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ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

R. Stahl

MARTIN LUTHER AS TRANSLATOR OF THE BIBLE¹

I.

Near Eisenach Martin Luther was taken on May 4, 1521 on his way home from Worms, where he stood up for his theses and convictions in front of the Imperial Diet, the «Reichstag», and brought to the Wartburg Castle for refuge, because he had been declared an outlaw. Already four days later, on May 8, he sent a first letter to his friends in Wittenberg. All contacts were made through Georg Spalatin, the private secretary of the Elector Frederick the Wise. Through these means, it was possible for Luther to receive the books and literature, which were necessary for his work. From December 4 to 9, 1521 it was even possible for him to personally visit in Wittenberg. He stayed secretly in the house of Nikolaus Amsdorf and had several talks with his friends and colleagues. During those days Philipp Melanchthon encouraged him to start with the ambitious plan to translate the Bible.

First Luther decided to start with the translation of the New Testament. For this translation work in 1522 he used several editions of the Greek New Testament — among them the 1519 second edition of the one by Erasmus of Rotterdam (which included a Latin translation). Luther did his translation in only ten weeks — in a kind of intoxication of work! In September 1522 — shortly before the Leipzig Autumn Fair —

¹ This paper was given in the end of August and in the beginning of September 2018 in Kazan, in Tschoboksary, and in Syktyvkar. For the improvement of the English I am very thankful to Ralston Deffenbaugh, Geneva, former Assisting General Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation.

the New Testament was published in German, being called therefore the «September Testament»².

The translation of the Old Testament, however, required a much longer effort, by Luther along with colleagues. First we know that, in his time as a monk in Erfurt, Luther bought the book on the Hebrew language, which Johannes Reuchlin had published: «About First Steps in Hebrew»³. So already in 1522 Luther began the translation of the Torah, of the five Books of Moses. In July 1523 this first part was published in Wittenberg — under the confusing title «The Old Testament German» / «Das Alte Testament Deutsch».

In January 1524 the second part of the Old Testament was published — the books from Joshua to Esther.

But from then on the subsequent books needed longer work. Our Reformation fathers first published the poetical books in October 1524.

In February 1527 the translation of the Book of Isaiah began. Because of the plague, the University moved from Wittenberg to Jena, but Luther remained behind in Wittenberg, without his colleagues. He published the Book of Isaiah in October 1528. In 1530 Daniel was published, then parts of Ezekiel. In 1532 the whole translation of the prophets were published.

At the end of 1532 also was published the Book of Jesus Sirach. And in September 1534 the first edition of the whole Bible was published in Wittenberg and could be sent in time to the Autumn Fair in Leipzig. A huge work — done by Luther, Aquila, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, Melanchthon and others — was completed!⁴

² Cf.: Schall, P 27 Bücher in 70 Tagen: Die Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments auf der Wartburg, in: *Dies Buch in aller Zunge, Hand und Herzen: 475 Jahre Lutherbibel*. Eisenach, 2009. S. 30–42; Raeder, S. Luther als Ausleger und Übersetzer der Heiligen Schrift, in: *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526 bis 1546* / Hrsg. von H. Junghans. Berlin, 1985. Bd 1. S. 253–278, esp. 272.

³ «De rudimentis hebraicis».

⁴ Cf.: Raeder, S. Luther als Ausleger und Übersetzer der Heiligen Schrift. S. 253–278, esp. 256, 270–274. Cf.: Krauß, J. Werdegang in Wittenberg: Die Übersetzung des Alten Testaments, in: *Dies Buch in aller Zunge, Hand und Herzen*. S. 43–49, and Schwarz, H. Luthers Bibelkollegium, in: *Dies Buch in aller Zunge, Hand und Herzen*. S. 50–54.

II.

Luther as a scholar

His normal language was Latin. And — for sure — the most important works he had written to date were in Latin. This means: that he thought in that language. For example, his famous 95 Theses of autumn 1517 about indulgences were written and published in Latin. Only later were they translated into the German language⁵.

In May and June of this year 2018, I spent five weeks in Braşov / Kronstadt / Brassó in Romania, serving in the German-speaking Lutheran congregation there. The reformer of that town and region was Johannes Honterus. In 1543, he published his «Booklet on Reformation». But he published it in Latin: «Reformatio Ecclesiae Coronensis ac totius Barcensis Provinciae» — «The Reformation of the Church of Kronstadt and of the whole Burzen Area»⁶. When he read it in front of the members of the council of his town — it was, naturally, in Latin! In those days, all leaders of the town have understood Latin.

⁵ Here I want to give an additional information: In both universities where I could give this paper, in Tschiboksary and in Syktyvkar, I had the impression that for the majority of the students Reformation and Lutheranism were new. Therefore I informed that in the 17th century the decision was made to use the date of publication of the 95 Theses to celebrate the Reformation. This means that we do this since then on October 31st. In 2017 we could celebrate the 500th anniversary of Reformation — all over the world, also in Russia. There the two Lutheran Churches have done this: the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Russia and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ingria in Russia. One most important event was the transferring of the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul in Moscow into the ownership of the congregation and the church. At this celebration on October 25th, 2017, also the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, and the Chairman of the EKD Council, Bishop Heinrich Bedford-Strohm, Munich, attended (cf.: «Историческая справедливость восстанавливается»: Кафедральный собор в Москве передан в собственность, В кн.: *Лютеранские Вестни*. Ноябрь 2017. № 11 (207). С. 1–2. See also: Steinmeier bei Rückgabe der Kathedrale «St. Peter und Paul» in Moskau an Lutheraner» [Electronic source], in: *Sputnik*. URL: <https://de.sputniknews.com/gesellschaft/20171025318030611-steinmeier-bei-rueckgabe-der-kathedrale-st-peter-und-paul-in-moskau-an-lutheraner/> (25.10.2017)). During the lectures I expressed my sincere thanks to the Russian government for the decision to give the church building to the church.

⁶ Cf.: Johannes Honterus: *Reformatio ecclesiae Coronensis ac totius Barcensis provinciae*. Corona 1543 / Hrsg. von B. Heigl, Th. Şindilariu, in: *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt*. 2017. Bd VIII. Beiheft 2. S. 291–292.

Luther as a preacher

He was used to preaching on biblical texts — in German language. But in which German language did he do it? Luther's childhood language was the Saxon dialect spoken in Mansfeld, where he grew up. And he was familiar with the official language in the Saxon Duchy. One time he said in his table talks: «I don't have a specific language in German, but I use the normal German language, so that both — the southern and the northern Germans — do understand me. I speak according to the Saxon administration. All dukes and kings in Germany, all towns of the Empire, all courts and administrations are following this praxis. Therefore it is the common German language»⁷.

From this basis he could develop a common German language, which was understood in most German areas — that's the first aspect. And the second aspect is that this / his German was successful with time and practice, because people used it to read and listen to the texts from Luther. And therefore this German was becoming the common German language!

But additionally, he had the challenge to find the appropriate wordings and formulations for all things. Therefore he was always learning. For example he went to the butcher, looked at his work, and asked for the terms he used. He explained: «It is necessary, to ask the mother in the house, the children in the street, and the normal man in the market place, and do look at their mouths, how they speak, and then translate according to that practice. Then they understand, and they realize that we do speak with them in German»⁸.

⁷ *Stolt, B.* Luthers Übersetzungstheorie und Übersetzungspraxis, in: *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526 bis 1546*. Bd 2. S. 250: «Ich habe keine gewisse, sonderliche, eigene Sprache im Deutschen, sondern brauche der gemeinen deutschen Sprache, daß mich beide, Ober- und Niederländer, verstehen mögen. Ich rede nach der sächsischen Canzeley, welcher nachfolgen alle Fürsten und Könige in Deutschland, alle Reichsstädte, Fürsten-Höfe [...], darum ist's auch die gemeinste deutsche Sprache». Cf.: *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe / Hrsg. von J. K. F. Knaake. Abteilung 2: Tischreden. Bd 2: Tischreden aus den dreißiger Jahren, Nachschriften Schlaginhausens, Sammlungen Rabes und Cordaux*. Weimar, 1913. S. 639.

⁸ *Schall, P.* 27 Bücher in 70 Tagen. S. 39–40: «[...] sondern man muss die Mutter im Haus, die Kinder auf der Gasse, den gemeinen Mann auf dem Markt drum fragen, und denselbigen auf das Maul sehen, wie sie reden, und danach dolmetschen. So verstehen sie es denn und merken, dass man Deutsch mit ihnen redet». Cf.: *Martin Luther*. D. Martin Luthers Wer-

We can summarize: His hard work, his gifts, his poetical ability and his theological and spiritual consciousness helped him very much: «because God has opened my mouth and has ordered me to speak [...]»⁹ — as he expressed it once. «I was keen in translating. My aim was to speak a clean and clear German. Therefore often we had to ask for the precise wording for fourteen days, for three or four weeks — and even then have not really found it.»¹⁰

May I conclude this part with an example: In a meditation during the Advent Season in 2010 I looked at Mary, the mother of Jesus. In the Roman Catholic Church there is a common prayer: «Hail, Mary, full of grace. The Lord is with you.» The beginning of this prayer comes from Luke 1:28 and has to be considered carefully. Here we can learn much from Martin Luther:

In 1520-21 he translated and interpreted the Song of Mary, the «Magnificat», which we find in Luke 1. There he wrote: «The opinion of Mary is as follows: God has looked at me as a poor, despised and unsightly girl. But he could have found daughters of rich, noble and powerful kings and lords. [...] But he has looked at me and used a low and disdained maidservant that noone praises before him, that he would be worthy. [...] And therefore she does not praise her worthiness or unworthiness, but only the fact that God has looked at her [...]»¹¹

ke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe / Hrsg. von J. K. F. Knaake. Bd 30. P. II: Schriften 1529/30. Weimar, 1909. S. 637 (his «Letter on Translating» / «Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen» from 1530).

⁹ Krauß, J. Luthers Sprache: Wartburgland und Wittenberg als Wiege des Neuhochdeutschen, in: *Dies Buch in aller Zunge, Hand und Herzen*. S. 74: «[...] weil mir Gott den Mund aufgetan hat und heissen reden [...]». The same: Jacobs, G. Wackersteine und Klötze. Luthers Dolmetschen, in: *Dies Buch in aller Zunge, Hand und Herzen*. S. 76–84.

¹⁰ Stolt, B. Luthers Übersetzungstheorie und Übersetzungspraxis. S. 245: «Ich habe mich dessen geflissen im Dolmetschen, dass ich rein und klar Deutsch geben möchte. Und ist uns wohl oft begegnet, dass wir vierzehn Tage, drei, vier Wochen haben ein einzelnes Wort gesucht und gefragt, haben es dennoch zuweilen nicht gefunden». Cf.: *Martin Luther*. D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Bd 30. P. II. S. 636.

¹¹ Cf.: Stahl, R. Wer ist die Wahrheit? Biblische Predigten zu Themen unserer Zeit. Bau Bas-sin, 2018. S. 5–6: «Gott hat auf mich armes, verachtetes, unansehnliches Mädchen gesehen und hätte wohl Töchter von reichen, hohen, edlen, mächtigen Königen, Fürsten und großen Herren finden können. [...] Aber er hat auf mich seine reinen, gütigen Augen geworfen und so eine geringe, verschmähte Magd dazu gebraucht, damit sich niemand vor ihm rühme, dass er würdig gewesen wäre [...]. Und darum rühmt sie nicht ihre Würdigkeit noch ihre

And therefore in 1522 Luther was reflecting at Wartburg Castle about what would be the appropriate translation. His formulation: «Greetings to you, gracious one, the Lord is with you.» Here Mary is addressed not because of her own abilities but because of the gifts which she had received from God. At another place Luther even suggested the following wording: «God is greeting you, dear Mary»¹².

Now I would like to consider two Bible translations. In the Revised Standard Version we read: «Hail, O favoured one, the Lord is with you!» Here Mary is understood as one who has received «favour» by God. And your Библия reads: «Радуйся, благодатная!» This Russian term — and I hope that I understand it correctly — connects both possibilities: Mary is understood as one who is blessed by God. But also Mary is understood as one who gives blessings to others.

Martin Luther would prefer only the first understanding: Mary is important for us because she is blessed by God. And as a blessed one she becomes a model for us. We as well should be ready to receive the blessing of God and give this blessing a structure in the reality of our lives. She is a model for us, she has gone along a way in which we can follow her. Like Mary, we can also be ready to receive gifts from God.

III.

Martin Luther as an exegete, as a theologian

All his translation work can only be understood by recognizing this important fact. As we know, Luther was expert in Bible exegesis. In his time as professor in Wittenberg he gave lectures on biblical books. This was his academic work.

He started from 1513 to 1515 with a lecture on the Book of Psalms. (As I was starting my academic career at the Theological Seminary in Leipzig I had to give a lecture in the spring 1989 on the Book

Unwürdigkeit, sondern allein dessen, dass Gott sie angesehen hat.» Cf.: *Martin Luther: Magnificat verdeutscht und ausgelegt*, in: D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe / Hrsg. von J. K. F. Knaake. Bd 7: Schriften, Predigten, Disputationen 1520/21. Weimar, 1887. S. 546–601.

¹² *Raeder*, S. Luther als Ausleger und Übersetzer der Heiligen Schrift. S. 275: «Gott grüße dich, du liebe Maria [...]». Cf.: D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Bd 30. P. II. S. 638.

of Psalms, and I mentioned that this would be a wonderful parallel to Luther!) From 1515 to 1516 Luther gave a lecture about the letter to the Romans, then until spring 1517 about the letter to the Galatians, and until spring 1518 about the letter to the Hebrews. From 1519 to 1521 he lectured again on the Psalms. In 1523-1524 he interpreted the Book of Deuteronomy, from 1524 to 1526 the Book of the Small Prophets. And so on. The lecture with which he finished his work, from 1535 to 1545, was on the Book of Genesis¹³.

Luther always worked with the Latin Bible, as well as with the Greek and Hebrew Bibles. In the famous exhibition «Luther!» in 2017 in Wittenberg we could see the Hebrew Bible Luther owned. This Bible was printed in the year 1494 in Brescia; he received it between 1515 and 1519, and he used it until the end of his life.

In this connection we may emphasize a very important principle of interpreting the Bible: Luther recognized *that Jesus Christ is its center*. We as Christians and also all others must read the Bible in the light of Christ. He developed a very important formulation: To identify whether the books of the Bible «Christum treiben oder nicht»¹⁴ = whether they relate to Christ and lead us to Christ or not. I think we have to understand that formulation in a complex way. In my lecture in the spring of 1989 I mentioned in opposition to Luther, that it is not important whether the Psalms speak directly about Jesus Christ, but that it is important to realize that we can understand them from our knowledge and faith in Christ. «Because of that, Luther was looking for the proclamation of the Messiah and therefore for the ‘Gospel’ in the Hebrew Bible and found it there. Therefore the Hebrew Bible as Old Testament was for him the treasure of the Christian Church. But it should be read by starting with Christ and by coming to Christ. Then it would open to us — as he was convinced — its full truth»¹⁵.

¹³ Raeder, S. Luther als Ausleger und Übersetzer der Heiligen Schrift. S. 255–257.

¹⁴ Barth, H.-M. Hermeneutisches Erbe der Reformation und interreligiöser Dialog, in: *LUTHER* 89. 2018. S. 48. Cf.: *Martin Luther*. D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe / Hrsg. von J. K. F. Knaake. Abteilung 3: Die Deutsche Bibel. Bd 7: Das Neue Testament, Episteln und Offenbarung 1522/46. Weimar, 1931. S. 384.

¹⁵ Schilling, J. Martin Luthers Handexemplar einer Hebräischen Bibel, in: *Luther! 95 Schätze — 95 Menschen*. München, 2017. S. 110: «Denn in der hebräischen Bibel suchte und fand Luther die Verkündigung des Messias und damit das ‚Evangelium‘. Deshalb war ihm die hebräische Bibel als Altes Testament ein unaufgebarbarer Schatz der christlichen

The next important distinction, which Martin Luther recognized and defended during his lifetime, is *the distinction between Law and Gospel*. He was convinced that only those are good theologians, who are able to discern Law and Gospel. This means: to keep them together and to distinguish them: «Nearly the whole Holy Scripture and the knowledge of the whole theology are dependent on the correct knowledge of Law and Gospel»¹⁶. The word of God as Law remains important, but not as a way to salvation, rather as a mirror which shows us that we need the Gospel which frees us and enables us to live in a new way.

And now we come to the third distinction which is especially important for the translation work: *the distinction between letter and spirit*. Martin Luther constantly struggled with this important challenge. To recognize the letter in a correct way is the basis, but to understand the meaning, the spirit, which is expressed by the wording of the biblical text, is the aim of all the work. He said: «Therefore I have to give up the letters, and have to search how the German man speaks»¹⁷, and have to ask what the spirit of God is telling us through a given biblical formulation.

I would like to summarize this part of my paper: Our Lutheran Christianity is in a way complicated. We do not have easy answers with which we can deal with all questions of our life. But our Lutheran Christianity offers us distinctions we can use to find our own answers to the question of how to live as Christians. An important one is that of *the distinction of the Two Kingdoms*, the distinction between the work of God by his right hand and the work of God by his left hand. May be this is one reason that we are often a small group, that huge masses do not follow us, but rather our people are those who have learned to live with these distinctions. In a seminar of the Martin-Luther-Bund in 2002 Günther Gassmann, in the beginning of the Eighties theologian in the Studies Department of the Lutheran World Federation and later director of the department «Faith and Order» in the World Council of Churches, gave a similar

Kirche. Aber sie sollte eben von Christus her und auf ihn hin gelesen werden, um, wie er überzeugt war, ihre Wahrheit voll zu erschließen [...]».

¹⁶ Barth, H.-M. Hermeneutisches Erbe der Reformation und interreligiöser Dialog. S. 47. Cf.: *Martin Luther*. D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Bd 7. S. 502.

¹⁷ Stolt, B. Luthers Übersetzungstheorie und Übersetzungspraxis. S. 245: «Darum muss ich hie die Buchstaben fahren lassen und forschen, wie der Deutsche Mann solches redet». Cf.: *Martin Luther*. D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Bd 30. P. II.

explanation about the «Fundamentals of the Lutheran Identity»¹⁸. It is very important not to forget this but to deal with it daily.

May I conclude this part of my paper also with a concrete example: In a sermon on Reformation Day in 2010 in Haviřov-Bludovice in the Czech Republic I discussed the translation of Romans 3:28 by Luther¹⁹. And again on Reformation Day in 2016 in Möhrendorf near Erlangen I discussed this problem²⁰. I suggested that we can follow the following steps:

In April 1518 Martin Luther presented his insights in Heidelberg during a theological meeting of the community of the monasteries of his order (the «Augustinians», die «Augustiner Eremiten»). There he said in thesis 25: «Not that one, who makes much, is justified, but that one, who believes much in Christ without deeds.» And he gave the following argument: «Because the justification by God [...] will be implemented through faith. [...] Therefore I will understand this ‘without deeds’ in the following way: Not that the justified do nothing, but that his deeds do not create his justification, but instead that his justification creates his deeds.» And then he quoted Romans 3:28: «For we hold that a man is justified by faith apart from works of law»²¹. To understand this formulation we have to keep in mind that Luther delivered his theses and the explanations in Heidelberg in Latin, so he quoted the Vulgata, the Latin Bible.

But in 1522 at the Wartburg Castle, as Martin Luther translated the New Testament into German, he wrote: «For we hold that a man is justified apart from works of law by faith alone». This addition of «alone» provoked much critique. Therefore in 1530 he defended himself and wrote: «What’s going on, that they rage and burn? The problem

¹⁸ Gassmann, G. Grundelemente lutherischer Identität als verbindendes und verpflichtendes Band weltweiter lutherischer Gemeinschaft, in: *Lutherische Kirche in der Welt, Jahrbuch des Martin-Luther-Bundes*. 2003. Vol. 50. S. 23–35.

¹⁹ Stahl, R. Predigten für die Diaspora: Durch das Kirchenjahr zu Gast in Gemeinden von Minderheitskirchen. Saarbrücken, 2014. S. 215–219.

²⁰ Stahl, R. Wer ist die Wahrheit? S. 212–216.

²¹ Martin Luther. *Disputatio Heidelbergae Habita 1518 / Heidelberger Disputation 1518*, in: *Lateinisch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*. Bd 1. Leipzig, 2006. S. 57–59: «Nicht der ist gerecht, der viel wirkt, sondern der ohne Werk viel an Christus glaubt». «Denn die Gerechtigkeit wird [...] eingegossen durch den Glauben. [...] Von daher will ich jenes (,ohne Werk’) so verstanden wissen: nicht, dass der Gerechte nichts wirke, sondern dass seine Werke nicht seine Gerechtigkeit bewirken, sondern vielmehr seine Gerechtigkeit die Werke bewirkt».

is very clear and shows that faith alone is able to grasp the death and resurrection of Christ without any deeds, and that his death and resurrection is our life and justification»²².

It's interesting to see how Bibles in other languages have this sentence: In 2010 I found that the Czech Bible: «[...], že se člověk stává spravedlivým vírou bez skutků zákona» — is without «alone». The Revised Standard Version reads as we heard it already: «...that a man is justified by faith apart from works of law» — without «alone». And the Russian Bible reads: «что человек оправдывается веру, независимо от дел закона» — again without «alone», без «только»! But in June this year (2018) Péter Szeghljánik, a Reformed Hungarian colleague from the Western Ukraine in Béregyszász / Beregowo, informed me that the original Hungarian Bible from the year 1589, translated by the Reformed theologian Gáspár Károlyi from Transylvania, had this additional «alone». Presently the Hungarian Bible does not have this «alone» any more.

By adding this word «alone» Martin Luther sharpened the position of St. Paul: Before God we are only persons who receive. Before God we cannot mention anything about our own ability or our own power or our own success. There we are always done.

IV.

Now I would like to discuss two important examples. In this discussion the translation by Martin Luther will be only one of various solutions to the problems — and not the best one.

IV. 1.²³

For a long time I have difficulties with the traditional translation of Genesis 1:26.27. What are the Hebrew sentences really saying? —

²² *Raeder, S.* Luther als Ausleger und Übersetzer der Heiligen Schrift. S. 276. «Was ist's denn nun, dass man so tobet und wütet, ketzert und brennt, so die Sache doch im Grund klar daliegt und beweist, dass allein der Glaube Christi Tod und Auferstehung fasse ohne alle Werke, und derselbige Tod und Auferstehung unser Leben und unsere Gerechtigkeit sei». Cf.: *Martin Luther.* D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Bd 30. P. II. *Martin Luther.* D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Bd 30. P. II. S. 642.

²³ For this publication I have to underline that I have not read that part of my paper because I had the impression that it would be too difficult for a first listening. But I think for reading and reflection it might be of interest.

«Wajjo'mär 'Älohim na'asäh 'Adam b'ezalmenu kidmuthenu. W'jirdu bidgath hajjam [...] Wajjibra' 'Älohim 'äth Ha'adam b'ezalmo, b'ezäläm 'Älohim bara' 'otho».

In the spring of 1991 in Leipzig in preparing my lecture about the first part of the Book of Genesis, I learned from an article by Manfred Görg, Munich, that the original meanings of these terms are seen in the old Egyptian language and also in Genesis in chapter 5:1.3: The son is the new manifestation of the father, therefore he is capable of doing what the father was able to do: «He [Adam] begat a son in his likeness, after his image» (Genesis 5:3). And from there we understand the sentence: «When God created humankind, he made it in the likeness of God» (Genesis 5:1). This means: Humankind does not look like God. That's impossible. Therefore humankind is not the image, not the picture of God, which is often said. But humankind is — as I like to say — the representative of God on earth with a special task: to govern the animals. In this task with regard to the animals we see the quality of humankind — by the way: common for male and female, because the Hebrew sentence ends: «zakar unqebah» = «male and female».

Therefore I translate our Hebrew passage this way: «Then God said: Let us make humankind as our representative and with our qualification / with our quality to govern upon the fishes of the water [...]. So God created humankind as his representative, as representative of God he created it» (Genesis 1:26.27).

Already in 2000 Bernd Janowski published in the fourth edition of the famous dictionary «Religion in Past and Present» («Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart») a short article about the «Imago Dei» («Gottebenbildlichkeit»), from which I want to quote the central information in a free translation into English: Genesis 1:26 contains three related statements — concerning the creation, concerning the image, and concerning the governing. First it explains the assertion that humankind does represent God with respect to the earth, secondly it explains the aspect of image, with which the understanding of an identity between humankind and God should be avoided, and thirdly it explains the aspect of government of humankind over the earth and the animals²⁴.

²⁴ Janowski, B. Art. Gottebenbildlichkeit, I. Altes Testament und Judentum, in: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. 2000. Bd 3. S. 1159–1160: «[...] daß Gen 1,26-31 drei aufeinander bezogene Aussagen (Schöpfungs-, Bild- und Herrschaftsaussage) enthält. [...]

I have the feeling that the translation of our sentences into the Greek language bridges to the Christian doctrine of «Imago Dei»: The Jews in the third century before Christ in Egypt translated: «κατ' εικονα ημετεραν» — «concerning our image» and «καθ' ομοιωσιν» — «concerning likeness» (Genesis 1:26). First we have to recognize, that «in the understanding of the Septuagint humankind was not created in similarity to God but in similarity to the imagination of God — to the picture about humankind God had in mind»²⁵. And secondly I have the feeling, that the second phrase — «concerning likeness» — provoked the misunderstanding, that humankind was created in a special way to be like God.

Therefore I am a convinced friend of the purely orthodox painting tradition, in which there is no picture of God possible, except the picture of Jesus Christ. Therefore the image of God is the image of Christ — for example in the dome of the cupola of a church (in the Church of the Saviour on the Blood in St. Petersburg).

IV. 2.

As a second example I would like to draw your attention to a translation problem that was recently discussed in several churches — also in our German Churches. This is the translation of the sixth petition of the Lord's Prayer.

In the beginning of December 2017 a critique by Pope Francis was published, saying that the usual translation was not a good one²⁶. The background for this statement was a discussion in 2013 about a revision of biblical texts for the worship service in France, which was approved by the Vatican in December 2017. The traditional formulation

den funktionalen Aspekt der G.[ottebenbildlichkeit] im Sinne des *Repräsentationsgedankens* betont, [...] um eine Identität von Bild (Mensch) und Abgebildetem (Gott) zu vermeiden, diesen Aspekt im Sinn einer *Vergleichbarkeit* des Menschen mit Gott. [...] Worin sich die G.[ottebenbildlichkeit] erweist, sagt in Gen 1,26 der an die Bildbegriffe anschließende Finalsatz: »damit sie (sc. die Menschen) herrschen über die Fische des Meeres...»

²⁵ Prestel, P., Schorch, S. Genesis: Das erste Buch Mose, in: *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare* / Hrsg. von M. Karrer, W. Kraus. Stuttgart, 2011. Bd 1. S. 159.

²⁶ Cf.: Папа: будущее принадлежит не тем, кто производит оружие, а тем, кто сеет братство [Электронный ресурс], В кн.: *Радио Ватикана*. URL: http://www.archivioradiovaticana.va/storico/2017/12/06/%D0%BE%D0%B1%D1%89%D0%B0%D1%8F_%D0%B0%D1%83%D0%B4%D0%B8%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%86%D0%B8%D1%8F_6_%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%80%D1%8F/ru-1353264 (06.12.2017).

sounds — like in all other languages: «Et ne nous soumetts pas à la tentation» — «И не введи нас в искушение». The new formulation sounds: «Et ne nous laisse pas entrer en tentation»²⁷ — «And let us not fall into temptation». How you would formulate this? Anton Tichomirow, St. Petersburg, has written the following version to me: «И не дай нам впасть в искушение»?

First I have to say that the Greek sentence in Matthew 6:13a and in Luke 11:4c is in the first glance a normal sentence of petition: «καὶ μὴ εἰσενεγκῆς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν» — «And lead us not into temptation». But one very interesting commentary I want to quote: Professor Dr. Hans Klein, Sibiu-Hermannstadt, Romania, has written in his commentary on the Gospel of Luke in a footnote: «The verb could also be understood in a causative meaning: ‘help, that we are not coming into temptation’»²⁸.

And secondly this sentence opens the fundamental question whether God is really leading us into temptation or not. Concerning this question we first have to read the important statement in the letter of James: «Let no one say when he is tempted, ‘I am tempted by God’; for God cannot be tempted with evil and he himself tempts no one» (James 1:13). In your Bible: «В искушении никто не говори: «Бог меня искушает»: потому что Бог не искушается злом и Сам не искушает никого». And I’m able to quote Martin Luther from his Small Catechism: «Хотя Бог и не искушает никого, но мы просим Его в этой молитве охранять и оберегать нас дабы диавол, мир и плоть наша не смущали нас [...]»²⁹. Here Luther additionally identifies, who it is who leads us into temptation: the Evil One, the world and our worldly existence.

Therefore I would suggest that we keep to the old translation, as also did the new revision of the Luther-Bible in Germany of 2017. But additionally it would be good to give to Matthew 6:13 and Luke 11:4 and also in future publications of the Lord’s Prayer a note, in which should be written: God does not lead into temptation. Other powers are doing this. And in this

²⁷ Cf.: Französische Übersetzung des «Vater Unser» überarbeitet [Electronic source], in: *Katholische Nachrichten*. October 25th, 2013. URL: www.kath.net/news/43400 (29.06.2018).

²⁸ Klein, H. *Das Lukasevangelium*. Göttingen, 2006. S. 407, note 57: «Das Verb kann auch kausativ im Sinne von, veranlasse, daß wir nicht in Versuchung kommen, verstanden werden».

²⁹ Cf.: *Der Kleine Katechismus D. Martin Luthers*. Erlangen, s. a. 3. Auflage. S. 18–19: «Gott versucht zwar niemand; aber wir bitten in diesem Gebet, daß uns Gott behüte und erhalte, damit uns der Teufel, die Welt und unser Fleisch nicht betrüge [...]».

petition of the Lord's Prayer we pray that God keeps us and defeats us in such dangers.

The Roman Catholics and also the Protestants in France now pray this supplication of the Lord's Prayer in the new form: «Et ne nous laisse pas entrer en tentation». They ask God to protect us from temptation³⁰.

V. Attachment³¹

It is also important just to recognize, that Martin Luther has created many formulations which have since become idiomatic in the German language. I only give some examples:

Matthew 12:34 (Luke 6:41):

a) In Greek the sentence sounds: «εκ γαρ του περισσευματος της καρδιας το στομα λαλει».

b) The Revised Standard Version (1952)³² has translated it as: «For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks».

c) Your Russian Bible (1873) reads: «Ибо от избытка сердца говорят уста».

d) Klaus Berger (2001)³³ has translated it: «Denn der Mund verrät, wovon das Herz übervoll ist».

e) Luise Schottroff, has formulated in the «Bibel in gerechter Sprache» / in «Bible in the Language of Justice» (2006)³⁴: «Denn wovon das Herz überfließt, davon spricht der Mund».

f) The Zürcher Bibel (2006)³⁵ says: «Spricht doch der Mund nur aus, wovon das Herz überquillt».

g) But Luther had formulated (in the edition from 1903, which I had received as gift to my confirmation in 1965): «Wes das Herz voll ist, des gehet der Mund über».

³⁰ Lauer, J. Mit einer Stimme beten — das geänderte Vaterunser in Frankreich, in: *Glaube und Heimat*. 11.03.2018. No 10. S. 14.

³¹ Also this part never was read in front of the different audiences. But for reading it would be important to grasp this very famous aspect of Luther's work for the German language.

³² The Holy Bible. Revised Standard Version, Bible Society, Old Testament from 1952, New Testament from 1971.

³³ Berger, K., *Nord, Ch.* Das Neue Testament und frühchristliche Schriften. Frankfurt am Main/Leipzig, 2001. 5. Auflage.

³⁴ *Bibel in gerechter Sprache*. Gütersloh, 2006.

³⁵ *Zürcher Bibel*. Zürich, 2007.

The most modern edition Lutherbibel (revidiert 2017) reads: «Wes das Herz voll ist, des geht der Mund über».

This I would translate into English: «About what the heart is full, this overflows from the mouth».

And into Russian, I think: «Ибо от сердца полна, уста перегаёт».

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The existing German translations of the Bible were in regional German dialects or in a poor German and only from the Vulgata. Therefore, Martin Luther started in the beginning of 1522 with the translation of the New Testament, which was published in September 1522. But he and his colleagues managed the translation of the Old Testament in a long lasting process from 1522 to 1534. The basis of these translation works were original textual editions of the Bible. This translation work went further the Latin Bible to the original texts in Greek and in Hebrew. On that basis he and his colleagues searched for most appropriate und clear formulae. One example, the comment on «Magnificat» (Luke 1:28), where Luther expressed a new understanding of Mary, is discussed in the article.

Then the paper describes the distinctions between Law and Gospel, Letter and Spirit and the Two Kingdoms by God, and it looks to Romans 3:28, where Luther adds the word «allein» / «alone» which is not in the Greek text.

Finally translation problems of Genesis 1:26.27 as well as of Matthew 6:13a and Luke 11:4c are discussed and of how Martin Luther has influenced the development of the German language.

Key words: Law and Gospel, Letter and Spirit, Two Kingdoms, Magnificat, Romans 3:28, the Lord's Prayer

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Немецкие переводы Библии, существовавшие до перевода Мартина Лютера, были написаны на региональных немецких диалектах или на бедном немецком языке и переведены с Вульгаты. Поэтому Мартин Лютер в начале 1522 г. присутствовал к переводу Нового Завета, который был опубликован в сентябре 1522 г. Но он и его коллеги длительное время работали над переводом Ветхого Завета, с 1522 по 1534 г. Эти переводческие работы были оригинальными текстовыми изданиями Библии. Они были ближе к оригинальным текстам на греческом и древнееврейском языках, чем к латинской Библии. На этом основании Лютер и его коллеги искали наиболее точные и в то же время понятные формулировки. В статье обсуждается один пример — «Magnificat» (Лк 1:28), где Лютер выразил понимание того, что Мария важна для нас как образ святой.

Затем в статье описываются различия между Законом и Евангелием, Буквой и Духом и двумя Царствами Божиими и анализируется перевод Послания к римлянам (Рим. 3:28), в котором Лютер добавил слово «один», которого нет в греческом тексте. Наконец, обсуждаются проблемы перевода Быт. 1:26.27, а также Мф 6:13а и Лк 11:4с. В заключение автор делает общие выводы о влиянии Мартина Лютера на развитие немецкого языка.

Ключевые слова: Закон и Евангелие, Буква и Дух, Два Царства, Великолепие, Рим. 3:28, Молитва Господня

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