

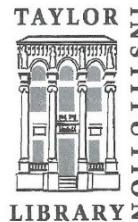
Treasures of the Taylorian Series One: Reformation Pamphlets 7



Hans Sachs

‘Canon and Cobbler’
A Reformation Dialogue in
German, Dutch, and English

Edited by Philip Flacke,
Henrike Lähnemann, Jacob Ridley,
and Thomas Wood



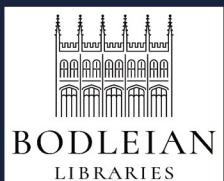
Treasures of the Taylorian:
Reformation Pamphlets
Volume 7

Hans Sachs

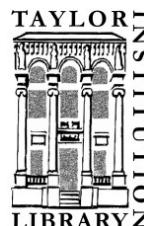
‘Canon and Cobbler’
A Reformation Dialogue in
German, Dutch, and English

Edited by Philip Flacke,
Henrike Lähnemann, Jacob Ridley,
and Thomas Wood

Taylor Institution Library, Oxford, 2024



Taylor Institution Library
one of the Bodleian Libraries
of the University of Oxford



TAYLOR INSTITUTION LIBRARY

St Giles, Oxford, OX1 3NA

<http://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk>

© Philip Flacke, Henrike Lähnemann, Jacob Ridley,
Thomas Wood

Some rights are reserved. This book is made available under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-SA 4.0 DEED). This licence allows for copying any part of the work for personal and non-commercial use, providing author attribution is clearly stated.

Digital downloads for this edition are available at
[https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/
reformation.shtml](https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/reformation.shtml).

They include audio recording, facsimiles,
and a pdf eBook of the text.



The facsimile is of: *Disputacion zwischen ainem Chorherren vnnd Schüchmacher dariñ das wort gottes vnd ein recht Cristlich wesen verfochtten wirtt.* [Augsburg: Melchior Ramminger,] 1524
Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1524(26).

The cover image is a detail from the titlepage.

Typesetting by Henrike Lähnemann
Cover design by Emma Huber

ISBN 978-1-0686058-0-2

Printed in the United Kingdom and United States
by Lightning Source for Taylor Institution Library

iii

Table of Contents

Preface: Hans Sachs in Oxford	iv
Introduction	vii
1. The Historical Context (Thomas Wood)	ix
2. English Reformation Dialogues (Jacob Ridley)	xxix
3. The Pamphlets in Oxford (Philip Flacke)	xxxviii
4. The Edition (Henrike Lähnemann)	lxiii
5. Bibliography	lxviii
Edition, Translation, Commentary of the Dialogue Between a Canon & a Cobbler	1
a) German ('Chorherr & Schuhmacher')	3
b) Dutch ('Schoenmaker & Coohere')	88
c) English ('Shomaker & Parson')	89
Facsimiles of the Taylorian Copy of 'Chorherr & Schuhmacher'	174

Preface: Hans Sachs in Oxford

2024 marks the 500th anniversary of Hans Sachs publishing in quick succession four prose dialogues which became bestsellers, particularly the first one where he has his alter ego, Hans the cobbler, debate a pompous priest – and win the day, of course. That the Taylorian was aware of the significance of this publication is clear from the date of its purchasing the ‘Dialogue’ copy which stands at the centre of the edition: 1924. It is a fitting continuation of the series which started as project to prepare for the quincentenary of the publication of the 95 Theses in 1517. In 2017, we opened the Taylor Editions series with the ‘Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen’, Martin Luther’s spirited (and not always accurate) defence of the way he had translated the Bible, a text which had been on the syllabus for German students in Oxford since 1917.

This has been a collective editing process over many years. Kezia Fender encoded the first version of the first dialogue in 2016 as a special option for her German and English combined BA course which was then continued by MSt. student Charlotte Hartmann as History of the Book project ‘Hans Sachs in Oxford’. The second-year students of ‘Paper VII’, a course on early modern German literature and culture, translated among them the first half of the first dialogue in February 2024, rising to the challenge of finding idiomatic equivalents to German proverbs and insults: Alexander Archer, Harrison Cartwright, Hannah Cowley, Lucy Gibbons, Elizabeth Gur, Ivan Halpenny, Leena Kharabanda, William Marriage, Olivia Rose, Oliver Schenke, Aaron Ung, and Eleanor Willcox. They were supported by David Hirsch, a translation studies student from Heidelberg on an internship during spring 2024.

Another intern, Philip Flacke from Göttingen, continued the work in the summer term and has since stepped up to be one of the editors of this volume, responsible for the book historical side. The project even led to him starting his doctoral project on concepts of truth in

Hans Sachs’s texts. The bulk of the transcription work then was done by him and a number of other students, in the first place Timothy Powell who is also starting his doctorate on Hans Sachs, in this case on the reception history from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe to the GDR. Their work on the second and third dialogue, plus the transcription of the fourth dialogue by German BA finalist Nicholas Champness, have contributed to the commentary and book historical chapter in this volume and will be published as another book in the Reformation Pamphlets Series in January 2026, for the 450th anniversary of Sachs’s death. Two MSt. students, Montgomery Powell and Lucian Shepherd, jointly translated the second dialogue, and, together with MSt. students Viviane Arnold and Nina Unland provided the bulk of the biblical references (which, unsurprisingly given that Hans Sachs just had spent three years mainly studying the Bible and Luther’s writings based on it, make up a very high proportion of the dialogues, up to half of the actual text). Christina Ostermann, a History of the Book student of the first cohort, currently working on the history of the acquisition policy for Reformation pamphlets in the Taylorian, provided the transcription of the Dutch text and proofreading. Jacob Ridley not only annotated the early modern English but also provided the chapter on the English dialogues. We were fortunate to be able to win specialists and critical readers for different aspects, among them Andreas Wenzel and Daniel Lloyd for ecclesiastical terminology, Ulrich Bubenheimer for marginalia, and Howard Jones for linguistic advice. Numerous colleagues around Oxford joined in the discussion of translation conundrums such as how to translate the derogatory exclamation ‘py pu pa’ by the canon (see p. 23 for the solution we settled on, suggested by Wes Williams).

Johanneke Sytsema helped locate a copy of the elusive Dutch edition which served as a relay station between the German and the English versions of the first dialogue. Margreet Vos and the curator of early printed works, Esther van Gelder, at the Royal Library in The Hague provided a microfilm copy and bibliographic information which

then allowed Asmus Ivo, curator at the University Library in Greifswald, to find the missing pamphlet bound in a Sammelband. Alexandra Franklin, Richard Lawrence, and a group of colleagues at the Weston Library helped with the book historical chapter, and the Bodleian Library gave us access to the extensive run of Lutheran pamphlets and the unique copies of the English translation and granted permission for the liberal inclusion of images in this volume, with expert help from Alexandra Franklin and the other colleagues in the early modern department. As for the previous volumes, Emma Huber as the German subject librarian at the Taylor Institution and digital lead for the library provided expert help on the digital editions aspect and designed the cover.

Oxford, October 2024
Henrike Lähnemann for the editorial team



Ill. 1: The first cohort of students working on the Reformation pamphlets in the Taylorian. From left to right: Lucas Eigel, Kezia Fender, Klaus Meyer, Jennifer Bunselmeier, Charlotte Hartmann

Introduction

Hans Sachs (1494–1576), the Nuremberg shoemaker, prolific playwright, poet, and Meistersinger, has never completely vanished from the history of German literature. But more often than not, he has been first and foremost seen as a figure of cultural history, known beyond the German-speaking area as the main character in Richard Wagner's opera 'Die Meistersinger'. His poetry suffered from being considered a mechanical product, produced *en masse*, with near-comic effects of the rhyming couplets that count syllables rather than following natural speech. This was epitomised in the Baroque mock couplet

Hans Sachs war ein Schuh-/
macher und Poet dazu
(Hans Sachs was a shoe-/maker and poet, too).

The identification of his profession with his mode of writing was reenforced by Sachs's practice to write himself into his texts; he signed his poems normally in the penultimate line, finding multiple rhymes for 'Sachs'. In his first prose dialogue, he chose a different way of putting himself into the text: the main character is the cobbler Hans who has an inexhaustible stock of biblical quotations in German at hand – a reflection of the fact that the real Hans Sachs had spent the years 1520 to 1523 intensely studying the works of Martin Luther and his 1522 translation of the New Testament, not publishing anything himself in that period. But in 1523, he came back with a vengeance, and the result was the opposite of bland, monotonous, and mechanical. First, he wrote an allegorical praise of Luther as 'the Wittenberg nightingale' which became proverbial, and then a group of four sharp and witty prose dialogues, full of idiomatic phrases, proverbs, interjections, one-line put-downers, and asides, which must have been particularly entertaining for a local audience.

The form Hans Sachs used was one beloved by Humanists and their readers, the prose dialogue. A model which Sachs certainly knew was the early instalments of Erasmus's 'Colloquia familiaria' (started in the late 1490s, first printed edition 1518), humorous and ironic encounters between characters taking opposing positions used as Latin exercises in schools. They allow a more informal tone and the integration of everyday characters, putting forward arguments more pointedly by dividing them up between the opponents.

Hans Sachs uses a number of different expressions for this form, The first dialogue uses the Latin academic term of 'disputatio' and describes it as a 'fight': *Disputacion zwischen ainem Chorherrenn vnnd Schüchmacher darin das wort gottes vnd ein recht Cristlich wesen verfochtten wirtt.* ('Disputation between a canon and a shoemaker, in which there is a battle for the word of God and a truly Christian existence). The second and third are less confrontational between the protagonist, instead in a discursive style exchanging points of view and called a 'conversatio' (*Gesprech eines evangelischen Christen mit einem Lutherischen*) and (*Gesprech von den Scheinwercken der Gayslichen*). The final one has two terms: 'dialogus' and 'argumentum' (*Dialogus vnd Argument der Romanisten / wider das Christlich heüflein / den Geytz vnd ander öffentlich laster betreffend*).

This short, accessible format of live demonstrations of current religious topics were an immediate success, well beyond Nuremberg. Our introduction places this unique group of texts first in the historical context of Nuremberg, the first Imperial city which, only one year later, openly declared its alliance to Martin Luther – not least because of propagandists such as Hans Sachs. A comparative study of the Reformation publishing market in England in the 1540s, when the first dialogue was translated via Dutch into English forms the second part. The third part looks at the publishing history and then follows the way of the pamphlets into Oxford. A short practical guide on how to read the Early New High German texts closes the chapter.

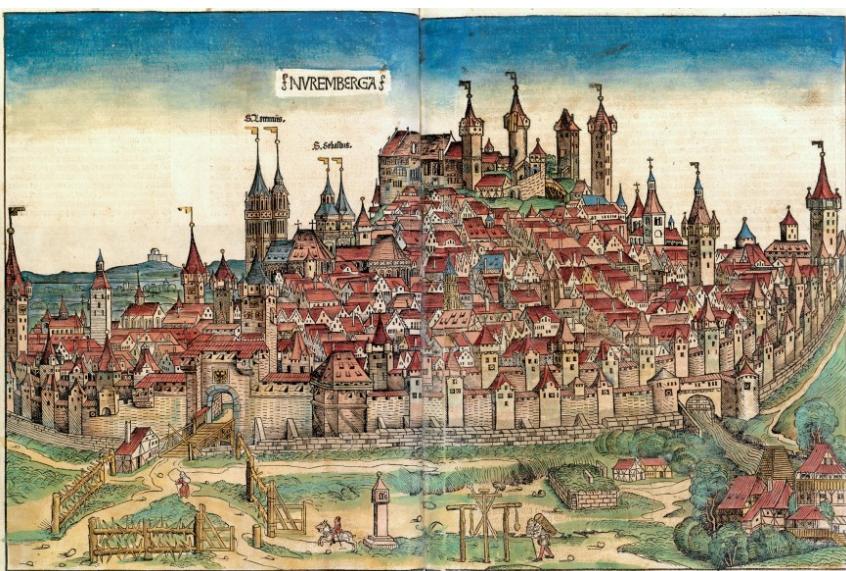
1. The Historical Context

Thomas Wood

Situated on the river Pegnitz in the heart of the Holy Roman Empire, the Nuremberg of Hans Sachs was a thriving Free City that acted in 1524 as a site of both Imperial power and religious conflict. In the late Middle Ages and into the sixteenth century, Nuremberg had been a prosperous city sitting upon a trade route between the Italian City States and the ports of the Hanseatic League with many flourishing trades and a vibrant intellectual culture. Thus goods and ideas from across the world passed through the city which itself would become a major exporter of commodities and culture. From arms and armour to sophisticated scientific instruments, all manner of wares flowed from the workshops of Nuremberg whilst great luminaries of the German renaissance such as Albrecht Dürer, Adam Kraft, and Veit Stoß called the city their home. Over the centuries Nuremberg had become a nexus at the heart of the European continent, an ideal melting pot for new ideas and dissent against the existing religious order to brew, and when the Reformation swept through the German-speaking lands over the course of the 1520s, Nuremberg was ripe for reforming.

Indeed, Nuremberg had a thriving community of humanists who were not only initially receptive to Martin Luther's ideas, especially the adoption of vernacular Bibles, but also served on the city council. The council served as *de facto* rulers of Nuremberg, overseeing the prosperity of this trading city and investing heavily in its future. They scrutinised every aspect of life in the free city and their religious convictions would dramatically alter the course of Nuremberg's future in the sixteenth century. Council members and leading figures in the city governance sympathetic to Luther in the early 1520's would include Christoph Scheurl, Wenceslaus Link, Lazarus

Spengler,¹ Willibald Pirckheimer, Hieronymus Ebner, Kaspar Nützel, Clemens Volckamer, and Christoph Kress. Some of these men were particularly close to Luther, Link being a close personal friend while Spengler and Pirckheimer were even threatened alongside Luther with excommunication in the papal bulls of 1520 and 1521. Though the former would serve as secretary to the council and be influential in the events of 1524 and 1525, Pirckheimer meanwhile, alongside Scheurl, would ultimately side with the Catholic establishment. Those Nuremberg humanists that stuck with Luther would develop strong Protestant convictions that saw the city formally adopt Protestantism in 1525, aided in their endeavours by the theologians of the city.



Ill. 2: Nuremberg Chronicle, Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, fol. 100.

¹ See Bubenheimer's discussion of Lazarus Spengler in the 'Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen', Jones/Lähnemann (2022), p. xviii. Secondary literature is cited with the short titles in the bibliography, with the exception of specialist literature for the 'English Reformation Dialogues'.

As well as humanists within Nuremberg's governance who were receptive to Luther's ideas, many of the religious authorities within the city were also of a Reformation spirit. The sixteenth-century skyline of Nuremberg was characterized by the double spires and 'Buckelchor' (high Gothic choir) of its two parish churches, St Lorenz, and St Sebald, the latter named after the patron saint of the city. Within these institutions the Protestant spirit had taken hold in the years leading up to 1524. In 1522, Andreas Osiander would be appointed to St Lorenz after having worked for the previous two years as a Hebrew tutor at an Augustinian convent. A proud and defiant Lutheran preacher, Osiander was involved in multiple high-profile cases of religious controversy and conversion over the course of his life. By 1524 he had notably converted Albert of Prussia, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, to Lutheranism who would go on to found the Duchy of Prussia and make it the first land to officially adopt Protestantism as the state religion, and in 1525 he would be the Protestant leader of the debates which led to Nuremberg formally adopting the Reformation as first Imperial Town. Meanwhile, at St Sebald, Dominicus Schleupner had taken up residence at the recommendation of Luther from which he became a leading voice of reform in the city, giving the opening speech at the 1525 debates. These eminent preachers at the city's two major churches were supporters of the Reformation and persisted in their Protestant teachings despite pressure from Imperial authorities.

Indeed, the pro-Reformation slant of the city's authorities can be seen in their lax approach to enforcing the Edict of Worms, posting a copy of it at the town hall in 1521 while continuing to appoint men like Osiander and Schleupner to office. The council of Nuremberg had long preferred to manage religious affairs within their territory, existing in constant fractious struggle with the nearby Bishop of Bamberg who was ultimately ineffective at asserting his authority over the free city in his diocese. The zeal for reform did however find itself tempered somewhat in the early 1520s by the presence of the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg, its first session 1522 and its second in

1524, which saw the Imperial Governing Council, Imperial Chamber Court, and papal delegation stay in the city. This mass gathering of Catholic authorities in the city saw the council of Nuremberg forced to balance the demands of those who opposed Luther's ideas with their own pre-Reformation tendencies. Indeed, Francesco Chieregati, the papal nuncio, demanded that the council only allow the printing of anti-Lutheran pamphlets. The council reluctantly censored the presses, but refused Chieregati's request to arrest preachers, instead merely advising them to avoid controversial topics in their sermons while the Diet was in the city.

When the Diet left the city in April 1524, the spirit of the Reformation began to be expressed more freely, not only from the pulpits of St Lorenz and St Sebald, but also from the presses and on the streets. This emboldened the Lutherans in the city, and it also attracted more radical religious reformers with whom they would come to be at odds. Many religious radicals either lived in or passed through Nuremberg in 1524, carrying their ideas throughout the Empire across the trade routes that ran through the free city. In the prior century Jan Hus had stayed there on his fateful journey to the Council of Constance, and many others would pass between the city gates in 1524 who had similarly violent ends. Notably, Thomas Müntzer briefly visited the city in the latter half of 1524, maintaining a low profile and spending just enough time in the city to print a defence of his position aimed at Luther and his Wittenberg disciples before heading southwest where the first murmurings of the German Peasants Revolt could be heard. Müntzer's pamphlet, *A Highly Provoked Vindication and Refutation of the Unspiritual Soft-Living Flesh in Wittenberg Whose Robbery and Distortion of Scripture Has So Grievously Polluted Our Wretched Christian Church* served as an open letter to Luther that accused him of betraying his original vision of reform in favour of the nobility and at the expense of the peasantry.²

² For more on Müntzer, his radical ideologies, and differences with Luther see Drummond (2024).

This incendiary pamphlet never made its way to distribution however. Müntzer had left Heinrich Pfeiffer in the city to disseminate this work while he moved further afield, but Pfeiffer was quickly expelled from Nuremberg and the council suppressed Müntzer's pamphlet following the advice of Osiander, who would regularly offer his opinion on religious pamphlets when asked by the council while he preached at St Lorenz.

Similarly, the council would suppress the work of Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt. A former leader of the Reformation in Wittenberg and a friend of Luther as well as many Nuremberg humanists, Luther would eventually denounce him as a radical in 1524 and he would be expelled from Saxony in September. Though Karlstadt would not join Müntzer, his unfavorability with Luther would colour Nuremberg council's response to his associate Martin Reinhart, who attempted to have the exiled reformers's work published in the city. The publisher, Hieronymus Höltzel, would be arrested by the authorities and Reinhart was expelled from the city. Once more, the works of those disowned by Luther himself were censored by the council who cleaved more closely to the ideas espoused at Wittenberg.

Other religious radicals included the preacher Diepold Peringer who operated in the suburb of Wöhrd in the city c.1523–4. The Baptist Hans Hut regularly visited the city as a bookbinder in the 1520's and was in contact with Müntzer whilst he visited Nuremberg. Similarly, Anabaptist leader Hans Denck arrived in Nuremberg in 1523, acting as headmaster of the St Sebald church school but was banished from the city after coming into contact with Müntzer and adopting many points of his radical theology. While the council was keen to break from Catholicism, they did not wish to be seen to allow radicals, who might discredit the new faith, to thrive. Eventually however, the Protestants of Nuremberg would get their wish when the city formally adopted the Reformation in 1525. While councillors and theologians like Christoph Scheurl and Andreas Osiander were pivotal voices in the religious debates that engulfed the city,

Nuremberg was also a centre of pamphleteering undertaken by the artisan strata of society. These pro-Lutheran artisans would proliferate the ideas of the Reformation in their own ways and counted amongst their number men such as Hans Sachs.

Hans Sachs was born in Nuremberg in 1494 the son of Jörg Sachs, a tailor, and would go on to become a celebrated *Meistersinger*, poet, and playwright who was deeply involved in the Reformation in Nuremberg. Sachs attended Latin school in the city as well as apprenticing as a shoemaker there before undertaking the customary years of training in other places at the age of 17, leaving Nuremberg in 1511. During this period of his life Sachs would travel across the length and breadth of modern-day Germany and Austria practising his trade before a chance encounter with the retinue of Emperor Maximilian I in Wels, where Sachs had settled in 1513 to study the fine arts, saw the young shoemaker join the Imperial court. He would then for a time be situated in Innsbruck, before quitting the court in 1515 and beginning an apprenticeship under Lienhard Nunnenbeck as a *Meistersinger* in Munich. After five long years travelling as shoemaker and *Meistersinger*, Sachs would move back to his home city of Nuremberg in 1516 where he would remain for the rest of his life, practising both his crafts and enthusiastically engaging with the Reformation. He was married twice, first to Kunigunde Creutzer in 1519 with whom he had seven children that Sachs would sadly outlive, then later to the widowed Barbara Harscher with whom he had no children, marrying her the year after Kunigunde's death in 1560. Sachs himself would die in 1576 and be buried at the Nuremberg Johannisfriedhof.

In his lifetime Sachs produced a vast quantity of works, many in Knittelversen, including more than 4000 mastersongs, over 2000 poems, and a great multitude of tragedies, comedies, carnival plays, dialogues, fables, and various kinds of religious tracts. He was immensely popular in his own time, and after being largely forgotten some time after his death, Sachs's memory was revived by artists and scholars in the eighteenth century. His extensive works continue to

be performed and analysed to this day, especially those works which pertained to Sachs's support of Martin Luther.

Foremost of these religious works was his 1523 poem written in Luther's honour 'The Wittenberg nightingale, now audible everywhere' (*Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall, die man jetzt höret überall*).



Ill. 3: Titlepage of Hans Sachs 'Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall', [Bamberg: Georg Erlinger, 1523], copy HAB Wolfenbüttel A: 115.2 Quod. (16).

This new poetic voice for Lutheranism is perhaps the most famous artisan pamphlet of the German Reformation, both in terms of its contemporary reception and its historical legacy. In this piece Sachs encouraged his audience to ‘wake up’ and listen to the ‘joyous nightingale’ of Wittenberg who preached the truth to the German People. Indeed, Sachs accused the pope and his servants of using their powers to exploit and oppress simple Germans, depriving the laity of the gospel, and enacting a tyranny over both the conscience and pocketbooks of common folk. This blistering attack on the upper echelons of the Church was placed alongside a dramatic vision of Luther as a liberating figure who was not only in the right, but also simply could not be stopped. The work was as resonant as it was inflammatory, published as it was in the atmosphere of religious turbulence in Nuremberg.

A year later, Sachs published the four prose dialogues. Written and published as Nuremberg was escaping the yoke of the Imperial Diet, as the council clamped down on religious radicals, and in the time immediately preceding the religious debates of 1525, these dialogues are not only an expression of Sachs’s own religious views but also of the Reforming zeal that had gripped the free city. They concern themselves with many of the most important topics of religious debate in the 1520s such as the abuses of the Church’s power, monastic vows, the nature of salvation, Christian liberty, and lay access to and interpretation of scripture.

The first of these dialogues depicted a discussion between a shoemaker and a canon that ranges across many aspects of Luther’s theology. The character of the shoemaker, sharing his profession with Sachs, is able to deftly and consistently counter the arguments of the canon with his scriptural knowledge whilst praising the work of Luther. The customary format of the early modern dialogue is used to great effect here as the usual authoritative roles are inverted and the canon takes on the asking role of the student whilst the shoemaker takes on the answering role of the teacher. It is on this final point that Sachs perhaps speaks in these dialogues to a prevailing

school of thought amongst the people of Nuremberg. Unsurprisingly, the first dialogue’s focus on scripture in many ways foreshadows the nature of the debates of 1525.

These debates were held in the Great Hall of Nuremberg’s city hall between the 3rd and 15th March 1525. The talks were led by Christoph Scheurl, and were inspired by the 1523 Zurich Disputations which had ultimately seen the council of Zurich adopt the Reformation. The Nuremberg council allowed only the Bible as evidence in these discussions, disallowing appeals to canon law or references to Church tradition, not unlike the shoemaker of Sachs’s fictional disputation published the year prior. This approach heavily favoured the *sola scriptura* approach of the Protestant faction who were foremostly represented by Andreas Osiander and Dominicus Sleupner. These leading figures of Nuremberg’s premier religious institutions took centre stage as advocates for the Lutherans alongside Wolfgang Volprecht, the last prior of Nuremberg’s Augustinian monastery, which had been an early adopter of Reformation ideas. Opposing them were a number of Catholic preachers, many with monastic backgrounds, notably the Franciscans Lienhard Ebner and Michael Fries. A victory for the Protestants in these debates was eventually proclaimed and on the 21st April Catholic Mass was banned in the city of Nuremberg. The council proceeded to institute Protestant preaching in all churches in the city and undertook a policy of closing all monasteries in and around the city. Some, like Volprecht’s Augustinians, dissolved themselves, others who, like the Poor Clares led by Caritas Pirckheimer as abbess, vigorously resisted the movement, were banned from accepting new members and were eventually dissolved once the last members of the community left or died.³ So came the end of Catholicism in Nuremberg, public opinion in the city having been swayed not just by the preaching of men like Osiander, but also by the popular publications of artisans like Hans

³ See Lähnemann / Schlotheuber (2024) and Gieseler / Lähnemann / Powell (2023) for the debate surrounding the forced dissolution of convents.

Sachs whose works would go on to be exported across the rest of Christian Europe.

As far as we know, Sachs's first dialogue is the only one that was translated, first into Dutch and published by one Magnus vanden Merberghe, a pseudonym that has come to be associated with Frans Freat (d. 1558).⁴ Our edition has no date, owing to one of Fraet's practices of reprinting earlier works as well as the habit of Protestant Dutch printers to obscure the true authorship of their works (including printing false dates) in order to escape the censors.⁵ Though unclear as to who did the original Dutch translation that Merberghe printed, the Dutch version of Sachs's dialogue follows the German closely (see footnotes in the edition on Germanisms). A few differences do arise such as the Dutch version being laid out differently with the speakers given their own clearly demarcated lines – a change that the English version would carry forward. The Dutch text then made its way into England at some point before 1546, owing to a thriving trade of printed materials between print centres like Antwerp and London.

In any case, this Dutch edition was in turn translated into English; our edition is based on one of the editions from 1548 (see below) but it must have been in circulation earlier, since the same title was put on the index during the reign of Henry VIII: 'A Godly disputation betwene a Chrysten Shomaker and a popish persone' in 1546.⁶ The actual proclamation specifically bans neither by 'Frith, Tindall, Wicliff, Joy, Roie, Basile, Bale, Barnes, Couerdale, Turner, Tracy, or any book contrary to the King's 'A necessary doctrine and erudition for any christen man', or any book prohibited in that Parliament.'⁷ The 1548 English version, a new edition or reworking of this pre-

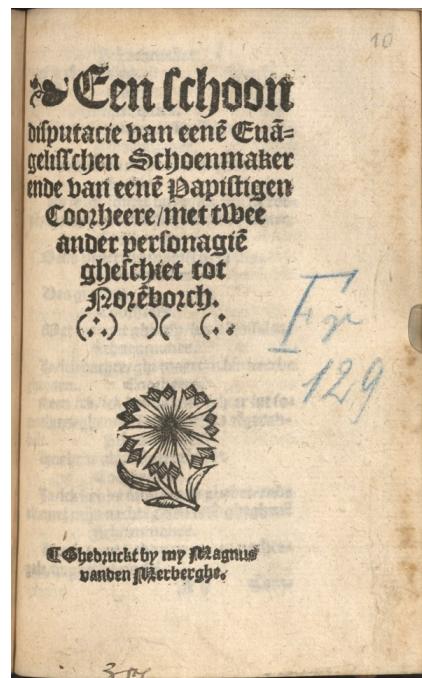
⁴ Valkema Blouw (1992), pp. 165–181; and pp. 245–272.

⁵ On the Dutch Reformation print trade see: Heijting (1994), pp. 143–161.

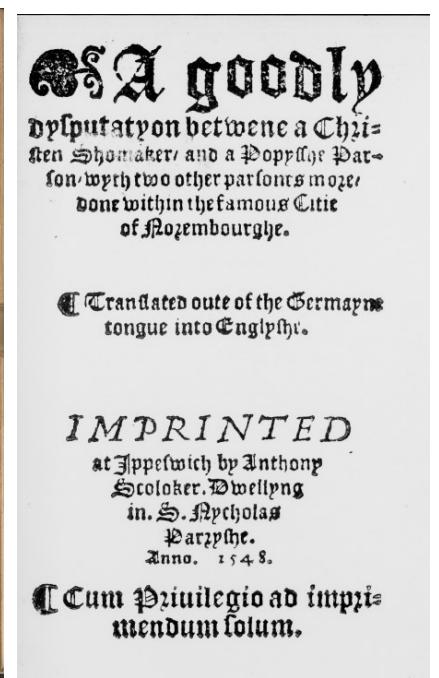
⁶ John Foxe's 1563 *Actes and Monuments* mentions it amongst a list of works that had been banned, p. 573 no. 40. On the date of the ban see Beare (1958).

⁷ Steele (1910), pp. 30–31. See entry No. 294 8 July 1546.

1546 edition, is published twice, the first in Ipswich, the second later that same year in London, to which the two copies of the Bodleian belong. As usual for Dutch and English pamphlets, the size is octavo, while German pamphlets are usually printed as quartos. The other difference is that there are no woodcuts, only printer's ornaments; the English editions clearly modelled on the Dutch choice of a floral leaf opening the title, with the Dutch adding in some punctuation types arranged as an ornamental line and a flower.

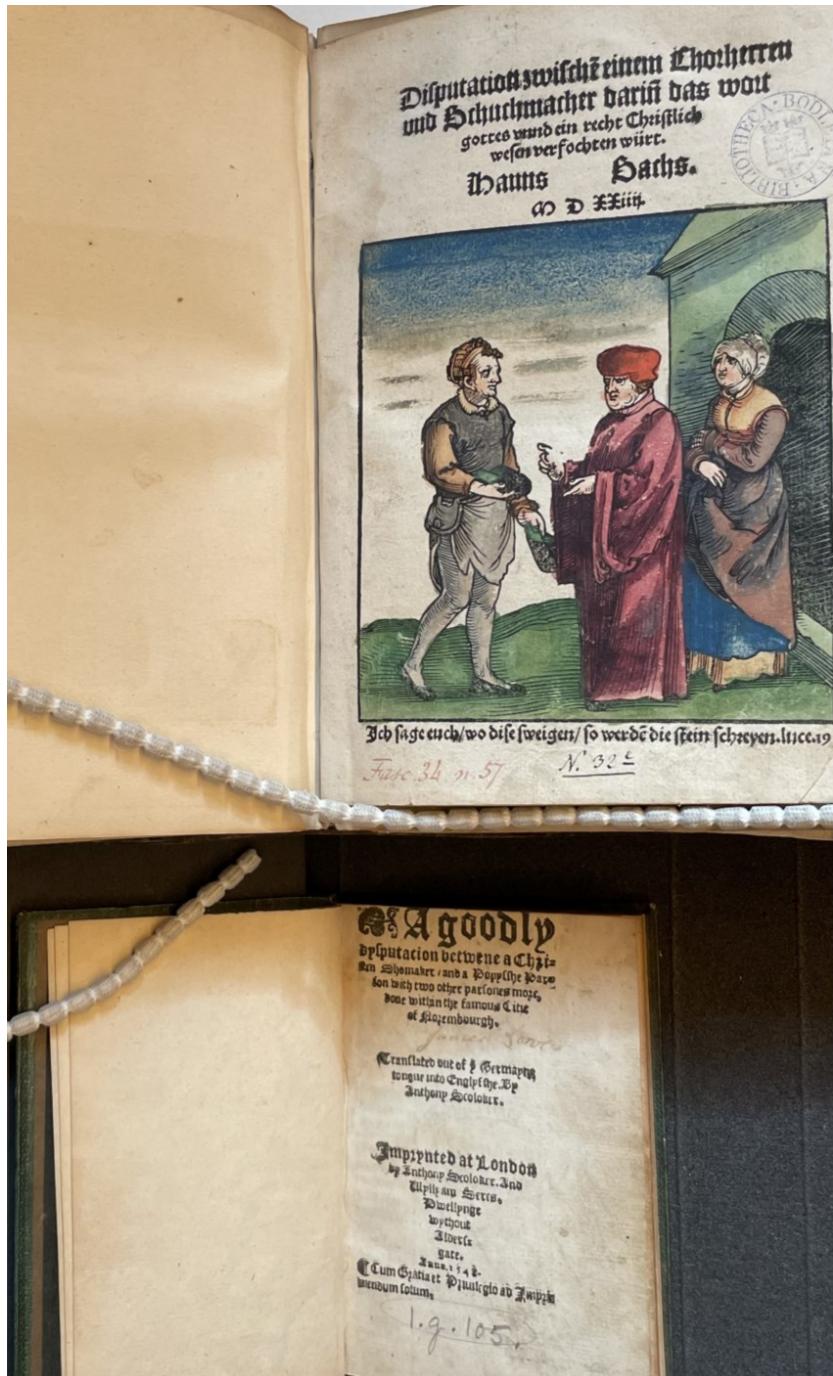


Ill. 4: left: The Dutch edition, copy: UB Greifswald



Ill. 5: The Ipswich edition of the English translation by Anthony Scoloker 1548, copy: John Rylands Library

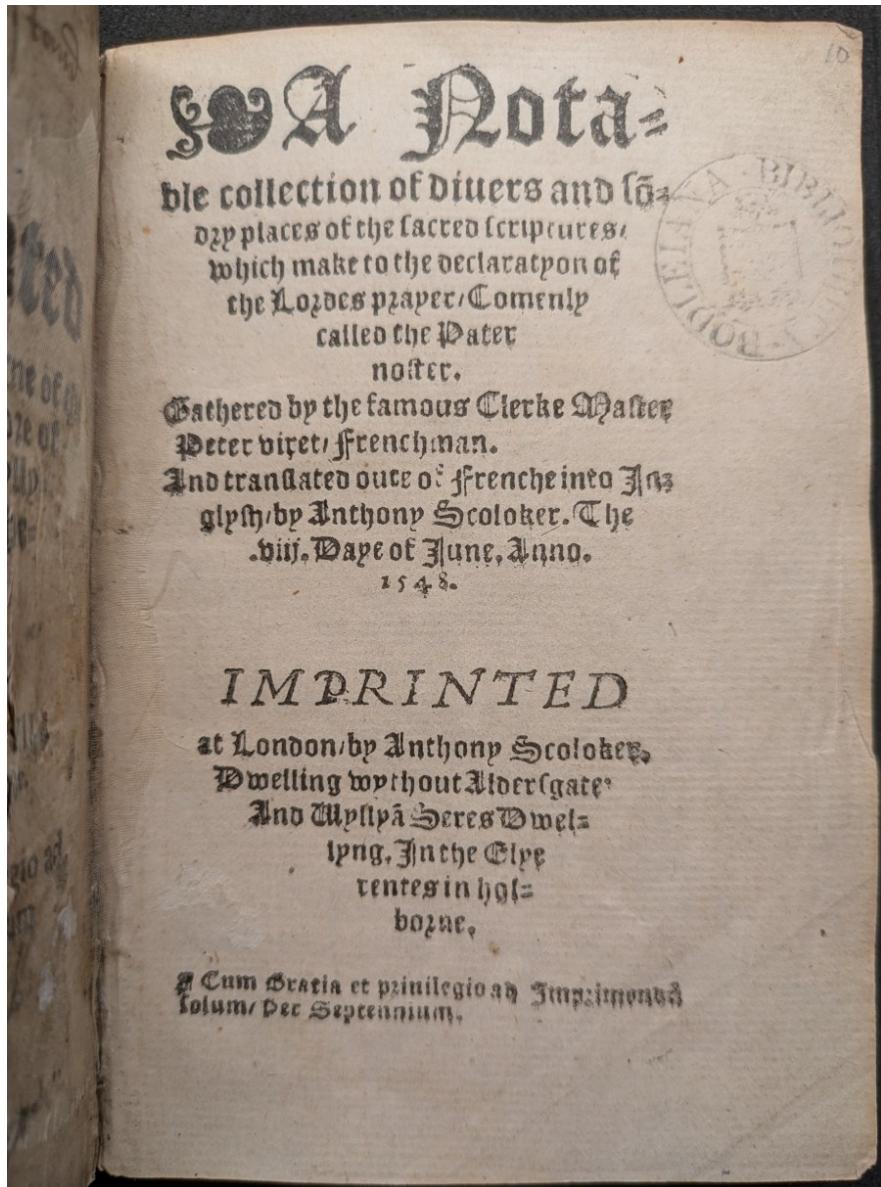
Ill. 6: The first edition Bamberg; Georg Erlinger, copy: Bodleian Tr. Luth. 34 (57)
The London edition of the English translation by Anthony Scoloker 1548,
copy: Bodleian Library, Vet. A1 f. 237.



Both of these editions contain the same textual content and layout, though the type has been reset between the Ipswich and London printings, visible already in the title layout. They leave out the author's name, only stating that it was written in Nuremberg. The Dutch claims at the end that this is an incident that happened in 1522 (D8r). While the German edition typesets the dialogue as running text, probably because in the quarto format it would waste too much space, the speakers get their own, indented lines in the Dutch and English.

The man responsible for bringing Sachs to England, Anthony Scoloker (d. 1593), was a printer who established Ipswich's first printshop c.1547 and was active there and in London during 1548 before seemingly leaving the print trade. Not much is known of Scoloker's life as scant bibliographic details about him have survived; he is therefore known to us only through the materials he published in this short period. Indeed, what he chose to publish were religiously pro-Reformist works, many by continental reformers like Martin Luther and Zwingli, suggesting a Protestant faith and understanding of continental print culture.⁸ Scoloker printed a number of these works at Ipswich, some in collaboration with Richard Argentine, before moving to London halfway through the year, after which John Oswen (fl. 1548) took over (it is unclear if Oswen worked at the same time as Scoloker or only came to Ipswich after Scoloker had left) before leaving Ipswich himself for Worcester the next January, leaving Ipswich without a printer until 1720. Ipswich had easy access to the continent as a thriving port town and it has been suggested Scoloker himself had strong ties to continental Europe, with signed translations from German, Dutch, and French.

⁸ Freeman (1990), pp. 476–496.



Ill. 7: *A notable collection of divers and so dry places of the sacred scriptures, which make to the declaratyon of the Lordes prayer, gathered by P. Viret, and tr. by A. Scoloker*, London 1548. Copy: Bodleian Library Tanner 39 (10).

A 1549 Middlesex Subsidy Roll counts him as an ‘Englysmen’ rather than a foreign visitor to the country, suggesting that his language expertise may have been a result of him having spent time on the continent, perhaps in religious exile under Henry VIII, or at least that he had significant ties to continental trade that passed through Ipswich and London. Scholars have suggested that, whether any such travels on the continent prior to his appearance in Ipswich were a religious exile, for mercantile purposes, or any other form of travel, he was possibly associated with the Ghent printer and typefounder Joos Lambrecht who may have given Scoloker his type and pictorial woodblocks.

All the books that mention Scoloker by name place him as active in Ipswich and London c.1547–48, or are otherwise undated (possibly being printed in 1549), making his life before this flurry of printing activity unclear and his life after his appearance in the Subsidy Roll of 1549 equally vague. References to his various addresses in London in his publications see him move across the city before his publications suddenly cease.⁹ Whatever his reasons, Scoloker does not seem to have printed again, at least under his own name, and his activities during the next two decades are unknown. He may have chosen to abandon the trade after censorship laws were re-scrutinised in 1549, left England as a religious exile after the accession of Mary I in 1553 as some other Protestant printers did, or simply changed profession and never returned to printing for personal or financial reasons. Indeed, a merchant Anthony Scoloker is named in the 1567–8 London Port Book as receiving shipments of small goods including lute strings whom historians have suggested, in no small part due to the uncommon nature of the surname, to be the same individual as the Ipswich printer.¹⁰ Given the profession of ‘milliner’, this Scoloker

⁹ For a full account of Scoloker’s changing addresses in London see: Blayney (2013), pp. 646–649.

¹⁰ Page (2015), p. 68. Page provides a breakdown of everything Scoloker imported this year on p. 67. Full details of his imports can be found in the London Port Book ([online](#)).

was importing goods from Antwerp suggesting that despite no longer operating as a printer he still maintained Dutch connections on the continent.

Scoloker seems to have died in 1593, an ‘Anthony Skolykers’ being mentioned in the burial registers of St Mary-le-Strand as being buried on 13th May 1593. The same register mentions several others who were likely part of Scoloker’s household though not all of their relations to him are perfectly clear. He was predeceased by individuals who could have been his children: one Judith Scoloker (possibly a daughter) buried 5th September 1563, and an ‘Anthony Scollinger sonne of Anthonie’ buried 12th May 1674. A servant of a ‘Jone Scollenger’ was buried only a few weeks later on 31st May 1574, perhaps giving a name to another member of the household though it is unclear as to whom. A ‘Mistres Scoliker’ survived Anthony and was buried 21st August 1599. Following his death, Scoloker has previously been identified by scholars as the author of the burlesque *Daiphantus, or the Passions of Love* (1604).¹¹ However, two references to Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* (composed between 1599 and 1601) which was written after Scoloker’s death, suggest a different author with Albert Pollard in his entry for Scoloker in the Dictionary of National Biography putting forward the idea of a relative of the same name as the printer being the true author of *Daiphantus*.¹² Alternatively, given that the author’s name is simply written as ‘An. Sc.’ there may be no connection to Scoloker at all and modern attributions of *Daiphantus* to him in recent publications are simply repeating a scholarly mistake from 1807.

The London imprint of Scoloker’s translation of Sachs has an additional publisher, one William Seres (died c.1579) who was a Protestant printer known to have collaborated with several famous partners including John Day (c.1522–1584) who was most famous

¹¹ The first to put this forward, and source of all later errors, was Francis Douce in his *Illustrations of Shakespeare and Ancient Manners*, Douce (1817), 2.265.

¹² Pollard in DNB Vol. 51, pp. 4–5.

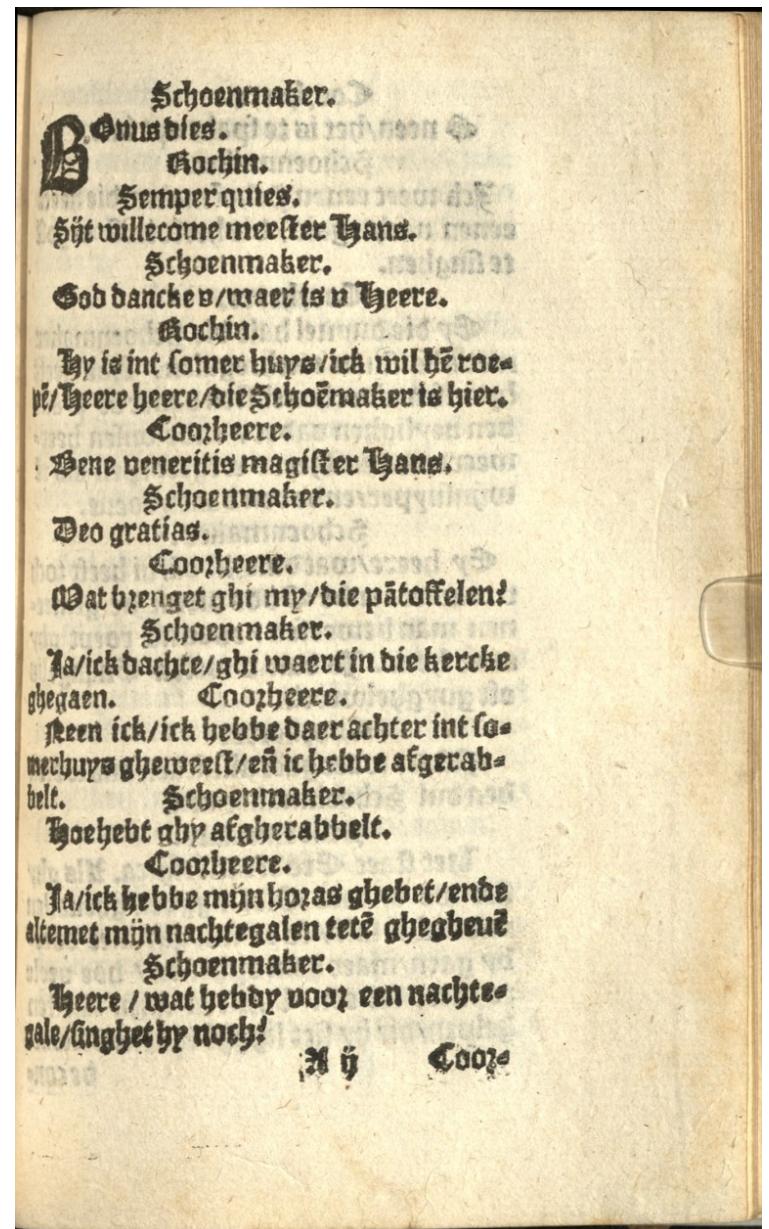
for publishing John Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs* (1563). Seres specialised in the printing of religious works making him the ideal partner for Scoloker to print Sachs’s dialogue in London and they would collaborate on several works in 1548. Though Scoloker moved within a circle of notable Protestant printers that worked during the short rule of Edward VI (reigned 1547–1553), he seems to have operated only briefly and on the periphery of this group which sought to flood England with pro-Reformation materials.

Indeed, the Henrician restrictions on printing had been relaxed in November 1547 and those in favour of a more radical Reformation of the English Church took advantage of that fact to print swathes of both continental and domestically produced Protestant tracts. The generally pro-Reformation nature of Edward VI’s government meant that these materials could be officially produced and distributed alongside the changes to English religious practices that were rolled out in the Church of England. 1548 in particular saw a wave of Lutheran works translated into English including works such as Luther’s *The chief and principal articles of the Christian Faith*, Melanchthon’s *The Confessions of Faith*, and Osiander’s *Conjectures of the end of the world*. Zwingli, Bullinger, and Calvin also saw an array of their works published in English as, of course, did Hans Sachs.

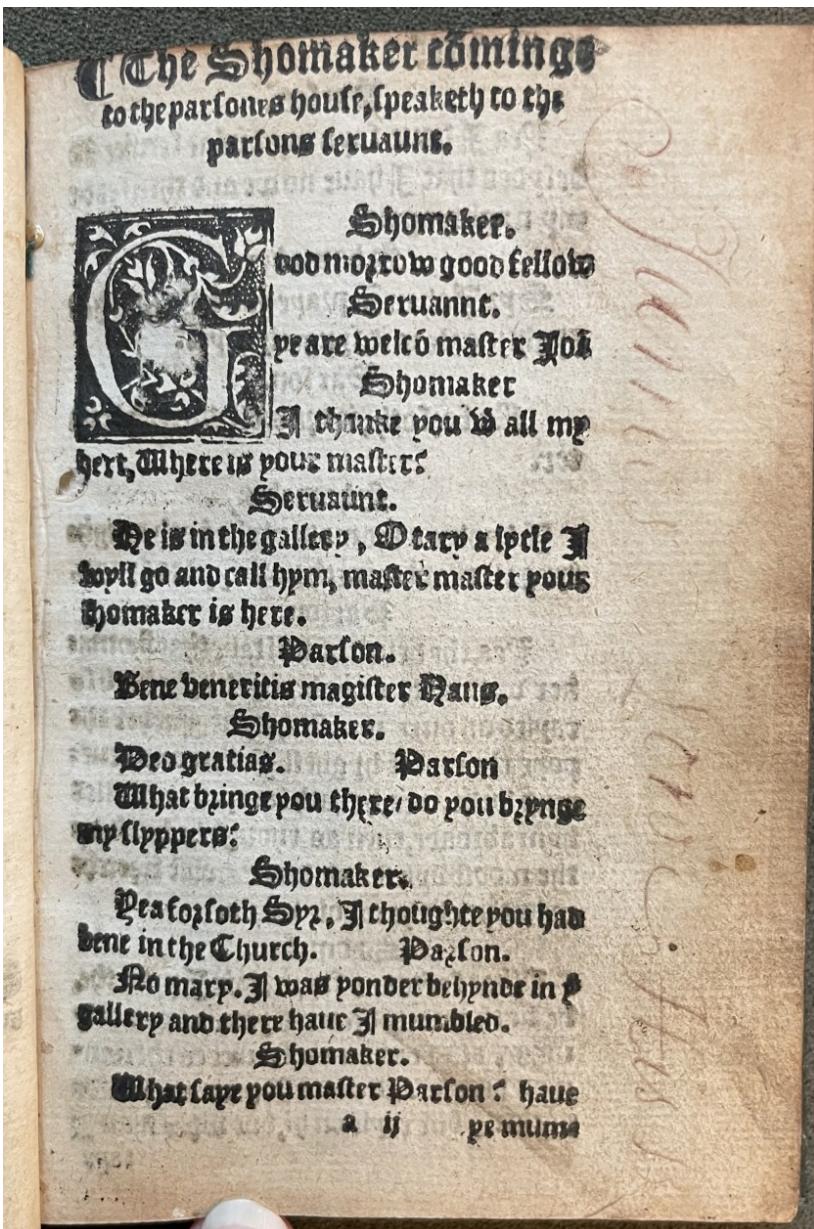
These works proved popular, and men like William Seres were keen to get them into general circulation. Indeed, Scoloker’s Ipswich printing of the first disputation must have been popular enough to warrant him reprinting it in London later that same year. However, Sachs did not enjoy the great popularity in England that the meistersinger had experienced in his home city, despite many figures of the English Reformation such as Thomas Cranmer having spent time in Nuremberg. Scoloker’s extant translation of Sachs’s work therefore remains as one of the few dialogues by the meistersinger to gain some level of traction in England, despite Scoloker not necessarily having worked with the original.

Scoloker's translation of Sachs's dialogue was seemingly based on the Dutch edition rather than the original German. The similarities between the English and Dutch texts certainly suggest that Scoloker translated his English version solely from the Dutch copy he had access to. He even imitated the layout of the Dutch translation by indicating speakers on separate lines, though went somewhat further in his dramatization of the text by adding a cue for the opening speech. Like his Dutch predecessor, Scoloker seems to have translated Bible passages out of the work he was translating from, rather than copying them from any vernacular English version of the Bible. He also begins in a formal form of address but, in contrast to the original German and Dutch, later switches to the informal creating a more disrespectful tone. Scoloker also diverges from previous versions by creating additional domestic servants for the lead characters of his dialogue to interact instead of the female cook and servant boy of the original. These comprise a male servant whom the shoemaker initially interacts with instead of the cook, a maidservant named Katheryn who takes over the cook's role in the rest of the dialogue, and finally a male cook named John who appears near the end of the dialogue in place of the servant boy.

Scoloker makes further minor changes to the text, sometimes to appeal to his English audience, other times due to misunderstandings during translation. However, the fact that Scoloker took the time to translate Sachs' work and localise it for England, does speak volumes on the Protestant appeal of this dialogue. The themes of the abuses of the Church's power, the nature of salvation, Christian liberty, and lay access to and interpretation of scripture, so artfully rendered by Sachs, resonated with the supporters of the Reformation whether they were in Nuremberg, Antwerp, Ipswich, London, or beyond.



Ill. 8: UB Greifswald 542/Fv 28 adn9, a2r



Ill. 9: Bodleian Library, Vet. A1 f. 237, a2r

2. English Reformation Dialogues Jacob Ridley

When the nine-year-old Edward VI came to the throne of England in January 1547, the floodgates of English Protestant print opened. His father Henry VIII had declared an independent Church of England in 1534, rejecting the authority of the Pope, but Henry remained theologically conservative and enforced heresy laws against the more advanced Protestants as well as Roman Catholics. When Henry died, Edward's uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Somerset, served as regent for the new boy king. Seymour oversaw a relaxation of Henry's censorship laws, giving the freest rein to reformist writers that they would have until the English Revolution a century later, though Catholics, and any other opponents of the royal Reformation, were of course excluded from this new liberty. The result was a release of pent-up activity, like a pressure canister being opened. The annual output of editions under Edward was almost double that in Henry's last decade.¹ Though censorship was partially reimposed in the wake of Seymour's fall from power in 1549, Edward's six-year reign would be a light in the darkness for outspoken reformers like John Bale, who had left Henry's England for European exile in the 1540s and would leave again to escape Edward's Catholic half-sister Mary, who succeeded him after his death in 1553. The peak year for the print trade was 1548, when almost 270 editions were printed in London, an English record not surpassed until 1579. By no coincidence, 1548 was the year when Anthony Scoloker printed the surviving editions of his translation of Hans Sachs.

¹ Literature for this part of the introduction is not part of the bibliography and cited in full. Print figures are from John N. King, 'The book-trade under Edward VI and Mary I', in Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain vol. III: 1400-1557* (Cambridge: 1999), 164-78 (pp. 165-66).

Plays and dialogues (what I am going to call ‘conversational’ texts) were part of the Edwardine print boom.² Vernacular dialogues had been printed in England since the fifteenth century, and plays since at least the 1510s, but Edward’s reign saw an unprecedented concentration of both. This is unsurprising given that conversational fiction was a key propaganda genre in persuading laypeople to the Protestant cause, and there were still lots of scarcely reformed English laypeople to persuade. Even though the genres differ in their function – plays are written primarily for performance, dialogues for reading – the texts printed under Edward share a didactic and controversial style. They teach the truths of the Reformation and attack Catholic errors (the Mass; saint-worship; purgatory; the sacraments; clerical celibacy; and so on), often with merciless mockery. Almost every conversational text written and/or printed in Edward’s reign has a polemical or instructional focus of this kind. Scoloker himself was responsible for at least two: the translation of Sachs, and his own original composition *A goodly dialogue between Knowledge and Simplicity*, which he printed with William Seres around 1548, in which Knowledge converts Simplicity to the Protestant faith.³

Only three English plays are known to have been printed in the last decade of King Henry’s life – two reprints of old plays by John Heywood, and the quite conservative morality play *The four cardinal virtues and the vices contrary to them* – but six survive from 1547–53, and a further four printed abroad.⁴ Some were original, such as R.

² The standard work on Edwardine literature is John N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton: 1982).

³ *A goodly dyalogue betwene Knowledge and Simplicite* (Anthony Scoloker and William Seres, [1548]; STC 6806).

⁴ The three Henrician plays were all printed by William Middleton: the second editions of John Heywood, *The play of the wether* ([1544?], STC 13305.5) and *The playe called the foure PP* ([1544?], STC 13300); and the first of *The enterlude of the .iiii. cardynal vertues, [and] the vyses contrarye to them* ([c.1545]; STC 14109.7). The six printed in London under Edward were: the second edition of Heywood, [*A play of love*] ([William Copland for] John Walley, [1548?]; STC 13304); the third of *Hycke*

Wever’s Protestant morality play *Lusty Juventus*, in which the central protagonist is converted from his immature Catholicism to a proper Reformed faith.⁵ Others were translated, like the French Huguenot play *La verité cachée*, printed in anonymous English translation around 1551.⁶ The four printed abroad were all by the arch-reformer John Bale, and published in Wesel in c.1547–48 for sale in England.⁷ Like Scoloker, Bale had strong connections in Ipswich, where he had been head of the Carmelite friary there before his spectacular Protestant conversion. The most notable of his printed plays was *Three Laws*, in which Infidelity is personified as the Catholic arch-villain who perverts the laws of Nature, Moses, and Christ, with help from his cronies. These include Ambition the bishop; Hypocrisy the friar; and even Sodomy the monk. Bale is known to have revived this play in the marketplace of his parish in Bishopstoke, Hampshire, in 1551. Sachs’s dialogue between a shoemaker and a parson is quite mild-mannered by Bale’s sclerotic standards. In this context, we can understand why Scoloker’s translation often amplifies the

Scorne ([printer of Smyth’s *Envoy* for] John Walley, [1549?]; STC 14040); and the first of *The enterlude of Iohan the Euangelyst* ([printer of Smyth’s *Envoy* for] John Walley, [c.1550]; STC 14643); [‘The interlude of Detraction, Light Judgement, Verity, and Justice’] ([c.1550]; STC 14109.2), fragmentary; [‘Somebody, Avarice, and Minister’] ([William Copland, 1551?]; STC 14109.3), fragmentary; and R. Wever, *An enterlude called Lusty Iuuentus* (John Wyer for Abraham Veale, [1551?]; STC 25148). This bibliographic information is from the online *Database of Early English Playbooks* (DEEP).

⁵ STC 25148, above.

⁶ STC 14109.3, above.

⁷ All printed in Wesel by Derick van der Straten under the name ‘Nicolaus Bamburgensis’: *A tragedye or enterlude manyfestyng the chefe promyses of God vnto man* ([1547?]; STC 1305); *A brefe Comedy or enterlude concernyng the temptacyon of our lorde and sauuer Iesus Christ* ([1547?]; STC 1279); *A comedy concernyng thre lawes, nof nature Moses, [and] Christ, corrupted by the Sodomites, Pharysees and Papystes* ([1548?]; STC 1287). A fourth play on Christ’s baptism, preserved now only in an 18th century manuscript transcript, was originally printed in the first eleven leaves of STC 1279, which are now missing.

shoemaker's informal and disrespectful tone and makes the parson more petulant and undignified.

A godly disputation between a Christian shoemaker and a popish parson is in many ways a typical Tudor Protestant dialogue. It pits a well-educated and conscientious layman against a worldly, ignorant priest. This is the format of later argumentative dialogues like *A dialogue or familiar talk between two neighbours* (c.1554) – in which Oliver, ‘a professour of the Gospell’, squares off with the Catholic Sir Nicholas Noseled – or the Elizabethan *Dialogue between a soldier of Berwick and an English chaplain* (c.1566), whose honest Protestant soldier is appalled and exasperated by the one-eyed priest Sir Bernard Blinkered.⁸ The fact that Sachs’s speaker is a shoemaker, and therefore less formally educated than his opponent, puts him in the godly soldier’s company. The upending of normal hierarchies – youth and age, laity and clergy, university and unlearned – by the Reformation was something of a trope, as was the Protestant zeal and Bible-reading of young tradesmen. This is typified by a lost play performed at King Edward’s court in c.1547, which featured a priest called Old Blind Custom and a London apprentice named Hunger of Knowledge.⁹ A parson is put in his place by a sincere and irreverent labourer in Luke Shepherd’s boisterous verse dialogue *John Bon and Mast[er] Parson*, which is possible context for Scoloker’s change from Sachs’s Canon to the Parson – a less specific job title, but more culturally relevant.¹⁰ The most famous icon of this social reversal was the semi-legendary character Piers Plowman, who had

⁸ *A dialogue or familiar talke betwene two neighbours* (Rouen [i.e. London?]: Michael Wood [i.e. John Day?], 1554; STC 10383); [Anthony Gilby], *A pleasant dialogue, betwene a souldior of Barwicke, and an English chaplain* ([Middelburg: R. Schilders?], 1581; STC 11888); no earlier edition of the latter survives. For more on Elizabethan dialogues, see Antoinina Bevan Zlatar, *Reformation Fictions: Polemical Protestant Dialogues in Elizabethan England* (Oxford: 2011).

⁹ For details of this lost play, see record #156 in Martin Wiggins, *British Drama: A Catalogue*, 11 vols (Oxford: 2012–), vol. 1.

¹⁰ Luke Shepherd, *Ion Bon and Mast Person* (John Day and William Seres [1548?]; STC 3258.5).

his origin in the fourteenth-century dream-poem *Piers Plowman* by William Langland. Thanks to Langland’s wide-ranging criticism of clerical abuses, *Piers Plowman* was printed in 1550 as a proto-Reformation tract, and the figure of a humble but impassioned Protestant ploughman became one of the major recurring spokesmen in Reformation fiction.¹¹ In one early outing, for instance, we find Piers proving transubstantiation to be a romish myth in *A godly dialogue and disputation between Piers Plowman and a popish priest*, printed twice in Edward’s reign.¹²

Sachs’s dialogue brings in other speakers too, and some embodied action (as when the cook fetches the Bible), and has a semi-dramatic liveliness similar to a play. This quality of animation, and the speeches’ colloquial prose, separates it from the very formal subset of dialogues modelled on the catechism, a set of questions and answers to teach the uneducated. Imitating the power dynamic of a classroom, these were very top-down and hierarchical – the opposite of Sachs’s shoemaker – with a master instructing a pupil, a husband his wife, and so on. John Bale wrote one of these for his two sons, printed for him in 1549, in which the elder brother answers the younger’s questions.¹³ Scoloker’s own *Knowledge and Simplicity* is in this heavily stylised form, written in rhyming stanzas most of which end with the phrase ‘God’s holy name’.¹⁴ Another feature of this

¹¹ Robert Crowley printed three editions of *The vision of Pierce Plowman* in 1550 (STC 19906-7a). On Crowley’s *Piers*, see John N. King, ‘Robert Crowley’s editions of *Piers Plowman*: A Tudor Apocalypse’, *Modern Philology* 73 (1976), 342–52; and on Piers as a Protestant spokesman, see Sarah A. Kelen, ‘Plowing the past: “Piers Protestant” and the authority of medieval literary history’, *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 13 (1999), 101–36, and Lawrence Warner, ‘Plowman traditions in late medieval and early modern writing’, in Andrew Cole and Andrew Galloway (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Piers Plowman* (Cambridge, 2014), 198–213.

¹² Printed twice around 1550, probably by William Copland (STC 19903–3.5).

¹³ John Bale, *A dialoge or commynacyon to be had at a table betwene two children* ([Stephen Mierdman] for Richard Foster, 1549; STC 1290). Mierdman might have been the printer of the Dutch translation of Sachs’s dialogue which Scoloker used.

¹⁴ STC 6806, above.

formulaic Protestant genre was heavy use of scriptural quotation to mark reliable, godly speech. In an English anti-Catholic catechism printed in Antwerp in 1545, in which Truth instructs an Unlearned Man, Truth speaks exclusively in biblical paraphrase and quotation, with chapter citations provided in the margin.¹⁵

The most ‘theatrical’ of the Edwardine dialogues are the two in which the Mass, personified as a woman of loose morals, is put on trial in a courtroom for setting herself up as an idol to be worshipped in God’s place.¹⁶ These bestselling pieces were printed in multiple editions in 1548–49 by Scoloker’s London collaborator, William Seres. William Turner’s *The examination of the Mass* sees Mistress Missa (her name the Latin for Mass) cross-examined by Master Knowledge and Master Freemouth, while Porphyry and Sir Philip Philargery (meaning lover-of-silver) attempt to defend her. She is finally sentenced to banishment, because, as Knowledge cautions, if they do not escort her from England ‘the priestes wil kepe her stil in theyr chambres, *and wil abuse her as they haue don before.*¹⁷ The dark reference to sexual immorality, typical of religious polemic in this period, alludes to the English Protestant fear that priests would secretly continue to say private masses for clandestine Catholics. William Punt developed the symbolism of the idea in his *Inditement against Mother Mass*, in which Mother Mass is cross-examined by Knowledge and Verity and defended by Masters Stiffneck and Covetous; the judge is God’s Word and the jury are the twelve Apostles. In the end she is sent packing back to Rome with her two brothers, Superstition and Idolatry.

¹⁵ Printed after *A briefe catechisme and dialogue betwene the husbande and his wife*, trans. Robert Legate (Wesel [i.e. Antwerp: Stephen Mierdman], 1545; STC 4797.3).

¹⁶ William Turner’s *Examination of the Mass* was printed by John Day and William Seres in four octavo editions in c.1548–49 (STC 24361.5, 24362–3, 24634a); *The Inditement against Mother Mass*, attributed to William Punt, in three octavos by the same men in 1548 (STC 20499) and 1549 (20500–0.5).

¹⁷ STC 24361.5, [G8]v.

The issue of the Mass is the most obvious theological difference between Scoloker’s translation and other contemporary polemical dialogues. No controversy provoked so many tracts in the 1540s and 1550s as the debate whether the eucharistic bread and wine in the Mass – the Lord’s Supper in the reformed English Prayer Book – were literally Christ’s flesh and blood. As well as Punt and Turner, Shepherd’s John Bon pours scorn on Mast Parson’s belief in the Real Presence, as does Piers Plowman on the popish priest’s, and so would Oliver in his dialogue with Sir Nicholas Noseled in 1554, giving their reactions to the recent reestablishment of the Mass in England by Mary I.¹⁸ However, the default lines in German debates of the real presence of Christ were different. Sachs in this early stage of adopting Luther’s teaching did not debate the eucharist or transubstantiation. In contrast to the many Edwardine dialogues, which made the Mass their principle target in their assault on the Roman faith, the Shoemaker and the Parson do not mention it once.

Very few conversational texts are known to have been translated from Dutch before Scoloker, unless we include the Latin *Colloquia* of the Low Countries’ most celebrated humanist, Erasmus, three of which had been published in English by 1548.¹⁹ The really notable exception, however, is the most famous English play before Shakespeare: *Everyman*.

¹⁸ STC 3258.5 and 10383, above. See also Randall Hurlestone, *Newes from Rome concerning the blasphemous sacrifice of the papisticall Masse* (Canterbury: John Mitchell for E. Campion, [1548–50?]; STC 14006), which contains four dialogues, respectively on the Mass, true worship, honouring saints, and Christian freedom.

¹⁹ *Funus* [1526] was published in English in 1534 (Robert Copland for John Byddell; STC 10453.5); *Peregrinatio religionis ergo* [1526] in around 1540 (STC 10454); and Philip Gerrard’s translation of *Epicurus* [1533] in 1545 (Richard Grafton; STC 10460); followed by Edmond Becke’s translations of *Cyclops* [1529] and *De rebus a vocabulis* [1523] in *Two dyaloges* (Canterbury: John Mitchell [c.1549–53]; STC 10459).



Ill. 10: Titlepage of the third edition of *Everyman*, John Skot, [c.1529]; STC 10606

This is an anonymous translation of *Elckerlijc*, a play written probably in the 1480s or 1490s, perhaps in Antwerp, for a drama competition between *rederijkers*, the ‘rhetoricians’ whose humanistic chambers were centres of polite learning in Dutch cities.²⁰

The play tells the story of a man, representing all of mankind, who is told by Death that he is about to die and face judgement. Abandoned by his family, friends, wealth, and health, he is guided by Knowledge through a sequence of sacraments, from confession to extreme unction, to make his soul ready for Heaven. The English version was printed four times in c.1518–35, making it apparently the most popular play before the English Reformation.²¹ Interestingly, the translator was attempting the religious opposite to Scoloker. *Everyman* is written in explicit support of the authority of the Catholic priesthood and seven sacraments, especially the necessity of penance for sin. The translator, who was apparently working around the time of Luther’s first protest, actually goes further than the original Dutch. He renames the personified character Virtue as ‘Good Deeds’ to make a more explicit defence of the traditional doctrine of justification by works, which was coming under pressure from theological reformers. As C. J. Wortham puts it, ‘*Elckerlijc* is *ante-Reformation*; *Everyman* is *anti-Reformation*.²² The fact that this popular piece was never reprinted after the mid-1530s shows the changing direction of the wind blowing into England from the continent.

²⁰ Both texts are printed in *Everyman and its Dutch Original, Elckerlijc*, ed. Clifford Davidson, Martin W. Walsh, and Ton J. Broos (Kalamazoo: 2007).

²¹ Printed by Richard Pynson ([c.1518–19], STC 10604; [1526–28?], STC 10604.5) and John Skot ([c.1529], STC 10606); [1534?], STC 10606.5).

²² C. J. Wortham, ‘*Everyman* and the Reformation’, *Parergon* 29 (1981), 23–31 (p. 23).

3. The Pamphlets in Oxford

Philip Flacke

The Reformation in sixteenth-century Germany was a matter of public debate to a scale that had never been seen before. It was carried by a generation, born between 1470 and 1500, whom Thomas Kaufmann has recently characterised as ‘printing natives’ in analogy to the digital natives of today.¹ These women and men had grown up with the new technology of printing with movable type and the resulting emergence of a media landscape fit for the fast and cheap circulation of ideas. Hans Sachs was one of them. His Reformation dialogues from 1524 reflect on what it meant to partake in a heated public debate. The pamphlets in which these texts reached an audience all over the German-speaking world provide an insight into media use not just by Sachs but by printers, booksellers, readers, collectors, politicians, and the ‘gmaine mann’ (edition, a2r: common man and woman!) addressed in his pamphlets.

Printing Reformation pamphlets

Four of Sachs’s prose dialogues have an 1524 imprint date. No autograph of any of these exists. This despite the fact that Sachs copied out more or less all of his literary output by hand into what eventually grew to be 34 volumes. Two indices, compiled by Sachs himself later in life, contain the folio numbers of where the four dialogues were to be found in the very first of these volumes.² But this volume, compiled in 1526/27, has not survived. In the second of these two indices, written half a lifetime after their publication, Sachs lists the four texts under the following short titles: ‘Disputation zwischen dem Corhern’, ‘Von den scheinwercken’, ‘Das gesprech

mit den parfuser munichen’, ‘Das gesprech vom wuecher’. Even if the exact order in which they were written and published, has been a matter of academic debate,³ it is clear, that the ‘Chorherr und Schuhmacher’ comes first.

Wim folget das vogtvr der dirlogi	
Vnd der gantlg Horen	
Aus den Bischpfg 14.	
Dirlog	
Dirlog vnd Horen	
Dirlog	
Die Wittenbergisch nachtigall 265	
Disputation zwischen dem Corhern 280	
Von den scheinwercken 292	
Das gesprech mit den parfuser munichen 304	
Das gesprech vom wuecher 314	

Ill. 11: Sachs’s index of all of his works, second fol. 78^v of the two folia numbered (reproduced after the facsimile, Sachs/Hahn 1986)

On its publication, the *Disputation zwischen einem Chorherren vnd Schuchmacher* was an immediate success. Printers in seven cities published no less than 13 editions, all dated to the year 1524: three in Bamberg, four in Augsburg, one in Speyer, one in Erfurt, one in Eilenburg near Leipzig, one in Straßburg and two in Vienna.⁴ While the *Wittenbergisch Nachtigall* had first been published anonymously, the name Hans Sachs now appeared on all these editions. – All except one: The printer Matthes Maler in Erfurt got it wrong and typeset on the title page: ‘Hanns Bachs’.

³ Rettelbach 2019, pp. 94–96; Schuster 2019, pp. 93–94.

⁴ According to the VD 16. Bamberg (Georg Erlinger): VD 16 S 219 (not listed in KG, vol. 22), S 220 (=KG, vol. 22, 7b), S 221 (=7a); Augsburg (Melchior Ramminger): S 215 (=7e), S 216 (=7c), S 217 (=7f), S 218 (=7h); Speyer (Jakob Schmidt): ZV 31754 (not listed in KG); Erfurt (Matthes Maler): ZV 13538 (not listed in KG); Eilenburg (Nikolaus Widemar): S 222 (=7d); Straßburg (Wolfgang Köpfel): S 223 (=7i); Vienna (Johann Singriener): S 213 (=7j), S 214 (not listed in KG).

¹ Kaufmann 2022, pp. 7–11.

² Otten 1993, pp. 102–108.

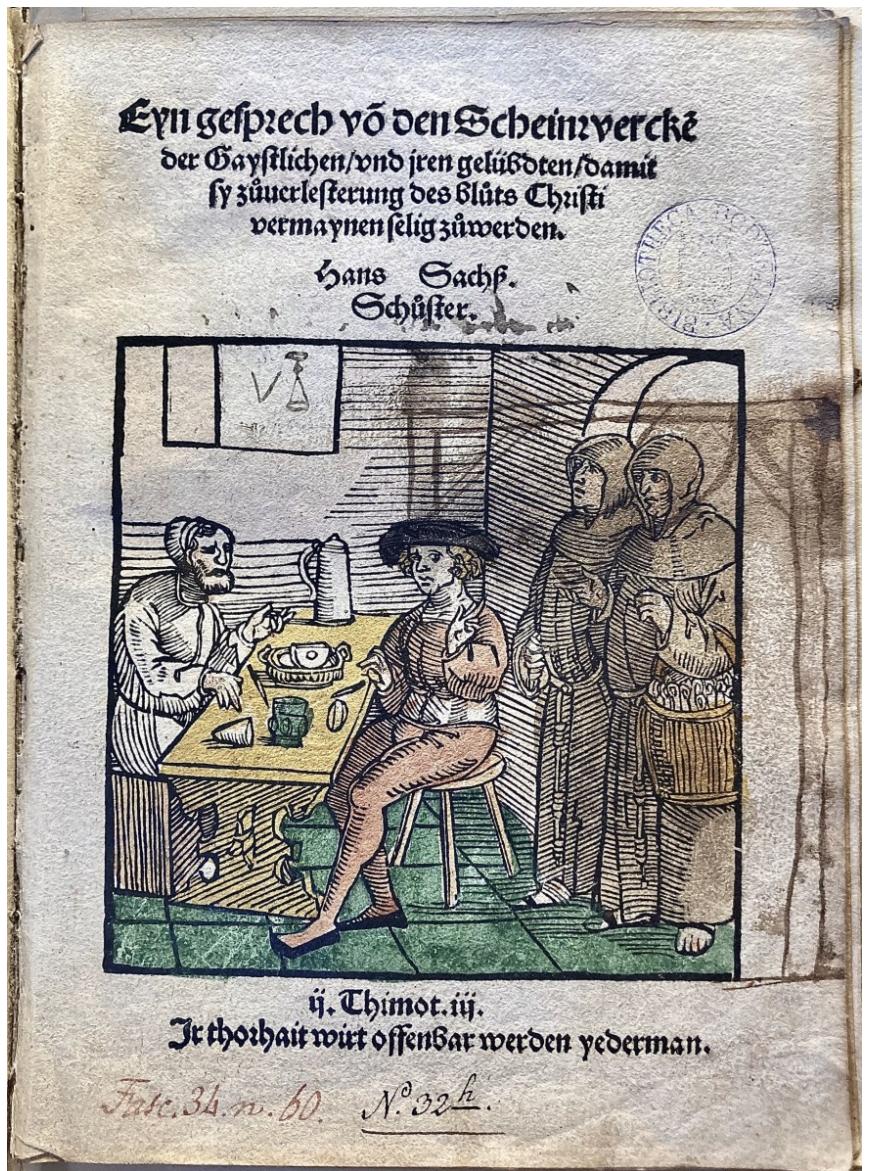
Nuremberg is noticeably missing. As had been the case with the *Wittenbergisch Nachtigall* (Ill. 3) in the previous year,⁵ Sachs did not publish his text in his home town but turned to the printer Georg Erlinger in Bamberg instead – probably because of the difficult situation for printing and selling pamphlets in Nuremberg at this point (see above Thomas Wood, *The Historical Context*). We know of the case of an old woman who was living in the Tuchscherergasse ('[d]as alte Fräulein im Tuchscheerergäßchen').⁶ After she had offered copies of a newly printed pamphlet by the reformer Heinrich von Kettenbach for sale, she had to spend four days and nights chained to the pillory. This was in January or February 1524 – precisely when Sachs might have worked on his first dialogue.

Only one further German edition from the sixteenth century is known, published around 1580.⁷ All of Sachs's 1524 dialogues were bestsellers but not longsellers. When later in his life Sachs compiled an edition of his own collected works, which was published in five large volumes in folio from 1558 to 1579, he did not include the four Reformation dialogues. The Dutch and English translations included in this volume were almost certainly printed without Sachs's involvement. More than two decades after the original publication, they testify to an interest in the text by new audiences and to their potential for new markets.

Strong emotions: sixteenth-century readers

Two Franciscans dressed in religious habit enter from the right while Hans and Peter sit at a wooden table with food, drink and knives. The gestures of all four attest a lively discussion, the starting point of which is made visible by what the right monk is carrying in a large

basket on his arm: They are collecting candles in order to perform their monastic duties of singing, chanting and reading.



⁵ VD 16, see also Schottenloher 1913, p. 236. In other older publications on Sachs, Nuremberg is sometimes named as one of the towns in which the poem was printed.

⁶ Cit. von Soden 1855, p. 162.

⁷ VD 16 S 224 (not listed in KG, vol. 22). The printer is unknown.

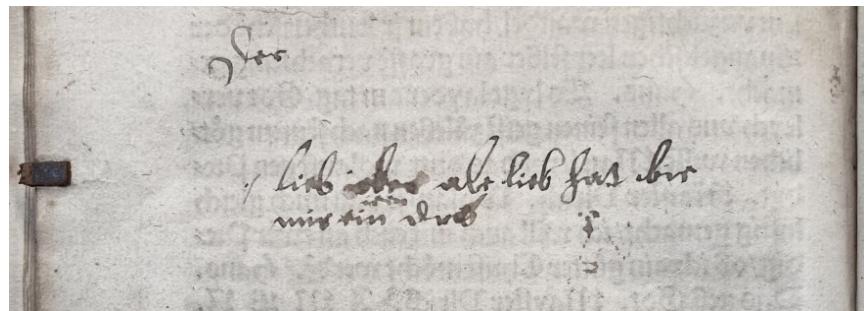
Ill. 12: The title page of *Tr. Luth. 34* (60) with the ink additions

In the Oxford copy *Tr. Luth. 34 (60)* of the pamphlet showing this woodcut, presumably by Erhard Schön,⁸ somebody has coloured in various parts using seven shades: yellow for the table, the monk's basket and Hans's or Peter's hair, a reddish brown for his clothes, black for his hat, a sandy brown for the chair and bench, a dark green for the floor tiles and the beaker on the table, a dark brown for the monks' tunics, and even a light beige wash shading in the flesh tones and the walls. Later, somebody, surely a different person, added drawings in brown ink: two shapes in the window (just doodles or a lamp?) and a large gallows standing outside the picture in the margin and reaching over the two monks, who have crudely been hung from it with two nooses round their necks.

This single page shows two distinct ways in which contemporaries of the Reformation engaged with the printed medium of the pamphlet. The colours are meant to increase the visual impact and the aesthetic value of the woodcut, which had proved an important selling point of prints and ideas alike. Especially illiterate audiences relied on pictures and the reading out aloud of published texts in public and private contexts. The reader who drew in ink on the page on the other hand treated the pamphlet as a cheap medium which did not have to remain pristine. His drastic imagery of having the Franciscans hung from the gallows shows an emotional response to Sachs's critique of mendicant monastic life and the climate of the Reformation. Comparable examples from the time show how on the other side Catholic readers drew on reformers' printed portraits delegitimising their sometimes saintlike appeal while also making fun of them by giving them ink moustaches.⁹

Who were the people whose engagement with Sachs's dialogues, going as far as a symbolic execution, can still be observed today? The pamphlets in the Bodleian reveal more about them. Another of these pamphlets, *Eyn gesprech eynes Euangelischen Christen mit einem*

Lutherischen shelved under *Tr. Luth. 34 (58)*, shows glosses and drawings in ink on the first and last page as well as in the margins. These include doodles of a face in profile and, on the last page, first 'Der', then, after what looks like a reference marker, 'lieb vber ale lieb hat bie | mir ein eren dieb'.¹⁰ ('He who loves love above all has in me a thief of (his) honour?')



Ill. 13: Gloss on the last page of *Tr. Luth. 34 (58)*, c4v

These rhyming words read like a rebuke of the dialogue's conciliatory ending, where Sachs cites the Epistle to the Philippians: 'If there be therefore any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, Fulfil ye my joy, that ye be likeminded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind' (Phil 2:1–2) and so forth. Such a sentiment would not have resonated well with a radical anti-Catholic. For it seems the scribe was no other than the person who symbolically hanged the Franciscans and of whom a more and more coherent picture unfolds.

The writing is smudged, and the reason for that can be seen on the page with the drawn-in gallows. Just above the woodcut, beneath the name of the author 'Hans Sachß. Schüster.' ('Hans Sachs. Shoemaker.'), there is the matching inkblot that resulted from the pages being pressed together when the ink was still wet. Judging by

⁸ For this attribution see Schreyel 1976, no. 15.

⁹ Rößler 2018; Warnke 1984, pp. 67–68.

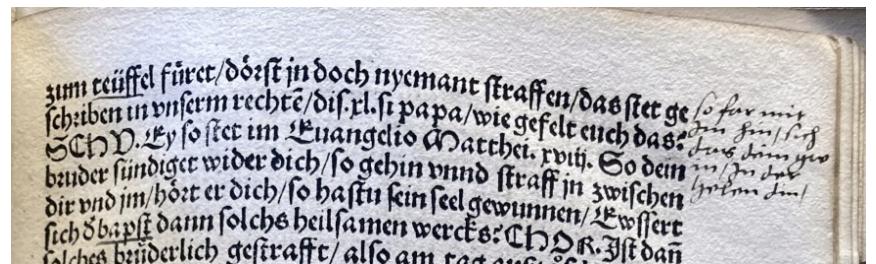
¹⁰ The words are smudged. Reading suggested by Ulrich Bubenheimer.

the script, the two pamphlets now numbered 60 and 58 must have been part of the same collection in the sixteenth century already, being bound together in a volume where 58 preceded 60.

Examining the Bodleian copies, one can add at least one more pamphlet to those two. It is the *Disputation zwischen einem Chorherren vnd Schuchmacher*, numbered 57 (Ill. 6). To facilitate finding the beginning of each item in a combined volume, leather tabs were permanently fixed to the last folio of the pamphlets, each about one centimetre lower down the page than the preceding one. Over time these left a slight indent on the opposing next page, which can still be seen even if the pamphlets are bound in a different order today. All three pamphlets show matching leather tabs on the last folio and indents on the first, so that they must have been bound together following each other – in an order that exactly fits the most likely chronology of publication:¹¹ 57 – 58 – 60. They come from a similar region and may have been bought there. Two were printed in Nuremberg, one in Bamberg, probably all first editions. The frontispiece of 57 is coloured in, and especially the dark green of the ground and the slippers seems similar to the tone used in 60. But the shading is more intricate, differentiating between darker and lighter areas in two different colours, which shows even more care in making the pamphlet a visually appealing object. Again, the reader who drew the gallows might not have been the first owner.

In all three pamphlets, single words and short phrases have been underlined in ink, and 57 and 58 further contain some glosses that comment on these words and phrases. They all seem to have been written by the same scribe, probably identical with the artist of the gallows. At the beginning of the first dialogue, the canon wants to send Sachs and Luther to hell (the shoemaker Sachs had written about Luther using the image of a nightingale): ‘Ey / der teüffel holl den schüster / mitsamt seiner Nachtigall’ (‘the devil take the cobbler together with his nightingale’, 57, fol. A2^r). The reader of the

pamphlet reacted by underlining the words they disagreed with and addressing the fictional canon in his gloss: ‘gmach o Herle das wirt ain seltzame nachtigal sain’ (‘Calmly, little man, that is going to be a special nightingale’). A little later, the canon insists that the pope cannot be punished for any crime: ‘Ey lieber / vnnd wenn der bapst so böß wer / das er vnzelich menschenn mit grossem hawffen zum teüffel füret / dörft in doch nyemant straffen’ (‘My good man, even if the pope were so evil as to lead numerous people in large crowds to the devil, still nobody would be allowed to punish him’, fol. A2^v–A3^r). Again, the reader turns directly to the canon, now evidently angry and in versified form: ‘so far mit jm hin / sieh das deine gwin / In der Helen din /’ (‘So go with him! See how your reward shall serve in hell’).



Ill. 14: Gloss in *Tr. Luth. 34* (57), fol. A3^r

At the end of 57 (fol. C3^r), the reader comments on the closing biblical verse in a way that seems very similar to the note on the last page of 58. The edition ends with Paul’s words ‘Ir Bauch jr got’ (‘Their belly, their God’) of Paul (Phil 3.19). As in 58, the reader makes use of a mark in the form of a virgule which might in both cases serve to connect the printed word with the handwritten note and continues with a rhyme: ‘die warheit schlecht sy zu tott | dan sy nur gottes spott’ (‘truth kills them as they are only a mockery to God’). The glosses of 57 and 58 show a reader who engages enthusiastically with the text, taking a strong anti-Catholic stance. In 57 they defend Sachs while in 58 they apparently disagree with his plea for patience and consolation.

¹¹ Proposed by Otten 1993, pp. 102–108; see also Otten 1994.

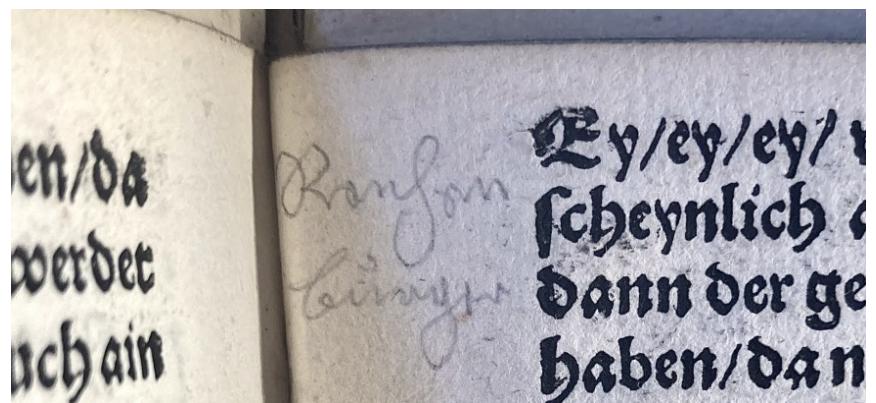
Apart from 57, 58 and 60, there are five further German editions of Sachs's Reformation dialogues in the Bodleian collection. They, too, preserve signs of their usage and history: the different sizes to which they were cut down earlier, painted edges, leather tabs and the impressions of leather tabs, finger prints, one more gloss, folio numbers as well as numbers and letters to count items. All of these show how typesetters, earlier readers and owners interacted with the pamphlets making them individual objects that tell personal stories about the usage of these printed materials from the Reformation in their time and after.



Ill. 15: Fingerprints in *Tr. Luth. 34* (59), fol. B2^v, probably of one of the people operating the press

For example, in the pamphlet numbered 55 somebody wrote the name 'Raichenburger' in the inner margin. This reverses the placement of a printed or handwritten catchword which anticipates the first word of a new page at the foot of the preceding one to assist binding and reading: the gloss here repeats the end of the last line of the previous page ('Reychenbur.') at the beginning of the next one. The desired effect must have been to facilitate reading, probably out

loud and perhaps even in different voices or with different performers, as the page break coincides with a change of speaker.



Ill. 16: Gloss in *Tr. Luth. 34* (55), fol. B1^r

Different features speak of various collections in which many of the pamphlets were apparently combined and bound together at some point between their publication in 1524 and their integration into their current order at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Among these is the foliation, written in large, round numbers in the upper corners of print number 56. Their easily recognisable forms appear quite often in the pamphlets shelved under *Tr. Luth.* in the Bodleian Library, though in none of the other seven Sachs dialogues.¹² The same is true for the green fore edge of 55. It can be seen on a number of pamphlets in the collection, which have all been trimmed to about 14.1 to 14.6cm width.¹³ On one of these, *Tr. Luth.*

¹² In the neighbouring volumes, the following pamphlets show this foliation: *Tr. Luth. 36* (102) with the folio numbers 9–36, *Tr. Luth. 35* (67) with numbers 95–102, *Tr. Luth. 35* (80) with numbers 119–126, *Tr. Luth. 36* (103) with numbers 127–159, *Tr. Luth. 33* (56) with numbers 246–257 and *Tr. Luth. 35* (85) with numbers 344–351. Perhaps, if one were to search more volumes, a complete reconstruction of this former collection could be achieved.

¹³ In the neighbouring volumes, the following pamphlets have this size and edges in the same shade of green: *Tr. Luth. 31* (167), *Tr. Luth. 31* (169), *Tr. Luth. 31* (190), *Tr. Luth. 36* (90), *Tr. Luth. 50* (9) and *Tr. Luth. 50* (16).

31 (190), it is apparent that the trimming and colouring of the edges are later than some handwritten entries, which could be from the sixteenth century. So it might well be that the green fore edges and maybe some of the other signs of former collections tell us less about how the pamphlets were used by contemporaries of the Reformation and instead attest to their later history when they had already become objects of the past. At this time, they had become a matter of interest for collectors, historians and libraries.



Ill. 17: Green-coloured edges in the *Tr. Luth.*

Collectors, auctioneers and librarians

At the core of the Bodleian special collection called *Tractatus Lutherani*, which includes eight copies of Sach's Reformation dialogues, are 84 volumes with c. 1,670 Latin and German tracts from the context of the German Reformation, all of them published between 1518 and 1550, and many of them pamphlets.¹⁴ They were collected by Johann Gottlob May (1754–1821), a schoolmaster and librarian from Augsburg.¹⁵ An advertisement from 1818, when May's collection was sold at Sotheby's in London, mentions that it was by this point already 'chronologically arranged',¹⁶ another that it was 'carefully arranged in chronological order'.¹⁷ The *Annals of the Bodleian Library* record the acquisition of a 'very valuable and curious series of original editions of Latin and German tracts, issued by the German reformers between 1518 and 1550', already bound 'in eighty-four volumes'.¹⁸ So it seems that May himself put them in the order they appear in today and had them bound in brown leather. He did not trim them but left them in their different shapes and sizes.

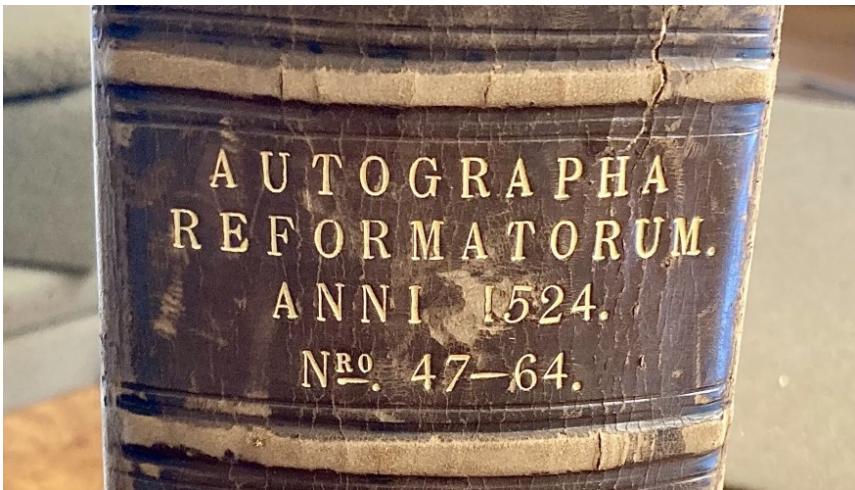
¹⁴ Cf. Bodleian Library 2024; Attar 2016, p. 329; Jefcoate/Kelly/Kloth 2000, p. 297; Bloomfield/Potts 1997, p. 515.

¹⁵ The name variant 'Johannes', which most often appears in English publications, seems to be a misunderstanding of May's Latinisation of his name as 'Joannes Gottlob May' on the two Latin title pages of his catalogue (May 1818, s. p., cf. also the same Latinisation under the Latin preface in May 1798, p. IV). I cannot find the name 'Johannes' anywhere in historical sources from May's lifetime.

¹⁶ 'Intelligence, Literary, Scientific, &c.' 1818, p. 123.

¹⁷ 'Literary Notice of Dr. May's Collection' 1818, p. 210. Both advertisements largely follow the wording of Samuel Sotheby, as can be seen in his preface to May's catalogue of the collection. There it says: 'The Collection is carefully arranged in chronological order' (Sotheby? 1818, fol. 6^v).

¹⁸ Macray 1890, p. 303.



Ill. 18: *Tr. Luth. 34*, the volume that contains, amongst other publications from 1524, the eight Sachs editions

May had accumulated the pamphlets over a period of thirty years, incorporating in turn collections of the theologian Matthias Jacob Adam Steiner (1740–1796) and the historian Georg Wilhelm Zapf (1747–1810), both of them contemporaries of May in Augsburg.¹⁹ More is known about the work and collecting habits of these two than about those of May. Zapf published various studies on the Reformation and the history of book printing.²⁰ Steiner collected everything from natural curiosities to engravings, coins, bibles and stained glass.²¹

It is not clear if any of the eight editions in question were part of Steiner's or Zapf's collections or where else they came from. The sales

¹⁹ 'Having besides an opportunity of enriching his own Collection with a great part of those of Steiner and Zapf of Augsburg, he succeeded in getting together a more numerous and perfect assemblage of Tracts, illustrative to the early history of the Reformation than had ever been before made.' (Sotheby(?) 1818, fol. 5^v, cf. Jefcoate / Kelly / Kloth 2000, p. 297).

²⁰ Cf. Schön 1898; Gradmann 1802, pp. 801–809.

²¹ Baader 1795, pp. 93–100, contains a detailed footnote on Steiner's collections that comprises no less than eight pages, despite the book being written as a travel report.

catalogues for their libraries, both probably co-written by May, do not list the pamphlets under their titles, but include entries like '[Ein Fascikel mit] 18 seltnen Originalschriften, die durch die Reformation Luthers zu Augsburg u. Nürnberg veranlaßt worden' ('a fascicle of 18 rare original publications prompted by the Lutheran Reformation in Augsburg and Nuremberg'),²² '12. Tractatus divers argument. et auctor. Deutsch', published '1523–25', 'Gebunden' ('12 pamphlets of various subjects and authors in German, published 1523–25, bound'), and '50.' plus another '48. Tractatus divers. argument. et auctor. in lingua lat. et. germ.', published '1524', 'Ausgeschnitten' ('[98 (?)] pamphlets of various subjects and authors in German, published 1523–25, loose (?)').²³ It may well be that some of the eight Sachs pamphlets were among those but it is uncertain.²⁴ In his handwritten catalogue of his own collection, which is kept in the Bodleian, May lists all eight pamphlets but does not indicate where or when he bought them.²⁵

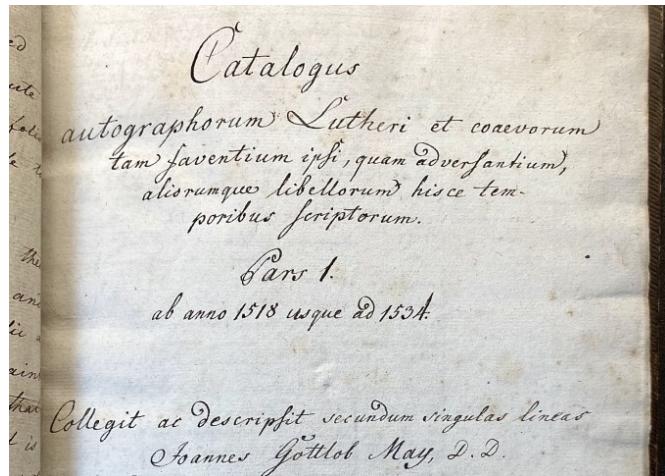
May's catalogue of the *Tractatus Lutherani* mainly fulfils the function of an inventory. It designates two numbers to each item – apparently an older and a newer sorting system. Both numbers appear on the pamphlets as well. Apart from that, the focus of the catalogue lies on bibliographical information suitable for identifying the prints. May lists titles, author, the number of printed pages ('S.' for 'Seiten').

²² May / Wilhelm 1797, p. 139. For Steiner's library cf. also May 1798.

²³ Beyschlag / May / Bürgle 1812, pp. 416 f. For Zapf's library cf. also Zapf 1787 (in which I could not find mention of Reformation pamphlets).

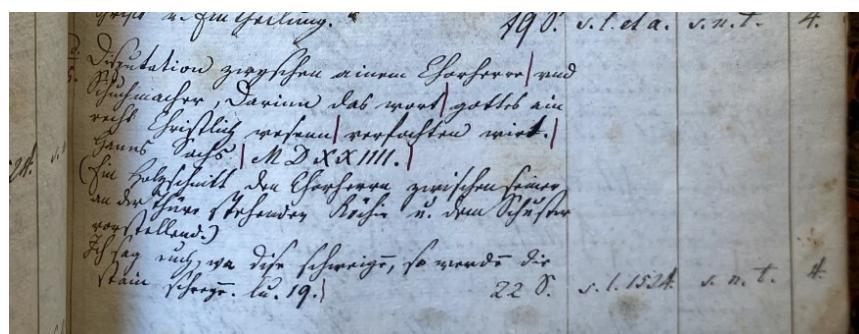
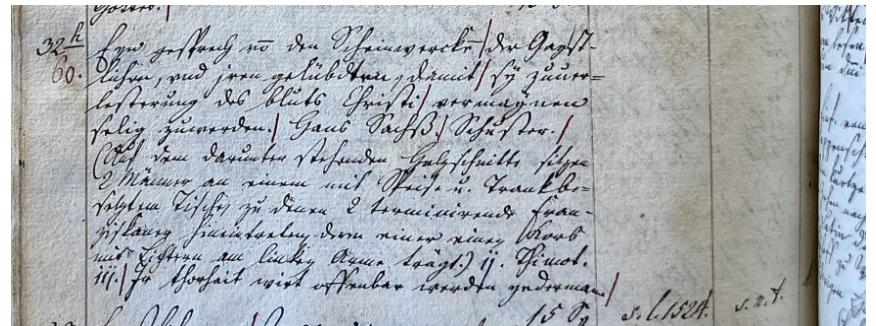
²⁴ It could also be that May did not want to put items on public sale which he preferred to buy for himself and hence did not list them in the sales catalogues.

²⁵ May 1818, fol. 75^v–75^v. Warm thanks go to Alan Coates and Oliver House for their help locating the manuscript, which is now shelved under *Library Records c. 1819* (formerly under R.6.212).



Ill. 19: May's handwritten catalogue of his collection (May 1818)

To this he adds the date and place of publication (for the eight pamphlets mostly 's. l.' for *sine loco* or 's. l. et a.' for *sine loco et anno*), the publisher ('s. n. t.' for *sine nomine typographorum*), the book format ('4.' for quarto). He gives exact information on the printed elements of the title pages including line breaks, mottos and woodcuts. What May's catalogue widely ignores, are signs of usage and provenance – aspects regarding the prints as individual copies with a specific history different from other copies of the same print.

Ill. 20: May's handwritten catalogue of his collection, fol. 75^r with the entry for Tr. Luth. 34 (56)Ill. 21: May's handwritten catalogue of his collection, fol. 75^v with the entry for Tr. Luth. 34 (60)

For example, following an exact transcription of the title on *Tr. Luth. 34 (60)* (Ill. 12), he describes its frontispiece in the following words: 'Auf dem darunter stehenden Holzschnitte sitzen 2 Männer an einem mit Speise u. Trank besetzten Tische, zu denen 2 terminirende Franziskaner hineintreten deren einer einen Korb mit Lichtern im linken Arme trägt.' ('In the woodcut beneath there are two men sitting at a table set with food and drink. Two Franciscan monks enter collecting alms, one of whom is holding a basket with candles on his left arm.') May does not make note of the fact that the woodcut has been coloured in, nor of the ink drawings and the ink blot on the title page or the leather tab secured to the last folio. In the case of *Tr. Luth. 34 (57)* he does note the coloured frontispiece but only to distinguish the print from the previous one: 'Der nämliche Holzschnitt wie beym vorigen, aber illuminirt.' ('The same woodcut as in the previous one but illuminated.')

In 1818, the Bodleian purchased May's collection at Sotheby's in London for 95 Pounds and 15 Shillings.²⁶ The acquisition fell under the direction of Bulkeley Bandinel, who had been named Bodley's Librarian in 1813 and remained in that position until 1860. Bandinel had more money at hand than his predecessors thanks to new library statutes approved in 1813 and to an increased deposit of new British

²⁶ Cf. Macray 1890, p. 303.

publications following the Copyright Act of 1814.²⁷ He used part of this money to buy libraries of private collectors all over Europe, acquiring amongst others printed books and manuscripts in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Italian and German. ‘It was the scale of the acquisitions made when Bandinel was Bodley’s Librarian that marked his time in office as one of the greatest periods of expansion of the collections.’²⁸

According to the *Annals*, the *Tractatus Lutherani* ‘probably comprise [...] as complete a gathering of these controversial publications, so easily lost or destroyed from their small extent and often ephemeral character, as can anywhere be found.’²⁹ In this evaluation the account takes its cue from a preface to May’s handwritten catalogue of the collection – a text which advertises its value and which, it has been presumed, might have been written by Samuel Sotheby himself.³⁰ Sotheby, who, though a bibliophile, of course had a financial interest in the pamphlets, is known to have routinely hyped interest in his holdings.³¹ In the case of the *Tractatus Lutherani* this includes his repeated claim that among them are numerous autographs by Luther and other reformers.³² Sotheby also gives a reason why the pamphlets might be of academic value in a library in Britain:

It would be superfluous after these details, to say more of the interest and high value of this Collection for any public and private Library; – for every one, acquainted with literature, must be convinced, that without the aid of similar Collections, it is impossible to investigate the History of the Reformation on the Continent, which is so

²⁷ Cf., also for his purchases, Clapinson 2020, pp. 138–142.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 139.

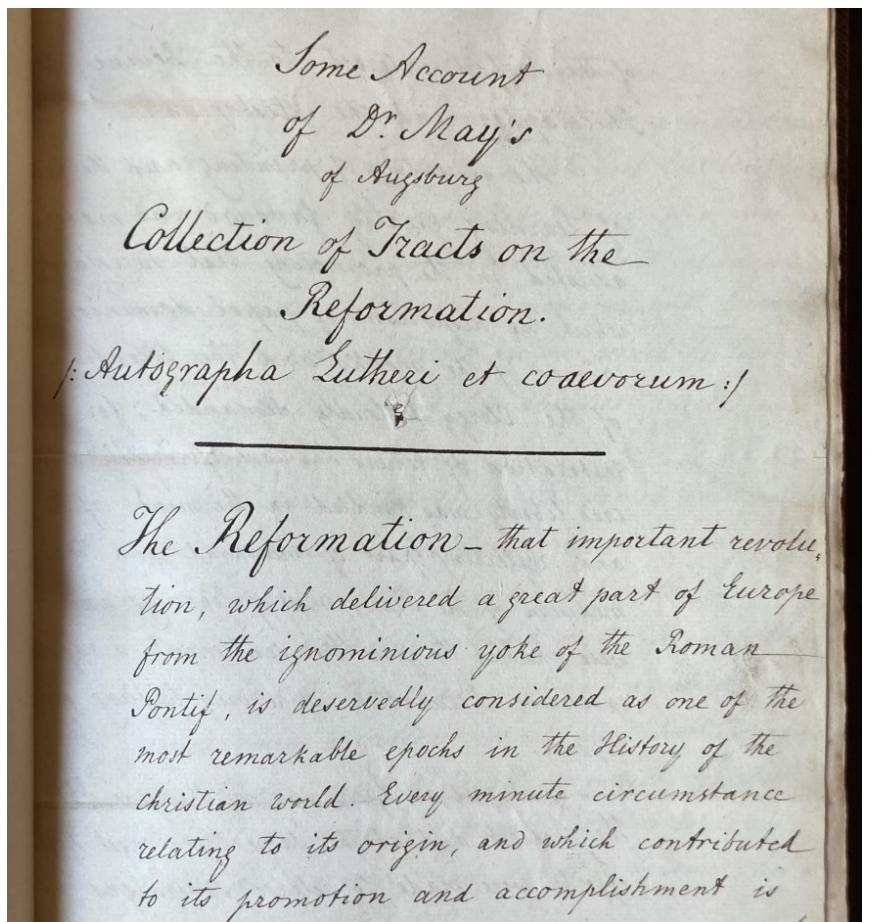
²⁹ Macray 1890, p. 303.

³⁰ Jefcoate/Kelly/Kloth 2000, p. 297.

³¹ Cf. Micklich 2024 about a purchase for the Bodleian in 1835 of a manuscript falsely advertised to have probably been written by Melanchthon and Sotheby’s marketing strategy of ‘fabricating a *Bibliotheca Melanchthonia*’ (Georg Kloss).

³² Apart from Sotheby(?) 1818 cf. also the advertisements ‘Intelligence, Literary, Scientific, &c.’ 1818 and ‘Literary Notice of Dr. May’s Collection’ 1818.

intimately connected with the History of the Reformation of this Country.³³



Ill. 22: The preface to May’s handwritten catalogue of his collection, possibly written by Samuel Sotheby, 1818

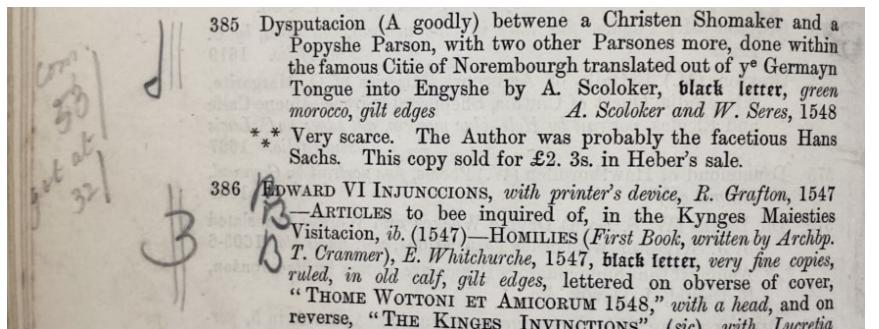
In addition to the eight German editions of Sach’s Reformation dialogues, all published in 1524 and part of the *Tractatus Lutherani*, the Bodleian holds two copies of the English translation published by

³³ Sotheby(?) 1818, fol. 6^v.

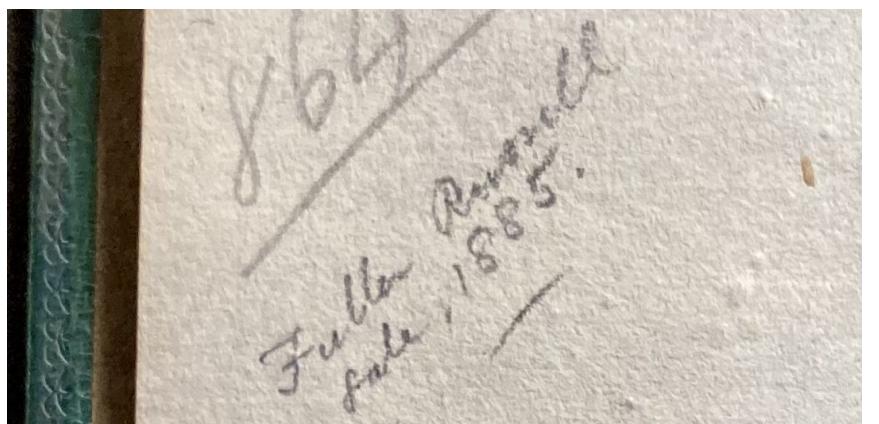
Anthony Scoloker in 1548. One of these, too, entered the collection in the time of Bandinel. It was part of the immense collection of prints, books, manuscripts and other items that was bequeathed to the library in 1834 by Francis Douce (1757–1834).³⁴ Douce's copy of *A goodly dysputacion betwene a Christen Shomaker and a Popyshe Parson*, however, preserves only the second part of the octavo volume, quires C & D.

For this reason, a complete second copy, printed in London like Douce's, was purchased in 1885. It had belonged to Richard Heber (1773–1833), a bibliomaniac, who had a special interest in early English drama and whose immense collection of books and pamphlets, according to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 'over-ran eight houses'.³⁵ This collection was sold at Sotheby's from 1834 to 1837. The London edition of *A goodly dysputacion* appears in the fifth volume of the 13-volume sales catalogue.³⁶ Despite the rarity of the title, Heber owned two copies. A second one, an earlier edition printed in Ipswich, is listed in the second volume of the catalogue.³⁷ The London copy was bought (or given to) the theologian and art collector John Fuller Russell (1814–1884), whose library was again sold at Sotheby's. The 1885 sales catalogue mentions the rarity of the title: 'Very scarce. The Author was probably the facetious Hans Sachs. This copy sold for £2. 3s. in Heber's sale.'³⁸ In the Bodleian copy of this catalogue can still be seen the annotations regarding the purchase.³⁹ The first entry, 'com. 53', must mean that the library commissioned its agent to spend a maximum of 53 shillings (or £2.

13s.), the second, 'got at 32', that the winning bid was only 32 shillings (or £1. 12s.).



Ill. 23: Entry for *A goodly dysputacion* in the Bodleian copy of the sales catalogue for John Fuller Russell's library (*Catalogue Russell* 1885, p. 34)



Ill. 24: Front flyleaf of *Vet. A1 f. 237*, where someone has noted 'Fuller Russel sale, 1885'

³⁴ For Douce's bequest cf. Clapinson 2020, pp. 143–148.

³⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica* 1911, vol. 13, p. 167.

³⁶ *Bibliotheca Heberiana* 1834, p. 65.

³⁷ *Bibliotheca Heberiana* 1835, p. 94.

³⁸ Catalogue Russell 1885, p. 34.

³⁹ Shelved under 2591 d.1 Sotheby 1885 Jan–June. Many thanks go to Simon Phillips for his kind help in locating and making sense of the Bodleian copy of the sales catalogue.

Besides the ten copies of Sachs's Reformation dialogues in the Bodleian, an additional German copy from 1524 is kept by the Taylor Institution Library for Modern European languages which is the basis for our edition.⁴⁰ Bound in a simple brown cardboard cover with marbled paper on the outside, it is an edition of the *Disputacion zwischen ainem Chorherren vnnd Schüchmache*. According to an inscription on the front flyleaf, it was once given as a birthday present: 'Dem lieben Bruder Adolf zu seinem 65sten Geburtstage, den 7. Juli 1879.' ('To dear brother Adolf for his 65th birthday, July 7, 1879'). The copy was bought by the Taylorian in December 1924 for £5 – by far the most expensive purchase listed on that page in the register of additions – from the bookseller Gustav Fock in Leipzig.⁴¹ With this acquisition being the last, a total of eleven original copies of Sachs's Reformation dialogues had been added to Oxford collections in the period from 1818 to 1925.⁴²

The five-hundred-year history of the eleven copies involves diverse parties with varying interests, yet all (or almost all) strongly invested in Reformation pamphlets. The rapid succession of the four publications, quickly reprinted in a number of towns all within a single year, speaks of a fast-paced media landscape, which could swiftly react to current debates. Sachs made use of this as he wrote his four dialogues, focusing on different aspects, altering his stance and trying out literary strategies in a newly reinvented genre. The printing history is also a history of censorship and the difficulties and dangers of publishing in the time of the Reformation. How heated the debate was, can be seen most prominently in the emotional responses of one reader arguing with the text and its characters in the

⁴⁰ The provenance research has been done by Christina Ostermann, who is currently working on the acquisition of Reformation holdings for the Taylorian. Thanks also go to Gareth Evans for his help looking into the collection.

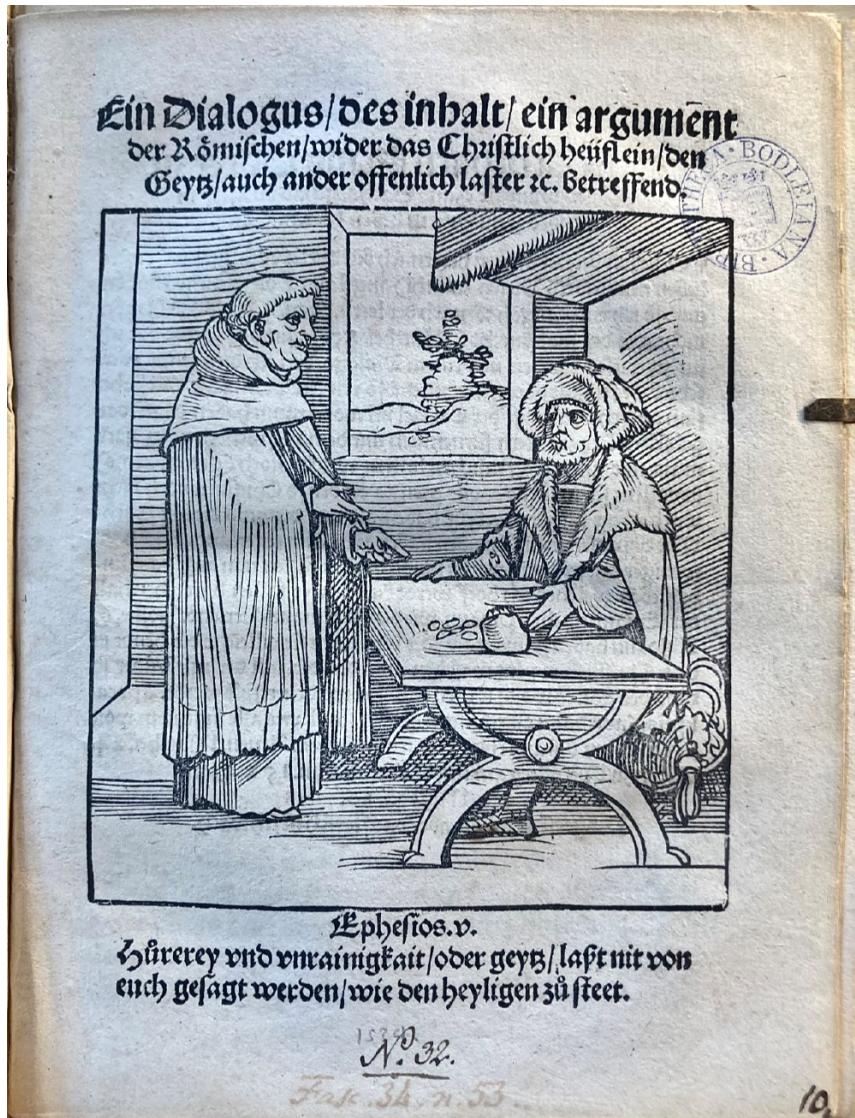
⁴¹ Cf. Taylor Institution Library: *Register of additions to the Library* 1922–34, as well as Taylor Institution Library: *Cashbook of the Finch Fund*, s. p. According to the cashbook, £5 2s. were paid to Fock in January 1926 (£5 for Sachs, 2s. for an edition of Goethe's *Faust* by Heinrich Düntzer).

⁴² For an overview of the eleven copies cf. also Hartmann 2015.

margins and symbolically hanging the two Franciscans in one of the frontispieces. Overall, the engagement of early readers shows how a pamphlet in the sixteenth century could be very different things: a valued object embellished with intricately coloured woodcuts, a functional text medium to be worked with, annotated and bound in miscellany volumes or even possibly a short-lived product of what must have seemed a mass production of affordable up-to-date prints that could be used for doodles. The copies that have survived still bear witness to their original multimedia contexts between text, image and performance, public and private, single pamphlet, miscellany volume and library.

Later, the collectors, bibliophiles, historians and auctioneers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries looked at them from different perspectives. The pamphlets had become historical objects, whose value could lie in their rarity and collectability, their use as historical sources or their alleged connection to famous men from the past. The acquisition for libraries, in Oxford from 1818 to 1925, marked them as matters of public research. This continues to this day, but the questions we ask them have changed, first with a growing interest in literary and sociological aspects of the texts and in recent years increasingly in material aspects of the individual copies. These can tell us more about the time of their publication, the people who interacted with them, the changing perspectives over the centuries and about the texts themselves.

List of the Sachs dialogues in Oxford



Ill. 25: Titlepage of *Tr. Luth. 34 (53)*, the first pamphlet in the collection

Tr. Luth. 34 (53)

Ein Dialogus / des inhalt / ein argumēt | der Römischen / wider das Christlich heüflein / den | Geytz / auch ander offentlich laster 2c. betreffend. [Nuremberg: Jobst Gutknecht,]⁴³ 1524.

(Weller 1868: 18(a); KG, vol. 22: 9a; Pegg 1973: 3550; Köhler 1996: 3989; VD 16 S 211.)

Tr. Luth. 34 (54)

Ain Dialogus vnd Argument | der Romanisten / wider das Christlich heüflein / | den Geytz vnd ander offentlich laster betreffend 2c. [Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1524.]

(Weller 1868: 18(d); KG, vol. 22: 9d; Pegg 1973: 3552; Köhler 1996: 3991; VD 16 S 210.)

Tr. Luth. 34 (55)

Ain Dialogus vnd Argument | der Romanisten / wider das Christlich heüflein / | den Geytz vnd ander offentlich laster betreffend 2c. [Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1524.]

(Weller 1868: 18(c); KG, vol. 22: 9c; Pegg 1973: 3551; Köhler 1996: 3990; VD 16 S 209.)

Tr. Luth. 34 (56)

Disputacion zwyschen ainem Chorherre | vnd Schümacher / Darinn das wort | gottes ain recht Christlich wesenn | verfochten wirt. [Augsburg: Melchior Ramminger,] 1524.

(Weller 1868: 17(e); KG, vol. 22: 7e; Pegg 1973: 3553; Köhler 1996: 3994; VD 16 S 215.)

Tr. Luth. 34 (57)

Disputation zwischē einem Chorherren | vnd Schuchmacher dariñ das wort | gottes vnd ein recht Christlich | wesen verfochten würt. [Bamberg: Georg Erlinger,] 1524.

(Weller 1868: 17(a); KG, vol. 22: 7b; Pegg 1973: 3554; Köhler 1996: 3995; VD 16 S 220.)

Tr. Luth. 34 (58)

⁴³ According to VD 16 online. Otherwise the printer is usually identified as Hieronymus Höltzel.

Eyn gesprech eynes Euangelischen | Christen / mit einem Lutherischen / darin | der Ergerlich wandel etlicher / die | sich Lutherisch nennen / angelzaigt / vñ brüderlich gelstrafft wirt. [Nuremberg: Hieronymus Höltzel,] 1524.

(Weller 1868: 20(b); KG, vol. 22: 10c; Pegg 1973: 3558; Köhler 1996: 4001; VD 16 S 302.)

Tr. Luth. 34 (59)

Ain Gesprech aines Euangeli-lschen Christen / mit ainem Lutherischen | darinn der Ergerlich wandel etli-lcher / die sich Lutherisch nennē / angezaigt / vnd brüderlich | gestrafft wirdt. [Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart,] 1524.

(Weller 1868: 20(e); KG, vol. 22: 10g; Pegg 1973: 3560; Köhler 1996: 3999; VD 16 S 297.)

Tr. Luth. 34 (60)

Eyn gesprech vō den Scheinverckē | der Gaystlichen / vnd jren gelübden / damit | sy züuerlesterung des blüs Christi | vermaynen selig züwerden. [Nuremberg: Hieronymus Höltzel, 1524.]

(Weller 1868: 19(b); KG, vol. 22: 8c; Pegg 1973: 3562; Köhler 1996: 4006; VD 16 S 321.)

4. The Edition

Henrike Lähnemann

Early modern German was written to be performed. This is true for all Reformation pamphlets but particularly important to remember for Hans Sachs's dialogues. Even though they were not written to be staged like his 'Fastnachtspiele' (bawdy Shrovetide plays), they use the same stylistic devices of frequent interjections, question and answer ping-pong, and insults. The audience would have had exposure to German verse and prose largely as listeners, whether through mystery plays, sermons, or public performance of the works of the 'Meistersinger'. The best approach to these dialogues is therefore to read them aloud, in line also with the argument that Martin Luther put forward e.g. in the 'Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen' for the importance of idiomatic expression and the 'street value' of language.

This short introductory guide has been part of the whole series of the Reformation pamphlets but this is the first run of editions from Southern Germany with a distinctly different dialect by the author and - perhaps more importantly - the typesetters and printers, distinct from the East Central German of Leipzig / Erfurt / Wittenberg. All Sachs pamphlets discussed come from a cluster of towns within today's Bavaria: The Imperial Free City of Nuremberg, the home of Hans Sachs where he lived all his life; Bamberg, the episcopal seat 60km north of Nuremberg, a Catholic stronghold; however, it was less strict in enforcing publishing censorship than the ever-suspecting Nuremberg town council. Both cities belonged to the East Franconian area. Finally the flourishing trade centre Augsburg, 150km south of Nuremberg, where the reprint of the first edition of the first dialogue was produced which opens our edition, with an active print scene which picked up all new publications from

best-selling authors such as Hans Sachs, which used mainly Swabian dialect conventions.

1. Dialect

The edition shows a mix of East Franconian and Swabian features. Typical of East Franconian are the swapped plosives, voiced b, d, g used for unvoiced p, t, k, and vice versa, particularly at the beginning of words: ‘poden’ for NHG ‘Boden’; ‘driegerei’ for ‘Trügerei’. The other characteristic is a wide use of e-elision (apo- and syncope), resulting in many truncated forms such as ‘Cristn’ or ‘bericht’ for ‘berichtet’, while Central German tends to preserve the full forms with the final schwa-e. Typical of Nuremberg is the use of ‘e’ for ‘ö’ as in ‘Kechin’ for ‘Köchin’.

2. Punctuation

Early modern editions use full stops, brackets, question marks, and virgules as punctuation marks. The ‘/’ Virgel (virgule or forward slash) is the main means of structuring sentences, and can stand for both a comma and a semicolon. It is best to treat a virgule like a musical caesura, to pause for breath. Often the full stop at the end of a sentence is omitted, particularly if a capital letter follows.

3. Abbreviations

Typesetters took over from manuscripts some handy ways to save space. The main abbreviation mark is a bar (macron) over characters ‘-’. As a nasal bar above any letter, it replaces a following n such as ‘warē’ = waren or (mainly for Latin case endings) an m such as ‘Jtē’ = Item. The macron is also habitually used for ‘vñ’ = und. Confusingly, the rounded z-form ‘ȝ’ stands both for z and for a number of established abbreviations, particularly in ‘dȝ’ / ‘wȝ’ = das / was. In the transcription, ȝ has been rendered as z where it stands for the affricate sound /ts/ and has been resolved where it is used as

abbreviation. Occasionally a hook is used for the -er ending, e.g. ‘d’ = der; this has also been resolved in the transcription.

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

The Roman alphabet had only one symbol for u and v and one for i and j. u/v/w are interchangeable, as are i/j/y, and v/f are both used for f, e.g. ‘vnd’ = und; ‘zuor’ = zuvor; ‘new’ = neu; ‘vleissig’ = fleißig; ‘jch’ = ich. In most cases, letters are pronounced as in the equivalent modern German word. The two typographically different forms for s (long f versus round s) and for r (the round form of r = 2 being mainly used after characters with a rounded right-hand border such as o or – in some fonts – h) in the type set have not been distinguished in the transcription because they are simply graphic variations. Confusingly, the round r can also be used to stand for the more 7-shaped Tironian note ‘et’, used exclusively for ‘etc.’. This has been replaced with the ampersand ‘&’ which also started life as representing ‘et’ (the form is a ligature of an uncial ‘e’ and a lower-case ‘t’).

5. Umlauts

The umlaut sound would have been in the same position as in modern German, but there is no strict rule for writing it. In most cases, an umlaut should be used wherever one occurs in modern German. The Augsburg print workshop used superscript ‘e’ for ‘ö’ and long ‘ä’ as in ‘hōren’ and ‘vnzālich’ (= ‘unzählich’), ‘ü’ for umlaut-u (probably to avoid confusion with ‘o’ above ‘u’ in words with old diphthong ‘uo’ such as ‘brüder’), ‘e’ for short ‘ä’.

6. Double versus single consonants and s/ß, k/ck, z/tz, r/rh, t/th

There is no consistency in writing single and double consonants such as f/ff or n/nn, nor is there a difference in pronunciation, i.e. ‘gottlich’ and ‘gotlich’ are pronounced the same. This also applies to s and ß (the latter started out as a ligature of long f and z to indicate a double consonant), to k

and ck (the spelling for double k), and to z and tz. Note that z always sounds like modern German z, i.e. /ts/, not like English z. Again, almost all consonants can be pronounced like their modern German equivalents.

7. Use of h and e after vowels; long and short vowels

While in medieval German each letter would have been sounded, e.g. ‘lieb’ would have had a diphthong in the middle, ‘e’ after other vowels had become silent in the sixteenth century. This is evident from the use of e after i where there never was a diphthong, e.g. the word ‘diesen’. The same applies to h. In most instances a following e or h indicates a long preceding vowel, but this is not consistent, e.g. ‘jhm’ can stand both for modern *im* and *ihm*. Do not therefore pronounce h and e after vowels, but use long vowels as in modern German.

8. Word division and ‘Zusammenschreibung’

Hyphens in the form of ‘=’ are used frequently but not consistently to indicate the continuation of words across line-breaks; if typesetters ran out of space in a line, they would assume that the reader would be able to link words without this visual prompt. Clear single words have been joined in the transcription but the irregular use of spaces between compounds has not been normalized.

9. Capital letters

Capital letters are used as in English to indicate the beginning of new sentences and for proper names but also for emphasis in words; these have not been normalized since they can be used for highlighting key terms.

10. Syncope, apocope, and contraction

Unstressed vowels are often absent where we should expect them in NHG; this is particularly pronounced in Upper German dialects, see above, either mid-word (syncope), e.g.

‘gsagt’, ‘gnug’, or at word-end (apocope). Such vowel loss can cause confusion, e.g. ‘gelob(e)t’, which looks like a present, may stand for the preterite ‘gelob(e)te’. Sometimes a consonant is lost along with a vowel, especially a repeated consonant, e.g. ‘laut’ for ‘lautet’, ‘veracht’ for ‘verachtet’, ‘verstorben’ for ‘verstorbenen’. Vowel loss also occurs by contraction between words, e.g. ‘ers’ for ‘er es’, ‘nympts’ for ‘nimmt es’, ‘zun’ for ‘zu den’.

11. Zero inflections and absence of ge- prefixes

Some neuter plurals have a zero-inflection in ENHG and look like singulars, e.g. ‘das/die werk’, ‘das/die wort’. Strong adjectives in the nominative and accusative singular could also be zero-inflected, e.g. ‘solch vnleidlich tyranney’.

12. Omission of auxiliaries and personal subject pronouns

The auxiliaries haben and sein are sometimes omitted, especially in subordinate clauses. Personal pronouns are also sometimes left out where they would appear in NHG.

4. Bibliography

The bibliography is a combination of full references for short titles used in the footnotes of the introduction and some general introductory books. This is obviously not exhaustive and is designed mainly for anglophone students of historical linguistics. Further resources are available at the Reformation editions website of the Taylorian <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/topics/reformation.shtml>

1. Abbreviations

DEEP – *Database of Early English Playbooks*. [Open Access](#).

DWb. – *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. <https://woerterbuchnetz.de/?sigle=DWB>. References ‘s.v.’ (sub voce) reference the lemma which is explained.

Fnhd. Wb. – *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*. <https://fwb-online.de/>.

KJV – *The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New: Newly Translated out of the Originall tonges: & with the former Translations diligently compared and revised, by his Maiesties speciall Comandement*.

London: Robert Barker 1611. Open Access Version on [biblija.net](#).

KG – Adalbert von Keller and Edmund Goetze: *Hans Sachs*. 26 vols., Tübingen: 1870–1908. Repr. Hildesheim: Olms 1964.

L45 – Martin Luther: *Biblia: das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrift: Deudsche Auffs new zugericht. D.Mart.Luth.* Wittemberg: Hans Lufft 1545. Open Access Version on [biblija.net](#).

STC – A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (eds.) (1976–1991): *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640*. Second edition, revised and enlarged, begun by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, completed by K. F. Pantzer. London: The Bibliographical Society.

VD 16 – *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*. [Open Access](#) (Full bibliographic reference for all Reformation pamphlets with linked-in digitized copies, continually updated; links: [http://gateway-bayern.de/VD16+\[letter\]+\[number\]](http://gateway-bayern.de/VD16+[letter]+[number])).

WA – Martin Luther: *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe [Weimarer Ausgabe]*. Weimar 1883 ff.

VLC – *Vulgata Clementina*, 1592. *Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinam*. M. Tweedale (ed.). <http://vulsearch.sourceforge.net/html>, accessed via [biblija.net](#) – the Bible on the Internet. Biblical books are given with the abbreviations used for the Vulgate.

2. Editions

Davidson, Clifford, Martin W. Walsh and Ton J. Broos (eds.) (2007): *Everyman and its Dutch Original, Elckerlijc*. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications.

Hahn, Reinhard (ed.) (1986): *Das handschriftliche Generalregister des Hans Sachs: Reprintausgabe nach dem Autograph 1560 des Stadtarchivs Zwickau von Hans Sachs*. Köln et al.: Böhlau.

Köhler, Reinhold (ed.) (1858): *Vier Dialoge von Hans Sachs*. Weimar: Böhlau. [Open Access](#).

Seufert, Gerald H. (ed.) (1974): *Hans Sachs: Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall: Spruchgedicht, vier Reformationsdialoge und das Meisterlied Das Walt got*. Stuttgart: Reclam.

Spriewald, Ingeborg (ed.) (1970): *Die Prosadialoge von Hans Sachs*. Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut.

3. Manuscripts

[May, Johann Gottlob] (1818): [Catalogue of Tract. Luth.] (*Catalogus autographorum Lutheri et coaevorum tam faventium ipsi, quam adversantium, aliorumque libellorum hisce temporibus scriptorum. [Partes 1 et 2.] Collegit ac descripsit secundum singulas lineas Joannes Gottlob May, D. D. Philosophiae ac archaeologiae Professor in Gymn. Annaeo. Aug. Vindel. 1810.*). Oxford, Bodleian Library, Library Records c. 1819 (formerly under R.6.212).

[Sotheby, Samuel (?)] (1818): ‘Some Account of Dr. May’s of Augsburg Collection of Tracts on the Reformation’. Bound together with May 1818. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Library Records c. 1819, fol. 3–6.

Taylor Institution Library: *Cashbook of the Finch Fund*. Oxford, Taylor Institution Library, TL 2/5/2.

Taylor Institution Library: *Register of additions to the Library (accession registers) 1922–34*. Oxford, Taylor Institution Library, TL 3/2/8.

4. Printed Sources

Baader, Klement Alois (1795): *Reisen durch verschiedene Gegenden Deutschlandes in Briefen*, vol. 1. Augsburg: Johann Melchior Lotter. [Open Access](#).

[Beyschlag, Eberhard, Johann Gottlob May and Commerzienrath Bürgle] (ed.) (1812): *Verzeichnis der ansehnlichen und auserlesenen Büchersammlung des verstorbenen Herrn Geheimen Rethes Georg Wilhelm Zapf, welche 1812 am 6. des Heumonats und folgende Tage in Augsburg Lit. F. Nro. 151 in dem Lorbe'schen Gute nächst dem Katzenstadel an die Meistbietenden verkauft werden soll*, Augsburg. [Open Access](#).

Bibliotheca Heberiana. Catalogue of the library of the late Richard Heber, Esq., part the second, removed from his houses in York-Street and at Pimlico, which will be sold by Auction by Messrs. Sotheby and son ... (1834). London: Nicol. [Open Access](#).

Bibliotheca Heberiana. Catalogue of the library of the late Richard Heber, Esq., part the fifth, removed from his house at Pimlico, which will be sold by Mr Wheatley ... (1835). London: Nicol. [Open Access](#).

Catalogue of the First Portion of the Extensive & Valuable Library of the Late Rev. John Fuller Russell, ... which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge ... (1885). London, J. Davy & Sons.

Douce, Francis (1807): *Illustrations of Shakspeare, and of Ancient Manners: With Dissertations on the Clowns and Fools of Shakespeare; on the Collection of Popular Tales Entitled Gesta Romanorum; and on the English Morris Dance*, vol. 2. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme. [Open Access](#).

Encyclopædia Britannica (1911), 11th ed. [Wikisource edition](#).

Gradmann, Johann Jacob (ed.) (1802): *Das gelehrt Schwaben: oder Lexicon der jetzt lebenden schwäbischen Schriftsteller*. Ravensburg: self-published. [Open Access](#).

'Intelligence, Literary, Scientific, &c.', *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, &c.* Second series V, 26 (February 1, 1818), pp. 122–24. [Open Access](#).

'Literary Notice of Dr. May's Collection of Reformation Tracts; (Autographa Lutheri et Reformatorum.)', *The Gentleman's Magazine: and historical chronicle* (March 1818), pp. 208–11.

Macray, William Dunn (1890): *Annals of the Bodleian Library Oxford with a Notice of the Earlier Library of the University*. Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2nd ed. [Open Access](#).

[May, Johann Gottlob] (ed.) (1798): *Catalogus Bibliorum quae collegit Matthias Jacobus Adamus Steinerus, b. m. pastor quondam eccles. evang. ad aedes St. Udalrici Augustae Vindel. et quae d. XXV. Novembr. MDCCCIIC. aut omnia simul, aut singula plus licitabitibus vendentur in aedibus Weilerianis. Augustae Vindel[icum]*: Brinnhausser. [Open Access](#).

[May, Johann Gottlob and Gottlieb Thomas Wilhelm] (eds.) (1797): *Verzeichnis der ansehnlichen und auserlesenen Bücher- und Kunstsammlung Weiland Herrn Matthias Jacob Adam Steiners, Pfarrers an der evang. Kirche zu St. Ulrich in Augsburg, welche den 16ten October 1797 zu Augsburg in Weilerischen (ehemals Maschenbauerischen) Hause nächst dem Weinstadel an die Meistbietenden verkauft werden soll*. [Augsburg:] Brinhaußer. [Open Access](#).

Schön, Theodor: 'Zapf, Georg Wilhelm'. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 44 (1898), pp. 693 f. [Open Access](#).

Zapf, Georg Wilhelm (1787): *Merkwürdigkeiten der Zapfischen Bibliothek*. 2 vols. Augsburg: Christoph Friedrich Bürglen/self-published. Open Access [here](#) and [here](#).

5. Secondary Literature

Arnold, Martin (1990): *Handwerker als theologische Schriftsteller: Studien zu Flugschriften der frühen Reformation (1523–1525)*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Attar, Karen (ed.) (2016): *Directory of Rare Books and Special Collections in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland*. London: Facet.

Bagchi, David (2016): 'Printing, Propaganda, and Public Opinion in the Age of Martin Luther' in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*. Oxford: OUP. [Open Access](#).

Barton, Anne (1990), *The Names of Comedy*, Oxford: OUP.

Beare, Mary (1958): 'The later dialogues of Hans Sachs', *Modern Languages Review* 53, pp. 197–210.

Bernstein, Eckhard (1993): *Hans Sachs: mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt.

Blayney, Peter W. M. (2013): *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557*. Cambridge: CUP.

- Bloomfield, B. C. and Karen Potts (ed.) (1997): *A Directory of Rare Books and Special Collections in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland*. London: Library Association, 2nd ed.
- Bodleian Library (2024): *Rare Books. Named collections index*. Last Updated September 2, 2024. [Open Access](#).
- Clapinson, Mary (2020): *A Brief History of the Bodleian Library*. Oxford: Bodleian Library, rev. ed.
- Creasman, Allyson F. (2012): *Censorship and Civic Order in Reformation Germany, 1517–1648: Printed Poison & Evil Talk*. London / New York: Routledge.
- Drummond, Andrew (2024): *The Dreadful History and Judgement of God on Thomas Müntzer: The Life and Times of an Early German Revolutionary*. London/New York: Verso.
- Freeman, Janet Ing (1990): ‘Anthony Scoloker, the “Just Reckoning” Printer’, and the Earliest Ipswich Printing’ *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* Vol. 9 No. 5, pp. 476–496.
- Füssel, Stephan (2019): *Gutenberg*, transl. by Peter Lewis London: Haus Publishing.
- Hartmann, Charlotte (2015–16): *Hans Sachs in Oxford: Bodleian and Taylorian Library: Wittenberg Nightingale and Reformation Dialogues* <https://hanssachsinoxford.wordpress.com/>.
- Heijting, Willem (1994): ‘Early Reformation Literature from the Printing Shop of Mattheus Crom and Steven Mierdmans’ *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History* Vol. 74, No. 2, pp.143–161.
- Holzberg, Niklas (2021): *Hans Sachs*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Holzberg, Niklas and Horst Brunner (2020): *Hans Sachs: Ein Handbuch*. 2 vols. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter.
- Jefcoate, Graham, William A. Kelly and Karen Kloth with the Assistance of Holger Hanowell and Matthias Bauer (eds.) (2000): *Handbuch deutscher historischer Buchbestände in Europa*, vol. 10: *A Guide to Collections of Books Printed in German-speaking Countries before 1901 (or in German elsewhere). Held by Libraries in Great Britain and Ireland*. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Olms-Weidmann.
- Kaufmann, Thomas (2022): *Die Druckmacher: Wie die Generation Luther die erste Medienrevolution entfesselte*. München: C. H. Beck.
- Kelen, Sarah A. (1999): ‘Plowing the past: “Piers Protestant” and the authority of medieval literary history’, *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 13, pp. 101–36.
- King, John N. (1976): ‘Robert Crowley’s editions of Piers Plowman: A Tudor Apocalypse’, *Modern Philology* 73, pp. 342–52.
- (1982): *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition*. Princeton: PUP.
- (1999): ‘The book-trade under Edward VI and Mary I’ in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, vol. 3: 1400–1557. Cambridge: CUP, pp. 164–78.
- Köhler, Hans-Joachim (1996): *Bibliographie der Flugschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts. Teil 1: Das frühe 16. Jahrhundert (1501–1530)*, vol. 3. Tübingen: Bibliotheca Academica.
- Krümpelmann, Maximilian: ‘The History of the Taylorian Copies’, in Jones / Lähnemann (2020), pp. xxxix–lxvi. [Open access](#).
- Lähnemann, Henrike and Eva Schlotheuber (2024): *The Life of Nuns. Love, Politics, and Religion in Medieval German Convents*, transl. by Anne Simon, Cambridge: Open Book Publishers. [Open Access](#).
- Micklich, Rahel (2024): ‘Whose hand? Unearthing an Unknown Manuscript in the Bodleian’ in *History of the Book. Exploring the World of Books at Oxford*, ed. by Henrike Lähnemann. [Open Access](#).
- Otten, Franz (1993): *mit hilff gottes zw tichten ... go zw lob vnd zw ausspreitung seines heilsamen wort: Untersuchungen zur Reformationsdichtung des Hans Sachs*. Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag.
- (1994): ‘Die Reformationsdialoge des Hans Sachs. Revidierte Chronologie und ihre Auswirkungen auf das “Bild” des Nürnberger Dichters der Reformation’ in Dieter Merzbacher et al.: *500 Jahre Hans Sachs: Handwerker, Dichter, Stadtbürger*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 33–37.
- Page, Christopher (2015): *The Guitar in Tudor England: A Social and Musical History of Musical Performance and Reception*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Pegg, Michael A. (1973): *A Catalogue of German Reformation Pamphlets (1516–1546) in Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland*. Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner.
- Pollard, Albert Frederick (1897): ‘Scoloker, Anthony (fl. 1548)’, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 51, ed. by Sidney Lee, pp. 4 f. [Open Access](#).

- Ranisch, Salomon (1765): *Historischkritische Lebensbeschreibung Hans Sachsen's ehemals berühmten Meistersängers zu Nürnberg*. Altenburg: Richter. [Open Access](#).
- Reske, Christoph (2015): *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzig*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2nd ed.
- Rettelbach, Johannes (2019): *Die nicht-dramatischen Dichtungen des Hans Sachs: Grundlagen, Texttypen, Interpretationen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Rößler, Hole: 'Das nicht mehr schöne Bildnis. Druckgraphische Porträts als Medien der Diffamierung in der Frühen Neuzeit', *Medienphantasie und Medienreflexion in der Frühen Neuzeit. Festschrift für Jörg Jochen Berns*, ed. by Thomas Rahn and Hole Rößler. Wiesbaden 2018, pp. 79–113.
- Schreyl, Karl Heinz (1976): *Die Welt des Hans Sachs: 400 Holzschnitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by the Stadtgeschichtliche Museen. Nürnberg: Hans Carl.
- Schuster, Susanne (2019): *Dialogflugschriften der frühen Reformationszeit: Literarische Fortführung der Disputation und Resonanzräume reformatorischen Denkens*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Steele, Robert (1910): *A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns and of Others Published Under Authority 1485–1714*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press. [Open Access](#).
- Valkema Blouw, Paul (1992): 'The Van Oldenborch and Vanden Merberghe pseudonyms or Why Frans Fraet had to die', *Quaerendo* 22, pp. 165–81 and 245–72.
- Warner, Lawrence (2014): 'Plowman traditions in late medieval and early modern writing' in *The Cambridge Companion to Piers Plowman*, ed. by Andrew Cole and Andrew Galloway. Cambridge: CUP, pp. 198–213.
- Warnke, Martin (1984): *Cranachs Luther: Entwürfe für ein Image*. Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer.
- Weller, Emil (1868): *Der Volksdichter Hans Sachs und seine Dichtungen: Eine Bibliographie*. Nürnberg: Jacob Sichling. [Open Access](#).
- Wiggins, Martin (2012): *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue*, vol. 1. Oxford: OUP.
- Wortham, C. J. (1981): 'Everyman and the Reformation', *Parergon* 29, pp. 23–31.
- Zlatar, Antoinina Bevan (2011): *Reformation Fictions: Polemical Protestant Dialogues in Elizabethan England*. Oxford: OUP.

6. Taylor Editions: Reformation Pamphlets

- Oxford: Taylor Institution Library
Treasures of the Taylorian, Series 1: Reformation Pamphlets
- Jones, Howard (ed.) (2017): *Martin Luther: Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen. An Open Letter on Translation*. (First edition of the text with a freer translation). [Open Access](#).
- Jones, Howard, Martin Keßler, Henrike Lähnemann and Christina Ostermann (eds.) (2018): *Martin Luther: Sermon von Ablass und Gnade, 95 Thesen. Sermon on Indulgences and Grace and the 95 Theses*. [Open Access](#).
- Jones, Howard and Henrike Lähnemann (eds.) (2020): *Martin Luther: Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen. On Christian Freedom*. [Open Access](#).
- Wareham, Edmund, Ulrich Bubenheimer and Henrike Lähnemann (eds.) (2021): *Martin Luther: Passional Christi und Antichristi. Passional of Christ and Antichrist*. [Open Access](#).
- Jones, Howard and Henrike Lähnemann (eds.) (2022): *Martin Luther: Ein Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen und Fürbitte der Heiligen. An Open Letter on Translation and the Intercession of Saints*. 2nd ed. [Open Access](#).
- Gieseler, Florian, Henrike Lähnemann and Timothy Powell (eds.) (2023): *Martin Luther: 'Mönchkalb' and 'Ursache und Antwort' Two Anti-Monastic Pamphlets from 1523*. Open Access [here](#) and [here](#).

7. Bible Quotations

Biblical books are quoted in the abbreviations established for the Vulgate. The list gives the Latin names of the books and the titles established by Martin Luther for his Bible translation.

OT (Old Testament / Altes Testament)

Gn (Genesis / Das erste buch Mose), Ex (Exodus / Das ander buch Mose), Lv (Leviticus / Das dritte buch Mose), Nm (Numeri / Numbers / Das vierde buch Mose), Dt (Deuteronomium / Deuteronomy / Das fünfte buch Mose), Ios (Joshua / Josua), Idc (Judges / Judges / Der Richter), Rt (Ruth), 1–2 Sm (Samuel), 3–4 Rg (Regum / Kings / Der König), 1–2 Par (Paralipomenon /

Chronicles / Chronica), 1 Esr (Esra / Ezra), 2 Esr (Ezrae secundus / Nehemiah / Nehemia), Est (Hester / Esther),
 Job (Job / Hiob), Ps (Psalmi / Psalms / Psalter), Prv (Proverbiorum / Proverbs / Sprüche Salomonis), Ecl (Ecclesiastes / Prediger Salomonis), Ct (Canticum Canticorum / Song of Songs / Hohelied Salomonis),

Is (Isaiae / Isaiah / Jesaia), Ier (Jeremiah / Jeremia), Ez (Ezekiel / Hesekiel), Dn (Daniel), Os (Osee / Hosea), Ioel (Joel), Amos (Amos), Abd (Abdias / Obadiah / ObadJa), Ion (Jonah / Jona), Mi (Micha / Micah), Na (Nahum), Hab (Habakkuk / Habacuc), So (Sofoniae / Zephaniah / Zephanja), Agg (Aggei / Haggai), Za (Zechariah / Sacharja), Mal (Malachi / Maleachi), Idt (Judith), Sap (Sapientiae Salomonis / Book of Wisdom / Das Buch der Weisheit), Tb (Tobia / Tobit), Sir (Ecclesiasticus / Book of Sirach / Jesus Syrach), Bar (Baruch), 1–2 Mcc (Maccabeorum / Maccabees)

NT (New Testament / Newes Testament)

Mt (Mattheus / Matthew), Mc (Marcus / Mark), Lc (Lucas / Luke), Io (Johannis / John), Act (Actuum Apostolorum / Acts of the Apostles / Der Aposteln Geschicht),
 Rm 1–2 (ad Romanos / Romans / an die Römer), 1–2 Cor (ad Corinthios / Corinthians / an die Corinther), Gal (ad Galatas / Galatians / an die Galater), Eph (ad Ephesios / Ephesians / an die Epheser), Phil (ad Philippenses / Philippians / an die Philipper), Col 1–2 (ad Colossenses / Colossians / an die Colosser), Th (ad Thessalonicenses / Thessalonians / an die Thessalonicher), 1–2 Tim (ad Timotheum / Timothy / an Timotheum), Tit (ad Titum / Titus / an Titum), Phlm (ad Philemonem / an Philemon), 1–2 Pt (Petri / of Peter / S. Peters), 1–3 Io (Iohannis / of John / S. Johannis), Hbr (ad Hebraeos / Hebrews / an die Ebreer), Iac (Iacobi / of James / Jacobi), Iud (Iudae / of Jude / Jude), Apc (Apocalypsis / Revelation / Offenbarung Johannis)

Edition, Translation, Commentary ‘Canon and Cobbler’

The edition is a semi-diplomatic transcription of the 16th-century German, Dutch, and English version of Hans Sachs's first Reformation dialogue ‘Canon and Cobbler’. Abbreviations have been resolved and marked in *italics*. r- and s-forms have been standardized but not u/v- and i/j-forms. The original punctuation has been kept but the text has been divided into paragraphs according to speaker. On the printing history of the various editions, see the introduction.

a) German: Disputation zwischen einem Chorherrn...

Taylor Institution Library, Arch. 8° G. 1524 (26)
Disputacion zwischen ainem Chorherzen vnd Schüchmacher | dariñ das wort gottes vnd ein recht Christlich wesen verfochtenen wirtt.
 [Augsburg: Melchior Ramminger,] 1524.
 (Weller 1868: 17(d); KG, vol. 22: 7c; Pegg 1973: 3555; Köhler 1996: 3992; VD16 S 216.)
 Collation: A–C4, 4°.

Transcription: Kezia Fender & Charlotte Hartmann, translation & footnotes: Henrike Lähnemann with support by Howard Jones, Viviane Arnold, Montgomery Powell, Lucian Shepherd, & Nina Unland. Online <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/dialogue/>

The commentary consists of two sets of footnotes. Those on the edition side (left-hand pages) are not a full linguistic analysis, but are designed to help readers understand Luther's German and typographical features, comparing Early New High German (ENHG) forms with modern (NHG) usage and English parallels. The footnotes to the English translation (right-hand side) include biblical references and other background information.

(a1r) Disputacion zwischen ainem Chorherren vnnd
Schüchmacher¹ darinn das wort gottes vnd ein recht Cristlich
wesen verfochten² wirtt.

Hanns Sachs M D XXiiij.

Ich sag euch / wa³ dise schweigen / so werden die stein schreien.
luce.⁴ 19



¹ = NHG Schuhmacher, 'shoemaker', used interchangeably with 'Schuster', 'cobbler'.

² 'verfechten' = literally 'fencing for sth.', used metaphorically for defending.

³ = NHG 'wo', here in the sense of 'when, if'. Hans Sachs quotes verbatim from Martin Luther's translation of the New Testament (see bibliography) but he and / or the typesetter of the dialogues frequently use dialectal or more colloquial word forms than the Wittenberg printers of the September and December Testament who come from a different region and are also aiming for a wider audience than Hans Sachs. See the footnotes on the right hand side for the version of the last Bible published during Luther's life time (L45) and, for reference, the King James Version (KJV).

⁴ Biblical references which are usually shortened are expanded in parallel with other references. Names of Biblical books are given in the genitive because the full phrase would be 'the book of' or here 'the gospel according to / of', i.e. 'luce' is the medieval Latin form of the genitive, reducing the 'æ' to 'e'.

(a1r) Disputation between a canon and a shoemaker,
in which the word of God and a truly Christian existence
are championed.

Hans Sachs, 1524

I tell you: if these stayed silent, the stones would cry out.
(Luke 19)⁵

The woodcut is a faithful copy of the first edition (see Ill. 6), although some of the lines are less elegant owing to the copying process, particularly in the facial features. The cobbler has an artisan's headgear, similar to that worn e.g. by Michael Wolgemut in Dürer's 1516 portrait of his teacher, to keep the hair out of his face and a tunic with a soft collar over a long-sleeved shirt and presumably stockings. On his belt is a money purse which is buttoned up. His feet which are in a walking pose, as if he is just arriving from the left, are in low-heeled, non-pointed black shoes. He holds one of the slippers in each hand and faces the canon who is slightly shorter and stockier than him. The canon wears a closed floor-length gown with long wide sleeves and a soft cap on his head over a chubby face with a hint of a double chin. He is adopting a disputatory stance, with index fingers extended. Behind him, in the archway of the house facade, stands the cook who mirrors the cobbler in that she wears a short-sleeved over-garment over a long under-skirt; the latter is visible because, with her crossed arms, she is lifting up the over-skirt to her belt, indicating that she is – like the cobbler – in work gear.

⁵ On the biblical quotations and abbreviations, see the bibliography. The quotation here comes from Christ's answer to the Pharisees calling on him to rebuke his disciples: Lc 19.40 *Er antwortet / vnd sprach zu jnen / Jch sage euch / Wo diese werden schweigen / so werden die Steine schreien.* (L45). And he answered and said unto them, I tell you that, if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out. (KJV).

(a1v) ***blank***

(a2r) *Schüster*.⁶ BOnus⁷ dies⁸ Kōchin.Kōchin. Semper quies⁹ Seyt¹⁰ wylkumm¹¹ mayster¹² Hanns.Schüster¹³. Got danck euch / wa ist der herr?Kōchin. Er ist im Summerhauß / Ich wil im¹⁴ rüffen / Herr / herr der
Schūchmacher ist da.Khorherr.¹⁵ A¹⁶ / Beneueneritis¹⁷ mayster Hans.⁶ The indication of the speaker is left out here since the first initial is reserved for the start of the dialogue proper.⁷ Capitalisation of the second letter because the first letter is a woodcut initial and not part of the line.⁸ Latin expression to indicate the learning of the cobbler, literally 'good day'. An established greeting formula in contemporary Latin phrasebooks, prompting the following rhyming answer by the cook.⁹ Literally '[may you] always [have] quiet/rest/peace'.¹⁰ = NHG 'Seid'; y/i are used interchangeably; 'd' is written as 't' to reflect the terminal devoicing of voiced plosives (b, d, g become p, t, k). The cook employs the polite form of 'ihrzen' (you in the plural) which is also used by the cobbler to address her. The civilized exchange sets the scene, and contrasts with the disparaging language of the canon who later resorts to swear words and curses.¹¹ = NHG 'willkommen'. Hans Sachs and / or the printer reflect the spoken apocope of endings such as 'en' after nasal. Alternatively, the nasal bar could be resolved as 'n' to stand for the final consonant since the distribution of double and single consonant (whether 'wilkumen' is spelled with one or two 'l's and one or two 'm's) is irregular.¹² ENHG 'Meister' = title for a master craftsman, artisan, cf. 'Meistersinger'.¹³ 'Schuster' and 'Schu(c)hmacher' are used interchangeably in the dialogue. DWb s.v. 'schuster': 'das wort ist eine bastardbildung aus schuh und lat. sutor, die auf das deutsche sprachgebiet (hd. nd. nl.) beschränkt ist und etwa seit dem 13. jahrh. auftaucht'. 'Schuster' nearly died out in the later ENHG period, just surviving as a frequent surname and in proverbs such as 'Schuster bleib bei deinem Leisten' which is later also referenced in this dialogue.¹⁴ = NHG 'ihm'. 'rufen' in ENHG + dat.¹⁵ c- and k-spellings are interchangeable. 'chorherr' literally: lord of the choir.¹⁶ Sachs uses interjections to convey the orality of the dialogue: a, ey, ja, nun, o, pi, pa, pu. For 'a' as expression of happy surprise, see DWb s.v., a nearly lyrical first entry by the brothers Grimm for their dictionary.¹⁷ 2 ps. pl. future perfect of Latin 'benevenire', to be welcome. The canon repeats the welcome phrase of the cook in Latin, also using the formal plural form.

(a1r) ***blank***

(a2r) Cobbler: Good day, Cook!

Cook: Peace to you! Welcome, Master Hans!¹⁸

Cobbler: God bless you! Where is your master?

Cook: He is in the summerhouse – I'll call him. Master, master! The
shoemaker is here!Canon¹⁹: Ah, welcome, Master Hans.¹⁸ Hans Sachs uses throughout the dialogues the 'Hans' characters as his alter ego. The level of literacy which the cobbler is given corresponds to Sachs's education. Sachs would have learned Latin from textbooks which had this type of phrases at the beginning. The opening exchange is listed as 'verba responsionis' (words of answer) in the grammar book 'Es tu scholaris', see also Fischart, Geschichtsklitterung, Part No. 131. 'Dann darumb grüsset man Bona dies, daß der ander antworste semper quies' (the reason for greeting somebody with 'bona dies' is to have the other respond with 'semper quies'). Sachs also uses this pair of greeting formulae to comic effect in an exchange between Till Eulenspiegel and a priest in his drama 'Der Eulenspiegel mit den blinden' (4 September 1553).¹⁹ Canons are higher-ranking priests who are part of the chapter of a cathedral or, as is the case in Nuremberg, a large and influential city church, following a rule of life, but not in a monastic community, a member of the so-called secular clergy. Nuremberg had two influential and well-endowed parish churches in the city: the older parish of Sebald north of the river Pegnitz, and the more affordable newer development of Lorenz south of the river. Hans Sachs's workshop was in the Sebald district, near the central market place.

Schüster. Deo gratias.²⁰

Khorherr. Was bringt yr mir die pantoffel²¹?

Schüster. Ya / ich gedacht / yr wert schon in die kirchen gangen.

Chorherr. Nayn / ich bin hynden im summerhauß geweßt²² / vnd hab
abgedroschen.²³

Schüster. Wie hond²⁴ ir gedroschen?

Chorherr. Ya / ich hab mein horas²⁵ gebeet²⁶ / vnnd hon²⁷ alemit
meiner nachtigal zu essen geben /

Schüster. Herr was hond ir für eyn nachtigall / Singtt sy noch.

Chorherr. O nain / es ist zu spatt im jare.

Schüster. Ich waiß ein schüchmacher Der hat ein nachtigal / die hatt
erst angefanngenn zu singen.

²⁰ The cobbler tops the canon by not only thanking him in Latin, but also using a liturgical phrase, the response to 'Benedicamus Domino' (Let us bless the Lord) at Vespers or Masses said without the 'Gloria in excelsis'.

²¹ ENHG for an indoor shoe without a heel; loanword (end of the 15th cent.) from French 'pantoufle'; the etymology is unclear; Humanists of the 16th cent. tried to declare it a Greek loan word from *pantóphelos* ('made all of cork'). Here used in an ironic way for comfortable footwear to indicate the indulgent lifestyle of the canon.

²² 'gewest' is a central and upper German variant from the 13th cent. to the older form 'gewesen' which is the only form surviving into NHG. Hans Sachs uses it alongside 'gewesen' and 'gesein', see DWb. s.v. I.u.a.

²³ 'dreschen' in the sense of 'mechanical speaking' is preserved in NHG 'abgedroschen' meaning an empty phrase or empty talk. Secular clergy, the 'chorherren', are accused of this also in other early modern texts, e.g. in the German translation of Gargantua, 22a (quoted after DWb s.v. 'chorherrisch'): 'schlappart nit auf chorherrisch die wort in euch, wie der hund die sup, sondern kauet und widerkauet sie wie die küh' (don't slobber up words in the manner of canons like the dog its soup, but rather chew and ruminate them like cows).

²⁴ = NHG 'habt'; regional dialect of 'o' for 'a'.

²⁵ Latin acc. pl. from 'hora', 'hour'. The canon as member of the clergy is obliged to keep the Divine Office with the 'Hours', the eight prayer-times of Prime, Matins, Lauds, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Compline, although these are frequently run together/prayed back to back.

²⁶ = apocopated form of 'gebetet' with double e marking the length of the vowel.

²⁷ = NHG 'habe', based on the MHG alternative form of 'hân' for 'haben', again with 'o' instead of 'a'.

Cobbler: Thanks be to God!

Canon: Are you bringing me my slippers?

Cobbler: Yes, I thought you had already left for church.

Canon: No, I've been at the back in the summerhouse and been threshing²⁸.

Cobbler: What do you mean, you have been threshing?

Canon: Indeed, I've prayed my Hours and fed my nightingale at the same time.

Cobbler: Sir, what sort of nightingale do you have? Is it still singing?

Canon: Oh no, it's too late in the year for that.

Cobbler: I know a shoemaker with a nightingale that has just begun to sing.²⁹

²⁸ See the early modern Dutch ('afgerabbelt' = 'unwound') and early modern English ('mumbled') equivalents which show that the meaning is not a thorough process (as modern English 'trash out' would be), but indicating carelessness; a more idiomatic rendering might be 'reeled off' or 'rattled off'.

²⁹ Reference to the first Reformation publication by Hans Sachs in the same year, the 'Spruchgedicht' (epic poem) 'Wittenbergisch Nachtigall' which celebrated Martin Luther as the nightingale singing at dawn, with an allegorical framework of church affairs thinly disguised as different animals, not very complimentary to the Catholic opponents of Luther – Pope Leo (Latin for 'lion') appears as lion etc. The ironic strategy of having his alter ego protagonist, the cobbler Hans, talk about his creator, the cobbler Hans Sachs, must have amused and delighted the local readership. The publication was a huge success, see Introduction.

Chorherr. Ey der teuffel hol den schüster / mit sampt seiner
Nachtigal / wie hat er den allerhayligisten vater den Bapst / die
hailigen vetter³⁰ / vnd vns wirdige herren außgeholhipt³¹ / wie ein
holhipbüb.

Schüster. Ey / herr fart schonn³² / Er hat doch nur ewern gotzdienst /
leer / gebot vnd eynkommen / dem gmainen mann / angezaygt /
vnd nur schlecht³³ oben vberhyn / ist dann solches ewer wesen /
holhüpel³⁴ werck.

Chorherr. Was get es aber solchs vnser wesen den tollen³⁵ schüster
ane?

Schüster. Es steet Exodi³⁶ am xxij. So du deines feyndes Esel vnder
dem last sihest ligen / nit laß in / sonder hilff im / Soll dann eyn
getäufster christ / seinem brüder nit helffen / so er in sech³⁷ ligen
inn der beschwert seiner gewyssen?

Chorherr. Er solt aber die gaistlichen vnnd geweychten³⁸ nit dareyn
gemengt han (der Eselkopff) die wissen vor wol / was sünd ist.

Canon: Ah, the devil carry off that cobbler along with his
nightingale! Oh how he decries the most holy father, the pope,
the holy fathers and us worthy clergymen like a market crier!

Cobbler: Come on, Sir, calm down! He has only been explaining
your church services, teachings, commandments and income to
the common man, and even so only scratched the surface. Are
your affairs not more than a marketing stunt?

Canon: But how do our affairs concern the mad shoemaker?

Cobbler: Exodus 23 states: If you were to see that your enemy's
donkey is laid low by the weight of its burden, do not abandon it,
but help it!³⁹ Should not a baptised Christian then help his brother,
if he saw him laid low, burdened with a bad conscience?

Canon: But he (this donkey-head) should not have involved the
clergy and those who are ordained in this, for they already know
full well what sin is.

³⁰ The list goes down the church hierarchy, the 'heilige Väter' meaning the cardinals and bishops.

³¹ MHG 'hole hipe' = hollow baked roll; 'holhipen' = insult; based on the market criers selling baked good. 'holhipbub': somebody crying out at a market to sell baked goods.

³² Imp. of 'faren' simply means 'to be, to behave'; 'schon' = NHG 'schonend', gentle, soft; idiomatic way of saying: take it easy, stay calm, move with care, see DWb s.v. 'fahren' 11.

³³ Adv. for 'schlicht' = simple.

³⁴ As above = publicly decried work.

³⁵ ENHG 'toll' = mad (as in 'Tollwut' = rabies or 'Tollhaus' = madhouse).

³⁶ Latin genitive of 'Exodus'. Here and in the following quotations from the Bible (except for the letters) the genitive is used since this is an elliptic construction for 'Liber Exodi' ('the book of Exodus') etc.

³⁷ = NHG 'sähe'.

³⁸ = NHG 'Geweihten', those who have received the 'Weihe' (ordination, one of the seven Catholic sacraments), here used as a double formula for clergy, incorporating both those in religious orders (monks / nuns) and secular clergy (bishops / priests / deacons / the minor orders).

³⁹ Ex 23.5 *Wenn du des / der dich hasset / esel sihest vnter seiner last ligen / Hüt dich vnd las jn nicht / sondern verseume gern das deine vmb seinen willen.* (L45). *If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.* (KJV).

Schüster. Seynd⁴⁰ sy aber sündigen / So spricht Ezechiel xxxij. Syhest du deynen brüder sündigen / so straff in / oder ich wil sein blüt von deinen henden fodern / der halb soll vnd müß ein geteuffter seinen sündigen Brüder straffen er sey gewiecht oder nit.

Chorherr. Seyt ir Euangelisch.⁴¹

Schüster. Ya /

Chorherr. Habt ir nit gelesen ym

Cobbler: Yet if they were to sin, Ezekiel 33 states: If you see your brother sinning, you must punish him, or I will demand his blood from your hands!⁴² So all those who are baptised shall and must chastise their sinning brother, ordained or not.

Canon: Are you a Protestant?

Cobbler: Yes, I am.

Canon: Well, haven’t you read in

⁴⁰ ENHG ‘seind’ = ‘seit’ in the sense of ‘since’.

⁴¹ The term ‘evangelisch’, literally ‘conforming to the Gospel (Evangelium)’, becomes pragmatically specified in the early 1520s to define those who followed the Reformation motto of *sola scriptura* (Scripture as the only guideline), equivalent to modern English ‘Protestant’, Fnhd. Wb. s.v. 4. The term ‘evangelical’ which, in the 16th century, was the English equivalent of ‘evangelisch’, later came to denote a specific form of low church or Pietist Protestantism which was back-translated into 20th cent. German as ‘evangelikal’.

⁴² A loose paraphrase of the biblical passage which again emphasizes the ‘brotherly’ nature of chastizing, replacing the biblical ‘wicked’ or ‘godless’ with a sinning ‘brother’, Ez 33.8 *Wenn ich nu zu dem Gottlosen sage / Du Gottloser must des todes sterben / Vnd du sagst jm solchs nicht / Das sich der Gottlose warnen lasse / fur seinem wesen / So wird wol der Gottlose vmb seines gottlosen wesens willen sterben / Aber sein blut wil ich von deiner hand fodern.* (L45). When I say unto the wicked, O wicked man, thou shalt surely die; if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thine hand. (KJV).

(a2v) Euangeliu Mathei am vij. richtet nit so werdt ir nit gericht Aber
ir Lutherischen⁴³ nempt solche sprüch nit zü hertzen⁴⁴ / sündt in
auch nit nach⁴⁵ / wenn⁴⁶ sy sein wider euch.

Schüster. straffen⁴⁷ vnd richten ist zwayerlay / wir vndersteen⁴⁸ vnns
nit zü richten (welches allayn got zugehört / wie Paulus sagt zün
Römern am xiiij. Nyemant sol einem andern seinen knecht
richten &c.) Sonder ermanen vnd straffen / wie got durch den
propheten Esaiam am lvij. spricht / Schrey / hör nitt auff / Er-
höch⁴⁹ dein stymm wie ein busan⁵⁰ zü uerkünden meinem volck
sein missethat &c.

Chorherr. Es steet auch Exodi. xxij. du solt den obern nit schmehlen
in deinem volck.

Schüster. Wer ist denn der oberst im volck / ist nit der Kayser / vnd
nachmals Fürsten Grauen mit sampt der Ritterschafft⁵¹ / vnd
weltlicher oberhand⁵²?

Chorherr. Nayn / der bapst ist eyn vicarius Christi⁵³ / darnach die
cardinel bischoffe⁵⁴ / mit sampt dem gantzen gaistlichen stand /

⁴³ The canon uses 'lutherisch' (Lutheran) synonymously with 'evangelisch'. In the later dialogues, Sachs polemically plays 'evangelisch' off against 'lutherisch', see the second dialogue where the answer to 'are you *lutherisch*?' is 'no, I am *evangelisch*'.

⁴⁴ 'zu Herzen nehmen', literally 'to take to heart' in the sense of 'taking it seriously with body, mind, and soul'.

⁴⁵ ENHG 'nachsuchen' = 'to investigate, seriously consider', = NHG 'untersuchen'.

⁴⁶ 'wenn' here = MHG 'wanne' (causal, not conditional); NHG = denn.

⁴⁷ ENHG 'strafen' in older sense of 'criticize publicly' rather than 'punish'.

⁴⁸ ENHG 'sich unterstehen' = 'to undertake rashly'.

⁴⁹ ENHG 'erhöhen' = NHG 'erheben', 'to lift'.

⁵⁰ = NHG 'Posaune'. From Latin 'buccina' via Old French 'buisine' into MHG 'busûne'. Since Luther's Bible translation 'Posaune' has become the established term; see the quotation from the 1545 Bible.

⁵¹ ENHG 'Ritterschaft', literally 'knighthood', landed gentry as a social class between the higher nobility and the common people.

⁵² 'oberhand' literally means those who have the upper hand = NHG Obrigkeit.

⁵³ Latin title for the pope, literally 'the vicar (i.e. deputy, representative) of Christ'.

⁵⁴ Not NHG 'Kardinalbischöfe', bishops with the powers of cardinals but two different ranks, counting down from the pope via the cardinals and the bishops to the 'normal' clergy. In the Dutch and English versions these are also two terms.

(a2v) Matthew's gospel, chapter 7: Do not judge, and you shall not be judged.⁵⁵ But you Lutherans clearly do not take such teachings to heart, and do not even try to fully understand them, as they go against what you stand for.

Cobbler: Chastising and judging are two different things. We do not presume to judge (which is the preserve of God himself alone, as Paul states in Romans 14: nobody should judge another's servant etc.⁵⁶) but rather warn and chastise them, as God says through the prophet Isaiah: Shout, never stop! Raise your voice like a trombone to make known to my people their transgression etc.⁵⁷

Canon: It also states in Exodus 22: Do not rail against the ruler of your people.⁵⁸

Cobbler: But who is this 'ruler of the people'? Is it not the emperor, and after him the princes, the dukes, right down to the nobility and the secular authorities?

Canon: No, of course not. The pope is Christ's representative, followed by cardinals, bishops together with all the clergy

⁵⁵ Mt 7.1.1 *Richtet nicht / Auff das jr nicht gerichtet werdet.* (L45). Judge not, that ye be not judged. (KJV).

⁵⁶ Rom 14.4 *Wer bistu / das du einen fremden Knecht richtest? Er stehet oder fellet seinem Herrn / Er mag aber wol außgerichtet werden / Denn Gott kan jn wol außrichten.* (L45). Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand. (KJV).

⁵⁷ Is 58.1 *RVffe getrost / schone nicht / Erhebe deine stim wie eine Posaune / vnd verkündige meinem Volck jr vbertreten / vnd dem hause Jacob jre sunde.* (L45). Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins. (KJV).

⁵⁸ Ex 22.27 *DEn Göttern soltu nicht fluchen / Vnd den Obersten in deinem Volck soltu nicht lestern.* (L45). Ex 22.28 *Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people.* (KJV)

von den steet in gaistlichen rechten. C. Solite. de maioritate et obedientia⁵⁹ Sy bedeutten die sonn/ vnd der weltlich gewalt bedeut den mon Deßhalb ist der bapst vil mechtiger dann der Kaiser / welcher im sein füß küssen müß.

Schüster. Ist der bapst ein solcher gewelttiger herr / so ist der gewißlich kain Stathalter Christi⁶⁰ / wann Christus spricht Joanni. am. xvij. Mein reych ist nit von diser welt / vnd Joanni .vi. Floch cristus da man in zum künig machen wolt / Auch sprach cristus zu seinen junger / Luce. xxii. Die weltlichen küng herschen / vnd die gewaltigen haßt man gnedige herren / ir aber nit also / der grōst vnder euch sol seyn wie der jüngst⁶¹ / vnd der fürnemest wie der diener / Deßhalb der bapst vnd ir gaistlichen / seyt nur dyener der christlichen gemain / wa ir anderst⁶² auß got seyt / der halb mag man euch wol straffen.

Chorherr. Ey der bapst vnd die seinen / sein nit schuldig gottes gepotten gehorsam zu sein / wie inn gaistlichen rechten stet. C. Solite de maioritate et obedientia / auß dem schleußt sich⁶³ / das der bapst kain sündler ist / sonder der allerhayligist / derhalb ist er vnstraffpar.

Schüster. Es spricht Joannis .i. cano-

⁵⁹ Canon law is quoted in Latin with the established abbreviations such as 'c.' for 'capitulum'.

⁶⁰ The cobbler uses the regular German translation for the term 'vicarius Christi', meaning that he understood exactly the canonical term.

⁶¹ 'jüngst' can mean 'youngest' or 'newest/latest' as in the phrase 'Jüngstes Gericht' (Last Judgement).

⁶² The edition has a typo of 'u' instead of 'n' 'auderst'. Here ENHG 'anders(t)' in the sense of Fnhd. Wb. s.v. 7 'under the condition that'.

⁶³ ENHG 'sich schließen' = NHG 'sich erschließen, schlussfolgern', 'it can be concluded'.

about whom it is written in canon law, in the chapter *Solite de maioritate et obedientia*: These stand for the sun, and the secular powers for the moon.⁶⁴ Therefore, the pope is far more powerful than the emperor, who has to kiss his feet.⁶⁵

Cobbler: If the pope is such a powerful lord, then he is surely not a representative for Christ on earth. For Christ says in John 18, My kingdom is not of this world;⁶⁶ and in John 6, Christ fled when people wanted to make him King.⁶⁷ Christ also said to his disciples, Luke 22: The earthly Kings have dominion and the mighty are called gracious Lords; but you are not to be like that; the greatest among you should be like the least, and the most noble like the servant.⁶⁸ Therefore, the pope and you clergymen are but servants of the Christian community, if you are truly of God. Because of that, you may well be chastised.

Canon: Well, the pope and his clergymen are not bound to obey God's commandments, as written in canon law in the chapter *Solite de maioritate et obedientia*. From this it follows that the pope is not a sinner, but rather the holiest of all; therefore he cannot be chastised.

Cobbler: The first letter of John as quoted in the first chapter of canon law

⁶⁴ In Canon Solitae. [Friedberg, Vol II, I.33.6.] *Imperium non praeest sacerdotio...* 'The government does not preside over the priesthood, but it is under it, and it is bound to obey it. Or in this way: A bishop should not be subject to princes, but should preside over them.' The practice of the canon to counter the Bible with quotations from canon law is reminiscent of the 'Passional Christi und Antichristi' (1522), where on every left hand side Christ is shown with biblical quotations and the pope (identified with the Antichrist) on the right hand side with quotations from canon law, see Taylor Editions: Reformation Series 4.

⁶⁵ The pope having his feet kissed is polemically juxtaposed with Christ washing the feet of the apostles in the 'Passional Christi und Antichristi', fol. 4r.

⁶⁶ Jo 18.36.

⁶⁷ The same combination of Bible verses is also in the 'Passional', A1v, where Christ in the wilderness is juxtaposed with the pope as a kind of warlord, leading an army.

⁶⁸ Lc 22.25–26.

(a3r) nica j. Wer sagt / er sey on sünd / der ist ein lugner / deshalb ist der bapst ein sünder oder lugner / vnd nicht der allerhailigest sonder zu straffen.

Chorherr. Ey lieber / vnd wenn der Bapst so böß wer / das er vnzählich menschenn mit grossem hauffen zum teuffel füret / dörst⁶⁹ in doch nyemant straffen / das stet geschriben in vnserm rechten / dis. xl. si papa / wie gefelt euch das

Schüster. Ey so stett im Euangelio Mathei. xvij. So deyn brüder sündiget wider dich / so gee hin vnd straff in zwyschen dir vnd im / hört er dich / so hastu sein seel gewunnen / Eussert sich⁷⁰ der bapst dann solchs hailsamen wercks?

Chorherr. Ist dann sollichs brüderlich gestrafft / Also am tag außzuschreyenn?

Schüster. Ey es volgt weytter im text / wa dich dein brüder nit hört / so nymm noch ein oder zwen zu dir / hört er dich noch nitt so sags der gemain⁷¹ / hört er die gemain auch nit / so laß in geen wie ain hayden / wie da her domine⁷²?

Chorherr. Ey liber was ists dann nutz / wenn ir vns gleich lanng auß schreyt? wie hollüpper / wir kern vns doch nichts daran / wir halten⁷³ vns des Decretals.

⁶⁹ ENHG '(ge-)turren' = 'to dare'.

⁷⁰ ENHG 'sich (ent-)äußern' + gen. = 'to dispense with'.

⁷¹ ENHG 'die gemein(de)' = 'community' in general or '(religious) congregation' more specifically. The short form survives in NHG in phrases such as 'Gemeinwohl' = 'the common good' and 'gemeinsam' = 'together'.

⁷² Latin vocative of 'dominus', lord. Emphasizes the irony of the cobbler calling out the canon with biblical quotations.

⁷³ ENHG 'halten' + gen. = NHG 'sich an etwas halten', 'to adhere to something'.

(a3r) says: Whoever claims to be without sin, is a liar.⁷⁴ Therefore, the pope must be a sinner or a liar, and is not the most holy, but is to be chastised.

Canon: My friend, even if the pope were so evil that he led innumerable people altogether straight to the devil, nobody would dare to punish him. That's what is written in our decrees. Distinction 40, the *Si Papa*.⁷⁵ What do you say to that?

Cobbler: Well, the gospel of Matthew chapter 18 states: If your brother sins against you, go and chastise him directly, just you and him: if he listens to you, you have gained his soul.⁷⁶ Does the pope refuse to do beneficial work like this, then?

Canon: Is that what you call an admonition between brothers then, calling a man out so openly?

Cobbler: Well listen, the scripture goes on: If your brother will not listen to you, then take one or two more with you, and if he still does not listen, tell it to the congregation; if he does not listen to the congregation either, let go of him like of a pagan.⁷⁷ What about that, Sir Canon?

Canon: Dear man, there's no point in calling us out like a market crier; we'll ignore it and stick to canon law.

⁷⁴ 1 Jo 1.8 *So wir sagen / Wir haben keine sünde / So verfüren wir vns selbs [...].* (L45). *If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves [...].* (KJV).

⁷⁵ Friedberg, Vol. I, Distinctio 40, c. 6. p. 146. *Si Papa sua et fraternalis salutis negligens*: 'If the Pope, being negligent of his own and his brethren's salvation, is criticized as useless and remiss in his works, and moreover remains silent about the good, which harms him more than anything else, nevertheless he leads countless masses of people with him, destined for the first bondage of hell, to be scourged for eternity with many stripes. No mortal dares to openly condemn his faults here, because he, being the judge of all, is to be judged by no one, unless he is found to have deviated from the faith. For the sake of his perpetual well-being, the entire community of the faithful prays all the more fervently, understanding that their own salvation, after God, depends heavily on the Pope's well-being'.

⁷⁶ Mt 18.15–16.

⁷⁷ Mt 18.16–17.

Schüster. Es spricht cristus Mathei. x. Wa man euch nit hört / so schütlet den staub von ewern füssen zü eyner zeugknus / das in das reich gottes nahent ist gewesen / den⁷⁸ von Sodoma vnd Gomorra wirt es treglicher⁷⁹ sein am jungsten gericht / dann sollichem volck / wie wirt es euch dann geen so ir kain straff wolt annemen.

Chorherr. Nu gib ich das nach⁸⁰ wo es gelert / verstandige leüt thåten / aber den layen zimmpt es nicht

Schüster. straffet doch ein Esel den propheten Balaam / Numeri. xxii. Warumb solt dann nicht eynem layen zymmen ein gaistlichen zü straffen.

Chorherr. Eynem schüster zympt mitt leder vnnd schwertz⁸¹ vmbzügeen⁸² / nicht mitt der hailigen geschrifft.

schüster. Mit welcher hailiger geschrifft wolt irs beybringen⁸³ / einem getaufften cristen nit in der schrifft zü forschen / lesen / schreyben? dann Cristus sagt Johannes .v. durchsücht die gschrifft / die gibt zeugknus vonn mir / so spricht der Psalmist .j. Selig ist der man der sich tag vnnd nacht yebett⁸⁴

Cobbler: Christ says in Matthew 10: If nobody listens to you, then shake off the dust of your feet as a testimony that the kingdom of God has been near to them. Those people of Sodom and Gomorrah will fare better on the day of Judgment than these people.⁸⁵ How will you fare then if you won't accept chastisement?

Canon: Well, I would concede if it were done by learned, knowledgeable people: but it is not becoming for lay people.

Cobbler: Does the donkey not reprimand the prophet Balaam in Numbers 22?⁸⁶ So, why should it not be proper for a lay person to chastise a clergyman?

Canon: A shoemaker is fit only for working with leather and polish and not with holy scripture!

Cobbler: With what holy scripture do you want to demonstrate that a baptized Christian should not study, read and write on the Bible? For Christ says in John 5: Search scripture for it bears witness of me.⁸⁷ And also the psalmist says in Psalm 1: Blessed is the man that

⁷⁸ = NHG 'denen', dat. pl. of the demonstrative pronoun, or an elliptic construction for 'dem lande der', see the L45 translation.

⁷⁹ ENHG 'treglicher' = NHG 'erträglicher'.

⁸⁰ ENHG 'nachgeben' + acc. = 'to concede'.

⁸¹ = NHG (Schuh-)Schwärze, a mixture of soot and bees wax to polish shoes.

⁸² Similar to the proverb 'Schuster bleib bei deinem Leisten' (cobbler, stick to your last [the wooden mold of a foot on which a shoe is shaped]) which is attributed to a story about Apelles hearing a cobbler criticize his deficient painting of a shoe which he subsequently corrected - but then when the cobbler started criticizing the painting of the leg as well, told him to stick to shoe matters.

⁸³ ENHG 'beibringen' = 'to bring forth an argument, prove'.

⁸⁴ = NHG 'übet'.

⁸⁵ Mt 10.14 VND wo euch jemand nicht annemen wird / noch ewer Rede hören / So geht eraus / von dem selben Hause oder Stad / vnd schüttelt den staub von euren Füssen. 15 Warlich / Jeh sage euch / dem Lande der Sodomer vnd Gomorrer wird es treglicher ergehen am jüngsten Gericht / denn solcher Stad. (L45). And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet. 15 Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city. (KJV).

⁸⁶ In Numbers 22.28, God opens the mouth of the donkey to criticize Balaam who refused to follow God's command.

⁸⁷ Jo 5.39 SVchet in der Schrift / [...] sie ists / die von mir zeugen / [...]. Search the scriptures [...] and they are they which testify of me. (KJV).

(a3v) Im gesetz des herren / So schreybt Petrus in der ersten Epistel am iij. Seynd allezeyt vrbittig⁸⁸ zu uerantwurtung yederman der grund fodert der hoffnung die in euch ist / So leert Paulus die Ephesier am vj. Fechten wider den anlauff⁸⁹ des teuffels / mit dem wort gotes / wölches er eyn schwert nennt / Herr wie wurd wir beston⁹⁰ / so wir nichts yn der geschrifft⁹¹ westen⁹²?

Chorherr. Wie die gens am wetter.⁹³

Schüster. Ir spot wol die juden wissen ir gesetz vnd propheten frey außwendig / sollen dann wir cristen nit auch wissen das Euangeliun jesu christi wölches ist die krafft gottes / allen die selig sollen werden wye Paulus j. Corinthios j.

Chorherr. Ja yr solts wissen / wie aber? wye euch Cristus haßt Mathei xxij. Auff Moses stül hand sich gesetzt die schrifftgelernten / vnd phariseyer / alles nun was sy euch sagen / das thüt / das bedeut die täglichen predig / handt yr layen nit genug daran?

Schüster. Ey es steet am selbenn ort Mathei am xxij. Sy binden schwere unträgliche purden vnd legens dem menschen auf den hals / solche purden bedeuten on zweyffel vnd gewiß ewre menschen gebot / damit ir vns Layen dringt vnd zwingt vnd macht vns böse gewissen / Warumb solt wir euch dann volgenn?

⁸⁸ = NHG 'erbötig', 'ready to serve'.

⁸⁹ ENHG 'anlauf' = 'attack'.

⁹⁰ = NHG 'bestehen', based on the short MHG alternative form 'bestân' with Franconian 'o' for 'a'.

⁹¹ ENGH '(ge-)schrift' = scripture in the sense of the Bible.

⁹² = NHG 'wüssten'.

⁹³ ENHG 'wetter' with a wider range of meaning, covering 'weather', 'lightning', 'bad weather'; here = NHG 'Unwetter', 'storm'.

(a3v) meditates on the law of the Lord day and night.⁹⁴ And Peter writes in the first epistle in the third chapter: Be ready always to give an answer to anyone who asks you a reason for the hope that is in you.⁹⁵ And Paul teaches the Ephesians in the sixth chapter to resist the attack of the devil, with the word of God, which he calls a sword.⁹⁶ Sir, how would we survive if we knew nothing of scripture?

Canon: Like geese in bad weather.⁹⁷

Cobbler: You must be joking! The Jews know their law and prophets off by heart, should we Christians not also know the gospel of Jesus Christ, which is the power of God for all those who should become blessed, as Paul states in 1 Corinthians 1?⁹⁸

Canon: Indeed, you should know it. But how? As Christ bids you in Matthew 23: On Moses' seat the scribes and pharisees have sat themselves. Now everything they tell you to do, do!⁹⁹ This is what the daily sermon should do. Is that not enough for you lay-people?

Cobbler: Well, in the same place Matthew chapter 23 it is written: they tie heavy, unbearable burdens and lay them on people's necks.¹⁰⁰ Such burdens without doubt certainly stand for your man-made commandments, with which you urge and compel us lay-people and give us a bad conscience. Why then should we follow you?

⁹⁴ Ps 1.1 *Wol dem der [...] 2 [...] hat lust zum Gesetz des HERRN / Vnd redet von seinem Gesetz tag vnd nacht.* (L45).

⁹⁵ 1 Pt 3.15.

⁹⁶ Eph 6.11.

⁹⁷ Proverb, implying that lacking knowledge of the Bible is not bothering the canon, he is impervious to it as waterbirds are to rain, cf. Wander, Sprichwörterlexikon, s.v. *286. 'S versauft kei' Gans im Regenwetter.

⁹⁸ Paraphrase of 1 Cor 1.23–24.

⁹⁹ Mt 23.2. Possibly an ironic comment by Hans Sachs on the misuse of Scripture by the canon since Mt 23.3 continues: *Aber nach jren wercken solt jr nicht thun / Sie sagens wol / vnd thuns nicht. / but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not.*

¹⁰⁰ Mt 23.4.

Chorherr. Wie wolt yr das mit gschrifft beweysen.

Schüster. Cristus spricht im gemelten capitel / Wee euch gleyßner vnd heuchler / Die ir das himelreych zuschließt vor den menschen / yr geet nit hineyn / vnd dye hyneyn geen wellen / laßt ir nit hynein.

Chorherr. Ey sollichs hat cristus zü den priestern der Juden gesagt / Vmb vnns priester ist es vil ein ander ding.

Schüster. Ey herr yr hond / euch erst der phariseer angenommen / die auff dem stüll Mosi sitzen &c. Samm sey es von euch priestern vnnd münich geredt. wie dann war ist / Also auch ist das von euch geredt / Wann ewere werck geben gezeugknus / dann ir freßt der witwen heüser wie der text weiter sagt. Herr ir habt euch verstigen.

Chorherr. Py pu pa¹⁰¹ / wie seind ir Lutherischen so naßweiß¹⁰² / yr hört daz graß wachssenn¹⁰³ / wenn eyner eyn spruch oder zwenn wayßt /

Canon: How can you prove that with scripture?

Cobbler: Christ says in the aforementioned chapter: Woe betide you pretenders and hypocrites who close the kingdom of heaven for the people. You won't be going there, and those who want to go there, you won't let in.¹⁰⁴

Canon: Well, Christ uttered such things to the priests of the Jews. It is quite a different thing for us priests!

Cobbler: Well, sir, you began by referring to the Pharisees who sit upon the seat of Moses and so forth. The same may be said about you priests and monks, which is true. It is equally said about you, since your works testify to this, for you devour the houses of widows – as the text continues. You, sir, have got yourself into a corner.¹⁰⁵

Canon: Poppycock! How you Lutherans are such know-it-alls, you can hear the grass growing. If any one of you lot know one or two lines

¹⁰¹ An expression of contempt – an example of the colloquialisms which Sachs introduces to enliven the dialogue. In NHG ‘pah’ survives as an interjection (which DWb s.v. claims arose only in the 18th cent.), in a similarly way to English ‘bah’. Similarly, examples of ‘puh’ as an interjection of disgust given DWb s.v. are also all from the late 18th cent., while an earlier form ‘pfu’ is given as a loan word from French ‘pouah’. The most common NHG interjection of disgust is ‘pfui’. The Dutch and Tudor translations both resort to ‘fie’ and in a similar place later to ‘tush’, both also used in Coverdale’s Bible translation. The 1596 pamphlet ‘Haue with You to Saffron-Walden’ by Thomas Nashe mentions a rhyme as already old: ‘Fy, Fa and fum, I smell the blood of an Englishman’. Another similar sound cluster would be ‘pah, piffle’. Shakespeare’s King Lear shouts, ‘Fie, fie, fie! pah, pah!’

¹⁰² ENGH ‘naseweis’ (literally: having a discerning nose, in MHG used for animals who can sniff out a trace) is used only as an insult for those who put their nose into everything and are sniffy about other people, opinions etc.

¹⁰³ ‘das Gras wachsen hören’ as idiomatic expression for overconfidence by claiming a particularly acute sense of perception in the same way as ‘naseweis’.

¹⁰⁴ Mt 23.13 WEh euch Schriftgelernten vnd Pharisäer / jr Heuchler / die jr das Himmelreich zuschliesset fur den Menschen / Jr kompt nicht hinein / vnd die hinein wollen / lasset jr nicht hin ein gehen. (L45). But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. (KJV).

¹⁰⁵ Literally: ‘climbed up the wrong way’.

(a4r) auß dem Euangilio / so vexiert¹⁰⁶ ir yederman mit.

Schüster. Ey herr zürnet nit / ich meins güt.

Chorherr. Ich zürne nit / aber ich müß euchs ye sagen / es gehört den layen nit zü / mit der schrifft vmb ze gon¹⁰⁷.

Schüster. Spricht doch cristus Mathei am vij. Hüt euch vor den falschen propheten / vnd Paulus¹⁰⁸ zun Philipern. am iij. Secht auff die hund / so vnns dann die schrift nit zimmt zü wissen / wie sollen wir solche erkennen.

Chorherr. Solichs gehört den bischoffenn zü / wie Paulus zü Thitto j. Er soll scharpf straffen die verfurer.

Schüster. Ya sy thüns aber nit sonder das wider spil / wie am tag ist.

Chorherr. Da laß mann sy vmb sorgen.

Schüster. Nain vns nit also / wellen sy nit / so gepürt vns selb darnach schauenn / wann kainer württ des anndern purde tragen.

Chorherr. Ey lieber sagt was ir wölt / es gehört den layen nit zü / mit schrifft vmb zü gon / wie Paulus sagt j. Corinthios .vij. Eyn yedlicher wie in der herr berüffen hat / so wanndel er / hört irs nun ir hand vor schrifft begertt?

(a4r) from the gospel, you use it to vex everyone.

Cobbler: Well, sir, don't be angry! I mean well.

Canon: I'm not angry, but I have to keep telling you, it is not for lay-people to deal with scripture.

Cobbler: Does Christ not say in Matthew chapter seven: Beware of false prophets,¹⁰⁹ and does not Paul say in Philippians chapter 3: Watch out for dogs.¹¹⁰ If it is not appropriate for us to know scripture, how shall we recognise them?

Canon: Such things are the preserve of the bishops, according to Paul in his Epistle to Titus 1: He shall severely punish those who tempt.¹¹¹

Cobbler: Yes, but they don't do that, but rather the opposite, this is plain as day.

Canon: Let them worry about that.

Cobbler: No, we won't have that! If they won't help, then it's up to us, since no one else will bear the other's burden.

Canon: Well my dear fellow, say what you will: it is not for lay-people to deal with scripture, as Paul says, 1 Corinthians 7: Everyone should live according as the Lord has called them.¹¹² Do you hear now? You were the one that previously wanted scripture.

¹⁰⁶ ENHG loan word from Latin 'vexare' (to vex), very popular in the 16th cent.

¹⁰⁷ = NHG 'umzugehen'. ENHG 'gan' or in the local dialect 'gon', the MHG short form of NHG 'gehen'

¹⁰⁸ typo in edition: 'n' instead of 'u'.

¹⁰⁹ Mt 7.15 SEhet euch fur / fur den falschen Propheten / die in Schafskleidern zu euch kommen / Jnwendig aber sind sie reissende Wolfe / (L45). Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. (KJV).

¹¹⁰ Phil 3.2 Sehet auff die Hunde / sehet auff die bösen Erbeiter / sehet auff die Zurschnieitung (L45). Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of the concision. (KJV).

¹¹¹ The canon does not literally quote from Luther's translation, in contrast to the cobbler. Tit 1.10: DEnn es sind viel frechen / vnd vnnütze Schwetzer vnd Verfurer / sonderlich die aus der Beschneitung /11 welchen man mus das maul stopffen / Die da gantze Heuser verkeren / vnd leren das nicht taug / vmb schendliches Gewins willen. (L45). For there are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, specially they of the circumcision: 11 Whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake. (KJV)

¹¹² 1 Cor 7.20 Ein jglicher bleibe in dem ruff / darinnen er berussen ist. (L45). Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. (KJV).

Schüster. ja Paulus redt vom eusserlichen stand vnd handlung / von knechten vnd freyen / wie am selben ort vnd capittel klar stet. Aber hie ist das wort gottes noch yederman vnuerbottenn zü han-deln.

Chorherr. Ey hört ir nit Ir müßt vor durch die hailig weich berüfft sein / vnnd darnach vonn der oberkait erwölt werden dartzü / sunst zimmpet es euch nicht mit der hailigen schrifft vmbzügon.

Schüster. Christus spricht Luce an dem x. Die erndt ist groß / aber der arbayer ist wenig bit den herren der erndt / das er arbaiter schick in sein ernndt Derhalb müß der berüff nit eusserlich sonder ynnerlich von gott sein / eusserlich aber sind alle prediger berüffen der falschen gleich so wol / als die gerechten.

Khorherr. Ach es ist narren werck mit eurem sagen.

Schüster. Euch ist wie den jungern Luce an dem ix. Die verdroß das ein ander auch teuffel außtryb in dem namen Christi / Christus aber sprach weret ynn nicht / dann wer nit wider euch ist / der ist mitt euch / Derhalb wa ir recht cristen weret / soltt ir euch vonn hertzen frewenn

Cobbler: Yes, Paul speaks of outward status and behaviour, of servants and of the free, as is clearly stated in the same place and chapter. But here acting on the word of God is not prohibited to anyone.

Canon: Look, are you even paying attention? You must first be called into holy orders and then chosen by senior officials, or else it is not appropriate for you to engage with holy scripture.

Cobbler: Christ says in Luke 10: The harvest is plentiful, but the labourers are few; pray to the Lord of the harvest, that he may send labourers for his harvest.¹¹³ Therefore, the calling from God must not be from without, but from within. Externally, however, all preachers are called, the false as well as the righteous.

Canon: Oh, what folly, the way you talk!

Cobbler: You are like the disciples in Luke 9 who were annoyed that another was also casting out demons in the name of Christ. But Christ said to them: Do not stop them, for whoever is not against you, is with you.¹¹⁴ Therefore, if you were a proper Christian, you should

¹¹³ Lc10.2 *Die Erndte ist gros / der Erbeiter aber ist wenig / Bittet den Herrn der erndten / das er Erbeiter aussende in seine erndte.* (L45). *The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest.* (KJV).

¹¹⁴ Lc 9.50 *Weret jm nicht / Denn wer nicht wider vns ist / der ist fur vns.* (L45). *And Jesus said unto him, Forbid him not: for he that is not against us is for us.* (KJV).

(a4v) das man auch layen fünd so die feindtschafft diser welt auff sich laden / vmb des wort gottes willen.

Chorherr. Waz geet euch aber nöt an?¹¹⁵

Schüster. Da hond wir in der täuff dein teufel vnd seinem reich wyder sagt / Derhalb sein wir pflichtig wider in / vnd sein reich zu fechten / mitt dem wort Gottes vnnd auch also darob zu wagen seinen leib / eer vnnd güt.

Chorherr. Schawet jr leyen darfür wie jr weib vnd kynnd neret.

Schüster. Christus verpeuts Mathey. am .vj. sprechend sorget nit was jr essen vnnd tryncken noch annthün wöllet / vmb solliche ding sorgen die heyden / sucht von erst das reych gottes vnd sein gerechtigkeit / dyse ding werden euch alles zu fallen. Vnd Petrus .j. canonici¹¹⁶ .iiij. werfft alle eure sorg auf den herren / dann er sorgt für euch. Auch christus Mathei .iiij. Der mensch lebt nicht allein vom brot sonder von einem yeglichen wortt das durch den mund gottes geet.

Chorherr. Laßt euch daran benügen vnd bacht¹¹⁷ nit.

Schüster. Arbeiten sol wir / wie Adam gepoten ist. Genesis .iij. vnd Job am v. Der mennsch ist geporn zu arbeiten / wie der vogel zum flug. Wir aber sollen nit sorgen / sonder got vertrauen. Derhalb müg wir wol dem wort gotes anhangen / welchs ist der beste teil. Luce .x.

¹¹⁵ 'mich geht Not an' = 'ich bin dazu genötigt', 16th cent. version of MHG *not* + gen., DWb s.v. (*noth*) II.4.

¹¹⁶ Here 'canon.', normally the abbreviation for canon law, simply seems to stand for chapter. The chapter number is also wrong. The wrong chapter number 'iiij' for 'v' might be prompted by the chapter number for the following quotation for Matthew chapter 4 = iiij.

¹¹⁷ From ENHG 'pochen', to insist, with typical Franconian swap of plosives.

(a4v) heartily rejoice that one can also find lay-people who take on the enmity of this world for the sake of God's word.

Canon: Why does this trouble you?

Cobbler: Because in baptism we have renounced your devil and his kingdom. Therefore we are obliged to fight against him and his kingdom with the word of God, and so be prepared to risk our bodies, honour, and good as well.

Canon: Look instead, you lay-people, at how to provide for your wives and children.

Cobbler: Christ forbids it in Matthew 6, saying: Do not worry about what you will eat or drink or what you will put on; such things are what pagans worry about. Seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things will also be given to you.¹¹⁸ Also, as the first letter by Peter, canon 4, advises: Cast all your anxieties upon the Lord, for he cares for you.¹¹⁹ Moreover, in Matthew 4, Christ says, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that passes through the mouth of God.¹²⁰

Canon: Let yourselves be content with that, and do not insist on more!

Cobbler: We should work, as Adam was commanded in Genesis 3,¹²¹ and as stated in Job 5: Man is born to labour as the bird is born to fly.¹²² However, we should not worry but trust in God. Therefore, let us adhere to the word of God, which is the best part, as in Luke 10.¹²³

¹¹⁸ Mt 6.31 *DArumb sollt jr nicht sorgen / vnd sagen / Was werden wir essen? [...]* (L45).

¹¹⁹ 1 Pt 5.7 *Alle ewer sorge werffet auff jn / Denn er sorget fur euch.* (L45).

¹²⁰ Mt 4.4 *Vnd er [...] sprach / Es stehet geschrieben / Der Mensch lebet nicht vom Brot alleine / Sondern von einem jglischen wort / das durch den mund Gottes gehet.* (L45).

¹²¹ Gn 3.19, God's prediction that Adam will have to work 'in the sweat of his face'.

¹²² Sachs's translation is close to the Latin while Luther and the King James Version went for a different reading of the Hebrew text of Job 5.7 *Homo nascitur ad laborem, et avis ad volatum.* (VLC). *Der Mensch wird zu vnglück geborn / wie die Vögel schweben empor zufliegen.* (L45). *Yet man is born unto trouble, as the sparks fly upward.* (KJV).

¹²³ Lc 10.42 Jesus praises Mary for having 'chosen the good part', listening to him.

Chorherr Wa wolts jr layen gelernt haben? kan eur mancher¹²⁴ kain
Büchstaben.

Schüster. Christus spricht Joannis am .vj. sy werden all von got ge-
leert.

Chorherr. Es müß kunst auch da seyn / wa für weren die hohen schül
Schüster. Auff welcher hohen schül ist. Joannes gestanden? der so
hoch¹²⁵ geschriben hat (im anfang was das wort / vnd das wort was
bey got. Joannis .j.) war doch nun ein fischer / wie Marci .j. steet.

Chorherr. Lieber diser hett den heiligen geist / wie Actuum. am .ii.

Schüster. steet doch Johelis .jj. Vnd es soll geschehen in den lesten
tagen / spricht got / Ich wil außgiessen von meinen geist / auff alles
fleisch. &c. Wie wenn es von vns gesagt wer.

Chorherr. Nein / es ist von den aposteln gesagtt / wie Petrus
anzeucht / Actuum .ij. Darumb packt euch mit dem geist.

Schüster. Christus sprycht Johannis .vij.

Canon: Where do you laypeople claim to have learned this? Many of
you cannot even read!

Cobbler: Christ says in John 6: They will all be taught by God.¹²⁶

Canon: There must also be formal training. What else would
universities be for?

Cobbler: At which university was John, who wrote so deeply 'In the
beginning was the word, and the word was with God' etc., John
1?¹²⁷ He was only a fisherman, as Mark 1 says.¹²⁸

Canon: Dear man, he had the Holy Spirit, as in Acts 2.¹²⁹

Cobbler: But Joel 2 states: And it shall come to pass in the last days,
says God. I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh etc.¹³⁰ What if it
were said of us?

Canon: No, it is said of the apostles, as Peter explains, Acts 2.¹³¹ So be
done with your talk of the Holy Spirit!

Cobbler: Christ speaks in John 7:

¹²⁶ Jo 6.45 *Es stehet geschrieben in den Propheten / Sie werden alle von Gott geleret sein.
Wer es nu höret vom Vater / vnd lernets / der kompt zu mir.* (L45).

¹²⁷ Jo 1.1 *JM anfang war das Wort / Vnd das wort war bey Gott / vnd Gott war das Wort.* (L45). *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* (KJV). The St John's Prologue held a special status in the Middle Ages, often used as a charm.

¹²⁸ Mk 1.19 tells of Christ calling James and John, the sons of Zebedee, as disciples
directly from their fishing boats.

¹²⁹ Acts 2 tells how all the disciples were filled with the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.

¹³⁰ In the Luther-Bible, the numbering of the chapters is changed and this is Joel 3.1
VND nach diesem / wil ich meinen Geist ausgiessen vber alles Fleisch [...]. (L45). Sachs
follows the numbering of the Vulgate, but rather than translating from there, takes
Luther's translation of Peter's Pentecost sermon in Acts 2.17: *Vnd es sol geschehen in
den letzten tagen / spricht Gott / Jch wil ausgiessen von meinem Geist auf alles Fleisch.*
(L45). Joel 2.28 *Et erit post haec: effundam spiritum meum super omnem carnem* (VLC).
And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh. (KJV).

¹³¹ Acts 2.14–17.

¹²⁴ gen. partitivus 'euer mancher' = NHG 'mancher von euch'.

¹²⁵ 'hoch' in the sense of elevated, beyond ordinary, with spiritual meaning.

(b1r) wer an mich glaubt (wie die geschrifft sagt) von des leib werden fliessen flüß des lebendigen wassers / daz aber (spricht der Euangelist) redt er von dem heiligen geist / welichen entpfahen solten die an in glauben.

Chorherr. Wie ich mayn jr stynckt nach Mantuano¹³² dem ketzer / mit dem hailigen geist.

Schüster. Spricht doch Paulus j. Corinthios .ijj. Wysset jr nicht das jr der tempel gottes seyt / vnd der geyst gottes in eüch wonet? vnd Gallatas .iiij. Weyl jr dann kinder seynd / hatt Gott gesanndt den geist in eure hertzen der schreyt Abba lieber vatter. Vnd Tito .ijj. Nach seyner barmhertzigkeit macht er vnns selig / durch das bad der wider gepurt / vnd verneurung des hailigen gaists / welchen er außgossen hat reichlich in vns. Vnnd zün Römern .vijj. So nun der geist des / der Jesum von todten auferweckt hat / in euch wonet.¹³³

Chorherr. Ich empfind keins heiligen geist in mir / ich vnd jr seyn nit dartzü geadelt¹³⁴.

schüster. Warumb heißt jr dann die gaistlichen / So jr den geyst Gottes nit hond? jr solt haissen die geistlosen.

Chorherr. Es seinnd ander leut / weder ich vnd jr die den geist gotes haben.

¹³² A mistake for Montanus, the second-century Phrygian heretic and founder of Montanism, who taught spontaneous inspiration by the Holy Spirit. The mistake is carried over into the Dutch and English version. The spelling is perhaps by confusion with the Italian Carmelite poet Mantuan (d. 1516), who was popular with Protestants.

¹³³ The syntax is broken, since only the first half of the verse Rom 8.11 is quoted.

¹³⁴ 'geadelt', literally 'ennobled', here in the sense of 'ordained'.

(b1r) Whoever believes in me, as the scripture says, out of their body will flow rivers of living water.¹³⁵ But the Evangelist says that he speaks of the Holy Spirit, who should be received by those who believe in Him.

Canon: What? I mean, you reek of Montanus, the heretic, with your talk of the Holy Spirit.

Cobbler: But Paul says in 1 Corinthians 3: Do you not know that you are the temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwells in you?¹³⁶ And Galatians 4: Because you are children, God has sent the Spirit into your hearts, crying out: Abba, dear Father!¹³⁷ And Titus 3: According to his mercy he saves us through the bath of rebirth and the renewal of the Holy Spirit, which he has poured out into us abundantly.¹³⁸ And in Romans 8: So if the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you.¹³⁹

Canon: I feel no Holy Spirit in me, I and you are not privileged for it.

Cobbler: Why then are you called spiritual people, if you do not have the Spirit of God? You should be called the spiritless.

Canon: There are other people, neither you nor I, who have the Spirit of God.

¹³⁵ Jo 7.38. Jesus preaching following the miraculous feeding of the crowd.

¹³⁶ 1 Cor 3.16. Paul is arguing against factions in the congregation.

¹³⁷ Gal 4.4. Paul preaching about the fulness of time.

¹³⁸ Tit 3.4–5 *Da aber erschein die freundlichkeit vnd Leutseligkeit Gottes vnsers Heilandes / Nicht vmb der werck willen der Gerechtigkeit / die wir gethan hatten / Sondern nach seiner Barmhertzigkeit / machet er vns selig / Durch das Bad der wiedergeburt / vnd erneuerung des heiligen Geistes /.* (L45). But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared, Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost. (KJV)

¹³⁹ Rom 8.11 *So nu der Geist / des / der Jhesum von den Todten aufferwecket hat / in euch wonet / So wird auch derselige der Christum von den Todten aufferwecket hat / ewre sterbliche Leibe lebendig machen / vmb des willen / das sein Geist in euch wonet.* (L45). But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you. (KJV).

Schüster. Ir dürfft nit vmbsehen nach infeln¹⁴⁰ / oder nach roten
pirreten¹⁴¹ got ist kain anseher der person / Actuum. x. Es stet
Esaias / lxvj. Der geist gottes wirt rüen auf eim zerknischten
hertzen.

Chorherr. Zeigt mir ein.

schüster. Es spricht mit runden worten Paulus zün Römern .vij. Wer
Christus geist nitt hatt / der ist nit sein.

Chorherr. O des armen geists / den jr Lutherischen hand / ich glaub
er sey kolschwitz. Lieber was thütt doch eur heiliger geist bey
euch / ich glaub er schlaff tag vnd nachtt man spirt¹⁴² in ye
nyendert.

schüster. Christus spricht Mathei vij. Ir solt eur heiltumb nit den
hunden geben / noch dye perlein für die schwelyn werffen / anff
das die selbigen nytt mytt füssen zertreten.

Chorherr. Lieber schempt jr euch nitt sollyche grobe wort vor mir
außzuziehen.

Schüster. Ey lyeber Herr zürnt nit / es ist die heilig schrift

Chorherr. Ja / ja / ja / jr Lutherischen / sagt vil vom wort gots / vnd
werdt doch nur ye länn

Cobbler: You must not look around for mitres or for soft red caps.
God has no regard for personal appearance, Acts 10,¹⁴³ Isaiah 66:
The Spirit of God will rest on a contrite heart.¹⁴⁴

Canon: Show me one!

Cobbler: Paul sums it up in Romans 8: He who does not have the
Spirit of Christ is not his.¹⁴⁵

Canon: O the poor spirit you Lutherans have! I think it's black as
coal! Dear man, what is your Holy Spirit doing with you? I
believe it sleeps day and night, you can never feel it.

Cobbler: Christ says in Matthew 7: Do not give what you have that
is holy to the dogs nor cast pearls before swine, so that they do
not trample them underfoot.¹⁴⁶

Canon: Dear man, are you not ashamed to utter such coarse words
in front of me?

Cobbler: Oh, dear sir, don't get angry: it's Holy Scripture.

Canon: Yes, yes, yes, you Lutherans say a lot about the word of God
and yet you only get worse the

¹⁴³ Act 10.34 talks about the expansion of the mission to the gentiles, with Peter conceding: *Nu erfare ich mit der warheit / das Gott die Person nicht ansihet* (L45). *For all those things hath mine hand made, and all those things have been, saith the LORD: I perceive that God is no respecter of persons.* (KJV).

¹⁴⁴ Paraphrase of Is 66.2 with God's promise to look with favour on a contrite heart: *ad quem autem respiciam, nisi ad pauperculum, et contritum spiritu, et trementem sermones meos?* (VLC). *Jch sehe aber an / den Elenden vnd der zubrochens Geists ist / vnd der sich fürchtet fur meinem wort.* (L45). *to this man will I look, even to him poor and of a contrite spirit.* (KJV).

¹⁴⁵ Rom 8.8 *Die aber fleischlich sind / mügen Gotte nicht gefallen. 9 Jr aber seid nicht fleischlich / sondern geistlich / So anders Gottes geist in euch wonet. Wer aber Christus geist nicht hat / Der ist nicht sein.* (L45). *So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God. 9 But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.* (KJV).

¹⁴⁶ Mt 7.6 *JR solt das Heilighum nicht den Hunden geben / vnd ewre Perlen solt jr nicht fur die Sew werffen / Auff das sie die selbigen nicht zutreten mit jren Füssen / Vnd sich wenden / vnd euch zureissen.* (L45). *Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.* (KJV).

¹⁴⁰ MHG/ENHG 'infel' from medieval Latin *infula* = headdress of a bishop or abbot, mitre.

¹⁴¹ = NHG 'Barret', a soft cap worn by clergy as is the case in the title woodcut for the pamphlet.

¹⁴² = NHG spürt.

(b1v) ger ye erger / ich spür an kainem kein besserung.
 schüster. christus spricht Luce. xvii. Das reich gottes kumpt nit
 eusserlich oder mitt auff mercken / das man möcht sprechen / sich
 hye / oder da / sonder es ist inwendig in euch / das ist so uill / es
 stet nit in eusserlichen wercken.

Khorherr. Das spürt man an dem gotzdienst wol / jr betet nichts / vnd
 sucht weder die kirchen noch tagzeyt¹⁴⁷ / oder gar nichtz mer / Ist
 dann ein solchs reych gottes in euch Lutherischen? Ich glaub es
 sey des teuffels reich

schüster. Ey cristus sagt Johannes .iiij. Es kumpt die zeyt vnd ist schon
 yetzund / das man weder auff disem berg / noch zu Hierusalem /
 den vatter wirt anbeten / sonder die warhaftigen anbetter werden
 den vatter anbetten im gayst vnd in der warhait / dann der vater
 wil auch haben / die in also anbeten wann gott ist ein gayst / vnd
 die in anbetten / die müssen in im gayst der warhait anbetten /
 Hyemit ligt darnyder alles kirchen geen vnd ewer tagzeyt / vnd
 auch alles gebet nach der zal / welchs on allen gaist vnd warhait
 sonder vil mer / nach stat vnd zal / eusserlich verdrossen / vnd
 schleffrig gemurmelt wirt / dauon cristus klagt / sprechent /
 Mathei .xv. Diß volck eert mich mitt den leftzen / vnd ir hertz ist
 weytt von mir.

(b1v) longer you go on; I don't notice any improvement in anyone.
 Cobbler: Christ says in Luke 17: The kingdom of God does not come
 outwardly or with notice, so that one might say: Look here, look
 there, but it is within you, that is, it does not consist in outward
 works.¹⁴⁸

Canon: That is something one can clearly sense in your worship: you
 do not pray and you neither seek out churches nor observe the
 Hours nor anything else. Is there then such a kingdom of God in
 you Lutherans? I believe it is the devil's kingdom.

Cobbler: Christ says in John 4: The time is coming and is already
 now, that neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will the
 Father be worshipped, but the true worshippers will worship the
 Father in spirit and in truth, since the Father also wants those who
 worship him in this way; because God is a spirit, and those who
 worship him, must worship him in the spirit of truth.¹⁴⁹ With this
 all church-going and your Hours of Divine Office are brought to
 nought, as well as all praying by numbers, which, without any
 spirit and truth, but rather according to occasion and number, is
 mumbled, an outward show, jaded and half-asleep; this is what
 Christ complains about, saying in Matthew 15: This people
 honours me with their lips, and their heart is far from me.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Lc 17.20 *DA er aber gefraget ward von den Pharisäern / Wenn kommt das reich Gottes?*
Antwortet er jnen / vnd sprach / Das reich Gottes kommt nicht mit eusserlichen Geberden /
21 Man wird auch nicht sagen / Sihe hie / oder da ist es. Denn sehet / Das reich Gottes ist
inwendig in euch. (L45). *And when he was demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdom*
of God should come, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with
observation: 21 Neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of
God is within you. (KJV).

¹⁴⁹ Jo 4.21 & 23. Part of Christ's conversation with the Samaritan woman at the well,
 explaining that the salvation is to be brought to everybody.

¹⁵⁰ Mt 15.8 *Dis Volck nahet sich zu mir mit seinem Munde / vnd ehret mich mit seinen*
Lippen / Aber jr Hertz ist ferne von mir / (L45). *This people draweth nigh unto me with*
their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. (KJV).

¹⁴⁷ Tagzeiten = Hours of the Divine Office (Matins, Vespers etc.)

Khorherr. Spricht doch cristus Luce. xvij. Yr solt on vnderlaß betten.
 Schüster. Ya das betten im gaist mag on vnderlaß geschehen / Aber
 eur vil beten verwürfft cristus Mathei vi. Spricht ir sollt nit vil
 plappern.

Korherr. Lieber was ist das für eyn gebeett oder Gotzdienst im gaist
 vnd in der warhait / leert michs / so darf ich nimmer gen metin /
 vnd mein horas nimmer betten.

schüster. Leßt das biechlin Martin Luthers / von der cristenlichenn
 freyhait / wölchs er dem bapst Leo x. zügschickt hat / da find jrs
 kurtz beschrieben.

Korherr. Ich wolt das der Luther mit sampt sein büchern verprent
 wurd / ich hab ir¹⁵¹ nye kains¹⁵² gelesen / vnd wil ir noch kains
 lesen

schüster Ey was vrtaylt ir dann

Khorherr. Wie das ir den lieben hailigen auch nimmer dyenet?

Schüster. cristus spricht Mathei .iiij Du solt gott dey

Canon: But Christ says Luke 18: You should pray without ceasing.¹⁵³

Cobbler: Yes, praying in the Spirit may be done without ceasing.

But Christ rejects your constant praying in Matthew 6, and says:
 You should not babble too much.¹⁵⁴

Canon: My dear man, what kind of prayer or worship is this ‘in spirit
 and in truth’? Teach me, and I may no longer need to go to Matins
 and pray my Hours.

Cobbler: Read Martin Luther’s booklet on Christian freedom, which
 he sent to Pope Leo X, where you will find a brief description.¹⁵⁵

Canon: I would like Luther to be burnt along with his books! I’ve
 never read any of them, nor will I ever read any of them.

Cobbler: Well, how can you judge them then?

Canon: How is it that you also no longer serve the dear saints?

Cobbler: Christ says Matthew 4: Worship your

¹⁵¹ = NHG ‘ihrer’; genitivus partitivus; the NHG construction would be ‘keines von ihnen’.

¹⁵² Double negation (‘nie kains’ and ‘noch kains’) in ENHG is used for emphasis.

¹⁵³ Lc 18.1 ER saget jnen aber ein Gleichnis dawon / Das man alle zeit beten vnd nicht
 lass werden solt /. (L45). And he spake a parable unto them to this end, that men ought
 always to pray, and not to faint;. (KJV).

¹⁵⁴ Mt 6.7 Vnd wenn jr betet / solt jr nicht viel plappern / wie die Heiden / Denn sie
 meinen / sie werden erhöret / wenn sie viel wort machen. (L45). But when ye pray, use not
 vain repetitions, as the heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much
 speaking. (KJV).

¹⁵⁵ Martin Luther, ‘De libertate christiana’ (1520). On the publication history and the
 theological background see Taylor Editions 3, ed. Jones / Lähnemann (2020).

(b2r)nen herren anbeten / vnd dem allayn dienen.

Khorherr. Ja wyr müssen aber fürsprechen¹⁵⁶ haben bey got.

schüster. Es sprichtt Joannes j. canonicas j.¹⁵⁷ vnd ob yemandt sündiget / so haben wyr einen fürsprechen Bey got jesum christum der gerecht ist / vnd derselb ist die versünung für eur sünnd.

Korherr. Ja lyeber ja / not bricht eysen / so euch ein hand entzwey wer / jr wurdt bald sant wolffgang annrüssen.

schüster Nein / Chrystus sprycht Mathei xj. kumptt her zu mir alle die jr müselig vnnd Beladen seyt / ich wil euch erquicken / wa wölt wir dann besser hilff suchen? Ir hond abgötter auß den hayligen gemacht / vnnd vns dardurch von cristo abgefürt.

Khorherr. Ja jr habts wol vergloßt¹⁵⁸ / Wie das jr lutherischen nimmer fast / lert euchs der lutherische geyst?

schüster. Fasten ist vnns von Gott nit gepoten / sonder frey gelassen / christus spricht Mathei vj. wann jr Fasten welt / so lond¹⁵⁹ eurm haupt der salben nit geprechen / spricht nit / jr solt oder müßt fasten / wie vnßere stieffvätter¹⁶⁰ zu Rom thün.

Khorherr. Ja ir fastet aber garnymmer.

schüster. Ich glaub rechtes fastens fasten die handtwerckbleut mer / ob sy gleych im tag viermal essen / dann all münich / nunnen vnnd pfaffen die inn dem gantzen Teuttschen land seyn / es ist am tag ich mag nichs mer dauon sagen.

¹⁵⁶ acc. pl. of ENHG 'fürspreche' = NHG 'Fürsprecher' (advocate).

¹⁵⁷ As on a4v in the quotation from 1 Peter, 'canon.', normally the abbreviation for canon law, simply seems to stand for chapter. The chapter number is also again wrong. The wrong chapter number 'j' for 'ij' might be prompted by the number for the letter.

¹⁵⁸ ENHG (ver)glos(s)en = 'to gloss' (NHG 'glossieren'), i.e. to explain a text by expanding, paraphrasing or commenting. This can be neutral or, esp. with the prefix 'ver-', negative. Here the canon implies that the cobbler provides a tendentious reading of the Bible for his own interpretation.

¹⁵⁹ imperative pl. of ENHG 'lan' or in the local dialect 'lon', the MHG short form of NHG 'lassen'.

¹⁶⁰ ENHG constructions of relationship with 'stief-' (step-) can be neutral descriptions of family relationship, but more often describe a negative treatment, worse than could be expected of family members.

(b2r) Lord God and serve him alone!¹⁶¹

Canon: Yes, but we have to have intercessors with God.

Cobbler: John says in the first letter: And if anyone sins, we have an advocate with God, Jesus Christ, who is righteous, and he is the propitiation for your sins.¹⁶²

Canon: Yes, dear man, yes, necessity breaks iron.¹⁶³ If one of your hands were broken, you would soon call upon St Wolfgang.¹⁶⁴

Cobbler: No, Christ says in Matthew 11: Come to me, all you who are burdened and laden, and I will refresh you.¹⁶⁵ Where better then shall we seek help? You have made idols of the saints and thereby led us away from Christ.

Canon: Yes, yes, you have glossed it very well. How is it that you Lutherans never fast? Does the Lutheran spirit teach you this?

Cobbler: Fasting is not commanded by God but left as a free choice. Christ says in Matthew 6: If you want to fast, do not let your head go without its ointments;¹⁶⁶ do not say that you should or must fast, as our stepfathers in Rome do.

Canon: Yes, but you never fast at all!

Cobbler: I believe that in terms of proper fasting, craftsmen fast more, even if they eat four times a day, than all the monks, nuns and priests in all the German lands. It's blatantly obvious, I don't want to say any more about it.

¹⁶¹ Mt 4.10. Jesus answers the devil who wants to tempt him to worship him.

¹⁶² 1 Jo 1.1-2 Vnd ob jemand sündiget / So haben wir einen Fursprecher bey dem Vater / Jhesum Christ / der gerecht ist / Vnd derselbige ist die versönung fur vnser sünde. (L45). And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: And he is the propitiation for our sins. (KJV).

¹⁶³ Proverb, Wander s.v. Noth 144. Luther also uses it in 'Ursache und Antwort', Gieseler / Lähnemann / Powell (2023), p. 110.

¹⁶⁴ Wolfgang, the 10th cent. bishop of Regensburg, is the patron saint of Regensburg, the diocese south of Nuremberg, and of several crafts such as sculptors; he is called upon for different bodily ailments.

¹⁶⁵ Mt 11.28. After having been proclaimed Messiah, Jesus promises salvation.

¹⁶⁶ Mt 6.16-18. The meaning of the verse is that fasting should not be done as a demonstrative act of religious observance; by keeping to a routine of body care, the fasting can be kept secret.

Korherr. So schweygt ich will aber reden / es leg am fasten das
wenigst / jr lutherischen freßt aber flaisch dartzū am freytag / das
euchs¹⁶⁷ der teüffel gesegne.

schüster. Flaisch essen ist von got auch nit verpotten / derhalben ist es
nit sünd / dann so weyt man die vnwissenden schwachen nitt
erger / christus spricht Mathei xv. Was zūm mund eingeet / verun-
reint den menschen nyt / sonder was zūm mund außgeet verun-
reindt den menschen / als arg gedenck / mordt / eebruch /
hürerey / diebstal / falsch zeugknus / lesterung / vnd Paulus j. cho-
rinthios .x. Alles was auff dem fleischmarck feilst¹⁶⁸ / das esset.

Khorherr. Ir sagt was jr weldt / habt aber nit was jr welt / güt alte
gewonheit¹⁶⁹ soll man nicht verachten die etwa drey oder vier
hundert jar haben gewerdt.

Schü-

Canon: Then keep silent, but I will speak. Fasting would be the least
of it, but you Lutherans eat meat on Friday. May the devil bless it
for you!

Cobbler: Eating meat is also not forbidden by God, so it is not a sin,
as long as one does not offend those who are weak and do not
know better. Christ says in Matthew 15: What goes into the
mouth does not defile anybody, but what goes out of the mouth
defiles somebody, such as evil thoughts, murder, adultery,
fornication, theft, false witness, blasphemy,¹⁷⁰ and Paul in 1
Corinthians 10: Eat everything that is for sale in the meat
market.¹⁷¹

Canon: You say what you want but you do not have what you want.
Good old traditions, which have lasted for three or four hundred
years, should not be spurned.

Cobbler:

¹⁶⁷ Contraction of 'euch des', with the gen. 'des' dependent on '(ge-)segnen) and referring to the 'fleisch' eaten on Fridays.

¹⁶⁸ Contraction of 'feil ist'.

¹⁶⁹ The repeated term 'gewonheit' (= NHG 'Gewohnheit') can, like its Latin counterpart 'consuetudo' mean everyday customs or habits but also legally binding case law based on previous decisions by the authority. In this sense used here as the opposite of biblical foundation and truth, as a criticism of the way in which the Catholic church framed 'tradition' as a guiding principle.

¹⁷⁰ Mt 15.11 *Was zum munde eingehet / das verunreiniget den Menschen nicht / Sonderne
was zum munde ausgehet / das verunreiniget den Menschen.* (L45). *Not that which goeth
into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man.* (KJV).

¹⁷¹ 1 Cor 10.25 *Alles was feil ist auff dem Fleischmarckt / das esset / vnd forschet nichts /
Auff das jr des Gewissens verschonet.* (L45). *Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat,
asking no question for conscience sake.* (KJV).

(b2v)ster. Christus spricht Johannis am viertzehenden / ich bin der weg / die warhait vnnd das lebenn / Er spricht aber nyt / ich bin die gewonhait / Derhalb müß wir der warhait anhangen / welliche das wort gottes vnnd Gott selv ist / das bleybtt ewig Mathey. xxiiij. Aber gewonhayt kumpt vonn mennschen her / wellych all lugner sein. Psalm. cxv. Darumb ist gewonhait vergencklich.

Chorherr. Lieber sagtt mir noch eins wie das jr Lutherischen nimmer Beicht / das ist noch vil ketzerischer.

Schüster. Da ist es von gott auch nit gepoten / auch nicht gemeldt weder im alten noch newen Testament.

Chorherr. Sprach doch Christus. Luce. xvij. geet hin vnd zaigt euch den priestern. &c.

Schüster. Heißt dann erzeygen beichtt / das ist mir seltzam Teutsch jr müßtt mirß höher mit geschrifft beweysen / Solt so ein groß nötyg vnnd haylsam ding vmb die oren beicht¹⁷² sein / wie jr dauon sagt / so müß ers von not wegen klerer in der schrifft uerfaßt sein.

Chorherr. Ey wölt jr dann gar nichs thün / dann was von Got gepotten vnd in der gschrifft verfaßt ist? das ist eyn ellennde sach.

(b2v) Christ says in John 14: I am the way, the truth and the life.¹⁷³ But he does not say: I am the tradition. Therefore we must cling to the truth, which is the word of God and God himself, which abides forever, Matthew 24.¹⁷⁴ But tradition is made by people, all of whom are liars, Psalm 115.¹⁷⁵ Therefore tradition is transitory. Canon: Dear man, tell me one more thing: How is it that you Lutherans never confess? That's even more heretical.

Cobbler: But it is not commanded by God, nor is it mentioned in either the Old or the New Testament.

Canon: But Christ said in Luke 17: Go and present yourselves to the priests,¹⁷⁶ etc.

Cobbler: Does 'to present' mean 'to confess'? That seems a strange German expression to me, you must prove it to me more convincingly in Scripture. If private confession is such a great, necessary and salutary thing, as you say, then it would have by necessity been grounded in Scripture more clearly.

Canon: Well, do you not want to do anything except what is commanded by God and written in Scripture? That is a wretched state of affairs.

¹⁷² = NHG 'Ohrenbeichte', 'auricular confession': the confession of sins to a priest in private (in his ear) rather than as part of a public service.

¹⁷³ Jo 14.6 *Jhesus spricht zu jm / Ich bin der Weg / und die Wahrheit / und das Leben. Niemand kommt zum Vater / denn durch Mich.* (L45).

¹⁷⁴ Mt 24.35 *Himmel und Erden werden vergehen / Aber meine Wort werden nicht vergehen.* (L45). *Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.* (KJV).

¹⁷⁵ Psalm 115 in the Vulgate numbering, 116.11 in the Protestant tradition: *Ich sprach in meinem zagen / Alle Menschen sind Lügner.* (L45). *I said in my haste, All men are liars.* (KJV). Hans Sachs had to rely for the Old Testament on the Vulgate, since the translation of the Torah and the poetic books of the Hebrew Bible was only finished in October 1524, and the prophets followed even later.

¹⁷⁶ Lc 17.12–14. Jesus' command to the lepers after he had cured them.

Schüster Ich kann dasselbig nit erfüllen / wie Actuum. xv. Was soll ich dann erst meer auff mich laden.

Chorherr. Ey es haben aber solche ding die hailigen våter in den Concilijs¹⁷⁷ geordnet vnd bestetigt.

Schüster. Von wem hond sy den gwalt

Chorherr. Christus spricht Johannis. xvj. Ich hab euch noch vil zü sagen / Aber jr kündts yetz nit tragen / wann aber yhener der geist der warhait kommen wirtt / der wirt euch in alle warhait leyten / Hört / hie seind die Concilia von Christo eingesetzt

Schüster. Ey christus spricht daruor Johannis. xv. Der tröster der hailigen gaist / welchen mein vater senden wirt in meinem namen / der sellbyg wyrtt euch alles leeren / vnnd euch erynnern / alles des / das ich euch gesagt hab. Hört herr / er sprycht nit / er werd euch new ding leeren / welches ich euch nit gesagt hab / sonder des das ich euch gesagt hab / wirt er euch erynndern / erkleren / auff das jrs recht verstet wie ichs gemaint hab

Cobbler: I cannot even fulfil that much as Acts 15¹⁷⁸ states, so why should I take even more upon myself?

Canon: Yes, but the holy fathers have ordered and confirmed such things in the councils.

Cobbler: Who gave them this power?

Canon: Christ says in John 16: I have yet many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them yet. But when he, the Spirit of truth, comes, he will guide you into all truth.¹⁷⁹ Listen, here the councils are appointed by Christ.

Cobbler: Well, Christ says before this in John 15: The Comforter, the Holy Spirit, whom my Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things and remind you of everything I said to you.¹⁸⁰ Listen, Sir, he does not say that he will teach you new things that I have not told you, but that he will remind you of what I have told you and explain it, so that you may understand rightly what I meant.

¹⁷⁸ Act 15.10 *Was versucht jr denn nu Gott / mit aufflegen des Jochs auff der Jünger helse / welches weder vnser Vater / noch wir haben mügen tragen? (L45). Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? (KJV).*

¹⁷⁹ Jo 16.13 *Wenn aber jener / der Geist der warheit kommen wird / der wird euch in alle warheit leiten. Denn er wird nicht von jm selber reden / sondern was er hören wird / das wird er reden / vnd was Zukünftig ist / wird er euch verkündigen. (L45). Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will shew you things to come. (KJV).*

¹⁸⁰ Jo 15.26–27 *wenn aber der tröster komen wird / welchen ich euch senden werde vom Vater / der Geist der warheit / der vom Vater ausgehet / der wird zeugen von mir. 27 Vnd jr werdet auch zeugen / Denn jr seid von anfang bey mir gewesen. (L45). But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me: 27 And ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning. (KJV).*

¹⁷⁷ Latin abl. pl. (local ablative) of 'concilium' adopted for German dat. pl. Referring to the Ecumenical Councils of the Church (Jerusalem, Nicaea, Constance...).

(b3r) Also maindt ers auch hernach / da er spricht. Er würdt euch in alle warheit leyten.

Chorherr. So halt jr von keinem Concilio?

Schüster. Ja / von dem das die Apostel zü Jerusalen hielten.

Chorherr. Haben dann die Appostel auch ein concilium gehalten?

Schüster. Ja / hond jr ein Bibel.

Chorherr. Ja / Köchin bring das groß alt büch herauß.

Köchin. Herr ists das?

Chorherr. Ey nein / das ist das Decretal / maculier¹⁸¹ myrs nit.

Köchin. Herr ists das.

Chorherr. Ja kör¹⁸² den staub her ab / das dich der rit¹⁸³ wasch / wol an maister hanns wa stets.

Schüster. Sündt Actuum apostolorum. xv.

Chorherr. Sündt selb / Ich bin nit vil darinn vmbgangen / ich weyß wol nützers zülesen.

Schüster. Secht da herr.

Chorherr. Kóchyn merck Actuum am xv. Ich wil darnach von wunders wegen lesen / was die alten gesellen güts gemacht haben.

Schüster. Ja leßt / jr werdt finden das man die burdt des alten gesetz / den Cristen nit aufladen sol / ich geschweig das man yetzund vil neuer gepot vnd fünnd erdencken / vnd die christen mit beschwert / darum sein wir euch nit schuldig zü hören.

(b3r) He also means the same thing later, when he says: He will guide you into all truth.

Canon: So you do not respect any council?

Cobbler: Yes, the one the apostles held in Jerusalem.

Canon: Did the apostles also hold a council?

Cobbler: Yes, do you have a Bible?

Canon: Yes, cook, bring out the big old book!

Cook: Sir, is that it?

Canon: Oh no, that's the Decretal; don't damage it!

Cook: Sir, is that it?

Canon: Yes, brush off the dust! May the cold fever drench you! Go on, Master Hans, where is it written?

Cobbler: Look for Acts 15!¹⁸⁴

Canon: Look for yourself, I am not that familiar with it, I know of more useful things to read.

Cobbler: Look there, sir!

Canon: Cook, note Acts chapter 15, I will read later for amusement what the good old fellows were up to.

Cobbler: Do read it! You will find that the burden of the old law should not be imposed on Christians. I won't mention that currently many new commandments and inventions are being devised and Christians burdened by them; therefore we are not obliged to listen.

¹⁸¹ 'makulieren' = to discard a book, to turn something into wastepaper because it is outdated (from Latin 'macula' = flaw), here more in the sense of handling a book carelessly.

¹⁸² ENHG 'köhren' is a variant of 'kehren', 'to swipe, brush'.

¹⁸³ ENHG 'ritte' = cold fever; personified as a mischievous being; the curse more often in the form 'dass dich der Ritt schütt' (may the cold fever make you shake); the 'wasch' is similarly used also in other works by Hans Sachs and in Shrovetide plays. The canon uses it for the cook who has not dusted the Bible and presumably made his hands dirty when he touched it.

¹⁸⁴ Act 15.5–9. Da tratten auff etliche von der Phariseer secten / die gleubig waren worden / vnd sprachen / Man mus sie beschneiten / vnd gebieten zu halten das gesetz Mosi. 6 Aber die Apostel vnd die Eltesten kamen zusamen / diese rede zu besehen. 7 DA man sich aber lange gezancket hatte / stund Petrus auff / vnd sprach zu jnen / Jr Menner / lieben Brüder / Jr wisset / das Gott lang vor dieser zeit / vnter vns erwelet hat / das durch meinen mund / die Heiden das wort des Euangelij höreten vnd gleubten. 8 Vnd Gott der Hertzkündiger zeugete vber sie / vnd gab jnen den heiligen Geist / gleich auch wie vns / 9 vnd macht kein vnterscheid zwischen vns vnd jnen / Vnd reinigte jre Hertzen durch den glauben. (L45).

Chorherr. Sprycht doch christus Luce .x. Wer euch hört / der hört mich / wer euch veracht / der veracht mich / ist das nit klar genüg.
 Schuster. Ja wann jr das Euangelion / vnnd das wort gottes lauter sagt / so soll wir euch hören wie Cristum selbs / Wa jr aber eur eigen fündt vnnd gütgeduncken¹⁸⁵ sagt / sol man euch gar nicht hören / wann Christus sagt Mathei .xv. vergeblich dienen sy mir / dieweil sy leren solche leer / die menschen gepot seind / vnd weiter / ein yede pflanzung die got mein himmlischer vatter nit pflanzet hat / wirt auß gereüt.¹⁸⁶

Chorherr. Seind dann die concilia auch mennschen leer?

Schuster. Wann man im grund daruon reden will / so haben die Concilia mercklicher schaden zwen inn der Christenhayt thon.

Chorherr. Welche? zaigt an.

Schuster. Zum ersten die gebot der an zal vnd maß ist / wie jr wyßt / vnd das noch bößer ist schier alle mit dem bann besteet¹⁸⁷ / vnd doch der meyst tail in der schrift nit gegrünt / Solche eure gepot hatt man dann hoch

Canon: But Christ says in Luke 10: He who hears you hears me; he who despises you despises me, is that not clear enough?¹⁸⁸

Cobbler: Yes, when you speak the gospel and the word of God purely, we shall listen to you as to Christ himself. But when you speak your own inventions and fabrications, you shall not be heard at all; since Christ says in Matthew 15: They serve me in vain, because they teach such doctrines as are human commandments;¹⁸⁹ and further: Every plantation that God, my heavenly Father, has not planted will be rooted out.¹⁹⁰

Canon: Are the councils also human doctrine?

Cobbler: If you want to get to the heart of the matter, the councils have done conspicuous damage to Christianity in two ways.

Canon: Which ones? Show me!

Cobbler: Firstly, the commandments, which are innumerable and immeasurable, as you know, and – what is even more evil – they are almost all enforced by ban, and yet most of them are not founded in Scripture. Such commandments of yours have been highly

¹⁸⁵ = NHG ‘Gutdünken’, literally something which is devised because it is subjectively believed (‘dünken’, etymologically related to ‘think’) to be good (‘gut’) but not based on evidence or authority.

¹⁸⁶ ENHG ‘ausreuten’ = NHG ‘ausjäten’: to weed, eradicate, pluck out.

¹⁸⁷ ENHG ‘bestehen’ = NHG ‘belegen’ in the sense of being set up, linked to (Fnhd.Wb. s.v. 17: schuldig sein).

¹⁸⁸ Lc 10.16 *Wer euch höret / der höret Mich / Vnd wer Euch verachtet / der veracht Mich / Wer aber Mich verachtet / der verachtet Den / der mich gesandt hat.* (L45). *He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me.* (KJV).

¹⁸⁹ Mt 15.8–9 *Dis Volck nahet sich zu mir mit seinem Munde / vnd ehret mich mit seinen Lippen / Aber jr Hertz ist ferne von mir / Aber vergeblich dienen sie mir / die weil sie lernen solche Lere / die nichts den menschen Gebot sind.* (L45). *This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.* (KJV).

¹⁹⁰ Mt 15.13 *Aber er antwortet vnd sprach / Alle Pflantzen die mein himlischer Vater nicht pflanzet / die werden ausgereut.* (L45). *But he answered and said, Every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.* (KJV).

(b3v) auffgeblasen / vnd der menschen gewissen darmit verstrycktt
 vnd verwickelt / das sy den waren gottes gepoten gleich geacht
 seind geweßt / vnd in fürgetzogen / dadurch die gepot gots
 verechtlich bey den mennschen gemacht / Solche leut hat Paulus
 verkündiget mit jren gepoten .i. Timotheon .iiij. das inn den
 letsten zeyten werden etlich vom glauben abtredten / vnd an-
 hangen den irrgen geystern / vnd lern der teufel / durch die so in
 gleyßnerey lügenreder seind / vnd brantmal in irem gewissen
 haben / vnd verbieten eelich zü werden / vnd zü meyden die
 speyß die got geschaffen hat zü nemen myt dancksagung den
 glaubigen / vnd denen die die warhait erkant haben.

Korherr. Wa ist das geschehen / mit welchem gepot?

schüster. Flaysch essen am freytag hat man für grösser sünd geacht /
 denn eebrechen / vnnd so ein pfaff ein recht eeweyb het gehabt /
 hat man für grösser sünd gehalten / dann so er ein hüren oder zwü
 het.

Korherr. Wol verston¹⁹¹ spricht der walch¹⁹² / was ist dann der annder
 schad.

(b3v) inflated and have ensnared and entangled men's consciences by
 being put on a par with the true commandments of God and even
 given more prominence than them, thereby making the
 commandments of God contemptible among people. It was about
 such people and their commandments that Paul preached in 1
 Timothy 4¹⁹³ that at the end of days some will depart from the
 faith, following deceitful spirits and the teaching of devils,
 through those who are slanderers, bearing a brand on their con-
 science, and forbidding people to get married, and telling them to
 avoid the food which God created to be taken with thanksgiving
 by the faithful and by those who have recognised the truth.

Canon: Where did that happen? With which commandment?

Cobbler: Eating meat on Friday was considered a greater sin than
 committing adultery; and if a priest had a lawful wife, it was
 considered a greater sin than if he had a whore or two.

Canon: Point taken, as the Italians say.¹⁹⁴ And what is the other harm?

¹⁹¹ = NHG 'wohl verstanden', used as a proverbial saying.

¹⁹² ENHG 'walch / welsch' is used for any speaker of a Romance language,
 particularly French or Italian; from the 16th cent. mainly Italian.

¹⁹³ 1 Tim 4.1–3 DER Geist aber saget deutlich / Das in den letzten Zeiten / werden etliche
 von dem Glauben abtreten / vnd anhangen den versürischen Geistern / vnd leren der
 Teufel / 2 Durch die / so in gleisnerey Lügenreder sind / vnd Brandmal in jrem Gewissen
 haben / 3 vnd verbieten Ehelich zu werden / vnd zu meiden die Speise / die Gott geschaffen
 hat / zu nemen mit Dancksagung / den glaubigen vnd denen die die warheit erkennen /.
 (L45). Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from
 the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; 2 Speaking lies in hypocrisy;
 having their conscience seared with a hot iron; 3 Forbidding to marry, and commanding to
 abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which
 believe and know the truth. (KJV).

¹⁹⁴ Proverb not identified; it may indicate the only superficial conceding of a point
 in a debate, as a non-native speaker might do out of politeness if they have not
 understood the issue at hand. In any case a condescending, ironic reply by the canon.

schüster. Züm andern hat man vil neuer gotzdienst angericht / vnd
güte werck genendt / Darmit dann am allermeysten / münich /
nunnen vnd pfaffen vmbgond / vnd ist doch (wann man auffs
höchst darouon will reden) eyttel eusserlych laruenwerck¹⁹⁵ /
daruon got nichs gehayssen hat / vnnd haben dardurch (vnnd wir
sampt inen) die recht christlychen gütten werck verlassen / die
vnns got beuolhen hatt.

Khorherr. Was seind dann recht christliche güte werck.

schüster. chrystus leret vns Mathei .vij. alles das ir welt / das euch die
menschen tün das thüt auch in / das ist das gantz gesetz vnd
propheten / vnd Mathei .xxv. leeret er vns den hungrigen speysen /
den durstygen drencken¹⁹⁶ / den armen herbrigen¹⁹⁷ / den
nackenden klaiden / den krancken heymsüchen / den gefangnen
trösten.

*Khorherr. Seind das allein christliche gütte werck eines gantz
christlychen lebens.*

schüster. Ja ein recht christglaubiger / welcher widerumb geporen ist
auß dem wasser vnd geyst / wie Joanni .iiij. dienet got allein im
geist vnd in der warhait / vnd seinem nech-

Cobbler: Secondly, a lot of new forms of divine service have been
instituted and declared good works, which is what monks, nuns,
and priests in particular practise, and yet (if one wants to sum it
up) it is vain superficial mummery, none of which God has
commanded; by this, they (and we together with them) have
abandoned the truly good Christian works that God has ordered
us to do.

Canon: What, then, are truly Christian good works?

Cobbler: Christ teaches us in Matthew 7: Whatever you want people
to do to you, do to them as well; this is the whole of the law and
the prophets.¹⁹⁸ And in Matthew 25 he teaches us to feed the
hungry, to give water to the thirsty, to house the poor, to clothe
the naked, to heal the sick, to comfort the captive.¹⁹⁹

Canon: Are these the only Christian good works of a completely
Christian life?

Cobbler: Yes, a true believer in Christ, who is born again of water
and the Spirit, according to John 3,²⁰⁰ serves God alone in spirit
and in truth and their

¹⁹⁸ The Golden Rule Mt 7.12 *Alles nu / das jr wöllet / das euch die leute thun sollen / Das thut jr jnen / Das ist das Gesetz vnd die Propheten.* (L45). *Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.* (KJV).

¹⁹⁹ The works of mercy, Mt 25.35–36 *Denn ich bin Hungerig gewesen / vnd jr habt mich gespeiset. Jch bin Durstig gewesen / vnd jr habt mich getrencket. Jch bin ein Gast gewesen / vnd jr habt mich beherberget. Jch bin Nacket gewesen / vnd jr habt nicht bekleidet. Jch bin Kranck gewesen / vnd jr habt mich besucht. Jch bin Gefangen gewesen / vnd jr seid zu mir kommen.* (L45). *For I was an hungry, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.*

²⁰⁰ Jo 3.5 *Jhesus antwortet / Warlich / warlich / Jch sage dir / Es sey denn / das jemand geboren werde / aus dem Wasser vnd Geist / so kan er nicht in das reich Gottes kommen /* (L45). *Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.* (KJV).

¹⁹⁵ ENHG 'larve' = 'mask', Fnhd. Wb. s.v. 'larve' 1 defines it as 'sanctimony' or 'hypocrisy' ('auf Äußerlichkeiten und nicht auf das Wesentliche bedachte Scheinheiligkeit; Werkheiligkeit').

¹⁹⁶ = NHG 'tränken', the weak factitive verb derived from the strong verb 'trinken', in modern German only used for giving water to animals.

¹⁹⁷ = NHG '(be)herbergen', 'to provide shelter'.

(b4r)sten mit den wercken der lieb / das ist die summa einen²⁰¹ christlichen wesen / Aber dise werck geen gar in der still zü / da henckt man weder schilt / helm noch wappen an²⁰² / so meinen dann die werckhailigen²⁰³ / solche christen thün gar nichs mer / so sy mit irem larfenwerck²⁰⁴ nimmer vmbgend.

Korherr. Mayndt ir dann vnser singen vnd lesen gelt nichs.

Schüster. Chrystus wyrtt ye sunst nichs fodern von vns dann die werck der barmhertzigkeit im letsten vrtayl. Mathei xxv. Da werdt ir Münnych vnnd pfaffen besten / wie die Rincklerin²⁰⁵ / die ließ die oren am pranger.

Korherr. Ir habtts wol droffen²⁰⁶ / geedt zum offen vnnd wermbt euch / leeret euch Luther sollich dant theding²⁰⁷.

Schüster. Neyn.

Korherr. Lyeber was haldt jr von dem Luther.

Schüster. Ich haldt inn für einen Chrystlichen leerer (welchen ich achtt) Seydt der Appostel zeyt nye geweßt ist.

chorherr. Lyeber was nutz hatt er / doch geschafft inn der christennheit.

²⁰¹ First edition has grammatically correct 'eines'.

²⁰² 'helm', 'schild', and 'wappen' refer to the practice of showing by the display of heraldic devices who endowed or donated a monument, or also showing one's colours during a tournament.

²⁰³ 'Werkheilige' (literally 'work-based saints') is coined by Martin Luther to denounce relying on good works instead of faith to become justified, used synonymously with hypocrites.

²⁰⁴ see above – mummery by employing masks.

²⁰⁵ 'rinklerin' might be the wife of a 'ringler', a locksmith producing chainmail (made out of rings forged together) or simply a woman married to a Mr Ringler, a family name common in Nuremberg area (see the map on namenforschung.net s.v.).

²⁰⁶ = NHG 'getroffen' in the sense of 'have been placed in a good situation'. Probably in the sense that by not feeling obliged to complete any works to achieve salvation, the cobbler can relax.

²⁰⁷ ENHG 'tand-teiding' is a compound of 'tand' = 'useless stuff' and 'teiding' = 'legal advice' but also 'useless talk, gossip', see also DWb 'narrentheiding'.

(b4r) neighbour with works of love, that is the sum total of a Christian existence. But these works are done in silence, not by putting up shield, helmet or coat of arms. And so those who base their saintliness on works believe that such Christians are not doing anything at all if they stop engaging in mummery.

Canon: Then do you think our singing and reading counts for nothing?

Cobbler: Christ will never ask anything else of us but the works of mercy in the last judgement, Matthew 25.²⁰⁸ Then you monks and clergymen will stand like Mrs Rinckler²⁰⁹ who lost her ears in the pillory.

Canon: You are lucky, go to the stove and warm yourselves! Does Luther teach you such legalistic nonsense?

Cobbler: No.

Canon: Dear man, what do you think of Luther?

Cobbler: I consider him to be a Christian teacher (whom I respect), the like of whom has not been seen since the time of the apostles.

Canon: Dear man, what good has he done in Christianity?

²⁰⁸ For the works of mercy, see the list above. Mt 25.40 *Vnd der König wird antworten / vnd sagen zu jnen / Warlich ich sage euch / Was jr gethan habt einem vnter diesen meinen geringsten Brüdern / Das habt jr mir gethan.* (L45). *And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.* (KJV).

²⁰⁹ This was a well-known Nuremberg case of wrong-doing by this woman who was punished by cutting off the ears of the accused. In response to Martin Luther's 'Ursache und Antwort' (1523), Johann Dietenberger's 'Antwort' (1523) claims that Luther will fare in the eyes of God and the world as well as Mrs Rinckler did in the Nuremberg pillory where she lost her ears ('Ja, Luther, du besteest vor gott vnd der welt / wie die rincklerin / die zu Nürenberg die oren am pranger ließ.').

schüster. Da hatt er eur menschen gepot / leer / fund vnnd auff satzung an tag gebracht / vnnd vns daruor gewarnet / Züm anndern hat er vnns in die hailigen gschryfft geweyset / darinn wir erkennen das wir alle vnder der sünnd beschlossen vnnd sündер seynd Römern .v. Züm anndern / das Christus vnnser einige erlösung ist wie zün .i. Corinthios .i. vnnd dise zway stuck treybt die schrifft schyer durch vnnd durch / Darinn erleern wyr vnnser einige hoffnung / glauben vnd vertrawen in Chrysto zu setzen / welchs dann ist das recht götlich werck zu der seligkeit wie Christus spricht Johannis am sechsten.

Korherr. darff man kains wercks dartzü / Sprichtt doch cristus Mathei v Last ewer liecht leuchten vor dem menschen / das sy eur gute werck sehen / vnd ewern vatter im himmel preyßenn

schüster. Paulus spricht Romanorum .v. Wir halttens das der mennsch gerechtuertigt werd allain durch den glauben / on züthüng der werck des gesetz / Vnd zu Römern am erstenn / Der gerecht wirt seines gelauwben lebenn.

Korherr. Spricht

Cobbler: He has brought to light your human commandments, doctrines, inventions, and doctrines, and warned us against them. Secondly, he has pointed us to Holy Scripture, in which we recognise that we are all locked into sin and are sinners, Romans 5;²¹⁰ and further, that Christ is our only salvation, as in Corinthians 1.²¹¹ And these two topics are treated in Scripture over and over again. In them we learn to put our hope, faith and trust in Christ, which is then the right divine work for salvation, as Christ says in John 6.²¹²

Canon: Is there no work demanded to make it valid? For Christ says in Matthew 5: Let your light shine before the people, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father in heaven.²¹³

Cobbler: Paul says in Romans 5: We hold that a person is justified by faith alone without the works of the law,²¹⁴ and to in Romans 1: A just person shall live by their faith.²¹⁵

Canon: But James says

²¹⁰ The chapter is a key text for Protestant doctrine, explaining the justification by faith alone (see further down the quotation from Rom 5.1), despite all people being sinners, Rom 5.12 *Derhalben / wie durch einen menschen die Sünde ist kommen in die Welt / vnd der Tod durch die sünde / vnd ist also der Tod zu allen Menschen durch gedrungen / die weil sie alle gesündiget haben.* (L45).

²¹¹ The opening chapter speaks about Christ being made our salvation, see 1 Cor 1.30 *Von welchem auch jr her kommt in Christo Jhesu / Welcher vns gemacht ist von Gott zur Weisheit / vnd zur Gerechtigkeit / vnd zur Heiligung / vnd zur Erlösung.* (L45).

²¹² The chapter speaks of Christ as bread of life, see Jo 6.47 *Warlich / warlich / Ich sage euch / Wer an Mich gleubet / der hat das ewige Leben.* (L45).

²¹³ Mt 5.16 *Also lasst ewer Liecht leuchten fur den Leuten / Das sie eure gute Werck sehen / vnd ewren Vater im Himmel preisen.* (L45)

²¹⁴ Wrong chapter number: Rom 3(!).28 *So halten wir es nu / Das der Mensch gerecht werde / on des Gesetzes werck / alleine durch den Glauben.* (L45). Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law. (KJV).

²¹⁵ Rom 1.17 *Sintemal darinnen offenbaret wird die Gerechtigkeit / die fur Gott gilt / welche kommt aus glauben / Wie denn geschrieben stehet / Der Gerechte wird seines Glaubens leben.* (L45). *For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The just shall live by faith.* (KJV).

(b4v) doch Jacobus .ij. Der glaub on die werck ist todt
 Schüster. Ein rechter götlicher glaub der feyret nit / Sonnder bryngt
 steets gütte frucht / dann Christus spricht Matthey am .vij. Ein
 güetter boum kan kain böß frucht bringen / Aber solliche gütte
 werck geschehen nicht den hymel zü verdien / welchen vns
 Christus verdiendt hat / Auch nitt auß forchtt der helle zü
 entpflyehen / vonn der vnns Christus erlößt hat / auch nit vmb
 eer / wann alle eer soll man got geben. Mathey an dem vierdten.
 Sonder auß götlicher lieb / got zü eyner danncksagung / vnd dem
 nechsten zü nutz / Wolan herr wie gefelt euch nun des Luthers
 frucht.

Chorherr. Ist er dann so gerecht Wye das im dann so wenyg
 geleertter / vnnd mechtiger herren annhangen? Allayn der grob
 vnuerstānndyg hauff.

Schüster. Christo hyeng weder Pilatus / Herodes / Cayphas noch
 Annas ann / auch nitt die Phariseyer / Sonnder widerstünden im /
 allain das gemein volck hieng im an / Darumb erfrewet sich Jesus
 im gayst / Luce am zehenden / vnnd sprach / Vatter ich sag dir
 dannck / das du dise ding hast verborgen vor den weysen diser
 welt / vnd hast sy geöffnbart den klainen.

(b4v) chapter 2: Faith without works is dead.²¹⁶

Cobbler: A true divine faith does not rest, but always bears good fruit; for Christ says in Matthew 7: A good tree cannot bear evil fruit.²¹⁷ But such good works do not occur in order to earn heaven, which Christ has earned for us, nor for fear of escaping the hell from which Christ has redeemed us, nor for honour, since all honour should be given to God, Matthew 4,²¹⁸ but out of divine love, to give thanks to God and for the good of our neighbour. Well then, Sir, how do you like Luther's fruit?

Canon: If he is so just why then do so few learned and mighty gentlemen follow him? Only the rough, unintelligent rabble?

Cobbler: Neither Pilate, nor Herod, nor Caiphas, nor Annas, nor the Pharisees followed Christ, only the common people followed him. Therefore, Jesus rejoiced in the Spirit, Luke 10, and said, 'Father, I thank you that you have hidden these things from the wise people of this world, and have revealed them unto the little ones.²¹⁹

²¹⁶ Luther banished the letter of James to the end of the New Testament in his translation and called it a 'straw epistle' since he regarded precisely the passage which the canon is quoting as dangerous as it deflects from the justification by faith alone. Iac 2.18 *Aber es möchte jemand sagen / Du hast den glauben / vnd ich habe die werck / Zeige mir deinen glauben mit deinen wercken / So wil ich auch meinen glauben dir zeigen mit meinen wercken.* (L45). Yea, a man may say, Thou hast faith, and I have works: shew me thy faith without thy works, and I will shew thee my faith by my works. (KJV).

²¹⁷ The cobbler counters with a different understanding of works: not as gaining salvation but as growing out of it. Mt 7.18 *Ein guter Bawm kan nicht arge Früchte bringen / Vnd ein fauler Bawm / kan nicht gute Früchte bringen.* (L45).

²¹⁸ Referring to the temptation by the devil to worship him, Mt 4.10.

²¹⁹ Lc 10.21 *ZV der stund frewet sich Jhesus im geist / vnd sprach / Jch preise dich Vater vnd HERR Himels vnd der Erden / Das du solchs verborgen hast den Weisen vnd Klugen / Vnd hast es offenbart den Vnmündigen. Ja Vater / also war es wolgefellig fur dir.* (L45). In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes: even so, Father; for so it seemed good in thy sight. (KJV).

Chorherr. Ey lieber / der gemaynn hauff gybtt auch des weniger tayl
dem Luther recht.

Schüster Das machen euer lumppen prediger / die schreyen es sey
ketzerey vnd das on all geschrifft. Christus hat aber den klainen
hauffen verkündt Mathei .v.²²⁰ Get ein durch die engpfort / wann
die pfort ist weyt / vnd der weg breyt der zü der verdammnus
furet / vnd jr sünd vil die darauff wandeln / vnd Mathei xxij. Vil
seyndt berüfft / aber wenig seind außerwelt.

Chorherr. Solylch wort treiben *ir*²²¹ im wirtzhauß am markt vnd
überall / wie die narren / vnnd gehört nit ann solliche ort.

Schüster. Christus sprach Mathei x. Was ich euch ins or sag / das
predigt auff den dechern.

Chorherr. Wann ich die warheit soll sagen / so haldt ich den Luther
für den grōsten ketzer / der syder Arrius zeyten ist gweßt / vnd jr
seyt sein nachfolger / an haut vnd har²²² entweicht²²³

Canon: Well, dear man, but also of the common people only a
minority agrees with Luther.

Cobbler: That is because of your rag-tag preachers, who cry out that
it is heresy, and do so that without any scripture. But Christ
proclaimed about the little crowd, Matthew 5: Enter through the
narrow gate, since the gate is wide and the way broad that leads
to perdition, and there are many who walk on it!²²⁴ And Matthew
22: Many are called, but few are chosen!²²⁵

Canon: You discuss these beliefs like fools in the inn, at the market
and everywhere, but they don't belong in such a place.

Cobbler: Christ said in Matthew 10: What I say in your ear, preach
on the housetops.²²⁶

Canon: If I am to tell the truth, I consider Luther to be the greatest
heretic, who has ever been since the time of Arius, and you are
his successors, rotten from head to toe,

²²⁰ 'v' is a mistake for 'vij' either by Sachs or the typesetter of the first edition.

²²¹ Missed out word, put in from the first edition.

²²² 'Haar' (hair, fur) in the legal formula together with 'Haut' to denote the full
person, analogue to 'Leib und Leben'.

²²³ ENHG 'entwicht' from the MHG 'enwicht, niwiht' = 'rotten, useless', first about
meat and food, then used more generally.

²²⁴ Mt 7[!].13 GEhet ein durch die enge Pforten / Denn die Pforte ist weit / vnd der weg
ist breit / der zur Verdammis abfüret / Vnd jr sind viel / die drauff wandeln. (L45). Enter
ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction,
and many there be which go in thereat:. (KJV).

²²⁵ Mt 22.14 Denn viel sind berussen / Aber wenig sind aus erwelet. (L45). For many are
called, but few are chosen. (KJV).

²²⁶ Mt 10.27 Was ich euch sage im finsternis / das redet im leicht / Vnd was jr höret in das
ohre / Das predigt auff den Dechern. (L45). What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in
light: and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the housetops. (KJV).

(c1r) als vil eur ist / vnd nichts gütts ist in euch / nichts gütts kumppt von euch / wißt jr nun? den tittel gib ich dem Luther vnd euch zusammen.

Schüster. Da habt jr ein mal eins erradtten / wann niemandt ist güt dann got / Mathei .xix. Wann vnser nattur ist gar in vnns verboßt / wie Genesis .vij. Des menschen hertz ist zù boßhait genaiget von jugent auff / welche man müß tägliche mit dem kreutz Dempfen / das sy den gaist nit fel / wann sy ladt jr dück nit²²⁷ / ob schon der gaist durch den glauben gerechtfertiget ist / wann es steet Proverbiorum .xxiiij. Der gerechtt feldt²²⁸ im tag syben mal / Deßhalb bitt wir alltag / vergyb vnns vnser schuld. Mathei .vj. Vnd Paulus zün Römern am vij. daz güt das ich wil / thü ich nicht / sonder das bōß / das ich nit wil / das thü ich / vnd schreyt darnach. O ich ellender mensch / wer wirt mich erlösen von dem leyb des todts? Zaygt damit ann / das wir sündler sein biß in todt / Seyt jr aber on sünd²²⁹? So werfft den ersten stain auf vns / Joanni .vij.

Chorherr. Ir seyt halt vnnutz leüt / kündt vil gespayß²³⁰ / ich hoff aber man soll euch bald den laymen klopffen²³¹ / es hilfft doch sunst nichts.

²²⁷ = NHG 'lässt ihre Tücke nicht'.

²²⁸ = NHG 'fällt'.

²²⁹ Typo in the original edition: 'süud'.

²³⁰ ENHG 'gespei' = 'vomit, useless talk'.

²³¹ = NHG 'jmdn. den Lehm klopfen, auf den Putz hauen', working the clay used for building projects to make it pliant, idiomatic expression for 'to knock somebody about'.

(c1r) the lot of you, and there is nothing good in you, nothing good comes from you. Do you know what? I give the title to you and Luther jointly.

Cobbler: You have figured out one thing correctly, for no one is good except God, Matthew 19.²³² Since our nature is completely turned bad in us, as in Genesis 8: The human heart is inclined to wickedness from youth on,²³³ which must be daily subdued through the cross, so that nature does not fell the spirit, since it does not let go of its malice, even though the spirit is justified by faith, when it says Proverbs 24: The righteous falls seven times a day.²³⁴ Therefore, we ask every day: Forgive us our debts, Matthew 6.²³⁵ And Paul to the Romans, chapter 7: The good that I want I do not do, but the evil that I do not want I do. And then cries out: O I wretched person, who will deliver me from the body of death?²³⁶ He shows by this that we are sinners unto death. But are you without sin? Then throw the first stone at us, John 8.²³⁷

Canon: You're just useless people, you know a lot of idle talk but I hope they'll knock you back into shape; there's nothing else for it.

²³² Mt 19.17. Part of Jesus' answer to the rich young man about what it means to be good: *Er aber sprach zu jm / Was heisestu mich gut? Niemand ist gut / denn der einzige Gott. Wiltu aber zum Leben eingehen / so halt die Gebot.* (L45).

²³³ God's reflection after the flood: Gn 8.21 *das tichten des menschlichen Hertzen ist böse von Jugend auff.* (L45). Sachs use of 'bosheit', not 'böse' is closer to the Latin phrasing: *cogitatio humani cordis in malum prona sunt ab adolescentia sua:* (VLC).

²³⁴ Prv 24.16 *Denn ein Gerechter felt sieben mal vnd stehet wider auff* (L45). *Septies enim cadet justus, et resurget.* (VLC).

²³⁵ Part of the Lord's Prayer, Mt 6.12; Luther's translation which Sachs quotes is closer to 'debt' than to 'sin' or 'trespass': *Vnd vergib vns vnserne Schulde / wie wir vnsern Schuldigern vergeben.* (L45).

²³⁶ Rom 7.19 *Denn das Gute das ich wil / das thu ich nicht / Sondern das Böse / das ich nicht wil / das thu ich.* (L45).

²³⁷ Jesus' encounter with the woman caught in adultery, Jo 8.7 *Als sie nu anhielten jn zu fragen / richtet er sich auff / vnd sprach zu jnen / Wer vnter euch on sunde ist / der werffe den ersten stein auff sie.* (L45).

Schüster. Wie wolt jr mit dem schwert daran? es stett euch gaistlichen nit zü.

Chorherr. Warumb nit? Hat doch Cristus Luce .xxij. zway schwert eyngesetzt / das gaistlich vnd das weltlich.

Schüster. Verbot doch christus Petro Mathei .xxvj.²³⁸ vnnd sprach / Wer mit dem schwert fycht / wirt am schwert verderben.

Chor Hilfft syeß²³⁹ nit / so müß aber sawr helffen / wann dye ketzerey hat groß vberhand genommen / vnd ist hochezeyt dareyn zü schlagen.

Schüster. O nein / sonder volgt dem radt Gamallicus. Actuum .v. Ist die leer auß den menschen würt sy on alle schwert schleg fallen / ist sy aber von got so kündt irs nit dempffen / auff das ir nit sehen werdt / als die wider gott streytten wöllen.

Chorherr. Es wirt nit anders darauß.

Schüster. Wolan herr dein wil gescheh Mathey an dem.vj. Der junger ist nit vber den mayster. Johanni .xv. Haben sy mich veruolgt sy weren euch auch veruolgen / vnd Luce .vj. Selig seytt jr wann

Cobbler: What, do you want to take a sword to it? That's not for you clergymen.

Canon: Why not? According to Luke 22,²⁴⁰ Christ instituted two swords, the spiritual and the secular.

Cobbler: But Christ forbade Peter, Matthew 26, saying: Who fights with the sword shall perish by the sword.²⁴¹

Canon: If sweetness does not help, then sourness must do the trick, for heresy has got out of hand and it is high time to strike.

Cobbler: Oh no, but follow the advice of Gamaliel, Acts 5:²⁴² If it is human doctrine, it will fall without any blows of the sword, but if it is of God, you will not be able to restrain it. Lest you be seen as those who would contend against God.

Canon: There is no other way out.

Cobbler: So be it, Lord, your will be done, Matthew 6.²⁴³ The disciple is not above the master, John 15.²⁴⁴ If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you, and Luke 6: Blessed are you when

²⁴⁰ Jesus' answer to the disciples offering to defend him before he went to the garden Gethsemani and was arrested, Lc 22.38 *Sie sprachen aber / HErr / Sihe / hie sind zwey Schwert. Er aber sprach zu jnen / Es ist gnug* (L45). Understood by medieval doctrine to signify the two powers of ecclesiastical and secular authority.

²⁴¹ Jesus' instructs Peter to put the sword away after he hit the servant of the high priest, Mt 26.52 *Denn wer das Schwert nimpt/ Der sol durchs Schwert vmbkommen.* (L45).

²⁴² Act 5.34 *DA stund aber auff im Rat ein Phariseer mit namen Gamaliel / ein Schriftgelerter / wol gehalten fur allem Volck / vnd hies die Apostel ein wenig hin aus thun / 35 vnd sprach zu jnen / Jr Menner von Israel / nemet ewer selbs war an diesen Menschen / was jr thun sollet.* (L45). Then stood there up one in the council, a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, had in reputation among all the people, and commanded to put the apostles forth a little space; 35 And said unto them, Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves what ye intend to do as touching these men. (KJV).

²⁴³ The opening of the Lord's Prayer, Mt 6.10.

²⁴⁴ From the farewell discourses of Jesus to his disciples, Jo 15.20 *Gedencket an mein wort / das ich euch gesagt habe / Der Knecht ist nicht grösser denn sein Herr. Haben sie mich verfolget / Sie werden euch auch verfolgen. Haben sie mein wort gehalten / So werden sie ewers auch halten.* (L45).

²³⁸ The edition has 'xvj' which is a typographical error; correct in the first edition.

²³⁹ = NHG 'süß'. Idiomatic contrast of sweet and sour.

(c1v) euch die menschen hassen / verwerffen vnd schelten von mey-
nes namen wegen.

Chorherr. Es wirt maniger schweigen der yetzund schreyt.

Schüster. Cristus Mathei .x. Wer mich bekenmet vor den menschen /
den will ich bekennen vor meinem hymelischen vater.

Chorherr. Es wirt schweigens gelten²⁴⁵ oder hynder dem kopff
hyngeen.²⁴⁶

Schüster. Cristus Mathei .x. Fürcht die nicht / die euch den leyb
tödtenn / der seele kunnen sy nicht thon / O herrgott / hye wer
güt sterben von deynes namens wegen.

Chorherr. Es wer verdienter lon. Einen ketzer mag man nach dreyen
warnungen hynrichten.

Schüster. Ir müst vns vor zü ketzer machen / vnd beweysen auß der
haylichen schrifft

Chorherr. Das mügen wir gar leychtiklich thon.

Schüster. Ey so wirt got vnser plüt von eurn henden den²⁴⁷ erfordern /
das ir vns (die armen scheflein christi) so lanng handt verfüren
lassen vnd habt so uil prediger diser leer / also lang mit
disputierenn vnangefochten gelassen.

(c1v) the people hate, reject, and reproach you because of my
name.²⁴⁸

Canon: There will be many who fall silent who shout now.

Cobbler: Christ, Matthew 10: Those who shall confess me before the
people, those I will confess before my heavenly Father.²⁴⁹

Canon: This will mean keeping silent or walk away headless.

Cobbler: Christ, Matthew 10: Fear not those who kill your body;
they shall not hurt your soul.²⁵⁰ O Lord God, it would be good to
die here for your name's sake.

Canon: It would be a deserved reward. A heretic may be executed
after three warnings.

Cobbler: You must turn us into heretics first and prove it from Holy
Scripture.

Canon: We can do that easily.

Cobbler: Well then, God will then demand our blood from your
hands for having let us, the poor lambs of Christ, be deceived for
so long, and for having left so many preachers of this doctrine
unchallenged in disputations for so long.

²⁴⁵ ENHG 'hinter dem Kopf hergehen' ('walk behind one's head') metaphorical for
beheading; refers perhaps to the belief that after a beheading the corpse is still able
to walk.

²⁴⁶ ENHG 'gelten' with genitiv.

²⁴⁷ 'den' not in the first edition, probably an accidental repetition of the preceding
syllable.

²⁴⁸ The end of the Beatitudes, Lc 6.22 *Selig seid jr / so euch die Menschen hassen / vnd
euch absondern / vnd schelten euch / vnd verwerffen ewern namen / als einen boshafftigen /
vmb des menschen Sons willen.* (L25).

²⁴⁹ Jesus' promise to his disciples, Mt 10.32 *DArumb / Wer mich bekennet fur den
Menschen / Den wil ich bekennen fur meinem himlischen Vater.* (L45)

²⁵⁰ Directly preceding this, Mt 10.28 *VND fürchtet euch nicht fur denen / die den Leib
tödteten / vnd die Seele nicht mögen tödten. Fürchtet euch aber viel mehr fur dem / der Leib
vnd Seele verderben mag / in die Helle* (L45) *And fear not them which kill the body, but
are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body
in hell.* (KJV).

Chorherr. Es wirt bald / wir habenn vnser spech²⁵¹ (alle predig²⁵²) güt auf sy.

Schüster. Ja ist das war Ir erfült den spruch Mathei .xxij. Vnd die phariseyer giengen hyn vnd hyeltten radt / wie sy in verstrickten in seinen worten vnnd sandten zù im ir dyener mitsampt des Herodes diener

Chorherr. Warumb nit? man müß die ketzer also erschleychen wann sy seynd lüstig / das man sy darnach kolb.

Schüster O gott dise prediger wolten vns all gern zù Cristo füren nyemand außgenommen. So wolt ir sy / mitsampt vns / gern zum hencker füren / Ir wolt geren das fewr von himel auff vnns fellen. Luce .ix. Hört cristum der spricht. Wißt ir nit wölliches gaistes kinder ir seynd? Des menschenn sun ist nicht kommen der menschen seelen zù uerderben / sonder zù erhalten .ij. Corinthios .xij. Mir hat der herr gewalt geben nitt zù uerderben sunder zù besserung.

Chorherr. Ey wir wollenn auch also.

Schüster. Ey feür vnd schwert reympt²⁵³ sych²⁵⁴ aber nit dartzù sonder das wort gotes zù Hebreeeren .iiij. Wölches durchdringender ist dann ein zwyschneydent schwert Derhalb seyt ir auß gott / so verfechten

²⁵¹ ENHG 'spech' = NHG 'spähen, achtgeben'.

²⁵² ENHG 'predig(t)' from Latin 'praedicare', the end-t being added under the influence of the noun 'praedicatio'. The phrase here probably means that the preachers from the elevated point of the pulpit keep an eye out for any disturbance to the service which happened frequently in these early Reformation years.

²⁵³ ENHG 'reimen' = 'to rhyme, to complement, be in harmony with each other'.

²⁵⁴ The Augsburg edition is missing the ending; supplied from the first edition (Bamberg 1524).

Canon: It will be soon; we keep a keen eye on them (at every sermon).

Cobbler: Yes, is that true? You fulfil the verse in Matthew 22: And the Pharisees went and took counsel how they might entangle him in his words, and sent to him their servants along with Herod's servants.²⁵⁵

Canon: Why not? One needs to creep up on the heretics, since they are cunning, in order to club them afterwards.

Cobbler: O God, these preachers would like to lead us all to Christ, with no exception, while you would gladly lead them and us to the executioner. You would gladly bring down the fire from the sky upon us, Luke 9. Listen to Christ, who says: Do you not know of which spirit you are the children? The Son of Man has not come to destroy people's souls, but to preserve them.²⁵⁶ 2 Corinthians 13: The Lord has given me power not to destroy but to correct.²⁵⁷

Canon: Well then, we want to do this, too.

Cobbler: Well then, fire and sword do not chime with this, but the word of God does, Hebrews 4, which is more penetrating than a double-edged sword.²⁵⁸ Therefore, if you are from God, defend

²⁵⁵ Mt 22.15–16, the start of the Passion narrative.

²⁵⁶ Jesus orders the disciples who want to punish those who have not given shelter to them, not to invoke heavenly punishment, Lc 9.54–56 *Da aber das seine Jünger / Jacobus vnd Johannes sahen / sprachen sie / HErr wiltu / So wollen wir sagen / das fewer vom Himmel falle / vnd verzere sie / wie Elias thet? Jhesus aber wandte sich / vnd bedrawet sie / vnd sprach / Wisset jr nicht / welches Geistes kinder jr seid? Des menschen Son ist nicht kommen / der menschen Seelen zuuerderben / sondern zu erhalten.* (L45).

²⁵⁷ Free rendering of Cor 13.10: *Derhalben ich auch solchs abwesend schreibe / Auff das ich nicht / wenn ich gegenwärtig bin / scherffe brauchen müsse / Nach der macht / welche mir der HErr zu bessern / vnd nicht zu verderben / gegeben hat.* (L45)

²⁵⁸ Heb 4.12 *Denn das wort Gottes ist lebendig vnd kreffig / vnd scherffer / denn kein zweischneidig Schwert / Vnd durch dringet / bis das scheidet seele vnd geist / auch marck vnd bein / vnd ist ein Richter der gedancken und sinnen des hertzen /* (L45). *For the word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any twoedged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.* (KJV).

(c2r) ewre leer vnd wesen / mit dem wort gotes / wölches ist die kraft
gottes j. Corinthios j.

Chorherr. Ya es hilft aber nichts.

Schüster. Ya ir braucht sein nit / wann gottes eere sücht yr nit zu
schützen Sunder ewern gewalt / eere / vnd reychtumb / darwider
ist dz wort gottes darumb veruolgt jrs / da leytz²⁵⁹ als mit eynander
Chorherr. Ya ir kündt nichtz dann die leutt außrychtnen²⁶⁰ / wenns
hertz vol ist so geet der mund vber Luce .vj

Schüster. Euch ist wie cristus sagt / Luce vij. vergleicht²⁶¹ den kynnder / dye am marckt sitzen / rüffen / wir handt euch pfyffen / vnd
ir hand nit tantzt / wir hand euch klagt vnd yr hand nit gewaynt /
Also auch jr / sagt man euch das wortt gottes tröstlich. so verspot
yrs / sagt man euchs ernstlich so zürnt yr.

Chorherr. Wenn yr sungt als eyn zeyßlin so macht ir mich nit
annders.

(c2r) your doctrine and your nature with the word of God, which is
the power of God, 1 Corinthians 1.²⁶²

Canon: Yes, but it doesn't help.

Cobbler: Yes, you don't need it, since you don't seek to protect God's
honour, but your own power, honour, and wealth. The word of
God is against this, therefore you persecute it, and everything
suffers jointly.

Canon: Yes, you can do nothing but mock the people. When the
heart is full, the mouth overflows, Luke 6.²⁶³

Cobbler: You behave, as Christ says, Luke 7, like the children sitting
at the marketplace, calling: We have played the pipes for you, and
you have not danced; we have lamented for you, and you have
not wept.²⁶⁴ You are the same: when the word of God is spoken
to you comfortingly, you mock it; when it is spoken to you
earnestly, you are angry.

Canon: Even if you sang like a goldfinch, you won't change me.

²⁵⁹ = NHG 'leidet es'.

²⁶⁰ ENHG 'ausrichten' = 'verbally attack, mock, confront, reprimand' (Fnhd. Wb.
s.v. 5).

²⁶¹ ENHG 'vergleicht' = NHG 'gleich'.

²⁶² 1 Cor 1.24–25 speaks about Christ as God's word being stronger than secular
wisdom for those who are called: *Denen aber die beruffen sind / beide Jüden vnd
Griechen / predigen wir Christum / göttliche Krafft vnd göttliche Weisheit. Denn die
göttliche Torheit ist weiser denn die Menschen sind / vnd die göttliche Schwäche ist stercker
denn die Menschen sind.* (L45).

²⁶³ Here the canon quotes Luther (probably not meant as a statement, just because
Sachs had the Luther translation at hand). The phrase 'wes das Herz voll ist, geht der
Mund über' is given by Luther in his 'Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen' (1530) as an
example of idiomatic German translation, instead of the Latin phrase 'ex abundantia
cordis os loquitur' (literally: Out of the abundance of heart the mouth speaks), see
the discussion in Jones 2022. Also used in the Dialogue on Greed, c1v.

²⁶⁴ Lc 7.32 *Sie sind gleich den Kindern / die auff dem Marckte sitzen / vnd ruffen gegen
ander / vnd sprechen / Wir haben euch gepfiffen / vnd jr habt nicht getantzet. Wir haben
euch geklaget / vnd jr habt nicht geweinet.* (L45).

Schüster. Euer hertz ist verhert wie dem künig Pharaoni. Exodi. vom vij. biß inß xv. capittel. Der weder wunnder noch plag annnam / vnd maynet ye die kinder von Ysrael solten zyegel prennen das er mit seynem volck feyren²⁶⁵ möcht / Also auch yr halt vns weyl yr vns halten mügt.

Chorherr. Wett frytz²⁶⁶ / Es ist eins erradten.

Schüster. Ya / Es dunckt mich wol / euch sey wie dem falschen amptman Luce .xvj. Sprechent / was soll ich thon / meyn herrnymmpt das ampt von mir / Ich mag nit graben / vnnd schem mich zü beetlen / Eben das selbig fürcht yr gäystlichen auch / darumm hilfft weder straffen noch ermanen ann euch.

Chorherr. Ey wißt ir nicht Cristus spricht. Johannes vj. Nyemant kumpt zü mir / der vatter zyech in dann / zeyt bringt rosen wer wayßt welcher den andern bekert.

Schüster. O herr die wort hör ich gern / es steet Johan .xv. On mich kündt yr nichts thon / vnd weytter / ir hand mich nit erwöllet / ich han euch erwöllet / darumb ligt an vns nicht got müß vns bekeren das wünsch ich euch allen von grund meines hertzen.

Chorherr. Man leütet in Khor / Kechin lang den Korrock²⁶⁷ her / wol an lieber mayster zyecht hin im frid es wirt leicht noch als güt /

Schüster. Ob gott will / wol an alde²⁶⁸ / der fryd sey mit euch lie-

Cobbler: Your heart is hardened like that of King Pharaoh, Exodus chapters 7 to 15,²⁶⁹ who accepted neither miracles nor plagues, and kept thinking that the children of Israel should bake bricks so that he could rest with his people. So you, too, keep us for as long as you can keep us.

Canon: Good grief, you guessed it.

Cobbler: Yes, it does seem to me that you are like the dishonest steward, Luke 16, saying: What shall I do? My master is taking my office from me; I do not like to dig and am ashamed to beg.²⁷⁰ You clergymen fear exactly the same thing, so neither punishment nor admonition will help you.

Canon: Well, don't you know, Christ says, John 6: Nobody comes unto me if the Father does not draw them.²⁷¹ Time brings roses; who knows who will convert the other?

Cobbler: Dear sir, I love to hear these words. It says in John 15: Without me you can do nothing;²⁷² and again: You have not chosen me, I have chosen you.²⁷³ Therefore it is not up to us, God must convert us. I wish this for you all from the bottom of my heart.

Canon: The choir bell is ringing. Cook, pass me the cope! Well then, dear master, go in peace! It might still turn out well.

Cobbler: God willing! Well adieu, peace be with you,

²⁶⁵ ENHG 'feiern' = 'to take a break, not work'.

²⁶⁶ 'Wett Fritz', an ENHG interjection; 'wett' (of unclear etymology) as expression of astonishment (mostly referencing the devil) in combination with the short form of the name 'Friedrich', which is used, like the short forms 'Hinz' ('Heinrich') or 'Kunz' ('Konrad') as a generic male name, DWB s.v. 'wett'.

²⁶⁷ 'Chorrock' = large liturgical garment worn over the cassock during service in the 'Chor' (choir).

²⁶⁸ ENHG alternative form to 'ade' for French 'adieu', 'farewell'.

²⁶⁹ The report of the exodus from Egypt talks repeated about the 'hardening' of Pharaoh's heart, e.g. Ex 7.3 *Aber ich wil Pharao hertz verherten / das ich meiner Zeichen vnd Wunder viel thu in Egyptenland.* (L45) *Sed ego indurabo cor ejus, et multiplicabo signa et ostenta mea in terra Ægypti* (VLC).

²⁷⁰ Lc 16.3 *Der Haushalter sprach bey sich selbs / Was sol ich thun? mein Herr nimpt das Amt von mir / Graben mag ich nicht / So scheme ich mich zu betteln.* (L45).

²⁷¹ Jo 6.44 *Es kan niemand zu mir kommen / es sey denn / das jn ziehe der Vater / der mich gesandt hat / vnd ich werde jn auferwecken am Jüngstentage.* (L45)

²⁷² Jo 15.5 *JCh bin der Weinstock / Jr seid die Reben / Wer in mir bleibet / vnd ich in jm / der bringet viel frucht / Denn on mich künd jr nichts thun.* (L45)

²⁷³ Jo 15.16 *JR habt mich nicht erwelet / Sondern ich habe euch erwelet / vnd gesetzt / Das jr hin gehet vnd Frucht bringet / vnd ewre Frucht bleibe / Auff das / so jr den Vater bittet in meinem Namen / das ers euch gebe.* (L45)

(c2v)ber herr hand mir nichts verübel / vnd verzeycht mir.

Chorherr. Verzeych vns gott vnser sünd.

Schüster. Amen.

Chorherr. Secht nur an liebe köchin / wie reden die layen so gar freflich gegen vns geweychtt / Ich mayn der teuffel sey in dem schüster verneet²⁷⁴ / er hat mich inn harnasch gejagt²⁷⁵ / Vnd wer ich nit so wol geleert / er het mich auff den esel²⁷⁶ gesetzt / darumb wil ich im nicht mer zu arbayten geben / sonder dem hans Zobel / der ist eyn gütz einfeltig mendlin²⁷⁷ / macht nit vil wort mit der hailigen gschrifft / vnd Lutherischen ketzerey / wie dann den layen nit zymlich ist / noch gepürt mit jren seelsorgern zu dispu tiern / wann es sagt Salomon / Wölcher eyn eynfeltig wandel fürt / der wandelt wol / Ey disen spruch solt ich dem dollen schüster fürgeworffen han / so wer er vleicht darob erstumbt.

Köchin. O herr / ich hett ymmer sorg nach dem yr in mit der schrifft nit vberwinden kündt / jr wird in mitt den panttoffel schlähnen.

Chorherr. Ich hab nur vonn der gemayn eyn auffruwr besorgt / sunst wolt ich im die panttoffel in sein antlitz geschmeist²⁷⁸ haben / im het Cristus oder Paulus in dreyen tagen nit abgewischt / wiewol er all sein vertrauwen auff sy setzt.

(c2v) dear sir, do not count it against me and forgive me.

Canon: May God forgive us our sin.

Cobbler: Amen.

Canon: Look here, dear cook, how the lay-people speak so impudently against us who are ordained! I think the devil is sewn up inside the cobbler; he had me up in arms, and if I had not been so well taught, he would have put me on the donkey. Therefore, I will not give him any more work, but rather Hans Zobel²⁷⁹, who is a good simple-minded man, does not say much about Holy Scripture and Lutheran heresy, which is just not right for the laity, nor is it proper to argue with their spiritual leaders, since Solomon says: Those who lead a simple life, live well.²⁸⁰ Well, if I had thrown this verse at the mad cobbler, he might have been struck dumb by it.

Cook: Oh, Sir, I was worried the whole time that, since you could not overcome him with scripture, you would beat him with your slippers.

Canon: I was only worried about a riot from the congregation, as otherwise I would have thrown the slippers in his face, Christ or Paul would not have wiped it off him in three days, even though he puts all his trust in them.

²⁷⁴ = NHG 'eingenäht': to hide by sewing into a cover, in this case to sew the devil into the skin of the cobbler.

²⁷⁵ ENHG 'harnasch, -nisch, -nesch' = 'armour'. Phrase 'in den Harnisch jagen' = to make somebody angry, literally to send somebody into their armour.

²⁷⁶ The 'esel' in this case is a donkey-shaped wooden construction on which offenders have to sit as form of punishment and humiliation, Fnhd. Wb. s.v. 4.

²⁷⁷ = NHG 'Männlein', diminutive form for 'man'.

²⁷⁸ ENHG 'schmeißen' has strong and weak forms; NHG only 'geschmissen'.

²⁷⁹ Possibly a dig at a local competitor of Hans Sachs, but the name is not attested in Nuremberg records, so more likely to be a made-up name, possibly playing with the literal meaning of the name as a small animal ('zobel' = sable).

²⁸⁰ Possibly Prv 16.19 *Es ist besser midriges gemüts sein mit den Elenden / Denn Raub austeilien mit den Hoffertigen.* (L45). *Better it is to be of an humble spirit with the lowly, than to divide the spoil with the proud.* (KJV). *Melius est humiliari cum mitibus quam dividere spolia cum superbis.* (VLC). It might be part of Sachs's strategy to show up the canon in that he is using a vague proverb, attributing it to Solomon as author of the Book of Proverbs, rather than quoting properly, including giving a precise chapter number, as the cobbler does for his Biblical references.

Köchin. Mich nimpt groß wunder / wie die layen so geschickt werden.

Chorherr. Wilt wissen was macht? Man gybt vmb die gaistlikait nichts mer / vorzeitten het der haylig vatter der Bapst / vnnd die Bischoff (solchen als Luther vnnd ander mer / die auff sein geygen predigen) das predig amptt auffgehebt nach laut des gaistlichen rechten / Vnd zu wyder rüffen benöttiget / wie mit dem Johannes huß zu Costentz geschehen ist / Wenn man nur die Euangelischen prediger kund schweygen machen / so wurts alles gütts / Aber wenn man sy haist schweigen / so kommen sy vnd wöllen mit dem bapst vnd bischoffen disputiern / wellichs vnerhårt²⁸¹ bey der welt / das eyner mit dem allerhayligisten will disputiern / der nitt genügsam vnd wirdig ist mit seiner hailigkait zu reden/ Aber es wyl besser werden / wenn die prediger nit wellen / so müssen sy schwei

Cook: I am greatly astonished by how the laypeople are becoming so skilful.

Canon: Do you want to know what is causing this? Nobody cares any longer for the clergy. In the past, the Holy Father, the pope and the bishops would, for Luther and those others who preach to the tune of his fiddle, have revoked the preaching office according to ecclesiastical law and would have been required to revoke it, as happened with Jan Hus in Constance.²⁸² If only the Protestant preachers could be silenced, all would be well. But when they are told to be silent, they come and want to argue with the pope and bishops, which is unheard of anywhere in the world, that someone wants to argue with the Holy of Holies, who is not sufficient or worthy to speak with His Holiness. But it will get better. If the preachers do not behave, they must remain silent, even though they are

²⁸¹ = NHG 'unerhört'

²⁸² The reformer Jan Hus was burned as a heretic at the Council of Constance in 1415. Martin Luther referenced him frequently and wrote prefaces to his works. He even claimed that Hus had predicted his teaching, writing in 1531: 'Sanct Johannes Hus hat von mir geweissagt, da er aus dem gefegnis jnn Behemerland schreib, Sie werden jtzt eine gans braten (denn Hus heisst eine gans), Aber über hundert jaren werden sie einen schwanen singen hören, Den sollen sie leiden. Da sols auch bey bleiben, ob Gott will.' (WA 31, 387). St John Hus prophesized of me when he wrote from imprisonment in Bohemia: They will now fry a goose (for 'Hus' means goose in Czech), but in hundred years they will hear a swan sing and will have to endure it. Thus it shall come to pass, God willing.' (my translation), leading to the frequent iconography of Luther with a swan.

(c3r)gen wie wol sy sant Paulus schrift fürzyechen / Vnd wenn sy sein schwert dartzü hetten / so müsten sy darynder ligen / wenms der hailig vater der Bapst thon will / dann so müsten dye layen auch schweigen / vnnd wir wurden zü vnsern werden widerumb kommen.

Kechin. Es wer für war herr güt / wann yederman veracht euch / wie dann yetzund auch der Schüster thon hat.

Chorherr. Vorzeytten het wir ein sollichen inn Bann verkündt / Aber yetzund müssen wir von den layen hören vnd lernen / wie die Phariseyer von Cristn. Liebe kechin rüff vnserm Calefactor²⁸³ / der lißt vil in der Bybel / vnd villeicht der schrifft baß bericht ist dann ich / Er müß mir von wunders wegen etlich sprüch suchen.

Kechin. Heinrice²⁸⁴ / Heinrice. gee²⁸⁵ auff her zum herrn.

Calefactor. Wirdiger herr was wöltt jr?

Chorherr. Vnser schüster hat mich lang vexiert / vnd vil auß der Bybel angetzaigt / wie dann der Lutherischen brauch ist / du müst im etlich Capitel nach suchen / ob er gleich hab zü gesagt / auff das ich in in der schrifft fahen möcht.

(c3r) quoting from Saint Paul’s writings, and if they also had his sword,²⁸⁶ they still would have to lie down if the Holy Father, the pope, so wishes. Then the laity must also remain silent, and we will come back to our honours.

Cook: That would indeed be good, sir, since everyone despises you, as the cobbler has done just now.

Canon: In times past, we would have proclaimed the ban over somebody like this! But now we have to hear and learn from the laity like the Pharisees from Christ. Dear cook, call the servant boy, who reads a lot in the Bible and is perhaps better informed of the Scripture than I am. He must find me some biblical sayings for amusement.

Cook: Henry, Henry, come over to the master!

Boy: Reverend sir, what do you want?

Canon: Our shoemaker has been vexing me for a long time and has quoted much from the Bible, as is the Lutheran custom. You must look up several chapters which he used, whether he has spoken correctly, so that I may catch him out with Scriptures.

²⁸³ ‘Calefactor’: Latin loanword, literally the person who makes the room warm, is responsible for heating. Meaning a low-ranking servant for running errands. Here picked as the strongest possible contrast to the high-ranking canon.

²⁸⁴ ‘Henrice’: Latin vocative of ‘Heinrich’.

²⁸⁵ Use of the informal singular between the servants of the same household.

²⁸⁶ Since Paul was beheaded, his signature attribute is the sword.

Calefactor. Ir solt es billich selbst wissen / yr hand lang die geweychten exammiern helffen.

Chorherr. Ja daselbs braucht man nur schüllerische leer²⁸⁷ was die menschen haben geschriben vnd gemacht vnd gar wenig das gaistlich recht / wölchs die hailigen vetter in den Concilijs beschlossen haben.

Calefactor. Es leg an dem nicht das die vetter in Concilijs beschlossen / vnd die menschen so nach in kommen sein geschriben vnd gehaltten haben wo dieselben gesetz / leer vnd schriftt auß dem wort vnd gaist gotes weren / wann die propheten / Apostel vnd Euangelisten seind auch menschen geweßt.

Chorherr. Ey / so haben sy auch yrren mügen / Aber die Lutherischen wellen das nit glauben

Calefactor. Nayn / Wann Petrus spricht .ij. Petri .j. Es ist noch nye kain weissagung auß menschlichem wyllen herfür bracht / sonder die hailigen menschen gottes hand geredt / getrieben / von dem hailigen gaist / Vnnd eben darnach verkündt Petrus / die falschen Propheten / die vil verderblicher seckten

Boy: You should by rights know that yourself: You have been helping to examine those who are ordained for a long time.

Canon: Well, all that is needed for this is scholastic teaching, what people have written and made, and a little bit of canon law, which the holy fathers have decreed in the councils.

Boy: It is not because the fathers in councils decreed, and the people who came after them wrote and kept them, that the law, doctrine, and texts were from the word and spirit of God, since the prophets, apostles and evangelists were also men.

Canon: Well, then they too may have been wrong, but the Lutherans don't want to believe that.

Boy: No, since Peter says, 2 Peter 1: No prophecy has ever been brought forth by human will, but the holy people of God have spoken, driven by the Holy Spirit.²⁸⁸ And directly after that, Peter predicts false prophets, who will introduce many pernicious sects

²⁸⁷ Referring to theology teaching at university.

²⁸⁸ 2 Pt 1.20 *Vnd das solt jr für das erste wissen / Das keine Weissagung in der Schrift geschicht aus eigener auslegung.* (L45). *Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation.* (KJV).

(c3v) ein werden füren / Bedeut ewrn gaistlichen standt / Ordenn²⁸⁹
 Regel vnd alle menschen sünd (ausserhalb dem wort gotes) darmit
 ir yetz vmbgeet.

Khorherr. Ya es ist aber auff vnns nitt geredt / sonder auff die alten
 vnd lengst vergangen.

Calefactor. O yr thoren vnd tregs hertzen zü glauben / alle dem / das
 ye Prophetenn geredt haben. Luce .xxiiij.

Kechin. Herr haißt euch den hanen mer kreen / von mir lydt yrs nit.

Khorherr. O du lausiger bachant²⁹⁰ / wilt du mich auch
 rechtfertigen²⁹¹ vnd leeren Bist auch der Lutherischenn
 bößwychter einer / Troll dich nur bald auß dem hauß / vnd kumm
 nit wyder du vnuerschamtes thyer.

Calefactor. Es thütt euch and²⁹² / das euch der schüster das rodt
 pyrret²⁹³ geschmächt hatt / Laßt euch nit wunndern / wann im
 alten gesetz / hat gott die hyrtten seyn wort lassenn verkünden /
 also auch yetz müssen (euch phariseer) die schüster leeren / Ya es
 werden euch noch die stayn in die oren schreyen Alde ich schaid
 mit wissenn.

(c3v) that is, your spiritual state, order, rule, and all human sins
 (outside the word of God), with which you are now involved.

Canon: Yes, but it was not spoken of us, but of the ancients, who
 have long since passed.

Boy: Oh, you fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets
 have spoken! Luke 24.²⁹⁴

Cook: Sir, just encourage the rooster to crow more for you!²⁹⁵ You
 wouldn't suffer it from me.

Canon: Oh, you lousy drunkhead, do you want to correct and teach
 me too? Are you also one of those Lutheran villains? Get out of
 this house at once and don't come back, you shameless animal!

Boy: It pains you that the cobbler has slandered your red cap. Let it
 not surprise you, since in the old law, God let the shepherds
 proclaim his word. So even now the cobblers must teach you, the
 Pharisees. Yes, even the stones will be shouting in your ears.
 Adieu, I depart with this knowledge.

²⁸⁹ Typographical mistake in the edition of 'u' instead of 'n'.

²⁹⁰ Loanword based on Bacchus, the Roman god of drunkenness.

²⁹¹ ENHG 'rechtfertigen' normally of the work of God to justify humans. Here in
 the sense of making somebody 'recht', i.e. 'to correct'.

²⁹² ENHG 'ande' = ridicule, contempt; 'and tun' = to rile.

²⁹³ NHG 'Barret', the red soft cap worn by the higher clergy, see above.

²⁹⁴ Luke 24.25 *VND er sprach zu jnen / O jr Thoren vnd treges hertzen / zu gleuben alle
 dem / das die Propheten geredt haben* (L45) *then he said unto them, O fools, and slow of
 heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken:* (KJV).

²⁹⁵ The cook is mocking the canon who has involuntarily encouraged the boy
 ('rooster') to loudly announce ('crow') all the criticism, after forbidding criticism
 from anybody else.

Kechin. Euch geschycht recht mich wundert das ir²⁹⁶ mit den groben
filtzen reden mügt. Sy schonen weder ewer noch der hailigen
weych.

Khorherr. Ich wil mich nun woll vor in hütten / verprents künd /
fürcht fewer²⁹⁷ Woll an ich wil in Khor / so gee an markt / kauff
eyn krammetvogel²⁹⁸ oder zwelff / Es wirt nach essen meines
gnedigen herren Caplan / mit etlichen herren kommen / vnd ein
pangett haltten. Trag die Bibel auß der stuben hynauß / vnd sich
ob die stayn vnd würffel all im bretspyl seyn / vnd das wir eynn
frysche kartten oder zwü haben.

Kechin. Es soll seyn. Herr werdt ir von stund an nach dem vmmgang
heymher gen?

Korherr. Ya schaw das essen beraytt sey.

Paulus. Ir bauch ir gott.

M D XXiiij.

²⁹⁶ Typographical error ‘it’ in the edition, correct in the first edition.

²⁹⁷ Proverbial saying = NHG ‘Verbranntes Kind scheut das Feuer’, literally: once burnt, a child fears the fire.

²⁹⁸ Literally a bird that eats juniper berries (‘krammet’), indicating small birds like quails served in fine dining.

Cook: Serves you right. I’m surprised that you have to talk to these coarse beasts. They spare neither you nor the holy orders.

Canon: I will now stay well clear of them; once bitten, twice shy.

Well, I will go and sit in choir. You go to the market, buy a bird or twelve! After dinner, my gracious master’s chaplain will come with some gentlemen and hold a banquet. Take the Bible out of the parlour and see if the playing stones and dice are all in the board game and that we have a fresh pack of cards or two.

Cook: It will be done. Sir, will you come home immediately after the procession?

Canon: Yes, make sure the food is ready!

Paul: Their belly is their god.²⁹⁹

1524

²⁹⁹ Phil 3.19 *welcher Ende ist das verdamnis / welchen der Bauch jr Gott ist / vnd jre Ehre zu schanden wird / Dere / die jrdisch gesinnet sind.* (L45) *Whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things.* (KJV).

b) Dutch: *Schoenmaker ende Coorhere*

Een schoon | disputacie van eenē Euā-|geliſſchen Schoenmaker | ende van
eenē Papistigen | Coozheere / met twee | ander personagiē | gheschiet tot |
Noreborch. | Ghedzuckt by my Magnus | vanden Merberghe.
[s.l.]: Magnus van den Merberghe, [c.1545].

Collation: A1-4, B1-4, C1-8, D1-8, 8°.

University Library Greifswald, 542/Fv 28 adn9, with a microfilm
copy in The Hague.

Transcription: Christina Ostermann, footnotes: Johanneke Sytsema

The copy is part of a ‘Sammelband’ of twelve Dutch Reformation pamphlets in the University Library Greifswald, starting with Willem de Volder, *Een troost ende Spiegel der siecken ende der ghenen die in lijden sijn*, Antwerp c.1540, 542/Fv 28. There are two reprints, in 1565 (a copy in the Stadtbibliothek Nuremberg, Will 3, 800 8°, Spriewald (1970), p. 49) and in 1614.

To make the Dutch and Tudor English versions comparable to the German model of the text, the page breaks follow those of the German copy in the Taylor Institution Library. The folio numbering of that copy have been added in with lower case letters at the top of each page, e.g. ‘(a2r)’. Folio numbers with capital letters, e.g. ‘(A2r)’ are referring to the Dutch and English edition.

Nasal bars and other abbreviations have been expanded *in italics*, line breaks have been removed. The word division and the suspension abbreviations with a dot have been preserved.

c) English: *Shomaker and Parson*

A goodly | dysputacion betwene a Chz-|ſten Shomaker / and a Popyſſhe
Par-ſlon with two other parſones more, | done within the famous Citie |
of Norembourgh. | Translated out of ſ Germeayne | tongue into Englyſſhe.
By | Anthony Scoloker.

London: Anthony Scoloker and Wyllyam Seres, 1548.

Collation: A1-8, B1-8, C1-8, 8°.

Bodleian Library, Vet. A1 f. 237. Partly washed ownership mark on
the titlepage and on fol. A1r, reading ‘James Lowe His B[ook]’

Bodleian Library, Douce Frigm. f. 22 (only quire C)

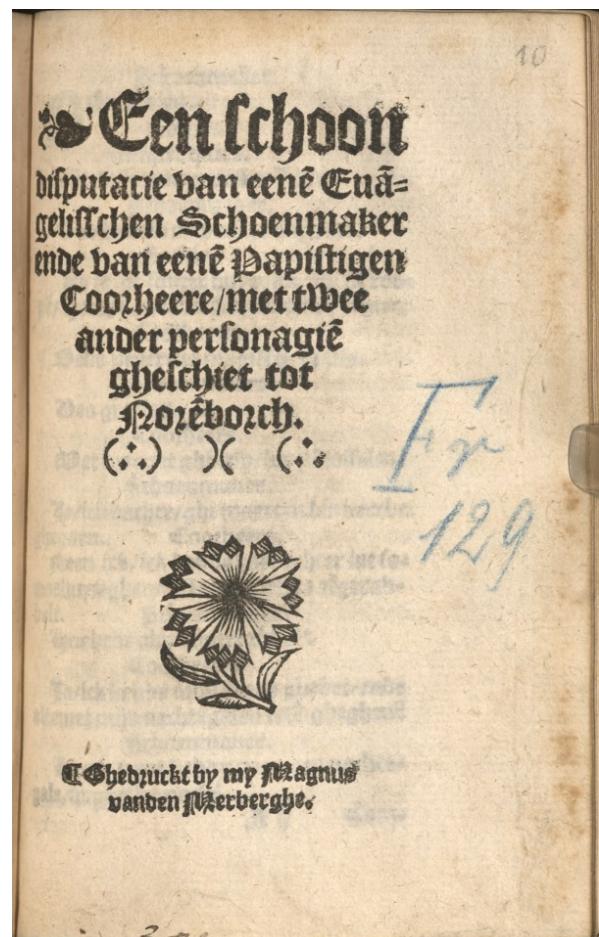
Transcription: David Hirsch, footnotes: Jacob Ridley

Online edition available as

<https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/shoemaker/>

(a1r) (A1^r) Een schoon disputacie van eenen Euangelisschen Schoenmaker ende van eenen Papistigen Coorheere / met twee ander personagien gheschiet tot Norenborch.

Ghedruckt by my
Magnus vanden Merberghe.

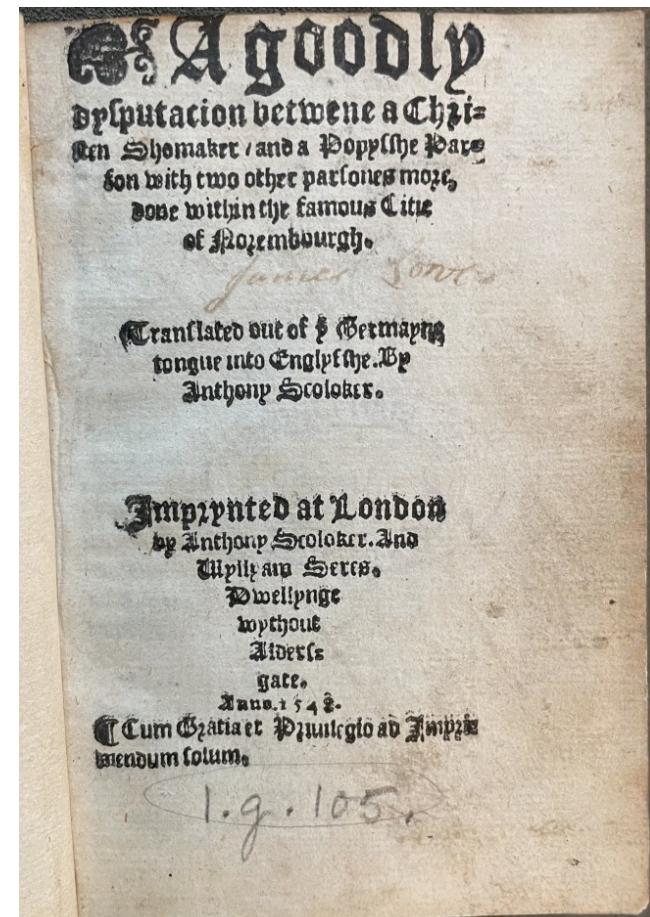


(a1r) (A1^r) A goodly dysputacion betwene a Christen Shomaker / and a Popysshe Parson with two other parsones more, done within the famous Citie of Norembourgh.

Translated out of the Germayne tongue into Englysshe.
By Anthony Scoloker.

Imprynted at London by Anthony Scoloker. And Wylyam Seres.
Dwellynge wythout Aldersgate. Anno. 1548.

¶ Cum Gratia et Priuilegio ad Imprimendum solum.



(A1^v) (a1v) ***blank***(a2r) (A2^r)Schoenmaker.¹ BOnus dies.²

Kochin. Semper quies. Sijt willecome meester Hans.

Schoenmaker. God dancke v³ / waer is v Heere.

Kochin. Hy is int somer huys / ick wil hem roopen / Heere heere / die Schoenmaker is hier.

Coorheere. Bene veneritis magister⁴ Hans.

Schoenmaker. Deo gratias.

Coorheere. Wat brenget ghi my / die pantoffelen?

Schoenmaker. Ja / ick dachte / ghi waert in die kercke ghegaen.

Coorheere. Neen ick / ick hebbe daer achter int somerhuys gheweest / ende ic hebbe afgerabbelt.

Schoenmaker. Hoe hebt ghy afgherabbelt.⁵

Coorheere. Ja / ick hebbe mijn horas ghebet / ende altemet mijn nachtegalen teten ghegheuen

(A1^v) (a1v) ***blank***(a2r) (A2r) ¶ The Shomaker comminge to the parsones house, speaketh to the parsons seruaunt.⁶

Shomaker. Good morrow good fellow

Seruaunt.⁷ ye are welcom master Ioan⁸

Shomaker I thanke you with all my hert, Where is your master?

Seruaunt. He is in the gallery,⁹ O tary a lytle I wyll go and call hym, master master your shomaker is here.Parson.¹⁰ Bene veneritis magister Hans.

Shomaker. Deo gratias.

Parson What bringe you there / do you brynge my slyppers?

Shomaker. Yea forsoth Syr, I thoughte you had bene in the Church.

Parson. No mary.¹¹ I was yonder behynde in the gallery and there haue I mumbled.

Shomaker. What saye you master Parson? haue (A2v) ye mumbled?

Parson. Yea I haue sayd my diuine seruice¹² and besydes that I haue nowe and then fedde my nyghtyngale.

¹ Other than in the German (G) version, in the Dutch (D) and English (E) editions speech prefixes are centred and speeches indented but have been typeset here analogous to the German edition above. There were not yet settled conventions for typesetting dialogues (see Introduction 2).

² Like in the German version, the opening dialogue uses textbook Latin greeting formulas, see footnotes there. The English version keeps the Latin for the exchange with the priest.

³ Like in G, D uses the formal form of address (2 ps pl) throughout. In E, it starts as formal ('you'), but then later switches without an apparent reason to the informal 'thou'.

⁴ G 'mayster', for an artisan, is turned in D to 'magister', the Latin honorific for a learned man, and E keeps this formula.

⁵ D 'afgerabbelt' (literally: 'unravelling') for G 'abgedroschen' ('threshing'). E 'Mumbled' does not literally translate either, but keeps Sachs's polemical sense of thoughtless, mechanical speech. Mumbling can either mean 'muttering indistinctly' (from Middle English 'momelen') or 'chewing', usually toothlessly, and thus 'mashing up randomly', and it was often used by anticlerical writers, from the late thirteenth-century Wycliffites to the Tudor Protestant reformers, for ignorant timeserving Catholics who babble their Latin prayers without understanding them. The Shoemaker calls the Parson's prayers 'outward mumblyng' again below (B2r).

⁶ Scoloker adds a brief cue for the opening speech. This is not exactly a stage direction, as in a play, which would typically offer an instruction like 'Enter Shoemaker'. The only other extradiegetic comments occur when the parson's handmaid appears, introduced by the marginal note 'Katherin the parson's handmaid' (B5r), and when he is consulting the Bible (B5r-v); there, Scoloker adds sarcastic comments in his own voice next to the speeches.

⁷ The jobs have been reallocated. Here, the female cook's part is split into this male servant and later Katherine the handmaid, and at the end the Parson will summon his (male) cook, not the 'Calefactor' as in the Dutch. Scoloker's addition of a male servant might perhaps reflect the androcentric world of contemporary Tudor drama.

⁸ Perhaps by Scoloker's oversight, the cobbler is first called 'John' and then 'Hans', as in the original.

⁹ An indoor space, unlike the G/D 'summerhouse', a garden house typical of Nuremberg patrician houses.

¹⁰ 'Parson' is not as specific as 'canon' (German 'Chorherr', Dutch 'Coorheere'). A parson in the English Church, before or after the Reformation, is any priest or rector 'presented to an ecclesiastical living by a patron and instituted to it by the bishop' (OED 'parson', 1.1).

¹¹ Variant of 'marry', an expression of surprise, outrage, astonishment, now archaic.

¹² G/D uses the Latin term 'horas'.

Schoenmaker. Heere / wat hebdy voor een nachtegale / singhet hy¹³ noch?

(A2v) Coorheere. O neen / het is te spade opt iaer.

Schoenmaker. Jck weet eenen Schoenmaker / die heeft eenen nachtegale / die heeft ierst begonn te singhen.

Coorheere. Ey die duyuel hale die Schoenmaker met alle sinen nachtegalen / Hoe heeft hy onsen alderhoochsten vader den Paus den heylighen vader / ende onsen heerweerdichsten Heere wt geroopen als een wijnsuyper / ende een banck boeue.¹⁴

Schoenmaker. Ey heere / wat dinc ist dan / hi heeft toch v maniere ende Gods dienst den gemeenen man bewees / ende nv roept ghy ouer hem.¹⁵ Js dan v wesen Euangelis oft guyghelwerck.¹⁶

Shomaker. Syr Iohan¹⁷ I praye you tell me what nyghtingale is it, syngeth he yet?

Parson. No forsoth, it draweth to nygh wynter.

Shomaker I knowe a shomaker who hath a nightyngale that beginneth now fyrist to syng.

Parson. Yea, the deuell of hell¹⁸ take that shomaker with all hys nyghtyngales, he hath so rayled on oure mooste holyest Father the pope the moost hyghest Father and reuerend lorde. yea, he hath so cryed and called hym abroade, euen as though he had bene the moost vylest and vngrationst wretche or knaue of the whole world.

Shomaker. What softe and fayre Sir¹⁹ I pracie the, he hath partly²⁰ declared your maner of lyuinge, and your diuine seruice to the common people, and nowe I perceave you do nothing but rayle on him, but what shall I (A3r) saie?²¹ is your behauour and lyuinge²² according to christes Gospell²³ / or is it apesplaye?²⁴

¹³ The gendering of the nightingale as ‘he’ in E might be influenced by the Dutch personal pronoun ‘hy’.

¹⁴ D ‘wijnsuyper’ (wine drinker) and ‘banck boeue’ (literally: bench boy, also meaning a heavy drinker, DWb s.v. ‘bankbube’).

¹⁵ Phrase ‘and now you call him out’ added in D.

¹⁶ D ‘fool’s work, illusion’ for G ‘holhäppel werk’ = a fraudulent tradesman’s trick.

¹⁷ Sir John was a stock name for a priest in Tudor fiction, sometimes used seriously – as in John Heywood’s play *Johan Johan* (c.1525), where the priest is called Sir John – or disrespectfully – as in the morality play *Hick Scorer* (c.1515), in which the vice Riot calls the virtue Charity ‘Sir John’ as they put Charity into the stocks).

¹⁸ Scoloker frequently uses the common idiom ‘devil of hell’ for the original ‘devil’.

¹⁹ ‘What, soft and fair, Sir’ = ‘Now, steady on, Sir’ (with an ironical tone).

²⁰ Either ‘openly/boldly’ (OED), or indicating that the abuses are still only partially exposed. G has ‘simply’, D no equivalent.

²¹ Expands the added D phrase ‘and now you call him out’.

²² The double formula ‘behaviour and living’ expands the German/Dutch simple ‘wesen’ (‘being’)

²³ For G/D ‘evangelisch’.

²⁴ Scoloker substitutes his own coinage for D ‘fool’s work’.

Coorheere. Maer waer gaet alsulcken ons wesen den dul²⁵
Schoenmaker aen.

Schoenmaker. Het staet Exodi int .xxij. ca. Als ghy siet ws vyants
Esel ligghen gheuallen onder sinen last / so en sult ghy niet voerby
gaen / maer hem opheffen²⁶ / hoe veele te meer sal een Christen
sinen naesten helpen / die by siet ligghen in eene beswar(A3^r)de
conscientie.

Coorheere. Hy en soude daer inne die geestelijcke ende religioenen
niet ghemeint hebben dien esel cop / si weten te voren wel wat
sonde is.

Schoenmaker. Maer Ezechiel spreeckt in zijn .xxxij. cap. Siet ghy
uwen broeder sondighen / soo straft hem / oft ick sal zijn bloet van
uwer hant eysschen²⁷ daerom moet een Christen sinen broeder
straffen / sy ghewijt oft niet.

Coorheere. Sijt ghy Euangelischs?

Schoenmaker. Ja ick Heere.

Coorheere. Hebt ghy niet ghelesen in

Parson. What the deuell of hell haue these dulheaded²⁸ shomakers to
do with oure behaueour and lyuyng²⁹?

Shomaker. It is wryten. When thou seest thyne Ennemis asse fallen
vnder hys Burden / thou shalt not go by but helpe him vp.³⁰ How
muche more is a christen Man³¹ bounde to helpe hys
neyghbour³² / who he seeth lyinge in an heauy conscience?

Parson. That horeson³³ assehed ought not to haue meaned sprituall
and relygious men / for they knowe well ynougue before hand
what synne is.

Shomaker. But Ezechyell speaketh yf thou seest thy brother synne,
reprehend hym, or els I wyll require hys bloude, at thy handes.³⁴
Therfore a Christen man ought to reprehend hys brother, be he
anoynted or no.

Parson. Arte thou a Gospeller³⁵?

Shomaker. Yea forsothe Syr.

Parson. (A3v) Hast thow not redde

²⁵ D ‘dul’ = ‘mad’ (equivalent to the German ‘toll’).

²⁶ The Bible passages in the D version are translated from Sachs, not taken from an existing Dutch or Low German version. In the following, the German text of Luther’s translation (L45) is given for comparison in the footnotes for selected Bible quotations. Ex 23.5 *Wenn du des / der dich hasset / esel sihest vnter seiner last ligen / Hüt dich vnd las jn nicht / sondern verseume gern das deine vmb seinen willen.* (L45).

²⁷ A summary of Ez 33.2–4.

²⁸ Misunderstanding of D ‘dul’ and turned this into the plural form (sg in G/D).

²⁹ Again ‘wesen’ in German / Dutch.

³⁰ Exod. 23. Ex 23.5 *If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.* (KJV). In the 1548 edition, the abbreviated Bible citations are printed in the outer margins. They are here moved at the start of the footnotes. Bible passages are translated from the Dutch, and not taken from any of the English Bible translations published by the 1540s. In the following, the King James Version (KJV) is given in the footnotes as a comparator text for selected Bible quotations.

³¹ G: ‘getaufter Christ’, D: ‘Christen’.

³² G: ‘bruder’; D: ‘naesten’ (literally: nearest, used in the sense of ‘neighbour’).

³³ = ‘whoreson’. Added by Scoloker; often used in early modern English almost like an adjectival intensifier.

³⁴ Ezechi. 33. A summary of Ez 33.2–4.

³⁵ G/D: ‘evangelisch’ (‘Protestant’).

(a2v) Mattheus Euangelie int .vij. cap. Ghy ensult niet oordeelen /
soo en wort ghy niet gheordelt³⁶ / maer ghy Lutherianen en
neemt alsulcken sprake niet ter herten / ghy en soeckter niet na /
want si zijn v teghen.

Schoenmaker. Straffen ende oordelen is tweerley / wy en
onderwinden ons niet te oordeelen dat God aen gaet / als Paulus
seyt tot den Romeynen int .xiiij. capit. Niemand en sal eenen
anderen sinen knecht (A3^v) oordeelen / maer straffen³⁷ / ende
vermanen ghelyck door den Prophete Esaiam int lvijj .capit.
spreckt / Screyt ende en hout niet op / ende als een basuyne soo
verheft v stemme te vercondighen mijn volck haer misdaet / &c.³⁸

Coorheere. Daer staet ooc Exod. int .xxiiij. Ghy en sult die ouersten
onder v volc niet beschamen.³⁹

Schoenmaker. Wie is die ouerste onder dat volc / ist niet die Keyser /
ende daer na die Vorsten Grauen ende Princhen / met haer
Ruyters ende wereltlijcke ouerhett.

Coorheere. Neen / die Paus een Vicarius Christi daer nae
Cardinalen / Bisschoppen met den gheheelen gheestelijken
staet / als gheschreuen staet / Solite de maioritate & obedientia. Sy
beduyden die Sonne / ende dat weerlijcke ghewalt / beduyt die
Mane / ende des seluen is die Paus veele machtigher dan die
Keyser / welcken hem zijn voeten cussen moeten.

(a2v) the gospel of S. Mathew in the vij. Chapter. Thou shalte not
Judge to thyntente⁴⁰ thou be not iudged?⁴¹ But ye Lutheryans⁴²
passe nothyng at all vpon suche Sayinges / neyther do ye seke for
them / for they are playne agaynst you.

Shomaker. To iudge and reprehend, is to be vnderstande two maner
of wayes, we take not vpon vs to iudge that thynge which only
aperteineth to god. As Paule sayth No man shall Judge the
seruaunt of an other man,⁴³ but ought, to reprehend and exhorte
hym. As the prophet Esaye saythe Call without Ceasyng, and
exalte youre voice lyke a trompett⁴⁴ to declare my people theyr
offenses. et cetera.⁴⁵

Parson. Ther is also written. Thou shalte not make the chefest of the
people ashamed.⁴⁶

Shomaker. Who is the chefeste, amonge the people / is it not the
Emperour, kynges / prynces, Dukes / Earles, with theyr knygtes
esquires and worldly power?

Parson. Nay, nay. The pope is Christes vicare, and next vnder hym,
Cardynals, Bys-(A4r)shops with all the spiritualte / as it is written.
Solite de maioritate et obedientia. These spirytuall men represent
the sunne and the worldly powers represent only the moone.
Wherout doth folowe that the pope must nedes be of greater
power then the Emperour, who is faine to kysse hys fete.

³⁶ Mt 7.1 1 *Richtet nicht / Auff das jr nicht gerichtet werdet.* (L45).

³⁷ Rom 14.4 *Wer bistu / das du einen frembden Knecht richtest?* (L45).

³⁸ Is 58.1 *RVffe getrost / schone nicht / Erhebe deine stim wie eine Posaune / vnd verkündige meinem Volck jr vbertreten / vnd dem hause Jacob jre sunde.* (L45).

³⁹ Ex 22.27 *DEn Göttern soltu nicht fluchen / Vnd den Obersten in deinem Volck soltu nicht lestern.* (L45).

⁴⁰ 'to the intent' (Middle English 'entent') = 'in order that'.

⁴¹ *Math. 7. Mt 7.1 Judge not, that ye be not judged.* (KJV).

⁴² Taken from the Dutch 'Lutherianen'. The more familiar 'Lutheran' was still perhaps not a common word, though the OED cites one English example from 1521 and one from 1530.

⁴³ *Roma. 14. Rom 14.4 Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?* (KJV).

⁴⁴ G/D 'Posaune' = trombone.

⁴⁵ *Esay. 58. Is 58.1 Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins.* (KJV).

⁴⁶ *Exod. 22. Ex 22.28 Thou shalt not [...] curse the ruler of thy people.* (KJV)

Schoenmaker. Js die Paus een soo ghewaldeghen Heere / so en is hy certeynlick gheen stadhoudher Christi / want Christus spreect Joannis int .xvij. capit. Mijn rijck en is niet (A4ⁱ) niet van deser werelt.⁴⁷ Ende Joannis int vi. cap. vloet Christus daermen hem tot eenen Coninck maken woude.⁴⁸ Ooc sprack Chrisus tot sinen Jongheren Luce int xxij. cap. Die weerlijcke Coninghen domineeren / ende die gheweldiche heetmen ghenadighen heer / maer ghi niet alsoo / wane die onder v wil wesen die grootste die sal zijn als die minste / ende die ouerste als een dienaer.⁴⁹ Daerom is die Paus ende ghy gheestelijcke / als dienaers der Christelijcker ghemeynten / ist sake das ghy anders wt God zijt / ende daerom machmen v wel straffen.

Coorheere. Die Paus ende die zijne en zijn niet schuldich die gheboden Gods ghehoorsaem te zijne / als in die geestelijcke rechten staet. C. Solite de maioritate et obedientia / wt dien sluyten iuy dat die Paus gheen sondaer en is / maer die alderheylichste / ende in dier manieren onstraffelick.

Schoenmaker. Daer staet gheschreuen Joannis int .i.

⁴⁷ Jo 18.36 *Jhesus antwortet / Mein Reich ist nicht von dieser welt.* (L45).

⁴⁸ Jo 6.15 *Da Jhesus nu mercket / das sie komen würden / vnd jn haschen / das sie jn zum Könige machen / entweich er abermal / auff den Berg / er selbs alleine.* (L45). *When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force, to make him a king, he departed again into a mountain himself alone.* (KJV).

⁴⁹ Lc 22.25 *Er aber sprach zu jnen / Die weltlichen Könige herrschen / vnd die Gewaltigen heisset man gnedige Herrn. 26 Jr aber nicht also / Sondern der Grösset vnter euch / sol sein wie der Jüngste / vnd der Furenemest wie ein Diener.* (L45).

Shomaker. Is the pope such a puyssaunt⁵⁰ lorde? truly then is he not Christes vicare. For Christ sayth, my kyngdome is not of thys worlde.⁵¹ And Iohn. 6. Christ (when he sawe that men wolde make hym kyng) went hys wayes.⁵² Christ also sayd vnto hys dysciples. Worldely prynces haue dominion and beare Rule, and the Myghtye of the earthe are called Lordes / but let it not be so amonege you. For who of you wyll be the greatest shalbe the leaste, and the chefest as a Seruaunt,⁵³ and therfore the pope and ye spyrytuall men are but mynysters vnto the Christians (in case ye be of God) and therfore menne maye reprehende you well Inoughe.

parson. The pope with hys, is not bounde to obeye the commaundement of God. As it is written in the spirituall lawe. C. Solite de maioritate et obedientia out of the whych (A4v) we do conclude that the pope is no sinner but the most holyest and in all thyng inreprehensible.

Shomaker. It is wrytten,

⁵⁰ = ‘powerful/mighty’ (from Old French *poissant*).

⁵¹ Iohan. 18. Jo 18.36 *Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world:* (KJV).

⁵² Iohan. 6. Jo 6.15 *When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force, to make him a king, he departed again into a mountain himself alone.* (KJV).

⁵³ Luke. 22. Lc 22.25 *And he said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. 26 But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.* (KJV).

(a3r) in zijn ierste Epistels / die seyt dat hi sonder sonde is / die is een lueghenaer⁵⁴ / ende niet die alderheylichste / mer te straffen.
 Coorheere. (A4^v) Ey lieue / ende oft die Paus so quaes ware / dat hy ontallijcke vele volcs met grooten hoopen ter hellen voerde / so en machmen hem niet straffen / dat staet geschreuen in onsen rechten. Dis .xl. Si Papa / hoe behaecht v dat.

Schoenmaker. Wel soo staet int Euangelio Matth. int .xvijj. Jst dat v broeder sondicht teghen v / soo gaet henen ende straft hem tusschen v ende hem / hoort hy v / so hebe ghy zijn siele ghewonnen.⁵⁵ Ghebruyckt die Paus sulcken salighen werck.

Coorheere. Jst dat broederlijcke gestraft / also int openbaer wt te roepen.

Schoenmaker. Ey daer staet noch breeder in den text / ist dat uwe broeder niet en hoort / soo neemt noch een oft twee tot v / ende hoort hy v noch niet / so segghet der ghemeynnten / hoort hy die ghemeynte oock niet / soo laet hem gaen ghelijck een Heyden⁵⁶ / ghelijck ghy heer domine.

(a3r) who so ever sayth that he is wythout synne, is a lyer,⁵⁷ oute of the whiche followeth that the Pope muste nedes be a sinner or a lier (if he be not both) and not the most holyest / but is greatly to be reprehended.

Parson. What I say⁵⁸ / although the pope were so wycked, that he dyd bryng a great multytude of people into hell, yet may no man reprehende him. For it is wrytten in oure lawes dyst. xl. Si papa.⁵⁹ Howe doth that please the?⁶⁰

Shomaker. It is written in the gospell of Matheu if thy brother do synne reprehend him betwene hym and the / and if he heare the, then hast thou wonne him.⁶¹ Doth the pope vse such Godly actes?

Parson. Doest thou call this to reprehende after a brotherly sorte, to cry and call it out so openly?

Shomaker. It is further written in the same text, (A5r) in case thy brother heare the not / then take one or two wyth you / and if he heare you not then, then tell it to the congregacion, and let him go lyke a heathen and infidell,⁶² euen as thou art sir domine.⁶³

⁵⁴ 1 Jo 1.8 So wir sagen / Wir haben keine sünde / So verfüren wir vns selbs (L45).

⁵⁵ Mt 18.15 SVndiget aber dein Bruder an dir / so gehe hin / vnd straffe jn zwischen dir vnd jm alleine. 16 Höret er dich / so hastu deinen Bruder gewonnen. (L45).

⁵⁶ Mt 18.16 Höret er dich nicht / so nim noch einen oder zweien zu dir / Auff das alle Sache bestehe / auff zweier oder dreier Zeugen munde. 17 Höret er die nicht / so sage es der Gemeine. Höret er die Gemeine nicht / So halt jn als einen Heiden vnd Zölner. (L45).

⁵⁷ Iohan. 1. 1 Jo 1.8 If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves. (KJV).

⁵⁸ In G/D a friendly address 'Ei lieber' (Well, my dear).

⁵⁹ distinct. 40. Friedberg, Vol. I, Distinctio 40, c. 6. p. 146, see full footnote in the translation of the German text.

⁶⁰ The formal second person plural of the Dutch is made singular and informal, typical of the more tetchy and disrespectful tone of the English dialogue.

⁶¹ Math. 18. Mt 18.15 Moreover if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. (KJV).

⁶² Mt 18.16 But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. 17 And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican. (KJV).

⁶³ In G a challenge to the parson: 'What about that, Sir canon?' Seems to be a literal translation of D 'ghelijck ghy heer domine'.

Coorheere. Lieve wat is dat profijt / dat hy ons so langhe teghen
roepe / ghelyck sprinchanen wy en keeren ons niet daer na / ende
houden toch onsen Decretalen. (B1^v)

Schoenmaker. Waerom spreeckt Christus Matthei int .x. capit. Jst
datmen niet en hoort / soo schuddet den stof van uwen voeten /
tot een ghetuy ghenisse / dat hem dat rijcke Gods na is gheweest /
want het sal Sodomam ende Gomorrah verdrachgelijcker wesen
in den dach des oordeels / dan sulcken volcke /⁶⁴ hoe salt v dan
gaen / als ghi gheen straffenisse en wilt aennemen

Coorheere. Nv ick laet dat goet zijn / want geleerde verstandighe
lieden waren / maer den leeken en betamet niet.

Schoenmaker. Een Esel strafte toch den Prophete Balaam. Numeri
int .xxij. ca. Waerom ensout niet betamen eenen leeken te straffen
eenen gheestelijcken.

Coorheere. Eenen Schoenmaker behoert met leer ende met swerten
om te gaen / ende niet met der heylighen schriftueren.

Schoenmaker. Met welcken schriftueren wilt ghyt by brenghen / dat
een Christen menschen *niet* in der schriftueren ondersoecken /
lesen ende schrijuen sal / want Christus spreekt Joan. int .v. cap.
Doorsoeckt die schrijft/ (B1^v) want sy gheuet ghetuyghenis van
my⁶⁵ / ende noch soo spreeckt die Psalmist .i. Salich is die man die
hem dach ende nacht oefftent

⁶⁴ Mt 10.14 VND wo euch jemand nicht annemen wird / noch ever Rede hören / So gehet
eraus / von dem selben Hause oder Stad / vnd schüttelt den staub von euren Füssen. 15
Warlich / Ich sage euch / dem Lande der Sodom und Gomorr wird es treglicher ergehen
am jüngsten Gericht / denn solcher Stad. (L45).

⁶⁵ Jo 5.39 SVchet in der Schrift / ... sie ists / die von mir zeuget / (L45).

Parson. I praye the what preuayleth it that thou doest call vs thus
abroad lyke greshoppers⁶⁶, consydering we passe nothyng for it.
For we holde vs by our decrees?

Shomaker. Therfore sayth Chryst, in case men do not heare you,
then shake the dust from your fete for a wytnes that the
Kyngdome of God hath bene nygh vnto them. For theyr
Iudgement shall be greater at the day of dome, then to Sodoma
and Gomorra.⁶⁷ In what case shalt thou be then; seing thou wylt
not be reprehended?

Parson. I wolde graunte it to be so / in case they were learned men,
but it becommeth not the laye people to reprehend the spiritualte

Shomaker. An asse reprehended Balaam the prophet. Wherfore then
is it not lawfull. For a lay man to reprehende a spirituall man?

Parson. A shomaker ought to meddle with grea-(A5v)sing of his
lether and clouting of his showes, and not with holy scripture.

Shomaker. Howe can ye proue that by scripture / that a Christen man
may not rede, wryte and search in the scriptures? For Chryste
sayth, search the Scriptures for she beareth witnes of me.⁶⁸ And
the psalmograph⁶⁹ sayth also. Blessed is the man that studyeth
nyght and daye

⁶⁶ In G 'market crier', in D 'sprinchanen', literally: jumping cockerel, a term for
'grasshopper'.

⁶⁷ Mt 10.14 *And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out
of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet.15 Verily I say unto you, It shall be
more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that
city. (KJV).*

⁶⁸ Jo 5.39 *Search the scriptures [...] and they are they which testify of me. (KJV).*

⁶⁹ Literally: 'Psalm-writer' (G/D 'Psalmist'); a rare word to describe David as author
of the psalms.

(a3v) in die Wet des Heeren /⁷⁰ ende noch soo spreckt Petrus in zijn ierste Epistel int .ij. ca. Sijt altijt bereyt om altijt antwoorde te gheuen eenen yeghelycken / dye gront eysschet des hopinghen die in v is /⁷¹ ende alsoo leert Paulus die Ephesien int .vi. capi. Vechtet teghen den aenloop des duyuels / met den woerde Gods / welcke hy een sweert noemet /⁷² Heere / hoe sullen wy moghen wederstaen als wy de scriptueren niet en wisten.

Coorheere. Ghelyck die gansen int water.

Schoenmaker. Ghy spot wel / die Joden weten haer Wet wtwendich / sullen wy Christenen niet oock weten dat Euangelium Jesu Cristi / welcke is die cracht Gods allen die daer salich sullen werden / ghelyck Paulus seyt i. Cor .i.⁷³

Coorheere. Ja ghy sult weten / ghelyck Christus v seyt Mat .xxijj. Op Moyses stoel hebben he in gheset die gheleerden ende Phariseen / al wat si v segghen dat doet /⁷⁴ dat beduyt die daghelycxse prekinghe / hebt ghi leeken niet ghenoech daer aen? (B2ⁱ)

Schoenmaker. Ey daer staet aen die selue plaetschs⁷⁵ Mat. int .xxijj. Sy binden sware ondrachlijcke lasten op der menschen schouderen⁷⁶ ende sulcke lasten beduyden sekerlijcke ende sonder twijfel der menschen geboden / daer mede ghy ons leeken dringhet ende dwinghet ende maect ons quade conscientien / waerom souden wy v volghen.

⁷⁰ Ps 1.1 *Wol dem der ... 2 ... hat lust zum Gesetz des HERRN / Vnd redet von seinem Gesetz tag vnd nacht.* (L45).

⁷¹ 1 Pt 3.15 *Seid aber allezeit bereit zur Verantwortung jederman / der grund foddert der Hoffnung / die in euch ist /* (L45).

⁷² Eph 6. 11 *Ziehet an den harnisch Gottes / Das jr bestehen künd gegen die listigen anlauff des Teufels.* (L45).

⁷³ Paraphrase of 1 Cor 1.23–24.

⁷⁴ Mt 23.2 *Auff Moses stuel sitzen die Schriffigeleren vnd Pharieer / 3 Alles nu was sie euch sagen / das jr halten sollet / das haltet vnd thuts /* (L45).

⁷⁵ The final letters on this page smudged in several places.

⁷⁶ Mt 23.4 *Sie binden aber schwere vnd vntregliche Bürden / vnd legen sie den Menschen auff den hals /* (L45)

(a3v) in the lawes of the lord,⁷⁷ And Peter sayth also Prepare your selues to answeare euery man / the grounde requyreth the hope whiche is in you,⁷⁸ and in lyke maner Paule teacheth the Ephesians to fyght agaynst the assaultes of the deuell, with the swerde of Gods woerde.⁷⁹ Oh lord howe were it possyble for vs to resyst, if we knewe nothing of the scripture?

Parson. Euen lyke a heape of gise⁸⁰ in the water.

Shomaker. Mocke at your pleasure. The Iewes knowe theyr lawe by roote or wythoute the boke, shal not we that are Christians know the gospell of Iesus Chryst? whiche is the power of God to as manye as shal be saued / as Paule sayth.⁸¹

Parson. Yea, thou shalt know it as Christ hath (A6r) tolde. The scribes and pharizees haue set them vpon Moses seat. What so euer they teach you, loke you do the same⁸² which signifieth the dayly preachinges / doth not this suffise the laye people?

Shomaker. Ther is also written in the same chapter They laye heauy and vnbearable burdens vpon mennes neckes,⁸³ and such sygnifye the tradicions and commaundementes of men wherby ye dryue and oppresse vs laye people, bryngyng vs in heauy consciens / wherfore shulde we then folowe you?

⁷⁷ Ps 1.1 *Blessed is the man [...] 2 [...] his delight is in the law of the LORD; and in his law doth he meditate day and night.* (KJV).

⁷⁸ 1. Petri. 3. 1 Pt 3.15 *be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear:* (KJV).

⁷⁹ Ephesi. 6. Eph 6. 11 *Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.* (KJV).

⁸⁰ = geese. It is not clear that Scoloker has understood the original proverb 'like geese in bad weather', meaning: easily, naturally.

⁸¹ 1. Corin. 1. Paraphrase of 1 Cor 1.23–24.

⁸² Math. 22. Typographical error for '23': Mt 23.2 *The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: 3 All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do;* (KJV).

⁸³ Mt 23.4 *For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders.* (KJV). No marginal note, perhaps because the translator could not locate it in the same chapter since it is one chapter further on.

Coorheere. Hoe wilt ghy daer mede schrift bewijsen.

Schoenmaker. Christus spreeckt in dat voorgeseyde cap. Wee v ghy ypocriten ende Phariseen die dat rijck der hemelen toe sluyt voor den menschen / ghi en wilt er niet in gaen ende ghy belet die daer in gaen willen.⁸⁴

Coorheere En sulck heeft Christus tot die Priesteren der Joden gheseyt / maer met onse Priesters / ist wel anders ghestelt.

Schoenmaker. Ey Heere /ghi hebt v ierst den naem der Phariseen aengenomen / die op den stoel Moysi sitten /&c. al ist van v Papen ende Monicken ghesproken / alst oock daer is / alsoo ist oock van v ghesproken / want v wercken gheuen ghetuy genissen / want ghy versloct der weduwen huysen / als den selvuen (B2^v) text voorder verclaert / Heere ghy hebt v vergrepen.

Coorheere. Fij⁸⁵ / hoe zijn die Luterianen soo nueswijs / ghy hoort dat gras wasschen / wanneer uwer een / een sprake oft twee

parson. How canst thou proue that by scripture?

Shomaker. Chryst sayth in the before named chapter. Wo be vnto you ye hipocrites and pharizees, that shut vp the kyngdome of heauen for the people / thou wylte not entre into it thy selfe, nor yet suffre any other to enter.⁸⁶

parson. Yea that was spoken to the priestes of the Iewes, and not to our priests.

Shomaker. Mary.⁸⁷ Syr ye haue fyrst taken the name of pharizees vpon you Which sytte vpon moses seate etc. Although it be spo-(A6v)ken of the Priestes of the Iewes (as the trueth is) euen so it also spoken of you. For your workes beare witnes / thou eatest the widdowes houses / as the text further doth declare, in good fayth sir domine you haue taken your selfe by the nose.⁸⁸

Parson. Fye on the. Howe do these horeson lutherians reioyce and laughe in their fyst, when they can fynde some sayings

⁸⁴ Mt 23.13 WEh euch Schriffigeleren vnd Phariseer / jr Heuchler / die jr das Himmelreich zuschliesset fur den Menschen / Jr kommt nicht hinein / vnd die hinein wollen / lasset jr nicht hin ein gehen. (L45).

⁸⁵ Simplified for G 'pi pa pu'.

⁸⁶ Mt 23.13 But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. (KJV). Again no marginal reference, probably for the same reason.

⁸⁷ Variant of 'marry', an expression of surprise, outrage, astonishment, now archaic.

⁸⁸ Instead of the Dutch 'you have a wrong grip', Scoloker substitutes this common idiom for catching someone out, or leading them blindly. The Catholic speaker in the Protestant debate *A dialogue [...] betwene two neighbours* (1554; STC 10383) is called Sir Nicholas Noseled. In G/D a nose-related expression comes in the next sentence where the Lutherans are accused of being 'naßweiß' / 'nueswijs' (use the nose for sniffing = being forward and insolent).

(a4r) wt den Euangelien heeft / soo verceert ende quelt ghy eenen yeghelycken daer mede.

Schoenmaker. Ey heere vertooren v niet / ick meyne in goede.

Coorhere. Jck en vertoorne my niet / mer ic moet v segghen / het en behoort den leeken niet toe met der schrijft om te gaen.

Schoenmaker. Ende Christus spreeckt toe Matthei int .vij. Huet v voor den valschen Propheten /⁸⁹ ende Paulus tot den Philippensen int .iiij. Sijt op v hoede.⁹⁰ Soude ons die schriftuere niet behooren te lesen oft te weten / hoe souden wy dan sulcken dinck bekennen.

Coorheere. Alsulcken hoort den Pausdom⁹¹ toe / gelijck Paulus tot Timot. int .i. staet / Ghi sult se scerpelijcke straffen die verleyders⁹²

Schoenmaker. Ja si en doens niet / maer daerteghen / (B3ⁱ) alsoot claer is.

Coorheere. Daer laet se om sorghen.

Schoenmaker. Neen niet alsoo / willen si niet / soe behooret ons selue / daer nae hem te schouwen / want gheen en sal des anders last draghen.

Coorheere. Ey lieue / segghet wat ghi wilt / het en behoort de leeken niet toe / met der script om te gaen / ghelyck Paulus seyt .i. Cor. int .vij. een yeghelyck ghelyck hem die Heere gheroopen heeft / soo wandele hy⁹³ hoort ghy nv wel / ghy hebt te vooren schrift begheert.

⁸⁹ Mt 7.15 *SEhet euch fur / fur den falschen Propheten* (L45).

⁹⁰ Phil 3.2 *Sehet auff die Hunde / sehet auff die bösen Erbeiter / sehet auff die Zurschneitung* (L45).

⁹¹ G 'bischoffen' (bishops), replaced by 'papacy', a neutral term. Turned in E into the derogatory term 'papistry'.

⁹² Tit (!) 1.10–11 *DEnn es sind viel frechen / vnd vnnütze Schwetzer vnd Verfürer [...] welchen man mus das maul stopfen.* (L45). The Dutch translator or typesetter mixed up the abbreviations for the letters to Timotheus and Titus. Titus is correct.

⁹³ 1 Cor 7.20 *Ein jglicher bleibe in dem ruff / darinnen er berussen ist.* (L45).

(a4r) out of the scripture / they trouble and vexe one therwith, without ceasyng.

Shomaker. Syr I pray the be not discontented for in good fayth I speake of a good zeale.

Parson. I am not angry, but I am bounde to tell it the, it becommeth not the laye People to meddle with the scripture.

Shomaker. Chryst sayth. Beware of false prophetes⁹⁴ and Paule to the *Philippians*. iij. take hede.⁹⁵ If we myght not be suffered to rede the scriptures, how shulde we then know these thynges.

Parson. The same apperteyneth to the papistry⁹⁶ as Paule sayth to Timothy. 1. ye shall correct the seducers with all extremitie.⁹⁷ (A7r)

Shomaker. Yea they do it not, but do manifestly agaynst it as it daylie doth apere.

parson Let them care for that.

Shomaker. No syr not so / we wyll not esteme it so lyght / if they wyll not, then muste we take hede that we folow not them / for no man shall beare an others burden.

parson. Saye what ye lyst,⁹⁸ it apperteyneth not to the laye people to meddel with the scripture as Paule saythe. 1. *Corinthians*. 7. Let euery man walke accordynge to the lordes callyng.⁹⁹ Howe sayest thou nowe? thou woldest haue scripture, and now I haue scriptured¹⁰⁰ the I trow.

⁹⁴ *Math. 7. Mt 7.15 Beware of false prophets.* (KJV).

⁹⁵ *Philipi. 3. Phil 3.2 Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of the concision.* (KJV).

⁹⁶ 'Papistry' was a derogatory Protestant word for Catholicism (a 'papist' is a Roman Catholic), first attested in the 1540s (OED). Either Scoloker, or typesetter, meant to write 'papacy', or the Parson has made a Freudian slip.

⁹⁷ Tit (!) 1.10–11 *For there are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, [...] Whose mouths must be stopped.* (KJV). Wrong attribution taken over from D.

⁹⁸ = 'what you like' (informal 2 ps sg of Middle English 'listen', 'to want').

⁹⁹ 1. Cor. 7.1 Cor 7.20 *Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.* (KJV).

¹⁰⁰ G/D: 'it was you who wanted Scripture'. Scoloker uses verbing of 'Scripture' in the sense of the Bible for comic effect; neologism.

Schoenmaker. Ja Paulus spreeckt van den wtwendighen staet *ende* handelinghe / van knechten ende vrijen / ghelyck aen die selue plaetse ende capittel claer staet / maer hier is dat woort Gods noch eene yeghelycken onuerboden te handelen.

Coorheere. Ey hoort ghy niet / ghy moest te voren door die heylige wijnghe gheroopen zijn ende daer na vander ouerheyt vercoren werden / anders en betamet nieman met der heyligher schrift om te gaene.

Schoenmaker. (B3^v) Christus spreeckt Lu. int .x. Den oost is groot / maer die arbeyders *zyn* weynich bidt den Heere des oosts dat hy arbeyders seynde in sinen oosts.¹⁰¹ Ende daerom moet die roepinghe inwendich van God *zijn* / ende niet wtwendich / Wtwendich *zijn* alle Prekaers gheroopen / alsoo wel die valsche / alsoo wel als die rechte.

Coerheere. Ey het is sots werck met uwen clappen.

Schoenmaker. Het is met v als metten iongeren. Luce int .ix. die verdrooten dat die andere oock die duyuelen wtwerpen in Cristus name / maer Christus sprack / belette haer niet want wie niet teghen v en is / die is met v /¹⁰² in dien ghy rechte Christen waert / so sout ghy v verblijden

Shomaker Yea paule speaketh that of the outward conuersacion¹⁰³ and lyuinge, of boundemen and Fremen / as in the same Chapter it is clearley specifyed. But here doth he forbid no man to searche the worde of God.

Parson. Doest thou not here? ye muste fyrste be called throughe the holy oyntment / and after that / be chosen of the higher powers other wyse is it not laufull for any man to meddell with the scripture. (A7v)

Shomaker. Chryst sayth. The haruest is great, but ther are very fewe labourers, pray to the lorde of the haruest to send labourers into his haruest,¹⁰⁴ wherby the callyng muste nedes be inwardlye of God / and not outwardely. For outwardly are all preachers called, as well *the* false as the true.

Parson. Tush.¹⁰⁵ It is but folysnes to reason with such pratlers.

Shomaker

It is euen so with you, as it was with the discyples / whiche were offended that other men cast oute¹⁰⁶ deuelles in Chrystes name, as wel as they. But Christ sayd forbydde them not. For whosoeuer is not agaynst you is with you.¹⁰⁷ And if ye were true Chrystyans / ye shulde euen reioyce

¹⁰¹ Lc10.2 *Die Erndte ist gros / der Erbeiter aber ist wenig / Bittet den Herrn der erndten / das er Erbeiter aussende in seine erndte.* (L45).

¹⁰² Lc 9.50 *Weret jm nicht / Denn wer nicht wider vns ist / der ist fur vns.* (L45).

¹⁰³ Not only how one speaks and acts, but also the social company one keeps (OED, 'conversation' 2).

¹⁰⁴ Luke. 10. Lc10.2 *The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest.* (KJV).

¹⁰⁵ A common interjection, dismissive in tone. German 'Ach', Dutch 'Ey'.

¹⁰⁶ Printed 'castoute'.

¹⁰⁷ Luke. 9. Lc 9.50 *And Jesus said unto him, Forbid him not: for he that is not against us is for us.* (KJV).

(a4v) / dat men oock leeken vonde die God woort wisten ende
verstonden.

Coorhere. Wat gaet v den noot aen.

Schoenmaker. Daeromme dat wy den duyuel in dat doopsel
versaeckt hebben / daerom zyn wy neerstich teghen hem / ende
teghen zijn rijck te vechten met den woorden Gods / ende oock
te waghen lijf ende goet.

Coorheere. Siet daer na ghy leeken hoe ghy lieben (B4^r) wijf ende v
kinderen gheneeren mocht.

Schoenmaker. Christus verbiet Mathei int .vi. cap. ende spreeckt /
Sorghet niet wat ghi eeten *ende* drincken ende aendoen sult / om
sulcke din ghen sorghen die Heydenen / maer soeckt eerste dat
rijcke Gods / ende zijn gherechticheyt / dat ander sal v van selfs
toe gheworpen worden¹⁰⁸ / ende Petrus .i. Epistele. int .iiij. Worpt
alle v sorghe op den Heere / want hy sorghet voor v.¹⁰⁹ En de oock
Christus Mat. int .iiij. Die menschen en leeft niet alleene vanden
broode / maer van eenen yeghelycken woerde dat daer gaet wt
den mont Gods.¹¹⁰

Coorheere. Laet v daer met ghenoeghen ende en backt niet.

¹⁰⁸ Mt 6.31 DAumb solt jr nicht sorgen / vnd sagen / Was werden wir essen? Was werden
wir trincken? Wo mit werden wir vns kleiden? ... / Denn ewer himlischer Vater weis / das
jr des alles bedürfft. (L45).

¹⁰⁹ 1 Pt 5.7 Alle ewer sorge werffet auff jn / Denn er sorget fur euch. (L45). The wrong
chapter number 4 is taken over from the German.

¹¹⁰ Mt 4.4 Der Mensch lebet nicht vom Brot alleine / Sonderne von einem jglichen wort /
das durch den mund Gottes gehet. (L45).

(a4v) that the lay people do vnderstand & know the worde of God.
Parson. What grefe is it to you?

Shomaker. Because we haue forsaken the deuell in our baptym,
therfore are we thus diligent to fyght with Gods worde agaynst
him & his kingdom, yea and to auenture¹¹¹ and Ieoparde both
body and goods.

Parson. It were better for ye lay people to study howe to get the
lyuing of your wyues and chyldren. (A8r)

Shomaker. Chryst forbiddeth and sayth, take no thought what ye shall
eate and drinke or what clothes ye shal put on, for suche thinges
do the heathen seke, but seke fyrst the kingdom of God. &c. And
it shal be¹¹² geuen you aboundauntly.¹¹³ The man lyueth not onely
by breade, but of euery word which procedeth out of the mouth
of God.¹¹⁴

Parson. Satisfye and content your selfe therwith / and bake neuer a
whitte.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ = 'hazard/risk' (from Middle French *aventurer*). G/D 'fechten' (to fight).

¹¹² Printed 'shalbe' (a common elision).

¹¹³ Math. 6. Mt 6.31 Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall
we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? ... for your heavenly Father knoweth that
ye have need of all these things. (KJV). The English translation skips the following
quotation from 1 Pt 5, perhaps because of being unable to locate the quotation due
to the wrong chapter number being given.

¹¹⁴ Math. 4. Mt 4.4 But he answered and said, It is written, Man shall not live by bread
alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. (KJV).

¹¹⁵ = 'boast not a bit'. Directly taken over from G 'bachen/pochen' / D 'baken' = boast,
insist on something. Usually in English 'to brag'.

Schoenmaker. Wy sullen arbeyden ghelyck¹¹⁶ Adam gheboden is / Genesis int .ij. ende Job int v. Die mensche is gheboren te arbeyden ghelyck den voghel tot den vlieghen /¹¹⁷ ende wy en sullen niet sorghen / maer God betrouwien / daerom moghen wy wel den woerde Gods aenhanghen / welcke is dat beste deel. Luce int .x.¹¹⁸

Coorheere. Waer sout ghijt leeken geleert hebben / uwer sommighe en can niet een lettere. (B4^v)

Schoenmaker. Christus spreeckt Joannis. Sy sullen al van God gheleert werden.¹¹⁹

Coorheere. Daer moeste oock conste zijn / waer voor zijn die hoghe scholen.

Schoenmaker. Op welcker hogher schoolen heeft Joannes ghestaen / die soo hooghe ghescreuen heeft (Jn beghinsel was dat woort) ende dat woort was by God / &c. Joannis i.¹²⁰ Hy was doch nv een vischer / ghelyck Marci i. staet.¹²¹

Coorheere. Lieue dese heeft den heylighen gheest ghehadt / ghelyck Actuum int .ij. staet.

Schoenmaker. Daer staet toch Johelis int .ij. Ende het sal gheschien inden lesten daghen spreect God / Jck wil wt ghieten van mijnen geest op alle vleesche / hoe meynt ghy niet dat van ons gheseyt is?

Coorheere. Neent / het is van den Apostelen geseyt / ghelyck als Petrus betuyghet / Actuum int .ij. Daerom swyghet met den gheest.

Schoenmaker. Christus spreeckt Joannis int .vij.

¹¹⁶ Typesetting error 'gheluck' (luck) instead of 'ghelyck' (similar to). G: 'wie'.

¹¹⁷ Sachs's translation follows the Latin Job 5.7 *Homo nascitur ad laborem, et avis ad volatum.* (VLC). The Dutch in turn follows his translation rather than the Hebrew as given in the Luther-Bible *Der Mensch wird zu vnglück geborn / wie die Vögel schweben empor zufliegen.* (L45).

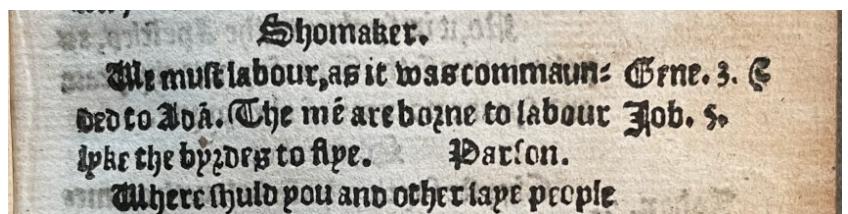
¹¹⁸ Lc 10.42 Jesus praises Mary for having 'chosen the good part', listening to him.

¹¹⁹ Jo 6.45 *Sie werden alle von Gott geleret sein.* (L45).

¹²⁰ Jo 1.1 *JM anfang war das Wort / Vnd das wort war bey Gott* (L45).

¹²¹ Mk 1.19 tells of Christ calling the disciples directly from their fishing boats.

Shomaker. We must labour, as it was commaunded to Adam.¹²² The men are borne to labour lyke the byrdes to flye.¹²³



Parson. Where shuld you and other laye people haue learned it? some of them knowe neyther A nor B.¹²⁴

Shomaker. Chryst sayth. They shal all be taught of God.

Parson. But there nedeth also learning, wherfore are the vniuersities els ordeyned?

Shomaker. In what vniuersitie (I pray the) dyd Ioan studye? Who wrote so profoundly In the beginning was the worde and the (a8r) worde was God. &cete.¹²⁵ For he was but a fyssher as it is wrytten.

Parson. What man / he was illuminate wyth the holy gost.

Shomaker. It is wrytten. And it shall happen in the later daies, sayth God, I wyl power out my spyrite vpon all fleshe. What meane ye? thynke ye that thys is not spoken of vs?¹²⁶

Parson. No, it is spoken of the Apostles, as peter witnesseth. Therfor hold thy peace and speake no more of the spyrite.

Shomaker. Chryste sayth

¹²² Gene. 3. Gn 3.19, God's prediction that Adam will have to work 'in the sweat of his face'. The following quotation from Lc 10.42 is missed out, perhaps because the translator could not verify the verse since it is a free paraphrase.

¹²³ Job. 5. [joined to the previous marginal note *Genesis.3. with &] Job 5.7 Yet man is born unto trouble, as the sparks fly upward.* (KJV) – see footnote of D for the difference in translation.

¹²⁴ G/D 'not a letter'.

¹²⁵ Jo 1.1 *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* (KJV). The St John's Prologue held a special status in the Middle Ages, often used as charm.

¹²⁶ Actes. 2. Acts 2.14–17, Peter's sermon at Pentecost.

(b1r) Wie aen my gheloof (ghelijck die script leyt) Van zijn leuen sullen vlieten vloeden des (C1^r) leuende waters dat (spreeckt die Euangelist¹²⁷ (welcke hi spreeckt van den heylighen gheest / welcke ontfanghen souden die aen hem gheloouen.

Coorheere. Hoe / ick meyne ghi stinct na Mantuano den ketter / met den heylighen gheest.

Schoenmaker. Paulus spreeckt i. Cor. int .iij. Weet ghy niet dat ghy den tempel Gods zijt / ende die gheest Gods in v woont.¹²⁸ Ende Galathas int .iij. die wijle ghi nv kinderen zijt / heeft God sinen gheest ghesent in uwer herten / die roept Abba lieue Vader.¹²⁹ Ende Timot. int .iij. na zynder Bermherticheyt maect hi ons salich / door dat badt der wederghedoorten / ende der vernieuwinghe des heylighen gheest / dwelc hy wtghegoten heeft rijckelijcke in ons.¹³⁰ Ende tot den Romeynen int .vijj. So nv den gheest in v woont / die Jesum heeft op verwect van der doot.¹³¹

Coorheere. Jck en vinde gheenen heylighen gheest in my / ghy ende ick en zijn niet daer toe edel ghenoech.

¹²⁷ Jo 7.38 *Wer an mich gleubet / wie die Schrift saget / von des Leibe werden ströme des lebendigen Wassers fliessen.* (L45).

¹²⁸ 1 Cor 3.16 *Wisset jr nicht / das jr Gottes tempel seid / vnd der geist Gottes in euch wonet?* (L45).

¹²⁹ Gal 4.6 *Weil jr denn Kinder seid / hat Gott gesand den geist seines Sons in eure hertzen / der schreit / Abba / lieber Vater.* (L45).

¹³⁰ Tit (!) 3.5 *nach seiner Barmhertzigkeit / machet er vns selig / Durch das Bad der wiedergeburt / vnd erneuerung des heiligen Geistes* (L45). Again a mistake reading Timothy instead of Titus.

¹³¹ Rom 8.11 *So nu der Geist / des / der Jhesum von den Todten auferwecket hat / in euch wonet / So wird auch derselbige der Christum von den Todten auferwecket hat / ewre sterblische Leibe lebendig machen / vmb des willen / das sein Geist in euch wonet.* (L45). The incomplete sentence of G in quoting only the first half verse is preserved.

(b1r) who so beleueth on me out of his bodye shall flowe streames of lyuing water.¹³² Whych is expounned by the Euangelist, that he speaketh the same of the holy gost¹³³ whych all they shuld receyue that beleue in him.

Parson. What I saye my thynke¹³⁴ that thou smellest after Mantuanus¹³⁵ that heretyke / wyth thy holy ghost.

Shomaker. Paule speaketh. Do ye not knowe that ye are the temple of God; and *that the spyryte of God dwelleth in you?*¹³⁶ And to the (B1r) Gallathians. 4. Seynge ye are nowe become chyldren, God hathe sente his spirite in to your hartes, who calleth. Abba, that is, beloued father.¹³⁷ He maketh vs ryghtuous accordyng to his mercy, through the bath of renouacion / and the renewyng of the holy ghost / whiche he hath powred haboundantly in vs.¹³⁸ And to the Romaynes in the. 5. chapter. As the spirite nowe dwelleth in you, who hath raysed Iesus Christe from death.¹³⁹ parson. I fynde no holy spirite in me, you nor I are not noble inough thereto.

¹³² *Iohan. 7. Jo 7.38 He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.* (KJV).

¹³³ Printed 'holystost'. The print is inconsistent in leaving a space in this word; I have normalised it as two words throughout.

¹³⁴ = 'methinks/it seems to me'.

¹³⁵ A mistake for Montanus, the second-century Phrygian heretic and founder of Montanism, who taught spontaneous inspiration by the Holy Spirit. The mistake is carried over here from the original German. The spelling is perhaps by confusion with the Italian Carmelite poet Mantuan (d. 1516), who was popular with Protestants.

¹³⁶ 1. Cor. 3.1 Cor 3.16 *Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?* (KJV).

¹³⁷ *Gallat. 4. Gal 4.6 And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.* (KJV).

¹³⁸ *Timot. (!) 4. Tit 3.5 according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.* (KJV). Wrong attribution taken over from D.

¹³⁹ *Roman. 5. Rom 8.11 But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.* (KJV). Keeping the incomplete phrase of G/D.

Schoenmaker. Waerom heet ghy die gheestelijcke als ghy den gheest Gods niet en hebt / (C1^r) ghy sout heeten die gheesteloosen.

Coorheere. Het zijn al ander luyden dan ghi zijt / die den heylighen gheest Gods hebben.

Schoenmaker. Ghi en dorft niet om sien na die. God en is gheen aensiender der persoonen. Actuum int .x.¹⁴⁰ Het staet Esaie .lxvi. Die gheest Gods sal rusten op een gebroken oft verplet herte.¹⁴¹

Coorheere. Thoont my een.

Schoenmaker. Paulus spreect met ronden woorden tot den Romeynen int .vij. Wie Cristus gheest niet en heeft / die en is niet sine.¹⁴²

Coorheere. O eenen armen gheest / die ghi Luterschen hebt / ick ghelooue hi is coolswart / lieue wat doet toch uwen heyligen gheest by v / ick ghelooue / hy slaept nacht ende dach by v / want men en spuert of en verneemt hem niet.

Schoenmaker. Christus spreect Math. int .vij. Ghy en sult uwen heylichdom niet de honden gheuen / noch den peerlen voor dye verkens worpen / op dat dye selue dat niet met voeten en treden.¹⁴³ (C2^r)

Coorheere. Lieuer / schaemt ghi v niet sulcken grouen woorden wt te spreken voor my.

Schoenmaker. Ey lieue Heere en vertooren v niet / het is die heylige schriftuere.

Coorheere. Ja / ia / ia / ghy Lutersche segghet vele van twoort Gods / ende het wert nv / hoe

Shomaker. Wherfore are ye then called spiritual seyng you haue not the spyrite of God? ye ought with good right to be called spyrytelease.¹⁴⁴

parson. They be other maner of people then eyther you or I am whiche haue the spiryte of God.

Shomaker. Ye ought not to haue respect vnto them. For God is no accepter¹⁴⁵ of parsons.¹⁴⁶ It is also wridden. The spirite of God shal rest vpon a broken or weake harte.¹⁴⁷

Parson. (B1v) shewe me one, I praye the.

Shomaker. Paull speaketh openly. Whosoeuer *that* hath not the spyrite of Chryst, perteyneth not to hym.¹⁴⁸

Parson. Oh / trulye it is a very poore and myserable spirit / which ye Lutherians haue, I thinke he is as blacke as a cole. I praye the tell me what make ye wyth your holy ghost? I beleue verely that he slepeth both nyght and daye by you, for men can not so much as ones spye hym.

Shomaker. Christ sayth, Geue not that whych is holy to dogges, neyther cast ye your pearles before swyne, leaste they treade them vnder theyr fete.¹⁴⁹

Parson. What, are ye not ashamed to speake such Rude and Vncommelye woordes before me?

Shomaker. I pray the sir domine be not displeased for it is the saying of holy scripture.

parson. yea, yea, yea, ye Lutherians speake much, of Goddes woerde, and it waxeth

¹⁴⁴ = 'spiritless'.

¹⁴⁵ = 'respecter'.

¹⁴⁶ *Actes. 10.* Act 10.34 talks about the expansion of the mission to the gentiles, with Peter conceding: *I perceive that God is no respecter of persons.* (KJV).

¹⁴⁷ *Esay. 66.* Is 66.2 *to this man will I look, even to him poor and of a contrite spirit.* (KJV).

¹⁴⁸ *Rom.an8.* The form might come about because the '8' looks like a final 's'. Rom 8.8 *Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.* (KJV).

¹⁴⁹ *Math. 7.* Mt 7.6 *Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet.* (KJV).

¹⁴⁰ *Act 10.34 Nu erfare ich mit der warheit / das Gott die Person nicht ansihet* (L45).

¹⁴¹ Paraphrase of Is 66.2. *Jch sehe aber an / den Elenden vnd der zubrochens Geists ist / vnd der sich fürchtet fur meinem wort.* (L45).

¹⁴² *Rom 8.8 Wer aber Christus geist nicht hat / Der ist nicht sein.* (L45).

¹⁴³ *Mt 7.6 JR solt das Heilighum nicht den Hundens geben / vnd ewre Perlen solt jr nicht fur die Sew werffen / Auff das sie die selbigen nicht zutreten mit jren Füssen.* (L45).

(b1v) langher hoe argher / ic en mercke aen geenen / gheen beteringhe.

Schoenmaker. Christus spreekt Luc. int .xvij. Dat rijcke Gods en coemt niet wtwendich / oft met opsiens / dat men mochte spreken / siet hier oft daer ist / maer het is inwendich in v / dat is soo vele / het en staet niet in wtwendighe wercken.¹⁵⁰

Coorheere. Dat merckt men aen de Gods dienst wel / ghy en bidt niet / noch ghy en soeckt die kercke niet / noch die daechsgetijden / oft schier gheheel niet. Js dan een sulcken rijck Gods in v Luterschen / Jck ghelooue het is dat duyuelsrijck.

Schoenmaker. Christus spreeckt Joannis int .iiij. Die tijt sal comen en is nv / datmen niet mere en sal bidden op dese berch / noch tot Hie(C2^v)rusalem den Vader / maer die warachtighe aenbidders sullen den Vader aenbidden inden gheest / ende in der waerheyt.¹⁵¹ Hier mede leyt daer neder alle kercken gaen / ende v daechs ghetijden / ende vor alle ghebet na dat ghetal / welcke sonder alle gheest ende waerheyt aenbidden / maer vele meer aenstaet dat ghetal ende dat wtwendich gherabbel / daer af Christus spreeckt Matth. int .xv. Dit volck eert my metten lippen / maer haer herte is verre van my.¹⁵²

Coorheere. Ende Christus spreeckt Luc .xvij. ghi sult sonder ophouden bidden.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Lc 17.20–21 *Das reich Gottes kommt nicht mit eusserlichen Geberden / Man wird auch nicht sagen / Sihe hie / oder da ist es. Denn sehet / Das reich Gottes ist inwendig in euch.* (L45).

¹⁵¹ Jo 4.21 & 23. *Es kommt die zeit / das jr weder auff diesem Berge / noch zu Jerusalem werdet den Vater an beten. Aber es kommt die zeit / vnd ist schon jtz / Das die warhaftigen Anbeter werden den Vater anbeten / im Geist vnd in der Warheit.* (L45)

¹⁵² Mt 15.8 8 *Dis Volck nahet sich zu mir mit seinem Munde / vnd ehret mich mit seinen Lippen / Aber jr Hertz ist ferne von mir /* (L45).

¹⁵³ Lc 18.1 *ER saget jnen aber ein Glechnis dauon / Das man alle zeit beten vnd nicht lass werden solt.* (L45).

(b1v) the lenger the worse / I can not spye any amende(B2r)ment in none of you all.¹⁵⁴

Shomaker. Christ saythe Luke. 19. The kyngdome of God commeth not outwardly / or wyth lokyng vp / that men myght poynt it wyth fyngers, to saie here in thys or in that place is it / but it is inwardly in you. that is, it standeth not in outwarde workes.¹⁵⁵

Parson. Men may perceave that by your deuine seruyce. Ye praye not, nether go ye to the Churche / nor to the dayly seruice, nor in a maner to nothyng at all that good is Is then suche kyngdom Gods kyngdom, amongst you Lutherians? I beleue it is the great deuell of helles kyngdome.

Shomaker. Christ speaketh, The tyme shall come / and is euen nowe, that men shall praye no more vpon this mountaine nor at Ierusalem, but shall praye only in spyryte and veryte¹⁵⁶ Thys casteth downe and condempneth your daylye seruice with also your numbred prayers. For Chryste wholy and all abhorreth youre numbred prayers wyth youre outward mumbling. Where as he saythe Mathew xv. Thys people worshyp me wyth theyr lyppes, but theyr harte is farre from me.¹⁵⁷ (B2v)

parson. And Christ sayth, ye shall praye without ceasyng.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ = 'any of you all'. Double negatives are common in medieval and early modern English for emphasis, and do not change the positive sense.

¹⁵⁵ Luke. 19. Lc 17(!).20–21 *The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: Neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you.* (KJV). A misreading of the chapter number either by the translator or the typesetter.

¹⁵⁶ Math. (!) 4. Jo 4.21 & 23. *Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth.* (KJV). Wrong attribution to the gospel of Mathew by the translator or typesetter in the margin, the text has the correct John.

¹⁵⁷ Math. 15. Mt 15.8 *This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me.* (KJV).

¹⁵⁸ Luke. 18. Lc 18.1 *And he spake a parable unto them to this end, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint.* (KJV).

Schoenmaker. Ja dat bidden in den gheest mach sonder ophouden
gheschieden / mer uwe vele bidden verworp Christus Matthei
.vi. sprekt: Ghy en sult niet vele woorden maken.¹⁵⁹

Coorheere. Lieue wat is dat voor een ghebet oft Gods dienst in den
gheest ende waerheyt leert my / soo en derf ick nemmermeer te
metten gaen / oft mijn ghetijden lesen.

Schoenmaker. Leset dat boecxken Martini Luthers van der
Christelijcker vrijheyt / welcke by den Paus Leo toegheschickt
heeft / daer (C3¹) vint ghyt corts beschreuen.¹⁶⁰

Coorheere. Jck woude dat Luther met allen sinen boecken verbrant
ware / ick en hebber noyt ghelesen / ende ick en wille noch
gehen lesen.

Schoenmaker. Ey / wat oordeelt ghy dan?

Coorheere. Hoe dat hi die heylighen nemmermeer en dient.

Schoenmaker. Cristus spreeckt Matth. int .iiij. Ghi sult God

shomaker. yea, he meaneth, to praye without ceasyng in the spyrite,
but Chryst dispyseth your prayer: saying, ye shall not make many
wordes.¹⁶¹

parson. Gentle frende what is that for a prayer, to praye in spirite and
veritie? teache me that same I praye the, then shall I nede no more
to say my mattens nor myne other seruice.

shomaker. Reade that lytle boke of Marten Luther, intituled of the
Christen lybertye¹⁶² which he dedicated to Pope Leo, and there
shall ye fynde it brefely declared.

parson. I wolde rather that Luther wyth al hys bokes were burnt, I
neuer in all my lyfe dyd reade none of them,¹⁶³ nor yet wyll as I
am aduyed.

shomaker. What, why doest thou iudge then?

parson. Mary¹⁶⁴ because he worshippeth not the saintes.

shomaker. (B3r) Chryst sayth. Thou shalt onely worshyp

¹⁵⁹ Mt 6.7 *Vnd wenn jr betet / solt jr nicht viel plappern / wie die Heiden / Denn sie meinen / sie werden erhöret / wenn sie viel wort machen.* (L45).

¹⁶⁰ Martin Luther, ‘De libertate christiana’ (1520). On the publication history and the theological background see Taylor Editions 3, ed. Jones / Lähnemann (2020).

¹⁶¹ Math. 6. Mt 6.7 *But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking.* (KJV).

¹⁶² Martin Luther ‘De libertate christiana’, see the footnote in D; [digital edition of the Taylorian copy Open Access](#). The pamphlet was the most sold book of the entire 16th century, first published in German but shortly afterwards in the Latin version which Luther had written first, and translated into Dutch and English from there.

¹⁶³ = ‘I never read any of them’. Another emphatic double negative.

¹⁶⁴ Variant of ‘marry’, an expression of surprise, outrage, astonishment, now archaic.

(b2r) uwen Heere alleene aenbidden / ende hem alleene dienen.¹⁶⁵
 Coorheere. Ja / wy moeten voorsprekers hebben by God.
 Schoenmaker. Joannes spreeckt Joan. int .i. capit. in die eerste Epistel.
 Ende oft yemant sondich / soo hebben wy eenen Aduocaet by
 God Jesum Christum / die ghorechtich is / ende die selue is die
 versoeninge / voor onse sonden.¹⁶⁶
 Coorheere. Ja lieue ia / noot bringhet eysschen / oft v hant ontwee
 ware / sout ghi sinte Wolfgang niet aenropen.
 Schoenmaker. Neen ick / Christus spreeckt Mat .xi. (C3^v) Coemt hier
 alle tot my die belast oft beswaert zijt / ick wil v vertroosten¹⁶⁷
 waer willen wy dan beter hulpe soeken / ghy hebt afgoden / wt
 den heylighen gemaect / ende ons daer na van Christo afgheuoert.
 Coorheere. Ja ick hebbe wel vernomen / hoe dat ghy Lutheranen
 niet meer en vast / leert v dat Luthers gheest.
 Schoenmaker. Vasten en is ons van God niet geboden / maer van
 God vrij ghelaten. Christus spreeckt Matth. int .vi. Wantneer ghy
 vasten wilt / soo laet v hooft der saluen niet ghebreken¹⁶⁸ hy en
 spreeckt niet / ghy sult oft moet vasten / ghelyck onse stiefvader
 te Roomen.

¹⁶⁵ Mt 4.10 Da sprach Jhesus zu jm / Heb dich weg von mir Satan / Denn es stehet geschrieben / Du soll anbeten Gott deinen HERRN / vnd jm allein dienen. (L45).

¹⁶⁶ Jo 1.1-2 Vnd ob jemand sündiget / So haben wir einen Fursprecher bey dem Vater / Jhesum Christ / der gerecht ist / Vnd derselbige ist die versönung fur vnser sünde. (L45).

¹⁶⁷ Mt 11.28 Kompt her zu mir / alle die jr müheselig vnd beladen seid / Ich wil euch erquicken. (L45)

¹⁶⁸ Mt 6.17 Wenn du aber fastest / so salbe dein heubt / vnd wassche dein angesicht / (L45).

(b2r) thy lorde God, and serue him onelye.¹⁶⁹
 Parson. Yea, we must haue intercessours to god
 Shomaker. Iohn sayth, If any man haue synned we haue a mediatour
 by God / whiche is Jesus Chryst, who is ryghtuous, who is also the
 peacemaker for oure sinnes.¹⁷⁰
 Parson. Yea thou speakest fayre wordes good fellowe, but nede
 compelleth a man to begge yf thy legge were broken / woldest
 thou not go to saint Wolfgang? or if thou haddest the tothache
 woldest thou not pray to saint Apolonia?¹⁷¹
 shomaker. No trulye. Chryst sayth, come vnto me al ye that labour
 and are laden, and I wyll ease you.¹⁷² Where then wyll we seke
 better helpe, ye haue made Idoles of the saintes and so ye haue
 seduced and brought vs from Chryst.
 Parson. Yea, I haue hearde wel Inough of you Lutherians that ye do
 neuer fast / doth Luthers holy ghost teache you that?
 shomaker. We are not commaunded of God to (B3^v) fast, but God
 hath lefte it free. Chryst saith when thou wylt faste, annoint thy
 head and wasshe thy Face,¹⁷³ he sayth not, thowe shalt or thou
 must faste, lyke our Romysch stepfather doth.

¹⁶⁹ Math. 4. Mt 4.10 Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. (KJV).

¹⁷⁰ 1. Iohn. 1. 1 Jo 1.1-2 And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: And he is the propitiation for our sins. (KJV).

¹⁷¹ Scoloker adds the passage on Apollonia, the third-century Alexandrian martyr who had all of her teeth pulled out and thus became the patron saint of dentistry. He may have added this for English relevance: whereas the tenth-century Swabian bishop Wolfgang was a distinctively German saint, Apollonia was frequently represented in medieval English churches. Her cult was one of those defended by the Catholic Sir Thomas More (himself martyred in 1535) in his *Dialogue concerning Heresies* (1530): 'as for your tethe I wene if they aked well / ye wolde your selfe thynke it a thynge worthy and not to symple to aske helpe of saynt Appolyn and of god to.' (*A dialoge of Syr Thomas More knyghte* ([William Rastell], 1530; STC 18085), book 2 chapter 11, [06]v.)

¹⁷² Math. 11. Mt 11.28 Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. (KJV)

¹⁷³ Math. 6. Mt 6.17 when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face (KJV).

Coorheere. Ja / maer ghi en vast nemmermeer.

Schoenmaker. Jck ghelooue / recht te vasten / dat doen die hantwerckers meer / al ist sake dat sy viermael inden dach eten / dan alle Monicken / Nonnen / ende Papen / die in dat gheheel Duytsche Lant zijn / het is openbaer / ick en derf niet meer daer af segghen.

Coorheere. So swijghet / so wil ic spreken / aen tvasten ist weynichste ghelegen / maer ghi Lutheranen eet vleesch / daer toe op den vrij(C4^r)dach / dat v die duyuel seghene.

Schoenmaker. Vleesch te eten en is van God niet verboden / ende daerom en ist gheen sonde / als men die crancken niet en arghert. Cristus spreeckt Matth .xv. All wat inden mont gaet en besmet den mensche niet / maer dat wt den monde gaet / als hoerije / moort / ouerspel / diefte / valsche ghetuy ghenisse / lasteringhe¹⁷⁴ /¹⁷⁵ en Paulus i. Cor .x. Al wat op die mercet oft vleeshhuys veyl is / dat etet.¹⁷⁶

Coorheere. Ghi segt wat ghi wilt / goede oude gewoonten en sal men niet verachten / dye schier drie oft vier hondert iaer hebben geweest.

Schoenmaker.

Parson. Yea, but ye neuer do fast.

Shomaker I beleue that the¹⁷⁷ handycraftes menne do faste better (yea although they eate. 4. tymes in a daye) then all the prystes and shauelyngs¹⁷⁸ of the realme. It is manyfeste Inough. I nede not to speake any more therof.

Parson. Holde thy peace then, and let me speake, as concernyng fastinge that is the least faute, but ye Lutherians eate flesshe on the fryday, that the deuell of hell mought¹⁷⁹ blysse you.

Shomaker. It is not forbydden of God to eat flesh, and therfore is it not sinne / so farre fourth as the weake people are not therby offended. Chryst saith. That which goeth into the Mouthe, defyleth not the Manne / but that which commeth oute of the mouth defyleth the Manne / as whooredome, murther, aduoutye,¹⁸⁰ theft, false wytnesse (B4r) bearing, bacbyting. &c.¹⁸¹ And Paule: 1 Corinthians What soeuer is sold in the market that eate.¹⁸²

Parson. yea, saye what ye lyst, but good olde customes whynch haue bene kept and obserued aboue foure hondreth¹⁸³ yeris / are not to be despysed.

Shomaker.

¹⁷⁷ Original 'thathe'.

¹⁷⁸ A derogatory term for monks and friars (because of their distinctive shaved heads), common in Protestant polemics. Earliest OED attestation 1529.

¹⁷⁹ = 'might' (auxiliary verb).

¹⁸⁰ Misprint for 'advoutry' = adultery.

¹⁸¹ Math. 15. Mt 15.11 *Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man.* (KJV).

¹⁸² 1. Corinth = 'You may eat whatsoever is sold in the market'. Preserves syntax of the Dutch. 1 Cor 10.25 *Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no question for conscience sake.* (KJV).

¹⁸³ = 'hundred'.

¹⁷⁴ Typographical error: 'lachteringhe' instead of 'lasteringhe', G: 'lesterung'.

¹⁷⁵ Mt 15.11 *Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man.* (KJV).

¹⁷⁶ 1 Cor 10.25 *ALles was feil ist auff dem Fleischmarckt / das esset / vnd forschet nichts / Auff das jr des Gewissens verschonet.* (L45).

(b2v) Christus spreeckt Joannis int .xiij. Jc ben den wech / die waerheyt / ende dat leuen /¹⁸⁴ maer hi en spreeckt niet / ick ben die ghewoente / daerom moeten wy die waerheyt aenhangen / welcke dat woort Gods ende God selue is / dat blijft eewich. Mat. int xxij. ca.¹⁸⁵ Maer ghewoente coemt van menschen / welcke alle lueghenaers zijn / ghelyck den .cxv. Psalme seyt /¹⁸⁶ daerom is die ghewoente verganckelick.

Coorheere. Lieue segghet my noch eens / hoe dat die Lutheranen nemmermeer en biechten (C4^v) dat is noch veel meer ketterscher. Schoenmaker. Dat en is oock van God niet geboden / oock niet wt ghesproken / noch int oude / noch int nieuwe Testament.

Coorheere. Nochtans sprack Christus Luce .xvij. Gaet ende vertoent v den Priesters / &c.¹⁸⁷

Schoenmaker. Heet dan verthoonen biechten / dat is een wonderlijcs Duytsch / ghy moestet my hogher met schriftueren bewijsen / soude die oorebiecht so grooten bedwanc ende salighen dinghen zijn / so sout claeerde in der schriftueren staen.

Coorheere. Ey / wilt ghi dan gheheel niet doen dan wat van God gheboden is / ende inder schrift begrepen is / dat is een ellendighe sake.

¹⁸⁴ Jo 14.6 *Jhesus spricht zu jm / Ich bin der Weg / vnd die Warheit / vnd das Leben. Niemand kommt zum Vater / denn durch Mich.* (L45).

¹⁸⁵ Mt 24.35 *Himmel vnd Erden werden vergehen / Aber meine Wort werden nicht vergehen.* (L45).

¹⁸⁶ Ps 115.2 *Omnis homo mendax.* (VLC). Psalm 115 in the Vulgate numbering, 116 in the Protestant tradition: Ps 116.11 *Alle Menschen sind Lügner.* (L45). Hans Sachs had to rely for the Old Testament on the Vulgate since the translation of the Torah and the poetic books of the Hebrew Bible was only finished in October 1524, and the prophets followed even later.

¹⁸⁷ Lc 17.14 *Vnd da er sie sahe / sprach er zu jnen / Gehet hin / vnd zeiget euch den Priestern.* (L45).

(b2v) Chryst sayth Iohn in. 14. I am the waye, verytie / and the euerlastynge Lyfe /¹⁸⁸ but he saith not I am the custom. Their fore must we sticke and cleave to the verytie whyche is Gods worde, and euene god hym selfe, which endureth for euer more /¹⁸⁹ But custome commeth of men, whyche are all lyers / as the. 115. psal. saieth,¹⁹⁰ which sayinge dothe whole and all ouerthrowe your customes.

Parson. Syr I pray the tell me, the Lutherians do neuer shryue¹⁹¹ nor confesse them, whych is the greatest heresie of all.

Shomaker. Nether is that commanded of God, nor yet pronounced, nether in the olde nor in the newe Testament.

Parson. Dyd not Chryst saye Go and shewe thy(B4v)selfe vnto the priestes.¹⁹²

shomaker. Doest thou call shewing shryuing, that is a wonders straunge Englysshe¹⁹³, ye must declare it better vnto me by scripture. If the same shryuing in the eare were such a great bonde and holy thyng, it shuld truely be clerer declared in the scripture.

Parson. What I say / wyll ye do nothyng els but that whyche is commaunded yow of GOD¹⁹⁴ in the scripture? that is a pitious case.

¹⁸⁸ *Johan. 14. Jo 14.6 Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.* (KJV).

¹⁸⁹ *Math. 25. Mt 24.35 Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.* (KJV).

¹⁹⁰ *Psalm. 115. Ps 116.11 All men are liars.* (KJV). On the numbering, see opposite.

¹⁹¹ 'to shrive' = 'take prescribed penance', here later explained as 'shrieving in the ear' = to confess privately to a priest rather than part of public penance.

¹⁹² *Math. (!) 22. Lc 17.14 And when he saw them, he said unto them, Go shew yourselves unto the priests.* (KJV). Wrong gospel in the margin (Mt 22 has not the story of the healing of the lepers who have to show themselves to the priests), also misunderstanding of the plural (ten lepers, addressed as 'u' = 'you') as singular (addressed as 'thou').

¹⁹³ = 'wondrously strange English', instead of 'seltzam Teutsch' ('strange German', G) / 'wonderlijcs Duytsch' ('strange Dutch', D).

¹⁹⁴ Capitalised in original. In many Tudor works, the name 'God' would be capitalised throughout.

Schoenmaker. Jck en can dat selue niet veruullen / gelijck Actuum
int .xv. staet /¹⁹⁵ wat soude ick dan noch meer op my laden.

Coorheere. En alsulcken dinghen hebben die heylige vaders
gheordineert inden Consilio.

Schoenmaker. Van wien hebben si die macht.

Coorheere. (C5^r) Christus spreeckt Joan. int .xvi. ca. Jc hebbe v noch
vele te segghen / dwelck ghi nv niet draghen en muecht / maer als
die gheest der waerheyt coeme / die sal v alle dinck verclaren /¹⁹⁶
hoort hier / zijn dan dye Consilia niet van God ingheset.

Schoenmaker. Maer Christus spreeckt daer vooren Joan. int .xv. Die
trooster die heylige gheest / welcke mijnen Vader senden sal in
mynen name / die selue sal v alle dinck leeren / ende v
vercondighen van alle dat ick v gheseyt hebbe /¹⁹⁷ hoort / hy en
spreeckt niet hy sal v nieuwe dinghen leeren / welcke ic v niet
gheset en hebbe / mer dat ick v geset hebbe / dat sal hy v verclaren.
Op dat ghy recht verstaet / als ic ghemeint hebbe /

¹⁹⁵ Act 15.10 *Was versucht jr denn nu Gott / mit aufflegen des Jochs auff der Jünger helse / welches weder vnser Vater / noch wir haben mügen tragen?* (L45).

¹⁹⁶ Jo 16.13 *Wenn aber jener / der Geist der warheit kommen wird / der wird euch in alle warheit leiten. Denn er wird nicht von jm selber reden / sondern was er hören wird / das wird er reden / vnd was zukünffig ist / wird er euch verkündigen.* (L45). *Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will shew you things to come.* (KJV).

¹⁹⁷ Jo 15.26–27 *wenn aber der tröster kommen wird / welchen ich euch senden werde vom Vater / der Geist der warheit / der vom Vater ausgehet / der wird zeugen von mir. 27 Vnd jr werdet auch zeugen / Denn jr seid von anfang bey mir gewesen.* (L45). *But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me: 27 And ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning.* (KJV).

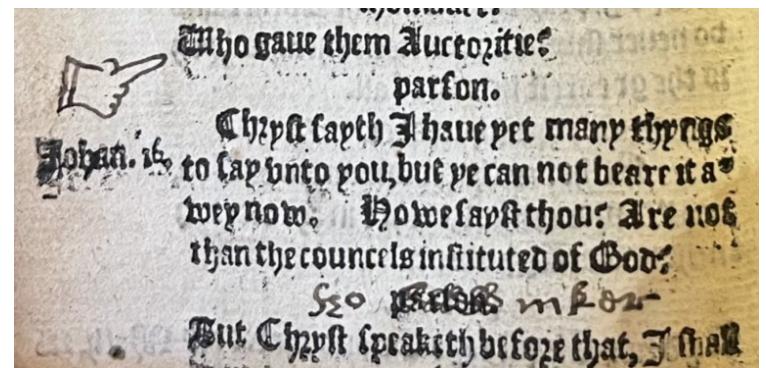
shomaker. I can not fulfyll the same, as it is declared /¹⁹⁸ what nede I
to lay any more burthen vpon me?

parson. Such thynges haue the holy fathers ordeyned in their
councils.

shomaker. Who gaue them Auctoritie?¹⁹⁹

parson. Chryst sayth I haue yet many thynges to say vnto you, but ye
can not beare it awey²⁰⁰ now: Howe sayst thou? Are not than the
councils instituted of God?

Shomaker.²⁰¹ But Chryst speaketh before that, I shall (B5r) send the
comforter (which is the spryrite of trueth which procedeth of the
father) and he shall declare you all thynges whiche I haue tolde
you.²⁰² Marke, he sayth not, he shall teache you new thinges,
whych I haue not tolde you, but the same thynges which I haue
tolde you, euen the same shall he declare vnto you:



Manicule and correction in Bodleian Library, Vet. A1 f. 237, B4v

¹⁹⁸ Actes. 15. Act 15.10 *Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?* (KJV).

¹⁹⁹ Manicule in the Bodleian copy, see illustration above.

²⁰⁰ Iohan. 16. See left for KJV.

²⁰¹ The edition has 'parson.' as speaker; in the Bodleian copy crossed out by a contemporary reader and corrected, see illustration above.

²⁰² Iohan. 15. See left for KJV.

(b3r) alsoo meynt hy oock hier na / daer hy spreect / Hy sal v in alle waerheyt leyden.

Coorheere. Soo en houdy van dat Consilium niet.

Schoenmaker. Ja ick / van dien dat die Apostelen hielden te Hierusalem.

Coorheere. Hebben die Apostelen oock een Consilium ghehouden.

Schoenmaker. Ja sy / hebdy een Bibel? (C5^v)

Coorheere. Ja / Kochin / brenghet dat groote oude boeck hier op.

Kochin. Heere is dat?

Coorheere. Ey neent / dat is dat Decretal / maeckes niet onreyn.

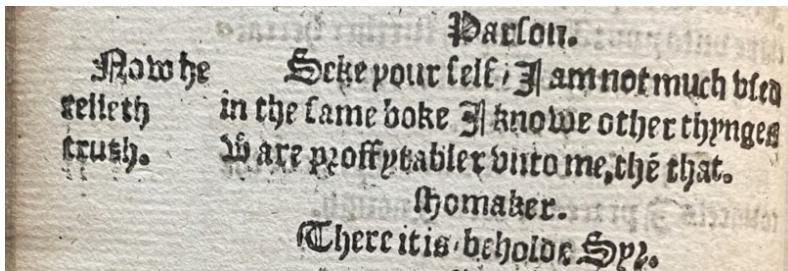
Kochin. Heere ist dat?

Coorheere. Jaet / veecht dat stof af dat v die rits slae / wel aen meester / waer ist?

Schoenmaker. Soeckt Actuum int .xv.²⁰³

Coorheere. Soecket selue / ick en ben daer niet wel in bekent / ick weet wel nuters te lesen.

Schoenmaker. Siet daer Heere.



Marginal note by way of a commentary in the English dialogue, B5v

²⁰³ Act 15.5–9. Da tratten auff etliche von der Phariseer secten / die gleubig waren worden / vnd sprachen / Man mus sie beschneiten / vnd gebieten zu halten das gesetz Mosi. 6 Aber die Apostel vnd die Eltesten kamen zusammen / diese rede zu besehen. 7 DA man sich aber lange gezanket hatte / stand Petrus auff / vnd sprach zu jnen / Jr Menner / lieben Brüder / Jr wisset / das Gott lang vor dieser zeit / vnter vns erwelet hat / das durch meinen mund / die Heiden das wort des Euangelijs höreten vnd gleubten. 8 Vnd Gott der Hertzkündiger zeugete vber sie / vnd gab jnen den heiligen Geist / gleich auch wie vns / 9 vnd macht kein vnterscheid zwischen vns vnd jnen / Vnd reinigte jre Hertzen durch den glauben. (L45).

(b3r) And sayth further hereafter / he shal leade you in all treuth Parson. Thus holdest thou nothyng of the councels I perceave well Inough.

shomaker. yes verelye of that counsell whych the Apostles kepte at Ierusalem.

Parson. Haue the apostles also kept a counsell?

shomaker. yea if you haue a byble.

parson. yea I haue one, O Katherin / brynge he ther that same great old boke

Katherin.²⁰⁴ Syr is that same it?

parson. What no / that same is the decrees, loke ye make it not foule.²⁰⁵

Katheryn. Syr is thys it?

(B5v) Parson. Yea, make it cleane, and swepe of the dust and cobwebbes now master shomaker where is it?²⁰⁶

shomaker. Seke in the Actes of the Apostles in the. 15. chapter.²⁰⁷

Parson. Seke your self / I am not much vsed in the same boke I knowe other thynges which are proffytabler vnto me, then that.²⁰⁸

shomaker. There it is / beholde Syr.

²⁰⁴ Katherin the parsons handmayd in the margin. Scoloker gives the girl a name which was equally common in Germany and England, and makes her a maid-servant rather than the original cook whom he turns into a male servant.

²⁰⁵ what elses. as marginal note. Typical of a polemical dialogue, Scoloker prints sarcastic commentary in the margins telling us exactly what to think about the foolish Catholic. Here he seems to be saying ironically 'Of course it's the Pope's Decretals [and not Scripture], what else?'

²⁰⁶ o much dyd he regarde the byble. as marginal note = 'there is so much dust on it that he clearly never picks it up'.

²⁰⁷ Actes. 13. [] The number in the margin is wrong, that in the text is correct, referring to Act 15.5–9, Peter's sermon at Pentecost. It is ironic that the typesetter seems set to confuse any readers exactly at the point where they might want to check a reference in the Bible for themselves.

²⁰⁸ Now he telleth truth. as maginal note.

Coorheere. Kochin merct Actuum int .xv. Jc wilt lesen van wonders weghen / wat die oude ghesellen ghemaectt hebben.

Schoenmaker. Ja leest / ghi sult vinden datmen die lasten des ouden Testaments op die kersten menschen niet legghen en mach / daerom en zijn wy niet schuldich v te hooren / vele meynigher int nieuwe Testament. (C6^r)

Coorheere. Maer Cristus spreect Luce int .x. Wie v hoort / die hoort my / die v veracht / dye veracht my ²⁰⁹ is dat niet claer ghenoech.

Schoenmaker. Jaet / wanneer ghy dat woort Gods claer ende louter segt / soo salmen v hooren ghelyc Christum selue / mer waer ghi v eyghen goetduncken segghet / so en salmen v niet hooren / want Christus seyt Matth. int .xv. Vergheuelijck dienen sy my / ter wijlen si leeren menschen gheboden ²¹⁰ ende int selue / Alle plantatie die van God mijnen hemelschen Vader niet gheplant en is. die sal wtgheroeyt werden.²¹¹

Coorheere. Sijn dan die Consilia oock menschen leeren.

Schoenmaker. Wanneermen inden gront daer af spreken wilt / soo hebben die Consilia merckelijc twee schaden in Christenheyt ghedaen.

Coorheere. Welcke / bethoont se.

Schoenmaker. Jtem ten iersten die gheboden die sonder ghetal oft mate zijn / gelijck ghi weet ende dat noch quader is / schier al met den ban beuesticht / ende daer toe den meesten deel niet inder schrift ghegront / ende sulcke (C6^v) nwe gheboden heeft men hooghe

²⁰⁹ Lc 10.16 *Wer euch höret / der höret Mich / Vnd wer Euch verachtet / der veracht Mich / Wer aber Mich verachtet / der verachtet Den / der mich gesand hat.* (L45).

²¹⁰ Mt 15.9 *Aber vergeblich dienen sie mir / die weil sie leren solche Lere / die nichts den menschen Gebot sind.* (L45). This is missing in the English translation; it would be the *But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.* (KJV).

²¹¹ Mt 15.13 *Aber er antwortet vnd sprach / Alle Pflantzen die mein himlischer Vater nicht pflanzet / die werden ausgereut.* (L45).

Parson. Katherin, rede Actum 15. nay let alone, I wyll rede it my self, and I wyll know what the same olde fellowes haue made.

Shomaker. Yea, Rede, and ye shall fynde that men may not lay the burdens of the olde Testament vpon the Christians, therfore are we not bounde to heare you in the olde, muche lesse in the new testament.

Parson. But Christ sayth. Whosoeuer heareth you, heareth me, and he that despyseth you, despyseth me,²¹² is that same not cleare Inough?

shomaker. (B6r) Yea, when you do syncerlye and purelye teach Gods worde, then are men bounde to heare you euen as Chryste hym selfe. But when ye preach youre owne Imaginacyons and inuencyons, then ought no man to gyue care vnto you. For all that is not planted of God my heauenly father shalbe plucked vp by the rotes.²¹³

Parson. Are the councilles then also the learnyng of men?

Shomaker. If a man shulde say the trueth, the councilles haue done great dammage in Chryhendome by two maner of wayes.

Parson. What hurt or dammage? declare them I pray the hartelye.

Syomaker. Fyrst the commaundementes which are innumerable and vnmeasurable as you your self knowe / and that which is worst of all haue bene by excommunycacyons confyrmed, and aboue that moost part are not grounded in the scrypture, and such your commaundementes men haue highly

²¹² Luke. 10. Lc 10.16 *He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me.* (KJV).

²¹³ The first quotation from Matthew (see D footnote left: Mt 15.9) is left out and consequently the second quotation which refers back 'and in the same chapter' is also no marked with a marginal note. Mt 15.13 *But he answered and said, Every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.* (KJV).

(b3v) op geheuen / ende des menschen conscientie daer mede verschickt ende verueert / dat si den warachtelicken gheboden Gods gelijck gheacht zijn gheweest / ende die voorgeset ende die gheboden Gods te rugge geset zijn / ende vergetelic by den menschen ghemaectz zijn / sulcke lieden heeft Paulus vercondicht met haren gheboden .i. Timo. int .iiij. dat inden lesten tijden souden comen sommighe die af souden treden vant ghelooue / ende aenhangen den gheest der dolinghen / ende leeringhe des duuels / door welcken zy in ypocrisie lueghen sprekers zijn / ende branttekenen in haer conscientie hebben / ende verbieden den houwelicken staet / ende te mijden die spijse die God gheschapen heeft / te nemen met dancksegghinghe den gheloouighen / ende dien dye de waerheyt bekent hebben.²¹⁴

Coorheere Waer ist / is dat gheschiet / met welcken gheboden.

Schoenmaker. Vleesch te eten op eenen vrijdach / heeftmen voor een groote sonde gheacht / dan ouerspel / ende soude een Paep een echte wif ghehadt hebben / dat heeftmen voor groote sonde ghehouden / dan oft hy een hoere oft twee ghehouden hadde. (C7^r)

Coorheere. Wel verstaen spreect die Wale / was is dan die ander schade.

Schoenmaker. Ten anderen hebben sy vele nieuwe Gods diensten opgherecht / ende goede wercken ghenoemt / daer mede alle ander Monicken / Nonnen ende Papen om gaen ende tis toch (alsmen dat alderhoochste daer af spreken wille /)²¹⁵ sommighe wtwendighe sotswerck²¹⁶ daer God niet af ghesproken en heeft / ende hebben daer dore / ende wy alte samen mede / die rechtighe goede wercken verlaten / die ons God beuolen heeft.

²¹⁴ 1 Tim 4.1–3 ... / Das in den letzten Zeiten / werden etliche von dem Glauben abtreten / vnd anhangen den verfürischen Geistern / vnd leren der Teufel / 2 Durch die / so in gleisnerey Lügenreder sind / vnd Brandmal in jrem Gewissen haben / 3 vnd verbieten Ehelich zu werden / vnd zu meiden die Speise / die Gott geschaffen hat / zu nemen mit Dancksagung / den gleubigen vnd denen die die warheit erkennen /. (L45).

²¹⁵ The closing bracket is missing, inserted following the German version.

²¹⁶ The work of a 'sot' = fool. In G 'Larvenwerk' (= mummery / play with masks).

(b3v) estemed and therwith greatly charged mens consciences / and haue bene reputed lyke the commaundementes of God / yea, set before them (B6v) wherby the commaundementes of God haue bene set backe and made vnknownen to the people. Such people hath Paul declared with their commaundementes. That in the latter tymes shulde departe from the fayth, and gyue hede vnto spirites of errorre / and deuelyshe doctryne of them which speake false thorow ypocrisy & haue their consciences marked with an hote yron, forbyddyng to marry, and commaundyng to absteyne from meates which God hathe created to be receyued wyth thankes geuyng of them which beleue and know the truth.²¹⁷

Parson. How is that come to passe, with what commaundementes I pray the?

Shomaker. To eate flesh on the fryday, hath bene taken for a greater synne, then to kepe a whore or two.

parson. I vnderstande you very well, what dammages are there more?

Shomaker. Secondarely they haue brought forth many straunge Gods seruises / and called them good workes, which is nothyng elles (if a man shulde saye sothe) but verye (B7r) apesplay and outward folysshnes²¹⁸ Wherof God neuer spake one worde / wherby both we and they / haue neglected, and not regarded the good woorkes whych God hath commaunded vs.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ 1. Timo. 4. 1 Tim 4.1–3 ... that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; 2 Speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; 3 Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. (KJV).

²¹⁸ 'apesplay' is also used above, A2v. In G 'play with mask', in D 'a public fool's play'.

²¹⁹ Scoloker omits the original passage about monks, nuns, and popes – perhaps because none of these social estates any longer existed in England in the 1540s, after Henry VIII's split with Rome in 1534 and his dissolution of the nation's monasteries and nunneries in 1535–40. Good works, however, were still affirmed as necessary in Henry's conservative Church of England, so the Shoemaker's other point was still a controversial one.

Coorheere. Wat zijn dan rechte Cristelicke wercken?
 Schoenmaker. Christus spreect Matthei int .vij. Alle dat ghy wout dat
 v die menschen doen / dat doet oock hen / dat is die gheheel Wet
 ende Propheten.²²⁰ Ende Matth. int .xxv. leert hi ons die
 hongherighe spijsen / den dorstighen te drincken gheuen / den
 armen herberghen / den naeckten cleeden / den crancken te huys
 versoecken²²¹ oft visenteren / den gheuanghen troosten.²²²

Coorheere. Sijn dan alleen christelijcke wercken / ende een gheheel
 Christelijcke leuen. (C7^v)

Schoenmaker. Ja / een recht Christelijck gheloouich mensch die
 weder nieuwe herboren is / ws den water ende gheest / ghelyck
 Joan. int iij. staet ^f²²³ die dient God alleen inden gheest ende
 waerheyt / ende sinen

parson. what are then the ryght true workes of a chrysten man?
 shomaker. Chryst sayth. All what thou woldest the men shuld do to
 the, do euen the same vnto them / and that is the fulfilling of the
 whole lawe and prophetes.²²⁴ And he doth teache vs to fede the
 hungry / to geue drinke to the thyrsty / to harbarrowe the
 harbarroules to clothe the naked, to visite the sycke, and to
 conforte the prisoner.²²⁵

parson. Are that only the workes of a Christen man, and the wholl
 somme of a Chrysten lyfe?

shomaker. Yea / a true and faythfull chrysten man which is borne a
 newe out of the water and the Spyrite (as it is written Iohan. iij.
 chapter)²²⁶ serueth God onely in spyrite and Veritie, and

²²⁰ The Golden Rule Mt 7.12 *Alles nu / das jr wöllet / das euch die leute thun sollen / Das thut jr jnen / Das ist das Gesetz vnd die Propheten.* (L45).

²²¹ Normal form would be 'besoeken'.

²²² The works of mercy, Mt 25.35–36 *Denn ich bin Hungerig gewesen / vnd jr habt mich gespeiset. Ich bin Durstig gewesen / vnd jr habt mich getrencket. Ich bin ein Gast gewesen / vnd jr habt mich beherberget. 36 Ich bin Nacket gewesen / vnd jr habt mich bekleidet. Ich bin Kranck gewesen / vnd jr habt mich besucht. Ich bin Gefangen gewesen / vnd jr seid zu mir kommen.* (L45).

²²³ Jo 3.5 *Jhesus antwortet / Warlich / warlich / Ich sage dir / Es sey denn / das jemand geboren werde / aus dem Wasser vnd Geist / so kan er nicht in das reich Gottes kommen /* (L45).

²²⁴ Math. 7. Mt 7.12 *Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.* (KJV).

²²⁵ Math. 15. Mt 25.35–36 *For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: 36 Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.*

²²⁶ Iohan. 3. Jo 3.5 *Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.* (KJV).

(b4r) naesten met die wercken der liefden / dat is die summa een
 Cristelijck leuens / maer dese wercken gaen gheheel stil toe /
 datmen daerom noch schilt noch wapen en derf aenhanghen /
 ende dan meynen die werckheylichen / sulcke Christelijcke leuen
 en is niet oft dat die Christenen niet en doen / om dat si met
 gheenen ghetey kenden wercken nemmermeer om en gaen.

Coorheere. Meynt ghy dan dat ons singhen ende lesen niet en is?
 Schoenmaker. Christus en sal anders niet van ons eyschen / dan die
 wercken der bermherticheit int leste oordeel. Matth. int .xv.²²⁷
 Dan sult ghy Papen ende Monicken staen ghelyck die Sotten die
 haer ooren aen den staeck ghelaten hebben.

Coorheere. Ghy hebbet wel gheraeyt / gaet totten ouen ende wermt
 v/ leert v Luther sulke dinghen.(C8r)

Schoenmaker. Neen hy.

Coorheere. Lieue / wat houdt ghy van Luther?²²⁸

Schoenmaker. Jc houde hem voor een Christelijcke leeraer / welcke
 ick achte dat sint der Apostelen tijt / noyt gheweest en is.

Coorheere. Lieue / wat profijt heeft hy toch ghedaen / int Christen
 ghelooue.

²²⁷ The works of mercy as referenced in Mt 25 (!).40 *Vnd der König wird antworten / vnd sagen zu jnen / Warlich ich sage euch / Was jr gethan habt einem vnter diesen meinen geringsten Brüdern / Das habt jr mir gethan.* (L45). The typesetter obviously missed out one 'x' of 'xxv'.

²²⁸ Literal translation from G 'was haldt jr von dem Luther'; idiomatic would be 'wat denckt ghy van Luther'. Kept exactly like that in English: 'What holdest thou of Luther?', except that the informal form of address is used.

(b4r) serueth also his Neighbour, wyth the woorkes of charitie / that
 is the whole summe of a Christen lyfe / but these (B7v) papistes
 meane that such a Chrysten lyfe is nothing at all, because the same
 workes haue not such an outwarde shyne as their workes do.

Parson. Thynke ye then that our syngynge and Readynge is of no
 worth?

shomaker. Chryste shall require nothyng elles of vs at the day of
 iudgement / then the workes of mercy /²²⁹ then shal ye priestes and
 monkes stande lyke foles which haue left their eares at the
 pylonry.²³⁰

Parson. Thou hast hyt it wonders²³¹ well /²³² gette you to the furnace
 and warme you a lyttell, doth Luther teache you suche thynges?

shomaker. No.

parson. What holdest thou of Luther? I pray the tell me.

Shomaker. I hold him for a Chrysten Doctour and I thynk there hath
 not been a better sens the Apostles tyme.

Parson. What proffyt hath he done in the christen fayth?

²²⁹ Math. 15. [!] Gene. 3. & Job. 5. The wrong chapter number for the works of mercy
 is taken over from the Dutch, see there. It is Mt 25.40 *And the King shall answer and
 say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of
 these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.* (KJV). The other two Bible references are
 added in English. Genesis 3 references the story of the fall of Adam and Eve. Why
 Job 5 is referenced is less clear; the chapter is part of a praise of God the creator who
 rescues the oppressed.

²³⁰ A literal translation of the Dutch. The German version had referenced a local
 case, the 'Rincklerin' which has been generalised here.

²³¹ = 'wondrously'.

²³² Luke. 10. Additional Bible reference, not in G or D. The chapter tells of Jesus
 sending out his disciples to preach the good news to everybody. Perhaps an ironic
 comment on the itself ironic remark of the parson that the shoemaker has acquitted
 himself well by linking biblical teaching and contemporary politics.

Schoenmaker. Dat hy uwe menschelicke leere *ende* geboden / sonde / *ende* opsettinge / int licht gebracht heeft / ende ons daer af ghewaerschout. Ten anderen heeft hy ons inder schrift ghewesen / daer in wy bekennen / dat wy alle onder der sonden besloten / *ende* sondaers zyn / als totten Romeynen. int .v. staet. Ten anderen / dat Christus alleene onse verlossinghe is / ghelyck i. Corinth. int .i. staet²³³ *ende* die twee stucken drijft die schriftuere schier door *ende* door / daer in leeren wy / dat onse eeniche hope / ghelooue / *ende* betrouwien in Christo te setten / welcke is dat rechte goddelijck werck tot salicheyt ghelyck Cristus spreeckt / Joan. int .vi.²³⁴

Coorheere. Behoeft men gheen werck daertoe / *ende* (C8^v) Christus spreeckt Mathei int .v. Laet v licht wtbersten / *ende* lichten voor die menschen / dat si uwe goede wercken sien / *ende* uwen vader inden hemel prijsen.²³⁵

Schoenmaker. Paulus spreeckt tot den Romeynen / int .v. Wy houden daer voor dat die mensche gherechtueerdicht wort alleen doort ghelooue / sonder toedoen der wercken²³⁶ *ende* tot den Romeynen int eerste / dye gherechtighe sal leuen wt den ghelooue.²³⁷

Coorheere. Jacobus spreeckt

²³³ Rom 5.1 NV *wir denn sind gerecht worden durch den glauben / So haben wir Friede mit Gott / durch vnsren HERnn Jhesu Christ /.* and 1 Cor 1.30 *Von welchem auch jr her kommt in Christo Jhesu / Welcher vns gemacht ist von Gott zur Weisheit / vnd zur Gerechtigkeit / vnd zur Heiligung / vnd zur Erlösung.* (L45).

²³⁴ Jo 6.47 *Warlich / warlich / Ich sage euch / Wer an Mich gleubet / der hat das ewige Leben.* (L45).

²³⁵ Mt 5.16 *Also lasst ewer Liecht leuchten fur den Leuten / Das sie eure gute Werck sehen / vnd euren Vater im Himmel preisen.* (L45)

²³⁶ Rom 3(!).28 *So halten wir es nu / Das der Mensch gerecht werde / on des Gesetzes werck / alleine durch den Glauben.* (L45). The wrong chapter number already in G.

²³⁷ Rom 1.17 *Der Gerechte wird seines Glaubens leben.* (L45).

Shomaker. (B8r) Mary,²³⁸ fyrist, he hath discouered and brought to lyght youre false doctryne, commaundementes, tradicions and Imagynacyons, and admonysshed and warned vs therof. Secondarely / he hath declared vs by scripture / that we shulde confesse that we are all the bondmen of synne. Thyrdely / that Chryst alone is our sauour and redemer,²³⁹ of which two points the whole scripture is full, wherby we learne to putt oure truste / hope and fayth onelye in Christe,²⁴⁰ which is a true and godly worke to saluacion, as Christ sayth Ioan. 6²⁴¹ And Christ sayth. Mathew. 5. Let your lyght braste oute / and so shyne before the people / that they (seing your good works) maye praise the father which is in heauen.²⁴²

Parson. Nedeth no worke thereto?

Shomaker. Paule sayth ad Romanos. 5. we hold it therfore, that man is onelye made right wes through fayth, without the workes,²⁴³ & to the Romaynes in the last chapter. The ryghtuous shall lyue by fayth.²⁴⁴

Parson. Iames sayth

²³⁸ Variant of 'marry', an expression of surprise, outrage, astonishment, now archaic.

²³⁹ Rom. 5. Rom 5.1 *Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.* (KJV).

²⁴⁰ 1. Cor. 1. 1 Cor 1.30 *But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.* (KJV).

²⁴¹ Iohan. 11. The text is correct, not the number in the margin. This is Jo 6.47.

²⁴² Math. 5. Mt 5.16 *Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.* (KJV).

²⁴³ Roma. 5. Rom 3(!).28 *Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.* (KJV).

²⁴⁴ Rom. vlt. = 'the last [chapter of the Epistle] to the Romans'. A misunderstanding of 'eerste' = 'first' in D. Rom 1.17 *The just shall live by faith.* (KJV).

(b4v) in zijn .ij. capit. Dat ghelooue sonder die wercken is doot.²⁴⁵
 Schoenmaker. Een recht Christelijcke ghelooue en viert niet / maer
 brengt altijt goede wercken ende vruchten / want Cristus spreeckt
 Matth. int .vij. Eenen goeden boom en can gheen quade vrucht
 en voortbrenghen²⁴⁶ maer sulcke goede wercken en ghescieden
 niet om den hemel te verdienien / want die heeft ons Christus
 verdient / ooc niet wt vreesen der hellen te ontvliden / van
 welcke ons Christus verlost heeft / oock niet om eere / want alle
 eere salmen God gheuen / Als Matth. int .iiij. staet²⁴⁷ maer wt
 liefden / God tot een dancsegghinghe ende tot profijt des naesten /
 wel aen Hee(D1^r)re / hoe behaecht v Luthers vreese

Coorheere. Js hy dan soo gherechtich / hoe comet dan dat hem soo
 weynich geleerden aenhanghen / ende groote Heeren volghen /
 dan alleene dat grof ongheleert volck.

Schoenmaker. Christo en hinck noch Pilatus / noch Herodes / noch
 Cayphas / noch Annas aen / oock niet de Phariseen / maer si
 versonden hem / alle dat ghemeyn volck hinck hem aen / daerom
 verblijde hem Christus inden gheest. Luce .x. ende sprack: Vader
 ick dancke v / dat ghi dese dinghen hebt verborghen voor den
 wijsen deser weerelt / ende hebbet gheopenbaert den cleynen.²⁴⁸

Coorheere. Ey lieue / die ghemeynen hoop gheeft oock Luther dat
 weynichste deel recht.

²⁴⁵ On Luther's rejection of the letter of James see p. 61. Iac 2.18 *Aber es möchte jemand sagen / Du hast den glauben / vnd ich habe die werck / Zeige mir deinen glauben mit deinen wercken / So wil ich auch meinen glauben dir zeigen mit meinen wercken.* (L45).

²⁴⁶ The cobbler counters with a different understanding of works: not as gaining salvation but as growing out of it. Mt 7.18 *Ein guter Baum kan nicht arge Früchte bringen / Vnd ein fauler Baum / kan nicht gute Früchte bringen.* (L45).

²⁴⁷ Referring to the temptation by the devil to worship him, Mt 4.10.

²⁴⁸ Lc 10.21 *ZV der stund frewet sich Jhesus im geist / vnd sprach / Jch preise dich Vater vnd HERR Himels vnd der Erden / Das du solchs verborgen hast den Weisen vnd Klugen / Vnd hast es offenbart den Vnmündigen. Ja Vater / also war es wolgefellig fur dir.* (L45).

(b4v) in his. 2. chap. Fayth without good workes is dead.²⁴⁹
 Shomaker. (B8v) A true Christen fayth can neuer be Idell but
 bryngeth alwayes good workes and frutes forth. For Chryst sayth /
 A good tree can brynge forth no euell frute,²⁵⁰ but such good
 workes ought not to be done for to meryte or deserue heauen
 therby / for Chryst hath merited and deserued it for vs, neyther
 for feare, and to a voyde the paynes of hell, for Chryst hath
 delyueryd vs therof, neyther for honour, for all honour shalbe
 geuen onely vnto God, as it is writen.²⁵¹ But ye shall do them for
 loue, for a thankes geuyng to God, and to the helpe and profyt of
 your neyghbour.

parson. If Luther be so ryghtuous and so good a doctour as you name
 him to be, how chaunceth then that so fewe greate lords do cleaue
 and styck vnto his doctryne: Saue onely a heape of rude and
 vnlearned people?

Shomaker. Pylate, Herode, Cayphas nor Annas, cleued not to Chryst
 nor yet the pharizees, but the common people. Therfore Christ
 reioyced in spirite, and sayd. Father I thanke you, that ye haue
 hydden these thynges from the wyse of the world, & haue opened
 it to the lytle flocke.²⁵²

(C1r) Parson. What I saye the common people cleaue least of all to
 Luther and hys doctrine.

²⁴⁹ Iacobus. 2 Iac 2.18 *Yea, a man may say, Thou hast faith, and I have works: shew me thy faith without thy works, and I will shew thee my faith by my works.* (KJV).

²⁵⁰ Math. 7. Mt 7.18 *A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.* (KJV).

²⁵¹ Math. 4. Mt 4.10 *Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* (KJV).

²⁵² Luke. 10. Lc 10.21 *In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes: even so, Father; for so it seemed good in thy sight.* (KJV).

Schoenmaker. Dat maken v botte Prekaren / die staen en roopen / het is een ketter / ende dat sonder gheschrift / maer Christus heuet den cleynen hoop vercondicht / Mat. int .v. Gaet henen door die enge poorte / want dye poorte is wijt / ende den wech is breet der verdoemenissen / ende daer zijnder vele die daer op wandelen /²⁵³ ende Mat. int .xxij. Vele zijnder gheroopen / weynich wtuercoren²⁵⁴ (D1^v)

Coorheere Sulcke woorden claptmen in die tauerne / op die mercet / ende ouer al / gelijc die sotten / ende ten behoort niet aen sulcke plaetsen.

Schoenmaker. Christus spreeckt Matth. int .x. Wat ick v int heymelike spreke / dat sult ghy preken op dat dack.²⁵⁵

Coorheere. Als ick die waerheyt soude segghen / so houde ick Luther voor den grootsten ketter die sint Arrius tijden is gheweest / ende ghy zijt zijn nauolgher /

Shomaker. Your dulheaded and folyshe preachers are cause of that / whych without any scripture, crye and call, he is an heretyke / he is an heretike. But Chryste hath declared to the litell flocke. Go thoroughe the narrowe gate, for the gate is wyde and *the way* is broade whyche leadeth to dampnation, and ther are many which walke in it,²⁵⁶ And ther are many called and fewe electe.²⁵⁷

Parson. Men do vse to speake suche wordes in tauernes, vpon the market, and elles wher lyke fooles, whych ought not to be spoken in suche places.

Shomaker. Christ sayeth / what I saye to you in secret, that shall ye preache vppon the house toppes.²⁵⁸

parson. If I shulde saye trueth. I holde Luther for the greateste heretyke, that euer was sence Arrius Tyme, and thou arte hys folower,

²⁵³ The wrong chapter number copied from G. It is Mt 7[!].13 GEhet ein durch die enge Pforten / Denn die Pforte ist weit / vnd der weg ist breit / der zur Verdammnis abfüret / Vnd jr sind viel / die drauff wandeln. (L45).

²⁵⁴ Mt 22.14 Denn viel sind beruffen / Aber wenig sind aus erwelet. (L45).

²⁵⁵ Mt 10.27 Was ich euch sage im finsternis / das redet im liecht / Vnd was jr höret in das oore / Das predigt auff den Dechern. (L45).

²⁵⁶ Math. 5. Mt 7[!].13 Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat:. (KJV).

²⁵⁷ Math. 22. Mt 22.14 For many are called, but few are chosen. (KJV).

²⁵⁸ Math. 10. Mt 10.27 What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light: and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the housetops. (KJV).

(c1r) ende in v daer en is niet goets in / ende niet goets en coemt wt
 v / weet ghy nv / dien tittel gheue ick Luthere / ende v te samen.
 Schoenmaker. Daer hebt ghijt eens gheraden / want niemant en is
 goet dan God. Matthei int .xix.²⁵⁹ Want onse natuere is gheheel
 in ons ghecorrumpeert. Alst Genesis int .vij. staet. Des menschen
 herte is tot boosheyt gheneghen van ioncheyt op ²⁶⁰ welcke men
 moet daghelicx met dat cruyts dooden / op dat den gheest niet en
 lette / want dye natuere en laet haer tucken niet / al ist dat schoon
 die gheest door dat gelooue ghrechtueerdicht is / want daer staet
 Proverbiorum int .xxiij. Die ghrechteghe (D2^r) valt inden dach
 seuen mael ²⁶¹ daerom bidden wy alle daghe / vergheeft ons onse
 schult. Matthei .vi.²⁶² ende Paulus tot den Romeynen int vij. Dat
 goet dat ic wille dat en doe ick niet / maer dat quaet dat ic hate
 ende niet en wille / dat doe ick / ende spreeckt daer nae. O
 ellendich mensche / wie sal my verlossen van dat lichaen des
 doots ²⁶³ daer mede bewijst hy / dat wy sondaers zijn tot in die
 doot / maer zijt ghy sonder sonde / soo werpt den iersten steen op
 ons / Joannis int .vij.²⁶⁴

Coorheere. Ghi zijt alle onnutte luyden / ghi cont veele clappen / ick
 hope men sal v schier die lenden cloppen / ten helpe anders niet.

²⁵⁹ Mt 19.17. Niemand ist gut / denn der einzige Gott. (L45).

²⁶⁰ God's reflection after the flood: Gn 8.21 das tichten des menschlichen Hertzen ist böse von Jugend auff. (L45).

²⁶¹ Prv 24.16 Denn ein Gerechter felt sieben mal vnd stehet wider auff (L45).

²⁶² Mt 6.12 Vnd vergib vns vnsere Schulde / wie wir vnsern Schuldigern vergeben. (L45).

²⁶³ Rom 7.19 Denn das Gute das ich wil / das thu ich nicht / Sondern das Böse / das ich nicht wil / das thu ich. (L45).

²⁶⁴ Jo 8.7 Wer vnter euch on sunde ist / der werffe den ersten stein auff sie. (L45).

(c1r) and ther is no good in you, nether commeth theyr any good
 from you / vnderstandeste thou that? The same ty-(C1v)tell do I
 gyue both to Luther and to the.

Shomaker. Veryly you haue hitte the prycke / for theyr is no man
 good but God only.²⁶⁵ For oure nature is whole and all corrupte
 in vs, as it is wrytten. Genesis. 8. The harte of man is inclyned to
 euell / euen from hys youthe ²⁶⁶ whych dayly muste be mortifyed
 wyth the crosse, leaste it myght hinder the spirite. For nature
 ceaseth not to seke that thyng wherunto it is inclined, all though
 the spyryte be made ryghtuous throughe fayth. For it is wrytten
 Prouerbs. 24. The ryghtuous falleth seuen tymes in the daye.²⁶⁷
 Therfore do we daily praye. Forgiue vs our trespasses Mathew 6.²⁶⁸
 and paule to the Romans. 7. The good which I wolde I do not /
 and the euell whiche I hate, I do, and after that speaketh he. O
 miserable man / who shall delyuer me from the body of death?²⁶⁹
 Therwyth declareth he that we are synners even vnto death. But
 syr Domine²⁷⁰ / yf thou arte wyth out Synne, caste the fyrt stone
 vpon vs.²⁷¹

Parson. Ye are all vnproffitable²⁷² people, ye can prate very well / I
 truste ye shal shortly be knocked vpon your boanes, for I
 perceave there is none other remedye.

²⁶⁵ Math. 14. A typographical mistake, reading G/D 'xix' as 'xiv'. Mt 19(!).17 *there is none good but one, that is, God:* (KJV)

²⁶⁶ Genesis. 8. Gn 8.21 *the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth* (KJV).

²⁶⁷ Prouerbs. 24. Prv 24.16 *For a just man falleth seven times, and riseth up again:* (KJV).

²⁶⁸ Math. 6. Mt 6.12 *And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.* (KJV). G/D also have 'debts' but since Tyndale (1542) the liturgical version of the Lord's Prayer has 'trespasses', also then in the 1549 Prayer Book.

²⁶⁹ Romans. 7. Rom 7.19 *For the good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do.* (KJV).

²⁷⁰ This mocking expression, used elsewhere in the Dutch, is added here.

²⁷¹ Iohan. 8. Jo 8.7 *He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her.* (KJV). This marginal note is mistakenly printed next to the Parson's speech in the original.

²⁷² Misprinted 'vn proffitable'.

Schoenmaker. Hoe / woude ghi met den sweerde daer aen / dat en behoort v geestelijcke niet toe.

Coorheere. Waerom niet / Cristus heeft toch Luce int .xxij.²⁷³ twee sweerden ingeset / dat geestelick ende weerlick.

Schoenmaker. Christus verboot toch Petro Mat. xxvi. ende sprack / Die met den sweerden staet / die sal met den sweerde vergaen.²⁷⁴

Coorheere. Ten helpet aldus niet / so moetet met (D2^v) swaerder punitiuen helpen / want die ketterie heeft groote ouerhant ghenomen / ende het is hooch tijt daer in te slane.

Schoenmaker. O neen / maer volghet den raet Gamalielis na. Actuum int .v.²⁷⁵ Js die leere van God / soo en moecht ghij se niet keeren / ende ist wt den menschen / soo salse vallen sonder eenich sweert / op dat ghy niet ghesien en wert / als die teghen God strijden willen.

Coorheere. Daer en sal niet anders af comen.

Schoenmaker. Wel aen / Heere dinen wille gheschiede. Matth. int .vi.²⁷⁶ Die knecht en is niet bouen sinen meester. Joan .xv.²⁷⁷ Hebben si my veruolcht / si sullen v oock veruolghen / ende Luc. int .vi. Salich zijt ghi / wanneer

shomaker. (C2r) What, wolde you be in hande with the swerde? that apperteyneth not to the spyrituallie.

Parson Hath not Christ Luce. 22. ordeyned two swerdes, one spirituall and an other temporall.

shomaker. Chryst did forbydde Peter. Mathew 26 and sayd he that striketh with the swerd / shall perysh with the swerde.²⁷⁸

parson. It helpeth not by other meanes, therfore must it be holpen²⁷⁹ / wyth a quicke punishment, for heresy hath in a maner taken the vpperhande, therfore it is hygh tyme to stryke in the flocke.

Shomaker. Oh, do not so, but rather follow the consell of Gamaliel / Actum in the 5. chapter. If the doctryne²⁸⁰ be of God, ye can not for bydde nor defend it, and if it be of menne, then shall it fall without any swerde /²⁸¹ to the intent²⁸² ye be not taken as one that wyll fyght agaynst God.

parson. Ther shall come nothyng elles therof for this shalbe the ende. (C2v) Shomaker. Nowe, O lord of heauen, thy wyll be fulfylled.

Math 6.²⁸³ The Discyple is not aboue hys master. Haue they persecuted me. they shal persecute you also /²⁸⁴ and happy are ye, when

²⁷³ Jesus' answer to the disciples offering to defend him before he went to the garden Gethsemani and was arrested, Lc 22.38 *Sie sprachen aber / HErr / Sihe / hie sind zwey Schwert. Er aber sprach zu jnen / Es ist gnug* (L45). Understood by medieval doctrine to signify the two powers of ecclesiastical and secular authority.

²⁷⁴ Mt 26.52 *Denn wer das Schwert nimpt/ Der sol durchs Schwert vmbkommen.* (L45).

²⁷⁵ Act 5.34 *DA stund aber auff im Rat ein Phariseer mit namen Gamaliel / ein Schriffigelerter / wol gehalten fur allem Volck / vnd hies die Apostel ein wenig hin aus thun / 35 vnd sprach zu jnen / Jr Menner von Israel / nemet ewer selbs war an diesen Menschen / was jr thun sollet.* (L45).

²⁷⁶ Mt 6.10 *Dein Wille geschehe* (L45).

²⁷⁷ Jo 15.20 *Der Knecht ist nicht grösser denn sein Herr.* (L45).

²⁷⁸ Math. 26. Mt 26.52 *for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.* (KJV).

²⁷⁹ = 'helped'. Early English past participle of 'to help', reflecting the strong verb pattern, still in German 'geholfen' (and preserved in the 'Magnificat' in the Book of Common Prayers: 'hath holpen his servant Israel').

²⁸⁰ Misprinted 'ddctryne'.

²⁸¹ Actes. 5. Act 5.34 *Then stood there up one in the council, a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, had in reputation among all the people, and commanded to put the apostles forth a little space; 35 And said unto them, Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves what ye intend to do as touching these men.* (KJV).

²⁸² = 'in order that'.

²⁸³ Mt 6.10 *Thy will be done* (KJV).

²⁸⁴ Iohan. 15. Jo 15.20 *The servant is not greater than his lord.* (KJV).

(c1v) v die menschen haten / verworpen / ende schelden om mijns naems wille.²⁸⁵

Coorheere. Daer sullen sommighe swijghen / die nv ter tijt roepen. Schoenmaker. Cristus spreect Matth. int .x. Wie mi bekent voor den menschen / dien wil ick bekennen voor mijnen hemelschen Vader.²⁸⁶

Coorheere. Het sal v dwingens ghelen / oft men sal v met den cop grijpen / ende achter den cop slaen. (D3^r)

Schoenmaker. Christus spreect Matth. int .x. Vreest v niet / die v dat leuen nemen mueghen / die sielen en mueghen sy niet dooden.²⁸⁷

O Heere God / hier waert goet steruen van uwen naems weghen.

Coorheere. Het waer verdienden loon. Een ketter machmen na die derde vermaninghe dooden.

Schoenmaker. Ghy moest ons te voren ketters maken ende bewijsen wt der heyligher schrift.

Coorheere. Dat moghen wy lichtelijck doen.

Schoenmaker. Soo sal God ons bloet van uwer hant eysschen / dat ghy ons / ende die arme scapen Cristi soo langhe hebt laten verleyden / ende hebt soo vele Prekaers deser leeringhen / onbeuoachten ghelaten.

(c1v) ye are hated / dysdayned and dispysed for my names sake.²⁸⁸ parson. Some shall then holde their peace, whych nowe do call and roare a lowde.

Shomaker. He that confesseth me before the world him wyll I knowledge and confesse before my heauenly father.²⁸⁹

Parson. Ye shall be handeled and serued lyke as heretikes ought to be serued.

shomaker. Chryst sayth feare not them whych may destroy the body only, but feare him which may destroy both body and soule.²⁹⁰ O lorde God, howe good is it to dye for thy names sake?

parson. It were euen your iust rewarde / an heretyke (after the third admonicion and warning) ought to be put to death.

shomaker. But yow ought fyrste to proue or de-(C3r)fyne vs to be heretikes, wyth the holy scripture.

parson. That may we full easely do.

Shomaker. Then shall God require our bloude at youre hands / because you haue suffered vs, and the pore shepe of Chryst to haue bene thus long seduced and ledde oute of the right way. And that you haue not resysted and disputed with so many preachers of this learning.

²⁸⁵ Lc 6.22 *Selig seid jr / so euch die Menschen hassen / vnd euch absondern / vnd schelten euch / vnd verwerffen ewern namen / als einen boshafftigen / vmb des menschen Sons willen.* (L25).

²⁸⁶ Mt 10.32 *DArumb / Wer mich bekennet fur den Menschen / Den wil ich bekennen fur meinem himlischen Vater.* (L45)

²⁸⁷ Directly preceding this, Mt 10.28 *VND fürchtet euch nicht fur denen / die den Leib tödten / vnd die Seele nicht mögen tödten. Fürchtet euch aber viel mehr fur dem / der Leib und Seele verderben mag / in die Helle* (L45)

²⁸⁸ Luke. 6. The end of the Beatitudes Lc 6.22.

²⁸⁹ Jesus' promise to his disciples, Mt 10.32.

²⁹⁰ Math. 10. Directly preceding this, Mt 10.28 *And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.* (KJV).

Coorheere. Het sal volleken gheschieden / wy hebben ons raet ghesloten.

Schoenmaker. Ja is dat waer / ghi veruolcht de sprake / Matth. int .xxij. Ende die Phariseen ghinghen ende hielden eenen raet / hoe sy hem mochten vanghen in sinen woorden / ende sonden toe hem dienaers / met Herodes dienaers.²⁹¹ (D3^v)

Coorheere. Waerom niet / men moet die ketters alsoo wtrechten / want si zijnt wel weerd datmense daer nae cloppe.

Schoenmaker. Och God / dese Prekaren wouden ons allen gheerne tot Christum voeren / niemant wtgenomen. Soo wilt ghi ons tsamen met v seluen totten hencker voeren ghi wout gheerne dat / dat vier vanden hemel op ons viele. Luce .ix. Hoort Christum die daer spreeckt / Weet ghy niet welcke kinderen des gheests ghy zijt / des menschen sone en is niet comen die menschen sielen te verderuen / maer te behouden²⁹² .ij. Corin. int .xijj. My is ghewelt gegheuen / niet te bederuen / maer te betteren.²⁹³

Coorheere. Ey / wy willen nock alsoo.

Schoenmaker. Vier ende sweert en dient niet daer toe / maer dat woort Gods / als totten Hebr. int .iiij. welcke doordringender is dan een snijdende sweert / aen beyde syden²⁹⁴ dies haluen zijt ghy wt God / soe verhuecht

²⁹¹ Mt 22.15–16.

²⁹² Lc 9.54–56 *Da aber das seine Jünger / Jacobus vnd Johannes sahen / sprachen sie / HErr wilstu / So wollen wir sagen / das feuer vom Himmel falle / vnd verzere sie / wie Elias thet? Jhesus aber wandte sich / vnd bedrawet sie / vnd sprach / Wisset jr nicht / welches Geistes kinder jr seid? Des menschen Son ist nicht kommen / der menschen Seelen zuuaderben / sondern zu erhalten.* (L45). Verse 55 is probably a later addition but was part of the Greek New Testament Luther used.

²⁹³ Free rendering of Cor 13.10: *Derhalben ich auch solchs abwesend schreibe / Auff das ich nicht / wenn ich gegenwertig bin / scherffé brauchen müsse / Nach der macht / welche mir der HErr zu bessern / vnd nicht zu verderben / gegeben hat.* (L45)

²⁹⁴ Heb 4.12 *Denn das wort Gottes ist lebendig vnd krefftig / vnd scherffer / denn kein zweischneidig Schwert /* (L45).

Parson. It shal shortly come to passe, we haue taken our aduise and counsell vpon the matter.

Shomaker. Yea, is that true indede? I perceau ye do fulfull the sayeng of Mat. And the Pharizees went and helde a council how they might trippe him in his wordes, and dyd send officers vnto him / with the offycers of Herode.²⁹⁵

parson. What elles? Thus ought the heretykes to be serued.

Shomaker. Oh, lorde. These true preachers wolde fayne bryng vs all to Chryste, no man (C3v) excepted. And thou woldest bringe both vs and thy selfe to the deuell. Thou woldest fayne that the Fyre of Heauen shulde fall on vs Luk. 9.²⁹⁶ Heare what Chryst sayeth. Do ye not knowe what chylderen of spyrite ye are? The sonne of man is not come to destroy the soules of men, but to sauе them. 2. Corinthians. 13. He hath geuen me power (saith he) not to destroy, but to amend.²⁹⁷

Parson. What, I say, I wyll euen the same also.

shomaker. Fyre and swerde serueth not therto, but the woerde of God Hebrews. 4. Which is sherper then a two edged sworde.²⁹⁸ Therfore if thou arte of God, defende

²⁹⁵ Math. 22. The start of the Passion narrative Mt 22.15–16.

²⁹⁶ Luke. 9. Jesus orders the disciples who want to punish those who have not given shelter to them, not to invoke heavenly punishment, Lc 9.54–56.

²⁹⁷ 2. Corinthians. 13.

²⁹⁸ Hebrews. 4. Heb 4.12 *For the word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any twoedged sword.* (KJV).

(c2r) v leere ende weten / met dat woort Gods / welcke is die cracht
Gods .i. Corinth .i.²⁹⁹

Coorheere. Ja / het en helpt niet. (D4^r)

Schoenmaker. Ja / ghy en brengt dat woort niet / want Gods eere en
soect ghy niet te scheyden / waer v ghewelt / eere / ende
rijckdommen / daer is dat woort Gods teghen / daerom veruolcht
ghijt / daer leget al mede daer neder.

Coorheere. Ja ghy en cont niet dan om die lieden wt te rechten / als
dat herte vol is / so gaet die mont ouer. Luce int .vi.³⁰⁰

Schoenmaker. V is ghelyck Christus seyt. Lu. int .vij. ca. ghelyck den
kinderen die aen die merct sitten / ende roepen / wi hebben v
ghepepen / ende ghy en hebt niet ghedanst / wy hebben v
gheclaecht / ende ghy en hebt niet gheweent.³⁰¹ Alsoo oock ghy /
seytmen v van dat woort Gods troostelick / soo spot ghi daer
mede / segghet men v neerstelick / soo verthoorent ghy.

Coorheere. Al songde ghy ghelyck een Leewerck / so en maeckt ghy
my niet anders.

Schoenmaker. V herte is verhert gelijc die Coninck Pharao. Exodi
van het .vij. capit. tot int xv. die noch wonder / noch plaghen aen
en nam / ende meende die kinderen van Israel souden tichghelen
branden / dat hi met sinen volcke vieren mochte. (D4^v)

Coorheere. Weet vrij / het is eens gheraden.

²⁹⁹ 1 Cor 1.24–25 *Denen aber die beruffen sind / beide Jüden vnd Griechen / predigen wir Christum / göttliche Kraft vnd göttliche Weisheit. Denn die göttliche Torheit ist weiser denn die Menschen sind / vnd die göttliche Schwachheit ist stercker denn die Menschen sind.* (L45).

³⁰⁰ Lc 6.45 *Denn wes das hertz vol ist / des gehet der Mund vber.* (L45). The phrase ‘wes das Herz voll ist, geht der Mund über’ is given by Luther in his ‘Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen’ (1530) as an example of idiomatic German translation, instead of the Latin phrase ‘ex abundantia cordis os loquitur’ (literally: Out of the abundance of heart the mouth speaks), which is preserved in KJV, see the discussion in Jones 2022.

³⁰¹ Lc 7.32 *Sie sind gleich den Kindern / die auff dem Marckte sitzen / vnd ruffen gegen ander / vnd sprechen / Wir haben euch gepfiffen / vnd jr habt nicht getantzet. Wir haben euch geklaget / vnd jr habt nicht geweinet.* (L45).

(c2r) thy doctrine and lawes with Gods word, which is the power of
God. 1. Corinthians. 1.³⁰²

Parson. All thys helpeth you neuer a whytte.³⁰³

Shomaker. Ye bringe not Gods worde / ye seke not the honour of
God, but your owne power honour, and Ryches, against whyche
the worde of God speaketh, and therfore do ye persecute it.

Parson. Yea, thou pratest nothing elles, but to here a manne, when
the harte is full, then (C4r) ronneth the mouthe ouer. Luke. 6.³⁰⁴

Shomaker. I maye well lyken you / lyke as Christ lykeneth the
chylderen sytting in the markett place / criyng one to an other
and saying. We haue pyped vnto you and ye haue not daunsed.
We haue mourned to you & ye haue not wepte.³⁰⁵ Euen so is it
with you, If a man speake vnto you confortablye of the worde of
God, then do ye deryde it. If a man do tell it you earnestlye / then
are ye angry.

parson. Although thow dyddest synge lyke a Larke / thowe shalt not
make me otherwyse then I am.

Shomaker. Youre harte is waxen harde and stony as kyng Pharao,
Exodi. Rede from the .7. Chapter to the. 15. who neither regarded
no wonder nor places. etc.³⁰⁶

Parson. Thou haddest almost hit the prycce.

³⁰² 1. Corinthians. 1. 1 Cor 1.24–25 speaks about Christ as God’s word being stronger than secular wisdom for those who are called.

³⁰³ = ‘not at all’.

³⁰⁴ No marginalia. Lc 6.45 *for of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh* (KJV).

³⁰⁵ Luke. 7. Lc 7.32 *They are like unto children sitting in the marketplace, and calling one to another, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned to you, and ye have not wept.* (KJV).

³⁰⁶ The report of the exodus from Egypt talks repeated about the ‘hardening’ of Pharaoh’s heart, e.g. Ex 7.3 *Aber ich wil Pharao hertz verherten / das ich meiner Zeichen vnd Wunder viel thu in Egyptenland.* (L45) *Sed ego indurabo cor ejus, et multiplicabo signa et ostenta mea in terra Aegypti* (VLC).

Schoenmaker. Ja my duncket wel / v is gelijc die valsche ambachs man Luc. int .xvi. spreect hy / Wat sal ick doen / die Heere sal dat ambacht van my nemen / ic en mach niet grauen / ende ick schame my te bidden ³⁰⁷ recht dat selue vreest ghy gheestelicke ooc / daer en helpt noch straffen / noch vermanen aen v.

Coorheere. Weet ghy niet Christus spreect Joan. int .xvi. Niemant en coemt tot my / ten sy dat hem die Vader trecke ³⁰⁸ siet brengt roosen / wy weten wie den anderen bekeert.

Schoenmaker. Och Heere die woorden hoore ic geerne / het staet Joan .xv. Sonder my en cont ghy niet doen ³⁰⁹ ende noch meer / ghy en hebt my niet vercoren / maer ick hebbe v vercoren ³¹⁰ daerom en leget aen ons niet / God moet ons bekeeren / dat wensche ic v allen van gronde mijns herten.

Coorheere. Wanneer luytmen te choore Kochin / lanct my den choorrock hier / wel aen lieue meester / gaet in vreden / het sal licht noch al goet werden.

Schoenmaker. Oft God wilt / wel aen / alle vrede sy (D5^r) met v

Shomaker. Me thynketh that thou arte lyke the false offycer Luke.

6.³¹¹ What shall I do? the lorde wyll take the offyce from me, I can not dygge, and I am ashamed³¹² to begge.³¹³ Euen that same feare ye spyrituall menne (C4v) also no exhortacion nor admonishing can helpe.

parson. No man commeth to me vnlesse my father drawe him,³¹⁴ wyll you then conuert a man?

Shomaker. Oh syr I loue to heare the same wordes with all my harte.

It is written Iob³¹⁵ 15. without me canst thou do nothing ³¹⁶ and further thou haste not chosen me, but I haue chose the,³¹⁷ therfore lyeth it not in our power, but it is God which must conuert vs. Which I do wysshe you all from the botome of my harte.

Parson. When do they ryng in the church? Katherin giue me my sirplys and tippet.³¹⁸

Katherin.³¹⁹ Well beloued master / go in pease, I hope all thinges shalbe well.

shomaker. With the helpe of God, now peace be with you,

³¹¹ Typographical mistake of '6' instead of '16'. No marginal chapter reference.

³¹² Misprinted 'a shamed'.

³¹³ Lc 16(1).3 *Then the steward said within himself, What shall I do? for my lord taketh away from me the stewardship: I cannot dig; to beg I am ashamed.* (KJV).

³¹⁴ Jo 6.44 *No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him.* (KJV). Chapter reference and the following proverb in G/D 'Time brings roses' left out.

³¹⁵ Typographical mistake for John, spelled *Joā* in the Dutch edition.

³¹⁶ No marginal reference, possibly because of the typographical mistake of Job instead of John. Jo () 15.5 *I am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing.* (KJV).

³¹⁷ Jo () 15.16 *Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you.* (KJV). Mix-up of singular and plural here since with the wrong book title given this reference could not be verified.

³¹⁸ The surplice is the priest's linen vestment and the tippet is his scarf. Both were official clerical costume in the English Church, before and after the Reformation. G/D speak of the 'Chorrock', a cope or large garment worn over the cassock.

³¹⁹ In G/D this is part of the canon's speech and the 'lieber Meister' (dear master) refers to the shoemaker of which the priest is taking his leave.

³⁰⁷ Lc 16.3 *Der Haushalter sprach bey sich selbs / Was sol ich thun? mein Herr nimpt das Ampt von mir / Graben mag ich nicht / So scheme ich mich zu betteln.* (L45).

³⁰⁸ Jo 6.44 *Es kan niemand zu mir kommen / es sey denn / das jn ziehe der Vater.* (L45).

³⁰⁹ Jo 15.5 *JCh bin der Weinstock / Jr seid die Reben / Wer in mir bleibet / vnd ich in jm / der bringet viel frucht / Denn on mich künd jr nichts thun.* (L45).

³¹⁰ Jo 15.16 *JR habt mich nicht erwelet / Sondern ich habe euch erwelet /.* (L45).

(c2v) lieue heere / hout my niet voor ondanckelick / ende vergheuet
my.

Coorheere. God vergheue ons onse sonden.

Schoenmaker. Amen.

Coorheere. Siet nv een lieue Kochin / hoe spreken die leeken soo
gheheel fraylick teghen ons ghewijden / ic meyne die duyuel sy
in die Schoenmaker ghenayt / hy heeft my int harnas gheiacht /
ende en ware ick niet soo wel gheleert / hy hadde my op den Esel
gheset. Daerom en wil ic hem niet meer te arbeyden gheuen /
maer den Hans Zobel / dat is een goet simpel manneken / *ende* en
maect niet veele woorden met der heyligher schrift / *ende*
Luytersche ketterie / ghelyck den leeken oock niet en betaemt
noch oock met haren siel soeckers te disputeren / want Salomon
seyt / Wie een simpel wandelinghe voert / die voert een goede
wandelinghe / *ende* wandelt wel.³²⁰ Ey die sprake soude ick den
dullen Schoenmaker gheseyt hebben / soo waer hy by auentueren
daer op stom gheweest.

Kochin. O Heere / ic hadde ommers sorghe na dien / dat ghi hem
met die schrift niet en (D5^v) const verwinnen / dat ghy hem met
dye pantoffelen op sinen cop sout gheslaghen hebben.

(c2v) beloued syr take no displeasure wyth me, but pardon me if I
haue offended you.

Parson. God pardon and forgyue vs all our synnes.
shomaker. Amen.

(C5r) Parson. Beholde how quicke these lay men are in tellyng of
their tale to vs which are annoynted. I thynke that the deuel of hell
be patched and clouted in the shomakers³²¹ Skynne, he hath so
stricken me vpon my brest plate / that if I had not bene so depely
learned, he shuld haue made me an asse, therfor he shall make no
more shoes for me / but Hans zobel³²² shall be my shomaker, for
he is a very symple man, and one that dothe not much reason of
the scripture / nor of the Lutheryans heresy, which apperteyneth
not to the laye people, nether becommeth it them to dyspute with
their soulekepers,³²³ for Salomon sayth whosoeuer³²⁴ walketh
symply, walketh well.³²⁵ Ah, the same saying ought I to haue layde
to that dulheaded shomaker, peraduenture, he shuld haue had
nothyng to say therupon / but haue bene starke dome.

Katherin Ah master, I feared greatly (when I sawe you coud not
ouercome hym wyth scripture) that you shuld haue strycken him
vpon his pate with the slyppers.

³²⁰ Possibly Prv 16.19 *Es ist besser nidriges gemüts sein mit den Elenden / Denn Raub austeilten mit den Hoffertigen.* (L45). It might be part of Sachs's strategy to show up the canon in that he is using a vague proverb, attributing it to Solomon as author of the Book of Proverbs, rather than quoting properly, including giving a precise chapter number, as the cobbler does for his Biblical references.

³²¹ Abbreviated 'sho.' in the original, perhaps preserving Scoloker's manuscript copy-text.

³²² Christian names or surnames are very inconsistently capitalised in Tudor print.

³²³ An English neologism from the Dutch.

³²⁴ Printed 'who soeuer'.

³²⁵ Possibly Prv 16.19 *Better it is to be of an humble spirit with the lowly, than to divide the spoil with the proud.* (KJV). But probably more a general reference to proverbial wisdom.

Coorheere. Jck sorchede meer van der ghemeynten oploop / anders soude ick hem die pantoffelen int aensicht gheslaghen hebben / Cristus noch Paulus en haddens hem in drie daghen niet aghewist / hoe wel hy alle zijn betrouwuen op hem sette.

Kochin. My gheeft groot wonder hoe die leeken soo gheschickt worden.

Coorheere. Wilt ghi weten wat dat doet / men en gheest om die gheestelicken niet meer / voortijden heeft die heylige Vader die Paus ende Bisschoppen / sulcken als Luther ende andere meer / die op haer maniere preeckten / dat preeken verboden / na die gheestelicke rechten / ende bedwonghen huer te wederroepen / ghelyck met Joannes Hus te Constans gheschiede / wanneermen nv die Euangelische Prekaren swijghen dede / so sout al goet werden / maer wannermen die doet

Parson. If I had not feared that an oproare myght haue rysen among the comens / I (C5v) shuld verely haue layd the slippers in his face, so that neyther Paule no nor Christ hym selfe shuld haue swepte it from him in thre daies, for all that he trusteth so muche in them. Katheryn. I maruell greatly how it commeth that the lay people are so learned.

Parson. If thou wilt know it, I shall tell it the. The cause is that the spirituityal is no more regarded. Here aforetimes³²⁶ did oure holy father the pope of Rome wyth his bysshops forbydde such heretikes as Luther is, according to the spirituall lawe and compelled them to recant, lyke Ioan hus was serued at constance. If men dyd now compell these preachers of the Gospell to holde theyr Peace, then shulde it be as good as euer it was, and then shulde the spirituityal be honoured, but when we go aboute to cause them to

³²⁶ = 'in previous times' (printed 'afore times').

(c3r) swijghen / soo comen si ende willen met den Paus ende Bisschoppen disputeeren / welcke onbehoorlic is by der weerelt / dat een met den alderheylichsten wilt disputeren / die (D6^r) niet weert en is met zijnder heylicheyt te spreken / maer het sal wel beter worden / alen willen die prekaers niet swijghen men salse wel doen swijghen / hoe wel sy sinte Paulus schrift voort halen / ende al hadden sy zijn sweert noch daer toe / soo moeten si nederligghen / als die heylige Vader die Paus wilt / dan soo moeten die leeken oock swijghen / ende dan so sullen wy tot onser weerden weder comen.

Kochin. Het waert voorwaer Heere goet / want een yeghelyck veracht v / ghelyck ooc nv die Schoenmaker dede.

Coorheere. Hier voortijs soudemen eenen alsulcken inden ban vercondicht hebben / maer nu moeten wy van die leeken hooren / ende leeren / ghelyck die Phariseen van Christo / lieue Kochin roept onsen Calefactor die leest vele in die Bibel / ende by auentueren hy sal die schriftuere bat berechten dan ick / hy moet my van nieuwicheyt sommighe spraken soecken.

(c3r) holde their peace, then wyl they inmediatly dyspute with the pope and Bysshops, whiche is a thing that neuer was hearde in the worlde before, that such vyle³²⁷ parsonnes shulde dyspute with the moost holyest father / whiche are not worthy to speke to his holines, but it shall shortly take an ende. Although these preachers wyl not holde their pea-(C6r)ce, they shall be compelled to holde theyre peace, for all that they lay Saynt Paulles wryting before them / and though they had Paules swerde also, yet muste they lye doune and not so much as ones kycke, when it pleaseth ones the Holye Father of Rome, then must the laye people holde theyr peace also, and then shall we come to oure former worthynes and prystyne³²⁸ honour.

Katheryn. Verily Syr It were very good, for every man dispiseth and mocketh with you lyke the shomaker did euen now.

parson. Hertofore shulde such one haue bene excommunicate, but nowe muste we both heare and learne of the laye People / lyke the pharisees did of Chryst, good katherin I pray the call Iohan our coke,³²⁹ he vseth much to rede in the Byble, perchaunce he shall declare the scripture better then I / he must seke me some sentences out of the scripture.

³²⁷ = 'lowborn/vulgar'.

³²⁸ = 'pristine/untarnished'.

³²⁹ In the English, the Parson summons his (male) cook, not the 'Calefactor', an errand-boy for heating the house. The contrast between lowly Gospeller servant and lofty Catholic cleric is thus not emphasised in the English as in the German and Dutch.

Kochin. Henrice / Henrice / coemt hier by mijn Heere.

Calefactor. Weerdiche Heere / wat wilt ghy? (D6^v)

Coorheere. Onse Schoenmaker heeft my langhe ghequelt ende vele
wt die Bibel bewesen / ghelyck die Luytersche maniere is / ghy
moet my sommighe Capittelen soecken oft hy ghelyck gheseyt
heeft / op dat ick hem inder schrif vanghen mochte.

Calefactor. Ghy soudet met rechts selue weten / ghy hebt langhe die
ghewijde helpen examineren.

Coorheere. Daer ghebruyktmen meer scholierse leere / wat die
menschen hebben gheschreuen ende ghemaect / ende seer
weynich dat geestelick recht / welcke die heylige vaders in dat
Consilium hebben besloten.

Calefactor. Het en leyt daer niet een / een dat gene dat die vaders int
Consilium hebben besloten / ende die menschen die na in comen
zijn gheschreuen hebben / als die selue Wet ende leere ende
gheschrift wt dat woort ende gheest Gods / niet en is / want dye
Propheten ende Apostelen ende Euangelisten zijn oock menschen
gheweest.

Coorheere. Ja / soo hebben sy oock moghen dwalen / maer die
Lutherianen en willen dat (D7^r) niet gheloouen.

Calefactor. Neen / want Petrus spreeckt .ij. Petri int eerste: Het en is
noch noyt gheen Prophetie wt menschelicken wille wt
ghebracht / maer die heylighen menschen Gods die hebben
ghesproken / ghedreuen wesende vanden Gheest Gods /³³⁰ ende
recht daer na vercondicht Petrus / Die valsche Propheten die vele
verderffelice seckten

³³⁰ 2 Pt 1.20 *Vnd das solt jr fur das erste wissen / Das keine Weissagung in der Schrift geschicht aus eigener auslegung.* (L45).

Katheryn. Iohan Iohan / come to my master.

Iohan.³³¹ Honorable syr what is your pleasure?

Parson. (C6v) Our shomaker hath vexed me very long and hath
shewed me muche out of the byble, lyke the maner of the
Lutherians is / ye muste seke me oute some Chapter that I maye
knowe yf he haue sayde ryghte or no, that I myght conuicte hym
by scripture.

The coke. Ye ought with ryght to knowe it your selfe, for you haue
longe holpen³³² to examine the anointed.

Parson. To that we vse but the doctrine of scoles / and that which hath
bene written and made by men and very lyttel the spirytual lawe,
which the holy fathers haue concluded in the councelles.

The coke. It maketh no matter of that which the auncient fathers
haue concluded in the concell and what men (whiche are comme
in afterward) haue written, when the same lawe doctrine and
writyng is not out of the woorde and spirite of God. For the
Prophetes. Apostles and Euangelystes were men also.

Parson. Ergo they myght also erre, but the Lutheryans wyll not
beleue it. (C7r)

The coke. No, for Peter sayth. 2. Petri in the fyrst Chapter. That no
prophet in the scrypture hath any pryuate interpretacion. For the
scrypture came neuer by wyll of man, but holly men of God
spake as they were moued by the holy gost.³³³ The false prophetes,
which bryng many euell sectes

³³¹ The cook is here named John – apparently the same as the Parson and perhaps the Shoemaker too (who is called both John and Hans at the start). Having several characters called John was not unusual – John Heywood's *Johan Johan* (c.1525) contains a husband called John John and a priest called John, out of a cast of three! Anne Barton points out in *The Names of Comedy* (Oxford, 1990) that this was realistic at a time when almost half of all Englishmen were christened John.

³³² = 'helped'. Early English past participle of 'to help', reflecting the strong verb pattern, still in German 'geholfen' (and preserved in the 'Magnificat' in the Book of Common Prayers: 'hath holpen his servant Israel').

³³³ 2. Petri. 1. 2 Pt 1.20 *Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation.* (KJV).

(c3v) umbrenghen / ende dat beduyt recht uwen gheestelicken staet / oorden / reghel *ende* allen menschen vonden / buyten den woorden Gods / daer mede ghi nv ter tijt om gaet

Coorheere Ja / het en is op ons niet ghesproken / maer op die ouders ende voorgangers.

Calefactor. O ghy sotten ende traech van herten / om te gheloouen / al dat die Propheten ghesproken hebben. Luce int .xxiiij.³³⁴

Kochin. Heere / heet v den haen craeyen / van my en lijds ghys niet.

Coorheere. O ghy luysiger truwant / wilt ghy my oock rechtueerdighen ende leren / ghy zijt oock vanden Luterschen boeuen een / pijnt v nv ter stont wt den huyse / ende en (D7^v) coemt niet meer in mijn huys / ghy onbeschaemde beeste.

Calefactor. Aha / het doet v noch wee / dat v die Schoenmaker v ronde bonette bescaemt heeft / laet v dat niet verwonderen / want int oude Testament heeft God die herders zijn woort laten vercondighen / alsoo nv tertijt moeten (v Phariseen) die Schoenmakers leeren / Ja / het sullen v die steenen an die ooren roopen / Adieu / ick scheyde met wetenhey.

(c3v) in that signifieth euen your spirituall estate, order, rule, and all the inuencyons of men (without anye worde of God) where with you daly go aboute.

Parson. That is not spoken of vs, but of oure auncyent olde predecessors and foregoers.

The coke. O ye foles and slouth in harte to beleue all that the prophetes haue spoken.³³⁵

Katheryn. Harke Master, doth the cocke bydde you Crowe? ye wolde not suffer me to tell it you.

Parson. O thou lowsy vyllayn,³³⁶ wilt thou now teach me? thou arte also one of Luthers knaues, get the out of the dores, and come no more into my house, thou vnshamefast³³⁷ beast I councell it the for best.

*The coke*³³⁸ (C7v) Ha ha ha / I perceave it greueth you yet / that the shomaker hath stopt so well your mouth, lett it not be so greate wonder vnto you, for God suffred (in the olde Testament) sheapardes to declare hys worde, even so now must ye pharezees, and shauelynges³³⁹ be taught of shomakers and cobblers / yea the very stones shall call it in to your eares: fare ye well syr domine.

³³⁴ Luke 24.25 *VND er sprach zu jnen / O jr Thoren vnd treges hertzen / zu gleuben alle dem / das die Propheten geredit haben* (L45)

³³⁵ Luke. 24. Luke 24.25 *VND er sprach zu jnen / O jr Thoren vnd treges hertzen / zu gleuben alle dem / das die Propheten geredit haben* (L45) *then he said unto them, O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken:* (KJV).

³³⁶ = 'commoner/unfree tenant' (Anglo-French 'villein'), and thus 'knave/fool'.

³³⁷ = 'shameless'.

³³⁸ The edition mistakenly has 'Shomaker.'

³³⁹ = 'tonsured clergy'.

Kochin. O gheschiet recht / my verwondert dat ghy met die groue
beeste spreken mocht si en verschonen noch v / noch v heylige
wijtsel.

Coorheere. Jck wil my nv wel voor hem wachten / ghy verbannen
kint / vreeset vier / wel aen / ick wil te choor gaen / ende gaet ghy
op die merckt / ende coept ons een meerle voghel oft twee / hier
sal noch eten die Cappellaen van mijnen ghenadighen Heere /
met sommighe Heeren / ende wy sullen een Bancket houden /
draghet die Bibel wt der stouen wech / ende besiet of dye
doppelsteen al int verkerbert zijn / ende dat wy een schoon
Caerte oft twee hebben. (D8^r)

Kochin. Het sal zijn. Heere sult ghy terstont na den ommeganck
weder comen?

Coorheere. Ja ick / siet toe dat dat eeten bereyti si.

Kochin Ja Heere / in dien dattet my broeder Claves niet en belette.³⁴⁰

A M E N.

Gheschiet tot Nurenborch / int iaer ons Heeren

.M. CCCCC. XXJJ.³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ The last line by the cook, literally 'provided brother Nicholas does not stop me from it', has been added to the text. The meaning is unclear, perhaps a local reference. The E version only translated the first part of the sentence, obviously also not getting the meaning of this addition. In G it ends instead with a quotation from Paul's letter to the Philippians, Phil 3.19 *ir bauch ir gott*, their belly is their god.

³⁴¹ 'Happened in Nuremberg, AD 1522', i.e. the dialogue is presented as a factual report. The wrong date, 1522 instead of 1524, is probably a typographical mistake.

Katheryn. I maruayle that you can take the Payne to speake to such
Rude beasts, they neyther regarde you nor yet your holy
oyntment.

Parson. I shall kepe me from him well inough, thow wycked and
excommunycate knaue take hede of thy fyre / nowe I wyll go to
the Church, and go you to the Market and buye vs a dozen of
good quayles / for the chapleyn of my most reuerende Lorde the
bysshoppe shall dyne here wyth more other gentlemen, we wyll
kepe a banket³⁴², now Carye the byble out of the parlour, and loke
if the dyse are in the tables / and prouide vs of a fayre payre of
cardes or two.

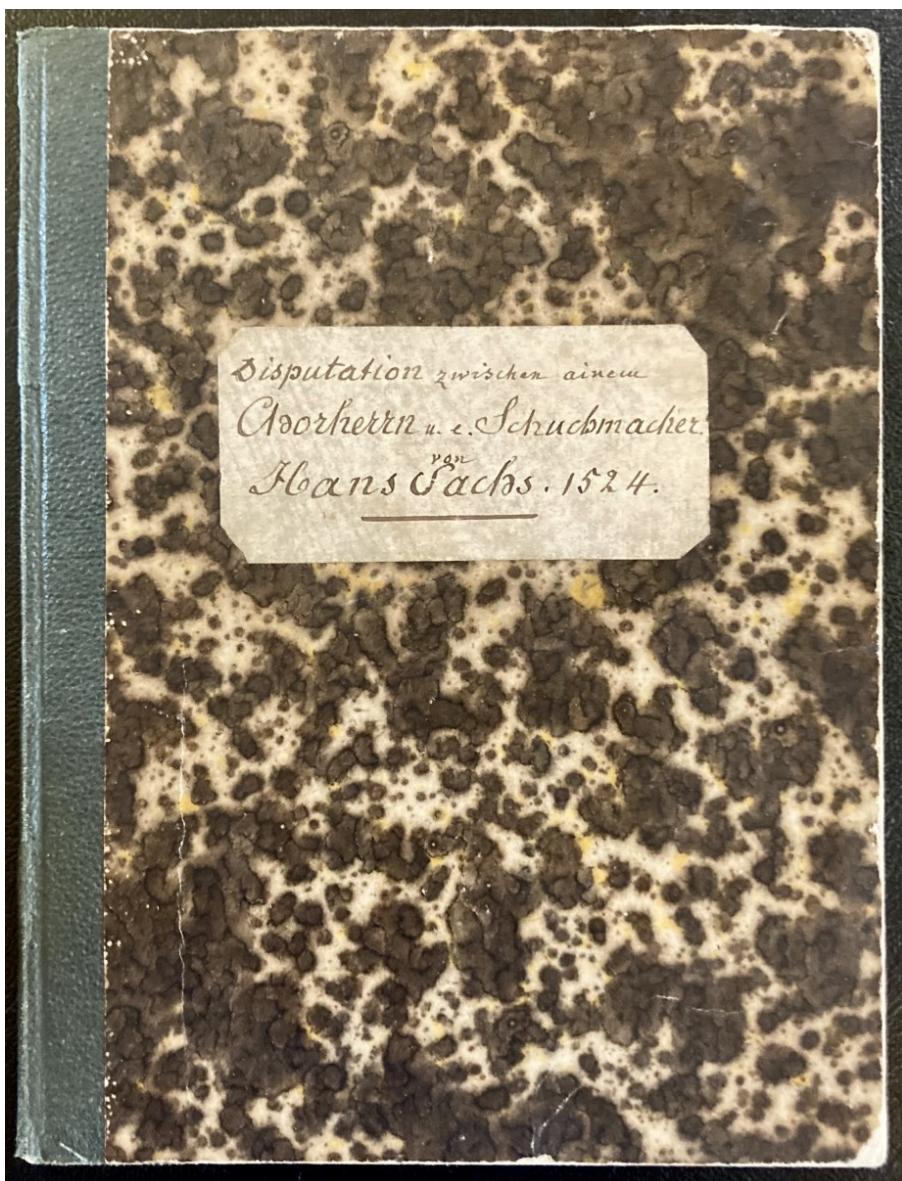
Katherin. It shalbe done, Syr, wyll ye come ho(C8r)me anone after
the procession be done?

Parson. Yea, loke the meate³⁴³ be ready.

Katheryn. yea forsothe Syr

Amen.

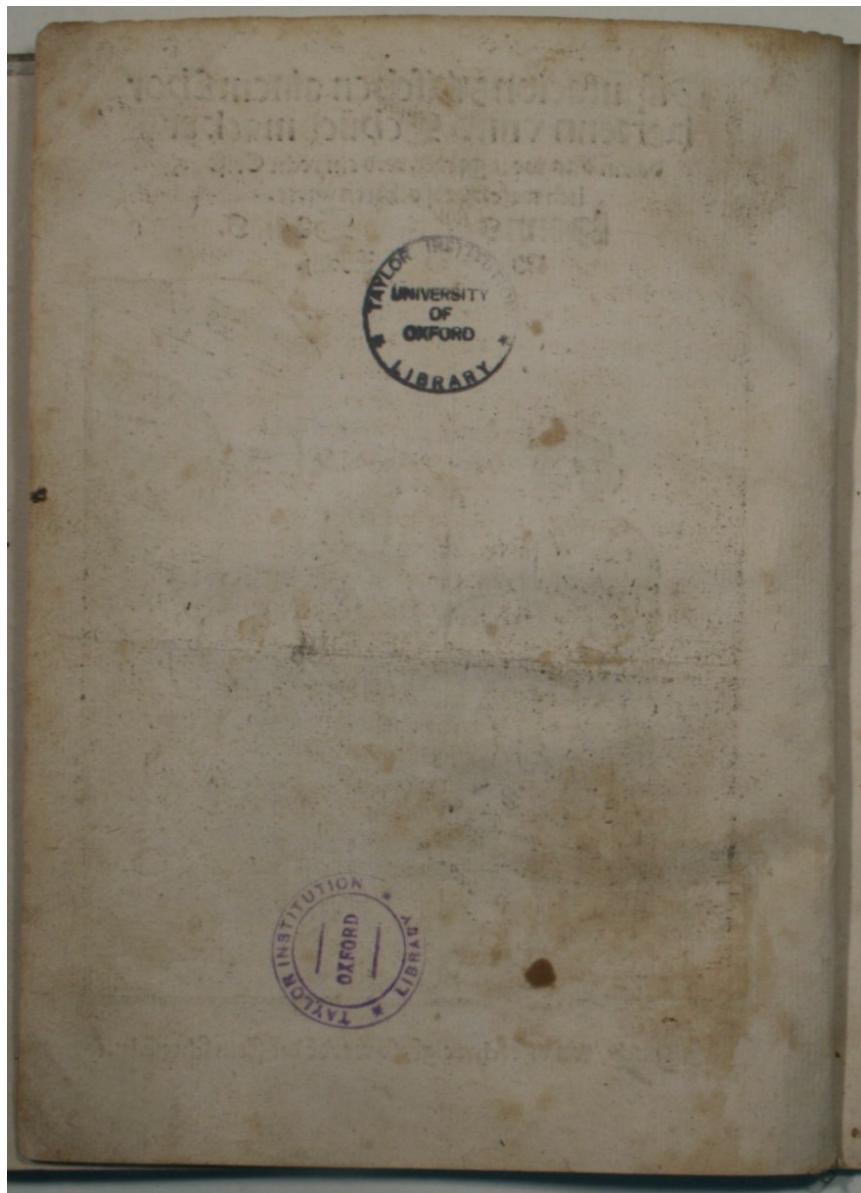
Facsimile



Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1523(8), cover



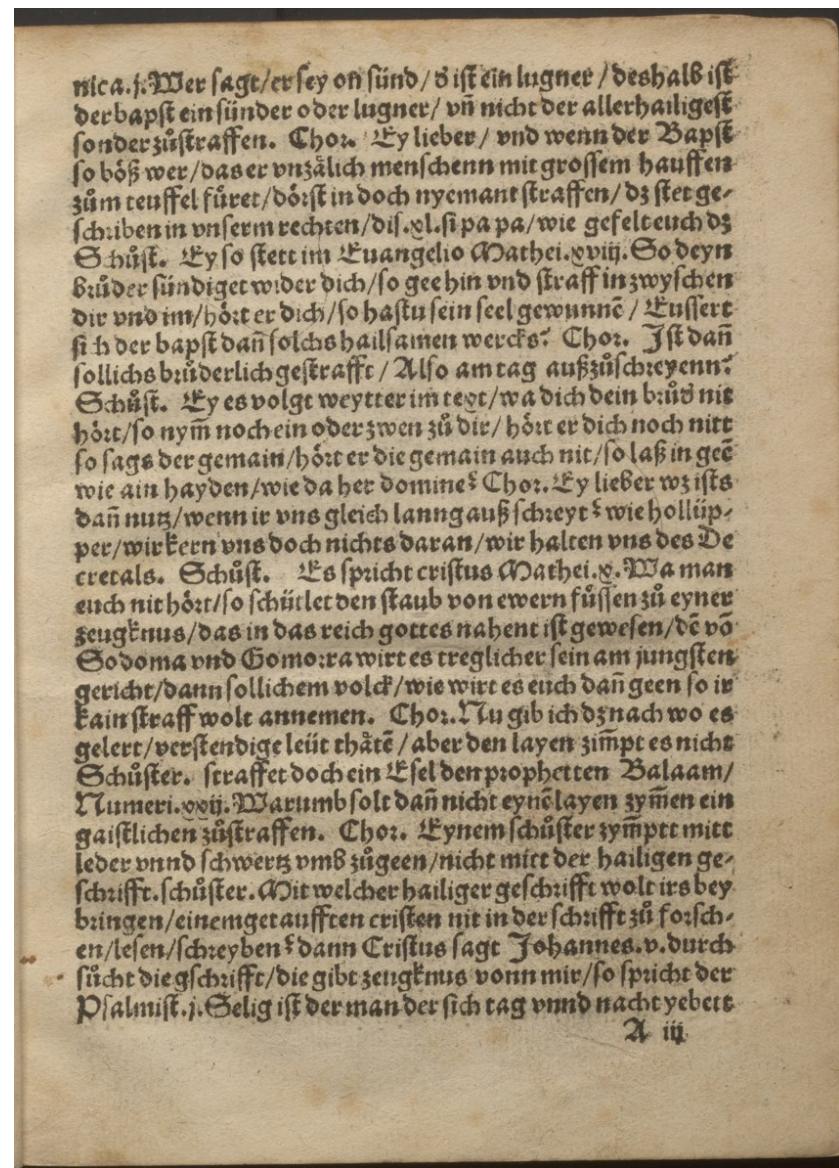
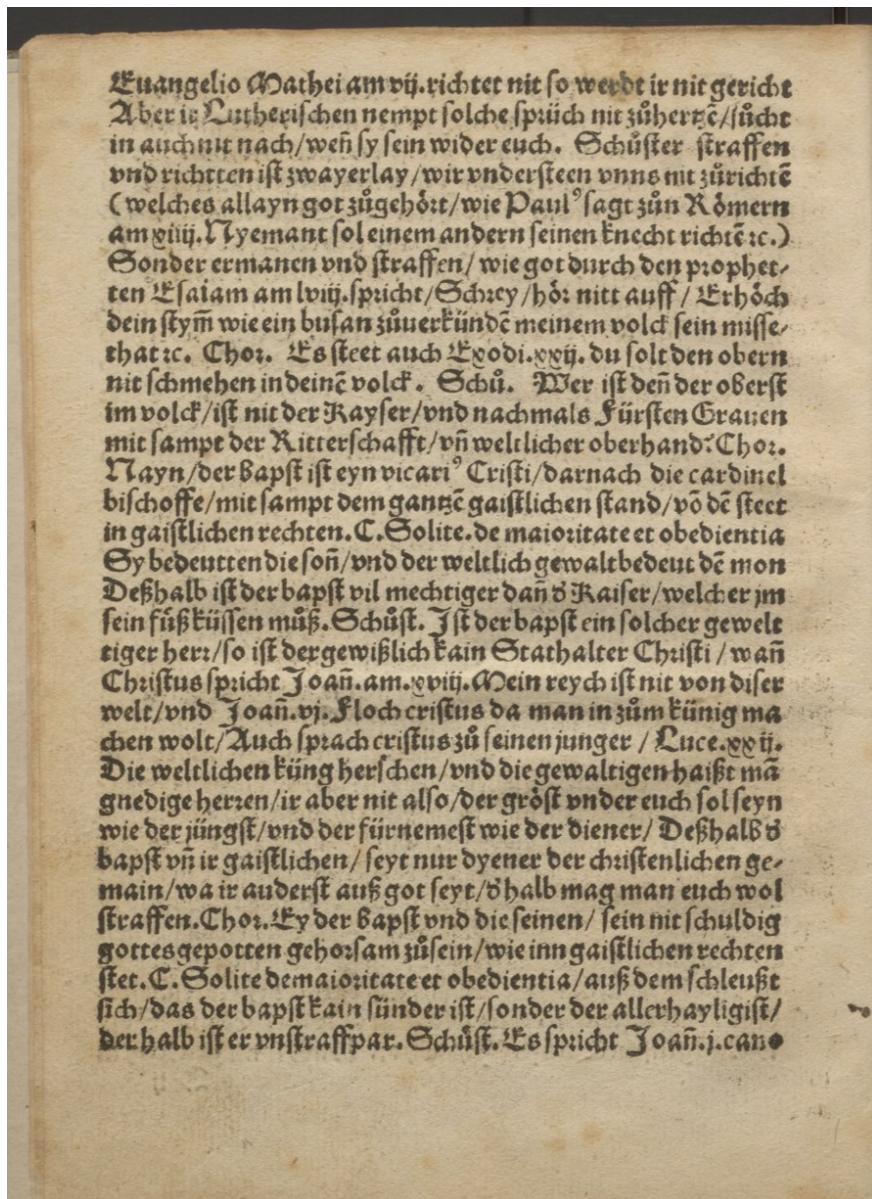
Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1524(26), a1r

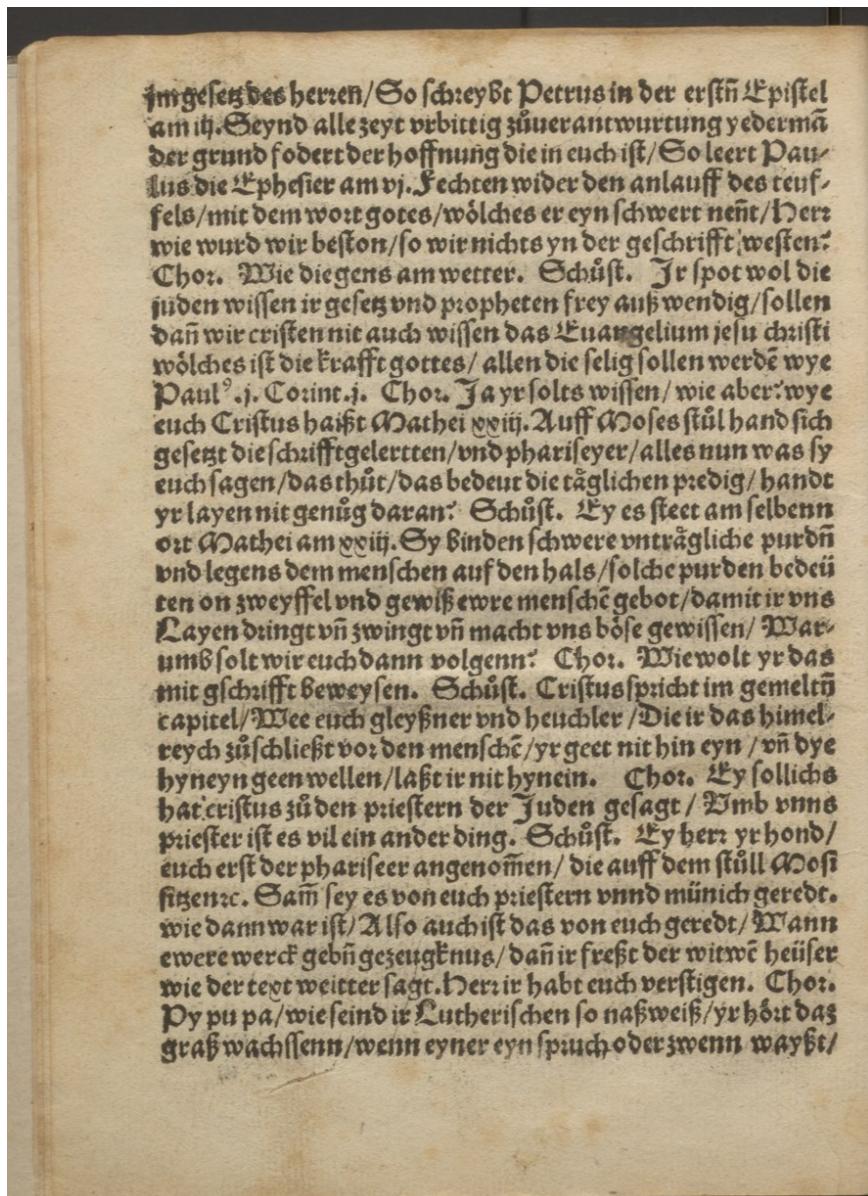


Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1524(26), a1v

Bonus dies Kochin. Kochin. Semper quies
 Seyt wylkum mayster Hanns. Schüster.
 Got dank euch/wa ist der herz: Kochin. Er ist
 im Summerhaus/Ich wil im rüffen/Her: her: d
 Schüchmacher ist da. Khorherz. A/Beneueneritis may-
 ster Hans. Schüst. Deo gratias. Khor. Was bringt yr
 mir die pantoffel: Schüst. Na/ich gedacht/yr wertschon
 in die kirchen gangen. Chor. Nayn/ich bin hyndē im sum-
 merhaus gewest/vnd hab ab gedroschen. Schü. Wie hōd
 ir gedroschen: Chor. Na/ich hab mein horas gebeert/vnd
 hon alemit meiner nachtigal zū essen geben/ Schüst. Herz
 was hond ir für eyn nachtigall/Singet sy noch. Chor.
 O nain/es ist zū spatt im jare. Schü. Ich waiss ein schüch-
 macher Der hat ein nachtigal/die hatt erst angefangen
 zū singen. Chor. Ey der teuffel hol den schüster/mit sampt
 seiner Nachtigal/wie hat er den aller hayligisten vater den
 Bapst/die hailige vetter/vn vns wirdige herren aufgeholt/
 hipt/wie ein holhippibb. Schüst. Ey/her fart schon/Er
 hat doch nur ewern gogdienst/leer/gebott vñ eynkommen/dē
 gmainen man/angezaygt/vñ nur schlecht oben überhyn/ist
 dan solches ewer wesen/holhüpel werck. Chor. Was get es
 aber solchs vnsrer wesen den tollen schüster ane: Schüst. Es
 steet Eodo am xviii. So du deines feyndes Esel vnder dem
 last sihest ligen/nit las in/sonder hilff im/Soll daneyn ge-
 taurffer chüss/seinem brüder nit helffen/so er in sech ligen inn
 der beschwert seiner gewysten: Chor. Er sole aber die gaist-
 lichen vnd geweychten nit dareyn gemengt han (der Esel
 kopff) die wissen vor wol/was sünd ist. Schüst. Seynd sy
 aber sündigen/So spricht Ezechiel xxxiii. Syhest du deynen
 brüder sündigen/so straff in/oder ich wil sein blüt von deine
 henden fodern/der halb soll vñ müß ein geteuffer seine sünd-
 igen brüder straffen er sey geweicht oder nit. Chor. Seye
 ic̄ Euägelisch. Schüst. Na/ Chor. Habt ir mit gelesen ym
 A ii

Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1524(26), a2r

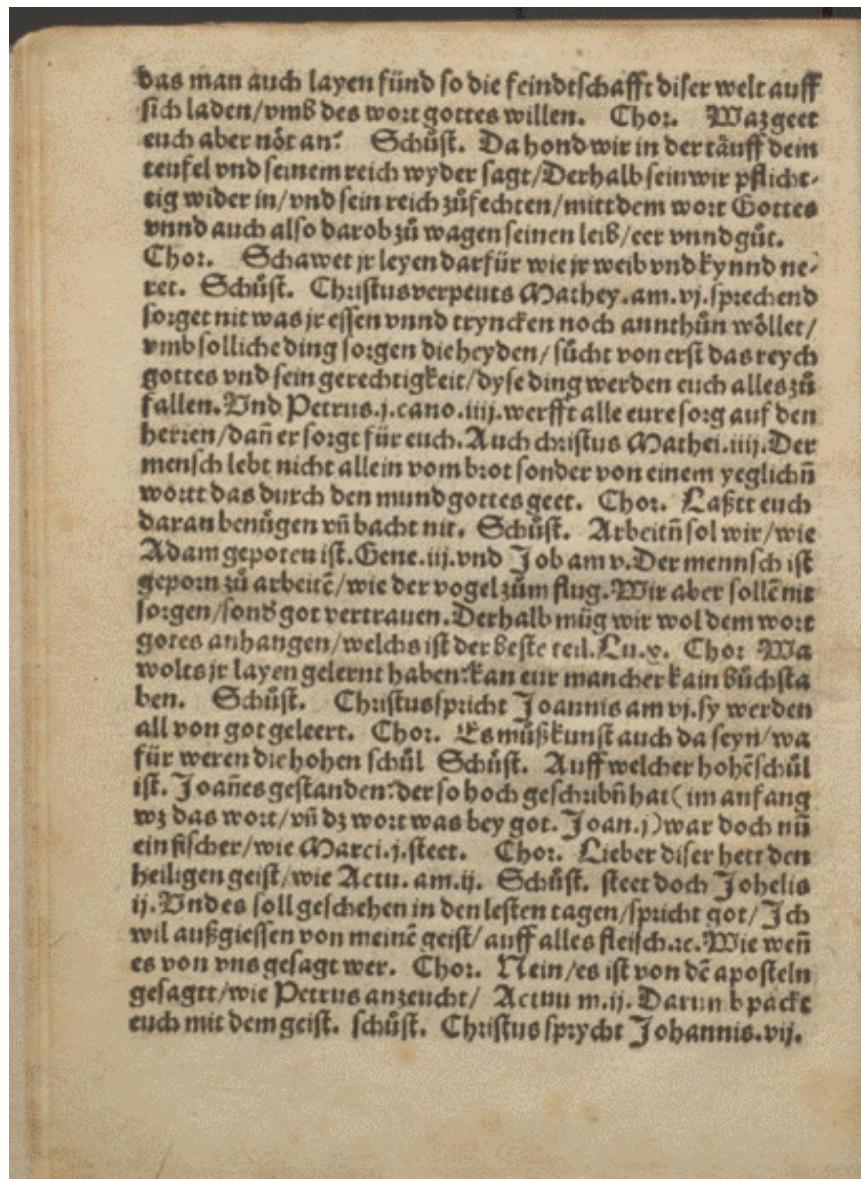




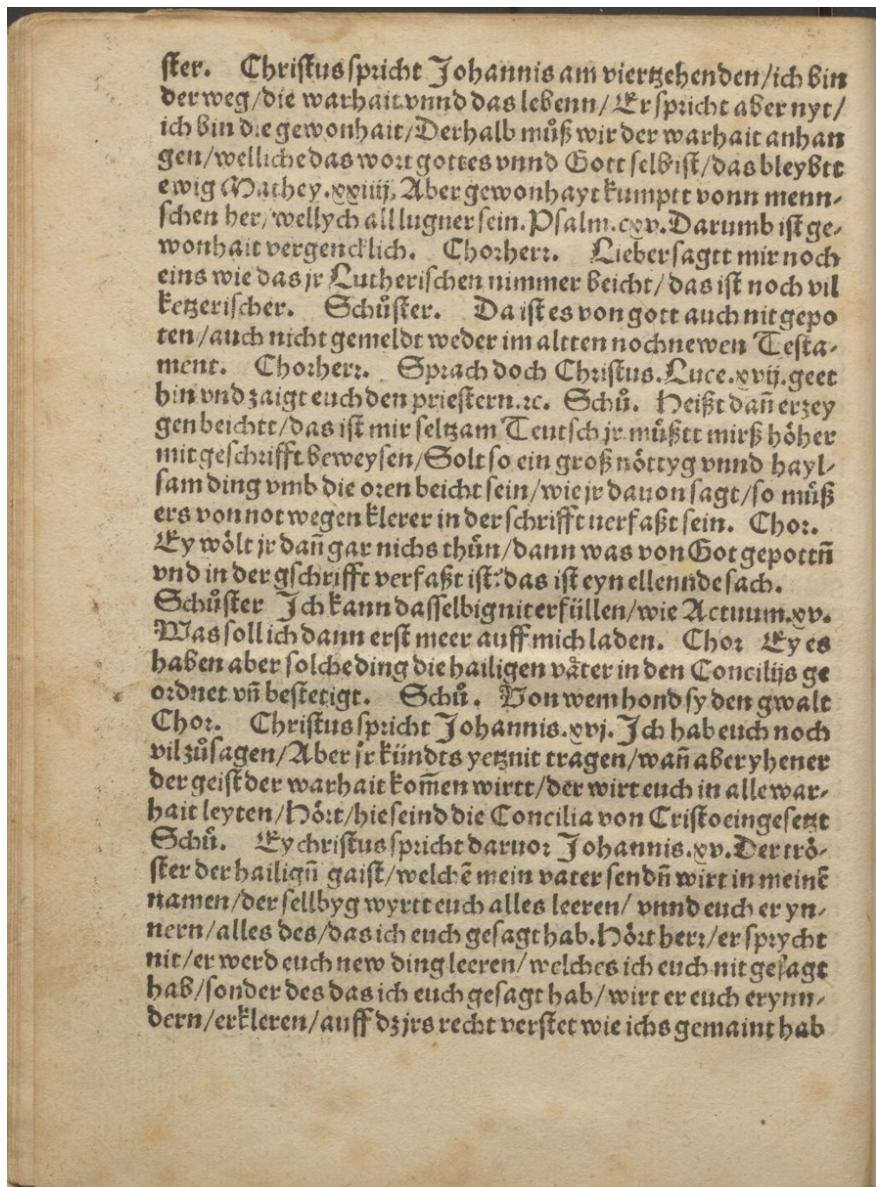
Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1524(26), a3v

auf dem Euangelio/ so vegiert ir yederman mit. Schüst. Ey
 herz zürnet nit/ ich meins güt. Chor. Ich zürne nit/ aber ich
 müß euchs yesagen/ es gehört den layen nit zu/ mit d'schiffit
 vmb zegon. Schüst. Spricht doch cristus Mathei am vij.
 Hüt euch vor den falschen propheten/ vñ Paulus zun Phi-
 lipen. am iiiij. Secht auff die hund/ so vns dañ die schrift nie
 zimpf zu wissen/ wie sollen wir solche erkennen. Chor. Solichs
 gehört den bischoffenn zu/ wie Paulus zu Thito. i. Er solt
 sharp straffen die versüter. Schüst. Na sy thüns aber nit
 sonder das wider spil/ wie am tag ist. Chor. Da laß man
 sy vmb sorgen. Schüst. Vain vns nit also/welle sy nit/ so
 gepürt vns selb darnach schaft enn/wann kainer württ des
 andern purde tragen. Chor. Ey lieber sagt was ir wölt/
 es gehört den layen nit zu/ mit schrift vmb zegon/ wie Pau-
 lus sagt. j. Corint. viij. Lyn yedlicher wie in der herz berüffen
 hat/ so wanndel er/hört ihs nun ir hand vorschrifft begerte
 Schüst. ja Paulus redt vom eusserlichen stand vnd hand-
 lung/ von knechten vnd freyen/ wie am selben ort vñ capittel
 klar stet/ Aber hie ist das wort gottes noch yederman vñmer
 bottenn zu handlen. Chor. Ey hört ic nit Ir müßt vor-
 durch die hailig weich berüfft sein/ vnd darnach vonn der
 oberkeit erwölt werden dargen/ sunst zimpf es euch nicht mit
 der hailigen schrift vmb zegon. Schüster. Christ' spricht
 Luce an dem ix. Die erndt ist groß/ aber d' arbayter ist wenig
 bit den herren der erndt/ das er arbayterschick in sein ernnde
 Derhalb müß der berüfft mit eusserlich sonden ynnernlich von
 gott sein/eusserlich aber sind alle prediger berüffen d' falsch
 gleich so wol/ als die gerechten. Chor. Ach es ist narren
 werk mit eurem sagen. Schüster. Euch ist wie den jungern
 Luce an dem ix. Die verdroß das ein ander auch teuffel aus
 tryb in dem namen Christi/ Christus aber sprach weret ynn
 nicht/ dann wer nit wider euch ist/ der ist mit euch/ Derhalb
 wa ir recht cristen weret/ soltt ir euch vonn herzen freuen

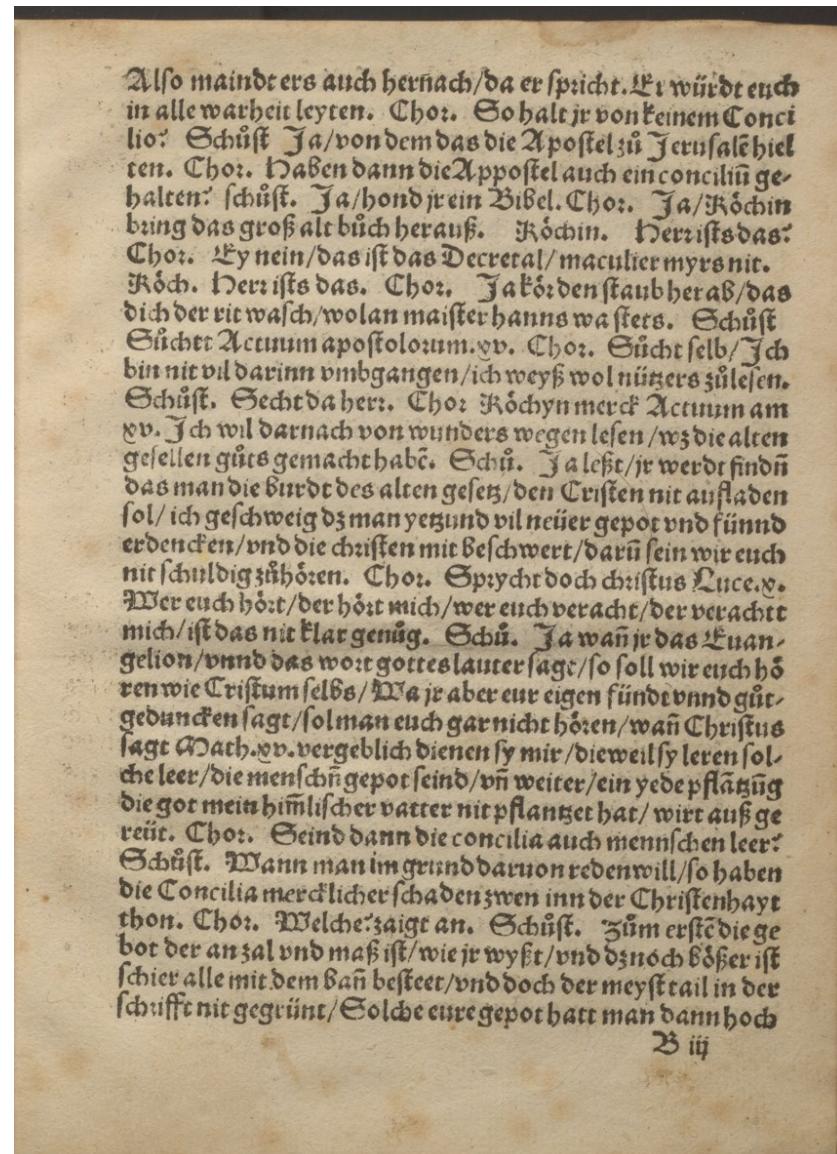
Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1524(26), a4r



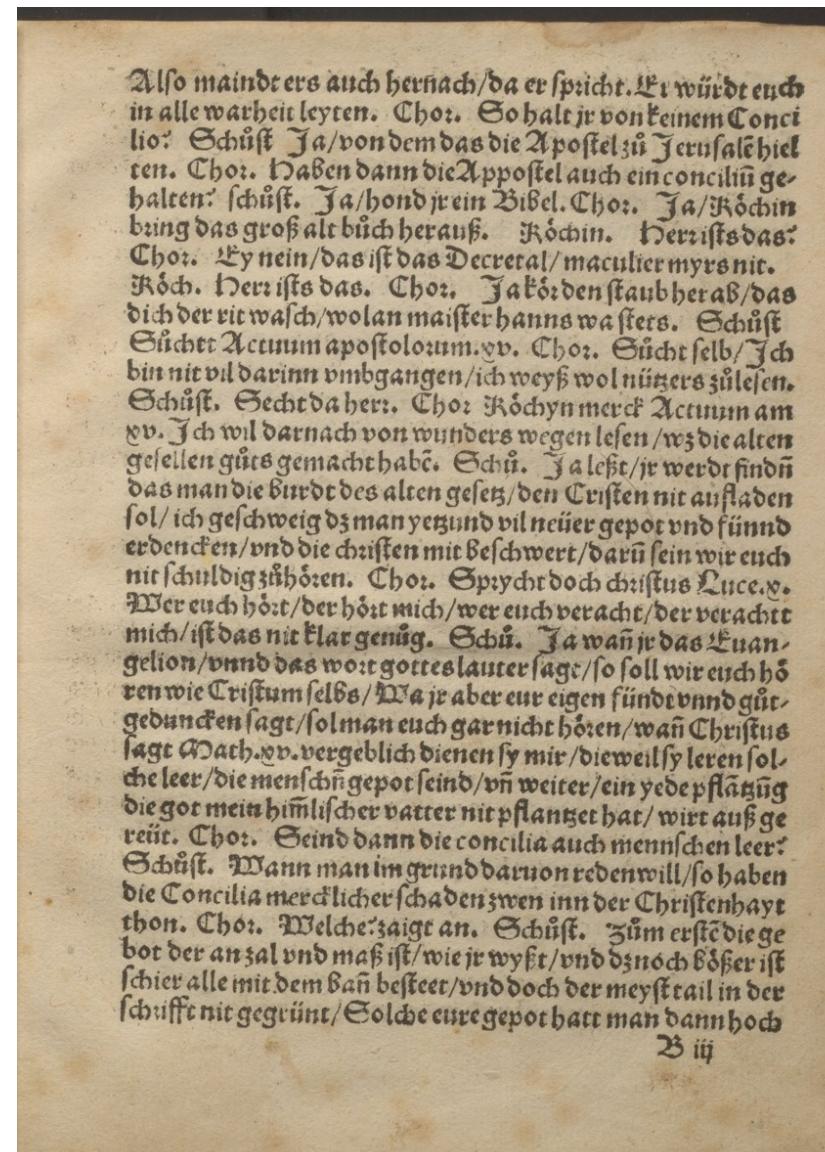
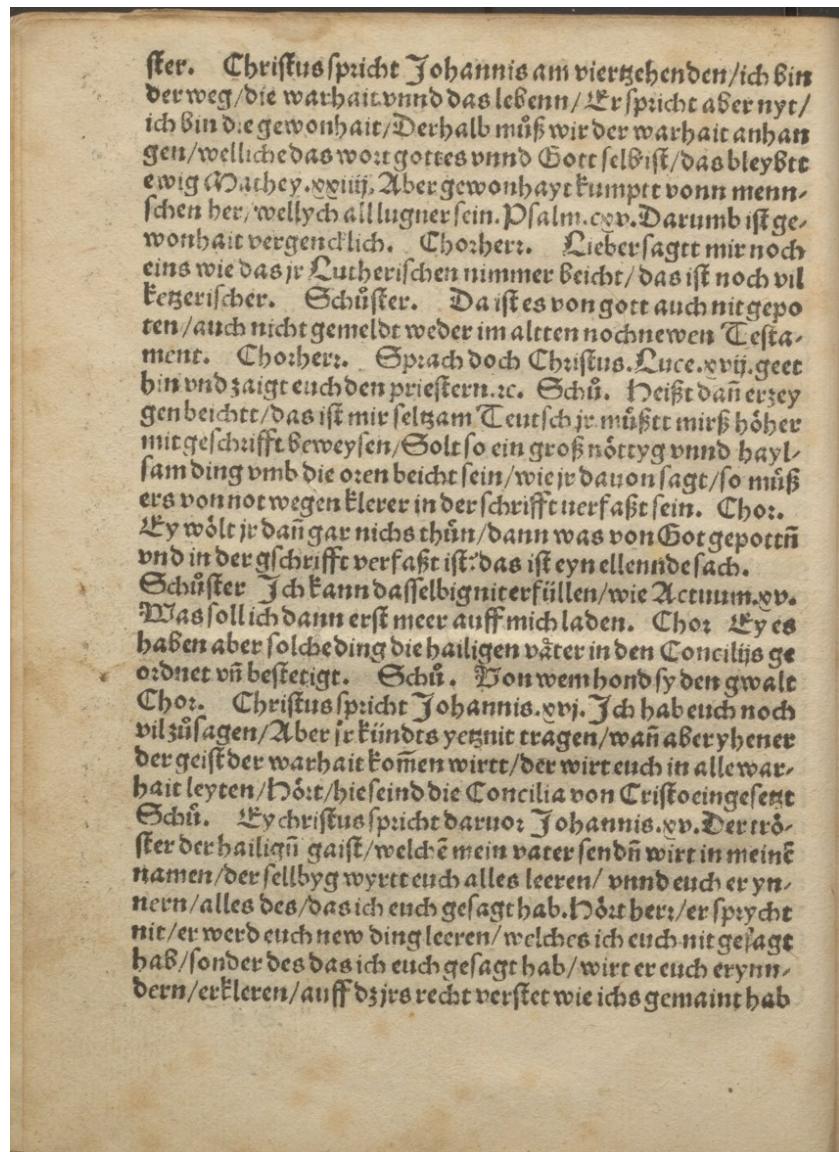
wer an mich glaubet wie die geschrifft sage) von des leib wēdē fliessen flüss des lebendigen wassers/daz aber spricht der Evangelist I rede er vō dem heiligen geist/welichen entpfahū solten die an in glauben. Chor. Wie ich mayn jr styncke nach Mantuano dem kezzer/mic dem heiligen geist. Schü. Spricht doch Paulus. i. Corint. iii. Wyset jr nicht das jr der tempel gottes seyt/vnd der geyst gottes in euch wonet/vnd Gallat. iiiij. Weyl jr dann kinder seynd/hatt Gott gesannde den geist in eure herzen der schreyt Abba lieber vatter. Und Tico. iii. Nach seynen bartherrigkeit macht er vñns selig/durch das bad der wider gepurt/vnd verneurung des heiligen gaists/welchen er aufgossen hat reichlich in uns. Und zun Römern. viii. So nun der geist des/der Jesum votoden auferweckthat/in euch wonet. Chor. Ich empfind keins heiligen geist in mir/ich vñ je seyn mit darzü geadelt. schüsst. Warumb heist jr dan die gaistlichen/So jr den geyst Gottes nich hond/jr sol haissen die geistlosen. Chor. Es seinnd ander leut/weder ich vnd jr die den geist gotes habē. schü. Je dürrst nit vmbsehen nachinfeln/oder nach rotē pirieren got ist kain anseher der person/Actuui. g. Es stet Es/a/lovi. Der geist gottes wirt rüen auf ein zerknitschten herzen. Chor Zeige mir ein. schüsst. Es spricht mir runden worten Paulus zun Römern. viii. Wer Christus geist nit hatt/der ist mit sein. Chor O des armens geists/den jr Lutherisch en hand/ich glaub er sey kolschwarz. Lieber was thün doch eur heiliger geist bey euch/ich glaub er schlaff tag vnd nacht man spirit in eyen endert. schüsst. Christus spricht Math. vii. Es solt eur heilumbnieden hunden geben/noch dye perlein für die schweyn werffen/anff das die selbigen nytt myte füssen zertreten. Chor. Lieber schempt jr euch mit solliche grobe wort vor mir anzuzeichnen. Schüsst. Elyeber Herr zürnt nit/es ist die heilige schrifft. Chor. Ja/jafja. ii. Lutherischen/sage vil vom wort gots/vnd werde doch nur elann. B

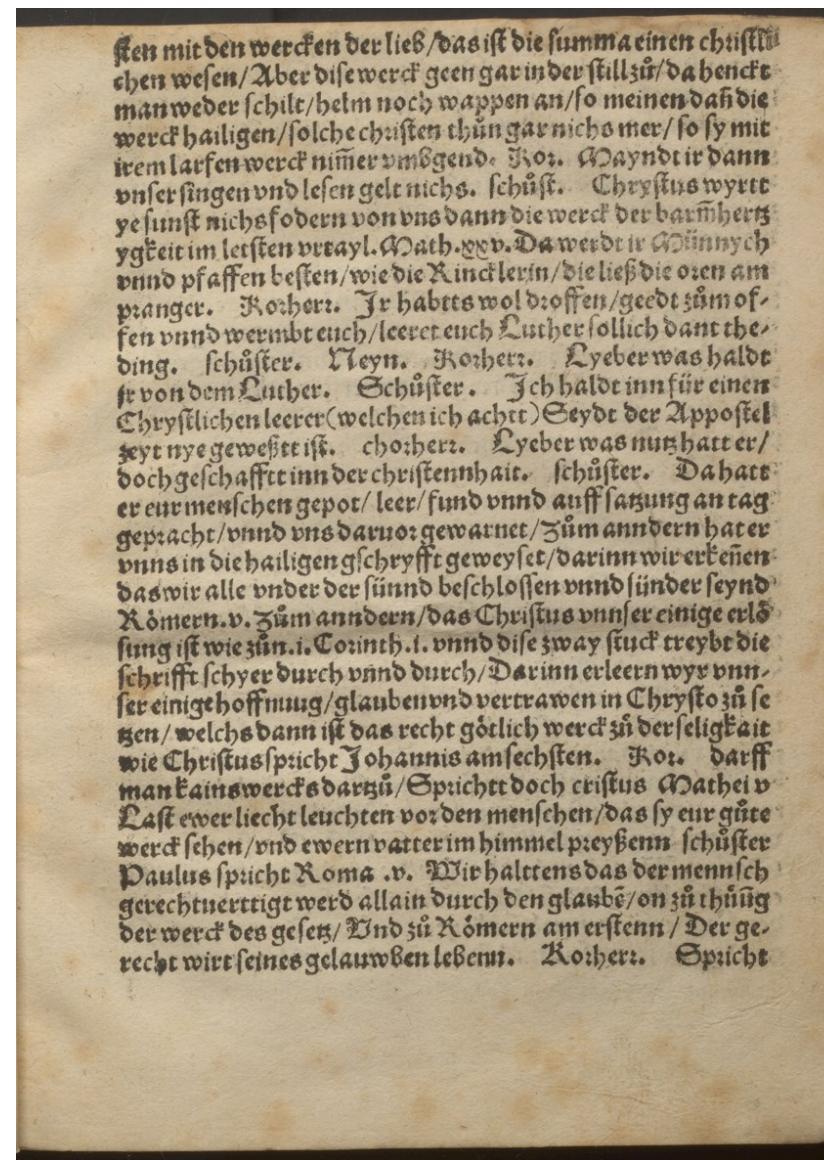
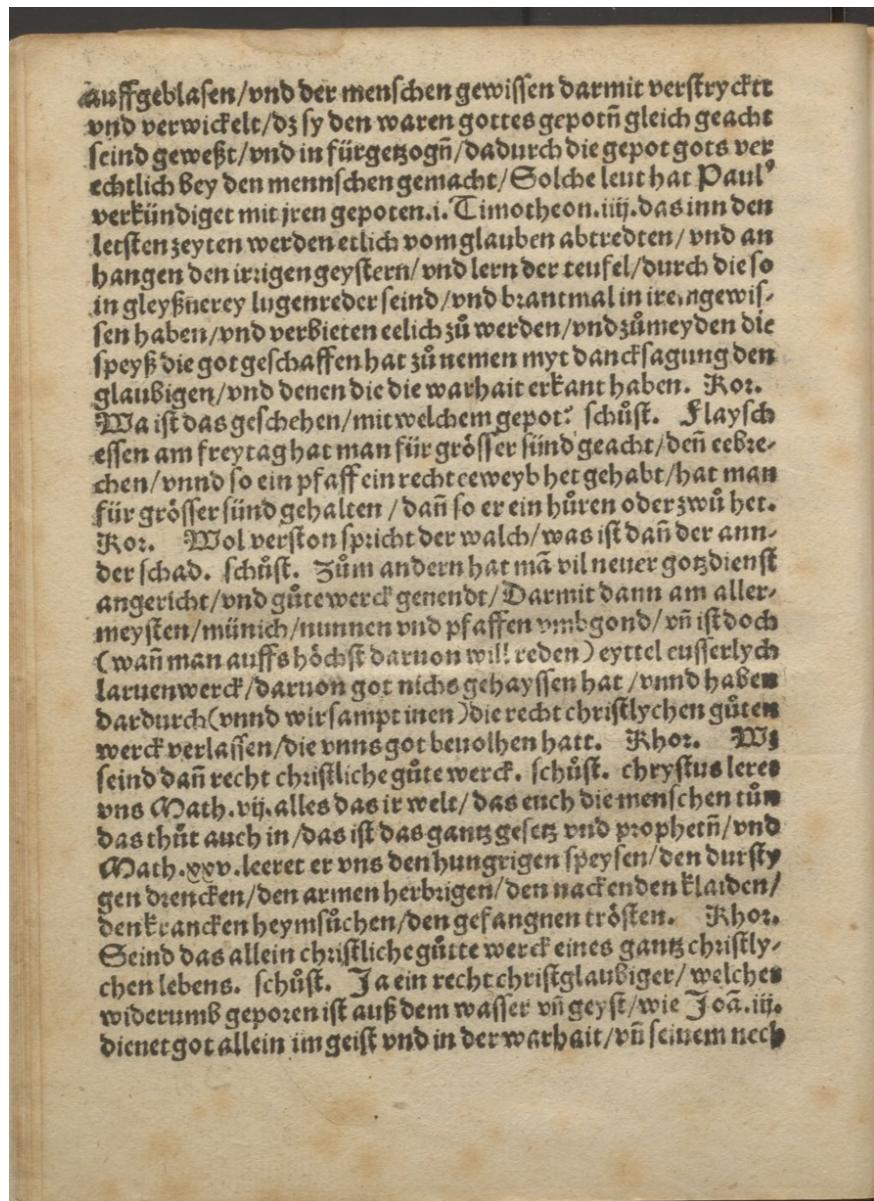


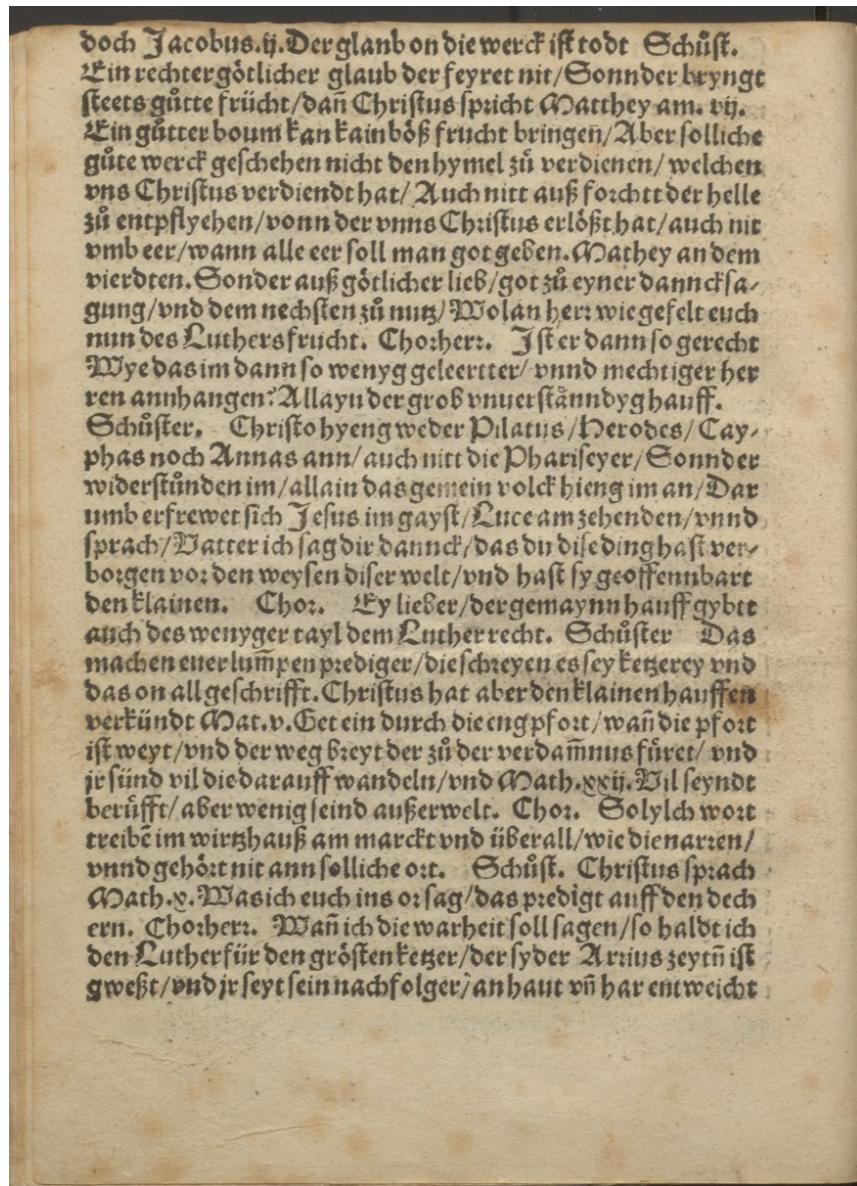
Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1524(26), b1v



Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1524(26), b2r



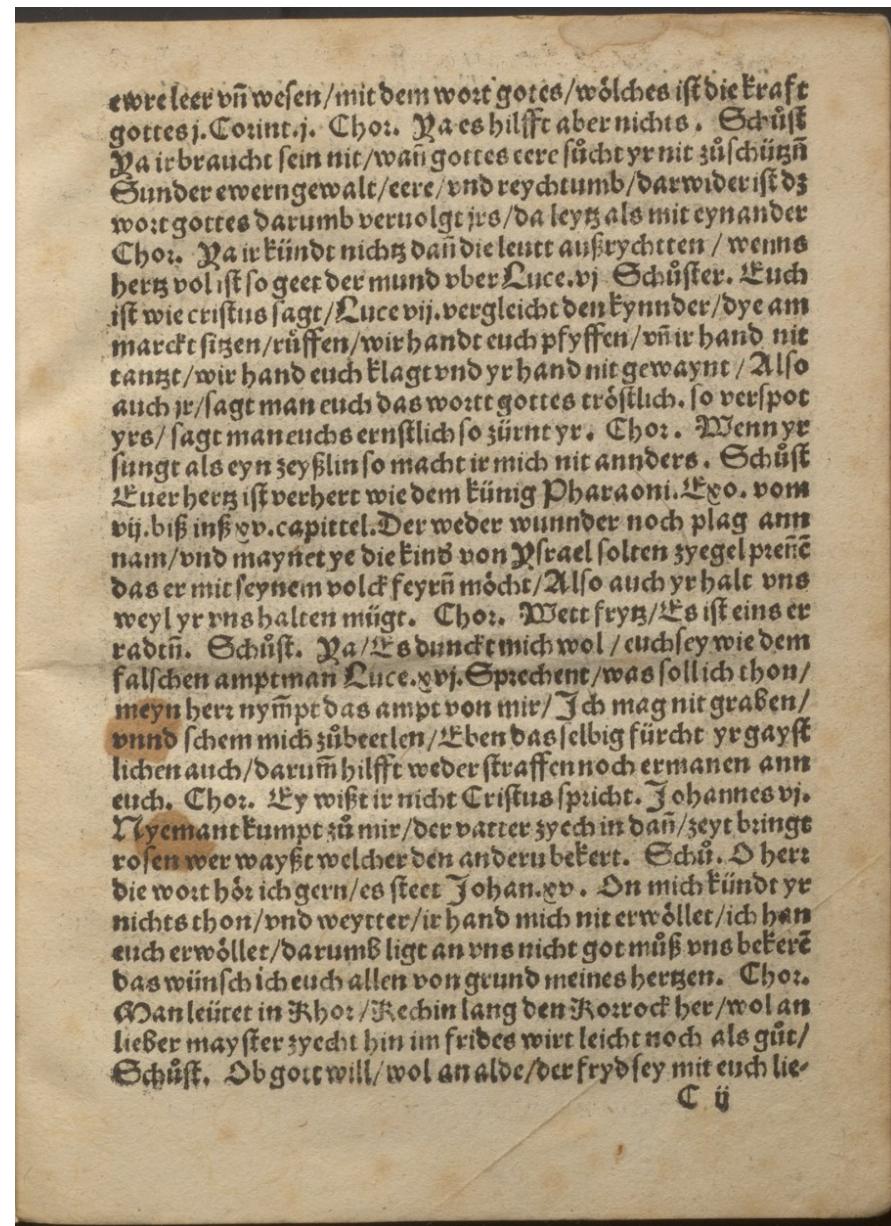
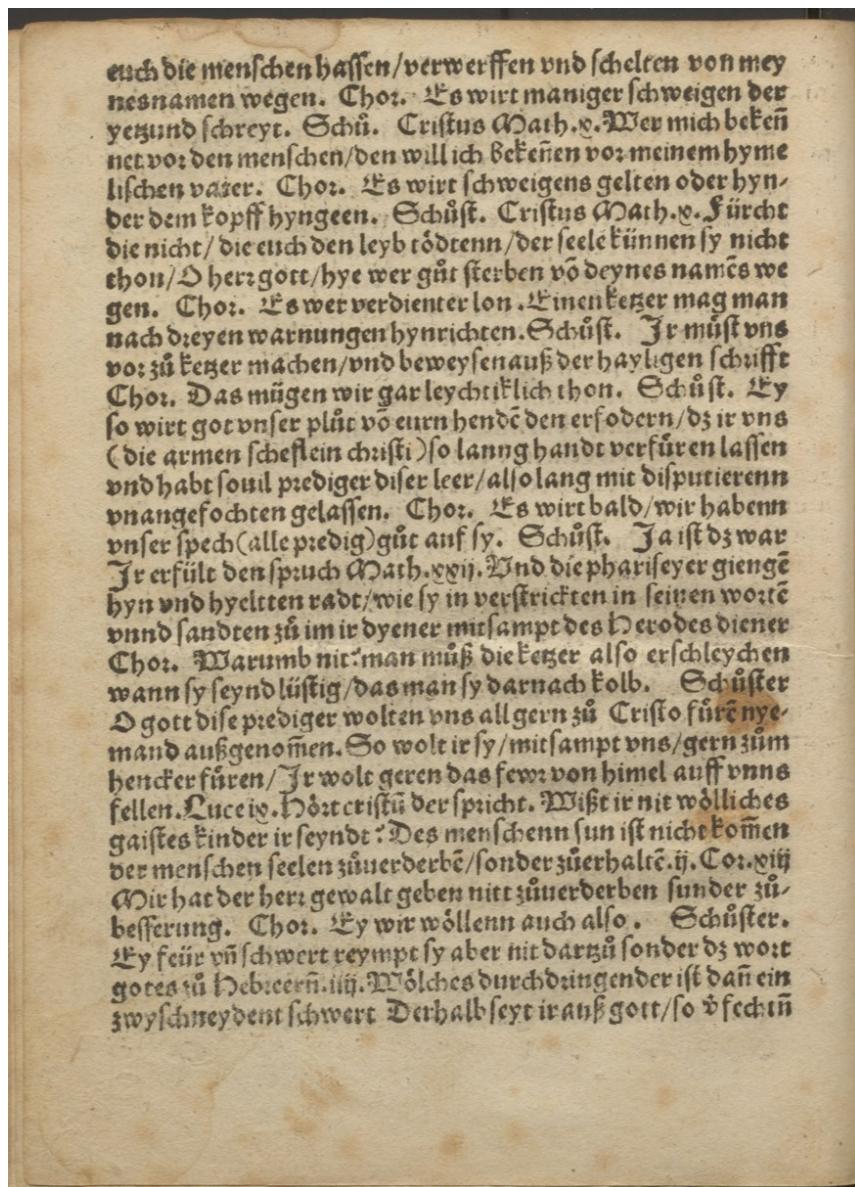


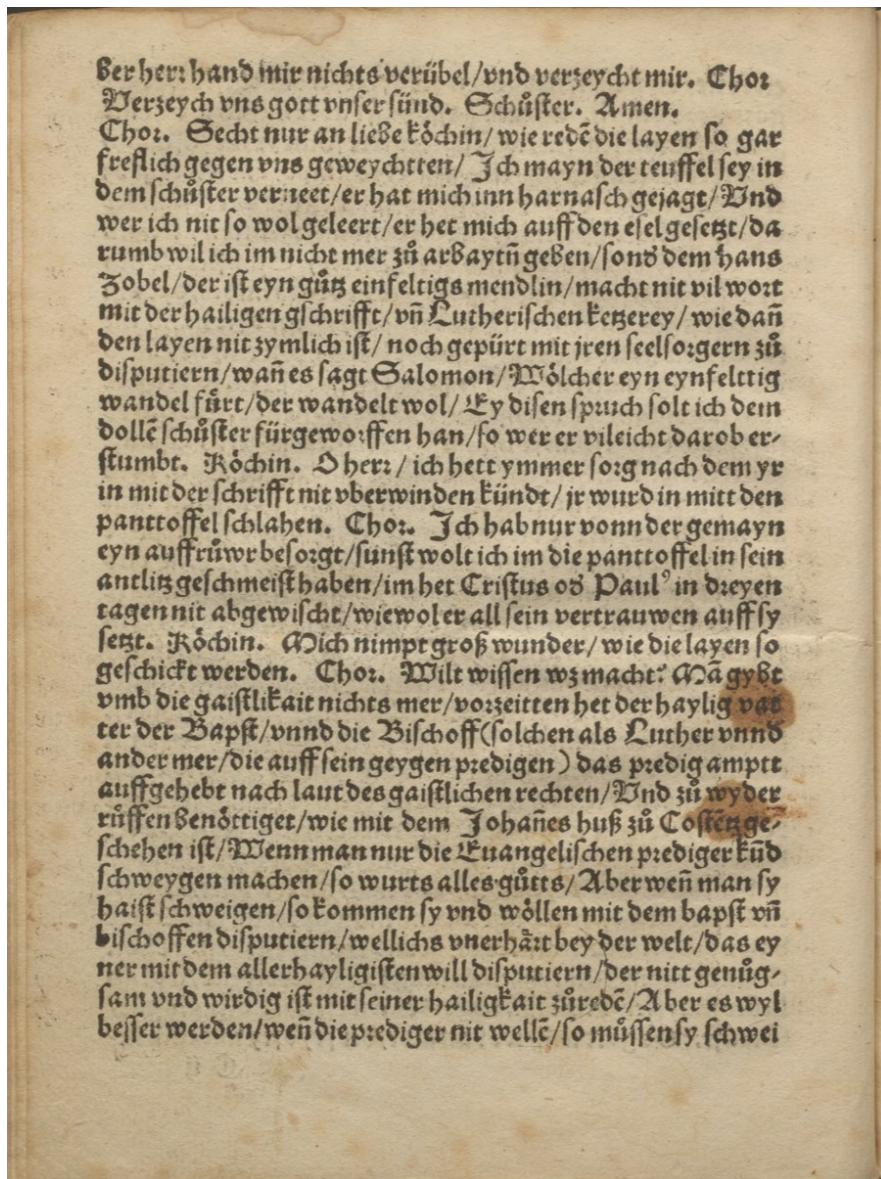


Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1524(26), b4v

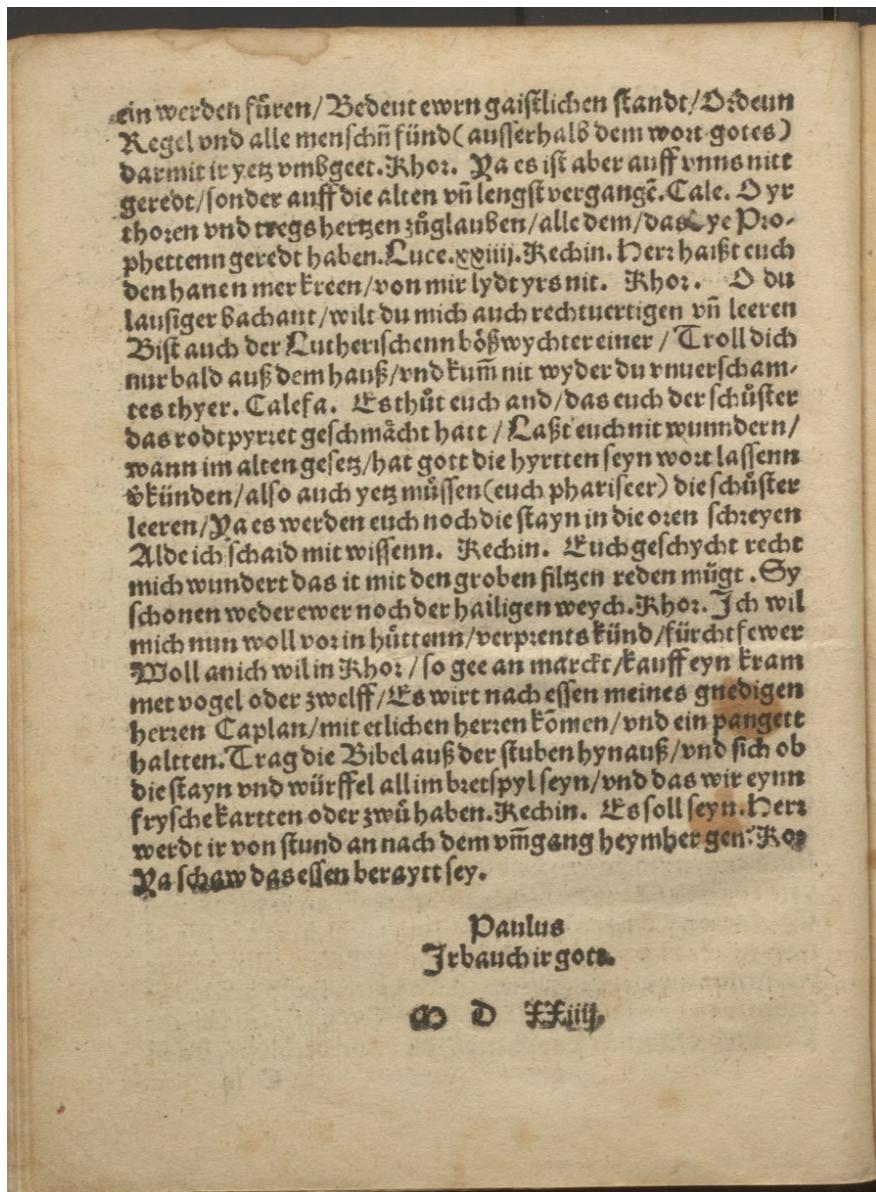
als vil eur ist/vnd nichts gutes ist in euch/nichts gutes kumpe
 von euch/wiſt jr nun: den titel gib ich dem Luther vñ euch
 zusammen. Schüsst. Da habt jr ein mal eins erradeten/wan
 niemandt ist güt dan got/Math.vij. Wan vñser natur ist
 gar in vñs verboht/wie Gene.vij. Des menschen herz ist zu
 boßheit genaiget von jugent auff/ welche man müſt ägelych
 mit dem kreuz Dempfßen/das sy den gaſt nit fel/wan sy lade
 jr dück nit/ ob schon der gaſt durch den glauben gerechtfer-
 tiget ist/wan es steht Proverbio.xvij. Der gerecht felde im
 tag syben mal/Deshalb bitt wir alltag/vergyb vñs vñser
 schuld. Mat.vi. Und Paulus zun Römern am.vij. daz güt
 das ich wil/thū ich nicht/sonder das böß/das ich nit wil/ das
 thū ich/vnd schreyt darnach. Dich ellender mensch/wer wirt
 mich erlösen von dem leyb des todes? Zaygt damit ann/das
 wir sünden sein biß in todt/Seyt jr aber on sünd: So werſſe
 den ersten stain auf vñs. Ioān.vij. Chor. Je sey halt vñ
 nutz leut/kündt vil gespayß/ich hoff aber man soll euch bald
 den laymen kloppfen/ es hilft doch sunſt nichts. Schüster
 Wie wolt jr mit dem schwert daran: es stett euch gaſtlich
 nit zu. Chor. Warumb nic: Hat doch Cristus Luce. xvij.
 zway schwert eyngesetzt/dz gaſtlich vñ dz weltlich. Schüsst.
 Verbot doch christus Petro Math.xvi. vnd sprach / Wer
 mit dem schwert fycht/wirt am schwert verderben. Chor
 Hilft syet nit/so müß aber sawr helffen/wann dye kezerey
 hat groß über hand genommen/vnd ist hoche zeyt dareyn zu
 schlagen. Schüsst. O nein/sonder volgt dem radt Gamali-
 cus. Actuū.v. Ist die leer auf den menschen würtsy on alle
 schwertschleg fallen/ist sy aber von got so kündt ihs nit dēpf-
 fen/auff das iit nit sehen werdet/als die wider gott streyten
 wollen. Chor. Es wirt nit anders darauf. Schüsst. Wo
 lan her: dein wil gescheh Mathey an dem. vi. Der junger ist
 nit über den mayster. Ioān.xv. Habiſy mich veruolgsy
 weren euch auch veruolgen/vnd Luce.vi. Selig seydt jr wan

Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1524(26), c1r

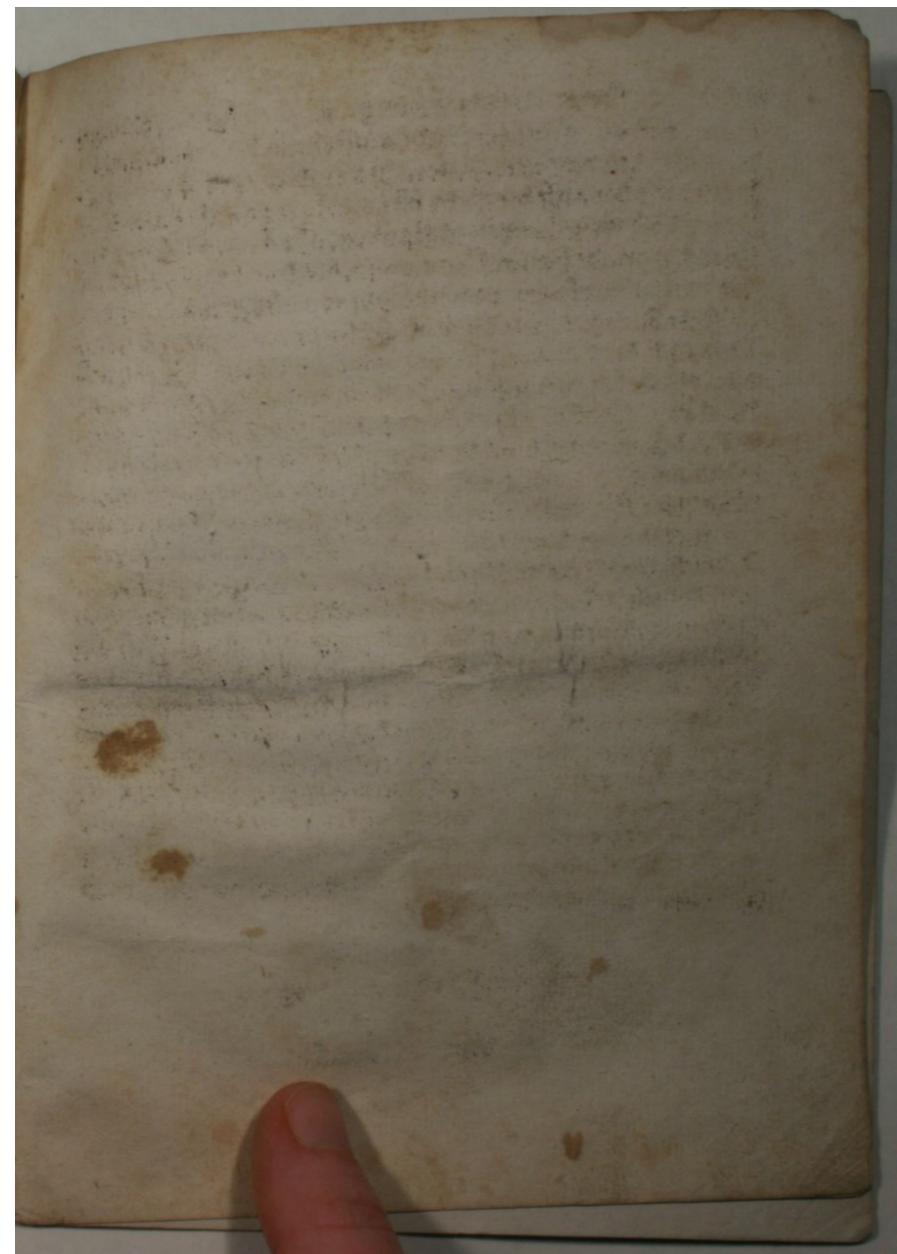




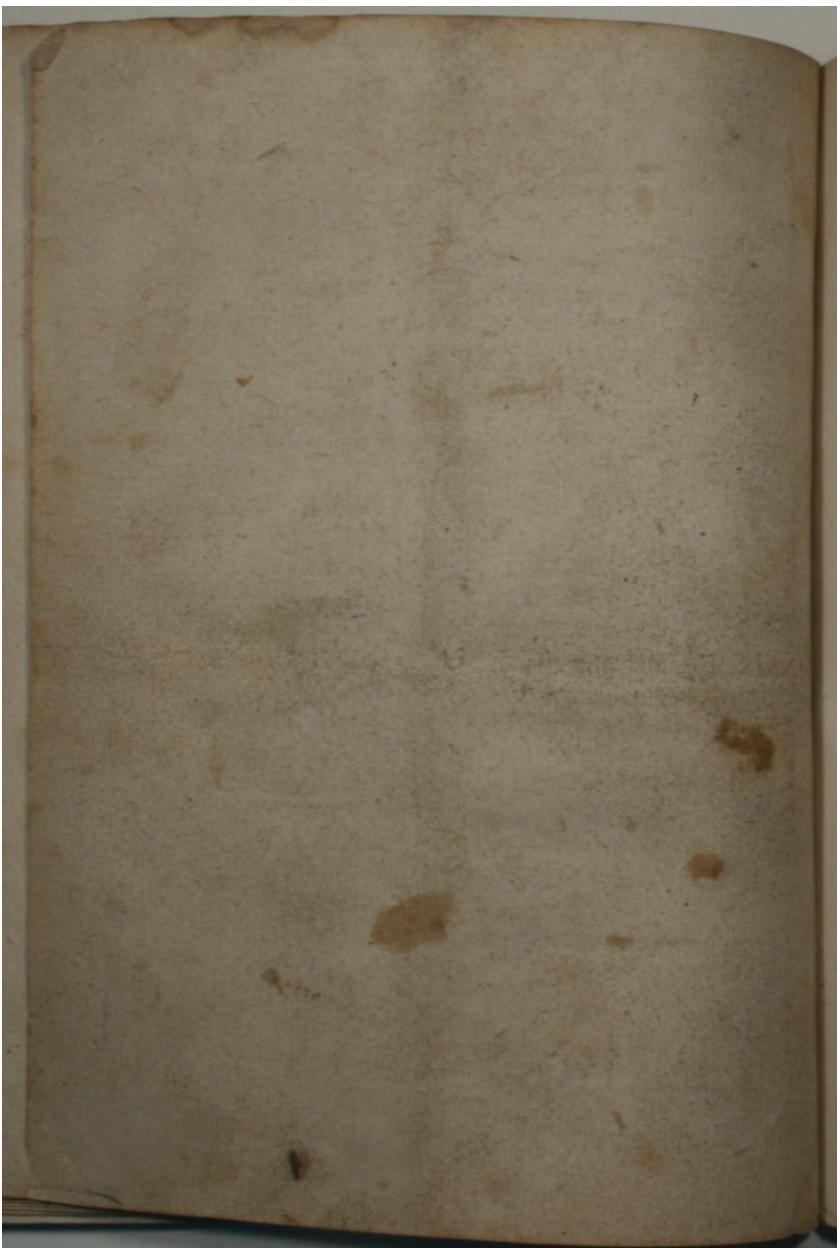
gen wie wol sy sant Paulus schrift fürzyehen/Vn wen sy
sein schwert dazt herten/so müsten sy daenyd liget/wen
der hailig vater der Bapst thon will/dan so müsse dy eleye
auch schweigen/vnnd wir würden zu vnsern arden wider
umb können. Kechin. Es wer für war heri güt/wan yeder
man veracht euch/wie dan yezund auch der Schuster thon
hat. Chor. Vorzeytten het wir ein sollichen inn Bapst ver
kündt/Aber yezund müsten wir von den layen hören vñ ler
nen/wie die Phariseyer vñ Cristn. Liebe Kechin rüff vnserm
Calefactor/der list vil in der Bybel/vn villeicht der schrift
bas bericht ist dālich/Er müß mir von wunders wegen et
lich sprüch suchen. Kechin. Heinrice/ Heinrice. gee auff
her zum hervn. Calefactor. Wirdiger heri was wölct
ir. Chorheri. Unser schuster hat mich lang vegiert/vn vil
aus der Bybel angezaigt/wiedann der Lutherische brauch
ist/du müß im etlich Capitel nach suchen/ob er gleich hab zu
gesage/auff das ich in in der schrift fahen möcht. Calefact
Ir solt es billich selbst wissen/yr hand lang die geweychte ex
amnien hiffen. Chor. Ja daselbs braucht man nur schül
lerische leer/ was die menschen haben geschrieben vñ gemacht
vnd gar wenig das gaistlich recht/wölchs die hailige vetter
in den Concilijs beschlossen haben. Calefactor. Es leg an
dem nicht das die vetter in Concilijs beschlossen/vn die men
schen so nach in Kommentar geschrieben vñ gehalten haben
wo dieselben gesetz/leer vñ schrifte auff dem wort vñ gaistgo
tes weret/wann die propheten/Apostel vnd Euangelisten
seind auch menschen gewest. Chor. Ey/so haben sy auch
yrien mügen/Aber die Lutherischen wollen das nit glaubn
Calefactor. Nayn/Wan Petrus spricht.ij. Pet. i. Es ist
noch nye kain Weissagung auff menschlichem wyllen herfür
bracht/sonder die hailigen menschen gottes hand geredt/ge
triben/von dem hailigen gaist/ Und eben darnach kündete
Petrus/die falschen Propheten/die vil verderblicher sechtē
C iii



Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1524(26), c3v



Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1524(26), c4r



Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8°.G.1523(8), c4v