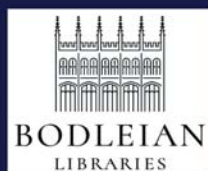


Martin Luther

Von der Freiheit eines
Christenmenschen

On the Freedom of a
Christian

Edited by Howard Jones and
Henrike Lähnemann



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A number of digital downloads to accompany this edition are available from the Taylor Institution Library website. They include:

A podcast of the edition

Facsimiles of all four Taylorian copies of the text

Additional articles and blog posts

An Open Access version of this book

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Treasures of the Taylorian
Series One: Reformation Pamphlets
Volume 3

Martin Luther

Von der Freiheit eines
Christenmenschen

On the Freedom of a Christian

Edited by Howard Jones and
Henrike Lähnemann

Taylor Institution Library, Oxford, 2020

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-------|
| Preface | |
| The Taylor Reformation Pamphlet Series (Emma Huber and Henrike Lähnemann) | iv |
| Introduction | xii |
| 1. Historical and Philosophical Background (Dennis and Hannah Clemens, translated by Raluca Vasiu and Florence Butterfield) | xiii |
| 2. The History of the Taylorian Copies (Maximilian Krümpelmann) | ixl |
| 3. How to Read Reformation Pamphlets (Henrike Lähnemann) | lxvii |
| 4. The German and Latin Versions (Howard Jones) | lxxii |
| Bibliography | xc |
| Edition 'Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen' 'On the Freedom of a Christian' | 1 |
| Transcription (Julia Bouquet and Kiara Hart) | |
| Translation (Anna Linton, Sharon Baker, Howard Jones, and Henrike Lähnemann) | |
| Footnotes (Ari Warrington and Howard Jones) | |
| Facsimile | 100 |
| Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1520(25) | |

The Taylor Reformation Pamphlet Series

Emma Huber and Henrike Lähnemann

1520 was a momentous year for the Reformation – and for printing as an effective medium of propaganda. The developments of the previous years had led to a dramatic increase in theological publishing, from the ‘95 Theses’ in 1517 via its German version, the ‘Sermon von Ablass und Gnade’, in 1518 and a number of shorter texts in 1519, to three momentous pamphlets in 1520, culminating in November in ‘Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen’, the best-seller of the 16th century. At a distance of 500 years, the ‘Taylor Reformation Pamphlet Series’ has been charting this publication schedule, starting in late 2015 with preparations for the quincentenary of the publication of the ‘95 Theses’, which was re-enacted on 31 October 2017 with a copy typeset by Oxford students and printed on the Bibliographical Press of the Bodleian Library. Then came the publication of ‘Sermon on Indulgences and Grace’ in 2018, followed by the present edition of ‘On the Freedom of a Christian’ (the *Freiheitsschrift*) in November 2020.

The latest edition comes not only at a time when Luther’s advice on how to behave during a plague is particularly poignant¹ but also as digital media have become more relevant as a means of communication, inviting us to experiment with new formats, just as the printers did when they published Luther’s increasingly popular output. This new edition of the *Freiheitsschrift* is the first, not only to be published online,² but also to be fully launched online, with 33 speakers in 32 locations (one couple sharing a camera) taking part in a round table and relay-reading, streamed live via YouTube.

¹ ‘Reformation Advice on Dealing with Pandemics’ on the Taylor Reformation Blog <https://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/taylor-reformation>, ‘When plague came to Wittenberg’ by Lyndal Roper on <https://www.history.ox.ac.uk/pandemics-and-plagues>.

² <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/freiheit-1520>; all related blogposts and the recording of the launch linked from there.

This seems therefore an opportune moment to review how the project developed and to draw lessons for other initiatives which aim to combine Modern Languages and Digital Humanities.

The project to make the Taylor Institution Library Reformation pamphlets more widely available started in 2015, when Henrike Lähnemann was asked to teach the Method Option ‘Palaeography and History of the Book’ for the Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages. Edmund Wareham had been using the Taylor Institution Library’s Reformation Pamphlet collection for a while for his teaching on the Reformation courses run by Lyndal Roper in the History Faculty, and he recommended having a look at these for student projects. Emma Huber, the German subject librarian, not only helped make these pamphlets available, but also suggested using them as a test case for developing digital editions. Howard Jones agreed to act as linguistic adviser and translator.



The first cohort of History of the Book students presenting the pamphlets they had chosen for their projects, from left to right: Lucas Eigel with ‘De captivitate’, Kezia Fender with the coloured-in copy of the ‘Wunderliche Weissagung von dem Papsttum’, Klaus Meyer with the ‘Hortulus animae’, Jennifer Bunselmeier with a Karlstadt ‘Disputacio’, Charlotte Hartmann presenting the exhibition in the Voltaire Room of the Taylor Institution Library. All of the featured pamphlets are now available at <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/topics/reformation.shtml>

A prototype of the website was presented at a workshop on the 'Future of German Studies' in January 2016, taking as a starting point Martin Luther's 'Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen' of 1530, a core text for translation theory and historical linguistics which had been on the Oxford syllabus since the early 20th century. This was done as a joint presentation by the History of the Book students and Charlotte Schwarzer, Cultural Attaché at the German Embassy in London. The Embassy generously funded the launch of the full version as part of the events around the quincentenary. Since 2017 also marked the 70th anniversary of the twinning of Bonn and Oxford, the publication of the new edition of the 'Sendbrief', the first in the new series of 'Reformation Pamphlets', was attended by a delegation from Bonn.

It is worth recording the full list of speakers for the crowd-sourced performance, since it represented such a wide variety of backgrounds and voices, from two Oxford schoolgirls via the Mayor of Bonn and members of the German Lutheran congregation to Dutch, French, German, and British colleagues from the Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages.

Readers of the 'Sendbrief' in order of appearance: Henrike Lähne-
mann, Howard Jones, Nigel Palmer, Catriona Seth, Andrew Allen,
Alexandra Lloyd, Helmut Kollig, Kathrin Luddecke, Ed Wareham,
Alderik Blom, John Partridge, Johanneke Sytsema, Ulla Weinberg,
Ewa Węgrzyn, Jennifer Bunselmeier, Brigitta Poppe, Christine
Baro-Hone, Patrizia Zachhuber, Hans Hahn, Elsa Voak, Eleanor
Voak, Charlie Louth, David Murray, Franziska Kohlt, Katrin Kohl,
Hannah Jackson, Claudia Piller, Tiziana Imstepf, Emma Huber,
Sophie Hall, Maren Fichter, Susanne Herrmann-Sinai, Lena Vos-
ding, Martin Christ, John Flood.

What followed for the Bonn group (and what became a blueprint for community engagement) was a print workshop with Richard Lawrence and Alexandra Franklin at the Bibliographical Press of the Bodleian Library where the visitors could use the typeset material provided by the History of the Book students.

Cooperation with groups and congregations around Oxford developed in three strands: Translating, Printing, and Singing the Reformation. With the last of these strands we returned to Germany, integrating Reformation theology and heritage in the journey by the Oxford Bach Soloists to Northern Germany and the roots of J S Bach's music. The collaboration had started at the beginning of the project, with Tom Hammond-Davies and Alexandra Lloyd performing from the cantata 'Christ lag in Todesbanden' at the launch of the website.³

The second print-on-demand publication in the series paid particular attention to the materiality of the pamphlets since it combined a side-by-side facsimile of the Tylorian copies of two different editions of the short 'Sermon von Ablass und Gnade'. The 'print-your-own-pamphlet' instructions, on how to produce facsimile booklets of eight pages from the double-sided sheets of paper folded twice, proved popular with students and visitors at the Open Days.



Display of Reformation pamphlets (and the Martin Luther Playmobil figure to show the relationship to coloured-in metalcuts) from the Tylorian collection for a 'Spot the Difference' session with an Open Day group.

³ <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/topics/reformation-music.shtml>

The collaboration for this second print-on-demand publication went further afield and included colleagues from Germany, with Martin Keßler (Göttingen, now Basel) contributing a theological introduction and Ulrich Bubenheimer helping to date and locate Reformation autographs. The translation of the text was again done by Howard Jones, who also provided a linguistic introduction to the Early New High German features of the pamphlet. An appendix included Luther's '95 Theses' in Latin together with an English translation. For the history of the copies, Henrike Lähnemann cooperated with a former History of the Book student, Christina Ostermann, who was researching the acquisition policy of the Taylorian for her doctoral thesis.

Readers of the 'Sermon von Ablass und Gnade' in order of appearance: Ritchie Robertson, Emma Huber, Jack Stuart, Johanneke Sytsema, Molly Ford, Martin Keßler, Florence Butterfield, Andrew Allen, Jennifer Bunselmeier, Felix Kraft, Eleanor Voak, Elsa Voak, Charles Russ, Jenny Russ, Olivia Kobiela, Linus Ubl, Rudolf Smend, Kathrin Luddecke, Christina Ostermann, Mette Ahlefeldt-Laurvig, Henrike Lähnemann.

Over the course of 2018 and 2019, the Reformation editions website expanded rapidly. Digital Humanities became an official part of the History of the Book teaching, and Emma Huber developed a Digital Editions course which was first tested with other librarians across the Bodleian Libraries and then rolled out to students and members of the public; on the Taylorian website there are now 55 editions online – and counting. The present volume, the third in the series, profited from this collaborative approach. Two Erasmus+ interns, Julia Bouquet and Kiara Hart, encoded the xml-text of the transcription from the digital facsimile done by Emma Huber; the translation was prepared by two early modernist colleagues in London, Anna Linton and Sharon Baker,⁴ and tested while it was still a work-in-progress

⁴ An account of the translation process can be found in the blog post by Julia Bouquet on <https://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/taylor-reformation/2020/05/14/translating-the-spirit-of-freedom/>

by final year students in Oxford practising for their final exam on 'translation from pre-modern sources'. The demanding process of establishing an accurate and consistent English translation of key terms such as 'frum' or 'Christen mensch' (how to render this in a non-gendered way in English?) also fed into Howard Jones's chapter comparing the German and Latin versions of the text, addressing the relationship between the two which has puzzled scholars for generations. Howard Jones also helped with the translation and the linguistic footnotes which were developed as an extended essay by a second-year German and Linguistics student, Ari Warrington who is also going to contribute a longer version as a blog post.

The historical and philosophical introduction was written by Hannah Clemens, Theology Student at the HU Berlin, another Erasmus+ Intern in Oxford (with Andrew Allen at Exeter College Chapel in 2019), with the philosophical side provided by her husband Dennis Clemens. It was translated by Raluca Vasu and Florence Butterfield, two Oxford Modern Languages graduates who took the early modern German period option for their finals, and copy-edited by Samuel Heywood, a master's student working on Luther's hymns.

The chapter on the history of the Taylorian copies grew out of another student project: Maximilian Krümpelmann's History of the Book project, first published on the History of the Book blog⁵ which was started by Modern Languages master's students Lena Zlock and Caroline Godard as an attempt to bring the Digital Humanities and book-historical side of their coursework together.

The three German and one Latin copies of Luther's 'On the Freedom of a Christian' in the Taylor Institution reflect not only Reformation history, but also the history of the physical copies – from their first readers to their acquisition by the library. All items show various later additions which clearly mark them as historical objects in the Taylorian's holdings: ownership marks, stamps, and pencil notes help

⁵ <https://historyofthebook.mml.ox.ac.uk/>

to further our understanding of the development of the library as a teaching collection and the role of its Reformation pamphlets as teaching material. It was therefore a fitting paradox that the restrictions imposed by Covid-19 on teaching large groups in fact opened up the event to a much wider audience than the previous events. At the Taylorian itself the four copies of the text were presented by Henrike Lähnemann who was joined online by speakers from all across Oxford, England, and Germany, including two readers from Heidelberg, the city where three of the copies had been based before they were bought for the Taylorian (cf. chapter 2).

The launch started off with a round-table discussion chaired by Edmund Wareham who spoke via Zoom with Lyndal Roper, Henrike Lähnemann, and Howard Jones about the significance of the text, the links with the Peasants War, the opportunities and dangers of celebrating anniversaries – and the importance of an interdisciplinary approach to overcome this challenge.

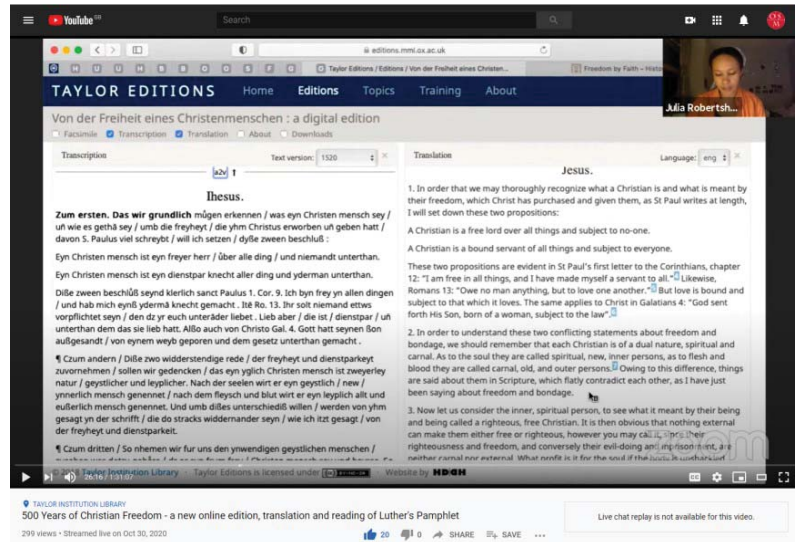
Part of the challenge was also technical: Tom Revell, Events Organiser for Oxford Medieval Studies, acted as ‘cameraman’ on the Zoom account of Medium Aevum, highlighting each speaker in turn, sending ‘requests to unmute’ reminders – and it went without a glitch.

Readers for the ‘Von der Freiheit’ launch in order of appearance: Howard Jones, Julia Robertshaw, Eleanor Voak, Samuel Schulenburg, Emma Huber, Hannah Clemens, Dennis Clemens, Raluca Vasiiu, Julia Bouquet, Lena Vosding, Marlene Schilling, Thomas Henderson, Kate Shore, Maximilian Krümpelmann, Kiara Hart, Carolin Gluchowski, Josephine Bewerunge, Caroline Lehnert, Anna Linton, Molly Ford, Susanne Herrmann-Sinai, Reinier van Straten, Ruth Görmant, Elijah Ferrante, Mai-Britt Wiechmann, Linus Ubl, Luise Morawetz, Ari Warrington, Konstantin Winters, Timothy Powell, Alexandra Burgar, and Anhad Arora as a reserve reader in case somebody could not go live.

The website for the edition is a work-in-progress, making use of the open format to add further resources e.g. on the Latin edition and more detailed linguistic analysis. Other strands of the Reformation project include Oxford’s TORCH network, which plans to look at monuments of the Reformation and their heritage, making use of the Reformation Walking Tour through Oxford which was developed as part of the Taylor Editions website.⁶

Thanks to all of our more than one hundred relay readers, colleagues, students, printers, librarians, members of various congregations, Germanists, visitors from abroad, and citizens who in one way or another took part in the project to make the Reformation pamphlets accessible and relevant for future readers and listeners. The project is set to continue charting the publication history of the Reformation and, with it, a piece of European heritage.

Oxford, 23 November 2020



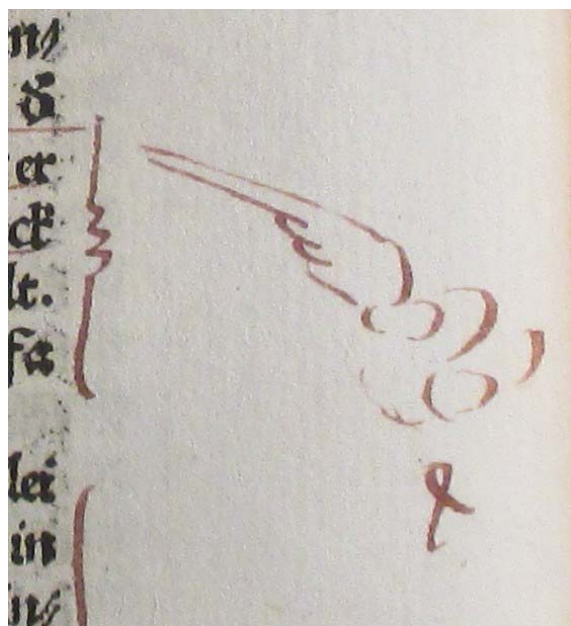
Screenshot of the relay reading stream from Zoom to YouTube with Julia Robertshaw, a second-year German Sole student taking the course ‘Luther as Special Author’, reading the opening paragraph.

⁶ <http://oxfordstories.ox.ac.uk/reformation-walking-tour>.

Introduction

This introduction highlights the theological, philosophical, material, linguistic, and stylistic importance of the work. The Bibliography at the end lists only literature cited and references in footnotes are by short title.

For a fully hyperlinked version of these chapters, cf. the online version <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/freiheit-1520>



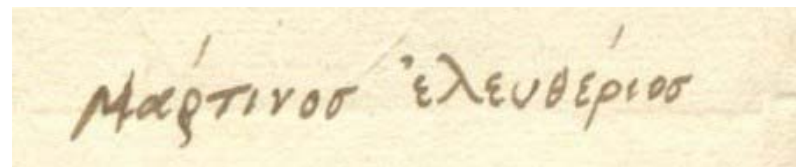
Manicule in the Speyer edition of 'Von der Freiheit', highlighting article 4. ARCH.8°.G.1519(11/2), fol. Aijr

1. The Historical and Philosophical Background

Dennis and Hannah Clemens⁷

Gerhard Ebeling: *No theologian – we may even go further and say no other thinker – has spoken in such compelling terms of the freedom of man on the one hand, and with such terrifying force of the bondage of man on the other.*⁸

If the Reformation is closely linked to the person of Martin Luther, it is also closely linked to the notion of freedom. For Luther the ideological shift of the Reformation was a liberation. When a theological insight turned into a movement of political reform, Luther changed his name, and 'Luder' became 'Luther', the short form of the Greek 'eleutherios', a name derived from the Greek for 'free'.⁹



Martin Luther's letter to Georg Spalatin with his signature *Mártinos eleuthérios* in Greek, 20 January 1519 (Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt [Z 8, Nr. 36], edited in WA.B, No. 138, p. 310).

⁷ The chapter was originally written as a blog post and translated into English by Raluca Vasii and Florence Butterfield. With thanks to Frauke Thees for her critical reading of the text.

Full version <https://historyofthebook.mml.ox.ac.uk/2020/10/29/freedom-by-faith/>

⁸ Ebeling (1980: 211).

⁹ Kingreen (2017: VII). It was common practice among humanists to adopt a Latin or Greek form of their family name, cf. Philipp Melanchthon (from Schwartzert), and Johannes Cochläus (from Dobeneck).

But what role did Luther assign himself by this new name – liberated or liberator? In any case, this new-found freedom concerned his relationship with God and his faith as well as his relationship with authority, both secular and ecclesiastical. After gradually becoming more radical, Luther's reform programme culminated in his three major writings of 1520. These were derived from his original understanding of the relationship between the divinity and the individual, a concept most effectively summarised in the *Freiheitsschrift*, which Roper describes as *the most beautiful writing of that time*.¹⁰

The Historical Background

In 1520, when Luther issued this key text, he found himself in a precarious situation. All attempts to resolve the conflict with Rome had failed and the trial for heresy against him, which had begun in June 1518 but then paused, was being pursued again. Luther was aware of the threat to his own life if he were to fall into the hands of the papal authorities. But in the two intervening years much had happened that would shape Luther personally and theologically.

Shortly after the commencement of the trial (as a result of the publication of the '95 Theses'), Luther was interrogated by the Thomist cardinal Cajetan following the Diet of Augsburg in 1518. As was to be expected given Luther's tendency to radicalise his stance when facing opponents, the debates with Cajetan soon went beyond the issue of indulgences. Among other things, they discussed the traditional concept of the *thesaurus ecclesiae* (*treasure of grace*) – a theoretical prerequisite of indulgences. The treasure of grace, which comprised the merits of Christ, provided clerics with the means to reduce punishments for repentant sinners.

During the discussion Luther made his famous statement that he had to *obey God more than men* and do nothing against his conscience

¹⁰ Roper (2016: 216).

(WA 2, 16: 11–12, 19).¹¹ He refused to revoke his Theses and hence effectively completed the break with Rome. The significance of this break is highlighted by Luther's long-time confessor Staupitz's decision to relieve Luther of his monastic vows in order to prevent the General Vicar of the Augustinian hermits from forcing Luther to resign. In the aftermath, Luther reckoned with imminent martyrdom. Thus, on October 11, the day before his interrogation, Luther wrote to Melancthon from Augsburg that he would rather die than revoke what was right (WA 1, No. 98, 11. Oct. 1518, 213: 11–14). But the possibility of martyrdom did not hold Luther back: rather, it brought him closer to Christ. In the recounting of the Reichstag of Worms, the link to Christ's passion is taken to extremes by the humanist Hermann Busche who published a pamphlet *Passion Doctor Martins Luthers, oder seyn lydung durch Marcellum beschriben*. In this, Luther's journey and stay in Worms are retold as a parallel to Christ's suffering.¹² Luther's quandary as to how to proceed also spurred his theological thinking: *Each new argument left him at once more isolated and more elated. Every new step he took theologically was freighted with intense feeling, for it genuinely was a matter of life and death as he followed Christ's progress to martyrdom*.¹³

The promises of his Reformation theology, which freed him from his old theological ideas, had a stronger effect on Luther than the threats from the papal curia. For him, it meant preferring to die as a just man than to live as an unjust one. Given Luther's ability to draw theological inspiration from a life-threatening situation, it is not surprising that he wrote the *Freiheitsschrift* immediately after receiving the papal bull 'Exsurge Domine'. After the interrogation at Augsburg, Luther's situation would turn out to be less dramatic than feared. Rome suddenly changed course and Luther's heresy trial lost momentum.

¹¹ In the following chapters, quotations from Martin Luther's texts are referenced following the *Weimarer Ausgabe* (WA); cf. Bibliography.

¹² Sammel (1996: 157–74).

¹³ Roper (2016: 163).

The reason for this sudden change was political. Maximilian I, the Holy Roman Emperor, wanted to have his grandson Charles of Burgundy elected as his successor, which would have confronted the Pope with a German emperor who was powerful in Italy. The Pope also suspected that the alternative candidate, Francis I of France, had interests in conflict with his own. He wanted Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony and Luther's patron, to help him at least block Charles's election, and sought to cultivate Frederick, even for a brief period supporting his nomination as Emperor. Thus, in the autumn of 1518, the Pope despatched Karl von Miltitz to try and win Frederick over, and at the same time put the trial against Luther on hold. The Pope even honoured Frederick with the golden papal rose.¹⁴

Miltitz, however, did not limit his efforts to pleasing the Elector, but he tried to reach an agreement with Luther as well. In January 1519, they came to a standstill agreement, the so-called Altenburg Pact. Luther promised to refrain from speaking out publicly, having been assured that this would be reciprocated by the papal side. The proposal to leave the matter in the hands of an erudite bishop offered new hope for a peaceful settlement in the dispute with Rome. Luther honoured the agreement for a few months, although his opponents continued to publish. He resorted to a cautious position until the famous confrontation that would open the literary floodgates – the dispute with the Ingolstadt theology professor Johannes Eck (1486–1543) in Leipzig.¹⁵

Eck, one of the humanists and theologians who had originally sided with Luther, became one of the latter's most vocal opponents. In the spring of 1518 Eck had written a refutation of Luther's '95 Theses', the Obelisci (printers' marks for errors), which prompted Luther to respond with the Asterisci (marks for additions). Both texts were

intended for academic discussion and not for the general public. On Luther's side, the Wittenberg theologian Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (1486–1541) published 406 theses when Eck went public with his arguments, paving the way for the Leipzig dispute in June 1519.¹⁶ Eck's unabating criticism of the '95 Theses' made Luther insist on taking part in the dispute himself, travelling to Leipzig with Karlstadt and Melanchthon. The reformers failed to turn the dispute to their advantage. Eck's exceptional memory and rhetorical skills made him a formidable opponent, and he provoked Luther into making radical statements. Eck had realised early on that the '95 Theses' meant a fundamental challenge to the traditional church and its doctrine and managed to tease this out in the course of the debate. Luther denied the biblical basis for papal primacy and drew attention to what he saw as the errors of the Council of Constance, particularly the condemnation of Jan Hus.¹⁷ Luther got carried away, supporting theological arguments far more radical than his '95 Theses'.

So the cat was out of the bag. Luther directed his criticism not just at isolated church failings, but at the entire ecclesiastical superstructure and its claim to be the sole administerer of faith. Eventually, without a clear conclusion, both sides claimed victory, but that did not really matter.¹⁸ The pamphlet literature flourished thanks to Luther's growing popularity, and the humanists who dominated public opinion stood behind him. Luther's humanist credentials dated back before 1517, and the rapid spread of '95 Theses' can be ascribed almost exclusively to the activity of his humanist supporters. For example, the Nuremberg humanist Christopher Scheurl appears to have worked as an agent and to have passed the Theses on to various humanist circles.¹⁹ While Luther's pastoral writings appealed to the general public, his polemical ones convinced the humanists. They

¹⁴ Wallmann (2012: 25).

¹⁵ Iserloh (1981).

¹⁶ <https://www.archiv.sachsen.de/leipziger-disputation-vom-februar-1519-4901.html>

¹⁷ More on the debate in WA 2 und WA 59: 427–605.

¹⁸ Wallmann (2012: 27).

¹⁹ Moeller (1991: 102).

were the only discrete group who stood behind Luther in the first few years, and Luther's cause would not have prevailed without them. As the conflict between Luther and Rome progressed, the humanist movement was divided into the faction supporting Luther and the Catholic faction. And it was particularly the younger generation which took Luther's side: the struggle against the 'old' theology was at once a struggle against the ecclesiastical establishment and an emancipation of the new generation.

Eventually the Leipzig Disputation spread the 'Luther-case' so widely that by 1520 the whole of Germany was caught up in it. In the aftermath of the dispute, Luther entered his most creative intellectual phase. It was the feeling of empowerment and responsibility, of having a nation behind him, that motivated him. The theological argument with Eck represented an important step in Luther's process of liberation from ecclesiastical control. This process also resulted in a change in his spirituality. He gave up the traditional hour-long prayers, dedicating his time to his writings instead (WA.TR 2, No. 1253: 11). As his relationship with Staupitz became more distant, Luther drifted away from Staupitz's spirituality, which Luther deemed less and less reconcilable with his own theology and relationship to the church. He would later attribute his reformatory breakthrough to the aftermath of the Leipzig Dispute (WA 54: 185–86).



Copy of Karlstadt's pamphlet on the Leipzig Dispute in the Taylor Institution Library
ARCH. 8°G.1519(1) <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/theses/>

The Three Treatises of 1520

Of the many texts that Luther wrote after the dispute, the three Reformation manifestos from the second half of 1520 are the most significant. They set out Luther's theological beliefs as well as proposing the far-reaching demands of the Reformation movement. All three revolve around the concept of freedom – the *Freiheitsschrift* providing the most thoroughgoing analysis.

The first major treatise of 1520 – *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung* 'To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Improvement of the Christian Estate' (WA 6: 404–469, published in August) called on the German princes to reform the church, since the clergy was proving less reliable than ever. The fundamental medieval view favouring spiritual over secular authorities was thus called into question. The treatise complained about alleged exploitation by the Catholic Church. Such complaints had been circulating since the middle of the 15th century – since the publication of the *Gravamina der deutschen Nation gegen den Stuhl zu Rom* 'Grievances of the German nation against the Holy See at Rome'.²⁰ The *Gravamina* represented a collection of complaints exposing abuses of papal authority, many of which had already been addressed at the Imperial Diet. Above all, such voices reflected German dissatisfaction with the papal church. There was thus a ready audience for Luther's criticism, but it was an audience which tended to interpret his writings in a one-sided, political way, notably on the subject of freedom. For the concept of freedom was primarily introduced in humanist circles as a defence against external political and financial means of oppression. The overlap between Luther's spiritual freedom and the political freedom of the humanists lay in the repudiation of Rome. Ulrich von Hutten, humanist and leader of the Imperial Knights of the Holy Roman Empire (1488–1523) called on Luther to join his mission of rescuing

²⁰ Scheible (1996: 393–409).

this freedom, which he saw as breaking away from Roman political oppression.²¹ In the imperial election, the desire for political freedom had been used as an argument against Francis I of France.²² It was in this context that interpretations of Luther's definition of a free man became polarised, with a number of readers seeing his work as a statement on political liberty.²³

An even more radical essay followed in October – the Latin treatise *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium* 'Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church' – in which Luther called into question the doctrinal stance of the Catholic Church on the sacraments. He demanded a biblical foundation for the sacraments, which he argued existed only for baptism and Holy Communion (and to a lesser extent penitence). In addition, Luther tied the power of the sacraments to the act of faith. He opposed religious and priestly vows, which he regarded as unnecessary burdens that deprived Christians of the freedom acquired through baptism. This piece of writing cost Luther several followers who were not prepared to join in his criticism of church institutions.²⁴

The election of Emperor Charles V left the Pope without any further reasons to defer to the Elector of Saxony or to spare Luther. As his heresy trial resumed, Luther felt that he had less and less to lose. In October 1520 he was threatened with the papal ban and excommunication and a deadline of 60 days to retract his teaching. Seeing that his efforts to reconcile Luther with the church were in jeopardy, Karl von Miltitz persuaded him to write a letter of reconciliation and address a treatise to Pope Leo X.²⁵ In it, Luther reassured the Pope that he had never intended to attack him personally and blamed the controversy on Eck. The letter was backdated to 6

September 1520 so that it would not be interpreted as a response to the papal bull. This is what led to the publishing of the *Freiheitsschrift*.

The positive reception of this treatise can be linked to its radically different content: *At the time Luther was in the eye of the storm. His other writings of this period are full of furious accusation, defence and argumentation. Strangely, at this moment of gathering clouds and impending doom, this piece is a pool of tranquillity, an eirenic piece of writing that breathes peace, delight and security.*²⁶

In the *Freiheitsschrift*, Luther elaborates his recent theological thinking in a single treatise. The bull aroused public interest, preparing the ground for the wide reception of the treatise. Having severe doubts regarding the envisaged reconciliation, Luther probably wrote the letter mainly to please the Elector.²⁷ As Hamm argues, the letter 'is practically a short sermon' in which he explains his attitude towards the papacy.²⁸

The *Freiheitsschrift* stands out in a number of ways from the two other major texts of 1520. It was his first work written in both German and Latin (cf. chapter 4 for a comparison). Luther was not responding to a theological controversy, but writing on his own initiative on a chosen topic. He was thus sharing what he cared about most while he still could, writing for his own physical survival as well as for the spiritual survival of Christians.²⁹

Luther had the Latin text published together with the papal letter. In their German versions, however, the letter and treatise were published separately, the latter with an added dedicatory letter to the Zwickau mayor Hermann von Mühlpfordt. This was intended to get

²¹ Böcking (1854: 356).

²² Schmidt (2010: 14–15).

²³ Schmidt (2010: 22–23).

²⁴ Wallmann (2012: 31).

²⁵ Rieger (2007: 2).

²⁶ Tomlin (2017: 147).

²⁷ Kaufmann argues that Luther still had hope of reconciliation and that the letter was not meant ironically, cf. Kaufmann (2017: 45).

²⁸ Hamm (2014: 173).

²⁹ Kaufmann (2017: 44).

the mayor to support the local Reformation movement led by Thomas Müntzer. The separate German version of the letter only made it to two print runs while the Latin was included in 13 printed editions. Mainly thanks to Luther, printing was booming in Wittenberg. In 1517 there was only one printer there, while by 1525 there were eight. With Luther honouring his agreement with Miltitz, the Latin version came out after the German text, but it was in the Latin form that the text spread beyond the German-speaking lands. The first edition of the German version ran to 3,000–4,000 copies, and there had already been reprints before the year was out.³⁰ Printers from all German-speaking areas were distributing Luther's works: between 1518 and 1525 Luther's vernacular writings outnumbered the combined total of the 17 next most prolific writers of the time. In fact, Luther accounts for 20 percent of all German works printed between 1500 and 1520.³¹

The *Freiheitsschrift* played a vital role in the development of the printing industry, representing Luther's most successful piece of writing: no other book enjoyed greater circulation in the 16th century.³² But the reception of the work was also striking. It was clear that Luther's notion of freedom was largely misunderstood by his contemporaries. Thirteen treatises with 'Freiheit' in the title were published in the third largest printing centre of Straßburg between 1520 and 1533, but only three of these authors even vaguely follow Luther's notion of freedom.³³ Most of them rather embraced freedom as rejection of secular authorities, favouring the supremacy of divine over man-made law. Luther's rejection of human works, derived from his strong emphasis on faith, was on the whole ignored. An example is the text 'New Karsthans', allegedly written by Bucer.³⁴

One of Luther's critics, Thomas Murner (a 'foolish cat'³⁵ according to Luther) characterised Luther's notion of freedom as a call for chaos and upheaval. In his 1522 piece *Von dem grossen lutherischen Narren* 'On the Great Lutheran Fool' he caricatures Luther's position as basically liberating Christians from any form of loyalty, since baptism precedes any secular authority: *Der cristlich glaub gibt vnß freiheit, / zu erkennen hie kein oberkeit. / Wir sein im tauß al frei geboren, / Ee keiser / kunig / fursten woren* ('Christian faith gives us freedom to recognise no earthly authority. We were all born free in baptism before there were emperors, kings, or princes').³⁶ The satirical poem can be found alongside an image of a mercenary flying the banner of 'Fryheit' (cf. the illustration on the next page).

Catholic opponents also accused Luther of jeopardising social order and spreading chaos with his new theology.³⁷ A more positive image of Luther as a liberator is to be found in the pamphlets preceding the Peasant War. The third of the 12 articles of the Swabian peasantry in 1525 in particular echo Luther's intertwining of freedom and servitude:

'[...] it has until now been the custom for the lords to own us as their property. This is deplorable for Christ redeemed and bought us all with his precious blood, the lowliest shepherd as well as the greatest lord, with no exceptions. Thus the Bible proves that we are free and want to be free. Not that we want to be utterly free and subject to no authority at all; God does not teach us that. We ought to live according to the commandments, not according to the lusts of the flesh. But we should love God, recognise him as our Lord in our neighbor, and willingly do all the things God commanded us at his Last Supper.'³⁸

³⁰ On the further distribution of the work, cf. Kaufmann (2017: 56–57).

³¹ Roper (2016: 187).

³² Slenczka (2017: VIII).

³³ Edwards (1995: 105).

³⁴ Cf. Stupperich (1960: 406–44).

³⁵ Roper (2016: 202). 'Murr' sounds like the noise a tom cat is supposed to make and 'ner' sounds like 'narr' ('fool').

³⁶ Merker (1918: 242, 3787–90).

³⁷ Numerous examples in the analysis by Edwards (1995: 112–18).

³⁸ Blickle (1981: 197–98).



Thomas Murner, *Von dem grossen Lutherischen Narren wie in doctor Murner beschworen hat*, Straßburg: Johann Grüninger 1522, VD16 M 7088, fol. P1v. BSB Munich, Rar. 870, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00033099-0

Although peasant alliances had been organised as early as the 15th century, these groups were still lacking in ideological coherence. Several factors led to the alignment of peasant demands with the ideas of the Reformation movement. The national audience created by the printing press, pamphlet literature, and the self-confidence of a nation strengthened by Luther's appearance seems to have shifted the movement into the mainstream and helped it to spread across Germany.³⁹ Thus it is unsurprising that Luther was accused of inciting the peasants to revolt. In April 1525, Luther even tried to mitigate such accusations through his *Ermahnung zum Frieden auf die zwölf Artikel der Bauernschaft* 'Admonition to Peace, concerning the Twelve Articles of the Peasantry' – an attempt to clear up the misunderstanding on Christian freedom, refuting the reading of Christian freedom as a political matter (WA 18: 326, 32–327, 23). In his later writing, *Wider die räuberischen und mörderischen Rotten der Bauern* 'Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants', Luther's criticism of the peasants became barbed and acerbic. He could have hardly distanced himself more clearly from their movement and their understanding of freedom.

The aftermath of the *Freiheitsschrift*

Miltitz's attempt at reconciliation failed and Luther was excommunicated by an imperial ban at the Council in Worms on the 3rd of January 1521. Nevertheless, Luther had gained precious time since the beginning of the heresy trial and had secured for himself not only a significant number of active followers but the support of the general public through the growing popularity of his writings.

This became evident when Eck's attempt to use the threat of a ban to deter people from following Luther was resisted in many cities. In addition, Luther had been further developing his theology thinking, and the '95 Theses', which had originally been banned, had long

³⁹ Wallmann (2012: 57).

since been superseded by more radical writings. Thus, Luther's Reformation movement survived his excommunication. Luther himself burned the bull together with his students at the end of the 60-day period he had been given to recant by the bull *Exsurge Domine*, showing once again that he had never really believed in a reconciliation with the Pope.⁴⁰

The Philosophical Argument

By 1520 Luther had brought his own personal struggle for freedom to a provisional conclusion. He was now a free man. The document which confirmed his emancipation like no other was the *Freiheitsschrift*. He described it as the sum of what constitutes a Christian life. In it, Luther summarises his theology of justification, according to which the righteousness of the Christian flows only from faith, and he describes its liberating implications and its moral consequences.

The text starts with an apparent paradox, which Luther expresses in the two central theses: *A Christian is a free lord over all things and subject to no-one. A Christian is a bound servant of all things and subject to everyone* (§1).⁴¹ Luther immediately offered the means to resolve this contradiction. He characterised every person as consisting of a holy, spiritual nature on the one hand and a physical nature on the other (§2). Thus freedom can be understood as characterising the spiritual nature, and servitude the physical nature.⁴²

The theme of the first part of the text is the spiritual nature of

⁴⁰ Cf. Roper (2016: 219–23).

⁴¹ Paragraph references are to the text and English translation in this edition.

⁴² By comparison in Plato, Socrates asks: 'Yet once more consider the matter in another light: When the soul and the body are united, then nature orders the soul to rule and govern, and the body to obey and serve. Now which of these two functions is akin to the divine? and which to the mortal? Does not the divine appear to you to be that which naturally orders and rules, and the mortal to be that which is subject and servant?' Plato, *Phaidon* 79e–80a.

humanity – an examination of what the freedom of a Christian entails and how it comes into being. In the discussion of the physical nature which follows, Luther elaborates the thesis of the servitude of human nature. When one examines Luther's handling of the theme of freedom beyond the treatise, it is not clear whether he affirms freedom or not, for his rejection of human free will, as discussed below, raises the question of what kind of freedom he actually ascribes to a Christian.

In the treatise however, the answer is clear. Freedom consists in the unconditional determination of the human condition through belief in God and trust in Jesus Christ: 'You should give yourself over to him with firm faith and trust in him directly. Then for the sake of this faith all your sins shall be forgiven ..., and you will be ... freed from all things.' (§6)

Being directed by God and trusting in Christ are psychological states of the human condition. As such, they are independent from bodily existence and are not determined by anything physical. Only through words can the soul be influenced in a way which brings about change in one's thoughts and one's will.⁴³

For Luther, 'nothing external can make [people] either free or righteous.' (§3 but qualified in §21 which states that the body needs to be 'chastened', since otherwise it inhibits the soul from being governed by God). The significance of a freedom which proceeds only from the individual relationship of faith in Christ can be viewed against the backdrop of late medieval devotional piety. According to this view, those who are corrupted by sin can only stand before a God who seeks justice through the sacrament of penance.

True penance consists of the threefold acts of oral confession (*confessio oris*), correctional work (*satisfactio operis*), and honest,

⁴³ Slenczka (2017: 27).

heartfelt repentance (*contritio cordis*).⁴⁴ The need to balance out the sins on one's own shoulders with good deeds took many colourful forms in the late Middle Ages, for example holding private requiems, pilgrimages, the veneration of the saints and holy relics, and relief of the burden of sin by the purchase of indulgences.⁴⁵ Luther's understanding of freedom defines the soul's relationship with God as faith alone and thereby makes it independent of all outward things, leading to a rejection of penance in the form inherited from the Middle Ages, namely as a financial transaction rather than an inward act of repentance.⁴⁶ However, the treatise does not limit itself to discrediting works carried out for the purpose of becoming justified before God. It also questions the theological legitimacy of all church institutions which are supposed to mediate between God and the faithful Christian, in that it pronounces all Christians to be kings and priests (§15).

Luther's depiction of Christian freedom is therefore a consequence of his theology of justification of the sinner. By faith alone, justification frees us from all our efforts to gain favour with God.

Luther and Augustine

Luther starts out from the medieval theology of penance (Thesis 1 of the '95 Theses': *When our Lord and master Jesus Christ said, 'Do penance, etc.', he meant the whole life of the faithful to be penance*) but then proposes the alternative of justification by faith. However, he remains trapped by humanity's enslavement to sin, which necessitated the theology of justification in the first place. Luther regards the individual's relationship with God as dependent on justification, because of the individual's 'bad and corrupted nature' (WA 1, 224: No. 9). Humans, by their very nature, can therefore do nothing good. This anthropology of the bad nature also appears in

the *Freiheitsschrift*. Here, Luther portrays humans' inability to do good in connection with the role of Old Testament laws. For Luther the Bible consisted of two parts: the law, which illustrates one's own sinfulness and leads to despair, and the promise, which proclaims grace and redemption through faith alone. This ultimately leads the individual to despair about the law and forms the foundation of a relationship with God (§8).

Here, the influence of Augustine on Luther's conception of freedom becomes clear. With Augustine's help, Luther was, like St Paul, able to reach the insight, crucial for the Reformation, that God's justice does not judge sinners, but clothes them in justice (WA 54, 186: 16–18). In the writings of Augustine which influenced Luther, freedom is described, much as in Luther's text, as a result of justice, which itself is a consequence of faith.⁴⁷ As Augustine states, 'Whereas through the law we come to a recognition of sin, through faith we attain grace against sin; through grace, the healing of the soul from sin's disease; through the recovery of the soul, freedom; through freedom, a love of justice; and through justice, the fulfilment of the law'.⁴⁸

In Augustine, as in the *Freiheitsschrift*, the same purification of the soul is sketched out, from humanity's damnable nature in the sight of the law through to the attainment of justification. In Augustine's writings liberation from sin is depicted as healing the soul from an illness from which it is suffering. The sick soul finds its remedy in the gift of grace. Both in Augustine and in Luther, liberation from sin has two dimensions. The first is characterised by the fact that it erases the sins which burden every human being. But since human sinfulness is also an inability to aspire to good, justice must above all consist in the reorientation of the sinner from evil to good.

⁴⁷ It was primarily Augustine's later writings to/against the Pelagians which helped Luther to achieve a 'Breakthrough': *De spiritu et littera*, *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, and *Contra Iulianum*, cf. Anderas (2017: 4).

⁴⁸ Augustinus, *De spiritu et littera*, in: CSEL 60, 30: 52.

⁴⁴ Leppin (2014: 56).

⁴⁵ Hauschild (2001: 22).

⁴⁶ Dingel (2014: 127–28).

Elsewhere, Augustine describes this notion in the context of lust (*concupiscentia*): the law is something good to which humans cannot aspire without God because evil lives in the form of lust in their will. Humans can only be ‘genuinely free’ through the grace of God, through which it becomes possible to feel joy in God’s law voluntarily.⁴⁹ The law (or the ‘good’) which without faith remains out of reach can, through faith, be fulfilled. This insight is the central point of the treatise. The freedom of a Christian is not only freedom from sin, but also and above all, freedom to attain goodness.⁵⁰

With the help of a metaphor, Luther illustrates the notion of the faith that frees believers from all sins. After describing liberation from sin and the attainment of justification from a unification of the soul with Christ (§10), he symbolises this unification by the metaphor of the relationship of bride and bridegroom (§12). Just as married couples make their property communal, so also Christian and Christ form a union in which the characteristics of the soul, its ‘bad habits and sins’, are transferred to Christ, and the characteristics of Christ, ‘all goodness and salvation’, are transferred to the soul.

The image of the *matrimonium christi et christianorum* is interesting in many respects. Since a marriage is characterised only by the two partners that constitute it, Luther could use this image to underline the exclusivity of the relationship between the individual soul and Christ. In addition, the legal status as well as the identity of the partner are transformed in marriage. In the same way, the moral status and identity of the soul are transformed through the community in faith.

⁴⁹ Augustinus, *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, in: CSEL 42, 30: 33.

⁵⁰ Freedom is not freedom of choice for Augustine. In one of his later writings Augustine allows an opponent to ask why God would reward those who have the will to believe, and punishes others, if it is God’s grace alone which creates the will to believe. Augustine states that he cannot solve this puzzle. Augustinus, *De dono perseverantiae*, in: CSEL 105, 8: 18.

Moreover, the metaphor demonstrates the influence on Luther of the mystical theology which flourished alongside medieval Scholasticism.⁵¹ In mystical theology, from the time of Bernard of Clairvaux and his reading of the Song of Songs, the image of the bride was used to portray the intimacy of the relationship between the soul and God.⁵² Luther valued not only Bernard’s message of the mercy and love of God, which was oriented towards Christ, but also the fact that Bernard developed his theology by constantly referring to the word of God.⁵³

Luther probably also encountered the image of bride and bridegroom in the theology of his former father confessor and mentor Johann von Staupitz, who used it frequently. The role of the metaphor for his ‘Frömmigkeitstheologie’ (theology inspired by devotion) can be seen, for example, in Staupitz’s Passion sermons from the year 1512 in which he draws up a theology of repentance, oriented towards Christ’s suffering.⁵⁴ In the third sermon, he illustrates this by using the image of the marital bond between soul and Christ. Here, the ‘poor, common, suffering, helpless bride’ has nothing to bring but her sins and is only able to acquire high standing through the rich possessions of the bridegroom.⁵⁵ Only through the inner-empathetic appropriation of Christ’s suffering does the sinful soul become capable of true repentance.⁵⁶ In his

⁵¹ For more on the argument between the *via antiqua* and *via moderna*, cf. Dieter (2014: 32).

⁵² Gerleman (2011).

⁵³ Zimmerling (2017); Leppin (2014: 52–53).

⁵⁴ Luther had possibly read the bride metaphor in Staupitz’s *Libellus de Executione Aeternae Praedestinationis*, C.9, cf. Zu Dohna (2012: 142–49).

⁵⁵ Schneider-Lastin (1990: 129).

⁵⁶ The important difference for Luther is that the soul, through the union with Christ, does not receive Christ’s suffering and the repentance flowing from it, but justification and freedom. That Luther had outgrown the theology of Staupitz by

accompanying writings to the *Resolutiones*, the explanation of his '95 Theses' against indulgences which Luther dedicated to Staupitz, Luther recalls conversations with him about penance. Luther describes his teacher's insight that true repentance begins with a love of justice and love of God hitting him like an arrow, transforming that hated word 'penance' into the sweetest of words (WA 1, 525, 4–23). From these conversations, Luther gained the insight that the individual's direct, inner bond with Christ, founded on love and repentance, is more important for the forgiveness of sins than the outward practices of confessing and the performance of good works. The change in Luther's understanding of penance was a landmark on the way towards *sola fide* and, in a reminiscence, makes an appearance in the *Freiheitsschrift* in the image of the marital bond.

As clear as the metaphor of the bridal couple may be, it is difficult to understand the theological theory behind it. For Luther, the transformation of those who believe is connected with their faith in Christ, in which they appropriate Christ's justification. It is at least possible that he is processing Thomistic theories of knowledge and mind. In the Aristotelianism of Thomas Aquinas, all natural creatures consist of forms, which constitute the creature's features, and matter, which constitutes the creature's individuality. According to this view, every perception or recognition of an object is linked to a change of the form of that which perceives it.⁵⁷ As such, the cognitive form of the perceiver changes in order to align itself with the perceived object. For Thomas, to relate to something through faith or awareness means to become spiritually similar to it.⁵⁸ Likewise,

1520 is shown in a remark in the *Freiheitsschrift* on repentance, §25: 'There are indeed still preachers who preach repentance for sin, and also grace, but they do not emphasise God's commandments and promises so that one might learn whence and why repentance and grace come. For repentance flows from the commandments, and faith from the promises of God'.

⁵⁷ By seeing a red object the observer receives the shape of the redness of the object and thereby the cognitive shape of the red becomes manifest in some way.

⁵⁸ Brower and Brower-Toland (2008: 193–243).

Luther says that the believer becomes like Christ in the sense that the believer receives righteousness and salvation through faith.⁵⁹

Aside from all this, the metaphor of Christ as bridegroom in characterising the relation of the soul to Christ is useful, as it draws on medieval and early modern expectations about the natural and proper relation between wife and husband. At that time, the marital relationship between husband and wife was to a large extent a hierarchical one, in which the wife, according to canon law, was subordinate to the husband and was obliged to be obedient to him.⁶⁰ Alongside the mystical associations of intimacy and unity, the parallel of the soul and the bride on the question of a Christian's freedom also evokes the soul's dependence on Christ.

Luther's Rejection of Free Will

This brings us to a key qualification of Christian freedom: freedom of a Christian is not freedom of the will. In accordance with tradition, Luther tackles the notion of human free will in the context of the question of the individual's role in attaining faith and grace.⁶¹

Luther makes unambiguously clear at many stages of his career that the freedom of a Christian cannot be free will, that is, it cannot be freedom in the sense of total self-determination and independence to choose between good and evil, salvation and damnation. As early as 1517, in his 'Theses against Scholastic Theology' (WA 1, 224–28), he sets out the arguments which he goes on to develop in the

⁵⁹ It would not have pleased Luther that the theological core of his justification doctrine, which describes the mechanisms of justification by faith, are reduced to Thomas's theory of mental reference. As Luther said in 1532: *There is not one word in Thomas that inspires reliance on Christ*. (WA.TR 2, 192: 5–6). But the similarity is still striking.

⁶⁰ McDougall (2013: 171).

⁶¹ In the reply to Erasmus, Luther said that it is necessary to be clear about the existence of free human will, for otherwise nothing would be known about Christians and their role in the attainment of salvation or about God. WA 18, 614: 1–12.

controversy with Erasmus in 1525.

Luther rejects human initiative in attaining salvation for three reasons. First, he derives the impossibility of human free will from the classical attributes of God: omniscience and omnipotence.⁶² Secondly, he argues on the grounds of divine grace. If God's turning towards humans is an act of grace, then humans can take on only a passive role, since any active role on their part would be an appropriation of salvation and a usurpation of grace.⁶³

Luther's third argument against free will is that the will is constituted in such a way that it is either directed towards good or towards evil, and that no third option is possible (*tertium non datur*). In this way, will is predestined by that towards which it is directed. If will were not predestined, it would be empty in content, and a will without content is not a will. In a famous passage, Luther depicts this graphically: human will is like a riding animal, with either God or Satan holding the reins. Without one or the other, the animal never gets very far in any direction of its own accord (WA 18, 635: 17–22).

This rejection of human free will is wholly in line with Luther's theological programme of justification. Not only are people incapable of altering their status as sinners through the performance of good works: they cannot even attain faith of their own accord. Luther's rejection of free will thus carries the idea of human passivity in salvation to an extreme.

The freedom of Christians is thus not grounded in some self-determination through which, by their own efforts, they can choose the object of their faith and their will. Instead, freedom exists for Luther in the specific way thoughts and wishes are determined, that is, through Christ alone. Freedom is not achieved by an act of faith or an act of will, but by the object to which faith and the will relate.

Luther was neither the first nor the last not to link freedom and responsibility to the condition of complete self-determination but considered it compatible with the determinism of humans.⁶⁴

Luther's Ethics

The freedom which we have discussed so far pertains to the soul. Servitude, which is the subject of the second opening proposition, pertains to the body. There is, however, a crucial difference. While it is possible for the soul to become justified independently from the body, it is not possible for the body to act without receiving instructions from the soul. There is a certain incongruity between the two dichotomies, as *the opposition [between freedom and servitude] is already there with the clergy*.⁶⁵ If servitude applies only to the outward person (§19), then the body cannot be in servitude on its own, and the liberated soul is placed in the world together with the body and is also required to act. The servitude caused by the body's dependence on the world is an obligation to good behaviour and to the performance of good works, so that Christians can 'govern their own bodies and deal with people' (§20). The freedom of a Christian is therefore not freedom from morality.

Luther wrote about morality in the *Sermon von den guten Werken* 'Sermon on Good Works' shortly before the *Freiheitsschrift*. In this work, *sola fide* takes on the character of a commandment, in which faith in Christ is the ultimate and most noble work (WA 6, 204: 25–26). In this definition the ultimate work is not identified as a work to be performed, but as a state of mind, to which all performed works are morally subordinate. Accordingly, no work, whatever its positive consequences, can be good if it does not stem from belief in God: something as minor as picking up a straw can be called good if done in belief, while raising the dead would not be good if done in

⁶² Dieter (2014: 41–42).

⁶³ WA 18, 668: 2–3.

⁶⁴ For an overview of Compatibilism cf. McKenna and Coates (2020).

⁶⁵ Rieger (2007: 74).

unbelief (WA 6, 206: 9–13).

In this way, Luther's moral code in the *Sermon von den guten Werken* focuses not on what the doer brings about in the world, but on the attitude with which it is done.⁶⁶ The condition for any deed to be good is that it originates in faith in Christ. For some deeds, like picking up a straw, faith is not simply a necessary condition, but a sufficient one for it to be good. But is faith the only precondition for a good deed? In other words, can faith sanctify every reprehensible and evil deed? Luther would answer the first question with a 'yes', the second with a 'no'. The solution lies in the definition of faith. For him, certain guiding principles such as anger, revenge, and jealousy exclude true faith (WA 6, 266: 32–33). Actions which stem from such motives are thus not actions that are practised in good faith, and are therefore not good. In order to classify every motive that is incompatible with genuine belief in Christ, Luther refers to the state of meekness (*Sanftmut*, as exemplified in II Corinthians 10,1) which excludes all bad intentions. Meekness for him is fundamentally good, since it does not damage anything or anybody even if one is robbed of one's possessions, honour, life, and friends (WA 6, 266: 14–17).

Consequently, faith is the only condition and it is sufficient to make works good. Indeed, faith in its ideal form leads the believer to a way of thinking which is free from anger, revenge, and jealousy. For Luther, actions prompted by this way of thinking cannot be reprehensible or evil. Faith, properly understood, is therefore incompatible with bad deeds.

Faith does not just exclude bad behaviour, though: it can even lead to a life of charity. In the *Freiheitsschrift* Luther does not speak of meekness, but characterises the state in which correct behaviour is possible as a one of love: 'Behold, in this way love and longing for God flow out of faith, and from this love flows a free, willing, joyful

life serving one's neighbour without reward'. (§27) Only when individuals put themselves fully in the service of others are they truly secure through faith and through their trust in Christ. Since only those who are in every way turned towards Christ through faith are also free, freedom is only possible through service to one's neighbour, that is, in servitude.

The freedom of a Christian is thus ultimately characterised by the individual's moral responsibility with respect to the interests, needs, and demands of one's neighbour. With the pairing of freedom and ethics, Luther's theology is an early blueprint of modern theories in which freedom only thrives in responsibility and morality. This thought becomes prominent in Kant's critical philosophy: 'Freedom and absolute practical law point reciprocally to one another'.⁶⁷ Even more important, however, are the implications of Reformation theology for ethical discourse in general. In overcoming the self-interest inherent in the pursuit of justification before God, one's field of vision becomes clear, and is reoriented to the needs of one's neighbour.⁶⁸

Conclusion

So, was Luther liberated or liberator? He saw himself as liberated, as is shown in the emphasis he places on the passivity of the believer in attaining justification. His gradual separation from the papal church

⁶⁷ The source from which both freedom and moral obligation flow is not faith in Kant, but practical reason. Immanuel Kant: KpV, AA 05: 29.24–25.

⁶⁸ Of particular interest is Susan Wolf's philosophy on the question of the relevance of Luther's understanding of freedom. For her, a concept of freedom which grants people absolute autonomy over themselves is irreconcilable with the fact that people always make their decisions against a background of numerous connections and influences. Taking these circumstances into consideration, Wolf defines freedom as the ability to do the correct thing for the right reasons. Free decisions are aimed at *the true and the good*. As for Luther, freedom in Wolf consists of allowing oneself to be guided to act in the right way. Unlike for Luther, truth and good are not universal for Wolf, but dependent on context. Cf. Wolf (1990).

⁶⁶ Gerhardt (2018: 21).

was something he similarly perceived as his own liberation. Nevertheless, his activity as a writer indicates that he was eager to impart his liberating insights to all Christians. As a result of his own liberation, Luther believed it to be his duty to free his neighbours from the chains that had shackled him for half his life.

It is important, however, to remember that Luther exclusively addresses spiritual freedom. To regard him as a pioneer of our modern political conception of freedom, which encompasses an equality of all people in the physical world, would be false. Ultimately, Luther connected freedom with Christian faith and service to one's neighbour.

2. The History of the Taylorian Copies

Maximilian Krümpelmann⁶⁹

The success of the *Freiheitsschrift* was partly made possible by the rapid development of printing technology, especially the rising popularity of 'pamphlets', short texts usually consisting of fewer than 20 pages, produced with a quick turn-around in successive editions and large print-runs.⁷⁰

Johannes Rhau-Grunenberg, who had already published Luther's '95 Theses' in his Wittenberg workshop, produced 3,000 to 4,000 copies of the first edition, a large number compared to the average print-run of the period which amounted to between of 500 to 1,500.⁷¹ The German version was reprinted five times in that year in three places – Wittenberg, Augsburg, and Strasbourg – and the Latin in Antwerp and Vienna. Soon after, the texts were reissued in further cities such as Speyer, Nuremberg, and Zürich. Additionally, the work was translated into several other national languages in the following decades: Czech (1521), French (1525), Italian (1547), Spanish (1540), and English (1579).⁷²

The Taylor Institution Library houses copies of four different editions of the *Freiheitsschrift*, printed in Wittenberg and Speyer between 1520 and 1522. These copies constitute a case in point for the major role that printing played in the dissemination of Luther's theology. Each of the four editions in the Taylorian tells a slightly

⁶⁹ The chapter was originally written as a post for the History of the Book blog <https://historyofthebook.mml.ox.ac.uk/2020/10/18/eleutheria-luthers-freiheitsschrift-as-a-publishing-phenomenon/> and shortened for this context.

⁷⁰ Köhler (1986: 256) calculates that in 1524 alone, 2,400 pamphlets with a total print-run of 2.4 million copies were produced.

⁷¹ Kaufmann (2017: 56). Comparator numbers from Gaskell (2015) and Gilmont (2016).

⁷² Cf. the overview on the inside cover of exhibition catalogue Slenczka (2017).

different story of production and reception; the individual copies give information not only about how they were produced, but about who their contemporary audience might have been and how the text was treated as a material object.

Most of the Reformation texts in the Taylorian were acquired in the nineteenth century with the help of its second Professor for Modern European Languages, Max Friedrich Müller (1823–1900). Many of these were procured by the librarian Heinrich Krebs (1844–1921), notably from Heidelberg in 1878.⁷³ This is most likely the case for all four copies,⁷⁴ as reflected in the range of the – obsolete and current – shelf marks and dates noted on the bookplate of the Taylorian Library, which are located on the upper pastedown of the pamphlets and allow the identification of all four acquisition dates.

The first edition by Rhau-Grunenberg shows the date 1878 underneath an *exlibris* and therefore likely belonged to the Heidelberg collection that was purchased by Krebs; above the bookplate, two previous shelf marks are crossed out: 92 b 25 and Arch II b 36.

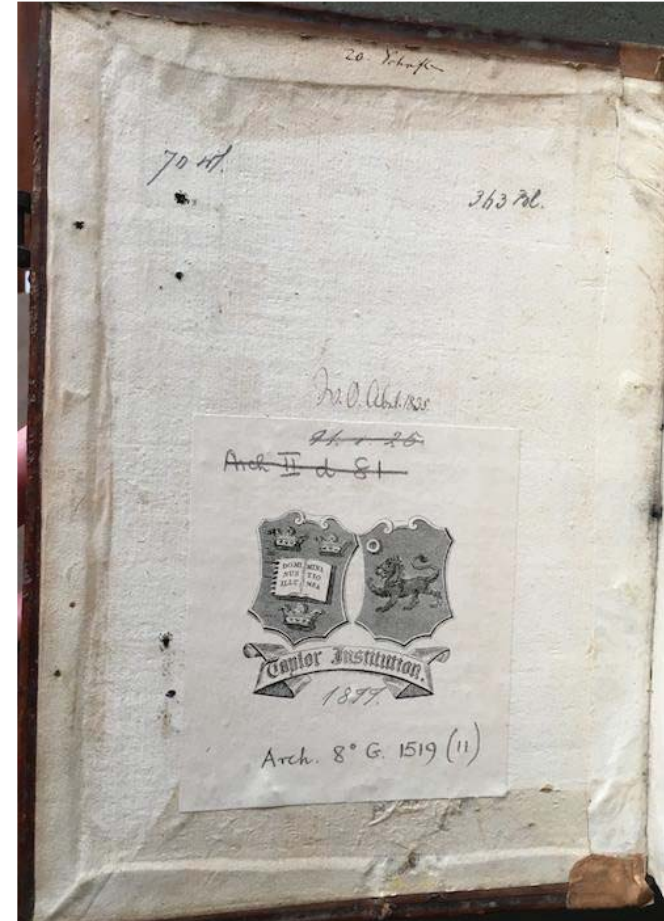


Ill. 1: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1520(25); cf. also the facsimile at the end and online

⁷³ Cf. chapter 2.2. on the acquisition history of Taylorian copies of the ‘Sermon von Ablass und Gnade’, <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/ablassgnade5/>.

⁷⁴ Cf. Benzing and Claus (1966), 87–91, nos 734–769, here nos 734, 741, 744, 760. For the online versions of the prints, cf. the VD16, nos VD16 L 7202, L 7201, L 4663, L 7205.

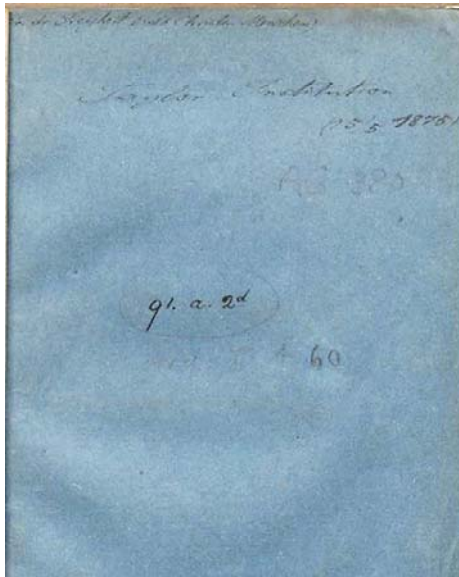
The Speyer version ARCH.8°.G.1519(11/14) was bought in 1877 from a private collection as the date and the entry *W. O. Abel.1835* show.



Ill. 2: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1519(11)

The Latin *Freiheitsschrift*, ARCH.8°.G.1521(10) also has the old version of the Taylorian bookplate and two obsolete shelf marks, 91 a 2° and Arch II b 47.

The earliest acquisition by the Taylorian has the newest binding. The German edition by Melchior Lotter the Younger, ARCH.8°.G.1521(25), displays the modern bookplate of the Taylorian, which was introduced in 1975,⁷⁵ and only one old shelf mark on the pastedown, *Arch II b 60*. This was presumably done to give it better protection than the blue paper cover from the 19th century, which is now bound in behind the pamphlet.



Ill. 3: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1521(25)

On this blue paper of a type used by German booksellers, a modern hand registered the title (*Von der Freyheit eines Christen Menschen*), the holding library (*Taylor Institution*), and the acquisition date (15/5/1875), as well as the original shelf mark (91.a.2^d). On the rear side of the cover we can find yet another owner's mark alongside the date 1856, testifying to the reuse of the pamphlet over the centuries.

1. Johannes Rhau-Grunenberg: Low-quality Printing?

Martin Luther, *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen*

[Wittenberg, Johannes Rhau-Grunenberg 1520]

Title: Uon der Freyheyt || eynisz Christen || menschen. || Martinus Luther. ||

Imprint: Uittenbergae. || Anno Domini || 1520.

12 sheets in 4to. Quire signatures: Aij, Aijj, B, Bij, Biiij, C, Cij, Cijj

Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1520(25)

Woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Elder⁷⁶

WA 7, 15, no A; Benzing/Claus (1966: 87), no 734; Benzing (1963: 465); VD16 L 7202

Unlike trade hubs such as Augsburg, Cologne, or Nuremberg, Wittenberg only began to emerge as a centre for printing during the Reformation.⁷⁷ Apart from two academic in-house print shops established by two professors of the recently founded University at Wittenberg, Johannes Rhau-Grunenberg was the only printer in town when he set up his workshop in 1508, the same year Luther was appointed to a professorship there.⁷⁸ For some time, Rhau-Grunenberg, who also published other reformatory pamphlets e.g. by Andreas Bodenstein and Heinrich von Kettenbach,⁷⁹ remained the only printer to issue Luther's writings.

Although Luther later described Rhau-Grunenberg as a pious and commendable man (*Erat pius homo et benedicebatur*)⁸⁰ and continued to commission books at his workshop throughout his life, he was dissatisfied with the quality of some of his output. In a letter addressed to Georg Spalatin, we find Luther complaining about Rhau-Grunenberg's *editio princeps* of his sermon *Von der Beicht* (1521):

⁷⁶ Rhau-Grunenberg used the woodcut again for other editions, e.g. VD16 L 7031.

⁷⁷ Cf. the number of printers in the respective cities at the time in Benzing (1963).

⁷⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 465; cf. also Reske (2015: 35–69).

⁷⁹ Cf. e.g. VD16 B 6121 (Bodenstein) and VD16 K 808 (Kettenbach).

⁸⁰ WA.Tr 2, 58 (*Tischrede* 1532).

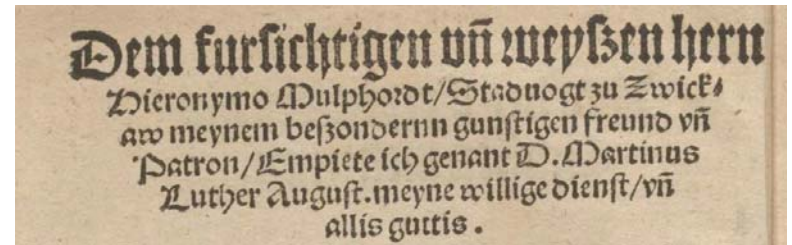
⁷⁵ Cf. the blog post by Thomas (2019) on the Taylorian editions of *Il Pastor fido*.

Sed mirum est, quam me peniteat & pigeat eius excusionis. vtinam nihil vernaculi misissem! ita sordide, ita negligenter, ita confuse excuduntur, vt typorum & papyri dissimulem sordes. Iohannes Calcographus est Iohannes in eodem tempore.⁸¹

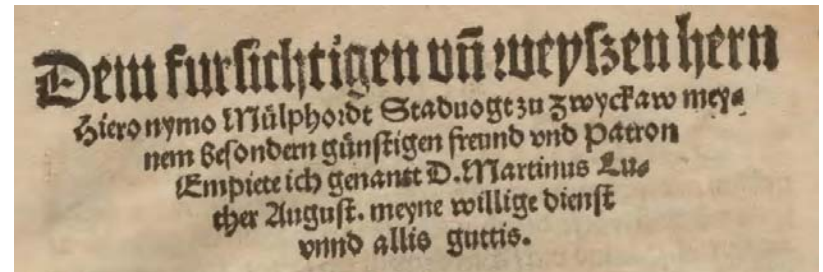
[I can't tell you how much I regret and resent this print. I should never have sent a German manuscript! So dirty, so careless, so disorderly is the print, not to mention the dirt of the types and the paper. The printer Johannes always stays the same, he is incorrigible.]

What exactly was the reason for the apparently poor quality of Rhau-Grunenberg's work? One problem that he was facing might have been the growing demand for his relatively small workshop in the wake of the Reformation, especially after 1518.⁸² Additionally, the *typorum & papyri* [...] *sordes*, which Luther complains about, were a result of the increasingly worn-out typeset Rhau-Grunenberg was using, and which he had inherited from his predecessor, Nikolaus Marschalk, when he settled in Wittenberg.⁸³ If so, it is possible that his edition of the *Freiheitsschrift* from November 1520 – a few months before Luther sent his disgruntled letter to Spalatin – already shows some of the defects that the reformer complained about later.

Indeed, a quick look at the text of Rhau-Grunenberg's first edition of the German *Freiheitsschrift* already reveals some of the flaws which Luther bemoaned: compared to the crisply defined imprint by Melchior Lotter, the edges of Rhau-Grunenberg's letters seem blurry and smudged, testifying to the poor quality of the types he was using. Additionally, the text block is not well aligned with the paper, so the text appears to be on a slant. The title-page conveys a similarly disorderly impression.



Ill. 4: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1521(25), A1v



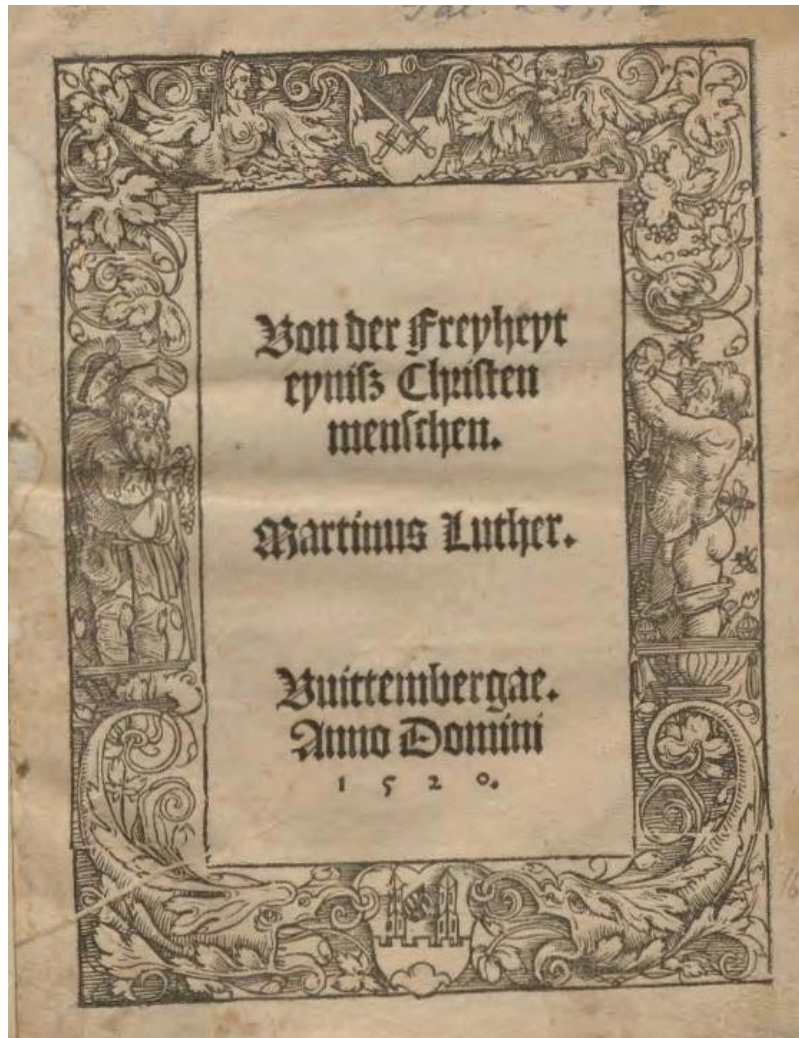
Ill. 5: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1520(25), A2r, cf. facsimile at the end

Even though the edition by Rhau-Grunenberg is the only one of the four Taylorian copies to include a woodcut, its quality is likewise evidence of the printer's hasty execution: the bottom part of the woodcut title frame seems to have been sawn off and not fully aligned when reattached, and there is a fold in the paper which now runs as a diagonal white line through the bottom left-hand corner; this might have contributed to Luther's frustration with Rhau-Grunenberg, especially when he became acquainted with the quality of other printers such as Melchior Lotter in 1519.

⁸¹ WA.Br 2, 380.

⁸² Weber (2017: 107).

⁸³ Cf. Benzing (1963: 465).



Ill. 6: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1520(25) , cf. facsimile at the end

The original woodcut for the border came from the workshop of Lucas Cranach, a cachet for Luther's Wittenberg production in

general.⁸⁴ Rhau-Grunenberg continued to use the border, e.g. in an edition of Luther's pamphlet on marriage *Uom Eelichen Leben*.⁸⁵ In both cases, the typeset imprint comprises the title (*Von der Freyheyt || eynisz Christen || menschen.*), author (*Martinus Luther.*), place and date (*Wittenbergae. || Anno Domini || 1520.*), centred in large Gothic font. The border itself includes three coats of arms of the city of Wittenberg: at the centre of the top two crossed swords (*Kur-Schwerter*); at the centre of the bottom the city as a fortified place with two towers on either side, flanking a third, decidedly smaller coat of arms including a crancelin.

The rest of the border shows three sets of figures: at the top two semi-nude hybrid creatures; their figures emerge from a grapevine and flank the upper coat of arms. On the left border of the woodcut is an old, bearded man wearing a hat and holding a rosary, while a squirrel is sitting on his right shoulder, his feet hidden by an ornamental basin which is part of the architectural framing. Opposite him, likewise emerging from a basin, Amor as honey-thief is shown reaching out for a hive; his naked body is surrounded by several bees. At the bottom border, two large hybrid sea-creatures flank the coat of arms.

The verso side of the title-page is left empty, followed by the dedication to the Zwickau mayor, Hermann Mühlpfordt, on a separate page; this text is only present in the German version of the *Freiheitsschrift*. The address to Mühlpfordt is centred in the middle of the page, with the first line printed in larger font size (*Dem fürsichtigen vnd weyszen hern*) than the rest.

The actual treatise follows on A2v and was used for the Weimar edition.⁸⁶ Again, the first line – as well as the centred invocatio *Jhesus* (A2v) – is presented in large font. After this, Luther begins to present his reform programme, each of the 30 passages being introduced by

⁸⁴ Kaufmann (2017: 56).

⁸⁵ Cf. VD16 L 7031, <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV023482612>.

⁸⁶ Cf. WA 7, 15, no A.

a new paragraph indicated by a pilcrow. The text finishes with the – once again centred – word *AMEN* (C4v) in capital letters and spaces in between each letter.

Rhau-Grunenberg's *editio princeps* presents itself as a typical Reformation print from Wittenberg, which includes an ostentatious woodcut on the title-page. However, despite being free of spelling mistakes, the execution of the print is comparatively poor. Perhaps it was the long acquaintance with Luther and the fact that for some time Rhau-Grunenberg remained the only printer to issue his works that led the reformer to continue commissioning books at his workshop until at least 1527, two years before Rhau-Grunenberg's death.⁸⁷

2. Melchior Lotter the Younger: The Better Printer?

Martin Luther, Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen

[Wittenberg, Melchior Lotter the Younger 1521]

Title: Uon der Freyheyte eynis || Christen menschen. || Martinus Luther. ||

Imprint: Uittenbergae. M.D.Xxi

14 sheets in 4to. Quire signatures: aij, aiij, b, bij, biij, c, cij, ciiij, ciiij

Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1521(25)

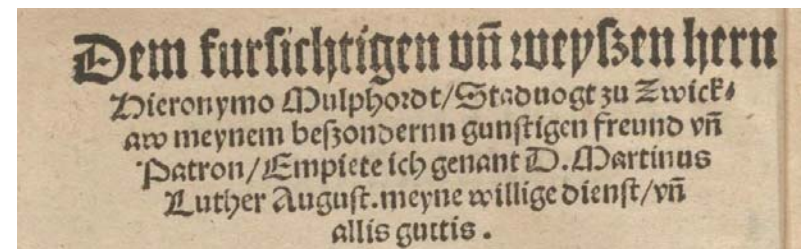
WA 7, 17, no L; Benzing/Claus, 88, no 744; Benzing (1963: 466);

VD16 L 7201

In the same letter addressed to Spalatin from August 1521, in which Luther complains about Rhau-Grunenberg's slovenly print, he praises three sheets of paper in quarto form sent to him by Philip Melancthon. They contain his pamphlet against Jacobus Latomus *Rationis Latomiae* (1521), produced by another printer in Wittenberg;⁸⁸ Luther declares himself delighted and remarks that the sample sheets 'please him greatly' (*qui valde placet*)⁸⁹.

The printer Luther is referring to here is Melchior Lotter the Younger (ca 1490–1542). His father was Melchior Lotter the Elder, who established himself as one of the most influential printers of humanist and reformatory texts in Leipzig.⁹⁰ In a letter to Spalatin dating from 1519, Luther mentions a visit of the old Melchior Lotter to Wittenberg and praises his excellent Frobenian typeset.⁹¹ The quality of his prints must have left an impression on the reformer, since shortly afterwards he and four other professors at the university, who expressed displeasure at the quality of Rhau-Grunenberg's results, asked Lotter to settle in Wittenberg.⁹² Even though Lotter the Elder did not relocate, he sent his son to establish a second printing press in Wittenberg in the same year.⁹³

The *Freiheitsschrift* by Lotter the Younger preserved in the Taylorian is listed as edition L in the *Weimarer Ausgabe* (WA 7: 16). It was printed the following year in 1521, which is indicated on the title-page (*Uittenbergae. M.D.Xxi*). Looking at the text, it is clearly visible that Lotter was using a better typeset.



Ill. 7: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1521(25), A1v

Compared to Rhau-Grunenberg (cf. Ill. 5), the positioning of the frame on the sheet is good and creates an elegant, easily legible text. Additionally, Lotter reserves two more leaves for the treatise, as a consequence of which he is able to present the text more lavishly,

⁸⁷ Cf. Weber (2017: 107).

⁸⁸ WA 7, 41, no A.

⁸⁹ WA.Br 2, 380.

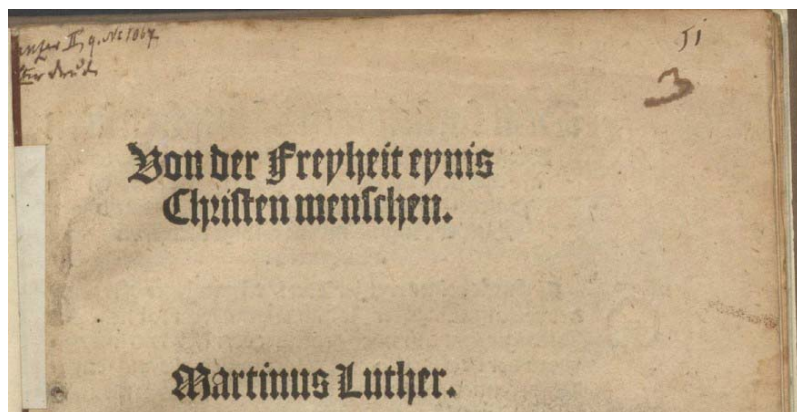
⁹⁰ Cf. Benzing (1963: 261).

⁹¹ Cf. WA.Br 1, 381.

⁹² Cf. Kaufmann (2017: 55–56).

⁹³ Benzing (1963: 466).

even though he does not leave the back of the title-page empty as Rhau-Grunenberg does, but rather leaves C6v blank, which – along with the title-page – was used as protection of the text from external grime. It therefore comes as no surprise that both the title-page and C6v are besmeared with printing ink. A contributing factor might have been the fact that the print at one point was part of a larger collection, which the numbering of the sheets by a modern hand indicates (51r–64v); Lotter’s *Freiheitsschrift* seems to have been the third in the former *Sammelband*, cf. the number “3” on A1r in old ink; later the page number “51” was added, showing that the previous two pamphlets must have been longer treatises.



Ill. 8: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1521(25), A1r
with the number “3” in the top right corner and the page number “51”.

What sets apart his *Freiheitsschrift* from Rhau-Grunenberg’s most clearly, however, is the fact that Lotter’s does not include a woodcut on the title-page, but simply gives the title, author, and imprint in large Gothic font. This clearly renders edition L less ostentatious than Rhau-Grunenberg’s. Lotter had issued a previous edition of the *Freiheitsschrift* the year before which did include a woodcut by Cranach. However, this earlier version – listed as B (WA 7: 16) – reveals a greater deviation from the original text issued by Rhau-Grunenberg. Therefore, it might come as a surprise that – apart from

the non-existent woodcut – in most other aspects Lotter’s later edition L is more indebted to Rhau-Grunenberg’s *editio princeps* than his earlier version B.

Both A and L use a quarto form as well as Gothic font. Even the font size of the two prints is identical for the corresponding text passages: thus, both printers present the first lines of the address to Mühlpfordt (*Dem fürsichtigen v] weyszen hern*) as well as the first lines of the treatise (*Jhesus ll Zum ersten. Das wyr grundlich*) in the same large font centred in the middle of the page (cf. A1v, A1r in L). Interestingly though, Lotter interprets the date of the address to Mühlpfordt as an imprint. Instead of putting ‘Wittenberg 1520’ (as do Rhau-Grunenberg and Jacob Eckhart), he prints: *Zu Wytten/ ll berg. M D Xxi.* (A1v). Additionally, both editions make use of pilcrows to indicate the beginning of a new passage. At the end, both A and L centre the last sentence of passage 30 as well as the last, capitalised word *AMEN* with spaces in between each letter (cf. C6r in L).

Despite the use of the same type face and the overall indebtedness of L’s to A’s text, the two versions show minor differences, such as the use of Roman numerals instead of Arabic ones for quoting Bible passages, the tendency towards longer sentences with subordinate clauses, as well as a more thorough use of punctuation marks in Lotter’s edition. There are, however, other noticeable differences in L as well. One is the singular and perhaps accidental replacement of the noun *reych* in §14 with *recht* in L: *Darumb ist er ein kunig vnd priester / doch geystlich / denn sein recht ist nit yrdnisch noch in yrdnischen / szonderynn ynn geistlichen guttern [...]* (B2v); another is the accidentally printed syllable *te*: [...] *das alte te testament* (A4v).

Despite the overall better typeset, the better alignment and legibility of the text, Lotter’s later edition L of the *Freiheitsschrift* is not the best evidence to justify Luther’s praise for Lotter’s craftsmanship, since it does include at least some spelling mistakes and lacks the decorative woodcuts of his other versions B from 1520 (WA 7: 16) and O from 1523 (WA 7: 17).

3. Melchior Lotter the Younger: An Edition Revised by Luther

Martin Luther, *Epistola Lutheriana ad Leonem decimum summum pontificem*. Tractatus de libertate christiana

[Wittenberg, Melchior Lotter the Younger 1521]

Title: EPISTOLA || LVThERIANA AD LEONEM || DECIMVM SVMMVM || PONTIFICEM. || LIBER DE CHRISTIANA LIBER= || tate, continens summam Christianæ doctri= || næ, quo ad formandam mentem, & ad in || telligendam Euāgelii vim, nihil absolultius, nihil cōducibilius neq a veteri= || bus neq a recentioribus scriptori || bus perditum est. Tu Christiane || lector, relege iterum atq || iterum, & Christum || imbebe. ♣ || RECOGNITVS WITTEMBERGAE.

Imprint: ANNO DOMINI || M. D. XXI.

22 sheets in 4to, last page empty. Quire signatures: Aii, Aiii, B, Bii, Biii, C, Cii, Ciii, D, Dii, Diii, E, Eii, Eiii

Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1521(10)

edited as <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/libertate1521/>

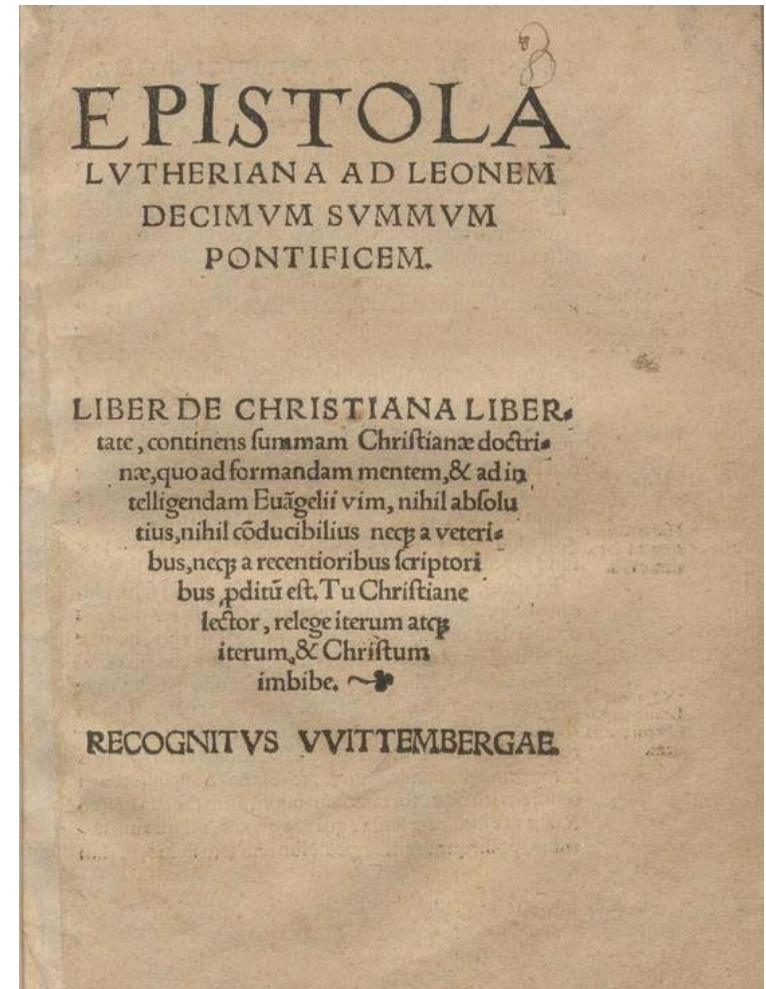
Woodcuts: letter F

WA 7, 41, no E; Benzing/Claus, 90, no 760; Benzing (1963: 466);

VD16 L 4663

In the same year that Lotter published his German version of the *Freiheitsschrift* he also issued a Latin one; a colophon can be found at the end of the tract: ANNO DOMINI || M. D. XXI (E4v). Compared to the relatively similar format of A and L, the Latin version stands in stark contrast to the two German editions. Perhaps most striking is the fact that Luther's Latin version is conceived as a textual unit with the *Epistola Lutheriana ad Leonem*. This is indicated clearly on the title-page.

Lotter prints the word *EPISTOLA* in large Roman font and the title of the *Freiheitsschrift* (*LIBER DE CHRISTIANA LIBER= || tate*) in capital letters. Unlike the German title and unlike earlier Latin versions by other printers, Lotter's Latin edition also includes a summary of the treatise on the title-page (*continens summam Christianæ doctri= || næ [...]*).



Ill. 9: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1521(10)

Whereas Rhau-Grünenberg integrates a Cranach woodcut in order to make his product more appealing and consequently increase sales, Lotter resorts to verbal advertising in his Latin edition, proclaiming that ‘nothing is more beneficial from either the old or the more recent authors’ (*nihil cōducibilius neq a veteri= || bus neq a recentioribus scriptori || bus*). He then adds: ‘You, Christian reader, should reread it

time and time again and absorb Christ' (*Tu Christiane || lector, relege iterum atq || iterum, & Christum || imbibe*).⁹⁴

The title-page is then followed by the Latin version of the *Epistola*, which takes up sheets A1v–B1v. The treatise itself begins on B2r and is introduced with a woodcut initial 'F' in Roman font, which includes floral elements and spans the first seven lines of the text. What is most striking when looking at the text is that Lotter includes printed marginalia throughout the treatise, which enable the reader a quick overview of a section's content by giving the most important information in a poignant statement. Thus, the first two entries on B2r say *Fides tribula || tionibus disci || tur* ('Faith is learned in troubled times') and *Themata* ('Topics'), the latter of which refers to Luther's definition of man as master and servant.

What is perhaps most interesting about this is not so much the fact that Lotter includes explanatory notes in the margin, which was customary in many Latin prints at the time, but rather that Rhau-Grunenberg, who issued both the first German and Latin version, does not. Indeed, an attentive reader comparing both versions will quickly find that Rhau-Grunenberg's edition differs from Lotter's in many cases. A few examples can illustrate the case: already on the first page of the treatise we find several alterations: these include frequent changes in punctuation, such as the change from *consecutum posseque* (B1r) in Rhau-Grunenberg's edition, listed as A in the WA, to *consecutum, posseque* (B2r) in Lotter's version, listed as E.⁹⁵ There are also more prominent interventions, such as the replacement of individual words, e.g. *nunquam gustauerunt* (B1r) in A with *unquam gustauerunt* (B2r) in E or *nimirum* (B1r) in A with *nimio* (B2r) in E. On D3v in Rhau-Grunenberg's edition it says: *Sunt quam plurimi, qui hanc libertatem fidei audientes, mox eam in occasionem libertatis vertant.*

⁹⁴ The metaphorical use of 'imbining' for 'drinking' the word of Christ is reminiscent of I Corinthians 10,4 in the Vulgate version: *et omnes eundem potum spiritalem biberunt bibebant autem de spiritali consequenti eos petra petra autem erat Christus.*

⁹⁵ Cf. WA 7, 15–16.

But Lotter omits the second use of the word *libertas* and instead inserts *carnis* (E3r)⁹⁶:

Sunt quam plurimi, qui hanc libertatem fidei audientes, mox eam in occasionem carnis vertant, ...

[They are the overwhelming majority of those who, when they hear about this freedom obtained by faith, will then want to transform it into a pretext to indulge in the flesh.]

This passage of the *Freiheitsschrift* is only part of the Latin text, in which Luther attacks those who deliberately use Christian freedom as a pretext for indulging in licentiousness. By replacing the genitive *libertatis* with *carnis*, Lotter's version specifies the word 'freedom' and narrows its meaning down to 'carnal desire'.⁹⁷ This alteration is not grammatical or stylistic in nature; it substantially changes the meaning of the text.

Who was responsible for these changes? James Hirstein has recently cut the Gordian knot.⁹⁸ After coming across a personal pamphlet of Rhau-Grunenberg's *editio princeps* in the Humanist Library of Sélestat (K 809o), which was formerly in the possession of Beatus Rhenanus, he was able to identify the hands of both Rhenanus himself and Luther as well as at least two other hands in the marginalia. According to Hirstein, the text exhibits at least 135 significant changes that were made to Rhau-Grunenberg's version; 47 of these can be attributed to Luther himself, including the interpolation of *carnis*.⁹⁹ Hirstein asserts that the text in Sélestat served as a basis for the Basel print by Adam Petri that was produced in March 1521, listed as D (WA 7: 40). In turn, the Basel print then served as a basis for Lotter's edition in Wittenberg, which must have been produced some time between March and September that

⁹⁶ Text taken from the edition of the Taylorian copy prepared by Madeleine Ahern, <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/libertate1521/#e3r>.

⁹⁷ Cf. Hirstein (2015: 141).

⁹⁸ Cf. also Hirstein (2017a: 385–422) and Hirstein (2017b: 60–65).

⁹⁹ Hirstein (2017a: 411–12).

year.¹⁰⁰ Except for a few changes that can be attributed to Lotter's own workshop, both the Basel and the Wittenberg print display the same text. The fact that Luther reworked his Latin *Freiheitsschrift* also accounts for the note on Lotter's title-page: *RECOGNITUS WITTENBERGAE* ('Reviewed in Wittenberg'). However, unlike Adam Petri, Lotter does not add *PER AU || TOREM*; perhaps this can be taken as evidence that 'Wittenberg' had already become a cachet that was sufficiently associated with the increasingly popular reformer.¹⁰¹ In any case, it displays the close communication that existed between the author, Luther, and his printers.

4. Johann Eckhart: A Personal Luther Collection

Martin Luther, Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen
[Speyer, Johann Eckhart 1522?]

Title: Uon der Freihēyt Eyns || Christen menschen || Martinus
Luther ||

12 sheets in 40. Quire signatures: aii, aiii, b, bii, biii, c, cii, ciii, ciii
Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1519(11/14)¹⁰²

Marginalia in red ink from one hand

WA 7, 16, no H; Benzing/Claus, 88, no 741; Benzing (1963: 398);
VD16 L 7205

The pamphlets in the Taylorian Library, however, do not only display the differences in the production of the prints; what makes the print from Speyer stand out from the other three Taylorian versions is not so much the edition itself, but the readership and ownership history revealed by the print. Unlike the three versions from Wittenberg, the Speyer one, likely produced in 1522, is not preserved as a single print, but is part of a larger, historic collection that includes nineteen German Luther texts, produced between 1519 and 1522. This is indicated by a modern hand on the spine of the

book: 19 Luther- || Pamphlets. || 1519 u. The cover still has the original brown calfskin binding with two metal clasps on the front cover and the corresponding catch-plates on the back. Both front and back cover exhibit decorative elements, including a rectangular region created by four borders.



Ill. 10: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1519(11)

These were produced by using a hot metal roll that was pressed onto the surface of the leather.¹⁰³ The design shows floral ornaments and faces as well as three coats of arms, including a lion, a double-headed eagle, as well as the coat of arms of Cologne, which figures three trident crowns over flames.¹⁰⁴ Inside the rectangle created by the borders, several blind stamps are visible, which illustrate a budding shrub with leaves extending to either side of its stem.

Consulting the Einbanddatenbank (EBDB) reveals that the identical design was also used for another book whose otherwise unknown workshop is listed as 'w007634'. It contains a print of Sebastian Brant's historiographic work *De origine et conversatione bonorum regum et de laude civitatis Hierosolymae* (1495).¹⁰⁵ Even though the

¹⁰³ Cf. Gaskell (2015: 149).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Heiles (2016) for a description of the collective volume ARCH.8°.G.1519 (11).

¹⁰⁵ The book (Stadt- und Landesbibliothek Dortmund) is not digitised; cf. EBDB, <https://www.hist-einband.de/de/kulturobjektdokument/?v=210658b&h=false&ex=false&faces-redirect=true>.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Hirstein (2015: 133).

¹⁰¹ Cf. Kaufmann (2017: 59).

¹⁰² An edition of this copy is currently being prepared by Kiara Hart, to be published as <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/freiheit-1522>.

workshop cannot be identified, the coats of arms suggest that both books were bound in or close to Cologne.



Ill. 11: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1519(11)

Opening up the *Sammelband* reveals annotations by several hands. On the pastedown, we find the bookplate of the Taylorian with the two old shelf marks and the current one as well as the acquisition date

noted down by three hands in pencil; above the bookplate, another hand has registered an owner's mark: *W. O. Abel.1835*.¹⁰⁶ Both on the front and back of the fly leaf, a fourth, modern hand has noted down an entry from a sales catalogue, which advertises the collection:

Von N. 1 sagt A. Strauß (s. dessen opera rariora quae latitant in Biblioth. Can. Reg. Colleg. eccles. ad S. Joh. Bapt. in Rebdorf), p. 136. "das Werkchen ist mit Lotherischen Schriften gedruckt, und wird vielfaeltig als die größte Seltenheit beschrieben. S. Fabricii Gentifol. P II,p.534.

The quote is taken from Andreas Strauß' *Opera Rariora*, which was published in 1790 and provides a list of rare works from the library of Austin canons in Rebdorf.¹⁰⁷ 'N. 1' refers to the first print in the collection, Luther's tract *Augustiners unterricht auff etlich artickell die im von seynen abgunnern auffgelegt und zu gewessen werden* (1519).¹⁰⁸ The entry might already have led W. O. Abel to buy the collection in 1835, before it was resold to the Taylorian in 1877.

On the back of the fly leaf, the same hand started to register the contents of the collection; and on the back pastedown, yet another modern hand registered the titles of all the prints. These include eighteen German texts by Luther as well as one letter in defence of him (no 12). Many of the works are pamphlets against his antagonists Hieronymus Emser (nos 6, 7, 9, 13) and Johannes Eck (nos 8, 16); but the collection also includes Luther's address *An den christlichen Adel* (no 19) as well as the German version of his *Sendbrief an Papst Leo X* (no 11).

¹⁰⁶ Probably Wilhelm Otto Abel (also publishing as Otto Abel), *23 January 1802 in Tübingen, +7 February 1886 in Leonberg. He studied theology and worked as deacon in Leonberg 1829 to 1873. Part of his library are catalogued at the University Library in Tübingen. With thanks to Ulrich Bubenheimer for the information.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Andreas Strauß, *Opera Rariora, Quae Latitant in Bibliotheca Canon. Reg. Collegiatae Ecclesiae Ad S. Ioannem Baptistam in Rebdorf* (Eichstädt: Mathiae Caietani Schmid, 1790), 136, listed as VD18 12185299.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. WA 2, 67, no E.

The pamphlets come from six different cities, namely Augsburg, Basel, Erfurt, Strasbourg, Wittenberg, and Worms. Five of the editions were produced by the *Wanderdrucker* Hans von Erfurt (nos 3, 8, 10, 16, 19),¹⁰⁹ three by Adam Petri in Basel (nos 4, 17, 18),¹¹⁰ two by Rhau-Grunenberg (nos 2, 9), Johann Schott (nos 6, 13),¹¹¹ and Johann Knobloch the Elder (nos 7, 15)¹¹² respectively; one each from Melchior Lotter (no 5), Johann Prüß the Younger (no 12)¹¹³ and Johann Eckhart's *Freiheitsschrift* from Speyer (no 14).

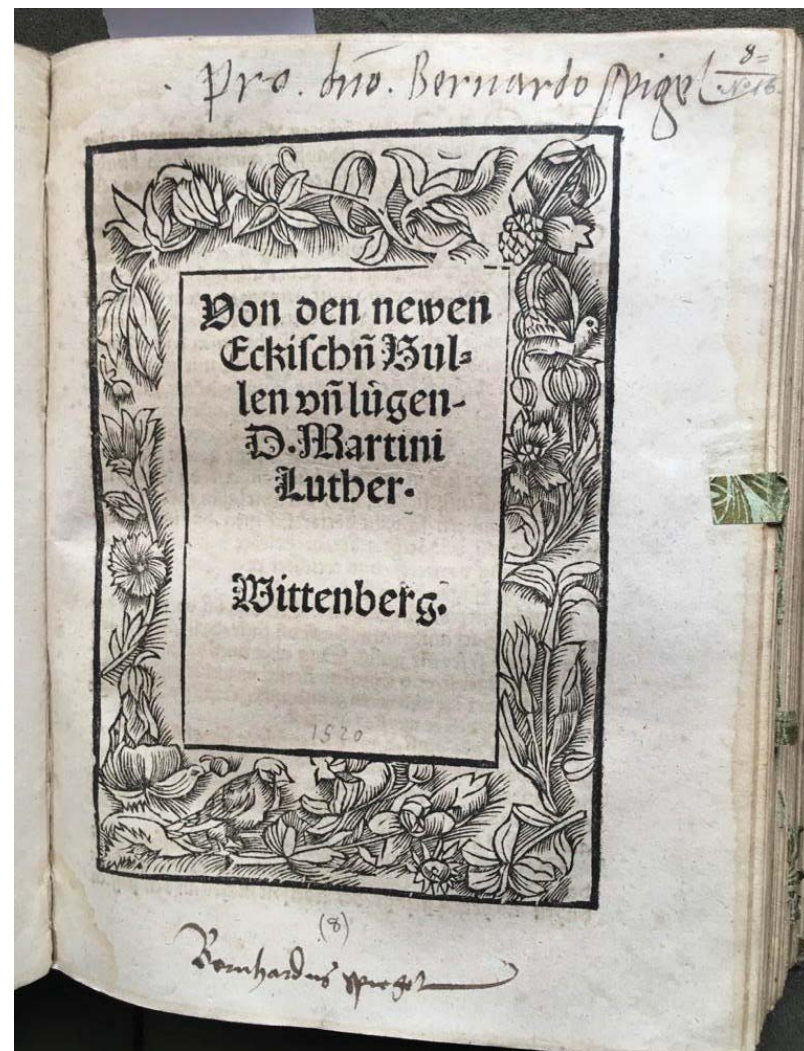
Who was the owner of this exclusively vernacular collection, which shows such an avid interest in Luther's oeuvre? One possible hint might be a contemporary ownership mark by *Bernhard Spiegel*. This can be found on four of the nineteen title-pages (nos 1, 2, 8, 9).



Ill. 12: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1519(11/2)

He seems to have received at least one of the pamphlets as a present, since another hand on the title-page of the eighth pamphlet notes down *.pro. d]o. Bernardo Spigel.*

The first pamphlet likewise has two entries on its title-page: one is the ownership mark by Spiegel; the second one says: *Reinhardt Graff zu Leinlingen, her zu westerburg vnd schaummburgk vnd* [one word illegible] *in liebe* [two words illegible].¹¹⁴



Ill. 13: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1519(11/8)

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Benzing (1963: 15–16).

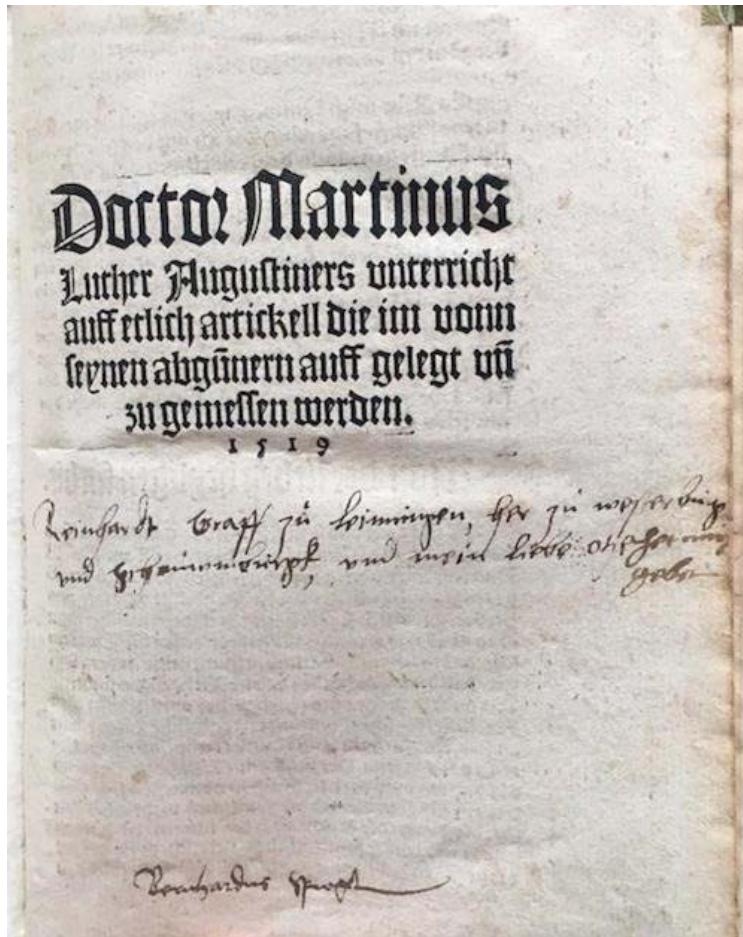
¹¹⁰ Cf. Benzing (1963: 31).

¹¹¹ Cf. Benzing (1963: 412).

¹¹² Cf. Benzing (1963: 411).

¹¹³ Cf. Benzing (1963: 413).

¹¹⁴ Cf. Heiles (2016: 2).



Ill. 14: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1519(11/1)

Whether Earl Reinhard I von Leiningen-Westerburg (1453–1522) donated the print to Bernhard Spiegel is not clear. Unfortunately, the fact that the prints Spiegel signed were produced in three different

cities makes it difficult to locate him.¹¹⁵ At the same time, this provides evidence for the ample circulation and reuse of prints within the Empire, which helped disseminate reformatory ideas.

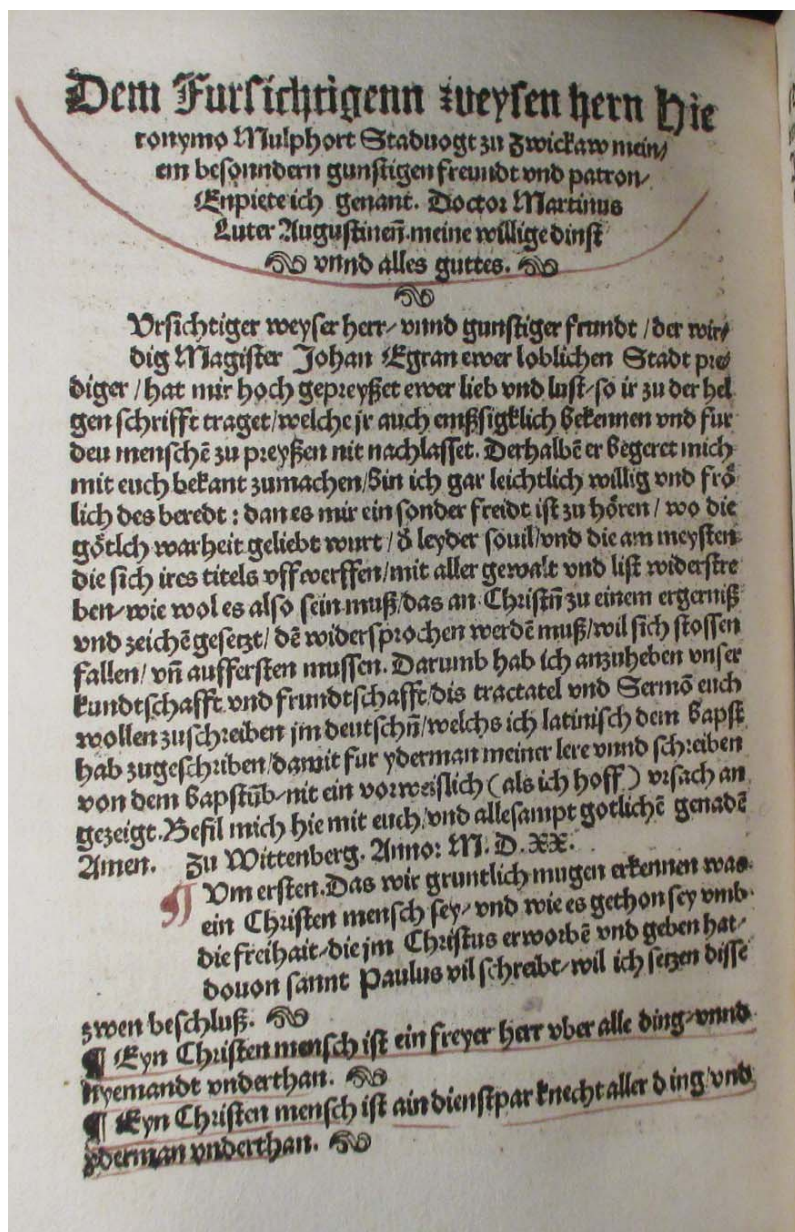
Certainly, one of the more interesting pamphlets in the collection is Johann Eckhart's edition of Luther's *Freiheitsschrift*. As in most of his prints, Eckhart, who is described by Benzing as a reprinter, did not include a colophon or imprint;¹¹⁶ instead, the title-page only gives the author and title in Gothic font (cf. A1r). Other than Rhau-Grunenberg's and Lotter's objective, Eckhart's seems to have been to provide a compact and economical presentation of the text: he neither includes a costly woodcut nor leaves the verso side of the title-page empty; instead, he prints the text of the treatise on the same page as the address to Mühlpsfordt.

He separates the two by simply indenting the first four lines, but then forgets to insert the woodcut initial 'Z' at the beginning of the treatise: [Z]Vm ersten [...] (A1v). What is more, he frequently refrains from inserting spaces in between individual words (e.g. *vndarff* (B2r) instead of *vn darff*) in order to save space and overall shows less concern for punctuation than Rhau-Grunenberg and Lotter do (e.g. *vnrecht Dan ein* (C3r) or *werck Daher* (C3r). This gives the general impression that Eckhart was less careful in his presentation of the print.

Although Knaake asserts that '[a]us B stammen C, H', the Speyer print exhibits several instances which cannot be found in B (or A and L) and therefore might be attributed to Eckhart himself.

¹¹⁵ A pro-Lutheran priest called Bernhard Spiegel from Speyer is mentioned in a letter from Franz von Sickingen to Wolfgang Capito, cf. Molhuysen (1905: 93–95). He might be identical to one 'Bernhardus Spiegel de Spira, ibidem vicarius maioris ecclesiae, dioc. eiusdem' who matriculated in Heidelberg on 4 February 1515 (Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg, ed. Toepke, T. 1: 499); with thanks to Ulrich Bubenheimer for the information.

¹¹⁶ The following examples from Benzing (1956: 184–92).



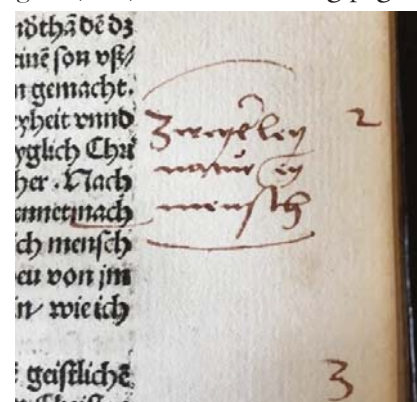
Ill. 15: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1519(11/14), A1v

Thus, he changes the order of words from *gut und frum* to *frH vnd gut* (B4r); and he also – probably mistakenly – prints *noch dem scheinen im wasser schnapt* (B2r) instead of *schemen*, which in a Gothic font looks similar since it has the same number of strokes.

Despite the fact that Eckhart's print seems to be the one produced with the least care among the four Taylorian editions of the *Freiheitsschrift*, it also proves to be the most interesting one, since it includes marginalia by a contemporary hand.

This reader, who writes in red ink, exhibits an active engagement with Luther's text, at least for the first thirteen passages (cf. A1r–B1r). Not only do they number each of the thirteen passages, but they also add pilcrows (cf. A1r, A4v) and try to structure sentences where Eckhart refrained from doing so (e.g. on A2r: *genennet [.] nach [...]*).

Furthermore, they underline all the Bible passages for the first thirteen passages, which once again hints at an active engagement with the work. Important passages in the treatise are likewise underscored; sometimes the hand additionally adds a manicule (cf. A2r, A4v) or writes *Merck* (A4v) in the margin. (S)he also marks Luther's central definition of man as master and servant: *Eyn Christen mensch ist ein freyer herr [...]* (A1v), after which (s)he notes down in the margin of A2r: *Zweyerlei naturen ein mensch* and adds *Verbum Dei & evangelii* (A2v) on the following page.



Ill. 14: Taylorian, ARCH.8°.G.1519(11/14), A2r

Eckhart's print from Speyer, which is included in a contemporary collection of Luther texts, thus provides an interesting history of reader- and ownership. It shows that there was an active readership engaging with the text and provides evidence for the reuse, circulation, and collection of Reformation pamphlets in the early modern period.

All four of the Taylorian copies together show the spectrum of publishing at the time of the Reformation: different graphic designs (woodcut versus no woodcut in Rhau-Grunenberg's and Lotter's edition), advertising strategies (Lotter's praise of Luther's treatise in the Latin edition), and a multi-layered history of readership and ownership (Eckhart's print). At the same time, even though the text of the *Freiheitsschrift* proves to be relatively stable, it could still be altered or revised – either by the author or the printer – and therefore displays at least some degree of *mouvance*.¹¹⁷

In a *Tischrede* from 1532, Luther shows that he is aware of the enormous influence that the printing revolution had on the Reformation, identifying it ('Calcographia') as a divine gift ('sumum et postremum donum') from God, which helps spread His flame-like word: 'Calcographia est sumum et postremum donum, durch welche Gott die Sache [des Evangeliums] treibet. Es ist die letzte flame vor dem ausleschen der welt'.¹¹⁸ [Printing is the most excellent and last gift [from God], through which he helps to spread the word of God. It is the last flame before the extinction of the world].

¹¹⁷ Zumthor (1972) uses the term for the ability of premodern texts to shapeshift constantly.

¹¹⁸ WA.Tr 2, 650. Cf. also Wenzel (2005: 270).

3. How to Read Reformation Pamphlets

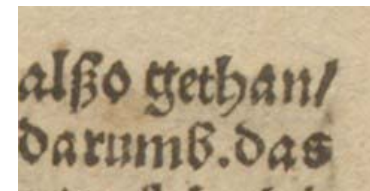
Henrike Lähnemann

Reformation pamphlets are the fast food of early printing. They were produced in haste and as cheaply as possible, and they were meant to be consumed on the go, passed around, and binned or recycled when the next sensational publication took off. Printers cut corners – sometimes literally, as the broken frame of the first edition shows – and rarely proofread the text. Modern readers must familiarise themselves with standard abbreviation practices and correct typos if they are to take in this fast-paced text, which was designed for maximum impact and intended for curious minds and eager contemporaries, not for bibliophiles.

The following short guide is therefore meant to help 21st century readers understand the system (or not) behind punctuation, spelling, and structuring.

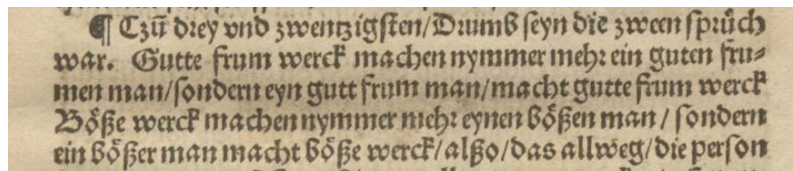
1. Punctuation

Early modern printers mainly use the '/' (virgule or forward slash) to help users punctuate their speech, not as a grammatical mark-up. Virgules stand for both commas and semicolons, acting as breathing markers, and help to pace performance. Only in one instance (B1r, cf. image) is the virgule replaced by a stop, since otherwise it would have been impossible to squeeze the last word on the line.



b1r, §11

Full stops are normally combined with a capital letter to mark sentence breaks but, if there is a line break before a new sentence, the full stop can be left out, e.g. in §23 where there is no full stop between ‘werck’ and the sentence starting ‘Böße werk’.



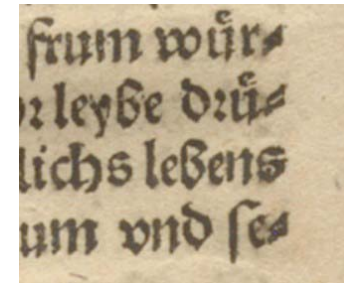
c1r, §23

The only other punctuation marks are brackets for parentheses and question marks, both used sparingly. Parentheses are used only twice in this text, once characteristically for an explanation that underlines Luther's key point about grace, combined with ‘das ist’ (i.e.): §24 ‘durch gottis wort (das ist/ durch seyne vorheyschung der gnadenn)’. Question marks come up where Luther uses the didactic structure of an imagined pupil asking for clarification: ‘Fragistu aber / wilchs ist denn das wort das solch grosse gnad gibt. Vnd wie sol ichs gebrauchen?’ (§6) and for rhetorical questions ‘Wer mag nu außdencken / die ehre vnd höhe eyniß Christen menschen?’ (§16).

2. Spacing and Hyphenation

Particularly in the last quire it is clear that the printer tried to avoid half-empty lines, so instead of a paragraph, he often just used a larger space (a so-called ‘m space’ since it is as wide as the letter *m*) to mark a wider space between full stop and initial. This can also be used to signal a contrast, not necessarily at the start of a new sentence, but quite often before ‘Widderumb’, e.g. in §5 ‘Widderumb keyn grösser gnade’. On the other hand a space may be inserted seemingly to concentrate all the spacing of a line in one handy slot, e.g. in §4 after ‘heuchler’ even though the next part continues the argument with ‘Auch’. The normal hyphenation mark is a double line (cf. the image from c1r) which

is used fairly consistently; overall the word division is more in line with modern German usage than it is, e.g. in the ‘Sermon von Ablass und Gnade’.¹¹⁹



b4v, §21

3. Abbreviations

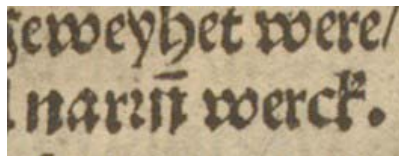
The main abbreviation mark is ‘-’, a bar above a letter, mostly above the last typeset character, to indicate that there would be a further character following, usually an *n* as in ‘dē’ = *den* or (for Latin case endings) an *m* such as ‘Christū’ = *Christum*, but also for a missing *e* in ‘zurnn’ for *zürnen*; the most frequent use is in ‘vn’ for *und*, and just occasionally it occurs above *p* for the Latin prefix ‘pre-’ in ‘pdigen’ = *predigen*. There are also a number of established abbreviations for frequent words, notably ‘dz’ = *das*, ‘d’ = *der*, and an ‘-us’ abbreviation in the shape of a small elevated nine as in ‘Paul’ for *Paulus*. Of the old Roman abbreviation marks, *et* in the form of a 7 (or in this font more like a lower-case 2) is retained, and is exclusively used for ‘2c’ as *etc.*

4. *u/v/w* – *v/f* – *i/j/γ*, and different *s*- and *r*-forms

u/v/w are interchangeable, e.g. *und* is regularly spelled as ‘vnd’, *reuen* as ‘rewen’. Similarly, *i/j/γ* are mainly distributed according to word position, with ‘j’ and ‘y’ as the more distinctive often employed in first position like an initial, e.g. ‘jhn’ or ‘yhn’ for *ihn*.

¹¹⁹ Cf. the chapter in the second volume of the Taylor Editions Series: Reformation Pamphlets, open access <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/ablassgnade5/>

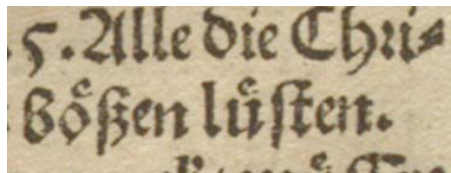
v/f are both used for *f*, e.g. ‘vleissig’ = *fleißig*. There is no phonetic difference in *u/v/w/f/i/j/y* from modern German. The two typographically different forms for *s* (long-*f* versus round-*s*) and for *r* (*r* versus *z*, cf. the image for the spelling of *narren* as ‘narzñ’) which are distributed according to different positions in the word, have not been distinguished in this edition.



c1r, §23

5. Umlaut and superscript *e*

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. ‘messiger’ = *mäßiger*; modern *ü* and *ö* are usually spelt with a superscript *e* as in ‘bößen lüsten’ for *bösen Lüsten*. Sometimes umlaut is not indicated but implied, e.g. ‘furet’ for *führet*, or ‘gottlich’ which could stand for *gottlich* or *göttlich* since the umlaut is variable in Early New High German. In most cases, an umlaut can be assumed whenever there is one in modern German.



b4r, §20

6. Double versus single consonants and *s/ß*, *k/gk/ck*, *z/tz/cz*

There is no consistency in writing single and double consonants such as *f/ff* or *n/nn*, nor is there a difference in pronunciation. This also applies to *s* and *ß*, to *k*, *gk* and *ck* (e.g. ‘dingk’ for *Ding*), and to *z* and *tz*, e.g. ‘tzinß’ for *Zins*. The capital *Z* which would

be needed for all paragraph openings is in the normal type consistently replaced by *Cz*, e.g. ‘Czum eilften’. The frequent spelling of initial *s* as ‘ß’ indicates that *s* would have been unvoiced throughout (a dialect feature which is not found e.g. in the Speyer edition, cf. chapter 2.4) but overall most consonants are equivalent to their modern counterparts.

7. Double consonants and ‘h’

In the same way that the printer uses ‘ß’ or even ‘sß’ for *s* and ‘tz’ for *z*, he also habitually uses double consonants where they would not be used in modern German, e.g. ‘erbeytten’ for *arbeiten*, and particularly ‘nn’ at the end of words, e.g. ‘ynn’ for *in* or ‘andernn’ for *andern*. ‘h’ is occasionally used to indicate vowel length as (‘yhn’ for *ihn*) but in variable positions, as in ‘yhenes’ for *jenes*.

8. Capital letters

Capital letters are used as in English to indicate the beginning of new sentences and for proper names and titles, e.g. ‘S. Paul Gal.’, ‘Bapst’ and for all forms related to Christ e.g. ‘Christlich’. Occasionally, it seems to have been used for emphasis e.g. ‘den leyp zu Casteyen’.

9. Dialect markers

The main differences between the language of the first edition, which reflects the Central German dialect spoken in Wittenberg, and modern German are some full forms where modern German has an unstressed vowel, as in ‘hirschafft’ for *Herrschaft*, ‘gottis’ for *Gottes*, ‘wilchs’ for *welchs*, ‘vor-’ for *ver* (e.g. ‘vorpflchtet’ for *verpflichtet*), and some vowels that have not yet been lowered e.g. ‘frum’ for *fromm*, ‘vormügen’ for *vermögen*.

4. The German and Latin Versions

Howard Jones

The *Freiheitsschrift* and the letter to the Pope which introduces it were written by Luther in both German and Latin, and the German versions were published first.¹²⁰ Like his other vernacular writings around this time, the German version was intended for a general audience, while the Latin version was intended for the Pope and other highly educated readers (see chapter 1 of this introduction). It is widely accepted that the Latin version of the letter was written first and then put into German,¹²¹ but the order of composition of the two versions of the *Freiheit* itself is a matter of debate.¹²² Some scholars, notably Maurer (1949) and Gasse (1984), argue for the priority of the German version, while others, notably Stolt (1969), argue for that of the Latin version.¹²³ It is also possible that Luther worked on both versions at the same time, and that the German version had priority in some parts and the Latin version in others.

A number of comparisons will be made below between the German and Latin versions and on the way some new, linguistic arguments will be put forward for the priority of the German version, at least for certain parts of the work. These arguments may serve as hypotheses for a more thoroughgoing analysis which would go beyond the scope of this discussion.

¹²⁰ I thank the following for their generous and valuable help with this piece of work: Ulrich Bubenheimer, John Flood, Martin Jones, Martin Keßler, Henrike Lähne-mann, Ralf Plate, Jonathan Reinert, Reinhold Rieger, and William Thurlwell.

¹²¹ See Rieger (2007: 2), Jürgens (2014: 133), and Stolt (1969: 8).

¹²² When the German and Latin versions are not distinguished, the work is referred to as the *Freiheit*; otherwise, this will be made clear in context.

¹²³ Maurer (1949) and Stolt (1969) allow for the existence of a plan or outline which preceded both versions. Their arguments are summarised in Rieger (2007: 5–12), who comes out in favour of Maurer.

1. Length and structure

The Latin version of the work is, by word-count, around 8% longer than the German version. However German, as the more analytic language, generally has a higher word-count than Latin. To illustrate this, the German and Latin word-counts were compared in three paragraphs (§7, §21, and §24)¹²⁴ in which the two versions are as close as any in the work. Here the German word-count is around 25% greater than the Latin, so 1.25 : 1.00 may be taken as the neutral ratio of German to Latin for this work, that is, the ratio we should expect if the two versions were close equivalents throughout. Normalizing for this, the Latin version is some 35% longer than the German.¹²⁵ The greater length of the Latin partly reflects a short introduction and long end section in the Latin (preceding §1 and following §30)¹²⁶ which have no counterpart in the German; these are partly offset by a dedication in the German version before §1 which has no equivalent in the Latin.

If we confine ourselves to §§1–30 in both versions, the Latin is some 25% longer than the German on the normalised basis just explained. This ratio masks considerable variation; for example, §27 in the Latin is some 75% longer than in the German, while §4 in the Latin is around 30% shorter (again on a normalised basis). The greater overall length of §§1–30 reflects three main differences: first, the Latin includes arguments which go beyond those in the German; secondly, the same arguments are developed more in the Latin than in the

¹²⁴ Although only the German version is divided into numbered paragraphs, these numbers will be used also to refer to the Latin text corresponding to them. For convenience, the numbers have been marked against the Latin transcription in the online edition.

¹²⁵ Thus, if the two versions were close equivalents throughout, 125 German words would correspond to 100 Latin words on average. In fact, 125 German words correspond to $125 \times 108\% = 135$ Latin words on average throughout the two versions.

¹²⁶ The end section in the Latin begins ‘In fine’.

German; and, thirdly, there are 50% more Bible quotations in the Latin. These differences will be illustrated below.

Although only the German version is divided into numbered paragraphs,¹²⁷ both versions have the same broad thematic divisions, as follows (my numbering): I introduction; II the inner person; III the outer person; IV conclusion,¹²⁸ and these divisions and their subdivisions are signposted in the text in both versions.¹²⁹ Stolt (1969: 91–3) maps these sections onto a tripartite structure advocated in Classical rhetoric, in which II and III should be taken together (as ‘antitheses’), to give the following structure: I, (II + III), IV. Stolt also shows (ibid) that the two parts of the antithetical middle section are of almost exactly equal length as each other in both the German and Latin versions, again as recommended in the rules of Classical rhetoric.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Luther often used numbering in his German works (e.g. *Sermon von Ablass und Gnade* 1518, *Von den guten Werken* 1520, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* 1520) as well as in those of his Latin works which were set out in the form of ‘theses’ (e.g. ‘95 Theses’ 1517, ‘Heidelberg Disputation’ 1518).

¹²⁸ I: §§1–2; II: §§3–18; III: §§19–29; IV: §30 (as well as the extra end section of the Latin).

¹²⁹ For a more detailed breakdown, see Rieger (2007: 12–15). The signposting of the arguments is somewhat clearer in the Latin version; for example, in the Latin §11 opens, ‘Haec prima fidei virtus esto. Alteram quoque videamus’, and §12 starts, ‘Tertia fidei gratia incomparabilis est haec ...’. The corresponding German paragraphs do not make the tripartite virtue of faith so explicit. For further details of the way in which arguments are connected in the two versions, see Gasse (1984: 41–4).

¹³⁰ For divisions of the work based on medieval rhetoric, see the introduction to the English translation of the Latin version in Wengert (2015: 470–3). In the Latin version of the present volume, the marginal glosses which summarise the text are those used in editions from that of Adam Petri in 1521 (Basel) onwards. Hirstein (2015) shows that these glosses were added, not by Luther, but by Beatus Rhenanus.

2. Detailed comparisons of the two versions

To illustrate the relationship between the German and Latin versions, we analyse two extracts which show opposite extremes. In the first, from the beginning of §21, the two versions are as close as we find anywhere in the work, while in the second, corresponding to the whole of §6, the two versions are as far apart as in any part of the work which is composed in both languages.¹³¹

2a. An example of a close match between the German and Latin versions

We start with an extract from the beginning of §21. To show how similar the two versions are, the extract has been divided up into 17 linguistic units, with the German (marked ‘a’) set out above the equivalent Latin (marked ‘b’). Most of these units are clauses and separated in the German by virgulae (‘/’, probably added by the printer).

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1a | Aber die selben werck müssen nit geschehn ynn der meynung / |
| 1b | Verum ea opera oportet, non ea fieri opinione, |
| 2a | das da durch der mensch frum werd fur gott / |
| 2b | quo per ipsa coram deo iustificetur quisquam, |
| 3a | deñ die falsch meynung kan der glaub nit leyde / |
| 3b | hanc enim falsam opinionem fides non feret, |
| 4a | der alleyn ist uñ sein muß die frumkeyt fur gott / |
| 4b | quae sola est iustitia coram deo, |
| 5a | sonderñ nur yn der meynung / |
| 5b | sed solum ea opinione, |
| 6a | das der leyp gehorsam werde / |
| 6b | ut corpus in servitutum redigatur |
| 7a | und gereynigt von seynen bosen lüsten / |
| 7b | & purificetur a concupiscentiis suis malis, |

¹³¹ A translation of the Latin version of this extract can be found in this volume as a footnote to the translation of the German version.

| | |
|-----|---|
| 8a | uñ dz aug nur sehe / auff die bosen lüsten / |
| 8b | ita ut oculum non nisi vertat ad concupiscentias |
| 9a | sie auß zu treyben / |
| 9b | expurgandas. |
| 10a | Deñ die weyl die seel durch den glauben reyn ist / |
| 10b | Cum enim anima per fidem purgata sit |
| 11a | uñ gott liebet / |
| 11b | & amans dei facta, |
| 12a | wolt sie gern das auch also alle ding reyn weren zuvor yhr eygen leyp / |
| 12b | vellat omnia pariter purgari, praecipue corpus proprium, |
| 13a | und yderman gott / mit yhr liebt und lobt / |
| 13b | ut omnia secum amarent & laudarent deum. |
| 14a | So geschichts / |
| 14b | Ita fit, |
| 15a | das der mensch seyns eygen leyphalben nit kan mußsig gehen / |
| 15b | ut homo exigente corporis sui causa ociari non possit, |
| 16a | uñ muß vil gutter werck drober uben / |
| 16b | cogaturque ob id, multa bona operari, |
| 17a | das er yhn zwingt / |
| 17b | ut in servitutem redigat. |

The comparison of the German and the Latin shows that, in each pair, there is a close match between the two. With very few exceptions, the two members of each pair are semantic equivalents, conveying the same sense and no more.¹³² They are also close matches syntactically, as illustrated by the fact that the passage in both versions can be set out into corresponding clauses of very similar length in exactly the same order. Even within clauses the order of sentence constituents is, for the most part, the same.¹³³ This is

illustrated by an analysis of units 5–7, copied below. Here there is an exact match in sense, construction type, and the order of sentence constituents between the German and the Latin.

Sentence constituent count in 5a–7b above

| | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|----|---------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| 5a | sondern | nur | yn der meynung / |
| 5b | sed | solum | ea opinione, |
| 6a | das | der leyp | gehorsam werde / |
| 6b | ut | corpus | in servitutem redigatur |
| 7a | und | gereynigt | von seynen bosen lüsten / |
| 7b | & | purificetur | a concupiscentiis suis malis, |

Overall, the German and Latin versions here are so close that it seems likely that Luther translated one from the other, rather than basing both versions merely on notes or an outline. As to which version came first, there is one general linguistic difference between German and Latin which suggests that it was the German version: the more flexible word order of Latin. If the German was composed first, the Latin, with its relatively adaptable word order, could more easily follow the German word order than the German could follow the Latin if the latter was composed first. It could be argued that Luther's Latin word order might have been generally similar to his German word order, in which case either version could have been composed first. However, a comparison with Luther's letter to the Pope, of which the Latin version is considered to have come first and then to have been translated into German, is instructive.

If we compare the two versions of this letter where they are closest to each other, we find a semantic match between them, but far less of a syntactic match than in the passage from the *Freiheit* we have just analysed. To illustrate this, here is an extract from the letter

¹³² Main semantic differences between the two versions: 'der mensch' (2a) *vs* 'quisquam' (2b), 'ist uñ sein muß' (4a) *vs* 'est' (4b), 'yderman' (13a) *vs* 'omnia' (13b).

¹³³ A sentence constituent is defined as a group of words which can be taken together as a syntactic unit.

where the two versions are as close as they come:¹³⁴

German:

Ich hab wol scharff angriffen, doch yn der gemeyn hyn, etlich unchristlich lere, und auff meyne widdersacher peyssig geweßen, nit umb yhres boßen lebens, Bondern umb yhrer unchristlichen lere und schutts willen, wilchs mych ßo gar nichts berewet, das ich myrß auch ynn synn genummen hab, ynn solcher emßickeyt und scherpfß zu bleyben, unangesehen, wie myr dasselb etlich außlegen...

Latin:

Communiter quidem in impias doctrinas invectus sum acriter, et adversarios non ob malos mores sed ob impietatem non segniter momordi, cuius me adeo non poenitet, ut animum induxerim, contempto hominum iuditio, in ea vehementia zeli perseverare ...

It would not be possible to set out these German and Latin extracts above one another as we did with the extract from §21 of the *Freiheit* because the syntactic mismatches between the German and the Latin are too great. For example:

- In the German, ‘etlich unchristlich lere’ comes after ‘Ich hab ... angriffen’, while in Latin ‘in impias doctrinas’ comes before ‘invectus sum acriter’;
- In the German, ‘nit umb yhres ... willen’ comes after ‘peyssig geweßen’, while in the Latin ‘non ob malos ... impietatem’ comes before ‘non segniter momordi’;
- In the German, ‘unangesehen, wie myr dasselb etlich außlegen’ comes after ‘das ich myrß auch ... bleyben’, while in the Latin the equivalent (but differently constructed) ‘contempto hominum iuditio’ comes before ‘in ea vehementia zeli perseverare’.

The different relationships between the German and Latin in the letter and the *Freiheit* are therefore explicable if we assume that, in contrast to the letter to the Pope, the German version of the *Freiheit* was written first. This is far from proof, but constitutes a plausible hypothesis, which could be tested by a comprehensive linguistic comparison of the German-Latin relationship in the *Freiheit* with that in the letter to the Pope. A further test would involve a linguistic comparison between the Latin of the *Freiheit* where it is close to the German and the Latin of Luther’s original Latin compositions at around the time the *Freiheit* was composed; this might reveal distinctive features of the Latin in the *Freiheit* which could be attributed to its being a translation from German.

2b. An example of a loose relationship between the German and Latin versions

At the other extreme is §6. Apart from the opening words (‘Fragistu aber / wilchs ist denn das wort ...’ and ‘Quaeres autem, Quod nam est verbum hoc ...’) and two quotations from Romans, there are no close verbal similarities like those discussed above. However, the German and Latin deal with a similar topic and make similar arguments, and a comparison between them illustrates the sort of differences we find throughout the two versions of the *Freiheit*.¹³⁵

Both versions open with the questions ‘What is the “word” and how is it to be used?’ and restate the point made in §5 that the word is the Gospel of God about Christ. Thereafter, however, the two versions differ on a number of levels.

First, some of the arguments in the Latin version go beyond those in the German. Thus (i) in the Latin we are told that faith is the use of the word (‘Fides enim sola est salutaris & efficax usus verbi dei’) but

¹³⁴ WA 7, 4, 17–21 and WA 7, 43, 20–23.

¹³⁵ A translation of the Latin version of this paragraph can be found in this volume as a footnote to the translation of the German version.

not in the German; (ii) in the Latin it is stated explicitly that ‘faith alone’ means ‘without works’ (e.g. ‘sola fide et nullis operibus iustificatur’), but not in the German; (iii) in the Latin the interactions between human beings and Christ are spelt out (‘Hoc enim cognito ... Christi solius’), while in the German they are not; and (iv) in the Latin the contrast between faith and works is paralleled by the difference between the inner and outward person (‘Cum ergo haec fides ... peccato vel opere’) in a way that has no equivalent in the German.

Other differences between the two versions have to do with the order in which the arguments are made and the emphasis they are given. In the German version the argument that God’s word leads to a recognition of sinfulness (‘Bo du recht glaubst/wie du schuldig bist’) precedes the claim that justification is by faith alone (‘Ein rechtfertiger Christen/lebt nur von seynem glauben’ – a translation from Romans 1,17), while in the Latin the order is the opposite, with the argument that justification is by faith alone (‘Fides enim sola ...’) introduced before the argument that God’s word leads to a recognition of sinfulness (‘discis, omnia quae in te sunt ... damnanda’). The difference in order means that the German starts on the more negative note than the Latin (see Rieger 2007: 128). As an example of a difference in emphasis between the two versions, in the German the argument that justification is by faith alone is confined to the translation from Romans 1,17 at the end of the paragraph, while in the Latin the equivalent Latin quotation comes near the beginning and the point is then restated emphatically.

The tone in which the arguments are presented is also different in the two versions. Overall, the German is more personal and the Latin more academic – which is to be expected since the former was intended for a general audience and the latter for the Pope and other highly-educated readers. The German version includes many more personal references to the reader/listener. Thus (i) the first-personal question at the beginning of the German (‘wie sol ichs gebrauchen?’)

corresponds to an impersonal phrase in the Latin (‘qua arte utendum est eo ...?’); (ii) there is no equivalent of ‘du hōrist deynen gott zu dir reden’ in the Latin; and (iii), while the German version includes direct instructions to the reader/listener (‘so mustu an dir selber vortzweyffeln’, ‘Du solt ynn den selben mit festem glauben dich ergeben’), the Latin arguments are framed in logical language (e.g. ‘Si confitearis ore tuo ... salvus eris’) or are made more abstractly by reference to the soul (e.g. ‘Ideo clarum est ... nullis operibus iustificatur’).

Finally, the German relies less on Biblical authority than the Latin: the German has one quotation from Hosea and two from Romans, while the Latin has six quotations from, and one reference to, Romans as well as one reference to Job.

3. Bible quotations

In the German version of the *Freiheit* there are 36 Bible quotations and in the Latin there are 64. If we confine the comparison to §§1–30, the numbers are 36 and 54, respectively, making 50% more quotations in the Latin than the German. This reflects both the greater length of the Latin (see section 1 above) and the greater density of Bible quotations in the Latin (see section 2b above).¹³⁶

While there are many Bible quotations in the Latin which have no equivalent in the German, there is only one quotation in the German which has no equivalent in the Latin: in §5 of the German we have ‘Ich byn der weg/die warheyt/und das leben’ (John 14,6), while in the Latin corresponding to it we have ‘Si filius vos liberaverit, vere

¹³⁶ A Bible quotation is defined here as any text which Luther presents as such in one or both versions of the *Freiheit*. Three of the Bible quotations in the Latin version (from Romans 10,10, Galatians 2,20, and 1 Timothy 1,9) appear twice. In addition to Bible quotations, there are numerous biblical allusions and echoes in both versions. For a discussion of other differences between the German and Latin Bible references in the *Freiheit*, see Gasse (1984: 44–51).

liberi eritis' (John 8,36) instead. The quotation in the Latin has been seen as an improvement on that in the German, given that the part of the work in which this section appears is about the freedom of the inner person, which is brought out more explicitly by the Latin (see Rieger 2007: 101, referencing Maurer 1949: 66).

Turning to the language of the Bible quotations, the Latin seems to be based on the Vulgate – with the edition printed in Basel in 1509 serving as a reasonable proxy for the version which Luther might have used.¹³⁷ The relationship between the Latin Bible quotations in the *Freiheit* and the text of the Vulgate is variable. In some cases they match almost word-for-word; one example among many is the quotation from John 1,51 in §30. In other cases the Vulgate is quoted accurately, but parts are edited out; an example is in §24, where 2 Timothy 3, vv. 5 and 7 are quoted almost exactly from the Vulgate, but v. 6 is left out. Elsewhere there is a loose relationship between the Latin quotations and the Vulgate, as in a quotation from Matthew 7,18 in §23, where Luther refers to the good and bad trees in the opposite order to that in the Vulgate.

In cases where the Latin departs significantly from the wording of the Vulgate, the German and Latin are often close to each other.

¹³⁷ It is not claimed here that this was the edition, or even one of the editions, of the Vulgate used by Luther. Ulrich Bubenheimer (p.c.) has established that editions of the Vulgate printed in the following locations were in use at Wittenberg by Luther's contemporaries (named in parentheses): Lyon 1513 (Heinrich Stackmann); Lyon 1514 (Andreas Karlstadt); Basel 1514 (Johannes Lang). Comparing the Latin quotations in this work with the Latin (and Greek) of Erasmus's 1516 and 1519 versions of the New Testament, I find no strong evidence that Luther's Bible quotations were influenced by these (for one example of possible influence, see the footnote on Luther's use of the future tense in the Latin quotation from Romans 1,17 below). For a study of some of Luther's Bible translations before his 1522 *Septembertestament* (his first translation of the New Testament), see Bluhm (1969).

Here are three examples:

| Reference | German | Latin | Vulgate |
|---------------|---|--|--|
| Isaiah 10,22f | Gott wirt eyn kurtz summa machen auff erden /und die kurtz summa wirt/wie ein syndflut eynfliessen die gerechtickeit (§7) | Verbum abbreviatum & consumans faciet dominus super terram: Et consummata abbreviatio inundabit iustitiam (§7) | (v. 22) ... consummatio abbreviata inundabit iustitiam (v. 23) Consummationem enim et abbreviationem dominus deus exercituum, faciet in medio omnis terrae |
| Genesis 2,15 | Das gott den geschaffenen menschen /setzt ynß paradiß /das er dasselb erbeytten und hutten solt (§22) | Posuit deus hominem, quem formaverat in paradisum, ut operaretur & custodiret illum (§22) | posuit eum in paradisum voluptatis, ut operaretur et custodiret illum |
| 1 Peter 2,9 | Ihr seyt ein priesterlich künigreich /uñ ein küniglich priesterthū (§15) | Vos genus electum, populus acquisitionis, sacerdotium regale, & regnum sacerdotale (§15) | Vos autem genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta, populus in acquisitionem |

In the first of these examples, the German and the Latin both involve a reordering and reduction of the Vulgate. In the second example, both the German and the Latin refer to man being created ('geschaffenen', 'quem formaverat') but this reference has no equivalent in the Vulgate (nor, for that matter, in the Hebrew Old Testament). In the third example, the chiasmic wordplay which occurs in both the German and the Latin versions ('priesterlich künigreich ... küniglich priesterthū', 'sacerdotium regale ... regnum sacerdotale') does not occur in the Vulgate.

When the German diverges from the Latin, it often resembles a paraphrase rather than a translation, as in the following examples (in which the Latin is close to the Vulgate):¹³⁸

| Reference | German | Latin | Vulgate |
|--------------|---|---|---|
| Psalm 107,20 | Er hat seyn wort auß gesandt/ damit er yhn hatt geholffen (§5) | Misit verbum suum & sanavit eos, & eripuit eos de interitionibus eorum (§5) | Misit verbum suum et sanavit eos et eripuit eos de interitionibus eorum |
| Hosea 13,9 | O Israel yn dir ist nichts/denn deyn vorterben/alleyn aber yn mir steht deyn hulff (§6) | Perditio tua Israel, tantum in me auxilium tuum (§8) | Perditio tua, Israel, tantummodo in me auxilium tuum |

In the first example, the words ‘damit er yhn hatt geholffen’ in the German are an abbreviated paraphrase of ‘sanavit eos, & eripuit eos de interitionibus eorum’. In the second example, the words ‘yn dir ist nichts /denn deyn vorterben’ are an expanded paraphrase of ‘Perditio tua’.

In certain quotations the German departs from the Latin in ways which contribute to Luther’s message in the work, as in these three examples:

| Reference | German | Latin | Vulgate |
|------------|--|---|--|
| Rom. 1,17 | Ein rechtfertiger Christen/lebt nur von seynem glauben (§6) | Iustus ex fide sua viver ¹³⁹ (§6) | Iustus autem ex fide vivit |
| John 6,29 | Das ist das eynige gotliche werck/das yhr glaubt yn denen/den gott gesandt hatt (§7) | Hoc est opus dei, ut credatis in eum, quem misit ille (§7) | Hoc est opus dei, ut credatis in eum, quem misit ille |
| I Cor. 4,1 | Wir wollen nichts mehr von den leuthen gehalten seyn/denn Christ’ diener/und schaffner des Evangelii (§17) | Sic nos existimet homo, sicut ministros Christi & dispensatores mysteriorum dei (§17) | Sic nos existimet homo ut ministros christi et dispensatores mysteriorum dei |

In the first two of these examples, Luther introduces into the German a notion of exclusiveness with ‘nur’ and ‘eynige’ that is absent from the Latin (and from the Vulgate), reinforcing the notion of *sola fide* which is central to Luther’s argument in the work.¹⁴⁰ In the third case, Luther uses ‘mysteriorum’ in the Latin, in line with the Vulgate, but ‘Evangelii’ in the German, underlining the importance of the Gospel as God’s word (see section 2b). An examination of Luther’s quotations from these verses elsewhere, both in his Bible translations and in his other works, reveals that his additions here are unusual, and may have been motivated by the particular needs of this work.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ In his use of the future ‘viver’ against the Vulgate’s ‘vivit’, it is possible that Luther was following Erasmus’s 1516/1519 Greek/Latin edition of the New Testament here: Erasmus has the Greek future ‘ζησεται’ (translated by the Latin periphrastic future ‘victurus est’).

¹⁴⁰ The introduction of ‘nur’ foreshadows Luther’s famous addition of ‘allein’ in ‘allein durch den glauben’ in his rendering of Romans 3: 28 (Vulgate: ‘ex fide’) in his New Testament translations; see Jones (2017: xix–xx) for details.

¹⁴¹ The closest I can find to any of these three additions are two references which parallel Romans 1,17. In a sermon from 1521 Luther cites Habakkuk 2,4 (of which

¹³⁸ Comparing the German quotations in this work with the text of the 1466 Mentel Bible, I found no evidence that Luther’s translations in the *Freiheit* were influenced by it.

At this time Luther was familiar with the Bible primarily through the Vulgate, so we might assume that the Latin quotations came first and that Luther translated them into German. This would certainly explain why, in most cases, the quotations in the two versions correspond closely. On the other hand there are a number of instances, illustrated above, in which the German and Latin do not match up, including cases in which the German is more of a paraphrase than a translation. Maurer (1949: 66), in arguing that Luther wrote the German version first, suggests that he might have checked some of the Bible quotations against the Vulgate when he came to write the Latin version; this would explain the greater accuracy of the Latin in the quotations from Psalm 107,20 and Hosea 13,9 above. In other cases, like the quotations from Isaiah 10,22–23, Genesis 2,15, and 1 Peter 2,9 above, in which the German and Latin match each other but not the Vulgate, Luther could have started with the German and rendered it into Latin without checking the Vulgate. An examination of Latin quotations in the work which are not matched by a German quotation, including in the end section of the Latin which has no German equivalent, does not show the same degree of lexical independence from the Vulgate as when the Latin is closely matched by the German.¹⁴² This lends support to the case that the German version was written first, but would have to be confirmed by a comprehensive analysis of all Bible quotations in the *Freiheit*, as well as a comparison with Luther's quotations of the same passages in his other works.

Paul's words in Romans 1,17 are an echo) as follows: 'der gerecht lebt allain in seinem glauben' (WA 7, 240, 14), and in a 1530 letter from Luther to Justus Jonas he writes, 'Discimus nunc re ipsa, quid sit iustum ex fide vivere et fide sola' (WA.Br 5, 500, 3).

¹⁴² By 'lexical independence' is meant a departure from the wording in the Vulgate. The Latin-only quotations in the *Freiheit* include cases in which the Luther combines, reorders, or selects from different verses, but in such cases the wording is still close to that of the Vulgate.

4. Righteousness vocabulary

Our final comparison between the two versions of the work concerns the language of righteousness, in particular the way in which the German *gerecht* and *frum* (and their derivatives) and the Latin *iustus* (and its derivatives) correspond.¹⁴³ In Jones (2018b) it was argued that, in his 1522 New Testament translation, Luther imposed a separation of function on *gerecht* and *frum* when they were used to translate the Greek δίκαιος (which in most cases corresponds to the Latin *iustus*); accordingly, *gerecht* was used to refer to righteousness in Luther's conception of it at the time, while *frum* was used to refer to worldly goodness. However outside his Bible translations, it was argued, Luther used both *gerecht* and *frum* to refer to righteousness according to his own theology, while also using *frum* for worldly goodness. The explanation put forward was that, in his Bible translations, where Luther could not spell out for the reader when he was referring to righteousness and when he was referring to worldly goodness, he encoded this distinction in the lexical choice of *gerecht* and *frum*, respectively. By contrast, in his other works, Luther could make it clear in context when he was referring to which, and therefore did not have to be so strict in his lexical choice.

The two versions of the *Freiheit* provide an opportunity to examine the distribution of *frum*, *gerecht*, and *iustus* in this light. The table below shows which Latin words *gerecht* and *frum* (and their derivatives) correspond to and which German words *iustus* (together with its derivatives) corresponds to. Where two words are shown (e.g. *frum* + *gerecht*), both of them (or their derivatives) occur in the German and correspond to only one word in the Latin.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ The main derivatives of *frum* are *frumkeit*, *frum machen/werden*; those of *gerecht* are *gerechtigkeit*, *gerecht machen/werden*; and those of *iustus* are *iustitia*, *iustificare*, *iustum facere*.

¹⁴⁴ In such cases the German words may be in either order, e.g. *frum und gerecht* or *gerecht und frum*.

| Latin v. German lexemes (incl. derivatives) | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|------|-------------------|----------------|------------------|-------|-------|
| | gerecht | frum | frum + gerecht | frum + gutt | recht- fertig | recht | Total |
| iustus | 11 | 49 | 4 | | 5 | 3 | 72 |
| bonus | | 4 | | 6 | | | 10 |
| verax | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| pius | | 2 | | | | | 2 |
| Total | 11 | 56 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 85 |

As the breakdown shows, *gerecht* corresponds only to *iustus*, while *frum* corresponds to *iustus* as well as to Latin words which are not equated with righteousness in Luther's theology.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, when *frum* and *gerecht* are paired (in the column *frum + gerecht*), they correspond to *iustus*, but when *frum* and *gutt* are paired, they correspond to *bonus*. This is consistent with the general finding in Jones (2018b) that, outside Luther's Bible translations, *gerecht* is used to refer to righteousness, while *frum* is used to refer to both righteousness and worldly goodness.

The choice of *gerecht*, *frum*, and *iustus* in the German and Latin versions of the work is not revealing in itself about the order of composition of the two versions. After all, their distribution is consistent with that in Luther's non-Bible works in general. However, there is one feature of the context in which these words occur that is easier to explain by assuming that the German was written first. As the following examples show, Luther sometimes includes words about righteousness in lists of several related terms (underlined here):

German

Und alßo durch den glauben /die seele von dem gottis wort /heylig/ gerecht/warhaftig/fridsam/frey /und aller gütte voll /eyn warhaftig kind gottis wirt (§10)

Und wo er ßo töricht were und meynet /durch ein gutt werck /frum/ frey/selig odder Christen werden /ßo vorlür er den glauben mit allen dingen (§16)

Latin

Hoc igitur modo anima per fidem solam, sine operibus e verbo dei iustificatur, sanctificatur, verificatur, pacificatur, liberatur, & omni bono repletur, vereque filia dei efficitur (§10)

Quod si sic desiperet, ut per ullum opus bonum praesumeret, iustus, liber, salvus, Christianus fieri, statim amitteret fidem cum omnibus bonis (§16)

Such lists are an abiding feature of Luther's vernacular writing.¹⁴⁶ In the examples above, and on numerous occasions elsewhere in §§1–30, lists containing words associated with righteousness occur in both German and Latin. However, in the end section of the Latin version, which has no German counterpart, such lists are absent, even though that section continues to deal with righteousness and includes *iustus* and its derivatives many times.¹⁴⁷ This would be consistent with the German version having been written first if it could be demonstrated that such lists were as a rule not a feature of Luther's original Latin compositions, because those in the Latin version of the *Freiheit* could then be explained as having been carried over from the German. To verify this interpretation, an analysis of Luther's other Latin works written around the time of the *Freiheit* would reveal whether such stylistic mannerisms were as absent from his original Latin compositions in general as they are from the Latin at the end of the *Freiheit*.

¹⁴⁶ See Jones (2018a: lxxvi).

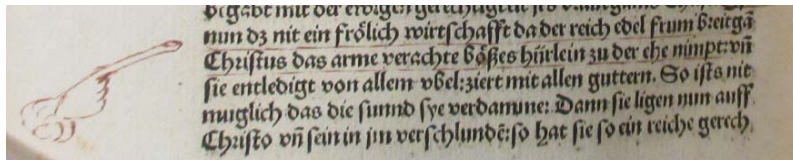
¹⁴⁷ There is a similar pattern with doublets (pairings of near-synonyms or related words) involving righteousness vocabulary. As Gasse (1984: 53–54) points out, doublets in the German version of the *Freiheit* generally correspond to a single word in the Latin. In the language of righteousness, such doublets, typically of *iustus/verax* or *iustus/salvus* (and their derivatives), occur in both the German and Latin versions of §§1–30 but do not occur in the extra end section in the Latin version.

¹⁴⁵ Note that, when translating *iustus*, Luther uses *frum* many more times than he uses *gerecht*. As Luther explains in his 1522 *Weihnachtspostille*, he finds *frum*, etc. more natural in German than *gerecht*, etc. (WA 10, I, 2, 36, 4–8).

Conclusion

Some of the differences between the German and Latin versions identified above can be explained by their different target audiences: general readers/listeners on the one hand and the Pope and other highly educated readers on the other. Thus the German version is simpler, shorter, more personal, and less academic than the Latin.

In some ways, however, differences between the two versions are consistent with the German version, or at least some parts of it, having been written first. These relate to the syntactic relationship between the two versions when they are close, to the relationship between German and Latin Bible quotations, and to the inclusion in the Latin version of lists which may have been taken over from the German. These differences, which are discussed above at the end of sections 2a, 3, and 4, respectively, provide us with hypotheses to be tested in a more comprehensive comparison between the two versions of the *Freiheit*.



Manicule in the Speyer edition of 'Von der Freiheit', highlighting article 12.
ARCH.8°.G.1519 (11/2), fol. Aiiiiv

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Martin Luther, ‘Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen’

Preliminary remark on the translation and the two sets of footnotes: The translation keeps close to the original German to allow the reader to compare and contrast it with existing English translations of the Latin text and to check passages discussed in chapter 4.

The footnotes to the German transcription (on the left-hand side) are intended to aid comprehension of the German and should be taken together with the translation. The footnotes to the translation (on the right-hand side) mainly provide biblical references and additional factual information. They are to be read in conjunction with the historical and philosophical introduction (chapter 1) since factual information provided there is not repeated in this section.

As the internal structuring of each numbered article is based on layout constraints of the original page and quire structure (cf. chapter 2), we have taken early modern printers as a model in pragmatic typesetting, structuring the translation in paragraphs where possible, but not following all the spacing in Rhau-Grüneberg.



(A1r)

Von der Freyheyt eynisz¹ Christen menschen.²

Martinus Luther. Vuittembergae.

Anno Domini 1520.³

(A1v) (A2r)

Dem fursichtigen⁴ vn̄⁵ weyszen hern Hieronymo⁶ Mũlphordt
 Stadtuogt zu Zwýckaw meynem besondern gũnstigen⁷ freund vnd
 Patron Empiete⁸ ich genant D. Martinus Luther August.⁹ meyne
 willige dienst vnnd allis guttis.¹⁰

On the Freedom of a Christian.

Martin Luther. Wittenberg.

AD 1520.

To my judicious and wise lord Jerome Mühlpfort,¹¹ Town
 Magistrate of Zwickau, my right honourable friend and patron, I, by
 name Dr Martin Luther, Augustinian,¹² offer my willing service and
 best wishes.

¹ = New High German (NHG) *eines*. The final *β* is here typeset as a combination of two characters, long *s* and *z*. This is only the case in the larger font on the title page and in the header on fol. Aijr. On the use of *β* for *s* and *γ* for *i*, and on the use of full vowels in unstressed syllables, such as *i* for *e* here, cf. chapter 3.

² = NHG *Christenmenschen*; the compound with ‘*mensch*’ is used to indicate the universal application of the address; on the use of spaces, cf. chapter 3.

³ The ‘A ij’ following after the date in the bottom right-hand corner of the page is the quire mark, indicating that this is the second folio (ij) of the first quire (A). The quire marks have not been included in the transcription but rather transformed into hyperlinks in the digital version, allowing the alignment of translation, transcription, and facsimile.

⁴ Early New High German (ENHG) *für-/vorsichtig* as an honorific is a loan-translation of Latin *prudens*, a common adjective of address.

⁵ = *und*. On the exchangeable use of *u* and *v* and on the bar above final characters, cf. chapter 3.

⁶ Latin dative singular ending for Hieronymus.

⁷ NHG *günstig* is generally not used to describe people.

⁸ = NHG *entbiete*. On the use of capitalisation for emphasis or as the start of a phrase, cf. chapter 3.

⁹ The full stop after ‘D.’ and ‘August.’ is an abbreviation marker; the full forms would be ‘Doctor’ and ‘Augustiner’. On the use of abbreviations, cf. chapter 3. The phrase ‘genant ... Augustiner’ is in apposition to ‘ich’.

¹⁰ = NHG *meine willigen Dienste* (plural) *und alles Gute*.

¹¹ The correct name of the dedicatee would have been Hermann Mühlpfort (1486–1534). Luther replaced it – either deliberately or by mistake – with the name of the church father Jerome, which in the German form Hieronymus was a popular name among humanists. For more information on the historical context, cf. chapter 1 in this edition. The following footnotes include biblical references given in the form of the King James Version (KJV) and occasionally in the version of the Luther Bible of 1545 (L45), which is taken from the online resource *biblija.net*; for more on Luther’s use of biblical language, cf. chapter 4 on the German and Latin versions.

¹² Luther had joined the Augustinian Order in 1505.

¶ Fursichtiger weyßer Herr / vnd Günstiger freund / der wirdig
Magister Johan Egran / ewr löblichen stat Prediger¹³ / hat mir hoch
gepreysset ewr lieb vnd lust / ßo yhr zu der heyligen schrifft traget /
wilch¹⁴ yhr auch emßlich bekennen vnd fur den menschen zu
preyßen nit¹⁵ nachlasset. Derhalben¹⁶ er begeret / mich mit euch
bekennet zu machen / byn ich gar leychtlich willig vnd frölich des
beredt¹⁷ / denn es mir eyn sondere freudt ist / tzu hören / wo die
gottlich warheyt geliebt wirt / der leyder ßo vill / vnd die am
meysten / die sich yhres titels auffwerffen¹⁸ / mit aller gewalt vnd list
widerstreben / wie wol es alßo seyn muß / das an Christum¹⁹ / zu
eynem ergernis vnd tzeychen²⁰ gesetzt / dem widdersprochen
werden muß / vill sich stossen / fallen / vnd aufferstehen müssen.
Darüb²¹ hab ich an zu heben vnßer kundschaft vnd freuntschaft /
diß tractatell²² vnnd Sermon euch wollen zuschreyben / ym deutschē /
wilchs ich latinisch dem Bapst hab zu geschrieben²³ / damit fur
yderman²⁴ / meyner lere vnd schreyben / von dem Bapstum / nit eyn
vorweyßlich / als ich hoff / vrsach angetzeygt.²⁵ Befill mich hie mit /
euch / vnd allsamt / gottlichen gnaden.²⁶ AMEN.

Zu Wittembergk. 1520.

¹³ = NHG *Prediger eurer löblichen Stadt*.

¹⁴ = NHG *welche*.

¹⁵ = NHG *nicht*.

¹⁶ = NHG *weshalb*.

¹⁷ = *des beredet* 'convinced about this'.

¹⁸ *sich auffwerffen* + gen = 'to appeal to, invoke'.

¹⁹ Latin accusative singular ending.

²⁰ = NHG *Ärgernis und Zeichen*.

²¹ = NHG *darum*. The syntax of this clause is not clear from the punctuation: 'an zu heben ... freuntschaft' is a purpose clause interpolated within the clause 'hab ich ... wollen zuschreyben'.

²² Diminutive corresponding to NHG *Traktat*.

²³ 'zu geschrieben' should be read as one word; it governs 'dem Bapst' = NHG *Papst*.

²⁴ = NHG *jedermann*.

²⁵ Also governed by 'hab'.

²⁶ = NHG *Befehle mich hier mit euch und allesamt der göttlichen Gnade*.

My judicious wise lord and generous friend: the Reverend John Egranus,²⁷ preacher in your esteemed town, has highly commended to me the love and enthusiasm that you have for Holy Scripture, which you never tire of proclaiming and praising eagerly to all people.²⁸ In light of his desire to introduce me to you, I was very readily and happily convinced, because it is a special joy for me to hear about love for divine truth, which regrettably so many, and in particular those who pull rank because of their titles,²⁹ resist with all their might and cunning, even though it must be the case that Christ, placed as a stumbling-block and a sign to be contradicted,³⁰ will cause many to stumble, fall, and rise again.

Therefore, to start off our acquaintance and friendship, I wanted to dedicate to you the German version of this little treatise and sermon, which I wrote in Latin for the Pope, to show to everyone the reason for this teaching and writing about the Papacy, which I hope is unobjectionable. Herewith I commend myself, you, and everybody to divine grace. Amen

At Wittenberg. 1520.

²⁷ Johannes Sylvius Egranus was the humanist name of Johannes Wildenauer (1480–1535), minister in Zwickau since 1517.

²⁸ Resonances of biblical languages, here KJV Matthew 7,32: 'Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven.'

²⁹ Reference to the papal court.

³⁰ For Christ as stumbling block, cf. KJV I Corinthians 1,23: 'But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumblingblock, and unto the Greeks foolishness'; KJV Isaiah 8,14–15: 'And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And many among them shall stumble, and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken.'

(A2v)

Ihesus.

Zum ersten. Das wir grundlich mügen³¹ erkennen / was eyne Christen mensch sey³² / vñ wie es gethā sey / vmb die freyheyt / die yhm Christus erworben vñ geben³³ hatt / dauon³⁴ S. Paulus viel schreybt / will ich setzen³⁵ / dyße zween beschluß.³⁶

Eyne Christen mensch ist eyne freyer herr / über alle ding³⁷ / vnd niemandt vnterthan.

Eyne Christen mensch ist eyne dienstpar knecht aller ding vnd yderman vnterthan.

Diße zween beschluß seynd klerlich³⁸ sanct Paulus 1. Cor.³⁹ 9. Ich byn frey yn allen dingen / vñ hab mich eyne ydermā knecht gemacht. Itē⁴⁰ Ro. 13. Ihr solt niemandt etwys vorpflichtet seyn / den dz⁴¹ yr euch vnternāder liebet. Lieb aber / die⁴² ist / dienstpar / vñ vnterthan dem das sie lieb hatt. Alßo auch von Christo Gal. 4. Gott hatt seynen ßon außgesandt / von eynem weyb⁴³ geporen vnd dem gesetz vnterthan gemacht.

³¹ = NHG *können*.

³² The subjunctive, against NHG usage, can be explained by the fact that it is in a clause of indirect question; it does not indicate doubt.

³³ = NHG *gegeben*.

³⁴ = NHG *wovon*.

³⁵ Here 'set down, propose'.

³⁶ = NHG *Beschlüsse*; 'propositions'.

³⁷ = NHG *Dinge*.

³⁸ = NHG *sind klar / deutlich*.

³⁹ The full stop after all biblical references is an abbreviation mark, mostly after the Latin title for the biblical books, e.g. here short for 'Epistula I ad Corinthios' = NHG *Erster Korinther(brief)*. For the English full form and the quotation referenced, cf. the footnotes to the translation on the right-hand side of this edition. The following Pauline letters referenced are those 'Ad Romanos' = NHG *Römerbrief* and 'Ad Galatas' = NHG *Galaterbrief*.

⁴⁰ Latin 'likewise'.

⁴¹ On the spelling of 'das' as 'dz', cf. chapter 3. 'den das' = NHG *außer dass*.

⁴² A resumptive pronoun, literally 'But love, it is ...'.

⁴³ ENHG *weib* without the pejorative connotations of NHG *Weib*.

Jesus.

1 In order that we may thoroughly recognise what a Christian is and what is meant by their freedom, which Christ has purchased and given them, as St Paul writes at length, I will set down these two propositions:

A Christian is a free lord over all things and subject to no-one.

A Christian is a bound⁴⁴ servant of all things and subject to everyone.

These two propositions are evident in St Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, chapter 12: 'I am free in all things, and I have made myself a servant to all'.⁴⁵ Likewise, Romans 13: 'Owe no man anything, but to love one another'.⁴⁶ But love is bound and subject to what it loves. The same applies to Christ in Galatians 4: 'God sent forth His Son, born of a woman, subject to the law'.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Luther uses 'dienstbar' to mean 'enslaved' and elsewhere he uses 'dienstbar sein' to mean 'to serve'. The Latin has 'officiosissimus' 'most/very obedient'. The term 'dienstbar' echoes KJV Acts 7,6: 'And God spake on this wise, That his seed should sojourn in a strange land; and that they should bring them into bondage, and entreat *them* evil four hundred years.'

⁴⁵ This is, in fact, KJV I Corinthians 9,19: 'For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all.'

⁴⁶ KJV Romans 13,8: 'Owe no man any thing, but to love one another: for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law.'

⁴⁷ KJV Galatians 4,4: 'But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law.'

¶ Czum andern⁴⁸ / Diße zwo widderstendige rede / der freyheyt vnd dienstparkeyt zuuornehmen⁴⁹ / sollen wir gedencken / das eyn ygliche Christen mensch ist zweyerley natur / geystlicher vñ leylicher. Nach der seelen⁵⁰ wirt er eyn geystlich⁵¹ / new / ynnerlich mensch genennet / nach dem fleysch vnd blut wirt er eyn leylich allt vnd eußerlich mensch genennet. Vnd vmb dißes vnterschiedißen willen / werden von yhm gesagt yn der schrift / die do⁵² stracks widdernander seyn⁵³ / wie ich itzt⁵⁴ gesagt⁵⁵ / von der freyheyt vnd dienstparkeit.

⁴⁸ Each of the paragraphs from number 2 is prefaced by a pilcrow ‘¶’ followed by the number, first spelled out in German, and then from paragraph twenty-four (xxiiij) in Roman numerals. ‘Czum andern’ = NHG *Zum zweiten, Zweitens*. The use of Cz for Z at the start of each paragraph is a practice developed when using Latin font sets which did not have an upper-case Z. In the larger font set used for the first paragraph (‘Zum ersten’, A2v), a Z from a different font is used, not in keeping with the Gothic character of the rest of the font.

⁴⁹ = NHG *zu vernehmen* in the sense of *verstehen*; NHG would place *um* at the beginning of such a purpose clause. Cf. chapter 3 for the missing space between *zu* and *vornehmen*.

⁵⁰ Dative singular of *seele*.

⁵¹ The adjectives *geystlich*, *new*, and *ynnerlich* agree with *mensch*; the ‘zero inflection’ was an alternative for the nominative (and sometimes accusative) singular of strong adjectives in ENHG.

⁵² = NHG *da*; it often occurs immediately after a pronoun to indicate that it should be read as a relative; here ‘die do’ can be translated as ‘things which’.

⁵³ = NHG *sind*.

⁵⁴ = NHG *jetzt*.

⁵⁵ The finite verb *habe* is understood.

2 In order to understand these two conflicting statements about freedom and bondage, we should remember that each Christian is of a dual nature, spiritual and physical.⁵⁶ As to the soul they are called spiritual, new, inner persons; as to flesh and blood they are called physical, old, and outer persons.⁵⁷ Owing to this difference, things are said about them in Scripture which flatly contradict each other, as I have just been saying about freedom and bondage.

⁵⁶ The contrast references Romans 7/8, e.g. KJV Romans 8,5: ‘For they that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh; but they that are after the Spirit the things of the Spirit.’ In Martin Luther’s translation from 1545: ‘Denn die da fleischlich sind / die sind fleischlich gesinnet / Die aber geistlich sind / die sind geistlich gesinnet.’

⁵⁷ On this dichotomy ‘new / ynnerlich’ versus ‘allt / eußerlich’, cf. chapter 1.

¶ Czum dritten / So nhemen wir fur vns den ynwendigen geystlichen menschen / zusehen was datzu gehöre / dz er eyn frum⁵⁸ frey / Christen mensch sey vnd heysse. So ists offenbar / das keyn eußerlich ding mag yhn frey / noch⁵⁹ frum machen / wie es mag ymmer genennet werden / denn seyn frumkeyt vñ freyheyt / widerumb seyn bößheyt vnd gefenckniß⁶⁰ / seyn nit leyplich noch eußerlich.⁶¹ Was hilffts die seelen⁶² / das der leyp / vngefangen / frisch vnd gesund ist / ysszet⁶³ / trinckt / lebt / wie er will? Widderüb was schadet das der seelen / das der leyp / gefangen krank⁶⁴ vnd matt (A3r) ist / hungert / dürstet vnd leydet / wie er⁶⁵ nit gerne wolt? Dißer ding reychet keyniß⁶⁶ / biß an die seelen / sie zu befreyhen oder fahen⁶⁷ / frum oder böße zu machen.

⁵⁸ On the meaning of *frum* in this text, cf. chapter 4, section 4.

⁵⁹ *noch* ‘nor’ in ENHG can occur on its own without *weder*.

⁶⁰ = NHG *Gefängnis*.

⁶¹ = NHG *äußerlich*.

⁶² = NHG *hilfft es der Seele*; ‘helfen’ is constructed here with the accusative singular ‘seelen’.

⁶³ = NHG *isst*.

⁶⁴ = NHG *krank*.

⁶⁵ Refers to ‘der leyp’ = NHG *der Leib*.

⁶⁶ ‘Dißer ding ... keyniß’ = NHG *keines dieser Dinge*, ‘none of these things’.

⁶⁷ = NHG *fangen*.

3 Now let us consider the inner, spiritual person, to see what it meant by their being, and being called, righteous, free Christians. It is then obvious that nothing external can make them either free or righteous, whatever you may call it, since their righteousness and freedom, and conversely their evil-doing and imprisonment, are neither physical nor external. What profit is it for the soul if the body is unshackled, active, and healthy, if it eats, drinks, lives as it will?⁶⁸ Conversely, how does it harm the soul if the body is imprisoned, sick and weary, hungers and thirsts and suffers against its will? None of these things can touch the soul, to free it or bind it, to make it righteous or evil.

⁶⁸ Reference to KJV Mark 8,36: ‘For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?’ L45 Mark 8,36: ‘Was hülfe es dem Menschen, wenn er die ganze Welt gewönne, und nähme an seiner Seele Schaden?’

¶ Czum vierden / Alßo hilfftet es die seele nichts / ob d̄⁶⁹ leyp heylige kleyder anlegt / wie die priester vñ geystlichen thun / auch nit ob er ynn den kirchen vnd heyligen stetten sey. Auch nit ob er mit heyligē dingē vmbgah⁷⁰. Auch nit ob er leyplich bette / faste / walle⁷¹ / vnd alle gute werck⁷² thue / die durch vnd ynn dem leybe geschehen mochten ewiglich. Es muß noch allis etwas anders seyn / das⁷³ der seelen bringe vnd gebe frumkeyt vnd freyheyt. Denn alle diße obgenanten⁷⁴ stuck / werck vnd weyßen / mag auch an sich haben vnd üben eyn bößer mensch / eyn gleyßner vnd heuchler. Auch durch solch weßen⁷⁵ keyn ander volck / denn⁷⁶ eyttell gleyßner werden. Widderumb / schadet es der seelen nichts / ob d̄ leyp vnheylige kleyder tregt / an vnheyligen örten ist / yßt / trinckt / wallet / bettet nit / vnd lessit alle die werck onstehen⁷⁷ / die die obgenanten gleyßner thun.

⁶⁹ On the abbreviation *d̄* for *der*, cf. chapter 3.

⁷⁰ = NHG *umgehe*, *Umgang habe*.

⁷¹ = NHG *wallfahre*, ‘go on pilgrimage’.

⁷² ‘werck’ is plural here, as often in this text.

⁷³ = NHG *was*.

⁷⁴ = NHG *obengenannten*.

⁷⁵ = NHG *Wesen*, here ‘conduct’.

⁷⁶ = NHG *als*.

⁷⁷ = NHG *ansehen*; here ‘be outstanding, not be done’.

4 Equally, what profit is it for the soul if the body puts on holy garments⁷⁸ as priests and clerics do, or if the body is in churches and holy places. Nor if it is engaging in religious matters. Nor physically praying, fasting, going on pilgrimages, or doing any good works, which might be achieved through and in the body forever. There must be something completely different which brings to and bestows upon the soul righteousness and freedom. All the above-named activities, works, and practices are available to and can be performed by an evil person, an imposter, and a hypocrite.⁷⁹ Nothing comes from such conduct except simply a people of hypocrites. Conversely, the soul is not harmed if the body wears unholy garments or dwells, eats, drinks, goes on pilgrimages in unholy places, does not pray, and leaves aside all good works, as the aforementioned hypocrites do.

⁷⁸ Phrase from KJV Exodus 28,4: ‘And these *are* the garments which they shall make; a breastplate, and an ephod, and a robe, and a broidered coat, a mitre, and a girdle: and they shall make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, and his sons, that he may minister unto me in the priest’s office.’

⁷⁹ This seems to be a reference to Matthew 6 where the ostentatious alms-giving, praying, and fasting of the hypocrites is denounced by Christ.

¶ Czum funfften / Hatt die seele keyn ander dinck⁸⁰ / widder⁸¹ yn hymel noch auff erden darynnen⁸² / sie lebe / frum / frey / vnd Christen sey / den⁸³ das heylich Euāgelij / das wort gottis von Christo geprediget. Wie er selb⁸⁴ sagt Joh. 11. Ich byn das leben vñ aufferstehung / wer do glaubt yn mich / der lebet ewiglich. Item 14. Ich byn der weg / die warheyt / vnd das leben. Item Matt. 4. Der mensch lebet nit alleyn von dem brot / sondern von allen worten die do gehen von dem mund gottis. So müssen wir nu⁸⁵ gewiß seyn / das die seele kan allis dings emperen⁸⁶ on⁸⁷ des worts gottis / vnd on das wort / ist yhr mit keynem ding beholffen. Wo sie aber das wort hatt / ßo darff⁸⁸ sie auch keyneß andern dings mehr / sondern / sie hat in dem wort / gnugde / speiß freud / frid / licht / kunst / gerechtickeit / warheyt / weyßheyt / freyheit vnd allis gutt⁸⁹ überschwenglich. Alßo leßen wir ym Psalter sonderlich ym 118. psalm / das der prophet nit mehr schreyet den nach⁹⁰ dem gottis wort. Vnd yn d̃⁹¹ schrifft die aller hochste plag vnd gottis zorn gehalten wirt / ßo⁹² er seyn wort von den menschen nympt /

⁸⁰ = NHG *anderes Ding*.

⁸¹ = NHG *weder*.

⁸² = NHG *in dem, worin*.

⁸³ ENHG 'den' = NHG *außer*.

⁸⁴ = NHG *selber/selbst*.

⁸⁵ = NHG *nun*.

⁸⁶ = NHG *entbehren*, here with genitive 'allis dings'.

⁸⁷ = NHG *ohne* with genitive *des Worts Gottes*, here in the sense of *außer*.

⁸⁸ = NHG *bedarf*, with genitive 'keyneß andern dings' = NHG *keines andern Dings*.

⁸⁹ = NHG *Genüge, Speise, Freude, Friede, Licht, Kunst, Gerechtigkeit, Wahrheit, Weisheit, Freiheit und alles Gut*.

⁹⁰ 'nit mehr ... den nach' literally 'no more than for', i.e. 'only for'.

⁹¹ On the abbreviation *d̃* for *der*, cf. the chapter 3.

⁹² = NHG *so*, 'when'.

5 The soul has nothing else, either in Heaven or on earth, in which it may live, be righteous, free, and Christian, than the holy Gospel, the word of God preached by Christ. As he himself says, in John 11: 'I am the life and the resurrection. Whoever believes in me will live eternally'.⁹³ Likewise in chapter 14: 'I am the way, the truth, and the life'.⁹⁴ Likewise in Matthew 4: 'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God'.⁹⁵

So we must now be certain that the soul can forego all things except the word of God, and, except the word, nothing can help it. But when it has the word, then it needs nothing else, but has in the word full sufficiency,⁹⁶ sustenance, joy, peace, light, knowledge, righteousness, truth, wisdom, freedom, and all good things in abundance. Thus we read in the Psalter, and particularly in Psalm 118, that the prophet cries out only for the word of God.⁹⁷ And Scripture holds the very greatest curse and sign of God's wrath to be when He takes His word from the people.

⁹³ Paraphrase of KJV John 11,25–26: 'I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: And whosever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.'

⁹⁴ KJV John 14,6: 'Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.'

⁹⁵ KJV Matthew 4,4: 'But he answered and said, It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.'

⁹⁶ KJV Job 20,22: 'In the fulness of his sufficiency he shall be in straits.'

⁹⁷ The desire for the word of God is the main topic of Psalm 119 (in the numbering of KJV and L45; Luther here uses still the Vulgate numbering of the Psalms and references it as Psalm 118).

Widderumb keyn grösser gnade / wo er seyn wort hyn sendet / wie psalmus 106. stet Er hat seyn wort auß gesandt / damit er yhn⁹⁸ hatt geholffen. Vnd Christ vmb keyns (A3v) andern ampts [geholffen]⁹⁹ / den zu predigen das wort gottis kummen¹⁰⁰ ist. Auch alle Apostell / Bischoff / priester vñ gantzer geystlicher stand / alleyn vmb des worts willen ist beruffen vnd eyngesetzt / wie woll es nu leyder anders gaht.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ = NHG *womit er ihnen*.

⁹⁹ 'geholffen' is a typographical error, accidentally repeated from the previous sentence instead of 'willen'.

¹⁰⁰ 'u' is smudged in the copy but clear from other copies of the same edition.

¹⁰¹ = NHG *wiewohl ... geht* in the sense of 'even though ... it goes'.

Conversely, there is no greater grace than when He sends forth His word, as stated in Psalm 104: 'He sent out His word and helped them thereby'.¹⁰² And Christ has come for nothing other than to preach the word of God. And so also all apostles, bishops, priests, and the whole of the clergy are called and appointed solely for the word, although that is now unfortunately not the case.

¹⁰² In fact, a paraphrase of KJV Psalm 107,20: 'He sent his word and healed them'. In the Vulgate numbering it would be Psalm 106,20: 'Misit verbum suum, et sanavit eos'.

¶ Czum sechsten¹⁰³ / Fragistu¹⁰⁴ aber / wilchs ist denn das wort das solch grosse gnad gibt. Vnd wie sol ichs gebrauchen?

¹⁰³ For a comparison between the German and Latin versions of §6, cf. chapter 4, section 2b. The Latin text (taken from the digital version of the Taylor Editions <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/libertate1521/#d1r>) is as follows (marginalia are in square brackets):

[Verbum dei quod sit.] Quaeres autem, Quod nam est verbum hoc, aut qua arte utendum est eo, cum tam multa sint verba dei? Respondeo, Apostolus Ro. i. id explicat, scilicet Euangelium dei de filio suo incarnato, passo, resuscitato, & glorificato per spiritum sanctificatorem. Praedicasse enim Christum, hoc est, animam pavisse, iustificasse, liberasse, & salvam fecisse, si crediderit praedicationi. Fides enim sola est salutaris & efficax usus verbi dei. Ro. x. Si confitearis ore tuo, IESVM esse dominum, & corde tuo credideris, quod deus illum suscitavit a mortuis, salvus eris. Et iterum. Finis legis Christus ad iustitiam omni credenti. Et Ro. i. Iustus ex fide sua vivet. Neque enim verbum dei, operibus ullis, sed sola fide suscipi & coli potest.

[Sola fides iustificat.] Ideo clarum est, ut solo verbo anima opus habet ad vitam & iustitiam, ita sola fide & nullis operibus iustificatur. Si enim alio quopiam iustificari posset, verbo non haberet opus, ac per hoc nec fide. Verum haec fides subsistere prorsus non potest cum operibus, hoc est, si per opera (quaecunque sunt) simul iustificari praesumas, hoc enim esset in duas partes claudicare, Baal adorare, & manum osculari, quae est iniquitas maxima, ut Iob ait.

[Credenda.] Ideo dum credere incipis, simul discis, omnia quae in te sunt, esse prorsus culpabilia, peccata, damnanda. Iuxta illud Ro. ii. Omnes peccaverunt & egent gloria dei. Et Ro. iii. Non est iustus, non est, qui faciat bonum, omnes declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sunt. Hoc enim cognito, scies Christum necessarium tibi, qui pro te passus & resuscitatus est, ut in eum credens, alius homo hac fide fieres, donatis omnibus peccatis tuis, & iustificato te alienis meritis, nempe Christi solius.

[Nullo externo opere iustificatur homo.] Cum ergo haec fides non nisi in homine interiore regnare possit. Sicut dicit Ro. x. Corde creditur ad iustitiam: & sola ipsa iustificet, manifestum est, hominem interiorem prorsus nullo externo opere vel negotio posse iustificari, liberum & salvum fieri, & opera quaecunque, ad eum nihil pertinere: sicut econtra, sola impietate & incredulitate cordis, reus fit & servus peccati damnandus, nullo externo peccato vel opere.’

¹⁰⁴ = NHG *Fragst du*.

6¹⁰⁵ But if you ask: which is then the word which bestows such great grace? And how should I use it?

¹⁰⁵ Translation of the Latin version:

‘[What the word of God is] But you will ask, ‘Now what is this word and by what means is it to be used, since there are so many words of God?’ I answer, ‘The Apostle in Romans 1 explains what it is, namely the Gospel of God about His Son who was made flesh, suffered, was raised up, and glorified through the Spirit which is the sanctifier. For to preach Christ is to nourish the soul, to justify it, to set it free, and to save it, if it believes what is preached. For faith alone is the sanctifying and efficacious use of the word of God. ‘If you confess with your mouth that Jesus is Lord and you believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved’. And again, ‘Christ is the end of the law for all believers to become righteous’. And Romans 1, ‘The righteous will live by faith’. For the word of God cannot be taken up and honoured by any works, but by faith alone.

[Only faith justifies] Hence it is clear that, as the soul needs the word alone for life and justification, so it is justified by faith alone, and not by any works. For if it could be justified by anything else, it would have no need of the word and therefore no need of faith. But this faith cannot coexist at all with works, if, that is, you imagine that you can at the same time be justified by those works, whatever they are. For this would be to limp in two directions, to worship Baal and kiss his hand, which is the greatest iniquity, as Job says.

[What should be believed] Therefore, when you begin to believe, you learn at the same time that everything that is in you is utterly guilty, sinful, damnable according to that passage in Romans 3, ‘All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God’, and Romans 3, ‘There is no-one righteous, no-one who does good, they have all turned aside, they have all at once become useless’. For having realised this you will know that Christ is necessary to you, Christ who suffered for you and was raised up, so that, believing in him, you might become another person through this faith, with all your sins forgiven and yourself justified by the merits of another, namely of Christ alone.

[By no outward work are people justified] Therefore, since this faith can reign only in the inward person, as it is said in Romans 10, ‘With the heart one believes and is justified’, and since it alone justifies, it is evident that the inward person cannot, by any outward work or activity at all, be justified, made free, and saved, and that no works whatever affect them; and so, conversely, it is only by impiety and unbelief in the heart that they become guilty and a damnable slave of sin, not by any outward sin or work.’

Antwort /Es ist nit anders /deñ die predigt von Christo geschehen¹⁰⁶ / wie das Euangeliū ynnehelt.¹⁰⁷ Wilche soll seyn /vnd ist alßo gethan / das du hōrist deynen gott zu dir reden /Wie alle¹⁰⁸ deyn leben vnd werck /nichts seyn fur¹⁰⁹ gott /sondern mußsist¹¹⁰ /mit allen dem das ynn dir ist ewiglich vorterben.¹¹¹ Wilchs ßo du recht glaubst /wie du schuldig bist / so mustu an dir selber vortzweyffeln¹¹² / vnd bekennen /das war¹¹³ sey der spruch Osee: O Israel yn dir ist nichts / denn deyn vorterben /alleyn aber yn mir steht deyn hulff.¹¹⁴ Das du aber auß dir vnd von dir / das ist auß deynem vorterben kōmen mügist¹¹⁵ /ßo setzt er dir fur¹¹⁶ /seyne lieben ßon Ihesum Christū / vnd leßsit dir durch seyn lebendigs trostlichs wort sagen: Du solt ynn den selben mit festem glauben dich ergeben /vnd frisch ynn yhn vortrawen.¹¹⁷ So sollen dir vmb desselben glaubens willen /alle deyne sund vorgeben¹¹⁸ /alle deyn vorterben vberwunden seyn /vnd du gerecht /warhafftig /befridet /frum vñ alle gebott erfullet seyn /vō allen dingen frey sein. Wie S. Paulus sagt Ro. 1. Ein rechtfertiger¹¹⁹ Christen /lebt nur von seynem glauben. Vnd Ro. x. Christus ist das ende vnd fülle aller gebot /denen /die ynn yhn glauben.

¹⁰⁶ = NHG *vollzogen* (DWB s.v. 'geschehen' agreeing with 'die predigt').

¹⁰⁷ ENHG 'innehelt' = NHG *in sich hält / enthält*.

¹⁰⁸ Plural agreeing with the two following nouns.

¹⁰⁹ = NHG *vor*.

¹¹⁰ = NHG *du müssest* (present subjunctive).

¹¹¹ = NHG *verderben*.

¹¹² = NHG *verzweifeln*.

¹¹³ = NHG *wahr*.

¹¹⁴ = NHG *deine Hilfe*.

¹¹⁵ = NHG *aus deinem Verderben kommen könntest*.

¹¹⁶ 'setzt er dir fur' = NHG *stellt er dir vor Augen*.

¹¹⁷ = NHG *sollst [dich] demselben ... ergeben und frisch auf ihn vertrauen*.

¹¹⁸ = NHG *Sünden vergeben*.

¹¹⁹ On *gerecht*, *frum*, and *rechtfertig* (here a synonym of *gerecht*), cf. chapter 4, section 4.

The answer:¹²⁰ It is nothing other than the preaching done by Christ as contained in the Gospel. This should be (and indeed is) done in such a way that you hear your God speaking to you, how all your life and works are nothing before God, but that you must, along with everything that is within you, perish forever. When you truly believe this, how you are sinful, then you must despair of yourself and recognise the truth of the line from Hosea: 'O Israel, in you is nothing than your own destruction, but in me is your help'.¹²¹ In order that you might come out of and away from yourself, i.e. out of your destruction, He put his beloved son Jesus Christ before you and conveys through him His living comforting word: You should give yourself over to him with firm faith and trust in him directly. Then for the sake of this faith all your sins shall be forgiven and all your destruction overcome, and you will be just, true, at peace, righteous, with all commandments fulfilled, and freed from all things. As St Paul says in Romans 1: 'A righteous Christian lives by faith alone'.¹²² And in Romans 10: 'Christ is the end and fulfilment of all commandments for those who believe in him'.¹²³

¹²⁰ This question-and-answer structure is reminiscent of a catechism, an outline of doctrine often taking the form of a series of questions and answers designed to be memorised. The format was adopted from the beginning of the Reformation, with Luther himself authoring a number of catechisms.

¹²¹ KJV Hosea 13,9: 'O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thine help.'

¹²² KJV Romans 1,17: 'For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, the just shall live by faith.'

¹²³ KJV Romans 10,4: 'For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to everyone that believeth.'

¶ Czū siebenden. Drumb solt das billich aller Christen eynigs¹²⁴ werck vnd übung seyn / das sie das wort vñ Christū wol¹²⁵ ynn sich bildeten / solchen glauben stetig vbeten vñ stercktē. Deñ keyn ander werck / mag eynen Christen machen. Wie Christus Joh. 6. zu den Juden sagt / da sie yhn fragten / was sie für werck thun solten / dz sie gottlich vñ Christlich werck thetten.¹²⁶ Sprach er: Das ist das eynige gotliche werck / das yhr glaubt yn denen¹²⁷ / den gott gesandt hatt. Wilchen gott der vatter allein auch dartzu vorordnet¹²⁸ hatt. Darüb ist gar ein vberschwencklich reychtumb / ein rechter glau[d]¹²⁹ yn Christo / denn er mit sich bringt alle seligkeit / vnd abnympt alle vnseeligkeyt. Wie Mar. ult.¹³⁰ Wer do glaubt vnd tauft¹³¹ ist / der wirt selig. Wer nit glaubt / der wirt (A4r) vordampt. Darumb der prophet Isa. X. Den reychtumb des selben glaubens ansach vnd sprach. Gott wirt eyn kurtz summa¹³² machen auff erden / vnd die kurtz summa wirt / wie ein syndflut eynfliessen die gerechtikeit / das ist / der glaub / darynn¹³³ kurtzlich aller gebot erfüllung steht / wirt vberflüssig¹³⁴ rechtfertigē alle die yhn haben / das sie nichts mehr bedurffen / das¹³⁵ sie gerecht vnd frum seyn. Also sagt S. Pael Ro. x. Das man von hertzen glaubt / das macht eynen gerecht vnd frum.

¹²⁴ = NHG *sollte das rechtmäßig aller Christen einziges*; ‘billig’ as in NHG *recht und billig*.

¹²⁵ ‘truly’; stronger than NHG *wohl*.

¹²⁶ = NHG *täten* in the sense ‘would do’.

¹²⁷ = NHG *denjenigen*.

¹²⁸ = NHG *dazu verordnet* in the sense of ‘ordained for that’.

¹²⁹ Typographical error of ‘d’ instead of ‘b’; it should read ‘glaub’.

¹³⁰ ‘Mar. ult.’ is an abbreviation of Latin *Marci ultimo*, meaning ‘in the last [chapter] of [the Gospel according to] Mark’.

¹³¹ = NHG *getauft*.

¹³² The Latin *summa* means the summing up of a calculation or process; ‘eyn kurtz summa machen’ = NHG *einen kurzen Prozess machen*. Here used to describe the Last Judgement.

¹³³ = NHG *worin*.

¹³⁴ ENHG ‘überflüssig’ = ‘abundantly’, not ‘redundantly’.

¹³⁵ Introduces a purpose clause.

7 It should therefore rightly be the sole work and practice of all Christians that they truly impress upon themselves this word and Christ, and constantly practise and strengthen this faith. For no other work can make a Christian. As Christ says to the Jews in John 6, when they asked him what sort of works they should do in order to do godly and Christian works. He said: ‘This is the only work of God: that you believe in him whom God has sent’,¹³⁶ whom God the Father has alone ordained for this purpose. Therefore true faith in Christ is indeed abundant riches, for it brings with it all salvation and takes away all damnation. As in Mark chapter 16, ‘He who believes and is baptised shall be saved. He who does not believe shall be damned’.¹³⁷ Thus the prophet Isaiah, chapter 10, looked upon the riches of this faith and said: ‘God will make a short account on earth, and the short account will bring righteousness like a flood’,¹³⁸ that is, faith which in short contains the fulfilment of all commandments, will abundantly justify all those who possess it, so that they will need nothing more in order to be justified and righteous. Thus Saint Paul says in Romans 10: ‘What you believe with your heart makes you justified and righteous’.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ The word ‘only’ is Luther’s addition. Paraphrase of KJV John 6,29: ‘Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent.’

¹³⁷ KJV Mark 16,16: ‘He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.’

¹³⁸ Paraphrase of KJV Isaiah 10,22–23 (The verse refers to the destruction of the nation of Israel, who have not believed in God. Because of Israel’s sin, God would punish the people through foreign invasion by the Assyrians): ‘The consumption decreed shall overflow with righteousness. For the Lord God of hosts shall make a consumption, even determined, in the midst of all the land.’ The word used for overflow in Hebrew, שֹׁטֵף (shotēph), usually refers to a stream breaking its banks and flooding the land. Here it is used figuratively to refer to the judgement which will flow through the land.

¹³⁹ Paraphrase of KJV Romans 10,10: ‘For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.’

¶ Czū achten / Wie gaht es aber zu / das der glaub allein mag frum machen / vnd on alle werck ßo überschwencklich reychtumb geben / ßo doch souill gesetz / gebot / werck / stend vnd weyße vns furgeschriben seyn¹⁴⁰ / ynn der schrifft. Hie ist fleyßsig zu mercken / vnd yhe mit ernst zubehalten¹⁴¹ / dz allein der glaub on alle werck frum / frey / vn selig machet / wie wir hernach mehr hören werden Vnd ist zu wissen / das die gantze heylige schrifft / wirt yn zweyerley wort geteyllet / wilche seyn. Gebot oder gesetz gottis / vnd vorheyschen oder zusagunge.¹⁴² Die gebott / leren vnd schreyben vns fur / mancherley gutte werck aber damit seyn sie noch nit geschehen. Sie weyßen wol / sie helffen aber nit / leren was man thun soll / geben aber keyn sterck dartzu.¹⁴³ Darüb seyn sie nur datzu geordnet / das der mensch drynnen sehe sein vnuormügen zu dem gutten / vnd lerne an yhm selbs vortzweyffeln.¹⁴⁴ Vnd darumb heyssen sie auch das alte testament / vnd gehören alle ynß alte testament. Als¹⁴⁵ / das gebott / Du solt nit böß begird haben / beweyset das wir allesamt sunder seyn / vnd kein mensch vormag / zu sein on böße begirde / er thue was er will¹⁴⁶ / Darauß er lernet an yhm selbs vortzagen vnd anderßwo zu suchen hulff / das¹⁴⁷ er on böße begird sey / vnnd alßo¹⁴⁸ das gebott erfulle / durch eynen andern / das er auß yhm selb nit vormag¹⁴⁹ / alßo sein auch alle andere gebott / vns vnmöglich.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁰ = NHG *wenn doch so viele Gesetze, Gebote, Werke, Stände und Weisen uns vorgeschrieben sind*; all the nouns in this list are plural.

¹⁴¹ = NHG *Hierdurch ist aufmerksam zu vermerken und dauerhaft mit Ernst zu behalten*.

¹⁴² = NHG *Verheißung oder Zusage*.

¹⁴³ = NHG *geben aber nicht die nötige Stärke dafür*.

¹⁴⁴ = NHG *Unvermögen zum Guten und lerne an sich selbst verzweifeln*.

¹⁴⁵ The virgule after the 'Als', which acts like a colon, shows that 'Als' here means 'for example', 'thus'.

¹⁴⁶ Literally 'may he do what he will', i.e. 'whatever he may do'.

¹⁴⁷ Introduces a purpose clause.

¹⁴⁸ = NHG *so*, 'in that way'.

¹⁴⁹ = NHG *aus sich selbst nicht vermag*.

¹⁵⁰ = NHG *für uns unmöglich*.

8 But how is it that faith alone can make you righteous and bring such ample riches without any works, when there are after all so many laws, commandments, works, instructions, and regulations prescribed to us in Scripture? Here it should be carefully noted and always seriously borne in mind, that faith alone without any works makes you righteous, free and saved, as we will hear more later. And it should be noted that all holy Scripture can be divided into two words, which are commandments or God's laws, and promises and pledges. The commandments teach and prescribe to us various good works, but that does not mean that these have occurred yet. They direct but they do not help, they teach what should be done, but do not give the strength to do it. Therefore they are only ordained for people to see their inability to do good and to learn to despair of themselves. And that is why they are called the Old Testament and they all belong in the Old Testament. For example, the commandment 'You shall have no evil desire'¹⁵¹ proves that all of us are sinners and nobody can be without evil desire, whatever they may do. By this, they learn to despair of themselves and to seek help elsewhere, so that they can be without evil desire and thereby through another person fulfil the commandment which they cannot do by themselves. In the same way all the other commandments are impossible for us.

¹⁵¹ KJV Exodus 20,17: 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.'

¶ Czū neunden /Wen nu der mensch auß den gebotten sein vnuor-
mügen gelernet vñ empfunden hatt /das¹⁵² yhm nu angst wirt /wie
er dem gebott gnug thue. Seyntemal¹⁵³ das gebot muß erfüllet seyn /
oder er muß vordampt seyn. So¹⁵⁴ ist er recht¹⁵⁵ gedemütigt vnd zu
nicht worden /ynn seynen augen /findet nichts yn yhm damit¹⁵⁶ er
müg frum werden. Dan ßo küpt¹⁵⁷ das ander wort. Die gottlich vor-
heyschung vnd zusagung /vnd spricht / (A4v) wiltu¹⁵⁸ alle gepott er-
füllen /deyner bößen begirde vnd sund¹⁵⁹ loß werden /wie die gebott
zwyngen vnd foddern.¹⁶⁰ Sihe¹⁶¹ da /glaub in Christū /yn wilchem
ich dir zusag /alle gnad /gerechtickeyt /frid vñ freyheyt /glaubstu so
hastu¹⁶² /glaubstu nit /so hastu nit. Den das¹⁶³ dir vnmüglich ist /mit
allen wercken d' gebott /der vill vnd doch keyn nutz seyn müssen¹⁶⁴ /
das wirt dir leycht vnd kurtz durch /den glauben. Den ich hab kurtz-
lich¹⁶⁵ /yn den glauben gestellet alle ding /das¹⁶⁶ /wer yhn hat /sol alle
ding haben vnd selig seyn /wer yhn nit hatt /soll nichts haben. Alßo
geben die zusagung gottis /was die gepott erfoddern /vnd voln-
bringen /was die gepott heyssen /auff das es allis gottis eygen sey.
Gepot vñ erfüllung /er heysset allein /er erfüllet auch alleyn. Darumb
seyn die zusagung gottis /wort des newen testaments vnd gehören
auch yns newe testament.

¹⁵² Introduces a result clause.

¹⁵³ ENHG 'sintemal', 'since'.

¹⁵⁴ 'then', picking up from the earlier 'Wen' clause.

¹⁵⁵ Adverb modifying 'gedemütigt'.

¹⁵⁶ = NHG *womit/wodurch*.

¹⁵⁷ = NHG *kommt*.

¹⁵⁸ Contraction of ENHG 'wilt du' = NHG *willst du*.

¹⁵⁹ = NHG *deiner bösen Begierden und Sünden*: genitive governed by 'los'.

¹⁶⁰ = NHG *erzwingen und fordern*.

¹⁶¹ = NHG *Sieh*. The *e*-ending is a feature of Lutheran publications.

¹⁶² = NHG *glaubst du, dann hast du* (contracted forms reflect spoken German).

¹⁶³ = NHG *was*, related to the later 'das'.

¹⁶⁴ 'der vill und doch keyn nutz seyn müssen' 'of which [there are] many and yet [they] can be of no assistance'.

¹⁶⁵ 'simply, completely, by way of a shortcut'.

¹⁶⁶ Introduces a purpose clause.

9 Now, when a person has learned of and has come to feel their helplessness through the commandments, so that they are now fearful about how to fulfil the Law – since the Law must be fulfilled or they must be damned –, then they are truly humbled and annihilated in their own eyes, finding nothing within themselves that might make them righteous. Then comes the other word – God's promise and pledge –, and says: 'if you want to fulfil all the commandments, to be rid of your evil desires and sins, as the commandments require and demand, behold, believe in Christ, in whom I pledge to you all grace, righteousness, peace, and freedom. Believe it and you have it; don't believe and you don't. For what is impossible for you with all the works of the commandments, which are many and yet cannot be helpful, will become easy and complete through faith. For I have grounded everything completely in faith, so that whoever has it should have all things and be saved, and whoever does not have it should have nothing.' Thus the pledges of God give that which fulfil the commandments and complete what the commandments demand, so that everything belongs to God – commandments and fulfilment: He alone demands, He alone fulfils. Therefore God's pledges are the word of the New Testament, and also belong in the New Testament.

¶ Czum tzehenden / Nu seyn diße vnd alle gottis wort / heylig / warhafftig / gerecht / fridsam / frey vnd aller gütte voll / darrumb wer yhn¹⁶⁷ mit eynem rechten glauben anhangt / des¹⁶⁸ seele wirt mit yhm voreynigt / ßo gantz vnd gar / das alle tugent des worts / auch eygen¹⁶⁹ werden der seelen / Vnd alßo durch den glauben / die seele von dem gottis wort / heylig / gerecht / warhafftig / fridsam / frey / vnd aller gütte voll / eyn warhafftig kind gottis wirt / wie Johan. 1. sagt Er hatt yhn¹⁷⁰ geben / das sie mugen kynder gottis werden / alle die ynn seynem namen glauben.

Hierauß leychtlich¹⁷¹ zu mercken ist / warumb der glaub ßo vill vormag / vnd das keyne gutte werck yhm gleych seyn mugen / Den keyn gut werck / hanget an dem gottlichen wort / wie der glaub / kan auch nit yn der seelen seyn / sondern alleyn das wort vnd glaube regiren¹⁷² / yn der seelen / Wie dz wort ist / ßo wirt auch die seele vō yhm / gleych¹⁷³ / als das eyssen wirt gluttrodt¹⁷⁴ wie das fewr auß der voreynigung mit dem fewr. Alßo sehen wir / das an dem glaubenn eyn Christen mensch gnug hatt / darff keynis wercks / das¹⁷⁵ er frum sey / darff er¹⁷⁶ den keynis wercks mehr / ßo ist er gewißlich empunden¹⁷⁷ von allen gepotten vnd gesetzen / ist er¹⁷⁸ empūden / so ist er gewißlich frey / Das ist die Christlich freiheit / der eynige glaub / der do macht / nit das wir mußsig gahn oder übell thun mugen / sondern das wir keynis wercks bedurffen zur frumkeyt vnd seligkeyt zu erlangen / dauon wir mehr hernach sagen wollen. (B1r)

¹⁶⁷ = NHG *ihnen* (i.e. the words of God).

¹⁶⁸ = NHG *dessen*, referring back to 'wer'.

¹⁶⁹ 'proper to, belonging to' + dative (here 'der seelen').

¹⁷⁰ = NHG *ihnen*.

¹⁷¹ 'easily'.

¹⁷² = NHG *regieren*.

¹⁷³ = NHG *durch ihn, in gleicher Weise wie*.

¹⁷⁴ = NHG *glutrot*, literally 'glowing red'.

¹⁷⁵ = NHG *damit*.

¹⁷⁶ 'darf er' (= NHG *bedarf er*), beginning a conditional clause.

¹⁷⁷ = NHG *entbunden*.

¹⁷⁸ This is the beginning of another conditional clause.

10 Now these and all of God's words are sacred, true, righteous, peaceful, free, and full of all goodness, so that the soul of all who adhere to them with true faith will be united with Him, so fully and completely, that all the virtues of the word becomes the soul's own property, and thus through faith the soul by the word of God becomes sacred, righteous, truthful, peaceful, free, and full of goodness, a true child of God, as John chapter I says: 'He has granted them to become children of God, all who believe in his name'.¹⁷⁹

Thus it is easy to recognise how faith can do so much and that no good works can equate with it, since no good work depends on the divine word as faith does, nor can it be within the soul, but only the word and faith reign in the soul. Through the word, the soul becomes like the word, just as iron becomes red-hot by its union with fire. Thus we can see that for Christians their faith is sufficient: they do not need any work to be righteous. If they no longer need any work, they are certainly released from all commandments and laws; if they are released, they are certainly free. That is Christian freedom, the real faith which does not make us idle or able to do evil, but rather makes us not need any work to achieve righteousness and salvation, about which we will say more later.

¹⁷⁹ KJV John 1,12: 'But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name.'

¶ Czū eylyffen¹⁸⁰ / Weytter ists mit dem glauben alßo gethan / das / wilcher dem andern glaubt / der glaubt / yhm darumb. das¹⁸¹ er yhn fur eynen frumen warhafftigen man achtet / wilchs die größte ehre ist / die ein mensch dem andern thun kan / als widderumb die größte schmach ist / ßo¹⁸² er yhn fur eynen loßen lügenhafftigen leychtfertigen¹⁸³ man achtet.¹⁸⁴ Alßo auch wenn die seele gottis wort festiglich glaubt / ßo helt sie yhn fur warhafftig / frum vñ gerecht / da mit¹⁸⁵ sie yhm thut die aller größsiste ehre die sie yhm thun kann / denn da gibt sie yhm recht / da lessit sie yhm recht / da ehret sie seynen namen / vnd lessit mit yhr¹⁸⁶ handeln wie er will / denñ sie zweyffelt nit er sey frum / warhafftig ynn allen seynen Worten.¹⁸⁷

11 It is further the case with faith that if someone believes another person, they believe them because they consider them to be a righteous, truthful person, which is the greatest honour that one person can do another; and conversely it is the utmost disgrace, if they consider them immoral, mendacious, unreliable.

Thus when the soul firmly believes God's word, it considers Him truthful, righteous and just, and so it does Him the greatest possible honour, for thereby it accepts Him, acknowledges Him, honours His name, and permits Him to do with it what He wants, for it does not doubt that He is righteous, truthful in all His words.

¹⁸⁰ = NHG *Zum elften*; on the nasal bar above the letter *u*, cf. chapter 3.

¹⁸¹ = NHG *weil*.

¹⁸² = NHG *wenn*.

¹⁸³ 'losen, lügenhaftigen, leichtfertigen', an alliterative combination of ENHG by-words for evil: 'vicious, lying, frivolous'.

¹⁸⁴ ENHG 'achten ... für' = NHG *halten ... für*.

¹⁸⁵ = NHG *womit*.

¹⁸⁶ = NHG *sich*, referring to the soul.

¹⁸⁷ After this the printer left – as in several other places – a larger space to indicate a new argument without having to waste half a line by having a paragraph break.

Widderumb kan man gott keyn grössere vnehre auffthun / deñ¹⁸⁸
 yhm nit glauben / damit¹⁸⁹ die seel yhn fur eynen vntuchtigen
 lügenhafftigen leychtfertigen¹⁹⁰ helt / vñ Bouil an yhr ist¹⁹¹ / yhn
 vorleugnet mit solchem vnglauben / vnd ein abgott yhres eygens
 synn¹⁹² / ym hertzen widder gott auffricht¹⁹³ / alß wolt sie es¹⁹⁴ besser
 wissenn deñ er. Wenn denn¹⁹⁵ gott sihet / das yhm die seel / warheit
 gibt vnd alßo ehret¹⁹⁶ durch yhren glauben / ßo ehret er sie
 widderumb / vnd helt sie auch fur frum vnd warhafftig / vnd sie ist
 auch frum vnd warhafftig durch solchen glauben / denn das¹⁹⁷ man
 gott die warheyt vñ frumkeit gebe / das ist recht vnd warheit / vnnd
 macht recht vnd warhafftig. Die weyll¹⁹⁸ es war ist vnd recht / das
 gotte¹⁹⁹ die warheit geben werd. Wilchs die nit thun / die nit
 glauben / vnd doch sich mit vielen gutten wercken treyben vnd
 mühen.

Conversely one cannot do God greater dishonour than not to believe Him, whereby the soul regards Him as worthless, mendacious, and unreliable, and as far as it is concerned denies Him by such a lack of faith, and in its heart erects an idol of its own mind against God, as though thinking it knows better than He.

So when God sees that the soul accepts His truth and therefore honours Him by its faith, then He honours it in return, and also considers it righteous and truthful, and it *is* also righteous and truthful through this faith, for to accept God's truth and righteousness is justice and truth, and makes the soul just and truthful. For it is true and right that God's truth be accepted. And this is what they do not do, who do not believe and yet busy and occupy themselves with many good works.

¹⁸⁸ = NHG *antun, als*.

¹⁸⁹ = NHG *womit*.

¹⁹⁰ 'Untüchtigen, Lügenhaftigen, Leichtfertigen', a string of deadjectival nouns, meaning 'one who is ...'.

¹⁹¹ 'soviel an ihr ist' = NHG *soweit es an ihr liegt*.

¹⁹² = NHG *ihrer eigenen Sinnes / Eigensinns*.

¹⁹³ = NHG *statt / gegen Gott aufrichtet*.

¹⁹⁴ This does not have a referent in the text, but refers to things in general.

¹⁹⁵ = NHG *dann*.

¹⁹⁶ The object 'yhn', referring to God, is understood here.

¹⁹⁷ Introduces a subject clause: 'the fact that', correlating with the following 'das'.

¹⁹⁸ 'Die weyll' = NHG *weil*, giving the reason for what is stated in the clause before (NHG would have a comma, not a full stop, between these clauses).

¹⁹⁹ Dative.

¶ Czum zwölfften / Nit allein gibt der glaub Bouil / das die seel / dem²⁰⁰ göttlichen wort gleych wirt aller gnaden voll / frey / vñ selig / sondernñ voreynigt²⁰¹ auch die seele mit Christo / als eyne bawt mit yhrem breudgam. Auß wilcher ehe folget / wie S. Paulus sagt / das Christus vñ die seel / eyn leyb werden / ßo werden auch beyder gutter²⁰² / fall / vnfall vnd alle ding gemeyn²⁰³ / das was²⁰⁴ Christus hatt / das ist eygen / der glaubigen seele / was die seele hatt / wirt eygen Christi. So hatt Christus alle gütter vnd seligkeit / die seyn der seelen eygen. So hatt die seel alle vntugent vnd sund auff yhr²⁰⁵ / die werden Christi eygen. Hie hebt sich nu der frölich wechßel vnd streytt / Die weyl Christus ist gott vnd mensch / wilcher noch²⁰⁶ nie gesundigt hatt / vnd seyne frumkeyt (B1v) vnübirwindlich / ewig vnd almechtig ist / ßo²⁰⁷ er denn der glaubigen seelen sund / durch yhren braudtring / das ist / d̃ glaub / ym selbs eygen²⁰⁸ macht vnd nit anders thut / deñ als hett²⁰⁹ er sie gethā / ßo müssen die sund ynn yhm vorschunden²¹⁰ vñ erseufft werden / Denn sein vnübirwindlich gerechtigkeit / ist allenn sunden zustarck / also wirt die seele vō allen yhren sunden / lauterlich durch yhrē malschaczt²¹¹ / das ist des glaubens halben²¹² / ledig vnd frey / vnd begabt / mit der ewigen gerechtikeit yhrs breüdgamß Christi.

²⁰⁰ ‘dem göttlichen Wort gleich’: dative, literally ‘similarly to the divine word’.

²⁰¹ = NHG *vereinigt*; ‘der glaub’ is the subject.

²⁰² = NHG *beider Güter*: ‘the goods of them both’; ‘beyder’ is genitive, ‘gutter’ nominative plural.

²⁰³ = NHG *alle Dinge gemeinsam*.

²⁰⁴ ‘das was ...’ ‘so that what ...’.

²⁰⁵ = NHG *sich*, referring to the soul.

²⁰⁶ = NHG *dennoch*. This emphasises that although Christ became flesh, he remained free from sin.

²⁰⁷ ‘if, when’.

²⁰⁸ = NHG *sich selbst zu eigen*, referring to Christ.

²⁰⁹ = NHG *hätte*.

²¹⁰ ENHG ‘verschunden’, related to NHG *Schlund* ‘throat, gullet’: ‘swallowed up’.

²¹¹ ENHG ‘Mahlschatz’ = NHG *Brautschatz*, ‘dowry’.

²¹² = ‘das ... halben’ is a parenthesis; = NHG *des Glaubens wegen*.

12 Not only does faith give so much, that the soul, like the word of God, becomes full of all grace, free and saved, but it also unites the soul with Christ, as a bride with her bridegroom. From this marriage it follows, as Saint Paul says, that Christ and the soul become one body;²¹³ therefore also their respective goods, ups, downs, and all other things become shared, so that what Christ has is the property of the believing soul, and what the soul has becomes the property of Christ.

Thus Christ has all goods and salvation: they will be the property of the soul. Thus the soul has all the vices and sins on it: they become the property of Christ. Here the joyous exchange and competition begin. For Christ is God and human, who has never sinned and whose righteousness is unsurpassable, eternal, and almighty; thus if he makes the sins of the believing soul by its wedding ring, i.e. faith, his own and acts no differently than if he had done them himself, then the sins must be swallowed up and drowned.²¹⁴

For his unsurpassable righteousness is too strong for all sins, so that the soul becomes rid of its sins and free purely through its dowry, i.e. due to faith, and endowed with the gift of the eternal righteousness of its bridegroom Christ.

²¹³ KJV Ephesians 5,30: ‘For we are members of [Christ’s] body, of his flesh, and of his bones.’

²¹⁴ KJV I Corinthians 15,54–55: ‘So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?’

Ist nu das nit ein fröliche wirtschafft / da²¹⁵ der reychen / edlen / frummer
 breüdgam Christus / das arm vorachte²¹⁶ bößes hürlein²¹⁷ zur ehe
 nympt / vnd sie entledigt von allem übell / zieret mit allen gütern. So
 ist nit möglich / das die sund sie vordampne²¹⁸ / deñ sie ligen nu auff
 Christo / vñ sein ynn yhm vorschunden / so hat sie ßo ein reychen
 gerechticheyt ynn yhrem breüdgam / das sie abermals / wider alle sund
 bestahn mag / ob sie schon²¹⁹ auff yhr legē. Dauon sagt Paulus 1. Cor.
 15. Gott sey²²⁰ lob vnd danck der vns hatt gegeben ein solch
 übirwindung ynn Christo Ihesu / ynn wilcher vorschunden ist / der
 todt mit der sund.

Is that not a joyous feast, when the mighty, noble, and righteous
 bridegroom Christ takes the poor, despised, flawed, little whore in
 marriage and frees her of all bad things, and adorns her with all goods.

Thus it is not possible for the sins to condemn the soul, for they now
 lie upon Christ and are swallowed up within him; thus she has such
 a rich righteousness in her bridegroom that she once again can
 withstand all sins, even if they lie upon her. About this St Paul says
 in 1. Corinthians 15: 'God be praised and thanked who gave us such
 a victory in Jesus Christ, in which death is swallowed up together
 with sin'.²²¹

²¹⁵ = ENHG 'wirtschaft', meaning any major undertaking or organised feast; 'da' =
 NHG *wenn*.

²¹⁶ = NHG *verachtete*.

²¹⁷ ENHG 'böse' = 'of a poor quality'. 'hürlein' = diminutive of 'hure' 'whore'.

²¹⁸ = NHG *verdammen* (a nasal bar is missing).

²¹⁹ 'ob ... schon' = NHG *obschon, auch wenn*.

²²⁰ A jussive subjunctive, expressing what ought to be done.

²²¹ KJV I Corinthians 15,57: 'But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory
 through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

¶ Czū dreytzehenden / Hie sichstu²²² aber / auß wilchem grund dem glauben Bouil billich zugeschrieben wirt / das er alle gepott erfüllet / vnd on alle andere werck frum macht. Denn du sihest hie / das er das erste gepott erfüllet alleine da gepotten wirt / Du solt eynen gott ehren. Wenn du nu eytell²²³ gutt werck werist / biß auff die versenn²²⁴ / Bo weristu²²⁵ dennoch nit frum vnd gebist²²⁶ gott noch keyn ehre / vnd alBo erfüllistu²²⁷ das aller erst²²⁸ gepott nicht. Denn gott mag²²⁹ nicht geehret werden / yhm werd dan²³⁰ / warheyt vnd allis gut zu geschriben / wie er denn warlich²³¹ ist / Das thun aber keyn gutte werck / sondern allein der glaupe des hertzen.

Darumb ist er allein / die gerechtikeit des menschen vnd aller gepott erfüllung. Den wer das erste haubt gepott erfüllet / der erfüllet gewißlich vnd leychtlich auch alle ander gepott. Die werck aber seyn todte ding / kunden²³² nit ehren noch loben gott / wie wol sie mugen geschehen / vnd lassen sich thun gott zu ehren vñ lob / aber wir suchē hie den / d̄r nit gethan wirt / als die werck²³³ / sondern den selbthetter vnd werckmeyster / der gott ehret vnd die werck thut.

²²² = NHG *siehst du*.

²²³ ENHG 'eitel' = 'completely'.

²²⁴ = NHG *bis zu den Fersen*, literally 'down to your ankles'.

²²⁵ = NHG *so wärest du*.

²²⁶ = NHG *gäbst*.

²²⁷ = NHG *erfülltest du*.

²²⁸ = NHG *allererste*.

²²⁹ = NHG *kann / will*.

²³⁰ = NHG *ihm werde denn ... zu geschriben*, 'unless ... are ascribed'.

²³¹ = NHG *wahrlich* 'truly'.

²³² = NHG *könnten*.

²³³ = NHG *wie die Werke*.

13 Now here you see the reason why so much is rightly ascribed to faith, that it fulfils all commandments and confers righteousness without any other works. For you see here that it alone fulfils the first commandment, where it is commanded: 'You shall honour one God'.²³⁴ If you were made of nothing but good works from head to toe, you would still not be righteous and would not do honour to God, and so you would not fulfil the very first commandment. For God does not want to be honoured, unless truth and all good are ascribed to Him, as He truly is. But no good works do this, only the faith of the heart.

This is why it alone justifies humankind and fulfils all commandments. For whoever fulfils the first principal commandment, certainly and easily fulfils all other commandments as well. But works are dead things; they could neither honour nor praise God, although they may come about and be done to honour and praise God; but here we are seeking that which is not done as the works are done, but rather the doer and master craftsman, who honours God and performs the works.

²³⁴ KJV Exodus 20,2–3: 'I *am* the LORD thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.'

Das ist niemāt dan der glaub des hertzen /der ist das haubt vnd gantzis
 weßens²³⁵ der frumkeyt /darumb²³⁶ es eyn (B2r) ferlich²³⁷ finster rede
 ist.²³⁸ Wenn man leret /die gottis gepott mit wercken zu erfulleñ /
 ßo²³⁹ die erfullung fur²⁴⁰ allen wercken /durch den glauben muß
 geschehen seyn /vnd die werck folgen nach der erfullung /wie wir
 hörenn werdenn.

That is none other than the faith of the heart; that is the principal part
 and whole essence of righteousness, so that it is a dangerous and
 sinister statement if one teaches that God's commandments are
 fulfilled by works, for the fulfilment must happen before all works
 through faith, and the works follow on from this fulfilment, as we
 shall hear.

²³⁵ 'wesens' is a variant of 'wesen' and is nominative here.

²³⁶ = NHG *weswegen*.

²³⁷ = NHG *gefährlich*.

²³⁸ Here we should expect a comma in NHG, as 'Wenn' begins an explanation of the previous clause.

²³⁹ = NHG *da*.

²⁴⁰ = NHG *vor und in dem Alten Testament*, meaning before and under the Mosaic Law.

¶ Czum viertzehenden / Weytter zusehen²⁴¹ / was wir yn Christo haben / vnd wie groß gutt sey / ein rechter glaube. Ist tzu wissenn / das fur²⁴² vnd ynn dem altenn testament / gott yhm außtzoꝝ vnd furbehilt²⁴³ alle erste menliche gepurt / von menschen vñ von thierren / Vnd die erste gepurt war kōstlich vnd hatt tzwey grosse forteyll fur allen anderñ kindern / nemlich die hirschafft²⁴⁴ vnd priesterschafft odder künigreych vnd priesterthum / alßo²⁴⁵ das auff erden / das erste geporn kneblin²⁴⁶ / was²⁴⁷ eyne herr vbir alle seyne brüder vnd ein pfaff²⁴⁸ odder Babst fur gott Durch wilche figur bedeuťt ist Ihesus Christus / der eygentlich die selb erste menlich gepurt ist gottis vatters / von der Junpfrawen Marie. Darumb ist er ein künig vñ priester / doch geystlich. denn seyn reych ist nit yrdnisch²⁴⁹ noch yn yrdnischen / sonderñ yn geystlichen guttern / als da seyn / warheyť / weyßheyť / frid / freud / seligkeyť 2c.²⁵⁰ Damit aber nit außgetzogen²⁵¹ ist zeyťlich gutt / denn es ist yhm alle ding²⁵² vnterworffen / ynn hymell / erdenn vnd helle²⁵³ / wie wol man yhn nit sicht / das macht / das²⁵⁴ er geystlich / vnsichtlich²⁵⁵ regirt.

²⁴¹ = NHG *Um weiter zu sehen*.

²⁴² = NHG *vor* (with a temporal meaning).

²⁴³ = NHG *sich auswählte und vorbehält*: ‘for Himself selected and retained’.

²⁴⁴ = NHG *Herrschaft*.

²⁴⁵ = NHG *so*.

²⁴⁶ = NHG *Knäblein*; diminutive of ‘knabe’.

²⁴⁷ = NHG *war*.

²⁴⁸ ENHG ‘Pfaffe’ = ‘priest’, not pejorative as in NHG.

²⁴⁹ = NHG *irdisch*.

²⁵⁰ 2c. = NHG *etcetera*. On the use of a 2-shaped character for the ‘et’ abbreviation, cf. chapter 3.

²⁵¹ = NHG *sich vorbehalten*; cf. above on the phrase ‘ausziehen und behalten’.

²⁵² There is incongruence here between the singular verb and the plural subject.

²⁵³ = NHG *in Himmel, Erde und Hölle*.

²⁵⁴ The first ‘das’ is a demonstrative pronoun referring back to the previous clause and the object of ‘macht’; the second is a relative pronoun introducing the following clause and the subject of ‘macht’.

²⁵⁵ = NHG *unsichtbar*.

14 Let us look further at what we have in Christ and what a great good true faith is. It must be known that before and in the Old Testament God reserved and kept for himself the male first-born of all humans and animals.²⁵⁶ And the first-born was precious and had two great advantages over all other children, namely lordship and priesthood or royal and priestly power, so that on earth the first-born boy was a lord over all his brothers and a priest or pope before God.

By which sign Jesus Christ is meant who by nature is the real first male-born of God the Father by the Virgin Mary. Therefore he is a king and priest, but spiritually, for his kingdom is not on earth²⁵⁷ nor in earthly things, but in spiritual goods such as truth, wisdom, peace, joy, and salvation etc.

But at the same time, temporal possessions are reserved by him, since all things are subject to him, in heaven, on earth, and in hell, although one cannot see him; this is because he reigns spiritually and invisibly.

²⁵⁶ KJV Exodus 13,2: ‘Sanctify unto me all the firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, *both* of man and of beast: it is mine.’

²⁵⁷ KJV John 18,36: ‘Jesus said: My kingdom is not of this world.’

Alßo²⁵⁸ auch seyn priesterthum steht²⁵⁹ nit ynn den eußerlichenn
geperdenn²⁶⁰ / vnd kleydern / wie wir bey den menschen sehen /
ßondern es steht ym geyst vnsichtlich / alßo / das er fur gottis augen
on vnterlaß / fur die seynen steht vnd sich selb opffert vnd allis thut /
was eyn frum priester thun soll. Er bittet fur vns / Wie S. Paul Ro. 8.
sagt. So leret er vns ynnwendig ym hertzen / wilchs sein tzwey
eygentliche recht ampt²⁶¹ eyniß priesters Denn alßo bitten vnd leren
auch eußerlich menschlich tzeytlich priester.

²⁵⁸ Here 'likewise'.

²⁵⁹ = NHG *besteht*.

²⁶⁰ = NHG *äußerlichen Gebärden*.

²⁶¹ = NHG *Ämter* 'offices'.

In the same way his priesthood does not consist of outward manifestations and garments, such as those we see in people, but it dwells in the spirit invisibly, so that he stands before God's eyes unceasingly for those who belong to him and sacrifices himself and does everything that a righteous priest should do. He intercedes for us, as St Paul says in Romans 8.²⁶² In this way he teaches us inwardly in our hearts, which are two true and right offices of a priest, for in the same way, human secular priests pray and teach outwardly, too.

²⁶² KJV Romans 8,34: 'Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us.'

¶ Czum funfftzehenden /Wie nu Christus die erste gepurtt hatt /mit yhrer²⁶³ ehre vnd wirdickeit /alßo /teyllet er sie mit allenn seynen Christen /das²⁶⁴ sie durch den glauben /mussen auch alle künige vnd priester seyn /mit Christo /Wie S. Petrus sagt 1. Pet. 2. Ihr seyt ein priesterlich künigreich /vñ ein küniglich priesterthū. (B2v)

Vnd das geht also zu /das ein Christen mensch durch den glauben ßo hoch erhaben wirt vbir alle ding /das er aller eyn herr wirt geystlich /denn es kan yhm kein ding nit²⁶⁵ schaden zur seligkeit. Ia²⁶⁶ es muß yhm alles vnterthan seyn vnd helffen zur seligkeyt /Wie S. Paulus leret Ro. 8. Alle ding müssen helffenn den außewelten²⁶⁷ /zu yhrem besten /es sey leben /sterben /sund /frumkeit /gut vñ bößes /wie man es nennen kan. Item 1. Cor. 3. Alle ding seynd ewr /es sey²⁶⁸ das leben oder d' todt /kegenwertig oder zukünfftig 2c.²⁶⁹

²⁶³ = NHG *ihrer*, referring to 'gepurtt'.

²⁶⁴ = NHG *sodass*.

²⁶⁵ 'kein ... nit' as negators reinforce each other, rather than cancelling each other out.

²⁶⁶ = NHG *Ja*.

²⁶⁷ = NHG *Auserwählten*.

²⁶⁸ = NHG *sind euer, es sei* ('all yours, whether it be...').

²⁶⁹ = NHG *gegenwärtig oder zukünftig etc.*

15 As Christ is the first-born, with all the honour and rank that entails, so he shares this birthright with all his Christians, so that through faith they must also be kings and priests with Christ, as St Peter says in I Peter 2: 'You are a priestly kingdom and a kingly priesthood'.²⁷⁰

And so it is also the case that Christians are exalted by faith so far above all things as to become spiritually lords of all, for nothing can imperil their salvation. Indeed, everything must be subject to them and work towards their salvation, as St Paul teaches in Romans 8: 'All things must work for the best of the elect, whether life, death, sin, righteousness, good and evil, whatever it may be called'.²⁷¹ Likewise, I Corinthians 3: 'Whether life or death, present or to come, all things are yours etc.'.²⁷²

²⁷⁰ Paraphrase of KJV I Peter 2,9: 'But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood.'

²⁷¹ Paraphrase of KJV Romans 8,28: 'All things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to His purpose.'

²⁷² KJV I Corinthians 3,22: 'Whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours.'

Nit das wir aller ding leyplich mechtig seyn / sie zu besitzen oder zu brauchen / wie die menschen auff erden / denn wir müssen sterben leyplich vnd mag niemant dem todt entfliehen / ßo müssen wir auch viel andern dingen vnterligen / wie wir yn Christo vñ seynen heyligen sehen / Denn diß ist ein geystliche hirschafft / die do regiert / yn der leyplichen vnterdrückung / das ist / ich kann mich on²⁷³ allen dingen bessern nach der seelen²⁷⁴ / das²⁷⁵ auch der todt vnd leyden / müssen mir dienen vnd nützlich seyn zur seligkeyt / das ist gar ein hohe ehrliche wirdikeit vnd eyn recht almechtige hirschafft / ein geystliche künigreich / da keyn ding ist ßo gut / ßo böße / es muß mir dienen zu gut / ßo²⁷⁶ ich glaube / vñ darff²⁷⁷ seyn doch nit / sondern meyn glaub ist mir gnugsam.

Sihe wie ist das ein köstlich freyheyt vnd gewalt der Christen.

Not that we have physical power over all things, to possess or use them, as people do on earth, for we must die physically, and no-one can escape death; likewise we must also submit to many other things, as we see in Christ and his saints.

For this is a spiritual dominion, which reigns in physical suppression, i.e. I can without all things better myself with regard to my soul, so that also death and suffering must serve me and be useful for salvation; that is a truly lofty, noble dignity, and a truly almighty dominion, a spiritual kingdom, where nothing is so good or so bad that it cannot serve me for good, if I believe, and yet I do not need it, but rather my faith is sufficient for me.

Behold, how precious are the freedom and power of Christians.

²⁷³ = NHG *ohne*, but here with the dative.

²⁷⁴ ‘according to the soul’.

²⁷⁵ = NHG *sodass*.

²⁷⁶ = NHG *wenn*.

²⁷⁷ = NHG *bedarf*; it takes the genitive ‘seyn’ ‘it’ (referring to ‘ding’).

¶ Czum sechtzehenden / Vbir das²⁷⁸ seyn wir priester / das ist noch vil mehr / denn künig sein / darumb / das das priesterthum vns wirdig macht fur gott zu treten vnd fur andere zu bitten / Denn fur gottis augen zu stehn vnd bitten / gepürt²⁷⁹ niemāt denn den priestern. Alßo hatt vns Christ⁹ erworben / das wir mügen geystlich / fur ein ander treten vñ²⁸⁰ bitten / wie ein priester fur das volck leylich tritt vnd bittet. Wer aber nit glaubt yn Christū dem²⁸¹ dienet keyn ding zu gut / ist ein knecht aller ding / muß sich aller ding ergern.²⁸² Datzu ist sein gepett nit angenehm / kumpt auch nit fur gottis augen / Wer mag nu außdencken / die ehre vnd höhe eyniß Christen menschen? durch seyn künigreych ist er aller ding mechtig²⁸³ / durch sein priesterthū ist er gottis mechtig / denn gott thut was er bittet vnd wil / wie do stet geschrieben im Psalter. Gott thut den willen der / die yhn furchten / vnd erhōret / yhr gepett / zu wilchen ehren er nur allein durch den glauben vnd (B3r) durch keyn werck kumpt. Darauß mā clar sihet / wie eyn Christen mensch frey ist von allen dingen vnd vbir alle ding / alßo das er keyner gutter werck / datzu bedarff / das er frum vnd seligk sey²⁸⁴ / sondern der glaub bringts ym alles vber flußsig²⁸⁵. Vnd wo er ßo tōricht were vnd meynet / durch ein gutt werck / frum / frey / selig odder Christen werden / ßo²⁸⁶ vorlūr²⁸⁷ er den glauben mit allen dingen / Gleych als / d²⁸⁸ hund / der ein stuck fleysch ym mund trug vnd nach dem schemen ym wasser schnapt / damit / fleysch vnd schem vorlōr.

²⁷⁸ Literally 'Above that' in the sense 'Over and above that', 'In addition'.

²⁷⁹ = NHG *gebührt*.

²⁸⁰ = NHG *und*; on the abbreviation and use of *v*, cf. chapter 3.

²⁸¹ Refers to 'Wer' in the previous clause.

²⁸² = NHG *sich ärgern*, but in the sense of 'to take offence at'.

²⁸³ 'aller ding mechtig' 'having power over all things'.

²⁸⁴ 'das er ... sey' 'for him to be ...'.

²⁸⁵ = NHG *bringt es ihm alles überflüssig*.

²⁸⁶ = 'wo ... ßo' = NHG *wenn ... dann*.

²⁸⁷ = NHG *verlöre*.

²⁸⁸ On the abbreviation 'd' for 'der', cf. chapter 3.

16 In addition, we are priests, which is far greater than being kings, for priesthood makes us worthy to stand before God and pray for others, since it is appropriate for no-one but priests to stand and pray before the face of God. Therefore Christ has achieved this for us, that we may stand for and pray for one another spiritually, as a priest stands for and prays for his people physically.

But those who do not believe in Christ benefit from nothing; they are servants of all things and must take offence at all things. Besides, their prayers are not welcome and do not come before the face of God. Now who can fathom the honour and exalted status of a Christian? By their kingdom they have power over all things; by their priesthood they have power over God, for God does what a Christian asks for and wants, as it is written in the Psalter, 'God fulfils the desire of those who fear Him and hears their prayer',²⁸⁹ and to this honour they come only and solely through faith and not through any work.

From this it can be clearly seen how a Christian is free of all things and above all things, so that they do not need any good works to be righteous and saved, but faith brings everything to them in abundance. And if they were so foolish as to think that they become righteous, free, saved, or Christian through a good work, they would then lose their faith along with all things, just like the dog which held a piece of meat in its mouth and snapped at its shadow in the water, thereby losing the meat and the shadow.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹ KJV Psalm 145,19: 'He will fulfil the desire of them that fear him; he also will hear their cry, and will save them.'

²⁹⁰ Cf. Aesop's Fable No. 133: The Dog and the Shadow.

¶ Czum siebentzenden fragistu / Was ist den für ein vnterscheydt / zwischen den priestern vnd leyen²⁹¹ ynn der Christenheyt / Bo²⁹² sie alle priester seyn? Antwort / Es ist dem wortlin²⁹³ priester / pfaff / geystlich vnd des gleychen vnrecht geschehen / das sie von dem gemeynen hauffen seyn getzogen / auff den kleynen hauffen / den man itzt nennet geystlichen stand. Die heylige schrift / gibt keynen andern vnterscheyd²⁹⁴ / denn das sie / die gelereten odder geweyhetē / nēnet ministros / seruos / oeconomos / das ist / diener / knecht / schaffner²⁹⁵ / die do sollen / den andern / Christū / glauben / vnd Christliche freyheit predigen / Denn ob wir wol²⁹⁶ alle gleych priester seyn / Bo kunden wir doch nit alle dienen odder schaffen vnd predigen. Albo sagt S. Paulus 1. Cor. 4. Wir wollen nichts mehr von den leuthen gehalten seyn²⁹⁷ / denn Christ⁹ diener²⁹⁸ / vnd schaffner des Euangelij. Aber nu ist aus der scheffnerey worden eyn solch weltlich / eußerliche / prechtige / forchtsam hirschafft vnd gewalt / das yhr die recht weltlich macht²⁹⁹ / ynn keynen weg mag gleychen / gerade als weren die leyen etwas anders denn Christenleuth / damit hyngenummen³⁰⁰ ist der gantz vorstand³⁰¹ Christlicher gnad / freyheit / glaubens / vnd allis was wir von Christo haben / vnd Christ⁹ selbs / haben dafür vbirkūmen / viel menschen gesetz vnd werck³⁰² / seyn gantz knecht wordenn / der aller vntüchtigsten leuth³⁰³ auff erden.

²⁹¹ = NHG *Laien*.

²⁹² = NHG *wenn*.

²⁹³ = NHG *Wörtlein* in the sense of a 'single word, term'; cf. DWB s.v. 2a.

²⁹⁴ = NHG *macht* ... *Unterschied*.

²⁹⁵ = NHG *Verwalter* (as a translation of 'oeconomos').

²⁹⁶ = NHG *obwohl wir*.

²⁹⁷ 'to be considered'; NHG requires *für* with *halten* in this sense.

²⁹⁸ '9' at the end of 'Christ' abbreviates 'us' but should read 'Christi' (Latin genitive).

²⁹⁹ 'true secular power'.

³⁰⁰ = NHG *weggenommen*, 'taken away'.

³⁰¹ = NHG *Verständnis*.

³⁰² = NHG *stattdessen bekommen viele Menschengesetze und -werke*; cf. DWB s.v. 3.

³⁰³ = NHG *Knechte der alleruntüchtigsten Leute geworden*.

17 You may ask what difference there is in Christendom between priests and lay-people, if all are priests. Answer: wrong has been done to the term 'priest', 'cleric', 'spiritual', and similar, so that they have been moved from the general group and applied to the small group who are now called the spiritual estate.

Holy Scripture does not recognise any difference other than that it calls the learned or consecrated 'ministros', 'servos', 'oeconomos', i.e. ministers, servants, stewards, who are to preach faith and Christian freedom to other Christians. For although we are all equally priests, we could not all serve or administer and preach. Hence St Paul says in I Corinthians 4: 'We do not want to be held by the people to be anything but Christ's servants and stewards of the gospel'.³⁰⁴

But now this stewardship has turned into such a secular, outward, grand, fearsome dominion and power, that true secular power cannot in any way compare with it, just as if lay-people were something other than Christians, so that the whole understanding of Christian grace, freedom, faith, and all that we have from Christ, and Christ himself, have been taken away, and we have received instead many human laws and works, and we have been made complete servants to the most worthless people on earth.

³⁰⁴ KJV I Corinthians 4,1: 'Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.'

¶ Czum achtzehenden / Auß dem allen lernen wir / das es nit gnug sey gepredigt / Wen man Christus leben vnd werck oben hynn vnd nur als ein histori vnd Cronicken geschicht predigt / schweyg denn³⁰⁵ / Bo man seyn³⁰⁶ gar schweygt / vnd das geystlich recht oder ander menschen gesetz vñ lere predigt. Er³⁰⁷ ist auch vill / die Christū alßo predigen / vnd leßen / das sie ein mit leyden (B3v) vbir yhn habenn / mit den Juden zurnē³⁰⁸ odder sonst mehr kyndisch weyß / drynnen vben. Aber er soll vnd muß alßo predigt³⁰⁹ sein / dz mir vñ dir / der glaub drauß erwachß vñ erhalten werd. Wilcher glaub da durch erwechst vnd erhalten wirt. Wen³¹⁰ mir gesagt wirt. Warumb³¹¹ Christus kūmen³¹² sey / wie man sein³¹³ brauchen vnd nießen soll / was er mir bracht vnd geben³¹⁴ hat / das geschicht³¹⁵ / wo man recht außlegt / die Christlich freyheit / die wir von yhm haben / vnd wie wir künig vnd priester seyn / aller ding mechtig. Vnd³¹⁶ allis was wir thun / das fur gottis augen angenehm / vnd erhōret³¹⁷ sey / wie ich biß her gesagt hab.

³⁰⁵ = NHG *geschweige denn*.

³⁰⁶ This is the genitive of *er* referring to Christ, and governed by 'schweygt'.

³⁰⁷ = NHG *Ihrer*. 'Of those who ... there are many'.

³⁰⁸ = NHG *Mitleid mit ihm haben, mit den Juden zürnen*.

³⁰⁹ = NHG *gepredigt*.

³¹⁰ 'Wenn' correlates with 'da durch'; the full stop between clauses corresponds to a comma in NHG.

³¹¹ This should not be read as a new sentence, despite the full stop, but as an object clause after 'gesagt wird'.

³¹² = NHG *gekommen*.

³¹³ Genitive (referring to Christ) governed by 'brauchen' and 'nießen' = NHG *gebrauchen und genießen*.

³¹⁴ = NHG *gebracht und gegeben*.

³¹⁵ = NHG *geschichte*.

³¹⁶ 'Vnd' starts a new clause, not a new sentence, despite the full stop.

³¹⁷ *erhören* is used specifically in the context of a prayer being answered.

18 From all this we learn that it is not enough to preach Christ's life and works superficially and merely as a story from history or a chronicle, let alone not to mention him at all, and to preach about spiritual right or other human law and teaching. There are also many who preach and interpret Christ³¹⁸ so that they have compassion for him and are angry with the Jews or otherwise deal childishly with the matter. But he shall and must be preached in such a way that for me and for you faith grows and is kept up by it.

This faith grows and is kept up if I am told why Christ has come, how one should use and enjoy him, what he has brought and given me; and that happens when one rightly interprets the Christian freedom which we have from him, and how we are kings and priests with power over all things, and that everything we do is welcome before God's eyes and received well by Him, as I have been saying so far.

³¹⁸ KJV II Cor 4,5: 'For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus.'

Dañ³¹⁹ wo ein hertz alßo Christū hōret / das muß frōlich werden von gantzem grund / trost empfahen³²⁰ / vnd süß werden gegen Christo / yhn widderumb lieb zuhaben. Dahyn es nymmer mehr mit gesetzē odder werck kummen mag / Denñ wer wil eynem solchen hertzen schaden thun / oder erschreckenn? felt³²¹ die sund vnd der todt daher³²² / ßo glaubt es Christ⁹ frumkeit sey sein³²³ / vnd sein sund sein³²⁴ nymmer sein / sondern Christi / ßo muß die sund vorschwinden / fur Christus frumkeit / ynn dem glauben / wie droben gesagt ist / vnd lernet / mit dem Apostell dem todt vnd sund trotz bieten / vñ sagen Wo ist nu du todt³²⁵ deyn sig? Wo ist nu todt dein spieß? deyn spieß / ist die sund. Aber gott sey lob vnd danck / der vns hatt geben den sieg / durch Ihesum Christū vnsern herrñ. Vnd der todt ist erseufft ynn seynem sieg 2c.³²⁶

³¹⁹ = NHG *denn*.

³²⁰ = NHG *empfangen*.

³²¹ = NHG *fällt*.

³²² 'on it', referring to the heart.

³²³ = NHG *Christi Frömmigkeit sei sein eigen*.

³²⁴ = NHG *seien*.

³²⁵ 'you, death'; death is being apostrophised.

³²⁶ On the use of a 2-shaped character for the 'et' abbreviation in 'etc.', cf. chapter 3.

For whenever a heart hears Christ in this way, it must become completely joyful, take comfort, and begin to feel tender towards Christ, to love him in return. It can never get there with laws or works.

For who will harm or frighten such a heart? If sin and death fall upon it, it believes that Christ's righteousness is its own and that its sins never belong to it, but to Christ, so sin must vanish before Christ's righteousness in faith, as was said above, and it learns, with the apostle, to show defiance to death and sin and to say, 'Death, where is your victory now? Where is your sting now, death? Your sting is sin. But praise and thanks be to God, who has given us victory through Jesus Christ our Lord. And death is drowned in his victory, etc.'³²⁷

³²⁷ KJV I Corinthians 15,55–57: 'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

¶ Czum neuntzehenden/ Das sey nu gnug gesagt/ von dem ynnnerlichen menschen/ von seyner freyheit/ vnd der heubt³²⁸ gerechtickeit/ wilch keynis gesetzs noch gutten wercks bedarff/ ya yhr³²⁹ schedlich ist/so³³⁰ yemant da durch wolt rechtfertig zu werdē sich vormessenn. Nu kummen wir auffß ander teyll/ auff den eußerlichen menschen Hie wollen wir antworten allen denen/ die sich ergern auß den vorigen reden vñ pflegen zusprechen Ey so denn³³¹ der glaub alle ding ist vnd gilt allein gnugsam frum zumachen. Warüb sein denn die gutten werck gepotten? so wollen wir gutter ding sein/ vnd nichts thun. Neyn lieber mensch nicht also. Es wer³³² wol/also/ wen du allein ein ynnnerlich mensch werist/ vnd gantz geystlich vnd ynnnerlich worden³³³/ wilchs nit geschicht biß am Jüngsten tag. Es ist vñ bleybt auff erdē nur ein anheben vñ zu nehmen³³⁴/ wilchs wirt in yhener welt³³⁵ voln(B4r)bracht. Daher heyssets der Apostell primitias spirit⁹/ das sein die ersten frucht des geysts/ drumb gehört hie her/ das³³⁶ droben gesagt ist Ein Christen mensch/ ist ein dienstpar knecht/ vñ ydermā vnterthan/ gleych³³⁷/ wo er frey ist/ darff³³⁸ er nichts thun/ wo er knecht ist/ muß er allerley thun. Wie dz zugahe³³⁹/ wollen wir sehē.

³²⁸ = NHG *Haupt*-, ‘cardinal, principal’, the first part of the compound with *Gerechtigkeit*.

³²⁹ Refers to ‘freyheit’/‘heupt gerechtickeit’.

³³⁰ = NHG *wenn*.

³³¹ ‘so denn’ = NHG *wenn dann*.

³³² = NHG *wäre*.

³³³ = NHG *geworden*.

³³⁴ = NHG *ein Anfangen und Zunehmen*.

³³⁵ = NHG *jener Welt* i.e. the next world as opposed to ‘auff erden’.

³³⁶ = NHG *was*.

³³⁷ ‘gleych’ here has the force of English ‘equals’, ‘that is’.

³³⁸ ‘needs’, like NHG *bedarf*.

³³⁹ = NHG *zugehe*.

19 Now that is enough said about the inward person, about their freedom and the principal righteousness, which needs no law nor good works; indeed, it is damaging to righteousness if anyone would presume to be justified thereby. Now we come to the second part, to the outward person. Here we shall answer all those who take offence at what has been said above, and are used to saying: ‘Oh, so if faith is everything and is sufficient for righteousness, why, then, are good works commanded? Let us be merry and do nothing’. No, my dear, it's not like that. It would be like that if you were solely an inward person, and had become wholly spiritual and inward, which will not happen until Judgement Day. There is and remains on earth only a beginning and an increase of what will be completed in that world. This is why the apostle calls them ‘primitias spiritus’,³⁴⁰ namely the first fruits of the Spirit. That is why what we said earlier belongs here. A Christian is a bound servant and subject to all, which is the same as saying: insofar as they are free, they need to do nothing; insofar as they are servants, they need to do all kinds of things. Let us see how this comes about.

³⁴⁰ KJV Romans 8,23: ‘And not only *they*, but ourselves also, which have the firstfruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, *to wit*, the redemption of our body.’ VLC (Vulgate, Clementine version): ‘Non solum autem illa, sed et nos ipsi primitias spiritus habentes: et ipsi intra nos gemimus adoptionem filiorum Dei exspectantes, redemptionem corporis nostri.’

¶ Czum zwentzigsten / Ob wol der mensch ynwendig nach der seelen / durch den glauben gnugsam rechtfertig ist / vnd alles hatt was er haben soll / on das³⁴¹ der selb glaub vñ gnugde / muß ymer zunehmen / biß ynn yhenes leben. So³⁴² bleybt er doch noch ynn dißem leyplichen lebenn auff erdenn / vnd muß seynen eygen leyp regiern vnd mit leuthen vmbgahen. Da heben sich nu die werck an / hie muß er nit mußsig gehn / da muß furwar der leyb mit fasten / wachen / erbeytten vnd mit aller messiger³⁴³ zucht getrieben / vñ geübt sein / das er dem³⁴⁴ ynnnerlichen menschen vñ dem glauben gehorsam vnd gleychformig werde / nit hyndere noch widerstreb / wie sein art ist / wo er nit getzwungen wirt / deñ der ynnnerliche mensch ist mit gott eyni³⁴⁵ß / frölich vnd lustig / vmb Christus willen / der yhm ßovil than hat / vñ stett³⁴⁶ alle seyn lußt darynn / das er widerumb mocht gott auch vmbsonst dienen ynn freyer lieb / ßo³⁴⁷ findt er ynn seynem fleysch eynen widerspenstigen willen / der wil der welt dienen vñ suchen was yhn lustet³⁴⁸

Das mag der glaub nit leyden / vnd legt sich mit lußt / an seynen halß yhn zu dempfen vñ weren.³⁴⁹ Wie S. Pael sagt Ro. 7. Ich hab ein lust / yn gottis willen nach meynem ynnern menscheñ / ßo find ich eynen andernn willen ynn meynem fleysch / der wil mich mit sunden gefangē nehmen. Item ich zuchtige meynen leyp vñ treib yhn zu gehorsam / auff das ich nit selbs vorwerfflich werde / der³⁵⁰ die andern leren soll. Item Gal. 5. Alle die Christū angehören / creutzigen yhr fleysch mit seynen bößen lusten.

³⁴¹ = NHG *außer dass*; this clause, running until 'ynn yhenes leben', is parenthetical.

³⁴² This clause correlates with the clause starting 'Ob wol' at the beginning of §20.

³⁴³ = NHG *Arbeiten* (in the sense of *Anstrengung*) und mit aller mäßiger.

³⁴⁴ Dative object of 'gehorsam ... werde'.

³⁴⁵ = NHG *eins mit Gott*.

³⁴⁶ = NHG *soviel getan hat und steht*.

³⁴⁷ = 'so', here with an adversative sense 'but'.

³⁴⁸ = NHG *gelüstet*. There was no space for a full stop after the sentence and no need for it since the next sentence starts with an upper-case letter on the next line.

³⁴⁹ = NHG *abwehren*.

³⁵⁰ = 'der' beginning a relative clause modifying 'ich'.

20 Even if inwardly people are, according to their soul, sufficiently righteous through faith, and have everything they should have – except that that same faith and sufficiency must always grow into the life beyond –, nonetheless in this physical life they still dwell on earth and must govern their own bodies and deal with people.

This is when the works begin; here people must not go idly about, now in fact the body must be driven and trained with fasting, vigils, working, and all reasonable discipline so that it becomes obedient and uniform with the inward person and with faith, and does not obstruct or resist, which is its way when it is not compelled. For the inward person is one with God, joyful and delighted because of Christ, who has done so much for them, and all their delight consists in wanting in return to serve God for no gain with a love freely given, but they find in their flesh a recalcitrant will which tries to serve the world and seek what it pleases.

That is something which faith cannot abide and it seizes it eagerly by the throat to stifle it and fight against it. As St Paul says in Romans 7, 'I take delight in God's will according to my inward person, but I find another will in my flesh, which tries to imprison me with sins'.³⁵¹ Likewise, 'I chastise my body and bring it into subjection so that I, who am meant to teach others, should not myself become blameworthy'.³⁵² Likewise in Galatians 5, 'All those who belong to Christ crucify their flesh with its evil desires'.³⁵³

³⁵¹ KJV Romans 7,22–23: 'For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members.'

³⁵² KJV I Corinthians 9,27: 'But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.'

³⁵³ KJV Galatians 5,24: 'And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts.' The KJV translation does not make it clear that it is the 'fleisch', the body of the believers, which has the evil desires. The NIV reads 'Those who belong to Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires.'

¶ Czū eynd vnd zwentzigsten / Aber die selben werck müssen³⁵⁴ nit geschehn ynn der meynung / das da durch der mensch frum werd fur gott / deñ die falsch meynung kan der glaub nit leyde / der alleyn ist vñ sein muß die frumkeyt fur gott / sonderñ nur yn der meynung / das der leyp gehorsam werde / vnd gereynigt von seynen bosen lüsten / vñ dz aug nur sehe / auff die bosen lüsten / sie auß zu treiben / Deñ die weyl die seel durch den glauben reyn ist / vñ gott liebet / wolt sie gern das auch also³⁵⁵ alle ding reyn weren (B4v) zuuor³⁵⁶ yhr eygen leyp / vnd yderman gott / mit yhr liebt vnd lobt / So geschichts / das d' mensch seyns eygen leyps halben nit kan mußsig gehen / vñ muß vil gutter werck drober vben / das er yhn zwingt / vnd doch die werck nit das rechte gutt seyn / dauon er frum vnd gerecht sey fur gott / Bondern thue³⁵⁷ sie auß freyer lieb vmbsonst / got zu gefallen / nichts darynn anders gesucht noch angesehen / denn das es gott also gefellet / wilchs willen³⁵⁸ er gerne thet³⁵⁹ auff's allerbeste. Darauß denn³⁶⁰ ein yglicher kan selbs nehmen³⁶¹ die maß vnd bescheydenheit den leyp zu Casteyen / Denn / er fastet / wachet / erbeyt / Boviell er sicht³⁶² dem leyp nott seyn / seynen muttwillen zu dempffen.³⁶³

³⁵⁴ = NHG *dürfen*.

³⁵⁵ = NHG *ebenso*.

³⁵⁶ = NHG *vor allem*.

³⁵⁷ The present subjunctive has jussive force: literally 'he must do'.

³⁵⁸ = NHG *um dessentwillen* 'for the sake of which'.

³⁵⁹ = NHG *täte* 'would do'.

³⁶⁰ = NHG *dann*.

³⁶¹ = NHG *entnehmen*.

³⁶² = NHG *sieht* in the sense of 'perceives'.

³⁶³ For a comparison between the German and Latin versions of this paragraph, cf. chapter 4, section 2a. The Latin text (taken from the digital version of the Taylor Editions <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/libertate1521/#d1r>) is as follows (marginalia are in square brackets): '[Qua opinione opera facienda.] Verum ea opera oportet, non ea fieri opinione, quo per ipsa coram deo iustificetur quisquam, hanc enim falsam opinionem fides non feret, quae sola est iustitia coram deo, sed solum ea opinione, ut corpus in servitutum redigatur & purificetur a concupiscentiis suis malis, ita ut oculus non nisi vertat ad concupiscentias expurgandas.'

21 But these works must not be carried out in the opinion that through them the person may become righteous before God – for faith cannot abide this false opinion, as it alone is and must be righteousness before God – but only in the opinion that the body should become obedient and cleansed of its evil desires, and the eye should only look on evil desires to drive them out. For when the soul is pure through faith and loves God, it would want everything else to be similarly pure, first and foremost its own body, and for everyone also to love and praise God as it does. So it is that case that, because of their own body, people cannot be idle and must, moreover, carry out many good works in order to subdue it; and yet the works are not the true good that makes them righteous and justified in the sight of God, but rather they must do them for no gain, freely out of love in order to please God, not seeking or having regard to anything other than that it may please God; and for that, they will gladly do their very best. From this every person can then infer the degree and precise way in which to chasten the body. For they fast, watch, and work as much as they feel is necessary to subdue the wantonness of the body.³⁶⁴

³⁶⁴ Translation of the Latin text (cf. the facing page): '[In which opinion works should be done.] But these works must not be carried out in the opinion that through them anyone can be justified before God – for faith will not tolerate this false notion, as it alone is righteousness before God—but only in the opinion that the body should be brought into subjection and be cleansed of its evil desires, so that the eye should be directed only to purging those desires.'

Die andern aber / die do meynen mit wercken frum zu werden /
haben keyn acht auff die casteyung / sondern sehen nur auff die
werck / vnd meynen / wenn sie der selben nur viel vnd groß thun / ßo
sey es wol than vnd sie frum würden / zu weyllen zu brechen die
köpff vnd vorterber yhr leybe drüber / das ist ein große torheyt / vñ
vnuorstand³⁶⁵ Christlichs lebens vnd glaubens / das sie on glauben /
durch werck frum vnd selig werden wollen.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁵ = NHG *Unverstand*, 'lack of understanding'.

³⁶⁶ Latin continued: 'Cum enim anima per fidem purgata sit & amans dei facta, vellet omnia pariter purgari, praecipue corpus proprium, ut omnia secum amarent & laudarent deum. Ita fit, ut homo exigente corporis sui causa ociari non possit, cogaturque ob id, multa bona operari, ut in servitutem redigat.'

But the others, who think they can become righteous through works, do not pay attention to chastening, but only focus on the works, and think that if they only do sufficient and great works, then they have done well and have become righteous, sometimes wracking their brains and destroying their bodies in doing this: that is great folly and a lack of understanding of Christian life and faith to want to become righteous and saved by works without faith.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁷ Translation of the Latin continued: 'For when the soul has been purged by faith and made to love God, it would want all things to be likewise cleansed, and especially its own body, so that all things might love and praise God as it does. So it is the case that, because of the demands of their own body, the person cannot be idle, but is compelled because of it to carry out many good works, in order to bring it into subjection.'

¶ Czum zwey vnd zwentzigsten / Das wir des³⁶⁸ etlich gleychniß geben. Soll man die werck eynis Christen menschen der durch seynen glaubē / vñ auß lautern gnaden gottis / vmbsonst ist rechtfertig vnd selig worden / nit anders achten / den wie die werck Adam vnd Eue ym paradiß geweßen weren / Dauon Gen. 2. stett geschrieben. Das gott den geschaffenen menschen / setzt ynß paradiß / das er dasselb erbeytten vnd hutten solt.³⁶⁹

Nu war Adam von gott frum vnd wol geschaffen / on sund / das³⁷⁰ er durch seyn erbeytten vnd hutten nit durfft³⁷¹ frum vñ rechtfertig werden / doch das er nit müssig gieng / gab yhm gott zu schaffen / das paradeys zu pflantzen / bawen vnd bewarenn. Wilchs weren eytell frey werck geweßen / vmb keynß dings willen gethan / denn³⁷² allein gott zu gefallen / vnd nit vmb frumkeyt zu erlangen / die er zuuor hett / wilch vns auch allen naturlich were angeborn geweßenn. Alßo auch eynis glaubigen menschen werck / wilcher durch seynen glauben ist widderumb ynß paradiß gesetzt / vnd von newen geschaffen / darff keyner werck frum zu werden / sondern das er nit müssig gahe vnd seynen leyb erbeytt³⁷³ vnd beware / seyn yhm solche freye werck zu thun alleyn gott zu gefallenñ befolhen.

³⁶⁸ = NHG *dessen*, ‘of this’.

³⁶⁹ = NHG *setzte ... bearbeiten und behüten sollte*.

³⁷⁰ = NHG *ohne Sünde, so dass*.

³⁷¹ = NHG *bedurfte, brauchte*.

³⁷² = NHG *außer*.

³⁷³ ENHG ‘arbeiten’ means ‘labour’, used here in the parallel between Adam’s work and human labour.

22 Let us give some examples of this. One should regard the works of Christian people who have without merit become righteous and saved through faith and out of God’s pure grace no differently from the works of Adam and Eve in Paradise. Of that it is written in Genesis 2³⁷⁴ that God placed man, once created, in Paradise so that he should work and look after it.

Now Adam was created by God righteous and good, without sin, so that he did not need to become righteous and just through his work and care; but, so that he did not go about idly, God gave him the task of planting, cultivating, and preserving Paradise. These works would have been entirely voluntary and done for no other purpose than solely to please God and not to achieve righteousness, which he already had and which would also have been naturally inborn in us.

And so it is the same with the works of faithful people, who, likewise placed in Paradise through their faith and created anew, do not need any works to become righteous; but, so that they do not go about idly and so that they exercise and look after their bodies, such works are ordained to be done freely and solely to please God.

³⁷⁴ KJV Genesis 2,15: ‘And the LORD God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it.’

(C1r) Item gleych wie eyn geweyheter Bischoff/wen der³⁷⁵ kirchen weyhet/fermelt³⁷⁶ od̃ sonst seynis ampts werck vbet/ßo machen yhn die selben werck nit zu eynem bischoff/Ja wenn er nit zuuor ein Bischoff geweyhet were/ßo tũchte der selben werck keyniß³⁷⁷ vnd were eytell narr̃n werck. Alßo eyn Christen/der durch den glauben geweyhet/gutte werck thut/wirt durch die selben nit besser oder mehr geweyhet (wilch nit denn³⁷⁸ des glauben mehrung thut) zu eynem Christen/Ja wenn er nit zuuor glaubet³⁷⁹ vñ Christen were/ßo gũlten³⁸⁰ alle seyne werck nichts/sondern weren/eytell nerrisch/strefflich vordamplich sund.

Similarly, just as an ordained bishop, if he consecrates the church, confirms, or otherwise performs the works of his office, is not made a bishop by such works – indeed, if he had not already been ordained as a bishop, none of these works would count and would be nothing but the works of a fool, – in just the same way Christians, who, ordained through their faith, do good works, are not better or more ordained as Christians by those works (only an increase in faith does that).

Indeed, if they did not believe or were not already Christians, all their works would be worth nothing, but would just be foolish, punishable, damnable sins.

³⁷⁵ ‘when he’.

³⁷⁶ = NHG *firmt* ‘confirms’.

³⁷⁷ = NHG *taugte keines der selben Werke*.

³⁷⁸ = NHG *nichts außer*.

³⁷⁹ = NHG *glaubte*.

³⁸⁰ = NHG *gälten*.

¶ Czū drey vnd zwentzigsten / Drumb seyn die zween sprūch war. Gutte frum werck machen nymmer mehr ein guten frumen man / sondern eyn gutt frum man / macht gutte frum werck Bōße werck machen nymmer mehr eyne bōßen man / sondern ein bōßer man macht bōße werck / also / das allweg³⁸¹ / die person zuuor muß gut vñ frum sein vor allen gutten wercken / vñ gutte werck folgen vnd außgahn / von der frumen gutten person.

Gleych wie Christus sagt. Ein bōßer bawm tregt keyn gutte frucht. Ein gutter bawm tregt keynn boße frucht. Nu ists offenbar / das die frucht tragen nit den bawm / so wachßen auch die bawm nit auff den fruchten / sondern widerumb / die bawm tragen die frucht / vnd die frucht wachßen auff den bawmen. Wie nu die bawm müssen ehe³⁸² seyn / den³⁸³ die frucht / vnd die frucht machen nit die bawm wid' gutte noch böse / sondern die bawm machen die fruchte.

Also muß der mensch ynn der person zuuor frum oder böße seyn / ehe er gutte oder böße werck thut / Vnd seyne werck machen yhn nit gutt odder böße / sondern er macht gutt odder böße werck. Des gleychen sehen wir ynn allen handwercken.

Ein gutt oder böße hauß macht keynen gutten oder bößen zimmerman / sondern ein gutter oder bößer tzimmermā / macht ein böß oder gutt hauß / keyn werck macht eyne meyster / darnach das werck ist / sondern wie d' meyster ist / darnach ist sein werck auch.

Also seyn die werck des menschen auch / wie es mit yhm stett ym glauben od' vnglauben / darnach seind seyne werck gutt oder böße. Vnd nit widerüb / wie seyne werck stehn darnach sey er frum odder glaubig / die werck / gleych wie sie nit glaubig machen / so machen sie auch nit frum.

³⁸¹ 'always'.

³⁸² = NHG *eh*.

³⁸³ = NHG *als*.

23 For this reason the two statements are true: good, righteous works can never make a good, righteous person, but rather a good, righteous person does good, righteous works. Evil works never make an evil person, but rather an evil person does evil works. So it is always the case that somebody must first be good and righteous before all good works, and good works follow and proceed from somebody righteous and good.

Just as Christ says, 'a bad tree bears no good fruit',³⁸⁴ a good tree bears no bad fruit. Now it is obvious that the fruit does not bear the tree, nor do the trees grow on the fruit, but rather the trees bear the fruit, and the fruit grows on the trees. And just as the trees must come before the fruit, and the fruit does not make the trees either good or bad, but the trees make the fruit, so somebody must first be righteous or evil in their person before they do good or evil works. And their works do not make them good or evil, but they do good or evil works.

We see the same principle in all crafts. A good or bad house does not make a good or bad carpenter, but a good or bad carpenter makes a bad or good house. No work makes its craftsman like itself, but as the craftsman is, so too is the work.

And this is also the case with human works: according to the person's faith or lack of faith, their works are good or bad. And it is not the other way around: that they are righteous or faithful according to their works. Just as the works do not make them faithful, so they also do not make them righteous.

³⁸⁴ KJV Matthew 7,17–18: 'Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.'

(C1v) Aber der glaub gleych wie er frum macht / ßo macht er auch gutte werck. So dañ die werck niemant frum machen / vnd der mensch zuuor muß frum sein / ehe er wirckt³⁸⁵ / so ists offenbar / das allein der glaub auß lauttern gnaden / durch Christū vnd seyn wort / die person gnugsam frum vnd selig machet.³⁸⁶ Vnd das keyn werck / keyn gepott / eynem Christen nott³⁸⁷ sey zur seligkeith / sondern er frey ist von allen gepotten / vñ auß lauterer freyheit / vmb sonst thut / alls was er thut / nichts damit gesucht³⁸⁸ seyneß nutz oder selickeyt / Denn er schon satt vnd selig ist / durch seynenn glaubenn / vnd gottis gnaden / sondernñ nur gott darynnen gefallen.

But just as faith makes righteous, so it also produces good works. So, as works make no-one righteous, and somebody must first be righteous before performing works, it is obvious that only faith makes somebody sufficiently righteous and saved by pure grace through Christ and his word; and that no work, no commandment is necessary to a Christian for salvation, but rather they are free from all commandments, and they do everything for no reward, out of pure freedom, not thereby seeking their own benefit or salvation, for they are already satisfied and saved by their faith and the grace of God, but only to please God in what they do.

³⁸⁵ = NHG *Werke ausführt*, ‘performs works’.

³⁸⁶ The following sentence is dependent on ‘ists offenbar’ despite the full stop followed in the original by a larger space and an upper-case letter, which normally indicate a new paragraph.

³⁸⁷ = NHG *nötig*.

³⁸⁸ Present tense of ‘gesuchen’ (meaning the same as ‘suchen’).

¶ Czum .xxiiij.³⁸⁹ Widderumb dem / der on glauben ist / ist kein gutt werck furderlich³⁹⁰ zur frumkeyt vnd seligkeith / Widderumb keyn boße werck yhn boße vnd vordampt machen / sonderñ der vnglaub / der die person vnd den bawm böß macht der³⁹¹ thutt boße vnd vordampte werck.

Darumb wen man frum odder boße wirt / hebet sichs nit an den wercken an³⁹² / sondern an dem glauben / Wie der Weyße man sagt. Anfang aller sund / ist von gotte weychen vnd yhm nit trawen.

Also leret auch Christ⁹ / wie man nit an den wercken muß anheben vñ sagt Entweder macht den bawm gutt vnd seyne fruchte gutt / oder macht den bawm boße / vnd seyne fruchte böße / als solt³⁹³ er sagen / wer gutte frucht haben wil / muß zuuor an dem bawm anheben / vnd den selben gutt setzen.

Alßo wer do wil gutte werck thun / muß nit an den wercken an heben / sondern an der person / die die werck thun soll. Die person aber macht niemant gut / denn³⁹⁴ allein der glaub / vnd niemand macht sie boße denn allein der vnglaub. Das ist wol war / die werck machen eyne frum odder boße fur den menschen / das ist / sie zeygen eußerlich an / wer frum od̃ boße sey. Wie Christus sagt. Matt. 7. Auß yhren fruchten sollet yhr sie erkennen.

³⁸⁹ The printer switches to Roman numerals (enclosed in full stops to mark them as numbers) to save space, using the additive form ‘iiij’ for 4, but subtractive ‘ix’ for 9.

³⁹⁰ = NHG *förderlich*.

³⁹¹ A resumptive pronoun, correlating with ‘der’ in the previous clause.

³⁹² = NHG *fängt es nicht bei den Werken an*.

³⁹³ = NHG *würde* or *wollte*.

³⁹⁴ = NHG *sondern*.

24 Similarly, for those without faith, no good work moves them closer to righteousness and salvation. Similarly, no bad works make them evil and damned, but the lack of faith that makes the person and the tree evil does evil and damnable works.

Therefore, becoming righteous or evil does not start with works, but with faith. As the wise man says: ‘The beginning of all sins is departing from God and not trusting Him’.³⁹⁵ Christ, too, teaches in the same way how one must not start with works and says: ‘Either make the tree good and its fruit good or make the tree evil and its fruit evil’ – as if he were saying: ‘Whoever wants to have good fruit, must first begin with the tree and set it up well’.

Therefore, whoever wants to do good works, must not start with works, but with the person who is supposed to do the works. No-one makes the person good but faith alone, and no-one makes them evil but lack of faith alone. That is indeed true: works make someone righteous or evil before other people, i.e. they show outwardly who may be righteous or evil. As Christ says in Matthew 7: ‘You shall know them by their fruits’.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁵ KJV Ecclesiasticus 10,12: ‘The beginning of pride is when one departeth from God, and his heart is turned away from his Maker.’

³⁹⁶ KJV Matthew 7,20: ‘Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.’

Aber das ist alles /ym scheyn vnd eußerlich. Wilchs an sehenn³⁹⁷ yrre macht viel leuth /die do schreyben vnd leren /wie man gutte werck thun soll vnd frum werdenn. Bo sie doch³⁹⁸ /des glaubens nymmer gedenckenn /gahn dahynn /vnd furet ymmer ein blind den anderñ /marterñ³⁹⁹ sich mit vielen wercken vnd kūmen doch nymmer zu der rechten frumkeit / von wilchen Sanct Pauel sagt. 2. Timo. 3. Sie haben eynen scheyn der frumkeyt / (C2r) aber der grund ist nit da / gehn hynt vnd lernen ym̄er vñ ymmer vnd kummen doch nymmer zur erkenntniß der waren frumkeit. Wer nu mit den selben blinden nit wil yrren /muß weytter sehen /den ynn die werck /gepott /odder lere der werck⁴⁰⁰. Er muß ynn die person sehen fur allen dingen /wie die frum werd. Die wirt aber nit durch gepott vnd werck /sondern durch gottis wort (das ist /durch seyne vorheyschung⁴⁰¹ der gnadenn) vnd den glaubenn /frum vnd selig /auff das⁴⁰² bestehe seyn gottliche ehre /das er vns nit durch vnser werck /sondern durch seyn gnedigs wort vmbsonst vnd lauter barmhertzikeit⁴⁰³ selig mache.

³⁹⁷ = NHG *Welches Ansehen* 'Which (i.e. this) appearance'.

³⁹⁸ 'Bo ... doch' 'although'.

³⁹⁹ = NHG *gehen dahin und führt jeweils ein Blinder den andern, quälen*.

⁴⁰⁰ = NHG *als an die Werke, Gebote oder Lehre der Werke*.

⁴⁰¹ = NHG *Verheißung* 'promise'.

⁴⁰² 'auff das' introduces a purpose clause.

⁴⁰³ A genitive of cause: 'out of pure compassion'.

But that is all in appearance and outwardly. This appearance misleads many people who write and teach how one should do good works and become righteous. But they never think of the faith, and walk around, and the blind always lead the blind,⁴⁰⁴ tormenting themselves with many works and never coming to proper righteousness, about whom St Paul says in II Timothy 3: 'They have an appearance of righteousness, but the foundation is not there, walking around, forever learning but never coming to the recognition of true righteousness'.⁴⁰⁵

Anyone who does not want to go astray with those blind people must look beyond works, commandments, or the teaching of works. They need above all to look into the person, how they become righteous. But they will not become righteous and saved by commandments and works, but by God's word (i.e. by his promise of grace) and by faith, in order to rest His divine honour on this, so that He saves us not by our works, but by His gracious word, freely and out of pure compassion.

⁴⁰⁴ Saying based on KJV Matthew 15,14: 'Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.' And KJV Luke 6,39: 'And he spake a parable unto them, Can the blind lead the blind? shall they not both fall into the ditch?'

⁴⁰⁵ KJV II Timothy 3,5/7: 'Having a form of godliness but denying the power thereof: from such turn away. ... Ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.'

¶ Czū .xxv. Auß dißem allen ist leychtlich zuuorstehen /wie gutte werck zu vorwerffen vñ nit zuuorwerffen seyn. Vnd wie man alle lere vorstahn⁴⁰⁶ soll /die do gutte werck leren /dann⁴⁰⁷ wo der falsch anhang⁴⁰⁸ /vñ die vorkerete meynūg dryn ist /das durch die werck /wir frum vnd selig werden wollen /seyn sie schon nit gutt /vnd gantz vordamlich /deñ sie seyn nit frey /vnd schmehen⁴⁰⁹ die gnad gottis /die allein durch den glauben frum vnd seligk macht /wilchs die werck nit vormügen /vñ nehme es yhn⁴¹⁰ doch fur⁴¹¹ zu thun /vnd damit der gnaden /ynn yhr werck vnd ehre greyffenn.⁴¹² Drumb vorwerffen wir die gutte werck /nit vmb yhren willen /ßondernn /vmb des selben boßen zusatzs vnd falscher vorkerter meynung willen. Wilche macht /das sie nur gutt scheynen /vnd seyn doch nit gutt /betriegen⁴¹³ sich vnd yderman damit /gleych wie die reyssend wolff /ynn schaffs kleydern.⁴¹⁴

Aber der selb boße zusatz vnd vorkerete meynung /ynn den werckenn /ist vnübirwindlich /wo der glaub nit ist. Er muß sein /ynn dem selben wirckheyligenn /biß der glaub kum vnd vorstöre yhn /die natur vormag yhn /von yhr selb nit auß treyben.⁴¹⁵ Ja auch nit erkennen /sondernn sie helt yhn fur eyn köstlich /selig dingk /drumb werden yhr auch ßo viel da durch vorfuret.⁴¹⁶

⁴⁰⁶ = NHG *verstehen*.

⁴⁰⁷ = NHG *denn*.

⁴⁰⁸ = NHG *Zusatz*, 'addition, addendum'.

⁴⁰⁹ = either NHG *verschmähen* ('disregard') or *schmähen* ('blasphemously insult').

⁴¹⁰ = NHG *sich* (dative), referring to works.

⁴¹¹ = NHG *vor*, a separable prefix going with the preceding *nehmen*.

⁴¹² = NHG *und damit das Werk und die Ehre der Gnade angreifen*.

⁴¹³ = NHG *betrügen*.

⁴¹⁴ = NHG *reißende Wölfe in Schafskleidern*.

⁴¹⁵ = NHG *von sich aus nicht austreiben*.

⁴¹⁶ = NHG *darum werden auch so viele von ihnen dadurch verführt*.

25 From all this it is easy to understand how good works are to be rejected or not rejected, and how all teachings should be understood which preach good works, for if they contain the false addendum and wayward opinion that by works we are made righteous and saved, then they are not good, but wholly damnable. For they are not free, and they scorn God's grace, which alone makes us righteous and saves us by faith, which works cannot do, but which they nonetheless undertake to do, thereby trespassing onto the work and honour of grace. For this reason we reject good works, not in themselves, but because of this evil addition and false, wayward opinion, which makes them only appear good, but they are not in fact good, and so deceive themselves and everyone, just like the ravening wolves in sheep's clothing.⁴¹⁷

But this same evil addition and wayward opinion about works is insurmountable if faith is not present. It must be so in the works-righteous person⁴¹⁸ until faith should come and break in on them: nature cannot drive it out by itself. Indeed, it cannot even recognise it, but rather considers it to be a precious, holy thing. This is why so many are led astray by it.

⁴¹⁷ KJV Matthew 7,15: 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.'

⁴¹⁸ *Werkheilige* is a term coined by Luther for those who believe that through good works they will reach salvation.

Derhalben / obs woll⁴¹⁹ gutt ist / von rewen / beychten / gnugthun⁴²⁰ / schreyben vnd predigenn / ßo⁴²¹ man aber nit weytter feret⁴²² biß zum glauben⁴²³ / sein es gewißlich / eitel teuffelische / vorfurische lere. Mā muß nit eynerley allein p̄digen / sonderñ alle beyde⁴²⁴ wort gottis / Die gepot / sol mā predigen / die sunder zurschrecken⁴²⁵ vñ yhr sund zu offenbarnn / das⁴²⁶ sie rewe haben vnd sich bekeren. Aber da soll es nit bleyben / mā muß / das ander wort / Die zusagūg der gna(C2v)den / auch predigen / den glauben zu leren / on wilchenn die gepott rew vnd allis ander vorgebenß geschicht. Es sein wol noch blieben⁴²⁷ prediger / die rew der sund vñ gnad p̄digen / aber sie streychen die gepott vnd zusagung gottis nit auß⁴²⁸ / das mā lere⁴²⁹ / woher vnd wie die rew / vnd gnad kumme. Denn die rew / fleust⁴³⁰ auß den gepotten / der glaub / auß den zusagung gottis / vnd alßo wirt d' mensch / durch den glauben gotlicher wort gerechtfertiget vnd erhaben / der durch die furcht gottis gepottis gedemütiget vnd ynn seyn erkenntniß kummen ist.

⁴¹⁹ = NHG *Deshalb, obwohl es.*

⁴²⁰ = NHG *Bereuen, Beichten, Genügetun.* Three deverbial nouns.

⁴²¹ = NHG *wenn.*

⁴²² = NHG *führt.*

⁴²³ A smudge above the letter 'u' in the copy, not a diacritical mark.

⁴²⁴ = NHG *nicht eins allein predigen, sondern alle beide* (i.e. the 'wort gottis' which are explained in the following as 'gebot' and 'zusagung der gnaden').

⁴²⁵ = NHG *zu erschrecken.*

⁴²⁶ Introduces a purpose clause.

⁴²⁷ = NHG *ge- or verblieben.*

⁴²⁸ ENHG 'ausstreichen' is a translation of Latin 'explicare', referring literally to 'uncreasing' or 'unfolding'; see DWB s.v. 1.

⁴²⁹ = NHG *damit man lerne*, 'so that one might learn'.

⁴³⁰ = NHG *Reue fließt.*

For this reason, although it is good to write and preach about penitence, confession, and satisfaction, if it is not carried through to include faith, then it is certainly nothing but devilish, seductive teaching. One must not preach one thing alone, but rather both words of God. The commandments should be preached in order to alarm sinners and reveal their sins so that they might repent and change their ways.⁴³¹ But it should not stop there. The other word must also be preached, namely the promise of grace, which teaches faith, without which the commandments, repentance, and everything else are done in vain. There are indeed still preachers who preach repentance for sin, and also grace, but they do not emphasise God's commandments and promises so that one might learn whence and why repentance and grace come. For repentance flows from the commandments, and faith from the promises of God, and so somebody is justified and raised up through faith in divine words who has been humbled by the fear of God's commandment and has come to realise this fact.

⁴³¹ KJV Psalm 51,13: 'Then will I teach transgressors thy ways; and sinners shall be converted unto thee.'

Czum .xxvi. Das sey von den wercken gesagt ynn gemeyn⁴³² vnd die ein Christen mensch gegen seynem eygen leybe üben sol. Nu wollen wir von mehr wercken sagen / die er gegen andere menschen thut. Denn der mensch lebt nit allein / ynn seynem leybe / sondern auch vnter andernn menschen auff erdenñ. Darumb kan er nit on werck sein gegen die selbenn / er muß yhe mit yhn⁴³³ zu reden vnd zu schaffen habenñ / wie wol yhm der selben werck keyns nott⁴³⁴ ist zur frumkeit vnd seligkeyt. Drumb soll seyne meynung ynn allen werckenn frey vnd nur dahynn gericht seyn / das er anderñ leutten damit diene vnd nütz sey⁴³⁵. Nichts anders yhm fürbilde⁴³⁶ / denn was deñ anderñ nott ist / das heyssit denn ein warhafftig Christen leben / vnd da geht der glaub mit lust vnd lieb ynß werck / als S. Paulus leret die Galatas.

Denn zu den Philippen / do⁴³⁷ er sie geleret hatte / wie sie alle gnad vnd gnugde hettenn durch yhren glauben yn Christo / leret er sie weytter vnd sagt.

⁴³² = NHG *insgemein*.

⁴³³ = NHG *je mit ihnen*.

⁴³⁴ = NHG *derselben Werke keines nötig*, 'none of those same works necessary'

⁴³⁵ = NHG *nützlich sei*.

⁴³⁶ ENHG 'ihm fürbilden' = NHG *sich vorstellen*, DWB s.v. 2; the subject is 'der mensch'.

⁴³⁷ = NHG *Denn (im Brief) zu den Philippern, als*.

26 That is enough said about works in general and about those that Christians should practise with regard to their own body. Now we will talk about further works which they should do with regard to other people. For nobody lives alone in their body, but among other people on earth. Therefore nobody can be without works with regard to others; one always has to talk to them and deal with them, even though none of these works is necessary for righteousness and salvation. Therefore their judgement about all works should be free and aimed only at serving and being useful to other people through them, and have in mind nothing but what is necessary for others; now that is what is called a true Christian life, and here faith goes to work with passion and love, as St Paul teaches the Galatians.⁴³⁸

Then, after he had taught the Philippians how they had complete grace and sufficiency through their faith in Christ,⁴³⁹ he continues teaching them and says:

⁴³⁸ KJV Galatians 5,6: 'For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh by love.'

⁴³⁹ KJV Philippians 1,9–11: 'And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment; That ye may approve things that are excellent; that ye may be sincere and without offence till the day of Christ. Being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God.'

Ich vorman⁴⁴⁰ euch allis trosts / den yhr ynn Christo habt / vnd allis trosts / den yhr habt von vnßer liebe zu euch / vñ aller gemeinschaft / die yhr habt mit allen geystlichen frumen Christen / yhr wolt meyn hertz erfrewen volckömlich / vñ das damit / das yhr hynfurt / wollet eyniñ synnes seyn / eyner gegen dem anderñ lieb ertzeygen / eyner dem anderñ dienen / vnd ein yglicher acht haben / nit auff sich noch auff das seyne / sonderñ auff den anderñ / vnd was dem selben nott sey.

Sihe da hat Paul⁹ klerlich / ein Christenlich leben dahynn gestellet / das alle werck sollen gericht⁴⁴¹ seyn / dem nehsten zu gutt / Die weyl ein yglicher fur sich selb gnug hatt an seynen glauben / vnd alle andere werck vñ leben yhm vbrig seyn / seynem nehstē damit auß freyer lieb zu dienen / Dartzu furet er ein / Christū zu eynem exempell⁴⁴² vnd (C3r) sagt: Seyt also gesynnet / wie yhrs⁴⁴³ seht yn Christo. Wilcher ob er wol voll gottlicher form ware vnd fur sich selb gnug hatte / vnd yhm sein leben / wircken vnd leydenn nicht nott ware / das er da mit frum odder seligk wurd.⁴⁴⁴ Dennoch hatt er sich des alles geeußert / vnd geperdet⁴⁴⁵ wie ein knecht / allerley gethan vnd gelidenn⁴⁴⁶ / nichts angesehen / denn⁴⁴⁷ vnßer beßtis / vñ alßo ob er wol frey ware / doch vmb vnßer willenn ein knecht wordenn.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁰ = NHG *ermahne, erinnere*, ‘remind of’ (+ genitive).

⁴⁴¹ = NHG *gerichtet*.

⁴⁴² = NHG *führt er Christus als Exempel an*.

⁴⁴³ Abbreviation of *yhr es*.

⁴⁴⁴ ‘ware’, ‘hatte’, ‘wurd’ are a series of subjunctive forms (*wäre, hätte, würde*) which in NHG would be rendered as indicatives *obwohl er war, hatte, wurde*.

⁴⁴⁵ = NHG *entäußert und gebärdet*.

⁴⁴⁶ = NHG *gelitten*.

⁴⁴⁷ = NHG *außer*.

⁴⁴⁸ = NHG *geworden ist*.

‘I remind you of all the consolation which you have in Christ and all the consolation which you have from our love to you and all the fellowship that you have with all spiritual, righteous Christians; you should want to make my heart completely rejoice by willingly being of one mind from now on, to show love towards one another, serve one another, and looking out not for yourself, nor for what is yours, but for others and for what others need’.⁴⁴⁹

Look, here Paul has clearly set forth a Christian life, that all works should be directed to the benefit of others, since everybody has enough in their faith and has all their other works and their whole life to spare for serving their neighbours with love freely given.

Furthermore, he introduces Christ as an example, and says: ‘Be of just the same mind as you see in Christ, who, although he was fully in the form of God and had enough for himself and had no need of his life, works, and passion to become righteous or saved through them, still he divested himself of everything and acted like a servant, did and suffered many things, had regard for nothing but what is best for us, and so although he himself was free, he nevertheless became a servant for our sake’.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁹ KJV Philippians 2,1–4: ‘If *there be* therefore any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, Fulfil ye my joy, that ye be likeminded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind. Let nothing be done through strife or vainglory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves. Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others.’

⁴⁵⁰ KJV Philippians 2,5–7: ‘Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men.’

¶ Czum .xxvij. Alßo soll ein Christen mensch / wie Christus seyn heubt⁴⁵¹ / voll vnd satt / yhm auch benügen lassen an⁴⁵² seynem glaubenn / den selben ymer mehrenn / wilcher seyn leben / frumkeit vnd seligkeyt ist / der yhm gibt allis was Christ⁹ vnd gott hat / wie droben gesagt ist. Vnd S. Paul Gal. 2. spricht / Was ich noch ynn dem corper lebe / das lebe ich ynn dem glauben Christi gottis sohn. Vnd ob er nu gantz frey ist⁴⁵³ / sich widderüb williglich eynē diener machen⁴⁵⁴ seynem nehsten zu helffenn / mit yhm faren⁴⁵⁵ / vnd handeln / wie gott mit yhm durch Christū handelt⁴⁵⁶ hatt / vnd das allis vmbsonst / nichts darynnen suchen denn gottliches wolgefallenn⁴⁵⁷ / vnd alßo denckenn. Wolan meyn gott hatt mir vn-wirdigen vordampften menschen⁴⁵⁸ / on alle vordienst / lauterlich vmbsonst vñ auß eytel barmhertzigkeit⁴⁵⁹ geben / durch vnd ynn Christo / vollen reychtumb aller frumkeit vnd seligkeit / das ich hynfurt⁴⁶⁰ / nichts mehr bedarff / denn glauben es sey also. Ey so will ich solchem vatter⁴⁶¹ der mich mit seynen vberschwenglichen guttern alßo vbirschuttet hatt / widerumb / frey / frölich vnd vmbsonst thun was yhm wolgefellet / Vnnd gegen meynem nehsten auch werden ein Christen / wie Christus mir worden ist / vnd nichts mehr thun / denn was ich nur sehe / yhm nott / nützlich vnd seliglich sey⁴⁶² / die weyl ich doch / durch meynenn glauben / allis dings yn Christo gnug habe.

⁴⁵¹ = NHG *Haupt*.

⁴⁵² 'yhm ... benügen lassen an' = NHG *sich genügen lassen an*.

⁴⁵³ = NHG *obwohl er nun ganz frei ist*.

⁴⁵⁴ 'soll' is understood with 'machen'.

⁴⁵⁵ 'faren' = NHG *verfahren, umgehen*.

⁴⁵⁶ = NHG *gehandelt*.

⁴⁵⁷ = NHG *darin suchen als göttliches Wohlgefallen*.

⁴⁵⁸ = NHG *unwürdigen, verdampften Menschen*, in apposition to 'mir'.

⁴⁵⁹ = NHG *völlig umsonst und aus reiner Barmherzigkeit*.

⁴⁶⁰ = NHG *sodass ich hinfort*.

⁴⁶¹ Indirect object of 'thun'.

⁴⁶² = NHG *ihm notwendig, nützlich und zur Seligkeit dienend sei*, refers to 'meynem nehsten'.

27 So a Christian should, like Christ their head,⁴⁶³ be fully satisfied, be content in their faith, and always increase it because it is their life, righteousness, and salvation, which gives them everything that Christ and God have, as has been stated above. And as St Paul says in Galatians 2: 'What I now live in the flesh I live in the faith of Christ, the Son of God'.⁴⁶⁴ And although they are now completely free, they should make themselves into a willing servant in order to help their neighbour, and behave and treat their neighbour as God has treated them through Christ, and do all this freely, seeking nothing from it other than God's pleasure, and should think: 'Well then, my God has given me, unworthy, damnable person, without any of my own merits, for nothing in return and out of pure mercy, through and in Christ, the full riches of all righteousness and salvation, so that henceforth I need nothing other than to believe that it is so.

Oh, then, for such a father, who has showered me with His abundant goods, freely, joyfully, and without reward, I will in return do what is pleasing to Him. And I will also be a Christian to my neighbour, just as Christ has been to me, and I will do nothing other than what I can see is necessary, useful, and salutary for them, since I have sufficiency in everything in Christ through my faith'.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶³ KJV Ephesians 5,15 'But speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, *even* Christ.'

⁴⁶⁴ KJV Galatians 2,20: 'I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.'

⁴⁶⁵ KJV 2 Corinthians 12,9: 'My grace is sufficient for thee.'

Sih also fleusset⁴⁶⁶ auß dem glauben die lieb vñ lust zu gott /vnd auß der lieb / ein frey / willig / frolich leben dem nehsten zu dienē vmbsonst. Denn zu gleych wie vnser nehst nott leydet /vnd vnßers vbrigenn bedarff⁴⁶⁷ /alßo haben wir fur gott nott geliden vnd seyner gnaden bedurfft. Darumb wie vns gott hatt durch Christum vmbsonst geholffen / alßo sollen wir / durch den leyp / vnd seyne werck / nit anders den dem nehsten helffen. Also sehen wir wie eyn hoch edliß leben sey vmb⁴⁶⁸ ein Christlich leben /das (C3v) leyder nu ynn aller welt /nit allein nyderligt /sondernn auch nit mehr bekandt ist noch gepredigt wirt.

Behold, in this way love and longing for God flow out of faith, and from this love flows a free, willing, joyful life serving one's neighbour without reward. For just as our neighbour suffers want and needs to partake in our abundance, so it was with us when we suffered want before God and were in need of His grace. Therefore, just as God helped us without reward through Christ, so we should through our body and its works do nothing other than help our neighbour. So we can see what a high, noble life the Christian life is, which sadly is now laid low throughout the world, but also is no longer known nor preached.

⁴⁶⁶ = NHG *Sieh, so fließt*.

⁴⁶⁷ = NHG *in gleicher Weise wie unser Nächster Not leidet und unseres Überflusses bedarf*.

⁴⁶⁸ 'vmb' here has the sense 'in', but need not be translated.

¶ Czum .xxviiij. Alßo leßen wir Luce. 2. Das die Junpfraw Maria zur kirchen gieng nach den sechs wochen vnd ließ sich reynigen nach dem gesetz / wie alle ander weyber / ßo sie doch nit gleych mit yhn vnreyn war / noch schuldig d' selben reynigung / bedurfft yhr⁴⁶⁹ auch nit. Aber sie thetts⁴⁷⁰ auß freyer lieb / das sie die andere weyber nit vorachtet⁴⁷¹ / sondernn mit dem hauffen⁴⁷² bliebe.

Alßo ließ S. Pauel / S. Timotheū beschneytten / nit das es nott were / sonderñ das⁴⁷³ er den schwachglaubigen Juden nit vrsach gebe / zu bosen gedanckeñ / der doch widderumb Titū nit wollt lassen beschneyttē / da mā drauff dringen wolt / er must beschnitten seyn / vnd were nott⁴⁷⁴ zur seligkeit. Vnd Christus Matt. 17. Da vō seynen Jüngern ward die tzinß pfennig gefoddert⁴⁷⁵ / disputiert er mit S. Peter / ob nit künigs kynder frey weren zynß zu geben. Vnd sanct Peter / ja sagt. Hieß er yhn doch hynn gehen an dz mehr⁴⁷⁶ vnd sprach / Auff⁴⁷⁷ das wir sie nit ergernñ / ßo gang hyn⁴⁷⁸ / den ersten fisch du fehst / den nym vnd yn seynem maull wirstu finden eyne pfennig / den gib fur mich vñ dich. Das ist ein feyn exempell / zu dißer lere / da Christus / sich vnd die seynen freye künigs kinder nennett / die keynis dings bedurffen / vnd doch sich vnterlessit⁴⁷⁹ williglich / dienet vnd gibt den tzynß.

⁴⁶⁹ = NHG *obwohl sie doch nicht gleichermaßen mit ihnen unrein war, noch verpflichtet* ('schuldig' + genitive) *zu derselben Reinigung, sie* ('yhr' = genitive governed by 'bedurfft', referring to 'der selben reynigung') *auch nicht bedurfte*.

⁴⁷⁰ = NHG *tat es*.

⁴⁷¹ = NHG *verachtete*.

⁴⁷² 'the crowd, the majority'.

⁴⁷³ Introduces a purpose clause.

⁴⁷⁴ = NHG *notwendig*.

⁴⁷⁵ = NHG *die Zinspfennige gefordert wurden*.

⁴⁷⁶ = NHG *Meer*.

⁴⁷⁷ = NHG *So*.

⁴⁷⁸ = NHG *Auf dass wir sie* (i.e. collectors of the temple tax) *nicht ärgern, so gehe hin*.

⁴⁷⁹ = NHG *sich herablassen, demütigen*, DWB s.v. 6, 'submit'.

28 Thus, we read in Luke 2 that the Virgin Mary went to church after the six weeks and submitted to purification according to the law, like any other woman, although she was not impure like them nor obliged to do the same purification, nor did she need it.⁴⁸⁰ But she did it out of love freely given, so as not to be scornful of the other women, but in order to remain part of the group. In the same way, St Paul had Timothy circumcised not because it was necessary but in order not to give those Jews of little faith any reason to think evil thoughts.⁴⁸¹ Conversely, he did not want Titus to be circumcised when people were trying to insist that he had to be circumcised and that this was necessary for salvation.⁴⁸²

And Christ in Matthew 17 argued with St Peter when tribute money was demanded from his disciples, whether the king's children were not free to pay tribute. And St Peter said yes, but he asked him to go to the sea and said: 'Lest we offend them, go there, take up the first fish that you catch, and in its mouth you will find a penny: give it for me and you'.⁴⁸³ It is a good example of this teaching, since Christ calls himself and those who belong to him free children of the king, who need nothing, but still readily submit, serve, and pay the tribute.

⁴⁸⁰ KJV Luke 2,22: 'And when the days of her purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present *him* to the Lord.' According to Leviticus 12,2–8 ('the law'), following the birth of a son, the mother was required to wait 40 days before going to the temple to offer a sacrifice for her purification.

⁴⁸¹ KJV Acts 16,3: 'Him would Paul have to go forth with him; and took and circumcised him because of the Jews which were in those quarters: for they knew all that his father was a Greek.'

⁴⁸² KJV Galatians 2,3: 'But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised.'

⁴⁸³ KJV Matthew 17,26–27: 'Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money: that take, and give unto them for me and thee.'

Wie vill⁴⁸⁴ nu das werck / Christo nott war vnd dienet⁴⁸⁵ hatt / zu seyner frumkeit oder seligkeit / so vil sein alle ander sein vnd seyner Christen werck yhn not zur seligkeit / sondern sein allis frey dienste / zu willen vñ besserung der andern. Also solten auch aller priester / klöster vnd stift⁴⁸⁶ werck gethā sein / das ein yglicher seynis stands vñ ordens werck allein darūb thet / den anderñ zu wilfaren⁴⁸⁷ vñ seynen leib zu regieren / den anderñ exempell zu geben auch also⁴⁸⁸ zu thun / die auch bedurffenn yhre leyb zu zwingenn / doch altzeit / fursehen das nit da durch frum vnd selig werden / furgenommen werd. Wilchs allein des glaubens vormügen ist. Auff die weyße gepeut⁴⁸⁹ auch S. Paul Ro. 13. vñ Tit. 3. Das sie sollen weltlicher gewalt vnterthā vñ bereyt sein / nit das sie da durch frum werdē sollen / sondern das sie den anderñ vnd der vbirkeit⁴⁹⁰ da mit frey dienen / vnd yhren willen thetten auß lieb vñ freyheit. Wer nu dissen vorstand hette / der kund leychtlich sich richtenn / ynn die (C4r) vntzellichen gepotten vnd gesetzen des Babsts⁴⁹¹ / der Bischoff / der klöster / der stift / der fursten vñ herrñ / die etlich tolle prelaten alßo treyben⁴⁹² / als weren sie nott zur seligkeit / vnd heysen es / gepott der kirchen / wie wol vnrecht. Deñ ein freyer Christen spricht alßo. Ich wil fasten / betten / ditz vnd das thun / was gepotten ist / nit dz ichs bedarff od̃ da durch wolt frum oder selig werden / sondern ich wils dem Babst / Bischoff / der gemeyn / od̃ meynem mit bruder / herrn zu willen / exempel vnd dienst thun vñ leydeñ / gleych wie mir Christus viel grösser ding zu willen thā vnd geliden hatt / des yhm vill weniger nott ware. Vnd ob schon die tyrannē vnrecht thun solchs zu fodder / ßo schadets mir doch nit / die weyl es nit widder gott ist.

⁴⁸⁴ 'Wie vill' correlates with 'so vil' = NHG *wie viel ... ebenso viel*.

⁴⁸⁵ = NHG *gedient*.

⁴⁸⁶ = NHG *die Werke aller Priester, Klöster und Stifte* (collegiate foundations).

⁴⁸⁷ = NHG *willfahren, zu Willen sein*, 'satisfy'.

⁴⁸⁸ = NHG *ebenso*.

⁴⁸⁹ = NHG *gebietet*.

⁴⁹⁰ = NHG *Obrigkeit*.

⁴⁹¹ = NHG *könnte leicht sich schicken in die unzähligen Gebote und Gesetze des Papsts*.

⁴⁹² = NHG *verrückte Prälaten so betreiben* ('promote').

Now that work was as necessary for Christ and contributed as much to his salvation as his works and those of his Christians are necessary for their salvation, but rather they are all services freely given for the sake and benefit of others. Similarly, the works of all priests, monasteries, and collegiate institutions should be done in a way that each should do the works appropriate to their position and order solely to satisfy others and to control their own bodies, to set an example to others to act in the same way, since they also need to coerce their bodies, but they always have to take care that this is not undertaken in order to become righteous and saved, since that is only possible for faith.

And in the same way, St Paul demands in Romans 13⁴⁹³ and Titus 3⁴⁹⁴ that they be subject and responsive to worldly power, not to become righteous by this, but freely to serve others and authority, and do their will out of love and freedom. Whoever understood this could easily adjust themselves to the countless commandments and laws of the pope, bishops, monasteries, colleges, princes, and lords, which some mad clergymen promote as if they were necessary for salvation and call them commandments of the church, but quite wrongly.

For a free Christian says thus: 'I want to fast, pray, do this and that which has been commanded, not because I need to or want to become righteous and saved thereby, but because I want to do and suffer this for the sake, example, and service of the pope, bishops, the community or my fellow brother, lord, just as Christ did and suffered many greater things for my sake, which were far less necessary for him. And even though the tyrants act unjustly by demanding such, it will not hurt me since it is not against God'.

⁴⁹³ KJV Romans 13,1–7: 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. ... Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour.'

⁴⁹⁴ KJV Titus 3,1: 'Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work.'

¶ Czum .xxix. Hierauß mag ein yglicher ein gewiß vrteyl vñ vnterscheydt nehmen / vnter allen wercken vnd gepottenn / auch wilchs⁴⁹⁵ blind tolle od̃ recht synnige prelaten sein. Deñ wilchs⁴⁹⁶ werck nit dahynauß gericht⁴⁹⁷ ist / dem anderñ zu dienen / oder seynen willen zu leydenn / ßo fern er nit zwing / wider gott zu thun⁴⁹⁸ / ßo ists nit ein gut Christlich werck. Daher kumpt / das ich sorg⁴⁹⁹ / wenig stiftt kirchen / klöster / altar / meß / testamēt / Christlich seinn / Datzu auch / die fasten vnd gepett etlichen heyligen / sonderlich gethan. Denn ich furcht / das ynn den allen sampt ein yglicher nur das seyne sucht / vormeynend⁵⁰⁰ damit sein sund zu büssen vnd seligk werden. Wilchs allis kñpt auß vnwissenheit des glaubens vñ Christlicher freyheit / Vnd etlich blind p̃laten / die leuth da hynn treybeñ vnd solch weßen⁵⁰¹ preysen / mit ablas schmucken vñ den glauben nymer mehr lernen. Ich rate dir aber wiltu⁵⁰² etwas stiftten / betten / fasten / so thu es nit der meynūg / dz du wollist⁵⁰³ dir etwas guts thū / sondern gibts dahin frey / dz and̃e leuth desselben genißen mugen vñ thu es yhn zu gut / so bistu ein rechter Christē / wz sollē dir dein gütter vñ gute werck die dir ũbrig sein / dein leyb zu regieren vñ vorsorgen / so du gnug hast am glabeñ / daryn dir gott alle ding geben hat. Sihe also müssen gottis gutter fließen auß eynē / yn den andern vñ gemeyn werdē. dz ein yglicher sich seynis nehtē also annehm / als were erß⁵⁰⁴ selb

⁴⁹⁵ = NHG *welche* ('which'), referring to 'prelaten'.

⁴⁹⁶ Here 'whatever', 'any ... which'.

⁴⁹⁷ = NHG *darauf ausgerichtet*.

⁴⁹⁸ Parenthesis = NHG *sofern er nicht dazu zwingt, gegen Gott zu handeln*.

⁴⁹⁹ = NHG *Daher kommt es, dass ich besorge* ('worry, fear').

⁵⁰⁰ = NHG *vermeinend / in der Meinung*.

⁵⁰¹ = NHG *Wesen*, here 'behaviour'.

⁵⁰² = NHG *willst du*; this is the beginning of a conditional clause.

⁵⁰³ 2 singular present subjunctive of *wellen* (= NHG *wollen*).

⁵⁰⁴ Abbreviation of *er es*; *es* is used, despite referring to 'seynis nehten'.

29 From this, every person may form a sure opinion and distinction between all works and commandments, and also identify which are blind, foolish, or right-thinking prelates. For any work that does not aim to serve somebody else or suffer their will, so long as it does not force one to act against God, is not a good Christian work.

This is why I fear that few collegiate church, abbeys, altars, masses, or legacies are Christian, nor the fasts and prayers specifically for various saints. For I fear that in all these, people only seek their own advantage, thinking that by this they may atone for their sin and attain salvation. All this comes from ignorance of faith and of Christian freedom. And some blind prelates urge people on in this, and praise such activity, tricking themselves out with indulgences, and no longer preach faith. But I advise you that if you want to endow something, to pray, to fast, do not so on the assumption that you are thereby going to do something good for yourself, but do it freely, so that other people may have the enjoyment of it, and do it for their benefit; then you are a true Christian. What use are your goods and good works, which you have over and above what you require to control and take care of your body, since you have all you need in faith, through which God has given you everything? Behold, therefore, God's good things must flow from each other and become common to all, so that everyone should receive their neighbour as themselves.

Auß Chrō fliessen sie yn vns / d̃ sich vnser hatt angenōmen ynn seynē leben / als were er dz gewesen / dz wir sein.⁵⁰⁵ Auß vns sollen sie fliessen / yn die / so yr bedurffen.⁵⁰⁶ Auch so gar / dz ich muß auch (C4v) meynenn glaubenn vnd gerechtickeyt / fur meynenn nehsten setzen fur gott / seyne sund zu decken / auff mich nehmen vnd nit anders thun / denn als weren sie meyn eygen / eben wie Christ⁹ vns allen than hatt. Sich⁵⁰⁷ das ist die natur der liebe / wo sie warhafftig ist / Da ist sie aber warhafftig / wo der glaub warhafftig ist. Darumb gibt der heylig Apostell / der lieb zu eygen⁵⁰⁸ 1. Cor. 13. Das sie nit sucht das yhre / sondern / was des nehsten ist.

⁵⁰⁵ = NHG *als wäre er das gewesen, was wir sind.*

⁵⁰⁶ = NHG *zu denen, die ihrer bedürfen* ('to those who need them').

⁵⁰⁷ = NHG *Sieh.*

⁵⁰⁸ = NHG *schreibt der Liebe zu* ('attributes to love').

From Christ, who has received us into his life as though he were as we are, they flow into us. From us they should flow to those who need them. And indeed so much so, that I should place my faith and justification before God on behalf of my neighbour in order to cover their sins, to take them on myself, and act as though they were my own, just as Christ has done for us all. Behold, this is the nature of love, where it is true. But love is true where faith is true. This is why the holy apostle says of love in I Corinthians 13 that it 'does not seek its own benefit, but what is advantageous for its neighbour'.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁹ I Corinthians 13 describes the properties of love as we should show to one another. The KJV uses the term 'charity' rather than 'love'. KJV I Corinthians 13,5: '[Charity] Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil.'

¶ Czum .xxx. Aus dem allenn folget der beschluß / das eyn Christen mensch lebt nit ynn yhm selb / sondern ynn Christo vñ seynem nehstenn / ynn Christo durch den glauben / ym nehsten / durch die liebe / durch den glauben feret⁵¹⁰ er vber sich yn gott / auß gott feret er widder vnter sich durch die liebe / vnd bleybt doch ymmer ynn gott vñ gottlicher liebe / Gleych wie Christus sagt Johan. 1. Ihr werdet noch sehen den hymell offen stehn / vñ die Engell auff vnd absteygenn vbir den Sun des menschen.⁵¹¹

Sihe das ist / die rechte / geystliche / Christliche freyheyte / die das hertz frey macht / von allen sundenn / gesetzen / vnd gepotten / wilch alle andere freyheyte vbirtrifft / wie der hymell die erdenñ / Wilch geb vns gott recht zuuorstehen vnd behaltenn /

AMEN.

⁵¹⁰ = NHG *führt*.

⁵¹¹ = NHG *Menschensohn*.

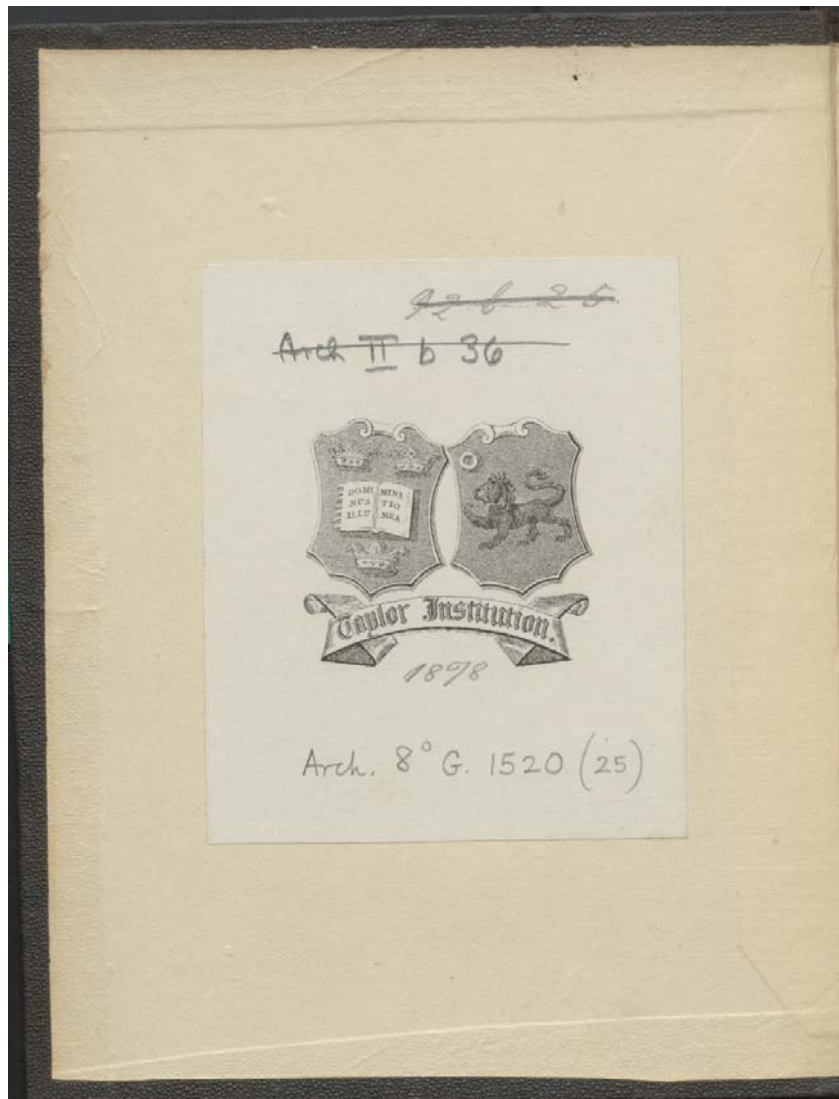
30 The conclusion that follows from all this is that Christians do not live within themselves, but in Christ and in their neighbour. In Christ through the faith, in their neighbour through love; by faith they move above themselves to God, from God they move below themselves through love, but remaining always in God and in divine love. Just as Christ says in John I: ‘You will see the heaven open and the angels ascending and descending upon the Son of Man’.⁵¹²

Behold, that is true, spiritual, Christian freedom, which sets the heart free from all sins, laws, and commandments, which surpasses all other freedom as the heaven the earth. May God give us to understand and keep them rightly.

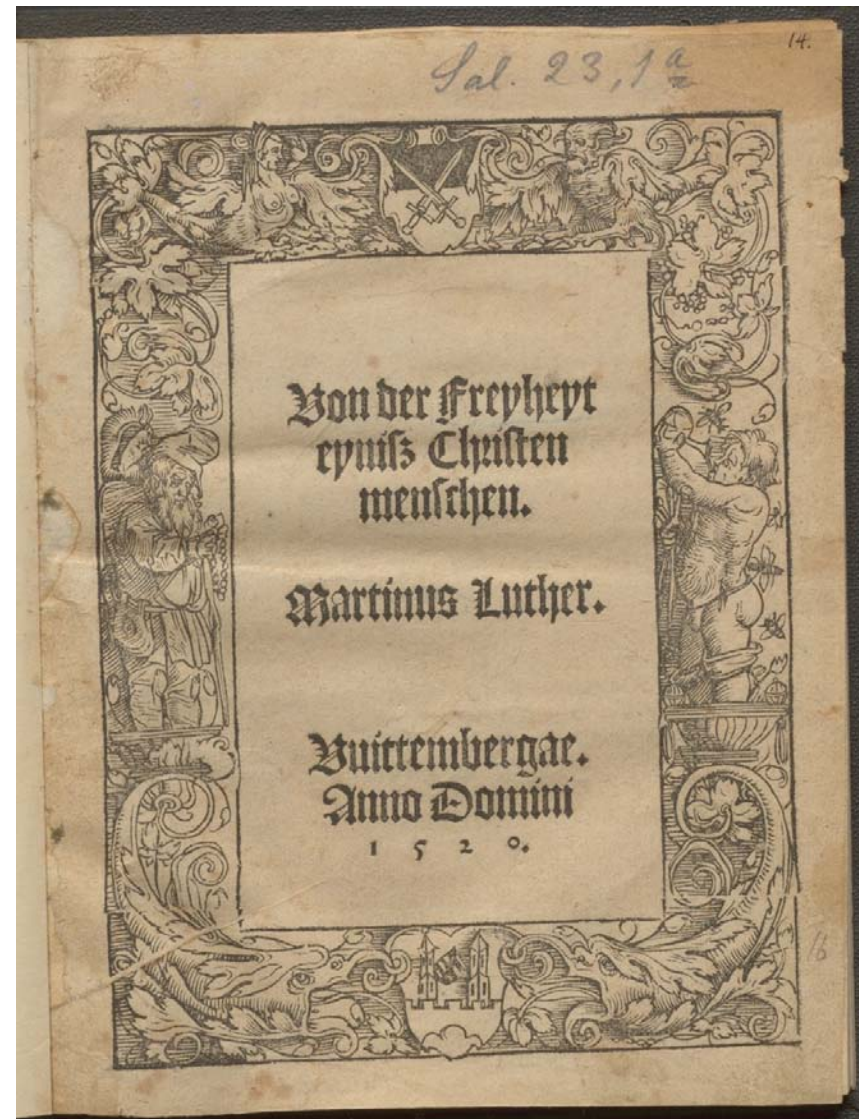
Amen.⁵¹³

⁵¹² KJV John 1,51: ‘And he saith unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man.’

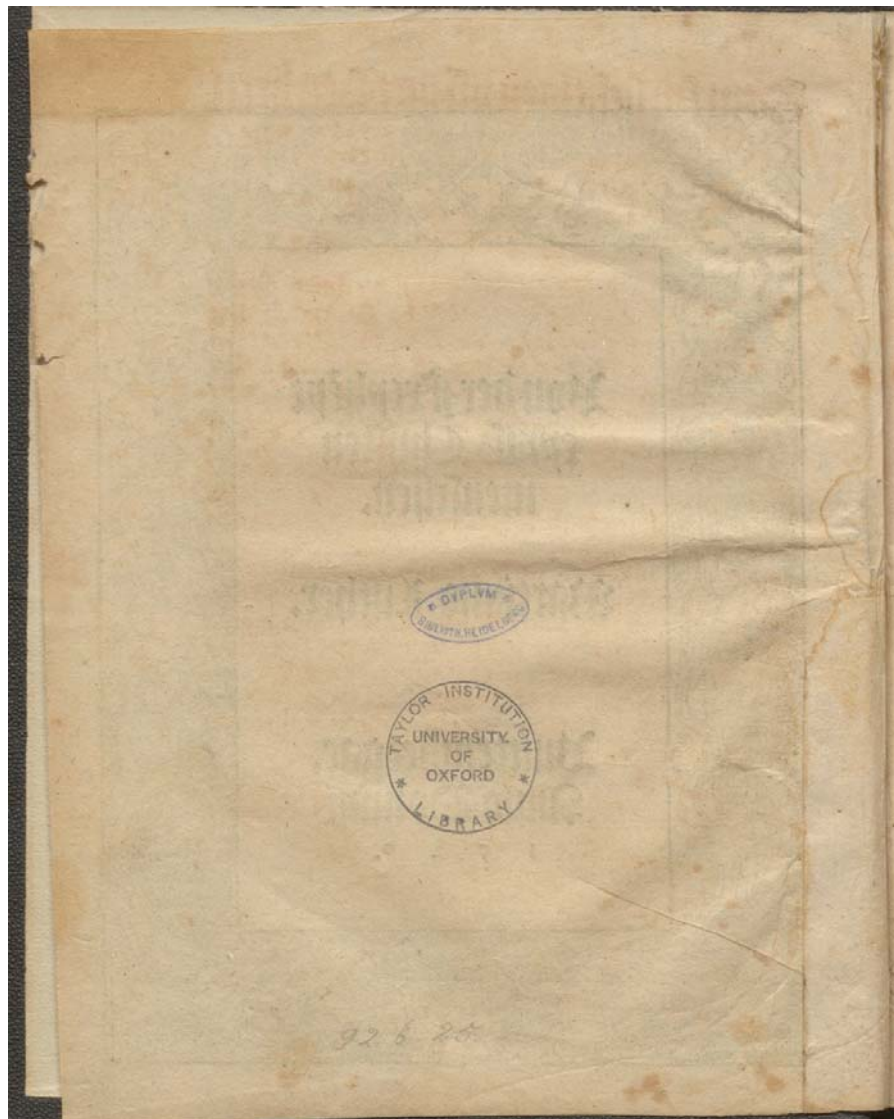
⁵¹³ This ties back to the beginning of the text, reading ‘Ihesus’. The structure of the text was intended by Luther to mirror the structure of a prayer, hence the ending with ‘AMEN’.



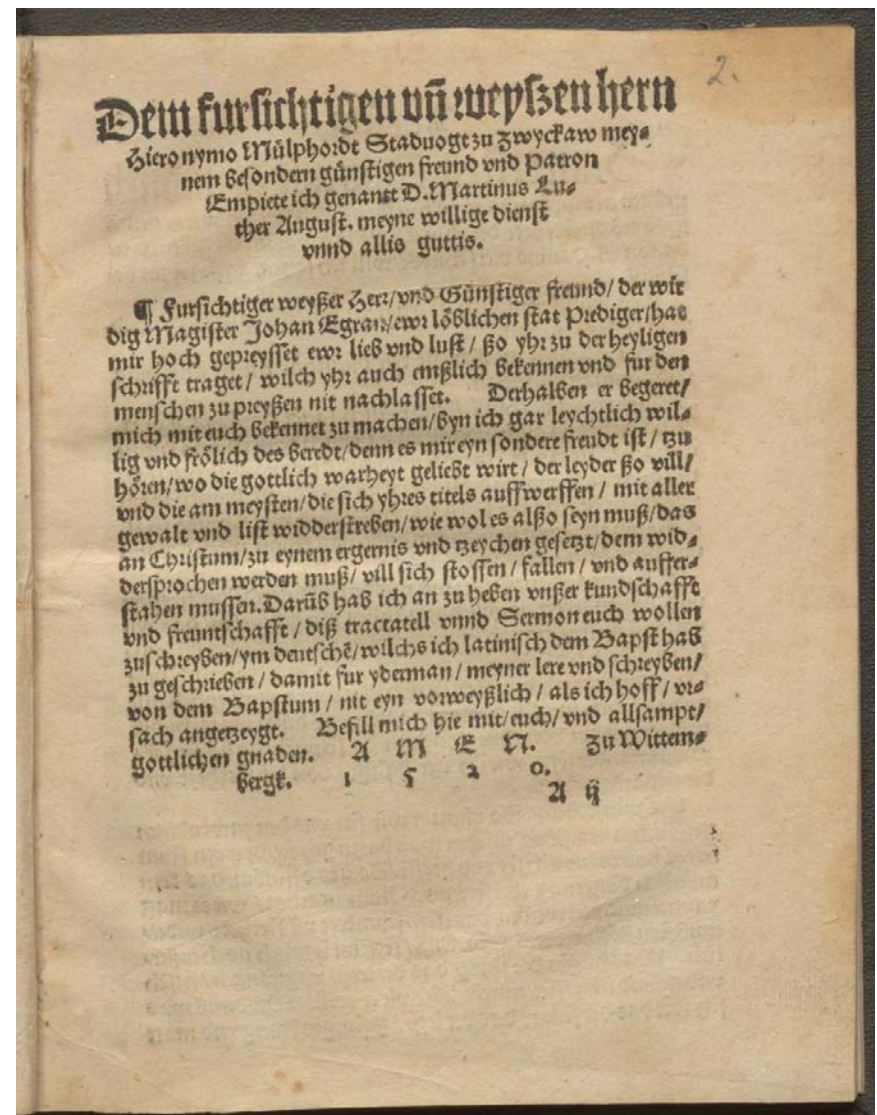
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For a description of this edition and the Taylorian copy cf. chapter 4.1.



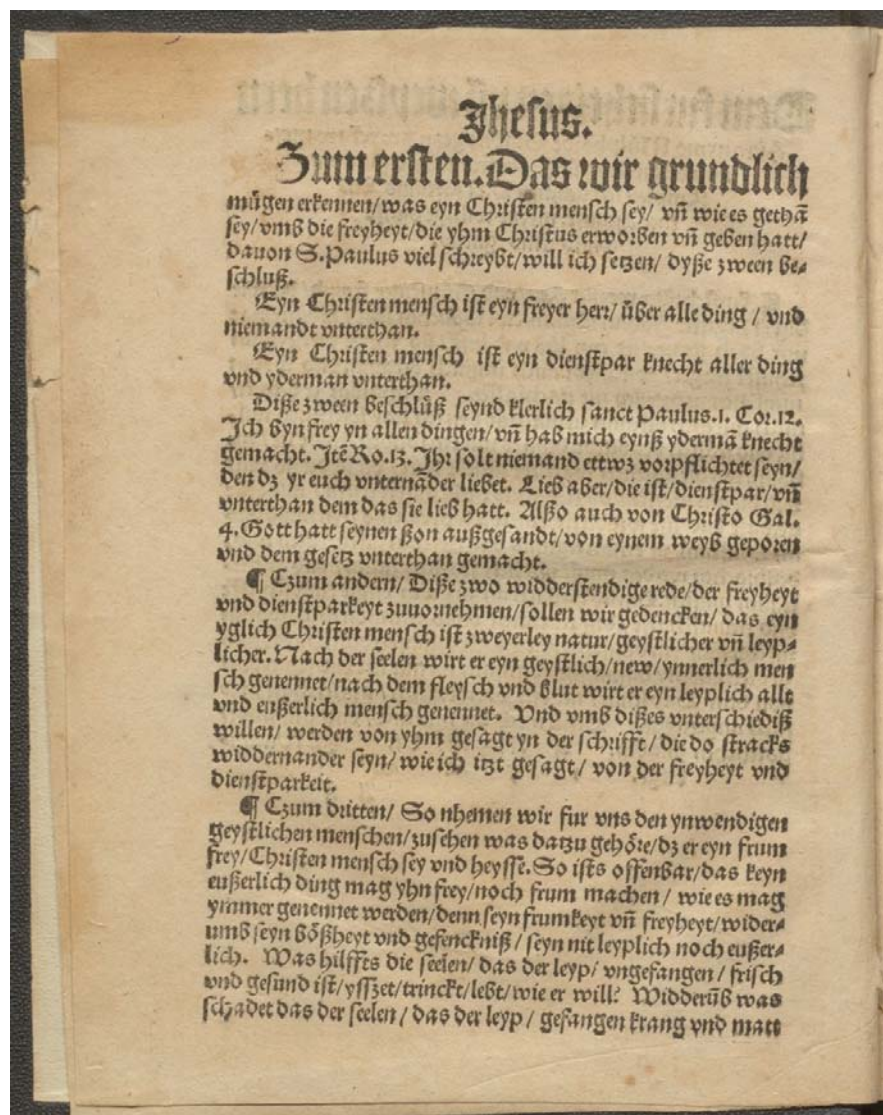
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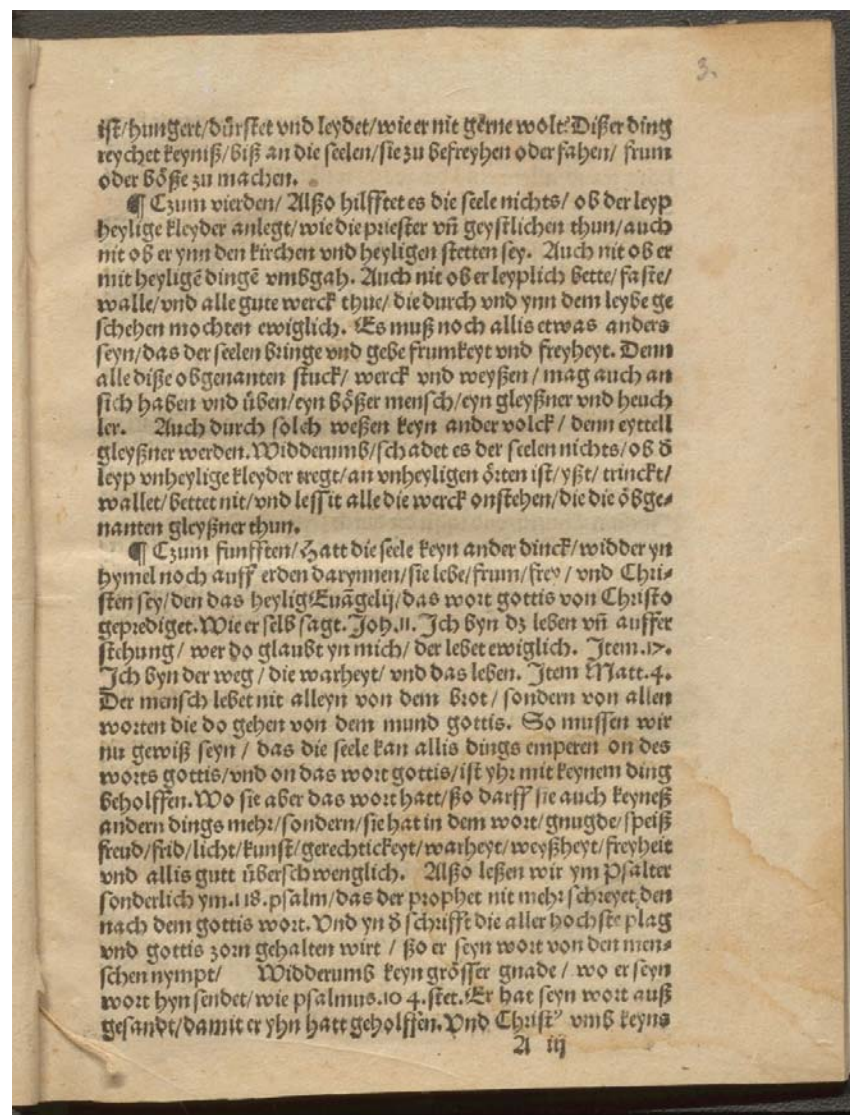
A1v



A2r (fol. 2r)



A2v (fol. 2v)



A3r (fol. 3r)

anden ampts geholffen/dar zu predigen das wort gottis kum
man ist. Auch alle Apostel/ Bischoff/ priester vñ gantzer geist
licher stand/alleyn vns des worts willen ist banffen vñ eyn
gesetzt/wie woll es nu leyder anders gahet.

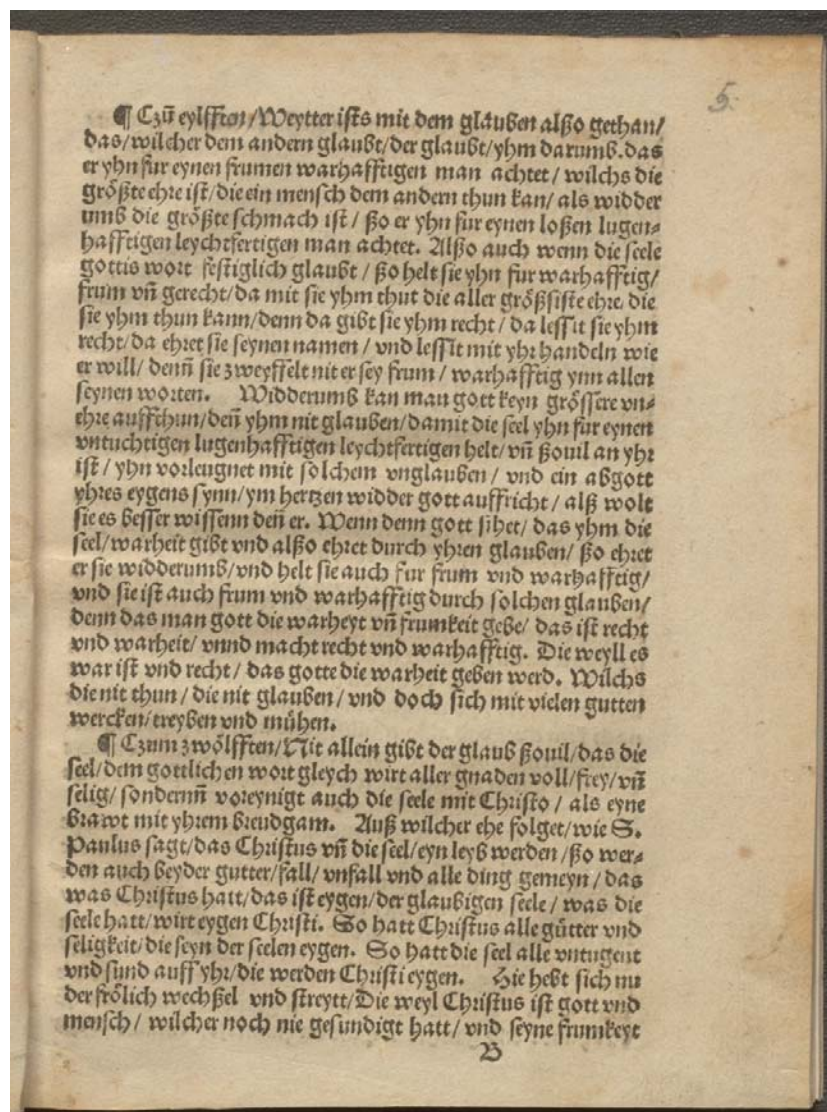
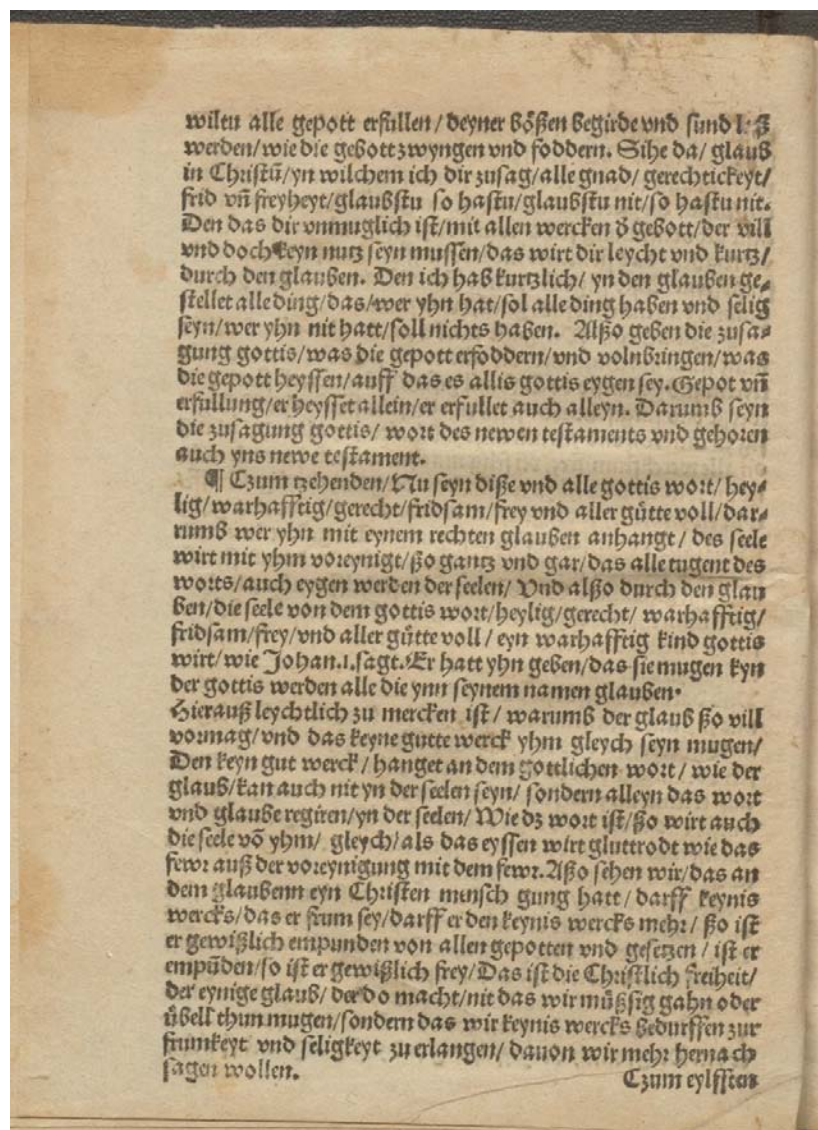
¶ Zum sechsten/ Fragstu aber/ wilchs ist dem das wort
das solch groffe gnad gibe. Vnd wie sol ichs gebrauchen. Ant
wort. Es ist nit anders/ denn die predige von Christo geschehen
wie das Euangelij ynnhelet. Wilche soll seyn/ vñ ist also ge
than/das du höst deynen gott zu dir reden/ Wie alle deyn les
ber vñ werck/nichtes seyn für gott/sondern müßist/ mit allen
dem das ynn dir ist ewiglich vortaben. Wilchs so du rechte
glaubst/wie du schuldig bist/so mustu an dir selber vorzweg
ffeln/ vñ bekennen/das war sey der spruch G. 1. O Israel yn
dir ist nichts/denn deyn vortaben/ alleyn aber yn mir steht deyn
hulff. Das du aber auß dir vñ von dir/ das ist auß deynem
vortaben komen müßist/ so setzt er dir für/ seynen lieben so
n Ihesum Christu/ vñ leßte dir durch seyn lebendigs trostliche
wort sagen. Du solt ynn den selber mit festem glauben dich er
geben/ vñ frölich ynn yhm vortaben. So sollen dir vns des
selben glaubens willen/alle deynesind vorgehen/alle deyn vort
aben vberwunden seyn/ vñ du gerecht/ warhafftig/ befriedet/
frum/ vñ alle gebott erfüllet seyn/vñ allen dingen frey sein. Wie
S. Paulus sagt. Ro. 1. Ein rechterer Christen/ lebe nur von
seynem glauben. Vnd Ro. 1. Christus ist das ende vñ fülle
aller gebott/denen/die ynn yhm glauben.

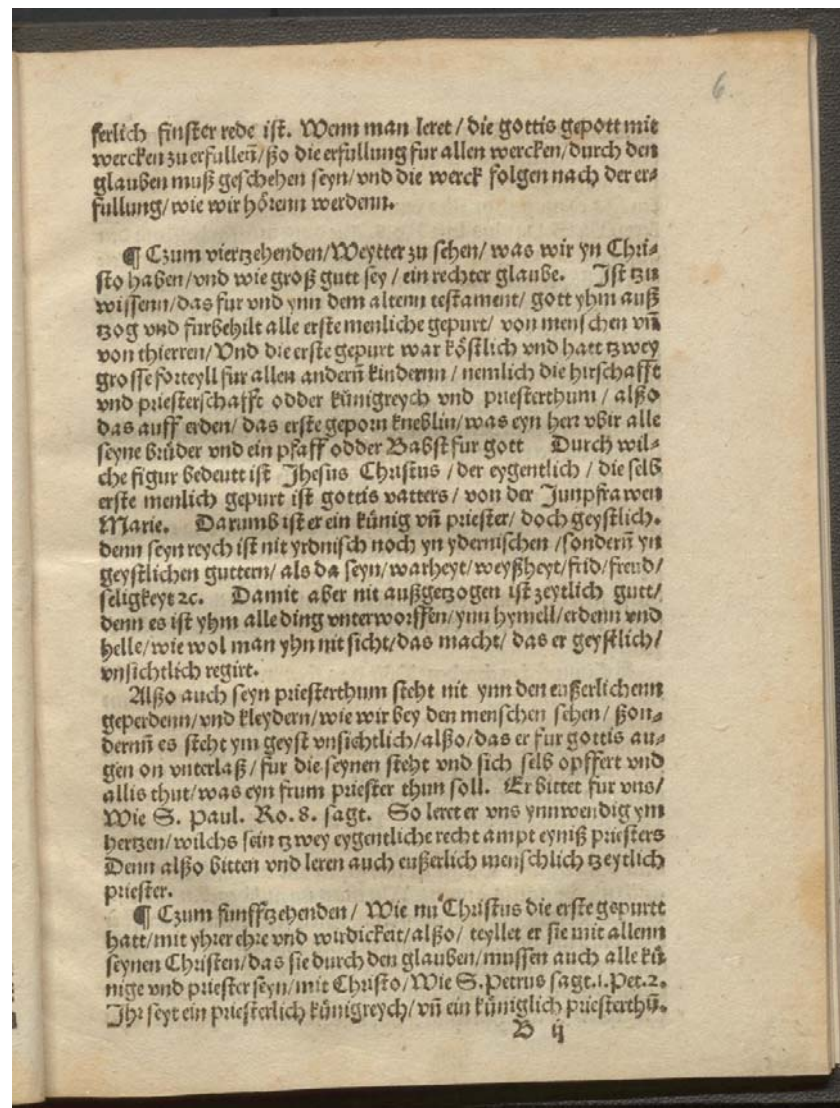
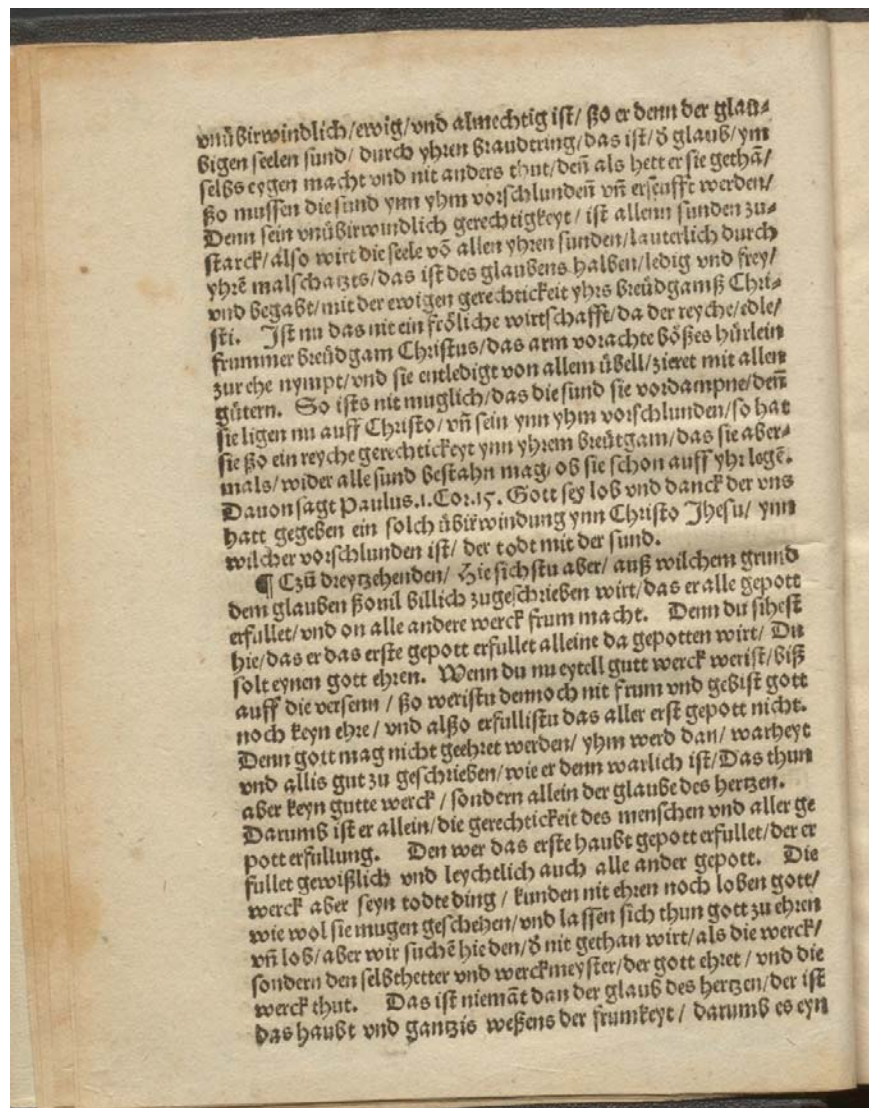
¶ Zu siebenden. Dumb solt das billich aller Christen ey
nigs werck vñ übung seyn/das sie das wort vñ Christu wol
ynn sich bildeten/solchen glauben stetig vbeten vñ stercke. Denn
keyn ander werck/ mag eynen Christen machen. Wie Christus
Joh. 6. zu den Juden sagt/da sie yhn fragten/was sie für werck
thun solten/dz sie gottlich vñ Christlich werck thaten. Sprach
er. Das ist das eynige gotliche werck/das yhr glaubt yn denen/
den gott gesandt hatt. Wilchen gott der vater allein auch dar
zu vordinet hatt. Darüß ist gar ein vberfchwencklich reych
tumb/ein rechter glaub yn Christo/ denn er mit sich bringe alle
seligkeit/vñ abnympt alle vnseeligkeit. Wie Mar. 11. Wer do
glaubt vñ taufft ist/ der wirt selig. Wer nit glaubt/ der wirt

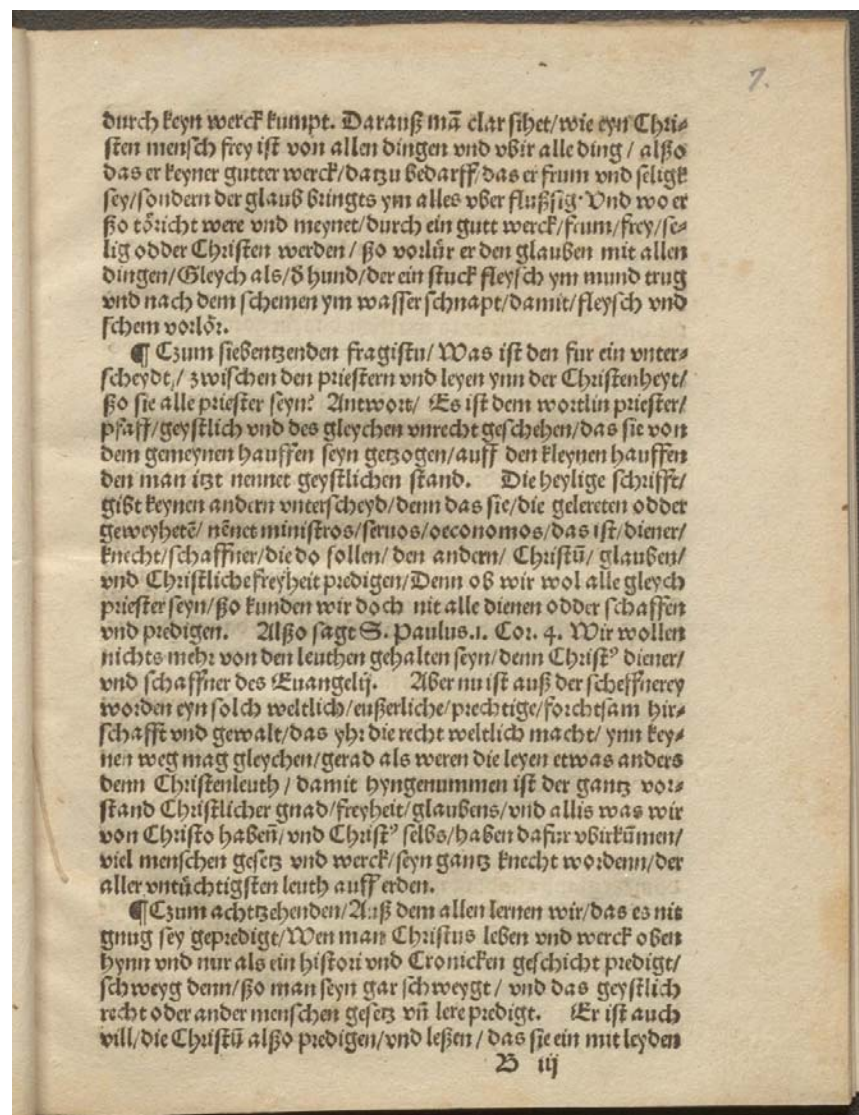
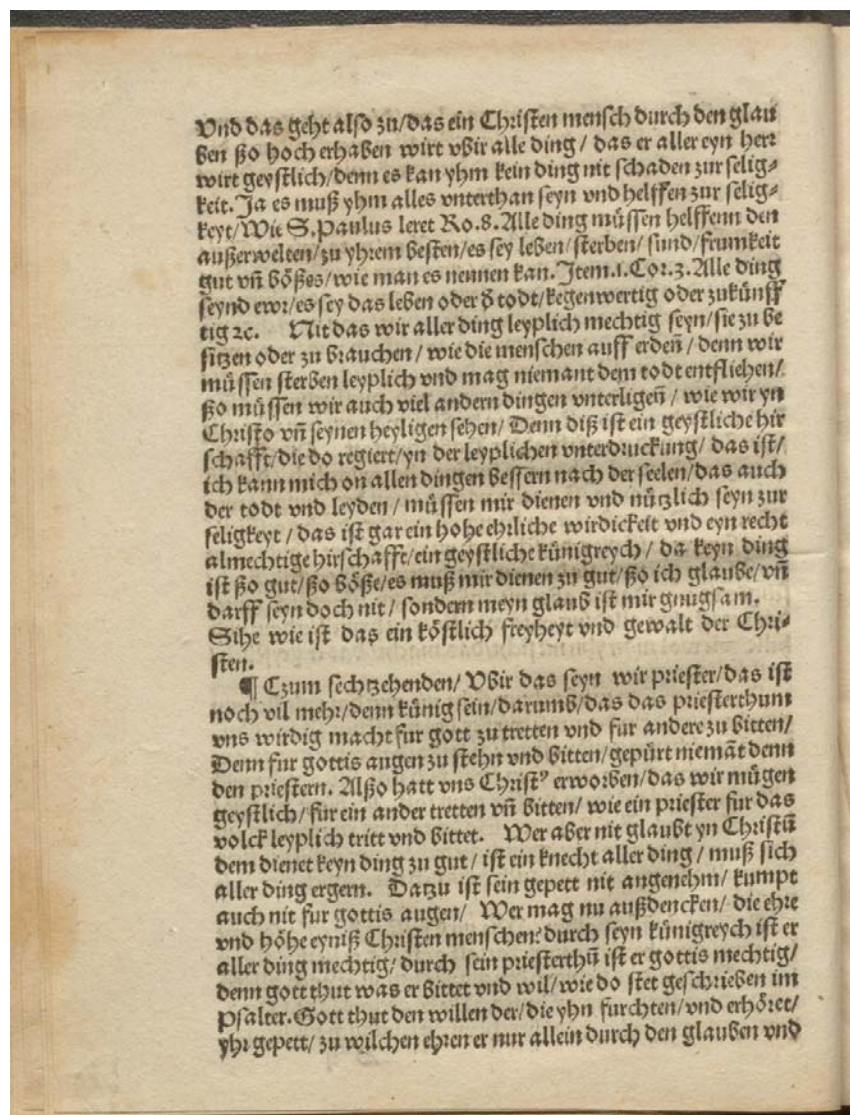
4.
vordamp. Darumb der prophet Isa. 1. Den reychtumb des sel
ber glaubens ansach vñ sprach. Gott wirt eyn kurtz summa
machen auff erden/ vñ die kurtz summa wirt/wie ein syndflut
eynfließen die gerechtigkeit/das ist/der glaub/darynn kurtzlich
aller gebott erfüllung steht/ wirt vberflüssig rechtferige alle die
yhn haben/das sie nichts mehr bedürffen/ das sie gerecht vñ
frum seyn. Also sagt S. Paulus Ro. 1. Das man von herten
glaube/das macht eynen gerecht vñ frum.

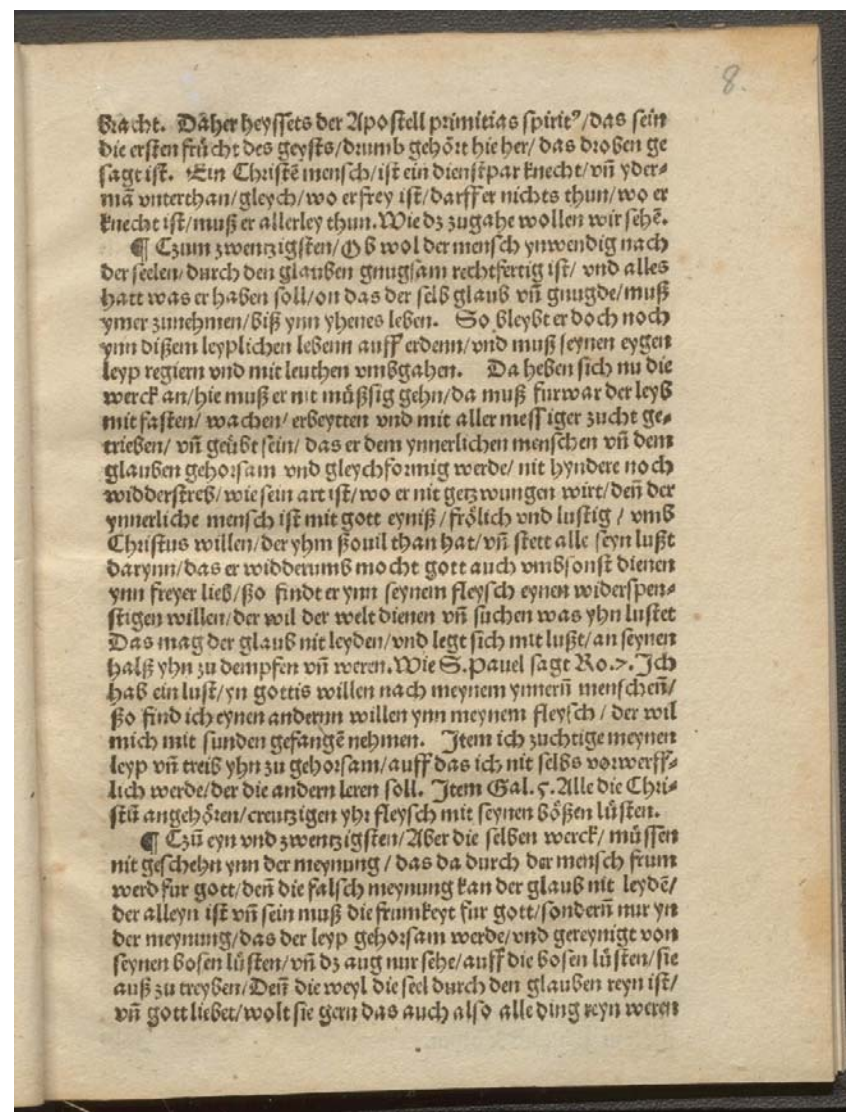
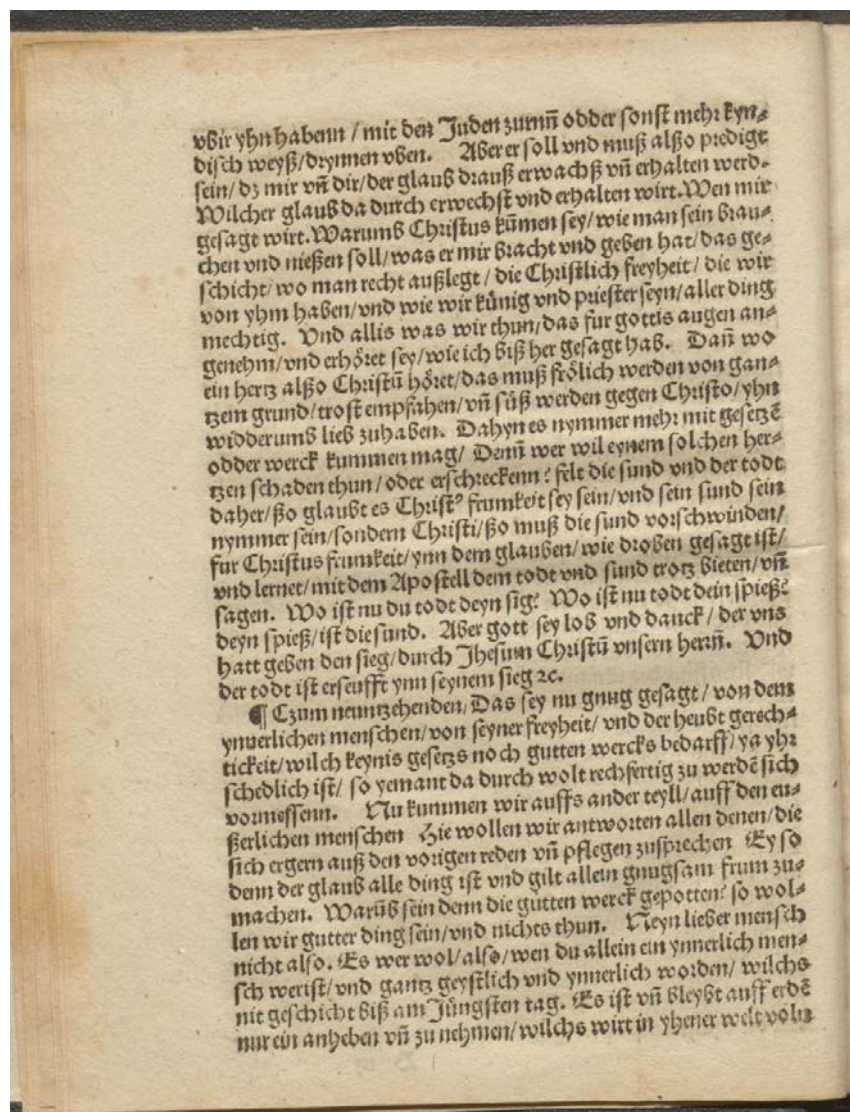
¶ Zu achten/ Wie gahet es aber zu/ das der glaub allein
mag frum machen/ vñ on alle werck so vberfchwencklich
reychtumb geben/so doch so vill gebott/ gebott/werck/stand vñ
weyße vns furgeschrieben seyn/ynn der schrift. Wie ist fleiß
ig zu mercken/ vñ yhe mit ernst zu behalten/dz allein der glaub
on alle werck frum/frey/ vñ selig mache/wie wir harnach mehr
hören werden Vnd ist zu wissen/das die ganze heyligeschafft/
wirt yn zweyerley wort geteyllet/wilche seyn. Gebott oder gebott
gottis/ vñ vortaben oder zusagunge. Die gebott/ leren vñ
schreyben vns für/ mancherley gutte werck aber damit seyn sie
noch nit geschehen. Sie weyßen wol/ sie helfen aber nit/ leren
was man thun soll/geben aber keyn stark dartzu. Darüß seyn
siemur dartzu geordnet/das der mensch dymmer sehe sein vnvor
mögen zu dem gutten/ vñ lerne an yhm selbs vorzweyffeln.
Vnd darumb heysen sie auch das alte testament/ vñ gehöret
alle yns alte testament. Als/das gebott/Du solt nit böß begird
haben/beweyßet das wir allesamt sunder seyn/ vñ kein man
sch vormag/zu sein on böße begirde/er thue was er will/ Dar
auß er lernet an yhm selbs vorzagen vñ anderswo zu suchen
hulff/das er on böße begird sey/vñ also das gebott erfülle/
durcheynen andern/das er auß yhm selb nit vormag/ also sein
auch alle andere gebott/vns vnmöglich.

¶ Zu neunenden/ Wen nu der mensch auß den gebotten sein
vnmöglichen gelernt vñ empfunden hatt/ das yhm nu angst
wirt/wie er dem gebott genug thue. Seyntmal das gebott muß
erfüllet seyn/ oder er muß vordamp seyn. So ist er rechte ged
müßige vñ zu nicht worden/ynn seynen augen/ findet nichts
yn yhm damit er müß frum werden. Dan so küep das ander
wort. Die gottlich vortabung vñ zusagunge/ vñ spricht/









zumor yhr eygen leyp/ vnd yderman gott/ mit yhr liebt vnd lobet/
 So geschichts/ das d mensch seyns eygen leyps halben nit kan
 müßig gehen/ vñ muß vil gutter werck drober vben/ das er yhn
 zwingt/ vnd doch die werck nit das rechte gutt seyn/ danon er
 frum vnd gerecht sey für gott/ sondern thue sie auß freyer liebt
 vñ sonst/ got zu gefallen/ nichts daryn anders gesucht noch
 angesehen/ denn das es got also gefället/ wilchs willen er gerne
 thet außs allerbeste. Daraus dem ein yglicher kan selbs meh-
 men die maß vnd bescheydenheit den leyp zu Casteyen/ Dem/er
 fastet/ wachet/ erbeyt/ sonnell er siche dem leyp nott seyn/ seynat
 mitterwillen zu dempffen. Die andern aber/ die do meynen mit
 wercken frum zu werden/ haben keyn acht auff die casteyung/
 sondern sehen nur auff die werck/ vnd meynen/ wen sie der selben
 nur viel vnd groß thun/ so sey es wol than vnd sie frum wirt-
 den/ zu weyllen zu brechen die köpff vnd vortreiben yhr leyde dñ-
 bar/ das ist ein große torheyt/ vñ vnnoth and Chrißtluchs lebens
 vnd glaubens/ das sie on glauben/ durch werck frum vnd sel-
 lig werden wollen.

¶ Zum zwey vnd zwanzigsten/ Das wir des elich gleych-
 niß geben. Soll man die werck eynis Chrißten menschen der
 durch seynat glaube/ vñ auß lauten gnaden gotis/ vñ sonst
 ist rechtfertig vnd selig worden/ nit anders achten/ dan wie die
 werck Adam vnd Eue ym paradys gewesen waren/ Danon
 Gen. 2. stett geschrieben. Das got den geschafften menschen/
 setz yns paradys/ das er dasselb arbeytet vnd hutten solt.
 Tu war Adam von gott frum vnd wol geschafften/ on sund/
 das er durch seyn arbeytet vnd hutten nit durfft frum vñ recht
 fertig werden/ doch das er nit müßig gieng/ gab yhm gott zu
 schaffen/ das paradeys zu pflanzen/ Barren vnd bewaren.
 Wilchs weren eytel frey werck gewesen/ vñ keyns dings wil-
 len gethan/ denn allein got zu gefallen/ vnd nit vñs frumkayt
 zu erlangen/ die er zumor hett/ wilch vñs auch allen natürluch
 were angeborn gewesen. Also auch eynis glaubigen men-
 schen werck/ wilcher durch seynat glauben ist widerumb yns
 paradys gesetzt/ vnd von neuen geschafften/ darff keyner werck
 frum zu werden/ sondern das er nit müßig gah vñ seynat leys
 erbeyt vnd beware/ seyn yhm solche freye werck zu thun alleyn
 got zu gefallen bejehen.

9

Item gleych wie ein geweyhete Bischoff/ von der kirchen
 weyhet/ farnet od sonst seynis ampts werck vber/ so machen
 yhn die selben werck nit zu eynem bischoff/ Ja wenn er nit zu
 vñ in Bischoff geweyhet were/ so tüchte der selben werck key-
 niß vñ were eytel narn werck. Also ein Chrißten/ der durch
 den glauben geweyhet/ gutte werck thut/ wirt durch die selben
 nit besser oder meh/ geweyhet/ wilch nit dem des glauben meh-
 rung thut/ zu eynem Chrißten/ Ja wenn er nit zumor glauget vñ
 Chrißten were/ so gälten alle seyne werck nichts/ sondern waren/
 eytel narnsch/ strefflich vñ dampflich sund.

¶ Czu die vñ zwanzigsten/ Dumb seyn die zwey spruch
 war. Gutte frum werck machen nymmer meh ein guten frum-
 man man/ sondern ein gutt frum man/ macht gutte frum werck
 Böse werck machen nymmer meh eynen bösen man/ sondern
 ein böser man macht böse werck/ also/ das allweg/ die person
 zumor muß gut vñ frum seyn vor allen guten wercken/ vñ gutte
 werck folgen vñ außgahn/ von der frumen gutten person.
 Gleych wie Chrißus sagt. Ein böser Barren treget keyn gutte
 frucht. Ein guter Barren treget keyn böse frucht. Tu ist off-
 bar/ das die frucht tragen nit den Barren/ so wachsen auch die
 Barren nit auff der fruchten/ sondern widerumb/ die Barren
 tragen die frucht/ vñ die frucht wachsen auff den Barren.
 Wiens die Barren müssen che seyn/ dan die frucht/ vñ die frucht
 machen nit die Barren wid gutte noch böse/ sondern die Barren
 machen die fruchte. Also muß der mensch ym der person zu
 vor frum oder böse seyn/ che er gutte oder böse werck thut/ Vñ
 seyne werck machen yhn nit gutt odder böse/ sondern er macht
 gutt odder böse werck. Des gleychen sehen wir ym allen hand
 wercken. Ein gutt oder böse hauß macht keynen gutten oder
 bösen zymmerman/ sondern ein gutter oder böser zymmerman/
 macht ein böß oder gutt hauß/ keyn werck macht eynem meys-
 ster/ danach das werck ist/ sondern wie d meyster ist/ danach
 ist sein werck auch. Also seyn die werck des menschen auch/
 wie es mit yhm stett ym glauben od englauben/ danach seind
 seyne werck gutt oder böse. Vñ nit widerumb/ wie seyne werck
 stehn danach sey er frum odder gläubig/ die werck/ gleych wie
 sie nit gläubig machen/ so machen sie auch nit frum.

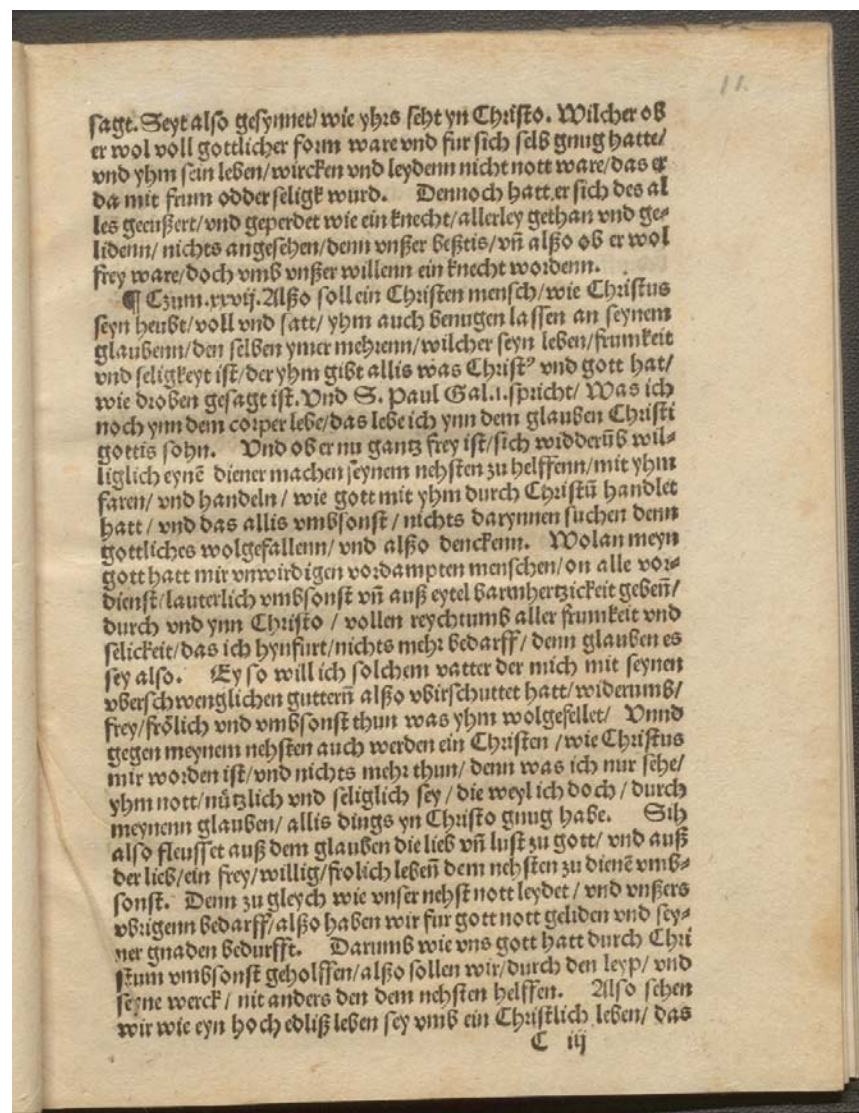
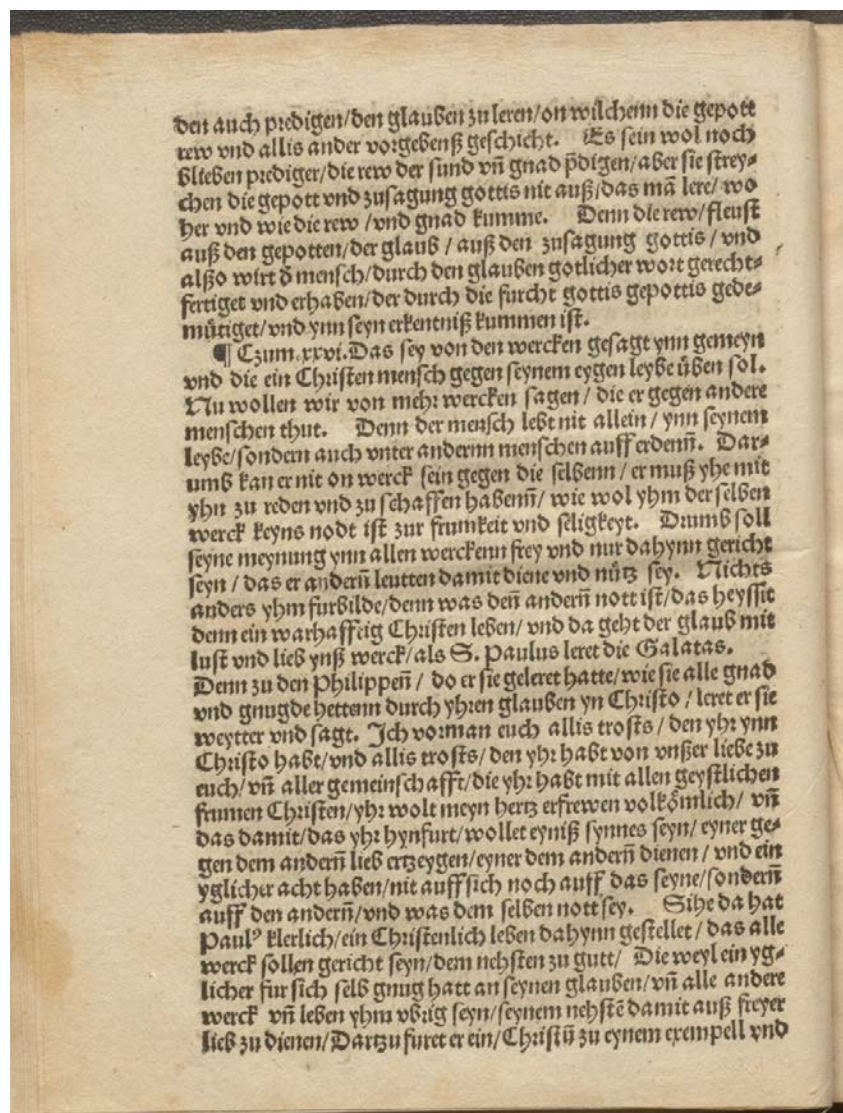
Aber der glaub gleich wie er frum macht/ so macht er auch gute werck. So dan die werck niemant frum machen/ vnd der mensch zuuor muß frum sein/ ehe er wirckt/ so ist's offentlich/ das allein der glaub auß lauttem gnaden/ durch Christu vnd seyn wort/ die person gnugsam frum vnd selig machet. Vnd das keyn werck/ keyn gepott/ eynem Christen noth sey zur seligkeit/ sondern er frey ist von allen gepotten/ vñ auß lauterer freyheit/ vñ sonst thut/ alle was er thut/ nichts damit gesucht seynß nutz oder seligkeit/ Dem er schon satt vnd selig ist/ durch seynen glauben/ vnd gottis gnaden/ sondern nur gott darynnen gefallen.

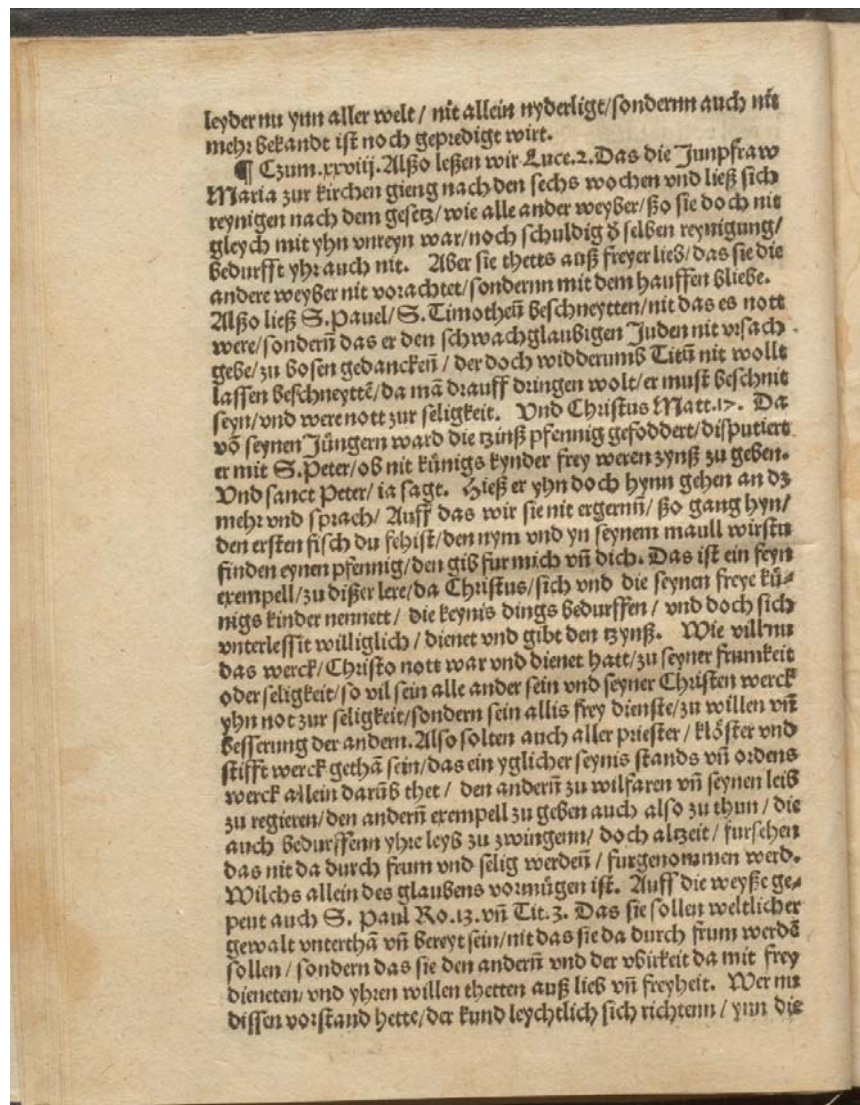
¶ Zum. xxiij. Widenumb dem/ der on glauben ist/ ist kein gutt werck fürderlich zur frumkeit vnd seligkeit/ Widenumb keyn böse werck yhn böse vnd vordampe machen/ sondern der vnglaub/ der die person vnd den barum böß macht der thut böse vnd vordampe werck. Darumb wen man frum odder böse wirt/ hebet sichs nit an den wercken an/ sondern an dem glauben/ Wie der Weyße man sagt. Anfang aller sund/ ist vom gotte weycken vnd yhm nit trawen. Also lere auch Christ^{us} wie man nit an den wercken muß anheben vñ sagt. Entweder mache den barum gutt vnd seyne fruchte gutt/ oder mache den barum böse/ vnd seyne fruchte böse/ als solt er sagen/ wer gute frucht haben wil/ muß zuuor an dem barum anheben/ vnd den selben gutt setzen. Also wer do wil gute werck thun/ muß nit an den wercken an heben/ sondern an der person/ die die werck thun soll. Die person aber macht niemant gut/ dem allein der glaub/ vnd niemant macht sie böse dem allein der vnglaub. Das ist wol war/ die werck machen eynen frum odder böse für den menschen/ das ist/ sie zeugen außlich an/ wer frum od böse sey. Wie Christus sagt. Matt. 7. Auß yhren fruchten sollet yhr sie erkennen. Aber das ist alles/ ym scheyn vnd außlich. Wilchs an sehem yre macht viel leuch/ die do schreyben vnd leren/ wie man gute werck thun soll vnd frum werden. so sie doch/ des glaubens nymmer gedencen/ gahn dahynn/ vnd furet ymmer ein blind der andern/ marten sich mit vielen wercken vnd klagen doch nymmer zu der rechten frumkeit/ von wilchen Sanct Paul sagt. 2. Tim. 3. Sie haben eynen scheyn der frumkeit/

10.
aber der grund ist nie da/ gehn hyim vnd lernen yñer vñ ymmer vnd kummen doch nymmer zur erkennuß der waren frumkeit. Wernu mit den selben blinden nit wil yren/ muß weytter sehen/ dan ym die werck/ gepott/ odder lere der werck. Er muß ym die person sehen für allen dingen/ wie die frum werd. Die wirt aber nit durch gepott vnd werck/ sondern durch gottis wort (das ist/ durch seyne vohersichung der gnaden) vnd den glauben/ frum vnd selig/ auff das besteh seyn gottliche ehre/ das er vns nit durch vnser werck/ sondern durch seyn gnedigs wort vñ sonst vñ lauter barmhertigkeit selig mache.

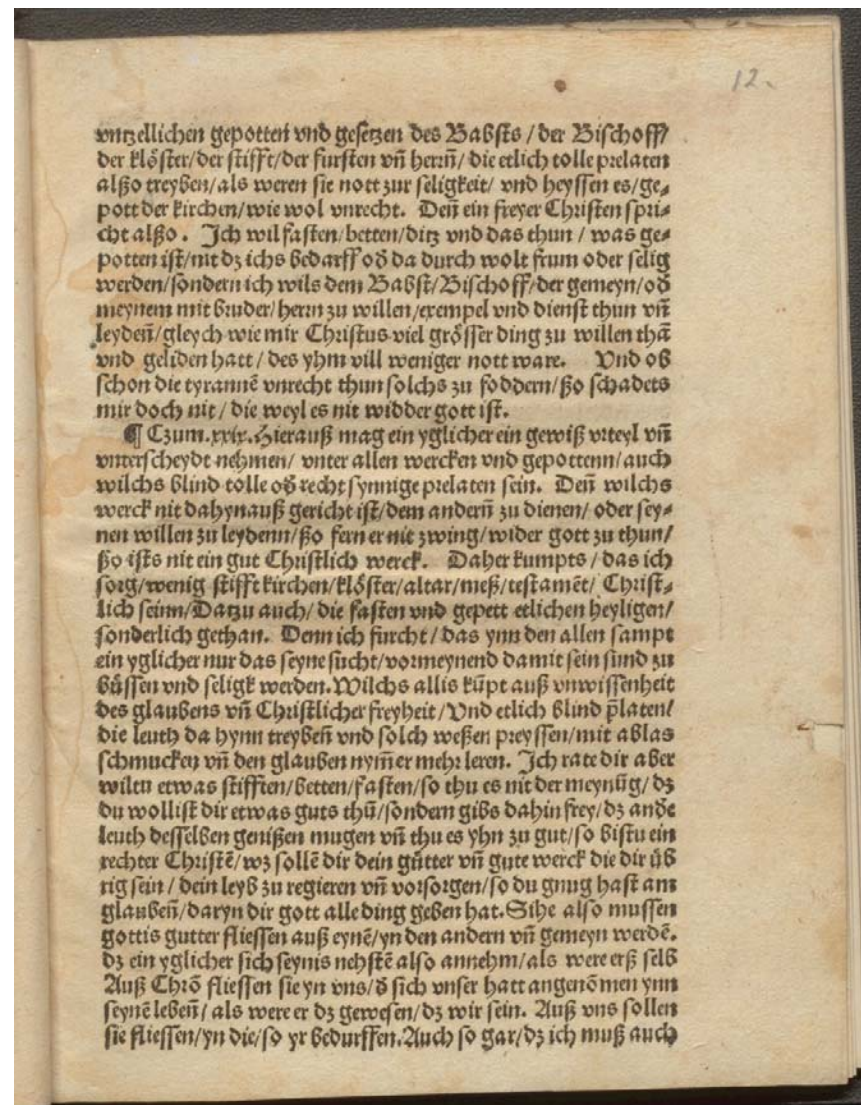
¶ Ez. xxi. Auß diesem allen ist leydelich zuuor stehen/ wie gute werck zu vorwerffen vñ nit zuuorwerffen seyn. Vnd wie man alle lere vorfahen soll/ die do gute werck leren/ dann wo der falsch anhang/ vñ die vorkerte meynung yñ ist/ das durch die werck/ wir frum vnd selig werden wollen/ seyn sie schon nit gutt/ vnd ganz vordamlich/ den sie seyn nit frey/ vnd schmecken die gnad gottis/ die allein durch den glauben frum vnd selig mache/ wilchs die werck nit vörmügen/ vñ nemmes yhn doch für zu thun/ vnd damit der gnaden/ ym yhr werck vnd ehre greyffem. Dumb vorwerffen wir die gute werck/ nit vñ yhr willan/ sondern vñ des selben bösen zusatzs vnd falscher vorkerte meynung willen. Welche mache/ das sie nur gute scheynen/ vnd seyn doch nit gutt/ betriegen sich vñ ydeman damit/ gleich wie die reysßend wolff/ ym schaffs fleydern. Aber der selb böse zusatz vnd vorkerte meynung/ ym den werck/ ist vnüßirwindlich/ wo der glaub nit ist. Er muß sein/ ym dem selben wirckheyligen/ biß der glaub kam vnd vñ ist die yhn/ die natur vñ mag yhn/ von yhr selb nit auß treyben. Ja auch nit erkennen/ sondern sie helt yhn für eyn köselich/ selig ding/ dumb werden yhr auch so viel da durch vñ furet. Deshalben/ obs woll gutt ist/ von rewen/ beythen/ gnugheym/ schreyben vnd predigen/ so man aber nit weytter furet biß zum glauben/ sein es gewißlich/ ettel tuffelische/ vñ fñschelere. Nñ muß nit eynaley allein pdigen/ sondern alle beyde wort gottis/ die gepott/ sol mā predigen/ die sinder zur schrecken vñ yhr sind zu offenkennen/ das sie rewe haben vnd sich bekren. Aber da soll es nit bleiben/ mā muß/ das ander wort/ die zusagüg der gna

C 4





C3v (fol. 11v)



C4r (fol. 12r)

meynam glauben und gerechticheyt für meynam nechsten setzen
für gott/seyne sund zu decken/auff mich nehmen und nit anders
thun/dam als waren siemeyn eygen/eben wie Christus vns allen
than hatt. Sich das ist die natur der liebe/wo sie warhafft-
ig ist/ Da ist sie aber warhafftig/ wo der glaub warhafftig
ist. Darumb gibet der heylig Apostell/der liebt zu eygen. 1. Cor. 13
Das sie nit sucht das yhe/sondern/ was des nechsten ist.

¶ Zum. xxx. Aus dem allem folget der beschluß/ das ein
Christen mensch lebt nit ym yhm self/sondern ym Christo vñ
seynam nechsten/ym Christo durch den glauben/ ym nechsten/
durch die liebe/durch den glauben feret er vber sich yn gott/ auß
gott feret er widder vnter sich durch die liebe/ und bleybt doch
ymmer ym gott vñ gottlicher liebe/ Gleych wie Christus sagte
Johan. 1. Jhr werdet noch sehen den hymell offen stehn/vñ die
Engell auff und absteigen vñ den Sun des menschen.
Sihe das ist die rechte/geystliche/Christliche freyheyt/ die das
hertz frey macht/ von aller sunden/ gesetzen/ und gepottan/
welch alle andere freyheyt vñtrifft/ wie der hymell die erden
Wiltch geb vns gott rechte zuno: stehen und behalten/
A M E N.