



Treasures of the Taylorian:
Reformation Pamphlets
Volume 9

Hans Sachs

‘Dialogue on Greed’
A Reformation Pamphlet
from 1524

Edited by Henrike Lähnemann
and Timothy Powell

Taylor Institution Library, Oxford, 2026



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*Ein Dialogus / des inhalt / ein argume[n]t der Römischen / wider das
Christlich heüflein / den Geytz / auch ander öffentlich laster zc. betreffend.
[Nuremberg: Jobst Gutknecht,] 1524
Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Tr. Luth. 34(53)*

The cover image is a detail from the titlepage.

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Table of Contents

Preface	v
Introduction	vii
1. The Historical Context (Timothy Powell)	xiii
2. Hans Sachs's <i>Dialogue on Greed</i> (Timothy Powell)	xx
3. The <i>Dialogue on Greed</i> in the GDR (Timothy Powell)	xxxvii
4. The Pamphlet in Oxford (Henrike Lähnemann)	lv
5. The Language (Henrike Lähnemann)	lxiii
6. Bibliography	lxviii
Edition, Translation, Commentary of the <i>Dialogue on Greed</i>	I
Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Tr. Luth. 34(53)	137

Preface

Hans Sachs's works have been part of the Taylor Editions from the beginning. Two of his pamphlets were among the first experiments in xml encoding in 2015/16 and the accompanying blog 'Hans Sachs in Oxford' was a forerunner of the History of the Book blog which now houses all posts discussing the printing history of the Reformation pamphlets.¹ In 2024, 500 years after Hans Sachs wrote his popular Reformation dialogues, we published the first of them as volume 7 of the series. Originally, the plan had been to bring out all four at the same time, but the edition of *Canon and Cobbler* kept expanding. This encounter between the Bible-quoting cobbler Meister Hans and the pompous priest had been the most popular of the four in its time and was also the only one to be translated into English, with two copies of it being held in the Bodleian. We then had the good fortune to identify and find a copy of the missing link between the German text of 1524 and the English version of 1548, an anonymous literal Dutch translation which provided the direct model for the English text, and decided to include both translations in the volume to show the international spread of the text and to provide linguistic material for translation and reception studies. This turned the volume into the most substantial edition so far and made it impossible to also include the other three dialogues.

2026, the 450th anniversary of Sachs's death, now offers the opportunity to pick up the project again, this time with the dialogue which had resonated most with twentieth-century audiences: the dialogue on 'Geiz'. This is, on the one hand, the deadly sin of avarice from medieval catechisms, but also a very contemporary form of greed in the shape of what would be termed 'frühkapitalistische Ausbeutung' in the GDR. Sachs attacks this with the same wit and strong dose of

¹ The first dialogue (*Canon and Cobbler* / *Chorherr und Schuhmacher*) was originally encoded by Kezia Fender and the *Weissagung vom Papsttum* was digitally edited by Charlotte Hartmann, who also set up the blog *Hans Sachs in Oxford: Bodleian and Taylorian Library: Wittenberg Nightingale and Reformation Dialogues*.

Bible quotations with which he had criticised the practices of lazy Catholic clergy. Timothy Powell, whose doctoral dissertation focuses on the reception of Sachs in the GDR, explores this aspect in his part of the introduction.

The transcription and translation were already far advanced in 2024, with a dedicated team of students working together on the group of dialogues: Nicholas Champness, Philip Flacke, Monty Powell, Timothy Powell, and Lucian Shepherd. For the final editing process, the translation was revised by Anne Simon, the linguistic footnotes were expanded by Simon Fries, and proofreading help was provided by Julius Ernst and Anna-Luisa Oester. As for the previous volumes, Emma Huber, as the German subject librarian at the Taylor Institution, Subject Team Leader, and digital lead for the library, provided expert help on the digital editions aspect and designed the cover.

Oxford, October 2026
Henrike Lähnemann, for the editorial team

Hans Sachs in Oxford ~ Bodleian and Taylorian Library:
Wittenberg Nightingale and Reformation Dialogues

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Ill. 1: Header of the first Hans Sachs blog, created as a History of the Book project by then MSt student Charlotte Hartmann in 2015/6.

Introduction

The topic of greed has a long prehistory – and is still acutely relevant, be it to debates about the use of natural resources or debt relief. Hans Sachs (1494–1576), shoemaker, prolific author, Reformation pamphleteer, and comparatively wealthy citizen of Nuremberg, one of the foremost trading centres of the pre-modern German-speaking lands, could build on first-hand experience of treatment of money, poor relief, lending systems, and sophisticated ways of calculating tax classes. He stands in a long tradition of criticizing greed as the foremost sin of contemporary civic society.

In the epic poem ‘Der Renner’ by the Bamberg schoolmaster Hugo von Trimberg, originally written around 1300, ‘geitigkeit’ takes up most space, more than the primeval sin ‘hoffart’ (pride), because, as Hugo explains, greed is linked with every other sin. Like most personifications, ‘geitigkeit’ is conceptualised and visualised as a woman, since the grammatical gender of many abstract nouns in Latin (suffix *-tia*) and in German (suffix *-heit*, *-keit*, or *-ung*) are feminine. He imagines her holding court in grand fashion, with all the offices of court with female noun endings. Particularly amusing is the made-up office of ‘Ärmelpreiserin’:

4565 Gîtikeit hât alterseine

Mit aller missetât gemeine:

Bôsheit ist ir kamererîn,

Karkeit ist ir kelnerîn,

Untriuwe ist ir râtgebin,

4570 Unkust ist ir hârflêhterin,

Liegen, triegen mac wol sîn

Ir schenkîn und ir truhsêzîn,

Unwirde ist ir spîserîn,

Smeichen ir ermelpreiserîn, ...

Greed is allied in every respect

with every kind of misdeed:

Wickedness is her chamberlain,

Stinginess is her wine stewardess,

Faithlessness is her counsellor,

Ignorance plaits her hair;

Lying and Deceit could well be

her cupbearer and seneschal,

Dishonour is her provisioner,

Flattery her appraiser of sleeves, ...

(ed. Ehrismann, transl. HL)

This noble woman is pictured in several of the illuminated manuscripts of 'Der Renner', among them a copy completed on 12 June 1400 by another town clerk, Michael Altheimer of Augsburg.



Ill. 2: Personified Greed in Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, Stockholm Royal Library, Cod. Vu 74 (Augsburg, 1400), fol. 59v

Greed sits as a highly fashionable lady with a low-cut dress, tightly laced pointed shoes and an equally tightly pulled belt, referring to the German expression 'den Gürtel enger schnüren' (to tighten one's belt) for curbing expenses, and squeezing the snout of the dog-like creature on which she is riding, possibly alluding to another proverb, the Latin 'pecunia non olet' (money does not smell). From her right hand dangles a string purse, also pulled together at the top while bulging below, indicating that she could hand out money if only she were inclined to do so.

A generation after the Augsburg manuscript, another town clerk, Johannes Vorster, updated and rewrote Hugo von Trimberg's text, extracting the most relevant parts for his own version of the didactic treatise on the deadly sins and how to counter them. He was writing in Nuremberg in 1425, a century before Hans Sachs. Again, greed takes up by far the largest section of any sin. Vorster no longer illustrates it as a concept, but shows concrete scenes of town life.

In the upper register, two men are counting money while being approached by two figures in rags and a caption inspired by the Sermon on the Mount: *Date et dabitur vobis Regnum celorum in eternum* (give and you will be given the kingdom of heaven forever). The leftmost person is the spitting image of 'Reichenburger' as imagined in the woodcut for the pamphlet.



Ill. 3: A merchant at a counting table with a money bag
 Left: Detail of Ill. 4, a Nuremberg drawing from 1425. Right: Detail from a woodcut by a Nuremberg artist for Hans Sachs, *Dialogue on Greed*, 1524.



Ill. 4: Cpg 471, fol. 16r: Opening page for the section on Geitikeit / Avaritia (Greed), compiled by the Nuremberg town clerk Johannes Vorster in 1425

The reason for the similarity is almost certainly not that the artist who designed the woodcut for the *Dialogue on Greed* (see the discussion of the print history in this volume) knew the manuscript in question, but that he drew on the same stock image of what being rich looked like in any late medieval civic context, which also changed little in Nuremberg between 1425, the date of the manuscript, and 1524, the publication of the pamphlet. The man is marked as holding a senior secular position by his beard, the wide-brimmed hat, the fur trimmings of the overcoat (a whole fox with tail round his neck and ermine-trimmed armholes in the manuscript; a generously cut fur collar in the woodcut) and the wide sleeves; the capacious table is made of solid carved wood and the contents of the full money bag are indicated by the coins scattered around it.

In the register below is an indication of what will happen if the imperative to give is not followed: straight to hell with the greedy men who argue over the contents of a treasure chest at the left-hand side! The caption to the left reads *O Auari quo uultis* (O greedy men where do you want [to go]?) with the answer *ad auernum* (to hell). This is directly enacted on the right-hand side where a devil addresses the naked man he is pushing down into the mouth of hell with *Vade mecum* (come with me) and the devil pulling the man down confirms that *Auarus saciabitur* (a greedy man will be stuffed, i.e. will get his come-uppance).

The condemnation of greed is thus astonishingly consistent over the course of a century of debate on the moral question of how to deal with money, but the theological implications have shifted considerably. The clear ‘do ut des’ logic of the greed image (you will be rewarded for bad deeds) is challenged throughout Sachs’s dialogue by Reichenburger, who argues against any form of ‘Werkgerechtigkeit’ (salvation by works). However, Romanus, the Catholic opponent, does not simply propose a religious justification of charitable giving as bringing direct reward either. Instead, he points to the inconsistency between Protestant doctrine and deeds, and advocates for a new form of acts of mercy as inspired by divine grace.

This changing theological and historical background of the Nuremberg debate of the 1520s is the topic of the first part of the introduction, which situates Sachs's dialogue in the historical context of the Reformation. The reception chapter focuses on Sachs in the GDR and why the *Dialogue on Greed* held such a prominent place in the discussion of the early modern period. The third part looks at the publishing history and follows the pamphlets' way to Oxford. A short practical guide on how to read the Early New High German texts concludes the chapter.

I. The Historical Context

Timothy Powell



Ill. 5: Title page of Hans Sachs, 'Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall', [Bamberg: Georg Erlinger, 1523], copy HAB Wolfenbüttel A: 115.2 Quod. (16).

Wacht auf, es nahet gen dem Tag! (Awake, the day will soon break!) With this line, Richard Wagner (1813–87) begins the chorus opening the third act of the opera *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (1868). The image that Wagner created of Sachs and his works in this opera as ideal representatives of ‘sacred German art’ (‘die heil’ge deutsche Kunst’, 3. Aufzug, Act III, 5) continues to shape perceptions of Sachs to this day. However, far from being the lofty, sacral artist character and the idealised, domestic *Biedermann* into which Wagner shapes him, Sachs was a writer who took a lively interest in – and did not shy away from getting involved in – the social and political debates going on around him in his home city of Nuremberg. This chorus quotes the opening lines of Sachs’s *Spruchgedicht* ‘Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall’ from 1523, his first intervention in the theological, political and social debates of the Reformation and, moreover, the only genuine verses by Sachs in the opera amidst Wagner’s imitations of his *Knittelverse* (rhyming couplets of irregular length). One of the most important themes of the poem was the heated theological and social debate about greed, which Sachs would develop much more fully the following year in the *Dialogue on Greed*.

In ‘Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall’, Sachs depicts priests as ravenous wolves controlling the suffering Christian flock ‘mit scheren melken schinden fressen’ (‘with shearing, milking, skinning, devouring’) and monks as serpents sucking every last drop of blood out of them through fees for services and sacraments, tithes imposed on peasants, and selling relics and indulgences, exposing a litany of devotional practices dictated by the Church as ‘als auff das gelt gericht’ (‘it’s all about the money’).² This attack on clerical greed is echoed at the beginning of the *Dialogue on Greed* when the Catholic monk Romanus arrives at the home of the Protestant merchant Reichenburger and his host declares with a humorous, deliberate slip of the tongue that he had expected the monk wanted to cast off his ‘klaydt der geytzigkayt (geystligkait solt ich sagen)’ (A2r: ‘cloak of cupidity (spirituality, I should say)’) and become a Christian and then lists all of what

² Seufert 1974, pp. 16–17 and 20–25. Online edition: Hartmann 2015, p. 2.

he considers the worst practices of the Catholic Church.³ *Geizigkeit* and *Geistlichkeit* were a long-established double act in medieval German literature and culture. In the High Middle Ages, Walther von der Vogelweide had bitterly criticised the greed of the papacy and clergy in his *Spruchgedicht* ‘Saget an, her Stoc, hât iuch der bâbest her gesendet’, set to the so-called *Unmutston*. The speaker angrily asks a church collection chest (*Opferstock*), personified as ‘her Stoc’, whether the Pope has sent it there to enrich himself and impoverish and weaken the Germans. The speaker foresees that the Pope will play a nasty trick when all the money reaches Rome by claiming that the Empire will be left in chaos until all the parishes fill his coffers all over again, and declares:

ich wæne, des silbers wênic kumet ze helfe in gotes lant,
grôzen hort zerteilet selten pfaffen hant,
(I imagine little of the silver will help in the Holy Land;
great treasure is rarely distributed by the hands of priests)⁴

suggesting that the Pope and the clergy would hold onto most of the money for themselves and very little would end up being used for its ostensible purpose of funding a crusade in the Holy Land. Greedy priests and monks would also become familiar stock characters in *Schwänke* (short, comical, often rude or obscene fictional anecdotes), remaining figures of fun into Sachs’s day. A particularly amusing example occurs in the 92nd *Histori* from the *Till Eulenspiegel* chapbook (1515), which Sachs would later adapt into his own *Schwank* ‘Des Ewlenpigelis testament’ (1538). On his deathbed, the (anti-)hero Eu-

³ A list of Catholic practices criticized by Protestants on A2v: the selling of indulgences (which inspired the 95 *Theses*), the opportunity for the pope to place critics such as Luther under the ban; the requirement of monetary or other offerings; the intercession for the dead in vigils and masses read at their funeral and for commemoration, etc., including the sizeable topic of the usefulness (or not) of good works. Sachs discussed this further in the dialogue ‘Von den Scheinwerken der Geistlichen’ (also 1524).

⁴ Bein 2023, p. 107; prose translation T.P.

lenspiegel, infamous for playing practical jokes on unsuspecting victims that frequently revolve around him taking what they say very literally, is visited by a priest who comes to hear his final confession. The priest imagines that Eulenspiegel is wealthy and tries to persuade him to give all his money to the Church in the hope of taking a cut for himself. While the priest is away, Eulenspiegel half-fills a box with human excrement concealed by a thin layer of money and invites the priest to take a handful of money on his return, warning him not to be greedy ('wan ihr nun züchtig greifen wolt und nit geitig wolten sein', 'if you now want to help yourself moderately and not be greedy'). The priest immediately plunges his hand deep into the box to grab as much money as he can – and is rewarded by finding himself covered in excrement up to his knuckles, literally and figuratively 'beschissen' by his own greed.⁵

In Sachs's own time, there was particular outrage at the behaviour of the Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, Albrecht of Brandenburg (1490–1545) and his indulgence salesman Johannes Tetzel (d. 1519). Albrecht had borrowed 20,000 guilders from the fabulously wealthy Fugger banking family to pay the fee for the confirmation of his election as Archbishop of Mainz, and then made a deal with Pope Leo X (ruled 1513–21) to sell indulgences in the dioceses of Mainz, Magdeburg and Brandenburg, splitting the proceeds three ways between the building works on the new Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome (begun in 1506), repaying Albrecht's debt to the Fuggers, and the preacher selling the indulgences. These practices had led the young Martin Luther to criticise the abuse of indulgences in the 95 *Theses* (1517), retrospectively declared the starting point of the Reformation.⁶

The greed of the clergy was also pilloried in contemporary pamphlet literature; title pages screamed about 'how the pope's disciples are set

⁵ Lindow 1978, pp. 260–61.

⁶ See the essays to Martin Luther, *Sermon von Ablass und Gnade*, ed. Jones 2018.

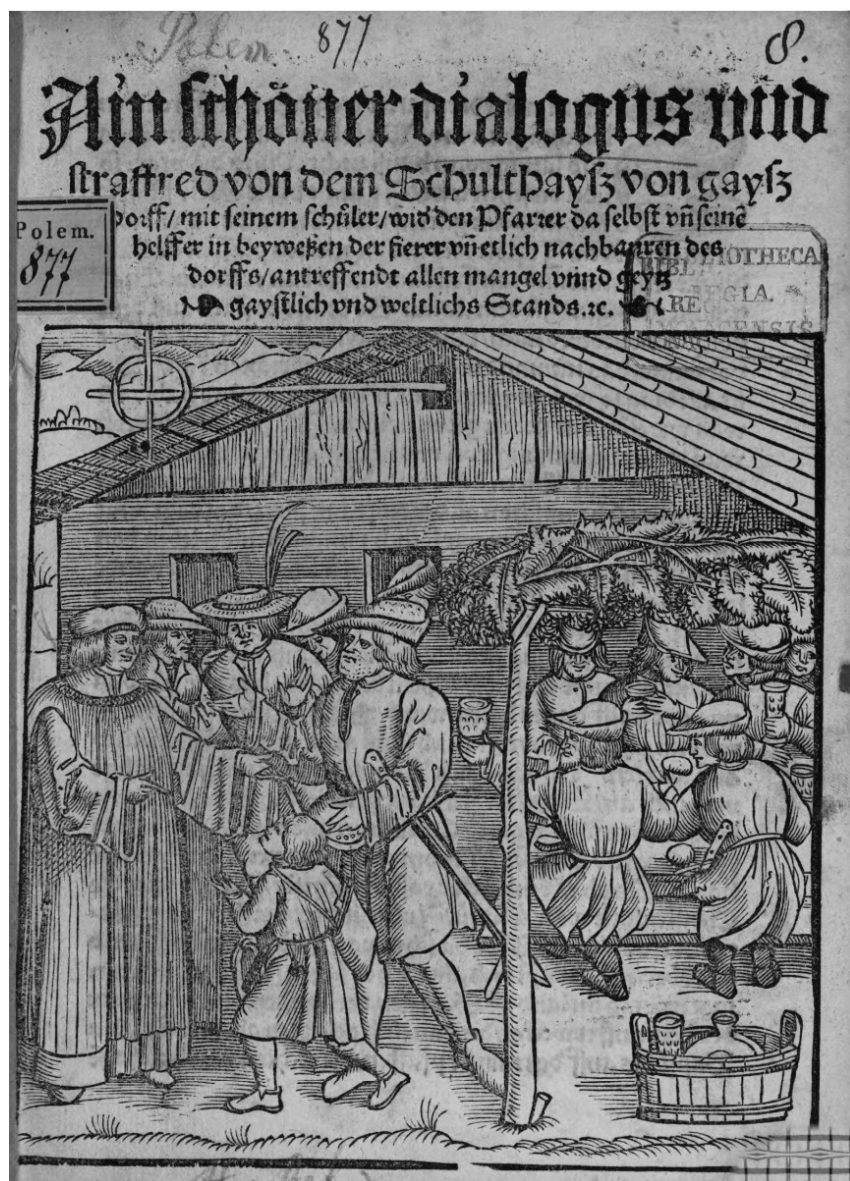
on greed⁷ in an anonymous rhyming broadside printed in Augsburg in 1521, and promised readers that they would see ‘the greed of the clergy depicted’ in a 1523 anti-Purgatory pamphlet by Jakob Strauß (1480–1533), a radical Reformer in Eisenach.⁸

In a 1522 dialogue, Martin Bucer (1491–1551), a former Dominican monk and reformer in Strasbourg who later revised the 1549 Book of Common Prayer as Regius Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, also extensively criticised clerical greed. A particularly memorable example occurs when the title character, the mayor of ‘Geißdorf’ (‘goat village’), describes priests taking money from two or three people for the same Requiem Mass (offered for the relief of the soul of a dead person from punishment in Purgatory) despite leading each to believe that it is exclusively for their departed relative, then dashing to the altar to make a great show of pretending to say Mass, muttering nonsense and ‘bowing down like a bagpiper’ (‘krümmt sich wie ayn sackpfeyffer’) whilst not even saying so much as a Lord’s Prayer for the souls of the dead, and running out of the church straight afterwards to squander the money on all manner of vices.⁹ However, the end of the full title of Bucer’s dialogue (‘concerning shortcomings and greed of spiritual and secular estates’) reveals that the Reformers and their supporters were beginning to scrutinise questions relating to greed among laypeople as well as the clergy.

⁷ *Ain straffred vnd ain vnderricht Wie es des bapsts junger auff geytz hond zû gericht Darwider ist auff erstanden ain baur vnd ain reitter Leeßt fürbas so wert jr hören weyter* (Augsburg: Melchior Ramminger, 1521), VD16 S 9370.

⁸ Jakob Strauß, *kurtz vnd verstendig leer/ vber das wort. S. Pauli/ zu den Römern/ der todt ist/ der ist von sunden gerecht gemacht/ ... Darynnen das segefeuer gar verleschet/ auch der pfaffen ... geytz ... abgemalet ist.* (Eilenburg: Nikolaus Widemar, 1523), VD16 S 9486.

⁹ Martin Bucer, *Ain schöner dialogus vnd straffred von dem Schulthaysz von gayszdorff mit seinem schüler wider den Pfarrer da selbst vnd seinen helffer in beyweßen der fierer vnd etlich nachbauren des dorffs antreffendt allen mangel vnnnd geytz gaystlich vnd weltlich Stands etc.* (Augsburg: Melchior Ramminger, 1521), VD16 B 8910, fol. a4v.



Ill. 6: The mayor of Geißdorf and his pupil discuss with the priest Martin Bucer, *Ain schöner dialogus vnd straffred* BSB Munich 4 Polem. 877

Hans Sachs is thus picking up a change in mood, moving away from a long-established literary tradition of poking fun at the behaviour of monks and priests towards taking a hard look at the behaviour of those who made much of being Protestant, but made themselves no better than the monks and priests to whom they so openly demonstrated hostility by failing to live up to the teaching of the Gospel interpreted by Martin Luther. He communicates this in a memorable literary format in which he engages with subject matter and themes that were being popularised in the latest Reformation pamphlet literature. A new edition of the *Dialogue on Greed* helps to situate this change in its historical context and appreciate how it came about.

QK 197/14

Hie kommt ein Beüerlein zu

einem reichen Burger von der güldt/ den wucher
betreffen/ so kumpt ein Pfaff auch darzu
vnd dar nach ein münch/ gar kurtzweylich
weylich zu lesen.

Vg
636



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Ill. 7: Anonymous pamphlet against usury, showing a peasant and a merchant, who are joined by a priest and a monk later in the pamphlet.

Hie komt ein Beüerlein zu einem reichen Burger von der güldt/ den wucher betreffen/ so kumpt ein Pfaff auch darzu vnd dar nach ein münch/ gar kurtzweylich zu lesen.

VD16 H 3466, copy ULB Sachsen-Anhalt Halle, Pon Vg 636, QK

2. Hans Sachs's *Dialogue on Greed* Timothy Powell

The *Dialogue on Greed* is the only dialogue not primarily addressed to an audience in Nuremberg, with a dedicatee in Wrocław (known as Breslau in German; now in Poland). Wrocław was an important city in Silesia which had been part of the Holy Roman Empire since the fourteenth century, where the trade routes running from Italy via Nuremberg and Silesia further East intersected. Several important families such as the Scheurls had offices in both places for easy access to Silesian silver mining; spices, the 'Spezereien' mentioned in the text, were also an important commodity. Additionally, Wrocław was one of the cities in which the Reformation had taken hold exceptionally early; the links with Nuremberg and Augsburg had helped to transmit humanist and reforming ideas. An important public theological debate took place in Wrocław in April 1524, organised by the Nuremberg priest Johannes Heß (1490–1547). Heß's second-in-command in Wrocław, Ambrosius Moibanus (1494–1554), was the son of a cobbler and compiled a hymn book in 1525 which followed the model of the Nuremberg hymn book.¹

Neither Hans Odrer, the addressee of the dedicatory letter, nor Ulrich Lauthi, the mutual acquaintance who informed Sachs of Odrer's request for a pamphlet on greed, have been identified. The way in which Odrer is addressed suggests that he was a Protestant-leaning citizen of Wrocław, perhaps a city official. In the Nuremberg handbook for how to address dignitaries correctly, the title 'achtbar' ('honourable') is suggested for addressing a town clerk or civil servant without an academic degree.² The practice of opening pamphlets

¹ See Herzog 2022, pp. 6–7.

² 'Eym Statschreiber oder sunst eym Ampttrager jnn einer treffenlichen stat der nit gelert ist', *Nürnberg Titelbüchlein* (Nuremberg 1513), fol. xxv.

with dedicatory letters is common in Reformation publishing.³ It provides an explanatory framework, in this case presenting Sachs as the established author of these dialogues who saw fulfilling requests for written advice in literary form as his Protestant duty to make use of the talent given to him by God (Arv). The very act of writing the dialogue as a generous gift is thus presented as a counterweight to accusations of Protestant greed before it has even begun.

The dialogue is listed last among the dialogues in Sachs's *Generalregister* of his works with the caption 'A dialogue on usury, in prose' (*Ein dialogus von dem wuecher ungereimbt*). For this reason, it was probably the last of Sachs's Reformation dialogues from 1524, produced at a point when the other three dialogues had already attracted attention beyond a local readership; the first dialogue had spread as far as Vienna and Strasbourg in the same year.⁴ It is also the only dialogue which is dated, namely to 29 September 1524, which provides a date by which the other three dialogues must have been published, even if it might be partly symbolic, since St Michael's Day was a major market day and the dialogue criticizes certain forms of unethical trading.

In the *Dialogue on Greed*, Hans Sachs picks up two stock characters from existing dialogue literature on greed, a monk and a wealthy burgess. For example, an anonymous 1522 pamphlet (ill. 7) presented a trialogue between a peasant, a wealthy burgess and a priest, who is later replaced by a monk, about money-lending, interest and collateral.⁵ In Sachs's dialogue, the Catholic monk Romanus argues that while the new Protestants are perfectly happy to attack the greed of

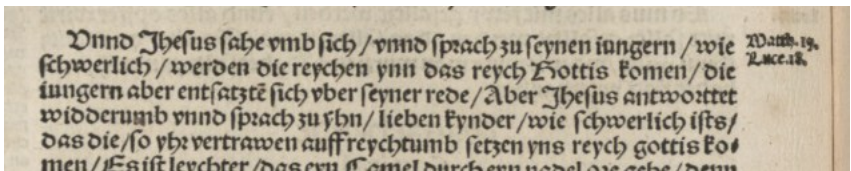
³ See *Bubenheimer* in Jones / Lähnemann 2022, pp. 16–20.

⁴ Vienna: *VD16 S 213* & *VD 16 S 214*; Strasbourg: *VD 16 S 223*. Arnold 1990, pp. 75–77; Otten 1994, p. 94 also compared the lengths of the dialogues to the folio numbers given in the *Generalregister*, estimating the space that each would have taken up in the *Spruchbuch*.

⁵ *Hie kompt ein Beüerlein zu einem reichen Burger von der güldt/ den wucher betreffen/ so kumpt ein Pfaff auch darzu vnd dar nach ein münch/ gar kurtzweylich zu lesen.* (*VD16 H 3466*). See Balzer 1973, p. 131.

Catholic clergy, they are not willing to recognise and address the greed that is equally rife among the Protestant laity. His exhortation, 'look at this whole world, from the least to the largest, and you will find it all overflowing with greed, as Isaiah rightly says in Chapter 6: From the least to the largest, they are all guided by greed' (A2r), with its strong echoes of medieval *Standesdichtung*, underlines that these accusations cannot solely be laid at the door of the Catholics. Unlike the hapless canon in the first dialogue who relies entirely on Church law to counter the cobbler's justification of his position using precisely attributed Bible verses, Romanus quotes from the Scriptures just as adeptly as Reichenburger.

This dialogue contains the greatest density of Bible quotation out of Sachs's four Reformation dialogues, demonstrating his intimate familiarity with Luther's 1522 translation of the New Testament which Sachs owned.⁶ He is clearly working from his printed copy, because when giving chapter numbers, he draws directly on the marginal cross-references, e.g. for the saying that a camel would go through the eye of a needle sooner than a rich man would go to heaven. The synoptic parallels show that Sachs was using the marginal cross-references in Luther's translation. For example, he adds the chapters for Matthew and Luke exactly in the form in which they are printed alongside Mark 10: 'Matth. 19. Luce. 18' (B4r).



Ill. 8: Mark 10 in Luther's September Testament, fol. XXXIIIv, with marginal cross-references to Matthew 19 and Luke 18

⁶ Milde 1994, p. 47. Milde identifies Sachs's *Bibel das new thestament* as either the September or December New Testament. Sachs referred to it as his *Bibel das new thestament* in the manuscript catalogue of his private library from 1562.

What is more, his extensive quotation from Proverbs (10 quotations), the Psalms (2), the prophets (5 Ezekiel, 4 Isaiah, 3 particularly harsh and long quotations from Amos, 2 Jeremiah, 1 Habakkuk, 1 Zephaniah, 1 Daniel) and the ritual law of the Pentateuch (5 Leviticus, 4 Deuteronomy) shows that he was already exceptionally well-read in the Old Testament a decade before Luther's translation of it. In this dialogue, Sachs uses ad-hoc scratch word-for-word translations of Old Testament verses from the Latin Vulgate, translating much more literally and cautiously than Luther, although, in his seventies, he would self-deprecatingly claim to have forgotten all the Latin he had learned as a boy at the Latin school in Nuremberg in his autobiographical poem 'Summa all meiner gedicht'.⁷

In the *Dialogue on Greed*, Romanus repeatedly attempts to embarrass his Protestant counterpart by reeling off verse after verse showing how the economic behaviour of self-professed Protestants contradicts the fundamental teaching of the Bible of love for one's neighbour which they had prided themselves on recovering after it had supposedly been hidden for centuries by the devotional practices of the Church. He triumphantly proclaims to Reichenburger that the New Testament is full of love: 'So ist das new gesetz allenthalb voll lieb/ lieb/ lieb' (B2v). He underlines this with the provocative question of whether greedy behaviour constitutes being a good Protestant ('Ist das güt Ewangelisch?' repeated four times on A3v–A4r, and the declaration that 'diß ist nit Ewangelisch' on A4v), marking what Romanus considers particular 'gotcha' questions that will expose what he sees as the hypocrisy of the Protestants. However, Reichenburger consistently distinguishes between the behaviour of those whom Romanus describes as 'Ewangelisch' (those who make a point of being 'Protestant') and the behaviour of those who are truly 'Christlich'. Whilst such people may claim to be Protestant, Sachs defends the Protestant faith by declaring through Reichenburger that their dealings have nothing to do with Protestantism because they

⁷ 'Summa all meiner gedicht vom MDXIII jar an biß ins 1567 jar', in KG 1892, vol. 21, pp. 337–43, here p. 337.

are not even Christian – in a similar vein to how he differentiates between people who are 'Lutherisch' (people who take great pride in describing themselves as followers of Luther, but fall far short of the way of life rooted in the Gospel that he promoted) and people who are 'Evangelisch' (genuinely living according to the teaching of the Gospel) in his dialogue *Eyn Gespräch eines Evangelischen Christen mit einem Lutherischen / darin der Ergerlich wandel etlicher / die sich Lutherisch nennen / angezeigt / und bruderlich gestrafft wird* (A conversation between a Protestant and a Lutheran Christian where the aggravating behaviour of some of those calling themselves Lutheran is pointed out and amicably reproofed).⁸

Sachs's focus on the perceived greed of Protestant businesspeople was highly pertinent to the contemporary economic situation in his home city of Nuremberg. Nuremberg had experienced a major economic boom in the fifteenth century, thanks to its favourable situation at a crossroads of European trading routes. The city also rapidly became a centre of excellence in manufacturing and famed for the so-called *Nürnberg Witz* ('Nuremberg ingenuity') with which the city's craftsmen invented new products and used new technologies subjected to strict trade secrecy by the city council, which banned master craftsmen from resettling outside of Nuremberg. However, the methods by which this wealth was obtained do not always seem to have been entirely above board.

Romanus begins his salvo against the Protestant entrepreneur by attacking the practice of 'Fürkaufen' (bulk-buying and hoarding large quantities of essential items to drive up prices and increase profit margins). He alleges that company shareholders ('gesellschafter', A3r) are among the worst offenders in this regard, using their significant market power to bulk-buy all kinds of goods to prevent anybody else getting their hands on them and make a tidy profit. In the late fif-

⁸ Editions by KG (1894) and Seufert (1974). A new edition based on Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tr.Luth.34(58) is in preparation for the *Taylor Editions*.

teenth century, the Nuremberg city council had taken sufficient interest in the activities of the emerging companies to begin to regulate them in the *Reformation der Stadt Nürnberg*, completed in manuscript form in 1479 and first printed in 1484, with amendments in 1503 and 1514. Among other stipulations, Nuremberg company law provided for a fair distribution of profits and losses according to percentage of ownership in the absence of an alternative agreement between the partners to prevent any one partner from claiming all the profits for themselves or making any other partner solely responsible for all debts and losses.⁹

Luther would address the question of companies and bulk-buying in a pamphlet *On Trade and Usury*, printed in the same year as the *Dialogue on Greed*.¹⁰ He vociferously criticised the business dealings of companies, which he considered no different from monopolies controlling the supply of certain goods to allow businesspeople to charge as much money as they could and/or wanted to for them. However, he drew a clear distinction between this form of stockpiling for profit on the one hand, and bulk-buying and storage of essential goods by the authorities to prepare for shortages on the other hand. Here, he drew a comparison with Joseph as governor of Egypt during the seven years of plenty providing for the nation during the seven years of famine in the Book of Genesis. He described this activity as ‘a proper, right Christian provision for the common good and the well-being of others’ because ordinary people could not afford to stockpile much, if anything, on their annual incomes.¹¹ This position is reflected in Reichenburger’s efforts to distinguish between bulk purchasing by companies and stockpiling by the city authorities, not least because the Nuremberg city council also kept stocks of essential

⁹ Köbler, *Neue Reformation der Stat Nurenberg*, XXX, 1–10.

¹⁰ *Von Kaufshandlung und Wucher*, printed, among others, by Hans Hergot in Nuremberg (VD16 L 7276).

¹¹ ‘ein recht gut Christliche fürsichtigkeit für die gemeine und andern zu gut’, WA 15, pp. 279–322. On Luther’s general view of companies, see p. 312; on his distinction between different kinds of bulk-buying, see pp. 305–07.

goods that could be provided at low cost to the poor in times of shortages or rapid price increases.¹²

Sachs describes an established instrument of Nuremberg municipal provisioning on folio A3r. From the War of the Cities of 1387–89 onwards, the city council maintained sufficient grain reserves to supply the citizens if external supplies were cut off. It acquired grain partly through taxation in kind ('Losungskorn'), and supplemented this in urgent circumstances with direct purchases of grain. The 'Kornmeister', an Elder Mayor, administered the municipal grain stores and organised sales to the citizens when the council ordered them. During the dearth of 1434, the council sold grain worth 10,381 pounds to the citizenry, while retaining 7,163 'Summer' (the unit of measurement for grain in Nuremberg at that time, equivalent to 318 litres) in its granaries, enough to feed the entire population for four months. In the dearth of 1437–38, there were much larger releases from the municipal stocks. At the same time as it was providing grain in 1437–38, the council bought seven shiploads of grain in Austria and brought them to Nuremberg to replenish the municipal stores. In May 1438, it once again held at least 7,188 'Summer' of grain, besides stocks of oats, millet, peas, etc. The council favoured local producers and attempted to prevent speculative bulk purchasing and wholesale trade.¹³

The leading humanist Konrad Celtis (1459–1518) would praise the effectiveness of this strategy in response to a famine in 1491 in his Latin panegyric *Norimberga* (1502). Celtis depicted the council rapidly responding to rumours that the city could not be fed without Bavarian corn and taking on greedy bakers inflating bread prices by supplying the citizens with essential provisions at a fair price 'until the greed of

¹² On the Nuremberg city council's provisions, see Seufert 1974, p. 163, and the footnotes in the edition for the passage on A3r.

¹³ Sander 1902, pp. 254–57. On market legislation in Nuremberg prohibiting speculative bulk purchasing, see Hofmann 1912, and Reitemeier 2019, p. 115.

the bakers was scourged and the whole city was liberated from starvation'.¹⁴

Furthermore, Sachs addresses the questions of sellers deceiving buyers with shoddy products and false weights and measures. This was by no means a new phenomenon; the Bible verses cited by Romanus in this context (A3r) highlight that these problems have existed everywhere for as long as people have been buying from and selling to one another. In this part of the dialogue, Sachs draws on a rich tradition of medieval sermons cataloguing and denouncing numerous ways in which sellers cheated buyers, among which these were favourite themes. One of the most famous examples (albeit from a pre-manufacturing era) occurs in the thirteenth-century *Sermon on the Five Talents* by the Franciscan friar Berthold of Regensburg, in which he depicts dishonest urban craftsmen, such as bakers who use yeast to bake hollow loaves of bread that are little more than crusts, tailors who patch, starch and stitch worn-out rags together into clothes that barely last a month, and shoemakers who harden cheap shoe leather that will wear out within a week in fires to make it look more durable, all swindling one another out of their dishonest gains. Berthold also criticises sellers of goods who manipulate their scales and wine merchants who use false measures to sell wine, keeping the difference for themselves.¹⁵ However, Reichenburger rejects the association of such dishonest practices with Protestantism, declaring them against God and the love of one's neighbour (A3r) – the yardstick of truly Christian behaviour throughout the dialogue.

The enormous (and not always entirely well-gotten) wealth generated by business in Nuremberg also brought enormous inequality with it. Whilst some merchants and master craftsmen made a fortune, the often prohibitively high costs of opening and running a workshop and strict limits on the number of masters permitted to be active in any given craft, and the often prohibitively high costs of opening

¹⁴ Fink 2000, p. 56, transl. TP.

¹⁵ Röcke 1983, pp. 16–23.

and running a workshop meant that many poor masters were forced into 'Verlagsarbeit', or piece-work. Under this system, these impoverished skilled craftsmen worked as freelancers producing goods to sell to entrepreneurs ('Verleger'), who often aggressively and unscrupulously drove down the prices demanded by the pieceworkers to maximise their own profit margins. Often, piece-workers had to borrow money to cover the cost of materials used to manufacture the products and found themselves significantly out of pocket without enough money to repay their loans. Some estimates suggest that as many as one in three craftsmen in Nuremberg eked out a living in this way in the early sixteenth century.¹⁶ Whereas craftsmen in other cities could benefit from the representation and financial support offered by guilds, these self-regulating, closed-shop professional bodies had been suppressed in Nuremberg in the mid-fifteenth century after briefly overthrowing the patrician city council and replacing it with an administration made up of master craftsmen. The unique lack of guild representation thus rendered craftsmen in Nuremberg exceptionally vulnerable to the excesses of the piecework system, leading to significant hidden poverty, which Sachs addresses when he speaks about the necessity of looking after the 'hausarmen' (B4v). In Sachs's *Von den Scheinwerken der Geistlichen*, Meister Peter refuses to give a candle to the Franciscan friar Bruder Heinrich and says, 'Ich wil mein liecht wol haußarmen nachpawrn geben, die arbiten darbei', referring to the poor who would carry out manual work at home, as opposed to monks who go out begging despite being fit to work. Here, Sachs draws on Luther's teaching in Point 16 of the *Sermon on Indulgences and Grace*: 'If you want to make a gift, you should do so first and foremost (leaving aside the building of St Peter's and indulgences) to a neighbour in need. But if it comes to the point that there is no-one left in your town who needs help – which, God willing, is never going to happen – then, if you wish to make a donation, you

¹⁶ Arnold 1990, p. 86.

must make one for the churches, altars, ornaments, chalices in your town.¹⁷

This situation meant that poverty and debt were highly topical issues in Nuremberg around the time that Sachs was writing the *Dialogue on Greed*. As far as lending and debt were concerned, Church law had forbidden Christians to charge interest on loans since the Second Lateran Council in 1189.¹⁸ This principle would also be codified in the civil law of Nuremberg in the fifteenth century. Title XXII, Law 3 of the *Nürnberg Reformation* explicitly forbade the charging of interest on loans: ‘No one shall demand or exact from another any additional payment or interest. Rather, each person shall be content with the repayment of that which has been lent to them.’¹⁹ As early as 1508, a German translation of a Latin treatise designed to teach readers what constitutes usury and how to avoid it and other dishonest business dealings would be published in pamphlet form.²⁰ The question of interest charges would become a particularly live issue during the Reformation debates after Luther’s immensely popular *Sermon on Usury* in 1520, which would be printed, among others, by Jobst Gutknecht in Nuremberg that year, who would also print Sachs’s *Dialogue on Greed*.²¹ Luther declared that people should freely

¹⁷ ‘du salt vor allenn dingen (widder sanct Peters gebewde noch ablas angesehen) deynē nehsten armē geben / wiltu etwas geben. Wañ esz aber dahyn kumpt / das nyemandt yn deyner stat mehr ist der hultff bedarff (das ob gotwill nymer gescheen sall) dañ saltu geben szo du wilt tzu den kirchen / altarn / schmuck / kelich / die in deyner stat seyn.’ *Sermon on Indulgences and Grace*, fol. 33v.

¹⁸ Balzer 1973, p. 146.

¹⁹ ‘ES sol nyemant vo(n) de(m) andern eyniche(n) gesuch noch wucher nemen noch eruordern. sonnder es sol sich ein yeder der bezalung. des. so Im gelihen ist worden. benüge(n) lassen.’ *Neue Reformation der Stat Nuremberg*, XXII, 3, transl. HL.

²⁰ Christoph Cuppener, *Ein schons buchlein czu deutsch. doraus ein itzlicher mensche. was standes er sey. lernen mag. was wucher vnd wucherische hendel sein* (Leipzig: Melchior Lotter d. Ä, 1508) [VD16 C 6353](#).

²¹ *Ein sermon von dem wucher. Doctoris Martini Luther Augustiner zu wittenbergk*. [Nürnberg: Jobst Gutknecht 1520]. Two editions: [VD 16 L 6445](#); [VD 16 L 6646](#).

give to anyone who asked them for assistance and gladly lend or borrow without imposing any charges or interest – both of which he considered as basic teachings of the Old and New Testament. He stated that Jesus taught His followers not just to lend to their friends or those whom they wanted to influence to return the favour one day, but also to those who could and/or would not provide anything in return, as part of his overarching teaching to do good to others whether or not they responded in kind. Furthermore, he strongly rejected taking additional money as a 'gift' or a 'reward' for lending money to somebody because he considered it to go against Jesus' commandment to love one's neighbour as oneself, since he argued that those who seek any kind of reward from lending only love themselves and not their neighbour.²²

This is echoed in how Romanus tells Reichenburger in no uncertain terms that it is not allowed to accept 'gifts', 'tips' or any other additional monies on top of the repayment of the original sum lent for the effort involved in lending large amounts of money (B1r). Some Reformation writers would go further in addressing the question of interest, notably the radical Eisenach Reformer Jakob Strauß (1480–1533), who described it in even starker terms in an invective against usury in 1523 as a serious deadly sin which rejected the cross and life of Christ. He proclaimed that nobody was obliged to pay interest charges and that the methods that creditors would use to extract it from debtors would be a test of the debtors' faith, and went so far as to declare that Jesus had described all wealth as unjust and that Christians should therefore renounce it.²³ Strauß would further attack interest much more extensively in his 1524 treatise *That the taking and giving of usury is contrary to our Christian faith and brotherly love*.²⁴

²² WA 6 1888, pp. 33–60, here pp. 46–49.

²³ Jakob Strauß, *Haubtstück und artickel christenlicher leer wider den unchristlichen wucher* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1523) VD16 S 9481.

²⁴ Jakob Strauß, *Das wucher zu nemen vnd geben. vnserm Christlichem glauben. vnd brüderlicher lieb ... entgegen yst/ vnuberwintlich leer/ vnnd geschriff. In dem auch die gemoleten Euangelisten erkennen werden.* ([Erfurt: Johann Loersfeld], 1524) VD16 S 9478.

The prevalence of poor people, especially impoverished piece-workers, borrowing money to make ends meet raised the question of what should be done about those who were unable to repay their debts. The most extreme option, designed to deter deliberate default, was to have borrowers put in a debtor's prison. Title XXII, Law 7 of the *Nürnberger Reformation* permitted creditors who suspected that their debtors had deliberately defaulted on their repayments or had failed to make payments due to spending money above and beyond necessary household expenses to obtain an order from a court to have them committed to the city debtors' prison on a diet of bread and water until they had settled the debt. The council still reserved the right to summon and rebuke debtors as it saw fit if their creditors did not wish to have them imprisoned.²⁵

In the *Sermon on Usury*, Luther had complained that because the teaching of the Gospel about charity had been suppressed by the Church, legal disputes, judges and lawyers had become more numerous than flies in the summer. He also attacked the behaviour of those who aggressively used the legal system to recover very small sums from poor debtors, paying fees and bribes of twenty, thirty or forty guilders to judges, lawyers and officials to drag impoverished debtors through the courts instead of letting them off repaying sums of ten or even six guilders.²⁶ These concerns are mirrored in Romanus' catalogue of un-Christian behaviour in the contemporary justice system and depiction of wicked lawyers enriching themselves through bribes and gifts (B2r).

Another means of providing for the poor was through charitable giving by individuals and formal poor relief legislated for by the city council, which had previously largely been provided by the churches and religious houses of the city. However, this appears to have raised concerns in some quarters that the recipients of poor relief would become idle and depend upon it instead of working to earn money

²⁵ *Neue Reformation der Stat Nurenberg*, XXII, 7.

²⁶ WA 15, pp. 38; 40.

to support themselves. In 1478, the Nuremberg city council had passed a poor law significantly restricting the eligibility criteria for begging and putting beggars to work on working days, and the city's poor laws were reformed in 1522 – two years before the *Dialogue on Greed* – to move those who had become dependent on begging back into work.²⁷ Sachs picks up on these concerns in an exchange between Reichenburger and Romanus where the latter highlights that not all beggars are needy and Romanus argues that the poor who would be capable of working but choose not to should be punished to prevent them from giving those who are genuine a bad name.

In response to Romanus' allegation that the new Protestants are greedy and do not give to the poor, Reichenburger retorts that monks and nuns only think the poor are not being helped because people no longer make a show of giving to monastic individuals and foundations – reflecting both the contemporary unpopularity of the religious orders in Nuremberg and Luther's teaching in his *Sermon on Indulgences and Grace* urging believers to give money to their poor neighbours until poverty has been completely eradicated in their communities before giving to the Church – a position on which Luther would subsequently double down in the *Sermon on Usury*.

²⁷ Müller 1978, pp. 31–32.



Ill. 9: A man putting pennies on a counting table, in dialogue with a young man Martin Luther, *Sermon on Usury*. Basel: Adam Petri, 1520
 VD16 L 6442, Taylorian Arch.8°G.1520(15), copy from Salem Abbey

At the end of the dialogue, Reichenburger expresses confidence that even though there are 'vil aygennütziger / karger reichen' (Civ) among the Protestant businessmen, there is a silent majority who are faithful and give generously in secret. Here, Reichenburger appears to share Luther's opinion expressed in the preface to *On Trade and Usury* that although sin had taken over in business dealings, there were still many Christian merchants who would sooner be poor with God than rich with the Devil, and that there were some people in the world who could still be saved from the jaws of Hell.²⁸ However, Romanus is highly unimpressed, claiming that he has not noticed any change in the behaviour of people who call themselves Protestants. Nevertheless, Reichenburger remains convinced that the Word of God will overthrow greed and all other sins and vices. Yet, he emphasises that this will require an invisible, incremental process over a long period of time due to the necessity of replacing the man-made commandments of the Church with the teaching of Scripture and teaching Christians about the Old and New Testament together, preparing the people's hearts to receive the grace of the Gospel by which they are saved. This resonates strongly with Luther's view in his 1523 treatise on how far to obey secular authority that the whole world is wicked, that fewer than one in a thousand people are true Christians, and that trying to govern a whole country or the whole world as it was with the Gospel would be like putting wolves, lions, eagles and sheep all together in a sheepfold and telling them to peacefully co-exist. For Luther, since all humans are wicked and sinful by nature, they first need the law of the Old Testament so that they do not dare to do wicked deeds as they please, and to make them recognise their sins so they are made humble enough to receive the grace offered by the Gospel and cultivate the faith necessary for salvation.²⁹

Luther's translation of the New Testament had been completed in 1522, providing an idiomatic German rendering of the Gospel which

²⁸ WA 15 (1899), p. 293.

²⁹ *Von weltlicher Überkeytt, wie weyt man yhr gehorsam schuldig sey*, WA 11, pp. 250–52.

seamlessly fits into Sachs's prose rhetoric. However, Luther's translation of the Old Testament was only in its very early stages in 1524 and would not be available for another decade after the publication of Sachs's dialogues. At the end of the dialogue, Romanus expresses his dislike of the disorderly behaviour of the Protestant community as it is, but appears receptive to leaving his order and becoming a Protestant in the future if the situation improves, whilst Reichenburger tells him that he cannot say he has not been warned (D3r). The ending thus reflects the then open-ended question of whether this process would indeed achieve its desired effect – although, for Sachs, the outcome would never be in any doubt.

Thus, in the *Dialogue on Greed*, Sachs demonstrates the full breadth of his knowledge of the Bible as a layman without any formal theological education and shows another side to himself as an original translator of scripture, expressing his hope for radical change in human behaviour and society that he, like Luther, believed would be brought about by translating the Bible in the Reformation period. He also engages extensively with some of the latest economic theology produced by the leading theological writers of his day. He interprets it in a literary format rooted in the pamphlet literature of the period and earlier medieval literary traditions in a way that was relevant to contemporary concerns not just in his home city of Nuremberg, providing insights into many contentious contemporary social issues from businesses and lenders allegedly exploiting their market power over consumers, suppliers and borrowers to questions of how to alleviate and eradicate poverty and debt. In a time of fierce political debates about issues such as the cost of living and the roles of welfare and work in the UK, and a recent big election win by *Die Linke* in Berlin with a headline policy of nationalising large property companies, the *Dialogue on Greed* and the ethical questions it raises remain just as relevant here and now as they did in Sachs's Nuremberg over five hundred years ago.

3. The *Dialogue on Greed* in the GDR Timothy Powell

Zum erstenmal in der Geschichte der deutschen Literatur errichtet
Sachs einem frühkapitalistischen Lohnarbeiter ein literarisches
Denkmal.¹

The statement about Hans Sachs's *Dialogue on Greed* as 'a literary monument to an early capitalist wage labourer' in a popular GDR biography of Sachs highlights how this dialogue experienced an astonishing afterlife in the twentieth century. Under Communism in East Germany, it was seen as a supposedly pioneering depiction of the suffering caused by entrepreneurs' unfair treatment of piece-workers in the sixteenth century. This led to the *Dialogue on Greed* forming the starting point for GDR recovery of Sachs' dialogues in the 1960s and even briefly overtaking the *Canon and Cobbler* as the representative Hans Sachs dialogue around the Peasants' War anniversary in 1975, which contributed to a corresponding increase in interest in the dialogue in West Germany. Around this anniversary, it would also be picked up by GDR historians, who interpreted it as a highly valuable document of the economic and social history of the Reformation and Peasants' War period until the end of the GDR. This contrasted with the more theological approach taken by West German scholarship after the Reformation anniversary in 1983.

In its own time, the *Dialogue on Greed* had been the least circulated of Sachs' dialogues, with the three Bodleian copies representing the entirety of the editions, one in Nuremberg and one in two print runs

¹ 'For the first time in the history of German literature, Sachs erects a literary monument to an early capitalist wage labourer.' (translation TP). Wedler 1976, p. 79 and Wedler 1975, p. 311, a spin-off from the 1976 biography which had actually been completed in 1974, but was not published until the anniversary year in 1976 which in turn was based on Wedler's doctoral dissertation, completed in 1971.

in Augsburg.² Like Sachs's second and third Reformation dialogues, it also remained in the shadow of his best-selling first for most of their reception history.³ After the dialogues were first republished in 1858 by Reinhold Köhler (1830–92), a librarian and later director of the ducal library in Weimar, the first dialogue would become established as the standalone representative Hans Sachs dialogue in the years following the *Luther-Jahr* in 1883, featuring, among other publications, in extract form in an 1889 reader of Sachs's works edited by Karl Kinzel (1849–1935) which would be reprinted fourteen times by 1927.⁴ It continued to enjoy this status into the twentieth century, when standalone editions were published in anthologies of Sachs's works and other Reformation dialogues in 1911 and 1931 respectively.⁵ Meanwhile, the *Dialogue on Greed* and the other two dialogues would only be republished twice during this time: once in 1894 in Volume 22 of the 26-volume edition of Sachs's works prepared by Adelbert von Keller (1812–83), Professor of Modern Languages in Tübingen from 1844–83, and Edmund Goetze (1843–1920), a professor at the royal officer cadets' school in Dresden, between 1870 and 1908 – which, for all its shortcomings, remains the standard scholarly edition of Sachs's works to this day – and again in *Hans Sachs und die Reformation*, a bibliophile edition of selected Reformation writings by Sachs published by Richard Zoozmann (1863–1934), a banker, writer, and book collector, in 1904.⁶

² Nuremberg: Jobst Gutknecht; Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, both 1524. See the Introduction 5 for the printing history and a catalogue of the Oxford copies.

³ A full survey of the publication and circulation history of the four dialogues in the essay by Philip Flacke on the Bodleian copies in Flacke 2024, pp. lx–lxii.

⁴ Kinzel, 15th edn. 1927, pp. 43–53.

⁵ Merker 1911, vol. 2, pp. 277–316; Berger 1931, pp. 281–99.

⁶ KG 22 (1894), pp. 6–33 (*Chorherr und Schuhmacher*), 34–50 (*Scheinwerke der Geistlichen*), 51–68 (*Geizdialog*) and 69–84 (*Ergerlicher Wandel*). Zoozmann 1904, pp. 105–34. See Busch 2023 on the shortcomings of the von KG edition. Since January 2026, the *Hans Sachs-Forschungsstelle* at the Universities of Siegen and Marburg in Germany has been preparing a new complete print edition of Sachs's dramas and related poems, scheduled for completion in 2032.



Ill. 10: Some of the GDR editions of and publications on the *Dialogue on Greed* from a private collection (photograph Henrike Lähnemann)

The reception of Hans Sachs in the GDR was kick-started by the rediscovery of 14 manuscript volumes of his works in Zwickau (in modern Saxony) in 1951, reported on in the East German Communist Party newspaper *Neues Deutschland*.⁷ The dialogues would make their breakthrough in the GDR in 1960, when the *Dialogue on Greed* was published together with the later dialogue *A Pasquinade on Plas-senburg Castle* (*Ein pasquillus von dem schlos zw Blassenburg*, 1554), in a two-volume edition of selected works by Sachs published in the *Bibliothek Deutscher Klassiker* series in 1960. This series had been commissioned by the SED (the East German communist party) to contribute to the so-called ‘socialist cultural revolution in the German Democratic Republic’ by creating, as the back matter called it, a ‘people’s library’ (‘Volksbibliothek’) of what the party’s cultural functionaries considered the most important German-language literary heritage from the Peasants’ War to the late nineteenth century.

The preface to this edition, prepared by Anneliese Klingenberg (b. 1933) – then a young researcher at the *Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der klassischen deutschen Literatur* in Weimar who would join the prestigious *Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR* in the 1970s – sought to revise widespread perceptions of Sachs as a humorous, entertaining writer by presenting him as a ‘herald of his time’ (‘Kün-der seiner Zeit’; 27) whose works represented a panorama of the society of his time and intervened in its struggles (‘in den Kämpfen seiner Zeit’; 23) from a bourgeois perspective. As well as presenting Sachs as a critic of political tyranny and a promoter of German nationhood through his support of the Reformation, Klingenberg portrayed him as a public-spirited critic of the failings of the contemporary economy, drawing particular attention to his criticism of ‘workers being cheated out of their wages’ in his depiction of the treatment of piece-workers in a speech by the Catholic monk Romanus as a representative example of this phenomenon in his works.

⁷ Horst Beseler, ‘Eine Reise zu Hans Sachs’, *Neues Deutschland*, 04.11.1951, p. 6.

However, Klingenberg saw Sachs as rejecting the 'revolutionary' movement of the time that led up to the Peasants' War because of his 'bürgerlich-christliche Haltung' pre-determined by his class, which convinced him that the existing social order was justified. This meant that she perceived the impact of his social criticism as severely limited to addressing the worst excesses of the feudal system and the economy of his time with moral warnings. Again, the *Dialogue on Greed* represented a case in point; all Sachs can do in this pamphlet from Klingenberg's perspective is to urge merchants to trade fairly and responsibly, recognise with disappointment that the Reformation has not brought about the change in their behaviour that he had hoped for, and hope that the Word of God will overthrow their greed, wicked dealings, and other vices.

Nevertheless, overall, the editors considered Sachs a poet who was unique among his predecessors and contemporaries in the breadth and depth of his works, which advocated for 'national German causes', attacked the declining feudal aristocracy, and recognised many of the perceived injustices of emerging capitalism ('Ungerechtigkeiten, die der aufstrebende Kapitalismus mit sich brachte'; 23) in an emerging modern German literary language, combining a rich blend of existing Middle and New High German vocabulary with 'bold' and 'skilful' linguistic innovations, popular proverbs and sayings, and literary devices that enabled 'realist', 'concrete' representation of the situations depicted within them.⁸ Sachs's vernacular criticism of the unjust treatment of pieceworkers in the *Dialogue on Greed* thus contributed to it being considered worthy of accession to the canon of 'classic literature' in the GDR of the early 1960s.

This edition was followed by a lull in Hans Sachs reception in the GDR for most of the 1960s driven, among other factors, by significant concerns about his depiction of peasant characters in his plays and poems.⁹ However, official state commemorations of the 450th

⁸ Schiller 1960, pp. 23–24.

⁹ Schaeffer 1960, pp. 442–43.

anniversary of the 95 *Theses* in 1967 – an event that was seen as sparking the ‘frühbürgerliche Revolution’, the foundational myth of GDR historiography encompassing the events of the years between the 95 *Theses* in 1517 and the end of the Peasants’ War in 1525 – led to a revival of interest in Sachs’s writings as documents of this period. This was especially true of his dialogues, which had not been tainted by association with his perceived hostility to peasants and thus provided a means of rehabilitating him from these earlier unfavourable interpretations. Following an edition of the first dialogue in a 1968 reader of Reformation and Peasants’ War-era dialogues,¹⁰ the *Dialogue on Greed* would be republished with Sachs’s other dialogues from 1524 and two later dialogues from 1546 and 1554 in *Die Prosadiologe des Hans Sachs* (1970) – the first edition of all four Reformation dialogues in the German-speaking world since 1904.

This new edition was produced by Ingeborg Spriewald (1928–2015), a literary scholar at the *Zentralinstitut für Literaturgeschichte* at the *Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR*. Spriewald considered the dialogues highly distinctive works within Sachs’s prolific literary output because they directly addressed and intervened in debates about the current affairs of the day, driven by a firm authorial conviction about the issues they addressed – anticipating ideals of literature and authorship in the GDR as reflecting and responding to contemporary society in a way that was shaped by the perspective of the author’s class.¹¹ She interprets Sachs as addressing the position of workers within early capitalist society in the *Dialogue on Greed* through the role of the Catholic monk Romanus as an advocate for workers who are exploited and deprived of their rights (‘Anwalt der ausgebeuteten und rechtlosen Arbeiter’) in his vivid depiction and vehement criticism of how they are treated by self-professed Protestant businessmen within early-stage capitalism. Whilst Reichenburger accepts that the behaviour of these wealthy Protestants is un-Christian, he is

¹⁰ Lenk 1968, pp. 197–214.

¹¹ Spriewald 1970, pp. 43–44. See also the *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 1.1 (1963), ed. by Erb, pp. 5–9.

convinced that Protestants will be proven right at the Last Judgement. However, for Spriewald, Sachs shows that references to the Last Judgement are no match for his compellingly realistic depiction of a world in which money and power reign and 'the poor labourer stands trembling at the door, hands clasped', entirely at the mercy of merchants and entrepreneurs.¹² For Spriewald, the only explanation for why Romanus' accusations are so powerful and passionate whilst Reichenburger's attempts at rebuttal fall flat is that Sachs's own sense of justice and his position in the class system led him to fall into a dilemma whilst attempting to refute the arguments presented by Romanus and ultimately personally object to these failings in the society and economy of his day.

Spriewald thus portrays Sachs as recognising the limited 'combative effect' ('kämpferische Wirkung') of the Gospel as Luther's followers conceived of it and addresses its contradictions more clearly and powerfully than almost any other pro-Lutheran text of the time. She suggests that the criticisms of Lutheran economic behaviour in the dialogue do not so much betray the influence of Catholics as that of 'the radical wing of the Reformation', which did not wish to separate the theological change of the Reformation from practical change or even revolution in society. For instance, she describes Romanus' statement that he will join the Protestant cause once they are united under one shepherd in one fold (D3r) as tending towards apocalyptic thinking and close to revolutionary pamphlets, ultimately shaping the ideology that led to the Peasants' War. For Spriewald, the echoes of religious radicalism that supposedly reflected Sachs' familiarity with social and political discontentment among 'the masses' and raised questions about his willingness to provide a platform for them rendered the text the most significant of Sachs's Reformation dialogues.

This assessment contributed to a striking increase in interest in the dialogue from GDR historians, who read it as an historical document

¹² Spriewald 1970, p. 22, quoting from the *Dialogue on Greed*, A4r.

of the economic and social conditions that gave birth to the Peasants' War. The dialogue was republished in full in *Flugschriften der Bauernkriegszeit* (1975), a reader of Peasants' War-era pamphlets edited by Adolf Laube (b. 1934), an economic historian who chaired a research group on feudalism at the *Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR*, and Hans Werner Seiffert (1920–85), a literary scholar and edition philology specialist who led the critical edition of the complete works of Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1811). Laube and Seiffert presented the pamphlets included in the edition as representative documents 'of the ideological class struggle of the Peasants' War period' ('vom ideologischen Klassenkampf der Bauernkriegszeit').¹³ For them, the socio-economic atmosphere of the beginning of the transition from feudalism to capitalism united the 'anti-feudal mass movement' and 'bourgeois reform movement' and acted as a catalyst for political and social situations approaching crisis point to spill over into the Peasants' War, giving the years between 1525 their distinctive character of an 'early bourgeois revolution'. They considered Sachs particularly remarkable as a craftsman writer and the only non-theologian and layman among the authors of these pamphlets. His *Dialogue on Greed* represented an 'indictment' of 'the social consequences of early capitalist economic practice': the realities of ordinary people for which Luther and his allies had no workable remedy, despite publishing pamphlet after pamphlet on the subject.¹⁴

A particularly striking example of this concept of the *Dialogue on Greed* as an historical document of economic exploitation in literary scholarship occurs in an essay published by Klaus Wedler, who had been awarded a doctorate on the influence of 'the ideology of the early bourgeois revolution' and didactic literature on Sachs's *Fastnachtspiele* by the University of Rostock in 1971, in the edited volume *Der Bauer im Klassenkampf* (1975). This volume was a collection of essays on the Peasants' War and the 'class struggle' of the peasants in the years leading up to it, edited by Laube, Gerhard Heitz (1925–

¹³ Laube/Seiffert 1975, pp. 12–13.

¹⁴ Laube/Seiffert 1975, p. 147.

2021), professor of agricultural history in Rostock from 1969–90, Max Steinmetz (1912–1990), professor of history in Leipzig from 1961–77 and one of the most influential GDR scholars of the 'early bourgeois revolution', and Günter Vogler (1933–2025), then a lecturer in (and later professor of) history at the Humboldt University of Berlin and higher education advisor to the GDR government. Wedler praised the *Dialogue on Greed* in glowing terms as the first-ever literary monument to an early capitalist wage labourer in German literary history, claiming that Sachs vividly depicts the 'social physiognomy' of the workers, which reflected his in-depth knowledge of the 'class struggle' of his time.¹⁵ However, Wedler presents the threat posed to 'bourgeois' interests by 'peasant' and 'plebeian' unrest as overriding any ideological position of sympathy with their demands, confirming a theory developed by Karl Marx (1818–83) and Friedrich Engels (1820–95) in *Die deutsche Ideologie* (1846), one of the key texts in Marxist historical scholarship. Well aware of the willingness of 'peasants' and 'plebeians' to take revolutionary action, Sachs sought to persuade the upper bourgeoisie to behave more 'fraternally' towards workers, combining his sympathy for them with the necessity of preserving his own economic position. Wedler presented Sachs's sympathy with workers and peasants and his fascination with contemporary social issues first expressed in the dialogues as shaping Sachs' entire literary career.

These perspectives were repeated and reinforced in a chapter of Wedler's self-styled first Marxist Sachs biography, *Hans Sachs*, completed in 1974 and published by Reclam in Leipzig to mark the occasion in 1976, and in Spriewald's anniversary edition of Sachs's dialogues aimed at a general readership interested in German literature for the *Insel-Verlag* in Leipzig. She highlights what she considers the remarkable passion with which Romanus depicts the situation of the workers and crusades against 'early capitalist exploitation', suggest-

¹⁵ Wedler 1975, p. 311.

ing that Sachs had become caught in a dilemma about the contemporary economic situation because of his own lively sense of justice and his own position in society.¹⁶

Meanwhile, West German scholarship came to share GDR interest in the dialogue. . In the afterword to the 1974 Stuttgart *Reclam* edition of Sachs's Reformation dialogues for the 450th anniversary of their publication, Gerald H. Seufert declared the *Dialogue on Greed* the most gripping and closely connected to the reality of its time of the four, particularly through its criticism of monopolies shortly after the *Reichstag* of 1522/23 had extensively discussed how to limit their harmful economic effects.¹⁷

West German academics also began to engage with GDR scholarship, but their assessments of it varied considerably. A notably strong reaction against it can be observed in *Bürgerliche Reformationspropaganda: Die Flugschriften des Hans Sachs in den Jahren 1523–1525* (1973) by Bernd Balzer (b. 1942), then a lecturer in, and later professor of, modern German literature at the *Freie Universität* in Berlin. He heavily criticised what he saw as a tendency to either anachronistically paint Sachs as expressing 'revolutionary' sympathies in his dialogues using sources from *after* 1525 or to continue 'obsolete' approaches to reading Sachs as a 'Volksdichter'. Worse still, he declared that GDR attempts to explain this discrepancy as resulting from a change in Sachs's ideology mirroring a change in that of the broader Reformation coalition contradicted the Marxist historical narrative of the Reformation and Peasants' War established by Friedrich Engels in *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg* (1850), according to which the Reformation movement had no clearly defined ideology until *after* the defeat of the peasants in 1525.¹⁸ Instead of taking Romanus' comments at face value, he proposes that Sachs presents them as completely alien to

¹⁶ Spriewald 1976, p. 115.

¹⁷ Seufert 1974, p. 183.

¹⁸ Balzer 1973, p. 4–5.

Protestantism by using a Catholic character to introduce them, contrasting this with Reichenburger's advocacy for 'true' Protestantism which is compatible with property ownership, has limited financial obligations to the poor, and does not strive for radical social change. He argues that Sachs does so to shore up existing moderate support for the Reformation which was put off by its more radical supporters, marking an important turning point in his 'propaganda' strategy from attacking unpopular opponents of the Reformation.¹⁹

On the other hand, in a 1978 essay on the dialogues, Jürgen Schutte (1938–2018), who would become a colleague of Balzer's as an assistant professor at the *Freie Universität* that year, was more receptive to GDR interpretations of the dialogue, despite his overall opinion that GDR readers tried too hard to bring Sachs into dialogue with the present. Schutte presented the dialogue as a compromise between Sachs's own view of Christian ethics derived from the Gospel based on love and the practices of contemporary business. Sachs shows through the arguments of Reichenburger, who is attractively presented as a capitalist who is 'level-headed' and 'bibelfest', that practical change cannot take place here and now, 'systematically' cutting down the means that 'der gemeine Mann' had at his disposal to replace 'early capitalist exploitation', adopting GDR terminology in his reading of the dialogue.²⁰

Reception of the *Dialogue on Greed* in the GDR of the 1980s continued to be strongly driven by the agendas of historical scholarship examining the 'class conflicts' of the years between 1517 and 1525. A notable example occurs in *Nürnberg 1524/25: Studien zur Geschichte der reformatorischen und sozialen Bewegung in der Reichsstadt* (1982) by the East Berlin historian Günter Vogler, one of the co-editors of the volume about the Peasants' War in which Wedler's essay on the *Dialogue on Greed* had been published. Vogler questioned what he considered the dominant historical narrative of Nuremberg as an 'island

¹⁹ Balzer 1973, pp. 149–152, 129.

²⁰ Schutte in Cramer/Kartschoke 1978, pp. 70–71.

of calm amidst a sea of uproar' in the years leading up to the Peasants' War, seeking to show that the events of this period in Nuremberg had been just as shaped by the 'conflicts and class confrontations' as those in other cities.²¹ For Vogler, this was not just a question of local interest; it had important implications for Marxist historiography of the Reformation and Peasants' War period.

Vogler portrayed Sachs as one of the key 'bourgeois' figures in the development of the Reformation in Nuremberg alongside the artist Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), receiving and reflecting Reformation thought in a way that was aimed at actively contributing to resolving contemporary social issues. With this perspective, Vogler strikingly joins a long-established tradition of receiving Dürer and Sachs together which stretched back to Romantic fascination with Nuremberg and the adoption of Dürer and Sachs as national symbols during the *Befreiungskriege* and persisted until National Socialism.²² Rejecting interpretations of the *Dialogue on Greed* from East and West Germany alike, Vogler presents Sachs as influencing processes of social change in his dialogues, which contained 'revolutionäre Sprengkraft' and represented a high point in his writings, even if Sachs ultimately accepted the policies of the ruling city council.²³

The *Dialogue on Greed* would lose out to *Canon and Cobbler* as the representative Hans Sachs dialogue at the commemorations of the Reformation around the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth in 1983.²⁴ However, in an article on Sachs's dialogues in a Luther-themed special issue of the *Weimarer Beiträge* journal for German literary studies published in November 1983, Ingeborg Spriewald picked it up once more and presented the *Dialogue on Greed* as occupying a key place in Sachs's works as a document of his reception

²¹ Vogler 1982, p. 7.

²² Wuttke 1996, vol. 2, p. 596.

²³ Vogler 1982, p. 176.

²⁴ Editions by Bentzinger in 1982 and Barnikol in 1983.

and engagement with Martin Luther and his teaching. Sachs's reaction to Luther showed how the Reformation was not just concerned with abstruse academic theology, but rather with the effects of theology on society.²⁵

Whilst she praised Luther for momentarily creating a 'united publishing front between authors from otherwise divergent groups',²⁶ the socially critical side of the Reformation movement led it to separate into three key trends. As well as radical social revolutionaries and moderates around Luther, she saw a third way of authors emerging who adhered to Martin Luther's teaching on obeying worldly authority despite not being able to suppress their doubts about it because of their experience of it not working out in practice in society, exemplified by Sachs in his writings on Luther and his teaching. Spriewald argues that at a time of intensified ideological struggle between Catholics and Protestants, Sachs walked a narrow tightrope between winning the support of influential sections of the bourgeoisie and not deterring potential undecided supporters. He subtly warned the groups he was addressing against putting business and profit above all else, especially through overlooking or ruthlessly exploiting the suffering of their workers, because this breached Protestant teaching about love as well as damaging the image of Protestantism. On the other hand, Spriewald revises her earlier assessment of Reichenburger's advocacy for Luther's teaching on authority as weak and inconclusive, now praising it as trust 'in durch Luther vorgegebene Weise' in the Word, which she glosses not as the Bible, but as 'die bewußtseinsverändernde Wirkung der Lehre, die bei intensiverer Verbreitung der Menschen ändern werde'.²⁷

The *Dialogue on Greed* continued to be read as a document of major social changes that contributed to the Peasants' War until the end of

²⁵ Spriewald 1983, pp. 1908, 1910.

²⁶ 'publizistische Aktionseinheit von Autoren sonst divergierender Schichten und Klassen', Spriewald 1983, p. 1910.

²⁷ Spriewald 1983, p. 1918.

1 Introduction

the GDR. In 1989, Romanus' speech criticising the treatment of pieceworkers was published as a representative example of accelerating change in the structure of the sixteenth-century 'bourgeoisie' in *Das Buch der Reformation*, a reader of sources edited by Günter Vogler designed to provide a general audience with primary source-based insights into the Reformation period. The editors once again present the *Dialogue on Greed* as conveying a socio-economic rather than theological message, representing and responding to rapid change in the structure of society in the Holy Roman Empire and the fears, tensions and conflicts generated by it that fed into the class struggles of the 'early bourgeois revolution'.²⁸ They reproduce Romanus' severe reprimand of entrepreneurs' exploitative treatment of pieceworkers in full as a document of the growing polarisation of the medieval urban bourgeoisie through the development of early capitalism into a small number of entrepreneurs and master craftsmen concentrating wealth in their own hands, and a large number of extremely poor, formerly independent small craftsmen who had been forced into dependency on these businesspeople for their livelihood – who, in turn, depended on exploiting these workers to continue increasing their wealth. For the editors, the dialogue was thus a representative document of the decline of the existing urban middle-middle-class – a development that would make an important contribution to the growth of the new 'plebeian' classes in the cities of that time, anticipating the development of the 'proletariat'.²⁹

In contrast to these GDR perspectives which focused on the *Dialogue on Greed* as a document of far-reaching social change, West German readers began to read the dialogue much more strongly as a theological text after the Reformation anniversary in 1983. In literary scholarship, Manfred Dutschke (b. 1949) argued in 1985 that Sachs's extensive depiction of different forms of greed in the dialogue showed that all Christians – including the rich – were locked in a constant and

²⁸ Dialogue printed in full on pp. 79–80. Vogler 1989, pp. 55–56.

²⁹ Vogler 1989, p. 80.

unwinnable spiritual battle against sin, demonstrating the impossibility of creating an ideal Christian community through grassroots revolution or top-down implementation. This affirmed existing structures of society more than ever instead of documenting or advocating for change in them.³⁰

In *Handwerker als theologische Schriftsteller: Studien zu Flugschriften der frühen Reformation (1523–1525)*, a 1987 doctoral dissertation in theology published in 1990, the Protestant minister Martin Arnold investigated how ten craftsman Reformation pamphleteers including Sachs related to questions about faith, salvation and Christian life in their theological writings. He sees Romanus' declaration that 'the new law is in every respect full of love, love, love' (B2v) as the clearest demonstration of Sachs's concept of love as the foundation of Christian life, which is reflected in his rejection of practices that he considers incompatible with it such as charging interest, and his calls for aid and debt relief for the poor. For Arnold, although Sachs clearly observed 'die Ausbeutung und Unterdrückung des gemeinen Mannes' – strikingly mirroring the language that GDR interpreters had used to describe Sachs's depiction of the condition of pieceworkers in the pamphlet – he expected that this would not be solved by resistance, but by the liberating action of God. He considered this less a reflection of the political weakness of the middle classes than of an experience in the Protestant movement that society can only be changed by Scripture, not by revolutionary means.³¹

Thus, despite its low circulation in Sachs's own time, the *Dialogue on Greed* proved to be a subject of great interest to GDR literary and historical scholarship. Initially, they presented Sachs's depiction of the mistreatment and suffering of pieceworkers at the hands of entrepreneurs through Reichenburger as a pioneering literary representation of the 'exploitation' of workers in the 'early capitalist' economic system. They also presented Sachs as providing a platform for

³⁰ Dutschke 1985, pp. 151; 156–58.

³¹ Arnold 1990, pp. 104–05.

the views of radical groups that were perceived as responsible for the outbreak of the Peasants' War in the dialogue as a whole. West German literary scholarship would also re-examine the dialogue and extensively engage with GDR writings on the subject. Around the 500th anniversary of the Peasants' War in 1975, GDR historical scholarship began to take an interest in the dialogue as an important source for economic and social history in which Sachs sought to document and influence the changes in society and the economy that led to the conflict. This would shape reception of the dialogue until the end of the GDR, including around the Luther quincentenary in 1983, when it was briefly presented as an important example of how Luther's theology was applied to political and social issues arising during the 'early bourgeois revolution' period. However, after this anniversary, West German readers would read the dialogue until reunification as a genuinely theological text about Christian ethics. GDR editions and analysis of the dialogue made an important contribution to opening up the *Dialogue on Greed* within the social and economic context of the early sixteenth century in Nuremberg (albeit in pursuit of highly specific political agendas). This work would also be productively received by West German scholars influenced by methodological approaches to literature based on social history. However, as Bernd Balzer suggests in the context of aspects of Ingeborg Spriewald's readings of the *Dialogue on Greed*, GDR readings tended to take the dialogue at face value and assume that Sachs' depiction of the economic behaviour of Protestants was entirely factual. This is also a major pitfall of West German social-historical and theological approaches to the dialogue. Neither of these approaches tell the full story about the *Dialogue on Greed*, which remains under-appreciated as a literary text. There is great potential for this aspect of Sachs' dialogues to be drawn out much more fully by critically reflecting on the results of social-historical and theological approaches to the dialogue with the help of new perspectives on the concept of (un-)truth in Sachs' works, which are being developed, among others, by Philip Flacke in his doctoral dissertation on the subject. Re-evaluating elements of Sachs' dialogue that had previously been taken literally, such

as the highly rhetorically charged debate about the suffering piece-worker, provides an excellent starting point for a new appreciation of Sachs' dialogues as genuinely literary interventions in the Reformation debate.

4. The Pamphlets in Oxford

Henrike Lähnemann

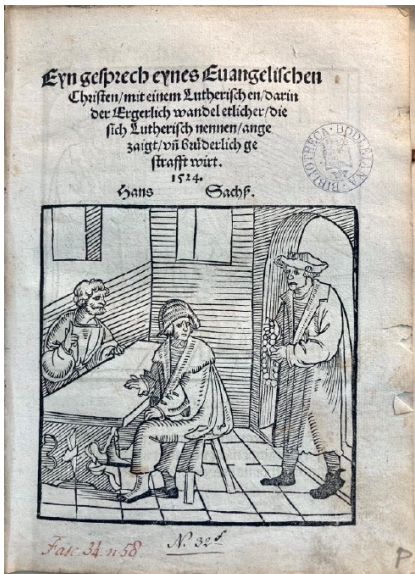
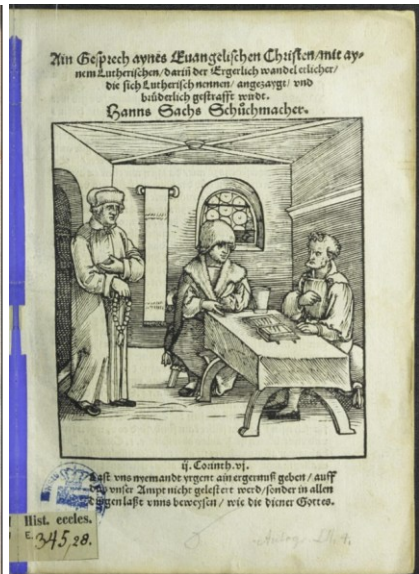
This history of the three copies of the *Dialogue on Greed* is part of the general acquisition history of Reformation pamphlets for Oxford which has been described in the book-historical essay by Philip Flacke in Volume 7 of this series, on whose findings this introduction builds.¹ The Bodleian holds three copies: one of the first edition from Nuremberg, which has been used as the basis of this transcription, and copies of the two print runs of the consecutive Augsburg edition. None of the editions give away where and when they were printed, a feature they share with the other Sachs dialogues; most printers did not want to associate themselves openly with these outspoken and polemical texts. The workshops can only be identified via the types used and, to a lesser degree, by the dialect. Older scholarship pointed to the Nuremberg printer Hieronymus Höltzel, but the *VD16* online has corrected this to Jobst Gutknecht. The artist who designed the title woodcut was, in all probability, Erhard Schön, with whom Sachs also collaborated on many of his other print publications and who has a clear visual language, rendering the differences between the two dialogue partners particularly striking.

The Augsburg copies bear a slightly modified title: *Ain Dialogus vnd Argument | der Romanisten / wider das Christlich heüfflein / | den Geytz vnd ander offentlich laster betreffend* 2c. (A dialogue and argument of the Roman Catholics against the little Christian flock; concerning greed and other public vices, etc.) They are nearly identical, printed in the same workshop of Philipp Ulhart. The woodcut of the Augsburg editions in fact illustrates another Sachs dialogue, namely the conversation between a Protestant and a Lutheran drawing attention to and correcting the offensive behaviour of self-styled Lutherans (Ill. 12) which has three speakers all featured in the woodcut, while

¹ See [Chapter 3](#) of the introduction to ‘Canon and Cobbler’.

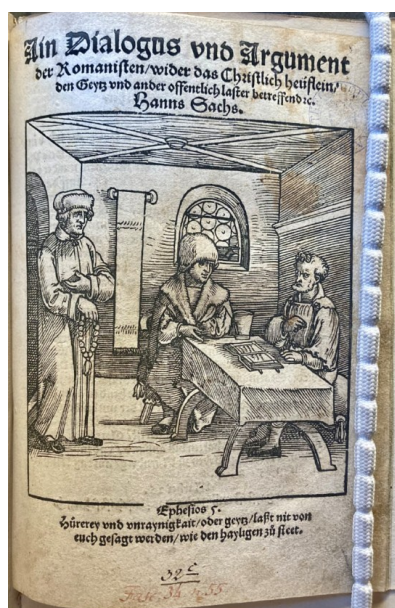
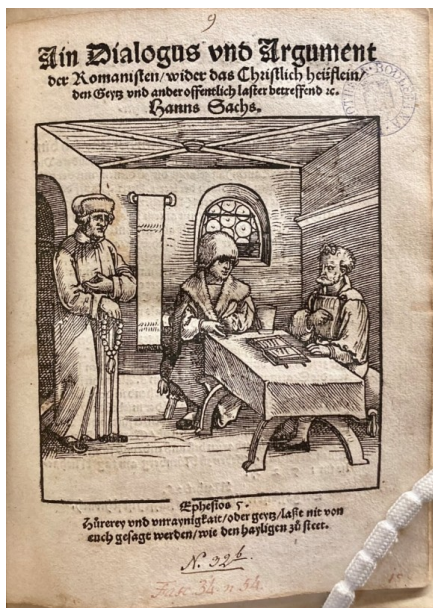
the *Dialogue on Greed* only has two speakers. The Augsburg edition added details such as a rolling towel on a rack at the back of the wall, 'Butzenscheiben' (bottle glass windows) and an open book on the table in front of the bare-headed man, presumably 'Hans', the alter ego of the author in the 'Protestant' dialogue.

It might well be that actually having a woodcut repeated from a previous bestselling edition was a more effective marketing strategy, even if it did not completely reflect the specific constellation of this dialogue, rather than having a tailored illustration which was not instantly recognisable. The man in the rich garb (the fur-trimmed hat and 'Schaube', the overcoat of the upper middle classes) sitting at the solid, carved wooden table which is identical to the setting of the Nuremberg edition of the *Dialogue on Greed* provides a clear visual link, even if there is no money involved and the third figure is superfluous.



- Ill. 13: Hans Sachs, *Gespräch eines Evangelischen...*, Tr. Luth. 34(58)
 Ill. 14: Mirrored title woodcut in the Augsburg edition by Philip Ulhart,
 VDI6 S 296, copy SLUB Dresden [Hist.eccl.E.345.28](#)

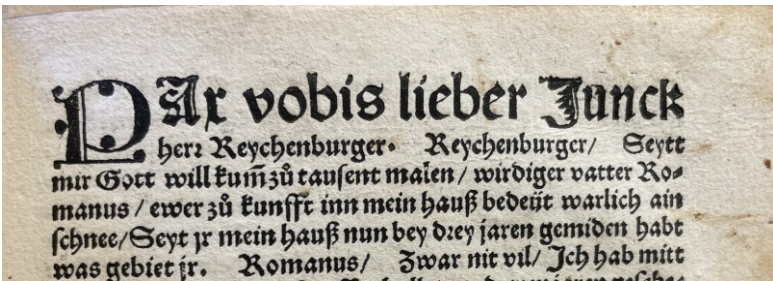
It is clear that the *Dialogue on Greed* is the later Sachs edition from the border which is broken at the lower frame; when it was used by the same workshop of Philip Ulhart for the ‘Protestant’ pamphlet, the border was still intact.



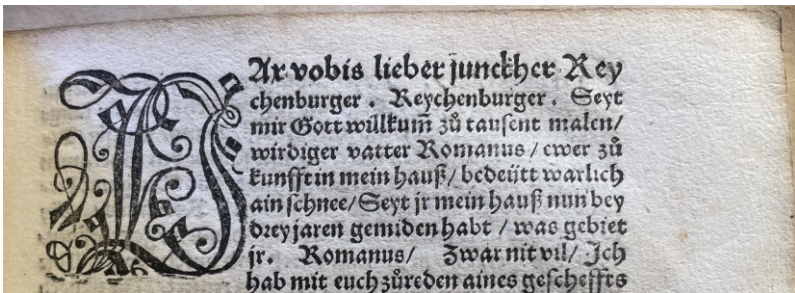
Ill. 15: *Dialogue on Greed*, Augsburg edition 1, Tr. Luth. 34(55)

Ill. 16: *Dialogue on Greed*, Augsburg edition 2, Tr. Luth. 34(54)

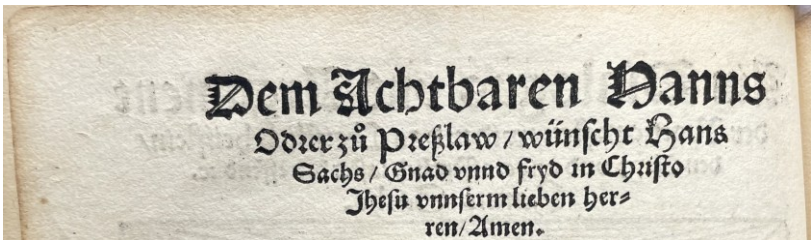
The title page might have been kept ‘standing’ (typeset) between the two Augsburg editions, since it is the only page which is identical down to hyphenation and spelling, but the rest was certainly typeset again. A copy of the edition VD 16 S 210 (= 54) was probably used as the model for VD 16 S 209 (= 55), since S 209 has corrected some typos in S 210, such as ‘Ewangelich’ to ‘Ewangelisch’ in the penultimate line of fol. A3r. The distribution of quires is also different. In S 209, quire B is a half-sheet and the last page is empty, while in S 210, quire C is a half-sheet and the text ends on the verso of the last folio.



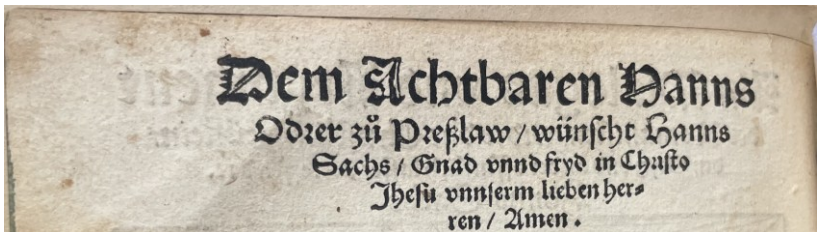
Ill. 17: Tr.Luth. 34(55), A2r: first Augsburg print run with large type for first line



Ill. 18: Tr.Luth. 34(54), A2r: second print run with larger woodcut initial



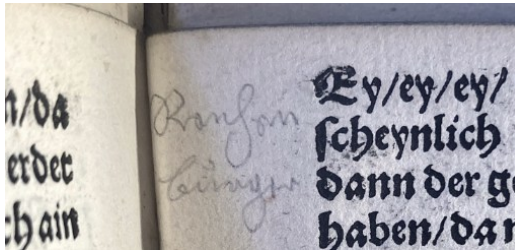
Ill. 19: Tr.Luth. 34(55), A1v: first Augsburg print run



Ill. 20: Tr.Luth. 34(54), A1v: second run; spot the difference ('Hanns' in line 2)

The most noticeable difference is the different typeface used for the first line of text on fol. A2r, the ‘Pax vobis...’, which has an ornate 9-line initial and then an only two-point bigger black letter in S 210, and a much less elaborate 2-line initial, but a double-high blackletter typeface in S 209, which is consistent with the typeface used on the title page and the letter of dedication.

The copies have not seen such drastic interventions as the ink drawings in the dialogue on the ‘vain works of the clergy’ where the monks were hung on the gallows.² The only marginalia is a pencil note by a modern user, clarifying who was speaking by adding the name ‘Raichenburger’ in the inner margin of *Tr. Luth.* 34(55).



Ill. 21: Gloss in *Tr. Luth.* 34(55), fol. Bir

The three copies of the *Dialogue on Greed* in the Bodleian are preserved in the same *Sammelband*, Volume 34 of 84 *Tractatus Lutherani* (ill. 10), containing approximately 1,670 Latin and German treatises published between 1518 and 1550, collected by Johann Gottlob May (1754–1821), a schoolmaster and librarian from Augsburg, and purchased by the Bodleian at Sotheby’s in London for £95 15s in 1818.³

At least one of the Augsburg copies (no. 55) was part of a previous *Sammelband*, since it shows a characteristic green fore edge which can be seen on a number of pamphlets in the collection, which have

² Hans Sachs, *Ein Gespräch von den Scheinwerken* [...] ([Nuremberg: Hieronymus Hölzel] 1524), title woodcut by Erhard Schön (?) and pen drawing of gallows, 4°, Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, *Tr. Luth.* 34(60), fol. Arr. See [Flacke 2026](#).

³ See [Flacke 2024](#), p. lvi.

all been trimmed to about 14.1 to 14.6 cm width: *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). On one of these, *Tr. Luth. 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. Thus, it might well be that the green fore edges and some of the other possible signs of former collections tell us less about how the pamphlets were used by Sachs's contemporaries during the Reformation and instead attest to their later history when they had already become objects of historical interest for collectors, historians and libraries.

Catalogue of the *Dialogue on Greed* copies in Oxford

The pamphlets are at the start of the Sachs cluster of pamphlets in the volume Tr. Luth. 34 which follows the first keyword of the title, here ‘dialogus’ (the others are called ‘disputation’, and ‘gespräch’).

Tr. Luth. 34(53)

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

14 folios in 4to. Quire signatures: B, C, D, with C being a half-sheet (Weller 1868: 18(a); KG, vol. 22: 9a; Pegg 1973: 3550; Köhler 1996: 3989; VD 16 S 211.)

Tr. Luth. 34(54)

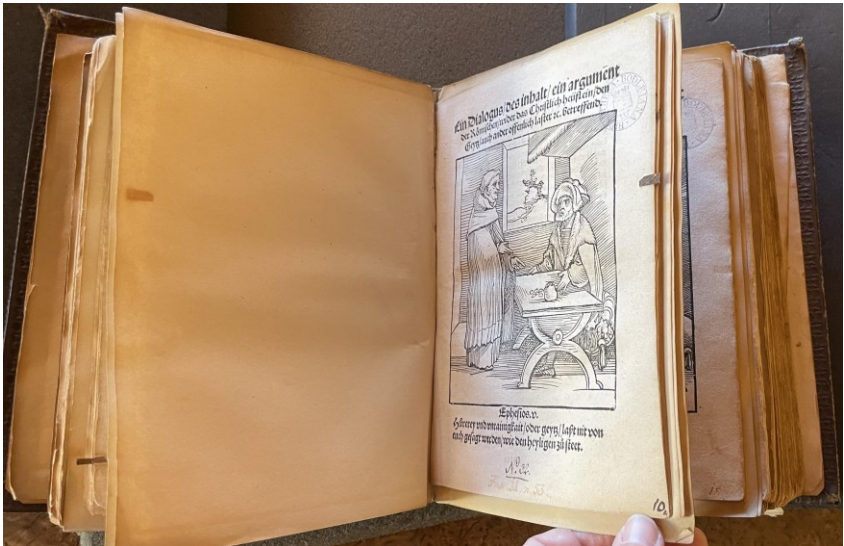
Ain Dialogus vnd Argument | der Romanisten / wider das Christlich heüßlein / | den Geytz vnd ander offentlich laster betreffend 2c. [Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1524.]

10 folios in 4to. Quire signatures: Aij, Aijj, B, Bij, Biiij, C, Cij, with C being a half-sheet (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 heüßlein / | den Geytz vnd ander offentlich laster betreffend 2c. [Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1524.]

10 folios in 4to. Quire signatures: Aij, Aijj, B, Bij, C, Cij, Cijj, with B being a half-sheet (Weller 1868: 18(c); KG, vol. 22: 9c; Pegg 1973: 3551; Köhler 1996: 3990; VD 16 S 209.)



Ill. 11/12: *Sammelband* of pamphlets containing all copies of Hans Sachs's Reformation dialogues, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tr. Luth. 34, open at the pages showing the copies of the *Dialogue on Greed*

5. The Language

Henrike Lähnemann

Early modern German was written to be performed. This is true of 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 in the *Open Letter on Translation* for the importance of idiomatic expression and the 'street value' of language.¹

Hans Sachs uses a number of different titles for his Reformation pamphlets, but all emphasize the spoken nature of the form. The first dialogue uses the Latin academic term of 'disputatio' and describes it as a 'fight': *Disputation zwischen ainem Chorherren vnd Schüchmacher darin das wort gottes vnd ein recht Cristlich wesen verfochten wirt*. ('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 exchanging points of view in a discursive style and called a 'conversatio' (*Gesprech eines evangelischen Christen mit einem Lutherischen* and *Gesprech von den Scheinwercken der Gaystlichen*). The final one has two terms: 'dialogus' and 'argumentum' (*Dialogus vnd Argument der Romanisten / wider das Christlich heüßlein / den Geytz vnd ander öffentlich laster betreffend*).

¹ See Howard Jones' discussion of the translation controversy in his essay in Jones 2022, pp. xxiii–xxix.

The three copies of the pamphlet 'On Greed' come from two cities within today's Bavaria: the Imperial Free City of Nuremberg, the home of Hans Sachs where he lived all his life, and the flourishing trade centre Augsburg, 150 km south of Nuremberg, with an active print scene which picked up all new publications from best-selling authors such as Hans Sachs and adapted them to Swabian dialect conventions.

1. Dialect

The edition shows some features of East Franconian bordering on the Upper German dialect area which are typical of Nuremberg, but the influence of Lutheran print culture means that only overall the spelling is aimed at a wider audience, not just a local readership. Typical for Nuremberg is the deletion of the word-initial contrast of voiceless (p, t, k) and voiced (b, d, g) plosives, particularly 'p' for 'b' at the beginning of words: 'pan', 'pitter' and 'palcken' for NHG 'Bahn', 'bitter' and 'Balken'; conversely 'brassen' and 'dreger' for 'prassen' and 'träger'. The other characteristic is a wide use of e-elision (apo- and syncope), resulting in truncated forms such as 'werdt' for 'werdet', 'schetz' and 'hend' for 'Schätze' and 'Hände', while Central German tends to preserve the full forms with the final schwa-e.

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 ‘z’ stands both for z and for a number of established abbreviations, particularly in ‘d_z’ / ‘w_z’ = das / was. In the transcription, z 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; ‘zuuor’ = 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 in the type set have not been distinguished in the transcription because they are simply graphic variations. Rather confusingly, the round form of r = z which is mainly used after characters with a rounded right-hand border such as o or p, is also used for the Tironian note ‘et’, exclusively in ‘etc’, e.g. on the title page.

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, i.e. ‘durfftigen’ should be read as ‘dürfftigen’, ‘vber’ as ‘über’. The print workshop used superscript ‘e’ for long and short ‘ö’, long ‘ä’ and long ‘ü’ as in ‘hören’, ‘täglich’, ‘kü’ (‘Kühe’), ‘ü’ for short umlaut-u (probably to avoid confusion with ‘o’ above ‘u’ in words with old diphthong ‘uo’ such as ‘gūt’), ‘e’ for short ‘ä’ (‘hendt’ for ‘Hände’).

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. 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, i.e. 'alß' and 'als' are pronounced the same. 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 tyranny'. In some cases, the *ge-*prefix for the participle of perfective verbs is still missing, as was the case in MHG, e.g. 'ausgangen' for 'ausgegangen' and even used for other verbs such as 'predigt' for 'gepredigt'.

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.

6. 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>. All hyperlinks to online resources have been checked on 18 October 2026.

1. Abbreviations

DWb – *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. <https://woerterbuchnetz.de/?sigle=DWB>.

References ‘s.v.’ (sub voce) reference the lemma which is explained.

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

KG – Adelbert von Keller and Edmund Goetze: *Hans Sachs*, 26 vols, Tübingen: 1870–1908. Tübingen: Laupp.

KJV – *The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New: Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues: & with the former Translations diligently compared and reuised, by his Maiesties speciall Comandement*. London: Robert Barker 1611. Open Access Version on biblija.net.

L45 – Martin Luther: *Biblia: das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrifft: Deudsch Auff new zugericht*. D.Mart.Luth. Wittemberg: Hans Lufft 1545. Open Access Version on biblija.net.

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])).

VLC – *Vulgata Clementina, 1592. Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, ed. by M. Tweedale. <http://vulsearch.sourceforge.net/html>, accessed via biblija.net – the Bible on the Internet.

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

WB – *Weimarer Beiträge*.

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Edition, Translation, Commentary of the *Dialogue on Greed*

The edition is a semi-diplomatic transcription of Hans Sachs's *Dialogue on Greed* in the version of the first Nuremberg edition *Ein Dialogus / des inhalt / ein argumēt | der Römischen / wider das Christlich heüßlein / den | Geytz / auch ander öffentlich laster 2c. betreffend*. [Nuremberg: Jobst Gutknecht,] 1524 in the copy Tr. Luth. 34(53), VD 16 S 211. 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.

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 Sachs'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) Ein Dialogus/ des inhalt/ ein argument der Römischen¹/ wider
das Christlich heüfflein²/ den Geytz/ auch ander öffentlich³ laster
&c. betreffend.



Ephesios.⁴ v. Hürerey vnd vnrainigkait/ oder geytz/ laßt nit von euch
gesagt werden/ wie den heyligen züsteet.

¹ Adj 'römisch' developed in the early 1520s as collective for those following Catholic teaching as approved by the pope in Rome; used in opposition to 'evangelisch' by the Protestant side. See the discussion of the terms 'evangelisch' and 'lutherisch' in the earlier dialogues. Here polemically used in contrast to 'christlich' (Christian) as had been established in publications such as the *Passional Christi und Antichristi* (1521), in which the pope and his 'Roman' teaching were identified with the Antichrist. The Augsburg copies use instead the noun 'Romanisten', perhaps to make it clearer that this refers to a group of people and is not a defective phrase without a noun; it also fits the telling name of the monk, Romanus.

² = NHG 'Häuflein', diminutive for 'haufe' (troop, group, stack) used in the Luther Bible for a small group. FWb s.v. 3 'kleine Gruppe von Menschen; oft bezogen auf die Christen in dieser Welt.'

³ = NHG 'öffentlich' but more in the sense of 'not hidden', cf. OHG 'offanlich'. The modern form with epenthetic '-t-' and umlaut became more prevalent only around 1550. The epenthesis is regular (cf. NHG 'hoffentlich' < MHG 'hoffenlîch'). The Augsburg editions have 'offentlich'.

⁴ The biblical books are given with their Latin names, 'Ephesios' short for 'ad Ephesios', Paul's letter 'to the Ephesians'.

(A1r) A dialogue containing an argument of the Roman Catholics against the little Christian flock; concerning greed⁵, also other public vices, etc.

Woodcut: A monk with tonsured head, representing the visiting 'Pater Romanus', is approaching a table inside a house from the left-hand side. To the right of the table, beneath an open window and a canopy a bearded nobleman, with the speaking name 'Junker Reichenburger' (Count Richman), is sitting in a fur-rimmed 'Schaube', the costly coat worn by Nuremberg patricians, with a matching fur-rimmed luxurious cap. On the table are a moneybag and coins at which the monk is pointing

Ephesians 5: Avoid being accused of fornication and uncleanness, or greed, as is becoming for saints.⁶

⁵ 'Geiz' is one of the Seven Deadly Sins and technically closer to 'avarice' than to 'greed' but since Hans Sachs points out the universality of the vice, we opted for the more general term 'greed' in the translation. Sobel (1984) defines the term here as 'an amalgamated meaning of selfishness and self-interest, covetousness and all forms of base manipulations'.

⁶ Ephesians 5.3. As in the other dialogues, Hans Sachs quotes verbatim from Martin Luther's 1522 translation of the New Testament while translating the Old Testament passages from scratch from the Vulgate. In the following, all biblical quotations are identified with the verse numbers according to Luther's last authorized version (L45) with a link to biblija.net, which provides parallel versions of L45, the King James Bible (KJV) and the Vulgate passages in the late-medieval Clementine form (VLC). Our modern English translations are based on the wording of Hans Sachs, not an established English translation.

(Aiv) Dem Achtparn⁷ Hans Odrer zu Preßla⁸/ wünscht Hans Sachs/
genad und frid in Christo Jesu⁹ unserm lieben herren.¹⁰ Amen.

¶ Geliebter bruder in dem herren/ ich bin durch vilfaltig pit¹¹ (unser
lieben mitbruders Ulrich Lauthi) angelanget/ dir zu dienen mit der
gab/ so ich entpfangen hab/ nach der leer .i. Petri¹² .4. Auff das ich
aber nicht wie der faul knecht (Matthei .25.) erfunden werdt/ bin ich
im zu willen worden/ mit einem Dialogo¹³/ den ich dir hiemit ub-
erschick¹⁴/ des inhalt ist ein Argument/ so unnser Römische¹⁵/ mit
hoher stimm¹⁶ außschreyen/ auff der Cantzel vnd wo sie raum haben
die Ewangelisten leer¹⁷ zu lestern/ fürnemlich mit dem verfluchten
geytz/ nachmals mit andern offentlichen lastern/ welche noch (got
erbarms) in vollem schwanck bey vns geend/ von den so¹⁸ Christum
noch nicht warhafftig im geyst erkennt haben/ als wer darumb die leer
falsch/

⁷ ENHG 'achtbar' for a member of the city elite (FWb s.v. 'achtbäre' I 'angesehen, geachtet, geschätzt, ehrwürdig, mit offenem Übergang zu 'mächtig; oft formelhaft als Ausdruck der Achtung gegenüber Personen gebraucht'). The capitalisation of the adjective is part of this paying of respect.

⁸ = NHG Breslau (Wrocław). Typical Nuremberg deletion of the word-initial contrast of voiceless and voiced plosive, which is a typical trait of East Franconian dialects bordering the Upper German dialect area.

⁹ For names, particularly 'nomina sacra', Latin forms are used.

¹⁰ Established greeting formula for letters overlaid with the formulation which Martin Luther used in his translation of the New Testament for most of the Pauline letters.

¹¹ = NHG 'vielfältige Bitte'.

¹² Latin gen. of Petrus, standing for the letter by Peter.

¹³ Dat.sg. of Latin 'dialogus', dialogue.

¹⁴ ENHG 'überschicken' (literally 'to send across', used for letters) = NHG 'übersenden' (cf. modern colloquial German 'rüberschicken').

¹⁵ On the use of 'römisch' see above the title; whether to use weak or (as here) strong adjective inflection is still variable in ENHG.

¹⁶ 'hoch' in the sense of raised, loud. See DWb s.v. III.1.1.

¹⁷ = NHG 'evangelische Lehre'; the MHG weak acc.sg.f. ending -n is still occasionally used in the 16th cent., FGR §M36.

¹⁸ = NHG 'von denen, die'.

(Aiv) Hans Sachs wishes the honourable Hans Odrer¹⁹ at Wrocław²⁰ grace and peace in Jesus Christ, our dear Lord. Amen.²¹

Beloved brother in the Lord, I have come by due to manifold requests (from our dear fellow brother Ulrich Lauthi²²) to serve you with the gift I have received, following the teaching of 1 Peter 4.²³ But lest I be found to resemble the slothful servant (Matthew 25),²⁴ I have followed his wish with a dialogue, which I herewith send to you. It contains an argument which our Roman Catholics screech out from the pulpit at the tops of their voices and wherever they have an opening to slander Protestant teaching, especially with regard to the accusations of accursed greed, then with of other public vices, which (Lord have mercy) still hold us in their vice-like grip, namely those who have not yet truly recognised Christ in their spirit, as if the doctrine were therefore for that reason false.

¹⁹ Hans Odrer, the addressee of the dedicatory letter, has not been identified. See the Introduction 4.

²⁰ On the important position of Wrocław see the Introduction 4.

²¹ Sachs is imitating Luther's style in the opening salutation. Luther frequently begins his prefaces with some form of 'grace and peace' – which, in turn, draws on the opening salutations in some of the Pauline epistles in the New Testament, e.g. 1 Corinthians 1.3 'Gnade sey mit euch vnd Friede / Von Gott vnserm Vater / vnd dem HErn Jhesu Christo.' (L45). Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ. (KJV).

²² Ulrich Lauthi, the mutual acquaintance of Hans Odrer and Hans Sachs, has also not been identified. He could have been from Nuremberg or Wrocław, possibly a merchant with Protestant tendencies but probably not from the ruling families of either city since the family name does not figure in any archival source. There are a few contemporary instances of the family name 'Läuthi(n)' but nothing plausible.

²³ 1 Peter 4.10.

²⁴ Parable of the talents, Matthew 25.14–30.

Mit disputieren²⁵ vnd schreyben haben sie wenig eer erlanget/ noch vil weniger mit jren vngezelten hinderdücken²⁶/ fallen nun auff²⁷ das sündig leben/ welches ich hoff werdt kurtzer zeyt²⁸ fallen/ durch den hall der Ewangelischen Pusaun²⁹/ wie die Statmaur Hiericho³⁰. Josue. 6. Alßdann haben sie nichts wider vns/ dann sie villeicht die hendt in dem Christlichen plut waschen/ auff das die zall der mitbrüder / so vmb des gottes worts willen erwürgt³¹ werden/ erfüllt werdt. Apocalipsis. 6. wie dann angefangen ist/ got sterck vns alle in seinem wort zu verharren biß anß endt/ vnd selig werden. Amen. Matthei. 24.

Geben zu Nürnberg am tag Michaelis³²/ im. 1524. jar.

Matthei. 26. Der geyst ist willig/ aber das fleysch ist schwach.

²⁵ Refers to the academic form of the 'disputatio', which had been used in Protestant pamphlets from the start, and notably in the first dialogue by Hans Sachs, the *Disputation zwischen einem Chorherren und einem Schuhmacher*.

²⁶ ENHG 'Hintertücke' = back biting; in NHG only used in the adj. 'hintertückisch'. Example of the swapping of voiced and voiceless plosives in the East Franconian Nuremberg dialect.

²⁷ 'fallen ... auf' in the sense of 'verfallen', meaning: the Catholics pick up the topic of Protestant lifestyle since they have not prevailed in theological debates.

²⁸ = NHG 'in kurzem', old temporal genitive.

²⁹ = NHG 'Posaune', lit. 'trombone'; the older form, with devoicing of word-initial p- as is typical of the East Franconian dialect of Nuremberg, cf. earlier MHG 'busüne'. The modern form 'Posaune' is due to secondary lowering in Central German dialects north of Nuremberg and owed to Luther's influence. Luther used this as standard translation to denote the biblical shofar blown for celebration, announcements (also of the Last Judgement), or, as in the case of Jericho, destruction, which in English has normally been rendered as 'trumpet'.

³⁰ = NHG 'Jericho'. The spelling of Old Testament names still follows the Vulgate.

³¹ 'erwürgen', which in NHG only means 'to strangle', in ENHG means any form of violent death; KJV normally renders passages where L45 uses 'erwürgen' with 'to slay' or 'to kill'.

³² 29 September. The saints' days still provide the date references well beyond the Reformation, also for the Protestant side, even if the feast days are no longer kept.

They have not covered themselves in glory with their disputing and writing, much less with their endless backbiting. Now they throw themselves into the sinful life, which, I hope, will shortly fall at the sound of the Protestant trumpet like the city walls of Jericho (Joshua 6).³³ Then, when they will have nothing further against us, they will perhaps wash their hands with the blood of Christians, so that the number of our fellow brothers who are slain for the sake of God's word will be fulfilled (Revelation 6),³⁴ as has already begun.³⁵ May God strengthen us all to persevere in his word unto the end and be saved. Amen. (Matthew 24).³⁶

Given at Nuremberg, on St Michael's Day³⁷ AD 1524.

Matthew 26: The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.³⁸

³³ Joshua 6.20 describing how the walls fell down flat when the people of Israel blew the trumpets and made a great shout.

³⁴ Revelations 6.9–11, the opening of the fifth seal, which gathers the souls of those who have been killed for standing up for the word of God. Sachs thus speculates that if a reform of Protestant life left no point of criticism for the Catholics, they might turn to violence and slaughter the Protestants, turning them into martyrs.

³⁵ Referring to the incidents such as the burning of Jan van Essen and Hendrik Vos, the first two Lutheran martyrs, executed by the Council of Brabant for their adherence to Reformation doctrine. They were burned at the stake in Brussels on 1 July 1523. Luther wrote a ballad-like hymn, 'Ein neues Lied wir heben an', which was included in the first Protestant hymnbooks.

³⁶ Matthew 24.13.

³⁷ 29 September; besides giving an actual date for the dedication letter, the day also carries a symbolic meaning with the Archangel Michael fighting in the Apocalypse which points to the end times and fits to the reference to impending doom in the last sentence. Michaelmas also was a major market and payment day, making it a fit date for a pamphlet dealing with dubious business practices and greed.

³⁸ Matthew 26:41.

(A2r) *Romanus*. PAX³⁹ vobis⁴⁰ lieber Juncker⁴¹ Reichenburger.

Reichenburger. Seyt mir Got wilkum^m zû tausent malen/ wirdiger vater Romanus⁴²/ ewer zûkunfft⁴³ in mein hauß/ bedeüt warlich ein schnee⁴⁴ Seyt jr mein hauß nun bey drey jaren gemiden habt/ was gebiet jr.⁴⁵

Romanus. Zwar⁴⁶ nit vil/ Jch hab mit euch zû reden eines gescheffts⁴⁷ halb/ vor dreyen jaren geschehen/ darinn seyt ir ein Vormundt⁴⁸.

Reichenburger. Jch wolt fürwar wenen/ jr wöltet ewer klaydt⁴⁹ der geyzigkait (geystligkait⁵⁰ solt ich sagen) hierinn bey mir abziehen/ und wolt ein Christ werden/ seyt ir also vnuersehens⁵¹/ vnd eynig⁵² zû mir hereinschleicht.

³⁹ The name of the speaker is missing in the first edition but it is clear from the context that it must be the monk; the 'a' in 'PAX' is an upper-case letter since it starts the typeset text, with the initial 'p' as woodcut on the outer margin.

⁴⁰ Latin liturgical formula used here as greeting.

⁴¹ From MHG 'juncherre' (= NHG 'junger Herr', young lord), title for the gentry and upper class.

⁴² 'vater' here as equivalent to Latin 'pater' as title for the monk.

⁴³ ENHG 'Zukunfft' = NHG 'Ankunft', arrival, return.

⁴⁴ 'schnee' as short form for 'wie Schnee im Sommer' as designation of a rare occasion.

⁴⁵ Contracted form of 'gebietet', which is a regular development (cf. earlier 3sg. 'bedeüt' for 'bedeutet'); the nobleman uses the formal form of address for the monk in the 2ps.pl. with 'ihr'.

⁴⁶ Contraction of MHG 'ze ware' = NHG 'wahrlich, wirklich'.

⁴⁷ This could be a 'Rechtsgeschäft' (FWb s.v. 4 'geschäft'), a will of which he is the executor or a legacy which he is in charge of distributing (FWb s.v. 6 and 8); also undertones of the deal not being entirely above board (FWb s.v. 2: 'Machenschaft, unlauterer Handel') – used by Luther and (at least in the 1550s) by Sachs in this sense.

⁴⁸ ENHG 'vormund' has a wider meaning: anybody who is a legal representative for any form of deal.

⁴⁹ ENHG 'kleid' general term for 'garment' while in NHG it means only a skirt, unless used in the pl. 'Kleider', which translates to general clothes alongside skirts.

⁵⁰ Word play on the similar abstract nouns derived from 'geizig' (greedy) and 'geistig' (spiritual, here clerical).

⁵¹ 'unversehens' literally: unexpectedly because of not being visible in advance.

⁵² = NHG 'einzig, allein'.

(A2r) Romanus: Peace be with you,⁵³ my dear Sir Reichenburger!⁵⁴

Reichenburger: A thousand times⁵⁵ welcome in God's name, worthy Father Romanus! Your arrival in my house is truly like snow in summer, since you have been avoiding my house for three years now. What is your command?

Romanus: Not much, to be honest. I have to talk to you about some business that happened three years ago in which you were one of the parties.

Reichenburger: I would have thought that you wanted to cast off your cloak of cupidity (spirituality, I should say) while you are here with me so that you might become a Christian, since you have crept in on me unexpectedly and on your own.

⁵³ Latin is otherwise only used in the first dialogue, in which, in a comic reversal of roles, the cobbler and cook are greeting each other with 'bonus dies' / 'semper quies'.

⁵⁴ Both dialogue partners have symbolic names: 'Romanus' as Latin form of the adjective 'römisch', also in use as Christian name in the form 'Roman'; 'Reichenburger' could mean somebody living in a city called 'Reichenburg', which in itself is not a concrete place name but rather the 'city of rich people', so fitting for a wealthy citizen. An English equivalent would be something like 'Count Richman'. The 'Reich' in the name could also be a nod to Nuremberg as 'Reichsstadt', the Imperial City of which Reichenburger is a citizen.

⁵⁵ Over-the-top greeting formula which invokes both God and a thousand times as an excessive number.

Romanus. Ich wil mein kutten⁵⁶ noch wol lenger tragen/ der multi-
gkait halben/ so jr newen Ewangelischen übet/ vnd treybet vnder
einander/ vnd jr seyt mir nûr zû lieb darzû/ wôlt euch sunst anders
antwûrten.

Reichenburger. Sagt an wirdiger vater was jr wißt/ yedoch die war-
hait/ bedurfft mein nicht verschonen.

Romanus. So schawt in spiegel ewers hertzen/ wie rain jr seyt/ des
geytz halb/ vnd nicht allain euch sunder sehet an alle dise welt/
vom minsten biß zû dem maisten/ so findet jrs alles vberschwembt
mit geytzigkayt/ das Esaias wol war sagt am vj. capitel. Von dem
minsten biß zû dem maisten/ all geend sie nach der geytzigkait.
Jr newen Ewangelischen wendet aber ewer augen allain auff vnns
Münich vnd Pfaffen/ sam seyen wir allain geytzig/ vnd vergest
die weyl ewer selb dar bey/ Jr aber werdt mit uns nit entschuldigt/
Christus (A2v) spricht Luce am. xiiij. Maint jr das die achzehen/
auff welche der thurn⁵⁷ in Siloa viel/ vnd erschlûg sie/ seyen
schuldig für alle die zû Jerusalem wonen/ ich sag nain darzû/ sun-
der so jr euch nicht bessern/ werdt jr all also vmbkummen. Da-
rumb jr lieben Ewangelischen/ thût vor den palcken auß dem
aug/ darnach das bechtlein⁵⁸ auß ewers brüders aug. Matthei am.
vij.

Reichenburger/ Ey wo betriegen wir die leüt also geytzigklich als jr
geystlichen vns ein lange zeyt her betrogen habt als mit Ablaß/
Bann/ Opffer/ Vigil/ Seelmelß/ gütten wercken/ mit sampt den
Sacramenten/ die jr vns vmb gelt verkaufft habt/ das vbrig mit
betlen vnd andern alfentzen⁵⁹ abgewunnen.

⁵⁶ 'kutte' = the monk's habit which Romanus is wearing; picking up ironically the dress metaphor which Reichenburger used.

⁵⁷ = NHG 'Turm'. The form 'turn' with word-final -n instead of -m is more archaic than the modern form 'Turm' with -m; the latter stems from Central German dialects and is owed to Luther's influence.

⁵⁸ Diminutive of MHG 'bâht' = dirt, splinter.

⁵⁹ ENHG 'alefanz' FWb s.v. prob. from Italian 'all'avanzo' = to gain advantage, then 'trickery'.

Romanus: I'll continue to wear my habit for a while yet, given the generosity you new Protestants practise and pursue among yourselves;⁶⁰ if you were not so dear to me, I would give you a different answer.

Reichenburger: Tell me, worthy Father, what you know. I want the truth; you don't need to spare me your criticism.

Romanus: Look into the mirror of your heart and see how free of greed you are. Do not just look at yourself, but rather look at this whole world, from the least to the largest, and you will find it all overflowing with greed, as Isaiah⁶¹ rightly says in Chapter 6: From the least to the largest, they are all guided by greed.⁶² But you new Protestants only turn your eyes on us monks and priests, as if we alone were greedy, and meanwhile you forget to examine yourselves. Your behaviour cannot be excused by ours. After all, Christ (A2v) says in Luke 13: Do you really think of those eighteen people upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, slaying them, that they were more sinful than the rest of those living in Jerusalem?⁶³ I say no to that: and if you do not change your ways, you will all thus perish. Therefore, you dear Protestants, first take the beam out of your own eye, and then the splinter out of your brother's eye (Matthew 7).⁶⁴

Reichenburger: Why, where do we cheat people as greedily as you clergy have cheated us for a long time, such as with indulgences, papal bans, offerings, vigils, requiem masses, good works, together with the sacraments, which you have sold to us for money, then extracted the rest from us with begging and other fancy tricks?

⁶⁰ An ironic reflection on the refusal to help, which means that the monk cannot afford to lose his habit since he has no alternative means for clothing; or an extension of the preceding metaphor: the monk prefers the habit to the garment of greed.

⁶¹ This is a mix-up by Sachs or the typesetter for Jeremiah.

⁶² Jeremiah 6.13.

⁶³ Luke 13.4.

⁶⁴ Matthew 7.3.

Romanus. Ey so betrüget aber jr einander/ in kauffhendlē/
gerichßhendlē/ wücher/ vnd in summa durch vnd durch/ wer
wil die handtierung all erzelen/ darinn der geytz regiert/ Mir ist
noch vnuergegessen/ was mir offt in der Beicht fürkommen ist/
wenn ichs reden dörrft.

Reichenburger. Wirdiger vater sagt mirs beicht weyß⁶⁵/ hie vnder
der Rosen⁶⁶/ ich mag die warhait wol hören/ wie pitter sie ist.

Romanus. Von wannen kumbt das fürkauffen⁶⁷/ als wein/ getraydt/
vnd saltz/ vnd alles was man erdencken mag/ kumbt es nicht auß
dem geytz.

Reichenburger. Ey nicht redt also/ solt man bey gemainer stat⁶⁸ nicht
solche leüt haben/ wurdt es offt in theürungen/ kriegßleufften/
oder andern nönnen/ klain zů geen. Stet nicht Prouerbiorum .vj.
O dreger⁶⁹ sihe zů der Ameyssen und merk jre weg/ vnd lern die
weyßhait/ sie bereytet (A3r) jr speyß im Summer/ vnd samlet im
schnidt⁷⁰/ das sie eß.

Romanus. Jch red nit von fürkauffen/ da man nutz sucht einer
gantzen gemain/ vnd gleich einen zimlichen⁷¹ pfenning zů gewin
nimbt/ vnd noch vil weniger/ wo ein oberkeit⁷² fürkaufft vnd ge-
mainen nutz sucht/ sunder allein red ich/ von den fürkauffern von
aygen nutz vnd gewinß halb/ vnnd dem fürkauffer layd wer/ das
nachmals wein/ getrayd/ vnd anders wol geriet/ frolocken in dem
vngeratten jar/ verbergen den fürradt in der not/ wo sie verhoffen
mer gelts daran zů erhalten/

⁶⁵ ENHG 'beichtweise' = in the mode of a confession, 'secretly'.

⁶⁶ Loan translation of Latin 'sub rosa' = in secret. In NHG 'durch die Blume sagen'.

⁶⁷ ENHG 'fürkauf' = to buy things in advance ('für' = 'vorher') in order to sell them later at an inflated price, cf. NHG 'Vorkauf'.

⁶⁸ ENHG 'gemeine Stadt' as expression of the 'res publica', the public good of a communality, DWb s.v. 'gemein' 3f.

⁶⁹ = NHG 'träger', on the word-initial plosive cf. *the introduction to ENHG*.

⁷⁰ NHG 'Schnitt' = harvest.

⁷¹ ENHG 'ziehlich', what 'ziehmt', is appropriate. The NHG use of 'ziemlich' in the sense of 'fairly' only started in the course of the 16th century.

⁷² NHG 'Obrigkeit' = authority.

Romanus: Well, but then you deceive each one another in your commercial dealings and court cases, in usury and, in sum, anywhere and everywhere.⁷³ Who can recount all the dealings in which greed rules? I have still not forgotten what I have often heard in confessions, if only I were allowed to talk about it.

Reichenburger: Worthy father, tell me in confidence⁷⁴ here as if in confession! I'll gladly hear the truth, no matter how bitter it is.

Romanus: Where does all the speculative buying come from, for example, wine, grain, salt,⁷⁵ and anything else you can think of, if it doesn't come from greed?

Reichenburger: Come now, don't talk like that! If there weren't such people like that in the civic community, things would get tight during shortages, wars or other times of need. Does not Proverbs 6 say: You sluggard, look at the ant and consider its ways, and learn wisdom; it prepares (A3r) its food in summer, and gathers it in at harvest time so that it can eat.⁷⁶

Romanus: I am not talking about buying in advance, when one seeks the benefit of a whole community,⁷⁷ even if making a fair penny in profit, and much less about when those in authority buy in advance for the common good. Rather, I am only talking about those who buy speculatively out of self-interest and for a profit, when the speculator would be sorry if were there a good harvest for wine, grain and other things later on, about those who rejoice in a bad year and hide the supplies in times of need, if they hope to gain more money for them.

⁷³ Sachs has the monk use the Latin phrase for summarizing; lists of all sorts for overviews followed by a general statement were a favourite device of Sachs.

⁷⁴ See the English expression 'under the rose' (*example from 1546*). Confession boxes frequently had roses carved onto them to symbolise the seal of confession.

⁷⁵ The three main staple goods which were artificially shorted. The criticism was against merchants who jointly created a market shortage and controlled the prices.

⁷⁶ *Proverbs 6.6.8*: Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise, [who] provideth her meat in the summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest. (KJV).

⁷⁷ Sachs describes Nuremberg municipal provisioning, see Introduction 2.

Von denen steet Prouerbiorum .xi. Der da verbirgt sein getrayd der ist verflucht vnder den völkern. Vnd Leuitici .xxv. Du solt dem armen dein speyß nit mit vbersatz⁷⁸ auffthûn. Und Deuteronomi .xxij. Du solt an deinem brüder nicht wüchern/ weder mit gelt noch mit speyß/ noch mit all dem damit man wüchern kan. Vnd Amos .viij. Höret das jr zerknischet⁷⁹ den armen vnd machet manglen⁸⁰ die durfftigen der erdt. Saget so der schnit vergeet/ verkauffen wir die lon/ vnd den Sabath/ wir thûn auff das getrayde/ wir mindern die maß/ vnnd meren den seckel⁸¹/ vnd verkauffen die spreuer⁸² des getraids/ das wir besitzen den durfftigen im silber.⁸³ Vnd der herr schwür. Jch wirdt nit vergessen aller jrer weck biß anß endt.

Reichenburger. fürkauffen in solcher maß/ ist nicht ein Christlicher handel/ Es thû gleich wer da wöl.

Romanus. Auch regiert der geytz in gesellschaftern⁸⁴/ also/ das sie etlich war zû hauff auffkauffen/ andern auß den henden/ vnd dann zû sich bringen/ als spetzer⁸⁵/ (A3v) vnd was dann jr handel vnd gewerb ist/ machen damit ein auffschlag⁸⁶ wenn sie wöllen/ beschweren also landt/ vnd leüt⁸⁷/ ist das güt Ewangelisch.

⁷⁸ ENHG 'übersatz' = taking too high a cut, (excessive) profit, used as synonym for 'wucher' in Luther's Bible translation (cf. below the footnote on 'wucher').

⁷⁹ ENHG 'zerknirschen': to grind down noisily, a direct translation of the Vulgate verb 'conterere' to grind down, destroy. See Introduction 2.

⁸⁰ 'mangeln machen' is a translation of 'deficere facere', to make deficient.

⁸¹ The Latin 'siclus' means the Hebrew coin 'shekel', but Sachs turns this into ENHG 'sekel' = NHG 'Säckel', a loan word from Latin 'sacculus', a small money bag.

⁸² ENHG 'spreuer' is an archaic plural of 'spreu' = chaff, husks that is still retained in Upper German dialects and vouches for the influence that the bordering Bavarian dialects had on the East Franconian of Nuremberg.

⁸³ 'besitzen im silber' is a direct translation of Latin 'possidere in argento', meaning 'to buy for money'.

⁸⁴ ENHG 'geselschafter' is a member of a merchant unit, *FWb s.v. 2*.

⁸⁵ 'spezerei' is a loan word from medieval Latin 'speziaria' = spices, aromatic herbs, here standing for precious, scarce commodities.

⁸⁶ ENHG 'aufschlag machen' = to put up / increase (the prices).

⁸⁷ 'Land und Leute' is a legal formula for property and people, *FWb s.v. 'land' II*.

Proverbs 11 says of them: Whoever hides their corn is cursed among the people.⁸⁸ And Leviticus 25: You should not open your food provision for the poor for excessive profit.⁸⁹ And Deuteronomy 23: You should not overcharge your brother, neither with money nor with food nor with anything which can be overcharged.⁹⁰ And Amos 8: Listen, you suppress the poor and make the poor of the land fail. You say once the harvest is over, we will sell the profit, and when the sabbath is over, we will price up the wheat, we make the units smaller, and the money-bags bigger, and we will sell the husks of the wheat so that we might buy the poor for silver. And the Lord swore: I will never forget any of their works until the end.⁹¹

Reichenburger: Speculative buying on such a scale is not a Christian trade, regardless of who does it!

Romanus: Greed also reigns amongst trade partners,⁹² with the result that they buy up a lot of goods in bulk, grabbing them from the hands of others, and then hoard them for themselves, such as costly spices (A3v) or whatever else their trade and business may be, they hike up the prices on them if they want to, thereby oppressing land and people. And you call this being a good Protestant?

⁸⁸ Proverbs 11.26 A group of sayings which condemn profit-making practices in the cities.

⁸⁹ Leviticus 25.37 Part of a series of commands on debt relief and trade.

⁹⁰ Deuteronomy 23.19.

⁹¹ Amos 8.4–7. Amos is the most critical of the prophetic books of the economic practices of his times and hence figures prominently throughout the *Dialogue on Greed*.

⁹² 'Gesellschafter' meaning somebody who had a share in a 'gesellschaft' (company). The model of an early modern 'gesellschaft' was to set up a monopoly in which its members clubbed together to keep others out and the prices up. See Introduction 2.

Reichenburger. Es ist auch vnrecht/ wann alles das jr wölt das euch die leüt thūn/ das thūt jn auch widerumb. *Mathei vij.*

Romanus. Auch regieret der geytz mit böser war/ schwert sie⁹³ offt eim mit gewalt ein/ darob offt ein armer verdirbt/ das ist verboten *Leuitici. xix.* Jr solt nit stelen/ liegen/ noch felschlich handeln einer mit dem andern. Vnd *Ecclesiastici .xxxiiij.* Der den armen betreügt/ ist ein man des plüts. Vnd *.j. Thessalonnices .iiij.* Niemant greyff zū weyt noch veruorteyl⁹⁴ sein brüder im handel/ dann der herr ist ein recher vber das alles. Wo bleyben dann die so gūte war erst in jrem gwalt felschen/ ist das gūt Ewangelisch.

Reichenburger. Ey das seind unchristlich hendel. Es spricht *Malachias .j.* Verflucht sey der betrieglich handelt.

Romanus. Auch regiert der geytz mit falscher wag/ maß/ zall/ vberschnellen⁹⁵ in rechnung/ anschreyben⁹⁶/ ist verboten *Leuitici .xix.* Jr solt nit vngleich handeln am gericht/ mit elen/ mit gewicht mit maß &c. Vnd *Prouerbiorum .xj.* Ein triegliche⁹⁷ wag ist ein flüch bey got. Vnd *Luce .vj.* mit was maß jr meßt wirt euch widerumb gemessen/ Jst solchs gūt Ewangelisch.

Reichenburger. Ey wer haibt es gūt/ was wider Got vnd die lieb des nechsten ist.

⁹³ ENHG 'einschweren' factitive to 'schwer': to put sth. heavy upon sth. else, impose on.

⁹⁴ ENHG 'vervorteilen' = NHG 'übevorteilen', to fleece sb.

⁹⁵ ENHG 'überschnellen', literally 'to throw sb. backwards', metaphorically 'to deceive' as in NHG 'überlisten'.

⁹⁶ FWB *s.v. 2*: to register, list accounts, take taxes.

⁹⁷ ENHG 'trieglich' = NHG 'trüglich' (antiquated), 'betrügerisch'. Long 'ie' for 'ü' from *umlaut*, a phenomenon known as de-labialisation ('Entlabialisierung') or un-rounding ('Entrundung'), is a feature of many Central and Upper German dialects.

Reichenburger: It's also unjust, for whatever you would like people to do unto you, you should do unto them in turn. Matthew 7.⁹⁸

Romanus: Greed also goes hand in hand with poor-quality goods, imposing them upon people by force, so that a poor man often suffers wrack and ruin; this is forbidden in Leviticus 19: You shall not steal, lie or deal falsely with one another,⁹⁹ and Sirach 34: He who cheats the poor is a man of blood,¹⁰⁰ and 1 Thessalonians 4: Let nobody go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter: because that the Lord is the avenger of all such.¹⁰¹ What will then happen to those people who falsify good wares once they are in their grasp? And you call this being a good Protestant?

Reichenburger: Oh, these are unchristian dealings. Malachi 1 says: cursed be the one who deals deceitfully.¹⁰²

Romanus: Greed also reigns through false weights, measures, amounts, overpricing in bills, marking down, which is all forbidden in Leviticus 19: You shall not deal unjustly in court, in yardstick, in weights, or in measures etc.;¹⁰³ and Proverbs 11: False scales are a curse to the Lord;¹⁰⁴ and Luke 6: the same measure with which you measure shall be used to measure out to you in turn.¹⁰⁵ And you call this being a good Protestant?

Reichenburger: Well, who calls anything good that is against God and the love of one's neighbour?

⁹⁸ Matthew 7.12.

⁹⁹ Leviticus 19.11 Either 'using dishonest standards' or in parallel to Leviticus 19.15 referring to law courts – in the sense of 'just as you shall not deal unfairly in court, you shall not be dishonest with your weights and measures'.

¹⁰⁰ Sirach 34.21 and 25.

¹⁰¹ 1 Thessalonians 4.6.

¹⁰² Malachi 1.14.

¹⁰³ Leviticus 19.35 An important function of medieval jurisdiction was ensuring that the measuring units were upheld; court was kept during market days with licenced measuring units at hand or even permanently displayed as in the Münstervorhalle in Freiburg which has marks for length and depth of the most common goods.

¹⁰⁴ Proverbs 11.1.

¹⁰⁵ Luke 6.38.

Romanus. Weyter regirt der geytz gewaltiglich vnter den kauffherren vnd verlegern¹⁰⁶/ die da drucken jre arbeyter vnd stückwercker¹⁰⁷/ wenn sie jnen jr arbeyt vnd pfenwerdt¹⁰⁸ (A4r) bringen oder haim tragen/ da thadeln sie jn jr arbeyt/ auff's hinderst¹⁰⁹ dann steet der arm arbeyter zitrent bey der thür/ mit geschloßnen henden/ stilschweygent/ auff das er des kauffherren huld nit verlier/ hat etwann vor gelt¹¹⁰ auff die arbeyt entlehent/ alßdann rechent¹¹¹ der kauffherr mit jm wie er wil/ büst der arm sein aygen gelt ein/ zů seiner arbeyt/ dann frewt/ sich der reich/ des gůten wolffen¹¹² kauffs/ maynt er hab jm recht gethan. Hört aber was steet Leuitici .xxv. Wenn du deinem nechsten verkauffst oder abkauffst/ solt du jn nit schinden. Vnd Deuteronomi .xxiiij. Nicht veruorteyl den lon des benötigten¹¹³ vnd armen/ auff das er nicht den herren vber dich anrűff/ vnd sey dir sündt. Vnd Ecclesiastici .xxxiiij. Der da vergeüst das plůt/ vnd bedreűgt den arbeyter/ seind brůder. Vnd der da abnimbt das prot im schweyß/ ist als der da tůdt den nechsten.

Reichenburger. Jr sagt aber nicht darbey/ wie stoltz die arbeyter seind/ so man jr bedarff/ kan man jns nicht genůg bezalen/ vnd kan dannocht niemant nichts von jn bringen.

¹⁰⁶ ENHG 'verleger' = manager responsible for what has been put away in the 'verlag' (storage); here used in conjunction with 'kauffherr' (merchant) to indicate the business owners.

¹⁰⁷ ENHG for workmen paid per 'stück' (unit), pieceworker; here used in conjunction with 'arbeiter' to indicate the working class.

¹⁰⁸ ENHG 'pfennigwert, pfennwert' = something worth pennies, the pieces produced by the 'stückwerker'.

¹⁰⁹ ENHG 'aufs hinterste' (NHG 'aufs Äußerste') = to the utmost, utterly.

¹¹⁰ ENHG 'vorgeld' = down payment, *DWb s.v.*

¹¹¹ ENHG 'rechnen', here a variant for 'rechnen' = NHG 'abrechnen', to make an account.

¹¹² ENHG 'wohlfeil' = cheap to buy; archaic in NHG while 'feilbieten' (to offer for sale) is still used.

¹¹³ ENHG 'benötiger' = NHG 'Notleidender', somebody in need.

Romanus: Furthermore, greed reigns with might and main among the merchants and managers who oppress their labourers and pieceworkers; when these bring them their work and the pieces they have produced or taken home to finish, (A4r) they roundly reproach them for their work. Then the poor labourer stands trembling at the door, hands clasped, silent, lest he lose the merchant's favour, having perhaps borrowed some money for the work, then the merchant settles the accounts with him as he pleases. If the poor man loses his own money on his labour, then the rich man rejoices in the good bargain, thinking he has done well. But listen to what Leviticus 25 has to say: If you buy anything from your neighbours or sell it to them, you should not skin them out.¹¹⁴ And Deuteronomy 24: Do not take drive down the pay of those who are needy and poor, lest they call to the Lord against you, and it is your sin.¹¹⁵ And Ecclesiasticus 34: Those who shed blood and those who oppresses the worker are like brothers in their wickedness. And those taking away bread won by sweat act as if they killed their neighbour.¹¹⁶

Reichenburger: But you don't say how proud the workers are. If you need them, you can't pay them enough and then nobody can get anything out of them.

¹¹⁴ Leviticus 25.14.

¹¹⁵ Deuteronomy 24.14-15.

¹¹⁶ The book Ecclesiasticus / Jesus Sirach was counted by Luther among the Apocrypha, which were only published after the canonical books had been translated; there is a variation in the verse numbering between the Luther Bible (which in this case follows the Vulgate) and the King James Version. Sachs translates the second part of the quotation literally from the Vulgate, Ecclesiasticus 34.21-22.

Romanus. Jr puchen¹¹⁷ kan nicht lang weren/ alßdann wirdts jnen zwyfeltig eingedrenckt/ so der handel steckt/ oder im Winter/ so es allenthalben klem¹¹⁸ ist/ da müssen sie euch wolfayler geben/ im Summer habt jr jm die haut abzogen/ im Winter saugt jr jm das marck auß den bainen/ ist das güt Ewangelisch/ das die armen also tag vnd nacht/ vber vnd vber arbeyten vnd sich doch des hungers mit weyb vnd kindt kaum ernerer¹¹⁹ mögen/ gedenckt jr nit/ got erhör das weklagen/ wie Exodi. vj. (A4v) Jch hab erhört das weklagen der kinder Jsrael/ die die Egiptier mit fronen¹²⁰ beschwerten.

Reichenburger. Sölches schinden hat mir mein lebenslang nie gefallen
Es ist aller ding¹²¹ vnchristenlich.

Romanus. Weyter regiert der geytz in dem wechsel¹²²/ der so mancher gestabt¹²³ ist on zal. Weyter regirt der geytz/ verkaufft einer vmb pargelt ein war vmb hundert gulden/ sol man borgen¹²⁴ ein halb jar/ muß man fünff oder sechs gulden mer geben/ diß ist nit Ewangelisch.

Reichenburger. Ey lieber der verkauffer gewunne die weyl mit dem paren gelt wol so vil/ als im der kauffer hynüber gibt.

Romanus. Wie wenn er so vil verlur/ oder die haubt summ¹²⁵ gar/ Darumb wil man borgen/ sol man on aufsatz¹²⁶ borgen/ wann es steet Matthei am .v. Wer von dir borgen wil/ von dem ker dich nicht.

¹¹⁷ ENHG 'pochen' (MHG 'bochen') = to proudly insist on something.

¹¹⁸ ENHG 'klem' = scarce, difficult, expensive.

¹¹⁹ ENHG 'ernerer des hungers' = to overcome hunger through food.

¹²⁰ ENHG 'fronen' = NHG 'Frohdienst leisten', to do forced labour.

¹²¹ ENHG 'allerdinge' = adverb from gen. pl. 'aller dinge': with regard to everything.

¹²² ENHG 'wechsel' (exchange) takes on special meanings in the area of money, here probably any form of economic transaction involving paper contracts.

¹²³ ENHG 'staben', based on the staff used for swearing oaths; here to be bound by contractual obligation to the 'wechsel', such as a debt.

¹²⁴ ENHG 'borgen' stands for both sides of the loan transaction: credit and debit.

¹²⁵ ENHG 'hauptsumme' loan translation from Latin for 'capital'.

¹²⁶ ENHG 'aufsatz' = what is put on top, interest.

Romanus: Their insolence won't last long. Then they will be paid back double: if business is slow, or it's winter, when there are shortages everywhere, then they'll have to give you a better deal. In the summer you have skinned them, in the winter you'll suck the marrow out of their bones. And you call it being a good Protestant that the poor labour like this day and night and day, over and over again, and yet can barely feed themselves and their wives and children to stave off hunger? Do you not think that God hears their lamentations, as in Exodus 6: (A4v) I have listened to the lamenting of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians oppressed with forced labour.¹²⁷

Reichenburger: I've never exulted in such exploitation, not once in my life! It's in every way unchristian!

Romanus: Greed further reigns supreme in the deals, to which so many are bound by contract. Greed further reigns supreme if someone sells an item for a hundred florins in cash, but if anyone took out credit for this sum for half a year, he would have to pay five or six florins more. That is not Protestant.

Reichenburger: O, my dear man, the seller would in the meantime have earned as much with the cash as the buyer gives him on top of the original price.

Romanus: But what if he had lost just as much or even the whole amount? Therefore, if you want to give credit, you should offer it without interest, as Matthew 5 says: if anybody wants to have credit from you, don't turn away from them.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Exodus 6.5.

¹²⁸ Matthew 5.42.

Reichenburger. Jch hör wol/ wenn einer von mir wölt borgen vmb
 hundert gulden/ vnnd ich hets zû borgen/ wer ichs jm schuldig
 zû borgen/ nain/ sunder allain bin ichs schuldig zur noturfft/ vnd
 nit zum vberfluß zû borgen/ also auch mit dem leyhen. Luce .vj.
 Leyhet/ da jr nicht für hoffet/ ist nûr auff¹²⁹ die notturfft des nech-
 sten/ vnd nit zum vberfluß/ solt man yedem leyhen nach seinem
 begeren/ man fundt manchen schlüffel¹³⁰/ vordert mer dann drey
 gewonnen/ mit spilen/ brassen¹³¹/ vnd anderm/ Also hulff man jm
 darzû/ vnd wer wider got.

Romanus. Es mag villeicht also sein. Auch regiert der geytz im
 Lehen¹³²/ vnerzelt¹³³/ mit vil auffsetzen¹³⁴/ wann gewonlich sucht
 der lehen herr¹³⁵ seinen aygen nutz/ mit des armen (Bîr) schaden/
 da leycht¹³⁶ er böse mûntz für gûte/ böse war für gûte/ Oder leicht
 ein *summa* gelt ein jar vmb ein gulden zwen hynûber/ das ist ye
 wûcher/ es sey dann die schrifft falsch. Exodi. xxij. Wenn du gelt
 leichest meinem volck das arm ist/ soltu dich nicht als ein wûcherer
 gegen jm halten/ vnd kainen wûcher auff jn treyben. Vnd Leuitici
 .xxv. Wenn dein brüder verarmet/ vnd ab nimbt bey dir/ soltu jn
 auffnemen vnd nit wûcher von jm nemen/ noch zû vil/ sunder
 solt dich vor deinem got fürchten/ auff das dein brüder neben dir
 leben künne/ dann du solt jm dein gelt nicht auff wûcher thûn.

¹²⁹ The original has the typographical error 'anff'.

¹³⁰ ENHG 'schlüffel' for a lazy, uneducated person, based on 'schlaffen' = being slow and lazy; a favourite insult by Hans Sachs for somebody good-for-nothing.

¹³¹ ENHG 'prassen' = to binge eat and drink. The form 'brassen' is more archaic than ENHG/NHG 'prassen'; the prevalence of the latter is due to Luther's influence (on the word-initial plosive cf. the introduction to ENHG).

¹³² = NHG 'Darlehen'.

¹³³ = NHG 'nicht erzählbar'.

¹³⁴ DWb s.v. 7: taking an excessive cut.

¹³⁵ = NHG 'Darlehengeber, Geldverleiher'.

¹³⁶ 3ps.sg. for ENHG 'leihen', to lend.

Reichenburger: I hear you loud and clear. If someone wanted credit from me for a hundred guilders and I had the means to grant credit, do I owe it to him to give him credit? No, I am only responsible for offering credit for necessity and not for abundance. The same goes for lending. Luke 6: lend without hoping for anything in return.¹³⁷ It is only for your neighbour's necessities and not for abundance. If you lent anybody as much as they wanted, you would find many good-for-nothings demanding more than three people might win at gambling, with their binging on food and drink splurging and other things. So if you did help him to do that, it would be against God.

Romanus: That's as may be. Greed also reigns in the lending system, beyond telling, with much topping up, when lenders seek their own benefit to the detriment of the poor, (B1r) as they usually do. They will readily lend bad money for good, bad wares for good, or perhaps a sum of money for a year, whereby a guilder has to be returned as two, which really is extortion, unless Scripture is wrong, Exodus 22: If you lend money to those of my people who are poor, you should not behave like a usurer to them, and should not inflict extortion upon them.¹³⁸ And Leviticus 25: And if your brother becomes poor and destitute with you, you shall take him in and not take excess money from him or overcharge him: but you shall fear your God so that your brother may live alongside you, for you shall not overcharge him when you lend him your money.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Luke 6.35.

¹³⁸ Exodus 22.23(L45)/25(KJV).

¹³⁹ Leviticus 25.35-37.

Reichenburger. Darff man dann kain liebung¹⁴⁰ nemen/ für müe vnnd arbeyt/ so man groß summa gelt auß leicht/ das der müe werd ist.

Romanus. Es leydet sich weder schenck¹⁴¹/ trinckgelt/ oder wie mans nennen mag/ wann Christus spricht stracks. Luce .vj. Jr solt leyhen/ da jr nichts für hoffet/ so wirdt ewer lon groß sein/ vnd werdet kinder des allerhöchsten sein. Wil man aber dem spruch ein nasen drehen¹⁴²/ also/ man sol nit hoffen/ Gibt man aber die hauptsum^m/ vnd schenket etwas darneben/ so mag mans nemen/ So leit¹⁴³ aber der spruch hart am weg Ezechielis .xviij. Ein mann der das thut die verfluchten werck/ der da leicht¹⁴⁴ zum wücher¹⁴⁵/ vnd mer dann das hauptgüt¹⁴⁶ einnimbt/ wirdt er dann leben/ so er thut die verfluchten ding/ er wirt nit leben/ er stirbt des todts/ vnd bleybt sein sündt auff im/ spricht der herr Hie hört jr klerlich/ was vber das hauptgüt eingenommen wirdt/ es sey wenig oder vil/ die hauptsum^m sey (Biv) groß oder klain/ man geb jm namen wie man wöl/ so steet die schrift hie/ vnnd haist es wücher. Aber die lehen oder zinßkauff/ auff weinberg/ gerten/ ecker/ wisen welde/ vischwasser/ heüser/ stedel¹⁴⁷/ oder wie solche ligende güter¹⁴⁸ genant werden/ laß ich den Titel vnd namen/ den jm der prophet Neemias am .v. capitel gibt/ der Rein wirt jn nit abwäschen.

¹⁴⁰ ENHG 'liebung' = present, gift, tip; in this sense specific to Nuremberg.

¹⁴¹ NHG 'Geschenk', as explanation, together with 'trinkgelt' (tip) for 'liebung'.

¹⁴² ENHG 'eine nase drehen' = to put onto sb. an artificial nose, to trick them.

¹⁴³ ENHG 'leit' contracted form for 'liget', with secondary diphthongisation; a Franconian trait also found in neighbouring Bavarian dialects; to fall by the wayside.

¹⁴⁴ = NHG 'leiht'.

¹⁴⁵ ENHG 'wucher' (literally: gain from the growth of vegetation) can still mean any form of business gain; in NHG, it only means overcharging interest, but here, it is clearly used in the biblical sense of 'extortion'.

¹⁴⁶ ENHG 'hauptgut' = loan translation of Latin 'capital'.

¹⁴⁷ Plural of ENHG 'stadel' FWb s.v. 2: 'Gebäude oder Gebäudeteil zum Lagern von Waren, ... Scheune, Speicher; Stall', typical Upper German usage.

¹⁴⁸ 'Liegende Güter' as legal collective noun for immobile property as opposed to 'fahrende Güter' (movable property).

Reichenburger: Is one not entitled to some form of reward for the effort and work when lending a large sum of money, so that it is worth the effort?

Romanus: Neither a gift nor a tip nor whatever you want to call it can be countenanced. After all Christ says in no uncertain terms in Luke 6: you should lend without hoping for anything in return, then your reward shall be great, and you shall be children of the Most High.¹⁴⁹ But if you want to turn that teaching on its head: you should not expect it; but if someone gives the main sum and something in addition as a gift, you may take it, then this stumbles over what is said in Ezekiel 18: Anyone who does accursed works, who lends at extortionate rates and takes back more than the sum that was lent, will he live if he does these accursed things? He shall not live; he shall die a death, and his sin shall remain upon him, says the Lord.¹⁵⁰ Here you can hear clearly that what is taken over and above the original sum, whether little or much, whether the original sum (Biv) being great or small: call it what you will, Scripture stands here and calls it extortion. But the loans or mortgages on vineyards, gardens, fields, meadows, forests, fishing waters, houses, barns or whatever such immovable property might be called, I give this the title and name that the prophet Nehemiah gives it in Chapter 5.¹⁵¹ The Rhine will not wash this label away.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ A key quotation, already given on A4v, but here continued: Luke 6.35.

¹⁵⁰ A general summary of the description in Ezekiel 18 of what a good life looks like and what constitutes extortion.

¹⁵¹ In Nehemiah 5, the prophet Nehemiah rebukes wealthy Jews and officials for exploiting their fellow Jews through lending practices and demands the restoration of confiscated property and the remission of financial claims. The restoration of Jerusalem must involve not only the rebuilding of its walls but also the restoration of justice within its society.

¹⁵² The proverbial saying that all the water of the river Rhine cannot wash it away is used all over the German-speaking countries, also in Switzerland: 'Das cha de Rhi nüd abwäsche' (Wander s.v. 24).

Reichenburger. Es ist nicht weniger/ ein grosser mißbrauch ist im lehen/ vnd layder seer eingerissen¹⁵³.

Romanus. ja ye eingerissen/ das der spruch redlich erfüllt ist zů vnser zeyt. *Psalmorum* .liiij. Es hört der wücher vnd betrug nit auff in jren gassen Diß aber alles geet vber die armen/ wie *Prouerbiorum* am. xxviij. Der da samelt die reichtumb mit wücher/ vnd mit freyem wücher/ der samelt sie wider die armen. Darumb droet got dem wüchrer durch Ezechielem am. xxij. Du hast genummen den wücher vnnd die vberflüssigkait/ vnnd geytzigklich hastu genöt¹⁵⁴ deine nechsten/ vnd du hast mein vergessen¹⁵⁵/ spricht der herr got/ vnd ich schlug zůsamen mein hendt¹⁵⁶ ob deiner geytzigkait die du hettest. Vnd Amos .iiij. Jr faisten ků hört das wort des herren/ die jr seyt an den bergen Samarie/ die jr thůt zwancksal dem durfftigen/ vnd zerknischt den armen/ Wie man dann táglich sicht/ das die wüchrer faist werden vom plůt der armen.

Reichenburger. Ey/ ey/ ey/ was sol ich antwürten/ die warhait ist zů augenscheinlich am tag.

Roman. Wie gewaltig regirt dann der geytz mit den armen schuldigern die nit zů bezalen haben/ da nimbt er jn was sie haben (B2r) würfft sie in die thůrn¹⁵⁷/ ist das Ewangelisch.

Reichenburger. Wenn man fert¹⁵⁸ nach ordenung des rechten/ ist das vnrecht.

¹⁵³ 'einreissen', literally 'to start making a tear', metaphorically 'to establish'.

¹⁵⁴ Regular contracted form for 'genötet', synonymous with ENHG 'genötigt' = compelled, coerced. Archaic weak verb 'nöten', still in use in a few Upper German dialects (cf. Gothic 'naupjan' = coerce, force) and a direct cognate of the obsolete English transitive verb 'need' in the meaning 'force, require'.

¹⁵⁵ ENHG 'vergessen' still uses the genitive ('meiner vergessen').

¹⁵⁶ 'Hände zusammenschlagen' as strong emotional expression of joy, astonishment, or as here of anger, then normally with 'über dem Kopf', DWb s.v. 3h *Hand*.

¹⁵⁷ pl. for ENHG 'turn' = NHG 'Turm' as term for debtor's prison since they were often located in the tower rooms of the town walls.

¹⁵⁸ ENHG 'faren' still has the broad meaning of MHG 'varn'; here = NHG 'verfahren'.

Reichenburger: It is nothing less; there is great abuse in lending which has unfortunately taken root.

Romanus: Yes, it is established indeed, such that the saying is truly fulfilled in our time, Psalm 54: Extortion and deceit do not cease in their streets.¹⁵⁹ But all this falls upon the poor, as in Proverbs, Chapter 28: He who gathers riches with extortion and by making free use of overcharging gathers them up for the poor.¹⁶⁰ Therefore God threatens the usurer through Ezekiel in Chapter 22: You have taken extortion and excess, and you have greedily coerced your neighbour, and you have forgotten me, says the Lord God, and I have thrown up my hands because of the greed you had.¹⁶¹ And Amos 4: You fat cows, hear the word of the Lord, you who are in the mountains of Samaria, you that oppress the poor, and crush the needy. As can be seen every day, the usurers are fattened by the blood of the poor.¹⁶²

Reichenburger: Well, well, well, what should I say to this? The truth is all too obvious and plain as day.

Romanus: How mightily then does greed reign over the poor debtors who have no means of payment? It takes what they have and (B2r) throws them into the debtors' prison. Is that Protestant?

Reichenburger: If you act according to the stipulation of the law, is that wrong?

¹⁵⁹ Hans Sachs uses the Vulgate numbering of the psalms Psalm 56.11 'non defecit de plateis eius usura et dolus.' (VLC). In the other versions this is Psalm 55.12 'Liegen vnd triegen lesst nicht von jrer Gassen.' (L45). Ps 55.11 'deceit and guile depart not from her streets.' (KJV).

¹⁶⁰ Proverbs 28:8 in a free translation of the Vulgate 'Qui coacervat divitias usuris et fœnore, liberali in pauperes congregat eas' with the meaning that if you become rich by charging interest and taking advantage of people, your wealth will go to someone who is kind to the poor.

¹⁶¹ Ezekiel 22:12–13.

¹⁶² Amos 4:1. Another example of the stark language the prophet used. Luther's later translation has a note explaining the cows and their masters are the idolatrous with their idols through which they become rich: 'Kühe vnd jr Herrn sind die Abgötischen mit jren Götzen / dauon sie Reich werden' (L45).

Romanus. Jr wölt Ewangelisch sein/ nun lobt ye sant Paulus das gericht nit seer vnter den Christen. j. Corinthios .vj. vnd nicht vnbillich/ wann es offt gar vnchristlich daran zügeet/ mit falschen zeügen/ ayd schweren/ das Recht lenken/ biegen/ appelleren/ das Recht verlengen/ da geets/ weyl¹⁶³ gelt/ weyl Procurator¹⁶⁴/ nymmer gelt/ nymmer Procurator/ da regirt der geytz mit vollem schwanck/ Da werden die Juristen reich/ von den schenken vnd heelküchlein¹⁶⁵. Dise falsche Juristen malet got ab/ durch Hiernian am .v. capitel. Die gotlosen seind erfunden vnder meinem volck/ verborgen als die vogler/ sie legen die strick vnd die kloben/ zü fahen die mann/ Als ein fall ist vol vögel/ also ist jr hauß vol falsch/ darumb seind sie großmechtig/ vnd gereicht/ vnd vbergiengen bößlich meine wort/ sie vrtailen nicht die sach der witwen/ vnnd richten¹⁶⁶ nicht die sach des wayssen/ vnd vrtailen nicht das vrtail der armen/ haimsuch ich dann nicht dise ding. Vnd Deuteronomii .xxvij. Benedeyt got dise falsche Juristen/ spricht. Verflücht sey wer das Recht des frembdlingen/ des wayssen/ der witwen beüget/ vnd alles volck sagen Amen. Darumb solt jr die armen nicht am Gericht vmb ziehen¹⁶⁷/ sunder mit jnen handeln nach laut des wort Gottes Prouerbiorum am. xxij. Nicht thû gewalt dem armen/ darumb das er arm ist/ Noch zerknisch¹⁶⁸ den durfftigen vor Gericht/ wann der herr vrtailt sein sach/ vnd peiniget die (B2v) da haben peyniget sein seel.

¹⁶³ ENHG '(die)weil' as temporal conj. = as long as.

¹⁶⁴ Legal representative, used as technical term since the 14th cent., see *FwB* s.v.

¹⁶⁵ Diminutive for ENHG 'helkuchen' 'höll(en)kuchen', possibly from 'helle', 'höll(e)' = Hell, sweet pastry, used as expression for unlucky gift, bribe. The unrounded 'e' for 'ö' is a feature of many Central and Upper German dialects (cf. above on 'trieglich').

¹⁶⁶ 'urteilen' and 'richten' can be used synonymously but 'richten' is more the process of finding a judgement and 'urteilen' the pronouncement.

¹⁶⁷ *DWb* s.v. 2aγ: 'jdn. umziehen' can mean 'belästigen, quälen', 'zum besten haben, verspotten', 'vor gericht schleppen', i.e., meaning potentially both 'treat badly at court' and 'drag to court'.

¹⁶⁸ ENHG 'zerknischen' or 'zerknirschen' = NHG 'zerquetschen'.

Romanus: You claim to be Protestant? Now St Paul does not praise Christians taking one another to court very highly in 1 Corinthians 6,¹⁶⁹ and not without cause, since it often operates in an unchristian way with false witnesses, the swearing of oaths, steering and bending the law, launching appeals, drawing out justice. This is how things go there: the lawyer lasts as long as the money; once the money is gone, the lawyer is gone; there greed reigns with full force. That's where lawyers get rich from gifts and bribes. God portrays these false lawyers through Jeremiah in Chapter 5: The ungodly are found among my people, hidden like fowlers; they set the snares and traps to catch people. As a trap is full of birds, so their house is full of falsehood. Therefore they are great in power, and have become rich, and evilly have taken no heed to my word: they do not judge the cause of the widows, nor do they find in favour of the cause of orphans, nor do they judge the cause of the poor. Do I not then avenge these things?¹⁷⁰ And in Deuteronomy 27, God "blesses" these false lawyers and says: Cursed are those who pervert the judgement of the stranger, the orphan and the widow.¹⁷¹ And let all the people say: Amen. Therefore, do not mistreat the poor in court, but deal with them according to the word of God, Proverbs 22: Do not do violence to the poor because of their poverty, nor crush the needy in court; for the Lord judges their cause and afflicts those (B2v) who have afflicted the soul of the poor.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ 1 Corinthians 6.1–6 deals with the practice of taking lawsuits to the secular courts rather than dealing with property matters internally.

¹⁷⁰ Jeremiah 5.26–29: Together with the warnings by Amos the longest quotation from the Bible.

¹⁷¹ Deuteronomy 27.19.

¹⁷² Proverbs 22.22.

Reichenburger. Wie muß man dann mit den schuldern leben das christlich wer/ es sey für schuld wie sie genant mag werden.

Romanus. Es steet *Deuteronomii* .xxiiij. Wenn du deinem brüder borgest/ soltu nit in sein hauß geen/ vnd jm ein pfandt nemen/ sunder solt vor dem hauß steen/ vnd der dem du borgest/ sol sein pfandt herauß zû dir tragen/ ist er aber benöttigt/ so soltu dich nicht schlaffen legen ob seinem pfandt/ sunder solt jm sein pfandt wider geben/ ee die Sunn vnder geet/ das er in seinem klayd schlaff/ vnd gesegen dich/ das wirdt dir vor got deinem herren/ zû einer gerechtigkeit gerechnet werden. Vnd Esaie. lvij. Das ist das fasten das ich erwelt hab/ Löß auff die zûsammenbindung¹⁷³/ zerreiß die schuldzettel/ laß die frey die schwach seind/ Vnd Ezechielis/ xvij. Wider gib das pfandt dem schuldnere/ nym nichts mit gewalt/ So ist das new gesetz allenthalb vol lieb/ lieb/ lieb.

Reichenburger. Man findt aber vil böser zaler/ die es wol hetten/ der gleichen vil truckner pöltz¹⁷⁴/ spiler/ hûrer/ die also das jr vnnütz on werden¹⁷⁵ vnd schuldig¹⁷⁶ seind/ kan doch mit lieb noch gûten¹⁷⁷ niemant nichts¹⁷⁸ von jn bringen/ liegen/ vnd vertrösten für vnd für/ halten kain glauben/ sol mans dann nicht rechtlich erfordern.

Romanus. Ja die sol die weltlich oberkait darzû halten/ wann sie tregt das schwerdt zû rach der bösen. *Romanos* .xiiij. Jch sag allain von den armen/ die jres nicht zû vnnutz on werden/ sunder in kranckhait vnd ander vnfall arm seind worden/

¹⁷³ 'Zusammenbindung' is a literal translation of the Vulgate 'colligationes' for bonds.

¹⁷⁴ ENHG 'bolt, bolz' = troll, comic figure; in NHG still 'Trunkenbold', drunkard.

¹⁷⁵ ENHG 'ohn werden' = to lose.

¹⁷⁶ ENHG 'schuldig' can be = NHG 'in Schulden', DWb s.v. 3a.

¹⁷⁷ ENHG 'gûten' = to treat gently.

¹⁷⁸ ENHG double negative strengthens and stresses the negative rather than turning it into a positive, still a feature of Upper German dialects ('Wenn ih koa Geld nit hon / Gib ih koans aus' 'wenn ich kein Geld nicht habe, geb ich auch keins aus').

Reichenburger: How then must one live with debtors in a Christian way, regardless of whatever one might call their debt?

Romanus: It is written in Deuteronomy 24: If you lend to your brother, you shall not go into his house and take a pledge from him, but you shall stand outside the house, and the one to whom you lend shall carry his pledge out to you. But if he is in need, you shall not lie down to sleep on his pledge, but shall give him back his pledge before the sun goes down, so that he may sleep in his own clothes and bless you.¹⁷⁹ This will be counted to you as righteousness before the Lord your God. And Isaiah 58: This is the fast that I have chosen: Untie the bonds, tear up the promissory notes, set free those who are weak.¹⁸⁰ And Ezekiel 18: Restore the pledge to the debtor, do not take anything by force.¹⁸¹ Thus, everywhere the new law is full of love, love, love.

Reichenburger: But one finds many bad payers who would fare well, and likewise many drunkards, gamblers, fornicators, who have frittered away their money recklessly and are in debt, yet no-one can get anything out of them, neither for love nor money; they lie and delay time and again, breaking all of their promises: Should one not then take legal action to demand it?

Romanus: Yes, that's what the secular authorities are supposed to do; since they bear the sword to punish the wicked, Romans 13. I'm only talking about the poor who have not lost their money irresponsibly, but have become poor through sickness and other misfortunes.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ Deuteronomy 24.10–13.

¹⁸⁰ Isaiah 58.6.

¹⁸¹ Ezekiel 18.7. This is taken from the description of a righteous person and turned into a command.

¹⁸² Romans 13.3–4.

Vnd dennoch findt man manchen geytz (B3r) wurm¹⁸³/ ders nicht notturfftig ist/ vnd dennoch einen armen von heußlichen eren treybet/ Von denen spricht Micheas .ij. Sie haben begert die ecker vnd haben sie gewaltigklich genummen. vnd die heüser be- raubet¹⁸⁴. Darumb spricht der herr. Jch gedenck böse ding vber diß volck/ Vnd jr werdt ewer helß nicht daruon abnemen. Vnd Prouerbiorum .xiiij. Der da peyniget den prestenhafftigen/ der lestert seinen schöpffer. Weyter am .xxij. Der da peiniget den armen/ das er sein reichtumb mer der wirdt es geben dem reichern vnd er wirdt durfftig werden. Diser spruch rint¹⁸⁵ manchen vnarmherzigen in büssen/ oder auffß wenigst seinen kindern/ Denn nach des alten todt/ das güt verschwindt wie der reiff vom zaun/ ob gleich der alt karg im reichtumb bleybt sitzen sein leben- lang/ kratzt vnd schart steets herzü/ mit oben angezeygten stücken vnd ducken¹⁸⁶ (wann der bauch der geytzigen ist vnerset- lich. Prouerbiorum am. xij.) vnd braucht doch der reichtumb¹⁸⁷ nicht/ wie dann steet Sapientie .v. Der geytzig wirdt nicht erfüllt¹⁸⁸ mit gelt/ vnd der lieb hat die reichtumb/ wirdt nit nemen die frucht auß jn.

¹⁸³ 'Geizwurm', literally 'avarice worm', as term for miser might be an *ad hoc* coinage by Sachs based on the use of 'worm' for a despicable person; later examples from Sebastian Franck and Johann Fischart (DWb s.v.) might be drawing on this pamphlet. ENHG plural form of 'wurm' = MHG 'würm'. Other compound nouns for a greedy person, which are more usual as insults, include 'geizhals' (greed neck), 'geizhammel' (greed ram) and 'geizvogel' (greed bird).

¹⁸⁴ = NHG 'rauben', FWb s.v. 3, 'etwas stehlen, rauben'.

¹⁸⁵ = NHG 'zerrinnen': run away, drain.

¹⁸⁶ 'Stück' in the sense of misdeed, DWb s.v. D2fy 'ducken' = NHG 'Tücken'. 'Stück und Tück' an alliterative binomial for trickery/devious practice. FWb s.v. 'stück' 8 quotes Luther, WA 30, 3, 242, 30 (1530): 'wo ein bube sich solchs stücks und tücks würde unterwinden, das yhm das land verboten [...] würde.'

¹⁸⁷ In ENHG, 'Reichtum' can be feminine, which seems to be a Franconian trait; 'brauchen' + gen.

¹⁸⁸ FWb s.v. 'erfüllen' 3: 'ein Bedürfnis befriedigen, jdn. zufriedenstellen'.

And still you find many a (B3r) greedy worm¹⁸⁹ who has no need for it and still drives a poor person out of an honourable home. Micah 2 says this about them: They have coveted the fields, and have taken them by force, and have seized the houses. Therefore, the Lord says, I plan a grim fate for these people, and you shall not save your necks from it.¹⁹⁰ And Proverbs 14: Those who torment the afflicted blaspheme their creator.¹⁹¹ And further on in Chapter 22: Those who torment the poor to grow their wealth, shall give it to even richer people, and will become destitute themselves.¹⁹² This saying drains many an unmerciful man through fines, or at least his children. For after the old man's death the wealth melts away like the frost from the fence, even if the old miser lives surrounded by wealth all his life, always scratching and scraping more together with the above-mentioned tricks and tactics (since the belly of the greedy is insatiable, Proverbs, chapter 13)¹⁹³ and yet does not need the wealth, as it is written in Wisdom 5: The greedy will not be satisfied with money, and he who loves wealth will not take the fruit from it.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ In English, the term 'greedy worm' was in use from 1530–1608, see OED s.v.

¹⁹⁰ Micah 2.2–3.

¹⁹¹ Proverbs 14.31.

¹⁹² Proverbs 22.16.

¹⁹³ Proverbs 13.25.

¹⁹⁴ This is in fact not from the Wisdom of Solomon but from another of the books attributed to him, Ecclesiastes 5.9 (VLC&L45)/10 (KJV). This is a *locus classicus* for criticizing greed, and is quoted in its Latin form 'Avarus non implebitur pecunia, et qui amat divitias fructum non capiet ex eis; et hoc ergo vanitas' by Johannes Vorster (see the introduction on his illustration of greed) in his characterisation of 'Geitikeir', UB Heidelberg, Cpg 471, fol. 20va.

Vnd Amos .v. Darumb das jr habt betrübet den armen/ vnd nembt von jm den erwelten raub¹⁹⁵/ Jr werdet bawen mit quaderstainen heüser/ vnd werdt nit wonen darinnen/ Jr werdt pflantzen die allerlieblichsten weinberg/ vnd werdt nicht tricken den wein auß jn/ wie dann dem reichen man geschach. Luce .xij. Der sprach. Jß vnd trinck liebe seel/ du hast ein grossen fürradt auff vil jar/ sey frölich: Got sprach aber. Du (B3v) nar/ dise nacht wirdt man dein seel von dir fordern/ vnd wes wirts sein das du bereyt hast. Also geet es (spricht Christus) wer jm schetz samelt/ vnd ist nicht reich in Got. Darumb spricht Christus Matthei .xvj. Was hulffs den menschen das er die gantz welt gewunn/ vnd lid doch schaden an seiner seel. Auch steet *Ecclesiastici* .v. Nicht wöllest sorgsam sein in den vngerechten reichthumben/ dann sie nützen dir nicht in dem tag deiner begrebnüß/ vnd an dem tag der rach/ vnd Ezechielis. vij. Sophonie .j. Jr silber vnd jr golt mag sie nit helffen/ am tag des zorns des herren. Darumb¹⁹⁶ lieber juncker Reichenburger/ wer vil besser/ wie Prouerbiorum .xv. wenig mit der forcht gottes/ dann vil schetz vnd vnersetlich / wann es spricht Abacuck .ij. Wee dem der zûsamen samlet die bösen geytzigkait. Vnd *Ecclesiastici* .x. Nichts ist übel thetigers dann der geytzig/ nichts ist böser dann lieb haben das gelt/ wann der hat fail¹⁹⁷ sein seel. Vnd Christus Luce .xij. hütet euch vor dem geytz/ wann niemant lebt daruon das er volle genüge hab an seinen gütern.

¹⁹⁵ This translates 'praedam electam' of the Vulgate; it means the spoils such as corn chosen by the robbing party.

¹⁹⁶ Typo in the original: 'Darnmb'.

¹⁹⁷ = NHG 'feilbieten', to offer for sale. Literal translation of Vulgate Latin Eccl. 10.10: 'animam suam venalem habet.'

And Amos 5: Because you have afflicted the poor and taken your chosen spoils from him, you will build houses with hewn stones and will not live in them. You will plant the most beautiful vineyards ever and will not drink the wine from them,¹⁹⁸ as happened then to the rich man in Luke 12, who said: "Eat and drink, dear soul, you have great provisions for many years, be merry." But God said, "You (B3v) fool, this night your soul will be demanded from you, and whose, then, will these things be that you have prepared?" This is what happens (says Christ) to anyone who amasses treasures for themselves and is not rich in God.¹⁹⁹ This is why Christ says in Matthew 16: What good is it for anybody to gain the whole world and yet suffer harm to their soul?²⁰⁰ And in Ecclesiasticus 5: Do not care for unrighteous riches, for they will not profit you on the day of your burial and on the day of vengeance.²⁰¹ And Ezekiel 7 and Zephaniah 1: Their silver and their gold cannot help them in the day of the Lord's wrath.²⁰² Therefore, dear Junker Reichenburger, it would be much better, as it says in Proverbs 15, to live with little but in the fear of God, than to possess great treasure and be insatiable,²⁰³ since Habakkuk 2 says: Woe upon those who gather together evil greed.²⁰⁴ And Ecclesiasticus 10: Nothing is more evil-doing than the greedy, nothing is more wicked than loving money: for they offer their own soul for sale!²⁰⁵ And Christ says in Luke 12: Beware of avarice, for no one can live from having possessions in complete abundance.²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁸ Amos 5.11.

¹⁹⁹ Luke 12.19–21.

²⁰⁰ Matthew 16.26.

²⁰¹ Ecclesiasticus 5.8(KJV)/10(VLC&L45).

²⁰² Ezekiel 7.19 & Zephaniah 1.18 contain the same argument about the ultimate uselessness of money.

²⁰³ Proverbs 15.16.

²⁰⁴ Habakkuk 2.9.

²⁰⁵ Ecclesiasticus 10.9 (KJV) or 10.10 (VLC); phrase missing in Luther's translation.

²⁰⁶ Luke 12.15. part of a series of warnings by Jesus to the crowd.

Reichenburger. Ein warhaffter Christ weiß wol/ das er nûr ein schaffner²⁰⁷ ist vber das zeytlich gût²⁰⁸/ vnd das man nichts mit jm eingrebt²⁰⁹/ wie Ecclesiastes .v. Als er ist außgangen²¹⁰ von dem leyb seiner müter/ also kert er wider vnnd nimbt nichts mit jm von seiner arbeyt. Vnnd .j. Timothei .vj. Wir haben nichts in die welt bracht/ darumb offenbar ist/ wir werden nichts drauß bringen. Derhalb ein warer Christ nicht sorgfältig²¹¹ ist vmb das zeytlich/ das er vil schetz samel/ wie (B4r) Matthei .vj. sunder wie .j. Timotheum .vj. wenn wir fûter und deck²¹² haben/ so laßt vns benügen/ dann die da reich werden wöllen/ die fallen in versuchung vnd strick/ vnd vil schedlicher lust/ welche versencken den menschen in verderben vnd verdammnüß/ warumb wölt dann ein recht glaubiger sich mit solchen/ von euch vor angezeygten stücken vnd dücken/ besudeln/ Wo aber einem recht gewonnen gût zústeet/ in erbfal/ heyrat/ oder mit gerechten kauffhendeln/ solt der selbig darumb nicht got anhangen mögen.

²⁰⁷ ENHG 'schaffner' = 'Aufseher, Verwalter', somebody who looks after affairs on behalf of somebody else.

²⁰⁸ 'Zeitliches Gut' means anything linked to worldly possessions and affairs in opposition to 'ewiges Gut'.

²⁰⁹ = NHG 'begraben'.

²¹⁰ = NHG 'ausgegangen', with the prefix 'ge-' missing as in MHG perfective verbs, which is a feature that many modern Central and Upper German dialects still retain. Literal translation of the Vulgate phrase of Eccl 5.14: 'Sicut egressus est nudus de utero matris suæ, sic revertetur, et nihil auferet secum de labore suo.'

²¹¹ ENHG 'sorgfältig' = NHG 'Sorge tragend, sich sorgend'.

²¹² = 'Futter und Decke' in the sense of food and cover, normally used for animals rather than people, quoted verbatim from the 1522 translation, fol. 50r. Luther changes this in his later editions of the New Testament translation to the more human 'Nahrung und Kleider' (L45).

Reichenburger: True Christians know full well that they are merely a steward over worldly goods and that nothing will be buried with them, as Ecclesiastes 5: As he went out from one's mother's womb, thus he returns and takes nothing from his labour with him.²¹³ And 1 Timothy 6: We have brought nothing into the world; therefore, it is evident that we shall bring nothing out of it.²¹⁴ Therefore, a true Christian cares nothing for worldly goods, for storing up much treasure, as in (B4r) Matthew 6,²¹⁵ but as in 1 Timothy 6: If we have food and shelter, let us be content: for those who want to become rich fall into temptation and traps, and succumb to many harmful desires, which plunge people into destruction and damnation.²¹⁶ Why, then, should true believers defile themselves with such traps and trickery as you have charged them with? But when somebody is entitled to a rightfully gained goods, by inheritance, marriage or through fair bargain, should they not therefore be hindered from holding fast to God?

²¹³ Ecclesiastes 5.14.

²¹⁴ 1 Timothy 6.7.

²¹⁵ Matthew 6.19 a warning from the Sermon on the Mount against storing up treasures upon earth, 'where moth and rust corrupt and thieves steal' (KJV).

²¹⁶ 1 Timothy 6.8–9.

Romanus. Christus spricht *Mathei* am .vj. Wo ewer schatz ist/ da ist auch ewer hertz. Vnd niemant kan zwayen herren dienen/ Eintweder²¹⁷/ Er wirt den einen hassen/ vnd den andern lieben/ Jr kōndt nicht got dienen vnd dem reichtumb/ wann der samen des wort gottes/ so vnter die dōrner²¹⁸ der reichtumb felt wirdt durch sorgfeltigkait²¹⁹ ersteckt²²⁰/ geet nie auff das er frucht bring. *Mathei* .xij. Darumb geet es hart zū/ wie Christus spricht *Mathei* .xix. *Marci* .x. *Luce* .xvij. Wie schwerlich werden die reichen ins reich Gottes kummen/ Leichter ist das ein Cameel durch ein nadelōr gee.

Reichenburger. Es steet *Marci* .x. mit den wortten/ wie schwer ist das die/ so jr vertrauen in die reichtumb setzen/ ins reich gottes kummen. Also waren Abraham/ Jsaac/ Jacob/ Daid/ Job/ vnd vil vāter/ reich/ setzen aber kain hoffnung darein/ ists nit noch mōglich das man reich sey/ vnd doch das hertz nit auff die reichtumb setz/ wie Paulus lert. j. *Corinthios* .vij. Die da kauffen/ sollen thūn als behielten sieß nit/ Vnd die sich diser (B4v) welt gebrauchen/ als brauchten sie jr nit/ wo das hertz also frey ledig von den zeytlichen gūtern gelassen steet/ sein zūuersicht in Got vnd nit in die gūter setzt/ jm benügen leßt/ nit geytzigklich darnach strebt/ sunder berayt ist/ sie zūlassen wenn got wil/ vnd sich sein Christlichen braucht gen den armen/ wie *Luce* .xvj. Macht euch freündt von dem vnrechten mammon/ auff das sie euch/ wenn jr darbet/ in jr ewige hütten nemen.

²¹⁷ = NHG 'entweder', which requires an 'oder', which is cut here from the Bible quotation; Luther's translation of Mt 6:24 reads: 'entweder er wird einen hassen / vnd den andern lieben / Oder wird einem anhangen / vnd den andern verachten'.

²¹⁸ ENHG plural for 'dorn' = NHG 'Dornen'.

²¹⁹ ENHG 'sorgfalt' = NHG 'Sorge'. Typo in the original as 'sorfeltigkait'.

²²⁰ Transitive of 'ersticken' = to suffocate.

Romanus: Christ says in Matthew 6: Where your treasure is, there is also your heart.²²¹ And no one can serve two masters. He will hate the one and love the other. You cannot serve God and wealth;²²² when the seed of the word of God, which falls among the thorns of wealth, is choked by worldly care, it will never grow and bear fruit, Matthew 13.²²³ That is why it is hard, as Christ says in Matthew 19, Mark 10, Luke 18: How hard it is for the rich to enter the kingdom of God! It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle.²²⁴

Reichenburger: Mark 10 puts it into the following words: How hard it is for those who put their trust in wealth to enter the kingdom of God!²²⁵ Thus Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, Job and many patriarchs were rich, but did not invest their hope in that. Is it no longer possible to be rich and yet not set one's heart on wealth, as Paul teaches in 1 Corinthians 7: Let those who buy behave as though they did not own it, and those who make use of this (B4v) world as though they had no need of it?²²⁶ – When the heart is thus free,²²⁷ and unencumbered by worldly goods, trusting in God and not in the goods, is satisfied by this, not greedily grasping for them, but ready to let them go if God so wills, and making use of them in a Christian way for the poor, as Luke 16: Make yourselves friends from unrighteous mammon, so that they, when you are in need, may take you into their eternal dwellings!²²⁸

²²¹ Matthew 6.21.

²²² The first half of the quotation of Matthew 6.24.

²²³ Matthew 13.22.

²²⁴ Matthew 10.23–24, Mark 10.24–25, Luke 18.24–25. The synoptic parallels show that Sachs was using the marginal cross-references in Luther's NT translation, adding here to Mark 10 the references to Matthew 19 and Luke 18. See Introduction 2.

²²⁵ Mark 10:24.

²²⁶ 1 Corinthians 7.29–31.

²²⁷ Echoes of Luther at the end of Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen (1520): 'Sihe das ist / die rechte / geystliche / Christliche freyheyte / die das hertz frey macht / von allen sundenn / gesetzen / vnd gepotten /' (b2r).

²²⁸ Luke 16.9.

Romanus. Ja das gieng hyn/ solcher maß reich zû sein/ Wo aber der armen vergessen wirdt/ sunder zû jm zeucht/ wie vor gesagt/ oder aber die reichtumb verzert mit grossem bracht vnnd wollust des leybs/ wie der reich man Luce. xvj. Herlich beklayd/ aß vnd tranck alltag scheinparlich²²⁹/ liß den armen Lazarum²³⁰ manglen der prösemlein²³¹/ vor der thür sitzen elendt/ zû solchen reichen wirt auch in ihener welt mit dem reichen man gesagt Sun/ gedenck/ du hast gûtes empfangen in disem leben/ die armen aber böses. Nun aber werden die armen getröst/ vnd du aber wirst gepeiniget.

Reichenburger. Ey man findt/ Got sey lob/ vil reicher/ seyt das wort gottes also klar gepredigt wirdt/ die hauß armen²³² vnd andern miltigklich handtreichung thûn/ leyhen vnd geben.

Romanus/ O die armen werden bey etlichen reichen sawr empfangen/ wie Prouerbiorum .xviij. Der arm redt mit bit-tungen²³³/ der reich aber spricht hertigklich auß/ Nun steet .j. Johannis .iij. Wer diser welt gûtter hat/ vnd sicht sein brüder mangeln vnd schleüst sein hertz vor jm zû/ wie bleibt die lieb gottes in jm. Weyter (Cir) am .iiij. Wer sein brüder nit liebet/ den er sicht/ wie kann er got lieben/ den er nit sicht/ darbey spürt man/ das jr nûr habt das Ewangelisch wort vnd nicht die werck seyt man die lieb so klain spürt/ so seyt jr allain ein klingende schell²³⁴/ wie euch Paulus nent .j. Corinthiorum .xiiij.

²²⁹ = NHG 'augenscheinlich, glänzend, offenkundig'.

²³⁰ Latin accusative ending.

²³¹ Diminutive to 'Brosamen', the crumbs from the table, used in the Luther translation. On word-initial 'p' for 'b' cf. *the introduction to ENHG*.

²³² 'hausarm' are those poor who are not begging on the street. See Introduction 2.

²³³ Literal translation of the Vulgate expression 'cum obsecrationibus'. Luther later translates as 'mit flehen'.

²³⁴ ENHG 'schelle' = little bell; KJV translates this as 'tinkling cymbal'; the full phrase 1 Cor 13.1 reads: 'Wenn ich mit Menschen vnd mit Engel zungen redet / vnd hette der Liebe nicht / So were ich ein donend Ertz oder eine klingende Schelle.'

Romanus: Yes, it might just do to be rich in this manner. But when the poor are forgotten, and rather the rich man hoards the wealth for himself, as we have said before, or when wealth is consumed with great pomp and sensual pleasure, just as the rich man in Luke 16 was magnificently clothed, eating and drinking ostentatiously all day, denying even the breadcrumbs to poor Lazarus, sitting miserably at the door;²³⁵ in the next world such rich people will also hear what this rich man hears: Son, remember, you have been given a good deal in this life, but the poor have been given a bad one. But now the poor will be comforted, and you in turn will be tormented.²³⁶

Reichenburger: Well, you find (praise be to God) that there are many rich people who now, since the Word of God has been preached so clearly, charitably reach out their hand, lending and giving to the deserving poor and others.

Romanus: Oh, the poor receive a cold welcome from some of the rich people, as Proverbs 18 states: The poor speak with pleas, but the rich respond harshly.²³⁷ Now 1 John 3 states: Those who have the goods of this world and see their brother who is in need and close their heart to him, how can the love of God abide in them?²³⁸ And again (C1r) in chapter 4: Those who do not love their brother whom they see, how can they love God whom they do not see?²³⁹ In this respect, one senses that you have embraced only the Protestant word and not the works since people notice so little love; you are simply a sounding bell, as Paul calls you in 1 Corinthians 13.²⁴⁰

²³⁵ The parable Luke 16.10–21, with Sachs increasing in his retelling the dramatic contrast between the rich man and poor Lazarus.

²³⁶ The speech by Abraham to the rich man when the latter asks for Lazarus to help him, Luke 16.25, here generalized.

²³⁷ Proverbs 18.23.

²³⁸ 1 John 3.17.

²³⁹ 1 John 4.20.

²⁴⁰ 1 Corinthians 13.1.

Reichenburger/ Solt man yedem geben nach seinem beger/ verließ
 sich mancher darauff/ vnd lege auff der betlerey/ vnd arbeytet nit/
 sie seind nit all noturfftig die betlen/ darumb ist man jn nit allen
 schuldig zů geben/ wann wer nit arbeytt/ der sol nit essen .ij.
Thessalonicenses. iij.

Romanus/ Welche also wol arbeyten mögen/ thunts aber nit/ legen
 sich²⁴¹ auff den faulen bettel²⁴²/ die solt man straffen/ das nit andere
 arme jr entgelten müsten/ yedoch seyt jr etwas den armen zů hert/
 so ein armer etwann seltzamer²⁴³ zeyt wein trickt (dem es villeicht
 auch not thut) spricht jr reichen dann/ was sol man armen geben/
 sie verfressens/ versauffens²⁴⁴ alls/ sollich außzug²⁴⁵/ vnnd der-
 gleichen/ sucht allain der verborgen geytz im hertzen/ Seyt jr nun
 jm geringsten nit trew seyt/ wer wil euch das merer vertrauen
 Luce .xvj. Darbey erkennt man auch/ das jr kinder diser welt/ vnd
 nit kinder des liechts seyt. Paulus haibt den geytz ein abgottterey
Epheβios .v. vnd ist eben recht benent/ wann jm dienen nit allain
 die reichen an gütern/ sunder allerley stendt/ secht wie Pawren/
 hantwercksleüt/ so aygennützig seind/ vnd zeucht yeder in seinen
 sack/ vnd ist des neyden/ hassen rechten²⁴⁶/ fechten kain endt bey
 jn/ wölln dannocht all (Civ) güt Ewangelisch sein/ vnd ist alles
 vol geytz (wie vor geredt) vom minsten biß zum maisten/

²⁴¹ = NHG 'sich verlegen auf' = specialise in sth., make a habit out of sth.

²⁴² ENHG 'der Bettel' = NHG 'die Bettelei'.

²⁴³ ENHG 'seltsam' = NHG 'selten'.

²⁴⁴ The 'ver-' in 'verfressen' and 'versaufen' works as an intensifier: they overdrink and -eat to the bitter end.

²⁴⁵ ENHG 'auszug' = excuse.

²⁴⁶ ENHG 'rechten' = NHG 'Rechtsstreit haben', taking each other to court, FWb s.v. 'rechten', 1: 'um etw. prozessieren, gerichtlich um etw. streiten' (aus der Perspektive der streitenden Parteien); 'etw. juristisch verhandeln' (bezogen auf den strittigen Rechtsgegenstand)“.

Reichenburger: If one were to give to everyone according to their desire, many a man would rely on it and depend on begging, rather than working; not all those who beg are in need. Therefore one is not obliged to give to everybody; for whoever does not work, shall not eat, 2 Thessalonians 3.²⁴⁷

Romanus: Those who are perfectly capable of working but do not, who embark on idle begging, should be punished so that other poor people do not have to pay for it. But you are a little too hard on the poor. If a poor person (who perhaps needs it) drinks wine once in a while, then you rich people say: Why bother giving to the poor? They guzzle and gobble up everything. It's only hidden greed in the heart that looks for such excuses and others. If you are not in the least bit faithful then who will trust you with more?²⁴⁸ Luke 16: By this also it is recognised that you are children of this world and not children of the light.²⁴⁹ Paul calls greed idolatry in Ephesians 5,²⁵⁰ and it is rightly given this name; since it is not only those who are rich in goods who serve it, but all the other estates too.²⁵¹ See how peasants and craftsmen are so self-serving, and how all of them line their own pockets, and how there is no end to envy, hatred, legal wrangling and wrestling, and how they still all claim to be (Civ) good Protestants, despite how being riddled by greed (as mentioned before), from the least to the greatest.

²⁴⁷ 2 Thessalonians 3.10.

²⁴⁸ Phrase taken from the parable about the hidden talents, Luke 17.19.

²⁴⁹ The opposition of 'children of the world' versus 'of light' taken from Luke 16.8.

²⁵⁰ Ephesians 5.5: 'For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.' (KJV)

²⁵¹ Sachs might be playing to medieval (literary) stereotypes rather than attacking real peasants and merchants, with different vices being manifested in different 'estates', running through all the orders in society, from the highest to the lowest.

bedarff nit vil probierens/ der täglich brauch²⁵² zaigt es augen-
scheinlich mit den new finden/ liegen/ triegen/²⁵³ entragen²⁵⁴/
verraten stelen/ rauben/ mörden/ falsch spilen/ sich selbs hencken/
trencken/ das Paulus wol war sagt .j. Timothei .vj. Geytz ist ein
wurtzel alles üfels/ Wie dunckt euch nun lieber Juncker/ ob jr
layen wol gleich wasser mit vns geystlichen an einer stangen²⁵⁵
trüget²⁵⁶/ des geytz halben/ welcher vnder euch ist on sündt/ der
werff den ersten stain auff vns Johannis .viij.

Reichenburger/ Jch bekenn/ das layder vil aygennütziger karger
reichen vnter vns seind/ wie von euch angezaygt/ dargegen aber
auch gütte Christen/ die vberschwal²⁵⁷ almösen geben/ in der stil/
nit wie die phariseer/ das man vor busaun²⁵⁸/ sunder wie Mathei
.vj. das die linck handt nit weiß was die recht thût/ Darnach
maynt jr Closterleüt/ darumb das man euch nymmer vil geb/
schenck/ stift/ es geb niemandt kain almösen mer/ vnd sey den
armen hert/ die rechten armen klagen nicht/ allain die faulen
stertzer²⁵⁹/ darumb dürfft jr die Ewangelischen leer nit mit dem
geytz besudlen/ von etlicher geytzwürm wegen/ so mer hay-
dnisch dann Christlich leben/ wes das hertz vol ist/ geet der mundt
vber²⁶⁰ Luce .vj. also ist euch auch.

²⁵² Typographical error 'bauch', corrected in the other editions.

²⁵³ MHG/ENHG 'liegen', 'triegen' unrounded from 'lügen', '(be)trügen' as in NHG, to lie and to trick.

²⁵⁴ ENHG 'enttragen' = NHG 'wegtragen', to take away, steal.

²⁵⁵ Typo in original: upside-down g.

²⁵⁶ ENHG saying 'mit jemandem Wasser an einer Stange tragen': 'to carry with someone else together water in a bucket tied to a carrying pole', which requires coordination = to be equal to / supporting each other (DWDS s.v. 'stange' 3a).

²⁵⁷ ENHG 'überschwellen' = NHG 'überfließen', to swell beyond, be in excess of.

²⁵⁸ ENHG 'vor posaunen' = announce sb. with a brass instrument; in NHG still the expression 'ausposaunen', to make (too widely) known. Cf. above on 'posaune'.

²⁵⁹ ENHG 'sterzen' = to run around aimlessly; 'sterzer' = vagabond.

²⁶⁰ 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](#).

That does not require much probing: their daily customs demonstrate it clearly with new fabrications, fibbing, defrauding, embezzling, betraying, stealing, robbing, murdering, cheating at cards, hanging and drowning themselves, so that Paul certainly speaks the truth (1 Timothy 6): Greed is the root of all evil.²⁶¹ What do you think then, my dear Sir, don't you lay-people give us clergy a run for our money where greed is concerned? Which-ever of you is without sin, let them cast the first stone at us (John 8).²⁶²

Reichenburger: I must admit that there are unfortunately many selfish, stingy rich people among us, as you have pointed out, but on the other hand there are also good Christians who give more than their share in alms quietly, not like the Pharisees who blew their own trumpet, but, like Matthew 6, so that the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing.²⁶³ According to this, you monks and nuns think that because nobody gives, donates or endows much to you any more, that people no longer give alms and that this is hard on the poor; the real poor do not complain, only idle vagrants. Therefore you must not besmirch Protestant teaching with accusations of greed just because of some miserly worms who live more like heathens than Christians. For the mouth speaks what the heart is full of (Luke 6),²⁶⁴ and the same goes for you as well.

²⁶¹ 1 Timothy 6.10.

²⁶² John 8.7.

²⁶³ Matthew 6.2-3.

²⁶⁴ Luke 6.45.

Romanus/ Jch redt wie ich weiß/ wann ewer der maist tayl die sich
Ewangeliſch rümen²⁶⁵/ ligen im geytz biß vber die oren.

Reichenburger/ Jch bin güter hoffnung (C2r) das wort gottes werdt
den geytz mit ſampt böſen hendeln vnd offentlichen laſtern zů bo-
den ſtoſſen/ mit der zeyt/ wann got ſpricht durch Eſaiam .lv. Als
der regen vnd ſchnee/ nider ſteygt²⁶⁶ vom hymel/ vnd kert nit
wider dar/ ſunder begeüſt die erdt vnd macht ſie grünen/ vnd gibt
den ſamen dem ſenden/ vnd das prot dem eſſenden/²⁶⁷ also iſt
mein wort/ das da auß geet von meinem mundt/ es kert nit wider
zů meinem mundt/ ſunder es wirt glücklich faren in all dem darzů
ich es außſende²⁶⁸.

Romanus/ Jr habt das wort gottes (wie jrs nent) lang predigt/ ich
ſich²⁶⁹ aber noch kain enderung/ dann was jr mit vns geystlichen
mütwilt²⁷⁰.

Reichenburger/ Da thůt es auch am nōtſten²⁷¹/ wann ewer lügen-
hafftige leer vnnd menſchen gebot haben zů hart eingewurtzelt/
da hat man noch lang an auß zů reütten/ vnd pflantz allmit²⁷² das
lauter wort gottes neben auff²⁷³/ Got wirdt das gedeyen wol
geben/ wie .j. Corinthios .iiij. wie auch Chriſtus ſpricht Marci.iiij.

²⁶⁵ = NHG 'ſich ewangelisch zu ſein rühmen', ſimple predicative construction in ENHG.

²⁶⁶ Literal translation of Isaiah 55.10 in the Vulgate which talks about rain and ſnow: 'deſcendit ... de cælo'.

²⁶⁷ Participle constructions taken over from Isaiah 55.10 in the Vulgate: 'ſemen ſerenti, et panem comedenti.'

²⁶⁸ Typo in original: 'n' inſtead of 'u'.

²⁶⁹ MHG/ENHG *ips.sg.* form of 'ſehen' = NHG 'ſehe'.

²⁷⁰ ENHG 'mutwillen' uſed as verb = NHG 'Mutwillen treiben', to behave reckleſſly.

²⁷¹ Secondary ſuperlative to ENHG/NHG 'not tun' (be neceſſary) (cf. English *if need be*), in which the noun 'not' (need, miſery) functions as a predicative adjective and can be ſubject to morphological comparison in analogy with other adjectives.

²⁷² ENHG 'allmit' = all inſlusive.

²⁷³ ENHG 'neben auf' = alongſide it.

Romanus: I speak as I find; since most of you who pride yourselves on being Protestant, are up to their ears in greed.

Reichenburger: I have high hopes (C2r) that the word of God will in time cast greed down to the ground, with all other evil deeds and public vices, since God says in Isaiah 55: As the rain and snow descend from the sky and do not return, but water the earth and make it green, and give seed to the sower and bread to the eater, so is my word that goes out from my mouth. It shall not return to my mouth, but shall prosper in everything I send it forth to.²⁷⁴

Romanus: You have preached the word of God (as you call it) for a long time; but I have not yet seen any change, apart from your giving us clergymen a hard time.

Reichenburger: And that's exactly where it's most needed; since your false teaching and man-made commandments have taken root too firmly, it takes a long time to weed them out whilst planting the pure Word of God together with them to grow alongside them. God will surely make them prosper, as 1 Corinthians 3²⁷⁵. As Christ also says in Mark 4:

²⁷⁴ Isaiah 55.10–11.

²⁷⁵ 1 Corinthians 3.7.

wie der geseet samen on alle zũthũung des bawmans/ selber auff
geet/ bringet von ersten graß/ Darnach eher²⁷⁶/ Darnach volkum-
men frucht des waitzen/ also auch dürff wir nit sorgen wenn die
frucht volg/ wo das Ewangeli recht predigt²⁷⁷ wirt/ sie kumbt von
jr selbs.

Romanus/ So hör ich wol/ man muß nũr predigen/ Glaub/ glaub/
Lieb/ lieb vnd die hellisch gruntsup²⁷⁸ des geytz/ eebruch²⁷⁹/ vnd
ander offentlich laster schweygen/ die wider gottes gesetz tãglich
im schwanck geend²⁸⁰/ da wirt sich die falsch vernunft fein
außwick- (C2v) len²⁸¹ vnd jr sach gerecht glosiren²⁸². Got aber
spricht durch Hieremiam .lj. Nicht wõllet schweygen jrer
missethat/ wann die zeyt jrer rach ist von dem herren.²⁸³ Vnd
durch Ezechielem .xxij. Du sun des menschen vrtailstu dann nit
die stat der sũnden²⁸⁴/ vnd zaigest jr all jr verfluchte werck So aber
solchs geschech/ glaub ich/ ewer wenig wurden herfür treten mit
Zacheo Luce .xix. vnd sprechen/ Sihe herr den helben tail²⁸⁵
meiner gũtter gib ich den armen/ vnd so ich einen betrogen hab/
gib ichs vierfeltig wider/ Sunder vil mer wurden ewer vil hinder
sich treten vnd sprechen/ das ist ein harte red/ wer mag die
hõren/ wie die junger/ Johannis .vj.

²⁷⁶ ENHG 'eher' (sg./pl.) = NHG 'Ähre(n)' = ears (of wheat).

²⁷⁷ = NHG 'gepredigt'; the 'ge-' prefix for participles can still be left out in ENHG, cf. introduction to ENHG.

²⁷⁸ = NHG 'hõllische Grundsuppe', hellish, dirty liquid remaining at the bottom of a barrel.

²⁷⁹ = NHG 'Ehebruch', adultery.

²⁸⁰ ENHG 'im schwange gehen' = to be in motion, be strong and lively.

²⁸¹ ENHG 'auswickeln' = to escape, free from bonds.

²⁸² ENHG 'glosieren' = to gloss, explain, here: to present their cause as just.

²⁸³ Literal translation of the Vulgate 'nolite tacere super iniquitatem ejus, quoniam tempus ultionis est a Domino.'

²⁸⁴ The translation changes the metaphorical 'civitatem sanguinis' ('city of blood') to the 'city of sin'.

²⁸⁵ ENHG 'der halbe teil' or 'halbteil' = half of it. Luther translates this as 'die helfft'.

As the sown seed sprouts by itself without any help from the sower, bringing forth first blades, then ears, then full fruits of wheat,²⁸⁶ so must we not worry about when the fruit follows; where the gospel is preached correctly, it will take care of itself.

Romanus: So I hear, you only have to preach: Believe, believe! Love, love! And keep silent about the hellish slop of greed, adultery and other public vices that actively go against God's law every day. False reason will cleverly worm its way (C2v) out of it and gloss its cause as just. But God says through Jeremiah in Chapter 51: Do not keep silent about their iniquity, since the time of their vengeance is from the Lord.²⁸⁷ And through Ezekiel 22: You son of man, do you not judge the city of sin and show her all her cursed works?²⁸⁸ But if such things happened, I do not think that many of you would come forward with Zacchaeus in Luke 19, and say: See, Lord, I give half of my goods to the poor, and if I have defrauded anyone, I will repay it fourfold.²⁸⁹ But rather, many of you will take a step back and say: 'This is a hard saying, who can hear it?', like the disciples did in John 6;²⁹⁰

²⁸⁶ Mark 4.26–28.

²⁸⁷ Jeremiah 51.6.

²⁸⁸ Ezekiel 22.2–3a.

²⁸⁹ Luke 19.8.

²⁹⁰ John 6.60.

wurdt villeicht zůletzt selber mit feüsten darein schlagen/ wo euch darunder abgieng²⁹¹/ oder ewer schandt vnd laster vor aller menigklich²⁹² an tag kem/ wol hört jrs gern weyl²⁹³ es vber münich vnd Pfaffen geet/ wie Herodes/ hort Johannem auch Christum predigen/ vnd gehorcht jm in vil sachen/ Do er jm aber sein aygen missethat anzeyget/ der Herodie halb / do müst Johannes in kercker/ vnd den kopff verliern/ das schmecken²⁹⁴ auch ewer Ewangelsch prediger/ vnd halten fein hinder dem berg²⁹⁵.

Reichenburger Ey verziecht²⁹⁶/ es wirt mit der zeyt alls an tag kumen/ wann das gesetz gottes muß alweg neben dem Ewangeli erklärt vnd angezaigt werden/ dem menschen sein boßhafftighertz/ welchs von jugent auff zů boßhait genaigt ist Genesis am .viij. erschrecken vnd demütig zů machen/ alßdann wirt er begirig der gnad so jm durch Christum im Ewangelio fürgetragen²⁹⁷ vnd angeboten (Dir) wirdt/ Also macht das gesetz das hertz nit rechtfertig vor got/ sunder bereyt das hertz zů der rechtfertigung/ das durch das ewangelium geschicht/ das verendert das hertz mit einem lebendigen vertrauen in Christo/ wo got mit würckt. Coloßenses .ij. alßdann volgen rechtgeschaffne²⁹⁸ frucht hernach.

²⁹¹ FWb s.v. 24 'abgerechnet, abgezogen, in Minderung gebracht werden'.

²⁹² ENHG 'allermänniglich' = all together.

²⁹³ = 'alldieweil, solange', cf. English 'while'.

²⁹⁴ ENHG 'schmecken' covers both taste and smell, figuratively also feeling or recognition, not just taste.

²⁹⁵ ENHG 'hinter dem berg halten' = to keep 'behind the hill', i.e., hidden out of sight.

²⁹⁶ ENHG 'verziehen' = NHG 'verzögern', to postpone, wait until later.

²⁹⁷ ENHG 'für-/vortragen' = NHG 'vorstellen'.

²⁹⁸ ENHG 'recht(ge)schaffen' can both be 'right(ly conceived)' and the equivalent of 'gerechtfertigt', i.e., 'righteous' in the theological sense, FWb s.v. Luther uses 'rechtschaffene frucht der Busse' in the sense of 'right' for fruits worthy of repentance in Luke 3.8 and 'fruits meet for repentance' in Matthew 3.8, but 'Früchte der gerechtigkeit' = fruits of righteousness in Philippians 1.18.

you might even strike out with your fists in the end, if it made you worse off or your infamy and vice came to light in front of everybody. You are glad to hear it, as long as it goes against monks and priests, just as Herod also listened to John preach Christ and obeyed him in many things. But when John accused him of his own iniquity regarding Herodias, John had to go to prison and lose his head. Your Protestant preachers also sense this and keep their mouths firmly shut.

Reichenburger: Just wait a little! In time it will all come to light since the law of God must be always be explained and made known alongside the gospel in order to frighten and humble people's wicked hearts, which have been inclined to wickedness since their youth, Genesis 8²⁹⁹, and then make them greedy for the grace that is presented and offered to them through Christ in the gospel. (Dir) Thus the law does not make the heart justified before God, but prepares the heart for justification. This happens through the gospel, which changes the heart with a living trust in Christ, when God works within the heart, Colossians 2.³⁰⁰ Then the right fruits will follow.

²⁹⁹ God's reason for pledging not to destroy humanity again after the Flood since it was incorrigible, Genesis 8.21.

³⁰⁰ A summary of several verses of the chapter, among them Colossians 2.12 which argues that it is only through God's help that transformation can take place but also 2.2, 2.5 and 2.12.

Romanus/ Der gûten frucht spür ich noch kaine vnter euch/ sunder wo es dem leyb wol thût/ als nit beichten/ fasten/ beten/ kirchen geen/ opfern wallen³⁰¹/ vnd mit fleysch essen/ auß den Clöstern lauffen vnd der gleichen/ ist im brauch³⁰²/ vnd vber das bleybt jr vnuerschampt in vorigen haidnischen lastern/ als geytz/ eebbruch/ hûrerey/ feindschafft/ auffrur/ zorn/ zanck/ neyd haß/ nachreden/ mordt/ vntrew/ spilen/ gotzlestern/ zûtrincken³⁰³/ sauffen/ tantzen/ hoffart/ stechen/ rennen³⁰⁴/ vngehorsam/ Auß disen fruchten man euch hayden vnd nit Christen vrtailt/ wann Christus spricht Matthei am .vij. Bey jren fruchten solt jr sie erkennen.

Reichenburger/ Sie seind layder den wenigsten tail Christen/ die sich schon des Ewangelion rûmen/ wann der spruch bleybt war/ Matthei .xxij. Vil seind beruffen/ wenig aber außerwôlt. Dise haben nûr ein gedichten won³⁰⁵/ auß fleysch vnd plût erschöpft³⁰⁶/ vnd wenden die Ewangelischen³⁰⁷ freyhait zur lust/ vnd raum³⁰⁸ des fleysch/ dar vor Paulus warnet Galathas .v. treten also die edlen margariten³⁰⁹ ins kot³¹⁰ wie die schwein/ Matthei .vij.

³⁰¹ ENHG 'wallen' = NHG 'auf Wallfahrt gehen', to go on pilgrimage.

³⁰² ENHG 'ist im brauch' = NHG 'wird gebraucht', is being made use of.

³⁰³ ENHG 'zutrinken' = to toast, to cheer each other on in drinking, to booze.

³⁰⁴ 'stechen' and 'rennen' still in the MHG use for jousting and staging tournaments, which had been copied in the cities, e.g. in Nuremberg, as 'Gesellenstechen', mass sports competitions which were mainly an excuse for lavish drinking and eating.

³⁰⁵ = NHG 'erdichteten Wahn', invented and smug notion.

³⁰⁶ ENHG 'erschöpft' = NHG 'geschöpft', drawn from (not exhausted as in NHG).

³⁰⁷ ENHG still occasionally retains the '-n' ending for singular feminine accusative, see Arv 'die Ewangelischen leer'.

³⁰⁸ FWb s.v. 2: 'Möglichkeit, Gelegenheit, Chance (z. B. zur Ausführung einer Tätigkeit, zur Bewegung in eine selbst gewählte Richtung)'; auch: 'Freiheit (etw. zu tun), Offenheit für etw.'.

³⁰⁹ MHG/ENHG 'margarite' from Latin 'margarita' = pearl.

³¹⁰ ENHG 'das kot' = dirt, while NHG 'der Kot' only means excrement. Sachs seems to quote this biblical dictum in an older proverbial form since Luther's translation of Matthew 7.6 uses different terms 'ewere perlen solt yhr nit fur die sew werffen / auff das sie die selbigen nitt zur treten / mit yhren fussen' (Luther 1522).

Romanus: As yet I perceive any no good fruit among you, but rather anything that makes for a cushy life, like not confessing, fasting, praying, going to church, donating alms, going on pilgrimages; instead eating meat, running away from religious houses³¹¹ and the like have become fashionable; and in addition you still wallow shamelessly in the former heathen vices, such as greed, adultery, fornication, feuding, rioting, wrath, strife, envy, hatred, slander, murder, betrayal, gambling, blasphemy, carousing, boozing, dancing, pride, jousting, tournaments, disobedience.³¹² By these fruits you are judged to be heathens and not Christians, for Christ says in Matthew 7: By their fruits you shall know them.³¹³

Reichenburger: Unfortunately, the tiniest minority of those who already boast of the gospel are Christians; hence the saying remains true, Matthew 22: Many are called, but few are chosen.³¹⁴ These are merely in the grip of a concocted delusion, drawn from flesh and blood, and turn Protestant freedom³¹⁵ into lust and giving in to the flesh, against which Paul warns, Galatians 5,³¹⁶ trampling the precious pearls in the dirt like pigs, Matthew 7.³¹⁷

³¹¹ The debate about the value of monasticism and whether monastic vows were binding was in full force at the time of writing; in 1523, Luther had published his two anti-monastic pamphlets, cf. the Taylor Edition of the *Monk Calf* and *Whether Nuns Might Leave Convents* (2023).

³¹² The list is similar to Paul's 'works of the flesh' in Galatians 5.19–21.

³¹³ Matthew 7.16.

³¹⁴ Matthew 22.14.

³¹⁵ On the Protestant understanding of 'freedom' cf. Luther 'Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen' (1520).

³¹⁶ In Galatians 5.16–17, Paul discusses the opposition of spirit and flesh.

³¹⁷ Matthew 7.6.

Bleiben also in jren vorigen haydnischen lastern ersuffen³¹⁸ vnd verstockt³¹⁹/ dem Ewangelio zů grosser schmach vnd er- (Div) gernüß/ mit der zeyt wert aber gegen solchen vnd andern der gleich gehandelt/ nach der leer Pauli. j. *Corinthiorum* .v. got erbarm sich jr vnd vnser aller/ wann wir seind alle sündner/ vnd ist kainer der nicht sündigt .iiij. *Regum* .viiij.

Romanus/ So hör ich wol die rechten christen leben auch nit on sünde.

Reichenburger/ Ja es steet .j. *Johannis* .j. So wir sagen/ wir haben kain sündt/ so verfiern³²⁰ wir vns selbs/ vnd die warhait ist nit in vns/ wann weil fleysch vnd plüt lebet/ sucht es alle zeyt das sein wider den geyst/ wie *Galathas* .v. Das fleysch gelustet wider den geyst/ vnd den geyst wider das fleisch/ da dienet das creütz vnd leyden zů/ wie .j. *Petri* .iiij. Wer im fleysch leydet/ der hört auff von sünden. Auch leßt got seine außwelte fallen zů zeytten in aussere laster/ als *Dauid* in eebruch .ij. *Regum* .xj. Vnd *Petrum* in die verlaugnung *Matthei* am. xxvj. vnd kumbt jnen doch alles zů gůt/ werdenn nach gethaner sündt dūrstig nach Gottes barmhertzigkait/ schreyen/ *Abba* lieber vater/ vergib vns vnser schuld. *Romanos* .viiij. *Matthei* .vj. werden alßdann von Got genedigklich angenummen/ wie der verloren sun *Luce* am .xv. vnd fester im glauben/ dann vor das fallen vnd auffsteen/ wert für vnd für/ wie *Prouerbiorum* am .xxiiij. Der gerecht felt im tag siben mall/ biß doch endtlich im todt/ der alt *Adam*/ fleysch vnnd plüt/ gar vnter geet/ alßdann kumbt ein volkommen geistlich leben/ des durff wir hie mit nichte warten in dem leyb der sünden.

³¹⁸ ENHG 'ersaufen' = to drown, a favourite metaphor in religious and didactic literature for being engrossed by sin, helped by the lexical closeness to 'saufen' = to drink heavily, to booze.

³¹⁹ ENHG 'verstockt' = turned into a dead block of wood, used metaphorically in Luther's Bible translation for the hardening of hearts.

³²⁰ ENHG 'verfiern' is unrounded from NHG 'verführen' as found in NHG, see above A3v 'triegliche'.

They thus remain steeped and hardened in their former heathen vices, to great shame and offence to the gospel. (Div) In time, however, action will be taken against them and others like them according to the teaching of Paul in 1 Corinthians 5.³²¹ May God have mercy on them and on us all since we are all sinners and there is no-one who does not sin, 3 Kings 8.³²²

Romanus: So I hear that true Christians don't live without sin either.

Reichenburger: Yes, it is written in 1 John 1: If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us;³²³ as long as flesh and blood lives, they always seek their own against the Spirit, as in Galatians 5: The flesh lusts against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh.³²⁴ The cross and suffering serve this purpose, as 1 Peter 4: Those who suffer in the flesh cease from sin.³²⁵ God also allows his chosen ones to fall at times into outward vices, as David into adultery, 2 Kings 11,³²⁶ and Peter into denial, Matthew 26;³²⁷ and yet all things work out for the best for them, and after having sinned they become thirsty for God's mercy and cry out: Abba, dear Father, forgive us our debts, Romans 8,³²⁸ Matthew 6;³²⁹ and are then graciously accepted by God like the prodigal son in Luke 15,³³⁰ and then become stronger in their faith than before. Falling and rising again lasts forever, as Proverbs 24 says: A righteous person falls seven times a day, until at last the old Adam, flesh and blood, perishes in death; then comes a perfect spiritual life; we cannot expect this here in the body of sin.³³¹

³²¹ In 1 Corinthians 5.3–5, Paul talks about the sinners to be handed over to Satan.

³²² The prayer of Solomon in 1 Kings 8. Sachs uses the Vulgate numbering.

³²³ 1 John 1.8.

³²⁴ Galatians 5.17.

³²⁵ 1 Peter 4.1.

³²⁶ Bathseba in the bath, 2 Kings according to the Vulgate, i.e. 2 Samuel 11.2–4.

³²⁷ Peter's denial of knowing Jesus in the Passion narrative, Matthew 26.69–75.

³²⁸ Paul's assurance of the spirit of adoption, Romans 8.15.

³²⁹ The sixth petition from the Lord's Prayer, Matthew 6.12.

³³⁰ The parable of the prodigal son, Luke 15.11–32.

³³¹ Proverbs 24.16 and Paul's extensive reflections on the subject in 1 Corinthians 15.

Romanus. Jch hab sorg lieber Juncker (D2r) wenig leüt nemen dise leer der massen an/ wie jr saget/ man spürt³³² ye weder gotzdiennst/ noch die werck der lieb &c.

Reichenburger/ Jr saget ymmer spüren/ spüren/ wißt jr nicht/ das Reich gottes kumbt nicht mit auffmercken/ das man möcht sprechen/ Sihe hie oder da/ sunder es ist inwendig im hertzen/ Matthei am .xvij. Der ware Gottes dienst geet nicht mit eussern geberden/ Die waren anbeter beten Got im geyst vnd in der warhait an/ Johannis am .iiij. So geend die werck der lieb/ gegen dem nechsten/ gantz einfeltig in der stil/ on allen bracht³³³/ Derhalb mainen die werck heyligen³³⁴/ es diene niemant got/ wie zû der zeyt Helie .iiij. Regum am .xix. maint auch er dient allain dem waren Got in Jsrael/ waren doch wol siblen tausent/ die jre knye nit vor dem abgot Baal gebogen hetten/ vnd got dienten/ Also auch maint jr geystlosen³³⁵/ es besser sich der haylsamen Ewangelischen leer niemant/ seyt die außwendigen sündt noch im schwanck geend/ vorauß von den die sich Ewangelisch rûmen/ mit sampt andern welt kindern/ Also muß es aber geen/ wie die Philistiner/ Cananiter/ Zidoniter/ Hettitter/ vnter Jsrael wonten Judicum .iiij. Also muß gût vnd böß vnder einander wonen/ Got aber wiß die Gotseligen/ auß der versuchung zû lösen/ Die gotlosen aber zum tag des Gerichts zû peinigen .ij. Petri .ij.

³³² ENHG 'spüren' = following a 'spur' (trace), more generally: paying attention, sense; in NHG only for bodily sensation.

³³³ = NHG 'Pracht' in the sense of show.

³³⁴ 'Werkheilige' is a coinage by Luther for those who try to achieve salvation through works rather than by grace alone, *DWb* s.v. Luther uses it e.g. in 'Grund und Ursach aller Artikel so durch Römische Bulle unrechtlich verdammt sind' (1521), which Sachs probably read; it was picked up by authors such as Eberlin von Günzburg and Johann Briesmann, becoming a polemical keyword of the Protestant side.

³³⁵ Sachs makes a similar joke at the expense of the clergy in *Chorherr und Schuhmacher* when the cobbler says to the canon, 'Warumb heißt jr dann die gaistlichen / So jr den geyst Gottes nit hond? jr solt haissen die geistlosen' (*bir*).

Romanus: I am worried, dear Sir, (D2r) that few people adopt this doctrine in the way you say. Nobody is aware of any service to God or works of love.

Reichenburger: You always say "Beware, beware"! Do you not know that the kingdom of God does not give notice of its coming, that one might say: Look over here or there; rather it is inward, within the heart, Matthew 17.³³⁶ True worship is not performed by outward gestures: The true worshippers worship God in spirit and in truth, John 4.³³⁷ Thus, works of love towards one's neighbour are performed quite simply in silence, without any pomp. That is why those who try to achieve holiness through their works think that no one serves God as they did in the time of Elijah (3 Kings 19), who also thought that he alone served the true God in Israel,³³⁸ even though there were in fact seven thousand who did not bend their knees to the idol Baal and served God.³³⁹ So, too, you who lack the Holy Spirit think that no one is improved by the saving Protestant teaching, since outward sins are still in full swing, especially those of people who boast that they are Protestant, together with all the other children of this world. This is how it must go: as the Philistines, Canaanites, Sidonites, and Hittites dwelt among Israel (Judges 3),³⁴⁰ so must good and evil dwell together; but God knows how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and to punish the ungodly on the day of judgement (2 Peter 2),³⁴¹

³³⁶ Jesus' answer to the question of the Pharisees when the kingdom of God might come, Luke (!) 17.21.

³³⁷ John 4.23.

³³⁸ Elijah despairing and wanting to die in the desert, 1 Kings 19.10 and 1 Kings 19.14.

³³⁹ This half of the Bible reference refers to God's reply to Elijah in 1 Kings 19.18.

³⁴⁰ Judges 3.1-3.

³⁴¹ 2 Peter 2.9.

Also erhelte got die seinen in der boßhaffigen welt/ wie die drey kinder im feürigen offen/ Danielis am .iij. wachssen also vnder den (D2v) welt kindern auff/ in der stil veracht/ verfolgt/ vnd verschmecht/ vnachtsam³⁴²/ wie die Lilig³⁴³ vnder den dörnern³⁴⁴ *Canticorum* .ij. der welt gantz vn bekant/ biß zû der zeyt der Ernt/ alßdann werden die welt kinder mit sampt dem vnkraut ins feür geworffen/ vnd die kinder Gottes mit sampt dem waitzen in die ewig schewren behalten.

Romanus/ Hört/ hört man leütet vesper/ wie sein wir in das gezenck kummen/ mein fürgenummen sach ist noch vnaußgericht³⁴⁵.

Reichenburger/ Jr habt vns zwar gnûg bestochen³⁴⁶/ Ich glaub/ seyt jr vnns der leer³⁴⁷ nicht schenden kündet/ so wölt jr sie schmehen mit vnserm sündigen leben.

Romanus/ Ey so thut euch des haydnischen leben ab .j. Petri am .iiij. Lebet nach dem willen Gottes Christlich/ Alßdann spricht man/ dise neue leer ist auß got/ wann das volck wirdt gotselig daruon/ wann ein güter baum kan ye kain böse frucht bringen. Ein gütter mensch bringt güts herfür/ auß dem gütten schatz seines hertzen/ Luce am. vj. capitel/

³⁴² = NHG 'unbeachtet', not given attention, *DWb* s.v.

³⁴³ 'lilig' is a MHG variant for NHG 'Lilie'.

³⁴⁴ = NHG 'Dornen'; in ENHG different plural forms for 'dorn' exist, among them 'dörner'.

³⁴⁵ ENHG 'ausrichten' = 'etw. (oft: rechtsförmlich) entscheiden, zum Austrag bringen, (Rechtsangelegenheiten) erledigen, klären; über Vergehen richten', *FWb* s.v. 15.

³⁴⁶ ENHG 'bestechen' = to hit home with a sharp point, reprimand (not 'bribe' as NHG).

³⁴⁷ = NHG 'Lehre'; ENHG 'schenden' + gen. = fault sb. on behalf of sth., here reprimand because of the teaching / doctrine. The use of the genitive here is old (genitivus criminis).

so God preserves His own in the wicked world, like the three children in the fiery furnace (Daniel 3).³⁴⁸ They grow up among (D2v) the children of the world, in silence, despised, tormented and scorned, disregarded like lilies among thorns (Song of Songs 2),³⁴⁹ completely unknown to the world until the harvest time; then the children of the world will be thrown into the fiery furnace together with the weeds; and the children of God, together with the wheat, will be stored away in everlasting barns.³⁵⁰

Romanus: Listen, listen – they're ringing the bell for Vespers³⁵¹! How did we get into this quarrel? The matter I came to discuss has not yet been resolved.

Reichenburger: You've already had a good jab at us; I believe that since you cannot discredit our teachings, you are trying to defame them by pointing out our sinful lives.

Romanus: Well, then renounce your pagan lives (1 Peter 4),³⁵² and live a Christian life according to the will of God! Then they'll say: This new teaching is from God, since it is making people godly, a good tree can never bear evil fruit. A good person brings forth good things out of the good treasures of their heart (Luke 6).³⁵³

³⁴⁸ The story of the three young men Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego who are thrown into the furnace but remain unharmed and sing a song of praise to God, Daniel 3. In the Vulgate follows their song, which was moved to the Apocrypha later in Luther's translation of the Old Testament.

³⁴⁹ Song of Songs 2.2. Sachs translates from the Vulgate, which has 'lilium' while Luther later uses rose as a translation for the flower among the thorns.

³⁵⁰ Reference to the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares in Matthew 13; the imagery here is drawn from Matthew 13.30, encouraging the reaper to let both grow together.

³⁵¹ Vespers is one of the monastic hours but also the prayer time observed by lay-people, who take a break for eating (the 'Vesperbrot') and say a 'Hail Mary', since it was considered the time of day when the Annunciation to Mary took place. An appropriate moment for the Catholic dialogue partner to call for a halt to the argument.

³⁵² A summary of 1 Peter 4.3, calling for the abolition of 'practices of the flesh' such as lasciviousness, drinking, and idolatry.

³⁵³ Luke 6.45.

Reichenburger/ Jr seyt vbersichtig³⁵⁴/ secht nûr in die höße/ auff den grossen weltlichen³⁵⁵ hauffen/ der dann (wie vor) alle mall mit lesterlichen sünden herein fert/ daran werdet jr dann gar starnblindt³⁵⁶/falt wider zû ruck auff ewer zierliche gleißnerey/ halt die für heylig Wo jr aber recht wolt/ solt jr in die schrift schawen/ was got geboten/ verboten/ oder frey gelassen het/ wann jr durch gnad das ergriff/ alßdann wurdjt jr der kutten vnd aller auffsetz³⁵⁷ nicht hoch achten.

Romanus/ (D3r) Ich hab noch kain lust zû ewerm hauffen/ weyl also rutzigs³⁵⁸ vnd reüdig³⁵⁹ durcheinander geet/ Wenn aber ein hyrt vnd ein schaffstal wurdjt/ alßdann wölt ich mein kutten an zaun hencken/³⁶⁰ vnd zum hauffen treten Es hat auch sunst noch ein griff³⁶¹/ ist der feel³⁶²/ ist es noch hohe zeyt³⁶³.

³⁵⁴ ENHG 'übersichtig' = shortsighted, be generously overlooking; exists in NHG only as verb 'übersehen'.

³⁵⁵ 'weltlich' means both 'of this world' and 'secular' as opposed to 'geistlich', meaning the clergy.

³⁵⁶ ENHG 'star(n)blind' = star blind, not able or not prepared to see.

³⁵⁷ ENHG 'aufsaz' = NHG 'Gesetz' but in the sense of (additional) rules and laws, FWb s.v. 3: 'gesetzliche Regelung, Statut, Bestimmung, Verordnung, Einsetzung, Einführung von etw.; teils speziell für die menschliche Satzung im Unterschied zum Gebot Gottes (dies aber nicht durchgehend).'

³⁵⁸ adj. to ENHG 'rutze' = NHG 'Rotz', snot.

³⁵⁹ = NHG 'räudig', suffering from mange, a skin disease in mammals. FWb s.v. 'rotzig' states that 'rotziges und räudiges durcheinandergehen' is an ENHG set expression. Sachs lists 'rotzig' and 'räudig' as two of four horse illnesses in the disparaging description of a woman in the *Schwank. Der alten weiber roßmarck* (*The Horse Fair of Old Women*).

³⁶⁰ Same phrase for giving up monastic life used by the monk in Hans Sachs *Von den Scheinwerken*: 'Sölt ich dañ wiffen/ dafz ich nit felig würd durch mein Clösterlich lebē/ ich wölt mein kutten an ain zaun hencken/ vnd mit ftayn darzû werffen.' The parallel modern German expression is 'an den Nagel hängen' for giving up a profession.

³⁶¹ ENHG 'griff' = grip, 'griff haben' = there is another approach.

³⁶² ENHG 'fehl sein' = to fail.

³⁶³ ENHG 'hohe zeit sein' = 'to be urgent'.

Reichenburger: You are being shortsighted: just look further at the great hordes of people in the world, who (as before) just carry on in wicked sin. Your navel-gazing will leave you blindfolded, and make you fall back into your precious illusion of holiness. But if you want to be just, you should look into the Scriptures to see what God has commanded, forbidden or left up to you. If through grace you were to grasp this, then you would not hold the habit and made-up rules in such high regard!

Romanus: (D3r) I still cannot stand you all as long as you are such a snotty and scruffy ragbag. But if there were one single shepherd and one united fold, then I would hang up my habit on the fence and join you all. There might still be another way; if it fails, it is still high time.

Reichenburger/ Jr seyt des volcks/ da got von sagt/ Esaie am .lxv. Den gantzen tag hab ich mein hendt auß gereckt/ zum volck das jm nicht sagen leßt/ vnnd wider spricht mir/ Darumb schawt das ewer flucht nit zů spat im Winter oder Sabath geschehe/ Matthei am .xxiiij.

Romanus/ Ein ander mal mer/ ich schayd mit wissen³⁶⁴/ lieber Juncker Reichenburger/ got sey mit euch.

Reichenburger/ Amen/

Psalmo. j. Selig ist der man der sich tag vnd nacht übet jm gesetz des herrn/ er wirdt sein wie ein holtz/ gepflantz zů den flüssen der wasser/ das da gibt sein frucht zů seiner zeyt.

³⁶⁴ ENHG 'mit wissen scheiden' = greeting formula when leaving the stage, typical for Hans Sachs, also in *Chorherr und Schuster*; see *Vier Dialoge von Hans Sachs*, ed. by Reinhold Köhler (Weimar: Böhlau, 1858), p. 91: "'alde, ich scheid mit wissen', d. h. ade, ich gehe aus guten, mir wohl bewusten gründen; oft im sinne: ich weiss, daß es gut ist nicht länger zu weilen. häufig bei HSachs."

Reichenburger: You are the sort of person of whom God says (Isaiah 65): All day long I have stretched out my hand to the people, that will not be told, and argue with me.³⁶⁵ Therefore beware that when you flee it is not too late in winter or on the Sabbath (Matthew 24).³⁶⁶

Romanus: More on this another time! I'd better take my leave now, dear Sir Reichenburger. God be with you!

Reichenburger: Amen.

Psalm 1: Blessed is the man who keeps the law of the Lord day and night. He will be like a tree planted by flowing waters, which yields its fruit in due season.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ Isaiah 65.2.

³⁶⁶ Matthew 24.20.

³⁶⁷ This quotation condenses Psalm 1.1–3, the programmatic opening of the Book of Psalms.

Facsimile

Ein Dialogus/ des inhalt/ ein argument der Römischen/ wider das Christlich heußlein/ den Geytz/ auch ander offentlich laster 2c. Betreffend.



Ephesios.v.

Zhirerey vnd vnreimigkeit/ oder geytz/ laßt nit von
euch gesagt werden/ wie den heyligen zu steet.

1539
N. 32.

Facs. 34. n. 53.

10.

Dem Achtparn Hans Odrer zu

Pfister/ wünscht Hans Sachs genad vnd frid in
Christo Jesu vnserm lieben herren. Amen.

¶ Geliebter Bruder in dem herren/ ich bin durch vilfaltig pit (vnfers
lieben mitbruders Ulrich Lauthi) angelanget/ dir zu dienen mit der
gab/ so ich entpfange hab/ nach der leer. 1. Petri. 4. Auff das ich aber
nicht wie der faul knecht (Matthei. 25.) erfunden werde/ bin ich
im zu willen worden/ mit einem Dialogo/ den ich dir hiemit vber-
schick/ des inhalt ist ein Argument/ so vnnsere Römische/ mit hoher
stimm außschreyen/ auff der Cangel vñ wo sie raum haben/ die Ewan-
gelischen leer zulestern/ fürnemlich mit dem verfluchten geiz/ nach
mals mit andern offentlichen lastern/ welche noch (got erbarmt)
in vollem schwanc/ bey vns geend/ von den so Christum noch nicht
warhaftig im geyst erkent haben/ als wer darumb die leer falsch/
Mit disputieren vñ schreyben haben sie wenig eer erlanget/ noch vil
weniger mit iren vngeselten hinderdicken/ fallen nun auff das sün-
dig leben/ welches ich hofft/ werde kurzer zeyt fallen/ durch den hant
der Ewangelifchen Pusaun/ wie die Statmaur Hiericho. Josue. 6.
Alsdann haben sie nichts wider vns/ dann sie villeicht die hende in
dem Christlichen plut waschen/ auff das die zall der mitbrüder/ so
vmb des gottes woits willen erwürgt werden/ erfüllt werde. Apoca-
lipfis. 6. wie dann angefangen ist/ got sterck vns alle in seinem wort
zu verharren/ biß anß endt/ vnd selig werden. Amen. Matthei. 24.
Geben zu Nürnberg am tag Michaelis/ im. 1524. jar.

Matthei. 26.

Der geyst ist willig/ aber das fleisch ist schwach.

Die vobis lieber Juncker Reichenburger.
 Reichenburger. Seyt mir Got wilkum zu
 tausent malen / wirdiger vater Romanus /
 ewer zukunfft in mein hauss / bedeuert warlich ein schnee
 Seyt jr mein hauss nun bey drey jaren gemiden habet /
 was gebiet jr. Romanus. Zwar nit vil / Ich hab mit
 euch zu reden eines geschaffts halb / vor dreyen jaren ge
 schehen / darin seyt jr ein Vormundt. Reichenburger
 Ich wolt furwar wenen / jr woltet ewer klaydt der
 geyzigkait (geystligkait solt ich sagen) hierinn bey mir
 abziehen / vnd wolt ein Christ werden / seyt jr also vn
 nersehens / vnd eynig zu mir herein schleicht. Roma
 nus. Ich wil mein kuttchen noch wol lenger tragen / der
 milrigkait halben / so jr neuen Ewangeliſchen ubet /
 vnd treybet vnder einander / vnd jr seyt mir nur zu lieb
 darzu / wolt euch sunst anders antworten. Reichen
 burger. Sagt an wirdiger vater was jr wiſt / yedoch
 die warhait / bedurfft mein nicht verschonen. Roma
 nus. So schawt in spiegel ewers hertzen / wie rain jr
 seyt / des geytz halb / vnd nicht allain euch / sonder sehet
 an alle diſe welt / vom minſten biß zu dem maiſten / so
 findet irs alles vberschwemmt mit geyzigkait / das
 Esaias wol war sagt am .vj. capitel. Von dem min
 ſten biß zu dem maiſten / all geend sie nach der geyzig
 kait. Ir neuen Ewangeliſchen wendet aber ewer au
 gen allain auff vns / vñ vñ vñ vñ vñ vñ vñ vñ vñ vñ
 wir allain geyzig / vnd vergeſt die weyl ewer ſelb dar
 bey / Ir aber werdt mit vns nit entſchuldigt / Christus

spricht Luce am. xiiij. Mairt jr das die achtzehen/auff
 welche der thurn in Siloa viel/vnd erschläg sie/seyen
 schuldig für alle die zu Jerusalem wonen/ich sag nain
 darzu/sunder so jr euch nicht bessern/werdt jr all also
 vmbkumen. Darumb jr lieben Ewangelischen/thut
 vor den palcken auß dem aug/darnach das bechtlein
 auß ewers Brüders aug. Matthei am. viij. Reichen-
 burger. Ey wo betriegen wir die leüt also geiziglich
 als jr geyslichen vns ein lange zeijt her betrogen habt/
 als mit Abblas/Bann/O pffer/Digil/Seelmelß/güt-
 ten wercken/mit sampt den Sacramenten/die jr vns
 vmb gelt verkaufft habt/das vbrig mit betlen vñ an-
 dern alsenzen abgewunnen. Romanus. Ey so betrü-
 get aber jr einander/in kauff hendeln/gerichßhendeln/
 wücher/vnd in summa durch vnd durch/wer wil die
 handtierung all erzelen/darinn der geiz regiert/Mir
 ist noch vnuergessen/was mir oft in der Beicht für
 kummen ist/wenn ichs reden dörfst. Reichenburger.
 Würdiger vater sagt mirs Beicht weyß/hie vnder der
 Rosen/ich mag die warhait wol hören/wie pitter sie
 ist. Romanus. Von wannen kumbt das fürkauffen/
 als wein/getraydt/vnd salz/vnd alles was man er-
 dencken mag/kumbt es nicht auß dem geiz. Reichen-
 burger. Ey nicht redt also/solt man bey gemainer stat
 nicht solche leüt haben/wurdt es oft in theürungen/
 kriegßfleußten/oder andern nöthen/klain zu geen. Stet
 nicht Proverbiorum. vi. O dieger sihe zu der Ameyßen/
 vnd merck jre weg/vnd lern die weyßhait/sie bereydet

ir speys im Summer/vnd samlet im schmidt/das sie es.

Romans. Ich red nit von fürkauffen/da man nutz
sucht einer gantzem gemain/vnd gleich einenzimlichen
pfenning zu gewin nimbt/vñ noch vil weniger/wo ein
oberkeit fürkauft vñ gemainē nutz sucht/sunder allein
red ich/vō den fürkaufern vō aygen nutz vñ gewin
halb/vñnd dem fürkaufer layd wer/das nachmals
wein/getrayd/vñ anders wol geriet/strolocken in dem
vngeratten jar/verbergen den fürradt in der not/wo
sie verhoffen mer gelts daran zu erhalten/Von denen
steet Proverbiorū. xj. Der da verbirgt sein getrayd der
ist verflucht vnder den völkern. Vñ Leuitici. xxv. Du
solt dem armen dein speys nit mit vbersatz auffthun.
Vnd Deutero. xxij. Du solt an deinem brüder nicht
wüchern/weder mit gelt noch mit speys/ noch mit all
dem damit man wüchern kan. Vnd Amos. viij. Höret
das jr zerknisset den armen vnd machet manglen die
durfftigen der erdt. Saget so der schnit vergeet/ver-
kauffen wir die lon/vnd den Sabbath/wir thun auff
das getrayde/wir mindern die mas/vnd meren den
seckel/vñ verkauffen die spewer des getraids/das wir
besitzen den durfftigen im silber. Vñ der herr schwär.
Ich wirdt nit vergessen aller irer werck bis an endt.
Reichensburger. Fürkauffen in solcher mas/ist nicht
ein Christlicher handel/Es thū gleich wer da wöl.

Romans. Auch regiert der geitz in gesellschaftern/
also/das sie etlich war zu hauff auff kauffen/andern
auf den henden/vnd dan zu sich bringen/als spezerer/

vnd was dan jr handel vñ gewerbist/machen damit
 ein auffschlag wen sie wöllen/beschweren also landt/
 vnd leüt / ist das güt Ewangelisch. Reichenburger.
 Es ist auch vnrecht/wañ alles das jr wölt das euch
 die leüt thün/das thüt in auch widerumb. Math.vij.
 Romanus. Auch regieret der geytz mit böser war/
 schwert sie oft ein mit gewalt ein/darob oft ein ar-
 mer verdirbt/das ist verbotten Leuitici.xix. Ir solt nit
 stelen/liegen/noch felschlich handeln einer mit dem an-
 dern. Vnd Ecclesia.xxiiij. Der den armen betrüggt/
 ist ein man des plärs. Vnd.j. Thessalon.iiij. Niemand
 greyff zu weyt noch vnuorteyl sein Brüder in handel/
 dan der herr ist ein recher vber das alles. Wo bleyben
 dan die so güte war erst in irem gwalt felschen/ist das
 güt Ewangelisch. Reichenburger. Ey das seind vn-
 chrißlich hendel. Es spricht Malachias.j. Verflucht
 sey der betrieglich handelt. Romanus. Auch regiert
 der geytz mit falcher wag/maß/zall/vberschnellen in
 rechnung/anschreyben/ist verbotten Leuitici.xix. Ir solt
 nit vngleich handeln am gericht/mit elen/mit gewicht
 mit maß 2c. Vnd Proverbiorū.xj. Ein triegliche wag
 ist ein fluch bey got. Vñ Luce.vj.mit was maß jr mēst
 wirt euch widerumb gemessen/Ist solchs güt Ewan-
 gelisch. Reichenburger. Ey wer haist es güt/was
 wider Got vnd die lieb des nechsten ist. Romanus.
 Weyer regirt der geytz gewaltigklich vnter den kauff
 herren vnd verlegern/die da drucken ire arbeyter vnd
 stückwercker / wenn sie jnen jr arbeyt vnd pfenwerde

bringen oder haim tragen/da thadeln sie in jr arbeyt/
 auffss hinderst/dañ steet der arm arbeyter zitrent bey
 der thür/mit geschloffen henden/stiltschweygent/auff
 das er des kauff herren huld nit verlier/hat etwan vor
 gelt auff die arbeyt entlehent/alsdñ rechenet der kauff
 herr mit im wie er wil/büß der arm sein aygen gelt
 ein/zü seiner arbeyt/dañ stewart sich der reich/des gütten
 wolflen kauffs/maynt er hab im recht gethan. Hört
 aber was steet Leuitici. xxi. Wenn du deinem nechsten
 verkauffst oder abkauffst/solt du in nit schinden. Vnd
 Deutero. xxiij. Nicht vernorteyl den lon des benödtig-
 ten vnd armen/auff das er nicht den herren vber dich
 anrüß/vnd sey dir sündt. Vnd Ecclesia. xxxij. Der
 da vergeißt das plüt/vnd bedrückt den arbeyter/seind
 brüder. Vnd der da abnimbt das prot im schweyß/ist
 als der da tödt den nechsten. Reichenburger. Ir sagt
 aber nicht darbey/wie stolz die arbeyter seind/so man
 ir bedarff/kan man ins nicht genüg bezalen/vnd kan
 dannocht niemant nichts von in bringen. Romanus
 Ir puchen kan nicht lang weren/alsdñ wirdts inen
 zwyseltig ein gedrenckt/so der handel steckt/oder im
 Winter/so es allenthalben klem ist/da müssen sie euch
 wolfsayler geben/im Sumter habt ir im die haut ab-
 zogen/im Winter saugt ir im das marck auß den ba-
 nen/ist das güt Ewangelisch/das die armen also tag
 vnd nacht/vber vnd vber arbeyten/vnd sich doch des
 hungers mit weyß vnd kindt kaum erneren mögen/ge-
 denckt ir nit/got erhör das weklagen/wie Exodi. vj.

Ich hab erhört das weklagen der kinder Israel / die
 die Egyptier mit frenen beschwerten. Reichenburger
 Solches schinden hat mir mein lebenlang nie gefallen
 Es ist aller ding vnrchristenlich. Romanus. Weyter
 regiert der geytz in dem wechsel/der so mancher ge-
 stak ist onzal. Weyter regirt der geytz/verkauft einer
 vmb pargelt ein war vmb hundert gulden/sol man
 borgen ein halb jar/muß man fünff oder sechs gulden
 mer geben/dis ist nit Ewangelisch. Reichenburger.
 Ey lieber der verkauffer gewinne die weyl mit dem
 parengelt wol so vil/als im der kauffer hymüßer gibt.
 Romanus. Wie wen er so vil verlur/oder die haubt
 sunn gar/Darumb wil man borgen/sol man on auff-
 satz borgen/wan es steet Matthei am.v. Wer von dir
 borgen wil/von dem ler dich nicht. Reichenburger.
 Ich hör wol/wenn einer von mir wölt borgen vmb
 hundert gulden/vund ich hers zu borgen/wer ichs im
 schuldig zu borgen/nain/sunder allain bin ichs schul-
 dig zur noturfft/vnd nit zum vberflus zu borgen/also
 auch mit dem leyhen. Luce. vj. Leyhet/da jr nicht für
 hoffet/ist nür anff die notturfft des nechsten/vnd nit
 zum vberflus/solt man yedem leyhen nach seinem Be-
 geren/man fundt manchen schlüssel/vordert mer dan
 drey gewonnen/mit spilen/brassen/vnd andern/Also
 hulff man im darzu/vnd wer wider got. Romanus.
 Es mag villeicht also sein. Auch regiert der geytz im
 Lehen/vnerzelt/mit vil auffsetzen/wann gewonlich
 sucht der lehen herr seinen aygen nutz/mit des armen

schaden/da leycht er böse müntz für güte/böse war für
 güte/O der leicht ein summa gelt ein jar vmb ein guiden
 zwen hynüßer/das ist ye wücher/es sey dan die chuffte
 falsch. **Exodi. xxiij.** Wenn du gelt leichest meinem volck
 das arm ist/soltu dich nicht als ein wüchrer gegen im
 halten/vnd kainen wücher auff in treyben. Vnd **Leui.**
tici. xxv. Wenn dein Brüder verarmet/vnd ab nimbt
 bey dir/soltu in auffnemen vnd nit wücher von im ne-
 men/noch zu vil/sunder solt dich vor deinem got fürch-
 ten/auff das dein Brüder neben dir leben könne/dann
 du solt im dein gelt nicht auff wücher thun. Reichen-
 burger. Darff man dan kain liebung nemen/für müe
 vnd arbeyt/so man grof summa gelt auß leicht/das
 der müe werd ist. **Romanus.** Es leydet sich weder
 schenck/trinckgelt/oder wie mans nennen mag/wann
 Christus spricht **stracks. Luce. vj.** Ir solt leyhen/da ir
 nichts für hoffet/so wirdt ewer lon grof sein/vñ wer-
 der kinder des aller höchsten sein. Wil man aber dem
 spruch ein nasen drehen/also/man sol nit hoffen/Gibt
 man aber die haubtsun/vnd schencket etwas darne-
 ben/so mag mans nemen/So leit aber der spruch hart
 am weg **Ezechielis. xxiij.** Ein mann der da thut die
 verfluchten werck/der da leicht zum wücher/vñ mer
 dann das haubtgut ein nimbt/wirdt er dann leben/so
 er thut die verfluchten ding/er wirt nit leben/er stirbt
 des todts/vñ bleybt sein sundt auff im/spricht der herr
 Hie hört ir klerlich/was yber das haubtgut einge-
 nummen wirdt/es sey wenig oder vil/die haubtsun sey

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groß oder klein/ man geß im namen wie man wöl/ so
 steet die schrift hie/ vnd haist es wücher. Aber die le-
 hen oder zinst auff/ auff weinberg/ gerten/ ecker/ wisen
 welde/ vischwasser/ heüser/ stedel/ oder wie solche ligen-
 de güter genant werden/ laß ich den Titel vnd namen/
 den im der prophet Neemias am. v. capitel gibt/ der
 kein wirt in nit abwäschet. Reichenburger. Es ist
 nicht weniger/ ein großer mißbrauch ist im lehen/ vnd
 layder seer eingerissen. Romanus. Ja ye eingerissen/
 das der spruch redlicherfüllt ist zu vnser zeyt. Psal. lüij.
 Es hört der wücher vnd betrug nit auff in iren gassen
 Dis aber alles geet vber die armen/ wie Proverbiorum
 am. xxviij. Der da samelt die reichthum mit wücher/
 vnd mit freyem wücher/ der samelt sie wider die ar-
 men. Darumb droet got dem wücherer durch Ezechie-
 lem am. xxiij. Du hast gemünien den wücher vnd die
 vberflüssigkeit/ vnd geyziglich hastu genöt deine
 nechsten/ vnd du hast mein vergessen/ spricht der herr
 got/ vñ ich schlug zusamē mein hendt ob deiner geyzig-
 kait die du bettest. Vnd Amos. iij. Ir saisten kü höret
 das wort des herren/ die jr seyt an den bergen Sama-
 rie/ die jr thut zwancksal dem durfftigen/ vnd zerkni-
 schet den armen/ Wie man dann täglich sieht/ das die
 wücherer saist werden vom plüt der armen. Reichen-
 burger. Ey/ ey/ ey/ was sol ich antwarten/ die war-
 hait ist zu augenscheinlich am tag. Roman. Wie ge-
 waltig regirt dan s geytz mit den armen schuldigern
 die nit zu bezalen haben/ da nimster in was sie haben

würffte sie in die thürn/ist das Ewägelsch. Reichen
burger. Wenn man fert nachordnung des rechten/ist
das vnrecht. Romanus. Ir wölt Ewangeliſch sein/
nun lobt ye ſant Paulus das gericht nit ſeer vnter den
Chriſten. i. Corinth. vj. vnd nicht vnbillich/wannes
offt gar vnchriſtlich daran zügeet/mit falſche zeügen/
ayd ſchweren/das Recht lencken/Biegen/appellieren/
das Recht verlengen/da geets/weyl gelt/weyl Pro-
curator/nymier gelt/nymier Procurator/da regirt der
geyz mit vollem ſchwanck/ Da werden die Juristen
reich/von den ſchencken vnd heeltüchlein. Diſe falſche
Juristen malet got ab/durch Hieremiã am.v. capitel.
Die go. loſen ſeind erfunden vnder meinem volck/ver-
borgen als die vogler/sie legen die ſtrick vnd die floßen/
zü ſahen die mann/Als ein fall iſt vol vögel/alſo iſt jr
hauß vol falſch/darumb ſeind ſie groſmechtig/vñ ge-
reicht/vñ vbergiengen Gßplich meine wort/sie vrtailen
nicht die ſach der witwen/vñnd richten nicht die ſach
des wayſen/vnd vrtailen nicht das vrtail der armen/
haimſüchlich dan nicht diſe ding. Vnd Deutero. xxiij.
Benedeyt got diſe falſche Juristen/ſpricht. Verflücht
ſey wer das Recht des frembdlingen/des wayſen/der
witwen beüget/vnd alles volck ſagen Amē. Darumb
ſolt jr die armen nicht am Gericht vmbziehen/ſunder
mit jnen handeln nach laut des wort Gottes Prouer-
biori am. xxi. Nicht thū gewalt dem armen/darumb
das er arm iſt/Noch zerkniſch den durfftigen vor Ge-
richt/wann der herr vrtailt ſein ſach/vnd peiniget die

da habest peyniget sein seel. Reichenburger. Wie muß
 man dan mit den schuldnern leben das christlich wer/
 es sey für schuld wie sie genant mag werden. Roma-
 nus. Es steet Deutero. xxiij. Wenn du deinem brüder
 borgest/ soltu nit in sein hauf geen/vnd im ein pfandt
 nemen/sunder solt vor dem hauf steen/vñ der dem du
 borgest/sol sein pfandt heraus zu dir tragen/ist er aber
 benötigt / so soltu dich nicht schlaffen legen ob seinem
 pfandt/sunder solt im sein pfandt wider geben/ ee die
 Sunn vnder geet/ das er in seinem klaid schlaff/ vnd
 gesegen dich/ das wirdt dir vor got deinem herren/ zu
 einer gerechtigkeit gerechnet werde. Vnd Esaie. lviij.
 Das ist das fasten das ich erwelt hab/ Löß auff die zu
 samen bindung/ zerreiß die schuld zettel/ laß die frey die
 schwach seind. Vnd Ezechielis. xxiij. Wider gib das
 pfandt dem schuldnern/ nym nichts mit gewalt. So ist
 das new gesetz allenthalb vol lieb/lieb/lieb. Reichen-
 burger. Man findt aber vil böser zaler/ die es wol het-
 ten/ der gleichen vil trunckner pölg/ spiler/ hürer/ die
 also das jr vnnütz on werden vnd schuldig seind/ kan
 doch mit lieb noch gütten niemandt nichts von in brin-
 gen/liegen/ vnd vertrösten für vñ für/ halten kain glau-
 ben/ sol mans dann nicht rechtlich erfordern. Roma-
 nus. Ja die sol die weltlich oberkeit darzu halten/ wann
 sie treget das schwerdt zu rach der bösen. Rom. xij.
 Ich sag allain von den armen/ die jres nicht zu vnnutz
 on werden/sunder in krankheit vñ ander vnfall arm
 seind worde/ Vnd dannocht findt man manchen geiz

wurm/ders nicht notturfftig ist/ vnd dannocht einen
 armen von heußlichen eren treybet/Von denen spricht
 Micheas.ij. Sie haben begert die ecker vnd haben sie
 gewaltigklich genummen/vñ die heüßer beraubet. Dar-
 umb spricht der herr. Ich gedenck böse ding vber diß
 volck/Vñ jr werdt ewer helf nicht daruon abnemen.
 Vnd Prouerbiorū. xiiij. Der da peyniget den prestens
 hassigen/der lestert seinen schöpffer. Weyter am. xxiij.
 Der da peiniget den armen/das er sein reichthumb mer
 der wirdt es geben dem reichern vnd er wirdt durff-
 tig werden. Diser spruch rint manchen vnarmherzi-
 gen in büßsen/ oder auffß wenigst seinen kindern/ Den
 nach des alten todt/das güt verschwindt wie der reiff
 vom zaun/ob gleich der alt karg im reichthumb bleybt
 sitzen sein lebenlang/krazt vnd schart steers herzü/mit
 oßen angezeygten stücken vñ ducken (wan der bauch
 der geyzigen ist vnerflich. Prouerbiorū am. xiiij.) vñ
 braucht doch der reichthumb nicht/ wie dan steet Sa-
 pientie. v. Der geyzig wirdt nicht erfüllt mit gelt/vnd
 der lieb hat die reichthumb/wirdt nit nemen die frucht
 auß in. Vnd Amos. v. Darumb das jr habt betrübet
 den armen/vnd nembt von in den erwelten raub/Jr
 werdet sawen mit quaderstainen heüßer/vnd werdt
 nit wonen darinnen/Jr werdt pflanzen die allerlieb-
 lichsten weinberg/vnd werdt nicht trincken den wein
 auß in/wie dan dem reichen man geschach. Luce. xij.
 Der sprach. Is vñ trinck liebe seel/du hast ein grossen
 furradt/auff vil jar/sey frölich. Got sprach aber. Du

nar/dise nacht wirdt man dein seel vō dir fordern/vñ
 wes wirts sein das du bereyt hast. Also geet es (sprich:
 Christus) wer im schertz samelt/ vnd ist nicht reich in
 Got. Darumb spricht Christus Matthei. xvj. Was
 hulffs den menschen das er die ganz welt gewun/ vnd
 līd doch schaden an seiner seel. Auch steet Ecclesia. v.
 Nicht wöllest sorgsam sein in den vngerechten reich-
 tumben/ dan sie nützen dir nicht in dem tag deiner be-
 grebnūß/ vñ an dem tag der rach/ vnd Ezechiel. vij.
 Sophonie. i. Ir silber vnd jr golt mag sie nit helffen/
 am tag des zorns des herren. Darumb lieber juncker
 Reichenburger/ wer vil besser/ wie Proverbiorū. xv.
 wenig mit der forcht gottes/ dan vil schertz vnd vnerset-
 lich/ wañ es spricht Abacuck. ij. Wee dem der zusamen
 samlet die bösen geyzigkait. Vnd Ecclesi. i. Nichts ist
 übel thetigers dan der geyzig/ nichts ist böser dan lieb
 haben das gelt/ wañ der hat fail sein seel. Vnd Chri-
 stus Luce. xij. Hütet euch vor dem geytz/ wañ niemant
 lebt darvon das er volle genüge hab an seinen güttern.
 Reichenburger. Ein warhaffter Christ waif wol/
 das er nūr ein schaffner ist vber das zeytlich gūt/ vnd
 das man nichts mit im eingrebt/ wie Ecclesiastes. v.
 Als er ist außgangen von dem leyß seiner mäter/ also
 fert er wider vñnd nimbt nichts mit im von seiner ar-
 beyt. Vñnd. i. Timothei. vj. Wir haben nichts in die
 welt bracht/ darumb offenbar ist/ wir wer den nichts
 drauß bringen. Derhalb ein warer Christ nicht sorg-
 fellig ist vñs das zeytlich/ das er vil schertz samel/ wie

Matth. vi. sunder wie. j. Timoth. vi. wenn wir fater
 vnd deck haben/so laßt vns genügen/dan die da reich
 werde wollen/die fallen in versuchung vñ strick/vñ vil
 schädlicher lust/welche versencken den mēschen in ver-
 derben vñ verdammis/warumb wolt dann ein recht
 gläubiger sich mit solchen/von euch vor angezeygten
 stücken vñ dücken/besudeln/Wo aber einem recht ge-
 wunnen güt zū steet/in erbfol/heyrat/oder mit gerech-
 ten kauff hendeln/solt der selbig darumb nicht got an-
 hängen mögen. Romanus. Christus spricht Matth.
 am. vi. Wo ewer schatz ist/da ist auch ewer hertz. Vnd
 niemant kan zweyen herren dienen/ Entweder/Er
 wirt den einen hassen/vñ den andern lieben/ Ir kōndt
 nicht got dienen vnd dem reichthumb/wan der samen
 des wort gottes/so vnter die dōner der reichthumb selz
 wirt durch forfeltigkeit erstecht/geet nie auff das er
 frucht bring. Matth. xiiij. Darumb geet es hart zū/
 wie Christus spricht Matth. xij. Marci. i. Luce. xviij.
 Wie schwerlich werden die reichen ins reich Gottes
 künien/Leichter ist das ein Cameel durch ein nadel o-
 ge. Reichenburger. Es steet Marci. i. mit den wort-
 ten/wie schwer ist das die/so jr vertrauen in die reich-
 tumb setzen/ins reich gottes künien. Also waren Abra-
 ham/Isaac/Jacob/Dauid/Job/vnd vil vāter/reich/
 setzten aber kein hoffnūg darein/ists nit noch möglich
 das man reich sey/vñ doch das hertz nit auff die reich-
 tumb setz/wie Paulus lert. j. Corinth. viij. Die da kauf-
 fen/sollen thūn als behielten sie nit/Vnd die sich diser

welt gebräuchen/ als bräuchten sie jr nit/ wo das hertz
 also frey ledig von den zeytlichen gütern gelassen stee/
 sein zäuersicht in Got vnd nit in die güter setz/ im Be-
 mügen leyt/ nit geitzigklich darnach strebt/ sunder Be-
 rayt ist/ sie zülaffen wenn got wil/ vnd sich sein Christ-
 lichen Braucht gen den armen/ wie Luce. xvj. Macht
 euch freündt von dem vnrechten māmon/ auff das sie
 euch/ wenn jr darbet/ in jr ewige hütten nemen. Roma-
 nus. Ja das gieng hyn/ solcher maß reich zū sein/ Wo
 aber der armen vergessen wirdt/ sunder zū jm zeucht/
 wie vor gesagt / oder aber die reichthum verzert mit
 grossen Bracht vnd wollust des leybs/ wie der reich
 man Luce. xvj. Herlich beklayd/ aß vnd tranck alltag
 scheinparlich/ lief den armen Lazarum manglen der
 proßlein/ vor der thür sitzen elendt/ zū solchen reichen
 wirt auch in ihener welt mit dem reichen man gesagt
 Sun/ gedenc/ du hast güttes entpfangen in disem le-
 ben/ die armen aber böses. Nun aber werde die armen
 getröst/ vñ du aber wirst gepeiniget. Reichenburger
 Ey man findt/ Got sey lob/ vil reicher/ seyt das wort
 gottes also klar gepredigt wirdt/ die haup armen vnd
 andern miltigklich handtreichung thūn/ leyhen vnd
 geben. Romanus/ O die armen werden bey etlichen
 reichen sawr entpfangen/ wie Proverbiorū. xviij. Der
 arm redt mit Bittungen/ der reich aber spricht hertig-
 lich auß/ Nun stee. j. Johānis. iij. Wer diser welt güt-
 ter hat/ vnd sieht sein Brüder mangeln/ vñ schleüß sein
 hertz vor jm zū/ wie bleibt die lieb gottes in jm. Weyter

am. iiii. Wer sein Brüder nit liebet / den er sieht / wie kan
er got lieben / den er nit sieht / darbey spürt man / das jr
nür habt das Ewangelisch wort vnd nicht die werck
seyt man die lieb so klain spürt / so seyt jr allain ein klin-
gende schell / wie euch Paulus nent. i. Corinthior. xiiij.

Reichenburger / Solt man yedem geben nach seinem
Beger / verließ sich mancher dar auff / vnd lege auff der
betlerey / vñ arbeytet nit / sie seind nit all noturfftig die
betlen / darumb ist man in nit allen schuldig zu geben /
wann wer nit arbeyt / der sol nit essen. ij. Thessalon. iij.

Romanus / Welche also wol arbeyten mögen / thünts
aber nit / legen sich auff den faulen bettel / die solt man
straffen / das nit andere arme jr entgelten müsten / ye-
doch seyt jr etwas den armen zu hert / so ein armer et-
wan selzamer zeyt wein trinckt (dem es villeicht auch
not thut) spricht jr reichen dann / was sol man armen
geben / sie verressens / versauffens alls / sollich aufzug /
vnd der gleichen / sucht allain der verborgen geys im
hertzen / Seyt jr nun in geringsten nit trew seyt / wer
wil euch das merer vertrauen Luce. xvj. Darbey er-
kent man auch / das jr kinder diser welt / vnd nit kinder
des liechts seyt. Paulus haist den geys ein abgötterey
Ephes. v. vñ ist eben recht benent / wan in dienen nit
allain die reichē an gütern / sonder allerley stend / secht
wie Pawren / Zantwercks leüt / so argennützig seind /
vñ zeucht yeder in seinen sack / vñ ist des neyden / hassen
rechten / sechten kain ende bey in / wollen dannocht all

C

güt Ewangelisch sein/ vnd ist alles vol geytz (wie vor
 geredt) vom minsten bis zum maißten/ Bedarf mit vil
 probierens/ der täglich hauch zaigt es augenscheinlich
 mit den new finden/ liegen/ triegen/ entragen/ verraten
 stelen/ rauben/ morden/ falsch spilen/ sich selbs hencken/
 trencken/ das Paulus wol war sagt. i. Timothei. vj.
 Geytz ist ein wurzel alles üßels/ Wie dunckt euch nun
 lieber Juncker/ ob jr layen wol gleich wasser mit vns
 geystlichen an einer stanben trüget/ des geytz halben/
 welcher vnder euch ist on sündt/ der werff den ersten
 stain auff vns Johānis. viij. Reichenburger/ Ich be-
 ken/ das lay der vil aygennütziger karger reichen vnter
 vns seind/ wie vß euch angezaygt/ dargegen aber auch
 gütte Christen/ die vberschwal almüßen geben/ in der
 still/ nit wie die phariseer/ das man vor busaun/ sündet
 wie Mathei. vj. das die linck handt nit waiß was die
 recht thut/ Darnach maynt jr Closterleüt/ darumß
 das man euch nymer vil geb/ schenck/ stift/ es geb nie-
 mandt kain almüßen mer/ vnd sey den armen hert/ die
 rechten armen klagen nicht/ allain die faulen sterzger/
 darumß dürfft jr die Ewangelischen leer nit mit dem
 geytz besüßlen/ von etlicher geytzwürm wegen/ so mer
 haydnisch dan Christlich leben/ wes das hertz vol ist/
 geet der mündt vber Luce. vj. also ist euch auch. Ro-
 manus/ Ich redt wie ich waiß/ wann erwer der maißt
 tayl die sich Ewangelisch rümen/ ligen im geytz bis
 vber die oren. Reichenburger/ Ich bin gütter hoffnüg

Das wort gottes werdt den geiz mit sampt bösen he-
 deln vñ offentliche lastern zu boden stoßen/mit der zeijt/
 wañ got spricht durch Esaiam. lv. Als der regen vñd
 schnee/in der steygt vom hymel/vñ kert nit wider dar/
 sunder begeußt die erdt vñ macht sie grünen/vñd gibe
 den samen dem seenden/vñ das prot dem essenden/also
 ist mein wort/das da auß geet vñ meinem munde/es
 kert nit wider zu meinem munde/sunderes wirt glück-
 lich faren in all dem darzu ich es auß sende. Roma-
 nus/Jr habt das wort gottes (wie jes nent) lang pre-
 digt/ich sich aber noch kein enderung/dañ was jr mit
 vns geystlichen mütwilt. Reichenburger/Da thut es
 auch am nötfsten/wann ewer lügenhaftige leer vñnd
 menschen gebot haben zu hart eingewurtzelt /da hat
 man noch lang an auß zu reütten/vñd pflantz allmit
 das lauter wort gottes neben auff/Got wirdt das ge-
 deyen wol geben/wie. j. Corinth. iij. wie auch Christus
 spricht Marci. iij. wie der geseet samen on alle züthä-
 ung des bawmans/selber auß geet/bringet vñ ersten
 gras/Darnach eher/Darnach volkommen frucht des
 waizen/also auch dürff wir nit sorgen wen die frucht
 volg/wo das Ewägeli recht predigt wirt/sie kumbt
 von jr selbsts. Romanus/So hör ich wol /man müß
 nür predigen/Glaub/glaub/Lieb/lieb/vñd die hellisch
 gruntsup des geiz/eebruch/vñd ander offentlich laster
 schweygē/die wider gottes gesetz täglich im schwancf
 geend/da wirt sich die falsch vernunft fein auß wick-

len vñ jr sach gerecht glosiren. Got aber spricht durch
 Hieremias. li. Nicht wöllet schweygen irer misserhat/
 wann die zeyt irer rach ist von dem herren. Vnd durch
 Ezechiel. xxiij. Du sin des menschen vrtailstu dan nit
 die stat der sünden/vñ zaigest jr all jr verfluchte werck
 So aber solchs geschech/glaub ich/ewer wenig wur-
 den herfür treten mit Zacheo Luce. xix. vnd sprechen/
 Sihe herr den halben tail meiner güter gib ich den
 armen/vñ so ich einen betrogen hab/gib ichs vierfeltig
 wider/Sunder vil mer wurden ewer vil hinder sich
 treten vnd sprechen/das ist ein harte red/wer mag die
 hören/wie die junger/Johannis. vi. wurd villeicht zu
 letzt selber mit feusten darein schlagen/wo euch dar-
 under abgieng/oder ewer schandt vnd laster vor aller
 meniglich an tag kem/wol hört jrs gern weyl es vber
 münich vñ Psaffen geet/wie Herodes/hort Johanne
 auch Christu predigen/vnd gehorcht jm in vil sachen/
 Do er jm aber sein aygen misserhat an zayget/der He-
 rodie halb/do müst Johanes in kercker/vnd den kopff
 verliern/das schmecken auch ewer Ewangelisch pre-
 diger/vñ halten sein hinder dem berg. Reichenburger
 Ey verziecht/es wirt mit der zeyt alls an tag künien/
 wann das gesetz gottes müß alweg neben dem Ewan-
 geli erklärt vñ angezaigt werden/dem menschen sein
 Boshaftig hertz/welchs vñ jugent auff zu Boshait ge-
 naigt ist Genesis am. viij. erschrecken vnd demütig zu
 machen/alsdan wirt er begirig der gnad so jm durch
 Christu im Ewangelio für getragen vñ angebotten

wirdt/Also macht das gesetz das hertz nit rechtfertig
 vor got/sunder bereyt das hertz zu der rechtfertigung/
 das durch das ewägeliū geschicht/das verendert das
 hertz mit einem lebendigen vertrauen in Christo/wo
 got mit würckt.Colos.ij.alßdan volge rechtgeschaff-
 ne fruchte hernach. Romanus/Der gūten fruchte spür
 ich noch kaine vnter euch/sunder wo es dem leyß wol
 thūt/als mit Seichten/fasten/beten/kirchen geen/opfern
 wallen/vñ mit fleyß essen/auf den Clöstern lauffen.
 vñ der gleichen/ist im brauch/vñ vber das bleybt jr
 vnuerchampt in vorigen haidnischē lastern/als geytz/
 eebuch/härerē/seindschafft/auffrur/zorn/zäck/neyd
 haß/nachreden/mordt/vntrew/spilen/goglestern/zü-
 trincken/sauffen/tanzen/hoffart/stechen/rennen/vñ
 gehorsam/Auf disen fruchten man euch hayden vñ
 mit Christen vrtailt/wañ Christus spricht Matthei
 am.vij.Bey jren fruchten solt jr sie erkennen. Reichen-
 burger/Sie seind layder den wenigsten tail Christen/
 die sich schon des Ewägeliō rümen/wañ der spruch
 bleybt war/Matthei. xij. Vil seind berüffen/wenig
 aber außervölt. Dise haben nür ein gedichten won/
 auß fleyß vñ plüt erschöpft/vñ wenden die Ewan-
 gelischē freyhait zur lust/vñ raum des fleyß/dar vor
 Paulus warnet Galath.v.tretten also die edlen mar-
 gariten ins kot wie die schwein/Matthei.vij.Bleiben
 also in jren vorigen haydnischen lastern ersuffen vñ
 verstockt/dem Ewangelio zū grosser schmach vñ er-

D

geruiff/ mit der zeyt wirt aber gegen solchen vñ andern
der gleich gehandelt/ nach der leer Pauli. j. Corinth. v.
got erbarm sich jr vnd vnser aller/ wañ wir seind alle
sunder/ vnd ist keiner der nicht sündigt. iij. Regū. viij.

Romanus/ So hör ich wol die rechten christen leben
auch nit on sünde. Reichenburger/ Ja es steet. j. Johā.
nis. j. So wir sagen/ wir haben kein sündt/ so verfiern
wir vns selbs/ vñ die warhait ist nit in vns/ wañ weil
fleysch vnd plüt lebet/ sucht es alle zeyt das sein wider
den geyst/ wie Galath. v. Das fleysch gelustet wider
den geyst/ vñ den geyst wider das fleisch/ da dienet das
creutz vnd leyden zū/ wie. j. Petri. iij. Wer im fleysch
leydet/ der hört auff vñ sünden. Auch leßt got seine auß.
welte fallen zū zeytten in außere laster/ als Dauid in
eebruch. ij. Regū. xj. Vnd Petrum in die verlaugnung
Matthei am. xxvj. vnd kumbt jnen doch alles zū güt/
werdem nach gethaner sündt dürstig nach Gottes
Barmherzigkait/ schreyen/ Abba lieber vater/ vergiß
vns vnser schuld. Rom. viij. Matthei. vj. werden als
dann von Got gnedigklich an genummen/ wie der ver-
loren sin Luce am. xv. vnd fester im glauben/ dan vor
das fallen vnd auffsteen/ wert für vnd für/ wie Pro-
uerbioriū am. xxiij. Der gerecht felt im tag sitzen mall/
bis doch endlich im todt/ der alt Adam/ fleysch vñnd
plüt/ gar vnter geet/ als dan kumbt ein vollkummen geist-
lich leben/ des durff wir hie mit nichte warten in dem
leyb der sünden. Roman. Ich hab sorg lieber Juncker

wenig leüt nemen dise leer der massen an/wie jr saget/
 man spürt ye weder gotzdiennst/ noch die werck der
 lieb zc. Reichenburger/ Jr saget ymmer spüren/spüren/
 wißt jr nicht/das Reich gottes kumbt nicht mit auff-
 mercken/das man möcht sprechen/Sihe hie oder da/
 sunder es ist inwendig im hertzen/Matthei am. xviij.
 Der ware Gottes dienst geet nicht mit eussern geber-
 den. Die waren anbeter beten Got im geyst vnd in der
 warhait an/ Johannis am. iij. So geend die werck
 der lieb/gegen dem nechsten/ganz einfeltig in der stil/
 on allen bracht/ Derhalb mainen die werck heyligen/
 es diene niemant got/wie zu der zeyt Helie. iij. Regum
 am. xij. maint auch er dient allain dem waren Got in
 Israel/waren doch wol sibzen tausent/die ire knye mit
 vor dem abgot Baal gebogen hetten/vnd got dienten/
 Also auch maint jr geystlosen/es besser sich der hyl-
 samen Ewangelischen leer niemant/seyt die aufwen-
 digen sündt noch im schwancf geend/vorauf von den
 die sich Ewangelisch rümen/mit sampt andern welt
 kindern/Also muß es aber geen / wie die Philistiner/
 Cananiter/Zidoniter/Zettitter/vnter Israel wonten
 Judicum. iij. Also muß güt vnd böß vnder einander
 wonen/ Got aber waif die Gotseligen / auf der ver-
 suchung zu lösen/Die gotlosen aber zum tag des Ge-
 richts zu peinigen. ij. Petri. ij. Also erhalt got die seinen
 in der bößhafftigen welt/wie die drey kinder im feur-
 gen offen/ Danielis am. iij. wachssen also vnder den

welt kindern auff/in der stil veracht/verfolgt/vnd ver-
 schmecht/vnachtsam/wie die Lilig vnder den dönnern
 Canicorū. ij. der welt ganz vnbeant/bis zu der zept
 der Ernt/alsdann werden die welt kinder mit sampt
 dem vnkraut ins feur geworffen/vnd die kinder Got-
 tes mit sampt dem waizen in die ewig schewren ge-
 halten. Romanus/Hört/hört man leitet vesper/wie
 sein wir in das gezenck kumen/mein für geminen sach
 ist noch vnaufgericht. Reichenburger/Ir habt vns
 zwar gnüg bestochen/Ich glaub/seyt jr vnns der leer
 nicht schenden kündet/so wölt jr sie schmechen mit vn-
 serm sündigen leben. Romanus/By so thut euch des
 haydnischen leben ab. j. Petri am. iij. Lebet nach dem
 willen Gottes Christlich/Als dann spricht man/dise
 newe leer ist auß got/wann das volck wirdt gotselig
 daruon/wann ein güter Baum kan ye kein böse frucht
 bringen. Ein güter mensch bringt güts herfür/ auß
 dem güten schatz seines hertzen/ Luce am. vi. capitel.
 Reichenburger/Ir seyt vbersichtig/secht nüt in die
 höhe/auff den grossen weltlichen hauffen/der dann
 (wie vor) alle mall mit lesterlichen sünden herein firt/
 daran werdet jr dann gar starnblindt/salt wider zu
 ruck auff ewer zierliche gleisnerey/halt die für heylig
 Wo jr aber recht wolt/solt jr in die schrifft schawen/
 was got geboten/verbotten/oder frey gelassen het/wan
 jr durch gnad das ergriff/alsdann wurdet jr der kün-
 ten vnd aller auffseß nicht hoch achten. Romanus/

Ich hab noch kein lust zu ewerm hauffen/ weyl also
 ruzigs vnd reudigs durcheinander geet / Wenn aber
 ein hyrt vnd ein schaffstal wurd / alsdann wolt ich
 mein kutten an zaun hencken/ vnd zum hauffen treten
 Es hat auch sunst noch ein griff/ ist der feel/ ist es noch
 hohe zeyt. Reichenburger/ Ir seyt des volcks/ da got
 vß sagt/ Esaie am. lxx. Den ganzen tag hab ich mein
 hendt auß gerecht/ zum volck das im nicht sagen leßt/
 vnnnd wider spricht mir/ Darumb schawt das ewer
 flucht nit zu spat im Winter oder Sabbath geschehe/
 Matthei am. xxiij. Romanus/ Ein ander mal mer/
 ich schayd mit wissen/ lieber Juncker Reichenburger/
 got sey mit euch. Reichenburger/ Amen.

Psalmo. j.

Selig ist der man der sich tag vnd nacht übet im ge-
 setz des herrn/ er wirdt sein wie ein holz/ gepflanzt zu
 den flüssen der wasser/ das da gibt sein frucht zu seiner
 zeyt.

