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The Dialogue as a Genre of German Reformation Literature, 1520–1530

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**University of St Andrews
Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
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I, Fiona M. K. Campbell, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 90 000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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ABSTRACT

'The Dialogue as a Genre of German Reformation Literature, 1520–1530'

The thesis comprises an examination of pamphlets in dialogue form written and published in the German-speaking area in the 1520s, a crucial period for the spread of ideas by various media at the start of the Reformation.

The early years of the Reformation were characterised by an atmosphere of debate and controversy between those who spread the new teaching, those who wished to defend the old and those who sought to keep the peace. The literary genre of the dialogue reflects this mood and also aims to promote key concepts, not only of Reformation teaching, but also of the way in which this was to be implemented in the community. Dialogues reflect the various intentions of Reformation propaganda, indicating tensions within the genre: some dialogues are uncompromising in their attacks on the clergy, others promote understanding and some level of toleration.

The first section of the study examines the ways in which discussions arise, the rules of debate, ways in which arguments develop, and how the discussion is brought to a close. It also looks at the outcome of the dialogue and the expected reactions of the interlocutors. The second part deals with the context of the dialogues and types of discussion and debate, both casual and formal. It considers public and private spheres of debate and how these interact, and the influence of the academic disputation and the town colloquy on the literary dialogue. The third section looks at the interaction of various forms of communication and at the perusal of dialogue pamphlets. It deals particularly with the relationship between oral and written forms of communication as exemplified in the dialogue, a written representation of oral communication. Related to this is the study of reading practices as described in dialogues. In this context the sphere of private reading and readers' resultant handwritten marginalia are discussed, addressing the issue of the texts' reception. The thesis aims to look not only at dialogue and dialogicity within the texts themselves but also at various levels surrounding the texts.

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The spelling conventions of sixteenth-century German, such as the usage of 'i' and 'j', 'u' and 'v' and 'ü', 'ö' and 'ä', have been maintained, apart from the contractions 'ē', 'ā', 'ō', 'ū', 'ñ' and 'd', which have been written out in full as 'en', 'an', 'on', 'un', 'nd' and 'der'.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ARG *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*
- BSHPF *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*
- CollGerm *Colloquia Germanica*
- HAB *Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel*
- SCJ *Sixteenth Century Journal*
- StA UL *St Andrews University Library*
- VD16 *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*
- ZfG *Zeitschrift für Germanistik*
- ZfdPh *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*

INTRODUCTION

The most fundamental distinguishing feature of the dialogue is a concern with communication; with the problem of what people do with language and what they do with knowledge.

(Cox 1992, 6)

The dissemination of Reformation teaching and the art of communication in the period are of central concern to the study of Reformation history. The means by which people were persuaded to accept and reject reformers' appeals and messages are various, and encompass a number of media and genres, oral, written and visual. It is clear that those who aimed to persuade were aware of the different methods they could and should use.

Pamphlets, short printed texts, cheaply produced, were one of the main means of persuasion used, alongside preaching and discussion. Pamphlets were written in various forms, including the sermon, the exhortation, the letter, and the dialogue. All these forms provide evidence of the adaptation of existing literary and rhetorical forms to the needs of the reformers and their opponents.

The Reformation dialogue, with its roots in Classical literature and its more immediate influence in the form of the humanist dialogue, was a popular literary form for pamphlets, especially in the early 1520s. The move from the Latin to the German dialogue was due to a large extent, but not solely, to the impact of the translation of four of Ulrich von Hutten's dialogues into his *Gespräch büchlin* (G49) in 1521. Up to 1525, the dialogue developed from the humanist text to one which was adopted and adapted by clerics, artisans and others and which expanded in its usage and diversity. Subsequently, the form became more or less restricted to serious theological debate as the first phase of

the Reformation passed and detailed debates on points of doctrine replaced the discussion of more general themes and polemic. The development of the dialogue in German is an important part of the development of vernacular literature in the period.

Most work on Reformation dialogues until recently has taken the form of a survey of the dialogues written between 1520 and 1525, describing interlocutors and themes, especially the use of the peasant figure, with a limited attempt to place these into the context of other forms of writing and persuasion of the period. Such work includes *Die Dialogliteratur der Reformationszeit nach ihrer Entstehung und Entwicklung* of 1905 by Niemann and Elspeth Davidson's doctoral thesis 'An Examination of German Reformation Dialogues, 1520–1525' of 1982. Editions of dialogues, in particular those of Berger (1931), Lenk (1968) and Bentzinger (1983), concentrate on dialogues which use peasant and artisan interlocutors and tend to ignore the diversity of the genre; they also tend because of this to define the dialogue genre as one which was almost solely intended for such kinds of people. More recent work includes chapters in works on Reformation propaganda and polemic and on the transmission of Reformation teaching, such as Jackson (1989) and Matheson (1998). The significance of the genre for the study of the dissemination of Reformation teaching has been recognised by Reformation historians, such as Robert Scribner, but little concentrated work on dialogues has been done. Rudolf Bentzinger's study of the syntax of Reformation dialogues (1992) attempts to analyse the use of written and spoken language in the dialogues, but is very limited both in the number of dialogues examined and the conclusions which are drawn. More useful is Johannes Schwitalla's section on the argumentation of dialogues in his book *Deutsche Flugschriften 1460–1525: Textsortengeschichtliche Studien* (1983). Work on pamphlets, especially those by

the laity, has been carried out by Paul Russell (1986), Martin Arnold (1990), and Miriam Usher Chrisman (1982b, 1996).

The most extensive study of Reformation dialogues to date is that of Jürgen Kampe in his book, *Problem "Reformationsdialog": Untersuchungen zu einer Gattung im reformatorischen Medienwettbewerb* (1997). Kampe deals with a large number of texts, successfully places the dialogue in the framework of sixteenth-century rhetoric and examines its role as a means of persuasion alongside the sermon and other forms of instruction. His work includes analysis of dialogue titles and of argumentation, highlighting the importance of language, and concentrating on the significance of rhetoric. He recognises that oral forms of communication were important in influencing the dialogue, and that it aimed to reflect and influence these, but his study does not allow for a detailed examination of this point in conjunction with the context of different levels of discussion in contemporary society. His final chapter provides a useful basis for analysing dialogue texts according to a number of criteria such as theme, authorship and the structure of argumentation. The work concentrates on the texts themselves rather than on the context and provides valuable insight into rhetorical features of the dialogues.

This thesis aims to take the study of the dialogues further into the field of the interaction of different forms of persuasion, in particular the relation between oral discussion and the written dialogue. As a written representation of oral discussion, whether fictional or actual, the dialogue pamphlet epitomises this relationship. Robert Scribner has contributed invaluable work to the study of different aspects of propaganda and the formation of public opinion in the Reformation period, particularly in *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (1994a) and in his article 'Oral Culture and the Transmission of Reformation Ideas' (1989). He gives much anecdotal evidence

which can be used in conjunction with more specific analysis of literary texts to establish links between the literature of the period and contemporary praxis, as well as indicating the role of the literature in the formation of public opinion in the Reformation.

The use of the dialogue form is self-evidently significant, if only because of the sheer number of dialogue texts printed in the 1520s, and study of the genre necessitates an investigation of why the form was used, and how it was used in the specific context of the Reformation. The way in which an argument is presented to its public is an integral part of the argument itself, and in this way the dialogue structure forms part of the message conveyed within the dialogue pamphlet. The use of dialogue can tell us about the intentions of the author, the type of audience at which he was aiming, the way in which he regarded the role of such literature in the sphere of Reformation polemic and propaganda as a whole, and the ways in which he expected or intended his message to be received. Different authors used dialogue form in different ways, depending on these criteria and on their individual perceptions of the contemporary world and its controversies. Genre awareness is crucial to their writings, and it must be asked why and how they used the dialogue form, as such a choice is not a chance one. As rhetoric would teach, the form should be used to influence the audience to accept the message; authors, and even interlocutors, were aware of this. The influence of humanist teaching and rhetoric cannot be ignored in this context, as Kampe (1997) has demonstrated.

The use of dialogue form influences the argumentation and structure of the texts and the use of language. This is particularly relevant to the use of oral aspects of language, a feature which influences the texts' form and content as well as their reception. The way in which the literary dialogue, and literature as a whole, fits into the contemporary world is an important aspect of the study of

genre, and this is evident in the influences on the dialogue in the Reformation, as it picks up on contemporary patterns of discussion and persuasion and in turn aims to influence these. The dialogue pamphlet, as is the case with other forms of writing, affects the way in which its recipients view the issues discussed, or at least aims to do so.¹ The genre is clearly dialogic in its structure, but as with any genre, it has a dialogic relationship with its context, reflecting and aiming to influence the context. The interaction of public and private spheres of influence on the dissemination and acquisition of Reformation teaching is one which is reflected within the dialogues themselves as they deal with both spheres in their use of discussion patterns and locations.

Contemporary reading practices are also important in understanding the role of pamphlets in the Reformation world, and here another level of dialogicity is evident. Whether texts were read publicly or privately influences the way in which their content was perceived and processed. One aspect of the pamphlets which has not been investigated until now is their reception in terms of actual evidence found written on the texts by readers in the form of marginalia. This completes the dialogue process between author and reader, providing the other side of the debate and an answer to the author's intentions. Although the type of reader who wrote on pamphlets does not represent every kind of reader, the study of such evidence gives at least some insight into the reception of the texts in the contemporary world. It furthers our understanding of the kind of people who read such literature and of their perception of the texts, both in terms of form and content. It can be seen how the generic expectations are fulfilled or broken by the readers' responses.

¹Cf. Bauer (1969, 211) on the importance of visualising and imagining the discussion: 'Deshalb wirkt das Drama als die "spannendste" Gattung, deshalb sind innerhalb von Erzählungen die in wörtlichem Dialog wiedergegebenen Szenen die lebhaftesten, und deshalb gilt auch der philosophische Dialog als lebendiger, wirkungsvoller (zuweilen auch im negativen Sinne als zu sehr auf direkten Effekt bedacht) als jede systematische Untersuchungs- und Darstellungsart'.

Attempts to define the dialogue pamphlets as solely literary, or on the other hand as non-literary writings, seem to be futile, though this is often the attitude to such works. Literature of this period and this type was written in response to the controversies of the time, and the adoption and adaptation of literary genres does not lessen the literary achievement of the texts, nor does the use of literary forms rule out a strong link to and representation of actual praxis and perceptions. The juxtaposition and conflict between these perceptions is one which must be borne in mind when examining the dialogue pamphlets. The separation of 'historical' and 'literary' approaches to this literature is an unrealistic one, and is also irrelevant to the study of 'genre' in general, as context helps define genre.

CHAPTER ONE: GENRE MARKERS IN THE OPENING PASSAGES OF THE DIALOGUES

The way genre establishes a relationship between author and reader might fruitfully be labelled a generic contract. Through such signals as the title [...] and the incorporation of familiar topoi into his opening lines, the poet sets up such a contract with us. He effectively agrees that he will follow at least some of the patterns and conventions we associate with the genre [...] in which he is writing, and we in turn agree that we will pay close attention to certain aspects of his work.

(Dubrow 1982, 31)

The contract which the author sets up with the addressee may be seen as a dialogue between the two. The author awakes the addressee's interest, signalling to him what to expect from the text, and the reader will come to the text with his preconceptions of the genre's attributes. The author may then fulfil these expectations, or may lead the reader on an unexpected path.¹ In this way, the generic expectations of the reader or listener are widened or concentrated, confirmed or modified, so that the genre is able to develop and metamorphose continually in response to the events and ideologies of the age in which it is written and to the various functions which are attributed to it.

It is therefore central to a study of the Reformation dialogue to investigate the way in which generic signals develop, how they become the expected markers of the genre in this period and how these features are then adapted and even violated through the dialogue's development in the 1520s.

¹Gilman (1993, 8): 'Any rule or prescription that decides categorization obviously exerts an influence on form but, at the same time, invites violation of that prescription'.

OPENING PASSAGES

In the Reformation dialogue the authorial contract is clearly set up in the opening passages of the texts, quite apart from the almost inevitable description on the title page of the text as a 'Dialogus', 'Gesprächbüchlein', or one of the variations on these types (cf. Kampe 1997, 80–99). The reader therefore usually knows from the start to expect a conversation or debate in the pamphlet, but there are several types of dialogues, and genre markers often give an indication of the specific type of dialogue the reader should expect. Generic signals involve the introduction of a setting, where this occurs, greetings, and the use of formulaic questions and responses to introduce the main topic of discussion.

Genre markers are also used to set up conditions for discussion within the dialogue situation between interlocutors, again indicating to the reader the likely process of discussion and the possible outcome of the discussion. Here, the interlocutors show an awareness of genre internal to the text, so that it is not just apparent on the level of author and audience. Tied into this is the use of a setting for the discussion, as this often gives rise to certain types of conversation. The distinction between spontaneous and preplanned discussions is also relevant, as the situations involved in these necessitate different types of questioning and different patterns of discussion.

Some valuable work in this area has been done by Johannes Schwitalla (1983, 128–33), who has defined several formulaic openings to dialogues and set out ways in which arguments are structured to bring about the main topic of discussion. However, he concentrates on those dialogues which he terms 'Die typischen deutschen Dialogflugschriften' so does not cover the whole spectrum of dialogues available (*ibid.*, 117).

DEVICES TO ESTABLISH THE MAIN SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION

a) Greetings

Greetings at the opening of dialogues, a feature of everyday conversation, and generally formulaic there, become markers of the genre, preceding the questions which introduce the main subject. Latin greetings are often found in German dialogues, from the likes of the 'Pfarrer and Schultheiss' dialogue of 1521 onwards. These greetings may vary slightly, but generally include at least the phrase 'Bonus dies', or a version of this: 'Schultheysz. Herr pfarrer: bona dies / seint wilkum in das wirtzhauß' (G7, aii^r). By Hans Sachs's time this has developed further:

Schuster. Bonus dies Köchin.
 Köchin. Semper quies. Seydt wilkumm meister Hans.
 Schuster. Got danck euch [...].
 Chorherr. A/ Beneueneritis meister han: 1s.
 Schuster. Deo gratias.

(G72, 45)²

Such set greetings are also evident in German at the start of dialogues.³ These are perhaps closer to real-life conversations because they are in the language of everyday conversation, at least that of most of these interlocutors, not Latin, unless such Latin phrases are in fact evidence of everyday urban usage by lay folk. Still, the use of German phrases is part of the Germanisation of the dialogue genre, moving away from the exclusive sphere of Latinists:

²Similar greetings are found in the 'Schwabacher Kasten' dialogue (G38) and Jörg Motschieder's *Eyn newer Dialogus oder gespräch* (G60).

³According to Niemann (1905, 71), such greetings are also found in the *Fastnachtspiel* tradition. Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, 339) claims that 'everyday speech is not concerned with forms of representation, but only with means of *transmission*'. However, this may miss the point that these dialogues are in fact not everyday speech, but formulated and structured written texts, and that they do not truly reflect speech anyway.

[Son]. Fryd in ewigkeit sey diesem hauß / Gott helff dir / mein lieber vater. Vat[er]. Gott danck dir / sihe Beneuenerttes meynn lieber sūn / du lieber sun wo kōmbstu her des landes.

(G16, ai^v)

Bru[o]der Götzer. Got grieiß dich lieber Scotus. Scotus Danck hab lieber Götzer. Götzer. Von wannen kompst du her.

(G15, Aii^r)

As is seen in the first example, interlocutors often wish each other peace in such greetings. The conversation thus begins on an amicable note with God's blessing.

b) Formulaic questions and answers

The first exchanges of a dialogue must obviously be carefully considered by the author; he must decide how he is going to introduce the main theme of his text. The words and phrases used to lead up to the main theme are significant, and there are several formulaic questions and answers which reappear in different dialogues, phrases which have become standardised openings for the dialogues, much in the same way as some settings have.⁴ There is more of a wish to seem natural than an actual achievement of this.⁵

In several dialogues, the interlocutors meet, exchange greetings, ask each other's news or what is going on, and thereby come to discuss the latest polemics or religious controversy. Johannes Schwitalla (1983, 129) defines these

⁴Cf. Searle (1997, 238): 'each speech act creates a space of possibilities of appropriate response speech acts'. However, "'adjacency pairs" such as question/answer, greeting/greeting, offer/acceptance or rejection' are more constrained and systematic. These kinds of formulaic phrases in Reformation dialogues can certainly be categorised as such.

⁵Cf. Schwitalla (1983, 118), where this is acknowledged: 'Die These von der "Natürlichkeit" der Dialoge hat BALZER (1973) 98–127 heftig angegriffen. Er konnte an den Dialogen von Hans Sachs zeigen, daß die argumentative und moralische Position der angegriffenen Figuren "Chorherr" und "Bruder Heinrich" zugunsten der Angreifer gestellt war. Das ist auch bei den anderen Dialogflugschriften so. Trotzdem ist richtig, daß der sprachlich-dialogische Charakter der Flugschriften den Anschein der Wirklichkeitsnähe erwecken soll'.

questions as 'Situationsfragen'.

Such devices can be traced back to Classical dialogues, for example, Plato's *Ion*, where the interlocutors discuss the rhapsodes:

SOCRATES: Good day to you Ion. Where have you come from on this visit to us? From your home in Ephesus?

ION: Oh no, Socrates, from Epidaurus, from the festival of Asclepius.

SOCRATES: You mean to say the Epidaurians honour the god by a competition of rhapsodes too?

(Saunders, ed., 1987, 49)⁶

According to Schwitalla (1983, 129), this type of opening is unnatural because of the stereotypical questions and the rate at which the main theme is introduced. Perhaps he would then agree that these dialogues are just as eager to reach the main topic of discussion as those which deal with it immediately; they just go about it in a different way, perhaps as a result of different target audience and author. However, as Peter Clark (1983, 158) says of English inns, 'by the early seventeenth century the stock greeting at any victualler's house, we are told, was: what news? The response not infrequently took the form of political gossip or rumour, usually carried by word of mouth by vagrants or traders, though occasionally by letters'. This suggests that such greetings and openings to discussion are perhaps more realistic than might be thought.

Schwitalla (1983, 130) would distinguish this type of opening from a 'dramatic' one where the theme grows out of the action, such as in the Sachs 'Chorherr and Schuhmacher' dialogue (G72), or the *Wegsprech gen Regensburg* (G90). He delineates two other categories: firstly, cases where the thoughts, reports and so on of the first interlocutor lead to the introduction of the main theme; secondly, cases where the first theme is addressed directly after the greetings (Schwitalla 1983, 130). However, he does not analyse the openings of

⁶Cf. questions such as this during Martin Luther's *Tischreden* (Wachinger 1993, 280).

these types of dialogue and the picture is far from simple.

The 1522 *Hüpsch argument red Fragen vnd antwurt Dreyer personen* (G47) illustrates the process of discussion in both spontaneous and preplanned conversations. The first part of the dialogue is a chance meeting. The Bürger sees the Curtisan, and asks him where he has come from, and then asks for news from there. An exchange is agreed whereby the Curtisan will tell the Bürger what he knows if the Bürger will tell him about the Reichstag:

Burger. A. Gnad herr/ daz ist ain seltzam man in vnsren landen. **Lieber herr wo rauschen ir her** ich hab eüch wol in hundert jaren nit gesehnn. |Curti.| Ich kom doher von Rom/ vnd will ain fart widerum teütsch land sehen |Burg.| **Lieber herr ich bit eüch sagen mir vil newer meer/** Wann ich wayß vnd kenn eüch so fürwitz/ was ir nit erfahren das will ich sunst niemant fragen |Curti.| Ich will eüch von allen stendnn vnd gemirmell zü Rom sagnn/ Aber herwiderumb müst ir mir von ewren teütschen anschlaegen vnd tractieren der Rechståg auch nichts verhalten.

(G47, Ai^v)

The Bürger then spies the Edelmann, whom he suspects will know more about the Reichstag than he does himself, and a discussion is arranged for later that day at the Bürger's house, the relationship of the interlocutors and the subjects to be discussed already having been set out in the first section of the dialogue. In this part, formulaic questions are necessary to introduce the broad topics which will be discussed later, but it is not until the second part of the dialogue that the specific issues are raised.⁷

Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt uses a formulaic opening to introduce the main theme of his *Dyalogus/ oder cyn Gespräch büchlein. Von dem gewlichen abgöttischen mißprauch/ des hochwirdigsten Sacraments Jesu Christi*. He uses a prologue to give his point of view and justify his choice of dialogue form for this text, but between the interlocutors, the subject of debate is addressed

⁷See later sections of this chapter for more on the later sections of the dialogue and the planned discussion.

immediately, though with a version of the 'Situationsfrage': 'Lieber brüder Vichte/ warumb bist du so betrübt' (G50, Aii^v). Again, this is not a preplanned discussion, but a chance one, so it is necessary for the author to make the interlocutors bring the conversation round to the matter in hand in some way.

In the 1525 *Eyn newer Dialogus oder gespräch/ zwischen ainem verprenten/ vertribnem/ Edleman vnd ainem Münch*, the general situation is described on the title page. The dialogue opens with formulaic Latin greetings, then the Edelmann asks the Mönch, 'Wo hynauß liebs herlin/ wohin auß?' (G60, Aii^r). The Mönch then tells how he does not know, because he has been out to gather cheese and dripping, but has not succeeded. This leads to the next question of 'Ey wie kumpt das?' so that we are led to a discussion of the treatment of monks; this is then expanded to include the treatment of and behaviour of nobles and Roman courtesans.

The use of hearsay as a way of introducing the main theme is linked to that of formulaic questions.⁸ In the 'Cuntz and Fritz' dialogue the gossip is also introduced by a formulaic question from Fritz:

Fritz. Lieber Cüntz/ wo bist du so lang gewesen/ dz ich dich nit gesehen hab. Cüntz. Zu Tibingen vnder den Studenten. Fritz. Was saget man güts zů Tibingen/ wie helt sich die hoch schül gegen dem Luther.
(G68, Aii^r)

c) Confusion to be clarified

In the 1522 *Dialogus von der zwittrachtung des hayligen Christenlichen glaubens* (G17) the layman interlocutor states his confusion over the religious situation of the time — he does not know what to believe, as the two sides in the debate have been writing against each other. Various interlocutors,

⁸See Kampe (1997, 235) on hearsay and support of its claims through relating it to writings, in the 'Cuntz und Fritz' dialogue (G68).

including a priest, Christ, and several Biblical figures give him advice. The Laie launches straight into the complaint, and his speech offers an introduction to the subject of the dialogue as well as setting up the need for explanation and teaching, though this is also stated as the purpose in the title. The Priester who first tries to help is soon proved wrong as Christ enters the discussion, so the conflicts within the dialogue soon come to light, representing the 'zwitrachtung' mentioned in the title.

A further example of confusion and despair leading to instruction and comfort is found in *Ain nützliches Gespräch vnd vnderweisung zû notturfft der bekümmerten menschen* between a Bauer and Hofmann (G61). The dialogue opens as a monologue with the Hofmann complaining about the turmoil and conflict in the world and appealing to God for better guidance. The Bauer overhears him, and comes to his aid.⁹ The Hofmann's speech is therefore an explanation of the reason for the discussion, and sets the scene of the dialogue in a similar way to prologues in other pamphlets. The intention of the dialogue and the relationship of the interlocutors are clear after this; the Hofmann needs comfort and explanation, and the Bauer, as an idealised good Lutheran peasant, is there to provide it.

A similar situation is found in Wolfgang Zierer's *Ein Christenlich Gespräch/ von ainem Waldbrüder/ vnd ainem waysen der von seinen vorgengern verlassen ist*. One interlocutor overhears the lament of the other and asks him what is wrong (G94, Ai^v). The comfort is needed because of a lack of care from those who should have provided it — the Church — so it is clear that the Waise represents a Christian person abandoned by the so-called spiritual advisors (and therefore parentless) as we are told by the Waise himself (ibid.).¹⁰

⁹Cf. the 'Schneider and Pfarrer' dialogue (G79) where there is a similar pattern to introduce the discussion.

¹⁰The 'Credulus and Didymus' dialogue (G10) uses biblical typology in its portrayal of the

The teaching and comfort which are provided for the one interlocutor are obviously also provided for the reader/listener. This highlights the exemplary nature of the dialogues, in showing how to comfort others also.

d) Everyday subject matter leading to the main theme

This feature is seen primarily in situational dialogues where the interlocutors meet ostensibly for some purpose other than the discussion of religious matters, such as in 'threshold dialogues'. For example, in Sachs's dialogue *Von den Scheinwercken der Gaystlichen* (G73), the monks come to the door asking for candles. Although these are religious figures out on a customary mission, they are not intending to discuss the current religious situation in depth when they call at the door. It is, however, their request which is controversial, and probably their mere presence as friars, and this leads to accusations from the lay interlocutors, bringing about an antagonistic discussion, at least on the part of Peter; Hans is more of a teacher, and is slightly milder in his criticisms, guiding the conversation to a didactic purpose, especially towards the end when Peter is defeated.

Begging friars appear in other dialogues also. The 'Löffelmacher and Barfüsser' dialogue of the same year as Sachs's four also features a friar who appears at the door of the Löffelmacher's house, begging for cheese. He has just been hounded with a broom by a peasant woman, to his consternation, and this subject forms the introduction to the main theme of friars and mendicancy. This time, the Barfüsser introduces the main topic because of his recent experiences, and the interlocutors are on a different footing from those of the Sachs dialogue. This is described in the title as a friendly conversation and the two interlocutors discuss the problems of the regular clergy, the

clarification of confusion; Didymus is one name for Thomas, the doubting disciple.

Barfüßer recognising his faults and willingly supplying information to the Löffelmacher.

A third dialogue which opens with the visit of a monk at the door of an artisan is Hans Staygmaier's *Ain Schoner Dialogus oder Gespräch von aynem Münch vnd Becken*, also of 1524 (G86; cf. Arnold 1990, 250). The Mönch is begging for Easter eggs and is challenged when he knocks at the Bäcker's door. The main subject is introduced by the Bäcker inviting the Mönch in for some food, and then asking him what people are saying about Luther (G86, Aii^r). In this way, the main subject of discussion is introduced fairly bluntly. The superiority of the Bäcker is clear from this introduction; he has also already corrected the Mönch for using 'herren' instead of 'brüder'. There is some antagonism because of the differences of opinion, but the tone is generally friendly enough, and by the end the Bäcker has instructed the Mönch sufficiently to make him want to convert. The opening conversation helps this tone to develop, as the Bäcker is exemplified as a kind and caring person, offering hospitality to the Mönch.

A comparison of these three dialogues, all of the same year, at least two by authors of roughly the same social standing, and with similar opening situations, shows that such situations can be adapted to suit the precise purposes of the author, and although they are to some extent formulaic, they do not necessarily have the same results. They are genre-marking devices which pretend to give the reader certain expectations which can subsequently be surprised or transgressed. The examination of the three dialogues shows how the authors play around with the various genre features, and that the genre is continually modifying and adapting itself to various situations and circumstances. This again illustrates the link between situational dialogues and formulaic questions. The first two dialogues of this section include a fairly large

element of instruction, but this did not have to be the case, as is seen in the third example, which is more of an interrogation and persuasion. As is seen with Peter in Sachs's dialogue, the situation could easily have developed into a more antagonistic one. It is obvious from these how important the 'everyday' discussions at the start of the dialogues are in bringing about not only the main themes, but also the type of discussion, based on the viewpoints of the interlocutors, and the way in which their relationships develop.¹¹

CONCLUSIONS

These openings help identify the type of text, or indeed the type of dialogue this is to be in the same way as a fairy tale can be identified by the phrases 'Once upon a time' and the ending 'And they all lived happily ever after'. The formulaic questions necessarily belong to chance meetings, and often, though not always, to situational dialogues. In a prearranged meeting the theme of discussion will already be known, and there will be no need to introduce it in an indirect way.¹² Similarly, in dialogues where a prologue introduces the theme, and there is often no external setting given, it may not be necessary to begin the dialogue with such remarks, though the 'Tholl and Lamp' dialogue (G80) uses both a prologue to introduce the subject of the Antichrist, and then is set in an inn, as we find out even on the title page, and includes formulaic remarks ('Where have you been today?') and an interest in

¹¹Burkhardt Wachinger (1993, 261), in discussing Erasmus's *Convivium poeticum*, points out that there is a mixture of philosophical discussion and everyday concerns in Erasmus's dialogues, suggesting a wish for mimesis in humanist dialogues also.

¹² It is of course the case that the reader usually knows the subject of debate, at least vaguely, in spontaneous dialogues as well as in prearranged ones. This illustrates one way in which the author and addressee are on a different plane from the interlocutors, and have a broader picture of the pamphlet as a whole, and its surrounding world, rather than solely the debate itself.

everyday matters such as the price of wine in the inn.

The stylisation is not a simple copying of ideas, but a way of identifying the type of text. Of course, features such as the use of Latin greetings are copied from one author by another, but this is the way in which the genre develops. The use of these phrases would perhaps in the first instances be a sign of a certain level of education in the author, and perhaps also a wish to show the link with humanist dialogues, and their functions, genre markers, and intentions. For example, the *Karsthans* dialogue is peppered with Latin phrases from the mouth of Mercurius (G52). Other dialogues contain Latin phrases or words, so the mixture of the two languages was perhaps seen as a typical and acceptable feature of this type of text. Of course, the use of Latin phrases in the mouths of artisans and peasants also aids their portrayal as worthy disputants with educated clergy, showing that they are not as uncouth and uneducated as might be thought. It is part of the promotion of the laity, especially the peasantry, socially, in religious terms, and in the literary field.¹³ At the same time, the assimilation of foreign words into a language is a natural feature of the development of vocabulary, so it is perhaps to a certain extent a mimetic feature of the texts, and not altogether an implausible feature of peasant language that a few foreign words be used, though not whole sentences.

Although the use of formulaic questions can be traced back to Classical dialogues, it is the specific nature of the questions which make them part of a Reformation genre, in that the answers to the questions inevitably bring about a discussion of Luther or other aspects of the Reformation.

¹³Cf. Matheson (1998, 102) on attitudes to Latin in the dialogues.

RULES AND CONDITIONS SET UP BY INTERLOCUTORS

This section looks at the agreements between or stipulations made by interlocutors about the way in which a discussion is to be carried out. Often, near the beginning of a conversation, one or other, or even both interlocutors state the manner in which they wish the discussion to be held, determining the mood which is to characterise the conversation. Such requirements affect their relationship with each other, and so have a fundamental role to play in determining the type of argumentation in the dialogue.

There are certain types of conversation or situation in which rules are more significant than others. John Searle (1997, 240–42) points to the contrast of casual conversations and formal situations such as the court room, where there are expected statements and responses and the situation is more governed by rules, though the expectations are not necessarily fulfilled.

Humanists used rules for discussion in their dialogues, such as Erasmus's *Colloquia*. Theologians also followed rules of discussion at various gatherings, Luther's *Tischreden* being one example (Wachinger 1993, 281). This is a feature of actual debate and of literary texts, which is evident also in Classical dialogues, and is adopted and developed in the Reformation dialogue.

Kampe (1997, 129) highlights the need for formal conditions, as conventions of fairness in arguments, important in presenting the dialogue as a legitimate means and a serious form of Reformation debate.

There are four main categories of rules and conditions set out: frankness and free debate, non-antagonistic discussion or amicability between interlocutors, rules regarding support for arguments and the use of proof texts, comprehension and clarity of the message.

a) Frankness and free debate

Licentia 'occurs when, talking before those to whom we owe reverence or fear, we yet exercise our right to speak out, because we seem justified in reprehending them, or persons dear to them, for some fault' (Murphy 1974, 371).¹⁴

One of the main types of rules and conditions set out in the dialogues is that pertaining to open discussion where interlocutors are free to speak their mind and are not inhibited by the circumstances of the discussion such as the social or educational status of those with whom they are conversing. In the 1523 *Ein schöner Dialogus/ von Martino Luther/ vnd der geschickten Botschafft auß der Helle*, thought to be the work of Erasmus Alberus, a disputation takes place between Luther and a devil-figure who arrives on the scene dressed as a Dominican friar with a list of articles from hell to try to win Luther over to his side. The Teufel initiates the conversation as he knocks on Luther's door and states his intentions:

wir wellen ainander das gast hütlin abtziehen/ vnd vor einander nit forcht tragen/ wann ich dich hefftig antasten werd/ ich kan nit lenger schweygen. *Marti*. Im fryde Gotts laß herwyschen/ ich merck wol/ du wüerst ein bápstlicher bott sein.

(G2, Aii^v)¹⁵

The Teufel states his intention that the two are to be frank — not to treat each other as guests — and Luther does not object. He has no fear of the Teufel's accusations and knows he will win, as he has God behind him. The tone is confirmed by the Teufel as antagonistic.

The Teufel is certainly blunt and critical, as his rules allow. It is, however,

¹⁴ From Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Book IV on oration, therefore dealing with oral persuasion.

¹⁵ Grimm IV I.I, 1481: 'das gasthütlein abziehen, die scheu als gast ablegen, zu vertraulich werden'. Cf. Chrisman (1996, 115): Erasmus Alber was a schoolteacher in Oberursel am Taunus, Hesse; he was the son of a priest (Scribner 1980, 102).

a demonstration of Luther's skill and his status as a representative of God (or at least that of the fictional representative presented here) that he accepts the criticism willingly as a follower and imitator of Christ. He does not long stay submissive to the Teufel's attack, but soon is attacking his own enemies and teaching the Teufel using Scripture as his proof (ibid., Aiii^f). Luther gives the Teufel a taste of his own medicine, but he has the backing of Christ. He is far more thorough in his criticisms than the Teufel in his, and the Teufel soon discovers he has met his match. Ironically, the one who thinks he is in control at the start and tries to determine the pattern of the discussion ends up being reproached and taught. Luther's hard-hitting speech leads the Teufel to apologise for his own 'hörte wort' (ibid., Aiiii^f). He does continue to criticise Luther, but each time is defeated by the response, and even ends up questioning Luther and agreeing with him: 'Teufel. Ja das ist war' and 'Das gib ich dir zû das er [i.e. the pope] irren kan/ aber du solst dennoch seyner hailigkait verschont haben' (ibid., Bii^v; cf. Bi^v). The conditions of sharp criticism and lack of fear are fulfilled, but not to the satisfaction of the interlocutor who instigated them.

In Erasmus's dialogue *Eyn gesprech zwayer Ehelicher weyber* of 1524, translated by Stephan Rodt, where the two women compare their husbands, Xantippe complains about her husband so much that Eulalia tries to persuade her friend to change her attitude and behaviour towards him. Once she has learned about the situation from Xantippe, Eulalia asks permission to start talking more freely (G31, Bi^v). The dialogue changes from a complaint about Xantippe's husband to instruction from Eulalia on how to treat him. The dominant interlocutor sets out the rules and opens the main part of the discussion, but with the clear permission of the other participant. The relationship between the interlocutors in this case differs from that of the

‘Luther and Teufel’ dialogue, in that here frankness is a result of a long-standing friendship, and is for the purpose of helping the friend in need, whereas for the Teufel, openness was an excuse to be as brutal as he wished to Luther in order to defeat him.

A clear example of the need for rules to provide a civilised discussion is found in the *Hüpsch argument red Fragen vnd antwurt Dreyer personen* dialogue of 1522 (G47). The Bürger invites his two acquaintances, the Edelmann and the Curtisan, to his house to discuss what is going on in Rome, from where the Curtisan has just come. The Bürger outlines the conditions for the discussion: ‘Es soll auch yederman frey vnder der roßen reden on alles übel/ vnd zorn/ vnd niemant zû schmach oder liebkoßung’ (G47, Ai^v).¹⁶ There are no objections to this, so the ‘collation’ — an exchange of ideas — as the Bürger terms it, can proceed that evening. The rules are of a type to bring about an amicable discussion, but still one where people are free to say what they will so that the issues are discussed properly. The Bürger is not the teacher of the dialogue, but he organises the meeting and it takes place in his house, so he is in a position to set out the rules. At the start he leads the discussion, though this does not continue. Burkhart Wachinger (1993, 263) describes how some one is chosen in Erasmus’s *Convivium fabulosum* to lead the discussion by throwing a dice. He then sets out the rules for topics to be discussed and the manner of the story-telling.

Those in an inferior position may also request a free and open discussion. In Caspar Güttel’s first dialogue, *Dialogus oder gesprächbüchlein/ von ainem rechtgeschaffen Christenmenschen*, there are rules and conditions set out;

¹⁶Grimm VIII, 1179–80: *unter der rosen reden* is from the Latin *sub rosa*, and was common usage in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. ‘Die rose [ist] symbol des schweigens und geheimnisses. als [sic] solche war sie an der decke der conventsäle in klöstern und an beichtstühlen angebracht’.

the Schüler asks the Meister to listen to him 'on verdreiß' (G40, Aiii^r), that is, without anger or annoyance.¹⁷ This is a plea for sympathy and understanding, a wish for what is to be said to be taken in the right spirit. The Schüler must overcome his reticence with his Meister; as the submissive one who wishes to say something which he perhaps ordinarily would not, he must seek permission. He does not remain reticent, however, and by the end he is instructing the Meister.

An example from Plato's Socratic dialogues will serve to illustrate the connections here between Classical and Reformation dialogues. Plato's interlocutors are also known to set out conditions and rules, as is seen in his dialogue *Laches*, where Lysimachus in his first speech states 'in your case we believe we ought to be perfectly frank' and

but you, we thought, were not only capable of forming an opinion, but having done so would speak your minds straightforwardly: that's why we invited you along to ask your advice on the problem we're now going to put to you.

(Saunders, ed., 1987, 83)

Here the frankness and free speech seem to be central to the intentions behind the dialogue, and the reason the interlocutors have come together. This is a planned discussion, and does not seem like a casual meeting.

Frankness and free speech therefore have different purposes in different types of dialogue, whether didactic or antagonistic. The main aim is to allow as full a discussion as possible to take place, and, as is stated explicitly in Karlstadt's dialogue *Von Fremdem glauben* this is related to a wish for the truth to emerge: 'laß aber uns beyd der warheyt nacheilen' (G51, aiii^v); the 'correct' outcome to the discussion and truth as the result of a worthwhile debate are desirable. This is extremely important to Reformation dialogues where truth is

¹⁷Cf. Scribner (1980, 108): Güttel preached in the market square in Arnstadt in 1522.

a confessional matter; the truth which emerges is already known before the debate begins, and the 'truth-seeking' is tailored towards this conclusion. The idea of frankness here is to promote one side and point out the fallacies of the other. The debate may not be as free as in reality. The link to the aims of Classical dialogues, where truth should emerge from debate, are obvious, as are the links to the idea that in this period a new day is dawning (e.g. Hans Sachs's *Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall*) and that the truth must come to light (e.g. 'Cuntz and Fritz' (G68, Aii^v)).

In social terms, the request for frank discussion, especially from the lips of a socially inferior interlocutor, helps to alienate the external forces of social convention in real-life debate, and, perhaps, to add to the fictional nature of the dialogues in abandoning the social restraints of discussion, and allowing servants or peasants to debate freely with their social and educational superiors. Of course, there is a rhetorical function to this in promoting the socially inferior as superior in terms of religious awareness: the layman is just as capable of understanding the Christian message and often leads a more Christian life than the cleric anyway. The dialogues are aiding the promotion of this concept and in this way are aiming to change social conventions and to encourage the laity to speak out. If openness is encouraged on both sides then the just side will triumph in any debate, as it is speaking the 'truth', and this will emerge from the discussion.

b) Friendly and non-antagonistic discussion

Pleas for understanding are common at the start of conversations or before individual speeches and often set out the mood of politeness and respect between interlocutors even if there is antagonism regarding the subject matter. It is also a rhetorical device to win sympathy from the opponent before

criticising him.

In Ulrich Bossler von Haßfurt's *Dialogus oder gesprech des Apostolicums Angelica vnd anderer Specerey der Appotecken* an interesting picture is given regarding the rules of discussion.¹⁸ The debate begins with an argument about recent events concerning Luther and the Church between Apostolicum and Angelica, medicines and remedies in the apothecary, and is insulting in tone: 'Angelica. Ich bin dannoch noch nit so lang hin veracht vnd vnkauffbar gewest als du. Apposto. Das geste ich nit du redest mit gewalt' (G5, Aiii^r).¹⁹

The Herbe see themselves as the 'mittel', or mediators in this 'vnhöflichen streit', criticise the use of 'spitzigen stich vnd schmachwort' (ibid., Aiiii^v), and tell each side at length to use Scripture and reason as proofs:

Vnd das ir von der handlung so sich zwischen Doctor Martin Luttern vnd der Christenheit schetzern oder scheffern/ züchtiglichen disputiren das wullen wir gern hören (doch das von beyden theyln diß spitzigen stich vnd schmachwort sovil die materi erleiden mag vnd sunderlich des vngeschickt boldern) vermitteln blieb yeder teil sein furtrag durch geschriffte oder vernunfftig vrsach zubeweren vnd außzuführen understand/ wan dan von euch beschlosser/ wollen wir gern (sovil not) unnsere gut bedencken auch eröffnen. Fahent an mit vernunft zureden legen hin all vngestumme.

(ibid., Aiiii^v)

The main disputants are told 'wer die disputatz vor angefangen hat fach sie wider an doch züchtiglich' (ibid., Bi^r). Therefore moderation and restraint are wished for and are set out as the rules for the 'second attempt' at the disputation. The set-up here seems like a staged disputation the second time round because of the instigation of rules, and this has come about as a result of an unruly argument which those present did not want to get out of hand any

¹⁸Chrisman (1996, 111–12): Bossler was a member of the 'minor officials', an apothecary in Hassfurt, a friend of Johann Virdung who was court apothecary in Heidelberg. His education was appropriate to his profession, he had important connections, and was familiar with the Latin New Testament.

¹⁹Apostolicum represents the Romanist side, Angelica is Lutheran.

more than was already the case. The organisation and outlining of rules is a means of restraining the interlocutors from insult and unseemly behaviour.

It is significant that here the rules are laid out by a third, 'impartial' party and not by one of the main disputants. It gives the impression that someone is overseeing the procedures, and therefore that integrity will be maintained. The Herbe keep a watch on proceedings, and comment, making asides.²⁰ At the end they are thankful that the disputation has ended well, in unity and agreement: 'Sei gott gelobt das dieser wortlicher krieg so wul geendet sich zu einigkeyt gezogen vnd damit die eer solicher vereynigung nit vns/ sunder gott zu gemessen werdt' (ibid., Ciiii^r). Theirs is a summarising and commenting role, like that of a chairperson at a debate, and as such they were entitled to set out the rules and take charge. Through having rules and set procedures, a deeper and more worthwhile discussion was able to be held.

This dialogue is one of the earliest Reformation ones, appearing in 1521. It is interesting that it is so clear on setting out rules, and in particular, in imitating real-life examples of disputations. These rules, in several variations, are found in many later dialogues. It is perhaps a reflection of the actual practices of the time, that academic disputation was a serious and controlled business, not a free-for-all, and that any discussion of religious matters should aim to be as controlled, so that a worthwhile discussion might take place. This then gives credence to dialogue as a means of persuading and of revealing the truth, if carried out properly. As Kampe says regarding this dialogue,

Die Forderung der Herbe ist die nach der universitär etablierten korrekten Disputationsform mit "fürtrag durch geschrift oder vernunftig ursach". Proponent und Opponent werden vom "Magister" zum korrekten Schlagabtausch durch Argumente aufgerufen, so daß sich

²⁰E.g., 'Herbe. Scilicet mißbrauch' (G5, Bii^r); this aside shows that the Herbe are in fact biased against Appostolicum, who has just been talking of 'brauch'. Also 'Streytten das nur nit hoch/ es ist leyder war/ last es euch in euwer furgenomen disputatz nit irren' (ibid., Biii^r).

Wahrheit und Unwahrheit einer Meinung bzw. These aus der Schwäche bzw. Stärke der dargebrachten Argumente erweist.

(Kampe 1997, 118)

Kampe (1997, 119) interprets Bossler's ideas on dialogue as pertaining to the clarity of Christian teaching, and that the type of debate he promotes will bring about this clarity. This is similar to the wish for the truth to emerge through debate, as found in several dialogues, and linked to the idea of frankness. Bauer (1969, 45) states that

das Grundverfahren der Dialektik im Gespräch [...] besteht darin, von den gegeneinander vertretenen partikularen Meinungen weiterzuführen zu einer beiden übergeordneten Einsicht. Der andere soll nicht auf die eigene Position herübergezogen, sondern eine höhere Position soll gefunden werden, in der sich beide einig werden können.

This is probably not the case for many Reformation dialogues, but certainly applies to those which are more philosophical than polemical, though these two aspects cannot be separated completely if controversial issues are being discussed.

In *Ain schöner Dialogus zwischen ainem Priester vnd Ritter* the Ritter wishes the Priester to listen to him in a sympathetic way, seeking patience and attention before he begins a long speech which will advise the Priester how to behave: 'ich bit euch ir woellent mir nit in vngedult sonder gütlich zühören' (G64, biiii^v).²¹ He is about to criticise the Priester, and wishes not to antagonise him too much before he begins. It is important that the Priester does not misunderstand the intention or tone of the speech. He does listen to it without becoming too annoyed, thereby accepting the Ritter's plea (ibid., ci^v). The debate can take place without turning into an abusive argument. The Priester must therefore oblige the Ritter on two counts; the way in which he speaks

²¹*Gutlich* means 'well', 'usefully', 'in agreement', 'willingly'; cf. Baufeld (1996, 117).

himself, and the way in which he listens to the Ritter. Here it is the interlocutor who is going to be victorious in the debate who sets out the rules and asks for understanding. He is giving an impression of humility before he begins in order to gain sympathy from the audience of the text as well as some sort of understanding from the other interlocutor.

Eberlin von Günzburg's Psitacus in *Mich wundert das kein gelt ihm land ist* is the authorial presence in the text, as indicated in the prologue and by the fact he is writing the conversation down; he tells the other interlocutors 'ob einer felet an seiner furgenommen rede/ wöllen die anderen in manen vnd weisen' (G25, aii^r), so this is a discussion with co-operation at the centre, though Psitacus is in charge.

In *Ain nützlich Gesprech vnd vnderweisung zû notturfft der bekümmerten menschen* the Hofmann asks the Bauer: 'red brüderlich mit mir als ich mit dir' (G61, Aiiii^r): here it is the pupil-interlocutor who requests an amicable conversation. The conditions are clearly to apply to both ('mit mir als ich mit dir') and the benefits will therefore be reciprocal. The Bauer is to fulfil his Christian duty to help his brother in need, to clear up the Hofmann's confusion and despair; he promises to act as the Hofmann wants. This relates to the idea of love of one's neighbour, a phrase which was among the battle cries of Reformation propaganda; helping one's neighbour in need is seen as a result of faith.²² As we are told in this pamphlet, 'ain anndern vnderweisen vnd leeren/ ist ein Christenlich werck' (G61, Aiii^r). The term 'brüderlich' would also suggest frankness and openness as well as love and kindness, as expected in this sort of familial relationship.

In the 'Luther and Hessus' dialogue, Luther sets out some conditions for

²²Cf. Luther, *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen*; Blickle (1992) and Ozment (1975) on community.

his disputation with Hesus. He will discuss with Hesus if he talks 'on wickleffisch einred/ dan es wil sich nit gezymen/ in ernstlichen sachen gauckelspil zutreiben' (G67, Ai^v), i.e., there is to be no heretical talk in the manner of John Wycliffe. Here it is not the interlocutor who initiates the discussion who sets out the conditions, but the exemplary figure of Luther, who is being promoted through the dialogue; as the leader of the movement and hero of the propaganda he certainly has the right to lay out conditions. He wishes the matter to be discussed seriously, and does not have any time for nonsense or irrelevancies which might cause him harm. At least fictively, he is determining the correct way to discuss. Through this the author also tells his audience that he wishes them to take the text and its message seriously, as he has already appealed to them on the title page to have understanding for the text. He is also verifying debate, and the literary dialogue, as a serious form of writing.

Michael Kramer, in the preface to his dialogue *Eyn vnderredung vom glawben*, states that he wishes people would be more amicable towards Jews, and learn to live in peace with them, not persecute them. He gives some hints about how to speak to them to convince them:

Darumb Ernuester Ich ewer lyebe zu eyner weytter erylrunge Göttlicher gschryefft zu vnderthenigem gefall diesen Dyalogum nach geschryeben/ in weyße wie ergangen/ mit welchem ich ewer Erbarkeyt aus Christlicher gunst vnd lyebe/ wyll vorehrt haben/ byt auch den selben von myr gunstiglich anzunemen/ Den ich ewer erbarkeyt allezeyt nach allem vermogeun gern dyene / Hyr mit euch mit allenn frommen Christen/ der gnaden Gottes befelhe.

(G57, Ai^v–Aii^f)

The author is also promoting amicability with those who are not Christians, and is encouraging a sense of community with them as well as wishing to persuade. The best way to persuade is through honourable means, or good

manners, and simplicity. Antagonism is not the way forward (ibid., Ai^v). Moderation, politeness and simplicity are seen as the keys to persuasion, as they are in dialogues which set out such conditions within the actual discussion.²³ These attitudes are therefore intentions both within dialogues and of the dialogue between the author and his audience.²⁴ Kramer has obviously written this dialogue, whether a real conversation he had or not ('in weyße wie ergangen'), as an example of how to talk to Jews and discuss religious matters with them.

c) Rules of proof texts and support to arguments

Interlocutors are continually reproaching each other for not justifying their arguments, at least not satisfactorily. It is regarded as central to a convincing argument that it is proven through reference to an authoritative source. For reformers, the text which took central position was of course Holy Scripture, the only true authority for Christian teaching and beliefs (cf. Blickle 1992, 74). The Reformation cry of '*sola scriptura*' is central to the argumentation of the Reformation dialogues. Arguments are continually rejected because they are not based on Scripture. Often the stipulation is made near the start of the dialogue, or even in the preface, that Scripture will be, or at least should be, the proof text for any point made. Other proof texts are used, such as the Church Fathers and other theological writings, but these are not promoted in the same way as Scripture.²⁵ Within dialogues the contrast is continually made between Scriptural authority and that of human teaching, generally meaning papal decrees, Church authority, and scholasticism.

²³Cf. Sachs, *Von den Scheinwercken* (G73).

²⁴See Vulcan (1998, 800) on Pierre Viret's dialogues and the fact that these are generally not antagonistic: if they are, then the conversion of the opponent is the conclusion internally.

²⁵Bernd Moeller (1982, 29) points out that for humanists, *sola scriptura* meant 'not without scripture', whereas for Luther the term was exclusive, and meant 'with scripture alone'.

The 'Christ and Jude' dialogue illustrates the setting out of proof texts: both the main interlocutors agree to speak the truth as found in their holy books. It is the Christ who encourages the Jude to do this, as he himself will: 'Christ. Yhr durfft nicht vns schewen odder zů liebe reden/ sondern redet die warheyt noch ewern büchern alls wollen wyr auch' (G37, Aiii^v). Truth is stressed as the aim of the discussion on both sides. When the Jude is told here not to be shy or kind, but to speak the truth, we see again the importance of free and frank discussion to reach the truth and make the conversation worthwhile. Again the teacher-interlocutor sets out the rules, and the conditions apply to both. In the 'Argument' at the start of this dialogue the author has already told his readers

wer dießen Dialogum gründtlich vnnd recht verstehen viel/ muß eyner nicht noch seynem verstandt vrteyln/ sondern das alt vnd new Testament im radt vorhanden sey/ dem alle menschlich vernünfft gefangen muß geben/ dem alleyn zů volgen.

(ibid.. Ai^v–Aii^r)

The proof text applies not only to the interlocutors, but also to the readers of the dialogue. The advice on proof texts is given at different levels, involving the interlocutors and their dealings with each other, and the exemplary nature of their discussion to the pamphlet's addressees, and also from the author directly to the addressees in the prologue. It gives advice about how this text and others should be read, the dialogue situation exemplifying the prologue's message.

The situation is given a formality which we might not expect with the chance meeting of the two interlocutors and the setting of a tavern. In a way it is similar to the Bossler dialogue (G5) in that the discussion recommences in a different way after the main topic is introduced and an agreement on proof texts is reached. In Bossler's dialogue, the Herbe state in their conditions of

debate that disputants should prove their arguments using Scripture or reason: ‘vermitten blieb yeder teil sein furtrag durch geschriff oder vernunfftig vrsach zubeweren vnd außzufüren vnderstand’ (G5, Aiiii^v). This appeal seems to have had some effect, as the interlocutors stop their insults of each other and of their enemies, and go on to discuss the biblical references which are dealt with in the *Karsthans* dialogue. The combination of Scripture and reason as an acceptable means of logical argumentation is a common condition in dialogues whether an interlocutor is asking another to use them or the author states in the preface that they are to be the basis of the argument. As is illustrated in the citation of Kampe (1997, 118) this was the ‘universitär etablierte korrekte Disputationsform’. In his pamphlet *Frag vnd Antwort etlicher Artickel zwischen D. Michaelen Kellern [...] vnd D. Mathia Kretzen* of 1525, Keller gives an account of the debate and criticises Kretz for not proving his arguments; where he does do so, Keller claims he is wrong.²⁶ The proof should be from Scripture, not from one person’s opinions (G53, Aii^r; Bi^r). There is awareness in this text of the importance of rhetorical practices in the debate to work with Scripture to prove a point (e.g. *ibid.*, Aiiii^v).

In the ‘Hubmaier and Zwingli’ dialogue, rules and style are set out in the prologue by the author, who is also one of the interlocutors: ‘Da wölle ich meinen grund in Göttlicher schriff fürtragen vnnd warmachen’ (G46, Aiii^r). Each interlocutor is then to give his argument ‘mit teütschen hellenn klaren/ ainfeltigen schriffen [...] So das beschehen/ wölle ich seine aigne Biecher in Griechisch Latein vnd Teütsch zwischen vns bayden ordenlichen Richter sein lassen’ (*ibid.*, Aiii^r). Hubmaier claims he is willing to be convinced by Zwingli’s writings if he is found to be wrong in his statements, but if he disproves

²⁶Cf. Künast (1997, 83n207): Michael Keller was ‘der zwinglische Prediger an der Barfüsserkirche’ in Augsburg.

Zwingli's arguments, then Zwingli must accept this. There is a semblance of fairness here, as Hubmaier claims he is giving his opponent the same rights and chances which he himself has, but it is a foregone conclusion that Hubmaier will disprove Zwingli's arguments. Still, it is significant that he chooses Scripture as the basis for proof and for the truth of the arguments: he gains support for his own point of view in doing this. He is using Zwingli's own writings as 'Richter', but he will go on to mock and disprove these himself, so it is really a device to tear Zwingli's claims apart. Zwingli does not have a chance to agree or object to the rules, as they are set out in the prologue by the author.

In the *Wegspreh gen Regensburg* of 1525, the Hurenwirt says he wishes to use Scripture as the basis for his arguments against the Bischof. His Knecht, who has some education, agrees to support him, also using the papal decrees when necessary:

..ich muß an bischoff vnd mit im disputiern/ sag nit wer ich sey/ hilf mir aber so mir not wirt sein/ etwas vß geistlichen rechten zû beweren denn du bist ein verdorbner student/ vnd hast vil ins bapst büchern gestudirt vnd gelesen/ mit götlicher gschrift will ich den ölgötzen auß meynem Newenn Testament/ mechtig genüg seyn.

(G90, aiii^r)

As in the 'Hubmaier and Zwingli' dialogue, the conditions are set out in order to defeat the opponent, not to give a fair discussion, as was the case in Bossler's dialogue or the dialogue between the Christ and Jude. Proof texts and bases for arguments can be polemical in intention as well as fair.

It is clear in any case how important a sound basis for argument is; the interlocutors must be able to prove to each other that their arguments make sense and are justified in Scripture. The author must also be able to justify his text to his audience, and the use of Scripture and logical argumentation will aid him in this. Whether the texts are going to give fairness to the discussion and

provide a true basis and judge for the debate, or whether they will be used polemically, though still claiming to justify arguments, they are still given as the basis of argument and show that convincing proof of an argument is paramount in winning the debate.

Scripture as a basis for argument definitely had a polemical function (cf. Senger 1986, 55). However, this does not mean that Catholic polemicists would act as the propaganda suggests: in Johannes Dietenberger's dialogue *Der ley* of 1523, the Laie insists that Scripture is used as proof of the Beichtvater's arguments (G20, Aiiii^r), which of course it is, though with the aid of Church Fathers. Dietenberger is answering the reformers' propaganda and proving it false with his dialogue, demonstrating that Catholics also use Scripture as the basis for their discussion. The types of authority in proofs appealed to and wished for when rules are set out help to promote the Lutheran message, so are not 'neutral' in intention at all — indeed none of the rules is. Each will ultimately bring about the triumph of the Lutheran message, or whichever viewpoint is being promoted.

d) Comprehension and understanding of the message

Ain schöner Dialogus zwischen ainem Priester vnd Ritter is based on the late fifteenth-century or early sixteenth-century *Dialogus inter clericum et militem super dignitate papali et regia* (G64; L1). It is a humanist dialogue, one of the number of pre-Reformation dialogues which have been adapted for the purposes of Reformation polemic.²⁷

The Priester opens the conversation by talking of the recent disregard for law and justice, and the Ritter responds by immediately laying out his wishes for the type of discussion this should be:

²⁷Cf. *Julius exclusus ante portam* (L4) and *Von dem gewalt vnd haupt der kirchen* (G89).

Das seind hohe wort/ vnd wiewol ich als ain Lay in der jugent ain wenig gelernet hon/ so bin ich doch nit zů dem grund kommen/ dardurch ich solliche hohe wort mocht versteen/ darumb ersamer priester/ begern ir mit mir red zůhaben so müssen ir gen mir in verstentlicher maynung reden.

(G64, aii^r)

The Priester does not respond to this by agreeing outright, but he does go on to explain more explicitly what he meant by his first statement.²⁸ The claim by an interlocutor that he is a layman with only a limited education, and therefore not as knowledgeable as a cleric, is a fairly common one, though it is often a rhetorical device which allows the layman, despite his lower level of education, to defeat the cleric in debate, morals, and knowledge, usually of Scripture.

Although the Edelman in the *Hüpsch argument red Fragen vnd antwort* text is willing to give explanations himself, he does not see himself as the chief teacher of the dialogue, but rather as a simple person who seeks enlightenment from the Curtisan as well as being willing to speak out in disagreement (e.g. G47, Biii^v, 'Nun muß ich aber widerpart halten'):

Lieber herr ich bin gar ainer tregen vnd groben vernunft vnd wie wol ich yetzunder vil in doctor Luthers büchli gleßen hab auch zům tayl yetzunder von eüch gehert hab so kan ich doch nit gruntlich verston/ vnd mercken wie irs meynen dz wir alle priester sollen sein [...]. Darumb bit ich eüch seynd ir der sach bericht/ so berichten mich söllychs auch das aller kürtzest on vmbstendt der worten vnd auff ainfeltigistem sinen.

(ibid., Bi^v)

The interlocutor is not afraid to outline the type of reply he wishes to receive: it is to be short and simple, so that he, who is of 'ainer tregen vnd groben vernunft' can understand it. He does not simply seek the information, but also choses a mode of delivery. In this case, the Curtisan agrees to speak as

²⁸Cf. *Dialogus der Rede vnnd gesprech/ so Franciscus von Sickingen/ vor defß himmelßpfortten/ mit sant Peter/ vnd dem Riter/ sant Jörgen gehalten.* (G14, Av^r).

the Edelmann wishes: 'Als ich eüch yetz mit kurtzen Worten berichten wil' (ibid., Bii^r).

In Karlstadt's dialogue on infant baptism (G51, aiii^v), Prosper, who is the main teacher figure, states that the two interlocutors must seek out the truth in their discussion. Felix, Prosper's partner in discussion, states that he wants to use Scripture to prove his point, but he is still not quite clear enough for Prosper in his explanation: 'P[rosper]. Du müst klar reden. F[elix]. Dise antwort Christi ist klar vnnd hell' (ibid., aiiii^r).

The rules, set out by the dominant interlocutor and teacher, help to seek out a good explanation and the truth, and maintain understanding between the interlocutors. The wish for clarity is linked to wider issues of the Reformation debate at the time, especially to that of language and means of educating the laity. In the dialogues, as in other cases, German is often stressed as the language of clarity, as opposed to Latin, and an opposition and association are often set up of Latin and well-educated/clergy/Romanist to German and uneducated/laity/reformed. The need to speak German, or the use of 'teutsch' meaning 'plainly', is often mentioned in dialogues when interlocutors do not follow each other's arguments.

CONCLUSION

The type of rules and conditions set out in dialogues determines the mood of the discussion and thereby affects the type of argumentation. The rules or conditions generally seem to be adhered to as much as can be expected.

The type of dialogue in which rules are to be found varies. Various authors, from humanists to the less educated, set out rules, although the texts discussed above do seem to have been penned mainly by the educated authors.

Perhaps it is a result of their education that they are accustomed to debates in which a certain protocol is to be followed, such as at a university disputation, and that they are affected by the Classical dialogues with their search towards the truth through debate, part of the humanist as well as the medieval legacy.

Rules are set out in several types of dialogues, some disputatious ones, others more amicable even at the start, some aiming to inform and educate, others to attack and accuse. However, often the conditions of amicable discussion are found most prominently in those situations which are potentially explosive, and this gives the impression of wishing to contain and control any antagonism. This is certainly the case, for example, in the Bossler dialogue where the situation is kept under control through the intervention of the Herbe. The rules in such dialogues prevent the insults from dominating the debate, and allow a worthwhile discussion to progress, rather than a disruptive and futile argument to take place. The most polemical and antagonistic dialogues, the heavily satirical ones, would not benefit from such rules, except perhaps that of frankness and 'free speech'.

The outlining of rules or conditions highlights the fictitious nature of many of the dialogues, which, though the authors may claim to have based them on reality and actual conversations, are in reality more structured and contrived than everyday spontaneous conversation. The humanist influence of the literary dialogue and the structured debate are evident here in the use of rules and conditions, even if the rules do not correspond to rhetorical teaching.

Truth and worthwhile discussion often seem to be the internal aims of discussion at or near the outset of debate, reflecting intentions of humanist and Classical dialogues. An open discussion, leading to deeper understanding of the subject and unity of opinion, the use of proof texts, the wish for amicable debate rather than antagonism; all these point to such intentions, though not

solely, as they are necessarily linked to contemporary patterns of discussion and attitudes to issues also. These features apply to the internal situation of the dialogue more directly than to the external intentions, though they are exemplary for the addressees. However, the satirical and polemical nature of many of the dialogues betrays different external intentions. The conversations are nevertheless justified in their satire and accusations by the use of such features of debate as described here.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODS OF ARGUMENTATION

The opening passages of the dialogues set the scene and the intentions of the discussion. We turn now to the process by which these intentions are fulfilled. What are the types of argumentation used and how do the interlocutors interact? What devices do they use to defeat, convert or comfort each other?

'Writers of dialogue developed their subjects by means of a variety of strategies that included demonstrative presentation, theoretical explanation, positive and negative argumentation, vituperative attack, satiric invective, and comic exposition' (Gilman 1993, 8). In using various types of argumentation, authors demonstrate the practice of persuasion and how it should be implemented, showing that it is not only the themes which are important but also the ways in which these are presented.

The structure of these various forms and the ways in which arguments relate to each other and work towards a goal of defeat or conversion are central to an examination of the texts. Questions or initial statements are often activated by an expected answer rather than by genuine enquiry, again using formulaic phrases and ideas. In Reformation dialogues, which are of course pre-planned texts in their written form, even though they might portray spontaneous discussions, the author knows the response which is going to come, having geared his utterances towards it, so the response is often the activating force. Interlocutors may also anticipate responses, as shall be seen later in this section: 'each speech act creates a space of possibilities of

appropriate response speech acts' (Searle 1997, 238).¹

The word is born in a dialogue as a living rejoinder within it; the word is shaped in a dialogic interaction with an alien word that is already in the object. A word forms a concept of its own object in a dialogic way.
(Bakhtin 1981, 279)

The internal intentions of the dialogues help to define the type of argumentation used and to shape it. Defeat, silencing, conversion and comforting all necessitate a variety of methods of debate, some of which are used in only one type of dialogue, others of which are used in most, but in a variety of ways.

DEFEAT

Classical authors analysed and defined types of argumentation. One type of argumentation of Socrates' and Plato's time was 'eristic' argumentation which is 'designed for victory' or 'contentious' (Saunders, ed., 1987, 299). Here, there was clear opposition between the interlocutors; the figures in the discussion were not 'fellow-traveller[ε] in a moral quest' as was the case in dialectic argumentation.²

Many Reformation dialogues are contentious internally, portraying a debate between members of opposing parties. Such antagonistic dialogues require the defeat of the opponent as the result of debate, rendering his arguments and defence invalid. There are various ways in which this is achieved, one of the main overall intentions being silencing. This sometimes

¹Searle (1997, 239) describes 'adjacency pairs', such as question and answer, greeting:greeting and offer:acceptance or rejection, which are restrained and systematic, resulting in expected responses, though of course this pattern may be broken and expectations may not be fulfilled.

²In Plato's *Euthydemus*, Socrates' dialectic and the sophists' eristic arguments are contrasted. 'Eris' was the Greek goddess of discord (Saunders, ed., 1987, 301).

leads to subsequent conversion, further strengthening the image of powerful persuasion, which can not only defeat, but also persuade someone to accept a new way of thinking. There are many different devices used to silence opponents, and these shall be discussed in conjunction with an examination of defeat and conversion as results of silencing.³

a) Silencing

Wolfgang Zierer's *Ain schöner dialogus von ainem Lantsknecht vnd prediger münich* (G95) of 1522 will serve to illustrate the process of silencing and defeat without conversion and will raise some of the features typical in this process.⁴

The Predigermönch raises the subject of Luther shortly after the two interlocutors meet on the road by enquiring what is being said about him (G95, Ai^v). The Landsknecht's subsequent explanation of Luther's teaching, that people have been deceived by the pope and his supporters, gives the Mönch a reason to defend his kind, and the opposition is set up, based on the theme of obedience to the correct authority. Right from the start the Landsknecht is correcting the Mönch with Scriptural references and defeating his arguments. Any objection the Predigermönch raises can be countered: 'lieber hond ir war dar von sag ich dz es nit alls wol vnd recht ist waz der Babst thût.' (ibid., Aii^r). Luther's writings and Scripture have taught the Landsknecht, so these will be

³Cf. Kampe (1997, 164–96), Chapter 5.1, 'Zur Struktur der "Verstummung"', where he investigates the silencing of Murnar in *Karsthans* (G52). See footnote 1 (p. 164) for dialogues which defeat and footnote 4 (p. 165) for dialogues which convert.

⁴Keith Moxey (1989, 67–100) describes the portrayal of the Landsknecht in Reformation illustrations, especially of the 1530s: 'Although most of the officers in mercenary armies appear to have had links with the aristocracy even if they were not themselves noble, the bulk of these armies comprised impoverished urban dwellers and peasants' (ibid., 72). This suggests that the use of a Landsknecht in a dialogue is along the same lines as the use of a peasant or an artisan, therefore using a figure from a lower social and educational class to dispute against a presumably more educated interlocutor, although 'the figure of the mercenary as a personification of imperial power was used [...] in the nationalist literature of the German humanists' (ibid., 72–73).

his main reference points. The Mönch has in a way been silenced already and has no counter-argument to criticism of the clergy. His sole defence is his supposed authority and power as a cleric, but this will have no weight: 'vnd [ich] bsorg du syest in des Babst bann/ ich het lust daz ich mich von dir zug/ vnd nit mer mit dir gieng' (ibid., Aii^r).

However, he changes his mind and says he will listen to the Landsknecht and his 'etlych artickel' (ibid., Aii^v). The Predigermönch does not accept the criticism of the pope, and this results in an angry speech from the Landsknecht, who tells him to go his own way if he will only raise objections to whatever the layman has to say. He wants the cleric to be silent and listen; he will not have a chance to object or defend his position if the Landsknecht has his way: 'darumb möcht ich leiden du beschleußt din mul vnd liessest vil red vnder wegen [...] so laß mich vnbekümert dz rat ich dir' (ibid., Aii^v). The Predigermönch agrees to this, but will still try to attack Luther (ibid., Aiii^r).

The Landsknecht uses a step-by-step explanation to prove his point. The Predigermönch cannot counter this, and replies by asking the Landsknecht to be quiet because he does not know Scripture, or know what he is saying, and the Predigermönch does not want to listen anyway. It is ineffective: the Landsknecht has managed to silence his opponent on this point, and can now attack the Dominican order and its supposed practices at length using Scripture, leading to his conclusion, 'darumb gelab ich in got vnd nit in Bapst' (ibid., Aiii^v). The Dominican cannot counter these arguments with positive statements about his order (ibid., Aiii^v).

When the layman criticises the clergy for not being able to use Scripture in their attacks on Luther, the cleric demonstrates this by laying the blame not only on his order, but on other clerics also, rather than using Scripture to refute the argument. He questions the Landsknecht about his hatred of the

Dominicans instead. The Landsknecht draws on the story of the Jetzer Affair and on hearsay for his proof of the Dominicans' corruption (ibid., Aiiii^r).⁵ The Predigermönch can then only summarise the Landsknecht's speech and state how shocked he is: he thought the Jetzer Affair had been forgotten long ago. This shows that the story is accepted as proof of corruption and that nothing will excuse it: silence is the only response. As the Landsknecht explains, the story 'ist [...] ein geschribnn zû ewiger gedechtnuß vnd im druck vß gangen' (ibid., Aiiii^v).⁶ This indicates that the printing of information was seen as giving undeniable evidence, perhaps more so than oral transmission could, because of its permanency, as this dialogue pamphlet also will do.⁷

The next proof against the Dominicans is another story about Dominican preachers, a result of hearsay ('ich hab gehört'), suggesting that this method of transmission also has a role in validating ideas, though this is told after the one which has been committed to print, so is used as support, and is not the sole point on which the argument is based (cf. Kampe 1997, 235). In the *Entschuldigung des Adels* dialogue, the phrase used is 'geruchs weiß ist mich

⁵The Jetzer Affair is continually referred to as a pre-Reformation example of the Dominicans' corruption, and seems to have been a cause célèbre of the time (cf. Könneker 1975, 14–15: 'erstes Anzeichen des bestehenden Sturmes'). See Ozment (1975, 188n3) on Eberlin von Günzburg's account of the events: 'The plan grew out of what was originally a ruse to combat Franciscan promotion of the immaculate conception of the Virgin. Bernese Dominicans [...] convinced a poor tailor's apprentice [...] that he had seen the Virgin and received from her the firm assurance that she had not been immaculately conceived. Recognizing the possibility of making their monastery a lucrative pilgrim shrine, they drugged and stigmatized the simpleminded tailor. Upon wakening he was convinced by the monks that, like Saint Francis, he had received his wounds from Christ. When he proved convincing to the people in the area the monks plotted with their prior to poison him on the belief that after his death the pope would surely proclaim him a saint. The plot failed [...] and the monks were exposed'. See Scribner (1994a, 25) on a 1521 pamphlet on this.

⁶Occurring only ten years before the Reformation, the story had spread in newsheets [*sic*] and pamphlets. The event was constantly referred to in the Reformation pamphlets' (Chrisman 1996, 51); see ibid. 60n2 for a reference to Murner's pamphlet attacking the Dominicans (*Von den fier ketzeren Predigerordens*: HAB H 70.4^o Helmst. (10) (Murner says the events took place in 1507 (C3^v)). A 1509 pamphlet possibly by Niklaus Manuel, *Die war History von den Vier ketzer prediger ordens, zu Bern in der Eydgenosschafft verbant* describes the affair, and *Eyn Wegsprech gen Regensburg* (G90, ciiii^f) also refers to the story.

⁷See Chapter 6 on the relation of oral and written forms of communication.

angelangt' (G30, Biii^r). Alexandra Halasz (1997, 145–54) discusses gossip as a valid source of information in pamphlets, and outlines texts in which gossip is portrayed as a means of communicating information. As Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, 338) states,

Every conversation is full of transmissions and interpretations of other people's words [...]. The majority of our information and opinions is usually not communicated in direct form as our own, but with reference to some indefinite and general source: "I heard," "It's generally held that...," "It is thought that..." and so forth.

In the *Schnaphan* dialogue the eponymous interlocutor recounts a discussion he has heard and taken part in previously about whether Franz von Sickingen supported the reformed teaching or not (G77, Aiii^v–Bi^r). This enables him to introduce various points of view and opinions of Franz von Sickingen within the present discussion.

The power of the spoken word is demonstrated in the above examples, and in a society which did not command a high level of literacy, such proofs are highly significant (cf. Scribner 1994a, 2–3). The story told by the Landsknecht in Zierer's dialogue is further validated, because, 'Als ich fürwar mer dann an einem ort gehert hab' (G95, Bi^r), it is common knowledge. The Predigermönch cannot believe what the Landsknecht tells him, but neither can he defend his order against the attack and prove that the story is untrue, so he is defeated. All he can now say is 'nun wolan wir wellen es lassen belyben/ Es will sich zû vast ein zerren/ auch so werden wir yetz an die herberg gon/ da zimpt es sich gar nit/ Das wir wyter von den dingen sagen' (ibid., Bi^r). The Landsknecht has one more piece of information he has heard about the Dominicans, and challenges his companion with this before they part. This just convinces the Predigermönch further that he does not want to spend any more time with the Landsknecht because he has had enough of his stories. The Landsknecht has

proven that he can defeat the cleric, that the clergy cannot defend themselves satisfactorily against criticisms, showing that the accusations are justified and true. He has silenced the opposition and benefitted his own side in doing so.

According to Helmut Arntzen (1989, 140), 'Nicht die Argumente obsiegen [...] in den Dialogen, sondern die in ihren Figuren erscheinenden Personen'. This suggests that the way in which the argument is constructed, rather than the ideas themselves, must be convincing. The Predigermönch could theoretically have defended himself more effectively, but he is not allowed by the author to do so, and the way in which the Landsknecht uses his knowledge to defeat the cleric is simply more successful. He does not reach the root of the Dominican order in his incriminations, but remains on the surface, assailing obvious misdemeanours rather than fundamental beliefs. The order may not be left intact, but it is not beyond repair. This is not to say, of course, that subject matter is irrelevant in Reformation dialogues, as the message which is to be taught by the pamphlet necessarily includes the themes of discussion. However, argumentation and rhetoric are a central part of the message also.⁸

The silencing is not inevitable in real life, where people generally have a better chance to defend themselves. However, silencing within the dialogue is representative of the wish to silence the opponent in the Reformation debate as a whole: if the opponent cannot respond to the attacks, he will be defeated. The onslaught of printed propaganda in the early years of the Reformation also represents this point: say as much as possible and do not let the opponent have the last word, and there is more chance of success. The dialogue itself is prominent in representing the debate and the wish to silence the Catholic side in micro-form and in print, and in more personal, individual and

⁸ 'So, if [...] Plato makes Socrates come up with sounder arguments than the sophists, this is only to enhance the central moral purpose he found in Socrates' arguments' (Saunders, ed., 1987, 302).

comprehensible terms, given the types of interlocutors used. In terms of the dialogue as a genre, the Catholics are fairly successfully silenced, given the small number of dialogues they produce.⁹ This reflects the perception that Catholics keep silent and are unwilling to discuss with the laity. It is not done to enter into debate about such key points of belief. In several pamphlets the unwillingness to take part in disputations with Luther and his supporters is highlighted and criticised by Luther's adherents: 'if you want to defeat Luther, why will you not dispute with him?'¹⁰ The fact that Luther has been successful in a number of debates is also mentioned, as is described in the 'Vater and Sohn' dialogue, for example:

der Luther ist nhun czu leyptzig zu Augspurg/ vnd zu wormbs wol
bestanden es hatt sich niemants dorffen an in machen/ den der Eck hatt
zu [...] leypzick mitt im disputirt vnnd eyynn grosse saw daruon bracht.
des gleichen hat er zu Augspurg mit des Babsts legaten ader botschafft/
des gleichen mit andern doctoribus/ disputirt vnd vnuberwunden bliben.
(G16, biii^r)

However, some Roman clerics recognised the need to respond to the onslaught of reformers' polemic. The papal nuncio at Worms, Aleander, complained that the writers in Rome should do more, having seen evidence of Hutten's writings and the speed at which reformers' pamphlets were produced:

Ich sage es unsern Poeten und Rhetoren in Rom, deren ganzes Thun darin
besteht, an ein paar Verschen monatelang zu feilen und um eines armen
Wortes willen einander zu verleumden, gerade ins Gesicht, daß sie sich
vertragen und einmütig in ihren Schriften unsern Glauben verteidigen
sollten; mit ihren Einsichten und Fähigkeiten würden sie schöne Dinge
ausrichten und mehr als sieben dieser Schreihälse [Hutten and his
colleagues] zum Schweigen bringen, die allein mit ihren schriftstellerischen
und poetischen Künsten sich bei der Menge in solches Ansehen gesetzt
haben, als wenn sie die echte Theologie schon ganz unter die Füße
getreten hätten.

(Kalkoff, ed., 1886, 118)

⁹There are under ten dialogues written by Catholics in German in the 1520s.

¹⁰For example, this is found in *Karsthans* (G52; cf. Kampe 1997, 181–82) and the 'Pfarrer and Schultheiß' dialogue (G7).

Aleander reveals several times in his correspondence that he is aware of the great effect Hutten, Luther and their polemical writings have in inflaming the general public to argument and action (e.g. Kalkoff, ed., 1886, 25, 116). By the end of the decade, there is evidence that the Catholics have realised the worth of the dialogue form and are using it and adopting imagery from their opponents, turning the criticisms back on the opposition, as is seen in the 1530 *Red vnnd antwurdt vom Clósterlichen standt* (G65). This voice is, however, too little too late.

As Rachel May (1997, 53) points out, the use of silencing emphasises the importance and power of speech *per se* due to the fact that those who are silenced are those who are defeated. The form of attack and defence is related to the silencing intention: if someone is attacked enough, and his arguments are ineffective, he will eventually be silenced, and perhaps will convert.

b) Conversion

Many dialogues take the process further than defeat and illustrate conversion as the step which follows silencing.

In *Eyn gesprech zwyschen vyer Personen wye sie eyn getzengk haben von der Walfart ym Grimmel* the Handwerksmann has two opponents, the Pfaffe and the Mönch, who overhear the conversation between the Handwerksmann and the Bauer and raise objections. The Pfaffe threatens the Handwerksmann with excommunication and is very much on the defensive, being corrected from the start. He cannot counter the Handwerksmann's argument, which is supported by Scripture, and neither can the Mönch, who is at this stage still on the Pfaffe's side:

HANTWERCKSSMAN: Do geb ich nit vil auff ewer Bannen. Pfaff, liß Paulum, wie du einen Bannen solst! Ist offenbar worden, das es lauter buberei ist. Man sol dye leut nit vmb gelt oder vmb solch sach Bannen. Lis das Evangelion recht, so werdt jhr wol finden, wie der Bann geprauchet sol werden. Wer jhn anderst praucht, so seyt jhr selbs im Bann, vnnd der mensch nit, denn jhr Bant. Darumb Bant, wie jhr wolt, ich geb nichß darauff.

MUNCH: Ich mein, jhr seyt Luttrisch.

HANTWERCKSSMAN: Neyn, nit Luthrisch, sunder Christisch.

(G39, 181)

The Handwerksmann has protected himself against further possible attack by stating that anyone who tries to excommunicate against the way promoted by Paul will effectively be excommunicated himself, so he has nothing to fear. He then has the chance to profess his Christianity, turning the Mönch's attack into a counterattack. The Mönch has no Scriptural reference to use against the Handwerksmann, and through accusing him of being 'Luttrisch', ends up being categorised as non-Christian, given the implications of the Handwerksmann's assertion of his own Christianity.

The lack of fear shown by the Handwerksmann in response to the cleric's threats of excommunication denies the cleric any authority; the power is now with the layman who is arguing with Scripture and defying Church practices. The Mönch goes on to try to stop the Handwerksmann talking of such matters,¹¹ questioning the source of his knowledge, but is silenced by the Handwerksmann's lengthy account of the Jetzer Affair. By the end of this, the Mönch is convinced: 'Das ist eyynn bößer handel, ich müß mich meyner kutten schemen' (ibid., 183).¹²

The Handwerksmann has effectively silenced the Mönch, as he is quiet for much of the conversation, listening to the explanations the Handwerksmann gives the Bauer, only contributing the odd comment which

¹¹Cf. 'Landsknecht and Predigermönch' (G95), Aii^v.

¹²Cf. 'Landsknecht and Predigermönch' (G95), Aiiii^r.

spurs the Handwerksmann on to another explanation. The Mönch has begun to think. By the end, he is ready to convert, having been persuaded by what he has heard:

Liber brüder, ich hab vil von euch gehört, vnd ist eben die warheit [...] Ich hab im sin, ich wöl die kutten auch an eynn tzaun hencken. Wan ich nur eyn wenig wüst, was ich anfahen solt, ich wolt baldt eyn endt mit meyner kutten machen.

(ibid., 194)

This illustrates the way in which silencing through Scripture and other proofs is effective not only in defeat, but also in conversion. The Mönch has debated with the Handwerksmann, has been ineffective in defending himself and his order, and has realised his mistakes, so he is willing to listen to the Handwerksmann's instruction to the Bauer, who is much more easily persuaded, and to contribute the odd comment, as he will not abandon his beliefs too readily. Ultimately, however, he has been silenced and made to reason in his own mind with his beliefs and what he now hears, so he will convert (cf. Kampe 1997, 164–65).

The Mönch takes on the role of the dialogue's external audience at the stage where he is silenced by the Jetzer story, and must work things out in his own mind as a result of the discussion:¹³

Wie der Gesprächsvorgang in einer zweifachen dynamischen Beziehung zu den beteiligten Figuren steht, als ihre eigene Leistung und als Anspruch der Situation an sie, so übt es auch eine doppelte Wirkung auf den äußeren Zeugen aus: Er muß Stellung nehmen, das Gehörte auf seine eigenen "Bestände" [...] beziehen, und er muß sich zugleich auf die weiterführende Bewegung, den Entwurf von etwas Neuem, den insgesamt utopischen Charakter des Gesprächs einlassen, also einen Zuwachs oder Abstriche an seinem Bestand in Kauf nehmen.

(Bauer 1969, 250)

¹³Cf. Kampe (1997, 207ff.).

This requires further thinking on the part of the reader: 'der Leser wird dem Zwang der dargestellten Alternative ausgesetzt und nimmt an der Beantwortung deshalb so gespannt Anteil, weil er die Antwort von sich aus mitentwickelt' (ibid., 250).

The element of closure is clear here, where the dialogues aim to bring discussion to an end, and to silence and subjugate. This might portray dialogue in a negative light, as a form wishing submission, and to some extent this is true: conversion, or even defeat and silencing, deny validity to opposing opinions. However, dialogue authors themselves, although they do wish to silence and convert the opposition, would see this in a more positive light as aiding God's cause and leading people to the 'true' faith.

It may be that in the earlier years of the 1520s silencing was a more important aim than latterly, as the Church still had the authority, and the introduction of reformed practices was hardly underway. It generally took until 1523 or later for town authorities to begin to introduce, or at least accept and promote, reformed practices of worship, and the Roman Church became marginalised — silenced — in several cases (cf. Cameron 1991, 210–22; Arntzen 1989, 139–40). Such phenomena may be mirrored in dialogues. There is less opposition to be silenced after 1524/25, and that which there is changes in nature to some extent: in 1526 and 1527, for example, the oppositions in the dialogues include those within the reformed and reforming movements, such as Hubmaier against Zwingli (G46) or Karlstadt against Luther (G51). It is important to note who the opponent is: if it is a historical figure the wish is generally to silence rather than convert, so Murner or Zwingli will be silenced in a dialogue, their arguments, found in their own pamphlets, exposed as invalid.

Externally to the dialogue situation, silencing is not the intention, as the author wishes for a result to the reading or hearing of his text and the possibility is opened up for discussion as a result of this. This will be treated further in subsequent chapters.

MEANS OF DEFEAT

a) Reversal of the argument and the anticipation of objections

The word in living conversation is directly, blatantly, oriented toward a future answer-word: it provokes an answer, anticipates it and structures itself in the answer's direction. Forming itself in an atmosphere of the already spoken, the word is at the same time determined by that which has not yet been said but which is needed and in fact anticipated by the answering word. Such is the situation in any living dialogue.

(Morris, ed., 1994, 76)¹⁴

This is particularly relevant to the reversal of arguments which takes place in many dialogues: an interlocutor may foresee counter-arguments to his own claims and defeat them or use them to his own advantage before his partner in conversation can refute the original point. The 'future answer-word' is dealt with in a way advantageous to the current speaker.

In general, dominating interlocutors in antagonistic dialogues always manage to reverse arguments by turning criticisms to their own advantage. This has been seen in above examples where the weaker interlocutor has not had a chance, or has not been able, to defend his own position. The more powerful figure has continued the attack or refuted the argument.¹⁵ In some

¹⁴Cf. Bakhtin (1981, 282): 'To some extent, primacy belongs to the response, as the activating principle: it creates the ground for understanding, it prepares the ground for an active and engaged understanding'.

¹⁵'Das Argument, das als das gegnerische ausgegeben wird, erscheint in der Substanz schwach,

cases the dominant interlocutor does not even give the other a chance to voice his opinions or objections: 'ob ir aber sprecht Ezechias het unrecht gethan Darzû ist mein antwort[...]' (G64, ci^r). The Ritter has been explaining his text from Ezekiel, and recognises a point which the Priester may challenge, so he deals with this himself. As well as keeping the Priester silent, such a device allows the Ritter to keep the pamphlet's audience on his side.

Balthasar Stanberger uses a similar device in *Ein Dialogus oder gesprech zwischen einem Prior/ Leyenbrüder vnd Bettler dz wort gottes belanget*: 'ir ligt vnnd steckt die fuß in die kachel [...] vnd sagt dennoch Ey wir haben einen harten vnd strengen orden [...] vnd wen man euch also dy warheit sagt/ so sprecht ir/ Ey behüt liber her behüt' (G84, Aiii^r). He is not giving the Prior a chance to defend his order, anticipating objections he has obviously heard before. He has already made his attack before the Prior's possible objection, and if he states the objection himself, he will not need to defend himself again. In addition, it does not give the Prior a chance to voice any alternative objections, ones which might in fact work, if all were fair in the dialogue. The Laienbruder's rhetorical questions are also not allowed to be answered: 'Warumb bistu hinnein gezogen [i.e. taken orders]/ warumb bleibstu nit herausen/ es wer kein wunder dz du bey nacht hinwegk lieffest' (ibid.).

According to Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, 353),

free creation of likely, but never actually uttered, words, sometimes whole speeches — "as he must have said" or "as he might have said" — was a device very widespread in ancient rhetoric; rhetorical discourse tries to outwit possible retorts to itself, it passes on and compiles the words of witnesses and so forth.

The comments put into the mouth of the Prior are not specific to the situation of this dialogue, but are nonetheless objections which could be raised here. The

weil es tatsächlich nur das schwache ist' (Kampe 1997, 191).

author is silencing the weaker interlocutor on two levels: through the Laienbruder within the discussion, as demonstrated above, and as the author who structures the discussion. He is not giving the Prior the same chance in the argumentation as the Laienbruder — he is deliberately the weaker interlocutor — and is not allowing him to voice objections which a real prior might very well raise.

Important is also the fact that the Prior is not able to interrupt: interruptions do not generally occur in literary dialogues. He is therefore successfully silenced, allowing the Laienbruder to criticise and explain at will. By the end of the dialogue, the Prior is converted and decides to leave the monastery, as he has been convinced by Scripture and the argumentation (G84, Fii^r, Fiii^v).

b) Logicality

Logical argumentation is a key point for many dialogue authors; the argument must make sense. In the 1522 dialogue *Ain schöner Dialogus zwischen ainem Priester vnd Ritter*, the Ritter is clearly aware of the need for logicality: ‘so ir dann sprecht das [...] so müst ir im von not wegen gesteen dz [...]’ (G64, aiiii^v).¹⁶ The Ritter therefore shows the Priester’s position to be untenable because of the second premise.¹⁷ He is not only rejecting the Priester’s comments, but explaining why he is doing so, and therefore why the Priester should abandon this standpoint. Soon after this, the Ritter again finds fault not only with what the Priester says, but also the way in which he says it, describing

¹⁶A similar structure in Stanberger’s dialogue between the Prior, Laienbruder and Bettler gives the same impression, with the use of the conditional: ‘het disen spruch got vff dy munchen gedeut/ seine apostel *weren* auch münche worden’ (G84, Aiii^v; my italics).

¹⁷See Saunders, ed. (1987, 299) on ‘antilogic’ as form of argumentation: ‘proceeding from a *logos*, say the position adopted by opponent, to establishment of contrary or contradictory *logos* in such a way that the opponent must either accept both *logoi* or at least abandon his first position’ (from Kerferd 1981. *The Sophistic Movement*, Cambridge, 63).

his argument and proof as ‘circular’ and illogical: ‘Ditz argument oder die bewerbung ist sinwel vnnnd sein leychtuerttigkait ist mit einem solchen argument züvertreyben [...] vnd darumb ist dise bewerbung mit geringer vernunft gegründet’ (ibid., bi^r). The ability of one interlocutor to argue correctly and to comment upon the argumentation of another is relevant in portraying the dominant and superior interlocutor.¹⁸ It is significant that this dialogue is a translation and adaptation of a humanist one from the start of the sixteenth century, so matters such as argumentation will be important to someone educated in logic, rhetoric and disputation practice, such as the translator of this dialogue, Pollinger, a scribe, and obviously a Latinist (ibid., ai^v).¹⁹

Eberlin von Günzburg’s Psitacus in *Mich wundert das kein gelt ihm land ist* tries to persuade Schielin to round off his contribution to the discussion properly, but Schielin says that when he has finished what he has to say, his speech is finished (G25, bi^v). Psitacus is leading the discussion and organising its progress, as well as writing it down. The same is true at the end of the second section, where Psitacus says to Zingk, ‘du thust die zurgen von dem maul vnd lest den narren reden’. Zingk replies, ‘So lang ich die warheit rede solt du mir nit in die rede fallen’; Psitacus’s response is ‘Rede gnug’, so Zingk continues (ibid., biiii^v).

In the ‘Luther and Teufel’ dialogue, Luther describes the Teufel’s argument as ‘Sophistisch’, indicating his argumentation is fallacious (G2, Dii^v).

¹⁸This relates to the point made above on the way in which an argument is structured and that the interlocutor is in some ways more important in winning the debate than the themes discussed. Cf. Bauer (1969, 136) on medieval and other *Streitgespräche*, and formality: ‘die Repliken sind durch das Prinzip des Gegeneinanders und die Tendenz zur Überredung stärker profiliert als im gleichsinnigen Wechsel. Aber auch im Streitgespräch ist die Stilisierung des Gesagten in einer getragenen, selbst bei niedrigem Inhalt feierlichen Form wichtiger als der praktisch-vernünftige Zweck’. While this may not be completely true for the Reformation dialogue, it does support the idea that form and formal features are an integral part of the genre, at least in a closed conversation.

¹⁹The Latin version of the dialogue (L1, Aiiii^r) states ‘Argumentum istud cornutum est’ and ‘Sed plumeum est argumentum ideo levi ratione sufflatum’.

This allegation is a fairly common and general one, linking 'Catholic' and 'Sophist' as concepts, also with the idea of 'human teaching' rather than God's. Sophistic arguments will not have any logical and acceptable foundation in Scripture, and will therefore be inevitable fallacious and illogical.²⁰

c) Mockery and insult: puns

There are many ways in which insults are used to silence the opponent, but puns form one of the most significant. They serve various purposes, though they usually have the function of satire, revealing the true nature of a person or practice through a pun on a name or designation.²¹ The 'real' name reveals the truth.

In a form of literature which represents oral transmission, puns play a significant role, as they are a common feature of speech, especially when portrayed as slips of the tongue or mishearing.

One of the main uses of puns is as a play on the names, characteristics and caricatures of opponents. Luther's main opponents are often attacked in this way. The most obvious example is probably that of Thomas Murner in *Karsthans* (G52). Kanpe (1997, 169ff.) discusses the silencing and discrediting of Murner, partly through playing on the pun of his name and his subsequent self-identification as both a cat and a Narr in his own pre-Reformation moral-satirical verse, at length. Murner complains about 'büchlin-schreiber' who have mocked him to please Luther, portraying him as a cat. He goes on to use this portrayal himself to refute his opponents' criticisms (Arntzen 1989, 149).²²

Other clerics who are mocked in this way include Johannes Eck who is

²⁰Cf. Copp (G12) esp. Bii^vff. on sophistry, Scotus, Aquinas etc..

²¹Cf. Bentzinger (1983, 27).

²²Mockery of Murner and puns on his name are found, for example, in Copp (G12, Biiii^r).

referred to variously as 'Geck' and 'Dreck', or Jacob Lemp who is called 'Lumpen' or hence 'Fetz', and Johannes Cochläus who becomes sometimes 'Kochlöffel'.²³ Johannes Fabri also comes in for attack and can be referred to as a 'Schmid'²⁴ because this is his German name, just as Eck is mistaken for a dairyman by Cuntz because his full name is 'Hans meyer von Eck' (G68, Aiii^v). It is not only contemporaries who are mocked in this fashion: Heinrich von Kettenbach, through the Altmutter interlocutor, calls Aquinas 'thomas von kackwin' (G54, Ci^v).²⁵ In the verse dialogue *Die Luterisch Strebkatz* (G59), where the verse uses the animal representatives of Luther's opponents as figures in discussion against him, such puns are also used as rhymes.²⁶ Rhymes are also effective in Utz Eckstein's *Concilium* where Eck is one of the interlocutors:

Doch heyssist Hans Gick oder Geck
du bist vormals mee gwalet im dreck.

This is in contrast to the interlocutor against whom he is to dispute, a peasant, representing God:

Des sitzt hie gen dir Thomman Klotz
den bericht hie mit dem wort Gotz.
(G27, Bii^v–Biii^r)

Theologians past and present can thus be dragged down the social and

²³See e.g. 'Cuntz and Fritz' (G68, Aii^r) for 'Lemp' and 'Fetz'; (Bi^v) for 'der Rölling' (Murner), 'Geck', 'Bock' (Emser); 'Bembus and Silenus' (G78, ii^v) for Lemp as the 'fetzelumper von Tübingen'; 'Luther and Hessus' (G67, Aiii^r) for 'Doctor Geck', an insult which does not appear in the Latin original; 'Luther and Teufel' (G2, Biii^v) for various; 'Vater and Sohn': 'der geck/ wie heists Joannes Eck der wirdig her' (G16, biii^r); 'Barfüsser and Löffelmacher' (G34, Aiiii^r) for puns on Sophists' and Romanists' names; 'Bauer, Belial, Erasmus, Fabri' (G3, Biii^v) for Cochläus as 'Kochleffel'.

²⁴E.g. *Das gyren Rupffen* (G44), esp. aii^v; 'Bauer, Belial, Erasmus, Fabri' (G3), Aii^v.

²⁵Cf. 'Thomam von Coquin' in the 'Vater and Sohn' dialogue (G16, aiiii^v).

²⁶The *Strebkatz* was a popular game in which two opponents engaged in a tug-of-war by gripping between their teeth two rods, which were connected by cords. This contraption was itself called the *Strebkatz* and the players contended for its sole possession. In this version [the dialogue] the cords pass around the contestants' necks' (Scribner 1994a, 60).

educational scale by being given these names, and it is a form of satirical unmasking. The names can be 'innocent' mistakes on the part of ignorant interlocutors having misheard, a feature of oral transmission, but they are obviously deliberate on the part of the author, and the reader or listener is aware of this.

From the other side, Luther is attacked as 'der ketzer Lotterbûb' ('Prior, Laienbruder and Bettler', G84, Aiiii^r): a *loter* is a 'leichtfertiger, liederlicher Mensch' (Baufeld 1996, 163), therefore the pun attacks Luther's morals, though in a pro-Lutheran text such as this one, the attack can be refuted. There is a similar image in *Dialogus ader ein gespreche wieder Doctor Ecken Buchlein* by Cuntz von Oberndorf: Arnoldt, the interlocutor who supports Eck, refers to Luther as 'Luder' (G62, Aiii^v), the term Eck himself uses in the title to his pamphlet which is discussed in the dialogue (Eck 1520, Ai^r). However, these particular criticisms are, apart from Eck's usage, in pamphlets which support Luther, so the images can be corrected, and Cuntz von Oberndorf corrects Eck's designation by writing the pamphlet against Eck. Luther's name can be used as a counter-pun with 'lauter', meaning 'clear', referring to his teaching and the way in which it is carried out (cf. Matheson 1998, 103).

Attacks on individuals are part of the satire of the period, and this is something revived and used increasingly at the time: 'die persönliche Polemik und Invektive war zwar schon der Antike vertraut, sie erscheint aber in umfassender und massiver Weise erst wieder im Humanismus' (Arntzen 1989, 136).²⁷ According to Matheson (1998, 189), 'the function of "naming" was taken much more seriously than today'. The function to wound, not just in puns, but also in other insults, is especially harsh from those who have been close and

²⁷Cf. Barbara Köneker (1975, 19), referring to the Reuchlin Affair and the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*.

were colleagues (ibid., 190).²⁸ *Das gyren rupffen* (G44) is written against Johannes Fabri. The title is a pun on his family name, 'Heigerlin', and the 'Gyren Rupffen', like the 'Strebkatz', is a game, in this case a game of forfeits where several people are set against an individual, probably originally several birds against a vulture, in order to isolate and 'pluck' the individual.²⁹

The educated were willing to attack each other, and it is they who continue this into the Reformation. Giving things and people the 'correct' names is important in the propaganda.³⁰ Of course, they are also attacking what is represented by the individuals (Arntzen 1989, 136). This is a feature of humanist and educated writings which is adopted to some extent by artisan authors. They do not belong to the group of humanists and theologians who can criticise each other individually and will therefore concentrate on types and representatives rather than initiating attacks on individuals and coining puns against them. They do include typical individual criticisms as imitatory features, however. This is seen, for example, in Hans Sachs's *Die Wittenbergisch Nchtigall* which makes much use of the caricatures of the leading theologians as particular animals (Seufert, ed., 1974, 9–40). Of course, clerics and humanists do criticise representatives also, but are less afraid to attack individuals.³¹ As Helmut Arntzen (1989, 136) states, 'Polemik und Invektive gegen Personen finden die ihnen gemäÙe Form in der Prosa und im Dialog', that is, the dialogue form readily allows attacks on the individual (ibid., 137), especially if one of the individuals being attacked is an interlocutor in the discussion, though this is not often the case with puns.

²⁸Cf. humanists and the Reuchlin Affair, the *Dunklermännerbriefe*, and the *Eccius dedolatus* text, for example, and the use of 'die verkertten gelertten' in the 'Vater and Sohn' dialogue (G16, bii^r), and 'dye gelertten, dye verkerten' in the 'Grimmetal' dialogue (G39, 184).

²⁹Cf. Lewis (1987, 125), including note 2.

³⁰Cf. Schwitalla (1983, 134); Kampe (1997, 176).

³¹See also Arntzen (1989, 133).

Puns as misunderstanding work well in a text-type which depicts a conversation. Mishearing a word or confusing it with a similar-sounding one are common features in real-life conversation, though they do not always have a satirical function. In dialogues, however, they necessarily do. In *Eyn wegsprech gen Regenspurg* the Hurenwirt mishears 'fiscal' as 'frißgar' and must ask Kuntz for an explanation (G90, aiii^v). The Hurenwirt then makes a slip of the tongue and again needs to be corrected by Kuntz. He talks of the 'bapsts secret', but Kuntz corrects this: 'ich mein du macheest [*sic*] gern vß bapsts recht ein sprachuß/ Es heist nit secret/ sonder decret. Hû[renwirt]. Es heiß Barbel oder gret/ mir ist nichts dran gelegen/ wie der dreck heist' (ibid., biii^r).³²

Mispronunciations are convenient slips of the tongue: 'geistlosen' instead of 'geistlichen' (G72, 54); 'geytzigkait (geystligkait solt ich sagen)' (G74, 98);³³ 'hailosen vatter (hailige vatter sol ich sagen)' (G73, 80); 'vvnvornunfftigen' and 'vernunfftigen' (G62, Bi^r); 'ir Barfüssen alefantzer/ observantzer solt ich sagen' (G34, Aiiii^r); 'also wirt er danach zu ainem affen/ ich sprich pfaffen' (G47, Cii^r).³⁴ The word spoken first in these cases is the one which gives the supposedly true nature of the person, group or attribute, the satirical correction clarifies exactly who is being referred to. Such examples recur in other dialogues, showing an inheritance and treasury of imagery and language, not just ideas, between the texts. Puns become further genre markers of the dialogue.

Slips of the tongue are common in speech in general, and have a specific role to play in the Reformation dialogue. One might expect written texts to

³²Cf. 'Vater and Sohn' (G16, aiiii^v): '[...] mit sampt iren Codicibus vnd zinckis (wie heists) distinctis'.

³³Cf. Stanberger (G84, Biii^r-Biii^v).

³⁴See also Büllheim — a verse dialogue — (G9, Biiii^r), where 'affen' and 'pfaffen' are used as rhymes; Eberlin (G25, aiiii^v) where 'pfaffen' and 'affen' are discussed: the 'affen' are the ancestors of the 'pfaffen' and have two letters (P and F) added to their name. They should lose these two letters again and be called by their original name.

avoid slips of the tongue — the conversation can after all be finalised before being committed to writing — but it is evidence of the centrality of orality to the Reformation dialogue and awareness of the power of speech that such features are included, as well as being part of the satirical nature of the texts. There are also cases where an interlocutor, perhaps feigning ignorance or lack of education, will mispronounce a word because he does not know it or its meaning properly. Slips of the tongue are not confined to German, and confusion between Latin and German can lead to revelations of character also:

Betl[er]. Wu lieber pessimüs. Prior. Wie nennest du mich du amechtig krüppel vnd Martinischer junger Bettler. Ey ich hab mich versprochen ich gedacht an ein latinisch wort/ vnd solt haben gesagt lieber herr prior/ habt mirs aber für güt dz bit ich vergebt so wirt euch wider vergeben.

(G84, Di^v)

A similar example is found in the 'Bauer and Glöckner' dialogue of 1522. The Bauer has come to the church in Speyer to try and find the 'absentz Meyster'. The Glöckner corrects him: he means the 'presentz meyster', though the Bauer is in fact more accurate with his labelling, as the man in question does happen to be absent at the time (G88, Ai^v).³⁵ This example shows a pun between Latin and German as a result of misunderstanding, as in *Karsthans* (G52; cf. Matheson 1998, 102–03).

Puns can even be explained, as in the case of Rychssner's 'Pfaffe and Weber' dialogue where the terms 'schaff hirt' and 'hüren wirt' are discussed: 'wie wol die namen ainander nit fast vngleych seynd nach den Worten/ aber weyt von ainander [*sic*] mit den wercken' (G71, Di^r). This is also the case in *Ein Frag vnd Antwort von zweyen brüdern* where Ulrich states, 'ich hör es gang seltzam zu auff dem reyßtag'. Claus develops this play on *Reichstag*: 'Ja Ulrich

³⁵Cf. pun on 'Reformation' and 'Confusion' in the 'Christus and Christianus' dialogue (G13, A2^r). Cf. Jørgensen (1988, 45–49) on the 'Bauer and Glöckner' dialogue (G88); 45 on this pun.

du sagst recht/es ist wol ein reyßtag/ es reyßt einer hie auß/ der ander dort' (G33, Ai^v). Puns can be deliberate corrections of an opponent's statement, as in the case of Stanberger's dialogue:

Pri[or]. Ja er wurd nit irrig gefunden er kan nit sundigen/ dan er ist ein irdischer got. Leyenb[ruder]. Dz glaub ich wol dz er ein irrisher got sey so kan er nit irren so man in tregt deß tagß in den gassen zů Rom hin vnd widder.

(G84, Aiii^v)

The pun is a means of correcting and modifying what the Prior has said, and continues the theme under discussion. The fact that the pope is not a god of any kind is further ammunition to show that he is 'irrig'. In Zierer's 'Waldbruder and Waise' dialogue, bishops are referred to as 'by schaf', i.e. the bishops should be with their sheep and look after them. This false etymology is used alongside scriptural references to clerics as shepherds to prove the bishops' failure to do what their name says they ought: 'darumb nenn ich sy nit mer bischof/ sunder sy haissent yetzund/ beiß schaf/ dz sicht man all tag wol/ wann sy beissen vnd erwirgent uns' (G94, Aii^r).³⁶

The use of such puns indicates awareness on the part of the interlocutors, and of course authors, of the power of words and of their importance, meanings, and construction; they play around with the meanings, inventing their own. Language has the potential to be modified to their specific purposes. This is particularly possible in spoken language, as the sound of the words renders such modifications easier, and the thought process of such features is more spontaneous, seeming to grow out of what is being discussed. It is more acceptable to the audience than in a purely written text, where one would expect the points made to be more settled. This encourages such thoughts and

³⁶The true meaning of the Greek word for 'bishop' is 'overseer', which does have the same connotations in this context as the etymology given.

comparisons on the power of words to evoke images and contrasts by the pamphlet's readers and listeners. Marshall McLuhan (1960, 125) claims that 'simultaneities like puns and ambiguities — the life of spoken discourse — become, in writing, affronts to taste, floutings of efficiency'. It is not clear whether this can be said precisely of the dialogues, as they represent oral transmission, and as such are entitled to use oral features of communication.

Puns are almost always a feature of satirical dialogues. The insulting yet amusing tone of puns fits in to such texts, especially if spoken directly to the person referred to. They do not have to be a feature of antagonistic dialogues, though, as is seen in the example of the 'Cuntz and Fritz' dialogue (G68) where the victim of the satire (Eck) is external to the dialogue situation. Puns are found in texts by many different types of author, showing that many have an awareness of the versatility and use of language, and are aware of the oral context as well as the written. Puns are a feature of satire, not dependent on author type, though the more sophisticated ones, especially those involving Latin, are used by more educated authors.

There are clear links to satire and sixteenth-century *Narrenliteratur*. As Murner comments, '*die welt wil han eyn schympfflich leer*',³⁷ that is, people listen to mockery and satire as teaching more readily than to a purely serious message. *Schimpf und Ernst* are effective ways of promoting a message. Kampe (1997, 129) suggests that there are two kinds of 'schimpf': one which is not justified, 'der sich im [...] Modus der unflätigen Rede äußert', and one which is justified, 'd.i. "schimpf" im eigentlichen Sinne, verstanden als "brüderlich straf"'. Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt was aware of differing opinions towards the dialogue genre and its reputation as being *schimpfflich*, as he highlights in the prologue to his 1524 dialogue on the mass:

³⁷From Murnar, *Die Geuchmat*, 233, 5286, quoted in Arntzen (1989, 130).

Ir dörrfft nit wenen/ daß ich schimpff oder kürtzweyl treyd [*sic*]/ drum
 daß ich eyn gesprech büchlin gemacht hab. Mir ist an ewer seligkeyt vil
 gelegen/ vnd hab gestrengen ernst ob dyser sach/ vnd personen genennt/
 die sich zûsamen besprechen/ kürtz halben/ [...] denn die Argument
 lassen sich in der besprechung/ kürtzer fassen/ denn in eyner eyntzelen
 gestrackten rede. Darumb solt ir wissen/ daß ich die kürtz/ vnd ewern
 nutz/ vnnd zû forderst gottes herligkeyt vnd eer/ gesücht hab/ vnd nicht
 spott oder lust.

(G50, Aii^r)³⁸

Karlstadt recognises a need to justify his use of dialogue, and to define his intentions, externally, as he addresses the reader/listener here, in writing a dialogue. Whether he adheres to his stated intentions is another matter; there is certainly some 'schimpff' in the dialogue against the opposition to Karlstadt's interpretation of the sacrament.

Insults are rife in dialogues, especially satirical ones. Puns are a specific type of insult which works particularly well in an oral situation, though as will be demonstrated below, they are also found in written texts. Is this in particular because the texts may well have been read aloud? However, it is not only within the conversations themselves that puns are found, and that an impression of orality is given. In the 'Vorrede' to his *Dialogus ader ein gespreche wieder Doctor Ecken Buchlein*, Cuntz von Oberndorf states in the first line, 'Es ist vor wenig tagen abermals ein neckisch (Eckisch solt ich sagen) zusammen gelesen büchlein an tag kommen.' (G62, Ai^v).³⁹ This pun is taken up by the interlocutors in their opening lines as Eck's pamphlet is introduced:

B[artoldt]. [...] Sage an lieber bruder/ ists ein neckisch buchlein/ das du
 in henden hast/ daruon dir diese freude khommen?
 A[rnoldt]. Nicht ein neckisch/ sonder ein Eckisch buchlein ist es.
 B[artoldt]. Abs gleich ein Eckisch buchlein sey/ wz ist aber gutes darin?
 (ibid., Aii^r)

³⁸Cf. Kampe (1997, 121–23).

³⁹*Neckisch* means 'amusing and teasing, not serious', therefore it could be 'satirical'.

The author regards puns as a feature of written texts also, not just part of the discussion. He shows the links between his prologue and the actual dialogue by continuing imagery and puns he has used within the prologue.

Puns are another silencing device, defeating the opponent by identifying him as he really is. In contrast with silencing within the text, the opponent is often external and the defeat indirect, if it happens at all, especially if the target is a leading opponent of Luther's such as Eck or Lemp.

d) Self condemnation

It is not only opposing parties who condemn each other; often interlocutors, those on the side which is to be corrected, condemn themselves by their own words, actions and attitudes (Schwitalla 1983, 135). In describing their way of life, clerics, for example, can illustrate the way in which they ignore Scriptural teaching: in Stanberger's dialogue, the Prior reveals his lack of neighbourly love by his attitude to the Bettler: 'du elender mensche was geht dichs an/ du verstehest dich der schrift nit/ vnd was die heiligen vetter daruber schreiben [...] gehe vnd wart deines almüsen/ vnd laß vns vnser meynung wo kumbstu hie her' (G84, Bi^v). The Bettler corrects this attitude, showing that the Prior has misunderstood: 'Sol ich den nat vom wort gots reden wölt ir mirs verbieten/ vnd got verbeut mirs nit' (ibid., Bi^v). Sachs's Chorherr condemns himself by not being able to find scriptural references after maintaining that Scripture is the domain of the Church and criticising the Schuchmacher for dealing with it (G72, 59).

The dialogue which portrays self-condemnation most explicitly is probably that between Bembus and Silenus where the two discuss their financial dealings and corrupt attitudes. The Narr overhears the conversation and comments on it, but it is Bembus and Silenus themselves who provide the

evidence which condemns them. It is particularly ironic that Silenus thinks the Narr 'redet wider sich selbs' when in actual fact it is Bembus and Silenus who do this and the Narr who speaks against them (G78, ii^r).

Although faults may be highlighted and corrected by opponents, it is still evident that the clerics or Romanist laymen are condemned on their own evidence before any riposte, as for instance in the 'Priester and Ritter' dialogue (G64, aii^v–aiii^r). The interlocutor who is in the right need not describe the other's faults as the opponent already has. In the 'Julius' dialogue the 'Warrior Pope' Julius II condemns himself through his description of his belligerent treatment of other nations and peoples. His dress even condemns him: Peter, at Heaven's gates, where Julius is trying to enter, recognises Julius's key (which does not work) but not his attire which is worse than the heathens wear; moreover it has 'am mantel zeychen vnd mackel eins schandlichen lesterlichen wurts vnd betriegers' (G89, Aii^v).⁴⁰ Through his description of his actions Julius provides a contrast with Peter, the first bishop of Rome from whom the popes claim their authority. The condemnation is clear through the contrast between St. Peter and Julius, as Julius fails to live up to the ideal and model of St. Peter, who recognises that his successor is nothing like him.

The 'Bauer and Glöckner' dialogue also contains self-condemnation through character revelation. The Glöckner demonstrates his lack of education by not understanding the Bauer's Latin and admits that many of the clergy at the church in Speyer cannot read the Psalter or the Epistles. The Bauer points out that this is a case of the blind leading the blind, elaborating on the point

⁴⁰The reference to the pope's key not working appears in Murner's pre-Reformation satire *Narrenbeschwörung*, chapter 3 'Ein wechsen nase machen', ll. 47–50:

Wir hond sant peters schlüssel noch,
Wie wol das schloß hat aber doch
Gott durch syn gwalt verendern lon,
Das selten me würt vffgethon.

rather than making it himself in the first place (G88, Ai^v). Later in the dialogue he can summarise the contrast between the pope and Christ, showing where the Church has gone wrong, but he has let the Glöckner condemn himself first.

One characteristic of this self-condemnation is a lack of Scriptural knowledge, especially given the fact, as in Sachs's 'Chorherr and Schuhmacher' dialogue (G72), that the Church promotes its hegemony over this. Julius declares that he had no time for learning Scripture and left it all to the monks and priests (G89, Bi^v). This becomes a general point of self-condemnation.

Self-condemnation does not have to be directed only against the individual who is speaking: it can be against the whole group of clerics represented by that individual or against another member of the same side. In the 'Bembus and Silenus' dialogue Bembus calls Lemp 'fetzelumper', having picked up his name wrongly. He is corrected by Silenus, and states, 'das mirs got vergeb daz ich in also genent hab/ ich hon sicher gemaint er haiß der fetzelumper' (G78, ii^v). The mockery is from the mouth of a supporter of Lemp and the Church, making it ironic as well as satirical, and therefore more effective. The self-defeat continues as Bembus goes on to say that Luther's teaching will gain support and succeed to their detriment, as has already begun: people are no longer fasting when and as they ought or observing other practices. However, Bembus is more concerned about money than devotional practice, so he further condemns himself and his order, as well as Silenus, in discussing this (*ibid.*, iii^f). This is admitting that they have lost and are not attempting to defend themselves, portraying the Romanist side as already weak: the silencing, here from author to interlocutors, not between interlocutors, has already worked. There is also irony in the fact that the interlocutors unwittingly condemn themselves through the Narr and the publication of the pamphlet, though they wish to keep everything quiet (*ibid.*).

The device of self-condemnation may seem at odds with the wish to silence, as it necessarily encourages the opponent to speak so that he describes and demonstrates his faults. However, silencing is still the eventual goal because the interlocutor's standpoint will be proved to be untenable.

CONCLUSION: CRITICISM OF WAY OF LIFE

All these devices, as well as straight criticisms, add up to a complete rejection of the clerical lifestyle as it is perceived in the polemics of the age.⁴¹ The layman or the reformed character has all the advantages and the Romanist cannot hope to convince. Every means possible is used to highlight his corruption and lack of true faith, his hypocrisy and lack of care for his flock. The silencing does not allow for any exceptions, but must be total; it may lead to conversion or it may simply reject the opposing viewpoint.

These all point to the inability of the opponent to defend himself, something which is also part of the propaganda and polemical portrayal: an opponent who cannot argue will never be able to defend his cause. This highlights the importance of argumentation and the power of speech to dialogue authors and to the practice of discussion and persuasion in the Reformation as a whole. Whether it is preachers attempting to persuade, theologians taking part in a disputation, or laymen discussing in the marketplace, all should be able to do this effectively (cf. Schwitalla 1983, 133ff.).

⁴¹See Schwitalla (1983, 136) on other devices such as feigning ignorance in order to encourage opponents to speak and condemn themselves and people saying more than they ought and therefore condemning themselves.

COMFORT AND INSTRUCTION

Dialogues which aim to comfort and to teach without the antagonistic element use dialectic rather than eristic argument.

Socrates [...] uses his dialectic to try to reach the truth on any issue and to enhance the answerer's concern to live a morally viable life. [...] So in the practice of dialectic, the interlocutor is ideally seen not as an opponent, but as a fellow-traveller in a moral quest.

(Saunders, ed., 1987, 301)

The interlocutors would progress together to a deeper understanding of the subject matter. It is evident therefore that in Classical dialogues the method of debate is easily as important as the subject matter.

Attack and silencing are not the only purposes of the dialogue genre. In those where there is no opposition between the interlocutors the purpose can be to comfort and teach. There may still be a dominant interlocutor, there is usually a teacher-figure, but the relationship is more equal, as both have something positive to contribute to the discussion and there is no opponent within the conversation to be silenced.⁴² However, there may be an absent third party to be attacked, an already silent party, because it does not have a role to play in the dialogue and therefore cannot even attempt to defend itself. In Stanberger's dialogue between Petrus and a Bauer (G85), the victim is the pope; in Zierer's dialogue between the Waldbruder and the Waise (G94) it is false clerics, particularly Dominicans.

Stanberger's dialogue is structured as an exchange of ideas with each side clarifying opinions and attitudes for the other, Petrus correcting more than the

⁴²E.g., *Gesprech biechlin neiu Karsthans* (G6) between Franz von Sickingen and Karsthans; Stanberger, 'Petrus and Bauer' (G85); *Ein trostliche disputation* (G87); Zierer, 'Waldbruder and Waise' (G94); 'Bauer and Hofmann' (G61); 'Christus and Christianus' (G13); 'Credulus and Didymus' (G10).

Bauer and pointing out Christ's teaching, therefore really providing the answers, though both sets of contributions are valuable to the overall picture for the addressee; there is more of a reciprocal relationship. Petrus is the one who offers advice: 'Lieber brüder du solt dich der vorfurischen reden gar nit meer [...] annemen' and the Bauer recognises this: 'ich mercke vnd hoffe/ du seist mir zu einem heyll und trost zů geordent' (G85, Aiii^r). He also asks for Petrus's opinions on Luther and his supporters and on the Roman clergy, 'das ich doch wüste welche lehre recht wehr' (ibid.). From this point on the Bauer as the pupil necessarily has less to say than Petrus, as Petrus must give lengthy explanations: he already knows why the Bauer is confused, so the Bauer need only ask a brief question to move on to the next point he wishes to learn about. The structure becomes 'question and answer' rather than exchange of ideas, though the Bauer may also react to the teaching he has just heard as well as asking another question. Instruction therefore results in further speech and in furtherance of the debate in a more positive way than in a dialogue which aims to defeat. In didactic dialogues it is necessary for the pupil-figure to state his confusion or wrongly held views so that these may be corrected, so silencing is not a desirable action.

The context given is a mixture of attacks on the clergy for failing to fulfil their duties and of Scriptural references and statements pointing to Christ's love of faithful people, often the poor laity. Wolfgang Zierer's 'Waldbruder and Waise' dialogue begins with a narrative of the situation as the Waise walks through the wood. He is lamenting the fact that those who ought to have comforted and instructed him have failed in their duties. The Waldbruder questions the Waise at the start, gathering information: 'lieber sun wz maynßt dz die vrsach sey dz es darzů kommen sey.' (G94, Ai^v). As a result the criticisms of the clergy come from the lips of the Waise, who is justified in his

criticism, as he is the one who has been put at a disadvantage by bad shepherding. After the Waise's lament, encouraged by a few questions from the Waldbruder, the Waldbruder is able to offer advice for action to be taken by both the Waise and himself. He points the Waise to the Gospel as a source of comfort: 'lyeber sun gehabt dich wol vnd verzag nit/ wann dz Evangelium wil wider an tag kommen/ got hab lob/ dar durch wir arme schefln [*sic*] gespeißt werden' (ibid., Aii^v). If the clergy will not fulfil their duties, laymen must do so themselves; the 'priesthood of all believers', at least in the way in which it was generally perceived, if not intended, encourages this (cf. Cameron 1991, 149; Matheson 1998, 48–49).

The Waise is encouraged to discuss his problems, and there is no silencing. This leads to the Waldbruder's advice. The impression is that sharing problems aids solution and brings about advice and comfort. After thanking the Waldbruder for his advice, the Waise continues his criticisms of bad clergy, using the examples of Dominican and Franciscan monasteries in his own town; not all the clergy there are bad, but because of conflicting messages and statements which do not seem justifiable to the Waise, he is confused. The advice of the Waldbruder has therefore led to another long speech from the Waise, encouraging his comments. However, in the 'Hofmann and Bauer' dialogue (G61), the Bauer's speech does not result in a response from the Hoffman — at least, we are not given one in the pamphlet. One presumes, however, that he was not silenced for negative reasons, but because of the comfort he received. The Waldbruder states that he has enjoyed listening to the Waise: this is further evidence that he is to be encouraged to speak, especially as the two would like to discuss further next time they meet (G94, Aiii^r).

The discussion here is much more evenly distributed than in the likes of Zierer's 'Landsknecht and Predigermönch' dialogue (G95), where opposition

exists and the reformed interlocutor dominates the discussion and must silence his opponent. Here, the mood is one of sharing and mutual aid rather than domination. Even the teaching and comforting interlocutor does not dominate the discussion: the Waise actually has more to say.

The fact that Wolfgang Zierer wrote both these dialogues shows his awareness of the different functions of the dialogue genre and that he can adapt it to suit the purposes of the message he wishes to spread. The 'Waldbruder and Waise' dialogue does contain condemnation of some members of the clergy, but not as directly as the other dialogue, where the Dominican interlocutor is the cleric who comes under fire. Here the criticisms are justified as the explanation for the Waise's unhappiness. The dialogue itself does not demonstrate how to criticise the clergy directly, but includes the criticisms as part of the themes of discussion.

In *Eyn Gespräch eynes Fuchs vnd wolffs* the two interlocutors come together in a pre-planned meeting to discuss their perilous situation and how they are to survive the winter. We are told in the prologue that each represents a particular group of the lower nobility (G4, Ai^v). The internal intention of the dialogue is clear from the outset and the aim is for resolution and progression, not defeat or silencing. The author talks of 'berathen' in the prologue (ibid.). There is no opposition directly involved in the discussion: their enemies are mutual and external — the princes, peasants and townsfolk (ibid., Aiii^r–Aiiii^r). The two talk of 'unterreden', which suggests a sharing of ideas (ibid., Ai^r and Aii^v),⁴³ and this is encouraged throughout as each asks the other for information: 'Wer kan aber die art vnd gewonheyt lassen?'; 'Wie haben wir im

⁴³Grimm XI.3, 1719–1720: *unterrede* is a 'besprechung, gespräch, unterhaltung'. Luther used this term to refer to a discussion: 'dasz ich mich soll gen Marpurg begeben, mit Öcolampad und den seinen ein unterrede zu haben'; *unterreden* is 'unter einander verhandeln, beraten, besprechen, abreden, vereinbaren'. Both therefore suggest a sharing of ideas.

dann zû vil gethan/ lieber sag her' (ibid., Aii^v); 'Es ist seltzam zuhören/ aber weyter' (ibid., Aiii^r). That there is a willingness to reply to these questions is evident from the answers: 'erstlich als du fragest wie wir im doch zû vil gethan vnd in disen vnrat kummen/ Sag ich [...]' (ibid., Aii^v). The accusations in the questions are not directed towards the other interlocutor but absent parties, so there is no antagonism and accusatory mood between the two, no need or wish to silence. Each sees the other as a source of information and aid. The personal pronouns here are 'wir' rather than the opposition of 'ich'/'wir' and 'du'/'ir'.

In the 1524 dialogue *Ein Frag vnd Antwort von zweyen brüdern* the interlocutors are equals. They wish to further their knowledge and encourage each other to speak, both now and subsequently. After Claus tells of the strange creature which has appeared in Nuremberg, Ulrich offers to help identify it, but is seeking more information himself at the same time, encouraging Claus to speak: 'ey lieber sag mir doch wie es ein gestalt hat/ ob ich im auch ein namen finde' (G33, Ai^v). After Claus's description of the beast, Ulrich gives his judgement: 'du sagst mir warlich von eim seltzamen thier/ ich kan mich nichts darauß verrichten was es ist' (ibid., Aii^r). However, his questioning continues throughout: 'ach lieber was sagstu mir das fremdest ding das ich nie gehört hab' and 'lieber was sagt man doch wonders/ ich wolt auch gern wissen was doch darauß werden wolt' (ibid., Aiii^r). In response to such requests, Claus gives all the information he can about the contemporary situation, informing Ulrich of the situation in Nuremberg and his own experiences of hearing sermons in the cathedral at Strasbourg. The evidence and explanations convince Ulrich that the indulgences which he bought for nine *gulden* are really worthless (ibid., Aiii^v). He now sees the need to speak out against the corruption and abuses of the Church. Ulrich demonstrates his comprehension of Claus's information by responding to it and giving his own

evaluations. Enquiry and questioning of friends and acquaintances is portrayed as normal practice, as Claus also demonstrates by recounting previous conversations where he has been the enquiring party (*ibid.*). He then goes on to encourage Ulrich to question further:

Ulrich. Ey lieber ich muß baß fragen/ Claus. Ja freylich frag wol/ es thût mir vnd dir not/ zeuch ein mal gehn Wittemberg/ oder gehn Straßburg/ oder gehn Zürich/ oder gehen Nürnberg/ so hörstu predigen was die meß ist.

(*ibid.*, Aiiii^r)

The dialogue is a natural way of finding out and sharing information: Claus also learns something from Ulrich in his comments and assessment of the situation, and Ulrich must now go on to learn more, and presumably share the knowledge he has gained: 'ja ia ist das war/ so muß ich das maul baß auff thûn' (*ibid.*, Aiii^v). Such dialogues encourage speech and the exchange of ideas, and in these cases do not aim to silence, as the interlocutor will be promoting the correct information. The encouragement to speak is not only for the immediate situation of the conversation portrayed in the text but also for subsequent situations. As with those who are converted, interlocutors are to go and spread what they have just heard to others, so silencing would defeat the purpose. The silencing and encouragement to speak appear as further propagandistic devices and confessional features, as only certain people may be encouraged to spread their views.

It depends on the type of questions which are asked whether the intention is to encourage discussion or condemnation and ultimately silencing.⁴⁴

⁴⁴See Vulcan (1998, 799) on the role of questions in Pierre Viret's dialogues to enable the eradication of doubt, to allow explanation: 'la question devient l'instrument essentiel de la persuasion; c'est cette dernière qui ordonne ensuite l'argumentation et le dialogue, dans le sens voulu par son auteur'.

MEANS OF PERSUASION FOUND IN ALL TYPES OF DIALOGUE

a) Scripture

As we have seen, Scripture plays a significant role in all types of argumentation found in the Reformation dialogues, primarily because of the promotion of the reformers' *sola scriptura* principle and the adoption of this by many different social groups from humanists to 'the common man', as well as Luther's translation into German of the New Testament in 1522, which aided access to Scripture for the less-educated and the illiterate.

Silencing and justification certainly seem to be the intentions in quoting Scripture in the 'Priester and Ritter' dialogue:

vnd das ich eüch auff eüwer frag noch baß ain stillschweygen mach/
vnd bewer das vns wol zymme solchen dingen zübegegnen/ so nembt für
eüch das starck vnd offenbar Capitel der hayligen schrift
Paralipomenon am xiiii. cap.

(G64, biii^v)

In answering the question satisfactorily, the Ritter will hope to silence the Priester, giving him nothing further to query. This does not succeed completely at this stage, but the Ritter is one step on the way, and can defend his own claims.

As the Laienbruder tells the Prior in Stanberger's dialogue, 'mann muß ware schriftt haben', as opposed to the 'geistlich recht' to which the Prior refers (G84, Aiii^v).⁴⁵ This highlights the comparison which is continually made between these forms of justification. The 'ware schriftt' is irrefutable and will therefore win the argument, convince, and silence, whatever the intention of

⁴⁵Cf. Winn (1993, 183–85) on the idea that divine reason (Scripture) is superior to human reason.

the dominant interlocutor (cf. Kampe 1997, 165).

The interpretation of Scripture must be correct: in the 'Priester and Ritter' dialogue, the Priester tries to defend himself against the Ritter's attacks by using Scripture as proof himself to show that the clergy is not taxable:

so ir zû der hayligen schrifft lauffet vnd ewer sach darauß gründt/
warumb zerstört vnd zerbrecht ir vns vnser freyhait die wir auß der
selben hayligen schrifft haben/ dan der herr Jesus fraget sant Peter
Matthei am xvij. capitel [...].

(G64, cii^r–cii^v).

However, the Ritter rejects this citation of Matthew's Gospel as justification, and offers his own interpretation which will, of course, win the argument:

wenn man das Ewangelium recht ansicht so ist der zinß von Christo
allain gefordert worden/ hierumb so wurd die antwort angesehen das sy
für Christo gegeben sey [...]. Auß dem habt ir dz alle menschen seint
vnder geworffen vnd zinßbar.

(*ibid.*, cii^r–cii^v)

The Priester's riposte is to argue over the terms 'zinsen' and 'steüren'; the Ritter can defeat this point also, by showing the irrelevance of the terms used and expanding the subject to discuss the common weal. Scripture has already proven the point. The clergy, meaning Roman clergy, may claim to have authority over Scripture, but they are continually proven to be interpreting it wrongly and acting against it: they are hypocrites, according to the propaganda, even manipulating Scripture to their own ends, though the reformed interlocutors of course do this also. In Konrad Distelmaier's dialogue between the Strohschneider and the Holzhauer we are told:

mich dunckt aber er hab diß gar feyn außgelassen/ der güt Passion prediger/ das man in nit möcht greyffen damit er den Bann möcht behalten etc. Es ist aber das Euangelium vnd die wort Christi/ er hatt villeycht sorg man wurd sprechen/ ey welche den Bann on den befelch Christi/ vnd on geschriff brauchen/ die sollen auch mit dem Bann vergeen vnd gericht werden/ wie dan der Bann von gelt schuld wegen meer gebrauchet wirt/ dann von der Eere gottes wegen.

(G22, Aiii^r)

The Strohschneider assumes fear of riposte has influenced the preacher and his use of Scripture: he has also wished to silence his opponents. It is now these laymen, who feel they have been silenced previously, who are speaking out with a new-found confidence, with the authority of Scripture, and who are silencing those who have supposedly suppressed them until now. In the Wittenberg area in early 1522 a cleric was accused by a student of not using Scripture correctly in his sermon. The two disputed with each other, and 'do hat der student recht behalten und den pfarrer uber wunden' (Kastner, ed., 1994, 132 entry 42).⁴⁶

Lack of Scriptural knowledge on the part of the Catholic or Jewish interlocutor is another means of defeat and silencing (Schwitalla 1983, 134; Kampe 1997, 167). In many cases, this point can be satirised, as it is cleverly done in Sachs's 'Chorherr and Schuhmacher' dialogue where the cleric does not recognise a scriptural quotation and accuses the Schuhmacher of using 'grobe wort' when talking of casting pearls before the swine (G72, 54). That the Schuhmacher can then justifiably criticise the Chorherr for lack of scriptural knowledge is a crucial step in his gradual defeat of the cleric. The accusation is later strengthened when the Chorherr sends his Cook to find the Bible, which is dusty, and then cannot find the Scriptural references in the book himself (ibid., 59). The whole situation is particularly ironic given the Chorherr's repeated

⁴⁶A similar incident occurred in Augsburg between a monk and a baker's servant in 1523 (Kastner, ed., 1994, 173–74 entry 54).

claims throughout the conversation that 'es gehört den leyen nit zû/ mit der schrift vmb zûgan' (ibid., 50). A similar criticism is found in Eberhard Weidensee and Johann Fritzhans's dialogue of 1526, *Wie Doctor Cubito Bonifacius/ vnd der sontags prediger yhm thum zu Magdeburg/ Gottes wort schenden vnd lestern*. The Chorschüler accuses the Doctor (Cubito) of not knowing his Bible, and therefore wonders how he got his doctorate in theology:

wie ich vermercke yhr habt yn der byblien noch nicht viell bletter zurissen/ hettet yhr doch die byblia seuberlich auffgethan/ vnd forn auff dem ersten blat gelesen [...] So hettet yhr doch nicht so thorlich dorffen fragen von gottis dreyhey.

(G91, Cii^r)

The lack of scriptural knowledge on the part of clerics is linked by some interlocutors to the lack of ability to preach effectively; they therefore see Scripture as necessary to speaking convincingly. Any one who does not use Scripture is against it and God's Word. It is not only a lack of scriptural knowledge, but a lack of doing God's will. As Bucer says in the dialogue between the Pfarrer and Schultheiß,

So predigend ir vns nichts rechts dann menschen teding Auß Aristoteles/ vnnnd der gleych haydnische bücher Wann ir schon das Euangelium ain wenig über lauffent/ so ist die überig predig darnach/ Von kirchtage verkünden von ban brieffen/ vnd zehenden zû samlen [...] So sag ich auch/ das ir vns offt vnd der mertail von dingen her sagt/ vnnnd das selb an das Euangelium vnd gotzwort anhenckt/ das gar nit dartzû gehört/ vnd widerwertig ist.

(G7, Biiii^r–Biiii^v)⁴⁷

This is part of the promotion of the *pastor bonus* as the adherent of the new teaching, one who knows how to teach others, and to teach the correct message (Kampe 1997, 166, 182).

The use of biblical figures as interlocutors, speaking their own words, or

⁴⁷Cf. advice to 'eynem yetlichen prediger' in Distelmaier (G22, Aii^r).

others from Scripture, adds weight to arguments which are justified using Scripture, e.g. *Dialogus von der zwitterachtung* (G17). Christ's appearance as an interlocutor adds even more weight, as in this dialogue or the 'Christus and Christianus' one (G13).

Scripture remains a key part of the persuasion and instruction in dialogues which aim to comfort, but is used in a different way from that found in satirical and attacking dialogues and demonstrates the duties of the *pastor bonus* as he ought to act. Here the emphasis is not on Scripture as a polemical tool to prove the negative qualities of the opponent and to divide. Such juxtapositions and varying uses of Scripture ally with the varying uses of the dialogue genre and relate to different purposes of speech in general, to attack, convert, or comfort. Fulfilling one's Christian duties is again important in the use of Scripture which must be transmitted to others. In the 'Priester and Ritter' dialogue we are told 'ir habt kain rûw biß das ir durch die hailigen schrift wider die ir nit strebnn mügt überwunden werdt' (G64, ci^f): Scripture gives peace and comfort and is also the ultimate authority.

Scripture as the Word is superior, and has been given to the laity by the reformers, whereas the Church denies it to the Catholic laity. In terms of the dialogues, the word, as evidence of superiority and power, has also been given to the laity and the Roman clerics are 'wordless' in a more general sense also, being silenced by Scripture and other means.⁴⁸

⁴⁸The Mönch in [Motschiedler's] *Ein newer Dialog oder gespräch* even admits straight away that the Reformers have the Word of God on their side' (Matheson 1998, 84; G60, Aii^v).

b) Everyday life and own experience

As has been seen in the description of the Zierer dialogue, authors do not use only Scripture as proof for their arguments, even though they often claim it is the sole proof. Scripture is often supported with other examples from interlocutors' own experiences of clerics' behaviour, the efficacy of preaching and events they have attended. In Balthasar Stanberger's 'Prior, Laienbruder and Bettler' dialogue, the Laienbruder uses monastic maltreatment of his own mother to illustrate his point (G84, aiiii^v). The Bettler has also seen the deception of poor mothers by monks to get food, and the Laienbruder immediately backs up this point with Scriptural proof: 'halt halt hie würdt erfullet der spruch Christi'; once this interruption is past, the Laienbruder asks the Bettler to continue: 'nun rede fort' (ibid., biii^r). The example from everyday life is believable, but must still be related to scriptural teaching and is not allowed to stand on its own.

c) Repetition and reinforcement

Repetition was part of sixteenth-century teaching on rhetoric, and a recognised stylistic device, part of attempts to convince and persuade, so it should not be seen in a negative light as bad style: 'repetitiveness, as every concert-goer knows, is far from negative if imaginatively varied' (Matheson 1998, 120). In many dialogues criticisms and points to be taught in a non-polemical fashion are reinforced through repetition. It is not seen as detrimental to the dialogue's structure or impact, but rather as a positive feature of the text's rhetoric.

Dialogue can aid the variety of repetition by using different voices to state the points and to demonstrate understanding of the other's message but at the same time stressing a point for the reader or listener. Repetition can

result from a summary of the dialogue's thematic message from either the teacher figure or the pupil, who demonstrates his understanding of the new message. In Johann Copp's second dialogue we are given a list of 'das nōtigest' to remember about faith (G12, Eii^v). At the end of the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue, after the conversation has ended, the Hausknecht summarises the main points of the teaching, giving helpful Scriptural references (G37, Dii^r-Diii^v). It can also be a simple reinforcement or a link from one section to another. In the 'Priester and Ritter dialogue the Ritter acknowledges that he is repeating himself: 'ich hab eüch auch vorgesagt dz [...] (G64, biiii^r).

Often an accumulation of several Scriptural references will be used to stress one point so that the idea is repeated in a variety of ways and Scripture is shown to support itself. The more Scripture can prove a point, the more that point is undeniable. This is seen in Burchardi's dialogue when Credulus is discussing the nature of faith (G10, aiiii^v-bi^r). The dialogue also shows how one interlocutor will question a point and therefore lead to its repetition to be sure of it. Credulus has been saying that faith and love are gifts from God, 'beger sy von dem herrn/ bytt in so wirt er dir geben die begerung vnd bittung'. Didymus then asks, 'sagstu man sol den glauben von Got erbiten?' to which Credulus replies, 'Ja fürwar den selben erbitt von Got', and tells him how this is to be achieved (ibid., bi^r). After Credulus has finished teaching, Didymus demonstrates his acceptance and comprehension of the message: 'also wie du lernest vernymm vnd versteen ich den glauben/ das es ain lebendig ding sey/ darumb der sich herfür bricht in die werck vnd ambt der lieb' (ibid., bii^r). The presence of a second speaker in the text allows the repetition of ideas in a varied way, as summary and statement of comprehension as well as an explicit summary from the teaching figure. It indicates the success of the teaching and of the spoken word itself that the pupil-interlocutor has been instructed and

comprehends the message. The author has further scope for his rhetorical strategies.

In attacking dialogues, repetition can stress one point through the use of different proofs, as was the case in Zierer's dialogue between the Landsknecht and the Predigermönch where the Dominicans were repeatedly attacked with variety of proofs to illustrate their corruption (G95).

Repetition can also be a disadvantage in the mouth of a negatively portrayed interlocutor. This is certainly the case in Sachs's 'Chorherr and Schuhmacher' dialogue where the Chorherr continually repeats the fact that the laity should not be dealing with Scripture (G72, 50). It does not win him any arguments and makes him look weak in the face of the Schuhmacher who comes up with many counter-arguments to this point and who moves the discussion on to different matters.

d) Contrast

Contrast is used to point out the faults of the clergy and to bring about a change in attitude. The contrasts used include the difference between scriptural teaching — the way in which the clergy ought to act — and the way in which they do act, according to the propaganda. Contrast can be used in both antagonistic and didactic texts. It can therefore be a form of direct criticism towards another interlocutor and those represented by this figure or it can be exemplary in outlining the way in which one ought to and ought not to act.

Although criticism of clerics in attacking dialogues can be very general, it is usual to find it directed only against one or two types in a given text, allowing for more specific criticisms. The most common categories for criticism are the pope or the papacy and upper clergy, monks and friars, and secular priests. The polarisation between the good and bad pastor is clearly illustrated in

Reformation polemics, as is the case in Scripture. Much use is made of Matthew 23, Christ's attack on the Scribes and Pharisees for their pride, arrogance and hypocrisy, in dialogue imagery, though Geoffrey Dipple (1996, 73) states that friars had long been compared with false apostles, antichristian figures and the Pharisees. We are told in the dialogues that the clerics are either like the biblical teachers of the law, or that Christ was also referring directly to them in his attack. If it is Christ who is condemning them, then they must be wrong, as he is the ultimate authority. For example, in the 'Schneider and Pfarrer' dialogue, the Schneider uses the passage to describe how clerics, like the Scribes and Pharisees, place burdens on people and do not look after them as they should (G79, aiiii^r). This image is contrasted with Christ's treatment of the poor: they are the ones who listened to his message most of all, and he led a humble existence himself. Thus the poor, as opposed to the rich in the synagogues, or in the sixteenth-century church, are seen as those chosen by Christ, to whom he reveals his message.

The most obvious contrast, which is closely linked to those already outlined in the argumentation, is between interlocutors. Thus on the reformed side we have the Lutheran peasant, led by the prototype Karsthans, a biblically literate, poor, hardworking layman, able to hold his own in theological debate. His urban counterpart is the artisan with a basic education. He can be a shoemaker, baker, weaver, spoon maker or tailor, to name but a few examples, and often takes on the occupation of the dialogue's author, if he happens to be an artisan. These people are sometimes given individual names, but these also are stereotypical, such as Hans, Claus or Peter. Their opposition in the dialogue to priests and monks portrays them as morally and educationally superior, as they defeat these people in arguments and maybe even convert them. They are those belonging to God, whereas the clerics often are described as the

devil's (cf. Kampe 1997, 230; Chrisman 1996, 115–16). At least fictively, they have a new-found confidence as a group, and the clerical estate is no longer seen as having a special status. It is very much brought down to, if not below, the level of the 'common man'.

The dialogue between the two sides in the debate over theological issues is exemplified in the contrast of individuals used in dialogues which employ interlocutors from both camps. It is not only the occupations and beliefs which are contrasted, but also the ability to speak convincingly and persuasively, and sometimes to speak at any length at all, as has been demonstrated.

Contrast is a dialogical feature, found in much propaganda of the early 1520s. It is particularly suited to the genre of the dialogue, however, as there it is able to be highlighted clearly through the use of different interlocutors. In didactic dialogues, the contrast is between knowledge and ignorance, a difference which disappears by the end of the conversation. Antagonistic dialogues use contrast in a different way, highlighting opposition and often polarisation as well as the difference between knowledge and ignorance. Here, it is a polemical feature.

In all dialogues, as has been demonstrated in this chapter, the important contrast is between those who are able to speak and convince, and those who are not. Contrast therefore highlights aspects of power and domination in discussion and as a result in knowledge of religious matters.⁴⁹

⁴⁹Kampe (1997, 179) highlights this with reference to the *Karsthans* dialogue (G52): 'damit hat der Autor [...] einen Text konzipiert, der von vornherein auf dem Ungleichgewicht der Disputanten aufbaut'.

e) Power and domination

If eloquence is a sign of power [...] silence is surely the lot of the powerless.

(May 1997, 53)

Rachel May's claim for the Russian *Primary Chronicle* is easily applied to the Reformation dialogue.

Domination of the discussion by the Landsknecht in Zierer's dialogue (G95) is obvious, even by looking at the length of the speeches given to the two. The layman's argument may take up to a page, whereas the cleric will only be allowed a few lines. This becomes even clearer as the type of comments allotted to the Predigermönch and his companion are analysed. It has already been demonstrated that the Predigermönch is not given a chance to defend himself, but only replies with weak accusations and does not justify himself. The interlocutor who dominates the discussion and says more in an effective manner, quite simply, is the one who is more powerful. He is generally the teacher-figure, or at least the figure on the side of 'right':

the fact that oral peoples commonly and in all likelihood universally consider words to have magical potency is clearly tied in, at least unconsciously, with their sense of the word as necessarily spoken, sounded, and hence power-driven.

(Ong 1982, 32)

Walter Ong affirms the power of speech: the speech act — the action of speaking and in this case silencing — is evidence of power. The spoken word has a potency in the Reformation dialogue, a genre which transcends the borders of oral and written worlds, in much the same way as Ong describes, though he is referring to purely oral cultures. Those who can speak and defend themselves are those who triumph. Silence is not an effective weapon. The practice of oral defence and justification in academic disputations, as in other

situations, would support this proposition, that speech is a weapon one must learn to use, and that it has authority, quite apart from what is actually being discussed; the way in which the subject is broached is of equal, if not greater, consequence. The spoken word, if used effectively, has a power of its own.⁵⁰ It is often the interlocutor who, in terms of education, would not be expected to dominate the situation, who in fact does so. This becomes a genre marker of the dialogue, that the socially and educationally inferior character is revealed as the one who leads the discussion.

Justification for speaking out is found in several dialogues. Two examples are Eberhard Weidensee and Johann Fritzhans's dialogues, *Wie Doctor Cubito Bonifacius/ vnd der sontags prediger yhm thum zu Magdeburg/ Gottes wort schenden vnd lestern* (G91) and *Der ander dialogus Zwischen Bonifatio pauler münich/ Doctor Cubito/ den Sontages prediger/ vnd eynem Chorschuller/ ym Thum zu Magdeburg* (G92) of 1526. In the second dialogue the Chorschüler gives Scriptural justification for speaking out:

Ich wils mit yhnen [Cubito and Bonifacius] reden solt ich auch meyns dinstes vnd meynes lebens darzu darumb entberen/ den Christus sagt Mat. 10. Wer mich fur leucket vndd sich meynier schemet fur den menschen/ des wirt sich des menschen son wider schemen fur gott/ vnd Esa: 58. Ruff vnd laß nicht abe/ erhebe deine stym wie eyn passaunen vnd vorkundige meynem volke yhre missetadt.

(G92, Aii^v)

The first dialogue justifies disputation of religious matters through Scripture in the face of the Church's criticism and assertion that it is against the Concilia to dispute on these matters. Lack of willingness to dispute, on the part of the Catholic interlocutors at least, is evident in this dialogue:

⁵⁰Cf. Scribner (1994b, 261) on authority, literacy and orality.

Licenti[at]. Wyr wollen nicht disputirn/ den es soll nymant disputirn
 ehr hab dan vrlaub vom Keyser vnd der obirkeyt/ So soll man auch von
 den artikeln des glaubens durch die vetter vnd concilia bestetiget/ nicht
 disputirn quia non est materia disputabilis.

(G91, Biiii^v)

The Chorschüler vehemently opposes this:

Lieben herrn das synd faule lawsige fratzen/ Solt yhr nicht red vnd
 antwort geben ewerer lere/ an dem ort do yhr prediget. Wylcher Pabst
 odder Keyßer odder Concilium hatte Stephano erleubet das ehr mit den
 juden disputirte Act. 7. Sagt doch Petrus 1 Pe. 3. Seyt allzeyt vrbutig
 zur antwort yderman/ der grund fordert der hoffnung die yhn euch ist
 etc. Vorstehet yhr das hans munch? war doch seyn sach auch recht/
 yhr wolt sagen was yhr wolt/ vnd dennoch nyemant antworten von
 ewer ler/ der teuffel wirt euch eyn malbescheyssen.

(ibid.)

The Chorschüler has scriptural justification for the right to dispute about religious matters, and this is superior to any mandate of the Emperor or decree of the Concilium. The Doctor tries to justify his position by using Scripture to prove that Christ has placed his authority in the Church, so the Concilia must be correct, but the Chorschüler tells him this is wrong: ‘wer Christus wort helt/ leret vnd predigt / bey dem ist Christus’ (ibid., Ci^r).

The second dialogue also justifies the right to correct and punish, and regards this as an example for other people. The Chorschüler claims he is not judging but telling the truth; it is God who judges (G92 Aii^v; Aiiii^r).⁵¹ The previous dialogue is justified here, as it chastised the preachers, and has been criticised for doing so.

⁵¹Cf. Sachs, *Disputation* (G72, 46–49), where similar matters are discussed.

CONCLUSION

The importance of the ability to speak effectively is portrayed by the interlocutors within the dialogues, using resources of language such as puns and logical argumentation, and sources such as Scripture. The effects of the power of speech are silencing the opponent, persuading him to convert, or comforting and instructing a friend. Power in the discussion and the ability to convince symbolise adherence to the correct way of thinking and therefore to the right to be correct and win a debate because one is representing the truth.

The ability of the author to write effectively to convince the addressee is also evident, and the silencing, conversion, or instruction should have an effect on the reader or listener as well as on the interlocutors. Not only should the reader or listener be persuaded by the message delivered in the dialogue, but he should learn how to speak convincingly himself as the interlocutors demonstrate.

Authors are aware of the potential of language to be used for different purposes and to maximum effect. The different functions of the dialogue genre become clear through the examination of different types of argumentation, used for various purposes.

CHAPTER THREE: CLOSE OF DIALOGUES: THE RESULTS OF DISCUSSION

This chapter will examine two aspects of the closing passages of dialogues: internal results of discussion within the dialogue situation, and the intended external intentions and effects on the dialogue's audience.

With the genre markers at the end of the dialogues, the author is defining the outcome of the discussion, what has been achieved, and if and how the interlocutors have changed because of the debate. The different functions of various types of dialogues are evident here, in whether the dialogue finishes with conversion, agreement, or discord. The reactions to debate are exemplary for the text's addressee. There are therefore reactions expected to the discussion from both the interlocutors and the addressee, showing communication on different levels between interlocutors, author, and addressee. These genre markers announce the author's expectations of his target audience in response to the discussion after having awakened their expectations of the dialogue at the start.

Typical markers of dialogue endings include a signal that the conversation is drawing to a close, an expression of thanks to the instructive interlocutor, and sometimes to God, a declaration of conversion and/or acceptance of the message which has been promoted and a wish to change one's lifestyle as a result, a summary of the main points arising from the discussion from one or both interlocutors, a declaration of mutual respect and a blessing, and a statement of hope for improvement in the future (cf. Schwitalla 1983, 130–33). Other features may include a return to the discussion of

everyday matters, apologies for any rudeness or anger, a recommendation to read the pamphlet, and a wish for further discussion. Most dialogues do come to a conclusion in some way; there are very few which seem to end in the middle of the discussion.¹

The main features of the closing passages will be examined to explain their function and significance for the dialogue genre, involving discussion of the concept of closure and highlighting what may be deduced about the type of discussion and the author's wishes from closing passages.

SIGNALS OF DIALOGUE ENDING

There are various ways in which the end of a discussion may be signalled. As with dialogue openings, use is made of formulaic phrases and concepts.² In many dialogues the debate ends because one or both of the interlocutors has run out of time to discuss further. This is evident in *Eyn gesprech/ von dem gemaynen Schwabacher Kasten*: 'ach es ist zeit/ daß ich heym gee [...] Biß Sonntag will ich dir daruon [about the Eucharist] sagen/ ich muß yetz haym geen' (G38, Biii^r). The dialogue does not end straight after this statement, but illustrates the conversion and forgiveness among the interlocutors before reaching its conclusion. The time limit is merely a signal for this final section to begin.

In Zierer's *Ein Christenlich Gesprech/ von ainem Waldbrüder/ vnd ainem waysen* the two interlocutors also run out of time:

¹Schwitalla (1983, 133) finds endings more realistic than openings, with less stereotyping.

²'Schlußeinleitungssignale sind Formeln vom Typ "ich muß weggehen" und explizite Feststellungen' (Schwitalla 1983, 131).

Sprach der wald brüder nun wolan lieber sun du gefölst mir gantz wol/
vnd hab dich gern gehört/ vnd welt dir noch geren zû hören/ aber es
will spat werden/ so kan ich dir nit rat thûn.

(G94, Aiiii^r)

This heralds the Waldbruder's final advice to the Waise about how to direct his life through faith as well as where to find a tavern for the night.

These time limits are linked to the wish for departure which is also used to announce the conclusion of the discussion: 'Adee ich fare dahin' is found in Linck's *Dyalogus der Auszgelauffen Münch* (G58, Eiii^r), and there is a similar phrase at end of *Karsthans* (G52, ddiii^v).³ Other variations include one found in the *Dyalogus. Andächtigs volck kumpt sehet mich an*: '[Scotus]. Wolan ich will gon/ behiet dich gott/ byß nechst wöllen wir baß vom handel reden' (G15, Dv^r). Scotus has just given his summarising opinion of the discussion of corrupt monks, and obviously thinks the discussion has gone as far as need be for the moment, although he still realises there is more which can be said. In this latter group the phrases do not introduce a final summary within the dialogue, and, as in the case of *Karsthans*, can seem to come about fairly suddenly. In the Linck dialogue, the 'Beschluß' after the close of the dialogue offers a summary of the message. The closing section of the dialogue has been indicated previously by the close of the Evangelical's long sermon-like speech and the Papist's subsequent remark, 'Sagstu mir vil/ so höre ich viel/ Ich bleybe auff meinem thun/ so magstu auch auff deinem bleyben' (G58, Eiii^r).

Thanks for teaching signals the end of discussion in dialogues where there has been agreement and amicability between the interlocutors from the start or where conversion has taken place and the converted figure realises his debt to the teacher. In the 'Schwärmer and Bauer' dialogue the Schwärmer's

³Linck was a member of the *Sodalitas Staupiziana* in Nuremberg and at one time a colleague of Luther in Wittenberg (Strauss 1976, 160–61).

thanks to the Bauer include praise for the teaching:

Ja wans also soll zůgeen/ so muß ich mich lencken lassen/ vnd bist mir
heüt fürwar wol so nutz gewesen als ain güter prediger

[...]

Lieber baur danck dir Got/ ich sich wol das du ain Christlicher man
bist/ Got gebe vnns allen solche prediger wie du gehabt hast.

(G1, C2^v-3^r)

The legacy of preaching is clear, and the suggestion is that those who pass on the teaching are taking on the role of preachers themselves. This promotes the concept of the 'priesthood of all believers' not only in the sphere of personal faith but also in dealings with other people. In his thanks the Schwärmer realises this. He also thanks God for the teaching, highlighting his acceptance of the fact that the interlocutor who teaches and converts is God's mouthpiece, so the message must be true.

In Ulrich von Hutten's *Die Römische dreyfaltikeit* the Ernholdt thanks Hutten for his help at the end: 'vnd sag dir freüntlichen danck/ dz du disen vnlust bey mir auß gespyhen hast' (G49, siii^r). This is not part of the legacy of preaching, but rather shows appreciation for a conversation which has increased knowledge and revealed the truth of the supposed corruption found in Rome.

THE CLOSING SECTIONS

a) Final advice, summary of the dialogue's message

One type of ending includes the pupil interlocutor summarising what he has learned, in order to demonstrate the success of the teacher's instruction, or can be a summary from the teacher figure. In the case of the former situation, this shows the effectiveness of discussion and oral transmission of ideas to persuade and convert. In both cases, it provides a summary and reminder for the pamphlet's addressee, and therefore is part of the dialogue between the author and audience. It is hoped that the exemplary written text may have the same effect as the conversation contained within it.

Konrad Distelmaier's *Ain news gesprech von Zwayen gesellen* (G23), an amicable discussion, portrays the Strohschneider's instruction to the Holzhauer on the Lord's Prayer and other aspects of Christ's teaching as well as criticism of the clergy. The dialogue's close is signalled as the Strohschneider ends his teaching with 'also hast du ayn klaine vnnd Cristlich vnderweysung'. The Holzhauer then thanks him for the instruction: 'Danck dir got ich hab dich gern gehört wolt got ich kündt mein leben auch also darnach richten das got grfellig [sic] wer' (G23, Aiii^v). This shows the wish to thank God as well as the Strohschneider for the teaching; it seems acknowledged that God has been giving the instruction through the Strohschneider. The Holzhauer is then able to summarise what he has learned, thereby demonstrating that the instruction has been successful. The Strohschneider accepts this summary: 'wolan wir wöllens also bleybnn lon' (ibid., Aiii^v–Aiiii^f), although he then goes on to add his own summary; 'ich sag nur das wir weder an zeyt noch klayder/ noch stet noch essen/ vns selig macht/ sonder allain der glaub an Christum [...] Item [...] Item [...]' (ibid., Aiiii^f).

This is necessarily a feature of most didactic and converting dialogues, and can also be found in others. The lengths of the summaries can vary from a page or more to a few key phrases.

b) Apologies for offence or rudeness

The importance of amicable discussion has already been highlighted in the discussion of rules which are set out near the opening of many dialogues (See Chapter 1). However, it is not only at the start of texts where such issues are deemed worthy of mention. There are often apologies at the end for possible offence caused, even if conditions have not been set out at the start. Apologies for rudeness or requests to speak more reasonably also occur throughout dialogues.⁴

In Sachs's 'Chorherr and Schuhmacher' dialogue there are occasions throughout the conversation where there is an attempt to calm the atmosphere:

Schuster. Ey herr zürnet nit/ ich meins gut.
 Chorherr. Ich zürn nit/ aber ich muß euchs ye sagen/ es gehört den
 leyen nit zû/ mit der schriff vmb zügen.
 (G72, 50)

The Chorherr has certainly become more and more frustrated that the Schuhmacher keeps talking about Scripture when he should not be doing so, and repeats his view continually, trying to convince the Schuhmacher, but failing. The Schuhmacher is exemplary in his mild-mannered attitude, and this is clearly contrasted with the anger of the Chorherr. The layman can of course mock the cleric — 'Warumb heyst ir dann die geistlichen [...] ir solt heysen die geystlosen' (ibid., 54), but this antagonism and satire will be justified as useful

⁴ E.g. 'Schöpfer and Schabenhut' (G43).

for revealing the truth of the cleric's faults and teaching him how he should behave. In the cleric it would be seen as lack of skill in argumentation, and a failure to convince. When the Schuhmacher leaves the house, the antagonism is forgiven, though maybe not forgotten. Still, it is obvious that although there are hard feelings on the side of the cleric, as is evident in the final section of the dialogue, he is still going to part from the Schuhmacher amicably:

Chorherr. Man leüt inn Chor [...]. Wolan lieber meister ziecht hyn im fryd/ es wird leicht noch als gut.
 Schuster. Ob got will/ wolan alde/ der frid sey mit ewch lieber herr/ hannd mir nichts vervbel. vnd verzeicht mir.
 Chorherr. Verzeych vns gott vnser sündt.
 Schuster. Amen.

(ibid., 67–68)

A relevant Scriptural quotation is to be found at the end of Sachs's fourth dialogue, *Ain gesprech eins Evangelischen christen/ mit einem Lutherischen*. The passage from Philippians 2 includes the instruction 'nichts thut durch zanck/ oder eytel eer/ sunder durch demut'. It rejects 'zanck', 'quarrelling', which has negative connotations, as found in many dialogues and their prologues. The passage also states that people should be acting to help each other, not being selfish (G75, 140–41). The good of all should be the purpose of discussion and debate, and it is essential to promote the way in which this is achieved: 'Sachs entwirft ein literarisches Abbild des kommunikativen Verhältnisses, in dem seine eigene Reformationspropaganda sich vollzieht, und lenkt auf diese Weise, in der Stilisierung von Figuren und Argumenten entsprechend seiner Intention, ihre Wirkung' (Schutte 1978, 50). It should not turn into a free-for-all argument which has no purpose. This mirrors the view portrayed in the Bossler dialogue.⁵ As Keller admits in his pamphlet *Frag vnnd Antwort etlicher Artickel*

⁵In the comments Sachs makes in this dialogue against insults, anger etc. he seems to be criticising implicitly the types of comments which appear in his other dialogues; Kampe (1997, 193–96).

zwischen D. Michaelen Kellern [...] und D. Mathia Kretzen, the 'rede' which he is recounting in the pamphlet was 'zengkischer' than it should have been for 'rechten Appostolen' (G53, Ai^v). Although this is stated at the start of the pamphlet, it is a retrospective statement because the discussion has already taken place in real life and the pamphlet has been written to bring awareness of the discussion to a wider audience. Keller shows awareness of the fact that there is a correct way in which to discuss, that there are rules which should be followed, and that he and Kretz perhaps did not pay as much attention to these as they ought to have done.

The 'Schwabacher Kasten' dialogue gives a clear example of this, showing links between the dialogue's theme and the manner of discussion. Love of one's neighbour and the common weal are stressed from the start.⁶ Communality of possessions was practised by the apostles, so it must be correct for this sixteenth-century community also; it is after all a dialogue about a 'gemaynen Schwabacher Kasten' (G38, Ai^r, Aiii^v–Aiiii^r). The Bruder who has brought the news of the community chest to the clothmaker's workshop accuses the Meister of being 'zornig' fairly near the start of the discussion, but this is justified, because the Meister is angry at the way in which the priest has not been fulfilling his duties (ibid., Aii^r).

Anger can be justified: Heinrich von Kettenbach states, 'wann ich ernstlich/ auch ab ich lawter wort christi red so muß ich zornig sein' in reply to the Altmutter's objections (G54, Aii^v). In the 'Schwabacher Kasten' dialogue, anger is also displayed by the reluctant and stubborn Church supporter, the Kämmerin. Her outbursts are angry, but do not win her any arguments. She

⁶Cf. Ozment (1975, 64–66) on Bucer and the common good; Strauss (1976, 169) on the 'new' religion and civic duty endowing the faithful man's life and work with meaning in this world (of the city) and in the eternal world in the City of God; Moeller (1982, 44–53) on the history of communality in the imperial free city.

is always defeated by the mild-mannered Bruder Hainrich (e.g. G43, Aiiii^v). Unjustified and useless anger is characteristic of the defeated Catholic. Although the Spuler also criticises and makes useless suggestions, he is not seen as quite as disruptive as the Kämmerin (ibid., Bi^v). The Kämmerin's talk is described as 'vnnützen geschwetz', and she is asked to stop it. According to the Bruder, such talk — useless and nonsensical, idle talk, unnecessary insults — is forbidden in Scripture (ibid., Bii^v). The way in which one talks is therefore highly significant: apart from anything else, "nützlich" ist das Gesagte anscheinend nur dann, wenn man es, wie auch immer, biblisch begründen kann' (Kampe 1997, 239).⁷ The Kämmerin admits her fault and apologises for it, saying she will not speak against Scripture ever again: 'ich hab das imm zorn geredt lieber brüder heinrich/ verzeich mir/ vnd biß Sontag zeche mit vns/ ich will dir ain maß weins beuor geben' (G43, Biii^r). Bruder Heinrich leaves, asking the others 'habt mir nichs für ubel' (ibid.). The Kämmerin also asks the Meister and Knecht Ruprecht to forgive her for angering them: 'Keme[rin]. Mein lieber maister vnd mein lieber knecht Ruprecht/ ich pit euch vmb Gottes willen/ vergebt mirs/ dz ich euch erzürnet hab. Maister vnd knecht. Vergeb vns got vnser sünd. Keme. Amen' (ibid., Biii^v).

This is very similar to the section in the Sachs dialogue. The Kämmerin and Spuler also apologise to each other for their comments, and the Knecht thanks Bruder Heinrich for making them 'ainig'. Community, agreement, amicability enabling co-operation; these are key points in this dialogue, both in the manner of discussion and the subject of the community chest being discussed. The Meister closes the dialogue by saying that the unity is God's doing, inferring that God is in charge. He has persuaded the Kämmerin, the Spuler and the others to accept what Bruder Heinrich said.

⁷Cf. Kampe (1997, 252) on angry talk as a cardinal sin.

Dialogues often state they are to be useful to others, for example on the title page of Distelmaier's second dialogue: 'nyemant nachtaylich sonder nur zu nutz vnnd vnderweysung dem nechsten' (G23, Ai^r). This is why the two interlocutors have spoken to each other. This relates also to the dialogues which aim to comfort, and have this as the opening gambit of the dialogue, for example, the 'Hofmann and Bauer' dialogue (G61). The 'Schwabacher Kasten' dialogue perhaps stresses this most of all, along with Sachs's 'Evangelisch and Lutherisch' dialogue, where consideration is to be taken of others' feelings and practices, even though they are to be converted; Hans's gentler persuasion works there where Peter's antagonism does not (G75). Hans Huts, a bookbinder and bookseller who often visited Augsburg, describes how a 'disputation' with a miller, tailor and clothmaker about baptism led to his conversion in 1527 (Kastner, ed., 1994, 273 entry 85).

It is evident, therefore, that amicability, one of the rules often set out in dialogue openings, can be found throughout several dialogues as a key message. It is a means to persuade effectively, and is thus a rhetorical device. But more than that, it is linked to the idea of community and mutual support, of *caritas*, love of one's neighbour, and therefore willingness to help, including persuading others to accept the reformed teaching. This in turn works to the benefit of the *res publica*, affecting the civic community in all aspects, not just religious. One aim of friendship, in humanist terms, is salvation, friendship being the key to understanding divine and human righteousness and being expressed in theology. According to Zwingli, friendship is a code of conduct in external righteousness and is offered by God to humanity.⁸

⁸Information on humanism and friendship is from a paper, 'Friendship in the Reformation', given by Dr. Bruce Gordon at the Reformation Studies Institute in St Andrews in September 1999.

Amicability is part of the *caritas* ethos of the Reformation as it is promoted in several dialogues, including the work of Sachs; his source is Luther's exposition of *caritas* in *Von der Freyheit*.⁹ It is also linked to worthwhile argumentation which can be justified as serving a purpose. This is why coarse language and accusations do have a place as satire, for example, even if rules of amicability are set out. This is evident in Sachs's dialogue *Ein gesprech von den Scheinwercken der Gaystlichen*:

Münch. Ey lieber/ jr seyt vns feind/ darumb schmächt jr vns.
 Hans. Nain bey meiner seel hail/ allain aus brüderlicher lieb.
 Münch. Lieber seyt ir dann Euangelisch/ so dürfft ir nit so spöttlich mit vns handeln/ wan jr müst von yedem vnnützen wort rechenschafft geben am jungsten gericht Matth. xij.
 Hans. Jr wölt die schrift nit annemen/ da sy von euch sagt/ darumb müssen wir euch mit ewer aygen that (welch ann ir selb spöttlich vnd lecherlich ist) vberweisen/ dz jr die jenigen seyt.
 (G73, 91)¹⁰

The interlocutors should learn from each other how to be persuasive and how to treat each other, and the addressees of the pamphlet should learn from the interlocutors' successes and failures in debate. Peter Blickle (1992, 84) points out the importance to the authorities of the maintenance of peace in sixteenth-century cities as part of the legitimacy of their government. The concept of 'brotherly love' is not simply an urban one, however, as Blickle (*ibid.*, 47) highlights in his discussion of the peasants and the Reformation.

⁹'Effectiveness of service to one's neighbor, not a set social or political status, was to be the measure of value and importance within society' (Ozment 1975, 62). Cf. Hamm (1996, 57–58, 197); Kampe (1997, 120–29) on *caritas*; Wohlfeil (1984, 42) on the unity of the religious and the worldly and the fact that this was a medieval tradition; Otten (1993, esp. 160–63), on the lack of amicability and the antagonism in Nuremberg, dealt with in Sachs's dialogues; Blickle (1992, 154) on humanism and the *res publica*.

¹⁰See Strauss (1976, 165) on the Nuremberg Council and measures against the 'public baiting of monks and priests'; cf. the satirical 'Julius' dialogue which states in the prologue that it was not translated to German as satire ('schmach') but to reveal the truth so that the conscience is not trapped by human teaching and led towards outward and superficial matters. Rather, the text should show people that all hope and comfort is found in Christ (G89, Aii^f).

c) Blessings

In many dialogues which end amicably there are blessings, parallel to those often found at the start: 'Vatt[er]. das wil ich gern hören/ deo gratias got sey mit uns allen Amen' (G16, c2^v). Or: 'sprach der Landtzknecht nun wolan wann du dann nit by mir belyben wild so varhin/ vnd behiet dich got/ Deo gracias / sprach der Münnich' (G95, Bi^v).

Although the first citation is taken from an amicable didactic dialogue, the second is from an antagonistic one, where the Landsknecht is accusing the Predigermönch of corrupt practices. The Predigermönch will not be persuaded by the layman to change his habits, but he is defeated in the argument. However, as is seen from the quotation, the Landsknecht accepts the lack of conversion, but still wishes the cleric well, so that the parting is not insulting, as is the case in the 'Bauer and Belial' dialogue (G3), for example. There is a similar situation in the 'Chorherr and Schuhmacher' dialogue (G72; see above). This shows that despite antagonism in the subject matter, disagreement does not rule out the wish for conciliation of some sort.¹¹

There is a blessing at the end of the second 'Strohschneider and Holzhauer' dialogue from the pupil interlocutor as well as an indication of mutual respect and instruction: 'Du hast mein anligen/ vnnd ich das deinn wol gehört. Behüt dich got' (G23, Aiiii^r). This fits in with the statement on the title page that the conversation was 'zur nutz vnnd vnderweysung dem nechsten', of the interlocutors as well as of the pamphlet's addressees. On its own at the

¹¹Cf. Matheson (1998, 215): 'The alternative to polemic and confessional demarcation was dialogue, the path to peace. In the Classical tradition dialogue could either be Plato's quest for the truth or Cicero's pursuit of a probabilist best option'; See also *ibid.*, 217–18: for Erasmus, all language has a mediatorial function. Cf. Vulcan (1998, 800) on Pierre Viret's dialogues: 'En général, l'accord final des partenaires de la conversation devient une communion et même une célébration'.

end of the dialogue stands the phrase 'Ich hoff es werd besser' (G23, Aiiii^r).¹² This is a prayer-like statement from the Strohschneider, or perhaps from the author only. A wish for improvement in the situation is found in many dialogues, often with the hope that Luther has brought a new dawn to the world after so much darkness, and that the truth must emerge and the situation improve; all is in God's hands.¹³

d) Antagonistic endings

These endings often seem clumsy, though the authors were often of the educational standing which would lead one to expect a more sophisticated ending to the conversation. Even in conversations which are rounded off, the introduction of the concluding section can be abrupt.

The *Dialogus ader ein gespreche wieder Doctor Ecken Buchlein* ends in conversion, but rather abruptly. Bartoldt draws his conclusion that Eck is deceptive, devious and crafty, warning all Germans to beware of this, after Arnoldt saying that he accepts some of what Bartoldt says about Luther, but still does not understand completely. 'A[rnoldt]. Ap auch alles/ das ich hievor von deinem Luther gesaget leydlich vnd treglich were/ wie du yne dan entschuldigen wilt/ vnd mich dir zugewben/ beredest. So ist ye das erschrecklich von yme zu hören/ das [...]' (G62, Biiii^r). The characters of both Eck and Luther are summed up, but there are no words of farewell. In *Karsthans*, the protagonist comes to an end by repeating and stressing his opinion of Murner, although his son the Studens tries to defend Murner. Karsthans is so assertive that he seems to win, although the Studens does not capitulate. Karsthans suddenly says, 'aldi ich far dohin'. This is followed by

¹²Cf Kampe (1997, 262–63) on prayer endings.

¹³E.g. Sachs, *Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall*.

departing phrases in Latin from Mercurius and the Studens. The verse after the end of the dialogue sums up the main points again (G52, ddiiv). *Ein Frag vnd Antwort von zweyen brüdern* (G33) ends with Claus and Ulrich drawing conclusions about the clergy from their observations of the papal legate's entry into Nuremberg, and deciding that they need to hear some worthwhile preaching. They do not part at the end of the conversation; the text seems to end as they are still discussing.¹⁴

Antagonistic partings, which are very few, are often the sudden partings (cf. Schwitalla 1983, 130). The fact that there are so few endings of this type is in itself significant, as it shows dialogue as a genre which overwhelmingly aims at unity and agreement, at least internally, even if one interlocutor is not completely convinced by the other and there are accusations voiced within the dialogue.¹⁵ Such a claim may also be misleading in other ways, as agreement and conversion within the dialogue do not necessarily equate with a wish for harmony among the pamphlet's addressees, and, even if this were the intention, it does not mean it is the result. Dialogues which are satirical in tone, usually defaming Roman clerics, intend addressees to realise the 'truth' about these clerics, and are polemical and inciting. They may have the effect of encouraging debate with clerics, but they will also encourage accusations and mockery, not engendering a mood of amicability. In this way both Matheson (1998, 95) and Senger (1986, 62) have a point in claiming that dialogues are mainly aggressive and mainly non-aggressive respectively. Both acknowledge, however, that there is a threat of violence in the texts, rather than any actual action. Aggression can be the means to an amicable end. Such attitudes are of

¹⁴Cf. Schwitalla (1983, 132).

¹⁵Cf. Sachs (G72, G73), especially p. 91, which talks of 'brüderliche Liebe'; Linck, *Der Außgelauffen Münch* (G58): Diii^F on love of one's neighbour; Eiii^F for the lack of conversion at the end of the debate.

course countered in the likes of Sachs's dialogue between the Lutheran and Evangelical (G75), which portrays understanding of the opposition as the way forward, but this does not mean that reality matched the ideal. The very fact that Sachs felt he had to write such a dialogue shows that antagonism was the mood which prevailed, at least in Nuremberg, and probably in most places, and that this was something he wished to correct. This suggests tensions within the genre and in perceptions of its intentions, as well as between ideals and practice in the real world, especially if Karlstadt's comments about the satirical nature of dialogue in his dialogue on the Mass are taken into consideration (G50, Aii^r).¹⁶ There is similar tension within other media, for example, illustrations, some of which are satirical caricatures, others of which aim to teach and inform, and some of which combine the two, though all are polemical at least to some extent.¹⁷

The likes of the 'Eckart and Luther' (G26), 'Luther and Teufel' (G2) and 'Zwingli and Hubmaier' (G46) dialogues are just a few examples of the satirical and defaming face of the Reformation dialogue. They do not end in agreement, but in defeat. This is also the case with the 'Julius' dialogue (G89) and those which emulate disputations, such as *Gyren Rupffen* (G44) and Eckstein's *Concilium* (G27). Zierer's two dialogues (G94, G95) illustrate the author's awareness of different functions of the genre, as one is antagonistic and the other didactic and comforting. In a similar way, the 'Grimmetal' dialogue (G39) contains both functions in one text, as the Pfaffe is defeated and

¹⁶See the reference to this in Chapter 2, section on 'mockery and insults'. Cf. Winn (1993, 163) on Lucian, satire and dialogue. Lucian and others saw incompatibility between dialogue and satire; 'The alternative to polemic and confessional demarcation was dialogue, the path to peace. In the Classical tradition dialogue could either be Plato's quest for the truth or Cicero's pursuit of a probabilist best option' (Matheson 1998, 215). This, however, is referring to dialogue as discussion, not specifically to literary dialogues.

¹⁷See e.g. Scribner (1994a, 74, ill. 51): 'Leo X, Murner, Emser, Eck and Lemp as Animals'; (212, ill. 170): 'Christ the Cornerstone'; (198, ill. 163): 'The Content of Two Sermons' as examples of each of these.

silenced, and the Bauer and Mönch are converted.

These dialogues are not the only ones which attack and undermine theologians, of course; in fact most dialogues do this throughout. The difference is that these leave the situation as antagonistic, defeating and rejecting the theologians, and not giving them any sort of credibility. There is a difference in describing the conversion of a fictional member of the clergy and that of a well-known theologian such as Eck. The difference between internally antagonistic and amicable dialogues, in terms of endings, therefore has to do with the subject matter and the nature of the target of attack: this changes the intention and function of the text. Silencing Eck or Murner and thus undermining their authority is the main intention of the reformers and an effective polemical tool. It is the lower clergy who need to be converted, those with whom ordinary folk have direct dealings, and here the outcome is more likely to be amicable. This means that the authorship is also important. Authors who use contemporary figures such as Luther or Zwingli in the dialogue tend to be clerics themselves, or those with a fairly high level of education. Such authors do write other types of dialogues, but the same is not true of artisan authors using figures such as Eck or Murner in their texts.¹⁸

Anti-reform dialogues show a variety of endings also. In Dungersheim's *Verlegung yn weyse eynes Dialogil des auffrurischen ketzerischen buhleins vom fleyschessen am freytag* (G24), the atmosphere between the Christ and the Ketzer remains antagonistic. There is no conversion, and the Christ, a supporter of the Roman Church, ends by giving the Ketzer a list of instructions, and hoping that this will change his mind, with God's help. There are no formulae of departure to close the conversation, though it does end with praise of and dedication to

¹⁸Cf. Chapter 2 on authorship and interlocutors in relation to insults and mockery. The papal nuncio Aleander seemed to think that the humanists had an agenda and joint intention to bring about the ruin of the Roman authorities (Kalkoff, ed., 1886, 176).

God, as well as what are obviously final instructions, so the ending is not sudden. This indicates a different concept of dialogue on the part of Dungersheim, an adherent of the Roman Church. He sees dialogue as a didactic tool, as he wishes to instruct and convert the Ketzler and his like, but he does not see the need for conciliation to take place within the text. It is rather something which will take place in the audience as a result of this message, when they see that the Christ's arguments make more sense than those of the Ketzler; the conversion is not exemplary in the text.

Other Catholic dialogues demonstrate a variety of types. In Felbaum's *Ein nutzliche rede frag vnd antwort von dreyen personen* (G32), the dialogue is mainly didactic as the Altvater teaches the Wurstbube, but there is an element of antagonism when the 'verlauffen münch' enters the discussion. He is not there to be converted, but is really a token opponent, illustrating what is wrong with the Lutherans, enabling the Altvater to point out their faults with a living example. Again, advice is given, but no conversion process is described. In Dietenberger's *Cristliche vnderweisung*, which is part of the same pamphlet, the Weltkind, who is Lutheran at the outset, is converted by the Bruder, and there is an amicable atmosphere at the end:

[Bruder]: Ich bin deß itzundt nit wol besunnen
 Doch will ich dich nit lassen kummen
 Von mir on trost vnnnd gûten bescheidt.
 (G21, Iii^v)

In the 1530 *Red vnnnd antwurdt von Clôsterlichen standt* (G65), the knight, Jörg von Ulm, is converted and shown that his lifestyle is more corrupt than that of the monk Bruder Hans. Here the didactic side is also mixed with the more antagonistic, though by the end there is an atmosphere of unity because of the conversion.

Miriam Chrisman (1996, 10) suggests that artisans showed in their dialogues that they wished to bring people together rather than cause antagonism:

Perhaps the most striking difference [between artisan and humanist dialogues] was that people with unpopular views, such as someone loyal to the old faith, stated his beliefs and was not ridiculed. True, by the end, he was on his way to conversion, but there had been a genuine attempt to find points of agreement and arrive at consensus. The tone of these pamphlets was different, suggesting that at least some of the artisans wished to bring people together, not separate them.

However, Bernd Moeller (1974, 362) claims that the humanist understanding of discussion ('Gespräch') was "'als Mittel zur Beilegung des Konflikts'".¹⁹ This is certainly true of didactic dialogues, even if not of satirical ones, and it seems that Chrisman makes too stark a contrast between the two. Matthias Senger (1986, 62) would seem to support Chrisman: 'es ist wiederholt vermerkt worden, wie friedfertig der Tenor der Reformationsdialoge insgesamt ist', and I would agree to the extent that internally many dialogues aim at amicable conclusions. However, externally the intentions are different, and antagonism and defamation can be more obvious than any wish for conciliation.

The concept of closure is again relevant here: usually the debate cannot be left open, but must reach a conclusion internally. This is different in antagonistic dialogues, where the situation is left open, and the interlocutor in the wrong might convert, but it is not known whether this happens or not. To the reader looking at the internal dialogue situation, dialogues are all 'closed' in terms of intention, as the outcome, or at least the correct view to take, is almost always known to the reader or listener at the start, from the title or a prologue. However, the reaction which is taken on the part of the reader or listener is not

¹⁹Cited from Maeder, K. 1970. *Die Via Media in der schweizerischen Reformation*, 150.

necessarily predictable, so there is an openness to the dialogue externally. There is room for rejection of the reformed teaching as is illustrated perfectly in pamphlets which respond to ones previously written, or to events which have taken place; this shall be examined in the final chapter of the thesis.²⁰ There is therefore a difference internally and externally on the matter of closure, and the concepts work on various levels. According to Matthias Senger (1986, 62), the open endings of dialogues is a propagandistic device which leaves the 'kritische Entscheidung über die relative Richtigkeit der vorgetragenen Glaubensbekenntnisse scheinbar auf die Rezipienten verlagert'. However, the addressee is definitely led in a certain direction — 'vorprogrammiert' — as are the interlocutors who ought to change their ways (ibid.).

e) Planning for action after the conversation

Dialogues do not concern themselves solely with the present, or the past, but look to the future. Their aim is generally to bring about a change in attitude, or to encourage existing beliefs to continue. Because of this, the practical results of the discussion are of central importance to its intentions and success. It is especially a feature of situational dialogues, where background information is known about the interlocutors, that they part with the declaration of a change of heart and actions. As Moeller (1970, 315) states when discussing the Zurich Disputations, 'die Disputation blieb nicht ein Gespräch, sie drängte zur Tat', a statement which can also be applied to literary dialogues.

Plans of action include promising to read Scripture better, having been given a new understanding of it by the other interlocutor and now knowing that this is where the true basis of faith is to be found. This is seen in

²⁰The clash of view and counter-view also empowers onlookers by offering them a range of options. Polemic of this kind, for all its divisive features, presupposes an ultimate community of minds and values. Rules and boundaries and referees are recognised' (Matheson 1998, 9–10).

Rychssner's 'Weber and Kramer' dialogue where the Kramer states 'ir hond mich warlich wol halb auff ewren weeg gebracht/ vnnd ich will mich baßer fleysen in der Bibel zû lesen [...] wann ich hør das der recht grundt/ darynn stat' (G70, Diii^v). The Kramer then promises not to go to any more of Kretz's sermons because of the Weber's enlightening instruction on Kretz's pamphlet, as well as throwing the pamphlet into the fire that very day (ibid.).

In the 'Schwärmer and Bauer' dialogue the Bauer persuades the Schwärmer to abandon Müntzer's teaching, and to have his beard — a symbol of his adherence to the Anabaptist group (G1, A2^r, C4^r) — shaved off. The Bauer also invites the Schwärmer to the inn: 'Sihe da hast du ain gulden vmb Christus willen [to go to the barber]/ vnd kom mit mir in die herberg/ ich will dich auch die nacht außhalten' (ibid., C4^r). The Bauer's generosity in giving the Schwärmer money and in inviting him to the inn are part of the image of the ideal evangelical peasant. This is evident just before the close of the conversation when the Schwärmer thanks the Bauer for his instruction:

SCH[WERMER]. Ja wans also soll zûgeen/ so muß ich mich lencken lassen/ vnd bist mir heüt fürwar wol so nutz gewesen als ain gûter prediger. BAU[R]. Wir seind es schuldig/ ains das ander zû vnderrichten vmb Gottes willen.

(ibid., C3^v–4^r)

The conversion of monks and friars in various dialogues uses recurring imagery. In the 'Grimmetal' dialogue the monk decides to change his adherence and as a result to throw away his habit and enter the lay world of work, which has been promoted by the Handwerksmann as the true Christian life. Similar imagery is used in *Klagred eins jungen Münchs über sein Kutten* when the young monk eventually hands over his habit and leaves the monastery (G55, biii^v). Such contrasts of monastic idleness and lay toil and strain are found in several dialogues where in the end the monk decides to get

rid of his habit, the symbol of his monasticism, and deception, and to take up the workman's smock, showing a wish for commitment to work in the world and to a change of lifestyle; it is a decisive action, especially in the likes of 'Grimmetal' where the Mönch instructs the Wirt to exchange his habit for a smock there and then, rather than just stating he will do so later. Appearances are important, symbolic of inner beliefs, as is also seen in dialogues such as the 'Luther and Teufel' text (G2) where the devil is disguised as a Dominican.²¹

In *Eyn newer Dialogus oder gespräch/ zwischen ainem verprenten/ vertribnem/ Edelman vnd ainem Münch* (G60), the interlocutors discuss their visit to the Frankfurt Fair where they will try to extort money from rich merchants. They end the dialogue by making plans for obtaining food and money for this venture (from the poor), and then leave to carry out the plan, arranging to meet again later. This dialogue ends with the three resolving to continue their present lifestyle, and is a demonstration of their corrupt attitude and deviousness. After the end of the dialogue, the author adds a verse recommending the pamphlet to be read to reveal the truth about these characters to everyone. The reader/listener can see through the mask of the three to their corruption, and can acknowledge them as a negative example.

Friendship is the result of the conversation in the 'Bauer and Glöckner' dialogue after the Glöckner has been converted, and the mocking tone of the dialogue's opening is gone; the Glöckner now offers to help the Bauer carry the food he has delivered to the store to reciprocate the help he has received in understanding his faith better (G88, Eir). This is contrasted with the Glöckner's opinion at the start: 'du must es [the food] selbst hinauff dragen' (ibid., Aii^r).

²¹The habit, as a symbol of monasticism, has negative connotations. Much can be hidden underneath a habit, such as deceit and a corrupt lifestyle. This was not just a Reformation image, but was widely used at that time. (cf. Grimm V, 2892: 'die kutte deckt den ganzen leib, verhüllt die gestalt'; Erasmus, *Familiarium Colloquorum formulae*, 1518, 32–33).

The Glöckner apologises at the end of the conversation for his previous beliefs, giving further evidence of his change in attitude (ibid., Eiv).²²

These are practical steps to be taken as a result of discussion, persuasion and instruction.²³ Dialogue results in a change of lifestyle: the actions will be proof of the conversion which has taken place in the mind. It shows that accepting Lutheran, or any other teaching promoted, means more than simply an intellectual or spiritual exercise. These actions found in literary dialogues are evidence of successful persuasion, of the power of dialogue, examples for readers to follow themselves. The pupil-interlocutor is in this way exemplary as a model of how to be converted and what action to take as a result, much as the teacher-interlocutor is exemplary as a disputant in persuading others to convert. The place of dialogue in the real world as an agent of change is also important; the discussions have consequences for everyday life, and for the whole life, not just the spiritual aspect.

f) A return to everyday concerns

This feature is also mainly evident in situational dialogues. It is found in Classical dialogues such as Lucian's *Charon*: 'Her[mes]. Even so. And now let us get down, and put these mountains to rights again. After which, I must be off on my errand, and you back to your ferry' (Fowler and Fowler, eds, 1905, 183).

Interlocutors often encounter each other when going about their daily business, and the discussion of religious matters breaks into this pattern, and comes to form a part of it. It is only natural, therefore, that when the interlocutors part, or finish discussing the relevant issues, they return to their

²² Cf. Sachs (G72), Schwabacher Kasten (G38) where this also occurs, described elsewhere in this chapter.

²³ Cf. Matheson (1998, 82).

work or decide to have a meal. This is the case in Distelmaier's two dialogues (G22, G23) where the labourers — the Strohschneider and the Holzhauer — are on their way to work when they discuss religious issues. Petrus encounters the Bauer at his work in Stanberger's dialogue: 'der Bawer wandert uber felt zû dreschen' (G85, Ai^v). At the end of the discussion, 'da gingen sy von einander der Bawr ging fort sein hantwerck zû arbeiten/ er sach petrum nit mer vnd betracht dy wort gar hart dy er im gesagt het' (ibid., Bii^v). In the 1525 'Bauer and Hofmann' dialogue, the Bauer ends by saying he must stop talking now as he has to return to work in his field so that he can feed his family and pay his rents (G61, Biii^v–Biiii^r). He is therefore promoting the poor and lowly and justifying their occupations as honest and worthwhile. His mention of everyday issues helps to fit the pamphlet and patterns of discussion into the context of the social issues of the time and into patterns of everyday life, justifying the Bauer's participation in discussion of religious matters as an acceptable part of a peasant's life (cf. Kampe 1997, 239).

Another common subject is an invitation for a drink or meal (Schwitalla 1983, 132) as was the case in the 'Schwärmer and Bauer' dialogue (G1). The Kämmerin of the 'Schwabacher Kasten' dialogue (G38) invites the other interlocutors to her house for refreshment, and this is a symbol of reconciliation and unity after the disagreement and anger which have been voiced. This shows hospitality in appreciation of what has been taught or because the interlocutor is already a good Lutheran, as well as portraying religious discussion as part of everyday life.

g) The interlocutors agree to meet again, or encourage further discussion

At the end of Copp's first dialogue, the Geist states that the Mensch is now ready to defend himself against his opponents. The fact that he does this in the second dialogue is evidence of the success of the teaching in the first (G12, Fii^v). Similarly, in Güttel's second dialogue, which is a conversation between the interlocutors of the first and a Drescher, the Meister encourages his Schüler to bring other artisans and such less-educated folk to him, and he will teach them (G41, Mii^v). This suggests that more discussion will follow the conversations which have already taken place. Distelmaier also promises more discussion at the end of his first dialogue, and this results in the second pamphlet: 'wann wir morgens zûsamen kummen/ wöll wir weytter von den sachen reden' (G22, Bii^r). In their discussion, the Fuchs and Wolf decide a plan of action to try and find somewhere safe to go for the winter, and then agree to meet again: 'Wolff. Das gefelt mir warlich auch wol/ vnd wil darbey bleyben/ solchs meinen gesellen verkünden [...] so wölln wir wider hie zusammen kummen.' vnd was vns weyter zuthûn sey/ wider ratschlagen' (G4, Bii^r).

In the 1527 *Dyalogus von Frembdem glauben. Glauben der kirchen. Tauff der Kinnder*, thought to be by Karlstadt, the discussion concludes with a wish for further debate: 'PROSPER. Jedoch were ettwas weitter hieyon zû handeln wir aber wöllens bei diser kûrtz bleiben lassen. Gott verleihe vns sein weißheyte/ AMEN' (G51, diii^v).²⁴ This is an indication to the pamphlet's audience that they may, or maybe even ought to, continue the discussion between Felix and Prosper; even though this dialogue may have reached its own conclusions, there is room for further debate. It suggests that the matter is not closed, that the interlocutors do not give all the answers in the dialogue. Saunders (ed.,

²⁴This adds to the picture we have of Karlstadt's attitudes to the dialogue as he describes them in his pamphlet on the Mass (G50).

1987, 35–36) points out the ways in which Plato found discussion beneficial: ‘he [Plato] believed that the only way to philosophize was to engage in the give and take, the argument and counter-argument, of rational conversation, in which the interlocutors care passionately for the truth and not at all for winning a dispute’. Plato’s dialogues do not say what to think, but stimulate the reader to respond to the argumentation, and to discuss with others about the subject himself.

In the ‘Bauer and Glöckner’ dialogue the Bauer asks the Glöckner to come to visit him on Sunday, and he will introduce him to a pastor and other educated people who can explain his remaining queries to him, as the Bauer has been talking long enough already, and these others will be able to explain better anyway (G88, Ei^r). This is a sign of hospitality as well as aiding further understanding. People should seek out those who are knowledgeable to discuss with them and learn from them. Luther suggests further discussion for himself and Hessus at the end of their conversation (G67, Ci^r). This would suggest that the author wishes to depict the discussion as a successful one, of which Luther has realised the worth, even though he was slightly reluctant at the start, and did not want to enter into a worthless conversation (ibid., Ai^v). The success of Hessus as interlocutor and convincing disputant is therefore indicated. A wish for further discussion is evident in Classical dialogues, as is seen at the end of Plato’s *Laches*:

LYSIMACHUS: [...] But what you must do for me is this: tomorrow morning I’d like you to call round at my house so we can discuss the matter further — don’t let me down. But for now let’s draw the meeting to a close.

SOCRATES: I’ll do that, Lysimachus. God willing, I’ll call on you tomorrow.

(Saunders, ed., 1987, 115)

The examples illustrate the fact that the discussion was viewed as worthwhile by those who participated. It was effective in instructing, or coming to agreement and decision, and often left the interlocutors wishing for further dialogue. Pupils are eager for more knowledge on how to become better Christians, or the discussion has clarified their thoughts to such an extent that they have found it beneficial and wish to discuss with others. The publication of sequential dialogues illustrates this point even more clearly in providing proof of the success of the first conversation.²⁵ Dialogue results in progression, and one successful attempt must be repeated. Part of the process involves spreading the message which has just been learned to others who do not yet know about it, illustrating the success of the first discussion, and continuing a chain of discussions.

Debate is therefore an ongoing process, something which modifies opinions continually, and something in which one should participate oneself. It is not enough simply to accept the opinions of others, though the author would like to win people over to his side; one must be able to work things out oneself. The pamphlet's addressees should follow the example and instructions of the interlocutors. The discussion itself is an action, and an exemplary one, promoting the practice of debate, as well as the results of such an act.²⁶ This is promoted explicitly within the texts and in their very production, highlighting the significance of discussion for the spread of Reformation teaching. Debating is important because of the outcomes it brings about in changing opinions, defeating the opposition, in bringing about a new lifestyle. As an action itself, speaking about religious issues is a promotion of the right of the laity to debate these matters and to take their place alongside the clergy, so there is a further

²⁵E.g. Distelmaier (G22 and G23); Copp (G12); the 'Ebernburg' dialogues (G83 and G93); the 'Weidensee and Fritzhans' dialogues (G91 and G92).

²⁶Cf. Rachel May (1997, 47–64) on speech acts.

polemical function to the encouragement to debate quite apart from the matters which are actually discussed.

h) Recommendation to read the pamphlet

Many authors ask the reader/listener for understanding in reading their pamphlet, and recommend their own work as beneficial and/or entertaining. Usually such requests and suggestions are found on title pages and in prologues, but occasionally they occur at the end of the pamphlet or, in the most interesting cases, in the dialogue itself.

In the first 'Ebernburg' dialogue (G83) the pamphlet's audience is involved fairly directly, in that there is an awareness of the conversation appearing as a written text.²⁷ It is given as a logical outcome of the discussion that others should be able to benefit from it also. The interlocutors discuss the nature of Christian faith, as the Graf does not learn this from the Church, and feels he should know more (G83, Aii^r). So in publishing the pamphlet, the interlocutors, as well as the author, are bringing the message to a wider audience:

Darumb bitten wir eüch schwöster und brüder das ir vnser e büchlin fleissig lesen/ wann wir wöllen eüch leren vnd weisen alles das das wir wissen von dem Christlichnn glauben/ vnd wöllen eüch nichts verschweigen/ vnd wöllen eüch alles das leren das eüch not ist zü eüwer seel seligkait darneben offenbaren vnser schalckhait vnd alle boßhait wie sy auffkommen seind.

(ibid., Bi^r)

²⁷This feature is also found in Classical dialogues, showing that 'dialogue' can mean a slightly more indirect approach to the form of writing. See Plato's *Euthydemus* for an example of this, in Saunders, ed. (1987, 297–375). See Chrisman (1996, 65ff.) on the Ebernburg circle, and Chapter 4 of this thesis.

The interlocutors have already promised a second pamphlet to discuss matters further, and one does indeed appear.²⁸ At the end of the second pamphlet the wish to publish is also evident, and the issue of censorship is also discussed, as a criticism of the Church (G93, Bii^v–Biii^r).

Recommendation to read the dialogue involves turning to address a wider audience at the end of the conversation, sometimes within the dialogue situation, as well as opening up the dialogue to the reader/listener. There is an awareness of the wider context of the pamphlet, as was seen in the above examples. In the ‘Grimmetal’ dialogue, the Wirt enters the discussion and the Handwerksmann turns to address the company in the inn at the end of the conversation, suddenly giving the impression that the conversation has been heard by more than just the interlocutors involved, though the fact that the Pfaffe and Mönch overheard the Handwerksmann and Bauer at the start should have indicated the public nature of the discussion anyway.²⁹ The Handwerksmann’s address includes an appeal to the good will of the addressees. This makes the public outwith the text ‘aktive: Teilnehmer an der Disputation’ so that the barriers between the public and the disputing interlocutors disappear. Kampe sees the audience as participants in the figures of Bauer and Mönch, and therefore addressed directly. ‘Das scheint die beabsichtigte Wirkung im Rückgriff auf die Praxis des Vorlesens zu sein’ (Kampe 1997, 207).

It is not just in this text that there is such an awareness of surrounding addressees, especially becoming evident at close of dialogue. Awareness of an

²⁸Wer horen wil wer die gantzen welt arm gemacht hat (G93). See also Chrisman (1996, 73) on the Ebernburg circle publishing a series of pamphlets, ‘The descriptions of forthcoming pamphlets indicate that the noble writers had a definite program in mind’.

²⁹Kampe (1997, 208): ‘Die *appellatio* an die Männer rückt jedoch ins Bewußtsein, daß die *disputatio* in einen probablen, angedeuteten Szenerierahmen eingelagert ist, was seit dem *exordium* nicht mehr zur Sprache kam’.

audience outwith the dialogue situation is also evident in dialogues with epilogues, such as Güttel's second one where there is a 'Briederliche vnd Christlich anred zu ainem yetlichen Euangelischen vnpartheischen leser' (G47, Miii^r), and in those such as the Ebernburg dialogue *Ain schenes vnd nutzliches büchlin von dem Christlichen glauben* (G83), as described above, and the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue (G37).³⁰ However, in these cases, the audience is external to the dialogue itself, though awareness of the addressees can be on the part of one or more of the interlocutors.

Dialogue, in the narrow sense of the word, is, of course, only one of the forms — a very important form, to be sure — of verbal interaction. But dialogue can also be understood in a broader sense, meaning not only direct, face-to-face, vocalized verbal communication between persons, but also verbal communication of any type whatsoever. A book, i.e., a *verbal performance in print*, is also an element of verbal communication.

(Morris, ed., 1994, 58)

CONCLUSIONS

Dialogue endings tell the reader/listener much about the author's intentions and expectations. Authors use a variety of endings depending on the type of discussion which has taken place. There is always progress of some sort made in the discussion, whether the result be defeat, conversion, or an increase in knowledge and understanding. The relationship of the interlocutors is affected by discussion, generally in a positive way, unless the ending is antagonistic, which is seldom the case. Dialogues generally end in unity because this shows the persuasive powers of one of the interlocutors to convince another to accept his point of view, highlighting the exemplary nature

³⁰See Chapter 6 and Campbell (forthcoming) for more on the publication of the conversation in the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue.

of the debate. Conciliation is evidence of successful persuasion. One of the most significant results of conversation is the wish for it to be continued at a later date or for others to be drawn into the Reformation debate through such conversations, again highlighting the fact that it is a successful means of persuasion. This is also the case in expressing the wish to publish the text of the conversation.

The effects of the discussion differ internally and externally. Within the text, the results are generally agreement and amicability, even if antagonism has been the means to this end. It is shown through persuasion within the dialogues that antagonism does not have to be the result of religious debate. A change in attitude and often therefore in action is the outcome. Externally the reader may be convinced by the arguments within the text, but may come away with the impression that attack and defamation may be used against those who disagree over religious matters. A careful reader may realise that this is not necessarily the attitude which is wished for, and that criticisms must be levelled carefully and with good intention, not merely as cruel attacks. In any case, the author's expectations of his addressee are not necessarily met by the reader or listener. Different types of recipient, reading or hearing the text in different locations and circumstances, will of course have different reactions to the same text. The papal nuncio, Aleander, testifies to this in his dispatches to Rome, often describing the inciting nature of Luther's and Hutten's writings and how their ideas were accepted by many (e.g. Kalkoff, ed., 1886, 25). In contrast to this, Aleander himself is outraged by the attacks on the papacy found in the pamphlets, even sending them to the authorities in Italy as evidence of the anticlericalism rife at the time (e.g. *ibid.*, 171). This shows the open-ended nature of dialogue, that although there may be closure internally, with no room for different opinions, and it may be intended externally that the

addressee accept the point of view promoted, the actual reaction to reading the text cannot be known.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONTEXT OF DISCUSSION, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPHERES OF DEBATE

Context is crucial to understanding genre in general, and plays an important part in defining it: 'a well-established genre transmits certain cultural attitudes, attitudes which it is shaped by and in turn helps to shape' (Dubrow 1982, 4).¹

We have already seen some ways in which the dialogue, as a genre of an overtly oral nature, uses oral practices in a literary form, but the wider context of patterns of discussion in various situations in the early Reformation period is also significant for the literary dialogue.² Dialogue conversations cannot be seen as isolated pieces of information, but are often set in the context of a particular situation, which not only adds to the mimetic impact of the text, but also places the issues discussed within the wider spectrum of patterns of persuasion and discussion and of lifestyle in general. Mikhail Bakhtin (Morris, ed., 1994, 123) gives us a useful analysis of the way in which literature interacts with its social context:

Any item of social meaning when it enters a literary work [...] is transformed in becoming part of an artistic whole. But while this distances it from its original connection to reality, it re-enters social reality as a different category: as a literary work which is equally a material element in social life.³

¹Valentin Voloshinov also outlines the necessity of setting in determining the nature of genre and utterances, and the sociological phenomena necessary to understanding utterances (Morris, ed., 1994, 60–61). (From Voloshinov, V. N. 1929. *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, transl. L. Matejka and I. R. Titunik, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (1973)).

²See e.g. Scribner (1994a, 9); Kampe (1997, 117–32); Matheson (1998, 32) on pamphlets in general.

³Cf. Holquist (1990, 163): according to Bakhtin, 'a genre is a particular way of looking at the world'.

This can be applied to the Reformation dialogue, which, according to Martin Arnold (1990, 77), 'entspricht auch Vorgängen und Ereignissen der frühen Reformationszeit. Sie entsprach zunächst der diskussionsbereiten und erregten öffentlichen Atmosphäre in besonderer Weise, sie antwortete gezielt dem Bedürfnis nach Klärung und Urteilsfindung'.⁴ Jürgen Kampe (1997, 84) makes clear the role of this process in the rhetorical intentions of the genre:

Bereits bei der Erörterung der *ethos*-Darstellung wurde darauf hingewiesen, daß das "Gespräch" als mündliche Interaktion in einem für das 16. Jahrhundert wichtigen, großangelegten deliberativ-didaktischen Konzept steht, das öffentlichkeitsgebundene Sprachhandlungen in verschiedenem Ausführungsmodus in sich aufzunehmen vermag.

In terms of discussion and debate, which characterised significant actions and events at this stage of the Reformation and acted as a catalyst in many of the changes, persuading people of many different social and educational levels, the dialogue pamphlets are central in giving insight into this atmosphere and into the ways in which debate was carried out at various levels. According to Peter Matheson (1998, 85), the dialogues 'reflected a repressed reality, and helped in turn to create a new reality'.⁵ This chapter will aim to place the dialogues within the context of contemporary patterns of discussion and to show how they reflect these practices and try to influence them. The work of the previous section has introduced this concept, but here the aim will be to give a wider picture of how dialogue relates to events and occurrences in the Reformation period, some specific and some general.

The influence of humanist dialogues, as demonstrated in the examination of form and structure in previous chapters, must not be forgotten, though these

⁴Quoted from Spriewald, I., ed., 1970. *Die Prosadialoge von Hans Sachs*, Leipzig, 10.

⁵Cf. Matheson (1998, 108) on the vivid depiction of everyday life in the dialogues.

reflect a different type of oral discussion, reaching back to those of antiquity, and are stylised by patterns of Classical language, imagery, rhetoric, and oration, so are not necessarily, or even mainly, based on contemporary patterns of discussion. However, it is inevitable that contemporary forms are reflected in the dialogues because authors will, consciously or otherwise, bring to the literary text their own experiences of the ways in which themes are dealt with.

Although not all dialogues give a location for the conversation they portray, it is an important feature of many. The significance of the use of public and private locations of conversation and debate will provide the framework for the examination of discussion patterns in this chapter. As the papal nuncio Aleander outlined in his correspondence (Worms, 15 and 16 March 1521), 'ueber den Martin selbst schweigt man jetzt, als ob er nie gelebt hätte, während zuvor keine Stunde, ja keine Minute verstrich, ohne daß man in öffentlichen Verhandlungen und Privatgespräche sich mit ihm beschäftigte' (Kalkoff, ed., 1886, 98). This, and other letters from Aleander, make clear the atmosphere of debate at different levels and in different locations surrounding the Luther controversy, even if this had died down to some extent by the time Aleander wrote this letter.

The formation of public opinion, an issue which is central to the study of such literature, will also be discussed in terms of levels of debate and discussion and the various ways in which these help form opinions.

THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

The process which Bakhtin describes in the above citation is part of the formation of 'public opinion', a concept which Robert Scribner analysed in his article 'Oral Culture and the Transmission of Reformation Ideas' (Scribner 1989, 95–96). As Scribner points out, 'principally oral forms of communication, especially rumour, play a central role in creating "public opinion"' (ibid., 95). The literary dialogue is therefore significant in portraying and influencing this process. Scribner defines three stratifications of 'public opinion': local, which is created by gossip, private discussion, and scandals; regional, where movement between town and country is involved — this is slightly more impersonal; transregional public opinion involves trade and travel, oral and printed means. In his article 'Heterodoxy, Literacy and Print in the Early German Reformation', Scribner (1994b, 262) states, 'As I understand it, "public opinion" was essentially local and was comprised of a dense network of information interchange and human interactions occurring within a local framework'. This does not counter the claims of his 1989 article, but recognises that wherever news comes from, it is assimilated by a local community and adapted to their needs and outlook. He then goes on to define 'formal' and 'informal' types of public opinion. The type of opinions portrayed in the dialogues would generally fall into the 'informal' categories, as the interlocutors usually hold their conversation in an informal setting.

In the second chapter of his book *The Rhetoric of the Reformation*, Peter Matheson (1998, 27–57) discusses 'The Emergence of Public Opinion'. This includes a useful diagram which illustrates 'The Web of Reformation Public Opinion', showing how various types of people and forms of communication interacted (ibid., 38–39). He divides the web into three levels which would

correspond to Scribner's delineations. Matheson places the 'common folk' at the centre of his web, though he states that in a way this term is a fiction, and also that a diagram cannot do justice to the complexity of the communication process (*ibid.*, 41; cf. Scribner 1981, 74–75). Matheson (1998, 27–28) suggests that Reformation pamphlets are 'evidence [...] of a dissonance between the values embraced by the power-brokers in society and an articulate and crusading minority', empowering those who previously had no voice. He illustrates that public opinion formed in a heated discussion in an inn could influence the actions of the Strasbourg town council (*ibid.*, 32): 'there is an ongoing dialectical relationship between the grass-roots tensions and the articulation of discontent by leaders such as Luther'. This is seen in the way in which national events are discussed in a dialogue which represents a 'local' conversation, brought down to the most personal form of a conversation between acquaintances.

All these levels are reflected in the dialogues, with their depiction of conversations between individuals from within a community and communication between those from different backgrounds and different locations. Face-to-face encounters were most important in changing opinions, according to Matheson (1998, 36–37), and as Scribner's theory would suggest. The dialogue, as a genre which uses individual, face-to-face encounters to discuss important issues and solve problems, is one which obviously reflects this: 'As literature they [dialogues] both reflect, and themselves helped to precipitate the drama of the Reformation itself. This is literature at its most engaged' (*ibid.*, 84). The use of a location for the dialogue helps to define such types of conversation, whether formal or informal. Both public and private spheres fit into this framework.

The urban nature of opinion formation is also significant, towns being

centres of preaching, printing, and official decision-making. This is reflected in the dialogues in themes such as love of one's neighbour and in the portrayal of dealings with a variety of people who are likely to come together in towns while conducting their daily business. Although this cannot be restricted to the towns, they were particularly significant as centres of authority in bringing about the introduction of reformed measures in Germany. This was often as a result of pressure within the towns for authorities to change practices.

PRIVATE DISCUSSION

a) The need for secrecy

Private discussion is portrayed in a variety of ways in the dialogue pamphlets. One important category is that of discussions where the interlocutors feel the need for privacy or secrecy, and for this reason choose a particular location, or are wary of possible eavesdroppers. In the dialogue between Cuntz and Fritz of 1521/1522, two friends are sitting in an inn discussing attitudes of the clergy and the educated, especially Jacob Lemp, to lay reading of Scripture and various scriptural translations such as Erasmus's. Fritz refers to another person he claims is as bad as Lemp, but is scared to name him: 'ich gethar in nit nennen/ ich fürchte man hör vns/ lieber laß vnns von der [...] wãnd geen/ ich wil dirs in ein or sagen' (G68, Aiii^r).⁶ The two retire to a quieter place to continue the conversation; it is Johannes Eck whom Fritz wants to discuss. Cuntz then has similar news to share with Fritz: 'ey ich muß dirs auch heimlich sagen/ der teüffel möcht vnns sunst bescheysen/ wan sie es von vns innen würden/ wir müsten im bann sterben/ laß her' (ibid.).

⁶Cf. Kampe (1997, 236n207).

The fear of excommunication, the Church's threat to those who speak heretically, is evident; on the other hand it is necessary to spread the message of Eck's supposed corruption and unchristian attitudes. Fritz and Cuntz keep their news quiet, but the author is not as reticent, despite the fact that he does not name himself. He uses Fritz and Cuntz to warn his audience also to be wary of how they discuss such issues with each other, although as he demonstrates himself in writing the dialogue in the first place, spreading the truth is important. The interlocutors seem certain that the truth will be revealed and will set free, so in the end they will have nothing to fear; all is in God's hands (*ibid.*, Bi^r–Bi^v).⁷ At the end of the printed conversation, the two decide to go somewhere else where they cannot be overheard to discuss further (*ibid.*, Bi^v). In a similar situation, Psitacus and Zingk in Eberlin von Günzburg's *Mich wundert das kein gelt ihm land ist* feel they have to withdraw to a private place to discuss something, as Zingk is afraid his confessor will find out about it:

ich sags nit offentlig/ wens rmein Johanser Commentirer erfahren solt/
wurd er mich nit absoluiren/ ich muste geyn Basel zum Thumprobist der
legte mich ynß narren heußlen. P[sitacus]. Sag mirs allein in ein ohr.
Z[ingk]. so kom auff ein ortlein. P[sitacus]. wo hin? Z[ingk]. in
Ogelspergers hoff/ pfaff hans ist ein leiden gut gesel/ er wirt nit fragen
was wir reden werden.

(G25, ciii^r)

The public nature of the inn means that it is not only the interlocutors who are present; there is also the possibility that others will be able to overhear the conversation or even join in. This can mean that any privacy wished for is not maintained, or only with difficulty.⁸ The woodcut on the title page of one edition of the 'Pfarrer and Schultheiß' dialogue (G7; ill. 1) illustrates clearly the

⁷'Jemand, der für die "gerechte Sache" bzw. das Wohl der *res publica* eintritt, braucht nichts zu verheimlichen' (Kampe 1997, 175–76).

⁸Cf. Kramer (G57, Aii^r): 'Jacob gybt yhm gutt antwort mith verborgenem wortthen/ das er doch vonn denn mytssessern nicht wollt vermargkt werdenn'.

Ain schöner dialogus vnd

straffred von dem Schulthais von gayß-

dorf/mie seinem schüler/wid den Pfarzer da selbst vñ seine
helffer in beywesen der hierer vñ etlich nachbaurē des
dorffs/antreffende allen mangel vñd geys
gaystlich vñ welchichs Stands. .c.

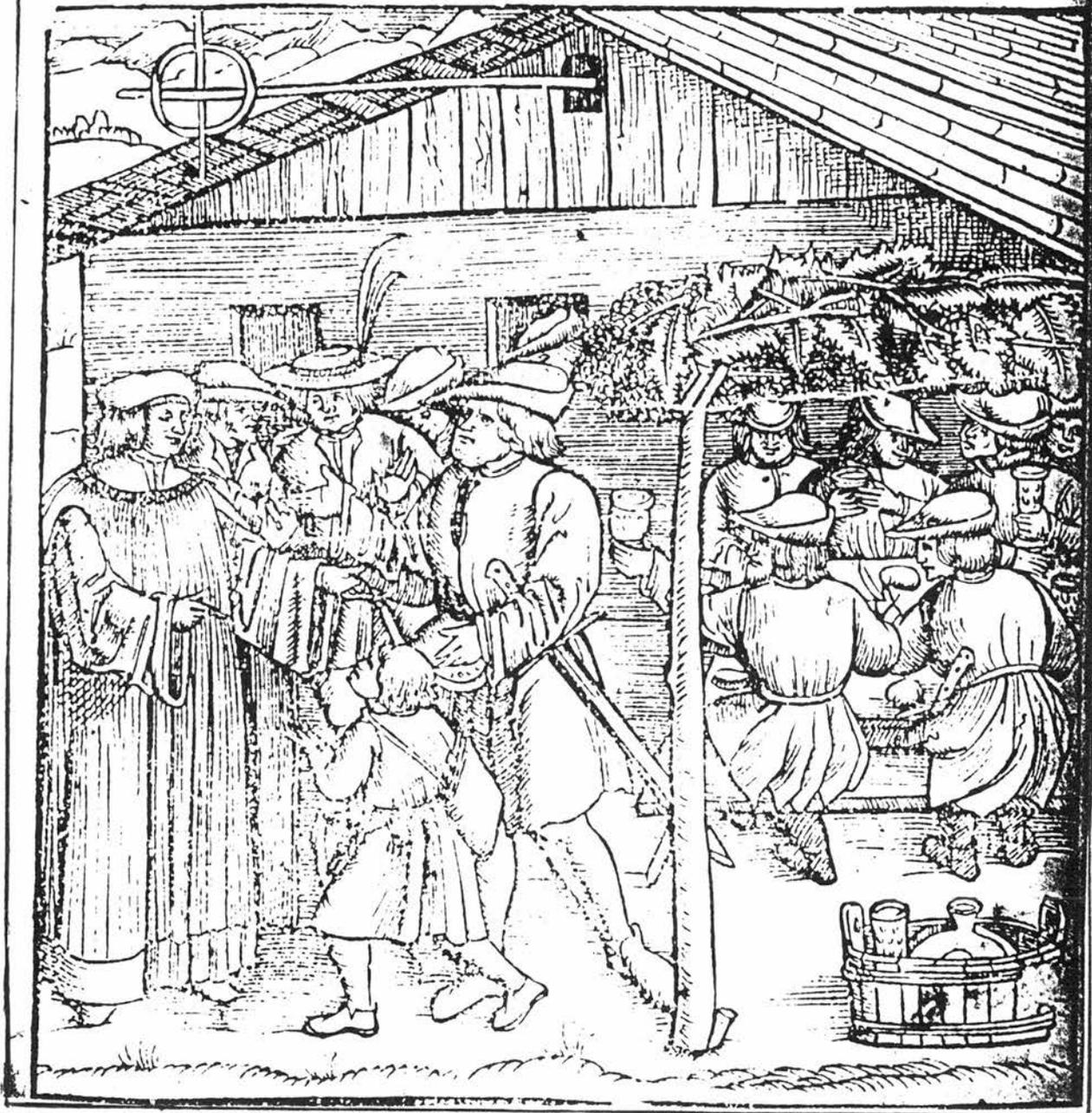


Illustration 1: *Ain schöner dialogus vnd straffred* (title page)

public nature of discussion at the inn: the Pfarrer, the Schultheiß and the Schüler are standing in the foreground holding their discussion while others stand directly behind them, and a further group is seated nearby, enjoying a drink.

In Konrad Distelmaier's first dialogue the Holzhauer fears accusations of hedge preaching if he and his companion were to be heard by the priest, or if the priest even knew what they were saying (G22, Aiii^v).⁹ The fear of discovery is also evident in the dialogue *Ain schenes vnd nutzliches büchlin von dem Christlichen glauben* (the first 'Ebernburg' dialogue) where the Domherr and three priests are afraid of being revealed as Lutherans. The Domherr states, 'dann ir hören wol das kain gelerter von dein glauben darff reden/ warumb solt dann ich daruon reden/ so bin ich auch kain hirt das ich die menschen leren sol' (G83, Aii^r). There is a restriction on who ought to discuss controversial religious matters, and even the Domherr, a cleric, does not feel it is his place. If he does so, therefore, it must be with discretion. The priests later state that the 'Viscales' have forbidden them to speak of Lutheran matters, so it is better to be silent, 'wann mit schweigen verredet man sich nit'. The Graf does not agree with this, because he thinks the end of the world is nigh, and things must therefore be put right (*ibid.*, Aiiii^r). As with Cuntz and Fritz, the matter is pressing enough that the truth must emerge despite the dangers, and publicising the Lutheran teaching is a necessary step, as is seen in this discussion and its publication in a pamphlet, a point which is discussed near the end of the dialogue (*ibid.*, Bi^r).¹⁰ This dialogue dates from around 1521, so it was

⁹See Scribner (1980, 108) on open-air and hedge preaching.

¹⁰See also Chrisman (1996, 72–78) on these pamphlets, and especially pp. 73–75 on the fear and secrecy associated with Lutheran support in this period, which was linked to the Edict of Worms (*ibid.*, 73). She points out, however, the idea that the truth had to be made known (*ibid.*, 75). See Zierer (G95, Bii^r): in the 'Beschlusßred' Zierer states that he will be cursed by monks and priests and excommunicated if he writes any more. He has however written this pamphlet, and another dialogue (G94), so he is willing to take the risk, and sees the

published at a time when such issues were of central concern. No one knew which way the tide would turn, so it was a great danger to admit adherence to what at that time was the weaker side in terms of secular and religious authority. In later dialogues, secrecy is not as great an issue.

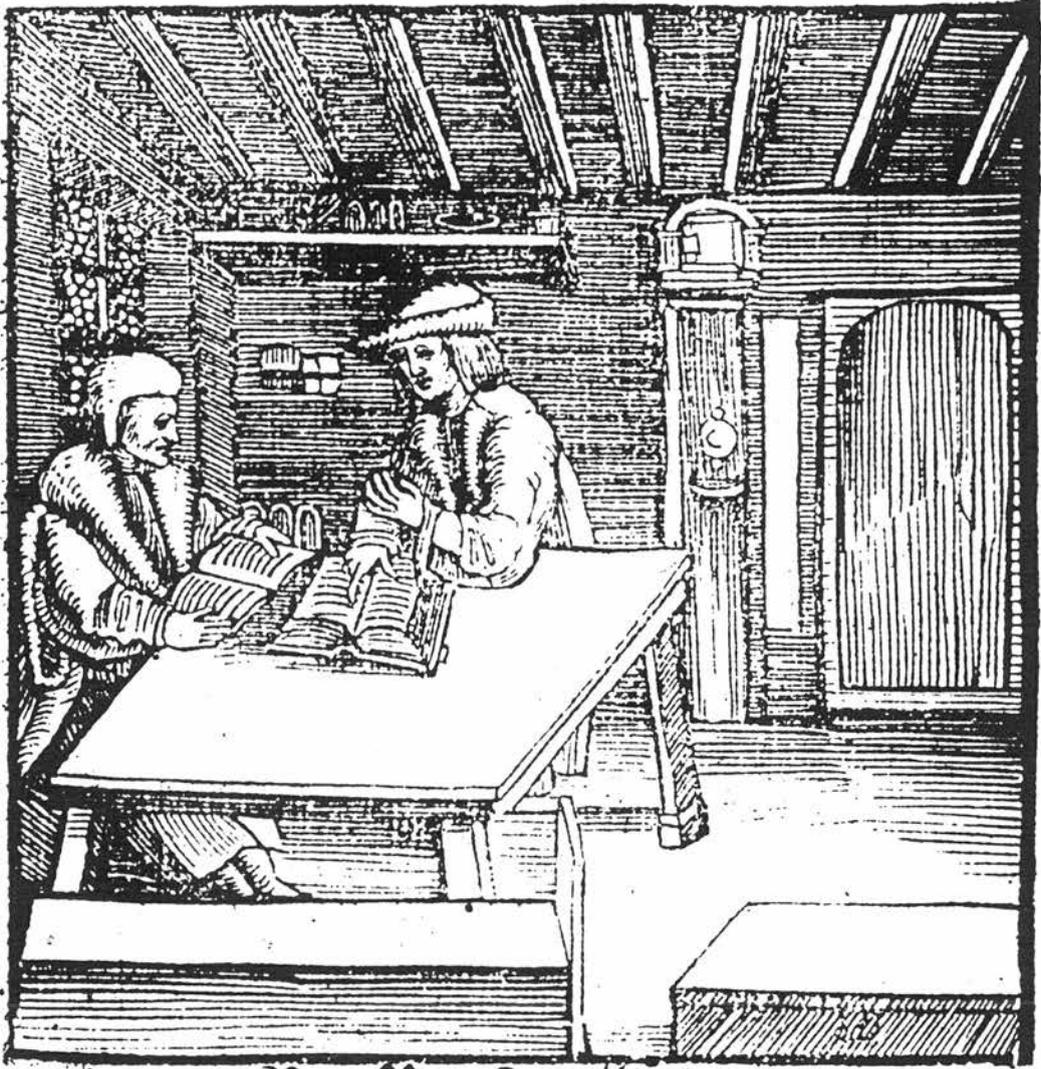
Both the 'Ebernburg' dialogues and the 'Cuntz and Fritz' dialogue, as well as other similar ones, depict the risk of daring to discuss something controversial and to deviate from the official line, and also in the case of those using peasant or equivalent figures, the audacity of the lowly to discuss such issues in the first place. The wish for privacy and the need to reveal the truth are in conflict, and the interlocutors as well as the author demonstrate ways in which the two can be reconciled.

b) Private discussion and hospitality

In the 'Weber and Kramer' dialogue there is a move from public to private, from the marketplace to the Kramer's house, where the householder invites his friend to discuss Kretz's pamphlet (G70). The title-page woodcut illustrates the discussion at a table in the Kramer's house, where the two are alone behind a closed door (ill. 2). This situation is mirrored in the 'Burger, Curtisan and Edelman' dialogue where the three interlocutors meet in the street, set up their discussion and meet later at the Bürger's house to discuss properly (G47), and also in the dialogue between the Bauer and the Frauenbrudermönch (G81). The move from public to private setting is linked here to hospitality, as is seen in threshold dialogues also (see below), as the invitation to some one's house is also often a demonstration of the generous nature of the good Christian, probably Lutheran, interlocutor. Burghart Wachinger (1993, 259) points out that the meal is one of the most popular

publication of ideas as necessary.

Ain gesprech büchlin von ainem Weber
vnd ainem Kramer über das Büchlin Doctoris
Nathie Kretz von der heimlichen Beicht /
so er zu Augspurg in vnser frawen
Thum geprediget hat.
im M. D. XLij.



Wg Kochner Weber:

Illustration 2: *Ain gesprech büchlin/von ainem Weber vnd ainem Kramer* (title page)

settings for discussion in the humanist dialogue, relating back to the antique symposium, and can involve friends and others (*ibid.*, 264–65). He also describes gatherings at Luther's house of theologians, old and young, and family members, who discussed and studied over a meal (*ibid.*, 281).

Such situations mix the public and private in that individuals who do not belong to the household are brought together in a private situation, but with ideas from outwith that group.

c) Enclosed discussion circles

Nobles discussing religious matters with clerics in such a situation as at the Ebernburg is shown to be plausible by the words of Franz von Sickingen in the *Neüw Karsthans* dialogue (G6), thought to be by Martin Bucer, where Sickingen states that at the Ebernburg, his residence, he and Hutten had 'disen winter zu Eberburg ob meinem tisch vnd nach der malzeit allwegen vnd on vnderläßlich die lutherischen bücher gelesen, vnd von dem ewangelio vnd der apostolischen geschrift geredt'.¹¹ The second 'Ebernburg' dialogue describes a similar situation: the Graf, the Edelmann and the Domherr talk about the situation of the nobility and the clerics, and how roles and status have been reversed, and the clerics are now rich and the nobility poor (G93). The *Schnaphan* dialogue (G77) of c. 1523 also portrays a discussion between knights and their servants about imperial knights, though it takes a more critical approach to their attitudes and actions. At this slightly later date, the intentions are altered.

All these 'imperial knight' dialogues illustrate the practice of discussion within an enclosed group, and seem to suggest regular meetings where

¹¹Cited from Berger (1931, 176). Cf. Berger (*ibid.*, 57); Könniker (1975, 106); Chrisman (1996, 69–70).

attempts are made to find out the truth of what is happening, to solve problems, and to decide the best plan of action.¹² This is a private circle whose ideas are made public through the writing of pamphlets. As well as this, the use of dialogue in the Ebernburg circle shows the humanist literary influence, especially with the sojourn there of Hutten and Bucer. Aleander points out the humanist nature of the gathering in his correspondence (Worms, 5 April 1521): 'Bei Hutten selbst auf der Ebernburg strömen alle die rheinischen Humanisten zusammen, um dort mit ganz erstaunlichem Wetteifer ihren Beitrag niederzulegen' (Kalkoff, ed., 1886, 117–18). Groups such as the *Sodalitas Staupitziana* in Nuremberg provided similar settings for debate. It was common for gatherings of humanists and others to meet to study and discuss writings such as Luther's works (Strauss 1976, 160–61). The Anabaptists in Augsburg also used to read and discuss the Gospel together to teach each other about God's Word (Kastner, ed., 1994, 267–68). Similarly, Huldreich Zwingli and Leo Jud were part of a sodality in Zurich where laymen and clerics gathered to read and discuss Scripture. The common goal was both intellectual and spiritual, to arrive at the truth as a group, and this had implications for both personal and communal renewal. It was a mark of friendship that truth should be sought out in this way.¹³

Aleander (Kalkoff, ed., 1886, 124) also describes how Martin Bucer disputed with a confessor for six hours at the Ebernburg, sometimes to defend Luther's writings, at others to try to prove they had a Catholic sense to them. Aleander suggests that the confessor won the debate by proving Luther's writings to be heretical. Hutten, it is claimed, was easily defeated in such

¹²Cf. Matheson (1998, 56) on 'informal groupings' as well as 'more structured ones' which met to discuss religious issues.

¹³Information on Zwingli and Jud is from a paper, 'Friendship in the Reformation', given by Dr. Bruce Gordon at the Reformation Studies Institute in St Andrews in September 1999.

debates; Sickingen seems to have put up a better fight. The confessor had been sent to the Ebernburg to find out what was happening there, as the group seems to have been regarded as a real threat, both in terms of what was discussed and written at the Ebernburg, and of the action the knights and their supporters might be plotting to take (ibid., 123, 168).¹⁴

The workplace is an important setting of conversation and another example of a closed circle of interlocutors, though it is one used seldom in Reformation dialogues. However, it is well illustrated in the pamphlet *Eyn gesprech/ von dem gemaynen Schwabacher Kasten* of 1524 (G38).¹⁵ Discussion, like song, would be a normal feature of work, where all are sitting in the same room, as is seen in the woodcut on the title page of this dialogue. Conversation would as a matter of course turn to the issues of the day, and if someone such as Bruder Heinrich were to come in and share the latest news of the town, through gossip and hearsay, it would be natural for each to give his or her opinion on this, and therefore for a discussion to develop. This dialogue portrays one aspect of urban public opinion formation.

¹⁴See also Chapter 7 for more on the discussion between Sickingen and the confessor.

¹⁵According to Miriam Usher Chrisman (1996, 221), this pamphlet is written by Hans Herbst who was a judge in Schwabach, 'the only pamphlet written by an upper civil servant in the popular style of a *Fassnachtsspiel* [sic]'. By '*Fassnachtsspiel*', I understand Chrisman to mean popular style of dialogue, rather than the humanist dialogue. In the introduction to the book she talks of *Fastnachtspiel* as 'traditional popular plays' (ibid., 5). However, I would not classify this dialogue as a play, as there is little action in it apart from the interlocutors carrying out their work in the clothmaker's workshop. Nor is the dialogue in a review style, which would be expected of a *Fastnachtspiel* at this date.

PRIVATE SITUATION TO PUBLIC CONTEXT

One area of the dialogue genre which displays a move from private to public conversation is that of overheard conversations which are then written down, such as Zierer's 'Waise and Waldbruder' dialogue (G94), Reychart's conversation between two women (G66), and Distelmaier's first dialogue, where he asks the reader to understand he was not being overly curious in listening to the conversation: he indicates that writing it down is going to help the reader, especially preachers (G22, Aii^r). The private is obviously made public, but without the interlocutors' knowledge. This also gives more distance between the interlocutors and addressees than in a dialogue in which the author has the role of narrator and interlocutor.

The 'Bembus and Silenus' dialogue (G78) offers an interesting satirical picture of an overheard conversation. The two Catholic sympathisers are in Silenus's house discussing their corrupt business and money-making schemes while Silenus's 'Narr' listens at the door. He comments facetiously on the words of the other two, highlighting their corruption. Bembus is worried that the Narr will overhear, though, and that their suspect dealings and attitudes will then be known. Silenus assures him that the Narr will not hear, or at least will not understand, so they have nothing to fear: they can speak freely. They are, of course, wrong. The Narr is not as stupid as they think or as his name suggests, and he understands perfectly. Their private maleficence is highlighted and made public by him. At the end of the dialogue he states that he will spread the truth of what the two are up to: 'wenn es niemants wißt dann ich so muß es eüch dennocht schaden/ ich wil nit lenger schweigen dann biß ich an marckt kom/ so wil ichs niemant sagen dann yederman/ es waißts warlich der recht' (ibid., iii^r–iii^v). The Narr will take the discussion from the private into the

public, to the marketplace. This is just what Bembus and Silenus want to avoid, but it is evident also in the writing and publication of the pamphlet itself. The satirical listener is also found in humanist dialogues such as the 'Julius' dialogue (G89, L4) and *Karsthans* (G52). In all these situations, the secrecy and publicising are satirical, and the message is publicised to defame those who are promoting the 'wrong' side.¹⁶

This situation is different from that of dialogues where Lutherans and others are scared to speak out, as in Distelmaier's first 'Holzhauer and Strohschneider' dialogue (G22) which is presented as an overheard conversation which the author heard 'wann ich [...] überfeld gangen bin' (G22, Aii^r). The setting is obviously a public one, though the conversation is private, between the two workers. Distelmaier's second dialogue between the same interlocutors (G23) does not contain such an introduction.

The 'Grimmetal' dialogue (G39) begins as a semi-private discussion between the Handwerksmann and the Bauer in the inn, though the public setting means that their conversation is overheard by the Pfaffe and the Mönch, who join in. Eventually it is clear that others in the inn have also listened to the debate and teaching. The setting of the inn does not allow for private discussion, as there is always the chance of being overheard, as Cuntz and Fritz also demonstrated.

As stated above, location involves finding a safe environment in which to discuss, trying to avoid criticism and danger. This was also seen in the censorship of books, both in towns and nationally, though the 1521 ban on Lutheran books did not stop these being published. According to Künast (1997, 205), in Augsburg

¹⁶See Bauer (1969, 146ff.) on 'Subkonversation', including commentary on the 'official' discussion (148).

in den 1520er Jahren waren die eigentlichen "Zensoren" die Drucker, Buchführer und Prediger. Gemeinsam, wenn auch aus unterschiedlicher Interessenlage, verhinderten sie fast vollständig die Drucklegung von Schriften zur Verteidigung der römischen Kirche in Augsburg, weil sie mit der reformatorischen Flugschriftenproduktion die Kapazitäten der Druckereien vollständig beanspruchten.

The city council tried to impose censorship from the early 1520s, but did not have any great success. Changes only came in 1530 when the Emperor came for the Reichstag. In a similar attitude to discussion as a means of spreading ideas, in Ulm in 1523/24 and Regensburg in 1534, regular discussion groups were condemned by authorities after public discussion of religious topics had been previously forbidden (Flood 1998, 83).¹⁷

The dialogue pamphlet itself is a way of bringing the private into the public, despite any claims in the texts themselves that it would be dangerous for the interlocutors if their speech were overheard. A conversation between two acquaintances, or strangers, not necessarily overheard, is publicised by the act of writing and publishing the dialogue. Of course the conversation related there is fictional, but there could be dangers involved for the author in producing the pamphlet, if he identifies himself, the publisher, and bookseller. The public returns to the private in that a pamphlet can be read by a private individual as well as in public.

¹⁷Ninna Jørgensen (1988, 51) describes the situation in Augsburg in 1521 where people were refused absolution at confession if they confessed to possessing and having read Lutheran books and did not hand these over to the authorities. This resulted in conflicts between artisans and clerics in the city. John Flood (1998, 93) points out that pamphlets were more difficult to censor than books. The situation was not easily controlled at all (ibid., 95).

THE THRESHOLD OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DISCUSSION

a) Osiander and Greiffenberger in Nuremberg

The example of Andreas Osiander and Hans Greiffenberger, Nuremberg preacher and artist respectively, illustrates not only the parallel intentions of discussion both in literary dialogues and in real-life praxis — that of persuasion to change one's mind — but also the interplay of public and private in Reformation debate and persuasion.

In the autumn of 1524 a controversy brewed in Nuremberg because of Greiffenberger's supposed attitudes towards the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Osiander and Greiffenberger discussed the real presence in the bread and wine as result of Greiffenberger's writings or comments on this, although Dietrich Wünsch states that there is no evidence in Greiffenberger's tracts to suggest he denied or disputed the real presence in the bread and wine (Müller and Seebaß, eds, 1975, 267).¹⁸ The two met in Osiander's house, with the mediation of Mathis Jorion, and in the presence of five or six others. Osiander instructed and persuaded Greiffenberger, who changed his mind and promised to change his actions and words concerning the real presence (ibid., 270):¹⁹

In dem ist Matthis Jorion zu mir komen, gesagt, man hab mich gesucht, der mainung, was es mir gelegen wer, wolt Greiffenberger zu mir kommen. Hab ich geantwort, ich wolt, das er keme, welches auch geschehen. Nun hab ich im in beywesen gemelten Matthis Jorion und ander mer, funf oder sechs personen, furgelalten, wie mir meine herrn, ein erber rhatt, sein antwort zugestellt, die zu besehen, darin ich nit vil, aber treffenlich groß und wichtig mangel find. Wiewoll nun solche irthumb, soferne er allain irrete, allain mit Gottis wort solten angefochten werden, muste doch, dieweil er solchs offentlich redet und andern auch zu zweifeln ursach geb, umb des nechsten willen ein ernstlich einsehen gethon werden, wo er sich nicht weysen ließ. Derhalben ich des willens wer, wo er nicht bey im selbs schon beschlossen hett, sein mainung wer allein gerecht und konnt nymand bessers beweysen, im ongeverlich die

¹⁸See also Strauss (1976, 164) on Osiander, who was a member of the *Sodalitas Staupiziana*.

¹⁹Cf. Chrisman (1980, 44); Russell (1986, 157) on Greiffenberger.

ursach zu zaigen, die in und seinesgleichen dahin gefurt oder furen mochten, darnach was in an denselben ursachen mangelt, zuletzt die schrifft lauter und klar wider in. Gab er zu antwort, er wolt sich gern weysen lassen und were drumb zu mir kommen. Also redet ich kurtzlich die mainung, mir gemelt wern die rechten ursach, und es wer war, das evangelion lautet, das es flaisch und blut were. In hetten aber die ursach von mir erzelet, bewegt, das ers anderst hett gehalten, wollt es aber furo anderst halten und nymand anderst, dan wie christlich und im prauch herkommen, zu glauben ursach geben.

(Müller and Seebaß, eds, 1975, 275–76)

Through discussion in which he played the role of teacher and persuader, Osiander managed to convince Greiffenberger to change his mind and promise to change his behaviour in future. The event was planned, a ‘set dialogue’, arranged by Jorion. One difference from literary dialogues is shown in the roles of the disputants: here the theologian is instructing the layman, not vice versa, as is often the case in polemical dialogues where the supremacy of the laity is a key point.

The presence of other witnesses, although the event took place in Osiander’s house, shows the public nature of the event. It is in some ways a public show, but being in a private house it is not completely within the public view, unlike dialogues which take place in an inn, for example. The events of outside are clearly brought into the home for discussion, and public life and private spheres interlink; it is after all a matter for public concern — at least for the Council — that Greiffenberger is spreading his views on the sacrament. That the use of Scripture as proof is part of everyday discussion and debate is apparent here as in literary dialogues: ‘allain mit Gottis wort solten angefochten werden’ (ibid., 275). The wish for peace and harmony as a result of discussion, as well as in the intention to persuade and convert, are evident in the example of Greiffenberger and Osiander.

A parallel incident to this one, also in Nuremberg, is described in Caspar Peucer’s account of an anecdote Philip Melanchthon told him of ‘inter

Pirckheimerum et Durerum de illo recenti certamine disputationes' about transubstantiation, where Willibald Pirckheimer became irritated with Albrecht Dürer, saying it was not possible to paint transubstantiation, to which Dürer apparently replied that it was not possible to explain what Pirckheimer had in his mind concerning the matter. Jacob Lemp had apparently illustrated transubstantiation to his students at Tübingen in chalk on the blackboard (Rupprich, ed., 1956, 306 entry 21). This provides an interesting example of a discussion, described as a disputation, between a humanist and an artist in the presence of a leading theologian, showing that theological matters were discussed by such combinations of figures, with personal insult and personal concerns entering the discussion, as well as reference to external events passed on probably by hearsay, or perhaps correspondence.

b) Threshold dialogues

Threshold dialogues, where one character calls at the door of another, also show the interplay of public and private, and may have taken some initial literary influence from humanist dialogues such as Hutten's, where Febris knocks at the door, wishing to see Hutten and to plague him (G49; cf. Kampe 1997, 249–52). This has been adapted and taken further to relate to the Reformation more specifically using figures from everyday life, rather than allegorical ones, figures who would be likely to meet each other on a regular basis and possibly exchange views: 'Die münch vnd betler seindt nit seltzam gest/ sy kommen über tag ainem inß hauß' (G34, Aii^r). At the start of such dialogues the interlocutors are almost on neutral ground, but not quite. The caller does not necessarily have the disadvantage (e.g. Sachs's Schuhmacher (G72), Rychssner's Weber (G70)). Neutral ground does not mean fairness in discussion anyway (cf. Senger 1986, 56–57), especially as it is not usually the

location for long, as the interlocutors often move into the house, perhaps to sit at the table, as some of the title-page woodcuts suggest.²⁰ Matthias Senger (1986, 60) states that there are cases where 'die Dialoge in Räumlichkeiten stattfinden, die in einer festeren Bindung an einen der Dialogpartner stehen', so the interlocutors ought to appear at their most natural. This can be used for defamatory or for laudatory purposes by the author, and it can be revealing of the way in which people, such as clerics, really live. It is again a polemical feature; mimesis works in a prejudiced manner. Senger (1986, 62) focuses on Sachs as a promoter of this practice.

Examples of such dialogues are those where one interlocutor, such as a mendicant friar, knocks at the other interlocutor's door, usually a hard-working artisan, and a discussion of contemporary concerns and polemics develops out of the introductory 'business' conversation. The visitor is usually invited into the house, perhaps for a meal, as is the case with Staygmayer's dialogue between the Bäcker and the Mönch (G86, Aii^r) where the monk is doing his rounds gathering Easter eggs.

In the 'Löffelmacher and Barfüsser' dialogue, the contrast between two types of reception at the doorstep is illustrated. The Barfüsser, who discusses begging and religious orders with the Löffelmacher, receives a fairly friendly welcome. Towards the end of the conversation they are joined by a second friar who was chased from a house by a peasant woman with a broom when he begged for some cheese (G34, Diii^r). These different scenes are clearly illustrated in the title-page woodcut. The first friar perhaps has a more open attitude to his order and its problems, as he demonstrates throughout the

²⁰E.g. the 'Löffelmacher and Barfüsser' dialogue (G34), Sachs's *Dialogus [...] den Geytz [...] betreffend* (G74), although in Sachs's other dialogues (G72, G73, G75) the woodcuts show at least one of the interlocutors remaining in the doorway, though this can just be illustrating their arrival.

conversation that he is willing to criticise his order and its practices. The peasant woman probably did not give the other friar a chance to do this before chasing him away. Perhaps this reflects badly on her as well as on the friars who beg and expect to receive food from the peasants and artisans; the Löffelmacher shows a more friendly attitude and a willingness to discuss, explain, and listen. The peasant woman may have been afraid of the friar attacking her, as Peter, in Sachs's dialogue *Von den Scheinwercken der Gaystlichen*, suggests happens: 'Irer [i.e. the friars'] keüschait werden die pewrin wol gewar/ wan die münch keß sameln' (G73, 83). Staygmayer's Bäcker is also willing to discuss and to invite the monk into his house, showing a readiness to listen as well as to explain and argue.

All four of Hans Sachs's dialogues are threshold dialogues, where visitors come to the house of one of the interlocutors on business or a social visit. In the 'Chorherr and Schuhmacher' dialogue (G72) the Schuhmacher returns the Chorherr's slippers, in the *Von den Scheinwercken der Gaystlichen* dialogue (G73) the friars are begging for candles, in the *Dialogus [...] den geyt: [...] betreffend Romanus* visits the Reichenburger, which the host says has not happened for three years (G74, 98); in the 'Lutherisch and Evangelisch' dialogue (G75) Hans calls at Peter's house on his way to hear a sermon, then Peter's father-in-law Meister Ulrich appears as well. As Gerald Seufert (1974, 176) points out in the commentary to the Reclam edition of Sachs's dialogues, 'Das Gespräch entwickelt sich natürlich aus dem Beruf oder dem Charakter der sprechenden Personen', something which he sees as a closer link to reality than is found in other dialogues, though I would dispute this claim; there are many other dialogues which portray discussion of religious issues as a development of business or social conversation, though perhaps not in such a skilled way as

Sachs's.²¹

PUBLIC SETTING

Although the above survey has mainly dealt with private discussion, and the need for privacy, the public setting for dialogues is also of importance. As Jürgen Kampe (1997, 119 including footnote 218) suggests, the writing of a dialogue gives advice for discussion in the public domain, for the common good (e.g. 'Grimmetal' (G39), 'Schöpfer and Schabenhut' (G43)).²²

There are many non-literary precedents for public discussion. For example, the clerics Wolfgang Capito and Matthias Zell wished to organise a public debate in Strasbourg in 1523 after having been accused of heresy:

[sie haben] mit einander sich entschlossen, uff einen gemeinen platz entgegen dem Priester ire rede zu beschirmen und von im underwisen zu werden, ob sy geirt [...] so sie es tütsch vor menniglicher^r üßgesagt, wollen sie es auch vor menniglichen und uff offenem platz beschirmen.

(Kastner, ed., 1994, 148 entry 52c)

The exact location is not stated, but it is clear that the clerics wished the disputation to be heard so that their arguments were known and probably also in order to gain support from the audience.

Aleander also tells of arguments in public about Luther: 'und so groß ist die Verehrung dieser Schurken für Luther, daß einige in öffentlicher Disputation mit einem Spanier vor allem Volke auf dem Markte zu sagen wagten, daß Luther ohne Sünde sei und nie geirrt habe' (Kalkoff, ed., 1886, 34).

²¹Cf. Senger (1986, 60).

²²Cf. Gengenbach, *Von drien Christen*, where we are told the pamphlet is about 'ein schöne Tysch red so by vnß drien frembden mä^enneren von jedes gelouben in vnser stat Sambienß in dem würtzhauß zû dem helgen geist geschâhen ist' (A1^v). On the title page there is a woodcut of the three (a Romanist, a Bohemian and a Turk) sitting together.

Literary dialogues are often set in public situations, and this mirrors the praxis of debate and discussion in real life; it occurred where people met in the street, at work, for social occasions, and also more formally in academic disputations and town colloquies. Two of the main settings used are the inn and the street.

a) The inn

One of the most common public settings used in the dialogue is the inn. Hans Peyer (1987, 254) points out that 'Taverne, Herberge und Gasthaus als öffentliche Plätze, wo Fremde abstiegen und mit Einheimischen zusammentrafen, waren naturgemäß nicht nur Orte des Austausches von Neuigkeiten und Handelswaren, sondern auch Gelegenheiten für Gespräche, Abmachungen und selbst Verschwörungen'.²³ This was significant during the Reformation period: 'in vielen Städten spielten die Wirtshäuser während der Reformation die Rolle von meinungsbildenden Parteilokalen' (ibid., 257). Contemporary accounts tell of ordinary folk discussing religious issues in the inn, this one occurring in the Strasbourg area in December 1524: 'do [in Lampertheim] sey der Schnider und andere im wurtzhüß gesessen und vilerlei red getriben, wie die Pfaffen sie bissher beschißen, und hin und wider red verlossen, und khein unwill zwischen ihnen gewesen, also heimgangen' (Kastner, ed., 1994, 158–59, entry 52w).

In the English situation, 'one of the charges pressed against the alehouse during this period [1500–1660] with particular force was that it was a hive of religious nonconformity' (Clark 1983, 157). Conventicles were held: 'Robert Bigott, a Beverley tippler, was charged in 1554 with railing against the mass and

²³Cf. Clark (1983, 66).

drawing other heretics to his house' (ibid., 157).²⁴ Inns and private houses were generally preferred by Protestants. The Reformation influenced measures taken against inns in terms of matters such as discipline. Robert Scribner, in the article 'Heterodoxy, literacy and print in the early German Reformation' (1994b, 262), states, 'public opinion of sociability' was formed in inns, 'places where shrewd politicians kept watch and whose emerging expressions of opinion they neglected to their peril'.²⁵

An example of discussion in inns in a contemporary literary work is found in the preface to the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* (1587) where it is stated that the author has compiled the text

Nach dem nun viel Jar her ein gemeine vnd grosse Sag in Teutschlandt von Doct. Johannes Fausti/ deß weitbeschreyten Zauberers vnd Schwartzkünstlers mancherley Abenthewren gewesen/ vnd allenthalbe ein grosse nachfrage nach gedachtes Fausti Historia bey den Gastungen vnd Gesellschafften geschicht.

(Füssel and Kreutzer, eds, 1988, 5)

The exchange of news and wonders, here also presented as a normal procedure, is also mentioned in many dialogues, such as Stanberger's dialogue between the Bauer and St. Peter, where the Bauer says 'wol vil höre ich von dem glauben in weinheusern da vnd dort' (G85, Aiiii^r).²⁶

Künast (1997, 129–30) points out that 'Gast- und Wirtshäuser waren ganz offensichtlich als Orte mit großem Publikumsverkehr nicht nur für den Vertrieb von Kleinliteratur interessant, sondern auch für die respektablen Buchführer'. The marketability of works could be tested in inns through reading them out, summarising, or singing songs, if they were the products to be sold. Books

²⁴Peyer (1987, 254) tells us that in Germany in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there were pronouncements banning 'aufrührerische Gespräche' in taverns.

²⁵Cf. Otten (1993, 158) on inns, the marketplace, and the relevance of what is discussed there for Sachs's dialogues.

²⁶Cf. Sachs, 'Chorherr and Schuhmacher' (G72, 63). Scribner (1981, 68) points out that 'traditionell sind Gerücht und Geschwätz im Wirtshaus zu Hause'.

were also sold in inns, as the Augsburg printer Anton Sorg's catalogue and advertisement of 1483 indicates: 'wäre yemants hie der da gute teutsche bücher mit diser geschrift gedruckt kauffen wölte der mag sich fügen in die herberg als vnden an diser zetel verzeichnet ist'.²⁷

Urbanus Rhegius, the presumed author of *Argument dises biechleins*, which includes the 'Hessus and Luther' dialogue (G67), tells us at the end of the first section of his pamphlet

ich bin nit wol bey mir selbs gewesen/ da ich das biechle gemacht hab/
dar zů bin ich vnder den truncken pauren gesessen inn dem wirtzhauß
hatt mir der gefewret Elsesser das hirn verruckt. Wann ich aber
vßgeschlaffen hab/ so will ich geschickt sein.

(G67, Fi^r)

It is unclear whether the dialogue which follows this was also written in the inn, or if the comment just applies to the first half of the pamphlet. We are told at the start of the dialogue that the other part was written a few months before (*ibid.*, Fi^v), and this must be the case if the dating is to be believed, as it is dated 6 January 1521, Zeringen in Breisgau, and the Diet of Worms, after which Luther speaks to Hessus in the dialogue, was between January and May 1521. Rhegius apologises if the arguments in the dialogue are 'lam/ vnkrefftig' (*ibid.*, Fi^r) because of where he wrote the pamphlet.

In the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue, which takes place in an inn, the first part of the conversation deals with greetings and ordering food and drink, and the main theme of discussion does not begin to develop fully until the Jude produces a broadsheet with a woodcut illustration depicting 'Christ the Cornerstone' which he would like the Christ to explain for him (G37; ill. 3). The inn provides a means of leading into the main theme of discussion by way of those present, the chance meeting with others with whom one can discuss. It is

²⁷Cited from the 'Verlagskatalog vom Jahre 1483' of Anton Sorg (Heger, ed., 1975, 440).

more than a location: it provides a reason for debate and can also help set up the polemics of the debate: 'das Wirtschaftshaus, Ort der Rast und der Stärkung für die wandernden Handwerker und Bauern, ist für den Geistlichen und für den Mönch ein Ort des Müßiggangs; das Brettspiel charakterisiert ihr ungeistliches Leben' (Beyer 1994, 53).²⁸

Alehouses, at least in England, were situated in towns, and by the early seventeenth century, also along the main trading routes, in woods, and 'in all but the smallest villages' (Clark 1983, 72). Such locations are opportune for the travelling Christ and the Jude to meet. In the 'Grimmetal' dialogue a variety of representatives comes together: the Bauer is on a pilgrimage to Grimmetal, the Handwerksmann on his way home from the fair in Frankfurt, and a Mönch and a Pfaffe are also present. The setting allows the author to bring these various representatives together to draw in all aspects of the problem he wishes to discuss. The Handwerksmann describes in the introduction how he arrived in a village and went to the inn for a drink. The Pfaffe and the Mönch were already seated there, playing a board game, which the Handwerksmann describes as 'der Pfaffen vnd Münichen studium vnd yr Bibel lesen' (G39, 179).²⁹ This is contrasted with the generous nature of the Handwerksmann, who offers to buy the Bauer a drink when he enters the inn. The Bauer's rejection of alcohol, because he is on a pilgrimage, introduces the main topics of discussion, and means that there is a direct link between the location and the subject of discussion, showing that the location is central to the dialogue, not merely coincidental.

The public nature of discussion in the inn is evident in the 'Grimmetal' dialogue both at the start and the end. We are told that the Pfaffe and the

²⁸Cf. Senger (1986, 56).

²⁹Cf. Senger (1986, 58) on the significance of the inn as a location for different parties; Clark (1983, 154) on gaming in inns.

Mönch heard the other two discussing pilgrimage and therefore asked the Bauer about his experiences (*ibid.*). Towards the end of the dialogue the Handwerksmann turns to address a wider audience, suggesting that there were others in the inn listening to the conversation, though his remarks are similar to those often addressed to individual interlocutors also. The Pfaffe is the one who remarks that ‘das gantz haußvol tzû hört’ and that this publicity will increase the scandal and shame brought upon the clerics (*ibid.*, 196).

The dialogue between Schöpfer and Schabenhut is set in an inn (G43). In the first part of the dialogue, the Wirt and Schöpfer discuss how they are going to persuade Schabenhut to change his mind regarding religious matters. The Wirt has said that Schabenhut and his friends had been discussing the pope and Luther until late at night, again portraying the inn as a normal place for discussion and the public nature of discussion there. The Wirt has already tried to talk to Schabenhut and could not persuade him. He wants Schöpfer to try because he thinks he will have more success: ‘lyeber so kumm auch/ dann du waist am basten mit im zû arguierren’ (G43, Ai^v). The Wirt addresses a large company of people, stating the intention of the evening to convert Peter to Lutheranism (*ibid.*, Ai^v–Aii^f). The interlocutors meet later in the evening when the Wirt is expecting Peter Schabenhut to appear anyway.³⁰

In the *Entschuldigung des Adels zû Francken*, ‘Cuntz Frenckel vnd der Marckhanns/ zwen botten’ meet near Nuremberg, as they are delivering letters, Marckhanns from ‘Köln oder Perlyn’ to the Imperial Regiment and Cuntz from ‘Mergentheim’ to the Kammergericht (G30, Ai^v). As they have been travelling around the country they have news from various places, and can exchange information. To this end Cuntz asks Marckhanns to tell him about the events concerning the Franconian nobility in Schweinfurt, because he

³⁰Cf. Senger (1986, 58) on spontaneous and planned or foreseen discussions in the inn.

himself is from Franconia, so wants to know what is going on there. As Cuntz says, 'ich hab aber jungst etlich des adels zû Mergentheim in dem wirtßhauß bey meinem junckherrn vil anders von der sachen hörn reden' (ibid.). This suggests that it is not just the peasants, travellers and artisans who frequent inns and discuss ideas there, but also the nobility, though Clark (1983, 125 and 128) points out, 'the great mass of the tippler's regular customers came from lower down the social hierarchy': these were 'principally craftsmen, labourers and servants'. Cuntz's presence shows the mixture of people possible in the tavern. The same is true in the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue or the 'Grimmetal' text. The servant in the inn, whether employed there as in the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue, travelling alone, as Cuntz, or employed by a visitor to the inn, can therefore play a crucial role in the spread of ideas, even as a silent third party to discussion as Cuntz seems to have been here; later in the dialogue, after Marckhanns tells Cuntz he is a good speaker, and must have been a 'Procurator an den gerichtten', Cuntz tells us that he is a 'verdorbner redner/ darach wurde ich ein Pedel/ zuletzt ein Pedester oder fußpot/ also hat sich mein sach gepessert hinter sich wie ein krebs geet' (G30, Biii^r). In this way his rhetorical and pedagogical skills are justified. The fact that Marckhanns and Cuntz have come from different parts of the country — the north and the south — shows how ideas spread over a wide area, not just within towns or regions (cf. Scribner 1981, 69).

The connections and relationships between ruling classes, or at least more powerful ones, and the common man are seen clearly in this text. It shows at least one way in which ideas can spread between different social groups. This can also involve the innkeeper figure, as is seen in the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue where the Wirt is taught by a university-educated Christian (G37, Ai^v). The landlord plays an important role in activities in his inn, as was

evident in the 'Schöpfer and Schabenhut' dialogue:

In der Neufassung [der Landsatzung von 1498 für den St. Galler Klosterstaat] von 1525, die nicht zufälligerweise gerade in das Bauernkriegsjahr fiel, erhielten die Wirte den zusätzlichen Auftrag, allem "ungeschickten" Reden und Handeln ohne Rücksicht nachzufragen und es der Herrschaft zu melden.

(Peyer 1987, 255–56)³¹

The significance of the inn as a setting for Robert Scribner's categories of public opinion formation is clear. The mix of social and educational levels of interlocutors from different locations is evident in the inn, though it is also a place where locals meet to gossip, so it enables several levels of opinion formation at the same time and in the same place.

b) The street

Dialogues set in the street or on the road are fairly common, giving rise to spontaneous discussions resulting from chance meetings. An early example of this would be the dialogue between Simon Hesus and Luther at Worms, around the time of the Reichstag in 1521, first written in Latin. The conversation results because Hesus has wanted to talk to Luther for a while, but has not had an opportunity. His chance sighting of Luther as he is telling this in the opening lines of the dialogue gives him the possibility of catching Luther, quizzing him, and discussing with him. It is as if a stroke of fate has given Hesus this opportunity. According to Virginia Cox (1992, 13), a chance meeting on a street corner was a feature of Classical Greek dialogues, whereas Roman ones were more likely to be set in a patrician villa and be more exclusive.

³¹While his wife, children and servants [...] tended to the customers, the alehouse-keeper did his best, when he was home, to entertain the company, perhaps telling folk-tales or stories or treating clients with free drink' (Clark 1983, 85).

There are not only literary precedents for such settings. According to Bernd Hamm (1996, 185) amongst others, 'sie [artisans] diskutierten darüber [Lutheran teaching] auf den Straßen und in den Wirtshäusern, sie bedrängten polemisch mit Wort und Tat den altgläubigen Klerus, besonders die Mönche, und verlangten nach einer Veränderung des Gottesdienstes'.

Peter Blickle (1992, 16–17) describes a discussion between a cleric and a layman, showing that people were willing to speak out in public against what they perceived as wrongly held views.

On Corpus Christi Day in 1523, Dr. Lorenz, parish priest at the Großmünster in Zurich, became involved in a revealing argument in the village of Zollikon. After Lorenz's sermon, an old, bearded fellow approached him and proclaimed "with stinging, harsh, and intolerable words" that he, Lorenz, "has preached them lies and not the truth." In the course of the dispute the "peasant" revealed that he did not agree with Lorenz's view of the Eucharist. Finally, he brusquely declared that he would only continue going to the Lord's meal if it were offered "to him ... in both forms of body and blood."

The priest later meets another figure who reproaches him again for his attitude to the sacrament of the altar, and accuses him of not using Scripture to derive his teaching (ibid., 17). Such arguments are reminiscent of attempts to defeat priests in dialogues (cf. Chapter 2).

The everyday nature of a conversation between strangers on the road is highlighted by Wolfgang Zierer in his dialogue between the Landesknecht and the Predigermönch: 'die zwen haben gar mangerlay mit ain ander geredt/ als man dann pfligt zû thon wann man über land zeücht' (G95, Ai^v). As Senger (1986, 56–57) points out, the open road, or street, begins as a neutral location, but with the quick characterisation of the interlocutors, this is no longer the case. I would suggest that especially for the likes of Dominican friars and other mendicants or preachers, the road is not a neutral location, as the fact that a Franciscan is out begging for food, or that Dominicans are walking from town

to town to preach can be used as a negative point against them because these are activities and lifestyles which are seen as inherently wrong by the author. This is seen in Zierer's dialogue between the Landesknecht and the Predigermönch (G95).

The location is of course a public one, and therefore can give rise to any possible combination of interlocutors who meet by chance. In *Eyn Dialogus wider heilig Vatter Bapst Adrianus ein geritten ist Zu Rom* the Abt and the Kurtisan are the main interlocutors, but they are joined in their discussion by a devil figure who came across the field towards them (G35, Aiii^v). The possibility of the combination of everyday characters likely to meet and allegorical or supernatural ones is clear here, though the devil figure is dressed as a Dominican friar, so is really portrayed as an everyday figure also in a polemical and satirical manner. Christ himself appears as an interlocutor in the dialogue between Christus and Christianus where the two meet on the road as Christ travels from Regensburg and other towns out of which he has been chased. He has to flee to Egypt once again (G13, A3^r). He describes his presence as a similar situation to that of his appearance to two disciples on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24. 13–35), thus connecting the contemporary situation to that of biblical times. Secrecy is sought in this situation also so Christianus advises Christ, 'tritt vor hier vnder/ daß vns ja niemandts sehe/ noch höre/ nun sag an' (ibid., A3^v). Christ has been chased away and is not wanted, so it is better if the two are not seen speaking to each other. They watch Duke Ferdinand, bishops and princes riding past.

This location is used predominantly for the meeting of unacquainted interlocutors and for chance discussions. As with the inn, it gives the opportunity for the author to develop a conversation between interlocutors from different backgrounds. The setting is public, but the conversation may be

as private as in a house if it is not overheard.

NO SETTING

There are several dialogues which do not set the conversation in a particular context, but these still contribute to the picture of the interaction of discussion patterns and dialogue. Hieronymus Dungersheim's *Verlegung yn weyse eynes Dialogi/ des auffrurischen ketzerischen buhleins vom fleyschessen am freytag* of 1527, which is anti-reform, sets out its agenda in the prologue, so the dialogue itself can launch straight into a serious discussion of the main issue (G24). Dungersheim takes a no-nonsense approach to the matter. He reflects this also in his choice of interlocutors: they are labelled 'Ketzer' and 'Christe', so are not named or given a social status; their status is purely determined by confessional adherence. The prologue, along with the opening passages of the dialogue, determines the tone and aims and does away with any need for a setting; the subject is more important than the interlocutors or the setting. The more abstract tone perhaps highlights Dungersheim's educational point of view as well as his confessional one in regarding religious issues as worthy only of serious discussion by clerics and other educated people.

A similar situation is found in Johannes Eckart's *Ain Dialogus zwischenn Doctor Martin Luthers Augustiner vnd Joann Eckartz pfarher zů Bobenhausen/ Augspurger Bistumbs/ Christum das Höchst goldtrain opfer der heyligen Meß betreffent* (G26). Once again, the prologue allows Eckart to explain his intentions and to launch his attack against Luther before he permits the interlocutor 'Luther' to reply. This immediately puts 'Luther' at a disadvantage, as he has no chance against the author-interlocutor in the argument and is instantly

required to defend himself against the accusations. The attack and defence grow from the prologue into the dialogue. It is not only anti-reform dialogues which follow this pattern. In his *Dialogus. Ein hüpsche disputation/ Die Christus hat mit Adam thon*, Utz Eckstein, a Swiss cleric, addresses his public in a prologue, introduces the subject of discussion here, and then begins the dialogue by dealing straight away with the issues he wishes to debate and teach (G29). A similar set-up, particularly to the Dungersheim and Eckart dialogues, is found in Hubmaier's dialogue between himself and Zwingli about baptism (G46). Hubmaier also uses the prologue to set out his agenda against Zwingli, putting his opponent at a disadvantage from the outset, but enabling the dialogue to deal with the main issues straight away. Zwingli must defend himself against the accusations from Hubmaier, and really has no chance against the author-interlocutor. Dialogues such as these show the importance of the prologue, where one exists, as part of the pamphlet's overall argumentation, especially where a prologue leads directly into the dialogue.

These are dialogues between learned interlocutors and theologians for the most part, and it is not unlikely that the model for such dialogues was not only the humanist dialogue but also the academic disputation, something which will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

One dialogue with no circumstantial evidence concerning setting or interlocutors, save that they are artisans, is *Ein trostliche disputation/ auff frag vnd antwort gestellet/ Von zweyen Handtwercksmennern* (G87). This so-called 'disputation' is catechetical in structure, is only introduced by the title page, and concentrates very much on the themes under discussion, not even mentioning what kind of work the artisans undertake. It is described in the title as 'question and answer'. The author is determined to convey the information in as structured a way as possible, and the dialogue form is really only a device to

divide the text into sections, each dealing with a different facet, and guiding the reader (and questioning interlocutor) through the subject of 'faith' and its various aspects, although the fact that the interlocutors are described as artisans does indicate that the author feels that such people are justified in discussing religious concerns in such a serious manner and are able to do so. Such evidence, however, does not mean to suggest that these are the 'serious' dialogues, and situational ones are not; there is simply a different approach to the subject and the dialogue form, and perhaps a difference in target audience. The interlocutors of the situational dialogues tend to be taken from everyday life, at least as far as designation is concerned. The dialogues without setting are not humourless; indeed, there is satire aplenty in the likes of the Hubmaier dialogue which aims to defame Zwingli at every opportunity.

It should be noted that most of the authors of the dialogues described in this section identify themselves, and all are clerics, or have a theological background. Their approach to the dialogue genre seems to be different from that of others, though there are clerics who write other types of dialogue. These authors feel that they are taking part in a different level of theological debate, between each other — clerics, university-educated men — rather than primarily addressing the wider public. It is similar to the Reuchlin Affair and the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* in this way, in that the debate and controversy are between known individuals. The Reformation matters of course are more than a debate between intellectuals, though it is regarded as beginning as such, and the theologians obviously realised this, but they are also continuing the traditional form of polemic and personal attack found in pre-Reformation controversies.

There is a different context for debate and the transmission of ideas in these dialogues. Intentions are different in dialogues which include a setting,

especially an everyday one, where the author wishes to set the religious debate in a different context. This means that similar matters discussed in these different ways have different connotations and implications, as the setting and therefore slant of the message is different, effecting a different way of thinking and type of discussion and debate.

CONCLUSIONS

Dialogues reflect and influence a variety of patterns of discussion as is seen in the comparison with examples from other contemporary accounts and sources. The use of a setting for the dialogue conversation introduces a different type of dissemination and transmission from one without. Setting can introduce formal or informal discussions, though the locations do tend to be informal, and sometimes polemical, and therefore are central to the message of the dialogue.

Dialogues depict the formation of public opinion at a local and individual level, portraying face-to-face encounters. The variety of interlocutors in different settings shows the interaction of social and educational levels in influencing each other and debating together. Public and private spheres of life interact, with ideas being transmitted within and between each, whether ideas are brought into the private or the public sphere, or are contained within one or the other. The use of interlocutors from different backgrounds, carrying out their everyday business, aids the portrayal of this interaction.

Although private discussions are depicted, the dialogue is primarily a public genre, as it is intent on spreading the word to others both internally and externally. In Sachs's 'Chorherr and Schuhmacher' dialogue the Chorherr

criticises the Lutherans for discussing religion everywhere: 'Solch worth treibenn jr im wirtzhauß/ am marckt/ vnd vberal/ wie die narren/ vnd gehört nit an solch ort' (G72, 63).³² The Schuhmacher replies that Scripture instructs people to preach Christ's message from the rooftops. Discussions which have a location generally at least begin in a public encounter, as this is where people tend to meet each other anyway, even if the discussion between the individuals is a private affair. Externally, the relationship between author and addressee is also public, as the ideas contained in the pamphlet are to be made known and spread, both through the pamphlet itself, and subsequently as a result of the acquired knowledge. This is reflected within several dialogue situations where the publicising of the ideas or the publication of a text of the conversation is discussed by the interlocutors, showing their awareness of the need for the transmission of the message to as wide an audience as possible.

The public nature of a location indicates the public nature of the subject, and the possibility and probability that others will overhear the discussion. The pamphlet as an object, and sometimes the transmission of its content, are also of a public nature. This means that an overheard conversation is justified as a public piece of information, as it illustrates the universality of the topics under discussion. A preacher, or any type of educated author, overhearing a conversation and writing it down, not in the vein of a satirical eavesdropper, but in the likes of Distelmaier's dialogues (G22 and G23), indicates that the author wishes his audience to realise, or at least believe, that it is all levels of society and all types of people who discuss religious issues, and that all hold and

³²Cf. Kampe (1997, 182): 'dabei ist das Verlassen der Kirche und das Miteinanderreden oder Predigen direkt vor den anderen Gemeindemitgliedern eigentlich die Pflicht eines jeden *pastor bonus*'.

are entitled to an opinion on these subjects, and that others should learn from these fictional interlocutors.

The genre adopts real-life praxis as its markers and shows the dialogue to be a *Reformation* dialogue, no longer simply a humanist dialogue, or a satirical dialogue, but one following the conventions of discussion in this age, reflecting on the practice of discussion and debate in general, the way in which it occurs and on its powers of persuasion.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISPUTATION AND THE LITERARY DIALOGUE

Both university and town disputations played a key role in the introduction of reforming measures in many German cities, especially in the mid 1520s (Cameron 1991, 237–39). In a similar way to the private and semi-public discussions already dealt with, the disputations invite study and comparison with literary dialogues, not only as prototypes for dialogue texts, but also as further evidence of the interaction of oral and written forms of communication and of ways in which the public was influenced by different media. The disputation is a public genre, by its very nature open to scrutiny.

One aspect of this is the way in which dialogue pamphlets reflect disputation practices of the time, and the extent to which the texts incorporate methodology and conventions of academic disputations and religious colloquies of the early 1520s. A few dialogues are set out as formal disputations, or are accounts and satires of those which took place. Others mention disputations and disputation practice. As Peter Matheson (1998, 56–57) states, the village convocation, civic disputation and the imperial diets provided ‘the necessary focus’ for the spread of ideas and the formation of public opinion. For a study of the praxis of discussion, such aspects of the dialogues must be considered alongside reflections of everyday discussion found in the dialogues. Other dialogues emulate disputations and maybe even relate to specific disputations which took place in towns in the early Reformation.

The disputation was one of the central methodologies of university training in the fifteenth century (Schoeck 1990, 5). There were two main types: the *disputationes ordinariae* which were held within courses throughout the

academic year, and the *disputationes de quodlibet* which were extra-curricular, usually held before Christmas and Easter and in which a master would dispute on any question proposed to him. Such practices continued through the sixteenth century, and in some cases into the seventeenth (*ibid.*, 174).¹

It [disputation/dialogue] was a literary genre that readily appealed to academics, for whom the disputation — as a regular feature of the curriculum, as a quodlibetal exercise, or as a requirement for the award of higher degrees — was a routine means of both teaching and research.

(Bagchi 1991, 190)²

The form and intentions of the medieval disputation were clearly set out: ‘as practised by the medieval university, the disputation was a means whereby, through argument and counter-argument, a commonly acceptable truth might be reached’ (Jackson 1989, 123).

Ninna Jørgensen (1988, 61) sees a connection between university disputation practices and the humanist Latin satire, both containing attacks on the education and morals of opponents, and both including the phenomenon of argument between such parties altogether:

Darüber hinaus kann aber auch der Umstand, daß die Streitfragen anfangs als Universitätsdisputationen ausgetragen wurden, zu der akademischen (oder studentikosen) Schmähhform beigetragen haben. Nach Paul Merker vereinigen sich in der berühmtesten dieser lateinischen prolutherischen Satiren, dem mehrmals erwähnten *Eccius dedolatus*, Elemente der akademischen *Depositio*, der antiken Komödie und des heimatlichen deutschen Fastnachtspiels.³

¹See Moeller (1970, 302n135) for literature on the history of disputations, and p. 307 where he outlines the importance of disputation practice in medieval university education and labels it ‘die repräsentative Ausdrucksform dieser Geistigkeit’.

²‘It is no small thing that the controversialists of the sixteenth century — not only the opponents of Luther, like Eck, but Luther himself and his supporters — were all schooled in the dialectics of scholasticism and often made use of its forms [e.g. disputations]’ (Schoeck 1990, 178).

³Jørgensen is mainly discussing dialogues. In a footnote (1) she describes the ‘*depositio*’ as a medieval university and cathedral practice which found its way into carnival culture. The Merker reference is to Merker, P. 1923. *Der Verfasser des Eccius dedolatus und anderer Reformationsdialoge*, Halle/S., 232. Cf. Balzer (1973, 111) on the possible imitation of disputation practices in dialogues.

The influence of university disputations on town colloquies is clear, and they must also have had a direct effect on dialogues; apart from the fact that many dialogue authors were university-educated, university and theological disputations, especially the famous Leipzig Disputation of 1519, were landmark events of the period, often mentioned in pamphlets, usually to highlight Luther's supposed superiority in knowledge and ability to debate over Eck and other Catholic theologians, and their proceedings would have been known to a large number of educated authors.⁴

Vielleicht die deutlichste Manifestation dieser Gegebenheit — die Möglichkeit zur Schein- oder wirklichen Identifikation mit etwas Publiziertem — waren die öffentlichen Disputationen der unmittelbaren Reformationszeit. Auch die Gebildeten jener Zeit erachteten es als notwendig, das Publierte in der mündlichen Auseinandersetzung sinnmässig zu präzisieren.

(Schmidt 1977, 74)

As the Zurich Disputations of 1523 were the first town disputations or colloquies of the Reformation, these should be described briefly first of all. Bernd Moeller (1970 and 1974) discusses them at length. In the 1970 article, 'Zwingli's Disputationen. Studien zu den Anfängen der Kirchenbildung und des Synodalwesens im Protestantismus' (Part 1), he outlines the proceedings of the disputations themselves; the second article, of 1974, with the same title, deals with their effects on other religious disputations.

Moeller (1970, 306) says of the Zurich Disputation, 'Zu erwarten war ein Gespräch, eine Art "allgemeinen Palavers" über die aktuellen Glaubensfragen — das Stichwort "Disputation" fällt nicht'. However, by the time the Disputation began, 'offenbarte sich, daß die Veranstalter präzisere und entschiedener Absichten mit dem Gespräch verfolgten, als sie bisher zu

⁴E.g. 'Pfarrer and Schultheiß' (G7), 'Vater and Sohn' (G16).

erkennen gegeben hatten': the Disputation was to be about Zwingli's teaching, and objections to this were invited, the intention being to have the teaching accepted in the town and surrounding lands (Moeller 1970, 282). If Moeller's account (*ibid.*, 283–84) is to be believed, the Disputation was not particularly successful, and Zwingli's opposition completely unconvincing. The defeat was undeniable, with the Catholic parties more or less silenced from the start, though the theologian Johann Fabri put up a brave fight. The second Zurich Disputation came about as a result of the thought that practices as well as preaching should be changed, so '*es sei zweckmäßig, eine neue Disputation einzuberufen, auf der man anhand der Bibel beraten und beschließen sollte, wie man es hinfort mit Bildern und Messe halten solle*' (*ibid.*, 284). This was to fulfil God's will as laid out in Scripture, and to be a salvation for the Christian community (*ibid.*, 284–85). The Zurich Disputation of October 1523 had more of the character of an academic disputation than the January one, and the Catholic participants appeared even weaker than before, especially with the absence of Fabri (*ibid.*, 286–87).

ORGANISATION

The Zurich Disputations were ordered and organised by the town council, by secular authorities. This differs from the likes of the Leipzig Disputation which was an academic event, and the Baden Disputation which seems to have been organised by clerics. However, the Nuremberg Disputation was organised in a similar manner to the Zurich ones, with the town council played a leading role, though clerics (Osiander and Zwingli respectively) were of course closely involved in planning the proceedings: 'man

[las] aus der Zürcher Ankündigung zusätzlich heraus [...], daß Zwingli *spiritus rector* der Sache sei' (Moeller 1970, 278).⁵ Moeller (*ibid.*, 279) sees the appearance of Zwingli's list of articles or theses before the Disputation of January 1523 as a significant step, 'die als Grundlage des Gesprächs diesem den Charakter einer zünftigen Disputation geben und es eindeutiger, als das Ausschreiben erwarten ließ, unter ein evangelisches Vorzeichen und unter die geistige Führung Zwinglis stellen mußte'. However, the theses only appeared just before the start of the Disputation, so the opposition did not have much time to prepare its responses to the particular points raised.⁶

The disputation had moved out of the university and would now be presided over by a lay judge or a reformed clergyman, but still the organisation of proceedings made clear the academic basis for the form: there were articles as the 'materia disputandi', there were presidents for the debate, respondents in each party, and minute-takers: We are told in the case of the 1525 Nuremberg Disputation, 'ward auch instituirt alle form und maß ainer disputacion' (Pfeiffer 1968, 122).

Disputations are preplanned events, with a list of topics to be discussed known before the event, though perhaps not always with due notice being given to both sides. This differs from many literary dialogues, where the themes for discussion often arise from a casual and chance conversation rather than being set out before the event itself. However, there are preplanned dialogues, or those which contain preplanned sessions, and some have a list of articles for discussion, or section headings, such as is found on the title page of Wenzeslaus Linck's dialogue (G58) or in Weidensee and Fritzhans's first dialogue (G91, Ai^v). The themes of the dialogue are usually stated on the title

⁵See Strauss (1976, 174–76) for an outline of the Nuremberg Disputation.

⁶Moeller (1970, 306) describes Zwingli's enthusiasm for disputing, and the fact that this was 'ein durchlaufendes Motiv in seinem Werk'.

page anyway, so the reader, as with the participants in disputations, know the matters under discussion before the text or debate begins. This is different for the interlocutors in dialogues which are not preplanned, for they have no time to prepare their thoughts.

a) Superiority and hegemony

Bernd Moeller (1970, 306) points out that the 'Reformationsbewegung gerade in dem Disputationswesen ein ihr gemäÙes Ausdrucksmittel und eine erfolgversprechende Waffe im Kampf mit dem herkömmlichen Kirchtum fand'. In the same way the Reformation dialogue can be said to be an appropriate medium for expression of the reformers' ideas, though also those of a few Catholics, and an effective weapon, as it sets out ways in which the opposition is to be defeated, and success to be gained, and (generally) allows no place for any possible adherence to the beliefs of the opposition. The display of superiority, both in the disputations and in the dialogue texts, is an important contribution to the publicising, the conviction and the truth of whichever message is being promoted.

Superiority in organising the disputation, defining what is to be disputed, generally leads to victory in the disputation itself, as was evident[†] in Hamburg in 1528 where the reformers listed the articles to be debated (Moeller 1974, 307). In the c. 1525 dialogue *Concilium* (G27), Utz Eckstein introduces his polemics by means of the title page, a prologue, and the speeches of the Herold and the Weibel, or court official.⁷ The pamphlet already indicates from the title that it is related to a public and formal type of discussion. The situation is therefore clearly a prearranged one, as is the outcome, though the two officials should not be as biased as they obviously are. This is an example of the hegemony of

⁷Weibel is a 'Gerichtsdienner, Amtsbote, Polzeibediensteter, Sergeant' (Baufeld 1996, 244).

the reforming side: those who set the rules are biased. The Herbe in the Bossler dialogue (G5) are similarly biased, and are the ones who take over the debate and claim to turn it into a fair and worthwhile discussion rather than the worthless argument which preceded their intervention.

Utz Eckstein writes his dialogue *Concilium*⁸ in the form of a disputation between peasants and leading Catholic theologians, the former predictably winning the debate.⁹ This dialogue ‘[sollte] dem Badener Religionsgespräch als Programm und Prognostikon dienen’ (Vögelin 1882, 121), showing the potential interaction between pamphlet and event. Furthermore, ‘was Eckstein von der ersten Zürcher Disputation berichtet, ist Alles aus den Disputationsakten und dem “Gyrenrupfen” geschöpft. Die anschaulichen Züge aus der Badener Disputation gehen allerdings auf einen Augenzeugen zurück’ (ibid., 230).¹⁰

The rules used in *Concilium* are at the same time those of the peasant community and demonstrate adherence to God’s Word; these two elements are combined here, and are regarded as one and the same (Jørgensen 1938. 121). Jørgensen (ibid., 122) points out a further rule, that both sides are to be heard: ‘die Fiktion, die hier als einzige und vorbildliche “Rechtsgrundlage” für die Entscheidung in Religionsstreitigkeiten angeführt wird, ist direkt den Züricher Disputation nachgestaltet’. The themes for discussion are pre-set, and

⁸According to Vögelin (1882, 93n2) there were revisions of Eckstein’s *Concilium* and *Reichstag* dialogues in 1539 and a new print in 1592. He dates *Concilium* to late 1525 (see esp. 142–43). Cf. the hint at the end of *Concilium* about a peasants’ Reichstag, which Vögelin also says makes the extant edition of *Concilium* (at least the one he is using) a second edition because it mentions the second dialogue.

⁹See Moeller (1970, 317–18) on Zwingli’s and the evangelical understanding of a concilium and how such a gathering could be justified, as a gathering of clerics and laity, an institution which should administer the Christian truth. Thus several of the Roman Church’s concilia, if not all, could be said not to meet these criteria.

¹⁰For details of Eckstein’s role as a supporter of Zwingli, as cleric and theologian and his role in the Zurich Reformation, see Vögelin (1882, 225–61). Most of the details are for the period after 1526 when Eckstein’s life seems to be slightly better documented.

the combinations of disputants to debate each point also seem to be arranged in advance, as they are announced in turn by the Herold and Weibel. The opposition in the debate is clear even from the title page where we are told that 'Pur gegen Doctor sitzt', and the lists of disputants from each side are printed opposite each other. The peasants are guaranteed victory; the council is described on the title page as a 'Puren Rychßtag', so they would seem to be dominant. Eckstein's dialogues are all in verse, which detracts from the similarities to the disputations, and shows that a number of influences are at work in his writings.

Peter Blickle (1992, 43) discusses the Ilanz Disputation of 1526 which was organized by peasants, through the Three Unions. The disputation did not bring about any concrete results (cf. *ibid.*, 34–35). This suggests that Eckstein's text is perhaps not as fanciful as might be thought in terms of the use of peasants, though it would certainly have been an unusual situation. Further evidence is given in Caspar Güttel's dialogue *Wie Christlich vnd Euangelisch zů leben* by one interlocutor who reports that he heard two peasants disputing about whether the Gospel was true or not (G41, Hi^v). The superiority of the socially inferior interlocutor in the literary dialogue is a feature of the ideology of the time, which is not necessarily equated in real life and is not generally found in the disputation, though the Roman clerics do not have the authority there any more than in the dialogues.

b) Rules, sola scriptura

In Erhart Hegenwald's report of the first Zurich Disputation of January 1523, edited by Zwingli, the account of the intentions and conditions laid out by the magistracy illustrates the importance of rules and intentions in public debate and the effect these might have on the ethos of the city. The authorities

complain about the dissension which is rife. They invite any clergy who wish to speak to come to the Council to have their say, in German, and with the support of Scripture (Peters and Jackson, eds, 1972, 43–44). At the actual event, the mayor of Zurich reiterates these wishes, and states that

At this offer of Master Ulrich [Zwingli] [of justifying his views in public] the honorable Council at Zurich, desiring to stop the disturbance and dissension, has granted him permission to hold a public discussion in the German language before the Great Council at Zurich.

(ibid., 45)

The intention behind dialogue here is to clarify and pacify, to avoid further antagonism in the town, as well as to try to persuade people to support Zwingli, or at least not to attack him. The wish for peace and harmony is upheld also by the Chamberlain of the Bishop of Constance, showing agreement of intentions and rules, at least this far, on both sides (ibid., 45–46).

Rules were set out at the start of the Nuremberg Disputation of 1525. Both parties were under the protection of the Council, the presidents were to lead the discussion, only German was to be spoken, and clearly so that minutes could be taken. Answers must be brief and to the point, and, 'im Gegensatz zum überlieferten Zeremoniell der universitären Disputationen, in dem einleitend festgestellt wurde, daß man sich in den von der kirchlichen Lehre gezogenen Grenzen halten werde, proklamierte er [Christoph Scheurl] das "Schriftprinzip"' (Müller and Seebaß, eds, 1975, 505). Scripture was to be the judge: "'legt schrift neben schrift und concodirt sie, so habt ir den richter im haus und ist die sach schon gefunden'" (ibid.). This is also the sentiment expressed in the 1528 Hamburg Disputation: "'latet Gades wort den richter sin'" (Moeller 1974, 308).¹¹ As with literary dialogues, this is a polemical point,

¹¹Quoted from Lappenberg, J. M., ed., 1861 (1971). *Hamburgische Chroniken in niederdeutscher Sprache*, 529.

meaning that the debate is already won by the side which will promote Scripture as its particular weapon, though here the outcome might not be quite as clear-cut as in a fictional text (cf. Müller and Seebaß, eds, 1975, 505–06; Moeller 1974, 360). In medieval theological university disputations, the rules were centred round the necessity of remaining within the boundaries of Church teaching both in the disputation itself and the conclusions (Moeller 1970, 307–08). The Leipzig Disputation marked a departure from this with the claim that only Scripture revealed the truth (ibid., 310).

As Euan Cameron (1991, 238) notes,

these [disputations] were not real contests in which the decision was in doubt and the adjudicators really did not know where to turn; they were occasions stage-managed by governments — or significant factions within them — so as to give a public vindication for the decision to reform by demonstrating (according to the previously agreed criteria) that the reformers' ideas were indeed "provable by Scripture".¹²

Such events were instrumental in propelling a town to abandon old practices and bring in the new (ibid., 239), or perhaps to maintain the old and reject the new: the Catholics also stage-managed disputations, such as that of 1526 in Baden (cf. Blickle 1992, 86).

It is evident therefore that *sola scriptura* was as important a concept in the disputations as in the dialogues, as is to be expected (e.g. Seebaß 1975, 480; Moeller 1974, 360). Ozment (1975, 145) highlights this: the decree at the end of the first Zurich Disputation on 29 January 1523 declared that only that which could be defended by the Gospels and other Scripture should be preached.¹³ Furthermore, Zwingli was declared not to have been refuted by Scripture, therefore he won the debate, according to the criteria set out at the start and

¹²Cf. Ozment (1975, 125) on 'rigged disputations'.

¹³Cf. Moeller (1970, 277): 'für dieses Gespräch stand nur dies eine — nach Lage der Dinge freilich gewichtig genug — fest, daß in ihm Richtmaß für wahr und falsch die Hl. Schrift sein sollte'.

favoured by those in authority. Peter Blickle (1992, 42) describes the centrality of the Gospel as a guide for disputes in the Federal Ordinances (*Bundesordnung*) of the peasants of the upper Rhine and Upper Swabia:

the pastors of the same region or villages [*Flecken*] shall be called together with their Bibles, and they shall decide and settle the matter in accordance with the content of Holy Scripture and not in accordance with human discretion, in the presence of the common parishioners of the same localities.

This suggests not only that Scripture is recognised as the judge in a public debate, but also that events similar to disputations are to be held for the benefit of both clergy and the laity, the ordinary folk, to clarify gospel teaching. Whether the parishioners were able to distinguish between true and false teaching is another matter, as Blickle points out (*ibid.*, 43).

In *Das gyren rupffen*, which was inspired by the first Zurich Disputation (Lewis 1987, 124), the interlocutor Hans Haben tells Fabri that the point of Zwingli's speech at the Disputation was to teach from Scripture to reveal the truth (G44, biiii^r). The dialogue takes the debate one stage further, defeating Fabri again, and at the hands of artisans rather than a theologian like Zwingli. The debate is very much one-sided, with Fabri hardly being given the opportunity to speak, and there is no judge, adjudicator or chairman to preside over proceedings.

Ozment (1975, 146) sees the Zurich Disputation as introducing *sola scriptura* as a 'quasi-legal guideline' of the reformers. However, Scripture was seen as the authority and proof in dialogues long before this, and the ability to prove one's point using Scripture was the main key to success in a dialogue. Luther also stressed the importance of Scripture to prove his arguments in his disputations, such as in Leipzig in 1519.

c) Language

The town colloquies and disputations were in German, which was a move away from the Latin disputations of the university, as Moeller (1970, 305) points out:¹⁴ 'die "Zürcher Disputationen" waren Veranstaltungen ungewöhnlicher Art'; 'im Januar 1523 wurde in Zürich etwas wie eine "Erfindung" gemacht' (ibid., 303), though attempts were still made, especially with the use of terms such as 'Respondenten' and the listing of *materia disputandi*, to liken the event to an academic disputation, with the niveau and connotations that had (ibid., 304–05). There were cases where Latin was spoken and translations or interpretations were given, as in Hamburg, where the Dominican Rensborch began in Latin until a citizen complained that he should "'dudesch reden, dat se it mochten verston'". Rensborch replied in a manner reminiscent of Catholic dialogue interlocutors that, "'It behört sik nicht, in dudesch to disputierende vor den leien van den artikelen des gelouens, den [...] de rechte vorbeden't'" (Moeller 1974, 357).¹⁵ In Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt's *Dyalogus [...] Von dem grewlichen abgöttischen mißprauch/ des hochwirdigsten Sacraments Jesu Christi*, the Catholic interlocutor Gemser states that he wishes to speak Greek, 'Judisch' and Latin so that the peasant who is eavesdropping on the conversation cannot understand (G50, Bi^r). The other interlocutor, Victus, will not tolerate this, and asks Gemser to speak in German (ibid., Bi^v).¹⁶ As in the Reformation dialogues, the use of German helped to bring the message and the discussion of Reformation issues to a wider audience

¹⁴He notes also that in the Middle Ages German was expressly forbidden in university disputations (1970, 305n148).

¹⁵From Lappenberg, J. M., ed., 1861 (1971). *Hamburgische Chroniken in niederdeutscher Sprache*, 532ff..

¹⁶Language is an issue in both Karlstadt's dialogues (G50 and G51). Cf. Staygmayer's dialogue for a request to speak German in order to clarify the point (G86, Aiiii^v); this happens in many dialogues, and the use of 'deutsch' to mean 'plainly' is also important here. Cf. *Wegspreh gen Regensburg* for a discussion of the controversy over the use of German and Latin between clerics and laity (G90, biii^v–ci^r).

than would Latin texts or discussions. It is part of the ideology of the Reformation and the promotion of German as the language in which religious ideas should be discussed.

It is interesting that the rules for the proposed Constance Disputation of 1524 stated that the disputation was to be in German but that the Bible should be quoted in Latin translation, and Hebrew and Greek Bibles could also be quoted.¹⁷ In some dialogues the discussion is in German but Scripture and other sources will sometimes be quoted in Latin and maybe translated.¹⁸

This is one of the main achievements of the dialogue genre in German, as it illustrates by its very existence that the laity can and ought to discuss religious issues in German. The Catholic interlocutors, often clerics, do not see the issues as pertinent to the lay interlocutors, often poorly educated, and so prefer Latin which is a language incomprehensible to many of the laity, thus excluding them from debate. The distinction can also be made between an intellectual audience and a less educated one, as well as between clergy and laity, both in the shift in emphasis of the disputations and to an even greater extent in the ethos of the dialogues.

THEMES

The themes dealt with in the disputations are similar to those dealt with in literary dialogues, showing that the dialogues do indeed address issues which were seen as central to the problems of reform, and that these were points which were discussed openly.¹⁹ This is not really surprising, because many

¹⁷This could be because of the Catholic authorities in Constance (Moeller 1974, 246).

¹⁸E.g. Bossler (G5); 'Priester and Ritter' (G64); Karlstadt (G50).

¹⁹See, for example, the articles for the Nuremberg Disputation (Müller and Seebaß, eds, 1975,

dialogue authors could well have been among those present at such disputations, as well as of course being familiar with the issues of the day, either through such debates, everyday conversation, or reading about the events and issues. Bernd Moeller (1974, 358) remarks how general the themes of the disputations were, covering 'das Ganze des evangelisch-katholischen Gegensatzes'. He also notes that 'die Argumentationen ziemlich bald weitgehend standardisiert waren' (ibid., 359), which can certainly also be claimed for many of the dialogues.

Steven Ozment's description (1975, 145–46) of what was dealt with at the Zurich Disputation might also read as a list of themes dealt with in many dialogues:

It tested the scriptural basis of traditional doctrines and practices as detailed in advance by Zwingli's sixty-seven-article assessment, from the perspective of Scripture alone, of traditional assumptions about the pope, the Mass, intercession of saints, good works, merit, clerical property, mandatory fasting, holidays and pilgrimages, clerical dress, monastic orders, religious 'sects' and confraternities, the ban, the divine rights of the magistrates, prayer, confession, purgatory, and the priesthood.²⁰

As has already been seen with the Eckstein dialogues (G27 and G28) and *Das gyren rupffen* (G44), disputations themselves can also be themes of dialogues as well as more general inspirations in terms of methodology.

454–63).

²⁰Cf. Strauss (1976, 175–76).

INTERLOCUTORS AND DISPUTANTS

Disputations, almost without exception, involve educated disputants, almost always clerics, whereas the literary texts draw on other types of interlocutors too. These include the laity at various social levels as well as clerics, both highly stereotypical, something which may be possible in accounts of disputations, but not in the events themselves. In the dialogues there is often an inversion of values and perceptions, with the uneducated laymen appearing as theologically knowledgeable speakers while the clerics are often portrayed as ignorant.

Jørgensen (1988, 118) sees the portrayal of the peasant figure and his role in debate as particularly important in Eckstein's *Concilium* (G27), as the dialogue was written after the Peasants' War of 1525 and the peasant is still used as a symbolic figure of the ideal citizen. She states that the peasant figures with their typical *Fastnacht* names represent the evangelical preachers of the Baden Disputation such as Oekolampadius and Berchthold Haller. However, the first edition of the dialogue appeared before the Disputation, so this claim cannot be made for it, though evangelical preachers and theologians are still meant to be represented by the peasants, as the dialogue follows the pattern of the Zurich Disputations (ibid., 123; Vögelin 1882, 109; 122–23).

The use of the setting of the disputation, until now a domain of the educated, is symbolic of the way in which the common folk, here represented by the peasants, may now enter the Reformation debate. They have entered the location of the academic disputation, and triumphed there, so have conquered this domain which was previously inaccessible to them. They now have the right to debate religious issues in the same way as their educational superiors; what is more, they have right on their side, and will triumph, as they

are following the teaching of Christ more closely than the clergy, according to the author. As has already been seen in previous chapters, this is typical of the dialogue where the laity's right to read and discuss Scripture is expressed. The dialogue is therefore symbolic of the world to which everyone now has access, and of the new freedom associated with this.²¹

Both *Das gyren rupffen* (G44) and the Eckstein dialogues — *Concilium* (G27) and *Rychßtag* (G28) — use a series of speakers, at least on one side, which does not often happen in the literary dialogues, with the exception of the likes of *Die Luterisch Strebkatz* (G59), which is probably influenced more by the *Fastnachtspiel* tradition and its review style and verse form. The series of speakers may be similar to the style of debate in a disputation where there was often more than one speaker for each side.²² Dialogues which include known theologians such as Luther, Fabri and Zwingli as interlocutors are more reminiscent of disputations than other dialogues, as these are figures who did appear in disputations and were known for doing so. The fact that some dialogues, such as *Das gyren rupffen* (G44), were inspired by disputations and by writings resulting from disputations shows a conscious effort on the part of the author to continue the disputation debate with the disputants in another form, but one which is related to the original.

²¹Cf. Kampe (1997, 234).

²²See Eckstein's *Concilium* (G27, Bi^r) for similar images of Fabri in connection with the Zurich Disputation as in *Das gyren rupffen*.

TERMINOLOGY AND TYPE OF DISCUSSION

What is the significance of the use of the word 'Disputation'? 'Disputieren' seems to have a fairly general meaning in the dialogues, of debate, whether formal or not, though formal discussion is definitely referred to with this word.²³ Contemporary writers are not always precise with terminology and tend to use 'Gespräch', 'Disputation' and other similar terms interchangeably, as is evident in the case of the Baden Disputation of 1526: "ain collation, gspräch, verhör, underred oder disputation, wie man das nemen sol und mag" (Moeller 1974, 277).²⁴ Moeller (*ibid.*, 354) points out that the variation in terms is a result of the novelty of the events which did not have exact prototypes. He also suggests that there were regional variations in the terms used, 'Disputation' being the term always used in the Swiss towns, though from the second half of 1524 onwards, in the Empire, in places such as Nuremberg, Ulm and Göttingen.

'Disputation' seems to take on negative connotations of anger and conflict, and terms such as 'gespräch', with adjectives like 'fründlich' and 'briederlich' are used instead (*ibid.*). This is dated to the influence of the Edict of Burgos which banned 'disputations' and such meetings, so that contemporary figures also avoided this term as a result (*ibid.*, 355). Jürgen Kampe (1997, 80–99) discusses the relevance of different terms used in dialogue titles, including the use of adjectives such as 'freundlich'. He points out that 'Disputation' relates to dialectical argumentation which aims to prove a point and reach the truth (*ibid.*, 88). Moeller (1974, 356) claims it is important that the term 'Disputation'

²³Cf. Pfeiffer (1968, 283–84) for the use of 'dißputation' as general discussion; Arnold (1990, 78) for 'Disputation' used for academic disputations and towns' religious colloquies.

²⁴Cited from the 'Schreiben an Chur' of 23.3.1526, *Amtliche Sammlung der ältern eidgenössischen Abschiede*, IV 1a (1873), 870.

is used, at least by present-day writers, because 'es ging bei keinem dieser Gespräche nur um Diskussion, Meinungs austausch, Streit, sondern immer um Entscheidung'. The Strasbourg Council minutes note that some members, when wishing to resolve the issues of clerics becoming citizens, 'begern, daß ein tütsche disputation zwüschen in gehalten, damit die warheit an den tag komrn' (Kastner, ed., 1994, 303 entry 97h).

In the Nuremberg Disputation the process of argumentation was discussed, much as it might be in a dialogue text. The Franciscan Michael Fries complained that Andreas Osiander was directly criticising and tearing apart the comments of the Catholic Lienhard Ebner in his speeches, and this was not in keeping with the ethos of the 'friendly discussion' which the Council had claimed was the intention of the meeting: 'ein "Streitgespräch" wolle man nicht, da es zu nichts führe und vor die Universitäten gehöre' (Müller and Seebaß, eds, 1975, 509). As in many dialogues, amicability is seen as leading to progress and a satisfactory conclusion whereas antagonism will not benefit anyone. The complaint just disadvantaged the Catholic interlocutors further (ibid.). The Disputation apparently developed into a series of mini-sermons from each side, with some criticism by the respondent of the other speaker, but no discussion or exchange of ideas and debate (ibid., 510). The Catholics had complained beforehand that they did not want to participate because disputations about questions of faith were dangerous and useless in themselves (Moeller 1974, 260). In response to this the Nuremberg town council had tried to promote the colloquy to the town's religious houses as 'ein freuntliche cristliche unterred und gar kein disputacion' (ibid.; Müller and Seebaß, eds, 1975, 503). Similarly, the account of the disputation in the *Handlung eynes ersamen weysen rats zů Nürnberg* claims, 'Solt sich auch nyemandts behelfen auff kayserlich mandat; dann es solt kayn dysputacion sein, sondern ain freuntlich,

brüderlich, christlich gesprech und vergleychung des mißhelligen predigens, auffrur und entpörung zû vermeyden' (ibid., 516).²⁵

The manner of discussion is important to those organising the debate and to those taking part, indicating awareness of different levels and types of discussion, each having different intentions and implications. The comments concerning the Nuremberg situation suggest a perception of the disputation as something antagonistic. The 'prior zun predigern' said in his speech at the Nuremberg Disputation that he did not realise this was to be a friendly Christian discussion, but thought it was a disputation (ibid., 518), and the 'gardian zû den barfüßen' complains during the Nuremberg Disputation that the discussion is meant to be friendly and Christian; this seems to include the conditions that 'kainer den andern schmehen oder schelten, on alle schmachwort antwurten, auch kaynen uberfluß' (ibid., 522–23). So it is clear to the disputants what each term means, at least in this context. They are concerned if these rules are not being kept; this could be because the Catholic interlocutors realise they have no real chance of convincing anyone in the debate. The 'gardian' wishes to set out new rules: 'darauff uns nit gezimen wil, weyter zû antwurten, es sey dann, das man unverdechtliche und unpartheische richter bestell, die der geschriffte verständig und gegründ seynd, mügen red und widerred hören und urtailn'. The Carmelite prior agrees with him. Osiander rejects these protests as pointless and a result of resentment and defeat: 'es ist ain außzug' (ibid., 523). This suggests that these disputants feel the discussion is not leading anywhere, that nothing worthwhile is being achieved. Of course the Nuremberg Council's claim is a rhetorical one: a disputation in which they would triumph was exactly what they had in mind (ibid., 503). In the debate it

²⁵Cf. the claims before the Memmingen disputation of 1525 that it should be "gotlich, cristenlich, briederlich vnd früntlich" (Moeller 1974, 249); this is fairly typical for many of the disputations, as Moeller describes.

is probable, as is evident in the Zurich situation, that there was not a chance for a fair discussion, as the Catholic side was not given enough time to prepare responses to the theses.

It is also significant that the same designations are used for types of discussion as in the literary texts. In Dietenberger's anti-Lutheran dialogue *Der lere* of 1523 the Laie states, 'Ich bin nit zum kriegen/ zancken/ spotten oder zû vrteilen [...] kumen' (G20, Aiii^v). The Beichtvater replies,

Wol ist dz geredt/ nach der meynung Sancti Pauli also sagen. Du solt nit zancken mit worten/ dan unser Christliche versamlung hat nit solliche gewonheit vnd leidet das nit/ sunder einer sol den anderen früntlichen vnderweysen in Christenlicher weißheit.

(*ibid.*, Aiiii^r)

One dialogue which demonstrates clearly the importance of the correct type of discussion is Ulrich Bossler's *Dialogus oder gesprech des Appostolicums Angelica vnd anderer Specerey der Appotecken*:

Furwar du hast mich schon vberredt das mich Doctor Lutter oder alle seine lere/ nit bereden kunden/ mag vvilleich des schuldt sein das die redt vnd widerredt als disputationes baß eyngend dan bloß reden oder schrifftten, do man nit fragen sie auch nit anworten können/ oder aber das wir als stalbruder lang zeyt bey ein gewonnen mir dein redt genemer dan einig geschriff.

(G5, Cii^v)

This suggests that Bossler looked especially to disputation form as one which makes points clearer and allows for question and answer. Although literary dialogues may be the major influence on this dialogue, formal disputation itself plays an important role, and it is clear that the Reformation dialogue, even at this early stage (1521) is more than simply a literary text. The author is aware of the wider ramifications and context, seeing his work as something which relates to other forms of communication also. As an educated author, Bossler is likely to have experience of academic disputations, the rules generally followed,

and the advantages of an ordered and regulated discussion.

Jürgen Kampe (1997, 118) discusses disputation practice in connection with Bossler's dialogue and others:

Die Forderung der Herbe ist die nach der universitär etablierten korrekten Disputationsform mit 'fürtrag durch geschrift oder vernunftig ursach'. Proponent und Opponent werden vom 'Magister' zum korrekten Schlagabtausch durch Argumente aufgerufen, so daß sich Wahrheit und Unwahrheit einer Meinung bzw. These aus der Schwäche bzw. Stärke der dargebrachten Argumente erweist. Die Polemik, das 'Poltern' wird verbannt, und man darf dies als Kritik an denjenigen verstehen, die meinen, nur so "vorbildhaft" die theologische Auseinandersetzung öffentlich zu führen.

The words 'disputiren' and 'materi' [disputandi] are also used (G5, Aiiii^v), indicating that the oral nature of this text is one of a disputation, even if the written and literary influence shows evidence of the humanist dialogue.²⁶ It is of course also the case that Bossler wishes to influence practices of discussion, which also explains his use of these terms and his interest in forms of argumentation.²⁷

Kampe (1997, 118) stresses the importance of strength of argumentation in disputation practice; after all, the use of convincing argumentation was the main skill to be taught. This is something which is also central to the Reformation dialogue, where interlocutors must convince each other of the need to convert, or to adhere to what they already believe. The stress on convincing argumentation and the search for truth is also key to the Platonic dialogues, so it is in both written and oral influences, in both forms which Bossler follows. Ruxandra Vulcan (1998, 794) describes how the Swiss reformer Pierre Viret, who wrote much of his work in dialogue form, contrasts the

²⁶E.g. the discussion of Biblical phrases mentioned in *Karsthans* (G52) shows its direct influence on the Bossler dialogue (G5, Bi^r), as does the use of a Mercurius figure, though the Mercurius here (G5, Aiiii^r–Aiiii^v) is a different character to that of the *Karsthans* dialogue.

²⁷Cf. Kampe (1997, 119).

academic disputation with philosophical dialogues:

Pierre Viret rejette donc la 'disputatio' comme un carcan de pensée et d'échange d'un autre âge, fait de conjectures à la valeur dogmatique. Comme nombre d'humanistes, il préfère au débat par autorités un dialogue aimable, lieu de civilité et d'exercice raisonné et non violent. L'éthique propre au dialogue de la concorde dans la discorde est source d'éclaircissements réciproques, conduisant vers la vérité de manière plus philosophique et persuasive que la traditionnelle 'disputatio' de nature démonstrative.

This observation makes it clear that disputations such as those which took place in the towns were to a large extent demonstrative, showing evidence of the authorities' power, rather than being true philosophical or religious debates which aimed at a higher truth. However, many of the dialogues also have a demonstrative nature, illustrating the superiority of the reformed interlocutors and portraying the exemplary art of argumentation.

AIMS AND INTENTIONS OF THE DISPUTATION

The intention of the 'verhör inn teutscher sprach' which was to have taken place in Strasbourg in 1524 was "'das alle zwyfelhäftige gemüter vß irrong vnd wir vß ietzt schwebender onrûwe komen mögen'" (Moeller 1974, 224). The proposed Appenzell disputation of 1524 aimed to clarify the situation and what action should be taken (ibid., 234), while the aim of the Constance disputation of 1524 was stated as being "'umb gottes und dess hailigen evangelis ere, der selen hail, ouch burgerlicher ainigkait willen'" (ibid., 241). The last two of these especially are often given as external intentions of dialogues, often on the title pages or in the prologue.²⁸

²⁸E.g. *Dialogus von der zwittrachtung* (G17), Kettenbach (G54), the 'Bauer and Hofmann' dialogue (G61).

Gottfried Seebaß (1972, 29) states that the Nuremberg Disputation, and the type of debate it represented, was the obvious choice of action to remove religious controversies and bring about a unitary view on faith and doctrine. The Council wished for a united Christian community, as this would bring about social stability, and they saw the Disputation as a step on the way to this. The idea of the good of the whole community is evident in many dialogues, and some dialogues are presented as helping to bring this about (e.g. the 'Schwabacher Kasten' dialogue (G38) or Sachs's four dialogues (G72–75)).

The members of the Zurich Council were aware that at the end of the first Disputation they would have to make a decision as a result of hearing God's Word, though here, in contrast to the dialogues, the decision was not an individual one, but one which should be taken on behalf of the people of the town (cf. Moeller 1970, 319). Moeller (1974, 361) points out that disputations form individual opinion, but at the same time public opinion, or at least attempt to do this. Dialogues do this also, in being read perhaps by an individual, but then also perhaps to a group, where each individual can decide for himself, but where there may also be a general and collective response. However, internally to the dialogues, opinion formation is an individual matter.

There was to be no conciliation in the Nuremberg debate: 'so war der Sinn der Veranstaltung, zu einer gemeinsamen Lehre zu kommen, selbstverständlich nicht zu erreichen' (Müller and Seebaß, eds, 1975, 510). In this case the intention of the debate to reconcile and reach agreement is not achieved, whereas the author can always bring this about in the literary dialogue if he so wishes; this is not as easily achieved in an oral debate where there is not one single person in control of the progress. Willibald Pirckheimer illustrates this in his description of the Marburg Colloquium of October 1529 of which he says in a letter of November 1530 to the architect Johann Tschertte, 'es

sind die piderleut aus anrichten des lantgraven in Hessen pey eynander gewest, aber sich des sacraments halb nit alleyn nit mögen verdragen, sonder die sach erger gemacht' (Rupprich 1956, 286).

The outcome of the Nuremberg Disputation was not one of decision, according to Gottfried Seebaß (1975, 483): 'Allerdings zu einem Urteilspruch oder einer Entscheidung kam es nicht. Vielmehr endete das Gespräch mit der Erklärung des Rates, er werde überlegen, was weiter zu tun sei'. Seebaß (*ibid.*, 484) does not see the disputation as making any sort of progress in terms of discussion therefore, a point Vulcan would support, although he sees some success in defining the correct type of preaching, according to the Council, and in clarifying impressions of the Catholic clergy to some listeners. Of course, it was after the Disputation that decisive actions were taken to order religious matters within the city, so the Disputation at least nominally allowed for this even if it did not bring about the changes directly, since they had been decided beforehand. Two days after the Disputation the monks' preaching and hearing of confession were banned in the town and the convents, and subsequently the celebration of mass was banned and reformed services set out (Müller and Seebaß, eds, 1975, 511).²⁹

The reasons for the disputation in the *Concilium* are set out in the Herold's speech:

Wenn Eck gen Zürich in dstatt nit gadt
 Zwinglin man nit gen Baden ladt
 Darumb wirt hie nun bsetzt ein gricht
 der zwytracht nach dem gotzwort gschlicht.
 (G27, Aviii^r)

²⁹Strauss (1976, 180–81) states that in Nuremberg in late 1525, 'disputations in public places were forbidden'.

As Jørgensen (1988, 119) states, 'das Spiel [erscheint] als eine Art ideal-fiktive Korrektur zu einer Disputation, die tatsächlich stattgefunden hat, nämlich der Badener Disputation von 1526'. Furthermore, she points out that the dialogue was part of the debate about whether a council should take place to decide the outcome of the religious divisions in Switzerland; i.e. part of the preparations and attempts to get the Baden Disputation off the ground. She discusses Moeller's ideas about Zwingli's concept of a council or disputation on evangelical lines, hence his non-appearance at Baden, which was a Catholic location. In Staygmayer's dialogue between the Bäcker and the Mönch, the Mönch says of Luther, 'hetten wir in zû Pariß oder zû Rom/ wir wolten mit im disputiern' (G86, Aii^r). This suggests that location is important in disputation; the Catholics want Luther to be on their territory for a disputation to take place. The Bäcker points out that their methods are threatening towards Luther, as they cannot dispute with him fairly with spiritual weapons (ibid.).

In dialogues, progress is made through discussion and usually there is a change of opinion or confirmation of a viewpoint because of the conversation. A key difference between dialogues and disputations is that there is the possibility of the opponent's conversion in the dialogue, whereas this would be extremely unexpected in a disputation.

Internally there are similar intentions in dialogues and disputations, in that there is an attempt to defeat the opposition. Externally the intentions differ between the more personal and individual nature of a pamphlet, or at least the possibility of this, and the community addressed and affected by a disputation. A change in the town's ethos, brought about by those in authority, will have a different effect from an individual decision to change one's way of life. However, paradoxically the dialogue pamphlet aims to address a wider and more disparate, less specific audience, and does not result in an immediate

response to the author. In a disputation two sides are communicating with each other face to face and can expect an immediate response. There is also an overall attempt at clarification for the civic authorities on the matters under discussion, and there are attempts to defeat the opponent, but education of a wider audience outwith the town is probably not the intention, except in an exemplary nature as a way of governing a town. The authorities are using the disputation as proof and defence of any actions they might subsequently take.

In the account of proceedings at the Zurich Disputation it is possible to see the actual, or perhaps distorted, results of conditions of debate such as the quest for truth and *sola scriptura* which are found in literary dialogues also. As Moeller (1970, 307) points out, the quest for truth was also part and parcel of the medieval university disputations, which in turn were influenced by Platonic and Augustinian teachings, as well as Aristotle's teachings on dialectic as a 'geregeltes Erkenntnisverfahren, mit dessen Hilfe sich jene Wahrheit ermitteln und aneignen ließ'. Fabri's apparent lack of knowledge or respect for Scripture is also dealt with here as it might be in a literary dialogue.

THE URBAN NATURE OF THE DISPUTATION

Diese Disputationen hatten denn auch etwas "Städtisches" an sich.
(Moeller 1974, 361)

The religious disputations, as many of the other types of conversations looked at, are centred in the towns, and can be regarded as more or less wholly an urban phenomenon, though Moeller (1974, 232–38) discusses the Appenzell disputations, which were territorial rather than specific to one town, and maybe even the Baden Disputation of 1526 cannot be seen as restricted to the concerns

of one particular town.³⁰ Most of the disputations, though, were concerned with the progress and problems of Reformation issues in one town, and are therefore a central part of the introduction of an urban reformation in a number of towns.

The use of guild members in disputations (Blickle 1992, 86) and the centrality of the town council in almost all cases (cf. *ibid.*, 101), even if they had been urged on by other members of the community, highlight the urban nature of the event. It is a community event, and for cities with a strong sense of their own dignity and well-being, such proceedings are significant and central to the life of the town. The disputation results in a community decision, even if one dictated by the authorities.

This is a more formal type of public opinion formation than was discussed in the previous chapter. It is a specifically urban one in most cases, relating to the opinions and ethos the particular town council wishes to impose on its citizens and others, though there is often the impression that the impulse for such changes came from outside the council. However, the councils took charge as soon as they could and as much as possible. A public debate is instrumental in demonstrating the council's authority. Opinion formation is urban in nature, in that preaching, printing and official decision-making were centred in towns. The disputation is part of this formation process within the particular localities.

³⁰See Moeller (1974, 218–349) for outlines of the disputations between 1523 and 1543.

CONCLUSIONS

The links and similarities between disputations and dialogues illustrate the merging of traditions and methods of written and spoken debate. Discussion at various levels of society is reflected in the use of different forms of dialogue pamphlets and the ways in which these issues are discussed and dealt with. There are different modes of discussion for different types of people such as theologians and peasants. These can meet and be used for those to whom they do not usually apply, for example, peasants taking part in a disputation or concilium (Eckstein) and leading theologians visiting the houses of peasants (*Karsthans*). This is part of the promotion of certain members of society, or types, and the demotion of others, especially of leading Catholic theologians. These different groups therefore often meet each other on the territory of one or the other, and the fact that the one who is at home there does not always do better is significant.

The adaptation of existing modes of communication to the needs of the Reformation is clear in both disputation and dialogue. The urban nature of the disputation is obvious, with the events taking place in towns and often being central to the progress of the Reformation there. Literary dialogues with an urban location present a different type of influence at a more specific and personal level between individuals, though of course there are those dialogues which emulate disputations and therefore the more public and open type of event. Dialogues set out as disputations between known theologians also show a close connection to the academic or urban disputation, even if no specific setting is given, and they demonstrate the place of secular and religious leaders and intellectuals in influencing others and bringing about changes in attitude and action.

The influences on Reformation dialogues are several, each feeding into the genre in different ways and in different measures depending on location, author, and intention. In *Concilium* we see the influences of the *Fastnachtspiel* and the religious disputation particularly strongly; other texts may stress preaching practices and discussion amongst friends, or humanist dialogue influences more clearly.

CHAPTER SIX: ORAL AND WRITTEN, PICTURE AND TEXT: THE INTERACTION OF DIFFERENT MEDIA IN REFORMATION DIALOGUES

It [The early Reformation period] was a time when the boundaries between the oral and the written word, the literary and the visual, the Latinate and the vernacular, the literate and the semi-literate were extraordinarily fluid.

(Matheson 1998, 37)

Peter Matheson's comments summarise clearly the interaction between various media and forms of communication at the time of the Reformation. The different forms — oral transmission, written text and illustration, in their various permutations — worked together to help persuade people to accept the reformers' teaching, or on the other hand to reject it. Examining the printed sources and anecdotal evidence from the period gives just some insight into the lively ways in which these forms of communication and dissemination were used. As the Hausknecht in the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue phrases it, the Word is heard 'als durch gesprech vnd geseng auch deuttung der Figuren des alten testaments vnd letzt durch Christum der zum zeichen der sicherhung gesetzt vnd das wort selber ist' (G37, Diii^v).¹ According to Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, in her article 'Luther and the Laity' (1989, 35), oral communication was superior to other forms: 'Among the known and utilised media, the spoken word certainly held a special status of sanctity that made all the other means of communication subservient to it'. This would be supported by Jürgen Kampe's discussion of dialogue pamphlets (1997, 126; 131): he

¹Während des 16. Jahrhunderts waren Informationsmitteilung, Meinungs austausch und soziale Verständigung bestimmt durch mündliche Formen: Gerücht und Geschwätz, Lied und Gesang, Gespräch und Diskussion im Wirtshaus und beim Kirchgang, auf Markt und Straße ebenso wie bei der Arbeit, durch Ausruf und Verkündigung vom Rathaus und Kanzel' (Wohlfeil 1984, 42)).

suggests that the written dialogue takes second place, or plays a supporting role, to the live oral discussion or debate; it comes about as a result of conversation. However, he concedes (*ibid.*, 101) that in the Reformation, the written word is now essential, and picture and spoken word alone are not enough. The printed word plays a central role in passing on information (Edwards, 1994, 171–72).

Robert Scribner (1994b, 264) would support this view: ‘Orality was as important as the printed word in the formation of opinion, both collective and individual, manifest in the important role of the sermon in arousing evangelical fervour’. Künast (1997, 78) claims that ‘Heute ist in der Forschung unbestritten, daß die Reformation als historisches Ereignis ohne den Buchdruck nicht hinreichend erklärbar ist’. Rainer Wohlfeil (1984, 45) warns against giving pamphlets too high a place in the formation of public opinion: ‘Sie [die städtebürgerliche Kommunikationssituation] war von Mündlichkeit — “face to face” — bestimmt, und das bis ins 19. Jahrhundert’. The 1535 *Dialogus/ das ist/ ein lustigs vnd nützlichs Gespräch büchlin von dem Concilio* proposes that ‘bücher werdens nit außmachen [i.e. change opinions and practices]/ sonder ein gut dapffer Concilium/ von den geweltigisten und gelertisten in der Christenheit versamlet’ (ciii^v). Discussion is placed above reading in the hierarchy or on the scale of means of influencing opinions and changing matters. Scribner (1980, 66) states, ‘Die Gesellschaft des 16. Jahrhunderts war noch überwiegend von mündlicher Kommunikation abhängig. Der größte Teil der Bevölkerung bekam seine Information von Angesicht zu Angesicht in kleinen gemeinschaftlichen Kreisen vermittelt’. This would account for the popularity of the dialogue pamphlet to some extent as it recreates this communication process ‘von Angesicht zu Angesicht’.²

²Scribner (1980, 66–67) continues, however, ‘Der Buchdruck ist also mitten im

The various arguments for and against the importance of oral and written communication and the primacy of one over the other continue, but it is clear that both played a crucial role in varying circumstances. Dialogue pamphlets contain an obvious interaction between oral and written forms of communication, as the pamphlets themselves are written and printed representations of fictional oral discussions and therefore embody the interaction of oral and written communication. The influences of contemporary discussion and literary dialogues also feed into this feature of the pamphlets, as examined in previous chapters. As well as this, within the conversations recounted, different methods and forms of persuasion are often discussed. Authors betray their awareness of the limits and possibilities of the dialogue genre and of other genres, and this awareness can also be transmitted to the interlocutors or narrator, showing a poetological awareness within the fictional situation as well as outside it. This shows rhetorical sensibility to the various strategies of persuasion, and this information on rhetoric is passed on to the addressees, as well as being used to influence them.

Different forms of communication have different roles and characteristics, as interlocutors and authors are well aware. Joseph Schmidt (1977, 22–23) describes oral communication as being dependent on a particular time and able to be changed, not permanent; amongst other features, it can be interrupted, it can include gestures, and it is limited to the immediate surroundings. However, this is not always the case, as the discussion of gossip and hearsay as evidence in arguments in Chapter 2 showed.

Still, as was also indicated in conjunction with the same discussion of the 'Landesknecht and Predigermonch' dialogue (G95), written texts give

Kommunikationsprozeß zu finden, aber durch das gesprochene Wort vermittelt, das heißt, durch Vorlesen oder durch Diskussion eines Textes'.

permanency to the message conveyed, as the text can be read at different times in different locations by a variety of people. Writing a dialogue text combines these two aspects of communication, especially if the process of writing down a conversation is described in the written text and the reader/listener is made aware of different levels and types of communication both within and surrounding the pamphlet.

Schmidt (1977, 53) also points out that 'die Druckschrift [wurde] von den Zeitgenossen fast nur als Extension der mündlichen Rede verstanden, sofern sich die Publikation mit dem unmittelbaren Zeitgeschehen befasste'. This connection is also noted by Jürgen Kampe (1997, 119) in Bossler's dialogue (G5): 'Mündliches Gespräch und schriftliches scheinen für ihn [Bossler] nicht unterschiedlichen Produktionsmodi zu unterliegen bzw. unterschiedlichen Realitätsgehalt zu besitzen', though he does state that the dialogue as written is an example of disputation and discussion, not a replacement for it. He states that the relationship of the spoken and the preached word to the written in terms of the spread of teaching is a theme of the dialogues (ibid. 132).

As well as links between oral and written forms of communication, dialogues also occasionally highlight the use of illustration by portraying the discussion of an illustration or using the ideas from an illustration to develop the conversation or the dialogue text. This aspect of the dialogicity of different forms of communication will also be examined in this chapter.

ORAL AND WRITTEN COMMUNICATION*

a) The relationship of oral and written communication within the dialogues

Clemens Ziegler's pamphlet of 1524, *Ein kurtz Register vnd ausszug der Bibel*, illustrates well the interaction of oral and written communication. Although not a dialogue, it contains dialogic elements, such as phrases like 'Möcht einer sprechen/ was mich die bilder irreten in den kirchen. Ant[wort]. Sy irren mich nichts' (Ziegler, aii^v). Through such phrases, and others, e.g., 'Höret lieben brüder' (ibid., aiii^r), the impression of an oral address is given, with a particular audience, the other members of the gardeners' guild in Strasbourg, in mind.³ There is little attempt to disguise the oral elements of the written text; indeed, there is no need. This is a monologic oral address with dialogic elements, presented as a written text. Such elements are revealed to a greater extent in dialogue pamphlets.

A few dialogues are explicit in their portrayal of the links between oral and written communication, between a conversation and a dialogue text. In these texts, the transformation of the conversation into a pamphlet is discussed.

In the *Frag vnd antwort* edition of the 'Luther and Hessus' dialogue, the interlocutor Simon Hessus, who is the narrator of the pamphlet, highlights the links between a previous pamphlet and the conversation which is now taking place between himself and Luther: 'was mag mich hyndern/ die weyl doch Martin Luther selber hie ist/ daß ich nit zû im gang/ vnd volendt/ das ich vor

*There are two issues at stake here: the interaction of oral discussion and a written text within the written text, and the use of spoken language and literary language. Only the first of these will be dealt with here. For a survey of the second in conjunction with Reformation dialogues, Rudolf Bentzinger's book *Untersuchungen zur Syntax der Reformationsdialoge 1520–1525* (1992) should be consulted. However, Scribner (1981, 69) provides a useful comment on the antagonistic and partisan tone of pamphlets, which he suggests comes from the influence of oral communication in everyday situations such as the inn. The use of some features of spoken language, such as puns, has been dealt with in earlier chapters of the thesis.

³Cf. 'vnsern zunfftstuben' (Ziegler, aiii^v).

ettlichen monaten inn schriften wider in hab angefangen' (G67, Fi^v).⁴ In this edition, the first pamphlet appears with the dialogue. The situation has changed since the first section was written, so Hessus must bring matters up to date, as he suggests in the dialogue: now that Luther has been to the Reichstag at Worms, and matters are clearer, the opposition and polemic between Luther and the Church are more certain, and Luther has not capitulated as was wished (ibid., Fiii^v).

The first section of the pamphlet often addresses Luther as if he were present, in the second person or the vocative, e.g. 'ich weyß wol/ was du yetz stillschweygent gedenckest' (HAB 151.40 Theol. (7), Diii^v); the use of 'h^or' (e.g. ibid., Eii^r); 'da reck die oren Martine' (ibid., Eiii^r). There is therefore an oral element to the whole pamphlet, not just the dialogue section, and Hessus is aware of Luther as his direct audience, and at least part of his intended one. The interlocutor Hessus sees the conversation as something separate from the 'biechle' he has published, though there is a continuation between the written and oral (ibid., Fi^v), and the oral conversation exists as a written text. However, the dialogue has been published, and in this case with the previous pamphlet, so the author is obviously allowing his narrator-interlocutor to operate on another level also, as the author of the first part of the pamphlet and the narrator-interlocutor of the second part, the dialogue. Internally to the pamphlet and the situation of the narrator, the conversation of the dialogue section is justification and continuation of the written section preceding it. Not only this: the dialogue is a demonstration of the defence and further discussion of the monologic address and incomplete (one-sided) dialogue, which has preceded it:

⁴Cited from HAB 151.40 Theol. (7).

Ich hab dir vor lengst inn einem biechle getröwet/ mich weytter inn
 disputation gegen dir ynzulegen/ wie wol es mich hatt gerewen/ doch
 wer es dir gelegen/ so wölt ich meine meynung yetz sagen inn gegen
 wertikeit.

(ibid., Fi^v)

In the 'Bauer and Glöckner' dialogue the oral nature of the text is somewhat undermined by the fact that the Latin comments of the Bauer are translated into German and placed in parentheses after the Latin. It is unlikely that the German comments form part of the oral discussion, because this would negate the intention of showing the Bauer to be superior to the Glöckner in terms of education and able to mock him without the Glöckner realising (e.g. 'Vti sacerdos Baal (wie des teuffels Priester)', G88, Ai^v). The German is there to aid the reader of the pamphlet, and also to mock the Glöckner on the level of author/interlocutor:addressee, because they understand something the Glöckner does not.

The verse dialogues of course do not have the same type of relationship to oral discussion as the prose ones. They are more related to the *Fastnachtspiel*, which is still an oral delivery in its performance, but of a different type. Those which mix verse and, for example, disputation forms, are drawing on a larger number of influences. The verse dialogues are pieces of written communication and cannot claim to represent authentic conversations because they are in verse.

b) Printing a conversation

At the end of the conversation in the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue the Wirt and his Hausknecht discuss how they are going to have the conversation published (G37, Dii^f). The Hausknecht has been writing the conversation down as it has taken place and the Wirt can fill him in on the sections he missed when

he was out feeding the horses. The Hausknecht explains how he will take the text to Nuremberg along with the woodcut of 'Christus als Eckstein' (ill. 3), which is discussed in the dialogue, and will give the text to the Christ who led the conversation, to be corrected and taken to the printer. It is portrayed as commonplace that the conversation, spontaneous as it was, should have been written down and then printed. Peter Matheson (1998, 47) points out that the Reformation pamphlet was generally a secondary product from a sermon, a letter or a contribution to a debate, for example: 'Its arguments often went from mouth to mouth, or hand to hand as a manuscript, before it reached print'. The significance of the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue is that the interlocutors are aware of the necessity of printing to spreading the message they have just learned to a wider audience.

After the end of the dialogue the Hausknecht turns to the pamphlet's readers to address them and influence their reading and perceptions of this dialogue and its place in the literary world (G37, Dii^r-Dii^v). He tells them that the text is not to be compared to one by Cicero, but that it is a conversation which was written down in a noisy inn:

ob dir disse gesprech nit klingen wurde in deinen ohren als es etwo von
eynen Ciceronissen ader einem newen Gorgia geschriben/ ßo bit ich dich
du wollest solches auff nemen als von einem der yhn einem gast höff
vnrugklich do nicht viel ruhe yhnn/ mehe vnd besser vnd hatt solche rede
mussen zusammen Colligyrin als leße du das best hieraus [...] vnd las wo
dich solch geschwetz torlich dunckt fahren.

(ibid., Dii^v)

The oral origins of the dialogue are therefore maintained even after the Hausknecht steps out of the dialogue situation, as he is one of the interlocutors of that oral situation, now addressing the reader directly, using the second person. The dialogue has moved to a different level, to that of interlocutor: addressee, or narrator: addressee, rather than between

interlocutors, or even directly between the author and his addressees. The Hausknecht also reminds the reader of the oral beginnings of the written text, that it should not be regarded as a literary creation, and that the dialogue genre therefore covers a range of dialogue types. This is an important step in the acknowledgement of the development of the genre and its expansion to include more than classical or humanist dialogues, but different types of conversation and debate, reflecting a large variety of practices in contemporary society.

A similar situation is found in Eberlin's *Mich wundert das kein gelt ihm land ist*, where Psitacus tells the other interlocutors at the opening of the conversation that they are to speak 'clerlich/ langsam/ vnd deutlich/ das ich geuolgen mög mit der feder' (G25, aii^r).⁵ At the end, he returns to this point:

Ir Herren kompt hertz zu. Ich hab ewer aller red an geschrieben/ vnd wir wollen dz alle gute gsellen lassen vrteilen. darumb geben wir dise geschrift in truck allermeniglich zuerkennen. Gefelt es euch also? L[aycher]. vns gefelt das wol/ vnd es gehe vns wie es den .xv. bundtgnossen ergangen ist/ Amen.

(G25, eiiii^r–eiiii^v)

This illustrates the sense of community and consensus, that this should be a group decision rather than an individual one, that all agree the publication of the debate will benefit others.

Psitacus asks Schielin to round off his speech properly when he has finished his contribution because he is writing the conversation down (*ibid.*, bi^v). He wants the written text to be structured and clearly set out, not like a casual conversation. This suggests a tension or conflict between the oral and the written, with one less formal than the other, and the need for structure in a written form of communication, though not necessarily in a casual conversation. Because this conversation is to be written down, it must be better

⁵See Kampe (1997, 124, esp. note 233) on 'Psitacus' the parrot. Here he copies down the text, thereby copying the words he hears, as a parrot would voice what it hears.

structured. The text is divided up into speakers and the corresponding thematic sections clearly, so the conversation has been structured towards this. It seems as if Eberlin is using the conversation because of its entertaining connotations, and to aid the structure by dividing up the sections between various speakers who are 'specialists' on their themes, but he is also producing a written text, both as the author and as Psitacus, the narrator-interlocutor who introduces the dialogue in the prologue. The printer of one transcript of the 1519 Leipzig Disputation complained of the problems in using 'printed format for an oral debate' (Cole 1981, 145), even though that would be a more structured type of discussion than Psitacus's. Kampe (1997, 126) points out that the written text here, as in other cases, is support for the oral debate which is given preference. Despite this, Eberlin criticises the 'Buchfürer/ Buchtrucker/ Bucherschreiber zu vbung vnd bereubung nerrischer leser' as well as other 'Kauffleuth' for wasting money (the theme of his pamphlet) (*ibid.*, bi^v). They do not care what they print, as long as it earns them money, and through this they are exploiting readers.⁶

The interlocutors of *Ain schenes vnd nutzliches buchlin von dem Christlichen glauben* (G83) of 1521 also discuss their conversation as a written text: 'Darumb bitten wir eüch schwöster vnd brüder das ir vnsere büchlin fleissig lesen' (*ibid.*, Bi^f). They mention their next pamphlet, also a conversation (*ibid.*), and discuss to whom this pamphlet should be attributed (*ibid.*, Bi^v). The dialogues from the Eberburg circle, such as this one, show the printing of discussions which have taken place there, or of texts resulting from discussions which have been held and decisions which have been made within the circle. On the title page of Heinrich von Kettenbach's dialogue (G54), we are told that the Altmütterlein

⁶Cf. also Kampe (1997, 124–30) on this dialogue and Eberlin's attitudes to the dialogue genre; cf. Schmidt 1977, 47 on Eberlin's attitudes to printers in this pamphlet.

asked Kettenbach to write down the conversation they had together. She seems to have passed the text around to other people, and it has finally been printed 'Zû Eer gott'.

Similarly in the *Hüpsch argument red Fragen vnd antwort Dreyer personen Nemlichen ains Curtisanen aines Edelmans vnd aines Burgers*, the discussion ends because it is late, but the Curtisan states that the three will have to meet again to talk further. The Edelmann wants to know where he can learn more about this teaching while the Curtisan is away. The Curtisan's response is to promise to write the Edelmann a 'büchlin' to explain it all:

Auff das ir den rechten grund diser ding alle erfahren/ so will ich eüch in kürtze ain büchlin zû lieb dichten darinn dise ding gantz lauther klar vnd nach inhalt der gschrift begrüffen müssen sein/ vnd eüch zû schicken.

(G47, Fii^r)

The Edelmann is somewhat sceptical about whether the cleric will really do this, but the Curtisan gives his word. We cannot be certain, but we are probably meant to infer that the pamphlet which contains this discussion is the one referred to by the Curtisan.

These examples show an awareness on the part of the interlocutors of the relationship between the spoken and the written word, and of the fact that their conversation is published; often they even agree themselves that this is to be done. This discussion in the pamphlet is evidence of an awareness of the potential power of both the written and the spoken word and how these interact; the dialogue itself teaches but also encourages others to pass on the Lutheran message in a similar way. A dialogue takes place between the author and the reader/listener through the interlocutors.⁷ They stress that they will

⁷Cf. Macovski (ed. 1997, 193ff.), 'Part III. Dialogue Between Speakers, Readers, and Authors'. 'Renaissance writers (especially those of Spain) noted the three-way nature of dialogue: that among the writer's inner voices, that between the writer and assumed reader,

tell all — frankness is evident — and that their intentions are those of aid and comfort to those in need: *caritas* and love of one's neighbour are also key points.

In all these situations it seems to be taken for granted that the conversation should become a written text and a pamphlet, or even that the conversation should have been written down as it was taking place. The ideas are transmitted from the private into the public sphere, even if only fictionally, in this way, from an enclosed group of interlocutors, even if in a public situation, to an indeterminate audience of pamphlet recipients. This is similar to the humanist practice of letter-writing to bring issues discussed within private circles into the public sphere. Letters were seen as a substitute for speech with absent friends. They also gave an openness and clarity to the issues discussed and there was an awareness of public responsibility in publishing open letters.

c) Writing to aid memory

In *Der gestryft Schwitzer Bauer* (G36) writing is seen as an aid to memory and to comprehension. The Bauer wants to write down the Predigermönch's sermon, 'dz ich ir nit vergäß/ dann sunst zû behalten ist mir zû schwär von vyle miner arbeit/ so ichs aber in gschryfft het wurd ichs dester minder vergessen'. The written text from the oral communication will become an oral delivery again, as the Bauer asks the Predigermönch if he may then read the text to his household because they will not be able to come to hear the sermon (G36, Biiii^r).⁸

and that between the written text and unintended audiences' (Brice Heath 1997, 198).

⁸Cf. Schmidt (1977, 70) on this latter point.

d) Overheard conversations

One important category comprises dialogues which purport to be overheard conversations written down by the narrator/author (cf. Kampe 1997, 85).⁹ There are a few examples of such dialogues (e.g. 'Bembus and Silenus' (G78), Wolfgang Zierer's 'Waldbruder and Waise' dialogue (G94), Peter Reychart's *Ain Cristenlich gesprech Büchlin vonn zwayen Weybern* (G66)). The fact that the conversation has supposedly taken place and the text is not just a fictitious creation of the author should add credibility to the text's message. The interlocutors should have been talking freely, so there is no restraint, and matters will be discussed openly. In Peter Reychart's dialogue we are told that it 'von mir [...] fleysig beschriben worden ist/ wie ich dann solchs haymlichen von inen gehört hab' (G66, Ai^r). Reychart happened to be entering a house, and overheard the two women arguing, so stopped to find out what they were discussing (ibid., Ai^v). It is important to note that Reychart listened secretly to the conversation, so it is a private matter which he has decided to make public, and to write down (ibid.). It is an exemplary discussion, of value to the public, so Reychart has no qualms about writing down the private debate.

The title page of Zierer's dialogue holds a similar claim to Reychart's: 'gemacht durch Wolffgang zierer/ ain frommer Lantz knecht wie ers von in [the Waldbruder and Waise] gehert hat/ also hat ers auff geschriben' (G94, Ai^r). The claim of authenticity comes again at the end of the text: 'daz hat der Lantz knecht als gehert wann er nach darbey wz/ hinder ainem pusch/ vnd schrib es auf von wort zu wort' (ibid., Aiiii^r). Again, the apparent necessity that the conversation be written down to benefit others, and the fact that it is almost taken for granted that this should happen, point to the view that writing down a conversation brings the ideas, and the practices involved in discussion, to a

⁹Cf. Chapter 4.

wider audience, as well as widening the scope of the dialogue genre to include such types of discussion. It is also important that Zierer claims that he writes down the conversation word for word, that it is a faithful account. This should add to the impression that it is justified as a piece of writing and a piece of Reformation teaching.

These two dialogues differ from those previously discussed in that the interlocutors do not consent to the writing of the text, and are indeed unaware that they have been overheard, and that publication of their words is a possibility. The oral nature of the debate is all the disputants regard, and this is important to this type of dialogue in maintaining the authenticity of oral debate and free discussion. Narrator and addressee are on a different level from the interlocutors, aware of facts unknown to the disputants. The fact that the narrator claims to have overheard the conversation shows the author's wish to make the addressee aware that the oral nature is primary to his literary dialogue: written dialogue is a transcript of oral debate, though of course, the literary dialogue may inspire such discussions among the text's readers and listeners, enabling a dialogue between the two forms of communication.

PICTURE, DISCUSSION AND TEXT

In the 'Bauer and Glöckner' dialogue (G88), the Bauer, in trying to persuade the Glöckner of the folly of the Roman Church, uses the text of the *Passional Christi vnd Antichristi* of 1521 in his explanations. This shows an interesting example of the ways in which a text which is written to explain and expound upon a set of illustrations is adapted to the purposes of a written text without illustration, and to an oral conversation, which is portrayed in the

dialogue text. The written text becomes part of the oral communication within the dialogue, and part of another form of written communication.

It might be expected that an author would use the inherent contrast of the *Passional* text, the comparisons in its illustrations and text between Christ and the Pope, who is described as the Antichrist, by giving the texts under the pictures to the appropriate representatives of each party in the dialogue. This would have seemed fitting to maintain the dialogic nature of the illustrations in the dialogue text; however, the Peasant is given both sets of comments, which maintains the contrast of the original, but in the form of a monologue. This illustrates the various ways in which contrast as a form of persuasion is used within the dialogues, whether between interlocutors, or in an explanation from one interlocutor.

It is unclear whether the Glöckner knows that the Bauer is reading the text of the *Passional* to him. Before the Bauer starts his comparison, the conversation is as follows: 'Glöckner]. Zeyg mirs an mit der schriff/ wo Christus vnd der Bapst wider einander seint. Bau[er]. Das wil ich gern thun' (G88, Ciii^r). It is possible that 'schriff' here means simply 'Scripture', though the Bauer refers to Church decrees as well as to the Bible, as does the *Passional*. The text of the *Passional* is fairly faithfully reproduced in the dialogue. The dialogue text seems to go through the *Passional* in order, though the pair of illustrations on B1^v and B2^r of Christ living in humility and poverty and the pope lacking humility is omitted from the dialogue text (G88, Ciiii^r). After the comparison of the clearing of the temple and the pope selling dispensations, indulgences and so on, the Glöckner asks the Bauer to stop his explanations, because he is turning him against the clergy and he has never heard such things before (ibid.). The illustrations have become irrelevant to the text and the

spoken explanation from the Bauer.¹⁰

More awareness of the interaction of oral, written and illustrated forms of communication is shown in the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue, which discusses the woodcut 'Christus als Eckstein', also known as 'The Old and the New Church' (ill. 3).¹¹ Here, the interaction is more explicit, and need not be discovered by chance, as was the case with the 'Bauer and Glöckner' text. The conversation is built around the woodcut which the Jude produces during the discussion in the inn. Previous to this, the Christ and Jude have been discussing the differences between their religions, and the woodcut provides an illustration, in both senses, for the Christ to develop the points he has been making. The discussion then expounds on the information given in the woodcut. The Jude bought the broadsheet out of curiosity, it seems, and he is keen to have it interpreted for him, as is the listening Wirt (G37, Bi^v). The woodcut was produced in Erfurt in 1524 by 'Meister H', a Saxon artist (Thieme, Becker, Vollmer, eds, 1978, 400), and the dialogue pamphlet was published in Erfurt in the same year by Michael Buchfürer, so it is not unlikely that the two were sold together, as seems to be the intention of the author, and indeed the interlocutors when they discuss the publication of their conversation in written form (G37, Ai^r, Dii^r; see also above). The different parts of the woodcut are numbered, which suggests that an explanation is needed for each, or even a key, or at least that the pictures should be read in order, although this does not happen in the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue. The media of illustration, spoken word and written text work together in the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue in an obvious way. The interlocutors' awareness of the interaction highlights the

¹⁰See also Fudge (1998, 226–31) for more on the history of the *Passional* pictures and related images in the Reformation in Hussite Bohemia; cf. Niklaus Manuel's *Spiel vom großen Unterschied zwischen dem Papst und Jesum Christum*, which is a drama, 'moving pictures' of the *Passional* scenes, with oral commentary in verse from two peasants.

¹¹See Scribner (1994a, 6–7; 211–15).

awareness of the communication process and the use of the various modes at the time, at least on the part of those such as the educated dialogue author who wrote this text.

In the 'Schwärmer and Bauer' dialogue the Bauer describes further action he takes in a manner that highlights it as exemplary for the Schwärmer and the audience: he has learned what he taught the Schwärmer from a 'doctor lang' and his preaching in Erfurt:

Ich kan ain wenig teütsch lesen/ darumb bin ich zu Erffordt zûr
predigen gegangen vnd hab meyn bûch allzeytz bey mir das new
Testament/ vnd wan der doctor lang predigt so such ichs dann vnd
behalts.

(G1, C4r)¹²

Both the Schwärmer and the reader should also try this to aid learning during sermons. This combination of preaching and reading in the assimilation of the message shows how both can work together to increase understanding, indicating that they have a combined role in the dissemination of the message. The practice is illustrated in the woodcut 'Inhalt zweierley predig' by Georg Pencz, from the later 1520s, where two women seated under the evangelical preacher are studying in books while the preacher speaks.¹³ Such written and visual portrayals of course also have a polemical feature, especially in the case of the woodcut, where the image of the evangelical laity reading Scripture is contrasted with the inattentive Catholic laity and their rosary beads, promoting lay literacy and the right to deal with Scripture against the prohibitions of the Roman Church. The dialogue pamphlet is therefore promoting a practice which is encouraged through other types of propaganda also. The interaction evident in sermons is discussed by Robert Scribner (1994a, 196–97), not only

¹²'Doctor lang' in Erfurt is Johannes Lang.

¹³See Scribner (1994a, 196ff; (ibid., 198) and Geisberg, ed. Strauss (1974, 953) for the illustration. The text to the illustration is by Hans Sachs.

that between preaching and studying Scripture, but also that between discussion and debate during preaching, as an evangelical practice. The 'Schwärmer and Bauer' dialogue takes the practice of listening to preaching and studying Scripture simultaneously one step further, as the Bauer's instruction portrayed in the dialogue is (fictional) evidence of the success of this custom.¹⁴

CONCLUSIONS

The examination of the interaction of spoken and written word, and of these with illustration, highlights the awareness of this interaction, of the potential of the dialogue genre, and of how it expanded at the time of the Reformation. Although by no means all dialogues discuss such issues, it is significant that many do. The author, and sometimes also the narrator, and even the interlocutors, show awareness of how to influence the public and of the ways in which the genre can work. The production of a dialogue pamphlet can be described within the dialogue itself. Not only is there an interaction between the media, but there is also interaction between the various levels of dialogue and dialogicity, between the various people and roles involved in producing and receiving the text, and between the various functions of the author, as historical self, as narrator and as interlocutor, even as potential or intended addressee.¹⁵ These are made obvious to the addressee, particularly through interlocutors' discussion of the issues.

Humanists show awareness of patterns of discussion and the need to be

¹⁴Cf. Matheson (1998, 32ff.) on the role of literacy, sermons and discussion in various situations.

¹⁵Cf. Schmidt (1977, 70–71) on the importance of dialogicity in the communication process and the interpersonal nature of receiving information.

taught how to speak. Their written dialogues, though literary compositions, are still examples of how to speak, such as Erasmus's *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae* which give schoolpupils example of Latin phrases as well as manners of addressing others. Other humanist dialogues represent the ways in which philosophical discussion can be beneficial in increasing knowledge and understanding, so are therefore also written examples of debate. Virginia Cox (1992, 4–5) sees the dialogue as unique in presenting the process by which information or an opinion is transmitted to a particular audience, as well as presenting that information or opinion.¹⁶ As Arnold (1990, 236) says of Utz Rychssner's dialogue between the Weber and Pfaffe (G71), 'Richtsners Gesprächbüchlein ist eine Argumentationshilfe für die Auseinandersetzungen mit Geistlichen'. Kampe (1997, 55) points this out also, in general terms: 'Er [Dialog] arbeitet mimetisch und ist darin besonders, daß er nicht nur Dinge, sondern Denken und Reden desjenigen Menschen, der der Gemeinschaft nützt oder schadet, abzubilden in der Lage ist'.¹⁷

The genre reveals itself as an aware and reflective one, although Kampe (1997, 117) claims, 'Über die Funktion auch im Verhältnis zu anderen Gattungen gibt es in den Dialogen selbst kaum Äußerungen'. He does realise that 'Es kann auf sie bei der Interpretation nicht verzichtet werden, da sie mit den Ausdrücken des Redens, Meinens und Argumentierens eine umfassendere Aussage über den Dialog als Darstellung der Dialogfähigkeit bzw. der Dialogunfähigkeit der *personae* ermöglichen', and goes on to examine a few instances where dialogue is discussed specifically. However there is more evidence than Kampe's comments might suggest; it is not always as obvious as

¹⁶Cf. Bentzinger (1983, 36).

¹⁷Cf. Kampe (1997, 159): 'Der Dialog bildet im Modus der Verschriftlichung Belehrungs- und Predigtsituationen ab, ist selbst Lehrstück und Predigt mit Anspruch auf Realitätsnähe'.

the evidence he looks at. By 1524 at least, such elements of awareness in the development of the genre are clear, and the dialogue has grown to encompass several types of discussion under the general idea of dialogue and disputation. The awareness is a feature which exists almost from the start of the 1520s, especially when interlocutors discuss whether it is right for laymen to discuss religious matters; they therefore often highlight the oral elements of the literary dialogue by discussing the type of discussion in which they are taking part.

CHAPTER SEVEN: READING PRACTICES

Dialogue pamphlets were communicated in various ways, both orally and through silent reading, meaning that people of different educational levels received information from the pamphlets in different ways; people who were illiterate were not excluded from pamphlet literature, but heard it rather than reading it for themselves. The evidence found in dialogue pamphlets of private, and possibly silent, reading, as well as public voiced reading, supports the claim that various methods of receiving pamphlets were used. Given the overwhelmingly illiterate population of Germany at the time of the Reformation (cf. Scribner 1994a, 1–2; 1994b, 256–59), it is important to pay attention to the various modes of communicating pamphlets alongside individual reading, the reserve of those who were able to read for themselves: ‘Der Buchdruck ist also mitten im Kommunikationsprozeß zu finden, aber durch das gesprochene Wort vermittelt, das heißt, durch Vorlesen oder durch Diskussion eines Textes (Scribner 1981, 66–67). People were used to hearing sermons, hearing conversations and taking part in them, and hearing a text read out loud was a form of entertainment as well as a source of information. Reading was thus often a communal activity, much more so than is the case today. As Green (1994, 232) points out, overwhelmingly in the medieval period, texts were not expressly written for one mode of transmission rather than another.

Dialogue pamphlets portray reading practices in a number of ways, describing communication systems and practices, either through the mediation of the author in the prologue, the epilogue, or on the title page, or through the

interlocutors, illustrating practices through the subject matter of the text and the actions of the speakers. This chapter will examine in more detail the ways in which dialogues describe reading practices and how these are then relevant to the texts themselves. As Jean-François Gilmont (1998, 15) states, 'the study of reading practices is essential, for the progressive transition from an oral to a written society involves changes which are both far-reaching and profound'.¹

The dialogue is very closely linked to oral forms of communication, as has already been outlined and examined in earlier chapters. Thus reading aloud is a form of dissemination and perusal of the text which is particularly relevant here, as it would be with sermons also, though the two forms of communication show great differences. The words of the interlocutors, although in fact written, return back to the oral world from which they have their inspiration, if the pamphlet is read aloud.

The study of the audience is also involved in that of reading practices: who were the people who were meant to receive the text in a certain way? Were texts addressed to listeners only for those who could not read them themselves, and were those addressed to the 'reader' only conceived for private readers? This would be too simplistic a situation, ignoring the interaction of various types of reading and the fact that many people were obviously capable of more than one type of reading; the author was also able to address his text to one kind of group but know that others would also use it. In Utz Eckstein's dialogue *Concilium* (G27), on the title page, the pamphlet addresses the reader in an appeal to be bought. The last two lines of this verse read

Wilt du *hören* aller Welt klag/
So *liß* in der Puren Rychßtag.
(my italics)

¹ See also Gilmont (1998, 16) on the importance of examining 'the life of the book'.

Does this mean that Eckstein expects the pamphlet to be read aloud? Would this verse have been read out as a marketing gimmick or ploy to encourage people to buy the pamphlet, as well as being there for potential literate purchasers? Or is it just a reference to the fact that the peasants and doctors in the dialogue are talking, so the text is a representation of an oral form of communication and can therefore be 'heard' in this way? Given the fact that Eckstein uses Scriptural references in the marginalia, it seems as if he expects private reading as well as perhaps public. This highlights the distinction Natalie Davis (1975, 192–93) draws between the 'audiences' of a book (the actual readership) and the 'publics' (the addressees), which are not necessarily the same.

The study of reading practices is further justified given the stress on reading Scripture in the early Reformation. Lay figures, at least in literature, claimed again and again that they were justified in reading Scripture for themselves, Hans Sachs's *Schuhmacher* being a case in point (G72). The theme is discussed in other dialogues, such as *Der gestryfft Schwitzer Bauer* which deals with the right of the laity to read German books: the Bauer does so in order to educate his family, though the other interlocutor, a friar, thinks he should not (G36, Ai^v). The dialogue will show the advantages of and justify the Bauer's reading, leading to the conclusion that he knows more than the *Predigermönch* because of this:

lassen eüch nit bekümmern/ das die hasser der teütschen bücher [...] sprächen alle die/ die do da heimen in iren hüseren iren gesind vor läsen teütschen bücher vnd sie vnderwysen vnd leren/ es sien winckelprediger vnd sy verspotten sprechende es gehör inen nit zü.

(*ibid.*, Ciii^v)

This describes a practice of reading, explanation, clarification and teaching to those who cannot read for themselves. The Bauer in *Der gestryfft Schwitzer Bauer* will become the alternative preacher as he teaches his household.²

An example from the papal nuncio Aleander's letters (Worms, 8 February 1521) tells of a laywoman determined to read Luther's writings: 'man [hat] dem Kaiser und dem Staatsrate berichtet [...], daß in Antwerpen eine Frau den Prediger auf der Kanzel zur Rede stellte, ihm ein deutsches Buch Luthers vorwies und erklärte, ihm zum Trotz wolle sie es lesen' (Kalkoff, ed., 1886, 44). This example also illustrates the willingness of the laity to dispute with clerics. John Flood (1998, 90), in discussing the reception of Luther's New Testament translation of 1522, refers to Cochlaeus's *Historia Martini Lutheri ... jetzo auß dem Latein ins Teutsch gebracht Durch Johann Christoff Hueber*, which talks of 'Schneider und Schuster/ Ja auch Weiber und andere einfältige Idioten' who can only read a little German but possess these New Testaments and carry them around with them, learning them by heart.³ The *Gesprechbiechlin neüw Karsthans* talks of 'manchen vngelerten leyen/ der allein hat Luterische geschriff lesen hören/ mer von dem Ewangelio vnd grund vnsers glaubens wissen zü sagen/ dann machen pfaffen/ der .x. oder .xv. jar gepredigt/ vnd vil bücher durchlesen hat', as such teaching penetrates the mind so effectively (G6, Biiii^v).

The lay figures were not restricting themselves to private or to public reading in these claims, but asserting their right to deal with at least the Bible themselves without interference from the Church authorities. This in turn spreads the interest in written forms of communication to pamphlets and books

² Cf. Schmidt (1977, 70) on this dialogue; Jørgensen (1988, 127–31) on the dialogue's portrayal of the village priest.

³ Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1582, 121.

which will aid reading of Scripture, as Scripture will aid the understanding of pamphlets, despite any claims of *sola scriptura*. This necessitates the reception of this literature in some form, either by oneself, or through communal readings and discussions.

Robert Scribner (1994b, 257) points out that ‘the firm assumption [was] that religious knowledge was linked to the ability to read, if not the scriptures, then at least the swelling mass of printed devotional literature’. Literacy and orality — ‘lesen’ and ‘lesen hören’ — were seen as equally authoritative forms of communication (ibid., 260). Dennis Green (1994, 12) describes how ‘the recurrence of the double formula [‘hoeren unde lesen’] in medieval literature means that the transition from exclusive hearing to exclusive reading had not yet been made, that over a long period a manuscript was the basis of a public recital, but could also be read individually’. He delineates three senses of ‘lesen’ in Middle High German: to read (‘lesen’), to read to others (‘vorlesen’) and to tell or narrate (‘sagen’/‘erzählen’). This means that the use of ‘lesen’ on its own in a text, or ‘Leser’, does not necessarily tell us much about the way in which the text was expected to be read. The use of ‘hören’ alongside ‘lesen’ tells us more (ibid., 18; 93–94).

The functions of private and public reading are related to the function of the text, and to the target audience: if the text is polemical, it might be read to a group to incite them to action. More involved texts which aim to inform and teach maybe require study and more careful reading individually to gain their full impact. Of course, a text can involve both functions and practices, depending on the situation and reader or audience. Both private and public reading can be reading aloud, so the comparison is public:private rather than voiced:silent, though the practice of reading aloud in whatever form is significant, and as a performance to an audience it has special meaning for

reading aloud to a group. As Rachel May (1997, 55) states,

medieval literature was usually written to be read aloud, and even if there was no audience, readers in early literate society probably sounded the work out slowly, rather than scanning it mentally as we would. The absence of punctuation marks or word breaks would have encouraged [or reflected] such an approach.

READING ALOUD

Reading a dialogue aloud is a speech act. The reader is performing the text, giving voice to the interlocutors' spoken words. This gives them a power which, as a written text, they may not realise fully: 'the emphasis on speech acts as historically significant events is fully consistent with oral tradition' (May 1997, 55). The interlocutors' words are therefore voiced on two levels, within the dialogue situation and in the performance of the written text. 'The fact that oral peoples commonly and in all likelihood universally consider words to have magical potency is clearly tied in, at least unconsciously, with their sense of the word as necessarily spoken, sounded, and hence power-driven' (Ong 1982, 32–33).

The oral nature of the situation is brought to life through the voicing of the words. As Jürgen Kampe (1997, 175) highlights, 'wird [das Theorem, das sich als "Solche 'papistische' Kleriker wie Murner sind der *superbia*, der *ira* etc. verfallen"] durch den dargestellten Sprechakt des Drohens, Scheltens, Fluchens amplifikativ visualisiert bzw. akustisch umgesetzt, wenn man an das Vorlesen des Textes denkt'. One of Kampe's examples of the insults, 'Murnar: Du bist ein gouch. Karsthans: Du auch' (1997, 176–77) for the *Karsthans* dialogue (G52), also uses a rhyme, which would highlight the insult even more strongly in an

oral performance of the text than in a silent reading, and than the insult without the rhyme in an oral performance. *Gouch* also means 'cuckoo', and the echo call of the bird is picked up in the use of rhyme.⁴

Dennis Green (1994) provides a thorough examination of the reception of texts in the medieval period in Germany in his book *Medieval Listening and Reading*. In his analysis of lexical terms describing reading practices and reception, he points out that ' hoeren ' can of course have fictitious or metaphorical usage, but literal usage must be taken into consideration. In conjunction with ' lesen ' (and in other cases), ' hoeren ' can indeed be taken literally. Therefore other evidence in a text must always also be taken into consideration in such cases (1994, 81). In the dialogues, one must also be aware that some cases of ' hören ' might well be conventional labels rather than descriptions of actual modes of reception, but the situation of the comment requires analysis to determine whether the author understands that the text may well be read aloud, or whether he is referring to reading alone when he mentions ' hören '. Bartoldt, the illiterate interlocutor in Cuntz von Oberdorff's dialogue *Wieder Doctor Ecken Buchlein*, uses the phrase ' hab ich gelesenn ', having already stated that he has heard many pamphlets read to him (G62, Aii^v).

There are many examples of the use of ' hören ' in dialogues, indicating that oral transmission of the texts was at least one of the intended modes of dissemination. In the prologue to *Der gestryfft Schwitzer Baur*, in a discussion of the content of the pamphlet, the use of ' hören ' is evident: ' als ir hâr nach werden hören ' (G36, Ai^v); ' Nun sehen vnd hören minen lieben brüder ' (ibid., Aiiii^r); ' Nun hören wie [...] ' (ibid., Aiiii^v). The prologue, in which these phrases and similar ones are found, has the tone of an oral address, and in such a

⁴Peter Matheson (1998, 209) also points out that the use of alliteration and rhyme are a reminder that pamphlets were often read aloud.

situation, hearing is obviously relevant. The 'Schneider and Pfarrer' dialogue also highlights the need for oral explanation from written texts (G79, aii^v): 'Ich kan weder schreiben noch lesen/ dan was ich h^or lesen vnd predigen'.

Title pages and prologues describe ways in which the pamphlets themselves should or might be read, as opposed to the reading practices being described within the dialogue situation by the interlocutors. Hearing and reading are linked in the title of the dialogue *Wer horen wil wer die gantzen welt arm gemacht hat/ der mag lesen dises biechlein* (G93). The final section of the pamphlet, after the end of the dialogue, begins 'Wer h^oren will in dem nächsten biechlein/ das wir werden machen [...]' (ibid., Biii^r). In a similar device on the title page, the *Hüpsch argument red Fragen vnd antwort Dreyer personen* (G47, Ai^r) is described as 'Nit allain kürtzweylig Sunder vast nutzlich z^u lesen vnd z^u heren'. In the prologue to *Ain Christenliches lustigs gesprech/ das besser/ Gotgefelliger/ vnd des menschen sel haylsamer seye/ auß den Klöstern z^u kommen* (G11) the author explains the situation and purposes behind the conversation:

[...] W^ollliche obgamelte ordensleüt sölt ir mit fleyß mercken/ h^oren/ vnd den selben in iren Euangelischen leeren nachfolgen/ Ob sy aber an ainem oder meer ortten geyrret vnd nit recht geleert/ bitten sy ainem yeden frommen Christenlichen leser vnd z^uh^orer/ das ir inen sollichs nit z^u argem annemen/ sonder sy br^uderlich straffen das w^ollen sy mit Br^uderlicher danckbarkayt auffnemen/ vnd dem selbigen h^ochst^o fleyß volziyhung th^un.

(G11, Aii^r)

Not only does the author address both readers and listeners, but he also invites a response to the words of the interlocutors, and therefore to his own text. The latter is not uncommon in prologues, but the former is unusual. The author states clearly that there is a dialogue intended between interlocutors and reader/listener, that they are the medium for the channel of information from himself to the addressee. He is passing on the responsibility for the ideas

expressed in the pamphlet to the interlocutors, inviting a dialogue, not only between recipient and text and recipient and author, but also between recipient and interlocutor. Evidence of such written criticisms of interlocutors from readers in the margins of pamphlets will be examined in the next chapter. It might be that the author also expected voiced criticism of the interlocutors as a result of reading or hearing the dialogue. If the text were read aloud publicly, this could lead to a voiced dialogue between interlocutors and listener as well as reader and listener: 'In that oral communication depends on the presence of both parties potential dialogue is always there, ranging from explanations given by the speaker in response to a look of incomprehension on his listeners' face to interruptions from the latter' (Green 1994, 61). The opportunity for non-verbal communication (gestures, miming, intonation, accentuation etc.) is central in an oral situation, but the visual dimension of this, as Green reminds us (*ibid.*, 63), is now lost.

PUBLIC READING

'Reading aloud was the norm and public readings were common' (Flood 1998, 82–83).

Contemporary evidence points to the public reading of pamphlets: on 28 December 1524, a declaration was made by the Nuremberg Council against 'Erasmam, ainem schreiber, der die Karlstatischen puchlin am marckt offenlich solle gelesen haben'; he was consigned to the dungeon ('in das loch legen') (Pfeiffer 1968, 34 entry 243).⁵

⁵This pamphlet had already been banned on 16 December 1524 (Pfeiffer 1968, 31 entry 228). Cf. Scribner (1994a, 6).

There are several cases of situations of public readings being described or portrayed in dialogues.⁶ In *Mich wundert das kein gelt ihm land ist* Eberlin von Günzburg, in the guise of one of his interlocutors, talks of his visit to Rinfeld, where, as well as preaching, 'all tag im hauß laße er ein lection in sant Pauls bucher/ darzu kam ein grosser hauß edel vnd vnedel/ gemein leuth/ vnd vom Rath/ auch vil pfaffen' (G25, bii^r). The description of those who came to listen to this public reading, if an accurate representation and not an idealisation, shows the mix of people, not just one class or educational level, who would come together for such an event. As John Flood (1998, 85) comments, "'Reading" did not of course mean reading silently to oneself. Virtually everyone who read read aloud, and this inevitably meant that reading became a voluntary or involuntary group activity'. A similar situation is described later in the *Mich wundert* dialogue: 'ich hab in einem alten buch hören lesen' (G25, eiii^v). The interlocutors are also aware of the audience and readers of this pamphlet itself: 'wie dan ein guthertziger leser oder zuhör̃er wol kan mercken' (ibid., cii^r). This takes issues out of the fictional situation into the external context of the pamphlet, showing the interplay of various levels of communication.

In the dialogue between Michael Kramer and the Jude, Kramer, a cleric, asks the Richter to fetch a Bible for him to check references (G57, Bi^r). This is similar to Sach's 'Schuhmacher and Chorherr' dialogue, where a Bible is to be fetched to check references, though there the Bible as an object and a source of truth plays a polemical role because the Chorherr does not know where to look in the Bible (G72, 59). Although in Kramer's dialogue the conversation takes

⁶In her article 'Wie stark findet der nicht-lesekundige Rezipient Berücksichtigung in den Flugschriften?', Monika Rössing-Hager (1981) examines ways in which the syntax and text structure of part of Eberlin von Günzburg's *Bundesgenossen* pamphlet are constructed for oral delivery to make understanding of the text easier for the listener.

place between Kramer and the Jude, there is awareness of others present, such as the Richter, who might overhear (G57, Aii^r).

The Schultheiß in the 'Pfarrer and Schultheiß' dialogue of 1521 (G7) cannot read himself and has a 'Schüler' who reads Scripture to him. In some versions of the dialogue, the Schüler himself appears as an interlocutor, though in others, he is simply referred to as the source of the Schultheiß's scriptural knowledge. The circumstances illustrate that one does not need to be able to read Scripture oneself to understand it and to be superior to the clergy in Scriptural knowledge. Listening to Scripture is another means of acquiring familiarity with its teaching. This a secondary message of the dialogue for the recipients of the text who hear it rather than read it for themselves. They too can be like the Schultheiß, even if uneducated, as the *Neüw Karsthans* reference earlier in the chapter demonstrated. The preface to the 'Tholl and Lamp' dialogue (G80) addresses those who cannot read, telling them they should find someone who can to read Scripture to them. Hans Tholl tells Claus Lamp of his experiences listening to Bible readings: 'Ich bin an eym ort gewesen/ Da hat ein gût gesell/ vnser fyerer gelesßen/ in der Bybel/ Vnd hat vns gelesßen/ in der andern Epistel Pauli/ Zu den Thessalonicensern am andern Capitel' (G80, Aii^r).

At the end of the conversation, Claus decides he also wants to go to the next reading session, which suggests they are regular events: 'mein hans ich wil zum nechsten mit dir gan an dz endt/ da man lyst'. Hans promises to let Claus know about the next session: 'nun zum nechsten wenn ich mer zûm leßen gan wil So wil ich dir sagen' (ibid., aiii^v). The message of the prologue is illustrated in the dialogue itself by Hans's explanation of his acquisition of scriptural knowledge. Hans's subsequent instruction to Claus indicates that just as much can be learnt from hearing a text as reading it oneself, as he remembers the passage well enough to recite, or at least paraphrase, for Claus and to explain it

to him. Passing the message on to a friend orally is a result of hearing Scripture read and being instructed by that activity oneself. The resulting discussion between the friends encourages the pupil-interlocutor to hear Scripture himself, so returns the instruction to Scripture and to hearing a text read aloud.

Scribner (1981, 69) gives an example of the latter situation in Cologne in 1529 where the subject of the Virgin Mary and her possible offspring born after Christ was being discussed. One Thomas Schlossmecher states that he had been told by Wilhelm Schlossmecher that he had read this in a book. Thomas then tried to read this himself, but it is not known with how much success: 'Hier diente Bierstuben-Geschwätz als Anreiz zum Lesen'.

Reading from printed books does not silence oral culture. It can give people something fresh to talk about. Learning from printed books does not suddenly replace learning by doing. It can provide people with new ways to relate their doings to authority, new and old.

(Davis 1975, 214)

An example of reading engendering discussion is found in the dialogue *Schnaphan*, where a group of knights and servants is discussing Franz von Sickingen and the problems of the knights in the early 1520s. The text of a letter from Franz von Sickingen to the devil and a reply are given as part of the dialogue text (G77, Ci^r–Cii^v). One of the interlocutors has the pamphlet/letter, and asks Berner to read the text out to the group, because 'schwager Berner du pist der geschickest vnnder vnns' (ibid., Ci^r). The act of reading the text aloud therefore forms part of the dialogue itself. A discussion of the content follows the reading of the text (ibid., Ciii^r–Ciii^v). Although discussion of a particular pamphlet or letter is not the main purpose of the gathering, it forms a significant part of it, and it is not portrayed as an unusual event that the interlocutors would do this.⁷

⁷In the dialogue *Wie Doctor Cubito Bonifacius/ vnd der sontags prediger yhm thum zu*

Here, as with several other dialogues, the act of reading aloud is included in the action of the dialogue situation (cf. Scribner 1981, 67). In many instances it is the Bible which is read aloud, though other pamphlets might also be referred to. In Rychssner's dialogue between the Weber and the Kramer (G70) the two interlocutors come together to discuss a pamphlet which the Kramer has obtained. This involves reading from the pamphlet and from Scripture to check the accuracy of the views expressed in Kretz's pamphlet, itself the text of a sermon. Kretz's sermon and pamphlet are in turn a response to Luther's pamphlet on confession, showing the network of communication between various genres and media (Kretz, aiiii^v-bi^r). Reading Rychssner's pamphlet aloud to another person or to a group takes the communication network a stage further, from written to oral form.

The 1523 dialogue between a Vater and Sohn (G16) involves the Sohn, returning home, teaching his Vater what he has learned from Luther in Wittenberg. The two refer to Scripture, and the woodcut on the title page of the pamphlet depicts the interlocutors discussing together with an open book in front of them (ill. 4). A similar illustration is found on the title page of the 'Weber and Kramer' dialogue (ill. 2). The author expects his pamphlet to be analysed and judged also, as Cuntz von Oberndorf suggests in his invitation to his addressees in the foreword to his dialogue *Wieder Doctor Ecken Buchlein*: 'so wollest dieses gespreche/ von einem Christlichen vnd eynfeltigen Leyen auff ein eyle/ gemacht lesen/ darnach frey richten' (G62, Ai^v). Both this and the

Magdeburg / Gottes wort schenden vnd lestern of 1526, some one nails a notice to the cathedral as the interlocutors are arguing: '[Magister:] Lieber lauff hyn sihe was der dort an thum schlegt. Chor[schüler]. O lieben herrn / der schympff wirt sich machen / Horet zu' (G94, Biii^v). The Chorschüler then proceeds to read aloud the Latin announcement of a disputation between Nikolaus von Amsdorf, a loyal supporter of Luther, and Cubito and Bonifacius, to Bonifacius and the Magister, the text being reproduced in this dialogue. They decide to take it to show the Doctor. The Chorschüler concludes that they do not understand the Latin text, even though they are meant to be educated (ibid., Biiii^r).

Eynn Dialogus ader ge
sprech zwischen einem
Vatter vnnnd Sun dye
Lere Martini Luthers vnd süst an
dere sachen des Cristlichen glaub
ens belangende,



Illustration 4: *Eynn Dialogus ader gesprech zwischen einem Vatter vnnnd Sun*
(title page)

network of pamphlets in the 'Weber and Kramer' dialogue highlight the dialogue between various pamphlets, and between pamphlet authors by means of writing rather than, or in the case of Luther and Eck, as well as, oral disputation.⁸ Cuntz von Oberndorf's dialogue between Arnoldt and Bartoldt becomes a representation of a dispute between Eck and Luther, with Arnoldt quoting from and referring to Eck's pamphlet, and Bartoldt giving the Lutheran response to the matter. Reading aloud from the pamphlet becomes a voicing of Eck's and Luther's views.⁹

Requests for texts to be read to those who are illiterate are also found, as in Cuntz von Oberndorf's dialogue:

Wo du mit andern geschefften nit beladen/ bit ich wollest mir das
[büchlein] lesen/ Dan wiewol ich ein einfaltiger Ley bin/ der
hochgelartenn bücher nit vorstehe so höre ich die doch/ vmb meiner
besserung willen/ gerne lesen.

(G62, Aii^r)

Arnoldt, the owner of the pamphlet, replies that he would like to read the whole pamphlet to Bartoldt, but does not have time, so will summarise the content for him: 'dir kurtz die meinung des/ stuckweiß furtragen' (ibid.). Arnoldt and Bartoldt do not discuss the end of Eck's pamphlet in as much detail, skimming over the arguments about the Council of Constance, which Baroldt says he will not deal with (G62, Biiii^r). Their discussion seems to end rather abruptly. However, Arnoldt must have read the whole pamphlet prior to this if he is able to summarise it for Bartoldt, and Cuntz von Oberndorf himself certainly must have studied it more closely.

⁸Eck states that his pamphlet is in response to Luther's writings (Eck, Ai^v).

⁹Cf. 'Cuntz und Fritz' Aiiii^r: 'Fritz. Hast du auch hören sagen oder kenstu Johannem Ecolam Padi. Cüntz. Sein bücher hab ich gelesen [...] als man aber sagt/ vnd sein geschriffen anzeygen/ so ist er ein sunder gelerter man'. Fritz later says, 'dann als ich hör', and Cuntz, 'dann ich hör die sach werd noch güt werdenn' (Bi^r).

The 'Weber and Kramer' dialogue suggests a similar pattern of reading from a text, with readers selecting sentences and phrases to read out to their companions, rather than starting at the beginning of the text and reading straight through to the end. The Kramer misses out the pamphlet's heading and begins paraphrasing the opening sentences on the different types of confession. The original pamphlet reads

Gemayne peicht ist/ wie nach der predig alweg gesprochen wirt/ vnd in clöstern wann sy ir siben zeyt anfahen im welschen land gar oft bey der meß. Vnd nimpt hyn läßliche sünd/ vnnd auch pein vmb tödtlich vergeben sünd. Vide Gab. dis. 21.q. vnica. dubio vltimo [reference to Gabriel Biel]. Nach solcher wunsch der priester ablaß/ darumb spricht er/ ich wunsch euch ablaß/ nit ich sprich euch ablaß.

(Kretz, ai^v)

The Kramer's, or Rychssner's, version is slightly different:

Gemayne beycht ist die man thût nach der predig vnd in Klöstern nach den vii zeyten vnnd vor oder bey der Meß das nempt hin die läßlich sünd/ vnnd auch peyn vmb tödtlich vergeben sünd/ vnd das geschicht so euch der priester wünscht applaß der sünd.

(G70, Aii^v)

The focus is altered, with the Biel quotation omitted and the distinction between 'wishing' and 'pronouncing' absolution not being stressed in Rychssner's pamphlet. The Weber's interruptions provide a commentary to the original pamphlet, reinterpreting it and changing the focus of the words further. He takes issue with the definition of different types of sin, saying that there is only one type, so distinctions should not be made. By the time the Kramer reaches the section on the second kind of public confession, he is summarising Kretz's words more concisely, and beginning to interpret them himself (Kretz, aii^r; G70, Aiii^r). Later on, he does cite more accurately (Kretz, aii^v; G70, Aiiii^r), but by now the Weber is checking the accuracy of Kretz's

Scriptural references.

Eventually the Weber wants to stop reading the pamphlet and to continue with his own ideas and explanations: 'wann ich nur das Büchlein gar hab außgehört zů lesen/ wann ich will es nur ain wenig überlauffen/ ich mag nit yetz auff all vnnutz sprüch antwort geben' (G70, Bi^r). However, the Kramer does not reject the pamphlet completely; he wishes to continue reading it 'vonn wonders wegen', even if the ideas are suspect. The Weber, on the other hand, suggests that his friend will learn more from him than from the pamphlet. His teaching is so successful that the Kramer declares at the end of the conversation that he will throw Kretz's pamphlet into the stove and will never go to his sermons again (ibid., Diii^v). This could well have been the fate of some pamphlets.¹⁰

Both these examples suggest strongly that the image of people sitting down to read the whole pamphlet may well be a false one, at least in the case of some public reading, with readers giving up because they cannot accept the views promoted. Peter Matheson (1998, 91) cites the example of Karsthans spluttering with rage over Murner's pamphlet and not getting very far with it as an insight into the way in which pamphlets might be read, indignantly and selectively: 'Wan ist das büch vß gelesen/ ich bin vrtrützig/ so an vnnützen dingen?' (G52, ddi^r).¹¹

Readings such as those described above also suggest study and interpretation rather than straight reading of a text. Study was not only carried out by individuals, but also jointly, with explanation and teaching as part of the

¹⁰Cf. Schmidt (1977, 67) where this passage is mentioned as evidence of hearing reading: 'Das Nebeneinander und Überlappen von Gespräch, Lesen und Lesen Hören ist ein oft auftretender Wesenszug der Reformationsdialoge'. 'Das Empfangsverhalten des Rezipienten war eine Mischung von dialogischer Übermittlung und massenmedialer Aufnahme' (ibid., 68).

¹¹Cf. Matheson (1998, 50) on the ways in which different types of people read pamphlets and the active nature of reading.

process. Perhaps the situation was different if a text was being read aloud to a group rather than to an individual, though in such a case it is easy to imagine input from the audience in the form of comments in agreement with or rejecting the ideas expressed, as was the case in the *Schnaphan* dialogue. An oral dialogue would then result between the reader of the pamphlet and the listeners. 'Oral disputation and multi-level comment on texts were the natural result of oral teaching' (McLuhan 1960, 126–27). It is accepted that reading was not always an individual activity only involving looking at and digesting a text, but that it encouraged other forms of communication.

This kind of passionate exchange of ideas was continued in private conversation, fostered especially by another very important form of communication, discussion and explanation of a text. This invited a far more active participation from hearers than the sermon, and seems to have arisen naturally from the custom of reading aloud.

(Scribner 1989, 87)¹²

Aleander, papal nuncio in Worms, recounts the ways in which Luther's writings were read and discussed at the Ebernburg by Bucer, Hutten, Sickingen and others:

Sickingen [...] hat die deutschen Schriften Luthers alle im Kopfe; als er nun bemerkte, daß Luther sich in seinen Büchern anders äußere, als der Beichtvater citierte, und sichs nun zeigte, daß Luther in der That nach seiner Gewohnheit sich selbst zu widersprechen in den von Sickingen vorgelegten deutschen Drucken andere Ansichten verfocht als in den von Clapio [the Beichtvater] mitgebrachten lateinischen Werken, wurde Sickingen an seiner bisherigen Auffassung irre.

(Kalkoff, ed., 1886, 124)

The result of the discussion and comparison of texts is that Sickingen will support Luther's point of view where he feels it is appropriate according to his own judgement. Sickingen has already acquired a knowledge of Luther's writings, either from having read them himself in German, or from having read

¹²Cf. Scribner (1989, 88); Scribner (1994a, 2–3); Flood (1998, 83).

and discussed them with others.

The 'Christ and Jude' dialogue portrays well a group reading of an illustration. The interlocutors discuss a woodcut broadsheet which the Jew has bought in Meissen. The Christ interprets the individual numbered pictures in the illustration for the Jude and the Wirt, who do not understand what is being depicted. Although the individual parts of the diagram are numbered, there is no key to most of the pictures, making an explanation such as the Christ gives necessary to those who cannot understand what is depicted. This gives a clear illustration of one possible way in which illustrations were read. The pictures are not read in order, but the Jude and the Wirt jump from one part to another, following their curiosity rather than a structured analysis.¹³ However, the collaboration of oral explanation of an illustration within the dialogue, written dialogue and illustration externally, illustrates well the way in which texts should be read, and broadsheets too.¹⁴ The text is more easily understood with the woodcut, and the woodcut with the text for those who do not know about Reformation teaching in much detail. The use of oral explanation within the dialogue for the woodcut shows the public nature of teaching, and the written text could be used either privately to study the woodcut, or within a group.

As Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, talking of the reading of an illustrated broadsheet, points out in her article, 'Luther and the Laity' (1989, 12): 'the unlettered were more than likely to find literate bystanders willing to read out and talk about the text, thus initiating a process of intensified communication'. This refers to the text which usually appears on a broadsheet along with the illustration. In the case of the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue, the problem is not illiteracy, at least, this is not discussed and is irrelevant; rather it is a problem of

¹³See Chapter 6 for further explanation of the interaction of picture, text and discussion in this dialogue.

¹⁴Cf. Scribner (1994a, 6-7; 211-15).

knowledge, that the Wirt and Jude are ignorant of Reformation matters and that the Christ knows more about the subject than his companions, so must pass on his knowledge to them.

Dennis Green (1994, 63–64) reminds us that oral communication and the gathering of people (e.g. at court, in church or in the monastery refectory) reinforces a communal sense in society. This was equally important in the Reformation period as Scribner (1981, 67) points out: 'Das Lesen war mehr lautes als stummes Lesen, mehr eine soziale als eine private Sache'. The dialogue is a genre which portrays this communal activity at various levels of society, between nobles, humanists, artisans and peasants.¹⁵ The interaction and sense of community found in many of the dialogues, even if this involves argument and accusation, can be reflected in the communal reading of the pamphlets, as arguments develop and discussions take place on the themes of the texts or people are drawn together through what they hear read to them or read and discuss with others.

PRIVATE READING

The survey of public reading has highlighted a number of methods used, illustrating some of the possible ways in which pamphlets were read and studied by various types of reader and listener. The field of private reading offers further insight into readers' habits and methods of understanding.

Private reading, or individual reading, does not necessarily mean silent reading. As Dennis Green (1994, 16–17) points out, reading aloud to oneself

¹⁵Also, as Natalie Davis (1975, 213) states, reading groups in towns and countryside bring literate and illiterate together.

was a common practice in the medieval period. This would therefore preserve the oral nature of texts, such as rhyme, and the power of insults at least to some extent. He also suggests that the act of reading for oneself can arise out of public recital; if some one has heard a text, he may wish afterwards to read it for himself at a his own pace (*ibid.*, 140). As Jean-François Gilmont (1998, 15) describes, silent reading resulted in the 'increasing privacy of actions and thoughts'.¹⁶ This is further supported by Gunter Gebauer and Christoph Wulf (1995, 93), who state that

humanism, with its innovative methods of philological and contextual commentary, carves out a central place for the reader. The situation is similar in the case of Protestantism, where via the reader's claim to his or her own reading of the sources of faith found in the Bible, the reader gains in significance. According to Erasmus, by reading substantial texts the reader attains to a mimesis of the divine *logos*.

David Riesman (1960, 113) suggests that privacy results from reading, leading people to their own thoughts, something he sees as being encouraged by Luther and Calvin. In contrast, Riesman (*ibid.*, 114) regards oral communication as keeping people together. While there may be some truth in this observation, especially in today's world, the two forms of communication do not necessarily exclude each other in an individual's life, and Riesman does not take into account public reading, and assumes reading must be a private activity. Green (1994, 158) points out that the transposition of biblical themes to vernacular writing found individual readers in the medieval period. This may well seem to be incompatible with the ideas of public reading and communal activity described in the previous section, but the two are not necessarily in conflict with one another: humanists and others read both privately and in groups. Different types of reading were used for different purposes and could

¹⁶Cf. Marshall McLuhan (1960, 127–28) on the development of private study with printing at universities.

aid each other.

In the 'Vater and Sohn' dialogue the Vater explains his knowledge of the Gospel, even if sketchy or not accurate, to the Son by telling of 'ein alte postillen die etwan ein m^unch gemacht hat/ da lyese vnd studir ich zu zeiten inne' (G16, aiiii^v). However, he does not possess an actual Bible; his Sohn advises him to buy one, now that Luther has translated it into German [at least, the New Testament by this stage] (ibid., bi^r). First-hand knowledge of Scripture is desired, rather than, or as well as, second-hand explanations such as the Vater had made do with in the past. The promotion of private study of Scripture means that people are also encouraged to study other writings, despite the '*sola scriptura*' claim. The encouragement is typical of dialogues and early Reformation pamphlets in general. Reading is seen as complementary to discussion, as a backup and support, a source of confirmation and further information. This is clear from the 'Peasant and Bellringer' dialogue: 'Gl^o[ckner]. Belan / ich will mir forter das New Testament zu teusch kauffen/ vnd etzlich Lutherisch büchlein/ mich mit fleiß dar vff geben/ vnd die Laussige kuttenhenst/ mit iren teuflischen fabelen faren lassen/ vnd in ire predig gar nit mehr gan' (G88, Diiii^v).

The translator of the 'Priester and Ritter' dialogue explains that his master, Friedrich von Seckendorf, wanted the dialogue translated from Latin, presumably so that he could read it himself, or have it read to him (G64, ai^v).

Through reading a pamphlet, perhaps in any way, but certainly privately, public issues are brought into the private sphere. Reactions to these issues as a result of the reading can then become public through later discussion or handwritten comments on the texts, or even as subsequent pamphlets. There is a continual dialogue between public and private spheres of communication and thought.

Readers can read at their own pace (cf. Green 1994, 140), dwelling on passages of particular interest to them, encouraging independence of thought and action. There is a personal responsibility to learn, to increase one's knowledge, to study, to react, and, because of the themes and argumentation of the pamphlets, they are encouraged to read Scripture for themselves, leading perhaps to private devotion as well as study. Paul Saenger (1997, 264) highlights links between private, silent reading and heresy: 'Psychologically, silent reading emboldened the reader because it placed the source of his curiosity completely under personal control'. There was no way of sanctioning or censoring the reader's thoughts. Private silent, reading of devotional texts could aid the development of the individual's relationship to God (ibid., 275).

Many pamphlets contain printed marginal notes, usually scriptural references, or glosses to the main text. Such notes have a variety of purposes. They give the possibility of checking scriptural references, provide an easy reference point to the text itself in order to read those passages in which one is particularly interested, or enable the reader to return to the text after a first reading and find relevant sections again more easily. In adding printed marginalia, the author or printer is not restricting reading patterns, but expanding the possibilities beyond reading straight through a text to making skim reading easier. This of course would aid not only private reading, but also public skim reading, though the scriptural references seem more appropriate to private reading. Along with scriptural references in the main text, it would also encourage the study of Scripture. Such margin summaries are found in Caspar Güttel's *Dialogus oder gesprechbüchleyn wie Christlich vnd Euangelisch zû leben* (G41). The evidence of an author or a printer having marked certain passages with arrows () suggests that private reading was also intended.

Evidence of private study of texts is perhaps best found in the handwritten marginalia of extant pamphlets and on flyleaves of pamphlet collections. Handwritten marginalia, often scriptural references or key phrases from the texts, indicate that they might be used for similar purposes as the printed glosses, though in this case the choice of reference points is made by the reader rather than the author or printer, so the emphasis may well be different. 'Visual reading encouraged private readers to use books as instruments of study by noting passages in the margin with brief phrases, symbols, and doodles, enhancing subsequent visual recall' (Saenger 1997, 264). This refers to medieval texts, showing that the practice is not new. The evidence of particular users and their attitudes to texts will be examined in detail in the following chapter, devoted to pamphlet recipients. This will also provide some insight into the type of reader who undertook private reading and study of the texts.

CONCLUSIONS

Reading in public is reading aloud and is a group activity, involving teaching and learning and showing brotherly love and friendship. It is a communal activity, strengthening solidarity within a group as well as bringing others to join the group through conversion. The ways in which the texts were read show the interaction of reading and discussion, including the development through conversation of ideas expressed in pamphlets, as well as the cursory nature of some reading. Reading aloud is a speech act, giving power to the words expressed. By this means the words themselves become the action, not just a representation of the actions.

Dialogue pamphlets oscillate between oral and written forms of

communication. They are representations of oral conversations which exist as written texts, and, through reading aloud, they become oral again. They are able to portray the situation of reading aloud, reflecting and promoting this practice, perhaps mirroring the situation in which they themselves are being read. In contrast, private reading gives rise to other types of activity and interaction. Individual responsibility and thought processes are stressed, and the reader can read at his own pace and dwell on points of personal interest or relevance.

Such information from the dialogues adds to the picture of the sixteenth-century reader and of text reception. It shows that reading and discussion were extremely closely connected. As was stated at the start of the chapter, although the author may indicate his preference for one method of transmission of the text, this cannot exclude other methods. The impact of the text is related to its mode of transmission in that the recipient will react to the text either as an individual or as part of a group. This once again shows the openness of the dialogue in its production and reception.

CHAPTER EIGHT: READERSHIP AND REACTIONS TO THE DIALOGUES

A basic technique of propaganda is pretended discourse. Although it can have little or no genuine dialogue with its audience, it often works on the assumption that it does. In part, this is because it assumes that there is an audience 'out there' on which it is having an effect, and because it must anticipate the response of that audience in order to achieve its maximum effect.

(Scribner 1994a, 9)

Scribner's evaluation of the dialogicity of propaganda acknowledges that the author wishes for a reaction from his audience, but it underestimates dialogicity and our ability to reconstruct the response of readers to the texts. Handwritten evidence found in the pamphlets suggests that readers did respond, not only in action and probable discussion, as has already been outlined, but also in writing. This evidence shows that the readers took the dialogues seriously as sources of information, as portraying issues relevant to their own lives, and worthy of comment, not just as entertaining pieces of literature. Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, 279) recognises the dialogicity of discourse and reader response more readily:

the dialogic orientation of discourse is a phenomenon that is, of course, a property of any discourse. It is the natural orientation of any living discourse. On all its various routes toward the object, in all its directions, the word encounters an alien word and cannot help encountering it in a living, tension-filled interaction.

Barbara Könniker (1975, 7) characterises the Reformation period in literary terms as: 'eine Literaturepoche, deren Eigenart in erster Linie durch den Gebrauchscharakter bestimmt wird'. She compares this to periods in which style rather than content and function defines the period, and is looking at function from the point of view of the producer rather than the receiver, but it

is important to consider both sides of the process. The pamphlet literature of the Reformation stands out in these terms, and if it is to be characterised as functional, the German word 'Gebrauch' being more appropriate, suggesting literature which was to be used, then it is important to try to determine in what ways this literature was used by its recipients and what they thought of it.

Although many of the features discussed in this chapter may apply to the use of books in general in this period, there are still features which may attach to dialogues in particular, and which are of a dialogic nature themselves. In any case, the ownership of individual pamphlets and of collections, and how these were passed around or came to be where they are today, is of interest in a wider context of sixteenth-century reading and the history of books as objects, as well as being evidence of the impact of the Reformation on vernacular book ownership and use, so this work contributes to more than simply a study of dialogue texts, and brings these into the wider context of the period and its literature.¹

Evidence of owners' comments on texts is not only evidence of their thoughts on the texts but also in more general terms of private reading and study of the texts, in some cases suggesting that they were looked at several times and referred to again, in which case the marginalia would help find key passages and refresh the memory, a practice of glossing which developed during the medieval period as a feature of private reading and study (Saenger 1997, 264).

Public reading has already been examined in the last chapter, as one treatment of and response to the texts; private reading elicits another type of response, perhaps a more individual and reflective one. The reader has a

¹Cf. Gilmont (1998, 16) on the importance of the examination of books in collections, usage and owners' markings.

chance to reflect on the ideas discussed and the way in which they are presented at a more leisurely pace than might be the case with public reading, although we have seen in the previous chapter that reflection and discussion can be part of public reading, as was the case with the 'Weber and Kramer' dialogue (G70). Here, however, the response can even be incorporated in written form directly into the text which is being read. The dialogue between author and reader or interlocutors and reader is evident to those reading the text at a later date, and can influence their reading of it. This results in a continuing dialogue between text and addressee, author and addressee, interlocutors and addressee, and between addressees at different times. Evidence of readers' responses to the dialogues enlightens us as to at least some examples of actual response to such literature, enabling a contrast with the response the author expects, or wishes, to his text, if this is stated or obvious.

This chapter will look at different types of comments made on dialogue pamphlets, with evidence from pamphlets in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.² Owners' markings, such as name, domicile and occupation, on the flyleaf of books and pamphlets will also be examined.

WHO OWNED DIALOGUE PAMPHLETS?

The names and occupations of owners, often scribbled on inside covers and flyleaves of pamphlet collections, reveal a wide variety of owners in terms of occupation, both clerical and lay, and spread over a wide period of time,

²All copies and editions referred to in this chapter are from the Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB) unless otherwise stated. Thanks are due to Ulrich Kopp of the HAB for his help in deciphering the handwriting in the pamphlets and for providing information and advice on the ownership and history of several books.

showing that interest in the pamphlets was not limited to the few years when the controversies were directly relevant. Mark Edwards (1994, 37–38) discusses audience, the urban and the oral natures of the Reformation, referring to Hans-Joachim Köhler and his “two-stage communication process” [...] by which pamphlets influenced “opinion leaders” such as preachers, teachers and government officials who in turn passed the message orally to much larger numbers of people’. Dr. Werner Arnold of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, while conducting a tour of the library, commented that members of royalty and the aristocracy collected Reformation writings to help them in the contemporary controversies, to take part in the written debates of the times and therefore probably to help them make decisions for their land and people.

In his diary of his travels in the Low Countries in 1520 (this entry: September/October), Albrecht Dürer tells us that ‘ich hab 2 stüber geben umb die Condemnatzen und dialogos’ (Rupprich 1956, 158). Which dialogues he bought is of course unknown, as is whether they were German or Latin. He mentions several times buying pamphlets as well as many curiosities and goods (e.g. *ibid.*; *ibid.*, 160; *ibid.*, 172; 175).³

The type of reader who wrote on a pamphlet is necessarily limited to those who could read and write, so it requires a certain level of education. There could still be a difference between different types of readers reading different types of dialogues, however; for example, those with a Latin education or a theological background reading more theological texts, would tend to write in Latin, add more Scriptural references, and enter into the theological debate of the dialogue rather than simply passing comment on the character of the interlocutors.

³Cf. Rupprich (1956, 221) for a list of sixteen works Dürer possessed in 1520 or 1521, mainly in German.

Although texts may have dedications to particular people or prologues addressed to particular groups, this does not mean that these were the only people, or even the actual people, who read them, as some of the evidence in this chapter should indicate.

Collections and their contents can give insight into the types of pamphlets which were read alongside or as well as dialogues, and into the interests of people who read dialogues. Were they just interested in short, entertaining pamphlets or did they read more serious theological texts also? Did they read both Latin and German? When were the pamphlets bound together — this might help define how avid a collector and reader someone was, as well as how much money he had to bind books. However, it is often the case that many pamphlets were bound together regardless of theme and form, but rather dependent on the size and format of the material, so such evidence must be treated with caution.

The N 92.4^o Helmst. collection, a compendium of pamphlets bound together, in the Herzog August Bibliothek, contains the Erasmus dialogue *Eyn gesprech zwayer Ehelicher weyber* (G31; N 92.4^o Helmst. (8)) and the Alberus 'Luther and Teufel' dialogue (G2; N 92.4^o Helmst. (10)).⁴ Several, if not all of the pamphlets in this collection have at some time belonged to Claus Sauracker, around the middle of the sixteenth century. A few have dedications or samples of address-writing on them. The Erasmus dialogue pamphlet (N 92.4^o Helmst. (8), Aiii^r) contains the same name as is found on the back leaf of the pamphlet N 92.4^o Helmst. (6): 'Claus Sauracker', dated 1589. The Alberus pamphlet is dated 1559, with the same name. The dedication on the back of pamphlet six is: 'Dem Erbarn Ehrosamen WolgeAchten Vndt nam Hafften Claus Sauracker in [or iu?]

⁴The 'Helmstedt' books in the HAB came from the defunct university library in Helmstedt.

Zu Bitt Stadt & Meinen freundtlichen lieben Herenn'.⁵

On the back leaf of the Erasmus pamphlet the following dedication is found: 'Dem Erbarn undt Wolgeachten Johan Friederich Mulpfordt Schosser zu Ichtshausen Schöszer Zur Wachsenburg [...] vndt Ichtshausen & meinen gepieteten Herrn'. A 'Schosser' is a tax collector, a minor official, therefore, with some standing in the local community. He would probably fall into Miriam Usher Chrisman's classification of 'minor civil servants and technicians, men with some advanced education or specialized technical skills' (1996, 231). Both Ichtshausen and Wachsenburg are just south of Erfurt, so both the owners are located within a small area around Erfurt, though after being in Ichtshausen and Bittstadt, the book went, via Heinrich Richter, to Clausthal, to Jobst Lichtenberg: The following inscription is found on the inside cover: 'Heinrich Richter Anno 1637'. The practice of writing a verse or device on the inside cover of a collection of pamphlets is not unusual.⁶ It also shows that Reformation books were still in private hands and being bought and sold well into the seventeenth century:

Jobst Lichtenberg Clausthallensis
der 24 Martii 1649
Christus Vmb Vndt Vmb
Ist Ganz Mein Eigenthumb.

The geographical spread of the owners of this collection is not particularly large, but it still tells us something about the dissemination of texts throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For some, the pamphlets were sources of

⁵There is a Bittstedt/Bittstädt SSW of Ichtshausen. A similar inscription is found on the back cover of Yv 2226 Helmst. 8^o (1), the 'Bauer and Schwärmer' dialogue (G1): 'Dem ersamenn vnd weysenn ditterichenn drescher meinem grosgunstigen hernn [...] Dem erbarnn vnd ehrnnfestenn ditterichem[?] gotfurt burger zuo Naumburgk meinem grunßgunstigem[?] hernn [...] Dem ersamen vnd weisen Dittirichen drescher'. There is a Naumburg WSW of Kassel, and one SW of Leipzig.

⁶Cf. the use of the Lutheran device 'Verbum Domini Manet in Eternum', described later in this chapter.

information, for others probably a curiosity and almost a historical source and a reminder of reasons for reform more than a century after the texts were published.

The collection 883 Theol. contains Bucer's dialogue *Vergleichung D. Luthers/ vnnd seins gegentheyls/ vom Abentmal Christi* (G8). There are two owners' markings on the inside cover of the collection. According to Ulrich Kopp of the Herzog August Bibliothek the collection was probably bound shortly after the publication of the Zwinglian text of 1528. On the inside cover of the collection the following is found:

1 W 5 G 6 W 3
H W

Underneath is written 'Diser buchlein ist von dem wolgeborenen graven vnd h[?] herrn graven hans Bernhard von Eberstain mir hans Wolfhart geschenckt im stüblein beim bauren in baiysein Junker Kaderpach'. A further ownership marking underneath this one reads 'Gabriel blum[?] pistor in foro Scrutario emit, et postram quam ex me aud.ret esse Zwinglianum, mihi Elii schad pastori suo tradicti'. According to Kopp, this Latin handwriting is earlier than the darker 'Eberstein' one. There has been a noble owner and a pastor, with a baker involved in the buying of the book, seemingly out of curiosity rather than great interest in the texts, as he passed it on to his pastor when he found out what the texts were about. Both these comments give insight into the ways in which books were passed around between people, the baker having bought the book at a market and passed it on to someone who would understand and appreciate the content. After this Latinist reader the text somehow made its way to Graf Hans Bernard von Eberstein, and was given by him to Hans Wolfhart around 1563. It is interesting to note the different educational levels of the various owners, as well as the different occupations.

Both those with a Latin education and those without have owned the book, and perused it in some way. Blum seems to have needed help to know what the pamphlets were about.⁷

Another type of noble owner is found in the collection QuN 221 which contains the 'Schneider and Pfarrer' dialogue (G79; QuN 221(5)): a plate at the front of the collection states, 'Ex bibliotheca Ducis Brunsvigensis et Luneburgensis'. This is of course a fairly common occurrence in the Herzog August Bibliothek, but shows nevertheless a different kind of ownership, perhaps with the prime motive of building up a library, rather than necessarily reading all the books in that library, though of course this does not mean that the duke or those at his court did not read the books.

On the title page of Martin Bucer's 1521 'Pfarrer and Schultheiß' dialogue (G7; 133.4 Theol. 4° (10)), the following dedication is found: 'Der Erborn und dogentsames [*sic*] frauwen Alheid Elers Burgermeisterinnen tho Brunswig myne Grotgunstigen gonnerinnen'.⁸ On another pamphlet in the same collection (133.4 Theol.4° (27), Luther's *Deutsch Außlegung des sieben vnd sechtzigsten Psalmen*, a similar dedication is written: 'Der tuchtigen vn[d] Erborn frauwen Alheit Elers Burgermeisterinen to brunswig uth gunst[igen?] enerrungk // H d[?] V'. This suggests that the whole collection belonged to Alheid Elers, or at least to her family. The Elers family was originally a family of drapers, documented in Braunschweig since 1204 and on the council of the Altstadt from 1254 (Reidemeister 1948, 51). One possibility for the identification of Alheid Elers, the most probable given the date of the pamphlet, is that she

⁷The marginalia on the Bucer pamphlet in this collection include Scriptural references in Latin: 'Math 16 tu est petrus [?] 15' (Bvii^r); 'i petri 3' (Bviii^r). The comment 'Man bi[?]sehe was Butzer dagegen zû [place?] hab gepredigt 1545 den 23 aug' (Fii^r) illustrates that the pamphlet was read long after it was first written, and that the reader had a fairly good knowledge of what Bucer was doing and saying at the time.

⁸According to Ulrich Kopp, the handwriting can be dated to shortly after the time of publication (1521).

was the wife of Melchior Elers who was a *Ratsherr* of the Neustadt from 1522 to 1553 and *Constabel* of the Neustadt from 1534 to 1546 (*ibid.*, 53). Alheid Elers was born as Alheid Glümer (1475–1546), daughter of Bodo Glümer, a merchant and member of a tailor family, also patrician (*ibid.*, 60). She had first married Tile Broitzem in 1498, but was widowed in 1514 (*ibid.*, 34).

Two collections, H 60.4^o Helmst. and 96.20 Theol., which include dialogue pamphlets, have a Latin phrase, 'Liberi monastri sanct joh baptiste in veteri vltzen', and a date, written on the front leaf of the first work in the collection. H60.4^o Helmst. is dated 1522, and 96.20 Theol. is dated 1523. These volumes form part of a collection by Heino Gottschalk, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Oldenstadt near Uelzen, 1506–1529 (d. 1541; Osten 1970, 74), who is known to have communicated with Luther. According to Ulrich Kopp, several books from this library are now in the Herzog August Bibliothek, and the bindings on these two are probably from the monastery. The early binding of these (1522 and 1523) is interesting, showing that the pamphlets were bound almost as soon as they were gathered. This gives evidence of clerical owners as well as lay ones, indicating that Reformation pamphlets attracted a varied audience. The Protestant polemic is perhaps not what one would expect in a monastery library, but Gottschalk was interested in reform.

The Reformation took place in the Lüneburg area around 1527, and Heino Gottschalk was a strong advocate of reform there (Faust, ed., 1979, 393). At the end of 1527 or the start of 1528 he asked Luther for advice. Luther replied on 28 February 1528 that Gottschalk should stay in the monastery and carry out reforming measures from there (*ibid.*).⁹ On 10 July 1529 Gottschalk gave Duke Ernst control of the monastery, so that its control in effect then passed out of the Church's hands. The Prior of the monastery, Johannes

⁹Cf. Osten (1970, 73).

Lübeck, was an early supporter of the new teaching, and appears as Lutheran *Propst* in Schlega in 1534. Most of the monks also adopted the Lutheran teaching, and one was even made the Duke's chancellor, though three monks remained in the abbey as Catholics. After the Reformation Gottschalk too remained in the monastery, living in the hospital. After most of the monastery's books were taken to the town of Uelzen in 1535, Gottschalk was allowed to keep those books he wished: 'Er wählte besonders historische Werke' (Osten 1970, 74).¹⁰ In 1545 the remaining books which he and the other ex-monks had kept at the former monastery were also taken to Uelzen (Osten 1970, 76). 'Dabei zeigt eine Aufstellung der Bücher, die hier 1535 vorhanden waren [...] daß in Oldenstadt in den Jahren nach der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst ein reges geistiges Leben vorhanden gewesen sein könnte' (Osten 1970, 54–55).¹¹

Another collection which was at one time in a monastic library is 127.2 Quod.. On the inside front cover is inscribed, 'Liber iste est Monasterii Aule Marie virginis In langenzen'. According to a note made underneath, this is Langenzenn near Fürth. There was a house of Augustinian canons founded there in 1409.¹² On the inside back cover of the collection there is indication of further ownership: 'J'ai receu ce livre de Jacques Fridericq fils de Maistre Georg friz tailleur pour 2 autres le 25 de Septembre An. 1647', and on the flyleaf, at the top of page, 'Hunc liber Conradus purger pptus [praepositus] In Langenzen emit'.¹³

¹⁰Reference from *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen* 1856, 122ff..

¹¹The HAB exhibition 'Kloster und Reform: Zur Geschichte des Benediktinerklosters Oldenstadt bei Uelzen', 7 May to 29 August 1999, displayed some of the monastery's books now in the HAB collection.

¹²Cf. Wendehorst (1996, 29).

¹³*Praepositus* is 'Probst', in an order of regular canons the equivalent to a prior or abbot.

A prime example of pamphlet ownership and the way in which pamphlets were passed around between friends and acquaintances is found in a copy of Bucer's 'Pfarrer and Schultheiß' dialogue, HAB 131.6 Theol. (26), where the owner has written on the title page of the pamphlet,

Ditz buchlein ist mir geschickt und geschenckt von dem f[?] und weysen
Anthonio Teczel burger und herren des raths zu Nürnbergk, Bracht durch
Hans Merckel am 5. tag Junij Im 1528. Jar
Johanßen Dorn¹⁴

This shows the way in which pamphlets were passed from friend to friend, perhaps over a long distance, and how texts were still read a few years, or many, after they were first written. The latter point is reflected in some of Dorn's marginalia which will be examined later in the chapter. Anthonius Tetzl, who sent the pamphlet to Dorn, was a patrician in Nuremberg, as the inscription states.¹⁵ There is more than one reader who has annotated this pamphlet. Perhaps Tetzl annotated it before he sent it to Dorn. Johannes Dorn has not been identified, but can be characterised to a certain extent thanks to the annotations he makes to the text.¹⁶

¹⁴See ill. 5.

¹⁵Zahn (1972, entry 639): a plaque in St. Johannis graveyard on which is inscribed a coat of arms and the following text: 'Anno domini .1548. Jar den .23. April Ist der Erber Vnd Vest Anthoni Teczel der Elter In Gott Verschiden'. 'Anthon Tetzl' is mentioned as a witness of a document involved in the paying off of the *Eigengeld* of Dürer's house in the Zisselgasse on 29 May 1526. Tetzl had married Katharina Volckamer in 1521 (Rupprich 1956, 236). A further pamphlet in this collection (G65, 'Klag und Antwort', 131.6 Theol. (18)) indicates links with a member of another important Nuremberg family on the title page: 'Geschenckt durch Wolffe[n?] Holtzschue[r]'. According to Eugen Kusch (1966, 156) the Holzschuher family was one of the Nuremberg patrician families, and involved in investment in the silver mines in the Joachimsthal, as well as other affairs. There are three possibilities for Wolff Holzschuher in Nuremberg at this time: 'Wolff Holtzschuher, herr Jheronimus Holtzschuhers sune', who died between 17.2. and 19.5. 1529 (Burger 1972, 35, entry 875); 'der erber unnd vest Wolff Holtzschuer, pfleger zu Grindlach', who died between 1.6. and 21. 9. 1547 (ibid., 138, entry 3566); 'Wolff Holtzschuer, herr Hainrich Holtzschuers sun, junger gesell', who died between 20.12.1559 and 6.3.1560 (ibid., 239, entry 6475).

¹⁶Although Dorn cannot be irrefutably identified, there is the possibility that he was Hans Dorn, the Braunschweig printer. Dorn was first printer to work in Braunschweig, and was mentioned in 1493 in connection with Braunschweig Altstadt. His first official printing work was in 1506, and he printed principally theological and edifying literature, mainly in Low

Even this small survey of book ownership shows the variety of people who were interested in Reformation pamphlets: patricians, including women, clerics, a minor official, and others who cannot be identified by occupation. A variety of educational levels are evident also, from those who must have read and written Latin to those who used German.

EVIDENCE OF READING PRACTICES

a) Underlining and Glossing

There are a variety of types of comments scribbled in the margins of the dialogue texts. The simplest of these are 'NB', or 'Nota bene', sometimes along with underlining of passages of the text, usually key phrases of themes and the argumentation. Other readers have written summary comments in the margins, also highlighting certain aspects of the text, points which interest

German, but also Latin, as well as some medical and astronomical texts. His last known printing work was carried out in 1525. His printing house was near St. Martin's church (Camerer, Garzmann and Schuegraf, eds, 1992, 61–62).

Helmut Claus (1991, 39) discusses Dorn's four works in High German, which included the *Dialogus [...] Wieder Doctor Ecken Buchlein* by Cuntz von Oberndorf (G62): 'Die vier Drucke sind in mancherlei Hinsicht bedeutsam. Sie unterstreichen zum einen die reformatorischen Bestrebungen, die in diesen Jahren in Braunschweig feststellbar sind, und bekräftigen, dass auch die kleine Offizin des Hans Dorn in diesen Sog geraten war'. The reader Dorn seems to have been present at the 1519 Leipzig Disputation, which took place in June and July, or at least in the town at the time: where the Disputation is mentioned in the text, he notes, 'Zu leipzig bin ich dapey gewest' (ciii^r). If this is the comment of Hans Dorn, the printer, it would fit into his work patterns; according to Claus (1991, 39), Dorn had business connections with Leipzig, 'wo auch Dorn die Bücherjahrmärkte mit einiger Regelmässigkeit besucht haben mag'. There is evidence of Dorn having had books delivered from Leipzig in 1518, and having paid for them at the Ostermesse of 1519 (ibid., 46^r19: from Archiv des Deutschen Buchhandels 13, 1890, 11, no. 17.). This is a reader who is very much interested in current events and has friends (such as Tetzl who gave him the pamphlet) who are in places of influence and authority, as he may well have been himself. He is aware of the wider context of the issues discussed in the dialogue, and can relate what might be seen as mockery and defamation to serious and relevant issues of the time. He gives the impression of having a good knowledge of current affairs: in the closing section of the dialogue the interlocutors discuss the future and possible results of the events unfolding when the text was written in 1521. The reader comments, 'In dem 1528 jar wirt sich der scherz machen'.

them, or that they feel are important to understanding the sense of the message conveyed. This helps a second reading of the text, and would influence another person's reading. It is a continuation of the glossing which developed as part of private reading in the medieval period (Saenger 1997, 264).

b) Use of Scripture

In Erasmus's dialogue *Eyn gesprech zwayer Ehelicher weyber* (G31; 187.6 Theol. (9), Aiiii^v), there is a reference to St. Peter in the text, but no Bible verse is given (Eulalia, one of the interlocutors, had just heard the reference in a sermon): the reader has supplied the reference himself: 'i: Pe: 3:'. This suggests careful reading and study on the part of the reader, and that he had a Bible at hand when reading, or at least afterwards, to check the accuracy of the references, and perhaps to further his own scriptural knowledge.¹⁷ He is reading as is advised in the likes of the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue (G37, Aii^r), that Scripture should be used along with the text, as a guide to reading the pamphlet. This is also the case in the 114.4 Theol. (9) copy of Dietenberger's *Der leye* (G20) where a reader has added 'Matth. 19. / Mar. 10. / Lu. 18.' next to the discussion of the man who asks Christ what he has to do to gain eternal life (G20, Ci^v). There are often printed scriptural references in the margins of pamphlets, but though these are guides for the reader, and encourage him to consult Scripture, provoking an active response to the text, they do not require quite the same effort or knowledge in finding a suitable reference in the Bible. The reader who finds references himself probably has a better knowledge of Scripture than many who might be learning from the printed references rather than adding them themselves.

¹⁷Concordance referencing is also found in vernacular Bibles such as the *Bibel Teütsch* (Zurich: C. Froschauer 1538), StA UL BibBS239.A5B38.

c) Direct response to the author and interlocutors

A further level of responses to the text involves replies to the interlocutors or the author, often in the second person, indicating a direct involvement with the text and its situation. There are even cases where one reader responds to the comments of another.

On the title page of the 'Schneider and Pfarrer' dialogue (G79; Qu N221 (5)) a reader has commented 'Hie hat Der schnyder den Ermel ins heubtloch gesetzt mathei im xxiii c'. This passage of Scripture is discussed in the text and refers to accusations of hypocrisy amongst the scribes and pharisees (ibid., aiiii^r, bii^r). The saying is also found in *Das gyren rupffen* — 'wie jener schnider knecht der satzt ein ermel in das hauptloch/ also trifftus ouch dz du widerumb hinuff stichst in die xii botten' (G44, jiiii^v) — and seems to relate to false interpretation, and illogicality, the fact that something has been wrongly placed, that the sleeve has been placed in 'the hole meant for the head. On the cover of the 'Schneider and Pfarrer' dialogue the saying is particularly appropriate, as it refers to the interlocutor as well as the image.

The comment on one copy of Dietenberger's *Der leye* (G20; 146.6 Theol. (6)) shows the willingness of some readers to take issue with the comments made and to insult the interlocutors, illustrating the interactive nature of the reading, and the fact that the message of the text provokes a response, of which there is evidence here: 'so ist Reu ehe den der glaub, kere dich vmb du flegel' (Ci^r). Readers can also warn each other against the views presented in a dialogue, as is the case, again, with Dietenberger's dialogue *Der leye* (G20; 146.6 Theol. (6)). One reader comments at length,

diesen geflickten[?] bertelsman mustu Im grossen vleiss in acht nhemen, den er ist so meisterlich zusamnn gesetzt das ein einfeltigen Cristlich bewegen mag werden Erstlich sagt er von den glauben der gnaden, bald furt in der teuffel auff den geschmuckten glauben, vnd macht kein vnterscheiden.

(G20, Biiii^r)¹⁸

The reader does not agree with the comments on faith and works, and is warning a third party of the dangers of the ideas ('mustu'). He is concerned for the simple folk ('ein einfeltigen') who might be taken in by the teaching. The reader is clearly against Dietenberger, but recognises his skill and persuasive powers.¹⁹

Readers are also willing to comment on the ideas and language used, shown by Dorn's comments in the 'Pfarrer and Schultheiss' dialogue: 'das ist zu grob' (G7, bii^v). This is next to an underlining in the text of 'ee dann ir ein pffenning eim armen nachliest ir trügt im ee ein pfand auß dem haus'.

The comments of one reader can also provoke another to write in response to both the text and the first reader, as is the case in the previously cited copy of *Der leye*: 'scheme dich du esell, Ist liebꝰ glaubꝰ?'. The second

¹⁸*Geflickten* refers to the fact that the 'bertelsman' is 'patched' and 'darned', and therefore poor, as can also be meant by 'geflickten'. *Bertelsman* possibly derives from *Barthel*, a peasant name in derogatory usage.

¹⁹Further comments in the margins of this pamphlet include comments from a reader who does not agree with Dietenberger's arguments. Next to the statement that claims Christ is not speaking about faith alone but about faith and love/good works when he talks about this in Mark 21, listing actions which demonstrate faith, the reader writes, 'erlogen' (Biiii^v). Further on, the word 'falsch' refers to a similar sentiment, as does the comment 'Verdienstliche gute werk sind kein' (Ci^r), all suggesting a reformed reader. Latin marginalia on the same page, possibly by another reader, are also evident, and suggest a similar outlook to the reader who writes in German: 'Non in operibus in [?], sed fidem [?] salvos nos'. The debate between reader and interlocutors/author and between different readers continues throughout the pamphlet, e.g. 'o du Narr' (Ci^r); 'hor. hor. du schor straffstu gott so hart', and in a different script, 'nimmer schoue wi[e?]der legung hor hor du schor etc' (Ciii^r); 'Ja wan der glaub in Christum fest steht so ko[m]mn[n] gute werck sonst ists nur ein traum. Vnd also Redet auch S. peter wo du anderst den loffel[?] nicht zu voll genommen[?] hast' (Ciii^v); in the comments of the later reader, 'Ja eß ist so gewiß daß wo Du anderst glaubst oder vorstehen wilt das dir dein bloßer glaub zu nicht alß der vordammnus werde'. This seems to be in response to the comments of the earlier reader. Unfortunately the comment immediately above this one in the first script is particularly unclear.

reader responds to this: 'gewaltige sach bring dieser mit seinem scheme dich du Esel vor. wer sichs nur hont uberreden laßen' (ibid., Ciiii^v). The same is evident later: the remarks of the first reader — 'so will doch hierauß folgen das wir das gesetz haben keinen, warumb ist den Christus gestorben, du must paulum nicht Recht zu Romern gelesen haben. Ist das nicht schon ein solchem d[?]' — are evaluated by the second: 'dießeß gloßatoris folget sich vs deß autoris meinung wie ein Dreck in der latern' (ibid., Di^v).²⁰ The second reader therefore claims to understand the author's message better than the first, and defends the author's point of view, turning the reading of the pamphlet by these people into a debate. This is an open-ended debate, as subsequent readers can continue to comment, even if they do not write the comments down. Of course, this not a debate in the sense of an exchange between two people, but rather it is a chain of responses, though perhaps with the same views being expressed by different people.

d) Relation to events and people discussed in the dialogue

Readers also occasionally indicate their involvement in the events discussed in the texts by commenting on how the issues mentioned compare to similar situations or attitudes they have come across themselves.

One copy of Eberlin's *Mich wundert das kein gelt ihm land ist* (G25; Yt Kaps. 1 (4) Helmst. 4^o) illustrates this point. Talking of the Church's corruption, the text states 'ich schiß in ein solchen vnkosten' (ibid., ci^v). In the margin a reader has written 'ich auch'. The same response is found where confession is discussed and Zingk says, 'ich wolt lieber seiner tochter beichten dan im [i.e. the

²⁰For further information on the phrase 'wie ein Dreck in der latern' see Grimm II, 1356 on *Dreck*, and IV, 1.4, 8297 on *gleiszen*. These entries include references to Sebastian Franck's *Sprichwörter* of 1541, and suggest that the saying derives from Luther. 'Gleist wie ein Dreck in der latern': 'shines [reflects light] like a piece of dirt in a lantern', i.e., it is totally unilluminating.

confessor 'Johanßen Commenthir']' (ibid., biii^r). This shows a dialogue with the text, that the text is having an effect, provoking a reaction from the reader, and more than a passive reaction, but one which makes him write his response down and enter into discussion with the text/interlocutors/author.

Readers can also expand on information given by adding details they know of from elsewhere, as in *Klag vnd Antwort von Lutherischen vnd Bebstischenn pfaffen* (G56; 131.6 Theol. (18)) where the text talks of Scriptural authority; the reader responds by adding the following information: 'Ko[?]ler[?] oder fabri vnd kochloffel sagen sye glauben wens schon nit in der Bibel stehe' (ibid., Aiii^r). The reader has picked up on at least one of the typical nicknames of a reformer used in pamphlets, here Cochläus. On the next page (ibid., Aiii^v), in response to their statement, the reader advises the 'Papistisch pfaffen' what to do: 'Mach den Pauern eins Cagelman darnach gehe mit den Erenc[t?]zen zec[?]er Endres singt yr nit etc'.²¹ The information can also be revealing, as the statement next to 'he section on priests and prostitutes reveals: 'Huren gnug zu Bamberg las dir sagen' (ibid., Biii^r).

Johannes Dorn, recipient and reader of the 'Pfarrer and Schultheiß' dialogue (G7; 131.6 Theol. (26)), describes his reactions to monks coming to his door, a reaction described in many dialogues, and the theme of some: 'Ich abjagen den münchen vor [von?] mein wonung auch' (biiii^v). Dorn also seems to have been present at the 1519 Leipzig Disputation, or at least in the town at the time: where the disputation is mentioned in the text, he notes, 'Zu leipzig bin ich dapey gewest' (ciii^r). It seems he has had direct contact with a key event of the Reformation as well as with local events affecting him more directly, so there are several layers of influence on his attitude to Reformation issues, from

²¹*Cagelman* could derive from *Kogel*, a 'cow', from the Latin *cucullus*, 'hood' (Grimm V, 1578), so a *Cagelman* could refer to a 'monk'.

events of national significance to local events and circumstances: 'Zu Greffenberk[?] ist des dings nit' (ibid., bi^r); 'ye Zu erfurt gingst das sie druber gesturmt wurden' (ibid., bi^v). He is also influenced by personal contacts, such as Tetzl, and pamphlets such as this one, or other dialogues he comments on, mentioned in this one: 'Paschquillum der teuffel hat den Paschquillum gemacht mant[?] dyser Pfarer' (ibid., aiiii^v).²² References to Hutten (G49) and Hesus (G67) are also noted opposite this in the margin, where they are mentioned in the text, suggesting the reader's awareness of other dialogues.

These examples show the reader relating what is written in the pamphlet to real events in his community and among his acquaintances (cf. ibid., biii^v where the reader refers to the Duke and Landgraf). We are also updated on the development of Erasmus's actions and thinking since the pamphlet was written in 1521. Where Erasmus is mentioned in the text, Dorn tells how his standpoint has altered, or at least become clearer, since then: 'Er ist yzundt wider auffs pabst seitten gefallen stehet auch in grossten schanden mit einem edelen[?] zu Straspurgk' (ibid., ciii^v). The pamphlet is seen as something which relates to real life and contemporary events, as relevant, and not just a fictional piece of writing.

e) Language and Education

Some readers annotate German texts in German, others in Latin, indicating the variety within the readership of the pamphlets, and providing conclusive evidence, as does the whole chapter, that although the 'common man' might be the hero of many dialogues, the texts were read, at least privately, also by those with a much higher level of education; of course, the

²²Pasquillus, *Eyn warhafftiges buchlein* (G63).

²³See Chapter 7, section on 'Reading Aloud'.

pamphlets may well have been read aloud to peasants and other illiterate people, but they were certainly not the only, or even main, recipients of the messages found in the dialogues or other pamphlets. Evidence in previous chapters would also support this claim.

Annotations on one copy of Johannes Dietenberger's dialogue *Der leye* (G20; 329.1 Theol. (2)), a Catholic dialogue, illustrate this: 'de fido formata uide Enarrationem Epte ad Gal: Cap: 3. fol: 238. 247. f: 2. Cap: 5. fol: 118. f: 2. et seq:' (Bii^v). Key words, occasionally added to guide reading, are in Latin. This is therefore an educated reader who gives precise cross-references. One feature which illustrates the use of Latin as opposed to German is found in the 151.37 Theol. collection which contains a copy of the 'Löffelmacher and Barfüsser dialogue' (G34; (151.37 Theol. (13)). At the front of the collection, the phrase 'Verbum domini manett in eternum' has been inscribed. It is also on the front and at the end of some of the pamphlets in the collection. Helga Robinson-Hammerstein states in her article 'Luther and the Laity' (Robinson-Hammerstein, ed., 1989, 15) that 'V[erbum] D[omini] m[anet] i[n] e[ternum]' became an official device and motto signalling a pledge to "reform".

On another level, that of book ownership, a comment on the pamphlet *Klag vnd Antwort von Lutherischen vnd Bebstischenn pfaffen* (G56; 131.6 Theol. (18), Dii^v) tells of attitudes to the Bible and devotional literature: where prayer books are discussed in the text, the reader comments 'Betbuch nuzer dan die Bibel/ Ich hab keins'.

It is also somewhat ironic that when the dialogues so often promote the use of German and the rights of the 'common man' to discuss religious issues, it is the educated of society who are commenting on these issues, and who become involved in them. Mark Edwards (1994, 38) points out that 'those learned in Latin were a minority among the literate; the literate were a

minority within the cities; and the cities enclosed a minority among the empire'. This is why oral transmission is so significant in overstepping these boundaries of literacy. Edwards (*ibid.*, 40) also suggests that the Evangelicals targeted a wider audience of 'all literate laity', whereas the Catholics addressed 'a smaller audience of [...] "opinion leaders" such as clerics, councilors, and rulers'. Those who write comments on pamphlets may be among the minority of the population, but they provide evidence of at least some reactions to the ideas promoted in the dialogues.

CONCLUSIONS

Mark Edwards (1994, 56) points out that different readers and listeners took different messages from pamphlets, perhaps an obvious point, but one which is important, as it reminds us that the author's intentions are not always met, and that there are many different ways of reading the texts, perhaps as many as the number of people who read or heard them. Such matters come to light especially where more than one reader has annotated a text, and has opposed the views of another reader.

Written comments from readers expand the dialogue beyond the text itself in a tangible way and show responses to the messages contained within the text and reactions to the author's sometimes stated expectations. They show the context to pamphlet reading and the context of the messages in the texts, how these, as well as the interlocutors, are in dialogue with the real world outside the text. Handwritten comments return supposed private responses to the public arena and continue the dialogue with subsequent readers.

A variety of readers is revealed, all of them here literate and educated to

various levels. There is evidence of both lay and clerical people, men and women owning and writing in pamphlets. What is important to these people is the way in which the issues in the texts relate to their own local situation. The general issues in the text become specific in the mind of the reader, and each individual brings his own ideas in response, sometimes stating these in writing. Ideas in the texts are brought to a level the reader can understand and is concerned with. Evidence of illiterate listeners, or those who might be able to read but not write, must be gathered from other sources such as anecdotal evidence of conversations and encounters. The evidence available in the Herzog August Bibliothek collection inevitably gives a skewed picture, as pamphlets which survive in libraries are overwhelmingly likely to have certain kinds of provenance; those copies which served a less educated public are much less likely to survive. Perhaps the fate of the Kretz pamphlet in the 'Weber and Kramer' dialogue, described in the previous chapter, illustrates this point: it ended up in the fire. Generally with early books, the more something is used, the greater the rate of attrition and loss. However, the comments of the literate population provide conclusive evidence which relates directly to the texts and shows their immediate impact on the reader.

The fact that the texts are dialogues is important to the reader. The portrayal of a situation which is specific, and where individuals are discussing with each other, is comprehensible to them, and can be related to, even if it is individual theologians discussing a text: there is still a notional personal level to the issues. This does not mean that readers are not aware of national issues or are not interested in theological arguments, as shown by Dorn's comments about Erasmus. Interlocutors are seen as figures with whom it is reasonable to debate. They are credible figures with serious words to say, or with polemical characteristics which can be mocked. Whether the reader agrees with the

interlocutor or not, he sees his comments as worthy of consideration and response. It is seldom the author who is criticised directly, but often the interlocutor, perhaps making the words of the author of *Ain Christenliches lustigs gesprech/ das besser/ Gotgefelliger/ und des menschen sel haylsamer seye/ auß den Klöstern zû kommen* (G11), in the prologue, more credible and reasonable than might be thought: in this dialogue the author invites the reader or listener to correct the interlocutors if he thinks they are wrong in their opinions.²³

The study of handwritten marginalia adds a further dimension to the dialogicity of the texts, taking responses beyond the interlocutors and beyond the author's expectations or wishes to actual readers and tangible responses. It is significant for any study of reading practices and the reception of Reformation literature.

²³See Chapter 7, section on 'Reading Aloud'.

CONCLUSION

The Reformation dialogue picks up on various features of contemporary society in its development, reflecting aspects of discussion, lifestyle and everyday practices. It helps place the debate of Reformation issues within that world, and in this way aims to persuade people that the message conveyed within the dialogue is part of that world, and therefore relevant to them. Readers and hearers of pamphlets could often imagine themselves in the situations portrayed, recognising settings in which they might find themselves and identifying with interlocutors or recognising acquaintances. Themes were also familiar, known through other means of communication, oral, written, and visual. The Reformation dialogue fulfils the needs of its addressees in outlining ways in which religious issues are and may be discussed. The dialogue's recipient is not only taught about reformed precepts or the Roman Church's arguments against these, but also learns how to accept the teaching and how to spread it to others. The dialogue pamphlets are in this way exemplary in both their themes and form, distinguishing them from other forms of writing which may contain information on religious teaching but not provide such extensive information on forms of communication. Patterns of discussion become an important theme of the pamphlets at a different level from the themes under discussion between the interlocutors. The fact that interlocutors within the dialogues often discuss means of learning, through reading, hearing friends and preachers, speaking and observing, shows how central such concerns were to many authors. Attitudes towards the Roman Church and the new teaching were formed in a number of ways, and these are reflected in the dialogues, as

well as the dialogue pamphlets being one of these opinion-forming media themselves.

Dialogue moves between the private and public spheres in its form and reception. This is evident in the use of individual interlocutors to whom addressees could often relate, and in the case of the formation of public opinion, in the use of communal settings and the fact that discussions take place between people of different backgrounds in the dialogues. The reception of the texts also reflects this in the various modes of text transmission, either privately or publicly.

The early Reformation period saw the development of the dialogue as a literary form, moving away from the humanist dialogue, introducing new types of author, different themes, and different interlocutors as well as changes in the type of conversation portrayed. The dialogue became truly a 'Reformation dialogue', rather than just a form which was occasionally applied to outline Reformation teaching. As was the case with the sermon, another written representation of oral communication, the character of dialogue form was relevant to contemporary forms of persuasion and reflected them. This was achieved through the use of various influences from contemporary society, not just from literary forms. The use of contemporary settings and the wish to portray everyday conversation between members of various social classes took the dialogue from the humanist circle to other groups. This does not mean, of course, that the humanist and classical influences were lost or ignored, but that they were adapted to contemporary needs and ideals. The *ad fontes* imitation of classical sources was certainly corrupted swiftly in the early 1520s, betraying the ideals of those who first used the form, as the Hausknecht shows in the 'Christ and Jude' dialogue (G37). Perceptions of the literary dialogue were altered by such texts, other authors tried to defend their works against what were

presumably fairly common criticisms that it was not a serious form of writing (e.g. Karlstadt, G50). Perceptions of the form at the beginning of the 1520s would be altered dramatically by 1525, though by 1530 the views held at the beginning of the decade might be valid once more as the form returned more or less to the domain of the educated and to serious debate. The didactic dialogue dominated by this stage, and short inciting works were far less in evidence. The prose dialogue moved from being a form used to imitate classical authors to being one which reflected contemporary forms of debate. It retained some of the central aims of classical dialogues, however, whether satirical or didactic, in aiming to lead to the truth through discussion. This truth was not always some higher ideal, however, which the interlocutors aimed to achieve together, but could be the revelation of malpractice through satire and defamation, a truth which was already perceived, but had to be revealed to those who could not see it as readily as others.

The ideology of early Reformation teaching was easily integrated into the dialogue form, with its stress on lay supremacy in debate, knowledge of Scripture and of religious teaching, moral integrity, a worthwhile lifestyle, and the right to read and discuss Scripture. All these issues are either main themes of the texts or are evident at a second level as attitudes and characteristics of interlocutors, shown as a contrast with other interlocutors. The use of different levels of discussion and different situations in different dialogues highlights the contemporary influence on the genre. Reformation issues were discussed both privately and publicly, and the dialogue genre reflects this in its choice of settings, where these are used. However, the fact that some dialogues do not use a setting is also significant in showing the wide limits of the genre in that these dialogues perhaps display a more literary or academic influence than one based on everyday discussions. The target audience, those who relate to the

different types of conversation and can therefore learn from them, are important here.

The message of the dialogue's outcome, of conversion or silencing, whether amicable or antagonistic, or of action to be taken as a result of discussion is also significant. Intentions are important in maintaining the integrity of the form. Authors' claims to entertain, to teach, to defend, or to attack, all tell something of their perceptions of dialogue form. It cannot be defined simply, but contains many different facets. Authors display a wish to manipulate the form to the needs of the time, to illustrate the types of persuasion and outcome which did take place, or which they thought ought to take place. The power of speech, of the correct way of speaking, is central to the dialogue. Authors demonstrate their awareness of the importance of speaking correctly in the structure of the argumentation, and by using dialogue form, give an example of the process of communication for the reader or listener to follow. The reader/listener becomes aware of the power of speech himself in reading, and probably even more so in hearing, the text of the dialogue. Thus the way in which a text is read is central to the way in which its message is understood and to the way in which the recipient perceives the structure of the text, whether as a written dialogue or as an oral form of communication, or seen as a combination of the two. However, depending on the form of transmission, one form will dominate another in the recipient's mind, at least initially.

One of the most striking aspects of genre awareness in the dialogues is the transfer of this poetological awareness onto the interlocutors as well as its transmission from author directly to addressee in a prologue or epilogue. The use of the interlocutors in this way identifies the author's own awareness of the significance of literary form and of its use and worth for the message he is portraying, as well as his perception that the form relates to the context in which

he is writing and is relevant to the situation in which the texts are read and discussed; the dialogue portrays a form of communication within the text. The discussion of pamphlets within dialogue pamphlets highlights this also. It is evident that authors idealise patterns of discussion and argumentation in order to bring about the conclusion they wish. This is not a negative point, but a means by which the author aims to influence the addressee and his perception of discussion and the outcome of a debate. The idealisation is exemplary, whether it did in fact influence actual discussions or not; the intention of inciting action and a response to the text leads to the conclusion that this was a desired response, and accounts of actual discussions and reactions to texts suggests that readers and listeners were aware of the message regarding communication within the pamphlets and of the need for a response to the text, especially the evidence of those readers who responded in writing to interlocutors and author.

Dialogicity is evident at various levels in the pamphlets. Persuasion within the dialogue situation, of the pamphlet itself with its themes on the recipient, and of the interlocutors, their discussion and form of discussion on the addressee. Dialogue pamphlets reflect the dialogicity of communication in the Reformation, between oral, written and visual forms and between the different parties in debate with each other. The fact that many interlocutors are aware of the interaction of various media and forms of persuasion is also dialogic, combining themes and forms. Recipients who have written on pamphlets indicate a dialogic relationship with the text, seeing it as something to which they must respond.

For the development of vernacular literature in the early modern period, the Reformation dialogue is significant as a genre which develops rapidly and widely over a short space of time in response to the context in which it is

situated and to the humanist literature which was being written at the time. It is possible that the fact that German is an oral language and the one which was more readily used for discussion, preaching, and everyday communication by the majority of the population meant that there was an awareness of the nature of oral communication in German dialogues. It is the language of oral communication rather than Latin, at least for the uneducated, so perhaps this awareness is greater in German dialogues, and this is one reason for the genre's popularity and expansion in the vernacular. The contemporary stress on the importance of language in general and of the use of German for its clarity in discussion and teaching of Scripture is reflected in the development of the vernacular dialogue which exemplifies this progression in its use of particular kinds of interlocutors and of vernacular discussion. The reformers' stress on the importance of the use of German to spread their teaching and scriptural knowledge to a wider audience, including those of their own educational standing, and the development of town disputations in German show that the impetus for the use of German comes from above and that the vernacular dialogue is intended for as wide an audience as possible, and therefore is not restricted to means of persuasion intended for the uneducated or the less educated. Even if this had been the case, the marginalia found on extant pamphlets would refute this, showing the importance of aiming to define readers' reactions in furthering our understanding of the genre and its impact. After the 1525 the peasant figure became less popular as a symbol of the ideal Lutheran as a result of the controversies of the Peasants' War, and this is the time at which the vernacular dialogue declines in use, returning to the academic sphere. This is evidence of the close relationship of the vernacular dialogue, especially of the type which uses figures such as peasants, who would communicate only in German, to the spread of the initial teaching of the

reformers to as wide a spectrum of the population as possible. The form was one which served particularly well the purposes of spreading the message, as it related so closely to other forms of dissemination and to the mood of debate in the early Reformation.

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