

HYMEN'S TRUTH:
"AT-ONE-MENT" FROM SHAKESPEARE
TO TYNDALE, FROM TYNDALE
TO SHAKESPEARE

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In the past decade I began an intellectual travel to a yet undiscovered country in English literary studies, namely, the terrain of religious controversies in the early Tudor period where I have found many things that were not dreamt of in our secular philosophy or literary history. It was the theological work of the first Bible translator William Tyndale (c. 1494–1536), for a while regarded as a protege of Luther, but undoubtedly the maker of the English language.

The year 2011 marked the 400th anniversary of the *King James Bible*, known also as the *Authorized Version*. Throughout this year conferences were organized all around the English-speaking world to commemorate that great cultural event. It is now commonly accepted that some 84 per cent of William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament (1526 and 1534) and 76 percent of his Pentateuch-translation (1530) were adopted by the editorial board of the celebrated 1611 Bible.¹

Tyndale has, especially since the enthusiastic scholarship of Professor David Daniell, usually been admired for his Greek rather than Latin-based simple English syntax, the graphic vocabulary and so on. It is also known that he invented words like "passover," "mercy-seat," and last but not least "atonement."

Now, I do return from this earlier undiscovered country to Shakespeare with the word "atonement" in my bag and my concern is to share its deep linguistic, theological and last but not least literary connotations.

The essay is going to be a journey from Shakespeare to Tyndale and from Tyndale back to Shakespeare. First we are surveying the occurrences

¹ John Nielson and Royal Skousen, "How much of the King James Bible Is William Tyndale's," *Reformation* 3 (1998): 49–74.

of the verb “atone” or the noun “atonement” in Shakespeare’s plays; then its biblical meaning will be explored and eventually it will be used as a key-motif in our analysis of Shakespeare’s romantic comedy *As You Like It*.

It is our presupposition that the translation of the Bible has not only contributed to the making of early modern culture in England but William Tyndale’s imaginative coining of the word “atonement” and its application in his writings to Bible-related topics resulted in the formation of, among others, the artistic principle of “reconciliation” in William Shakespeare’s dramas.

1. Shakespeare’s Atone(ment)s

One is struck and puzzled when one re-reads the end of Shakespeare’s romantic comedy *As You Like It* (1599), where Hymen, the god of marriage sings:

There is mirth in heaven,
When earthly things are made even
Atone together. (5.4.107–9)²

Agnes Latham, the editor of the 1975 Arden edition explains that “to atone” means, “to set at one,” “agree, are reconciled.” She quotes a nineteenth-century editor (Wright) who said that neither “atone” nor “atonement” occurs in the Authorized Version.³ We shall soon see that Wright was not entirely correct. Juliet Dusinberre, in the 2006 third Arden edition, comments that “‘Attoning’ is an act of reconciliation and of temperance, which ‘evens’ the odds in the blood.”⁴

However, examples can be gained from Shakespeare’s other plays. According to Alexander Schmidt’s *Shakespeare Lexicon* (1874) the word means both “to reconcile” and “to agree, to be in concord.”⁵

In *Richard II*, for example, the King explains why he banishes the contesting to Bolingbroke and Mowbray:

Since we can not *atone you*, we shall see
Justice design the victor’s chivalry. (1.1.201–3)⁶

² William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, ed. Agnes Latham, Arden Shakespeare, 2nd ser. (London and New York: Methuen, 1984).

³ Latham, op.cit., 127.

⁴ William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, ed. Juliet Dusinberre, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd ser. (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2006), 338.

⁵ Alexander Schmidt, *Shakespeare Lexicon and Quotation Dictionary*, ed. Gregor Sarrazin, 3rd ed. (1874; reprint, New York: Dover Publishing, 1961), 1:62.

In *Othello* when Desdemona is informed of the “unkind breach” (2.1.221), or, the “unhappy” “division” (2.1.225) between her Lord and Cassio, she sighs:

I would do much
To *atone* them. (4.1.226–7)

In *Antony and Cleopatra* Mecaenas says to Lepidus:

the present need
Speaks to *atone* you. (2.2.102)

In *Cymbeline* the Frenchman says to the boasting Posthumus in Rome:

I was glad
Did *atone my countryman and you*. (1.5.36–7)

At the end of *Timon of Athens* Alcibiades uses the word in the sense of “appease” when he tells the senators:

to atone
With my more noble meaning. (5.4.58–9)

In *Coriolanus* Menenius finds that Martius and Aufidius

can no more *atone*
Than violent’st contrariety. (4.6.73–4)

The noun “atonement” is also used in Shakespeare’s plays—three times. At the beginning of the comedy *The Merry Wives of Windsor* the Welsh parson Sir Hugh Evans says:

I am of
the church and will be glad to do my benevolence,
to *make atonements* and compromises between you. (1.1.31–3)

In *King Henry IV Part 2* the Archbishop uses the word in the metaphorical context of healing when he hopefully says:

If we do now *make our atonement* well,
Our peace will, like a broken limb united,

⁶ The quotations from Shakespeare’s plays, if not otherwise noted, are from the second Arden Shakespeare edition.

Grow stronger for the breaking. (4.1.221–3)

It is used in the context of royal peace-making at the beginning of *Richard III* when Buckingham informs Queen Elizabeth that the ailing King Edward

Desires to *make atonement*
Between the Duke of Gloucester and your brothers,
And between them and my Lord Chamberlain. (1.3.36–8)

Each Arden-editor (and I suppose others as well) feels compelled to add an explanatory note wherever the verb “atone” or the noun “atonement” occur in the plays. The explanation always contains that this word is a synonym of “reconcile” or reconciliation. Some of the editors refer to the *OED* which confirms this notion.⁷

2. Theological Meaning of the Biblical English of William Tyndale

Non-theological minded readers usually associate “atonement” with Joe Wright’s 2007 film adaptation of Ian McEwan’s 2001 novel *Atonement*.

However, in the English-speaking theological discourse it has been a distinct term of soteriology, i.e., the doctrine of salvation. Neither the German *Versöhnung* nor the French *reconciliation* are discussed so frequently, sometimes controversially, as the doctrine of the atonement in English-speaking theology.⁸

⁷ J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, ed., *The Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth: *OED*), 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). *OED* confirms that atonement’s meaning is the same as “reconciliation” (*OED* 1:754) coming from the verb “reconcile” (originally from the Latin “reconciliare”), which means “to bring (a person) into friendly relations to or with (onself to another after an estrangment” (*OED* 13:352), “to bring (a person) back to, into peace, favour” (*OED* 13:353); “to bring back, restore, admit to the church” (*OED* 13:353), “to expiate, to atone for” (*OED* 13:353, “to adjust, settle, bring to an agreement (a controversy, quarrel, etc).” We learn that among others the word was first used by Wycliff in his translation of 2 Cor 5:19. Concerning “onement” the *OED* quotes Wycliff’s 1388 translation of Ezekiel 37:16 as the first example: “Ione thou tho trees oon to the tother in to o tree to thee; and tho schulen be into onement [1382 oonyng] in thin hond.”

⁸ See e.g. Gustaf Aulén, *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of the Atonement* (London: SPCK, 1931).

Let us first turn to two contemporary definitions:

The English word *atonement* is derived from the two words “at onement” and denotes a state of togetherness between two people. Atonement presupposes two parties that are estranged, with the act of atonement being reconciliation of them into a state of harmony. The theological meaning is the reconciliation between God and his fallen creation, especially between God and sinful human beings. Atonement is thus the solution to the main problem of the human race—its estrangement from God stemming from the fall of Adam and Eve.⁹

The semantic spectrum of ‘atonement’ covers both German *Versöhnung* (reconciliation) and *Sühne* (expiation), with some overlap *Erlösung* (redemption), with emphasis on its effect. In French and other Latin tongues, the main term is *redemption* (the thought of the price paid is near at hand), with *expiation* important too. One should also realize that there is no NT word to play a similar role – occurrences of *hilaskhetai* (nearest in meaning) ‘to propitiate,’ and its derivatives are sparse indeed (Luke 1:3; Rom 3:25; Heb 2:17; 1 John 2:2; 4:10).¹⁰

It was the early English reformer William Tyndale who used it with a conspicuous frequency in his Bible translations as well as his prose works. John Wycliff (c. 1330–1384) had already used “onement” but God as “atone-maker” is undoubtedly Tyndale’s invention. Tyndale rendered both the Greek *katallage* and the Hebrew *kippur* (Greek *hilasterion/hilasmos*) as “mercy-seat” or “atonement.”

2.1. Atonement (*katallage*) in Rom 5:10–11 and 2 Cor 5:18–21 in Tyndale’s New Testament Translations (1526, 1534)

Tyndale rendered Rom 5:10–11 as follows:

For yf when we were enemyes we were reconciled to God by the death of his sonne: moche more seinge we are reconciled we shal be preseruid by his lyfe. Not only so but we also ioye in God by the meanes of oure Lorde Iesus Christ by whom we have receavyd the *attonment*.¹¹

⁹ In Leland Ryken et al, *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery* (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 54.

¹⁰ Henri A. G. Blocher, “Atonement,” in *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. Kevin Vanhoozer (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, SPCK, 2005), 72.

¹¹ For a comparison of various translations of Rom 5:10–11 see Appendix 1.

One can see in Appendix 1 that the Greek *katallage* was rendered as “attonment” by Tyndale and this version was preserved both in the *Geneva Bible* of 1560 and the *King James Bible* in 1611.

However, the case is somewhat different with the key passage in 2 Cor 5:18–21.

Neverthelesse all thinges are of god which hath reconciled vs vnto him sylfe by Iesus Christ and hath geuen vnto vs the office to preach the *atonement*. For god was in Christ and made agreement bitwene the worlde and hym sylfe and imputed not their synnes vnto them: and hath committed to vs the preachynge of the *atonement*. Or god was in Christ and made agreement bitwene the worlde and hym sylfe and imputed not their synnes vnto them: and hath committed to vs the preachynge of the *atonement*. Now then are we messengers in the roume of Christ: even as though God did beseeche you thorow vs: So praye we you in Christes stede that ye be *atone with God* [. . .].

One can easily see in Appendix 2 that both the Geneva version of 1560 and the *King James Bible* exchanged “attonment” for the well-established Latin “reconciliation.”

2.2. Tyndale’s Atonement in the Old Testament (Especially in Lv 16)

A certain Philologos on *The Jewish Daily Forward* website properly argued that the great difference between the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament is, that while in the Jewish tradition it is only man who atones for his sin, in the New Testament God atones for human sins by sacrificing his only son.¹²

Van Parunak in another internet article on “Atonement in the New Testament”¹³ has suggested that four terms dominate the Hebrew vocabulary for atonement: the verb *kipper* meaning ‘to make atonement’; the noun *kofer* meaning ‘ransom’ in a non-sacrificial context; the noun *kippurim* meaning ‘atonement’ which describes either the sacrifice or the day of atonement; the noun *kapporet* which describes the cover on the ark of the covenant, and is always translated as “mercy-seat.”

¹² Philologos, “At-one-ment: On Language,” *The Jewish Daily Forward*, September 19, 2007, <http://www.forward.com/articles/11632/#ixzz12Mch56Dz> (last visited: January 21, 2011).

¹³ H. Van Dyke Parunak, “Atonement in the New Testament,” *Cyber Chapel*, 21 March, 2006, <http://www.cyber-chapel.org/AtonementInTheNT.pdf> (last visited: January 21, 2011).

As for the Greek versions in the LXX: *kipper* is translated as *exilaskomai* (it frequently [92 times] occurs in Hebrew and 75 times it is rendered as *exilaskomai*). *Kofer* occurs 19 times in the Hebrew text and its most common translation is *lutron* (ransom). *Kippurim* appears 8 times, four as *exilasmos*; *Kapporet* appears 27 times and 20 times translated as *hilasterion*.

Hebrew	LXX (Septuagint)	New Testament
<i>Kipper</i> (v, to make atonement) 92	<i>exilaskomai</i> 75	<i>Hilaskomai</i> Lk 18:33; Heb 2:17
<i>Kofer</i> (n, atonement, non-sacr.)	<i>Lutron</i>	<i>Lutron</i> Mt 28:28; Mk 10:45 (ransom)
<i>Kippurim</i> (n 8, sacrificial)	<i>Exilasmos</i>	<i>Hilasmos</i> 1 Jn 2:2; 1 Jn 4:2
<i>Kapporet</i> (n, cover of the ark, “mercy-seat”)	<i>Hilasterion</i>	<i>Hilasterion</i> Rom 3:25; Heb 9:5

Table 3. *Kapporet* in LXX and its versions in the New Testament

Now we turn to Tyndale’s Old Testament, especially to Lv 16, where the Day of Atonement is described. In the sacrificial sense, it was the cover of the ark *kofer* (*kippur*) which the LXX rendered as *hilasterion* and Tyndale as “mercy-seat,” but as this is the very place where atonement is being made the “mercy-seat” is also frequently translated as “atonement.” However, the King James Version (henceforth: KJV) uses “propitiation.” Appendix 3 shows the difference between Wycliff’s rendering and Tyndale’s translating the same passage. In Leviticus 16 the term related to atonement is “mercy-seat.” Appendix 4 shows the various translations of the term.

2.3. Tyndale’s Explanation of the New Testament Texts in Terms of Old Testament Texts

Returning to the New Testament from the Old one can understand why and how Christ’s death is related to the Old Testament in St Paul’s language in Rom 3:25. Here Tyndale translates *hilasterion* as “mercy-seat,” the Geneva-versions “pacification” and “reconciliation,” while the *King James Bible* “propitiation.” (See Appendix 5!) However, some modern versions use here “expiation,” “atonement” or “sacrifice” or “atoning sacrifice.” (See Appendix 6.)

For Tyndale a closely related term to *hilasterion* is *hilasmos* in 1 John 2:2, and 1 John 4:10. Tyndale wrote a whole commentary on St John’s Epistle (1531) and there he provides a long but helpful clarification why he uses in the commentary (not in his translations!) “satisfaction.”¹⁴

Translation in 1526	Commentary in 1531	Translation in 1534
[. . .] and he itt is that obteyneth grace for oure synnes: not for oure sinnes only: but also for the synnes of all the worlde.	And he is the satisfaction for oure synnes / and not for oures only / but also for all the worldes.	[. . .] and he it is that obtaineth grace for our sins: not for our sins only: but also the sins of all the world.

Table 4. Tyndale’s three translations of *hilasmos*

That I call satisfaction, the Greek calleth *Ilasmos*, and the Hebrew Copar: and it is first taken for the suaging of wounds, sores, and swellings, and the taking away of pain and smart of them; and thence is borrowed for the pacifying and suaging of wrath and anger, and for an amends-making, a contenting, satisfaction, a ransom, and making at one, as it is to see abundantly in the bible. So that Christ is a full contenting, satisfaction and ransom for our sins: and not for ours only, which are apostles and disciples of Christ while he was yet here; or for ours which are Jews, or Israelites, and the seed of Abraham; or for ours that now believe at this present time, but for all men’s sins, both for their sins which went before and believed the promises to come, and for ours which have seen them fulfilled, and also for all them which shall afterward believe unto the world’s end, of whatsoever nation or degree they be.¹⁵

2.4. “Atonement” in Tyndale’s Prose Works

On comparing Luther’s and Tyndale’s prefaces to the Romans András Mikešy pointed out that Tyndale uses the method of “enlargement,” i.e., he uses several synonyms to explain the meaning of a word.¹⁶

¹⁴ See: Mirjam Szabó, “Texts and Contexts in William Tyndale’s Exposition of the First Epistle to John” (MA thesis, Károli Gáspár University of the Hungarian Reformed Church, 2010.)

¹⁵ Tyndale, William 1531b (1849), *Exposition of the First Epistle of St John*, In *Expositions and Notes on Sundry Portions of the Holy Scripture to together with The Practice of Prelates*, Ed. Henry Walter, The Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1849), 153–54.

¹⁶ Mikešy, András. *Martin Luther és William Tyndale Pál Rómaiakhoz írt leveléről. Martin Luther and William Tyndale on Paul’s Epistle to the Romans*

Our first example is from Tyndale's *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, where "atonement" is both a metaphor of Christ and the subject of preaching:

*Christ is our Redeemer, Saviour, peace, atonement, and satisfaction; and hath made amends or satisfaction to Godward for all the sin which they that repent (consenting to the law and believing the promises) do, have done, or shall do (italics mine).*¹⁷

Now I pray you, when was it heard that God sent any man to preach unto the devils, or that he made them any good promise? *He threateneth them oft; but never sent any ambassadors to preach any atonement between him and them (italics mine).*¹⁸

In *The Obedience of the Christian Man* "atonement" is used in the form of a hendyades, which means "say one thing with two things"¹⁹: "to preach the atonement and peace."

But to God-ward Christ is an everlasting satisfaction, and ever sufficient. // *Christ, when he had fulfilled his course, anointed his apostles and disciples with the same Spirit, and sent them forth, without all manner disguising, like other men also, to preach the atonement and peace which Christ had made between God and man. The apostles likewise disguised no man, but chose men anointed with the same Spirit: one to preach the word of God, whom we call, after the Greek tongue, a bishop or a priest; that is, in English, an overseer and an elder (italics mine).*²⁰

The word most frequently appears in Tyndale's translation of Leviticus. Here is an example from Lv 5:10:

(Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2008), 17.

¹⁷ Tyndale, William 1528b (2000), *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, ed. David Daniell (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 52.

¹⁸ Tyndale, William 1528a (1848), *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, In, *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scripture by William Tyndale*, ed. Henry Walter, The Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1848), 120.

¹⁹ Cf. George T. Wright, "Hendiadys and *Hamlet*," *PMLA* 96, no. 2 (1981): 168–93.

²⁰ Tyndale 1528b, 228–29.

And let him offer the second for a burnt offering as the maner is: and so shall the priest make an *atonement* for him for the sin which he hath sinned, and it shall be forgiven him.²¹

Tyndale wrote two commentaries. In his commentary on 1 John he alludes to the atonement in Ex 30:10:

*Item, Exodus the xxx. the sin or sin-offering is called atonement; and it was yet but a sign, certifying the conscience that the atonement was made, and that God had forgiven the sin (italics mine).*²²

[. . .] whereas the scripture saith, *Christ is our righteousness, our justifying, our redemption, our atonement, that hath appeased God, and cleanseth us from our sins, and all in his blood, so that his blood is the satisfaction only (italics mine).*²³

In his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount we read as follows:

[. . .] *whether it were of the holy scripture and of God himself,—was yet but a darkness, until the doctrine of his apostles came; that is to say, until the knowledge of Christ came, how that he is the sacrifice for our sins, our satisfaction, our peace, atonement and redemption, our life thereto, and resurrection.* Whatsoever holiness, wisdom, virtue, perfectness, or righteousness, is in the world among men, howsoever perfect and holy they appear; yet is all damnable darkness, except the right knowledge of Christ’s blood be there first, to justify the heart, before all other holiness (italics mine).²⁴

But after the atonement is made and we reconciled, then we be partly righteous in ourselves and unrighteous; righteous as far as we love, and unrighteous as far as the love is imperfect. And faith in the promise of God, that he doth reckon us for full righteous, doth ever supply that

²¹ Tyndale, William 1534b (1992), *Tyndale’s Old Testament*. In a modern spelling edition and with an introduction by David Daniell (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 155.

²² Tyndale, William, 1531b (1849), *Exposition of the First Epistle of St John*, In *Expositions and Notes on Sundry Portions of the Holy Scripture together with The Practice of Prelates*, ed. Henry Walter, The Parker Society 43, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1849), 152.

²³ Tyndale, William, 1531b, 157.

²⁴ Tyndale, William 1533 (1849), *An Exposition Uppon the V.VI.VII. Chapters of Matthew*, In *Expositions and Notes on Sundry Portions of the Holy Scripture together with The Practice of Prelates*, ed. Henry Walter, The Parker Society, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1849), 34.

unrighteousness and imperfectness, as it is our whole righteousness at the beginning (italics mine).²⁵

Here is another example for the enlargement:

*until the knowledge of Christ came, how that he is the sacrifice for our sins, our satisfaction, our peace, atonement and redemption, our life thereto, and resurrection (italics mine).*²⁶

3. At-one-ment-at-Work

3.1. Reconciliation in/of Theology and Literature

3.1.1. Dramatic Theology

One of the premises of the present essay is, that atonement and reconciliation are interchangeable synonyms; though atonement has been more frequently used in a theological context while “reconciliation” has had a wider resonance.

I will use reconciliation and atonement as synonyms following John W. de Gruchy:

“Reconciliation” is one of the words used in English to describe this experience, though the word “atonement” has often functioned as its equivalent in theological textbooks. But “at-one-ment” is a peculiarly English construction coined to describe God and humanity through the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.²⁷

De Gruchy mentions that the Greek version of “reconciliation” or “reconcile” only occurs 15 times in the New Testament,²⁸ and he also argues that for Paul “reconciliation” is a controlling metaphor expressing

²⁵ Tyndale, William 1531b, 90.

²⁶ Tyndale 1533, 34.

²⁷ John W. de Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 45.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 218: “The noun (reconciliation) καταλλαγή four times (Rom 5:11,11:15; 2 Cor 5:18,19), and the verb (to reconcile) eleven times ἀποκαταλασσω (Eph 2:16; Col 1:20,22), διααλλασσομαι (Mt 5:24), καταλσσω (Rom 5:10 twice; Col 1:20,22); 2 Cor 5:18,19,20), συναλλασσω (Acts 7:26). On one occasion the English translators have used “reconciliation” to translate the Greek word for peace εἰρηνη (Acts 12:20).

the gospel along with “salvation,” “redemption,” “deliverance,” or, even “justification.”²⁹

The theologian Kevin J. Vanhoozer argues that “drama and dogma” go hand in hand,³⁰ namely, that the doctrine of atonement is the most dramatic of all Christian narratives and doctrines. It is indeed the climax of the grand “theo-drama.” Hans Urs von Balthasar rightly says that no theory can express the dramatic richness as the one encapsulated in the “five-dimensional plot of the cross:” “(1) the Son *gives himself* “for us,” (2) the Son gives himself “for us” *by exchanging places with us*; (3) the Son *saves us from* something (sets us free); (4) the Son *saves us for* something (i.e. participation in the life of God); (5) the Son does all this out of obedience to the Father, who sets the whole process in motion because of his love.”³¹

Gustaf Aulen’s book on the three main types of the idea of the atonement remains a classic as in his *Christus Victor*³² the Swedish theologian stressed the dramatic nature of the atonement in its emphasis on Christ’s victory over death. Vanhoozer speaks about the cross as “the historical outworking of an eternal improvising by which the triune God loves the ungodly creatively while remaining himself.”³³

Drama, however, never exists in a vacuum. It comes to life only if it is performed. “The purpose of the doctrine of the atonement [. . .] is to help us understand the theo-drama, to clarify our role in it, and to direct us to play our part as well.”³⁴

We come to understand the theo-drama only in the theatre of the church where we are also involved. Vanhoozer says that “[t]he church, as the theatre of the gospel, celebrates the person and work of Christ: God with us and for us. [. . .] Those who worship in spirit and truth become participants—communicants and celebrants—in the drama of redemption.”³⁵

What does the performance of the atonement mean in the “theatre of the gospel,” i.e. the church? The church is a reconciliatory theatre that revolutionarily proclaims the script of the Gospel and prophetically imitates the lives of her martyrs.

²⁹ Ibid., 45.

³⁰ Kevin J. Vanhoozer, *The Drama of Doctrine: A Canonical Linguistic Approach to Christian Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005).

³¹ Vanhoozer, 2005, 383. Cf. Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Theo-drama, vol. 4. The Action* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1994), 265.

³² Gustaf Aulén, *Christus Victor*, 1931.

³³ Vanhoozer, *The Drama of Doctrine* 2005, 389.

³⁴ Ibid., 392.

³⁵ Ibid., 409.

[T]he church is itself the end of the goal of theo-drama: the fulfillment of God's covenant promise to make a people for himself and to be that people's God. [. . .] When the church participates fittingly in the drama of redemption, then, it assumes the role of corporate witness to the reality of the new creation wrought by the Father in Christ through the Spirit.³⁶

Christian dogma is substantially dramatic and Christian drama is substantially dogmatic. Drama reanimates dogma and dogma is not only a proposition but ultimately and originally a story told and reenacted. In a world turned upside down, i.e. ruled by an enemy, the theatre of the gospel is necessarily subversive. "The church is a theatre of divine wisdom, a participatory performance of the doctrine of atonement, precisely when it is a theatre of 'holy folly'."³⁷

3.2.2. Theological Roots of Literary Studies

Among literary critics it was my colleague Péter Dávidházi who, in his groundbreaking work on János Arany, recognized that the aesthetic principle of reconciliation is deeply rooted in the Jewish and Christian idea of "atonement." For nineteenth-century poets and critics it was evident that poetry and art suggest a religious connotation of reconciliation which is deeply rooted in the aesthetic category of catharsis.³⁸

When I began to teach Shakespeare over thirty years ago, I was always struck how frequently the word "reconciliation" was used by literary critics, saying, for example, that in the romances the young couple are the "agents of reconciliation." I just wondered why drama theory has not really explored the depth of the category. We know, of course, that "reconciling the opposites" was a favourite term of Coleridge.³⁹

³⁶ Ibid., 434–35.

³⁷ Ibid., 439.

³⁸ Péter Dávidházi, "Megváltástan és katariziselmélet határán: a 'kiengesztelődés' mint közös világnézeti norma," in *Hunyt mesterünk: Arany János kritikai öröksége* (Budapest: Argumentum, 1992), 222–39. See also his "A végső birtokbavétel rituálja felé: engesztelő áldozat, irodalmi kanonizáció és rejtett testvérharc a Kazinczy-ünnepélyen," in *Egy nemzeti tudomány születése: Toldy Ferenc és a magyar irodalomtörténet* (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, Universitas, 2004), 265–82.

³⁹ Cf. Alice D. Snyder, *The Critical Principle of the Reconciliation of Opposites as Employed by Coleridge* (Ann Arbor: The Ann Arbor Press, 1918), and Miklós Szenczi, "Coleridge irodalomesztétikája (1975)" in *Tanulmányok* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989), 349–444.

Most recently, in a collection of essays on *Reconciliation in Selected Shakespearean Dramas*,⁴⁰ a doyen of the “Shakespeare and Christianity” school, Chris R. Hassell Jr. publicly confessed how he regretted to have omitted the word “reconciliation” from his recent (2005) dictionary of *Shakespeare’s Religious Language*⁴¹ and said: “I assure you that ‘reconcile’ will be the first word added into the second edition.”⁴²

It would be an exciting, tempting but longtime project to illustrate how atonement, or reconciliation is at work as a structural principle in most of the comedies, especially *Measure for Measure*, or, in all of the romances, especially in *The Winter’s Tale*, *Cymbeline* and last but not least, *The Tempest*.

At the end of the comic and romantic plots the odds are made even, Jacks find their Jills, lost family members are found, who were thought to have died turn out to be alive, couples are brought together after a series of misadventures, the generation-gap is solved, conflicts are healed, lovers united, the wicked forgiven. Moreover, hostile nations like Britain and Rome make peace, former enemy brothers repent and embrace one another and the idea of reconciliation, i.e. at-one-ment of heaven and earth is being celebrated by music in a solemn banquet.

In comedies reconciliation and catharsis are achieved by the happy ending. Northrop Frye distinguished between the satirical comedy of Ben Jonson and the romantic comedy of Shakespeare: “There are two ways of developing the form of comedy: one is to throw the main emphasis on the blocking characters; the other is to throw it forward on the scenes of discovery and reconciliation.”⁴³ At the end of his analysis of *Measure for Measure* Frye remarked:

Shakespearean comedy usually ends [with] the vision of a renewed and regenerated society, with forgiveness, reconciliation, and the pursuit of happiness all over the place. Forgiveness and reconciliation come at the

⁴⁰ Beatrice Batson, ed., *Reconciliation in Selected Shakespearean Dramas* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008).

⁴¹ Chris R. Hassel, Jr., *Shakespeare’s Religious Language: A Dictionary* (New York and London: Continuum, 2005).

⁴² Chris R. Hassel, Jr., “‘Why, All the Souls That Were Forfeit Once’: Biblical Reconciliation in Shakespeare,” In Batson, ed., *Reconciliation in Selected Shakespearean Dramas*, 6.

⁴³ Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), 166.

end of a comedy because they belong at the end of a comedy, not because Shakespeare 'believed' in them.⁴⁴

In the case of the tragedies there is, of course catharsis but reconciliation is of a different kind, the nature of which we cannot here investigate.

3.3. Enemy Brothers Reconciled: A Motif in *As You Like It*

In the rest of my essay I wish to concentrate on one particular episode of *As You Like It* that both exemplifies and dramatizes the nature and meaning of atonement. This is the reconciliation between Oliver and Orlando as narrated by Oliver to Celia and Rosalind in act 4 scene 3.

As You Like It is one of the great romantic ("green world") comedies of Shakespeare that both celebrates and ridicules the pastoral tradition. The drama is as paradigmatic about role-playing, cross-dressing as it is emblematic about the nature of the theatre: Jacques's "All the World's a Stage" monologue just conformed to the *Totus mundus agit histrionem* motto of the new Globe Theatre opened in 1599. And above all, as all comedies *As You Like It* is also about love: after the necessary vicissitudes four couples are about to consummate their mutual affections at the end of the play.

However, there is an archetypal pattern woven into this multi-layered play: this is the motif of enemy brothers. The pattern is well-known from the Bible from the conflicts of Cain and Abel, Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob, Joseph and his brothers and so on. Some New Testament parables begin with the phrase: "A father had two sons." While reading, for example, the parable of the prodigal son it is not easy to decide whether the prodigal is the lost one, or the one who had remained at home and let himself be captive of his envy and jealousy.

Shakespeare seems to have been obsessed with this issue. (Mr Best says in James Joyce's *Ulysses* that "that brother motive [. . .] we find in old Irish myths. [. . .] The three brothers Shakespeare.")⁴⁵

The sibling rivalry is a pattern in the history plays, especially in *Richard III*: not only between Gloucester, Clarence or King Edward but even in the emulation of the ill-fated young princes as well. It is there, of course, in *Hamlet* as Claudius himself admits to have the "primal eldest curse," i.e. "the mark of Cain" upon himself. It is there in the desire of the

⁴⁴ Northrop Frye, *Northrop Frye on Shakespeare* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 153.

⁴⁵ James Joyce, *Ulysses* (1922; Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), 210.

bastard Edmund to “top the legitimate” Edgar in *King Lear*; it is there in Prospero’s banishment by his usurper-brother Antonio in *The Tempest*.⁴⁶

Most poignantly it is there even on two levels in *As You Like It*. The play begins where any of the tragedies ended: in a world of rottenness and death where time is out of joint. Duke Frederick the usurper rules his waste land and the good-hearted banished Senior Duke meditates upon the romantic beauty of exiled life which is “exempt from public haunt” (2.1.14). Duke Frederick is the prototype of the ambitious and jealous tyrant whose court everybody gradually deserts to find freedom in the forest of Arden. The tragic enmity of brothers, is, however, transcended by the mutual and gentle affection of their daughters Rosalind and Celia who “like Juno’s swans, / Still [. . .] went coupled and inseparable” (1.3.71–72).

While the brotherly enmity between Duke Senior and Duke Frederick is the framing facade of the play, the details of their conflicts remain in the background and are assigned into the gloomy past; its lower-levelled same pattern: the archetypal rivalry and hatred between the wicked Oliver and his oppressed younger brother Orlando is brought into the foreground. It is heard already at the very beginning of the play when Orlando complains to his loyal servant Adam about Oliver:

He lets me feed with his hinds, bars me the place of a brother [. . .] mines my gentility with my education. (1.1.18–19)

When he is confronted with Oliver he continues the complaint:

The courtesy of all nations allows you my better, in that you are the first born, but the same tradition takes not away my blood, were there twenty brothers betwixt us. I have as much of my father in me as you, albeit I confess your coming before me is nearer to his reverence. (1.1.45–51)

He clarifies the cause of his complaint:

My father charged you in his will to give me good education: you have trained me like a peasant, obscuring and hiding from me all gentleman-like qualities. (1.1.66–69)

⁴⁶ Tibor Fabiny, “Brothers as Doubles: Birthright and Rivalry of ‘Brothers’ in Genesis and Shakespeare,” in *Míves semmiségek: Tanulmányok Ruttkay Kálmán 80. születésnapjára. Elaborate trifles: Studies for Kálmán G. Ruttkay on his 80th Birthday*, ed. Gábor Ittész and András Kiséry (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2002), 35–47.

Oliver unashamedly reveals his wickedness and falsely deceiving him, prompts Charles the wrestler to suspend his inhibition to kill him because Orlando is

full of ambition, an envious emulator of every man's good parts, a secret and villanous contriver against me his natural brother. (1.1.141–43)

When left alone Oliver himself is shocked by the irrationality of his hatred for his brother:

Now I will stir this gamester. I hope I shall see an end of him; for my soul—yet I know not why—hates nothing more than he. Yet he's gentle, never schooled and yet learned, full of noble device, of all sorts enchantingly beloved, and indeed so much in the heart of the world, and especially of my own people, who best know him, that I am altogether misprised. But it shall not be so long; this wrestler shall clear all. (1.1.161–70)

However, the wicked design of Oliver is “overthrown” just as Charles, contrary to the expectations of many, is “overthrown” (1.2.243) in the wrestling game by the Hercules-like power of Orlando. But in the moment of his triumph Orlando himself is “overthrown” (1.2.249) by Rosalind's love at first sight.

The loyal old servant Adam alerts Orlando that Oliver when hearing him being praised “means / To burn the lodging where you use to lie, / And you within it [. . .] this house is but a butchery” (2.3.21–23, 26). Hatred inflames hatred: on learning Celia's escape from the court the raging Frederick commands Oliver to find his brother and “bring him dead or living / Within this twelvemonth, or turn thou no more / To seek a living in our territory” (3.1.6–8). Like cures like. Oliver openly admits: “I never lov'd my brother in my life” (3.1.14).

The rest of the play takes place in the forest of Arden, where all the banished or self-banished characters flee. In this counterpart of the apparently civilized but in fact brutally uncivilized courtly world the good-natured characters find not only themselves but their providentially provided lovers. As it is well-known, this happens on several levels of the play.

The crucial scene for the sake of which this essay is written, is in act 4, scene 3. The Rosalind-as-Ganymede-as-Rosalind in the company of Celia is eagerly waiting for Orlando to return on the promised hour so that they continue Rosalind's “curing” of Orlando's love for Rosalind.

Contrary to the expectations Celia is welcoming an unknown gentleman who brings a bloody napkin from Orlando. He narrates the

details how Orlando while “pacing through the forest” suddenly caught sight of a “wretched rugged man” who, while sleeping under an old oak-tree was threatened by a “green and gilded snake” which, on Orlando’s approach, “did slip away into the bush”. But there a lioness was “catlike” watching the sleeping man to awake.

Orlando then recognized it was his unnatural, wicked brother who was chasing him. “Twice did he turn his back, and purpos’d so. / But kindness, nobler ever than revenge, / And nature, stronger than his just occasion, / made him give battle to the lioness, / Who quickly fell before him” (4.3.127–30).

The words “kindness, nobler ever than revenge” are theologically loaded words in Shakespeare. They are also echoed by Prospero in *The Tempest*: “The rarer action is / In virtue than in vengeance” (5.1.27–8). In *The Merchant of Venice* Portia also says that “mercy seasons justice” (4.1.193), just as in *Measure for Measure* Isabella pleads for Angelo’s mercy on the same grounds: “Why, all the souls that were forfeit once, / And He that might the vantage best have took / Found out the remedy” (2.2.73–75).

“Unnatural” wickedness can only be overcome by a supernatural, supralapsarian nature, i.e. goodness, or mercy. This is the “kindness,” the original, God-given “nature” that is nobler than revenge.

OLIVER From miserable slumber I awaked.

CELIA Are you his brother?

ROSALIND Was’t you he rescu’d?

CELIA Was’t you that did so oft contrive to kill him?

OLIVER ’Twas I. But ’tis not I. I do not shame

To tell you what I was, since my conversion

So sweetly tastes, being the thing I am.

ROSALIND But for the bloody napkin.

OLIVER By and by.

When from the first to last betwixt us two

Tears our recountments had most kindly bath’d—

As how I came into that desert place—

In brief, he led me to the gentle Duke,

Who gave me fresh array and entertainment,

Committing me unto my brother’s love,

Who led me instantly unto his cave,

There stripp’d himself, and here upon his arm

The lioness had torn some flesh away,

Which all this while had bled; and now he fainted,

And cried in fainting upon Rosalind. (4.3.132–49)

Oliver narrates that his own brother whom he was chasing with hatred was not only willing to overcome his impulse to revenge by letting him die “justly,” but he felt motivated to fight for his enemy brother while even risking his life. Fighting to rescue your enemy, to save someone who means to kill you by offering your own life for your enemy’s sake—is not what normal people do. This is something “supranatural” but this is real kindness, real, original nature.

Orlando, so far pagan Hercules, now becomes the Christ-like Hercules. This is the voluntary sacrifice, or, even, the vicarious sacrifice where the innocent victim free-willingly offers himself for the life of the unworthy—this is the mystery of atonement.

Just as one experiences the power of Christ’s redemptive love on Calvary and lets his or her heart be stirred, or, moved by it, so is Oliver’s so far wicked human nature and heart suddenly healed and he becomes a reborn, regenerate human being. This is what he means when he says: “’Twas I. But ’tis not I. I do not shame / To tell you what I was, since my conversion / So sweetly tastes, being the thing I am” (4.3. 135–7). Oliver, whose hard-heartedness had trapped him and wrapped him up in the net of his own hatred, is now melted and now, being purified, is ready to love and be loved.

Atonement is reconnecting, i.e., the making “one” of two, the creating of a unity out of a breach. “There can be no reconciliation [. . .] if there has not been a sundering,” says Stephen in *Ulysses*.⁴⁷

The great curse of earthly, historical existence is this “sundering,” division, separation, conflict, enmity and so on. Between brother and brother, child and parent, husband and wife, east and west, north and south, the centre and the periphery, a nation and its neighbour, minority and majority, liberals and conservatives, heaven and earth, God and man. This “sundering” needs reparation, redemption, reconciliation, atonement. In the words of Martha S. Robinson:

In *As You Like It* the practice of mercy is in fact the chief mark of the heavenly city, and testifies to the reconciliation of brothers as well as the atonement of earth and heaven. Shakespeare’s vision of the redeemed as a community of brothers who, practicing mercy, ‘find way to heaven / By doing deeds of hospitality’ (2.4.79–80).⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Joyce, *Ulysses*, 195.

⁴⁸ Marsha S. Robinson, “The Earthly City Redeemed: The Reconciliation of Cain and Abel in *As You Like It*,” in *Reconciliation in Selected Shakespearean Dramas*, ed. Beatrice Batson (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 164.

Conclusion

At the beginning of our essay we have quoted Hymen’s words “There is mirth in heaven, / When earthly things are made even / Atone together (5.4.107–9) which usually do not come through in various translations as modern translators of the comedy usually fail to recognize the deep biblical resonance of Hymen’s words: “atone together.” Hymen, though a pagan god of marriage, anticipates or prefigures the biblical-Christian notion of all human history with the image of the “marriage of the Lamb” (Rev 19:7).

Shakespeare, however, was aware of the Christian semantics of “atonement” as it has been demonstrated by the examples from many of his plays.

In search for exploring the deep meaning of atonement we have started a philological investigation in turning to the Bible translation and prose works of William Tyndale, who established the expression “at-one-ment” to express the mystery of the healing of the division between God and man due to the original tragedy of the Fall which Milton called man’s “first disobedience” (*Paradise Lost*, book 1 line 1.) Tyndale and other sixteenth-century Bible translators used the term interchangeably with “reconciliation.”

From philology we have moved to theology following those modern theologians (Hans Urs von Balthasar, Kevin J. Vanhoozer) who have proposed that dogma should be seen rather as drama than a set of rigid doctrines. It has been argued that within the great “theodrama” atonement or reconciliation is a crucial climax that was already performed on the cross of Christ but its performance must be continued in the believers’ theatre, i.e., the church (Vanhoozer).

From our excursion to “theodrama” we have returned to Shakespearean drama to investigate how a theological term has been converted into an aesthetic principle. It has been noticed that only a few literary scholars (e.g. Péter Dávidházi) seem to be conscious of the theological roots of the principle of artistic reconciliation.

Shakespeare’s great romantic comedy *As You Like It*, particularly its narrated episode of Oliver’s conversion, has been chosen as case study to demonstrate “reconciliation at work” and thus “Hymen’s truth” was hopefully, justified.

APPENDIX 1.

Rom 5:10–11 in various translations

	Rom 5:10	Rom 5:11
Greek	εἰ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ ὄντες κατηλλάγημεν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, πολλῶ μᾶλλον καταλλαγέμετες σωθησόμεθα ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ·	οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ Καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δι' οὗ νῦν τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλάβομεν.
Latin	si enim cum inimici essemus reconciliati sumus Deo per mortem Filii eius multo magis reconciliati salvi erimus in vita ipsius	non solum autem sed et gloriamur in Deo per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum per quem <i>nunc reconciliationem accepimus</i>
Luther (1522)	Denn so wir Gott versöhnt sind durch den Tod seines Sohnes, da wir noch Feinde waren, viel mehr werden wir selig werden durch sein Leben, so wir nun versöhnt sind.	Nicht allein aber das, sondern wir rühmen uns auch Gottes durch unsern HERRN Jesus Christus, durch welchen wir nun die <i>Versöhnung empfangen haben</i> .
Tyndale (1526,1534)	For yf when we were enemyes we were reconciled to God by the death of his sonne: moche more seinge we are reconciled we shal be preseruid by his lyfe.	Not only so but we also ioye in God by the meanes of oure Lorde Iesus Christ by whom we have receavyd the <i>attonment</i> .
Geneva (1560)	For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne, much more being reconciled, we shalbe saued by his life,	And not onely so, but we also reioyce in God through our Lord Iesus Christ, by whom we haue nowe receiued the <i>atonement</i> .
King James Version (1611)	For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life.	And not only <i>so</i> , but we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the <i>atonement</i> .
Károli (1590)	Mert ha, mikor ellenségei voltunk, megbékéltünk Istennel az ő Fiának halála által, sokkal inkább megtartatunk az ő élete által, minekutána megbékéltünk vele.	Nemcsak pedig, hanem dicsekedünk is az Istenben a mi Urunk Jézus Krisztus által, <i>a ki által most a megbékélést nyertük</i> .

APPENDIX 2.

2 Cor 5:18–21 in various translations

	2 Cor 5:18	2 Cor 5:19	2 Cor 5:20	2 Cor 5:21
Greek	τὰ δὲ Πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ καταλλάξαντος ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ δόντος ἡμῖν τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς.	ὡς ὅτι θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ, μὴ λογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν καὶ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον τῆς καταλλαγῆς.	Ἐπεὶ Χριστοῦ οὖν πρεσβεύομεν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ παρακαλοῦντος δι' ἡμῶν· δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, καταλλάγητε τῷ θεῷ.	τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς γενώμεθα δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ.
Latin	omnia autem ex Deo qui reconciliavit nos sibi per Christum et dedit nobis <i>ministerium reconciliationis</i>	Quoniam quidem Deus erat in Christo mundum reconcilians sibi non reputans illis delicta ipsorum et posuit in nobis <i>verbum reconciliationis</i>	pro Christo ergo legationem fungimur tamquam Deo exhortante per nos obsecramus pro Christo <i>reconciliamini Deo</i>	eum qui non noverat peccatum pro nobis peccatum fecit ut nos efficeremur iustitia Dei in ipso
Luther (1522)	Aber das alles von Gott, der uns mit ihm selber versöhnt hat durch Jesum Christum und das Amt gegeben, das <i>die Versöhnung</i> predigt.	Denn Gott war in Christo und versöhnte die Welt mit ihm selber und rechnete ihnen ihre Sünden nicht zu und hat unter uns aufgerichtet <i>das Wort von der Versöhnung.</i>	So sind wir nun Botschafter an Christi Statt, denn Gott vermahnt durch uns; so bitten wir nun an Christi Statt: Lasset euch <i>versöhnen mit Gott.</i>	Denn er hat den, der von keiner Sünde wußte, für uns zur Sünde gemacht, auf daß wir würden in ihm die Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt.
Tyndale (1526, 1534)	Neverthelesse all thinges are of god which hath reconciled vs vnto him sylfe by Iesus Christ and hath geven vnto vs the office to preach the <i>atonement.</i>	For god was in Christ and made agrement bitwene the worlde and hym sylfe and imputed not their synnes vnto them: and hath committed to vs the preachynge of the <i>atonment.</i>	Now then are we messengers in the roume of Christ: even as though God did beseche you thorow vs: So praye we you in Christes stede that ye be <i>atone with God:</i>	for he hath made him to be synne for vs which knewe no synne that we by his meanes shuld be that rightewesnes which before God is aloved.

Geneva (1560)	And all things are of God, which hath reconciled vs vnto himselfe by Iesus Christ, and hath giuen vnto vs the ministerie of <i>reconciliation</i>	For God was in Christ, and reconciled the world to himselfe, not imputing their sinnes vnto them, and hath committed to vs the word of <i>reconciliation</i>	Now then are we ambassadours for Christ: as though God did beseeche you through vs, we pray you in Christes steade, that ye be <i>reconciled to God.</i>	For he hath made him to be sinne for vs, which knewe no sinne, that we should be made the righteousnesse of God in him.
King James Version (1611)	And all things <i>are</i> of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Iesus Christ, and hath given to us the <i>ministry of reconciliation</i>	To wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the <i>word of reconciliation</i>	Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech <i>you</i> by us: we pray <i>you</i> in Christ's stead, be ye <i>reconciled to God.</i>	For he hath made him <i>to be</i> sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.
Károli Gáspár (1590)	Mindez pedig Istentől van, a ki minket magával megbékéltetett a Jézus Krisztus által, és a ki nekünk adta a <i>békéltetés szolgálatát;</i>	Mínthogy az Isten volt az, a ki Krisztusban megbékéltette magával a világot, nem tulajdonítván nekik az ő bűneiket, és reánk bízta a <i>békéltetésnek ígését.</i>	Krisztusért járván tehát követségben, mintha Isten kérne mi általunk: Krisztusért kérünk, <i>béküljetek meg az Istennel.</i>	Mert azt, a ki bűnt nem ismert, bűnné tette értünk, hogy mi Isten igazsága legyünk ő benne.

APPENDIX 3.

Wycliffe and Tyndale (Lv 16)

Wycliffe 1388	Tyndale 1530
<p>CAP 16</p> <p>1 And the Lord spak to Moises, aftir the deeth of the twei sones of Aaron, whanne thei offriden alien fier, and weren slayn, and comaundide to hym,</p> <p>2 and seide, Speke thou to Aaron, thi brother, that he entre not in al tyme in to the seyntuarie, which is with ynne the veil bifor the propiciatorie, bi which the arke is hilid, that he die not; for Y schal appere in a cloude on Goddis answeryng place;</p> <p>14 Also he schal take of the `blood of the calf, and he schal sprengre seuensithis with the fyngur ayens `the propiciatorie, `to the east.</p> <p>17 No man be in the tabernacle, whanne the bischop schal entre in to the seyntuarie, that he preye for hym silf, and for his hows, and for al the cumpeny of Israel, til he go out of the tabernacle.</p>	<p>Chapter 16</p> <p>1 And the Lorde spake vnto Moses after the deeth of the two sonnes of Aaron, when they had offered before the Lorde and dyed:</p> <p>2 And he sayde vnto Moses: speake vnto Aaron thy brother that he go not at all tymes in to the holy place, that is whithin the vayle that hangeth before the mercyseate which is apou the arcke that he dye not. For I will appere in a clowde vpon the mercyseate.</p> <p>14 And he shall take of the bloude of the oxe ad sprinkle it with his finger before the mercyseate eastwarde: euen .vij. tymes.</p> <p>17 And there shalbe no bodye in the tabernacle of witnesse, when he goeth in to make an attonement in the holy place, vntyll he come out agayne. And he shall make an attonement for him selfe and for his housholde, ad for all the multitude of Israel.</p>

APPENDIX 4.

“Mercy-Seat” in Lv 16 in various translations

Lv 16 Nr	Wycliffe	Tyndale	King James Version	Vulgate	LXX
2	Propiciatorie, answeryng place	Mercyseate	Mercyseate	Propitiatorio	ιλαστηριου
13	Answeryng place	Mercyseate	mercy seat	-	ιλαστηριον
14	Answeryng place	Mercyseate	mercy seat	propitiatorium	ιλαστηριον
15	Propiciatorie	Mercyseate	mercy seat	-	ιλαστηριον

APPENDIX 5.

Rom 3:25 (“*hilasterion*”) in various translations

Greek	Vulgate	Wycliffe	Luther	Tyndale	Geneva (1560)	KJV
Ὁν προέθετο ὁ θεὸς ἱλαστήριον διὰ [τῆς] πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι	Quem proposuit Deus propitiationem per fidem in sanguine	Whom God ordeynede foryyuer, bi feith in his blood	welchen Gott hat vorgestellt zu einem Gnadenstuhl durch den Glauben in seinem Blut	God hath made a seate of mercy thorow faith in his blood	God hath set forth to be a reconciliation through faith (1557 NT: God hath set forth to be a pacification through faith)	God hath set forth <i>to be</i> a propitiation through faith in his blood

Rom 3:25 in other English translations

Some use “expiation” (NAB, RSV), others “sacrifice of atonement” (NIB, NRS), or, “sacrifice of reconciliation” (NJB).

NAB	NIB	NJB	NKJ	NRS	PNT	RSV
He is expiation for our sins	He is the atonement sacrifice for our sins	He is the sacrifice to expiate our sins	And He Himself is the propitiation for our sins	and he is the atonement sacrifice for our sins	And he is ye atonement for our sinnes	And he is the expiation for our sins

RSV=Revised Standard Version, New York and Edinburg, 1952

NAB= The New American Bible, The Catholic Biblical Association of America, New York, 1970.

NJB=New Jerusalem Bible, Oxford, Cambridge, 1970.

NIB=The New Interpreter’s Bible

NKJ=New King James, 1982

NRS=New Revised Standard, 1989

APPENDIX 6.

1 Jn 2:2 in various early modern translations

Greek	Vulgate	Wycliffe	Luther	Tyndale	Geneva	KJV
Καὶ αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστιν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν	et ipse est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris	he is the foryyue- nes for oure synnes	Und derselbe ist die Versöh- nung für unsre Sünden	and he it is that obteyneth grace for oure synnes	And he is the reconcilia- tion for our sinnes	And he is the propitia- tion for our sins

1 Jn 4:10 in various early modern translations

Greek	Vulgate	Wycliffe	Luther	Tyndale	Geneva	KJV
τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἱλασμὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν	et misit Filium suum propitiatio- nem pro peccatis nostris	Sente hise sone foryyue- nesse for oure synnes	Und gesandt seinen Sohn zur Versöh- nung für unsre Sünden.	and sent his sonne to make agreement for oure sinnes.	And sent his Sonne to be a reconcilia- tion for our sinnes.	And sent his Son <i>to be</i> the propitia- tion for our sins

1 Jn 4:10 in other English translations:

NAB	NIB	NJB	NKJ	NRS	PNT	RSV
And sent his Son as expiation for our sins.	And sent his Son as an atonig sacrifice for our sins.	And sent his Son to expiate our sins	And sent His Son <i>to be</i> the propitiation for our sins	And sent his Son to be the atonig sacrifice for our sins.	And sent his sonne to be the agreement for our sinnes.	And sent his Son to be the expiation for our sins.