1. Introduction

Knowledge of the roots of William Tyndale's theology depends, firstly, on the autobiographical remarks in his writings, and, secondly, on the theology underlying his writings. This is what this book seeks to do: to clarify those roots firstly by identifying clues within his 'own' theology which point to the theology of others, and secondly, to expand on some of the doctrines that formed the heart of his theology. *The Roots of William Tyndale's Theology* is, in effect, the logical continuation of my book *The Theology of William Tyndale*, in which I placed his theology into the context of the theologies of the early sixteenth century. In this present work I will be considering Tyndale's theology as separate doctrines rather than showing the unity that links each doctrine into a coherent whole: this has been necessary in order to link Tyndale's doctrines with that of other theological writers, but in no way does it affect Tyndale's covenant theology.[1]

If we are to consider a journey that someone has made, we may find that there were several different routes he could have taken. Unless we have definite information about specific stopping-points along the way, our attempts to piece it together can only produce a probable route. This is the case when plotting the development of William Tyndale's theology. How did he reach his final theological position by 1525[2]? In this introductory survey to his works I suggest some of the places Tyndale passed through on his theological journey, taking these clues from his writings. How did Continental Reformers influence him? Did Wyclif[3] and those who followed Wyclif's teaching appear along Tyndale's route?

1 Tyndale's covenant theology is a covenant between God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit: this concerned God's restoration of creation, to do this God had to restore man, through Christ's blood, to the fellowship with God possessed by Adam before the Fall

2 The date of his first printed work

3 I am accepting that the *English Works of Wyclif* (e.g. in Arnold's and Matthew's books) were written by Wyclif. Although modern scholarship disputes Wyclif's authorship for all of them, I am not concerned about the actual authorship of these works, as it makes no difference to my research whether they were written by Wyclif or by a Wycliffite writer

Anne Hudson, in her invaluable book, *The Premature Reformation*, draws our attention to the possibility of this link with the English heresy[1]. 'Studies of men such as Tyndale, Frith, Roy, or Barnes assumed that their reforming zeal came solely from their continental inheritance and that, even if they were aware of earlier dissent in England, they knew little and cared less about its details'.

> However, a little later she wrote about a change in that kind of thinking, Attention has been drawn to the proximity between the heretical views expressed in the late 1520s and 1530s and those outlined by earlier Lollards, and conversely to the paucity in those later cases of ideas that are distinctively Lutheran or continental in origin. Investigations of Tyndale's language and terminology have pointed to the possibility of his inheritance from Lollard writings both in the ideas put forward and the expressions used.[2]

Tyndale's possible reliance on Luther is not in evidence when comparing Luther's 1522 and Tyndale's 1526 *Prologues to Paul's Epistle to the Romans*. This shows that Tyndale, in one of his earliest writings, had a totally different theology from Luther's. Although most scholars pick on Tyndale's good translation of much of Luther's *Preface*, they ignore his substantial deviations. Leonard Trinterud's analysis of Tyndale's *Prologue to Romans*, showed that one eighth of Tyndale's *Prologue* is a good translation of one half of Luther's *Preface*.[3] Too often scholars do not ask the questions, 'Why did Tyndale stop translating Luther at this point and change Luther's words for his own, before returning to translating Luther?' Or, 'Why did Tyndale consider it necessary to alter so much of Luther's writing, or add material that brought new theological thought into Luther's text?' What was the reason Tyndale added, in one place, over 300 words on the work of the Holy Spirit, where Luther had no mention of the Holy Spirit at all? The significant places in Tyndale's *Prologue to Romans* are not those where he translated Luther's *Preface* accurately, but rather where he either deleted Luther's theology and replaced it with his own, or added his theology into Luther's original text. In these places we can see that Tyndale's reliance on Luther's theology was minimal. Tyndale was able to use Luther's works freely in his own writings because, in spite of their theological differences, much of Luther's *Preface* was common to every side of the theological divides of the sixteenth century. My research shows that it is easier to identify places where Tyndale disagreed with Luther and the Continental Reformers than where they might have influenced him.

1 The English heresy is often used for Wyclif's theology

2 Hudson, Anne, *The Premature Reformation*, p. 61

3 Trinterud, L.J., 'A Reappraisal of William Tyndale's Debt to Martin Luther', p.26

We can discover very little from Tyndale's writings about the books he read which influenced his theology, but it is obvious that he was an avid reader. We know that, whilst still a boy, he read, John Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*.[1] There is evidence that he knew translations and other writings of Trevisa. We also know some writings of Erasmus because he mentions them, and he also translated Erasmus' *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*. His comments about Wyclif suggest that he had some knowledge of Wyclif's writings. Tyndale also used some of Luther's writings as a base for his early writings, although, as we have seen, he changed Luther's theology and added greatly to Luther's work. Informed guesswork must be relied upon to reveal any further influences upon him.

In some areas of Tyndale's writings, he appears to be quoting or paraphrasing Wyclif or Wycliffite writings or sentiments. The *Lollard Sermons* (EETS, OS 294) appear to have been known by Tyndale, and this probability is reinforced by a geographical analysis of the language used to write the sermons – 'Traditional methods of dialect analysis suggest that the three hands involved in the production of these two MSS are from the South Central Midlands with a South-West Midlands "colouring"'.[2] William Tracy was one of the gentry the Tyndale family would have known, whose will linked him to the Wycliffites, and as a boy Tyndale knew this, as he wrote in his *Exposition of William Tracy's Will*. Another link between Tyndale and the Wycliffites is *The Praier and Complynte of the Ploweman vnto Christe* this has close links to Tyndale's writings; as Douglas Parker wrote,

> my frequent allusions to Tyndale's writings in the Commentary below make clear, there is compelling evidence to demonstrate a shared ideology between Tyndale and the author of *The praier*, a fact which would make Tyndale's editorship of *The praier* altogether natural and comprehensible.[3]

That Tyndale had read *The Lantern of Light*, and that he knew Walter Brut's views on women, seems very likely.[4] Other links, whether with Wycliffite writings or Luther and other Continental Reformers, are less clear and depend upon recognising similarities between Tyndale's writings and those of others. Lollards were not a separate sect, and their theology

1 Probably a manuscript version in Middle English. A printed folio copy has 856 pages

2 Cigman, Gloria, *Lollard Sermons*, p. xxxviiif. ('Analysis of the Language', by Jeremy Smith)

3 Parker, Douglas H., *The praier and complaynte of the ploweman vnto Christe*, p. 46

4 Brut and Tyndale argue, that as women, in emergency situations, can perform the priestly duty and baptise; there is no reason why, in an emergency, a woman cannot perform all the other priestly tasks, including consecrating the bread and wine in the Mass/Lord's Supper, or even ordaining ministers

spread from those of near Catholic to almost Reformed positions. Patrick Hornbeck's book, *What is a Lollard?* gives an expectation that he hoped to find an answer, but he has still left us with the unanswered question, 'What is a Lollard?'[1] I only refer to those where the writer was close to the reformed position, where links to Tyndale's theology were closest.

We will begin in Part One by looking for the roots of William Tyndale's theology in the various sources that have been claimed to have affected Tyndale's doctrine. In reading Tyndale's writings it becomes obvious that Wyclif and Erasmus were the two major influences upon Tyndale's theology. We will be examining their influence in depth. I will also consider John Trevisa's input alongside that of the Wycliffites (although he is considered to be in the 'grey area' between the Catholics and the Wycliffites[2]).

'The Translation of the Bible' was Tyndale's life work. I will examine the effect of Tyndale's childhood reading of John Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* and how Trevisa inspired him to translate the Bible. Trevisa's rules for making a good colloquial translation will be touched upon, and John Trevisa's other writings introduced. We will consider them further in Part Two as we look for the roots of Tyndale's theology and discover areas where Tyndale's theological statements overlap with Trevisa's.

Chapter Three, on the Continental Reformers, is concerned with the academic claims that William Tyndale was influenced by Luther and, to a lesser extent, by some of the other Continental Reformers. The extent to which Tyndale's theology might have been influenced by the Continental Reformation will be shown in Part Two, in which I compare Tyndale's doctrines with those of other Reformers. I have also added to this chapter the place of *sola scriptura*, in the theology of John Trevisa and the Wycliffites, as well as the Continental Reformers.

The content of Chapter Four, 'Tyndale – Erasmus and humanism' is important in our search for the roots of Tyndale's theology, in spite of the fact that Tyndale rejected much of the humanist teaching of the early sixteenth century. It was probably at Oxford that Tyndale became acquainted with the writings of Erasmus. After leaving Oxford Tyndale became the tutor to the children of Sir John and Lady Walsh, during which time he translated Erasmus' *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, and presented it to John and Anne Walsh. In his writings we can see how translating the *Enchiridion* influenced Tyndale in his earliest works. He mentions other writings of Erasmus, and shows signs that he had read, and got ideas from these writings. Tyndale used Erasmus' writings where they agreed with his theology.

1 Hornbeck, Patrick, *What is a Lollard?*

2 Because John Trevisa was never accused of Lollardy, there are those who say he was not a Lollard: but many of his writings, and also his being at Oxford when Wyclif was there, appear to link him with the Lollard movement

Part Two is the main part of this research, and it examines Tyndale's doctrines alongside those of other theologians to discover whether they had any influence on Tyndale's theology. It was the theological differences between the Reformers that prevented the formation of a single reformed Church in Europe, and this gave the Roman Church a weapon to use against the Reformation. Thomas More used this mercilessly: although he knew Tyndale's theology was closer to Wyclif's than Luther's he frequently wrote that Luther was Tyndale's master, although 'he dyssembled hym selfe to be a Lutherane or to bere any fauour to his secte,' yet, 'he barketh agaynst the sacramentes moche more than Luther'.[1]

Discovering which material shaped Tyndale's theology is not always easy, for Tyndale always questioned what he had read and tested it against the Word of God. A positive link can be made where Tyndale seems to be 'quoting' what he has read; but the difficulties arise in every other possibility. We must ask if Tyndale agreed with the theology of another Reformer because of his reading, or if they had both reached their conclusions independently possibly from their reading of Scripture? Or had Tyndale picked up a thought from another person which he then modified to fit into his theology? The doctrines discussed in this volume do not contain Tyndale's complete theology, but are selective because of their importance when considering the roots of Tyndale's theology.

The links we examine between Tyndale's theology and that of others must be specific. Tyndale and Bucer had similar views of the importance of the Holy Spirit, for example, but we cannot assume a doctrinal link between them. We need something much closer to show a positive influence linking them together. Justification by faith is generally regarded as a re-discovery of Martin Luther in the sixteenth century. Different theologians wrote about 'justification by faith', but they did not necessarily understand this to have the same theological meaning. For not every Reformer understood key reformation phrases in the same way. 'Justification by faith' had not a fixed meaning – Alister McGrath, in *Iustitia Dei*, remarks of the differences between Luther and the early English Reformers, Tyndale and Frith, 'There are excellent reasons for supposing that essentially Augustinian doctrines of justification were in circulation in England independently of the influence of Luther'.[2] There were differences in the way Reformers interpreted *sola scriptura*, and the rigidity they placed on the biblical statements; also whether there was a break between the Old and New Testaments. Tyndale rejected a 'theology of the Cross', pioneering a much more comprehensive doctrine of 'the Blood of Christ' This separated his theology from that of other Reformers.

1 More, Thomas, *CWM-6*, p. 424

2 McGrath, Alister, *Iustitia Dei, vol 2.*, p. 98

We must never forget that Tyndale believed that the Old and New Testaments are a single book dealing with the restoration of creation, damaged through Adam's sin, and the restoration of man. Following the Scriptures, his theology starts with God creating everything good. Through the Fall, man learnt evil which led to his spiritual death. God's work of forgiveness, and the restoration of creation through man being restored to life, comes through the sprinkling of the sacrificial blood of the Old Testament, which points to the blood of Jesus Christ in the New Testament, which allows God's work of forgiveness to take place. Then through Christ's sacrifice God restores his creation to its pristine goodness. For Tyndale there is a theological unity driven forward by God's plan to undo the harm done by Satan through his deceiving man. The thread that runs throughout Tyndale's theology is of the 'blood of Christ'; the blood of the covenant made between the Persons of the Godhead. Tyndale teaches that the sprinkling of the sacrificial blood of the Old Testament sacrifices points man to the Lord Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God, who made 'a full, perfecte and sufficiente sacrifice, oblacion, and satisfaccion, for the synnes of the whole worlde'.[1]

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 to 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. It is beyond the scope of this book to probe thoroughly the source of Tyndale's Augustinianism.

I will begin by developing and explaining Tyndale's theology. I will then examine areas of close agreement or disagreement with other proponents of reform. I will not mention areas of theological agreement between Reformers, nor examples of agreement between Tyndale and another Reformer where there is common ground between the advocates of reform, nor where any agreement is circumstantial and has no real importance in our search for the roots of Tyndale's theology. Disagreements between Tyndale and other Reformers are mentioned when the findings of modern academics must be challenged. My hope is that this research will throw fresh light on the importance of the Early English Reformation before Henry VIII's break with Rome; and on the theology of Tyndale, who Thomas More described as 'the Captain of the English Heretics'[2]; and Dr Rowan Williams more recently called 'the true theological giant of the English Reformation'.[3] Although it does

1 *Book of Common Prayer*, 1552, p. 389

2 More, Thomas, 'Tyndale the captayne of our Englyshe heretyques,' *The Answer to a Poisoned Book, CWM-11,* p. 9

3 Williams, Rowan, *Anglican Identities* p. 3

not concern the roots of his theology, Tyndale's reputation continued in England after Elizabeth I came to the throne and the English Church was established as a Reformed Church.[1]

Thomas Cartwright quoted Tyndale in support of his argument in 'Treatise on the oath *Ex Officio*'[2] *written towards the end of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century Tyndale's writings were reprinted (often in part) and also quoted to support some Puritan writers. Newes from Heaven both good and true concerning England* is a dialogue between Tyndale and Bradford, although the largest part is attributed to Tyndale. William Perkins' *A Dialogue of the state of a Christian Man Gathered Here and There out of the Sweet and Savoury Writings of Master Tyndale and Master Bradford,* and George Keith's *A Looking Glass,* were also concerned with Tyndale's theology.[3] George Keith was a Quaker, and his title page for *A Looking Glass . . .* states,

> Hereby it is made to appear, that the People, called in derision *Quakers,* are true (yea the truest) Protestants, because their Testimony agreeth with the Testimony of the Antient Protestants in the most weighty things wherein the Lord called them forth in that day. Particularly, with the Testimony and Doctrine of *William Tindal,* who is called a Worthy Martyr, and Principal Teacher of the Church of *England*; Faithfully Collected out of his Works.[4]

Tyndale was also mentioned and used in the *Martin Marprelate Tracts,* although I do not think Tyndale would have agreed with the assumption that his criticism of the papal bishops applied also to the Church of England bishops following the Reformation

Several other academics have also linked Tyndale with Puritanism; James Packer wrote, 'Puritanism was at heart a spiritual movement, passionately concerned with God and godliness. It began in England with William Tyndale . . . '[5] Whilst Clebsch wrote, 'Tyndale gave to Puritanism its first theological expression'.[6] Christopher Hill wrote in his book *The English Bible,* 'Tyndale, whose superb version would be better known if he had survived to become an Edwardian bishop, declared that it was "impossible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the Scriptures were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue."'[7]

1 Tyndale's *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon,* and, *The Obedience of a Christian Man,* were both reprinted in 1561

2 *Cartwrightiana,* p. 43f

3 E.F. *Newes from Heaven*: Keith, George, *A Looking Glass*:, Perkins, William, *A Dialogue of the State of a Christian Man*

4 Keith, George, *A Looking Glass for all those called Protestants in these Three Nations*

5 Packer, James, *Among God's Giants,* p. 32

6 Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants,* p. 203

7 Hill, Christopher, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution,* p.10

Tyndale's Background

Here we will touch upon the key events in Tyndale's life, which will inform my analysis of his theology. I will not, however, examine his life in the depth one may find in his biographies. Emphasis will be placed on the influence of the Wycliffite movement which was very important for Tyndale's spiritual development before he went to Oxford. Information about Tyndale's early life may be gleaned from his writings and will aid our assessment of him.

We know very little about Tyndale's early years. He was born possibly in 1494, although the exact date remains uncertain. It may have been at any point between 1490 and1495; as we will see the earlier date is more likely. Opinions about where he spent his early years are varied. Was he born on the Welsh side of the River Severn, or the eastern side of that great river? Perhaps, as some have suggested, he moved from the Welsh side across the river. On the eastern side of the River Severn, several villages claim to have been Tyndale's boyhood home. From my study of Tyndale's writings I believe that North Nibley is the most likely candidate for the village in which he grew up. Biographers of William Tyndale find little to write about regarding his childhood in Gloucestershire and they pass over the clues Tyndale gives us in his writings.

The first clue Tyndale gives us is about his family and life at home. His writings, especially *Mammon* and *Obedience,* contain many revealing facts about his childhood. His parents were kind and loving, and brought up their children with a firm and fair discipline as is obvious mainly from his early writings. For instance, Tyndale's description, in *Answer* about a schoolboy who one day played truant. The trauma he felt about going home and having to confess his wrongdoing to his father; then the relief when he was forgiven, reads as if Tyndale is writing about something from his own experience.[1]

The second clue is the fact that Tyndale went to school – and the school at Wotton-under-Edge would be the most likely one he went to. North Nibley is on a relatively straight line between Wotton-under-Edge and Berkeley. Wotton-under-Edge Grammar School had been founded by the Dowager Lady Berkeley. As the widow of Thomas, Lord Berkeley (the patron of John Trevisa) she made certain the standard of education there was high. Lady Berkeley stipulated that Scholars were to be instructed in grammar (i.e. Latin). It may be they also had a foundation in the liberal arts. The scholars were normally admitted when they were ten years old, and left when they were sixteen.[2] If Tyndale left school at sixteen this would put his birth date in 1490 at the latest, as the generally accepted date of 1494 is

1 Tyndale, William, *Answer, PS-3,* p. 34f

2 From material supplied by Wotton-under-Edge Visitors' Centre

based on. 'The strong likelihood is that William Tyndale went to Magdelen School in 1506, at the age of twelve, for that grounding in Latin which was essential for later undergraduate work'.[1]

The third clue is that as a boy Tyndale had read Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon.* He could only have read this, and other works by John Trevisa, at the Library of Berkeley Castle; especially the *Dialogue between a Knight and a Clerk Concerning the Power Spiritual and Temporal,* since this was not printed until 1540. The *Polychronicon* is important if we are to understand Tyndale's motive for translating the Bible into English. Other writings of Trevisa appear to have influenced Tyndale's theology. The *Polychronicon* would have been difficult for Tyndale to read and understand sufficiently to remember what he had read later in his life until he was in his teens; and this adds weight to the argument of his going to Oxford when he was sixteen.

The fourth clue is the fact of Tracy's knowledge of Augustine's writings, which almost certainly linked him with the Wycliffite movement. Wyclif and his followers frequently quoted from Augustine's writings and, in many cases, they made accurate references to where their quotations could be found.

Thus, these clues suggest that the location of Tyndale's childhood home was North Nibley since it is on a relatively straight road between Wotton-under-Edge and Berkeley, and so it would have been relatively easy for Tyndale to walk from home to School at Wotton, or from home to Berkeley Castle.

John Trevisa

As John Trevisa is the least known of those considered to have influenced Tyndale, I will introduce you to him first. Little is known about Trevisa until he was at Oxford at the same time as John Wyclif, when he was resident at Exeter College (1361-1369) and later the Queens College (1369-1387). David Fowler has written about this time, 'Since Trevisa was involved in the controversy between northerners and southerners in Queen's that occurred during Wyclif's stay there, we may conclude that the two men knew each other and that to some extent their periods of residence coincided. More to the point is that as a fellow of Queen's, Trevisa belonged to a society that had been infiltrated by scholars strongly under the influence of Wyclif, himself perhaps one of these'.[2] Trevisa was never accused of Lollardy, but, from his writings, my impression is that he was a Wycliffite.

Thomas, Lord Berkeley was an educationist; he would send to Oxford University boys from his estates who did very well at school. John Trevisa

1 Daniell, David, *William Tyndale: a Biography,* p. 27

2 Fowler, David C., *The Life and Times of John Trevisa, Medieval Scholar,* p. 43

had probably spent his boyhood on one of Lord Berkeley's Cornish estates. He was sent to Oxford University where he graduated. Trevisa was then employed by Thomas, Lord Berkeley as his Chaplain and also as Vicar of Berkeley. Whilst there Berkeley commanded Trevisa to translate Higden's *Polychronicon* into English. Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon* (which Tyndale had read as a child.[1]) is important because of the additions he made, not only his 'Preface' but also in the text where he marked his additions beginning with, *Trevisa,* and ended them with a statement that he was now returning to the translation. Much of Trevisa's 'Preface' is a Dialogue between a Clerk and a Knight on the importance of translating the Bible into English. Another of Trevisa's works, *A Dialogue between a Knight and a Clerk on the Temporal and Spiritual Regiments*, must have been read by Tyndale whilst still a child, since it was not printed until after Tyndale's martyrdom. As we will see later, there is a closeness between Trevisa and Tyndale's theologies regarding the separate authority between the Church and State, that demonstrates that Tyndale's had a knowledge of that document.

Tyndale also knew William Tracy, who died in 1530. Tyndale wrote that Tracy knew more of Augustine's writings twenty years before he died than most of the clergy. This puts Tyndale's knowledge of Tracy at no later than 1510, when Tyndale was still living in Gloucestershire before he went to Oxford. Tracy's knowledge of Augustine's writings probably came from his reading Wyclif and Wycliffite writings – where we often find the quotations have accurate references to their source. Tyndale's links to the Wycliffite movement probably came from his knowledge of William Tracy – although we do not know much about the Wycliffite influence, if any, around North Nibley whilst Tyndale was a boy.[2]

The other person who influenced Tyndale was Erasmus. It was probably when he went to Oxford that Tyndale came across humanism and the writings of Erasmus. It seems certain that Erasmus and Wyclif had the greatest influence on William Tyndale' thought.

Henry Wansbrough wrote,

> In any case, Tyndale's achievement was that the translation which has endured into the twentieth century, and remains the unavoidable basis for any new translation, sprang fully-fledged from him. He was in a unique situation, at the joining of the ways, one coming from the Lollard tradition, that grumbling undercurrent of fourteenth century England, and the other from the burgeoning classical tradition. Each of these is represented by one of Tyndale's great heroes, Wyclif and Erasmus.[3]

1 Tyndale, William, *Obedience, PS-1,* p. 149; (f. xv) see also *Practice of Prelates, PS-2*, p. 294, (f. xlii)

2 This is dealt with more fully in Chapter 3

3 Wansbrough, Henry, 'The Bible in the Renaissance – William Tyndale,' p. 1

From Oxford Tyndale became Tutor to the boys of Sir John and Lady Anne Walsh at Little Sodbury Manor. Before her marriage Lady Walsh had been a Poyntz, and this family was important later in William Tyndale's life. Whilst there, Tyndale probably started to fulfil his boyhood ambition to translate the Bible into English. Tyndale also translated Erasmus' *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* into English, possibly to show that Erasmus supported many his reformed views, especially regarding the importance of the Scriptures.

As the anti-Lollard laws forbade the translation of the Bible into English unless permission from the Bishop was obtained, Tyndale went to London to obtain permission from Bishop Cuthbert Tunstal, who was a humanist and friend of Erasmus.

> As I this thought, the bishop of London came to my remembrance, whom Erasmus (whose tongue maketh of little gnats great elephants, and lifteth up above the stars whosoever giveth him a little exhibition,) praiseth exceedingly, among other, in his Annotations on the New Testament, for his great learning. Then thought I, if I might come to this mans service, I were happy.[1]

However, Tunstal did not give Tyndale the permission he needed to translate the Bible, and afterwards Tyndale would have been closely watched to make sure he was not translating the Bible into English. Thus, Tyndale had to cross to the Continent in order to do so.

More is known about Tyndale's life on the Continent than his early life, although biographers have had to guess many of his movements, and places where he lived. The facts of his life become clearer after he arrived at Antwerp, partly because of his Bible translations and other works that were published there. There is also a record of the contact made with Tyndale by people like Stephen Vaughan, who was sent to Antwerp by Thomas Cromwell, to persuade Tyndale to return to England.

Tyndale was finally betrayed, arrested and burnt at the stake in Vilvorde in October 1536. We have the letter Tyndale wrote from prison, which gives us some idea of the conditions in that prison, and reveals Tyndale's desire to make further progress with his translation of the Old Testament.

These insights into Tyndale's life contribute to our understanding of how his theology was shaped, and by whom. The following chapters in Part One contain a detailed consideration of those people whose works influenced Tyndale greatly, and Part Two seeks to place their influence within the context of Tyndale's primary doctrines. Thus, by the end of the book, I hope not only to have drawn a more complete picture of Tyndale the man, but also to have added to our knowledge of Tyndale's theology.

1 Tyndale, William, *The Pentateuch*, p.4f, (*PS-1*, 395)