

SIVERT ANGEL

The Confessionalist
Homiletics of
Lucas Osiander
(1534–1604)

*Spätmittelalter, Humanismus,
Reformation*

82

Mohr Siebeck

Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation
Studies in the Late Middle Ages,
Humanisms and the Reformation

herausgegeben von Volker Leppin (Tübingen)

in Verbindung mit

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*En hic est Lucas OSIANDER in ore diserto
Qui Verbum docuit de pietate DEI.*

bbb. 3.

Sivert Angel

The Confessionalist Homiletics of Lucas Osiander (1534–1604)

A Study of a South-German Lutheran Preacher
in the Age of Confessionalization

Mohr Siebeck

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Printed with support from the Norwegian Research Council.

ISBN 978-3-16-153467-6 / eISBN 978-3-16-158620-0 unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019
ISSN 1865-2840 (Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation)

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

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The book was typeset by Martin Fischer in Tübingen using Minion Pro typeface, printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier. Portrait of Lucas Osiander provided by Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, Bilddatenbank.

Printed in Germany.

Acknowledgements

The present book is a revised version of my doctoral dissertation which was defended at the Faculty of Theology, University of Oslo, in December 2011. The Faculty of Theology funded my work from 2006–2010 and provided the stimulating environment that made this work possible. The most important contribution was Professor Tarald Rasmussen's wise and discrete supervision. Our faculty librarians, Svein Helge Birkeflet and Hans Petter Christensen, accommodated endless book requests, and my colleagues in Oslo were a continuous source of inspiration. For the revision of the dissertation for this book, I am very grateful for the advice of Professor Irene Dingel, Mainz, and Professor Thomas Kaufmann, Göttingen, who formed the adjudication committee for my dissertation, and also for many suggestions and difficult questions from my colleague Professor Geir Hellemo. I would also like to express my gratitude to PhD candidate Paul Strauss, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, and to Dr. Claus-Jürgen Thornton, Berlin, for their conscientious copy-editing and proofing of the manuscript.

On my travels in Germany I experienced many warm welcomes. Professor Sabine Holtz in Tübingen and Professor Hermann Ehmer in Stuttgart gave generously of their time and were of invaluable help. Also the many friendly and competent librarians at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, the University Library in Tübingen, the University Library in Dresden and the Landesbibliothek and Landesarchiv in Stuttgart deserve great thanks.

Throughout these years I have been reassured by my parents Solveig and Svein Willy Danielsen's constant support.

Still, the most important contribution was without doubt the patience and care from my wife Kristin.

Oslo, March 2013

Sivert Angel

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	V
Abbreviations	XI
Introduction	1
1. Confessionalization	3
2. Confessional Culture	11
3. Homiletics	14
3.1 Printed Sermons	14
3.2 Osiander's Homiletics	16
3.3 Osiander and Luther	22
3.4 Osiander in His Sermons	24

Part One

Lucas Osiander as Court Preacher in Stuttgart (1569–1594)

<i>Chapter 1: The Memory of Lucas Osiander</i>	29
1.1 An Epitaph in the Collegiate Church of Stuttgart	29
1.2 The Funeral Sermon for Lucas Osiander	31
1.2.1 The Apostle Paul and Lucas Osiander	31
1.2.2 They Fought a Good Fight	33
1.2.3 They Finished the Course	34
1.2.4 They Kept Their Faith	35
1.3 A Typical Lutheran Preacher	39
<i>Chapter 2: Lucas Osiander at the Court</i>	41
2.1 A Court Preacher's Place in the Hierarchy	42
2.2 Lucas Osiander between Secular and Spiritual Power	45
2.2.1 A Useful Servant of Church and Duke	52
2.3 Lucas Osiander and Duke Ludwig	55
2.4 Lucas Osiander and Duke Friedrich	58
2.5 Lucas Osiander as a Lutheran Pastor of the Pre-Absolutist Era	64

<i>Chapter 3: Funeral Sermons</i>	67
3.1 A Survey of the Funeral Sermon Genre	68
3.1.1 The Funeral Sermon as a Textual Object	68
3.1.2 The Funeral Sermon as Ritual	74
3.1.3 Funeral Sermon Homiletics	79
3.2 The Funeral Sermons for Duke Ludwig	80
3.2.1 Court Preacher Andreas Osiander's Sermon in the Castle Chapel	83
3.2.2 Prelate Eberhard Bidembach's Sermon in the Monastery of Bebenhausen on the Night Before the Funeral	85
3.2.3 Stiftsprobst (Diocesan Dean) Johannes Magirus' Sermon in the Stuttgart Stiftskirche	86
3.2.4 Lucas Osiander's Funeral Sermon in Tübingen	88
3.2.5 Concluding Remarks	96
3.3 The Death of Duke Ludwig's First Wife Duchess Dorothea Ursula	97
3.4 The Death of Duke Ludwig's Mother Duchess Anna Maria	104
3.5 The Death of a Nobleman and Some of the Duke's Servants	114
3.5.1 The Death of Hans von und zu Stamhaim	114
3.5.2 The Death of Ducal Secretary Frantz Kurtz	117
3.5.3 The Death of Two of the Duke's Knights	120
3.6 The Death of Theologian and University Chancellor D. Jacob Andreae	123
 <i>Chapter 4: Osiander as Funeral Preacher</i>	 131

Part Two

Forming Young Lutherans: Lucas Osiander as Catechist in Esslingen (1598–1603)

<i>Chapter 5: Lucas Osiander in Esslingen</i>	139
5.1 Cities and Confessionalization	139
5.1.1 Communalism: Political Structures and Social Common Sense ..	140
5.1.2 Shifting Premises for Political Influence	142
5.1.3 Esslingen	143
5.1.4 The Emperor's Intervention	145
5.1.5 The Expansion of the Territorial State	146
5.1.6 Osiander and City Politics	149
5.1.7 City Reformation	153

5.2 Lucas Osiander's Catechetical Position	156
5.2.1 The Protestant Catechism Genre	156
5.2.2 Luther's Catechisms	160
5.2.3 Brenz's Catechism	164
5.2.4 Osiander's Position as a Württembergian Point of View	167
5.3 Catechetical Traditions in Esslingen	174
5.3.1 Otther's Catechism	174
5.3.2 Andreae's Catechism	176
5.3.3 Hermann's Catechism	178
5.4 Concluding Remarks	180
 <i>Chapter 6: Catechism Sermons</i>	 181
6.1 Setting the Scene: The Teaching Situation	184
6.1.1 The Catechist as Shepherd	184
6.1.2 The Catechists' Opponents: Turks and Jews or Monks and Priests	189
6.1.3 Baptism's Pedagogical Function: Engagement or Daily Conversion	198
6.1.4 Concluding Remarks: A God Who Demands Faith and a God Who Demands Fulfilment of His Commandments	203
6.2 Orienting within the Framework: To Recite the Creed	206
6.2.1 To Recite the Creed Is to Learn to Trust God	206
6.2.2 To Recite the Creed Involves Believing in Christ	211
6.2.2.1 Christ as Lord: The Importance of Knowing Christ	212
6.2.2.2 The Passion of Christ: Entering in the Right Relationship with Christ	215
6.2.2.3 Christ Defeats Devil and Hell for the Christian	221
6.2.2.4 Jesus as a Present Force: Christ's Ascension	225
6.2.2.5 Christ as Judge	232
6.2.2.6 Concluding Remarks: Christ as Pedagogue	234
6.2.3 To Believe in the Spirit	236
6.2.3.1 The Spirit and the Church	239
6.2.3.2 The Spirit Gives Forgiveness for Sin and Eternal Life	247
6.2.3.3 Concluding Remarks: Trust of the Heart Is the Faith that Saves	250
6.3 Experiencing God: Praying the Lord's Prayer	252
6.3.1 Starting Point: The Spirit's Urging or God's Command	252
6.3.2 Prayer's Progression	253
6.3.2.1 God as Father	253
6.3.2.2 Praying Is Being a Child	256
6.3.2.3 To Pray Is to Wander with God	261
6.3.3 Concluding Remarks: The Situation of Prayer	264

<i>Chapter 7: Conclusion: Catechist and City Preacher</i>	269
7.1 City and Confessionalization	269
7.2 Luther and Osiander	270
7.3 Composition as an Analytical Perspective	271
7.4 Doctrinal Content	272
7.5 Teaching Discourse	274
7.6 The Formation of Identity	277
7.7 The Preacher as a Political Player	279
 Conclusion	 283
 Bibliography	 287
 Index of Bible Verses	 299
Index of Names	300
Index of Subjects	303

Abbreviations

- CR Philipp Melanchthon, *Corpus Reformatorum*. Ed. Carolus Gottlieb Brettschneider (Halle: C. A. Schwetschke, 1846).
- RGG¹ *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung*. Edited by Friedrich Michael Schiele and Leopold Zscharnack (5 vols.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1909–1912).
- RGG⁴ *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*. Edited by Don Browning, Hans Dieter Betz, Bernd Janowski, and Eberhard Jüngel (8 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998–2005).
- TRE *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Edited by Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller et al. (36 vols.; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977–2004).
- WA *D. Martin Luthers Werke*. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. 77 vols. Edited by Joachim K. F. Knaake et al. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus, 1883–2009).

Introduction

For Lutherans, faith was received passively and justified the believer without merits, but it was still not a faith that occurred out of nothing. Faith's coming into existence depended on the preached word, and therefore even a passive conception of faith involved some form of activity. This was so not only because the word had to be preached and heard, but also because it had to be preached the right way in the right situation if it was to create a saving faith. Many different strategies were possible to meet this aim. This study will describe some of these strategies and the theology and political interests they express.

The religious formation studied here took place when Lutheranism had gone from being a critical voice within an established Catholic Church to having become a religion of its own, reproducing itself from generation to generation. As an established religion, Lutheranism's political and social functions became more obvious. The Lutheran church became a central institution contributing to integration, morality, and a shared identity in the countries that established themselves as confessional Lutheran states. This study will investigate how theological and political concerns interplay in shaping the form and content of the Lutheran *formation*.

It will do so by a case study of the preacher Lucas Osiander. Sermons will be employed as the study's main source material, and therefore it is the intentions and activities of formation that will be studied rather than the results. By analysing in detail a selection of Lucas Osiander's sermons and tracing how theology and politics were interwoven in them, this study will describe how a very central instance in the Lutheran forming activity, namely preaching, was connected to specific historical conditions, and how central theological concerns were accommodated to new challenges. It will analyze Osiander's sermons as a means for moving and forming congregants who were also subjects of a confessional secular authority. Thereby it will investigate his sermons as expressions of a Lutheran formation taking place in a specific historical situation.

Lucas Osiander is a welcome case for such an investigation. Sermons were not only his preferred mode of communication, but his religion's most prestigious genre, and as a preacher he was centrally placed as part of a theological elite which in this period of history was among the foremost Lutheran centres of learning. He was involved with religious instruction from a central position in

Württemberg, a territory that had become one of the foremost examples within the Holy Roman Empire of a Lutheran confessional state.

The study of the distinguished but typical Lutheran preacher Lucas Osiander is also a study of something more. Osiander was a pupil of Johannes Brenz, the most famous Württemberg theologian and author of Duke Christoph's church order written from 1552–1559,¹ and he became a close friend and ally of Jacob Andreae, one of the major figures behind the *Book of Concord* and legendary chancellor of the University in Tübingen for many years.² He was himself a doctor of theology who on occasions taught at the University in Tübingen, and who established a dynasty of university theologians in Tübingen.³ It is safe to describe him as a central Württemberg theologian. He also held a key position in the Württembergian church. As court preacher for many years, he presented some of the country's most exposed sermons, had a seat in the central church council, and was a link between duke and church in Württemberg. When he later became abbot in Adelberg and general superintendent, he was, together with the other three general superintendents and the dean of Stuttgart, one of five leading clerics in the territory.

¹ Sabine Holtz, *Theologie und Alltag: Lehre und Leben in den Predigten der Tübinger Theologen 1550–1750*, Spätmittelalter und Reformation N.R. 3 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1993), 20–21. Holtz' study has been a valuable resource for this work. It deals with similar source material as this study, namely Lutheran sermons from the time after 1550, and it has a similar interest for theology's relationship to societal life. However, Holtz pursues this interest differently from the study undertaken in this book. In her study, the problem to be investigated is identified on an abstract level and answered through an analysis of a wide source material. The question about the relationship between theological doctrine and social-ethical norm is answered by an investigation of how theology through preaching contributes to the constitution of society's system of symbols and values. The sermons are studied as mirrors into the currents of time, and the vast sermon material is categorized according to the doctrinal themes they negotiate. They are analyzed to show how doctrine and moral, elite theology and popular religion are interrelated. The study concludes that the elite theologians of the Lutheran orthodoxy through their sermons succeed in laying down a norm for human life. Holtz, *Theologie und Alltag*, 1–10. 372. The present study aims at similar description, namely that of the relationship between church practice in the form of preaching and life in society. However, by employing a more narrow focus, it follows this aim along a different path, as this chapter will describe in detail. It will describe one preacher as a political agent in a certain historical process, namely Lutheran confessionalization in Württemberg. By a rhetorical analysis it will describe how his sermons functioned in a certain situation, but thereby it will also identify aspects of this style of preaching that are tied to specific historical situations. Hopefully this will enable a more precise description of the interests that were negotiated in the sermons, of how the sermon negotiated them, and of how doctrinal concepts held political significance and responded to political interests.

² Martin Brecht, "Andreae, Jakob", in TRE 2, 672–680; and Julian Kümmerle, *Luthertum, humanistische Bildung und württembergischer Territorialstaat: Die Gelehrtenfamilie Bideimbach vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg 170 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008), 117–118.

³ Kümmerle, *Luthertum, humanistische Bildung und württembergischer Territorialstaat*, 81.

Osiander's career as a preacher took place during the period when Württemberg emerged as one of the leading Lutheran territories within the Empire. Württemberg was admired among fellow Lutheran territories for its early, well-planned church order with its integration of secular and religious concerns. The territory came to be regarded as one of the important Lutheran voices within the Empire. Through its famous university in Tübingen, it became a major supplier of theologians to other Lutheran territories in the Empire and thereby a significant exporter of Lutheran theology and ideas.⁴

Osiander's biography is in itself interesting with its dramatic shifts and conflicts as well as its great success and failures. He had a prominent origin as the offspring of first generation reformer Andreas Osiander, who had fallen into disfavour with mainstream Lutherans due to a conflict over the doctrine of justification, but remained secretly allied with Johannes Brenz and Duke Christoph of Württemberg. Still, this study will treat these parts of his biography only briefly and instead focus on two phases of his life that are of special interest for the study of religious formation in the intersection between theology and politics. Part One examines the first phase when Osiander served as court preacher in Stuttgart from 1569–1594, and Part Two examines the second phase when he was city preacher in Esslingen from 1598–1603. In these two phases of his life, Osiander found himself as a preacher positioned between the interests of church and duke, and later, seemingly, between the interest of church and city council, but in fact also between the interests of city and territory. In Part One, funeral sermons make up the main source material. These were presented on the occasion of deaths in the ducal family and they show how faith and salvation and an existence in the beyond are connected with the lives of concrete examples, namely the deceased. Part Two studies catechism sermons presented to the youth of Esslingen as a means of educating them in a Christian life and a saving faith. These sermons present a comprehensive picture of Christian teaching and therefore also a theological level complementing the form of preaching studied in Part One.

1. Confessionalization

This study aims to describe Lucas Osiander as a preacher in his historical context. Because of the way the case of Lucas Osiander is placed in time, and because

⁴ Matthias Langensteiner, *Für Land und Luthertum: Die Politik Herzog Christophs von Württemberg (1550–1568)*, (Köln, Weimar, and Wien: Böhlau, 2008), 244–245. Dieter Mertens claims that Württemberg from the end of the 1550s took the leading role among orthodox Lutheran territories; "Weltliche Territorien: A. Württemberg", in *Handbuch der baden-württembergischen Geschichte*, ed. Meinrad Schaab and Hansmartin Schwarzmaier (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1995), 119.

of the themes to which it calls attention, a discussion of the “confessionalization” thesis and its applicability for this study is unavoidable. The relationship between church and secular authorities in the formation of the population in early modern German territories is a central research interest associated with the paradigm, and the parts of Osiander’s life and work that are to be discussed in this study fall within the epoch that has been described as the peak of confessionalization.⁵

The German historians Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling developed the theory of confessionalization during the late 1970s as a perspective on historic change in German societies and the Holy Roman Empire in the period from, roughly speaking, the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 to the end of the Thirty Years’ War in 1648.⁶ It continued the perspective called “the era of the building of confessions” (*Konfessionsbildung*) which was introduced in the late 1950s by Ernst Walter Zeeden and referred to the period as a time when a similar development took place within the three major confessions, namely that they consolidated themselves according to dogma, institutions and morality.⁷ The theory of confessionalization emphasized how the building of the confessions was linked to the formation of the early modern state. By employing Gerhard Oestreich’s concept of social disciplining (*Sozialdisziplinierung*) scholars could show how church and state cooperated in the formation of the early absolutist state that later appeared.⁸ They could do so by subordinating the shorter history to a universal historical perspective,⁹ so that the short history was not understood only according to the conscious interests of its actors, but also by what was effected unintentionally.¹⁰ On one level, the confessionalization process brought confessional constraint within the territories and animosity between the territories in a way that led to a devastating war, but on another level the monopolization within the territories and the competition between them laid the foundation for early modern society. It made possible coherent and controllable territories with manageable structures and competent servants, and contributed to the formation of a disciplined

⁵ See Heinz Schilling, “Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich: Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620”, in idem, *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen zur europäischen Reformations- und Konfessionsgeschichte*, ed. Luise Schorn-Schütte and Olaf Mörke (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2002), 524.

⁶ See Stefan Ehrenpreis and Ute Lotz-Heumann, *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002), 62–79. See especially 71.

⁷ See Ehrenpreis and Lotz-Heumann, *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter*, 63; and Ernst Walter Zeeden, “Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung in Deutschland im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe”, *Historische Zeitschrift* 185, no. 2 (1958): 251–252.

⁸ Ehrenpreis and Lotz-Heumann, *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter*, 65 and 68. However, this disciplining perspective was present already in Zeeden’s concept. See Zeeden, “Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung”, 256 and 274.

⁹ Schilling, “Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich”, 505.

¹⁰ Ehrenpreis and Lotz-Heumann, *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter*, 72.

population of subjects.¹¹ According to Schilling, this universal historical perspective makes possible a new historical evaluation of the epoch. It is not only to be seen as the depressing transition from the glorious Reformation to the tragic Thirty Years' War, but as something more, namely a reorganization of society with lasting significance.¹²

The progression of confessionalization has been divided into several stages.¹³ Schilling has described the years 1540–1560 as its initiation period and the 1570s as years of confrontation when heterogeneous opinions were excluded, people fled from territories because of confession, and an offensive of confession-building displaced the pragmatism of the religious peace treaty. The 1580s were the peak of confessionalization as territories willingly risked peace and disrespected agreements and alliances for the sake of confession, theologians encouraged secular authority to disrespect imperial law if they could thereby hurt confessional opponents, and great public disputes caused disturbances within territories. During these years, Protestants took over dioceses and organized visitations effectively. It was in this period that Lucas Osiander was at the height of his career: In a time when confessional theology provided premises for domestic and foreign policy in Württemberg, Osiander was a central counselor at the duke's court and a member of the church leadership, and could therefore contribute to the processes here labeled as confessionalization. Toward the end of this period he fell into disfavour with the new duke and ended up in the imperial city of Esslingen. Here he influenced the shape of religious life and church organization in a time when imperial cities were losing some of their religious independence to the confessional territorial states that surrounded them. The last phase of confessionalization took place during the Thirty Years' War, when the terrors of war weakened confessionalization prior to the peace treaty of Westphalia.¹⁴

According to Schilling, the confessionalization process effected a confessional polarization affecting all areas of life. It involved a religious formation that was at the same time also a political and social formation. The process let Christian morality function as the morality of society.¹⁵ Schilling identifies the engine behind the change that took place during the confessionalization era not only in the competition between the territories, but also in a synergy that arose when two processes from two different parts of society met. In theology and religion there was a struggle for stability, and a similar struggle for stability was a governing

¹¹ Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich", 526 and 530.

¹² Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich", 504–505.

¹³ Ehrenpreis and Lotz-Heumann, *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter*, 71.

¹⁴ Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich", 515–527. Zeeden had given the process a slightly broader dating and saw it as beginning after the Peasants' War, with the Diet of Speyer and the beginning of the visitations in Saxony and lasting for approximately 100 years. See Zeeden, "Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung", 250, 252, and 259.

¹⁵ Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich", 530.

interest of the early modern state. These two areas of society interacted with each other in this struggle in a way that resulted in a closer integration of church and state, expressed in the visitation system, school and university politics, and in the politics of marriage and family.¹⁶ When the subjects of a territory were bound to a confession and unity of faith was secured by law, religion emerged as the bond holding society together. In this way, confessionalization contributed to several different tendencies within territories, such as social discipline, concentration of society, and political and social integration, even though the traditional conflict between the dukes' absolutist ambitions and the nobility's influence remained throughout the period.¹⁷

Confessionalization has been an influential thesis for the last few decades, but it has also been criticized. For this study, the most relevant criticism against it is that there is an implied *etatism* inherent in the theory because it views the state as the dominant historical agent.¹⁸ Heinrich Richard Schmidt has been an important voice for this objection. He claims that the confessionalization thesis has shifted focus from the religious form of life and the content of faith that was of primary importance in Zeeden's original research concept of *Konfessionsbildung*. The reason for this, he claims, is that within the confessionalization paradigm religion does not appear as interesting in itself, but only as a subordinate and partial process in the universal historic account of the state's disciplining, as a stage in its development. According to Schmidt, a researcher who sees religion as a means for disciplining will never be able to make religion the real subject of his or her research.¹⁹ Such a perspective would be impossible if one instead started by asking about the faith of individuals, Schmidt claims. As an alternative to the focus on the state and the disciplining that takes place top-down, Schmidt advocates the opposite perspective. According to him, a perspective that respects the religious dimension of life also admits that faith and morality can never be realized by a disciplining state, but must be rooted individually in the believer's

¹⁶ Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich", 513 and 528–530. Zeeden also identified stability as a main motivator for this change; Zeeden, "Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung", 286. He also saw that this motivation had a double basis among church theologians as well as among secular lords; *ibid.*, 253, 255, and 257.

¹⁷ Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich", 535.

¹⁸ In their survey of the concept's research history, Stefan Ehrenpreis and Ute Lotz-Heumann list the following as the most important issues that have been discussed: the claimed parallel developments between the three confessions; the characteristics and validity claims of the different confessions; and the paradigm's implied *etatism*, meaning the view of the state as the dominant historical agent. See Ehrenpreis and Lotz-Heumann, *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter*, 67. Since this study is restricted to only one of the three confessions, the first objection will not be discussed. The second objection will be dealt with in the next section's presentation of Thomas Kaufmann's view of the confessionalization thesis.

¹⁹ Heinrich Richard Schmidt, "Sozialdisziplinierung? Ein Plädoyer für das Ende des Etatismus in der Konfessionalisierungsforschung", *Historische Zeitschrift* 265, no. 3 (1997): 639–641 and 648 and 658.

awareness of the world and the hereafter, of the meaning of life and his or her view of eternity, and in his or her faith in an omnipotent and retaliating God.²⁰

Instead of the movement that takes place top-down in society, Schmidt focuses on the movement that takes place from the bottom to the top of society. The confessionalization thesis deals with a period when the state was weak and when local representatives of the state were respected only if they acted in harmony with the wishes and expectations of parish and village. According to Schmidt, it was a time when the state was expressed by the subjects in various ways including estate assemblies and supplications from subjects and through various violent and non-violent actions by subjects. Rulers relied on a basic consensus in society. When laws were passed, it was as answers to challenges, and new laws therefore expressed a changed mentality in the population. More than the opposite, the state was an instrument for villagers. Schmidt claims that this may be studied in relatively small-scale surveys which thereby may falsify giant theories, such as that of confessionalization.²¹ Despite the harsh criticism, Schmidt still ends by giving Schilling credit for his modifications of the confessionalization thesis, in which Schilling emphasizes the importance of interplay between micro-historical perspectives and macro-historical perspectives in confessionalization studies.²²

Schmidt may be right when he claims that confessionalization was not accomplished with the state as its primary agent, since it is only towards the end of the seventeenth century that absolutism replaced a participatory form of government. The question, however, is not whether Schmidt correctly critiqued Schilling for misplacing the absolutist state. The important question is obviously what the word “state” may refer to in this period. As far as I can see, Schilling is trying to describe a process on the way to the state as we know it, without describing this state as realized in the era of confessionalization. When he labels the confessionalization period a *Vorsattelzeit der Moderne* (saddling up for modernity), it signifies a view of this epoch's trends as something that takes place on the way to the formation of the absolutist state.²³ More than seeing confessionalization as an expression of the state, he sees it as a time when processes and structures are formed that later become decisive for the modern state.

In the article to which Schmidt was responding, Schilling describes how the confessionalization thesis has been modified by research it has inspired. Here he promotes a dual perspective combining micro-history with macro-history and presents the confessionalization thesis not as a description of the state as an agent and an independent entity, but as a lengthy and differentiated happening following two movements. One movement takes place from above by state and church

²⁰ Schmidt, “Sozialdisziplinierung?“, 659–660.

²¹ Schmidt, “Sozialdisziplinierung?“, 665–668 and 678–679.

²² Schmidt, “Sozialdisziplinierung?“, 644–646 and 682.

²³ See Heinz Schilling, *Early Modern European Civilization and Its Political and Cultural Dynamism* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2008), 14.

authorities, while another takes place from below by families, neighbourhoods, brotherhoods and corporations. The state was a disciplining factor during this period, but it was not the only one. Self-control was another important force for disciplining, and often the objects of disciplining were also its subjects. Another major force from below in the era of confessionalization was resistance by villages and estates characteristic of the old European societies.²⁴

In addition to this description of disciplining as a pincer movement taking place from above as well as from below, Schilling also defines the concept of disciplining as signifying far more than traditional church discipline and punishment. It involves all discourses on morality and attitudes, thinking, faith, and emotions. With these modifications, Schilling argues that his critics criticize an *etatism* in the paradigm that no longer exists. Macro-historic proposals should still be attempted, Schilling claims, but they must be kept open for modifications by micro-historic studies that may analyze the interplay between different social actors and make individual strategies understandable. According to Schilling, this openness to micro-historic description is a major constituent of macro-historic paradigms.²⁵ He still maintains that overarching structures and tendencies described by macro-history are necessary for micro-historic studies to discuss an operational historical problem, a view Schmidt would share, since he sees micro-historic study as a means for falsifying macro-historic theses. For Schilling, the small studies must be part of a greater history, and he judges the quality of such studies on their ability to combine the two perspectives.²⁶

The perspectives from above and from below as combined in the confessionalization thesis are useful for describing how Lucas Osiander as a preacher was an agent both in theology and politics. In a way, the two perspectives meet in his work. He was an agent for the dukes' disciplining efforts and at the same time a representative of the faith shared by the subjects, which was required to be respected by them and protected by the duke. His communications were definitely part of a discourse on morality and attitudes, thinking, faith, and emotions. The role Osiander fulfilled as a preacher is a very describable meeting point for the two perspectives from above and below. Surrounded by expectations and embedded in a social and political system, Osiander's role as preacher placed him in

²⁴ Heinz Schilling, "Disziplinierung oder 'Selbstregulierung der Untertanen'? Ein Plädoyer für die Doppelperspektive von Makro- und Mikrohistorie bei der Erforschung der frühmodernen Kirchenzucht", in *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen zur europäischen Reformations- und Konfessionsgeschichte*, ed. Luise Schorn-Schütte and Olaf Mörke (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2002), 635–636. As I see it, this view is compatible with Luise Schorn-Schütte's view of pre-modern history's change towards modernization as an organic more than a functional change. See Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit in der Frühneuzeit*, 23 and 26.

²⁵ Schilling, "Disziplinierung oder 'Selbstregulierung der Untertanen'?", 637.

²⁶ Zeeden seems to advocate a similar view of how microhistorical studies may at the same time be studies of macro-history. See Zeeden, "Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung", 299.

a position where different interests in society met. The perspectives from above and below help position Osiander within a social and political system and enable an analysis of his sermons as theological and political actions.

Preachers played a special role in the processes that shaped unified territories subjected to a ruler and developing into early modern states. Since it could supply personnel, land, and legitimacy to the ruler, the role of the church was crucial when land was secularized, income was channeled more directly to rulers' treasuries, church laws were incorporated in secular laws within a common jurisdiction, and when the ruler wanted to establish a system of loyal servants that could help tie different parts of the territory to the central power. The clerical elite thereby gained a central significance for government. During these processes, the Lutheran clergy appeared as a third estate between ruler and nobility. They could help unite the ruler's power with that of the nobility, but they could also balance the ruler's power.²⁷ Several alliances were possible in which the clergy could find shared interests as well as conflicts. Their significance as theologians thus connected their activity as clerics to the political field.

This study presents a two-stage description of Lucas Osiander as a preacher. Part One describes him as court preacher in Württemberg and demonstrates how the perspectives from above and below meet in Osiander's dealings with duke, estates, colleagues, and subjects. In Part Two, on Osiander as a city preacher in Esslingen, the two perspectives meet in Osiander's dealings with city council, church organization, citizens, and foreign authorities. Osiander's theological background and contribution form an equally important framework as the political. He was a Lutheran theologian in the first generation after Luther, concerned with confirming Lutheran theology and accomplishing the institutional and religious consequences he believed should be implemented as a result of this confirmation. His theological thinking and argumentation followed its own logic, but it was also associated with historical change on a broader level.

Part One will show how Osiander's funeral preaching rested on and developed theological premises, especially an understanding of death and a practice for burial which enabled a new form of exemplarity and learning. They enabled descriptions of secular lives as examples of faith that had been hardly possible previously, and Osiander employed such descriptions far more boldly than Lutherans of previous generations. Osiander's style of preaching seems to have been characterized by this example rhetoric, and the sermon analyzes undertaken in this study will have a special focus on this rhetorical device. The way Osiander employed contemporary examples together with examples from the Bible lent his sermons a special dynamic. By investigating how the combination of contemporary and biblical examples was utilized in each specific situation, this study will trace the

²⁷ This theme will be discussed further in Part One, Chapter 2.5. For a comprehensive study of preachers' role in this era, see Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit in der Frühenneuzeit*.

speech-act his sermons would have employed in their original situations. This new form of preaching would have held a specific political utility. By reading the sermons with an eye for this utility, it is possible to study how different interests were supported and confronted in sermons presented at funerals. The proceedings surrounding the duke's death and the funeral sermons presented for him and for central persons in his court hold a central place in Part One's descriptions of Osiander as a court preacher. They will be read in order to investigate whose interests these sermon examples served. Did Osiander in his use of secular lives as examples of faith simply serve the duke's interests or was he promoting church doctrine and laying down religious premises for the duke's rule? Here theological and homiletic traditions become crucial for understanding the form of confessionalization that Osiander took part in with his preaching.

Part Two stresses how the Reformation's emphasis on faith and knowledge resulted in a new and energetic effort for reaching the population with religious education, and it places Lucas Osiander at the centre of this effort. The theology taught in his catechism sermons promoted a faith closely connected with civic morality. Protestant catechism teaching involved a change in religious education with theological roots, but it was a change which also held great political consequence, and the politics it influenced could in return influence the shape and content of religious education. In Osiander's teaching, youths were led into a coherent universe where civil society, political hierarchy and religious meaning were closely connected. They were connected by the same means as in Osiander's funeral sermons, namely by the use of examples. Here, the examples were not made up of the lives of recently departed members of the community, but by descriptions of people and situations in the young peoples' surroundings. The examples enabled Osiander to promote a religious universe where contemporary society was linked very clearly with an ordered cosmos. The comprehensive coherence of the religious universe Osiander promoted in his catechism sermons lent him a political role and could involve him in conflict. If youths were moved by his teaching to adopt this religious universe, their resulting loyalty to society and superiors would be loyalty over which the preacher held considerable influence. It appears that Osiander's political role and the message he promoted influenced each other. The study of this interplay, which will be undertaken in Part Two's sermon analysis, is therefore also a study of Osiander's role in the confessionalization process.

In both Parts One and Two, theological and political changes were connected with a redefinition of how secular life was connected with the truths of faith, and with how religious authority related to secular authority. This study traces how interplay between these two spheres continued as seen through the case of Lucas Osiander. In order to trace theological change with some level of precision, and thereby to better point out how the political is connected with the theological, Luther regularly appears as a contrasting figure in this study. In these instances,

Luther is employed together with Osiander as a way to describe theological change within the confessionalization paradigm.

As a work in the field of church history, this study will obviously not describe religion as a derivative phenomenon. Instead it will pursue the doctrine of concurrent origin as it has been described by Berndt Hamm. He stated that an open view on religion's reality should not only take seriously theology's and religion's embeddedness in the political, social, and mental environment, but also take the opposite fact equally seriously, namely the embeddedness of politics, economy, and psychology in religion. He calls this openness a model of explanation that presupposes a concurrent origin of religious and social interests, so that one phenomenon may not be deduced from the other, but where both are seen as mutually interwoven with each other. Accompanying this model is, according to Hamm, a double rule. Firstly, one must be willing to see that the way people feel threatened and insecure influences their theological understanding and thereby the character of the church. Secondly, one must see that people's faith influences the way they feel threatened and insecure.²⁸

2. Confessional Culture

This study uses Lucas Osiander as a case study to display how confessionalization could take place in the work of a typical preacher in a central environment of Lutheran orthodoxy at the height of confessionalization. The case will be studied in order to answer questions about how a preacher's action aided confessionalization, as well as about how the goals of confessionalization suited the intentions of this preacher.²⁹ In order to pursue this interest, awareness of the significance of Osiander's specific theological and confessional background is necessary. Interest in the confessions' contribution to historical change has been accompanied by a focus on the similar processes taking place within the three different confessions in sixteenth century Europe. Confessionalization research has also been aware, however, that the confessions contributed differently to societal change and that these differences are associated with theological and cultural differences. A prominent example is the concept of a "second reformation", describing the confessionalization that took place in Reformed territories and cities during the second half of the sixteenth century.

²⁸ Berndt Hamm, *Bürgertum und Glaube: Konturen der städtischen Reformation*, Sammlung Vandenhoeck (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 19–20.

²⁹ Admittedly this question resembles some of the questions Zeeden saw in 1958 as following from his article: "Wer sind schließlich die eigentlichen Träger der Konfessionalisierung ...? Welche Überzeugungen und Gesinnungen stehen hinter diesen Aktivisten; welcher Mittel und Kräfte bedienen sie sich? Wie steht es um ihre Provenienz, ihre Ausbildung, ihre geistige Formung?" Zeeden, "Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung", 298.

In a summary of research on this concept, Heinz Schilling described the second reformation with reference to some common characteristics of Reformed confessionalization. Though there was considerable theological variety among Reformed theologians, they stood unified against the Lutheranism of the Formula of Concord and shared some common interests in society. Instead of the typically Lutheran focus on the inner core of religion, they turned towards outer life and especially the public part of life as a member of the church. Considerable energy was invested in the rational organization of society, for Reformed theologians claimed that Luther's reformation of doctrine had to be completed by a second reformation, namely a reformation of the community. Their primary tools in this reformation were church discipline and cooperation with the secular punitive system. Individual life was not their primary target, but rather life in congregation and society.³⁰ Though a similar concentration on society also took place in Lutheran territories and the confessional differences therefore are not clear cut, Schilling still holds that focus on social organization and discipline and a wide theological basis for secular rule to have been specifically Reformed characteristics, as well as a lack of focus on the publication of vernacular edifying literature and on individual pastoral care.³¹

Thomas Kaufmann also has seen the need to complement the confessionalization thesis with a focus on specific differences between the confessions.³² Though there are structural similarities in the developments between the epoch's different confessions and territories, Kaufmann emphasizes that the confessions also represent different cultures. Therefore, if one is to understand this epoch's changes, it is not enough to study the similarities between the three confessions. One must also study how they developed different cultures with confessional characteristics. The different confessions developed different ways of integrating church and society and of influencing societal change, and Kaufmann suggests that this phenomenon be studied under the concept "confessional culture" (*Konfessionskultur*).

Kaufmann's description of the most important characteristics of Lutheran confessional culture is relevant to this study. His major argument is that the development of Lutheranism within the framework of the territorial state led to a Lutheran pluralism which did not end with the *Book of Concord* in 1580 and Lutheran orthodoxy. Lutheran orthodoxy did not present a fixed dogma, but

³⁰ Heinz Schilling, "Die 'Zweite Reformation' als Kategorie der Geschichtswissenschaft", in *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland: Das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation"*; *Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, ed. Heinz Schilling, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 195 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus G. Mohn, 1986), 413–418.

³¹ Schilling, "Die 'Zweite Reformation' als Kategorie der Geschichtswissenschaft", 415.

³² Thomas Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur: Lutherischer Protestantismus in der zweiten Hälfte des Reformationsjahrhunderts, Spätmittelalter und Reformation* N. R. 29 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 326.

was a dynamic process of continuing appropriation and rejection in discussions within the Lutheran confession as well as with other confessions and with philosophy.³³ Within this pluralism Kaufmann identifies some common features that correspond to a Lutheran focus on dogma and inner faith different from the concerns of Reformed confessionalization. Firstly, there was a common sense of belonging to the Wittenberg Reformation led by Luther and Melancthon. Secondly, Lutheran confessional culture was a culture of dissent and controversy and was formed by controversy. Thirdly, it is a culture marked by the great influence of theology professors. This feature had its origin among university professors in Wittenberg, and elites educated at universities remained central for Lutheran confessionalization as learned clerics addressing the ordinary man. Finally, Kaufman saw Luther's continuing high status as a characteristic feature. Lutherans were cautious to avoid idolization, but there was no one who could fill Luther's position after his death, and thus, through a persistent reception history and interpretation controversy about his writings, he gained lasting influence.³⁴

According to Kaufmann, Lutheran communicational culture was, to a greater extent than the other confessions, characterized by a vast publication of vernacular books.³⁵ Book production was an engine in the dynamics that developed Lutheran confessional culture. This culture expressed a faith in the power of the written word, and according to Kaufmann the huge production of books only makes sense if there was a demand and a market for all the books. At least a pious middle class of citizens would have read the books and drawn consequences of them.³⁶

I regard Kaufmann's contribution to this study's focus on Lutheran preaching as a formative activity placed between state and congregation in this period. His perspective on Lutheranism as a pluralist culture of controversy will be employed when this study asks about the sort of Lutheranism Osiander represents as well as about its characteristics. When this study investigates the relationship between Osiander and Luther's writings, it presupposes the importance of Luther and his writings that Kaufmann points out. Kaufmann's observations about the ardent publication of books in the popular language by Lutherans and the culture of reading associated therewith is another basic precondition for this study. Its source material is published sermons and this study relies on the premise that this material is a meaningful object of study and a window into Lutheran confessional culture. These observations support the choice of material for this study,

³³ Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur*, 16.

³⁴ Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur*, 17–21.

³⁵ Mary Jane Haemig and Robert Kolb, "Preaching in Lutheran Pulpits in the Age of Confessionalization", in *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675*, ed. Robert Kolb, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 11 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 124–134.

³⁶ Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur*, 23. Cf., Schilling, "Die 'Zweite Reformation' als Kategorie der Geschichtswissenschaft", 415.

namely published sermons and popular theological discourse, and the way this study aims at testing Osiander's contribution to confessionalization.

3. Homiletics

This study will focus on Osiander's sermons and their intentions and tie them to their original historical context. It is therefore worthwhile to take a closer look at Osiander's own theory for preaching. Lucas Osiander holds a prominent position within Lutheran homiletics and wrote one of Lutheran orthodoxy's earliest homiletics. Here, and in some of his other writings on the sermon, he shows how he views the sermon and how he ties intentions to the concrete shape and content of a sermon. However, before turning to his homiletics text, I will make a short evaluation of printed sermons as source material.

3.1 Printed Sermons

The source material that is the basis for this study consists mainly of printed sermons published sometime after they had been presented orally and claiming to reproduce the sermons as they were presented. The exception is Luther's catechism sermons, which were recorded by hand by Luther's scribe Rörer.³⁷ These sermons will be compared with the printed version of the same sermons later compiled by Luther himself and published as his *Large Catechism*.³⁸ The other sermons used in this study were published and therefore had a longer life and larger audience than those who heard them in their original context when they were presented from a pulpit. Still, it will be the original situation with its specified time and place that is here chosen as the context for the analysis of the sermons. Since the original manuscripts of the sermons in this study are not easily accessible or have been lost, this study is not based on manuscripts but on printed texts. An evaluation of printed sermons as source material therefore is unavoidable.

Johannes Wallmann has claimed that printed sermons in this period came into being in two different ways. One was on the basis of an original manuscript delivered for printing after the sermon had been given, perhaps with alterations resulting from the presentation. The other possibility was that the preacher preached freely and without a manuscript, and that the printed version came into

³⁷ About Georg Rörer, see Albrecht Beutel, "Predigt VIII", in TRE 27, 297; WA 30/1, 1; and Georg Buchwald, "Jenaer Lutherfunde", *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 76, no. 1 (1894): 374–391. On the basis of study of some of Luther's sermon manuscripts, Stolt claims that few of Luther's sermons that were printed bear closer resemblance to his actual sermons than do the records of Rörer and Veit Dietrich; Birgit Stolt, *Martin Luthers Rhetorik des Herzens* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 62.

³⁸ WA 30/1, 123–238.

being on the basis of records taken down by someone in the audience. According to Wallmann, the second option was common among the first generation of reformers, whereas the first option was common in the time of Lutheran orthodoxy. He presents Luther and Zwingli as examples of preachers who did not use manuscripts, and whose printed sermons came into being on the basis of transcriptions, while Spener is seen as an example of someone preaching on the basis of manuscripts later delivered for print. Wallmann claims in those cases where the pastor preached from a manuscript, the printed sermon will bear close resemblance to the original, whereas this connection will be more uncertain in those cases where the print original is a record from one of the sermon's listeners.³⁹ Birgit Stolt offers a slightly different view. In her studies of some of Luther's original sermon manuscripts, she shows that Luther also probably preached on the basis of well-prepared manuscripts. However, her evaluation of sermon transcriptions is similar to Wallmann's. She points out that some of Luther's sermons may have been printed on the basis of original manuscripts and argues that the printed versions may be closer to the original than the records by Luther's scribes Rörer and Dietrich.⁴⁰

I have not conducted any text critical investigations of Osiander's sermons, but I still believe that Osiander probably preached on the basis of thoroughly prepared manuscripts. His sermons follow his own compositional principles quite strictly and are well-balanced and planned, and I have not come across any mention of a scribe. In his prefaces he refers to the original context for his sermons and to the wishes of his original audience as the main reason for sending his sermon manuscripts to be printed. This audience would probably have expected the printed version to accord at some level with what they had heard. The individual sermons within his sermon collections have traces of the original context in their regular references to the listeners gathered in the church.⁴¹

Osiander's own homiletics theory gives another argument favouring the view that he preached on the basis of manuscripts. His advice in his *De ratione concionandi* from 1582 is quite clear. Preachers should preach on the basis of well-prepared manuscripts. The preparation of a manuscript is necessary if one is to employ the rhetorical rules that should guide a sermon and secure the sermon's communication. It involves a process of selecting the material for the sermon, guards the sermon's connection to the biblical text and to true doctrine, and thus secures the sermon's clarity. When a sermon manuscript is completed, Osiander

³⁹ Johannes Wallmann, "Prolegomena zur Erforschung der Predigt im Zeitalter der lutherischen Orthodoxie", *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 106 (2009): 294–296.

⁴⁰ Stolt, *Martin Luthers Rhetorik des Herzens*, 75–76.

⁴¹ E. g. Lucas Osiander, *Bawren Postilla: Das ist / Einfältige / jedoch gründtliche Auflegung der Episteln und Euangelien ...*, Teil 1 (Tübingen: Georg Gruppenbach, 1597), 2; and *Fünffzig Predigten Vber den Christlichen Catechismus / Gehalten in des heiligen Römischen Reichs Statt Eßlingen* (Tübingen: Georg Gruppenbach, 1600), iv and 4.

continues, it is important that the preacher present the sermon exactly as he has written in his manuscript without omitting any part. According to Osiander, the most admirable preacher is he who writes down his sermon word by word and thereafter presents it as it is written. All the more blameworthy is the preacher who leaves this out because of impatience, for he may come to insult his listeners, Osiander warns.⁴² On this basis, I find it safe to use Osiander's written sermons as source material and analyze them in view of their original context.

3.2 Osiander's Homiletics

Osiander's homiletic book is one of the first in Lutheran orthodoxy, published thirteen years prior to Andreae's, which was published posthumously and presents a similar view of the sermon as Osiander's book.⁴³ His homiletics was part of a young Protestant homiletical tradition. In the homiletics survey of his *Lehrbuch der Praktischen Theologie*, Achelis presents Osiander as one of few bright spots between Melanchthon's humanistically inspired homiletics and the biblical new scholasticism that took over with Lutheran orthodoxy's preaching tradition. Melanchthon continued classical rhetoric as it had been rediscovered in the homiletics works of the humanists Reuchlin and Erasmus, both with regards to a speech's construction (*inventio, memoria, pronuntiatio*), its disposition (*principium, lectio, divisio, confirmatio, confutatio, conclusio*), as well as its classification in three genres (*genus demonstrativum*, which presents something as laudable or blameworthy; *genus deliberativum*, which confirms or disapproves; and *genus iudicale*, which settles a controversy between accusation and defence). Achelis portrays Melanchthon as continuing this tradition by describing the preacher as a classical rhetor and the theologian as a humanist. Melanchthon contributed by adding two genres of speech to the three classical ones, namely *genus dialectikum* and *genus didaskalikon*. He regarded the deliberative genre as convincing or exhorting, whereas *didaskalikon* was a speech genre for teaching. This last genre would often be superfluous, such as when a comprehensible dialectic speech on a dogmatic subject had been given.⁴⁴ This system gave the different genres different purposes. *Didaskalikon*'s purpose was to teach and *demonstrativum*'s purpose was to praise a person, whereas *iudicale* was not regarded as suitable in a sermon. Since Melanchthon saw Christian doctrine as the sermon's main content, Achelis claims that he brought little new that was not already present in Reuchlin and Erasmus' conceptions.

⁴² Lucas Osiander, *De ratione concionandi* (Tübingen: Alexander Hoggis, 1588), 52. E. g. "Sanè eorum Concionatorum diligentia & zelus admiratione dignus est, qui integras Conciones ad verbum conscribunt: idq; operam dant, vt ijsdem verbis eas recitent, quibus sunt consignatae."

⁴³ Jacob Andreae, *Methodus concionandi* (Wittenberg: Gronenberg, 1595); and Ernst Christian Achelis, *Lehrbuch der Praktischen Theologie*, vol. 2 (3d ed.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911), 108.

⁴⁴ Achelis, *Lehrbuch der Praktischen Theologie*, vol. 2, 103, and Haemig and Kolb, "Preaching in Lutheran Pulpits in the Age of Confessionalization", 136–137.

According to Achelis, it was mainly Andreas Hyperius who turned homiletics into a Protestant and evangelical theological discipline. His *De formandis concionibus sacris seu interpretatione scripturarum populari libri* from 1553 and 1562 established a clear distinction between rhetoric and homiletics and emphasized the difference between speaking in a church and in other fora. He saw the purpose of a sermon not in its teaching about faith or praising of a person, but in the way it led people to salvation and redemption. Though he employed classical rhetoric in a way that resembled Melanchthon in his description of the purpose of the speech (*docere, delectare, flectere*), his recommended composition process showed a greater concern for homiletics' relationship to scriptural exegesis. According to Hyperius, the style and genre of a speech should be found in the text that was the sermon's subject, which meant that the preacher sometimes had to mix different speech genres.⁴⁵ After Hyperius, Achelis identifies a general decay in Protestant homiletics characterized by exaggerated focus on the speech genres of Melanchthon's scheme, resulting in a mechanical and superficial form of speech. When this was later combined with Lutheran orthodoxy's view of Scripture, it resulted in a learned and arrogant form of preaching which was primarily interested in arresting all forms of heresy, Achelis claims.⁴⁶

The exceptions Achelis sees from this discouraging tendency are the homiletics of Osiander and Andreae, which he claims represent a homiletics emphasizing a style of preaching that is understandable and close to the biblical text.⁴⁷ A reading of Osiander's *De ratione concionandi* confirms to a large degree Achelis' general characterization. At the outset Osiander identifies two main principles that apply to the sermon. The first principle is that the sermon should give a true and understandable explanation of the biblical text. The second is that a saving doctrine should be extracted from the text and explained, and that listeners should be imprinted with this doctrine.⁴⁸ Biblicality and understandability are thus presented as his homiletics' major concerns.

Biblicality should be secured by the preacher's proper preparation. In order to discern good commentaries from bad commentaries, he must be sure to understand the biblical text and be able to read it in its original language. This understanding is important also because Osiander, like Hyperius, saw that the biblical text indicates its own rhetorical function. It is therefore necessary that one asks about rhetorical function when selecting and interpreting a biblical text in order

⁴⁵ Achelis, *Lehrbuch der Praktischen Theologie*, vol. 2, 104–106.

⁴⁶ Achelis, *Lehrbuch der Praktischen Theologie*, vol. 2, 107–108. A similar view of Lutheran orthodoxy's preaching is presented by Hans Martin Müller, "Homiletik", in TRE 15, 535, who makes no exception for Osiander, but sees him as a representative of Lutheran orthodoxy's homiletics characterized by lifeless and doctrinal formalism lending preachers very little freedom to reach hearts with vibrant preaching and get in touch with life as it was lived in the parishes.

⁴⁷ Achelis, *Lehrbuch der Praktischen Theologie*, vol. 2, 108.

⁴⁸ Osiander, *De ratione concionandi*, 9.

to see for which situation the text is suitable, whether it be funerals or weddings.⁴⁹ The text's rhetorical function also indicates which speech genre the preacher should choose for his sermon, and since Jesus and the prophets from time to time employed several genres within one speech, preachers may do the same when it is indicated by the text.⁵⁰ Thus, biblicality is also achieved by the proper choice of genre. Finally, biblicality is secured by the sermon's disposition, where the importance of the narrative part (*narratio*) of the sermon is emphasized, but also restricted to only retelling the text clearly. In the propositional part (*propositio*), where the arguments of the text are to be reported, it is not sufficient to recite *loci communes* (dogmatic themes). However, when the arguments of the text are repeated and pointed out, one may paraphrase a *locus* suiting the text.⁵¹ Osiander holds the biblicality of a sermon to be so important that even if a preacher speaks indistinctly and is a bad rhetorician, he should still not be condemned if he has not mistaken the purpose of the text and presents it properly and understandably.⁵² For, as Osiander explains, the great classical rhetorician Quintilian claimed rhetoric is to be employed as a means and a tool, and not as a law.⁵³

The other main theme in Osiander's homiletics is the pedagogical aspect of preaching and the concern that the biblical teaching should reach and touch the listeners. This concern is present already in the discussion of how to select texts for preaching. Some texts instruct, some exhort, and others comfort or threaten. The preacher must therefore ask how the different texts may be used, for if he fails to do so, the study of the Word of God becomes boring and stiffens, which in turn prevents the sermon from reaching its audience. The sermon should avoid this boredom and rather teach attentiveness and cheerfulness.⁵⁴ The texts must therefore be chosen with regards to the listener's situation in order to be relevant and interesting. Thus, since it is the text that indicates speech genre, and since the text should be chosen with regards to the situation, it is indirectly the situation of the audience that directs the choice of speech genre.⁵⁵ Osiander finds that all the traditional speech genres inherited from Melancthon have their place in the sermon, and sometimes a sermon must employ more than one genre. Two of them

⁴⁹ Osiander, *De ratione concionandi*, 13.

⁵⁰ Osiander, *De ratione concionandi*, 32.

⁵¹ Osiander, *De ratione concionandi*, 39–42.

⁵² Osiander, *De ratione concionandi*, 26.

⁵³ Osiander, *De ratione concionandi*, 27: "... quemadmodum ipsi etiam Oratores non præceptis Rhetoricis SERVIVNT, sed ijs ad suum institutum VTVNTVR quantum ipsis commodum est. Et sapienter Quintilianus monet, præceptiones Rhetoricas non habendas esse pro legibus, quæ in æs sint incisæ."

⁵⁴ Osiander, *De ratione concionandi*, 13: "quæ tamen summa alacritate & aviditate erant dis-cenda & docenda."

⁵⁵ Osiander, *De ratione concionandi*, 26. A similar principle seems to have been applied later by Osiander's colleague Felix Bidembach in his manual from 1603. See Haemig and Kolb, "Preaching in Lutheran Pulpits in the Age of Confessionalization", 143.

are most relevant for this study and will be discussed in the subsequent chapters. Osiander's discussion of the demonstrative genre will be presented in Part One's discussion of funeral sermons, whereas his views on the teaching genre will be presented in Part Two's discussion of catechism sermons.⁵⁶

Concern that sermons should be easily understandable is also the reason for Osiander's insistence that sermons be short. He insists that in order to avoid exhausting its listeners, a sermon should never last more than an hour,⁵⁷ and he repeats this view in the miniature homiletics that serves as a preface to his much read *Sermons for Farmers*.⁵⁸ In order to reach listeners with good comfort, the preacher should speak in simple sentences, omit everything unnecessary and make sure to repeat his most important points.⁵⁹ He should refrain from polemics and from mentioning theological opponents, since this may confuse simple folk. Subtle disputes may disorient them and therefore one should strive to explain one's intentions clearly and plainly.⁶⁰ For the same reason preachers should avoid bringing too many *loci communes* into their sermons. One *locus* may suffice and one should never discuss more than three, for he who enters into a discussion of these things for the greater part of an hour will exhaust his audience and abuse their attention. The general rule is that what is not plainly explained will not be understood.

The same focus on recipients and understandability is present in Osiander's recommendations for the use of illustrations. Here as well the preacher should strive for understandable simplicity. Examples that are meant to enlighten an element of Christian doctrine should not be intricate or complicated. Obscure quotations from profane poets or heathen history, as recommended by classical rhetoric's collections of examples, should therefore be avoided. Instead, examples should be taken from the Bible and the prophets, where examples can be found that are simple and familiar and which invoke the trust of the congregation.⁶¹ A few understandable examples may have the best effect and are to be preferred over employing many examples.⁶²

Thus, according to Osiander's view of the sermon, behind the choice of texts and examples, there should always be a conscious consideration of the listeners

⁵⁶ Osiander, *De ratione concionandi*, 26–28 and 29–30.

⁵⁷ Osiander, *De ratione concionandi*, 37.

⁵⁸ Osiander, *Bawren Postilla*, Theil 1, 3.

⁵⁹ Osiander, *De ratione concionandi*, 37; and Osiander, *Bawren Postilla*, Theil 1, 4.

⁶⁰ Osiander, *De ratione concionandi*, 51; and Osiander, *Bawren Postilla*, Theil 1, 3. According to Thomas Kaufmann, the effort to present a theological dogmatic plainly and appropriately was common among Lutheran preachers of the period. See Thomas Kaufmann, "Lutherische Predigt im Krieg und zum Friedensschluß", in *1648 – Krieg und Frieden in Europa*, Textband I: *Politik, Religion, Recht und Gesellschaft*, ed. Klaus Bußmann and Heinz Schilling (München: Bruckmann, 1998), 246.

⁶¹ Osiander, *De ratione concionandi*, 47–48; and Osiander, *Bawren Postilla*, Theil 1, 4.

⁶² Osiander, *De ratione concionandi*, 28.