THE STORY

of the

GERMAN BIBLE

A Contribution to the
Quadricentennial of Luther's Translation

By P. E. KRETZMANN, Ph. D., D. D.

Reprinted from Theological Monthly, 1934

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

The Story of the German Bible.

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I. The First Contact of German People with the Gospel.

Among the many remarkable books which were produced during the golden age of Latin literature there is none which in point of interest and appeal exceeds the little book of forty-six short chapters written by Tacitus and entitled *De Germania* (an account of the country of Germany). In this book he gives the general boundaries of the country inhabited by the Germanic tribes; he describes the physical and mental characteristics of these strange Northern people, the sources of their wealth, their military equipment and prowess, the influence and sacred character of their women, their gods and their modes of worship, their assemblies, councils, and magistrates, their marriage customs and the training of their children, their funeral customs, and many other interesting features of the various tribes and their manner of living.

It is this country, as described by Tacitus, to which our attention is first directed in considering the story of the German Bible. It was at the end of the first century a country which extended from the Vosges Mountains in the southwest to the great Russian steppes in the east, from the Alps to the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. At that time the many tribes enumerated by Tacitus were roughly divided into two large groups — the West Germanic tribes, with the Teutons, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Longobards as larger subdivisions, and the East Germanic tribes, which consisted chiefly of the Goths and the Scandinavians. Concerning the members of all these tribes the Roman historians are unanimous in stating that they were a splendid race of people, with large and powerful bodies, blue eyes, and blond hair, which often fell to their shoulders in heavy waves. They were a martial people, well versed in the arts of war, in which the young men were exercised from the days of their adolescence. When the Cimbri and the Teutons, between 113 and 102 B. C., instituted their campaign against Rome, it took the ablest generals of Italy to effect their overthrow, and the very names of the barbarian invaders were sufficient to fill the hearts of the inhabitants of the Italian cities with fear.

According to the unanimous verdict of Roman writers, the Germanic tribes excelled in many of the social virtues, having only one grievous vice to mar their reputation, namely, that of gambling, with which was often associated that of drinking to excess. Their pantheon was associated with the powers of nature, chiefly with the sun and the earth. Their chief god was Wotan, or Odin, he who governed the world and controlled the fate of men; he it was who

granted victory to the valiant warriors and received the heroes that fell in battle into the great hall of heaven, his Valhalla. Wotan's wife was known as Frigga, his companion in controlling the destinies of the world and its inhabitants. She was in particular the protectress of the home and the hearth and the defender of matrons. Wotan's son was known as Donar, or Thor, he who rode the clouds and directed the lightning, the god both of fertility and of peaceful pursuit. The third great male god of the Germanic pantheon was Ziu, or Tyr, the one-armed god of battle, whose chief function consisted in carrying out the commands of Wotan. The goddess of love was known as Freya. The motherly divinity, the special goddess of earth, was Nerthus, she who personally supervised the annual revival of the earth to bring forth its fruit. The mythology of the Germanic tribes, as it grew up around these chief gods and goddesses and the many lesser divinities and spirits, is extremely fascinating, so that it has become the subject of many poetical and musical masterpieces, from the earliest days to the last century, when the German composer Wagner used its material for his great cycle of musical dramas.

At the beginning of the second century after Christ the tribes in contact with Roman civilization were naturally those along the Rhine. *Germania Inferior* (Lower Germany) was west of the Lower Rhine, now a part of the Netherlands and of Belgium, while *Germania Superior* (Upper Germany) was farther up the river and on both sides, including quite a few rather respectable towns. The numerous evidences of the Roman occupation along the Rhine offer some of the most fruitful sources of archeological investigation concerning the contact between the Roman cohorts and the Germanic tribes, also on the other side of the so-called *limes,* or boundary zone. If we add to this the fairly extensive historical information, we may well draw interesting conclusions as to the mutual influence between the proud Romans and the equally proud Germanic peoples. Among the tribes chiefly concerned were the Triboci, whose chief city was called by the Romans Argentoratum (now Strassburg), the Nemetes, whose chief city was Noviomagus (now Speyer); the Vangiones, in whose territory were located Bormetomagus (now Worms) and Mogontiacum (now Mainz); and the Ubii, with Colonia Agrippina (now Koeln or Cologne) as their metropolis.

The very proximity of these tribes to centers of Roman culture and influence would naturally have a tendency to shape their thinking to a degree. But to this incidental contact must be added the more permanent influence which was exerted by young men of the Germanic tribes under Roman control who were enlisted under the banner of the empire as soldiers. It is stated that the Italic cohort stationed at Caesarea (Acts 10, 1) often had Teutonic soldiers in its ranks, and an ancient tradition would even make the captain of the soldiers under

the cross of Jesus a member of some Germanic tribe. We may say that it is more than conjecture to state that Roman soldiers who had embraced Christianity returned to the home of their fathers in the country along the Rhine and made known the truth which they had learned in the capital city or in some barracks of the praetorian guard in the various provinces of the great empire. More than incidental contacts would be furnished also by the traveling merchants who visited not only the border cities, but under favorable circumstances penetrated far into the country beyond the Rhine, visiting the homes of many of the proud chieftains of Germanic tribes.

Still more important and significant, however, is another factor, namely, the contact with the Christian centers of Gaul and the missionary activities which were conducted by the first congregations along the Rhone. Even if we do not credit the tradition which declares that mission-work in Southern Gaul was begun in the days of Paul, we have positive historical proof of the fact that the Gospel was brought to the valley of the Rhone by the middle of the second century, for Irenaeus, Bishop of Lugdunum (Lyons), was the successor of Pothinus in the year 178, having been distinguished as presbyter of the congregation even before his elevation to the office of bishop, which he administered till the beginning of the third century. That Irenaeus was not merely a theologian of the first rank, but also a practical churchman with a great interest in missionary effort appears, for example, from the fact that he learned Celtic in order to preach to the heathen in the vicinity of Lyons in their mother tongue. And the fact that the congregation of this city is known in history for the martyrdoms of 177 A. D. marks it as one which was zealous for the extension of the Church of Jesus Christ. Now, a glance at the map will show that the valley of the Rhone would offer a fine opportunity for communication with the northern country and down the valley of the Rhine.

No matter how far these conjectures are in keeping with actual historical facts, the early accounts of some of the border cities indicate that Christianity was brought here at a fairly early date. Of Mainz (Mayence, Castellum Mogontiacum) the old legend says the Apostle Paul himself came there in 58 A. D., with Crescens and Luke, with whose assistance he established mission-work in the city and neighborhood. The first reasonably certain evidence concerning a bishopric in this city places it before the middle of the fifth century. Concerning Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicorum) the early accounts have it that the Gospel was brought here by Lucius and Narcissus in the second and third centuries. The name of its first bishop was Zosimus, at the beginning of the fourth century. With regard to Koeln (Cologne, Colonia Agrippina) it is certain that it had a Christian congregation before the beginning of the fourth century, and its

importance was recognized throughout the following centuries, beginning with the conversion of Chlodwig. The city of Trier (Treves, Augusta Trevirorum) is likewise known as the seat of a very early bishopric, and there is some reason for assuming that Strassburg (Strataburgum) also had a Christian congregation before the end of the fourth century. In Lower Germany, Tongern was evidently the seat of a bishop at an early age, for one is mentioned for the year 315, and it seems that Maternus of Cologne was the founder of this diocese.

That the preaching of the Gospel was well established in some of these centers of population before the beginning of the fourth century is evident from the records of the Council of Arles, in Southern Gaul, held in 314 A. D. Among the signatures affixed to some of the resolutions passed by this council are some of men not only from York, London, and Lincoln, in Great Britain, but also of Bishop Maternus and Deacon Macrinus of Cologne and of Bishop Agroecius and Exorcist Felix of Treves. This affords evidence enough that the Gospel had gotten a foothold in the border provinces, that Christianity was known in these remote sections of the Roman Empire even before the edict of Constantine the Great which acknowledged the Christian religion as the official religion and before the first great church council at Nicea, in 325.

Whether the Gospel at this time was widely known among the natives of the country surrounding the cities named or whether it was restricted chiefly to the Roman soldiers and civil officers cannot be determined at this time, since reliable historical evidence is not available. For the same reason it would practically be an idle speculation whether preaching was ever done in the language of the native Germanic tribes before the Council of Nicea. Up to the present time no evidence to that effect has been submitted on the basis of either historical or archeological sources.

II. Ulfilas and the First Germanic Translation of the Bible.

Among the East Germanic tribes referred to above there was also the mighty nation of the Goths, which for a time occupied choice sections of Europe from the Caspian Sea to the Baltic Sea. The western section of this great nation, known as the Visigoths, was located along the Vistula River, from where they gradually, during the migration of nations, moved in a southeasterly direction, toward the Carpathians and along the Dnieper River. Their first clash with the Romans occurred in 251 in Moesia, where the Roman emperor Decius fell in battle. At the end of the sixth decade of the third century they undertook a campaign against the lower Balkan Peninsula and also against the provinces of Asia Minor, until they were dispersed by Claudius II in 269.

The ways of God's providence and mercy are surely strange; for we are told by the great historian Philostorgios that during the campaign of the Goths in Cappadocia in 264 some Christians of Sadagolthina, near the city of Parnassus, on the River Halys, were led away as captives by the invaders. Among these Christian captives were the grandparents of a man who played a very important part in the Christianizing of the Goths; for the mother of Ulfilas (Wulfila, Urphilas = Little Wolf) was a Cappadocian, and a Christian, while his father was a member of the Gothic tribe.

It surely speaks well for the strength of his mother's Christian character that Ulfilas, who was born about 310 A. D. (311 and 313 are also given by some writers), evidently was brought up by her as a Christian. We know that he was a lector, or reader of lessons in the church services, in his younger years; he was made bishop when he was thirty years old. His chief biographer writes that Ulfilas met the ancient teacher Eusebius of Nicomedia at the occasion of an embassy of the Gothic tribe at the emperor's court. His consecration as bishop took place in the year 341 at a synod in Antioch. Some writers state that he was not a metropolitan, or city bishop, but merely a chorepiscopus, or rural bishop. No matter which report is true, it is clear that Ulfilas was a missionary bishop (*episcopus in partibus infidelium*), the first one of this rank in the Gothic country, on the farther side of the Danube.

It seems that Ulfilas now was bishop of a congregation, in addition to his work as missionary, for about seven years. After this the heathen chief of one of the Gothic settlements compelled him and his congregation to cross the Danube and to settle in Roman territory, where Emperor Constantius granted them some land at Plevna, near Nicopolis, in Moesia. Here Ulfilas performed his life-work, being bishop for at least another thirty-three years, part of the time also a *iudex*, or judge. It is reported that he visited a council held in Constantinople in 360, where he signed the confession of the Church. During the next decades he suffered much from persecutions, especially in 369 and 372. It seems that he joined the ranks of the Arians, since the Goths were during the next century very strong defenders of the heresy of Arius. But even so he was ready to discuss the difficulty in doctrine with the orthodox party, for it was due to his influence that a council was called to convene in Constantinople in 382. It is said that his death occurred during this council, shortly after he had made his confession of the orthodox faith.

There is little value, in the present short history of the Germanic Bible, in discussing at length the doctrinal position of the great "Apostle of the Goths." It is true that Eusebius of Nicomedia, who consecrated him, was a strong defender of Arius, even if he did not share the latter's denial of the deity of Christ to its full extent, and

therefore Ulfilas may have shared the position of his older friend. According to a creed which is ascribed to him by Auxentius, he believed in subordinationism, that is, the opinion that the Son is subordinate to the Father; and not only this, but that the Holy Ghost is subordinate to the Son: "not God, not Lord, not on the same plane with the faithful servant Christ, rather subordinate to Him." However, Ulfilas evidently was not a strong defender of Arianism, and reliable reports indicate that he finally subscribed a confession of the truth. In his translation of the Bible into the Gothic language the passage Phil. 2, 6 is ambiguous.

All this, however, does not detract from the glory which rightly is given to Ulfilas as the translator of the Bible into the language of the Goths, the first Germanic translation of the Scriptures. The beginning of this stupendous undertaking is associated with the conversion of Fritigern, a Visigoth chieftain, although Ulfilas may have made a translation of certain sections even before that event. It was not an easy thing to attempt. The Goths at this time had no real written language, although the runic script of the Scandinavians, with whom they had originally been associated as East Germanic tribes, was known among them. Since Ulfilas required a language that could really be used to express the manifold truths of the Bible, he invented a written alphabet consisting of Greek, Latin, and runic letters, with a total of twenty-four signs. He evidently began with the gospels, as is concluded from their peculiar uniformity of style. According to the statement of Philostorgios, Ulfilas did not translate, at least not for public use, the four Books of the Kings (1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings), because he feared that they might inflame the martial spirit of the Gothic people. Certain fragments containing parts of these books are said to have been discovered.

Ulfilas was eminently fitted for the work of translator since his office of lector in public services years before had made it necessary for him to provide a word explanation of the Greek text in use in the churches. A sufficient number of texts was always available, since the position of Ulfilas was tributary to the see of Constantinople, where one or more versions of the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Old Testament, were in use, and where plenty of copies of the New Testament could readily be obtained. Quite naturally, the work of Ulfilas shows numerous loan words and semantic borrowings, that is, formation of words in the new language based upon the words in the original. In order to make his translation complete, the translator in such cases "often attempted to express the idea by using a native word or combination of words, at times in word-for-word translations, at other times more freely by native circumlocutions. These semantic borrowings represent largely ideas that have not previously found

adequate expression in the native language, and this probably accounts for the large number of compounds in this type of words."[1])

The Gothic translation furnished by Ulfilas soon became widely known, especially on account of the strength of the nation and the growing menace of the various Germanic tribes to the Roman Empire. But the inherent merits of the rendering cannot be denied, undoubtedly a factor which caused it to become widespread in a very short time. Chrysostom reports that he took part in a service in Constantinople, in 398/9, in which a Gothic sermon was delivered and the lessons were read in Gothic. The Gothic Bible was in use for several centuries, and its influence is almost incalculable in the history of Germanic translations.

Among the manuscripts which have been made as copies of the translation of Ulfilas there are some of world renown. The Silver Codex (*Codex Argenteus*) is a manuscript of the fifth or sixth century, written on purple-colored parchment, in silver and gold letters, with splendid illumination. Of the original 330 pages only 187 have been preserved. The manuscript is in the library of the university at Upsala, Sweden, and contains the gospels. The *Codex Gissensis* was found in an Egyptian village in the neighborhood of the ancient city of Antinoe. It consists of a double leaf of parchment, with a fragment of the gospels in Gothic and Latin. All the other manuscripts are treasures of the monastery of Bobbio, in Liguria. There is the *Codex Carolinus,* consisting of four leaves with fragments of the Epistle to the Romans. The Codices of Ambrose, now transferred to Milan, have a total of 120 readable pages in one section, which contain fragments of the Pauline letters. A second section or manuscript has 154 pages; here Romans and Philemon are missing, but Second Corinthians is complete. A third section or manuscript contains fragments from Matthew and a fourth fragments from Nehemiah, the only Old Testament section that has come down to us in manuscript form.

Of course, all available copies of the translation have been carefully collated, studied, and published by various scholars, such as Streitberg, Balg, and Braune. Most large universities in America and abroad offer courses in Gothic, especially in connection with comparative philology of the Germanic languages. The interest attaching to this study is not merely archeological or linguistic, but also quite practical, since every translation of the Bible is at the same time and in some degree an interpretation, and it is not likely that any lover of the Holy Scriptures will be surfeited by a study of this type.

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1) Cp. Kroesch, "Semantic Borrowing in Old English," in *Studies in English Philology,* 50 ff.

III. The Formal Establishment of Christianity in Germany.

As we have seen, there were Christian congregations established among certain German tribes, in cities founded by the Romans in the midst of Germanic nations, before the end of the third century. Among these cities Koeln, Mainz, Speier, Augsburg, and Tongern are especially noteworthy. From all that we knew of these congregations, their work was done chiefly, if not exclusively, in the Latin language. It is true that some mission-work was done, for there is an ancient record that Bishop Maternus of Cologne began the work at Tongern; but Christianity was evidently a very weak plant on any part of German soil about the time of the Council of Nicea, in 325.

About this time, however, a consecrated missionary appears in history, whose work proved an inspiration to many followers in Western Europe. This was *Martin of Tours*. Born about 316 in the Roman province of Pannonia as the son of heathen parents, he soon came under the influence of Christianity and was baptized at the age of eighteen. For five years he served in the army of Constantine, after which time he determined to devote his life to the spread of Christianity. A zealous defender of the orthodox truth, he was scourged and imprisoned for reproving the Arian heresies confessed among the Lombards, or Longobards. After being set free, he spent some years as a hermit on the island of Gallinaria, and in 370 he gathered a company of monks about him to establish a monastery near Poitiers. The next year he was made Archbishop of Tours. He organized his diocese along the lines of the monastic system and inspired many young men with his zeal.

Martin's evangelical activity met with great success, especially since he laid his plans with almost military exactness. His disciples went out into every part of Gaul, also into the northern section, among the Germanic tribes. He was an eminently practical man, who adhered to a simple faith resting upon the confession of the Triune God and Jesus as the Redeemer of the world. His influence was felt for centuries after his death, and even to-day his memory is revered throughout France. He died about 400, at Candes. November 11 is the day devoted to his memory, and it is for this reason that Luther, who was baptized on November 11, received the name Martin. One of the interesting stories told of Martin of Tours is that which relates that he cut the one mantle which he possessed into two pieces in order to provide a poor man with some covering against the cold.

It was almost a century later that the fame of Martin played an important rôle in the further spread of Christianity among a Germanic tribe. The Frankish king Chlodwig, who in 486 had broken the last remnant of Roman power in Gaul, was, in 493, married to Chlotilde, daughter of the Burgundian king Chilperich. The Burgundian princess exerted all her powers to win her husband for the

orthodox Christian religion, and the stories of Martin of Tours proved a very powerful instrument in her efforts. The result was that Chlodwig was baptized on Christmas Day of the year 496 by Bishop Remigius of Reims, who addressed to him the well-known words: "Bow thy head in humility, proud Sigambrian; reverence henceforth what thou hast burned, burn what thou hast reverenced."[2])

It was this king whose name appears in the story of *Fridold,* or *Fridolin,* the "first apostle of the Alemannians." This zealous missionary, who was a native of either Ireland or Scotland, was ever in the forefront in the battle against paganism. It was about the end of the fifth century that he landed in Gaul, through whose length and breadth he journeyed until he came to the home of Hilary of old, Pictavium, or Poitiers. Here he remained long enough to restore, with the aid of King Chlodwig, the burial-place of Hilary, and to convert the Arian bishop of the city and his congregation to Trinitarian orthodoxy. He then turned northward to find an island within the boundaries of Alemannia surrounded by the waters of the Rhine. He began his search in Alsace, then journeyed up the Rhine to Switzerland. Finally he was shown an island above Basel, near Sanctio (Saeckingen), which he succeeded in acquiring with the aid of the Frankish court. Here a village soon arose, in spite of the opposition of the natives, with its Church of St. Hilary, and here Fridolin completed his life-work, dying about 511.

Another century went by without headway in the work of missions. But then came a long period of intensive activity in Christianizing German lands, many of the missionaries coming over from the British Isles, especially from Ireland, which was for centuries like a garden of God in bringing forth the choicest fruits. About 543 there was born in Leinster, Ireland, a boy who was destined to become one of the most learned and eloquent missionaries of all times. His name was *Columban.* While he was still a youth, he became interested in missions, and he soon made this study the goal of all his interests with all the intensity of a nature filled with the love of Christ. Having gained twelve young men as his disciples and assistants, he set out for France, where he proceeded to the Vosges Mountains, whose inhabitants were as yet without the Gospel. He founded the monasteries of Angrey, Luxeuil, and Fontaines, to be the ecclesiastical and educational centers of his missionary activities. At the same time he was fearless in denouncing the vices prevalent at the Burgundian court. This led to his expulsion from France. He fled to Italy, only to encounter new difficulties. For when he charged Pope Boniface and the general council with departing from the faith of the

2) This story has lately been discredited, and the baptism of Chlodwig is placed in 507.

apostles, he was again forced to flee. Going to Metz, he proceeded from there to Mainz and then up the Rhine to the Suevi and Alemanni, to whom he desired to preach the Gospel. Coming to the Lake of Zurich, he chose Tuggen as the basis of his operations. He met with so much opposition that he made little headway. Finally he went on to Bregenz, on Lake Constance, where there were still traces of earlier missionary activity. But he again had to flee, due to the enmity of King Thierry of Burgundy. He journeyed to Italy and was there given a piece of land called Bobbio. Here he erected his celebrated abbey, which was for centuries a center of learning and a stronghold of orthodoxy. Here he also died, on November 21, 615.

Among the foremost of the twelve disciples who accompanied Columban to France was *Gallus,* born in Ireland about the year 560. He worked by the side of his master with untiring energy, sharing all the difficulties and hardships of the life of a fearless confessor. In 610 Gallus followed Columban to Bregenz, where they found an old church, dating back to the time when the Romans had occupied the country. The duty of preaching the Gospel of Christ to the pagans, who were using the old church-building for their corrupt practises, was given to Gallus. With intense zeal and notable success he combated the pagan superstitions of the Alemanni of the neighborhood. When Columban had to flee, in 612, Gallus was prevented from accompanying him. He remained in Switzerland to regain his health. But he could not remain idle. Pushing farther into the wilderness, with only a deacon as his companion, he selected a site and founded the church and the monastery of St. Gall, from which place the Word of God was carried out into all parts of the Swiss mountains. The school of St. Gall became a very famous seat of learning for a number of centuries, and its library was as renowned as that of Bobbio. Gallus died at the age of ninety-five years, and his body was laid to rest in the monastery which he had founded.

Another pathfinder in the early work of missions in Germany was *Kilian,* who, like Columban and Gallus, hailed from Ireland, being born there about the year 644. Driven by a spirit of piety and a love for study, he entered monastic life in his native country. After some time he made a journey to Rome, on which he passed through Thuringia, then almost wholly pagan. He conceived the idea of devoting himself to the conversion of these heathen, and, with the consent of the Pope, he and his associates began to preach in Wuerzburg. After the work was here established, Kilian and two of his colaborers extended their activity over an ever-increasing area in East Franconia and Thuringia. He even succeeded in converting Duke Gozbert, thus opening the way for the complete Christianization of the two countries. But his fearless, uncompromising attitude

on matters of ethics as well as those of doctrine brought misfortune upon him and his work. He provoked the enmity of Geilenna, Gozbert's wife, who had formerly been the wife of Gozbert's brother, since he insisted that the duke must be separated from her. On this account Kilian was, at Geilenna's instigation, murdered in cold blood. But his work lived after him, so that he received the name "Apostle of Franconia." His work was later continued by Boniface.

The neighboring country of Bavaria was also visited by the mercy of God during the seventh century, the chief missionary in this case being *Emeran.* He was born of a noble family in Aquitania, a part of France. He received a good education and was consecrated as priest. He is said to have been Bishop of Poitiers during the first half of the seventh century. During this episcopal incumbency he worked out a plan according to which he might bring the Gospel to ancient Pannonia, the modern Roumania. But he was persuaded, almost by force, to remain in Bavaria, under the protection of Duke Theodo. This was in 649. Three years later, when he was about to set out on a journey to Rome, he was murdered by Lambert, son of the Duke of Egendorf, because Uta, the duke's daughter, falsely accused him of having violated her honor. But his innocence was established beyond a doubt, and so he received an honorable burial. And not only that, but his tomb became the religious center of the Church in Bavaria, and the 22d of September, the date of his murder, was designated to St. Emeran's Day.

The next man whose name must be placed on the honor roll of missionaries to German soil is *Willibrord,* who was born about 658 in Northumberland, England. He was trained in one of the fine monastic schools of England, and in 678 he went to Ireland in order to study under St. Egbert. It was in this year that an opening was made for mission-work among the Friesians, the northern neighbors of the Franks. Attempts to Christianize this tribe had been made by Lothair and Dagobert between 620 and 639. A mission had also been undertaken by the Bishop of Koeln. But the success of this work was short-lived, for after the death of Dagobert the Friesians relapsed into paganism, and the churches were destroyed. Other missionaries from England tried to introduce the Gospel anew. Wilfred came from Yorkshire and gained favor among the Friesians. King Aldgild gave him permission to preach and to baptize, and he is said to have gained many thousands for the Christian faith. The successor of Aldgild, however, proved unfriendly toward the Christian religion, considering it as one of the means to bring the country under the control of the Franks.

In 678 the southern part of Friesia actually came into the power of the Franks, and so a door was opened to Willibrord for the preaching of the Gospel. In 692 he received the so-called apostolic authoriza-

tion for his work, and his success about this time was so great that he was elected bishop of this diocese. He was then sent to Rome for consecration. Later he founded the monastery of Utrecht, where he intended to train recruits for further missionary work. After that he seems to have been engaged in founding congregations, till his success encouraged him to enter lands under Frankish control. In 706 he founded the monastery at Echternach, in the diocese of Treves, and another at Suestern, in the diocese of Mastricht, in 714. Radbod, successor to King Aldgild of Friesia, finally regained the territory taken by the Franks. Unfriendly as he was toward Christianity, he commanded that the priests be hunted out and the churches destroyed. In place of the Christian churches he erected heathen temples. It seemed that the entire work of Willibrord would be destroyed. But Radbod died in 719, and his successor, the younger Aldgild, made peace and opened his country to the Gospel once more. Willibrord returned to Utrecht and repaired the damages done there. He was joined by Winfried, or Bonifacius, of whom we shall presently hear more, and the two labored with great success until the death of Willibrord, about 739, at the age of eighty-one. He was buried in the abbey of Echternach, where he died, and was canonized almost immediately after his death.

We now come to the last great missionary who labored on German soil, in the western part of what is now the German Republic. This was *Winfried,* or Bonifacius, often called the "Apostle of Germany," although one deplores the fact that he was almost entirely under the domination of the Roman See. Winfried was born in Devonshire, England, in 680, his parents being people of distinction. He also received his clerical education in England, and his tact and prudence, together with his practical ability along executive lines, gave him a high standing in his community. His interest in mission-work was aroused when he heard Willibrord speak of its victories while the latter was on a visit to the British Isles.

In spite of the entreaties of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Winfried in 716 sailed for the Continent with three companions. Somewhat later he proceeded to Rome to gain the Pope's sanction for his proposed mission-work. Pope Gregory II received him kindly, found him orthodox, and readily sanctioned his mission. In this way was Winfried's relation to the Pope established, and it became one of the great motives of his career. As Winfried, now commonly known as Boniface, returned from Rome, he first of all hastened to Friesia, where he spent three years in assisting the aged Willibrord, Archbishop of Utrecht. Following the army of Karl Martel as far as Trier, he turned aside into Thuringia and then to Hessia, where he labored with good success. In 723 he was called to Rome, where the Pope made him Bishop Regionarius of Germany. It was at this

time that Boniface took the oath of obedience to Rome, by which he pledged himself, in an almost repulsive manner, to be guided in everything by the Pope.

In 725 Boniface was in Thuringia. Finding the soil very difficult to work, he sent a call for aid to England, which was so successful that more than a score of able assistants were rushed to his aid. Among these were also some women, who were to do mission-work among the members of their own sex. In 732 a new Pope mounted the papal throne, who lost no time in sending a delegation to Boniface to praise and encourage him in his work. He was made archbishop and thereby knit more closely than ever to the Roman See. In the same year Karl Martel defeated the Mohammedan hordes, thereby saving Europe for Christianity. In 738 Boniface was made papal legate of all Germany. He now reorganized Germany with dioceses of his own naming. He threw his influence in favor of the Pope also in the Gallican Church. He succeeded in conquering two bishops who were opposed to papal power, so that in the end his authority was supreme.

The redeeming feature in the character of Boniface was his active interest in missions. In 753 he made *Lullus* his successor, while he sailed down the Rhine with fifty men in order to do mission-work among the Friesians. Two years later, in June of the year 755, Boniface was conducting a meeting near the shores of the Zuyder Zee, when an armed host of pagans surrounded him. After commanding his young men not to offer resistance, he pillowed his head on a volume of the holy gospels and awaited the blow which ended his life. Thus was brought to a close the life of the most prominent churchman of the eighth century and one of the greatest directors of missions in the entire history of the Church. The foundation of missions in Germany had now been laid. It remained for the superstructure to be erected.

IV. The First Translations of Parts of the Bible in Germany.

There are no translations of the Bible or of parts of the Bible into Germanic languages extant of the first centuries of the Christian era except that made by Ulfilas for the Gothic people. One may conjecture of course, on the basis of occasional remarks, such as that of missionary methods pursued near Lugdunum (Lyons), in Gaul, that parts of the Scriptures were rendered into the vernacular at an early date to meet the needs of the natives who were brought into contact with the Gospel, even though most of such contacts may have been made through the medium of the Latin tongue. The comparatively small number of congregations of which we have records before the Council of Nicea does not encourage such conjectures to any large extent.

But during the missionary expansion movement undertaken between the days of Martin of Tours, about the middle of the fourth century, and Boniface, who died just after the middle of the eighth century, a large part of the work was done in the vernacular, at least by way of teaching the converts the fundamentals of the Christian religion. One would expect efforts along the line of translating to adhere fairly closely to the immediate needs of the work. These were associated, for one thing, with the work of the lector in public services, who would want to add a few words in the vernacular as he read the lessons of the day in Latin. This had been done even in the Jewish synagogs, especially in the countries of the Dispersion, where many of the hearers might not be familiar with the language in which the lessons were officially read, and it is said to have been the custom which suggested his entire translation of the Bible to Ulfilas. In the second place, the work of instructing the barbarians for baptism and church-membership required at least some use of the vernacular, chiefly by way of teaching the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in the language of the candidates.

It is just along these two lines that the first attempts at rendering parts of Scripture in the vernacular were made. From St. Paul in Carinthia came an interesting manuscript, two leaves of a gospel codex of the sixth to seventh century, with an interlinear translation in Old High German, written in the eighth century. A few verses from the Gospel of the Nativity of Christ, Luke 2, 1—10, will show the nature of this translation. We place the text in parallel columns:

Exiit edictum a Caesare Augusto. Et peperit filium suum primogenitum et pannis eum involvit et reclinavit eum in praesepio.

Uz keanc kechuuit fone kheisure eruuirdikemu (the modern *ehrwürdigem*). Par (= *gebar*, bore) chindh ira eristporanaz, lachanum (= *Laken*) inen piuuant, kesazte inan in parnin (in chripiun).

Even without a technical knowledge of Old High German one can follow the text with little difficulty, noting at the same time the number of loan words from the Latin, many of which have been retained to this day.

Another interesting document, one which shows, at least in part, what part of a catechism text was required at St. Gall, in Switzerland, in the eighth century. The Lord's Prayer, or *Pater Noster*, reads in this rendering: —

Fater unseer, thu pist in himile, uuihi namun dinan, qhueme rihhi din, uuerde uuillo diin, so in himile, sosa in erdu. prooth unseer emezzihic kip uns hiutu, oblaz uns sculdi unseero, so uuir oblazem uns sculdikem, enti ni unsih firleiti in khorunka, uzzer losi unsih fona ubile.

And the Apostolic Creed is just as interesting: —

Kilaubu in kot fater almahticun, kiscaft himiles enti erda. Enti in Jesum Christ sun sinan ainacun, unseran truhtin, der inphangan ist fona uuihemu keiste, kiporan fona Mariun macadi euuikeru, kimartrot in kiuualtiu Pilates, in crucu pislagan, tot enti picrapan, stehic in uuizzi, in drittin

take erstoont fona totem, stehic in himil, sizit az zesuun cotes fateres almahtikin, dhana chuumftic ist sonen qhuekhe enti tote. Kilaubu in uuihan keist, in uuiha khirihhun catholica, uuihero kemeinitha, urlaz suntikero, fleiskes urstodali, in liip euuikan, amen.

Here again even a cursory comparison of the various parts of the translation will convince one that the rendering is one of real merit, and that in spite of the fact that the translator was evidently handicapped by a lack of terms to express in German the words of the original Latin.

But the most valuable of these early documents is a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, known as the Monsee-Vienna Fragments. It was made at the beginning of the ninth century under the auspices of the Archbishop of Cologne, who was also abbot of the monastery at Monsee. When the monastery was discontinued, in 1786, its library was taken to Vienna, where this gospel manuscript has been studied by a number of scholars, notably by Endlicher and Hoffmann, by Massmann, and by Hench. The last-named published the results of his studies in an edition of 1891 entitled *"The Monsee Fragments,* newly collated text with introduction, notes, grammatical treatise and exhaustive glossary, and a photolithographic facsimile." This edition contains also other manuscripts of Monsee, but its most interesting sections are the fragments of the Gospel of St. Matthew. Prof. W. Walther (*Die deutsche Bibeluebersetzung des Mittelalters,* 434 ff.), who places the translation into the eighth century, has some interesting remarks on content and language of the manuscript. It is a bilingual production, the Latin text being on the left side, the German on the right side, that is, on the next leaf. The translator was rather bold in his rendering of the Latin, for it was evidently his intention to offer not only idiomatic, but also beautiful German. He had some difficulty on account of the many participles in the Latin text. Sometimes he solved the difficulty in a very agreeable way, then again he followed the original almost slavishly. On the whole, however, the result is very satisfactory. We offer a few sections of the translation, with occasional explanatory remarks.

Matt. 12, 1—8: In deru ziti fuor Jesus in restitage (rest days, Sabbaths) after satim (*durch die Saat,* through the standing grain), sine iungarun auh uuaran hungrage (*hungrig,* hungry), bigunnun raufen diu ahar (*Ähren,* ears) enti ezan. Pharisera dhuo daz gasehante quuatun imo: "See dine gungirun tuoant daz sie ni mozun tuoan in feratagum (*Feiertagen,* festival days)." Enti aer quuat im (quoth to them): "Inu ni larut ir huuaz David teta, duo inan hungarta enti dea mit imo uuarun? Hueo aer genc (*ging,* went) in daz gotes hus enti az uuizodbroth (*Gesetzbrot, Schaubrot,* showbread) daz er ezan ni muosa noh dea mit imo uuarun nibu dea einun euurta (*Waechter des Gesetzes, Priester*). Odho ni larut er in euu (*Gesetz,* law) daz dem uuehhatagum (*Wochentagen, Sabattagen,* Sabbaths) dea euurta in demo temple bismizant (*beschmitzen, beflecken,* profane) restitac enti sint doh anu lastar (*Laster,* vices, faults)?" Ih sagem iu auh daz meor ist hear danne tempel. Ibu ir auh uuistit huaz ist "armhaerzin uuillu enti nalles gelstar (*Steuer, Abgabe,* gift, sacrifice)" neo ni geschadot ir dem unscolom (*unschuldig,* innocent). Truhtin (*Herr,* lord) ist gauuisso (*gewisz,* surely) mannes sunu ioh restitaga.

Matt. 13, 44—50: Galih ist himilo rihhi gaberge (*Schatz*, treasure) gaborganemo (*geborgen*, hidden, safe) in acchre. So danne man diz findit enti gabirgit iz enti des mendento (*freuen*, rejoice) gengit enti forchaufit (*verkaufet*, sells) al so huuaz so aer habet enti gachaufit den acchar. Auh ist galihsam (*gleich*, like) himilo rihhe demo suohhenti ist guote marigreoza (from Latin *margarita*, pearl), genc enti forchaufta al daz aer hapta enti gachaufta den. Auh ist galih himilo rihhi seginun (from Latin *sagena*, *Fischnetz*) in seu gasezziteru (*gesetzt*, cast), enti allero fischunno (kinds of fish) gahuuelihhes samnotin (*sammelten*, gathered). So diu danne fol uuarth, uz ardunsan (*herausziehen*, draw out), enti dea bi stade (*Gestade*, shore) siczentun aruuelitun (*erwählten*, select) dea guotun in iro faz, dea ubilum auuar uurphun uz (*warfen sie aus*, cast them out). So uuidit in demo galidontin enti uueralti (from Latin *in consummatione saeculi*, when, at the end of the world, it will be dissected): quemant angila enti arscheidant (*scheiden*, divide) dea ubilun fone mittem dem rehtuuisigom (*das Recht wissend*, *gerecht*, just), enti lecchent (*legend*, placing) dea in fyures ovan, dar uuidit uuoft (*Heulen*, howling) enti zano gagrim (*Knirschen*, gnashing).

Matt. 28, 16—20: Enti einlifi sine jungirun fuorun (*fuhren*, journeyed) in Galilea in den berc, dar im Jesus kapot. Enti so si inan gasahun, hnigun (*knien*, kneel) za imo; einhuuelihhe danne iro ni foltruetun (*voll trauen*, to have full confidence). Enti genc duo Jesus nahor, sprah za im, quad (quoth): forgeban ist mir alles kauualt in himile enti en aerdu. Faret nu enti leret allo deota (*Menge*, *Volk*, people), taufente sie in nemin fateres enti sunes enti heilages gheistes. Leret sie kahaltan al so huuaz so ih iu gaboot. enti see ih him mit iu eo gatago (*Tage*, days) untaz entunge (*Endung*, ending or end) uueralti.

One could add many more sections to these interesting excerpts, but the examples given will suffice to give a good idea of the character of this work. Undoubtedly further attempts were made, and we may constantly expect scholars to find further material in the field of early translations of the Bible into some German dialect. This would be altogether analogous to the condition in England, where partial translations and poetical paraphrases of Biblical books were found as early as the seventh and eighth centuries, while the Venerable Bede, about the beginning of the eighth century, even translated the entire Gospel according to St. John into Anglo-Saxon.

V. Tatian's Gospel Harmony in the First German Rendering.

As we continue our examination of early documents connected with the story of the Bible in various Germanic translations, we find one of unusual interest, namely an Old High-German rendering of the first harmony of the gospels of which we know, the so-called *Diatessaron* of Tatian.

Tatian was a writer of the second century. He was born in Assyria and grew up in heathenism. The splendid training in Greek literature and philosophy which he received was not able to satisfy his longing for the truth. But about the year 150 he met the Christian apologist and teacher Justin in Rome, whose pupil he became. He entered whole-heartedly into the study of the Christian religion and justified his step in a special document, *A Word to the Greeks*. It is unfortunate that he later became interested in two fanatical and

heretical errors, that of the Encratites and that of the Gnostics, and that he took a prominent part in spreading these false notions in Eastern Syria. Nevertheless, the harmony of the four gospels (*dia tessaron*) which he compiled about this time is of great value for the study of the New Testament, not only on account of the text itself which it contains, but also on account of testimony for the existence of four acknowledged gospels.

The *Diatessaron* of Tatian was written in either Greek or Syriac and soon became widely known in the East. But its importance was recognized also in the West, so that a Latin translation was made under the direction of Victor of Capua, about 546 A. D. The manuscript of Victor was brought to Fulda, the famous German abbey founded in 744 by Sturm, a disciple of Boniface. This abbey, in the territory of the present Hesse-Nassau, became a center of ecclesiastical art, including also many fine manuscripts, the copying of which was in itself a fine art. It was during the time when Rabanus Maurus, himself an outstanding theologian and educator of the Middle Ages, was abbot of Fulda (822—842) that the German translation of Tatian's harmony was made, for its date has been quite definitely placed at 825.

In this connection we may say that it is interesting to know how ancient manuscripts and documents were preserved and distributed during the Middle Ages, before the invention of the printing-press. Most of the credit in this department of learning goes to the monasteries, especially such as were founded by men interested in learning and its propagation. Among the rules laid down by some of the founders of great monasteries, like Cassiodorus and Benedict, we find the following: "Idleness is the foe of the soul; therefore all the brethren . . . are to be engaged at certain hours with sacred reading. . . . He who does not labor in the ground with his plow should write on parchment with his fingers." Among the monasteries that stood at the head of all institutions in preserving ancient manuscripts, were Bruttii, Vivaria, Bobbio, St. Gall, Monte Cassino, Tournai, Fulda, Lorsch, Reichenau, Hirschau, Weissenburg, and Hersfeld.

The so-called *scriptorium* of monasteries of this type was an interesting room. It was furnished with the necessary desks and racks, in some cases also with candelabra, although the rules of many institutions would not permit any light but that of the sun, since there was always danger that some of the fine manuscripts would be damaged by candle drippings. Some of the finest single copies of precious manuscripts were made by skilful writers, who often spent years of tireless labor in producing the magnificent copies of illuminated manuscripts which we still admire. But books for general use were produced by a number of copyists working together, one acting

as a reader or precentor, the others copying at his dictation. The protocalligraphist, or precentor, was in charge of desks and book-racks, ink, parchment, pens and penknives, and other paraphernalia. The *bibliothecarius* divided the work and also took care of corrections at the close of the session. The writers themselves were simply designated as *scriptores* or *librarii*. The *antiquarii* were chiefly engaged in the copying of the classical documents, the *notarii* in that of legal documents, and the *illuminatores* furnished the beautiful initial letters and the vignettes.

The production of a single book was a task of large proportions and explains in part the small number of volumes in many of the monasteries. The writing was done almost exclusively in black, but the page was frequently bordered with red, gold, or some other bright color, while many beautiful illustrations were inserted by artistic monks. The best writers in the scriptoria of the various monasteries worked six hours every day. And the rules regarding the finished product were exceedingly strict, especially concerning plain copyists' errors. Small wonder that a writer of St. Gall made a notation on the margin of his manuscript: "One who does not know the art of writing may think that it is not strenuous; but although only these fingers are holding the pen, the entire body becomes tired." Yet the prevailing spirit among the copyists was one of devotion, together with a feeling of responsibility. Not only the monks, but the nuns as well were engaged in the copying of manuscripts, and there is an account of a certain Diemudis of Wessobrunn, who copied more than thirty volumes, including many missals, lectionaries, and even entire Bibles.

Nor is this all that might be said of the monasteries and their scriptoria, for it must not be forgotten that many monasteries became the centers of schools extending over an entire district or province. The monastery schools were necessarily the first beneficiaries of the work of writing done in the institutions. But by this same token the universities, many of which grew out of monastery schools, benefited by the work of the monks in preserving the learning of the past. Mechanical as much of the learning was, it cannot be denied that we have products of a very high rank among the writings of the Middle Ages.

Among these writings by no means the least in value is the Old High-German translation of Tatian's *Diatessaron,* made in Fulda about 825 by a scholar whose name, unfortunately, has not been preserved. The German scholar Sievers believes that a number of men made the translation, which was afterward revised and unified in the copies which have come down to us. Professor Walther, on the other hand, holds the opinion that we are dealing with the work of only one man. The latter opinion seems to be borne out by certain

peculiarities, showing, for example, that the translator was fairly sure of his German idiom and did not often follow the construction of the Latin. He is particularly independent in his use of conjunctions, which offer quite a problem in the Latin.

As stated above, the work of Tatian is a harmony of the four gospels, but not by a merging of the texts from the four documents, rather by a selection of parts from the gospels showing progressive steps in the history of the Savior. The first paragraph is the prolog from Luke, chap. 1, 1—4, followed by the first part of the prolog of John, chap. 1, 1—5. Then we have the story of John the Baptist's birth, then of the birth and childhood of Jesus, according to Luke. After that the author used parts of the gospels as he needed them for his purpose, although he omitted some sections which were damaging to his later Gnostic views. A few paragraphs from various parts of the translation may prove of interest.

Luke 1, 1—4: Bithiu uuanta (for that reason, because) manage (*manche*, some, certain ones) zilotun (*zielten*, aimed to, intended to) ordinon saga (saying) thio in uns gifulta (*erfuellt*, fulfilled, came to pass) sint rahhono (*Sache, Angelegenheit*, matter) so uns saltun (*berichten*, gave an account of) thei thar fon aneginne selbon gisahun inti ambahta (*Diener*, servants) uuarun uuortes, — uuas mir gisehan (*visum est mihi*, it seemed to me) gifolgentemo (*der ich gefolgt war, verfolgt hatte*, who had followed up the information) fon aneginne allem, gernlihho (*sorgfaeltig*, carefully) after antreitu (*Ordnung*, order) thir scriben, thu bezzisto Theophile, thaz thu forstantes thero uuorto (*Verstand der Worte*, understanding of the words), fon them thu gilerit bist, uuar.

John 1, 1—5: In aneginne uuas uuort inti thaz uuort uuas mit gote inti got selbo uuas thaz uuort. Thaz uuas in anaginne mit gote. Alliu thuruh thaz vvurdun gitan (*getan*, done) *into uzzan* (*aussen, ohne*, without) sin ni uuas uuiht (nothing was) gitanes thaz thar gitan uuas. Thaz uuas in imo lib (*Leben*, life) into thaz lib uuas lioht manno. Inti thaz lioht in finstarnessin (darknesses) liuhta inti finstarnessi thaz ni begriffun (*ergriffen*, accepted).

Luke 2, 1—7: Uuard tho gitan in then tagun, framquam (*hervorkam, ausging*, forth came) gibot fon themo aluualten (all-ruling) keisure, thaz gebrievit (*in Briefe eingetragen*, entered into lists) vvurdi al these umbiuuerft (*orbis terrarum, Welt*, world). Thaz gescrib (*scriptura*, census) iz eristen uuard gitan in Syriu fon themo graven Cyrine, inti fuorun (*fuhren*, journeyed) alle, thaz biiahin (*bejahen*, confess, state) thionost (*Dienst*, service, compliance) iogiuuelih in sinero burgi. Fuor tho Joseph fon Galileu fon theru burgi thiu hiez Nazareth in Judeno lant inti in Davides burg, thiu uuas ginemnit (*benamt*, named) Bethleem, bithiu uuanta her uuas fon huse inti hiuuiske (family) Davides, thaz her giiahi (*erklaeren*, declare, report) saman mit Mariun imo gimahaltero gimahhun (*verlobtes Gemahl*, betrothed wife) so scaffaneru (*so schaffend, erzeugend*, being pregnant). Tho sie thar uuarum, vvurdum taga gifulte (*erfuellt*, fulfilled), thaz siu bari (*gebaeren*, bear, bring forth), inti gibar ira sun eristboranon inti biuuant (wound) inan mit tuochum inti gilegita inan in crippea, bithiu uuanta im ni uuas ander stat (*andere Staette*, another place) in themo gasthuse.

Matt. 28, 16—20: Einlif (*elf*, eleven) jungoron giengun in Galileam in then berg thar in ther heilant gimarcota (*angezeigt*, marked), inti gisehenti inan betotun (*anbeteten*, prayed to Him) inan, sume giuuesso

(certain ones) zuuehotun (*zweifelten*, were in doubt). Inti sprah in zuo quedenti (speaking to them): gigeban ist al giualt mir in himile inti in erdu. Get in alla uueralt, praedigot evangelium allera gisoefti (*Geschoepf*, creature) inti leret alle thiota (*Leute*, people), toufenti sie in namen fater inti sunes inti thes heilagen geistes, leret zi bihaltanne (*halten*, hold, observe) allie so uuelichiu (whatsoever) si ih iu gebot. Inti seun (see ye!) ih bin mit iu allen tagon unzan enti uueralti.

From these few excerpts it is evident that, in certain sections of Germany at least, some rather successful efforts to offer the Gospel in the language of the people were made. Although the translation is occasionally laborious, chiefly because the translators followed the Latin copy too slavishly, yet the main facts of the Gospel-story were correctly set forth, and one may well believe that many a heart was won for Christ by the narrative of His life and death as presented by faithful pastors in their parish sermons and in the courses of instruction offered for membership in the Church.

VI. Alliterative Poetry and the Old Saxon "Heliand."

In our story of the evangelization of the various German tribes we have heard of the Visigoths, the tribes along the Rhine, the Alemanni, the Suevi, the Burgundians, the Franks, the Friesians, and others. By the middle of the eighth century, when the death of Boniface occurred, all of what is now Northern France, the Netherlands and Belgium, Switzerland, and most of Western and Southwestern Germany had received the Gospel, so that probably the majority of the natives of these sections were at least nominally Christians. The sons of Charles Martel, Pepin the Short and Carloman, had actively supported Boniface in his missionary labors, so that the Frankish Church at any rate was fully established.

Charlemagne, son of Pepin the Short, born in 742, became ruler, together with his brother Carloman, in 768 and sole ruler of the Frankish kingdom three years later. In 774 he defeated Desiderius, king of the Lombards, and incorporated that kingdom into his own. This is commonly considered the beginning of Charlemagne's empire. Even before this success came to him, however, Charlemagne felt obliged to take up arms against a German tribe which seriously threatened his northeastern frontier, namely, the Saxons. Their country at that time extended from the mouths of the Elbe southward to Thuringia and westward nearly to the Rhine. They had refused to become Christians, preferring their old idols Odin and Thor. When a Christian missionary, Libuinus, endeavored to convert the Saxons by declaring God's vengeance against their paganism, they were so provoked that they expelled him from their country, burned the church erected at Daventer, and massacred the Christian converts.

Charlemagne was a good and wise monarch, and his efforts in behalf of good government and education are rightly acknowledged

in history. But he failed to realize that the kingdom of Christ is a spiritual kingdom. One of his slogans was: "Every person in the empire a Christian," and he acted according to this slogan with relentless severity. Four wars he waged against the Saxons, including numerous campaigns. In each case the superiority of Charlemagne's forces compelled the Saxons to make peace, but they did not yield from conviction. This state of intermittent warfare lasted for fifteen years, beginning with 771 A. D. Finally, after the Saxon conscripts in the army of Charles had massacred many of the Frankish soldiers, the king constituted a terrible example, for he devastated the Saxon territory and caused four thousand five hundred Saxons to be put to death. It was then that Witukind (Wittekind, Witikind), the great Saxon chief, swore fealty to the Frankish monarch, received Christian baptism, and he and his people embraced Christianity. Bishoprics, monasteries, and churches rapidly sprang up in the country of the Saxons. Eight bishoprics were established in the course of the next decades, namely, Osnabrueck, Minden, Verden, Bremen, Paderborn, Muenster, Halberstadt, and Hildesheim. Charlemagne had accomplished, at least outwardly, what he had stated in a message to the Pope: "It is my duty to defend the Church of Christ everywhere on earth, outwardly against the onslaughts of the heathen and desolation of unbelievers by force of arms, and inwardly to strengthen it by the acknowledgment of the Catholic faith. Your duty, on the other hand, Holiest Father, is to aid our cause with uplifted hands, as Moses did, that through your intercession by the gracious will of God the Christian Church triumph everywhere over the enemies of His name, and thus the name of Jesus Christ our Lord will be glorified in all the world." The military force of Charles had conquered — outwardly, but there was as yet little inner conviction. It remained for his successors, chiefly Louis Le Debonnaire (814—840), to apply other means for winning the souls of the Saxons for Christianity.

This was done chiefly through an alliterative poem on the New Testament, which was produced about 830. Poetry of this type had apparently been in use among Germanic tribes for over a century, both on the Continent and in England. The account of the poet Caedmon, as preserved by the Venerable Bede, gives us the beginning of the first Biblical poem of this kind, from about the year 670 A. D. The first lines read: —

Nu we sculon herigean heofonrices Weard,
Meotodes meahte ond his modgethanc,
weorc Wuldorfaeder swa he wundra gewhaes,
ece drihten or onstealde.
He aerest sceop eorthan bearnum
heofon to hrofe halig Scyppend;
tha middengeard moncynnes Weard
ece Drihten aefter teode
firum foldan, Frea aelmihtig.

Which would be in modern English: —

Now we shall praise the Ward of the heavenly kingdom,
The might of the Lord and the thoughts of His mind,
The work of the glorious Father, as it was a marvel,
The everlasting Lord, created [at] the beginning [began to create].
He first created for the children of earth
Heaven as a roof, the holy Creator;
The midde-earth the Ward of mankind,
The eternal Lord, afterward made,
The land of men, the almighty Lord.

In Germany we have, as some of the outstanding productions of this type, the *Hildebrandslied,* a fragment of the eighth century, which begins with the lines: —

Ik gihorta dat seggen
dat sih urhettun aenon muotin,
Hiltibrant enti Hadubrant untar herium tuem
sunufatarungo . . .;

in English: —

I heard that said,
That as battlers battled in single combat,
Hiltibrant and Hadubrant, between two armies,
Son and father . . .;

also the *Ludwigslied,* of the ninth century (Louis III, 881), which begins: —

Einan kuning uueiz ih Heizsit her Hluduig,
Ther gerno gode thionot: Ih uueiz her imos lonot . . .

in English: —

I know a king, His name is Ludwig,
Who gladly serves God; I know He will reward him for it.

It was this type of song which was chosen for a translation of the New Testament into Old Saxon by the bards of Louis Le Debonnaire. And it was not an exact translation so much as a poetical rendering along the broad epical lines of the early heroic poetry. Approximately six thousand double lines of the *Heliand* have been preserved. In addition, there seem to have been two prologs, which have been ascribed to different authors. A version of the Old Testament, which is referred to by Matthias Flacius, has since been lost. Many parts of the *Heliand,* as it has been preserved, are of outstanding power and beauty and will well repay a more thorough study. The name of the poem was taken from chapter 6, line 443 of the entire poem.

The following sections of the poem, with English translation, are offered to characterize the production and convey at least a little of its epic power. Here is a part of the story of the Nativity: —

Tho ward managun kuth
obar thesa widun werold, wardos antfundun,
thea thar ehu-skalkos uta warun,
weros an wahtu, wiggeo gomean,
fehas after felda: gisahun fiinistri an twe
telatan an lufte, endi quam lioht godes

wanum thurh thiu wolkan, endi thea wardos thar
bifeng an them felda. Sie wurdun an forhtun tho,
thea man an iro moda, gisahun that mahtigna
godes engil kuman, the im tegegnes sprak,
het that im thea wardos wiht ni antdredin
ledes fon them liohta: "ik skal iu", quad he, "liobora thing
swido warliko willeon seggean.
kudean kraft mikil. Nu is Krist giboran,
an thesero selbun naht, salig barn godes,
an thero Davides burg, drohtin the godo;
that is mendislo manno kunneas,
allaro firiho fruma! Thar gi ina fidan mugun
an Bethlema-burg, barno rikiost;
hebbiad that te tekna, that ik iu gitellian mag
warun wordun, that he thar biwundan ligid,
that kind an enera kribbiun, thoh he si kuning obar al,
erdun endi himiles, endi obar eldeo barn,
weroldes waldand."

In English: — Then it became known to many
Over this wide world, servants found it out,
Hostlers that were outside,
Men on watch, horse-servants,
Of the cattle in the fields; they saw the darkness part,
(Divide) in the air, and the light of God came
Bright through the clouds, and it shone about
The herdsmen there in the fields. They were then in fears,
The men in their minds; they saw there the mighty
Angel of God come, who spoke to them;
He bade the herdsmen not to fear any
Harm from the light. "I shall," said he, "tell you more
welcome things,
Most truly gladly, with pleasure
Announce a great wonder. Now is Christ born,
In this very night, the blessed Son of God,
In the city of David, the good Lord;
That is joy for mankind, to all people delight!
There you may find Him,
In the city of Bethlehem, the richest of children;
Have this for a sign, which I may tell you
With true words, that He there lies wrapped
The Child in a manger, although He is King over all,
Earth and heaven, and over the children of men,
The Ruler of the world."

And here is the Lord's Prayer as given in the *Heliand:* —

"Than gi god willena," quad he,
"weros mit iuwon wordun waldand grotean,
allero kuningo kraftigostan, than quedad gi, so ik iu leriu:
Fadar is usa, firiho barno,
the is an them hohon himilo rikea,
gewihid si thin namo wordu gehwiliku!
Kuma us to thin kraftag riki!
Werda thin willeo obar thesa werold alla,
so sama an erdo, so thar uppa ist
an them hohon himilo rikea!
Gef us dago gihwilikes rad, drohtin the godo,
thina helaga helpa! endi alat us, hebenes ward,
managoro men-skuldio, al so wi odrun mannun doan.
Ne lat us farledean leda wihti
so ford an iro willeon, so wi wirdige sind;
ak help us widar allun ubilon dadiun!"

In English: —

"When ye will," said He,
"The people, with your words greet God, the Ruling One,
The mightiest of all kings, then say, as I teach you:
Father of ours, of the children of men,
That art in the high kingdom of heaven,
Hallowed be Thy name with each word!
To us come Thy powerful kingdom!
Thy will be done over all this world,
The same on earth as there above
In the high heaven-kingdom!
Give us every day, good Lord, what we need,
Thy holy help! And forgive us, Guardian of heaven,
Our many trespasses, as we do also to other men.
Do not let evil spirits tempt us
Away after their will, if we be worthy of that;
But help us against all evil deeds!"

Thus was the whole Gospel-story cast into chapters or sections, all in the same rhythmical alliterative verse, well adapted for the chanting of the bards, as they went from village to village, from castle to castle. It was a method akin to that which made the Easter and Christmas plays so successful two centuries later, not only on the Continent, but also in England.

VII. "Otfrid's Gospel-Book" and Other Medieval Versions.

While the author (or authors) of the *Heliand,* who evidently were trained in the school of Fulda, wrote in the alliterative form of the old Germanic poetry, also with a keen insight into, and a powerful sympathy with, the customs and viewpoints of the people, another form of poetry was introduced in the western part of the Germanic territory, a form which was destined to exert a powerful influence upon later developments in this field.

Among the monasteries which were prominent in promoting learning during the early Middle Ages was that of Weissenburg, in the old Franconian country west of the Rhine. It was here that a man by the name of *Otfrid* was born, about 790, whose importance in the field of German literature is rightly emphasized. He studied in Fulda under Rhabanus Maurus and later in St. Gall. Returning to Weissenburg, he became presbyter and also teacher at the monastery school. He was a scholar of unusual ability, with a decided talent for languages, including the German, although he refers to it as "a language incapable of culture and discipline" (*lingua inculta et indisciplinabilis*). Yet Otfrid took this difficult medium of communication, at the earnest solicitation of some of his friends, *"thaz wir Kriste sungen in unsere Zungen,"* and produced a poem, consisting of a harmony of the gospels, known as *Krist,* which, with all its pedantic peculiarities, is rightly considered a literary masterpiece, incidentally being a source of information on customs and morals

of the day. The strength of his composition is in its lyric beauty and in the fairly comprehensive presentation of the doctrine of justification. His genuine humility, as one of the fruits of this knowledge, appears in the prayer which he places at the beginning of his poem, after the introduction and the preceding dedicatory sections. Homesickness for heaven is the governing impulse of the quiet monk of Weissenburg, who places his talents in the service of the Lord and disregards honor before men.

Otfrid's harmony, the *Krist*, was composed in five books, written approximately 854 to 868, in the Franconian dialect. The three dedicatory sections are written in acrostic form, the first being addressed to Louis the German (*Ludouuico orientalium regnorum regi sit salus aeterna*), the second to Bishop Solomon (*Salomoni episcopo Otfridus*), and the third to Hartmut and Werinbert, two monks of St. Gall (*Otfridus Uuizanburgensis monachus Hartmuate et Uerinberto Sancti Galli monasterii monachis*). Then follows a prolog, or preface, explaining the reason for writing the poem, and the invocation of the writer to the Lord. A feature of the poem are the spiritual or mystical sections explaining the Gospel-story in keeping with the demand of the day for a three- or fourfold interpretation of the text.

The following sections will give an idea of the work done by Otfrid in presenting the Gospel-story in rhymed verse. In his introduction, or prolog, he writes, after explaining why he composed this book in German: —

Nu uuill ih scriban unser heil, euangeliono deil,
so uuir nu hiar bigunnun in frenkisga zungun,
Thaz sie ni uuesen eino thes selben adeilo,
ni man in iro gizungi Kristes lob sungi,
Ioh er ouh iro uuorto gilobot uuerde harto,
ther sie zimo holeta, zi giloubon sinen ladota;

in English: —

Now I want to write of our salvation, a selection from the gospels
As we now begin it here in the Frankish dialect,
That they might not be alone having no part in them,
That no one in their language sing the praise of Christ,
That also in their words He be praised strongly,
That He bring them to Him, invite them to faith in Him.

The first lines of Otfrid's invocation read: —

Vuola, druhtin min, ia bin ih scalc thin!
thia arma muater min, eigan thiu ist si thin!
Fingar thinan dua anan mund minan,
theni ouh hand thina in thia zungun mina;

in English:

Hail, my Lord! Always am I Thy servant.
This poor mother of mine, Thine own maid she is.
Thy finger place upon my mouth,
Stretch out Thy hand to my tongue.

From the story of the Wise Men: —

Thie buachara ouh tho thare gisamanota er sare,
sie uuas er fragenti, uuar Krist giboran uurti;
Er sprah zen euuarton selben thesen uuorton,
gab armer ioh ther richo antuurti gilicho,
Thiu burg nantun se sar, infestiz datun alauuar
mit uuorton then er thie altun forasagon zaltun . . . ;

in English:

The scribes he there gathered eagerly;
He was asking them where Christ should be born.
He spoke to the priests with these same words,
And poor man and rich gave the same answer.
They named the city definitely; they most certainly stated
In words which before the ancient ones in prophesying
had told. . . .

There is no information as to the influence exerted by this great Gospel poem, but there can be no doubt as to its being a monument of the early German literature, one which will repay careful study even to-day.

Beside this poetical version of the gospels there were quite a few translations of parts of the Bible at a fairly early date, beside the German Psalters, which will be considered in a special section. Professor Walther discusses a total of nine translations of the gospels, of which we have referred to the Monsee-Vienna Fragments and the Tatian Harmony. There is a fragment, of which parts were found in Munich and in Vienna, which contains directions for chanting the text in services. Switzerland boasts a complete translation of the four gospels in the Alemannic dialect; there is also a Psalter belonging to this version. It belongs to the period before 1400. There is a harmony of the gospels in Munich which has been placed before 1343, the language of which shows the work of a master. Other versions of the gospels are those of a parchment codex of the monastery at Melk, of a similar manuscript found at Kassel and placed about the middle of the fourteenth century, and of a manuscript with the Gospel of St. John and the Gospel of St. Matthew, which is preserved at Munich.

But this part of our study would not be complete without a reference to the translations of individual books which have been found, especially of the Song of Songs and of the Apocalypse. The most notable example of the former group is a paraphrase of the Song of Songs made by *Williram,* who died in 1085 as the abbot of Ebersberg in Bavaria, after having received his training in Fulda and served in his office for almost four decades. The form of Williram's work is that which offers a translation of individual sentences, followed by a short exposition. This is his rendering of chap. 1, 2. 3: —

Cusser mih mit cusse sines mundes. Uuanta bezzer sint dine spunne demo uuinc, sie stinchente mit den bezzesten salbon. Din namo ist uzgegozzenaz ole. Vone diu minnont dih die iunkfrouuon.

And chap. 5, 2: —

Ih slafon, min herza uuachot. Mir becnuodelet mines uuines stimma: Intuo mir, min suester, min fruentin, min tuba, min scona, uuanta min hoibet ist fol toiuues unte mine locca fol dero nahttroffon.

The interest in Williram's paraphrase was so great that many copies were made, a large number of which have been preserved to this day. In general the copyist made few changes in his translation and explanation, except by way of some additional point found in some Church Father; for Williram followed the exposition of Haimo of Halberstadt, Bede, Gregory the Great, and Alcuin, while others thought more highly of other men. A few renderings of the Song of Songs, which may have been inspired by Williram's work, show some very distinctive features, as they were intended in particular for the use of monks or of nuns; for in the latter case the authors were not satisfied with setting forth the meaning of the poem as an allegory picturing the relation between Christ and the Church, but extended the thought to emphasize the adoration of Mary.

Of the Revelation of St. John there are four notable translations, of which two are at Maihingen in Bavaria, one in Augsburg, and one in Vienna, all of them apparently dating from about the middle of the fifteenth century or somewhat later. In the manuscript of Augsburg, chap. 1, 4. 8 reads as follows: —

Johannes Siben kirchen die da sind in asia dem lannde, gnad sey üch vnd fride von dem d' da ist gewesen vnd künftig ist, vnd von den siben gaisten die in angesihte seins thrones sind. . . . Ich bin alpha vnd o spricht vnsz h're got, der ist vnd was vnd künftig ist almechttig.

At this point reference may be made to Gospel harmonies and epistolaries, such as the *Beheim Evangelienbuch*. In the thirteenth century a translation of a Latin Gospel harmony was made in Cologne by the Dominicans. It spread over the whole of the province Teutonia, into Holland, Switzerland, Swabia, Bavaria, and also into Middle and Low Germany. As early as the first half of the fourteenth century it reached the diocese of Magdeburg. Now, in this same district a translation of the four gospels had been made, probably at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Before 1343 this translation was revised with the help of the harmony originating among the Dominicans at Cologne. Likewise before 1343 an *Evangeliar* must have been made by the Dominicans from the translation, and this was then united with an *Epistolar* of another origin to form a complete *Plenar*. The revised copy of the gospel translation was copied for the hermit Matthias Beheim at Halle in 1343, while the new *Plenar* was translated into Low German in 1390 and the harmony united with the above-mentioned *Epistolar*. This seems to have wandered westward, and from it the Uffenbach manuscript was made in 1411. (Maurer, *Studien zur Mitteldeutschen Bibeluebersetzung vor Luther.*)

We finally refer to translations of the Old Testament, of which eleven have been preserved in a more or less complete form, namely, the so-called "Wenzelbibel" in Vienna; a manuscript in Munich; one in Maihingen, dated 1437; one in Nuernberg, dated 1437—43; one in Nikolsburg, dated 1456; one in Weimar, dated 1458; one in Vienna, the date not being given, because the manuscript is defective; a second one in Munich, dated 1463; a third in Munich, of the same year; another in Maihingen, dated 1472; and one in Gotha. Of these the most noted translation is the "Wenzelbibel," of the last half of the fourteenth century, between 1389 and 1400. It is divided into six volumes: 1. Foreword, the Pentateuch, and Joshua; 2. Judges, Ruth, Kings; 3. First and Second Chronicles, Prayer of Manasse, Ezra, Nehemiah, Tobith, Judith 1, 1—7; 4. Isaiah, with introduction, Jeremiah, with introduction, Lamentations, Judith, Esther, Job, with introduction; 5. Psalter, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom of Solomon, Jesus Sirach, Prayer of Solomon; 6. Isaiah, with introduction, Jeremiah, with introduction, Baruch, with introduction, Ezekiel. At the beginning of the Preface there is a short prayer: —

O Got du hertzen liebes gut,
Czu dir hebit sich mein mut
Vnd rufet dich gutlichen an,
Wenne nyemant wol geschaffen kan.

The story of the "Wenzelbibel" is almost romantic. The work was done by Martin Rotlev under the auspices of King Wenzel and his wife, for there is a short dedicatory poem, which reads: —

Wer nv diser schrifte hort,
Wil lesen vnd ir suzen wort
Der schol nv dancken dem vrumen,
Von dem ditz gestift ist kvmen,
Dem hochgebornen kvnig wenzlab vein
Vnd der durchluchtigisten kvniginne sein.
Den dicz durch gotis wirdikeit
Frvmet aller cristenheit.
Got gebe in dorumbe czu lone
Des edlen himelriches crone. Amen.

As a specimen of the translation the following verses from Gen. 24, 12 ff. will suffice: —

Do sprache er, Got herre meines Hren abrahames kvm heute mir enkegen des bitte ich dich, vnd tu dein barmhertzichheit mit meinem herren abrahamen. Sich ich stee bei disem bronne des wassers. Und der töchter die in der stat wonen die geen heraus wasser zu schepfen. Dorumbe die iunkvrowe zu der ich spreche neige deinen krug das ich trinke, vnd sie antworte, Trincke nicht alleine, sunder auch den cameln wil ich geben trincken.

It should be noted with regard to this Bible that the illustrations, like the text, are of unusual merit, many of them being real works of art, which may be placed beside the best examples of medieval manuscript work.

VIII. Psalteries of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

It was but natural that the Psalter should receive the attention of the translators at a very early date, since it is the prayer-book of the Church Universal and for that reason has always had a special appeal for believers of every class. Of the oldest translation of the Psalms of which we have knowledge, written in the Alemannic dialect, a fragment has been preserved, which places the date of the work into the ninth century. The translation, on the whole, is well done, although based, as were practically all these translations, entirely on the Vulgate. Psalm 130 reads as follows: —

Fone tiuuem hereta ce dih (call to Thee), druhtin (Lord). Truhtin, kehori stimma mina. sin orun diniu anauuartentiu (let Thine ear be attending) in stimma des kebetes mines. Ubi unreht pihaltis (*behalten*, retain to the sinner), truhtin, uuer kestat im (who will stand before Him)? Danta mittih kenada ist, duruh uuizzud (knowledge, understanding) tinan fardolata dih (bear, endure), druhtin (Latin: *et propter legem tuam sustinui te, Domine*). Fardolata sela miniu in uuorte sinemo. Uuanta (hoped) sela miniu in truhtine. Fona pihaltidu (beholding) morganlihero (morning-light) uncin ze naht uuane Israhel in truhtine. Danta mit truhtinan kinada inti kinuhtsamiu (abundance) mit inan erlosida. Inti her erlosit Israhelan fone allen unrehten (unrighteousnesses) sinen.

But the man who gave the greatest impetus to the work of translating the Psalter, so that some twenty-four medieval renderings have been registered, was Notker of St. Gall, commonly called *Notker Labeo* (ca. 950—1022), to distinguish him from Notker Balbulus, the poet (d. 912), and Notker the physician (d. 975). He was the last of the three Notkers, but by no means the least. He was educated at St. Gall, where he also spent more than forty years as teacher. His outstanding accomplishments in the field of theology, philology, music, mathematics, astronomy, and poetry made him notable even among contemporary scholars of superior ability.

Notker himself reports to his bishop on his reason for venturing into the field of philology and undertaking the translation of many of the classics as well as of parts of Scripture. He had found that at least glosses in the vernacular were required if one desired to do justice to his teaching. These glosses soon grew into formal translations, first of the Psalter, then of Augustine, then of various sections of the same nature in the Bible, especially of the Book of Job. The special merit of his work lies in the fact that he was a master of style, that emotion, warmth of expression, and freshness impart an appealing vigor to all his literary work. There is also a good deal of historical value in his glosses, since he touches upon every department of learning, philosophy, astronomy, economics, natural history, and political history. So great was his mastery of German that he was called Notker Teutonicus after his death, instead of Labeo (the full-lipped one).

As a sample of the work of Notker in the field of Bible-translating we offer his version of Psalm 1 according to the complete manuscript of St. Gall: —

Der man ist salig, der in dero argon rat (into the council of the wicked) ne gegieng. Noh an dero sundigon uuege ne stuont. Noh an demo suhtstuole (*cathedra pestilentiae*, seat of the pestilence) ne saz. Nube (but, on the contrary) der ist salig, tes uuillo an gotes eo (*Gesetz*, law) ist, unde der dara ana denchet tag unde naht. Unde der gediehet (flourishes) also uuola, so der boum, der bi demo innenten uazzere gesezzet ist, der zitigo (in his time) sinen uuuocher (*Ertrag*, fruit) gibet. So uuola ne gediehent aber die argen. So ne gediehent sie. Nube sie zefarent (go to pieces) also daz stuppe (stubble) dero erdo, daz ter uuint feruuahet. Bediu ne erstant arge ze dero urteildo. Noh sundige ne sizzent danne in demot rate dero recton. Vuanda got uueiz ten uueg tero rehton. Unde dero argon fart uuirt ferloren.

Reference should at least be made to the translations of Notker in the field of catechetics, for his version of the Lord's Prayer with a short explanation is notable for its brevity and clearness. The same may be said for his translation of the Apostolic Creed, which is here added for the sake of comparison: —

Ih keloubo an got, almahtigen fater, skephen himiles unde erdo. Unde an sinen sun, den geuuiehten haltare (*geweihten Erhalter, Heiland*) einigen unseren herren. Der fone demo heiligen geiste imphangen uuard, fona Maria dero magede geborn uuard. Kenothaftot (*in Not gehalten, gefesselt;* Latin: *passus est*) pi Pontio Pilato. Unde bi imo an crucem gestafter irstarb unde begraben uuard. Ze hello fuor, an demo dritten tage fone tode irstuont. Ze himile fuor, dar sizzet zu gotes zeseuuun (right hand), des almahtigen fater. Dannan chumftiger ze irteillene, die er danne findet lebende alde tote. Geloubo an den heiligen geist, der fone patre et filio chumet unde sament in ein got ist. Keloubo heiliga dia allichun samenunga, diu christianitas heizet. Geloubo ze habenne dero heiligon gemeinsami, ablaz sundon. Geloubo des fleiskes urstendida. Geloubo euuigen lib. Amen. Daz tuon ih keuuaro.

The work of Notker was often copied during the centuries after his death, but it is especially interesting to find that his translation was revived in the fourteenth century. His version of Psalm 1, 1—3, is here given in the following form: —

Der man ist selig, der niht gieng in den rat der argen. Vnd an dem weg der sundigen stund er niht. Vnd an dem stul der suht saz er niht. Sunder der ist saelig des wille an gotes e ist, und der an seiner e trahtet tag vnd naht. Vnd er gedihet als wol als der bovm der pei dem rinnenden wazzer gepflantzet ist. Der sine frucht gibt ze siner zit. Vnd sin blat zeflevzet niht. Vnd alliu div der bovm bringet, div werdent geglukhaftiget.

A Psalter from the monastery of Windberg, dated 1187 and now preserved at Munich, is distinguished by the fact that almost every psalm is accompanied by a prayer referring to its contents. In the interlinear translation the Latin word is often reproduced in various synonyms in German. In some instances the explanation grows into several sentences in expository form. Another feature of this Psalter

are the beautiful initial letters, many of them real works of art. This last holds true also of another version of the Psalter of the twelfth century, preserved in Vienna. The initials are exquisitely illuminated, many of them in gold ink.

A Psalter which is preserved at the library of Olmuetz contains songs of praise. It is an interlinear version, in which the author dared to set aside the Latin sequence of words and attempt some degree of freedom, as the following specimen from Ps. 115, 6. 7 shows:

Oren haben si vnd niht werden horen.
Aures habent et non audient.
nazlocher haben si vnd niht w'den riechen.
Nares habent et non odorabunt.
Si haben hende vnd griefen niht.
Manus habent et non palpabunt;
si heben fuesse vnd gehent nicht
pedes habent et non ambulabunt:
vnd schreien nicht in ire kel.
non clamabunt in gutture.

A Psalter dating from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, which is preserved at Treves, is an interlinear version. The manuscript begins with Ps. 37, 14 and closes with Ps. 144, 6. A feature of this translation is the use of the expression *unser herre* for the Latin *Dominus,* except in the vocative case. — A Latin Psalter in Wolfenbuettel, dating from the first half of the thirteenth century, received a German interlinear version about two centuries later. It seems that some copyist who had several German versions before him tried to combine them into some sort of coherent form, but did not succeed very well.

Of the remaining Psalters of the late Middle Ages, Walther writes that they show certain characteristics which place them together in a group. Such features are the extensive use of glosses taken from, or based upon, scholastic writings and occasional references to the Hebrew text. Translators whose names are known are Heinrich von Muegeln, one of the founders of the *Meistersaenger,* Heinrich von Hessen, and a scholar of Cannstadt, while the names of some of the editors and printers are Ratdolt, Michel, Huepfuff, and Knoblouch. In one of the Psalters there is a note attached to Ps. 1, 1: —

Der auf dem Lehrstuhl der Verderbnisz nicht gesessen hat. In ebraeisch spricht es: Der auf dem Lehrstuhl der Spoetter nicht gesessen hat.

The following is a sample of the work done by Heinrich von Muegeln; from Psalm 8: —

Herre vnser herre wie ze wundern dein nam ist auf allem erdreich, dein groezz ist auferhaben ueber die himel

Aus dem munde der kinde vnd die noch tuetlent oder saugent hast du dein lob volpracht durich dein veinde

das du zerstoerst den veint vnd den recher.

The situation regarding translations of the Bible or of any of its parts into German became rather precarious after 1369, for it was in that year that Charles IV issued his edict against books on the Holy Scriptures in the German tongue: . . . *praesertim cum Laycis utriusque sexus secundum canonicas sanctiones etiam libris vulgaribus quibuscunque de sacra scriptura uti non liceat, ne per male intellecta deducantur in haeresin vel errorem* (especially since it is not permitted to laymen of either sex, according to the canonical sanctions, to use any books on the Sacred Scripture in the common tongue, lest by an evil understanding they be seduced into heresy and error). This edict was actually enforced by the Inquisition. Nevertheless copies of many parts of Scripture and of the whole Bible were made and distributed, as we shall see also in the next chapter.

IX. The Eighteen Pre-Lutheran Translations of the Bible.

For the student of the Bible and its various translations and versions it is most stimulating to be told by scholars who know the field that, in addition to more than a score of Psalters which have till now been found complete or in parts, and at least a dozen renderings of other parts of Holy Scripture, as we have seen, there is an immense field of study in the history of the German Bible whose possibilities are not yet exhausted. Among the men whose names are prominent in this field are those of Ebert, Giese, Kehrein, Steigenberger, Panzer, and especially Wilhelm Walther. This eminent scholar writes: "Of printed editions of the whole Bible at the end of the Middle Ages there were eighteen in High German, five in Low German. Kehrein, indeed, mentions nine other editions, 'whose existence, however, was not proved, his purpose being to instigate further researches.' But after we had addressed inquiries to about 400 libraries and, in all cases where an unknown edition seemed to be extant, by further research work determined the existence of an error, the possibility mentioned by him has become an improbability. It is not to be assumed that a German edition of the Bible has been lost entirely. Of the Bible printed by Koburger in Nuernberg in 1483 we have determined the existence to this day of 58 copies, of the so-called first High-German Bible, which is so often referred to as of great rarity, 28 copies, and of that High-German edition which is probably the rarest in fact, we still found ten copies. As a matter of fact the number is somewhat greater, since we do not have the information on all libraries and some of them have two copies of these treasures, and there are, furthermore, copies in the hands of private persons."

Walther himself enumerates eighteen impressions of complete German Bibles between 1466 and 1521, of which fourteen are in High German. These may be divided into three large groups as follows: —

A. 1. Strassburg, Mentel, ca. 1466; 2. Strassburg, Eggestein, 1470; 3. Augsburg, Pflanzmann, 1473. — B. 4. Augsburg, Zainer, 1473; 5. Swiss,

1474; 6. Augsburg, Zainer, 1477; 7. Augsburg, Sorg, 1477; 8. Augsburg, Sorg, 1480 (practically a reprint of 6). — C. 9. Nuernberg, Koburger, 1483; 10. Strassburg, Grueninger, 1485; 11. Augsburg, Schoensperger, 1487; 12. Augsburg, Schoensperger, 1490; 13. Augsburg, H. Otmar, 1507; 14. Augsburg, S. Otmar, 1518.

The Low-German Bibles include the Old Testament of Delft (1477) without Psalms, the famous Picture Bible of Cologne (ca. 1478), the Bible of Luebeck (1494), and the edition of Ludwig Trutebul of Halberstadt (1522). To these may be added the Low-German Bible of Muenster, which is very much like that of Delft.

On the basis of a number of factors it is now assumed that the Bible which was printed by Mentel of Strassburg in 1466 is the oldest of the entire group. The edition by Eggestein was based on that of Mentel, and Pflanzmann followed Eggestein. For that reason a sample of Mentel's work will be of interest, namely, a few verses from Luke 1 (68—75): —

Gesegent ist der herre gott isrl': wann er hat heimgesuocht vnd hat gethan die derlosunge seins volcks. Vnd had vns aufgericht dz horn der behaltsam in dem haus dauids seins kints: als er hat geredt durch den mund seiner heiligen weyssagen die do seint von der werlt. Die behaltsam von vnsern feinden: vnd von der hand aller die vns hassten. Zethuon die derbermd mit vnsern vettern: Vn zegedencken seins heiligen geseugs. Daz geschworn recht das er schwuor zuo abraham vnserm vatter sich selber vns zegeben. Daz wir im dienen on vorcht: vn seine der lost von der hand vnser feinde. In heiligkeit vn inrecht vor im: all vnser tag.

The fourth printed German Bible, that of Zainer, is a corrected edition of the second Bible, that of Eggestein, but it is based entirely upon the Vulgate, from a copy of which Walther believes that it originated in Spain. The other printed Bibles of Group B are clearly reprints of the work of Zainer or so largely dependent upon him that very few striking differences have been noted by Walther. He writes: "In all the more important points the fourth to eighth Bibles are entirely similar. Only the last one, the second edition prepared by Sorg in 1480, has an innovation. It has . . . not only a list of the Biblical books, but also a table which gives the contents of each chapter in a short form."

In the ninth Bible a number of innovations must be noted. The printer, Koburger of Nuernberg, called by Badius *librariorum facile princeps* (easily the first of booksellers), not only asserted that his edition was clear and correct, but added the boast: "mit hohem vnd groszem vleusz gegen dem lateynischen text gerechtuertigt. vnderschidlich punctirt. mit vberschrifften bey dem meysten teyl der capitel vnd psalm. iren inhalt vnd vrsach anzaygende. Vnd mit schoenen figuren dy hystorien bedeutenden (with high and great diligence compared with the Latin text, provided with clear punctuation marks, with headings of most chapters and psalms, indicating their content and object; and with fine figures explaining the stories). The work of Koburger was so well done that it was made the basis of the remaining

editions of Group C, with only comparatively slight changes and corrections. The following samples from the Koburger Bible will serve for orientation: —

Ex. 15, 1. 2: (D) O sang moyses vnnd die sun israhel disen gesang dem herren vnd sprachen. Wir singen dem herren wunsamgklich. wan er ist groszmechtig worden. er warf in das meere das rosz vn den aufsitzer. Der herre ist meyn stercke vnnd meyn lobe. vnnd ist mir gemacht zu eynem heyl. Der ist meyn gott. vnnd ich will in glorifiziren gott meynes vaters. vnnd ich erhoh in.

Luke 1, 68—71: Gesegent ist der herre got israhel. wann er hat heymgesucht vnn hat gethan die erloszung seins volcks. Vnn hat uns auffgericht das horn des heyls in dem hausz dauid seins kindes. Als er hat geredt durch den mund seiner heyligen weyssagen die da sind von der welt. Das heyl ausz vnsern veinden. vnd von der hand aller der die vns hassten.

The Low-German Bibles, which are related in language to the Dutch Bibles, offer a fine field for study, since many of the words are close to the Old German, the Anglo-Saxon, and the modern English. The first verses of Genesis in the Delft Bible read: —

IN den beginne scyep god hemel ende eerde. Mer die eerde was vnnutte en ydel. En donkerheden waren op die aensichte des afgronts. En gods gheest wert gedragen bouen die wateren. ENde got seide dat lichte moet werden. An dat lichte wort gemaket.

But stimulating as the study of these various versions is in itself, their importance cannot be compared with that of the German translation of the Bible made by Martin Luther, which is to engage our attention in the next chapters.

X. The Beginning of Luther's Work as Translator.

The last of the so-called pre-Lutheran versions of the Bible in High German, as we have seen, was published by Silvanus Otmar at Augsburg, in 1518. This was at the time when Martin Luther was already becoming prominent on account of his opposition to the traffic in indulgences. But Luther's preparation for the greatest work of his life began long before this, years before he posted his Ninety-five Theses against Johann Tetzel.

It is noteworthy that the education which Luther received was as comprehensive as that of most of the learned men of his day. The secondary schools which he attended at Magdeburg and Eisenach offered a good training in the course of study then in vogue for the learned professions. The University of Erfurt enjoyed a very good reputation among the European schools of the beginning of the sixteenth century, and Luther made good use of his time in studying philosophy, logic, dialectics, rhetoric, ethics, the latter especially according to Aristotle, and the classics, such as Cicero, Vergil, Livius, Plautus, Herodotus, and others. After he had received his university degree, and after his venture into the field of monastic living, he had several further semesters of work both at Wittenberg and at Erfurt. He became *baccalaureus ad biblia* on March 9, 1509, at Wittenberg,

and here he also received the degree of *doctor in theologia,* on October 19, 1512. The work connected with the attaining of these degrees was in itself a training of the hardest kind, which gave Luther much of the freedom and ease that he later displayed in his writings.

To this general education, also of an advanced form, we must add the special training which Luther acquired in Greek and Hebrew. As soon as he was admitted to the theological faculty at Wittenberg, he began to lecture on the Bible, his first lecture on the Book of Genesis being delivered on October 25, 1512. In August of the next year he began his lectures on the Psalter, in April, 1515, on the Letter to the Romans, in October, 1516, on the Letter to the Galatians, in 1517 on the Letter to the Hebrews. From 1513 to 1516 his friend Johannes Lang was a member of the Wittenberg faculty, and Luther did not hesitate to make use of his friend's knowledge of Greek in order to search the original language of the New Testament. As soon as the first edition of the New Testament issued by Erasmus was on the market, in 1516, Luther made use of the Greek text in his exposition of Romans, as may be seen from the edition published by Ellwein. With regard to Hebrew the progress of Luther was also remarkable, once he had mastered the rudiments of the language from the grammar-dictionary of Reuchlin. He paid little attention to grammatical details, but read rapidly and copiously until he had entered into the spirit of the language and could thus use it with pleasure and sympathy. Luther's own remarks on the original tongues of the Bible are characteristic: "The Hebrew tongue is altogether despised because of impiety or perhaps because people despair of learning it. . . . Without this language there can be no understanding of Scripture; for the New Testament, although written in Greek, is full of Hebraisms. It is rightly said that the Hebrews drink from the fountains, the Greeks from the streams, and the Latins from the pools. I am no Hebrew grammarian, nor do I wish to be, for I cannot bear to be hampered by rules; but I am quite at ease in the language, for whoever has the gift of tongues, even though he cannot forthwith turn anything into another language, or interpret it, yet has a wonderful gift of God. The translators of the Septuagint were unskilled in Hebrew, and their version is therefore extremely poor, even though literal. We prefer it to the version of Jerome, even though we confess that he who reviled Jerome as a good Jew was mistaken and did him wrong. But he has this excuse, that after the Babylonian Captivity the language was so corrupted that it could not be restored." "The knowledge [of Hebrew] is of extraordinary advantage in understanding the Scripture clearly." "Without the Hebrew language it is not possible to understand the Scripture, especially the prophets, in a number of passages."

Luther's genius in linguistics was of particular value also in the German which he chose for his translation of the Bible. The words of McGiffert (*Martin Luther, the Man and His Work*, 225) present the facts in a very satisfactory way: "The German employed by him [Luther] was not his own creation, but it owed him much. The dialects of the day were many and various, so that people living only a few score miles apart, as he once remarked, could scarcely understand each other. But a common diplomatic language had already developed and became the medium of official communication between all the principalities of the land. This he made the basis of his written German. 'I use no special dialect of my own,' he once said, 'but the common German language that I may be understood by all alike. I use the speech of the Saxon chancellery,[3]) which is followed by all the princes and kings of Germany.' Formal, stilted, and clumsy enough it was as employed in the state documents of the day, but he greatly modified and enriched it, making it more flexible and colloquial and enlarging its vocabulary from the language of the people, spoken and written. He had a wide knowledge of current literature, devotional and otherwise, and an enormous fund of popular saws and proverbs, and his style, as a rule, was not only simple and clear, but wonderfully vivid and picturesque."

This quotation naturally suggests the question as to whether Luther made use of the previous translations of the Bible. This charge has been made repeatedly, occasionally even rising to the height of a direct accusation of plagiarism. Geffcken writes: "That the agreement of Luther with the old translation cannot be an accidental one the few passages which I shall have printed under the text will prove." Hopf believed that he had found in Luther "definite indications of his use of his predecessors." Kraft made the statement: "Any one who makes a comparison between these parallels will hardly retain a doubt that the agreement of Luther with the Bible of the sixteenth century is not accidental." Wedewer thought he could prove that "Luther had used the old Catholic translation to a large extent, resp. retained it essentially in the New Testament, only revising it."[4]) A recent critic of the same school is Florer, who asserts: "It is absolutely certain that the extent of Luther's use of the earlier versions has been greatly underestimated. Such extensive similarities in any other literary work would provoke much criticism as to the originality of the author. Due allowance must of necessity be given to the fact that in a translation from one, in this case at

3) This was practically the language developed in the chancellery of the empire at Prague.

4) See Walther, *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*, col. 40.

times from two languages, into another language certain similarities are inevitable; but the correspondence between Luther's translation of the New Testament and the Koburger edition is so striking that one may speak of changes rather than of similarities."[5])

These statements would seem at first blush to be serious charges; but as a matter of fact the situation is not nearly as gloomy as these critics allege. A careful comparison of the various passages offered by Florer yields nothing in favor of his position. We print a few parallel columns from sections chosen almost at random, including some of those in which the critics find evidence of plagiarism.

KOBURGER.

Luke 2: Vnd hyrten warn in deselben gegent. die do wachten. vnd behüten. die wachen der nacht vber ir herde. vnd seht der engel des herre(n) stund bey in. vnd die klarheyt gots vm(b) leuchtet sie, vnd sie forchten sich mit grosser vorcht. vnd der engel sprach zu in. Nicht wölt euch fürchten. Aber seht. Ich verkünde euch ei(n) grosse frewde die do wirt allem volck. wan(n) heut ist euch geborn. der behalter der do ist christus der herr in der stat dauid.

LUTHER.

Und es waren Hirten in derselbigen Gegend auf dem Felde bei den Hürden, die hüteten des Nachts ihrer Herde. Und siehe, des Herrn Engel trat zu ihnen, und die Klarheit des Herrn leuchtete um sie; und sie fürchteten sich sehr. Und der Engel sprach zu ihnen: Fürchtet euch nicht, siehe ich verkündige euch grosze Freude, die allem Volk widerfahren wird; denn euch ist heute der Heiland geboren, welcher ist Christus, der Herr, in der Stadt Davids.

Now, although the text of the Vulgate in this instance is quite close to the Greek, it is obvious at once that the Koburger edition is clumsy and unwieldy while that of Luther shows the true elegance of idiomatic German. This appears still more strongly in other passages throughout the New Testament, but particularly in the Old Testament.

KOBURGER.

Habakkuk 3: HErre ich hab gehort dein hörung. vnd hab mich gefürcht. Herr dein werck in dem mittel der iar mache es lebendig. In de mittel der iare. wirst du machen offenwar. so du bist zornig. du wirst gedencken der erbermbde.

LUTHER.

HERR, ich habe dein Gerücht gehöret, dasz ich mich entsetze. HERR, du machst dein Werk lebendig mitten in den Jahren, und lässest es kund werden mitten in den Jahren. Wenn Trübsal da ist, so denkest du der Barmherzigkeit.

A careful comparison of dozens of passages forces the conclusion that in fewer than one-third of the New Testament passages is there any kind of apparent agreement. These are practically all such passages as show a close agreement of the Vulgate with the Greek and hence offer the possibility of a similarity in a translation into the same tongue. It is probable that Luther had heard some of these passages in German, and he may possibly even have read parts of these

5) *Luther's Use of the Pre-Lutheran Versions of the Bible*, 32.

translations, so that certain peculiar expressions adhered in his retentive memory. More than this cannot be proved or even safely alleged with regard to the New Testament. And as for the Old Testament, the dissimilarity is so great as to make any charge of plagiarism ridiculous. The matter is well put by Grimm: "In view of the great difference between Luther's Bible and its predecessor it might seem strange that both occasionally, especially in the New Testament, concur in individual expressions and sentences, for which reason Hopf, in spite of all his veneration for Luther, believed he could not escape the observation that Luther had now and then used his predecessor. But in view of Luther's well-known independence I am unable to imagine that he had a copy of his predecessor before him and that he now and then borrowed individual points therefrom. It is quite possible that many verses and statements had come into general literary and oral use in the form coined by the older Bible and in this manner been impressed upon the memory of Luther."[6] The same thoughts have more recently been expressed by McGiffert, when he writes of Luther: "He was not the first to put the Scriptures into the German language. Vernacular translations were very common and had a wide circulation among the people. During the previous half century eighteen German editions of the whole Bible had been published, and some of Luther's own acquaintances were engaged in the task of translating before he began. Writing in December to his friend Lang, who had recently issued a German version of the Gospel of Matthew, he urged him to go on with the work, expressing the wish that every town might have its own translator and thus the Bible be better understood by the people. That he had many predecessors diminishes in no degree the importance of Luther's work. Though his was not the first German Bible, it soon won its way to general favor and crowded all others out of use. The contrast with the earlier versions was very great. They were based on the Latin Vulgate, the official Bible of the Catholic Church, and smacked largely of their source. Written in a curious Latinized German, most of them were unattractive and sometimes almost unintelligible. Luther translated his New Testament direct from the Greek and his Old Testament from the Hebrew. Besides getting nearer to the original, he was thus able to avoid the deleterious influence of the Latin and produce a translation genuinely German in style and spirit."[7]

One further testimonial may find its place here, namely, one by Robertson, who writes: "The importance of Luther's Bible cannot be too highly estimated, either as a text-book of Reformed Christianity [sic!] or as a literary monument. His original works hardly

6) *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der lutherischen Bibelübersetzung*, 5.

7) *Op. cit.*, 222.

bear, one might say, so strong an impress of his magnificent personality as this German Bible. For it was above all things a *German* Bible. Although he went back to the original Hebrew and Greek texts, Luther made no slavish translation; he gave the German people a truer *Volksbuch* than did his scholarly predecessors, who, in their translation of the Vulgate, aimed at closer accuracy. . . . He has rendered the concrete Hebrew poetry and lucid Greek narrative by the language and the proverbial phrases of the peasant's home."[8])

The question is now raised: How did Luther develop his amazing facility and dexterity in translating the New Testament and even the entire Bible in so short a time? Here his critics should take note of the fact that, after all, he had had occasion to become acquainted with the Bible for almost a score of years, ever since he had discovered a complete copy of the Vulgate in the university library. As we have briefly indicated above, his study of the New Testament since 1515 had been of the most intensive kind, so that he made a very searching examination of many parts of the New Testament in the Greek original. The comprehensive nature of this work is borne out by the following list of sections of the Holy Scriptures translated and, in part, explained by Luther, before the end of 1521: —

1. The Seven Penitential Psalms (6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143). 1517 (revised in 1525).
2. The Lord's Prayer. 1518.
3. The 109th (110th) Psalm. Augsburg, 1518.
4. Matt. 16, 13—20. Leipzig, 1519.
5. The Prayer of Manasseh. Leipzig, 1519.
6. The Ten Commandments. Wittenberg, 1520.
7. The 67th (68th) Psalm. Wartburg, 1521.
8. The Magnificat of Mary. Wartburg, in June, 1521.

Luke 1, 46—55 reads as follows in this edition: —

Meine Seele erhebt Gott, den HErrn, und mein Geist freuet sich in Gott, meinem Heiland. Denn er hat mich, seine geringe Magd, angesehen, davon mich werden selig preisen Kindes Kind ewiglich. Denn er, der alle Dinge tut, hat grosz Ding mir getan, und heilig ist sein Name. Und seine Barmherzigkeit langet von einem Geschlecht zum andern, allen, die sich vor ihm fürchten. Er wirket gewaltiglich mit seinem Arm, und zerstöret alle die Hoffärtigen im Gemüt ihres Herzens. Er setzet ab die groszen Herren von ihrer Herrschaft, und erhöhet, die da niedrig und nichts sind. Er macht satt die Hungrigen mit allerlei Gütern, und die Reichen läszt er ledig bleiben. Er nimmt auf sein Volk Israel, das ihm dienet, nachdem er gedacht an seine Barmherzigkeit. Wie er denn versprochen hat unsern Vätern, Abraham und seinen Kindern in Ewigkeit.

9. The 118th (119th) Psalm. 1521.
10. The 36th (37th) Psalm. Wittenberg, 1521.
11. The Gospel of the Ten Lepers, Luke 17, 11—19. 1521.

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8) *A History of German Literature.*

12. The Gospel for the Second Sunday in Advent, Luke 21, 25—36. Wittenberg, 1521.

Such was the preliminary work of Luther in preparation for his great work of translating the entire Bible into German.

XI. Luther's Translation of the New Testament.

Every one who is at all familiar with the main events in the life of Luther knows also the significance of the Diet of Worms for Luther's own spiritual development and for the progress of the Reformation. Luther had been cited to appear before the mightiest rulers of the earth to give an account of his activities, and he did so with a candor and fearlessness that served to encourage his friends and to confound his enemies. After those two memorable days, April 17 and 18, 1521, he remained in Worms for another week, leaving the city, ostensibly for Wittenberg, on April 26. Two days later he wrote an interesting letter to Lucas Cranach from Frankfort on the Main, in which he stated: "I am going somewhere to be hidden, though I myself do not yet know where." (15, 1936.) On May 1 Luther reached Hersfeld, where he was royally welcomed by the abbot of the Benedictine monastery and where he preached, in spite of the fact that this had been forbidden him. On May 2 he reached his "dear old Eisenach," where he also delivered a sermon. The next day he drove through the beautiful forests to Moehra, his father's early home, and visited his uncle Heinz Luther. On the morning of May 4 he preached in the open air and after dinner set out in the direction of Schloss Altenstein with Amsdorf and a brother monk.

Some of Luther's relatives and friends accompanied him out of Moehra. They bade him farewell just as it was getting dark, and Luther continued his journey, accompanied only by Amsdorf and the customary companion of his journey, in this case Petzensteiner. What happened shortly afterward is given by Boehmer (*Der junge Luther,* 384) in the following description: "Shortly after they [the relatives of Luther] had taken their leave, Amsdorf saw four or five horsemen come bursting out of the woods which lined the road on both sides. He immediately called the attention of his fellow-travelers to this dubious fact. Luther, to safeguard against all eventualities, immediately grasped his Hebrew Bible and his Greek Testament. Brother Petzensteiner, however, who had for good reasons not been informed of coming events, sprang out of the wagon like a frightened hare and disappeared behind the bushes. Meanwhile the horsemen had approached and now, with crossbows ready to shoot, demanded of the driver whether he had Luther in the wagon. He in his terror immediately acknowledged as much. Thereupon they drew the Reformer out of the wagon with blasphemous curses, while Amsdorf raised a loud cry, and quickly dragged him away on the road to Brotterode, so that he

had to run beside the nags in a trot over sticks and stones, like a dog. It was only when the wagon was no longer in sight that they revealed their identity and lifted him upon a horse. But then they rode, in order to avoid the traveled paths and to obliterate their tracks, back and forth for hours, so that he was thoroughly exhausted when finally, toward 11 o'clock, he entered the court of the Wartburg over the rattling drawbridge. There he was received by the knight Sternberg and by the captain of the castle, Hans von Berlepsch." Thus began Luther's memorable stay at the Wartburg, the "exile" which lasted till the beginning of March, 1522, and was interrupted only by a secret visit to Wittenberg in December, 1521.

During the first months of Luther's stay at the Wartburg the literary labors of the Reformer followed lines which indicated the trend of his interests. He produced a translation and an exposition of the 68th Psalm, as noted above, also one of Psalm 22, of the Magnificat, of the 37th Psalm, of Luke 17, 11—19, of Luke 21, 25—36, and other sections of Scripture. He also wrote a number of treatises to defend his previous books against the condemnations of the papists and to attack, in turn, such as refused to accept the truth.

But Luther's chief work during his stay at the Wartburg, that which is, in fact, ever associated with this period of his life, is his translation of the New Testament. This was undertaken shortly after his return from Wittenberg, where he had secretly gone between the 2d and about the 10th of December, in order to counteract the iconoclastic activities of Carlstadt and his friends. It is interesting to follow the progress of the work from statements in Luther's own letters. On December 18 he wrote to his friend Johannes Lang: "I shall remain hidden here till Easter. Meanwhile I shall compile the postils and translate the New Testament into German, wherewith you also, as I hear, are engaged. Continue as you have begun. Would to God that every single city had its interpreter, and this book alone live in the mouth, the hand, the eyes, the ears, and the hearts of all." (15, 2555.) Lang's translation of the gospel of Matthew had appeared in June, 1521, but Luther had heard about it only toward the end of the year. On December 20 Luther wrote to Wenceslaus Link in Nuernberg: "I am now working on the postil and on the translation of the Bible into German." (21a, 372.)

Evidently the great Reformer worked with steady application, for on January 13 he speaks of his work at length in a letter to Amsdorf: "Meanwhile I shall translate the Bible, although I have taken a burden upon me which transcends my powers. I now see what translating means and why till now it has not been undertaken by any one who would mention his name. But the Old Testament I shall not be able to manage, unless you are present and work along. Yea, if it could be done that I could have a secret room with some one of you, I would

come at once and with your assistance translate it all from the beginning that it might become a worthy translation, which would be read by the Christians; for I hope that we can give to our Germany a better translation than that which the Latins have. It is a great and worthy work, in which we should all be engaged, since it is a public undertaking and is to be dedicated to the public welfare." (15, 2559.)

There are no further letters on this topic from the Wartburg available; but after Luther's return to Wittenberg, on March 6, we find that his translation of the New Testament was finished. He so states in a letter to Spalatin on March 30: "I had translated not only the Gospel of John, but the entire New Testament in my Patmos; but now we, Philip and I, have begun to file on it, and if God will, it will become a worthy effort; but we want to make use also of your help occasionally in order to place the words in the proper form. Get ready therefore, but in such a way that you give us simple words, not those in use in the castle and at court, for this book requires to be made clear through simplicity. And to begin with, see that you give us the names as well as the colors of the precious stones in Rev. 21 and that you, please God, either from the court or from any other place, provide us with a sight of them." (15, 2555 f.) By May 10 the work had progressed to a point that the first form of the German translation of the New Testament could be sent out, for on that day Luther wrote to Spalatin: "I am sending you a sample of our new Bible, but with the idea that you retain it, that it may not be propagated. I am expecting the precious stones; they will be kept faithfully and returned." (15, 2556.) Five days later, in writing to the same friend, Luther refers to a slight difficulty in finding a good word and also speaks of the precious stones again. (21a, 407.)

At the end of May, Luther again writes to Spalatin, with reference to the forms of the Gospel of St. Matthew, which had been sent to just a few people: "I hope that you have received the entire German Matthew, with the other things; for it seemed good to us to honor you alone in this way, since we presuppose that this will be shown also to the prince. A copy will also be sent to Duke John; besides him nobody will get to see as much as a leaf, not even those who work in the print-shop. I should like to know how you like this work." (15, 2566.) The progress had been very rapid, as a letter of Luther to Spalatin on July 26 informs us: "Up till now I have sent you a copy of the New Testament piecemeal up to the Gospel of Luke and the Letter to the Corinthians. I am now sending the rest; if it should not have reached you, make inquiry where inquiry ought to be made or write me in case it is lost that I may not continue to waste also the next forms. In addition, I am sending another, complete copy, as far as it is printed, what I have received from them for the prince; for on that account they conscientiously keep the impressions.

The work is proceeding slowly. For now you have only half, and there are still eighteen forms remaining. It will not be finished before the Day of St. Michael, although they daily with three presses print ten thousand pages with prodigious labor and diligence." (15, 2574.) Luther's estimate concerning the date of the complete printed copy of the New Testament (September 29) was not quite correct; for on September 20 he wrote to Spalatin: "Behold, you now have the entire New Testament for you and for the Elector, with the exception of the Preface to Romans, which will be finished to-morrow. I am also sending a copy for the younger prince, which you will give him in my name; this Lucas [Cranach] and Christian [Doering] have given into my hand. For I believe that Wolfgang Stein has already sent one for the older prince." (21a, 446 f.)

It was surely an amazing piece of work for Luther to translate the entire New Testament, revise and polish his translation with the help of Melanchthon and Spalatin, see it through the press, and have it ready for the book market in the short space of nine months. It shows the Reformer's immense energy and working ability in addition to his genius. In order to expedite printing, the manuscript was divided into three parts, so that the gospels and the Acts were set at the same time with the epistles and the Book of Revelation. The book was embellished with twenty-one woodcuts from the shop of Lucas Cranach, who followed a series by Albrecht Duerer. The title of the book was: —

Das Newe Testa/ment Deutzsch. Vuittemberg. (Date not given.)

The printer was Melchior Lotther, the publishers Christian Doering and Lucas Cranach. The price per copy was one and a half *gulden,* the value of which can be estimated by considering that the salary of Bugenhagen as professor at the university was forty *gulden* per year until 1526.

The date of the first edition of the New Testament, in agreement with the last letter quoted above and a further one written on the next day (21a, 447) is September 21, 1522. This edition is known as the *September-Bibel.* No sooner was it on the market than preparations were made for a second revised edition. This problem has been studied very thoroughly by Kuhrs (*Verhaeltnis der Dezemberbibel zur Septemberbibel*). The edition was on the market on December 19, 1522, and was hailed with as much delight as had been the first printing. Melchior Lotther was again the printer, and the woodcuts of the previous edition were again pressed into service. A feature of both editions were the introductions which Luther wrote for the various books and the special notes or glosses, largely in the form of side-heads, which served for the better understanding of the text. The Preface of the Letter to the Romans is rightly regarded as one of the classics of Lutheran literature. It has been repeatedly translated into

English, and its testimony is said to have brought John Wesley to the knowledge of the truth of salvation. The Preface to the Book of Revelation as prepared by Luther for the editions of 1522 was suppressed by him in later editions as being too sweeping in its emphasis upon the book as an *antilegomenon*. But even at that Luther conceded that one might well take issue with him concerning his opinion. It is well known that Luther's interpretation of this book in later years may rightly be regarded as an outstanding achievement.

In closing this chapter on Luther's German translation of the New Testament we quote at length from the appreciation which accompanies the new edition of the *September-Bibel,* issued by Kawerau and Reichert in 1918. We read there, in part: "In December of the year 1521 we meet the announcement in his letters that he was engaged in the translation of the New Testament into German 'that our friends demand.' At the beginning he was still undecided whether he ought not rather to start with the Old Testament; but he realized well that he would not be equal to this task without consulting various sources of assistance, that he would even have to go to Wittenberg in order to employ the help and advice of the learned men there. So he quickly made up his mind to translate the New Testament into German. Such was the speed with which he pursued his labors that he could report to his friend Spalatin after his return from the Wartburg, in sending him a translation of the Gospel of St. John, that he had translated not only this gospel, but the entire New Testament. This is a surprising performance if one considers that he had hardly eleven weeks at his disposal for this work. If one is aware of the fact that the Greek New Testament in the widely spread edition of the Stuttgart Bible Society comprises 657 pages, so that about ten pages of the Greek text had to be translated daily, and if one takes note of the fact that during this short span of time Luther had many another bit of work in hand, one is amazed at his energy and endurance. It has recently been conjectured that this could have been possible only if he had placed the medieval German Bible translation beside him and had then changed this in keeping with his linguistic genius and on the basis of a comparison with the original. But would that really have been an alleviation of the work? In the simple narrative texts the reference to an older German version would have been superfluous, and in the case of more difficult texts with complicated sentence structure the older translation with its totally different form of sentence structure and word sequence would have been an obstacle rather than an alleviation. Not one trace can be noted which would lead us to assume that Luther had that medieval Bible available on the Wartburg. His performance is rather explained in this manner, that any piece of work went forward with unusual speed once he had his pen in hand and that he had an amazing endurance in working. But in addition it

should be considered that, as preacher of the divine Word and as theological teacher, he had for years lived in the Scripture and was thoroughly at home in it, that he had lectured on the more difficult books of the New Testament (Romans, Hebrews, Galatians), and had thus worked through them in the most intensive fashion. He did not take his work easy; for he makes the significant confession that he only now realized what it meant to translate and that he now understood why earlier translators had not mentioned their names. Through this very work, as he says, it had been brought home to him that he must not think he was learned. For his Greek text he very likely used the edition which a friend in Strassburg, Nicolaus Gerbel, had sent him the summer before.[9] But the work of this man was essentially a reprint of the great work of Erasmus of 1519, in which this man had combined with the Greek text a Latin translation and detailed remarks." Thus the German New Testament of 1522 came into being.

XII. The Completion of the Whole Bible in German.

Even before the second edition of Luther's New Testament in German, the so-called *Dezember-Bibel,* was on the market, he began work on the Old Testament, a project which he had contemplated for some time. Some of these references have been noted above, and another is contained in a letter addressed to Nicolaus Gerbel in Strassburg, dated November 1, 1521. (15, 2518 f.) After the last proofs of the *September-Bibel* had been read, Luther evidently turned at once to the Old Testament, of which he possessed the Hebrew edition issued by Gerson ben Mosheh in Brescia, dated 1494. With what energy he applied himself to his task appears from a letter addressed to Spalatin on November 3, 1522: "In the translation of the Old Testament I am now at the Book of Leviticus, for it is incredible to what degree letters, business, social duties, and many other things have hindered me. But now I have decided to lock myself in at home and to hurry in order that Moses may be sent to the presses by January. For him we want to issue separately, then the historical books, and the prophets last. For the size and the price of the books make it necessary for us thus to divide them and to issue them gradually." (15, 2578.) The progress made by December 11 is registered in at least two places. To Spalatin, Luther wrote on that date: "In this week I shall complete the Book of Deuteronomy, and we are even now revising the printed sheets that it may be put on the presses." (21a, 461.) And to Wolfgang Stein in Weimar he addressed the words: "In this week I shall complete the translation of the books of Moses." (18, 1434.)

9) This was a reprint of the second edition of Erasmus. Cp. Wahl, *Die deutsche Bibel vom 15. bis 18. Jahrh.;* also St. Louis Ed., 15, 2517 ff.

Meanwhile, on November 7, 1522, the mandate of Duke George of Saxony had gone out which demanded that the New Testament as issued in German by Luther should be delivered to the designated officials. The mandate closes with the warning: "If we should find any one, whether woman or man, who in spite of this our command should be in possession of these books or reprints or copies of them, we shall not permit them to remain unpunished, but shall give such an exhibition of our power as to have every one take note that we intend to enforce the obedience of the Christian Church and of its supreme heads as much as we possibly can." (19, 489.)

However, if Luther knew of these formidable threats, he did not permit them to be an obstacle in his work. On December 12 he sent a letter to Spalatin in which he asked for the proper German names of quite a number of birds, mammals, and reptiles in order to get the lists in Lev. 11, 29 f. and Deut. 14, 5 ff. correct. And on December 19 he wrote to Wenceslaus Link in Altenburg: "Be commended to the Lord and pray for me. Moses I have finished in the translation. A second edition of the New Testament [the so-called *Dezember-Bibel,* mentioned above] is finished; now they intend to take up Moses. It is surprising how much we have need of you in the German language. Whether your bookseller has paid I do not know. To me he has given nothing, and I have given him orders that he should pay Lotther; whether he has given it to him I cannot ascertain, for he does not know either." (15, 2581.) In January, 1523, Luther had an opportunity to show his friend Nicolaus Gerbel his appreciation of the kindness shown by the latter in forwarding to the Wartburg a copy of his Greek edition of the New Testament, which had been printed by Thomas Anshelm at Hagenau. (15, 2519, note 10.) In sending Gerbel a copy of his translation of the New Testament, Luther makes an interesting comparison: "I am returning you your bride [that is, his translation of the New Testament], which you have offered to me, and she is still pure and uncontaminated. And what is marvelous and new in this woman, she desires very seriously and suffers countless rivals and is the more chaste, the more betrothals are arranged for her." (21a, 477.)

The five books of Moses having appeared in 1523 and the historical books from Joshua to Esther inclusive in 1524, Luther prepared for the more difficult sections of the Old Testament. That he was constantly on the alert for assistance in this work is seen from a letter to Johannes Hess, dated August 27, 1523. In this letter he says: "Greetings, preacher of the Preacher Ecclesiastes [Hess having delivered a series of lectures on this book at Breslau]; but see to it also that that Preacher be alive, for we also want to hear him or at least read him through you. Attend to it, therefore, that we receive your expositions of this book in order to make use of them when this

book is to be translated into German." (21a, 542.) Early the next year, when Luther was working on the poetical books of the Old Testament, he wrote to Spalatin, the letter being dated February 23, 1524: "With us everything is getting along well. Only in the translation of Job we had much trouble on account of the sublimity of its transcendently majestic style, so that he seems to be much more impatient on account of our translation than on account of the comfort of his friends . . ., if the author of this book did not indeed desire that it should never be translated. This factor retards the printing of this third part of the Bible." (21a, 596.) At another time he wrote to Wenceslaus Link: "How great and laborious a task it is to force Hebrew writers to talk German! How they strive against it and rebel at being compelled to forsake their native manner and follow the rough German style! It is just as if a nightingale were made to give up its own sweet melody and imitate the song of the cuckoo though disliking it extremely." Another saying of Luther's is also found in practically all biographies: "With Philip [Melanchthon] and Aurogallus I sometimes pondered a full fourteen days upon the meaning of a word or line before the proper idiomatic phraseology was discovered." Mathesius, who quotes these words, has also other information concerning the further work of Luther, as we shall see below.

About this time, in the year 1525, Luther was also working on another edition of the Pentateuch, for on February 11 he wrote to Spalatin: "I have been urged to finish Deuteronomy that the printers may not suffer loss." (21a, 720.) Somewhat more than a year later, on April 20, 1526, Luther wrote to Johann Ruehel: "This matter has so disturbed me that I have almost neglected the Psalter and the psalms. . . . The Psalms are not yet ready, for I have too much to do. Talking and doing is not the same thing. But you shall have your Psalter." (21a, 854.)[10] On August 28 of the same year the Reformer

10) In this connection a few paragraphs on Luther's translation of the Psalter will prove interesting. "As Luther progressed in his knowledge of Hebrew, . . . he refrained more and more from using the Vulgate and St. Jerome's translation in his endeavor to make his translation conform better to the meaning of the Hebrew original. The method used was the comparison of the way he translated individual words and phrases in the different versions of the Psalms. His translation of the seven Penitential Psalms in 1517 was not made from the Hebrew original, but from the Vulgate with the assistance of Jerome's text and Reuchlin's *Septene*. At that time Luther did not possess a Hebrew Psalter, but later received a copy from his learned friend Johann Lang, to whom he had sent the manuscript for correction. The influence of pre-Lutheran German translations is shown in the choice of words such as *rechtfertigen* for *justificari* and of *erloesen*, which were familiar to Luther through the language of the Church. — When we come to his translation of the 110th Psalm, Augsburg, 1518, we find that Luther begins to consult the Hebrew original, although not in large measure. Three years later, in 1521, Luther published a trans-

lation of three psalms (68, 119, 37). Here his use of the Hebrew is evident from some marginal notes, from the transcription of two Hebrew words giving their pronunciation, and from the vocabulary. Reuchlin's Hebrew Grammar (*Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae*) was used to help him in deciphering the original. Only in the first of these psalms does Pahl find traces of the influence of the Vulgate. Luther endeavors to get nearer to the Hebrew and to follow it in preference to other sources. — Coming now to the eight psalms taken up into his *Betbuechlein* of 1522, we find considerable difference in the style as compared with his other translations. This, Pahl attributes to the fact that the work was to be used as a devotional book, or for family prayers. Here, too, the Hebrew original is used in the main, resort being had to the Vulgate or to Jerome only in difficult passages. Frequently Luther deviates considerably from the Vulgate in favor of the Hebrew text. — The translation of the whole Psalter in 1521 shows still further progress in the understanding of the Hebrew. In difficult passages, however, we find him again resorting to Latin translations and commentaries, especially to that of Felix Pratensis of 1522. By this time the Vulgate and Jerome's Psalter had lost their value for him as sources; so he used them but little. As a theologian who had been brought up on the Latin Bible, however, he could not escape their influence entirely. His use of Pratensis is clear from quotations and translations he makes from it. His independence from the Vulgate and St. Jerome is shown by the fact that he frequently follows the Hebrew where they differ from it. The fact, too, that he translates the same Hebrew word by the same German word where the Vulgate and Jerome use different words shows that he has penetrated deeply into the understanding of the Hebrew by this time, especially with reference to the meanings of individual words. But in syntactical matters as well Luther shows his independence by differing more and more from the Vulgate. Only in one especially difficult case does he resort to it for an explanation. Occasionally the influence of Jerome may be seen. When he reaches the Psalms he had already translated before 1524, we find him revising them carefully according to his newly acquired principles of translation to make them conform in style and accuracy to the other psalms. — In the new edition of 1528 we find a thorough revision of the text of 1524, with special reference to its philological and critical accuracy. Very few changes can be traced to the Vulgate or St. Jerome, but it is evident that Luther has changed his opinion as to the exact connotation of several Hebrew words. By this time he has acquired considerable virtuosity in the treatment of the Hebrew original. He distinguishes between Hebrew synonyms by corresponding differences in the German terms. — In the revision of 1531 we find more radical changes than in any of the former. They are mainly in the direction of improving the German style. Not infrequently the translation deviates considerably from the Hebrew in order to make the German more idiomatic. Luther was now no longer working alone, but was helped by a whole staff of translators. Some of the unprinted Jewish commentaries used could not have been read by Luther himself, and he must have had the help of learned friends. Just what part Luther played in this revision we are unable to say. Perhaps his share consisted mainly in inspiring his fellow-workers and in bringing them under the spell of his thoughts and purposes. He modestly uses the plural *we* in speaking of the revision. The Hebrew titles of the psalms are difficult even for scholars of to-day and may have given rise to sharp debates among the translators. — After 1531 very few changes were made in the text. In the revision of 1534 and in that of 1539/41 they were mainly linguistic or stylistic in character or have to do with typographical errors." (Quoted from a review of Daniel B. Shumway of a book by Theo. Pahl, *Quellenstudien zu Luthers Psalmenübersetzung.* Weimar 1931.)

made the following statements in a letter to Wenceslaus Link in Nuernberg: "I am reading Ecclesiastes, who on account of such reading is extraordinarily unwilling and impatient; there are so many Hebrew forms of speech and obstacles of the unknown tongue; but by the grace of God I am finding my way through." (21a, 883.) About May 4, 1527, Luther wrote to the same man: "I am now at the point of rendering the prophets into German, while I at the same time intend to lecture on Isaiah in order not to be idle." (21a, 936.) The work proved quite arduous, for a letter to the same man on June 14, 1528, contains the sigh: "We are now working to the point of fatigue in translating the prophets into German." (21a, 1167.) And again he writes to the same friend on May 21, 1529: "The Book of Wisdom we have translated, while Philip was absent and I was sick, in order that I might not be idle; it is now in print, after I had revised it with the help of Philip." (21a, 1303.)

Shortly after the close of 1530 the work was nearing its end. But Luther continued with undiminished vigor and energy. On October 10, 1531, he wrote to Spalatin: "Every day I spend two hours in revising the prophets" (making corrections of the first draft of his translation). (21a, 1701.) In February, 1532, while Luther was at the court of the elector, he wrote to Veit Dietrich in Wittenberg: "I am working on a preface to the prophets." (21a, 1731.) On November 2, 1532, the work was almost finished; for Luther wrote to Amsdorf that he was engaged in the translation of the Book of Jesus Sirach. (21a, 1783.)

The translation of the Old Testament, as indicated in Luther's letters, was published in parts, as follows: —

1. The Pentateuch, in two folio editions and one octavo edition. Wittenberg, 1523; then in four new editions, 1524—28, and in various reprints.

2. The historical books Joshua to Esther. Wittenberg, in three editions, 1524 and 1527, and in many reprints.

3. Job, the Psalter, and the writings of Solomon. Wittenberg, 1524; in new editions, 1525 and 1526, and in many reprints.

4. The prophets. Wittenberg, 1533, and in a number of other cities. Even before that Luther had issued the book of Jonah (1526), Habakkuk (1526), Zechariah (1529, Ezekiel 38 and 39 (1533), also Isaiah (1528) and Daniel (1530), all printed at Wittenberg in the first edition.

5. The apocryphal books of the Old Testament, Wisdom (1529), Jesus Sirach (1533), also the Prayer of Manasseh.

These five parts were published, together with the entire New Testament, in 1534 under the heading: *Biblia, das ist, die gantze Heilige Schrifft deudsch. Mart. Luth. Wittemberg. Begnadet mit Kurfürstlicher zu Sachsen freiheit. Gedruckt durch Hans Lufft. 1534.*

Thus the great work was finished.[11])

But Luther did not rest on his laurels. On the contrary, he immediately began the work of revision, and that not alone, but with the help of his faithful friends. He himself remarked at one time: "Interpreters or translators should not be alone, for good and appropriate words will not always come to an individual person." (22, 5.) The work of revision is best summarized in the words of Mathesius: "When the entire German Bible had gone out for the first time and one day with its tribulation taught the other, Doctor Luther takes the Bible and revises it from the beginning with great diligence, earnestness, and prayer; and since the Son of God has promised to be present where several would come together in His name, Doctor Luther immediately orders a sanhedrin of his own of the best people who were then available, who came together weekly several hours before supper in the monastery of the doctor, namely: Doctor Johann Bugenhagen, Doctor Justus Jonas, Magister Philip, Doctor Cruciger, Matthaeus Aurogallus, with whom was also Magister Georg Roerer, who was the corrector; often also strange doctors and learned men came to this important work, as Doctor Bernhard Ziegler, Doctor Forstemius.

"When, now, the doctor had previously gone over the Bible as issued and had taken instruction from Jews and outside philologists, also had addressed questions to older Germans concerning proper words (just as he had several sheep slaughtered in order that a German butcher might tell him the names of each part of the sheep), then Doctor Luther came into the council with his old Latin and with his new German Bible, together with which he constantly had also the Hebrew text; Master Philip brought his Greek text, Doctor Cruciger, beside the Hebrew, the Chaldaic Bible; the professors had their rabbinical commentaries along, Doctor Pommer also had a Latin text before him, in which he was well versed. Every one had prepared himself in advance for the text which was up for discussion and had looked over Greek and Latin besides the Jewish commentators. Thereupon this chairman proposed a text and called upon every one's vote, hearing what every one had to say on the passage according to the peculiarity of the language or the exposition of the ancient doctors.

"After this preliminary admonition every one brought out what he knew from the grammar and the context, as it agreed with the preceding and the following, or sought to bring proof of learned men, until finally, in 1542, the work, by the grace of God, was completed; although afterwards, when Doctor Luther wrote against the Jews, the understanding grew from day to day and many passages were rendered in a clearer fashion, which after the decease of the Doctor, with

11) The printing of the first complete Luther Bible was going on in June. On August 6 the Elector granted the printing privilege to Johann Lufft. On October 17 Levin Metzsch had a complete copy of Luther's Bible.

the knowledge and council of the learned men of Wittenberg, were entered into the last editions of the Bible by Magister Georg Roerer, as, for example, the confession of Eve, Gen. 4, of her son Cain, whom she believed to be the promised Messiah: 'I have received the man, the Lord, or God.' Also in the last words of David the Doctor has the text: 'Is that the ordinance of men?' in later editions thus: 'That is the manner of a man, who is God from heaven.' Master Philip afterwards likewise rendered some texts in a very fine manner, as Job 19, 25: 'I believe that my Redeemer lives, and at the end of the world He will arise,' where the ancient Bible speaks of our resurrection. Doctor Ziegler likewise explained some texts from the Hebrew very beautifully, especially Is. 53: 'The Messiah died poor, in order that He might make us rich'; also, Habakkuk in the 2d chapter: 'Write the prophecy on a tablet that those who are busy in office and preach have a certain form, how they may speak of the promised Seed of the Woman in the proper way; for he who believes will be justified, accepted, and saved; he who is rebellious and does not believe will be damned.'

"Doctor Forstemius explained many texts in a very happy and comforting way in his lexicon, as he expounded Jacob's last words concerning Dan in a thoroughly Christian manner of the promised Seed of the Woman (Gen. 49, 18): 'Lord, I have waited for Thy salvation; Samson and Gideon will not help me and mine from sin and death; Thou alone art the one and true Helper, who will take away sin and death forever and bring righteousness and life to all that trust in Thee.' The verse Gen. 8, 21 ff., where God speaks from heaven, later also became clearer, where God promises that He would henceforth not curse the world again on account of man, . . . but that He would bless all nations in Isaac's name, which is Christ, as St. Paul testifies.'" (Pp. 240—242.)

As Mathesius indicates, the revision of the Bible continued practically as long as Luther lived. As early as 1535 a second edition of the Bible became necessary; a third in 1536. The fourth edition, thoroughly revised, was published in Wittenberg 1540—41; and the last edition, the fifth, as issued under Luther's supervision appeared in 1545. The order of the books was the same as that of the Latin Vulgate except that Luther took the apocryphal writings, which in the Latin were intermingled with the canonical sections, and placed them in a separate volume or part.

In evaluating the worth of Luther's translation, one must keep in mind what he himself said of his work. In his Preface to the Old Testament of 1523 he writes: "Herewith I commend all my readers to Christ and pray that they may help me to obtain the power from God to conclude the work in a profitable way. For I confess freely that I have ventured too much, particularly in rendering the Old

Testament into German. For the Hebrew language, sad to say, is in an unfortunate condition, so that even the Jews know little enough about it and we cannot depend upon their glosses and explanations, as I have attempted it. . . . But as for myself, although I cannot boast of having attained all, I may nevertheless say this, that this German Bible is clearer and more certain in many places than the Latin, so that it is true: where the printers with their customary lack of diligence do not corrupt it, the German language here most certainly has a better Bible than the Latin language. . . . I have well considered it from the beginning that I might sooner find ten thousand who criticize my work than find one who would follow me in the twentieth part." (14, 16. 17.) And in his *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen,* of September 8, 1530, in which he defends certain parts of his translation, especially Rom. 3, 28, against the attacks of his enemies, he has also the following passages: "In the second place, you may say that I translated the New Testament into German according to my best ability and conscience; I have compelled no one to read it, but have left it free, only trying to be of service to such as cannot produce a better translation. No one is forbidden to make a better one. He who cannot read it, may let it lie. I do not beg, nor do I praise, any one for it. It is my Testament and my translation, and it is to remain and be mine. . . . I have used all diligence in translating so that I might offer a pure and clear German. And it often happened to us that we for fourteen days, for three and even four weeks, searched and asked for an individual word and yet occasionally did not find it. In Job we, that is, Magister Philip, Aurogallus, and I, worked with such diligent application that we sometimes barely finished three lines in four days. But now that it is translated and ready, every one can read and criticize it, with his eyes quickly running over three or four pages and finding no harsh place. But he does not notice what kind of obstacles and logs lay there where he now walks as over a planed board, where we had to perspire and were troubled before we removed such obstacles and logs so that others could walk there so easily. . . . For this I can testify to with a good conscience, that I showed my highest faithfulness and diligence therein and was not actuated by selfishness; for I neither took nor sought nor gained a farthing thereby, nor did I set forth my honor therein, that God, my Lord, knows, but I have done it to serve the dear Christians and to the honor of Him who sits above, who every hour grants me so many blessings that, if I had worked at my translation with a thousandfold application and diligence, I should thereby not have deserved one hour of my life." (19, 968 ff.)

These and other expressions of Luther concerning his work of translating the Bible should be kept in mind at all times. All those

who have used the German Bible of Luther have carefully abstained from declaring it to be the authentic Bible text, knowing full well that no translation can aspire to an honor which pertains to the original text alone. But it is clear that Luther made his translation with a linguistic equipment second to that of no other scholar of his age, that he approached his work with a minimum of preconceived notions and prejudices, and that his attitude throughout was that of a consecrated believer.

But there is one phase of his work which deserves special mention, namely, that phase which has given him the name "the creator of modern High German." This was shown, for one thing, in Luther's choice of words; for he possessed an amazing facility and fertility in selecting words which exactly reproduce the *sense* of the original, although he rarely became a literalist. But his genius in the field of language was particularly prominent in his poetical ability, as it appears in his use of rhythm, of alliteration, and of rime. Among those given by Grimm we find the following especially interesting: —

Is. 7, 9: *Glaeubet* ihr, nicht, so *bleibet* ihr nicht.

Eccl. 12, 6: Ehe denn der Eimer *zerleche* im Born und das Rad *zerbreche* im Born.

John 16, 12: Ich habe euch noch viel zu *sagen*, aber ihr koennet's jetzt nicht *tragen*.

Story of Susanna (apocr.):
Unter einer *Linden*. . . . Der HErr wird dich *finden*.
Unter einer *Eichen*. . . . Der HErr wird dich *zeichen*.

There are hundreds of passages in which the alliteration agrees with the rhythm, as in the following cases: —

Ps. 8, 2 (v. 1 in English Bible): HErr, unser Herrscher, wie herrlich ist dein Name in allen Landen, da man dir danket im Himmel.

Ps. 20, 7 (6 in English Bible): Nun merke ich, dasz der HErr seinem Gesalbten hilft und erhoeret ihn in seinem heiligen Himmel; seine rechte Hand hilft gewaltiglich.

Ps. 52, 4 (2 in English Bible): Deine Zunge trachtet nach Schaden und schneidet mit Luegen wie ein scharf Schermesser.

Ps. 86, 11: Weise mir, HErr, deinen Weg, dasz ich wandle in deiner Wahrheit.

Ps. 104, 3: Du woelbest es oben mit Wasser; du faehrest auf den Wolken wie auf einem Wagen und gehest auf den Fittichen des Windes.

Jer. 25, 16: Dasz sie trinken, taumeln und toll werden.

Is. 40, 31: Dasz sie laufen und nicht matt werden, dasz sie wandeln und nicht muede werden.

These examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely. And that this was not accidental or intuitive, but the result of deliberate choice is shown by a comparison between earlier and later translations of the same passages in the various editions prepared by Luther between 1522 and 1545. The following examples will bear this out, the first line showing the earlier work, the second the revision.

Deut. 32, 6: Du naerricht und unweises Volk.
Du toll und toericht Volk.

Ps. 33, 1: Freuet euch im HErrn, ihr Gerechten! Den Aufrichtigen stehet das Ruehmen wohl an.
Freuet euch des HErrn, ihr Gerechten! Die Frommen sollen ihn schoen preisen.

Ps. 46, 4: Wenn gleich das Meer tobete und auf einen Haufen fuehre.
Wenn gleich das Meer wuetete und wallete.

Ps. 88, 8: Dein Grimm haelt an ueber mich und draenget mich mit allen deinen Fluten.
Dein Grimm druecket mich und draenget mich.

Ps. 111, 9: Heilig und schrecklich ist sein Name.
Heilig und hehr ist sein Name.

Prov. 14, 13: Das Herz hat auch im Lachen Schmerzen, und das Ende der Freude ist Graemen.
Nach dem Lachen kommt das Trauern, und nach der Freude kommt Leid.

Jer. 2, 32: Vergisset doch eine Jungfrau ihres Kranzes nicht noch eine Braut ihres Schleiers.
Vergisset doch eine Jungfrau ihres Schmuckes nicht noch eine Braut ihres Schleiers.

Mark 14, 33: Und fing an zu erzittern und zu aengstigen.
Und fing an zu zittern und zu zagen.

Luke 2, 7: Sie hat ihn in Tuchle gewickelt und geleget.
Und wickelte ihn in Windeln.

Instances of this kind could likewise be multiplied almost indefinitely, as a comparison of the various editions of Luther's German Bible will show.

It is not surprising therefore that we find men of all kinds, historians, literary critics, theologians, writers, and others, joining in their praise of Luther's German Bible. A few of these comments may be included here: —

"That this excellent man transmitted to us a work which was composed in styles that differed so widely from one another, at the same time maintaining the poetical, the historical, the commanding, and the didactic note, so that all seems cast into one mold, this has done more to further the cause of religion than if he had attempted to imitate the individual points of the peculiarities in the original. Vain were the later attempts to render the Book of Job, the Psalms, and other songs into poetical form and thus to make them palatable. For the average person, who is to be influenced by a translation, the simple form will always remain the best." (*Goethe.*)

"Luther was the man who took the decisive step. The literary authority of official documents was relatively small; only few people read the products of the chancelleries. But Luther's powerful personality moved the German people in its very foundations; here questions were concerned which touched the hearts of man, no matter what his position in life. For that reason the thought-provoking content of his writings, which had a direct bearing upon their propaga-

tion, was bound to have an extraordinary influence also upon their form. And this all the more since this content was of a nature to be assimilated in the memory of men according to its wording. This is true in particular of his Bible translation and of his hymns. But the form chosen by Luther in itself bore the guarantee of a far-reaching effect; for it was with full consciousness that he chose the language which even then was fairly generally acknowledged. . . . The language of Luther can hardly be separated from his spirit; it was the bearer of Protestant ideas." (Behaghel, *Die deutsche Sprache.*)

"Luther's German translation represents an enormous intellectual energy, of which but few people have an inkling. One of the greatest intellects of the German people, a man with German depth of heart, with an unmatched linguistic ability, and with an iron capacity for work has made the old Bible a gripping German book of the people." (Risch, *Was jedermann von seiner Lutherbibel wissen muss.*)

Since testimonials of this kind can readily be collected from most biographies of Luther as well as from discussions of German language and literature, these may suffice for our present purpose. But there is one additional excellence in the translation of Luther, emphasized by Hirsch (*Luthers deutsche Bibel*), which has not been brought out by any one else in the same degree. Hirsch writes: "Every reader of Luther's Bible who is sentitively attuned has noticed how strongly the individual Biblical books show their individuality, how strongly the contrasts in tone and content in the indivdual parts of these books have been brought out. Luther's Bible possesses a wealth and a variety which the work of one individual does not ordinarily possess. . . . As a rule, a translation covers such peculiarities more or less. How did Luther manage to bring about the opposite effect? By gradations in the use of the linguistic helps. They appear so plainly that one is obliged to think of thoughtful understanding, of an art which was consciously exercised. The most striking exhibition of this fact is found in the placing of words in sentences. In the narrative sections of the Bible it is as plain and natural as possible. Take, for example, Luke 7. The simple, popular Greek, which strings words and sentences together without inversion, is followed [by Luther] in a German which is equally simple and popular; one may even say that the effect is increased by dissolving the participles into small independent sentences. . . . But the difference appears in the words of Jesus which the chapter offers. They clearly paint the eager and energetic manner which Luther believed to have noticed in Christ." If one compares, for example, Luke 7, 11—17 with 31—35, the point made by Hirsch will immediately stand out. Another chapter showing this peculiarity in a marked degree

is 1 Cor. 15. One has but to take the Greek text and make a comparison with that of Luther, possibly also with later translations in German and other languages, and the excellence of Luther's work will appear with increasing impressiveness. It was a truly great work which this man of God performed when he gave to the German people and to the world his translation of the Bible into the modern High-German tongue.

Before closing this chapter, we ought to refer, at least in a few brief words, to some features of Luther's Bible which are often overlooked. The first outstanding feature of this kind is his use of prefaces and glosses, or explanatory remarks, in the margin. Some of these introductions, or prefaces, are rightly considered as belonging to his masterpieces, in particular that prefixed to the Letter to the Romans of 1522 and that prepared for the entire Old Testament in 1523. Luther possessed the faculty of summarizing both clearly and adequately the chief points of any book or treatise, and he made excellent use of this ability in his introductions to various books of the Bible. But his short explanatory remarks, which in some cases completely filled the margins of his Testament, are also worthy of careful study.

The other outstanding feature of Luther's *September-Bibel* and other early editions is his employment of vignettes, initial letters, and woodcuts as illustrations. Thus the initial letter at the beginning of chapter 1 of St. Luke shows the evangelist writing at a desk, while a corner of the picture shows an ox, the symbol of the third evangelist. The sketches for the illustrations were made in part by some of the leading artists of the day, those for the Book of Revelation, for example, by Albrecht Duerer himself or by some artist who followed his work very closely. The Wittenberg artist Lucas Cranach likewise did much work for Luther's editions of the German Bible, and somewhat later even Hans Holbein provided sketches. It is stated by at least one contemporary of Luther that the Reformer himself indicated to the artists just how he wanted the figures of the illustrations to be arranged. Thus the *Bilderbibel* of the pre-Lutheran days served as a model for Luther's first editions and subsequently exerted a great influence on some of the finest printed Bibles, down to that by Schnorr von Carolsfeld and the very recent *Palaestina-Bilderbibel.*

XIII. Early Imitators of Luther.

In his thirteenth sermon on the life of Luther, Mathesius remarks: "In my youth I saw an un-German German Bible, undoubtedly translated from the Latin, which was very dark indeed; for at that time the learned men did not have much regard for the Bible. My father also had a German postil, in which, besides the Gospels of the Sundays, several passages from the Old Testament

were explained in postil form, from which I often read to him with great delight." At the same time the father of this pupil of Luther often expressed the wish that he might see the entire Bible in German.

With the publishing of Luther's New Testament in 1522 the great need of the German people in this respect was met in part, and with the completion of his great work in 1534 every German had a medium by which he could search the Scriptures from Genesis to Revelation and thus truly become wise unto salvation by faith which is in Christ Jesus.

As might have been expected, Luther's success in translating the Bible proved a spur to other men to imitate him in his work. Thus Luther had rivals even during his own lifetime, some of whom had the impudence to plagiarize in a most shameless manner and then to allege superior excellence for their products. Others seem to have been actuated chiefly by jealousy, since they could not bear to have Luther receive the honor which came to him from all sides when the value of his work was recognized.

The first man who tried to compete with Luther was *Johann Boeschenstain,* who was his senior by eleven years, having been born in Esslingen in 1472. He became professor of Hebrew at Ingolstadt in 1505 and went to Augsburg in 1513. It was here that Luther visited him in 1518, when he was cited to appear before Cajetan, and gained him for the university at Wittenberg. But Boeschenstain remained for only a very short time, as we learn from a letter of Luther to Spalatin, dated January 10, 1519. (21a, 138 f.) Although he possessed a good measure of Hebrew learning, Boeschenstain was not a theologian. He later lived in various cities, chiefly Heidelberg and Zuerich, and died in 1540. — Boeschenstain translated several parts of the Old Testament, namely, the seven Penitential Psalms (*Septem Psalmi Poenitentiales ex Hebraeo . . . translati*) in 1520, the Prayer of Solomon in 1 Kings 8 in 1523, the Book of Ruth in 1525, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, together with the prayer of Daniel in chapter 9, in 1529. The following is a sample of the translation made by Boeschenstain, taken from Ps. 32: —

Selig ain erhabner von boszhait, ain bedeckter vor suend:
Wol dem menschen nit er wirt achten der herr zu jm boszhait, vnd nit in seim gemuet betrug:
Dann ich hab ton schweigen, es seind verfaulet meine gebain in meinem geschray alle tag:
Dann tag vnd nacht sie wirt beschwaeren auff mich dein handt, ist worden verkert mein feuchte in duerrungen des summers allweg.

His competition, as the sample shows, was not of a very serious nature.

The second man whose work comes into consideration is *Caspar Ammann,* a pupil of Boeschenstain. He was born in Belgium, entered

the monastery at Lauingen, became provincial of the Augustinian Order in Swabia, and at that time made his translation of the psalms:

Psalter des kueniglichen prophetten dauids geteutscht nach warhafftigem text der hebraischen zungen. 1523.

How well Ammann succeeded in his attempt to produce the psalms of David in German may be seen from the following section of Ps. 38, 2—4: —

O got nit wellest mich straffen in deinem zorn, oder in deinem grymmen wellest kestigen mich.
Dann deine pfeil send gehoefft in mich, vnd hast gedruckt auff mich dein hand.
Es ist kain gesundthait in meinem flaisch von wegen deines zorns, vnd ist nit frid in meinen gebainen von wegen meiner suend.

It is possible that the independent work of Ammann was spoiled by his high regard for his teacher, whom he copied somewhat too slavishly. He died in 1525.

The third man to attempt the translation of larger parts of the Bible into German was *Ottmar Nachtgall.* He was born at Strassburg in 1487, where he also became vicarius and organist in 1515. He was instrumental in introducing Greek into his native city. In 1523 he came to Augsburg, under the patronage of the Fuggers, who provided him with a place as preacher. After an unfortunate sermon in 1528 he was deposed and went to Freiburg, where he died in 1537. — Nachtgall's work included chiefly a rendering of the Psalms from the Septuagint into German, in 1524, and a German Gospel harmony in 1525. The former work appeared in Augsburg with the title: —

Der Psalter des kinigs vnd propheten Dauids, ain summarischer vnd kurtzer begryff aller hayligen geschrifft durch Ottmarum Nachtgallen Doctorem, von grund aus den lxx vnd hebreischer sprach art vnd aygenschafft zu verstendigem vnd klarem hochteutschen gebracht . . .,

and the latter was almost as ambitious: —

Die gantz euangelisch hystori wie sie durch die vier Euangelisten, yeden sonderlich, in kriechischer sprach beschriben, in ain gleychhellige vnzertalte red ordentlich verfaszt, sambt ainer erleuterung der schweren oerter, vnd gutem bericht wa alle ding hin dienend, Durch Ottmaren Nachtgall Doct. . . .

Although Nachtgall says that he referred also to the Hebrew text in his translation of the Psalms, his basis was clearly the Septuagint, and his work was not very satisfactory, as the following section, taken from Ps. 18, 9 ff., will show: —

Es ist ain rauch aufgangen in seinem zorn vnd das feur wuert sich vor seinem angesicht entzuenden, die kolen haben von im anheben zubrynnen.
Vnd er hat die hymel hinab gebogen vnd ist abgestygen, auch ist die dunckle vnder seinen fuessen.

The first part of Ps. 23 is rendered by him as follows: —

Der herr ist mein hyrt vnnd mir wuert nichts gebrechen.
er hat mir an der stat da gute wayd ist, ain wonung gemacht. An dem wasser der ruwe hat er mich aufferzogen,
mein seel hat er herwider bracht. Er ist mein wegweiser gewesen auff den fuszsteygen der gerechtigkayt vmb seines namens willen.

Of his work in the New Testament the following may serve as sample, from John 2, 1 ff.: —

> Vnd den dritten tag nach dem sabbath hat man hochzeyt gehalten zu Cana in dem land Galilea gelegen, auf soelliche hochzeyt oder brautlaufft ist der herr mit den jungern geladen worden, dann seyn mutter was auch da selbst, die inn auch anlanget so bald weyn zerram vnd sprach, Herr sie habend kayn weyn . . .

As Walther remarks, Nachtgall was able to write a relatively good German, although his attempts did not measure up to the excellent work of Luther. Yet both books published by him seem to have had only one edition, while other translations, whose merit was far beneath that of Nachtgall's, were printed a number of times.

A man who attempted the work of translating from the Greek text even before Luther undertook his New Testament in German was *Johann Lang,* the friend to whom Luther addressed a letter of encouragement on December 18, 1521, at the very time when he himself engaged in the task. (15, 2555; 21a, 372.) Lang was just about as old as Luther and, like him, had studied at Erfurt. In 1507 he entered the Augustinian monastery in Erfurt, and he and Luther became friends after the latter's return from Wittenberg, in 1509. From 1512 to 1516 the two men were together at Wittenberg, after which Lang became prior of the monastery at Erfurt. A careful study of Luther's position caused Lang to embrace the views of the Reformer, and his treatise *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* of 1520 suggested the translation of the New Testament to him. He finished the Gospel according to St. Matthew on June 23, 1521. The title reads: —

> Das heilig Euangelium Matthei aus Krichsersprach, vnd bisweilen aus des hochgelerten hern Erasmi von Roterdam translacion Vnn durch den wirdigen doctoren Johannem Langium von Erffurt Augustiner ordens yns deutsch gebracht . . .

That Lang had some linguistic ability appears from sections such as Matt. 12, 14 ff.: —

> dy phariseier aber seint er ausgangen, vnd haben rat genumen wider yn, aufdas sy yn mochten vertreiben.
> Als das aber Jhesus erfarn hat, ist er von dannen gewichen, vnd seint im grose scharen nach gefolget, vnd er hat sy alle gesunt gemacht . . .
> sich disz ist mein sun, den ich erwelt hab der mein gelibter ist, vber wilchen mein seel einen wolgefallen gewonnen hat.

The awkwardness of Lang's translation appears especially in his use of the tenses, a failing of which he seems to have become aware when Luther's translation was placed on the market. He quoted from the *September-Bibel* rather than from his own work. It was formerly thought that Lang continued his translation of the New Testament; but this supposition has been shown to be unfounded.

Another man who was prominent in the field of German Bible translation is *Nicolaus Krumpach.* Little is known of his life except

that he studied at Leipzig and that he afterwards was pastor at Querfurt. His plan of translation matured in 1522, when he began with the letters of Peter, which bear the date February 24, 1522. On March 18 the letters of St. Paul to Timothy followed. And before the end of the year he also had the Gospel according to St. John on the market. The work of Krumpach was largely dependent upon Erasmus, but he studied Luther's writings as well. The nature of his work may be seen from his translation of 1 Pet. 5, 1 ff.: —

> Die priester die vnder euch sein bite ich flehlich der ich bin selbs ein prister vnd ein gezeuge des leydens Christi, vnd auch selbs ein mitgenosse der glorien die geoffenbart wird werden
> als vil an euch ist weydet die herdt Christi, habt sorge vor dieselbigen, vnd tuth das nicht aus getzwange, sondern gutwilligklich, nicht suchende schnoeden geniesz oder nutzunge, Sunder ausz guetigem hertzen.

Or this sample from John 12, 3: —

> Maria nam ein pfundt vngents von edlem probirten Nardo, vnd salbete die fuesz Jesu, vnd trueckenet abe seine fuesz mit ihrem haer. Das hausz aber ist erfullet worden vom ruche oder schmack des vngents.

These examples indicate the main weakness of Krumpach's work, namely, that he is so circumstantial in offering two or more synonyms or synonymous expressions that his translation often reads more like a circumlocution. He frequently uses a Latin word besides the German designation, so that the reader is apt to become confused. All in all, he could hardly be considered a rival of Luther.

In this connection mention must be made of several anonymous translators of parts of the New Testament. The gospels of Mark and Luke were handled several times by such anonymous translators, who seem to have been familiar with the work of Krumpach and probably of Luther. Another anonymous translator published a rendering of St. Paul's Letter to the Galatians in 1522. The work does not compare with Luther's simple translation, as we see from the opening of chapter 3: —

> O ir vnsinnige torichte Galater mith was gespenst seyt yr betrogen, nicht tzu folgen der warheit? Vor welcher augen Jesus Christus als sichtbarlich vorgebildet vnnd in euch gekreutzigt.
> Doch wil ich disz von euch erlernen, ob yr meinet, das ir den geyst aus den wercken des gesetze Moysi, oder aus dem gehore des glaubens (durch meyn predigen) entpffangenn habth?

Of a more dangerous nature were other attempts to offer a Bible in German, particularly such as were made to discredit or to displace Luther's Bible. The first work of this kind was that by *Hieronymus Emser,* secretary of Duke George of Saxony, at whose instigation a translation of the New Testament was issued in 1527. The outstanding feature of this translation was its plagiarism, since Emser did not hesitate to copy entire sections of Luther's translation, changing the text only in the interest of his schismatic position. Wherever he offered a translation of a section from the Vulgate, his work was

decidedly inferior to that of Luther. For that reason the latter spoke rather sharply of the Roman plagiaristic practises when he penned his letter of defense, his *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* of 1530. He writes: "I should really like to see the papist who might excel in this respect in translating an epistle of St. Paul or a prophet into German, provided he did not use Luther's German and his translation. There one would see a fine, beautiful, praiseworthy German or translation. For we have seen the scribbler [*Sudler*] of Dresden [Emser], who mastered my New Testament (I don't want to mention his name in my books any more; he now has his judge, and it is otherwise well known). He confesses that my German is sweet and good, and he noted well that he could not do better, and yet he wanted to bring shame upon it; therefore he proceeded to take my New Testament, almost word for word, as I made it. He omitted my preface, gloss, and name, added his own name, preface, and gloss, and thus sold my New Testament under his name. O my dear children, how that hurt me, when his prince in a horrible preface condemned the New Testament of Luther and forbade the reading of the same and yet commanded to read the New Testament of the scribbler, though this is the same that Luther made." (19, 971.) Luther then proceeds to show the unethical position of Emser, while at the same time he rejoices that the translation had gone out, even in this way, in the interest of the spread of the truth.

The New Testament of Emser had such a wide circulation that the wish for a translation of the entire Bible by some Roman author was expressed. The work was undertaken by *Johann Dietenberger,* Inquisitor-General at Mainz (died August 30, 1534). His translation appeared in Mainz in 1534 and enjoyed quite a few editions. He also condemns Luther strongly, but reproduces the New Testament according to Emser and the Old Testament according to Luther's translation, with certain changes based on the Vulgate. His translation of the Old Testament apocrypha is practically a copy of the Reformed Bible of Zuerich, to which we shall presently refer. Thus Luther's Bible was circulated throughout Germany under a strange flag.

It is probably due to the reception accorded to this edition that Duke William and Duke Ludwig of Bavaria commissioned *Dr. Johann Eck,* the well-known adversary of Luther, to make a German translation from the Vulgate, without any reference to the Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek original. Accordingly, Eck issued his work in 1537, but in a German which was so clumsy and difficult to understand, especially in the Old Testament, that it found few friends, even among the Catholics, and came to an end in 1550 with a second and final edition.

Among translations published on the so-called Protestant side during the first decade after the beginning of the Reformation which made use of Luther's translation as far as it had appeared, with the

missing parts supplied either from other translations or by an independent rendering, we name first of all the *Anabaptist Bible,* in which the translation of the prophets by Hans Denk and Ludwig Haetzer was the outstanding feature. This version, which was the first to use the word *Biblia* in the title, has been praised for scholarship and style. It was printed by Peter Schoeffer in Worms, the complete edition appearing in 1529.

Another "composite" Bible published about this time was the so-called *Zuerich Bible,* as first prepared under the direction of Leo Judae by the preachers of Zuerich. They used Luther's work as far as then available (1529), adding the Prophets themselves and the Apocrypha as translated by Leo Judae himself. Judae was born in Alsace in 1482 and died in Zuerich in 1543. He was a college-mate and friend of Zwingli, and it was upon his request that Judae produced this translation of the Bible in the Swiss German, or the Alemannian dialect. As early as 1524 three editions of Luther's New Testament in this dialect had appeared in Zuerich. The entire Bible was published in 1530, clearly under the editorship of Leo Judae. Luther refers to this work in a letter to Wenzeslaus Link: "It is surprising of what little value is the translation of Leo Judae of Zuerich, which he apparently made at the instigation of Zwingli." (21a, 1303.) This letter was written in May, 1529. In 1531 came the Zuerich edition of the Bible in two volumes, with many revisions and a new, independent translation of the Psalms, the Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon. This edition was made basic for all subsequent work. It also occupies a very prominent position in Germanic philology, since it, in its various revisions, especially that by Breitinger in 1629, but also in those of 1817, 1860, 1868, and 1882, reflects every change in the Alemannic dialect for several hundred years, until the language gradually became that of the modern High German, especially in the revision of 1893 (Riggenbach).

Other editions of the Bible in German which appeared about the first decade after Luther began his work are the Strassburg Bible of Wolf Koepphl of 1530, which offered the Prophets in the version of Haetzer and Denk and the Apocrypha in that of Leo Judae, and the Frankfort edition of 1534, published by C. Egenolph, in which only a part of the Apocrypha was not given in Luther's version.

As for Luther's Bible, it was taken in hand by *Georg Roerer,* who prepared a new edition shortly after Luther's death, in 1546. Roerer, born in 1492, had for many years been an intimate friend of Luther and had also enjoyed the hospitality of the latter's home for long periods of time. He became diaconus in Wittenberg in 1525 and acted as proof-reader and corrector while Luther's Bible was being printed. During the later years of his life he was librarian at Jena, where he died in 1557. He introduced certain changes into the text

of the Bible as published by Luther, insisting that these were made in keeping with the notes which he took down in his capacity as corrector. His work has been much criticized, and Elector August of Saxony was even induced by Coelestinus to have a revision of the text made in order to restore the purity of the final edition prepared under Luther's personal supervision. Recent investigations seem to have established the fact that Roerer was not guilty of falsifying the text, and most of his changes have been retained. Therefore Roerer is not, properly speaking, an imitator of Luther, since his interest was merely to complete the work of the group of which he had so long been a member. Attempts of a similar nature, to eliminate certain harshnesses in Luther's translation, will be discussed in chapter 15. We offer only one sample of a change made by Roerer, in 1 Cor. 13, 8:

Luther, in 1545: Die Liebe wird nicht muede; es muessen aufhoern die Sprachen, und das Erkenntnis wird auch aufhoern.

The edition of 1546: Die Liebe hoeret nimmer auf, so doch die Weissagungen aufhoeren werden und das Erkenntnis aufhoeren wird.

XIV. The Influence of Luther's Work upon the Translations of Others.

Luther's work of translating the Bible from the Greek and Hebrew into German was the outstanding performance of a career which was rich in unusual deeds and attainments. It showed a surprising understanding of the original languages and of their respective idioms, a remarkable grasp of the divine thoughts presented in these languages, and an amazing genius for transferring the inspired account into idiomatic German. Small wonder that students of the Scriptures everywhere took note of the work of Luther and tried to emulate his achievement. That various German theologians and writers made use of his translation we have already seen; but there were men in almost every country where the spirit of the Reformation took hold who were anxious to have their own countrymen receive the benefit of a similar rendering in their respective tongue.

The first scholar of this type, whose work is, incidentally, of peculiar interest to English-speaking people the world over, was *William Tyndale*. The early life of this man is hidden in obscurity. As far as can be ascertained, he was born about 1484 in Gloucestershire and enjoyed some rather extraordinary educational advantages, being brought up, as Foxe remarks, in the University of Oxford, where he was "singularly addicted to the study of the Scriptures." From Oxford he went to Cambridge, where he likewise made good use of his opportunities. As Westcott states: "He returned about 1520 to his native county as tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh of Little Sodbury. Here he spent two years, not without many controversies, in one of which he made his memorable declaration to 'a learned man' who 'said we were better be without God's Law than the Pope's':

'I defy the Pope and all his laws'; and said, 'If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plow shall know more of the Scripture than thou doest.' The boast was not an idle phrase." (*History of the English Bible,* 24 f.)

Due to conditions in his home county, Tyndale found it advisable to come to London, where he hoped to interest Tunstall, the Bishop of London, in his proposed translation of the Bible, upon which he had resolved. Here in London he found one friend, namely, an alderman of the city, Humphrey Munmouth, who in 1528 was thrown into the Tower for the favor which he had shown Tyndale. As for the latter, he himself soon had a definite conviction thrust upon him: "In London I abode almost a year and marked the course of the world . . . and understood at the last not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England." Accordingly he went over to the Continent, where he lived for some time at Hamburg. But there can be little doubt that he also went to Wittenberg and was even enrolled in the university of Luther, for there is a matriculation list of 1524 which has the name "Daltin," evidently a pseudonym of Tyndale for the purpose of throwing his enemies off his scent. In 1524 he published a translation of the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. The next year he went to Cologne, where he began the printing of the entire New Testament. He had managed to have ten sheets in quarto run off the presses, when his work was stopped by the intrigues of Cochlaeus, an inveterate enemy of the Reformation, who had invited some of the printers to his house and treated them with wine until they divulged the secret of the work being done. The printers were restrained from proceeding with their work on the English New Testament; but Tyndale and Roye, a trusted companion, took their printed sheets and escaped to Worms by ship. It was in this city that the first editions of Tyndale's New Testament appeared, an octavo edition being finished first, but then also the quarto, whose printing had been interrupted at Cologne. Westcott writes: "There is not, however, any reasonable doubt that the quarto edition was completed about the same time as the first octavo, and therefore it seems likely that it was completed at Worms and by Schoeffer. Two editions, a large and a small, made their appearance simultaneously in England." (*Loc. cit.,* 33.)

For our present purpose it will suffice to summarize the further work of Tyndale. Although his translation was condemned and copies of his New Testament were burned in Antwerp and London and Oxford, it was spread throughout England by numerous agents. Meanwhile Tyndale continued his work, for he intended to complete also the Old Testament, and it is known that he proceeded as far as the Book of Jonah. But he was betrayed to his enemies in May, 1535, and died

at the stake in October of the following year, at Vilvorde in Belgium, his last prayer being: "Lord, open the King of England's eyes!"

Much more might be related of Tyndale and his work, but we are interested chiefly in his relation to Luther and the German translation of the Bible prepared by the great Reformer and his friends. We are here immediately confronted by the fact that some of the contemporaries of both men associate their work in unmistakable terms. Thomas More, in 1529, distinctly identified Tyndale's Testament with that of Luther, the former being derived from the latter. The report of Cochlaeus, dated 1549, reads in part: "But two English apostates who sometime had been at Wittenberg, not only were seeking to ruin their own merchants, who secretly were fostering and supporting them in exile, but they were even hoping for all the people of England, whether the king were willing or unwilling, soon to become Lutherans, through Luther's New Testament, which they had translated into the English language."

The inquiry is justified at this point on what basis such assertions were made. The answer is given in part by Westcott, who points out that many of the marginal notes of the so-called Cologne edition of Tyndale's Testament are based upon Luther's work of the same nature. But this eminent scholar did not want to concede that Tyndale was dependent upon Luther's work beyond this point. The most thorough study of the question was published by Gruber as a contribution to the quadricentennial of the beginning of the Reformation, from which the following facts are presented.

The so-called Cologne Fragment, the quarto edition of Tyndale's first attempt to publish his translation of the New Testament, containing 31 leaves of St. Matthew's gospel, was discovered in 1836. A careful examination of this fragment showed it to have been the work of Peter Quentel of Cologne, and the glosses or marginal notes referred to by many biographers of Tyndale have been carefully studied, especially on the basis of a facsimile reprint by Edward Arbor. This study has revealed and definitely demonstrated that the Worms edition, the small octavo, was the first to appear on the market. But the Cologne edition, which seems to have been finished to the end of St. Mark even before Tyndale had to flee from the city, contained both a prolog and the marginal references and glosses which have offered such an excellent basis for comparisons. It appears from such a comparison that the *Vorrede,* or Introduction, of Luther, in his *September-Bibel* of 1522, served as the basis for the prolog of the Cologne edition of Tyndale's Testament. The beginning of a few of the paragraphs in the two prefaces is here offered: —

' *Luther:* Solch geschrey vnd trostliche mehre odder Euangelisch vnd Gotlich newzeyttung heyst auch eyn new testament darumb daz gleych wie eyn testament ist wenn eyn sterbender man seyn gutt bescheydet nach seynem todt den benandten erben aus zu teylen Also hat auch Christus fur seynem sterben befolhen vnd bescheyden solchs euangelion nach seynem todt aus zuruffen ynn alle wellt. . . .

Tyndale: This evangelion or gospell that is to saye suche ioyfull tydings is called the newe testament. Because that as a man when he shall dye apoynteth his goodds to be dealte and distributed after hys dethe amonge them which he nameth to be his heyres. Even so Christ before his dethe commaunded and appoynted that suche evangelion gospell or tydyngs shoulde be declared through oute all the worlde. . . .

* * *

Luther: Nu hat Gott solchen glawben zu stercken dises seyn Euangelion vnd testament viel felltig ym alten testament durch die propheten ver sprochen. . . .

Tyndale: To strength such feythe with all god promysed this his evangelion in the olde testament by the prophetts in the holy scripturs. . . .

* * *

Luther: Item Gen. 22 versprach ers zu Abraham ynn deynem samen sollen alle geschlecht auff erden gesegnet werden Christus ist der same Abrahe. . . .

Tyndale: Agayne gen. xxij. god promysed Abraham sayinge: in thy seede shall all the generations of the erthe be blessed. Christ is that seede of Abraham. . . .

Further evidence is offered also by the table of contents, as Gruber shows, and in particular by the notes or glosses. A careful comparison of these marginal notes in Matt. 1, 1—22, 12 shows that of the 92 glosses concerned 57 are entirely or almost literal translations of Luther's notes, and these are the notes of importance for the understanding of the text. A few samples will amply demonstrate the agreement between the two translations: —

Luther (Matt. 1, 1): Abraham vnd Dauid werden furnemlich antzogen darumb das den selben Christus sonderlich verheyssen ist.

Tyndale: Abraham and David are fyrst rehearsid because that christe was chefly promysed vnto them.

* * *

Luther (Matt. 1, 19): Das ist er wolt sie nicht zu schanden machen fur den leuten als er wol macht hatte nach dem gesetze. . . .

Tyndale: That is he wolde not put her to open shame as he wel might haue done bi the lawe.

* * *

Luther (Matt. 5, 5): die welt vermeynt die erden zu besitzen vnd das yhr zu schutzen wenn sie gewalt vbet aber Christus leret das man die erden alleyn mit senfftmutigkeyt on gewalt behalt.

Tyndale: The worlde thinkethe too possesse the erthe and to defend there awne when they vse violence and power: but christ teacheth that the world must be possessed with mekenes only and with oute power and violence.

* * *

Luther (Matt. 9, 15): Es ist zweyerley leyden. Eins aus eygner wal angenomen als der monch regulen &c. wie Baals priester sich selb stachen. . . .

Tyndale: There is payne ij manner awayes. oone waye of a mennes awne choyse and election as is the monks rules and as baals prests prickyd them selves.

This comparison could easily be extended to show that Tyndale followed Luther's third (and in part his second) edition to the point of including the printer's errors in the very place where these are

found in Luther's text, all of which conclusively proves that Tyndale made use of Luther's version, and that very closely, in the matter of outward form, introductions, marginal notes, and other external appendages.

As for the text itself, it may well be conceded that Tyndale worked much more independently in his translation. But to go as far as Westcott in denying practically any and all influence of Luther's version upon Tyndale's text would be doing violence to the evidence. The following passages and expressions from Luther's text of 1524 and that of Tyndale of 1525 are characteristic of the latter's work: —

Luther (Matt. 1, 1): Dis ist das buch. — *Tyndale:* Thys ys the boke.

Luther (Matt. 1, 18): Die gepurt Christi war aber also gethan. — *Tyndale:* The byrthe of Christ was on this wyse.

Luther (Matt. 5, 13): Es ist nu nicht hynfurt nutz. — *Tyndale:* it is thence for the good for nothynge.

Luther (Matt. 8, 29): Ach Jhesu du son Gottis was haben wyr mit dyr zu thun. — *Tyndale:* O iesu the sonne of god what have we to do with the.

Luther (Matt. 11, 7): woltet yhr eyn rhor sehen. — *Tyndale:* Went ye out to se a rede.

Luther (Matt. 13, 54): wo her kompt disem solche weyszhyt vnd macht? — *Tyndale:* whence came all thys wysdom and power vnto him?

Luther (Matt. 16, 5): hatten sie vergessen brod mit sich zu nemen. — *Tyndale:* they had forgotten to take breed with them.

While it is true, then, that the translation of Tyndale was undoubtedly based upon a number of versions, the Greek text of Erasmus, the English version of Wyclif, the Latin of Erasmus, and the Latin Vulgate, it cannot be denied that the German version of Luther was the translation which served as a guide to Tyndale in a great many passages, that he used it far more than any other translation, very likely next to the Greek text itself. This is far from stating, however, as has been asserted, that Tyndale's translation was practically nothing more than a translation from Luther. He used it as one might to-day employ a previous translation of a book, but always under the guidance of his own judgment. Tyndale followed Luther and learned much from him, but he did not slavishly imitate or copy him. Thus his use of Luther's printed edition does not detract from Tyndale's proper and important position in the history of the English Reformation and in that of the English Bible. It was very likely the virility of the German diction in Luther's version, so closely akin to that of the Anglo-Saxon, that caused Tyndale to take over so many expressions, and this fact gives to the Authorized Version, which is so largely dependent upon Tyndale's work, its powerful appeal to this day.

But the English Bible of Tyndale was not the only one to be influenced by the classical German version as prepared by Luther. The first translation of the New Testament into Danish was made by *Hans Mikkelsen,* a former burgomaster of Malmö. It was a mixture

of Danish and German, which appeared in Leipzig in 1524, the language being somewhat uncouth, due to the translator's attempt to remain close to his model. Five years later appeared a translation by *Christen Pedersen* († 1554). The New Testament in Danish, as rendered by Pedersen, was printed at Antwerp in 1529, a second edition being printed in 1531, the same year in which he published his translation of the Psalms. All these renderings were based chiefly upon the Vulgate, although they also referred to the Greek edition of Erasmus and to Luther's version. After *Hans Tausen* († 1561) had translated the Pentateuch from the text of Luther, the first complete Bible in Danish was published at Copenhagen in 1550, the greater part of the work being done by Christen Pedersen with the assistance of a number of professors. In this case the instructions of King Christian III specifically stated that the translators were to follow Luther's German version as closely as possible. A new edition was prepared in 1589, and a reprint of this edition was issued in 1633.

When the Reformation came to Iceland, it was received with great joy, and *Odd Gottskalkson* translated the New Testament into the old Norwegian-Icelandic tongue. This was published at Roskilde in 1540. The entire Bible was translated on the basis of Luther's version by Bishop *Gudbrand Thorlakson* in 1584. This translation was used till the first part of the last century. In Sweden likewise the influence of Luther was felt; for after the New Testament had been translated by *Lorenz Andreae* with the assistance of *Olaus Petri* and published at Stockholm in 1526, the more ambitious undertaking of translating the entire Bible was successfully carried out by *Lars Petri,* Archbishop of Upsala, who printed his work in 1540—41. This Bible was based upon the work of Luther and for a long time remained the church Bible of Sweden. Thus the light which had been lighted in the little university town on the Elbe shed its rays far beyond the borders of Germany, and thousands of souls who were hungry for the truth basked in its warmth.

XV. Other German Translators since Luther and the Later History of His Text.

About one hundred years after the work of Luther had appeared, new versions of the New Testament or of the entire Bible were attempted by men who belonged to the Evangelical party. Among these the name of Piscator stands first both in point of time and of importance. *Johann Piscator* (Fischer) was born at Strassburg in 1546. He studied at Tuebingen under Andreae and Heerbrand, where the former noted his inclination to Calvinism and brought about his dismissal from the instructional staff which he had joined after his graduation. After some further vicissitudes Piscator was called, in 1584, to the University of Herborn, where he, with Olevianus, drew

up the statutes and where he taught without intermission till the time of his death, in 1625. In the history of dogma Piscator is known for his denial of the redemptive power of the active obedience of Christ. His translation of the Bible appeared in its first edition in 1602—3, the third edition being published in 1624. A quaint description of this translation, dated 1710, states: "Whether, now, he translated from the original languages or, as some believe, after the good Latin rendering of Junius or Tremellius (although he made use of these only for his assistance), he nevertheless gives occasion for many unusually good readings, since he uses many convenient German words and expressions, which strike the right meaning well, not to speak of the fact that he noted many points in his translation which had been overlooked by previous workers out of general weakness." As a matter of fact, the Piscator, or Herborner Bible, as it was also called, is characterized by an almost slavish faithfulness in rendering the original; for the translator was anxious to present each and every thought of the Hebrew and the Greek with the utmost fidelity. For that reason he adds an occasional explanatory phrase, as in Mark 8, 12: "Wann diesem geschlecht ein zaichen wirdt gegeben werden, *so straffe mich Gott,*" whence this Bible, in the history of theological literature, has received the name "Straf-mich-Gott" Bible. He also has a doctrinal and practical application after many chapters of his Bible, some of which contain interesting material. In 1610 Piscator issued an appendix to his Herborn Bible, in two quarto volumes, giving a summary of doctrinal and ethical truths, also the usual material contained in a good Bible dictionary, chronology, weights and measures, money, etc. The Piscator Bible found favor especially in the Swiss canton Berne, so that it was introduced officially for use in church and school and was printed as the German Received Text in 1648, 1697, 1719, 1728, and 1784. But its popularity decreased at the end of the eighteenth century, and the last Piscator Bible appeared in 1848. As early as 1830 a new "Order for Preachers" acknowledged the Lutheran Bible beside the Herborner, and it was left to the pastors whether they wanted to use the more idiomatic work of Luther.

A translation which was quite in vogue for a while was one prepared by *Johann Heinrich Reitz,* a strong representative of Reformed pietism. After studying in Leiden and Bremen, he was pastor at Freinsheim, later at Asslar, and then in Homburg. His translation of the New Testament appeared at Offenbach on the Main in 1703. He was strongly influenced by the translation of Luther, so that his version passed through three editions. His own explanation of his work appears in the introduction of his version: "Whence I made it a point not to follow my own good pleasure and inclination in the translation, but only what the Holy Ghost Himself has pre-

scribed; wherefore I, if that was at all possible and if the German idiom permitted it, retained the Spirit's manner of speaking, so that I occasionally expressed a Greek word in more than one German word, rather than to leave what the Spirit of God has prescribed, since it behooves us to learn from the Spirit of God how we ought to speak of the divine mysteries of our eternal salvation, and not to change and twist His sayings according to our pleasure." The translation of Reitz is preserved in a five-column New Testament printed by Holle, in Wandsbeck near Hamburg, in 1710, the columns offering the New Testament in the Catholic translation of Caspar Ulenbergius, that of Luther, that of Piscator, that of Reitz, and a Dutch translation made by a number of theologians of Leiden and published in 1636.

Some rather pretentious translations of the Bible were issued in the first half of the eighteenth century, largely on the basis of original work in rendering the original into the German language as then in use. The *Berleburg Bible* appeared in eight volumes (1726—1742). It was prepared in the interest of mysticism and shows this influence in many instances. It is also extensively quoted by scholars with that trend of thought. The *Wertheim Bible,* on the other hand, was issued in the interest of rationalism. It appeared in 1735.

To give a detailed account of all the later translations would lead us too far afield, for an increasing number of scholars felt that they ought to make improvements in the existing versions or present renderings of their own. Of the versions which were perhaps the most influential the following may be listed: that by J. D. Michaelis in fifteen volumes (1768 ff.), that by Moldenhauer in twelve volumes (1774 ff.), that by Simon Grynaeus in five volumes, a paraphrase rather than a translation, with many abridgments (1776—7), that by Griesinger (1824), that by Augusti and De Wette (1809—14), the second edition by De Wette alone, in three volumes (1831), also versions by Bunsen, Holtzmann, Weizsaecker, Bertholet, Hermann Menge, and others. The remarks of De Wette in his introduction to the second edition of his translation is characteristic of many of the translators: "Adhering closely to the language and the tone of Luther's translation, which has not only come into ecclesiastical, but into popular use and has incorporated into our language many features of the Hebrew, . . . I wanted to render both the Hebrew and the Hebrew-like form of the thoughts to the extent in which they can be fitted to the German language without becoming obscure and violating good taste. . . . I have worked for two classes of readers. First of all I wanted to provide some assistance for those who occupy themselves with the original text of the Biblical books in order to facilitate the understanding, especially with regard to lexicons and grammars. . . .

In the second place, I desire that my work may be of value also for the unlearned Christians, who want to read the Bible with understanding." Like most of the modern translations, that of De Wette is printed in the form of paragraphs rather than that of individual verses. He frequently refers to variant readings, which he translates in footnotes. If some of these translations are properly used by the student of the Bible, he will no doubt be able to derive a good deal of blessing from such study; but on the whole they can hardly be said to possess the idiom and the rhythm which make Luther's translation so popular.

The later history of Luther's German text offers many interesting features; for it suffered much at the hands of publishers and printers. It was Feyerabend, a printer of Frankfurt, who included the passage 1 John 5, 7 in an edition of 1574, although Luther had not accepted this verse, since it is evidently not genuine, but a later addition, or gloss, in explanation of the context. This same Feyerabend also inserted a translation of the so-called third and fourth books of Esdras, although Luther had emphatically refused to give them a standing even equal to the apocrypha which he had translated. As one printer after the other published the version of Luther, changes were made, many of which were unnecessary and even misleading. Where a more modern spelling was introduced, no objection can be raised. But such changes as *Suendflut* (flood as a punishment of sins instead of *Sintflut* (great or general flood), *Freudigkeit* (joy) instead of *Freidigkeit* (openness, courage), *Ehrenhold* (honorable messenger) instead of *Ernhold* (herald), and others are unwarranted, except on the basis of ignorance, and hence are inexcusable. It is a pity that many of the changes falsely made have been retained in the modern reprints of the Luther Bible.

Before the end of the seventeenth century special efforts were made to obtain a uniform text of the Luther version. Yeoman's work was done by Dr. Johann Diecmann (1647—1720), who was Superintendent-General for Bremen and Verden. He not only made some very careful studies in the text of Luther, but he added his own researches in Greek and Hebrew in establishing doubtful passages, where the text had become hopelessly corrupt. His edition, known as the *Stader Bible,* was issued in 1690, and it was the printing of 1703 which formed the basis of the celebrated Canstein text. Carl Hildebrand von Canstein (1667—1719) was a man of unusual culture and of an outstanding moral rectitude, who formed a close attachment with Spener. By this interesting and inspiring friend Canstein was introduced to members of the university faculty at Halle, among whom was also August Hermann Francke. The latter had already printed Bibles in 1702 and in 1708, and he was anxious to have this

work expand to a point where it would benefit the greatest possible number of people, especially those of the poorer classes. As a result of the friendship thus begun the *Canstein Bibelanstalt* (Bible institution, or society) was established. Its first edition of the Bible, based on the Stader Bible, the work of Johann Heinrich Grischow, who did a great deal of research work in comparing the original editions of the Luther text and who became the inspector of the printery bearing Canstein's name, was issued in 1712—13. Before the death of the founder, in 1719, the amazing number of 100,000 New Testaments and 40,000 complete Bibles had been printed, by the end of the eighteenth century almost three million Bibles and Testaments, which number had been doubled by 1875. In 1775 the orthography of the Canstein Bibles was carefully revised, and in 1794 a glossary of obscure and obsolete words was added. The text of these Bibles became the received text of the Luther version, also for the editions by the various Bible societies, especially the British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society.

Besides the form of the text as printed by the Canstein institution, there are about six others which have been in use by the various Bible societies. It is evident that this condition would be considered very much of a nuisance, especially since it might easily lead to further corruptions of the text. On this account the matter was discussed at meetings held in 1857 and 1858, also in 1861 and 1863, in the Evangelical Church Conference held at Eisenach. The resolutions of this meeting eventually led to the so-called revision of Luther's Bible, which we shall briefly discuss in the last chapter.

XVI. The Revision of 1883 and Its Modern Forms.

As early as 1695 the noted pietistic theologian August Hermann Francke published his *Observationes Sacrae,* in which he suggested certain changes in the translation of Luther. He was met with such stern opposition on the part of the orthodox party, especially that of Professor Mayer of Greifswald, that he discontinued his efforts. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Claus Harms suggested that there ought to be a revision of Luther's text every hundred years, chiefly in the interest of changes in the language. Other men spoke and wrote along the same lines, and some notable contributions were made by men like Joh. Fr. von Meyer (1819), Snethlage, Grueneisen, Fresenius (1835), Rudolf Stier (1860 and 1867).

But it was chiefly due to the labors of *Moenckeberg* of Hamburg that definite steps were taken to revise the translation of Luther. Men like Nitzsch (first of Wittenberg, then of Berlin) and Dorner (1853 Goettingen, 1862 Berlin) were instrumental in bringing the matter to the official attention of the Eisenach Conference. One of the first

acts of this body, in 1863, was to decide upon the latest version of the Canstein edition of Luther's text as the basis of its work, with special reference to the actual revisions and variants proposed by Luther himself. The men who chiefly urged this step were Rudolf von Raumer and Frommann. The second guiding principle of the conference was expressed in the resolution that variant readings of the German Bible in church use were to be considered according to their nearness to the original Hebrew and Greek. The third resolution of 1863 reads: "In addition to this the relatively few passages, chiefly those of the New Testament, where a change, resp. a correction in the interest of the better understanding of Scripture, might seem necessary and unobjectionable, are to be produced from the original text in a manner faithful to the meaning and as much as possible from the word-treasure of Luther's Bible."

In agreement with these principles the conference arranged to have a committee of ten theologians make the revision: from Prussia, Nitzsch (whose place was afterward taken by Koestlin), Twesten, Beyschlag, and Riehm; from Saxony, Ahlfeld and Brueckner; from Hanover, Meyer and Niemann; and from Wuerttemberg, Frohmueller and Schroeder. The Revision Board had a ten-day session in the fall of 1865 and another in the spring of 1866. The result of the labors was published as a *Probetestament: "Das Neue Testament unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi nach der deutschen Uebersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers. Revidierte Ausgabe.* Halle, 1867." After criticisms and suggestions had been received from various sources, the board had a session about Easter, 1868, whereupon the work was approved by the Eisenach Conference about Pentecost of the same year. The text, as then accepted, was published in 1870, but unfortunately without any reference to the fact that it represented a revision, a fact which was properly censured with great severity

In 1870, even before the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War, the Eisenach Conference decided to continue the revision of Luther's text, also in the Old Testament. The board was considerably enlarged, and the work was facilitated by the appointment of subcommittees. Between 1871 and 1880 eighteen plenary meetings were held, each one lasting from eight to ten days. In 1883, the year of the quadricentennial of Luther's birth, the so-called *Probebibel* was issued, which indicated all the changes, both from the Canstein text and from the version of Luther as differing from the original. For six years the revised text was before the German public before the Board undertook a super-revision of the New Testament text. A similar service was later rendered for the Old Testament. The revised text is now so generally accepted that, for example, the *Privilegierte Wuerttembergische Bibelanstalt* has lately issued a magnificent edition, the *Palaestina-Bilder-*

bibel, bearing the title: *"Die Bibel oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments nach der deutschen Uebersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers, neu durchgesehen nach dem vom Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchenausschuss genehmigten Text."* What the friends of the undertaking thought of the work is well summarized in the following propositions concerning the *Probebibel* as accepted by the Bible Conference in 1884: "1. In the changes which she offers us the *Probebibel* presents a most welcome furtherance of our German Luther Bible and of its understanding; 2. it contains few changes that may rightfully be challenged, and these have more significance for the language than for the content; 3. as the return to the linguistic form of the Luther Bible represents a step too far, so on the other hand, it is necessary to go a step farther in the improvement of the sense; 4. since, however, we see in the revised Bible a blessing for our people and a bond of unity for the German evangelical churches, we desire that it should by all means become a reality."

We now ask: In what respect and to what extent is this a revision of Luther's text? If one includes the apocryphal books, the total number of changes made by the revisers amounts to about 4,000, with an additional 1,000 changes in the headings of the chapters based upon Luther's notes. Many of the changes were merely of a linguistic nature, the purpose being to supplant obsolescent or obsolete words and forms with such as are in use at the present time. In about 1,700 passages the text itself has been changed, and this in spite of the concession that Luther and his coworkers cannot be charged with one rendering which would bring even one error into the German Bible.

Our second question therefore is: Were the changes, on the whole, improvements upon the text of Luther or not? In certain cases it may be conceded at once that the technical advantage is in favor of the revision. Thus Luther speaks of a *Drachen* (dragon), concerning which we now know that it was a kind of jackal; he speaks of a *Laeufer* (runner), of which we now know that it refers to a young camel. On the other hand, it is often all too evident that certain changes grew out of a different spirit from that which actuated Luther and his coworkers. This is particularly evident in the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament, where the claims of a false higher criticism were accepted, to the detriment of the translation from the Hebrew. As much as possible all references to *direct* Messianic promises have been weakened or eradicated. The revisers evidently were not familiar with Luther's scholarly defense of many points of his translation. Thus in Gen. 4, 1, where Roerer wisely placed the translation advocated by Luther's company: "Ich habe den Mann, den Herrn," "I have the man, the Lord," the revisers accepted the version: *"Ich habe den Mann durch den Herrn,"* I have a man

with or through the Lord, that is, with His help. The explanation offered by Wilibald Grimm is characteristic: "In Gen. 3, 15 there is no reference to an *individual* Savior. [*Sic!*] Although the translation 'den Herrn' is the first choice from the standpoint of grammar, it does not fit into the historical situation. [?] The Hebrew here can only mean *with* the Lord, that is, by His help, whence we, with Stier and others, have made the change *through the Lord,* so that Eve is presented as expressing her joy over the fact that she has born a male child and that she recognizes this as a gift of God's mercy."

In Job 19, 25—27 Luther's translation clearly refers to a belief in the resurrection of the body: *"Ich weiss, dass mein Erloeser lebt, und er wird mich hernach aus der Erde auferwecken,"* "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and He will afterwards raise me up out of the earth." The revised translation has: *"Und als der Letzte wird er ueber dem Staub sich erheben. Und nachdem diese meine Haut zerschlagen ist, werde ich ohne mein Fleisch Gott sehen,"* "and as the Last One will He raise Himself up above the dust; and after this my skin will be destroyed, I shall see God without my flesh." As Willkomm has correctly shown (*Bibel, Lutherbibel, revidierte Bibel,* 32 ff.), the linguistic situation does not require the revised rendering, but the latter expresses the false position of the critics, their denial of the doctrine of the resurrection in the Book of Job. In a similar way, in Dan. 9, 25. 26, the revisers changed Luther's reference to Christ as the Messiah to a mere "the Anointed One," their plea being that the Messianic conception of the passage does not agree with history and that Luther had no right to express his understanding of the passage in his rendering of the prophecy.

The same spirit is evident also in the changes which have been made in the headings of many chapters. Thus the superscription of Ps. 16, which reads: "Prophecy of Christ's Suffering and Resurrection," was changed to read: "The Beautiful Heritage of the Saint and His Deliverance from Death." The heading of Ps. 47 was changed from "Of the Ascension of Christ" to "God Is King." Ps. 69 had "Messiah's Prayer in His Passion"; the revised text has "The Servant of the Lord in His Deepest Suffering." The word "Christ" was removed from all headings but two, Ps. 110 and Micah 5. Of the 66 Old Testament headings referring to Christ, as contained in the old text, only 14 have been retained in the revised text, and many of these are ambiguous. If one carefully casts up accounts, the deficiencies of the revised German version outbalance its excellencies. The new text may well be used by the trained theologian to make certain necessary comparisons, but it is uot a safe text to recommend to such as are not familiar with the original languages. The longer one studies the question, the more one is bound to be impressed with the beauty and the power of Luther's work.

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* * *

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