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John Kunstmann Concordia Seminary, St. Louis

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And Yet Again*: "Wes das Herz voll ist, des gehet der Mund über"

By JOHN G. KUNSTMANN

Seldom does a writer discuss Luther's translation of the Bible without calling attention to the Reformer's rendering in 1522 of Matt. 12:34b (cf. Luke 6:45b): ἐχ γὰο τοῦ περισσεύματος τῆς καρδίας τὸ στόμα λαλεῖ (Vulg.: ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur) by Wes das hertz voll ist / des geht der mund vbir (cf. Denn wes das hertz voll ist / des geht der mund vber).¹ Having commented on the non-literalness of Luther's translation of this passage, he extols the rendering as truly idiomatic and quotes, in support of the rightness of such a translation, one that is a reproduction and re-creation in German of the foreign and often alien original, the celebrated lines from the Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen (1530) in which Luther defends his "free" translation of the passage in question.²

Let one recent example suffice:

Luther steht . . . mit diesem Werke (seiner Bibelübersetzung) nicht am Anfang, sondern am Ende einer Entwicklung, doch auf ihrem Gipfel. Dazu verhalf ihm seine überragende sprachschöpferische Begabung. Er hat sich nicht nur Gedanken gemacht über die klarste Ausdrucksweise, hat nicht nur theoretisiert über Stil und Wortwahl—er hat auch mit der Tat bewiesen, was sprachliche Künstlerschaft und wissenschaftliches Verantwortlichkeitsgefühl im Bunde mit einander leisten können. Immer wieder ringt er um den einfachsten und klarsten deutschen Ausdruck, der vor allem den Sinn der Bibelstelle herausbringt . . . Matth. 12, 34 heiszt es in wörtlicher Übersetzung: "Aus dem Überflusz des Herzens redet der Mund." Da ruft er aus: "Sage

[•] διότι ἄφοων ἐκ περισσεύματος λαλεῖ. LXX, Eccles. 2:15 v. l.

John G. Kunstmann, Ph. D., is a graduate of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1916; was in charge of the Department of German, Concordia College, Fort Wayne, Ind., 1918—1927; and has been a member of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, the University of Chicago, since 1927.

ich, ist das deutsch geredet? Welcher Deutsche versteht solches? Überflusz des Herzens ist kein Deutsch . . . sondern also redet die Mutter im Haus und der gemeine Mann: Wes das Herz voll ist, des gehet der Mund über. Das heiszt gut deutsch geredt." 3

There is, of course, nothing wrong with the traditional procedure illustrated by the preceding quotation except that it perpetuates, or is apt to perpetuate, a number of errors concerning, not Luther's translation of the Bible in general, but concerning his theory and practice of translation in connection with this, and by the same token, in connection with other particular passages. To be specific, the traditional treatment of Luther's translation of Matt. 12:34b does not take into account the results of Einzel-untersuchungen undertaken in recent times.

The following two specialized investigations into Luther's translation of Matt. 12:34b are available:

a) W. Kurrelmeyer, "'Wes das Herz voll ist, des gehet der Mund über'," Modern Language Notes, L (1935), 380—82.—
Professor Kurrelmeyer, who as editor of Die Erste Deutsche Bibel has provided an indispensable tool for all investigations connected with Luther's translation of the Bible, states

Luther's coinage of this phrase thus (he has just quoted the famous lines from the *Sendbrief*) seems to be definitely established. It can be cited, however, from the *Evangelibuch* of Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg, published seven years before Luther's New Testament:

(ex habundantia cordus os loquor) was das hertz vol ist, des loufft der mund vber (fol. 152 verso, col. 2)

- ... it was Johannes Pauli who published Geiler's Evangelibuch in 1515, and again as Evangelia mit ußlegung in 1517. Either of these editions could have been in Luther's hands before he began the translation of the New Testament in 1521... it is also possible that Geiler (or Pauli) and Luther, independently of Geiler, used a vernacular phrase that was current among the common people; in fact, Luther's words in the Sendbrief... might be construed as supporting the latter alternative.⁵
- b) Arno Schirokauer, "Noch einmal: "Wes das Herz voll ist'," Modern Language Notes, LIX (1944), 221.—Professor Schirokauer offers the following addenda to the preceding article:

Mit Recht betont . . . Kurrelmeyer den umgangssprachlichen Charakter der Wendung, auf den ja auch Luther im Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen anspielt. Sie ist niemandes Eigentum, und die Frage ist offen geblieben, ob sie Luthern aus Geilers Schrift zugeflossen sei oder von wo anders. Ich glaube, sie ist zu beantworten. In Hieronymus Emsers Quadruplica . . . heiszt es auf Seite 131 des Neudrucks:

dann wie Christus vnd das gemeyn sprichwort sagt, was das hertz vol ist, gehet der mund vber, ex cordis enim abundantia os loquitur, Mathei XII.

Die an Luther gerichtete *Quadruplica* erreichte ihren Adressaten Anfang Juli 1522, das heiszt gerade in dem Augenblick, da die Übersetzung der Evangelien Luthers ganze Aufmerksamkeit in Anspruch nahm. Leicht möglich, dasz die Plastik der sprichwörtlichen Wendung in Emsers Kampfschrift sie Luthern empfahl. Er wird sie ohnehin gekannt haben, aber durch Emsers Anwendung wurde sie ihm handgerecht.

Professor Schirokauer then calls attention to the peculiar situation represented by Luther's defense of "his" translation of Matt. 12:34b against Emser:

Wenn ich den Eseln sol folgen, die werden mir die buchstaben furlegen, und also dolmetzschen: Auß dem uberflus des hertzen redet der mund.

He offers this explanation of das Pikante dieser Situation:

(Luther) selber hatte den Tatbestand inzwischen (i.e., 1521/22 to 1530) vergessen, Emser war durch den Tod gehindert, sein Besitzrecht geltend zu machen. Er hatte ja auch keines. Wir lernen von Emser, dasz—wie Kurrelmeyer schon richtig vermutet hatte—hier ein gemeyn sprichwort vorliegt, gebraucht von der mutter ym haus, dem gemeinen mann in der strassen, sogar den Eseln im katholischen Lager.

In other words, both, W. Kurrelmeyer and Arno Schirokauer, raise grave doubts as to Luther's authorship of the coinage of Wes das Herz voll ist, des gebet der Mund über. In all likelihood the phrase which long ago has become a gestügeltes Wort was not sired by Luther. Most probably Luther used a proverb which was current at the time, as evidenced by Geiler-Pauli's (1515/17) and by Emser's (1521) use of the adage — Geiler-Pauli simply

quoted it, Emser quoted it expressly as das gemeyn sprichwort. And the two scholars suggest that the possibility exists that Luther took this proverb over from Geiler-Pauli or from Emser. Both imply that Luther, several years after the appearance of the September Testament, in 1530, wrote in such a way as to create the impression that Wes das Herz voll ist was his coinage, even though his remarks may indicate that his contribution as translator in this case consisted rather in choosing an existing, current popular saying as the idiomatic German equivalent of ex abundantia cordinals to loquitur than in making independently his own translation.

The title of my article suggests that I believe it possible to add something, if only a mite, to the findings of the two distinguished Johns Hopkins scholars.

I

Did Luther have to learn of the existence of the "common proverb" Wes das Herz voll ist, des gehet der Mund über, from Geiler-Pauli or Emser?

I shall not discuss the possibility of Luther's learning of the proverb from Geiler-Pauli, for the simple reason that I do not know whether or not Luther ever saw or read one or the other edition mentioned by Professor Kurrelmeyer. As a possibility these two editions cannot be ruled out. On the other hand, Hieronymi Emsers Quadruplica auff Luters Jungest gethane antwurt, sein reformation belangend (Leipzig, 1521)8 did indeed reach Luther at the beginning of July, 1521.9 Even though this was not the time, da die Übersetzung der Evangelien Luthers ganze Aufmerksamkeit in Anspruch nahm—for Luther, most likely, did not begin to translate the New Testament until the middle of December, 152110—still the fact remains that Emser may have acquainted Luther for the first time with, or that he reminded him of, the existence of Wes das Herz voll ist, with the result that Luther, when he translated Matt. 12:34b and Luke 6:45b several months later, remembered.

But the assumption of this possibility, it seems to me, is linked with a second assumption, viz., that Wes das Herz voll ist . . . as translation of Matt. 12:34b or of Luke 6:45b in the September Testament of 1522 is Luther's first translation of ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ περισσεύματος τῆς καρδίας τὸ στόμα λαλεῖ or of ex abundantia cordis

os loquitur. The fact is, however, that the September Testament translation of Matt. 12:34b is not Luther's first translation of this Biblical passage. 10a

Before Luther translated the New Testament into German, he was busy in his Patmos with the Kirchenpostille, especially the Weibnachtspostille. The Weibnachtspostille appeared, most likely, at the beginning of March, 1522, and was sold at the Easter Fair at Frankfurt a. M. of that year. 12

It is here, in the Weibnachtspostille, composed before the translation of the New Testament was begun and published months before the September Testament, that Luther translates Matt. 12:34b for the first time, literally, and in addition shows that he is aware of the existence of a German proverb: Item das deutsch sprichwort: Weß das hertz voll ist, des geht der Mund ubir. 13

It is significant that the German proverb does not appear in this passage as translation of Matt. 12:34b. It is cited as a proverb. Just as, a few lines before, other, pagan, proverbs are cited: Qualis quisque est, talia loquitur. Was eyner fur man ist, darnach redet er auch. Item: Oratio est character animi, die rede ist eyn ebenbild odder controfeytt bild des hertzen. 14— Luther, having cited proverbs, pagan proverbs, summarizes and applies their meaning: Ist das hertz reyn, \(\beta\) o redet es reyn wort. Ist es unreyn, so redet es unreyne wort. And now Luther points out that the Bible agrees with this teaching of the heyden: Und damit stympt das Euangelium, da Christus sagt: Au\(\beta\) ubirflu\(\beta\) des hertzen redet der mund. Unnd aber: Wie mugt yhr guttis reden, \(\beta\) o yhr bo\(\beta\)e seyd?! Auch S. Johannes der teuffer Joh. 3: Wer von der erden ist, der redet von der erdenn. Item das deutsch sprichwort: . . 15

It is fairly obvious that Luther distinguishes here profane and sacred attestations. Profane are the proverbs. One of the proverbs is the German adage, Wes das Herz voll ist, des gehet der Mund über. 15a Sacred are the three passages, Matt. 12:34b, Matt. 12:34a (September Testament: Ibr ottern getzichte / wie kund yhr gutts reden / die weyll yhr bose seyt?), and John 3:31. The translation given of Matt. 12:34b is the literal translation, the same literal translation found later in the translation of the Sudler zu Dresden: dann auß fölle des hertzen redt der mund (Matt. 12:34b); Denn auß übersluß des hertzen redet der Mund (Luke 6:45b). 16

This translation of Luther's, his earliest (I believe) of Matt. 12:34b, was possibly influenced by the rendering of Die Erste Deutsche Bibel: Wann vor (auß) der begnugsam (überflüssigkeit) des hertzen(s)· redt der mund, 17 and by that of the Zainerbibel: auß der überflüssigkeit des hertzens redt der mund. 18

It is clear, then, that in 1521/22 Luther did not consider the "literal" translation of Matt. 12:34b undeutsch, thus becoming the first of several great German writers to use the "literal" translation which he condemns so roundly in 1530.¹⁹

It is also clear from the passage in the Weibnachtspostille that Luther was aware, at the end of 1521, of the existence of the German proverb, Wes das Herz voll ist . . . — whether through Geiler-Pauli, or through Emser, or by his own knowledge is hard to determine and, at this point, immaterial.

It is, again, clear from the passage in the Weibnachtspostille that Luther had not at that time, i.e., when he wrote the Weibnachtspostille, chosen to use the common proverb as the best possible idiomatic translation of Matt. 12:34b. This, to me, is an important point in the consideration of Luther's translation of Matt. 12:34b and one which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been emphasized: he had two choices, to translate literally or to translate idiomatically. He knew the excellent idiomatic formulation, Wes das Herz voll ist. . . . He could have used it. He did not. At least not in connection with his work on the Weibnachtspostille, which, together with the subsequent work on the Adventspostille, was in effect the immediate preparation for his translation of the New Testament. At that, the question of the proper or best rendering of ex abundantia cordis os loquitur must have been a matter of concern to Luther. Witness the fact that shortly after the composition of the Weibnachtspostille with its "literal" translation of Matt. 12:34b and its citation of the proverb side by side, only a few lines apart, Luther uses a rendering of ex abundantia . . . which is not yet that of the September Testament, but comes very close to it: . . . denn sie mussen doch lesternn unnd das maul ubir gehen lassen, des das hertz voll ist. The pamphlet, Eyn trew vormanung Martini Luther tzu allen Christen, sich tzu vorbuten fur auffruhr unnd emporung, in which this passage occurs,20 must have been written toward the very end of 1521 or

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at the beginning of 1522.²¹ The one important difference between the wording of the proverb in the Weibnachtspostille and that of the translation in the September Testament, on the one hand, and this passage, on the other hand, is the substitution of maul for mund, brought about, apparently, by the fact that the persons whose mouths overflow are Papisten ²²—although, in fairness, I must confess that I am not as sure as is Albert Freytag that Luther in Eyn trew vormanung means to paraphrase Matt. 12:34b.²³ Luther could be paraphrasing the German proverb, for the pamphlet, while it naturally teems with Biblical quotations and allusions, also cites German proverbs and proverbial expressions.

The following table should summarize reasonably well the course of Luther's preoccupation with the translation of Matt. 12:34b during 1521/22 and later:

middle of 1521 to end of 1521:

possible awareness of literal translation of Matt. 12:34b in Die Erste Deutsche Bibel and in Zainerbibel

awareness of existence of the German proverb, Wes das Herz voll ist, through Geiler-Pauli, or through Emser or through his own observation

adoption of literal translation of Matt. 12:34b in Weibnachts-postille

citation of the proverb as proverb in Weibnachtspostille

end of 1521 or very beginning of 1522:

use of German proverb (with maul instead of mund) in Eyn trew vormanung; the German proverb used here could be intended as translation of Matt. 12:34b

early months of 1522:

adoption of German proverb as translation of Matt. 12:34b and of Luke 6:45b in translation of New Testament, published later in 1522 as September Testament

1525:

paraphrase of the proverb or of his own September Testament translation in Ein Sendbrief von dem barten Büchlein wider die Bauern^{23a}

1530:

caustic rejection of literal translation of Matt. 12:34b in Sendbrief and insistence that the German proverb, without citing it as such, is the idiomatic translation of Matt. 12:34b

[1530/46 until now:]

The German proverb chosen by Luther as the idiomatic translation of Matt. 12:34b, undoubtedly because of this fact, becomes, and is, the "standard" form of the proverb in German.²⁴

II

So far I have left it open whether Luther became acquainted with the "common" German proverb, Wes das Herz voll ist, through Geiler-Pauli, or Emser, or through some other contemporary writer or publication, or whether he heard the proverb as a child in Thuringia or later in Erfurt or Wittenberg. From the point of view of eternity it is perhaps, as indicated before, immaterial to learn the answer to this question. There exists, I am convinced, the possibility that Luther, whose interest in proverbs and fables is well known, knew the proverb "by himself." 25

I am inclined to believe this because, in my opinion, the proverb was in reality a gemein Sprichwort. And well it could be such, because Wes das Herz voll ist, either in its "standard" form or in a similar formulation, was in existence or coming into general currency long years, even centuries, before ca. A. D. 1500—either as a Germaning of ex abundantia cordis os loquitur and similar Latin sayings 25a or as an independent German coinage.

To give this claim a foundation, even if it should prove to be a somewhat shaky foundation, and in order to stimulate further search for more and better examples, I am offering now, in the form of *Lesefrüchte* and in more or less chronological order, what I consider pre-1500 approximations and variants of our proverb:

Iwein (ca. 1200): mir ist ein dinc wol kunt:
ezn sprichet niemannes munt
wan als in sin herze lêret.²⁶

Bescheidenheit (ca. 1230): vil lithte sprichet der munt, daz dem herzen ist kunt.^{26a} "WES DAS HERZ VOLL IST,..."

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The next quotation is taken from Laszberg's Liedersaal, in which he published in the main material from the 14th century.²⁷ To me the following formulation of our proverb is the most significant pre-1500 formulation: it is introduced, in so many words, as a Germaning of ex abundantia cordis os loquitur, and it comes very close, at least in its first part, to the later "standard" wording of our proverb:

Wan warlich vnser baider mut
Anders nicht wann minnen tut
Daz nempt an dem gedicht die kur
Quia ex abundantia cordis os loquitur
Das tuschet waz ain hertz ist vol
Daz ret der munt ob er ez sol
Da von so hat myn munt bericht
Vz mynem hertzen diß gedicht
Vnd hat vermischt dar in latin 28

Hugo von Montfort (1357-1423):

Wan wes das hertz begerend ist, der mund tuots dikche sagen ²⁹

Worthy of mention is, too, from Klagenfurter Sammlung (1468), No. 56: Voller Mundt sagt des hertzen grund.

Quod in animo sobrii, id in ore ebrii.30

The Geiler-Pauli (1515/17) and Emser (1521) quotations are given above. They bring the "history" of our proverb down to Luther's time and his use of it in 1521/22.

I admit again that the preceding enumeration does not establish beyond a reasonable doubt my claim that our proverb was in the making for a long time and that it was, before and in 1521, a gemeines Sprichwort in the sense that it was commonly used so that Luther, who listened to the Mutter im Hause und den Kindern auf der Gasse, could have known it in 1521 without the obstetrical ministrations of Geiler-Pauli or Emser.³¹ At best, I have given a chronologically arranged enumeration. I have not proved descent from father to son. But I think I have at least demonstrated more fully than has been done before that our proverb may not only be assumed to be a popular proverb in ca. 1521, inasmuch as Luther and Emser call it such, but that it actually was one, perhaps for a long time before 1521.

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III

There remain two questions. One: can the proverb, Wes das Herz voll ist, in the main be spoken of as being originally, i.e., prior to Luther's use of it, a South German proverb? Iwein, Hugo von Montfort (Vorarlberg, Aargau, Thurgau, Styria), the Liedersaal with its predominantly South German interest, the Klagenfurt Collection (Carinthia), Geiler-Pauli (Alsatia), and Emser (Ulm, Tübingen, Basel), all seem to point to Upper Germany.

The Swiss Zacharias Bletz, citizen of Lucerne, in his Marcolfus, Ein fassnachtspil zuo Luzern gespillt Ao 1546, uses our proverb twice:

364: Uss vollem hertzen ret der Mund!

1219: Wos hertz vol syg, louf der mund über! 32

The fact that this Catholic writer in 1546 uses the same formulation that is found in Geiler's *Evangelibuch* and which by that time (1546) seems to have become a Lutheran monopoly—the zealous Catholic Joh. Nas does not use it in 1565!—may mean that he employs a native, South German expression.

Luther could have become acquainted with this proverb on his journey to Italy in 1510, which took him through South Germany and Switzerland, or when he attended the convention of the Augustinian order at Heidelberg, or when he was in Augsburg for his meeting with Cajetan, or through South German correspondents, friends (such as Melanchthon), or students, or through the writings of South German authors (Geiler-Pauli, Emser...).

IV

The second remaining question: how should one, in the light of Luther's use of the "literal" translation of ex abundantia cordis os loquitur in the Weibnachtspostille of 1521/22, explain his virulent attack in 1530 on this translation? Had he completely forgotten that he himself, a few years earlier, had used the "un-German" formulation? — Perhaps. Such things do happen. Luther was human. Then, too, Luther was, as is well known, irked by the attacks on his translation which had come to a sort of climax in the prefatory remarks of Emser's translation of the New Testament (1527). He may have remembered that Emser, in 1521, knew the German proverb and yet had not used it, to the detri-

ment, so Luther thought, of his translation. And so Luther, who was at the moment interested in defending a principle of his own translation procedure — Verdeutschung, Eindeutschung, idiomatic rendering, re-production, re-creation, "nationalization" of the foreign document — selected especially telling examples, among them Matt. 12:34b, and used them to the fullest extent, hoping to silence and to kill all arguments of his opponents. This may account for the vehemence of his remarks.

Luther was irked. He did write the Sendbrief, at least in part, as an answer to Catholic attacks on sola fides. To say, as do F. Herrmann and O. Brenner,

Was er (Luther) schreibt, will er nicht für die Gegner, die er als kompetente Richter nicht anerkennen kann und die ihm, wie Emser, seine Sprache stehlen, sondern nur für die Seinen geschrieben haben,³³

is to miss the paralipsis evident in the opening pages of the Sendbrief. The alleged fact, then, that Luther was writing for his adherents, and not for (or against) his Catholic critics, cannot be urged as an explanation for omitting the mention of the Luther-an Buchstabilistik involved in the "literal" translation of Matt. 12:34b in the Weibnachtspostille.

Admitting the possibility of Luther's having forgotten his own use of the "literal" translation earlier in his career, and admitting that his temper had something to do with the tenor of his remarks anent Emser's use of the "literal" translation, I should like to suggest another possibility of explaining Luther's "silence" concerning his own use at one time of the "literal" translation of ex abundantia cordis os loquitur. In the Sendbrief Luther defends his translation of the New Testament, i. e., his translation as extant in the September Testament and in the subsequent editions and revisions of this work. It was this translation which had been attacked, not Luther's translations, casual, incidental, and otherwise, of Scriptural passages in publications other than in his "official" translation. In my opinion, this is the, or an, important point which should be kept in mind in trying to account for Luther's "forgetting" that he himself at one time had used the unidiomatic, "literal" translation. In the first part of the Sendbrief Luther is not talking about anything but his translation of the New

Testament. There was, then, no reason for going beyond the point at issue. And mentioning or "explaining" his translation of Matt. 12:34b in the Weibnachtspostille, even if he remembered it, would have been beside the point.

Assuming, for the sake of the argument, that Luther had chosen Wes das Herz voll ist as rendering for Matt. 12:34b in his New Testament translation-to-be by the time he composed that part of the Weibnachtspostille which contains the "literal" translation, this would only confirm the well-known fact that Luther did not always quote from his own German Bible, even after it had appeared in print.34 It is understandable why he did not do so. His German Bible was something in flux. It was a document which was, almost literally, revised to the day of his death. In many instances it would have been practically impossible for Luther to know, without checking, what was the exact wording of the passage he wished to quote or paraphrase or suggest or allude to at a particular time. Luther's thinking and remembering, moreover, in connection with Biblical passages, in general, was thinking and remembering in terms of the Vulgate - after all, bis Bible. It is also a well-known fact that Luther often quoted from memory.

Ob Luthers Verdeutschung in der Bibelübersetzung gegenüber der Übersetzung der Postillenstücke einen Fortschritt in der Verdeutschungsfähigkeit bedeutete? Die Frage dürfte zu bejahen sein, doch wäre eine germanistische Einzeluntersuchung vorzunehmen. . . . Luther ist sichtlich unter der fortlaufenden Arbeit am Neuen Testament freier geworden, während die Beschäftigung mit den Perikopen naturgemäsz eine Vereinzelung und engere Bindung an das Original mit sich brachte.³⁵

The preceding pages are not the germanistische Einzeluntersuchung which W. Köhler desired in 1925. They confirm, however, that there was progress in Luther's ability to German his translation in the instance of Matt. 12:34b.36

Chicago, Ill.

NOTES

- Weimar Edition (= WE), Die Deutsche Bibel, VI (Weimar, 1929), pp. 58 and 238. Cf. Neuausgabe der Wittenberger Septemberbibel vom Jahre 1522 (Berlin, Furche-Verlag, 1918), pp. XIVb and LXXIb.
- 2. WEXXX, 2 (1909), p. 637.
- Wolfgang Stammler, Von der Mystik zum Barock, 1400—1600² (Stuttgart, 1950), pp. 312—3 = first edition (1927), p. 284.

- W. Kurrelmeyer (ed.), Die Erste Deutsche Bibel = Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vols. 234, 238, 243, 246, 249, 251, 254, 258, 259, 266 (1904—15).
- 5. Cf. Archer Taylor, Problems in German Literary History of the Fisteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (New York, 1939), p. 36, n. 104; Archer Taylor, The Proverb (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. 56-7 (treats mainly the aftereffects of Luther's formulation). - Professor Taylor, Problems, l.c.: "The translation (referring to the one cited in the Evangelibuch) was evidently in current use, for Johannes Geiler von Kaisersberg employs it in his sermons (1498; publ. 1520) on the Narrenschiff (fol. exciii, col. a). . . ." It is interesting to note that the translation occurs there twice: Geiler von Kaisersberg, Narrenschiff. Getruckt zu Straßburg von Johanne Grieninger / . . . 1520, fol. cxciii, recto, col. a, waß das hertz vol ist / des lauffet der mund über, and a few lines down, wan weß das hertz fol ist des laufft der mund über/. Cf. Florilegium Politicum. Politischer Blumengarten durch Christophorum Lehmann (1630), 643,5: Was das Hertz voll ist, davon laufft der Mund vber (cited in K. F. W. Wander, Deutsches Sprichwörterlexikon, II, p. 611, no. 267). Evidently during the first half of the 17th century the proverb was as yet not "standardized": Lehmann, op. cit., 647, 74, records also Was das Hertz gedenckt, dass redt der mund (redet die Zunge), as cited in Wander, op. cit., II, p. 611, no. 266. Cf. the English formulations at the end of note 30.
- Georg Büchmann, Geflügelte Worte 21 (Berlin, 1903), pp. 61—2; Büchmanns Geflügelte Worte, ed. by Walter Heichen (Berlin, n. d.), pp. 60—61.
- 7. Attention should be called at this juncture to other recent investigations of expressions or passages of Luther's Bible translation: Marbury B. Ogle, "'As a Tale That Is Told'," Monatshefte für Deutschen Unterricht, XXXVII (1945), 130—34; Arnold Schirokauer, "Luthers 'Tut Busse': Die Rehabilitierung eines Wortes," Neophilologus, XXXIV (1950), 49—54; Heinz Bluhm, "Luther's Translation of Luke 22, 15," Modern Language Notes, LXV (1950), 405—8; Heinz Bluhm, "The Evolution of Luther's Translation of the Twenty-Third Psalm," Germanic Review, XXVI (1951), 251—8; and to the general articles by W. Schwarz, "Translation into German in the Fifteenth Century," Modern Language Review, XXXIX (1944), 368—73; "The Theory of Translation in Sixteenth-Century Germany," Modern Language Review, XI (1945), 289—99. A whole book, the Psalter, is the subject of an excellent investigation, Th. Pahl's Quellentudien zu Luthers Psalmenübersetzung (Weimar, 1931); see my review in Modern Philology, XXIX (1931/32), 368—9. A good introductory bibliography on Luther's translation of the Bible is furnished by W. Stammler, op. cit., pp. 641—2.
- Ludwig Enders (ed.), Flugschriften aus der Reformationszeit. VIII—IX.
 Luther und Emser. Ihre Streitschriften aus dem Jahre 1521. Band I und II.
 "Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts,"
 83—84. 96—98. The Quadruplica is II, 129—183.
- 9. Neudrucke, nos. 96—98, p. ix; WE, VIII (1889), p. 241. 1521, not
- 10. The task was completed by the beginning of March, 1522. Cf. Otto Albrecht in WE, Die Deutsche Bibel, VI, pp. xxxi—xxxii; xxxv; xliii—xliv; Arnold E. Berger, Grundzüge evangelischer Lebensformung..., "Deutsche Literatur, Reihe Reformation," I (Leipzig, 1950), pp. 70—71; 314. By June, 1522, all of Matthew was set up in print. At the beginning of June, 1522, Luther writes to Spalatin: Spero te accepisse Mattheon vernaculum totum cum aliis. WE, Briefwechsel, II (1931), p. 552 with note 2 on

p. 553. Concerning Luther's belief that the printing of the whole of the New Testament would not be completed before St. Michael's, 1522: letter to Spalatin, 26 July 1522, op. cit., p. 580 with notes on p. 581.

10a. Luther must have become fond of the Vulgate's ex abundantia cordis of loquitur early in his career as a theologian. He cites it and alludes to it frequently. See, e. g., Dictata super Psalterium. 1513—16, Ps. XXXVII [XXXVIII], WE, III (1885), p. 213; Ps. XLIV [XLV], WE, III, pp. 255 to 256:

'Eructavit', i. e. ad extra ructavit, quia continere non potui, quin commune facerem, quod accepi. Ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur in carnalibus: sed nonne multo magis in spiritualibus? . . . lingua mea, per quam eructat cor meum tibi . . . ex unico verbo potest (sc. Spiritus Sanctus) cor tuum replere . . . cordis os aperias . . . foris pronunciare potes ex abundantia cordis et spiritus . . . Eructare ergo est per linguam proferre vocaliter, quod intus in corde tenetur vitaliter . . .

altogether a magnificent passage; Ps. CXV [CXVI], WE, IV (1886), p. 272; Ps. CXVIII [CXIX], WE, IV, p. 386; Sermone aus den Jahren ca. 1514—1520, WE, IV, p. 691.

- WE X, 1, 1 (1910) and X, 1, 2 (1925). June to November, 1521: see WE X, 1, 2, p. xlvi.
- 12. WE X, 1, 2, p. lxii.
- 13. "Evangelium in der hohen Christmesse, Joh. 1, 1-14," WEX, 1, 1, p. 188.
- 14. WE X, 1, 1, p. 187, with notes 5 and 6.
- 15. WE X, 1, 1, pp. 187—8. Professor Schirokauer will, perhaps, find confirmation of his suggestion, that Emser's citation of the gemeyn sprichwort made it "handy" for Luther to refer to it, in Luther's da Christus sagt..., followed by Item das deutsch sprichwort: Weß das bertz voll ist..., inasmuch as Luther's arrangement seems to be patterned after Emser's dann wie Christus und das gemeyn sprichwort sagt... But see below.
- 15a. Other German proverbs are quoted in this context: Bey dem gesang kennet man den fogel, denn er singet, wie yhm seyn schnabel gewachsen ist. WE, X, 1, 1, p. 188, with note 2.
- 16. Cited from the 1529 edition of the New Testament of Hieronymus Emser. The Catholic Joh. Nas, in Das Antipapistisch eins und hundert (s. l., 1565), 2, 186a, quoted in Deutsches Wörterbuch, XI, 2 (Leipzig, 1936), col. 220, abides by the Emser formulation: dann er ausz überflusz des Hertzens redt as one should expect him to do.
- Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 234 (Tübingen, 1904),
 p. 46, lines 47 8. See note 4.
- 18. See WE, Die Deutsche Bibel, VI, p. 628. See also Albrecht von Eyb's formulation, Wann ausz überflüssigkait des bertzen redt der mund, in his Spiegel der Sitten (1474; printed Augsburg, 1511), fol. 7a and the note on this passage in Murray A. Cowie, Proverbs and Proverbial Phrates in the German Works of Albrecht von Eyb (diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1942), p. 60. Having turned over to Dr. Cowie some of my collectanea for this note, I happen to know that he does not mean that Luther's version was "adopted from an earlier Bible translation." This statement is, most likely, the result of inadequate proofreading caused by the author's induction into military service. Cf. also von überflüssigkait des berzen redt der mund in Der Spiegel menschlicher behalteniße [behaltnusse] (Reutlingen, 1492), fol. 53°, as quoted in Deutsches Wörterbuch, XI, 2, col. 227. Überflüssig and Überflüssigkeit, as translations of abundavit and abundantiam occur,

- at least in some versions of the pre-Luther translation of the Bible, in addition to Matt. 12:34b (variant) in Rom. 5:15, ist überslüssig gewesen, and in Rom. 5:17, die überslüßigkait; see Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 238 (Tübingen, 1905), p. 26.
- 19. Schiller: Und was der Zorn und was der frohe Mut / Mich sprechen liesz im Oberflusz des Herzens (Wallensteins Tod, I, 173-4). This passage has been cited often in discussions of Luther's Sendbrief; cf. Richard Neubauer, Martin Luther. Eine Auswahl . . . 4, I (Halle a. S., 1908), p. 232, note; Archer Taylor, The Proverb, p. 57; Archer Taylor, Problems . . . , p. 36, n. 104; Deutsches Wörterbuch, XI, 2, col. 220, where, in addition, quotations involving the use of Uberflusz des Herzens are cited from Thümmel (aus Überfluß des Herzens), Hölderlin (den Überfluß unsers Herzens), and Jean Paul (im Überstusse einer lebendigen Empfindung). - Somehow Goethe's Ach, den Lippen entquillt Fülle des Herzens so leicht (Römische Elegien, XX, 16) seems to have been neglected in this context, as has been the fact that Schiller paraphrases ex abundantia . . . also by wessen das Gefäß ist gefüllt / Davon es sprudelt und überquillt (Wallensteins Lager, 578-9). Goethe alludes to the "standard" version at least twice: Wo das Herz voll ist, geht der Mund über (Briefe, WA, 4. Abt., XI, 15, 15f.) and . . . , daβ der Mund übergeht, wenn das Herz voll ist (Briefe, WA, 4. Abt., XXIII, 83, 21f.). See J. Alan Pfeffer, The Proverb in Goethe (New York, 1948), p. 76. - Perhaps one should not too readily speak of some of these (especially Schiller's) phrasings as "literal" translations of ex abundantia cordis os loquitur in the sense in which one must speak of Luther's rendering in the Weihnachtspostille as a literal one. After all, Schiller and the others mentioned may not have translated ex abundantia . . . at all. And even if their intention was to translate, one should take into consideration the exigencies of the meter which was chosen and the explanation offered in Deutsches Wörterbuch, ibid.: die redensart erhielt in der neueren sprache durch anschlusz an die metaphern "das herz, das gefühl etc. flieszt, strömt über," neuen bildinhalt und lebte neu auf.
- 20. WE VIII (1889), p. 682, lines 2-4.
- 21. WE VIII, pp. 670-73, esp. p. 673, top.
- 22. Cf. Ernst Thiele, Luthers Sprichwörtersammlung. Nach seiner Handschrift zum ersten Male bg. (Weimar, 1900), p. 106: Nimmt bei dem Wechsel von 'Maul' und 'Mund' Luther Rücksicht auf die Würde der behandelten Personen?
- 23. WE, Die deutsche Bibel, VI, p. 628: Schon Mitte Dezember [1521] zitiert Luther seine obige Übersetzung (i.e. wes das hertz voll ist, des geht der mund vbir)... Damals lag in seiner Übersetzung des NT die Stelle also offenbar schon vor.
- 23a. Wer kan eym narren das maul stopffen, weyl das hertz voll narheyt stickt und der mund ubergehen mus, wes das hertze vol ist . . . WE XVIII (Weimar, 1908), p. 385. For Maul and Mund see notes 23 and 24.
- 24. See note 6 and cf. Archer Taylor, The Proverb, p. 57: "Luther's version has fixed itself in tradition. If proof were needed, we might find it in a Swabian proverb: Wes der Magen voll ist, läuft das Maul über, which is made on the same model" notice Maul, not Mund!
- 24a. See James C. Cornette, Jr., Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions in the German Works of Martin Lather. Unpublished diss., Univ. of North Carolina, 1942.
- 25. The fact that this particular proverb is not listed by him in his Sprich-wörtersammlung means, of course, nothing. It may have been recorded in

the part which is no longer in existence. See E. Thiele and O. Brenner, WE LI (1914), pp. 634ff.; 643.

- 25a. E. g., ex babitu cordis sonitus depromitur oris (Jakob Werner [ed.], Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnspräche des Mittelalters... "Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte hg. von Alfons Hilka," 3 [Heidelberg, 1912], p. 29, no. 119, from a Scheftlarn ms. saec. XII. ex.) and quod in corde, boc in ore (Salomon et Marcolfus. Kritischer Text... hg. von Walter Benary. "Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte," 8 [Heidelberg, 1914], p. 36, lines 3—4) both cited in F. Seiler, Die Entwicklung der deutschen Kultur im Spiegel des deutschen Lebnworts, V (Halle a. S., 1921), p. 165—and sepius os fatur, quod cor scit vel meditatur, sic quod corde lates, sepius ore patet (H. E. Bezzenberger [ed.], Fridankes Bescheidenheit [Halle, 1872], p. 346).
- Edited by G. F. Benecke and K. Lachmann. Fifth edition by Ludwig Wolff (Berlin-Leipzig, 1926), lines 193—5; cited in K. F. W. Wander, Deutscher Sprichwörterlexikon, II, p. 615, no. 341, and in F. Seiler, ibid.
- 26a. H. E. Bezzenberger, op. cit., p. 123, 62, 10-11, and note on p. 346.
- 27. See letter from L. Uhland to von Laszberg, dated May 11, 1825: ... dieser reichen Sammlung (Liedersaal), welche nun erst von der fortlebenden Poesie im 14. Jahrhundert lebendiges Bild giebt ... in Franz Pfeisser (ed.), Briefwechsel zwischen Joseph Freiherrn von Laszberg und Ludwig Uhland (Wien, 1870), p. 54. See also Franz Muncker in Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, XVII (Leipzig, 1883), p. 781: In diesen drei Bänden (of the Liedersaal) theilte Laszberg nach eigner sorglältiger Copie eine mittel-hochdeutsche Handschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts, die er erworben hatte, mit.
- 28. Reichsfreiherr von Laßberg. LIEDER SAAL, das ist: Sammelung altteutscher Gedichte, Herausgegeben aus ungedruckten Quellen. I (Konstanz-St. Gallen, 1846), pp. 112—4, no. xxiii: Der arme Dichter.
- 29. Cited in K. F. W. Wander, ibid. See J. E. Wackernell (ed.), Hago con Montfort. "Ältere Tirolische Dichter," III (Innsbruck, 1881), p. 131, xxxi, 137—8. Hugo von Montfort composed poem xxxi in 1401; see p. 134, verses 209—10. See also p. 263 with note on verses 137—8 (reference to Laszberg's Liedersaal).—Hugo von Montfort's formulation seems (distantly) related to Wittenwiler's Ring (first half of 15th cent.), 4391—2: Waz der man von hertzen gir / Gerne singt, daz ist sein grank; see Edmund Wieszner (ed.), Heinrich Wittenwilers Ring . . . , "Deutsche Literatur, Realistik des Spätmittelalters," III (Leipzig, 1931), p. 160; Kommentar (Leipzig, 1936), p. 165.
- 30. Cited from Friedrich Seiler, Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde (München, 1922), p. 99. The ancestor of this German formulation was probably not ex abundantia cordis . . . , but a relative of in vino veritas. Out of this lineage, quod in animo sobrii . . . , must also stem the Swabian proverb cited above, Wes der Magen voll ist, läust das Maul über, which was "changed" into its present form under the influence of Luther's version. Compare the proverb from the Frankensteiner Handschrift, written 1515—1517: Eyn trunckyn munth reth des herczyn grunth. This is Joseph Klapper, Die Sprichwörter der Freidankpredigten. Proverbia Fridanci . . . "Wort und Brauch," 16 (Breslau, 1927), p. 59, no. 207; see also pp. 12—3, and F. Seiler, Die Entwicklung der deutschen Kultur . . . , VI (Halle a. S., 1923), pp. 180—81.—Another possibility of the cor-os (=mouth, orifice) relationship is exemplified by

Salomon: Ex habundancia cordis os loquitur.

Marcolfus: Ex saturitate ventris triumphat culus.

See Walter Benary, op. cit., p. 18, 116a and b. — For 'Herz' and 'Mund' see Ignaz V. Zingerle (ed.), Die deutschen Sprichwörter im Mittelalter (Wien, 1864), pp. 67—8 and 104. — Attention should be called in this connection to "the mouth sheweth ofte / what the hert thinketh," followed by "the looke sheweth somtyme the disposicion of the hert afore the wordes been spoken" from The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers by Earl Rivers. 1477, cited from Facsimile Reproduction of the First Book Printed in England by William Caxton in 1477, (London, 1877), fol. 13v, lines 8—10. Cf. "What the heart thinketh the tongue speaketh" ("What the heart did think, the tongue would clinck," listed for 1614) in W. G. Smith (ed.), The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs (Oxford, [1935]), p. 569; G. L. Apperson, English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases (London, [1929]), p. 295.

- 31. As pointed out before by Kurrelmeyer, Schirokauer (and Walter Heichen).
- E. Steiner (ed.), Schweizerische Lustspiele des 16. Jahrhunderts. Die dramatischen Werke des Luzerners Zacharias Bletz. Nach der einzigen Handschrift zum erstenmal gedruckt (Frauenfeld-Leipzig [1926]), pp. 78 and 128.
- 33. WE XXX, 2, p. 628.
- 34. A few examples:

Matt. 5:11, September Testament (1522): Selig seyd yhr, wenn euch die menschenn schmehen vnd verfolgen, vnd reden allerley arges widder euch so sie daran liegen vmb meynen willen. WE, Die Deutsche Bibel, VI, p. 26; Wider Hans Worst (1541): Selig seid jr, wenn euch die Menschen lestern, verfolgen und reden allerley ergestes wider euch umb meinet willen und liegen. WE, LI, p. 473; Wider Hans Worst: Seid frolich, wenn euch die Leute fluchen. WE, LI, p. 475.

Matt. 8:20, September Testament (1522): Die fuchße haben gruben. WE, Die Deutsche Bibel, VI, p. 40; Auslegung des 101. Psalms (1534—35): Die fuchse haben locher. WE LI, p. 239.

John 9:4, September Testament: Es kompt die nacht, da niemants wircken kan. Op. cit., p. 364; Sermon delivered at Halle, January 26, 1546: es kompt die nacht, darinnen man nichts erbeiten kan. WE LI, p. 139.

John 11:50, September Testament: Es ist vnns besser, eyn mensche sterbe fur das volck, denn das das gantze volck verderbe. Op. cit., p. 374; Sermon delivered at Eisleben, February 15, 1546: Ists nicht besser, das ein man sterbe, denn das das gantze Volck verderbe? WE LI, p. 190; Auslegung des 101. Psalms: Es ist besser, einen menschen getödtet, denn das alles volck sterben solt. WE LI, p. 232.

1 Tim. 3:5, September Testament: Szo aber yemant seynem eygen hauße nicht weiß furtzustehen, wie wirt er die gemeyne Gottis versorgen? Neu-ausgabe der Wittenberger Septemberbibel . . . , p. LXXIb; Auslegung des 101. Psalms: Wie konnen sie der Kirchen wol furstehen, wenn sie jren eigen heusern ubel furstehen? WE LI, p. 218.

35. Köhler, "Einleitung zur Wartburgpostille," WE X, 1, 2, p. lxxiii.

36. In the Sendbrief Luther rejects Überstuß des Herzens as translation of the Vulgate's abundantia cordis. He does not quote the original Greek, ἐπ τοῦ περισσεύματος τῆς καρδίας. He follows the same procedure in the case of the words of St. Paul (arbitramur bominem iustificari, etc.) and in the case of Matt. 26:8; Mark 14:4 (Ut quid perditio bec?). It is obvious why he does this: the accusations leveled against his translation were primarily

leveled with reference to the Vulgate version of the Bible, and the Vulgate was, to Luther and to his theological opponents, sermo communis.

Hence I should not be misunderstood when I, in the following instances, cite the Vulgate, and not the original text, as that which was translated by Luther.

My point is that Luther did not categorically reject Überstuß as a possible and as a correct German translation of the Vulgate's abundare or abundantia. Here are a few examples:

Deut. 28:11 — abundare te faciet Dominus — daß du Überfluß an Gütern haben wirst;

Prov. 21:5 — semper in abundantia — Die Anschläge . . . bringen Übersluß; 2 Cor. 8:14 — vestra abundantia — ewr vbirsluß (September Testament! Neuausgabe der Wittenberger Septemberbibel, p. XXXIXa).

It is significant that, whereas 2 Cor. 8:14-15 in the September Testament read so diene ewr vbirfluβ (τὸ ὑμῶν περίσσευμα, vestra abundantia) yhrem mangel . . . auff das auch yhrer vberschwang (τὸ ἐκείνων περίσσευμα, illorum abundantia) hernach diene ewrem mangel / . . . wie geschrieben steht / Der viel samlet / hatte nicht vberfluβ (ὁ τὸ πολὸ οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν, qui multum non abundavit) . . . ,

they later read

So diene euer Überfluß ihrem Mangel . . . auf daß auch ihr Überfluß (!) hernach diene eurem Mangel . . . wie geschrieben stehet: Der viel sammelte, hatte nicht Überfluß! Cf. below 2 Cor. 11:23.

It is clear, then, that Luther, the translator, had nothing against Überstuß as a possible translation of abundare or abundantia.

It is likewise clear from the following examples that Luther, the author, had no objection to the use of Überfluβ:

Auslegung des 109. (110.) Psalms. 1518. — Der psalm is ain rue der selen, ain fennrich des frieds, der . . . den zorn dempt, die überflüß (plural?) vertreibt . . . (WE, I [1883], p. 689);

An den christlichen Adel. 1520. — widder den ubirschwenglichen ubirstuß und kost der kleydung (WE, VI [1888], p. 465);

Luther's translation or paraphrase of Determinatio Theologice Facultatis Parisiensis super Doctrina Lutheriana. 1521.—... tzum uberfluß haben wyr eyn gemeyn vorsamlung... gehalten (WE, VIII [1889], p. 290);

Kirchenpostille. 1522. — Die leut . . . werden kommen ßo vil, das fur grossem ubirfluß und menge yhrer Camel unnd leuffer deyn land wirtt bedeckt werden (WE, X, 1, 1, p. 552);

Eine Weise, Christliche Messe zu halten und zum Tisch Gottes zu gehen. 1524.—... doch daß das Gepräng und übriger Überfluß vermieden werde (German translation by Paul Speratus, made under Luther's supervision. Martin Luther. Liturgische Schriften [München, 1950], pp. 19 to 20):

... eyn reycher konig, der uns reych macht myt allem uberfluß. 1531 (WE, XXXIV, 2, p. 536).

Five of these six examples are, chronologically, close to the time of the translation of the September Testament, and one is dated soon after the Sendbrief.

Luther, then, had nothing against the use of Oberfluß either in his Bible or outside of it. The word was not on his list of prohibited words. But for Matt. 12:34 Oberfluß was simply not the right word. What went on

"WES DAS HERZ VOLL IST,..."

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in Luther's mind in 1521/22 in connection with the translation of ex abundatis cordis os loquitur, indicates the infinite pains he took in choosing the mot juste.

One is even more amazed at his meticulousness and versatility when one takes a concordance of the Vulgate and checks Luther's translations of the passages containing abundare, abundans / abundantior, abundatia, abundanter/—iut/—sime, and abunde: Glück, die Fülle, über die Maße viel, Überstehwang, überschwänglich, darüber, da mir's wohl ging, genug, viele Güter baben... One of the most interesting examples is 2 Cor: 11:23:

Vulgate (in this order): in laboribus plurimis in carceribus abundantius, in plagis supra modum, in mortibus frequenter. September Testament:
yñ erbeyten vbirflussiger /
ynn schlegen vbirschwenglicher /
ynn gefengnissen vbirflussiger /
ym sterben offter.

Later:
Ich habe mehr gearbeitet,
ich habe mehr Schläge
erlitten,
ich bin öfter gefangen,
oft in Todesnöten
gewesen.

"Wer dolmetzschen wil, mus grosse vorrath von worten haben, das er die wol konne haben, wo eins an allen orten nicht lauten will" (WE, XXX, 2, p. 639). "Es gehoret dazu ein recht, frum, trew, vleissig, forchtsam, Christlich, geleret, erfarn, geubet hertz" (WE, XXX, 2, p. 640). - The examples quoted in this note in connection with one word group, abundantia, show that Luther had the thesaurus verborum and the philological, aesthetic, and theological ability, consisting of Sitzfleisch and genius, to choose unerringly a good and often the best possible translation. Much of the secret of Luther's greatness as translator, author, and Reformer is explained by the greatness and goodness of his heart. "Speech is not of the tongue but of the heart. The tongue is merely the instrument, with which one speaks. He who is dumb in his heart, not in his tongue. Therefore the words of the tongue should come from the heart, for it is the heart that holds truth, loyalty, and love. He who speaks should draw them thence, and speak from the heart, then his yes will be a yes, and his no a no. . . . For what is in our heart is thereby revealed, and thereby you may be known. As you speak, so is your heart" (Paracelsus. Selected Writings. Ed. with an Introduction by Jolande Jacobi. Tr. by Norbert Guterman. "Bollingen Series," XXVIII [Copyright, 1951], p. 241). And therewith agrees the Gospel - to paraphrase the Weihnachtspostille (WE X, 1, 1, p. 187) — where Christ says: "A good man out of the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good things" (Matt. 12:35).