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VII.—MANUSCRIPT COPIES, OF PRINTED GERMAN BIBLES.

I. *Wolfenbüttel MS Aug. fol. 1 A, 1 B.*

This MS, consisting of two folio volumes of 367 and 362 leaves respectively, was completed by *Martin Huber Tütscher schulmaister zu Memmingen*, on Saint Otmar's Day, 1481, as is stated in the inscription at the end. Walther¹ describes the MS, the text of which was taken from the Mentel Bible of 1466 and from another one belonging to the group headed by the Zainer Bible of 1473.

The dialect is Suabian throughout, as the name of the town, *Memmingen*, might lead one to expect. Accordingly, the new Bavarian diphthongs of the printed Bibles were regularly changed back to the old undiphthongized long vowels, except in a few instances, such as Gen. 34, 9 *geleiche*; Jos. 22, 26 *euch, gezeug*; I Ezra 4, 2 *euch, ewwern*; etc. The diphthong *eu* is more frequent than *ei, au*, and occurs more especially in the word *euch*. Middle High German *â* is uniformly replaced by the Suabian *au*, which is expressed by *au, ä* or *ǎ*. Both of the latter signs are of frequent occurrence in Suabian MSS of this period, but Walther is undecided whether these "peculiar marks" over *a* and *o* are to serve as marks of length or to represent the letter *u*. MHG. *ou* and *û* are also represented by these signs: *öch, öch, höpt, trämer, wiröch, versämen*. Instances in which *au, ä, ǎ* correspond to MHG. *â* are found on every page: *gän, gän, lässt, laussen, frägen, fraugen, uffstän, ufstawn, ständ, schlauff, rautfraugen, gedauchten*, etc.

We now pass to the discussion of the immediate origin of the text of the MS. Walther has correctly stated that the beginning, from Genesis to Judges 6, was taken from Mentel. The curious error of Mentel in Exod. 15, 1, *das rose* instead of *das ross*, is also found here. Leaf 12 of the MS has been torn out, causing a gap from Gen. 9, 17 to 11, 26; f. 11 ends: *gelübtes dz ich hab geord-*

¹ Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters, dargestellt von W. Walther, Braunschweig, 1889-92.

net zwischen, and f. 13 begins: *und gebar sün und töchter und thare lebt . . .*

In the sixth chapter of Judges both of the printed Bibles were before the scribe, as will appear from the following agreements: V. 1: Wolfenbüttel and Mentel have *wan*, Zainer has *aber*; W and Z have *angesicht*, M has *bescheud*; v. 3: W and M have *oster*, Z has *auffgang der sun*; v. 4: W, M have *mit all*, Z has *gantz*; v. 5: W, M have *kemel*, Z has *kamel tier*; v. 9: W, M have *quellen*, Z has *peinigten*; v. 11: W, M have *frucht*, Z has *getreyd*; v. 15: W, Z have *ingesind*, M has *geschlecht*; v. 16: W, Z have *du wirst schlahen*, M has *du schlechtst*. From here on the text of Zainer is followed to the end of chapter 48 of Jeremiah. This is in the second volume, which begins with Ecclesiastes. On f. 71r. of volume 2 a new scribe sets in at the words *ich ging nit hinder sich*, Is. 50, 5. This second scribe continues to f. 104v., third line, ending at Jer. 38, 23, *und alle dine wib*. The first scribe here resumes his task in the middle of the sentence, at the words *und dine sune*.

Throughout these changes the text followed is that of the Zainer Bible. In Jer. 48 there are no traces of Mentel. At the beginning of the next chapter, however, the text follows first Mentel, then Zainer. The writing here is smaller, though the scribe is the same. He probably made a pause here, and when he resumed work had both texts before him, as is shown by the following readings: Jer. 49, 1, W, M have *besiczt*, Z has *hat besessen*, W, Z have *hant gewonet*, M has *entwelt*; v. 2: W, Z have *verwustet und zerstört in aim ufflauff*, M has *verwustet in eim wuffe*; v. 3: W, M have *rüffet*, Z has *schreiend*, W, Z have *klaidern, priester*, M has *klayt, pfaffen*; v. 4: W, Z have *glorierstu*, M has *wunniglichstu*; v. 5: W, M have *ich zú für*, Z has *ich will einfure*, W, Z have *umschwaif*, M has *umbhalbung*.

This state of affairs continues through the chapter, and into the following one: Jer. 50, 2, W has *geschent*, Z *geschendet*, M *geschemlicht*, W, M have *uberkomen, ir gegossen*, Z has *uberwunden, ir gehaune*; v. 3: W, M have *staig uff wider sy von aquilon*, Z has *wirt aufsteigen wider sy von mitnacht*. From this point on the text of Mentel is followed, until in the second chapter of Jonah, Zainer's text is again adopted: Jon. 1, 11, W, M have *mer hort uff*, Z has *möre auffhøre*; v. 14: W has *die man rüfften*, M has *die man rieffen*, Z has *sy schryen*; Jon. 2, 1, W, Z have *hett vorberait*, M has *furbereyt*; v. 3: W, Z have *ich hab geschrien*,

M has *ich rieff*; v. 5: W, Z have *wird ich sechen*, M has *sich ich*. Beginning with Jon. 2, therefore, the text of Zainer is again followed, continuing into the New Testament.

A third scribe sets in at the top of f. 182v. of volume 2: *Caspor und Mageth und Carnaim* (I Mac. 5, 28). This scribe completed the two books of the Maccabees. The New Testament, which begins on f. 211r., was written entirely by the first scribe. Traces of Mentel's text reappear in I Peter 2, 6: W, M have *erwelt und edel*, Z has *bewâret ausserwôlt kostber*; v. 7: W, M have *wan, vorsprachen*, Z has *aber, verwarffen*. From the ninth verse on there is no further trace of Zainer. Walther states that Mentel's text sets in at the third chapter of I Peter, continuing to Rev. 18, while from Rev. 19 to the end the text is that of Zainer. Both of these statements are inaccurate; Zainer's text reappears only in the last chapter. The last verse of chapter 21 is given as follows in W, M: *kain ding entzübert gait in sy dz da tût die verbannenshaft und die luge nun* (M *neur*) *allain die da sind geschriben in dem buch des lebens und des lambs*. In Z this is quite different: *noch nichts vermeyligets wirt eingeen in ir oder das da thue ain verflücht ding oder luge. nur allain die da seind geschriben in dem buch des lebens und des lambs*. In chapter 22, 1, however, W, Z have *schinbar*, M has *leuchtent*, W, Z have *stul*, M has *gesess*; v. 2: W, Z have *in der mitt, frücht*, M has *in miczt, wucher*. From here on to the end the text is that of Zainer.

What is this later Bible which we have styled *Zainer*? Walther, col. 131, states that it is either the Zainer edition of 1473, Zainer of 1477, Sorg of 1477 or Sorg of 1480. Later on he surmises that it is "*eine revidierte, vermutlich die 4. Bibel*" (Zainer, 1473). This latter conjecture is correct, as will appear from the readings given below. The so-called *Schweizer Bibel* is out of the question on account of its many variants, as I have shown elsewhere (Journal of Germanic Phil. III 238-47). The Sorg 1477 edition is excluded by its variants: Ps. 73, 8 *das geschläch*; Jer. 35, 11 *antlucz der syrier*; I Mac. 4, 36 *aussgen*; 6, 59 *setzten*: the Wolfenbüttel MS and all the other printed texts here have *ir geschläch, antlucz des höres, aufgan, seczen*. In addition Sorg 1477 alone omits *im*, Ps. 94, 2; *unser*, I Mac. 3, 43; inserts *uncz*, Is. 7, 6. The editions of Zainer 1477 and Sorg 1480 are excluded by their readings of *zû uns*, I Reg. 4, 3; *unbeschnitten*, 14, 6; *genachmet*, Mat. 26, 46; *grosse*, Joh. 6, 2; *iob sprach*, Job 34, 4: the Wolfenbüttel MS and Zainer 1473 here read *uns*

zu, umbeschnitten, genahet, michel, iob der sprach. Instances from I Cor. 5, 8 and Ps. 33, 4, where Zainer 1473 and the Wolfenbüttel MS vary from all the other texts, might also be cited. The presence of the words *der welt*, Hab. 3, 6, shows further that the text which I have elsewhere designated 1473*b* was used.

There is only one reading which seems to go counter to the above conclusion that Zainer 1473 was used, but this is an important one. In I Mac. 9, 44 the Latin imperative *surgamus* is rendered *wir wollen uffsten* in the Wolfenbüttel MS, in accordance with Zainer 1477 and Sorg 1480. Zainer 1473 and Sorg 1477 here have *wir sollen aufsten*. Out of more than 250 instances of the first person plural imperative in these texts, this is the only one where a variant occurs. The change was made by Zainer 1477 and copied by Sorg 1480. It is manifestly impossible that the Wolfenbüttel scribe should have made this change by mere chance just at the same place where Zainer 1477 made it, the more so since this is the only change of the kind which was made by either.

We are therefore forced to the conclusion that in this passage the scribe of the Wolfenbüttel MS copied from Zainer 1477 or Sorg 1480. But how far does this dependence extend? Since noting the above variant in the Book of Maccabees I have had no further opportunity of comparing the texts concerned, and a number of additional passages from Maccabees yield no result, as in them Zainer 1473 and 1477 agree. It will be remembered, however, that the work of the third scribe was confined to the portion extending from I Mac. 5, 28 to the end of II Mac. We may reasonably conclude, therefore, that the edition of Zainer 1477 or Sorg 1480 was used only in this part, for at the beginning of the New Testament, where the first scribe sets in again, the text follows that of Zainer 1473. It is to be noted, further, that all the changes from Mentel to Zainer and from Zainer to Mentel were made by the first scribe, who completed the work, signing his name as *Martin Huber Tütscher schulmaister*. Of these changes of text Walther notes only the first, fourth and fifth, the two latter being put at the wrong place. The scribes are not mentioned at all by him.

II. *Codex Germanicus Monacensis 204, 205.*

This MS, which is in two large folio volumes, is mentioned by Walther, cols. 134, 135. The text agrees very closely with that

of Mentel's Bible, which was printed at Strassburg about the year 1466. Errors of Mentel, such as *edeum* for *e denn*, Gen. 11, 4; *und* for *uncz*, II Esdr. 4, 21; *doch* for *dich*, II Ezra 6, 10, are all shared by Cgm. 204-5. But such agreements do not prove absolutely that this MS is a copy of the printed Bible, as long as the original from which the latter copied is unknown. This MS might have contained the errors in question, transmitting them to Mentel's Bible and to Cgm. 204-5 independently. But the following circumstance proves indisputably that Cgm. 204-5 is a direct copy of Mentel's Bible.

On f. 362v. of Cgm. 204, about four inches from the bottom of the second column, are the words *wirt guot den die got rechte*. The remainder of the column contains only the words *gaissen und dem hindenkalb der hirschen auff den bergen arometen* (end of page). The next page, f. 363r., contains an illustration, and the text begins: *Incipit prologus in libro sapientiae*.

The first of the above quotations is from Ecclesiastes 8, 12 (*bonum timentibus Deum*), while the words after the break, which do not fit in at all, are from Cantic. 8, 14, the last verse of that book (*capreae hinnuloque cervorum super montes aromatum*). Consequently, the latter part of the Book of Ecclesiastes (from 8, 12 to the end) and all of Solomon's Song except a part of the last verse, are omitted in Cgm. 204. This gap can not be due to the loss of a number of leaves in Cgm. 204, as the MS shows no defect and the gap does not occur at the end of a leaf. A comparison with the Mentel Bible, however, fully explains the omission.

Here f. 204v. ends *wirt güt den die got*, and f. 205r. correctly continues *furchtē: die do furchtent sein anlutz*. Folio 207r. begins *rech gaissen und dem hindenkalb der hirschen auf den bergen aromathen* (end of Solomon's Song). It is evident that the portion of the text omitted in Cgm. 204 corresponds exactly to the contents of ff. 205, 206 of Mentel, and this coincidence shows conclusively that the MS is a direct copy from Mentel.

Several other features of the MS deserve mention. First of all the scribes. The first one generally copied the text of Mentel without change, except in the case of the words *aus*, *auf*, which he changed uniformly to *us*, *uff*. In a few cases an old *i* replaced the new diphthong *ei* of Mentel, and the word *haus* was generally changed to *hus*. In all other cases the new diphthongs of Mentel were reproduced. In a number of instances this scribe even changed an old *ei* of Mentel to *ai*; for example, *ainen*, Gen. 1, 26;

ainen, *allain*, Gen. 2, 18; *ainer*, *stain*, *laimig*, Gen. 11, 3; *getaitt*, Gen. 11, 4. It may even be said that this change is regular with this scribe. The form *geen*, 1st p. pl. pres. ind. and imperative, was also frequently supplanted by *gengen*, as in Exod. 5, 8, 17; Deut. 13, 6, 13; I Reg. 11, 4. The scribe therefore was most probably a Suabian living near the Bavarian border. He continued to IV Reg. 23, 8, ending with the word *fursten*. With the following words, *der stat*, another scribe began. This is on f. 183v., col. 1, l. 25 of Cgm. 204. Immediately before the change we find numerous instances of *uff*, *uf*, *uswurfen*, *hus*, while in the portion written by the second scribe we find only *auff*, *aus*, the forms which occur in Mentel; instances may be found as early as l. 28, col. 1, f. 183v. The second scribe continued to substitute *ai* for *ei*, but he did not introduce the form *gengen*. He was, however, also a Suabian, for there are numerous instances of forms such as *aubent*, *schlauf*, *schläf*, *gethän*, *rät*, *wären*, *jür*, *äss*, *schäffen*, *nämen*, *wäffen*, *wäppen*, *lägen*, where Middle High German *â* has been changed to *au*. This is one of the chief characteristics of the Suabian dialect in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. That the sign *ä* is equivalent to *au* is proved by parallel forms such as *schlauff*, *schläf*. The old diphthong *ou* is also represented by this sign, as in *weyrächs*, Luc. 1, 11; also the new diphthong *au* in *täben*, Jer. 46, 16.

A further indication of the dialect of the scribe is found in I Cor. 10, 9, where the number *XXIII. M* of Mentel is written out: *drew und czwaintzig tusent*. This is half Bavarian and half Suabian, *drew* being decidedly Bavarian, while *tusent* is the undiphthongized Suabian form. This scribe wrote the rest of the work.

At the end of the first volume, Cgm. 204, there is the inscription: *1473 ward daz | buoch gantz aussgemacht nach den obresten* (= Epiphany). The second volume, Cgm. 205, has at the end this inscription: *Finis huius libri | 1472/3 mittichen vor wihnachten alz auss | gemacht Ihs maria*. Walther, col. 134, reads this as follows: *1472 | 3 wuchē vā wichnchtē alz auss | gemacht Jh's murger* [?]. He advisedly adds a question-mark, for the last two words are beyond doubt *Jesus Maria*, and not the name of the scribe, as conjectured by Walther. The word *mittichen*, which is a variant form of *Mittwoch*, is not as distinct as the rest, but Dr. Riezler, Librarian at Munich, confirms my interpretation.

With regard to Walther's *3 wuchen*, it may be noted that it is entirely foreign to mediaeval usage to write dates in this fashion,

three weeks, or even one week, before a given festival or saint's day. The invariable usage is to write the saint's day on which an event occurred, or else name the day of the week before or after the nearest festival or prominent saint's day.

We have therefore the strange phenomenon that the first volume bears a later date than the second. This is due to the fact that the last two leaves of the first volume were inserted subsequent to the writing of the second volume. These two leaves contain the latter part of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, from chap. 50, 8 to the end, beginning with the words *schmeckent in den tagen des sumers . . .* The ink is much darker than that of the preceding pages, and the watermark of the paper is an eight-pointed star in a circle, while all the other leaves of this volume have a crown and a triangle joined by a bar.

The scribe commenced with a stock of the crown-and-triangle paper, which lasted as far as f. 292 of the second volume. The remainder of this volume consists of the paper with the star watermark. The scribe completed the second volume, on the Wednesday before Christmas, 1472/3, which date was December 23. Subsequently the last two leaves of the first volume were replaced, and the date of this final completion was after Epiphany (Jan. 6), 1473.

The former last leaf of the first volume I discovered pasted to the front inside cover of the second volume. Only the first page had been written upon, the other side being blank with the exception of the rubric *ysaias* at the top, corresponding to *ppheta* on the first page of the second volume. This shows that originally the scribe had expected to make one volume out of his MS, as the Mentel Bible was in one volume. But later, on account of the bulk of the MS, a division was made between Ecclesiasticus and Isaiah, the regular division of the Vulgate. Then, however, the last leaf of the first volume contained the rubric *ysaias*, and therefore it was replaced, together with the preceding one, the volume being of folio size. The old leaf has no inscription containing the date. The text agrees with that of the new leaf, except that the latter omits the phrase *zu im und du hast sie geredt*. The preceding clause also ends with *geredt*, and the scribe jumped from one to the other. On the old leaf the word *geredt* stands at the beginning of a line in both instances, hence the omission was the more readily made.