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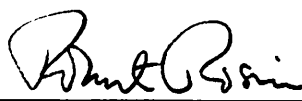
CONRAD DIETERICH (1575–1639)  
AND THE INSTRUCTION OF LUTHER'S SMALL CATECHISM

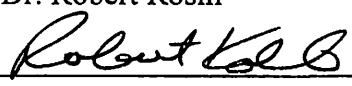
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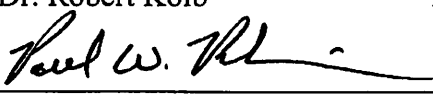
A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of  
Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Systematic Theology  
In Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

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By  
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June, 2005

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## ABSTRACT

Bode, Gerhard H. "Conrad Dieterich (1575–1639) and the Instruction of Luther's Small Catechism." Ph.D. Diss., St. Louis, MO: Concordia Seminary, 2005. 350 pp.

Luther's catechisms have had a lasting impact on catechesis in the Lutheran church and are still widely used in Lutheran circles more than 475 years after Luther wrote them. Conrad Dieterich (1575–1639) wrote several catechisms based on Luther's Small Catechism that were widely used in Lutheran circles during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Two of Dieterich's works were intended for use by upper-level students in Latin schools and employed dialectical method in presenting the catechetical doctrine. The dissertation addresses one basic two-part question: first, what is the nature of the method Dieterich employs in his analysis and explanation of the teaching of Luther's catechism, and second, why does Dieterich exposit the catechism in this way? To answer these questions the dissertation sets the stage by reviewing Luther's understanding of catechesis and the purposes for his catechisms. This is followed by a look at Dieterich's life and career and a consideration of how his work fits in its theological and historical context. Dieterich's conception of the catechetical task is then discussed, followed by an examination of the method and content of his Latin catechisms. Finally, the impact of Dieterich's catechetical works is analyzed, with a survey of the manner in which schools and churches employed his books and the reasons why they stopped using them.

In his Latin textbooks on catechesis, Dieterich presents an eclectic approach combining elements from the dialectical methods of Aristotle and Petrus Ramus. This hybrid form consists mainly of Aristotelian doctrine presented according to the method and order of Ramus. To a large degree, the Aristotelian subject matter of Dieterich's dialectic is derived from Melancthon's system of logic found in his textbook, the *Erotemata dialectices*. The dissertation concludes that

the idea of faith changes when the tool of dialectical method gets to be firmly fixed and becomes more than a tool, with the result that Dieterich's method has a distinct impact on the content and message of Luther's Small Catechism.



## INTRODUCTION

The Lutherans after Luther were the heirs of a strong educational tradition. The foundation for this tradition had been set in place during the earliest days of the Reformation, and education played a central role in the establishment, expansion, and preservation of the evangelical reform movement. For Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, and others, the Reformation in Wittenberg had begun as an academic movement, as a reform of the university curriculum. Quickly the emphasis on education in the liberal arts, languages, and the basics of the Christian faith extended to all segments of society. In areas where the Reformation took hold, the creation of new schools and the reform of existing ones helped to ensure the future of Lutheran education. *Schulordnungen* reshaped the structure and curricula of schools to suit the needs of the evangelical movement. The reformers employed new textbooks and humanistic pedagogical method to communicate a new world of learning to students. At the start the saying was “no humanism, no Reformation” as the Reformation found parts of the method useful in rediscovering the Gospel. But by century’s end it could be the reverse—“no Reformation, no humanism”—since the evangelical movement played a large role in sustaining humanism in its schools, perpetuating elements of the method, including some that Dieterich used.

Catechisms—especially Luther’s Small Catechism—were critical elements in the Lutheran Reformation’s program of education. The catechism was a vehicle for the Reformation, a means of communicating Luther’s evangelical breakthrough to children and adults alike. While holding a place of importance in Lutheran homes and congregations as a tool for cultivating the life of repentance and faithful Christian living, the catechism also served as the foundation for religious instruction in schools. Through its use in the classroom, the catechism became a textbook, but

one with a teaching like no other. In simple questions and answers, the catechism proclaimed the message of the Christian faith and life to students—even teaching them what it meant to be Lutheran.

In the period following the Reformation, pastors and teachers continued the work of education. Faced with the challenges of communicating the evangelical faith to new generations of Lutherans, they sought to be faithful to the Lutheran confessional teaching while meeting the educational needs of their own time. For many, Luther's Small Catechism remained the basis of religious instruction in congregations and schools. However, the curricula in educational institutions, especially the Latin schools and *Gymnasia*, often involved more extensive instruction in the Christian faith than was offered in Luther's catechism. To fill this need, Lutheran pastors and teachers composed many expanded catechisms or compendia of Christian doctrine for students who had already mastered the basic catechetical teaching.

Perhaps recalling Luther's own suggestion of taking up a "longer catechism" for the purpose of providing students with a "richer and fuller understanding," many educators enlarged the subject material of the catechism, developing this into a regular course in the school curriculum.<sup>1</sup> In some cases, doctrinal textbooks designed for this purpose departed from the text of the catechism itself and presented the basic Lutheran teachings in other formats. Others, however, expanded on the simple teaching of the Small Catechism, building on Luther's foundation and greatly supplementing its content. Some of these catechisms served as expositions or commentaries on Luther's catechism, but they also constructed a more detailed discussion of doctrinal topics far beyond what Luther had introduced, with the result that they were like small dogmatics handbooks.

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<sup>1</sup> Luther, Preface, Small Catechism, 17.

A prime example of this latter approach is found in two of the catechetical texts of Conrad Dieterich (1575–1639). As professor at the university and head of the Latin school (the *Paedagogium*) in Giessen, and later as Superintendent and *Münsterprediger* in Ulm, Dieterich wrote catechisms based on Luther's Small Catechism. Dieterich's Latin catechetical works, the *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613) and *Epitome Catechetica* (1614), grew out of his instruction at the Giessen *Paedagogium*. They were textbooks intended for use by students who had already mastered Luther's catechism in school and who had a relatively advanced level of learning in the other subjects in the curriculum. Dieterich's books expanded on the teachings of the catechism set down by Luther and gave students a thorough training in the fundamental teachings of Lutheran doctrine. Widely used in Lutheran schools in the German lands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Dieterich's catechisms were even utilized by Lutherans in North America in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

After his arrival in Ulm, Dieterich edited and published an edition of Luther's Small Catechism in German for use in the churches and schools in Ulm—*Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers* (1616). This little handbook was used to teach generations of students in Ulm's schools, as well as the children and adults in its congregations.

The history and influence of Luther's catechisms have been well documented. Little research, however, has been done on the catechisms that came after Luther, especially those from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These catechisms, especially those based on Luther's text, were of great significance during the subsequent history of Lutheran catechesis and education.

This dissertation examines the catechetical writings of Conrad Dieterich and their place within the broader tradition of Lutheran catechesis. After establishing the primary focus of the research and its method, the dissertation surveys the role of Luther's catechisms and his

understanding of Christian education. This sets the historical and theological backdrop for Dieterich's work. The dissertation then examines the person of Conrad Dieterich, sketching the story of his life and professional activity to provide further context for his catechetical writings. Next, it investigates Dieterich's understanding of catechesis and explores his texts to determine their origins, purposes, and goals. Following this, the dissertation considers the method itself that Dieterich employed in his catechisms and briefly details the catechisms' contents. The analysis of the methodology employed by Dieterich in his catechisms, especially in the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, will provide key insight into his intentions and goals for his work, and will help explain the reasons why he treats Luther's catechetical teaching in the manner that he does. Finally, the dissertation samples how and where Dieterich's catechetical writings were employed in schools during the seventeenth century and beyond, both in the German lands and in North America. In addition, the question of whether his catechisms may be considered successes or failures in the various contexts will be considered.

Conrad Dieterich inherited a tradition of Lutheran catechetical teaching and adapted it for use in his own early seventeenth-century context. He passed this tradition on to the young Lutherans of his day and thereafter, but not without stamping his own mark upon it. In recasting Luther's catechetical teaching to suit his purposes, Dieterich, to some extent, reshaped its contents and produced another kind of catechism. This catechism of Dieterich, while not contradicting Luther's doctrine, utilized and augmented it in such a way that perhaps departed from Luther's own intention for his work. Given the weight of Dieterich's work and its widespread use, his catechisms deserve to be studied.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE DISSERTATION AND THE METHODOLOGY TO BE EMPLOYED**

#### **Introduction**

Catechesis has been of great importance throughout the history of the Christian church and remains at the heart of the life and work of the church today. Christian education and catechesis in particular give shape and form to the Christian faith and life. In many respects, catechesis today is what it has always been: the oral instruction of catechumens of any age in the fundamentals of the faith. At the same time it serves as the exposition and proclamation of God's Word to the young and uninstructed. Thus it provides both a formal introduction and an apprenticeship in the faith. Catechetical instruction takes place not only in the classroom, but in public worship, in private prayer, in the Christian home, in evangelistic work, and in mission.

Catechesis has not always been defined and understood in the same way, and at times the content or message of the instruction has been altered. In other cases, great effort has been made to preserve the message of the catechism and continually to (re)teach its content anew. Through the centuries the methods of catechetical instruction have changed, as have the contexts in which catechumens receive it. In order properly to understand catechesis and its role in the church today, it certainly helps to explore its use and development in historical contexts. This is especially true in the history of Lutheran catechesis and education.

Without question, Luther's catechisms have had a profound and constitutive impact on catechesis in the Lutheran church and are widely used in Lutheran circles still today over 475 years after Luther wrote them. The history and teaching of Luther's catechisms have been well

documented, but research needs to be done on the Lutheran catechisms that came after Luther's and were often based on his catechetical works. Most if not all of these later catechisms were written with the primary goal of teaching the Christian faith and life, and especially of articulating and communicating the evangelical doctrine and practice to new generations, perpetuating the theology championed by the Reformation. Many writers of these catechisms did not think they were straying from Luther when they composed their own works, and there are reasons why they retained Luther's catechism as a basic text or why they did not. These later catechisms were influential for Lutheran catechesis and have affected catechetical instruction and, more broadly, Christian education even to the present day. One important example is the catechetical work of Conrad Dieterich.

Dieterich (1575–1639) was director of the *Paedagogium* (the university preparatory school) and professor of practical philosophy at the University of Giessen, before receiving a call to serve as *Superintendent* and *Münsterprediger* in Ulm. He is perhaps best known for several catechetical writings, all of which were based on Luther's Small Catechism. His *Institutiones catecheticae* (1613) was one of the most important and popular textbooks on Lutheran catechesis

in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> For younger students, Dieterich also wrote the *Epitome Catechetica* (1614) that was widely used in Latin schools.<sup>2</sup> Soon after the publication of these works in Latin, they were translated into German for use by lay adults as well as for instruction in German schools and churches. In addition, Dieterich prepared *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers* (1616), a German catechism based on Luther's Small Catechism for use in the churches and schools in Ulm.

<sup>1</sup> *Institutiones Catecheticae, è B. Lutheri Catechesi Depromptæ, variisque notis Logicis & Theologicis, in usum Juventutis Scholasticae illustratae, a Cunrado Dieterico Practicae Philos. Professore publ. & Paedagogiarcha. Cum praefatione & approbatione Venerandi Collegii Theologici* (Giessen: Casparus Chemlinus, 1613). According to Gregorius Langemack, because of the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, the name Dieterich became so well known that even young boys in schools were well acquainted with him. ["Dieses berühmten Mannes Name ist durch seine Catechesin so bekannt geworden, daß auch junge Knaben in den Schulen vom Dieterico zu sagen wissen."] Langemack adds that Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* was one of the most well-known, celebrated, and widely used Latin school catechisms of its time. Langemack, *Historiae Catecheticae*, vol. 3 (Stralsund: Löffler, 1740), 3, 8. In his work on the history of schools in Hesse, Wilhelm Diehl reports that Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* and the *Epitome Catechetica* held dominion over religious instruction in institutions of higher learning in Hesse for nearly one hundred years. Diehl, *Die Schulordnungen des Grossherzogtums Hessen*, Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, vols. 27, 28, and 33 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1903), citation vol. 28: 22. Elsewhere, Diehl states that Dieterich's catechetical works found the "broadest popularity" ["die weiteste Verbreitung"] not only in Hesse, but far beyond. *Kirchenbehörden und Kirchendiener in der Landgrafschaft Hessen-Darmstadt von der Reformation bis zum Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Wilhelm Diehl (Darmstadt: Diehl, 1925), 557–59. Ferdinand Cohrs considered Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* to be the "crowning achievement" ["Krone"] of the expositions on the catechism in the period between the issuing of the Formula of Concord and the end of the Thirty Years War. Cohrs, *Vierhundert Jahre Luthers Kleiner Katechismus. Kurze Geschichte seiner Entstehung und seines Gebrauchs* (Langensalza: Beyer, 1929), 39. According to Hans-Jürgen Fraas, Cohrs's appraisal suggests, first, that Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* was held in high regard in its time. In support of this argument, Fraas notes the work's frequent printing and wide circulation, as well as its translation into German. Second, according to Fraas, Cohrs's assessment of the *Institutiones* as a "crowning achievement" was with a view to what orthodoxy was capable of doing with the simple, straightforward catechism of Luther. Fraas, *Katechismustradition: Luthers Kleiner Katechismus in Kirche und Schule*, Arbeiten zur Pastoraltheologie, vol. 7, eds. Martin Fischer and Robert Frick (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1971), 100. Christoph Bizer states that "Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* became the most important catechetical textbook in the seventeenth century." ["Die institutiones catecheticae des Konrad Dieterich sind im 17. Jh. zum wichtigsten katechetischen Lehrbuch geworden."] As evidence of this, Bizer notes, "From the first edition in 1613 into the eighteenth century, there appeared countless editions, revisions, epitomes, and commentaries, also attacks from the Catholic side followed by defenses from the [Lutheran] camp, and finally also a translation into German." ["Von der Erstauflage 1613 bis ins 18. Jh. hinein werden unzählige Auflagen, Bearbeitungen, Auszüge und Kommentierungen, auch Befehdungen von katholischer Seite und dann wieder Verteidigungen aus dem eigenen Lager, schließlich auch eine Übersetzung ins Deutsche registriert."] Bizer, "Katechetik," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 17 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 686–710, citation p. 688.

<sup>2</sup> *Epitome praeceptorum catecheticorum in usum classicorum inferiorum, ex institutionibus catecheticis collecta* (Giessen, 1614). Later editions of this work from Giessen are often named the *Epitome Catechetica*. Johann Michael Reu apparently suggests that both Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome praeceptorum catecheticorum* found broad audiences: "The catechism of C. Dietrich, [was] originally published in 1613, when Dietrich was professor at Giessen, then epitomized in 1627, and widely used during the 17th and 18th century ...." *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism: A History of Its Origin, Its Distribution and Its Use* (Chicago: Wartburg, 1929), 282. It should be noted that Dieterich first published the *Epitome praeceptorum catecheticorum* in 1614, not 1627, as Reu states.

A more in-depth consideration of Dieterich and his catechisms, as well as a review of the findings, will be taken up later. Before that, this chapter will lay out the research issues involved in surveying the evidence gathered around Dieterich and his works.

## Research Issues

### Rationale, Significance, or Need for the Study

This study will examine the three catechetical writings of Conrad Dieterich and seek to better understand them in their historical context. First, it will look at how Dieterich understood catechesis, what he included in his writings on the catechism and why, and the method he chose for instruction. Then the focus shifts to the question of how Dieterich's catechetical works were received and used in the seventeenth century and thereafter. Finally comes the question of their influence on Lutheran catechesis.

There were several other Lutheran theologians active in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries whose catechetical works deserve attention: e.g., David Chyträeus,<sup>3</sup> Leonhard Hütter,<sup>4</sup> and Justus Gesenius, among others.<sup>5</sup> However, a study of Conrad Dieterich and his work is

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<sup>3</sup> Chytraeus (1531–1600) was professor of theology at the University of Rostock. His *Catechesis*, first published in 1554, was not based on Luther's Small Catechism, but was to a large extent an epitome of Melancthon's *Loci Communes*. Originally a rather simple Latin catechism intended for school and *Gymnasium* use, Chytraeus expanded the *Catechesis* over time, and by the fourth edition of 1576 it had become much more detailed in its dogmatic treatment. Chytraeus also wrote *Der fürnehmsten Hauptstück christlicher Lehr nützliche und Kurtze Erklärung*, a catechism for the Lutheran estates of Lower and Upper Austria in 1572. This catechism was reprinted at least three times (1575, 1578, 1587) and was part of the *Kirchenordnung* of the region.

<sup>4</sup> Hütter (1563–1616) was professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg. His *Compendium locorum theologorum*, first published in 1610, is perhaps more a textbook on theological instruction than a catechism. Following the example of Melancthon, it employs the *loci* method, but is set in the form of questions and answers. It was not based on Luther's Small Catechism, but it refers often to the Lutheran Confessions. It was designed for use by students of different ages as well as adults. A German translation was published in 1612.

<sup>5</sup> Gesenius (1601–1673) was pastor in Braunschweig and later court and cathedral preacher in Hildesheim. He wrote three German catechisms, which were popular in the northern principalities. His *Kleine Katechismus-Schule* (1631) and its epitome, the *Außzug der kleinen Katechismus Schule* (1635), were both designed for instruction in homes, and were adaptable for use by students of different learning levels. Gesenius's most celebrated catechism, the *Kleine Katechismusfragen über den kleinen Katechismus Lutheri* (1639), was also an epitome of his first catechism, but was intended for use in schools and churches. All three catechisms of Gesenius are based on Luther's Small Catechism.



beneficial for several reasons. Individually these considerations do not necessarily distinguish Dieterich from other contemporary catechism writers, but taken together the considerations suggest Dieterich merits study as a theologian whose work is unique.

First, it goes without saying that, till now, no in-depth study of Dieterich's catechetical writings has been undertaken. Of course, that alone is not reason enough. Many people go unstudied. But in a church that prizes catechesis, Dieterich's importance rises greatly given the significant body of his catechetical literature. Dieterich's works had staying power beyond their original contexts and had a profound influence on later Lutheran catechesis. To understand better the place of catechesis today and the teaching methods used, it is important to know the broad tradition from which it arose. Dieterich's catechetical literature is a most significant part of that tradition.

Moreover, as noted above, Dieterich wrote not just one but several catechetical works that provide insight into his understanding of catechetical instruction and practice. These works in Latin and German were each intended for specific audiences, which when taken together covered a very broad segment of society, from young children in churches and schools to advanced students in the *Gymnasium* and to Lutheran pastors and lay adults. In addition, Dieterich wrote other treatises on education, many sermons, including specific *Kinder-* and *Schulpredigten*, and other theological works in which he discusses the importance of both catechetical instruction and more general religious education. These latter works supplement and reinforce the themes presented in Dieterich's primary catechetical writings.

Furthermore, Dieterich's varied career afforded him different practical opportunities to apply his catechetical teaching to students and lay adults alike. First, Dieterich was an educator, a pedagogue and a professor. After serving as a private instructor at the University of Marburg, he taught at the University of Giessen and in the city's *Gymnasium* where he gave instruction in

Luther's catechism as well as in dialectic, rhetoric, and oratory. Later he was instrumental in the founding of the *Gymnasium* at Ulm and was its first director. Second, Dieterich was a pastor and preacher. After serving as a military chaplain in the field, he was pastor of the church in Marburg and later superintendent and chief preacher in Ulm. There he oversaw the administration of churches and schools, including the teaching of catechumens as well as all religious instruction. In his preaching, teaching, and other ministerial tasks, Dieterich dealt with children and lay people in their everyday lives and sought to implement Christian doctrine and practice in his pastoral work. Even when he was not immediately teaching, it was never far from his mind.

Aside from catechetical works, Dieterich wrote other textbooks for use in schools that are significant for this study: *Analysis Logica Evangeliorum Dominicalium* (1607–10), *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1609), *Institutiones Oratoriae* (1613), and *Institutiones Rhetoricae* (1613). Those would play into his method for catechesis. He published many collections of sermons and edited other books for the spiritual life of children and lay adults such as prayer books, a hymn book, and a manual on Christian discipline. He wrote polemical theological works and also responded to events occurring around him, commenting on a wide range of issues—social problems, comets, the Thirty Years War, and more. To a large extent, Dieterich's works were of a practical nature, reflecting his theological, philosophical, and pedagogical concerns, but also attending to the perceived needs of the communities in which he served. In all, Dieterich wrote and published nearly one hundred works, roughly half of which are sermons. Many of these sermons were published outside of Giessen and Ulm, indicating that in his day Dieterich's reputation as a preacher spread beyond regional boundaries.<sup>6</sup>

A fourth reason why a study of Dieterich and his work is worthwhile is that his catechetical writings were influential and found widespread use and popularity both in his time

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<sup>6</sup> See Bernd Breitenbruch, "Münsterprediger und Münsterpredigten vom Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende der Reichsstadtzeit," in *600 Jahre Ulmer Münster: Festschrift*, eds. Hans Eugen Specker and Reinhard Wortmann (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977), 419.

and later. *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers* by Dieterich was the official catechism of the churches and schools in Ulm from 1616 to 1680, and its unofficial use continued long after this period. The book went through five editions and was printed in Ulm at least nine times between 1616 and 1781.<sup>7</sup> The *Institutiones Catecheticae* appeared in several editions throughout the German lands, with at least sixty-six printings between 1613 and 1744. After this, the print runs tailed off until the last edition appeared in Berlin in 1864. German translations of the *Institutiones* were issued in North America as late as 1896. In the German lands, Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica* also saw several editions and was printed at least forty-seven times between 1614 and 1735, often in bilingual Latin/German editions.

Dieterich's catechetical works were also employed among Lutherans in North America. In 1854, The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod commissioned a new German translation of Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica*. This new translation, bundled with additions from Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae*, the Formula of Concord, the *Dresdener Kreuz-Catechismus*, and additional Scripture references, was accepted as the first synodical catechism in 1857. It was repeatedly printed and used in the Missouri and Ohio Synods, and an abridgment was published in 1870. In the late nineteenth century, Dieterich's catechism returned to Germany as the Lutheran Free Church of Saxony imported copies of the Missouri Synod's "Dieterich Catechism" for use in its churches and schools. The Ohio Synod translated the Missouri Synod's catechism into English in 1872, and the Missouri Synod published this translation for its own use in 1902. In 1875 the Norwegian Synod translated the Missouri Synod's "Dieterich Catechism" into Norwegian for use in its churches and schools. A new catechism, still largely based on Dieterich, was introduced for use in the Missouri Synod in 1896, but the old Dieterich catechism

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<sup>7</sup> Georg Veesenmeyer reported in 1805 that the catechism edited by Dieterich and published in Ulm in 1616 had continued to be reprinted without any changes until recent times. "[Dieterich] veranstaltete also eine Ausgabe des Katechismus im Jahre 1616, die ohne eine Veränderung bis auf die neuesten Zeiten abgedruckt worden." Veesenmeyer, *Versuch einer Geschichte des Ulmischen Catechismus*, Abschnitt 3 (Ulm: Wagner, 1805), 4.

was still widely used well into the third decade of the twentieth century. The subsequent catechisms used by The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod have borne the strong mark of Dieterich’s influence. His impact on Lutheran catechesis and catechisms in North America has been considerable.

Admittedly, frequency of printing does not necessarily prove the popularity of Dieterich’s catechetical works, nor does it offer much insight into the impact these catechisms had on the teachers and students who read them or on schools and churches in which they were used. Nor does it provide much evidence regarding the manner and the degree or extent to which they were used. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that printers would willingly print books without buyers. As Mark Edwards has shown for the period of the early Reformation, it is safe to assume that the printing or reprinting of a work indicates an “indirect measure of public interest.”<sup>8</sup> It seems reasonable to say the same may be assumed for the early seventeenth century, the dynamics of publishing having not changed that much. The number of times that Dieterich’s works were printed or reprinted may strongly suggest the extent of public demand for and reception of these works. More complete data regarding the use and practice of Dieterich’s catechisms gathered from *Kirchen-* and *Schulordnungen* and other sources will be presented in the final chapter of this study.

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<sup>8</sup> Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 8. Edwards explains the basis for his assumption in greater detail:

Printers in the sixteenth century were in the business to make money. They might also publish out of conviction and altruism, but they still had to make a profit over time or they would be forced out of business. At the very least, then, we should be able to assume that the *printer* expected that there would be a market for his product. If he were correct in his expectation, then the printing of a work is a valid although indirect measure of public interest. If he was wrong, of course, he took a loss. But if the printer reprinted the work several times, and this is often the case with Luther’s works, we may safely assume that he did so to meet the demands of his customers. The printing of a work, and especially the reprinting of a work, then, may be taken by historians as an indirect measure of public interest.

For more on the history of printing and printing as a capitalist enterprise, see Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 55–58, 375–94, 410–15, and passim.

A fifth reason why Dieterich's catechetical works are important is because they represent attempts by a widely read Lutheran educator and theologian to communicate the teaching of Luther's Small Catechism, and more broadly, of Lutheran theology, to the young people of his day. Given the sales, he must have written something worth noting and knowing. Dieterich brought the message and instruction of the catechism to new generations of Lutherans and at the same time interpreted the catechism anew. Within a period of three and a half years (1613–1616), Dieterich published three works based on Luther's catechism as he sought to preserve and foster the use of Luther and to faithfully and clearly transmit his teaching.

Dieterich begins with the assumption that Luther's Small Catechism is a true exposition of God's Word and a summary of Christian doctrine. Thus he employs that catechism as a core theological text—a foundation—upon which to build a fuller structure of Lutheran theology in his own catechetical works. The result, particularly in the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and the *Epitome Catechetica*, is that Dieterich not only explains the theology of the Small Catechism but expands upon it, often in great detail, almost as if providing a running theological commentary on the text. The *Institutiones Catecheticae* works out the catechism to the point where it serves as a compendium or handbook of Lutheran dogmatics suitable for study at the *Gymnasium* or perhaps even university level. This dissertation will argue, in part, that these two more expansive catechetical works by Dieterich are largely dogmatic in direction and focus, done with just this textbook intent. The dissertation will explore the implications and impact of this emphasis.

Like many other theologians during the period of Lutheran orthodoxy, Dieterich wrestled with the most pressing doctrinal issues of his time. The content, orientation, and stresses of his catechetical writings occasionally reflect the controversies and theological issues of the day, as Dieterich sought to prepare and equip his students for dealing with the various doctrinal conflicts they would encounter in their lives. The proper exposition of doctrine is a matter of great

importance in his catechisms, but those arguing for an intellectualizing of religion will find no friend in Dieterich. More than merely correct doctrinal exposition, his purpose is always evangelical and pastoral as well as catechetical. Dieterich is invariably pastoral in his concern for the intellectual and spiritual education of readers and students in the message of the Gospel. This was not about absorbing theological exposition for its own sake. His aim was the training of young people in a practical, living faith engaged with other Lutherans and non-Lutherans alike. Dieterich never abandoned his vocation as a Christian teacher.

In reference to his catechetical works, Dieterich considered himself squarely in the tradition of Christian instruction beginning in the early church and particularly in continuity with the catechesis of Luther and other Lutheran theologians. Dieterich built on the stature and authority of Luther's catechism, and certainly one possible reason for the wide popularity of Dieterich's catechetical works was that they were based on Luther's. Dieterich, of course, was not the only writer of catechisms to use Luther's Small Catechism—others were Johann Schroeder<sup>9</sup> and Justus Gesenius, for example—but he did so in a distinctive and apparently enduring way. Dieterich knew his initial audience, and he sought to impart Luther's teaching to students and catechumens with fidelity to the evangelical tradition, but in a manner that he believed appropriate and practical for their situation. Other audiences, other users, also seem to have resonated to Dieterich.

A sixth reason for studying Dieterich and his works is because within the Lutheran catechetical tradition he hit upon a specialized yet faithful approach. The method Dieterich employs first follows Luther's catechism easily and naturally. Then, expanding on the catechism and following its arrangement, Dieterich communicates the teaching in a question-and-answer

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<sup>9</sup> Johann Schroeder (1572–1621) was pastor in Lauterbach in Hesse, later superintendent in Schweinfurt, and finally chief pastor in Nürnberg. His *Nützlicher und inn Gottes Wort Wolgegründter Unterricht* (1602) was intended for lay Lutherans in the lower German cities of Köln and Aachen. A Latin version of this work, *Catechetica, seu, Christianae Doctrinae Erotemata* (1606), was reworked for use in the *Gymnasium* in Schweinfurt.

format in all three of his catechetical works as he defines terms and concepts from the catechism, Scripture, and Lutheran theology and explains them. Dieterich does not follow a topical or *loci* arrangement of doctrines. Rather Luther's catechism largely determines the arrangement of the doctrinal content, serving as the foundation upon which Dieterich builds a framework. Where Luther's catechism does not specifically address a theological topic, Dieterich provides a treatment of it to fill out the broader discussion. For instance, in the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and the *Epitome Catechetica*, Dieterich occasionally takes up individual doctrines in separate sections adjoining the parts of the catechism. For example, he appends expositions on sin, repentance, and good works at the conclusion of his discussion of the Decalog.

Particularly in the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, and to a lesser extent in the *Epitome Catechetica*, Dieterich employs a detailed method in expounding Luther's catechism. In the dedicatory epistle of the *Institutiones*, Dieterich explains that this work is intended principally for "youthful students" ["Scholasticæ imprimis juventuti"], that is, those of *Gymnasium* age.<sup>10</sup> He adjust his method for these students and pegs his material to the particular circumstances of their curriculum. The pattern consists of three steps: first, after citing the particular sections of Luther's catechism, Dieterich sets down "principal definitions and questions" ["præcipuas definitiones & quæstiones"].<sup>11</sup> Second, these are explained "logically" ["Logicè"] and placed in smaller font and in parentheses for ready identification.<sup>12</sup> Finally, these are "illustrated with various things selected from theological axioms, likewise with principal objections and responses, sometimes interspersed, though more infrequently, with embellishments of certain Fathers"

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<sup>10</sup> Dieterich notes that his method is different than that of his friend and colleague, Johann Schroeder, who wrote his German catechism, based on Luther's Small Catechism, for lay adults in Köln and Aachen. Dieterich, "Epistola Dedicatoria," *Institutiones Catecheticae*, 1613, )( 4r. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's.

<sup>11</sup> Dieterich, "Epistola Dedicatoria," *Institutiones Catecheticae*, 1613, )( 4r.

<sup>12</sup> Dieterich, "Epistola Dedicatoria," *Institutiones Catecheticae*, 1613, )( 4r.

[“variis ... desumptis axiomatibus Theologicis, objectionibus & responsionibus praecipuis, interspersis nonnunquam, quanquam rariùs, Patrum quorundum floribus, illustrare volumus”].<sup>13</sup> Dieterich expresses his concern that too many younger students become overwhelmed by the “objection and response” approach. But his aim is that over time as they continue, the elder students will be “carried up to the higher exercises” [“superiores verò ad altiora exercitia eveci”] so that in addition to the fundamentals of the Lutheran faith, “they may learn logic and at the same time the foundation of principal arguments” [“una eademque opera logicam simul praecipuorum argumentorum sedem perciperent”].<sup>14</sup> Dieterich proposes that these older students “learn effective solutions of theological objections” [“objectionum Theologicarum solutiones quasi aliud agentes addiscerent”] in the process, concluding with the statement: “This is our aim, this is the the plan of our subject” [“Hic finis noster est, hoc propositi nostri consilium”].<sup>15</sup>

In these three steps, Dieterich follows a learning model that attends closely to the language, inner thought, and practical application and communication of the teachings of the catechism. Although Dieterich does not explicitly say so, the premise here is that this fundamental instruction will equip students with learning tools and skills. Of course information is conveyed, but more important is preparation—skills and tools—so they can act on their own. These skills will prepare them for the discipline and specialization of more advanced studies in the *Gymnasium*, for example, or university, or even in their future lives and careers. So with “principal definitions and questions,” Dieterich introduces the informational material and its grammar—language and structure. In the actual course of instruction, this would mean that the students would memorize and recite the material. Next, by dealing with the subject “logically,” Dieterich reasons clearly about the material, analyzing and working through it with an aim at

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<sup>13</sup> Dieterich, “Epistola Dedicatoria,” *Institutiones Catecheticae*, 1613, )( 4r.

<sup>14</sup> Dieterich, “Epistola Dedicatoria,” *Institutiones Catecheticae*, 1613, )( 4.

<sup>15</sup> Dieterich, “Epistola Dedicatoria,” *Institutiones Catecheticae*, 1613, )( 4–)( 5.



understanding. Finally, by teaching “the foundation of principal arguments” and “effective solutions of theological objections,” Dieterich builds on the logic of the material with the (sometimes implicit) objective of its rhetorical use and application.

Dieterich clearly sees logical analysis as an important element—an instrument—in the learning of the catechism, at least for his intended audience in the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and the *Epitome Catechetica*. This logical parsing—the application of the study of formal logic—is primarily a pedagogical tool, but it also has the secondary effect of systematizing in a particular way the catechetical teaching and its dogmatic content. Tools are necessary, but as often happens, they become the engine that drives the whole operation. Or, stated another way, the instruments which fashion the form of theological exposition can also operate on the content. Dieterich’s treatment of the catechism is no exception, so this dissertation will ask how Dieterich’s method affects the content and overall message of his catechism.

Dieterich’s approach to instruction on the catechism reflects courses in the curriculum of the Giessen *Gymnasium*, including dialectic and rhetoric, which he taught. The foundational educational model in place in the curriculum is adapted and applied for use in catechetical instruction, accounting for the acquisition of language and informational material, the intellectual understanding of it, and its effectual application. These three educational elements work together and are, in Dieterich’s view, requisite for the proper instruction of his students. The language and information of the catechism are pointless without understanding, and in turn, this information and understanding are purposeless without expression and application in actual situations. In this way, Dieterich connects the theoretical and practical goals of catechesis. The combination of these elements forms the core of Dieterich’s program of catechetical instruction for his students.

Dieterich’s use of logic to analyze and explain the teaching of Luther’s catechism apparently presupposes two things. First, catechetical theology is able to be explained and

analyzed according to dialectical method. In Dieterich's day, many Lutheran theologians considered it necessary for philosophy to play a role in the practice of theology. Despite the rejection of philosophy at Wittenberg early in the first decade of the Reformation, after a brief time it was reintroduced and considered necessary for the work of theology.<sup>16</sup> Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* had arranged Lutheran doctrine into an integrated and methodical framework using rhetorical and dialectical tools. This work had a profound influence on subsequent Lutheran doctrinal formulation. In the decades following the deaths of Luther and Melanchthon, many Lutheran theologians continued to apply Melanchthon's approach to one degree or another. In some cases they merely took a cue from Melanchthon and then searched for and adapted other philosophical methods for use in theology. At the same time, most of these Lutherans sought to preserve and transmit the doctrine of Luther. It was inevitable perhaps that theologians would employ methodologies from philosophy in attempting to communicate theology clearly and concisely, as well as to assist them in dealing with doctrinal controversies and in disputes with opponents. They had to be able to argue using the opponents' approach as well. Dialectical disputations using Aristotle had a long history not easily dismissed. It was also inevitable then

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<sup>16</sup> Luther publicly expressed his problems with Aristotelian philosophy, as well as with those who misuse or misinterpret it, as early as the *Disputation against Scholastic Theology* in 1517. It is only without Aristotle that one became a theologian, Luther argued, for Aristotle was to theology as darkness was to light. See "Disputation Against Scholastic Theology, 1517," in *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Schriften*. 68 vols., eds. J. F. K. Knaake, et al. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1883–1999), 1: 221–28 [hereafter cited as WA]; and in *Luther's Works*. American Edition. General editors Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut Lehmann. 55 vols. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg and Fortress Press, and St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955–86, 31: 9–16 [hereafter cited as LW]. Luther continued his assault at the Heidelberg Disputation in 1518, the philosophical theses. See "Heidelberg Disputation, 1518," in WA 1: 353–74; LW 31: 35–70. In particular, Luther disagreed with the use of Aristotle in the work of theology and in the natural sciences. See Theodor Dieter, *Der junge Luther und Aristoteles: Eine historisch-systematische Untersuchung zum Verhältnis von Theologie und Philosophie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001). Melanchthon had rejected the influence of Aristotelian scholasticism on the university curriculum in his inaugural oration to the University of Wittenberg in 1518, "De corrigendis adolescentiae studiis (d. 29. Aug. 1518.)," in *Corpus Reformatorum. Opera quae sunt supersunt omnia*, eds. C. G. Bretschneider and H. E. Bindseil (Halle and Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1834–60), 11, 15–25. In his *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate* (1520), Luther seems to have modified his position a bit. In the reforming of universities, he argues, "Aristotle's *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, *Concerning the Soul*, and *Ethics*, which hitherto have been thought to be his best books, should be completely discarded along with all the rest of his books that boast about nature .... [Yet] I would gladly agree to keeping Aristotle's books, *Logic*, *Rhetoric*, and *Poetics*, or at least keeping and using them in an abridged form, as useful in training young people to speak and to preach properly" (LW 44: 200–01; WA 6: 457–58).

that the conceptual framework introduced by the application of philosophy would influence the content of the Lutheran doctrine and message.<sup>17</sup>

Dieterich's application of logic in the analysis and exposition of Luther's catechism leads to a second presupposition apparently held by Dieterich. This one is the converse of the first, that the catechetical teaching is able to illustrate and instruct the fundamentals of dialectic. Dieterich sought to teach his students dialectical method as a secondary goal in the course of catechetical instruction, and believed the material of the catechism to be serviceable for the task. In a sense, then, the method Dieterich uses in dealing with divine revelation (the content of catechetical teaching) and human reason (dialectic) is the same. Dieterich does not state this expressly, but the relationships described are more than obvious. A detailed examination of the method used in Dieterich's catechetical writings will be included in chapter four to come.

As previously mentioned, Dieterich's works on the catechism were influential in the seventeenth century as well as among Lutherans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in North America. A seventh reason why a study of Dieterich's catechetical writings is beneficial is that they have played a significant role in the catechetical tradition of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. At the synodical convention in 1854, C. F. W. Walther recommended Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica* for consideration as an official synodical catechism, and then directed the St. Louis pastoral conference to translate and modify it as needed. Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica*, first published in 1614, was reissued and expanded in translation under the direction of Walther. That modified catechism became the Synod's first official catechism at its

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<sup>17</sup> For more on Melanchthon's influence on Lutheran theological method, see Robert Kolb, "The Advance of Dialectic in Lutheran Theology: The Role of Johannes Wigand (1523–1587)," in *Regnum, Religio et Ratio Essays Presented to Robert M. Kingdon*, ed. Jerome Friedman, vol. 8 of *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies* (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1987), 93–102; Kolb, "The Ordering of the *Loci Communes Theologici*: The Structuring of the Melanchthonian Dogmatic Tradition," *Concordia Journal* 23 (1997): 317–37; Sachiko Kusukawa, "Vinculum Concordiae: Lutheran Method by Philip Melanchthon," in *Method and Order in Renaissance Philosophy of Nature: The Aristotle Commentary Tradition*, eds. Daniel A. DiLiscia, Eckhard Kessler, Charlotte Methuen (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 337–54; John R. Schneider, "Melanchthon's Rhetoric As a Context for Understanding His Theology," in *Melanchthon in Europe: His Work and Influence beyond Wittenberg*, ed. Karin Maag (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999), 141–59.

adoption in 1857. Subsequent synodical catechisms are to a large extent descendants of Dieterich's *Epitome* in their basic doctrinal content and methodological approach. Why Walther and the Missouri Synod chose to adapt and adopt the then 240-year-old Dieterich catechism needs further examination. The selection and implementation of Dieterich's catechism in Missouri Synod churches and schools had a profound impact on the understanding and approach to catechetical instruction, one still felt today. Current and future catechesis in the Synod perhaps will benefit from a better understanding of its catechetical heritage, of how Dieterich envisioned catechesis, and how he practiced it.

### **Statement or Focus of the Problem**

To this point, any number of questions have been implicitly or explicitly raised, questions to be taken up in the various chapters of the dissertation. But there is a central problem around which these revolve, one fundamental two-part question: first, what is the nature of the dialectical method Dieterich employs in his analysis and explanation of the teaching of Luther's catechism, and second, why does Dieterich exposit the catechism in this manner? This prompts subsequent questions: does Dieterich consider it necessary to use dialectic to teach the Christian faith, or are there other ways? Is it really the only effective way to teach, or will Dieterich admit to others? What happens to the idea of the faith when the tool of dialectical method gets to be firmly entrenched and becomes more than a tool? What impact does Dieterich's method have on the content and message of the catechism?

These questions are prompted by Dieterich's new approach to catechetical instruction. In this approach, Dieterich applies dialectical analysis to the teaching of Luther's catechism, even using the catechetical material to teach dialectic to his students. In his textbooks on dialectic, the

*Institutiones Dialecticae* (1609)<sup>18</sup> and the *Epitome praeceptorum Dialecticae* (1613),<sup>19</sup> Dieterich puts forward an eclectic form of dialectic that combines elements from the dialectical methods of Aristotle and Petrus Ramus. This hybrid form consists mainly of Aristotelian doctrine presented according to the method and order of Ramus.<sup>20</sup> To a large degree, the Aristotelian subject matter of Dieterich's dialectic is derived from Melanchthon's system of logic found in his textbook, the *Erotemata dialectices*.<sup>21</sup> If this method is the same as, or in some manner related to, that found in his textbooks on dialectic, then this method should be investigated and the purpose for its use in catechetical instruction should be explored and detailed.

### **The Purpose of the Dissertation**

As a theologian, pastor, and educator, Dieterich played a significant role in the history of the Lutheran church and merits study in his own right. Apart from this, given the high interest in catechesis and education in the church today, it is worth exploring Dieterich as part of the historical-theological context of catechetical instruction. A fuller knowledge of the goals, expectations, content, and methods, as well as the successes and failures of the catechetical instruction of the past is likely to be helpful for understanding and carrying out the task of catechesis in the current context. The research detailed here will provide a more complete picture

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<sup>18</sup> *Institutiones Dialecticae; ex probatissimis Aristotelis et Rami Interpretibus Studiose conscriptae, variisq, exemplis in usum Illustris Paedagogii Giesseni Illustratae, à Cunrado Theodorico, Philosophiae Moralis Professore & Paedagogiarcha* (Giessen: Nikolaus Hampel, 1609). This work went through many editions and reprints. Note that most of Dieterich's philosophical works were published under the name "Cunradus Theodoricus."

<sup>19</sup> *Epitome praeceptorum Dialecticae, in usum Classicorum inferiorum ex Institutionibus Logicis compendiosa collecta à Cunrado Dieterico, Philosophiae Moralis Professore & Paedagogiarcha* (Giessen: Nikolaus Hampel, 1613).

<sup>20</sup> "Als Ganzes ist dieses eklektisch-systematische Lehrbuch [Dieterich's *Institutiones Dialecticae*] ein Musterbeispiel der auf den Voraussetzungen des 16. Jh. weiterbauenden neuen Logik. Der äußere Rahmen ist Ramus entlehnt, der Inhalt aber entspricht dem um einige scholastische Konsequenzenregeln erweiterten aristotelischen *Organon*." Wilhelm Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit. 1. Band 1500–1640* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann Verlag, 1964), 463.

<sup>21</sup> Wilhelm Risse points out that the Aristotelian dialectic employed in Hesse in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was from Melanchthon. *Die Logik der Neuzeit. 1. Band 1500–1640*, 179–80, 187–88.

of Lutheran catechetical practice in the early seventeenth century, and in particular, the catechetical instruction of Conrad Dieterich.

### **Hypotheses of the Dissertation**

The dissertation has two basic presuppositions or preliminary observations that shape the study. The first is that Dieterich understood grammar, logic, and rhetoric as foundational tools for learning. Combined, these three virtually form a method to be applied to a subject under investigation. In the case of catechetical instruction, elements of grammar, logic and rhetoric are applied to the subject of catechesis in order to communicate and instruct thoroughly. The second background observation notes that to large extent Dieterich's dialectical method, particularly implemented in the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and the *Epitome Catechetica*, is fundamentally the same as that found in his two textbooks on dialectic, in the *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1609) and in the *Epitome praeceptorum Dialecticae* (1613). The dialectic Dieterich teaches in these latter textbooks is an eclectic accommodation and harmonization of the dialectical methods of Aristotle and Petrus Ramus. Dieterich is clearly satisfied with this approach to dialectic since he carries it over from book to book. The dissertation then seeks to discover the impact, if any, of this dialectic on the theology of Dieterich's catechetical work. In addition, it unpacks the educational and theological ramifications of the method on the content of the catechetical message.

### **Elements of the Problem and Research Questions to Be Investigated**

In addressing the methodological problem regarding Dieterich's catechesis, the dissertation deals with several groups of subsidiary questions, some of which have been broached already. The first cluster of questions concerns Dieterich's approach to his work. For instance, how does Dieterich understand catechesis and what is his view of its purpose or goal? What are the intentions, as well as the expectations, of Dieterich's catechetical works? Who are Dieterich's

specific audiences? Why does Dieterich attempt to extend the evangelical legacy of Luther? What are the structures of the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, the *Epitome Catechetica*, and *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers*, and what are their characteristics? What method does Dieterich employ in his catechisms? How do the structure and method affect the content of his catechetical writings? These questions will be explored in the various chapters of the dissertation.

The second group of questions concerns the components of Dieterich's catechetical writings. What is the basic content of Dieterich's catechisms? How does it differ or expand on Luther's catechism? What do the differences reveal about Dieterich's understanding and approach to catechesis? Does Dieterich's work hold to a definite doctrinal and confessional position, and if so, what is it? How is the work catholic and confessional? Does the work demonstrate doctrinal unity?

Third, the dissertation explores how Dieterich's work fits in its theological and historical context. How does Dieterich's catechetical theology and method relate to the theology and methodological approach of Lutheran orthodoxy? How do Dieterich's works compare to other Lutheran catechetical texts of the period? The dissertation will also briefly consider how the disruptions of the Thirty Years War affected catechetical instruction and education in general during Dieterich's day and afterward.

Dieterich was a pedagogue and concerned with curricular reform. The dissertation addresses how Dieterich's catechetical work fit with his curriculum plans at Giessen and Ulm, and consider the role of catechesis within the broader scheme of Dieterich's understanding of education. Dieterich's other works on education, including treatises, sermons, and orations are examined to provide information on these points.

To the extent possible, the dissertation also considers whether Dieterich's catechetical works met with success or failure, and attempt to understand how Dieterich defined both. How

were his books used? What were the goals and expectations of those who used them? What role did the works play in catechetical instruction in churches, as well as in the curricula of schools? What factors led to their eventual replacement by other catechetical texts? Often no direct answers are possible, but reasonable inferences can be drawn. To that end, information on the publishing and printing of Dieterich's catechetical works, as well as sample material from *Kirchen-* and *Schulordnungen* will be taken into account. Available secondary sources are also brought to bear on these questions. In addition, several commentaries were written on the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, mostly after Dieterich's death, as well as two works by Roman Catholic authors critical of the *Institutiones*. These works, obtained for investigation, are noted and briefly discussed for their assessment of Dieterich's approach to catechetical instruction.

Finally, the dissertation considers briefly the impact of Dieterich's catechetical writings and surveys how his catechesis was viewed by later generations in German lands and in North America. It closes out the long chapter of Dieterich in the history of catechesis as he finally gives way to other options.

The questions discussed above are taken up in the various chapters of the dissertation. Chapter 2 introduces the topic of Luther's catechisms and his understanding of Christian education. This provides the historical and theological background to Dieterich's works on the catechism. Chapter 3 examines the place and person of Conrad Dieterich, presenting biographical information and laying out the historical setting of Dieterich and his writings. Chapter 4 considers Dieterich's understanding of catechesis and takes up the catechetical works themselves to discover their origins, purposes, and goals. Chapter 5 deals with the works' content and method and explores how they fit in their theological and historical contexts. Chapter 6 illustrates how and where Dieterich's catechetical writings were used in his own day and in the rest of the seventeenth century and afterward. In addition, this final chapter briefly samples key ways



Dieterich's works were used in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in North America. It briefly considers their successes and failures in this more recent context, and the problems and issues associated with them. Also included are outlines of the contents of each of Dieterich's catechisms as well as lists of the various printings of Dieterich's catechetical works.

### Potential Limitations of the Study

It is only fair to note several limitations. First, regarding the texts, the 1614 first Giessen edition of the *Epitome Catechetica* is, to date, nowhere to be found. As best can be determined, no copies are extant.<sup>22</sup> For this reason, the 1615 first Ulm edition and the second, revised Giessen edition of 1617, serve as the primary texts under investigation (with references to later editions as needed). In addition, the first edition of the German catechism for Ulm which Dieterich edited (*Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers*, 1616), is no longer extant.<sup>23</sup> The 1629 edition of the catechism is the primary text for the discussion of this catechism in the dissertation.<sup>24</sup> At the same time it appears from what is available and from comments made on the absent texts that this is not fatal. One hardly expects that, were a new text found, it would have material that was

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<sup>22</sup> In the spring of 2002, Herr Christian Hogrefe, librarian at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, conducted an extensive catalog search for the work in libraries throughout Germany and the rest of Europe. He could not find any evidence that a copy of the 1614 *Epitome praeceptorum catecheticorum* was still in existence. Herr Bernhard Appenzeller, librarian at the Stadtbibliothek in Ulm, who has compiled a very complete bibliography of the works of Conrad Dieterich (*Die Münsterprediger bis zum Übergang Ulms an Württemberg 1810. Kurzbiographien und vollständiges Verzeichnis ihrer Schriften*. Veröffentlichungen der Stadtbibliothek Ulm, Band 13 [Weißhorn: Konrad, 1990], 107–77) also carried out an extensive search for Dieterich's works from libraries all over Germany, and found no copy of the 1614 *Epitome*. The last known copy of the book was housed in the Universitätsbibliothek in Giessen, over ninety percent of whose holdings were destroyed by Allied bombing on December 11, 1944. The library's collection from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was one of the most affected—only about twenty percent of the books from this period survived. See *Handbuch der Historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland*. Band 5, Hessen, ed. Berndt Dugall, (Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 1992), 278–79. Hermann Schüling also attests to the fact that the Giessen library once had a copy of the 1614 *Epitome*, and that it was indeed destroyed. See Schüling, *Verzeichnis des von 1605–1624 in Gießen erschienen Schrifttums* (Giessen, 1985), 44.

<sup>23</sup> As late as 1805, Georg Veesenmeyer reported that the earliest copy of the Ulm Catechism to be found was the 1629 edition. Veesenmeyer, 4, fn. c.

<sup>24</sup> *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers/ be=neben den Fragen deß Summari=schen begriffs der sechs Hauptstucken Christlicher Lehr/ &c. Mit Angehengenem Christli=cher Unterricht/ für Junge vnd einfältige Leut/ welche begehren zum Heyligen Abend=mal zugehen/Auch etliche Kinder= vnd Schulgebettlein/ Für Vlmische Kirchen unn Schulen in Statt vnd Land* (Ulm: Jonas Saur, 1629).

greatly out of character. As much as people commented on Dieterich, someone who had seen the now lost texts would surely have mentioned such an anomaly.

Moreover, the dissertation does not include a full theological examination and analysis of the entire contents of Dieterich's catechisms. Given the nature of the problem under investigation in the dissertation, such a treatment is not necessary. Instead, this study is confined primarily to summaries of the content and concise descriptions of the catechetical and theological components. Sections of the catechisms, including specific doctrines, are selected for treatment in greater detail. These serve as examples and illustrations in support of the emphases and arguments of the paper.

Third, information from the *Kirchen-* and *Schulordnungen* as well as from other primary sources regarding the use of Dieterich's catechetical works in churches and schools is limited to the edited sources available to the researcher. Yet given the detailed sets at hand, there is no point in reinventing the wheel. It is not necessary to chronicle every single use of Dieterich to understand how he was received and used. Absent these sources, the study works with Dieterich's corpus, the best and earliest texts.

Finally, investigation of the employment of Dieterich's catechetical work in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod is limited mainly to its adoption and initial use and to controversy surrounding it. The dissertation does not include a detailed textual examination and analysis of the Missouri Synod's Dieterich catechism. That is really past Dieterich's era and is a transition to another time, another study of catechesis methodology in America—and another dissertation.

### **Review of the Literature**

To date there has been no in-depth study of Dieterich's catechetical writings. At most, Dieterich receives a page or two of comment in reference works or in studies on the history of Luther's Small Catechism, but often only a passing reference. Apart from brief descriptions and

characterizations in studies on the history of Lutheran catechesis,<sup>25</sup> extensive information on, or even consideration of, Dieterich's work is scarce. The mentions are often glowing, just not very detailed.

What studies there are offer a mixed review of Dieterich's work. Typical are the varied appraisals in the works of Ferdinand Cohrs and Johann Michael Reu. In 1929, Cohrs wrote an essay commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the first publication of Luther's Small Catechism. In his overview of works based on the Small Catechism and written between the Book of Concord and the start of the Thirty Years War, Cohrs calls Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* the "crowning achievement" [*Krone*] of the expositions of Luther's catechism of the time.<sup>26</sup> In the same year and for the same occasion, Reu described Dieterich's *Institutiones* as a "good book ... designed for students and pastors," but also termed it a "bad example" that has "for a long time produced evil results through its employment of all the terminology of Dogmatics and of the history of dogma in the explanation of the Catechism."<sup>27</sup> In his assessment, Reu does not overlook Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica*: "The abridged edition of the

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<sup>25</sup> See for example, Ferdinand Cohrs, *Vierhundert Jahre Luthers Kleiner Katechismus. Kurze Geschichte seiner Entstehung und seines Gebrauchs* (Langensalza: Beyer, 1929), 39; Johann Michael Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism: A History of Its Origin, Its Distribution and Its Use. A Jubilee Offering* (Chicago: Wartburg, 1929), 175; and Reu, "Luthers Kleiner Katechismus im Zeitalter der Orthodoxie," in *Allgemeine evangelisch-lutherische Kirchenzeitung* 62 (Leipzig, 1929): 462–66, 86–92; Otto Frenzel, *Zur Katechetischen Unterweisung im Zeitalter der Reformation und Orthodoxie* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1915), 41; Hans-Jürgen Fraas, *Katechismustradition: Luthers Kleiner Katechismus in Kirche und Schule* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1971), 100–02; Christoph Bizer, "Katechetik," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 17. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 686–710 with Dieterich mentioned on page 688.

<sup>26</sup> Cohrs, *Vierhundert Jahre Luthers Kleiner Katechismus*, 39. Cohrs adds that contemporaries of Dieterich "were at a loss to extol [the *Institutiones Catecheticae*] enough for having expounded Luther's Enchiridion in such an excellent manner" [Zeitgenossen wissen nicht genug zu rühmen, daß Luthers "Enchiridion" so trefflich erklärt worden ist"], 39.

<sup>27</sup> Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism*, 175.

*Institutiones*, which was intended for the school, was likewise too technical.”<sup>28</sup> Reu does not elaborate on his critique of Dieterich, but such comments certainly invite deeper examination. Voices closer to Dieterich tended to favor his approach and appreciated his work, but twentieth-century estimates have gravitated to the negative end of the scale.<sup>29</sup> These assessments illustrate a general disagreement regarding the nature and purpose of Dieterich’s catechetical works, but they do not delve deep enough really to settle matters one way or the other. That perhaps serves as further confirmation of the need for a fuller inspection and explanation.

Two other works are significant for this study and deserve mention here. The first, Hermann Dieterich’s *D. Konrad Dieterich, Superintendent und Scholarch in Ulm (1614–1639) und sein Briefwechsel* (Ulm: Höhn, 1938) provides little new biographical data on the author’s famous ancestor, but brings material from Conrad Dieterich’s private papers to bear in his account of important events in Ulm at the time he was superintendent and director of the Gymnasium there. The book is valuable for what it surveys, but contains only minimal

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<sup>28</sup> Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther’s Small Catechism*, 175. Elsewhere, Reu expresses similar sentiments regarding Dieterich’s *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica*:

An abhorrent example of this kind is found in Conr. Dietrich’s *Institutiones Catecheticae* of 1613. In itself it is an excellent book, helpful alike to student and pastor; but the author’s method of dragging into it every technical term of dogmatics and history of dogma has had baneful consequences; even today we are not quite free from this injurious practice. In catechetical instruction the catechist found a welcome opportunity to review his dogmatics. This proceeding may have been salutary for himself, but the children were given stones rather than bread. Even the epitome of Dietrich’s *Institutiones* designed especially for school use and employed in some regions to our day, is far too doctrinaire.

Reu, *Catechetics, or Theory and Practise of Religious Instruction*, third, revised edition (Chicago: Wartburg, 1931), 127.

<sup>29</sup> Several Lutheran theologians thought enough of Dieterich’s *Institutiones Catecheticae* to write commentaries on it. Christian Chemnitz (1615–1666) was professor of theology at the University of Jena and apparently lectured on Dieterich’s *Institutiones Catecheticae* in 1653. His lectures were published posthumously in commentary form in 1677 (reprinted in 1685 and 1692), often as an appendix to the text of Dieterich’s *Institutiones*. For example, *D. Conradi Dieterici Institutiones Catecheticae, Depromptae E. B. Lutheri Catechesi, & variis, recenter etiam B. Dn. Christiani Chemnitii Notis illustratae; ... Christiani Chemnitii, S. S. Theol. Doct. P. P in illustri ad Salam Academia Celeberrimi, Annotationes in Catechesin D. Cunradi Dieterici, Praelectae, Anno M. DC. LIII.* (Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig: Fritzsche, 1685). Likewise, Friedemann Bechmann (1628–1703), professor of philosophy and theology at the University of Jena, wrote a commentary on Dieterich’s *Institutiones Catecheticae: Ad Institutiones Catecheticas Cunradi Dieterici annotationes uberiores* (Frankfurt am Main, 1706; reprinted 1707). Bechmann’s work was also published posthumously and had perhaps come from his lectures on Dieterich’s *Institutiones*. Other pastors and theologians composed works based on Dieterich’s catechisms; these works will be discussed in chapter six of the dissertation (documenting how and where Dieterich’s catechetical writings were used in his own day, in the rest of the seventeenth century and afterward).

discussion of Dieterich's catechisms.

The most scholarly treatment of Dieterich's influence is that of Monika Hagenmaier whose *Predigt und Policey: Der gesellschafts-politische Diskurs zwischen Kirche und Obrigkeit in Ulm 1614–1639* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1989) came out of her 1988 Ph.D. dissertation in history from the University of Tübingen. As the title suggests, Hagenmaier focuses on the relationship between Dieterich and the civic authorities in Ulm as reflected in Dieterich's sermons and in governmental policies. This work provides a wealth of information on Dieterich's preaching and his conception of Christian civic life, and is somewhat helpful in its discussion of Dieterich's ideas on education and schools, but includes very little on his catechetical work.

### **Research Procedures**

This dissertation on the catechetical writings of Conrad Dieterich is a historical study and reflects methods used in history, particularly those aimed at an intellectual-biographical topic. This study will determine, document, and interpret the influence of Dieterich and his work, and address the questions of methodology in Dieterich's catechisms, especially what his method was and why he employed it?

The dissertation paints a picture of Dieterich's understanding of the catechetical task using the texts of his catechisms as the primary sources under investigation. It explores what Dieterich wrote, suggests what his intentions were, and samples the impact of his work. It follows certain procedures in an attempt to describe Dieterich's view and program of catechetical instruction.<sup>30</sup>

The dissertation reviews the curriculum, that is the "what" of Dieterich's catechesis. This considers the past traditions (doctrines and practices) of the Lutheran church that Dieterich passed on. It discusses the theological subjects Dieterich takes up and comments upon the order,

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<sup>30</sup> These procedures have been adapted from those found in William Harmless's study of Augustine's catechetical instruction, in *Augustine and the Catechumenate* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995), 32–36. Dieterich is a long way from Augustine, but the questions are basic and Harmless's list would serve well to structure an investigation of catechetics in any age.

manner, and depth in which he treats them. The dissertation looks at Dieterich's expectations for his catechetical instruction. It looks at what Dieterich expected of his students and catechumens, and investigates how Dieterich intended catechetical instruction to impact the Christian faith and life of those learning the catechism.

In addition to the "what," the dissertation examines Dieterich's catechetical writings as models of teaching, that is, the "how" of catechesis. This deals with the manner and method of getting catechesis done, analyzing the language and structure of his instruction. This survey is interested in the most basic strategy and tactics of how Dieterich attempted to shape the faith and life of his students as well as how he accommodated his catechetical message to their minds and hearts. Finally, it explores how Dieterich's catechesis affected the broader educational life of the Lutheran community.

The dissertation then draws inferences about the impact of Dieterich's catechetical work on faith and culture—this is the "where" of catechesis. As an educator, Dieterich was relating to specific people living in a specific social, cultural, confessional, and intellectual environment. Thus, the paper naturally investigates how the message of Dieterich's catechisms were shaped by his seventeenth-century context and looks at the religious, social, and political realities he addressed. It discusses how theological issues and confessional concerns helped to determine Dieterich's catechetical approach and methodology.

Finally, the dissertation investigates Dieterich's concept of the purpose or goal of Lutheran catechetical instruction—this is the "why" of catechesis. It considers in what way Dieterich understood catechesis as a goal-directed activity and how he designed his instruction to suit this understanding. Dieterich's catechetical curriculum and method of instruction work in concert, advancing particular objectives to accomplish the desired outcome. The paper analyzes the doctrinal and practical focus of Dieterich's instruction and explores how he saw his curriculum

and method of teaching as shaping the Christian faith and lives of his audience. All these procedures will help us chart and better understand Dieterich's writings on the catechism.

Before plunging directly into Dieterich's work, the next chapter introduces the topic of Luther's catechisms and his understanding of Christian education. This historical and theological background provides a description of the Lutheran catechetical tradition that Conrad Dieterich inherited and adapted in the early seventeenth century. It was his foundation and his inspiration to move on. As we will see in what then follows, Dieterich in part passed this tradition on to the Lutherans of his day, and to some extent he departed from it as he set about writing his own works on the catechism of Martin Luther.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LUTHER'S CATECHISMS AND CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

#### Introduction

Time now to set the stage for the later, larger consideration of Conrad Dieterich's catechetical work by surveying the historical background of Luther's catechisms. First comes a look at the theological-pedagogical design of Luther's Small Catechism and how it was employed as the Reformation took root and grew. This includes a sampling of how the catechism's use was developed through commentaries and expansions in the period before Dieterich wrote his catechisms. The chapter also studies changes in catechetical method and in the material presented to catechumens and students, and looks ahead to the potential or eventual results of this sort of catechetical instruction.

The education of and in the evangelical faith was at the heart of Luther's program of reform. His primary task of restoring the centrality of the Christian Gospel and of reforming the church was essentially one of education.<sup>1</sup> Luther recognized that his teaching of justification by grace through faith alone, with its reconception of the relationship of human beings to God and to one another, entrusted education with an important role in church and society. Luther emphasized that faith in God and love for neighbor must be taught and learned, and that education prepared

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<sup>1</sup> See Harold J. Grimm, "Luther and Education," in *Luther and Culture*. Martin Luther Lectures, vol. 4 (Decorah: Luther College Press, 1960), 74–75; James M. Kittelson, "Luther the Educational Reformer," in *Luther and Learning: The Wittenberg University Luther Symposium*, ed. Marilyn J. Harran (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1985), 95–114; Kittelson, "Luther's Impact on the Universities—and the Reverse," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 48 (1984): 23–38; Robert Rosin, "The Reformation, Humanism, and Education: The Wittenberg Model for Reform," *Concordia Journal* 16 (1990): 301–18; Lewis W. Spitz, "Further Lines of Inquiry for the Study of Reformation and Pedagogy," in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, ed. Charles Trinkaus with Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 294–306.



and equipped people for service to God, his church, and community.<sup>2</sup> A teacher by vocation, Luther was concerned about the establishment of new schools, the improvement of existing ones, and the reforming of school curricula. He wrote much on education and its importance for the church, state, and society. Luther's sermons, treatises, and letters on the subject as well as his catechisms all bear witness to his involvement in educational matters.

Luther's evangelical concern with its stress on the Holy Scriptures as the sole authority in matters of faith led him to encourage a broad educational plan. He emphasized that all people, children and adults alike, needed to be taught to read and understand the Bible. Like the humanists of his time, Luther also underscored the importance of learning languages, the liberal arts, and of teaching with methods that were engaging and considerate of students. Yet Luther believed that instruction in the Christian faith and life was paramount. This was the primary objective of his emphasis on education. A comprehensive educational program was influential for the development of Christian character and culture, but ultimately these were to be used in service of God and fellow human beings. This was not study for study's sake, humanism just for the subject itself. There was a larger purpose. Teaching the Christian faith was to take first priority, and once that was achieved instruction in the other elements of the curricula would follow.

Luther believed that the training up of children in the faith was one of the most important tasks of parents. In the Large Catechism, he emphasizes this obligation, given by God, to parents: "Let all people know that it is their chief duty—at the risk of losing divine grace—first to bring up their children in the fear and knowledge of God, and, then, if they are so gifted, also to have them engage in formal study and learn so that they may be of service wherever they are

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<sup>2</sup> See Luther, *Large Catechism*, The Ten Commandments, 172. Unless otherwise noted, all quotes from Luther's Large and Small Catechisms, and any other of the Lutheran confessional writings, are from *The Book of Concord. The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, eds. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert, trans. Charles Arand, Eric Gritsch, Robert Kolb, William Russell, James Schaaf, Jane Strohl, Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000.)

needed.”<sup>3</sup> Luther makes a distinction here between catechesis in particular and education in general. He emphasizes that God is at work in the teaching of the faith: “In such reading, conversation, and meditation the Holy Spirit is present and bestows ever new and greater light and devotion, so that it tastes better and better and is digested.”<sup>4</sup> Luther stresses that people are not educated into being children of God; just as they are not made God’s children by his Law, neither are they made such by human instruction.<sup>5</sup> Rather, by grace through faith they are reborn as children of God—it is God who teaches, creating faith and adopting them as children.<sup>6</sup> Luther maintains that God instructs through his Word—through his Law and Gospel. Just as God, through the prophets, trained up his Old Testament people with commands and promises, so he teaches his people in the New Testament with his Law and Gospel.<sup>7</sup> According to Luther, preachers, teachers, parents—indeed all Christians—are instruments through which God works to proclaim his Word. Through instruction of their own children in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith—catechesis—parents are acting as God’s instruments, communicating to them what is most important for their temporal and eternal standing with God. At the same time,

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<sup>3</sup> Large Catechism, The Ten Commandments, 174.

<sup>4</sup> Large Catechism, Long Preface, 9.

<sup>5</sup> See Ivar Asheim, *Glaube und Erziehung bei Luther: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Verhältnisses von Theologie und Pädagogik* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1961), 109f.

<sup>6</sup> At one point in *De Servo Arbitrio* (1525), Luther refutes Erasmus’ position on the will with a brief commentary on John 1:12f. (“To all who received him, who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God; who were born, not of blood nor of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man, but of God.”) Luther interprets the “will of man” in a manner supporting his own argument that the human will has no role in conversion or rebirth:

The “will of man” I understand as the strivings of all men generally, whether under the law or without the law, Gentiles or whatever they may be, so that the meaning is: “They become sons of God neither by natural birth [*nativitate carnis*] nor by zeal for the law nor by any other human doing [*studio humano*], but only by a divine birth.” If therefore they are not born of the flesh, nor trained by the law, nor prepared by any human discipline, but are born anew from God, it is plain that free choice counts for nothing here. Luther, *De Servo Arbitrio*, WA 18: 776–77; quoted from *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation*, ed. E. Gordon Rupp and Philip S. Watson, Library of Christian Classics (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959), 320. Cf. discussion of this in Asheim, 109ff.

<sup>7</sup> See Asheim, 118ff.

parents are laying the foundation for their children's broader education—the *curriculum* of their lives—in community with other people.<sup>8</sup>

Luther was concerned about basic Christian education, but he also played a leading role in the broader educational movement of the Reformation. In his writings on the subject, he demonstrated that “he was a recipient of the humanist educational program” while he was also “a late medieval professor as well as an evangelical reformer for whom the learning and teaching of true doctrine were essential.”<sup>9</sup> Luther’s reform movement was based on evangelical doctrine—on the Word of God—and his goal of educational activity was to train people in the Christian faith. Still, Luther saw the need for Christians to be well educated for service in the community. A balanced educational approach was called for, one that stressed both instruction in the faith as well as learning for life in the world, both carried out with diligence and excellence. As James Kittelson points out, “both the Renaissance ideal of the enlightened Christian citizen and the Reformation ideal of teaching true doctrine coexisted in the minds of Luther and others.”<sup>10</sup>

For Luther, the central point of the catechism concerned not merely the communication of Christian doctrine or the ethics of the Christian life, but the relationship between God and human beings. That included how they lived as God’s people in God’s first-article creation. So Luther’s catechisms intended to shape and transform the understanding of this relationship in terms of Law and Gospel. Building on the church’s catechetical tradition, Luther remained firm in the belief that an intentional program of catechesis was one of the best and most effective ways to introduce the evangelical faith to children and lay adults. General sermons and other faith-sharing

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<sup>8</sup> By 1530, Luther would charge the temporal authorities with the task of compelling their subjects to keep their children in school. “For it is truly the duty of government to maintain the offices and estates ... so that there will always be preachers, jurists, pastors, writers, physicians, schoolmasters and the like, for we cannot do without them.” In Luther’s view, this compulsory education was necessary for the good of children, for their parents, and for the benefit of the whole community. Luther, *A Sermon on Keeping Children in School* (1530), *LW* 46: 256–57.

<sup>9</sup> James M. Kittelson, “Luther the Educational Reformer,” 99.

<sup>10</sup> James M. Kittelson, “Luther the Educational Reformer,” 99.

contacts were fine and doubtless taught people, but working through the catechism was a transparent way of setting forth the goals of faith/life building. It was clear for all to see. Luther's own practice in this area began with several series of sermons—*catechetical* sermons—in the 1520s, and culminated in the publication of his own catechisms by the end of the decade.

## **Luther's Catechisms**

### **Historical Background**

Luther wrote his catechisms influenced by late medieval catechetical literature. The western medieval church had inherited three core catechetical texts from the early church: the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the baptismal vow.<sup>11</sup> However, infant Baptism was the common practice in the medieval period, and by then the early church catechumenate, with its instruction of adults prior to Baptism, had disappeared. Since this time, the church had not maintained a carefully crafted and administered program of catechesis for children or adults, instead placing responsibility for the religious instruction of young people on their parents and baptismal sponsors.<sup>12</sup>

In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council issued the church-wide decree requiring all believers of discretionary age to make private confession at least once a year. This led to a closer connection between the practice of confession and the Decalog, and eventually to the inclusion of the Ten Commandments in catechetical manuals.<sup>13</sup> So some teaching was done under that larger activity. Over time, the early church's understanding of catechesis as instruction in the faith was replaced with one that consisted of instruction on how to make private confession. Manuals for confession were printed, often containing basic texts of the catechism (Decalog, Lord's Prayer,

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<sup>11</sup> See Gottfried Krodel, "Luther's Work on the Catechism in the Context of Late Medieval Catechetical Literature," *Concordia Journal* 25 (1999): 365.

<sup>12</sup> Krodel, 365.

<sup>13</sup> Krodel, 365–66.

Creed) with brief explanations, and were usually intended for priests or adults. In addition, sermons played a significant teaching role. In a highly illiterate, oral culture, people would (have to) learn by ear. The sermon combined with wall chart picture placards on the church walls created a simple multi-media way of putting the catechism before the people. In addition, devotional manuals and prayer books often included these parts of the catechism, demonstrating the variety in which they were used in the church. By the fifteenth century, the catechism was most associated with the sacrament of penance in which people were exhorted to meditate on the Commandments and Creed while preparing themselves for confession.<sup>14</sup> It is this tradition in which Luther himself was trained, which he knew as a priest, and which he adapted for his own use in writing his catechisms.

Luther was not the first to publish an evangelical catechism in the era of the Reformation era.<sup>15</sup> A number of contemporaries issued catechisms of some kind before Luther's, most borrowing from the medieval tradition, but adapted to the teaching of the Lutheran Reformation.<sup>16</sup> These works were intended to teach children and adults the basics of Christian doctrine and to promulgate the evangelical message of the reformers. Urbanus Rhegius (1489–1541),<sup>17</sup> Johann Bugenhagen (1485–1558),<sup>18</sup> Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560),<sup>19</sup> Johann Agricola (1494–1566),

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<sup>14</sup> See Marilyn J. Harran, *Martin Luther: Learning for Life* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1997), 203.

<sup>15</sup> For more on catechisms before Luther, see Ferdinand Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*. Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, vols. 20–23, 39 (Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1902); and Johannes Geffcken, *Der Bildercatechismus des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts und die catechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther* (Leipzig: T. O. Weigel), 1855. For examples of two pre-Luther catechisms in English, see *Sources and Contexts of the Book of Concord*, ed. Robert Kolb and James M. Nestingen (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 1–30.

<sup>16</sup> For more on the number of evangelical catechisms published during this time, see Charles P. Arand, *That I May Be His Own: An Overview of Luther's Catechisms* (St. Louis: Concordia Academic Press, 2000), 70.

<sup>17</sup> *Auslegung der Zwölf Artikel* (1523).

<sup>18</sup> Bugenhagen's catechism was published in the *Kirchenordnung* for Braunschweig (1528).

<sup>19</sup> Melanchthon published several catechetical works before Luther. His best known work, *Catechesis Puerilis, id est, insitutio puerorum in sacris*, appeared after Luther's catechisms, in 1532.

and Justus Jonas (1493–1555)<sup>20</sup> all wrote catechisms before Luther's. The catechism of the Swabian Lutheran reformer Johannes Brenz (1499–1570) was first published in 1527, and after Luther's, was perhaps the most widely used Lutheran catechism in the sixteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Brenz's catechism was popular in southern German lands and was influential for Lutheran catechesis in other areas.

Luther's own catechisms took some time to develop. Initially he published catechism sermons and manuals intended for popular audiences. His *Betbüchlein* (1522)<sup>22</sup> and *Eine kurze Form des zeh'n Gebote, des Glaubens, und des Vaterunsers* (1520)<sup>23</sup> offered brief explanations of the basics of the Christian faith for use by lay people. In these early catechetical writings, Luther expounded the parts of the catechism for practical use, but with the purpose of conveying the teachings of the faith in the evangelical framework. As early as the *Betbüchlein*, Luther reorders the first three parts of Christian doctrine (Decalog, Creed, Lord's Prayer), setting up a Law/Gospel rhythm that works to cultivate a life of repentance in the lives of Christians. Some of Luther's devotional materials are also catechetical in content and emphasis.<sup>24</sup> All these works influenced other reformers to write their own catechisms, some noted above, but it took Luther a few years more to write his.

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<sup>20</sup> Agricola and Jonas collaborated on a catechism, *Das Büchlein für die Laien und die Kindern*, first issued in 1525.

<sup>21</sup> Brenz's *Fragstück des christlichen glaubens für die Jugendt zu Schwebisch Hall*, was first published in 1528. Brenz's catechism was occasionally prescribed along with Luther's in *Kirchenordnungen* and other ecclesiastical and school mandates. See Robert Kolb, "The Layman's Bible: The Use of Luther's Catechisms in the German Late Reformation," in *Luther's Catechisms—450 Years: Essays Commemorating the Small and Large Catechisms of Dr. Martin Luther*, eds. David P. Scaer and Robert D. Preus (Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 1979), 17.

<sup>22</sup> WA 10/II: 375–406.

<sup>23</sup> WA 7: 204–29.

<sup>24</sup> See for example, Luther's *Auslegung deutsch des Vaterunsers für die einfältigen Laien* (1519) (WA 2: 80–130). Certainly Luther's *Betbüchlein* may also be considered in this connection as well.

Although rooted in the medieval tradition, Luther's catechetical works clearly marked a departure from the emphases and intentions of the medieval catechetical literature, and to some extent recalled the purposes of catechesis from the time of the early church. They attempted to answer the need for instruction in the basics of the faith and reach people with the message of the Reformation.

### **The Intention of Luther's Catechisms**

Luther recognized that catechetical instruction is a teleological activity, one directed to a specific goal and purpose. In Luther's case this was to instruct the German people of his day for faith in Christ and to prepare them for life in him. Yet Luther understood that the faith-relationship with God is ongoing, nourished by the believer's reception of God's gifts. There was no end (*telos*) in the sense of being finished. Learning continues. Thus, broadly considered, Luther intended his catechisms as a guidebook for the Christian way of faith and life. However, Luther had specific circumstances and audiences to which his catechetical writings appealed.

Luther's primary reason for writing his catechisms was to educate clergy and laity on the the basics of the Christian faith and life.<sup>25</sup> Addressing an immediate need for such education encountered in the Visitations of Electoral Saxony and Meissen in 1528–29, Luther set about providing pastors and preachers with materials useful for the task. The result was two catechisms published in 1529: one shorter, in dialogue form designed for lay adults and children;<sup>26</sup> the second, a more extensive explanation, homiletical and aimed primarily at pastors and

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<sup>25</sup> For a discussion of the Agricolan controversy and its role in prompting Luther to write the catechisms, see Timothy J. Wengert, *Law and Gospel: Philip Melancthon's Debate with John Agricola of Eisleben over Poenitentia* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997), 49ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Der kleine Katechismus für gemeine Pfarherr und Prediger*, first published in May, 1529 and later known as the Small Catechism (WA 30/I: 243–425).

preachers.<sup>27</sup> Both catechisms incorporate the fundamental teachings of Scripture and provide instruction in them.<sup>28</sup> In Luther's view, all people, young and old, should learn what the catechism teaches, "for in these three parts [Decalog, Creed, and Lord's Prayer] everything contained in the Scriptures is comprehended in short, plain, and simple terms."<sup>29</sup> For Luther the catechism served in a way as a "theological-pedagogical key to the Holy Scriptures" and thereby also as a key to the life in the Christian church.<sup>30</sup> Luther advised that once the catechism had been learned, people should be taught psalms or hymns based on the material to supplement and confirm their knowledge, adding, "Thus young people will be led into the Scriptures and make progress every day."<sup>31</sup> With this understanding, Luther saw the catechism as a summary not only of Holy Scripture, but also of "the teaching, life, wisdom, and learning that constitute the Christian's conversion, conduct, and concern."<sup>32</sup> The catechism was to teach people the fundamentals of the faith as well as teach them how to put this faith into practice.

The biblical teaching comprised in the catechisms defines what it means to be a Christian.<sup>33</sup> It outlines the core components of Christian doctrine and brings them into relation with the faith

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<sup>27</sup> The *Deutsch Catechismus*, first published in April, 1529 and later known as the Large Catechism (WA 30/I: 125–238).

<sup>28</sup> The Formula of Concord, Epitome (Concerning the Binding Summary, Rule, and Guiding Principle ..., 5) calls Luther's Small and Large Catechisms "a Bible of the Laity [*Laien Bibel*] in which everything is summarized that is treated in detail in Holy Scripture and that is necessary for a Christian to know for salvation." Already in 1528, in his first series of catechetical sermons of that year, Luther called the catechism the "kinder predigt oder der leyen biblia" (WA 30/I: 27), understanding it as the instrument for bringing the biblical message to the laity. In the Large Catechism, Luther describes the catechism as "a brief digest and summary of the entire Holy Scriptures" (Long Preface, 18).

<sup>29</sup> Large Catechism, Short Preface, 18.

<sup>30</sup> Asheim, 272.

<sup>31</sup> Large Catechism, Short Preface, 25. Luther's translation of the Bible into German made this even more possible.

<sup>32</sup> Large Catechism, Short Preface, 19. The catechism shares the same object and claim as the Scriptures, as expressed in Jn 20:31: "These are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that by believing you may have life in his name."

<sup>33</sup> See Arand, 27.



and life of individual Christians. Luther understood that catechetical instruction is interrelated with Baptism: through these together the church carries out Christ's mandate to make disciples, "baptizing and teaching" (Mt 28:19–20). Baptism and catechetical instruction work in tandem to bring a person to a new standing of faith and life in Christ: "If Baptism carries us into the church by transferring us from the kingdom of Satan into Christ's kingdom, catechesis imparts the mind of Christ so that we put to death the old ways of thinking and bring to life new patterns of thought."<sup>34</sup> In Luther's view, the catechism "contains what every Christian should know. Anyone who does not know it should not be numbered among Christians nor admitted to any sacrament, just as artisans who do not know the rules and practices of their craft are rejected and considered incompetent."<sup>35</sup> Knowledge of the catechism was a mark of a Christian. For Luther, catechetical instruction imparts essential knowledge of the Christian faith, but also plays an important role in the identification and definition of the Christian life. Fruit on the tree—good fruit—follows from a good tree. A tree good at the heart or root in essentials is fed and strengthened by catechesis. It is only natural for life to follow. The commandment description of how believers live speaks volumes to the life side of faith and life. It cannot exist in its own without faith, but life deserves to be considered in its own right.

Learning the catechism is also learning confession of the Christian faith. Drawn from Scripture and the confessions of the early church, the catechism itself became an exposition of the teachings of Scripture and a confessional primer for the Christian.<sup>36</sup> Although Luther's catechisms were later included among the confessional writings of the Lutheran church, Luther himself did

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<sup>34</sup> Arand, 28.

<sup>35</sup> Large Catechism, Short Preface, 2.

<sup>36</sup> Luther's Small and Large Catechisms were included in the Book of Concord (1580) and numbered among the confessional documents of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

not set out to write his catechisms as confessions for a new church.<sup>37</sup> They were teaching resources. However, Luther realized that teaching the faith and confessing it are very nearly the same thing. Both interpret and apply the Scriptures to contemporary life.<sup>38</sup> Luther understood confessing the faith to be both what is confessed and the activity of confessing—both form and content that cannot be separated.<sup>39</sup> As a guide to confessing the faith, the catechism also makes it possible, at least on a fundamental level, for people to distinguish between true and false teaching. This allows them to determine when a preacher or teacher is expounding God’s Word correctly. Thus, instruction in the catechism affords the catechumen the ability to draw at least a broad line between pure doctrine and false doctrine, and to know what teachings Lutherans confess and what they condemn.<sup>40</sup>

Luther’s catechisms sought to affirm and express the content of the catholic church’s confession of faith. Faith in Christ alone as the Savior from sin, death, and the devil is the central theme of Luther’s catechisms. Catechumens confess their trust and confidence in Christ and learn how to live in this faith by the benefits of Christ.<sup>41</sup> Thus the catechism is a confession of faith, but it is also a statement of intent to follow the Christian life. The catechism underscores God’s activity in the lives of Christians. It is confession about who God is, as well as how and in what way he is involved in the lives of Christians.

Luther did not set out to write his catechisms as exhaustive textbooks of dogmatic theology, but as instruction handbooks for faith and life. His catechisms do not take up all the

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<sup>37</sup> See Karl Bornhäuser, *Der Ursinn des Kleinen Katechismus* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1933), 3.

<sup>38</sup> See Robert Kolb, *Confessing the Faith: Reformers Define the Church, 1530–1580* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1991), 22–23.

<sup>39</sup> Kolb, *Confessing the Faith: Reformers Define the Church, 1530–1580*, 23.

<sup>40</sup> See also Formula of Concord, Epitome, 11.22, where the catechism, along with God’s Word, directs Christians in recognizing which teachings are “correct and incorrect.”

<sup>41</sup> See Arand, 148ff.

topics of Christian dogma, but they sound “key themes that permeate all of Lutheran thought and thus [provide] the starting point for further theological reflection.”<sup>42</sup> They were places for many people of his time to start learning and reflecting on the basics of the evangelical faith. The inclusion of elements for personal and family devotion, as well as the Table of Christian Callings, made the Small Catechism a tool for cultivating the practice of discipleship in daily life on the basis of the Law and Gospel given in the first two chief parts of Christian teaching.

While Luther’s catechisms would provide instruction for a wide range of children and lay adults, Luther in fact had specific intended readers in view. In one respect, Luther perhaps intended his Small Catechism more for teachers than for students. Certainly, young people were the primary audience, but it was not Luther’s plan that the catechism become a textbook to be placed in the hands of every child. Rather, Luther designed the catechism as a guidebook for pastors, parents, and teachers, from whom children would receive oral instruction in the catechism. Luther cast the material in fixed forms of expression and in simple language to facilitate memorization and comprehension. Otto Albrecht has disproved the notion that memorization was the chief goal of Lutheran catechesis, arguing that it was simply the means of taking up and understanding what was being taught. Lutheran catechists were concerned that people learn the text of the catechism thoroughly, appropriating it in a deliberate and personal way. This would prepare catechumens for a more in-depth study of the parts of the catechism and serve as an introduction to the reading of Scripture.<sup>43</sup> It seems clear that oral communication and aural learning were likely the projected means of inculcation of Lutheran catechetical teaching. Printing was already there to stay, but it takes time to develop a reading culture. So the oral/aural approach would still dominate for a time.

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<sup>42</sup> Arand, 17–18.

<sup>43</sup> Albrecht, “Besondere Einleitung in den Kleinen Katechismus,” in WA 30/I: 543–44.

Luther understood the nature of the task of catechesis as well as the difficulty of teaching the catechism well. To convey the biblical teaching of the catechism means communicating in a way that impacts the lives of readers and hearers with the Gospel. Luther adds:

One ought ... to regard those teachers as the best and the paragons of their profession who present the catechism well—that is, who teach properly the Our Father, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed. But such teachers are rare birds. For there is neither great glory nor outward show in their kind of teaching; but there is in it great good and also the best of sermons, because in this teaching there is comprehended, in brief, all Scripture.<sup>44</sup>

### **The Catechism As Instruction Handbook for Pastors**

In the hands of the clergy, Luther's catechisms were to have a dual purpose: to train pastors and preachers themselves, and then in turn to be used by them to educate the laity. By addressing the Small Catechism to "Ordinary Pastors and Preachers" Luther assigned the parish clergy the task of mastering the catechism—both catechisms—and then teaching and preaching this in the local congregations. In addition, Luther encouraged clergy to employ the catechism as a devotional and prayer book, and to drill themselves in it daily.<sup>45</sup>

Although Luther intended his catechisms first for use by pastors and preachers, they were designed and undertaken ultimately "for the instruction of children and the uneducated."<sup>46</sup> Luther charged the pastors and preachers "to take up your office boldly, to have pity on your people who are entrusted to you, and help us bring the catechism to the people, especially to the

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<sup>44</sup> "Lectures on Zechariah" (1527), *LW* 20: 157; *WA* 23: 486.

<sup>45</sup> Large Catechism, Long Preface, 3, 19. As noted above, Luther asserts that the Holy Spirit is at work in such study of the catechism: "In such reading, conversation, and meditation the Holy Spirit is present and bestows ever new and greater light and devotion ...." (Large Catechism, Long Preface, 9).

<sup>46</sup> Large Catechism, Short Preface, 1. That Luther aimed his Small Catechism at parish clergy is evident from the title page: "Handbook. The Small Catechism for Ordinary Pastors and Preachers." From the early Middle Ages parish clergy had traditionally served as teachers of the catechism to the laity. As Charles Arand (94) observes, "catechetical instruction emerged as one of the primary tasks of a Lutheran pastor."

young.”<sup>47</sup> Young or old, there were those who could not read.<sup>48</sup> Pastors were to speak the text of the catechism word for word to these people, even as part of the sermon from the pulpit, so that they could repeat it back and learn it by heart.<sup>49</sup> Luther warns, however, that “it is not enough for them simply to learn and repeat these parts verbatim,” but “the young people should also attend sermons, especially during the times when preaching on the catechism is prescribed, so that they may hear it explained and may learn the meaning of every part.”<sup>50</sup>

Luther gave preaching a primary role in the presentation of the catechism to the laity, and he clearly directed his catechisms at preachers and intended them as aids to preaching,<sup>51</sup> so young people “will also be able to repeat what they have heard and give a good, correct answer when they are questioned, so that the preaching will not be without benefit and fruit.”<sup>52</sup> “The reason we take such care to preach on the catechism frequently,” Luther added, “is to impress it upon our young people, not in a lofty and learned manner but briefly and very simply, so that it may penetrate deeply into their minds and remain fixed in their memories.”<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Small Catechism, Preface, 6.

<sup>48</sup> For more on the oral presentation of the catechism and Luther’s recommended method of oral instruction, see Arand, 92. As mentioned above, many of Luther’s own initial catechetical works were sermons on the catechism.

<sup>49</sup> See Small Catechism, Preface, 10; Large Catechism, Short Preface, 24.

<sup>50</sup> Large Catechism, Short Preface, 26. See also Small Catechism, Preface, 14–17. In the Apology of the Augsburg Confession (1531), Melancthon notes the absence of instruction of children in the Roman Church, and states that catechesis is the regular practice among the confessors: “Among our opponents there is no catechesis of children whatever, even though the canons prescribe it. Among us, pastors and ministers of the church are required to instruct and examine the youth publicly, as custom that produces very good results” (15.41).

<sup>51</sup> See Mary Jane Haemig, “The Living Voice of the Catechism: German Lutheran Catechetical Preaching 1530–1580” (Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1996), 10–11; Arand, 58–63.

<sup>52</sup> Large Catechism, The Ten Commandments, 26.

<sup>53</sup> Large Catechism, The Ten Commandments, 27. Luther also encouraged pastors to preach on the catechism in other works; see especially the *Deudsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts* (1526), (WA 19: 72–113; LW 53: 61–90), and the *Vermanung zum Sacrament des leibs und bluts unsers Herrn* (1530), (WA 30/II: 595–626; LW 38: 97–137). See also Haemig, 11–12; and Arand, 58–63, for a helpful overview of the history of catechetical preaching from the early church to the time of Luther.

In the *Deutsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts* (1526), Luther makes the case that catechetical instruction is crucial in the life of the congregation as well as in the divine service: “First, the German service needs a plain and simple, fair and square catechism [eyn grober, schlechter, eynefeltiger guter Catechismus]. Catechism means the instruction in which the heathen who want to be Christians are taught and guided in what they should believe, know, do, and leave undone, according to the Christian faith.”<sup>54</sup> Luther urges the preaching of the catechism as well as examination in it, not simply because corporate worship is, pragmatically speaking, a place to have contact but because this actually helps the people benefit from daily worship.<sup>55</sup> Without the building blocks the catechisms lays down, the laity come and go to church without learning or comprehending what they hear. So Luther exhorts pastors to drive this knowledge home to the hearts of their parishioners.<sup>56</sup> “And let no one think himself too wise for such child’s play. Christ, to train men, had to become man himself. If we wish to train children, we must become children with them. Would to God such child’s play were widely practiced. In a short time we

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<sup>54</sup> *Deutsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts* (1526) (WA 19: 76; LW 53: 64).

<sup>55</sup> “This instruction must be given ... from the pulpit at stated times or daily as may be needed, and repeated or read aloud evening and mornings in the homes for the children and servants, in order to train them as Christians. Nor should they only learn to say the words by rote. But they should be questioned point by point and give answer what each part means and how they understand it.” *Deutsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts* (1526) (WA 19: 76; LW 53: 65). Luther states the practice in place in Wittenberg: “On Monday and Tuesday mornings we have a German lesson on the Ten Commandments, the Creed, Lord’s Prayer, baptism, and sacrament, so that these two days preserve and deepen the understanding of the catechism.” (WA 19: 79; LW 53: 68.) The parts of the catechism also play an important role in the divine service, for Luther as evidenced by the Creedal hymn “In One True God We All Believe,” a paraphrase of the Lord’s Prayer, and admonition to receive the Lord’s Supper (see WA 19: 95–99; LW 53: 78–81).

<sup>56</sup> “[Without enrichment in Scripture and in the knowledge of God] people can go to church daily and come away the same as they went. For they think they need only listen at the time, without any thought of learning or remembering anything. Many a man listens to sermons for three or four years and does not retain enough to give a single answer concerning his faith—as I experience daily. Enough has been written in books, yes; but it has not been driven home to the hearts.” (WA 19: 78; LW 53: 67).

would have a wealth of Christian people whose souls would be ... enriched in Scripture and in the knowledge of God.”<sup>57</sup>

In addition to providing instruction on each of the chief parts of the catechism, Luther also included other materials in the Small Catechism which helped it serve as a “manual of pastoral care.”<sup>58</sup> This expands the medieval use of the catechism in the confessional. These materials were intended to assist the pastor in his catechetical work, and included a form for confession and absolution, prayers, a chart of Bible passages, and marriage and baptismal booklets for parish pastors.<sup>59</sup>

### **The Catechism As Instruction Handbook for Parents**

Apart from pastors,<sup>60</sup> Luther urges the need for two other important groups to be involved actively in religious education: parents and the governing authorities.<sup>61</sup> All three—church, home, and school—have the duty to cooperate in teaching the Christian faith, but Luther accented the family as the primary instrument for the catechization of the young.

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<sup>57</sup> *Deutsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts* (1526) (WA 19: 78; LW 53: 67). Luther considered himself a student, and even a child, of the catechism: “But this I say for myself: I am also a doctor and a preacher, just as learned and experienced as all of them who are so high and mighty. Nevertheless, each morning, and whenever else I have time, I do as a child who is being taught the catechism and I read and recite word for word the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Psalms, etc. I must still read and study the catechism daily, and yet I cannot master it as I wish, but must remain a child and pupil of the catechism—and I also do so gladly.” (Large Catechism, Long Preface, 7–8.)

<sup>58</sup> Arand, 94–95.

<sup>59</sup> In 1535 Luther wrote *A Simple Way to Pray* for a friend, Peter the Barber, in which he suggests a method for personal prayer based on the pattern and content of the Small Catechism (LW 43: 193–211; WA 38: 358–75).

<sup>60</sup> E.g., Small Catechism, Address, and Preface, 6; Large Catechism, Long Preface, 1, 13, 19.

<sup>61</sup> Small Catechism, Preface, 19–20; Large Catechism, Long Preface, 19; Short Preface, 4. These three correspond to Luther’s understanding of the divine division of earthly and spiritual government, the “drei Regimenten”: the “weltliches Regiment” or political government, the “Hausregiment” or family, and the “geistliches Regiment” or church. For more on the secular and spiritual authorities, see Augsburg Confession 28; for more on the “Hausregiment,” see Large Catechism 405. 141–42.

One of the most important divinely-ordained responsibilities of the parental office—vocation—was to teach the catechism and train children in the faith.<sup>62</sup> Luther assigned this duty particularly to the *Hausvater*,<sup>63</sup> or the head of the household, the family of which may include domestics, live-in guests or friends, and other dependents as well as the children. This is an era of extended families and households. The question-and-answer format of the Small Catechism provided the *Hausvater* with a simple method for instruction, which was to be drilled or reviewed regularly: “It is the duty of every head of a household at least once a week to examine the children and servants one after the other and ascertain what they know or have learned of it, and, if they do not know it, to keep them faithfully at it.”<sup>64</sup> In addition to providing catechetical instruction, parents were to bring their children to church to hear sermons on the catechism and sing catechetical hymns, and see to it that they attend school where they would receive further Christian education.

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<sup>62</sup> Luther emphasizes this in many writings. See e.g., *Large Catechism, The Sacrament of the Altar*, 87: “Let all heads of a household remember that it is their duty, by God’s injunction and command, to teach their children or have them taught the things they ought to know”; for a more expanded discussion, see *Large Catechism, The Ten Commandments*, 167–78; and from the *Sermon on the Estate of Marriage (1519)* [*Ein Sermon von dem ehelichen Stand*, WA 2: 169–70]: “But this parents must know, that they do no better work and service to God, Christendom, the entire world, themselves and their children, than to educate their children well.” [“Aber das solln die eheleudt wissen, das sie gott, der Christenhey, aller welt, yhn selbs un yhren kindern keyn besser werck und nutz schaffen mugen, dan das sie yhre kinder wol auff tzyhen.”]

<sup>63</sup> Each page of the first German *Tafeldruck* edition of the Small Catechism (1529) bore the title of each section or part of the catechism followed by “wie sie ein Hausvater seinem Gesinde einfältiglich furhalten soll.” This title was retained in subsequent printings of the catechism in pamphlet/book form. The 1529 Latin translation, intended largely for use in schools, is addressed to students and schoolteachers: “... pro pueris in schola. Quo pacto paedagogi suos pueros ... simplicissime docere debeant.”

<sup>64</sup> *Large Catechism, Short Preface*, 4.



Luther gave the role of parents extraordinary emphasis in instructing their children, assigning them titles once reserved exclusively for clergy.<sup>65</sup> So parents are to serve as pastors and bishops in their own households and care for their families, preaching at home what is publicly preached in the church. In his introduction to a sermon on the catechism, Luther addresses parents: “God has appointed you a master and a wife in order that you should hold your family to [the teaching of the catechism and learning of the Scriptures] .... Every father of a family is a bishop in his house and the wife a bishopess.”<sup>66</sup> Parents were to fulfill the responsibilities of their office, which, in this context, was auxiliary to the office of the ministry: “Remember that you in your homes are to help us carry on the ministry as we do in the church.”<sup>67</sup> Parents are to proclaim God’s Word to their children—in a sense, to evangelize them—and to train them up in the fear and knowledge of the Lord. At the same time, this parental catechesis teaches also by living out faith in the Christian life: to love one’s neighbor, to establish and maintain good relationships with others, to carry out Christian vocations, etc. In order for parents to serve as teachers in the home, they themselves needed to have a basic knowledge of Christian faith and doctrine and to be able to explain this to their children. Thus the catechism guided parents in their own instruction as well as those in their household.

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<sup>65</sup> See Arand, 96, and endnote 29: “In fact, Luther could apply every high and respectable title, such as ruler, bishop, doctor, pastor, preacher, judge, schoolmaster to the parent (WA 16: 490, 30ff).” See Luther, *Predigt über das 1. Buch Mose. Kap 10.* (1527) WA 24: 223, 9–13:

This authority [of parents] is given and instituted for this reason that children are to be instructed and taught God's Word and to know and fear God, and to believe in Him, so that a father actually is to be bishop and pastor of his house. For to him belongs the same office over his children and household which the bishop holds over his people.

[Diese gewalt ist nu daruemb geben und eingesetzt, das man die kinder ziehen sol und Gottes wort lernen, Gott erkennen, fuerchten und yhm gleuben, Also das ein vater eygentlich ein Bischoff und Pfarrer seines hauses sein sol. Denn yhm eben das ampt geboert uber seine kinder und gesind, das einem Bischoff gebuert uber sein volck.]

(Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author’s.)

<sup>66</sup> *Ten Sermons on the Catechism* (1528) LW 51:136–37; WA 30/I: 58.

<sup>67</sup> *Ten Sermons on the Catechism* (1528) LW 51:136–37; WA 30/I: 58.

## The Catechism As Instruction Handbook for Schools

Luther believed the instruction of children was of vital importance for the preservation of the Gospel, the church, and society. Indeed, the whole success of the Reformation depended on it: “We cannot perpetuate these and other teachings unless we train the people who come after us and succeed us in our office and work, so that they in turn may bring up their children successfully. In this way God’s Word and a Christian community will be preserved.”<sup>68</sup> While Luther affirmed that parents have the primary responsibility in the training of children in the faith, he also recognized the failure of parents to fulfill this task, whether from lack of will, ability, time, or opportunity.<sup>69</sup> Luther reminded parents “that it is their duty, by God’s injunction and command, to teach their children *or have them taught* the things they ought to know.”<sup>70</sup> For this reason, in the preface to the Small Catechism, pastors and preachers are to urge parents (along with governing authorities) to “rule well and send their children to school.”<sup>71</sup> Pastors, civic authorities, and teachers in schools serve as auxiliaries to parents in fulfilling of

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<sup>68</sup> Large Catechism, The Sacrament of the Altar, 86.

<sup>69</sup> See *To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany that they Establish and Maintain Christian Schools* (1524), LW 45: 354–55; WA 15: 33–34. The failure of many in the clergy, as well as that of parents, to adequately instruct children in the fundamentals of the Christian faith was made further apparent in the Visitations of the late 1520s. These circumstances perhaps encouraged Luther and the other reformers to promote a coalition-approach toward education, and, in particular, catechesis. It is useful to note again here that the 1529 Latin translation of the Small Catechism, intended largely for use in schools, is addressed to students and schoolteachers. In addition, Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560) furnished instructions for schoolmasters on how to teach the catechism to students in different grade levels in the *Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral Saxony* (1528) (LW 40: 315, 318; WA 26: 237, 238–39). Melancthon also wrote a catechism, first published in Wittenberg in 1532 and with many later editions, under this title: *Catechesis Puerilis, id est, insitutio puerorum in sacris*. (Wittenberg: G. Rhau, 1532), in *Corpus Reformatorum*, eds. C. G. Bretschneider & H. E. Bindseil (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1855), vol. 28, 103–92). This catechism was clearly designed for use in schools, and perhaps in conjunction or in supplement to the 1529 Latin translation of Luther’s Small Catechism, though Melancthon’s catechism is not based on Luther’s.

<sup>70</sup> Large Catechism, The Sacrament of the Altar, 87 (italics added).

<sup>71</sup> Small Catechism, Preface, 19. Luther goes on to explain that the governing authorities sin greatly and do much damage when they do not “help to train children as pastors, preachers, civil servants, etc.” (Preface, 20).

their obligations regarding religious education. “These other authorities were to supplement, not replace the role of parents. In the coalition, each must tend to their respective duties ....”<sup>72</sup>

Already in his *To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany that they Establish and Maintain Christian Schools* (1524), Luther had exhorted civic authorities to provide schools and competent teachers and to assure that children received adequate training.<sup>73</sup> Luther had no illusions about the difficulty of operating schools and the challenges faced by administrators and teachers, noting that “it takes extraordinary people to bring children up right and teach them well.”<sup>74</sup> Failure to educate children would, according to Luther, result in the ultimate ruin of both children and community.<sup>75</sup>

Within his broader emphasis on education, Luther stressed most of all the importance of religious instruction for children. Learning the Christian faith is more important than other school subjects. In his *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate* (1520), Luther urges that schoolchildren be instructed in the Bible, or at least the Gospels. “Above all, the foremost reading for everybody, both in the universities and in the

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<sup>72</sup> Arand, 93.

<sup>73</sup> Another example of Luther’s encouragement of the establishment of schools by governing authorities is a letter dated July 18, 1529, in which Luther urges Markgraf Georg von Brandenburg to set up schools in his principality. Luther advised him to establish good schools for children in all cities and towns, as well as one or two higher schools (universities) in cities, where theology, law, and the liberal arts would be taught, and which would produce pastors, preachers, clerks, councillors, and other officials, as well as theologians, jurists, and physicians for service in his land. *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Briefwechsel*. 18 vols. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1930–85), 5: 119–21.

<sup>74</sup> *To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany that they Establish and Maintain Christian Schools* (1524), LW 45: 355; WA 15: 34.

<sup>75</sup> *To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany that they Establish and Maintain Christian Schools* (1524), LW 45: 354–56; WA 15: 34–35. Luther’s exhortations were not unheeded. In 1524, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Gotha adopted school reforms, followed by Eisleben in 1525, Nürnberg in 1526, and Electoral Saxony in 1528. Philipp of Hesse issued a new program for the establishment of schools in all cities and towns in Hesse in 1526, which included the organization of a new Lutheran university in Marburg. Other new Schulordnungen were put in force throughout the German lands in the decades that followed. See also Harran, 184–87.

schools, should be Holy Scripture—and for the younger boys, the Gospels.”<sup>76</sup> As an introductory summary and exposition of the teachings of Scripture, Luther’s catechism came to play a leading role in the education of children in the faith.

Although not written specifically as a textbook for schools, the Small Catechism quickly found use as a handbook for teaching schoolchildren. The title given the early editions—Enchiridion—recalled the medieval primers or chart books used in schools containing the ABC, the Creed, Lord’s Prayer, etc. Luther’s text was translated into Latin in 1529 and clearly meant for Latin schools. Instruction in the catechism was also an intended part of the new evangelical school curriculum. While Luther primarily intended his catechism for use in oral instruction, it was also easily accessible to students learning to read the vernacular. In the *Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral Saxony* (1528), Melancthon had directed schoolmasters on how to teach on the parts of the catechism, and certainly Luther’s catechism proved a helpful tool in the hands of teachers as well as students.<sup>77</sup> The Small Catechism soon became the fundamental textbook for religious instruction for schools in addition to homes and churches, in many areas where the Lutheran Reformation had taken hold.

### **The Theological-Pedagogical Design of Luther’s Catechisms**

In his catechisms, Luther began with three of the core parts of the medieval catechetical tradition: the Decalog, the Creed, and the Lord’s Prayer. To this he added parts on Baptism, the Lord’s Supper, and Confession.<sup>78</sup> The medieval catechetical literature had normally followed the order of Creed, Lord’s Prayer, and Decalog. This arrangement had made sense pedagogically

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<sup>76</sup> *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate* (1520), LW 44: 205–206; WA 6: 462.

<sup>77</sup> *Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral Saxony* (1528), LW 40: 315, 318; WA 26: 237, 238–39.

<sup>78</sup> Editions of the Small Catechism from 1531 and afterward included a separate section on confession.

when the catechism had been used as a preparation for the sacrament of penance.<sup>79</sup> But in his catechisms, Luther changed the order, placing the Decalog first, then the Creed and Lord's Prayer, a move that demonstrates Luther's purpose includes both inculcation of faith as well as the preparation for Christian life.

The structure and content of the Small Catechism in particular reflect Luther's understanding of the relationship between God and humans in terms of Law and Gospel.<sup>80</sup> Luther first leads readers to repentance through the message of God's Law in the Decalog. Then they hear the Gospel in the Creed, which proclaims the triune God's love and his creating, redeeming, and sanctifying work. Luther follows with the Lord's Prayer, which teaches readers to exercise their faith, praying to God as Father and calling upon him in every time of need.<sup>81</sup> In his instruction on Baptism, Confession, and the Lord's Prayer, Luther explains to his readers how God, by means of his Word, is at work in their daily lives, communicating to them his love, forgiveness, and salvation. With the inclusion of prayers and Bible passages for Christian callings at the close of the catechism, Luther appends practical instructions for the believers to live out their faith.

Luther has a theological rationale for the structure of the Small Catechism. His arrangement of the Decalog, Creed, and Lord's Prayer invites the reader to view and interpret each part in light of the others.<sup>82</sup> The chief parts are thus related to and dependent on each other, all working

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<sup>79</sup> See Harran, 206. This former order of the catechism had assumed that faith (Creed) permits one to approach God to receive his grace (Lord's Prayer), the aim of which is the living of life prescribed in the law (Decalog). Closing with the Decalog made sense as a preparation for penance, "since it would leave most fresh in the mind of the person confessing the ways in which he or she had violated God's commands."

<sup>80</sup> For a more extensive discussion of the design and method of Luther's Small Catechism, see Albrecht Peters, *Kommentar zu Luthers Katechismen. Band I: Die Zehn Gebote, Luthers Vorreden*, ed. Gottfried Seebaß (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1990), 29–49; and Arand, 129–46.

<sup>81</sup> Luther discusses this interrelation of the chief parts in his preface to *A Short Form of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer* (1520), (*Eine kurze Form der zehn Gebote, eine kurze Form des Glaubens, eine kurze Form des Vaterunsers*, WA 7, 194ff.). See also the same material in Luther's *Personal Prayer Book* (1522), LW 43: 13–14, (*Betbüchlein*, WA 10/II: (339) 375–406).

<sup>82</sup> For a detailed explanation of this rationale, see Arand, 129–41.

together to explain the way in which God relates to humans in his Law (Decalog) and Gospel (Creed and Lord's Prayer).<sup>83</sup> This arrangement and its emphases serves to expand the purpose of Luther's catechism to include both the faith and life of believers.

In the preface to the Small Catechism, Luther suggests a four-stage method of oral catechetical instruction.<sup>84</sup> First, pastors are to teach with a single, fixed text and version of the catechism. Once people have learned the words of the text well, pastors are to teach them the meaning, using the explanations provided by Luther, or another brief form. Third, when people have come to an understanding of the text and its meaning, pastors are to take up a more advanced catechism and impart to them a richer and fuller understanding, treating each individual commandment, petition, or part, and offering examples from Scripture. Finally, pastors are to apply the catechism in their preaching, exhorting people to receive the Lord's Supper and hold it in high esteem. According to Luther, such reception and esteem of the Supper is an indication that the believer knows both his sinfulness and his need for God's grace and forgiveness given in the sacrament.

Within the different stages of this plan for teaching and learning the catechism, Luther suggests additional methods to assure effective communication and reception of the teaching. These methods also seek to have a practical impact on the faith and life of the catechumen. Luther advises that young people be trained up "in the fear and honor of God" with "simple and playful methods" with the goal that the basics of the faith "may become familiar and constantly be practiced."<sup>85</sup> He adds that rather than with "beatings and blows," the "right way to bring up

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<sup>83</sup> See this emphasis in Arand, 132–33.

<sup>84</sup> Small Catechism, Preface, 6ff. Although Luther addresses these suggested methods to pastors, he still assumes that parents will be the primary instructors of the catechism.

<sup>85</sup> Large Catechism, The Ten Commandments, 75. Luther is here speaking about teaching the First and Second Commandments.

children” is to teach them with “kind and agreeable methods.”<sup>86</sup>

Luther’s approach emphasizes the memorization as well as understanding. Fully aware that many children and adults could not read, Luther designed the catechism to be communicated orally and learned in a simple and effective manner. Thus, for Luther, learning the catechism by memory is a critical element in catechetical instruction.

The material of the catechism is in a question-and-answer format.<sup>87</sup> The catechist presents the material and the catechumen responds with a recitation of the same, a dialogical approach. Luther stressed that learning—especially learning the catechism—takes place in oral conversation, in a dialogue of questions and responses.<sup>88</sup> This way of teaching recalls the creedal questions and answers in Baptism from the early church, as well as the practice of catechetical instruction in the medieval period. In Luther’s catechism, the conversation consists of a *traditio* (presentation) and a *redditio* (recitation) of the text of the catechism.<sup>89</sup> This procedure is to be repeated until the catechism is memorized. The dialogue demonstrates that the catechumen has memorized the text, internalized it, and truly understands its meaning.<sup>90</sup>

Luther wanted his questions and answers to convey material clearly and concisely. In simple and consistent exchanges, Luther employs straightforward reasoning, seeking to provide basic definitions of the catechism’s terms and concepts. His succinct propositional questions

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<sup>86</sup> Large Catechism, The Ten Commandments, 76.

<sup>87</sup> This too builds on the medieval catechetical tradition. Already in the *Deutsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts* (1526), Luther had suggested the question and answer method as the best way to teach the catechism (*LW* 53: 64–67).

<sup>88</sup> For more on the evolution of the question-and-answer format, see Carl Adolph Gerhard von Zezschwitz, *System der christlich-kirchlichen Katechetik*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1863–74), 2/2: 1–19.

<sup>89</sup> See Arand, 98. For a more detailed discussion of the question and answer method in Luther’s catechism, see 101–07.

<sup>90</sup> See Harran, 204.

anticipate an indicative, elaborating response. The response of the catechumen, particularly with concluding statements such as “This is most certainly true,” has the mark of a confession.<sup>91</sup>

Luther employed basic elements of rhetoric in his arrangement of the catechetical material.<sup>92</sup> Luther does not label these components or call attention to them in the text, but rather he works them into the structure his treatment of the catechism. Since the catechism is a given text, Luther does not need to invent or discover materials to be treated.<sup>93</sup> The text of the catechism is the *propositio*, which introduces the particular points of information to be taken up in the following discussion. Luther’s question (“Was ist das? Antwort.”) serves as the link that couples the *propositio* with the *explanatio dicti superioris* (explanation of what has been stated previously). Luther’s “answer” (*Antwort*) or explanation of each part of the catechism, is thus a statement of *amplificatio*, elaboration or exposition) of the *propositio*. Luther’s explanation is really a story expanding on the parts of the catechetical text, in which he relates the activity of God to the belief and daily life of human beings. In short, with the help of these rhetorical tools, Luther explains the catechism in a way that tells something about God and human beings and the relationship between them, and that incites in the believer the responses of faith and action.

### **Luther’s Catechism and Religious Education in the Course of the Reformation**

#### **Luther’s Catechisms as Vehicles of the Reformation**

Luther’s catechisms quickly became a means of communicating the Reformation message, specifically a means to transmit the message of the evangelical breakthrough to the people. As

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<sup>91</sup> See Arand, 103.

<sup>92</sup> For a detailed discussion of Luther’s use of rhetoric in his catechism, see Gottfried Krodel, “Luther’s Work on the Catechism in the Context of Late Medieval Catechetical Literature,” in *Concordia Journal* 25 (1999): 380–83. For more on Luther’s use of rhetoric, see also Neil R. Leroux, “Luther’s *Am Neujahrstage*: Style as Argument,” *Rhetorica* 12 (1994): 1–42; and Leroux’s *Luther’s Rhetoric: Strategies and Style from the Invocavit Sermons* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2002).

<sup>93</sup> This assessment of the use of rhetoric in Luther’s Small Catechism follows that of Gottfried Krodel, 380–83.



such, it summarized biblical teaching and taught the Christian faith. This instruction conveyed the Gospel—the love of God for humans beings in the person and atoning work of Christ—and taught people how to integrate this faith with their daily lives. More broadly, the catechisms disseminated a basic knowledge of Luther’s teachings to whole segments of the German populace. The Lutheran emphasis on salvation by grace through faith and the distinction between Law and Gospel, among other central teachings, were widely introduced and strengthened through the catechisms.

Throughout the sixteenth century, Luther’s catechisms were widely reprinted, translated, and issued in revised and expanded editions. Despite their popularity, the message did not reach everyone in society. Although the population in the German lands in this period was becoming increasingly literate, most could not read, and oral communication was still the primary means of transmitting information.<sup>94</sup> Most people in Luther’s day received the message of the Gospel from sermons and conversation rather than from books, pamphlets, or other media.<sup>95</sup> Of course, matters were different in schools where children of a certain age were normally able to read German or even Latin; nevertheless, not all students in classrooms held textbooks in their hands, and oral instruction was the norm. As has been shown, the Small Catechism was designed for oral instruction and played a key role in the education of the laity concerning Luther’s evangelical message.

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<sup>94</sup> For more on literacy rates and the means of communication as it pertains to Luther’s catechisms, see Arand, 91–92.

<sup>95</sup> See Arand, 92.

## The Adaptation and Use of Luther's Small Catechism in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries

After its initial publication in 1529, Luther's Small Catechism became "the most widely used pedagogical, theological, and confessional text among Lutherans for the next 450 years."<sup>96</sup> By Luther's death in 1546, it had been issued in at least thirty editions, and by the end of the sixteenth century at least 125 more had been published.<sup>97</sup> Preaching biographical sermons on Luther in 1562–64, Johann Mathesius (1504–1565) reported that more than one hundred thousand copies of the Small Catechism had been printed. As Robert Kolb has noted, in a time when few published works were issued in printings of more than a thousand, this figure of more than one hundred thousand gives evidence of the importance of Luther's catechism.<sup>98</sup> It is clear that during the sixteenth century Luther's Small Catechism became one of the most important and widely used instructional handbooks among Lutherans in the German lands.

Luther intended the Small Catechism as a book for pastors, preachers, teachers, parents, and children. These integrated the catechism into their practice of the Christian faith and life in many ways, often following Luther's directives. Pastors read parts aloud in churches and preached sermons on them. The catechism was used in formal catechetical instruction prior to confirmation in areas where the practice continued. It became a prayer manual and was central to devotional life in Lutheran homes. Schools in Lutheran territories adopted the catechism as a

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<sup>96</sup> Arand, 15. See also Johann Michael Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism: A History of Its Origin, Its Distribution and Its Use, a Jubilee Offering* (Chicago: Wartburg, 1929), 25ff.

<sup>97</sup> See Robert Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, and Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520–1620*. Texts and Studies in Reformation and Post-Reformation Thought (Grand Rapids: Baker/Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999), 158–59. Kolb compiled these statistics, and others regarding the publication of the Small Catechism in the sixteenth century, from the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, edited by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich) and the Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel), part 1, vol. 12 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1988), 241–77, #5020–49.

<sup>98</sup> Robert Kolb, "The Layman's Bible: The Use of Luther's Catechisms in the German Late Reformation," 18. See Johann Mathesius, *Historien/ Von des Ehrwürdigen in Gott Seligen thewren Manns Gottes, Doctoris Martini Luthers/ anfang/ lehr/ leben vnd sterben ...* (Leipzig, 1621), 60r, 58r.

handbook for teaching the fundamentals of the faith to children. Over time, it was translated into many languages and employed in mission and evangelistic work. In these ways, Luther's Small Catechism was firmly established in many areas as the fundamental textbook for religious instruction in homes, schools, and churches. Many of the practices regarding the use of the Small Catechism were established in *Kirchenordnungen* and put into practice in local congregations.<sup>99</sup> In similar ways, regional or civic *Schulordnungen* set down prescriptions and guidelines regarding the uses of the catechism in schools.

Luther never insisted that his Small Catechism serve as the sole basis for religious instruction. It was clear, however, that the core teachings of his catechism, particularly the Decalog, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, had been central to Christian catechetical instruction since the early church. So Luther offered his catechism as a teaching tool for those "unable to do any better."<sup>100</sup> Still, he urged pastors and preachers to choose whatever catechism they wished and then use it consistently.<sup>101</sup> Luther encouraged pastors to take up a longer, more advanced and detailed catechism once people had been instructed in the catechetical basics.<sup>102</sup> This would allow pastors to provide the people with a deeper and more complete understanding and to treat each

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<sup>99</sup> E.g., the 1560/72 *Kirchenagende* for Hesse, whose catechism contained basic questions and answers explaining or expanding on the text of Luther's Small Catechism.

<sup>100</sup> See Small Catechism, Preface, 6: "I ask that those unable to do any better take up these charts [*Tafeln*] and versions [*Forme*] and read them to the people word for word ...."

<sup>101</sup> See Small Catechism, Preface, 9: "Choose for yourself whatever version you want and stick with it for good. To be sure, when you preach to educated and intelligent people, then you may demonstrate your erudition and discuss these parts with as much complexity and from as many different angles as you can. But with the young people, stick with a fixed, unchanging version and form."

<sup>102</sup> Luther does not prescribe the use of any particular catechism, but he certainly had in mind not only his own *Deutsch Catechismus* (later called the Large Catechism), but also other catechisms available at the time.

individual commandment, petition, or part in greater detail. Luther also advised pastors to supplement this with many examples from Scripture.<sup>103</sup>

Throughout the sixteenth century, editions of the Small Catechism were printed in expanded form, with supplementary questions and answers, prayers, hymns, and other elements of religious education.<sup>104</sup> Additional Scripture passages inserted into the text of the catechism served to illustrate and reinforce Luther's teaching. These expanded manuals were essentially commentaries, explaining and building upon Luther's own words in the catechism.<sup>105</sup>

### **Examples of Catechetical Works Based on Luther's Catechism During the Reformation**

A brief survey of some of the many catechetical writings based on the Small Catechism in Luther's day and in the half century after Luther's death is helpful, providing background on the catechism's use until the time of Conrad Dieterich. One prominent and influential example of an elaboration of Luther's catechism during the Reformation is the Nürnberg *Catechismus odder*

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<sup>103</sup> See Small Catechism, Preface, 17–18: "After you have taught the people a short catechism like this one, then take up a longer catechism and impart to them a richer and fuller understanding. Using such a catechism, explain each individual commandment, petition, or part with its various works, benefits, and blessings, harm and danger, as you find treated at length in so many booklets. In particular, put the greatest stress on that commandment or part where your people experience the greatest need .... Always adduce many examples from the Scriptures ...."

<sup>104</sup> Lutherans also prepared study editions of Luther's Large Catechism, although these were not as prevalent as editions of his smaller catechism. One example of this is *Der Gros Catechismus vnd Kinder Lehre D. Mart. Luth. Für die jungen Christen in Fragestücke verfasst* (Wittenberg: Rhaw, 1541), by Johann Spangenberg (1484–1550). See Johann Michael Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands zwischen 1530 und 1600*. 9 vols. (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1904–1935), I. 2, 299–328. Spangenberg discourses on Luther's text, often following it closely, and even expands it at points where Luther ignore points of doctrine or treated them briefly. For more on Spangenberg's edition, see Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I. 2, 223ff.; and Robert Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, and Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520–1620*, 158.

<sup>105</sup> See Arand, 17. Arand suggests that, in general, the literature on Luther's Small Catechism can be placed in several categories: popular introductions, instructional manuals, doctrinal compendiums, historiographical works, and theological commentaries.

*Kinderpredigt* (1532) by Andreas Osiander and Dominicus Schleupner.<sup>106</sup> Osiander (1498–1552) was the reformer of Nürnberg and one of the city’s chief theologians and preachers. Schleupner (d. 1547) served as the first evangelical preacher in Nürnberg (1522). In 1531, Osiander and Schleupner had published the text of the Small Catechism with a few additions.<sup>107</sup> The *Catechismus odder Kinderpredigt* of 1532 was in many ways an expansion of that first publication. The text consists of sermons for children and young people on the parts of the catechism, each of which concludes with Luther’s explanations. Luther is not named as the author of the explanations to the parts of the catechism. Osiander and Schleupner slightly modified the wording of Luther, simplifying or adding to the text as they saw fit. Among the additions was a sermon on the Office of the Keys placed between Luther’s discussion of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.<sup>108</sup>

The Nürnberg catechism sermons were widely reprinted in the German lands and became the basis for further Lutheran catechisms.<sup>109</sup> The sermons were translated often and officially introduced into many German cities and principalities. They also had an influence in England and Scandinavia. Johann Michael Reu maintains that no other exposition of Luther’s Small Catechism

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<sup>106</sup> *Catechismus- odder Kinder-predigt: Wie die jnn meiner gnedigen herrn Marggrauen zu Brandenburg vnd eins Erbarn Raths der stat Nuermberg oberkeit vnd gepieten allenthalben gepredigt werden den kindern vnd jungen Leuten zu sonderbarem Nutz also in Schrift verfasst* (Wittenberg, 1533). This catechism was first published in Nürnberg in 1533, and was appended to the city’s *Kirchenordnung* of the same year. The text of the catechism may be found in Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I. 1, 462–564.

<sup>107</sup> *Ein kurtzer Begriff der Hauptstück, so in den Catechismum, das ist die kinder lere gehören* (1531). See Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I. 1, 425ff.

<sup>108</sup> In the 1531 version of Luther’s catechism, Osiander and Schleupner had added the part on the Office of the Keys before the discussion of Baptism. Luther’s *Short Order of Confession* (from the 1529 Small Catechism) was omitted in both the 1531 and 1533 Nürnberg editions.

<sup>109</sup> For more on the use of the Nürnberg catechism, particularly in Thuringia and Saxony, see Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther’s Small Catechism*, 39–44.

“was of greater influence within Germany and beyond its boundaries during the 16th century and after.”<sup>110</sup>

Justus Menius (1499–1558) was an early follower of Luther and the reformer of Thüringen. His *Catechismus Justi Menij* (1532) was one of the early developments of Luther’s Small Catechism, although, as with the Nürnberg catechism sermons, Luther is not named.<sup>111</sup> Menius adapted Luther’s text freely, making changes to simplify and abbreviate the explanations. Compared to later treatments of the Small Catechism, Menius’ work is rather elementary and does not expand the content of Luther’s text in much detail.

Johannes Spangenberg (1484–1550) led reform in Nordhausen and Mansfeld and also prepared several handbooks supplementary to Luther’s catechisms. His most popular text, *Des kleinen Catechismi kurtzer begrieff* (1542), was based on the Small Catechism, and contained many of the textual changes made by Menius.<sup>112</sup> Spangenberg used questions and answers, altering the catechism’s wording and its arrangement at points. For instance, he divided the Creed into twelve articles following the medieval tradition, but adhered to Luther’s threefold division when explaining it. Spangenberg’s catechism was widely used, and, like Menius’ catechism, did not greatly extend the subject matter found in Luther’s catechism.

Another elaboration of Luther’s Small Catechism is that of Joachim Mörlin (1514–71), first published in 1547.<sup>113</sup> Luther’s former student, Mörlin was superintendent in Göttingen, for

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<sup>110</sup> Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther’s Small Catechism*, 61. For more on the Nürnberg catechism sermons and their influence, see Hans-Jürgen Fraas, *Katechismustradition: Luthers Kleiner Katechismus in Kirche und Schule*. Arbeiten zur Pastoraltheologie, Band 7, eds. Martin Fischer and Robert Frick (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1971), 56–60; and Haemig, 18–22, and passim.

<sup>111</sup> The text of Menius’ catechism is printed in Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I. 2, 165–73.

<sup>112</sup> *Des kleinen Catechismi kurtzer begrieff und der Haustaffel/ wie man sie in aller gemeine zu Halle/ für die Kinder handelt ...* (Halle, 1542). See Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I. 2, 285–99.

<sup>113</sup> Mörlin, *Enchiridion. Der Kleine Katechismus Doct. Martini Lutheri/Sampt der Haustaffel/ in mehr Fragstück vorfasset* (Magdeburg, 1547), reprinted in Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I. 1, 858–94; note that Reu incorrectly lists this catechism under the name “Joachim Wörlin.”

whose churches and schools he wrote his catechism. He went on to become superintendent in Braunschweig and later in Prussia.<sup>114</sup> Like other Lutherans of his day, Mörlin regarded highly both Luther and his Small Catechism, even suggesting the Holy Spirit had guided Luther's hand and pen while he composed the catechism.<sup>115</sup> Mörlin's catechism falls into three parts: Law, Gospel, and the Table of Duties. He expanded Luther's explanations and added biblical texts as support. Although he develops Luther's text and broadens the discussion of the individual parts, Mörlin preserves Luther's words and, for the most part, his methodology, yet the expanded text does not diminish the simplicity of the original catechism. Kolb notes that Mörlin's was one of the most popular editions of Luther's catechism, and many other instructional manuals would follow a very similar format.<sup>116</sup>

The catechism of Johannes Marbach (1521–81) was also widely used and adapted. Marbach, Luther's student at Wittenberg and pastor at Strassburg after 1545, was professor of theology at the *Gymnasium* in Strassburg where he wrote his *Catechismus* in 1557.<sup>117</sup> As part of his attempt to strengthen the Lutheran movement in Strassburg, Marbach replaced Bucer's catechisms with that of Luther in Strassburg, and then based his own version on the Small

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<sup>114</sup> Reu notes that Mörlin's *Enchiridion* was later used in Braunschweig, Prussia, Thuringia, and elsewhere. Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism*, 62–63.

<sup>115</sup> In the preface to his *Enchiridion*, Mörlin referred to Luther not only as a noble instrument of God, but also "a godly little bee who had drawn forth noble saving honey from all the roses and lovely flowers of God's paradise" and poured it into the little jar of his Small Catechism. Mörlin, *Enchiridion*, quoted in Robert Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, and Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520–1620*, 155, see also 159; for more on Mörlin's catechism, see Kolb, "The Layman's Bible: The Use of Luther's Catechisms in the German Late Reformation," 18; and Fraas, 56–57.

<sup>116</sup> Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, and Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520–1620*, 159–60.

<sup>117</sup> *Catechismus. Christliche Vnderrichtung oder Lehrtafel kürztlich in sechs nachfolgende Stuck verfasst* (Strassburg, 1557). See Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I. 1, 141–55.

Catechism.<sup>118</sup> Like previous catechisms by others, Marbach's consists largely of Luther's catechism with supplementary questions and answers.

Another important work elaborating on the Small Catechism came from Johann Tetelbach (1517–ca. 1598). Tetelbach was pastor in Dresden, Meissen, and later superintendent in Chemnitz. His catechism, *Das Güldene Kleinod D. Mart. Lutheri Catechismus*, first published in 1568,<sup>119</sup> influenced many areas of Lutheran Germany with numerous editions and was widely reprinted.<sup>120</sup> Like many others in the later Reformation period, Tetelbach understood Luther's catechism as the *Laienbibel* [Bible for the laity], summarizing the teachings of Scripture for the lay people.<sup>121</sup> Tetelbach's treatment of Luther's text is quite detailed and expands the explanations with further questions and answers at some length. However, Tetelbach's exposition is closely connected with Luther's words and is not overly dogmatic in nature. Johann Michael Reu ranked Tetelbach's *Güldene Kleinod* among the best works intended for schools which offered extensive analysis and explication of Luther's catechism in German. Reu singles out Tetelbach's expository principle as being of great importance, "that an explanation of the

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<sup>118</sup> The replacement of previous catechisms with Luther's text would be repeated in other German cities during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. For instance, in 1615, Conrad Dieterich adopted Luther's Small Catechism as the official instructional manual for the churches and schools in Ulm, replacing the previous Ulm Catechism which was a composite of several catechisms. Possible reasons for this will be discussed in chapter four.

<sup>119</sup> *Das Güldene Kleinod D. Mart. Lutheri Catechismus/ In kurtze Frage vnnd antwort gefasset/ Vnd der lieben Jugend einfeltigklich aussgelegt* (1568). See Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I. 1, 667–712.

<sup>120</sup> For more on the printings and influence of Tetelbach's catechism, see Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism*, 62. For more on the content of Tetelbach's catechism, see Reu, *ibid.*, 71–77; Fraas, 73–75; and Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, and Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520–1620*, 160–61.

<sup>121</sup> See Fraas, 74. Citing Galatians 6:6 as a basis, Tetelbach defined catechesis as the simple oral instruction in the Christian religion and its repetition, or, a brief summary of the whole teaching of the Bible. This latter understanding would be underscored in the Formula of Concord, Epitome (Concerning the Binding Summary, Rule, and Guiding Principle ..., 5) which called Luther's Small and Large Catechisms "a Bible of the Laity [*Laien Bibel*] in which everything is summarized that is treated in detail in Holy Scripture and that is necessary for a Christian to know for salvation." Luther had also suggested such an understanding. See footnote 24 above.



Catechism must introduce into, and unfold, the treasure of religious truth contained in the *verbal contents* of Luther's Catechism."<sup>122</sup>

One final example of an instructional handbook based on Luther's Small Catechism is that of Bartholomäus Rosinus (1520–86), pastor and superintendent in Weimar. His catechism, first published in 1577, was widely used and reprinted as late as 1727.<sup>123</sup> Rosinus intended his catechism primarily for use in the home, arranging the catechism in six parts, one for each weekday, with suggested psalms and hymns to accompany the catechetical lesson as part of the morning and evening devotions.<sup>124</sup> Like Tetelbach, Rosinus regarded Luther's catechism as the "little Bible of the laity," and "a precious jewel, a compact summary of the Holy Scriptures."<sup>125</sup> And similar to many of the previous catechisms surveyed, Rosinus' text contains simple questions and answers explaining Luther's catechism. The words of Luther's catechism remained foundational for these expansions and commentaries done by Tetelbach, Rosinus, and those who followed this line, though the simplicity of Luther's words would often come to be pushed to the side as the expositions grew more extensive.

This only samples the instructional manuals based on Luther's Small Catechism and done in the sixteenth century. Many more catechisms from the time were not based on Luther's text at all. With such a variety of Lutheran catechisms were used in the German lands during the

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<sup>122</sup> Reu, *Catechetics, or Theory and Practice of Religious Instruction* (Chicago: Wartburg, 1931), 118, emphasis Reu's.

<sup>123</sup> *Kurtze Frag vnnd Atwort, Vber die sechs Heubtstück des Heiligen Catechismi Doctoris Martini Lutheri* (Weimar, 1577). See Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I. 1, 743–55; and Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism*, 63.

<sup>124</sup> See Kolb, "The Layman's Bible: The Use of Luther's Catechisms in the German Late Reformation," 21–23; and Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism*, 63, 79–81.

<sup>125</sup> Quoted in Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism*, 160. For a broader discussion of the Small Catechism as the Bible of the laity, see Kolb, "The Layman's Bible: The Use of Luther's Catechisms in the German Late Reformation," 16–26.

Reformation and late Reformation period, it is legitimate to ask the question: why did Luther's Small Catechism continue to be used—or when it was not, why not?

Perhaps the most immediate answer is that catechism usage varied by region and church administrators. Cities and principalities adopted their own *Kirchen-* and *Schulordnungen*, and instituted the use of certain catechetical materials in their churches and schools. Various reformers and writers of catechisms had influences in different areas of Germany, and often this factor determined whose catechism would be employed. For instance, many regions required that only Luther's catechism be used for instruction, while other prescribed different catechisms—Brenz's catechism, for instance. Another reason for using Luther's catechism was the importance of Luther himself, not to mention the desire of his followers to remain faithful to his evangelical message. But perhaps the simplest reason why Luther's Small Catechism was so widely used for such a long period of time (and continues to be used today), is that it was considered an excellent and eminently useful instructional tool.<sup>126</sup> Simply stated, Luther's catechism gave pastors and teachers what they needed for communicating the basics of the Christian faith and life to children and lay adults.

### **Luther's Small Catechism in a Changing Context**

Luther wrote his catechisms in a specific historical and theological context. He issued his catechisms for pastors, lay adults and children, in a period when many did not know the basics of the Christian faith, let alone the more complex ideas of the biblical, evangelical message of Luther and the other reformers. Luther was very concerned that people incorporate the teachings of the catechism regarding the Christian faith and life into their daily lives. By the late sixteenth century, however, the contexts in which catechetical instruction took place were not altogether the same as when Luther first issued his catechisms. Times and circumstances had changed, along with

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<sup>126</sup> See Kolb, "The Layman's Bible: The Use of Luther's Catechisms in the German Late Reformation," 25–26.

educational needs and goals for religious instruction. Certainly the basic concern to educate children and laity about the Christian faith and life remained, but by the time of Conrad Dieterich and his contemporaries, catechesis and its role and purpose in the teaching of the faith were seen in a slightly different light. The needs and circumstances of the context in which Dieterich worked and taught are reflected in his treatment of Luther's catechism and reveal how Dieterich understood the text of the catechism and Luther's explanation of it.

Although many Lutheran pastors and theologians wrote their own catechetical materials based on Luther's Small Catechism during the middle decades of the sixteenth century, by the 1570s and 1580s there was a general movement toward the use of Luther's Small Catechism itself in even more areas. Luther never insisted that people use only his catechisms, yet over time Luther's Small Catechism became normative for instruction. As Mary Jane Haemig observes, "For controversial purposes, it becomes, in the later period, important to learn the right catechism."<sup>127</sup> An additional reason for the return to the use of Luther's catechism may be attributed to the increasingly popular notion that the Small Catechism was the Bible for the laity, as well as the inclusion of both the Large and Small Catechisms of Luther in the Book of Concord (1580). Also, by the late sixteenth century, "the catechism" had become the equivalent of Luther's Small Catechism. As has been shown, the catechism was a fundamental instrument in the implementation of Luther's own program for the instruction in the Christian faith and life. As Robert Kolb notes, it was for this reason that "Luther's followers ascribed first to the traditional parts of the catechism, and then to Luther's own comment upon them, a central place in their own plans for ecclesiastical life."<sup>128</sup> In this way, by the late Reformation period, the Small

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<sup>127</sup> See Haemig, 111–12. Haemig offers several examples of catechetical preachers who admonished their hearers to use only Luther's catechism.

<sup>128</sup> Kolb, "The Layman's Bible: The Use of Luther's Catechisms in the German Late Reformation," 16–17.

Catechism had become almost canonized as *the* textual basis for all religious instruction in many Lutheran areas.

The meaning of the term “catechism” had changed over time from its use in early Christianity. Originally the term referred to the oral instruction of catechumens in the faith before baptism. As Albrecht Peters notes, at the time of the Reformation, the reformers used the word catechism in four ways: it was the elementary instruction in the Christian faith; it referred to special worship services in which the core teachings of the faith were taught; it denoted the content of the instruction (the core parts of the catechism); and finally it meant the book presenting the content.<sup>129</sup> Significantly, as Haemig points out, by the late sixteenth century the word “catechism” began to assume yet another meaning—to refer almost exclusively to one or both of Luther’s catechisms.<sup>130</sup>

By the eve of the seventeenth century, Luther’s Small Catechism was a doctrinal standard and the foundational tool for instruction among many Lutherans throughout the German lands. Although the precise details vary by region or locality, some fundamental consistencies in usage are apparent. The catechism was a central feature of much of the daily life in churches and homes as well as an important element in worship as catechetical sermons and the public reading of the catechism became a regular part of certain worship services.<sup>131</sup> Catechetical instruction, often obligatory, took place in congregations through special sermons, reviews, and examinations, while schools were established specifically for the purpose of catechetical instruction. In some places each member of the congregation was examined annually on the catechism, perhaps in preparation

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<sup>129</sup> Peters, 16–17.

<sup>130</sup> Haemig, 2–3.

<sup>131</sup> For more on the use of the Small Catechism in worship services and in catechetical preaching, see Haemig; Arand, 58–63; Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther’s Small Catechism*, 161–62; and Kolb, “The Layman’s Bible: The Use of Luther’s Catechisms in the German Late Reformation,” 18.

for visitations of the congregations.<sup>132</sup> Memorization of the catechism and a sound understanding of it, demonstrated through testing, normally constituted the essence of instruction before confirmation. Successful examinations were required for the rite of confirmation in those areas where it was practiced.<sup>133</sup> Some *Kirchenordnungen* required baptismal sponsors to demonstrate their knowledge of the catechism, and the same was often expected of couples prior to marriage.<sup>134</sup>

A word on memorization should be included here. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, pedagogical methods of the time placed particular emphasis on the memorization of texts.<sup>135</sup> Certainly, the learning of material by heart had always been an important element in schooling, but now the idea was becoming more common that rote memorization of a text constituted learning. Over time the acquisition of material by memory was given more importance than

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<sup>132</sup> See Kolb, “The Layman’s Bible: The Use of Luther’s Catechisms in the German Late Reformation,” 19, and Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther’s Small Catechism*, 162–67.

<sup>133</sup> See Kolb, “The Layman’s Bible: The Use of Luther’s Catechisms in the German Late Reformation,” 19. A special note should be made regarding confirmation in the Lutheran churches in this period. An evangelical form of confirmation was not established in the early Reformation era. Of course, public catechetical instruction and examination were occurring in many areas at an early date. This is evidenced, at the very least, by Luther’s sermons on the catechism of 1528 (WA 30/I: 57–122; LW 51: 133–93), and Melancthon’s statement in Apology 15.41, that “among us, pastors and ministers of the church are required to instruct and examine the youth publicly ...” apparently without confirmation. Luther wished to connect a rite of confirmation with Baptism, and in particular, with preparation for reception of the Lord’s Supper. In 1538, Martin Bucer helped to draw up the Ziegenhain Order of Church Discipline to help the Lutheran churches in Hesse in dealing with disturbances caused by the Anabaptists. In the order, which was designed to direct the faith and life of congregations, a rite of confirmation was included that closely associated confirmation with admittance to the Lord’s Supper. The 1540 *Kirchenordnung* for Brandenburg also included a ceremony for confirmation. Other church orders later followed the example and confirmation became more common. Nevertheless, many churches in the Lutheran regions rejected the practice of confirmation for a long time; its establishment varied and followed no regular pattern. For more on the history of confirmation during the Reformation, see Bjarne Hareide, *Die Konfirmation in der Reformationszeit: Eine Untersuchung der lutherischen Konfirmation in Deutschland 1520–85*, *Arbeiten zur Pastoraltheologie*, Band 8, eds. Martin Fischer and Robert Frick, trans. Karin Kvideland (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1971); Wilhelm Diehl, *Zur Geschichte der Konfirmation*. Beiträge aus der hessischen Kirchengeschichte (Giessen: J. Ricker, 1897); Arthur C. Repp, *Confirmation in the Lutheran Church* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964); Paul Turner, *The Meaning and Practice of Confirmation: Perspectives from a Sixteenth-Century Controversy* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987); and Wilhelm Maurer, “Geschichte von Firmung und Konfirmation bis zum Ausgang der lutherischen Orthodoxie,” in *Confirmatio: Forschungen zur Geschichte und Praxis der Konfirmation*, ed. Kurt Frör (Munich: Evang. Presseverband, 1959), 9–38.

<sup>134</sup> See Kolb, “The Layman’s Bible: The Use of Luther’s Catechisms in the German Late Reformation,” 19.

<sup>135</sup> For a helpful study on the subject of memory in the period from the Renaissance through the early seventeenth century, see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

understanding its meaning. By the late sixteenth century, it would not have been difficult to find pastors and teachers stressing memorization of the catechism without necessarily emphasizing its comprehension. In his examination of *Kirchenordnungen*, Otto Frenzel found little importance placed on thoughtless or forced memorization in the Reformation period. However, in the late sixteenth century its emphasis was growing, and by the next century it was commonplace.<sup>136</sup> Reu has suggested several reasons for this: the negligence and pride of pastors and instructors, coupled with a deteriorating understanding of the concept of faith—a belief that the knowledge of the truths of faith are synonymous with saving faith. Reu proposed that the most frequent reason for the greater emphasis on memorization was due to “an unreserved, though onesided, confidence in the efficacy of the Holy Ghost, who is bound to be operative in the human heart, if only the Word is imparted to it in some way.”<sup>137</sup> Perhaps another reason was simply that pastors and teachers were employing a flawed pedagogical method and were convinced that if students methodically (and even mechanically) employed techniques of memorization, they would retain information permanently as well as come to a full understanding of it.

Luther’s catechism also played a significant role in the religious life of Lutheran homes in the late sixteenth century. As the Bible for the laity, the catechism provided people with an instrument to guide them in their understanding of the Christian faith and assist them in the carrying out of their Christian duties. In a fundamental way, the catechism helped them to identify and defend against false doctrine, as well as to confess the true biblical teaching as presented in the catechism and Luther’s explanations. Perhaps most importantly, the catechism was an aid to parents in the fulfillment of their responsibility of training up their children in the Christian faith and life. Lutheran pastors and preachers sought to convince parents of the

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<sup>136</sup> See Frenzel, *Zur Katechetischen Unterweisung im Zeitalter der Reformation und Orthodoxie* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1915), 31ff. See also Haemig, 73–74.

<sup>137</sup> Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther’s Small Catechism*, 174.

necessity to take seriously their vocations as bishops and pastors—as proclaimers of God’s Word and teachers of the faith—in the home. God had commanded parents to train up their children in the Christian faith and connected promises and assurances with catechetical instruction. Children desperately needed what the catechism taught—the Gospel message—as their very salvation depended on it.<sup>138</sup>

Parental teaching of the catechism was an extension of that broader program of religious teaching initiated in the churches. The same was the case for religious education in schools, which very often constituted a continuation of the teaching in the catechism. In many areas catechetical instruction in churches and schools was coordinated, often with *Kirchen-* and *Schulordnungen* prescribing the same or related catechisms to provide consistent, uniform instruction, at least at the early stages. Of course, not all children went to schools, a fact which made churches and homes often the only places where children could receive formal religious training.

The curriculum in German-language schools in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century was basic. Subjects of instruction for both boys and girls normally included, reading, writing, singing, and religion (usually in the form of catechetical teaching and examination). In some cases schoolchildren were also required to attend the *Kinderlehre* or catechism instruction in the church. Reu makes the observation that many of the elaborations of the text of Luther’s Small Catechism from the sixteenth century were taught in these German schools. They provided schoolteachers with guides for expounding those parts of the catechism that they were required to teach or wished to explain in greater depth.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> For more on the use of the catechism in Lutheran homes in this period, see Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther’s Small Catechism*, 160–61; Kolb, “The Layman’s Bible: The Use of Luther’s Catechisms in the German Late Reformation,” 20–23; for more on Luther’s exhortations to parents regarding their responsibilities to teach their children the catechism, see Arand, 92–96.

<sup>139</sup> Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther’s Small Catechism*, 168.

One example of the use of Luther's Small Catechism from the early seventeenth century is *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers (1616)* by Conrad Dieterich for use in both the churches and schools in Ulm. The book consists of the text Luther's Small Catechism in German, including questions and answers introducing and concluding the various parts of the catechism. Following this are prayers for children and for use in schools, as well as a catechetical hymn. As the title page states, the catechism was intended for use by "young and simple people who desire to go to the Lord's Supper."<sup>140</sup> The catechism was designed for use by people of all ages, but particularly for children in churches and schools. Dieterich is usually considered the "Herausgeber," that is, the editor or issuer of the work, although not all the material in the text is from Luther's Small Catechism.<sup>141</sup>

Compared to the German schools, the curriculum in the Latin schools during this time was much more advanced. It usually included instruction in the *trivium* (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) as well as music, history, arithmetic, natural science, Greek, Hebrew, and other subjects. Often a higher-level Latin school such as a *Gymnasium academicum* might include many of the subjects taught at a university at the time. Of course, religious education was part of the core curriculum in these schools. Instruction could include the memorization of Bible passages and hymns and the learning of Bible stories as well as the reading of Gospel and Epistle texts in Luther's German Bible, in Latin, or in the Greek New Testament. However, in most schools catechetical instruction remained at the center of all religious instruction in schools.

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<sup>140</sup> "... für Junge und einfältige Leut/ welche begehren zum Heyligen Abend=mal zugehen ...." (*Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers/ be=neben den Fragen deß Summari=schen begriffs der sechs Hauptstucken Christlicher Lehr/ &c. Mit Angehengetem Christli=cher Unterricht/ für Junge vnd einfältige Leut/ welche begehren zum Heyligen Abend=mal zugehen/Auch etliche Kinder= vnd Schulgebettlein/ Für Vlmische Kirchen um Schulen in Statt vnd Land* (Ulm: Jonas Saur, 1629. Although the catechism was first published in 1616, no copy of the first edition survives.

<sup>141</sup> See *Die Münsterprediger bis zum Übergang Ulms an Württemberg 1810. Kurzbiographien und vollständiges Verzeichnis ihrer Schriften*, ed. Bernhard Appenzeller. Veröffentlichungen der Stadtbibliothek Ulm, Band 13. (Weißenhorn: Konrad, 1990), 175–76.



Like other subjects in the Latin school curriculum, the learning of the catechism progressed along a detailed course of instruction, often established in the *Schulordnung*.<sup>142</sup> The youngest students normally studied and memorized Luther's Small Catechism in German, after which they learned it in Latin. This coupled language study and religion. Many schools used Latin catechetical texts that expanded on Luther's catechism, similar to the German elaborations. After mastery of these briefer catechisms, students took up more advanced works, such as Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica*, with an expanded exposition of the catechetical teaching. Finally, students would study a catechism such as Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae*, which offers quite extensive instruction in Lutheran doctrine while still using the Small Catechism as its core text. Students in the Latin schools were often also required to participate in worship services in the church where their instruction in the catechism was supplemented.

As catechetical instruction became more advanced in the schools and its content was developed and expanded, the catechisms used for instruction grew more dogmatic in nature. Many Lutheran pastors and theologians composed more detailed treatments of the basic teachings of Scripture, often adding them to the components of the catechism. This was in keeping with Luther's recommendation in the preface to the Small Catechism that instruction

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<sup>142</sup> In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Latin school catechisms and Latin expositions of the catechism normally served different purposes than their German counterparts. German catechisms and expositions had as their chief purpose to present the basics of Christian teaching to children and adults. The Latin catechisms were most often written for students in Latin schools and academies and were intended to provide a more advanced instruction in the catechism and in theology. Through instruction in the catechism, students were to receive a solid foundation upon which a greater structure of theological knowledge could be built. The Latin catechisms were designed not only to teach students the fundamental elements of the faith, but in turn to prepare them to be skillful teachers of Christian doctrine to others, and to defend that doctrine against opponents. The Latin catechisms entailed a much broader discussion of the articles of the faith, as well as their correspondence and interconnection, and careful definition of terms and concepts. In addition, these catechisms often detail the objections of the opponents along with solutions and responses to them. For more on the similarities and differences between German and Latin catechisms in this period, see Gregorius Langemack, *D. Gregorii Langemacks, weiland der Stralsundisch Kirchen Superintendenten, Historiae Catecheticae, oder gesammelter Nachrichten zu Einer Catechetischen Historie dritter Theil, worin die andere Helffte von denen Catechismus der Lehrer unserer Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirchen fortgesetzt wird, nebst andern hieher gehörigen Materien ... Aus eigenhändigem MSto des seel. Herrn Autoris zum Druck übergeben von M. Dieterico Johanne Geismaro, Pastore be der H. Geist=Kirche in Stralsund* (Stralsund, 1740), vol. III, 1–3.

continue beyond his catechism to more advanced forms of catechetical teaching.<sup>143</sup> Of course, not all these instructional materials were based on Luther's Small Catechism. In many cases, schools used textbooks for more advanced religious education that were not based on the core catechism texts at all, let alone on Luther's catechism. This general movement toward the use of more complex and doctrinal catechisms in schools occurred in conjunction with the growing concern to equip children and laity to discern true and false teaching and to understand the doctrinal controversies in the period.<sup>144</sup>

When Lutherans in the later sixteenth century expanded on the text of the Small Catechism by taking up topics not treated by Luther, they often developed it to the point of creating a compendium of Christian doctrine appropriate for use at the university level.<sup>145</sup> Catechetical instruction moved to include a much broader understanding of what it was that the Christian needed to know. In some cases, Luther's followers used the catechism as a foundation upon which to build a framework for Lutheran theology and life in the period of orthodoxy.<sup>146</sup> Of course, it does not appear ever to have been Luther's intention that the Small Catechism (at least his explanations) serve as the basis for a much fuller instruction in Christian doctrine. Yet, by the turn of the seventeenth century, many Lutheran pastors and educators held the view that their parishioners and students needed to have a deeper, more detailed and comprehensive instruction, not only in the teachings of the core catechism texts (and Luther's explanations) but in the whole *corpus doctrinae* as derived from Holy Scripture. Luther had written that the catechism contained

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<sup>143</sup> Small Catechism, Preface, 17–18.

<sup>144</sup> Fraas notes that in the *Instructions to the Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral Saxony* (1528) schoolmasters are advised against discussing points of controversy or dissension when giving catechetical instruction. Fraas concludes that this exhortation was not followed in later times (Fraas, 72; see WA 26: 239, 1; LW 40: 318).

<sup>145</sup> See Arand, 17; Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism*, 175–78.

<sup>146</sup> See Kolb, "The Layman's Bible: The Use of Luther's Catechisms in the German Late Reformation," 26.

what every Christian should know.<sup>147</sup> Yet by the dawn of the seventeenth century, what Christians should know, especially students in Latin schools, was becoming more extensive.

Luther's Small Catechism summarized the teachings of Scripture but did not treat specifically and individually each of the doctrines it discloses, nor did it treat all the subjects of Lutheran theology.<sup>148</sup> It is important to recall, however, that Luther saw his catechism as a summary of Christian faith and life that contains all that is necessary for salvation, a layman's Bible in which one has an excellent, correct, brief introduction to the entire Christian religion and in which the ancient, pure, divine doctrine of the Holy Christian Church is summarized.<sup>149</sup> As a result, many Lutherans in the later Reformation period ventured to take up theological subjects and incorporate them in their elaborations on the catechism. They expanded their own discussion of the catechism to fill in the "gaps" and provide a fuller and more detailed course of instruction. Because of the length and complexity of these texts, to some extent they lost sight of the brevity and simplicity of Luther's catechism and made it more difficult for children.<sup>150</sup> Although Luther's text was almost always committed to memory and thoroughly learned in this era, the central, clear focus of Luther's words was often blurred by the elaborations and complexities of the dogmatic content that was inserted.<sup>151</sup> In many cases the later Lutheran teachers of catechesis had different purposes and goals than Luther.

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<sup>147</sup> Small Catechism, Preface, 2.

<sup>148</sup> As has been discussed, Luther did not intend his catechisms as textbooks of dogmatic theology nor did he claim that they were. Rather he geared them for the daily Christian life. See Fraas, 25–31; and Peters, I: 18–19.

<sup>149</sup> See Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1912–21), 2: 67, 69.

<sup>150</sup> See Arand, 17–18; Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism*, 174–78.

<sup>151</sup> During the periods of Orthodoxy and Pietism, Lutherans continued to have a great appreciation for Luther's catechisms. Reu cites the example of Michael Walther, General Superintendent of Celle, who in his *Gloria Catechismi* of 1645, listed ten excellent features of Luther's Small Catechism, including integrity and perfection, sincerity and clearness, simplicity and plainness, brevity and artistic conciseness, elegance and convenience, utility, and usefulness. Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism*, 173.

At the end of the sixteenth century, Lutheran teachers were approaching the task of catechetical instruction with methods that for the most part were a continuation of much earlier ones. The catechetical lessons were presented in the form of questions and answers, and at the very least students learned by heart the text of Luther's catechism. What set the later period of catechetical teaching apart, particularly in schools, was the doctrinal emphasis and expansion of the instruction. As catechisms became textbooks for use in schools, especially higher level Latin schools, the catechism took on more of the character of a dogmatic textbook. Elements of rhetoric and logic began to shape the instruction of the catechism as well as the manner and methods with which it was taught in schools. Hans-Jürgen Fraas refers to this as the "Akademisierung des Katechismus" and notes that inclusion of theoretical language and the tendency toward the imparting of detailed information are marks of this "academization" of the catechism.<sup>152</sup> Catechetical books and collections of sermons on the catechism often became small dogmatic works, still founded upon the catechism, but with a much more detailed exposition of the catechism's dogmatic content.

James Kittelson points out humanism's enduring influence in education during the Reformation. Humanism, and its educational ideal, remained "conjoined to the Reformation, just as it had been in Luther's own mind."<sup>153</sup> Humanism remained a method, one that shaped the approach to the communication of the evangelical message, and its doctrine, to people. The teaching of Lutheran doctrine was an important part of the instruction in the faith, and was assisted by humanism and its methods. As Kittelson observes, "The great irony is that, without the humanistic educational methods, without the languages, history, and rhetoric, and without the

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<sup>152</sup> See Fraas, 72. Fraas suggests that Melanchthon's *Catechesis puerilis* (1540) is an early example of an academic catechism.

<sup>153</sup> Kittelson, "Luther the Educational Reformer," 107.

*loci* method in particular, the very emphasis upon doctrine that so characterized the Reformation at the most popular levels would be inconceivable.”<sup>154</sup>

In her examination of Lutheran catechetical sermons from the late sixteenth century, Mary Jane Haemig notes several interpretations regarding the increased length and doctrinal complication of the sermons. One interpretation argues that this complex treatment of the catechetical material contradicted the purpose “to preach the catechism simply and understandably.”<sup>155</sup> Another view sees the expanded detail and greater complexity of the catechetical sermons as “serving the goal of increasing understanding among listeners but at the same time as contradicting the goal of simplicity.”<sup>156</sup> Yet another interpretation maintains that “these sermons actually prove that Luther’s program (advancing from simple content to more difficult) was being followed and that people were in fact advancing to a deeper knowledge of the subject matter.”<sup>157</sup>

Citing examples from catechetical sermons as evidence, Haemig suggests that there are good arguments for interpreting the increased length and dogmatic complexity as indications that Luther’s program was being pursued. During the later Reformation, many preachers took it for granted that their hearers knew Luther’s Small Catechism, at least on an elementary level. With such knowledge, preachers could proceed to more complicated explanations of the catechism in order to advance the hearers’ understanding of the catechetical content. The preachers also

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<sup>154</sup> Kittelson, “Luther the Educational Reformer,” 107.

<sup>155</sup> Haemig, 127.

<sup>156</sup> Haemig, 127.

<sup>157</sup> Haemig, 127.

exercised much freedom in treating the contents of the catechism.<sup>158</sup> Haemig also found that catechetical preachers added discussion of doctrinal topics that were not included in Luther's catechism and responded to issues of the day. They preached sermons of varying form and length, made use of illustrations and hymns, all which "indicate that method could change to fit a preacher's purposes."<sup>159</sup>

There are also good arguments for interpreting the increased length and doctrinal complexity of instructional books on the catechism as indications that Luther's program—that the teaching of the catechism advance from simple content to more difficult—was being followed. This is especially evident in works designed for use in Latin schools, where, after a few years of training, students were expected to have a fairly high level of knowledge concerning the catechism and its doctrinal content. Without question, the influence of humanistic methods was also an important factor in the doctrinal emphasis. The catechetical works of Conrad Dieterich, particularly his *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica*, are prime examples of texts intended for students in these schools who already have a solid foundation in catechetical teaching.

### **Examples of Dogmatic Textbooks for Religious Instruction in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries**

Dieterich's textbooks are by no means the only examples of such dogmatic catechisms, nor were his the first. Other Lutheran pastors and theologians wrote works before Dieterich's which set the course for this type of instruction. Dieterich's catechisms were, however, some of the

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<sup>158</sup> See Haemig, 127–29. Haemig points out that these attempts by preachers to freely expand on the treatment of the catechism as they saw fit contradicts the arguments of Gerald Strauss who asserted that catechists from the period employed a "rigid methodology" which was "text-bound" and "wedded to a pedantic dependence on rote memorization and endless reiteration." See Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 224.

<sup>159</sup> Haemig, 130.

most detailed and doctrinally complex expansions of Luther's text. But there are other important works from the period that should be briefly noted in this regard.<sup>160</sup>

One example of a work based on Luther's catechism with an early dogmatic emphasis is that of Lucas Lossius (1508–82).<sup>161</sup> Lossius studied at Wittenberg with Luther and Melanchthon and was rector at Lüneburg after 1533. His catechism, the *Qvaestivncvlae Methodicae de Christiano Catechismo*, was first published in Lüneburg in 1540 and was intended for the more advanced students in Latin schools.<sup>162</sup> According to Reu, Lossius learned method from Melanchthon in the lecture halls at the University of Wittenberg and, following Melanchthon's aims, was the one who introduced dogmatic terminology into catechetical instruction.<sup>163</sup> In the 1550 edition of his catechism, Lossius also introduced *obiectioes*, or opposing arguments, into the instruction, to teach students to think theologically about solutions to these arguments and to prepare them "to respond to the calumnies of the papists and others."<sup>164</sup>

Another catechetical manual that took on a more dogmatic nature as it was expanded in various editions was the work by David Chytraeus (1531–1600).<sup>165</sup> Chytraeus was professor of

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<sup>160</sup> See Reu, *Catechetics*, 127; *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism*, 175; and Fraas, 100. Fraas lists numerous examples of catechisms that were dogmatic in nature and focus (see 71–73).

<sup>161</sup> Along with the catechetical works of Brenz, Chytraeus, and Hunnius, Dieterich considered the exposition of Lossius' catechism to be one of the most useful. Dieterich, *Institutiones Catecheticae* (Giessen, 1613), )( 3.

<sup>162</sup> Lossius, *Qvaestivncvlae Methodicae de Christiano Catechismo in formam dialogi, scholae Lunaeburgensi olim scriptae & dicatae, denuo iam in publicum usum aeditae, longe, quam ante emendatiores & locupletiores ...* (Magdeburg, 1540). See Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I. 3.2.2, 662–64; 686–718; 837–46; and II. 490–510.

<sup>163</sup> Reu also maintains that those who followed Melanchthon inserted dogmatic material into Latin catechetical instruction: "While the Latin catechetical writings, especially those influenced by Melanchthon, dragged into the instruction of the young too much material of dogmatical nature, the German explanations and treatises were more free from such unchildlike additions" (*Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism*, 63–4). See also Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I. 3.1.2, 838–42. Fraas holds a position similar to that of Reu. Fraas credits Melanchthon with being the primary influence behind the theological extension of the Small Catechism. Cf. 72, 75–83.

<sup>164</sup> "Calumnias Papistarum & aliorum respondere." See Lossius' text in Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I. 3.2.2, 718–31.

<sup>165</sup> See chapter 1, footnote 3.

theology at Rostock—first at the the *Pädagogium*, or academy, and later at the university. His Latin catechism, the *Catechesis*, first published in 1554, was not based on Luther’s Small Catechism, but was to a large extent an epitome of Melanchthon’s *Loci Communes*.<sup>166</sup> Chytraeus’ catechism was not the first to treat doctrinal topics individually, in formal connection to the *Loci*. (Johann Spangenberg’s *Margarita theologica* [1540] was an instructional book, intended chiefly for pastors and those in the church, based on Melanchthon’s *Loci*.)<sup>167</sup> Chytraeus’ catechism arose out of Chytraeus’ own teaching at the academy in Rostock, intended for use in Latin schools and *Gymnasia*, and expanded over time. This work illustrates the gradual development of catechetical instruction during the sixteenth century. The first edition from 1554 is a brief and elementary work, whereas the 1576 fourth edition is much larger—virtually a small dogmatics text.

The catechism of Johann Schroeder (1572–1621) is another example of a work that emphasized dogma and the discernment of true and false teaching.<sup>168</sup> Schroeder was pastor in Lauterbach in Hesse, later superintendent in Schweinfurt, and finally chief pastor in Nürnberg. His *Nutzlicher und inn Gottes Wort Wolgegründter Unterricht* (1602) was based on Luther’s Small Catechism and intended for lay Lutherans in the German cities of Köln and Aachen.<sup>169</sup> A Latin version titled *Catechetica, seu, Christianae Doctrinae Erotemata* (1606) was the German

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<sup>166</sup> *Catechesis in Academia Rostochiana ex praelectionibus Daudis Chytraei collecta* (Rostock, 1554).

<sup>167</sup> Spangenberg, *Margarita theologica, continens praecipuos locos doctrinae christianae, per quaestiones, breviter & ordine explicatos, omnibus Pastoribus verbi preconibus & ecclesiae ministris summe utilis & necessaria* (Leipzig: Michael Blum, 1540).

<sup>168</sup> See chapter 1, footnote 8. Dieterich had high regard for Schroeder’s catechism. Cf. Dieterich, *Institutiones Catecheticae*, )( 4. Dieterich and Schroeder were both students at the University of Marburg at the same time.

<sup>169</sup> *Nutzlicher und inn Gottes Wort Wolgegründter Unterricht/ wie die zarte angehende Jugend in der Christlichen heilsamen Lehr des Catechismi nicht allein Fruchtbarch zunehmen/ sondern auch in denen jtziger Zeit in Streit gezogenen Religions Articuln wider allerhand verführung/ auß Gottes Wort/ mit gutem beständigem grund der Warheit/ sich wol verwahren/befestigen und vertheidigen könne. Allen frommen Gottliebenden Christen/ so in Nieder TEUTSCHLAND furnemblich umb deß Seligmachenden Evangelij will jämmerlich verfolget werden/ zum besten nutzen und Gebrauch/ auß Christlichem Eyfer und wolmeinentem gemüth gestellet durch M. IOHANNEM SCHRODERUM, Pfarrherrn zu Lauternbach/ unter den Gestrengen und Edlen Riedeseln zu Eysenbach/ Erbmarschalcken zu Hessen/ etc. Psal. 126. Qui seminant in lachrymis, in exultatione metent* (Frankfurt am Main: 1602).



reworked for use in the *Gymnasium* in Schweinfurt.<sup>170</sup> Schroeder's work was designed to provide the readers with the basic teachings of the Christian faith and equip them to defend it against unbiblical teaching.<sup>171</sup>

The theological handbook of Leonhard Hütter (1563–1616) is also important to note here.<sup>172</sup> Not all schools in the early seventeenth century used catechisms as the basis of their theological instruction. Hütter's work is an example of a book sometimes used in Latin schools as a religion text where works expanding on the catechism were not used.<sup>173</sup> Hütter was professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg. His *Compendium locorum theologicorum*, first published in 1610, was perhaps more a textbook for theological instruction than a catechism.<sup>174</sup> Following the example of Melancthon, it employs the *loci* method but is set in the form of questions and answers. Hütter did not base the work on Luther's Small Catechism, but refers often to the Lutheran Confessions. The work was designed for use by students of different ages as well as adults. A German translation was published in 1612.

A few additional observations may be made regarding the trend toward an increasingly complex program of catechetical instruction by the beginning of the seventeenth century. First, pedagogical guidelines of the time called for a precise and thorough treatment of a subject according to ordered methods of instruction—methods which often included core elements of

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<sup>170</sup> *Catechetica, seu, Christianae Doctrinae Eroteмата, e Variis Seculi Huius Controversiis Petita, & ad capita Catecheseos Minoris, quam vocant, accommodata: A M. Johanne Schrödero, Ecclesiae Swinfurtensis nunc temporis Pastore, antehac sermone vulgari edita; nunc vero inde, in usum scholae Swinfurtensis, in Latinum conversa. Psal. CXXVI. Qui seminant in lachrymis, in exultatione metent* (Schweinfurt, 1606).

<sup>171</sup> Ferdinand Cohrs refers to Schroeder's catechism as a "Streit-Katechismus" or controversy catechism. *Vierhundert Jahre Luthers Kleiner Katechismus. Kurze Geschichte seiner Entstehung und seines Gebrauchs* (Langensalza: Beyer, 1929), 38. Following Cohrs, Fraas argues that Schroeder's catechism represent the beginning of the use of the Small Catechism in *Kontroversatheologie* (97).

<sup>172</sup> See chapter 1, footnote 4.

<sup>173</sup> Hütter's *Compendium* was the primary textbook for advanced religious instruction in the Latin school in Ulm at the time Dieterich arrived there in 1614. See Johannes Greiner, *Die Ulmer Gelehrtenschule zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts und das akademische Gymnasium. Darstellung und Quellenmaterial* (Ulm: Strom, 1912), 25.

<sup>174</sup> Leonhard Hütter, *Compendium locorum theologicorum* (Wittenberg, 1610).

rhetoric and logic. These methods varied and there was disagreement about how to best communicate the information of instruction as well as how to learn it and make use of it in everyday life. Second, it must be admitted, that the theological-anthropological orientation of catechetical instruction—focusing on the proclamation of God’s Word of salvation to human beings and intended to nurture Christian faith and life—was sometimes replaced by a pedagogical approach. This latter approach was primarily aimed at the impartation of doctrine and the development of knowledge using specific didactic methods. The result of these trends was, in many cases, that Luther’s Small Catechism was considered the framework for communicating the teachings of Scripture. Put another way, the Small Catechism was the foundation upon which a doctrinal theology was based and which communicated the teachings of the Bible. For some, the Bible came to be understood as a collection of doctrines to be taught, understood, and believed, and the catechism was the system for instructing these doctrines.

Otto Frenzel viewed this development as a change of course toward exclusive doctrinairism in the church’s catechetical instruction and as a separation of theology and religion. He argued that the essential religious and ethical goal of teaching gave way to scholastic abstraction in catechesis.<sup>175</sup> Reu also saw this move as a turning point in the history of religious instruction, maintaining that the dogmatic element, especially under Melanchthon’s influence, came too much into the foreground, and has taken place ever since, diminishing the pulse beat of the religious life.<sup>176</sup> In his *Katechismustradition*, Fraas to a large extent follows the theories taken up by Frenzel and Reu.

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<sup>175</sup> Frenzel, *Zur Katechetischen Unterweisung im Zeitalter der Reformation und Orthodoxie*, 39.

<sup>176</sup> Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I. 2, 176.

Robert Kolb has pointed out the oversimplification of “the theory of the decline and fall of Lutheran catechetical instruction” as suggested by Fraas and others.<sup>177</sup> He contends that instead of seeing a decay or decline in this period, “We must keep in mind that catechists of the late sixteenth century fought the same battle that all catechists fight as they try to find the balance between learning the material and understanding and applying it.”<sup>178</sup> Kolb also calls attention to the pedagogical methods of the age and to the use of the catechism as a textbook in schools. He asserts that “Our evaluation of seventeenth-century catechetics must be based on a much broader and deeper look at the ways in which the Christian faith was taught than Fraas takes....”<sup>179</sup> Kolb notes the importance of recalling the condition and needs of churches and schools at the time: “That the catechism took on a textbook quality when it was employed as a textbook may be regrettable, but it reflects the practice which church and society found necessary for instruction in the faith.”<sup>180</sup>

### Conclusion

Education in the Christian faith and life was of the greatest importance to Luther. He focused this education on the teachings of the Bible, offering his Small Catechism as a summary and exposition of that biblical teaching intended for all Christians. Luther believed that God through his Word is at work in the training up of people in the faith—that he creates and sustains this faith and gives salvation and rebirth. Through this teaching, God’s children are also equipped for every good work of faith.

The followers of Luther continued to proclaim his evangelical message and inherited his earnestness, if not his zeal, in communicating it. They took up Luther’s Small Catechism and its

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<sup>177</sup> Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, and Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520–1620*, 162, fn. 21.

<sup>178</sup> Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, and Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520–1620*, 162, fn. 21.

<sup>179</sup> Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, and Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520–1620*, 162, fn. 21.

<sup>180</sup> Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, and Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520–1620*, 162, fn. 21.

teaching and brought it to new people and places, believing that the catechism's message was meant for all contexts. These heirs of Luther prized the catechism and made it their own. They took possession of its words, ideas, and forms, and appropriated them for use in their own time and for their own instructional purposes and goals. They claimed Luther's catechism without obliterating the memory of Luther, sharing and handing down his evangelical theology through their own interpretations of the catechism. Conrad Dieterich was one of the Lutherans who communicated Luther's catechetical message to the young people of his day and afterward. The next chapter will investigate the person and work of Dieterich in order to understand the context in which he carried out his own catechetical work.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF DIETERICH AND HIS CATECHETICAL WORK

#### Introduction

Who was Conrad Dieterich? We turn to biography and a survey of the historical context in which he lived and worked, shedding light on the historical figures and circumstances that influenced Dieterich's approach to his work and helped to shape his career. In addition, the chapter looks briefly at the confessional issues of Dieterich's day that could be expected to impact his view of catechetical instruction. In short, this chapter seeks to present a description of the person and career of Conrad Dieterich in order to understand why and in what manner he wrote his catechetical writings.

#### Birth and Childhood

Conrad Dieterich<sup>1</sup> was born on January 9, 1575, in Gemünden an der Wohra (*Grafschaft Ziegenhain*), Hesse.<sup>2</sup> He was the fourth of six children born to Nikolaus Dieterich and his wife Elisabeth.

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<sup>1</sup> Dieterich's name appears in various forms. His philosophical writings before 1614 were published under the name "Cunradus Theodoricus," while afterwards they were under the name "Cunradus Dietericus." His name also appears in other spellings. The dates of Conrad Dieterich's birth and baptism cannot be verified on the basis of church records. The *Kirchbuch* of the Evangelische Kirchengemeinde in Gemünden began keeping records only in 1577. See Monika Hagenmeier, *Predigt und Policey: Der gesellschafts-politische Diskurs zwischen Kirche und Obrigkeit in Ulm 1614–1639* (Baden-Baden, 1989), 26, fn. 86. See also Ludwig Bischoff, *Florida Justorum Palma, Christliche Leichpredigt/ Bey der Volckreichen/ sehr betrübten und trawrigen Leich begängnüz/ Deß Weiland Wol Ehrwürdigen Groß=Achtbarn/ und Hochgelahrten/ H. Cunrad Dieterichs/ der H. Schriftt weiterühmbten Doct. der Ulmischen Kirchen wolverdienten Superintendentis, und desz löblichen Gymnasii daselbsten treweyfferigen Directoris und Scholarchae* (Ulm, 1639), [hereafter, *Leichpredigt*.] Bischoff was the *Münsterprediger* in Ulm and delivered this *Leichenpredigt*, or funeral sermon, in the *Barfüßerkirche* in Ulm on March 25, 1639, three days after Dieterich's death. Bischoff reports that Dieterich was born on January 9, 1575, and was baptized soon afterward, D4a.

<sup>2</sup> Gemünden an der Wohra is located approximately 25 km northeast of Marburg.

The Dieterich family originated in Saxony. Conrad's paternal grandfather, Bartholomäus Dieterich, had emigrated from Hirschfeld, near Meissen, Saxony to the Oberhessian town of Gemünden an der Wohra, where he became a *Bürger*. Conrad's father, Nikolaus Dieterich (d. 1584) was trained as a clerk, and later served as a soldier in the army of Ludwig IV, Landgraf von Hessen-Marburg (1537–1604). He fought in campaigns in France and the Netherlands, and was severely injured in the Schmalkaldic War. After military duty, he served at Ludwig's court in various capacities.<sup>3</sup> At the time of Conrad's birth, Nikolaus was the *Schultheiß*, or mayor, in Gemünden, a position granted him by Ludwig on account of his distinguished service.<sup>4</sup>

Conrad's mother, Elisabeth, was the daughter of Johannes Zinn, a member of the town council in Gemünden. Conrad's maternal grandmother, Margarethe, was the daughter of Heinrich Orth (d. 1575), pastor in Lohra, and later professor of physics and theology at the University of Marburg.<sup>5</sup>

Conrad Dieterich's earliest education began at home, where, together with his siblings, he was instructed by *Magister* Nikolaus Wallenstein of Kassel, the *Hauslehrer* engaged by the family. Within a three-week span in 1584, an outbreak of the plague took the lives of Conrad's father, Nikolaus, three brothers (Eitel, b. 1571; Daniel, b. 1573; Balthasar, b. 1576), and the tutor

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<sup>3</sup> See Hermann Dieterich, *D. Konrad Dieterich, Superintendent und Scholarch in Ulm (1614–1639) und sein Briefwechsel* (Ulm: Höhn, 1938), 7.

<sup>4</sup> Bischoff, *Leichpredigt*, D4a.

<sup>5</sup> The Orth family produced many lettered descendants in Hesse, making Conrad Dieterich a blood relation, or one by marriage, to many of his professors and colleagues. He was, to one degree or another, related to Dr. Otto Walperius (Gualperius), professor of Greek and Hebrew at Marburg; Dr. Jeremias Vietor, professor and superintendent at Giessen; Christoph Scheibler, Christoph Helvicus, and Johann Steuber professors at Giessen; Heinrich Leuchter, superintendent in Marburg; and Balthasar Mentzer, professor of theology in Marburg and Giessen. (See below for more on these figures.) One branch of the Orth family tree extended all the way to include Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832). See Friederich Wilhelm Euler, "Entstehung und Entwicklung deutscher Gelehrteneschlechter," in *Universität und Gelehrtenstand 1400–1600. Büdinger Vorträge 1966*, eds. Hellmuth Rössler and Günther Franz (Limburg: C. A. Starke, 1970), 183–232, 212–14, and Hermann Dieterich, *D. Konrad Dieterich*, 5.

Wallenstein. Conrad's mother, his older brother Johannes (1572–1635), and sister Agnes (b. 1578), survived.<sup>6</sup>

Conrad's parents recognized their son's early talents and encouraged his schooling. After the death of his father, Conrad's mother continued his religious education, giving him catechetical instruction at home, as well as reading classical literature to him, including Vergil's *Aeneid* and other poetry.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See Otto Leube, *Dr. theol. Chunrad Dieterich 1575–1639 und seine Nachfahren* (Ulm: Muttscheller, 1935), 57. Johannes Dieterich was educated at the *Paedagogium* and university in Marburg. He served as pastor in Butzbach (1611–1626), and later *Superintendent* in Giessen (1626–1635). At the beginning of the seventeenth century, he wrote *De privata absolutione, deque actis colloquii marburgensis* and *Abstersionem calumniarum, quibus Lutherum & Orthodoxos deformare conatus est Joan. Lampadius &c.* Johannes had three sons. Helvicus (1601–1655) studied theology at Giessen, where he became *Magister*. He first taught Hebrew privately in Ulm (1620–1622), and then studied medicine, receiving a doctorate in Italy. He became personal physician to several German nobles, including the Landgraf von Hessen-Darmstadt, as well as the King of Denmark, and he wrote books on medicine and astronomy. Johann Conrad (1612–1667), was a philosopher, philologist, and historian. He was professor of Greek at Marburg and later at Giessen, and also wrote on medicine and theology. Georg Theodor (1614–1678), was a *Doctor juris*, and later, after converting to Roman Catholicism, councillor and imperial undersecretary to Kaiser Leopold, who made him Baron von Rondeck. He was a member of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*. See *Dictionary of German Biography*, eds. Walther Killy and Rudolf Vierhaus (München: K. G. Saur, 2002), 2: 585. Conrad's sister, Agnes Dieterich, married Lutheran pastor Immanuel Stein.

<sup>7</sup> See Johann Balthasar Schupp, *Panegyricus Memoriae Conradi Dieterici, Superintendentis Ulmensis, Theologici de Ecclesia JESU CHRISTI optime meriti, CONSECRATUS, Et in publico Academiae Marpurgensis conventu memoriter recitatus*. 1639, in *Volumen Orationum Solemniū et Panegyricarum in Celerberrima Marpurgensi Universitate olim habitarum* (Giessen, 1658), 109–24, 112. This is an oration delivered after Dieterich's death in 1639 to a public gathering at the University of Marburg. [Hereafter *Panegyricus*.] In a 1621 sermon on the training up of children in the Christian faith, Dieterich recalls that his own mother taught him the basics of the faith as a child. See *Vlmische Kinder Predigt/Von Wartung/ Pflege vnnnd Zucht der Jungen Kinder; Darinn neben andern die Frag außgeführt/Obs rathsamer vnd besser sey/daß die Mütter jhre Kinder selbst; Oder durch besondere Ammen säugen lassen; Auß dem Evangelio Lucae 2. v. 40. Am Sonntag nach dem Newen Jahrstag/zu Vlm im Münster gehalten/Durch Cunrad Dieterich/der heyligen Schrifft Doctorn/Vlmischer Kirchen Superintendenten* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1621), 20.

## Education and Youth

In 1585, Dieterich left home to attend the *Partikularschule*, a kind of Latin school, in Treysa,<sup>8</sup> and in 1586 he took up studies at the *Paedagogium* in Marburg.<sup>9</sup> There he studied the *trivium*—grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric—using Melanchthon’s textbooks, as well as Greek, Hebrew, music, poetry, and mathematics.<sup>10</sup> In 1590, he was admitted to public lectures at the

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<sup>8</sup> *Partikularschulen* is the most common term for the Latin schools established by Philip of Hesse (1504–1567). Between 1526 and 1537, Philip organized a system of public education in his territory consisting of Latin grammar schools and a university. The *Partikularschulen* were Latin preparatory schools. The *schola particularis* was occasionally referred to as the *schola trivialis*, after the *trivium*, which was the core of its curriculum. William J. Wright notes that *Partikular* also has a political connotation, namely, that these schools were controlled by the individual states like Hesse rather than the universal church or the empire .... The Hessian state organized and supervised them, supervised the appointment of schoolmasters and their aides, arranged regular annual salaries, used state funds to support the schools and schoolmasters, and made scholarships available using state funds.

Wright observes that Philip established a system of schools that consisted of the university in Marburg and territorial schools that prepared boys for the university. William J. Wright, “The Impact of the Reformation on Hessian Education,” *Church History* 44 (1975): 182.

<sup>9</sup> The matriculation record of the *Paedagogium* and university in Marburg lists the name “Conradus Dieterich Gemundensis,” dated May 1, 1586. See *Personen- und Ortsregister zu der Matrikel und den Annalen der Universität Marburg, 1527–1652*, Wilhelm Falckenheiner, Bearbeiter (Marburg: Elwert, 1904), 43. Dieterich’s matriculation in this school was recorded by Johannes Ferinarius (1533–1602), *Paedagogiarch* and Professor of history and poetics at the university, who was formerly a close friend and the amanuensis of Philipp Melanchthon. See Schupp, *Panegyricus*, 113. The *Paedagogium* had been founded in 1527, at the same time as the University of Marburg, and was, to a large extent, a preparatory school for the university. See *Verzeichnis der Hochschulen*, Karlheinz Goldmann, Bearbeiter (Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener, 1967), 251. There was only one *Paedagogium* in Hessen until the founding of the school in Giessen in 1605. Wright (196) points out that the *Paedagogium* in Marburg

was forced to play a unique role, due to the large influx of boys who came to study at the University of Marburg on scholarships, but were not fully prepared. These students commenced their study at Marburg with remedial work in the *Pädagogium*. This was necessary at first while the state schools were only being organized, and continuing in later years for those students from schools which still did not prepare them. This understanding of the place and role of the Marburg school was later likely given to the new *Paedagogium* in Giessen, which was unique in Hessen-Darmstadt and of which Dieterich was *Paedagogiarch*. For more on the *Paedagogium* and its relation to the university during this time, see Arnd Friedrich, *Die Gelehrtenschulen in Marburg, Kassel und Korbach zwischen Melanchthonianismus und Ramismus in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Quellen und Forschungen zur hessischen Geschichte Band 47 (Darmstadt und Marburg: Hessische Historische Kommission Darmstadt und Historische Kommission für Hessen, 1983), 33–85; and William J Wright, “Evaluating the Results of Sixteenth Century Educational Policy: Some Hessian Data,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 18 (1987): 411–26.

<sup>10</sup> The *Paedagogium* in Marburg had been founded as an institution based on Melanchthonian pedagogical principles. Although the school briefly followed the teachings of Petrus Ramus under the *Paedagogiarchat* of Lazarus Schöner (1575–1577), it returned to Melanchthon’s program when Johannes Ferinarius was *Paedagogiarch* (1578–1602) and remained so during the time Dieterich was a student. see Friedrich, 33–34; 57–79; and Wright, “The Impact of the Reformation on Hessian Education,” 182–98.



University of Marburg.<sup>11</sup> Dieterich focused his studies on philosophy, attending lectures by Rudolph Goclenius,<sup>12</sup> but also studying with Peter Nigidius,<sup>13</sup> Johann Hartmann,<sup>14</sup> Otto

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<sup>11</sup> Dieterich was promoted from the *Paedagogium* to the University of Marburg by Otto Walperius, Dean and Professor of Greek and Hebrew at the university, and by the Rector, Philipp Matthæus, J. D. See Paulus Freherus, *Theatrum Vivorum Eruditione Clarorum in quo Vitae & Scripta Theologorum, Jureconsultorum, Medicorum, & Philosophorum ... Repraesentatur* (Nürnberg: Hofmann, 1688), 479. The University of Marburg was Lutheran from its establishment in 1527 by Philip, Landgraf von Hesse, until 1605, when Moritz, Landgraf von Hessen-Kassel, introduced Calvinism into the university and the city. The same year the Lutheran professors moved to Giessen and soon became part of the new university there. (For more on this, see below.)

<sup>12</sup> Goclenius (1547–1628) was professor of logic and physics (and later mathematics and ethics) at Marburg from 1581 until his death. He was one of the most significant philosophy professors of his time. He wrote dozens of books and promoted more than six hundred students to the degree of master of arts, among them Conrad Dieterich and Clemens Timpler. Goclenius' philosophical work was much influenced by the thought of Peter Ramus, but he is considered a semi-Ramist. Goclenius was an advisor to Landgraf Moritz von Hessen-Kassel, and served as a advisory delegate at the Synod of Dort in 1618–19. See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, herausgegeben durch die Historische Commission bei der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912), vol.9, 308–12.

<sup>13</sup> Peter Nigidius the Younger (1536–1606) was a *Doctor Juris* and professor of ethics.

<sup>14</sup> Hartmann (d. 1631) was professor of Greek and Mathematics. In 1605 he became a doctor of medicine and in 1609 was the first professor of chemistry at a European university. He was the personal physician to Landgraf Moritz von Hessen-Kassel.

Walperius,<sup>15</sup> Christoph Cramer,<sup>16</sup> and Aegidius Hunnius.<sup>17</sup> In 1591 Dieterich traveled extensively in southern German lands, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Meissen, and Thuringia.<sup>18</sup>

In 1593 Dieterich received his bachelor and master of arts degrees in philosophy, the terminal degree in philosophy and the arts at the time.<sup>19</sup> In 1595, he was named a *Stipendiatmajor* at the university, an honor which included an academic scholarship allowing him to study for a higher degree. As *Stipendiatmajor*, Dieterich's responsibilities included oversight of a number of

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<sup>15</sup> Walperius (or Gualperius) (1546–1624) was professor of Greek and Hebrew. He had received his D. Theol. from Basel in 1582, and followed a Lutheranism along the lines of that which was the norm in Basel and Strassburg, one that stressed common reformatory beliefs of a general protestant direction. He left the university in 1593 because of discontentment with the Calvinists in Marburg. Cf. Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1750), Teil 2, 1237, and Winfried Zeller, "Die Marburger Theologische Fakultät und ihre Theologie im Jahrhundert der Reformation," *Jahrbuch der Hessischen Kirchengeschichtlichen Vereinigung* 28 (1977): 20.

<sup>16</sup> Cramer (d. ca. 1600) was professor of Greek at Marburg from 1593–1595.

<sup>17</sup> Hunnius (1550–1603) studied theology at Tübingen under Jakob Andreae and Jakob Heerbrand. He received his D. Theol. in 1576. In the same year he was called to the University in Marburg. He strove unsuccessfully to convince the university and the Hessian church to accept the Formula of Concord. Encouraged by the Hessian Landgraf Ludwig IV, Hunnius worked to solidify the confessional Lutheran character of the theological faculty at Marburg. His unswerving championship of the Lutheran teaching of Christology and of the doctrine of ubiquity led to conflict with Wilhelm IV, Landgraf von Hessen-Kassel (1532–1592) and Lower Hessian theologians. Hunnius was dismissed from his professorship in 1591 and went to Wittenberg, where he was professor and *Schloßprediger* until his death. He wrote many dogmatic and polemical works, especially against Calvinists. Hunnius was Dieterich's first professor in theology at Marburg. To a large extent, the theology of Hunnius was carried on at Marburg, and later at Giessen, by theology professors Winckelmann and Mentzer, both former students of Hunnius. See Zeller, 20, 23, Bischoff, *Leichpredigt*, E1a, and Schupp, *Panegyricus*, 114. For more on Hunnius at Marburg, see Manfred Rudersdorf, "Lutherische Erneuerung oder Zweite Reformation? Die Beispiele Württemberg und Hessen," in *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland—Das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation,"* Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1985, ed. Heinz Schilling (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1986), 148–49; Rudersdorf, *Ludwig IV. Landgraf von Hessen-Marburg 1537–1604: Landesteilung und Luthertum in Hessen* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1991), 224ff.; and Hans H. Weißgerber, "Aegidius Hunnius in Marburg (1576–1592)," *Jahrbuch der Hessischen Kirchengeschichtlichen Vereinigung* 6 (1955): 1–89. For more on the history of the confessional struggles in Hesse, see Wilhelm Maurer, *Bekennnisstand und Bekenntnisentwicklung in Hessen* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1955).

<sup>18</sup> Bischoff (*Leichpredigt*, D4ba) and Schupp (*Panegyricus*, 114) report that Dieterich traveled to Frankfurt am Main, Mainz, Ingelheim, Spanheim, Worms, Heidelberg, Stuttgart, Tübingen, Reutlingen, and Ulm, then on the Danube to Lauingen, Dillingen, Neuburg, Ingolstadt, Regensburg, Straubingen, Passau, Linz, Vienna, through Hungary, Bohemia, Meissen, Thuringia, and back to Marburg. See also *Nachrichten von Gelehrten, Künstlern und ander merkwürdige Personen aus Ulm*, ed. Albrecht Weyermann (Ulm: Wagner, 1798), I: 145.

<sup>19</sup> The disputation held for Dieterich's *Magister* was published: *Hasce de affectibus, partim physicas, partim ethicas positiones ... publicè ad disputandum propositas ... defendere attentabit Cunradus Dieterich. Praes. R. Goclinus* (Marburg: Paulus Egenolphus, 1593).

students as well as holding private lectures in philosophy.<sup>20</sup> At this time he began intense study of theology, chiefly with professors Balthasar Mentzer<sup>21</sup> and Johannes Winckelmann,<sup>22</sup> but also with Daniel Arcularius<sup>23</sup> and Johann Molther.<sup>24</sup> Dieterich is reported to have been an industrious student and a “singularly aggressive participant in theological disputations and assemblies.”<sup>25</sup>

Dieterich demonstrated a remarkable natural ability in his studies at the university. He had an excellent memory and was well regarded by his fellow students and professors for his good judgment and discernment.<sup>26</sup> Certainly his teachers had a strong and lasting influence on him. As a student of Aegidius Hunnius, Johannes Winckelmann, and Daniel Arcularius, Dieterich was a pupil of some of the original subscribers and defenders of the Formula of Concord. From these

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<sup>20</sup> The *Stipendiatenbuch* of the University of Marburg lists Dieterich as being a *Stipendiat major* at Marburg from July 1, 1595, to July 1, 1600. It also records that prior to that, Dieterich had been a *Stipendiat* at Gemünden from January 1, 1594, to July 1, 1595. See *Stipendiatenbuch der Universität Marburg für die Zeit von 1564 bis 1624*, Wilhelm Diehl, Bearbeiter (Marburg, 1908), 5. Freherus (479) reports that Daniel Arcularius was the *Ephorus*, or faculty magistrate, of the *stipendii* at this time. For a detailed description of the life of a *Stipendiat* in Marburg during this period, see Heinrich Meyer zu Ermgassen, “Tisch und Losament: Verköstigung und Unterbringung der Stipendiaten in Marburg,” in *Studium und Stipendium: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des hessischen Stipendiatwesens*, ed. Walter Heinemeyer (Marburg: Elwert, 1977), 101–240.

<sup>21</sup> Mentzer (1565–1627) studied at Marburg, and was *Pfarrer* in Kirtorf before being called to the university in 1596. He received his D. Theol. from Marburg in 1600. He was one of the most significant Lutheran theologians of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Mentzer was a prolific author, writing many polemical works against Calvinists, Weigelians, and others. He published commentaries on the Augsburg Confession as well as treatises on the doctrine of Christ’s ubiquity. Mentzer was also known for his devotional work, *Manuale catholicum*.

<sup>22</sup> Winckelmann (1551–1626) received his D. Theol. from Basel in 1581. Like Otto Walperius, he taught a Lutheranism along the lines of Basel and Strassburg, although he was strongly influenced by his close friend and colleague Aegidius Hunnius. Winckelmann had been *Hofprediger* in Kassel under *Landgraf* Wilhelm before receiving a call to the University of Marburg in 1592. Winckelmann wrote many New Testament commentaries, and also published polemical writings, especially against Calvinist and Schwenkfeldian teachings. In 1599 he also wrote against Bellarmine. Cf. Zeller, “Die Marburger Theologische Fakultät und ihre Theologie im Jahrhundert der Reformation,” 20.

<sup>23</sup> Arcularius (d. 1596) was professor of theology. He studied at Tübingen and received a master of arts degree at Marburg. He wrote a summary of Christian doctrine based on Melanchthon’s *Loci communes*, and organized disputations on the Augsburg Confession at Marburg.

<sup>24</sup> Molther (1561–1618) was professor of theology and Hebrew. He had been a student of Arcularius and began as a professor at Marburg in 1594. He left the university in 1599, but returned in 1605 as professor of Hebrew after it became Calvinist.

<sup>25</sup> See Freherus, 479, “... tunc studium Theologicum unice aggressus in Disputationibus & Concionibus sese exercuit.” Several of these disputations have been published, including one authored by Johann Molther, *Disputatio de bonis operibus, respondebat Cunr. Theodoricus* (Marburg, 1597).

<sup>26</sup> Schupp, *Panegyricus*, 115.

theology professors Dieterich learned how to defend his Lutheran faith and its teachings and confront those considered enemies of the church. His quickness of mind earned him the nickname “Pythagoras.”<sup>27</sup>

When the plague broke out in Marburg in 1597, Dieterich, in a company including professor of theology Johannes Herdenius (1575–1650), traveled through Franconia, Bavaria, and the Palatinate. On this journey, Dieterich had opportunity to visit many other scholars and broaden his circle of learned acquaintances.<sup>28</sup>

### Early Career

#### Dieterich’s Service as a *Feldprediger*

In 1599 Dieterich was called by Johann Georg, Graf von Solms-Laubach, to serve as preacher and private tutor in Laubach. He left his studies at the university and was ordained in Marburg by superintendent Heinrich Leuchter on February 22, 1599.<sup>29</sup> After a few months in Laubach, Dieterich was asked to serve as *Feldprediger*, or military chaplain, by Johann Georg’s son, Georg Philipp. Dieterich accompanied Georg Philipp, whom Moritz, Landgraf von Hessen-Kassel, had appointed chief cavalry officer on a campaign against Spanish troops in the Netherlands.<sup>30</sup> At the siege of Rees, Georg Philipp was injured and later died of his wounds at Arnheim in Geldern. After the abandonment of the siege at Arnheim and the end of the campaign,

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<sup>27</sup> Schupp, *Panegyricus*, 115.

<sup>28</sup> See Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, *Grundlage zu einer Hessischen Gelehrten- und Schriftsteller Geschichte*. 20 vols. (Göttingen-Kassel-Marburg, 1781–1863), Band 2 [1782], 29; see also Walter Asmus, “Der erste Pädagogiarch (1605–1614) Konrad Dieterich, sein Leben und Wirken,” *Hessische Heimat: Aus Natur und Geschichte*, Nr. 7/8, 4 (1978): 25.

<sup>29</sup> Freherus, 480.

<sup>30</sup> The campaign took the army through Lower Hesse, Waldeck, Paderborn, Köln, Westphalia, Mark, Kleve and Geldern, and stopped at these cities: Warburg, Paderborn, Rùthen, Soest, Werl, Unna, Dortmund, Essendeussberg (Essen/Duisburg), Rheinberg, Wesel, Rees, Emmerich, Kleve, Schenckenschantz, Arnheim, and elsewhere. Cf. Bischoff, *Leichenpredigt*, E1ba.

Dieterich returned to Laubach.<sup>31</sup> There he requested a leave of his duties from Graf Johann Georg, which was granted, and he returned to Marburg. Johann Georg dispatched a letter to Ludwig IV, Landgraf von Hessen-Marburg, commending Dieterich and his service, and shortly thereafter Dieterich received a call to serve as *Archdiakon*, or assistant pastor, of the churches of Marburg, and was installed on November 12, 1599.<sup>32</sup> Dieterich served in this position until 1605.<sup>33</sup>

### Marriage and Family

On January 6, 1601, Dieterich married Margarethe Lüncker,<sup>34</sup> the daughter of Daniel Lüncker the Younger and his wife Ursula Vigelius. Lüncker was a landowner in Dagobertshausen and a member of the Marburg city council. The marriage produced two daughters and three sons.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> The return journey took Dieterich through Dorsten, Recklingshausen, Menden, Saurlandt, and Grafschaft Wittgenstein. Cf. Bischoff, *Leichpredigt*, E1ba.

<sup>32</sup> Bischoff, *Leichpredigt*, E1ba; Schupp, *Panegyricus*, 116.

<sup>33</sup> See *Stipendiatenbuch der Universität Marburg für die Zeit von 1564 bis 1624*. Wilhelm Diehl, Bearbeiter (Marburg: Elwert, 1908), 5.

<sup>34</sup> Margarethe died in 1642. Schupp claims that Christoph Helvicus and Johannes Steuber were her brothers. Helvicus (1581–1617) and Steuber (1590–1643) were later colleagues of Conrad Dieterich at the University of Giessen. The precise nature of this family relationship is not known. Cf. Schupp, *Panegyricus*, 116–17.

<sup>35</sup> Conrad and Margarethe's oldest son, Dr. Johann Daniel Dieterich (1606–1673), became a physician in Ulm. For a time during the Thirty Years War he served as camp physician to the Swedish General Gustav Horn. In 1640 one year after his father's death, he published notations on the *Institutiones Catecheticae*. Cf. see Ferdinand Cohrs, *Vierhundert Jahre Luthers Kleiner Katechismus. Kurze Geschichte seiner Entstehung und seines Gebrauchs* (Langensalza: Beyer, 1929), 39; Gregorius Langemack, *Historiae Catecheticae, oder gesammelter Nachrichten zu Einer Catechetischen Historie ...* (Stralsund, 1740), 10. The oldest daughter, Anna Elisabeth (1610–1670) married David Guther, Dr. jur., and advocate in Ulm. The second son, Johann Hermann (b. 1612), died in childhood. The youngest son, Conradinus (1616–1635), died as a student at the University of Marburg. The youngest daughter, Juliana (1623–1669), married Michael Ludwig, Superintendent and *Feldprediger* for the Swedish army. Conrad Dieterich lived to see six grandchildren, four of whom were still alive at his death in 1639. Cf. Schupp, *Panegyricus*, 117, Bischoff, *Leichenpredigt*, E2a, and Leube, 4–7.

## Conflict in Hesse and the Introduction of the *Verbesserungspunkte* in Marburg

In 1604 Ludwig IV, Landgraf von Hessen-Marburg, died childless, and a territorial dispute over Marburg and its university ensued.<sup>36</sup> Marburg fell to Moritz, Landgraf von Hessen-Kassel, an ardent Calvinist. To the first dispute over inheritance was soon added a second over doctrine, as Moritz quickly took steps to introduce Reformed teaching into the churches and university in Marburg—this despite directives in the testament of the deceased Ludwig IV, that had sought to guarantee Lutheranism.<sup>37</sup> By the means of the implementation of “*Verbesserungspunkte*,” or

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<sup>36</sup> For more on Ludwig and the conflict over his inheritance, see Manfred Rudersdorf, “Der Weg zur Universitätgründung in Gießen: Das geistige und politische Erbe Landgraf Ludwigs IV. von Hessen-Marburg,” in *Academia Gissensis: Beiträge zur älteren Gießener Universitätsgeschichte. Zum 375jährigen Jubiläum dargebracht vom Historischen Institut der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen*, eds. by Peter Moraw and Volker Press (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1982), 45–82; see also Rudersdorf’s *Ludwig IV. Landgraf von Hessen-Marburg 1537–1604: Landesteilung und Luthertum in Hessen*, especially 251–69. The University of Marburg was founded in 1527 by Landgraf Philipp von Hesse (1509–1567) as the first Lutheran university in Germany. After Philipp’s death, Hesse was divided among his four sons, with Marburg recognized as the university for all four regions. After the death of Ludwig IV, Landgraf von Hessen-Marburg, the previous role of the university came into question. The heirs of the Marburg region were Ludwig’s nephews, Moritz, Landgraf von Hessen-Kassel (ruled 1592–1632) and Ludwig V, Landgraf von Hessen-Darmstadt (ruled 1596–1626). The testament of Ludwig IV did not divide the territory between the heirs, but left that to the heirs themselves. In January 1605 a decision by the Hessian *Austrägalgericht* granted the northern section of the Marburg region (including the coveted city and university) to Moritz, and the southern section (including Giessen) went to Ludwig V. This dispute continued until 1648 when the *Landgrafschaft* Hesse was separated in definitive lines between Kassel and Darmstadt.

<sup>37</sup> Ludwig was a strong Lutheran, who insisted that the *Land* and people of his territory, with all churches, schools and the university, hold to the teachings of the Augsburg Confession of 1530, its Apology, and the Wittenberg Concord. With the help of Aegidius Hunnius, Ludwig strove to build a strong Lutheran identity and consciousness, not only among the faculty and students at the University of Marburg, but also at the court and among the *Bürgertum* in Marburg. His testament included the threat that the heir who did not continue this commitment to confessional Lutheranism would forfeit his territory. See Heinrich Steitz, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Hessen und Nassau* (Marburg: Trautvetter & Fischer Nachf., 1977), 128, and Rudersdorf, “Der Weg zur Universitätgründung in Gießen,” 69. For more on the history of confessional conflict in Hesse, see Rudersdorf, “Lutherische Erneuerung oder Zweite Reformation? Die Beispiele Württemberg und Hessen,” 142–52.

“points of reform,” Moritz attempted to amend the teaching and practice of the churches and university in Marburg.<sup>38</sup>

Moritz had previously introduced Calvinism into Kassel and other parts of his territory, but this task proved much more difficult in Lutheran Marburg.<sup>39</sup> On June 16, 1605, Moritz directed the chancellery in Marburg to inform the church leaders and theologians in the city, that the testament of Ludwig IV did not obligate them to the doctrine of Christ’s ubiquity, but rather to the Holy Scripture, the *Augustana*, the Apology, and the Wittenberg Concord.<sup>40</sup> In Moritz’s opinion, these confessional writings did not touch on the question of Christ’s ubiquity, and thus, he asserted, Ludwig’s testament could not serve as a defense to those not complying with the *Verbesserungspunkte*. Four Marburg theologians did not accept Moritz’s reforms and refused to

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<sup>38</sup> The *Verbesserungspunkte* were to reform the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ, the wording and numbering of the Ten Commandments, abolish images in churches, and introduce the practice of breaking the “consecrated bread” in the administration of the Lord’s Supper. There were three points of reform:

1) That the dangerous and unedifying disputations and controversy concerning the person of Christ be discontinued, and regarding the omnipresence of Christ and what is adherent to it, be taught *in concreto*, as: ‘Christ is omnipresent,’ rather than *in abstracto* as ‘the humanity of Christ is omnipresent’; 2) that the Ten Commandments of God be taught and learned as the Lord himself spoke with his own finger on the stone tablets and recorded by Moses in the Bible, and that images still left over from the papacy in certain places be put away; 3) that in the administration and practice of the Lord’s Supper the consecrated bread should be broken according to the Lord’s institution.

[1] Daß die gefährlichen und unerbaulichen Disputationes und Streit von der Person Christi eingezogen und von der Allenthalbenheit Christi und was derselben anhängig, in concreto, als: “Christus ist allenthalben” und nicht in abstracto “die Menschheit Christi ist allenthalben,” gelehrt; 2) daß die zehn Gebote Gottes, wie sie der Herr selbst geredet, mit seinen eigenen Fingern auf die steinernen Tafeln und von Mose in der Bibel geschrieben, gelehrt und gelernt, und die noch vom Papsttum an etlichen Orten überbliebenen Bilder abgethan; 3) daß in der Administration und Gebrauch des H. Abendmals das gesegnete Brot nach der Einsetzung des Herrn soll gebrochen werden.”]

Heinrich Heppe, *Kirchengeschichte beider Hessen* (Marburg: Sipmann, 1876), vol. 2, 12; see also Heppe, *Die Einführung der Verbesserungspunkte in Hesse von 1604–1610 und die Entstehung der hessischen Kirchenordnung von 1657 als Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutsch=reformierten Kirche* (Kassel: Krieger, 1849).

<sup>39</sup> For more on Moritz’s *Verbesserungspunkte* and their introduction into Hessen-Kassel and into the city and university in Marburg, see Theodor Greiwank, “Das ‘christliche Verbesserungswerk’ des Landgrafen Moritz und seine Bedeutung für die Bekenntnisentwicklung der kurhessischen Kirche,” *Jahrbuch der Hessischen Kirchengeschichtlichen Vereinigung* 4 (1953): 38–73; and Gerhard Menk, Die “zweite Reformation” in Hessen-Kassel. Landgraf Moritz und die Einführung der Verbesserungspunkte,” in *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland—Das Problem der “Zweiten Reformation,”* Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1985, ed. Heinz Schilling (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1986), 154–83.

<sup>40</sup> These confessional documents were the only ones officially accepted in Hesse, although, in addition, many Lutheran pastors and theologians privately subscribed to Luther’s catechisms, the Smalcald Articles, and the Formula of Concord.

comply with these “points of reform”: Professors Balthasar Mentzer and Johannes Winckelmann, both on the theological faculty at the university, Heinrich Leuchter, superintendent of the churches in Marburg,<sup>41</sup> and *Archdiakon* Conrad Dieterich. They contended that they were obligated to uphold the Hessian *Kirchenordnung* of 1574 and that Moritz’s reforms stood as a violation against it.<sup>42</sup> On July 11, Moritz exerted more pressure. He traveled to Marburg, summoned the four theologians to the castle to appear before him, and demanded peremptory acknowledgment of the *Verbesserungspunkte*. Once again, they declined to comply, with the result that on July 22, Moritz removed all four from their offices.<sup>43</sup> On July 27, the four men gave formal protest of their dismissal. Two days later, Moritz himself gave an address before the university explaining his reasons for the action.<sup>44</sup> In the now vacant positions, Moritz placed new theologians and pastors who would support the Calvinist theological program.<sup>45</sup>

During the first weeks in August, Moritz began to introduce Calvinism into the churches in Marburg, where the majority of the populace was strongly Lutheran and resisted the reforms. On August 6, violence broke out and citizens attacked the new Calvinist superintendent and pastors as they attempted to introduce the reforms. Moritz quickly gathered troops to quell the disturbance while citizens of Marburg prepared for a battle. Dieterich, Winckelmann, Mentzer, and Leuchter fled Marburg and found refuge at Giessen under the protection of Ludwig V, Landgraf von Hessen-Darmstadt. But no battle came as Moritz and his forces swiftly occupied

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<sup>41</sup> Leuchter (1558–1623) was a student of Aegidius Hunnius and had been superintendent in Marburg since 1588. After the introduction of the *Verbesserungspunkte* in Marburg, he was called as superintendent in Darmstadt. See Wilhelm Martin Becker, *Das Erste halbe Jahrhundert der hessen-darmstädtischen Landesuniversität* (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1907), 20; and Euler, 183–232, 214.

<sup>42</sup> See Steitz, 128.

<sup>43</sup> See Gustav Bauch, “Ein Satyrspiel zur Gründung der Ludoviciana,” *Archiv für Hessische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*. NF, VI (1909), 421–64, 423–24.

<sup>44</sup> Bauch, 424.

<sup>45</sup> Steitz, 128.



Marburg and disarmed the citizens. On August 9, Moritz addressed the populace, and personally ordered the *Verbesserungspunkte* to be implemented.<sup>46</sup> This established Reformed teaching as the norm for the churches and university in Marburg.

The effects of the introduction of Calvinism by force into Marburg were extensive. Angered by resistance, Moritz eventually removed a total of sixty Lutheran pastors and professors from their offices in the territory of Marburg.<sup>47</sup> Many of the citizens of Marburg began to worship in neighboring communities, wherever the *Verbesserungspunkte* had not been introduced.<sup>48</sup> For some years afterward, relations between the two regions of Hesse were not good with great bitterness demonstrated on both sides in the form of insults, lampoons, and slanderous writings. According to the official *Chronik* of the city of Giessen, at one point the abuse even became life-threatening. In early 1608, Giessen professor of theology Johannes Winckelmann was attacked in his home and stabbed three times by a servant of Landgraf Moritz. The servant was Moritz's head chef from Kassel, and, to make matters even worse, Winckelmann's own brother-in-law.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Detailed accounts of the resistance to the introduction of reforms in Marburg, the outbreak of violence, and the response of Moritz are found in the Marburg archival account (StAM 4 i 153), as well as in the *Historischer Bericht Der Newlichen zugetragenen Monats Augusti Marpurgischen Kirchen haendell* (Marburg: Rudolph Hutwelcker, 1605), and in the "Kurtze Antwort Auff den historischen Bericht von den Marpugischen Kirchenhaendeln so viel zur Rettung der Wahrheit und der beurlaubten Theologen und Prediger Ehren dißmals fuer noetig erachtet worden," in *Nothwendige Erzehlung Der Motiven warumb die zu Marburg im Monat Julio Anni 1605 beurlaubte Theologi und Prediger die nunmehr weitbekandte Hessische Synodalische Abschiede, deßgleichen die Ceremonien deß Brotbrechens im heiligen Abendmal ... anzunemen sich billich verweigert haben* (Jena: Christoff Lippold, 1605), 41ff. See also Steitz, 128–29, and Bauch, 424. Gerhard Menk asserts that, without a doubt, the professors removed from their positions (presumably including Dieterich, although he is not named) played a role in the outbreak of violence in Marburg, but he offers no evidence to support this position. Cf. Menk, 173.

<sup>47</sup> Augustus Ehringhaus, *Kleine Kirchengeschichte Hessens* (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1929), 36. See also *Kirchenbehörden und Kirchendiener in der Landgrafschaft Hessen-Darmstadt von der Reformation bis zum Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Wilhelm Diehl (Darmstadt, 1925), 300–01.

<sup>48</sup> Steitz, 129–30.

<sup>49</sup> Giessen *Chronik* (StAD, 173), quoted in Becker, 69. See also Strieder, 17, 115.

Perhaps most significantly, the events of the summer of 1605 intensified the confessional opposition between the Lutherans and the Reformed in Hesse.<sup>50</sup> The University of Giessen was soon to be founded by Ludwig V, Landgraf of Hessen-Darmstadt, and became a stronghold of Lutheranism. Within days after their dismissal from office, professors Mentzer and Winckelmann found a strong supporter in Ludwig V and were offered positions in helping to found the new university. Ludwig also found a post for Leuchter as superintendent in Darmstadt. Although Ludwig took Dieterich under his protection, no position was immediately found for him. Without doubt, the introduction of Reformed teaching and practices into the university and churches in Marburg, the dismissal of the Lutheran theologians and pastors, as well as the general upheaval in the city, made an impression on Dieterich that remained for the rest of his life.

### **New Schools in Giessen**

Dieterich's stand at Marburg left him in a precarious position at the end of the summer of 1605. He had no pastoral or professorial position, nor the promise of any in a period when numerous dismissed theologians populated the German lands.<sup>51</sup> The situation in the churches was fluid and uncertain. Dieterich had a family to care for and no immediate means of support. One can imagine it was unnerving, but yet, commenting thirty years later on his removal from office, Dieterich observed,

It is better to have risked everything for the sake of the Gospel and at the same time preserve faith and good conscience, than to want to keep all one's belongings and at the

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<sup>50</sup> This conflict continued into the time of the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), when Hessen-Kassel sided with Protestant forces and Hessen-Darmstadt with the Holy Roman Empire. In March of 1623, Emperor Ferdinand II passed judgment on the controversy over the inheritance of Ludwig IV, taking Marburg and its university away from Hessen-Kassel and bestowing it on Hessen-Darmstadt. In 1624, Marburg fell to Imperial forces under the generalship of Tilly. Later that year, Ludwig V, Landgraf von Hessen-Darmstadt took control of Marburg, returning the city and the university to Lutheranism. The University of Giessen closed its doors in 1624 and the universities of Marburg and Giessen were merged until 1648. The *Paedagogium* in Giessen also closed, merging with its counterpart in Marburg from 1625 to 1650. See Steitz, 150; Carl Walbrach, "Das Gießener akademische Pädagogium," in the *Beilage zum Gießener Anzeiger (Heimat im Bild)* 14, no. 46 (Nov. 1935): 182.

<sup>51</sup> See Ernst Schering, "375 Jahre Universität Giessen: Ein Literaturbericht," in *Jahrbuch der Hessischen Kirchengeschichtlichen Vereinigung* 34 (1983): 88.

same time lose everything in robbery and plunder along with one's faith, and still have a bad conscience.<sup>52</sup>

Dieterich did not have to wait long for a new position as Ludwig V soon found one for him in Giessen.

Earlier in the summer of 1605, Ludwig had made plans to organize a new university and preparatory school for Hessen-Darmstadt. Dieterich was to play an important role in each of these schools. He was named *Paedagogiarch*, or director, of the *Paedagogium* in Giessen from 1605 to 1614, where he taught dialectic, rhetoric, oratory, and catechetics. Dieterich was also professor of practical philosophy, or ethics, at the *Gymnasium illustre*. He held the same post when this school became the University of Giessen in 1607 with Dieterich as *Dekan* of the university in 1607 and *Prorektor* in 1609. During this time, he wrote his large textbooks on dialectic (1609), catechesis (1613), oratory (1613), and rhetoric (1613). These books were based on the courses Dieterich taught at the *Paedagogium* in Giessen.

### **The University of Giessen**

Before looking at the books, we turn to a closer examination of these schools where the books were used and the role Dieterich played in them. The sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century was a time of expansion and development for universities and schools of higher education in the German lands. Between 1500 and 1650, twenty-four new universities and numerous higher schools were founded in central Europe.<sup>53</sup> During the same period, Latin schools were opened in most German cities. The Reformation's emphasis on education as well as the

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<sup>52</sup> "Besser ist's, um des Evangelii willen alles aufgesetzt und dabei Religion und gut Gewissen erhalten, als Hab und Gut wollen erhalten und dabei dasselbe als einen Raub und Ausbeute mit der Religion verlieren und zugleich ein böses Gewissen behalten." Quoted in Asmus, 26. See also Leube, 164.

<sup>53</sup> The following universities were founded in the German lands between 1500 and 1650: Wittenberg (1502), Frankfurt an der Oder (1506), Marburg (1527), Königsberg (1544), Dillingen (1554), Jena (1558), Geneva (1559), Helmstedt (1574), Leiden (1575), Olmütz (Olomouc) (1576), Würzburg (1582), Herborn (1584), Franeker (1585), Graz (1586), Giessen (1607), Groningen (1614), Paderborn (1614), Rinteln (1621), Strassburg (1621), Altdorf (1622), Salzburg (1622), Kassel (1633), Utrecht (1636), and Bamberg (1648).

confessional conflicts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries contributed greatly to the increase in the number of schools established. In addition, the influence of humanism with its educational and cultural program played a critical role in the conception of education, curricula, and the methods of instruction in the new schools and universities. For many German territories, a university became an important means of maintaining confessional and political stability as well as securing a strong future for the society and culture.<sup>54</sup>

Hessen-Darmstadt was also concerned with many of these issues surrounding education and its role in preserving the confessional, social, and political position against its opponents. With the loss of the university in Marburg, Ludwig and other Lutherans in the territory quickly set about the organization of a new school. In part they sought to establish the new university as a counterinstitution of the now Reformed university in Marburg.<sup>55</sup> The founding of a university required an imperial *Privileg*, or charter, and Ludwig took the first step in attaining this by opening the *Gymnasium illustre*, or university academy,<sup>56</sup> at Giessen in October 1605.<sup>57</sup> The *Gymnasium illustre* had theological and philosophical faculties. Attached to the *Gymnasium* in

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<sup>54</sup> See Anton Schindling, "Schulen und Universitäten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Zehn Thesen zu Bildungsexpansion, Laienbildung und Konfessionalisierung nach der Reformation," in *Ecclesia Militans: Studien zur Konzilien- und Reformationsgeschichte. Remigius Bäumer zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*. Band 2. Zur Reformationsgeschichte, eds. Walter Brandmüller, Herbert Immenkötter, and Erwin Iserloh (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1988), 561–70.

<sup>55</sup> Gustav Adolf Benrath argues that this was the case in Giessen. See Benrath, "Die Deutsche Evangelische Universität der Reformationszeit," in *Universität und Gelehrtenstand 1400–1600. Büdinger Vorträge 1966*, eds. Hellmuth Rössler and Günther Franz (Limburg: C. A. Starke, 1970), 74.

<sup>56</sup> A secondary school from this period that had a full humanistic curriculum, especially including instruction in languages, was generally referred to as a *Gymnasium*. Those schools that offered instruction beyond the *trivium* and perhaps had philosophical and theological faculties also received the designation *academicum* or *illustre*. A university would have additional faculties in law and medicine.

<sup>57</sup> The location of the *Gymnasium illustre* (as well as the *Paedagogium* and the future university) in Giessen, at the far northwest border of the territory of Hessen-Darmstadt, was intentional. Ludwig and others involved in the establishment of the schools hoped to attract many Lutheran students from the neighboring reformed regions, and to have the schools in Giessen serve much in the same way as those in Marburg had done. In fact, many students from the northern and western German regions did come to the Giessen schools, as they represented the nearest option for Lutherans in those areas until the opening of the University of Kiel (1665) and Göttingen (1734/37). See Hans Georg Gundel, "Giessen, Universität," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, herausgegeben von Gerhard Müller (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977–), vol. 13, 261.

Giessen was the *Paedagogium trilingue*, a preparatory school.<sup>58</sup> Housed in the Giessen *Rathaus*, the *Gymnasium* opened with about 200 students, seventy of whom were in the *Paedagogium*.<sup>59</sup> Johannes Winckelmann was named the first rector of the *Gymnasium* and Balthasar Mentzer the first professorial chair of the theological faculty. Dieterich was appointed professor of philosophy at the *Gymnasium* and, because of his “particular interest” in education and schools, he was also named the first *Paedagogiarth*, or director, of the *Paedagogium*.<sup>60</sup> According to the articles of incorporation, the the *Gymnasium* was to serve the “preservation [and] communication of pure and salutary divine teaching, of saving justification and godly ways of life and being.”<sup>61</sup>

In May 1607, Emperor Rudolf II (1576–1612) granted the charter for the formation of the University of Giessen which opened in October as the *Academia Ludoviciana*.<sup>62</sup> That autumn,

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<sup>58</sup> The three languages taught at the *Paedagogium trilingue* were Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The name *Paedagogium* indicates a complete *Gelehrtschule*, a Latin grammar school, at which languages, the *trivium*, other arts, religion, and additional subjects were taught. The *Paedagogium* was also a boarding school.

<sup>59</sup> See Asmus, 26.

<sup>60</sup> Asmus, 26. Asmus is perhaps recalling comments by Johannes Frick (1634–89) Professor of Logic and *Münsterprediger* in Ulm. Frick wrote a foreword to Dieterich’s *Theologische Consilia und Bedencken*, published posthumously in 1689. In his description of Dieterich’s interest in education and schools, Frick relates stories of Dieterich’s activity in the Ulm school and comments on his particular fondness and liking [“sonderbare Affection und Neigung”] for education. See *HERRN D. Conrad Dieterichs seel. Weyland deß Heil. Röm. Reichs=Stadt Ulm viel=jährigen und Hochverdienten Superintendenten, auch deß Gymnasii daseibsten Hoch=ansehnlichen Directoris vortreffliche und kernhaffte Theologische CONSILIA und Bedencken/ Welche auff Veranlassung einiger Hoher/ und vornehmer Herren/ Ständen und Personen über gewisse und hochwichtige CASUS und Fälle/ Von Jhme gründlich und Schrifftmässig gestellt und erörtert worden; wie auch etliche ORATIONES PANEGYRICAE, von unterschiedenen raren und nützlichen Materien/ das Schulwesen betreffend/ Die Er bey hoch=ansehnlicher Versammlung bey den jährlichen Progressionibus, und Schul=Actibus gehalten/ Zum Druck befördert durch dessen Enkel Helwig Dieterich/ Dicasteriogr. Ulm (Nürnberg: Johann Andreas Endter, 1689), iijf.*

<sup>61</sup> “... Erhaltung, Fortpflanzung reiner und gesunder göttlicher Lehre, der heilsamen Justizien und gottseligen Wesens und Wandels,” Schering, 89.

<sup>62</sup> Rudolf’s charter for the University of Giessen was issued with the provision that as soon as the Augsburg Confession was again introduced into the churches and university in Marburg, the new privilege for the Giessen university would end, and the full substance (including financial affairs) of the university would revert to Marburg. This provision was acted upon in 1624 and the Giessen and Marburg universities temporarily merged (see fn. 49 above).

320 students matriculated at the university and began their studies.<sup>63</sup> It is likely that many of the students had followed their professors from Marburg and enrolled at the new university in Giessen.<sup>64</sup> The first rector of the university was the jurist Gottfried Anton (1571–1618), and Dieterich served as the first dean (*Dekan*) of the university's philosophical faculty and in 1609 was its first representative of the faculty to serve as prorector of the university.<sup>65</sup>

The charter of the University of Giessen gave the provision for nineteen *professores ordinarii* to serve as instructors at the school—four each in the theological and law faculties, three in the medicine faculty, and eight in the philosophical faculty. Ludwig was able to fill these positions with distinguished scholars and the university experienced an auspicious beginning.

Professors Winckelmann and Mentzer continued the theological tradition begun at Marburg, and quickly the University of Giessen gained a reputation as a stronghold of Lutheran orthodoxy. This brand of orthodox teaching soon flourished at Giessen and remained predominant there (and later at Marburg) until the late seventeenth century. In the inter-Lutheran controversy on the ubiquity of Christ (1619–27; also known as the Kenotic, or Crypto-Kenotic controversy) Winckelmann and Mentzer, along with Justus Feuerborn,<sup>66</sup> were largely successful

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<sup>63</sup> Hans Georg Gundel, "Grundzüge der Gießener Universitätsgeschichte," in *Giessen und seine Landschaft: In Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Giessen: Hess-Verlag, 1970), 144.

<sup>64</sup> This is certainly the case with students who followed their professors in the law faculty, among them the popular Gottfried Anton. It is likely that other students followed for confessional reasons. See R. Stummann-Bowert, "Die Juristische Fakultät," in *375 Jahre Universität Gießen. Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Ausstellungskatalog), ed. Norbert Werner (Giessen: Verlag der Ferber'schen Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1982), 74f.

<sup>65</sup> In the *Rektorenliste* for the University of Giessen, Dieterich is listed as *Prorektor* for 1609. In that year, Johann Georg, Herzog zu Schleswig und Holstein, etc. was elected *rector magnificentissimus*. In effect, Dieterich was the acting rector, or chief administrator, for that year. Hans Georg Gundel, *Rektorenliste der Universität Gießen 1605/07–1971*. Berichte und Arbeiten aus der Universitätsbibliothek Giessen, 32 (Giessen: Universitätsbibliothek, 1979), 9.

<sup>66</sup> Justus Feuerborn (1587–1656) was professor of theology at the University of Giessen after 1617.

in carrying out the argument over their colleagues at the University of Tübingen.<sup>67</sup> Among the Giessen theologians, Mentzer had the greatest impact on Lutheran doctrine. For the most part, he strove to follow the teachings of the Lutheran confessional writings, and he was one of the most significant Lutheran orthodox theologians of the first quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>68</sup>

Apart from Dieterich, several professors on the philosophical faculty gained reputations that spread far beyond the Giessen lecture halls. Christoph Helwig (Helvicus, 1581–1617), professor of Hebrew and Greek,<sup>69</sup> and Kaspar Finck (1578–1631), professor of logic and metaphysics,<sup>70</sup> wrote a Latin grammar text that was widely used in schools into the eighteenth century.<sup>71</sup> Although both Helwig and Finck were professors at the university, their grammar was intended as a textbook for use at the *Paedagogium*, or *Gymnasium* level. The work found a happy medium between the systematic detailedness of Melancthon's Latin grammar and the

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<sup>67</sup> The *Decisio Saxonica* (1624) rendered a judgment in the dispute which supported the Giessen theologians; however, the controversy continued for some time afterward. The dispute centered on the question of whether Christ, in the state of humiliation, according to his human nature, entirely refrained from using his divine attributes (the kenotic view), or whether he used them secretly (the cryptic view). The Giessen theologians defended the kenotic view, the Tübingen theologians the cryptic position. Conrad Dieterich, then Superintendent in Ulm, served as mediator in the dispute. For more on the controversy, see Jörg Baur, "Auf dem Wege zur klassischen Tübinger Christologie. Einführende Überlegungen zum sogenannten Kenosis-Krypsis-Streit," in *Theologen und Theologie an der Universität Tübingen: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Evangelisch-Theologischen Fakultät*, ed. Martin Brecht (Tübingen: Mohr, 1977), 195–269.

<sup>68</sup> See Theodor Mahlmann, "Mentzer, Balthasar I.," *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, eds. Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz and Traugott Bautz (Hamm, Westf.: Bautz, 1975–), vol. 5, (1993), 1273.

<sup>69</sup> A gifted linguist, Helwig was professor in the philosophical faculty at the *Gymnasium*, and then university in Giessen from 1605 to 1610, after which he was in the theological faculty. He received his doctorate in theology in 1613. (See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (ADB)*, (Munich, 1875–1912), vol. 11, 715–18; Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1750), vol. 2, 1477–78; and Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses Vollständiges Universal-Lexikon* (Graz, 1994; reprint of 1734 edition), vol. 12, 1325–26.

<sup>70</sup> Finck had been professor in the philosophical faculty at the University of Marburg until 1605, when he came to Giessen to teach at the *Gymnasium*. He taught at the University of Giessen, becoming a professor of theology in 1609. He received his doctorate in theology in 1612 and left Giessen in 1616 to serve as superintendent in Coburg. (*ADB*, vol. 7, 11–12; Jöcher, vol. 2, 613–14; Zedler, vol. 9, 931–32).

<sup>71</sup> *Grammatica Latina et Praecipuis Veterum et Recentiorum Grammaticorum, Oratorum, Historicorum, Philosophorum, Philologorum, Poëtarum, &c. Coryphaeis, in legitimum Systema, qua fieri potuit brevitae, redacta ...* (Giessen, 1606). Helwig and Finck later supplemented this work with an *Übungsbuch*, or exercise book, which served as a compendium to the more detailed Latin grammar text. See Wilhelm Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," in *Die Schulordnungen des Grossherzogtums Hessen*, *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, vols. 27, 28, and 33 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1903), 28: 23.

concise and precise formulations of the grammatical work of Petrus Ramus.<sup>72</sup> In a manner perhaps similar to Dieterich's textbooks, Helwig and Finck employed a system based on rules of logic to arrange the instruction of Latin grammar.<sup>73</sup>

Another important figure at the University of Giessen was Joachim Jungius (1587–1657), a professor of mathematics, natural science, and a pedagogical reformer. Jungius had been a student at the university in Giessen, where he had been promoted by Dieterich, and was a professor at the university from 1609 to 1614. He later became the head of the renowned *Johanneum Gymnasium* in Hamburg. Throughout his career, Jungius was committed to the development and practice of effective pedagogical and scientific methodological programs. Gottfried Leibniz later wrote that next to Kepler, Jungius was the only man in Germany at the time working on true apodictics, or the science of argumentation, who could compare to Galileo or Descartes.<sup>74</sup>

### **The *Paedagogium* in Giessen**

The opening of the university in Giessen meant that the *Gymnasium illustre*, with its faculties, students, and most of its resources, became part of the university itself. The *Paedagogium* became the preparatory school to the university in Giessen. Similar to the situation in Marburg, the *Paedagogium* in Giessen served as the Latin school for students in Giessen, as well as the remedial school for students outside Giessen seeking to attend the university. Thus the *Paedagogium* concentrated on an advanced preparatory curriculum—perhaps more advanced

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<sup>72</sup> See Asmus, 28.

<sup>73</sup> See Wilhelm Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 23.

<sup>74</sup> Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Elementa Rationis* (1686), in *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*. Philosophische Schriften, vol. 4. part A (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999), 726.



than the typical curriculum in the *Partikularschulen*.<sup>75</sup> The older three-class Latin school in Giessen now served as the preparatory school for the *Paedagogium*.<sup>76</sup>

A distinction is to be noted between the *Gymnasium illustre* and the *Paedagogium* in Giessen. As just stated, the *Gymnasium illustre*, with its curriculum, faculties, and students, became part of the university when it opened in Giessen in 1607. The *Paedagogium* remained as the chief preparatory school to the university in Giessen. Carl Walbrach notes that the *Gymnasium illustre* in Giessen was usually called the *Paedagogium*, presumably meaning that after the opening of the university, the *Paedagogium* was often referred to generically as a *Gymnasium*.<sup>77</sup> Hans Georg Gundel writes that the *Gymnasium illustre*—the preliminary institution to the university—was itself actually opened as the *Paedagogium*.<sup>78</sup> This leaves the false impression that the *Gymnasium illustre* never existed as a separate institution. There is much evidence, however, to refute this idea. For example, there is the fact that Johannes Winckelmann was named rector of the *Gymnasium illustre* at the same time that Dieterich was appointed *Paedagogiarh* of the *Paedagogium*.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Wright points out that the *Paedagogium* in Marburg: was not designed to be a separate step in the educational system for everyone. To furnish this remedial education, the *Pädagogium* concentrated on the advanced preparatory curriculum of Melanchthon's upper groupings. This situation in the *Pädagogium* in turn placed the Marburg boys who attended the school at a disadvantage, as they were beginners and had to compete with boys who had already attended a school. Wright, "The Impact of the Reformation on Hessian Education," 196.

<sup>76</sup> Asmus, 26. The Latin school, or *Stadtschule*, as it was called, had been considered inadequate for the task of preparing most students for university study before the founding of the new schools in Giessen. Becker remarks that with the loss of Marburg, no school in all of Hessen-Darmstadt was able to sufficiently train students. He adds that, for this reason, the new Giessen schools were opened with great eagerness on the part of the people in Hessen-Darmstadt (172).

<sup>77</sup> See Walbrach, 181. For more on the role of the *Gymnasium illustre* in Giessen, its structure, and the humanist influence on it, see Anton Schindling, "Die Universität Gießen als Typus einer Hochschulgründung," in *Academia Gissensis: Beiträge zur älteren Gießener Universitätsgeschichte. Zum 375 jährigen Jubiläum dargebracht vom Historischen Institut der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen*, eds. Peter Moraw and Volker Press (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1982), 99ff.

<sup>78</sup> Gundel, "Grundzüge der Gießener Universitätsgeschichte," 142.

<sup>79</sup> See Asmus, 26. Diehl also states that the two schools were each opened with ceremonies in October, 1605. Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 20.

The founders of the schools in Giessen appear to have followed the example that they knew best, the one set down by Marburg. In many respects, the *Paedagogium* in Giessen was a continuation of Marburg. The *Verfassung*, or constitution, of the *Paedagogium* in Giessen was largely borrowed from the school in Marburg and the two followed a common structure and curriculum.<sup>80</sup> One important example of this is the fact that the *Paedagogium* in Giessen played a role very much like its predecessor in Marburg. Each was the most advanced preparatory school in its territory, and each served as a remedial stage for students about to enter the university in the same city and had a close relationship with the university. In addition, a faculty commission from the university had oversight of the *Paedagogium* in each city. This commission was composed of the rector and chancellor of the university as well as the deans of the theological and philosophical faculties of the university. As a general rule, the head of the *Paedagogium* (the *Paedagogiarch*) served as professor of philosophy or theology at the university.<sup>81</sup> In addition, the *Paedagogiarch* had supervision over all the other Latin schools in the *Oberfürstentum* Hessen-Darmstadt.<sup>82</sup>

As *Paedagogiarch*, Dieterich had specific duties at the Giessen school as outlined by its constitution. He had charge over all the buildings and their maintenance, as well as over the students who lived and studied in them. He exercised discipline and administered punishments with the consent of the university's rector. The *Paedagogiarch* regularly visited and observed the various classes at the school. Every month he was to examine the written work of the students and determine their progress by means of an examination. Twice a year the *Paedagogiarch* was

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<sup>80</sup> Diehl makes a strong case for the argument that the Giessen *Paedagogium* was a continuation of the Marburg school. See Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 20; see also Walbrach, 181, and Asmus, 26.

<sup>81</sup> See Asmus, 26.

<sup>82</sup> Walbrach, 182. See also Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 19. Diehl states that there were six Latin schools in Hessen-Darmstadt: Alsfeld, Ehzell, Giessen, Grünberg, Butzbach, and Nidda.

to hold a general examination of students before the dean of the university's theological faculty and the professors of the philosophical faculty. The result of this examination was to determine whether students were to be promoted in class at the *Paedagogium* or to be sent on to study at the university. The *Paedagogiarch* also had responsibility over the lives of the students in the community and saw to it that they did not idly loiter about or waste their time in play, and above all, he was to make sure that they speak only Latin outside the classroom. The *Paedagogiarch* was to observe the teachers as they instructed the students. He was largely responsible for the evaluation, selection, and appointment of teachers at the school, although candidates for positions were usually proposed by the reigning princes.<sup>83</sup> Due to his extensive duties and responsibilities, the *Paedagogiarch* was given only a few subjects to teach.<sup>84</sup>

In his first year at the *Paedagogium* in Giessen, Dieterich had charge of about seventy students.<sup>85</sup> Along with Dieterich, four other *Paedagoglehrer*, or "praeceptores classici," were engaged to teach at the school. The first, Konrad Bachmann (1572–1646), had been a teacher at the Giessen Latin school and was also in the philosophical faculty at the university, teaching poetics and history. The other three preceptors had formerly taught at the *Paedagogium* in Marburg.<sup>86</sup>

The *Paedagogium* in Giessen consisted of four classes of students in two divisions. The *Paedagogium maius* was made up of the more advanced students, those in the *Prima* and *Secunda* levels, while the *Paedagogium minus* had the younger students, the ones in the *Tertia*

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<sup>83</sup> For more on the duties of the teachers at the *Paedagogium*, see Asmus, 27.

<sup>84</sup> See Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 21; Asmus, 26–27.

<sup>85</sup> See Asmus, 26. Asmus notes that the number of students in the *Paedagogium* declined in the first ten years. The enrollment by year was: 1607: 70, 1608: 55, 1609: 50, 1610: 37, 1611, 35, 1614, 20. By 1616, the number of students had increased again to 147 (Asmus, 31, fn. 3). One possible reason for the decline in enrollment was an outbreak of the plague in and around Giessen, which led to a closing of the school in 1613. Dieterich and his family fled from the plague that year and went to his brother Johannes' home in Butzbach. (Dieterich notes this fact at the end of the dedicatory epistle of his *Institutiones Rhetoricae* [1613], dated August 25, 1613.)

<sup>86</sup> See Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 20; Walbrach, 182; Asmus, 26.

and *Quarta* levels. Students received four hours of instruction per day, two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon. To this was added at least two hours per day of private tutoring and music classes. On Wednesdays and Saturdays three hours of instruction were given each morning. Instruction began each morning at six o'clock (in winter, at seven o'clock), and each afternoon at noon. Each teacher spent twelve to fifteen hours in instruction per week.<sup>87</sup>

The subject matter of instruction in the Giessen *Paedagogium* was virtually the same as that of the Marburg school. Instruction was given in religion, Latin, Greek, logic, rhetoric, poetics, music, and arithmetic.<sup>88</sup> Although the Marburg curriculum was the model, during the first ten years of the newly founded *Paedagogium* in Giessen, teachers at the school wrote many new textbooks.

### **New Textbooks for the *Paedagogium***

From the beginning, the plan in Giessen was to have new, up-to-date textbooks written for each of the main subjects taught at the *Paedagogium*. The instructional texts were to use methods that would make the material readily understandable to the students. The result was that in the first decade of the school's history, numerous influential textbooks were written by professors at Giessen.<sup>89</sup> Along with the new Latin grammatical works by Helwig and Finck mentioned above, Konrad Bachmann wrote two works on poetics for use in the *Paedagogium*.<sup>90</sup> The composition and publication of numerous textbooks led to the identification of Giessen as a center for the

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<sup>87</sup> See Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 21; Asmus, 27.

<sup>88</sup> Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 21.

<sup>89</sup> Diehl states that the initial period of the *Paedagogium* in Giessen was "a prominent period in the history of school textbooks" ["eine hervorragende Epoche in der Geschichte der Schullehrbücher"], and as evidence of this gives much credit to the various works of Dieterich. See Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 24, [21–26]. See also Asmus, 27; and Becker, 138.

<sup>90</sup> The *Poetica, praeceptis, commentariis, observationibus, exemplis ex veteribus poetis studiose conscripta per Academiae Gissenae nonnullos Professores* (ca. 1607) was the larger work, and its companion text for beginners was the *Compendium praeceptionum poeticarum* (1610).

development of Lutheran pedagogy.<sup>91</sup> Certainly the textbooks by Dieterich on catechesis, dialectic, rhetoric, and oratory would be a major instructional component in the Giessen school and in many others.

Although his catechetical works were published toward the end of his tenure at Giessen, it is most likely that Dieterich had been giving instruction on the catechism in the *Paedagogium* from the beginning of his time there.<sup>92</sup> Without question, Dieterich had a profound influence on the content as well as the methods of catechetical instruction at the school. From the beginning, Luther's Small Catechism formed the basis for all religious instruction at the *Paedagogium*. This was a change from the practice at Marburg, where other catechisms or catechetical textbooks had been used.<sup>93</sup> Wilhelm Diehl calls Luther's catechism the "shibboleth" of the newly founded university in Giessen, asserting that the catechism came to be identified as the foundation for all

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<sup>91</sup> As Wilhelm Diehl points out:

It must be acknowledged that, immediately after the opening of the *Paedagogium* in Giessen, the task of producing textbooks was begun, and that this same Giessen, which in a few years was to become the stronghold of pure Lutheranism, at the same time was also a center of activity in Lutheran pedagogy. [It should also be noted] that from Giessen, where before 1604 a printer could never have earned a livelihood, a great variety of textbooks in thousands of copies were sent out everywhere, and that the *Institutiones* and the *Epitomes*, which the Giessen professors compiled in the greatest haste in a few years for nearly all subjects of study in the *Paedagogium*, would also become influential for instruction in the schools in all Lutheran areas for decades to come.

[So ist es zu erklären, daß man gleich nach Eröffnung des Gießener Pädagogs an die Schaffung der Lehrbücher geht, und daß dasselbe Gießen, das in jenen Jahren die Hochburg des reinen Luthertums war, zugleich auch ein Zentrum wird für den Betrieb der lutherischen Pädagogik, daß von Gießen aus, wo vor 1604 nie ein Buchdrucker sich hatte ernähren können, die mannigfaltigsten Lehrbücher in Tausenden von Exemplaren in alle Welt gingen und daß die Institutiones und die Epitomen, die die Gießener Professoren in größter Eile in etlichen Jahren für fast alle Lehrgegenstände eines Pädagogiums zusammenschrieben, für den Unterricht in den Schulen aller lutherischen Gebiete auf Jahrzehnte hinaus maßgebend werden konnten.] Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 24–25.

<sup>92</sup> In the dedicatory epistle of the *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), Dieterich states that he composed his catechetical instruction for use of his students in the *Paedagogium* in Giessen, and that he was advised and exhorted to issue the lectures in print for public use. "... Institutiones has Catecheticas sub initium illustris hujus Pædagogii in usum discipulorum meorum conscriptas, nunc verò, eorum quorum interest, suasu, & hortatu ex scriptas, typis evulgo & publici juris facio." *Institutiones Catecheticae*, (1613), )3.

<sup>93</sup> Diehl cites a 1575 visitation decree for the University of Marburg which orders that works such as Melancthon's *Loci Communes* and *Examen Ordinandum* could be used for religious instruction, as well as "the catechisms of Hyperius, Chytraeus, Brenz, or another similar, useful catechism" ["... dem Catechismo Hyperii, Chytraei, Brentii oder ein ander dergleichenn nutzlichen Catechismus."] Diehl adds that the practice at Marburg was in accordance with the decree until 1604. Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 21. Chapter four will include a discussion of the catechisms used in Hessian churches and schools prior to the publication of Dieterich's catechisms.

religious instruction there. He notes that the catechism was the sole textbook in religion, even in the upper classes of the *Paedagogium*.<sup>94</sup> It was in this context that Dieterich undertook to explain and comment on Luther's catechism. Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae (1613)*<sup>95</sup> was intended for use in the *Paedagogium maius* (the two most advanced classes of students, *Prima* and *Secunda*), while his *Epitome praeceptorum catecheticorum (1614)*<sup>96</sup> was for students in the *Paedagogium minus* (the lower classes, *Tertia* and *Quarta*).<sup>97</sup> Diehl states that both these books by Dieterich "dominated the catechetical instruction in the higher schools in Hesse for nearly one hundred years."<sup>98</sup>

Dieterich's other philosophical textbooks were written for use in the *Paedagogium* and were central to its broader curriculum. The works were also foundational for the instruction students would receive at the university. In the pattern consistent with his other works, Dieterich designed two textbooks for each subject, one fuller and more advanced, the second an epitome—a simplified treatment of the subject. In all cases, Dieterich appears to have written the more advanced work first, then extracted and adapted the epitomized version from the more

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<sup>94</sup> Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 21–22.

<sup>95</sup> *Institutiones Catecheticae, è B. Lutheri Catechesi Depromptæ, variisque notis Logicis & Theologicis, in usum Juventutis Scholasticae illustratae, a Cunrado Dieterico Practicae Philos. Professore publ. & Paedagogiarcha. Cum praefatione & approbatione Venerandi Collegii Theologici* (Giessen: Casparus Chemlinus, 1613).

<sup>96</sup> *Epitome praeceptorum catecheticorum in usum classicorum inferiorum, ex institutionibus catecheticis collecta* (Giessen, 1614).

<sup>97</sup> See Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 22.

<sup>98</sup> See Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 22.

detailed text. The *Institutiones dialecticae* (1609)<sup>99</sup> was Dieterich's work on dialectics, or logic, for students in the *Paedagogium maius*, while his *Epitome Praeceptorum Dialecticae* (1613)<sup>100</sup> was for students in the *Paedagogium minus*. Likewise, Dieterich's *Institutiones Rhetoricae* (1613)<sup>101</sup> for upper level students was accompanied by his *Epitome praeceptorum rhetoricae* (1614)<sup>102</sup> for

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<sup>99</sup> *Institutiones Dialecticae; ex probatissimis Aristotelis et Rami Interpretibus Studiose conscriptae, variisq; exemplis in usum Illustris Paedagogii Giesseni Illustratae, à Cunrado Theodorico, Philosophiae Moralis Professore & Paedagogiarcha* (Giessen: Nikolaus Hampel, 1609). The *Institutiones Dialecticae* was published in at least ten editions and saw a minimum of thirty-nine printings in ten cities between 1609 and 1722: Amsterdam/Franeker (1642); Bardejov, Slovakia (1648); Coburg (1623); Giessen (1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1615, 1616, 1618 (twice), 1623 (twice), 1624, 1626, 1630, 1631, 1653, 1654, 1655); Goslar (1612); Jena (1620, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1630); Leipzig (1612, 1617, 1630, 1631, 1656, 1722); Lübeck (1620, 1623); Marburg (1631, 1643, 1644).

<sup>100</sup> *Epitome praeceptorum Dialecticae, in usum Classicorum inferiorum ex Institutionibus Logicis compendiosa collecta à Cunrado Dieterico, Philosophiae Moralis Professore & Paedagogiarcha* (Giessen: Nikolaus Hampel, 1613). The *Epitome praeceptorum dialecticae* was published in at least three editions and went through twenty-seven printings in eight cities between 1613 and 1667: Erfurt (1618, 1623); Frankfurt am Main (1626); Giessen (1613, 1614, 1615, 1617, 1654); Leipzig (1636); Linköp, Sweden (1640, 1648, 1653, 1663, and five more without dates); Marburg (1644); Stockholm (1642, 1647, 1650, 1657, 1667); Ulm (1615, 1618, 1628).

<sup>101</sup> *Institutiones rhetoricae, e probatissimis veterum ac recentiorum oratorum interpretibus studiose conscriptae, variisque exemplis tam sacris quam philologicis in usum Paedagogii Giesseni illustrata* (Giessen: Hampel, 1613). The *Institutiones Rhetoricae* was published in at least five editions and saw a minimum of forty-five printings in fourteen cities between 1613 and 1754: Amsterdam/Franeker (1642); Erfurt (1619, 1620, 1625); Frankfurt am Main (1683); Giessen (1613, 1615, 1616, 1622, 1647, 1654, 1660, 1666); Jena (1620, 1621, 1624, 1630); Leipzig (1615, 1620, 1628, 1631, 1636, 1653, 1661, 1668, 1677, 1683, 1688, 1690, 1694, 1698, 1704, 1709); Lévoca, Slovakia (1657); Lübeck (1617); Marburg (1626, 1632, 1648, 1712, 1752, 1754); Schleusing (1617); Stettin (1663); Strassburg (1648); Ulm (1628).

<sup>102</sup> *Epitome praeceptorum rhetoricae in usum classicorum inferiorum ex institutionibus rhetoricis collecta* (Giessen: Hampel, 1614). The *Epitome praeceptorum rhetoricae* was published in at least four editions and went through a minimum of twenty-four printings in eleven cities between 1614 and 1715: Erfurt (1617, 1624); Frankfurt am Main (1626); Giessen (1614, 1617, 1688, 1712, 1715); Kosice, Slovakia (1659); Linköp, Sweden (1639, 1643, 1647, 1649); Marburg (1626); Mühlhausen (1618); Sabinov, Slovakia (1648, 1671); Stockholm (1642, 1648, 1650, 1657, 1668); Ulm (1620); Weimar (1663).

lower level students. Finally, Dieterich's *Institutiones Oratoriae (1613)*<sup>103</sup> was matched with its *Epitome praeceptorum oratoriae (1620)*.<sup>104</sup>

Dieterich wrote most of these works in a rather brief period of time. The seven textbooks Dieterich composed while he was *Paedagogiarch* in Giessen (including his catechetical works) were all published between the years 1613 and 1614. This is most likely due to the opportunity given Dieterich for writing by the closing of the Giessen *Paedagogium* during 1613 due to a severe outbreak of the plague. For part of that year at least, Dieterich and his family were forced

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<sup>103</sup> *Institutiones oratoriae sive de conscribendis rationibus e veterum ac recentiorum oratorum praeceptis methodica instructio, in usum ill. Paedagogii Giesseni conscripta et variis exemplis illustrata* (Giessen: Hampel, 1613). The *Institutiones Oratoriae* was issued in at least ten editions with a minimum of fifty-four printings in twelve cities between 1613 and 1722: Amsterdam (1654, 1688); Deventer (1647); Erfurt (1619, 1620, 1625, 1626); Frankfurt am Main (1677); Giessen (1613, 1614, 1615 (three times), 1620, 1623, 1625, 1647, 1651, 1653, 1656, 1660, 1661); Jena (1620, 1624, 1630, 1636, 1638); Leipzig (1613, 1614, 1615, 1630, 1631, 1646, 1653, 1654, 1661, 1662, 1669, 1672, 1682, 1689, 1690, 1694, 1709, 1722); Lübeck (1623); Marburg (1626, 1636, 1645, 1712) Schleusing (1617); Stettin (1653, 1663); Utrecht (1688).

<sup>104</sup> *Epitome Praeceptorum Rhetoricae et Oratoriae in usum classicorum inferiorum ex Institutionibus Rhetoricis & Oratoriis collecta ...* (Ulm : Meder, 1620). This is the only known printing of this work. (The printing history of Dieterich's catechetical writings will be discussed in chapter six.) The information in footnotes 89 through 94 was gathered from various sources, including the following works: Georgius Draudius, *Bibliotheca Classica, sive Catalogus Officinalis. In quo Singuli Singularum Facultatatum ac Professionum Libri, qui in quavis fere lingua extant ... recensentur* (Frankfurt/Main, 1625); Szabó Károly, *Régi Magyar Könyvtár* (Budapest, 1885); Martinus Lipenius, *Bibliotheca Realis Philosophica Omnium Materiarum, Rerum & Titularum in Universo Totius Philosophiae Ambitu Occurrentium* (Frankfurt am Main, 1682); *Die Münsterprediger bis zum Übergang Ulms an Württemberg 1810. Kurzbiographien und vollständiges Verzeichnis ihrer Schriften*, ed. Bernhard Appenzeller. Veröffentlichungen der Stadtbibliothek Ulm, Band 13 (Weißenhorn: Konrad, 1990), 107–77; *Nachrichten von Gelehrten, Künstlern und ander merkwürdige Personen aus Ulm*, ed. Albrecht Weyermann, I: 145–57; *Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok, 1636–1655*, ed. Judit Väsárhelyi. (Budapest: Osiris, 2001); Wilhelm Risse, *Bibliographia Philosophica Vetus: Reoertorium generale systematicum operum philosophicum usque ad annum MDCCC typis impressorum. Pars 2 Logica* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1998); Hermann Schüling, *Bibliographie der im 17. Jahrhundert in Deutschland erschienenen logischen Schriften. Berichte und Arbeiten aus der Universitätsbibliothek Giessen* (Giessen: Universitätsbibliothek, 1963), 39–41, 47, 63; Schüling, *Verzeichnis des von 1605–1624 in Gießen erschienen Schrifttums* (Giessen, 1985), 36–45; Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, *Grundlage zu einer Hessischen Gelehrten- und Schriftsteller Geschichte*, 20 vols. (Göttingen-Kassel-Marburg, 1781–1863), vol. 2 [1782], 29–38. This information was also obtained and confirmed, to the greatest extent possible, by the author's own library searches.



to flee to his brother's home in Butzbach. It is possible that Dieterich did much writing during his stay there.<sup>105</sup>

The development of a core collection of textbooks for the curriculum at the *Paedagogium* in Giessen was by no means incidental. There was a system to the attempts by members of the university faculty, including Dieterich, to create a body of textbooks for the chief subjects of instruction. These texts were accommodated to the presumably growing understanding and ability of young people and treated the subject matter in a way that aimed at effective communication and learning.<sup>106</sup> In the years following the initial publication of Dieterich's philosophical textbooks, numerous other authors wrote works explaining or commenting on Dieterich's books. These later works were most likely intended for use in schools alongside Dieterich's texts.<sup>107</sup>

The development of a body of instructional works coincided with a considerable interest in pedagogical method at the Giessen school. This interest in methodology was by no means unique to Giessen. Indeed, the humanist revival of learning and the reexamination of the manner in which knowledge is acquired and communicated had made a profound impact on education long before the dawn of the seventeenth century. Under the humanist influence, this interest came to deal not

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<sup>105</sup> As noted above, Dieterich refers to the fact that he has sought refuge from the plague at Butzbach at the end of the dedicatory epistle of his *Institutiones Rhetoricae* (1613), dated August 25, 1613: "Scrib. Butzbaci quo ad pestem concesseram, d. August, 25. Anno 1613." The dedicatory epistle of Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae*, dated February 16, 1613, was written in Giessen. Becker reports that Dieterich later moved to the nearby village of Kirch-Göns. Becker also notes that during the closure of the Giessen schools, many students went to the university and *Paedagogium* in Marburg, much to the disappointment of their Giessen professors (Becker, 79).

<sup>106</sup> See Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," 28: 24.

<sup>107</sup> Examples of these types of works include: Johannes Philippus Ebelius, *Hermes logicus Dieterichianus, sive tractatus, in quo termini plerique omnes artis logicae, iuxta eam seriem, qua in Institutionibus dialecticis D. Cunradi Dieterici ... proponuntur ...* (Giessen, 1620, 1655) (also Amsterdam/Franeker, 1642; Marburg, 1628, 1637); Jacobus Honoldus, *Synoptica Explicatio Canonum Logicorum, in Utramque Partem ita Adornata; Ut non Solum Logices, sed & aliarum quamvis Facultatem & Disciplinarum Studiosis, maxime sit necessaria & utilis. Informata ad Methodum Institutionum Dialecticarum Dn. D. Chunradi Dieterici &c. Ejusdemque jussu & consensu conscripta & proposita a M. Jacobo Honoldo, Logices in Gymnasio Ulmano Professore, & supremae Classis Praeceptore* (Ulm, 1633); and Stephanus Budiats, *Institutiones Dialecticae Cunradi Dieterici S. S. Theologiae Doctoris Tabellis Brevissimis, In usum Candidatorum Artis Logicae, comprehensae ...* (Bartfeld, 1648).

merely with the overall program of education but also with the method of instruction in particular subjects.<sup>108</sup> At the time of the founding of the *Paedagogium* in Giessen, it appears that no uniform pedagogical method was in place, although several potential methods were being evaluated. More on the subject of method and its role at Giessen will be discussed in chapter five.

The *Paedagogium* in Giessen, the textbooks written for use there, and the methods of instruction are all important for understanding the person and work of Dieterich. Dieterich played a specific role at the school and had an indelible impact on the curriculum and the manner of instruction there. He wrote his catechetical works for a particular group of students in a high-level Latin school preparing students for study at the university.

### Ulm<sup>109</sup>

#### **Dieterich's Candidacy for the Positions of Superintendent and *Münsterprediger* in Ulm**

Dieterich served in Giessen for nine years, during which time his work as professor and director of the *Paedagogium* in Giessen drew the notice of others beyond the borders of Hessen-Darmstadt. In Giessen, Dieterich had gained recognition not merely as an excellent teacher and pedagogue but also as one who had great interest in education, instructional methods, and schools. He also seemed to possess talents that made him a capable and effective overseer of schools. His numerous textbooks soon broadened his notoriety as a scholar and instructor. In

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<sup>108</sup> For more on the development of method in the Renaissance period, see Neal W. Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 67ff.

<sup>109</sup> For discussions of Dieterich's career and work in Ulm, see H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges," *Münsterblätter*, Heft 3 und 4, (1883): 1–61; H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Pädagog aus der Zeit des 30 jährigen Krieges," *Neue Blätter aus Süddeutschland für Erziehung und Unterricht*, Heft 2 (1879): 94–142; Hermann Dieterich, *D. Konrad Dieterich, Superintendent und Scholarch in Ulm (1614–1639) und sein Briefwechsel* (Ulm: Höhn, 1938); Monika Hagenmaier, *Predigt und Policey: Der gesellschafts-politische Diskurs zwischen Kirche und Obrigkeit in Ulm 1614–1639* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1989); and Emil Schott, "Der Ulmer Münsterpfarrer Konrad Dieterich (1575–1639) als Sitten- und Schulprediger aus der Zeit des dreißigjährigen Kriegs," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichtswesens* 8 (1918): 114–30.

particular, it was Dieterich's reputation as an educator and school administrator that attracted the attention of the Ulm city council in 1614.<sup>110</sup>

The former superintendent and *Münsterprediger* in Ulm, Johannes Veesenbeck (1548–1612), had died, and the city council sought to find a suitable candidate to fill the vacant positions. In addition, the council hoped that the one appointed to the post could reorganize the *Gymnasium* in Ulm, bringing sorely needed improvements. The search for a candidate was a long one, lasting nearly two years. In July 1612, the Ulm council requested the theological faculties of the universities in Tübingen, Giessen, and Wittenberg suggest candidates for the position. In response, Giessen Professor Balthasar Mentzer recommended Dieterich.<sup>111</sup> In 1613, Hieronymus Schleicher (1568–1631), the *Ratsadvokat* in Ulm, became personally acquainted with Dieterich while on a diplomatic mission to Frankfurt am Main. In January 1614, Schleicher seconded Mentzer's recommendation to the Ulm city council that they consider Dieterich for the positions. On March 5, 1614, Dieterich was invited to come to Ulm.<sup>112</sup> Schleicher received the consent of Ludwig V, Landgraf von Hessen-Darmstadt, for the city to consider calling Dieterich

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<sup>110</sup> See Asmus, 27; and H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Pädagog aus der Zeit des 30 jährigen Krieges," 96. Hermann Dieterich suggests that, for the Ulm council, there was no doubt as to Dieterich's pedagogical qualifications; their chief question was whether or not he was the right person for the position of *Münsterprediger*. This is perhaps one reason for their desire that Dieterich come to Ulm to give a trial sermon in the *Münster*. In addition to other considerations, Dieterich, while preaching, would have to demonstrate the ability of his voice to fill sufficiently the large interior space of the *Münster* in Ulm. See Hermann Dieterich, *D. Konrad Dieterich*, 12.

<sup>111</sup> See Monika Hagenmaier, 47–48. Dieterich was neither the sole, nor the first, candidate considered by the Ulm city council. In the beginning, the council had its eye on Giessen theology professor Kaspar Finck, but Mentzer declined his recommendation, suggesting Dieterich instead. Another candidate was Wittenberg theology professor Leonhard Hütter (1563–1616), who was from Nellingen, near Ulm, and who had twice offered his services for the post. No official reason was given for his rejection by the council, however, Hermann Dieterich suggests that it was perhaps due to doubts about whether Hütter's voice was strong enough for him to be an effective preacher in the Ulm *Münster*. Cf. Hermann Dieterich, 12. Another candidate was Nicholas Hunnius (1585–1643), son of Aegidius Hunnius. In 1613 Nicholas was superintendent in Eulenberg and former (as well as future) theology professor at the University of Wittenberg. Hunnius was rejected for the Ulm position on account of various factors, including a speech impediment, poor preaching ability, and a perceived lack of authority. Cf. Hagenmaier, 48.

<sup>112</sup> Johannes Greiner, "Geschichte der Ulmer Schule," in *Geschichte des Humanistischen Schulwesens in Württemberg. Ulm, Oberschwaben*, vol. 20 (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1914), 43; and Greiner, *Die Ulmer Gelehrtenschule zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts und das akademische Gymnasium. Darstellung und Quellenmaterial* (Ulm: Strom, 1912), 31.

to the positions, as well as for Dieterich's leave of absence to travel to Ulm. Ludwig was not pleased by the request, but nevertheless agreed, and Dieterich went to Ulm in May 1614.<sup>113</sup> On May 5 he preached a *Probepredigt* in the *Münster*, after which he received his appointment to the posts of superintendent and *Münsterprediger*.<sup>114</sup>

During the initial visit to Ulm, the city council expressed the wish that Dieterich receive his doctor of theology degree before beginning his duties.<sup>115</sup> Dieterich returned to Giessen, and shortly thereafter resigned his positions as professor at the university and *Paedagogiarch*. He held his doctoral disputation on the Wittenberg Formula of Concord (1536) under the supervision of Professor Winckelmann and was granted his doctorate.<sup>116</sup> In August 1614, Dieterich and his

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<sup>113</sup> See Hermann Dieterich, 12; H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges," 4.

<sup>114</sup> The sermon Dieterich preached was later published in *Christliche Prob vnd Präsentation Predigte/ Gehalten zu Vlm im Münster/ in Volckreicher Christlicher Versammlung. Die Erste/ den 5. Tag May/ 1614. Jahrs/ Uber die Wort deß Apostels Pauli/ genommen auß der Ersten Epist. an die Cor. am 2. cap. v.1.2. .... Von Cunrad Dieterichen/ damahligen Professorn der Löblichen Universitet Giessen/jetzo aber der H. Schrift Doctorn, Pfarrherrn vnd Superintendenten zu Vlm. Die Ander/ den 24. Augusti, selbigen Jahrs/am Tag deß H. Apostels Bartholomæi/ Vber die Histori vom Berüff deß H. Propheten Elisei, genommen auß dem 1. Büch der König am 19. cap. v. 8 Vnd 2. Büch der König am 2. cap v. 12. &c. Von M. Petro Hubern/ Predigern zu Vlm* (Ulm: Meder, 1614).

<sup>115</sup> Stadtarchiv Ulm Religionsprotokolle 1, May 6, 1614, fol. 439l. Ratsprotokolle 64, May 7, 1614, fol. 259v.; July 22, 1614, fol. 398r. Stadtarchiv Ulm A, Numbers 118 and 120; See also Hagenmaier, 29. Previous superintendents and *Münsterprediger* in Ulm had held doctorates, including Dieterich's predecessor, Johannes Veesenbeck.

<sup>116</sup> This disputation was later published as *DISCURSUS THEOLOGICUS De FORMULA CONCORDIAE, WITTENBERGAE Anno 1536. initae, Quem ... EX DECRETO ET AUCTORITATE VENE-randae Facultatis Theologicae, pro impetrandis in SS. Theologia summis privilegiis & honoribus Doctoralibus, conscripsit, & praeside ... JOHANNE WINCKELMANNO, SS. THEOL. D. ET IN ACADEMIA GIESSENA PROFESSORE PRIMARIO, p.t. Rectore Magnifico, nec non Ecclesiarum superioris Hassiae partis Darmstatinae Superintendente vigilantissimo, &c. Placidae disquisitioni prid. Cal. Iul. in aula Collegii Ludoviciani majori subjicit CUNRADUS DIETERICUS, HACTENUS Philosophiae Moralis Professor & Paedagogiarcha, nunc Ecclesiae Ulmensis Pastor ejusq; ac conjunctarum Superintendens* (Giessen: Nicolaus Hampel, 1614). Dieterich's doctorate cost 177 Florin, 29 Krone/Albusse, a considerable sum—nearly a third of his annual beginning salary in Ulm (as reported in the *Mitteilungen des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins*, [Giessen] vol. 12, 103, quoted by Becker, 168). The Ulm city council paid the *Graduirungskosten*. Cf. H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges," 4. Becker suggests that the high cost of the doctoral degree in theology prevented many candidates from attaining it. Instead, many kept only the title of "licentiate" unless directly ordered by the Landgraf, or other regional authority, to take the degree. Since Dieterich was not in the theological faculty at the University of Giessen, there was really no reason for him to get a doctorate until it was requested by the Ulm city council. Cf. Becker, 168.

family moved to Ulm, and on August 24, Dieterich was formally presented to the congregation in Ulm as superintendent and *Münsterprediger*.<sup>117</sup>

### **Possible Reasons for Dieterich's Decision to Accept the Ulm Positions**

Although nothing has been found in Dieterich's writings directly explaining his reasons for changing careers in 1614, there are several probable reasons to consider. First, Dieterich's previous background as pastor, professor, and school administrator in Marburg and Giessen provided him with useful experience and skills. Given these qualifications, it seems clear that he considered himself capable of carrying out of the new pastoral and supervisory duties in Ulm. Moreover, Giessen had proved an unhealthy place to live in the few years prior to Dieterich's departure. An outbreak of the plague forced the university and *Paedagogium* to shut its doors for an extended period in 1613. In addition, it is possible that there were disagreements among the members of the philosophical faculty at the university regarding pedagogical method. Several professors, including Christoph Helwig, were advocating the adoption of the methods of the educationist Wolfgang Ratichius (1571–1635), even meeting in consultation with him regarding reforms in Giessen. Presumably, these reforms would be introduced into the *Paedagogium* there as well. Dieterich was opposed to many of the ideas and methods of Ratichius, with the result that there could have been conflict in Giessen over the matter.<sup>118</sup> Perhaps the most obvious reason for Dieterich's move to Ulm was that it meant an improvement in his personal circumstances. Professors at universities were often poorly paid in the early seventeenth century. Giessen was no exception, and Becker claims that many professors in the philosophical faculty at the time were materially a little better off than their students.<sup>119</sup> The result was a fairly high turnover in

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<sup>117</sup> Asmus, 30. Dieterich was presented by *Münsterprediger* Peter Huber, whose sermon for the occasion is included in the work above with Dieterich's *Probepredigt*. See fn. 113.

<sup>118</sup> Chapter five of the dissertation will discuss questions of method at Giessen in greater detail.

<sup>119</sup> See Becker, 132–33.

faculty positions, particularly in the philosophical faculties. Many professors sought positions in a higher faculty or left academics altogether in order to find a post offering a better salary. Those who were ordained found it more advantageous to serve as pastors or superintendents. At Giessen, Dieterich was by no means alone in changing positions in order to move up to a better situation.<sup>120</sup> In spite of having to forsake his Hessian homeland and the patronage of Landgraf Ludwig V, Dieterich went to Ulm where he took up his new tasks with the same energy and purposefulness that he had demonstrated in Giessen.

### The Ulm Context

The attraction for Dieterich to the Ulm posts was understandable. Ulm was a free imperial city with a territory of considerable size and a population of approximately 20,000 inhabitants.<sup>121</sup> Situated on the Danube river, it was a leading center of trade between Italy and northern Europe.<sup>122</sup> Economically as well as politically, Ulm was one of the largest and most important

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<sup>120</sup> Becker notes that at Giessen, Professors Helwig, Finck, Steuber, and Tonsor all moved up to the theological faculty. Stumpf became a pastor and Scheibler was named superintendent and *Gymnasiarch* in Dortmund. Finck later left the theological faculty to serve as superintendent in Coburg (263). Dieterich's financial situation in Giessen is not known. However his starting annual salary in Ulm was 600 Florin, along with 40 *Immi* (measures) of spelt, 15 *Immi* of rye, 12 *Klaster* of wood, 100 Florin for travel money, and a fully furnished home (*Nachrichten von Gelehrten, Künstlern und ander merkwürdige Personen aus Ulm*, ed. Albrecht Weyermann, I: 146). Later Dieterich's salary was increased as he took on the duties as *Direktor* of the *Gymnasium* in Ulm (Hagenmaier, 48–49).

<sup>121</sup> Hans Eugen Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, Sonderdruck aus "Der Stadtkreis Ulm," Amtliche Kreisbeschreibung (Ulm: Süddeutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1977), 168; and *Württembergisches Städtebuch. Deutsches Städtebuch. Handbuch städtischer Geschichte*. Band 4 Südwest-Deutschland. 2. Land Baden-Württemberg. Teilband Württemberg, ed. Erich Keyser (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1962), 264. One estimate states that of the approximately 20,000 inhabitants of the city of Ulm, between 1,600 and 1,700 persons regularly received Holy Communion in the church on a Sunday. Cf. *Württembergische Kirchengeschichte*, eds. Gustav Bossert, J. Hartmann, F. Keidel, Christian Kolb (Calw: Calwer Verlagsverein, 1893), 464.

<sup>122</sup> Ulm was a center for international trade in textiles, spices, saffron, and luxury goods. At the time of Dieterich's arrival, the city was perhaps not in the position it had enjoyed earlier in the sixteenth century. Ulm had suffered loss from the sale of fustian/cotton cloth and in metals, in part forfeiting them altogether, but had increased its linen trade. See Maximilian Lanzinner, "Das konfessionelle Zeitalter 1555–1618," in *Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte* (Gebhardt) (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001), 134f.

cities in southwest Germany of the period.<sup>123</sup> Ulm had officially recognized the Reformation in 1530 and at the same time joined the Smalcaldic League.<sup>124</sup> Although initially stamped with a Zwinglian/Swiss orientation, the Reformation in Ulm soon took a Lutheran direction, and the city accepted the Augsburg Confession in 1532. The Augsburg Interim (1548) and the return of Catholicism to Ulm interrupted the course of the Reformation until 1552. The city continued to have significant Catholic, Lutheran, and Zwinglian factions for the next twenty-five years. By 1571, the clergy in Ulm were officially subscribing to the Augustana, the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, and Luther's catechisms.<sup>125</sup> To these were added the Formula of Concord in 1577.<sup>126</sup> By the turn of the seventeenth century, Ulm had become a stronghold of Lutheranism in the southern German lands.

The course of the Reformation in Ulm in the sixteenth century and into the early seventeenth century was greatly influenced from the outside. The city was receptive to the theological ideas of the Lutheran Reformation and to the changes in the practical Christian life which it brought. However, Ulm did not play a decisive role in instituting or establishing the Reformation in southern Germany in comparison to other cities or territories. Other free imperial cities such as Strassburg and Basel, and principalities such as Württemberg, had a profound influence on Ulm. Likewise the universities of Strassburg and Tübingen had a significant impact

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<sup>123</sup> See Martin Brecht and Hermann Ehmer, *Südwestdeutsche Reformationsgeschichte: Zur Einführung der Reformation im Herzogtum Württemberg 1534* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1984), 21.

<sup>124</sup> For more on Ulm and its acceptance of the Reformation, see Brecht and Ehmer, 70–73, 167–74, 390–98; and Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, 106–53.

<sup>125</sup> Friedrich Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte [BWKG]* 38 (1934): 131.

<sup>126</sup> Brecht and Ehmer, 395. The preachers in Ulm, as well as the teachers in the Latin school there, firmly supported the Formula. The city council in Ulm accepted the *Vorrede* to the Formula in 1579. Cf. Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* (1934): 130–31.

on the theological direction in Ulm.<sup>127</sup> Ulm's receptive stance affected its *Kirchenverfassung* and *Kirchenordnung* as well as its catechisms.<sup>128</sup>

### Dieterich as *Münsterprediger*

As *Münsterprediger* in Ulm, Dieterich was given specific pastoral responsibilities. First, he was to preach in the main worship services in the *Münster* on Sundays and festival days, as well as on Thursdays.<sup>129</sup> Hundreds of these sermons were published during Dieterich's lifetime, and his family published hundreds more after his death.<sup>130</sup>

The corpus of Dieterich's published sermons is massive and contains sermons on a wide variety of topics for many different occasions. It includes an extensive collection of expository

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<sup>127</sup> The backgrounds of two men who previously served as superintendents and *Münsterprediger* in Ulm, may, in part, illustrate the role that external influences played in the Reformation in the city. Ludwig Rabus (1524–1590) from Memmingen studied at the University of Wittenberg where he was a student of Luther, and at the University of Tübingen where he was a colleague and close friend of Jakob Andreae. Rabus received his doctor of theology degree from Tübingen and served as pastor in Strassburg for ten years before coming to Ulm. He was superintendent there from 1556 to 1590. He is perhaps best known for his martyrology. See Robert Kolb, *For All the Saints: Changing Perceptions of Martyrdom and Sainthood in the Lutheran Reformation* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1987), 41–83. Johannes Veesenbeck (1548–1612), from Zaysenhausen in Württemberg, studied at the University of Strassburg, then at Tübingen, where he received his doctorate in theology. After serving as pastor and professor of theology at Tübingen, Veesenbeck was superintendent in Ulm from 1590 to 1612. Although both Rabus and Veesenbeck were strong Lutherans, they brought to Ulm and nourished there a distinct brand of Lutheranism that marked much of the southwestern German region. See *Nachrichten von Gelehrten, Künstlern und ander merkwürdige Personen aus Ulm*, vol. 1, 428–32, 520–22.

<sup>128</sup> See Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* (1934): 132. The history of Ulm's catechisms will be discussed at greater length in chapter four.

<sup>129</sup> On Sundays, Dieterich was to preach on the pericopes as prescribed by the *Perikopenordnung*. On Thursdays, he was to preach expository sermons in a *lectio continua* on a book of Bible of his choice. Dieterich was not required to preach at baptisms, marriages, or funerals. Stadtarchiv Ulm, Religionsprotokolle 1, Aug. 29, 1614, f. 449r, 451l; see also Hagenmaier, 29.

<sup>130</sup> For a more detailed discussion of Dieterich's role as preacher in Ulm, and of the various classifications of his sermons, see Hagenmaier, 36–41 and 64–77.



sermons on books of the Bible, for instance, on the seven penitential Psalms,<sup>131</sup> on the book of Ecclesiastes,<sup>132</sup> on the Old Testament apocryphal book of the Wisdom of Solomon,<sup>133</sup> and a series of sermons on the book of Nahum.<sup>134</sup> Another collection of Dieterich's sermons was published as the *Sonderbaren Predigten*, including sermons for special occasions or on particular themes in the life of the church.<sup>135</sup> Some of the sermons in this latter collection had been published previously

<sup>131</sup> *Poenitentialia Davidica, Die Sieben Bußpsalmen deß Königlichen Propheten Davids/ in vnterschiedenen Predigten erkläret vnd außgelegt/Sampt beygefügeten Lehren/ Vnderricht/ Trost/ Straff/ Ermahn= vnnd Warnung/ Auch allerhand Sectirischer Jrrthumben Widerlegung/ auß Grund H. Göttlicher Schrift/ vnd Zeugnußen der Alten Kirchen Vätern/ mit fleiß zusammen getragen. Hiebevord gehalten zu Vlm im Münster/ nunmehr aber auff Be=gehren in offenen Truck geben. Durch Cunrad Dieterich/ der H. Schrift Doctorn/ Vlmischer Kirchen Superintendenten* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1620). This series was published in two sections, the second of which was first published in Ulm in 1621. The series was later reprinted in Ulm (1621), Giessen (1624), Lübeck (1624), and Frankfurt am Main (1660, 1674).

<sup>132</sup> *ECCLESIASTES Das ist: Der Prediger Salomo: In vnterschiedenen Predigen erkläret vnd außgelegt/ darinnen der thörichte Weltwahn vnd dessen Eytelkeit klärlich vor Augen gestellt/ darneben auch mancherley vornehme Theologische/ Politische/ Physische/ Elementarische vnd andere Materien/ so sonst in PopularPredigen nicht vorfallen/ tractirt vnd begriffen werden. Gehalten zu VLM im Münster/ Durch Weiland den WolEhrwürdigen/ Groß= Achtbarn vnd Hochgelahrten Herrn Cunrad Dieterich/ der Heiligen Schrift Doctorn/ Vlmischer Kirchen Hochverdienten Superintendenten ...* (Ulm: Johann Görilin, 1642). This work was published posthumously by Dieterich's children and was printed in two massive sections. It was later reprinted in Nürnberg in 1664.

<sup>133</sup> *Das Buch Der Weißheit Salomons. In vnterschiedenen Predigen erkläret vnd außgelegt/ darinn so wol allerhand gemeine Lehren/ als auch mancherley sonderbare Theologische/ Ethische/ Politische/ Physische/ Elementarische Materien/ so sonst in popularn Predigen nicht vorfallen/ begriffen werden. Gehalten zu Vlm im Münster/ vnd auff einständiges Begehren in offenen Truck geben/ Durch Cunrad Dieterich/ der H. Schrift Doctorn/ Vlmischer Kirchen Superintendenten* (Ulm: Saur, 1627). Part two of this work was published in 1632. It was later reprinted in Nürnberg (1641, 1657, and 1667).

<sup>134</sup> *D. Cunrad Dieterichs/ Ulmischer Kirchen Superintendenten, deß Gymnasii Directorn, vnd Scholarchen/ Seel. Andenckens/ Prophetische Erklär= und Außlegung deß Geistreichen Propheten NAHVM/ Darinnen die Endliche der grossen Stadt NJNJVE weißgesagte Zerstörung vnd Untergang/ in vnterschiedenen Predigten/ neben vielen vornehmen Theologischen vnd Politischen Materien/ so sonst in Popular-Predigten nicht vorkommen/ Der jetzigen Gottlosen verruchten Welt/ bey dem langgewehrten/ auch im Röm. Reich/ respectivè, noch wehredem verderblichen Kriegswesen/ zur Warnung/ klärlich vor Augen gestellet wird. Gehalten zu Ulm im Münster. Auff inständiges Begehren vnd Anhalten/ von den Seinigen in offenen Truck gegeben* (Ulm: Balthasar Kühn, 1658). This work consists of sixty-three sermons on the book of Nahum published by Dieterich's family after his death. A note in the *Vorrede* by Dieterich's son states that each sermon was about one hour in length.

<sup>135</sup> *D. Cunrad Dieterichs/ Vlmischer Kirchen Superintendenten/ Sonderbarer Predigten von vnterschiedenen Materien/ Hiebevord zu Vlm im Münster gehalten/ deren theils in Truck allbereit außgegangen/ Theils aber jetzo von newem in Truck geben/ Erster Theil ... Auff sonderbar Begehren zusammen gedruckt* (Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg, 1632). This series of sermons was published in four parts: 1) "Die Jubel= vnd Kirchweyh=Predigten" (Leipzig, 1632); 2) "Die Neue Jahrspredigten" (Leipzig, 1632); 3) "Die Kriegs=vnd Bußpredigten/ sampt noch einen dieser Zeit hochnößthigen Theologischen Discurs von Kriegs=Raub vnd Beuthen" (Leipzig, 1634); 4) "Die Sontägliche Evangelische Text=Predigten (Schleusingen, 1634)." The entire series was reprinted in Frankfurt am Main/Leipzig in 1669.

while other appeared there for the first time. This series included sermons on civil authority,<sup>136</sup> on natural phenomena (the appearance of a comet in 1618),<sup>137</sup> on war (including discussions of the trials and tribulations brought on by the Thirty Years War), on repentance,<sup>138</sup> and on many other subjects. However, the series also includes sermons of particular interest for this study of Dieterich's catechisms and method, including, for instance, on the nurturing and education of children<sup>139</sup> and on the importance of teaching children the catechism.<sup>140</sup> Other sermons of interest here but not part of this collection are two *Schulpredigten*, focusing on the role of teachers in schools.<sup>141</sup> These sermons and their importance for Dieterich's understanding of catechetical instruction will be considered as needed in chapter four.

<sup>136</sup> For instance, originally published as *Vlmischer Regenten Baum. Von dem Hohen/ grossen/ ästigen Baum/ welchen Nebucadnezar der König zu Babel im Traum gesehen/ Daniel. 4. v 8. seqq. So bey vorgehendem gewöhnlichem Schwörtag/ Sontags den 11. Augusti 1621. Jahrs/ zu Vlm im Münster erklärt vnnd außgelegt. Nunmehr aber auff begehren in Truck geben/ Durch Cunrad Dieterich/ der Heyligen Schrift Doctorn/ Ulmischer Kirchen Superintendenten* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1621).

<sup>137</sup> Originally published as *Vlmische Cometen Predigte, von dem Cometen, so nechst abgewichenen 1618. Jahrs im Wintermonat sich erstenmahls in Schwaben sehen lassen, Darinn nachfolgende drey Puncten gehandelt werden, 1. Was Cometen seyen. 2. Was sie bedeuten. 3. Was uns gegen deren bedeutung vorzunehmen. Gehalten zu Vlm im Münster den 2. Sonntag des Advents, Vnd Auff sonderbares begehren in offnen Druck geben/ Durch Cunrad Dieterich der H. Schrift Doctorn, dero Vlmischen Kirchen Superintendenten* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1619).

<sup>138</sup> Dieterich preached seven sermons on war and repentance, contained in *Sonderbare Predigten*, part 3, 1–95.

<sup>139</sup> Originally published as *Vlmische Kinder Predigt/ Von Wartung/ Pflege vnnd Zucht der Jungen Kinder; Darinn neben andern die Frag außgeführt/ Obs rathsamer vnd besser sey/ daß die Mütter jhre Kinder selbst; Oder durch besondere Ammen säugen lassen; Auß dem Evangelio Lucae 2. v. 40. Am Sonntag nach dem Newen Jahrstag/ zu Vlm im Münster gehalten/ Durch Cunrad Dieterich/ der heyligen Schrift Doctorn/ Vlmischer Kirchen Superintendenten* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1621).

<sup>140</sup> Published in this collection as *Catechismus Predigt. Darin von fleissiger Übung des Catechismi in denen Hauptstücken Christlicher Lehr gehandelt/ und Ursachen außgeführt werden/ warumb dieselbig unter gemeinen Leuten fleissig zu treiben seye. Gehalten zu Ulm am Sonntag nach der H. drey Könige Tag den 8. Januarii Anno 1626. Als daselbsten eine neue Ordnung mit der Praxi des Catechismi publiciert worden. Published in: D. Cunrad Dieterichs/ Ulmischer Kirchen Superintendenten, Sonderbarer Predigten/ So von unterschiedenen Materien/ Hiebevorn zu Ulm im Münster gehalten/ deren theils schon allbereit in offnen Truck außgegangen/ theils jetzo von newem darinn verfertiget worden/ Vierdter Theil. Darinnen die Sontägliche Evangelische Text=Predigten begrieffen werden. Auff sonderbar Begehren zusammen gedruckt* (Schleusingen: Zacharias Schürer, Matthias Götz, 1634), 109–23.

<sup>141</sup> *Zwo Christliche Vlmische Schulpredigten/ Von dem Standt vnnd Ampt/ frommer/ Gottseliger/ trewer Praeceptorn vnd Schulmeistern/ Gehalten zu Vlm im Münster/ bey dem daselbsten gewöhnlichen Schulfest an S. Johannis Baptistae Tag/ Die Erste 1617. Die Andere 1618. Jahrs/ Jetzo aber auff begehren in offentlichen Truck geben/ Durch Cunrad Dieterich/ der H. Schrift Doctorn/ dero Vlmischen Kirchen Superintendenten* (Ulm: Johann Medern, 1618).

Dieterich's sermons reveal that he was an thorough preacher who presented a message to his hearers that was biblical and doctrinal as well as engaging. Perhaps most significantly, the sermons show that Dieterich remained a teacher in the pulpit. His sermons were often instructional lessons in the words of Scripture, and in the Christian faith and life. It is clear that Dieterich considered his role as preacher, in part, was to convey information and instruction in the Christian faith, as well as to proclaim the Word of God to his hearers.

Although Dieterich's sermons make up a large portion of his overall list of publications, they were normally not reprinted very often nor later than thirty-five years after his death. In addition, Dieterich's sermons did not have the broad impact in the German Lutheran arena that his textbooks found. As a result, at least since the mid-seventeenth century, Dieterich has been known more for his pedagogical works, particularly his catechisms, than for his sermons.

Dieterich was given numerous responsibilities in the churches in Ulm, but he could share many preaching and other pastoral duties with additional ministers serving the congregations. During Dieterich's time, there were normally five or six other *Münsterprediger* in the parish. Their tasks included preaching and other areas of parish ministry, but also might include serving as *Bibliothekar*, *Scholarch*, or professors at the *Gymnasium*.<sup>142</sup>

### **Dieterich and Religious Education in the Churches in Ulm**

Much of Dieterich's work during the first half of his career in Ulm involved the reorganization of the city's churches and schools. A major emphasis of his activity was the improvement of religious instruction for the people in the congregations.<sup>143</sup> From the beginning, Dieterich took steps to provide the people with materials that would educate, condition, and

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<sup>142</sup> See Appenzeller, 85–195, *passim*.

<sup>143</sup> See Hagenmaier, 29f.

nourish them in the Christian faith, as well as give structure and discipline to the Christian life. His initial efforts focused on worship and prayer.

In September 1614, Dieterich set about preparing of a new hymn book and a new prayer book for the church in Ulm. These books were both first published in 1617.<sup>144</sup> Dieterich himself selected the hymns for the new hymnal.<sup>145</sup> The 146 hymns in the new book were divided into five classifications, one of which was as a collection of catechetical hymns entitled “The Six Chief Parts of Christian Doctrine in Song.”<sup>146</sup> Although such a classification of catechetical hymns was not unusual for the period, it nevertheless demonstrates Dieterich’s continuing interest in and emphasis on catechetical teaching in the lives of people in the church.

The prayer book issued by Dieterich was intended for practical use by pastors as well as lay people. It consisted of prayers for all occasions, most of them to be used in worship services. In his preface to the work, Dieterich suggests that young country pastors may find the book useful, particularly when visiting the sick. However, Dieterich also states that the book is for the “Gemeinen Mann,” and says that parishioners may follow along in worship, reading and

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<sup>144</sup> The first editions of these books have been lost, but the printings from 1620 and 1621 survive. The new hymnal appeared as *Christliche Kirchengesänge von Außerlesenen Psalmen und Geistlichen Liedern/ Auß Herrn D. Martin Luthers und anderer Gottseligen Lehrer Gesängen/ Für die Ulmische Kirchen unnd Schulen/ in Statt und auffm Land/ zusammen getragen und in Truck verfertiget* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1620). This hymnal was expanded and reprinted in 1623; it was reprinted again in 1679, and repeatedly afterward. An earlier, smaller collection of funeral hymns, selected by Dieterich himself, was published in Ulm in 1616: *Geistliche Psalmen und Lieder/ Bey Christlichen Leichbegängnissen und bestattungen dero im HERRN entschlaffenen Christen/ zusingen und zugebrauchen/ Dem Gemeinen Mann zu gutem in offenen Truck zusammen getragen* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1616). This collection of funeral hymns was incorporated into the later hymnal. See Fritz, “Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)” *BWKG* (1934): 86–87. The new prayer book was published as *Christliche Kirchengebet/ So auff die vornembste Fest vnd Jahrzeiten/ wie auch die gemeine Sonn: vnd Bettage in denen Vlmischen Kirchen gebraucht werden/ Mit angehengten Gebet=lein/ Welche bey der Beicht/ Absolution vnd Abendmahl/ auch den Krancken vnnd Patienten absonderlich zusammen ge=tragen/ &c.* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1621). This book was reprinted in 1621, 1624, and 1655. In 1689 it was reissued in an expanded edition.

<sup>145</sup> Fritz, “Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612),” *BWKG* (1934): 87.

<sup>146</sup> “Die sechs Hauptstücke christlicher Lehre in Lieder gebracht.” See Fritz, “Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)” *BWKG* (1934): 87.

speaking the prayers themselves, and thus increase their understanding and devotion.<sup>147</sup> Thus, although the work is a book of prayers, Dieterich intends that it also serve to educate and cultivate the religious faith and lives of his parishioners in a practical manner.<sup>148</sup>

In 1617 Dieterich issued a new *Kirchenagende* for use in the churches in Ulm and its surrounding territory. This work would serve as the official agenda in Ulm for well over one hundred years.<sup>149</sup> Pertaining to catechetical instruction in the churches and in worship services, the agenda prescribed that one or two chief parts of the catechism, together with Luther's explanations, were to be read aloud in Sunday services. This was to be practiced particularly in the congregations in the territory outside the city of Ulm, where there were more people who had not attended school and were unable to read. Thus the hearing of the catechism would enable the

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<sup>147</sup> From Dieterich's *Vorrede* in *Christliche Kirchengebet*, 1:

Demnach hiebevorn etzliche wenig Gebett/ so auff die vornembste Jahrzeiten gerichter in offentlichen Truck dieses Orts außgangen/ Unnd aber deren Exemplarien alle mit einander distrahiert/ daß keine mehr für den Gemeinen Mann zu bekommen/ .... Wie nicht wenigens etliche andere/ welche bey abhandlung der Beicht/ Absolution und Abendmahls vor und nach können gesprochen werden/ hierzu setzen wollen/ Damit also ein jeder/deren zu einem Feyer: Sontäg: unnd Wochentlichen Kirchen Manual füglichen gebrauchen/Und auß demselbigen mit und neben dem Prediger allezeit die gemeine Gebett der Kirchen mit desto besserm Verstand und Andacht Lesen/ Betten unnd sprechen möge/ Sind inn gleichem den Jungen Predigern auff dem Landt/ Als auch Patienten unnd Krancken wartern ins gemein zu gutem/ etzliche Krancken Gebettlein/ sich deren auff begebende Fälle nutzlich zu gebrauchen/ mit angehefftet worden. Weil dann nun die Christliche Kirchen waffen fürnemblich in einem Glaubigen andächtigen Gebett/ so zu diesen unsern betrübten letsten zeiten hoch von nöthen/ bestehen/ So wollestu/ geliebter Christlicher Leser/ dich unsrer vorhabenden Kirchen-gebetlein forderst zu deiner selbst eygenen Seeligkeit/ dann auch der gemeinen Kirchen Heyl und Wohlfarth bestes Nutzens gebrauchen/ Auch dieses unser wolgemeintes intent dir Christlichen belieben/ und unsere Kirchen ins gemein zum besten recommendiret sein lassen.

<sup>148</sup> For more on the intentions and uses for prayerbooks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Cornelia Niekus Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror: Reading Material for German Girls in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, Band 36 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), 77–86; and Moore, "Lutheran Prayer books for Children as Usage Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" in *Gebetsliteratur der Frühen Neuzeit als Hausfrömmigkeit: Funktionen und Formen in Deutschland und den Niederlanden*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, Band 92 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 113–29.

<sup>149</sup> The new *Kirchenagende* for Ulm was first published in 1617. It appeared as *Form, Verrichtung: 1. Der Heyligen Tauffe, 2. Deß Heil. Abendmahls, 3. Der Ehe-Einsegnung, 4. Der Ordination dero newen Kirchendiener, 5. Der Sonn- und Wochentägliche Kirchen-Gebet: Wie die in denen Ulmischen Kirchen, ihren ublichen Christlichen Ceremonien nach gebrauchet werden* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1622). The first edition from 1617 does not survive. The work was published in 1700, 1722, and as late as 1752. This new agenda gave Ulm its own orders of service. It replaced the agenda borrowed from the Württemberg *Kirchenordnung* and the *Augsburger Ordnung* which had been used in Ulm ever since the end of the Augsburg Interim in 1554. The new agenda bore resemblances to that of Württemberg, but it was adapted to the unique characteristics of the Ulm churches. See Friedrich Fritz, "Zur Geschichte des Gottesdiensts in der ulmischen Kirche," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte*, 35 (1931): 108–09; and Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* (1934): 82, 90.

people to learn and grasp its content and meaning.<sup>150</sup> The new agenda established Luther's Small Catechism as the catechism for public reading in worship services. It had formerly been the custom in Ulm to hold *Katechismuspredigten*, or catechetical sermons, on Sunday afternoons, followed by the *Katechismusverhör*, or period of catechetical questioning. The agenda provided a full description of the *Katechismusgottesdienst*, the worship service, for the purpose of catechetical instruction. The catechetical service was to be held every second Sunday in the *Barfüßerkirche* in Ulm, the church designated for catechetical teaching and for the purposes of some religious instruction in the *Gymnasium* in Ulm.<sup>151</sup> *Katechismuspredigten* were preached in the church from 1615 to 1808.<sup>152</sup> (The catechetical service will be discussed in chapter four.)

Early during his tenure in Ulm, Dieterich also turned his attention to the publication of instructional works for children and youth. In 1616 he issued two books for use in homes and German schools in Ulm and its territory, the *Spruchbüchlein* and the *Zuchtbüchlein*. The *Spruchbüchlein* was a book of passages for memorization, including the ABCs, Scriptural texts (sixty-four alphabetized passages), sections of the catechism, and prayers.<sup>153</sup> The book was intended for use chiefly by parents and school teachers in the training of children in the Christian faith and devotion. Its purpose was to provide younger children with foundational religious instruction, and it was most likely used prior to advanced catechetical teaching and to the reading

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<sup>150</sup> See Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* (1934): 91.

<sup>151</sup> Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* (1934): 91.

<sup>152</sup> See Max Schefold, "Zur Baugeschichte der Ulmer Barfüßerkirche," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 35 (1931): 214.

<sup>153</sup> *Biblisches Spruchbuech=lein/ darinn vnterschiede=ne vornehme Sprueche der Heil. Schrift/ zu Erbau= vnd Fortpflanzung der Gottseligkeit bey der SchulJugend zusammen getragen/ Fuer die Vlmische Teutsche Schulen/ in der Stadt vnd auff dem Land. Mit einer Vorrede An Christliche Eltern vnd Schul=meister darinnen vermeldet/ worzu diß Spruch=buechlein angesehen/ vnd wie solches mit der Schuljugend zu treiben sey. Jetzo von Newen vbersehen* (Ulm: Balthasar Kuehnen, 1656). This book was printed first in Ulm in 1616, then later in 1619, 1656, 1668, 1691, 1693, 1775–79, and 1785. In addition, it was printed in Wertheim (1630), Onolzbach (1690), Tübingen (1690), and Nördlingen (1796). Dieterich's *Spruchbüchlein* was also revised and used in schools throughout the *Herzogtum* Württemberg in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

of the Bible itself.<sup>154</sup> Dieterich's *Spruchbüchlein* was the first of its kind in the southern German lands and served as the basis for all of the *Spruchbücher* officially used in Württemberg in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>155</sup>

Dieterich's *Zuchtbüchlein* was a book of Christian discipline for young people and was also intended for use in homes and German schools.<sup>156</sup> The book contained verses prescribing how children should behave in various situations following the guidelines of the Christian faith and life. In addition, the book provides prayers for children for a wide variety of occasions, along with prayers from the catechism and other educational and devotional material.<sup>157</sup>

### **A New Catechism for the Churches and German Schools in Ulm**

When Dieterich arrived in Ulm, the official catechism used in the churches and schools was a text composed of parts of various southern German catechisms.<sup>158</sup> In 1615, Dieterich proposed to the Ulm city council that it once again introduce Luther's Small Catechism for use in the city

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<sup>154</sup> A more detailed discussion of the material in Dieterich's *Spruchbüchlein* will be taken up in chapter four with regard to Dieterich's understanding of Christian education and catechesis. For more on the *Spruchbücher* for children and young people in this period, including a brief consideration of Dieterich's *Spruchbüchlein*, see Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror*, 71ff., and 151.

<sup>155</sup> See J. Haller, "Die Geschichte des Spruchbuchs in Württemberg," *Neue Blätter aus Süddeutschland für Erziehung und Unterricht* 29 (1900): 69–70. Dieterich's Ulm *Spruchbüchlein* was also foundational for the *Spruchbüchlein* for Baden. Cf. August Erckenbrecht, *Geschichte des Kirchlichen Unterrichts und seine Lehrbücher in der Markgrafschaft Baden (1556–1821)*. Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für Kirchengeschichte in der evang. Landeskirche Badens, Band 21 (Karlsruhe: Verl. evang. Landeskirche Badens, 1961), 51–58.

<sup>156</sup> *Christliches Zuchtbuechlein/ Allerhand feiner Sit=ten und Tugenden/ deren sich junge Leuth in Gottseligem Wesen und Geberden/ bey sich selbst und gegen maenniglich befließigen sollen. Mit den vornemsten und gebraeuchlichsten Reimen=Ge=bettlein/ die weder im Ulmischen Catechis=mo/ Bett= und Spruch=Buechlein/ noch in der Bettstund begriffen/ auf die vornemste Zeit und Noth fuer die Schulkinder und andere/ im Leben und Sterben nutzlich zu gebrauchen. Samt einem kurtzen Bibli=schen Nahmen=Buechlein; Der Christlichen Jugend zum besten zusam=men getragen/ und an etlichen Or=ten verbessert* (Ulm: Christian Balthasar Kuehnen, 1674). First issued in 1616, this work was reprinted in 1674, 1693, 1745–75, 1775–79, and 1785. Earlier editions of the book have been lost. Although it is commonly attributed to Dieterich, there is doubt as to whether he actually authored or compiled the book himself. Its content appears to have been largely borrowed from an existing work, printed in Strassburg, then revised and printed in Ulm. Whatever the book's origin, it seems certain that Dieterich approved of its publication and use in Ulm. Cf. Hagenmaier, 30, fn. 108.

<sup>157</sup> For more on the books of discipline and virtue as a genre, see Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror*, 86–108.

<sup>158</sup> The history of catechisms in Ulm will be discussed in chapter four.

and its territory.<sup>159</sup> The council gave its consent, and the new catechism appeared in the following year, becoming the official catechism for use in the churches and schools in Ulm.<sup>160</sup> The catechism consisted of the text of Luther's catechism, augmented with selections from the small catechism of Johannes Brenz and the previous Ulm catechism published by Ludwig Rabus in 1561.<sup>161</sup> Dieterich's *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers* was the official text for catechetical instruction of the churches and German schools in Ulm from its first publication in 1616 until 1680, and its unofficial use continued long after this period.<sup>162</sup> The work saw five editions and was printed in Ulm at least nine times between 1616 and 1781.

### Dieterich As Superintendent

Dieterich's duties as superintendent were virtually the same as those of his predecessors.<sup>163</sup> His tasks were limited by the city council, which, based on the documents related to Dieterich's

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<sup>159</sup> Religionsprotokolle, March 27, 1615. See also Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* (1934), 92.

<sup>160</sup> *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers/ be=neben den Fragen deß Summari=schen begriffs der sechs Hauptstucken Christlicher Lehr/ &c. Mit Angehengetem Christli=cher Unterricht/ für Junge vnd einfältige Leut/ welche begehren zum Heyligen Abend=mal zugehen/ Auch etliche Kinder= vnd Schulgebettlein/ Für Vlmische Kirchen vnnnd Schulen in Statt vnd Land* (Ulm: Jonam Saur, 1629). The first edition of this catechism from 1616 is no longer extant. It was reprinted in 1629, 1639, 1641, 1662, 1693, ca. 1745, 1779, and 1781.

<sup>161</sup> A discussion of Dieterich's 1616 Ulm catechism and its textual history will be taken up in chapter four.

<sup>162</sup> Ulm had had German schools since the fifteenth century. At the time of Dieterich's arrival in 1614 there were five German schools in the city. Another school was added in 1622. At the encouragement of the clergy in the city, school attendance was made mandatory in 1626. The schools offered an elementary education for boys and girls in reading, writing, basic mathematics, singing, and catechetical instruction. Children normally began to attend school at the age of six. What role, if any, Dieterich played in the administration of the German schools in the city of Ulm and its territory is not known. See H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des dreißigjährigen Krieges," 7; H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Pädagog aus der Zeit des 30 jährigen Krieges," 97; Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* (1934): 112; Fritz, "Ulm und seine evangelische Kirche im Zeitalter des dreißigjährigen Krieges," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 45 (1941): 64; Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, 153–54; and Gerd Zillhardt, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg in zeitgenössischer Darstellung. Hans Heberles "Zeytgeister" (1618–1672). Aufzeichnungen aus dem Ulmer Territorium. Ein Beitrag zu Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsverständnis der Unterschichten* (Ulm/Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1975), 41.

<sup>163</sup> Stadtarchiv Ulm A, Anstellung und Besoldung der Geistlichen, Nos., 4 and 45, Dienstvertrag Rabus (1560), Veessenbeck (1590). See Hagenmaier, 49.



call to Ulm, did not wish to grant the superintendents excessive authority or powers.<sup>164</sup> Although the tasks were rather vaguely outlined, his basic responsibility was described as follows: first, in preaching and pastoral care he was to be obliged to uphold pure doctrine in accordance with the Augsburg Confession and the Formula of Concord; moreover, regarding all matters of the evangelical faith, he was to advise and make recommendations to the city council; and finally he was to take a leading role in the educational system in the city.<sup>165</sup> Beyond these basic tasks, Dieterich was expected to involve himself in other religious matters, in customs regarding church ceremonies, and the church and school *Ordnungen*, and he was to oversee the other clergy in the city and territory of Ulm.<sup>166</sup>

In 1615 Dieterich conducted a territorial visitation of the clergy, congregations, and schools of Ulm. They had been part of the custom or routine practice starting in 1532 with visitations taking place every second or third year.<sup>167</sup> In his examination of the churches and schools, Dieterich found the rural areas and villages in the worst condition, an unsurprising pattern there since Reformation days. Church attendance was low, and the children were neglecting, or did not know, the catechism.<sup>168</sup> In the years that followed, Dieterich's overall concern for the revitalization and improvement of catechetical instruction in the city of Ulm and its territories

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<sup>164</sup> For more on the relationship between Dieterich and the Ulm city council, see Hagenmaier, 46ff. and 78ff.

<sup>165</sup> Stadtarchiv Ulm, A, No. 128, f. 1. See also Hagenmaier, 49.

<sup>166</sup> See Hagenmaier, 50.

<sup>167</sup> The 1615 visitation record can be found in the Ulm Stadt Archiv, A [9063/1], fol. 156–166. For a history of the visitations in Ulm before the time of Dieterich, see Julius Endriß, *Die Ulmer Kirchenvisitationen der Jahre 1557-1615* (Ulm: Höhn, 1937); see also *Repertorium der Kirchenvisitationsakten aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Archiven der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, ed. Ernst Walter Zeeden, Band 2: Baden-Württemberg, Teilband 2 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1987).

<sup>168</sup> Endriß, 33. Gerald Strauss also comments on the situation in the Ulm territory in his *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 297–98. Both Endriß (35) and Strauss (297) come to the conclusion that, because of poor church attendance and little knowledge of the catechism, the Reformation had made little or no progress in Ulm. Many factors may be brought forth to refute this notion, not the least of which are the numerous positive effects of the Reformation on the churches and schools in Ulm.

was perhaps due in part to the results of this early visitation. This echoed Luther's reaction when he found miserable conditions in the Saxon congregations nearly a hundred years earlier. It only served to show that catechesis was a never-ending uphill struggle. Other events could complicate the best intentions for regular visitations. In Ulm local visitations of the territorial churches and schools were not conducted in 1617. In 1622 the decision was made to suspend all visitations due to the outbreak of the war and problems associated with the plague and other dangers of the time.<sup>169</sup> The next local visitations in Ulm did not take place until after Dieterich's time, in 1656 and 1666.<sup>170</sup>

Although visitations were no longer held after 1615, Dieterich did maintain the former Ulm practice, of requiring all local pastors to participate in theological disputations. These were held four times a year in the *Barfüßerkirche* in Ulm. The older students in the *Gymnasium academicum* in Ulm also participated in the disputations.<sup>171</sup> In addition, Dieterich initiated the custom in 1621 of requiring pastors to preach sermons in the *Münster* on the afternoon of festival days.<sup>172</sup> Presumably, the preaching of these sermons would serve as a means of examining the pastors, in lieu of local visitations in their parishes. Needless to say, the suspension of visitations

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<sup>169</sup> Endriß, 38.

<sup>170</sup> Julius Endriß, *Die Ulmer Kirchenvisitationen des 17. und 18. Jhs.* (Ulm, Höhn, 1938), 7. Endriß reports that after 1665, a new spirit of Pietism was evident in the region, which did not erase, but build upon, the *Ordnungen* established by Dieterich and others before him (7).

<sup>171</sup> See Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* (1934): 75–76. Fritz notes that soon after this practice began, eighteen rural and village pastors were excused from this responsibility on account of their advanced age, and "because they were not qualified in opposing or responding" in the disputations ["weil sie zum Opponieren und Respondieren nicht qualifiziert seien"] (Fritz, *idem*, 76, quoting from Stadtarchiv Ulm, Religionsprotokolle, April 28, September 1, 1615, June 3, November 8, 1616, January 15, 1617, March 31, 1618.) Elsewhere, Fritz reports that at the turn of the seventeenth century, similar disputations were required of pastors in Württemberg. Pastors were to participate in theological debates as well as be in attendance. Much as in the case in Ulm, older pastors resisted this practice. Fritz, "Die württembergische Pfarrer im Zeitalter des dreißigjährigen Krieges," *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 33 (1929): 229–30.

<sup>172</sup> Stadtarchiv Ulm, Religionsprotokolle, December 7, 1621. See also Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* (1934): 76. Weyermann states that pastors were paid two *Gulden* for such preaching. *Nachrichten von Gelehrten, Künstlern und ander merkwürdige Personen aus Ulm*, ed. Albrecht Weyermann, vol. 1, 147.

made it more difficult for Dieterich to examine and evaluate the conditions in rural congregations. Nevertheless, his attempts to reform the catechetical practice in the churches and schools seem to be one way Dieterich sought to resolve the problem. The lack of visitation reports from Ulm during this time also makes it more difficult to determine whether Dieterich's efforts at improvement met with success or failure.

### The *Gymnasium* in Ulm<sup>173</sup>

Dieterich played a leading role in the reform of the *Gymnasium* in Ulm and served as its director for seventeen years. The city had a Latin school as early as the thirteenth century, initially connected with the parish church.<sup>174</sup> Its curriculum was reformed during the Reformation and given a humanist stamp. The new emphasis was on languages and religious instruction, but rhetoric and dialectic were also taught using Melancthon's textbooks. In 1613, the year before Dieterich arrived in Ulm, a new *Schulordnung* was enacted. The school was expanded from five to six classes, or levels. Students did not automatically move up a level each year, though that was possible. Promotion came based on competence. In the new order for the school, much greater stress was placed on dialectic and rhetoric, and courses in history and music were also added. In addition, the order directed that the older students hold public declamations and disputations four times a year.

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<sup>173</sup> The history of the Latin school and *Gymnasium* in Ulm has been well documented. See especially: Johannes Greiner, "Geschichte der Ulmer Schule," in *Geschichte des Humanistischen Schulwesens in Württemberg. Ulm, Oberschwaben*, vol. 20 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1914), 1–90; Greiner, *Die Ulmer Gelehrteschule zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts und das akademische Gymnasium. Darstellung und Quellenmaterial* (Ulm: Strom, 1912) which contains reprints of *Schulordnungen*; and Hans Eugen Specker, "Das Ulmer Gymnasium Academicum in seiner Bedeutung für die Reichstadt Ulm," in *Stadt und Universität im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Stadt in der Geschichte, Band 3, eds. Erich Maschke und Jürgen Sydow (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1977), 142–60.

<sup>174</sup> See Herbert Wiegandt, *Ulm: Geschichte einer Stadt* (Weißenhorn: Konrad, 1989), 165. From an early date there was also instruction in the cloisters in Ulm, but this was reserved for oblates and novices. For more on the early history of the Latin school in Ulm, see Greiner, "Geschichte der Ulmer Schule," 1–20; and Specker, "Das Ulmer Gymnasium Academicum in seiner Bedeutung für die Reichstadt Ulm," 142–46.

When Dieterich arrived in Ulm in 1614, the new *Ordnung* was still in the process of being implemented. (It should be noted that at this point the school was first called a *Gymnasium*.) The *Rektor* of the Latin school, Johann Baptist Hebenstreit (rector, 1610–23), had been given the task of writing new dialectic and rhetoric textbooks for use in the school. He took too much time in completing this project and was eventually relieved of it. By 1616 eight of Dieterich's textbooks were being used in the school in Ulm.<sup>175</sup> As early as 1617, the *Gymnasium* in Ulm had 600 students, and by 1620, Dieterich boasted that the Ulm school was not to be held in comparison with other schools of its kind—indeed it had far surpassed them.<sup>176</sup>

In 1622 the school in Ulm was officially revamped as a *Gymnasium academicum*.<sup>177</sup> An assembly, or *Konvent*, in Ulm under the leadership of Dieterich proposed the reorganization to the city council, which readily approved it. An additional class, the seventh, was added to the school. The models for this change were the *Gymnasium illustre* in Giessen, as well as other recently restructured schools such as those in Strassburg and Herborn.<sup>178</sup> In many respects, the

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<sup>175</sup> See Greiner, *Die Ulmer Gelehrteschule zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts und das akademische Gymnasium. Darstellung und Quellenmaterial*, 32; and Greiner, *Geschichte der Ulmer Schule*, 44. The eight works by Dieterich used at the school in Ulm were the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, the *Epitome praeceptorum Catecheticorum*, the *Institutiones Rhetoricae*, the *Epitome praeceptorum rhetoricae*, the *Institutiones Dialecticae*, the *Epitome praeceptorum dialecticae*, the *Institutiones Oratoriae*, and the *Epitome praeceptorum oratoriae*. As of 1613 (and until 1615/16), the Latin school in Ulm was using Hütter's *Compendium locorum theologicorum* for religion instruction from the fourth through first classes. (Hütter's work was first published in Wittenberg in 1610; it was reprinted in Ulm in 1613.) As mentioned above, after the death of Veesebeck, the superintendent and *Münsterprediger* in Ulm, in 1612, Leonhard Hütter had applied for the position as Veesebeck's successor, but was rejected by the Ulm city council. Next, Hütter recommended that Ulm expand its Latin school into a *Gymnasium academicum*, and offered his services as *Rektor*. (Hütter, who was from Nellingen, just outside Ulm, wanted to return, and was apparently suffering under the high cost of living in Wittenberg. His father, also named Leonhard, had formerly been *Münsterprediger* in Ulm.) In Wittenberg, Hütter was also *Inspektor* of the *Stipendiaten* from Ulm and was in regular communication with school and church administrators there. Hütter was likewise rejected as *Rektor* in Ulm. However, the city council did take up his suggestion about expanding the Latin school. See Greiner, "Geschichte der Ulmer Schule," 35, 43; and Greiner, *Ulmer Gelehrteschule*, 31; and Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg," *BWKG* (1934): 74.

<sup>176</sup> See H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges," 7–8; and Greiner, *Geschichte der Ulmer Schule*, 34.

<sup>177</sup> This school would serve as the highest academic institution in the city until its closure in 1810.

<sup>178</sup> See Greiner, *Ulmer Gelehrteschule*, 37; Greiner, *Geschichte der Ulmer Schule*, 45; Specker, "Das Ulmer Gymnasium Academicum in seiner Bedeutung für die Reichstadt Ulm," 147; and Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, 157.

humanist curriculum of the Ulm school was similar to those found in Giessen and Strassburg, with a course of instruction intended to provide students with a strong educational foundation geared also toward effective application in practical life.

According to the proposal drafted by Dieterich, the objective of the school was to be of benefit to the whole city and its territory, but particularly to its churches and schools. Here Dieterich echoes Luther's emphasis on education being important for the preservation of both church and society.<sup>179</sup> The new school was to train up children in Ulm, "so that today or tomorrow they may be of service to the churches and schools in the city and in the country, that alongside philosophy they may teach theology, and afterwards instruct in all other philosophical sciences."<sup>180</sup> The school educated not only those destined for university study, but also the children of the artisans in Ulm, as well as those from outside the city and its territory.<sup>181</sup> The *Gymnasium* was housed in the buildings of the former Franciscan cloister across the square from the *Münster* in Ulm. The complex included the *Barfüßerkirche*, which was renovated and became, among other things, the church building designated for catechetical instruction in the city and for some religious activities associated with the *Gymnasium*.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> E.g., Luther, *To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany that they Establish and Maintain Christian Schools* (1524), *LW* 45: 347–78; *WA* 15: 27–53.

<sup>180</sup> "Damit darin solche statt- und land-kinder auferzogen, so heut oder morgen kirchen unnd schulen in statt und auf dem land nutzlich vorstehen möchten, als were nechst unnd neben der philosophia auch die theologia zu dociren und nach derselbigen alle andere scientiae philosophicae zu richten." *Scholarchen und visitorum vorschlag, wie die erhöhung der lateinischen schulen mit denen lectionibus publicis vorzunehmen und ins werckh zu ziehen*, [hereafter, *Vorschlag*] Ulm Stadtarchiv Ulm, A [1967] und *Gymnasium*, 8, reprinted in Greiner, *Ulmer Gelehrtschule*, 79.

<sup>181</sup> See H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Pädagog aus der Zeit des 30 jährigen Krieges," 97; and Wiegandt, 165–66. H. A. Dieterich notes that after the plague closed the Ulm *Gymnasium* for half of the year in 1635, the following year saw 280 students at the school, 112 of whom were from wealthy families and 168 were from poor families (97).

<sup>182</sup> See Schefold, 214; and Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, 155. The refectory of the former Franciscan cloister was converted into an auditorium in 1617. The room served as a lecture hall for the seventh class and as the place where disputations, declamations, and other ceremonial school activities were held (Greiner, *Ulmer Gelehrtschule*, 33). The *Barfüßerkirche* and the other remaining buildings of the complex were destroyed in World War Two and not rebuilt.

The Ulm *Gymnasium* was divided into two sections, the lower level *Gymnasium* and the upper level *Akademie* (or *Gymnasium academicum*). This division is similar to that between the *Paedagogium* and the *Gymnasium illustre* in Giessen. Instructors in Ulm's lower school were "preceptors," while in the *Gymnasium academicum* they were called "professors." In 1623 the higher academic division of the *Gymnasium* had forty-five students, or *Hörer*.<sup>183</sup> Although serving as a preparatory institution to the university, the *Gymnasium academicum* did have some things in common with a university. It had both a philosophical faculty and theological faculty. At the beginning, the decision was made not to have faculties in medicine or law, although the option to add them remained.<sup>184</sup> The curriculum in the school was designed to replace the first two years of university study, offering instruction in theology, Greek, Hebrew, metaphysics, logic, rhetoric, ethics, history, physics, mathematics, and poetry.<sup>185</sup> The school did not grant degrees (B.A. or M.A.), but nevertheless provided much of the instruction necessary for those degrees. Students could leave the Ulm school after three to four years of study, go to a university, and after one year at most receive the degree of Master of Arts.<sup>186</sup> Perhaps it was the plan, or at least the hope, that one day Ulm could have its own university. However, the onset and disruptions of the

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<sup>183</sup> Greiner, *Geschichte der Ulmer Schule*, 47.

<sup>184</sup> *Vorschlag*, in Greiner, *Ulmer Gelehrtenschule*, 79; see also Specker, "Das Ulmer Gymnasium Academicum in seiner Bedeutung für die Reichstadt Ulm," 148.

<sup>185</sup> Greiner, *Geschichte der Ulmer Schule*, 45; Wiegandt, 164; and Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, 156.

<sup>186</sup> This was the objective, according to Dieterich's proposal passed by the Ulm city council in 1622. Cf. the text of Dieterich's *Vorschlag* reprinted in Greiner, *Ulmer Gelehrtenschule*, 78; see also Greiner, *Geschichte der Ulmer Schule*, 46.

Thirty Years War and the difficult challenges of supporting and maintaining a civic university made this goal impossible.<sup>187</sup>

At the time of the organization of the *Gymnasium academicum* in 1622, Dieterich was named its first *Direktor*, a position which he held until his death in 1639. His duties included supervision of the professors and students as well as their discipline. He oversaw the examination of students before their admission to the school as well as the process of matriculation. In addition, he monitored the diligence and didactic abilities of the professors as well as the industry and progress of the students.<sup>188</sup> Dieterich did not teach at the school, but he was extensively involved in its educational program and an attentive supervisor and administrator. Dieterich's enthusiasm for his office as *Direktor* of the Ulm *Gymnasium* became the stuff of legend. According to one account, a half-century after Dieterich's death, citizens in Ulm still had vivid memories of his activities at the school, including his daily visits, inspections, and interactions with students.<sup>189</sup>

As noted, eight of Dieterich's textbooks were used in the Ulm *Gymnasium* after 1616.

However, in the higher division—the *Gymnasium academicum*—only two of Dieterich's works

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<sup>187</sup> Albrecht Weyermann suggests that the *Gymnasium* was expanded in Ulm in 1622, in part because the outbreak of the Thirty Years War made it dangerous for students to travel to and reside in many regions of Germany. Thus it was to the city's advantage to enlarge the *Gymnasium* and its curriculum, offering local students an alternative to the first few years of university study. *Nachrichten von Gelehrten, Künstlern und anderer merkwürdige Personen aus Ulm*, ed. Albrecht Weyermann, vol. 1, 147; see also H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges," 8; Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* (1934): 74; and Greiner, *Geschichte der Ulmer Schule*, 45. It is also to be noted that the 1622 *Ordnung* for the new school recalled all *Stipendiaten* from Ulm studying at universities, requiring them to continue their studies in Ulm and there to also gain practical experience (Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, 159). The suggestion of Weyermann and others has merit. While the dangers presented by the war may certainly have been factors, it also seems clear that the Ulm city council had planned to reorganize and even expand the school years before the outbreak of the war. See Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, 157–58.

<sup>188</sup> Greiner, *Geschichte der Ulmer Schule*, 46; and Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, 159.

<sup>189</sup> In his *Vorrede* to Dieterich's *Theologische Consilia und Bedencken* (published posthumously in 1689) Johannes Frick (1634–89), professor of logic and *Münsterprediger* in Ulm (as well as the husband of Dieterich's granddaughter), relates details regarding Dieterich's attitudes toward the school and his activities in it. Among these, Frick notes that Dieterich had a special attachment to and liking ["sonderbahre Affection und Neigung"] for education that did not change over time. *HERRN D. Conrad Dieterichs ... vortreffliche und kernhaffte Theologische CONSILIA und Bedencken*, (iijf. See also H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Pädagog aus der Zeit des 30jährigen Krieges," 96.

were read: the *Institutiones dialecticae*, and the *Institutiones oratoriae*.<sup>190</sup> Yet while only two of Dieterich's texts were prescribed in the *Vorschlag* for the advanced *Gymnasium academicum*, it may be presumed that most students in the higher academic division would have studied Dieterich's other works previously in the lower levels of the *Gymnasium*. So while Dieterich's *Institutiones catecheticae* and its epitome were not read in the higher academic division, they were still a foundation laid in the lower classes.<sup>191</sup> The reason for not mentioning these works at the higher level is simple: Dieterich's *Institutiones catecheticae* and the *Epitome catechetica* were intended for use at the *Paedagogium/Gymnasium* level, and not for a theological faculty at the *Gymnasium academicum*, in many ways equivalent to a university. In his *Vorschlag*, Dieterich prescribes that students in the *Gymnasium academicum* read the Augsburg Confession, followed by Balthasar Mentzer's exegesis on the *Augustana*,<sup>192</sup> or a compendium of theological commonplaces.<sup>193</sup> Thus it seems clear that Dieterich understood his own catechetical instructional works as preparatory for university(-level) study in theology.

The *Gymnasium academicum* was important for the city of Ulm—in the seventeenth century and afterwards—for several reasons. First, it was significant for cultivating civic pride

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<sup>190</sup> See Dieterich's *Vorschlag* for the *Gymnasium academicum*, reprinted in Greiner, *Ulmer Gelehrtenschule*, 80.

<sup>191</sup> It should be noted that the epitome of the *Institutiones catecheticae* used in the Ulm school was not the same as the text Dieterich had published in Giessen. The epitome used in Ulm was *Epitome praeceptorum Catechetorum, in usum classicorum inferiorum, ex Institutionibus Catechetis collecta, à Cunrado Dieterico SS. Theol. D. Ecclesiarum Ulmensium Superintendente* (Ulm: Johann Meder), 1615. The differences between the Giessen and Ulm texts will be discussed in chapter four. Although not officially used in the Ulm *Gymnasium academicum* during Dieterich's lifetime, his *Institutiones catecheticae* was introduced there after a professorship for catechetical theology was added in 1704. Cf. Greiner, *Ulmer Gelehrtenschule*, 42–43; and *Württembergisches Städtebuch*, 278.

<sup>192</sup> Balthasar Mentzer, *Exegesis Augustanae Confessionis ...* (Giessen, 1613). See *Vorschlag*, reprinted in Greiner, *Ulmer Gelehrtenschule*, 80.

<sup>193</sup> *Vorschlag*, reprinted in Greiner, *Ulmer Gelehrtenschule*, 80. Previous compendia of theology used in the Ulm *Gymnasium* included the *Margarita Theologica* of Johann Spangenberg as cited by the 1557 *Ordnung*. This was replaced by Johann Heerbrand's *Compendium Theologiae* in 1577, along with its epitome in 1582. From 1613 to 1616, Leonhard Hütter's *Compendium locorum theologicorum* had been used in the *Gymnasium*. According to Greiner, Hütter's text was replaced in the *Gymnasium* by Dieterich's *Institutiones catecheticae* in 1616, but later used in the *Gymnasium academicum* as a theological text after 1622. Greiner, *Ulmer Gelehrtenschule*, 25, 32, 42; and Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg," *BWKG* (1934): 74.



and confidence, as well as providing a greater sense of independence during a difficult period of Ulm's history. Most importantly, the *Gymnasium* offered the churches, schools, and civil government of Ulm the opportunity and the means to train future leaders from its own citizenry.<sup>194</sup> In particular, a large number of later *Münsterprediger* and pastors in Ulm and its surrounding territory began their formal education at the Ulm *Gymnasium*.<sup>195</sup>

### The *Stadtbibliothek* in Ulm<sup>196</sup>

Another of Dieterich's contributions to education and learning in Ulm was his reorganization of the city library. The *Stadtbibliothek* had been founded by the city council in 1516 as a parish church library for clergy and their assistants.<sup>197</sup> After the city joined the Reformation in 1531, many of the books from the libraries of the Franciscan and Dominican cloisters in Ulm were brought into the *Stadtbibliothek*.<sup>198</sup> However, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the collections received little attention and use. Upon his arrival in Ulm, Dieterich set about restoring the library. He was intent on preserving the books for future generations, as well as expanding the collection and making it accessible and useful for the

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<sup>194</sup> Wiegandt, 164.

<sup>195</sup> See Appenzeller, *passim*. Fritz also estimates that after the Thirty Years War the Ulm *Gymnasium academicum* supplied approximately fifty theologians or pastors for positions in Württemberg churches. Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* (1934): 74. Elsewhere, however, Fritz argues that it was a mistake for the academic division of the *Gymnasium* to be maintained after the war, since it was self-flattery to continue to possess such an institution that could not compete with a university and was not properly staffed. Fritz, "Ulm und seine evangelische Kirche im Zeitalter des dreißigjährigen Krieges," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 45 (1941): 66.

<sup>196</sup> For a complete history of the libraries in Ulm, see Bernd Breitenbruch and Herbert Wiegandt, *Städtische Bibliotheken in Ulm: Ihre Geschichte bis zur Zusammenlegung im Jahre 1968* (Weißenhorn: Anton H. Konrad, 1996); and Johannes Greiner, "Ulms Bibliothekswesen," *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte*, Neue Folge 26 (1917): 64–120.

<sup>197</sup> Breitenbruch and Wiegandt, 12–13.

<sup>198</sup> Breitenbruch and Wiegandt, 12–13, 16–18, 26. See also Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, 260.

public.<sup>199</sup> It is also clear, however, that Dieterich was seeking to bring the library also into the service of the educational system in Ulm, and, in particular, to provide a suitable library for the *Gymnasium*.<sup>200</sup> Dieterich initiated the work in 1615 with a proposal to the city council. His improvements included making a new catalog, arranging for the purchase of new books and for the staffing of the library, along with opening the library to the public.<sup>201</sup>

With the endorsement of the city council, the reforms began. Dieterich, along with other members of the clergy in Ulm and the *Scholarchen* from the school, had the library's collection catalogued. The work was completed by 1617, and the library was staffed by two librarians. The collection of nearly 1,500 titles was regularly enlarged in the years that followed.<sup>202</sup> The library was open one day during the week for faculty and students at the *Gymnasium* and for citizens of Ulm, but books could be loaned out at other times as well.<sup>203</sup> After 1622 the *Stadtbibliothek* also served as the library of the *Gymnasium academicum*. It was well-suited to do so with its largest holdings in theology, philosophy, and history.<sup>204</sup>

Under Dieterich's direction, the *Stadtbibliothek* in Ulm was expanded and its use revived during a time when many city libraries in the German lands experienced a decline, particularly due to the effects of the Thirty Years War.<sup>205</sup> The improved library benefited the community as a whole, but was particularly useful for the *Gymnasium* in Ulm in a time when schools also often

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<sup>199</sup> Breitenbruch and Wiegandt, 25.

<sup>200</sup> Greiner, "Ulms Bibliothekswesen," 80; and Greiner, *Ulmer Gelehrtenschule*, 34.

<sup>201</sup> Breitenbruch and Wiegandt, 25–26, 30.

<sup>202</sup> Greiner, "Ulms Bibliothekswesen," 81.

<sup>203</sup> Breitenbruch and Wiegandt, 30.

<sup>204</sup> Breitenbruch and Wiegandt, 30.

<sup>205</sup> Breitenbruch and Wiegandt, 25.

suffered because of the war. Dieterich understood that the library was an important foundation for a well-functioning academy.<sup>206</sup>

## **The End of Dieterich's Life and His Impact on Ulm**

### **Dieterich's Character, Reputation, and Personal Contacts**

For twenty-five years, Dieterich was a very influential figure in the churches and schools of Ulm and its surrounding territory. His skills as an effective preacher and his talents as organizer and administrator were of great benefit to the city during a difficult period in its history. By nearly all accounts, Dieterich demonstrated a strong character, intelligence, faithfulness, and energy in the carrying out of his duties. As was the case during his time in Giessen, Dieterich's reputation as a preacher and administrator spread beyond Ulm's borders. During his time in Ulm, Dieterich received calls to serve churches and schools in other cities including Herrnals near Vienna (1617) and as pastor and *Inspektor* of the academy in Prag (1620). Ludwig, Landgraf von Hessen-Darmstadt, hoped to bring Dieterich back to his territory with offers to have him serve at Marburg (1625), as well as in Giessen or Schmalkalden (1626).<sup>207</sup> All of these calls Dieterich declined, instead choosing to remain in Ulm until the end of his life.

Dieterich enjoyed friendly relations with many of the leading figures of his time, many with whom he was in correspondence. The extant collection of Dieterich's papers is massive, including many letters and documents from Lutheran pastors, theologians, and others.<sup>208</sup> The letters give evidence that Dieterich had friendships with, among many others, Württemberg pastor Johann

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<sup>206</sup> Dieterich's own book collection was bequeathed to the library after his death. See Breitenbruch and Wiegandt, 38; and Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, 260.

<sup>207</sup> Bischoff, *Leichpredigt*, E4b; *Nachrichten*, ed. Albrecht Weyermann, vol. 1, 148; H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges," 4; and Hagenmaier, 44–45.

<sup>208</sup> Dieterich's papers are housed in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Handschriftenabteilung, catalogued as Cod. Germ. (Cgm) 1250–59. XVIII J. 2o "Actenstücke und Schreiben gesammelt von Dr. Conrad Dieterich, Superintendenten und dessen Sohne Dr. Joh. Daniel, Physikus zu Ulm."

Valentin Andreae (1586–1654),<sup>209</sup> Jena professor of theology Johann Gerhard (1582–1637),<sup>210</sup> professor of theology at Wittenberg Balthasar Meisner (1587–1626),<sup>211</sup> Tübingen theology professor Lukas Osiander (1571–1638),<sup>212</sup> and Nürnberg pastor Johannes Saubert (1592–1646).<sup>213</sup> Dieterich also had contact with some of the most important scientists and thinkers of the day, including Johannes Kepler (1571–1630)<sup>214</sup> who lived and worked in Ulm from 1623 to 1626, Ulm mathematician and engineer Johann Faulhaber (1580–1635),<sup>215</sup> and a twenty-three-year-old philosopher searching for a method, René Descartes (1596–1650).<sup>216</sup>

### Ulm and the Thirty Years War

The Thirty Years War and its consequences had a devastating impact on Ulm and its territory, as it did with many German cities at the time.<sup>217</sup> Famine, poverty, and disease took a heavy toll on the population of the entire region, and the number of inhabitants in Ulm decreased

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<sup>209</sup> Codex germ. 1257, fol. 42–47.

<sup>210</sup> Codex germ. 1258a, fol. 128–58.

<sup>211</sup> Codex germ. 1258c, fol. 596–651.

<sup>212</sup> Codex germ. 1258c, fol. 751–78.

<sup>213</sup> Codex germ. 1259, fol. 1–66.

<sup>214</sup> See Emil Schott, “Der Ulmer Münsterpfarrer Konrad Dieterich (1575–1639) als Sitten- und Schulprediger aus der Zeit des dreißigjährigen Kriegs,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichtswesens* 8 (1918): 117; and Wiegandt, 160–64.

<sup>215</sup> See Kurt Hawlitschek, *Johann Faulhaber 1580–1635: Eine Blütezeit der mathematischen Wissenschaften in Ulm* (Ulm: Stadtbibliothek Ulm, 1995); and Wiegandt, 160.

<sup>216</sup> See Schott, 117; Hawlitschek, 235–43; and Wiegandt, 160.

<sup>217</sup> For more on Ulm and its churches during the Thirty Years War, see Friedrich Fritz, “Ulm und seine evangelische Kirche im Zeitalter des dreißigjährigen Krieges,” *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 45 (1941): 50–73; Fritz, “Die württembergische Pfarrer im Zeitalter des dreißigjährigen Krieges,” in *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 29 (1925): 129–68; 30 (1926): 42–87, 179–97; 31 (1927): 78–101, 167–92; 32 (1928): 289–311; 33 (1929): 41–132, 191–296; 34 (1930): 121–207; Gerd Zillhardt, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg in zeitgenössischer Darstellung. Hans Heberles “Zeytgeister” (1618–1672). Aufzeichnungen aus dem Ulmer Territorium. Ein Beitrag zu Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsverständnis der Unterschichten* (Ulm/Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1975). Schott, 114–30; Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, 192ff.; and Wiegandt, 141ff.

from 20,000 in 1600 to 13,500 in 1650.<sup>218</sup> At times during the war the city was flooded with up to 16,000 refugees and foreigners.<sup>219</sup> Outbreaks of the plague in 1626–27, 1630, and 1634–35 ravaged the city’s population as well as those seeking refuge. (During eight months in 1635, the plague took the lives of 4,000 citizens of Ulm, 4,100 people from Ulm’s territory, and 5,300 refugees.)<sup>220</sup> The city was repeatedly plundered from the mid 1630s until the end of the war.<sup>221</sup> As a result of the war and all its consequences, the city incurred a tremendous debt, and along with it came extremely difficult economic circumstances for the population.

### **Dieterich and the Ulm City Council**

Dieterich’s relationship with the city council in Ulm over the years was normally good, although not without conflict. Disagreements over the practice of church discipline<sup>222</sup> and the building of the city’s fortifications caused tension.<sup>223</sup> Matters regarding the support of the school in Ulm also caused a strain in the relationship. Because of difficult financial circumstances, the city council deliberated on the suspension, or even dissolution, of the *Gymnasium* in 1624, 1627, 1633, and 1635. By strenuously pressing the case for the school, Dieterich prevented its closing,

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<sup>218</sup> The war and its aftermath had long-lasting consequences on the city’s population. Ulm would not exceed its prewar population until the middle of the nineteenth century. See *Württembergisches Städtebuch. Deutsches Städtebuch. Handbuch städtischer Geschichte*, 264, 266.

<sup>219</sup> Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, 169.

<sup>220</sup> *Württembergisches Städtebuch. Deutsches Städtebuch. Handbuch städtischer Geschichte*, 265. See also *Beschreibung des Oberamts Ulm*, ed. Johann Daniel Georg von Memminger (Magstadt, Bissinger, 1974; reprint of original 1836 work), 139.

<sup>221</sup> *Beschreibung des Oberamts Ulm*, 139.

<sup>222</sup> Beginning in 1616, Dieterich came into conflict with the city council because he argued that all people are sinners before God and should follow the same practice and discipline in matters of repentance—no privileges or exemptions were to be granted to those in the higher social positions or classes. The city council held a differing view. For more on this conflict, see H. A. Dieterich, “Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges,” 10; Hagenmaier, 130–37; and Norbert Haag, *Predigt und Gesellschaft. Die lutherische Orthodoxie in Ulm 1640–1740* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1992), 190ff.

<sup>223</sup> In 1620, the city of Ulm was rebuilding its system of fortifications and eventually required some citizens to do forced labor on the project. The citizenry loudly objected. Dieterich preached a sermon in which he appealed the case of the citizens against the city council. This led to an angry reaction from the council and to further conflict. For more on the controversy, see H. A. Dieterich, “Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges,” 10; and Hagenmaier, 121–30.

but still problems remained. The *Gymnasium* was forced to suspend operations for six months in 1635 due to the outbreak of the plague, something even Dieterich could not argue against.<sup>224</sup>

After Dieterich's death in 1639, the city council was slow in finding a replacement. Whether due to political and financial considerations, consequences of the war, or to the inability to find an acceptable candidate, the position of superintendent remained vacant for nearly forty years. Conflict between the city council and the pastors in Ulm continued long after Dieterich's death.<sup>225</sup>

### **Dieterich's Death and His Influence in Ulm**

In 1638, Dieterich began to suffer the effects of asthma. In March 1639 his health declined sharply and he was confined to his room. On the morning of March 22, Dieterich's family gathered around him and he blessed his grandchildren in silence. He died at nine o'clock in the morning as the *Münster* bells were ringing for the *Morgenpredigt*.<sup>226</sup> Dieterich was sixty-five years

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<sup>224</sup> H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges," 9.

<sup>225</sup> See Hagenmaier, *passim*, and Haag, 189ff. Hagenmaier and Haag make a great deal of the conflict in Ulm between the city council and the pastors, including Dieterich. They focus primarily on the political and social factors involved, and less, perhaps, on the theological and practical concerns of the pastors. Often the positive accomplishments of the cooperation of Dieterich and the city council are overlooked. Dieterich's career as Lutheran pastor, preacher, administrator, and pedagogue in Ulm took a much broader course than merely being involved in a political struggle with the council.

<sup>226</sup> Bischoff, *Leichpredigt*, E4ba. Among Dieterich's last words were these lines from Cyprian's *Sermo de morte*: "I am not afraid to die, because we have a benevolent Lord [nec mori timeo, quia benignum Dominum]. Hermann Dieterich, *D. Konrad Dieterich*, 167.

old. He had been superintendent and *Münsterprediger* in Ulm for twenty-five years and *Direktor* of the *Gymnasium academicum* for seventeen.<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> Dieterich's motto was "In silentio & spe" ("In silence and in hope") from Isaiah 30:15. This motto is often repeated in connection with discussions of Dieterich's character and piety. Cf. e.g., Bischoff, *Leichpredigt*, E4ba; Jöcher, vol. 2, 119; and Asmus, 31. Dieterich himself discussed the motto and the passage from which it comes in his sermons on *Das Buch Der Weißheit Salomons (VII. Predigt ueber das X. Capitel)*, part 2, 1627, 107. Dieterich was not the only one from the period to have this motto; Bernhard, Prince of Anhalt also used it. See Heinrich Kitsch, *Symbolo Heroica Privata Illustrissimae & pervetustae familiae Principium Anhaltinorum* (Leipzig: Lamberg, 1608), dedication page. Silence seems to indicate a desire for secrecy and concealment. Dieterich's former Giessen student and colleague Joachim Jungius had the motto "sub silentii fide." What, if anything, Dieterich was indicating by his motto is unclear, although it could be related to his involvement in Johann Valentin Andreae's *Societas Christiana*. See Donald R. Dickson, *The Tessera of Antilia: Utopian Brotherhoods & Secret Societies in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 45–46, 95. Conrad Dieterich was a member of a learned society, or fraternity, the *Societas Christiana*. This society was founded and led by Calw superintendent Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654). The membership of the fraternity listed many leading theologians and academics, including Johannes Saubert (1592–1646), Johann Arndt (1555–1621), Johann Gerhard (1582–1637), Polykarp Leyser the Younger (1586–1633), and Johannes Kepler (1571–1630). The *Societas Christiana* was founded around 1613 or 1614 out of Andreae's circle at the University of Tübingen. The date of Dieterich's entry into the group and the nature of his involvement are not known. Most of the group's association appears to have taken place through correspondence, but no reference to the society been found in Dieterich's writings or letters. Members of the brotherhood were dedicated to common goals for education, virtue, and religion. The hope was that the realization of these goals would solve problems in the German lands. There were four kinds of societies or fraternities in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: literary, language, scientific, and esoteric. The *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* and other groups were all attempting to preserve the German culture and language from being destroyed by outside forces, particularly during the time of the Thirty Years War. Dickson has noted that Christian utopian brotherhoods, including the *Societas Christiana*, closely resembled academic fraternities. "These Christian learned societies were dominated by a utopian belief in a world in which reformed religion should preside over all aspects of human activity, including the science they also advocated" (Dickson, 10–11). In the German lands, these societies "first emerged from within Lutheran orthodoxy and sought to revitalize the inner life rather than to transform the structures of the church; instead they emphasized piety and esoteric learning as a means of imbuing the age with new life" (Dickson, 11). Regarding Dieterich's membership in the *Societas Christiana*, see Dickson, 46). For more information on utopian brotherhoods in the seventeenth centuries, particularly pertaining to the influence of Johann Valentin Andreae, see Johann Valentin Andreae, *Christianopolis*. Introduced and translated by Edward H. Thompson (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1999); Martin Brecht, "Joh. Val. Andreaes Versuch einer Erneuerung der Württembergischen Kirche im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Kirchenordnung und Kirchengeschichte in Württemberg vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Brecht. Quellen und Forschungen zur Württembergischen Kirchengeschichte, herausgegeben von Martin Brecht und Gerhard Schäfer, Band 1 (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1967), 53–82; Donald R. Dickson, "Johannes Saubert, Johann Valentin Andreae and the *Unio Christiana*," *German Life & Letters* 49 (1996): 18–31; Paul Joachimsen, "Johann Valentin Andreae und die evangelische Utopie," *Zeitwende* 2, 1 (1926): 485–503, 623–42; John Warwick Montgomery, *Cross and Crucible: Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654) Phoenix of the Theologians* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973); G. H. Turnbull, "Johann Valentin Andreaes Societas Christiana," *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie* 73 (1954): 407–32, and 74 (1955): 151–85.

Dieterich was buried in the church cemetery next to the Ulm *Münster*.<sup>228</sup> Inside the church, among those of other *Münsterprediger*, is a portrait of Dieterich.<sup>229</sup> In the nave is a series of statues resting on giant central columns. On the inside of the columns are biblical figures. On the outside of the northern columns are likenesses of kings, including Charlemagne, Friedrich Barbarossa, and Gustavus Adolphus. On the outside of the southern columns are statues of Martin Luther, Paul Gerhardt, Johann Sebastian Bach, August Hermann Francke, and Conrad Dieterich.<sup>230</sup> Dieterich's inclusion in this group is a testament to his lasting influence and impact on the churches and schools in Ulm.

Scholars have noted Dieterich's work at Ulm, assigning him a distinguished place in the city's history. Many, while recognizing Dieterich's conflicts and shortcomings, are unreserved in their assessment of his contributions and his lasting importance on the city and its religious life. Friedrich Fritz, who wrote extensively on the history of the churches in Ulm and Württemberg in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has noted that Dieterich is considered "the most prominent personage in the history of the church in Ulm."<sup>231</sup> Ulm historian Bernd Breitenbruch

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<sup>228</sup> The cemetery is no longer there. Writing in 1878, H. A. Dieterich reported that Conrad Dieterich's gravestone still rested on the cemetery wall and was well cared for (H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges," 61).

<sup>229</sup> The inscription on the portrait reads:  
 CUNRADUS DIETERICUS  
 SS. THEOLOGIAE DOCTOR  
 ECCLES. ULM: PER XXV. ANNOS SUPERINTENDENS  
 F.T GYMNASII DIRECTOR.  
 NATUS GEMUNDÆ HASS. V. IAN. ANNO MDLXXV.  
 DENATUS ULMÆ XXII. MART. ANNO. MDCXXXIX.  
 ÆT: LXV.

<sup>230</sup> These statues were most likely placed in the Ulm *Münster* during the completion of its building and renovation in the late nineteenth century.

<sup>231</sup> "... die hervorragendste Persönlichkeit der ulmischen Kirchengeschichte." Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* 35 (1931): 130. Elsewhere, Fritz notes the fact that Dieterich was a Hessian and not a Württemberger, and asserts that this had a decisive impact on the inner history of the church in Ulm (Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* (1934): 69. Certainly Dieterich brought a wealth of ideas, methods, and even innovations into the life and practice of the churches and schools in Ulm that they probably would not have had otherwise. It should be stated, however, that although Dieterich brought with him his Hessian influences, he was quick to work within the existing framework upon his arrival in Ulm.



also asserts that as a theologian, organizer, and preacher, Dieterich was “the most important and, above all, most versatile figure of the church in Ulm.”<sup>232</sup> Likewise, Johannes Greiner, the historian of the schools in Ulm, wrote of Dieterich, “He is uncontestedly the most significant figure in the history of the church and school in Ulm. His reforms gave the entire following period its character.”<sup>233</sup>

## Conclusion

During his career, Conrad Dieterich was a professor, pastor, superintendent, and pedagogue. Although his interest in education in general was a major theme throughout his work, Dieterich was particularly concerned about the instruction of children. There are more questions to be answered regarding the material and issues discussed in this chapter, but the material in hand is enough to follow the course of Dieterich’s life and career and to survey the historical landscape in which he lived and worked. These circumstances influenced Dieterich’s approach to his work in education as well as his other affairs. Some of the confessional issues of Dieterich’s day that probably prompted his concern for catechetical instruction. The next chapter will explore this concern and attempt to describe Dieterich’s view of religious education and the objectives and goals of his own catechisms.

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<sup>232</sup> “Konrad Dieterich ... ist als Theologe, Organisator und wohl auch als Prediger die bedeutendste und vor allem vielseitigste Erscheinung der Ulmischen Kirche.” Bernd Breitenbruch, “Münsterprediger und Münsterpredigten vom Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende der Reichsstadtzeit,” in *600 Jahre Ulmer Münster: Festschrift*, eds. Hans Eugen Specker and Reinhard Wortmann (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977), 419.

<sup>233</sup> “[Dieterich] ist unbestritten die bedeutendste Persönlichkeit in der Kirchen- und Schulgeschichte Ulms. Seine Reformen haben der ganzen Folgezeit das Gepräge aufgedrückt.” Greiner, “Geschichte der Ulmer Schule,” 43. Likewise, Hans Eugen Specker, the historian of the city of Ulm has held a similar view of Dieterich’s importance: “Dr. Konrad Dieterich (1575–1639) [was] one of the most significant figures in the history of the church and school in Ulm.” [“D. Konrad Dieterich (1575–1639), eine der bedeutendsten Persönlichkeiten in der Ulmer Kirchen- und Schulgeschichte ...”] Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, 157.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DIETERICH'S CATECHETICAL WORKS: ORIGINS AND INTENTIONS**

#### **Introduction**

In all his catechetical writings, Conrad Dieterich based his instruction on the text of Luther's Small Catechism. He understood the Small Catechism as a true exposition and explanation of God's Word and a summary of Christian doctrine. Yet Dieterich thought it necessary to adapt Luther's text for the needs of his own day and for use in various contexts. Dieterich considered the teaching of the catechism as an introduction into the Christian faith and life for children and adults, as well as the basis for more advanced theological instruction for students in higher schools. His chief objective was to clearly teach the Lutheran catechism to the people of his time, being faithful to the catechism's content and message. This chapter will examine Dieterich's understanding of catechesis and attempt to discover the origins, purposes, and goals of his catechisms. It will discuss how he viewed catechetical instruction and why he taught in the manner he did. It will also consider whether Dieterich's approach to and understanding of catechesis was fundamentally different from Luther's, and if so, how.

The discussion of Dieterich's conception of catechetical instruction will largely be limited to his own words on the subject. Dieterich was not necessarily an educational theorist. Rather he was a practitioner, organizer, and administrator. He did not write extensively on his ideas about catechetical instruction, but left a fairly clear record of his understanding of catechesis through his writings and the practices he introduced in Giessen and Ulm. From these, much can be gleaned regarding the purposes and expectations for his catechetical works.

## Dieterich's Understanding of Catechetical Instruction

### Dieterich As an Heir of the Lutheran Catechetical Tradition

The Lutheran churches of Dieterich's day had inherited a powerful emphasis on education. The Reformation itself had been a "massive educational undertaking" with far-reaching results.<sup>1</sup> By the end of the sixteenth century, the humanist disciplines had reoriented the course of education as well as the lives of people engaged in it. Teachers employed humanist educational methods to instruct students in the basic tenets of Lutheran theology. The humanist influence extended all the way to catechetical instruction and eventually had an indelible impact upon it.

As professor and pastor, Dieterich operated within distinctly Lutheran church and school contexts. His catechetical work reflects the teachings of Lutheran theology, particularly the nuanced doctrine and practice of the churches and schools in Hessen-Darmstadt and Ulm. In these, like other Lutheran regions, preaching, teaching, and catechizing were all important to the inculcation of the Christian faith and the improvement of religious knowledge. Through these same means, Dieterich and other Lutheran preachers and teachers sought to instruct children and lay people on how to live in Christian discipline and devotion.

The Lutheran tradition underscored the importance of Christian education at home, in schools, and in churches. In Dieterich's day, religious instruction for the laity normally focused on three areas: first, the reading of the Bible in German, preaching on biblical texts, and memorization of passages; second, the catechism taught at home, school, and in churches (including catechetical services in which selections from the catechism were read aloud and preached upon);<sup>2</sup> and finally, in the singing of hymns at home, in schools, and churches.

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<sup>1</sup> James M. Kittelson, "Luther the Educational Reformer," in *Luther and Learning: The Wittenberg University Luther Symposium*, ed. Marilyn J. Harran (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1985), 95–96. For examples of the Reformation sustaining itself by sustaining humanist learning, cf. *The Harvest of Humanism in Central Europe: Essays in Honor of Lewis W. Spitz*, ed. Manfred P. Fleischer (St. Louis: Concordia, 1992).

<sup>2</sup> As has been noted, some Latin schools gave religious instruction using compendia of theological *loci*, looking ahead to the curriculum students would find at the university level.

Instruction using these means had been a Lutheran emphasis since the beginning of the Reformation, and Dieterich continued to use them as core components of Christian education. Yet Dieterich put his own stamp on his catechetical works to serve his unique intentions, expectations, and programs of instruction.

Dieterich considered his teaching to be in the long catechetical tradition of the Christian church going back to the ancients.<sup>3</sup> Within that tradition with much to offer, Dieterich squarely based his work on that of Luther and his Small Catechism. Following Luther, Dieterich understood the catechism and its message of salvation to be primary in the teaching of the Christian faith as well as in preserving this faith throughout a believer's life.<sup>4</sup> The catechism, or

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<sup>3</sup> In the dedicatory epistle to his *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), Dieterich briefly reminds his readers of this tradition:

For I will not draw out the fact that the monuments of catechetical teaching by the ancients is done in the same manner; it is certainly well known from the time of Origen, who, according to Eusebius, established the catechetical teaching of Alexandria, which collapsed under persecution. That this manner [of instruction] itself thrived in the Church of Christ, and was the brief compendia of those Christian teachings written down from the blessed Fathers, the remnants of the same preserved since that time even by the papacy bear witness abundantly ....

[Ut namque veterum de hoc ipso doctrinae Catecheticae genere monumenta non erum, constat certè inde à temporibus Origenis, quem ipsum etiam Catechetica doctrinam Alexandriae sub persecutionibus collapsam instaurasse tradit Eusebius, illud ipsum in Ecclesia Christi viguisse, & à piis majoribus nostris ad nos usque hereditario q. jure derivatum esse, id quod breves illae doctrinae Christianae summæ à Bb. Patribus conscriptæ, earundemque reliquæ, in medio etiam Papatu conservatæ, abundè testantur ....]

*Institutiones Catecheticae, è B. Lutheri Catechesi Depromptæ, variisque notis Logicis & Theologicis, in usum Juventutis Scholasticae illustratae, a Cunrado Dieterico Practicae Philos. Professore publ. & Paedagogiarcha. Cum præfatione & approbatione Venerandi Collegii Theologici* (Giessen: Casparus Chemlinus, 1613), *Epistola Dedicatoria*, )( 3.

<sup>4</sup> The person and work of Luther was of central importance for Dieterich's understanding of the Reformation and its theology, leading him to describe Luther in heroic proportions in the dedicatory epistle to his *Institutiones Catecheticae*:

At last having been roused by a divine spirit, our great [country]man Luther, father of blessed memory, recalling out of the forge the chief subjects of all doctrine, not so much pruned away in brevity, as much as the mysteries of theology made fruitful. With this intention, he collected the Catechetical Enchiridion, so that not only uninstructed catechumens, but especially the laity after that, just as very salutary spring water, flowing forth from the clearest fountain of Israel, health-bringer of divine knowledge and the foundations of eternal salvation, [they may] devoutly drink up from the first beginning of life, rightly apply this same information until the end of their lives, and are able to preserve the prudent heart.

[Quas tandem divino percitus spiritu Megalander noster LUTHERUS, beatissimæ recordationis Pater, sub incudem revocans, summa totius doctrinae Christianae capita non tam succisa brevitate, quàm recondita rerum Theologicarum ubertate, in Enchiridion catecheticum hoc fine redegit, ut non solùm informes catechumeni, sed & rudes præcipuè laici exinde, veluti saluberrimis scatebris, è limpidissimo Israël fonte promanantibus, salutifera cognitionis divinæ & salutis æternæ fundamenta à primis vitæ incunabulis piè haurire, eadem ad fidei ac vitæ suæ informationem rectè applicare, memorique corde asservare possent.]

*Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), *Epistola Dedicatoria*, )( 3.

catechetical instruction, was the Μικροβιβλια, or micro-Bible, and the devotional studies for the laity and youth.<sup>5</sup> Dieterich considered himself in line with other writers of Lutheran catechisms, men such as Johannes Brenz, David Chytraeus, Lucas Lossius, Aegidius Hunnius, and others.<sup>6</sup> It is clear from his adaptation and republication of Luther's Small Catechism in Ulm that Dieterich saw his own catechetical work as a faithful continuation of that begun by Luther himself nearly a century before. Likewise, Dieterich perhaps believed his *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica* to be answers to Luther's call for "a longer catechism [to] impart [students with] a richer and fuller understanding."<sup>7</sup> In a manner similar to Luther, Dieterich realized the need for adapting the message of the catechism to his various audiences. That could mean expanding it, a move that might well have pleased Luther since it seems it was not Luther's

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<sup>5</sup> In the dedicatory epistle (dated 1627) to his *Epitome Catecheticorum Praeceptorum* (second Ulm edition, 1630), Dieterich emphasizes catechesis (i.e., the content of catechetical teaching) as a micro-Bible, or Bible for the laity, opening with this sentence:

Truly, those who call catechesis Μικροβιβλια, or a little Bible for the laity, and *Postilla* for the young people, in my opinion, are not out of tune. For it is in fact a compendium of the entire Holy Scripture, a wealth, summary, nucleus, heart and soul [of Scripture], indeed, the juice, blood, honey, marrow, and whatever could be sweeter than honey, in the judgment of the blessed Luther, and so too it is the *propaedia*, the central point, and sum of the truth of God.

[Qui Catechesin Μικροβιβλια, parva sive Laicorum Biblia, & aetatis puerilis Postilla nominant, à vero, mea quidem sententia, non abludunt. Est enim reverà totius sacrosanctæ Scripturæ compendium, copia, summarium, nucleus, cor & anima, imò succus, sanguis, mel, medulla, & si quid melle potest esse dulcius, B. Luthero iudice, nec non veritatis Dei propaedia, caput & summa.]

*EPITOME CATECHETICORUM PRAECEPTORUM. In usum CLASSIVM INFERIORUM, COLLECTA ex Institutionibus Catecheticis, CUNRADI DIETERICI SS. Theologiae Doctoris, Ecclesiarum Ulmensium Superintendentis. Editio secunda revisa ac correctæ. Kurtzer Außzug Dero Catechismus Lehrstück Für die Schuljugend in den vntern Classen/auß dem grössern Werck der Institution oder Catechismus Vnterweisungel Cunrad Dieterichs/ der H. Schrift Doctorn/ Vlmischer Kirchen Superintendenten zusammengezogen. Von Newem vbersehen vnd zum andern mahl in Truck geben (Ulm: Jonas Saur, 1630), Dedicatio, A 2.*

<sup>6</sup> Dieterich describes how Luther's Small Catechism has been handed down to the churches of his own day: Such a precious thing treasured up, as with a priceless fruit of souls, has been scrupulously preserved in our churches until the present day, as the most excellent of the very fine theologians, for example, Drs. Brenz, Chytraeus, Lossius, Hunnius, and many others, in public and in private explications, and in the most useful lucubrations, in common use of all the pious, and before now was explained at distinct intervals of time.

[Quod pretiosum pietatis keimhlon ut inæstimabili cum animarum fructu in Ecclesiis nostris religiosè hactenus fuit asservatum, ita & præstantissimis prælustrium Theologorum, Dd. Brentii puta, Chytræi, Lossii, Hunnii, & aliorum quamplurimorum tam publicis quàm privatis explicationibus utilissimisque lucubrationibus, in communem omnium promiscuè piorum usum, distinctis antehac temporum intervallis fuit illustratum.]

*Institutiones Catecheticae (1613), Epistola Dedicatoria, )( 3–)( 4.*

<sup>7</sup> Luther, Small Catechism, Preface, 17.

intention that his Small Catechism—at least his explanations—be used as the foundational text for a much fuller instruction in Christian teaching.

### **The Intended Audiences or Readers of Dieterich's Catechetical Works**

Dieterich understood instruction in the catechism to be for all people, young and old. Whether in Hessen-Darmstadt or Ulm, the simple text of Luther's catechism served as the underlying basis for his teaching in the Christian faith. Dieterich knew firsthand that religious instruction must suit the comprehension and abilities of different ages and groups of people. He knew that his audiences would learn in a variety of contexts and circumstances: homes, German schools, churches, Latin schools, and *Gymnasia*. With this in mind, each of his catechetical works was tailored for specific audiences and employed distinct methods of instruction.<sup>8</sup>

Dieterich knew his audiences well and was familiar with the contexts in which learning would occur. Dieterich's edition of Luther's Small Catechism first published in Ulm in 1616 was intended for use by children and lay adults. Dieterich's goals and purposes for the book closely match Luther's own for his catechism: to bring people to a fundamental knowledge of sin and grace. Dieterich's textbooks for Latin schools (the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica*) gave students an advanced instruction in the Christian faith. Dieterich assumes that students being instructed with these works already have a basic knowledge—that they are

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<sup>8</sup> A general note about Dieterich's audience and normal schooling at the time is appropriate here. The population of the German lands in 1600 was about twelve million. At this same time, probably about sixty to seventy percent of the male population and ninety percent or more of the female population of Europe was illiterate. Literacy was usually higher in the cities. Latin was the language of higher education at this time. The curriculum in the Latin schools placed a great emphasis on linguistic skills—this was considered a prerequisite to university study and entrance into professional fields. Of course, the chief future vocations of boys skilled in Latin would be in the three traditional professions—theology, law, and medicine. In many ways, education was the key for success and upward mobility in society at the time. Cf. *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, eds. Daniel Garber and Michael Ayers, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1998), 9–12. Other estimates on literacy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are lower: as little as five to ten percent for both males and females. For example, cf. Cornelia Niekus Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror: Reading Material for German Girls in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, Band 36 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), 39.

believing Christians—and thus the advanced catechetical work builds on and expands what they have previously learned.

Although the instruction contained in the catechetical books was aimed at students, young children, or lay adults, the printed books were not necessarily placed in their hands. As in the sixteenth century, oral instruction in the catechism was the expected norm. The relatively high cost of printed materials, especially of larger works, and limited availability often made it difficult for every student, child, and adult to own their own copy of such a work. It is likely that teachers, parents, and pastors taught from a single copies, reading the text aloud to their hearers and requiring responses in return. In this respect, it is possible that catechisms were intended more for use by parents, pastors, and teachers who would instruct their pupils orally. Learners were to commit catechetical texts, including questions and answers, to memory. However, in spite of the prodigious memorizational activity of the time, it is probable that students in a *Gymnasium* or higher school would have mastered only selections from a work such as Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae*, which, depending on the edition, regularly ranges above 800 octavo pages.<sup>9</sup>

Dieterich wrote his various catechisms for use by a broad but select readership: teachers, pastors, parents, children and adults, young pupils, and advanced students preparing for university training.<sup>10</sup> Dieterich's far-reaching approach, particularly in Ulm, offers a comprehensive program for a large portion of his community's young people, as well as adults, in the basic teachings of the Christian faith and life. Luther's Small Catechism was the foundation and heart of this catechetical program.

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<sup>9</sup> For more on the use of memory in this period, cf. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

<sup>10</sup> The more specific identification of Dieterich's intended audience will be discussed below where attention is turned to Dieterich's individual catechetical works.

## Dieterich's Program for Catechetical Instruction

Dieterich never wrote a formal, systematic description of his understanding of the purpose, goals, and expectations of catechetical instruction. Nor did he set down his full thoughts on the content and methods of catechesis, or on the presentation of the material to people of various ages and abilities. Although catechetical instruction is just one element of Dieterich's broader pedagogical program, it is arguably the central and most important part of his plan.

In addition to Dieterich's catechetical writings, he published several other works that deal with catechetical instruction. First, among Dieterich's sermons is his *Vlmische Kinder Predigt* (1621).<sup>11</sup> In this sermon for parents, Dieterich preaches on the care and nurture of young children, and particularly on the training up of children in the Christian faith and life. In his *Catechismus Predigt* (1626), Dieterich more closely addresses the importance and necessity of instructing young people in the catechism.<sup>12</sup> These two sermons will greatly inform the discussion at hand of

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<sup>11</sup> *Vlmische Kinder Predigt/ Von Wartung/ Pflege vnnnd Zucht der Jungen Kinder; Darinn neben andern die Frag außgeführt/ Obs rathsamer vnd besser sey/ daß die Mütter jhre Kinder selbst; Oder durch besondere Ammen säugen lassen; Auß dem Evangelio Lucae 2. v. 40. Am Sonntag nach dem Newen Jahrstag/ zu Vlm im Münster gehalten/ Durch Cunrad Dieterich/ der heyiligen Schrift Doctorn/ Vlmischer Kirchen Superintendenten* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1621). Dieterich's *Kinder Predigt* is different from most *Kinderpredigten* of the period, which were sermons for children often given in the context of the *Kindergottesdienst*. These sermons normally treated a point of Christian teaching or an outline of a part of the catechism. Often they presented the central part of the catechetical instruction for the service. For more on these sermons and catechetical services for children, cf. F. Zoepfl, "Kinderpredigt und Kindergottesdienst in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung," *Bonner Zeitschrift fuer Theologie und Seelsorge* 2 (1925): 126–54.

<sup>12</sup> *Catechismus Predigt. Darin von fleissiger Ubung des Catechismi in denen Hauptstücken Christlicher Lehr gehandelt/ und Ursachen außgeföhret werden/ warumb dieselbig unter gemeinen Leuten fleissig zu treiben seye. Gehalten zu Ulm am Sonntag nach der H. drey Könige Tag den 8. Januarii Anno 1626. Als daselbsten eine neue Ordnung mit der Praxi des Catechismi publiciert worden.* Published in: *D. Cunrad Dieterichs/ Vlmischer Kirchen Superintendenten, Sonderbarer Predigten/ So von unterschiedenen Materien/ Hiebevorn zu Ulm im Münster gehalten/ deren theils schon allbereit in offenen Truck außgegangen/ theils jetzo von newem darinn verfertigt worden/ Vierdter Theil. Darinnen die Sontägliche Evangelische Text=Predigten begrieffen werden. Auff sonderbar Begehren zusammen gedruckt* (Schleusingen: Zacharias Schürer, Matthias Götz, 1634), 109–23. As indicated by the title, this sermon was delivered on the occasion of the announcement of the new *Ordnung* for the practice of catechetical instruction in the churches in Ulm. Dieterich's *Catechismus Predigt* is to be distinguished from most other *Katechismuspredigten* of the time, which were usually sermons for adults on individual parts of the catechism. If Dieterich ever preached any of these catechetical sermons, they were not published. (The task of preaching catechetical sermons was most likely given to other preachers in Ulm. Dieterich's chief preaching responsibilities involved giving sermons on Sundays, festivals, and Thursdays.) For more on catechetical sermons from the sixteenth century, cf. Mary Jane Haemig, "The Living Voice of the Catechism: German Lutheran Catechetical Preaching 1530–1580" (Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1996); and Werner Jetter, "Glaubensüberlieferung und Frömmigkeitssprache—das Beispiel der Katechismuspredigt," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 87 (1990): 376–414.



Dieterich's understanding of Christian education and catechetical instruction for children. Also useful are two of Dieterich's *Schulpredigten* that provide insight into his conception of catechesis in schools.<sup>13</sup> Dieterich also held orations or *Schulreden* in which he discussed matters pertaining to education and schools. One of these was published during Dieterich's lifetime: *Rector et Praeceptor Bonus*,<sup>14</sup> while others were issued posthumously in *Theologische Consilia und Bedencken*.<sup>15</sup> One secondary source is also noteworthy here—H. A. Dieterich's article on the pedagogy of Conrad Dieterich.<sup>16</sup> These works shed light on Dieterich's views on education, and (some more than others) on his understanding of catechetical instruction.

Dieterich was a practical theologian, primarily concerned with the work of the pastoral ministry and Christian education. His textbooks reveal this emphasis very clearly. On the

<sup>13</sup> Although Dieterich preached a *Schulpredigt* annually on the festival day of St. John the Baptist, only two of the sermons were published: *Zwo Christliche Vlmische Schulpredigten/ Von dem Standt vnnd Ampt/ frommer/ Gottseliger/ trewer Praeceptor vnnd Schulmeistern/ Gehalten zu Vlm im Münster/ bey dem daselbsten gewöhnlichen Schulfest an S. Johannis Baptistae Tag/ Die Erste 1617. Die Andere 1618. Jahrs/ Jetzo aber auff begehren in öffentlichen Truck geben/ Durch Cunrad Dieterich/ der H. Schrift Doctor/ dero Vlmischen Kirchen Superintendenten ...* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1618). For more on Dieterich's *Schulpredigten*, cf. Emil Schott, "Der Ulmer Münsterpfarrer Konrad Dieterich (1575–1639) als Sitten- und Schulprediger aus der Zeit des dreißigjährigen Kriegs," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichtswesens* 8 (1918): 126–29. As a category, *Schulpredigten* from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries normally were sermons for adults, commending schools, teachers, and the importance of education. Dieterich's two extant *Schulpredigten* are typical, perhaps, of these sermons. For more on *Schulpredigten* from this period, cf. August Schnizlein, "Die sogenannten Schulpredigten des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und der Unterricht* 5 (1915): 25–54.

<sup>14</sup> *Rector & Praeceptor bonus: Descriptus, ET IN PUBLICUM PROSCENIUM ILLUSTRIS SCHOLAE Ulmensis, ipsis feriis D. Johann Baptistae sacris PRODUCTUS, CUM NOVUS SCHOLAE RECTOR & Conrektor, Praeceptores item VI. & V. Classium, publica Incltyi Senatus auctoritate, solemniter praesentarentur; A CUNRADO DIETERICO; THEOLOGIAE DOCTORE Superintendente & Scholarcha* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1623).

<sup>15</sup> *HERRN D. Conrad Dieterichs seel. Weyland deß Heil. Röm. Reichs=Stadt Ulm viel=jährigen und Hochverdienten Superintendenten, auch deß Gymnasii daselbsten Hoch=ansehnlichen Directoris vortreffliche und kernhafte Theologische CONSILIA und Bedencken/ Welche auff Veranlassung einiger Hoher/ und vornehmer Herren/ Ständen und Personen über gewisse und hochwichtige CASUS und Fälle/ Von Jhme gründlich und Schriftmässig gestellt und erörtert worden; wie auch etliche ORATIONES PANEGYRICAE, von unterschiedenen raren und nützlichen Materien/ das Schulwesen betreffend/ Die Er bey hoch=ansehnlicher Versammlung bey den jährlichen Progressionibus, und Schul=Actibus gehalten/ Zum Druck befördert durch dessen Enkel Helwig Dieterich/ Dicasteriogr. Ulm* (Nürnberg: Johann Andreas Endter, 1689). [Hereafter, *Theologische Consilia und Bedencken*]. The *Bedencken*, or orations, are of most interest here. Between 1614 and 1638, Dieterich gave twenty-two orations as opening addresses to the public examination of students near the end of the academic year. In these, Dieterich discusses a wide variety of subjects pertaining to education, curriculum, and extra-curricular activities.

<sup>16</sup> H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Pädagog aus der Zeit des 30jährigen Krieges," *Neue Blätter aus Süddeutschland für Erziehung und Unterricht*, Heft 2 (1879): 94–142.

writings of his illustrious ancestor, H. A. Dieterich commented, “These works characterize a man who was an exceptional scholar, well-read in all literature and able to turn his hand at everything, but above all he was a practitioner.”<sup>17</sup> As a pastor, professor, and administrator, Dieterich was not chiefly involved in the conceptual or theoretical aspects of education, but in the exercise and application of learning for the development of young people and the benefit of the church and society. In his funeral oration on Dieterich, Johann Balthasar Schupp recalled Dieterich’s use of the philosophical and methodological sciences as part of his greater commitment to practical theology and education: “Certainly he did not disregard theoretical speculations,... but he loved them less. In truth, he attributed to those arts every benignity, which preserve their own usefulness, whether in church or in the state, or in whatever other order of human life.”<sup>18</sup>

Dieterich conceives of catechetical instruction as laying a foundation for Christian faith and life, as well as providing the more obvious matter of religious knowledge. Christians are trained in the Gospel and know the nature of their relationship with God. Once the catechetical foundation has been set down, Christians will then be better able to understand the Scriptures and the sermons preached in church. Likewise they will have a better grasp of the worship and devotional

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<sup>17</sup> “Diese Schriften kennzeichnen schon den Mann, er ist ein ausbündiger Gelehrter, belesen in aller Literatur und in jedem Sattel gerecht, aber er ist vor allem Praktiker.” H. A. Dieterich, “Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges,” *Münsterblätter*, Heft 3 und 4 (1883): 3.

<sup>18</sup> “Speculationes Theoreticas ... non quidem negligebat, sed minus amabat. Omnem vero virium benignitatem conferebat in illas artes, quae usum suum retinent, sive in Ecclesia, sive in republ. sive in quocunque alio vitae humanae genere.” Johann Balthasar Schupp, *Panegyricus Memoriae Conradi Dieterici, Superintendentis Ulmensis, Theologici de Ecclesia JESU CHRISTI optime meriti, CONSECRATUS, Et in publico Academiae Marpurgensis conventu memoriter recitatus*. 1639, in *Volumen Orationum Solemniū et Panegyricarum in Celerberrima Marpurgensi Universitate olim habitarum* (Giessen, 1658), 119–20. H.A. Dieterich also attributes some of Dieterich’s practical interest in pedagogy to his character and temperament:

It was not only his love for educational systems and methodical excellence that made him a skillful pedagogue, but fundamentally also his upright character, in which were met felicitously determination and energy, indefatigable drive and diligence—especially when directed towards the practical—appropriate judgment, an unpretentious and sincere mind, noble and humane disposition, and a warm and candid nature. [“Es machte ihn aber nicht nur die Liebe zum Schulwesen und methodische Tüchtigkeit zum tüchtigen Pädagogen, sondern wesentlich auch sein gediegener Charakter, in welchem sich Festigkeit und Energie, rastloser Thätigkeitstrieb, besonders auf’s Praktische hin, treffendes Urtheil, schlichter und gerader Sinn, edle und humane Gesinnung, warmes und treuherziges Gemüth auf’s glücklichste zusammenfanden.”] H. A. Dieterich, “Ein Pädagog aus der Zeit des 30jährigen Krieges,” 96.

life of the church, including the meaning of the sacraments. Dieterich knows catechetical instruction does not simply convey information about the Christian faith, but indeed conveys faith for confessing and prepares people for a life of confessing. The catechism teaches Christians everything they need to know about faith and life in Christ. This learning, in turn, is a central part of their broader education, preparing them for and sustaining them in their various vocations. Thus, one of Dieterich's chief pedagogical aims of catechetical training is for it to serve in the formation of Christian human beings.<sup>19</sup>

Dieterich's program for catechetical instruction reveals his practical-theological interests as well as his continuity with the Lutheran catechetical tradition of his day. His plan for communicating the message of the catechism involves a progression in learning from the foundational to the more difficult. The stages in learning take place over an extended period of time in different contexts frequently overlapping each other. As noted, the settings include homes, churches, German and Latin schools, formal catechetical instruction in congregations, and *Gymnasia*. Although not specifically stated, Dieterich clearly follows the guidelines for catechetical instruction set down by Luther and developed by Lutheran theologians after the time of Luther.

In his *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, Dieterich addresses parents concerning their roles and responsibilities in the Christian education of children. From these, Dieterich's expectations of parents and of the progression of instruction is clear. He lists seven stages through which children

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<sup>19</sup> Although Dieterich's catechetical works offer instruction in the Christian faith and doctrine, they also teach concerning the way Christians should conduct their lives. This emphasis on Christian life, while not always explicitly underscored, is a current running throughout Dieterich's catechisms. As may be expected, it is in Dieterich's sermons that the stress on the Christian life and ethics is most apparent. Here also his pedagogical tendency is apparent. Dieterich has been described as a "Sitten- und Bußprediger" [moralizing and repentance preacher] and his numerous expository sermons on parts of the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, the Wisdom of Solomon, and other biblical books, bear witness to this characterization. Cf. Bernd Breitenbruch, "Münsterprediger und Münsterpredigten vom Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende der Reichsstadtzeit," in *600 Jahre Ulmer Münster: Festschrift*, eds. Hans Eugen Specker and Reinhard Wortmann (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977), 419–25; H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges," 1–61; Monika Hagenmaier, *Predigt und Policey: Der gesellschafts-politische Diskurs zwischen Kirche und Obrigkeit in Ulm 1614–1639* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1989), passim; and Schott, 114–30, especially 123.

are brought up in the knowledge of doctrine and the fear of God:

1. As soon as [children] are born into this world they are brought to God and his church in holy Baptism, so that through the same, as the bath of rebirth and renewal of the Holy Spirit, [they are] born anew, cleansed, and washed from sin, which they received in their mother's womb and in which they were born (Ps 51:[5]; Titus 3:5; Eph 5:2). [The children] are incorporated into the church of God, thereby become children of God, and put on Christ with all of his blessings and benefits (Gal 3:27).
2. When [children] receive these things at the same time as their mother's milk, [and] when they begin to babble, they are brought to faith and knowledge of God, to prayer and fear of the Lord, in order that they crave the wise, pure milk (the Word of God) as newborn infants, so that they grow up through the same Word (1 Pet 2:2).
3. When they arrive at the age of discretion, they are sent to school so that there they may be instructed in their catechism—the foundation of faith—Christian discipline and virtue. In this way they learn the Holy Scripture from their earliest childhood (2 Tim 3:15).
4. When you take [your children] to church, so that in the divine service with the hearing of God's Word, they anticipate [and take part in] prayer, singing, praise, and thanksgiving.
5. When you urge them to attend catechetical instruction, so that there they remember not only what they have learned from God's Word and their catechism in school and church through the frequent repetition, but also that their knowledge increase and be strengthened day by day and year by year.
6. As they begin to grow older, when the foundation of the Christian faith has been laid, grasped, and understood, they [will] go to the Lord's Supper, which is the paschal Lamb of evangelical Christians (1 Cor 5:7), and partake of it alongside other Christians in the congregation of God.
7. Finally, when [children] have been brought up under the Fatherly discipline in the fear

and admonition of the Lord, [it is hoped] that they [will] grow not only in age, but increase chiefly in wisdom and grace before God and human beings.<sup>20</sup>

In his *Catechismus Predigt* (1626), his *Vlmische Kinder Predigt* (1621), and in his other sermons and orations on Christian education, Dieterich provides a more detailed explanation of his program of catechesis and the stages along which he proposes that it advance.

### **Catechetical Instruction by Parents in the Home**

Following in the tradition of Luther and other Lutheran theologians, pastors, and teachers, Dieterich stresses that Christian parents should fulfill their God-given obligation of teaching their children the Christian faith and life. In the same way that parents are to take care of their children's bodies—their physical needs—so, too, are they to care for their children's souls—their spiritual needs.<sup>21</sup> In Baptism, children are named children of God and then are to be nourished with the Word, the summary of which is the catechism. Dieterich and other Lutheran pastors, teachers, and theologians clearly emphasize that parents must ensure that their children receive

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<sup>20</sup> *Catechismus Predigt* (1626), 113.

1. Wann sie dieselbige/ so bald sie uff diese Welt gebohren/ Gott und seiner Kirchen zur heiligen Tauffe zutragen/ daß sie durch dieselbige/ als das Bad der Widergeburt und Erneuerung des heiligen Geistes von Sünden/ darin sie in Mutterleib empfangen und gebohren/ Psal. 51,6. wieder geboren gereinigt und gewaschen/ Tit. 3,5. Ephes. 5,2. Der Kirchen Gottes einverleibet und dadurch zu Kinder Gottes werden/ und Christum mit allen seinen Wol- und Gutthaten anziehen/ Gal. 3,27.

2. Wann sie dieselbige gleich mit der Muttermilch/ wann sie zu lallen anfahren zum Glauben und Erkänntniß Gottes/ zum Gebet und Furcht des Herrn geswehnen/ damit sie begierig nach der vernunfftigen lautern Milch (des Wort Gottes) als die jetzt geborne Kindlein/ auff daß sie durch dieselbige zunehmen/ 1. Petr. 2,2.

Wann sie 3. zum Verstand kommen/ sie zur Schulen schicken/ daß sie darinn in ihrem Catechismo/ Fundament des Glaubens Christlicher Zucht und Tugend unterwiesen werden/ damit sie von ihrer ersten Kindheit die H. Schrift lernen/ 2. Tim. 3,15.

Wann sie zum 4. sie mit zur Kirchen nehmen/ daß sie darinn dem Gottesdienst/ mit anhörung Gottes Wort/ beten/ singen/ loben und dancken abwarten.

Wann sie zum 5. sie zur Kinder Lehr anhalten/ daß sie darin nicht allein/ was sie in Schulen und Kirchen aus Gottes Wort unnd ihrem Catechismo gelernet/ durch offtere Wiederholung im Gedechtniß behalten/ sondern auch in deren Erkänntniß von Tag zu Tag/ von Jahren zu Jahren/ vermehret und gesterckt werden.

Wann sie zum 6. wo sie zu Jahren kommen/ den Grund des Christlichen Glaubens gelegt/ gefasset und verstehen/ sie zum Abendmal/ welches ist der Evangelischen Christen OsterLamb/ 1. Cor. 5,7. gehen/ und selbiges neben andern Christen in der Gemeine Gottes gebrauchen lassen.

Wann sie endlich 7. sie in der Furcht und Vermahnung des Herrn unter der Väterlichen Zucht aufferziehen/ daß sie nicht mehr an Alter/ sondern vornemblich an Weißheit und Gnade bey Gott und den Menschen zunehmen .

<sup>21</sup> In his 1621 *Vlmische Kinder Predigt*, based on Lk 2:40, Dieterich points to the example of Jesus' mother Mary taking care of her son's physical and spiritual needs (2ff., 16ff.).

this nourishment in the fundamentals of the Christian faith. The parents who bring their children to Baptism should not have their instruction in the Christian faith left to others. Dieterich wants this instruction by parents to begin at a very young age and to advance or progress as children grow older. Parents are responsible for the education of their children in the home as well as the examining and reinforcing of what is learned in worship services at church.

Having established in his *Catechismus Predigt (1626)* the stages in which children are to be instructed, Dieterich explains at some length the reasons why parents must educate their children. First, God's Word dictates to parents in great seriousness that they ought to teach their children His Word:

God commands all parents to teach their children the Word of the Lord at home and to strengthen it in their memory (Dt 6:7). Likewise [parents] should bring up [their children] in the fear and admonition of the Lord (Eph 6:4); and bring them along to church ... (Ex 12:24).<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, Dieterich argues that God gives children to parents with the purpose that they bring them up in the fear and knowledge of God. It is a stewardship. Thus, it is expected of parents that they will train up their children in the faith:

For this reason, children are born into this world and given to parents so that they will be given back to God, who created them, that they be instructed in his knowledge, improved and brought up in true religion and the fear of God, that they will recognize and follow Him alone.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the Scriptural mandate, Dieterich reminds parents of the practice of handing the faith down from the time of the earliest Christians. This teaching was preserved in the

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<sup>22</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 114.

Denen Eltern befiehet Gott ins gemein/ daß sie ihre Kinder die Wort des Herrn daheim zu Hauß lehren/ und sie ihnen schärfen sollen/ Deut. 6,7. Daß sie sie auffziehen sollen in der Furcht unnd Ermahnung zu dem Herrn/ Ephes. 6,4. Ingleichem/ daß sie ihre Kinder mit auff die Fest nehmen ... Exod. 12, 24.

<sup>23</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 114.

Werden darumb die Kinder in diese Welt gebohren/ unnd denen Eltern geben/ daß sie Gott/ der sie geschaffen/ wiedergeben/ in seinem Erkänntniß unterwiesen/ in wahrer Religion und Furcht Gottes erbawet und auffgezogen werden/ ihn allein erkennen/ ihm allein folgen.

catechism, and brought to the light again by Luther. Aside from pointing out the origins of the traditional practice of catechetical instruction, Dieterich reminds parents that such teaching has been the primary means of communicating the message of salvation to children throughout the church's history:

That and other things the dear ancient Christians considered well and in a Christian manner, and for this reason saw to it above other things, that the true religion, the foundation of the Christian faith and piety would be imparted above all to the youth, from their childhood days on, both by the parents and by their specially appointed pedagogues and masters, as occurred even in the times of the apostles .... And although under the papacy such instruction disappeared, nevertheless the three chief parts were preserved by the special providence of God: the Ten Commandments, the Apostolic Creed, the Lord's Prayer, which the blessed Dr. Luther used to call the perfect threesome [*das Trinum perfectum*], until finally Dr. Luther brought forth the golden jewel of this catechism, and thereby instructed many thousands of souls to eternal life.<sup>24</sup>

Previously in his *Vlmische Kinder Predigt* (1621), Dieterich had delineated the earliest elements of religious training for children. This instruction was to be given by parents in the home:

Christian parents should familiarize their children with prayer and the fear of God even from the mother's breast and the cradle, as soon as they begin to babble, so that even before they are able to speak, when others pray, they may stand alongside them with their little hands folded, babbling and prattling along. But when they are able to talk they [should] be urged [to learn] first the Lord's Prayer, then the Apostles' Creed, followed by some

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<sup>24</sup> *Catechismus Predigt* (1626), 119–20.

Das und anders haben nun die lieben alte Christen wol und Christlich erwogen/ darumb sie vor andern dahin gesehen/ daß die wahre Religion/ die Fundament des Christlichen Glaubens und Gottesfurcht/ vor allem/ der Jugend/ von ihren Kindlichen Tagen an/ so wol durch die Eltern/ als auch durch ihre besondere hierzu bestellte Paedagogos und Lehrmeister eingepflantzet würde/ so schon zur Apostel Zeiten geschehen .... Und ob wol im Pabstthumb solch Exercitium erloschen/ sind doch durch sonderbahre Schickung Gottes darinn die drey Hauptstück/ Als die Zehen Gebot/ der Apostolische Glaube/ Vater unser/ so D. Luther seliger das Trinum perfectum zu nennen pflegen/ erhalten/ biß das endlich er D. Luther das güldin Kleinod seines Catechismi an Tag geben/ und dadurch viel tausend Seelen zum ewigen Leben unterrichtet.

excellent, brief biblical passages, and afterwards the catechism, psalms, and other Christian prayers.<sup>25</sup>

Thus for Dieterich, the first and most elementary instruction for children consists of the learning and memorization of parts of the catechism, Bible passages, and prayers. For those who suppose young children cannot learn how to pray and cannot live with the Christian faith at the ready in heart and mind, Dieterich has little patience:

Now if you are thinking, why should we go to all the trouble of teaching little children how to pray, since they don't understand a thing and don't know what prayer is, then my reply to you is that [only] your own dumb brain [thinks] that children don't know and understand what prayer is! Haven't you ever read, or heard, what it says in Psalm 8: "Out of the mouths of young children and infants you have ordained praise because of your enemies ..." (Psalm 8:3[2]).<sup>26</sup>

Dieterich further explains that the Holy Spirit is at work in children and infants, creating and sustaining faith in them. Children may not fully know or understand what they are praying. Nevertheless, the Holy Spirit certainly gives witness of his work in children through their prayer and praise.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Vlmische Kinder Predigt (1621)*, 17.

Christliche Eltern sollen ihre Kinder auch gleich von der Mutterbrust unnd Wiegen an/ so bald sie nuhr anfahren zu lallen/ zum Gebett unnd Gottes Forcht gewehnen/ daß wann sie schon noch nicht reden können/ dennoch wann andere beten/ sie neben ihnen stehen/ ihre Händlein zusammen falten/ und mit underlallen und tallen. Wann sie aber reden können/ sie erstens zum Vatter unser; darnach/ zum Apostolischen Glauben; förters zu feinen kurtzen Biblischen Sprächen; nachgehendts zum Catechismo/ zun Psalmen unnd andern Christlichen Gebeten anhalten.

<sup>26</sup> *Vlmische Kinder Predigt (1621)*, 17.

Denkst du jetzo hie/ was soll man die kleine Kinder viel mit dem beten plagen/ sie verstehens doch nicht/ und wissen nicht/ was beten sey? So antworte ich dir/ daß deinem dummen Hirn nach/ die Kinder es nicht wissen und verstehen! Hastu aber nie nicht gelesen/ oder gehöret/ was in dem achten Psalmen stehet: Auß dem Mund der Jungen Kinder und Säuglinge hastu eine Macht zugericht umb deiner Feinde willen/ Psal. 8.3.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Vlmische Kinder Predigt (1621)*, 17–18.

Ob sie die Kinder schon diß selbst nicht wissen/ noch verstehn/ was sie betten/ so hat der H. Geist doch/ laut dieses unfehlbaren Zeugnuß/ sein Würckung in den betenden lallenden Kindern und Säuglingen/ hilfft auch mehrmalen der lallenden und betenden Kinder Collect mehr/ als/ welche sie mit einfältigem reinem/ recht Kindlichem Hertzen zu Gott abgehen lassen/ denn der Alten Gebett selbsten/ als welches sie mehrmalen/ theils mit umschweifenden/ fliegenden gedanken; theils mit unverständigen/ unwissenden/ unversöhnlichem/ neidischen Hertzen durch ihre Zungen verrichten.



When parents bring their children to be baptized and then later to instruction, they are bringing their children into the community of believers. This membership and citizenship in the church of God is also significant for Dieterich's understanding of the role of catechetical training:

[Children] are reborn in holy Baptism and washed of their sins, so that they not only put on Christ and are registered in the rolls of the churches as citizens of the church, but also because we are cleansed in no other way than by faith in our hearts, even Christ dwells nowhere else than by faith in our hearts (Eph 3:17); [children] are also instructed in the knowledge of faith, so that in this way Christ may dwell in their hearts; similarly that they may serve Him in holiness and righteousness as believing citizens and members of the church ....<sup>28</sup>

As Christians and members of God's church, believers are to be prepared at all times to give a clear and faithful testimony to the teaching of God's Word. Dieterich emphasizes that children need to be well educated in the Christian faith and teaching so that they may give such a witness when called upon:<sup>29</sup>

It is necessary for Christianity and for our Evangelical faith, since we are called Christians, to be able to give a faithful answer. What kind of Christian is it who knows nothing of Christ and Christian doctrine? .... Our faith is not a Word faith [*ein Wort Glaub*], but rather *scientia*, a proper knowledge, *scio cui credidi*, I know in whom I believe, says the Apostle Paul (2 Tim 1:12).<sup>30</sup>

It goes without saying that, for Dieterich, the training of children is also done for the sake of their salvation. Implicit in the course of instruction is the activity of the Holy Spirit, working

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<sup>28</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 114.

Werden ... darumb in der H. Tauffe wiedergeboren/ und von Sünden gewaschen/ daß sie nicht nur Christum anziehen/ unnd in Matriculi der Kirchen zu Kirchen Bürger eingeschrieben/ sondern/ weil wir anderswo durch nicht als durch den Glauben in unsern Hertzen gereiniget/ auch Christus anderswo durch nicht/ als durch den Glauben in unsern Hertzen wohnt/ Eph. 3,17. sie auch in den Erkänntniß des Glaubens unterwiesen/ damit dadurch Christus in ihren Hertzen wohnen möge/ desgleichen sie als gläubige Kirchen Bürger und Glieder ihme in Heiligkeit und Gerechtigkeit dienen mögen ....

<sup>29</sup> As will be discussed in the next chapter, this emphasis is likely part of the reason Dieterich presents his more advanced catechetical instruction in such detailed thoroughness, and with a view to preparing students for catechetical disputations.

<sup>30</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 114–15.

Erfordert ... unser Christhumb und Evangelischer Glaube/ Dann wir werden Christen genennet/ daß wir unsers Christliches/ Glauben=Red und Antwort geben können. Dann was ist das für ein Christ/ der von Christo und Christlicher Lehr nichts weis? Unser Glaub ist nicht ein Wort Glaub/ sondern *scientia*, ein rechte Wissenschaft/ *scio cui credidi*, ich weis an welchen ich glaube/ sagt der Apostel Paulus/ 2. Tim. 1,12.

through the Word of God. Dieterich always takes for granted that the Spirit and Word are active in catechetical instruction. In addition, Dieterich here again stresses the role of parents in ensuring that this education takes place:

[Instruction in the faith] is necessary for the sake of the salvation [of children], since by nature we are all children of unbelief (Eph 2:3). The natural person perceives nothing of the Spirit of God—it is foolishness to him and he cannot recognize it (1 Cor 2:14). Our understanding is obscured . . . we flee from the knowledge and fear of God, we do not strive for faith and salvation, but rather we must be instructed in them and thus be educated. When you have a child and let him grow up without discipline or education, you do not teach him to pray, do not send him to school, to church and catechetical instruction, with the result that he does not learn his catechism and other necessary elements of salvation, how will he know God? how will he believe? how will he be saved? . . . . If you wish your child to be saved, then he must be instructed in the knowledge of God, of faith and salvation.<sup>31</sup>

The parts of the catechism clearly communicate the biblical message, and God's revelation to the world regarding faith and salvation. Dieterich explains the importance of instruction in the faith for children and how the parts of the catechism present specific teachings regarding how salvation has been accomplished and delivered to children:

Through the instruction of Christian teaching and the training up in the fear of God children are snatched from the devil as if from the jaws of death; they are brought up in faith to salvation. From the Creed they know God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. From the Ten Commandments [children learn] to love God and their neighbors, and which vices they should flee from and avoid. From the Lord's Prayer they learn how to pray and how they should call upon God their heavenly Father. From the sacraments they learn how their faith may be strengthened and how in [the sacraments] they may be assured of the gracious

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<sup>31</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 115.

Ist nötig . . . umb ihrer Seligkeit willen/ dann von Natur sind wir alle Kinder des Unglaubens/ Ephes. 2,3. Der natürliche Mensch vernimpt nichts vom Geist Gottes/ es ist ihm eine Thorheit/ und kan es nicht erkennen/ 1. Corinth. 2,14. Unser Verstand ist verfinstert/ . . . fleucht uns also Erkänntniß und Furcht Gottes/ der Glaub und Seligkeit nicht an/ sondern wir müssen darin unterwiesen/ und dazu auffgezogen werden. Wann du nun dein Kind hingehen/ und in seinem Soot auffwachsen lessest/ lehrest es nicht beten/ schickest es nicht zur Schulen/ zur Kirchen und KinderLehr/ daß es darin sein Catechismum und andere nothwendige Stück der Seligkeit lerne/ wie wil es Gott erkennen? wie wil es gläuben? wie wil es selig werden? . . . Wiltu demnach daß dein Kind selig werde/ sihe/ so muß es in erkänntniß Gottes/ des Glaubens und Seligkeit unterwiesen werden.

forgiveness of their sins, the attainment of God's kindness, grace, and blessing in temporal and eternal prosperity.<sup>32</sup>

Although Dieterich emphasizes that the catechism teaches the central message of God's Word, it is worth pointing out here that he understands the way this Word operates in the lives of Christians slightly differently than Luther. Luther stresses that the Word of God kills through the Law and makes alive through the Gospel. This divine activity cultivates a life of repentance in Christians, as Luther explains in the Small Catechism on Baptism, question four. Dieterich sees the catechism as conveying the teaching of God's Word—Law and Gospel—more as information about the Christian faith and life. God's Word communicates God's teaching and his will for humans. The catechism instructs Christians on what they are to believe and how they are to live. Dieterich does not see this faith taught by the catechism as mere head knowledge. Indeed, the Law does teach people that they are dead in sin, and the Gospel teaches that there is life in Christ; however, the active, operative role of the Word of God in the lives of believers is diminished in Dieterich's emphasis.

The tasks of teaching and learning the catechism are urgent ones for Dieterich. Parents of all levels or strata in society, of all stations in life, need to ensure that their children are taught the Christian faith:

I implore, beg, and exhort [parents] in Christ Jesus, that each acts in accordance with [their responsibility], to bring their children and household servants, be they small, young, or grown-up, with the child Jesus to Jerusalem for the Passover festival. Every father and mother, be they rich or poor, wants to send their child to school to be instructed in writing, reading, in the catechism and fear of God. Every father and mother, be they rich or poor, wants to send their children and servants to catechetical instruction, so that there they may

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<sup>32</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 115.

Durch die Unterweisung Christlicher Lehr und Aufferziehung zur Gottesfurcht/ werden die Kinder dem Teuffel gleichsam mitten aus dem Rachen gerissen/ werden im Glauben zur Seligkeit erbawet/ lernen aus dem Glauben Gott-Vater/ Sohn und H. Geist erkennen/ aus den Zehen Geboten Gott und den Nechsten lieben/ was für Laster sie fliehen unnd meiden sollen/ lernen aus dem Vater unser/ wie sie beten/ und Gott ihren Himlischen Vater anrufen sollen. Lernen aus den Sacramenten/ wie sie damit ihren Glauben stärken/ und sich der gnädigen-Vergebung ihrer Sünden versichern sollen/ Erlangen Gottes Huld/ Gnad und Segen zu zeitlicher und ewiger Gedeyligkeit.

learn the foundation of their faith and salvation. Every father and mother, be they rich or poor, wants to be home teachers themselves, to teach their children the catechism, or to teach others and have them repeat the catechism with them. Every father and mother, be they rich or poor, wants their grown-up children to go to the Lord's Supper, and so they do not go like the sow to the trough, without knowledge of God, of Christ, of faith, and of training in the catechism, they send them to the choir on Thursdays for confession, examination in the catechism, and to receive absolution so they can go properly to the Lord's Supper, and not play the idle fellow at home, and receive judgment on themselves.<sup>33</sup>

Dieterich adds that knowledge of the faith is necessary for understanding absolution and the Lord's Supper, and this is especially important as young people grow up and mature. An absence of faith could lead to a person receiving the Lord's Supper to his or her condemnation.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 120–21.

Ich flehe/ bitte und ermahne dieselbig in Christo Jesu/ es wolle ein jeder sich derselbigen gemäß verhalten/ sein Kinder und Gesind seyen klein/ jung oder erwachsen darzu anhalten/ daß sie mit dem Kind Jesu gen Jerusalem auff's Osterfest gehen. Ein jeder Vater und Mutter/ sey reich oder arm/ wolle sein Kind zur Schulen schicken/ sie schreiben/ lesen/ im Catechismo und Gottesfurcht unterrichten lassen. Ein jeder Vater und Mutter/ sey reich oder arm/ wolle seine Kinder und Gesind zum Catechismo und Kinderlehr schicken/ daß sie daselbst in das Fundament ihres Glaubens und Seligkeit lernen. Ein jeder Vater und Mutter/ sey reich oder arm/ wolle selbst Hauslehrer sein, den Katechismus seine Kinder lehren, oder andere lehren/ und den Catechismus mit ihnen repetiren lassen: Ein jeder Vater und Mutter/ sey reich oder arm/ wolle sein erwachsene Kinder zum Abendmal anhalten/ und damit sie nicht wie die Saw zum Trog/ ohne Erkenntnuß Gottes Christi/ Glaubens und Catechismi Wissenschaft hinzugehen/ sie das Donnerstags ins Chor schicken/ daselbst beichten im Catechismo examiniren, und dann erst absolviren lassen/ damit sie würdig zum Abendmal gehen/ selbige uns nicht heimlich abstehlen/ und ihnen zum Gericht empfangen.

<sup>34</sup> Cf., e.g., *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 116:

Nötig ... umb der Absolution und Abendmals willen. Dann die Absolution ist der rechte Schlüssel/ dadurch allen gefallenen Sündern der Himmel auffgeschossen/ Johan. 20,22. Das H. Abendmal ist das Siegel/ dadurch wir der gnedigen Vergebung der Sünden vergewissert und versichert werden/ Matth. 26,28. Nun nützet weder die Absolution noch Abendmal etwas/ ohne Glauben/ Dann wer den Glauben hat an diese Wort/ Für euch gegeben und vergossen zur vergebung der Sünden/ der hat auch/ was sie sagen/ und wie sie lauten/ nemlich vergebung der Sünden: Wann du nun zum Abendmal gehest darzu deine Kinder schickest/ und weis ihrer keines/ was Abendmal seye/ wer Christus seye/ was Glaub sey/ wie wiltu dann den Worten der Einsetzung gleuben? Gleubstu nicht/ was sol dir dann das Sacrament nützen? Da issest und trinckestu solches dir selbst zum Gericht/ 1. Cor. 11,29.

Cf. also *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 117: "O/ es thut wol/ wann sie zum Tisch des Herrn gehen wollen/ daß sie zuvor in des Catechismi Haupt=Puncten examiniret und befragt/ damit sie mit gutem Verstand und seligem Nutzen dessen gebrauchen mögen."

Likewise, instruction in the faith is important for marriage and a couple's relationship with God.<sup>35</sup>

Once again, even more important within the family is that parents make sure their children are brought up in the fear of God and in his teaching:

How will [parents], when God blesses them with children, educate them in the fear of the Lord and teach them to pray, [how will they teach] little Nicholas [when] they themselves are not able to pray, and know nothing of the fear of God and of his teaching? For this reason the instruction and knowledge of the catechism and of the articles of faith is the most necessary thing in this world.<sup>36</sup>

Educating children in the faith is also important because of the frailty and transience of human life. Human beings are more inclined to evil than good, and quickly forget the good lessons learned as youth when not constantly exercising them. For Dieterich, the catechism and catechetical instruction play a critical role in educating and preserving children in the Christian faith and life:

Therefore, the method through which we have the catechism memorized is the drilling of it at home, and then in public catechetical instruction, in which it is repeated, reiterated, and driven in. But when you [parents] do not send your children to catechetical instruction, and do not drill the catechism at home yourselves, how will [your children] retain it in their memories?<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 117.

Nötig ... umb des Ehestands willen/ welcher je mit Gott und dem Gebet anzufangen/ daß Gott darzu Glück und Segen geben wolle. Dann Christen sind Kinder der Heiligen/ und gebühret ihnen nicht solchen Stand anzufangen/ wie die Heyden/ die Gott verachten/ Tob. 8,5. Wann aber junge Leut ohne Erkänntniß Gottes/ ohne Wissenschafft des Glaubens unnd Christlicher Lehre sich zusammen fügen und ihren Ehestand anfangen/ mit wollen sie Gott anruffen? Was wollen sie für Glück und Segen haben?

Cf. also *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 117. "Wann sie in Ehestand treten wollen/ daß sie ihres Glaubens Bekänntniß Rechenschafft geben können/ und also bereit seyn jederman Antwort zu geben/ der Grund fordert der Hoffnung die in ihnen ist/ 1. Petr. 3,16."

<sup>36</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 116.

Wie wollen sie/ wann ihnen Kinder von Gott bescheret/ dieselbige in des Herrn Furcht erziehen sie beten lehren/ do Nicholas sie selbst nicht beten können/ nichts von Gottesfurcht und Lehr wissen? Darumb ist die Unterweisung und Wisschafft des Catechismi und der Glaubens Articuli das allernötigste Stück auff dieser Welt.

<sup>37</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 116.

Darumb so ist das Mittel/ dadurch wir den Catechismus in Gedächtniß behalten/ die heimische Haubung des Catechismi/ und denn die offene Kinderlehr/ darin der Catechismus repetirt, wiederholet und getrieben wird. Wann du aber deine Kinder nicht zur KinderLehr schickest/ auch daheim selbst nicht den Catechismus treibest/ wie wollen sie denselbigen im Gedächtniß behalten?

Dieterich understands the Christian life to be one of blessing, even in times of tribulation. Thorough instruction in the catechism and a strong foundation in the faith ensures that people will know how to bear their crosses:

When each Christian child and adult correctly believes, and lives the Christian life in proper godliness and discipline (Titus 2:12), in this way they will be edified in the faith, and blessed in all their activities and purposes. Then God gives them prosperity; they know to thank him for it in a Christian manner, and not to be self-boastful about it. When God sends them this or that cross or affliction, they know how to deal with it all the better and to bear it with patience. God blesses [parents] with children, they know how to bring them up in a Christian and godly manner, as they were brought up by their own dear parents, and in all things they have all the more happiness, blessing, and prosperity.<sup>38</sup>

There is both an ominous and joyous side to teaching catechism. On one hand, catechetical instruction is an obligation to be carried out by parents at the risk of their children's temporal and eternal lives. Yet, Dieterich also asserts that training up children in the Christian faith is a praiseworthy and honorable task of parents:

Tell me, then, Christian *Haußvater* and Christian *Haußmutter*, tell me what kind of splendid ornament for home and church do you have, when your little children stand around the table in your home like young olive branches, saying their prayers to their heavenly Father with folded hands and Christian humility? when they stand in school, in church, and in catechetical instruction, like tender little church seedlings, reciting their faith-statements from the catechism and their fine Bible passages? I know of no greater honor,

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<sup>38</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 117.

Wann ein jeglich Christen Kind und Mensch recht gleubet/ und Christlich/ Gottselig/ gerecht und züchtig lebet/ Tit. 2,12. dadurch werden sie im Glauben erbawet/ werden in allem ihrem Thun und Vorhaben gesegnet. Gibt ihnen dann Gott Glück/ wissen sie Gott Christlich dafür zu dancken und sich dessen nicht zu überheben. Schicket ihnen Gott in deisem oder jenem Creutz und Trübsal zu/ wissen sie sich destobaß darein zu richten/ und selbiges mit Gedult zu tragen. Beschert ihnen Gott Kinder/ wissen sie selbige Christlich und Gottselig auffzuerziehn/ wie sie von ihren lieben Eltern auffgezogen/ haben in allem desto mehr Glück/ Segen und Gedeyen.

glory, or praise that fathers and mothers can have because of their children than this, and indeed should fill their eyes with tears of joy.<sup>39</sup>

The weight for catechesis understandably rests on the adults, but even as parents are given the responsibility of training up their children, so the children are to attend to this training. Dieterich addresses young people, encouraging them in their religious education and in their faithful demonstrations of the Christian life:

Tell me, boys and girls, young men and women, tell me, what can be more praiseworthy and honorable for you than this, that you have correctly laid the foundation of your salvation from God's Word, been able to give account of your faith from your catechism, and given it publicly in church, in catechetical instruction and in the confession of sins, and also to others, and have led a Christian life according to God's Word? When such a child is heard praying, everyone says: Whose boy is this? whose girl is this? This is a pious little son, a fine little daughter who can pray so well; God preserve this [child]! He will [grow up

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<sup>39</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 117.

Dann/ sage mir/ Christlicheer Haußvater/ Christlicher Haußmutter/ sage mir/ was hastu für ein herrliche Hauß= und Kirchen Zierd/ wann deine Kindlein in deinem Hauß wie die Oelzweiglein umb deinen Tisch stehen/ mit gefalteten Händen und Christlicher Demuth ihr Gebet zu ihrem Vater im Himmel verrichten? Wann sie in den Schulen/ in der Kirchen und KinderLehr/ wie die zarte Kirchenpflänzlein stehen ihres Glaubens=Red und Antwort/ aus ihrem Catechismo geben/ ihre schöne herrliche Biblische Sprüche recitiren können? Ich weiß kein grösser Ihr/ Ruhm noch Lob/ die Väter und Mütter an ihren jungen Kindern haben können als eben diß/ darüber einem wol für Frewden die Augen übergehen solten ....

to] be a fine man, she a fine woman! I know no more noble and beautiful adornment for young people than this; when I see such a young person, my heart rejoices.<sup>40</sup>

Accordingly, Dieterich maintains that when children are not educated in the Christian faith, the results can be serious, even dangerous:

For what can be more harmful to a person than to know or understand nothing of God, of Christ, of the catechism, of the sacraments, of prayer, creed, religion, and the fear of God, but rather from earliest childhood to weary old age to live in the world only like dumb brutes. When they come to church or to school and receive the holy sacraments, does it improve one hair on their heads?<sup>41</sup>

Likewise, it is cause for shame and disgrace when children are not trained up in the faith—shame for parents, children, congregation, city, even the Gospel and Christianity. In these cases, the expectation of proper and attentive instruction in the faith has not been met:

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<sup>40</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 117–18.

Sagt mir/ ihr Knaben und Mägdlein/ ihr junge Gesellen und Jungfrauen/ sagt mir/ was kan euch rühmlicher und ehrlicher als eben dieses seyn/ daß ihr den Grund der Seligkeit aus Gottes Wort recht gelegt/ ewres Glaubens Rechenschaft aus ewerm Catechismo geben/ denselben öffentlich in der Kirchen/ bey der Kinder Lehr und in der Beicht/ und sonst auch bey andern geben könnet/ und nach demselbigen ein Christliches Leben führet? Wann man ein solch Kind höret beten/ da sagt jederman: Wem ist der Knab/ das Mägdlein? das ist ein from Söhnlein/ ein schön Töchterlein/ das kan wol beten; Gott behüte es! Es wird ein feinen Mann/ ein feine Jungfraw/ ein feine Fraw geben! Ich weis kein edler Zierd und Schöne an jungen Leuten/ als eben die/ wann ich die an einem sehe da lachet mir das Hertz im Leib.

Later in the *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, Dieterich addresses children and youth on the importance of catechetical instruction (122–23):

Ach wie viel sind der jungen rohen/ erwachsenen Kinder/ Söhne/ Töchter/ Ehehalten/ Knechte/ Mägdle/ Handwercksjungen und Gesellen/ andere Dienstboten ins Gemein/ welche wenn sie schon entweder von ihren Eltern/ Vätern/ Müttern/ Pflegern/ Herrn/ Frawen/ Lehrmeistern und Meisterin zur Schulen/ zum Catechismo, Kinder Lehre/ zum beten/ Gottesfurcht/ Erlernung der wahren Christlichen Evangelischen Religion und Glaubenssachen gehalten/ getrieben/ erinnert und ermahnet werden/ dennoch solches alles aus der acht lassen/ in Wind schlagen/ neben der Schulen/ Catechismus und Kinder Lehr hingehen/ sich in Glaubenssachen nicht wollen unterrichten lassen/ noch im Catechismo etwas begehren zu lernen/sondern dargegen in nichtigen Fabeln und Märlein/ in Buhlen Lieder und Büchern/ in Löffleyen und Bübereyen/ in schandlosen Zotten/ Bossern und Narren=thädigen sich/ wie sie können/ exerciren und uben/ darinn fertig und geschickt seyn. Denckt/ ihr junge Leut/ denckt was diß für ein Schand seye? Was es für ein grosse Sünde seye? Wie wolt ihr diß gegen Gott dermaleins verantworten? Wie wolt ihre deßwegen hie zeitlich und dort ewiglich bestehen? Ach wey euch/ ihr junge Leut/ weye euch? Ach es were auch euch tausend und aber tausend mal besser/ daß ihr auch selbst ein Mühlstein an ewerm Halse hange hettet/ und würdet mitten im Meer erseuffet/ da es am allertieffesten ist/ Als das ihr in dieser unchristlichen/ hochschendlichen/ hochschädlichen/ hochstrefflichen Unwissenheit und Roheit betreten werdet!

<sup>41</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 118.

Dann was kan schädlicher einem Menschen seyn/ als von Gott/ von Christo/ vom Catechismo/ von Sacramenten/ vom beten/ Glauben/ Religion und Gottesfurcht/ nichts wissen/ noch verstehen/ sondern nur in der Welt/ wie das thumme Viehe von der ersten Kindheit/ biß ins beschwerliche Alter/ dahin leben/ wann sie schon zur Kirchen und Schulen kommen/ und der H. Sacramenten gebrauchen/ sie doch dessen nicht ein Haar bessern?



It is also disgraceful, shameful, and dishonorable when [people] know nothing of God, creed, catechism, Commandments, and salvation. For indeed what is a greater disgrace, shame, and dishonor than when not only children and young people, but even robust grown-ups who have reached adulthood, and have lived sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, twenty, even thirty more or less years, and cannot properly pray the Lord's Prayer, have not been sent to school, church, and catechetical instruction, have not been brought up in the fear of God and Christian discipline, but rather go out as the herds in the streets, leaping and kicking around like wild cattle (Job 20:11–12), causing all kinds of mischief, are insolent, lewd, and shameless; [you] know how they are carrying on in prostitution and fornication, how they curse, swear, and utter dreadful blasphemies, yet during their entire lives have never entered a school, never learned the catechism. O eternal God, it is to fathers and mothers, to a very honorable gathering of friends, to an entire city and congregation, indeed, to the whole Gospel and Christianity an everlasting disgrace and shame for God and for humanity!<sup>42</sup>

In summary, Dieterich strongly emphasizes the role of parents in catechetical instruction of children in the home. This instruction is to progress from the most basic elements to the more advanced, and includes teaching children prayers, Bible passages, the simple text of the catechism (first without explanations), then Luther's Small Catechism with explanations. Memorization of the parts lays a solid foundation and allows children to move on to a greater mastery and understanding of the material. Dieterich's expectations regarding the role of parents in teaching the catechism and the nature of this instruction are clear.

But parents were not in this work of teaching alone. These catechetical lessons were to be reinforced with the learning received in worship services and later in schools.

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<sup>42</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 118–19.

Ist ihnen ... schimpfflich/ schmitzlich und unehrlich/ wann sie von Gott/ Glauben/ Catechismo/ Gebott und Seligkeit nichts wissen. Dann was ist doch für ein grösser Schimpff/ Schmach und Schand/ als wann nicht allein Kinder und junge Leut/ sondern auch starcke erwachsene Leut/ die ihr Männlich Alter erreicht/ Sechzehnen/ Siebenzehnen/ Achzehnen/ Zwanzig/ ja Dreissig/ mehr oder weniger Jahr uberlebt/ nicht recht ein Vater unser beten können; Nicht zur Schulen/ Kirchen und Kinderlehr geschickt/ Nicht zur Gottesfurcht und Christlicher Zucht aufgezogen/ Sondern wie die Heerde auff die Gassen außgehen/ springen und lecken herumb wie die wilde Rinder/ Job. 20,11.12. treiben allen Muthwillen/ sind frech/ geyl und unverschampt/ wissen wie sie Hurerey und Unzucht treiben/ wie sie Fluchen/ Schweren und erschrecklich Gottslästern sollen/ aber die Zeit ihres Lebens in kein Schul kommen/ kein Catechismum gelernet/ O/ ewiger Gott/ das ist Haußväter und Mütter/ einer gantzen ehrlichen Freundschaft/ einer gantzen Stadt und Gemein/ ja/ dem gantzen Evangelio und Christenheit ein ewiger Spott und Schand/ für Gott und für Menschen!

## Catechetical Instruction Received in Regular Worship Services

Participation in public worship is another important element of training children in the faith for Dieterich. This is to begin at a very early age, thus setting down and solidifying the foundation for a life of active worship and devotion from earliest memory. With such an emphasis, Dieterich shows that he understands the teaching element of worship, that in the service of God's Word and sacraments, as well as in the response of praise and thanksgiving, learning takes place. Dieterich expects that in the worship service children and adults alike will be instructed in God's Word and thus in the Christian faith and life.<sup>43</sup>

Although the parents themselves are not the teachers in the worship setting, nevertheless they are to ensure that their children are present in church and learn what is taught there:

Christian parents should bring their children even from their earliest childhood to church for the hearing of God's Word and the participation in public worship. In this way, from infancy on, they will acquire a desire for God's Word, for the holy sacraments, for public prayer in church, and for other ceremonies, and love these so much more, fear and honor God all the more, and continue all the more steadfastly in his devotion.<sup>44</sup>

To those who might argue that children should not be required to listen to sermons and be questioned on their content, Dieterich has a ready answer. Characteristically, his response demonstrates his knowledge of the ways of parents and their children, as well as something of his pedagogical thoroughness:

You may disagree and suppose that the children are still too young and too childish to be brought to hear sermons, to be examined on them, and to explain the catechism to you, and to be pressed to exercises of piety with you—that understanding does not come before years. There is still time enough for this, when they begin to grow and are a little older;

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<sup>43</sup> It may be asserted here that for Dieterich the worship service is to offer instruction in pure teaching as well as in the right and correct praise of God—praise and thanks for his grace and goodness.

<sup>44</sup> *Vlmische Kinder Predigt (1621)*, 19.

Christliche Eltern sollen ihre Kinder auch von ihrer ersten Kindheit auff/ mit sich in die Kirche zu anhörung Gottes worts und verrichtung deß öffentlichen Gottesdienst nehmen. Damit sie also von der ersten Kindheit an zu Gottes Wort/ zun H. Sacramenten/ zum offenen Kirchen Gebett/ und andern Ceremonien ein Lust gewinnen/ dieselbige desto mehr lieben/ Gott desto mehr fürchten und ehren/ unnd in seiner devotion desto beständiger beharren.

more elderly, judicious people know this as foolish talk. Is the child quick enough for naughtiness? Can he repeat all kinds of nonsense and idle talk? Can he remember and repeat tales and fables when you or someone else tells him? So why should and can he not also learn, remember, and repeat something from the sermon and the catechism, where there are things that are Christian, pious, useful, and good?<sup>45</sup>

The lessons learned in the worship services in church can be reinforced in the home, where parents act out their roles as home preachers. Just as pastors and preachers serve the needs of the congregation, so parents are to serve as pastors and preachers in their own households and care for their families. Father and mother are to preach and teach in the home what is publicly preached and taught in public worship. With this emphasis, Dieterich recalls Luther's charge for father and mother to be "bishop and bishopess" in the home, teaching the catechism and the Scriptures to their children.<sup>46</sup>

[Parents] themselves should also be home preachers [*Haußprediger und Hauß-predigerin*] when, after hearing a sermon, they sit down at home and question and examine their children on what they heard in the sermon, what they learned and remember from it, and what kind of fine little passage they can recite from it.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> *Vlmische Kinder Predigt (1621)*, 20.

Denckstu hie wider und vermeinest/ die Kinder seyen noch zu jung unnd zu Kindisch darzu/ daß man sie zur Predig führen/ darauß sie examiniren/ ihnen den Catechismum außlegen/ und dergleichen ubunge der Gottseeligkeit mit ihnen treiben solle/ Witz komme vor Jahren nicht. Es seye noch zeit gnug hierzu/ wann sie zu ihren Jahren kommen/ und ein wenig älter werden; So ist diß von ALten verständigen Leuthen ein Närrichte rede. Ist das Kind geschwind gnug zur Boßheit/ kans allerley narrenthädig und unnützes faules Geschwetzwerck nachschwetzen/ kans Mährlin und Fabelwerck/ wann du oder andere es ihme vorhalten/ behalten und nachsagen; Ey warumb solte und köndte es nicht auch was auß der Predig unnd Catechismo lernen/ behalten/ und nachsagen/ so da Christlich/ so da Gottselig/ so da nutz und gut ist?

<sup>46</sup> In his introduction to a 1528 sermon on the catechism, Luther addresses parents: "God has appointed you a master and a wife in order that you should hold your family to [the teaching of the catechism and learning of the Scriptures] .... Every father of a family is a bishop in his house and the wife a bishopess." (*Ten Sermons on the Catechism* (1528) *LW* 51:136–37; *WA* 30/I: 58.)

<sup>47</sup> *Vlmische Kinder Predigt (1621)*, 19.

Sollen auch selbst Haußprediger und Haußpredigerin sein/ wann sie auß der Predig kommen/ daheim zu Hauß sitzen/ ihre Kinder fragen und examinieren/ was sie in der Predig gehöret/ was sie darauß gelernet unnd behalten/ was sie für ein schön Sprüchlein auß der Predig sagen können.

## Instruction Received from Formal Catechetical Services

While parents are to teach their children the catechism in the home and reinforce what has been heard in worship and in sermons, Dieterich urges that they also send children to public catechetical instruction in the churches. In Ulm, this instruction usually took place in the *Katechismusgottesdienst*, which included the hearing of catechetical sermons (*Katechismuspredigten*) and examination of students on the catechism (*Katechismusverhör*).<sup>48</sup> Dieterich sees a biblical mandate for the role of parents in this instruction combined with sound pedagogical principles:

But especially [parents] should diligently send the children to instruction in the catechism [*Kinderlehr*], so that there they may hear the catechism prayed and explained, and [be able to] explain to you for themselves what the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper are, and clearly and intelligibly interpret them. This has been commanded to all of you (Dt 6:7). And you have its example in Abraham, who taught his children and household after him the ways of the Lord (Gen 18:19) ... in [the example of] the old Tobias who instructed his son, the young Tobias, in all fear of the Lord (Tobit 4:1 ff.) ... in [the example] of the grandmother and mother of Timothy, who from childhood on instructed him in the holy Scripture (2 Tim 1:5; 3:15). Oh, it does the children well when at a young age they are thus directed in the fear of God. The heart or soul of a child is just like a *tabula rasa*—like a blank slate—on which one can write what one wishes, and what is written there remains. When one writes down something good on the slates of children's hearts, they get accustomed to church, to God's Word and the fear of God, and they also remain in them, and adhere to them for their entire

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<sup>48</sup> In Ulm, *Katechismusgottesdiensten* were normally intended for young people; however, as discussed in chapter three, Ulm also had the practice of teaching the catechism to adults in regular worship services. These services included the reading of parts of the catechism, catechetical hymns, as well as sermons with catechetical or doctrinal content. For more on catechetical services in Württemberg and its surrounding territory during the period, cf. J. Haller, "Die württembergische Katechismusgottesdienste (Kinderlehr) in ihrer geschichtlicher Entwicklung," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 4 (1900): 152–73, and 5 (1901): 1–33; 88–90.

lives. As one trains up a child in the way he should go, he will not depart from it when he is old (Prov 22:6).<sup>49</sup>

In addition to the biblical mandate to instruct their children in the faith, Dieterich appeals to parents' reason and sound judgment. The hearing of God's Word and education and training up in that Word are the only ways that children will come to know God and his ways:

From where else does such knowledge of divine wisdom come to children than from education in the fear of God, that they are brought to [hear] preaching, that they are taught to learn and remember Bible passages, that they are led to the catechism and to catechetical instruction, taught in all aspects of it, and examined and questioned on their understanding of it? If you are not urging these same things, then your talking about them is of no use. For this reason, do not neglect the bringing up of your children, for [the child] that can speak is old enough to be instructed in the things of God.<sup>50</sup>

As parents, elders, and adults encourage catechetical training, they should also set a good, Christian example for young people to follow. Dieterich especially urges parents to be Christian models for their children. If parents make no effort to receive instruction in the Christian faith or live the Christian life, and know nothing of God and his Word, how will they teach their own

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<sup>49</sup> *Vlmische Kinder Predigt (1621)*, 19–20.

Sonderlich aber sollen sie die Kinder fleissig zur Kinderlehr schicken/daß sie darin den Catechismum beten und außlegen hören/ auch was Glaub/ was Vatter unser/ was Zehen Gebott/ was Tauff/ was Abendmahl sey/ ihnen selbst erklären/ fein deutlich und verständlich außlegen. Wie dann diß ihnen ins gemein befohlen/ Deut. 6.7. Und sie dessen Exempel haben an Abraham/ der seine Kinder und Haußnach ihm die Wege deß Herrn gelehret/ Gen. 18.19. An dem Alten Tobia/ der seinen Sohn den jungen Tobiam in aller Gottes Forcht unterwiesen/ Tob. 4.1.seqq. An der Großmutter unnd Mutter deß Timothei, welche ihn von Kindheit auff in der H. Schrift unterwiesen/ 2. Timoth. 1.5. und 3.15. O/ es thut den Kindern wohl/ wann sie also jung von der ersten Kindheit auff zur Gottes Forcht angewisen werden! Eins Kindts Hertz oder Seel ist eben wie ein tabula rasa, wie ein glatte schreib=Tafel/ auff welche man schreiben kan/ was man will/ und was man darein schreibt/ das bleibt. Schreibt man nun den Kindern was guts inn ihre Hertzentafeln hinein/ gewehnet sie zur Kirchen/ zu Gottes Wort und Gottes Forcht/ sihe/ so bleibts darin biß ins Alter hinan hafften. Schreibt man was böses darein/ gewehnet sie nicht zur Kirchen/ zu Gottes Wort und Gottes Forcht/ sihe so bleibts auch darinn/ unnd hanget ihnen die Zeit ihres Lebens an. Wie man ein Knaben gewehnet/ so lest er nicht davon/ wann er Alt wirdt/ Prov. 22.6.

<sup>50</sup> *Vlmische Kinder Predigt (1621)*, 21.

Wo kompt aber solche Wissenschaft der Göttlichen Weißheit den Kindern anders her/ als von der Aufferziehung zur Gottesforcht/ daß man sie zur Predig führet/ daß man sie Biblische Sprüche lernen unnd behalten lasset/ daß man sie zum Catechismo unnd Kinderlehr gewehnet/ darinn allerseits unterweiset/ darauß nach ihrem Verstand examiniert/ unnd befraget? Wann dergleichen mit ihnen nicht getrieben wurde/ so wurden auch dergleichen reden von ihnen nicht gehöret werden. Darumb so vergesst ihr der Kinderzucht bey eweren Kindern nicht/ denn was reden kan/ ist alt gnug inn Gottes sachen zu underrichten.

children regarding the things of salvation?<sup>51</sup> In the same way, Dieterich encourages the leaders in the church and the community to maintain a good example for young people.<sup>52</sup>

According to Dieterich's program as it has been outlined to this point, catechetical instruction combines learning the elements of the Christian faith and life as well as putting these into practice. Children are to learn the catechism, passages from Scripture, and prayers at home and in formal home catechetical instruction. They are to bring this learning to the worship service, where they are brought up in the active life of the church, hearing God's Word, receiving his gracious gifts, and responding to God in acts of thanks and praise, lessons parents ought to reinforce again at home. The next stage of instruction in Dieterich's outline involves the religious education young people receive in schools.

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<sup>51</sup> Cf. *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 121–22:

Ach/ wie viel sind der Eltern/ die selbst ihren Catechismus nicht gelernt/ wissen von Christo/ Glauben und Seligkeit weniger dann nichts? Denckt/ was das für ein Schand von Christen seye? Was wollen die ihre Kinder darvon lehren? Wie wollen sie solche darinn zur Seligkeit unterrichten? Wie viel sind der Eltern/ welche ob sie schon ihren Catechismus in der Jugend gelernt doch in der Wurtzeln nichts darvon verstehen/ so gar/ daß sie auch das Vater unser und Glauben/ wil der andern Catechismus Stück geschweigen/ nicht recht/ nur schlecht dahin sprechen können/ sondern ein solch Misch Masch und Gehäcke daraus machen/ daß weder rechte Wort noch Verstand hat/ und sich ein Verständiger billich darüber creutzigen und gesegnen möchte? Denckt/ was das für ein Schand von Christen seye? Was wollen die ihre Kinder darvon lehren? Wie wollen sie soche darinn zur Seligkeit unterrichten? Wie viel sind der Eltern/ welche ob sie schon ihren Catechismus recht und wol verstehen/ wissen/ wer Christus/ was Glaub/ was Seligkeit seye/ können darvon vernünfftig und wol conversiren und reden/ aber doch ihre Kinder im Jahr nicht einmal darinn examiniren/ uben/ fragen und probiren/ ob und was sie darinn gelernt/ und verstehen/ sondern sie wie das thumme unvernünfftige Vieh Jahr und Tag dahin gehen lassen? Denckt/ was für ein Schandt von Christen seye? Was wollen da ihre Kinder vom Catechismo lernen? Was wollen sie von ihrem Glauben und Christenthumb daraus Rechenschaft geben? Wie wollen sie hieraus zur Seligkeit unterwiesen werden?

<sup>52</sup> *Catechismus Predigt (1626)*, 121:

Und weil es heist: Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis, wollen unser Magnaten/ Regenten/ Prediger/ andere gelehrte/ geehrte Leut/ andern gemeinen Leuten mit gutem Exempel vorgehen/ damit durch deren irregularität in dieser löblichen Christlichen Ordnung kein Loch gemacht/ sondern sie viel in gebührender obacht gehalten werde.

## Catechetical Instruction in Schools

In numerous writings, Dieterich maintains that a good education is one of the greatest gifts parents can give to their children.<sup>53</sup> In particular, he places great stress on the role that schools play in educating children. In a sense, the school takes up the training of children, assisting, supplementing, and completing the work begun by parents. Indeed, much of the initial instruction in schools mirrors that intended for the home, including prayers, biblical passages, and the catechism without explanation, followed by Luther's Small Catechism.<sup>54</sup>

Although parents are not the teachers in the school setting, nevertheless their involvement is still important here for Dieterich. They lay the groundwork on which children can be "better instructed" in schools:

Christian parents should also send their children to school when they are old enough, so that there they are better instructed in religion and the fear of God, in skill and aptitude, in manners, discipline and virtues, impeded from what adheres to them by nature, and directed to the good in which they are educated.<sup>55</sup>

The success of catechetical instruction depends in part on the effectiveness and diligence of the parents. The training begun at home, according to Dieterich, can and must be continued and

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<sup>53</sup> In sermons and orations Dieterich often stresses the importance of educating children and of having learned people in the church and community. For instance, in his sermon, *Vom Standt der Schulmeister* (1617), Dieterich recalls the life and career of the ancient teacher Aristippus, suggesting that if a learned person lost all possessions in a shipwreck, he or she could survive because he or she had a good education to build upon. Dieterich sums up his discussion with a line from Diogenes Laertius, the biographer of Aristippus (Book 2.8.71), in Latin: "Mortalibus doctrina honori est omnibus," in German: "Tugend und Lehr/ ist jedermann ein Ehr." Cf. Dieterich, *Vom Standt der Schulmeister* (1617), printed in *Zwo Christliche Vlmsche Schulpredigten* (Ulm: 1618), 16. This emphasis on education by Dieterich is similar to that of one attributed to Luther, who, perhaps also echoing the ancients, once commented that parents could not give their children a more reliable treasure than an education in the liberal arts. House and home could burn to the ground and be lost, but an education could be carried away and preserved. ("Vosque parentes nullum certiorum thesaurum vestris liberis parare potestis quam artes. Hauß und hoff verbrennet, gehet hin; khunst ist gut zw tragen," WA Tr 4, No. 4317.)

<sup>54</sup> This progression was especially common in German schools (e.g., in Ulm). As will be discussed, the course of instruction in Latin schools quickly moved to more advanced levels.

<sup>55</sup> *Vlmsche Kinder Predigt* (1621), 21.

Christliche Eltern sollen ihre Kinder/ wann sie zun Jahren kommen/ auch in die Schulen schicken/ damit sie darinn in der Religion und Gottes Forcht/ in Kunst unnd Geschiglichkeit/ in Sitten/ Zucht unnd Tugenden besser unterrichtet/ von dem/ da ihnen von Natur anklebet/ angehalten/ zum guten aber/ darinn sie zu erbawen/ angewiesen werden.

expanded at school. At the same time while religious instruction is central to the curriculum in schools, it is only a portion of the broader educational program: “The schools have been and remain an agency and workshop of all wisdom, art, skill, prudence, understanding, and industry, alone in which wise, learned, skillful, prudent, intelligent, industrious, diligent people are brought up.”<sup>56</sup> Yet even here Luther understands the schools to exercise the students’ God-given talents.

Perhaps even more important than being the place where young people learn arts and skills, for Dieterich the school is the proper place for instruction in religion and piety, in manners, discipline, and virtues. Dieterich considers the teaching of religion to be important not only for students’ personal, temporal, and eternal lives, but also for the good of the entire community.<sup>57</sup> The church, the civic community, and the household all have a firmly established interest in the

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<sup>56</sup> “Welcher Gestalt die Schulen mit den Eißvögelein verglichen werden” (1636), printed in *Theologische Consilia und Bedencken*, 644:

Die Schulen ... [sind] und bleiben ein Officin und Werckstatt aller Weißheit/ Kunst/ Geschick-lichkeit/ Vorsichtigkeit/ Verstands und Fleisses/ als in welchem allein weise/ gelehrte/ geschickte/ fürsichtige/ verständige/ fleissige/ arbeitsame Leute auferzogen werden ....

<sup>57</sup> It is Dieterich’s clear expectation that the teachers of the catechism, especially in German schools, should themselves know the catechism—and know it by memory. In his sermon *Vom Ampt der Schulmeister* (1618), Dieterich asserts that “It is thus a great shame ... that a small child in the German school can recite his catechism with the explanation from memory, while his school master or mistress themselves are not able to do it from memory.” [Ist ohne das auch ein grosse Schand ... daß in der Teutschen Schulen soll ein kleines Kind sein Catechismum mit der Außlegung außwendig auffsagen/ und sein Sculmeister oder Schulmeisterin können ihn selbst nicht außwendig.] Dieterich, *Vom Ampt der Schulmeister* (1618), printed in printed in *Zwo Christliche Vlmsche Schulpredigten* (Ulm: 1618), 34.



success of schools.<sup>58</sup> Here Dieterich clearly echoes Luther's emphasis that Christian education benefits both the church and the state.<sup>59</sup> Certainly, this emphasis was appreciated and echoed by the ruling authorities in Ulm, who encouraged Dieterich to support their social-disciplining policies.

Dieterich compared schools to an orchard that brings forth good things for the church and community: "[A school is] nothing other than an orchard, in which all sorts of produce from branches, bushes, and fruit trees are brought up."<sup>60</sup> In this "Schul=Garten," the children are

tended carefully and brought up in piety and godliness, they grow and prosper in the Latin and Greek languages, in poetry, the logical skills, and in other liberal arts, in Christian virtues, good manners and conduct, and here according to the will of God, they might be used all the more suitably in clergy, church, or civil offices, or in the common civil affairs, through the blessing of God.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> In his preface to Dieterich's *Theologische Consilia und Bedencken* (1524), Johannes Frick (see chapter 3, footnote 189) recalled that Dieterich knew well the importance of schools for the church, the city council, and the community of Ulm:

The blessed man had the school organized in a particular manner, since he was of the opinion that the church, the *Rathaus*, and also the civic community might not be well and properly appointed unless a special supervision of the school was maintained to direct it well in all its elements. [This supervision was to see to it] that young people are thus instructed in the true fear of God, the liberal arts, useful sciences, and also in good and proper habits, in order that in their day they would follow after other courageous men, and in all stations might honorably and usefully represent the church of God and the affairs of the community, and in similar positions, after [their predecessors] forsake this earthly life.

[Der seel. Mann hat sich sonderlich die Schul lassen angelegen seyn/ denn Er dafür gehalten/ daß die Kirch/ das Rath=Haus/ auch das gemeine Leben nicht wol und glücklich mögen bestellet werden/ wo nicht auf die Schulen eine sonderbare Aufsicht gehalten werde/ damit dieselbigen in allen Stücken wol angeordnet/ daß junge Leute in der wahren Gottesforcht/ freyen Künsten/ und nützlichen Wissenschaften/ auch artigen und wol-anständigen Sitten also unterrichtet werden/ daß sie zu seiner Zeit/ andern dapfern/ um die Kirchen Gottes/ und das gemeine Wesen wol-verdienten Männern in allen Ständen nach folgen/ und dergleichen Stellen/ wenn sie aus dieser Zeitlichkeit gewichen/ rühm= und nützlich vertreten mögen.]

<sup>59</sup> Cf., e.g., Luther, *To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany that they Establish and Maintain Christian Schools* (1524), *LW* 45: 354–56; *WA* 15: 34–35; and *Large Catechism, The Sacrament of the Altar*, 86.

<sup>60</sup> "Von Nutzen der Schulen" (1616), 358. ["... die Schulen nichts anders seyen/ als ein Baumgarten/ darinnen allerley Gewächs von Zweigen/ Gesträuchen/ und Bäumen=Früchten auferzogen werden."]

<sup>61</sup> "Von Nutzen der Schulen" (1616), 356–58:

... Schul=Garten/ als nützliche tragbare Zweig und Bäumlein/ excoliert und auferbuet/ in Frömmig= und Gottseligkeit/ in Lateinischer und Griechischer Sprache/ in Poësi, artibus Logicis, und andern freyen Künsten/ in Christlichen Tugenden/ guten Sitten und Geberden/ wachsen und zunehmen/ und hier nechst dem Willen Gottes/ um so viel desto füglicher/ entweder zu Geistlichen Kirchen= oder Weltlichen Aemtern/ oder zu dem gemeinen Burgerswesen/ durch des Allerhöchsten Segen/ gebraucht werden möchten.

Once again, Dieterich emphasizes the importance of schools for the entire civic community: “The schools exist not only for the sake of learned, but also for the sake of the unlearned, for the artisans and the common servants, and thus for the sake of the entire city.”<sup>62</sup>

The schools, particularly the Latin schools with which Dieterich was most familiar, offered a humanistic curriculum that would prepare students well for their future lives in service to both the church and the civil community. This sound education in the arts would enable young people to pursue their future careers and excel in them. Dieterich lays strong emphasis on the importance of being skilled in the *trivium*:

An educated man, whether a theologian or a politician, must be a good grammarian to present his affairs in words without difficulty .... He must be a good logician to be able to correctly plan, devise, formulate, and appropriate his arguments. He must be a good rhetorician to be able to present elegantly, agreeably, and gracefully what he understands and knows in speaking and writing.<sup>63</sup>

Dieterich believed schools to be the best place for training children in Christian discipline. This discipline, with its emphasis on Christian virtues, is an integral element in bringing up children in the Christian life. Here, too, God is at work in the strengthening and nourishing of the children’s faith:

Such [teaching in] discipline takes place nowhere better and more felicitously than in the schools, which for this reason are called the correction houses [*Zuchthäuser*] of the youth, since in them the foolishness and bad habits are driven from the boys; in place of these are instilled into them good discipline and virtues .... Thus when they are diligently and

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<sup>62</sup> “Von denen Künsten/darinnen die Jugend zu unterrichten” (1620), printed in *Theologische Consilia und Bedencken*, 394. [“Die Schulen sind nicht da allein um der Gelehrten/ sondern auch um der Ungelehrten/ der Handwercken und der gemeinen Hausleut/ und also um der gemeinen Stadt willen.”]

<sup>63</sup> “Von denen Künsten/ darinnen die Jugend zu unterrichten,” (1620), 392.  
Ein Gelehrter/ er sey ein Theologus, oder Politicus, so muß er ein guter Grammaticus seyn/ damit er seine Sachen mit Worten ohne A[n]stossen vorbringe .... Er muß ein guter Logicus seyn/ daß er seine Sachen recht einfädmen/ inventiren/ disponiren/ und vertiren könne. Er muß ein guter Rhetoricus seyn/ daß/ was er kan und weiß/ im Reden und Schreiben/ fein zierlich/ artig und anmutig vorbringen könne.

faithfully educated in schools, then they grow strong in the Spirit full of wisdom. For God gives them wisdom from above (James 1:17).<sup>64</sup>

Dieterich views schools as the “proper agencies and workshops of the Holy Spirit,” places where the Holy Spirit is crafting and shaping young people for their future lives. He puts it this way:

Schools are precisely the place, and the only place, where people are improved: schools are the proper agencies and workshops of the Holy Spirit, in which boys are informed in piety, discipline, virtues, and honorable customs and manners, and from there can be brought up to public affairs in the church, for the benefit of the congregation, and in the life of the community. In schools, as youth, they will be instructed in piety and godliness, which is the greatest gain, as Doctor Paul teaches the Gentiles. This life and the future one has this promise, over which nothing more blessed can be gained in this life .... The teaching of salvation is the most precious and valuable thing in this life. In schools [children] are instructed in all sorts of religious habits, well-formed, proper behavior, honorable virtues, beyond which nothing more graceful and fairer can be wished for in this life.<sup>65</sup>

Dieterich knew full well the importance of education, schools, and their roles in the preparation and formation of young people for their future Christian lives. He had been involved in the workings of government and university and saw the need to develop Christians and citizens and the benefit of this. As both preacher and teacher, Dieterich had been able to put into practice what he preached regarding the instruction of the catechism and the fundamentals of the Christian faith. His catechetical works based on Luther’s Small Catechism, especially those

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<sup>64</sup> *Vlmische Kinder Predigt* (1621), 22.

Solche Zucht gehet aber nirgend besser und glücklicher vor als in den Schulen/ die deßwegen wol der Jugend Zuchthäuser zunennen/ weil darin die Thorheit und Untugend von den Knaben getrieben; hergegen aber Gottesforcht/ gute Zucht und Tugenden ihnen eingepflantzet werden. Wann sie also in den Schulen fleissig und trewlich auffgezogen/ da werden sie starck im Geist voller Weißheit. Denn Gott gibt ihnen Weißheit von oben herab/ Jacob. 1. 17.

<sup>65</sup> Dieterich, “Von Nutzen der Schulen” (1616), printed in *Theologische Consilia und Bedencken*, 355–56: Die Schulen sind eben der Ort/ und allein der Ort/ da die Menschen gut gemacht werden: die Schulen sind die rechten Officinen und Werkstätten des H. Geistes/ in welchen die Knaben in Frömmigkeit/ Zucht/ Tugenden/ und erbarem Wandel und Sitten informiret/ und dannenhero zu öffentlichen Aemtern der Kirchen/ des Gemeinen Nutzens/ und des Bürgerlichen Lebens können gezogen werden. In der Schul werden sie von Jugend auf unterrichtet in Frömmig= und Gottseligkeit/ welche/ wie der Heyden Doctor Paulus lehret/ der gröste Gewinn ist/ so Verheissung hat dieses und des zukünftigen Lebens/ über welches nichts seeligers in dieser Welt kan erarnet werden .... Die Lehre der Seeligkeit ist das edelste und kostbarste in diesem Leben. In den Schulen werden sie unterrichtet in allerhand geistlichen Sitten/ wolgestalten ziemenden Geberden/ ehrlichen Tugenden/ über welche nichts zierlichers und ziemlichers in diesem Leben kan gewünscht werden.

intended as school textbooks, reveal much about his understanding of the purposes and objectives of catechetical instruction in his day.

**The Origins, Purposes, and Goals of Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613)  
and *Epitome Catechetica* (1614)**

Dieterich had specific intentions and audiences in mind for each of his catechetical writings. In his Latin school catechisms, the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica*, he used the catechism as a theological foundation upon which to construct a more detailed presentation of Lutheran doctrine. Beginning with the basic text of the catechism and progressing to more advanced study, students would ultimately attain a comprehensive knowledge of both the catechism and Lutheran doctrine in general. At the same time, Dieterich hoped to equip students to defend this teaching and to refute what threatens to undermine or destroy the evangelical faith. Dieterich's broader intent appears to have been not merely to compose a catechism with advanced dogmatic content, but rather to offer a program of catechetical instruction that would be, in his mind, suitable for advanced students at the *Gymnasium* level, and which could well prepare them for further theological study at the university. The key, then, to understanding Dieterich's school catechisms, is to appreciate the context in which he wrote them and the

particular manner in which instruction and examination took place in the Latin schools of the time.<sup>66</sup>

## The Writing, Purposes, and Goals for the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and the *Epitome Catechetica*

### The Origins of the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica*

Dieterich designed his *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica* chiefly for use in the Latin schools in Hessen-Darmstadt, and these catechisms reflect their Hessian origins and context. Whether or not Dieterich preferred to use Luther's Small Catechism as the core instructional text in his work did not matter since the fact was that the *Schulordnungen* (as well as *Kirchenordnungen*) of Hessen-Darmstadt had long prescribed the use of the Small Catechism for instruction in the territory's schools. It appears that other catechisms could have been used

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<sup>66</sup> The term *institutio* means "instruction" or "education." The plural form *institutiones* can indicate multiple lessons or elements of instruction. The terms are commonly used to describe instruction in certain school subjects, and often appear in the title of textbooks (cf. Dieterich's own *Institutiones dialecticae*, *Institutiones rhetoricae*, *Institutiones oratoriae*). Numerous other examples may be noted, including Melancthon's *Institutiones rhetoricae* (1521) and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (88 A.D.). Martinus Lipenius' *Bibliotheca Realis Philosophica* (1682) contains a catalogue of philosophical works published in the German lands in the sixteenth and much of the seventeenth centuries. Other than Dieterich's *Institutiones dialecticae*, Lipenius lists at least thirty-seven others works with the titles *Institutiones Dialecticae* or *Institutiones Logicae* published between 1545 and 1677, not including the various editions of these works. Lipenius, *Bibliotheca Realis Philosophica Omnium Materiarum, Rerum & Titularum in Universo Totius Philosophiae Ambitu Occurrentium* (Frankfurt am Main, 1682). The title of Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* appears to be unique. No other work bearing that same title has been found. The first edition of Jean Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religionis* (1536) was intended as a catechetical manual. This is clear from the full title of the work: *Christianae religionis institutio, totam fere pietatis summam, et quicquid est in doctrina salutis cognitu necessarium, complectens: omnibus pietatis studiosis lectu dignissimum opus ....* [*Institutes of the Christian Religion, Embracing nearly the Whole Sum of Piety, and Whatever is Necessary to Know of the Doctrine of Salvation: A Work most Worthy to be Read by All Persons Zealous for Piety ...*]. The second edition of the *Institutes* (1539), however, is beyond a catechism and more like an apology. It was designed for theology students preparing for pastoral ministry. By the 1559 edition of the *Institutes*, Calvin had developed and expanded the material into a theological system. Cf. Richard A. Muller, "Ordo docendi: Melancthon and the Organization of Calvin's *Institutes*, 1536–1543," in *Melancthon in Europe: His Work and Influence Beyond Wittenberg*, ed. Karin Maag. Texts and Studies in Reformation and Post-Reformation Thought (Grand Rapids: Baker/Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999), 123ff.; and Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 102ff., 118ff.

occasionally in the churches, but Luther's seems to have been most commonly read.<sup>67</sup> According to Johann Michael Reu, Luther's Small Catechism was expressly used for instruction in schools in Hessen-Darmstadt, at least among the lower grades.<sup>68</sup>

During the last several decades of the sixteenth century, the *Paedagogium* in Marburg (the forerunner of the *Paedagogium* in Giessen at which Dieterich taught) used Luther's Small Catechism in Latin for instruction in the lower grades (*Tertia* and *Quarta*). However, a series of disputes between the Hessian *Landgrafen* regarding the texts for instruction in the higher grades (*Prima* and *Secunda*) meant that numerous works were used for those during that time.<sup>69</sup> After the introduction of the *Verbesserungspunkte* in Marburg and the opening of the *Paedagogium* in Giessen (1605), Hessen-Darmstadt maintained the use of the catechism from the Hessian

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<sup>67</sup> The *Kirchenordnung* of 1566 had established Luther's Small Catechism as the principal basis of catechetical instruction in the churches of Hessen-Darmstadt. Although the catechisms of Melancthon and Brenz are also noted here, the use of Luther's catechism is cited more frequently. Cf. *Kirchen Ordnung: Wie sich die Pfarherrn vnd Seelsorger in jrem beruff mit lehren vnd predigen, allerley Ceremonien vnd guter Christlicher Disciplin vnd Kirchengzucht halten sollen: Für die Kirchen inn dem Fürstenthumb Hessen: Aus der Aposteln, jrer Nachfolger vnd anderer alten Christlicher reiner Lehrer schrifften gestellet* (Marburg: 1566), reprinted in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Emil Sehling, vol. 8. 1, Hessen (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1965), 253, 289, 295. The 1574 *Agenda* renewed this order. Cf. *AGENDA, Das ist: Kirchenordnung wie es im Fürstenthumb Hessen mit verkündigung Göttliches worts, reichung der heiligen Sacramenten vnd andern Christlichen handlungen vnd Ceremonien gehalten werden soll* (Marburg, 1574), reprinted in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 441, 462. For more on the use of Luther's Small Catechism in Hesse during the later sixteenth century, cf. Johann Michael Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands zwischen 1530 und 1600. Mitteldeutsche Katechismen* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1911), part 1, vol. 2.1, 435–36 [hereafter, *Quellen zur Geschichte*].

<sup>68</sup> Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I, 2.1, 436.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I, 2.1, 439ff. The various works included Melancthon's *Examen Ordinandorum* and *Loci Communes*, and catechisms by Chytraeus, Andreas Hyperius, Johannes Ferinarius, and Georg Sohn. Cf. also Max Georg Schmidt, *Untersuchungen über das hessische Schulwesen zur Zeit Philipps des Großmütigen I*. Beihefte der Mitteilungen für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte, 4 (Berlin: Thormann & Goetsch, 1904), 12. On the use of catechisms at Marburg, cf. also *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 156, 364–65.

*Kirchenordnungen* of 1566 and 1574, slightly modifying the text.<sup>70</sup> In his catechetical courses at the *Paedagogium* in Giessen, Dieterich developed his own catechetical material. Of course, this same material was later published in the *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613) and *Epitome Catechetica* (1614). In contrast to the instruction at the Marburg school, Dieterich's catechetical program at the *Paedagogium* in Giessen based its instruction on Luther's Small Catechism for all four grade levels.<sup>71</sup>

The fact that Luther's Small Catechism had long been used for instruction in Hessian schools is, of course, significant in Dieterich's incorporation of it in his Latin catechisms. Still, a few other factors should be noted in regard to Dieterich's choice. First, Dieterich, like many

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<sup>70</sup> Except for a few minor spelling differences, the catechism in the 1574 Hessian *Agenda* is the same text as that of the *Kirchenordnung* of 1566. Cf. "Die Konfirmandenfragen aus der Hessischen Kirchordnung von 1566," in Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I, 2.2, 1078ff., and Reu's notes there; cf. also Reu's comments on the history of these catechisms, *ibid.*, I, 2.1, 424–44). This catechism combines material from the catechisms of Luther and Brenz, as well as from Melancthon's *Examen Ordinandorum* (cf. Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I, 2.1, 434–35). The newer catechism, modified from the old Hessian agenda, is often referred to as the "Darmstadt Catechism." The oldest extant copy of this catechism dates from 1623, although most likely it was first published long before that, perhaps in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Cf. Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I, 2.1, 442; and Wilhelm Diehl, *Die Schulordnungen des Grossherzogtums Hessen*. Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, vol. 33 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1903), 49, 457. Reu details the textual differences between Hesse's 1566/74 *Kirchenordnungen* and the later Darmstadt Catechism (*Quellen zur Geschichte*, I, 2.2, 1078–83, footnotes).

<sup>71</sup> Wilhelm Diehl notes the distinctive use of Luther's Small Catechism as the basis for instruction of students in the higher classes of the Giessen *Pädagogium* (Diehl, *Schulordnung des Grossherzogtums Hessen*, vol. 28, 21–22):

Das Schiboleth der neu gegründeten Universität, der Katechismus Lutheri, wurde auch in den Oberklassen des Pädagogs zum einzigen Religionslehrbuch gemacht und der Pädagogiarch Konrad Dieterich übernahm es, 'den lateynischen Catechismus Doctoris Lutheri Seeligen in gewissen Fragen und Anntworten zu explicieren und zue erklären.'

It is possible, if not likely, that Dieterich also brought material into his *Epitome Catechetica* from the Darmstadt Catechism. In the text of the *Epitome*, Dieterich occasionally marks questions with asterisks. Neither the oldest extant copy of the *Epitome* (the second edition, 1617), nor later editions, provide any indication of the significance of these markings. (Other textbooks from the period often marked questions for younger students with asterisks, indicating the most elementary material, but that does not seem to be the case here.) Heinrich Heppe suggested that Dieterich transferred some questions and answers from the Darmstadt Catechism into his *Epitome*, and included a note to that effect ("Quaestiones asterico notatae ex Agendis Hessiacis et quaestionibus catecheticis ecclesiarum nostrarum desumptae sunt.") This note is not found in any extant editions of Dieterich's *Epitome*, although Heppe could be citing the first edition (1614), to which he might have had access. Cf. Heinrich Heppe, *Kirchengeschichte beider Hessen*, Heft 2 (Marburg: Sipmann, 1876), 72. Heppe was likely correct. A comparison of the Darmstadt Catechism to the text of Dieterich's *Epitome* (second edition, 1617) finds that the questions with asterisks in Dieterich's text match fairly closely to the Darmstadt material (translated into Latin from German). In borrowing material from a simpler, perhaps previously memorized, catechism, Dieterich perhaps was pointing out to his students that they had already learned these questions and answers, and that some of the material was being reviewed. (The *Institutiones Catecheticae* has no asterisks, or other such markings, in the text, and does not appear to have borrowed questions and answers directly from previous Hessian catechisms.)

Lutherans of his day, had the highest regard for Luther himself, regarding him as a great restorer and teacher of true Christian doctrine. Luther's Small Catechism was held as the best and most important exposition of that teaching for children and lay people. It is possible that Dieterich believed the use of Luther's text in his own catechisms added authority and stature to his work.

It is worth noting that few, if any, Latin schools in the German lands at the time of Dieterich's publication used Luther's Small Catechism as the basis of their most advanced catechetical instruction. Instead, many schools used compendia of theological *loci*, sometimes based on Melancthon's *Loci Communes*.<sup>72</sup> Thus it is legitimate to ask: Why did Dieterich not follow the practice of others in structuring a textbook for more advanced students?

A possible answer may lie in Dieterich's position at the time he developed his catechetical instruction and published in book form. Although a professor at the University of Giessen, Dieterich gave his catechetical instruction at the *Paedagogium* in Giessen where his task was to teach students at the *Gymnasium* level and prepare them for their later studies at the university. At the time, Dieterich had already received advanced theological training, but needed no terminal degree in that field since he was a professor in practical philosophy at the university. Most other theologians writing compendia of doctrine in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were professors of theology at universities and wrote their works chiefly for university students.<sup>73</sup> It appears that Dieterich seeks to classify himself as a teacher of catechesis and

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<sup>72</sup> E.g., The *Catechesis* of Chytraeus (first edition, 1554, the later, expanded editions had much dogmatic content); and Hütter's *Compendium Locorum Theologicorum ex Scriptura Sacra et Libro Concordiae Collectum* (1610).

<sup>73</sup> E.g., Jacob Heerbrand (1521–1600) wrote his *Compendium Theologiae* (first edition, 1573) while a theology professor at the University of Tübingen. He later published a Latin/German epitome of the work intended for school students and others in the church. Matthias Hafenreffer (1561–1619) composed his *Compendium Doctrinae Coelestis* in 1600 while professor of theology at Tübingen. Leonhard Hütter (1563–1616) published his *Compendium Locorum Theologicorum* in 1610, while professor of theology at Wittenberg. Although all of these compendia served wider audiences, they were at the least intended for use by students learning theology at universities. Many, if not all, were also used or adapted for use in Latin schools and *Gymnasia*.



catechetical doctrine rather than of Lutheran dogmatics. He considers his work in line with the Christian and Lutheran catechetical tradition.<sup>74</sup>

### School Context

Dieterich developed his school catechisms from his own experience teaching of catechesis in the *Paedagogium* in Giessen.<sup>75</sup> As noted, the *Institutiones catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica* were intended for students in Latin schools and *Gymnasia*, who would perhaps pursue further study at the university level.<sup>76</sup> These were the students Dieterich had in class where he vetted his material. He then turned around and wrote it up for publication. In its original Giessen context, the *Institutiones Catecheticae* was intended for use in the *Paedagogium maius* (the two most advanced classes of students, *Prima* and *Secunda*), while the *Epitome Catechetica* was for

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<sup>74</sup> For instance, in the dedicatory epistle to his *Institutiones Catecheticae*, Dieterich refers to Lutheran writers of catechisms which he holds in high regard, including Johannes Brenz, David Chytraeus, Lucas Lossius, Aegidius Hunnius, and Johann Schröder, all of whom wrote works that were considered catechisms and not compendia of doctrine. Dieterich does not refer to those theologians who wrote such compendia.

<sup>75</sup> In the dedicatory epistle to his *Institutiones Catecheticae*, Dieterich refers to the work as “lucubrationes,” or “night studies,” )(3, )(6. This was a fairly common way of describing a literary work in the period. Melanchthon had referred to the first edition of his 1521 *Loci Communes* as *lucubrationes*. The term refers to the product of nocturnal studies, or perhaps a work produced by careful elaboration of preexisting material, in this case, Dieterich’s course notes from his teaching of catechesis at the *Paedagogium*.

<sup>76</sup> The full titles of these works state the intended readership: *Institutiones Catecheticae, è B. Lutheri Catechesi Depromptæ, variisque notis Logicis & Theologicis, in usum Juventutis Scholasticae illustratae ...* (“explained for the use of youth in schools,” emphasis added.) Likewise, the title of the 1615 Ulm *Epitome* reveals its intended audience: *Epitome praeceptorum Catechetorum, in usum classicorum inferiorum ...* (“for use in lower classes.”) In his dedicatory epistle to the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, Dieterich states that this instruction had been composed for use by his students in the *Paedagogium* in Giessen, and was now making it available to others in print: “... dum Institutiones has Catecheticas sub initium illustris hujus Pædagogii in usum discipulorum meorum conscriptas, nunc verò, eorum quorum interest, suasu & hortatu exscriptas, typis evulgo & publici juris facio.” *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), )( 3. Later in the dedicatory epistle, Dieterich again notes that his instruction and its method is intended for young people in schools, “... alia, qua Scholasticæ imprimis juventuti consuleretur, procedendum nobis esse methodo judicavimus.” )( 4. In the dedicatory epistle to the second (1617) Giessen edition of the *Epitome*, dated 1614, Dieterich notes that he has adapted the content of the *Institutiones Catecheticae* for use in the lower classes [“in inferiorum classicorum usum”] of the *Paedagogium* in Giessen. *Epitome Catechetica, Autore Cunrado Dieterico SS Th. D. antehac Practicæ Philosophiæ Professore & Pædagogiarcha Gissæ, nunc Pastore ac Superintendente Ulmensi. Editio nova, recognita & elimata* (Giessen: Caspar Chemlin, 1617), third page of the *Epistola Dedicatoria*, n.p. In the dedicatory epistle to the second edition of the Ulm *Epitome* (the first 1615 edition has no prefatory material), dated 1627, Dieterich writes that while the *Institutiones Catecheticae* was for use by older (“adultiorum”) students, the *Epitome* has been accommodated from the *Institutiones* for the comprehension of students in lower classes: “... è quibus deinceps Epitomen, ad captum juniorum in classibus inferioribus accommodatam, confeci ...” *Epitome Catechetorum Praeceptorum* (1630), *Dedicatio*, A 3.

students in the *Paedagogium minus* (the lower classes, *Tertia* and *Quarta*).<sup>77</sup> Thus these two catechetical works were designed for use by a specific group of students, operating at a fairly advanced level in select schools.<sup>78</sup> Instruction in the catechism served as an integral part of a broader curriculum, including grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. When the catechism was used for its examples and its language in teaching other subjects, that exposure reinforced the catechism, a byproduct of the other lessons. But because Dieterich's catechetical teaching was intimately connected to these other subjects, particularly dialectic, those subjects also would come to influence greatly the arrangement and method of the instruction in the catechism. (As will be seen in chapter six, the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica* were widely used among their intended audiences in Latin schools in the Lutheran German lands.)

Although Dieterich does not explicitly say so, apparently he is working with the assumption that the youngest students in school will learn Luther's Small Catechism, possibly in German, but certainly in Latin, before they begin his program of catechetical instruction. After mastering the Small Catechism in both languages, students would then move on to study Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica*, an expanded and more difficult course of instruction both in

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<sup>77</sup> Cf. also Wilhelm Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," in *Die Schulordnungen des Grossherzogtums Hessen*. Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, vols. 27, 28, and 33 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1903), vol. 28, 22.

<sup>78</sup> Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* and its *Epitome* presumably were to be used for the instruction of students who had already learned the catechism and undergone some form of confirmation in the congregation. Thus, the sequence of the overall catechetical program would involve an initial course of catechesis followed by confirmation, after which more catechesis would continue. The precise nature of the confirmation practice in Hesse and Ulm at this time is not clear. It is known, however, that the elders of congregations in Hesse had traditionally held the responsibility of the confirming of young people. Cf. Wilhelm Diehl, *Martin Butzers Bedeutung für das kirchliche Leben in Hessen* (Halle: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1904), 50–51.

terms of content and method.<sup>79</sup> Finally, students would conclude the program in catechesis with the most advanced *Institutiones Catecheticae*. This overall plan appears to be what Dieterich has in mind, even though he published the *Institutiones Catecheticae* one year before the *Epitome*. But then Luther finished his Large Catechism first as well, so Dieterich is in good company.

The notion that instruction should progress from simpler texts to the more advanced on a single subject was the standard approach in the overall educational scheme in Latin schools at the time. Though Giessen was his “lab school,” Dieterich designed his program of catechetical instruction to work within the broader curriculum of the schools and integrated it with the subjects of the *trivium*. In some ways, the catechetical work is meant to build on that laid down by the grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric. Dieterich specifically includes logical analysis as part of his instruction in the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica*, and he intends that his students learn Lutheran doctrine and the practice of logical argumentation at the same time. Dieterich seems optimistic about what his texts could accomplish in the hands of an able teacher who would use the content to communicate and educate students and to have the desired effect on them.

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<sup>79</sup> In the dedicatory epistle of his *Epitome Catechetica* (dated January 1, 1614), Dieterich explains how he came to publish the second of his two school catechisms:

Dutifully considering [the education of young people in the rudiments of religion and the Christian faith], as soon as possible, at the direction of our illustrious *Paedagogium* I was entrusted with this one thing, among other scholastic exercises, principally to instill in my students the foundations of our Christian religion and the main articles of our confession with faithfulness and diligence, which defined by the questions in the blessed Luther’s Small Catechism along with the chief controversies of the faith, I composed eight years ago. At length, after being advised and encouraged by learned men, and after revising the work and expounding upon it with various logical and theological notations, I published the work in the foregone year for use among the youth at the *Paedagogium*.

[Piè isthaec meum perpendens, quàm primùm illustris Pædagogii nostri directio mihi commissi fuit hoc unum egi, ut inter exercitia scholastica alia, religionis inprimis Christianæ fundamenta & summa confessionis nostræ capita, ea qua possem fide & sedulitate discipulis meis instillarem Quem in finem quæstiones in Catechesin B. Lutheri minorem, depræcipuis fidei controversiis ante octennium conscripsi, & tandem suasu ac hortatu doctorum virorum, revisas, variisque notis Logicis ac Theologicis illustratas, ante annum in usum juventutis Pædagogicæ publicis typis evulgavi.]

## Luther's Small Catechism as a Basis for an Expanded Instruction in Catechetical Teaching

Dieterich starts with Luther's Small Catechism for his own exposition of the catechism and its teaching, then constructs a fuller, more detailed presentation of Lutheran theology based on Luther's text. Even as the Small Catechism is a true exposition and summary of the teachings of Scripture, so Dieterich considers his own work to be clear instruction in Scriptural doctrine built upon the firm foundation of Luther's catechism itself.

In the dedicatory epistle to the *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), Dieterich refers to the work as "An *Iliad* after Homer." The opening line of the epistle, after the address, reads: "Iliada forsitan post Homerum scribo ...." [I am writing an *Iliad* after Homer perhaps ...].<sup>80</sup> Dieterich goes on to briefly recount the history of catechetical instruction in the church, beginning with Origen and other early fathers and stretching through Luther and the teaching of other Lutherans, such as Johannes Brenz, David Chytraeus and Aegidius Hunnius. Dieterich has especially high praise for Luther's catechism. One interpretation of the phrase "An *Iliad* after Homer" may be that Dieterich understands his work—his catechetical instruction—as a rehearsal or retelling of the church's historical catechetical teaching. Perhaps, since his catechism is based on Luther's Small Catechism, Dieterich views Luther himself as Homer, whose *Iliad* (the Small Catechism) he is reiterating here. With perhaps a similar understanding, Luther himself referred to Scripture as the "divine *Aeneid*."<sup>81</sup> Like Aeneas wandering till he found his new home, Luther seemed to be

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<sup>80</sup> *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), *Epistola Dedicatoria*, )( 3.

<sup>81</sup> In Luther's last written statement before his death in 1546, he refers to Scripture as the divine *Aeneid* (WA Tr 5, 317–18, No. 5677):

No one can understand Vergil in his *Bucolics* and *Georgics* unless he has first been a shepherd or a farmer for five years. Nobody understands Cicero in his letters unless he has been engaged in public affairs of some significance for twenty years. No one has tasted the Holy Scriptures sufficiently unless he has governed the churches with the prophets for a hundred years .... Do not merely regard this divine *Aeneid*, but bowing before it, adore its every trace. We are beggars. This is true.

[Vergilium in *Bucolicis* et *Georgicis* nemo potest intelligere, nisi quinque annis primum fuerit pastor aut agricola. Ciceronem in epistolis nemo secundo intelligit, nisi viginti annis sit versatus in republica aliqua insigni. Scripturas sacras se nemo gustasse satis, nisi centum annis cum prophetis ecclesias gubernaverit. Hanc tu ne divinam *Aeneida*, sed vestigia pronus adora. Wir sein pettler. Hoc est verum.]

reading Scripture, the divine *Aeneid*, as a God-given epic narrative of God's dealings with his people and his work of salvation as they wandered after Eden till they reached their (heavenly) home. For guidance along life's journey, Dieterich sees the catechism as comprising all of Christian instruction, all that a Christian needs to know for faith and life in Christ. In a way, for Dieterich, instruction in the catechism is another day's journey in the *Iliad* extended in the story of Aeneas. In other words, Dieterich views his writing as an "*Iliad* after Homer," following chronologically and following in terms of theme and ideas with his *Institutiones Catecheticae* as a summary of the teachings of Scripture.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Given what Dieterich states in his dedicatory epistle, it is perhaps more likely that Dieterich is referring to the church's historical catechetical instruction, or even Luther's Small Catechism itself as the *Iliad* after which he is writing, rather than all of Scripture. Humanistic educators in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries considered the *Iliad* as fundamental for the humanistic education of young people in higher schools. The Homeric poems were held to contain and communicate essential lessons in Greek grammar, logic, rhetoric, poetry, ethics, history, and other philosophical letters and arts. Homer and other poets were read, in part, to provide students with examples and illustrations of the power of words and logical arguments, the structure of rhetoric and figures of speech. In many respects, Homer's *Iliad* offered a curriculum all on its own. Melanchthon wrote a preface to an edition of Homer's works in which he discusses the *Iliad* as a basis for education. Cf. "Preface to Homer," in *Philip Melanchthon: Orations on Philosophy and Education*. Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy, ed. Sachiko Kusukawa, trans. Christine F. Salazar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 43ff. This emphasis was not unique to the humanists, but had been taken up by them from the ancient classical literary tradition. Henri Marrou has pointed out that in antiquity, Homer stood at the forefront of classical literary education, and the "central pivot" around which the whole of Greek education was organized was the *Iliad* of Homer. Henri I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, translated by George Lamb (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956), xv, 21, 29. Marrou also has observed that later Hellenistic teachers attempted to extract from Homer's epic "a veritable catechism"—a theogony of the golden age of gods and heroes, as well as a theodicy summarizing man's duties to the gods and "a handbook of practical morality" (Marrou, 30.) Dieterich was not the first to make reference to the *Iliad* in connection with his own educational work. Jakob Heerbrand (1521–1600), a Lutheran reformer and professor at Tübingen, did something similar in his *Compendium theologiae*, a brief summary of Christian doctrine. In the dedicatory epistle of his work from 1578, Heerbrand writes that whereas the *Iliad* of Homer, as in a nutshell, contains the entire industry and learning of antiquity, so does the *Compendium* comprise the teaching of Holy Scripture:

Industriam Antiquitatis, Plinius & Cicero mirantur, potuisse totam Homeri Iliada, membranis inscriptam, in nucem includi. Longe autem maior laus, & ingenii, & industriae, ei debetur, qui Biblia sacra Compendio proponit. Quanquam enim in Poëmaticis Homericis, hinc inde quaedam [Grk] gnwmai sparsae sunt: quas gentiles, velut iniqui possessores, a vere docta Antiquitate, hoc est, Patribus mutuati sunt: tamen maior pars, fabulis, & iis quidem impiis, consumitur.

It is not known whether Dieterich was aware of Heerbrand's comparison. It is possible that he was, but he makes no reference to Heerbrand on the matter.

## Dieterich's Definition of Catechesis and Purpose in Writing

Dieterich's definition of catechesis in his two school catechisms provides a key to understanding his purpose in composing them. In both the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica*, Dieterich defines catechesis as follows:

[Catechesis is] the concise and clear instruction of the untrained in the foundation of the Christian religion, faith, and life, gathered from the prophetic and apostolic scriptures. (Or, it is a compendium of prophetic and apostolic doctrine which is taught orally to the uninstructed and which from them [a repetition of the material] is demanded in return ...).<sup>83</sup>

On one hand, Dieterich's definition of catechesis introduces nothing novel or revolutionary into the practice or theology of catechetical instruction. As with most catechetical teaching of the period, Dieterich understands catechesis to include the combined use of printed materials with oral instruction and repetition, and consistent with the Lutheran understanding, Dieterich underscores strongly that the catechetical teaching is based on Scripture. However, what is significant is what lies behind the phrase "instruction in the foundation." Dieterich's foundation of doctrine in the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica* is much more detailed and comprehensive than Luther's in the Small Catechism. Dieterich hardly intends to push aside Luther's catechism. On the contrary, he seeks to explain and expound upon it, that through his commentary on the text he may lead his students to a fuller understanding of the catechism's content and teaching. Dieterich does not necessarily reject the simplicity of Luther's language or its treatment of Christian doctrine. Rather, he makes the Small Catechism part of his own work,

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<sup>83</sup> "Quid est Catechesis? Est brevis ac perspicua rudiorum in fundamento religionis, fidei, & vitae christianae e scriptis Prophetis ac Apostolicis collecta institutio. [Seu Est compendium doctrinae Propheticae & Apostolicae quod rudioribus viva voce traditur & ab iisdem rursus exigitur...]" *Institutiones Catecheticae, è B. Lutheri Catechesi Depromptae, variisque notis Logicis & Theologicis, in usum Juventutis Scholasticae illustratae, a Cunrado Dieterico Practicae Philos. Professore publ. & Paedagogiarcha. Cum praefatione & approbatione Venerandi Collegii Theologici* (Giessen: Casparus Chemlinus, 1613), 1. The word order is slightly different in the *Epitome Catechetica*: "Quid est Catechesis? Est brevis ac perspicua institutio rudiorum in fundamento religionis, fidei, & vitae christianae e scriptis Prophetis ac Apostolicis collecta ...." *Epitome Catechetica, Autore Cunrado Dieterico SS Th D. antehac Practicae Philosophiae Professore & Paedagogiarcha Gissae, nunc Pastore ac Superintendente Ulmensi. Editio nova, recognita & elimata* (Giessen: Caspar Chemlin, 1617). It should be noted that the editions of the *Epitome Catechetica* published in Ulm in 1615 and afterward, as well as the texts that follow the Ulm edition, do not include this definition of catechesis. Instead they begin with other questions and answers. The differences in these editions will be discussed later in this chapter.

placing it at the center of his instruction. Yet, in the end, Dieterich's answer to Luther's question "What does this mean?" encompasses much more than Luther's own answer.

Although Dieterich considers himself in the tradition of Christian (and, more specifically, Lutheran) catechetical teachers, his intentions, design, and goals for the work are clearly different from Luther's. A comprehensive review of Luther's aims and objectives for his Small Catechism does not need to be rehearsed here. Rather Dieterich's utilization of Luther's text is important. He adopts and adapts the Small Catechism for his own purposes, expanding and employing it as a foundation on which to base his teaching of Lutheran doctrine to Latin school students. In amplifying Luther's text, Dieterich introduces topics not touched by Luther in order to give a more substantial and comprehensive instruction of doctrinal content. Although the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica* are not dogmatics texts per se, they are dogmatic in content, and they do teach an extensive course in Lutheran theology. Of course, Luther did not intend his own catechisms, particularly the Small Catechism, to serve as textbooks in dogmatic theology. They were the core, the basics to build on and return to. Dieterich did that, and then branched out even more. Whereas Luther's catechisms communicate Luther's confession of faith, they "do not express theology abstractly or systematically."<sup>84</sup> Dieterich's catechism, while presenting the Lutheran confession in its purity and simplicity, also expands that confession into a fuller treatment of Lutheran theological teaching.

Dieterich's specific methodological goals for these Latin school catechisms have been taken up in a previous chapter.<sup>85</sup> Dieterich's chief goal for his *Institutiones Catecheticae* is that his students learn "the fundamentals of Christian faith and devotion, ... learn the Holy Scriptures ...

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<sup>84</sup> Harold J. Grimm, "Luther and Education," in *Luther and Culture*. Martin Luther Lectures, vol. 4 (Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Press, 1960), 130–31.

<sup>85</sup> See chapter 1, 11–12.

and receive salvation, through faith, which is in Christ Jesus.”<sup>86</sup> Dieterich gives two reasons for publishing his *Institutiones Catecheticae*. First, he has been “advised and exhorted” to write down his catechetical instruction, presumably by friends and colleagues, and, second, he then publishes it “for the public use of those for whom it is of interest.”<sup>87</sup>

### **The Origins, Purposes, and Goals of Dieterich’s Catechetical Work in Ulm**

The program of catechetical instruction in the churches and schools in Ulm has been outlined in chapter three with regard to Dieterich’s pastoral and educational work in Ulm. As part of this work, Dieterich published two catechisms for use in Ulm that deserve consideration here: his *Epitome praeceptorum catecheticorum (1615)*, a revision of the 1614 Giessen edition of the *Epitome Catechetica*, and *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers (1616)*. The focus now shifts to the origins of these works and to what Dieterich intended as goals for their use. In addition, it is worth exploring the reasons why Dieterich approached and implemented his catechetical work the way he did.

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<sup>86</sup> In the dedicatory epistle to the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, Dieterich asks his readers to assist him in the task of instruction, )( 6:

Faithfully present with me these things to your hearers, impress them on the members of your family, expound, encourage, review, repeat, so that they imbibe these fundamentals of piety as mother's milk, so that in addition they learn the Holy Scriptures from boyhood, so that these same may become wise unto salvation, through faith, which is in Christ Jesus.

[Has fideliter mecum proponite auditoribus vestris, inculcate domesticis vestris, explicate, acuite, repetite, ingeminate, ut sic haec pietatis fundamenta cum lacte materno imbiba[n]t, à pueris sacras literas addiscant, & his ipsis ad salutem, per fidem, quae est in Christo Jesu, periti fiant.]

<sup>87</sup> *Institutiones Catecheticae (1613), Epistola Dedicatoria*, )( 3. “... eoru[m] interest, suasu & hortatu exscriptas, typis evulgo & publici juris facio.” Regarding the reason for publishing his *Epitome*, Dieterich simply states that he is issuing the work for use by younger students in the *Paedagogium* in Giessen (*Epitome Catechetica, Epistola Dedicatoria*, n.p.).



catechism (Luther's catechism) whereas the Giessen text follows the *Institutiones Catecheticae*. Likewise, in line with the Ulm catechism, the Ulm *Epitome* follows the version of Luther's catechism that contains six chief parts—the sixth part being on the office of the keys and confession—while the Giessen text has five chief parts.<sup>91</sup> Finally, the Ulm *Epitome* teaches a twofold use of the Law, where the Giessen version has a threefold use. Although the *Institutiones Catecheticae* saw numerous editions and reprintings, it does not appear that Dieterich significantly revised the text's content or arrangement to more closely correspond to the catechetical tradition in Ulm. The Ulm *Epitome* would serve as a bridge to the more advanced work in spite of its differences. Dieterich's intentions and goals for the *Epitome praeceptorum catecheticorum* as well as the *Institutiones Catecheticae* in the Ulm *Gymnasium*, are virtually the same as for the Giessen *Paedagogium*.

### **The Origins, Purposes, and Goals of *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers* (1616)**

Dieterich's German catechism for use in the churches and schools in Ulm and its surrounding territory (*Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers*), first published in 1616, was issued for a much different purpose than Dieterich's previous two school catechisms.<sup>92</sup>

Dieterich's reason for publishing the catechism was to reintroduce Luther's Small Catechism as the foundation for catechetical instruction in Ulm. That, in turn, apparently was because of his conviction that Luther's was the best catechism to teach children and lay people the basics of the

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<sup>91</sup> The *Institutiones Catecheticae* and the Giessen *Epitome* used a version of Luther's Small Catechism containing five chief parts in keeping with its traditional use in Hessen-Darmstadt. The version of Luther's catechism traditionally used in Ulm had six chief parts.

<sup>92</sup> *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers/ be=neben den Fragen deß Summari=schen begriffs der sechs Hauptstucken Christlicher Lehr/ &c. Mit Angehengetem Christli=cher Unterricht/ für Junge vnd einfältige Leut/ welche begehren zum Heyligen Abend=mal zugehen/ Auch etliche Kinder= vnd Schulgebetlein/ Für Vlmische Kirchen vnnnd Schulen in Statt vnd Land* (Ulm: Jonas Saur, 1629). Although the catechism was first published in 1616, no copy of the first edition survives. Dieterich is not considered the author of the catechism, but rather the "Herausgeber," i.e., the editor or issuer of the catechism.

## The Origins, Purposes, and Goals of the *Epitome praeceptorum catecheticorum* (1615)

Dieterich published his *Epitome praeceptorum catecheticorum* in 1615 for use by students in the *Gymnasium* in Ulm.<sup>88</sup> This work, along with Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae*, replaced Hütter's *Compendium locorum theologicorum* for religion instruction from the fourth through first classes at the school.<sup>89</sup> The *Epitome praeceptorum catecheticorum* was a revised edition of the *Epitome Catechetica*, published the previous year by Dieterich in Giessen and intended for use in the *Paedagogium* there. Dieterich revised the *Epitome* for use in Ulm to better correspond to the catechetical teaching that students in the *Gymnasium* would have received prior to their entrance into the fourth class, when they would first use this text. Dieterich adapted both the content and structure of the *Epitome* to reflect the Ulm catechism that students were using in classes five through seven.<sup>90</sup> The 1616 edition of Luther's Small Catechism published by Dieterich for use in Ulm's churches and schools, although in German, closely matches the contents and arrangement of the Ulm *Epitome* in a simpler format and instruction.

The revised edition of the *Epitome* for Ulm preserves most of the content and structure of the previous Giessen version, with a few noteworthy amendments. The Ulm edition opens with different questions and answers than the Giessen version. The Ulm text follows that of the Ulm

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<sup>88</sup> *Epitome praeceptorum Catecheticorum, in usum classicorum inferiorum, ex Institutionibus Catecheticis collecta, à Cunrado Dieterico SS. Theol. D. Ecclesiarum Ulmensium Superintendente* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1615). In 1627, Dieterich published a second revised version of this work in a Latin/German edition: *EPITOME CATECHETICORUM PRAECEPTORUM. In usum CLASSIVM INFERIORUM, COLlecta ex Institutionibus Catecheticis, CUNRADI DIETERICI SS. Theologiae Doctoris, Ecclesiarum Ulmensium Superintendentis. Editio secunda revisa ac correcta. Kurtzer Außzug Dero Catechismus Lehrstück Für die Schuljugend in den vntern Classen/auß dem grössern Werck der Institution oder Catechismus Vnterweisungel/ Cunrad Dieterichs/ der H. Schrifft Doctorn/ Vlmischer Kirchen Superintendenten zusammengezogen. Von Newem vbersehen vnd zum andern mahl in Truck geben* (Ulm: Jonas Saur, 1627).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. chapter 3, footnote 174.

<sup>90</sup> The seven classes of the *Gymnasium* in Ulm were not identical to seven years of study. Students were required to spend a minimum of one half-year in each class before advancing. The normal length of study at the *Gymnasium* was more than ten years, and the average age of students moving on to the *Gymnasium academicum* was between seventeen and eighteen years. Thus the students receiving catechetical instruction from Dieterich's catechisms were most likely between thirteen and eighteen years old. Cf. Hans Eugen Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, Sonderdruck aus "Der Stadtkreis Ulm," Amtliche Kreisbeschreibung (Ulm, 1977), 160.

Christian faith.<sup>93</sup> The book simply consists of the text Luther's Small Catechism accompanied by some questions from Johannes Brenz's catechism (*Fragstücke*, 1535), followed by prayers for children and for use in schools, and finally a catechetical hymn.<sup>94</sup> As the title page states, the catechism was intended for use by "young and simple people who desire to go to the Lord's Supper."<sup>95</sup> The catechism was designed for use by people of all ages, but particularly for children

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<sup>93</sup> In his foreword to the work, Dieterich states that Luther's catechism had fallen into disuse for some time in Ulm, "but now once again the catechism of Luther was considered and introduced for all kinds of important reasons" ["aber nun mehr eneuter Catechismus Lutheri selbsten/ auß allerhand bedenckt vnnnd wol erheblichen Ursachen widerumb eingeführet"]. Dieterich does not provide any more specific reasons other than to add, "It is regarded as advisable and necessary that the questions contained in the six chief parts of this catechism of Luther, which are useful for your young people, be incorporated in an orderly manner for the sake of more correctness." ["Als ist für rahtsam vnnnd nötig angesehen/ daß die Fragen inn denen sechs Hauptstucken begriffen/ dero Jugend zu gut/ diesem Catechismo Lutheri vmb mehrer richtigkeit willen ordentlich einverleibt wurden."] Dieterich's statements here leave the impression, perhaps, that he believed it was more appropriate for Lutheran homes, churches, and schools to use Luther's catechism as the basis for instruction, rather than other catechisms. By his (re)introduction of the Small Catechism, Dieterich seems to be making what he considers a correction in the practice of catechetical instruction in Ulm.

<sup>94</sup> As noted in chapter 3, in the edition of Luther's Small Catechism for Ulm, Dieterich set down Luther's text along with selections from the catechism of Brenz and the 1561 catechism for Ulm issued by superintendent Ludwig Rabus. The elements of Brenz's catechism had long been part of the Ulm catechetical history, and were also included in the catechism published by Rabus. For a full discussion of the history of catechisms in Ulm, cf. J. Haller, "Der Einfluss Strassburgs auf die Ulmer Katechismuslitteratur," *Zeitschrift für Praktische Theologie* 21 (1899): 132–37; Haller, "Die Ulmer Katechismuslitteratur vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 9 (1905): 42–69; 124–142; and 10 (1906): 51–80; Georg Veesenmeyer, *Versuch einer Geschichte des Ulmischen Catechismus* (Ulm, 1803, 1804, 1805) and Veesenmeyer, *Literarisch=bibliographische Nachrichten von einigen Evangelischen catechetischen Schriften vor und nach Luthers Catechismen* (Ulm, 1830).

<sup>95</sup> "... für Junge und einfältige Leut/ welche begehren zum Heyligen Abend=mal zugehen ..." *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers*, title page. Likewise, in the foreword to the catechism, Dieterich indicates that the work is for use by young people ["Jugend"] as well as those instructing the catechism, including pastors, their assistants, schoolmasters in cities, towns, and villages ["... Pfarrerr/Helfer vnd Schulmeister in Stätten/Flecken vnd Dörffern..."] A ij–Aijj.

in homes, churches and schools. Its publication marked the return to Ulm of the use of Luther's Small Catechism as the center and basis of all catechetical instruction.<sup>96</sup>

It was Dieterich's purpose, in keeping with the practice in Ulm at the time, that the catechism be used in a variety of ways. As with his other catechisms, the form of Dieterich's presentation in the Ulm catechism reveals something about the teaching venues where the book was to be used: in homes, in German schools, and during formal instruction in catechetical services. As noted in the previous chapter, the text of the catechism was read aloud to young and old alike in regular worship services, preached upon by pastors in congregations, and used for drilling young people in catechetical instruction.<sup>97</sup> The catechism also served as a textbook in schools, and finally it was used by parents in homes as they sought to give their children a foundation in the Christian faith.

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<sup>96</sup> Since the 1561 catechism of Ludwig Rabus (1523–1592), Luther's Small Catechism had played a role in catechetical instruction in Ulm. In Rabus' catechism, the texts of Luther's catechism and Brenz's were integrated. In the 1598 catechism of Johannes Veesenbeck (1548–1612), Luther's catechism was moved to an appendix and no longer part of the formal instruction. With the 1616 catechism, Dieterich made Luther's text the center and basis of instruction, while preserving the Brenzian elements from the catechisms of Rabus and Veesenbeck. In effect then, Dieterich took up elements of Brenz's catechism under Luther's name. For more on the role of the catechism of Brenz in Ulm's catechetical history, cf. Christoph Weismann, *Die Katechismen des Johannes Brenz: 1. Die Entstehungs-, Text- und Wirkungsgeschichte* (Berlin: DeGruyter, 1990), 544–57; and Weismann, *Eine kleine Biblia: Die Katechismen von Luther und Brenz. Einführung und Texte* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1985), 67. The Ulm catechism issued by Ludwig Rabus: *CATECHISMVS. Oder KinderBericht/ Das ist/ Kurtze vnnd einfeltige Außle=gung/ der Sechs fürnembsten Haupt= stuck/ vnserer waren Religion/ so einem jeden Christen/ zu seiner Seelen heil zuwißten/ von nöten. Mit sampt der Haußtafel vnd etli=chen Christlichen gebätten. Für die Christlich Jugendt zu Vlm/ jhn Statt/vnd Land* (Ulm: Hans Varnier, 1561). The catechism for Ulm issued by Johannes Veesenbeck: *CATECHISMVS: Das ist/ Ein kurtzer vnd Summarischer Begriff/ der Sechs Hauptstück Christlicher lehr/ welche einem Jeden Christen/ zu sei=ner Seelen Heil/ zu wissen von nöthen. Mit Angehenckhtem Cate=chismo Doctor Martin Luthers: vnnd Christlichem vnderricht/ für Junge vnd Einfaltige Leüth/ welche begern zum Heiligen Abendmal zugehn. Für die Kirchen zu Vlm/ in Statt vnd Land* (Ulm: Johann Antonj Vlhart, 1598). The form of Luther's catechism used in the catechisms by Rabus, Veesenbeck, and Dieterich in Ulm was that of the Luther-Marbach edition, first published in Strassburg ca. 1557. Reu supplies a text of this catechism with footnotes noting where the 1561 Rabus catechism departs from the Marbach edition (Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, I, 1, 141–55). The replacement of previous catechisms with Luther's text was repeated in other German cities during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It is likely that Rabus was attempting to introduce a stronger Lutheranism into Ulm. Certainly, it can be argued, it was Dieterich's intent to solidify the Lutheran character of instruction in Ulm, and one of the best ways to do that was to base all teaching in the faith on Luther's catechism.

<sup>97</sup> The woodcut on the title page of the 1629 edition of Dieterich's *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers* (the Ulm Catechism) apparently depicts a scene from catechetical instruction in church: the preacher, or catechist, stands in the pulpit. Before him is a group of children, two of whom are standing at attention. A boy with hands folded stands on a small platform and appears to be responding to the preacher's questions; the second child waits for his turn to be examined. While it is not known for certain, it is possible that this scene portrays the regular practice of catechetical instruction in the churches of Ulm at the time.

### *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers and catechetical services in Ulm*

Dieterich's edition of Luther's Small Catechism played an important role in catechetical services and sermons in Ulm. As noted in chapter three, Dieterich had reinstated the practice of holding *Katechismusgottesdiensten* in 1615. These were held in the afternoon of every second Sunday in the *Barfüßerkirche* and later in the *Dreifaltigkeitskirche* in Ulm.<sup>98</sup> The services followed this basic order: 1) the singing of two stanzas of a catechetical hymn; 2) the speaking of Brenz's catechetical prayer; 3) the recitation by children of the six chief parts of the catechism without Luther's explanation; 4) the recitation by two children of one chief part with Luther's explanation; 5) a brief sermon on one part of the catechism; 6) the examination (lasting approximately fifteen minutes) of the children in groups by several preachers and school teachers on the catechism, the table of duties, the catechetical hymns, biblical passages, or prayers; 7) the singing of a third stanza of a hymn; 8) the speaking of Veit Dieterich's catechetical prayer by a boy; 9) the benediction. The form of the catechetical service in Ulm remained relatively constant in the seventeenth century, and many elements of it were still preserved in the eighteenth century.<sup>99</sup>

On January 8, 1626, a new *Ordnung* for catechetical practice was announced in Ulm.<sup>100</sup> These regulations were proposed by Dieterich and the other clergy in Ulm and passed by the city council.<sup>101</sup> Published at the same time as a general order for compulsory school attendance in Ulm, the regulations for catechetical instruction required the participation of all young people in catechetical services in the churches held every second Sunday. In this manner, all young people

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<sup>98</sup> Friederich Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* (1934), 80–81, 91–92. These catechetical services were held in Ulm until 1808.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Fritz, "Ulmische Kirchengeschichte vom Interim bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg (1548–1612)," *BWKG* (1934), 91–92; and Weismann, *Die Katechismen des Johannes Brenz: 1. Die Entstehungs-, Text- und Wirkungsgeschichte*, 551–52.

<sup>100</sup> Dieterich preached his *Catechismus Predigt*, discussed above, for the occasion.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Stadtarchiv Ulm, A 3674, f. 417–18.

were to learn the catechism and be examined in it prior to the first reception of the Lord's Supper and/or marriage.<sup>102</sup>

***Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers and the Spruchbüchlein (1616) and Zuchtbüchlein (1616)***

Dieterich's *Spruchbüchlein (1616)* was also an integral part of religious instruction for young people in Ulm.<sup>103</sup> The 1616 Ulm edition of Luther's Small Catechism and the *Spruchbüchlein* were likely intended as part of a program of religious instruction. This is indicated by the fact that both were first published in the same year (1616) and both have forewords written by Dieterich and dated on the same day, November 26. Although an instructional book, the *Spruchbüchlein* is generally not considered a catechism. As noted above, the work contains the text of the catechism without Luther's explanations, along with the ABCs, Bible passages, psalms, and prayers.

The *Spruchbüchlein* was most likely used by young children prior to formal catechetical instruction. The book afforded children the opportunity to learn passages from Scripture that

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<sup>102</sup> Within a month of its passage, the Ulm city council, against the opposition of the clergy, amended this order to pertain only to those young people considered as commoners, or in the lowest levels of society. The clergy wanted all young people to be instructed in this same manner, but at least some in the city council argued that children from the upper social strata were receiving instruction in the home, and were being examined in the catechism by their confessors before receiving the Lord's Supper. In addition, it was considered belittling for patrician and mid-level children to be sent to instruction with those who were ignorant in matters of faith. The servants of wealthy households would nevertheless be sent to catechetical instruction in the churches. Cf. Stadtarchiv Ulm, *Religionsprotokolle* 2, January 31, 1626, f. 85r; Stadtarchiv Ulm, A [1529], Nr. 8: Dekret des Rats vom 1. Febr. 1626; cf. also Hagenmaier, 31, 135, 216–17. The 1626 requirement of examining a couple in the catechism before marriage renewed the 1586 order in Ulm, decreeing the same practice. See H. A. Dieterich, "Ein Münsterpfarrer aus der Zeit des 30jährigen Krieges," 7; and Friedrich Fritz, "Ulm und seine evangelische Kirche im Zeitalter des dreißigjährigen Krieges," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 45 (1941): 65, and notes there.

<sup>103</sup> J. Haller asserts that Dieterich's *Spruchbüchlein* was the first of its kind in the southern German lands. J. Haller, "Die Geschichte des Spruchbuchs in Württemberg," *Neue Blätter aus Süddeutschland für Erziehung und Unterricht* 29 (1900): 67–69.

would lay a foundation for further religious instruction.<sup>104</sup> Dieterich designed the work for use by children at home and in German schools in the city of Ulm and its territory. Parents and schoolteachers were the intended instructors.<sup>105</sup> In his foreword to the book, Dieterich recommends that the material be learned and memorized in stages over a period of years (perhaps as children learned to read). Dieterich emphasizes memorization, but he expects more than drill as children are taught the sense and meaning of what they learn as well.<sup>106</sup> Young children were to be taught biblical and catechetical passages laying the foundation for the Christian faith. At the same time they were to learn to practice Christian discipline and devotion. Dieterich reminds parents of their God-given duty to train up their children in the fear and love of God.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> With its ABCs and simple biblical and catechetical texts, the *Spruchbüchlein* was a reading primer in some ways—learning to read was part of the process for students. As Cornelia Niekus Moore has pointed out, the catechism and Bible passages were regarded as reading material for children in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Cf. Moore, 57ff. For more on Dieterich’s *Spruchbüchlein* and its influence in Württemberg and the surrounding regions, cf. J. Haller, “Die Geschichte des Spruchbuchs in Württemberg,” 65–97.

<sup>105</sup> Again, the title states the intended audience and readers of the work: *Biblisches Spruchbuechlein/ darinn vnterschiedene vornehme Sprueche der Heil. Schrift/ zu Erbau= vnd Fortpflanzung der Gottseligkeit bey der SchulJugend zusammen getragen/ Fuer die Vlmische Teutsche Schulen/ in der Stadt vnd auff dem Land. Mit einer Vorrede An Christliche Eltern vnd Schulmeister darinnen vermeldet/ worzu diß Spruchbuechlein angesehen/ vnd wie solches mit der Schuljugend zu treiben sey. Jetzo von Newen vbersehen* (Ulm: Balthasar Kuehnen, 1656).

<sup>106</sup> Dieterich would fully agree, for instance, with Luther’s recommendation in the preface to the Small Catechism (14): “Once the people have learned the text [of the catechism] well, then teach them to understand it, too, so that they know what it means.”

<sup>107</sup> *Biblisches Spruchbuechlein, Vorrede*, passim. Cf. also Dieterich, *Sermon/ von Religion und Sprachen* (1619), printed in *HERRN D. Conrad Dieterichs seel. Weyland deß Heil. Röm. Reichs=Stadt Ulm viel=jährigen und Hochverdienten Superintendenten, auch deß Gymnasii daselbsten Hoch=ansehnlichen Directoris vortreffliche und kernhaffte Theologische CONSILIA und Bedencken/ Welche auff Veranlassung einiger Hoher/ und vornehmer Herren/ Ständen und Personen über gewisse und hochwichtige CASUS und Fälle/ Von Jhme gründlich und Schriftmässig gestellt und erörtert worden; wie auch etliche ORATIONES PANEGYRICAE, von unterschiedenen raren und nützlichen Materien/ das Schulwesen betreffend/ Die Er bey hoch=ansehnlicher Versamlung bey den jährlichen Progressionibus, und Schul=Actibus gehalten/ Zum Druck befördert durch dessen Enkel Helwig Dieterich/ Dicasteriogr. Ulm* (Nürnberg: Johann Andreas Endter, 1689), 380.

Dieterich's *Zuchtbüchlein* (1616) was a book of Christian discipline and virtue for young people and was also intended for use in homes and German schools.<sup>108</sup> In many ways the work was intended as an addition or extension to Dieterich's edition of Luther's catechism in Ulm. The contents of the book build on material learned in the catechism, explaining how children should behave in various situations in accordance with the Christian faith and life. The *Zuchtbüchlein* also provides prayers for children for use in various circumstances and occasions, along with prayers from the catechism and other educational and devotional elements.

### Conclusion

In both Hessen-Darmstadt and Ulm, Dieterich appropriated the text of Luther's Small Catechism for the perceived needs of people in his own day and for use in a variety of contexts. In the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and the *Epitome praeceptorum catecheticorum* Dieterich produced textbooks that served as a summary of evangelical theology for centuries. Likewise, his *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers* brought the simple message of Luther's catechism to young people in the territory of Ulm for generations.

On one level, Dieterich's approach and understanding of catechesis was not fundamentally different than Luther's. At bottom, Dieterich agreed with Luther on the importance of catechetical instruction and how to go about it, including its teaching in homes, schools, and churches. Likewise, Dieterich followed Luther in bringing the message of the catechism to the center of the Christian faith and life for children and lay people, relating it firmly to the teachings of God's Word.

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<sup>108</sup> *Christliches Zuchtbuechlein/ Allerhand feiner Sit=ten und Tugenden/ deren sich junge Leuth in Gottseligem Wesen und Geberden/bey sich selbst und gegen maenniglich befleißigen sollen. Mit den vornemsten und gebraeuchlichsten Reimen=Ge=bettlein/ die weder im Ulmischen Catechis=mo/ Bett= und Spruch=Buechlein/ noch in der Bettstund begriffen/ auf die vornemste Zeit und Noth fuer die Schulkinder und andere/ im Leben und Sterben nutzlich zu gebrauchen. Samt einem kurtzen Bibli=schen Nahmen=Buechlein; Der Christlichen Jugend zum besten zusam=men getragen/und an etlichen Or=ten verbessert* (Ulm: Christian Balthasar Kuehnen, 1674).



However, it seems clear that in his Latin school catechisms (the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica*), Dieterich is using Luther's Small Catechism in a manner that Luther did not likely intend. Although Luther called for using with "longer catechism[s]" to "impart [to students] a richer and fuller understanding," he did not necessarily intend that his own catechism, with its simple language, message, and purpose, serve as the basis for a much more detailed treatment of Christian doctrine.<sup>109</sup>

In his catechetical work, Dieterich was engaged in the task of educating young people in the Christian faith and life. In his catechisms for Latin schools, he was concerned especially about the communication of true doctrine, as well as true practice in keeping with the true doctrine. Admittedly, there are more questions to be asked regarding the material and issues treated in this chapter. However, the intention at this point simply has been to examine Dieterich's understanding of catechesis and to attempt to discover the origins, purposes, and goals of his catechisms. As will be seen in the next chapter, Dieterich applied a methodology to his instruction of the catechism for Latin schools that employed elements of dialectic to analyze and communicate the catechetical material. He sought to groom students to be knowledgeable, articulate, and disciplined in their faith and life. As such, Dieterich's work represents the fruits of institutionalized humanism brought to the task of teaching Christian doctrine.

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<sup>109</sup> Luther, *Small Catechism*, Preface, 17.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DIETERICH'S LATIN CATECHETICAL WORKS: METHODOLOGY AND CONTENT

#### Introduction

This chapter will consider the method and content of Dieterich's Latin catechetical works and explore how they fit in their theological and historical contexts. As has been shown, Dieterich understands catechesis as the instruction in the fundamentals of the Christian faith and life, derived from the Scriptures. His approach to catechetical instruction builds on the simple language and teaching of Luther's Small Catechism, constructing an expansive dogmatic program for the education of young people.

This section of the dissertation could be a book in and of itself if it were to examine the entire contents of Dieterich's catechetical writings in detail. Because the doctrinal material of the works is itself not a marked departure from the traditional Lutheran teaching of its day, nor does it introduce innovations into that teaching, it will not be explored in depth here. In his catechetical works, Dieterich sought to represent the already accepted Luther and Lutheran theology, and for this reason a thorough review of the substance of the works also is unnecessary. What is important for the present study is the manner in which Dieterich communicates this Lutheran teaching, that is, the methodology of his instruction.

Dieterich applied dialectical analysis to his instruction of Luther's catechism in Latin schools, even using the catechetical material to teach dialectic to his students. Dieterich's own textbooks on dialectic present an eclectic form of dialectic that combines elements from the methods of Aristotle and Petrus Ramus. Dieterich's application of dialectic to catechetical

instruction is the product of institutionalized humanism brought to the task of teaching Christian doctrine. As will be discussed in this chapter, Dieterich's hybrid form consists of Aristotelian doctrine presented according to the method and order of Ramus. To a large extent, the Aristotelian subject matter of Dieterich's dialectic is derived from Melanchthon's system of logic found in his textbook, the *Erroremata dialectices*. This chapter, in part, will attempt to demonstrate that the logical methodology proposed in Dieterich's textbooks on dialectic is at least to some degree similar to that found in his *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica*.

The chapter will examine the method employed in Dieterich's catechisms and analyze its purpose in the instruction of the content and message of the catechisms. (Because the *Epitome Catechetica* is basically an abridged and simplified version of the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, it will not be treated in depth here.) This chapter will seek to explain the practical and theological reasons for employing such a methodology in the instruction of young students. Finally, the chapter will then attempt to show the impact of this dialectical method on the theology of the catechisms, as well as on the practice of catechetical instruction.

### **The Concern for Methodology: Dieterich's Approach in Context**

#### **The Humanistic Educational Approach in the German Lutheran Lands**

In the sixteenth century, Renaissance humanism was an educational approach, and the methods and tools employed by humanism had helped establish and nurture the evangelical Reformation.<sup>1</sup> Humanism's emphasis on grammar (language), rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral

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<sup>1</sup> For more on the role of Renaissance humanism in the Reformation and education in the sixteenth century and beyond, see e.g., Robert Rosin, "The Reformation, Humanism, and Education: The Wittenberg Model for Reform," *Concordia Journal* 16 (1990): 301–18; James M. Kittelson, "Humanism in the Theological Faculties of Lutheran Universities during the Late Reformation," in *The Harvest of Humanism in Central Europe: Essays in Honor of Lewis W. Spitz*, ed. Manfred P. Fleischer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992), 140–157; Robert Kolb, "Philipp's Foes, but Followers Nonetheless: Late Humanism among the Gnesio-Lutherans," in *The Harvest of Humanism in Central Europe: Essays in Honor of Lewis W. Spitz*, 159–76; and Max Steinmetz, "Die Universität Wittenberg und der Humanismus (1520–1521)," in *450 Jahre Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, Vol. 1: *Wittenberg 1502–1817*, eds. Leo Stern, et al. (Halle, 1952), 103–39.

philosophy aided the Reformation's efforts in education. The Reformation took up the instructional methods of humanism and fitted them for its own uses, furthering and supporting the humanist educational program through its emphasis on learning, curricular development, and schools.

Humanist educators wanted students to have learning that would produce fruit in their daily lives. This fruit was not mere knowledge, but wisdom and the ability to use general principles in a wide array of specific situations in life. It was, in other words, both a curriculum and an outlook, a way to think through the complexities of the world around one. To the humanists' goal of learned wisdom, the reformers added the concern for pure doctrine, and catechisms played a key role in instruction on the basics of the Christian faith.<sup>2</sup> In many cases, humanist educational methods were foundational in the way people were instructed in the evangelical faith and life.

Humanism and its approach and attitude remained joined to the Reformation, and as it moved through the sixteenth century, it dispersed into various schools, adapting to the reforms, needs, and practices of different confessional regions.<sup>3</sup> In the early decades of the seventeenth century, humanism was still vital in Latin schools and *Gymnasia* as well as in the universities of the German lands. In addition, it may be argued, humanism helped to create and sustain the vitality of Lutheranism in the post-Reformation era, as scholars, pastors, and teachers continued

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<sup>2</sup> James M. Kittelson, "Luther the Educational Reformer," in *Luther and Learning: The Wittenberg University Luther Symposium*, ed. Marilyn J. Harran (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1985), 97, 104. Kittelson notes that this alliance of humanism and the evangelical Reformation, although occasionally under stress, was "extraordinarily productive." From this association "came the fundamentally modern notion, one peculiar to Protestantism, that true religion even at the most popular levels is something that can be known as well as felt and acted upon" (105).

<sup>3</sup> See Rosin, "The Reformation, Humanism, and Education: The Wittenberg Model for Reform," 301–03; Kittelson, "Luther the Educational Reformer," 107; Ivar Asheim, *Glaube und Erziehung bei Luther: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Verhältnisses von Theologie und Pädagogik* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1961); Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens: Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs*, 5 vols. (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1982–88), especially vols. 3–4; Ernst Wilhelm Kohls, *Die Schule bei Martin Bucer in ihrem Verhältnis zu Kirche und Obrigkeit* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1963) and Lewis W. Spitz and Barbara Sher Tinsley, *Johann Sturm on Education* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995).

the work begun by the reformers. Rome also, not willing to ignore useful educational tools and methods, also sought to enlist humanism with its own slant.<sup>4</sup>

### Methodology in Theological Instruction

Lutheran theologians and educators in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were at least as concerned about methodology as the reformers had been, if not even more.<sup>5</sup> Most Lutherans after Luther used Melanchthon's *loci* method for the teaching and learning of theology, and although Melanchthon to a great extent had directed the approach and construction of Lutheran theology, "no single form or outline for Lutheran dogmatics had been codified in the Late Reformation."<sup>6</sup> Faced with new doctrinal concerns and educational needs, theologians freely adapted and altered Melanchthon's methodological model to suit their purposes.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and innovation in Latin Schools from the twelfth to the fifteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Richard M. Douglas, *Jacopo Sadoleto, 1477–1547: Humanist and Reformer* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959).

<sup>5</sup> Richard Muller argues that method was certainly a concern for the theological approach of Melanchthon and others, but not as dominant as among later theologians. Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics: The Rise and Development of Reformed Orthodoxy, ca. 1520 to ca. 1725*. Volume One Prolegomena to Theology (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 62, 177–81. For a brief discussion of humanism and the method of theology within the broader context of Renaissance methodology, see Neal W. Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method* (New York: Columbia University Press, 196), 107ff.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Kolb, "The Ordering of the *Loci Communes Theologici*: The Structuring of the Melanchthonian Dogmatic Tradition," *Concordia Journal* 23 (1997): 331; see also Kolb, "Philipp's Foes, but Followers Nonetheless: Late Humanism among the Gnesio-Lutherans," 159–76. For more on Melanchthon's *loci* method, see Paul Joachimsen, "*Loci Communes* /Eine Untersuchung zur Geistesgeschichte des Humanismus und der Reformation," in *Luther-Jahrbuch*, 8 (1926): 27–97; and Helmar Junghans, "Philipp Melanchthons *Loci theologici* und ihre Rezeption in deutschen Universitäten und Schulen," in *Werk und Rezeption Philipp Melanchthons in Universität und Schule bis ins 18. Jahrhundert*. Tagung anlässlich seines 500. Geburtstages an der Universität Leipzig, ed. Günther Wartenberg (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999), 9–30. Cf. also Günter Frank, "Melanchthons Dialektik und die Geschichte der Logik," in *Melanchthon und das Lehrbuch des 16. Jahrhunderts. Begleitband zur Ausstellung im Kulturhistorischen Museum Rostock 25. April bis 13. Juli 1997*, ed. Jürgen Leonhardt (Rostock: Universität Rostock, 1997), 125–45.

<sup>7</sup> With regard to material for theological instruction in schools, it has been shown, for instance, that Leonhard Hütter based the structure and content of his *Compendium locorum theologicorum* (1610) in part on the *loci* method of Melanchthon. See Hutterus Redivivus: *Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherische Kirche. Ein dogmatisches Repertorium für Studierende*, ed. Karl August Hase (Leipzig, 1883), 5; and Junghans, "Philipp Melanchthons *Loci theologici* und ihre Rezeption in deutschen Universitäten und Schulen," 21–29.

Melanchthon understood that dialectic could come to the aid of theology in several ways. First, dialectic was a way of teaching in an orderly and clear fashion and correctly defining terms. The assumption was that sure reasoning brought certainty to the task. Moreover, dialectic helped one distinguish true from false teachings.<sup>8</sup> Not only did dialectic help define and explain theological distinctions, but it also served to craft agreement between doctrines. For Melanchthon, dialectic was the *vinculum concordiae*, or “chain of concord.”<sup>9</sup> Dialectical procedures were capable of achieving consensus and concord regarding the conclusions demonstrated. Melanchthon viewed rhetoric as part of dialectic, and understood that what Aristotle had described in his dialectic was actually *inventio* and *dispositio* (parts of rhetoric). For Melanchthon, the methods of dialectic were in essence the same as those of true rhetoric.<sup>10</sup>

In the period bridging the Reformation and the era of Orthodoxy, a shift in theological approach and purpose is evident. During the Reformation, theology had renewed and educated

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<sup>8</sup> In his *Erotemata dialectices* (1547), (*Corpus Reformatorum* 13:513), Melanchthon gives his definition of dialectic as: “the art or way of teaching in a correct, orderly, and clear manner, which is done properly by defining, dividing, and connecting true arguments, and by uncovering and refuting incoherence or falsehood.” [“Dialectica est ars seu via, recte, ordine, et perspicue docendi, quod fit recte definiendo, dividendo, argumenta vera connectendo, et male cohaerentia seu falsa retexendo et refutando.”]

<sup>9</sup> Melanchthon, Dedicatory Epistle to the *Erotemata dialectica* (1547), *Corpus Reformatorum* vol. 6, 655. Melanchthon maintained that dialectic was a powerful and necessary tool for the teaching and learning of theology: Certainly there is a need for dialectic, not only so that the doctrine receive some light, but also so that it be the chain of concord. For in order that the voice of those who teach be one and unanimous, it is necessary to keep the substance of knowledge enclosed within the confines of the arts held together by specific language and order. For when these restraints of the arts are broken and knowledge is spread in an unsuitable language, without order, definitions or distinctions, disagreement necessarily follows, since each receives and repeats the rules differently. It is therefore necessary to maintain dialectic in the Church, but let it be erudite, respectful, serious and loving of truth, and let it not be garrulous, quarrelsome or deceitful .... [T]he true way of teaching and reasoning is God’s gift and is necessary in expounding the heavenly doctrine and in the examination of the truth in other things.

Quoted from: Philip Melanchthon, “Dedicatory Letter to the Questions on Dialectics,” in *Philip Melanchthon: Orations on Philosophy and Education*, ed. Sachiko Kusukawa, trans. Christine F. Salazar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 86–87. For more on Melanchthon’s understanding of dialectic as the *vinculum concordiae*, see Sachiko Kusukawa, “*Vinculum Concordiae*: Lutheran Method by Philip Melanchthon,” in *Method and Order in Renaissance Philosophy of Nature: The Aristotle Commentary Tradition*, eds. Daniel A. DiLiscia, Eckhard Kessler, and Charlotte Methuen (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 337–54. For more on the use of dialectic in later Lutheran theology, see Robert Kolb, “The Advance of Dialectic in Lutheran Theology: The Role of Johannes Wigand (1523–1587)” in *Regnum, Religio et Ratio Essays Presented to Robert M. Kingdon*, ed. Jerome Friedman. *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, vol. 8 (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1987), 92–102.

<sup>10</sup> For more on Melanchthon’s understanding of rhetoric and dialectic, see Peter Mack, *Renaissance Argument: Valla and Agricola in the Traditions of Rhetoric and Dialectic* (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

the church, prompted by a concern for evangelical proclamation and instruction. In contrast, during the later Reformation and the period following, theology served largely to establish, maintain, and preserve the church, defending it against all opponents. Here also theological instruction came to include polemic and controversial theology. Theologians and educators stressed the importance of disputation and the refuting of false teaching as part of the training in theology. The theological task became increasingly formal in nature and characterized by the growing institutionalization of Lutheranism.<sup>11</sup> In this shift of emphases, theological style became more humanistic in its approach to method, ultimately producing a sophisticated, dialectical model for teaching and learning, one with more flexibility than medieval dialectic was able to provide. To a large extent, the basic content of Lutheran theology was maintained, albeit further elaborated and developed.

The method employed by educators was a systematic procedure followed in the presentation of subject matter. In school and university settings, theologians required a method and structure for teaching and learning theology that met several requirements. First, the method had to effectively instruct students in the subject material. Moreover, the method had to defend truth adequately against the teachings of opponents in a way that would be intellectually sound and sustainable. Finally, the method used in theological education was to be self-consistent and specialized enough to operate alongside the other disciplines in the academic setting.<sup>12</sup>

In the early seventeenth century, there were basically three methods according to which theological instruction took place in the German lands. The first was Melancthon's *loci* method, which treated topics of theology drawn from Scripture and coordinated with the work of

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<sup>11</sup> See Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, 60. Muller warns against the danger of "making artificial contrasts" between the Reformation and post-Reformation eras, since there is much to compare between theological emphases in the two periods.

<sup>12</sup> For more discussion of the concerns regarding method in theology, see Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, 61–62.

exegesis. The second method was from the dialectic of Petrus Ramus, which placed methodology in the center and founded a universal method of definition and disposition of a conceptual-logical nature. Finally, the analytical method based on Aristotelian terminology became increasingly influential as the century progressed. As will be seen, in some cases educators composed additional methods with elements from various approaches. The local school tradition normally determined the selection and use of the method.<sup>13</sup>

### **Humanist Pedagogy and the Orientation of Dieterich's Methodology**

Dieterich's pedagogical work, including his catechisms, represents a synthesis of elements of the Reformation and humanism. His program of education is not unlike much of the pedagogy in the German lands in the first half of the seventeenth century. Although not stated, Dieterich's textbooks for Latin schools, especially his catechetical writings, have as their broad educational goal the "sapiens atque eloquens pietas" [wise and eloquent piety] advocated by Johannes Sturm.<sup>14</sup> In his school catechisms, Dieterich is seeking to convey the true Christian faith and doctrine, biblically based, which informs true practice of the Christian life. Dieterich relates his instruction in catechesis closely to the curricular context in Latin schools, carefully fitting it to the core elements of the *trivium*.

The subjects of the *trivium*—grammar, logic, and rhetoric—were fundamental tools of learning and played key roles in the humanist curricula in the Latin schools of Dieterich's day. Students were to master the subjects of the *trivium* before entrance into the university, though

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<sup>13</sup> Hubert Filser, *Dogma, Dogmen, und Dogmengeschichte. Eine Untersuchung zur Begründung und zur Entstehungsgeschichte einer theologischen Disziplin von der Reformation bis zur Spätaufklärung*. Studien zur systematischen Theologie und Ethik, Band 28 (Münster: LIT, 2001), 350.

<sup>14</sup> Sturm (1507–1589) was *Rektor* of the *Gymnasium* in Strassburg, and one of the most important Reformation leaders in the field of education. The phrase "sapiens atque eloquens pietas" is derived from the 1538 *Schulordnung* ("De literarum ludis recte aperiendis liber") written by Sturm for the schools in Strassburg: "Propositum a nobis est, sapientem atque eloquentem pietatem finem esse studiorum." For more on Sturm and his pedagogical methods, see Lewis W. Spitz, and Barbara Sher Tinsley, *Johann Sturm on Education* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995); and Barbara Sher Tinsley, "Johann Sturm's Method for Humanistic Pedagogy," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 20 (1989): 23–40.



the *trivium* was also taught at the university, in part to ensure a uniform level of knowledge. Grammar laid the foundation of language; logic gave it order, structure, and coherency; and rhetoric brought all these subjects together into one whole and communicated them effectively and persuasively. Any study could be undertaken using the three tools of grammar, logic, and rhetoric. Thus, the *trivium* could also be applied to other subjects learned in school, such as theology. The subjects of the *trivium* were the basic analytical thinking and communication tools.

The *trivium*, or the lower division of the liberal arts, was central for the course of instruction in the schools in which Dieterich himself was educated, as well as those in which he taught and served as administrator. Of the three subjects of the *trivium*, grammar was the most fundamental and perhaps received the most attention. Grammar involved the basics of language, its structure and rules as well as the definitions of terms. Included here were also the reading, exposition, and examination of classical Latin texts. Grammar thus taught the basic skills of reading, writing, and understanding.

Logic, or dialectic, was the art of thinking well according to rules of logic, and taught the skill of analyzing arguments. The aim of dialectic was to develop a system of methods and principles that could be used as criteria for evaluating the arguments of others and as guides in constructing arguments of one's own. Dialectic involved defining terms in the subject matter, dividing and specifying. It also served as a tool for distinguishing truth from falsehood. Dialectic was traditionally the most important subject in the arts faculty at the university, but in Dieterich's day its role in the higher levels of the Latin schools and *Gymnasia* was increasingly significant.

Rhetoric was the art of public speaking, but also involved written composition, poetry, debate, and other forms of written and oral speech. Rhetoric was essentially the art of expression

of thought. More than mere eloquence, it drew on the breadth of knowledge and experience for the presentation of material.

In Dieterich's schools, dialectic had assumed a prominent place in the curriculum. In Latin schools and *Gymnasia* especially, instructors employed dialectic to organize subject matter in clear and orderly ways, thus making comprehension easy. Educators presented subjects according to the rules and methods of dialectic, and they exercised and examined students in the same fashion. Academic disputations became a more common tool for teaching and examination of students whose skill at disputation demonstrated that they had achieved a certain level of ability in properly applying general principles to specific situations.

### **Concepts of Method and Practical Instruction**

No one uniform method of pedagogical instruction existed in schools across the German lands in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, there were efforts to establish such methods within various lands and regions. The regional *Schulordnungen* normally prescribed which methods were to be employed, and these methods occasionally were modified or replaced altogether with the introduction of a new *Schulordnung*.<sup>15</sup> The methods were used for the instruction of the three main subject areas: the arts (e.g., dialectic, rhetoric, mathematics, physics), languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew), and theology (Scripture and catechesis).<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> For more on the methods and content of instruction in evangelical schools in the sixteenth (looking forward to its influence in the seventeenth century), see Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and innovation in Latin Schools from the twelfth to the fifteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens: Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs*, 5 vols. (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1982–88); Ernst Wilhelm Kohls, *Die Schule bei Martin Bucer in ihrem Verhältnis zu Kirche und Obrigkeit* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1963); Friederich Koldewey, *Das Schulwesen: Überblick über die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Schulwesens der Stadt Braunschweig* (Braunschweig, 1897); Georg Mertz, *Das Schulwesen der deutschen Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1902), 232ff., 336–37; Willy Moog, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, Band 2: Die Pädagogik der Neuzeit von der Renaissance bis zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts, ed. Franz-Josef Hotkemper (Ratingen: Henn/Hannover: Zickfeldt, 1967); and Friederich Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart*. Dritte Auflage. 2 vols. (Leipzig: Veit, 1919), vol. 1, 326ff.

<sup>16</sup> See Paulsen, vol. 1, 344.

Instruction in the Latin schools and *Gymnasia* normally included lectures, repetition, declamations, and disputations. Lectures took the form either of a systematic presentation (even dictation) of a subject or of the commentary on a prescribed textbook.<sup>17</sup> In many cases the repetition or review of the material was done by private tutors or more advanced students.<sup>18</sup> Declamations involved the public recitation of a work by students with attention paid to their rhetorical and elocutionary skills. Disputations were oral exercises in which students defended theses on various subjects by means of formal logic. These debates were also public exhibitions and had the purpose of serving as academic drills and examinations of students. They measured what students had learned and accomplished, as well as demonstrating how successful teachers were carrying out their charges.<sup>19</sup> Along with meeting the needs of the Latin school curriculum, these teaching methods also prepared students for the university.

Most instructional methods in Latin schools in the period placed importance on the memorization of subject material, still reflecting an oral culture. The goal of memorizing and repetition was not only to require students to know and retain information—in some cases even the contents of entire books—but also to exercise and build their memorizational capabilities.<sup>20</sup> (In some respects this is a hold-over of pre-Gutenberg education when relying on information in printed books in hand was yet to come.)

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<sup>17</sup> Paulsen, vol. 1, 267.

<sup>18</sup> Paulsen, vol. 1, 269–70.

<sup>19</sup> For more on the exercises of declamations and disputations in Latin schools in the sixteenth century, see Mertz, 349ff.; and Paulsen, vol. 1, 271–74.

<sup>20</sup> For more on methods and importance of memorization of material in Latin schools in the sixteenth century, see Mertz, 355ff.; Paulsen, vol. 1, 344–45.

## Dieterich's Dialectical Methodology and the Context in Hesse

### Methodology at Giessen

Like other academic institutions in the German lands at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Giessen schools, both university and *Paedagogium*, based their curricula and academic culture on humanistic educational principles and ideals. However, the methodology and didactic concern of the humanist educational reform was pursued further in Giessen than in most schools of the period.<sup>21</sup> The interest of many professors at the university and *Paedagogium* there lay in the area of didactic methods and pedagogy resulting in the production of numerous textbooks on various subjects. The question of finding and implementing a suitable method of teaching and learning was apparently a topic of lively discussion and debate among the professors at Giessen.<sup>22</sup> At the time Dieterich was *Pädagogiarch* in Giessen (1605–14), a search for a unified form of pedagogy—an educational methodology—was undertaken for use at the university. This methodology presumably would have impacted the approach at the

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<sup>21</sup> Anton Schindling, "Die Universität Gießen als Typus einer Hochschulgründung," in *Academia Gissensis: Beiträge zur älteren Gießener Universitätsgeschichte. Zum 375jährigen Jubiläum dargebracht vom Historischen Institut der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen*, eds. Peter Moraw and Volker Press (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1982), 106.

<sup>22</sup> Schindling, "Die Universität Gießen als Typus einer Hochschulgründung," 107.

*Paedagogium*, which was coordinated with the university.<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile, the basic curriculum of the *Paedagogium* remained largely the traditional instructional content of the Marburg school.<sup>24</sup>

The goal of the Hessian educational program, like that of many in the German lands in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, had long been to combine humanistic *eloquentia* and the religious faith of the reformers—pedagogical excellence and confessional integrity.<sup>25</sup> But toward the end of the sixteenth century, confessional division led political leaders and many

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<sup>23</sup> Wilhelm Martin Becker, *Das Erste halbe Jahrhundert der hessen-darmstädtischen Landesuniversität* (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1907), 138. Many professors at Giessen were highly interested in the educational methodology of Wolfgang Ratichius (von Ratke, 1571–1635), one of the most influential German didactic theorists of the day. From Wilster, Holstein, Ratichius studied theology at the University of Rostock, and later continued his studies in England. There he became acquainted with work of Francis Bacon, after which he devoted himself to educational reform. He planned to apply the principles of Bacon to the problems of education, but he especially sought to reform the methods of language teaching (primarily Hebrew, Greek, and Latin). Ratichius also encouraged that instruction be given in the German language. He promoted his “natural” method of learning, which moved education further from its humanistic base. In 1612, Ratichius memorialized the imperial diet at Frankfurt am Main and asked for an investigation of his “Nova Didactica” and its methods. Christoph Helvicus and Joachim Jungius, of the University of Giessen, were commissioned to examine his propositions. Afterwards the University of Jena had four of its faculty members look into the matter, and in each case a favorable, if not enthusiastic, verdict was reached. See Frank Pierrepont Graves, *A History of Education During the Middle Ages and the Transition to Modern Times* (New York Macmillan, 1925), 267–68; Paulsen, vol. 1, 472–77; Willy Moog, vol. 2, 233–43; and Walter Asmus, “Der erste Pädagogiarth (1605–1614) Konrad Dieterich, sein Leben und Wirken.” *Hessische Heimat: Aus Natur und Geschichte*, Nr. 7/8, 4 (1978): 28–30. It appears that Dieterich was largely unaffected by the interest in Ratichius and his educational reform at Giessen. After Dieterich departed for Ulm in 1614, Helvicus attempted to reform the Giessen schools along the lines of Ratichius’ educational ideals, with the support of Jungius and theology professor Balthasar Mentzer. (The work was cut short when Jungius left for Augsburg in 1614 to join Ratichius in reform of the *Gymnasium* there, and Helvicus died in 1617.) Dieterich and his colleagues Kaspar Finck and Konrad Bachmann were dissenters in the Ratichius matter at Giessen, yet were reserved in their critique. Dieterich appears to have considered Ratichius to be “over-excited, too ambitious, egotistical, and a charlatan.” [“Dieterich ... ne voit en lui qu’ un exalte, un ambitieux, un egoïste et un charlatan”] Georges Rioux, “L’Oevre Pédagogique de Wolfgang Ratichius (1571–1635)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Paris, 1963), 4f. After his tenure in Augsburg, Ratichius set his sights on Ulm in the summer of 1615, where he hoped to find strong support among his friends the *Rektor* Johann Baptist Hebenstreit, mathematician Johann Faulhaber, and others. Perhaps Ratichius also sought to renew and build upon his acquaintance with Dieterich, whom he had come to know through his involvement with the Giessen schools in 1613–14. Nevertheless, within a few weeks of his arrival in Ulm, the city council ordered Ratichius to remain in the city no longer, because his “arts” were not desired there (see Gideon Vogt, *Wolfgang Ratichius* (Langensalza, Greßler, 1894), 40. The pedagogical methods of Jan Amos Comenius (Komensky, 1592–1671) a Moravian educational reformer, also would be widely influential in the German lands in the seventeenth century and beyond. The work of both Ratichius and Comenius is part of the broader search for an educational method undertaken in the early seventeenth century.

<sup>24</sup> Wilhelm Diehl, “Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623,” in *Die Schulordnungen des Grossherzogtums Hessen*. Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, vols. 27, 28, and 33 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1903), 28, 20.

<sup>25</sup> As noted above, this emphasis is similar to Sturm’s “sapiens atque eloquens pietas.” See also Arnd Friedrich, *Die Gelehrtenschulen in Marburg, Kassel und Korbach zwischen Melanchthonianismus und Ramismus in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Quellen und Forschungen zur hessischen Geschichte Band 47 (Darmstadt und Marburg: Hessische Historische Kommission Darmstadt und Historische Kommission für Hessen, 1983), 11, 52, 56.

educators in Hesse to favor a unique methodology, especially with regard to dialectic. This, of course, would impact the instruction of most other subjects taught in schools, including catechesis.

### **An Aristotelian-Ramist Approach**

At this time, it was common in the German lands for dialectical methods to differ according to the various confessional boundaries. *Schulordnungen* in most Lutheran lands prescribed a Melanchthonian logic derived from Aristotle, while those in Reformed lands normally followed a Ramist system, and in Roman Catholic territories a scholastic logic was employed.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the Hessian territory was divided between the Calvinist Landgraf Moritz von Hessen-Kassel (ruled 1592–1632) and the Lutheran Landgraf Ludwig IV von Hessen-Marburg (ruled 1567–1604). The two Hessens shared a common *Schulordnung* for all the Latin schools in the territory as well as for the *Paedagogium* in Marburg. In 1598, Moritz wanted to introduce a Ramist approach to dialectic, reflecting use of Ramus in Calvinist circles. Meanwhile, Ludwig preferred the Aristotelian system of Melanchthon, who continued to dominate Lutheran dialectical pedagogy even though Ramist advances were clear. Finally, by the official direction of both Landgrafen, a Philippo-Ramist syncretism was prescribed as a compromise.<sup>26</sup> This plan was in place in Marburg at the time of the introduction of the *Verbesserungspunkte* (1604), and was transferred to the newly founded *Paedagogium* and university in Giessen. The university's first *Privilegia et leges* from 1607 call

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<sup>26</sup> For an account of process leading to the implementation of this approach in Hesse, see Heinrich Heppe, "Geschichte des hessischen Schulwesens in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Statistik des hessischen Schulwesens im 17. Jahrhundert*. Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde. Viertes Supplement-Heft (Kassel: Bohne, 1850), 1–4, 98–111; see also Wilhelm Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit. 1. Band 1500–1640* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann Verlag, 1964), 187–88. Heppe (4) notes that at the same time Moritz and Ludwig agreed to a syncretistic approach to instruction in dialectic, they also determined that the bases of religious education in Latin schools in Hesse and at its university in Marburg would be Luther's Small Catechism followed by alternating instruction in Melanchthon's *Examen Ordinandorum* and the Unaltered Augsburg Confession (1530).

for a logic containing “precepts derived from Aristotle [the *Organon*], accommodated to the method of Ramus.”<sup>27</sup>

Although the Hessian order prescribed this eclectic approach to dialectic, the members of the faculties at the university and *Paedagogium* in Giessen seem to have fully consented to its use. The plan was in accord with their overall educational objectives. The educators understood that a Ramist system offered students an easier comprehension of basic logic and rhetoric than other approaches. The practical application of this program in Giessen meant that lectures in both dialectic and rhetoric were to be given using Ramist method, yet the schools still held fast to the basic logical content of Aristotle’s *Organon*. By means of Ramus’ method, they sought to simplify the presentation of the material and to convey a new understanding of it by means of a rhetorical method of interpretation.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> The 1607 order reads in part: “5. Logicus Organum Aristotelis profitebitur, aut praecepta ex Aristoteles desumpta, accomodata ad methodum Rami; addet etiam canones cujuslibet argumenti eorumque explicatione cum adjuncta doctrina de Elenchis.” Privilegia et leges ... Academiae Giessenae ... concessae d. 12. Octobri Ann. 1607. Similar prescriptions are found in the statutes of the *Gymnasium Illustre* in Giessen dated October 14, 1605, and were repeated in 1615. Giessen Universitätsarchiv: Urk. Nr. 318, 6; reprinted in H. Wassersleben, *Programm ... Landesuniversität. Die ältesten Privilegien und Statuten der Ludoviciana*. (Rektoratsprogramm, 1881) (Giessen, 1881), 20. Ann Moss has observed that the reception of Ramist teaching and methods into the curriculum of Lutheran schools greatly influenced by Melancthon and Sturm was “a manifestation of a deeper intellectual and political upheaval, in this case the incursion of Calvinism into Lutheran Germany in the latter half of the sixteenth century.” Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1996), 158. At the same time Joseph Freedman suggests that it was largely for pragmatic reasons that Ramist teachings were used in Lutheran schools rather than for any ideological or theological reasons. Joseph S. Freedman, “The Diffusion of the Writings of Petrus Ramus in Central Europe, c. 1570–c. 1630,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 46 (1993): 144. In the case of Hesse, it does appear, at least in part, that ideological rivalry played a part in the prescription of an eclectic Ramist-Aristotelian dialectic, where a compromise was reached between the two Landgrafen. However, the fact that this same system was adopted by Lutheran Giessen indicates that the pragmatic requirements of the classroom likely played a key role in the decision to maintain the use of semi-Ramist material.

<sup>28</sup> Schindling, “Die Universität Gießen als Typus einer Hochschulgründung,” 106.

## The Influence of Petrus Ramus and His Dialectical Method<sup>29</sup>

Petrus Ramus (1515–72)<sup>30</sup> was a French humanist philosopher and educator who wrote numerous philosophical works, including several on dialectic.<sup>31</sup> He was one of the most significant

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<sup>29</sup> The bibliography on works about Ramus and his dialectical and rhetorical methods is impressive. Works pertinent to the present study include: Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958); Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory: A Short-Title Inventory of the Published Works of Peter Ramus (1515–1572) and of Omer Talon (ca. 1510–1562) in their Original and in their Various Altered Forms* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958); Joseph S. Freedman, “The Diffusion of the Writings of Petrus Ramus in Central Europe, c. 1570–c. 1630,” 98–152. (These two latter works provide statistical data concerning when and where Ramus’ books were being used and read. See also Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, 291–318.); Frank Pierrepont Graves, *Petrus Ramus and the Educational Reformation* (New York: Macmillan, 1912); *The Influence of Petrus Ramus. Studies in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Philosophy and Sciences*, eds. Mordechai Feingold, Joseph S. Freedman and Wolfgang Rother. Schwabe Philosophica I, herausgegeben von Helmut Holzhey und Wolfgang Rother, (Basel: Schwabe & Co. Verlag, 2001); Wilhelm Risse, “Die Entwicklung der Dialektik bei Petrus Ramus,” *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 42 (1960): 36–72; Jürgen Moltmann, “Zur Bedeutung des Petrus Ramus für Philosophie und Theologie im Calvinismus,” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 68 (1957): 295–318. See also Mack, 334–55.

<sup>30</sup> Ramus (Pierre de la Ramee) advocated sweeping changes in education, and in particular, sought to reform the teaching of grammar, rhetoric, and logic. Ramus strongly challenged the authority and dominance of Aristotle in the educational system, particularly at the universities. He made a career of attacking Aristotle. Ramus had been a student of Johannes Sturm at Paris, as well as his colleague of at the *Gymnasium* in Strassburg. Ramus studied at the University of Paris, where his master’s thesis (entitled *Animadversiones aristotelicum*) reputedly contained the thesis “Quaecumque ab Aristotele dicta essent, commentitia esse” [“Everything Aristotle said is false.”] His real problem with Aristotle is that he thought that he was inconsistent, too complicated, unclear, and that he led people into error. (Many humanists maintained that the scholastics had corrupted Aristotle’s logic and sought to return to the ancient sources and to the historical Aristotle. Ramus asserted that “it was Aristotle himself who had ruined logic.” Lewis White Beck, *Early German Philosophy: Kant and his Predecessors* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969), 116. Ramus believed that all knowledge was accessible to anyone who was willing to use the correct method. He firmly maintained that only one method was needed for both arts and sciences. Ramus’ dialectic was, in reality, following the simplification of Aristotle’s dialectics begun by Lorenzo Valla, Rudolf Agricola, and others. In his oration, “Wider das Disputiren in den Schulen” (1631), Dieterich refers to Ramus’ disputation on the theme “Quaecumque ab Aristotele dicta essent, commentitia esse.” He adds the comment: “Mein Gott/ Welch ein Disputat ist darüber in der Sorbona entstanden/solt einer wolesein Wunder gesehen und gehört haben/ wann er mit und darbey gewesen wäre? Hergegen haben ihrer viel verfochten/quaecunque à Ramo dicta essent, commentitia esse.” Dieterich, “Wider das Disputiren in den Schulen” (1631), printed in *HERRN D. Conrad Dieterichs seel. Weyland deß Heil. Röm. Reichs=Stadt Ulm viel=jährigen und Hochverdienten Superintendenten, auch deß Gymnasii daseibsten Hoch=ansehnlichen Directoris vortreffliche und kernhaffte Theologische CONSILIA und Bedencken/ Welche auff Veranlassung einiger Hoher/ und vornehmer Herren/ Ständen und Personen über gewisse und hochwichtige CASUS und Fälle/ Von Ihme gründlich und Schriftmässig gestellt und erörtert worden; wie auch etliche ORATIONES PANEGYRICAE, von unterschiedenen raren und nützlichen Materien/ das Schulwesen betreffend/ Die Er bey hoch=ansehnlicher Versammlung bey den jährlichen Progressionibus, und Schul=Actibus gehalten/ Zum Druck befördert durch dessen Enkel Helwig Dieterich/ Dicasteriogr. Ulm* (Nürnberg: Johann Andreas Endter, 1689), 566.

<sup>31</sup> Ramus’ *Petri Rami Veromandui Dialecticae partitiones, ad celeberrimam et illustrissimam Lutetiae Parisiorum Academiam* (Paris: Jacob Bogard, 1543), his *Dialectique de Pierre de la Ramee a Charles de Lorraine cardinal, son Mecene* (Paris: A. Wechel, 1555), and the latter’s Latin version, *Petri Rami, regii eloquentiae et philosophiae professoris, Dialecticae libri duo, Audomari Talaei praelectionibus illustrati; ad Carolum Lotharingum Cardinalem* (Paris: A. Wechel, 1556), were widely reprinted. The last edition of the *Dialecticae libri duo* (1572) included significant revisions, especially regarding judgment and method (Walter J. Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*: 178–92).



dialecticians of the sixteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Ramus asserted that the world of knowledge was constructed of comprehensible logic which the human mind could understand and apply. He made it his goal to facilitate the learning process by clearing the way of what he believed were the unnecessary obstacles of the Aristotelian system and by communicating in a simple and direct manner.<sup>33</sup> With this in mind, he resolved to reform and reorganize dialectic, advancing a single logical system for both dialectic and rhetoric. Ramus defined dialectic as “the art of discoursing well,” and, according to his conception, grammar and rhetoric replace the logical outcome.<sup>34</sup>

The dialectic of Ramus was not designed to prove arguments or analyze them, but rather to assert and demonstrate them. The task of the dialectician, then, was to classify concepts in a way that made them comprehensible and easily committed to memory. This task was simplified by using a method, the orderly logical arrangement and presentation of material for instruction. As part of his work in dialectic, Ramus developed a methodology with easily memorized rules and which aimed at conciseness, clarity, and simplicity.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Wilhelm Risse, “Die Entwicklung der Dialektik bei Petrus Ramus,” *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 42 (1960): 72.

<sup>33</sup> Hermann Schüling notes, “It was always [Ramus’] goal to remove impediments from the way of knowledge, so that the path may be even, simple, unhindered, and direct, not only in order to reach the perception of knowledge more easily, but also for its benefit.” [“Sein Ziel sei es immer gewesen, Hindernisses auf dem Weg der Wissenschaften wegzuräumen, daß der Gang eben, einfach, ungehindert und direkt sei, um so nicht nur leichter zur Erkenntnis der Wissenschaften zu gelangen, sondern auch zu ihrem Nutzen.” Hermann Schüling, *Die Geschichte der Axiomatischen Methode im 16. und Beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert*, Studien und Materialien zur Geschichte der Philosophie, 13 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1969), 103.

<sup>34</sup> [“Dialectica est ars bene disserendi: eodemque sensus Logica dicta est”], *Dialecticae libri duo A. Talaiei praelectionibus illustrata* (Köln: Theodorus Baumius, 1573), 1. Ramus divides his dialectic into two parts: invention and judgment. Invention is a means of resolving questions by searching for a middle term to join or dissociate subject and predicate. The means of finding the middle term is in the system of the topics. Judgment assembles the arguments and orders them (soon replaced by “arrangement” in Ramus’ method). His dialectic is designed to serve rhetoric. According to his plan, grammar and rhetoric convert or transform the logical result. Like many humanists, Ramus preferred to speak of “dialectic” rather than “logic,” since dialectic suggested a rhetorical element.

<sup>35</sup> For a concise treatment of Ramus’ methodology and reaction to it, see Gilbert, 129–63. For a discussion of Ramism as a memory method, see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 231–42.

Ramus taught that dialectic had two functions: invention (*inventio argumenti*) and disposition (*iudicium*, later called “arrangement”), functions traditionally found in rhetoric.<sup>36</sup> Invention was that operation of dialectic which invented or found meaning through the system of topics.<sup>37</sup> Students were to work through the list of topics to solve a problem or provide an answer to an inquiry. Using disposition, students would then assemble and arrange the arguments determined from the invention. Disposition was comprised of syllogism (for dealing with a single argument) and method (for dealing with many arguments).

Ramus saw method not as a theoretical device but as a practical one. He placed his teaching on method at the heart of his dialectical system.<sup>38</sup> His method, following the example of Johannes Sturm and based largely on that of Rudolf Agricola (1444–85), had two purposes, teaching and practical application. Ramus understood method as a tool for organizing arguments. He believed that true knowledge is methodical and arranged. Method is useful for instruction because it teaches the rules of organization, but it also links ideas, chaining them together. It gave students a quick and efficient way to learn material. In addition, Ramus asserted that all subjects can be easily and clearly illustrated and taught using method. Over time, Ramus slightly modified his definition of method, but he consistently understood it as the deductive arrangement of

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<sup>36</sup> In his integration of dialectic into rhetoric, Melanchthon had divided dialectic into three main parts: definition, division, and argumentation. However these three were founded on the process of invention, using dialectical topics, or loci. In Ramus’ program, rhetoric and dialectic work together, but are divided. Dialectic deals with invention and disposition (arrangement or method), while rhetoric is concerned with style and delivery. See John R. Schneider, “The Hermeneutics of Commentary: Origins of Melanchthon’s Integration of Dialectic into Rhetoric,” in *Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) and the Commentary*, eds. M. Patrick Graham and Timothy J. Wengert (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 33; and Mack, 353.

<sup>37</sup> Ramus also refers to the topics as “loci” or “modes of invention.” The list of Ramus’ topics changes over time, but finally included the following ten: causes, effects, subjects, adjuncts, opposites, comparisons, names, divisions, definitions, and testimonies. See Ramus, *Arguments in Rhetoric Against Quintilian. Translation and Text of Peter Ramus’s Rhetoricae Distinctiones in Quintilianum* (1549), trans. Carole Newlands (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), 12–13, 53.

<sup>38</sup> Risse, “Die Entwicklung der Dialektik bei Petrus Ramus,” 71.

arguments from universal, general principles to specific, particular ones through a process of defining and dividing.<sup>39</sup>

In his work on dialectics from 1572, Ramus developed a method for determining universal definitions and dispositions. His plan is geared toward utility and practical experience, and he limited it to definitions, divisions, and further classifications of terms. This analysis was supplemented by the summary of its results in a synoptic table. For Ramus, dialectic was not purely formal; he refused to make any application of it to metaphysics. For this reason, Ramism did not have a closed system and developed no scholastic philosophy, but rather remained

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<sup>39</sup> In his 1546 work on dialectic, published pseudonymously as *Dialectici commentarii tres auctore Audomaro Talaeo editi*, Ramus defined method as an organization of arguments from the general to the particular: The method of teaching, therefore, is the arrangement of various things brought down from universal and general principles to the underlying singular parts, but which arrangement the whole matter can be more easily taught and apprehended. In such method, this alone has to be prescribed: that in teaching the general and universal explanations precede, such as the definition and a kind of general summary; after which follows the special explanation by distribution of the parts; last of all comes the definition of the singular parts and clarification by means of suitable examples.

[Methodus igitur doctrinae est dispositio rerum variarum ab universis et generalibus principiis ad subiectas et singulares partes deductarum, per quam tota res facilius doceri, percipique possit. In qua tantum illud est praecipuum, ut in docendo generalis et universa declaratio praecedat, qualis est definitio et summa quaedam comprehensio, tum sequatur specialis per distributionem partium explicatio: postremo partium singularium definitio, et ex idoneis exemplis illustratio.]

Ramus, published pseudonymously in 1546 as *Dialectici commentarii tres auctore Audomaro Talaeo editi*, quoted from Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, 245, 363. Along with the above definition, the following description of dialectical method by Ramus would be important for Dieterich, who would define method in his own dialectic textbook in a very similar way:

Method is the intelligible order (*dianoia*) of various homogeneous axioms ranged one before the other according to the clarity of their nature, whereby the agreement of all with one another is judged and the whole committed to memory. As in the axiom one considers truth and falsity, and in the syllogism consequence or lack of consequence, so in method one sees to it that what is of itself clearer (*per se clarius*) precedes, and what is more obscure follows, and that the order and confusion in everything is judged. Thus among homogeneous axioms that is put first which is first in absolute signification (*absoluta notatione*), that second which is second, that third which is third, and so on. Thus method proceeds without interruption from universals to singulars. By this one and only way one proceeds from antecedents entirely and absolutely more known to the clarification (*ad ... declarandum*) of unknown consequents. And Aristotle teaches this one and only method.

[Methodus est dianoia variorum axiomatum homogeneorum pro naturae suae claritate praepositorum, unde omnium inter se convenientia iudicatur, memoriaque comprehenditur. Atqui ut spectatur in axiome veritas et falsitas, in syllogismo consequentia et inconsequentia, ita in methodo consideratur ut per se clarius praecedat, obscurius sequatur, omniumque ordo et confusio iudicatur. Sic disponetur ex homogeneis axiomatis primo loco absoluta notione primum, secundo secundum, tertio tertium, et ita deinceps; ideoque methodus ab universalibus ad singularia perpetuo progreditur. Hac enim sola et unica via proceditur ab antecedentibus omnino et absolute notioribus ad consequentia ignota declarandum, eamque solam methodum Aristoteles docuit.]

Ramus, *Dialecticae libri duo* (Paris, 1574, text identical with the edition of 1572, Paris), Lib. II, cap. xvii, 72–73, quoted from Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, 251, 365.

closely bound to humanism. Ramist method and pedagogy had found its reception in theology and matured there, especially in Reformed theology.<sup>40</sup>

Between about 1570 and 1630, many Central European schools employed Ramist methods, especially for lower level instruction. In the German lands, particularly in Reformed areas, Ramus' works often replaced or supplemented the ideas of Melanchthon. Still, his writings were also employed in Lutheran areas with strong Reformed influences, such as Hesse. In addition, Hesse was not the only place to prescribe the use of a Ramist methodology for the instruction of various subjects in schools.<sup>41</sup> Ramus' works were found useful in schools since he placed emphasis on practical application of logic in the classroom.<sup>42</sup> His method seemed to meet the needs of both teachers and students. It was appropriate for instruction at the lower levels of Latin schools and *Gymnasia* at this time, and was often used alongside elements from Aristotle.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> See Filser, 346–47. Ramus converted from Catholicism to Calvinism in 1561.

<sup>41</sup> For instance, in his work on Clemens Timpler, Joseph S. Freedman notes that the 1596 *Schulordnung* for the *Gymnasium illustre Arnoldium* in Steinfurt stated that the liberal arts were to be taught using Ramist methodology. Joseph S. Freedman, *European Academic Philosophy in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: The Life, Significance, and Philosophy of Clemens Timpler (1563/4–1624)*. Two vols. Studien und Materialien zur Geschichte der Philosophie, Band 27 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1988), I, 53, 157. For a full discussion of the usage of Ramus' works, see Freedman, "The Diffusion of the Writings of Petrus Ramus in Central Europe, c. 1570–c. 1630," 98–152.

<sup>42</sup> Ramus' logic was widely used in Christian schools. In doing so, it may be argued, schools were following Luther's advice to bring Aristotle's works on logic into a more comprehensible and useful form. In his *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate* (1520), Luther suggests that for the reforming of universities, "Aristotle's *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, *Concerning the Soul*, and *Ethics*, which hitherto have been thought to be his best books, should be completely discarded along with all the rest of his books that boast about nature .... [Yet] I would gladly agree to keeping Aristotle's books, *Logic*, *Rhetoric*, and *Poetics*, or at least keeping and using them in an abridged form, as useful in training young people to speak and to preach properly" (*LW* 44: 200–01; *WA* 6: 457–58).

<sup>43</sup> It was not uncommon for educators in the early seventeenth century to make the case for the use of both Aristotle and Ramus for logic in schools. This was likely made with the provision that instructors should decide between the two with respect to particular topics of doctrine. Joseph Freedman recalls the maxim current in Dieterich's day, that "Aristotle is to be preferred with regard to subject matter while Ramus is favored with respect to method" ["Hinc illum tritum: Aristotelem lego propter res; Ramum propter methodum & tradendi modum."] (Argued in a disputation by Joannes Gesenius and Gerhardus Schuckmannus, at Lemgo, 1610, quoted in Freedman, "The Diffusion of the Writings of Petrus Ramus," 127.) Freedman suggests that this idea seems to have had many adherents in central Europe during this period. He adds that "this view could be interpreted to mean that Ramus should be used in school instruction while Aristotle should be preferred for instruction at the university level." Freedman also notes that "the fact that logic and rhetoric instruction were taught using Ramus at the elementary level and Aristotle at a more advanced level lends credence to such an interpretation" (*ibid.*, 140).

As noted, even some universities, such as Giessen used his writings, while others considered the writings of Aristotle and his commentators more suitable for university study.<sup>44</sup>

### Dieterich's Eclectic Dialectic

In accordance with the order for the schools in Hesse, Dieterich taught dialectic at the *Paedagogium* in Giessen and composed textbooks on the subject using an eclectic procedure, crafting a dialectic from both Ramus and Aristotle. In spite of the prescription, Dieterich truly appears to be convinced of this hybrid dialectic's effectiveness and employs it without reservation.<sup>45</sup> As noted above, Dieterich wrote two dialectical textbooks derived from his lectures in the *Paedagogium* in Giessen, the *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1609) and the *Epitome praeceptorum Dialecticae* (1613).<sup>46</sup>

Historian of logic Wilhelm Risse regards Dieterich as one of the most significant systematicians of logic in the period, who sought to "eclectically reconcile Aristotelian and

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<sup>44</sup> Freedman, "The Diffusion of the Writings of Petrus Ramus," 124, 139, 140. For a discussion of the use of Ramus' dialectic in the German lands and its conflict with Melanchthon's system, see Petersen, *Geschichte der Aristotelischen Philosophie im Protestantischen Deutschland* (Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1921), 127ff.

<sup>45</sup> It is not clear if Dieterich favored this eclectic approach, or followed it because he was required to do so. It seems hardly possible that he would teach and write following a program which he opposed. This compromised position between Aristotle and Ramus had long been followed in Marburg, where at the university Rudolph Goclenius (1547–1628), Dieterich's professor, ruled over the study of dialectic from a semi-Ramist position. Before Goclenius, the use of Ramist dialectic had been contested in Marburg. For the history of the use of Ramist methodology in the *Paedagogium* in Marburg and the controversy surrounding it, see Arnd Friedrich, *Die Gelehrtenschulen in Marburg, Kassel und Korbach zwischen Melanchthonianismus und Ramismus in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. 57ff.; and Friedrich, "Das Pädagogium der Universität Marburg zwischen Melanchthonianismus und Ramismus," in *Melanchthon und die Marburger Professoren (1527–1627)*, ed. Barbara Bauer. Schriften der Universitätsbibliothek Marburg 89. Second edition, vol. 1 (Marburg: Völker & Ritter, 2000), 707–36.

<sup>46</sup> *Institutiones Dialecticae; ex probatissimis Aristotelis et Rami Interpretibus Studiose conscriptae, variisq; exemplis in usum Illustris Paedagogii Giesseni Illustratae, à Cunrado Theodorico, Philosophiae Moralis Professore & Paedagogiarcha*. (Giessen: Nikolaus Hampel, 1609); and the *Epitome praeceptorum Dialecticae, in usum Classicorum inferiorum ex Institutionibus Logicis compendiosa collecta à Cunrado Dieterico, Philosophiae Moralis Professore & Paedagogiarcha* (Giessen: Nikolaus Hampel, 1613). All quotations from Dieterich's *Institutiones Dialecticae* in this dissertation are from the second edition published in Leipzig in 1612 (*Institutiones Dialecticae; ex probatissimis Autoribus Studiose Conscriptae, variisque exemplis in usum Illustris Paedagogii Giesseni Illustratae, a Cunrado Theodorico, Philosophiae Moralis Professore & Paedagogiarcha*. Editio Secunda (Leipzig: Valentin am Ende, 1612).

Ramist doctrine.”<sup>47</sup> Risse understands Dieterich’s dialectic work as a natural result and continuation of the logical programs of the previous generation: “As a whole this eclectic-systematic textbook [Dieterich’s *Institutiones Dialecticae*] is a prime example of the new logic expanding on the presuppositions of the sixteenth century.”<sup>48</sup> Risse describes Dieterich’s dialectic as a simple composition of elements from Ramus and Aristotle: “The external framework is borrowed from Ramus, while the content is consistent with an Aristotelian *Organon* broadened around several scholastic rules of consistency.”<sup>49</sup> This synthesized form consists mainly of Aristotelian doctrine presented according to the method and order of Ramus. This format presented the material elements of Aristotle by means of Ramus’ approach and structure. To a large degree, the Aristotelian subject matter of Dieterich’s dialectic is derived from Melanchthon’s system of logic found in his textbook, the *Erotemata dialectices*.<sup>50</sup> As will be seen, while Dieterich’s dialectic is a blend of Aristotelian logical doctrines and Ramist order, the method is based on that of Ramus.<sup>51</sup>

Ramus and many of his followers asserted that all subjects can be easily and clearly illustrated and taught using method.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, Dieterich assumes that his own Ramist-

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<sup>47</sup> [“Einer der bedeutendsten Systematiker ist sodann Theodoricus, der eklektisch die aristotelische und ramistische Lehre auszusöhnen sucht.”] Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit. 1. Band 1500–1640*, 459. For Risse’s fuller assessment of Dieterich’s dialectic, see 459–64.

<sup>48</sup> “Als Ganzes ist dieses eklektisch-systematische Lehrbuch ein Musterbeispiel der auf den Voraussetzungen des 16. Jh. weiterbauenden neuen Logik.” Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit. 1. Band 1500–1640*, 463.

<sup>49</sup> “Der äußere Rahmen ist Ramus entlehnt, der Inhalt aber entspricht dem um einige scholastische Konsequenzenregeln erweiterten aristotelischen *Organon*.” Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit. 1. Band 1500–1640*, 463. Likewise, Johannes Greiner sees the eclectic nature of Dieterich’s dialectic: “Freilich war auch Dieterich während seiner Tätigkeit in Giessen noch stark in den Bahnen des Ramus gewandert und suchte in seinen Lehrbüchern Aristoteles und Ramus zu vereinigen.” Greiner, *Die Ulmer Gelehrtenschule zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts und das akademische Gymnasium. Darstellung und Quellenmaterial* (Ulm: Strom, 1912), 40.

<sup>50</sup> Wilhelm Risse points out that the Aristotelian dialectic employed in Hesse in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was from Melanchthon. Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit. 1. Band 1500–1640*, 179–80, 187–88.

<sup>51</sup> Schindling, “Die Universität Gießen als Typus einer Hochschulgründung,” 106.

<sup>52</sup> The notion that method could be applied with benefit to any of the subjects taught, especially the arts, was foundational for the humanists. See Gilbert, 71 ff.

Aristotelian dialectic, especially the method presented in it, is effective and appropriate for the instruction of almost every subject in schools. Following this assumption, Dieterich applies his dialectic and its method to the instruction of catechesis.<sup>53</sup>

### Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613)

#### Method

##### Dieterich's Stated Rationale for the Use of his Method

In his *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), and to a lesser extent in his *Epitome Catechetica* (1614), Dieterich puts into operation a detailed method for instructing Luther's Small Catechism. Why does he consider his method the best way to teach advanced students the catechism? As a rule, he maintains that the use of method is arbitrary, so why proceed as he does and why write extensively on it?<sup>54</sup> For his purposes, Dieterich understands that dialectic is a practical science and its application is for the purpose of effective teaching and learning.<sup>55</sup> Likewise for him, catechetical instruction (in theology) is not a speculative, abstract undertaking, but a practical one. Dieterich is not interested in using philosophical methods to discover doctrinal truths. Rather, he is concerned about asserting those truths which had already been revealed in God's Word and are

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<sup>53</sup> Dieterich's successor as *Pädagogiarch* in Giessen, Christoph Scheibler (1589–1653) continued the eclectic dialectic of Ramist and Aristotelian elements. In the second part of his logic text, Scheibler presents a semi-Ramist logic of arguments, while holding closely to concepts of Aristotle (*Philosophia compendiosa seu philosophia synopsis: exhibens Logicae, Metaphysicae, Physicae, Geometriae, Astronomiae, Opticae, Ethicae Politicae et Oeconomicae compendium methodicum* (Giessen, 1613–1618). Scheibler was professor of logic and metaphysics at the University of Giessen from 1616 to 1624. He was influenced by the late Aristotelian Giacomo Zabarella (1532–89). See Nicolaus C. Heutger, *Die evangelisch-theologische Arbeit der Westfalen in der Barockzeit* (Hildesheim: August Lax, 1969), 28–29; see also Hans Emil Weber, *Die philosophische Scholastik des deutschen Protestantismus im Zeitalter der Orthodoxie* (Leipzig, 1907), 25.

<sup>54</sup> In his *Institutiones Dialecticae*, Dieterich acknowledges that method is arbitrary: "Sed tamen & in his Methodus arbitraria pro docentis vel dicentis discretione adhibetur." Dieterich, *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1619), 512. The very title of Dieterich's work, the *Institutiones Catecheticae* [Catechetical Institutions], means catechetical instruction or method. The name implies that the arrangement or method of catechesis is important. In a sense, Dieterich is suggesting that if the reader wants to know how to teach the catechism, here is a method for doing it.

<sup>55</sup> Dieterich defined dialectic as "the art of using reason well," [Dialecticae est ars ratione bene utendi] (*Institutiones Dialecticae* [1612], 45).

summarized in Luther's Small Catechism.<sup>56</sup> Dieterich has didactic motivations in employing his method for catechetical instruction, assuming that it is the best way to treat the subject to suit his practical-theological goals.

In the dedicatory epistle of the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, Dieterich expressly states that this work is intended and designed chiefly for "youthful students" [Scholasticæ imprimis juventuti].<sup>57</sup> This statement and the details which follow it are the only explicit statement Dieterich provides as to the rationale for his method. (Other possible reasons for its employment will be discussed below.)

Dieterich's method, as outlined in his dedicatory epistle, follows three steps. First, after quoting particular sections from Luther's catechism, Dieterich uses questions and answers to form a framework through which to direct his method and lay out his catechetical material. In this way, he provides comments on "principal definitions and questions" [præcipuas definitiones & quæstiones].<sup>58</sup> Second, these are explicated "logically" [logicè] and placed in smaller italicized font and in parentheses to be clearly identified.<sup>59</sup> Finally, these in turn are "illustrated with various things selected from theological axioms, likewise with principal objections and responses,

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<sup>56</sup> Melancthon, e.g., had emphasized this use of philosophy. As Sachiko Kusukawa notes: "By drawing on traditional concepts from logic, philosophy and medicine and providing them with new emphases and directions, Melancthon redefined the scope of philosophy so that human reason on its own could not discover theological truths." Kusukawa, in Philip Melancthon, *Orations on Philosophy and Education*, xxii.

<sup>57</sup> That is, those students at the Giessen *Paedagogium* or elsewhere at the *Gymnasium* level. Dieterich, "Epistola Dedicatoria," *Institutiones Catecheticae*, 1613, )( 4r. In the dedicatory epistle, Dieterich expresses appreciation for the catechism of his friend and colleague, Johann Schroeder, who wrote his German catechism, based on Luther's Small Catechism, for lay adults in Köln and Aachen. However, he indicates that a different method is needed to meet his needs for teaching catechesis to students at the Latin school and *Gymnasium* level. It is clear that Dieterich deliberately chooses his method to suit his intended readers (both teachers and students) and to work within the curriculum of the schools. Dieterich, "Epistola Dedicatoria," *Institutiones Catecheticae*, [1613], )( 4r. As noted in chapter one, Johann Schroeder (1572–1621) was pastor in Lauterbach in Hesse, later superintendent in Schweinfurt, and finally chief pastor in Nürnberg. His *Nützlicher und inn Gottes Wort Wolgegründter Unterricht* (1602) was intended for lay Lutherans in the Lower German cities of Köln and Aachen. A Latin version of this work, *Catechetica, seu, Christianae Doctrinae Erotemata* (1606) was reworked for use in the *Gymnasium* in Schweinfurt.

<sup>58</sup> Dieterich, "Epistola Dedicatoria," *Institutiones Catecheticae*, (1613), )( 4r.

<sup>59</sup> Dieterich, "Epistola Dedicatoria," *Institutiones Catecheticae*, (1613), )( 4r.



sometimes interspersed, though more infrequently, with embellishments of certain Fathers” [variis ... desumptis axiomatibus Theologicis, objectionibus & responsionibus praecipuis, interspersis nonnunquam, quanquam rariùs, Patrum quorundum floribus, illustrare voluimus].<sup>60</sup> Briefly stated, after citation of Luther’s catechism, Dieterich’s method proceeds as follows: 1) comments on principal definitions and questions (including the definition of terms and concepts), 2) the logical explication of these definitions and questions, and 3) illustration with examples and testimonies.<sup>61</sup>

### **Dieterich’s Method As It Relates to That Proposed in His Dialectic**

The method Dieterich claims for the *Institutiones Catecheticae* is virtually the same as that suggested in his textbook on dialectic, the *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1612).<sup>62</sup> In the dialectic text, Dieterich explains the method in more detail but the basic structure is the same. He lists the order for properly treating a simple subject or topic:

I. The definition is stated. II. The [definition] is broken down in parts in this way: 1. so that the definition of the name [term] is explained, and if a word is uncertain it should be clarified. 2. The genus is to be searched into. 3. Causes [should be investigated] indeed with respect to essences, material and form: with respect to existences, efficient and final. 4. Subject and object. III. [The definition] is divided into parts: 1. integrated. 2. species. IV. Effects are to be reflected upon: Adjuncts, accidents, cognates, antecedents, consequences, and other circumstances. V. To this are added variations and opposites. VI. At some point

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<sup>60</sup> Dieterich, “Epistola Dedicatoria,” *Institutiones Catecheticae*, (1613), )( 4r.

<sup>61</sup> The full statement of Dieterich’s method from his dedicatory epistle reads as follows:

In which aim we have wished to remark on principal definitions and questions: and then to explain these things logically in parentheses, and then to illustrate them with various things selected from theological axioms, likewise with principal objections and responses, sometimes interspersed, though more infrequently, with embellishments of certain Fathers.

In quem finem praecipuas definitiones & quaestiones annotare; has ipsas dein in parenthesi Logicè explicare, & variis exinde desumptis axiomatibus Theologicis, objectionibus & responsionibus praecipuis, interspersis nonnunquam, quanquam rariùs, Patrum quorundum floribus, illustrare voluimus.

Dieterich, “Epistola Dedicatoria,” *Institutiones Catecheticae*, (1613), )( 4r.

<sup>62</sup> *Institutiones Dialecticae; ex probatissimis Autoribus Studiose Conscriptae, variisque exemplis in usum Illustris Paedagogii Giesseni Illustratae, a Cunrado Theodorico, Philosophiae Moralis Professore & Paedagogiarcho*. Editio Secunda (Leipzig: Valentin am Ende, 1612).

comparisons are to be interspersed. VII. Finally, various testimonies are appended.<sup>63</sup>

It is clear that the three basic elements of Dieterich's method for instruction in his *Institutiones Catecheticae* are a condensed form of the description of method from his *Institutiones Dialecticae*. It is the assertion of this dissertation that this method is, to a large degree, the method Dieterich employs in his exposition of Luther's Small Catechism.

Dieterich acknowledges that his dialectic is a Ramist-Aristotelian one, based on past and contemporary interpretations. The title of his *Institutiones Dialecticae* alone testifies to that fact: *Dialectical instruction, diligently composed from the finest expositors of Aristotle and Ramus ....*<sup>64</sup> While the dialectic as a whole is based on the teachings of both Aristotle and Ramus, it is apparent that the method included by Dieterich in the work is the unique method of Ramus.

In the *Institutiones Dialecticae*, Dieterich sets down his definition of method: "Method is the intelligible order of various homogeneous axioms proceeding from the general to the particular" [Methodus est dianoa variorum axiomatum homogeneorum a generalibus ad specialia procedens].<sup>65</sup> This definition is very similar to the one provided by Ramus in his *Dialecticae libri duo* (1574): "Method is the intelligible order of various homogeneous axioms .... Thus method proceeds without interruption from universals to singulars" [Methodus est dianoa variorum axiomatum homogeneorum ... ideoque methodus ab universalibus ad singularia perpetuo

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<sup>63</sup> *Institutiones Dialecticae* (second edition, 1612), 512:

[3. Methodus thematis Simplicis est, qua thema simplex legitime tractatur. Ejus hic sit ordo. I. Definitio proponitur. II. Eadem secundum membra resolvitur hoc modo, ut, 1. Definitio nominis explicetur, & si vox ambigua sit distinguatur. 2. Genus investigetur. 3. Causae respectu quidem essentiae, materia & forma: respectu existentiae, efficiens & finis. 4. Subjectum & objectum. III. Dividitur in partes, 1. integrantes. 2. species. IV. Effecta. Adjuncta, accidentia, cognata, ante-cedentia, consequentia, aliaeque circumstantiae considerantur. V. Diversa & opposita adduntur. VI. Comparata quandoque intersperguntur. VII. Denique Testimonia varia subjiciuntur.]

<sup>64</sup> *Institutiones Dialecticae; ex probatissimis Aristotelis et Rami Interpretibus Studiose conscriptae ....*

<sup>65</sup> Dieterich, *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1612), 503.

progreditur].<sup>66</sup> The steps along which this method proceeds in Ramus' arrangement of doctrine may be simply summarized: 1) the statement of the general or universal (for instance, a definition or a comprehensive summary), 2) the explication of the parts, 3) the definition of single parts and their clarification by suitable examples.<sup>67</sup> This arrangement is strikingly similar to the one Dieterich follows in his *Institutiones Catecheticae*, outlined above: 1) comments on principal definitions and questions (including the definition of terms and concepts), 2) the logical explication of these definitions and questions, and 3) illustration with examples. On this basis, it seems clear that the method for instruction Dieterich proposes in his *Institutiones Catecheticae*

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<sup>66</sup> Ramus, *Dialecticae libri duo* (Paris, 1574, text identical with the edition of 1572, Paris)], Lib. II, cap. xvii, 72–73, quoted from Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, 251, 365.

<sup>67</sup> Ramus defined method as an organization of arguments from the general to the particular: The method of teaching, therefore, is the arrangement of various things brought down from universal and general principles to the underlying singular parts .... In such method, this alone has to be prescribed: that in teaching the general and universal explanations precede, such as the definition and a kind of general summary; after which follows the special explanation by distribution of the parts; last of all comes the definition of the singular parts and clarification by means of suitable examples. [Methodus igitur doctrinae est dispositio rerum variarum ab universis et generalibus principiis ad subiectas et singulares partes deductaru .... In qua tantum illud est praecipendum, ut in docendo generalis et universa declaratio praecedat, qualis est definitio et summa quaedam comprehensio, tum sequatur specialis per distributionem partium explicatio: postremo partium singularium definitio, et ex idoneis exemplis illustratio.]

Ramus, published pseudonymously in 1546 as *Dialectici commentarii tres authore Audomaro Talaeo editi*, quoted from Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, 245, 363.

closely follows that suggested by Ramus in his dialectical works.<sup>68</sup> In his description of method, Dieterich repeatedly refers to Ramus' dialectic as the basis for certain elements of his methodical procedure.<sup>69</sup>

Nowhere in his *Institutiones Catecheticae* does Dieterich refer to the method employed as Ramist, nor does he indicate that any logical content in the work derives from Aristotle. He simply presents his method of catechesis with an explanation of its procedure. It is possible that he was well aware that in many Lutheran areas outside of Hesse where his *Institutiones*

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<sup>68</sup> As noted above, Ramus modifies his definition of method over time, however, his fundamental conception of the arrangement of method and its progression remained fairly constant during the middle and later period of his career. The specific assertion of commonality between Ramus and Dieterich has been based in part on Ramus' *Dialectici commentarii tres auctore Audomaro Talaeo editi (1546)*, yet Ramus expresses very similar ideas about the progression of method in later works, including his *Dialectica A. Talaei praelectionibus illustrata (1569)*:

The chief examples of method are in the arts. Here, although all the rules are general and universal, nevertheless there are grades among them, insofar as the more general a rule is, the more it precedes. Those things are most general in position and first in order which are first in luminosity and knowledge; the subalterns follow, because they are next clearest; and thus those things are put down first which are by nature better known (*natura notiora*), the less known are put below, and finally the most special are set up. Thus the most general definition will be first, distribution next, and, if this latter is manifold, division into integral parts comes first, then division into species. The parts and species are then treated respectively in this same order in which they are divided. If this mean that a long explanation intervenes, then when taking up the next part or species, the whole structure is to be knit back together again by means of some transition. This will refresh the auditors and amuse them[!]. However, in order to present things more informally, some familiar example should be used.

Ramus, *Dialectica A. Talaei praelectionibus illustrata* (Basel: E. Episcopius et Nicolae fratris haeredes, 1569) Lib. II, cap. xvii, 542–43, quoted from Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, 249. Ong notes that because of the brevity of the subsequent and final 1572 edition of Ramus' *Dialectica A. Talaei praelectionibus illustrata*, this 1569 Basel edition is the "definitive complete edition during Ramus' lifetime" (Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, 181).

<sup>69</sup> E.g., Dieterich, *Institutiones Dialecticae (1612)*, 505.

Sic ergo. 1. Definitio omnium generalissima erit prima. [2.] Distributio sequetur. 3. Haec si multiplex fuerit praecedet partitio integri in sua membra. Sequetur distributio generis in suas species (Illa enim ex causis exstit, haec ex effectis,) 4. Pares ipsae & species eodem ordine rursus sunt tractandae ac definiendae, quo distributae fuerunt, Ram. 1.2. Dial. c. 16. Pars nimirum prima pro lucis suae claritate facta in distributione primo loco rursus est definienda, distrib-uenda, subdividenda, si fert rei natura, & partes factae simili modo tractandae, & exemplis illustrandae. Atque sic una parte absoluta ad secundum & tertiam, &c. est progrediendum.

*Catecheticae* could have been used, there might be resistance to the use of Ramist method.<sup>70</sup>

### Other Considerations Regarding Dieterich's Use of Method

There are other factors to be taken into account with respect to Dieterich's rationale for using his dialectical method. Dieterich does not explicitly state these other reasons; however, to a great extent they are implicit in the manner in which his instruction proceeds. In these additional factors, too, Dieterich's didactic motivations are clear.

It was not at all unusual in Dieterich's day that catechesis should be presented according to an orderly method. Melancthon had described catechesis as "the methodical exposition of the articles of faith."<sup>71</sup> As noted above, Dieterich was operating in a context in which a humanistic approach to instruction and learning was thriving. With regard to the structure of his teaching, he takes up the catechism much like other subjects in the curriculum. He presents catechetical

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<sup>70</sup> Dieterich received criticism from other Lutherans for composing an Aristotelian-Ramist dialectic. For instance, Georgius Gutkuis, adjunct professor at the University of Wittenberg and later rector of the *Gymnasium* in Berlin attacked Dieterich's use of Ramist dialectic. Gutkuis maintained that Aristotle alone should be used for logic, asserting that "the logic of Aristotle is the logic of God himself" [Aristotelis enim Logica ipsius Dei Logica est]. Georgius Gutkuis, *Habitus primorum principiorum seu Intelligentia* (Berlin: Kallius, 1625), Proleg., A8r. See also Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit 1. Band 1500–1640*, 505ff.; Joachim Jungius, *Joachimi Jungii Logicae Hamburgensis Additamenta. Cum annotationibus edidit Wilhelm Risse*. Veröffentlichung der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Hamburg 29 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 94–97; Ulrich Gottfried Leinsle, *Das Ding und die Methode: Methodische Konstitution und Gegenstand der frühen Protestantischen Metaphysik* 2 vols. (Augsburg: Maro Verlag, 1985), vol. 1, 404–07, vol. 2, 788–98.

<sup>71</sup> In his "De modo et arte concionandi" (ca. 1537–39), Melancthon addresses those preaching to congregations with regard to the best way to give instruction in catechesis:

Catechesis is the methodical exposition of the articles of the faith, as for example, the apostles composed the first symbol, and many sainted fathers wrote explications of the symbol, because it is proper for believers to understand the summary of Christian doctrine and to have a sort of body of certain information. And indeed the prudent preacher either ought to teach such catechesis at fixed times or should arrange his sermons according to certain loci in such a way that the people are able to form an idea and conception in their minds of some body [of doctrine].

[Catechesis est methodica enarratio articulorum fidei, sicut apostoli principio condiderunt symbolon, et multi sancti patres scripserunt enarrationem symboli, quia oportet pios tenere summam doctrinae Christianae et quasi quoddam corpus informatum habere. Et prudens concionator aut certis temporibus debet talem catechesin tradere aut conciones suas ita distribuere in locos certos, ut populus possit aliquod corpus animo concipere et informare.]

Melancthon, "De modo et arte concionandi" (ca. 1537–39) in *Supplementa Melancthoniana: Werke Philipp Melancthons die in Corpus Reformatorum vermisst werden*. Philipp Melancthons Schriften zur Praktischen Theologie, Teil 2, Homiletischen Schriften, ed. The Melancthon Kommission des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte (Leipzig: Rudolf Haupt, 1929), 34.

teaching in a manner consistent with other humanistic disciplines, and, at the same time, also makes use of these disciplines to teach the catechism.

Dieterich set the orientation of his catechetical instruction by returning *ad fontes*, reaching back to the textual sources of religious instruction—Scripture and Luther’s Small Catechism. Dieterich believes that catechesis, and Luther’s catechism in particular, clearly and truly summarize the Scripture.<sup>72</sup> The Scripture is the basis of the catechetical instruction, for it gives the teaching authority and determines its content. The teaching of the catechism is a constituent part of Scripture and the catechetical teaching is scriptural. In a sense, for Dieterich, Luther’s catechism is the well from which the deeper waters of Scripture flow. In his own instruction, Dieterich strives to represent the subject matter and its message faithfully with grammar and language.<sup>73</sup>

The *Institutiones Catecheticae* extensively builds upon what students have already learned in Luther’s Small Catechism. Dieterich places the teaching of the catechism in a more advanced dogmatic program. In this context he defines fundamental theological terms and concepts, if necessary, offering objections to refute false theological assumptions. The testimonies of Scripture, followed by citations from the fathers or Lutheran theologians, offer support for

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<sup>72</sup> In both the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica*, Dieterich defines catechesis as follows: [Catechesis is] the concise and clear instruction of the untrained in the foundation of the Christian religion, faith, and life, gathered from the prophetic and apostolic scriptures. (*Or*, it is a compendium of prophetic and apostolic doctrine which is taught orally to the un instructed and which from them [a repetition of the material] is demanded in return ...).

[*Quid est Catechesis?* Est brevis ac perspicua rudiorum in fundamento religionis, fidei, & vitae christianae e scriptis Prophetis ac Apostolicis collecta institutio. [*Seu* Est compendium doctrinae Propheticae & Apostolicae quod rudioribus viva voce traditur & ab iisdem rursus exigitur ...].]

*Institutiones Catecheticae, è B. Lutheri Catechesi Depromptæ, variisque notis Logicis & Theologicis, in usum Juventutis Scholasticae illustratae, a Cunrado Dieterico Practicae Philos. Professore publ. & Paedagogiarcha. Cum praefatione & approbatione Venerandi Collegii Theologici* (Giessen: Casparus Chemlinus, 1613), 1. As noted in the previous chapter, the word order is slightly different in the *Epitome Catechetica*: “*Quid est Catechesis?* Est brevis ac perspicua institutio rudiorum in fundamento religionis, fidei, & vitae christianae e scriptis Prophetis ac Apostolicis collecta.” *Epitome Catechetica, Autore Cunrado Dieterico SS Th D. antehac Practicae Philosophiae Professore & Paedagogiarcha Gissae, nunc Pastore ac Superintendente Ulmensi*. Editio nova, recognita & elimata (Giessen: Caspar Chemlin, 1617).

<sup>73</sup> As noted in chapter 2, it may be asserted that Luther also assumes a basic humanistic approach in his Small Catechism, at least on a simpler, more fundamental level, and in a less transparent way.

Dieterich's doctrinal statements. For the most part, Dieterich's presentation of the material involves brief questions and answers of key components followed by italicized commentary at greater length extending the learning.

Broadly considered, Dieterich applies the disciplines of the *trivium* to the study of the catechism. First, he lays down the building blocks of the language of the catechism (grammar), the facts, rules, and vocabulary. Next, he applies logic to help students lay out theological arguments with the purpose of clarifying and analyzing doctrines. Finally, Dieterich uses rhetoric to encourage the student's creative application of language and argument in effective persuasive communication of the material learned. As will be seen, this application of elements from the *trivium* corresponds closely to the stated method of procedure in Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae*. In terms of his approach to educational methods, Dieterich is more a practitioner of pedagogy than a theoretician, in the sense that he does not develop a complete and closed pedagogical system but is keenly interested in the practical application of instructional methods as well as in their results.<sup>74</sup>

Dieterich's approach provides him a framework upon which to secure the questions and answers presenting his catechetical material. He considers the question-and-answer format—the traditional catechetical form—as the best way of teaching the fundamentals of the Christian

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<sup>74</sup> See Asmus, 31.

faith.<sup>75</sup> The dialectical method provides certainty in teaching, and by means of it Dieterich could ensure that his students learned the orthodox Lutheran teaching. Through the question and answer form, Dieterich's dialectical method proceeds, laying down a comprehensive system of catechetical teaching. It breaks down the catechetical questions and answers into definitions and divisions, affording a careful, thorough treatment of the material.

Dieterich's methodology and approach to catechetical instruction are related integrally to his practical-theological goals for this instruction. He derived his *Institutiones Catecheticae* from his lectures on catechesis at the *Paedagogium* in Giessen.<sup>76</sup> As has been discussed in the previous chapter, Dieterich's purpose or goal for instruction of the catechism, as well as for his catechetical textbooks, is to train up young people in the Christian faith and life. He seeks to do this as effectively as possible and with fidelity to the accepted Lutheran teaching of his day. Such training is necessary, Dieterich maintains, because "the instruction and knowledge of the

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<sup>75</sup> Unlike his textbooks on other subjects (dialectic, rhetoric, and oratory), Dieterich presents his catechetical instruction in the form of questions and answers. This perhaps recalls the example of Luther's Small Catechism which serves as the basis for Dieterich's material, but, of course it is also in the tradition of catechetical instruction. Sachiko Kusakawa emphasizes the importance of the question-and-answer form for Lutheran instruction, influenced by Melancthon:

Lutherans seized upon catechism—a rote repetition by means of question and answer—not simply because they saw it as a practice of the Early Church, but also because they considered it a most potent and efficient way of inculcating rules of religious doctrine as well as of moral and social behaviour. Thus at Wittenberg, religious teaching was based on catechism, while philosophy was taught with catechetical textbooks. This question-and-answer form did not seek knowledge of why certain questions are asked or why those questions ought to be answered in a particular way. In short, it simply drilled students into producing a single, correct answer .... Drilling students into the correct doctrine through catechetical exercise was meant to achieve unity of thought—unanimously and univocally—without aberration or heresy. That is, it was meant to achieve Lutheran orthodoxy. For Melancthon dialectics provided the means for achieving this goal. And this, I believe, is precisely why Melancthon came to regard his dialectics a "chain of concord."

Kusakawa, "*Vinculum Concordiae: Lutheran Method by Philip Melancthon*," 351–52. In his dialectic, Dieterich referred to method as a chain (*Institutiones Dialecticae* (1612), 508:

V. Membra methodi transitionum forma seu vinculo (siquidem prolixior fuerit tractatio (legitime connectantur. [Transitio enim methodo vinculum est, quo partes propositae consequentes cum antecedentibus inter se colligantur, & connectuntur....])

<sup>76</sup> Dieterich, *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), *Epistola Dedicatoria*, )( 3:

I write an Iliad after Homer perhaps, while these methods of catechetical instruction, composed at the inception of this illustrious *Paedagogium* for the use of my students, I indeed now publish in print and issue for the public use of those for whom it is of interest, since I was advised and exhorted to put them together in writing.

[Iliada forsitan post Homerum scribo, dum Institutiones has Catecheticas sub initium illustris hujus Paedagogii in usum discipulorum meorum conscriptas, nunc verò, eorum quorum interest, suasu & hortatu excerptas, typis evulgo & publici juris facio.]



catechism and of the articles of faith is the most necessary thing in this world.”<sup>77</sup> Again, Dieterich understands that this instruction is taken from Scripture and expounded correctly in Luther’s Small Catechism.

Whereas Luther’s Small Catechism had initially served as a vehicle of the Reformation and as summary of evangelical doctrine for the laity, Dieterich’s catechesis is a summary of evangelical doctrine for *Gymnasium* students which also drills them in the elements of dialectic at the same time. Dieterich’s efforts are aimed at maintaining and reproducing a well-educated Lutheran laity, as well as preparing future Lutheran pastors and teachers.

Without referring to Luther’s exhortation to advance catechetical instruction from the simple to more difficult, Dieterich follows Luther’s program for catechesis and teaches his students with the purpose of leading them to a deeper understanding of the subject matter.<sup>78</sup> This advancing of catechetical instruction is the primary reason for Dieterich’s presentation of the catechetical teaching in such length and dogmatic complexity in the *Institutiones catecheticae* and *Epitome catechetica*. That is proved by Dieterich’s assumptions and by the way he manages his material. For instance, Dieterich takes it for granted that his students in the Giessen school know Luther’s Small Catechism before they trek through his own catechetical works. With this foundation laid, Dieterich can then guide them into a more detailed and elaborate explanation of the catechism in order to advance their understanding of its content. Dieterich exercises freedom

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<sup>77</sup> [“Darumb ist die Unterweisung und Wisschafft des Catechismi und der Glaubens Articuli das allernötigste Stück auff dieser Welt.”] in: Dieterich, *Catechismus Predigt. Darin von fleissiger Übung des Catechismi in denen Hauptstücken Christlicher Lehr gehandelt/und Ursachen außgeföhret werden/warumb dieselbig unter gemeinen Leuten fleissig zu treiben seye. Gehalten zu Ulm am Sontag nach der H. drey Könige Tag den 8. Januarii Anno 1626. Als daselbsten eine neue Ordnung mit der Praxi des Catechismi publiciert worden.* Published in: D. Cunrad Dieterichs/ Ulmischer Kirchen Superintendenten, *Sonderbarer Predigten/So von unterschiedenen Materien/Hiebevör zu Ulm im Münster gehalten/deren theils schon allbereit in offenen Truck außgegangen/theils jetzo von newem darinn verfertigt worden/ Vierdter Theil. Darinnen die Sontägliche Evangelische Text=Predigten begrieffen werden. Auff sonderbar Begehren zusammen gedruckt* (Schleusingen: Zacharias Schürer, Matthias Götz, 1634), 116.

<sup>78</sup> Luther, Small Catechism, Preface, 17.

in treating the contents of the catechism. He adds discussions of doctrinal topics not found in Luther's catechism and takes up issues current in his own day.

In teaching the catechism in the three stages stated in his dedicatory epistle, Dieterich's method of teaching is closely attentive to core instructional elements of the schools in which his catechesis was likely to be used. Certainly, Dieterich's students in the *Paedagogium* would have been familiar with his dialectical approach and its method. In the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, he carefully examines the language of the catechism and its basic logical structure. At the same time he prepares students for the practical application and effective communication of the catechetical teachings. In a way, he is equipping students with tools and skills for living their own lives as Christians in society and preparing them for further study in theology or careers in the church or secular fields. First, with "principal definitions and questions," Dieterich presents the grammar of the catechism—its language, structure, and factual material. Moreover, in explaining the material "logically," Dieterich offers an analysis and explication with the intention of giving the students a clear conception of the material. Finally, with the addition of "the foundation of principal arguments" and "effective solutions of theological objections," Dieterich expands on the logical structure with the aim of providing the students with practical tools for application and communication of the material.

In the employment of his method, Dieterich is careful to consider the knowledge and abilities of various groups of students. He provides a course of material that is easily adaptable by teachers for students. They are free to use more or less of the material, depending on their needs and level of learning. In the dedicatory epistle to his *Institutiones Catecheticae*, he is attentive to the possibility that many younger students may become overwhelmed by the

“objection and response” [objectionum ac responsionum] format of the instruction.<sup>79</sup> Yet while Dieterich is realistic in seeing a need to adjust the learning level, his goal is that the older or more advanced students be “carried up to the higher exercises” [“superiores verò ad altiora exercitia eveci”] so that in addition to the basics of the Lutheran teaching, “they may learn logic and at the same time the foundation of principal arguments” [“una eademque opera logicam simul præcipuorum argumentorum sedem perciperent”].<sup>80</sup> Dieterich advises that these elder students “learn effective solutions of theological objections” [“objectionum Theologicarum solutiones quasi aliud agentes addiscerent”] in the process, adding, “This is our aim, this is the the plan of our subject” [“Hic finis noster est, hoc propositi nostri consilium”].<sup>81</sup>

Dieterich’s method also affords him the opportunity to take up theological controversies that are convergent on particular points of doctrine.<sup>82</sup> Where necessary, Dieterich can easily append a brief discourse analyzing doctrinal controversies in the history of the church. At the same time he can point out and refute the doctrinal errors of those in the past as well as contemporary opponents. In comparing and contrasting these errors with the true Lutheran

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<sup>79</sup> Dieterich, “Epistola Dedicatoria,” *Institutiones Catecheticae*, (1613), )( 4r.

<sup>80</sup> Dieterich, “Epistola Dedicatoria,” *Institutiones Catecheticae*, (1613), )( 4.

<sup>81</sup> Dieterich, “Epistola Dedicatoria,” *Institutiones Catecheticae*, (1613), )( 4–)( 5.

<sup>82</sup> In the dedicatory of the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, Dieterich does not explicitly say that he will take up theological controversies in the work (although a cursory glance through the book indicates that he does discuss them at some length). However, Dieterich does commend the catechism of Johann Schroeder for its treatment of controversies. Dieterich, “Epistola Dedicatoria,” *Institutiones Catecheticae*, [1613], )( 4. In the dedicatory epistle of his *Epitome Catechetica* (dated 1614), Dieterich states that having been assigned the task of teaching the fundamentals of the Christian faith and the chief articles of Lutheran doctrine. With this goal in mind, he took up Luther’s Small Catechism and in its questions wrote on the chief controversies of the faith (“Quem in finem quaestiones in Catechesin B. Lutheri minorem, depraecipuis fidei controversiis ... conscripsi.”) Dieterich, “Epistola Dedicatoria,” *Epitome Catechetica, Autore Cunrado Dieterico SS Th. D. antehac Practicæ Philosophiæ Professore & Pædagogiarcha Gissæ, nunc Pastore ac Superintendente Ulmensi*. Editio nova, recognita & elimata (Giessen, 1617), 2.

doctrine, Dieterich explains why the correct teaching on the various articles of faith is necessary.<sup>83</sup> Implicit in this is Dieterich's intention that his instruction prepare his students to properly distinguish true from false doctrine. He hopes to help students see the truth of the Lutheran confession of faith and to confirm and sustain them in it, as well as continue to build the educational foundation for the preservation of Lutheran evangelical teaching.

*Kontroversstheologie* was one common way to teach church history and theology in this period. Controversial theology was also the way to study and practice theology—it informed students about doctrinal issues and was a means of teaching them to think. In his catechism, Dieterich seeks to provide students with a strong foundation in Lutheran teaching, as well as the skills to defend it and refute false teaching. Confession also means condemnation of false teaching. Matters of confession and condemnation were not ones of indifference. In many cases, these doctrinal issues were ones teachers and students might confront in their own lives as they were called upon to confess their own beliefs and condemn false teachings. For many, these controversies could be matters of life and death—even eternal life and death. Dieterich's catechetical instruction provided a solid foundation in Lutheran doctrine, and a ready defense of it

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<sup>83</sup> While catechisms like Dieterich's might take up controversial theology as part of the instruction, others were intended specifically to help in the refutation of false teaching. These so-called "Kontroverskatechismen" were designed to instruct and support orthodox teaching. For instance, some catechisms were intended for Lutheran congregations in non-Lutheran areas, or which had Roman Catholic, Reformed, or other groups (sects) living among or near them. In these cases, the Lutherans often were under duress to defend their teaching or desired to turn others from their error. In these areas, there was often the perceived need to uncover the basis of the false teaching and clear the path for true doctrine. There were not many catechisms designed for the purposes of refuting false teaching in this way; the catechism of Johann Schroeder is one example. See the discussion of Schroeder and other *Kontroverskatechismen* in: Hans-Jürgen Fraas, *Katechismustradition: Luthers Kleiner Katechismus in Kirche und Schule*. Arbeiten zur Pastoraltheologie Band 7, eds. Martin Fischer and Robert Frick (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1971), 97ff.; and Gregorius Langemack, *Gregorius. D. Gregorii Langemacks, weiland der Stralsundisch Kirchen Superintendenten, Historiae Catecheticae, oder gesammelter Nachrichten zu Einer Catechetischen Historie dritter Theil, worin die andere Helffte von denen Catechismus der Lehrer unserer Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirchen fortgesetzt wird, nebst andern hieher gehörigen Materien ... Aus eigenhändigem MSto des seel. Herrn Autoris zum Druck übergeben von M. Dieterico Johanne Geismaro, Pastore be der H. Geist=Kirche in Stralsund* (Stralsund, 1740), 650–51. For a discussion of controversial theological material in catechetical sermons from the late sixteenth century, see Mary Jane Haemig, "The Living Voice of the Catechism: German Lutheran Catechetical Preaching 1530–1580" (Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1996), 108ff., 266ff., 271f., 279f.

against falsehood.<sup>84</sup> In the seventeenth century, catechesis was taught at some universities for lower-level students, while dogmatics and controversial theology were regarded as the most advanced subjects in the theological curriculum. Thus, by treating controversies in his *Institutiones Catecheticae*, Dieterich was perhaps intending to prepare his students for the course of instruction some would receive at the university.

Finally, Dieterich's method prepares students well for participation in academic disputations. These exercises were an integral part of the training and examination of students in the Latin schools and universities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Disputations were a regular part of academic exercises at the schools in both Giessen and Ulm.<sup>85</sup> Here students debated according to the rules of formal dialectic. The purpose of disputations for Dieterich was not to search out and determine truths but rather to exercise students' knowledge and practice their quickness and skill in debate. The method served the disputation exercise; disputation exercised the student's skill in the art of dialectic.<sup>86</sup> Catechetical material was a fairly common

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<sup>84</sup> In her dissertation on catechetical sermons from the sixteenth century, Mary Jane Haemig contends that "the controversial material in these sermons served two positive purposes: 1) to confirm the hearer's own faith, and 2) to empower the hearer to engage actively in controversy with those with whom he disagreed. These two purposes were intertwined in that faith always involves combatting false understandings which threaten that faith. Although not stated, Dieterich appears to have these same purposes (if not additional ones) at the center of his intention to treat controversies in his own catechetical instruction (Haemig, 271f., 279f.).

<sup>85</sup> See Wilhelm Martin Becker, *Das Erste halbe Jahrhundert der hessen-darmstädtischen Landesuniversität* (Gießen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1907), 147f.; Johannes Greiner, "Geschichte der Ulmer Schule," in *Geschichte des Humanistischen Schulwesens in Württemberg. II. Ulm, Oberschwaben*, vol. 20 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1914), 45–46; and Greiner, *Ulmer Gelehrtenschule*, 42, 81ff.

<sup>86</sup> Dieterich presented several orations at Ulm on the importance of disputation. These were normally addresses given on the occasion of public disputations by students at the school in Ulm. E.g., "Wider das Disputiren in den Schulen" (1631), "Für das Disputiren in den Schulen" (1632), and "Von dem Modo, so im Disputiren in acht zu nehmen" (1633), printed in *HERRN D. Conrad Dieterichs seel. Weyland deß Heil. Röm. Reichs=Stadt Ulm viel=jährigen und Hochverdienten Superintendenten, auch deß Gymnasii daselbsten Hoch=ansehnlichen Directoris vortreffliche und kernhaffte Theologische CONSILIA und Bedencken/ Welche auff Veranlassung einiger Hoher/ und vornehmer Herren/ Ständen und Personen über gewisse und hochwichtige CASUS und Fälle/ Von Ihme gründlich und Schriftmässig gestellt und erörtert worden; wie auch etliche ORATIONES PANEGYRICAE, von unterschiedenen raren und nützlichen Materien/ das Schulwesen betreffend/ Die Er bey hoch=ansehnlicher Versammlung bey den jährlichen Progressionibus, und Schul=Actibus gehalten/ Zum Druck befördert durch dessen Enkel Helwig Dieterich/ Dicasteriogr. Ulm* (Nürnberg: Johann Andreas Endter, 1689), 559–580, 581–604, and 605–622, respectively.

subject of disputation, even at the university level, and published catechetical disputations served as an example for students.<sup>87</sup>

In summary, it is worth noting that Dieterich makes several assumptions and presuppositions in the planning of his catechetical instruction. First, he presupposes that Scripture and Luther's catechism are the best foundations upon which to build a fuller teaching in catechesis. Moreover, Dieterich takes it for granted that the employment, in varying degrees, of dialectical method in the task of teaching and learning the catechetical material is a proper and effective way to instruct the material. He assumes that this dialectical method is able to present and explain the subject matter faithfully, even enhancing instruction, and that it does not have negative consequences or results, either on the material or the education of the students. In addition, Dieterich assumes that catechetical instruction conducted in this way can provide useful

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<sup>87</sup> There are not many catechetical disputations in print from the period. As noted above, disputations in catechesis were a regular part of the curriculum in the schools in Giessen and Ulm. These schools were by no means alone in this practice. For instance, Jacob Schopper (1545–1616), professor of theology at the University of Altdorf, along with giving sermons and lectures on Luther's Small Catechism, held disputations with his students on parts of the catechism. E.g., *Theses de sacramento baptismi* (Nürnberg, 1606); *Theses de S. Coena Domini* (Nürnberg, 1604); *Theses de numero sacramentorum* (Nürnberg, 1606); and *Theses de poenitentiae* (Nürnberg, 1611). Likewise, Georg Ritter (1586–1632) a student of Schopper, professor of theology at Altdorf, and later pastor in Nürnberg, also wrote numerous disputations on the catechism. In the years 1620–1622, Ritter published over forty disputation writings on Luther's Small Catechism. E.g., *Catechetica de decalogo. Sind 12 Diss.* (Altdorf, 1620); *Catechetica de symbolo Apostol.* (Altdorf, 1621); *Tertium caput catecheseos Lutheranae, oratio dominica, nomen disputationum exercitiis et explicata et uentilata* (Altdorf, 1621); *Baptismus, quartum caput catecheseos Lutheranae, quinque distinctis disputationum exercitiis explicatus et uentitatus* (Altdorf, 1622); *Sacramentum altaris, sextum et ultimum caput catecheseos Lutheranae, quatuor distinctis disp. exerc. uicibus uentilatum et explicatum* (Altdorf, 1622). (These catechetical disputations were reprinted in 1725 in an edition edited by J. B. Bernhold.) The above information on Schopper and Ritter is found in: Klaus Leder, *Kirche und Jugend in Nürnberg und seinem Landgebiet 1400 bis 1800* (Neustadt a. d. Aisch: Degener, 1973), 179–84. Other prominent authors of catechetical disputations include: Kaspar Finck, *Disputatio catechetica V.: De secundo decalogi, praecepto/ Kaspar Finck; Quam ... proponit ... Balthasar Molitor* (Giessen, 1614); Finck, *Disputatio catechetica XI.: De octavo decalogi praecepto/ Kaspar Finck; Quam ... proponit ... Daniel Corvinus* (Giessen, 1615); David Rungius, *Disputatio catechetica XVII. De poenitentia seu conversione hominis peccatoris ad Deum/ David Rungius Præs. Daniel Cothenius Resp.* (Wittenberg: Muller, 1602); Rungius, *Disputationes catecheticae octodecim, in quibus orthodoxa sententia de Lege Dei et Sacramentis perspicuè explicatur propositae in Academia Witebergensi à Davide Ringio* (Wittenberg: Muller, 1605); David Lobeck, *Disputatio catechetica sexta, De providentia divina, contingentia, et rerum necessitate* (Rostock: Reusnerus, 1602); Lobeck, *Disputatio catechetica I.–XXII. de sacra scriptura/ Praes.: David Lobechius; resp.: varii.* (Rostock, 1602–03). The *Didascalica Susatensis* (1618) of Johann Schwartz (1565–1632), the *Scholarch* of the *Archigymnasium* in Soest, advised that theological disputations on theses taken from the *Loci theologici seu Compendium theologiae* of Matthias Hafenreffer be held on a weekly basis at his school (source: Nicolaus C. Heutger, *Die evangelisch-theologische Arbeit der Westfalen in der Barockzeit* [Hildesheim: August Lax, 1969], 8). For a treatment of the subject of theological disputations at the University of Wittenberg in this period, see Kenneth G. Appold, *Orthodoxie als Konsensbildung: Das theologische Disputationswesen an der Universität Wittenberg zwischen 1570 und 1710* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

exercise in dialectic.<sup>88</sup> Dieterich presupposes that training in catechesis and dialectic would allow students to prepare effective defenses against false teaching and threats to Lutheran doctrine and practice. Finally, Dieterich believes that his method best suits his purposes and goals and is the most effective way to prepare young people in their Christian faith and life, and possibly, for future theological study.<sup>89</sup>

## Dieterich's Method Applied in the *Institutiones Catecheticae*

### The Methodical Procedure

The procedure Dieterich's method takes in presenting the catechetical teaching aims at clarity and simplicity. Luther's Small Catechism forms the basic structure upon which the fuller treatment of its teaching is built. Dieterich emphasizes that catechesis is oral instruction, it is given by the spoken word, by direct address, and requires the response of the hearers.<sup>90</sup> (That had its origin not only in the long medieval tradition but with Luther's idea of publishing the *verbum evangelii vocale*.) In the form of questions and answers, Dieterich sets down key definitions of terms and concepts providing a point of reference or transition to related theological subjects. He then adds parenthetical comments on these subjects explaining them, refuting false teachings, and

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<sup>88</sup> Dieterich saw the study of logic as an important part of all education, and as useful for all other studies and applications in life. In his *Vorschlag* reorganizing the *Gymnasium academicum* in Ulm (1622), Dieterich discusses the significance of logic:

Logic is the foundation of all liberal arts and sciences, without which no one can gain anything praiseworthy for his own faculties or be able to be a learned man. For logic has to do with everything, and no learned man may hold out against another in disputation and deliberation.

[Logica ist das fundament aller freyen künste und wissenschafften, ohne welche keiner nichts rühmluchs in einiger facultät proficirn noch ein gelehrten mann abgeben kan. Dan wo logica ligt, da ligt alles, unnd mag kein gelerter einem andern in disputiren unnd conferiren stand halten.]

Dieterich, "Scholarchen und visitorum vorschlag, wie die erhöhung der lateinischen schulen mit denen lectionibus publicis vorzunehmen und ins werckh zu ziehen," (1622), reprinted in Johannes Greiner, *Die Ulmer Gelehrtschule zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts und das akademische Gymnasium*, 79.

<sup>89</sup> See discussion of Dieterich's purposes and goals for his *Institutiones Catecheticae* in chapter 4.

<sup>90</sup> "[Catechesis] est compendium doctrinae Propheticae & Apostolicae quod rudioribus viva voce traditur & ab iisdem rursus exigitur ..." *Institutiones Catecheticae*, (1613), 1.

offering testimonies in support. Through this process of definition, division, and explanation, Dieterich carefully fleshes out the instruction.

As noted above, while Dieterich follows the method of Ramus, the content is largely supplied by material from Aristotelian categories, as presented in Dieterich's own dialectic. Dieterich's Aristotelian material comes largely from Melancthon, especially from his *Erotemata Dialectices*.<sup>91</sup> Onto the broad methodological approach of definition, division, and explanation, Dieterich builds up his instruction with questions for dealing with individual teachings. Within each section the pattern normally proceeds as follows: 1) the name of the part or subject is given, 2) the definition is stated, 3) the definition is divided into parts, first by explaining and clarifying what the word means (perhaps etymologically), secondly by stating its genus, thirdly its causae (material and formal), and finally its subject and object, 4) the definition is divided into elemental parts (constituent parts and species), 5) the effects are to be considered (adjunct, accidents, cognates, antecedents, consequences, and other circumstances), 6) then variations and opposites are added, and occasionally comparisons, and 7) various testimonies are appended. In this manner and with these elements, Dieterich composes his instruction of the catechism.<sup>92</sup>

The *Institutiones Catecheticae* opens with the question: "What is catechesis?" [Quid est Catechesis?] and proceeds to define it (as previously discussed).<sup>93</sup> After a thorough definition and

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<sup>91</sup> Melancthon, *Erotematum Dialectices* (first edition, 1520; second edition, 1528; third edition, 1547) in *Corpus Reformatorum, Opera Melancthonis*, ed. Carl Gottlieb Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1846), vol. 13, 513–752. Dieterich adapts the basic questions along which method proceeds from Melancthon's ten questions:

1. What does the word signify? 2. Does the thing signified exist? 3. What is the thing signified? 4. What are its parts? 5. What are its species? 6. What are its causes? 7. What are its effects? 8. What are its adjacent? 9. What are its cognates? 10. What things are contestant to it?  
[Prima, quid vocabulum significet. Secunda, an sit res. Tertia, quid sit res. Quarta, quae sint rei partes. Quinta, quae sint species. Sexta, quae causae. Septima, qui effectus. Octava, quae adiacentia. Nona, quae cognata. Decima, quae pugnancia.]

Melancthon, *Erotematum Dialectices*, in *Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. 13, 573.

<sup>92</sup> Definitions for some of these logical terms will be provided from Dieterich's own dialectics textbooks as these terms are discussed below regarding their use in the *Institutiones Catecheticae*. General definitions of these terms may be found in Simon Blackburn, *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

<sup>93</sup> *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), 1.



commentary on what catechesis is, including its etymological, biblical, and church-historical bases, Dieterich goes on to ask about the source of catechesis. The second question is: “From where is catechesis derived?” [Catechesis unde desumpta est?] The answer is: “From the Word of God comprehended in the Holy Scriptures” [Ex verbo Dei sacris scripturis comprehenso].<sup>94</sup> After this follows the first major doctrinal section of the *Institutiones*, on Scripture. Dieterich intends to be thorough. After defining Holy Scripture, Dieterich proceeds to divided it into the Old and New Testaments, then lists the books of the Testaments, even including the number of chapters contained in each book.<sup>95</sup> But “thorough” does not mean losing sight of the overarching point, for it is by this method that Dieterich establishes the foundation for the teaching of catechetical doctrine. Scripture is the universal—the general principle—from which all the teachings of the catechism descend. The method continues to define, divide, and explain, all the while following the basic framework of the Small Catechism.

The parenthetical, or bracketed, commentary following the definitions and divisions is an important part of the treatment of each part of the catechism. This is, of course, where the subjects and questions are explained logically, and where testimonies are offered in support of arguments.<sup>96</sup> The bracketed sections of the *Institutiones* occupy a large portion of the space in the work.

### **Examples of the Method Applied to Individual Articles of Doctrine**

What does Dieterich’s method look like when it is applied to the teaching of the catechism? How does he approach the various parts of the catechism and explain them? Two examples of his method at work are provided here to illustrate Dieterich’s approach and content in the

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<sup>94</sup> *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), 2.

<sup>95</sup> *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), 2–8.

<sup>96</sup> In most editions of the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, these sections in parentheses are in smaller, italicized print.

*Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613). The teaching on Scripture is included because it is foundational for the entire work, and it is a doctrine not taken up specifically in Luther's Small Catechism. Then the teaching on Baptism is explored, since it is a particularly clear example of the way in which Dieterich's method examines a part of the catechetical teaching.

### **The Doctrine of Scripture**

Dieterich's teaching on Scripture will be first examined by means of a simplified outline of the basic definitions (questions) and divisions of the subject.<sup>97</sup>

#### On Holy Scripture [De Sacra Scriptura]

##### *What then is Holy Scripture? [Quid igitur est Sacra Scriptura?]*

Holy Scripture is the Word of God written down by the prophets, evangelists, and apostles by the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit, so that we may be instructed from it concerning true knowledge and worship of God to eternal life. [Sacra Scriptura est verbum Dei à Prophetis Evangelistis & Apostolis immediato Spiritus S. afflatu perscriptum, ut ex illo de vera Dei agnitione & cultu ad vitam aeternam erudiamur.]

Hereafter Dieterich inserts a bracketed section containing the following definitions and divisions: The definition of Scripture [Scriptura],<sup>98</sup> and the identification of its material or subject [materiale sive subjectum],<sup>99</sup> the definition of Holy [Sacra] by its efficient cause [à causa

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<sup>97</sup> The doctrine of Scripture is treated in the *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), 2–34.

<sup>98</sup> In the *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1612), 295, Dieterich identifies the term *definitio*: "Definition (an argument derived from a real thing) is explaining what a (definite) thing is .... 2. A thing is definite, which is defined, or explained by definition." [1. Definitio est (argumentum ortum reale) explicans quid res (definitum) sit .... 2. Definitum est res, quae definitur, seu definitione explicatur].

<sup>99</sup> In the *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1612), Dieterich understands *materiale* as that which belongs to *materia*. He defines the latter: "Matter is the cause, from which a thing (almost anything) is, could be, comes into existence, is composed, is made, becomes" [Materia est causa, ex qua res (quascunque) est, (sit, existit, constat, facta est, fiet)], 103. He defines subject: "Subject is the argument agreeing in a certain manner with respect to which something belongs" [Subjectum est argumentum modo quodam consentaneum, cui aliquid adjungitur], 137. It should also be noted here that Dieterich gives the following definition for *causa*: "The cause is an argument agreeing completely, by the influence (by virtue or faculty) of which a thing is (caused or effected) (or comes into existence)" [Causa est argumentum absolute consentaneum, cujus vi (virtute vel facultate) res (causatum sive effectum) est (existit)], 62–63.

efficiente],<sup>100</sup> by its subject [à subjecto], and by its goal and effect [à fine & effectu].<sup>101</sup> Then the genus of the definition is given: the Word of God.<sup>102</sup> This is followed by the definition of Word, the form and specific difference [forma & differentia specifica],<sup>103</sup> the principal efficient cause [causa efficiens principalis],<sup>104</sup> the attendants or instrumentals [administratae sive instrumentales],<sup>105</sup> and the goal and effect [finis & effectus]. At various points in this explanation, Scripture passages are added as testimonies.

*How is Holy Scripture divided? [Quomodo sacra scriptura distribuitur?]*

In the books of the Old, and in the books of the New Testament. [In libros Veteris, & in libros Novi Testamenti.]

*What are the books of the Old Testament? [Qui sunt propriè V.T.?)]*

Those written in the Hebrew language by Moses and the Prophets under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit before Christ was incarnated and which were commended by the Jewish churches. [Qui à Mose & Prophetis instinctu Spiritus sancti ante Christum incarnatum lingua Hebraica scripti & Ecclesiae Judaicae commendati sunt.]

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<sup>100</sup> According to Dieterich, “the efficient cause is that by which a thing is (effected).” [Efficiens causa est, a qua res (effectum) est.] *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1612), 67.

<sup>101</sup> Dieterich provides this definition for *finis*: “The goal is the cause, for the sake of which (by reason for which) a thing is.” [Finis est causa, cujus gratia (propter quam) res est.], *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1612), 121. Effect is “the argument agreeing completely, which comes from the causes” [Effectum est argumentum absolute consentaneum, quod ex causis existit], 130.

<sup>102</sup> Dieterich defines genus as “the name common to many species, and predicated concerning things in question: What is a thing?, as when is asked: what is a horse? the response is: it is an animal” [Est nomen commune multis speciebus: & praedicatur de eis in quaestione: Quid sit? ut cum quaeritur: quid sit equus? respondetur: est animal.], *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1612), 6.

<sup>103</sup> The *forma* is defined as “the cause through which a thing is” [Forma est causa, per quam res est.] *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1612), 112. Dieterich uses the term *differentia specifica* synonymously in his dialectic work.

<sup>104</sup> The principal efficient cause is that cause “which effects more than the others.” [Efficiens Principalis est, quae plus caeteris efficit.], *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1612), 77.

<sup>105</sup> Dieterich does not define administrative cause, but generally understands it as an assisting cause. It is similar to the auxiliary or adjuvant cause: “The lessert principal or adjuvant [causes] are those which help the principal.” [Minus Principales seu Adjuvantes sunt, quae principalem adjuvant.], *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1612), 77. The instrumental cause is that “by the assistance of which the effect is produced.” [Causa instrumentalis est, cujus ministerio effectum producitur.], 78.

Here in brackets, Dieterich explains that this description is derived from the principal efficient cause, attendants, adjuncts, and object. This is followed by testimonies.

*Recite the books of the Old Testament? [Recita Libros Veteris Testamenti?]*

Next Dieterich lists the books of the Old Testament in order with the number of chapters in each. The books of the prophets are divided between major and minor prophets.

*What are the books of the New Testament? [Qui sunt propriè libri Novi Testamenti?]*

Those written in the Greek language by the Evangelists and Apostles under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit after Christ's birth, & commended by the church of Christ. [Qui ab Evangelistis & Apostolis instinctu Spiritus sancti sermone Graeco post Christum natum scripti, & Ecclesia Christi commendati sunt.]

Here in brackets, Dieterich explains that this description is derived from the principal efficient cause, instrumentals, adjuncts, and object. This is followed by testimonies.

*Recite the books of the New Testament? [Recita libros Novi Testamenti?]*

Dieterich now lists the books of the New Testament in order with the number of chapters in each. Thirteen books are identified as Pauline Epistles.

After this, through a lengthy series of questions and answers (pages 8–34), Dieterich discusses the following questions and subjects. He explains why the above biblical books are considered canonical, and what the criteria for inclusion or exclusion are. Then, he lists the apocryphal books of the Old and New Testament, and explains why they are considered apocryphal. He continues by discussing the difference between the prophetic and apostolic writings, and listing twelve arguments why the writings of the prophets and apostles contained in the Holy Scriptures undoubtedly are the Word of God. Then Dieterich takes up the authority of Scripture, and by what authority it is to be believed. He discusses why the Word of God is handed down in writings, God's mandate for it, the languages in which it was written down, and

the Scriptures in the vernacular. He raises the questions of whether the laity may to read the Scripture, and talks about the clarity and perspicuity of Scripture. Dieterich continues by looking at the explication and interpretation of difficult passages of Scripture, and at how the Holy Spirit is the judge in controversies of the faith, and how the Scripture is the norm according to which doctrine is accepted or rejected. He discusses the fullness and perfection of Scripture, containing everything pertaining to faith and life, then the sufficiency of Scripture. He then considers the dangers of adding or taking away from Scripture. Finally, he notes that Scripture, as the Word of God, is the power of God to salvation for all who believe, is the word of life, living and efficacious.

At this point in his treatment, Dieterich makes a transition from the doctrine of Scripture to the listing of the chief parts of the catechism.

*Next list all the articles of Christian doctrine contained in Scripture? [Enumera mihi porro omnia doctrinae Christianae capita, quae in scriptura continentur?]*

There are five chief or most important articles of the Christian religion: [Capita praecipua sive summa religionis Christianae sunt quinq[ue]:]

1. The Decalogue. [Decalogus.]
2. The Apostles' Creed. [Symbolum Apostolicum.]
3. The Lord's Prayer. [Oratio Dominica.]
4. The Sacrament of Baptism. [Sacramentum Baptismi.]
5. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. [Sacramentum Coenae Dominicae.]

*Which generally can be referred to in two parts, certainly as the Law and the Gospel. [Quae generatim ad duo membra referri possunt nempe ad Legem & ad Evangelium.]*

Hereafter, Dieterich treats the doctrine of the Law in general, then moves on to discuss the Decalog.

Viewed within the structure of Dieterich's method, Scripture plays a foundational role in catechetical instruction. As the universal, the general principle—the source—from which all the

teachings of the catechism descend, its definition, division, and explanation provide the basic teachings of the Christian faith. In his definition of Holy Scripture, Dieterich emphasizes this instructional purpose of Scripture: it is “the Word of God written down by the prophets, evangelists, and apostles by the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit, *so that we may be instructed from it* concerning true knowledge and worship of God to eternal life” (emphasis added). [Sacra Scriptura est verbum Dei à Prophetis Evangelistis & Apostolis immediato Spiritus S. afflatu perscriptum, ut ex illo de vera Dei agnitione & cultu ad vitam aeternam erudiamur.]<sup>106</sup> Dieterich also identifies the goal and effect of Scripture as instruction, in almost the same words as the definition of Scripture: “The goal and effect is that from [Scripture] we may be educated concerning the true knowledge of God and worship to eternal life (Jn 20, 2 Tim 3).” [Finis & effectus est, ut ex illo de vera Dei agnitione et cultu ad aeternam erudiamur, Joh. 20. ult. 2. Tim. 3. ult.]<sup>107</sup> Thus, Dieterich’s definition of Scripture includes its purpose for instruction. The contents of the catechetical teaching are founded on Scripture.

Although Dieterich does not necessarily intend it, a possible danger of this emphasis may be the view of Scripture as a repository of Christian doctrines, a mine of teachings from which to extract dogmatic propositions. These dogmas, gathered and arranged systematically, run the risk of becoming the essence of the Christian faith and life, with the central message of the Scripture being obscured. This understanding of Scripture would be a clear departure from Luther’s emphasis that the entire Scripture was given by God and exists for the sake of Christ and his proclamation. So Dieterich runs the danger of shifting Scripture from being the revelation of God’s saving acts that create and sustain faith to making it a source book for constructing theological propositions. And if Dieterich avoids the trap, one less skilled might not be able to handle Dieterich’s material the same way.

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<sup>106</sup> *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), 2–3.

<sup>107</sup> *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), 4.

## Baptism

Baptism. [De Baptismo.]<sup>108</sup>

*What is Baptism? [Quid est Baptismus?]* (Luther's question and answer from the Small Catechism)

Baptism is not simply water, but [water] which is kept by divine mandate and comprehended by the Word of God. [Baptismus non est simpliciter aqua, sed quae sit divino mandato inclusa, & verbo Dei comprehensa.]

*Or: [Seu]:* (Dieterich adds this definition)

Baptism is a divinely instituted action, in which God forgives us our sins through the washing of water in the word through and on account Christ, adopts us as sons and establishes us as heirs of all heavenly blessings. [Baptismus est actio divinitus instituta, in qua Deus per lavacrum aquae in verbo nobis peccata nostra per & propter Christum remittit, nos in filios adoptat & haeredes omnium bonorum coelestium constituit.]

*Which is that Word of God? [Quodnam est illud verbum Dei?]* (referring to Luther's Scripture passages)

1. The word of institution, where our Lord Jesus Christ said (Mt 28:19), "Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit."

2. The word of promise: "Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved; but who does not believe will be condemned" (Mk 16:16).

[Est I. Verbum institutionis: ubi Dominus nostrer Jesus Christus inquit Matth. 28.19. Euntes docete omnes gentes, & baptisate in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus sancti.

3. Verbum promissionis: Quicumque crediderit & baptisatus fuerit, salvus erit: qui verò non crediderit, condemnabitur, Mar. 16. 16.]

Hereafter, in a bracketed section, Dieterich includes the following: 1) a definition of Baptism from the Hessian Agenda, 2) a definition of Baptism explained by its Greek etymology, followed first by definitions according to its genus (including testimonies from Scripture, and references to incorrect definitions from Bellarmine and Calvin), and then followed by definitions relating to metaphor, synecdoche, species, and genus, all with Scripture references.

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<sup>108</sup> *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), 657ff.

The Efficient Cause or Author of Baptism [De Causa Efficiente Sive Auctore Baptismi.]

*Who is the Author of Baptism, who first instituted it? [Quis est auctor Baptismi, qui eum primum instituit?]*

God Himself ... [Ipse Deus.]

After this follow reasons and testimonies, including a listing of the errors of the Schwenckfeldians, Anabaptists, and Jesuits.

*Is then the Baptism of John, Christ, and the Apostles one and the same? [Estne igitur unus & idem baptismus Joannis, Christi & Apostolorum?]*

Certainly it is one and the same by reason of substance and efficacy of regeneration and sanctification: Nevertheless the difference is: 1) By reason of the one who effects, since Christ is the author and Lord of Baptism. Indeed, John and the Apostles were servants and ministers. 2) By reason of formula, as far as the circumstances of the time, since John baptized in Christ prior to [Christ's] passion; the apostles indeed [baptized] into Christ after he suffered and died. [Unus omninò & idem est ratione substantiae & efficaciae regenerationis & sanctificationis: Differentia tamen est 1. *ratione efficientis*, quia Christus est auctor & Dominus baptismi. Johannes verò & Apostoli fuerunt servi & ministri. 2. *ratione formulae*, quantum ad circumstantiam temporis, quia Johannes baptisavit in Christum adhuc passurum: Apostoli verò in Christum passum & mortuum.]

Here Dieterich explains these distinctions by referring to Scripture passages and church fathers. He supplies further reasons why the Baptism of John, Christ, and the apostles was the same. He points out the errors of the Jesuits (Bellarmine) and the Council of Trent and cites Scripture and the fathers in support.

The Ministerial Cause of Baptism. [De Causa Ministeriali Baptismi.]

*Who ought to administer Baptism? [Quinam administrare debent baptismum?]*

Those who have been called properly as ministers of the church in the regular manner, to whom the power of Baptism has been granted by certain mandate (Mt 28:13). [Ordinariè quivis Ecclesiae ministri legitimè vocati, quibus certo mandato potestas baptisandi concessa est, Matth. 28.13.]



Hereafter the errors of the Roman Catholics are noted regarding to whom the permission of Baptism is granted. Dieterich then continues with further questions and answers concerning whether it is permitted for the laity to baptize. Thereafter he adds further arguments for the Lutheran position, and notes the errors of those teaching to the contrary. Then he inserts questions and answers regarding whether Baptisms performed by impious ministers or heretics are salutary and efficacious; he then points out the errors of those teaching falsely.

#### The Matter (Substance) of Baptism. [De Materia Baptismi.]

*Of what matter is Baptism? [Quaenam est materia baptismi?]*

The sacrament consists of two things, an earthly and heavenly element .... Thus the matter or earthly thing of baptism is water; the heavenly thing is indeed the Holy Spirit, or the Holy Trinity. [Sacramentum constat duabus rebus terrena & coelesti .... Sic materia sive res baptismi terrena est aqua: coelestis verò est Spiritus sanctus, sive SS. Trinitas.]

Dieterich next discusses the external element of Baptism (water), and points out the errors of opponents. Then he looks at the heavenly element, the giving of the Holy Spirit, followed by comments on the work of the Spirit in Baptism.

#### The Form of Baptism. [De Forma Baptismi.]

*Of what form is Baptism? [Quae est forma Baptismi?]*

It is the immersion of man in water, or the sprinkling or the pouring of water, in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. [Est immersio hominis in aquam, sive aspersio vel affusio aquae, in nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus sancti.]

Dieterich continues with comments on the application of water in Baptism, and then with questions and answers regarding whether Baptism ought to be done by immersion or sprinkling. He adds a question and answer about the use of the name of the Triune God in Baptism, with comments on the errors of opponents and defense of the Lutheran teaching.

The Goal and Effect of Baptism. [De Fine et Effecto Baptismi.]

*What does Baptism offer or confer? [Quid praestat aut confert baptismus?] (Luther's question and answer)*

1. It works forgiveness of sins. [1. Operatur remissionem peccatorum.]
2. It frees from death and the devil. [2. liberat à morte & diabolo.]
3. It gives eternal salvation to all and each, who believe this, as the words and divine promises declare. [3. donat aeternam beatitudinem omnibus & singulis, qui credunt hoc, quod verba & promissiones divinae pollicentur.]

Dieterich then provides testimony from Scripture for each part of Luther's explanation.

*What are these words and divine promises? [Quae sunt illa verba & promissiones divinae?] (Luther's question and answer)*

Where our Lord Jesus Christ says (Mk 16:16): "He who believes and is baptized will be saved; but he who does not believe will be condemned." [Ubi Dominus noster Jesus Christus Mar. 16.16 dicit: Qui crediderit & baptisatus fuerit, salvus erit: Qui verò non crediderit, condemnabitur.]

*How in fact does Baptism work forgiveness of sins, regenerate and give eternal salvation? [Quomodo verò Baptismus operatur remissionem peccatorum, regenerat ac beatitudinem aeternam donat?]*

Indeed the water of Baptism and the plain sprinkling of the same does not effect this, rather it is the means or the instrument sanctified by the sure Word of God, with and through which the Holy Spirit effectively works regeneration and renewal in the baptized, and applies to them the merit of Christ and divine grace, and thus chooses them as sons and heirs of eternal life. On this Luther: "Water," he said, "does not effect such great things, but the Word of God, which is in and with the water, and faith, which believes the Word of God joined to the water. Since water without the Word of God is simply water, and is not Baptism, but joined with the Word of God it is Baptism, that is a salutary water of grace and life and washing of regeneration in the Holy Spirit. [Aqua quidem baptismi ejusdemque nuda aspersio isthaec non efficit, sed quia est medium sive instrumentum certo verbo Dei sanctificatum, cum quo & per quod Spiritus sanctus regenerationem & renovationem in baptisatis efficaciter operatur, iisdemque Christi meritum & meritum & gratiam divinam applicat, & sic in filios & haeredes vitae aeternae cooptat. Hinc Lutherus: Aqua, *inquit*, tantas res non efficit: sed verbum Dei, quod in & cum aqua est, & Fides, quae verbo Dei addito aquae credit. Quia aqua sine verbo Dei est simpliciter aqua, & non est baptismus: sed addito verbo Dei est baptismus, hoc est salutaris aqua gratiae & vitae & lavacrum regenerationis in Spiritu sancto.]

*Where is this written? [Ubi hoc scriptum est?]*

St. Paul to Titus (3:5–8) says, “According to his mercy [God] saved us through the washing of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit, which he poured out abundantly upon us through Jesus Christ our Savior, so that justified by his grace we are made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.” This is most certainly true. [S. Paulus ad Titum 3.5.6.7.8. inquit: Secundùm suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit per lavacrùm regenerationis ac renovationis Spiritus sancti. Quem effudit in nos opulenter per Jesum Christum Salvatorem nostrum: Ut justificati ispius gratia haeredes efficeremur juxta spem vitae aeternae. Hoc certissimè verum est.]

Dieterich continues with a lengthy series of questions and answers regarding how Baptism is said to be a washing of regeneration and renewal by the Holy Spirit. He includes bracketed comments and refutations of false teachings.

*What does immersion in such water signify? [Quid ergo in genere significat istam aquam immersio?]* (Luther’s question and answer)

It signifies that the old Adam, who is still in us, repeatedly by daily mortification and repentance should be drowned and die in us with all sins and evil desires, and a new man daily emerge again and rise, who will live for eternity before God in righteousness and holiness. [Significat, quod vetus Adam, qui adhuc in nobis est, subinde per quotidianam mortificationem ac poenitentiam in nobis debeat submergi & extingui, una cum omnibus peccatis & malis concupiscentiis; atque rursus quotidie emergere ac resurgere novus homo qui in justitia & sanctitate coram Deo vivat in aeternum.]

*What is understood as the old Adam? [Quid intelligis per veterem Adamum?]*

All depraved desires and sins come to us through the fall of Adam, and are innate from our parents. [Omnes concupiscentias pravas & peccata, per lapsum Adami in nos derivata, ac à parentibus nobis ingenita.]

*How is this old Adam to be drowned in us? [Quomodo vetus ille Adamus in nobis submergitur?]*

Through daily mortification and repentance, whereby we resist depraved desires and suppress them and do not permit them to burst forth in actual sin. [Per quotidianam mortificationem & poenitentiam, quando concupiscentiis pravis resistimus, easdem suppressimus, nec in peccata acualia erumpere permittimus.]

*What is understood as the new man? [Quid intelligis per novum hominem?]*

The man regenerated by the Holy Spirit, who in righteousness and purity, that is, in true faith and chastity of character, lives without hypocrisy before God for eternity. [Hominem à Spiritu sancto regeneratum, qui in justitia & puritate, hoc est, vera fide & morum sanctimonia, absque hypocrisi coram Deo in aeternam vivit.]

*Where is it written concerning this mortification and spiritual resurrection? [Ubi de hac mortificatione & resurrectione spirituali scriptum est?]*

St. Paul says to the Romans (6:3–4): “We are buried with Christ through Baptism into death, so that just as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even we should walk in newness of life.” [Sanctus Paulus ad Romanos 6.3.4 dicit: Sepulti igitur sumus cum Christo per baptismum in mortem, ut quemadmodum Christus excitatus est à mortuis per gloriam patris, ita & nos in novitate vitae ambulemus.]

The Object of Baptism, or, the Persons to be Baptized. [De Objecto Baptismi sive Personis Baptisandis.]

*Who is to be baptized? [Quinam sunt baptisandi?]*

Only living people ... [Soli vivi homines ...]

Dieterich continues the discussion of whom should be baptized (adults and infants, those already baptized) in several questions and answers, with comments on the errors of opponents, and testimonies.

The Adjuncts and Accidents of Baptism [De Adjunctis sive Accidentibus Baptismi]

*In what ceremonies is Baptism to be administered? [Quibus ceremoniis baptismus est administrandus?]*

In such a way that either the words of institution or other testimonies of Scripture are prescribed; of a kind in which prayers, thanksgiving, and some other things concerning Baptism that call to mind in fruitful worship. [Istiusmodi, quae vel verbis institutionis, vel aliis scripturae testimoniis sunt praefinitae; cujusmodi sunt preces, gratiarum actiones, & aliae nonnullae de baptismo ejusdemque salutari fructu commonefactiones.]

Dieterich concludes the treatment of the doctrine of Baptism with several more questions and answers about its ceremonies and administration, complete with his own comments, errors of opponents, and testimonies.

In review, Dieterich's teaching on Baptism in the *Institutiones Catecheticae (1613)* follows the method stated in his dedicatory epistle. After citing parts of Luther's catechism, Dieterich defines principal terms and concepts in the form of questions and answers. Next, he explains these definitions and questions in bracketed comments. Finally, he illustrates his arguments with examples (pro and con) and testimonies.

As part of the logical treatment, Dieterich moves through the procedure for properly explaining a subject (as outlined in his *Institutiones Dialecticae*): 1) The definition is stated, broken down in parts, further defined and clarified; 2) Baptism is defined by its genus, species, etc.; 3) Its causes are discussed (efficient, ministerial, and material); 4) The goal and effect of Baptism is explained; 5) Its object is identified, divided, and discussed; 6) Its adjuncts and accidents are explored; 7) Throughout, comparisons are interspersed and testimonies are added.

In the course of his teaching, Dieterich includes Luther's entire discussion of Baptism from the Small Catechism. He cites each of Luther's four sections where appropriate, placing it in large font. But Dieterich also expands upon Luther's questions and answers, still following the very order which Luther himself set down in the Small Catechism. For instance, Dieterich begins with Luther's first section on what Baptism is, which serves as the foundational definition of Baptism. Later in his teaching, Dieterich provides the other three parts—on the gifts of Baptism, what Baptism does, and the significance of water Baptism—all under his discussion of the goal and effects of Baptism. Thus, Luther's explanation of Baptism is fitted into Dieterich's broader structure. Yet, Dieterich is careful to tailor his own questions, definitions, and discussion to perfectly match Luther's. Dieterich builds and expands upon the internal logical structure of

Luther's treatment, complementing it with a more detailed logical examination and exposition. Dieterich's material even may be considered a commentary on Luther's questions and explanations. Together they provide a thorough treatment of the doctrine of Baptism.

### **The Content of the *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613)**

#### **Dieterich's Method and the Catechetical Content**

Dieterich defines catechesis as instruction in the fundamental Christian teaching, derived from Scripture. This Scriptural, catechetical teaching in turn is divided into two main parts, the Law and the Gospel. The summary of the Law is the Decalog; the summary of the Gospel is the Apostles' Creed. Baptism and Lord's Supper are "appendices" of the Gospel because they confer the grace promised in the Gospel and testify to it. Because of its place as part of divine worship, the Lord's Prayer is referred to the Law.<sup>109</sup> While keeping the Law and Gospel distinction, Dieterich follows the order and arrangement of the chief parts of the catechism according to Luther.<sup>110</sup>

The entire text of Luther's five chief parts (questions and explanations for the Decalogue, Creed, Lord's Prayer, Baptism, and Lord's Supper) are cited in both of Dieterich's Latin school catechisms.<sup>111</sup> Omitted are separate sections on the Office of the Keys and Confession, the

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<sup>109</sup> Dieterich, *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), 35–36:

Sic summa legis est Decalogus. Summa Evangelii est Symbolum Apostolicum. Sacramenta verò sunt Evangelii apendices, quatenus gratiam in Evangelio promissam tùm conferunt tùm obsignant. Oratio Dominica est pars cultus Divini, ideò ad legem refertur.

<sup>110</sup> In the *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1612) (290–91), Dieterich uses the Law and the Gospel division as an illustration of distribution (*Distributio*). He gives the examples: "Theology is engaged in by explicating the Law and the Gospel .... That man is a theologian, because he teaches the Law and the Gospel." [Theologia versatur in explicanda Lege & Evangelio ... Ille est Theologus. Quia docet Legem & Evangelium.]

<sup>111</sup> The *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica* both include the text of the five chief parts from Luther's Small Catechism. As noted in chapter four, the Ulm Catechism and editions of the *Epitome Catechetica* issued in Ulm, and later editions based on it, included the six chief parts from Luther.

morning, evening, and other prayers, the Table of Duties, and the Marriage and Baptismal booklets.<sup>112</sup>

While maintaining the simple outline of Luther's catechism, Dieterich also expands the content of its teaching. He does so in two main ways, ways that are not mutually exclusive. First, he expands on Luther's catechetical teaching by further defining and dividing the material, breaking it down into smaller parts. One example is Dieterich's elaboration on Luther's teaching on the Second Article of the Creed. The Second Article is the heart of Luther's catechism, and the central theme of Luther's entire teaching is the person and work of Christ. Dieterich also places his doctrine of Christ at the center of his catechism, but he elaborates on Luther's teaching. Following his method and his logical analyses, Dieterich defines and divides the teaching on the Second Article. His development proceeds to include material on the personal union, the communication of attributes, the office of Christ, the states of humiliation and exaltation, and the final judgment. In all, Dieterich devotes nearly one hundred pages to the exposition of the Second Article.

The second way in which Dieterich expands on Luther's catechetical teaching is that he adds discussions of doctrines not specifically included by Luther, such as Scripture, Law, Gospel, angels, the providence of God, the church, election, and others. Dieterich appends or inserts these discussions according to the theological connection they hold with the core teachings of the catechism. For instance, he examines the doctrines of justification, faith, and election under the Third Article of the Creed, as the work of the Holy Spirit. By taking up the various elements in a consistent and coordinated manner, Dieterich presents many of the teachings in the Lutheran *corpus doctrinae*, showing how the various parts of the catechism work together theologically as

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<sup>112</sup> Dieterich includes questions and answers on the Office of the Keys as part of the Third Article of the Creed, in his discussion of the vocation of the ministers of the Word. *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613), 487ff.

a body. In this way, Dieterich's catechetical teaching is consistent theologically and coherent in its parts.

By means of his method, Dieterich expands the teaching of Luther's Small Catechism. He builds on Luther's foundation, leaving it intact, while greatly augmenting the material of the teaching. Although not stated, Dieterich is following Luther's suggestion to teach a "longer catechism" for the purpose of giving students "a richer and fuller understanding" of the catechism.<sup>113</sup> What is not necessarily implicit in Luther's plea is that the basis of the more detailed catechetical instruction should be the text of his own Small Catechism. In his own work, Dieterich amplifies Luther's simple teaching to the point of producing a thorough theological commentary on it.<sup>114</sup> He attempts to represent faithfully the teaching of Luther's catechism and the Lutheran faith for his own, specific audience, tailoring it to suit its circumstances and needs. In so doing, Dieterich goes to great lengths, as an extended outline of his catechism shows.

### **An Outline Sketch of the Contents of the *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613)<sup>115</sup>**

Catechesis [*Prolegomena*, 1–2]

Holy Scripture [*De Sacra Scriptura*, 2–36]

I. Part One of the Catechetical Doctrine [*De I. Doctrinae Catecheticae Capite*]

    The Law [*De Lege in Genere*, 36–50]

        The Decalogue [*De Decalogo*, 50–190]

            (Between the Ninth and Tenth Commandments Dieterich discusses the doctrine of concupiscence. *De Concupiscentia*.)

        The Fulfillment of the Law [*De Impletione Legis*, 190–96]

        The Use of the Law [*De Usu Legis*, 196–97]

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<sup>113</sup> Luther, Preface, Small Catechism, 17.

<sup>114</sup> Charles Arand has made this observation regarding Dieterich's use of Luther's Small Catechism Charles P. Arand, *That I May Be His Own: An Overview of Luther's Catechisms* (St. Louis: Concordia Academic Press, 2000), 17.

<sup>115</sup> This outline follows Dieterich's major divisions in the *Institutiones Catecheticae* (1613). This edition includes (as do many subsequent ones) an index appended to the end of the book which lists the general divisions and the chief questions in each. The numbers in the outline here refer to the pages on which the various parts of the catechism are treated, in part to indicate the length of each.



Sin [*De Peccato*, 198–221]  
Repentance [*De Poenitentia*, 221–31]  
Good Works [*De Bonis Operibus*, 232–45]

II. Part Two of the Catechetical Doctrine [*De II. Doctrinae Catecheticae Capite*]

The Gospel [*De Evangelio*, 245–57]

The Apostles' Creed [*De Symbolo Apostolico*, 258–61]

God [*De Deo*, 261–86/321]

Creation [*De Creatione*, 286–96]

Angels [*De Angelis*, 296–306]

The Image of God in humanity [*De Imagine Dei in Homine*,  
306–21]

The Providence of God [*De Providentia Dei*, 312–23]

The Work of Redemption [*De Opere Redemptionis*, 321–23/425]

The Person of Christ [*De Persona Christi*, 323–34/425]

The Personal Union [*De Unione Personali*, 334–45]

The Communication of Properties (*Idiomata*) [*De Communicatione  
Idiomatum*, 345–49/93]

The Communication of Proper Qualities [*De  
Communicatione Proprietatum*, 349–55]

The Communication of Majesty [*De Communicatione  
Majestatis*, 355–84]

The Communication of Apotelesmata [*De Communicatione  
Apotelesmatum*, 384–93]

The Office of Christ [*De Officio Christi*, 393–401]

The Two States of Christ [*De Statu Duplici Christi*, 401–419]

The State of Humiliation [*De Statu Exinanitionis*, 401–07]

The State of Exaltation [*De Statu Exaltationis*, 407–19]

The Last Judgment [*De Extremo Judicio*, 419–25]

The Work of Sanctification [*De opere Sanctificationis*, 426–27/567]

The Holy Spirit [*De Spiritu Sancto*, 427–39/567]

Man's Free Will [*De Viribus Liberi Arbitrii*, 439–48]

The Church [*De Ecclesia*, 448–76]

The Vocation of Ministers of the Word and the Ruling of Churches  
[*De Vocatione Ministrorum Verbi et Regimine Ecclesiae*, 477–96]

Justification and Faith [*De Iustificatione et Fide*, 496–519]

Resurrection of the Flesh [*De Carnis Resurrectione*, 519–26]

Eternal Life [*De Vita Aeterna*, 527–32]

Election to Eternal Life [*De Electione ad Vitam Aeternam*, 532–60]

Hell and Purgatory [*De Inferno et Purgatorio*, 561–67]

III. Part Three of the Catechetical Doctrine [*De III. Doctrinae Catecheticae Capite*]

The Lord's Prayer [*De Oratione Dominica*, 567–632]

Prayer in General [*De Oratione in Genere*, 568–74]

The Invocation of Saints [*De Invocatione Sanctorum*, 574–79]

The Relics of the Saints [*De Sanctorum Reliquiis*, 579–95]

The Lord's Prayer in Particular and According to Its Parts [*De Oratione Dominica in specie eiusdemque partibus*, 595–632]

IV. Part Four of the Catechetical Doctrine [*De IV. Doctrinae Catecheticae Capite*]

The Sacrament of Baptism [*Sacramentum Baptismi*, 632–33]

The Sacraments in General [*De Sacramentis in genere*, 633–56]

The Sacrament of Baptism [*De Baptismo*, 657–59/699]

The Efficient Cause or Author of Baptism [*De Causa Efficiente sive Auctore Baptismi*, 659–663]

The Ministerial Cause of Baptism [*De Causa Ministeriale Baptismi*, 663–67]

The Matter (Substance) of Baptism [*De Materia Baptismi*, 667–70]

The Form of Baptism [*De Forma Baptismi*, 670–72]

The Purpose and Effect of Baptism [*De Fine et Effecto Baptismi*, 672–81]

The Object of Baptism or Persons to be Baptized [*De Objecto Baptismi sive Personis Baptisandis*, 681–94]

The Adjuncts and Accidents of Baptism [*De Adjunctis sive Accidentibus Baptismi*, 695–99]

V. Part Five of the Catechetical Doctrine [*De V. Doctrinae Catecheticae Capite*]

The Lord's Supper [*De Coena Dominica*, 700–08/99]

The Efficient Cause of the Lord's Supper [*De Causa Efficiente Coenae Dominicae*, 708–10]

The Matter (Substance) of the Lord's Supper [*De Materia Coenae Dominicae*, 711–12]

The Earthly Res (Elements) of the Lord's Supper [*De Re S. Coenae Terrena*, 712[–32]

1. The Bread [*I. De Pane*, 712–29]

2. The Wine [*II. De Vino*, 729–32]

The Celestial Res (Elements) of the Lord's Supper and the Sacramental Union [*De Re S. Coenae Coelesti et Unione Sacramentali*, 732–48]

The Form of the Lord's Supper [*De Forma Coenae Dominicae*, 748–62]

Transsubstantiation [*De Transsubstantione*, 762–69]

The Goal, Use, and Fruit of the Lord's Supper [*De Fine, Usu et Fructu Coenae Dominicae*, 769–72]

The Manducation of the Unworthy [*De Manducatione Indignorum*, 773–82]

The Mutilation of the Supper and the Communion of the Laity in One Kind [*De Mutilatione Coenae et Communionem Laicorum sub una Specie*, 782–86]

The Sacrifice of the Mass [*De Sacrificio Missae*, 786–92]  
The Subject and Circumstantial Adjuncts of the Supper [*De Subjecto et Adjunctis  
Circumstantiis Coenae*, 792–99]

### **A Brief Critique of the Method and Content of Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae***

Dieterich's method presents a clear departure from the approach to catechesis found in Luther's Small Catechism. As noted in chapter two, Luther was satisfied to employ the most basic elements of rhetoric in his arrangement of the material in the Small Catechism.<sup>116</sup> In his *Institutiones Catecheticae*, Dieterich builds on Luther's rhetorical structure and works in conjunction with it. Thus he expands on both the content of Luther's catechism and its structure or method. Of course Luther's approach is not Dieterich's, but in Dieterich's mind, his is an expansion or amplification of Luther's approach. Luther might not teach the same way, but it is as if Dieterich would expect Luther at least to concede a continuity or harmony.

Dieterich's method for catechetical instruction, however, results in two basic problems. First, his dialectical approach has a tendency to regulate and determine the character of the instruction. The method, in effect, not only reshapes but even may dictate the content of the catechetical teaching. It is worth recalling, that in the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, Dieterich proposes to teach catechesis and have students exercise their logical skills at the same time. In addition to the basics of the Lutheran catechetical teaching, Dieterich intends that his students "may learn logic and at the same time the foundation of principal arguments."<sup>117</sup> In Dieterich's catechetical teaching, the method is key to understanding how the content is presented and what happens to it. In a sense, the method is what holds everything together. The importance of

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<sup>116</sup> For a detailed discussion of Luther's use of rhetoric in his catechism, see Gottfried Krodel, "Luther's Work on the Catechism in the Context of Late Medieval Catechetical Literature," in *Concordia Journal* 25 (1999): 380–83.

<sup>117</sup> "Una eademque opera logicam simul præcipuorum argumentorum sedem perciperent," "Epistola Dedicatoria," *Institutiones Catecheticae*, (1613), )( 4.

Luther's catechism notwithstanding, the definitions and divisions are what drive the instruction, and, to some extent, they direct its content.

The second main problem resulting from Dieterich's method is related to the first, and that is that it may lead to an intellectualization and academization of the material. Dieterich does not intend to rationalize the teaching of the Christian faith, nor is he devoted to the unlimited exercise of philosophy in theology. Nevertheless, one possible result of his approach is that the teaching of the evangelical faith and piety could be reduced to a system of formalized propositions. The immediate, practical application to the Christian life taught by Luther in his catechisms could give way to an abstract, academic instruction in Christian doctrines.

The method defines and divides the instruction from the general to the specific, leading the student to focus on the individual doctrines of the catechism. This preoccupation with the individual parts can lead to the result that the instruction becomes an extensive collection of doctrinal units (linked together by the method). This runs the risk of breaking catechesis, or theology, down into single doctrinal concepts. These units are constituents of a whole of which the student may lose sight. The defining and dividing and explaining may be seen as the primary tasks of catechesis, or theology, and at the same time, as those things which give them coherency, rather than the broader message of the Word of God. There is coherence with regard to doctrinal content, but the approach and structure tends to treat the doctrines as unit-pieces. Luther's simple teaching may be lost sight of amongst the divisions and elaborations. So much attention may be focused on the individual links in a chain, that it is forgotten that the links together are supposed to form a beautiful necklace.

One of the effects even of humanistic method, despite what it gave to the Reformation, is an inclination to equate true doctrine with true religion. Over time students might conclude that, because they had learned fully the individual doctrines of the Christian religion, they had also

learned to practice the Christian faith and life. The method might lead to the view that, given the right tools and skills, good theology can be engineered, manufactured, and produced. One possible result would be a mechanistic learning of the teachings of the catechism. Instead of seeing the central message of Scripture as Christ crucified and the Word of God *pro me*, students might come to view the Scripture as a collection of doctrines necessary to know in order to be a Christian.<sup>118</sup> This is the difference between really speaking the Gospel—Luther’s *verbum evangelii vocale*—and speaking *about* the Gospel.

In many respects, Dieterich’s catechisms (the *Institutiones Catecheticae* and the *Epitome Catechetica*) have their own system. This organizational procedure is founded on Luther’s Small Catechism, arranged according to Dieterich’s methodological program, and intended to teach Latin school students. The system has its own rules for the distribution and arrangement of the subject matter. In its structure, the *Institutiones Catecheticae* bears a resemblance to contemporary dogmatic works. The question then is whether or not it is appropriate to bring material normally reserved for dogmatics into catechetical instruction, or to amplify the teaching of Luther’s Small Catechism.<sup>119</sup> Here it is important to recall that Dieterich was seeking to teach his students theology using the catechism as a base. Since they had been learning the catechism in school for years by the time they progressed to Dieterich’s *Institutiones*, its instruction was both the culmination of extensive prior study of the catechetical teaching and also preparation for the theological instruction students could receive if they continued at a *Gymnasium academicum* or university. Dieterich’s arrangement of doctrines follows Luther’s catechism and does not

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<sup>118</sup> For a fuller discussion of this shift brought about through humanistic educational methods, see James M. Kittelson, “Luther the Educational Reformer,” 107–10; Kittelson, “Luther’s Impact on the Universities—and the Reverse,” in *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 48 (1984): 32–33, 35; and Kittelson, “Humanism in the Theological Faculties of Lutheran Universities during the Late Reformation,” 155–57.

<sup>119</sup> As discussed in chapter one, many critics of Dieterich, such as Johann Michael Reu and Carl Adolph Gerhard von Zezschwitz would answer this question in the negative, arguing that extensive dogmatic material has no place in the teaching of the catechism. See e.g., Zezschwitz, *System der christlich-kirchlichen Katechetik*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1863–74), 2.1, 491.

necessarily follow a loci arrangement detailing the traditional Lutheran *corpus doctrinae*. In Dieterich's work, doctrines are handled differently than in dogmatics. They are given a limited treatment and discussed in distinct places. In a way, the Small Catechism is the *corpus doctrinae* out of which Dieterich builds a fuller discussion of Lutheran catechetical teaching. Carl Adolph Gerhard von Zezschwitz, for instance, observed that Dieterich used the five chief parts of Luther's catechism as a *Fachwerk*, or framework, to store the entire dogmatic apparatus in scholastic form.<sup>120</sup>

Yet the fact that Dieterich was teaching the catechism using Luther's framework, but based on his own dialectical method meant that Dieterich, in a way, was departing from Luther's basic instruction. Method, no matter how benignly intended, affects the outcome. Thus in spite of Dieterich's apparent intention of fidelity to Luther's catechism and its simple message, he nevertheless produced a teaching that affects Luther's content, expanding and developing it into another form of instruction in Lutheran doctrine. Dieterich's methodology, while attempting to simplify and explain the catechetical teaching, in the end distances students from Luther. It is possible that Dieterich did not see that the method one adopts largely determines the results that will follow. It would be simply a case of being too close and too involved in what seem like larger shifts today but then seemed more incremental at best. In any case, as a consequence of Dieterich's catechetical methods and content, generations of Lutheran students learned the teachings of Luther's Small Catechism by way of a presentation that was perhaps more Dieterich than Luther.

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<sup>120</sup> Zezschwitz, 2. 2b, 86. For a general discussion of the treatment of doctrinal material in dogmatics and in catechetical instruction, see Zezschwitz, 2.1, 489ff.

## The Method and Content of Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica* (1614)

### The Method

As noted in chapter four, Dieterich composed an epitome of the *Institutiones Catecheticae* published in Giessen in 1614.<sup>121</sup> The *Epitome Catechetica* was intended for younger students in the *Paedagogium*, those who would advance to the *Institutiones Catecheticae* in a year or two, and for the most part, it truly is a shorter version. In the *Epitome*, the material is simplified and abridged from the larger work. Likewise, the method employed in the *Epitome* is very similar, but used less extensively. Most of the teaching found in the *Institutiones Catecheticae* is included in the *Epitome*, though with a few notable exceptions. There is no separate doctrine on Scripture in the *Epitome* (although there are a couple of brief, opening questions on it), and there are no specific sections on the Law and the Gospel. Like the *Institutiones*, the Giessen *Epitome* contains five chief parts, following the traditional version of Luther's Small Catechism used in Hesse.

After his arrival in Ulm, Dieterich published another edition of the *Epitome*, with some slight revisions, for use in the Latin schools in Ulm.<sup>122</sup> Following the tradition of the version of the Small Catechism used in Ulm, Dieterich added a sixth chief part to the catechetical teaching, on the Office of the Keys.<sup>123</sup> This sixth part is very brief and placed at the end of the catechism.

One other departure from the Giessen *Epitome* is worth noting. In the Ulm *Epitome*, Dieterich omits the opening questions and answers on catechesis and Scripture, and in their place inserts the following three questions:

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<sup>121</sup> The original 1614 edition has been lost. The second Giessen edition (1617) is the primary text for consideration here: *Epitome Catechetica, Autore Cunrado Dieterico SS Th. D. antehac Practicæ Philosophiæ Professore & Pædagogiarcha Gissæ, nunc Pastore ac Superintendente Ulmensi*. Editio nova, recognita & eliminata (Giessen: Caspar Chemlin, 1617).

<sup>122</sup> *Epitome praeceptorum Catechetorum, in usum classicorum inferiorum, ex Institutionibus Catecheticis collecta, à Cunrado Dieterico SS. Theol. D. Ecclesiarum Ulmensium Superintendente* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1615).

<sup>123</sup> "De Clavibus Coeli," *Epitome praeceptorum Catechetorum* (1615), 107–08.

*Of which faith or confession are you? [Cujus fidei sive confessionis es tu?]*

I am a Christian [Sum Christianus.]

*Why are you a Christian? [Quare Christianus es?]*

For this reason, because I believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and have been baptized in his name. [Ideò, quia credo in Deum Patrem Filium & Spiritum Sanctum, & in hujus nomine sum baptisatus.]

*What do you believe concerning God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit? [Quid credis de Deo Patre, Filio & Spiritu Sancto?]*

All that which is taught by Christ Himself in the six chief articles of Christian doctrine and has been written down by the Apostles for our instruction. [Omne id, quod in Sex praecipuis Christianae doctrinae capitibus ab ipso Christo traditis & ab Apostolis nobis commendatis scriptum est.]<sup>124</sup>

Dieterich's instruction continues here with the naming of the six chief parts of the catechism.

Translated into Latin, these three opening questions are identical to those of the traditional catechism used in Ulm before Dieterich's arrival. The three questions find their origin in the *Fragstücke* of Johannes Brenz (1535), which was influential on early Lutheran catechisms in Ulm. Dieterich included these questions in German in his *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers* (Ulm, 1616). Dieterich gives no reason for the change in the Ulm *Epitome*; perhaps he sought to provide students with a smooth transition from the traditional catechism in Ulm to the new Latin *Epitome*.

Other than these slight revisions or adaptations for use in Ulm, the 1617 Giessen *Epitome* and the 1615 Ulm edition are very similar in method and content.

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<sup>124</sup> *Epitome praeceptorum Catecheticorum* (1615), 1.



## **An Outline Sketch of the Contents of the *Epitome Catechetica* (Giessen, 1617)**

### Questions and Answers on Catechesis and Scripture [1–2]

#### I. Part One of the Catechetical Doctrine [*De I. Doctrinae Catecheticae Capite*]

The Decalogue [*De Decalogo*, 50–190]

The Fulfillment of the Law [*De Impletione Legis*, 190–96]

The Use of the Law [*De Usu Legis*, 196–97]

Sin [*De Peccato*, 198–221]

Repentance [*De Poenitentia*, 221–31]

Good Works [*De Bonis Operibus*, 232–45]

#### II. Part Two of the Catechetical Doctrine [*De II. Doctrinae Catecheticae Capite*]

The Apostles' Creed [*De Symbolo Apostolico*, 258–61]

The First Article [*Primus Articulus*, 37–40]

The Second Article [*Secundus Articulus*, 40–41]

The Person of Christ [*De Persona Christi*, 42–44]

The Personal Union [*De Unione Personali*, 44–45]

The Communication of Properties (*Idiomata*) [*De Communicatione Idiomatum*, 45–49]

The Office of Christ [*De Officio Christi*, 49–50]

The State of Humiliation [*De Statu Exinanitionis*, 50–52]

The State of Exaltation [*De Statu Exaltationis*, 52–58]

The Third Article [*Tertius Articulus*, 55–58]

The Holy Spirit [*De Spiritu Sancto*, 58–60]

The Church [*De Ecclesia*, 60–62]

The Forgiveness of Sins and Justification [*De Remissione Peccatorum seu Iustificatione*, 62–64]

Resurrection of the Flesh [*De Carnis Resurrectione*, 64–65]

Eternal Life [*De Vita Aeterna*, 65–66]

Election to Eternal Life [*De Electione ad Vitam Aeternam*, 66–68]

Hell and Purgatory [*De Inferno et Purgatorio*, 68]

#### III. Part Three of the Catechetical Doctrine [*De III. Doctrinae Catecheticae Capite*]

The Lord's Prayer [*De Oratione Dominica*, 69–87]

#### IV. Part Four of the Catechetical Doctrine [*De IV. Doctrinae Catecheticae Capite*]

The Sacraments in General [*De Sacramentis in genere*, 88–89]

The Sacrament of Baptism [*De Baptismo*, 89–90/98]

Efficient Cause [*Causa Efficiens*, 90–91]

Matter [*Materia*, 91]

Form [*Forma*, 91–92]

Purpose [*Finis*, 92]  
Effect [*Effecto*, 92–96]  
Object [*Objecto*, 96–98]

V. Part Five of the Catechetical Doctrine [*De V. Doctrinae Catecheticae Capite*]

The Lord's Supper [*De Coena Dominica*, 99–102/115]

The Efficient Cause of the Lord's Supper [*Causa Efficiens*, 102]

The Matter (Substance) [*Materia*, 102–06]

Form [*Forma*, 106–08]

Transubstantiation [*De Transsubstantione*, 108–09]

The Goal, Use, and Fruit of the Lord's Supper [*De Fine, Usu et Fructu Coenae Dominicae*, 109–112]

Communion of the Laity in one kind [*De Communione Laicorum sub una Specie*, 112]

The Roman Mass [*De Missa Pontificia*, 113]

The Subject and Circumstantial Adjuncts of the Supper [*De Subjecto et Adjunctis Circumstantiis Coenae*, 113–15]

### Conclusion

There are more questions that could be extrapolated from the material and issues discussed in this chapter. However, the intention of this chapter has been to stay close to the method and content of Dieterich's catechetical works and suggest how they were suited to their theological and historical contexts in Latin schools. The chapter has sought to understand the method Dieterich applied in his catechetical teaching and to study its goals regarding the instruction of the content of the catechisms.

As has been shown, Dieterich composed his catechetical writings on the foundation of Luther's Small Catechism, constructing an expanded course of theological instruction—even a commentary of sorts—upon Luther's text. Dieterich fashioned his own teaching for definite purposes and with specific audiences in mind, attempting to communicate the subject material in an effective, organized manner. Dieterich's approach was quite successful in achieving the aims

for which he designed it. As will be seen in the next chapter, his catechetical works were among the most widely used during the period of Lutheran orthodoxy.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE USE AND RECEPTION OF DIETERICH'S CATECHISMS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND BEYOND

#### Introduction

To close this study, the final chapter will illustrate how and where Dieterich's catechetical writings were employed in his own time, in the rest of the seventeenth century, and thereafter. In short, it sets out to discover what became of Dieterich's works after they left the presses. Were the works read and used, and if so, how? Where and how long did they serve? Did teachers, pastors, and students follow the catechisms as Dieterich intended? Along with those questions, the chapter will look at whether the works were a success or failure. To do that we must also ask how the users themselves defined success and failure, and then consider whether this can be measured. One measure to confirm this—at least to start—would be to learn about the use of Dieterich's catechisms, our starting point for this chapter.

The chapter consists of four main sections. The first details the publication history of Dieterich's catechetical works, marshalling important data about when and where these works were issued and reprinted which, in turn, suggests perhaps, perhaps some clues as to where the editions were used and for what period of time. The second section of the chapter briefly notes works by other authors that were as commentaries or expositions on Dieterich's catechisms, and the section also considers writings by those opposing his catechetical works. The third part of the chapter examines how schools employed Dieterich's catechisms, and gives examples of where and for how long they were used. In addition, it takes a look at who read the books and in what manner they were utilized in the classroom. Also considered are some of the criticisms of

Dieterich's catechisms and the reasons why they ultimately fell out of use in certain areas. The final section of the chapter briefly surveys the use of Dieterich's catechisms in North America. In particular, it examines the adoption of one of the catechisms in the churches and schools of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod in the middle of the nineteenth century.

A comprehensive examination of each and every application of Dieterich's works is not possible here. That is a study in its own right. But it is worth closing out this study by sampling the evidence that survives for the researcher. To a large extent, information and examples in this chapter regarding the use of Dieterich's catechetical works in schools and churches are drawn from *Schulordnungen* as well as from other primary sources such as school records and reports. Where helpful, secondary material from histories of schools has also been included.

### **The Publication and Reprinting of Dieterich's Catechetical Works**

Information about the publication and printing of Dieterich's catechetical works has clear bearing on the knowledge of the extent to which the writings were employed. Yet demonstrating the demand for and usage of printed works from the evidence of printing records is not an easy or exact task. To be sure, data regarding how often Dieterich's catechetical works were printed does not necessarily attest to their popularity or extent of use, nor do printing records reveal how teachers and students received these catechisms, and in what manner schools and churches used them. However, it is improbable that printers would risk (often repeatedly) printing books for which there was no market. As noted in chapter one, Mark Edwards has suggested for the period of the early Reformation that it is safe to assume the printing or reprinting of a work may be considered an "indirect measure of public interest."<sup>1</sup> If the same may be asserted for the early

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter 1, page 8. Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 8.

seventeenth century, then the number of times that Dieterich's works were printed or reprinted may inform us about the extent of public demand for and reception of these works.

The data regarding the publication of Dieterich's catechisms reveal much about their demand, suggesting that Dieterich's works were widely employed in many areas of the German lands and over an extensive period of time of roughly 140 years (1613–ca. 1750). Admittedly, this evidence provides no certain information as to where or when these catechisms were actually used, but it seems safe to draw some inferences about popularity based on the place and date of printing.<sup>2</sup>

### **The *Institutiones Catecheticae***

Dieterich first published his *Institutiones Catecheticae* in Giessen in 1613.<sup>3</sup> After this initial publication, the work was issued in at least eight revised or corrected editions throughout the German lands and was printed at least sixty-seven times between 1613 and 1744. Thereafter it appeared less often, the last printing coming in 1864 in Berlin. The *Institutiones* was printed in

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<sup>2</sup> It was not at all uncommon for works printed in one city to be exported to other areas and have an influence there. One such example is Conrad Dieterich's *Institutiones Dialecticae*, printed at least twenty-nine times between 1609 and 1655. Other than one printing in Franeker/Amsterdam (1642), it was printed exclusively in German cities (Giessen, Goslar, Jena, Leipzig, Lübeck, and Marburg). Despite the printing locations, the work was influential outside of the German lands. In his dissertation on the history of logic in Finland in the seventeenth century, Jaakko Lounela makes the case that one of the strongest influences on the development of logical doctrine in Finland was Dieterich's *Institutiones Dialecticae*. See Jaakko Lounela, *Die Logik im XVII. Jahrhundert in Finnland*. *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum* 17 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1978), 1, 31 ff., 49–69, 117, 134–145. Lounela suggests that perhaps the influence came from Sweden, which ruled much of Finland at the time, and whose 1649 *Schulordnung* apparently directed the use of Dieterich's *Institutiones Dialecticae* or the *Epitome Praeceptorum Dialecticorum* (Lounela, 32). The latter was printed in Sweden in Stockholm and Linköping nine times between 1640 and 1667. There is no evidence that the *Institutiones Dialecticae* was ever printed in Sweden. Since it is unknown how many copies of Dieterich's book made the trip to Finland, it is to be admitted that such an influence feasibly could have been accomplished with a few copies of Dieterich's text in the hands of a couple of leading Finnish logicians. Still, this example demonstrates the potentially broad influence of books in the seventeenth century, regardless of the place of publication.

<sup>3</sup> *Institutiones Catecheticae, è B. Lutheri Catechesi Depromptæ, variisque notis Logicis & Theologicis, in usum Juventutis Scholasticae illustratae, a Cunrado Dieterico Practicae Philos. Professore publ. & Paedagogiarcha. Cum praefatione & approbatione Venerandi Collegii Theologici* (Giessen: Casparus Chemlinus, 1613).

seventeen different German cities.<sup>4</sup> Other than one printing in Denmark<sup>5</sup> and one in the Netherlands,<sup>6</sup> there is no evidence that this work was published outside of German areas. As would be expected, the *Institutiones* appears to have been printed in predominately Lutheran cities. The frequency of printing in cities such as Giessen is understandable, since the work was first published there and was most likely in common use in the schools in Hessen-Darmstadt. The large number of printings in Leipzig (sixteen times between 1614 and 1729) is also not surprising given the city's position as a leading publishing, printing, and book-selling center. Despite the abundance of copies that must have come off the presses in Leipzig, no evidence has been discovered that the *Institutiones* was ever used in any of the city's schools. Apparently they were intended for the massive annual book fair that continues even today.

The *Institutiones Catecheticae* was translated into German by Ludwig Seltzer and first published in Frankfurt am Main in 1616.<sup>7</sup> This translation appears to have been intended for use

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<sup>4</sup> The cities, in alphabetical order, are: Berlin (1864), Danzig (1639), Frankfurt am Main (1642, 1652, 1663, 1685, 1742, 1744), Giessen (1613, 1614, 1617, 1620, 1623, 1640, 1643), Jena (1618, 1621, 1622, 1635, 1638, 1663, 1673, 1683), Leipzig (1614, 1615, 1617, 1628, 1635, ca. 1640, 1645, 1663, 1669, 1670, 1677, 1683, 1685, 1689, 1692, 1697, 1699, 1707, 1712, 1715, 1722, 1729, 1732, and one printing without date), Leutschau/Levoca, Slovakia (1649), Lübeck (1621, 1645, 1652, 1661), Marburg (1629, 1640), Nürnberg (1641, 1648, 1651, 1652, 1659), Rinteln (1622), Schleusing (1638), Stettin (1627), Stralsund (1661), Ulm (1640 twice), Wismar (1652). An abridged form was published in Königsberg in 1643. Due to political changes in central and eastern Europe, and to advances in technology, more of Dieterich's works are being located, catalogued in libraries, and made available to researchers. The known list of the number of printings of Dieterich's catechetical works continues to grow.

<sup>5</sup> Cunradus Dietericus, *Institutiones catecheticae e B. Lutheri catechesi depromptae et variis notis illustratae* (Hafn, 1623). Noted in: *Bibliotheca Danica: Systematisk Fortegnelse Over Den Danske Litteratur Fra 1482 til 1830*, ed. C. Bruun (København, 1961), 262.

<sup>6</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder states that the *Institutiones Catecheticae* was translated into Dutch and published in Amsterdam in 1736. No further information on this work has been found. Noted in Strieder, *Grundlage zu einer Hessischen Gelehrten- und Schriftsteller Geschichte*, 20 vols. (Göttingen-Kassel-Marburg, 1781–1863), vol. 3 (1782), 32; see also Hermann Schüling, *Verzeichnis des von 1605–1624 in Gießen erschienenen Schrifttums* (Giessen, 1985), 42.

<sup>7</sup> *Anführung zum Catechismo, Das ist wie mann dem Catechismo deß theuren Manns Gottes D. Martini Lutheri, in den 5. Hauptstücken recht unter Augen sehen, erwegen und lernen soll: Auß D. Martini Lutheri Catechismo selbst genommen ... Durch den Ehrwürdigen und hochgelehrten Herrn Cunradum Dieterich ...* (Frankfurt am Main, 1616). This translation was printed six more times in Frankfurt (1618, 1626, 1629, 1642, 1655, 1688). Seltzer also translated Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica* into German, as will be noted below. Seltzer (1581–1642) wrote a number of works on theological instruction for use in schools. From 1603 to 1604, he was preceptor at the Latin school in Alsfeld. From 1605 to 1621 he served as *Pfarrer* in Münster (Hesse), and from 1621 to 1636 as *Pfarrer* in Worms. He was *Superintendent* in Giessen from 1636 until his death in 1642. Seltzer was also Conrad Dieterich's brother-in-law.

by lay adults. In addition, a German translation of the *Institutiones* was published in North America in 1876.<sup>8</sup> This lively history that kept Dieterich in print suggests his *Institutiones* was well used.

### The *Epitome Catechetica*

Dieterich first published his *Epitome Catechetica* in Giessen in 1614.<sup>9</sup> This work saw several editions and was printed at least forty-seven times between 1614 and 1735, often in bilingual Latin/German editions. It was printed in sixteen German cities, some of which were centers of German Lutheran population in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>10</sup> Dieterich published a revised edition of the *Epitome Catechetica* in Ulm in 1615.<sup>11</sup> Many of the subsequent printings of

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<sup>8</sup> D. Conrad Dieterichs *Institutiones Catecheticae das ist, gründliche Auslegung des Katechismus D. Martin Luthers in Frage und Antwort und mit Anmerkungen versehen. Aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt von D. Friedrich Wilhelm August Notz* (St. Louis & Leipzig: F. Dette, 1876). This translation was reprinted in its second edition in 1896. Notz was professor at Northwestern University, Watertown, Wisconsin. His translation appears to have been intended for pastors and teachers as a preparatory guide to catechetical instruction.

<sup>9</sup> As noted above, the earliest surviving edition of this catechism published in Giessen is the second edition from 1617: *Epitome Catechetica, Autore Cunrado Dieterico SS Th. D. antehac Practicæ Philosophiæ Professore & Pædagogiarcha Gissæ, nunc Pastore ac Superintendente Ulmensi. Editio nova, recognita & elimata* (Giessen: Casparus Chemlinus, 1617).

<sup>10</sup> The cities, listed alphabetically, are: Breslau (1627, 1735), Erfurt (1645), Frankfurt am Main (1664, 1688), Giessen (1614, 1617, 1624, 1625, 1628, 1702, 1715, 1721), Goldenkron/Zlata Koruna (today Czech Republic) (1674), Goslar (1625), Jena (1674, 1684, 1709), Kisszeben/Sabinov (today Slovakia) (1712), Leipzig (1632, 1650, 1653, 1663, 1665, 1684, 1689, 1709), Leutschau/Levoca (today Slovakia) (1654, 1656, 1667, 1672, 1696, 1703), Lübeck (1620, 1671), Marburg (1712, 1714), Trentschin/Trencin (today Slovakia) (1645), Ulm (1615, 1627, 1630, 1642, 1655, 1672, 1700), Verden (1685), Zilbenmarkt/Zalau Transylvania (today Romania) (1670).

<sup>11</sup> Published as: *Epitome praeceptorum Catecheticorum, in usum classicorum inferiorum, ex Institutionibus Catecheticis collecta, à Cunrado Dieterico SS. Theol. D. Ecclesiarum Ulmensium Superintendente* (Ulm: Johann Meder, 1615). Later, in 1627, Dieterich published a second, revised version of this work in a Latin/German edition: *EPITOME CATECHETICORUM PRAECEPTORUM. In usum CLASSIVM INFERIORUM, COLLECTA ex Institutionibus Catecheticis, CUNRADI DIETERICI SS. Theologiae Doctoris, Ecclesiarum Ulmensium Superintendentis. Editio secunda revisa ac correctæ. Kurtzer Außzug Dero Catechismus Lehrstück Für die Schuljugend in den vntern Classen/auß dem grössern Werck der Institution oder Catechismus-Vnterweisung/ Cunrad Dieterichs/ der H. Schrifft Doctorn/ Vlmischer Kirchen Superintendenten zusammengezogen. Von Newem vbersehen vnd zum andern mahl in Truck geben* (Ulm: Jonas Saur, 1627). The list in the previous footnote includes various printings of the *Epitome Catecheticorum Praeceptorum*. Often no distinct difference between the Giessen and Ulm editions is noted in the title of the works. For instance, the following text bearing a similar title to the Giessen edition, is actually much more similar to the Ulm edition with regard to its content: *Epitome Catechetica D. Cunradi Dieterici Pastoris et Syperintendentis Vlmensis, in Vsum Ivventvtis Classicae. Kurtze Catechismus= Lehre/ von D. Conrad Dietrichen/ Ulmischen Pfarrer und Superintendenten/ der zuwachsenden Schul= Jugend zum besten verabfasset* (Leipzig: Fritsch, 1709).



the Latin *Epitome* throughout the German lands follow the Ulm revision. At the same time, the editions based on the original Giessen text continued to be printed. Thus there appear to be two families of texts for the *Epitome*.

In 1619 Ludwig Seltzer issued a German translation of the *Epitome Catechetica*. It was published in Giessen and apparently printed only once.<sup>12</sup> To Dieterich's text Seltzer appended three sections for catechetical praxis, including additional questions and answers to accompany Luther's five chief parts, catechetical prayers, and hymns on the teachings of the catechism.

### **Dieterich's Edition of Luther's Small Catechism for Ulm**

*Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers* was first published in Ulm in 1616 with Dieterich as editor/author.<sup>13</sup> This text was the official catechism of the churches and German schools in Ulm from its publication until 1680, and its unofficial use continued long after this period. It went through five editions and was printed in Ulm at least nine times between 1616 and 1781. It is not known whether this catechism was ever officially adopted for use in any other areas outside Ulm and its territory.

## **Commentaries on Dieterich's Catechisms and Writings by Opponents**

### **Works Written As Commentaries on Dieterich's Catechisms**

Several Lutheran theologians issued commentaries on Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae*, most of them published after Dieterich's death. Christian Chemnitz, Fridemann Bechmann, and others wrote annotations or expositions, which were normally appended to an edition of the

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<sup>12</sup> *Kurtzer Außzug Der Catechismus Unterweisung So der Ehrwürdige und Hochgelahrte Herr Conradus Dieterich der H. Schrift Doctor, und der Ulmischen Kirchen Pfarrherr und Superintendentens, dabevor in Lateinischer Sprach Publiciret .... Durch M. Ludovicum Seltzerum* (Giessen, 1619).

<sup>13</sup> The oldest extant copy of this catechism is the second edition from 1629: *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers/ be=neben den Fragen deß Summari=schen begriffs der sechs Hauptstucken Christlicher Lehr/ &c. Mit Angehengetem Christli=cher Unterricht/ für Junge vnd einfältige Leut/ welche begehren zum Heyligen Abend=mal zugehen/Auch etliche Kinder= vnd Schulgebetlein/ Für Vlmische Kirchen vmd Schulen in Statt vnd Land* (Ulm: Jonas Saur, 1629).

*Institutiones*. The survey here is necessarily limited, since not all the works of this type are extant or available. Nevertheless, enough is known so that it is possible to demonstrate the broad application of Dieterich's catechetical works and their influence on catechetical teaching.

It appears that some educators found it useful to have more than just the catechism, writing down notations or comments on Dieterich's *Institutiones* perhaps to use in lecturing on the text. In some cases this appears to have been done for classes taught at the university. For instance, Jena theology professor and superintendent Christian Chemnitz (1615–1666) composed annotations and presumably made use of these private notes in his classes. These comments were published after Chemnitz's death and appended to later editions of Dieterich's *Institutiones*.<sup>14</sup> Another professor at Jena, Friedemann Bechmann (1628–1703), wrote annotations on the *Institutiones*, also apparently for use in his classes at the university.<sup>15</sup> These published notes indicate that in the middle and late seventeenth century, Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* were at least read at the university level, and perhaps lectured upon. No evidence has been found to indicate that the *Institutiones* was officially read or lectured upon at a university during Dieterich's lifetime.

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<sup>14</sup> Chemnitz, the great-grandson of Martin Chemnitz, was professor of theology at the University of Jena, and was superintendent there after 1654. His annotations first appeared appended to an edition of Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* published in Leipzig in 1677, followed later by editions in 1685, 1692, 1697, 1699, and another undated copy (all appendices to Dieterich's *Institutiones*). The 1685 Leipzig edition bears this title: *Christiani Chemnitii, S. S. Theol. Doct. P. P. in illustri ad Salam Academia Celeberrimi, Annotationes in Catechesin D. Cunradi Dieterici, Praelectae, Anno M. DC. LIII*. (Leipzig and Frankfurt am Main: Fritsch & J. F. Gled, 1685).

<sup>15</sup> Bechmann was professor of philosophy (1656) and later theology (after 1668) at the University of Jena. His work, also published posthumously, was entitled: *Friedemanni Bechmanni, S.S. Theol. Doct. Et in Acad. Jenensi Profess. Pvbli. et Senioris, Ad Institutviones Catecheticas Cvunradi Dieterici S.S. Theol. Doct. et Eccles. Vlmens. Pastoris et Sverintendentis. Annotationes Vberioris, in quibus Theologiae Positivae, Moralis, et Polemicae Vtilissimvs Nuclevs Exhibetur, Difficillima Perspicve Proponvntvr et Explicantur*. It was published in Frankfurt (1706), Leipzig (1707), and Jena (1707). In this work, Bechmann provides a running commentary on Dieterich's *Institutiones*, taking each question in turn and discussing it. He seems much more interested in the theology in the catechism than with the method of its instruction. Bechmann is perhaps better known for his commentary on Leonhard Hütter's *Compendium: Annotationes Uberiores in Compendium Theologicum Leonhardi Hutteri (1690)*.

Other commentaries on the *Institutiones* were intended for use at the Latin school or *Gymnasium* level. The *Rektor* of the *Gymnasium academicum* in Ulm, Eberhard Rothius (d. 1715), composed a work of this kind, published posthumously in 1722.<sup>16</sup> Disputations on subjects from Dieterich's *Institutiones* were published in Danzig in the latter half of the seventeenth century.<sup>17</sup> This is further evidence that Dieterich's catechetical instruction was used for the purposes of academic disputations, or at least that students were examined on the material from Dieterich by means of disputations. In either case, the book was still circulating over a hundred years after its composition.

### Works by Authors Opposing Dieterich's Catechisms

We know of two works by Roman Catholic authors critical of Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae*, both works appearing after Dieterich's death. The first, written anonymously by

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<sup>16</sup> Eberhardus Rudolphus Rothius, *Dilucidationes Dietericianas*, published in Ulm (1722).

<sup>17</sup> Johann Maukisch, *Diascephi de Doctrina catechetica* (Danzig, 1663). Maukisch (1617–69, pastor, professor in Danzig) includes seven "Disput. expositioni catecheseos Dietericianae inservientes." Likewise, Ephraim Praetorius (1657–1723, pastor in Danzig), in his *Athenae Gedanenses., theologum et rectorem solertissimum deque juventute in infimis etiam classibus singulariter non tantum et quoad studia, sed et quoad pietatem meritum*, published seven "Disput. in instit. catech. Dieterican." (Leipzig, 1713). For more on these catechetical disputations and catechesis in Danzig, see Eduard David Schnaase, "Erinnerung an die Bemühungen der evangelischen Geistlichen ungeänderter augsburgischer Confession in Danzig um katechetische Bildung ihrer Gemeinden: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der germanisch-evangelischen Katechetik," *Zeitschrift für die Historische Theologie* Heft 4, 28 (1858): 487–537.

an author espousing the Roman Catholic position, is not extant, but was refuted in a later writing by Lutherans in support of Dieterich and his catechetical theology.<sup>18</sup>

The second work by the Franciscan Johannes Baptista Reggianus (dates unknown) was published in Leutschau (Slovakia) in 1673.<sup>19</sup> Nearly one hundred years earlier, Lutheran pastors had been removed from Slovakia, Hungary, and Transylvania, as part of the Counter-Reformation's attempt to recover these areas for Roman Catholicism. In spite of these efforts, a Lutheran fragment remained in the region and Dieterich's catechisms were read in schools. So when Reggianus wrote against Dieterich, pointing out the errors in the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, it was most likely part of a broader plan to reduce the influence of Lutheran theology. Reggianus' book, complete with *Approbatio* by two Jesuit theologians and an *Imprimatur*, tackles many of the main topics in Dieterich's catechism. In over 738 pages, Reggianus lists 140 alleged errors of Dieterich, spending his greatest effort attempting to refute and correct his teaching on Scripture, repentance, the papacy, councils, justification, relics, and the sacraments. In the first twenty-one pages, Reggianus notes the "Asserta Martini Lutheri, quibus non sibi constans, contradixit" suggesting that Dieterich contradicts the teachings of Luther. As an appendix to the list of errors, Reggianus tries to show that Dieterich's teaching is in contradiction to the Augsburg Confession.

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<sup>18</sup> This work, written before 1662, apparently bore this title: *Lutheranismus a seipso jugulatus, id est, Notae in Institutiones Catecheticas Conradi Dieterici, &c, Ex quibus cuilibet cordato Lectori manifestum fit, dictum Dietericum, ex nimio contra Catholicam doctrinam & fidem calore, proprio gladio suam & Lutheranorum suorum fidem vulnerare & confodere per contradictiones, imposturas & calumnias manifestas & palpabiles, &c.* No other information regarding its publication is known. A response in the form of a disputation was published by Petrus Haberkorn, professor and superintendent at Giessen with the title: *EXOTHESIS, Id est: Ejectio et Expurgatio Quis Quiliarum Illarum. Quibus Egregium & nunquam, satis laudandum, B. DN. D. CONRADI DIETERICI, Superintendentis quondam Ulmensis meritissimi, OPUS CATECHETICUM, Sub Titulo: Lutheranismus a seipso jugulatus, id est, Notae in Institutiones Catecheticas Conradi Dieterici, &c, Ex quibus cuilibet cordato Lectori manifestum fit, dictum Dietericum, ex nimio contra Catholicam doctrinam & fidem calore, proprio gladio suam & Lutheranorum suorum fidem vulnerare & confodere per contradictiones, imposturas & calumnias manifestas & palpabiles, &c. ANONYMUS QUIDAM PAPISTA Perperam contaminare, suspectum reddere, & e Discipulorum & Studiosorum manibus excutere conatus est, Chartis Thrasonica plane insultatione Ministerio Giessensi transmissis, Facta et sub Praesidio Venerandi sui Parentis, Dn. Petri Haberkornii, S. Theol. D. Professoris, Pastoris & Superintendentis Giessensis, Publicae Disputationi Exposita a M. Justo Balthasare Haberkornio, Aut. & Resp.* (Giessen: Hampel, 1662).

<sup>19</sup> Johann es Baptista Reggianus, *ANTICATECHETICA, Seu ERRORES A CONRADO DIETERICO, In Institutionibus Catechetis, Pontificiis affricati, Quos vindicat. P Jo: Bap: Reggianus de S. Felice Ord: Seraphici Minorum Conventualium. Nolite errare, Deus non irridetur Galat: 6. v. 7.* (Leutschau/Levoca [Slovakia], 1673.)

Of course as far as Reggianus is concerned, all three —Luther, the *Augustana*, and Dieterich—are wrong.

Reggianus states that he is using the 1649 text of the *Institutiones Catecheticae* published in Leutschau.<sup>20</sup> When compared to this same text from 1640, it appears that Reggianus tries to refute Dieterich in every instance where Dieterich lists the errors of the Roman Catholic Church (“errant igitur Pontificii ...”). Reggianus responds to Dieterich’s charges point by point, calling whatever Dieterich says an error, and defending Catholic teaching. Clearly, Reggianus is attempting to present a full defense of Catholic teaching against Dieterich. That Dieterich is worth refuting this way suggests he was still in use and valued.

### **The Use of Dieterich’s Catechisms in Schools**

*Schulordnungen* reveal much about how and where Dieterich’s catechetical writings were used in schools. *Schulordnungen* from nearly thirty German cities and territories that employed Dieterich’s catechisms in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provide helpful data. The time frame of these different orders spans the period from 1614 to 1803, and the *Schulordnungen* cover a broad geographical area, from northern cities such as Stralsund on the Baltic Sea coast to Saarbrücken, today on the French border. The list includes southwestern cities such as Lörrach, near Switzerland, as well as entire regions of German settlements in what today is Romania. In many cases it is not known exactly how long Dieterich’s catechisms were in use, while in others it appears that they were read for well over 150 years. Some school orders offer little or no information on how the catechisms were to be employed, while others provide detailed instructions to *Rektoren* and schoolmasters on how to put the catechisms to use. In virtually no cases do the school orders supply reasons as to why they initially adopted Dieterich’s

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<sup>20</sup> Reggianus, *Anticatechetica*, 4.

catechisms. However, as will be seen, they do offer some reasons why the use of the catechisms was discontinued.

Gleaning sufficient or complete data from *Schulordnungen* can be difficult because some school orders are no longer extant.<sup>21</sup> Sometimes they were not published or even regularly recorded. It is also important to note that *Schulordnungen* do not always list the textbooks or authors used for instruction, so Dieterich may have been used even more widely. For instance, catechetical instruction or “catechism” may be listed in the curriculum, but no specifics are included. In other cases options are given, though no one catechism is designated for use by the order. For example, two catechisms by different authors are sometimes recommended for the same grade levels, but the option is left open to individual schools or teachers. In addition to the *Schulordnung* information, inferences can be drawn from data related to the publication of various editions of the catechisms, as well as the printing and reprinting of the texts in numerous locations in the German lands and elsewhere. Evidence regarding the use of Dieterich’s catechetical works also is found in secondary sources and is included where necessary.

### **Examples of the Use of Dieterich’s Catechisms in Schools**

In this section of this chapter, examples from school and church orders are provided to try to determine and document where and how Dieterich’s catechetical works were used. Of course, when removed from their original contexts and from the precise purposes and intentions for which they were designed, Dieterich’s catechisms might have ended up looking different. To the extent possible, the attempt is made to discover whether schools employed Dieterich’s catechisms according to his intentions, and if not, why not. As will be seen, the decline of the use of Latin in schools in the eighteenth century affected the utilization of Dieterich’s catechetical

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<sup>21</sup> E.g., apparently there are no records of *Schulordnungen* from Hessen-Darmstadt before ca. 1624. This is regrettable, since before this time it is likely that Dieterich’s works were being used in Hessen-Darmstadt—the territory in which they were composed and first published.

writings, and his catechisms were often replaced by works in German. Along with this ebb and flow comes the question of the success or failure of Dieterich's works in the exercise of catechetical instruction.

### Frankfurt am Main

An example of how one school taught catechesis, and specifically how it used Dieterich's catechisms, comes from the *Schulordnung* for the Latin school in Frankfurt am Main from 1654 and renewed in 1739.<sup>22</sup> According to the *Ordnung*, catechetical instruction was to take place as follows: The youngest students (classes 7–5)<sup>23</sup> began with Luther's Small Catechism in German.<sup>24</sup> Presumably having memorized and mastered the German text, pupils in the fourth class started to read Luther's Small Catechism in Latin.<sup>25</sup> Students reaching the third class were introduced to the "Compendium Catecheticum D. Theodorici," most likely a reference to the Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica*.<sup>26</sup> Students in the second class would complete their study of the *Epitome*.<sup>27</sup> The directions for those in the first class called for a comprehensive study of Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae*:

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<sup>22</sup> E. Edl. *Hochweisen Raths Der Stadt Franckfurt am Mayn, Ordnung und Statuten der Lateinischen Schul. Franckfurt, 1654* (republished 1739). This *Ordnung* is found in: *Eines Hoch=Edlen und Hoch= Weisen Raths Des Heil. Reichs Stadt Franckfurth am Mayn Consistorial Ordnung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1739). It is unclear if the school used Dieterich's catechisms before the 1654 *Ordnung*, or when it ceased using them after 1739.

<sup>23</sup> In most Latin schools and *Gymnasia*, the classes were organized with the youngest students in the seventh class, moving up to the oldest or most advanced students in the first class. No matter how many levels or classes a school had, it moved to "one" as its final or top group.

<sup>24</sup> *Eines Hoch=Edlen und Hoch=Weisen Raths Des Heil. Reichs Stadt Franckfurth am Mayn Consistorial Ordnung*, 40–44.

<sup>25</sup> *Eines Hoch=Edlen und Hoch=Weisen Raths Des Heil. Reichs Stadt Franckfurth am Mayn Consistorial Ordnung*, 45.

<sup>26</sup> The Frankfurt *Ordnung* states that in the fourth class "Soll Compendium Catecheticum D. Theodorici, in dieser Claß proponirt ... werden" (47).

<sup>27</sup> For the second class the *Ordnung* reads: "Soll D. Theodorici Institutionum Catecheticorum compendium absolvirt ... werden" (49).

Lectures on Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* should be given, and, at their discretion, instructors should make a precise rubric of what to teach a few select students in the first class, and especially in the *ordo exemptorum* ["those set apart," i.e., the most advanced students]: Particularly in the weekly catechetical readings, as well as in the semester examinations, the boys should be presented especially with the more difficult passages [from the *Institutiones Catecheticae*], and with ones apparently contrary to Scripture; their responses should be sought, and everything should be directed toward *praxis*.<sup>28</sup>

The *Ordnung* adds that for those students of the first class in the *ordo exemptorum* "[the study of] Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* should be completed by means of disputation."<sup>29</sup>

Given the description of the Frankfurt *Schulordnung*, a few observations can be made about the use of Dieterich's catechisms. As will be seen in other school orders, Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica* were used for instructing more advanced children in Latin schools. Based on Luther's Small Catechism themselves, Dieterich's catechisms served to continue and expand the instruction begun with Luther. The Frankfurt order was in effect for an extended period of time (1654–1739) and then was renewed apparently without changes regarding the use of Dieterich's catechisms. There is no evidence suggesting that the school did not conform to the order and used something other than Dieterich's catechisms. The order limits its directions to how the catechisms are to be used. The matter-of-fact directions along with the absence of any other comment or complaint makes this sound routine. The order does not seem to contradict the intentions Dieterich had for his works. In fact, it seems to be in accord with them. Whether the catechisms were a success or failure in the Frankfurt school is not said, but it is unlikely that the school would make use of texts for such a long period of time and then continue to use them in the renewed order if they were considered ineffective or lacking in

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<sup>28</sup> The Frankfurt *Ordnung* (50–51):

[*Institutiones Catecheticae* Theodorici praelegantur, und sollen Praeceptores inter primanos & ordinem Exemptorum pro discretione, eine feine Abtheilung, was den Discipulis zu tradiren, untereinander machen: Sonderlich aber in hebdomadaria lectione catechetica, wie auch in dem Examine semestri den Knaben eines und das andere, zumahl difficiliora & apparenter contraria Scripturae loca objicirt, die Antwort darauf begehrt und alles ad praxin dirigirt werden soll.]

<sup>29</sup> "Ordo Exemptorum. I ... : Sollen Institutiones catecheticae Theodorici, disputando absolvirt werden." (The Frankfurt *Ordnung*, 53.)



any significant way. There is no indication that the catechisms did not serve the needs of the teachers or students, or failed to serve as a suitable text for catechetical instruction.

Although each school order is a different case, the *Schulordnung* from Frankfurt is a rather typical example of the way that school administrators directed *Gymnasia* and Latin schools when it came to catechetical instruction in the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries. This Frankfurt order is also fairly representative of the manner in which schools implemented Dieterich's catechisms. The gradual progression from simple instruction to more advanced is expected, and it is important to note, at least in this Frankfurt sample, that Luther's Small Catechism remains at the heart of instruction throughout. It is worth observing that in the schools in this period catechetical teaching is the primary focus in religious or theological instruction. At least from the Frankfurt *Schulordnung* it does not appear that students were to spend much time learning or reading stories from the Bible. It was assumed either that they should know basic biblical content, or that what biblical knowledge they received from catechetical instruction was sufficient.

### **Heilbronn**

The *Gymnasium* in Heilbronn, founded in 1620, began using Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* for its most advanced students that same year.<sup>30</sup> According to the *Lehrplan* for the six classes of the school, the youngest pupils received initial instruction with the catechisms of

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<sup>30</sup> The history of the Heilbronn school is recorded in: Gustav Lang, "Geschichte des Gymnasiums der Reichstadt Heilbronn," in *Geschichte des humanistischen Schulwesens in Württemberg*. Hrsg. Die Württembergische Kommission für Landesgeschichte, vol. 2, 1 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1920), 91–203. In addition to using Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae*, the school also used his *Epitome Catechetica* along with his textbooks on dialectic, rhetoric, and oratory. Luther was generally the Germany-wide choice. Brenz worked in the southwest part of the German lands, based in Schwäbisch Hall, only a stone's throw east of Heilbronn.

Luther and Brenz.<sup>31</sup> By the third class, students were learning some of the most basic elements of Dieterich's *Institutiones*, and by the second and first classes they heard lectures on the full text.<sup>32</sup>

A new *Rektor*, Gabriel Löschenbrand (1628–92), reorganized the Heilbronn school in 1675. By the end of his tenure, the school had 157 students, a healthy enrollment, suggesting his leadership was well received.<sup>33</sup> According to the new syllabus, students in the first class were to receive catechetical instruction in the following manner:

First, the catechism of Dr. Dieterich [the *Institutiones Catecheticae*] is to be treated logically, according to its definitions and divisions, and in the individual articles of the faith, the questions are to be discussed thetically and antithetically. [This is to be done] to indicate the basis of the article in Holy Scripture, to put the question itself in syllogistic form, and to bring into the passage the common terms, the underlying Scripture citations, and thus confirm and strengthen our knowledge with such arguments. Afterwards, the arguments of the opponents, which are indicated by the *obstat*, likewise are placed into syllogism, then are examined first according to their form, then according to their substance, and refuted. Applied in this way, the study of Dieterich's catechism is fully completed, in four sections and main parts. Students are obliged to participate in disputations on suitable subjects found in the catechism, moreover, since the method indicated above is at their disposal.<sup>34</sup>

More than many *Schulordnungen* which often only mention *that* a text should be used, this Heilbronn curriculum plan (*Lehrplan*) provides specific instructions on *how* Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* ought to be taught in schools. In addition, these directions seem to follow closely Dieterich's own intentions for the work. The catechetical material is treated

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<sup>31</sup> Lang, 109.

<sup>32</sup> Lang, 108–09.

<sup>33</sup> Lang, 124.

<sup>34</sup> Löschenbrand, "Directorium Primae Classis, anno 1675, mense Julio," cited in Lang, 130: Erstlich is die Catechesis D. Dieterici, nach seinen definitionibus undt divisionibus, logicè zu tractiren, die quaestiones aber, in singulis articulis fidei werden theticè undt antitheticè abgehandelt, also, daß man den sedem articuli in S. Scriptura weiset, die quaestionem an sich selbst in formam syllogisticam, undt in locum medij termini, die unterstehende dicta Scripturae, bringet, undt also unser sententiam mit solchen Argumentis confirmirt undt befestiget. Nachmals auch die argumenta adversariorum, welche durch die obstat angedeutet worden, gleichfalls in syllogismos verwandelt, selbige hernach tum formaliter tum materialiter examiniret, undt widerleget. Auf solche Weise wirdt gemelter Catechesis Dieterici, in vier pensis undt Haupttheilen, gäntzlich absolviret. Finden sich capacia subiecta, werden sie auch aus dem Catechesi zu dem disputiren angehalten, weilen ohnedem erstangedeutete methodus solches an die Handt gibt.

according to the method in which it is arranged, it is analyzed logically, and discussed in full. Although from the description alone it is impossible to determine whether or not this directorate for instruction was actually carried out in the classroom, it seems at least in theory that Dieterich's goal for his catechism were being followed.<sup>35</sup>

Gustav Lang reports on when and why the school stopped using Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* in 1768:

In religion instruction the venerable *Institutiones Catecheticae* of the sainted Dieterich was discontinued after nearly 150 years of use, in order to make room for Töllner's catechetical text. With this, the German language made its entry, along with nationalism, even into the religion textbooks of the upper classes.<sup>36</sup>

So Dieterich fell victim to a language issue, though it apparently was not—at least not exclusively—a matter of dumbing down education. Rather the more intellectual, even international, Latin was giving way, as Lang says, to flag-waving.

## Baden

The *Schulordnungen* for Baden indicate that Dieterich's catechetical works were not officially used in schools of its *Markgrafschaften* until after 1689. However, from this time until 1803, Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* and his *Analysis logica Evangeliorum* were adopted

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<sup>35</sup> The 1662 *Schulordnung* for Güstrow likewise prescribed the logical explication of Dieterich's *Institutiones* for students in the first class: "In der ersten Class ... wird das compendium Hutteri oder catechesis Dieterici expliciret [und logice]." Quoted from "Herzog Gustav Adolfs güstrowische Schulordnung von 1662," cited in: *Das Unterrichtswesen der Großherzogtümer Mecklenburg-Schwerin und Strelitz*, ed. H. Schnell. *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, vol. 38, 44, and 45 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1907), vol. 38, 442.

<sup>36</sup> Lang, 168:  
Im Religionsunterricht wurden 1768 nach fast 150jährigen Gebrauch die ehrwürdigen *Institutiones Catecheticae Beati Dieterici* abgeschafft, um Töllners katechetischen Text Platz zu machen; hiermit zog die deutsche Sprache zugleich mit dem Nationalismus auch in die religiösen Lehrbücher der oberen Klassen ein. The Heilbronn school appears to have introduced the newly published German catechism by Johann Gottlieb Töllner (1724–74), the *Katechetischer Text oder Unterricht vom christlichen Lehrbegriff für Unstudierende* (1764).

for religious instruction and theological study in the territory.<sup>37</sup> Many of the *Schulordnungen* from Baden name no specific catechism for use in schools. An example of one that does is from the “Order for the Princely Paedagogium in Lörrach,” from the beginning of the eighteenth century. This order prescribes lectures on Dieterich’s *Institutiones Catecheticae* for students in the first class on Monday and Thursday morning at 8:00.<sup>38</sup> It is a rhythm like that found in other territories.

### Saarbrücken

Schools in this tiny territory used several of Dieterich’s textbooks, including his catechisms, for an extended period of time. The *Gymnasium* in Saarbrücken, for instance, began using Dieterich’s *Institutiones Catecheticae* as early as 1614, along with his *Institutiones Dialecticae*, the *Institutiones Rhetoricae*, and the *Institutiones Oratoriae*. While it is unclear how long all of these works were used at the school, it is known that Dieterich’s large catechism was read there until 1738, a long run.<sup>39</sup>

### Regensburg

The *Gymnasium poeticum* in the free imperial city of Regensburg offers an example of a school that employed Dieterich’s *Institutiones Catecheticae* as part of its broader religious curriculum. The *Lehrplan* from 1664 done for the *Lyzeum* of the Regensburg school prescribes

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<sup>37</sup> See *Die Badischen Schulordnungen*, ed. Karl Brunner. Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, vol. 24 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1902), CXV. Dieterich’s *Analysis logica Evangeliorum* was commonly used for theological education and as a Gospel commentary by pastors and teachers: *Analysis logica Evangeliorum Dominicalium: Unà cum Observationibus et Doctrinis, È SS. Scripturae Fundamentis, Sanctorum Patrum Testimoniis, & Virorum Doctorum sententiis, Studentiosè conscripta à M. Cunrado Theodorico, Ethices in Academia Giessena Professore publico & Paedagogiarcha* (Giessen, 1607). This work was published in several editions and saw at least twenty-two printings between 1607 and 1688.

<sup>38</sup> “Ordnung für das Fürstliche Paedagogium in Lörrach, Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts”: For the 1. Classe, “soll man nachgesetzte Lectiones dociren: Mo. h. 8. Dieterici Institutiones Catechet ... Do. h. 8. Dieterici Institutiones Catechet.” Cited in *Die Badischen Schulordnungen*, I. 477.

<sup>39</sup> See Albert Ruppertsberg, *Geschichte des Ludwigsgymnasiums zu Saarbrücken 1604–1904*. Nackdruck der Ausgabe von 1904 (Saarbrücken: Queißer, 1977), 45, 46, 49, 63f.

that students work through Hütter's *Compendium*, Dieterich's *Institutiones*, and the Formula of Concord—an interesting sequence holding off on the Formula until the students were prepared by Dieterich.<sup>40</sup> The same plan recommends that before students are sent off to study at a university, they be examined on Dieterich's *Institutiones*.<sup>41</sup> The Regensburg school is typical in recommending Dieterich's catechisms alongside other catechetical or theological textbooks.<sup>42</sup>

### Augsburg

In the mid-seventeenth century, the *Evangelische Gymnasium* in Augsburg relied on an interesting mix of two textbooks simultaneously for religious instruction. Alongside Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* (and his *Epitome* which was also read), the *Hortulus biblicus, Oder Biblisch Lust-Gärtlein*, by Wolfgang Seber was used.<sup>43</sup> In 1676, the *Rektor* of the school, G. F. Magnus, observed in a report to the *Scholarchat*, "In every class there is a twofold range of

<sup>40</sup> "Lehrplan für das Auditorium (Lyzeum) des Regensburger Gymn. poet., 1664":

Schematismus Lectionum. 1. Zur Lectione Theologica sollen der Jugend diesesmahl zur Handt geschafft werden: 1. Compendium Hutteri, cum notis Cundisij D: 2. D: Dieterici Catecheticae Institutiones. 3. Formula Concordiae.

Cited in: *Mittelschulgeschichtliche Dokumente Altbayerns, einschließlich Regensburg*, ed. Georg Lurz. Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, Band 42 (Berlin: Hoffman, 1908), II. 505.

<sup>41</sup> "Entwurff. Wie Discipuli Gymnasii Ratisponensis Exempti, ehe Sie auf Universitäten gesendet werden zu informieren werden sein. § 1. Von den Lectionen ... 5. Der Autor den Sie conjugiren sollen ... 3. D: Dieterici catechesis major." Quoted from "Lehrplan für das Auditorium (Lyzeum) des Regensburger Gymn. poet., 1664," in *Mittelschulgeschichtliche Dokumente Altbayerns, einschließlich Regensburgs*, II. 499.

<sup>42</sup> Another example is from the *Schulordnung* for Siebenbürgischen Sachsen (today the Transylvanian region of Romania) from 1722: *Zur Auferziehung der lieben Jugend und zur bessern Einrichtung der Schulen projektirter Rath und Mittel* (1722). (This included schools in cities such as Kronstadt, Hermannstadt, Mediasch, and Schässburg.) This order gives the individual *Gymnasia* the choice of selecting a catechetical or theological text for use in its own school, offering the examples of Leonhard Hütter's *Compendium Locorum Theologicorum* and Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae*. Part of the order reads:

I. Alle Kinder, beyderley Geschlechts, in Städten und Dörffern, mit Obrigkeitlichem Befehl, zur Schulen anzuhalten, dass sie lesen, schreiben und den Catechismus lernen. Worzu Vieles contribuiren würde, wenn a, Catechismus ... VIII. Wäre nützlich und erbaulich, Wenn in allen Gymnasiis ein Author in Theologia tractieret würde, exempli gratia Hutteri Compendium oder Institutio Dieterici ...

Cited in *Die Siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Schulordnungen* ed. Friedrich Teutsch. Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, 2 vols., (vols. VI and XIII) (Berlin: Hofmann, 1888), I. 132–33.

<sup>43</sup> Seber (1573–1634) was rector and later superintendent in Schleusingen. This work was published in Leipzig (1628), 480pp.

activity, the one of piety, the other of learning.”<sup>44</sup> From the book title alone it is clear that the former refers to Seber and the latter to Dieterich.

### **Mecklenburg**

The plan for instruction prescribed by the *Rektor* of the *Domschule* in Schwerin provides a unique look into how one school made use of Dieterich’s catechism. In the plan, the *Rektor* gives specific orders as to how the catechetical material is to be taught and drilled:

In theology a particular reading from Dieterich’s catechism should be selected, a junior student should explain one question after another, quickly posed by a mid-level student to determine whether he has understood the sense of it, and what the answer to the question is. If the junior student is of only moderate ability, he may answer in German, but if he is a little stronger he may answer in Latin. If there is a proof text for the thesis with the question, the passage is explained, read in the German Bible, and then the Greek text (if a New Testament passage). The passage should be looked up by everyone, but read aloud by a junior student, then explained and broken down by a senior. Several of the juniors should be questioned about the grammar of this or that word in the text. As much as possible, the rules of procedure in a Greek class are to be followed. Students should answer questions completely on the context as far as the vocabulary allows, from beginning to end. A formal argument of the same biblical passage is to be raised by another student, and this should be done in all passages, as various things appear in the text.

If there is anything essential or remarkable in the notes which the author [Dieterich] has, which serve to illustrate the question or help in understanding the antitheses, they should be explained by a senior student. He is to look up the note by the author, read it aloud, what there is of it. Then he should be asked about it quickly, like the others, to determine whether he has understood the reason of the author. If he has not, then the note is to be clarified and taught, until another student can give an answer. After this, a junior student should be asked again what the thesis is, then a middle is to be asked what the antithesis is, and who teaches such and such. Then, if necessary, the *status controversiae* should be stated clearly, a senior should be asked concerning the arguments with which an opponent, according to the direction of the author, would maintain his thesis. Another student must bring forward an argument according to its form and judge concerning the truth or falsity of the proposition, as much as can be required of him, and see whether a proof exists, and how it may be brought into a *prosyllogism*. Another must read the response as the author gives

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<sup>44</sup> “Es ist einer jeden claß scopus zweierlei, der eine pietatis, der ander eruditionis.” Quoted from Hans Ockel, *Geschichte des höheren Schulwesens in Bayerisch-Schwaben während der vorbayerischen Zeit*, *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, vol. 60 (Berlin: Hoffmann, 1931), 66.

it, and judge how the same is to be used formally and to be applied to major or minor arguments. In this way all the arguments should be regarded found in the selection and are not too intricate for the students, and all illustrations and manuductions are brought to bear. Afterwards, this is to be drilled for a while, with students questioning each other, and then they should be questioned on this material again, before a new reading is taken up again. If there is nothing remarkable in the notes, then a repetition of the previous material is carried out and reflected upon by all pupils; who, with divine help, are able to have all the benefits of the aforementioned material.<sup>45</sup>

These directions for instruction in the *Domschule* in Schwerin are remarkable for their thoroughness, where Dieterich's *Institutiones* is employed in the classroom beyond simple catechism as part of the broader curriculum. Apart from the catechetical material, readings from the Greek New Testament are carried out as if in a Greek lecture, the German Bible is read, and the material on logic is extensively addressed and exercised. These prescriptions also provide a brief look at how catechetical instruction was carried out (or was supposed to be done) in the

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<sup>45</sup> Quoted from "Die Unterrichtsmethode des Rektors der Domschule zu Schwerin Masius, aus dem Jahre 1687," cited in *Das Unterrichtswesen der Großherzogtümer Mecklenburg-Schwerin und Strelitz*, ed. H. Schnell. *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, Bd. 38, 44, and 45 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1907), II. 144–45.

In theologicis wird eine gewisse lectio aus dem catechesi Dieterici iniungirt, eine Quaestion nach der andern von einem inferiore explicirt, von einem medio flugs gefragt, ob er sensum penetraret habe? was auf die frage zu antworten sei? welcher denn da er mittelmäßig ist, deutsch, da er aber ein wenig exurgit, lateinisch antwortet. Ist eine probatio theseos dabei, werden die loca evolvirt, in der teutschen Bibel gelesen, der griechische Text, wo es ein locus novi testamenti ist, von allen aufgeschlagen, von einem inferiore gelesen, von einem superiore explicirt und resolvirt, von einigen der inferiorum ratio grammatica dieses oder jenes Wortes, das in der Resolution vorkommen, wieder gefragt und, soviel möglich, beobachtet, was bei Tractation einer griechischen Lection zu beobachten ist, der contextus quoad vocabula, hernach ganz, durchgehends gefragt. Von einem andern wird derselbe locus biblicus in ein formal Argument gebracht; und solches geschieht, wenn unterschiedliche kommen, bei allen locis.

Ist etwas Nothwendiges und Merkliches in den notis, so der auctor hat, das entweder ad illustrationem derselben Quaestion oder ad cognitionem antitheseos dienlich, wird solches von einem superiore gefragt; der siehet den auctorem nach, lieset es laut, was der davon hat; wird flugs, wie auch andere, drauf befragt, ob sie mentem auctoris haben verstanden; wo nicht, wirds erklärt und inculcirt, biß ein jeder antworten kan. Darauf wird ein inferior abermahl gefragt, was denn nun thesis sei? Ein medius, was antithesis sei? wer so und so lehre? Darauf wird, wens nöthig ist, status controversiae deutlich proponirt, ein superior umb die argumenta gefragt, damit ein adversarius, nach Anleitung des auctoris, seinen Satz behaupte. Ein ander muß ein argumentum in formam bringen und iudiciren von der veritate oder falsitate propositionum, soviel von ihm kan requirret werden, und sehen, ob eine probatio vorhanden, und wie dieselbe in prosyllogismum zu bringen. Ein ander muß die Responson lesen, wie der auctor sie gibt, und iudiciren, wie dieselbe formaliter anzuwenden und ad maiorem oder minorem argumenti zu appliciren sei; und also werden alle argumenta, die da sein und ihnen nicht gar zu intricat sein, angesehen und alle Illustration und Manuduction dabei adhibirt; hernach mit einander etliche mahl, alios aliosque interrogando, inculcirt, und folgens also accurat exigirt, ehe eine neue Lection wieder aufgegeben wird. Fellet aber in notis nichts Sonderliches vor, wird aus dem vorigen eine repetitio angestellt und auf alle discentes reflectirt; die denn gedachter maßen mit göttlicher Hülfe alle ihren Nutzen haben können.

classrooms in Schwerin and what was expected of students, in terms of their own participation and learning of the material in class.

### **Esslingen**

Esslingen provides an illustration of a school in which the curriculum and the abilities of students had changed over time, with the result that Dieterich's *Institutiones* were inappropriate or at least were considered of little use to students. In 1719, the school installed a new *Rektor*, Gottfried Salzmann. The following year, he suggested changes in the curriculum and spoke out against placing too heavy a burden on students and pushing them to a hasty graduation. He called for the simplification of textbooks, and observed, for instance, that "Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* was too difficult for students who were often ten or eleven years old, and it was too thick to commit to memory." For the children of the nobility, who would later study law rather than theology, Dieterich's catechism was "unprofitable and required too much time."<sup>46</sup>

The case of Esslingen is perhaps a good example of what happens when a textbook is removed from its original context, purpose, and use. Over time, it may not have been adapted or altered to suit changing conditions and needs. It appears that the catechism eventually was considered more of a problem for teachers and students than a text meeting their instructional requirements.

### **Hesse**

As may be expected, Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* and *Epitome Catechetica* were used in Hesse's schools extensively and for a long period of time. The historian of the schools in

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<sup>46</sup> Otto Mayer, "Geschichte des humanistischen Schulwesens in der Freien Reichstadt Eßlingen," in *Geschichte des humanistischen Schulwesens in Württemberg*. Hrsg. Die Württembergische Kommission für Landesgeschichte, vol. II.1 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1920), 311, fn. 91. Weber writes in part:

In seinem Gutachten vom 5. XII 1720 spricht [Salzmann] sich gegen die Überlastung der Schüler mit Unterrichtsstunden und gegen die zu raschen Promotionen aus. Er verlangt Vereinfachung der Lehrbücher, z. B. Dieterici Instit. Catechetica sei für seine oft 10–11jährigen Schüler zu schwer, zum Auswendiglernen zu dick, für die jungen Edelleute, die später iura studieren, unnütz, zu viel Zeit erfordernd.



Hesse, Wilhelm Diehl, states that both of Dieterich's textbooks "dominated the catechetical instruction in the higher schools in Hesse for nearly one hundred years."<sup>47</sup> Of course, the texts were read at the *Paedagogium* in Giessen, but they were also used at the *Paedagogia* in Darmstadt<sup>48</sup> and Marburg after its return to Lutheran hands in 1629.<sup>49</sup> As *Paedagogiar*ch in Giessen, Dieterich also had supervision over the five other Latin schools in the *Oberfürstentum* Hessen-Darmstadt, and his catechisms are known to have been used in at least some of these schools.<sup>50</sup>

After 1619, German translations of Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica* were used for students in the lower classes of the *Paedagogium* in Giessen, and likely in Latin schools in Hesse.<sup>51</sup> In 1674 this German translation was also introduced in the *Volkschulen* in Hessen-Darmstadt for use by the upper classes, but would be replaced in 1716 by the German catechism of Giessen superintendent Kilian Rudrauff, the *Katechismusfragen Lutheri (1683)*.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Wilhelm Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," in *Die Schulordnungen des Grossherzogtums Hessen*. Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, vols. 27, 28, and 33 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1903), vol. 28, 22: "Da beide Bücher fast 100 Jahre lang den religiösen Unterricht der höheren Lehranstalten Hessens derart beherrschten ...."

<sup>48</sup> The Latin school in Darmstadt was converted into a *Paedagogium* in 1626. Dieterich's Latin catechisms were used there until 1752. (Diehl, vol. 27, 125, 262f.)

<sup>49</sup> See "De lectionibus paedagogiarum," in *Statuta Academiae Marpurgensis deinde Gissensis de anno 1629 [millesimo sescentiesimo vicesimo nono]: d. Statuten d. Hessen-Darmstadt. Landesuniv. Marburg 1629–1650, Giessen 1650–1879*. Hrsg. von Hans Georg Gundel (Marburg, 1982) 213–14; and Diehl, vol. 28, 22.

<sup>50</sup> Walbrach, 182. See also Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," vol. 28, 19. Diehl states that there were six Latin schools in Hessen-Darmstadt: Alsfeld, Eczell, Giessen, Grünberg, Butzbach, and Nidda. Diehl also provides citations from *Ordnungen* from Alsfeld and Butzbach indicating that Dieterich's catechisms were still used in these schools in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Alsfeld, vol. 27, 167, vol. 33, 529; Butzbach, vol. 27, 190). In addition, Dieterich's *Epitome* was read in (Bad) Homburg in the late seventeenth century (Diehl, vol. 27, 190)

<sup>51</sup> Diehl indicates that the German translation was that by Ludwig Seltzer, the *Kurtzer Außzug Der Catechismus Unterweisung*, first published in Giessen in 1619. Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," vol. 33, 23, 103.

<sup>52</sup> Diehl, "Das Gießener Pädagog in den Jahren 1605–1623," vol. 33, 103, 120. Rudrauff (1627–90) was professor of theology at the University of Giessen and later superintendent.

In 1655 the faculty of the University of Giessen suggested reforms for the *Paedagogium* in Giessen. Among its recommendations were the following on the use of Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* and its use in catechetical instruction:

Catechesis: . . . In the first class [Prima], the larger *Institutiones* of Dieterich is to be treated with profit in the following manner: 1) A brief reading is to be taken up, so that the memory is not overburdened. 2) After flawless recitation from the Greek Testament, all selected passages, where there is not an added Latin version, are to be cited and interpreted in the original language. 3) The arguments are to be reduced to syllogistic form. 4) The explications marked in smaller type are to be read aloud, and if anything notable appears, it is expounded by the rector, repeated by the students, and noted in a catechism especially prepared for the purpose. 5) Right after the explication, the version of the Greek text of Luther [Small Catechism] is selected. 6) Texts are also selected from the Psalter in Greek, as long as the students have the Greek Psalter; if they are at hand, then privately something in Hebrew is of benefit. Then texts are selected from the Hebrew Psalter and explained. The Psalter, in particular, is published in very handsome editions with a Latin translation.<sup>53</sup>

Clearly, by the mid-seventeenth century in Giessen, thorough catechetical instruction was important. With regard to its method of instruction, Dieterich's intentions for his catechism seem

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<sup>53</sup> Quoted from the "Bedenken der Gießener Universität über die Reform des Gießener Paedagogs, 1655," cited in Wilhelm Diehl, *Die Schulordnungen des Grossherzogtums Hessen*, vol. 27, 134–35:

Catechesis. 1. In Prima werden nützlich tractiret Dieterici Institutiones maiores folgender massen: 1. wird ein klein Lection injungiret, damit das memoria nicht uberladen werde. 2. alle allegirte dicta werden ex N. T. post recitationem ex Testamento pure Graeco, ubi non est addita versio latina, in lingua originali proferiret undt expliciret. 3. die Argumenta ad formam Syllogisticam reduciret. 4. die Explicationes minoribus typis expressae werden publice gelesen, und so etwas notabile vorkompt vom Rectore expliciret, von den discipulis repetiret und in ein sonderliches hierzu verfertigtes librum catecheticum annotiret. 5. wirdt so baldt post explicationem textus Graeci Lutheri versio allegiret. 6. Ex Psalterio werden die textus auch Graece allegiret, dieweil die discipuli das Psalterium Graecum haben, sint subjecta vorhanden, so privatim etwas in Hebraicis proficiret, werden die textus auch ex Psalterio Hebraico allegiret und expliciret, in massen das Psalterium absonderlich in einer sehr schönen edition cum versione latina ediret ist.

to have been followed, at least in part.<sup>54</sup> Yet it is significant to note how much the exposition of Scripture passages in Greek and Hebrew plays a role in the exposition or teaching of the catechetical material. Extending the instruction into such detailed analysis of the Scriptural texts in the original languages does not appear to have been what Dieterich intended for his *Institutiones Catecheticae*. It seems that this instruction is almost as much a drill in languages as it is an exercise in catechesis. In either case this could easily become overkill and could prompt a backlash.

Reactions and criticisms did in fact come. The *Paedagogium* in Darmstadt provides one example of some of the reasons why Dieterich's catechisms fell out of favor. Writing in 1717, teacher Johann Friederich Mickelius recorded his views on the lectures and teaching methods for the first and second classes:

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<sup>54</sup> That Dieterich's method of catechetical instruction was respected and followed for some time is also apparent in an example from Darmstadt. The new *Schulordnung* for the *Paedagogium* in Darmstadt in 1708 by rector Johann Konrad Arnoldis still seeks to adhere closely to Dieterich's intended method of instruction for the first class (Prima):

In Theologicis secundum ordinem Institutionum Dietericianarum loci Theologici quaestionibus suis propositi, a classe secunda recitati et Germanice expositi, a superioribus classis primae repetantur, dicta scripturae ab inferioribus ex textu authentico, et potissimum Graeco, praelecta explicantur, nervus et fundamentum orthodoxiae demonstratur ex eodem, syllogisticae formae includatur, aliis et parallelis scripturae dictis pro rei necessitate porro confirmetur. Thesi orthodoxia sic formata et firmata, antithesi heterodoxa et quorum illa sit, indicetur, rationes eius, unde petantur, afferantur, dicta scripturae, in adversam partem citata, evolvantur, medius ex illis terminus syllogismo includatur, modus solvendi proponatur, atque infirmitas adversariae sententiae ita ostendatur: quo facto porismata, ad mores pios vitamque Christianam gerendam eruantur. In definitionibus vero locorum resolutio logica semper adhibeatur, ut quae in definitione legitima requiruntur, ex ratione tum definit, tum definitionis accurate enumerentur. Sic bono cum Deo ad salutarem Dei cognitionem discipuli perducentur, ac ad utilem Systematum maiorum lectionem feliciter praeparabuntur, imprimis si ad privatam et diligentem Scholiorum lectionibus et quaestionibus Dietericianis subjunctorum perlectionem ex manuactione Praeceptoris se frequenter applicuerint.

Quoted from "Johann Konrad Arnoldis Schulordnungen für das Darmstädter Paedagog, 1708," cited in Diehl, *Die Schulordnungen des Grossherzogtums Hessen*, vol 27, 208–09. For the sake of comparison, the following Arnoldis prescription for instruction of Dieterich's *Institutiones* for the third class (Tertia):

Methodus: Pietatis praxis et principia solidiora articulorum fidei secundum ductum institutionum Dietericianarum, ex quaestionibus earum et repositionibus, confirmantur, ita ut quaestionum sensus ipse primum a Praeceptore explicetur, responsiones accurate a discipulis memoriae mandentur, qui quaesiti prompte, clare et tarde respondeant, Germanice pro temporis et progressuum ratione explicantur, dicta scripturae probantia et in Germanico et Graeco textu evolvantur, potiora memoriae mandentur, in quibus probationis nervus et primarium punctum consistat, a Praeceptore ostendatur, medius probandi terminus eruatur, atque modus syllogismo includendi commonstretur, simulque haec classis excitetur, ut diligentur attendendo ex superioribus classis primae addiscat syllogismorum ab adversariis objectorum solutionem, pariterque ex capite expositio vitam christianam in vera pietate instituere.

Quoted from "Johann Konrad Arnoldis Schulordnungen für das Darmstädter Paedagog, 1708," cited in Diehl, *Die Schulordnungen des Grossherzogtums Hessen*, vol. 27, 204–05.

The third lesson is taken from Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae*. This book is long-winded and costs too much time to go through. To memorize in Latin everything which is in the German catechism is regarded by many as pedantry, torture of the memory, and a waste of time soon to be forgotten, and has gotten poor returns from these school-martyrs.<sup>55</sup>

But Mickelius was only a teacher, not an administrator with the power to choose other options.

So in spite of Mickelius' less-than-enthusiastic appraisal of Dieterich's catechisms, the Darmstadt *Paedagogium* continued to use the *Institutiones Catecheticae* for another thirty-five years.<sup>56</sup>

Other critics of Dieterich's catechisms were gentler, yet still not satisfied. In 1735 *Paedagogiarth* Benner of the Giessen school reported on the lectures at the schools on the subject of theology (as it was now called):

In Theology, until this time the *Institutiones Catecheticae* of the sainted Dr. Dieterich has been taught in the first class, the smaller compendium of the same in the second class, as well as the German catechism of the sainted Dr. Rudrauff in the third class. But consequently, all three aforementioned books, while erudite, cannot be learned well, partly because many things are presented [in a manner] too difficult and scholastic for the youth, and partly because of the order and basic teaching. Thus, in the first class an academic compendium would be more desired, since those students in the *Paedagogium* who

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<sup>55</sup> Quoted from "Die Sciagraphia lectionum für das Darmstädter Paedagog von Johann Friedrich Mickelius, 1717," cited in Diehl, *Die Schulordnungen des Grossherzogtums Hessen*, vol. 27, 232.

Das dritte Pensum sind Dieterici Institutiones Catecheticae. Dieses Buch ist weitläufig und kostet viele Zeit durchzugehen. Alles, was in Catechesi Germanica steht, lateinisch zu memoriren, wird vielen als eine Pedanterey, Carnificin der memorie und Zeitverderb in futuram oblivionem angesehen werden, wie dann auch von dieser Schulmarter schlechten Nutzen erlangt habe.

<sup>56</sup> Dieterich's *Institutiones* was replaced at Darmstadt by Freylinghausen's *Compendium* in 1752. Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (1670–1739) was a close associate of August Hermann Francke in Halle. His *Compendium, oder Kurtzer Begriff der gantzen Christlichen Lehre in XXXIV. Articuln* (Halle, 1705), commonly replaced Dieterich's catechisms in Lutheran schools in the eighteenth century.

afterwards are dedicated to theology receive the same [instruction] in a broader and more detailed exposition by the professor of theology ....<sup>57</sup>

Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* was finally discontinued at Giessen in 1775, after 162 years of use. Diehl reports that on the occasion a Professor Schultz from Giessen offered this comment on Dieterich's catechism: "This book is suitable for students who have already had a year of dogmatic, moral, and polemical [theology]; it is not suitable for pupils of the *Paedagogium*."<sup>58</sup> From Mickelius through Benner and now Schultz the objection is basically the same: Dieterich is simply too much for students to handle. Keeping him makes teaching difficult at best and will kill interest in the subject. Were students less capable than generations before? One would expect they theoretically ought to have had the intellectual horsepower, but perhaps as noted earlier, the times were changing and the instructors were not adjusting so that Dieterich seemed out of step—unsuitable.

## Ulm

The use of Dieterich's catechetical works in Ulm has been discussed extensively in previous chapters. It is an understatement perhaps to say that his catechisms merely played a significant role in Ulm during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The *Gymnasium academicum* in Ulm officially discontinued the use of Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* in

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<sup>57</sup> Quoted from the "Gießener Paedagogordnung, 1735 ... Benner's Bericht," cited in Diehl, *Die Schulordnungen des Grossherzogtums Hessen*, vol. 27, 249.

In Theologicis hat man bis anher des Seel. D. Dieterici institutiones catecheticas maiores in prima classe, und eben desselbigen kleineres Compendium in secunda, gleichwie des S. D. Rudraufs teutschen Catechismus in tertia dociret. Nachdeme aber in allen drey erwehnten, sonst gelehrten Büchern, theils viele Sachen vor die Jugend zu schwer und scholastisch vorgetragen, theils die Ordnung und Zusammenhang der Grundlehren daraus nicht wohl erlernet werden kan; Also wäre in prima classe ein compendium academicum um so mehr zu wünschen, als nachgehends die zur Theologie gewidmete paedagogici eben dasselbe unter einer weiteren und ausführlicher Erklärung des Professoris theologiae begreifen ....

<sup>58</sup> "Dies Buch gehöre vor studiosos, die schon ein Jahr Dogmatic, Moral, Polemik gehöret, aber nicht vor Paedagogschüler." Diehl, *Die Schulordnungen des Grossherzogtums Hessen*, vol. 28, 318–19.

1801, 185 years after the book was first introduced into the city in 1616.<sup>99</sup> It appears that the *Epitome Catecheticorum Praeceptorum* also was no longer used in Ulm after this time.

Dieterich's *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers* was the official catechism of the churches and German schools in Ulm from its initial publication in 1616 until 1680, and its unofficial use continued for over a century afterward (this catechism was last printed in Ulm in 1781).

The church orders from Ulm offer no hard reason why Dieterich's works were no longer used. They are simply left off the list. But we have seen the comments from elsewhere—the criticism at Heilbronn about doing catechesis in Latin when the trend was to German, and the complaints in Hesse about the detailed argumentation that bored students. One wonders if those are not rooted in a larger issue that is seen more clearly in hindsight: this was no longer the age of the Reformation, nor even of Orthodoxy. As serviceable as Dieterich's catechisms might have been for many years, by the end of the eighteenth and start of the nineteenth centuries, the larger culture had changed. The Enlightenment had offered its challenges and Romanticism now posed different questions. If a place such as Ulm had cast its lot with the new trends, Dieterich would certainly have fallen from favor. But even if church officials were trying to hold the line, it is easy to imagine they might look for a newer text that teachers could more easily use to teach contemporary problems. In either case it is remarkable that Dieterich lasted in Ulm into the early 1800s.

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<sup>99</sup> Johannes Greiner, "Geschichte der Ulmer Schule," in *Geschichte des Humanistischen Schulwesens in Württemberg. II. Ulm, Oberschwaben*, vol. 20 (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1914), 78. Greiner notes that the "polemical commentary" [polemischen Kommentars] was omitted from the instruction after 1774 (75f.). The *Institutiones Catecheticae* was replaced in the Ulm *Gymnasium academicum* by two works. For students destined for theology, the new text was the *Epitome theologiae christianae* (first published in 1789) of Leipzig theology professor Samuel Friedrich Nathaniel Morus (1736–92). Students intending to enter other fields read the *Anleitung zum Studium der populären Dogmatik* (first published in 1779) by Jena professor theology Johann Jakob Griesbach (1745–1812). Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* had become part of the theological instruction at the *Gymnasium academicum* in Ulm in the early years of the eighteenth century, and was apparently no longer read at the lower *Gymnasium* level. Beginning in 1714, the *Gymnasium academicum* had a professor of catechetical theology.

It is perhaps impossible to know for certain all of the schools and churches in which Dieterich's catechisms were used. In many cases, the specific use of Dieterich's works was never indicated, or any records have been lost. In addition, the information detailed here was that only available to the researcher, and more might surface. After all, this is only part of a conversation, so to speak. There is plenty to talk about when it comes to Dieterich, for his catechisms are known to have been widely used in territories and cities as seen in the evidence from *Schulordnungen* or histories of schools: Danzig, Emden, Königsberg, Lindau, Neuruppin, Nördlingen, Rostock, Schwäbisch-Hall, Siebenbürgischen Sachsen (including Hermannstadt, Kronstadt, Mediasch, Schässburg), Stade, Steig, Stralsund, and Wismar. Some are in the neighborhood of Giessen and Ulm. Others are far afield. Taken together they speak highly of Dieterich's serviceability if not popularity.

### **Criticism of the Use of Dieterich's Catechisms in Schools**

Writing in 1942, Ulm historian Julius Endriß relates a parable told sometime in the late eighteenth century by Johann Martin Miller, professor at the *Gymnasium academicum* and *Münsterprediger* in Ulm.<sup>60</sup> Endriß refers to Miller as "one of the most courageous critics" of the old system of education in Ulm, and describes him as one who called for extensive improvements and reforms in the school there.<sup>61</sup> As Miller's parable goes, the *Gymnasium* in Ulm was like a coat which had been made by an excellent master tailor at the beginning of the seventeenth century. At that time, the coat was judged to be a very good fit. In the years that followed it was altered and mended here and there, which continued to give it life. But the old coat was worn all the time, and as it got more and more new spots, it began to look worse and worse. There was no

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<sup>60</sup> This parable is told in Julius Endriß, *Die Ulmer Aufklärung 1750-1810* (Ulm: Höhn, 1942), 64. Johann Martin Miller d. J. (1750–1814) was Professor of Greek and natural law at the Ulm *Gymnasium academicum* after 1781. Miller became *Münsterprediger* in 1783, was named *Katechet* in the *Barfüßerkirche* in Ulm in 1793, and became professor of catechetical theology at the *Gymnasium academicum* in 1797.

<sup>61</sup> Endriß, 64, ["Einer der tapfersten Kritiker, der jüngere Dr. Miller..."].

single sad episode. It just gradually looked shabby. Finally, it was decided that a new coat should be made. Miller told this parable to illustrate the need for substantive changes at the Ulm school, one of which was to abandon “das Kompendium Konrad Dieterichs,” the *Institutiones Catecheticae*. When the change in textbooks finally came around the end of the eighteenth century, the opinion was expressed that there were other dogmatics texts out there in the world besides Dieterich’s from 1613.<sup>62</sup> But by then it had been two hundred years.

In his *Schneiderparabel* Miller was talking of Ulm’s curriculum in general. But it is easy to apply the analogy to the catechism of Dieterich, a central feature of theological education and likely an old coat for those in Ulm toward the end of the eighteenth century. Designed and made by a master tailor of generations long past, it had been used for a very long time, until, worn and faded and ill-fitting, it was thought that the time for a new coat made from a new pattern had arrived.

After such a long period of continuous use in Ulm and many other places, it is perhaps understandable that schools would wish to discontinue using Dieterich’s catechetical works. It is actually amazing that they had not done so years before. In many cases, no reason is given in the *Schulordnungen* or in the histories as to why the works were abandoned. However, some general observations may be made in this regard. First, changes in school curricula seem to have played a role. Times change and call for change in the content and approach to any number of subjects including catechetical or religious instruction. This meant that either the way catechisms were used needed to be adapted to meet the new circumstances, or the texts themselves were simply dropped in favor of new, better-fitting ones. In addition, schools in later years introduced more instruction in the German language, making a German catechism more useful and appropriate for teaching and learning than a catechism in Latin, especially one as detailed as Dieterich’s. Beyond

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<sup>62</sup> Endriß, 64, 67.



mere detail, the method of Dieterich's instruction, particularly in the *Institutiones Catecheticae*, relied heavily on dialectic, an advantage in his day but an approach that now rendered Dieterich's approach awkward or obsolete. Over time, some schools found Dieterich's method too complex and difficult for students to follow, and the memorization of so much material was also a formidable obstacle to students. Many schools used Dieterich's dialectic texts alongside his catechetical works as a way to align students with Dieterich's thinking, but nevertheless, changes in the teaching of and the emphasis (or de-emphasis!) on dialectic in schools made Dieterich's approach less palatable.

Perhaps the most common, if not the chief, complaint about Dieterich's catechisms was in regard to their content. Many educators thought that they were too dogmatic for catechetical instruction in Latin schools. Instead, it was asserted, Dieterich's catechisms—primarily here the *Institutiones Catecheticae*—should be reserved for those destined to study theology at the university level, or should even be texts read at the university. No complaint has been discovered from this period charging Dieterich with unorthodox teaching, only that his orthodox teaching was too extensive. In addition, in later years, Dieterich's inclusion of much polemical material was often considered unnecessary or irrelevant for catechetical instruction.

These are good examples of the use of the catechisms being so far removed from their original context and purpose that they became nearly unintelligible to teachers and students. In 1613, when Dieterich first published his *Institutiones*, he likely would have asserted that, given his circumstances and needs, his catechism was supposed to be dogmatic and polemic. Yet, later generations of educators, faced with different situations and requirements—indeed, faced with daily task of practically applying the teaching of the catechism to young students—perhaps found Dieterich's work out of place and out of time. That is putting the best construction on things. At the same time one cannot help but wonder if the Enlightenment's criticism—

disdain—of just this sort of dogmatics defended by just this approach might not have nudged officials toward a change. The best scenario is the one just sketched: a need to have a new text that more immediately engaged these challenges. But given the erosion of classic orthodoxy that occurred widely—so widely and well known that it hardly needs to be documented—it could be that the substance of Dieterich, not just method or application, no longer suited. His theology no longer fit. They now “knew better.” Could the Enlightenment be behind this? Plenty of other classic texts fell victim. And we would not necessarily expect officials to go out of their way to say so. Outside critics of Christianity were read. Within the church we would not expect officials to echo those criticisms in the same way. It is more likely, given their interests and professional positions, that they would modernize (e.g., retire Dieterich) and move on.

What is perhaps more significant than the reasons why Dieterich’s catechisms were discontinued is the simple fact that they were used for such an extended and unbroken period of time. That Dieterich’s texts were read in schools, in some cases, for well over one hundred to even two hundred years, is a testament to the impact the writings had and the role they played in Lutheran religious instruction in schools during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But the influence of Dieterich’s catechisms and the role they played would continue. A little over fifty years after the use of Dieterich’s texts was officially discontinued in Ulm, one of those texts was resurrected among Lutherans in a new land.

### **Dieterich’s Catechisms in North America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries**

The final section of this chapter considers key elements regarding the use of Dieterich’s catechetical works in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in North America. We turn to the adoption and adaptation of Dieterich’s *Epitome Catechetica* by The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, and then survey the use of the Synod’s catechism in other American Lutheran church

bodies. What follows also comments on the German translation and publication of Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* in St. Louis in the late nineteenth century and briefly takes up the question of whether the works were successful or not in this more recent American context. Finally, this section looks quickly at the impact of Dieterich's catechetical writings in North American Lutheranism.

### **Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica* and The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod<sup>63</sup>**

Like many immigrants leaving Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the German Lutherans coming to North America brought with them their Bibles, hymnbooks, devotional literature and catechisms. In the earliest days of its history in America, The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod had no official catechism. Several catechetical texts were in use, most brought from the German lands. The first synodical convention in 1847 had given the president of the Synod the responsibility of overseeing catechetical instruction in churches and schools.<sup>64</sup> At the 1854 convention, the question of a selecting a catechism for Synodwide use was brought up, and synodical President C. F. W. Walther recommended “the catechism of Conrad Dieterich” as possible candidate for adoption.<sup>65</sup> In Walther's view, Dieterich's catechism was deficient only

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<sup>63</sup> The history of the use of Dieterich's catechism in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod has been thoroughly researched in Richard George Maassel, “A History of the Early Catechisms of the Missouri Synod” (S.T.M. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1957). See also Stephen Carter, “Catechisms in the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod: An Historical Survey,” in *Teaching the Faith: Luther's Catechisms in Perspective*, ed. Carl Volz (River Forest: Lutheran Education Association, 1967), 57–76.

<sup>64</sup> The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, *Erster Synodal-Bericht*, 1847 (St. Louis: Arthur Olshausen, 1847), 10.

<sup>65</sup> The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. *Achter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u.a. Staaten vom Jahre 1854* (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 1854) 245: “... so machte Professor Walther auf den vortrefflichen Conrad Dietrich'schen Katechismus aufmerksam ....” Walther was most certainly referring to Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica*. The text of the *Epitome* used by the Synod as the basis of its Dieterich catechism is one descended from the 1615 Ulm edition, rather than the earliest Giessen editions. It appears that Walther would have preferred to have a new catechism written especially for use in the Synod, but did not have the time to write one himself, and so suggested Dieterich's *Epitome* as possible alternative. See Maassel, 41, 54.

in its sections on “Kirche und Amt,” a topic that had troubled the fledgling church body and needed more attention than Dieterich found necessary in his day. Walther suggested that additions be made and that the book be printed.<sup>66</sup> The Synod directed the St. Louis pastoral conference to revise, emend, and expand the catechism as needed. The *Epitome Catechetica* was reissued and expanded in translation under the direction of Walther, and became the Synod’s first official catechism at its adoption in 1857.<sup>67</sup>

Why was Dieterich’s *Epitome Catechetica* supported by early leaders of the Missouri Synod? There are several possible reasons why it was regarded as a good choice. First, apart from its potential use in congregations, Dieterich’s was a school catechism and could be useful for religious instruction in the many parish schools that were being established in the Synod. Before the Synod was even organized, the Saxon immigrants had begun a school—Concordia College, today Concordia Seminary in St. Louis—that at that time had students from grade-school level up. Education and schools quickly became a hallmark for these Lutherans. Moreover, Dieterich’s catechism taught orthodox Lutheran doctrine, and could ensure that future generations of Lutherans in America would also be trained up faithfully in the Lutheran teaching and practice. One reason these Germans came was to leave behind theology influenced by the Enlightenment. While German lands left Dieterich behind, it was because of his older theology that the Missourians brought Dieterich with them. Finally, and perhaps most importantly for the Synod,

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<sup>66</sup> *Achter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev.- Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u.a. Staaten vom Jahre 1854*, 245, [“nur in den Artikeln von Kirche und Amt mangelhaft”].

<sup>67</sup> The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. *Neunter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev.- Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u.a. Staaten vom Jahre 1857* (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 1857), 360. The new catechism bore this title: *Dr. Martin Luthers Kleiner Katechismus in Frage und Antwort gründlich ausgelegt von Dr. Johann Conrad Dietrich, weiland Superintendent zu Ulm, mit Zusätzen aus dem Dresdner Kreuz=Katechismus und den Bekenntnißschriften der ev.=luth. Kirche, und mit Sprüchen der heil. Schrift versehen* (St. Louis: August Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1858). This catechism would be reprinted numerous times over the next fifty years. It may also be noted that the Missouri Synod mistakenly referred to Dieterich as “Johann Conrad Dietrich.” A nephew of Conrad Dieterich named Johann Conrad Dieterich (1612–67) was a professor of classical philology at the University of Giessen.

Dieterich's text was based on Luther's Small Catechism. The catechism contained the complete text of Luther within its pages and expounded Luther's teaching clearly and thoroughly.

The Missouri Synod's new translation of Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica* contained additions from Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae*, the Formula of Concord, and the *Dresdener Kreuz-Catechismus*.<sup>68</sup> Inserted into the text were a large number of additional Scripture passages, perhaps a nod to the Reformation *sola Scriptura* even as theology in some circles became increasingly philosophical. The catechism was repeatedly printed and used in the Missouri and Ohio Synods. An abridgment was published in 1870.<sup>69</sup> The Ohio Synod translated the Missouri Synod's Dieterich catechism into English in 1872,<sup>70</sup> and the Missouri Synod published this translation in 1902.<sup>71</sup>

A new catechism, based to a large extent on the Missouri Synod's Dieterich catechism, was introduced for use in the Synod in 1896.<sup>72</sup> However, the old Dieterich catechism was still widely used in churches and schools well into the third decade of the twentieth century. It had been, after all, an approved catechism. The subsequent catechisms used by The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod have borne the strong mark of Dieterich's influence. To a large degree,

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<sup>68</sup> The *Dresdener Kreuz-Catechismus*: *D. Martin Luthers kleiner Katechismus auf Churf. Durchl. Zu Sachsen Gnaedigsten Befehl Vom Ministerio Z. Kreuz in Dresden* (Dresden, 1688). This catechism had been printed for in New York for use in the Buffalo Synod. It was one of the catechisms used unofficially in the Missouri Synod in its early days.

<sup>69</sup> *Auszug aus dem Katechismus von Dr. Johann Conrad Dietrich* (St. Louis: Druckerei von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1870). This abridgement reduced the 611 questions in the original Missouri Synod's Dieterich catechism down to 154. It appears to have been a popular edition, and went through at least ten printings by 1883.

<sup>70</sup> *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism, Explained in Questions and Answers by Dr. J.C. Dietrich, with additions from the Dresden Catechism and the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and with additional proof passages from the Holy Scripture* (Columbus: Schulze & Gassmann, 1872).

<sup>71</sup> *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism, Explained in Questions and Answers by Dr. J.C. Dietrich, with additions from the Dresden Catechism and the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and with additional proof passages from the Holy Scripture* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1902).

<sup>72</sup> The so-called "Schwan Catechism" was published first in German: *Kurze Auslegung des Kleinen Katechismus Dr. Martin Luthers* (St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1896), then in English: *A Short Exposition of Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1900). In 1912, this catechism was published in bilingual editions.

these are descendants of Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica* in their basic doctrinal content and methodological approach.

### **The Use of the *Epitome Catechetica* in Other Lutheran Church Bodies**

Dieterich's catechetical work was also employed by other Lutherans in North America and found a niche back in Germany. As has just been noted, the Missouri Synod commissioned a new German translation of Dieterich's *Epitome Catechetica* in 1854. In the late nineteenth century, Dieterich's catechism returned to Germany when the Lutheran Free Church of Saxony imported copies of the Missouri Synod's Dieterich Catechism for use in its congregations and schools that stood apart from the territorial church.<sup>73</sup> In 1875 the Norwegian Synod translated the Missouri Synod's Dieterich catechism into Norwegian for use in its churches and schools.<sup>74</sup>

In 1876 Dieterich's *Institutiones Catecheticae* was translated into German and published by Friedrich Wilhelm August Notz.<sup>75</sup> Notz (1841–1922) was a Lutheran pastor in the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod and professor of Greek and Hebrew at the Synod's Northwestern University in Watertown, Wisconsin. This translation reads as if it were intended not for students but for pastors and teachers. It most likely served as a guide to prepare them for doing catechetical instruction. Although published in St. Louis, there is no evidence that the translation was used officially in any schools of the Missouri Synod.

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<sup>73</sup> The "Synode der lutherischen Freikirche von Sachsen und anderen Staaten" held close ties to its American relations, using the hymnal and the Dieterich catechism of the Missouri Synod, published and printed in St. Louis. See Paul Drews, *Das kirchliche Leben der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Landeskirche des Königreichs Sachsen* (Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902), 301.

<sup>74</sup> *Grundig Forklaring over Dr. Martin Luthers lille Katechismus Fremstillet i Spoergsmaall og Svar af Dr. Johann Conrad Dietrich Med Tilfoielser fra Dresdener Kreuz-Katechismus og den evangelisk= lutherske Kirkes Bekjendelsesskrifter samt med Sprog af den hellige Skrift og med tvende Anhang* (Decorah, Iowa: Den norske Synodes Forlag, 1875).

<sup>75</sup> *D. Conrad Dieterichs Institutiones Catecheticae das ist, gründliche Auslegung des Katechismus D. Martin Luthers in Frage und Antwort und mit Anmerkungen versehen. Aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt von D. Friedrich Wilhelm August Notz* (St. Louis & Leipzig: F. Dette, 1876). This translation was reissued in a second, corrected and expanded edition in 1896.

## The Impact of and Response to Dieterich's Catechisms in North America

Dieterich's impact on Lutheran catechesis and catechisms in North America has been considerable. In The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod his catechisms, in adapted form, was used officially for only thirty-nine years, but its unofficial influence has lasted to the present day. Its content and approach to the instruction of Luther's Small Catechism has had a lasting effect on catechesis in churches and schools in the Synod, even though today's teachers and students may not be aware of the roots. In this respect, it may be argued that the use of Dieterich's catechisms in North America was successful.

Public response to the Missouri Synod's Dieterich catechism was not wholly positive.<sup>76</sup> Many were pleased with the catechism when it was first issued and the Synod as a whole obviously wanted it. Some, however, found it too complicated, too long, hard to commit to memory, and difficult to teach.<sup>77</sup> The Synod sought to address these concerns. As noted above, an abridgment of the catechism was made in 1870. In the 1860s, many pastors and teachers expressed the wish for a commentary on the catechism, complaining that the instruction in it was too hard for them to understand and too complex to teach to students. This was provided in an extended series printed in the *Evangelisch-lutherisches Schulblatt*, the official paper for Lutheran schools in the Synod, in the late 1870s. Some pastors and teachers simply found another catechism to use.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Maassel details much of the criticism from within the Synod and from without (Maassel, 48ff.).

<sup>77</sup> Such complaints in America among those who were no friends of the Enlightenment suggest that similar comments in Germany may well have been meant in earnest—at least by some—and were not simply cover to an unspoken Enlightenment—based on dissatisfaction.

<sup>78</sup> See Maassel, 59. Complaints of it being too difficult to understand raise questions beyond this study: assuming pastors and teachers gave an honest effort, why did they have problems? Had their own education eroded so they had difficulty? Or were the first Missourians that much closer to Europe's problems that now they were no longer so clearly seen?

In spite of the criticism, for the most part, Dieterich's catechism appears to have been well received in the Missouri Synod. Writing in 1944, August Conrad Stellhorn said this about the catechism:

From a theological and Christian pedagogical standpoint, this [Dieterich] catechism was indeed an "excellent catechism" and has never been surpassed; only it was quite heavy in language for children—not too elaborate or heavy, however, to serve those earlier generations well for years and years, although we are wont to think of them occasionally as less literate than our "enlightened" age.<sup>79</sup>

When The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod officially adopted a new catechism in 1896, it did not repeal the former resolution of the Synod in 1857 adopting Dieterich's catechism for use in its congregations and schools. It did so because it was clear that "no doubt, Dietrich will be used with blessed results also in the future, especially in the instruction of more advanced children ...."<sup>80</sup> Even after the new synodical catechism began to roll off the presses in 1896, Dieterich's catechism would remain in print and continue to be used for decades. Over the next ten years alone, 71,491 copies of the Dieterich catechism were sold to congregations and schools in the Synod.<sup>81</sup> In 1905, Dieterich's catechism was still used as a textbook for English catechetics at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis.

### Conclusion

As has been documented here, the catechisms of Conrad Dieterich found reception in schools and churches, building on a lively German history in North America spanning more than three centuries. Many educators and students on both sides of the Atlantic used Dieterich's texts

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<sup>79</sup> August Conrad Stellhorn, "Origin and Anniversary of the Schwan Catechism," *Lutheran School Journal* 79 (1944): 200. Stellhorn (1887–1964) was the Secretary of Schools of the Missouri Synod from 1921 to 1960.

<sup>80</sup> The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, *Dreiundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, 1896* (St. Louis; Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1896), 113.

<sup>81</sup> "The Missouri Synod and Dietrich's Catechism," *Theological Quarterly* 10 (1906): 152 (no author given).



according to his original intention and purpose, while, as time went on, others adapted them to suit their own needs and circumstances. Were Dieterich's catechetical works a success or a failure? How can the success or failure of catechisms be measured? If success is measured by dozens of printings and by their official use in scores of educational institutions and congregations in various lands, then the answer is yes, the works were a success. If success is gauged by consistent use over an extended period of time, then again, the answer is yes. Yet the question of success or failure must be asked in terms of Dieterich's own objectives for his catechisms. His intention was to communicate—to teach—the fundamental message of the evangelical Christian faith and life to young people. They, in turn, were expected to learn what they were taught. It seems manifestly clear that Dieterich did not fail in this regard and that generations of young Lutherans were taught using his catechisms. The doctrine was handed on and maintained despite changes over the centuries. Any author, any teacher, would be pleased.

## CONCLUSION

In the autumn of 1617, the churches in Ulm commemorated the one-hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the Reformation. The celebrations in the Ulm *Münster* included special services with congregational singing, jubilee sermons, and prayers of thanksgiving, and Conrad Dieterich preached a sermon about Luther, focusing on the fundamentals of the reformer's evangelical message. Even the children were called upon to help mark the occasion. At one of the services, the pastors of the church examined boys and girls from the city's Latin and German schools on Luther's Small Catechism in the presence of the entire congregation.<sup>1</sup> The including of a catechetical drill as part of the festivities indicates how the catechism was understood in Ulm in Dieterich's day. Luther's catechism defined the teachings of Luther's Reformation—the clear, simple message of the Gospel. When the children of the congregation rehearsed the catechism they were celebrating its teaching, but they were also identifying themselves as heirs of Luther's Reformation message.

One hundred years after Luther, Dieterich faced the challenge of communicating the spirit and substance of the Reformation era to the people of his own day. His task was a little like catching lightning in a bottle, but thankfully for Dieterich, Luther's lightning was in his pen. The Small Catechism expressed Luther's faith. It taught the heart and soul of his evangelical message, and it was with this that Dieterich began his own teaching. Times had changed since the

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<sup>1</sup> Dieterich, *Zwo Ulmische Jubel und Danckpredigten bey dem auff Christliche Anordnung eines Ehrames Raths den 2. Novemb. 1617. Jahrs hochfeyrlich begangenem Evangelischen Jubelfest/ daselbsten im Münster gehalten/ Die Erste den 2. Novemb. von Den vornembsten Geschichten/so sich innerhalb denen nechstverflossenen hunderst Jahren/bey Erweck und vortpflanzung deß Evangelii in der Ulmischen Kirchen verlauffen; Die Ander den 6. Novemb. Von der Frag/ Ob die Evangelische Lutherische Lehr ein Newe nuhr hundertzjährige Lehr seye?* (Ulm: Meder, 1618), 91.

Reformation, but the times could not change the message of Luther's catechism and its meaning for the people in Dieterich's day.

Like generations of Lutherans after Luther, Conrad Dieterich made Luther's Small Catechism his own. He did not simply borrow from the catechism, but he adopted it, regarding it as an inheritance, a precious treasure bequeathed to all Christians. Certainly Luther was a figure held in the highest esteem by Lutherans of Dieterich's day, but what Luther taught was of greater significance. In the catechism, he summarized and explained the teachings of God's Word, and those teachings, simply and plainly stated by Luther, were the jewels. Dieterich himself considered the Small Catechism "a golden treasure instructing thousands of souls to eternal life."<sup>2</sup> Since the biblical message of the catechism was the key thing to be communicated, the manner in which it was presented was secondary for Dieterich. And of course, there was more to the teaching of the Scriptures than was found in the catechism. The catechism itself was viewed as the place to start—it was the basis for all further instruction in the biblical teaching. It presented the chief teachings of the Christian faith, from which all others derived.

Given his task of presenting the catechetical teaching to students in the Giessen *Paedagogium*, Dieterich was not content merely to make Luther's Small Catechism itself the object of instruction. Rather, he took Luther's text as a foundation—even a framework—upon which to construct a fuller teaching of Christianity, especially for faith, but also for life. The method he applied in this work, adapted from the dialectical approach of Petrus Ramus and

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<sup>2</sup> "... D. Luther das güldin Kleinod seines Catechismi an Tag geben/und dadurch viel tausend Seelen zum ewigen Leben unterrichte ...." Dieterich, *Catechismus Predigt. Darin von fleissiger Übung des Catechismi in denen Häuptstücken Christlicher Lehr gehandelt/und Ursachen außgeführt werden/ warumb dieselbig unter gemeinen Leuten fleissig zu treiben seye. Gehalten zu Ulm am Sonntag nach der H. drey Könige Tag den 8. Januarii Anno 1626. Als daselbsten eine neue Ordnung mit der Praxi des Catechismi publiciert worden.* Published in: *D. Cunrad Dieterichs/Ulmischer Kirchen Superintendenten, Sonderbarer Predigten/So von unterschiedenen Materien/Hiebevor zu Ulm im Münster gehalten/deren theils schon allbereit in offenen Truck außgegangen/theils jetzo von newem darinn verfertiget worden/ Vierdter Theil. Darinnen die Sontägliche Evangelische Text=Predigten begrieffen werden. Auff sonderbar Begehren zusammen gedruckt.* (Schleusingen: Zacharias Schürer, Matthias Götz, 1634), 120.

Aristotle, gave shape and direction to his catechetical teaching. Dieterich added to the message of Luther's catechism, commenting and elaborating on its simple content, and in the end he produced a dogmatic interpretation and exposition of the catechism that Luther scarcely would have recognized.

Dieterich sought to communicate the message of the catechism in so much added depth and detail, perhaps because he wanted to preserve it. But in expanding and fortifying the message he did not want to lose, he ran the risk of burying it. The tradition that Dieterich himself passed on to the next generation of Lutherans contained Luther's catechism, but it was also a tradition with a different approach, content, and emphasis.

Though it may sound odd to say this amid the intricacies of his dialectic, Dieterich was first and foremost a practical theologian and a teacher. It is important to emphasize that he designed and wrote his Latin catechisms for a very specific purpose. As the dissertation has noted, Dieterich intended that his catechisms be read by the most advanced students in Latin schools and *Gymnasia*. Many of them would continue their studies at the university. These students would have already learned Luther's Small Catechism well, and with that grounding they proceeded with Dieterich's amplified instruction on the catechism. In addition, these students would have already attained a fairly high level of knowledge in the other subjects in the curriculum, especially dialectic and rhetoric. In the Giessen and Ulm schools, Dieterich's textbooks in catechetics, dialectic, and rhetoric were read as part of a coordinated curriculum and students were expected to have a comprehensive understanding of all of these subjects. For this reason, Dieterich's application of dialectic in his catechetical instruction was considered appropriate for his students. It was in these circumstances, and for these students, that Dieterich wrote his catechisms.

Dieterich had no control over what happened to his catechisms once they landed in other hands. Educators in schools all over the German lands adopted his works, employing them as textbooks for their students. As has been shown, some recognized Dieterich's intentions for the books and followed them even as Dieterich would have. Other later teachers, however, often lost sight of the original purposes and goals.

Ferdinand Cohrs observed that catechisms such as Dieterich's became a "Vorbild"—a model—for catechesis, even for the instruction of regular folks in congregations.<sup>3</sup> Although critical of Dieterich and the dogmatic and polemical content of his catechisms, Cohrs is correct that Dieterich's approach did serve as an example of how to teach the catechism. For generations, Lutheran teachers took Dieterich's instruction as their model. For countless thousands of Lutheran students, Dieterich's was *the* way of learning and understanding Luther's catechism. During a long stretch in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Dieterich's catechisms were the example to be followed, but for many they eventually became the hurdle to overcome. Like the parable from Ulm suggested, it was time to find a new pattern, to make a new coat.

As important as Dieterich's catechisms were, in the end, Luther's Small Catechism survived Conrad Dieterich, and the story of its life after Dieterich is a subject worthy of future scholarship. The amount of Lutheran catechetical and instructional literature from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is vast and largely unexplored. A consideration of the catechisms that replaced Dieterich's could provide insight as to how later Lutherans understood the role of the catechism in teaching the Christian faith. Scholars may want to examine what impact Luther's catechism had on the lives of people during this period, to understand what message it conveyed to them and what they did with it. Analyzing the intentions and goals of the writers of these

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<sup>3</sup> Ferdinand Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*. Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, vol. 23, (Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1902), 416–17. Certainly other critics, such as Johann Michael Reu and Hans-Jürgen Fraas, would agree with Cohr's assessment of Dieterich's catechetical approach and the dangers it presented.

other catechisms could uncover much about what they sought to communicate to their audience, opening a window on the history of Lutheran faith and piety and revealing how, through the catechism, new generations became heirs of Luther's Reformation message.

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*Institutiones Rhetoricae, e probatissimis veterum ac recentiorum oratorum interpretibus studiose conscriptae, variisque exemplis tam sacris quam philologicis in usum Paedagogii Giesseni illustrata. Giessen: Nikolaus Hampel, 1613.*

*Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers/ be=neben den Fragen deß Summari=schen begriffs der sechs Hauptstucken Christlicher Lehr/ &c. Mit Angehengetem Christli=cher Unterricht/ für Junge vnd einfältige Leut/ welche begehren zum Heyligen Abend=mal zugehen/ Auch etliche Kinder= vnd Schulgebettlein/ Für Vlmische Kirchen vnnnd Schulen in Statt vnd Land. Ulm: Jonas Saur, 1629.*

*Kurtzer Außzug Der Catechismus Unterweisung So der Ehrwürdige und Hochgelahrte Herr Conradus Dieterich der H. Schrift Doctor, und der Ulmischen Kirchen Pfarrer und Superintendenten, dabevor in Lateinischer Sprach Publiciret ... Durch M. Ludovicum Seltzerum. Giessen, 1619.*

*Poenitalia Davidica, Die Sieben Bußpsalmen deß Königlichen Propheten Davidts/ in vnterschiedenen Predigten erkläret vnd außgelegt/ Sampt beygefügtten Lehren/ Vnderricht/ Trost/ Straff/ Ermahn= vnnd Warnung/Auch allerhand Sectirischer Irrthumben Widerlegung/ auß Grund H. Göttlicher Schrift/ vnd Zeugnußen der Alten Kirchen Vätern/ mit fleiß zusammen getragen. Hiebevor gehalten zu Vlm im Münster/ nunmehr aber auff Be=gehren in offenen Truck geben. Durch Cunrad Dieterich/der H. Schrift Doctorn/ Vlmischer Kirchen Superintendenten. Ulm: Johann Meder, 1620.*

*Rector & Praeceptor bonus: Descriptus, ET IN PUBLICUM PROSCENIUM ILLUSTRIS SCHOLAE Ulmensis, ipsis feriis D. Johann Baptistae sacris PRODUCTUS, CUM NOVUS SCHOLAE RECTOR & Conrector, Praeceptores item VI. & V. Classium, publica Incltyti Senatus auctoritate, solemniter praesentarentur; A CUNRADO DIETERICO; THEOLOGIAE DOCTORE Superintendente & Scholarcha. Ulm: Johann Meder, 1623.*

*Vlmische Cometen Predigte, von dem Cometen, so nechst abgewichenen 1618. Jahrs im Wintermonat sich erstenmahls in Schwaben sehen lassen, Darinn nachfolgende drey Puncten gehandelt werden, 1. Was Cometen seyen. 2. Was sie bedeuten. 3. Was uns gegen deren bedeutung vorzunehmen. Gehalten zu Vlm im Münster den 2. Sonntag des Advents, Vnd Auff sonderbares begehren in offnen Druck geben/ Durch Cunrad Dieterich der H. Schrift Doctorn, dero Vlmischen Kirchen Superintendenten. Ulm: Johann Meder, 1619.*

*Vlmische Kinder Predigt/ Von Wartung/ Pflege vnnd Zucht der Jungen Kinder; Darinn neben andern die Frag außgeführt/ Obs rathsamer vnd besser sey/ daß die Mütter jhre Kinder selbst; Oder durch besondere Ammen säugen lassen; Auß dem Evangelio Lucae 2. v. 40. Am Sontag nach dem Newen Jahrstag/ zu Vlm im Münster gehalten/ Durch Cunrad Dieterich/ der heyligen Schrift Doctorn/ Vlmischer Kirchen Superintendenten. Ulm: Johann Meder, 1621.*

*Vlmischer Regenten Baum; Von dem Hohen/ grossen/ ästigen Baum/ welchen Nebucadnezar der König zu Babel im Traum gesehen/ Daniel. 4. v 8. seqq. So bey vorgehendem gewöhnlichem Schwörtag/ Sontags den 11. Augusti 1621. Jahrs/ zu Vlm im Münster erkläret vnnd außgelegt. Nunmehr aber auff begehren in Truck geben/ Durch Cunrad Dieterich/ der Heyligen Schrift Doctorn/ Vlmischer Kirchen Superintendenten. Ulm: Johann Meder, 1621.*

*Zwo Christliche Ulmische Schulpredigten/ Von dem Standt vnnnd Ampt/ frommer/ Gottseliger/ trewer Praeceptor vnd Schulmeistern/ Gehalten zu Ulm im Münster/ bey dem daselbsten gewöhnlichen Schulfest an S. Johannis Baptistae Tag/ Die Erste 1617. Die Andere 1618. Jahrs/ Jetzo aber auff begehren in öffentlichen Truck geben/ Durch Cunrad Dieterich/ der H. Schrift Doctorn/ dero Ulmischen Kirchen Superintendenten. Ulm: Johann Meder, 1618.*

*Zwo Ulmische Jubel und Danckpredigten bey dem auff Christliche Anordnung eines Ehrsamens Raths den 2. Novemb. 1617. Jahrs hochfeyrlich begangenem Evangelischen Jubelfest/ daselbsten im Münster gehalten/ Die Erste den 2. Novemb. von Den vornembsten Geschichten/ so sich innerhalb denen nechstverflossenen hunderst Jahren/ bey Erweck und vortpflanzung deß Evangelii in der Ulmischen Kirchen verlauffen; Die Ander den 6. Novemb. Von der Frag/ Ob die Evangelische Lutherische Lehr ein Neue nuhr hundertjährige Lehr seye? Ulm: Johann Meder, 1618.*

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