works vs grace, and faith infused with love cannot exist unexamined, particularly in contexts in which the rhetoric of law connotes domestic abuse (Trelstad) and a theory of justification that is antithetical to works leaves open the question of ethical responsibility. Epistemologically, questions of power and the various -isms vis-à-vis Luther's theology of the cross need reforming attention in light of real-life experiences of how biblical interpretations – including Luther's – have hindered rather than promoted freedoms of human beings, as in for example Mannermaa's (2005) ecumenically inspired study of Luther's lectures on Galatians that led to a revised argument on his doctrine of justification. Lutheran biblical interpretation from the "subaltern," from historically marginalized groups, resonates with Luther's initially radical risk-taking in claiming the right to name the reality with the truths sought from the Word that promises freedom, first and foremost.

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See also → Interpretation, History of; → Jewish-Christian Relations; → Justification; → Luther's Hermeneutics; → Luther Bible; → Melanchthon, Philipp; → Nicholas of Lyra; → Reuchlin, Johannes

Luther Bible

I. Christianity

The publication of Luther's translation of the New Testament in September 1522 ushered in a new era of the Book of Books in Germany and in greater Europe. Both its adoption and the discussion surrounding it greatly increased. Although the Church had occasionally banned Bibles in vernacular translations, there had actually been no lack of translations of the supposedly authoritative and inspired Latin Vulgate. In Germany, in particular, there is evidence of seventy-two translations prior to 1522, including complete Bibles with both the Old and New Testaments. Among printed editions, there were fourteen in High German and four in Low German. Often, grandiose hand copied Bibles became available for private use among the wealthy. Printings of the so-called Medieval Bible, from Johann Mentelin's 1466 edition to Hans Otmar's 1507 edition, were abruptly halted after the publication of the September Testament. Luther's Bible became an unparalleled success story. During his lifetime, 430 complete and partial editions were published, totaling at least a half a million copies. Why was Luther's Bible so successful?

The question is in fact quite easy to answer. By the time of the Diet of Worms in 1521 and his refusal to recant, Luther had become a celebrity. The major writings of the Reformation, including *On the Freedom of a Christian*, had been widely available since 1520. Thus, there was an expectation not for yet another vernacular translation of the Vulgate, but rather a presentation of the Bible as the basis

of faith, just as Luther understood it to be, a Bible corresponding to the reformer's theology in understandable and inspiring language. The printed Bible of the Middle Ages was a relatively literal rendition of the Vulgate and in rather archaic German that corresponded to its underlying manuscript, dating from around 1350. When Luther declared that the Bible alone could provide the foundation for the truth of a theological thesis, the reader encountered this foundation for the first time in a form that was fresh, gripping and, not least, relatively inexpensive.

But there was another more weighty factor. Luther was not only a theologian, but also a humanist. He followed the new philosophical movements out of Italy and played a leading role in the formation of the University of Wittenberg. A return to the sources in their original languages was the predominant aspect of the *Zeitgeist*. The Latin Vulgate was itself a translation, not a bad one to be sure, but certainly not the original, and after more than 1000 years it was full of transcription errors. By contrast, Luther took the Greek text as the basis for his New Testament and was lucky enough to be able to rely on Erasmus of Rotterdam's recent critical edition, which was published initially in 1516 as *Novum Instrumentum* and revised as *Novum Testamentum* in 1519. Erasmus' edition presented the text and its translation in excellent Latin together with philological notes. This Greek text basis shines through in Luther's translation again and again. However, so does the Vulgate, which to a certain extent still rang in the ear of Luther, the great reader of the Bible.

The circumstances surrounding the translation of the Old Testament, which directly followed the New, were significantly more adverse due to the increasing tumult of the Reformation and not least due to Luther's illness. As a result, the translation was not published until 1534. Luther had to come to grips with the Hebrew and required more help with the language from his friend Melanchthon than he did with the Greek. He also had to find an expert for the teaching post in Hebrew at the University of Wittenberg. Once this position was filled, Luther could then receive advice. After several failed attempts, Matthäus Aurogallus eventually filled the position. Luther also leaned on his predecessors, in particular Johann Reuchlin, who had produced both a Hebrew grammar and a distinguished annotated translation of the Psalter. His use of these aids also comes through in Luther's German translation. It is more difficult to judge to what extent Luther drew on the Medieval Bible, as Catholic theologians claimed in times of controversy. But there are traces of just such a connection. Though Luther initially translated *plaudite minibus* in Ps 46:2 as *klappen mit den henden* ("clap with [your] hands"), later he changed it to *frolocket mit henden* ("rejoice with hands") – precisely the formulation found in the Medieval Bible.

Whether Luther's translation conformed to the humanist ideal of returning to the original sources was not the decisive point. Luther also followed humanistic translation theory – ultimately the Roman theory – that Jerome, following Cicero, records in a letter to Pammachius "On the Best Method of Translating." In his short article "An Open Letter on Translating" (*WA* 30: 612–46), Luther lays out and explains his central thesis: A translation should be done according to meaning not words. However, an aspect of this approach is often overlooked. According to Cicero, a translation should be understood in the military imagery of a conquest, as when the Romans adopted Greek culture for themselves after their conquest of Greece. The translator, in Latin *interpres*, is indeed an "interpreter" of the text and has or can exercise for himself the right to appropriate the text according to his understanding. Thus, out of this principle there arose in the 17th century the slogan, *belles infidèles*, the "beautiful unfaithful ones," who were to be preferred to the "ugly faithful."

Luther did not adopt and employ this principle aesthetically but rather theologically. He wanted to offer the Bible in the way he understood it. His prime example is the addition of *allein*, "alone," in Rom 3:28. He translates Rom 3:28, concerning justification, as follows: *on des Gesetzes werck / alleine durch den Glauben* ("without the work of the Law, but through faith alone"), while the Vulgate reads *per fidem sine operibus legis*. He argues that this "alone" accords with German usage. Yet, what is often overlooked is the fact that at the end of his article, Luther writes that language usage is not decisive; rather, the "alone" arises from theology. In this way, Luther commits himself to a translation that interprets its underlying text. The Bible produced thereby is not "the" Bible, but "Luther's" Bible, completely in keeping with Renaissance ideals. In fact, Luther's first argument appears relatively weak. That "alone" accords with German usage means one could well have used the word in a different way, namely with "works": "by faith, and not by works alone." Only this would not have befitted Luther's theology.

This should not be understood to mean that Luther's translation is not stylistically brilliant. In fact, it became more understandable and more polished with each edition. This has nothing to do with his theological proclivities. In his essay, Luther mocks the Vulgate's rendering of Matt 12:34 and Luke 6:45, *abundantia cordis os loquitur*, with its "excess of the heart," but he offers his famous, smooth German rendering that both enriched and advanced the German language: *Wes das Hertz vol ist/des gehet der Mund uber* ("the mouth speaks of what fills the heart"). Even changing the placement of the verb in

Matt 1:21 from *Vnd sie wird geberen einen son* in the September Testament to *Vnd sie wird einen son geberen* in the December Testament, counts among decisions that would greatly impact the development of written German. The same is true of Luther's influential use of conjunctions. While he initially used a simple *und* in Mark 15:25, *Vnd es war umb die dritte stunde/vnd sie creutzigten jn* ("and it was about the third hour, and they crucified him"), he used a much clearer construction in his complete Bible edition: *Vnd es war umb die dritte Stunde, da (s.c.: als) sie jn creutzigen* ("and it was about the third hour when they crucified him"). The creation of compound words also became influential, for example, when he transforms *der im land Syrien pfleger* into *Landpflegerin Syrien* (Luke 2:2).

Yet it is Luther's theological adaptations that particularly stand out. They are found, for example, in his rendering of the term righteousness, where Luther wanted to establish his understanding of righteousness not as God's punishing righteousness but God's gracious act of making a person righteous. Just before the famous verse, Rom 3:28, where the Vulgate reads simply *iustitia Dei*, Luther offers a fuller paraphrase. He writes of the revelation of a righteousness *die vur Gott gilt* ("that obtains before God"), and thereby brings into play the judicial metaphor of legal validity. In this way, Luther lays down an interpretation and at the same time sharpens the message of the verse. Because, for Luther, everything depended on the idea that righteousness could not be attained by humanity through works, but could only originate in God's grace, he wanted to express the idea in the translation itself. He wanted to clarify an expression that, in his opinion, Paul had not formulated clearly enough or that in itself was too ambiguous, and so he offered an expanded paraphrase. Had someone said to Luther that his translation did not reflect the actual text, he would have probably pointed out in bewilderment that he wanted more than just a literal reflection of the original.

Luther's translation of the Bible was a grand achievement. But this translation does not reflect "the" Bible. Rather, it is in the most positive sense a Renaissance translation. Luther exercises the right to deliver an interpretation through translation. Of course, this was obvious early on and was therefore criticized. Jerome Emser wrote an extensive critique in 1523 and followed that up with his own translation of the entire Bible in 1527, *Das naw testament*. It is evident from his translation that Emser valued the stylistic elegance of Luther's version, which to the reformer's aggravation Emser simply carried over into his own. It was this translation that led to Luther's "Open Letter on Translating." It should also not be overlooked that Luther's translation became a model for emulation in the Protestant camp. Between 1524 and 1529, the Zurich Bible was devel-oped under the guidance of Ulrich Zwingli, which at first heavily depended on the Luther Bible but later showed greater distance from it. The complete Zurich Bible was even finished before Luther's complete Bible. Another example is William Tyndale's English translation, which he began in Wittenberg in 1525, but was unable to complete due to his arrest and execution. Against the vigorous opposition of the Catholic Church, which coupled local languages with heresy, translations were published throughout Europe. Many of them, such as the Danish translation of 1524, were not based on fresh investigation of the original sources, but on Luther.

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II. Judaism

In German-speaking lands, Martin Luther's translation permanently changed people's expectations about how a vernacular Bible should look and sound. The premise that translation ought to convey the literal sense of scripture in clear language became the defining feature of Yiddish and German Jewish Bible translations in the modern period. Jewish translators imitated Luther's natural style, shared his aspiration to render scripture appealing to the laity, and admired his use of translation to launch a religious revolution.

Scholars of Old Yiddish note that during the early 16th century, when hundreds of editions of the Luther Bible were being produced, diverse Yiddish texts related to the Bible were also being printed and distributed to Jewish communities in Europe. However, the Luther Bible's direct influ-

ence on Jewish translators dates to Amsterdam in 1678 and 1679, where, as part of the efforts of the early *Haskalah* towards cultural and linguistic reform, the first two complete, literal renderings of the Hebrew Bible into Yiddish were produced, to be marketed to Yiddish-speaking Jews in Poland. The publishers Uri Phoebus and Joseph Athias were inspired by the popular Dutch States Bible or Statenvertaling (1637), based, like the Luther Bible, on the original Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic. The translators Jekuthiel Blitz and Joseph Witzenhausen, in seeking to update the Yiddish translation vocabulary (*ḥumesh taytsh*), borrowed from and imitated Luther's vocabulary. Luther's stylistic fluency and expressivity had enormous appeal for translators who aspired to produce a Jewish rendering into German that was clear, correct, and literary. In essence, this remained the motive for many subsequent Jewish translators into the 20th century.

Moses Mendelssohn may have been the first Jewish translator to acknowledge, in print, his admiration for Luther's "Hebraic" German translation. He did so not in connection with his Pentateuch (1780–83), but rather, in the preface to his German translation of Psalms in 1783. The title "Luther of the Jews" was one of many accolades conferred on Mendelssohn by Heinrich Heine and others, who misrepresented the Jewish Enlightenment's focus on the Bible as a parallel to Luther's challenge to the Catholic Church. Mendelssohn's translation of the Bible was part of a language revolution, but the goal was to enable Ashkenazi Jewry to retain access to their scripture as they moved from Yiddish to German. *Sola scriptura* did not quite apply, in light of the fact that Mendelssohn's translation included extensive commentary (*be'ur*), and his preface established the project as continuous with the rabbinic hermeneutic tradition.

By the 17th and 18h centuries, Pietist and Christian Enlightenment translations modernized Luther's Bible-German according to 18th-century tastes, biblical scholarship, and linguistic developments. Similarly, by the early 19th century, the newly Germanophone Jewish community, now largely alienated from Hebrew and Yiddish, required alternatives to Mendelssohn's translation. In 1819–20, in the early years of Reform Judaism, Leopold Zunz in Berlin was implored by his teacher to become a "Jewish Luther" and advocate for reform of Jewish religious life. Although Zunz rejected that particular mission, in favor of the pursuit of "scientific scholarship" (Wissenschaft) and education, he did undertake to edit a major new translation of the complete Hebrew Bible, the *Tanakh*, in collaboration with a group of Hebraists who did most of the translating. This translation, subtitled, *Die vier und zwanzig Bücher der heiligen Schrift*, followed Hebrew syntax at the expense of the German. Other rabbis and scholars, lamenting that Jews were still relying on inexpensive Christian translations, produced a range of new translations for school, synagogue, and home (*Prachtbibel*). Two rabbinic translators, Ludwig Philippson and Salomon Herxheimer, openly consulted with Christian translations and exegetes, and their *Bibelwerke* were in fact read and reviewed by Christian authorities.

A further, dramatic chapter in the Jewish reception of Luther's Bible translation occurred in the early 20th century, in the context of the Jewish cultural renaissance, and against the backdrop of the German Luther Renaissance. Franz Rosenzweig and Martin Buber – religious thinkers, philosophers, and avid literary translators – reconceptualized the practice of translating Scripture. In their view, the translation tradition initiated by Mendelssohn (and by the Enlightenment) had failed to inspire religiosity. In two important essays in the 1920s, "Scripture and Luther" and the "Afterword" to his translations of Judah ha-Levi's Hebrew poetry, Rosenzweig praised Luther's translation as a unique religious, linguistic, and cultural achievement: a German event with world-historical influence. The Buber-Rosenzweig Bible (1925–29, completed in 1961) would be a text through which the voice of God might speak to all "people today" and inspire them to change their lives. More than any of the preceding translators, Buber and Rosenzweig connected their praxis to Luther's own.

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Abigail Gillman

III. Literature

Martin Luther's German Bible might seem an unlikely place to find one of the most influential statements on drama theory, but his preface to the Book

of Tobit (1534) provides just that. In the preface, he makes two stark claims: firstly, that the apocryphal books of Judith and Tobit can serve as prototypical tragedy and comedy, and secondly, that Greek drama may have developed from reading these Hebrew books (Lähnemann: 308). He wrote:

> Only God himself really knows, but the Greeks might well have learned and then adapted the performing of comedies and tragedies from the Jews, as they did with many other wisdom and holy services. Judith certainly makes a fine, solemn, and gallant tragedy [gute/ ernste/ dapffere Tragedien], just as Tobit makes a delightful, subtle, and blessed comedy [feine liebliche/ Gottselige Comedien]. Judith shows how both a country and a people are quite often severely afflicted and how, at first, tyrants rave haughtily, but are finally brought down in shame. In the same way, Tobit shows how a virtuous farmer or citizen may still have a distressing time and that there is much suffering in husbandry.

This statement provided the perfect springboard for a lively tradition of Protestant dramas. Throughout the next hundred years, Luther's recommendation earned apocryphal subjects, such as Susannah, a prominent place in theaters. Some of the early Reformation dramas, such as Joachim Greff's "Judith," are direct versifications of Luther's Bible translation. Other dramatists, such as Sixt Birck or Hans Sachs, just used Luther's statement as an encouragement to create new forms of comedies, or saw it as a justification to adapt for the German stage Greek and Roman topics which might not have made it into Protestant schools without Luther's encouragement.

It is harder to trace Luther's influence on other genres. His hymns, of course, had an immense impact on religious poetry, and several songs inspired by his poetry could be counted as imaginative literature (e.g., the dialogue hymn "Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld" by Paul Gerhardt). Only a few of them, however, were based on Luther's Bible translation – even his Psalm paraphrases were either written before his translation of the Book of Psalms (e.g., "Aus tiefer Not") or too free to count as being directly influenced by his German Bible (e.g., "Ein feste Burg"). Similarly, Luther's influence on the genre of the sermon is self-evident, both through the text quoted as the basis for the sermon and through the structural model evident in Luther's sermons, especially in the Postille. However, there was little cross-fertilization of sermons with more literary prose genres which would constitute imaginative literature. The influence of his Bible on narrative literature can be found on the micro-structural level of phrases used, proverbs quoted, and references to characters popularized through the German Bible. Classicism tried to reach back to the original languages of the Bible e.g., in Johann Gottfried Herder's and Johann Wolfgang Goethe's versions of the Song of Songs, but even for the philologist Herder, Luther remained the point of reference for language aesthetics. This is true also for Goethe,

even though he has Faust try to better Luther through his own translation of John 1:1. Certain phrases coined by Luther for his translation retained their biblical flavor right into modern literature. For example, "erkennen," used for having sex, was adopted by Thomas Mann in his trilogy *Joseph und seine Brüder*, which owes its whole structure to Mann's reading of Luther's Genesis translation.

Finally, the reputation of the Luther Bible as the epitome of the German language still pervades statements by authors repeatedly into the 19th and 20th centuries, as it did in earlier periods. Two unlikely prime witnesses for this are Heinrich Heine and Bertold Brecht. Heine claimed it was only through Luther that German became fit for literature (Heine: 82) and that Luther's language is still *the* source of renewal ("dieses alte Buch ist eine ewige Quelle der Verjüngung für unsere Sprache," Heine: 77). As a student, Brecht was already fascinated by the power exerted by the language of the Bible and noted in his diary in 1920: "certain biblical words are indestructible. They pierce you through and through … they stroke your back as if making love" (Ramthun: 49). In 1928, when asked which book he would name as most influential for his own writing, he famously answered: "You'll laugh – the Bible" ("Sie werden lachen, die Bibel") – a quotation used in 1975 for a collection of statements by contemporary politicians and artists on what the Bible meant for them. And the Bible in question? What else could it be, other than the Bible in the German form Luther had given it.

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Henrike Lähnemann

IV. Visual Arts

Editions of Luther's translation of the Bible have a rich history of illustration. From the first edition of his translation of the NT in September 1522, Luther worked closely with Lucas Cranach the Elder, who produced a series of twenty-one full-page illustrations of the Book of Revelation, each corresponding to a chapter of the biblical book. The influence of Dürer's famous series of fifteen images of the Apocalypse (1498) can clearly be seen, although Cranach's cycle is notably more literal and more polemical in its interpretation. In three of the images, the antagonists of Revelation are depicted wearing prominent three-tiered papal crowns (the beast from the abyss in ch. 11, the beast upon the throne in ch. 16, and "the Whore of Babylon" in chapter 17). These papal identifiers were removed in the December 1522 printing. Other historical figures are easily recognizable in these images, including the Emperor Maximilian I, and friars as supporters of

Antichrist. Subsequent editions of Luther's NT added images. The 1524 octavo edition introduced a whole-page frontispiece for each book of the NT; the 1530 reprinting added an image by Cranach of Matthew, with Luther's features visible on the Evangelist's face. Further historical events shape the images: in an allusion to the events of 1529, the siege of the "beloved city" in Rev 20 is now recognizably Vienna, with Gog and Magog in Turkish dress.

In the 1523 printing of the first part of Luther's translation of the Old Testament, the images derive from the 1478 Cologne Bible. The 1524 folio printing of Part II in Wittenberg is illustrated by twenty-three woodcuts (with five on the Samson narrative in Judges), including a frontispiece by Cranach of Joshua in medieval armor. The 1524 edition of Part III of the HB/OT (Job to Song of Solomon) contains a large title page illustration with David and Moses above the title and Jesus below. The sole illustrative woodcut is Job in Affliction, a synchronic representation of all the characters in the narrative. A number of editions of individual books of the HB/OT were published through the remainder of the 1520s; notable illustrations include an image of Habakkuk from a 1526 printing, with the wild prophet appearing as Luther before the Emperor at the Diet of Worms.

Besides these Bibles printed in Wittenberg, those printed by Petri in Basel are notable for their images by Hans Holbein the Younger (1497–1543), including a 1523 printing of the September 1522 Wittenberg New Testament, and a 1524 printing of Luther's translation of the first part HB/OT, which contains, in addition to a number of images from the Koberger Bible (1483), at least five woodcuts by Hans Holbein.

The first complete Luther Bible was printed by Hans Lufft in Wittenberg in 1534, with illustrations carefully chosen and placed in the volumes for theological and spiritual interpretation of the text, in a process personally overseen by Luther. The title page of the first volume is by Cranach; the title page of the second volume reproduces Cranach's image of Joshua from 1524. The 1534 Bible contains 115 other woodcuts by several artists, all of which are new and richly detailed. Precise attribution is not always certain, but artists include Cranach the Elder, perhaps also Cranach the Younger, Melchior Schwarzenburg, and perhaps Hans Brosamer. Thirty-seven of these images are on themes that appear in the earlier Cologne and Lübeck Bibles, while twelve follow the standard patterns of the diagrams of Nicholas of Lyra for Exodus and First Kings, with new versions of the visions of Isaiah and Ezekiel that appeared in earlier editions of Luther's translations of these books. The twenty-one Cranach images for the Book of Revelation are re-drawn after the 1522 images, with papal tiaras restored, and five

Fig. 2 "Babylon burning" (Rev 18:21–23; 1541)

new images are added to the sequence. The images offer spiritual exegesis of the biblical text, often depicting key themes in Luther's theology (for example, Jacob Wrestling the Angel in Gen 32, emblematic of "wrestling with God"). Images illustrating HB/OT prophets frequently allude to NT references to HB/OT texts or to typological interpretations of these texts; typical examples are found in the appearance of the Crucifixion in the images of Isaiah's Call Vision (Isa 6, referring to the "Suffering Servant" imagery of Isa 41, 42 and 53), and of the Crucifixion and Resurrection prominently in the background in the image of Hosea. The images from the Book of Revelation are adapted from the earlier illustrations and given new historical parallels and polemical focus: for example, the battle over the city of Babylon of Rev 18, which in the 1522 image is identifiable as Rome, is now depicted as Worms (a riposte to the verdict of the Diet; see fig. 2).

The second edition, printed in 1535, adds woodcuts on the Fall, Cain and Abel, and David and Goliath. The new edition of 1540 contains 147 images, many of which are monogrammed GL for Georg Lemberger, and are entirely different from the 1534 images, closely corresponding with the Cologne and Lübeck Bibles. Even anti-Lutheran Bibles, such as that produced by Johann Eck in Ingolstadt (1537), make use of images from Luther's pre-1534 editions, stripped of the most striking anti-papal elements. Of the Luther Bibles produced after the Reformer's death in 1546, Johann Teufel or Deubel's 1572 illustrations enjoyed a long afterlife, while Matthaus Merian's (1593–1650) engravings adorned the most widely-owned Bible in southern Germany, Basel, and Alsace.

Given its importance to the Reformation movement, Luther's Bible plays a key role in representations of the Reformer. In Lufft's 1529 edition of the New Testament, the title page for the Gospel of Matthew depicts the Evangelist writing his gospel, his face recognizably that of Luther. The importance of the principle of *sola scriptura* is demon-

strated in Protestant iconography and portraiture more widely through images of Luther's Bible. In Cranach's 1539 portrait of Luther, he is shown with an open book, displaying the text of his translation of First Timothy, while in Cranach the Younger's 1555 Weimar Altarpiece, in a typological image of "Law and Gospel," Luther stands beneath the Cross on the side of grace, directing the viewer's gaze towards the open pages of scripture. In an engraving of ca. 1580, Luther's translation appears to have conferred a kind of sainthood: Wolfgang Stuber adapted Dürer's famous 1514 engraving of "Saint Jerome in His Study" to show Luther in the Church Father's place, his German Bible a new Vulgate, accessible to ordinary people.

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Giles Waller

V. Music

It is a reasonable assumption that almost all German language biblical music written in Lutheran contexts from the second half of the 16th century up to and including the 19th century was set to texts from the Luther Bible if not based on paraphrases or poetical rewritings, which were often also highly influenced by the language of the Luther Bible.

In the 16th century, the German *Meistergesang*, a type of song written and performed in bourgeois classes "came into the service of the Reformation, becoming predominantly Lutheran, through Hans Sachs, who with his contemporaries and followers aimed to incorporate Luther's translation of the Bible into verse, keeping it unchanged in language and content wherever possible" (Brunner).

The use of the Luther Bible among major German post-Reformation composers is almost a commonplace and has been pointed out in many specific cases, as for instance for the motets of Samuel Scheidt (1587–1654), which were either settings of chorales or "taken from Luther's translation of the Bible" (Snyder/Bush). Also Buxtehude (1637–1707) "drew all his German prose texts from the Luther Bible" (Snyder). In Howard E. Smither's discussion

of the early Lutheran Historia and Passion (Smither: 3–28), he points out that many *Historiae* in German Lutheran contexts (see "Historia [Music]") were based on Bible harmonies, as for instance the Passion and Resurrection harmony (1526) by Johann Bugenhagen (Luther's colleague and friend in Wittenberg). This text, naturally, was itself influenced by Luther's New Testament (1522). However, Passions based on individual gospels were common since Johann Walter's *St. Matthew Passion* (1530) and were, as pointed out by Julius Smend for Heinrich Schütz' three late Passions (1665–66; based on Matthew, Luke, and John), based on Luther's biblical text.

Mark Bangert points out that "reverence for Luther's translation of the Bible continued into the 18th century." He also notes that J. S. Bach "interacted with Luther's translation daily, for example in the librettos of the cantatas; in the narrative that propels the Christmas Oratorio; and in the passions, for which, contrary to a growing practice among his peers, Bach used Luther's translation rather than versified replacements" (Bangert: 53).

Composers in the 19th century continued to write biblical music to texts from the Luther Bible when using biblical texts directly (not in versified or paraphrased forms), as pointed out by R. Larry Todd for Mendelssohn's Second Symphony *Lobgesang* (partly a traditional symphonic work, partly a cantata setting primarily biblical psalms; Todd: 397). Also Brahms' biblical works were based on the Luther Bible, as pointed out for his *Ein deutsches Requiem* (1865–68) by Bozart/Frisch (see also "Brahms, Johannes"), but indeed for all his biblical music the text was drawn from the Luther Bible, for instance also in his *Vier ernste Gesänge* (Four Serious Songs, 1896).

The impact of the Luther Bible also reached Jewish Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951) through a Lutheran friend, possibly playing a part in his Lutheran conversion in 1898; even later (also after his conversion back to Judaism in 1933) "it was rarely out of his reach" (Ringer: 78, 26; quotation: 7). Most of his biblical music, however, was written to texts paraphrasing or rewriting its biblical basis.

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Nils Holger Petersen

VI. Film

Several movies about Martin Luther include scenes of his translating the Bible. One of the first films about Luther was titled *Die Wittenberger Nachtigall: Martin Luther* (dir. Erwin Báron, DE, *The Wittenberg Nightingale: Martin Luther*). It premiered in 1913 and was rereleased in 1921 under the title *Der Weg zur Sonne: Martin Luther* (*The Way to the Sun: Martin Luther*). Some critics pointed out that the film neglected to mention the Luther Bible; in a corrected version of the movie, an intertitle mentions this achievement (Wipfler: 82).

Another silent film, *Luther – Ein Film der deutschen Reformation* (dir. Hans Kyser, 1927, DE, *Luther*) includes a brief shot of Luther translating. Wipfler notes, "In early Luther films, writing, especially in the scene where Luther is translating the Bible, is … an established visual topos, an unmistakable iconographic borrowing from the portrait of the Evangelist" (2011: 21).

The 1953 movie *Martin Luther* (dir. Irving Pichel, DE/US) likewise includes a scene in which Luther toils over a manuscript. Standing nearby, a young servant asks the reformer if the language in front of him is Greek: "Can't you read at all?" asks Luther. "Oh, yes, sir. But only in our own language," replies the young man. Luther then hands him a passage from the gospel of John in German, which the servant is able to read aloud. "You see?" explains Luther, "Our German larks can be made to sing as sweetly as any Latin or Greek nightingale."

The five-part film *Martin Luther* (dir. Kurt Veth, 1983, DD/CZ) is a made-for-television movie commissioned in honor of the 500th anniversary of Luther's birth. Like many of its predecessors, it features scenes of Luther translating the New Testament: in this case, the gospel of Luke. Likewise, the German docudrama *Luther – Kampf mit dem Teufel* (dir. Günther Klein, 2007, *Luther – Fight with the Devil*) depicts Luther walking through the countryside as he translates aloud the gospel of John.

The 2003 movie titled *Luther*, starring Joseph Fiennes (dir. Eric Till, DE/US) gives considerable attention to the Luther Bible. In the movie, as Luther begins to translate the New Testament, his friend Spalatin warns, "This is treason." Luther asks incredulously, "To have a New Testament in German, in words ordinary people can understand?" "Yes," replies Spalatin, "It's the thing Rome fears most." Luther retorts, "Well, you must blame the Author for that." Struggling to convey the meaning of the Greek New Testament, Luther describes the process of translation as "tricky." He tells Spalatin, "The language of the Bible should be like a mother talking to her children." Later in the movie, Luther presents his translation of the New Testament to Frederick the Wise. Frederick seems astonished and claims that "this will separate us from Rome forever." Responds Luther, "I answer to God's law. Not

Roman." Towards the end of the film, when Charles V summons his princes and orders them to outlaw Luther's Bible, they refuse, instead offering to have their heads cut off if the emperor so wishes. The emperor does not call their bluff, and the closing credits assert that Luther's translation of the Bible "became a foundation stone of the German language." Finally, an episode of the German docudrama series *Die Deutschen* (*The Germans*) titled *Luther und die Nation* (*Luther and the Nation*) (dir. Christian Twente et al., 2008, DE) portrays Luther translating the New Testament and highlights the new techniques in printing that made his achievement more widely available.

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Theresa Sanders

Luther Renaissance

The Luther Renaissance, which can be dated between 1900 and 1960, was an ecclesial, ecumenical, and cultural reform movement in Germany, Scandinavia, and Finland. It was also the most important network for Luther research in these countries during this period and profoundly shaped Luther studies in Europe. The research focus was the person and experience of Martin Luther; its central question concerned the construction of a coherent unity of reformation thought for modernity. The impact of the Luther Renaissance on Lutheran theology was significant, for both its method and its theological contours, as well as having ecumenical and cultural repercussions. Although its influence has diminished since 1960, it still remains the object of critique amid newer shifts in the direction of research in Luther studies.

The Luther Renaissance became prominent in Germany after the end of the First World War in 1918. Heinrich Assel deems the theological underpinnings of this movement the "other new start" (Assel 1994), alongside the emergence of the dialectical theology of these years. The academic impetus for the Luther Renaissance was the rise and crisis of historicism in Germany at the time. Questions regarding the hermeneutics of religion as a "worldview" ("Weltanschauung"; W. Dilthey) were also significant, and these intertwined with the rise of religious history and sociology, especially under the influence of Max Weber (1864–1920).

The origins of the German Luther Renaissance can be traced to 1910 with Karl Holl's publication of a significant study of Luther. The study was inspired by the discovery and the subsequent publication (1908) of Luther's first Lectures on Romans