Treasures of the Taylorian
Series One: Reformation Pamphlets 5

Martin Luther

Ein Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen
und Fürbitte der Heiligen

An Open Letter on Translating
and the Intercession of Saints

Second edition

Edited by Howard Jones
and Henrike Lähnemann
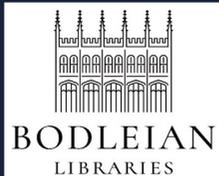
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The facsimile is of: *Ein sendbrieff D. M. Lutthers. Von Dolmetzscheñ vnd Fürbit der heiligenn.* [Nuremberg: Johann Petreius for Georg Rottmaier], 1530, Taylor Institution Library, ARCH. 8°.G.1530 (9)

The cover image is from fol. a2r of the same edition, showing in the G initial Phyllis riding Aristotle.

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Preface to the Second Edition

The *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* has been linked to Reformation anniversaries in Oxford since at least 1917 when it became a set text for students of German, 400 years after the publication of the *95 Theses*. In 1983, on the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birthday, the Taylorian published a facsimile of its copy of the pamphlet (Ill. 1), printed in Nuremberg in 1530 and bought for the library on the initiative of Friedrich Max Müller in 1878. It now is part of the teaching collection, shelfmark ARCH. 8°.G.1530 (9), and is used to familiarize students with original sources and with the material basis for linguistic phenomena such as spelling variation. In 2017, the official quincentenary of the German Reformation, it was only logical for the *Sendbrief* to become the first text in a new series, designed to make the holdings of the Taylorian accessible as both digital resources and print-on-demand publications.

Since then, the Reformation pamphlet series has proceeded in step with the original issue dates: 2018 the *Sermon von Ablass und Gnade* (published in 1518 as a vernacular version of the *95 Theses*), 2020 *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen* (first editions of both the German and Latin versions in 1520, reprinted countless time to become the defining bestseller of the 16th century), and 2021 *Passional Christi und Antichristi* (originally issued in 1521, again both in German and Latin). In returning to the *Sendbrief* for 2022, we mark the quincentenary of Luther's translation of the New Testament as the *September-* and *Dezembertestament* – some of the translation choices he made there are reflected in the *Sendbrief*.

The second edition is substantially expanded, now that it has been used for teaching purposes for five years and given our experience of publishing further books in the Reformation series. Howard Jones revised his earlier translation, expanded the existing explanations, and added linguistic footnotes to the diplomatic transcription. Henrike

Lähnemann's part of the Introduction now takes in the print history behind all five copies of the *Sendbrief* in Oxford, building on her chapter on the materiality of the publication as well as Emma Huber's explanation of the acquisition history of Taylorian pamphlets from the first edition. Ulrich Bubenheimer, the Reformation historian who had already contributed a chapter on the relationship between Latin and German editions of the *Passional* in this series, added new insights on the Augsburg Diet as historical background to the *Sendbrief* pamphlet. He explains for the first time why Luther tackled the topics 'translation' and 'intercession of saints' together in one work. The title of the second edition is now given in full, with the addition of 'and the intercession of saints' to reflect the significance of this second topic.

Acknowledgements

Ill. 1: Postscript on the last page of the 1983 facsimile, a type-writing explanatory note by Kevin Hilliard to which he added (by hand) the dots for the umlauts.

Introduction

Ein Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen und Fürbitte der Heiligen (*An Open Letter on Translating and the Intercession of Saints*) deals with two burning issues in Reformation debate: the correct approach to translating the Bible and whether saints can intercede on behalf of Christians.[1] The latter question was largely interconfessional, but the debate about translation had repercussions beyond the historical situation of the early Reformation in Germany and shaped discussion for centuries to come. While the broad claim beloved of 19th century Protestants that Luther "invented" modern German is no longer taken seriously, his influence on translation studies has been fundamental and lasting.

Medieval translation debate had been dominated by Jerome, through both his Bible translation and the letters in which he justified his translation methods.[2] His *Letter to Pammachius* with its contrast between 'word-for-word' and 'sense-for-sense' translation provided the reference point for Luther, who followed Jerome in the *Sendbrief* by using the letter format, adopting a polemical tone, and even comparing himself as a learned translator with the Church Father. The contemporary view of Jerome as ideal translator is visible in the title woodcut by the young Albrecht Dürer for a two-volume folio edition of his letters printed in Basel 1492 (Ill. 2). Open on the lecterns are the Hebrew Bible, its late-antique translation into Greek (the Septuagint), and Jerome's own translation into Latin (the Vulgate), in a multilingual arrangement featuring Genesis 1. "Jerome in his study" became the standard iconography signifying scholarship.

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[1] Referred to in the following as *Sendbrief*; quotations with folio numbers from the edition in this volume. For a detailed summary of research into the *Sendbrief*, see Delius (1983), pp. 477–496. For abbreviations and short titles, see Bibliography.

[2] For a short introduction to Jerome's translation principles as expressed in the letter and his practice of Bible translation, see Ciletti and Lähnemann (2010).

Luther's *Sendbrief* built on this tradition, challenged it, and was established as the gold standard for later translators. Some of his idiomatic translations have become proverbial (e.g. 'dem Volk aufs Maul schauen' 'watch ordinary folk mouth their words') and serve as a starting point for practically anybody reflecting on translation, whether this is Friedrich Schleiermacher in his programmatic text *Ueber die verschiedenen Methoden des Uebersezens* (1813) for the Berlin Academy, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in his 'Notes' for the 'West-East Divan' (1819), Jacob Grimm in his presentation to the Academy *Über das pedantische in der deutschen sprache* (1847), Walter Benjamin's *Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers* (1923), or Franz Rosenzweig's essay *Die Schrift und Luther* (1926), which was later incorporated as a preface to the new Jewish translation of the Hebrew Bible into German which he edited with Martin Buber.[1] Luther's German has also fascinated linguists outside translation studies; for example, a single sentence from the *Sendbrief* has been the subject of an entire symposium in which a group of linguists discuss and compare their own interpretations from historical and theoretical points of view.[2]

In the *Sendbrief* Luther offers general advice on translation as well as a defence of some of the specific translation choices he made in his German New Testament. From these it becomes clear what his guiding principles were as a translator: an intimate knowledge of the source and target language, a feel for the idiom of both, and an understanding of the author's purpose. The same questions preoccupy translators today, whether they are working with sacred texts or not. The *Sendbrief* affords us a glimpse into the translation technique of one its most successful exponents – and an insight that translation choices are never purely linguistic.

Ill. 2: *Epistolare beati Hieronymi*, Basel: Nikolaus Kessler 1492 (GW 12433). Oxford, Trinity College, Old Library, I.7.1. The copy was given to Trinity College by the Catholic-leaning astrologer and mathematician Thomas Allen in 1625; the circular rust marks at the bottom of the page show that it was chained. With thanks to Emma Sillett, librarian, for the photograph and copy information.

[1] German and English translations in various translation studies readers (cf. Bibliography 3) which all combine Jerome's and Luther's letters with the later theory texts mentioned: *Problem des Übersetzens* (1969); Robinson (1997); *Translation Studies Reader* (2004); *Translation – Theory and Practice. A Historical Reader* (2006).
[2] Institut für Deutsche Sprache (1972), pp. 215–296.

In the Middle Ages, the established term for translation into German was 'verdeutschen', derived from 'ze diute sagen' which means both 'to turn into German' and 'to make clear' (in modern German 'verdeutlichen'). For the title of his letter, Luther used 'Dolmetschen', a term which highlights the role of the translator as negotiator between different parties. It had entered the German vocabulary via Slavic languages as a loanword from Turkish *dilmaç* = intermediary, middle-man between two parties speaking different languages. In modern German 'dolmetschen' is used only for interpreting, but in the early modern period it was used as a technical term for all forms of translation even though it retained an association with orality. Luther uses forms of 'verdeutschen' (twice spelled by Petreius as 'verteutschen') sixteen times (four times e.g. on b1v) and 34 times forms of 'dolmetschen', switching between them to vary his argument. For extra emphasis he couples the terms in an alliterative formula when he highlights his ownership of the translation process: 'des Luthers teutsch vnd dolmetzschen' (a3r).

The *Sendbrief* also gives us a taste of Luther's style and method of argument. His syntax and vocabulary are plain and direct, his tone sometimes academic but more often informal, and the text is interspersed with colourful turns of phrase. His arguments are, in keeping with academic discourse at the time, a combination of appeals to reason or authority, ridicule, and invective. In the *Sendbrief* we have Luther, at one point, analysing the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin precedents to argue against the translation, 'Mary, full of grace', and, at another, summarizing his attitude to Dr Snotty-Nose and his other detractors as follows: 'The fact is, a donkey doesn't need to do much braying: you just have to look at his ears'.

1. The Historical Context

(Ulrich Bubenheimer)

Martin Luther wrote the *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* in September 1530 at Coburg Fortress, which belonged to the Elector of Saxony. At this time the Imperial Diet was taking place some 200 km away at Augsburg. At this assembly called by the Holy Roman Emperor, Luther's colleague Philip Melanchthon was making a formal proclamation of Protestantism, the Augsburg Confession. Luther did not attend, as he had been declared an outlaw at the Diet of Worms in 1521 and was relatively safe only in Saxon territory under the protection first of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony (d. 1525), and then of Frederick's brother Johann, Elector since 1525. As well as corresponding with Melanchthon and his other colleagues at Augsburg, Luther spent his confinement at Coburg, following the model of his New Testament translation at Wartburg Castle in 1522, by working on his translation of the Old Testament and on polemical writings such as the *Sendbrief*.

The pretext for the *Sendbrief* was that an anonymous friend of Luther's had asked for guidance on two matters: (i) why Luther had inserted the word 'alone' (*allein*) in his 1522 translation of Romans 3: 28, so that it reads, 'man is justified without the works of the law, by faith alone' and (ii) whether Christians may call on the departed saints for intercession before God. The concept of calling on a holy figure, such as an apostle, local saint, or guardian angel, as a 'patron' to support prayer by the power of their holiness was widespread, as is evident from medieval altar paintings and prayer books such as the single sheet (Ill. 3), pasted into a Book of Hours, with a prayer asking for Mary's intercession and promising indulgence.
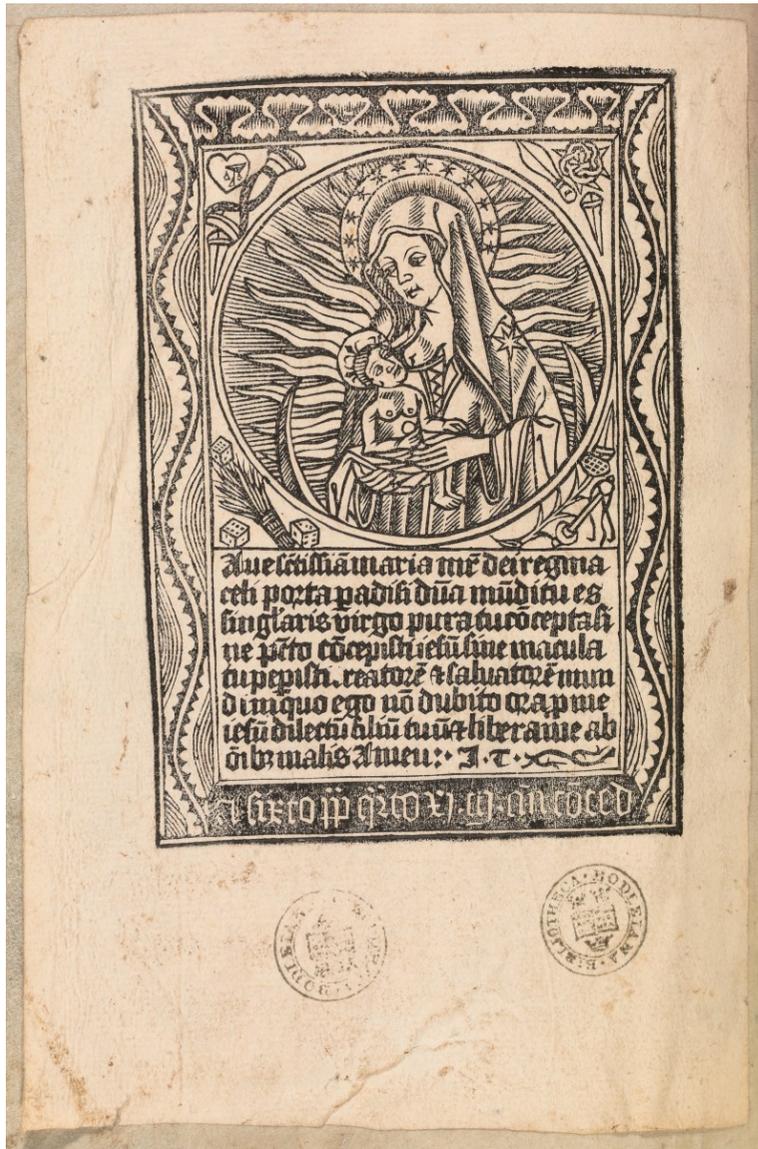
Ill. 3: Late medieval printed single sheet asking for the intercession of Mary. Woodcut pasted into a Book of Hours, Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 113, fol. 13v, promising an indulgence of 11,000 years, printed in the Netherlands or France in late 15th century. The prayer was frequently reprinted e.g. in the 'Hortulus animae', ed. by Sebastian Brant in Strasbourg 1503.

The *Sendbrief* is one of a number of writings in which Luther tried to influence the religious negotiations at Augsburg and to stiffen the resolve of his colleagues, on whom he was keeping a critical, if distant, eye. On 25 June 1530 the Augsburg Confession was read out before the Reichstag, in response to which Emperor Charles V told the Catholic side to write a refutation (*Confutatio*). This was read out on 3 August, followed by negotiation sessions in which the positions of the two sides were compared, as well as more intimate gatherings aimed at reaching agreement. The spokesman on the Lutheran side was Melanchthon, and on the Catholic side Johann Eck (1486–1543).

On 6 September Melanchthon wrote to his friend Johannes Hess in Breslau about the negotiations he had had with Eck on 16 August: 'On the righteousness of faith he [Eck] conceded to us that faith justifies, but he was mocking about the word "alone".' For his part Melanchthon did not insist on the very pointed wording 'by faith alone' (*sola fide*), but he wanted good works as a precondition for justification to be excluded.[1] Georg Spalatin (1484–1545), a member of the Elector of Saxony's delegation, gave a detailed account of Eck's argumentation. First Spalatin recounted some of the arguments used by Eck against Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone, and then he quoted an ironic closing remark by Eck: 'Doctor Eck added finally that the soles should therefore be sent back for a while to the cobbler', in an apparent pun on *sola* and *sole*.[2] This oblique reference was clearly interpreted by Luther as questioning his competence as a

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[1] *De iusticia fidei concedebat nobis, quod fides iustificet, sed cavillabatur vocem 'sola'. Neque tamen addi voluit opera, sed graciam et sacramenta et verbum tanquam instrumenta. Hec ego concessi posse addi. Sed opera tamen exclusi* ('On the righteousness of faith he conceded to us that faith justifies, but he was mocking about the word 'alone'. He did not, however, want works to be added, but grace and the sacraments and the word, as if they were instruments [i.e. of grace]. I agreed that these could be added, but works I excluded'). MBW, vol. T 4/2, 646, 4 – 647, 7.

[2] *Darumb hat Doctor Eck letztlich auch gesagt, Man soll die Solen ein weil zum schuster schicken*, Förstemann (1835), p. 225; quoted by Hans-Ulrich Delius in: LStA 3, p. 478.

translator: the formulation 'allein aus Glauben' ('by faith alone') was worn out like the soles of a well-used shoe and now needed to be repaired by an expert. Luther reacted accordingly and presented himself in the *Sendbrief* as an accomplished translator, for whom amateurs like Hieronymus Emser (*Sudler zu Dresen* 'Bungler of Dresden') und Johannes Cochläus (*doctor Rotzlöffel* 'Dr Snotty-Nose') were no match (see Glossary of Names). Eck's mockery about Luther's addition of the word 'allein' in his translation of Romans 3:28 ('We hold that man becomes righteous without the works of the law, by faith alone'),[1] and Melanchthon's willingness to compromise on this, prompted Luther to begin the *Sendbrief*.[2] Based on the translation principles set out in the work, Luther sought to demonstrate that the addition of the word 'alone' here was not only good German, but also appropriate to St Paul's purpose. Eck's mockery helps to explain the polemical, rhetorical tone which runs through the *Sendbrief*. Luther labels the Catholic negotiators whom Melanchthon was dealing with as *Sophisten*, *Buchstabilisten*, *Papisten*, *Esel*, and *Papstesel* ('sophists', 'literalists', 'papists', 'donkeys' and 'papal donkeys'). Luther does not mention Eck by name, but he does engage with the substance of Eck's arguments.

Following the longer first part of the *Sendbrief* on translating, Luther focuses in the shorter, second part on the intercession of saints, and the reason for this choice of subject-matter can be inferred from contemporary sources related to the Diet of Augsburg. Chapter 21 of the *Augsburg Confession* (*De cultu sanctorum* 'On the worship of saints') deals with the veneration of saints. It accepts that saints can be commemorated as examples of faith and good works, but then points out

that there is no biblical basis for the practice of calling on and appealing to them to intercede before God; on the contrary it is, according to Scripture, only Christ, as the mediator between God and humankind, who should be called upon.[1] According to a letter to Justus Jonas of 21 July, 1530, Luther considered these points by Melanchthon to be part of a negotiating ploy in which Melanchthon was talking up differences with his opponents in an effort to reach an agreement.[2] At the time he was writing the *Sendbrief*, Luther already believed that the prospect of an agreement was hopeless, and he took the opportunity to deal with the topic more aggressively, arguing that any worship of saints was *ein lauter menschen tandt* ('nothing but manmade nonsense')[3]. However, Luther confined himself in the *Sendbrief* to the arguments against the intercession of saints in particular, rather than against the worship of saints in general, and said that he was intending to write more on the topic on another occasion.[4] The impression given at the end of the work is that Luther was simply holding back, for the time being, further remarks which he already had planned. However, he did not make good on his announcement of further writing on the topic.[5]

Luther signed off the *Sendbrief* with the date of 8 September 1530. On 12 September he wrote to his friend and former fellow Augustinian Wenzeslaus Linck (1483–1547), who had been a preacher in

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[1] *Wir halten / das der mensch gerecht werde on des gesetzs werck / allein durch den glauben*, *Sendbrief*, fol. a2r (WA 30/2, 29–30). References in the introduction are to the folio numbers of the copy in the Taylor Institution Library on which this edition is based.

[2] By this time he had been told about Eck's mockery; see Melanchthon to Luther, 22 August 1530; MBW, T 4/1, 579, 5–10.

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[1] Dingel (2014), pp. 128–31.
[2] WA.B 5, 496, 7–9.
[3] *Sendbrief*, fol. b4v (WA 30/2, 644, 3).
[4] *Sendbrief*, fol. c2r (WA 30/2, 646, 9–11).
[5] Luther says that he intends to deal with the subject further in a *sermon von den lieben Engeln* 'sermon on the dear angels', *Sendbrief*, fol. b4v (WA 30/2, 643, 14–17). The *Predigt von den Engeln* 'Sermon on the Angels' (WA 32, 111–21), which Luther gave on 29 September 1530 at Coburg does not include any remarks about the veneration of saints. However, handwritten notes by Luther on the proposed work about the saints seem to have been preserved. See the short text in WA 30/2, 694. These shorthand notes seem not to be an outline for the second part of the *Sendbrief*, because they only partly correspond to the remarks in the *Sendbrief* about the intercession of saints.

Nuremberg since 1525, asking him to pass the manuscript to Georg Rottmaier in Nuremberg (and to no-one else).[1] Rottmaier was evidently the publisher of a number of writings by Luther in 1530 which came out of Simon Petreius's Nuremberg printshop.[2] Luther suggested that Linck should put down his own name as the editor of the work and claim that it had been passed to him by a good friend.[3] Linck followed this suggestion in his foreword, stressing that he could not in good conscience hold back the letter but had to go into print with it: *diesen sendtbrieff / der mir durch einen guten freundt zu handen kommen / nit wissen zu verhalten / sonder offentlich in druck geben.*[4]

Luther himself addressed the *Sendbrief* to a friend who is supposed to have sent him the two questions discussed in the work: *Dem Erbarn vnd fursichtigen N. meinem günstigen herrn vnd freunde.*[5] Luther does not name the friend in this address, and one might assume that this is merely a literary fiction. However, the forms of address used by Luther give us a possible clue to whom he might have had in mind. The various honorifics and titles by which people had to be addressed at the time depended on that person's status. The correct forms of address were taught at school and collected in 'Kanzleibüchlein' or 'Titelbüchlein', manuals for use in the chancery on how correctly to use titles and forms of address for different orders of society, which also contain model sentences for writing letters to anyone from the pope to ordinary citizens. Luther addresses his friend with the adjectives *erbar* ('honourable') and *fursichtig* ('judicious').

Ill. 4: *Titelbüchlein von geystlichem vnd weltlichem standt,* Nuremberg: Johann Weißenburger, 1513, list of titles for members of the Nuremberg town council, fol. xxiiij r (VD16 K 103), München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 4 J.pract. 206

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[1] Luther to Linck, 12 September 1530; WA.B 5, 620, 1–3.
[2] Reske (2015), pp. 733 and 725–26.
[3] WA.B 5, 496, 7–9.
[4] *Sendbrief*, fol. a1v (WA 30/2, 632, 9–11).
[5] 'To the honourable and judicious N., my generous patron and friend', *Sendbrief*, fol. a2r (WA 30/2, 632, 23–24 and 646, 16–17).

In Nuremberg, a 'Titel-' or 'Kanzleibüchlein' (ill. 4) was anonymously published by Johann Weißenburger in 1513 with the promise on the titlepage to teach the correct terms of address for all people in authority: *Hye nach wirt begriffen / ein Titelbüchlein von geystlichem vnd weltlichem standt* ('Hereafter is contained a little handbook on forms of address for clergy and laity'). The manual recommends the following forms of address for members of the Nuremberg town council: *Den Fürsichtigen Hochberümpten vnnd weisen / Burgermeyster vnd Rathe der Stat Nůrmberg / meinen gůnstigen lieben herren* ('To the judicious, most famous and wise mayor and councillors of Nuremberg city, my gracious dear lords'). *Fürsichtig* was used for citizens who held an official position in a town, such as councillors, while *erbar* was used for those enjoying particularly high standing owing to family connections or office – men of the minor aristocracy or civic patriciate and dignitaries such as the mayor or town clerk.

The forms of address used by Luther show that he had in mind a member of the civic elite. There are a number of letters written by Luther during the Diet of Augsburg in which he addressed the Nuremberg town clerk Lazarus Spengler (1479–1534)[1] with the same formulation, for example, in a letter of 28 September 1530: *Dem Erbarn fursichtigen Herrn Lasaro Spengler, der Stad Nurmberg Syndico, meynem gonstigen Herrn vnd freunde* ('To the honourable, judicious Herr Lazarus Spengler, Secretary of State of the city of Nuremberg, my generous patron and friend').[2] During his stay at Coburg, Luther had already dedicated to Spengler his treatise *Ein predig/ das man kinder zur Schulen halten solle* ('A sermon on why children should be sent to school', July 1530) using the equivalent form of address (ill. 5).[3]

Ill. 5: *Eine predigt/ Mart. Luther / das man kinder zur Schulen halten solle*,
Wittenberg: Nickel Schirlentz 1530, VD16 L 5689,
Oxford, Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1530(7)

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[1] Cf. Philipp N. Bebb, 'Spengler, Lazarus', in: OER 4, pp 101–102.
[2] WA.B 5, 634, 1–2. Similarly WA.B 5, 561, 1–2.
[3] WA 30/2, 517–20. The dedicatory preface to Spengler, which is undated, was also published by Petreius in Nuremberg 1530, VD16 L 5688.

Spengler was an intermediary between the Nuremberg city council and its envoys at the Diet of Augsburg, so he was able to pass information to Luther about proceedings at the Diet,[1] to which Luther would respond setting out his position. Occasionally Spengler was also given letters from Luther to pass onto his negotiating colleagues; two of these which were meant for Melanchthon were sent back by Spengler undelivered, as he thought that the critical comments in them would put Melanchthon under too much pressure.[2] Against this background, Spengler would be a plausible addressee for Luther's *Sendbrief*.[3]

Both Wenzeslaus Linck and Lazarus Spengler had, since the beginnings of the Reformation, been Luther's intermediaries and the disseminators of his writing and teaching in Nuremberg.[4] A close examination of the correspondence which Luther and Melanchthon had with their Nuremberg friends also shows them discussing the questions addressed in *Sendbrief.* Another person involved in the discussion was Veit Dietrich (1506–1549)[5], a native of Nuremberg who had come to Coburg as Luther's assistant and secretary. Melanchthon had conceded to the Catholic negotiators at Augsburg that, if an agreement were reached, the jurisdiction of bishops in the Protestant territories could be restored. This concession met with considerable opposition, especially in Nuremberg which, as a free city of the Holy Roman Empire, was unwilling to hand church government back to the bishops. On 1 September 1530, Melanchthon wrote to Veit Dietrich, 'Your citizens [i.e. those of Nuremberg] are making remarkable accusations against me about the re-establishment of episcopal jurisdiction. Meanwhile they conceal what is distressing them

and they are mocking about certain other matters we are negotiating, about the saints etc.'[1] Here it is clear that there was also unease in Nuremberg about Melanchthon's readiness to compromise on the question of the veneration of saints.

What the stumbling-block was in this matter can be inferred from a 'declaration', dating from 18 August 1530 and minuted by Georg Spalatin, about the outcome of the negotiations between the two sides.[2] Both sides agreed that there was no commandment in the Bible to call upon saints; accordingly the Lutheran side rejected the practice, but the Catholic delegation stood by it, invoking what was a widespread observance throughout the church. On the more precise question of calling on the saints for intercession before God, the Lutheran side was, however, prepared to accept a distinction tabled by the other side. According to this distinction, while one should not call upon the saints for their intercession before God, one could nonetheless pray to God, in keeping with the practice of the church, 'so that the prayers of the saints might assist us'.[3] In the *Sendbrief* Luther dismisses this distinction, with which, he says, the papists 'primp and preen themselves'.[4] For Luther the decisive factor was that there is no biblical basis for such a distinction. The appeal to general practice in the church, for which Melanchthon had evidently shown some sympathy, was firmly rejected by Luther with the argument that the practice had been forced on the church by the pope, priests, and monks.[5]

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[1] Cf. Luther to Spengler, 24 August 1530; WA.B 5, 561, 7–8.

[2] WA.B 5, 634, 4–11.

[3] Hans-Ulrich Delius also suspected that Spengler was the addressee of the *Sendbrief*; see LStA 3, p. 478 und p. 481, fn. 11.

[4] On Linck, see Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele, 'Linck, Wenzeslaus' in *BBKL 15* (1999), cols 864–70. On Spengler, see Berndt Hamm, 'Spengler, Lazarus (1479-$1534)' in *TRE 31* (2000), pp. 666–70.

[5] Cf. Jeffrey P. Jaynes, 'Dietrich Veit' in: OER 1, p. 485.

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[1] MBW, vol. T 4/2, 629, 12–14: *Tui cives mirifice criminantur me propter restitutam episcopis iurisdictionem. Interim dissimulant, quid doleat ipsis, et cavillantur in nostris actionibus quaedam alia de sanctis etc.*

[2] The document, written in Spalatin's hand, has the title, *Erklärung, über welche Artikel man im Ausschusse der Vierzehn einig sey* ('Declaration about which articles are agreed in the Committee of Fourteen'), Förstemann (1835), p. 230.

[3] *das vns der Heiligen bitt furdere*; Förstemann (1835), p. 232.

[4] *putzen vnnd schmücken sich*, *Sendbrief*, fol. b4v (WA 30/2, 643).

[5] *Sendbrief*, fol. b4v–c2r (WA 30/2, 643–46), particularly c1v.

By reconstructing the historical background to Luther's *Sendbrief*, it is thus clear that the two parts of the work, which at first sight are unconnected in content, pick up two themes from the negotiations at Augsburg. Melanchthon's willingness to compromise in his negotiations with the Catholic side[1] was looked upon with disapproval by some of Luther's supporters, especially his friends and allies in Nuremberg. This explains why the circulation of the *Sendbrief* is linked to Nuremberg – through the involvement of Wenzeslaus Linck and the printing of the work there. Moreover, Lazarus Spengler, the possible addressee of the *Sendbrief*, was an official at Nuremberg.

Without naming Melanchthon, Luther makes clear in his discussion of these questions that there is, for him, no room for compromise. Johannes Eck's criticism of Luther's translation of Romans 3: 28 was taken by Luther as a challenge for him to justify his German version of this Bible passage by setting out his principles of translation. His position on the intercession of saints in the second part is relatively unstructured and is not explicitly integrated with the first part, and was in any case, according to Luther, a preliminary sketch of a separate work on the subject which he had planned (but then did not carry out). When the negotiations at the Imperial Diet failed, this topic evidently faded into the background for Luther. But there is one aspect of this second part of the *Sendbrief* which is integrated with the first part, albeit implicitly: the contrast between the principle of biblical authority (*sola scriptura* 'scripture alone') and the practices of the church.

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[1] For an account of the religious negotiations at the Diet of Augsburg sympathetic to the part Melanchthon played there, see Scheible (2016), pp. 128–40. The dynamics of the relationship during the Imperial Diet between Luther and the more open to compromise Melanchthon are described in Roper (2016), chapter 15.

2. The Translation Controversy
(Howard Jones)

Luther's translation of the New Testament was a bestseller when it first appeared in September 1522: the initial run of 3,000–5,000 copies sold out within weeks at a price equivalent to a labourer's weekly wage, and a revised edition was published in December. By 1525, 14 authorized and 66 unauthorized versions had appeared. At the same time as he was writing the *Sendbrief*, Luther was completing the translation of the Old Testament, parts of which had already been published in instalments. Luther's first complete Bible translation was to appear in 1534.

Why was there such demand? It was not as if biblical stories, the Psalms, and even the whole Bible had not been available in German before Luther's translation. The main form in which lay people had accessed biblical content was orally, in sermons, songs, or verse paraphrases intended for public reading. 'Historienbibeln' ('story bibles') were popular, harmonizing different versions of stories in the Bible and ordering them chronologically, often with illustrations. And eighteen printed editions of a full Bible translation in (High or Low) German prose were published before Luther, although all dated back to a single fourteenth-century translation, based on the Latin version (see Sonderegger 1998).

For Luther's opponents, Scripture meant the Vulgate, the Latin Bible translated from Hebrew and Greek by St Jerome in the fourth century. While Jerome's Vulgate (meaning a vernacular, popular version) had originally been produced to make the Bible accessible to readers of Latin, by the sixteenth century it had in practice replaced the original Hebrew Old and Greek New Testament, and was considered to be divinely authorized. Accordingly, pre-Luther German translations were not written in idiomatic, accessible language, but to help understand the Latin version.

With his early writings such as *On the Freedom of a Christian* (1520) Luther challenged readers to go to the Bible to check the claims he was making.[1] In his 1522 German New Testament, translated using the original Greek, Luther satisfied a demand which he had created himself and which could not be met by previous Bible editions. Massive public attention was now focused on the Bible in a version which the Church found unsuitably informal in tone and heretical in content. The Church's objections were written up in 1523 in a critique by Hieronymus Emser (see Glossary of Names), who produced a Catholic version of Luther's New Testament in 1527. It is against these 'corrections' that Luther defends his particular translation choices in the *Sendbrief*. There are a number of theological reasons why they were controversial.

The terms relevant to this controversy are faith, grace, justification/ righteousness, and works. Luther and his opponents agreed that people are justified (or, as he puts it in the *Sendbrief*, 'become righteous') by God's grace. Justification/righteousness is necessary for salvation, that is, the saving of the soul from sin and death, but the disagreement was about how this is achieved. The official Church position was that a person is justified by a combination of faith in Christ and works, i.e. deeds. Luther, by contrast, held that a person is justified by faith alone. Moreover, while his opponents believed that, when people are justified, divine grace is infused into them, altering them intrinsically, Luther held that grace is a favour which is imputed to people but remains outside them. Luther's belief that works do not help people to justification applied both to good works (good deeds done in accordance with Christian teaching) and to the works of the law (acts such as circumcision performed in fulfilment of Old Testament law). In Luther's theology, people who are justified are by nature inclined to carry out good works, so justification is the cause, rather than the effect, of such works.

A further point of contention between Luther and his opponents which is relevant to the *Sendbrief* is the authority of Scripture. When Erasmus published his Greek-Latin parallel edition of the New Testament in 1516 (with a second edition in 1519), the Church did not object to this as a scholarly exercise, as long as it did not undermine the authority of the Vulgate or of the Church as its interpreter. For Luther, by contrast, Scripture meant the Bible in its original languages rather than the Vulgate, and Scripture was the sole authority. Luther made great use of Erasmus's text of the New Testament in preparing his German version, and in many cases bypassed the Vulgate where he believed it to be based on a faulty reading of the Greek.

Away from the scholarly debates about ancient biblical languages, Luther appealed to the authority of Scripture in a more obvious way, by condemning Church practices which had no scriptural basis at all. This he did most famously by attacking indulgences in his *Ninety-Five Theses* of 1517.[1] Originally granted by the Church in recognition of the good deeds for which people's punishments after death would be reduced, by Luther's time indulgences were being widely sold to finance the Church itself, and in particular the building of St Peter's at Rome. The latter part of the *Sendbrief*[2] is devoted to another practice encouraged by the Church which Luther considered to be without scriptural authority, namely asking departed saints to intercede on behalf of the living. However, the most controversial aspect of Luther's position on Scripture was his belief in 'sola scriptura', for this turned his translation of the Bible into a challenge to the legitimacy of the Church itself.[3]

In the *Sendbrief* Luther offers general advice on Bible translation, and comments on specific examples. In the following years, he expanded on this in the *Summarien über die Psalmen und Ursachen des*

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[1] Cf. the commentary and blog posts on the edition on the Taylor Editions website, https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/freiheit-1520/.

[1] Text and translation available in Jones et al. (2018), together with background on the indulgences controversy.

[2] *Sendbrief*, fols b4v–c2r.

[3] Cf. the explanation in Introduction 1.

Dolmetschens ('Summaries of the Psalms and the Reasons for Trans-
lating', 1531–3), which deals mainly with translation from the He-
brew Old Testament.[1] His general advice can be summarized under
the following headings:

The qualities of a good translation.
Luther stresses the need for an accessible, idiomatic version which
reflects spoken German rather than being a word-for-word render-
ing of the Latin text; see esp. fol. a4v.

The qualities of a good translator.
A translator must have a deep understanding of both the source and
the target language and must be a true Christian (that is, one who
shares Luther's own theological viewpoint); see esp. fol. b2v.

The best method of translating.
Here Luther recommends: close observation of how ordinary Ger-
mans speak; patience and hard work; and collaboration with expert
colleagues; see esp. fol. a4r–a4v.

The German rendering which receives the most attention in the
Sendbrief is Romans 3: 28 as discussed on fol. a2r, in Latin: *Arbitramur
hominem iustificari ex fide absque operibus* ('We consider man to be
justified by faith and without works'). The Latin which Luther cites
here is not the wording of the Vulgate. It is close to that of Erasmus's
1516 and 1519 editions of the New Testament, but it is not an exact
quotation from Erasmus (for example, it does not include the Latin
for 'of the law'). Luther appears to be giving an approximate quota-
tion from memory, but the omission may reflect the close association
in Luther's mind between 'works of the law' and 'works' in general.
In the *Sendbrief* he renders this in German as: *Wir halten / das der
mensch gerecht werde on des gesetzs werck / allein durch den glauben* ('We
consider that man becomes righteous without the works of the law,
by faith alone'). The wording in Luther's September 1522 translation

was *gerechtfertiget werde* ('is justified') rather than *gerecht werde* ('be-
comes righteous').[1]

The contentious point here is the addition of 'allein' ('alone / only'),
which Luther insists upon even though there is no equivalent in ei-
ther the Latin version or the Greek original. He even stresses the ex-
clusiveness of faith further by moving 'by faith alone' to the end of
the sentence. Luther starts by defending this addition on grounds of
idiom: in German it is more natural when x is affirmed and y denied
to say 'only x and not y' rather than 'x and not y' (fol. a4v). What
Luther does not say here is that, if there is an (unstated) alternative
beyond x and y, such as z, then specifying 'only x' also changes the
meaning by ruling out not just y, but z too. Thus, if faith (x) and the
works of the law (y) are the only alternatives, specifying 'faith alone'
rather than merely 'faith' does not change the meaning. But Luther's
opponents, including Emser, believed that there was an alternative to
faith and the works of the law, namely good works (z), and that good
works (along with faith) *are* necessary for justification. Emser actually
makes this point in a gloss to this passage of Romans in his 1527 ver-
sion of the New Testament.

For Luther's opponents, therefore, the addition of 'alone' is not – or
not only – a question of idiom, but it also changes the meaning. Later
in the *Sendbrief* Luther does make the theological case for adding
'only'. In contrast to Emser's distinction between the works of the
law and good works, Luther presents the works of the law as the
epitome of all works (see fol. b3r), so that when St Paul excludes the
works of the law as a means to justification, all works, including good
works, are excluded by implication. Incidentally, the importance that
Luther attaches to the addition of 'only' in Romans 3: 28 is incon-
sistent with his translation of Galatians 2: 16, where he renders a very
similar Latin sentence without adding 'alone'.

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[1] The relevant extracts are reproduced in Arndt (1968).

[1] For a discussion of this lexical change, part of a wholesale replacement of words
based on 'rechtfertig' with those based on 'gerecht', see Jones (2018).

The other German rendering discussed in the *Sendbrief* which appears to have a theological motivation is the rendering of Luke 1: 28 (fol. b1r), in Latin: *Ave, gratia plena* ('Hail, woman full of grace') which Luther translated in the 'Septembertestament' as *Gegrusset seystu, holdselige* ('Greetings, gracious one').

Luther objects to a word-for-word translation from the Latin here on grounds of idiom, arguing that 'full of grace' would not be readily understood and would conjure up images such as 'a barrel full of beer or a bag full of money'. However, elsewhere Luther does use 'full' with abstract nouns, and in John 1: 14 he even calls Jesus 'full of grace', which reduces the weight of his linguistic argument. Indeed, although Luther does not say so, it is likely that his avoidance of 'full of grace' was theologically motivated. As explained above, Luther held that grace did not reside in people, but remained outside them. Moreover, Emser had attacked Luther's translation of this verse in his 1523 critique, arguing that, although 'gratia' could mean worldly 'favour', it had a divine sense when referring to God's grace, as here. Luther is being especially provocative, in that his translation implies a denial that divine grace can be inherent even in the Virgin Mary. Although a saint, she was a human being and therefore, to Luther, lacked the divine quality which would be implied if she were held to be 'full of grace'.

The original Greek word underlying the Latin 'gratia plena' is 'kecharitōmenē', 'beloved, endowed with favour / grace'. Luther (fol. b1v) takes this word to be St Luke's attempt to render a Hebrew word meaning 'beloved, valued' which occurs as 'Ish Chamudot' 'man greatly loved / valued' in the Old Testament Book of Daniel (e.g. Daniel 9: 23). In the Vulgate version of Daniel this greeting is rendered as 'vir desideriorum'. Luther mockingly points out that a word-for-word translation of this phrase into German would be 'man of lusts' ('man der lüste'), which would misleadingly suggest that Daniel was a sinful pleasure-seeker. It is noticeable that Luther's case against the word-for-word translation 'Mary, full of grace' in-cludes an appeal to clear, idiomatic German as well as a detailed analysis of the underlying Greek and Hebrew, but that the theological argument that grace cannot reside in people is not actually stated.

Luther rejects a word-for-word translation of the Latin in three further cases. Thus 'abundance of heart' (Matthew 12: 34, Luke 6: 45) strikes Luther as unidiomatic (fol. b1r), while 'loss of ointment' (Matthew 26: 8, Mark 14: 4) erroneously suggests that the ointment poured over Jesus' head has been mislaid (fol. b1r). In the translation discussed on fol. b2v Luther also recommends a departure from the Latin, but this time at the expense of idiomatic German. Here he defends his use of a verb meaning 'to seal' rather than one meaning 'to indicate' in, 'This is the man on whom God the Father has set His seal' (John 6: 27). In doing so, Luther keeps closer to the sense of the Greek 'esphragisen' 'sealed', than to that of the Latin 'signavit', which can mean 'sealed' but also has a wider meaning of 'indicated'. Luther believed that 'sealed' had the special sense of 'endowed with the Holy Spirit', which he wants to preserve even though he considers that a translation closer to the Latin would have sounded better in German.

Although Luther had a clear interest in language for its own sake, all of his pronouncements on translation in the *Sendbrief* can be viewed in terms of his own theology. Luther's views on justification and grace are clear in his choice of wording in Romans 3: 28 and Luke 1: 28. His belief in the authority of the original scriptural languages is reflected in the discussion of Luke 1: 28 (together with the angel Gabriel's greeting in the Book of Daniel) and in his choice of 'to seal' in John 6: 27. More generally, Luther's belief in 'sola scriptura' underlies his general preference for accessible German: if the Bible is to serve as the unique medium with God, it must be written in an idiom which the people can understand.

3. The Publication

(Henrike Lähnemann)

Martin Luther's pamphlets were the defining publishing phenomenon of the 1520s and 1530s and the staple of printing presses across the German-speaking area. This is reflected in the five copies of the *Sendbrief* held in Oxford, two from a Nuremberg edition (one of them the Taylorian from which this edition is produced), two from a Wittenberg edition (one of them so rushed that it needed an *Errata* page), and one copy from an Erfurt edition (with added title illustration) – all printed in quick succession in 1530.

The earliest publication to hit the market was, as far as we can determine from copying errors, printed in Nuremberg, 100 km south of the Coburg Fortress where Luther was at that point. A messenger could easily deliver a letter within days from the fortress to the imperial city. This aligns with the argument put forward by Ulrich Bubenheimer (Introduction 1) that the *Sendbrief* was an actual letter sent to Nuremberg and that Wenceslas Linck genuinely presented it to the press with his preface added. The text was produced by Johann Petreius, not the largest press in Nuremberg, but one with a distinguished backlist of authors and texts.[1]

Petreius had started in 1523 as an academic editor who also produced his own type: in 1524 he advertised that he had 12 fonts on offer, including one Greek and two Hebrew. He made his name printing Humanist publications, really breaking into the market in 1530, the year of the *Sendbrief*, when Latin texts by the Nuremberg Humanist Willibald Pirckheimer and astronomical treatises also came out of his press. His financial backer and publisher was Georg Rottmaier who commissioned a series of pro-Reformation pamphlets in 1530, among them another letter Luther wrote two months before the *Sendbrief*, in Coburg, dated 6 July 1530, this one addressed to the

Archbishop of Mainz, and a treatise *Von den Schlüsseln* about papal authority which appeared with the fictitious imprint Wittenberg.[1] In the *Sendbrief*, the print workshop and publication place are not named; the only place name is the allegorical *ex eremo* ('from the wilderness') from where Luther signed, symbolizing his status as an outcast and which he also used in other publications from the Coburg Fortress.

The reason for anonymity was to evade Nuremberg censorship. Nuremberg had formally become Protestant in 1525 after the public debate between the Lutheran minister Andreas Osiander and the Franciscan Lienhard Ebner but the town council was careful not to offend either side. Pamphlets could be published only on non-controversial topics. When Hans Sachs in 1527 wrote a new German text for an older anti-papal pamphlet, the *Wunderliche Weyssagung von dem Babstumb*,[2] he was sternly rebuked. Petreius obviously did not want to draw attention to the *Sendbrief* edition even if, with the backing of Rottmaier, Linck and possibly, as Ulrich Bubenheimer has shown, Lazarus Spengler, the place of origin must have been an open secret – which the town council might tolerate as long as the letter did not name Nuremberg on the title page.

Petreius printed two editions in quick succession, possibly keeping part of the typeset text standing since the only obvious difference is the spelling of the name of Luther on the title-page, once with two 't's (VD16 L 5949), once with one (VD16 L 5950); both Oxford copies belong to the double-t variety.

> Martin Luther, Ein Sendbrief von Dolmetschen und Fürbitte der Heiligen, [Nürnberg, Johann Petreius:] 1530
> Title: Ein Sendbrieff D. ‖ M. Lutthers. ‖ Von Dolmetzschen[n] ‖

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[1] Keunecke (1982), p. 113.

[1] For a list of publications by Martin Luther during his stay in Coburg, see the exhibition documentation on 'Martin Luther and the Early Reformation. Sites: Coburg', at bavarikon.de.

[2] Facsimile and transcription of the two Taylorian copies available via https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/weyssagung/.

vnd Fürbit der ‖ heiligenn
Imprint: M. D. XXX.
10 sheets in 4to. Quire signatures: aij, aiij, b, bij, biij, c; 19,5x15cm
Bodleian Library, Tr. Luth. 54 (16) and
Taylor Institution Library, Arch. 8° G. 1530(9); VD16 L 5949.

Petreius did not use any woodcut ornaments for the title-page; the layout is nearly identical to the earlier letter he had published, just adding the year at the bottom.
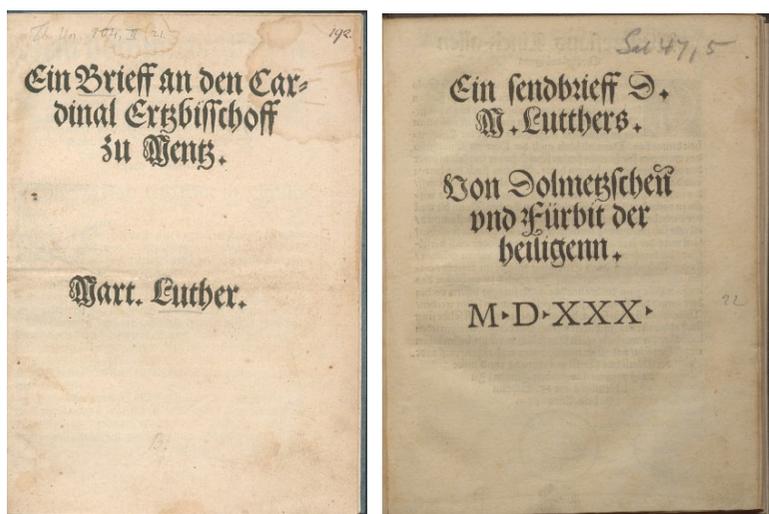
Ill. 6: Title-pages of Petreius's editions of Luther letters published in 1530
Left: 6 July to Archbishop Albrecht von Mainz VD16 L 4129 (copy BSB)
Right: 8 September the Open Letter on Translation VD16 L 5949 (Taylorian)

The title page is typeset in two different large typefaces: one black-letter typeface, three times the regular height of the text, with ornamental features such as doubling of the downstrokes in the capital letters 'M' and 'V', drawn out descenders for 'z' and 'F', a tilde-shaped (ñ) macron above the final *n* of *Dolmetzschen* to indicate a second *n* (as in *heiligenn* later in the title) and star-shaped stops for abbreviations, and one Roman typeface with wedge-shaped stops between the Roman numerals, giving the year of publication as M.D.XXX.

For the main body of the text, Petreius uses a black-letter type throughout with slightly ornamented capital letters, and a double-height face with more ornate upper-case letters for the headings.

Ill. 7: Headings and historiated G initials in Petreius's editions of letters by Luther *Sendbrief* (Taylorian), left a1v, right a2r

Petreius seems to have had a large set of initial woodblocks designed for use with Roman type, since he uses three different five-line high G blocks for printing Luther's letters. In the Letter to Albrecht von Mainz he uses for one edition a naked boy pushing the letter to the left and for the other a wheat sheaf. For both editions of the *Sendbrief* he uses a putto, also moving to the left.

Ill. 8: Letter to Albrecht von Mainz VD16 L 4129 (BSB) / VD16 L 4130 (Bamberg)

While the G putto for the prefatory letter by Wenceslaus Link (a1v) is a nod to classical texts, the initial which presumably amused the learned part of the contemporary readership most is the larger six-line G starting the actual text (a2r, ill. 7 right); within a walled garden, a richly clad woman is riding side-saddle on a rather plump man with the soft cap of a scholar, crawling on all fours behind the body of the initial. The woman holds the reins which are tied round his neck. This is a depiction of Aristoteles and Phyllis, one of the so-called 'Weiberlisten', examples of the cunning of women to show that even the mightiest philosopher cannot withstand female power.

The typesetting is carefully laid out, with the prefatory epistle tapering out funnel-shaped at the bottom of a1v, the sign-off by Martin Luther aligned to the right on c2r, and generous spacing with paragraphs marked clearly by indentation. Where Luther speaks about the four letters of the word 'sola' (a4v), the characters are spaced out to underline the point.
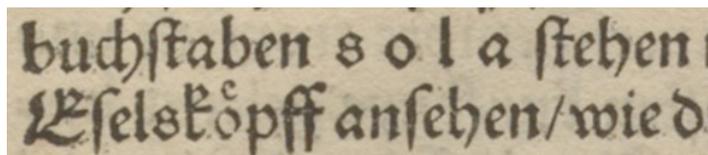
Ill. 9: 'Sperrdruck' (extended spacing) to underline the point about 'sola' ([a4v](#))

As pointed out above, Petreius's text as represented by the Taylorian copy is that of the earliest surviving edition, the so-called 'A' text. The next edition, the 'B' text, was printed by Georg Rhau at Wittenberg, also in 1530. The B edition appears to be based closely on A, but there are differences which suggest that B was in fact copied from a now lost predecessor of A, perhaps a proof copy which Rhau had managed to obtain before the official print release from Nuremberg.[1] It has a woodcut border which highlights Wittenberg as the official place for publishing Martin Luther (Ill. 10).

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[1] A few linguistic differences between A and B are mentioned in the footnotes to the present edition.
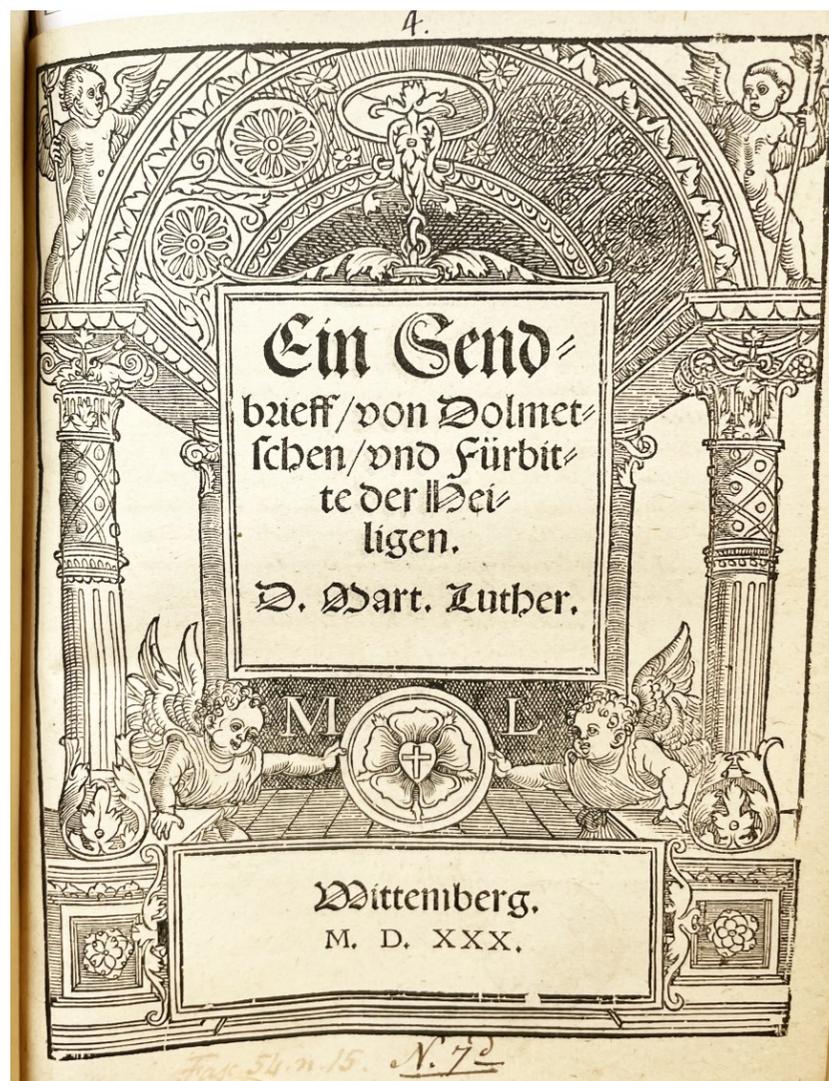
Ill. 10: Bodleian Library, Tr. Luth. 54 (15) [without *Errata*]; [VD16 L 5951](#)
Puttos holding the Luther rose between the initials ML

It can be assumed that Georg Rhau, used to having first right to publish when Luther was resident in Wittenberg, was keen to get his hands on this text as soon as possible. He was also highlighting the fact that Wittenberg was the place for authorized Luther editions by

using a title woodcut which included a separate ornamental frame for the place name and date and, even more importantly, included the 'Lutherrose', an allegorical coat-of-arms developed by Luther: a cross in a heart in a rose – a theological statement which doubled as a copyright claim, placed between Luther's initials 'M' and 'L'.

This woodcut border from the workshop of Lucas Cranach had been used in Wittenberg since 1524, when Luther asked for a woodcut to be added to the second part of his Old Testament translation with a statement of his approval of this publication. It was soon firmly established and the border for the 1530 Wittenberg *Sendbrief* was already used when Christian Döring printed Luther's pamphlet *Daß Eltern die Kinder zur Ehe nicht zwingen noch hindern sollen* ([VD16 L 4301](), copy in the Taylor Institution Library, Arch. 8° G. 1524(7)), urging parents to arrange marriages amicably with their children. The Lutherrose-certified title-border was used continuously thereafter.[1]

In 1523, Georg Rhau had taken over the press from his relative Johann Rhau-Grunenberg who had been the first Luther printer and is known for his typographical errors.[2] The two copies from Rhau's workshop, one with a list of errors and one without, are contained in a volume in the Bodleian Library Tr. Luth. 54, which brings together 28 Luther pamphlets from 1530 and includes no fewer than four copies of the *Sendbrief*. This is typical of the 84 bound volumes of 'Tractatus Lutherani'[3] bought at Sotheby's in 1818, which came from a private collection in Augsburg and was later expanded to 538 volumes, comprising in all 2,513 published Reformation items. The

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[1] For a quick overview of the changing fashions in promoting Lutheran writing cf. the [flickr-page of all titlepages of Taylorian Reformation pamphlets]() set up by Christiane Rehagen as part of an Erasmus+ internship in 2017.

[2] See the discussion of the print workshop of Rhau-Grunenberg and different editions of 'Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen' by Maximilian Krümpelmann, https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/freiheit-1520/.

[3] Cf. the guide to named collections in the Bodleian, https://libguides.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/rarebooks/named_collections

collector Johannes Gottlob May (1754–1821) had arranged the pamphlets by year, starting with Wittenberg within each year. The pamphlets are not in strict chronological order, not only because the Nuremberg copy precedes the Wittenberg copies chronologically, but also because the copy with the list of errors is later than the one without.
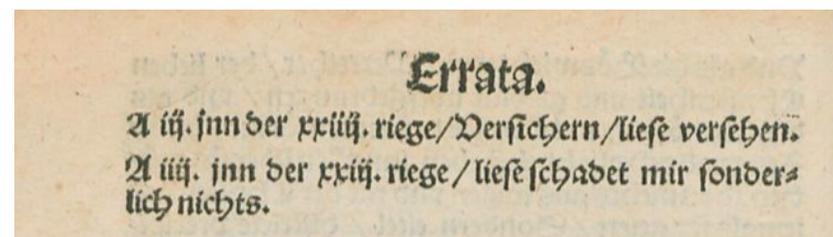
Ill. 11: Tr. Luth. 54 (14), *Errata* entries on Diijv.

The copy which comes first in the collection, Tr. Luth. 54 (14), has two errors listed on d3v, the back of the last text page (ill. 11): the erroneous *versichern* instead of *versehen* on a3r and the omission of *nichts* in *schadet mir sonderlich nichts* on a4v. Both are mistakes which have been corrected in later editions but not in the second copy, Tr. Luth. 54 (15); it has the same typographical errors but no *Errata* list.[1] This shows that they both belong to the same first Wittenberg edition by Georg Rhau and that the former is from a later part of the print run when the mistakes had been noticed and the *Errata* note had been inserted on the empty last page as a *Presskorrektur*, a correction or addition done while the main body of the text remained unchanged during the print run.

> Martin Luther, Ein Sendbrief von Dolmetschen und Fürbitte der Heiligen
> Wittenberg, Johannes Rhau-Grunenberg: 1530
> Title: Ein Send= ‖ brieff/ von Dolmet= ‖ schen/ vnd Fürbit= ‖ te der Hei= ‖ ligen. ‖ D. Mart. Luther. ‖

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[1] This copy includes in a 19th century hand on the back of the title page (a1v) a transcript of the Latin letter by Luther to Linck, 12 September 1530; WA.B 5, 620, 1–3.

Imprint: Wittemberg. ‖ M. D. XXX.
16 sheets in 4to. Quire signatures: Aij, Aiij, B, Bij, Biij, C, Cij, Ciij,
D, Dij; 20,2x15,5cm
Bodleian Library, Tr. Luth. 54 (15) [without *Errata*] and
Bodleian Library, Tr. Luth. 54 (14) [with *Errata*]; VD16 L 5951

The later Wittenberg editions by Georg Rhau (VD16 L 5952 and
VD16 L 5953), of which there are no copies in Oxford, corrected the
typos but in the process introduced a new one on Aiijr, *Ebar* for
Erbar.

The last version of the pamphlet bound in the volume (Tr. Luth. 54
(17) has a border with biblical scenes (ill. 12): Samson tearing apart
the lion, Goliath about to be attacked by David, and David watching
Bathsheba. The top scene could also be a depiction of David, who
reports that as a boy he rescued sheep from the mouth of bears and
lions. Since this speech happens directly before the fight with Goliath
in David's conversation with Saul (1 Sam 17: 34-37), this would be a
fitting prequel to the following scene where the title of the *Sendbrief*
becomes the missive which David from the right fires at Goliath on
the left. But the figure of the man tearing apart the lion is more in
line with the iconography for Samson as a mature man with plenty
of hair rather than the shepherd boy David. The bearded figure is
also in keeping with the printer who originally commissioned the
border at the Cranach workshop, Hans Barth ("beard"), and his house
sign of a razor which can be seen in the top left-hand corner. Barth
used the border from 1526; when he moved from Wittenberg to
Magdeburg, he seems to have sold some woodcuts to Andreas
Rauscher in Erfurt.[1]

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[1] Hence the claim in the printed version of the VD16 that this edition was printed
in Magdeburg by Hans Barth, corrected in the online version for VD16 L 5948.
Two *Sendbrief* editions were printed in Magdeburg: VD16 5954 or 5955. On
Rauscher as printer in Erfurt 1530–1535 see Reske (2015) p. 220.
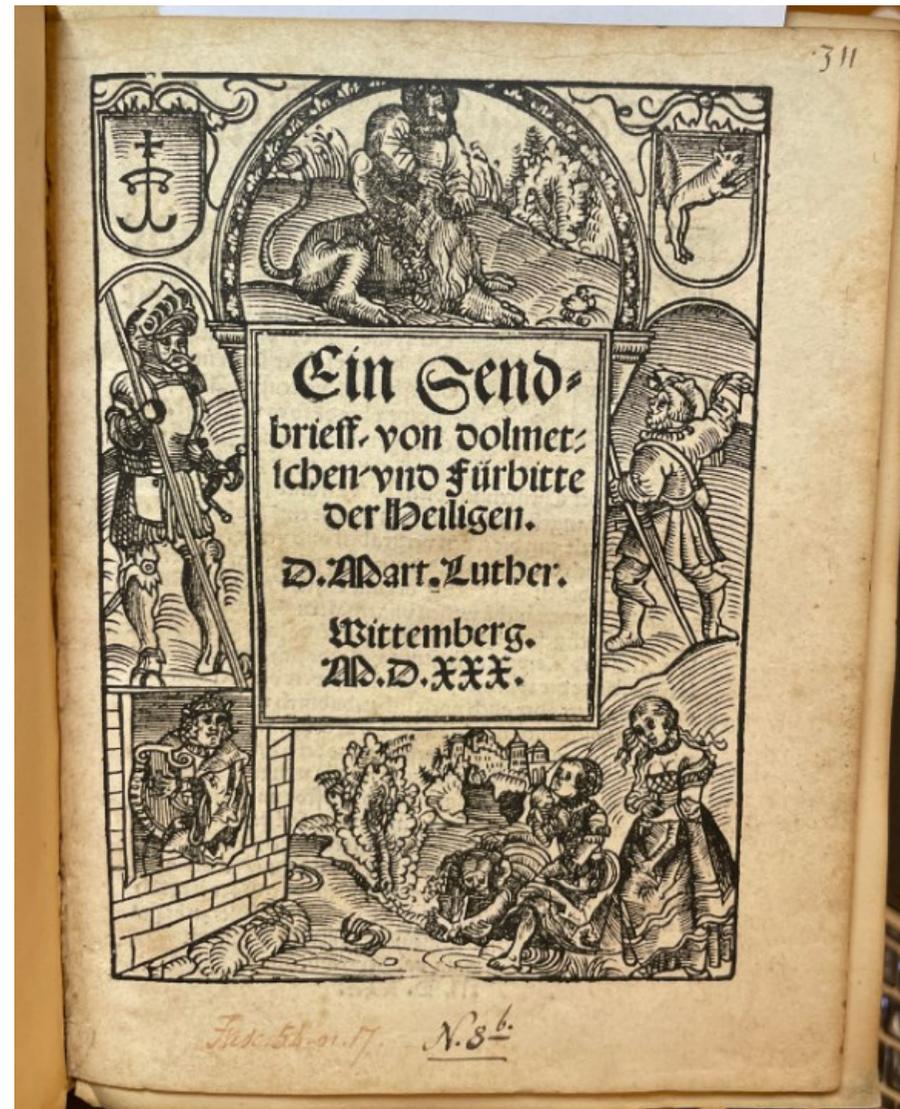
Ill. 12: Bodleian Library, Tr. Luth. 54 (17); VD16 L 5948
Three scenes from the Old Testament: Samson tearing apart the lion, David killing
Goliath, and David watching Bathsheba in the bath. The coat of arms showing a
barber's knife across an anchor and a jumping fox belong to Hans Barth who used
the same woodcut in pamphlets from 1526, notably in VD16 B 9425.

The version has a fictitious imprint claiming that is was printed in Wittenberg in 1530,[1] but the typeface of the initial G is in line with books produced by Rauscher, e.g. *Der hundert und siebenzehend Psalm*, Erffurdt: Andreas Rauscher 1530 (ill. 13, right).

Ill. 13 left: Bodleian Library, Tr. Luth. 54 (17), a2r; VD16 L 5948; right: BSB München, Exeg. 1361, a1v; VD16 L 4972

Martin Luther, Ein Sendbrief von Dolmetschen und Fürbitte der Heiligen
[Erfurt, Andreas Rauscher:] 1530
Title: Ein Send= ‖ brieff/ von Dolmet= ‖ schen/ vnd Fürbitte ‖ der Heiligen. ‖ D. Mart. Luther. ‖
Imprint: Wittemberg. ‖ M. D. XXX.
10 sheets in 4to. Quire signatures: Aiij, B, Bij, Biij, C; 19,5x14,9cm.
Bodleian Library, Tr. Luth. 54 (17); VD16 L 5948.

The pamphlet was part of a larger collection of pamphlets, as the contemporary foliation number '311' on the title shows, followed by '312' on a2r and so on; it was therefore bought first as an unbound pamphlet, then joined with other items in a *Sammelband* of well over 600 pages, then taken apart and rebound in the systematic collection of the 'Tractatus Lutheri' where it became the 17th item in the volume and the fourth copy in the series of *Sendbrief* collection now preserved in the Bodleian.

★ ★ ★

Ill. 14: Upper pastedown of the *Sendbrief*, ARCH.8°.G.1530 (9), with the Taylor Institution crest and former shelfmarks

The **Taylorian copy** has a different provenance from the Bodleian 'Tractatus Lutheri' *Sammelband* even though the copy came to Oxford more or less at the same time. The Taylor Institution Library acquired the greater part of its significant collection of Reformation texts and pamphlets in the 19th century at the suggestion of Professor

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[1] On the claim that the printing was at Wittenberg cf. Thomas (2022).

Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900), who, although better known as an Orientalist and Professor of Comparative Philology, was also the Taylorian's second Professor of Modern European Languages. The librarian, Dr Heinrich Krebs (1844–1921), a native of Darmstadt in Germany, acquired many as duplicates from German libraries, notably from Heidelberg in 1878. Further additions were made in the 1920s and 1930s and two titles were presented by Professor Hermann Georg Fiedler (1862–1945) in 1940. The library now has 436 pamphlets ranging in date from 1518 to 1589, mainly by Luther with a few by Melanchthon, Hans Sachs, Hutten, and others.

We decided to reproduce the full pamphlet, including the blank page at the end (Ill. 15 and facsimile c2v), because the textless space actually tells a lot about the history of the *Sendbrief*, so much so that we can talk about the 'three lives of a pamphlet': as pocket pamphlet, collectible item, and teaching tool.

The grime on the edges and the crease in the middle of the page point to its first life: as an independent booklet, sold for not much more than a magazine today, folded by the buyer, carried in the pocket and, we imagine, passed surreptitiously between family and friends. These pamphlets were printed on large sheets of rag paper, approximately A3-sized, made with the help of a metal paper mould. One of the lines impressed by the mould (chain lines) is visible on the last page, running horizontally through the pencilled-in 'T'. For the printing of the *Sendbrief* there were two-and-a-half of these sheets, marked 'a', 'b', and 'c' by the printer. Each sheet would be printed with a forme into which four pages were locked so that they folded into an approximately A5-sized booklet (you can print your own version of this from the website). The watermark, also impressed by the mould, ended up in the gutter between the second and third page of each folded sheet (quire). It can be hard to make out, but on the last page it is a diamond shape with a cross in it, probably the top half of a more complex watermark, faintly visible as a lighter shade three quarters of the way down the right-hand edge.
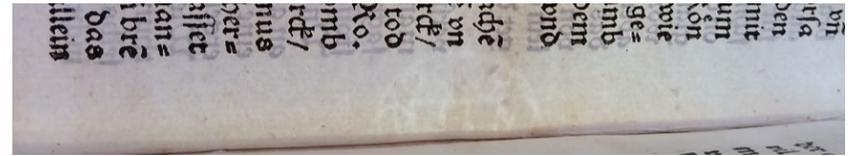
Ill. 15: Watermark of the second quire as visible on b3v

To indicate to the seller or bookbinder how to fold the sheets, the sequence of pages within each of the quires (the folded sheets) is marked. On a4r you see *a ij*, on a3r *a iij*, on b1r *b*, on b2r *b ij*, on b3r *b iij*, and on c1r *c*. On each side there is also a 'catchword' which shows how the text continues on the next page.
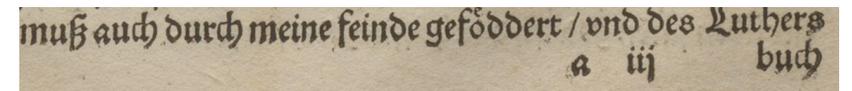
Ill. 16: Example of quire mark and catchword for a3r

Pamphlets did not have a high survival rate: they were *zerlesen* (read to pieces), recycled, or lost. Our *Sendbrief* survived because it was bound with other similar matter into a *Sammelband*, a composite of items which were often connected thematically. It had to pay for its survival by being cropped to fit in with the rest of the collection – the missing upper part of the top line of the last page (c2r) bears witness to this. We do not know who did this but it was a popular practice among supporters of the Reformation to acquire a number of these booklets on similar topics and build up their own library of theological controversy. The collection must have been quite extensive since there is the shadow of what would have been a 'Ledernase' (tab made of leather) visible on the last page, making it easy to look up the single items in the composite volume.

This particular collection ended up in the University Library of Heidelberg as the stamp *Bibl: Univ: Heidelb* on the back of the first page (a1v) shows. There it was separated again when in the nineteenth century spare copies of pamphlets were sold off; hence the blue stamp with *Dvplvm* (duplicate) marking it as being for sale.

The pamphlet did not enjoy its new-found independence for long. In 1878 it changed hands again and moved to England. When the Taylorian acquired it, as marked in the new library stamp next to the Heidelberg one, it was bound again, and this time sewn together with a padding of sixteen leaves of wood-based modern paper and glued into a cardboard cover which then had the Taylor Institution 'ex libris' pasted on top. The numerous pencil marks give a whole history of shelfmarks between the acquisition date and the modern shelving system in which the rare or 'Arch.' material is kept in the Taylorian's own strongroom. The current numbering reflects the status of the pamphlet ('ARCH.'), the format (equivalent to a modern octavo = 8° volume, though historically it is a quarto format since it was folded just twice), G. for 'German', '1530' for the year of its printing, and '(9)' for the place in the sequence of German octavo pamphlets from this particular year, showing the rich crop of pamphlets among the holdings.

The empty padding pages prepared the pamphlet for teaching at the Taylorian: it became a scholarly item ready for annotations by students and scholars. Although these modern pages have been respectfully left blank, the pamphlet has been intensively studied since that time. It forms an important link between studies in Theology, Historical Linguistics, Translation Theory, and History of the Book, and regularly features in handling sessions for undergraduate and graduate students.

The Taylor Editions Series: Reformation Pamphlets in which the *Sendbrief* was the first digital and print-on-demand edition has added a further dimension to this use as teaching tool. Since 2017, the xml edition has been used to introduce graduate students to scholarly editing, and the second edition will feature on further courses, as students from the new MSc in Digital Scholarship will also learn from the Taylor Editions series how to work through issues such as digital preservation, depositing publications, and disseminating findings via social media and outreach events.

4. Reading Early Modern German
(Henrike Lähnemann)

The following is meant as a practical guide for studying early modern print publications and – preferably – for reading them out aloud. Early modern German was written to be performed. Luther's audience would have had exposure to German verse and prose largely as listeners, whether through mystery plays, sermons, or public performance of the works of the 'Meistersinger'. The best approach to what may seem at first to be an impenetrable succession of clauses is therefore to read them aloud, particularly since Luther wrote the *Sendbrief* to argue for the importance of idiomatic expression and the 'street value' of language.

We have not normalized the spelling, because the inconsistency is part of the reality of written German at the time. The short guide below is intended to help the modern reader decipher the transcription and enjoy the rhetorical flourish of Luther's style. The main rule of thumb is to pronounce the words like their modern German equivalents regardless of differences in spelling.

1. Punctuation ℰ𝔰 𝔥𝔢𝔦𝔰𝔱/𝔚𝔢𝔯
    Early modern prints use full stops, brackets, question marks, and virgules as punctuation marks. The '/' *Virgel* (virgule or forward slash) is the main means of structuring sentences, and can stand for both a comma and a semicolon. It is best to treat a virgule like a musical caesura, to pause for breath.

2. Abbreviations 𝔑𝔢𝔴𝔢 𝔗𝔢𝔰𝔱𝔞𝔪𝔢̃𝔱   𝔢𝔵 𝔣𝔦𝔡𝔢 𝔞𝔟𝔰𝔠𝔥 𝔬𝔭𝔢𝔯𝔦𝔟𝔲𝔰
    Early prints took over from manuscripts some handy ways to save space. The main abbreviation mark is a bar (macron) over characters '-'. As a nasal bar above any letter it replaces a following *n* such as 'de̅' = *den* or (for Latin case endings

only) an *m* such as 'Christū' = *Christum*. The macron is also habitually used for 'vn̄' = *und*. Confusingly, the rounded *z*-form 'ʒ' stands both for *z* and for a number of established abbreviations, particularly in 'dʒ' / 'wʒ'= *das / was* and 'qʒ' = *que*. The *z*-forms used for abbreviations have been rendered as 'ʒ'. Occasionally a hook is used for the *-er* ending, e.g. 'd' = *der*. If you cannot figure out an abbreviation the first time it occurs, carry on reading – they come up again and again.

3. *u/v/w* – *v/f* – *i/j/y*, and different *s*- and *r*-forms
    The Roman alphabet had only one symbol for *u* and *v* and one for *i* and *j*. *u/v/w* are interchangeable, as are *i/j/y*, and *v/f* are both used for *f*, e.g. 'vnd' = *und*; 'trewe' = *treue*; 'vleissig' = *fleißig*; 'jhn' = *ihn*. In most cases, letters are pronounced as in the equivalent modern German word.
    The two typographically different forms for *s* (long ſ versus round *s*) and for *r* (the round form of *r* = 2 being mainly used after characters with a rounded right hand border such as *o* or – in the font used by Petreius – *h*) in the print have not been distinguished in the transcription.

4. Umlaut and superscript *e*   𝕽𝖔𝖙𝖟𝖑𝖔̊𝖋𝖋𝖊𝖑 𝖇𝖚̈𝖈𝖍𝖊𝖗𝖓 𝖓𝖎𝖈𝖍𝖙 𝖒𝖊𝖍𝖗
    The umlaut sound would have been in the same position as in modern German but there is no strict rule for writing it; modern *ä* is mostly spelt as *e*, e.g. 'lestern' = *lästern*; modern *ü* and *ö* are mostly spelt with a superscript *e* as in 'Rotzlȯffel' for *Rotzlöffel*. Sometimes umlaut is not indicated but implied, especially when *v* is used instead of *u*, e.g. 'vber' for *über;* also 'fuſſe' for *süße*. Occasionally an umlaut is marked with superscript *e* where none would be expected in modern German, e.g. 'Lůthers' for *Luthers*. In most cases, umlaut should be pronounced whenever there is one in modern German.

5. Diacritical marks above *u*
    Superscript *o* and double dots above *u* as in 'bůch' for *Buch* and 'saüren' for *sauren* originate from the manuscript practice

of distinguishing *u* from *n* by a diacritical mark. Sometimes they are placed where an umlaut would be used (*fürst*) but in general, diacritical marks above *u* can be ignored; umlauts (see 4) are independent of diacritical marks.

6. Double versus single consonants and *s/ß, k/ck, z/tz, r/rh, t/th*
    There is no consistency in writing single and double consonants such as *f/ff* or *n/nn*, nor is there a difference in pronunciation, i.e. 'tauffe' and 'taufe' are pronounced the same. This also applies to *s* and *ß* (the latter started out as a ligature of long ſ and *z* to indicate a double consonant), to *k* and *ck* (the spelling for double *k*), and to *z* and *tz*. Note that *tz* always sounds like modern German *z*, i.e. *ts*, not like English *z*. The spelling of initial *r* and *t* as *rh* ('rhümen') and *th* ('thun') is a common feature of Humanist writing, inspired by the transliteration of Greek rho (ρ) and theta (θ) into German as *rh* and *th*. Again, almost all consonants can be pronounced like their modern German equivalents.

7. Use of *h* and *e* after vowels; long and short vowels
    While in medieval German each letter would have been sounded, e.g. 'lieb' would have had a diphthong in the middle, *e* after vowels had become silent in 16th century. This is evident from the use of *e* after *i* where there never was a diphthong, e.g. the word 'diesen'. The same applies to *h*. In most instances a following *e* or *h* indicates a long preceding vowel, but this is not consistent, e.g. 'jhm' can stand both for modern *im* and *ihm*. Do not therefore pronounce *h* and *e* after vowels, but use long and vowels as in modern German.

8. Word division and 'Zusammenschreibung'
    Hyphens in the form of '=' are used frequently but not consistently to indicate the continuation of words across linebreaks; if typesetters ran out of space in a line, they would assume that the reader would be able to link words without

this visual prompt. Clear single words have been joined in the transcription, e.g. 'od|[linebreak]der' as 'odder', but the irregular use of spaces between compounds such as 'Esels koͤpffen' for *Eselsköpfen*, 'zu rissen' for *zerrissen* or conversely 'zuuerdeutschen' for *zu verdeutschen* has not been normalized.

9. Capital letters
    Capital letters are used as in English to indicate the beginning of new sentences and for proper names but also for emphasis in words such as 'Sola', 'Esel', or 'Testament'; these have not been normalized since they highlight key terms.

10. Syncope, apocope, and contraction
    Unstressed vowels are sometimes absent where we should expect them in NHG, either mid-word (syncope), e.g. 'gsagt', 'gnug', or at word-end (apocope), e.g. 'frag', 'sach' (note that the opposite also happens, e.g. 'saget', 'stehet'). Such vowel loss can cause confusion, e.g. 'dolmetscht', which looks like a present, may stand for the preterite 'dol-metschete'. Sometimes a consonant is lost along with a vowel, especially a repeated consonant, e.g. 'laut' for 'lautet', 'veracht' for 'verachtet', 'verstorben' for 'verstorbenen'. Vowel loss also occurs by contraction between words, e.g. 'ers' for 'er es', 'wissens' for 'wissen es', 'zun' for 'zu den'.

11. Zero inflections and absence of *ge-* prefixes
    Some neuter plurals have a zero-inflection in ENHG and look like singulars, e.g. 'das/die werk', 'das/die wort'. Strong adjectives in the nominative and accusative singular could also be zero-inflected, e.g. 'ein solch fein hubsch new deutsch Testament', 'solch vnleidlich tyranney'. The past participles of some ENHG verbs may be formed without the *ge-* prefix, notably *komen, troffen, gangen* (and its compounds), *geben*, and (even outside the passive) *worden*.

12. Omission of auxiliaries and personal subject pronouns
    The auxiliaries *haben* and *sein* are sometimes omitted, especially in subordinate clauses, e.g. 'damit er … nichts dauon gesagt' (NHG *gesagt hat*), 'diesen sendtbrieff / der mir … zu handen kommen' (NHG *gekommen ist*). Personal pronouns are also sometimes left out where they would appear in NHG, e.g. 'Vn̄ zeigt … an' (NHG *Und ihr zeigt … an*).

Sample transcription

Ill. 18: *Sendbrief*, top of a2v

Zum andern mṳgt yhr sagen / das ich das Newe Testamēt verdeutscht habe / auff mein bestes vermṳgen vnd auff mein ge|wissen / habe damit niemand gezwungen / das ers lese / sondern frey gelasen / vnd allein zu dienst gethan denen / die es nicht besser machen kȯnnen / Ist niemandt verboten ein bessers zu machen.

The equivalent modern German text with normalized punctuation, capitalization, no abbreviations, and umlaut:

Zum andern mögt ihr sagen, dass ich das Neue Testament verdeutscht habe auf mein bestes Vermögen und auf mein Gewissen; habe damit niemand gezwungen, dass er's lese, sondern frei gelassen und allein zu Dienst getan denen, die es nicht besser machen können; ist niemand verboten, ein bessers zu machen.

Bibliography

The bibliography is a combination of full references for short titles used in the footnotes of the introduction and some general introductory books on (1) the *Sendbrief*, (2) the situation of the Reformation in 1530, (3) Luther's theory and practice of translation, (4) Luther's theology, and (5) other open-access editions in this series of Reformation Pamphlets. This is obviously not exhaustive and is designed mainly for anglophone students of historical linguistics.

Further resources are available at the Reformation editions website of the Taylor Institution Library https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/topics/reformation.shtml

Abbreviations

BBKL   *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon,* ed. by Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz and Traugott Bautz. Herzberg: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 1990 ff.: https://bbkl.de.

LStA   *Martin Luther: Studienausgabe*, ed. by Hans-Ulrich-Delius. Berlin 1979–1999.

MBW   *Melanchthons Briefwechsel. Kritische und kommentierte Gesamtausgabe,* ed. by Heinz Scheible. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1977 ff.

MVGN *Mitteilungen des Verbands für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*.

VD16   *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (VD 16)*: https://vd16.de (Full bibliographic reference for all Reformation pamphlets with linked-in digitized copies, continually updated; links: http://gateway-bayern.de/VD16+[letter]+[number])

TRE   *Theologische Realenzyklopädie,* ed. by Gerhard Müller. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter 1976–2004 https://doi.org/10.1515/tre.

WA   *Martin Luther: Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* [*Weimarer Ausgabe*]. Weimar 1883 ff. (Comprehensive edition in original spelling).

WA.B   *Martin Luther: Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Briefwechsel*. Weimar 1930 ff.

1. Editions of the 'Sendbrief'

Arndt, Erwin (1968): *Martin Luther: Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen, Summarien über die Psalmen und Ursachen des Dolmetschens*. Halle: Niemeyer (Shows A and B on facing pages. Includes other texts where Luther discusses translation and compares Luther's Bible translation with others').

Bischoff, Karl (ed) (1965): *Martin Luther: Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer (Shows A and B on facing pages. Includes samples from Luther's Bible translation and other translations for comparison).

Delius, Hans-Ulrich (ed) (1983): 'Ein Sendbrief D. M. Luthers. Vom Dolmetschen und Fürbitte der Heiligen' in LStA 3.

Kähler, Ernst (ed) (²2012): *Martin Luther: An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation, Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen, Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen.* Stuttgart: Reclam (An edition with modernized spelling, punctuation, and vocabulary, originally published in 1977).

Leppin , Volker (2017): 'On Translating: An Open Letter' in The Annotated Luther, vol. 6 *The Interpretation of Scripture*, ed. by Euan K. Cameron. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, pp. 19–40 (English translation with footnotes on the context).

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Wiersma, Hans (2017): 'Martin Luther on Grace' in *Oxford Research Encyclopedias (Religion)* (DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.335) (Provides an overview of theological concepts relevant to the *Sendbrief*).

5. Open Access Taylor Editions: Reformation Pamphlets

Oxford: Taylor Institution Library Series 1: Reformation Pamphlets

1) Jones, Howard (2017): *Martin Luther: Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen. An Open Letter on Translation*. (First edition of the text with a freer translation).

2) Jones, Howard, Martin Keßler, Henrike Lähnemann, and Christina Ostermann (2018): *Martin Luther: Sermon von Ablass und Gnade, 95 Thesen. Sermon on Indulgences and Grace and the 95 Theses*.

3) Jones, Howard and Henrike Lähnemann (2020): *Martin Luther: Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen. On Christian Freedom*.

4) Wareham, Edmund, Ulrich Bubenheimer, and Henrike Lähnemann (2021): *Martin Luther: Passional Christi und Antichristi. Passional of Christ and Antichrist*.

Edition, Translation, Commentary

The edition is a semi-diplomatic transcription of *Ein sendbrieff D. M. Lutthers. Von Dolmetzscheñ vnd Fürbit der heiligenn*, Taylor Institution Library, ARCH. 8°.G.1530 (9)Taylor Institution Library, the copy of the 'A' version of the *Sendbrief* printed by Johann Petreius for Georg Rottmaier in Nuremberg in 1530 (on the editing principles see Introduction 3). The paragraph structure of the pamphlet has been retained as far as possible; the pages are given as quire (the sheet folded to make up the four folios or eight pages of the quarto booklet) and folio with recto (front side) and verso (back side) e.g. the eighth page is a4v = first quire, back of the fourth folio. Abbreviation markers have been resolved (nasal bars, 'dʒ' = 'das' etc.), but suspension abbreviations for Latin terms which are marked by full stops, e.g. 'Roman.', and suprascript markers for umlaut such as 'gǔttlich' for 'gütlich' have been retained.

The translation of the *Sendbrief* is closer to the original than in the first edition; this change, together with the addition of footnotes, reflects a greater emphasis in this edition on helping the reader understanding the original German. It is intended to be close enough to help readers follow the German on the facing page, while conveying in English something of Luther's style (see Introduction 2 above). Proverbs and sayings have been translated closely where they seem to work in English, but otherwise an equivalent with a similar underlying meaning has been given and a more literal translation provided in a footnote.

The commentary to the edition consists of two sets of footnotes. Those on the edition side (left hand pages) are not a full linguistic analysis but are designed to help readers understand Luther's German and typographical features, comparing Early New High German (ENHG) forms with modern (NHG) usage and English parallels. The footnotes to the English translation (right hand side) include biblical references and other background information.

(a1r) Ein sendbrieff D. M.[1] Lutthers.
Von Dolmetzschenn[2] vnd Fürbit der heiligenn. M.D.XXX.

(a1v) Wenczeslaus Linck allen Christglaubigenn

GOttes gnad vnd barmhertzigkeit. Der weise Salomon spricht Prou. 11:[3] Wer korn inhelt[4] / dem[5] fluchen die leute. Aber segen kompt vber den / so[6] es verkaufft. Welcher spruch eigentlich[7] zu vorstehen ist von allem das[8] zu gemeinem nutze odder trö̂ste[9] der Christenheit dienen kan. Darumb schilt auch der Herr jm Euangelio[10] den vntrewen knecht einen faulen schalck[11] / das er sein gelt in die erden vergraben vnd verborgen hatte. Solchen fluch des herren vnd der gantzen gemein zu vermeiden / hab jch diesen sendtbrieff / der mir durch einen guten freundt zu handen kommen[12] / nit wissen zu verhalten[13] / sonder offentlich in druck geben /

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[1] The abbreviation D. M. stands for 'Doctor Martinus', the Latin for 'Dr Martin'.

[2] On the history of the term 'dolmetschen', see the start of the Introduction.

[3] The abbreviation 'Prou.' stands for *Proverbia* or *Liber Proverbiorum*, the title of the Book of Proverbs in the Vulgate. In oral delivery biblical references would be given in their expanded Latin form; thus 'Prou. 11' would be read out as 'Proverbiorum undecimo', literally 'of Proverbs in eleventh (chapter)'.

[4] Early New High German (ENHG) *inhalten* 'to hold back' = modern German (NHG) *zurückhalten*.

[5] ENHG *fluchen* takes the dat.

[6] 'so' serves as a relative pronoun (here = 'der'), as often in ENHG.

[7] = NHG *im eigentlichen Sinne*.

[8] Lit. '… is to be understood of everything that …'.

[9] The superscript in 'ö̂' typically indicates umlaut but is sometimes, as here, an arbitrary spelling variant without phonological justification; see Introduction 4.

[10] *Euangelio* is a Latin dat/ablative form, used here as a German dat.

[11] ENHG *jemanden etwas schelten* = 'to call/brand sb. as something'; 'schalck' does not yet have the negative meaning of NHG *Schalk* ('villain') but is a synonym of *knecht*.

[12] = NHG *gekommen ist*; the auxiliary is omitted here, as often in ENHG subordinate clauses; the *ge-* prefix tends to be left off the past part of *kommen* in ENHG; it is sometimes left off other verbs, such as *geben* later in the sentence.

[13] 'wissen' with modal meaning 'be able to'; 'verhalten' = NHG *zurückhalten* 'I could not (possibly) hold back'; picks up the proverb which opens the letter.

(a1r)[1] An open letter by Dr Martin Luther on translating and the intercession of saints (1530)

(a1v)[2] Wenceslas Linck[3] to all believers in Christ

God's grace and mercy.[4] The wise Solomon says in the Book of Proverbs 11, 'People curse the man who holds back grain, but bless the man who sells it.' These words should properly be understood to apply to anything that can contribute to the general benefit and comfort of Christians. This is also why, in the Gospel, the Lord calls the faithless servant an idle wretch for burying and hiding his money in the ground.[5] To avoid being similarly cursed by the Lord as well as by the whole community, I could not keep back this open letter, which came into my hands through a good friend, but have gone public with it in print.[6]

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[1] Title set in five lines of text in black letter type, followed by a line of Roman numerals in Roman font. For a full discussion of the typography of the title-page, see Introduction 3.

[2] The first three words are in the larger typeface used also on the title page; the text of the prefatory letter has a Roman typeface initial G with a putto in it. The last four lines are centred so that they taper out. Below are library stamps by the Heidelberg University Library and the Taylor Institution Library; see Introduction 3 on the Taylorian copy.

[3] A friend and ally of Luther's. For this and other names in the text, including nicknames, see Glossary of Names. For the circumstances of publication, see Introduction 1.

[4] The sequence of naming the sender, naming the addressee, and then giving a salutation in the form of a blessing is the established form of letter-writing and follows the model of St Paul's epistles, e.g. 1 Cor. 1: 1–3: 'Paul […] to the church of God […]: Grace and peace to you from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ'.

[5] Matthew 25: 14–30 (the Parable of the Talents).

[6] The paragraph continues in the original.

Dann die weil[1] der verdolmetzschunge halben / altes vnnd newes testaments / vil rede[2] sich zutragen / Nemlich die feinde der warheit furgeben[3] / sam[4] were der text an vilen orten geendert / odder auch verfelschet / da durch viel einfeltige Christen / auch vntern gelerten / ßo der Hebreischen vnnd Grekischen sprache nit kundig / entsatzunge[5] odder schew gewinnen / Ist[6] gůttlich zu verhoffen das auffs minste zum teil hie mit den gottlosen / jhr lestern vorhindert / vnnd den frommen jhr scrupel benommen sollen werden / Villeicht auch verursachet / das ettwas mehrers[7] auff solche frag stuck odder materi[8] / geschriben werde / Bitt der halben einen ieden liebhaber der warheit / wǒlle jhm[9] sollich werck jm besten lassen entpfolhen sein / vnd Gott treulich bitten vmb rechten vorstandt der Gǒttlichen schrifft zu besserung vnnd meherung gmeiner Christenheit. Amen.

Zu Nůrmberg am 15. Septembris. Anno[10] 1530.

For since there is much debate about translating the Old and New Testaments, i.e. the enemies of the truth are making out that the text of the Bible has been altered or even falsified in several places, causing many ordinary Christians, even educated ones who do not know Hebrew or Greek, to be put off and shy away, it is sincerely to be hoped that this will go at least some way to putting an end to the slanders of the godless and dispelling the concerns of the devout. Perhaps it will also lead to some further writing on points of contention and subjects like this. I therefore beg all lovers of the truth to afford this work an enthusiastic reception and to ask God faithfully for a right understanding of divine Scripture – for the improvement and increase of the whole of Christianity. Amen.

At Nuremberg,[1] on the 15th of September, in the year 1530

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[1] 'die weil' can have a causal and/or temporal meaning (cf. NHG *weil* and Engl. *while*, respectively); here the meaning is likely to be causal.

[2] Taking 'sich zutragen' as 3pl, 'vil rede' is its pl subject.

[3] = NHG *vorgeben* (*behaupten, so tun als ob*); *vor* and *für* are sometimes interchangeable in ENHG.

[4] 'sam'= NHG *als*, related to Engl. 'same', survives in NHG as an adjectival ending, e.g. in *gleichsam*.

[5] Literally 'off-putting', used in mystical language for a feeling of distance from the sacred; near-synonymous with 'schew'; less strong than NHG *Entsetzen*.

[6] This starts the main clause to which the preceding clause 'die weil' is subordinated.

[7] 'mehrers' is a partitive gen after 'ettwas', lit. 'something of more'; 'mehrers' with the *-er* suffix is doubly marked for the comparative.

[8] = 'Fragestücke oder Materie', lit. 'items of debate or matter'.

[9] The subject of 'wǒlle', which is a jussive subjunctive, is 'liebhaber der warheit'; 'jhm' = NHG *sich*; lit. 'may he wish such a work most kindly to be recommended to him'.

[10] The Latin words 'Septembris' (gen: 'of September') and 'Anno' (ablative: 'in the year') have been integrated into the German syntax in their inflected forms. Names and titles in the text are often given with Latin case endings.

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[1] On the circumstances of publication in Nuremberg, see Introduction 1.

(a2r) Dem Erbarn vnd fursichtigen[1] N. meinem gůnstigen Herrn vnd freunde.

GNad vnd fride in Christo[2] / Erber fursichtiger lieber Herr vnd freund / ich hab ewer[3] schrifft entpfangen mit den zwo questionen[4] odder fragen / darin[5] yhr meines berichts[6] begert. Erstlich warumb ich zun Rŏmern[7] am dritten capitel / die wort S. Pauli[8] Arbitramur hominem iustificari ex fide absqque operibus / also verdeutsch habe. Wir halten / das der mensch gerecht werde on des gesetzs werck / allein durch den glauben / Vnd zeigt[9] daneben an / wie die Papisten sich vber die massen vnnůtze machen / weil ym text Pauli nicht stehet das wort Sola (Allein) vnd sey solcher zusatz von mir nicht zu leiden ynn Gottes wortten &c. Zum andern / ob auch die verstorben[10] Heiligen fur vns bitten / weil wir lesen / das ja die Engel fur vns bitten &c. Auff die ersten[11] frage (wo es euch gelustet) mŭgt yr ewern Papisten von meinet wegen antworten also.

[1] = NHG *ehrbar und umsichtig*. On capitalization as a form of emphasis, see Introduction 4. ENHG *für-/vorsichtig* is a loan-translation of Latin *prudens*, *providens*, or *providus*, 'looking ahead', 'circumspect' which developed into modern German *vorsichtig*; the older meaning 'judicious' is retained in the ENHG honorific; see the discussion of ENHG forms of address in Introduction 1 and the explanation of the inconsistent use of umlaut in Introduction 4.

[2] 'Christo' is a Latin dat/ablative form, used as a German dat in the *Sendbrief*.

[3] Luther uses the 2pl (*ihrzen*) forms as the ENHG polite form of single-person address, while modern German uses the 3pl (*siezen*) forms.

[4] From Latin *quaestio* 'debating-point'; used in academic and legal contexts; Luther provides a translation ('fragen') and indicates by the double formula that this is a serious question, not just a matter of curiosity.

[5] = NHG *worin*; in ENHG, compounds in *da-* often, as here, serve as relatives.

[6] *begeren* + gen = 'ask for something'; *bericht* = 'putting something right, clarification' (cf. *be-richten* 'correct, clarify').

[7] 'zu den', short for 'letter to the Romans' (Latin 'ad Romanos').

[8] = NHG *Worte*; see Introduction 4; 'S.' for 'Sancti' or 'Sanct'; 'Pauli': Latin gen.

[9] The personal pronoun (here 2pl 'ihr') can be omitted before finite verbs in ENHG.

[10] = 'verstorbenen'.

[11] = NHG *erste*; the acc fem sg weak adj could end *-en* in ENHG.

(a2r)[1] To the honourable and judicious 'N'[2], my generous patron and friend.[3]

Grace and peace in Christ.[4] My honourable, judicious, dear patron and friend, I have received your letter with those two debating-points or questions on which you ask for my clarification. First, why I put the words of St Paul to the Romans in Chapter 3, 'Arbitramur hominem iustificari ex fide absque operibus',[5] into German as 'We hold that man becomes righteous without the works of the law, by faith alone'[6] – and you also point out how the papists are going absolutely spare because the word 'sola' ('alone') is not in Paul's text, and this addition of mine to the words of God is not to be tolerated, etc. Secondly, whether the departed saints also pray for us, since we read that the angels do pray for us, etc.[7] On the first question you may (if you so wish) pass onto your papists the following answer on my behalf.

[1] The first four words of the address and the first line of the text are in the larger typeface used also on the title page; the initial for the text has a Roman typeface initial G with Phyllis riding on Aristotle; see Introduction 3.

[2] 'N' stands for 'Non Nominatus', Latin for 'not named'. On the possible identification with the Nuremberg town clerk Lazarus Spengler, see Introduction 1.

[3] On the honorifics used, see Introduction 1.

[4] See the footnote on the greeting formula used by Wenceslas Linck on a1v.

[5] Lit. 'We judge man to be justified by faith and without works' (Romans 3: 28).

[6] For the meaning of 'justify', 'righteous', 'works of the law', and 'faith' in Luther's theology, as well as a discussion of Luther's translation here, see Introduction 2.

[7] See Job 23: 23–25.

Zum ersten / Wenn ich D. Luther mich hette mǔgen[1] des[2] versehen / das die Papisten alle auff einen hauffen so geschickt weren / das sie ein Capitel yn der schrifft kǔndten recht vnd wol verteutschen / So wolt ich furwar mich der demut haben finden lassen[3] / vnd sie vmb hilff vnd beystand gebeten das Newe Testament zuuerteutschen. Aber die weil ich gewǔst[4] / vnd noch vor augen sihe[5] / das yhr keiner[6] recht weiß / wie man dolmetschen / odder teutsch reden sol / hab ich sie vnd mich solcher mǔhe vberhaben[7] / Das merckt man aber wol / das sie aus meinem dolmetschen vnd teutsch / lernen teutsch reden vnd schreiben / vnd stelen mir also meine sprache / dauon sie zuuor wenig gewist[8] / dancken mir aber nicht dafur / sondern brauchen sie viel lieber wider mich. Aber ich gan[9] es jn[10] wol / den es thut[11] mir doch sanfft / das ich auch meine undanckbare jǔnger (a2v) dazu meine feinde reden gelert habe.

First of all: If I, Dr Martin Luther, could have imagined that all the papists rolled into one were talented enough to be able to translate a single chapter of Scripture into decent, proper German, I would certainly have had the humility to ask for their help and support to produce a German version of the New Testament. However, knowing as I did – and I still have the evidence before my eyes – that not one of them really knows how to translate or speak German, I spared them and myself the bother. But it's quite obvious that they're[1] using my translation, my German, to learn how to speak and write German themselves, and in doing so stealing from me a language which is mine and which they knew little about before, yet they don't thank me for it but far rather use it against me. Still, I don't begrudge them this at all, because it does tickle me that I've even taught my ungrateful disciples, (a2v) as well as my enemies, how to speak.

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[1] = NHG *können*.

[2] 'des' (= NHG *dessen*) is the gen of *das* governed by *sich versehen* (= NHG *sich vorstellen*) and anticipates the clause beginning 'das die Papisten'.

[3] Lit. 'I would in truth have let myself be found of such humility'; on the syntactic construction in this paragraph, see *Institut für Deutsche Sprache* (1972).

[4] = NHG *wusste* (past tense of *gewissen* as variant to *wissen*).

[5] = NHG *sehe*.

[6] = NHG *ihrer keiner*, lit. 'of them none'.

[7] = NHG *überhoben*; from *sich überheben* + gen = 'not bother with'.

[8] = NHG *gewusst haben*.

[9] = NHG *gönne*; 1sg pres indic of *gönnen*, which conjugates like *können* in ENHG.

[10] = NHG *ihnen*.

[11] On the spelling of 't' as 'th' as feature of Humanist writing, see Introduction 4.

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[1] Contracted forms such as 'it's' for 'it is' and 'they're' for 'they are' have been used in the translation to reflect Luther's sometimes colloquial style and to match his use of contractions such as 'ers' for 'er es', 'mans' for 'man es', etc.

Zum andern mŭgt yhr sagen / das ich das Newe Testament verdeutscht habe / auff mein bestes vermŭgen vnd auff mein gewissen / habe damit niemand gezwungen / das ers[1] lese / sondern frey gelasen / vnd allein zu dienst gethan denen / die es nicht besser machen kŏnnen / Ist[2] niemandt verboten ein bessers zu machen. Wers nicht lesen wil / der las es ligen[3] / ich bite vnd feyre[4] niemandt drumb. Es ist mein testament vnd mein dolmetschung / vnd sol mein bleiben vnnd sein. Hab ich drinnen etwa gefeilet[5] (das[6] mir doch nicht bewŭst / vnd freilich vngern einen bŭchstaben mütwilliglich wolt[7] vnrecht verdolmetschen) darŭber wil ich die Papisten nicht zu richter[8] leiden/ denn sie haben noch zur zeit zu lange ohren dazu / vnd yhr ycka ycka ist zu schwach mein verdolmetschen zu vrteilen / Ich weiß wol / vnd sie wissens weniger / denn[9] des Mülners thier / was fur kunst / fleiß / vernunfft / verstandt zum gutten dolmetscher gehŏret / denn sie habens nicht versŭcht.

Secondly, you may say[1] that I've translated the New Testament into German to the best of my abilities and following my conscience, and I haven't forced anyone to read it, but left that open and done it purely as a service for those unable to do better themselves. There's nothing to stop anyone improving on it. If people don't want to read it they should leave it alone: I don't ask anyone to read it nor praise anyone who does. This is my Testament and my translation, and mine it will remain, now and forever. Even if there are places where I've made mistakes (though I'm not aware of any, and of course I would be loath wilfully to mistranslate a single letter), I won't have the papists sitting in judgement on it, for their ears are still too long for that, and their hee-hawing too feeble to criticize my translation.[2] I know well, and they know less than a millstone-pulling donkey, the sort of art, hard work, sense, and understanding it takes to be a good translator – after all, they've never tried it.

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[1] = 'er es'; see Introduction 4.

[2] = NHG *Es ist*.

[3] = NHG *der lasse es liegen*.

[4] = NHG *feiere*, here 'to fête, praise'; such double formulae are typical of ENHG rhetoric.

[5] ENHG *feilen* = NHG *sich verfehlen*, 'to fail (at something)'.

[6] = NHG *was*; 'ist' must be understood in this clause.

[7] = 'ich wolte'; = NHG *wollte* or *hätte gewollt*.

[8] Sg; lit. 'as a judge'.

[9] = NHG *als*.

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[1] Luther is keeping up the pretence that he is providing advice to be passed on to his Catholic critics.

[2] The first of many comparisons which Luther makes between his detractors and 'the miller's animal', the proverbially stupid donkey.

Es heist / Wer am wege bawet / der hat viel meister.[1] Also gehet mirs auch. Die jhenigen die noch nye haben recht reden kŏnnen / schweige deñ[2] dolmetschen / die sind allzumal meine meister / vnd ich mus yhr aller junger sein. Vnd wenn ich sie hette sollen fragen / wie man die ersten zwey wort Matthei 1. Liber Generationis solte verdeutschen / so hette yhr keiner gewist gack dazu zu sagen / Vnd vrteilen mir nu[3] das gantze werck / die feinen gesellen. Also gieng es S. Hieronymo auch / da er die Biblia dolmetscht[4] / da war alle welt sein meister / Er allein war es / der nichts kunte / Vnd vrteileten dem guten man sein werck / die jhenigen / so ym nicht gnug gewest[5] weren / das sie ym die schuch hetten sollen wischen / Darumb gehŏret grosse gedult dazu / so yemand etwas offentlich guts thun will / denn die wellt wil meister klŭglin bleiben / vnd mus ymer das Ros vnter dem schwantz zeumen[6]/ alles meistern / vnnd selbs nichts kŏnnen / das ist yhr[7] art / dauon sie nicht lassen kan.

As the saying goes, 'A builder's work is judged by every passer-by', and that's what's happening to me. The very same people who have never been able to speak properly, let alone translate, are all criticizing me, and I have to take lessons from the lot of them. And if I'd asked them how to put into German the first two words of Matthew 1, *Liber Generationis*,[1] not one of them would have managed so much as 'cluck', and now they're judging my entire work, the excellent fellows. The same happened to St Jerome[2] when he translated the Bible: the whole world was criticizing him, and he was the only one capable of nothing, yet those judging the good man's work wouldn't have been worthy to wipe his shoes. So it takes a lot of patience if you want to do any public good, for the world keeps trying to be Master Know-it-all, and then always gets things arse about face, criticizing everything yet capable of nothing – that's just its nature: it can't help it.

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[1] A proverb, lit. 'He who builds by the roadside has many masters.' Luther was a lover and collector of proverbs; see Cornette et al. (1997). An autograph collection of Luther's proverbs is held in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Add. A. 92.

[2] = NHG *geschweige denn*.

[3] = NHG *nun*.

[4] = 'dolmetschete' (pret indic).

[5] = NHG *gewesen*.

[6] A proverbial expression meaning to do something the wrong way round, lit. 'bridle the horse under its tail'; cf. NHG *das Pferd beim Schwanz aufzäumen*.

[7] 'yhr' and 'sie' in the next clause refer to 'die wellt'.

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[1] Latin for 'The Book of Genealogy (of Christ)'; this is the heading (not even the text) which opens the Vulgate version of the New Testament before Matthew 1: 1.

[2] See Introduction 2.

Ich wolt noch gern den Papisten ansehen / der sich erfur thet[1] / vnd etwa eine epistel S. Pauli oder einen Propheten verdeutsch(a3r)et[2] / So fern / das er des Lůthers teutsch vnd dolmetzschen nicht dazu gebraucht[3] / da solt man sehen ein fein / schőn / loblich deutsch odder dolmetzschen[4] / Denn wir haben ja gesehen den Sudler zu Dresen / der mein New Testament gemeistert hat (ich wil seinen namen yn meinen bůchern nicht mehr nennen / So[5] hat er auch nun seinen richter / vnd ist sonst wol bekandt) der bekennet / das mein deutsch susse vnd gut sey / vnd sahe[6] wol / das ers nicht besser machen kundt / vnd wolt es doch zu schanden machen / fur zu[7] / vnd nam fur sich mein New Testament / fast[8] von wort zu wort / wie ichs gemacht hab / vnd thet[9] meine vorrhede / gloß vnd namen dauon / schreib[10] seinen namen / vorrhede vnd gloß dazu / verkaufft also mein New Testament vnter seinem namen / Wann[11] / lieben kinder / wie geschach mir da so wehe[12] / da sein landsfurst mit einer grewlichen vorrhede verdampt / vnd verbot des Luthers New Testament zu lesen / Doch daneben gebot des Sudelers New Testament zu lesen / welchs doch eben dasselbig ist / das der Luther gemacht hat.

I'd still really like to see a papist surpass himself and produce a German (a3r) version of, say, one of Saint Paul's epistles or one of the Prophets![1] If he weren't using Luther's German translation,[2] we'd be sure to get a fine, charming, admirable German version. For of course we've seen the Bungler of Dresden criticizing my New Testament (I'm not going to mention his name again in writing; besides, he's already met his judge by now and is in any case well known)[3] – he acknowledges the pleasing quality of my German, and clearly saw that he wouldn't be able to improve on it, and yet he was still keen to discredit it, so he went for it and helped himself to my New Testament literally word for word as I had written it, took out my preface, commentary, and name, put in his preface, commentary, and name, and that way sold *my* New Testament under *his* name.[4] Oh, dear children, how very distressing it was for me when his prince,[5] in an unpleasant preface, condemned Luther's New Testament and banned people from reading it, yet at the same time ordered them to read the Bungler's New Testament which is, in fact, exactly the same as the one Luther produced!

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[1] = NHG *sich hervortäte*.

[2] = 'verdeutschete'; pret subj in parallel to 'thet'.

[3] = 'gebrauchte'; again pret subj.

[4] Syntactically the clause beginning 'So fern' could depend on the preceding clause (starting 'Ich wolt') or the following clause (starting 'da solt'), but the capitalization of 'So' makes the latter reading more likely; for the lack of inflectional endings on the preceding adjectives, see Introduction 4.

[5] Followed immediately by the finite verb, 'So' here is an adverbial connector, here meaning little more than 'and' or 'besides'.

[6] = NHG *sah*; final -*e* by analogy with the preterite endings of weak verbs.

[7] = NHG *fuhr zu* in the sense of 'went ahead in a ruthless manner'.

[8] 'fast' usually has the meaning 'very, completely' in Luther, in which case it would mean 'completely, literally' here, but it might have the NHG meaning 'almost'.

[9] = NHG *tat*; on *th* for *t* see Introduction 4.

[10] MHG form of the strong verb = NHG *schrieb*.

[11] An interjection.

[12] = NHG *geschah mir … Weh*.

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[1] At the time of writing the *Sendbrief*, Luther was working on the translation of the Old Testament Prophets.

[2] This has been rendered as hendiadys: 'German and translation' = 'German translation'.

[3] Hieronymus Emser; see Glossary of Names.

[4] Emser did not claim to have translated the New Testament himself, but the claim was made on his behalf after his death in 1527.

[5] Duke George of Saxony; see Glossary of Names.

Vnd das nicht yemand hie dencke / ich liege[1] / So nym beide Testament fur dich / des Luthers vnd des Sudelers / halt sie gegen ein ander / so wirstu sehen / wer yn allen beiden der dolmetzscher sey / Denn was er yn wenig orten geflickt vnd geendert hat (wie wol mirs nicht alles gefellet) So kan ichs doch wol leiden / vnnd schadet mir sonderlich nichts[2] / so viel es den text betrifft / darumb[3] ich auch nie da wider hab wőllen schreiben / sondern hab der grossen weißheit[4] mŭssen lachen / das man mein New Testament so grewlich gelestert / verdampt / verboten hat / weil[5] es vnter meinem namen ist außgangen / Aber doch mŭssen lesen[6] / weil es vnter eines andern namen ist außgangen.[7] Wie wol[8] / was das fur ein tugent sey / einem andern sein bůch lestern vnd schenden / darnach das selbige stelen / vnd vnter eigenem namen dennoch auß lassen gehen / vnd also durch frembde verlesterte erbeyt[9] eygen lob vnd namen sůchen / das las ich seinen richter finden. Mir ist ynn des[10] gnug / vnd bin fro / das meine erbeit (wie S. Paulus auch rhŭmet)[11] muß auch durch meine feinde gefŏddert[12] / vnd des Luthers (a3v) bůch on Luthers namen / vnter seiner feinde namen gelesen werden / Wie kŭnd ich mich bas rechen?[13]

And so that no-one thinks I'm lying about this, take the two versions for yourself, Luther's and the Bungler's, hold them side by side, and you'll see who is the translator in both cases. Now as for what he's patched together and altered in a few places (though I don't like everything he's done), I can happily live with it and it doesn't particularly bother me as far as the text is concerned, which is why I was never planning to put my objections in writing, but I couldn't help laughing at the excellent judgement of slandering, condemning, and proscribing my New Testament so unpleasantly when it appeared under my name, only to make it required reading when it appeared under someone else's. However, what sort of virtue it takes to slander and slur someone else's book, then to steal it and even have it put out under one's own name, using another's slandered work to seek praise and renown for oneself – that is a question I leave it to his judge[1] to determine. Meanwhile I'm pleased and satisfied that my hard work (and this is also St Paul's boast)[2] must be promoted even by my opponents and Luther's book must be read, without Luther's (a3v) name, under the name of his enemies. Could revenge be any sweeter?

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[1] = NHG *Und damit … lüge* ('so that', introducing a purpose clause).

[2] 'es' is understood before 'schadet'; 'sonderlich nicht' = NHG *nicht besonders*.

[3] = NHG *weswegen*.

[4] Gen governed by 'lachen' (in NHG *lachen über etwas*).

[5] 'weil' = 'when' here.

[6] This still goes with 'man mein NT hat'.

[7] = NHG *ausgegangen*.

[8] 'Wie wol' serves as an adverbial sentence connector here ('however') rather than as a subordinating conjunction ('although').

[9] = NHG *Arbeit*.

[10] 'ynn des' = NHG *indes*.

[11] Either present or, with apocope, preterite (= NHG *rühmte*); on *rh* see Introduction 4.

[12] = NHG *gefördert*.

[13] Lit. 'How could I avenge myself better' ('bas rechen' = NHG *besser rächen*).

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[1] i.e. Emser's.

[2] Philippians 1: 18.

Vnd das ich wider zur sachen¹ kome / Wann² ewr Papist sich vil vnnützе machen wil mit dem wort (Sola Allein) so sagt jm flugs also / Doctor Martinus Luther wils also haben / vnnd spricht / Papist vnd Esel sey ein ding. Sic volo / sic iubeo / sit pro ratione voluntas. Denn wir wöllen nicht der Papisten schuler noch³ jünger / sonder yhre meister vnd richter sein / Wöllen auch ein mal stoltziern vnd pochen⁴ mit den Esels köpffen / vnd wie Paulus wider seine tollen Heiligen sich rhümet / so wil ich mich auch widder diese meine Esel rhümen. Sie sind doctores? Ich auch. Sie sind gelert? Ich auch. Sie sind Prediger? Ich auch. Sie sind Theologi? Ich auch. Sie sind Disputatores? Ich auch. Sie sind Philosopi? Ich auch. Sie sind Dialectici? Ich auch. Sie sind Legenten?⁵ Ich auch. Sie schreiben bücher? Ich auch.

But to return to the matter at hand: If your papist wants to make a big fuss about that word ('sola' 'alone'), go straight back to him and say, 'Dr Martin Luther wants to keep it like this, and says that a papist and a donkey are one and the same.' *Sic volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas*,¹ for we do not intend to be the papists' pupils or disciples, but their masters and judges. And for once we intend to join those donkey-heads in their strutting and bragging and, just as Paul meets the religious lunatics of his age boast for boast,² so will I with these donkeys of mine. They are doctors of theology? So am I. They are scholars? So am I. They are preachers? So am I. They are theologians? So am I. They are debaters? So am I. They are philosophers? So am I. They are dialecticians? So am I. They give lectures? So do I. They write books? So do I.

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¹ *sache* can decline as a weak fem noun in ENHG, ending *-en* for all case forms except the nom sg.
² = 'when, if'; the next clause starts 'so (sagt)'.
³ = 'nor', as often in ENHG, even without a preceding 'weder'.
⁴ 'to brag'; cf. NHG *auf etwas pochen*.
⁵ Lit. 'readers', from Latin *legentes*.

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¹ 'As I want, so I command; let will replace reason' (Juvenal, *Satire VI*, line 223). This is in fact a common misquotation, with the original 'Hoc volo' replaced by 'Sic volo'.
² 2 Corinthians 11: 21–3.

Vnd wil weiter rhůmen: Ich kan Psalmen vnd Propheten außlegen /
Das kůnnen sie nicht. Ich kan dolmetzschen / Das kŏnnen sie nicht.
Ich kan die heiligen schrifft[1] lesen / Das kŏnnen sie nicht. Ich kan
biten[2] / Das kŏnnen sie nicht. Vnd das ich herunter kome / Ich kan
yhr eygen Dialectica vnd Philosophia bas / denn sie selbs allesampt.
Vnd weiß dazu fur war / das yhr keiner yhren Aristotelem[3] verstehet.
Vnnd ist einer vnter yn allen der ein proemium[4] odder Capittel ym
Aristotele recht verstehet / so wil ich mich lassen prellen.[5] Ich rede
ytzt[6] nicht zuuil / denn ich bin durch yhre kunst alle erzogen vnd
erfaren von jugent auff / weiß fast wol[7] wie tieff vnd weit sie ist. So
wissen sie auch wol / das ichs alles weiß vnd kan / was sie kŏnnen /
Noch handeln die heillosen leute gegen mir[8] / als were ich ein gast
jnn yhrer kunst / der aller erst heut morgen komen were / vnd noch
nie weder gesehen noch gehŏrt hette / was sie leren odder kŏnnen /
So gar herrlich prangen sie herein mit yhrer kunst / vnd leren mich /
was ich vor zwentzig jaren an den schuhen zu rissen[9] habe / das ich
auch mit jhener metzen[10] auff all yhr plerren[11] vnd schreien singen
mus / Ich habs fur siben jaren gewist / das hůffnegel eysen sind.[12]

And I'll carry on boasting: I can interpret the Psalms and the Prophets
– they can't. I can translate – they can't. I can read Holy Scripture –
they can't. I can pray – they can't. And coming down to it, I am
better at their dialectic and philosophy than all of them put together.
And what's more, I know for a fact that not one of them understands
their Aristotle. If there's a single one among them all who properly
understands one preface or one chapter in Aristotle, I'll be hanged![1]
I'm not exaggerating now, because I have been brought up and
trained since childhood in all their learning, and I am well aware how
profound and far-reaching it is. They are likewise well aware that I
know all of it and can do anything they can. Yet these God-forsaken
people treat me like a stranger to their learning, someone who had
turned up for the first time this morning and had never seen or heard
of what they teach or what they know. They flaunt their learning in
such a completely high-handed way, lecturing me on what I cut my
teeth on twenty years ago, that, in answer to all their shrieking and
shouting, I'm compelled to join in with that girl and sing, 'Don't try
teaching grandmother to suck eggs'.

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[1] Sg = NHG *die heilige Schrift*.

[2] Here = NHG *beten* 'pray'.

[3] The Latin acc form; 'Aristotele' in the next sentence is a Latin ablative used as a German dat.

[4] A Latin word, deriving from Greek, meaning 'introduction, preface'. Many of Aristotle's works begin with a 'proemium', setting out the purpose.

[5] Lit. 'I'm willing to be tossed (in the air)', i.e. as a punishment.

[6] = NHG *jetzt*.

[7] = NHG *sehr wohl* in the sense of 'very well'.

[8] = NHG *Dennoch … mich*.

[9] Lit. 'what I wore out in (terms of) shoes twenty years ago'; proverbial expression meaning 'what I left behind ages ago'; 'zu rissen' = NHG *zerrissen*.

[10] The ENHG weak noun *metze* is a short form for Margareta or Mechthild, used to mean 'girl, maid' or, pejoratively, 'wench'.

[11] = NHG *plärren*, cognate with Engl. *blare*; used for a shrill noise.

[12] 'fur' (= 'für') can be read here either like Engl. 'for' or like NHG *vor* 'ago': lit. 'I have known for seven years/knew seven years ago that horseshoe nails are iron'; apparently a proverbial saying for something obvious.

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[1] In this list of accomplishments and titles Luther pulls rank by including the different qualifications and university appointments he had held as Professor at Wittenberg, encompassing liberal arts (dialectic, logic) which belonged to the Faculty of Philosophy, and Theology as a discipline in which he held the doctorate (as is referenced on the titlepage of the *Sendbrief*). He also was a university preacher (*prediger*) and took part in public discussions as *disputator*.

(a4r) Das sey auff ewr erste Frag geantwortet / vnd bitte euch / wŏllet¹ solchen Eseln ja nicht anders noch mehr antworten auff yhr vnnůtze geplerre² vom wort Sola / Denn also viel / Luther wils so haben / vnd spricht / Er sey ein Doctor vber alle Doctor jm gantzen Bapstum / da sols bey bleiben / Ich will sie hinfůrt schlecht³ verachten vnd veracht haben⁴ / so lange sie solche leute (ich wolt sagen) Esel sind / Denn es sind solche vnuerschempte tropffen⁵ vnter yhn / die auch yhr eigen der Sophisten kunst⁶ nye gelernt haben / wie Doctor Schmidt / vnd doctor Rotzlŏffel / vnd seine gleichen / vnd legen sich gleich wol widder mich / yn dieser sachen / die nicht allein vber die sophisterey / sondern auch (wie sanct Paulus sagt) vber aller welt weißheit vnd vernunfft ist. Zwar⁷ es durfft⁸ ein Esel nicht viel singen / man kennet yn sonst⁹ wol bey den ohren.¹⁰

(a4r) Let that be the answer to your first question, and I ask you, please just give no further response to those donkeys and their pointless fuss about the word 'sola' than simply this: 'Luther wishes to keep it as it is, and says that he is a doctor of theology above all others throughout the papacy', and there it shall rest. From now on I'm just going to despise them and keep despising for as long as they are the sort of people or (I would say) donkeys that they are. For they include a number of impertinent fools who have never even mastered their own, i.e. sophists', art, such as Dr Smith and Dr Snotty-Nose¹ and others like him, and yet they inveigh against me on this matter, which not only goes beyond sophistry, but also (as Saint Paul says) transcends all the wisdom and understanding in the world.² The fact is, a donkey doesn't need to do much singing: you just have to look at his ears.

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¹ Lit. 'I ask you: may you wish to …'.
² The edition has a vertical slash | instead of a space after *geplerre*, probably a typographical error.
³ = NHG *schlicht, schlechthin*.
⁴ Lit. 'despise them and have them despised'; 'veracht' = 'verachtet'.
⁵ 'vnuerschempte' = NHG *unverschämte*; 'tropffen' = 'fools, simpletons'.
⁶ Lit. 'their own of-the-sophists knowledge'; Luther often used the terms 'sophist' and 'sophistry' as insults against his papal opponents.
⁷ 'In truth'= MHG *zeware*, NHG *fürwahr*.
⁸ = NHG *bedarf, braucht*.
⁹ = NHG *ansonsten, sowieso*.
¹⁰ Proverbial expression, lit. 'one recognizes him already well by the ears'.

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¹ Johann Faber and Johann Dobeneck, respectively; see Glossary of Names.
² Cf. 1 Corinthians 1: 19–25.

Euch aber vnd den vnsern wil ich anzeigen / warumb ich das wort (sola) hab wöllen brauchen[1] / Wiewol Roma. 3. nicht sola / sondern solum odder tantum von mir gebraucht ist. Also fein sehen die Esel meinen text an. Aber doch hab ichs sonst anders wo sola fide gebraucht vnd wil auch beide solum vnd sola haben. Ich hab mich des[2] geflissen ym dolmetzschen / das ich rein vnd klar teutsch geben möchte. Vnd ist vns wol offt begegnet / das wir viertzehen tage / drey / vier wochen haben ein einiges[3] wort gesücht vnd gefragt / habens dennoch zu weilen nicht funden.[4] Im Hiob erbeiten[5] wir also / M.[6] Philips / Aurogallus vnd ich / das wir[7] yn vier tagen zu weilen kaum drey zeilen kundten fertigen.[8]

But for you and our own people I'll explain why I chose to use the word 'sola' – even though in Romans 3[1] it wasn't 'sola', but 'solum' or 'tantum' that I used. That's how carefully the donkeys look at my text![2] But still, I have also used it elsewhere, 'sola fide',[3] and I want to keep both 'solum' and 'sola'. I've worked hard to be able to produce a translation in pure, clear German, and it's very often happened that we've spent a fortnight, three, four weeks looking for a single word, making inquiries, and sometimes still not found it. When we were working on the Book of Job, there were times when we, that is Master Philip, Aurogallus,[4] and I, barely managed three lines in four days.[5]

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[1] = NHG *habe gebrauchen wollen*.

[2] = NHG *dessen*; gen sg of the demonstrative pronoun, governed by 'mich … geflissen' (from *sich fleißen* = NHG *sich befleißen/befleißigen*) and anticipating the clause which begins 'das'.

[3] = NHG *einziges*.

[4] = NHG *gefunden*.

[5] = NHG *arbeiteten*.

[6] 'M.' = 'Magister': 'Philips' short for the Latin form 'Philippus'.

[7] Lit. 'In Job we worked … (in such a way) that we'.

[8] = NHG *verfertigen*.

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[1] Romans 3: 28; see Introduction 2.

[2] The Latin words 'sola', 'solum', and 'tantum' all mean 'only, alone', but 'sola' is an adjective, while 'solum' and 'tantum' are used as adverbs. Luther's use of 'allein' in Romans 3: 28 is adverbial.

[3] For example, in Luther's preface to his translation of Romans in 1529.

[4] That is, Philip Melanchthon and Matthäus Aurogallus (see Glossary of Names), referenced with their Latin title 'Magister' as university lecturers.

[5] The paragraph continues in the original.

Lieber / nu[1] es verdeutscht vnd bereit ist / kans ein yeder lesen vnd meistern / Laufft[2] einer ytzt mit den augen durch drey vier bletter vnd stost nicht ein mal an / wird aber nicht gewar welche wacken und klŏtze da gelegen sind[3] / da er ytzt vber hin gehet / wie vber ein gehoffelt[4] bret / da wir haben mŭssen schwitzen vnd vns engsten[5] / ehe den wir solche wacken vnd klotze aus dem wege reümeten[6] / auff das man kŭndte so fein daher gehen. Es ist gut pflugen / wenn der acker gereinigt ist. Aber den wald vnd die stŏcke aus rotten / vnd den acker zu richten / da will niemandt an.[7] Es ist bey der welt kein danck zu verdienen / Kan doch[8] Got selbs mit der sonnen / ja mit (a4v) himel vnd erden / noch mit seines eigen sons tod keinen danck verdienen / sie sey vnd bleibt[9] welt deß teuffels namen[10] / weil sie ja nicht anders will.

My dear reader, now that the German version is ready, anyone can read it and criticize it. Now you run your eye over three or four pages[1] without tripping up once, but you don't realize what lumps of rock and clods of earth used to lie there where you're now walking as if on planed timber – where we had to sweat and toil before we cleared those rocks and clods out of the way for people to walk along so easily. Ploughing is easy when the field is cleaned up.[2] But digging out the bits of wood and the tree-stumps and preparing the field is a job no-one wants. There's no pleasing the world. But then again God Himself doesn't get any thanks for the sun, or even for (a4v) heaven and earth, nor for the death of His own son. Let the world stay as it is, in the devil's name, since it obviously doesn't want it any other way.

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[1] = NHG *nun, da*.

[2] = NHG *Es läuft*.

[3] The use of *sein* as an auxiliary with *liegen* is characteristic of the south of the German-speaking areas today; in the north *haben* is used (or the preterite).

[4] = NHG *gehobeltes*.

[5] = Factitive verb derived from *angst*; = NHG *sich ängstigen* 'to be in distress'.

[6] = NHG *räumten*; superfluous umlaut *ü* as *eu* already marks umlaut; cf. Introduction 4.

[7] 'da … an': = NHG *daran will sich niemand wagen / versuchen*.

[8] This construction, in which a clause begins with a finite verb followed immediately by *doch* (meaning 'for that matter/then again') is still found in formal NHG.

[9] The combination of subj 'sey' and indic 'bleibt' is changed in the B edition to 'sey und bleibe', in which both words are in the subj; cf. Introduction 3.

[10] = 'in des teuffels namen'.

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[1] Strictly speaking Luther is referring to three or four leaves, i.e. six or eight sides, see Introduction 3.

[2] Proverbial expression.

Also habe ich hie Roma. 3. fast wol gewist[1] / das ym Lateinischen vnd krigischen[2] text das wort (solum) nicht stehet / vnd hetten mich solchs die papisten nicht dürffen leren.[3] War ists. Dise vier buchstaben s o l a stehen nicht drinnen / welche buchstaben die Eselsköpff ansehen / wie die kue[4] ein new thor / Sehen aber nicht das gleichwol die meinung des text[5] ynn sich hat[6] / vnd wo mans wil klar vnd gewaltiglich verteutschen / so gehoret es hinein / denn ich habe deutsch / nicht lateinisch noch kriegisch reden wöllen / da ich teutsch zu reden ym dolmetzschen furgenomen[7] hatte. Das ist aber die art vnser deutschen sprache / wenn sie[8] ein rede begibt / von zweyen dingen / der[9] man eins bekennet / vnd das ander verneinet / so braucht[10] man des worts solum (allein) neben dem wort (nicht oder kein) / Als wenn man sagt / Der Baür bringt allein korn vnd kein geldt / Nein / ich hab warlich ytzt nicht geldt /sondern allein korn. Ich hab allein gessen[11] vnd noch nicht getruncken. Hastu allein geschrieben vnd nicht vberlesen? Vnd der gleichen vnzeliche weise yn teglichen brauch.[12]

So here in Romans Chapter 3, I was quite well aware that the word 'solum' doesn't occur in the Latin or Greek text and I could have done without a lesson from the papists about it. It's true: these four letters *s-o-l-a* are not there – the four letters that the donkey-heads gawp at like cows at a new gate.[1] But they don't see that this is nevertheless part of the meaning of the text, and if you're going for a clear and vigorous German version, the word belongs here; after all, I was trying to speak German, not Latin or Greek, given that I'd undertaken to produce a German-sounding translation. But that's the nature of our German language when talking about two things, one of which is affirmed and the other denied – you use the word 'solum' ('only') along with the word 'not' or 'no'. This is the case when you say, 'The farmer brings only grain and no money', 'No, I've really got no money at the moment, but only grain', 'I've only eaten and not drunk', 'Have you only written it down and not read it through?' – and likewise in countless expressions in everyday use.

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[1] = NHG *habe … sehr wohl gewusst*, 'knew full well'.

[2] = NHG *griechischen*.

[3] Lit. 'the papists would not have needed to teach me such a thing'.

[4] Could be sg or pl.

[5] = 'des texts'.

[6] Lit. 'that nevertheless the meaning of the text has (it) within itself'; to make sense we need to supply 'es' (referring to the word 'solum') in this clause.

[7] In NHG the equivalent construction is *sich* (dat) *etwas vornehmen*.

[8] The B Edition has 'sich' here; 'sie' must refer to a (personified) 'deutsche sprache'.

[9] = NHG *deren*; gen pl referring to 'dingen'.

[10] *brauchen* (= NHG *gebrauchen*) governs the gen 'des worts'.

[11] = NHG *gegessen*.

[12] = NHG *und dergleichen unzähligerweise in täglichem Gebrauch*; the B edition has the strong 'teglichem' instead of the weak 'teglichen'.

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[1] A common simile in Luther for dumb stupidity.

In disen reden allen / obs gleich[1] die lateinische oder kriechische sprach nicht thut / so thuts doch die deutsche / vnd ist yhr art / das sie das Wort (allein) hinzu setzt / auff das das wort (nicht odder kein) deste volliger vnd deutlicher sey / Denn wie wol ich auch sage / Der Baür bringt korn vnd kein geld / So laut[2] doch das wort (kein geldt) nicht so vollig vnd deutlich / als wenn ich sage / Der Baür bringt allein korn vnd kein geldt / vnd hilfft hie das wort (Allein) dem wort (kein) so viel / das es ein vollige Deutsche klare rede wird / den man mus nicht[3] die buchstaben inn der lateinischen sprachen[4] fragen / wie man sol Deutsch reden / wie diese esel thun / sondern / man mus die mutter jhm hause / die kinder auff der gassen / den gemeinen man auff dem marckt drumb fragen / vnd den selbigen auff das maul[5] sehen / wie sie reden / vnd darnach dolmetzschen / so verstehen sie es den / vnd mercken / das man Deutsch mit jn redet.

In all these expressions, although Latin and Greek don't do this, German does, and it's in the nature of German to add the word 'only' to bring out the meaning of the word 'not' or 'no' all the more fully and clearly. For although I can also say, 'The farmer brings grain and no money', nonetheless the words 'no money' don't make it as complete and clear as when I say, 'The farmer brings only grain and no money'. Here the word 'only' supports the word 'no' to become a complete, clear expression as spoken in German. For we mustn't ask the letters in the Latin language how German should be spoken, as these donkeys do, but we must ask the mother at home, children in the street, the ordinary man in the market-place, watch them mouth their words, and translate accordingly. That way they'll understand it and realize that we're speaking with them in German.

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[1] = NHG *obgleich es / obwohl es*.

[2] = 'lautet'.

[3] = NHG *darf nicht*.

[4] Dat sg: *sprache* could decline as a weak fem noun in ENHG, ending *-en* in all case forms except the nom sg.

[5] This is the word used also for snouts and other animals' mouths, in modern German only pejoratively for the human mouth (*Maul halten* = 'shut up').

(b1r) Als wenn Christus spricht / Ex abundantia cordis os loquitur. Wenn ich den Eseln sol folgen / die werden mir die buchstaben furlegen / vnd also dolmetzschen / Auß dem vberflus des hertzen redet der mund. Sage mir / Ist das deutsch geredt? Welcher deutscher verstehet solchs? Was ist vberflus des hertzen fur ein ding? Das kan kein deutscher sagen / Er wolt denn sagen[1] / es sey das einer allzu ein gros hertz habe / oder zu vil hertzes[2] habe / wie wol das auch noch nicht recht ist / denn vberflus des hertzen ist kein deutsch / so wenig / als das deutsch ist / Vberflus des hauses / vberflus des kacheloffens[3] / vberflus der banck / sondern also redet die mûtter ym haus vnd der gemeine man / Wes das hertz vol ist / des gehet der mund vber[4] / das heist gut deutsch geredt / des ich mich geflissen[5] / vnd leider nicht allwege erreicht noch troffen[6] habe / Denn die lateinischen buchstaben hindern aus der massen seer gut deutsch zu reden.

(b1r) So, when Christ says, 'Ex abundantia cordis os loquitur',[1] if I'm to follow the donkeys, they'll put those letters in front of me and translate as follows: 'Out of the abundance of heart the mouth speaks'. Tell me, is that spoken German? What German understands something like that? What sort of a thing is 'abundance of the heart'? That's something no German says, unless to mean that someone has too big a heart or has too much heart, although even that still isn't right, for 'abundance of the heart' is not German, any more than 'abundance of the house', 'abundance of the stove', 'abundance of the bench' is German. But mothers at home and men in the street say, 'What fills the heart pours from the lips'. That's what good spoken German sounds like, which I've tried hard to achieve, and unfortunately not always got there or hit the mark, because the Latin letters are an enormous obstacle to speaking German really well.

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[1] 'Er wolt denn sagen': this construction, with main-clause word order and the finite verb in the subj followed by *denn*, is used for 'unless' clauses in ENHG; it survives only in the construction *es sei denn*(, *dass*) in NHG.
[2] = NHG *Herzens*; lit. 'too much of heart'.
[3] = NHG *Überfluss des Kachelofens*, lit. 'overflow of the tiled stove'.
[4] Proverbial expression, lit. 'Of what the heart is full, of that the mouth overflows'.
[5] = NHG *dessen ich mich befleißigt*, lit. 'which I have striven for'.
[6] = NHG *getroffen*.

[1] Matthew 12: 34 and Luke 6: 45.

Also / wenn der verrether Judas sagt / Matthei 26: Vt quid perditio hec? Vnd Marci[1] 14. Vt quid perditio ista vngenti facta est? Folge ich den Eseln vnd buchstabilisten[2] / so mus ichs also verdeutschen: Warumb ist dise verlierung der salben geschehen? Was ist aber das fur deutsch? Welcher deutscher redet also / verlierung der salben ist geschehen? Vnd wenn ers wol verstehet / so denckt er / die salbe sey verloren / vnd musse[3] sie etwa wider suchen / Wiewol das auch noch tunckel[4] vnd vngewiß lautet. Wenn nu das gut deutsch ist / warumb tretten sie nicht erfur / vnd machen vns ein solch fein hubsch new deutsch Testament / vnd lassen des Luthers Testament ligen? Ich meine ja sie solten yhre kunst an den tag bringen / Aber der deutsche man redet also / Vt quid &c.: Was sol doch solcher vnrat?[5] odder / was sol doch solcher schade? Nein / Es ist schade vmb die salbe / das ist gut deutsch / daraus man verstehet / das Magdalene mit der verschutten salben[6] sey vnrethlich vmbgangen[7] vnd habe schadenn gethan / das war Judas meinung / denn er gedacht bessern rat[8] damit zu schaffen.

Likewise, when the traitor Judas says in Matthew 26, 'Ut quid perditio haec?' and in Mark 14, 'Ut quid perditio ista unguenti facta est?'[1] – if I follow the donkeys and literalists, I have to put this into German as follows: 'Why has this loss of the ointment occurred?' But what sort of German is that? What German says, 'Loss of the ointment has occurred'? And if they do actually understand it, they'll think that the ointment has got lost and has to be found again, although that still sounds obscure and unclear. Well, if that's good German, why don't they come out and produce for us an exquisite, elegant new German Testament like that, and leave Luther's Testament alone? What I really mean is that they should display their talent for all to see. But for 'Ut quid, etc', a German says, 'Why such waste?' or, 'Why such extravagance?' or, 'No, it's a pity about the ointment.' That is good German, and makes it clear that Mary Magdalene[2] dealt wastefully with the ointment poured out, which was what Judas meant, because he thought he could have made better use of it.

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[1] 'Matthei' and 'Marci' are Latin genitives, short for 'Evangelium Matthaei' and 'Evangelium Marci', referring to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark.

[2] 'literalists'; probably a coinage by Luther.

[3] = NHG *man müsse*.

[4] = NHG *dunkel*.

[5] = NHG *Unrat*; 'discarded waste'.

[6] = NHG *mit der verschütteten Salbe*.

[7] 'vnrethlich' = 'wastefully'; adj from *unrat*, now archaic; 'vmbgangen' = NHG *umgegangen*.

[8] 'use, profit'; antonym of 'unrat'.

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[1] Matthew 26: 8 and Mark 14: 4.

[2] The woman in the house of Simon the leper is not named in Matthew or Mark, but was traditionally taken to be Mary Magdalene.

Item[1] da der Engel Mariam grůsset vnd spricht: Gegrůsset seistu[2] Maria vol gnaden[3] / der Herr mit dir? Wolan / so ists biß (b1v) her / schlecht den lateinischen buchstaben nach verdeutschet / sage mir aber ob solchs auch gut deutsch sey? Wo redet der deutsch man also / du bist vol gnaden? Vnd welcher Deutscher verstehet / was gsagt sey / vol gnaden? Er mus dencken an ein vas vol bier / oder beutel vol geldes / darumb hab ichs vordeutscht. Du holdselige / da mit doch ein Deutscher / dester meher[4] hin zu kan dencken / was der engel meinet mit seinem grus. Aber hie wǒllen die Papisten toll werden vber mich / das ich den Engelischen grus verderbet habe. Wie wol ich dennoch da mit nicht das beste deutsch habe troffen. Vnd hette ich das beste deutsch hie sollen nemen / vnd den grus also verdeutschen / Gott grusse dich du liebe Maria (denn so vil wil der Engel sagen / vnd so wurde[5] er geredt haben / wan er hette wollen sie deutsch grussen) ich halt sie solten sich wol selbs erhenckt haben fur[6] grosser andacht / zu der lieben Maria / das ich den grus so zu nichte gemacht hette.

And what about when the angel greets Mary and says, 'Greetings Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you'?[1] Well, up to now (b1v) this has simply been rendered into German from Latin by the letter, but tell me – is this actually good German? Show me a German who says, 'You are full of grace'. And would Germans understand what it means, 'full of grace'? They'll inevitably think of a barrel full of beer or a bag full of money. That's why I rendered it into German as 'you blessed one', to make it easier for a German to actually work out what the angel meant with his greeting. But here the papists choose to get mad at me that I have corrupted the angelic greeting – although even with this wording I still didn't get the German spot on. If I had chosen exactly the right German expression here and rendered the greeting as, 'God be with you, my dear Mary' (which is, after all, what the angel means, and how he would have spoken if he'd wanted to greet her in German), I think they would have positively hanged themselves in their great reverence for dear Mary on the grounds that I had so annihilated the greeting.

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[1] Latin for 'again', used like a paragraph marker to introduce a new point.

[2] Lit. 'May you be greeted'; 'seistu' = 'seist du'.

[3] Gen sg.

[4] = NHG *desto mehr*.

[5] = NHG *würde*.

[6] = NHG *vor*.

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[1] Luke 1: 28 (the Angelic Salutation); the Vulgate here reads, 'Ave, gratia plena, Dominus tecum', lit. 'Hail, woman full of grace, the Lord with you'. For the meaning of 'grace' in Luther's theology and a discussion of Luther's translation here, see Introduction 2.

Aber was frage ich darnach?[1] sie toben oder rasen / jch wil nicht wehren / das sie verdeutschen was sie wőllen / ich wil aber auch verdeutschen / nicht wie sie wőllen / sonder wie ich wil / wer es nicht haben wil / der las[2] mirs stehen / vnd halt[3] seine meisterschafft bey sich / denn ich wil ir[4] weder sehen noch hőren / sie dorffen[5] fur mein dolmetzschen nicht antwort geben / noch rechenschafft thun / Das hőrestu wol / ich wil sagen / du holdselige Maria / du liebe Maria. vnd las sie sagen / du volgnaden Maria. Wer Deutsch kan / der weis wol / welch ein hertzlich fein wort das ist / die liebe Maria / der lieb Gott / der liebe Keiser / der liebe fürst / der lieb man / das liebe kind. Vnd ich weis nicht / ob man das wort liebe / auch so hertzlich vnd gnugsam in Lateinischer oder andern sprachen reden műg / das[6] also dringe vnd klinge[7] ynns hertz / durch alle sinne wie es thut in vnser sprache.

But what do I care? They rant and rave, and I'm not going to stop them translating into German whatever they want, but I'm going to translate into German too, not as they want, but as I want. If people don't like it, they should leave it alone and keep their criticism to themselves, for I will neither look at nor listen to any of it. They do not need to answer for my translation or be accountable for it. Listen up – I'll say, 'you blessed Mary' and, 'you dear Mary', and I'll leave them to say, 'you full-of-grace Mary'. Anyone who can speak German knows what a fine, heartfelt word 'dear' is, as in 'dear Mary', 'dear God', 'dear emperor', 'dear prince', 'dear man', 'dear child'. And I'm not sure whether in Latin or other languages one can say 'dear' in such a heartfelt and satisfying way that it rings and resonates to the heart through all the senses, as the word 'dear' does in our language.

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[1] A question with the same construction as NHG *nicht fragen nach* 'not care about'.

[2] = NHG *lasse* (pres subj).

[3] = NHG *behalte*.

[4] Gen referring to 'Meisterschaft'; the gen could be used with a negative in ENHG (here 'weder … noch') to refer to 'none of (something)'.

[5] 'dorffen … nicht' = NHG *bedürfen nicht* 'do not need to'.

[6] 'es' (= 'das wort liebe') is understood after 'das'.

[7] A rhyming pair typical of Luther's oral style.

Denn ich halt S. Lucas als ein meister in Hebreischer vnd Greckischer sprache / hab[1] das Hebreisch wort / so[2] der Engel gebraucht[3] / wŏllen mit dem Greckischen kecharitomeni / treffen vnd deutlich geben. Vnd denck mir der Engel Gabriel habe mit Maria geredt / wie er mit Daniel redet / vnd nennet jnn Ha(b2r)mudoth vnd Isch Hamudoth / vir desideriorum / das ist / du lieber Daniel. Denn das ist Gabrielis[4] weise zu reden / wie wir jhm Daniel sehen. Wenn ich nu den buchstaben nach / aus der esel kunst / solt des Engels wort verdeutschen / muste ich also sagen / Daniel du man der begirungen[5] oder / Daniel du man der lǔste / O das were schon deutsch / Ein deutscher horet wol / das Man / Lǔste / oder begyrunge / deutsche wort sind / wie wol es nicht eytel[6] reine deutsche wort sind / sondern lust vnd begyr[7] / weren wol besser. Aber wenn sie so zusamen gefasset werden / du man der begyrungen / so weiß kein deutscher was gesagt ist / denckt / das Daniel villeicht vol bŏser lust stecke / Das hiesse denn fein gedolmetzscht. Darumb mus ich hie die buchstaben faren lassen / vnnd forschen / wie der Deutsche man solchs redet / welchs der Ebreische man isch Hamudoth redet / So finde ich / das der deutsche man also spricht / Du lieber Daniel / du liebe Maria / oder du holdselige mad[8] / du medliche[9] junckfraw / du zartes weib / vnd der gleichen. Denn wer dolmetzschen wil / mus grosse[10] vorrath von worten haben / das[11] er die wol kŏnne haben / wo eins an allen orten nicht lauten will.

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[1] = 'habe' (pres subj in indirect discourse), agreeing with 'Lucas' and going with 'wŏllen ... treffen vnd ... deutlich geben'.

[2] 'so' serves the function of the relative pronoun 'des' (gen governed by 'gebraucht').

[3] = 'gebrauchte'.

[4] The Latin genitive of the name Gabriel.

[5] = NHG *Begehrungen*.

[6] 'simply, absolutely' as in modern German *eitel Sonnenschein* = 'pure sunshine'.

[7] = NHG *Begier* or *Begehren*.

[8] = NHG *Maid* / *Magd* but in the sense of the diminutive *Mädchen*.

[9] Adj from 'mad', lit. 'maidenly'.

[10] A mistake for 'grossen', which is corrected in the B edition.

[11] = NHG *auf dass*; 'so that'.

For I believe that St Luke, as a master of Hebrew and Greek, wanted to use the Greek 'kecharitomene'[1] to capture and clearly convey the sense of the Hebrew word used by the angel. And I imagine that the angel Gabriel spoke to Mary as he speaks to Daniel, calling him 'Chamudot' (b2r) and 'Ish Chamudot' (*vir desideriorum*),[2] that is, 'dear Daniel'. For that's the way the angel Gabriel speaks, as we see in the book of Daniel.[3] Now if I were going to put the angel's words into German by the letter, using the donkeys' technique, I'd have to say, 'Daniel, you man of desirings' or, 'Daniel, you man of lusts'. Oh, that would be charming German! Of course, a German recognizes 'man', 'lusts', and 'desiring' as German words when he hears them (although these are not completely natural German words to use: 'lust' and 'desire' would really be better). But when they are combined as 'you man of desirings', no German will know what's being said, and will think that perhaps Daniel is full of sinful lust. What fine translating that would be! That's why I have to let go of the letters here and try to find out what a German says when a Hebrew says, 'Ish Chamudot'. And I discover that a German says, 'dear Daniel', 'dear Mary', or 'blessed maiden', 'maidenly virgin',[4] 'sweet woman', and so on. For anyone wanting to do translation must have a large supply of words to hand in case the same one just won't sound right in every context.

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[1] This Greek word κεχαριτωμένη means 'woman having been favoured'; see Introduction 2.

[2] The Latin means literally 'man of desires'.

[3] Daniel 9: 23, 10: 11, and 10: 19.

[4] Luther uses 'junckfraw' (and variants) for 'virgin' in his Bible translations, but the word had a wider meaning in ENHG, including the sense '(noble) young lady'.

Vnd was sol ich vil vnd lange sagen von dolmetzschenn?[1] Solt ich aller meiner wort vrsachen vnnd gedancken anzeigen / ich můste wol ein jar dran zu schreiben haben. Was dolmetschen fur kunst vnd erbeit sey / das hab ich wol erfaren / darumb wil ich keinen papstesel noch maulesel / die nichts versucht haben / hierinn zum richter oder thadeller[2] leiden. Wer mein dolmetzschen nicht wil / der las es anstehen[3] / Der Teuffel dancke yhm / wers[4] vngerne hat oder on meinen willen vnd wissen meistert. Sols gemeistert werden / so wil ichs selber thun. Wo ichs selber nicht thu / da lasse man mir[5] mein dolmetzschen mit friden / vnd mache ein iglicher[6] was er wil fur sich selbs[7] / vnd habe ym ein gut jar.[8]

But why should I go on and on at length about translating? If I were to point out the reason for every word I use and the thinking behind it, it'd take me a good year to put it in writing. The skill and effort of translating is something I've actually experienced, which is why I won't have my work judged and criticized by the donkeys of pope-dom and the braying mules who have not tried their hand at any-thing. People who don't like my translating should leave it be. If they disapprove of it or criticize it without my consent or knowledge, they can look to the devil for thanks. If it has to be criticized, I'll do so myself. If I don't do so myself, then kindly leave my translation in peace. Each to his own, and good luck!

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[1] Lit. 'And what shall I say a lot and at length about translating?'

[2] = NHG *Tadler* 'critic, censor'; on *th* for *t*, see Introduction 4.

[3] = NHG *der lasse es auf sich beruhen*.

[4] 'yhm / wers' = NHG *dem, der es*.

[5] 'mir' is grammatically unnecessary but adds personal emphasis and conveys the sense 'for me/for my benefit'.

[6] = NHG *jeglicher*.

[7] Lit. 'may each do what he wishes for himself'.

[8] A common expression in Luther for indifference, referring to the custom of send-ing New Year's greetings; lit. 'may he have for himself a good year'; 'ym' = NHG *sich*.

Das kan ich mit gutem gewissen zeugen / das ich meine hȯchste trew vnd vleiß drinnen erzeigt / vnd nye kein[1] falsche gedancken gehabt habe / denn ich habe keinen heller[2] da fur genomen noch gesủcht / noch damit gewonnen / So hab ich meine ehre drinnen nicht (b2v) gemeinet[3] / das weis Gott mein Herr / sondern habs zu dienst gethan den lieben Christen / vnnd zu ehren einem der droben sitzet / der mir alle stunde so vil guts thut / das wenn ich tausent mal so vil vnd vleissig gedolmetzscht / dennoch nicht eine stunde verdienet hette zu leben / odder ein gesundt auge zu haben[4] / Es ist alles seiner gnaden vnd barmhertzigkeit[5] / was ich bin vnd habe / Ja es ist seines theuren bluts und saủren schweißes / darumb sols auch (ob Gott wil) alles yhm zu ehren dienen / mit freuden vnnd von hertzen. Lestern mich die Sudeler vnd Bapstesel / wol an[6] / so lobenn mich die frumen Christen sampt yhrem hern Christo / Vnd bin allzu reichlich belohnet / wo mich nủr ein einiger Christ fur einen trewen erbeiter erkennet. Ich frag nach Bapsteseln nichts / sie sind nicht werd[7] / das sie meine erbeit sollen erkennen / vnd solt mir ym grund meins hertzen leid sein[8] / das sie mich lobetenn. Ihr lestern ist mein hȯhester rhủm vnd ehr / Ich will doch ein Doctor / ja auch ein ausbủndiger Doctor sein / vnd sie sollen mir den namen nicht nemen / biß an den Jủngsten tag / das weiß ich furwar.

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[1] The two negatives reinforce rather than cancel each other out here.

[2] A small coin minted at Schwäbisch-Hall.

[3] = NHG *gesucht*.

[4] Lit. 'I would not have deserved to live for one hour or to have a healthy eye'.

[5] Gen of cause: 'because of His grace and mercy'.

[6] = NHG *wohlan*.

[7] = NHG *sind es nicht wert*, here 'they are not worthy'.

[8] 'solt mir … leid sein', lit. 'it should be painful to me'.

I can attest with a clear conscience that I've brought to bear the utmost devotion and effort in this, and never, ever had an ulterior motive, for I haven't received or requested a penny for it nor earned one from it. As the Lord God is my witness, I didn't do it for my own glory, (b2v) but as a service to my dear fellow Christians and for the glory of One who sits on high and does me so much good every hour that, even if I'd translated a thousand times as much and as diligently, I wouldn't have deserved to draw breath or have the power of sight for a single hour. What I am and what I have are down to his grace and mercy, and, indeed, to his precious blood and bitter sweat, which is also why (God willing) everything should be done – joyfully and sincerely – for His glory. If the bunglers and donkeys of popedom slander me, never mind, for righteous Christians, along with Christ their Lord, praise me. And I am more than amply rewarded if even a single Christian acknowledges me as a dedicated worker. I couldn't care less about the donkeys of popedom: they aren't worthy even to acknowledge my work, and I should find it deeply upsetting if they did compliment me. For me their insults are the highest praise and honour. But I'll carry on being a doctor of theology – and a distinguished one at that – a title they shan't take away from me until the Day of Judgement; that much I know for certain.

Doch hab ich widerumb nicht allzu frey die buchstaben lassen faren / Sondern mit grossen sorgen sampt meinen gehülffen[1] drauff gesehen / das wo etwa an einem ort[2] gelegenn ist / hab ichs nach den buchstaben behalten[3] / vnd bin nicht so frey dauon gangen / als Johannes .6. da Christus spricht / Disen hat Got der vatter versiegelt / da were wol besser deutsch gewest / Disen hat Gott der Vater gezeichent / odder disen meinet Gott der vater. Aber ich habe ehe wóllen der deutschen sprache abbrechen[4] / denn von dem wort weichen. Ah es ist dolmetzschen ja nicht eines iglichen[5] kunst / wie die tollen Heiligen meinen / Es gehóret dazu ein recht / frum / trew / vleissig / forchtsam / Christlich / geleret / erfarn / geúbet hertz / Darumb halt ich / das kein falscher Christ noch rottengeist trewlich dolmetzschen kónne / wie das wol scheinet inn den prophetenn zu Wormbs verdeutschet / darinn doch warlich grosser vleis geschehen / vnd meinem deutschen fast nach gangen[6] ist. Aber es sind Júden da bey gewest / die Christo nicht grosse hulde erzeigt haben / sonst were kunst vnd vleiß genug da.

On the other hand, I haven't taken too many liberties with the letters themselves; rather, wherever the meaning turns on a precise point I have, along with my assistants, made sure to keep close to them and not to stray so far from them. For example, in John 6,[1] where Christ says, 'This is the man on whom God the Father has set His seal', it would surely have been better German to say, 'This is the man whom God the Father has indicated' or, 'This is the man whom God the Father means'. But I preferred to do violence to the German language than stray from the word.[2] Look, translation isn't something just anyone can do, as the religious lunatics imagine. It requires a righteous, devout, true, diligent, God-fearing, Christian, learned, experienced, practised heart. Therefore I believe that no false Christian or factionalist can translate faithfully, as is clear from the German version of the Prophets done at Worms, although it was a really meticulous piece of work which came very close to my own German. But there were Jews involved in it who were not very favourably inclined towards Christ – apart from that it was skilfully and carefully enough done.[3]

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[1] = NHG *Gehilfen*.
[2] ENHG *ort* = small point, referring here either to a point of detail in the translation or to a particular passage in the Bible.
[3] = NHG *beibehalten*.
[4] 'abbrechen' with dat = 'to damage' (i.e. idiomatic German).
[5] = NHG *jeglichen*.
[6] = NHG *sehr nahegekommen*.

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[1] John 6: 27.
[2] On Luther's defence of word-for-word translation here, see Introduction 2.
[3] This refers to the translation of the Prophets from the Hebrew by Ludwig Hätzer and Hans Denck, published at Worms in 1527. Hätzer and Denck were Anabaptists (believers in adult, not infant, baptism) and anti-trinitarians, and they may have may have enlisted the help of Jewish scholars. Hätzer even denied the divinity of Christ. For Luther's attitudes towards the Jews, see Miller (2014).

(b3r) Das sey vom dolmetzschen vnd art der sprachen[1] gesagt. Aber nu hab ich nicht allein der sprachen art vertrawet vnd gefolget / das ich Roma. 3. solum (Allein) hab hinzu gesetzt / Sonder der text vnd die meinung S. Pauli foddern vnd erzwingens mit gewallt / denn er handelt ja daselbs das hauptstůck Christlicher lere / nemlich das wir durch den glauben an Christum / on alle werck des gesetzs gerecht werden / Vnd schneit[2] alle werck so rein abe / das er auch spricht / des gesetzes (das doch Gottes gesetz vnd wort ist) werck nicht helffen zur gerechtigkeit / Vnd setzt zum exempel Abraham / das der selbige[3] sey so gar on werck gerecht worden / das auch das hőhest werck / das dazu mal new gepoten ward von got fur vnd vber allen andern gesetzen vnd wercken / nemlich die beschneidung / yhm nicht geholffen hab zur gerechtigkeit / sonder sey on die beschneidung vnd on alle werck gerecht worden durch den glauben wie er spricht Cap. 4.[4] Ist Abraham durch werck gerecht wordenn / so mag er sich rhůmen / aber nicht fur Gott. Wo man aber alle werck so rein abschneit[5] / vnd da[6] mus ja die meinung sein / das allein der glaube gerecht mache / vnd wer deutlich vnd durre von solchem abschneiden der werck redet[7] wil / der mus sagen / Allein der glaube / vnd nicht die werck machen vns gerecht / das zwinget die sache selbs neben der sprachen art.

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[1] This can be read as gen sg or gen plur: *sprache* could decline as a weak fem noun in ENHG, ending *-en* for all case forms except for the nom sg; here it has been translated as sg to refer to the nature of language in general (as in the following line), but it could be taken as pl to refer to the languages which Luther has been discussing.
[2] = 'schneidet'; the subject is St Paul.
[3] Lit. 'And he sets Abraham as an example, that the same one (i.e. Abraham) …'.
[4] For Latin 'Capitulo quarto' (in the fourth chapter).
[5] = 'abschneidet'.
[6] = 'und da' 'then there'.
[7] A mistake for 'reden'; corrected in the B edition.

(b3r) So much for translating and the nature of language. But as it is, I wasn't just relying on and respecting the nature of language when I added the word 'solum' ('only') in Romans 3; rather, the text itself and St Paul's purpose positively demand and require it for, after all, it is precisely here that he deals with the chief article of Christian teaching, namely that we become righteous through faith in Christ without any works of the law. And he so clearly cuts away works that he even says that the works of the law (God's law and God's word, in fact) do not help one to righteousness. And he gives the example of Abraham who, he says, became righteous so entirely without works that even the supreme work which at that point had only just been ordained by God over and above all other laws and works, namely circumcision, did not help him to righteousness, but he became righteous, without circumcision and without any works, through faith, as St Paul says in chapter 4: 'If Abraham became righteous through works, he may boast of it, but not before God.'[1] Now if all works are so clearly cut away, then the meaning there has to be, of course, that only faith makes righteous, and anyone who wants to talk about cutting away works in plain and unadorned language will have to say, 'Only faith makes us righteous, and not works'. This is required by the subject matter itself as well as by the nature of language.

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[1] Romans 4: 2.

Ja sprechen sie / Es laut[1] ergerlich / vnd die leute lernen daraus verstehen / das sie keine gute werck thun důrffen. Lieber was sol man sagen? Ists nicht viel ergerlicher / das S. Pauls selbs nicht sagt / allein der glaube / sondern schuttets wol grŏber eraus / vnd stosset dem faß den boden aus[2] vnd spricht / On des gesetzs werck / Vnd Gala. 1. nicht durch die werck des gesetzes / vnd des vil mehr[3] an andern orten / denn das wort (allein der glaube) mŏcht noch eine gloß[4] finden / Aber das wort (on werck des gesetzs) ist so grob / ergerlich / schendtlich / das man mit keiner glossenn helffen kan / Wie viel mehr mŏchten hieraus die leute lernen kein gute werck thun / da sie hŏren mit so durren starcken worten von den wercken selbs predigen (Kein werck / on werck / nicht durch werck) / ist nu das nicht ergerlich / das man (on werck / kein werck / nicht durch werck) (b3v) predigt / was solts denn ergerlich sein / so man diß (allein der glaube) predigt?

Of course they claim that this sounds outrageous and that people will understand it to mean that they do not need to do good works. My dear reader, what is one to say? Isn't it much more outrageous that St Paul himself, rather than saying 'faith alone', is far more blatant about it, and adds insult to injury by using the words 'without the works of the law', and in Galatians 1[1] 'not by the works of the law', and more of the same elsewhere? For the words 'faith alone' could still be glossed differently. But the words 'without the works of the law' are so blatant, outrageous, offensive, that no amount of glossing can help.[2] How much more might people learn from this not to do good works, when they hear preaching about the works themselves with such straightforward, forceful words as 'no works', 'without works', 'not through works'! (b3v) Now if it isn't outrageous to preach 'without works', 'no works', 'not through works', what should be outrageous about preaching this, 'faith alone'?

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[1] = 'lautet'.
[2] Lit. 'but empties it out much more roughly and knocks the bottom out of the barrel'; cf. NHG *das schlägt dem Fass den Boden aus*, an idiom for taking things to an extreme.
[3] 'des vil mehr', lit. 'of that much more'.
[4] = NHG *Glosse*, Engl. 'gloss': explanation of a difficult word or passage.

[1] The reference is in fact to Galatians 2: 16. Luther did not introduce the word 'allein' in his translation of this verse.
[2] See Introduction 2 for a discussion.

Vnd das noch ergerlich ist / S. Paulus verwůrfft nicht schlechte gemeine werck[1] / sonder des gesetzes selbs. Daraus mŏchte wol yemand sich noch mehr ergern vnd sagen / Das gesetz sey verdampt vnd verflucht fur Gott / vnd man solle eytel[2] boses thun / wie die theten Roman. 3: Last vns bŏses thun / auff das es gut werde / wie auch ein rotten geyst zu vnser zeit anfieng. Solt man vmb solcher ergernis willen S. Paulus[3] wort verlaugnen / oder nicht frisch vnd frey vom glauben reden? Lieber eben S. Paulus vnd wir wŏllen solch ergernis haben / vnd leren vmb keiner ander vrsachen willen / so starck wider die werck / vnd treiben allein auff den glauben / das[4] die leute sollen sich ergern / stossen vnd fallen / damit sie mugen lernen vnd wissen[5] / das sie durch yr gute werck nit frum werden / sondern allein durch Christus[6] tod vnd aufferstehen / Kŏnnen sie nu durch gute werck des gesetzes nicht frum werden / wie vil weniger werden sie frum werden durch bŏse werck vnd on gesetz / Darumb folget es nicht / Gute werck helffen nicht / darumb helffen bŏse werck[7] / gleich als nicht fein folgt / Die sonne kan dem blinden nicht helffen das er sehe / darumb mus ym die nacht vnd finsternis helffen / das er sehe.

And more outrageous still, St Paul rejects not simple, ordinary works but those of the law itself. One could easily be even more outraged at this, and say that the law is being condemned and cursed before God, and we're being told to do outright evil, like those people in Romans 3: 'Let us do evil, so that good may come of it'[1] – which is also what one factional spirit took to saying in our own age.[2] Are we meant to deny St Paul's words on the grounds that they are outrageous, and not talk freely and frankly about faith? My dear reader, St Paul himself and we want this outrage, and the only reason why we're teaching so forcefully against works and insisting exclusively on faith is for people to be outraged, jolted, and tripped up, so they come to realize that they do not become righteous through their good works, but only through Christ's death and resurrection. Now if they cannot become righteous through the good works of the law, how much less will they become righteous through evil works and without the law! Hence, from 'good works don't help' it does not follow 'therefore bad works do help', just as from 'the sun can't help the blind to see' it does not properly follow 'therefore night and darkness must help them to see'.

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[1] = NHG *schlichte, allgemeine Werke*.

[2] Here 'only, purely'.

[3] Here 'Paulus' must be read as the German gen.

[4] 'vmb keiner ander vrsachen willen … das … ': lit. 'for the sake of no other reason … than that …'.

[5] 'learn and know' here means 'learn to know' (by hendiadys).

[6] Here and at the beginning of the next paragraph, 'Christus' must be read as the German gen.

[7] Lit. 'So it does not follow, good works do not help, therefore bad works help'.

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[1] Romans 3: 8.

[2] Luther may be referring here to Thomas Müntzer, a radical Reformation preacher and leader of the peasants' uprising of 1524–25, which Luther opposed. Müntzer was captured and executed after the Battle of Frankenhausen in May 1525. Luther elsewhere used 'Rottengeist' ('factionalist') to refer to Müntzer. However, as Ulrich Bubenheimer points out (p.c.), it is also possible that Luther is defending himself in this paragraph against the charge of antinomianism (the belief that Christians are released by grace from the observance of moral rules) which had been levelled against him.

Mich wundert aber / das man sich yn diser offentlichen[1] sachen so mag sperren. Sage mir doch / ob Christus tod vnd auffersteen vnser werck sey / das wir thun / oder nicht? Es ist ja nit vnser werck / noch einiges[2] gesetzes werck. Nu macht vns ja allein Christus tod vnd aufferstehen frey von sunden vnd frum / wie Paulus sagt Ro. 4. Er ist gestorben vmb vnser sunde willen / vnd aufferstanden vmb vnser gerechtigkeit willen. Weiter sage mir / Welchs ist das werck / damit wir Christus tod vnd aufferstehen fassen vnd halten? Es mus ja kein eusserlich werck / sondern allein der ewige glaube ym hertzen sein / der selbige allein / ja gar allein / vnd on alle werck fasset solchen tod vnd aufferstehen wo es gepredigt wird durchs Euangelion. Was ists denn nu / das man so tobet vnd wǔtet / ketzert[3] vnd brennet / so die sach ym grundt selbs klerlich da ligt und beweiset / das (b4r) allein der glaube Christus tod vnd aufferstehen fasse on alle werck / vnd der selbige tod vnd aufferstehen sey vnser leben vnd gerechtigkeit. So[4] es denn an ym selbs[5] offentlich also ist / das allein der glaube vns solch leben vnd gerechtigkeit bringet / fasset vnd gibt / Warumb soll man denn nicht auch also reden? Es ist nit ketzerey / das der glaube allein Christum fasset / vnd das leben gibt / Aber ketzerey muss es sein wer solchs sagt oder redet. Sind sie nit toll / tǒricht vnd vnsinig? die sachen bekennen sie fur recht / vnd straffen doch die rede von der selbigen sache fur vnrecht / keinerley zu gleich / mus beide recht vnd vnrecht sein.[6]

But I'm amazed that people can baulk like this at something so self-evident. Just tell me: Is Christ's death and resurrection our work, which we do, or not? Clearly it is not our work, nor the work of any law. In which case it is of course only Christ's death and resurrection which makes us free from sin and righteous, as Paul says in Romans 4: 'He died for our sins and rose for our righteousness'.[1] And tell me this: what is the work by which we embrace and hold onto Christ's death and resurrection? It cannot, of course, be any outward work, but only the everlasting faith in the heart, the faith which alone – yes, entirely alone, and without any works – embraces this death and resurrection when it is preached through the Gospel. What, then, is the meaning of this ranting and raving, this crying heresy and burning at the stake, when the crux of the matter is clear to see and proves that (b4r) faith alone embraces Christ's death and resurrection without any works, and the same death and resurrection are our life and righteousness? If, then, it is so self-evidently the case that faith alone brings us such life and righteousness, embraces them, and gives them to us, why shouldn't one say as much? It isn't heresy that faith alone embraces Christ and grants life, but it has to be heresy if someone comes out and says so. Are they not stark raving mad and out of their senses? They acknowledge something as right but condemn talking about that thing as wrong – nothing can be right and wrong at the same time.

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[1] = NHG *offensichtlichen*.
[2] = NHG *irgendeines*.
[3] = NHG *verketzert*: 'denounces as a heretic'.
[4] Here 'If' or 'As'.
[5] EHNG 'an ihm selbs' = NHG *in sich selbst*.
[6] To make sense of this clause we must interpret 'keinerley … mus … sein' as 'nothing can be' in the sense of 'it must be that nothing is'; the B edition has 'Einerley' instead of 'keinerley', and the meaning would be 'One thing is thus constrained to be …'.

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[1] Romans 4: 25.

Auch bin ichs nicht allein / noch der erste / der da sagt / Allein der glaube mach gerecht / Es hat fur mir Ambrosius / Aug.[1] vnd vil andere gesagt / Vnd wer S. Paulum lesen vnd verstehen sol / der mus wol so sagen / vnd kan nit anders. Seine wort sind zu starck / vnd leiden kein / ja gar kein werck. Ists kein werck / so mus der glaube allein sein. O wie solt es so gar ein feine / besserliche / vnergerliche lere sein / wenn die leute lernten / das sie neben dem glauben / auch durch werck frum mȍchten werden / Das wer so vil gesagt / das nicht allein Christus tod vnser sunde weg neme / sondern vnsere werck thetten[2] auch etwas da zu / das hies[3] Christus tod fein geehret / das vnser werck ym hulffen / vnd kȍndten das auch thun das er thut / auff das wir yhm gleich gut vnd starck weren. Es ist der Teuffel / der das blut Christi nicht kan vngeschendet lassen.[4]

And I'm not the only one, nor the first, to say that faith alone makes righteous: before me Ambrose, Augustine,[1] and many others have said so too. And anyone who is going to read and understand St Paul must surely say the same thing and cannot do otherwise. His words are too forceful and they don't tolerate works, no, not a single one. If it isn't works it must be faith alone. Oh, what fine, edifying, unoutrageous teaching it would be if people learnt that they could become righteous through works along with faith! That would amount to saying that it is not only Christ's death that takes away our sin, but that our works have something to do with it as well. It would be a fine way of honouring Christ's death if our works helped him and could do what he does, so that we would be his equal in goodness and strength. It is the devil who cannot help desecrating the blood of Christ.

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[1] To be resolved as 'Augustinus' in analogy to 'Ambrosius'.

[2] 'neme' and 'thetten' should be read as pret subj (NHG *nähme* and *täten*) but are better translated by the pres to make this a general statement, as seems intended.

[3] = NHG *hieße*.

[4] Lit. 'who cannot leave the blood of Christ undesecrated'; 'Christi' is a Latin gen.

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[1] See Glossary of Names.

Weil[1] nu die sache ym grund selbs fodert / das man sage / Allein der glaub macht gerecht / Vnd vnser deutschen sprachen art / die solchs auch lernt[2] also aus zusprechen. Habe dazu der Heiligen våter exempel / vnd zwinget auch die fahr[3] der leute / das sie nit an den wercken hangen bleiben / vnd des glaubens feilen[4] / vnd Christum verlieren / sonderlich zu diser zeit / da sie so lang her der werck[5] gewonet / vnd mit macht davon zu reissen sind. So ists nit allein recht / sondern auch hoch von nöten / das man auffs aller deutlichst vnd voligst eraus sage / Allein der glaube on werck macht frum / vnd rewet mich[6] / das ich nit auch dazu gesetzt habe alle vnd aller / also on alle werck aller gesetz das es vol vnd rund eraus gesprochen were / darumb sols in meinem (b4v) Newen Testament bleiben / vnd solten alle Papstesel toll vnd töricht werden / so sollen sie mirs nicht eraus bringen. Das sey yetzt dauon gnug / Weiter wil ich (so Gott gnade gibt) dauon reden ym buchlin de iustificatione.

Now since the core of the argument demands that we say, 'Faith alone makes righteous', and the nature of our language, German, which also teaches us to express it like this; and furthermore, I have the example of the Holy Fathers, and the risk to people also demands that they should not keep clinging to works and fail in their faith and lose Christ, particularly nowadays when they are so long accustomed to works and have to be forcibly prised away from them; therefore it is not only right but also very necessary to state in the clearest and most comprehensive terms that faith alone without works makes one righteous, and I regret that I didn't add 'any' to 'works' and 'law'[1] and say, 'without any works of any law', so that it was articulated in full and unambiguously. For that reason it's going to stay in my (b4v) New Testament, and even if every donkey in popedom goes stark raving mad, I'll make sure they won't remove it. Let that do for now. I'll have more to say on this, by the grace of God, in the treatise 'De iustificatione'.[2]

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[1] 'Weil' introduces a long causal construction which, with parenthetical clauses, runs until 'zu reissen sind' halfway down the paragraph; the main clause then begins 'So ists nit allein'. The causal construction refers to four arguments for the addition of 'allein': 1) the facts of the matter ('die sache ym grund selbs'), 2) the nature of the German language ('vnser deutschen sprachen art'), 3) the precedent of the Holy Fathers ('der Heiligen våter exempel'), and 4) the danger that people stick to works and stray from faith and Christ, especially nowadays ('die fahr … zu reissen sind'). The main clause beginning 'So ists nit allein' draws the conclusion that it is not only right but also necessary to add 'allein'.

[2] = NHG *lehrt*.

[3] = NHG *Gefahr*.

[4] = NHG *fehlen* + gen in the sense of *sich verfehlen an / fehlerhaft sein in*.

[5] Gen plur, governed by 'gewonet' (= NHG *gewöhnt*).

[6] = NHG *es reut mich*.

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[1] The difference between the inflected forms 'alle' and 'aller' in the German cannot be captured in translation.

[2] 'On Justification'. This work was never completed, although fragmentary material survives.

Auff die andern frage / ob die verstorben Heiligen fur vns bitten.[1] Darauff wil ich yetzt kürtzlich[2] antwortenn / denn ich gedenck einen sermon von den lieben Engeln auszulassen / darinn ich diß stück weitter (wils Gott) handeln werde. Erstlich wisset yhr / das ym Bapstum nicht allein das geleret ist / das die Heiligen ym hymel fur vns bitten / Welchs mir[3] doch nicht wissenn können / weil die schrifft vns solchs nicht sagt / Sondern auch das man die Heiligen zu Götter[4] gemacht hat / das sie vnser Patron haben müssen sein / die wir anrüffen sollen / Etlich auch die nye gewest sind / Vnd einem iglichen heiligen sonderliche krafft vnd macht zu geeignet[5] / einem vber fewr / diesen vber wasser / diesenn[6] vber pestilentz / fieber / vnd allerley plage / das Gott selbs hat gar müssig sein müssen / vnd die Heiligen lassen[7] an seiner stat wircken vnd schaffen. Disen grewel fülen die Papisten yetzt wol / vnd ziehen heimlich die pfeiffen ein[8] / putzen[9] vnnd schmücken sich nu mit dem furbitt[10] der Heiligen. Aber diß wil ich ytzt auffschieben. Aber was gillts / ob ichs vergessen[11] / vnd solchs putzen vnd schmücken also vngebüsset hin gehen lassen werde.

On the other question, whether the departed saints pray for us: I'll give a brief answer for now, because I'm planning to put out a sermon on the dear angels in which (God willing) I'll deal with this matter further.[1] First, you know that under the papacy it is not only taught that the saints in heaven pray for us – which we can't actually know because Scripture tells us nothing of the sort –, but also that the saints have been turned into Gods so that they have been forced onto us as our patrons, whom we're meant to call upon, including some who have never existed. And to each saint a particular power and authority is ascribed, one over fire, some over water, some over pestilence, disease, and all manner of plagues – so that God himself must have been quite idle and left the saints to toil and sweat in his place. These days the papists have a good sense of what an abomination this is, so they discreetly tone things down, and now they are primping and preening themselves on the interceding of saints. But I'll put off this subject for now, though you can bet I won't forget it and I'm not going to allow their primping and preening to go unpunished.

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[1] In the print there is a long space (equivalent to four m-dashes) here, making the clause before into a sort of heading; in the B edition that clause is shown as a heading.

[2] = NHG *kurz / in Kürze* 'shortly'.

[3] 'wir', which is how it appears in the B edition; 'm' is probably a typo for 'w'.

[4] Here dat pl. It might be missing a nasal bar but is identical in the B edition.

[5] = NHG *zugeeignet / zugeschrieben sind*.

[6] 'diesen … diesenn' are perhaps typos for dat sg 'diesem … diesem' (as they appear in the B edition); if read as dat pl they would refer to a number of saints.

[7] The more natural word order in NHG would be: *Gott …hat … die Heiligen an seiner Statt wirken und schaffen lassen*.

[8] An idiom meaning 'to pack up one's pipes', i.e. 'to fall silent'; the pipes are the shrillest of instruments and to silence them is to be less conspicuous.

[9] = NHG *(sich) aufputzen*; 'putzen' and 'schmücken' make a synonymous doublet.

[10] = NHG *dem Fürbitten* 'the interceding'.

[11] Lit. 'what is it worth if I will forget …', i.e. 'you can bet/be sure I will not forget … '.

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[1] Luther seems to be referring to a sermon about angels dated 30 September 1530; on the background to this part of the *Sendbrief*, see Introduction 1.

Zum andern / wisset yhr / das Gott mit keinem wort gebotten hat / wedder Engel noch Heiligen vmb furbit anzurůffenn / Habt[1] auch yn der schrifft des[2] kein exempel / denn man findet / das die lieben Engel mit den våtern vnd propheten geredt haben / Aber nye keiner ist vor[3] yhnen vmb furbit gebeten wordenn / Das[4] auch der ertzuater Jacob seinenn kampffengel nicht vmb furbit bat / sondern nam allein den segen von yhm. Man findet aber wol das widerspiel[5] yn Apocalypsi[6] / das der Engel sich nicht wolt lassen anbetten von Joanne[7]/ Vnnd findet sich also / das Heiligen dienst sey ein lauter menschen tandt[8] / vnd ein eygen fůndlin ausser[9] Gottes wort vnd der schrifft.

Secondly, as you know, not a single word of God commands us to call upon either angels or saints for intercession. Nor do you have any example of this in Scripture, for we do find the beloved angels conversing with the fathers and prophets, but no angel was ever asked by them for intercession; even the patriarch Jacob didn't ask the angel he wrestled with for intercession, but just took the angel's blessing.[1] But we actually find a counterexample in Revelation, in that the angel would not allow himself to be worshipped by John.[2] And so it turns out that the worshipping of saints is nothing but man-made nonsense, a human contrivance unconnected with the word of God or with Scripture.

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[1] The previous 'yhr' is understood to go with 'Habt' as well.

[2] = NHG *dessen, dafür*.

[3] = 'von' (as corrected in the B edition).

[4] 'Das' can be read as introducing a further clause dependent on 'man findet'.

[5] = NHG *Gegenteil*.

[6] 'Apocalypsi' is the Latin dat/ablative form of 'Apocalypsis', here used as a German dat.

[7] The Latin ablative of 'Johannes', the author of the Book of Revelation.

[8] = NHG *Tand*.

[9] = NHG *außerhalb*.

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[1] Genesis 32: 24–9.

[2] Revelation 22: 8–9.

(c1r) Weil vns aber yn Gotes dienst nichts gebůrt furzunemen[1] on gottes befelh / Vnd wer es furnimpt / das ist ein gottes versuchung / Darumb ists nicht zu rathen noch zu leiden / das man die verstorbenn Heiligenn vmb furbitt anrůffe / oder anrůffen lere / sonder sols vil mehr verdamnen vnd meiden leren / Derhalben[2] ich auch nicht dazu rathen / vnd mein gewissen mit frembder missethat nicht beschweren wil. Es ist mir selber aus der massen saür worden / das ich mich von den Heiligen gerissen habe / denn ich vber alle masse[3] tieff drinnen gesteckt vnd ersoffen gewest bin. Aber das liecht des Euangelij[4] ist nu so helle am tag / das hinfurt niemand entschuldigt ist / wo er ym finsternis bleibt. Wir wissen fast alle wol / was wir thun sollen.

(c1r) But since in matters of divine worship it is not right for us to undertake anything which is not commanded by God – and anyone doing so is tempting[1] God –, for that reason it is neither advisable nor acceptable to call on the departed saints for intercession or to teach others to call on them, but rather to condemn the practice and teach others to avoid it, which is why I won't recommend it either, nor burden my conscience with the wrongs of others. It became exceedingly painful for me to tear myself away from the saints, as I was too deeply rooted and immersed in the practice. But now the light of the Gospel shines so brightly that no-one has an excuse for remaining in darkness any longer. We are all well aware what we have to do.

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[1] = NHG *weil es sich aber nicht gebührt, dass wir uns im Dienst Gottes etwas vornehmen.*
[2] = NHG *weshalb.*
[3] 'aus der massen' and 'uber alle masse' both = NHG *über die Maßen.*
[4] Latin gen of *Evangelium.*

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[1] Both German *versuchen* and Engl. *tempt* have the sense of 'defy, challenge' here; see Matthew 4: 7.

Vber das[1] so ists an ym selbs ein ferlicher[2] ergerlicher dienst / das die leute gewonen gar leicht sich von Christo zu wenden / vnd lernen bald mehr zuuersicht auff die Heiligen / denn auff Christo selbs zu setzen / Denn es ist die natur on das all zu seer geneigt von got vnd Christo zu fliehen / vnd auff menschen zu trawen / Ja es wird aus der massen schweer / das man lerne auff Got vnd Christum[3] trawen / wie wir doch gelobt haben vnnd schuldig[4] sind / Darumb ist solch ergernis nicht zu dulden / damit die schwachen vnd fleischlichen leute ein abgͦterey anrichten / widder das erste gebot / vnd wider vnser tauffe. Man treibe[5] nur getrost die zuuersicht vnd vertrawen von den Heiligen zu Christo / beide mit leren vnd vben / es hat dennoch mͥhe vnd hindernis gnug / das man zu jm kompt vnd recht ergreifft. Man darff den Teuffel nicht vber die thͥr malen / Er findet sich wol selbs.

Besides, it is in itself a dangerous, outrageous form of worship if it means that people very easily get used to turning away from Christ and quickly learn to place more trust in the saints than in Christ himself. For even without this, nature is all too prone to flee from God and Christ and place trust in human beings. In fact it becomes exceedingly difficult to learn to trust in God and Christ, even though this is what we have promised and are bound to do. So an outrage like this is not to be tolerated, one which leads those who are weak and of the flesh to start practising idolatry against the first commandment[1] and against our baptism. One may well switch one's confidence and trust from the saints to Christ in both teaching and practice, but it is still quite a struggle and a challenge to come to him and grasp him properly. You don't need to paint the devil over the door – he'll find his own way in.[2]

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[1] = NHG *Überdies*.
[2] 'an ym' = NHG *an sich*; 'ferlicher' = NHG *gefährlicher*.
[3] 'Christum' is a Latin accusative.
[4] 'geloben und schuldig sein' 'make a vow and be obliged, bound' is a legal formula.
[5] ENHG *treiben* = 'move across, switch'.

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[1] i.e. the first of the Ten Commandments: 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me', Exodus 20: 3 (King James Version).
[2] A proverbial expression indicating how easy it is to be tempted.

Zu letzt / sind wir ja gewiß / das got nicht drumb zurnet / vnd sind wol sicher / ob wir die Heiligen nicht vmb furbit anrŭffen / weil ers nirgent geboten hat / denn er spricht / das er sey ein eyfferer / der die missethat heimsucht an denen / die sein gebot nicht halten / Hie aber ist kein gebot / darumb auch keinn zorn zu furchten. Weil denn hie auff diser seiten sicherheit ist / vnd dort grosse fahr[1] vnd ergernis wider gottes wort / Warumb wolten wir vns denn aus der sicherheit begeben yn die fahr / da wir kein Gottes wort haben / das vns in der not / halten / trŏsten oder erretten kan? Denn es stehet ge-(c1v)schriben, Wer sich gern in die fahr gibt / der wird drinnen vmkomen. Auch spricht gottes gebott / Du solt got deinen herrn nicht versuchen.

Finally, we actually know for certain that God won't be angry about this and we will be quite safe even if we don't call upon the saints for intercession, as He has never commanded it, for He says that He is a jealous God, who visits their wrongs on those who don't keep His commandments.[1] But there is no commandment here and so no wrath to be feared either. Since, therefore, we have here on one side certainty, and there great danger and outrage against God's word, why would we then want to give up certainty for danger where we do not have the word of God to sustain, comfort, and save us in need? For it is (c1v) written, 'Anyone who courts danger will die by it'.[2] Also, God's commandment says, 'You must not tempt the Lord your God'.[3]

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[1] = NHG *Gefahr.*

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[1] Exodus 20: 5.
[2] Ecclesiasticus 3: 26 (Apocrypha).
[3] Deuteronomy 6: 16.

Ja sprechen sie / damit verdampstu die gantzen Christenheit die allenthalben solchs bißher gehalten hat. Antwort / Ich weiß fast wol / das die Pfaffen vnd Münich[1] / solchen deckel yhrer grewel[2] suchen / vnd wöllen auff die Christenheit schieben / was sie verwarloset haben[3] / Auff das / wenn wir sagen / die Christenheit yrre nicht / so sollen wir auch sagen / das sie auch nicht yrren / vnd also kein lügen auch yrrthum an yn müge gestrafft werden[4] / weil es die Christenheit so helt. Also ist denn keine walfart (wie offenberlich der teufel da sey) kein ablas (wie grob die lügen sey) vnrecht. Kurtzumb eytel heiligkeit ist da / Darumb solt yr hie zu so sagen / Wir handeln ytzt nicht wer verdampt odder nicht verdampt sei. Dise frembde sache mengen sie da her[5] / das[6] sie vns von vnser sache furen / Wir handeln ytzt von gottes wort / was die Christenheit sey oder thu / das gehöret auff ein ander ort. Hie fragt man / was gottes wort sey odder nit. Was gottes wort nit ist / das macht auch keine Christenheit.

Of course they claim in this way you condemn all Christians who have until now been observing this practice everywhere. My answer: I am very well aware that priests and monks seek to use this as cover for their abominations and try to shift the blame onto all Christians for what they have neglected – so that if we say Christians don't err we must therefore be saying that they don't err either, and so they cannot be punished for any lie or error, since this is what Christians practise. This means that no pilgrimage (however obviously the devil is involved) and no indulgence[1] (however blatant the lies) is wrong. In short, it is all pure holiness. So here you should say the following: We're not dealing at this point with who is condemned or not condemned. This irrelevant point they add into the mix to distract us from the matter at hand. We're dealing now with the word of God: what Christians are or do belongs elsewhere. Here the question is, 'What is or is not the word of God?' What is not the word of God is not part of Christianity either.

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[1] = NHG *Mönch*e.

[2] = NHG *Gräuel*, here pl.

[3] Here *verwahrlosen* is transitive.

[4] Lit. ' … and therefore no lie or error in them can be punished'.

[5] = NHG *darunter mengen*, here possibly a culinary image ('stir in').

[6] 'das' = 'in order that'.

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[1] On the sale of indulgences, see the Introduction to the edition of the *95 Theses*, https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/ablassgnade6/ .

Wir lesen zur zeit Helie des propheten / das offentlich kein gottes wort noch gottes dienst war ym gantzen volck Israel / wie er spricht / Herr sie haben deine propheten getŏdt / vnd deine altar vmbgegraben / Vnd bin ich gar alleine. Hie wird der kŏnig Ahab vnd andere auch gesagt haben / Elia / mit solcher rede verdampstu das gantz volck gottes. Aber gott hatte gleich wol sieben tausent behalten. Wie? Meinstu nit das got vnter dem Bapstum ytzt auch habe kŏnnen die seinen erhalten / ob gleich die pfaffen vnd münche in der Christenheit eytel teufels lerer gewest / vnd in die hell gefaren sind? Es sind gar vil kinder vnd junges volck gestorben in Christo / Denn Christus hat mit gewalt vnter seinen Widerchrist die taufe dazu den blossen text des Euangelij auff der cantzel / vnd das Vater vnser / vnd den glauben[1] erhalten / damit er gar viel seiner Christen[2] vnd also seine Christenheit erhalten / vnd den teuffels lerern nichts dauon gesagt.[3]

We read that in the days of the prophet Elijah there was no preaching of God's word in public and no worship of God throughout the people of Israel, as he says, 'Lord, they have slain your prophets and demolished your altars, and I am all alone.'[1] Here King Ahab and others might have also said, 'Elijah, with that sort of talk you condemn all the people of God.' But God had nevertheless spared seven thousand.[2] How? Do you not think that under the papacy today God could also have preserved his own, even though the priests and monks in Christendom have been nothing but teachers of the Devil and have gone to hell? A great many infants and children have died in Christ,[3] for under the Antichrist[4] Christ has, through his power, preserved baptism, as well as the simple text of the Gospel read out from the pulpit, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, and in doing so he has preserved very many of his Christians and therefore his Christendom, without mentioning any of it to those teachers of the Devil.

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[1] The Creed.
[2] Lit. 'much (i.e. many) of his Christians'.
[3] The auxiliary 'hat' is understood at the end of this clause which starts with 'damit'.

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[1] 1 Kings 19: 10, 14.
[2] 1 Kings 19: 18.
[3] These are people too young to profess their faith but saved by baptism and prayer.
[4] Luther often referred to the pope as 'the Antichrist'; cf. the 'Passional Christi und Antichristi' https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/passional.

Vnd ob die Christen gleich[1] haben etlich stůcke der Bǎpstlichen grewel gethan / so haben die Bapstesel damit noch nicht be(c2r)weiset / das die lieben Christen solchs gern gethan haben / vil weniger ist damit beweiset / das die Christen recht gethan haben. Christen kǒnnen wol yrren / vnd sundigen allesampt / Gott aber hat sie allesampt leren betten vmb vergebung der sunden ym vater vnser / vnd hat yhr[2] solch sunde / die sie haben mussen / vngern / vnwissend / vnd von dem Widerchrist gezwungen thun / wol wissen[3] zu vergeben / vnd dennoch pfaffen vnd mǔnchen nichts dauon sagen. Aber das kan man wol beweisen / das yn aller welt ymer ein gros heimlich mummeln vnd klagen gewest ist widder die geistlichen / als giengen sie mit der Christenheit nicht recht vmb[4] / Vnnd die Bapstesel haben auch solchem mummeln mit fewr vnd schwerd trefflich widerstanden biß auff dise zeit daher. Solch mummeln beweiset wol / wie gern die Christen solch grewel gesehen / vnnd wie recht man daran gethan habe.

And even if Christians have had some part in this papal abomination, the donkeys of popedom have still not thereby proved (c2r) that good Christians did so willingly, still less does this prove that Christians were right to do so. All Christians can undoubtedly err and sin, but God has taught them all to pray for the forgiveness of sins in the Lord's Prayer, and He was well able to forgive them those sins which – unwillingly, unwittingly, or compelled by the Antichrist – they couldn't help committing, and yet without mentioning any of this to priests or monks. But it's easy to prove that throughout the world there has always been a great deal of private muttering and complaining against the clergy that they were not doing right by Christians. And the donkeys of popedom have been valiantly resisting such muttering with fire and the sword right down to the present day. This muttering is clear evidence of how happy Christians have been about this abomination, and how right it was to be involved in it.[1]

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[1] 'ob … gleich' = NHG *obgleich / obwohl*.

[2] This can be read as the dat sg of 'sie' referring grammatically to 'Christenheit' from the previous paragraph; 'ihnen' would have been more consistent with 'Christen' in this paragraph.

[3] = NHG *gewusst*: past part of *wissen* without *ge-* prefix; goes with 'hat' in the previous line.

[4] = NHG *als ob sie … nicht recht umgingen*.

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[1] Luther is being sarcastic here. The paragraph continues in the original.

Ja lieben Bǎpstesel / komet nu her / vnd saget / Es sey der Christenheit lere / was yr erstuncken / erlogen[1] / vnd als die bőßwichter vnd verrether der lieben Christenheit mit gewalt auffgedrungen / vnd als die Ertzmőrder vil Christen drŭber ermőrdet habt[2] / zeugen doch alle buchstaben yn allen Bapsts gesetzen / das nichts aus willen vnd rath der Christenheit ye mals sey gelert / sonder eytel districte / precipiendo mandamus ist da / das ist yhr heiliger geist gewest. Solch tyrranney hat die Christenheit mŭssen leiden / damit yhr das sacrament geraubt / vnd on yhr schuld / so yn gefencknus gehalten ist. Vnd die Esel wolten solch vnleidlich tyranney yhrs freuels vns ytzt fur ein willige that vnd exempel der Christenheit verkauffen / vnd sich so fein putzen.[3] Aber es will ytzt zu lang werdenn.[4] Es sey das mal gnug auff die frage / Ein andermal mehr / Vnd haltet mir meine lange schrifft zu gut. Christus vnser Herr sey mit vns allen. Amen.

Ex Eremo octaua Septembris. 1530.

Martinus Luther
Ewr guter freundt.

Dem Erbarn vnd fursichtigen N. meinem gŭnstigen herrn vnd freunde.

So out with it, beloved donkeys of popedom, and say that this is part of Christian teaching, this stinking pack of lies which you, as villains and traitors, have come up with and forced on good Christians and which you, as wicked murderers, have killed great numbers of them for. But then again, every letter of every papal law is testimony that none of their teaching has ever reflected the will or consent of Christians; instead, there is nothing in it but *destricte precipiendo mandamus.*[1] That has been their Holy Spirit! This is the sort of tyranny that Christians have had to endure, by which they have been robbed of the sacrament, and so held captive through no fault of their own. And now the donkeys would palm off on us this intolerable tyranny of their own wickedness as a voluntary act and an example of Christian practice and preen themselves in doing so. But this is already getting too long. Let it do as an answer to your question for now – more another time. And excuse this long letter. May Christ our Lord be with us all. Amen.

From the Wilderness,[2] 8 September 1530

Your good friend
Martin Luther

To the honourable and judicious 'N', my generous patron and friend

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[1] 'erstunken' and 'erlogen' are often used together by Luther to mean 'shamefully fabricated'.

[2] 'habt' should be taken with the past parts 'erstuncken', 'erlogen', 'aufgedrungen', and 'ermördet'.

[3] Lit. 'dress up finely'.

[4] This was a typical formula for ending letters at the time; cf. examples of the final paragraphs of letters in the 'Titelbüchlein vom geystlichen und weltlichen standt' discussed in Introduction 1 (Nuremberg 1513), fol. xxvij: *yetz nit mer meiner vnmuß halben.*

[1] Latin: 'We firmly instruct and command', a phrase used in papal bulls.

[2] 'Ex eremo' is how Luther signed the letters he wrote from Coburg Fortress in 1530; see Introduction 1.

Glossary of Names

St **Ambrose**. 339—397. A Roman Christian who became Bishop of Milan. Like St Augustine, he was a 'Father of the Church', whose orthodoxy in matters of scriptural interpretation was not in doubt.

Aristotle. 384—322 B.C. Greek philosopher whose works on logic and ethics Luther taught but later rejected.

St **Augustine**. 354—430. North African Christian who became Bishop of Hippo. Luther had been a monk in the Order of St Augustine. See St **Ambrose**.

Bungler (of Dresden). See **Emser**.

Matthäus Aurogallus. c 1490—1543. Professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg. Colleague of Luther's and collaborator on the translation of the Old Testament. Aurogallus is a Latinized version of his birth name Goldhahn (literally 'golden cock').

Johann **Dobeneck**. 1479—1552. Secretary to **George** of Saxony and opponent of Luther. Helped prepare the case against the Reformers at the Diet of Augsburg (see Introduction 1). Luther's nickname of 'Rotzlöffel' (literally 'Snot-spoon' but translated here as 'Snotty-Nose') refers to an upstart youth, but it is an elaborate pun. Dobeneck came from Wendelstein near Nuremberg; the name 'Wendelstein' literally means 'winding stone' and Dobeneck called himself Johann Cochläus based on the Latin 'cochlea' which means 'snail' or 'spiral'. Luther plays on the similarity between this and the Latin word 'cochlear', meaning 'spoon'.

Hieronymus **Emser**. 1477—1527. Also referred to as 'Bungler of Dresden'. Court Theologian to Duke George of Saxony and antagonist of Luther's. Wrote a long critique of Luther's New Testament and in 1527 produced a corrected version of Luther's New Testament (see Introduction 1 and 2).

Johann **Faber** of Leutkirch. 1478—1541. Real name Johann Heigerlin. Once a friend of Erasmus's and supporter of the Reformers, he turned hostile in the early 1520s. Became Bishop of Vienna in 1530. Helped prepare the case against the Reformers at the Diet of Augsburg (on whom see Introduction 1). Called himself Faber after his father, a blacksmith (Latin 'faber' means 'craftsman'), and Luther mocks him by translating this into German as 'Schmidt'.

Duke **George** of Saxony. 1471—1539. Cousin of the Elector of Saxony (on whom see Introduction 1) and opponent of Luther. Demanded that in his territory Luther's German translations of the New Testament should be collected and burned, and later wrote a preface to Emser's New Testament which was hostile to Luther.

St **Jerome**. c 347—420. Translator of the Bible into Latin. His version, known as the 'Vulgate', was to become the Catholic Church's official text of the Bible. Luther likened himself to Jerome in that both were criticized by their contemporaries for their Bible translations (see Introduction 2).

Wenceslas **Linck**. 1483—1547. Close friend of Luther's from student days. Became Dean of the Faculty of Theology at Wittenberg and Vicar General of the Augustinian Order. Resigned in 1523 to follow Luther. Linck was the recipient of the *Sendbrief*, and his account of how it came into his possession was a fiction agreed with Luther (see Introduction 1).

Philip **Melanchthon**. 1497—1560. Professor of Greek at Wittenberg, and a friend, close colleague, and collaborator of Luther's on the translation of the Bible. A leading reformer who played a major part in the Diet of Augsburg (see Introduction 1). 'Melanchthon' is a Hellenization of his birth name 'Schwartzerdt' analysed as 'schwarze Erde' 'black earth'; however, *-ert* was a suffix used in a number of surnames and is unlikely to be linked etymologically to 'Erde'.

Dr **Schmidt**. See Johann Faber of Leutkirch.
Dr **Snotty-Nose**. See Johann Dobeneck.
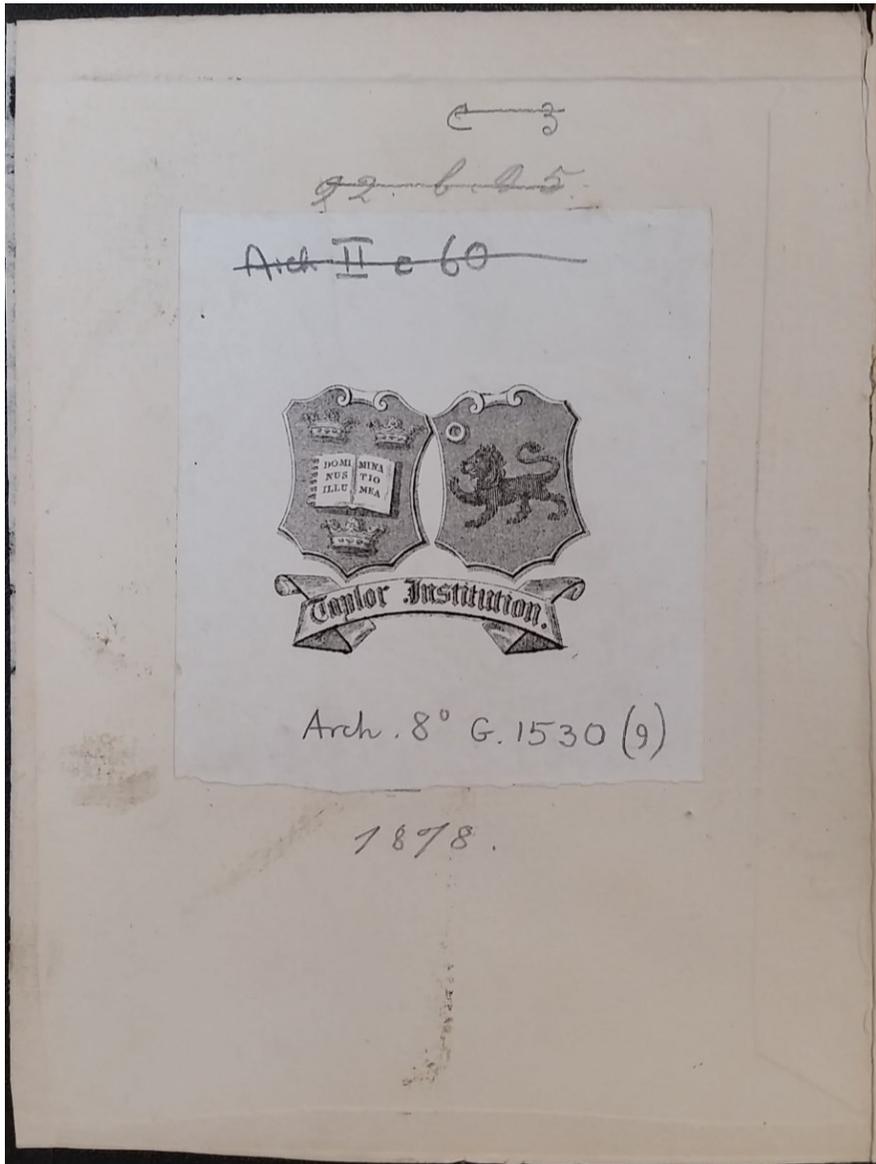
Upper pastedown of the *Sendbrief*, ARCH.8°.G.1530 (9),
with the Taylor Institution crest and former shelfmarks

Ein sendbrieff D.
M. Lutthers.

Von Dolmetzschen
vnd Fürbit der
heiligenn.

M·D·XXX·

Titlepage (a1r)

Wenczeslaus Linck allen
Christglaubigenn

Gottes gnad vnd barmhertzigkeit. Der weise Salo
mon spricht Prou.11. Wer korn inhelt/dem fluchen
die leute. Aber sege kompt vber den/so es verkaufft.
Welcher spruch eigentlich zu vorstehen ist von allem
das zu gemeinem nutze odder tröste der Christen=
heit dienen kan. Darumb schilt auch der Herr jm Euangelio
den vntrewen knecht einen faulen schalck/das er sein gelt in die er
den vergraben vnd verborgen hatte. Solchen fluch des herren
vnd der gantzen gemein zu vermeiden/hab ich diesen sendtbrieff/
der mir durch einen guten freundt zu handen kommen/nit wis=
sen zu verhalten/sonder offentlich in druck geben/Dann die weil
der verdolmetzschunge halben / altes vnnd newes testaments /
vil rede sich zutragen/Nemlich die feinde der warheit furgeben/
sam were der text an vilen orten geendert / odder auch verfel=
schet / da durch viel einfeltige Christen / auch vntern gelerten /
so der Hebreischen vnnd Grekischen sprache nit kundig / ent=
satzunge odder schew gewinnen / Ist güttlich zu verhoffen das
auffs minste zum teil hie mit den gottlosen/ jhr lestern vorhin
dert /vnnd den frommen jhr scrupel benommen sollen werden/
Villeicht auch verursachet/das ettwas mehrers auff solche frag
stuck odder materi/geschriben werde/Bitt der halben einen ieden
liebhaber der warheit/ wölle jhm sollich werck jm besten lassen
entpfolhen sein/ vnd Gott treulich bitten vmb rechten vorstandt
der Göttlichen schrifft zu besserung vnnd meh=
rung gmeiner Christenheit. Amen. Zu
Nürmberg am 15. Septem
bris. Anno 1530.

Facsimile of a1v

Dem Erbarn vnd fursichtigen
N. meinem günstigen Herrn vnd freunde.

Nad vnd fride in Chri
sto/ Erber fursichtiger lieber Herr vn freund/
ich hab ewer schrifft entpfangen mit den zwo
questionen odder fragen/ darin yhr meines be
richts begert. Erstlich warumb ich zun Rö=
mern am dritten capitel / die wort S. Pauli
Arbitramur hominem iustificari ex fide absch operibus / al=
so verdeutsch habe. Wir halten / das der mensch gerecht werde
on des gesetzs werck/allein durch den glauben/Vn zeigt danebe
an/wie die Papisten sich vber die massen vnnütze machen / weil
ym text Pauli nicht stehet das wort Sola (Allein) vnd sey solch=
er zusatz von mir nicht zu leiden ynn Gottes wortten rc. Zum
andern/ob auch die verstorben Heiligen fur vns bitten/weil wir
lesen/das ja die Engel fur vns bitten rc. Auff die ersten frage
(wo es euch gelustet) mügt yr ewern Papisten von meinet wege
antworten also.

Zum ersten/Wenn ich D. Luther mich hette mügen des ver
sehen/das die Papisten alle auff einen hauffen so geschickt were/
dz sie ein Capitel yn der schrifft kündten recht vnd wol verteutsch
en/So wolt ich furwar mich der demut haben finden lassen/vn
sie vmb hilff vnd beystand gebeten das Newe Testament zuuer
teutschen. Aber die weil ich gewüst/vnd noch vor augen sihe/das
yhr keiner recht weiß/wie man dolmetschen/odder teutsch reden
sol/hab ich sie vnd mich solcher mühe vberhaben / Das merckt
man aber wol/das sie aus meinem dolmetschen vnd teutsch/ler
nen teutsch reden vn schreiben/ vn stelen mir also meine sprache/
dauon sie zuuor wenig gewist/dancken mir aber nicht dafur/son
dern brauchen sie viel lieber wider mich. Aber ich gan es jn wol/
den es thut mir doch sanfft/dz ich auch meine vndanckbare jünger

a ij   dazu

Facsimile of a2r

dazu meine frinde reden gelert habe.

Zum andern mügt yhr sagen/ das ich das Newe Testamēt
verdeutscht habe/ auff mein bestes vermügen vnd auff mein ge
wissen/ habe damit niemand gezwungen / das ers lese / sondern
frey gelasen/ vnd allein zu dienst gethan denen/ die es nicht besser
machen können/ Ist niemandt verboten ein bessers zu machen.
Wers nicht lesen wil/ der las es ligen/ ich bite vnd feyre niemādt
drumb. Es ist mein testament vnd mein dolmetschung / vnd sol
mein bleiben vnnd sein. Hab ich drinnen etwa gefeilet (das mir
doch nicht bewüst/ vnd freilich vngern einen büchstaben mütwil
liglich wolt vnrecht verdolmetschen) darüber wil ich die Papistē
nicht zu richter leiden/ denn sie haben noch zur zeit zu lange ohren
dazu/ vnd yhr ycka ycka ist zu schwach mein verdolmetschen zu
vrteilen/ Ich weiß wol/ vnd sie wissens weniger/ denn des Mül=
ners thier/ was fur kunst/ fleiß/ vernunfft/ verstandt zum gutten
dolmetscher gehöret/ denn sie habens nicht versucht.

Es heist/ Wer am wege bawet/ der hat viel meister. Also ge
het mirs auch. Die jhenigen die noch nye haben recht reden kön=
nen/ schweige den dolmetschen/ die sind allzumal meine meister/
vnd ich mus yhr aller junger sein. Vnd wenn ich sie hette sollen
fragen/ wie man die ersten zwey wort Matthei.1. Liber Genera
tionis solte verdeutschen/ so hette yhr keiner gewist gack dazu zu
sagen/ Vnd vrteilen mir nu das gantze werck/ die feinen geselle.
Also gieg es S. Hieronymo auch/ da er die Biblia dolmetscht/
da war alle welt sein meister/ Er allein war es/ der nichts kun=
te/ Vnd vrteileten dem guten man sein werck/ die jhenige / so ym
nicht gnug gewest weren/ das sie ym die schuch hetten solle wisch
en/ Darumb gehöret grosse gedult dazu/ so yemād etwas offent
lich guts thun will/ denn die wellt wil meister klüglin bleiben/
vnd mus ymer das Ros vnter dem schwantz zeumen / alles mei
stern/ vnnd selbs nichts können / das ist yhr art/ dauon sie nicht
lassen kan.

Ich wolt noch gern den Papisten ansehē/ der sich erfur thet/
vnd etwa eine epistel S. Pauli oder einen Propheten verdeutsch
et/ So

et/ So fern/ das er des Luthers teutsch vñ dolmetzschen nicht da
zu gebraucht/ da solt man sehen ein fein/ schön/ loblich deutsch od
der dolmetzschen/ Deñ wir haben ja gesehē den Sudler zu Dre
sen/ der mein New Testament gemeistert hat (ich wil seinen na=
men yn meinen büchern nicht mehr nennen/ So hat er auch nun
seinen richter/ vnd ist sonst wol bekandt) der bekennet/ das mein
deutsch susse vnd gut sey/ vnd sahe wol/ das ers nicht besser ma=
chen kundt/ vñ wolt es doch zu schandē machen/ fur zu/ vnd nam
fur sich mein New Testament/ fast von wort zu wort / wie ichs
gemacht hab/ vnd thet meine vorrhede/ gloß vnd namen dauon/
schreib seinen namen / vorrhede vnd gloß dazu / verkaufft also
mein New Testament vnter seinem namen/ Wañ liebe kinder/
wie geschach mir da so wehe/ da sein landsfurst mit einer grew=
lichen vorrhede verdampt/ vnd verbot des Luthers New Testa
ment zu lesen/ Doch daneben gebot des Sudelers New Testa=
ment zu lesen/ welchs doch eben dasselbig ist/ das der Luther ge=
macht hat.

Vnd das nicht yemand hie dencke/ ich liege / So nym beide
Testament fur dich / des Luthers vnd des Sudelers/ halt sie ge
gen ein ander/ so wirstu sehē/ wer yn allen beidē der dolmetzscher
sey/ Denn was er yn wenig orten geflickt vnd geendert hat (wie
wol mirs nicht alles gefellet) So kan ichs doch wol leiden/ vnnd
schadet mir sonderlich nichts/ so viel es den text betrifft/ darumb
ich auch nie da wider hab wöllen schreiben/ sondern hab der gros
sen weißheit müssen lachen/ das man mein New Testament so
grewlich gelestert/ verdampt/ verboten hat / weil es vnter meinē
namen ist außgangen/ Aber doch müssen lesen/ weil es vnter ei=
nes andern namen ist außgangen. Wie wol/ was das fur ein tu
gent sey/ einem andern sein büch lestern vnd schenden / darnach
das selbige stelen/ vnd vnter eigenem namen dennoch auß lassen
gehen/ vnd also durch frembde verlesterte erbeyt eygen lob vnd
namen süchen/ das las ich seinen richter finden. Mir ist ynn des
gnug/ vnd bin fro/ das meine erbeit (wie S. Paulus auch rhü=
met) muß auch durch meine feinde gefördert / vnd des Luthers

a iij   buch

büch on Luthers namen/vnter seiner feinde namen gelesen wer=
den/ Wie künd ich mich bas rechen?

Vnd das ich wider zur sachen kome/ Wañ ewr Papist sich
vil vnnütze machen wil mit dem wort (Sola Allein) so sagt jm
flugs also/ Doctor Martinus Luther wils also haben/ vnnd
spricht/ Papist vnd Esel sey ein ding. Sic volo/sic iubeo/sit pro
ratione voluntas. Denn wir wöllen nicht der Papisten schuler
noch jünger/ sonder yhre meister vnd richter sein/ Wöllen auch
ein mal stolzieren vñ pochen mit den Esels köpffen/ vñ wie Pau
lus wider seine tollen Heiligen sich rhümet/ so wil ich mich auch
widder diese meine Esel rhümen. Sie sind doctores? Ich auch.
Sie sind gelert? Ich auch. Sie sind Prediger? Ich auch. Sie
sind Theologi? Ich auch. Sie sind Disputatores? Ich auch. Sie
sind Philosopi? Ich auch. Sie sind Dialectici? Ich auch. Sie
sind Legenten? Ich auch. Sie schreiben bücher? Ich auch.

Vnd wil weiter rhümen/ Ich kan Psalmen vnd Prophete
außlegen/ Das künnen sie nicht. Ich kan dolmetzschen/ Dz kön=
nen sie nicht. Ich kan die heiligen schrifft lesen/ Das können sie
nicht. Ich kan biten/ Das können sie nicht. Vnd das ich herun=
ter kome/ Ich kan yhr eygen Dialectica vnd Philosophia bas/
denn sie selbs allesampt. Vnd weiß dazu fur war/ das yhr kei=
ner yhren Aristotelem verstehet. Vnnd ist einer vnter yn allen
der ein proemium odder Capittel ym Aristotele recht verstehet/
so wil ich mich lassen prellen. Ich rede ytzt nicht zuuil/deñ ich bin
durch yhre kunst alle erzogen vnd erfaren von jugent auff/ weiß
fast wol wie tieff vnd weit sie ist. So wissen sie auch wol/ das
ichs alles weiß vnd kan/ was sie können/ Noch handeln die heil
losen leute gegen mir/ als were ich ein gast jnn yhrer kunst/ der al
ler erst heut morgen komen were/ vñ noch nie weder gesehen noch
gehört hette/ was sie leren odder können/ So gar herrlich pran=
gen sie herein mit yhrer kunst/ vnd leren mich/ was ich vor zwen
tzig jaren an den schuhen zu rissen habe/ das ich auch mit jhener
metzen auff all yhr plerren vnd schreien singen mus/ Ich habs
fur siben jaren gewist/ das hüffnegel eysen sind.

Das

Das sey auff ewr erste Frag geantwortet/ vñ bitte euch/ wöl
let solchen Eseln ja nicht anders noch mehr antworten auff yhr
vnnütze geplerre/vom wort Sola/ Denn also viel/ Luther wils
so haben/ vñ spricht/ Er sey ein Doctor vber alle Doctor jm gan
tzen Bapstum/ da sols bey bleiben/ Ich will sie hinfürt schlecht
verachten/ vnd veracht haben/ so lange sie solche leute(ich wolt sa
gen) Esel sind/ Denn es sind solche vnuerschempte tropffen vn=
ter yhn/ die auch yhr eigen der Sophisten kunst nye gelernt ha=
ben/ wie Doctor Schmidt/ vnd doctor Rotzlöffel/ vnd seine glei
chen/ vnd legen sich gleich wol widder mich/ yn dieser sachen/ die
nicht allein vber die sophisterey/ sondern auch(wie sanct Paulus
sagt)vber aller welt weißheit vnd vernunfft ist. Zwar es durfft
ein Esel nicht viel singen/ man kennet yn sonst wol bey den ohre.

Euch aber vnd den vnsern wil ich anzeigen/ warumb ich dz
wort(sola)hab wöllen brauchen/ Wiewol Roma.3.nicht sola/
sondern solum odder tantum von mir gebraucht ist. Also sein se
hen die Esel meinen text an. Aber doch hab ichs sonst anders wo
sola fide gebraucht vñ wil auch beide solum vnd sola haben. Ich
hab mich des geflissen ym dolmetzschen/ das ich rein vnd klar
teutsch geben möchte. Vnd ist vns wol offt begegnet/ das wir
viertzehen tage/drey/vier wochen haben ein einiges wort gesücht
vnd gefragt/ habens dennoch zu weilen nicht funden. Im Hiob
erbeiten wir also/ M.Philips/ Aurogallus vnd ich/ das wir yn
vier tagen zu weilen kaum drey zeilen kundten fertigen. Lieber/
nu es verdeutscht vñ bereit ist/ kans ein yeder lesen vnd meistern/
Laufft einer ytzt mit den augen durch drey vier bletter vnd stost
nicht ein mal an/ wird aber nicht gewar welche wacken vnd klö=
tze da gelegen sind/ da er ytzt vber hin gehet/ wie vber ein gehof=
felt bret/ da wir haben müssen schwitzen vñ vns engsten/ ehe den
wir solche wacken vnd klotze aus dem wege reümeten/ auff das
man kündte so fein daher gehen. Es ist gut pflugen/ wenn der
acker gereinigt ist. Aber den wald vnd die stöcke aus rotten/ vnd
dē acker zu richten/ da will niemandt an. Es ist bey der welt kein
danck zu verdienen/ Kan doch Got selbs mit der sonnen/ ja mit
himel

Facsimile of a3v   Facsimile of a4r

himel vnd erden/noch mit seines eigen sons tod keinen danck ver
dienen/sie sey vñ bleibt welt deß teuffels namen/weil sie ja nicht
anders will.

Also habe ich hie Roma.3.fast wol gewist/ das ym Lateini
schen vnd kriegischen text das wort(solum)nicht stehet/vnd hettē
mich solchs die papisten nicht dürffen leren. War ists. Dise vier
buchstaben s o l a stehen nicht drinnen / welche buchstaben die
Eselsköpff ansehen/wie die kue ein new thor/Sehen aber nicht
das gleichwol die meinung des text ynn sich hat/ vnd wo mans
wil klar vnd gewaltiglich verteutschen/so gehoret es hinein/ deñ
ich habe deutsch/nicht lateinisch noch kriegisch reden wöllen / da
ich teutsch zu reden ym dolmetzschen furgenomen hatte. Das ist
aber die art vnser deutschen sprache/wenn sie ein rede begibt/von
zweyen dingen/der man eins bekennet/vñ das ander verneinet/
so braucht man des worts solum(allein)neben dem wort (nicht
oder kein)Als wenn man sagt/Der Baür bringt allein korn vñ
kein geldt/Nein/ich hab warlich ytzt nicht geldt / sondern allein
korn. Ich hab allein gessen vnd noch nicht getruncken.Hastu al=
lein geschrieben vnd nicht vberlesen?Vnd der gleichen vnzeliche
weise yn teglichen brauch.

In disen reden alle/obs gleich die lateinische oder kriechische
sprach nicht thut/so thuts doch die deutsche/vnd ist yhr art / das
sie das wort(allein)hinzu setzt/auff das das wort (nicht odder
kein)deste volliger vnd deutlicher sey/Denn wie wol ich auch sa=
ge/Der Baür bringt korn vñ kein geld/ So laut doch das wort
(kein geldt)nicht so vollig vnd deutlich/als wenn ich sage / Der
Baür bringt allein korn vnd kein geldt/ vnd hilfft hie das wort
(Allein)dem wort(kein)so viel/das es ein vollige Deutsche klare
rede wird/den man mus nicht die buchstaben inn der lateinischē
sprachen frage/wie man sol Deutsch redē/wie diese esel thun/son
dern/man mus die mutter ihm hause/die kinder auff der gassen/
den gemeinen mā auff dem marckt drumb fragen/vñ den selbigē
auff das maul sehen/wie sie reden/vnd darnach dolmetzschen/so
verstehen sie es den/vñ mercken/das man Deutsch mit jn redet.
                                                          Als

Als wenn Christus spricht/Ex abundantia cordis os loqui
tur.Wenn ich den Eseln sol folgen/die werden mir die buchsta=
ben furlegen/vnd also dolmetzschen/ Auß dem vberflus des her
tzen redet der mund.Sage mir/ Ist das deutsch geredt? Welch
er deutscher verstehet solchs?Was ist vberflus des hertzē fur ein
ding? Das kan kein deutscher sagen/Er wolt denn sagen/es sey
das einer allzu ein gros hertz habe / oder zu vil hertzes habe/ wie
wol das auch noch nicht recht ist/deñ vberflus des hertzen ist kein
deutsch/so wenig/als das deutsch ist/Vberflus des hauses/vber
flus des kacheloffens/vberflus der banck/ sondern also redet die
mütter ym haus vnd der gemeine man / Wes das hertz vol ist/
des gehet der mund vber/dz heist gut deutsch geredt/des ich mich
geflissen/vñ leider nicht allwege erreicht noch troffen habe/ Deñ
die lateinischē buchstabē hindern aus der massen seer gut deutsch
zu reden.

Also/weñ der verrether Judas sagt/Matthei.26. Vt quid
perditio hec? Vnd Marci.14. Vt quid perditio ista vngenti fa
cta est? Folge ich den Eseln vnd buchstabilisten/ so mus ichs al=
so verdeutschen/ Warumb ist dise verlierung der salben gesche=
hen?Was ist aber das fur deutsch? Welcher deutscher redet al=
so/verlierung der salben ist geschehen? Vnd wenn ere wol ver=
stehet/so denckt er/die salbe sey verlozen/vnd musse sie etwa wi=
der suchen/ Wiewol das auch noch tunckel vnd vngewiß lautet.
Wenn nu das gut deutsch ist/warumb tretten sie nicht erfur/vñ
machen vns ein solch fein hubsch new deutsch Testament/vñ las=
sen des Luthers Testament ligen? Ich meine ja sie solten yhre
kunst an den tag bringen/Aber der deutsche man redet also/Vt
quid rc.Was sol doch solcher vnrat? odder/was sol doch solcher
schade?Nein/Es ist schade vmb die salbe/das ist gut deutsch/da
raus man verstehet/das Magdalene mit der verschutten salben
sey vnrethlich vmbgangen vnd habe schadenn gethan / das war
Judas meinung/denn er gedacht bessern rat damit zu schaffen.

Item da der Engel Mariam grüsset vnd spricht / Gegrüs=
set seistu Maria vol gnadē/der Herr mit dir?Wolan/so ists biß=
                                                    b   her/

her / schlecht den lateinischen buchstaben nach verdeutschet / sage
mir aber ob solchs auch gut deutsch sey? Wo redet der deutsch
man also / du bist vol gnaden? Vnd welcher Deutscher verste-
het / was gsagt sey / vol gnaden? Er mus dencken an ein vas rol
bier / oder beutel vol geldes / darumb hab ichs vordeutscht. Du
holdselige / da mit doch ein Deutscher / dester meher hin zu kan
dencken / was der engel meinet mit seinem grus. Aber hie wöl-
len die Papisten toll werden vber mich / das ich den Engelischen
grus verderbet habe. Wie wol ich dennoch da mit nicht das be-
ste deutsch habe troffen. Vnd hette ich das beste deutsch hie sol-
len nemen / vnd den grus also verdeutschen / Gott grusse dich du
liebe Maria (denn so vil wil der Engel sagen / vnd so wurde er
geredt haben / wan er hette wollen sie deutsch grussen) ich halt sie
solten sich wol selbs erhenckt haben fur grosser andacht / zu der
lieben Maria / das ich den grus so zu nichte gemacht hette.

Aber was frage ich darnach? sie toben oder rasen / ich wil
nicht wehren / das sie verdeutschen was sie wöllen / ich wil aber
auch verdeutsche / nicht wie sie wöllen / sonder wie ich wil / wer es
nicht haben wil / der las mirs stehen / vñ halt seine meisterschafft
bey sich / denn ich wil ir weder sehen noch hören / sie dorffen fur
mein dolmetzschen nicht antwort geben / noch rechenschafft thun /
Das hörestu wol / ich wil sagen / du holdselige Maria / du liebe
Maria . vnd las sie sagen / du volgnaden Maria. Wer Deutsch
kan / der weis wol / welch ein hertzlich fein wort das ist / die liebe
Maria / der lieb Gott / der liebe Keiser / der liebe fürst / der lieb
man / das liebe kind. Vnd ich weis nicht / ob man das wort liebe /
auch so hertzlich vnd gnugsam in Lateinischer oder andern spra-
chen reden müg / das also dringe vnd klinge ynns hertz / durch
alle sinne wie es thut in vnser sprache.

Denn ich halt S. Lucas als ein meister in Hebreischer vnd
Greckischer sprache / hab das Hebreisch wort / so der Engel ge-
braucht / wöllen mit dem Greckischen kecharitomeni / treffen vnd
deutlich geben. Vnd denck mir der Engel Gabriel habe mit
Maria geredt / wie er mit Daniel redet / vnd nennet jnn Ha-
mudoth

mudoth vñ Ich Damudoth / vir desideriorum / das ist / du lieber
Daniel. Denn das ist Gabrielis weise zu reden / wie wir jhm
Daniel sehen. Wenn ich nu den buchstaben nach / aus der esel
kunst / solt des Engels wort verdeutschen / muste ich also sagen /
Daniel du man der begirungen oder / Daniel du man der lüste /
O das were schon deutsch / Ein deutscher horet wol / das Man /
Lüste / oder begyrunge / deutsche wort sind / wie wol es nicht eytel
reine deutsche wort sind / sondern lust vnd begyr / weren wol bes-
ser. Aber wenn sie so zusamen gefasset werden / du man der begy-
rungen / so weiß kein deutscher was gesagt ist / denckt / das Da-
niel villeicht vol böser lust stecke / Das hiesse denn fein gedol-
metzscht. Darumb mus ich hie die buchstaben faren lassen / vnnd
forschen / wie der Deutsche man solchs redet / welchs der Ebrei-
sche mã isch Damudoth redet / So finde ich / das der deutsche mã
also spricht / Du lieber Daniel / du liebe Maria / oder du holdseli-
ge mad / du medliche junckfraw / du zartes weib / vnd der gleich-
en. Deñ wer dolmetzschen wil / mus grosse vorrath von worten
haben / das er die wol könne haben / wo eins dn allen orten nicht
lauten will.

Vnd was sol ich vil vnd lange sagen von dolmetzschenn?
Solt ich aller meiner wort vrsachen vnnd gedancken anzeigen /
ich müste wol ein jar dran zu schreiben haben. Was dolmetschen
fur kunst vnd erbeit sey / das hab ich wol erfaren / darumb wil ich
keinen papstesel noch maulesel / die nichts versucht habe / hierinn
zum richter oder thadeller leiden. Wer mein dolmetzschen nicht
wil / der las es anstehen / Der Teuffel dancke yhm / wers vnger-
ne hat oder on meinen willen vnd wissen meistert. Sols gemei-
stert werden / so wil ichs selber thun. Wo ichs selber nicht thu / da
lasse man mir mein dolmetzschen mit friden / vnd mache ein iglich
er was er wil fur sich selbs / vnd habe ym ein gut jar.

Das kan ich mit gutem gewissen zeugen / das ich meine höch-
ste trew vnd vleiß drinnen erzeigt / vnd nye kein falsche gedanckẽ
gehabt habe / denn ich habe keinen heller da fur genomen noch ge-
sücht / noch damit gewonnen / So hab ich meine ehre drinnẽ nicht

b ij   gemeinet

gemeinet/das weis Gott mein Herr/sondern habs zu dienst ge
than den lieben Christen/vnnd zu ehren einem der droben sitzet/
der mir alle stunde so vil guts thut/das wenn ich tausent mal so
vil vnd vleissig gedolmetzscht/dennoch nicht eine stunde verdienet
hette zu leben/odder ein gesundt auge zu haben/ Es ist alles sei=
ner gnaden vñ barmhertzigkeit/was ich bin vnd habe/ Ja es ist
seines theurē bluts vnd saüren schweißes/darumb sols auch(ob
Gott wil)alles yhm zu ehren dienen/mit freuden vnnd von her=
tzen. Lestern mich die Sudeler vnd Bapstesel/wol an/so lobenn
mich die frumen Christen sampt yhrem hern Christo / Vnd bin
allzu reichlich belohnet/wo mich nür ein einiger Christ fur einen
trewē erbeiter erkennet. Ich frag nach Bapsteseln nichts/sie sind
nicht werd/das sie meine erbeit sollen erkennen / vnd solt mir ym
grund meins hertzen leid sein/das sie mich lobetenn. Ihr lestern
ist mein höhester rhům vñ ehr/ Ich will doch ein Doctor/ja auch
ein ausbündiger Doctor sein/vnd sie sollen mir den namen nicht
nemen/ biß an den Jüngsten tag/ das weiß ich furwar.

Doch hab ich widerumb nicht allzu frey die buchstaben las=
sen faren/Sondern mit grossen sorgen sampt meinen gehülffen
drauff gesehen/das wo etwa an einem ort gelegenn ist/ hab ichs
nach den buchstaben behalten/vñ bin nicht so frey dauon gangē/
als Johannes .6.da Christus spricht/Disen hat Got der vatter
versiegelt/da were wol besser deutsch gewest/Disen hat Gott d'
vater gezeichent/odd' disen meinet Gott der vater. Aber ich habe
ehe wöllen der deutschen sprache abbrechen/ denn von dem wort
weichen. Ah es ist dolmetzschen ja nicht eines iglichen kunst / wie
die tollen Heiligē meinē/Es gehöret dazu ein recht/frum/trew/
vleissig/forchtsam/Christlich/geleret/erfarn/geübet hertz / Da-
rumb halt ich/das kein falscher Christ noch rottengeist trewlich
dolmetzschen könne/wie das wol scheinet inn den prophetenn zu
Wormbs verdeutschet/darinn doch warlich grosser vleis gesche
hen/vnd meinem deutschen fast nach gangen ist. Aber es sind Jü
den da bey gewest/die Christo nicht grosse hulde erzeigt haben/
sonst were kunst vnd vleiß genug da.

Das

Facsimile of b2v

Das sey vom dolmetzschen vñ art der sprachen gesagt. Aber
nu hab ich nicht allein der sprachen art vertrawet vnd gefolget/
das ich Roma.3.solum(Allein) hab hinzu gesetzt / Sonder der
text vnd die meinung S.Pauli foddern vnd erzwingens mit ge
wallt/denn er handelt ja daselbs das hauptstück Christlicher le=
re/nemlich das wir durch den glauben an Christū/ on alle werck
des gesetzs gerecht werden/Vnd schneit alle werck so rein abe/dz
er auch spricht/des gesetzes(das doch Gottes gesetz vñ wort ist)
werck nicht helffen zur gerechtigkeit/Vnd setzt zum exempel A=
braham/das der selbige sey so gar on werck gerecht worden/das
auch das höhest werck /das dazu mal new gepotē ward von got
fur vnd vber allen andern gesetzen vnd wercken/ nemlich die be=
schneidung/yhm nicht geholffen hab zur gerechtigkeit/sonder sey
on die beschneidungvnd on alle werck gerecht worden durch den
glaubē wie er spricht Cap.4. Ist Abraham durch werck gerecht
wordenn/so mag er sich rhümen/aber nicht fur Gott. Wo man
aber alle werck so rein abschneit/vñ da mus ja die meinung sein/
das allein der glaube gerecht mache/vnd wer deutlich vnd durre
von solchem abschneiden der werck redet wil/ der mus sagen/Al
lein der glaube/vnd nicht die werck machen vns gerecht/ dz zwin
get die sache selbs neben der sprachen art.

Ja sprechen sie/Es laut ergerlich/vnd die leute lernē daraus
verstehen/das sie keine gute werck thun dürffen. Lieber was sol
man sagen? Ists nicht viel ergerlicher/das S.Pauls selbs nicht
sagt/allein der glaube/sondern schuttets wol gröber eraus/ vnd
stosset dem faß den boden aus vnd spricht/On des gesetzs werck/
Vnd Gala.i.nicht durch die werck des gesetzes/vñ des vil mehr
an andern orten/denn das wort(allein der glaube)möcht noch
eine gloß findē/Aber das wort(on werck des gesetzs) ist so grob/
ergerlich/schendtlich/das man mit keiner glossenn helffen kan/
Wie viel mehr möchten hieraus die leute lernen kein gute werck
thun/da sie hören mit so durren starcken worten von den werckē
selbs predigen(Kein werck/on werck/nicht durch werck)ist nu dz
nicht ergerlich/das mā(on werck/kein werck/nicht durch werck)

b iij   predigt

Facsimile of b3r

predigt/was solts deñ ergerlich sein/so man diß(allein der glau
be)predigt?

Vnd dz noch ergerlich ist/S.Paulus verwürfft nicht schlech-
te gemeine werck/sonder des gesetzes selbs. Daraus möchte wol
yemand sich noch mehr ergern vnd sagen/Das gesetz sey verdápt
vnd verflucht fur Gott/ vnd man solle eytel boses thun / wie die
theten Roman.3.Last vns böses thun/ auff das es gut werde/
wie auch ein rotten geyst zu vnser zeit anfieng. Solt man vmb
solcher ergernis willen S. Paulus wort verlaugnen/oder nicht
frisch vnd frey vom glauben reden? Lieber eben S. Paulus vñ
wir wöllen solch ergernis haben/vñ leren vmb keiner ander vrsa
chen willen/so starck wider die werck/ vñ treiben allein auff den
glauben/das die leute sollen sich ergern/stossen vnd fallen/damit
sie mugen lernen vñ wissen/das sie durch yr gute werck nit frum
werden/sondern allein durch Christus tod vñ aufferstehẽ/ Kön
nen sie nu durch gute werck des gesetzes nicht frum werden/wie
vil weniger werden sie frum werden durch böse werck vñ on ge-
setz/Darumb folget es nicht/Gute werck helffen nicht/darumb
helffen böse werck/gleich als nicht sein folgt/Die sonne kan dem
blinden nicht helffen das er sehe/darumb mus ym die nacht vnd
finsternis helffen/das er sehe.

Mich wundert aber/das man sich yn diser offentlichen sachẽ
so mag sperrẽ.Sage mir doch/ob Christus tod vñ auffersteẽ vn
ser werck sey/das wir thun/oder nicht? Es ist ja nit vnser werck/
noch einiges gesetzes werck.Nu macht vns ja allein Christus tod
vñ aufferstehen frey von sunden vñ frum/wie Paulus sagt Ro.
4.Er ist gestorbẽ vmb vnser sunde willen/vñ aufferstandẽ vmb
vnser gerechtigkeit willẽ.Weiter sage mir/ Welchs ist dz werck/
damit wir Christus tod vñ aufferstehẽ fassen vñ haltẽ?Es mus
ja kein eusserlich werck/sondern allein der ewige glaube ym her-
tzen sein/der selbige allein/ja gar allein/vnd on alle werck fasset
solchen tod vñ aufferstehen wo es gepredigt wird durchs Euan-
gelion.Was ists deñ nu/dz man so tobet vñ wütet/ketzert vñ brẽ
net/so die sach ym grundt selbs kleriich da ligt vnd beweiset/das
allein

allein der glaube Christus tod vñ aufferstehẽ fasse on alle werck/
vnd derselbige tod vñ aufferstehen sey vnser leben vnd gerechtig-
keit.So es deñ an ym selbs offentlich also ist/dz allein der glau-
be vns solch lebẽ vñ gerechtigkeit bringet/fasset vñ gibt/Warũb
soll man deñ nicht auch also redẽ?Es ist nit ketzerey/dz der glau-
be allein Christũ fasset/vñ das leben gibt/ Aber ketzerey muß es
sein wer solchs sagt od redet.Sind sie nit toll/töricht vñ vnsinig?
die sachẽ bekeñen sie fur recht/vñ straffen doch die rede võ der sel-
bigen sache fur vnrecht/keinerley zu gleich/mus beide recht vñ vn
recht sein.

Auch bin ichs nicht allein/noch der erste / der da sagt/ Allein
der glaube mach gerecht / Es hat fur mir Ambrosius/Aug.vñ
vil andere gesagt/Vñ wer S.Paulũ lesen vñ verstehen sol/ der
mus wol so sagen/vñ kan nit anders.Seine wort sind zu starck/
vñ leidẽ kein/ja gar kein werck.Ists kein werck/so mus der glau
be allein sein.O wie solt es so gar ein feine/besserliche/ vnergerli-
che lere sein/weñ die leute lerntẽ/dz sie neben dem glauben / auch
durch werck frum möchtẽ werden/Dz wer so vil gesagt / dz nicht
allein Christus tod vnser sunde weg neme/sondern vnsere werck
thettẽ auch etwz da zu/dz hies Christus tod kein geehret/das vn-
ser werck ym hulffen /vñ köndtẽ das auch thun das er thut/auff
das wir yhm gleich gut vñ starck weren.Es ist der Teuffel / der
das blut Christi nicht kan vngeschendet lassen.

Weil nu die sache ym grũd selbs fodert/ dz man sage/Allein
d glaub macht gerecht/ Vñ vnser deutschẽ sprachẽ art/ die solchs
auch lernt also aus zusprechen.Habe dazu der Heiligẽ väter exẽ
pel/vñ zwinget auch die fahr d leute/dz sie nit an den werckẽ han
gẽ bleibẽ/vñ des glaubẽs feilẽ/vñ Christũ verlierẽ / sonderlich zu
diser zeit/da sie so lang her der werck gewonet/ vñ mit macht da
von zu reissen sind.So ists nit allein recht/sondern auch hoch võ
nötẽ/dz man auffs aller deutlichst vñ voligst eraus sage/ Allein
der glaube on werck macht frum / vnd rewet mich/ das ich nit
auch dazu gesetzt habe alle vñ aller/also on alle werck aller gesetz
das es vol vnd rund eraus gesprochen were/darũb sols inmeinẽ
Newẽ

Newen Testament bleiben/vnd solten alle Papstesel toll vnd tö
richt werden/so sollen sie mirs nicht eraus bringen. Das sey yetzt
dauon gnug/Weiter wil ich(so Gott gnade gibt)dauon reden
ym buchlin de iustificatione.

Auff die andern frage/ob die verstorben Heiligen fur vns bit
ten.   Darauff wil ich yetzt kurtzlich antwortenn/denn ich ge-
denck einen sermon von den lieben Engeln auszulassen/darinn
ich diß stuck weitter(wils Gott)handeln werde.   Erstlich wis
set yhr/das ym Babstum nicht allein das geleret ist/das die Hei
ligen ym hymel fur vns bitten/ Welchs mir doch nicht wissenn
konnen/weil die schrifft vns solchs nicht sagt/Sondern auch dz
man die Heiligen zu Götter gemacht hat/das sie vnser Patron
haben mussen sein/die wir anruffen sollenn/Etlich auch die nye
gewest sind/Vnd einem iglichen heiligen sonderliche krafft vnd
macht zu geeigent/einem vber fewr/diesen vber wasser/diesenn
vber pestilentz/fieber/vnd allerley plage/das Gott selbs hat gar
mussig sein mussen/vnd die Heiligen lassen an seiner stat wircke
vnd schaffen.Disen grewel fulen die Papisten yetzt wol/vnd zie
hen heimlich die pfeiffen ein/putzen vnnd schmucken sich nu mit
dem furbitt der Heiligen.Aber diß wil ich ytzt auffschiebe.Aber
was gillts/ob ichs vergessen/vnd solchs putzer vnd schmucken
also vngebusset hin gehen lassen werde.

Zum andern/wisset yhr/das Gott mit keinem wort gebot=
ten hat/wedder Engel noch Heiligen vmb furbit anzuruffenn/
Habt auch yn der schrifft des kein exempel/denn man findet/
das die lieben Engel mit den vätern vnd propheten geredt ha=
ben/Aber nye keiner ist vor yhnen vmb furbit gebeten wordenn/
Das auch der ertzuater Jacob seinenn kampffengel nicht vmb
furbit bat/sondern nam allein den segen von yhm.Man findet
aber wol das widerspiel yn Apocalypsi/dz der Engel sich nicht
wolt lassen anbetten von Joanne/Vnnd findet sich also/das
Heiligen dienst sey ein lauter menschen tandt/vnd ein eygen fun
dlin ausser Gottes wort vnd der schrifft.
                                                    Weil

Weil vns aber yn Gotes dienst nichts gebürt furzuneme on
gottes befelh/Vn wer es furnimpt/dz ist ein gottes versuchug/
Darumb ists nicht zu rathen noch zu leiden/das man die verstor
benn Heiligenn vmb furbitt anruffe/oder anruffen lere/sonder
sols vil mehr verdamnen vn meide lere/Derhalbe ich auch nicht
dazu rathen./vnmein gewissen mit frembder missethat nicht be
schweren wil.Es ist mir selber aus der massen saur worden/dz
ich mich von den Heiligen gerissen habe/den ich vber alle masse
tieff drinnen gesteckt vnd ersoffen gewest bin.Aber das liecht des
Euangelij ist nu so helle am tag/das hinfurt niemand entschul
digt ist/wo er ym finsternis bleibt.Wir wissen fast alle wol/wz
wir thun sollen.

Vber dz so ists an ym selbs ein ferlicher ergerlicher dienst/dz
die leute gewone gar leicht sich von Christo zu wenden/vn lerne
bald mehr zuuersicht auff die Heiligen/den auff Christo selbs zu
setzen/Den es ist die natur on dz all zu seer geneigt von got vnd
Christo zu fliehen/vn auff menschen zu trawen/ Ja es wird aus
der massen schweer/das man lerne auff Got vn Christu trawe/
wie wir doch gelobt haben vnnd schuldig sind/Darumb ist solch
ergernis nicht zu dulden/damit die schwachen vn fleischlichen leu
te ein abgoterey anrichten/widder das erste gebot/vn wider vn=
ser tauffe.Man treibe nur getrost die zuuersicht vn vertrawe vo
den Heiligen zu Christo/beide mit leren vn vben/es hat dennoch
muhe vn hindernis gnug/dz man zu jm kompt vn recht ergreifft
Man darff den Teuffel nicht vber die thur male/Er findet sich
wol selbs.

Zu letzt/sind wir ja gewiß/das got nicht drumb zurnet/vn
sind wol sicher/ob wir die Heiligen nicht vmb furbit anruffen/
weil ers nirgent geboten hat/den er spricht/dz er sey ein eyfferer/
der die missethat heimsucht an denen/die sein gebot nicht halten/
Hie aber ist kein gebot/darub auch keinn zorn zu furchten.Weil
den hie auff diser seiten sicherheit ist/vn dort grosse fahr vn erger
nis wider gottes wort/Warub wolten wir vns den aus der sich
erheit begeben yn die fahr/da wir kein Gottes wort haben/das
vns in der not/halten/trosten oder erretten kan.Den es stehet ge
                                c   schriebe

schriben/ Wer sich gern in die fahr gibt/der wird drinnen vmto
men. Auch spricht gottes gebott/ Du solt got deinen herrn nicht
versuchen.

Ja sprechen sie/damit verdampstu die gantzen Christenheit
die allenthalben solchs bißher gehalten hat. Antwort/ Jch weiß
fast wol/dz die Pfaffen vñ Münich/ solchen deckel yhrer grewel
suchen/vñ wöllen auff die Christenheit schieben/ was sie verwar
loset haben/Auff das/weñ wir sage/die Christenheit yrre nicht/
so sollen wir auch sagen/dz sie auch nicht yrren/ vñ also kein lüge
auch yrrthum an yn müge gestrafft werden/weil es die Christe
heit so helt. Also ist deñ keine walfart(wie offenberlich der teufel
da sey)kein ablas(wie grob die lügen sey)vnrecht. Kurtzumb ey
tel heiligkeit ist da/Darumb solt yr hie zu solsage/ Wir handeln
ytzt nicht wer verdampt odder nicht verdampt sei. Dise frembde
sache mengen sie da her/dz sie vns von vnser sache furen/Wir hã
deln ytzt võ gottes wort/was die Christenheit sey oder thu/dz ge
höret auff ein ander ort. Die fragt man/was gottes wort sey od
der nit. Wz gottes wort nit ist/dz macht auch keine Christeheit.

Wir lesen zur zeit Helie des propheten/dz offentlich kein got
tes wort noch gottes dienst war ym gantzen volck Jsrael/wie er
spricht/Herr sie habe deine prophete getödt/vñ deine altar vmb
gegraben/Vnd bin ich gar alleine. Die wird der könig Ahab vñ
andere auch gesagt haben/Elia/mit solcher rede verdampstu dz
gantz volck gottes. Aber gott hatte gleich wol sieben tausent be
halte. Wie? Meinstu nit dz got vnter dem Bapstũ ytzt auch ha
be können die seinen erhalten/ob gleich die pfaffen vñ münche in
der Christenheiteyt el teufels lerer gewest/vnd in die hell gefaren
sind? Es sind gar vil kinder vñ junges volck gestorbe in Christo/
Deñ Christus hat mit gewalt vnter seine Widerchrist die taufe
dazu dẽ blossen text des Euangelij auff der cantzel/vñ dz Vater
vnser/vñ den glauben erhalten/damit er gar viel seiner Christen
vñ also seine Christenheit erhalten/vñ den teuffels lerern nichts
dauon gesagt.

Vnd ob die Christen gleich haben etlich stücke der Bäpstli
chen grewel gethan/so haben die Bapstesel damit noch nicht be
weiset

Facsimile of c1v

weiset/das die lieben Christe solchs gern gethan haben/vñ weni
ger ist damit beweiset/dz die Christen recht gethan haben. Chri
sten können wol yrren/vnd sundigen allesampt/ Gott aber hat
sie allesampt leren betten vmb vergebung der sunden ym vater
vnser/vnd hat yhr solch sunde/die sie haben mussen/vngern/vn
wissend/vñ von dem Widerchrist gezwungen thun/wol wissen
zu vergeben/vnd dennoch pfaffen vñ münche nichts dauon sage.
Aber dz kan man wol beweisen/das yn aller welt ymer ein gros
heimlich mummeln vnd klagen gewest ist widder die geistlichen
als giengen sie mit der Christenheit nicht recht vmb / Vnnd die
Bapstesel haben auch solchem mummeln mit fewr vnd schwerd
trefflich widerstanden biß auff dise zeit daher. Solch mummeln
beweiset wol/wie gern die Christen solch grewel gesehen / vnnd
wie recht man daran gethan habe. Ja lieben Bäpstesel / komet
nu her/vnd saget/Es sey der Christenheit lere / wz yr erstuncke/
erlogen/vnd als die bößwichter vñ verrether der lieben Christen
heit mit gewalt auffgedrungen/vñ als die Ertzmörder vil Chri
sten drüber ermordet habt/zeugen doch alle buchstaben yn allen
Bapsts gesetzen/das nichts aus willen vñ rath der Christenheit
ye mals sey gelert/sonder eytel districte/ precipiedo mandamus
ist da/das ist yhr heiliger geist gewest. Solch tyranney hat die
Christenheit müssen leiden/damit yhr das sacrament geraubt/
vnd on yhr schuld/so yn gefencknus gehalten ist. Vnd die Esel
wolten solch vnleidlich tyranney yhrs freuels vns ytzt fur ein wil
lige that vndexempel der Christeheit verkauffen / vñ sich so fein
putzen. Aber es will ytzt zu lang werdenn. Es sey das mal gnug
auff die frage / Ein andermal mehr/Vñ haltet mir meine lan
ge schrifft zu gut. Christus vnser Herr sey mit vns allen. Amen.
Ex Eremo octaua Septembris. 1 5 3 0.

Martinus Luther
Ewr guter freundt.

Dem Erbarn vnd fursichtigen N. meinem
günstigen herrn vnd freunde.

Facsimile of c2r

Facsimile of c2v