

# Preaching and the Shaping of Public Consciousness in Late Sixteenth-Century Tübingen: Martin Crusius' *Corona Anni*\*

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## I. The context and making of the *Corona Anni*

In 1603, Martin Crusius, Professor of Greek and Rhetoric in the Arts Faculty of the University of Tübingen,<sup>1</sup> published a four-volume collection of sermons. He entitled his work “the crown of the year,” *Corona anni*, “that is, an explication of the gospels and epistles, as they were preached on Sundays and feast days in the Church at Tübingen by the professors of theology and others.”<sup>2</sup> The title was a reference to a verse from Psalm 65 (11): *Coronas annum benignitate tua: & vestigia tua stillant pinguedinem*, “You crown the year with your benevolence; your tracks overflow with richness.” Crusius intended his collection to show and make known the riches of the church year as it was preached in the *Stiftskirche* in Tübingen.<sup>3</sup> Just as the agricultural

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<sup>1</sup> For the life of Martin Crusius (1526–1607), see articles Karl August Klüpfel, in: ADB 4 (1876), 633f.; Hans Widmann, in: NDB 3 (1957), 433f. and Albrecht Weyermann (ed.), *Nachrichten von Gelehrten, Künstlern und andern merkwürdigen Personen aus Ulm*, Leipzig 1798; facsimile edition: *Neustadt an der Aisch 1999*, vol. 1, 128–136; Erhard Cellius, *Imagines Professorum Tubingensium*, facsimile edition ed. by Hansmartin Decker-Hauff/Wilfried Setzler, Sigmaringen 1981, vol. 2, 133f.

<sup>2</sup> The full title of Crusius’ work in Latin reads: *Corona anni: Hoc est, explicatio evangeliorum et epistolarum, quae diebus dominicis et festis in Ecclesia proponuntur: è Tubingensium, et aliorum Theologorum Concionibus*. As discussed below, the work was printed in Wittenberg; only one edition seems to have been published (cf fn. 16).

<sup>3</sup> Tübingen was Württemberg’s university town, and the *Stiftskirche* its main church. The Reformation had been introduced into Württemberg in 1534, and the university of Tübingen played a very significant role in implementing it. For the introduction of the Reformation in Württemberg,

year brings forth different fruits in different seasons, he explained in his introduction to the first volume, so too does the church year.

Crusius' work was effectively a postil, a collection of sermons on the Sunday lectionary readings.<sup>4</sup> Württemberg's *Große Kirchenordnung* (1559) instructed that the traditional pericopes continue to be used as the basis for preaching,<sup>5</sup> and also that on Saturdays teachers in Latin schools should explicate the following day's gospel reading in Greek and Latin.<sup>6</sup> In his *Corona anni*, Crusius provided a resource for this

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the transformation of Württemberg's monasteries and convents into schools and hospitals, and the role of Tübingen's *Stift*, see: Hans Mayer, 'cum patria statque caditque sua'. Das evangelische Stift als württembergisch-kirchliche Bildungseinrichtung, in: Joachim Hahn/Hans Mayer (eds.), *Das evangelische Stift in Tübingen: Geschichte und Gegenwart zwischen Zeitgeist und Frömmigkeit*, Stuttgart 1985, 11–102, and particularly 11–29; Heinrich Hermelink, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Württemberg von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart: das Reich Gottes in Württemberg* Stuttgart 1949, 60–84; Gunther Lang, *Geschichte der württembergischen Klosterschulen: von ihrer Stiftung bis zu ihrer endgültigen Verwandlung in evangelisch-theologische Seminare*, Stuttgart 1938, 3–180, esp. 25–36.

<sup>4</sup> Crusius recognises that this is the genre to which his work belongs, although he is more interested in the cyclical nature of the Church year than in defining his work. He explains that the lectionary, like the church year, is intended to reflect not only the stages of Christ's life but also the phases of human life: "Quod item queadam Majores Evangelia, qualitati partium anni accommodant: sapienter itidem factum est. Ut, temporis rationis, quatuor genera seminis: temporis esuritionis, cibatum per quinque panes: temporis passionis, bonum Pastorem Christum: temporis morbis obnoxio, aegrotantem Regii ministri filium, & excitationem filij viduae a morte. Eadem ratione, singulis quoque Evangelii Dominicis, suae Epistolae congruentes subiunctae sunt. Cum ergo sic aliud post aliud sit ordinatum: hoc post illud: factum est, ut propterea talis liber, barbaro vocabulo, POSTILLA appellari soleat. Quae res cum quotannis in orbem redeant: Graece liber nuncupatur // περίοδος εὐαγγελική, Circuitus Evangelicus." (*Corona anni* vol. 1: aiii<sup>v</sup>.) Hans-Christoph Rublack includes in his list of Lutheran postils both the *Corona anni* and another work, apparently published by Crusius in the same year: *Erklärung der Evangelien*. See Hans-Christoph Rublack, *Lutherische Predigt und gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeiten*, in: idem. (ed.), *Die lutherische Konfessionalisierung*, Gütersloh 1992, 344–395; here 384. John Frymire also includes the *Corona anni* in his catalogue of early modern postils: John Frymire, *The primacy of the postils. Catholics, Protestants, and the dissemination of ideas in early modern Germany*, Leiden 2010, 462, 478, with brief discussion 478f. n. 58. Frymire has been unable to trace a separate *Erklärung der Evangelien*, and I suspect that this is simply a German translation of the opening words of the subtitle of the *Corona anni* – *hoc est explicatio euangeliorum*[...] – rather than a reference to a separate work.

<sup>5</sup> *Württembergische Große Kirchenordnung 1559*, Tübingen 1559 (facsimile edition: Stuttgart 1968), lxxxvii<sup>v</sup>: "[Wir] achten auß allerley bedencken / für nutzlich / das auff die Sontag die gewonlichen Evangelien für vnnd für gepredigt / vnd außgelegt werden / beuorab an denen orten / da am Sontag oder Feiertag nu rein Predig gethon würdt." Consequently preachers in Tübingen, as in many other Lutheran areas, retained the use of the traditional lectionary, although, as discussed below, they clearly also preached on other passages. Hermelink asserts that the lectionary readings were soon complemented by continuous readings of the gospels and other biblical books, although he gives no evidence for this. Hermelink, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche* (cf fn. 3), 75. For the use of pericopes, their relation to postils, their persistence in German Lutheran churches, and Lutheran arguments for their antiquity, see Frymire, *The primacy of the postils* (cf n. 4), 7, 11–18, 29, 185–195, and compare also Rublack, *Lutherische Predigt* (cf fn. 4), 345–348. There was little regional variation in the late medieval period, and this consistency seems to have persisted in those areas where Protestants continued to use the traditional lectionary. Thus, the pericopes used in Tübingen and those included in Thomas Cranmer's 1549 Book of Common Prayer are strikingly similar.

<sup>6</sup> *Große Kirchenordnung*, cxxxiii<sup>v</sup>, and compare Charlotte Methuen, *Securing the Reformation through Education. The Duke's Scholarship System of Sixteenth Century Württemberg*, in: *Sixteenth*

task: he offered a selection of sermons, usually three or four, for every gospel and one, or sometimes two, for each of the epistles set by the lectionary for Sundays and major feast days; his work also included a number of sermons on Old Testament texts related to particular themes. Most of these sermons had originally been preached in the *Stiftskirche* in Tübingen, the town's main parish church but also the University Church, attended by the students. In general the preachers were the Professors of Theology of the University of Tübingen, who were also responsible for ministry at the *Stiftskirche*,<sup>7</sup> although the published sermons were reconstructed from notes taken by Crusius and his students. Over a period of nearly fifty years (he was Professor for Greek in Tübingen from 1559 until 1607, appointed also Professor of Rhetoric in 1564), Crusius made notes on the sermons preached in the *Stiftskirche*.<sup>8</sup> In the preface to an earlier collection of catechetical sermons, *Civitas coelestis*,<sup>9</sup> Crusius explained that he shared the task of recording sermons with his students, some of whom took notes in Latin and others in German, the language in which the sermons were preached. Those taking notes in German, he thought, benefitted from the opportunity to gain some understanding of "German eloquence", which was not otherwise part of the curriculum. Crusius himself took notes in his favourite language – which, he wrote, is "to me a delight" – Greek.<sup>10</sup> From these notes Crusius produced the published sermon texts in both Latin and Greek.<sup>11</sup>

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Century Journal 25 (1994), 841–851, here 846. The *Große Kirchenordnung* is ambiguous as to whether it was the Gospel text or the explication itself which was to be in Greek or Latin, but in the Latin schools, both were probably the case.

<sup>7</sup> Sabine Holtz describes this arrangement and its further development during the seventeenth century. Sabine Holtz, *Theologie und Alltag: Lehre und Leben in den Predigten der Tübinger Theologen 1550–1750*, Tübingen 1993, 16–20. For an account of who held these roles during this period see p. 178 below.

<sup>8</sup> It is apparent from the extant volumes of Crusius' diary that he normally attended church on Sundays, Thursdays, and on other feast days, and he generally recorded occasions when he was unable to do so. Thus on 25 January 1596, he noted: "maiore frigore. Coactus sum domi manere, ut conciones non audirem: quoniam heri mane coepit corpus mihi supra coxam sinistram dolere: ut me erigere et flectere sine cruciatu non possim." By Thursday it was still too cold for him to go to church: "Vt nec die Domenico, ita nec hodie, concionibus interfui: frigori non audens meum dolorem committere." See *Diarium Martini Crusii*, ed. by Wilhelm Göz/Ernst Conrad, vol. 1: 1596–1597, Tübingen 1927, 18f. On other occasions, the cold church made it impossible for him to take notes during the service, and he wrote them up afterwards. Thus on Sunday 15 February 1596, he commented: "Concionum 2 summam domi Graece notaui: quia nondum possum meum tergum in Templo ad scribendum flectere commode: et manus in frigore scabiosae, οὐχ εὖ φερονται." See *Diarium Martini Crusii*, vol. 1: 29.

<sup>9</sup> *Civitas coelestis, seu catecheticae conciones*, first published in Tübingen in 1578, with a much expanded version appearing in 1588.

<sup>10</sup> Crusius, *Civitas Coelestis* (cf fn. 9), A3<sup>r</sup>: "Facit idem hoc mecum studiosa iuuentus: sed eorum partim, sermone Latine: alij populari linguae, qua habentur: idque recte, vt mihi quidem videtur: quo scilicet quia Concionatores futuri sunt: cum multiplici piarum & optimarum rerum cognitione, simul etiam Germanicam eloquentiam, qua huius seculi Theologi plurimum pollent, imbibant: posteaque eodem modo ipsi quoque alios diserte perpiscueque docere possint. Mihi vero, quia non modo Latinos, sed Graecos etiam scriptores, in hac Academia, pro mea mediocritate iam multos annos explico: Graece in templo scribendi Conciones perpetua consuetudo est: quod ea lingua, deliciae meae sint."

<sup>11</sup> Some of the sermons included in *Corona anni* were also published separately in German. A comparison of these with the versions included in *Corona anni* has not yet been possible; it may well

Crusius' choice of Greek and Latin for the published sermons reflected not only his personal love of the Greek language, but also the fact that this work was in part intended as a contribution to ecumenical endeavour. During the 1570s and 1580s, Crusius was closely involved in the theological discussions between the Württemberg theologians and the Patriarch of Constantinople,<sup>12</sup> and translated Jacob Heerbrand's *Compendium Theologiae* into Greek. Together with a Greek translation of the *Confessio Augustana* this was sent to the Greek theologians in order to demonstrate the gospel truth of the Lutheran faith.<sup>13</sup> Crusius had compiled his first collection of sermons, the catechetical *Civitas Coelesti*, in part as a contribution to these discussions.<sup>14</sup> Although by 1602, when he was writing the prefaces for the *Corona anni*, the correspondence with Constantinople lay twenty years in the past, Crusius nonetheless presented the *Corona Anni* as a further attempt to support the Greek church in its resistance to the Turks and to demonstrate the strengths of evangelical preaching. The use of Latin and Greek for the texts of the sermons was intended in part to make the gospel insights of the Tübingen theologians – the “bread of Christ” – accessible beyond the linguistic boundaries of the German-speaking lands, “to Europe and indeed the whole world.”<sup>15</sup> However, Crusius' decision to compose his dedicatory

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prove instructive in assessing Crusius' sermon summaries, although it must be assumed that many of the individually published German sermons will also have been produced from notes taken by listeners.

<sup>12</sup> Crusius published documents relating to this encounter in: *Acta et scripta theologorum Wirtembergensium, et Patriarchae Constantinopolitani D. Hieremiae: quae utrique ab anno MDLXXVI. usque ad annum MDLXXXI. de Augustana Confessione inter se miserunt*, Wittenberg 1584. The exchange has been examined by Dorothea Wendebourg, *Reformation und Orthodoxie. Der ökumenische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der Württembergischen Kirche und Patriarch Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1573–1581*, Göttingen 1986; see also George Masstrantonis, *Augsburg and Constantinople: The Correspondence between the Tübingen Theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession*, Brookline (MA) 1982, and Constantine N. Tsirpanlis, *The historical and ecumenical significance of Jeremias II's correspondence with the Lutherans (1573–1581)*, Kingston (NY) 1982.

<sup>13</sup> The *Confessio Augustana* was originally translated into Greek by Paul Dolsciuss, but the translation exists only in a form revised by Philip Melancthon. For a discussion of the strengths and weakness of the translation and its role in the encounter with the Greek church, see Wendebourg, *Reformation und Orthodoxie* (cf fn. 11), 155–162.

<sup>14</sup> Crusius lists the letters exchanged with Constantinople and the texts sent to the theologians there in his preface to the second volume of *Corona anni* vol. 2: )( iij<sup>r</sup>-<sup>v</sup>. The Greek translation of Heerbrand's work is mentioned *passim* by Holtz, *Theologie und Alltag* (cf fn. 7), 33. Duke August of Saxony, to whom Heerbrand had dedicated his *Compendium Theologiae*, bestowed 60 Thaler on Crusius for the translation, which, he said, would “not only be very useful to the young people in Germany who study theology, but would also bear fruit in foreign nations” – “Das nicht allein der Jugend in Teutschlandt / so Theologiam studieren / sehr dienstlich: sondern auch bei frembden Nationen / viel frucht schaffen.” See *Corona anni* 2: (iij<sup>r</sup>-<sup>v</sup>). Oddly, Wendebourg, *Reformation und Orthodoxie* (cf fn. 11) only discusses the Greek translation of the *Confessio Augustana*, and does not seem to know of Crusius' translation of Heerbrand's theological compendium; although she mentions that Crusius had published the *Civitas Coelestis* and the *Corona Anni*, she does not connect them to the negotiations with the Greeks.

<sup>15</sup> *Corona anni* vol. 2: )( iij<sup>r</sup>-<sup>v</sup>: “Habet nostra Tybingae Theologos, & Doctores Ecclesiasticos (vt de caeteris aliarum scientiarum & Professionum praestantissimis viris nihil iam dicam []), quales ne dum GERMANIA, verum ipsa quoque Europa, imo universus nunc Orbis, vix habet. Illis cum CHRISTVS Sacros panes in Ecclesia distribuendos dedit.”

epistles in Latin would suggest that he did not really expect his main audience to be the Greeks.

Crusius also explained in his dedicatory epistles that his choice of dedicatees – the Elector of Saxony, Christian II, who had recently reached his majority, and Christian's younger brothers Johann Georg and August, with honourable mention of their mother Sophie von Brandenburg and their sister Sophie – together with the fact that the work was being printed in Wittenberg, were intended to demonstrate that the theology contained within it was properly orthodox (in the Lutheran sense).<sup>16</sup> Crusius' *Corona anni* thus claimed the authority of Luther's Wittenberg, and with it mantle of an orthodox Lutheran theology, for Tübingen and its theologians: Lutheran Orthodoxy would become the description which that university's theology would enjoy for much of the seventeenth century. More mundanely, Crusius also thought it useful for students and preachers to have access to sermons by those *praestantissimi viri*, Tübingen's Professors of Theology, which they could use to inform their own preaching. To that extent his work, despite its choice of languages, was indeed a postil. Although they preached in German, pastors who had studied at the University of Tübingen, which included most of those who ministered in Württemberg,<sup>17</sup> would have received virtually their entire education in Latin and a minimum of six years of Greek.<sup>18</sup> Latin and Greek were the languages of the elite, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, this was, therefore, an elite to which the majority of Württemberg's pastors belonged.

Of the 518<sup>19</sup> different sermons collected in the *Corona Anni*, the vast majority, 458 (88%), were preached between 1573 and 1586.<sup>20</sup> The highest number of sermons from any one year was represented by a collection of 80 sermons from 1583; at least 45 sermons were included from each of the years 1578, 1581, 1582 and 1585; the years 1573–1576, 1584 and 1586 each supplied a minimum of twelve. Most of these were preached in the *Stiftskirche* in Tübingen, although Crusius also includes two of

<sup>16</sup> For instance *Corona anni* 4: 4: "Excusum omne est VVITEMBERGAE: excusum est in officina Seelfischiana vrbis & Academiae nobilissimae VVITEMBERGAE: ubi initio (ante annos LXXXIII. Verbum verum Dei, sincera religio Dei, mirabili misericordia & beneficio Dei, per S. Virum, D. MARTINUM LUTHERUM, per virum Spiritu & fortitudine Dei plenum: ex impudentibus figmentis humanis, ex Idolomania horrenda, ex tenebris Pontificijs crassissimis: quibus ubique terrarum involuta & obruta jacuerat: in clarissimam laetissimamque lucem reducta fuit."

<sup>17</sup> Tolley observes that by 1550, "more than 75 percent of [Württemberg's] clergy were former stipend holders of the Tübingen Stift," and that "from 1581 to 1621 the Tübingen clergy were predominantly, and the Tutlingen clergy almost exclusively, of Württemberg origin." Those born outside Württemberg had all studied in Tübingen. Bruce W. Tolley, *Pastors & parishioners in Württemberg during the late Reformation: 1581–1621*, Stanford 1995, 10f.

<sup>18</sup> For the curriculum in Württemberg schools, see Methuen, *Securing the Reformation* (cf fn. 6), 845–848.

<sup>19</sup> Crusius recorded that three of these sermons had been preached twice, so that when looking at dates and at preachers, the total number of sermons preached is 521. It is not possible to know whether these double dates show that an identical sermon was preached twice by the same preacher or whether Crusius took the decision to synthesise two (perhaps very similar) sermons by the same person on the same text.

<sup>20</sup> The numbers of sermons from each of these years are: 1573: 12; 1574: 12; 1575: 17; 1576: 19; 1577: 23; 1578: 44; 1579: 29; 1580: 20; 1581: 50; 1582: 47; 1583: 80; 1584: 38; 1585: 53; 1586: 14.

his own “house meditations” and a few sermons preached elsewhere. The remaining 12% of the sermons contained in Crusius’ work were made up of 53 sermons dating from 1529 to 1572, including eleven preached by Crusius’ father, another Martin, between 1529 and 1553 in “Noriberga” (apparently Nuremberg, although Martin Crusius senior had in fact moved from there before 1529),<sup>21</sup> three sermons from 1587–8, one undated sermon ascribed to All Saints; a series of synoptic accounts of the passion of Christ, synthesising all four gospels; a life of Martin Luther, probably written by Crusius; and an undated sermon attributed to Luther himself on the occasion of the dedication of a church.<sup>22</sup> The overwhelming majority of the sermons represented in the collection – 433, or 83% – was constituted by those preached by Tübingen’s theologians: Jakob Andreae, first *ordinarius* in theology, chancellor of the university and ducal advisor from 1562 until his death in 1590 (76 sermons); Jakob Heerbrand, second *ordinarius* in theology, first superintendent of Tübingen’s *Stift*, and dean of the *Stiftskirche* from 1556 until 1590, and subsequently first *ordinarius* until 1599 (107 sermons); Theodore Schnepff, third *ordinarius* in Theology from 1557 until his death in 1586 (165 sermons); Johannes Brenz the younger, *extraordinarius* in theology and second superintendent of the *Stift* from 1562 until 1590 and then third *ordinarius* until 1591 or 1592, when he became the Abbot of the *Klosterschule* in Hirsau (22 sermons); Johannes Vesembeck, *supernumerarius* from 1576 until 1579 (9 sermons); Stephan Gerlach, *supernumerarius* from 1580 until 1587, and subsequently third *ordinarius* until 1590 and second *ordinarius* until his death in 1612 (45 sermons); and Johannes Georg Sigwart, *supernumerarius* from 1576 until 1590, subsequently *extraordinarius* until 1612 and third *ordinarius* until 1618 (9 sermons).<sup>23</sup> The collection therefore offers the researcher a remarkably dense sample of the regular congregational preaching offered in this late sixteenth-century Lutheran town.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> For the life of Martin Crusius senior, see Weyermann, *Nachrichten von Gelehrten* (cf fn. 1), vol. 1: 127f.

<sup>22</sup> Luther’s sermon is for the dedication of a church; it is on the same text (Luke 19) as the three sermons by dedication sermons by Luther found in the WA (1514, in Latin WA 4: 670–674; 1527, in Latin WA 17.2: 507–514; in German WA 17.2: 496–507), but is not identical with any of them.

<sup>23</sup> For the holders of the Tübingen professorships in theology, see Holtz, *Theologie und Alltag* (cf fn. 7), 282f. and compare Charlotte Methuen, *Kepler’s Tübingen: Stimulus to a Theological Mathematics*, Aldershot 1998, 225, both drawing on Ernst Conrad, *Die Lehrstühle der Universität Tübingen und ihre Inhaber 1477–1927*, Tübingen 1960 (all of whom use the German form of Theodore Schnepff’s name: Dietrich). Holtz dates the end of Heerbrand’s position as first *ordinarius* to 1605, but since he died in 1600 this cannot be correct.

<sup>24</sup> The density is apparent by a comparison with the sermons used by Holtz in her study of preaching in Tübingen between 1550 and 1750. Holtz asserts that for this period of two hundred years, “liegen für den Untersuchungszeitraum rund 1000 Predigten vor.” This figure includes *Leichenpredigten*, but it does not include the sermons reproduced by Crusius in *Corona anni*, of the existence of which Holtz seems to be unaware. Around 150 of the sermons considered by Holtz fall in the period 1550–1600, and some of these are probably also to be found in Crusius’ work, although it has not yet been possible to check this. The first edition of Crusius’ *Civitas coelestis* includes a further twenty-five undated catechetical sermons, of which 15 were preached by Theodore Schnepff, four by Jakob Andreae, the Chancellor of the University, two by Johannes Dachtler, two by Jakob Heerbrand, and one each by Aegidius Hunnius and Johannes Liebler. The expanded 1588

## II. Preaching the church year in Tübingen

Tübingen was a university town. Attendance at the *Stiftskirche* was expected of students, although for some of the townspeople this was also their parish church. We have no way of knowing how many local people attended the *Stiftskirche*, and how many went to the other parish churches in the town. Württemberg's *Große Kirchenordnung* (1559) laid down that two sermons should be preached on Sundays and on feastdays,<sup>25</sup> and that on these days the people "should attend the sermon and the distribution of the holy sacrament."<sup>26</sup> Crusius' diary indicates that this was indeed normal practice in the *Stiftskirche*.<sup>27</sup> The *Corona anni* suggests that a sermon was given on the gospel at the Sunday morning service and on the epistle in the evening service, or Vespers. There were exceptions: at Pentecost 1596 Crusius (in accordance with the instructions of the *Große Kirchenordnung*)<sup>28</sup> records hearing a morning sermon on Acts 2.<sup>29</sup> His diary shows that there was also regular preaching on Thursdays,<sup>30</sup> sometimes on an epistle (perhaps read continuously)<sup>31</sup> but probably also on passages from the Old Testament. There were also two sermons on feast days,

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edition included an additional 23 dated sermons, all but one of which had been preached at one of the major festivals. Of these, five each were preached by Theodore Schnepf, Jacob Heerbrand and Jacob Andreae; four by Christoph Staehelin, three by Stephan Gerlach and one by Johannes Brenz; all were preached between 1563 and 1586. Allowing for the possibility of some duplication, taken together Crusius' collections thus offer access to approximately 475 sermons preached at Tübingen between 1573 and 1586, including some by preachers from whom no other printed sermons seem to have survived. Schnepf, for instance, is well represented in Crusius' collections with around 170 sermons, but Holtz lists no sermons by him in her bibliography, and other than a funeral address, no German texts of his sermons appear to be extant.

<sup>25</sup> *Große Kirchenordnung* (cf fn. 5), lxxxix<sup>v</sup>-xc<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> *Große Kirchenordnung* (cf fn. 5), lxxxvii<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> On Sundays, Crusius regularly recorded: "conciones 2 in Templo graece scripsi" (Sunday 11 January 1596); "duas conciones Graece excepi" (Sunday 11 July 1596); "duas conciones Graece scripsi" (Sunday 26 September 1596). See *Diarium Martini Crusii* (cf fn. 8), vol. 1: 5, 129, 195. He seldom gave any indication as to the scriptural passages. Unfortunately the volumes of his diary for the years from which the sermons in *Corona anni* are drawn are not extant.

<sup>28</sup> *Große Kirchenordnung* (cf fn. 5), lxxxviii<sup>f</sup>: "Auff den Pfingstag vnnd Feiertag hernach / soll man das ander Capitel in Actis Apostolicis predigen."

<sup>29</sup> *Diarium Martini Crusii* (cf fn. 8), vol. 1: 101.

<sup>30</sup> The *Große Kirchenordnung* laid down that there should be regular preaching on two days each week in towns and on one day each week in villages. See *Große Kirchenordnung* (cf fn. 5), xc<sup>f</sup>. Presumably the "alle Wochen zwen Tag" was held to include the Sunday preaching.

<sup>31</sup> For example, in spring 1596, chapters 4 and 5 of Paul's Epistle to the Romans seem to have been the subject of the Thursday sermons. Crusius records: "Janu. 22. Die. [Iovis]. Concionem Rom. 4. ex parocho siguardo Graece Scripsi." "April. 22. Die [Iovis]. Concionem Parochi D. Siguardi, ex Rom. 5. Graece expio." "April. 29. Die [Iovis]. Concionem Rom. 5. Graece scripsi." *Diarium Martini Crusii* (cf fn. 8), vol. 1: 10, 73, 78.) Crusius uses planetary symbols to identify the weekdays; however, the key given by the editors of his diary confuses the symbols for Jupiter and Mars. See *Diarium Martini Crusii* (cf fn. 8), vol. 1: xix. And thus makes Tuesday the dies Jovis and Thursday the dies Martii (they should be the other way round). In addition, the edited text sometimes incorrectly uses the symbol for Venus instead of the symbol for Mercury to identify Wednesday. These mistakes have been silently corrected in quotations from Crusius' diary.

when communion seems also to have been celebrated.<sup>32</sup> The composition of the *Corona anni* suggests that the set gospel passages often formed the basis for regular preaching. It includes 251 sermons on passages from the gospels (75 on Matthew, 17 on Mark, 86 on Luke, and 73 on John), and 134 on the Epistles, the bulk of which (100) were preached on passages drawn from Romans (21), 1 Corinthians (23), 2 Corinthians (10), Galatians (11), Ephesians (21), Philippians (8) and Colossians (6). 25 sermons on passages from Acts and 6 from Revelation completed the sermons on New Testament passages. Almost all these sermons were indeed based on the lectionary pericopes, so that the choice of reading, whether Gospel or Epistle, was not the preacher's.<sup>33</sup> A series of sermons on the passion and the resurrection complete the preaching on the New Testament.<sup>34</sup>

Sermons on the Old Testament seem to have been less frequent. Crusius included in the *Corona anni* just 63 sermons based on Old Testament passages, and a further six on the Apocrypha. He presented these sermons in such a way as to underline a Christological interpretation of Old Testament passages, entitling these sections of his work "Predictions of the coming of the Messiah chiefly from the Old Testament" and "Predictions of the Passion chiefly from the Old Testament" and "The resurrection in the Old Testament". With the exception of a sermon on the Lucan

<sup>32</sup> This was in accordance with the instruction of the *Große Kirchenordnung*, lxxxvii<sup>r</sup> (text cited in fn. 40), and contradicts Hermelink, who suggests that communion was to be celebrated four times each year. See Hermelink, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche* (cf fn. 3), 75.

<sup>33</sup> Preaching on 12 November 1577, Heerbrand explicitly commented on his decision not to preach on the passage set for the day, the account of the healing of the woman with a haemorrhage and the raising of Jairus' daughter, but on a comet which had recently appeared in the night sky. This was justified, he said, because in the comet God had sent a different preacher for that Sunday: "Explicandum sane nunc erat ad utilitatem animis nostris, pulcherrimum hoc Euangelium: in quo est historia filiae Iairi, & fluentis sanguine mulieris. Nunc vero, alium nobis praecone in coelo statuit Deus: hunc recens apparentem horribilem Cometam: de quo nunc verba faciemus." (*Corona anni* 1: 22.) In this case a German version of the sermon is also extant: „Ich solte ietzo / geliebte im Herren Christo / etwas sagen vnnd predigen von dem heutigen Euangelio / in wo<sup>l</sup>chem vns zwey scho<sup>n</sup>e vnnd herrliche Wunderwerck vnser Herren Jhesu Christi werden fu<sup>r</sup>gehalten / eines von dem arbeitseligen Weiblin / wo<sup>l</sup>ches zwo<sup>l</sup>f Jar lang ein beschwerliche Kranckheit gehabt / darauff jr auch alle jr Haab vnd Gut gegangen / vnd jr doch von keinem Artzet mocht geholffen werden. Aber der Herr Christus / als sie jme auß Glauben seines Kleides Saum anru<sup>r</sup>ret / macht sie alsbald gesund. Das ander / von deß Obersten der Schülen / mit namen Jairus / To<sup>c</sup>chterlin / wo<sup>l</sup>ches der Herr Jesus Christus / als es schon gestorben / von dem Tod / als auß einem sieffen [= süßen] schlaff / erwo<sup>c</sup>cket / dadurch sein Allmacht / vnd gegen den ellenden vnd betru<sup>b</sup>ten / so zu im lauffen / sein leutseligkeit / gnad / gu<sup>t</sup>e / barmhertzigkeit vnnd hu<sup>l</sup>ff / in allerley Beschwerden / Creutz vnd leiden erzeiget. Wolches zu disen ku<sup>m</sup>ummerlichen zeitten vnnd geschwinden Leuffen / ganz tro<sup>s</sup>tlich / damit wir lehren / vnd wissen / zu wem wir vnser zuflucht in a<sup>n</sup>gsten vnd no<sup>t</sup>ten haben sollen. So hat uns aber der Allma<sup>c</sup>htig vnnd gerechte Gott / ein andern Prediger diser tagen erwecket / vnd auff ein sehr hohe Cantzel / an den Himmel / aufgestellt / Nemlich das erschrockenlich / groß vnd gewrelich Wunderzeichen am Himmel / den Cometen / oder wie mans nennet / den Pfawenschwanz / dadurch er der gantzen Welt / ein andere Predig thut / vnnd fu<sup>h</sup>elt / den wir sollen anschawen / vnnd ho<sup>r</sup>en / was er uns predige.“ (Jakob Heerbrand, *Ein Predig von dem erschrockenlichen Wunderzeichen am Himel / dem neuen Cometen / oder Pfawenschwanz*, [Tübingen 1577], 1–2.) Even a cursory comparison of the two texts reveals the extent to which Crusius has summarised Heerbrand's words. For a more detailed discussion of Heerbrand's sermon, see Methuen, *Kepler's Tübingen* (cf fn. 23), 132–136.

<sup>34</sup> The preaching of Holy Week and Easter will be considered in a larger study of *Corona anni*.



genealogy which Crusius somewhat surprisingly dates to 27 August 1584, those in the first group seem to have been preached during Advent; some of the predictions of the passion and resurrection were preached in Lent, and others in Advent. Unsurprisingly, given Crusius' (and perhaps also the preachers') unashamedly Christological interest in the Old Testament, Isaiah and the Psalms were the most frequent passages chosen, with 18 sermons on the former and 15 on the latter. Isaiah seems to have been a popular text in Advent and also at New Year. The remaining sermons include four on German hymns (three of which were preached by Theodore Schnepff at major festivals: "Ein Kindlein so lobiglich" at Christmas 1583, "Christus is erstanden" at Easter 1573, and "Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist" at Pentecost 1579, the fourth, on the hymn "Mitten wir im Leben sind" appears to be an address given at the funeral of Crusius' first wife in 1561) and three on events in the natural world (all preached by Jacob Heerbrand, on the loss of vineyards to frost in April 1576, the comet of November 1577, and the effects of a great storm in June 1579). Crusius' selection of sermons thus reveal some of the particular approaches and concerns of individual preachers: Schnepff's use of popular hymns, for example, or Heerbrand's interest in the way that God speaks through the natural world, or (as will be seen below) Jacob Andreae's interest in the place and role of women. The juxtaposition of sermons by different preachers on the same text – or even of sermons by the same preacher on the same text – makes it possible to identify differences in emphasis as well as common themes.<sup>35</sup>

As published, the sermons are not particularly long: in Latin their lengths range between 800 and 1200 words. However, it is clear from Crusius' preface to the second volume that the sermons as preached must have been considerably longer. Apparently responding to criticism, Crusius denied that what he is offering are "fragments"; rather, he had sought to present in textual form – and therefore without the need for repetition – the central truths offered by Tübingen's preachers.<sup>36</sup> He noted the positive reception of his *Civitas coelestis*, in which he had applied the same technique, reporting that the work had been used in Tübingen's *Pädagogium*.<sup>37</sup> He

<sup>35</sup> Attention to difference and the possibility of historical development are somewhat lacking in Holtz's otherwise excellent study, in that she presents the content of sermons without paying much – if any – attention to the date they were preached. Given that she is considering sermons from a period spanning two hundred years, from 1550 to 1750, this methodology is in danger of yielding a somewhat a-historical homogenisation of attitudes across the period.

<sup>36</sup> *Corona anni* 2: )(v<sup>r</sup>: "Fragmenta: respectu concionum prolixarum, esse concedo: respectu vero sui ipsarum, fragmenta esse nego. Fragmenta na[m]que (proprie accepta voce) non cohaerent inter se, sed res disiectae sunt. Unaquaeque vero harum concionum, habet non disiectas res, sed partes inter se Oratorie cohaerentes. Inest unicuique concioni, primo Exordium: deinde Propositio, aut Partis: tum diligens propositionis, membrorum[q]ue partitionis singulorum, explicatio, & solida ex Divinus scriptis (testimoniis fideliter ad verbis recitatis) confirmatio. Quod sic quid in prima Textus declaratione non est: id in altera, aut tertia, concio reperitur. Refutantur & illa, quae aliquis Haereticus obiecit, aut obicere potest. Concluduntur demum demum omnia Epilogo brevi: etsi hunc saepe, studio brevitatis omisi: quod ex ipsis in confirmatione tractatis rebus, haud difficile sit, vel mediocriter docto, Epilogum attexere."

<sup>37</sup> *Corona anni* 2: )(v<sup>r</sup>: "Na[m]que si meae coelestis civitatis conciones reiecta non sunt: sed eam laudem invenerunt: ut iuxta summi etiam Attici Oratoris orationes, in Pedagogio Tybing. iuventuti explicentur (ut in praefatione primi Tomi dictum est) non possunt nec hae Coronae Anni conciones, quae non alio modo, nec celerius, quam illae Catechistica conciones, perscriptae sunt, rejici."

conceded that it was indeed the case that these texts were not the sermons as preached and heard; instead they were intended to be read and studied. A closer comparison of extant German texts with Crusius' Latin and Greek versions will be revealing as to his approach, and will demonstrate the extent to which Crusius imposed his own ideals of content and structure, theology and rhetoric on what he was hearing.<sup>38</sup> However, it must be borne in mind that the extant printed versions of many, if not most, sixteenth-century sermons – whether in the vernacular or in Latin – were reconstructed from the notes of their listeners, so the same caveat must apply, even if the process of redaction is not always acknowledged as openly as it is by Crusius.

As would be expected in a work of this kind, the sermons collected in *Corona anni* were ordered according to the ecclesiastical year. Volume 1 covered the period from Advent through to Lent, with a strong focus on the preaching at Christmas, New Year (an indication that New Year was held to fall on 1 January), Epiphany, and on Lenten penitential discipline. Volume 2 covered Palm Sunday, Holy Week (including sermons for Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Holy Saturday, Easter Sunday, Easter Monday and Easter Tuesday; Crusius also offered a unified passion narrative synthesising the accounts of all four gospels), until the Sunday after Ascension. Volume 3 covered Pentecost to the end of the ecclesiastical year, including all the twenty-five possible Sundays after Trinity. The final volume included sermons for festivals and feast days, most but not all of which are biblical: those that were not included the assumption of Mary (for which Crusius included what seems to be the sermon preached at the funeral of his first wife in 1561), All Saints, and the feasts of St Martin (featuring a life of Martin Luther) and St Catherine (including sermons on virginity and the funeral sermon for Crusius' second wife, Catherine, in 1566).<sup>39</sup>

At first sight, the structure of the *Corona anni* suggests a cycle of preaching tightly governed by the lectionary and by a reduced but still quite full set of feast days, including a number that were not laid down Württemberg's 1559 *Große Kirchenordnung*.<sup>40</sup> However, a closer look at the dates when some of the sermons were preached

<sup>38</sup> This has not yet been possible, but that such a comparison can be expected to yield interesting results is evident from the two texts from the beginning of Heerbrand's sermon on the comet discussed in footnote 33 above.

<sup>39</sup> Crusius' list of festivals and saints' days marks St Andrew (30 November), St Thomas (21 December), St Stephen (26 December), St John the Evangelist (27 December), the conversion of Paul (25 January), the purification of Mary (2 February), St Matthew or Matthias the Apostle (24 February), the annunciation to Mary (25 March), SS. Philip and James (1 May), St John the Baptist (24 June), SS. Peter and Paul (29 June), the visitation of Mary (29 August), St Mary Magdalene (22 July), St James (25 July), St Laurence (10 August), the assumption of Mary (15 August), St Bartholomew (24 August), St Matthew the Evangelist (21 September), St Michael (29 September), SS. Simon and Jude (28 October), All Saints (1 November), St Martin (11 November) and St Catherine (unspecified).

<sup>40</sup> The *Große Kirchenordnung* instructed that on the *Feiertage*, the people should "bestimte zeit wisse / die Predig vnd die außtheilung der heiligen Sacrament zubesuchen / Und die gemeinen Weltlichen Recht / zů beweisung ihres gehorsamen Diensts gegen Christo dem Son Gottes und seiner Kirchen." The *Feiertage* comprised: "Alle Sonntag. Der Christag. Der na'chst Tag darnach. Der Jars tag. Der o'berst Epiphanius genannt. Der ostertag sampt dem na'chsten darnach. Die Himmelfahrt Christi. Der Pfingstag samt volgendem Monttags. Die Liechtmeß Purificationis Mariae. Verkündigung Mariae / genannt Annunciationis. Aller Aposteln tag. Joannis Baptiste." *Große Kirchenordnung*, lxxxvii<sup>r</sup>.

reveals that in some cases Crusius was imposing a liturgical calendar which did not in fact reflect the practice of the *Stiftskirche*. For instance, whilst five of the seven sermons collected for St Bartholomew's Day were indeed preached on 24 August (in 1566, 1573, 1574, 1580, and 1585) the remaining two were preached on 1 May 1568 and 21 December 1570; Crusius has simply assigned them to St Bartholomew. However, in this case it is clear from Crusius' diary that the general rule was for two sermons to be preached on 24 August, indicating that it was considered a feast day.<sup>41</sup> It can therefore be concluded that St Bartholomew continued to be marked in Tübingen.

The saints' days which were preserved were generally those of the apostles or the Marian festivals which related specifically to Christ. Thus the dates on which the relevant sermons in the *Corona anni* were actually preached imply that the *Stiftskirche* was keeping the days of St Andrew, St Thomas, St Stephen, St John the Evangelist, the conversion of Paul, the purification of Mary (albeit with a strong focus on the presentation of Christ), St Matthias the Apostle, the annunciation to Mary, SS. Philip and James, St John the Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, St James, St Bartholomew, St Matthew the Evangelist, SS. Simon and Jude, and possibly St Michael.<sup>42</sup> In contrast, whilst Crusius included the heading "*In festo visitationis Mariae semper virginis*", and one sermon preached on this theme by Jacob Andreae was indeed given on that feast day, 29 August 1563, the remaining four, although expounding the same gospel, were preached at other times of the year, suggesting that the visitation was no longer being kept.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, none of the three sermons gathered under the heading "*In festo Mariae Magdalenaë*" was preached on 22 July, although two of them were on the relevant passage, Luke 7:36-50.<sup>44</sup> The feast of Mary Magdalene was no longer being observed. Neither, it seems, were St Laurence's Day,<sup>45</sup> the assumption of Mary,<sup>46</sup> or

<sup>41</sup> Crusius explicitly commented on his attendance at or transcription of two sermons for St Bartholomew's Day in 1598, 1599, 1602, 1603 and 1604. *Diarium Martini Crusii* (cf fn. 8), vol. 2: 98, 336; 3: 473, 623, 738. He also transcribed two sermons, indicating a feast day, on 24 August in 1596 and 1600. *Diarium Martini Crusii* vol. 1: 165; 3: 147. On 24 August 1597, a Wednesday, he recorded that his wife was given communion at home in the afternoon by the deacon, and that he transcribed one sermon, possibly in church in the evening. See *Diarium Martini Crusii* vol. 1: 385; this was his third wife, Catherine Vetscher, who seems to have died in 1599. He also recorded hearing a sermon at vespers on 24 August in 1601 (a Monday). See *Diarium Martini Crusii* vol. 3: 324, 473. All this suggests that St Bartholomew's Day was being kept as a feast day in Tübingen.

<sup>42</sup> Only two out of the six sermons included by Crusius under the heading St Michael were preached on 29 September, but one was preached on 30 September. In his diary, however, although he made entries for 29 September in every year from 1597 to 1602, Crusius only records one sermon on this day, at vespers on Saturday 29 September 1599, when he explicitly names the day as „S. Michaelis“. See *Diarium Martini Crusii* (cf fn. 8), vol. 2: 367.

<sup>43</sup> Jacob Andreae also preached on Luke 1: 412-445 on 12 September 1563 and on 17 October 1563; the encounter between Mary and Elizabeth was apparently a theme which interested him that autumn. The fourth sermon was preached by Jacob Heerbrand on 3 July 1578.

<sup>44</sup> These two were both preached by Jacob Andreae in 1569, on 24 April and 8 May. The third was preached by Johannes Georg Sigwart on Proverbs 31 on an unspecified date in 1586.

<sup>45</sup> Of the two sermons listed under St Laurence (10 August), one was preached on 27 January 1566, the other on an unspecified date in 1586.

<sup>46</sup> None of the four sermons collected under the Assumption was preached on 15 August; nor do they any of them discuss the assumption of Mary. Two – by Christoph Hermann, 10 February 1572 and by Jacob Andreae, 2 June 1574 – consider the account of Mary and Martha (Luke 10:38-42); in a

All Saints' Day.<sup>47</sup> Crusius' diary seems to indicate that he continued to keep St Martin's Day privately with his family, but that it was not a church festival.<sup>48</sup> The heading "In die S. Catharinae" does not specify which St Catherine is meant, but the arbitrary collection of sermons suggests that this too was Crusius' invention.<sup>49</sup>

In conclusion, Crusius' list of saints' days, particularly those involving Mary and other women, does not entirely represent the reality of the liturgical calendar as it was kept in Tübingen. Moreover, an examination of the dates on which sermons were actually preached shows that there was more deviation from the Sunday lectionary pericopes than Crusius' ordering would initially imply, although here Crusius had made fewer adjustments. In the case of the feasts and festivals, the dates on which sermons were preached demonstrates that the liturgical calendar of the *Stiftskirche* was much closer to that laid down in the *Große Kirchenordnung* than Crusius' headings would suggest. It is, however, also apparent that Crusius was still familiar enough with the pre-Reformation calendar to use it as a means of categorising the sermons he heard, particularly those relating to Mary and to biblical accounts of women. This may indicate that the restriction of saints' days to the apostles – and thus to days celebrating the lives of men – was felt by some to have excluded traditional themes for preaching, particularly about women.<sup>50</sup>

lengthy marginal note on the gospel passage, Crusius appends a note on Jerome's views on the location of Mary's grave. *Corona anni* 4: 258f. The third, by Theodore Scheppf on 19 July 1573 discusses the "regina sapientia", Sirach 24: 1–19. The fourth, dating from 17 August 1561, was given at the burial of Crusius' first wife, Sybilla Rhoner.

<sup>47</sup> Of the four sermons included under All Saints, only two were preached by Tübingen theologians, both by Jacob Heerbrand, and neither on 1 November. The first of Heerbrand's sermons, from 22 November 1573, was "de attributionibus beatitatis." See *Corona anni* 4: 339–343; the second, "contra idola", was preached on 5 March 1584 in which he argues that images of saints be removed by magistrates, not by Zwinglians. Compare *Corona anni* 4: 369ff. Crusius appears to use the rubric "All Saints" to offer what he views as a correct understanding of saints and images.

<sup>48</sup> Under the heading "In die S. episcopi Martini," Crusius includes a sermon on the giving of alms preached by Johannes Dachtler on 11 November 1585; the other text is not a sermon but a brief life of Martin Luther: "Additamentum, sive corollarium, de Martino Luthero: Apostolico Germaniae novissimis temporibus Doctore" (*Corona anni* 4: 373–374). St Martin's Day was also Crusius' name day (although not his birthday, which was on 19 September). In his diary, Crusius records celebrating the day with family or friends in 1597 and 1600 See *Diarium Martini Crusii* (cf fn. 8), vol. 1: 408; vol. 3: 192. In 1598, he had a busy but worrying "die. S. Martini": "Laboriosissimus mihi dies. So vil überlauffs, unkostens, Flaisch zukauffen, Zimmerman zuzalen, Wescherin zalen, candelas kauffen, Iunckern und knecht haben. Etiam Reihingae F. Vrbanum etlich wochen: quia tarde huc rediit sein tischhaerr Waidelich. Morgen soll er bei ihm im amm tisch anstehn. Es ist mir dess abfraessens vonn leuten kain aend. Ich kans nit erschwingen." *Diarium Martini Crusii* vol. 2: 132. In 1599, 11 November fell on a Sunday on which two sermons were preached as normal. *Diarium Martini Crusii* vol. 2: 398. In 1602, 11 November fell on a Thursday and he records attending a sermon and that some of his friends wrote eulogies to the name Martin. *Diarium Martini Crusii* vol. 3: 509. In 1596, 1601 and 1603, his diary entries for 11 November make no mention of St Martin's Day or of attendance at church, although 11 November 1596 was a Thursday and there would normally have been a sermon. See *Diarium Martini Crusii* vol. 1: 239; vol. 3: 360, 650.

<sup>49</sup> Two of the five sermons included under the heading "St Catherine" discuss virginity, one is on grace, and the remaining two are funeral sermons for Crusius' second wife, Catherine Vogler, and his mother, Mary Magdalene Trumer. Crusius dates both these latter sermons in November 1566, but other sources suggest that his mother died in 1560.

<sup>50</sup> Crusius published several orations on women in the Bible and in history, which suggest that he was interested in the role of women: *Orationes 3, de illustriss. foeminis tribus. 1. Peri pammēteros*

## III. Themes and content

So what was being preached in late sixteenth-century Tübingen (to rephrase the title of Bernd Moeller's seminal article)?<sup>51</sup> The *Große Kirchenordnung* laid down themes for preaching through the church year;<sup>52</sup> a larger study will be necessary to examine the extent to which these themes set the tone for preaching in the *Stiftskirche*. A initial survey of the sermons collected in the *Corona anni* indicates some frequent theological themes: the Eucharist, and in particular the affirmation of a Lutheran position as opposed to a Zwinglian position (still thus labelled over fifty years after Zwingli's death); discussions of images and who is responsible for removing them; questions of idolatry (including pilgrimages and processions); reflections on the church and the saints; discussions on vocation; and sermons on the role of preaching. The preachers were concerned with the family, including the role of the paterfamilias and the role of women: in a sermon assigned by Crusius to the feast of Mary Magdalene, but actually preached on an unknown date in 1586, the proper role of women was described on the basis of a critical reading of Proverbs 31. The structures of society were an important theme. So too was the need to bear one's own cross: suffering was treated as an inevitable part of life that needed not only theological explanation but also encouragement.<sup>53</sup> However, these sermons include relatively little on directly doctrinal questions such as the nature of the Trinity or on Christology, even on Trinity Sunday.<sup>54</sup> This initial summary concurs with Holtz's conclusion that "the sermon of Lutheran orthodoxy is never merely dogmatic, never purely apologetic, never only an explanation of history, never only an interpretation of the lived environment and its experiences; it is not adequately described in terms of social discipline or indoctrination."<sup>55</sup>

There is still much to discover from this collection about what was being preached in one late sixteenth-century German town. The remainder of this paper will offer some initial observations about the view of society that is being put forward in these sermons. How did the preachers envisage the relationship between men and women,

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Euas: De prima generis humani matre, Heva. 2. De fidelium in Dei ex genere humano ecclesia, foeminarum matre, Sara. 3. De infidelium nempe Agarenorum, et Turcarum matre, Agara (Tübingen 1601), *De speciosa et pia Esthera, Judaea, Persarum magnificentissima regina, populi Dei conservatrice oratio* (Tübingen 1602); *Orationes duae una de Abigaila [...] altera de Bathsaeba ... quae ambae fuerunt Davidis Israelitarum regis uxores: ad Ill. Saxoniae Ducis Joannis Georgii laetas nuptias info* (Tübingen 1604).

<sup>51</sup> Bernd Moeller, Was wurde in der der Frühzeit der Reformation in den deutschen Städten gepredigt? in: ARG 75 (1984), 176–193; reprinted in: Bernd Moeller, *Luther-Rezeption. Kirchenhistorische Aufsätze zur Reformationsgeschichte*, Göttingen 1984, 91–107, English translation in: C. Scott Dixon (ed.), *The German Reformation: The Essential Readings*, Oxford 2004, 33–52.

<sup>52</sup> *Große Kirchenordnung* (cf fn. 5), lxxxvii<sup>v</sup>–lxxxviii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> That suffering was a key theme in early-modern Protestant preaching is apparent from Ronald K. Ritters, *The Reformation of Suffering: Pastoral Theology and Lay Piety in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*, Oxford 2012.

<sup>54</sup> This is somewhat surprising, since the *Große Kirchenordnung* expects that Trinity Sunday "soll fürnemlich dahin gebraucht warden / das man darauff predige / wie nu rein Gott sey / und doch in disem einigen Go<sup>t</sup>tlichen wesen / seien drey unterschiedlich Personen / na<sup>e</sup>mlich vatter / Son vnnd heiliger Geist." Compare *Große Kirchenordnung* (cf fn. 5), lxxxviii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> Holtz, *Theologie und Alltag* (cf fn. 7), 372.

lord and subject, temporal and spiritual, and how did they present this view to their listeners? It will focus on two themes. The first is the preachers' understanding of marriage, drawn primarily from sermons on the wedding at Cana (John 2:1-11), and the second is the reading of Christ's command to "render unto Caesar what is Caesar's" (Matthew 22:15-22).

(a) *The wedding at Cana*

The theory and practice of Protestant marriage in the sixteenth century have been well researched,<sup>56</sup> and the presentation of marriage in early-modern Lutheran sermons has also received attention, particularly by Rublack and Holtz.<sup>57</sup> Württemberg's *Große Kirchenordnung* included paragraphs on aspects of marriage and the household: husbands, wives, parents, children, servants and workers, and the head of the household.<sup>58</sup> Much of Holtz's discussion of marriage is based on wedding sermons; however, as Rublack notes, the traditional point in the church year at which marriage was the subject of parish preaching was the second Sunday of Epiphany, for which John's account of the wedding at Cana (John 2:1-11) was the set gospel.<sup>59</sup> In the *Corona anni*, Crusius offered five sermons for this Sunday, which on closer inspection turn out to be only four, since the first pair of sermons are in fact one long exposition of this text by Jakob Heerbrand, preached on two successive Sundays, 17 and 24 January 1580. Two more were by Theodore Schnepff, from 17 January 1575 and 14 January 1582.<sup>60</sup> The final sermon, by Jakob Andreae, was preached on 15 January 1587.

<sup>56</sup> On Reformation understandings of marriage, see Susanna Burghartz, *Zeiten der Reinheit – Orte der Unzucht. Ehe und Sexualität in Basel während der frühen Neuzeit*, Paderborn 1999; Richard van Dülmen, *Fest der Liebe. Heirat und Ehe in der frühen Neuzeit*, in: idem (ed.), *Armut, Liebe, Ehre. Studien zur historischen Kulturforschung*, Frankfurt am Main 1988, 67–106; Heide Wunder, „Er ist die Sonn', sie ist der Mond“. *Frauen in der frühen Neuzeit*, Munich 1992, especially 57–80; Lyndal Roper, *The holy household: women and morals in Reformation Augsburg*, Oxford 1989; Merry Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 1993, esp. 56–63; compare also: Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation*, Baltimore–London 1978, 110–116. As Holtz notes, views of marriage were intimately bound up with understandings of the household, "[das] das zentrale Stukturmerkmal der frühneuzeitlichen Gesellschaft schlechthin gebildet hat". Compare Holtz, *Theologie und Alltag* (cf fn. 7), 187.

<sup>57</sup> Rublack, *Lutherische Predigt* (cf fn. 4), 348–364; Holtz, *Theologie und Alltag* (cf fn. 7), 187–200.

<sup>58</sup> *Große Kirchenordnung* (cf fn. 5), lxi<sup>v</sup>–lxii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Rublack, *Lutherische Predigt* (cf fn. 4), 348 n. 11.

<sup>60</sup> They reveal that Schnepff was happy to draw on his earlier sermon when preparing the later one; he probably felt safe in doing so given the seven year gap and had not reckoned with Crusius who placed the two sermons next to each other in his volume. However, Frymire points to the conviction of some preachers that the same content should be preached on the same reading every year, so as to familiarise the congregation with the texts and their correct interpretation. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils* (cf n.4), 187–191. As noted in footnote 19 above, Crusius gave two dates of preaching for three sermons in the collection. This could indicate repetition of the same sermon, but this certainly seems not to have been a standard pattern at Tübingen. It is also possible that Crusius in these cases incorporated notes from two sermons by the same preacher on the same text.

As might be expected, all these sermons affirmed the importance of marriage. Schnepff suggested that the marriage at Cana depicted in John 2 must have been a noble marriage: the quality of wine and entertainment show this. What is important, though, is not the nobility but the fact of the marriage. The presence of Christ – and above all of Mary – at the celebration demonstrates the value of marriage as an institution.<sup>61</sup> Schnepff explains that Mary was a virgin and that she had been blessed with the conception of Christ in her virginity, but he argues that this did not cause her to reject marriage; indeed, he said, she later married.<sup>62</sup> In his later sermon, he notes that important figures in the Old Testament, such as Abraham and Moses, were not only married, but also fathers, and thus clearly sexually active with their wives.<sup>63</sup> Schnepff concludes that as a way of life, marriage is holy and pure, and of the angels, far superior to virginity.<sup>64</sup> Those who privilege monastic life, he contends, are in error.

Schnepff's sermon contains no surprises for anyone familiar with the Reformation praise of marriage as one of the orders of creation. However, his affirmation of the pleasures of marriage are not entirely characteristic of a milieu in which attitudes towards marriage have been characterised by the motto *Ehstand ist Wehstand*.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, Schnepff's affirmation that marriage was superior to monasticism seems odd in a context in which monasticism had been abolished with the introduction of the Reformation nearly half a century earlier. However, it is a theme that is also central to the argument of the double sermon preached by Jakob Heerbrand in 1580.

Heerbrand argued that marriage is not a human invention, but instituted by God.<sup>66</sup> Monasticism is not the highest ideal, he suggests, but rather marriage achieves all that monasticism or the life of a hermit could attain. Monasteries have either an abbot or an abbess, but a family has a *paterfamilias* and a *materfamilias*. Monks and nuns were known as sons and daughters, as brothers and sisters – terminology which was drawn from family life.<sup>67</sup> The message is clear. Marriage and the life of the family form the basic unit of society, but interestingly Heerbrand is less immediately critical of monastic life than Schnepff. In a second step, however, Heerbrand argues that the monastic rule is a vain, human invention; marriage, in contrast, is laid down by God. The believer should do penance, believe the gospel, serve God with holiness and righteousness, pray (directly to God, the Lord's Prayer, morning and evening, and before and after meals). Husbands should love their wives, and wives be subject to their husbands. All should work to earn their daily bread – *paterfamilias* and *materfamilias* and the servant-girls – unlike the pattern of monastic life, Heerbrand argues, in which monks have too much free time and are lazy. All the members of a household should serve one another faithfully. Children should be properly educated.

<sup>61</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 230.

<sup>62</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 230.

<sup>63</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 233–234.

<sup>64</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 232; 234.

<sup>65</sup> For example, Rublack, *Lutherische Predigt* (cf fn. 4), 349, but see also the discussion in Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning* (cf fn. 56), esp. 113–116.

<sup>66</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 224.

<sup>67</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 225f.

These are the rules by which marriage should be regulated.<sup>68</sup> Heerbrand went on the following week to argue that everyone, including married people, had to carry their cross, and that marriage and family life did not prevent this, citing a long list of disastrous children from the Old Testament to buttress his point.<sup>69</sup> However, he concluded that marriage brought not only the cross but also consolation.<sup>70</sup> Here too Heerbrand contrasted the advantages of married life to what he viewed as the problems of monasticism and in particular its failure to offer consolation.<sup>71</sup>

Andreae, in contrast, was concerned with more practical questions. Marriage, he reminded the congregation, must be undertaken in a public ceremony;<sup>72</sup> it was “not to be praised” if a couple slept together before marriage;<sup>73</sup> nor was it advisable for a couple to marry without the consent of their parents.<sup>74</sup> A newly married couple need people’s prayers as they establish their life – including their sexual life – together.<sup>75</sup> Marriage is a way of turning the water of two single people into the wine of a vocation to married life.<sup>76</sup> Andreae too criticises the emphasis on monasticism found in teachings of the pope, commenting that it is the work of the devil to criticise marriage or baptism.<sup>77</sup>

All three preachers argue from scripture and adduce no other source of authority. Given that Württemberg’s monasteries and convents had been closed in the mid to late 1530s, nearly half a century earlier, the continuing concern to affirm marriage over monasticism is somewhat unexpected. Was this a particular theme in the early 1580s, or was it simply part of the rhetoric of the later Reformation, perhaps derived from Luther’s Large Catechism? Heerbrand’s presentation of marriage as representing almost a new monasticism is particularly interesting, suggesting as it does some degree of knowledge of monastic life. Born in 1529, he was certainly never himself a monk; he was the last of the Tübingen professors to have been a student at Wittenberg, taught by Luther and Melanchthon. The members of the Tübingen congregation – if they were listening to these sermons – would have received the message that marriage, and with it the household, was the context of piety, that it was a way of life given and blessed by God, that it would almost certainly bring with it experiences of the cross, but would also offer consolation.

<sup>68</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 226f.

<sup>69</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 228. The list includes Adam’s son Cain, Abraham’s son Ishmael, Isaac’s son Esau, Jacob’s children Reuben and Dinah, and David’s son Absalom.

<sup>70</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 228: “Dolores igitur & cruciatus, in coniugio sunt, crucibus insignitum vestimentum spinosum tribulis asperum. Non igitur vera est crux: quam Monasticae professores sibi sumpserunt.”

<sup>71</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 229.

<sup>72</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 240.

<sup>73</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 240f.: “Non enim laudabile est, ante diem nuptiarum congregri.”

<sup>74</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 241.

<sup>75</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 241: “ut publicae pro ipsis preces fiant: non aucto ideo solum, ut sit contradicendi spatium: si quis illos non posse legitime coniungi, sed copulationem dirimendam esse, existimet.”

<sup>76</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 241f.

<sup>77</sup> *Corona anni* 1: 242: “Ita Diabolus infamat & coniugium, & Baptisma.”



Interestingly, there is little about the specific roles of men and women in the sermons on the wedding at Cana, except for Heerbrand's affirmation that wives should be subject to their husbands. Heerbrand was, however, concerned with other aspects of women's lives. In a sermon on Matthew 4:18-22, preached on St Andrew's Day (30 November) 1581, he explored the theme of vocation, reminding the congregation that they – and particularly the women – could follow Christ by staying at home; they – men, but particularly women – did not need to join a monastery.<sup>78</sup> Here again the negation of monasticism plays an important role. The role of wives was also a theme. As has already been seen, Cruius included feast days no longer kept in Tübingen under which he categorised sermons about women. One of these – allocated to the feast of Mary Magdalene (22 July) – was a sermon preached some time in 1586 by Georg Sigwart. Sigwart took as his text Proverbs 31, and used this passage to extol the characteristics of a good wife.<sup>79</sup> However, the sermon is particularly interesting for Sigwart's critique of the biblical text. That the wife of Proverbs 31 is involved not only in making clothes but also selling them at the market place is a step too far, he argues, for women should not be involved in commerce.<sup>80</sup> Sigwart's views on the role of women override what he reads in Scripture.

Jakob Andreae seems to have been particularly interested in biblical accounts of women. Crusius categorises three sermons by Andreae under the heading "the Visitation." The first was indeed preached on that feast, 29 August, in 1563. Here Andreae argues that the encounter between Mary and Elizabeth was the first synod or council of the Church,<sup>81</sup> concluding that the "council of these women" had been the work of the Holy Spirit, and not the product of human pride.<sup>82</sup> In a second sermon on this text, preached two weeks later, on 12 September, Andreae suggests that Mary's reaction to Elizabeth's words "Blessed are you amongst women" showed that she was indeed full of grace, although her help should not be invoked; Andreae cites Mary as an example that justification comes only by faith.<sup>83</sup> That Elizabeth's child leapt in her womb, Andreae takes as evidence that Elizabeth's child was already very wise: this he saw as support for the practice of infant baptism, although he was at

<sup>78</sup> *Corona anni* 4: 6: "Dum oeconomiae praeest: liberosque educat probe, mulier, conservatur: modo maneat in fide, & sanctificatione cum castitate, 1. Tim 2."

<sup>79</sup> *Corona anni* 4: 223–226. For Sigwart, these characteristics include: her work and her ruling of the house; her faithfulness to her husband; her care for her children and maidservants; her support of the poor; her care of the house; her supervision of work in the fields and vineyards and the production of food and wine; her mode of dress; and her support of her husband and family. He also thinks that it is an additional attribute if she is beautiful.

<sup>80</sup> *Corona anni* 4: 224: "Sicut enim nihil magis decet hominem: quam permanere intra carceres & metam suae stationis: ita e contrario perquam turpe est, extra eos terminos vagari. In hoc autem non peccat matrona, qui diligenter domestica curat: sed in suas operationes incumbit." The marginal note to this section reads: "Si qua mulier domi manet: necesse eam est. Bonam esse. Si foris vagatur: improbam."

<sup>81</sup> *Corona anni* 4: 197.

<sup>82</sup> *Corona anni* 4: 198: "Postremo, concilium harum foeminarum: ac Decretum rei maximae. Ibi, verbo Dei assentiendum esse: non autem elatae & fumosae hominum dignitati."

<sup>83</sup> *Corona anni* 4: 200f.

pains to emphasise that this should not be done by a woman.<sup>84</sup> In the final sermon in this series, on 17 October, Andreae expounded the Magnificat, again explaining that Mary should not be adored, but should be admired as an exemplary disciple.<sup>85</sup> On Easter Sunday, 19 April 1584, Andreae asked why women, rather than men, had been the first witnesses to the resurrection: by sleeping instead of watching in Gethsemane, he concluded, the male disciples had showed themselves to be women; at the crucifixion and resurrection, the women therefore had to take the place of men.<sup>86</sup>

The sermons by Sigwart and Andreae suggest that the proper role of women in church and in society was being discussed in this period in Tübingen, and that some preachers at least felt it necessary to respond.

### (b) *Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's*

Another important socio-political theme in the late sixteenth century was that of attitudes towards political authority.<sup>87</sup> The preachers' attitudes in this area can be illustrated by a consideration of sermons on Matthew 22: 15-22, which included the text "render unto Caesar what is Caesar's, and unto God what is God's," the gospel reading set for the 23rd Sunday after Trinity. Crusius includes three sermons: by Theodore Schnepff, preached on 2 November 1578 (not being kept as All Souls' Day, a point which Schnepff makes explicitly in his sermon, and which Crusius underlines with a marginal note),<sup>88</sup> by Jakob Heerbrand, preached on 18 November 1582, and by Jakob Andreae, preached on 14 November 1585. All three preachers take this as an opportunity to emphasise the importance of civic authority in general and of the Duke of Württemberg in particular.<sup>89</sup>

Schnepff describes the principles "render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's" as defining the two laws by which people's lives should be lived:

<sup>84</sup> *Corona anni* 4: 198f.: "Sapientior est Elizabethae infans in rebus spiritualibus" (quotation on pl. 198). In contrast to Andreae's comments about baptism by women, the *Große Kirchenordnung* recognised that midwives had "in times of emergency and in the absence of men" ("zür zeit der not / in abwesen der Ma'nner") baptized babies. Affirming that women "are also co-inheritors of Christ's kingdom" ("in ansehung das auch die Weiber Miterben des Reichs Christi seind") the *Kirchenordnung* judged that this practice should be allowed to continue, but laid down the situations in which this was allowed and the form it should take. Nonetheless, baptism by men should be regarded as the norm and was deemed more desirable. Compare *Große Kirchenordnung* (cf fn. 5), lviii<sup>f-v</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> *Corona anni* 4: 202-205.

<sup>86</sup> *Corona anni* 2: 160: "Ac tribus rem indicavit mulieribus: Mariae Magdalenae, & Mariae Iacobi, & Salomae. Dicat aliquis: Cur non insignibus & fide dignis viris? Cur miseris mulierculis, nulla autoritate praeditis? At diffugerant Discipuli: & tantummodo impij milites aderant, ijque somnolenti. Viri, mulieres facti erant: mulieres, viri. Ministrae fuerant Domino mulieres, cum viveret: earumque unae, ipsum optima & preciosa nardo unxerat, viris id indignantibus. Cum iudicium fieret de Domino: sequebantur misericordia motae mulieres: viri contra, ad crucem affigendum esse, vociferabantur: & nusquam comparebant Discipuli."

<sup>87</sup> The *Große Kirchenordnung* instructed obedience, including the payment of taxes, to the temporal authorities and respect for judges. See *Große Kirchenordnung* (cf fn. 5), vxi<sup>f-v</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> *Corona anni* 3: 430: „Refutatio obiter, Festi Sanctorum & animarum omnium.“

<sup>89</sup> At this time, the Duke of Württemberg was Ludwig (the Pious) who had succeeded his father Christoph in 1568, aged 14, and ruled until his death until 1593.

the civil law (*regula civili*) and the spiritual law (*regula civili*).<sup>90</sup> Monasteries have many complicated laws, he says, but these are the only two laws that we actually need.<sup>91</sup> Fear, honour and tributes (i. e. taxes) should be given to the magistrates (and here Schnepff comments that this is in opposition to the position of the Anabaptists, who, he says, do not fear the magistrates);<sup>92</sup> the magistrates are “the protectors of us all and the keepers of the peace.”<sup>93</sup> They must be given the means to do that. To God should be given humility and fear; faith and prayer; love, charity, and patience – body and soul.<sup>94</sup> Schnepff does not expand on what all this means in terms of behaviour, and he does not mention the church.

Heerbrand takes a similar line to Schnepff. He affirms that to the magistrates should be given honour, obedience and tributes,<sup>95</sup> emphasising the “great usefulness” of the magistrates, and condemns those who rise up against them, “as Thomas Münzter did in Thüringen fifty-seven years ago.”<sup>96</sup> Heerbrand points out, though, that the magistrates and princes must rule justly and not as tyrants.<sup>97</sup> He adds a short eulogy to the Duke of Württemberg.<sup>98</sup> What people owe to God is obedience, their talents, even in times of adversity. Obedience to God is not shown through masses or the invocation of saints, but through a good conscience and devout piety.<sup>99</sup> Taking Job as his model, Heerbrand argues for patience in adversity, and acceptance that “the Lord gives, the Lord takes away, blessed is the name of the Lord.”<sup>100</sup>

In contrast, Andreae uses this text as a springboard to discussing the role and responsibilities of ministers in the church, who should “love truth and freely and courageously teach the way of God.”<sup>101</sup> His focus is on the behaviour of the Pharisees in trying to entrap Jesus,<sup>102</sup> and on Jesus’s wisdom in avoiding the trap.<sup>103</sup> Andreae does mention obedience to the magistrates,<sup>104</sup> but unlike his colleagues he indicates that this should not be at the cost of obedience to God.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>90</sup> This would appear to be a paraphrase of Luther’s theology of the two kingdoms.

<sup>91</sup> *Corona anni* 3: 430.

<sup>92</sup> *Corona anni* 3: 431.

<sup>93</sup> *Corona anni* 3: 431: “Ipsi enim, salutis nostrae protectores sunt, & communis omnium pacis custodes.”

<sup>94</sup> *Corona anni* 3: 432.

<sup>95</sup> *Corona anni* 3: 433f.

<sup>96</sup> I.e. in 1525: *Corona anni* 3: 434.

<sup>97</sup> *Corona anni* 3: 434: “Attamen vicissim, iuste ipsi potestate uti debent: non autem ad tyrannidem & rapinas.”

<sup>98</sup> See *Corona anni* 3: 434. The marginal note reads: “Eulogium Illustrissimi maxissimique Ducis nostri.”

<sup>99</sup> *Corona anni* 3: 435: “Nunc vero multi, qui se placere volunt potentioribus, accedunt ad Pontificias Missas: aut Sanctos defunctos invocant talibusque factis conscientias suas vulnerant. Sed o beatum, cui bona conscientia est. Hic modus est colendae adversus Deum pietatis.”

<sup>100</sup> *Corona anni* 3: 435: “Sed tamen & pietate praestans vir Iobus, bonis suis spoliatus est: & corpori eius ulcera undique inflicta. Nihilominus is patienter & grate ait: Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit. Sit nomen Domini benedictum.”

<sup>101</sup> *Corona anni* 3: 436: “Hoc animo sint omnes Ecclesiarum ministri: ut veritatem ament, DEIQUE viam libere & animose doceant. Natura enim comparatum est, ut homines mendacii delectentur.”

<sup>102</sup> *Corona anni* 3: 435.

<sup>103</sup> *Corona anni* 3: 438.

<sup>104</sup> *Corona anni* 3: 438.

<sup>105</sup> *Corona anni* 3: 438f.

These sermons suggest that themes of obedience and resistance were articulated in very different ways by the preachers at Tübingen. Luther's theology of the two kingdoms seems to offer a useful interpretive framework, but so too do questions of conscience. Further research will be needed to explore the complexities of this central sixteenth-century theme.

#### IV. Conclusion

This article presents the initial results of what promises to be a rich exploration of these sermons. In their different ways, Tübingen's preachers encouraged their listeners to order their lives in obedience to God and sought to prepare them for the trials that life could bring. The *Corona Anni* offers evidence for the patterns of preaching through the church year in this late sixteenth century university church, showing how the calendar of the late-medieval church was being changed by the discipline of preaching more closely on the biblical text. The texts of the sermons indicate the very different ways that preachers approached this task. Certain opponents can be identified: Anabaptists and Calvinists, and, in questions of the Eucharist, "Zwinglians". However, the primary adversaries, even fifty years after the introduction of the Reformation into Württemberg, are Catholics, not infrequently characterised as "papists": it is striking that Tübingen's preachers were still concerned to assert the divine order of society, manifest in the household over and against the "false rules" offered by monasticism. It remains to be discovered through a further examination of these sermons and their context whether this is simply a carry-over of the rhetoric of the early Reformation or evidence of the slow pace of change in Württemberg's Reformation.<sup>106</sup> What is certain is that Crusius' *Corono anni* offers a wealth of insights into the culture and practice of preaching in late sixteenth-century Tübingen.

#### Abstract

From 1559 until 1607, Martin Crusius, Professor of Greek and Rhetoric at the University of Tübingen, regularly took notes of the sermons preached in Tübingen's *Stiftskirche* by the University's Professors of Theology. In 1603, he published a four-volume work, the *Corona anni*, which included over 500 sermons, including more than 400 preached in Tübingen between 1573 and 1586. The first part of this article describes the context of preaching at Tübingen and considers Crusius's practice of note-taking. On the basis of the *Corona anni*, and drawing also on Crusius's diary and Württemberg's *Große Kirchenordnung* (1559), the second part explores what the *Corona anni* reveals about the pattern of preaching and the shape of the church year. In a third part, two examples of the content of this preaching are investigated: sermons on the wedding of Cana (John 2:1-11), focussed on the virtues of marriage over a monastic life; considering "render unto Caesar what is Caesar's" (Matthew 22:15-22), preachers emphasised the responsibilities and duties of Christian subjects to the Duke of Württemberg, but also the need to be obedient to God.

<sup>106</sup> During the 1580s, Heerbrand also presided over several disputations in the theology faculty of the University of Tübingen which engaged the definition of the term Catholic and the practices of Catholicism.

In den Jahren 1559 bis 1607 erstellte Martin Crusius, Professor für Griechisch und Rhetorik an der Universität Tübingen, regelmäßig Mitschriften von Predigten, die Tübinger Theologieprofessoren an der Stiftskirche gehalten hatten. Im Jahr 1603 veröffentlichte er eine vierbändige Predigtsammlung, *Corona anni*, die mehr als 500 Predigten enthält. Über 400 von ihnen sind in Tübingen zwischen 1573 und 1586 vorgetragen worden. Der Aufsatz geht im ersten Teil auf den Tübinger Kontext ein und erörtert die Entstehungsbedingungen der Mitschriften. Im zweiten Teil werden Predigtrhythmus und das Kirchenjahr auf der Grundlage der *Corona anni* und des Tagebuch des Crusius' sowie der Württembergischen *Großen Kirchenordnung* (1559) rekonstruiert und analysiert. Im dritten Teil werden anhand von zwei Perikopen die Predigten exemplarisch untersucht. Dabei wird deutlich, dass die Predigten über die Hochzeit zu Kana (Joh. 2,1–11) die Ehe als Lebensstil vor dem Mönchtum bevorzugen. Bei der Auslegung der Stelle „gebet dem Kaiser, was des Kaisers ist“ (Mt. 22,15–22) unterstreichen die Prediger sowohl die besondere Verantwortung als auch die Pflichten der christlichen Untertanen dem Herzog von Württemberg gegenüber, aber auch ihre Pflicht zum Gehorsam gegenüber Gott unterstreichen.

Interest in the role of religious forces within traditional Protestantism has increased since churches and churchmen helped contribute to the decline of communism in Poland and the German Democratic Republic. Such revivals among German Protestants to anti-government protest on the eve of the recent parliamentary elections and points to the theological shifts that have taken place in the country over the course of the last century and a half. For the studies in this collection, Protestant scholars to the 1848 revolution have uncovered much evidence in regard to the

The literature on this subject, however, are referred to the following works that focus on the GDR: Beckwith, *The Revolution of the German Christians in the Revolution of the German Democratic Republic*, Meisen 1996; John P. Bergner, *The East German Church and the End of Communism*, New York: Oxford 1997; Arnd Brümmel (ed.), *Vom Gebot zur Dasein*, 1999. The *Handbuch Protestantismus und Kirche*, Prospekt 1 of 2009, Christian Mission, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Die Religionen, die aus der Kirche kam, Berlin 2008.

Christ Schmitt's study of sermons delivered during the revolutionary period in 1848 will surely include the evangelical Precht in Kirchheimweiler 1848. Ein Evangelischer Prediger und Politik während des Revolutionsjahres 1848. In: *Evangelische Theologie und Politik in der Revolutionszeit*, Gießen 1994. Two papers have collected in the book *Die Welt der Germanen: Protestantismus und die 1848 Revolution*, Prospekt 1 of 2009, Christian Mission, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Die Religionen, die aus der Kirche kam, Berlin 2008. The latter volume is a collection of papers delivered at a symposium in Kirchheimweiler 1997. There are a number of regional studies relating to the topic of the article: Thomas Gamm, *Zwei Geschichte in der Revolution von 1848*, St. Ingbert: Verlag des Vereins und Kreisvereins der Kirchen Predigerkreis, Kreis St. Ingbert, Kreisverband der evangelischen Kirchenvereine St. Ingbert in der Kreisheimatpflege 1984 und 1985, Gießen 1984. *Evangelische Theologie und Politik in der Revolutionszeit*, Gießen 1994. *Die evangelische Kirche in Baden im Vormärz und während der Revolution*, Prospekt 1 of 2009, Christian Mission, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Die Religionen, die aus der Kirche kam, Berlin 2008. *Evangelische Theologie und Politik in der Revolutionszeit*, Gießen 1994. *Die evangelische Kirche in Baden im Vormärz und während der Revolution*, Prospekt 1 of 2009, Christian Mission, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Die Religionen, die aus der Kirche kam, Berlin 2008. *Evangelische Theologie und Politik in der Revolutionszeit*, Gießen 1994. *Die evangelische Kirche in Baden im Vormärz und während der Revolution*, Prospekt 1 of 2009, Christian Mission, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Die Religionen, die aus der Kirche kam, Berlin 2008. *Evangelische Theologie und Politik in der Revolutionszeit*, Gießen 1994. *Die evangelische Kirche in Baden im Vormärz und während der Revolution*, Prospekt 1 of 2009, Christian Mission, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Die Religionen, die aus der Kirche kam, Berlin 2008.