

## An Alternative View Of Jesus' Divorce Teachings

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Matthew 19:9 is commonly regarded as the main teaching verse of Jesus on the issue of divorce and remarriage. As it reads in most modern translations it is understood to teach that upon discovery of adulterous behavior, the innocent spouse may divorce and remarry.

**I tell you that anyone who divorces his wife, except for sexual immorality, and marries another woman commits adultery. Mt 19:9NIV2011**

Because it seems to offer an *exception* to Jesus total prohibition of remarriage after a divorce elsewhere (Mk 10:11-12, Lk 16:18, 1Co 7:10-11, 39) it is referred to as the "exception clause".

Although this appears to be the most popular interpretation amongst Evangelicals there is a growing movement within Evangelical Christianity that is opting for an alternative interpretation. This alternative view is sometimes referred to as the "Fornication View" and it is the purpose of this paper to evaluate the evidence that this view is based upon.

### Brief Explanation Of The Fornication View

At the root of the "Fornication View" is the quest for the best way to translate one word in Matthew 19:9, the underlying Greek word that is translated as "sexual immorality" in the NIV2011. That word is *porneia* and proponents of the Fornication View maintain that it is more correct to translate it as referring to pre-nuptial sexual sin (fornication) in this passage. Thus, whereas the other view understands this passage to reflect something which happens *after* the wedding, the Fornication View believes it to be referring to something which happens *before* the marriage ceremony that invalidates the wedding (the age old scenario of a man who marries a woman believing her to be a virgin only to find out after the wedding that she was a fornicator). This method of translating the passage is found in numerous translations such as the 1901 American Standard Version which reads:

**And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery:**

Because both views are presented in major Bible translations the only way for a

student of the Scriptures to conclude which one is correct is to examine the evidence.

## The Evidence In Favor Of The Fornication View

I. Pre-New Testament Greek writers such as Aeschines (389-314BC),<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes (384–322BC),<sup>2</sup> Herodotus (c.484–c.425BC),<sup>3</sup> the Septuagint (300-200BC),<sup>4</sup> the Apocrypha<sup>5</sup> and Strabo (c.63BC-c.24AD)<sup>6</sup> use the *porneia* family of words to describe the pre-marital sexual behavior of single individuals.

II. The New Testament writers Matthew, Mark, Paul and the author of Hebrews all use the *porneia* family of words alongside of the *moichaeo* family of words (the undisputed Greek word family for adultery) in lists of sins, implying that it meant something other than adultery:

For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, **adulteries** (*moicheia*), **fornications** (*porneia*), thefts, false witness, blasphemies... Mt 15:19

For from within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, **adulteries** (*moicheia*), **fornications** (*porneia*), murders... Mk 7:21

Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; **Adultery** (*moicheia*), **fornication** (*porneia*), uncleanness, lasciviousness... Ga 5:19

Do you not know that the unrighteous will not inherit the kingdom of God? Do not be deceived: neither **fornicators** (*pornos*), nor idolaters, nor **adulterers** (*moichos*), nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind... 1Co 6:9

Marriage is honorable among all, and the bed undefiled: but **fornicators** (*pornos*) and **adulterers** (*moichos*) God will judge. He 13:4NKJV

III. There are over sixty post-New Testament examples from Greek literature in which the *porneia* family of words is distinguished from the Greek word family for adultery (*moichaeo*) as if it was understood to be a completely different kind of sin.<sup>7</sup> For examples consider:

**Justin Martyr:** "For [God] sets before every race of mankind that which is always and universally just, as well as all righteousness; and every race knows that **adultery** (*moicheia*), and **fornication** (*porneia*), and homicide, and such like, are sinful..." (*Dialogue With Trypho*, Ch 93/ PG 6:697)

**Theophilus:** “And they also taught us to refrain from unlawful idolatry, and **adultery** (*moicheia*), and murder, **fornication** (*porneia*), theft, avarice, false swearing, wrath, and every incontinence and uncleanness...” (*To Autolycus, 2:34/ PG 6:1108*)

**Gregory Of Nyssa:** “Of those who fall into sin through desire and pleasure, this is the division: the one is called **adultery** (*moicheia*) and the other **fornication** (*porneia*)...**Fornication** (*porneia*) therefore is shown to be not far from the offence of **adultery** (*moicheia*) by those who look more accurately into its character, for the divine Scripture says, *do not be intimate with the stranger*. But since there has been some indulgence by the Fathers towards the weaker, the offence is therefore judged according to the generic division, with the result that any satisfaction of desire which occurs without injury to someone else is reckoned as **fornication** (*porneia*), whereas **adultery** (*moicheia*) is a plot and an injury against another.” (*Canonical Epistle To Letoius, Bishop Of Melitene, Canon 4a, d/ PG 45:228*)<sup>8</sup>

IV. Translating Matthew 19:9 to refer to post-marital adultery as an exception to Jesus’ stricter divorce and remarriage teachings causes it to contradict Luke 16:18 which describes a situation where a husband is said to have “committed adultery” and his abandoned wife is told that *she cannot remarry*:

**Whoever puts away his wife, and marries another, commits adultery and whoever marries her that is put away from her husband commits adultery. Lk 16:18**

Note that the innocent wife in the above verse is told that she cannot remarry, even though her husband has divorced her and committed adultery with someone else. If Matthew 19:9 teaches that adultery allows a person to divorce and remarry why is this woman whose husband committed adultery forbidden from remarrying?

V. Ten out of the eleven major English translations before World War II translated this passage to reflect the Fornication View:

**Wycliffe Bible (c.1380):** “...but for fornycacioun...”

**Tyndale New Testament (1525):** “...(except it be for fornicacion)...”

**Coverdale’s Bible (1535):** “...(excepte it be for fornicacion)...”

**Matthew’s Bible (1537):** “...(except it be for fornicacion)...”

**The Great Bible (1539):** “...(except it be for fornicacion)...”

**Bishop’s Bible (1568):** “...except it be for fornication...”

**Douay-Rheims Version (1610):** "...except it be for fornication..."

**King James Version (1611):** "...except it be for fornication..."

**Revised Version (1885):** "...except for fornication..."

**American Standard Version (1901):** "...except for fornication..."

The only exception is the Geneva Bible which was created to promote the theology of John Calvin, who himself believed that the passage was referring to adultery.<sup>1</sup>

Dictionaries and literature from the time period of the above translations demonstrates that the term "fornication" was commonly understood to refer to *pre-marital* sexual relations.

14 <sup>th</sup> Century		
<b>Wycliffe Bible</b> "...but for fornyacioun..."	<b>Middle English Passage From <i>The Lay Folk's Catechism</i> (Translated from Latin into Middle English by John Wycliffe)</b> The vij. dedly synne and þe laste ys lecherye þat is stynkyng lykyng or lust of þe flesche. and of þis syn comyþ many sere spicys. <b>On is <u>forniaciou</u> of fleschly</b>	<b>Modern English Rendition Of John Wycliffe's Translation</b>  The seventh and last deadly sin is lechery It is a foul desiring or lust of the flesh. And of this sin comes many different kinds [of sins]. <b>One is <u>fornication</u> of fleshly</b>

<sup>1</sup> The Geneva Bible (1557) translated it as "...(except it be for whoredome)...". Strangely, the Geneva Bible translators translated the same Greek word as "fornication" in Matthew 5:32. For those who doubt that the Geneva Bible was created to promote the theology of Calvin I include the following quotes:

**F.F. Bruce:** "The notes of the Geneva Bible are famous, largely because they irritated James I so much; yet they are mild in comparison with Tyndale's. They are, to be sure, unashamedly Calvinistic in doctrine, and therefore offensive to readers who find Calvinism offensive..." (*History Of The Bible In English*, p.90)

**Henry William Hamilton-Hoare:** "Such, then, was the famous Genevan Bible...Considered as a literary whole it has about it the character of a Calvinist manifesto." (*The Evolution Of The English Bible*, p.222-223)

**John Clover Monsma:** "The Geneva Bible also was extremely popular...This Bible, with its marginal notes, brought Calvinism into every Protestant home in England." (*What Calvinism Has Done For America, Vol. 1*, p.40)

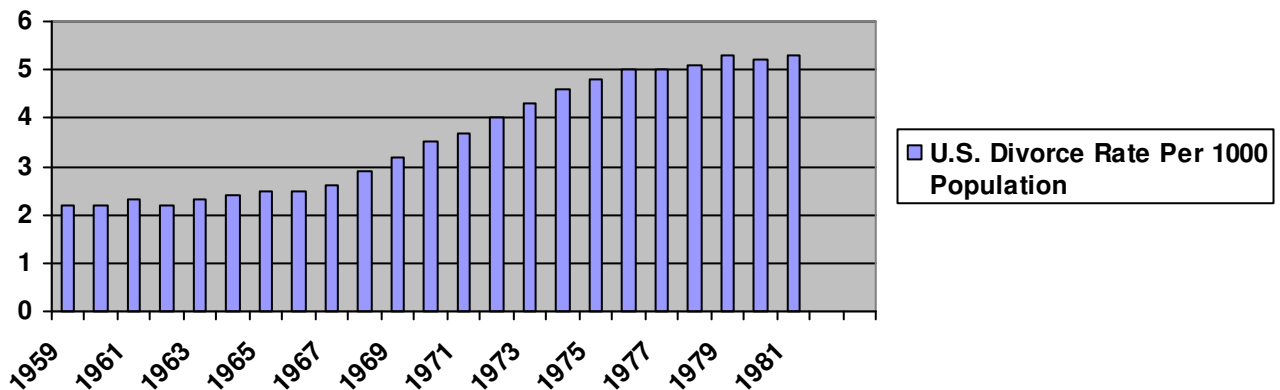
**Gerald Bray:** "The Geneva Bible was famous, or notorious, for its Calvinist theology..." (*Documents Of The English Reformation*, p.355)

	<p>synne  be-twene a sengyl man and a  sengyl womman  and for þat is gayn þe law.  and leue and þe lore / þat  holy chirche holdis.</p> <p>yt is dedly synne to hem þat  doþ yt.</p> <p>Anoþer is <b>avowtri</b>. Pat ys  spowse-brekyng</p> <p>wheþer it be bodyly or  gostly.</p> <p>wel greuouser yt is and  gretter þan þe oþer.  -<i>The Lay Folk's Catechism</i>, lines  1392-1402<sup>9</sup></p>	<p>sin  between a single man and a  single woman  And for that is against the law  and the permission and the  tradition that the holy  church holds.</p> <p>It is a deadly sin to him that  does it.</p> <p>Another is <b>adultery</b>. That is a  breaking of the marriage  vow</p> <p>Whether it is done bodily or  with an incubus/succubus  spirit.</p> <p>Well graver it is and greater [a  sin] than the other [sin of  fornication].  -<i>The Lay Folk's Catechism</i>, lines  1392-1402</p>
<b>16<sup>th</sup> Century</b>		
<p><b>Tyndale New Testament</b>  “(except it be for fornicacion)”</p> <p><b>Coverdale’s Bible</b>  “excepte it be for fornicacion”</p> <p><b>Matthew’s Bible</b>  “except it be for fornicacion”</p> <p><b>The Great Bible</b>  “except it be for fornicacion”</p> <p><b>Bishop’s Bible</b>  “except it be for fornication”</p>	<p><b>Edmund Coote’s</b>  <i>The English Schoole-Maister (1596): fornication: vncleannes be-  tweene single persons.</i><sup>10</sup></p>	
<b>17<sup>th</sup> Century</b>		
<p><b>Douay-Rheims Version</b>  “except it be for fornication”</p> <p><b>King James Version</b>  “except it be for fornication”</p>	<p><b>Robert Cawdrey’s</b>  <i>A Table Alphabeticall (1604): fornication, vncleannes betweene  single persones.</i><sup>11</sup></p> <p><b>Thomas Blount’s</b>  <i>Gloffographia Anglicana (1656): Fornication: Whoredom,  Leachery, spoken of single persons, if either party be married  then tis Adultery.</i><sup>12</sup></p>	

18 <sup>th</sup> Century	
<p><b>No Major English Translations Produced During This Century</b></p>	<p><b>R. Brown's</b>  <i>The English Expofitor Improv'd (1719):</i> fornication. Whoredom committed between single Persons, whereas if either, or both Parties so offending be married, it is called Adultery, and is punishable with Death by the Common Law.<sup>13</sup></p> <p><b>John Kersey's</b>  <i>The New World Of Words (1720):</i> Fornication, the Act of uncleanness between single Persons, so call'd because usually committed in Stews, under Vaults or Arches, in <i>Latin, Fornices</i>.<sup>14</sup></p>
19 <sup>th</sup> Century	
<p><b>Revised Version</b>                      "except for fornication"</p>	<p><b>William Webster and William Wheeler's</b>  <i>A High-School Dictionary Of The English Language (1871):</i> Fornication, <i>n.</i> Incontinence of unmarried persons.<sup>15</sup></p>
20 <sup>th</sup> Century	
<p><b>American Standard Version</b>                      "except for fornication"</p>	<p><b>M. A. Donohue's</b>  <i>Standard New Century Dictionary (1916):</i> Fornication, for-ni-kā'shon, <i>n.</i> Incontinence of unmarried persons.<sup>16</sup></p>

VI. All in all, there are at least sixty translations of the New Testament which chose to employ the term "fornication", mostly produced before the 1960's.<sup>17</sup>

VII. The choice of major English translations to reject the *pre-marital* view of translating Matthew 19:9 began in the 1960's when the United States was experiencing a surge in divorces that were occurring for *post-marital* reasons.<sup>18</sup>



VIII. Numerous Greek dictionaries from before the time that major English translations

started translating this passage to reflect post-marital adultery list “fornication” as an acceptable translation of *porneia* but do not include “adultery”.<sup>19</sup>

**IX.** Translating *porneia* in Matthew 19:9 to reflect pre-marital unchastity discovered after the wedding that invalidates the marriage causes it to match Deuteronomy 22:13-21 in the Septuagint (the ancient Greek translation of the Old Testament) which uses the *porneia* family of words to describe this same kind of situation:

“And if any one should take a wife, and dwell with her, and hate her, and attach to her reproachful words, and bring against her an evil name, and say, I took this woman, and when I came to her **I found not her tokens of virginity**: then the father and the mother of the damsel shall take and bring out the damsel’s tokens of virginity to the elders of the city to the gate...But if this report be true, **and the tokens of virginity be not found for the damsel**; then shall they bring out the damsel to the doors of her father's house, and shall stone her with stones, and she shall die; because she has wrought folly among the children of Israel, to defile the house of her father by **whoring** (*ek-porneuo*): so thou shalt remove the evil one from among you.” (Dt 22:13-21 Brenton)

It should be noted that in the Greek translation of Exodus 20:14 where it states “Thou shalt not commit adultery”, the Greek word for adultery is *moicheuo* (one of the undisputed Greek words for adultery). If Jesus was trying to tell his listeners that adultery justified individuals in divorcing and remarrying why did He use the Greek word from a passage referring to pre-marital sex instead of the Greek word from the passage “Thou shalt not commit adultery”?

**X.** A 2<sup>nd</sup> century commentary on Jesus’ divorce teachings by a Christian named Athenagoras connects the passage to virginity, not adultery, implying that that is how the Christians of his day interpreted it:

For we bestow our attention; not on the study of words, but on the exhibition and teaching of actions, — that a person should either remain as he was born, or **be content with one marriage**; for a second marriage is only a specious adultery. “For whoever puts away his wife,” says He, “and marries another, commits adultery;” **not permitting a man to send her away whose virginity he has brought to an end**, nor to marry again.<sup>20</sup>

**XI.** Understanding Matthew 19:9 to be saying that only pre-marital sex invalidates the wedding carries with it the logical conclusion that a marriage in which the husband

takes his wife's virginity cannot be dissolved. This interpretation causes Jesus' teaching on divorce to match with that of the Law of Moses which also taught that a man who took a woman's virginity could never divorce her.

If a man finds a young woman who is a virgin, who is not betrothed, and he seizes her and lies with her, and they are found out, then the man who lay with her shall give to the young woman's father fifty shekels of silver, and she shall be his wife because he has humbled her; **he shall not be permitted to divorce her all his days.** Dt 22:28-29NKJV

If any man takes a wife, and goes in to her, and detests her, and charges her with shameful conduct, and brings a bad name on her, and says, 'I took this woman, and when I came to her I found she was not a virgin,' then the father and mother of the young woman shall take and bring out the evidence of the young woman's virginity to the elders of the city at the gate. And the young woman's father shall say to the elders, 'I gave my daughter to this man as wife, and he detests her. Now he has charged her with shameful conduct, saying, "I found your daughter was not a virgin," and yet these are the evidences of my daughter's virginity.' And they shall spread the cloth before the elders of the city. Then the elders of that city shall take that man and punish him; and they shall fine him one hundred shekels of silver and give them to the father of the young woman, because he has brought a bad name on a virgin of Israel. And she shall be his wife; **he cannot divorce her all his days.** Dt 22:13-19NKJV

These two passages indicate that only death dissolves a marriage in which the husband takes his wife's virginity. In the first instance the man clearly takes the woman's virginity and is told that he must marry her with no option of ever divorcing her as long as she lives. In the second instance a man attempts to portray his wife as having entered into the marriage with a concealed pre-marital sex experience. When it is discovered that this was not true and that it was her husband who had taken her virginity he is told that he can never divorce her.

Realizing that Jesus was referring to this Old Testament understanding of virginity in relation to the marriage bond explains why the above mentioned Athenagoras summed up Jesus' teaching on divorce as "not permitting a man to send her away whose virginity he has brought to an end..."<sup>21</sup>

**XII.** Understanding Matthew 19:9 to be referring to pre-marital unchastity explains why the passage only gives permission for a man to put away his wife for fornication and not a woman the right to do the same. Only a woman could be determined to be guilty of pre-marital sex depending upon whether her hymen ruptured on the wedding night



or not. (If one rereads the passage they will notice that it is only giving permission for the man to put away his wife for fornication. Nothing is said in the verse about a woman putting away her husband.)

**XIII.** The fact that there have been Christians in every century since the second century who rejected the idea that post-marital adultery was an exception to Jesus' strict divorce teachings would imply that this was not how the earliest Christians understood Matthew 19:9.<sup>22</sup>

**XIV.** Translating Matthew 19:9 in such a way that it reflects a pre-marital experience which invalidates the marriage rather than a post-marital experience makes it to come into agreement with Jesus' other divorce teachings which all indicate that there is nothing which happens *after* a marriage that can end it:

**Whoever puts away his wife, and marries another, commits adultery: and whoever marries her that is put away from her husband commits adultery. Lk 16:18**

**And he said unto them, Whoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, commits adultery against her. And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she commits adultery. Mk 10:11-12**

**And unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband: But and if she departs, let her remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband: and let not the husband put away his wife. 1Co 7:10-11**

**The wife is bound by the law as long as her husband lives; but if her husband is dead, she is at liberty to be married to whom she will; only in the Lord. 1Co 7:39**

The evidence, taken as a whole, suggests that the best way to translate this passage is as follows:

**“And I say unto you: whoever puts away his wife, except for pre-marital sex, and marries another, commits adultery.”**

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> “For he says that when I was prosecuting Timarchus I said that his **porneia** was a matter of common report...” (Aeschines, *On the Embassy* 2:144 [Charles Darwin Adams, tr.]

“...he is guilty of selling his person not only in Misgolas’ house, but in the house of another man also, and again of another, and that from this last he went to still another, surely you will no longer look upon him as one who has merely been a kept man, but— by Dionysus, I don't know how I can keep glossing the thing over all day long—as a common **porneuo**. For the man who follows these practices recklessly and with many men and for pay seems to me to be chargeable with precisely this.” (Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*, 52 [Ibid.]

“When, therefore, I have dared to bring impeachment against Timarchus for having **porneuo** himself...” (Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*, 119 [Ibid.]

“For he is amazed, he says, if you do not all remember that every single year the senate farms out the tax on **pornikos** (prostitutes), and that the men who buy this tax do not guess, but know precisely, who they are that follow this profession.” (Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*, 119 [Ibid.]

<sup>2</sup> “And then the assurance of the man! Bringing another man before this court on a charge of **porneia!** However, I will let that go for the present.” (Demosthenes, *Speech 19: On The Embassy*, 200 [C. A. Vince and J. H. Vince, tr.]

“But that was nothing; under his eyes sat his brother Aphobetus. In truth, on that day all that declaiming against **porneia** was like water flowing upstream.” (Demosthenes, *Speech 19: On The Embassy*, 287 [Ibid.]

<sup>3</sup> “For the daughters of the common people in Lydia practice **porneuo** one and all, to gather for themselves dowries, continuing this until the time when they marry; and the girls give themselves away in marriage.” (*Histories* 1:93 [G. C. Macaulay, tr.]

“Now the Lydians have very nearly the same customs as the Hellenes, with the exception that they **kata-porneuo** (prostitute) their female children...” (*Histories* 1:94 [Ibid.]

<sup>4</sup> Gen 38:12; Your daughter-in-law Tamar has **played the whore** (*ek-porneuo*), and see, she is with child by **whoredom** (*porneia*). Gen 38:24NETS; Your daughter-in-law Tamar has **played the whore** (*ek-porneuo*), and see, she is with child by **whoredom** (*porneia*). Gen 38:24NETS; “And Deina the daughter of Leia, whom she bore to Jacob, went out to make an acquaintance with the daughters of the neighbours. And Sychem the son of Emmor the Evite, who was the prince of the country, saw her and took her and lay with her and humbled her...And they (Simeon and Levi) said, But shall they treat our sister like a **harlot** (*porne*)?” (Gen 34:1-2, 31Thomson); “And if any one should take a wife, and dwell with her, and hate her, and attach to her reproachful words, and bring against her an evil name, and say, I took this woman, and when I came to her I found not her tokens of virginity: then the father and the mother of the damsel shall take and bring out the damsel's tokens of virginity to the elders of the city to the gate...But if this report be true, and the tokens of virginity be not found for the damsel; then shall they bring out the damsel to the doors of her father's house, and shall stone her with stones, and she shall die; because she has wrought folly among the children of Israel, to defile the house of her father by **whoring** (*ek-porneuo*): so thou shalt remove the evil one from among you.” (Dt 22:13-21Brenton)

<sup>5</sup> “Be ashamed of **whoredom** (*porneia*) before father and mother: and of a lie before a prince and a mighty man ...” (Sirach 41:17KJV)

<sup>6</sup> “This, indeed, is not a remarkable thing; but the most illustrious men of the tribe actually consecrate to her their daughters while maidens; and it is the custom for these first to be **kata-porneuo** (prostituted) in the temple of the goddess for a long time and after this to be given in marriage; and no one disdains to live in wedlock with such a woman.” (*Geography*, 11.14.16 [H. L. Jones, tr.]

<sup>7</sup> These references can be read in [Except For Fornication: Why Evangelicals Must Reevaluate Their Interpretation Of Matthew's Divorce Exception Clause](#) (SEAN Multimedia, 2011), pp.9-19, available online at

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[http://www.danielrjennings.org/except\\_for\\_fornication\\_version\\_1.pdf](http://www.danielrjennings.org/except_for_fornication_version_1.pdf). The Teaching Of The Twelve Apostles (a.k.a. The Didache), Ch. 2, Ch. 5; Barnabas Epistle, Ch. 19; Justin Martyr, Second Apology, 2, Discourse To The Greeks, 2, Dialogue With Trypho, Ch 93; Hermas, The Shepherd, Book 2, Commandment 8:3; Aristides Apology, 15; Theophilus, To Autolyucus, 1:2; 1:14, 2:34, 3:3; Testament Of The Twelve Patriarchs, 10:2, The Testimony Of Asher, Sec. 2; Clement Of Alexandria, The Instructor, 3:2; Who Is The Rich Man That Shall Be Saved, 40; Acts Of The Holy Apostle Thomas, Hippolytus, Refutation Of All Heresies, 9:10, Expository Treatise Against The Jews, 7, Origen, Commentary On Matthew, 11:15, Commentary On The Gospel Of Matthew, Book 14:10; Methodius, The Banquet Of The Ten Virgins, Discourse 8:13; Council Of NeoCaesarea, Canon 1; Athanasius, Against The Heathen, 1:26:2; Cyril Of Jerusalem, Catechetical Lectures, 2:2, Lecture 2:4, Lectures, 2:6, Catechetical Lectures, 3:15, Catechetical Lectures, 4:26; Revelation Of Paul; Gregory Of Nyssa, Canonical Epistle To Letoius, Bishop Of Melitene, Canon 4a, Canon 4d(2); Constitutions Of The Holy Apostles, 4:1:6, 6:5:27, 6:5:28, 7:1:18; Apostolic Canons, Canon 61 in Apostolic Constitutions 8:5:47; Epiphanius of Salamis, Panarion, Heresy 40:7, 48:9, 59:6, 61:1, 61:4; John Chrysostom, Commentary On The Acts Of The Apostles, Homily 8 On Acts 3:1, Homilies On Romans, Homily 7 On Romans 3:9-18, Commentary On 2<sup>nd</sup> Corinthians, Homily 13, Note On 2Corinthians 6:17, An Exhortation To Theodore After His Fall, Letter 1:4, Homilies On Matthew, Homily 17 On Matthew 5:27-28, Homilies On Hebrews, Homily 11:10 On Hebrews 6:13-16, Homilies On Ephesians, Homily 12 On Ephesians 4:17, Homilies On Ephesians, Homily 6 On Ephesians 2:17-22, Homilies On Ephesians, Homily 12 On Ephesians 4:17, Homilies On Ephesians, Homily 13 On Ephesians 4:17-19, Homilies On Philippians, Homily 10 On Philippians 3:1-3, Pseudo-Hippolytus, A Discourse By The Most Blessed Hippolytus, Bishop And Martyr, On The End Of the World, And On Antichrist, And On The Second Coming Of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 7(2), 23, 37, 46; Clementine Homilies, Homily 3:28; Theodoret, Church History, 4:19.

<sup>8</sup> English text from Anna Silvas' *Gregory Of Nyssa: The Letters, Vol. 83 Of Supplements To Vigiliae Christianae* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Frederick Simmons & Henry Edward Nolloth, eds., *The Lay Folks' Catechism; or, The English And Latin Versions Of Archbishop Thoresby's Instruction For The People* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1901). p.95-97.

<sup>10</sup> *The English Schoole-Maister* (London: Printed by the Widow Orwin, for Ralph Jackson and Robert Dexter, 1596).

<sup>11</sup> *A Table Alphabeticall, Conteyning and Teaching the True Writing, and Vnderstanding of Hard Vsual 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* (London: Printed by I. R. for Edmund Weauer, 1604).

<sup>12</sup> *Glossographia Anglicana* Reprint of First Edition, (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1972).

<sup>13</sup> *The English Expofitor Improv'd: Being A Complete Dictionary, Teaching The Interpretation Of The Most Difficult Words, Which Are Commonly Made Use Of In Our English Tongue* (London: Printed for W. Churchill at the Black-Swan in Pater-noster-Row, 1719).

<sup>14</sup> *The New World Of Words: or, Universal English Dictionary* (London: Printed for J. Philips, 1720).

<sup>15</sup> *A High-School Dictionary Of The English Language* (New York, NY: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co., 1871).

<sup>16</sup> *Standard New Century Dictionary Of The English Language* (Chicago, IL: M. A. Donohue & Co., 1916).

<sup>17</sup> The Great Bible, Bishop's Bible, Matthew Bible, Tyndale New Testament, King James Version 1611, American Standard Version, English Revised Version, Literal Translation Of The Bible, Primitive New Testament, American Baptist Publication Society Version, King James 1769 Oxford Revision, American Bible Union Version, New Testament In The Common Version, Granville Penn New Testament, J.T. Conquest Bible, Herman Heinfetter New Testament, George R. Noyes New Testament, Frank Schell Ballentine Version, Ferrar Fenton Bible, A. S. Worrell New Testament, Samuel Lloyd New Testament,

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<sup>18</sup> For a detailed analysis of this see [Are Bible Translations Progressively Softening The Scriptures On Divorce?](http://www.danielrjennings.org/arebibletranslationsprogressivelysoftening.pdf), available online at <http://www.danielrjennings.org/arebibletranslationsprogressivelysoftening.pdf>.

<sup>19</sup> A Lexicon Of The Greek Language: For the Use of Colleges and Schools, John Allen Giles, (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1840); A Greek-English Lexicon: Based On The German Work Of Francis Passow, Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, & Henry Drisler, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846); An English-Greek Lexicon Charles Duke Yonge, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849); Greek Lexicon Of The Roman And Byzantine Periods From B.C. 146 To A.D. 1100, Evangelinus Apostolides Sophocles, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900); An English-Greek Lexicon: Containing All The Words In General Use, Henry R. Hamilton, (London: John Weale, 1855); A New Greek And English Lexicon, James Donnegan, (London: J. F. Dove, 1831); A Greek-English Lexicon: Containing All The Words In General Use, Henry R. Hamilton, (London: Lockwood & Co., 1871); Greek-English Lexicon To The New Testament After the Latest and Best Authorities, W. J. Hickie, (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1911); A Critical Greek And English Concordance Of The New Testament To Which Is Added Green's Greek And English Lexicon, Charles Frederic Hudson, Ezra Abbot, Thomas Sheldon Green, (Boston: H. L. Hastings, 1885); An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon, Henry George Liddell & Robert Scott, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900); The Tyro's Greek And English Lexicon, John Jones, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1825); A Lexicon Of New Testament Greek, On A New Plan, Theodore Jones, (London: Elliot Stock, 1877)

<sup>20</sup> *A Plea For The Christians*, 33, available in English in Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 2.

<sup>21</sup> *A Plea For The Christians*, 33, available in English in Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 2.

<sup>22</sup> These references can be read in [Except For Fornication: Why Evangelicals Must Reevaluate Their Interpretation Of Matthew's Divorce Exception Clause](http://www.danielrjennings.org/except-for-fornication-version-1.pdf) (SEAN Multimedia, 2011), pp.80-110, available online at <http://www.danielrjennings.org/except-for-fornication-version-1.pdf>. Justin Martyr (c.100-165AD), Hermas (fl. c.160AD), Theophilus (fl. c. 170-190AD), Athenagoras (fl. c. 177AD), Clement Of Alexandria (d. c. 215AD), Tertullian (c.160-c.220AD), Council Of Arles (314AD), Council Of Elvira (324AD), Gregory Nazianzen (c.325-389AD), Ambrose Of Milan (333-397AD), John Chrysostom (c.347-407AD), Apostolic Canons (c.400AD), Council Of Mileve (416AD), Innocent I (d. 417AD), Council Of Carthage (a.k.a. African Code, 419AD), Jerome (c.340-420AD), Augustine Of Hippo (354-430AD), Council Of Angers (453AD), Finnian (a.k.a. Vinnian, Vinnianus, Finian, d.c.550AD), Adamnan (c.624-704AD), Council Of Nantes (658AD), Council Of Hertford (673AD), Judicium Clementis (693AD), Venerable Bede (c.672-735AD), Council Of Trullo (692AD), Council Of Soissons (744AD), Zacharias (d. 752AD), Excerptions Of Egbert (d.766AD), Synod Of Aachen (789AD), Council Of Friuli (791AD), Sixth Council Of Paris (829AD), Canon List Of Benedict the Levite (c.847AD), Laws of the Northumbrian Priests (950AD), The Penitential Of Archbishop Dunston (c. 963AD), Council of Eanham (1009AD), Ecclesiastical Laws of King Cnut (a.k.a.

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