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“WHAT DOES IT MEAN?”

Edited by

KATHLEEN E. DUBS

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"THIS DAY IS HEALTH COME UNTO THIS HOUSE"
WHEN "HEALTH" DISAPPEARS IN FAVOUR OF "SALVATION"
IN WILLIAM TYNDALE'S TWO TRANSLATIONS OF THE NEW
TESTAMENT
(1526 AND 1534)

Tibor Fabiny

William Tyndale (1494–1536) was not the first man to translate the Bible into English, as there were medieval translations from Latin preserved in manuscripts; but Tyndale was the first man to translate and publish the New Testament from original Greek and most of the books of the Old Testament from Hebrew. It has been pointed out that eighty five per cent of the King James Bible (1611) is based on Tyndale. Thus not even Shakespeare has reached as many people as Tyndale.¹

The first complete edition of the New Testament in English is the Worms publication in 1526. Today only three copies have survived; the third one was only recently discovered in Stuttgart.² While the Cologne-fragment of 1525 contained Matthew 1–22 with a Prologue and Marginal notes, in the Worms edition there is only the text of the Bible with no extra material apart from a short epilogue "To the Reder" (called a "miniature instruction-manual"³) from the anonymous translator. The Worms edition came from the printer Peter Schoeffer in octavo size (while the Cologne fragment was in quarto) so that it "could be more easily hidden in casks and bales of cloth for smuggling into England."⁴ It had to be smuggled into the country by colporteurs as, due to the activities of the Lollards, there had been a ban on unauthorized translations since Archbishop Arundel's Convocation in 1408.⁵

¹ David Daniell, ed. and introduction to *Tyndale's New Testament Translated from the Greek by William Tyndale in 1534* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), vii, "Introduction."

² Merwyn Jannetta, "Good News from Stuttgart: a previously unrecorded copy of William Tyndale's New Testament translation," *Reformation* 2 (1997): 1-5; Ebehard Zwick, "The Stuttgart copy of the 1526 New Testament in English," *Reformation* 3 (1998), 29–48.

³ David Daniell, *William Tyndale, A Biography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 148.

⁴ W.R. Cooper, "Introduction," in *The New Testament. Translated by William Tyndale. The Text of the Worms edition of 1526 in original spelling*, ed. W. R. Cooper (The British Library, 2000), xiii.

⁵ G. E. Duffield, "Introduction," in *The Work of William Tyndale*, ed. G. E. Duffield (Appleford, Berkshire, England: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1964), xvi.

Tyndale used Erasmus' 1522 third edition of the Greek New Testament, Luther's 1522 German translation, and the Vulgate text, but he is said not to have used the Wycliff Bible, as he states in the Worms epilogue: "I hade no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like thing in the scripture beforetime."⁶ Moreover, he invented words such as "passover," "scapegoat," "mercyeat," and "atonement."

In the epilogue to the Worms edition Tyndale sees his work as unfinished and hints at the possibility of an improved edition in the future:

In tyme to come (yf god have apoynted us thereunto) we will geve it his full shape: and putt out yf ought be added superflously: and adde to yff ought be overesene throrowe negligence: and will enforce to brynge to compedeousnes, that which is nowe translated at the lengthe, and geve lyght where it is requyred, and to seke in certayne places more proper englysshe, and with a table to expounde the wordes which are nott comenly used, and shewe howe the scripture useth many wordes, which are wotherwyse understonde of the comen people: and to helpe with declaracion where one tonge taketh nott another.⁷

Soon after the edition of the Worms New Testament Tyndale began to publish his significant prose works *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (1528), *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528), *The Pathway to the Holy Scripture* (1530), *The Practice of Prelates* (1530), *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* (1531), *The Exposition of the First Epistle of St John* (1531), *The Exposition upon the V, VI, VII Chapters of Matthew* (1533). Moreover, he began to study Hebrew and published the Pentateuch in 1530, *The Prophet Jonas* in 1531. All these works have been published already in Antwerp.

By 1534 the revised New Testament came off the press with the celebrated Prefaces which Tyndale partly borrowed from the Prefaces of Luther.

The modern reader of Tyndale is frequently struck by his occasional unusual use of words. His own thought-provoking imagery and idiosyncratic metaphorical world of biblical interpretation ("digging the wells of Abraham," "removing the veil from Moses's face," "single eye," the "waxing of the heart," etc.) needs to be explored. There has been much discussion, first of all, by Tyndale himself in his *An Answer Vnto Sir Thomas Mores Dialogue* of why he used "senior" and not "priest" for *presbiteros*; why "loue" rather than "cheryte" for *agape*; why "fauore" and not "grace" for *charis*; why "repentaunce" and not "penaunce" for

⁶ Duffield, xxii–iii.

⁷ Cooper, 554–5.

metanoia.⁸ From the second preface of the revised New Testament we learn how furious Tyndale was when he learned that his countryman in Antwerp, George Joye published his translation and exchanged "resurrection" for "life after life." Translation for Tyndale, as for most of the Reformers, was a theological matter.⁹

In the following part I wish to give an exegesis of a word which is not explicitly discussed by Tyndale, and not even, to my knowledge, in the growing number of recent scholarly articles on Tyndale's language. This word is "health," which Tyndale uses quite frequently in the 1526 Worms edition but eight years later, with only one the exception, he replaces "health" for "salvation."

I. THE NEW TESTAMENT SOTERIA IN FOUR ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

DESCRIPTION OF THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The primary concern of the analysis is to observe how Tyndale rendered the New Testament occurrences of the Greek word *soteria* into English in his 1526 Worms edition and in his revised edition of 1534. Our sources are the original spelling edition of the Worms Testament by W. R. Cooper and the modern spelling edition of the revised version by David Daniell. However, as the modern spelling edition of *The Wycliffe New Testament* (1388) was published recently by the British Library,¹⁰ our analysis will include this edition as well as the 1611 King James Bible (KJV), or, the Authorised Version (AV).¹¹ (The following abbreviations are used. W=Wycliff(1388); T26=Tyndale's Worms New Testament(1526); T34=Tyndale's revised New Testament(1534); AV=Authorised Version(1611).

ETYMOLOGY

"Salvation," according to the OED is, first of all, "The saving act of the soul; the deliverance from sin and its consequences, and admission to eternal bliss, wrought for man by the atonement of Christ." It derives from the ecclesiastical Latin *salvatio* rendering the Greek *soteria*. The OED gives the first example

⁸ Anne M. O'Donnell, S. N. D., and S. J. Jared Wicks, eds., *William Tyndale. An Answer Vnto Sir Thomas Mores Dialoge*. The Independent Works of William Tyndale, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C: The Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 13-23.

⁹ Daniell, 13-16. George Joye's answer, "Unto the Reader," in Duffield, 309-22.

¹⁰ W. R. Cooper, ed., *The Wycliff New Testament 1388* (The British Library, 2002).

¹¹ *The Holy Bible Containig the Old and New Testaments Translated out of the Original Tongues: And with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised by His Majesty's Special Command. Appointed to be Read in Churches. Authorized King James Version* (1611; reprint, Oxford University Press)

1225: "sauuacium" (*Ancr. R.*242), the second from *Cursor Mundi: sones saluatioun*" (Arundel Ms 17958) and the third one from Langland's *Plowman*: "sauacioun of soules" (B.v.126).¹²

While "salvation" is of Latin, "health" is of Saxon origin, it derived from English *haelp*, (cf. German: *Heil*, *heilen*); it is also the basis of "whole" in Germanic languages. According to the OED the first meaning is "the soundness of the body; that condition in which its functions are duly and efficiently discharged," while the fourth meaning is "Spiritual, moral, mental soundness; salvation. *arch.*"¹³ Apart from some Old English examples Wycliff, Tyndale and *The Book of Common Prayer* are quoted in the OED. The meaning has not entirely vanished, examples are even from the 19th century.

In the Greek New Testament both *sodzo* and *soteria* mean the saving and preservation of physical life and *sodzo* is especially frequently used with reference to the healing of the sick. "In the healings of Jesus *sodzo* never refers to a single member of the body but always to the whole man."¹⁴ The Authorized Version (1611) has preserved this shade of meaning: when the blind Bartimaeus is healed, Jesus says to him: "*thy faith hath made thee whole*" (Mk 10,52). The very name of Jesus also refers to the act of saving, or, deliverance (Mt 1, 21) and the Greek word corresponds to the Hebrew *yasa* which appears in the Old Testament 355 times.¹⁵ *Soteria* means deliverance and salvation and it occurs almost fifty times in the New Testament.¹⁶ With Paul *soteria* is intentionally confined to the relation between man and God and is mainly a future, eschatological term.¹⁷

In the following list we shall take 47 examples of *soteria* following the *Computer-Konkordanz zum Novum Testamentum Graece*¹⁸ and compare the four versions. The bold letters signal where "health" is being used. We shall give a closer analysis to six examples in Luke while comparing the four versions even with the original Greek, the Vulgate and Luther's translation of the New Testament.

¹² J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, eds., *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 420.

¹³ Simpson and Weiner, vol. 6, 53.

¹⁴ Gerhard Friedrich and W. Bromley, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 7 (Michigan, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1971), s.v. "sodzo, soteria, soter, soterios," by Werner Foerster.

¹⁵ Lawrence O. Richard, *Expository Dictionary of Bible Words* (Regency Reference Library, 1985), 541.

¹⁶ Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider, eds., *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (Michigan, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1993), s. v. "Salvation," by K.H. Schelke.

¹⁷ Foerster, "sodzo, soteria, soter, soterios"

¹⁸ Walter de Gruyter, *Computer-Konkordanz zum Novum Testamentum Graece* Von Nestle-Aland 26 (Berlin-New York, 1985), 1767.

Lk 1, 69

W And He has reared to us an horn of health
 T26 hath reysed uppe the horne off health unto us
 T34 hath raised up a horn of salvation unto us
 AV hath raised up a horn of salvation unto us

Lk 1,71

W Health from our enemies
 T26 that shulde be saved from our enimys
 T34 That we should be save from our enemies
 AV That we should be save from our enemies

Lk 1,77

W To give science of health to His people
 T26 And to geve knowledge of health unto hys people
 T34 to give knowledge of salvation unto his people
 AV to give knowledge of salvation unto his peole

Lk 2,30

W for mine eyes have seen thy health
 T26 myne eyes have sene the saveour sent
 T34 mine eyes have seen the saviour sent from thee
 AV mine eyes have seen thy salvation

Lk 3,6

W every flesh shall see the health of God
 T26 And all flesshe shall se the saveour sent off god
 T34 all flesh shall see the saviour sent of God
 AV all flesh shall see the salvation of God

Lk 19,9

W For today health is made to this house
 T26 This daye is healthe come unto this housse
 T34 this day is health come unto this house
 AV this day is salvation come to this house

shall confine our analysis to the above examples, all taken from the Gospel of St. Luke (the only synoptic Gospel to use *soteria!*). In these cases we quote the Greek text as given in the *Computer-Konkordaz zum Novum Testamentum Graecum*. The Vulgate and Luther passages are quoted from the following website: www.sola.hu.

The first three passages are quoted from the *Benedictus* (Lk 1,68–79), the song of Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist. The Greek *keras soterias* is called *cornu salutis* in the Vulgate, and Luther (1522) translates it as *eine macht der Heils*. Wycliff and Tyndale (1526) as *horn/e/ of health*, while Tyndale (1534) and the KJV have the *horn of salvation*. A modern translation (*Living Bible*) wants to avoid the exegetical problems and renders 1,69 as follows: "He is sending us a Mighty Savior." Zacharias is praising the Lord for having delivered his people from the hands of the enemies. The deliverence is also *soteria*, rendered by the Vulgate as *salutem ex inimicis nostris*. Luther, however, uses the expression *das uns errettete von unsern Feinden*. Wycliff is literally faithful to the original: *Health from our enemies*, while both Tyndale versions as well as KJV has: *that we should be saved from our enemies*. While *soteria* in 1,71 has historical-political connotations concerning the past, the child's mission is revealed to have a future, eschatological sense. He is going to give the knowledge of salvation: in Greek *gnosin soterias*, in the Vulgate *scientiam salutis*, for Luther *Erkenntis des Heils*. Wycliff has *science of health* while Tyndale (1526) translates it as *has knowledge of health*. However, Tyndale (1534) decides to replace it with "salvation": *to give knowledge of salvation*.

Lk 2,30 is from the *Nunc dimmittis*, the song of the old, devout Simeon: *recedon hoi ophtalmoi mou to soterion su*. The Vulgate has *viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum*. Luther says: *meine Augen haben deinen Heiland gesehen*. Wycliff is faithful to the letter again: *for mine eyes have seen thy health*. Both Tyndale versions speak about the person rather than the idea: *mine eyes have seen the saviour*. However, KJV corrects Tyndale and has *For mine eyes have seen thy salvation*.

Lk 3, 6 is the end of a quotation from Isaiah: "And all flesh shall see the salvation of God" (KJV). In Greek: *opsetai pasa sarks to soterion tu theu*. The Vulgate says *videbit omniscaro salutare dei*. Luther again has "Heiland": *werden den Heiland Gottes sehen*. Again, it is only Wycliff who preserves the original structure and vocabulary: *every flesh shall see the health of God*. Both Tyndale translations, just as in the case of 2,30, use "saviour": *all flesh see the saviour sent of God*. And likewise it is replaced by "salvation" in KJV. From the fact that Tyndale twice chose to have "saviour" when Luther used "Heiland" we can see that Tyndale was not too much dependent on Luther's translation as he wanted to have his own solution.

Lk 19, 9 quotes Jesus speaking in the house of the tax-collector Zacchaeus: *hoti semeron soteria to oiko touto egeneto*. The Vulgate says *hodie salus domui*; Luther has: *Heute ist diesem Haus Heil widerfahren*. Wyliff, as always, preserves "health": *For today health is made to this house*. This is the only case in the New Testament when both translations of Tyndale use "health": *this day is health come unto this house*. The KJV has, of course, "salvation": *this day is salvation come to this house*. It is interesting that Tyndale who was indeed conscious in erasing all the "health"s from his revision and replaced them in each case by "salvation," this time he failed to do so. Perhaps, because of the lack of attention as "health" was deeply on his mind that he unconsciously kept it in this only case.

A similarly detailed analysis could be provided with all the other examples but we shall confine ourselves to listing the passages below as by only citing them, we believe, is informative enough.

John 4,22

W for health is of the Jews

T26 for salvacion commeth of the iewes

T34 Salvation cometh of the Jews

AV for salvation is of the Jews

Act 4,12

W health is not in any other

T26 Neither is there health in eny other

T34 Neither is there salvation in any other

AV neither is salvation ther in any other

Act 7,25

W that God should give to them health by the hand of him

T26 that God by his hondes shulde geve them health

T34 how God by his hands should save them

AV how God by his hand would deliver them

Act 13, 26

W to you the word of health is sent

T26 to you is this worde of helth (sic) sent

T34 to you is this word of salvation sent

AV to you the word of this salvation is sent

Act 13,47

W I have set thee into light to heathen men, that Thou be into health to the utmost of earth

T26 I have made the a lyght to the gentyls, that thou be helth unto the ende of the worlde

T34 I have made thee a light to the gentiles, that thou be salvation unto the end of the world

AV I have set the to be a light thou shouldst be for salvation to the ends of the world

Act 16,17

W that tell you the way of health

T26 which show unto us the waye of helth (sic)

T34 which show us unto the way of salvation

AV These men show us the way of salvation

Act 27,34

W I pray you to take meat for your health

T26 take meat for this no dout for youre helth

T34 this no doubt for your health

AV for this is for your health

Act 28,28

W this health of God is sent to heathen men

T26 this consolacion of God is sent to the gentyls

T34 this salvation of God is sent

AV the salvation of God is sent to the Gentile

Rm 1,16

W For I shame not the Gospel, for it is the virtue of God into health of each man

T26 For I am nott ashamed of the gossell of Christ, because it is the power of God unto salvacion to all that beleve

T34 For I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God unto salvation for those who believe

AV For I am not ashamed of the Gospel; for it is the power of God to salvation

Rm 10,1

W for them into health

T26 that they might be saved

T34 that they might be saved

AV that they might be saved

Rm 10,10

W by mouth, acknowledging is made to health

T26 knowledge with the mough (sic) maketh a man safe

T34 knowledge with the moth maketh a man safe

AV with mouth confession is made to salvation

Rm 11,11

W by the guilt of them health is made to heathen men, that the sue them

T26 but thorowe their faule is helth happened unto the gentyls for to
 provoke them with all.

T34 through their fall is salvation happened unto the gentiles, for to provoke
 them withall

AV through their fall salvation is come to the Gentiles

Rm 13,11

W for now our health is nearer than we believed.

T26 For nowe is our helth nerre then when we beleved

T34 For now is our salvation nearer than when we believed

AV Now is our salvation nearer than when we believed

2 Cor 1,6

**W whether we are in tribulation for your tribulation and health...either we
 are monested for monesting and health**

T26 Whether we be troubled for your consolacion, and helth, which helth
 sheweth ...or whether we be comforted for youre consolacion and helth

T34 whether we troubled for your consolation and salvation, which salvation
 sheweth her power in that...or whether we be comforted for your
 consolation and salvation

AV whether we be comforted, it is for your salvation

Cor 6,2

**W I have heard thee, and in the day of health I have helped thee. Lo, now
 a time acceptable, now a day of health**

T26 I have herde the in a tyme accepted: and nowe that wele accepted
 tyme: beholde nowe is that daye off helthe

T34 Behold now is the well-accepted time: behold now is the day of salvation

AV Behold, now is the accepted time, now there is the day of salvation

Cor 7, 10

W For the sorrow that is after God works penance into steadfast health.

T26 for godly sorowe causeth repentaunce unto helth

T34 For godly sorrow causeth repentance unto salvation

AV For godly sorrow worketh repentence to salvation

Eph 1,13

W the gospel of your health

T26 gospell off youre health

T34 the gospel of your salvation

AV the gospel of your salvation

Eph 6,17

W take ye the helm of health and the sword of the ghost

T26 take the helmet of health (sic)

T34 take the helmet of salvation

AV take the helmet of salvation

Phil 1,19

W this thing shall come to me into health

T26 For I knowe that this shalbe for my health

T34 I know that this shall chance to my salvation

AV this shall turn my salvation

Phil 1,28

**W And in nothing be ye afearred of adversaries, which is to them cause of
 perdition, but to you cause of health**

T26 which is to them a token of perdition, and to you a signe of health

T34 which is to them a token of perdition, and to you of salvation

AV an evident token of salvation

Phil 2, 12

W Work ye with dread and trembling your health

T26 even so performe youre owne health with fear and tremblynge

T34 work out your salvation with fear and trembling

AV work out your salvation with fear and trembling

1 Thes 5,8-9

W But we that of the day are sober, clothed in the haburioun of faith and of charity, and in the helm of hope of health. For God put not us into wrath, but into the purchasing of health by our Lord Jesus Christ that was dead for us

T26 But lett us which are of the daye be sober, armed with the breast plate of fayth and love, and with hope of health, as an helmet. For god hath not apoynted us to wrath: but to obtayne health by the meanes off oure lorde Jesu Christ, which died for us

T34 But let us which are of the day, be sober, armed with the breast-plate of faith and love, and with hope of salvation as an helmet. For God hath not appointed us unto wrath: but to obtain salvation by the means of our Lord Jesus Christ which died for us:

AV But let us, who are of the day, be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love; and for an helmet, the hope of salvation. For God has not appointed us to wrath but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ

2 Thes 2,13

W God chose us the first fruits into health in hallowing of Spirit and in faith of truth

T26 God hath from the begynnyng chosen you to health. Throrowe sanctifyinge off the sprete, And thorowe belevyge the trueth:

T34 God hath from the very beginning chosen you to salvation, through sanctifying of the spirit, and through believing the truth

AV God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth

2 Tim 2,10

W they get the health that is in Christ

T26 to obtain the helth which is in Christ

T34 also obtain that salvation

AV that they may also obtain the salvation

2 Tim 3,15

W which moun learn thee to health

T26 which is to make the wyse unto health

T34 which is able to make the wise unto salvation

AV which are able to make thee wise unto salvation

Ti 2,11

W For the Grace of God our Saviour has appeared to all men

T26 For the grace of god, that bringeth health unto all men, hath apered

T34 For the grace of God, that bringeth salvation unto all men, hath appeared

AV the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men

Heb 1,14

W for them that take the heritage of health

T26 which shalbe heyres of health

T34 which shall be heirs of salvation

AV for them who shall be heirs of salvation

Heb 2,3

W if we despise so great a health

T26 yf we despise so great helth

T34 if we despise so great salvation

AV if we neglect so great salvation

Heb 2,10

W was Author of the health of them

T26 lorde off their helth (sic)

T34 lorde of their salvation

AV captain of their salvation

Heb 5,9

W is made cause of everlasting health to all that obey him
T26 the cause off eternall health unto all them that obey hym
 T34 the cause of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him
 AV author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him

Heb 6,9

W things and nearer to health
T26 thynges whych a company helth
 T34 things which accompany salvation
 AV things that accompany salvation

Heb 9,28

W that abide him into health
T26 without synne unto their health
 T34 without sin, unto salvation
 AV without sin unto salvation

Heb 11,7

W shaped a ship into the health of his sons
 T26 savinge of his houssholde
 T34 to the saving of his household
 AV prepared an ark to the saving of his house

1 Pet 1,5

W kept by the faith into health
T26 are kept by the power off god thorowe fayth, unto helth(sic) which health (sic)
 T34 kept by the power of God through faith, unto salvation, which salvation
 AV kept through faith unto salvation ready to be

1 Pet 1, 9-10

W have the end of your faith, the health of yours souls. Of which health prophets sought
T26 receavyng the ende of youre fayth, the helth of your souls. Of which health, have the prophetes enquired

T34 receiving the end of your faith, the salvation of your souls, of which salvation have the prophets enquired
 AV receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls. Of which salvation the prophets have enquired

1 Pet 2,2

W that in it ye wax into health
 T26 that ye maye growe therin
 T34 that ye may grow therein
 AV that ye may grow thereby

2 Pet 3,15

W Jesus Christ your health
T26 longe sufferynge off the lorde is helth
 T34 the longsuffering of the Lord is salvation
 AV longsuffering of the Lord is salvation

Jude 3

W your common health
T26 off the commen health
 T34 common salvation
 AV of the common salvation

Rev 7,10

W Health to our God
T26 Helth be to hym
 T34 salvation be ascribed to him
 AV salvation to our God

Rev 12,10

W Now is made health and virtue
T26 nowe made helth and strengthe
 T34 now is made salvation and strength
 AV Now is come salvation, and strength

Rev 19,1

W herying and glory
 T26 **Helth and glory**
 T34 salvation and glory
 AV Salvation, and Glory

II. THE USE OF "HEALTH" IN SOME OF THE PROSE WORKS

Having seen how the four translations render *soteria* into English, we now turn to some of the prose works of Tyndale with the hope that we shall be in a better position to understand what he meant he used the word of "health," or the image of healing in explaining the idea of salvation.

At the end of his first completed translation of the New Testament, the 1526 Worms edition Tyndale attached a short but theologically substantial "To the Reder" which begins as follows:

Geve diligence Reder (I exorte the) that thou come with a pure mynde, and as the scripture sayth with a syngle eye, unto the **wordes of health**, and of eternall lyfe: by the which (if we repent and beleve them) are borne anew, created afresh, and enjoye the frutes off the bloud of Christ.¹⁹

The Prologue of the 1525 Cologne-fragment which later, slightly modified, published as *A Pathway into the Holy Scripture*, discusses the Lutheran dialectics of the law and the gospel; namely, that they should never be separated from one another in preaching. The dynamics of the operation and effect of the law and the gospel is described by Tyndale with the help of a medical metaphor of "salve."

Here see ye the nature of the law, and the nature of the evangelion; how the law is the key that bindeth and damneth all men, and the evangelion is the key that looseth them again. The law goeth before, and the evangelion followeth. When a preacher preacheth the law, he bindeth all consciences; and when he preacheth the gospel, he looseth them again. These two salves (I mean the law and the gospel) useth God and his preacher, to heal and cure sinners withal. The law driveth out the disease and maketh it appear, and is a sharp salve, and a fretting corosy, and killeth the dead flesh, and looseth and draweth the sores out by the roots, and all corruption...

Then cometh the evangelion, a more gentle pastor, which suppleth and suageth the wounds of the conscience, and bringeth health. It bringeth the

¹⁹ Cooper, *The text of the Worms edition*, 553.

Spirit of God; which looseth the bonds of Satan, and coupleth us to God and his will, through strong faith and fervent love, with bonds too strong for the devil, the world, or any creature to loose them. And the poor and wretched sinner feeleth so great mercy, love, and kindness in God, that he is sure in himself how that it is not possible that God should forsake him...²⁰

In the *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (1528) Tyndale gave a thorough discussion of the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith. Work without faith is insufficient as the human heart is only changed by the work of the word, the "double-edged sword": the law wounds the human heart but the gospel heals it and the new, transformed heart will be capable of good work. Faith is the tree, good works are the fruits thereof.

how can he work any good work that should please God, if there were not some supernatural goodness in him, given of God freely, whereof the good work must spring? Even as a **sick man must first be healed or made whole, ere he can do the deeds of an whole man**; and as the blind man must first have sight given him, ere he can see; and he that hath his feet in fetters, gives, or stocks, must first be loosed, ere he can go, walk or run; and even as they which thou redest of in the gospel, that they were possessed of the devils, could not laud God till the devils were cast out,

That precious thing which must be in the heart, ere a man can work any good work; it is the word of God which in the gospel preacheth, proffereth, and bringeth unto all that repent and believe, the favour of God in Christ. Whosoever heareth the word and believeth it, the same is thereby righteous; and therby is given him the Spirit of God, which leadeth him unto all that is the will of God; and is loosed the captivity and bondage of the devil; and his heart is free to love God, and hath lust to do the will of God. Therefore it is called the **word of life, the word of grace, the word of health, the word of redemption, the word of forgiveness, and the word of peace**: he that heareth it not, or believeth it not, can by no means made righteous before God.²¹

The idea of "wholeness," "wholesomeness" appears after one is delivered from the captivity of sin.

When **health** cometh, she changeth and altereth him clean; giveth him strength in all his members, and lust to do of his own accord that which before he could not do, nether could suffer;..... and hath **now lust in wholesome things**, and

²⁰ *A Pathway into the Holy Scripture*, quoted in Henry Walter, ed., *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scripture by William Tyndale* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1848), 21–22.

²¹ *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, quoted in Walter, 50–1.

his members are free and at liberty, and have power to do, of their own accord, all things which belong to an **whole** man to do, which afore they had no power to do, but were in captivity and bondage. So likewise in all this doth right faith to the soul.²²

In his exegetical works he uses the term "health" with a conspicuous frequency. In *Exposition of the First Epistle of St John* (1531) he writes:

As a man can by no means read, except he be first taught the letters of the cross row, even so it is impossible for a man, of whatever degree or name he be of, to understand aught in the scripture unto the honour of God and **health** of his soul, except he be first taught the profession of his baptism, and have it also written in his heart.²³

"The soul's health" is contrasted with the "lusts of the flesh."

forasmuch as the scripture is the light and life of God's elect, and that mighty power wherewith God createth them, and shapeth them, after the similitude, likeness, and very fashion of Christ; and therefore sustenance, comfort, and strength to courage them, that they may stand fast, and endure, and **merrily bear their souls' health**, wherewith the lusts of the flesh are subdued and killed.²⁴

One has to recognize his sinfulness and desire to be redeemed by Christ:

But as which feeleth not his disease can long for no **health**, even so it is impossible for any man to believe in Christ's blood, except Moses have had him first in cure, and with his law have robbed him of his righteousness, and condemned him unto everlasting death²⁵

Salvation as healing is being best described in the following passage:

When a true preacher preacheth, the Spirit entereth the hearts of the elect, and maketh them feel the righteousness of the law of God, and by the law the poison of their corrupt nature, and thence leadeth them, through repentance, unto the mercy that is in Christ's blood; **as an ointment healeth the body, even so the Spirit, through confidence and trust in Christ's blood, healeth the soul, and**

²² *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, 54.

²³ *Exposition of the First Epistle of St John*, quoted in Henry Walter, ed., *Expositions and Notes on Sundry Portions of the Holy Scripture to ther with The Practice of Prelates* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1849), 136.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 143.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 146.

maketh her love the law of God; and therefore it is called anointing or an ointment, and may well be signified by the oil of our sacrament. But outward oil can neither heal the soul, nor make her feel, save as a sign, or as a bush at a tavern door quenches a man's thirst, neither is it a thing to put trust in.²⁶

By 1534, however, he changes his vocabulary even in his prefaces. His argument is now linked with the word "salvation" rather than "health":

The right way, yea, and the only way to understand the scripture unto salvation, is that we earnestly and above all things serach for the profession of our baptism, or covenants between us and God.²⁷

However, he has not entirely dropped the image of healing even in this preface:

The gospel is glad tidings of mercy and grace and that our corrupt nature shall be **healed** again for Christ's sake and for the merits of his deservings only.²⁸

III. CONCLUSION

We have taken forty-seven examples concerning the English translation of the word *soteria*. We have also given a detailed analysis of the six passages in Luke's gospel. After seeing all the examples, it is undoubtedly a surprise that Wycliff translated "health" 46 times. Though he is said to have used the Vulgate only, in his translation of this word he is also literally faithful to the Greek original. Tyndale used "health" (in various orthography) 34 times in his Worms edition. However, by 1534 he revised his work and practically erased all solutions as "health" and replaced it by "salvation." The only one remained is the example given also in our title: "*this day is health come unto this house*" (Lk 19,9) (Act 27,34 is not relevant as health is there meant to be in the literal meaning of the word.) While Wycliff in 1388 uses almost exclusively "health," the *King James Version* of 1611 has entirely dropped the expression. In between these extremes are Tyndale's two translations: the Worms of 1526 is much closer to Wycliff while the revision of 1534 is almost identical with the Authorized Version.

By way of conclusion on the basis of our analysis above, we may say that within the span of six years Tyndale the medieval has turned into Tyndale the early modern.

²⁶ *Exposition of the First Epistle of St John*, quoted in Walter, *Expositions*, 183-4.

²⁷ "W.T. Unto the Reader," in Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, 4.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

We may speculate why Tyndale was keen on exchanging Saxon "health" for Latin "salvation." "Health" must have occurred to him as outdated after translating some parts of the Old Testament, though, as we have seen it, he used it quite frequently in his early prose works where the context of the word "health" and "healing," always signified "restoring to wholeness," a graphic way of expressing the idea of salvation in Tyndale's theology.²⁹

He might have been advised by younger colleagues as John Frith to stick rather to salvation. However, having seen that it was exclusively used by Wycliff, we may conjecture the possibility that Tyndale might have wanted to distance himself from the popular Lollard movement of his own country and was happy to have found his own modern distinct voice which was to have shaped the religious consciousness of the English people in the centuries to come.

However, a powerful shade of meaning of the Greek *soteria* was thereby unfortunately lost from the English Bible though, it is true, that the General Confession of *The Book of Common Prayer* has preserved it for the Anglican liturgy up till now: "There is no health in us." We can also find one example in William Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. When the Prince sees the Ghost of his father, he says: "*Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damned*" (1,4,40). But apart from such fossils "health" is not really associated with salvation any more. In an age when the idea of salvation itself seems to have become an old fashioned expression of Christian piety without particular significance and relevance for the modern man, philological excavations can help us to recover the original richness and existential meaning of the word which claims and addresses the "wholeness," or, the health of man. David Ford, the Cambridge theologian, begins his recent book *Self and Salvation* with the following sentence: "'Health' is the root sense of the word 'salvation.'"³⁰ This article can, perhaps, also be seen as a proof-text of Ford's initial sentence.

²⁹ For a thorough but not always sympathetic discussion of Tyndale theology of salvation, see Carl R. Trueman, *Luther's Legacy. Salvation and the Reformers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 83–120.

³⁰ David Ford, *Self and Salvation. Being Transformed* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1.

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COINING IMAGES OF VALUE IN SHAKESPEARE'S *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*

Ildikó Limpár

M*Measure for Measure*,¹ just like many of Shakespeare's dramas, displays a very conscious and elaborate system of related images to give special emphasis to the main theme, working on our visual imagination in order to see much more than what is actually presented on the stage; in other words, it exhibits the psychological image to accompany the physical one. The coin image, generally recognized as the key image of *Measure for Measure*, and by itself may refer to the great themes of the play "with association of true value, of counterfeiting, and of paying out and paying back."² However, in order to understand its role as a central image one should examine its relation to the title as well as to some of the related images – a task that the present paper aims at performing.

G. Wilson Knight identifies the title of the play and the message it may reflect as a clear reference to the first two ideas of the Sermon on the Mount.³ Though the phrase that constitutes the title does not appear in the Bible, it seems to sum up the essence of the Sermon on the Mount: measure for measure – only, of course, if we know that the Biblical meaning of measure is literally 'a unit or standard of measuring,' corresponding to 'a standard of judgement.' The noun measure, however, may stand for a good number of things, such as 'an official action intended as a means to an end' or even 'a slow, dignified dance.' In the light of the drama, the multiple meanings of the keyword could turn the gentle speech of Jesus' Sermon inside out: the title may be interpreted as standard for standard; or, if you like, action for action.

In the noted section of the gospel, the word measure appears as both noun and verb: "with what *measure* ye mete, it shalbe *measured* to you again."⁴ What may be surprising is that although this idea is expressed verbally twice within the

¹ All citations of *Measure for Measure* are from J. W. Lever, ed., *The Arden Shakespeare*, 1979. [1965].

² Rosalind Miles, *The problem of Measure for Measure. A Historical Investigation* (London: Vision, 1976), 208.

³ Mt 7:1-2. G. Wilson Knight, "Measure for Measure and the Gospels," in *William Shakespeare: Measure for Measure*, ed. S. Nagarajan (The Signet Classic Shakespeare, 1988), 175.

⁴ The biblical references are quoted from the various editions of the Bible that Shakespeare may have known or used as identified by Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware, 1999).