church, the body of Christ, as spiritual Israel. Tyndale believed that the covenants and promises God made with Israel need to be interpreted in a spiritual manner.

- Tyndale is also Amillennial given that he never refers to a literal, physical, earthly, Davidic kingdom for the nation of Israel in his writings but rather describes the kingdom of heaven in Matthew for instance as "The kingdom of heaven is within us" (1527 *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, Tyndale, 1:103). Tyndale also states in *The Practice of Prelates* that "Christ's kingdom is altogether spiritual" (Tyndale, 2:249). Furthermore, Tyndale in his explanation of Old Testament prophecy explains:

    - "For all that were before Christ were in the infancy and childhood of the world and saw that sun which we see openly, but through a cloud and had but feeble and weak imaginations of Christ, as children have of men's deeds, a few prophets except, which yet described him unto others in sacrifices and ceremonies, likenesses, riddles, proverbs, and dark and strange speaking, until the full age were come that God would shew him openly unto the whole world and deliver them from their shadows and cloudlight and the heathen out of their dead sleep of stark blind ignorance. And as the shadow vanisheth away at the coming of the light, even so do the ceremonies and sacrifices at the coming of Christ, and are henceforth no more necessary that a token left in remembrance of a bargain is necessary when the bargain is fulfilled" (1530 "Prologue to Leviticus," Tyndale, *Old Testament*, 145).

- It is safe to say from the quotes above that Tyndale viewed Old Testament prophecy as figurative and symbolic rather than literal and future. Such a view of Old Testament prophecy is typical of an Amillennial view (Erickson, 399). From understanding Tyndale's covenant theology, a natural progression of though emerges: Adopt covenant theology (No dispensational distinctions, spiritualizing of the Scriptures, Amillennialism) → Justification by covenant (If/then system of performance-based acceptance)→ Operating under the law and not grace → Realization that one cannot keep the law (Rom. 3:19-20, 7:5, 13; 1 Tim. 1:9) → Total Depravity (total inability from Augustine)→ The rest of the points of TULIP.

- Tyndale's view of spiritualizing the promises made to Israel and applying them to the church today is emblematic of a typical covenant theology one would expect in Reformed circles. Charles F. Baker in his *A Dispensational Theology* explains the following regarding covenant theologians' spiritualizing of Israel's promises:

  - "Most Covenant theologians are Amillennial and must therefore argue that the present dispensation is the final one in which all of the Old Testament promises must find their fulfillment. These promises were made to Israel; hence the Church must be spiritual Israel, since the Church comprises God's people today. Not only must Israel be spiritualized to mean Gentiles, but the physical and material earthly promises must be spiritualized to mean purely spiritual blessings in heaven. This type of *spiritualizing* interpretation (there is nothing spiritual about it) is forced to make the Scripture mean something different from what it says" (Baker, 535-36).

- Carl Trueman in *Luther's Legacy: Salvation and English Reformers, 1525-1556* provides an accurate description of how the adoption of covenant theology by Reformed theologians leads to the idea of justification by covenant:

  - "Reformed thinkers developed their doctrine of salvation on the basis that both Old and New Testaments represented a substantial unity around God's one covenant which both articulated God's promise of salvation to man and defined the relationship between God and man. Thus, one clear sign of Reformed influence on, for example, William Tyndale, is his increasing use of the idea of covenant as a soteriological motif" (Trueman, 76).

- It is as a result of failing to rightly divide the word of truth that Tyndale's theology is the way that it is. Such an example should remind us that we must continue to rightly divide the word of truth; otherwise, we will end up in the same position as Tyndale. A proper understanding of Tyndale's theology should also teach us that we need to be more precise when it comes to accurately explaining what Tyndale believed.

- Tyndale's covenant theology is not compatible with a Mid-Acts dispensational view towards studying and understanding the Bible. The covenants God made in time past all pertain to the nation of Israel, not the body of Christ (Rom. 9:4-5; Eph. 2:12). Furthermore, God has set Israel aside today in the dispensation of grace and salvation has now come to the Gentiles (Rom. 11:11-12). Israel stumbled at the stumbling stone, which Isaiah prophesied to be Jesus Christ (Rom. 9:32-33; Is. 8:14). Israel stumbled but did not fall when they crucified Christ (Rom. 11:11a; 1 Cor. 1:23). Israel was given a one-year extension of mercy and if Israel rejected her Messiah again, she would fall (Lk. 13:6-9). The fall of Israel happened at the stoning of Stephen with Israel blaspheming the Holy Ghost (Acts 7:54-60; Mt. 12:24-32; Mk. 3:22-30; Lk. 12:1-12). A proper understanding of dispensational truth reveals that an Old Testament Jew was not looking forward to Christ dying on the cross, like Tyndale and other Protestant Reformers falsely claim. Rather, they were looking forward to a physical land (Gen. 12:1-3) and a literal, earthly, visible, Davidic kingdom on that land (2 Sam. 7:12-17).

- Additionally, the covenants God made with Israel were corporate in nature and concern future promises God will bestow on the nation of Israel. They were not individual. The body of Christ does not function on the basis of a covenant today where one makes an agreement with God to do something so He will give them something in return. That is not grace; that is law. When a believer knows what Christ did for them freely by grace, they are motivated by grace to serve God not to gain acceptance but because they already are accepted. Tyndale failing to recognize the distinctions made between Israel and the body of Christ cause major contradictions to form within his theology when it comes to practical Christian living.

- There are only two questions that remain when considering William Tyndale's covenant theology: 1.) When did he develop this covenant theology? and 2.) Where did he get this covenant theology? Tyndale's covenant theology is hotly debated among Tyndale scholars. The mainstream view is that Tyndale's covenant theology became prominent in the early 1530s and was non-existent in his 1520s writings. The less commonly held view is that from the start William Tyndale had his distinct view of covenant. I hold to the less commonly held view given the testimony found in Tyndale's own writings starting with *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*:

The Parable of the Wicked Mammon (1527)	*An Exposition Upon the V, VI, and VII Chapters of Matthew* (1533)	"A Prologue Showing the Use of the Scripture" 1534 Pentateuch Revision	1534 New Testament
"Our mind, intent, and affection or zeal, are blind; and all that we do of them, is damned of God: and for that cause **hath God made a testament between him and us** [God makes the covenant not man], wherein is contained both **what he would have us to do** [God tells man what man needs to do for God], and what he **would have us to ask of him**" [Man can ask God what they want of Him] (Tyndale, 1:105).	"If thou look well on **the covenant that is between thee and thy Lord God** [Man can ask God what they want of Him], on the one side, and the temptations of the world, the flesh, and Satan on the other, thou shalt soon perceive that the day present hath ever enough to be cared for, and for which thou must cry instantly to God for help also, **though thou do thy best** [God tells man what man needs to do for God]." (Tyndale, 2:109-110).	"Seek therefore in the scripture as thou readest it, chiefly and above all, the **covenants made between God and us** [God makes the covenant not man]. That is to say: the law and **commandments which God commandeth us to do** [God tells man what man needs to do for God]. And then the mercy promised unto all them that submit themselves unto the law. For all the promises throughout the whole scripture do include a covenant. That is: God bindeth himself to fulfill that mercy unto thee only, **if thou wilt endeavor thyself to keep his laws** [God tells man what man needs to do for God]: so that no man hath his part in the mercy of God, save he only that loveth his law and consenteth that it is righteous and good, and fain would do it, and **ever mourneth because he now and then breaketh it through infirmity, or doth it not so perfectly as his heart would**." [God tells	"Lo, here **God hath made a covenant with us** [God makes the covenant not man], to be merciful unto us, **if we will be merciful one to another** [God tells man what man needs to do for God]: so that the man which sheweth mercy unto his neighbour, may be bold to trust in God for mercy at all needs." (Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, 4).

		man what man needs to do for God] (Daniell, *Tyndale's Old Testament*, 10).	

- From the above table it is clear that Tyndale's covenant theology was consistently inconsistent from the 1520s on through the 1530s. Because when one fails to rightly divide the word of truth, one naturally adopts a covenant framework which operates on an if/then basis. This is true regardless if God makes the covenant or man makes the covenant. By not making the necessary distinctions in God's word between Israel and the body of Christ, Tyndale places demands on believers that they cannot meet. There are more problems when one takes into account Tyndale's Augustinianism which answers the second question of where Tyndale got his covenant theology.

Augustinianism

- William Tyndale makes reference to Augustine in his writings:
    - "What is the cause that we damn some of Origen's works, and allow some? How know we that some is heresy and some not? By the scripture, I trow. How know we that St. Augustine (which is the best, or one of the best, that ever wrote upon the Scripture) wrote many things amiss at the beginning, as many other doctors do? Verily, by the scriptures; as he himself well perceived afterward, when he looked more diligently upon them, and revoked many things again." (1528 *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, Tyndale 1:154).
    - "St. Augustine, before he was converted, was an heathen man, and a philosopher, full of worldly wisdom, unto whom the preaching of Christ is but foolishness, saith Paul (1 cor. i.). And he disputed with blind reasons of worldly wisdom against the Christen. Nevertheless, the earnest living of the Christen, according unto their doctrine, and the constant suffering of persecution and adversity for their doctrine's sake, moved him, and stirred him to believe that it was no vain doctrine; but that it must needs be of God, in that it had such power with it. For it happeneth that they which will not hear the word at the beginning, are afterward moved by the holy conversation of them that believe . . ." (1531 *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Tyndale 3:50).
    - "As St. Augustine protesteth of his works, that men should compare them unto the scripture, and thereby judge them, and cast away whatsoever the scripture did not allow" (1531 *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Tyndale 3:136).
- Tyndale also mentions supporters of Augustine such as Prosper of Aquitaine:
    - "'How can they prepare themselves unto the favor of God, and to that which is good, when they themselves can do no good, nor can once think a good though, or consent to do good, the devil possessing their hearts, minds, and thoughts captive at his pleasure? Can those works please God, thinkest thou, which are done with grief, pain, and tediousness, with an evil will, with a contrary and grudging mind?' O holy Prosperous, how mightily with the Scripture of Paul didst thou confound this heresy twelve hundred years ago, or thereupon!" (1526 Prologue to Romans, Tyndale 1:487).

- *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* provides the following entry on Prosper of Aquitaine:

    - "Prosper Tiro of Aquitania was living at Marseilles at the outbreak of the Semipelagian controversy (426), probably as a lay monk. In 427/8 he wrote to St. Augustine, whose theology of grace and predestination he warmly accepted, informing him of the opposition which his teaching was encountering among the disciples of Cassian" (Cross and Livingstone, 1338).

- Tyndale also connects Pelagianism, with its emphasis on works-based salvation, to the Roman Catholic Church in *An Exposition Upon the First Epistle of John*:

    - "'How was,' say I again to thee, 'Pelagius, whose doctrine the bishop of Rome defendeth in the highest degree, antichrist, and all other heretics?' Verily, sir, the bishop of Roman seeketh himself, as all heretics did; and abuseth the name of Christ, to gather offerings, tithes and rents in his name, to bestow them unto his own honour and not Christs's, and to bring to conscience of the people into captivity under him through superstitious fear, as though he had such authority given him of Christ. And every syllable, that hath a sound as though it made for him purpose, that he expoundeth falsely and fleshly; and therewith juggleth and bewitcheth the ears of the people, and maketh them his own possession, to believe what him listeth, as though it made no matter to them whether he preached true or false, so they believe and do as he biddeth them. But all the texts that shew him to do his duty, he putteth out of the way; and all the texts thereto, that set the consciences at liberty in Christ, and prove our salvation to be in Christ only. And, with Pelagius, he preacheth the justifying of works; which is the denying of Christ. He preacheth a false binding and loosing with ear confession, which is not in the trust and confidence of Christ's blood-shedding. He preacheth the false penance of deeds; not to tame the flesh that we sin no more, but to make satisfaction, and to redeem the sin that is past: which what other can it be, save the denying of Christ, which is the only redemption of sin? He maketh of the works of the ceremonies, which were wont to be signs and remembrances of things to be believed or done, image-service unto God and his saints, which are spirits, to purchase with the merits of them whatsoever the blind soul imagineth; which all are the denying of Christ" (1531 *An Exposition Upon the First Epistle of John*, Tyndale 2:181-82).

- Thus, one concludes that Tyndale was familiar with Augustine and was highly influenced by his theology. Carl Trueman in *Luther's Legacy* writes concerning this:

    - "There is evidence Tyndale was exposed to the teachings of Augustine before he travelled to Wittenberg. In his commentary on William Tracy's will, Tyndale makes the following comment concerning the author: he was 'a learned man, and better seen in the works of St. Austin twenty years before he died, than ever I knew doctor in England.' Tracy's patristic learning clearly impressed Tyndale, and it is possible that Tyndale's interest in Augustine dates from as early as 1510-11, twenty years before Tracy died. This means that his earliest theological impulses may well have come from first-hand encounters with patristic sources" (Trueman, 32).

- Ralph S. Werrell in *The Roots of William Tyndale's Theology* argues that Tyndale most likely received his Augustinianism from Wycliffite sources, which given the information presented in the Early Life and Times lesson is not out of the ordinary:

    - "Like that of most of the Reformers, Tyndale's theology was Augustinian. The Augustinian parts of Tyndale's theology probably originate in the writings of medieval theologians or the other theological sources we are about the discuss. Tyndale may have had access to Augustine's writings but it seems to me that Tyndale's Augustinianism came through Wyclif and Wycliffite writings" (Werrell, 20).

- Donald Dean Smeeton in his *Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale* explains that Wycliffe and the Lollards frequently hearkened back to Augustine in their writings and Tyndale was influcned by them in some way:

    - "The views of this Father are seem on almost every page, even in Wyclif's philosophical treatises. Augustine, in Wyclif's judgment, knew the truth better than Plato or Aristotle. But the testimony of Augustine or Jerome or any other saint would be accepted only insofar as it was grounded on and measured by Scripture" (Smeeton, 110).

- As early as his 1525 prologue to the Cologne Fragment, Tyndale articulated the five points of Calvinism before the Synod of Dort occurred in 1618:

    - "For our nature is to do sin, as is the nature of a serpent to sting. . . . because that of nature we are evil, therefore we both think and do evil, and are under vengeance under the law, convict to eternal damnation by the law, and are contrary to the will of God in all our will, and in all things consent to the will of the fiend [**total depravity**]. By grace (that is to say, by favor) we are plucked out of Adam, the ground of all evil, and graffed in Christ, the root of all goodness [**unconditional election**]. In Christ God loved us, his elect and chosen, before the world began, and reserved us unto the knowledge of his Son and of his holy gospel; **[limited atonement]** and, when the gospel is preached to us, openeth our hearts, and giveth us grace to believe, and putteth the Spirit of Christ in us; and we know him as our father most merciful [**irresistible grace**], and consent to the law, and love it inwardly in our heart, and desire to fulfill it, and sorrow because we cannot: which will (sin we of frailty never so much) is sufficient, till more strength be given us; the blood of Christ hath obtained all things for us of God." [**perseverance of the saints**] (1525 Cologne Fragment Prologue, Tyndale 1:14-15).

- Tyndale also believed in the doctrine of predestination and describes it in an Augustinian sense:

    - "In the nineth, tenth, and eleventh chapters [of Romans] he treateth of God's predestination, whence it springeth altogether, whether we shall believe or not believe, be loosed from sin or not be loosed. By which predestination our justifying and salvation are clean taken out of our hands, and put in the hands of God, only which thing is most necessary of all. For we are so weak and so uncertain, that if it stood in us, there would of a truth no man be saved, the devil no doubt would deceive us. But now is God sure, that his predestination cannot deceive him, neither can any man withstand or let him, and

therefore have we hope and trust against sin." (1526/34 *Romans* Prologue, Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, 221).

- "But here must a mark be set unto those unquiet, busy, and high climbing spirits how far they shall go, which first of all bring hither their high reasons and pregnant wits, and begin first from on high to search the bottomless secrets of God's predestination, whether they be predestinate or not. These must needs either cast themselves down headlong into desperation or else commit themselves to free chance careless. But follow thou the order of this epistle, and noosell thyself with Christ, and learn to understand what the law and the gospel mean, and the office of both two, that thou mayst in the one know thyself, and how that thou hast of thyself no strength, but to sin: and in the other the grace of Christ. And then see thou fight against sin and the flesh as the seven first chapters teach thee. After that when thou art come to the eighth chapter, and art under the cross and suffering of tribulation, the necessity of predestination will wax sweet and thou shalt well feel how precious a thing it is. For except thou have born the cross of adversity and temptation, and hast felt thyself brought unto the very brim of desperation, yea and unto hell gates, thou canst never meddle with the sentence of predestination without thine own harm, and without secret wrath and grudging inwardly against God, for otherwise it shall not be possible for thee to think that God is righteous and just. Therefore must Adam be well mortified and the fleshly wit brought utterly to nought, ere that thou mayst away with this thing, and drink so strong wine. Take heed therefore unto thyself, that thou drink not wine, while thou art yet but a suckling. For every learning hath her time, measure and age, and in Christ is there a certain childhood, in which a man must be content with milk for a season, until he wax strong and grow up unto a perfect man in Christ, and be able to eat of more strong meat." (1526/34 *Romans* Prologue Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, 221).

- Tyndale's view in the total depravity of man leads man to have no say in his justification when God's word says that man must chose to believe the gospel otherwise he cannot be saved (Eph. 1:12-14):
  - "The text is plain: we were stone dead, and without life or power to do or consent to good. The whole nature of us was captive under the devil, and led at his will. And we were as wicked as the devil now is (except that he now sinneth against the Holy Ghost); and we consented unto sin with soul and body, and hated the law of God. But God, of his grace only, quickened us in Christ; and raised us out of that death, and made us sit with Christ in heavenly things: that is, he set out hearts at rest, and made us sit fast in the life of Christ's doctrine, and unmovable from the love of Christ. And finally we are, in this our second birth, God's workmanship and creation in Christ; so that, as he which is yet unmade hath no life nor power to work, no more had we, till we were made again in Christ." (1531 *An Exposition Upon the First Epistle of John*, Tyndale 2:199-200).

- Tyndale's Augustinianism presents a major contradiction in his theology. If Tyndale believes that man was stone dead and cannot respond to God or do any works to please God, then how will they be able to perform under the legalistic standard that Tyndale requires of them? Not recognizing this reality leads to contradictory statements in Tyndale's various writings. Consider the following example:

1527 *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*	
"Whosoever hearth the word and believeth it, the same is thereby righteous; and thereby is given him the Spirit of God, which leadeth him unto all that is the will of God; and is loosed from the captivity and bondage of the devil; and his heart is free to love God and hath lust to do the will of God." (1527 *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, Tyndale 1:51).	"**Secondarily, of the whole multitude of the nature of man, whom God hath elect and chosen, and to whom he hath appointed mercy and grace in Christ, to them sendeth he his Spirit; which openeth their eyes, sheweth them their misery, and bringeth them unto the knowledge of themselves; so that they hate and abhor themselves, are astonied and amazed, and at their wits ends, neither wot what to do, or where to seek health**. Then, lest they should flee from God by desperation, he comforteth them again with his sweet promises in Christ; and certifieth their hearts that, for Christ's sake, they are received to mercy, and their sins forgiven, and they elect and made the sons of God, and heirs with Christ of eternal life: and thus through faith are they set at peace with God. **Now may not we ask why God chooseth one and not another; either think that God is unjust to damn us afore we do any actual deed; seeing that God hath power over all his creatures of right, to do with them what he list, or to make of every one of them as he listeth**. Our darkness cannot perceive his light. God will be feared, and not have his secret judgments known. Moreover we by the light of faith see a thousand things which are impossible to an infidel to see: so likewise, no doubt, in the light of the clear vision of God we shall see things which now God will not have known. For pride ever accompanieth high knowledge, but grace accompanieth meekness. Let us therefore give diligence rather to do the will of God, than to search his secrets, which are not profitable for us to know." (1527 *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, Tyndale 1:89).

Notice the contradiction, Tyndale says that those who repent and believe get the spirit of God. However, he later says in the same work that only those whom God elects get the spirit of God. It is important to note that a common theme throughout Tyndale's writings is the rejection of eternal security. When one believes in total depravity and perseverance of the saints, that is the natural result.

The Christian Walk

- In *The Theology of William Tyndale*, Ralph S. Werrell provides the following explanation when it comes to Tyndale's view of justification and how it differed from Luther:
    - "Although Tyndale's terminology often echoed that of Luther, his usage of the words differed. Although Tyndale wrote of 'justification by faith alone,' he understood it in a different way to Luther. For Luther justification was 'the imputation of righteousness' but for Tyndale it was 'making righteous'" (Werrell, 16).
- Carl Trueman in *Luther's Legacy* argues that Tyndale's view of justification matches that of Augustine and German reformer Martin Bucer:
    - "Such emphasis upon outward works as testifying to prior justification by God through faith is a common element amongst early Reformed thinkers and Tyndale's loose use of the word 'justification' echoes that of Martin Bucer. While Luther does refer to the idea that outward words testify to prior justification by faith alone before God, Tyndale uses the idea in order to deal with the problem of interpreting the difficult passages in James, a problem which Luther solved simply by denying the importance of the letter's teaching. This points away from Lutheran influence in this matter and towards that of Reformed thinkers. Reformers such as Bucer followed Augustine's interpretation of James and stressed that the works referred to in James 2 were a consequence, and not a cause, of justification. It is to this tradition of interpretation that Tyndale belongs" (Trueman, 103-104).
- It is true that one of the reasons William Tyndale adopted the position on justification that he did was because, contrary to Martin Luther, he correctly believed that the Hebrew epistles, specifically Hebrews and James, were canonical. However, Tyndale's failure to rightly divide the word of truth and understand the distinct ministry of the Apostle Paul led to him adopting a performance-based acceptance system. Consider the following information from William Tyndale's prologues to Hebrews and James in his 1534 New Testament:
    - "Moreover, many there hath been which not only have denied this epistle to have been written by any of the apostles, but have also refused it altogether as no catholic or godly epistle, because of certain texts written therein. . . . Wherefore seeing no scripture is of private interpretation: but must be expounded according to the general articles of our faith and agreeable to other open and evident texts, and confirmed or compared to like sentences, why should we not understand these places with like reverence as we do the other, namely when all the remnant of the epistle is so godly and of so great learning?. . . And seeing the epistle agreeth to all the rest of the scripture, if it be indifferently looked on, how should it not be of authority and taken for holy Scripture?" ("Prologue to Hebrews," 1534 New Testament, Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, 345-47).
    - "Though this epistle were refused in the old time and denied of many to be the epistle of a very apostle, and though also it lay not the foundation of the faith of Christ, but speaketh of a general faith in God, neither preacheth his death and resurrection, either the mercy that is laid up in store for us in him, or everlasting covenant made us in his blood,

> which is the office and duty of a very apostle, as Christ sayeth (John 15) ye shall testify of me: yet because it setteth up no man's doctrine, but crieth to keep the law of God, and maketh love which is without partiality the fulfilling of the law, as Christ and all the apostles did, and hath thereto many good and godly sentences in it: and hath also nothing that is not agreeable to the rest of the scripture, if it be looked indifferently on: me thinketh it ought of right to be taken for holy scripture" ("Prologue to James and Jude," 1534 New Testament, Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, 361).

- It is also important to note that Tyndale in his writings did not focus on the objective nature of righteousness (i.e. positional truth). He focused heavily on Christian living and mixed justification with sanctification. Carl Trueman in *Luther's Legacy* elaborates this point:
    - "It is important to note that Tyndale rarely speaks in terms of an order of salvation. His interest lies more in the existential effects of salvation than in its objective foundations. He does make occasional references to election, which he defines as the act of God in eternity by which a certain portion of mankind were chosen for salvation in Christ" (Truman, 85).

- Trueman later goes on to describe a major contradiction in Tyndale's theology when it comes to faith and works:
    - "[Tyndale's] failure to harmonize his doctrine of a works-based assurance with the causal relationship between faith and works demonstrates that consistency is not a major concern in his formulation of doctrine. Instead, he is willing to subordinate logical consistency in order to maintain emphasis upon the ethical aspects of the Christian life. Indeed, this tension leaves the way open for increased emphasis upon works in the future."

      "The second conclusion is closely related to the first: by basing assurance upon works, Tyndale once again demonstrates his tendency to place his major emphasis upon the subjective effects of salvation within the believer. His overriding concerning is with the practical outworkings of Christianity, and this concern with morality flavors all aspects of his doctrine, even to the point of introducing stark tensions into his thought" (Trueman, 96-97).

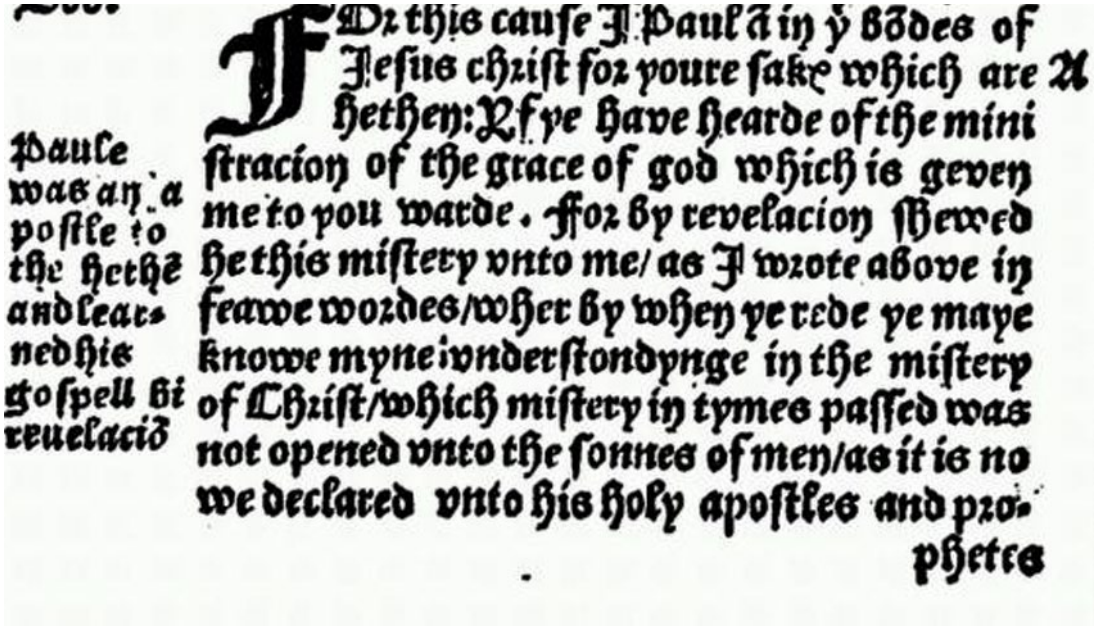
- These above quotes are proven throughout William Tyndale's writings:

Works Save	Works Do Not Save
"**If works follow not, it is a sure and an evident sign, that there is no faith in the heart**; but a dead imagination and dream, which they falsely call faith." (1527 *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, Tyndale 1:61).	"For **a Christian man is not saved by works, but by faith in the promises before all good works**; though that the works (when we work God's commandment with a good will, and not works of our own imagination) declare that we are safe, and that the Spirit of him that hath made us safe is in us: yea, and as God, through preaching of faith, doth purge and justify the heart, even so through working of deeds doth he purge and justify the members, making us perfect in body and soul after

	the likeness of Christ." (1528 *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, Tyndale 1:280-81).
Notice the contradiction that comes as a result of Tyndale focusing on the subjective aspects of the Christian walk rather than the objective aspects of justification. He overemphasizes works to the point where it contradicts other portions of his writings where he says that one is saved by grace through faith without works. I do believe that Tyndale was saved. However, he had a hard time reconciling the issue of justification by grace through faith and the issue of good works that follow after salvation. Because of Tyndale's failure to rightly divide, he came up with an incorrect view of justification that was highly influenced by his view on sanctification.	
Heirs of the Inheritance by Faith	Get the Inheritance by Suffering
"How can or ought we then to work, for to purchase that inheritance withal, whereof we are heirs already by faith?" (1527 *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, Tyndale 1:63).	"Moreover comfort thyself with the hope of the blessing of the inheritance of heaven, there to be glorified with Christ, if thou here suffer with him. For if we be like Christ here in his passions, and bear his image in soul and body, and fight manfully that Satan blot it not out, and suffer with Christ for bearing record to righteousness; then shall we be like him in glory" (1533 *An Exposition Upon the V, VI, and VII Chapters of Matthew*, Tyndale 2:28).
The Tyndale quote to the left teaches what Romans 8 and Ephesians 1 correctly teach: we are joint-heirs with Christ by faith and we have an inheritance as part of the family of God in the heavenly places. The Tyndale quote on the right is, interestingly, more in line with what a group like Sonship Edification would teach. Sonship Edification incorrectly teaches that one needs to suffer to become a joint-heir with Christ.	

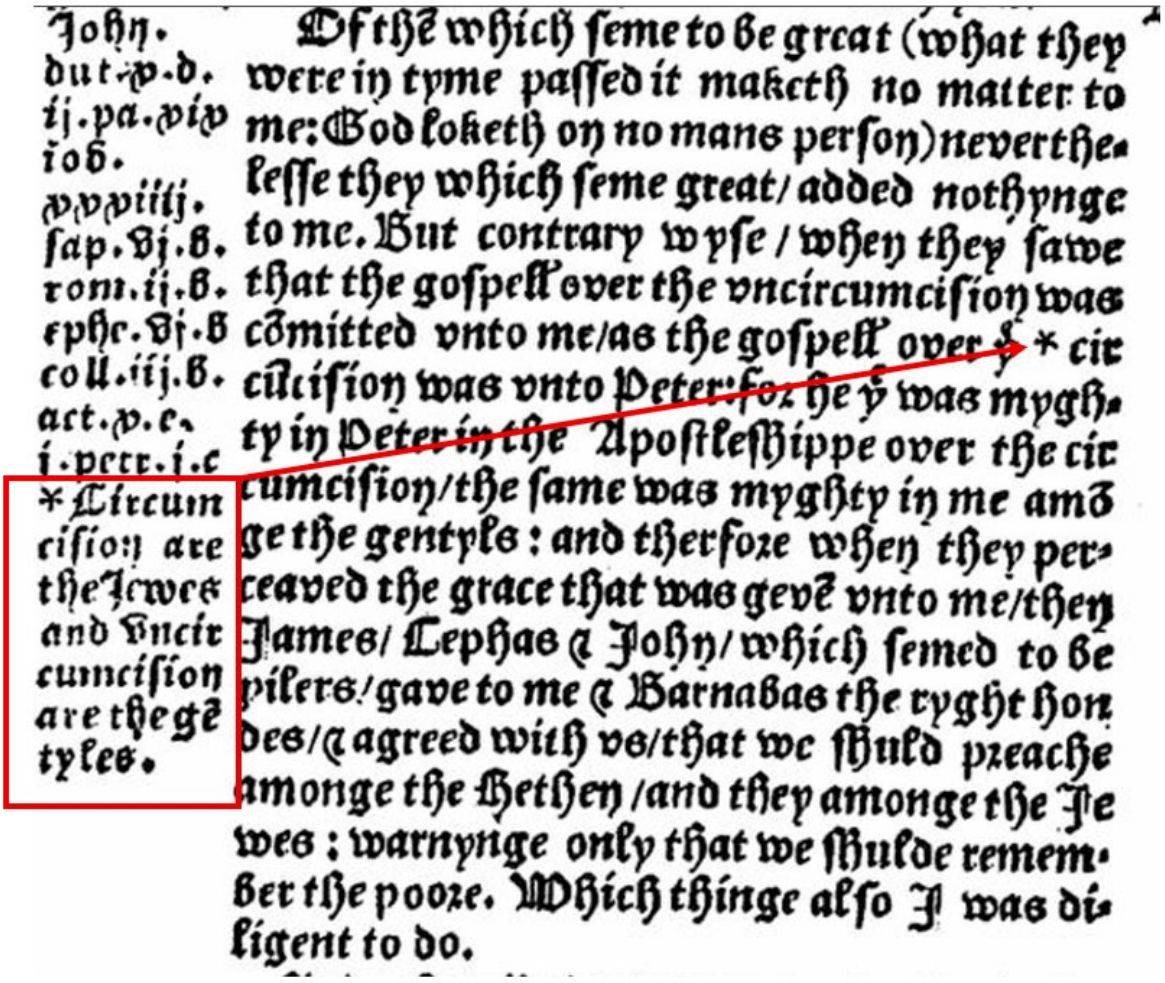
Dispensational Aspects

- It is worth noting that in his 1534 New Testament, Tyndale did recognize some dispensational distinctions that we hold to. However, it is clear he did not internalize or understand them like we would. Nonetheless, the following screenshots are important to mention as they show that what we believe is not a new invention:



1534

Antwerp Octavo BL (H8)—"Paul was an apostle to the heathen and learned his gospel by revelation." (Ephesians 3 marginal note)



1534 Antwerp Octavo BL (H8)— "Circumcision are the Jews and uncircumcision are the gentiles." (Galatians 2 marginal note)

- Let these mentions serve as a lesson for us Mid-Acts Dispensationalists. Tyndale did not understand the distinctions between prophecy and mystery; Israel and the body of Christ; law and grace. However, there were some aspects of Pauline revelation he got just be reading the Scriptures. It proves that Pauline truth was willfully abandoned by religion and overtime starts to be proclaimed again. It has always been on the pages of God's word and people have discovered and learned about it through just reading the Scriptures. Not the church fathers, reformers, or theologians. Tyndale was against relying on their authority and constantly proved all things with the Scriptures. Church history is in favor of the Roman Catholic Church and religion and we are not recognized by them. However, that doesn't mean that there were not people like us back in history—Bryan Ross has done an exceptional job in pointing that out.

- This should encourage us to read the word of God, study it, and meditate upon its precepts Tyndale understood that the Bible was to affect all aspects of one's life, even though he got some of the application wrong. He clearly understood its power, yet many forget it today. We have definitely fallen from Tyndale's day. We have more than Tyndale had when it comes to Bible study, yet people make excuses. It will take time. Get busy and away from the distractions. What is more important God's word or the things of the world? Tyndale knew the answer.

Conclusion

- Based on the information presented in this lesson, I conclude that Tyndale was not strictly Lutheran. He held to a different view of canon than Luther and he had a different definition of justification than Luther. While it is evident that Tyndale relied on Luther's work when it came to the formatting of his translations and marginal notes and there are mentions of Luther in Tyndale's theological treatises, there are enough differences to say that Tyndale was not fully Lutheran.

- Some, such as Ralph S. Werrell and Donald Smeeton, argue that Tyndale's Augustinianism came not from Luther but from John Wycliffe and the Lollards. Recall from lesson 2 of this conference the influence of John Trevisa and the *Polychronicon*, Tyndale's editing of *The Compendious Olde Treatyse*, the six mentions of John Wycliffe in his writings. It is quite plausible that Tyndale was more Lollard than Lutheran.

- In the end, Tyndale was someone who proved all things by the Scriptures. He encountered various ideas, read various church fathers and theologians, and fought against the major religious system of his day. In this regard, he is not Lutheran, he is not Lollard, he is Tyndale and nothing more.

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Lesson 9

Rough Draft: Assessing Tyndale's Impact on the KJB

Prepared & Taught by Bryan C. Ross

Introduction

- The King James Bible is often celebrated as the greatest achievement in the history of the English Bible, yet its translators did not view themselves as creating an entirely new translation. Rather, they saw their task as revising and refining the work of earlier English translators, chief among them William Tyndale.

- Modern readers are often surprised to learn that approximately 80-90% of the King James New Testament can be traced directly to Tyndale's translation work. In many passages, when we read the King James Bible, we are essentially reading Tyndale's English with only minor revisions.

- William Tyndale not only laid the textual foundation for the King James Bible, but he also helped shape the English language itself. Many of the most memorable expressions in English-speaking Christianity first appeared in Tyndale's translations and were later preserved in the King James Bible.

- It is often claimed that the King James Bible can be likened to a finished masterpiece and that, William Tyndale's translation work can be viewed as its rough draft. The purpose of this lesson is to examine the evidence for this claim and to assess the extent of Tyndale's influence on the most famous English Bible ever produced.

William the Translator

- David Daniell attributes the enduring impact of Tyndale's Bible to its simple, elegant language.

    - "The Bible translations of William Tyndale in the 1520s and 1530s are the reason why, reading the English New Testament, and thus in English speaking churches, we do not say at Matthew 6:11,

        > We should be obliged for Your attention in providing our nutritional needs and for so organizing distribution that our daily intake of cereal filler be not in short supply,

      but 'Give us this day our daily bread.' The first passage was written in the 1940s as a parody: but the point is that the language of civil servants in London just after the Second World War is both dated and datable, whereas Tyndale's sentence in the Lord's Prayer is timeless. The simplicity of those seven words, in Saxon vocabulary and syntax, matching the original *koine* (common) Greek, has continued since 1526 in almost all English Bible translations, in the twentieth century made in their scores, with only occasionally the

substitution of 'today' for 'this day.' So it is with hundreds of memorable phrases of English-speaking New Testament Christianity: 'blessed are the poor in spirit' (Matthew 5:3); 'I am the good shepherd' (John 10:14); 'Fight the good fight of faith' (I Timothy 6:12; and many, many more" (Daniell, 133).

- Daniell explains how Tyndale was uniquely equipped to produce a translation that would transcend time in its ability to communicate the truth of God's word in English to people centuries later.

    - "Tyndale's gift not only to English-speaking Christianity, but to language and literature, secular as well as religious, came from a unique ability as a translator. He had the technical skills of fluent and accurate Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and German (and other languages) and the machinery of recent dictionaries and grammars. He had a complete understanding of the complex art of rhetoric. His twin achievements as a translator, still admired, were accuracy and clarity, the latter allowing him variety of expression. Feeling himself free not to use the same English word every time for the same word in Hebrew or Greek (a method labelled in the late twentieth century 'formal correspondence'), he made his own meaning-for-meaning translations (lately labelled 'dynamic equivalence'). [I am not convinced that Daniell is using these concepts accurately.] Tyndale's simplicity, for example in narrative, where he was always superb (as in the Passion narratives in all the Gospels), comes also from a carefully judged flexibility" (Daniell, 133-134).

<u>Tyndale as a Rough Draft of the KJB</u>

- In his book *The King James Bible: A Short History from Tyndale to Today*, Professor David Norton argues that the translational work of William Tyndale served as the rough draft for the KJB.

    - "The KJB translators thought of themselves as revisers, not as creators of a new translation. In the preface, 'the translators to the reader,' they say:

        > Truly, good Christian reader, we never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one... but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be expected against, that hath been our endeavor, that our mark.

      The 'good one' they were to make better was the official Bible of the Church of England, the Bishops Bible 1568, the 'many good ones' were the Testaments and Bibles made by William Tyndale and his successors. These men drafted and re-drafted the KJB" (Norton, 7).

- While he does not explicitly call Tyndale a rough draft of the KJB, Dr. Daniell presents the following statistical information that supports Dr. Norton's thesis.

- "Tyndale clarified the English language. Since the early eighteenth century, the greatest praise has been heaped upon the language of the King James Bible (the 'Authorized Version'), made in 1611. Yet over four-fifths of the New Testament of that version is simply Tyndale's work from eighty years before

  ["Eighty-three per cent of the King James ('Authorized') Version New Testament is directly from Tyndale in 1534" (Daniell, 152).
  "It has been estimated that 80 to 90 percent of the King James Version is the direct expression of Tyndale" (Brake, 106).

  In 1611, one of the last years of Shakespeare's writing life, the English language was at a peak. It surprises nobody that the Bible from that time has immortal glory. Yet it should surprise everyone. The work of Tyndale that was taken over in 1611 was done three generations before, when the English language was a poor thing indeed, almost dead at the bottom of the pond" (Daniel, 136).

- In assessing Tyndale's impact on the English Bible, Dr. Norton states:

  - "Without Tyndale, the English Bible would have been a different and, in all likelihood, lesser thing. Reading the KJB, we are for long stretches reading Tyndale, sometimes little revised, sometimes substantially worked over. A single spirit animates the Protestant—even, to a significant extent, the Catholic—English Bible from Tyndale to the KJB, and Tyndale was its first and most important manifestation" (Norton, 8).

- In terms of his translation work in English, Tyndale truly was a pioneer. While manuscripts of Wycliffe's Lollard Bible were still extant and available for Tyndale to use, Dr. Norton presents the following reasons why imitating Wycliffe was out of step with Tyndale's goals:

  - "'I had no man to counterfeit [imitate], neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same like thing in the Scriptures beforetime' . . . He was indeed a pioneer, yet, as this recognizes, there had been other translations of the Bible or parts of it into English. Most notable among these was the Wycliffe or Lollard Bible which appears in two version about 1382 and 1388. This pre-Reformation manuscript Bible was translated from the Vulgate, first with such literalness that it is like a crib for the Latin, then revised toward slightly more idiomatic English. Tyndale may have been familiar with this, but the Latin source, the very dated English and the excessive literalness would have made it a model to avoid" (Norton, 8).

- Moreover, with the possible exception of Luther, Tyndale did not have very many non-English models to follow when translating. Therefore, Tyndale was very reliant upon original language texts. Tyndale's last surviving letter, written from prison while awaiting martyrdom, asks for "the Hebrew bible, Hebrew grammar, and Hebrew dictionary, that I may pass the time in that study." Regarding this request, Dr. Norton writes:

- "We should not take this as suggesting that he continued his translation in prison—he would have needed much more for that, paper not least—but it does show what he considered basic for this study: text, grammar, and dictionary" (Norton, 9).

- Tyndale's 1534 revision of his New Testament bears similar witness to Tyndale's reliance upon Greek. The title itself reads, "diligently corrected and compared with the Greek." Moreover, in his preface "W.T. unto the reader" Tyndale states the following:

    - "I have looked over it again (now at the last) with all diligence, and compared it unto the Greek, and have weeded out of it many faults, which lack of help at the beginning, and oversight, did sow therein. If ought seemed changed, or not altogether agreeing with the Greek, let the finder of the fault consider the Hebrew phrase or manner of speech left in the Greek" (Tyndale 1534).

- Therefore, Professor Norton writes, "Tyndale's first study was the original language text, and his primary effort was to be as true to it as possible, including keeping to its 'phrase or manner of speech'" (Norton, 9). In addition to original language texts, grammars, and dictionaries Tyndale also had the following additional helps:

    - "For the NT he had Erasmus's Greek text and Latin translation, and the Vulgate; he appears also to have had a general knowledge of other translations, for he writes of 'all the translators that ever I heard of in what tongue soever it be.' And he had Luther. Martin Luther, giant among giants of the Reformation, published the first edition of his German NT in 1522; the Pentateuch followed in 1523, and Joshua to the Song of Solomon in 1524. For the OT, Tyndale had the Vulgate, the Septuagint, Luther, and possibly Pagninus.

      Estimates of Tyndale's dependence on these aids vary. Westcott and Hammond are most persuasive. Westcott demonstrates that 'both in his first translation and in his two subsequent revisions [1534, 1535] of the NT, [Tyndale] dealt directly and principally with the Greek text. If he used the Vulgate or Erasmus or Luther it was with the judgment of a scholar. His Greek was proficient, but he probably needed more help with the Hebrew, since he began to learn that language late, probably about 1526. . .

      While truth to the original languages was Tyndale's scholarly priority, his motivation was to make the Scriptures comprehensible [Norton's word choice here conveys that Tyndale dumbed down the language of the New Testament to match that of the man on the street, which he did not do.] to his fellow countrymen" (Norton, 9-10).

- Dr. Norton chronicles how Tyndale's Bible literally touched off a linguistic and literary revolution.

    "The Bible in English shaped Protestant English-speaking culture. It was not just that the Bible was read, heard and known: the Bible in English made the individualistic act of

reading and understanding primary, creating a culture wedded to the belief that understood words were of the highest importance. Besides this, the Bible, more than any other writing in English, shaped the English language. This was an unlooked-for consequence of Tyndale's work, for he never set out to create a linguistic or literary revolution. Yet this, besides the religious revolution, is what he created. The decisions he made as to the kind of English he should use have affected every speaker and writer of English. Thomas More, his arch-antagonist, mockingly suggested that 'all England must now to go to school with Tyndale to learn English.' His point was the difficulty of Tyndale's language. That we now find it remarkably straightforward and even powerful is precisely because all England went to school with Tyndale and learned English from him and his successors, most notably from the principal form his work took, the KJB" (Norton, 11).

- In his book, Dr. Norton highlights that before Tyndale, English was not perceived as a suitable language for literature or scholarship, much less the Bible.
    - "In spite of the many English literary achievements we now recognize for times before Tyndale, English had no prestige as a language for literature or scholarship. . . to translate the Bible into English was both to debase it and put it into a langue many felt had not the ability to express meaning" (Norton, 11-12).
- Given his goal to provide the ploughboy with a Bible he could read while at the same time being accurate to the original languages, Tyndale elected to approximate the English he heard spoken around him in his Bible.
    - "He had his duty to the text, and we have already seen that he tried to shape his style to its styles. He also had his duty to his audience, imagined as the 'boy that driveth the plough" (we would say, the man in the street): it was a duty to be comprehensible to an unsophisticated audience, so the unavoidable choice was to write in a way that approximated the English he heard spoken all around him. These two duties were paramount, and the choices seem inevitable.

      He probably had two other choices. One was to make the translation thoroughly literal, following the word order of the original and imitating its vocabulary whenever possible. This would sometimes have worked against the duty to be comprehensible. Another way to try to write appropriately majestic religious English, if only such a thing existed—but it did not. The nearest he might have come would have been to try to write majestically by shaping his langue according to the best standards of eloquence he knew, those of the classical Latin and Greek. Again the question of comprehensibility would have arisen, for the audience he had in mind did not know Latin. Latin was far less assimilated into English then than it is now. The common people would have heard much of what we take for granted as English as a foreign language only partly assimilated into their own, and they would have found Latin sentence structures very alien to their own way of talking. Any attempt to write with the eloquence of the classics would have sinned

against both comprehensibility and the English language just as much as a literal translation would have.

There was a further, political reason for avoiding a Latinate way of writing, either in vocabulary or sentence structure. It would have seemed too close to the language of the Vulgate and the Catholic Church, and so to be supporting the institution he opposed.

Tyndale's choice was to attempt a balance between ordinary English and the ways of writing he found in the original languages. Fortunately, as he observed, the Hebrew (and to some extent the Greek) way of writing, especially in its simple sentence structures and its vocabulary tied to the very word, fitted well with English. . . [Tyndale stated the following in *Obedience of a Christian Man*]

> Saint Jerome also translated the Bible into his mother tongue. Why may not we also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English word for word, when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shall have much work to translate it well-favouredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin, as it hath in the Hebrew. A thousand parts better it be translated into the English than into the Latin.

This perception of qualities in English that matched the Greek and, especially, the Hebrew is crucial to the way Tyndale translated. He could often translate 'word for word,' that is, literally, and still write natural English that would reveal the full meaning of the original. It would be as true to the meaning of the Vulgate, and truer to the way the originals were written. This in general terms, was to be the method, style, and purpose of the KJB" (Norton, 12-13).

- It is important to note that the statistics cited above by Dr. Daniell apply to the New Testament only. This is due largely to the fact that Tyndale was not able to finish his work on the Old Testament before his martyrdom in 1536.

- It was Tyndale's 1534 and 1535 revisions that served as base text for the KJB New Testament. John Rogers, a friend of Tyndale's and author of the 1537 Matthew's Bible, move forward the text of Tyndale's 1535 revision in the New Testament of 1537 Bible. In this manner, the readings found in the 1535 edition of Tyndale passed into King James' Bible.

- In his classic work from 1883 titled *Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible*, J.I. Mombert offers the following insight into the level of revision that Tyndale foisted upon his 1526 New

Testament in 1534. The following table compares Tyndale's 1526 translation with his revision in 1535 for Matthew 6. Please note that I have updated the spelling for ease of reading.

Verse	1526	1534
Matt. 6:1	your father in heaven.	your father **which is** in heaven.
Matt. 6:7	But when ye pray. gentiles.	**And** when ye pray. **heathen**.
Matt. 6:12	as we forgive them which trespass us	as we forgive **our trespassers**.
Matt. 6:13	Lead us not into temptation, but deliver vs from evil. Amen.	And lead us not into temptation, but deliver vs from evil. **For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever**. Amen.
Matt. 6:16	that they might appear unto men that they fast.	that they might **be seen of men how** they fast.
Matt. 6:21	there are your hearts also.	there **will** your hearts **be** also.
Matt. 6:22	The light of thy body. is full of light.	The light of the body. **shalbe** full of light.
Matt. 6:24	he shall lene the one.	he shall lene **to** the one.
Matt. 6:25	what raiment ye shall wear.	**what ye shall put on**.
Matt. 6:26	Are ye not better than they?	Are ye not **much** better than they?
Matt. 6:28	Behold the lilies.	**Consider** the lilies.
Matt. 6:34	Care not therefore for the day following; For the day following shall care for it self. Each days trouble is sufficient for the same self day.	Care not **then** for the **morrow**, but let the **morrow** care for it self; **for the day present hath ever enough of his own trouble**, (Mombert, 132-133)

- In his *The King James Bible: A Short History from Tyndale to Today*, Dr. Norton provides an additional example of the level of revision that Tyndale visited upon his 1526 text in 1534. The table below compares Tyndale's 1526 New Testament with his 1534 edition in Matthew 1:18-21. I have added the column making an additional comparison with the KJB. Please note that bold words indicate wording changes from the previous column.

Tyndale (1526)	Tyndale (1534)	AV 1611
18) The birth of Christ was on this wise, when his mother Mary was married unto Joseph, before they came to dwell together, she was found with child by the holy Ghost. 19) Then her husband Joseph, being a perfect man, and loath to	18) The birth of **Jesus** Christ was on this wise, when his mother Mary was **betrothed** unto Joseph, before they came to dwell together, she was found with child by the holy Ghost. 19) Then **Joseph her husband**, being a perfect man, and loath to	18) **Now** the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When as his mother Mary was **espoused** to Joseph, before they **came together**, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. 19) Then Joseph her husband, being a **just** man, and **not willing** to make her a **publick**

defame her, was minded to put her away secretly. 20) While he thus thought, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in his sleep, saying, 'Joseph the son of David, fear not to take unto thee, Mary thy wife. For that which is conceived in her, is of the holy Ghost. 21) She shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus. For he shall save his people from their sins.	**make an example of** her, was minded to put her away secretly. 20) While he thus thought, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him **in a dream**, saying, 'Joseph the son of David, fear not to take unto thee, Mary thy wife. For that which is conceived in her, is of the holy Ghost. 21) She shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus. For he shall save his people from their sins.	**example**, was minded to put her away **privily**. 20) **But** while he thought **on these things**, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the **H**oly Ghost. 21) **And** she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name **JESUS**: for he shall save his people from their sins.

- As one can see, the King James New Testament from 1611 is essentially Tyndale's 1534 edition with only slight revisions. Regarding the revisions made by Tyndale in 1534, Dr. Norton states the following:

    - "Tyndale's 1534 revisions make the translation more literal. 'Married' becomes 'bethrothed,' and opens up the question of were they actually husband and wife. 'Loath to defame her' becomes 'loath to make an example of her,' which is closer to the literal sense of the Greek to make a paradigm of her. Now, 1534 has some annotations; one of them explains 'example': 'that is to say, to bring her out to punishment for the example of others.' Evidently he felt that 'defame' was too vague, simply giving a rough sense of the situation, and that, with the help of annotation, he could now give a truer sense of the original. In v. 18, 'Christ' becomes the Greek's 'Jesus Christ:' his first translation, whether deliberately or not, corresponded to the Vulgate, Erasmus's Latin and Luther. 'Her husband Joseph' is changed to the Greek word order, 'Joseph her husband.' In the first version of v. 20, 'the Lord appeared unto him in his sleep,' 'his' has no equivalent in the Greek (or the Latin), but 'in. . . sleep' follows the Latin. The Greek is literally what Tyndale changed it to, 'in a dream.'

      There are limits to how far Tyndale is prepared to move towards literalness: he does not make Greek word order into a fetish, and he frequently avoids participial phrases. Overall, his choices and changes show him as a deeply thoughtful translator whose priority having once translated, was to bring his work closer to the literal meaning, and even to the word order of the Greek, while always maintaining a strong sense of normal English structures.

> Two elements of the model Tyndale gave for English biblical translation are apparent in this passage. One is the judicious fidelity to the syntax and grammar of the original languages, even to the point of including a present participle in the Mathew passage, 'being a perfect man' (v. 19), and so delaying the main verb until the latter part of the sentence: this would not have troubled an educated man, but was not the basic English of the ploughboy. The other key element is the choice of predominantly native English vocabulary. 'Married' (1526), 'perfect,' 'defame' (1525), 'example' (1534), 'secretly,' 'appeared' and 'conceived' come from the Latin by way of Old French and Middle English. All were familiar English. Only 'perfect' is used in a sense that might have eluded an ordinary reader or hearer" (Norton, 35).

- On the matter of Tyndale's work furnishing the rough draft for the KJB, Mombert offers substantial documentary evidence for this conclusion, though this is not his main point.

    - "A few brief examples of Tyndale's version, in which the portions in Roman type show what remains of it in the Authorized Version, will be perused with interest; no change has been made in the spelling. The first is a passage from the Pentateuch; the others are taken from the edition of 1534" (Mombert, 142).

- In the following selected examples, provided by Mombert, I have kept his formatting with the addition of underlining and bolding words italicized by Mombert to help them stand out. I have also modernized Mombert's spelling for ease of reading. Simply stated, words in plain font indicate words and phrases where the King James translators followed Tyndale without alteration. Words that are italicized, underlined, and bolded words indicate places where Tyndale's wording was changed by the King James translators. Please note that the italicized words do not correspond with italicized words in the KJB but rather changes the King James translators made to Tyndale's text.

- Numbers 16:28-30
    - 28. And Moses said: Hereby ***ye shall*** know that the Lord hath sent me to do all these works, ***and that*** I have not done them of mine own mind.
      29. If these men die the common death of all men, or if they be visited after the visitation of all men, then the Lord hath not sent me.
      30. But, ***and*** if the Lord make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth, and swallow them, ***and*** all that ***pertain*** unto them, ***so that*** they go down quick into *hell*, then ye shall ***understand that these men have railed upon*** the Lord.

- Matthew 8:1-13
    - 1. When he was come down from the mountain, ***much people*** followed him.
      2. And ***lo***, there came a leper, and worshiped him saying: ***Master***, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.

3. And Jesus put forth his hand and touched him saying: I will, be thou clean, and immediately his leprosy was cleansed.
4. And Jesus ***aside*** unto him. See thou tell no man, but go *and* show thyself to the priest, and offer the gift that Moses commanded, ***in witness*** to them.
5. When Jesus was entered into Capernaum there came unto him a ***certain*** Centurion, and ***besought*** him
6. Saying: ***Master*** my servant lieth sick at home-of the palsy, and is grievously ***pained***,
7. And Jesus *said* unto him: I will come and heal him.
8. The Centurion answered and ***aside***: ***Sir*** I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof, but speak the word only and my servant shall be healed.
9. For I ***also myself*** am a man under ***power, and have*** soldiers under me, and I say to ***one***, go, and he goeth, and to another come, and he cometh: and to my servant, do this, and he doeth it.
10. When Jesus heard ***that***, he marveled and said to them that followed ***him***. Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith: no, not in Israel.
11. I say ***therefore*** unto you that many shall come from the east and west, and shall ***rest*** with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven:
12. ***And*** the children of the Kingdome shall be cast out into otter darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.
13. ***Then*** Jesus said unto the Centurion, go thy way, and as thou ***believest*** so be it unto the. And his servant was healed the self [KJB—"selfsame"] hour.

- Acts 15:36-41
    - 36. ***But after a certain space***, Paul said unto Barnabas: Let us go again and visit our brethren in every cite where we have ***shewed*** the word of the Lorde, and see how they do.
      37. And Barnabas ***gave counsel*** to take with them John, ***called also*** Mark.
      38. But Paul thought ***it not mete*** to take him ***unto their company***, ***whiche*** departed from them at Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work.
      39. And the ***dissension*** was so sharp between them, that they departed a sunder one from the other: so ***that*** Barnabas toke Mark, and sailed unto Cyprus.
      40. And Paul chose Sylas and departed ***delivered*** of the brethren unto the grace of God.
      41. And he went through ***all*** Syria and Cilicia, ***stablishing the congregations***.

- Romans 3:1-8
    - 1. What ***preferment*** then hath the Jew? ***other what a vauntageth*** circumcision?
      2. ***Surely*** ***very*** much. First unto them ***was*** committed the ***word*** of God.
      3. ***What then though*** some ***of them*** did not believe? shall their unbelieve make the ***promise*** of god with out effect ?
      4. God forbid. Let god be true, and ***all men liars***, as it is written: That thou mighest be justified in thy sayings and ***shouldest*** overcome when thou art judged.

5. If our unrighteousness make the righteousness of God ***more excellent***: what shall we say? Is God unrighteous which taketh vengeance? I speak ***after the manner of men***.
6. God forbid. For how then shall God judge the world?
7. If the ***verity*** of God ***appear more excellent*** through my lie, unto his ***praise*****,** why am I ***henceforth*** judged as a sinner?
8. And ***say*** not rather (***as men evil speak of us***, and as some affirm that we say) let vs do evil, that good may come ***thereof***. Whose damnation is just.

- I Corinthians 15:51-53
  - 51. Behold I shew you a mystery. We shall not all sleep; but we shall all be changed, ***and that*** in a moment, and in the twinkling of an eye, at the ***sound of the*** last trompe.
  - 52. For the trompe shall ***blow***, and the deed shall ***rise*** incorruptible, and we ***shalbe*** changed.
  - 53. For this corruptible must put on ***incorruptibility***; and this mortal must put on immortality.

- Revelation 2:12-17
  - 12. And to the ***messenger*** of the ***congregation*** in Pergamos write: ***This*** sayth he which hath the sharp sword with two edges.
  - 13. I know thy works and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is, and thou ***keepest*** my name and hast not denied my faith. ***And in my*** days Antipas was a faithful ***witness of mine***, which was slain among you where Satan dwelleth.
  - 14. But I have a few things against the: ***that*** thou hast there, ***they*** that ***maintain*** the doctrine of Balaam ***which taught in*** balake, ***to put occasion of sin*** before the children of Israel, ***that they should*** eat ***of meat dedicated*** unto idols, and to commit fornication.
  - 15. Even so hast thou them that maintain the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate.
  - 16. ***But be converted*** or else I will come unto the ***shortly*** and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth.
  - 17. Let him ***that hath ears*** hear what the sprite sayeth unto the ***congregations***: To him that overcommeth will I give to eat manna ***that is hid***, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knowneth, saving he that receiveth it.

- Simply from a visual inspection of the foregoing, it is evident that that the vast majority of the words in the KJV are Tyndale.

- The form of English found in Tyndale's translations was neither "natural" nor "majestic" when it first appeared on the stage of history. That said, Tyndale's English served not only as the rough draft for the King James Bible but also as the English tutor for an entire nation. So much so that by the time the King James Version was translated in the early 17th century it was viewed by many as "English perfected."

- ". . . Tyndale's English—and subsequently that of the KJB—did not seem as natural and easy as we are inclined to think it. Nor did it seem grand or majestic. England did learn English from Tyndale. In drafting the KJB he shaped English so that, as the years passed, many came to see the KJB as English perfected" (Norton, 13-14).

The Matthew's Bible: The Complete Work of Willian Tyndale

- William Tyndale was arrested in Antwerp, Belgium on May 21, 1535. This puts Tyndale and John Rogers together in Antwrep and living in the English House at the time of Tyndale's apprehension. It is, therefore, beyond historical doubt that the two men knew each other.

  - "Tyndale was strangled and burned on 6 October 1536. In the sixteen months after his arrest and removal from Antwerp to Brussels, it is not known what had happened to his manuscript translations of Joshua to 2 Chronicles. The papers would be bulky. Somehow on Tyndale's arrest they survived Pierre Dufief's (illegal raid) on the English House to seize all his property. He [Rogers] was the man who made sure that they were printed, in what became the most influential of all the early printed English Bibles, "'Matthew's Bible.'" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*,190)

  - "In 1535 and 1536, Rogers, friend of Tyndale, was an ideal person to take the translator's work further. He [Rogers] was a graduate with an undoubted flair for languages. . . he could hardly go to Antwerp not knowing the name of Tyndale" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 192-193).

- Therefore, the Matthew's Bible is of major historical significance because in it we find the complete work of William Tyndale, i.e., all the portions of the Bible that he translated before he died. Regarding this matter Professor Daniell states the following:

  - "To this steadfast and courageous reformed pastor and preacher the English-speaking Christian world owes a debt of particular gratitude. Working with, apparently, the printer Matthew Crom in Antwerp, John Rogers put together in 1537 a handsome thick folio, well printed in clear black letter in double columns. This contained, for the first time as part of a large complete Bible, all Tyndale's printed Bible translations: that is, the 1534 New Testament and the Pentateuch, the 'Five Books of Moses': they were given almost unchanged. For the first time, moreover, there appeared an English translation of the nine historical books ending at 2 Chronicles made from Hebrew. That this was the work of Tyndale is now beyond doubt. Tyndale's vulnerable manuscript pages had safely arrived in print" (Daniel, *The Bible in English*, 193).

- Therefore, I think it is safe to conclude that Tyndale's translation accomplishments with respect to the Old Testament include the following before his martyrdom in 1536.

- 1530 Pentateuch
  - *W.T. to the Reader*
  - *A Prologue Showing the Use of Scripture*
  - The First Book of Moses, called Genesis
  - *A Table Expounding Certain Words*
  - *A Prologue into the Second Book of Moses, called Exodus*
  - *A Table Expounding Certain Words of the Second Book of Moses*
  - The Second Book of Moses, called Exodus
  - *A Prologue into the Third Book of Moses, called Leviticus*
  - The Third Book of Moses, called Leviticus
  - *A Prologue into the Fourth Book of Moses, called Numbers*
  - The Fourth Book of Moses, called Numbers
  - *A Prologue into the Fifth Book of Moses, called Deuteronomy*
  - The Fifth Book of Moses, called Deuteronomy

- 1537 Matthew's Bible
  - The Book of Joshua
  - The Book of Judges
  - The Book of Ruth
  - The First Book of Samuel
  - The Second Book of Samuel
  - The First Book of the Kings
  - The Second Book of the Kings
  - The Chronicles of the Kings of Juda, The First Book
  - The Chronicles of the Kings of Juda, The Second Book
  - The Prologue to the Prophet Jonah
  - The Story of the Prophet Jonah

- All told, Tyndale is responsible for penning the rough draft for 15 of the 39 books or 38 % of the Old Testament found in the KJB. In addition to producing full English renderings for the fifteen books listed above, it is important to note that Tyndale's 1534 and 1535 New Testament revisions also included English translations for a select number of Old Testament passages not included in the preceding list.

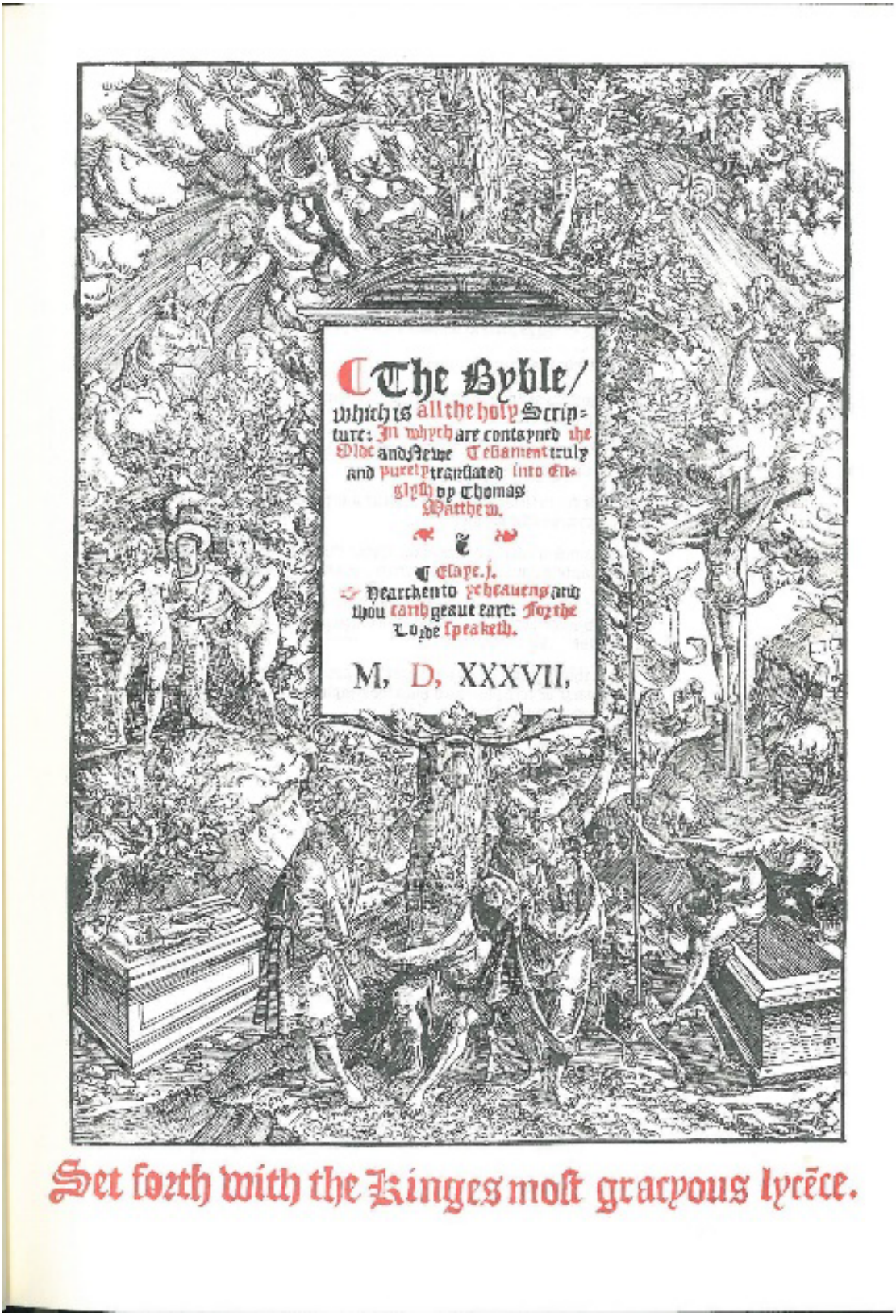
- The parts of the scripture found in the Matthew's Bible that had not been supplied by Tyndale were taken from Coverdale's 1535 Bible.

  - "For the parts of the Bible that Tyndale did not live to reach (or, just possibly, finish), Rogers printed Coverdale. So the high poetry from Job to Malachi, half the Old Testament, twenty-two books of poems and prophecy, and thirteen of the fourteen books

> of the Apocrypha, Rogers gives a version, albeit made by dedicated and learned men, who could sometimes be splendid in his formulations as we saw above, but who knew neither Hebrew nor Greek, Miles Coverdale" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 193).

Henry VIII Licenses the Matthew's Bible

- The title page to the 1537 Matthews Bible reads as follows:
    - "The Bible which is the holy Scripture: in which are contained the Old and New Testaments truly and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew."
- Then, across the bottom of the page in large letters one reads the following words:
    - "Set forth with the Kings most gracious license."


The Byble/
which is all the holy Scripture: In whych are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament truly and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew.
Esaye. j.
Hearken to ye heauens and thou earth geaue eare: For the Lorde speaketh.
M, D, XXXVII.
Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous lycēce.

- How did this Bible, which was largely the work of William Tyndale, receive the approval of King Henry VIII? The answer is found largely in the activities of Archbishop Cranmer and Vicar-General Cromwell, according to Bible historian and collector Donald L. Brake. Cranmer and Cromwell had sought without success for the King to sanction the Coverdale Bible in 1535.

    - "On August 4. 1537, Archbishop Cranmer wrote a letter to Vicar-General Cromwell commending a new Bible translation and seeking his approval. Pollard recorded the letter:

        > That you shall receive by the bringer hereof, a Bible in English, both of a new translation and of a new printing dedicated unto the Kings Majesty, as farther appeareth by an epistle unto his grace in the beginning of the book, which, in my opinion is very well done, and therefore I pray your lordship to read the same... and forasmuch as the book is dedicated unto the kings grace, and also great pains and labour taken in setting forth the same, I pray you my Lord, that you would exhibit the book unto the kings highness: and to obtain of his Grace, if you can, a license that the same may be sold and read of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore, granted to the contrary, until such time that we, the Bishops shall set forth a better translation, which I think will not be till a day after doomsday." (Quoted in Brake, 127)

- The success of Cromwell's venture is evidenced by Cranmer's letter dated August 13, 1537 in which he thanks him (Cromwell) for his good offices in that he:

    - "... hath not only exhibited the Bible... to the king's majesty, but also have obtained of his grace that the same shall be allowed by his authority to be bought and read within the realm" (Mombert, 178).

- Regarding the outcome of Cranmer's letter to Cromwell, Brake reports the following:

    - "Cromwell acted immediately by presenting this new Bible (Matthew's) to Henry VIII for his approval. Henry, after some consideration, granted the request. It was official. A new Bible translation received the "divine" blessing of the king.

      Clearly an authorized Bible would be a bestseller. For years the only Bibles one could get were either Latin or black-market Tyndale versions. The price for printing the first "officially licensed Bible" was still in question... Richard Grafton received the license to print the Matthew's Bible (1537) and it is so stated on the title page. He sought to enlist Cromwell to help him receive royal support for permission to be the sole publisher of all

"authorized" Bibles (which would have included the Coverdale Bible as well). Cromwell did not grant his petition" (Brake, 128).

- As usual, Professor David Daniell offers more detail on the King's Licensing of the Matthew's Bible:

    - "So in 1537, the London reforming merchants Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch underwrote an edition of 1,500 copies which were shipped to England... It was Grafton who sent to—now Archbishop—Cranmer a copy of Matthew's Bible. Cranmer on 4 August 1537 wrote to Thomas Cromwell—now King Henry's VIII's Vicegerent for ecclesiastical affairs—a letter accompanying this copy, saying '... as the translation, so far as I have read heretofore I like it better than any other translation heretofore made.' [This is ironic. It is essentially the same language as the prior Tyndale versions.] The Archbishop asked the Vicegerent to show the book to the king, in the hope that he would allow it to go forth to the people, without any danger from any act, ordinance or proclamation.

      Cromwell had been able to ensure not just the dedication of this English Bible to the king, as had happened with Coverdale's version, but a license... Cromwell, having showed the new book to the king, began proceedings for setting up an English Bible in every parish church...

      Henry licensed it for distribution at once, prompting Grafton to send six copies to Cromwell as a gift... Cromwell then encouraged bishops to order copies for their churches. He did more. Early in 1538 he required local Justices of the Peace to make sure that the parish priests were preaching the Word of God, and recommending the people to have an English Bible. Both Archbishops, Canterbury and York, and at least one other bishop, ordered every beneficed priest to have at least a Latin-English New Testament and to read a chapter a day in it. Demand was high. The first English/Latin diglot New Testament was in 1538, with Tyndale's English and Erasmus's Latin. There were three editions of Coverdale's slightly more Vulgate-based New Testament, with the Vulgate alongside, in 1538.

      Less than twelve months before, Tyndale's dying words outside of Brussels had been, "Lord open the King of England's eyes." Now the king was licensing a complete Bible in English. The ironies are truly tragic. Had Tyndale escaped arrest, had Henry Phillips, the Judas who betrayed him at the English House, not also succeeded in blocking all the English court's attempts to release him; had Tyndale lived for a few more months until the king changed his mind, and even welcomed him home—then we would have had in our English Bibles for ever after as a base text the poetry of the Psalms and the Song of

> Songs, of Job, the Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, and so much else, a version made by a master both of Hebrew—and of Hebrew poetry—and of English.
>
> Cromwell found that there were simply not enough copies available. He wanted to place one in every parish church in the land, of which there were about 9,000"
> (Daniell, 194-195).

- As to the question of whether Cromwell and Cranmer knew that the Matthew's Bible was nearly two-thirds the work of William Tyndale, Professor Daniell states the following:
    - "We do not know whether Cranmer knew that the bulk of this admired volume was the work of Tyndale: Cromwell certainly did" (Daniell, 195).
- Condit sums up the long-term impact of the Matthew's Bible in the following statement:
    - "The pre-eminence of Matthew's Bible consists in the fact that while it was largely based upon Tyndale's translation, it became the basis of subsequent English versions, including at the last our present English Bible. The several links in the chain are traceable, since Matthew's Bible (1537), through revision, became the Great Bible of 1539–1540; which in turn, by revision, became the Bishop's Bible of 1568; which again in turn, became King James' Bible of 1611. There are other very important links, but these indicate the line of authorized succession; although the authority does not always appear, since the revisers from the first manifested great liberality and good sense in the use of the various helps before them" (Condit, 189-190).

Conclusion

- William Tyndale's work did not merely influence the King James Bible—it formed its foundation. Roughly 80–90% of the KJB New Testament derives directly from Tyndale's 1534–1535 revisions, reflecting the fact that the KJB translators saw themselves as revisers of an already strong English Bible rather than creators of a new one. Tyndale established the translation philosophy the KJB would adopt: fidelity to the original Greek and Hebrew, clarity for ordinary readers, and natural yet dignified English.
- Beyond translation, Tyndale reshaped the English language itself. At a time when English lacked scholarly prestige, his biblical English became the standard by which later English prose—including the KJB—was judged, effectively schooling an entire nation in biblical English. His influence was preserved and completed through the Matthew's Bible (1537), which gathered all of Tyndale's extant biblical work and became the basis for subsequent authorized English Bibles leading directly to the KJB.

- Although Tyndale was martyred in 1536, his dying prayer—"Lord, open the King of England's eyes"—was answered within a year when a Bible largely composed of his work was officially licensed by Henry VIII. The King James Bible stands as the crown of the English Bible tradition, but Tyndale remains its indispensable foundation.

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Lesson 10
Arrest, Execution & Legacy: Assessing Tyndale's Impact on the English Language
Prepared & Taught by David W. Reid

The Political Climate in England from 1522-1535

- 1522: Anne Boleyn returns to England from travelling abroad in the Netherlands and serving in the court of Queen Claude of France. Anne is fluent in French, has learned courtly manners, became familiar with humanism, and is skilled in music, dance and poetry. She is conversant in politics and is known for her intelligence and wit. She becomes lady-in-waiting to Catherine and is noticed by Henry VIII.

- 1525-1526: Henry begins pursuing Anne, but she refuses to become his mistress, resulting in Henry becoming even more obsessed with her.

- 1526: Tyndale publishes his first New Testament in Germany. Tyndale's New Testament was illegal at that time in England and had to be smuggled into the country.

- 1527: Catherine is age 41 and will turn 42 on December 16, 1527. She has borne no children in the prior nine years, and Henry believes Catherine is past childbearing age. Henry still wants a male heir to put the Tudor dynasty on more stable footing. Recall that Henry's father was the survivor of a civil war involving disputed claims to the throne.

- Henry decides that he wants to annul his marriage to Catherine. His argument for the annulment is that the marriage was never valid based upon Lev 20:21. One of the ironies in this situation is that Henry previously requested a papal dispensation based on Lev 20:21, which is in fact canon law. None of this makes any scriptural sense.

- 1527-1532: After Henry requests the annulment in 1527, there are several years of diplomatic and political struggles between England and Rome, but Pope Clement VII never grants the annulment.

- 1528: Tyndale writes *The Obedience of A Christian Man*. It addresses the scriptural obligations for different roles – e.g., husbands, fathers, children, landlords, servants, masters, kings, princes, etc. Significantly, Tyndale advocates not for rising up against the king but with the king against the bondage of the papists.

    - "And he ought to take away from these papists their lands which they have gotten with their false prayers, and restore it to the rightful heirs again – or with advice and consent, turn these lands toward maintaining the poor, and bringing up youth virtuously, and maintaining necessary officers and ministers to defend the commonwealth. If he will not do it, then the commoners ought to take it patiently, and take it as God's scourge; and think that God has blinded the king for their own sins' sake; and commit their cause to God" (Tyndale, *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, A Compendious Summary).

    - "Yes, a man might be thoroughly persuaded that it is not lawful to resist his king, even if the king were to wrongfully take away his life and goods; yet might he think that it is lawful to

resist the hypocrites, and to rise up, not *against* his king but *with* his king, to deliver his king out of the bondage and captivity in which the hypocrites hold him with their wiles and falsehood, so that no man may be allowed to come to his king, to tell him the truth" (Tyndale, *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, Prologue).

- "There you see the cause why it is impossible for kings to come to the knowledge of the truth. For the sprites lay in wait for them, and serve their appetites at all points; and through confession they buy and sell and betray both the kings and all their true friends, and lay baits for them, and never leave them till they have blinded them with their sophistry, and have brought them into their nets. And then, when the king is captive, they compel all the rest by the violence of his sword. For if any man will not obey them, whether right or wrong, they cite him, suspend him, and curse or excommunicate him. If then he does not obey, they deliver him to Pilate, that is, to the temporal officers, to destroy him. Last of all, there you find the very cause of all persecution, which is preaching against hypocrisy" (Tyndale, *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, A Compendious Summary).

- 1529: More writes *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* as a refutation of Lutheranism in general and in particular, *The Obedience of A Christian Man*. More advocates capital punishment as a proper punishment for heresy. More becomes Lord Chancellor in 1529.
  - "The most famous attack came from Thomas More, who had become Lord Chancellor of England. More's attacks on Tyndale were vicious, and so extreme as to be a form of madness" (Ryken, 59).

- 1530: Tyndale writes *The Practice of Prelates* for the purpose of opposing Henry VIII's divorce proceeding against Catherine. Tyndale believed the divorce proceeding was a trap set by Cardinal Wolsey to weaken England's alliance with Emperor Charles V and the Habsburgs and to precipitate the French invasion of England and to keep England under the power of France.
  - Tyndale should be viewed as an English patriot.
  - "Tyndale's New Testament was a patriotic book that grew out of loyalty to his nation" (Ryken, 91).

- 1530: Thomas Hitton is martyred.

- 1531: Thomas Bilney, Richard Bayfield, and John Tewkesbury are all martyred.

- 1531: Tyndale writes *An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*.

- 1532: James Bainham is martyred. England is regularly killing Protestants for the crime of being Protestants.

- 1532-1533: More writes *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* and forcefully advocates the death penalty for heretics. More is attempting, unsuccessfully, to provide a valid intellectual justification for burning people at the stake for desiring the word of God.

- "But Tyndale's books and their own malice maketh them heretics. And for heretics, as they be… the clergy doth denounce them. And as they be well worthy, the temporalty doth burn them. And after the fire of Smithfield, hell doth receive them … where the wretches burn forever" (More, Book V).

- Notice what More is saying. The clergy gets to pronounce who is the heretic, and the "temporalty" i.e. the state then does the clergy's bidding. This gives full power to Rome, and the king does the dirty work.

- Consider whether Henry is a fool for allowing himself to be advised by More, whose true allegiance is to the papacy and not England or Henry.

- 1533: In January, Henry secretly marries Anne. Hall also records an earlier private marriage between them in November 1532.

    - Henry VIII has made up his mind to split from Rome.

- 1533: In May, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, annuls Henry's marriage to Catherine, six years after Henry first sought the annulment.

- 1533: In June, Anne is crowned Queen. Anne was outspoken in advocating for reform and Protestantism, which did not sit well with the rest of the court and Henry's advisors.

    - Anne's outspokenness demonstrates remarkable courage. Henry VIII and his court are not Protestant. He just doesn't want to be under the Pope's authority as to who he can marry.

- 1533: In September, Anne gives birth to Elizabeth I. Henry is disappointed that Anne failed to provide a male heir. It won't be until 1905 that science realizes that the sex of a child is determined by the male gamete.

- 1534: Tyndale publishes a revised version of his New Testament. Anne Boleyn comes into possession of a Tyndale New Testament with her arms on the title page and her name on the on the fore-edge. The mere fact that Anne, as a member of the royal court, possessed a Tyndale New Testament speaks to her courage and the depth of her Protestant convictions.

- 1534: Parliament passes the Act of Supremacy recognizing Henry as the Supreme Head of the Church of England. This formalizes and solidifies England's break with Rome.

    - Henry's break with Rome is not based on doctrinal disagreement but to obtain an annulment so that he can split from Catherine and remarry to produce a male heir. Under Henry's leadership, the Church of England remains predominantly Catholic in theology with the key difference that it is ruled by Henry rather than the Pope.

    - Even after the split with Rome, it was still illegal in England to possess a Tyndale New Testament.

- 1535: Henry begins to take interest in Jane Seymour, who is lady-in-waiting to Anne.

- 1535: In May, Tyndale is betrayed and arrested at Antwerp.

- 1535: In July, Sir Thomas More is executed for treason because he refused to recognize Henry as the Supreme Head of the Church of England.

    - This is fascinating. More has been aggressively leveraging the power of the state to put so-called heretics to death, and yet, More goes to his reward before his archrival, Tyndale.

    - Generally speaking, those who persecute the body of Christ have the satisfaction of outliving those that they persecute. They can thus delude themselves into thinking they have prevailed in some sense because they have outlived their enemies. This is the coldest of comfort as the persecutors still bow before the Lord Jesus Christ (Philippians 2:10) and end up in the lake of fire while the body of Christ ends up in paradise with the crown of life for their troubles. More is deprived even of the satisfaction of outliving Tyndale on this earth. More has an appointment at the great white throne at which the full magnitude of his crimes will be revealed and punished.

    - To this day, there are hundreds of colleges, universities, institutes, schools, organizations, societies, and buildings named after Thomas More. Consider what this suggests as to whether Rome's attitude toward Protestantism has changed.

- 1536: On May 19, Anne is executed on charges of adultery, incest and treason. These charges are almost certainly false and on the basis of evidence manufactured by Thomas Cromwell. Anne's real crime is giving birth to a female heir and not a male heir. Recall that it took Henry six years to secure the annulment from Catherine. Executing Anne is much quicker and simpler than a divorce, and it gives Henry the immediate freedom to pursue Jane Seymour, who he had already taken notice of.

- 1536: On May 20, the day after Anne's execution, Henry is betrothed to Jane Seymour. They marry on May 30.

- 1536: In August, Tyndale is sentenced to death.

- 1536: On October 6, Tyndale is strangled and his body is burnt for heresy. His offenses included the English scriptures and his rejection of Roman doctrine. His dying prayer is "Lord, open the King of England's eyes."

Tyndale's Betrayal

- "In the spring of 1535, however, a debauched and villainous young Englishman wanting money, Henry Phillips, insinuated himself into the English House and Tyndale's trust, pretending interest in the work of Bible translation, and borrowing money from him. Phillips had gambled away money entrusted to him by his father to give to someone in London, and, full of self-pity, had fled abroad. He promised someone in authority, it is not known whom (suspicion falls on Stokesley), that he could betray Tyndale, Barnes, and Joye, for cash. On the morning of 21 May 1535, having arranged for the imperial officers to be ready, Phillips tricked Tyndale into leaving the English House. In the alley he

was seized. The officers later said 'that they pitied to see his simplicity when they took him'. Tyndale was taken at once to the procurer-general, who immediately raided Poyntz's house and took away all Tyndale's property, including his books and papers. The Old Testament historical books in English were safely somewhere else, probably with Rogers. We cannot know what further translations were removed and destroyed. Tyndale was taken to the castle of Vilvorde, outside Brussels, where he was incarcerated for the next sixteen months" (Daniell, *Biography*, 153).

- "The English merchants of Antwerp made every possible effort for Tyndale's release. They applied to the Brussels court, also to the English court, and received favorable answers, and when Poyntz, who was especially active, was about to obtain letters authoring the delivering up of Tyndale, the sly and wily Phillipps frustrated all, by entering complaint against Poyntz, 'that he had been a succourer of Tyndall and was one of the same opinion.' And on this charge, he had him arrested" (Condit, 135).

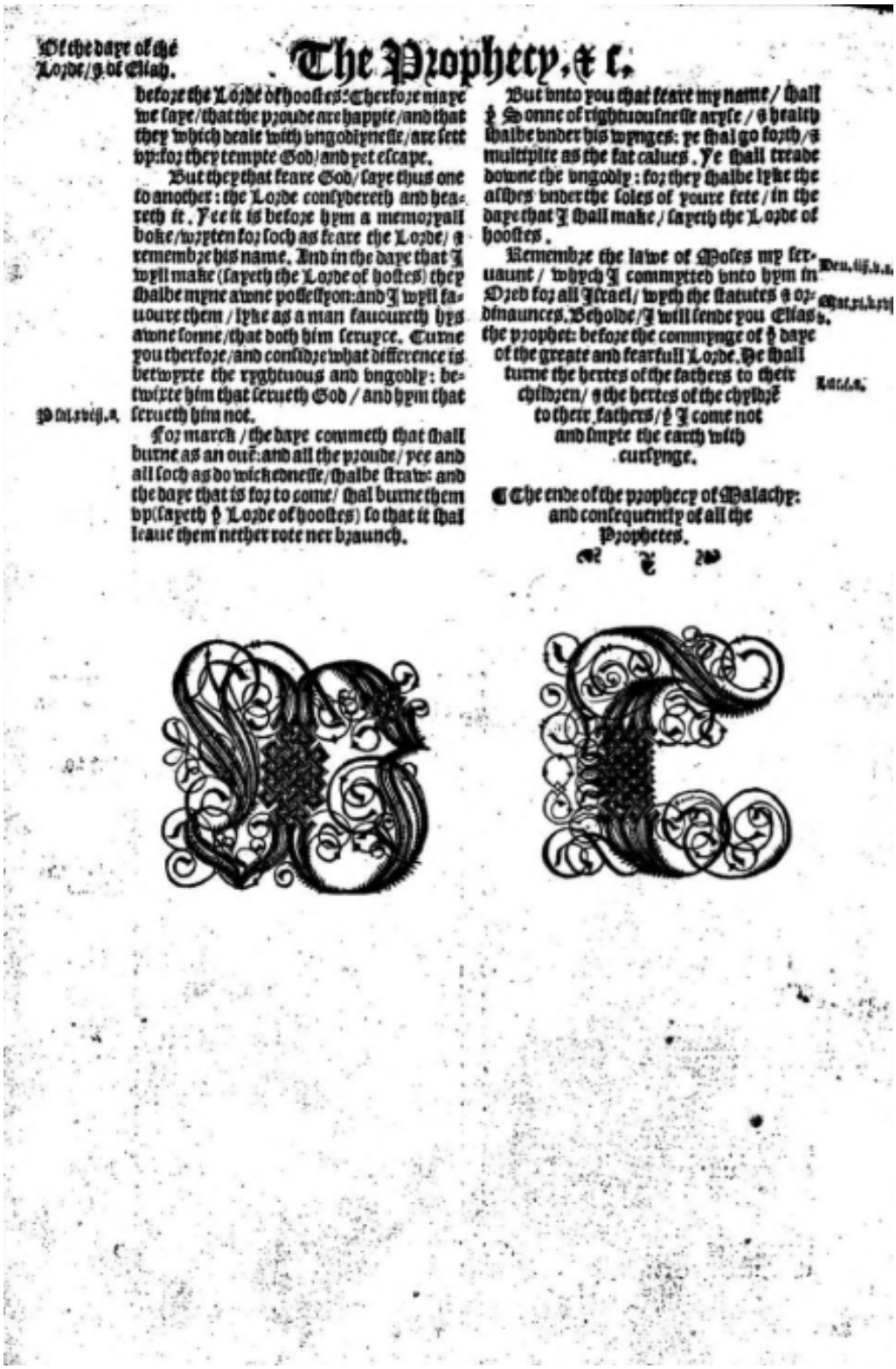
- "Tyndale's crime was heresy, being a Lutheran. To his enemies he was the greatest English catch, and his downfall, it was believed, would remove heresy from England, and give glory to his captors" (Daniell, *Biography*, 154).

- "He was first chained to the stake, then strangled, and then burned. Just before his death, he cried out, 'with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice: 'Lord open the King of England's eyes'" (Condit, 137).

The Aftermath of Tyndale's Death

- 1537: Henry VIII licenses the Matthew's Bible, which is mostly Tyndale's translation work, with Coverdale supplying what Tyndale had not finished. The Matthew's Bible is attributed to Thomas Matthew, a pseudonym for John Rogers. This pseudonym helps conceal the fact that Henry is giving his approval to what is largely the work of Tyndale, who he had executed the year prior. The dedication refers to Jane Seymour's pregnancy (and expected male heir) and states with regard to Henry that "He only under God is the Chief Head of all the congregation of the Church." Henry's vanity allowed him to be manipulated into approving the publication of Tyndale's work.

  In perhaps the greatest veiled tribute of the 16th Century, less than a year after Tyndale's execution, the publishers of the Matthew's Bible, (1) secure the Crown's permission to print the Bible in English, (2) utilize for that translation the books that Tyndale was able to translate before his death, and (3) place Tyndale's initials in huge ornamental script at the end of the Old Testament.



Of the daye of the Lorde/ & of Eliah.

The Prophecy, &c.

before the Lorde of hooſtes: therfore maye we saye/ that the proude are happie/ and that they which deale with vngodlynesse/ are sett vp: for they tempte God/ and yet escape.

But they that feare God/ saye thus one to another: the Lorde considereth and heareth it. Yee it is before hym a memoryall boke/ wrytten for soch as feare the Lorde/ & remembre his name. And in the daye that I wyll make (sayeth the Lorde of hooſtes) they shalbe myne awne possession: and I wyll fauoure them/ lyke as a man fauoureth hys awne sonne/ that doth him seruyce. Turne you therfore/ and considre what difference is betwyxte the ryghteous and vngodly: betwixte him that serueth God/ and hym that Malach.3. serueth him not.

For marck/ the daye commeth that shall burne as an ouē: and all the proude/ yee and all soch as do wickednesse/ shalbe straw: and the daye that is for to come/ shal burne them vp (sayeth ye Lorde of hooſtes) so that it shal leaue them nether rote ner braunch.

But vnto you that feare my name/ shall ye Sonne of righteousnesse aryse/ & healthe shalbe vnder his wynges: ye shal go forth/ & multiplie as the fat calues. Ye shall treade downe the vngodly: for they shalbe lyke the ashes vnder the soles of youre fete/ in the daye that I shall make/ sayeth the Lorde of hooſtes.

Remembre the lawe of Moses my seruaunt/ whych I commytted vnto hym in Oreb for all Israel/ wyth the statutes & ordinaunces. Beholde/ I will sende you Elias the prophet: before the commynge of ye daye of the greate and fearfull Lorde. He shall turne the hertes of the fathers to their children/ & the hertes of the children to their fathers/ lest I come not and smyte the earth with curssynge.

Deu.iij.v.a. Mat.xi.b.xij. Luc.i.a.

¶ The ende of the prophecy of Malachy: and consequently of all the Prophetes.

(Matthew's Bible, last page of Old Testament)

  - "We do not know whether Cranmer [archbishop] knew that the bulk of this admired volume was the work of Tyndale: Cromwell [viceregent for ecclesiastical affairs] certainly did" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 195).

- 1537: Jane gives birth to Edward VI and then dies of postnatal complications. Henry has his male heir. But Edward VI will not be an enduring solution to the issue of succession.

- 1538-1539: Henry VIII authorizes the Great Bible, which is largely based on Tyndale's translation of the New Testament and parts of the Old Testament. It is called the Great Bible because of its large size, and it is the officially-approved bible of the Church of England. Thomas Cromwell issues an injunction requiring that a copy be placed in every parish church for public reading.

Did God Grant Tyndale's Prayer That the King of England's Eyes Be Opened?

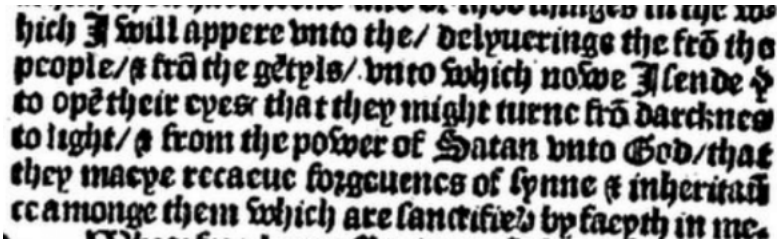
- Q: Is the issuance of the Matthew's Bible and/or the Great Bible an answer to Tyndale's prayer to open the king of England's eyes?

- Q: What does Tyndale actually pray?

  - Tyndale's dying prayer is quoted as "Lord, open the King of England's eyes."

- In Acts 26:18, the Tyndale New Testament 1535 (Antwerp) is verbally equivalent to the KJV.

  Tyndale 1535 screenshot

  
  hich I will appere vnto the/ deliueringe the frō the
  people/& frō the gētyls/ vnto which nowe I sende ye
  to opē their eyes/ that they might turne frō darckne
  to light/& from the power of Satan vnto God/that
  they maye receaue forgeuenes of synne & inherita
  ce amonge them which are sanctified by faeyth in me.

  Tyndale (1535) modern spelling

  Act 26:18 to open their eyes that they might turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith in me.

  - KJV (1769)

  Act 26:18 To open their eyes, [and] to turn [them] from darkness to light, and [from] the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me.

- When Tyndale asks that God open the King of England's eyes, based on his own translation, he is praying for Henry's salvation. Tyndale's logic seems to be that if Henry gets saved, he will see the wisdom and need of authorizing an English translation of the Scriptures.

- Q: Did God grant Tyndale's request to open the king of England's eyes?

- A: Yes and No.

- No: Sadly, there is no evidence in the historical record that Henry VIII ever came to believe in justification by faith. Unless Henry VIII privately came to faith, Henry's eyes remained blinded, and he died unreconciled to God.

  - 2Co 4:3 KJV - But if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost:
    2Co 4:4 KJV - In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.

- Yes: The Matthew's Bible in 1537 can be viewed as the granting of Tyndale's prayer.

  - "Less than twelve months before, Tyndale's dying words outside of Brussels had been, 'Lord open the King of England's eyes.' Now the king was licensing a complete Bible in English. The ironies are truly tragic. Had Tyndale escaped arrest, had Henry Phillips, the Judas who betrayed him at the English House, not also succeeded in blocking all the English court's

attempts to release him; had Tyndale lived for a few more months until the king changed his mind, and even welcomed him home—then we would have had in our English Bibles for ever after as a base text the poetry of the Psalms and the Song of Songs, of Job, the Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, and so much else, a version made by a master both of Hebrew—and of Hebrew poetry—and of English" (Daniell, *The Bible in English,* 194-195).

- "His final words were, 'Lord, open the king of England's eyes,' in reference to the fact that Henry VIII possessed the authority to make the dissemination of a vernacular Bible legal. Henry did exactly that two years later, lending credence to the claim of scholars that if Tyndale had been able to escape death just a few more years, he might have returned to England as a hero" (Ryken, 63).

- Yes: The World History Encyclopedia views the Great Bible as an answer to Tyndale's prayer.
  - "In 1539, three years after Tyndale's death, his dying prayer was answered when Henry VIII authorized an English translation of the Bible – the Great Bible – the creation and printing of which was overseen by Coverdale working from Tyndale's translations" (Mark).

- Yes: God turned the heart of Henry VIII to allow the printing of the Great Bible.
  - Pro 21:1 KJV - The king's heart [is] in the hand of the LORD, [as] the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will.
  - Isa 45:1 KJV - Thus saith the LORD to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two leaved gates; and the gates shall not be shut;
    Isa 45:4 KJV - For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.
    Isa 45:5 KJV - I [am] the LORD, and [there is] none else, [there is] no God beside me: I girded thee, though thou hast not known me:
  - Jer 27:6 KJV - And now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant; and the beasts of the field have I given him also to serve him.
  - Isa 10:5 KJV - O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in their hand is mine indignation.
    Isa 10:6 KJV - I will send him against an hypocritical nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets.

- Yes: Henry does not appear to authorize the Great Bible because he has had a change of heart and desires for the word of God to have free course throughout England. Tyndale's translation is still forbidden. But the Great Bible in its substance is Tyndale. Thus, Henry's decision is not one of principle but of political calculation. Permitting issuance of The Great Bible accomplishes at least three things.

- 1. It pacifies the Reformist elements within his country clamoring for the scriptures while Henry visibly shows his control.

- 2. It demonstrates his authority as the head of the Church of England, and portrays him as a pious ruler interested in providing for the spiritual benefit of his subjects.

- 3. It creates a single authoritative English version under the supervision of the local parish accountable to Henry. The Great Bibles were literally chained to church pulpits.

- 1547: Henry dies, and Edward VI becomes king at age 9.

- 1553: Edward VI dies, and Mary I, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, becomes Queen. Mary attempts to restore Catholicism in England and executes an estimated 280-300 Protestants for heresy during her reign. She justly earns the nickname Bloody Mary, and it is her cruelties that are the motivating force for John Foxe to write Actes and Monuments, commonly called Foxe's Book of Martyrs.

- 1558: Bloody Mary reigns for five years and then dies. Elizabeth I, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, becomes Queen. Elizabeth I will reign for 44 years and plays a significant role in establishing England in Protestantism.

    - If Tyndale is the leading man of the English Reformation, consider whether Anne Boleyn is the best supporting actress. Anne Boleyn does all of the following:

        - Possesses a Tyndale New Testament when it is illegal to do so,
        - Advocates openly for Protestant Reform in Henry's court,
        - Dies, at a minimum under false pretenses, if she is not in fact an actual martyr, and
        - Bears the child who will put England on solid Protestant footing.

- England, as a Protestant nation, will subsequently become The Empire on Which the Sun Never Sets, and during the 19th Century, England will conduct arguably the greatest missionary effort since the Apostle Paul. These missionary efforts will be undertaken with the KJV, the vast majority of whose New Testament is Tyndale.

Tyndale's Sale of Flawed Copies to the Catholic Authorities

- "For these and such other considerations this good man was stirred up of God to translate the Scripture into his mother tongue, for the profit of the simple people of his country; first setting in hand with the New Testament, which came forth in print about A.D. 1525. Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, with Sir Thomas More, being sore aggrieved, devised how to destroy that false erroneous translation, as they called it.

  It happened that one Augustine Packington, a mercer, was then at Antwerp, where the bishop was. This man favored Tyndale, but showed the contrary unto the bishop. The bishop, being desirous to bring his purpose to pass, communed how that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said, 'My lord! I can do more in this matter than most merchants that be here, if it

be your pleasure; for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have brought them of Tyndale, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them: and so I will assure you to have every book of them that is printed and unsold.' The bishop, thinking he had God 'by the toe,' said, 'Do your diligence, gentle Master Packington! get them for me, and I will pay whatsoever they cost; for I intend to burn and destroy them all at Paul's Cross.' This Augustine Packington went unto William Tyndale, and declared the whole matter, and so, upon compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money.

After this, Tyndale corrected the same New Testaments again, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, 'How cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would buy them all.' Then answered Packington, 'Surely, I bought all that were to be had, but I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters and stamps: wherefore you were best to buy the stamps too, and so you shall be sure,' at which answer the bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

In short space after, it fortuned that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, who was then chancellor of England, as suspected of certain heresies. Master More asked of him, saying, 'Constantine! I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask; and I promise thee I will show thee favor in all other things whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you: I know they cannot live without help. There are some that succor them with money; and thou, being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest whence it came. I pray thee, tell me, who be they that help them thus?' 'My lord,' quoth Constantine, 'I will tell you truly: it is the bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them; and that hath been, and yet is, our only succor and comfort.' 'Now by my troth,' quoth More, 'I think even the same; for so much I told the bishop before he went about it'" (Foxe).

- This is a great feel good story. It portrays Tyndale while in peril and severely outnumbered using his wits to outsmart the evil, dominant powers that be. It even has a catchy synopsis – "the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money." Those who are fans of Tyndale want this anecdote to be true.

- Leading Tyndale scholar, David Daniell, doubts the veracity of Foxe's account, noting that the story isn't even internally consistent and seems at odds with Tyndale's character and life purpose.

    - "Mozley is right to say that the tale has lost nothing in the telling, and that it doesn't even agree with itself about who owns the books that are being sold" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 197).

    - "though Tyndale's agreement to sell Testaments for burning is unlikely" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 200).

- Notice the following contradictory sentences within the same paragraph in Foxe's account:
    - The Dutchmen have the books: "My lord! I can do more in this matter than most merchants that be here, if it be your pleasure; for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have brought them of Tyndale, and have them here to sell" (Foxe).
    - Tyndale himself has the books: "This Augustine Packington went unto William Tyndale, and declared the whole matter, and so, upon compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money" (Foxe).
- A further reason to doubt this anecdote is that while Tyndale did perceive opportunities to improve his translation, it seems hard to believe that he would willingly sell his books to his enemies to be destroyed given his life's purpose was to translate the word of God into English.
- As noted previously, Tyndale recognized that his translation could be improved upon, and he expected that to happen by believers reading his New Testament text and performing what he viewed as their Christian duty to supply correction and improvement. Selling copies for destruction would defeat this purpose.
    - "Them that are learned Christianly I beseech—forasmuch as I am sure, and my conscience beareth me record, that of a pure intent, singly and faithfully I have interpreted it, as far forth as God gave me the gift of knowledge and understanding—that the rudeness of the work now at the first time offend them not, but that they consider how that I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like things in the Scripture beforetime. Moreover, even very necessity and cumbrance (God is record) above strength—which I will not rehearse, lest we should seem to boast ourselves—caused that many things are lacking which necessarily are required. Count it as a thing not having his full shape, but as it were born before his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished. In time to come (if God have appointed us thereunto) we will give it his full shape, and put out if aught be added superfluously, and add to if aught be overseen through negligence, and will enforce to bring to compendiousness that which is now translated at the length, and to give light where it is required, and to seek in certain places more proper English, and with a table to expound the words which are not commonly used and show how the Scripture useth many words which are otherwise understood of the common people, and to help with a declaration where one tongue taketh not another; and will endeavor ourselves, as it were, to seeth it better, and to make it more apt for the weak stomachs; desiring them that are learned and able, to remember their duty, and to help thereunto, and to bestow unto the edifying of Christ's body (which is the congregation of them that believe) those gifts which they have received of God for the same purpose" (Tyndale, New Testament, 1526, To The Reder).
- Tyndale is not satisfied with his own work and recognizes that it needs improvements, such as being put in more proper English. But Tyndale doesn't know if he will be alive to do such work. Thus, Tyndale publishes what he has and implores other believers to do their duty to improve on it. The notion that Tyndale sold his New Testaments to the papists to get money to do a future version is contrary to Tyndale's expressed mindset in the To The Reder section of his 1526 New Testament.

No Tyndale, No Shakespeare

- In the previous lesson, Bryan reviewed Tyndale's influence on the King James Version as demonstrated by the percentage of the wording of the King James Version that comes directly from Tyndale. Tyndale's influence on the King James Version is obvious.

- But Tyndale's legacy extends far beyond his influence on the King James Version. Tyndale influenced the development of the English language itself. The phrase "No Tyndale, no Shakespeare" is commonly repeated among scholars. It is the idea that without William Tyndale elevating the English language from where it was when he found it, there would have been little for Shakespeare to work with.

- "'What most Reformers accomplished through preaching, Tyndale did by his Bible translation . . . . Instead of proclaiming the Scripture, he gave the actual words of the Bible to Englishmen in their native tongue (Steven Lawson)'" (Ryken, 131).

- "'With his New Testament, Tyndale became the father of the Modern English language. He shaped the syntax, grammar, and vocabulary of the English language more than any other man who ever lived…. Tyndale shaped the language at its transition point from Middle English to Early Modern English'—Steven Lawson" (Ryken, 150).

- "In 1611, one of the last years of Shakespeare's writing life, the English language was at a peak. It surprises nobody that the Bible from that time has immortal glory. Yet it should surprise everyone. The work of Tyndale that was taken over in 1611 was done three generations before, when the English language was a poor thing indeed, almost dead at the bottom of the pond" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 136).

- "Tyndale's gift to the English language is unmeasurable. He translated into a register just above common speech, allied in its clarity to proverbs" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 158).

- "The material covered in this chapter thus far has covered explicit verifiable statements by Tyndale about how he conceived of Bible translation. The governing principle of these statements is accuracy. When we turn to Tyndale's actual New Testament, we can see that other criteria were also important to him. The most obvious ones are clarity of communication, verbal beauty, smooth-flowing rhythm, and retention of the literary genres and rhetorical forms used by New Testament authors" (Ryken, 113).

- "[A] common claim of scholars that Tyndale's style (and the King James Version's after him) is an *oral* style. [ ] What is predominantly in view is *cadence*—the smooth flow of words and the rise and fall of language in a regular nature" (Ryken, 121).

    - Tyndale's giving the English language an oral style paved the way for England's greatest author, a playwright whose work was meant to be experienced orally.

- "His rhetorical aims were always accuracy and clarity. King James's revisers adopted his style, and his words, for a good deal of their version. At a time when European scholars and professionals

communicated in Latin, Tyndale insisted on being understood by ordinary people. He preferred a simple Saxon syntax of subject-verb-object. His vocabulary is predominantly Saxon, and often monosyllabic. An Oxford scholar, he was always rhetorically alert. He gave the Bible-reading nation an English plain style. It is a basis for the great Elizabethan writers, and, will be seen, there is truth in the remark 'without Tyndale, no Shakespeare.' It is not fanciful to see a chief agent of the energizing of the language in the sixteenth century the constant reading of the Bible in English, of which Tyndale was the great maker" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 157-158).

- "the English language was at a transition point between Middle English and Modern English. The ground rules of vocabulary, syntax, spelling, grammar, and punctuation were in disarray. The old order was definitely 'out,' but the new order had not yet been born.

  Tyndale himself apologized for the 'rude' state of the language he inherited, so it is no discredit to him to say that his own prose writings outside of his translation of the Bible are for the most part undistinguished and toilsome to read. [ ]

  While we cannot prove that Tyndale's translation of the Bible was what produced the transformation of Modern English from its awkward state early in the sixteenth century to its masterful state at the end of it, there is no viable alternative explanation. 'No Tyndale, no Shakespeare' is a byword among literary scholars and historians of the English language.

  Such transformation was more than scholarly achievement of a handful of language experts. It was a grassroots movement as well. In the sixteenth century, only one means of mass dissemination existed, and that was the publication and reading of the English Bible. [ ]

  When we compare Tyndale's pedestrian prose outside his Bible translation to the following passage from his New Testament, it is entirely plausible to credit the very process of translating 'word for word' as the thing that unlocked the English language to him:" (Ryken, 145-47).

- "Tyndale's most important legacy was that he gave the English-speaking world the Bible, but when judged by the criteria of magnitude and extensiveness, his transformation of the English language was just as far-reaching and permanent a contribution" (Ryken, 151).

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