INFORMATION TO USERS

While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted. For example:

- Manuscript pages may have indistinct print. In such cases, the best available copy has been filmed.

- Manuscripts may not always be complete. In such cases, a note will indicate that it is not possible to obtain missing pages.

- Copyrighted material may have been removed from the manuscript. In such cases, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, and charts) are photographed by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each oversize page is also filmed as one exposure and is available, for an additional charge, as a standard 35mm slide or as a 17”x 23” black and white photographic print.

Most photographs reproduce acceptably on positive microfilm or microfiche but lack the clarity on xerographic copies made from the microfilm. For an additional charge, 35mm slides of 6”x 9” black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography.
Images of marriage and family life in Nördlingen: Moral preaching and devotional literature, 1589–1712

Dugan, Eileen Theresa, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1987

Copyright ©1988 by Dugan, Eileen Theresa. All rights reserved.
IMAGES OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE IN NÖRLINGEN
MORAL PREACHING AND DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE,
1589-1712

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By

Eileen T. Dugan, B.A., M.A.

The Ohio State University

1987

Dissertation Committee:
James M. Kittelson
Joseph H. Lynch
John C. Rule

Approved by

Adviser
Department of History
©1988

EILEEN THERESA DUGAN

All Rights Reserved
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank my adviser, Prof. James M. Kittelson, for his guidance and support throughout my graduate studies. Thanks also to the members of my dissertation committee, Profs. Joseph H. Lynch and John C. Rule, for their helpful comments and suggestions. A fellowship to the Twentieth Summer Institute of the Society for Reformation Research in the summer of 1983 proved invaluable for the development of essential paleographical skills. This project was made possible by a Fulbright-Hayes Fellowship for study in Germany. The indefatigable patience and guidance of Prof. Hans-Christoph Rublack of the Universität Tübingen, who first pointed me toward Nördlingen, is sincerely appreciated. I wish to thank the directors and staffs of the archives and libraries I visited in the course of my research: Hans-Dietmar Voges of the Stadtarchiv Nördlingen, the staff of the Stadtbücherei Nördlingen, of the Stadt- und Staatsbibliothek Augsburg, and of the Baden-Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart.

Finally, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to those who have provided moral support throughout this project: to the Familie Schwöd of Nördlingen, to Douglas and Cynthia Bisson of Belmont College, to John Liessmann Vantine of the Universität Tübingen, and to my mother, Constance Dugan, and my father, the late George Dugan.
VITA

May 25, 1958 . . . . . . . Born, Manhasset, New York

1979 . . . . . . . . . . . . B.A., Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas

1981 . . . . . . . . . . . . M.A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1983-1986 . . . . . . . Fulbright-Hayes Fellowship and study, Universität Tübingen, Tübingen, West Germany

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major field: Renaissance and Reformation History

Studies in: Ancient Rome (Timothy E. Gregory)

Medieval Europe (Joseph H. Lynch)

Tudor and Stuart England (Clayton R. Roberts)
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ........................................ ii
VITA ..................................................... iii

CHAPTER

I. INTRODUCTION ..................................... 1

II. A PATERNAL CITY ................................. 18
  Introduction ..................................... 18
  The Funeral Sermon from laudatio funebris to Guide to Christian Life ........... 27
  The Nördlingen Funeral Sermons and Their Subjects: An Overview ............... 36

III. FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE NÖRDLINGEN FUNERAL SERMONS ............... 42

IV. LUTHERAN HAUSVÄTERLITERATURE FROM THE SIXTEENTH THROUGH EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES .... 81

V. THE SCHOOL OF VIRTUE: GEORG ALBRECHT'S DER_HAUSSSTAND ..................... 95
  The Sacred Nature of Marriage ............. 95
  The Beginnings of a Christian Marriage:
    Parental Consent and Marital Love ....... 110
  Conception and Birth ....................... 123
  Husbands and Wives, Parents and Children ........................................... 138
  The Crosses of Life .......................... 158

VI. CONCLUSION: "PATRIARCHAL MODERNITY"? .......... 169

NOTES ............................................... 185

APPENDIX: THE NÖRDLINGEN FUNERAL SERMONS: SUBJECTS LIST ....................... 252

BIBLIOGRAPHY ............................................. 261
"Lutheranism and family life" is a vast subject that has engaged the efforts of an array of writers for well over a century. By mid-19th century German jurists were tracing the influences of Lutheran thought on the development of modern marriage law, while literary scholars hailed the Protestant movement as the source of more enlightened attitudes toward marriage, women, and the family. More recently, theologians have explained the new outlook on familial relationships as a consequence of Luther’s doctrine of the two kingdoms; local ministers continue to draw from early Lutheran teachings guidance for the Christian home today. Indeed, there is hardly a modern study of Christianity and domestic life that does not consider Luther and the advent of Lutheranism to be a major, positive turning point in the history of the family.

A number of fine works have resulted from this enduring interest. Hartwig Dieterich’s *Das protestantische Eherecht* (1970) replaced Rudolf Sohm’s 1875 *Das Recht der Eheschließung* as the authoritative study of Lutheran marriage.
lav; in the 1950s Olavi Lähteenmäki presented the first clear synthesis of Luther's ethics of marriage; and Ivar Asheim examined the impact of the new theology upon sixteenth-century pedagogical notions.

The studies produced by this school are impressive in their scope and depth, and even more so when one remembers that they are based not upon one discrete, seminal treatise from Luther's pen, but rather upon the Reformer's scattered, sometimes vague, often off-the-cuff, and all-too-frequently contradictory writings and remarks concerning marriage, women, and parenthood. Nevertheless, the social historian, while appreciating the formidable scholarship behind these works, might not be thoroughly satisfied with their authors' treatment of the development of the family. Granted that a transformation in the concept of marriage and the family was underway in sixteenth-century Lutheran Germany, but what was the reality of the situation? Moreover, can one explain this transformation solely in terms of religion? Or should one turn rather to account current social and economic conditions?

The past 25 years have in fact featured growing interest in the history of the family from a more socioeconomic viewpoint. Often inspired by the women's movement and late twentieth century anxiety over the demise of the family as an institution, historians, demographers, sociologists, economists, and psychohistorians have turned to the past in
an effort to discover those circumstances and attitudes which contributed to the "rise of the modern family" in the first place. As one representative of this movement wrote, "their hope is to make possible sounder judgments of present-day problems from knowledge of the functions of familial connections in the past."

The work most responsible for fuelling interest in this area of study is Philippe Aries' *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*. Since its publication in 1960 this book has become a standard for the history of the family and has provided a starting-point for the researches of European and American scholars alike, including Jean-Louis Flandrin, Michael Mitterauer, and Lawrence Stone. Almost concurrently with the appearance of Aries' classic, the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, spearheaded by Peter Laslett, began its demographic surveys of household structure and size, marriage rates, childbearing patterns, and illegitimacy rates in early modern and modern England. Other recent trends in family history include the household economics school, exemplified by the studies of peasant economies and inheritance of Lutz Berkner and Jack Goody, and the more dubious psychohistorical approach.

Anyone who hazards to make a contribution to the history of the family must ultimately reckon with the leading forces in the field. When one takes the "sentiments
approach", investigating familial relationships from literary and artistic sources, then one must deal with Philippe Aries, Edward Shorter, and Lawrence Stone. As noted above, Centuries_of_Childhood was a pioneer in the area of family history, and today scholars still debate the history of childhood in terms of Aries' conclusions. These conclusions, based largely on artistic and linguistic evidence, may be briefly outlined. In the Middle Ages, children were perceived as little more than "miniature adults": they wore the same costumes as did adults and took part in games and local festivals alongside adults. There was no demarcation between "infancy", "childhood", "adolescence", and "youth", and no one seemed to recognize the physical and emotional needs of children in each phase of growing up. A dawning awareness of the separateness of childhood is evident in fifteenth-century art, and by the seventeenth century "childhood" had come into its own, with age-specific clothing, games, language, and literature. Aries places the completion of these processes a good century before either the industrial or the demographic revolution, historians' common fountainheads of social change, and instead points to the rise of modern education as the major influence behind the development of the notion of childhood. It was the pedagogues, from the founders of universities in the late Middle Ages to the Jesuits and Jansenists in the seventeenth century, who first recognized the various phases of
childhood, and they formed their educational programs to meet the needs and the intellectual capacities of children at each stage of their development. This pedagogical movement led, at least among the urban upper and middle classes, to a clear perception and appreciation of the special nature of childhood.

A broader approach to the history of the family is taken by Edward Shorter in *The Making of the Modern Family*. Drawing from widely scattered sources covering over four centuries, Shorter attempts to tell "the tale of sentiments" of the family's progress from the arranged marriages, kinship ties, and sociability of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries - the "Bad Old Days" - to the love, individualism, and jealousy of privacy, or "domesticity", which have characterized the "modern" family of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Shorter basically accepts Aries' conclusions regarding upper- and middle-class perceptions of childhood in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but among the lower classes, the central figures of Shorter's study, this awareness did not appear until at least the end of the eighteenth century. It was in fact among the lower classes that the "modern" family first emerged, Shorter argues, for they were the first to be "liberated" socially and economically by market capitalism; liberation meant individualism, and this was expressed in interpersonal relationships in the form of
romantic love and marriage based upon sentiment rather than upon economic considerations or the demands of kinship or lineage. Similar traces of sentiment were not to be expected among the status-conscious upper and middle classes of early modern times, nor, Shorter claims, are expressions of such emotions to be found in literary sources before 1775. Nineteenth-century industrialization in its turn brought improved child care, through better living conditions and even maternity leave. Middle-class mothers, freed from participation in the family business, could now afford to stay at home and care for their own infants. As a result, the mother-child relationship developed into a truly loving, self-sacrificing relationship, as opposed to the mere natural love rooted in the biological link found in previous ages; the elevation of the child, and the infant in particular, from economic burden to the focal point of the family completed the family's transition from "traditional" to "modern".

By far the most complex treatment of the development of the modern family is Lawrence Stone's *The Family, Sex and Marriage: In England, 1500-1800*. In sharp contrast to Shorter's rather simplistic image of the early modern family marching steadily toward modernity, Stone presents an intricate web of familial patterns and modes of behavior. These patterns and modes did not so much arise and succeed each other, but more often overlapped and coexisted within
the same classes for decades at a time before finally giving way to a more progressive form. Stone postulates three basic family types for the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries. The first was the "Open Lineage Family" (1400-1630), characterized by sociability and loyalty to lineage and kin. Marriage according to this type was not a free choice based upon romantic sentiment, but rather upon consideration of the economic and social benefits of the match; indeed, one rarely had a voice in the choice of a lifelong partner, as the decision was normally made by parents and the entire network of relations. Among the upper classes marriages were little more than alliances between rich and politically powerful families, while members of the lower classes chose mates who would bring needed capital or labor to the family business. The family was patriarchal, and relationships were cool. The second family type was the "Restricted Patriarchal Family" of 1530 to 1700, which retained its authoritarian structure but slowly began to close itself off from the outside influences of community and more distant kin. The third family type was the "Closed Domesticated Nuclear Family", which first appeared in the 1620s and predominated throughout the eighteenth century. This type, the most "modern" of the three, was marked by its warm affective ties, its respect for personal autonomy, and the firmly-drawn boundaries between the nuclear unit and the rest of the world. The
driving force behind the evolution of the "Closed Domesticated Nuclear Family" was what Stone calls "Affective Individualism", a perception of human relationships inspired by the rise of a wealthy bourgeoisie and squirarchy, the decline of Puritanism and its authoritarian doctrines, and Lockean notions of individualism. But despite its widespread acceptance, this familial pattern did not lead directly to the modern family of today, for its ideals were stifled with the reintroduction of patriarchalism in the Victorian era.

Theories as broad and wide-ranging as those of Aries, Shorter, and Stone are bound to draw both interest and criticism. Shorter and Stone in particular have come under severe attack: scholars have rightly questioned the truth of their conclusions, pointing to oversights, misreadings, misinterpretations, contradictions, and bold generalizations sometimes based upon the most superficial evidence. Other critics have produced their own studies in the history of the family. Klaus Arnold took on the entire Aries school in his monograph on medieval childhood, while Alan Macfarlane's latest series of books and articles are a direct challenge to the conclusions of Stone. However, like their predecessors, these recent works are very broad in chronological and geographical scope, and their authors are as liable to charges of selectivity of sources and overgeneralization as are their opponents.
Amidst this sometimes heated scholarly debate E. P. Thompson poses an obvious question that is so often overlooked by these students of family history: is there such a thing as the history of the family? To be sure, Thompson does not deny the value of historical studies of familial relationships, but he does seriously question the possibility of obtaining from these researches one universal explanation of "the making of the Modern Family". Familial attitudes are most fluid concepts, and are likely to vary according to country, region, class, occupation, and religion: one would not expect a wealthy Lutheran Bürgermeister in Saxony to have the same views regarding family life as a lowly Catholic farmer in Alsace. Stone and Shorter remind the reader that such variables as class and nationality can indeed influence values, but in their own analyses they are prone to forget class distinctions and base their generalizations for society at large upon a meager selection of sources representing the upper classes.

It would be difficult to say that these current approaches to family history are in direct conflict with those of the more confessional, theologically-oriented tradition. The whole social, economic, and psychohistorical school would better be described as a parallel movement. For just as the Lutheran scholars have often failed to include social and economic conditions in their interpretations of Reformation-era family life, so the sociologists,
demographers, and economists virtually ignore religion as a factor promoting or retarding social change. To the demographers and economists social mobility, declining infant and child mortality rates, the spirit of market capitalism, or industrialization were the catalysts that triggered the transformation of the family. So, at this point a traditional historian of the Reformation might justifiably ask, "could not religious ideals be equally effective as social and economic developments in this same process?"

An initial attempt to fuse Lutheran theology and the new social history (albeit not in the area of marriage and the family in particular) was Gerald Strauss’ 1978 Luther’s House of Learning: Indocrtination of the Young in the German Reformation. However severely it has been criticized by other historians, it remains a valuable work because it demonstrates the possibilities of combining theological understanding with the innovative use of a variety of materials, such as city council minutes and visitation reports, which social historians have found so informative of daily life. Steven Ozment, in When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe, employed a favorite source of historians of the family, the autobiography. His reliance upon one Catholic autobiography, however, cannot but raise doubts among his readers about the validity of the generalizations and conclusions which he at least implies cover all of Germany, Catholic and Protestant, in
the sixteenth century. Most recently, Thomas Max Safley has attempted to join traditional Reformation history with quantitative methods. His studies based upon the marriage court and city council records of Constance, Basel, and Freiburg, though sometimes wanting in convincing analysis, have provided yet another method by which Reformation scholars might demonstrate the links between Lutheran teachings and domestic life.

Family history is still in its infancy. Scholars have only begun to explore the literature, the correspondence, the court records, city council minutes, and parish registers that can reveal so much about family life in past time. Considering the miniscule percentage of these documents thus far researched and the mountains of materials which continue to lie undiscovered and undisturbed in provincial archives throughout Europe, it would be difficult to accept any general statements regarding "the rise of the modern family" at least as currently posited by social historians of all persuasions. At the moment, the best that scholars can hope to do in the realm of family history is to "collect samples", to conduct case studies of specific classes and regions in an effort to assess perceptions of family life within a limited framework. Only when a number of these preliminary studies are completed will it be possible to begin to make comparisons between classes, regions, and religions, and thus gain a more thorough understanding
of the nature of early modern domestic life.

The Free Imperial City of Nördlingen offers an excellent opportunity for just such a case study. A mercantile center of some 9,000 souls in 1600, it contained one major church, the parish church of St. George, and one religion, Lutheranism. Its city archives today house a rich collection of primary sources, including the published sermons and devotional books of the city's pastors from the late sixteenth through the early eighteenth centuries. An average of five sermons were delivered in Nördlingen each week, apart from those given at weddings and funerals and on holy days and special occasions. A small percentage of these sermons is still extant, but even these are numerous and yield a good impression of the ministers' public teachings concerning marriage and the family. In addition, the Nördlingen divines often treated the subject of the Christian home in the form of songs detailing the duties of each household member and prayers for protection over family and possessions. Civic proclamations, city council minutes, and the records of the local marriage court provide further information concerning contemporary domestic attitudes in Nördlingen.

The following employs all these materials in an examination of the Nördlingen clergy's teachings on marriage and family life from 1580 to 1710. The objectives of this study are first, to identify the essential domestic values
contained in the various sermons and devotional writings of the Nördlingen ministers, second, to view these notions in terms of Lutheran theology and contemporary social and economic forces, and third, to determine whether ideals propounded in 1710 Nördlingen were indeed innovative or merely repeated those of a century earlier. The terminal dates correspond to the extant funeral sermons from the city, which is the major long-term source for social thought. The other single, major source, Superintendent Georg Albrecht's 1645-1646 weekly series of 75 sermons on marriage and the family, falls conveniently in the middle of the period and thus serves as an excellent barometer of local precepts at mid-century.

In retrospect, it is surprising that Reformation scholars and social historians alike have overlooked the sermon as a guide to social attitudes. Apart from the current work of Dr. Heide Wunder, who has investigated images of women in funeral sermons, nearly every study of Protestant preaching has concentrated on its theological content or rhetorical style. However, the sermons delivered in Nördlingen, and in particular the funeral sermons, have proven to be an amazingly rich source for determining the day-to-day values that guided Lutheran thought about marriage and the family.
Medieval funeral sermons had been no more than laudatio funebris, praise of the departed; in the Reformation era, however, Lutheran funeral sermons, as did Protestant sermons of all types, took on a more pedagogical tone. In funeral sermons it became standard practice to eulogize the deceased in terms of his or her Christian upbringing, education, career, marriage, and parenthood, for in so praising the virtuous life of the dead, the ministers hoped to inspire imitation among the living. In just this vein the Nördlingen pastor Gottlieb Regner reminded his listeners in 1601 "that funeral sermons are not undertaken and prescribed on behalf of the dead and departed, but much more on behalf of the living...."

Approximately 100 funeral sermons representing 24 of the 30 ministers attached to Nördlingen’s parish church of St. George have survived. These sermons, along with Albrecht’s 1100-page volume on the family and the devotional literature by other local pastors, provide a clear picture of late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century notions of the nature of family life as taught in that city. Indeed, these materials treat almost every imaginable topic, from the theological foundations and purposes of marriage, to relationships within the family, home devotional practices, childrearing, coping with high infant and child mortality and childlessness, and even accepting the death of a beloved spouse.
As will be seen in the course of this study, the familial pattern in Nördlingen was decidedly patriarchal. The seventeenth-century father was still the undisputed head of the household, and his wife, though possessing great authority in housekeeping matters, was still his subordinate. His children also remained subject to his strict discipline. But the ministers emphasized that this patriarchy was not to be without human warmth. The Nördlingen pastors vividly depicted the depth of affection that was to be felt between spouses and between parents and their children. Though they warned their congregation of the dangers of infatuation and overwhelming sexual desire, they also recognized the place of deep-seated love and respect within the family. The feeling of companionship within a marriage, the loyalty, support, and self-sacrifice of one spouse for another, and the ceaseless efforts of parents for the physical, spiritual, educational, and vocational welfare of their children are themes which appear repeatedly in the Nördlingen sources and exemplify what the local clergy held to be the ideal Christian family life.

To be sure, the historian must not automatically regard the teachings in sermons and devotional literature as the practiced pattern of life within a community. Funeral sermons are particularly hazardous materials: then as now, ministers usually wished to put the deceased in the best possible light, and thus portrayed the subject as a
God-fearing Christian, a devoted spouse, and an exemplary parent, without mentioning any less praiseworthy habits like drunkenness or wife-beating. As one Nördlingen minister admitted in the late sixteenth century, it was possible that

a man who was a blasphemer, a whorer etc. all of his life (could) set aside a silver chalice and order that, when he dies, it should be given to the minister before he delivers the funeral sermon so that he might be remembered favorably.*•

There can be no doubt that ministers edited their delivered sermons before publication. Like Luther, ministers recognized that "there is a great difference between bringing something to light with the living voice and with inanimate print." Words might be changed, points clarified, and frequently pastors would succumb to the temptation to expand their works; indeed, several of the Nördlingen sermons are over 100 quarto pages in their published versions.

Despite these reservations, the sermon reveals much about perceptions of family life. Although one must view the lives depicted in the funeral sermons more as idealized models of desired behavior than as mirrors of actual domestic life, they do contain the precepts advocated by one local church. In the case of edited sermons, one might expect lengthier expositions of the central theme, but not wholesale alteration of the theme, underlying attitudes, or supporting arguments. Here Albrecht's weekly series proves
most useful, for these sermons, published posthumously by his children and all of a manageable delivery length of thirteen pages, appear to have escaped heavy-handed editing and can therefore serve as a basis of comparison for the more inflated among the funeral sermons. Finally, one must not forget that an overview of the essential messages, topics, and characters which served as the focus of sermons as well as of other forms of devotional literature can in itself reveal much about contemporary attitudes. It is arguable that an undertaking like Albrecht's 75 sermons on the Christian home would have been inconceivable in Catholic circles a century earlier.

In sum, the sheer fact that Nördlingen's Lutheran pastors throughout the seventeenth century expounded what are often considered "modern" ideals of heartfelt love between man and wife and the selfless involvement of the parent in providing for his child's physical and emotional welfare, is significant. The lengthy homiletic passages extolling the glories of married life, the devotional literature designed especially for children, and the numerous published funeral sermons for women and children are all evidence of the great importance that Nördlingen divines already attached to familial relationships in this period.
CHAPTER II
A PATERNAL CITY

Introduction

To walk through Nördlingen’s winding, narrow streets toward evening, when the shops are closed and the tourists have long since departed for other sights, is as close as anyone in the late twentieth century might hope to come to stepping into the past. Today the visitor to Nördlingen is charmed by the city’s circular wall, the imposing towers, the crowd of fourteenth-century houses, weatherbeaten and sometimes precariously shifted to one side. These structures are more than mere curiosities: they are documents of a city’s history. The ornate patricians’ homes in the very center of the city, the tanners’ homes with their spacious attics for drying hides hugging a tiny branch of the Eger River, and the many placenames still in use - Schäfflesmarkt, Brettermarkt, Salzmarkt, Weinmarkt - are all remnants of Nördlingen’s mercantile and industrial heyday. A small city 50 miles northwest of Augsburg, medieval Nördlingen reaped the benefits of its location at the junction of two major trade routes, the one linking Bohemia and Nuremberg with Lake Constance, the other connecting
Frankfurt and Augsburg with Italy. Here traveling mer­chants traded their textiles, spices, furs, livestock, and metals, and Nördlingers found a ready market for their local wares. By the end of the fifteenth century these trade routes had already waned in importance; but the strength of the home industries, which included tanning, woolens, and the manufacture of finished articles, more than compensated for their decline.

Evidence meets the visitor's eye which attests to the downfall of the bustling trade town. A cannonball protrud­ing from the Berger Tor bears silent witness to the siege, occupation, and plague which crippled Nördlingen's economy in the course of the Thirty Years' War; the quaint doll­sized houses along the city wall, imperial barracks con­structed late in the seventeenth century, are monuments to later wars which would ultimately deliver the final blow to that city's economy. As Christopher Friedrichs demonstrat­ed in his superb study of seventeenth-century Nördlingen's politics and economics, the Thirty Years' War had resulted in depopulation and a collapsed economy within that city, but it had recovered remarkably by 1670. This restored prosperity, however, was short-lived, for a new wave of imperial wars drained the finances of both the city and the people in the form of demands for higher taxes and funds to outfit a "Nördlingen contingent", as well as successive years of quartering imperial troops.
Despite the recurrence of war and economic hardship throughout the seventeenth century, the Free Imperial City of Nördlingen itself remained remarkably free of internal turmoil. This tranquility was largely thanks to the efforts of the local city council, a group of fifteen men whose governing policy might best be described as "paternal". Like a loving father the council kept a watchful eye over its citizenry, stern in its punishment of moral, commercial, or criminal transgressions, and stalwart in its defense of the common weal. In times of war the council attempted to maintain a precarious balance between the drained resources of the populace and the demands of the many bands of soldiers, Swedish, Imperial, and French, which passed through the city gates and appealed for — often with an underlying threat of violence — cash, supplies, and shelter. The defense of traditional industry from the encroachments of entrepreneurial capitalism was another major concern of the city council, most notably demonstrated in its efforts to break up the monopoly of the woolens trade held by the Wörners, an enterprising family that had by the 1690s become the employer of nearly every weaver in the region. That the people of Nördlingen were generally content with their council is suggested by the fact that, from the late sixteenth through seventeenth centuries, there were only two riots in the city, and these were directed not against the local government but against
merchants. To be sure, sporadic outbreaks of pasquills did betray some elements of hostility against the ruling class within the community, but these tended to be isolated incidents which failed to escalate into a widespread crisis of confidence.

Alfred Schultze and Bernd Moeller have described the late medieval city as a "sacred society", in which the city fathers took upon themselves the spiritual welfare of their community. Fifteenth-century Nördlingen fits well into this pattern, as the city council members felt it their responsibility to supervise morals and punish blasphemy. In 1523 the city obtained the Patronatsrecht from Heilsbronn; in the same decade the city council undertook a "cleansing" within the church, both for its own sake and to satisfy the small but boisterous local reform movement, and thus preserve civic order. The blending of these goals and concerns are most evident in the appointment in October 1522 of Theobald Gerlacher "Billican" to the position of Stadtpfarrer: according to the council's letter to Billican, he was to preach Scripture to inspire peace and piety, and to take care that his ministry did not incite division or rebellion against the spiritual and secular authorities.
The city council hoped in vain that the appointment of Billican would appease the local reform movement. Already in April 1522 two students had been arrested and banished for wearing donkey ears and accosting the priest during a sermon; in that same year Kaspar Kantz of the local Carmelite convent published his *Von der evangelischen Messe*, which featured celebration of the Mass in German, communion *sub utrague specie*, and a pervading tinge of Luther’s doctrine of justification. Further instances of misconduct occurred in 1524, when one man reportedly sang anticlerical songs in the streets of Nördlingen, one harassed chaplain requested permission to leave the city, and eight iconoclasts were arrested. In this latter case the council threatened the men, but failed to punish them; Rublack interprets this leniency as the civic government’s wariness of opposing the reform movement with sanctions, lest violence erupt.

The government’s reaction to the prospect of married clergy varied in the 1520s: upon his marriage in 1523 Kantz had been banished, though he was eventually allowed to return. Billican’s marriage two years later, however, was tolerated by the council, an episode which might be interpreted as a clear indication of a changing religious climate in Nördlingen, were it not for the fact that Billican’s wife had family connections with both the council and the city’s leading businessmen.
The early years of the reform movement in Nördlingen were thus marked by minor disturbances and controversy, but, thanks largely to the stabilizing efforts of the city council, no major religious or civic turmoil ensued. In the years that followed the appointment of Billican the council slowly changed its tactics from reforming the existing church to instituting a new, Lutheran church structure. It allowed a Lutheran, sermon-oriented form of worship to take root in the parish church of St. George; in a 1525 letter to Schwäbisch Gmünd the council attested to its "reformierte Kirchwesen"; at the Diet of Regensburg in 1541 the city declared itself as Protestant; within the year local ministers began work on the first of several drafts of a new church order for Nördlingen. The council was not satisfied with the clergy's initial results, so in 1576 it invited the Swabian reformer Jakob Andreae to Nördlingen to act as consultant for the completion of the city's Reformation. Two years later the consistory was in place; and in the spring of 1579 the new church order was ratified.

Rublack has summarized the Nördlingen city council's religious policy in the Reformation era as "pacification within, minimizing risks without." In this byword is evident the stamp of paternalism. The city council retained its concern for the spiritual welfare of the community throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
Nowhere is this religious paternalism more apparent than in the council's dealings with the local clergy. The clergy and government of Nördlingen felt a common mission, to create a godly, orderly society, and the two powers worked together in an effort to realize this goal. In this effort, however, the city council clearly took the leading role. It was the council that called for frequent visitations of area churches and schools. These visitations would be conducted by a panel of divines and councilmen, whose fundamental concern was whether the children were learning their catechism. Indeed, the most common and scathing criticism levelled at the teachers at both the local Latin and German schools was not that the children did not know their ABCs, but that they were unable to recite the catechism. The council provided for the church and its ministers, both active and retired, through allowances of money, firewood, and supplies, and it defended the church from those who ignored its mandates or disrupted its services. Students and youths were the most commonly cited church delinquents: ministers complained that schoolboys misbehaved during services, chatting, flirting with the girls, and even at one point throwing cherry pits in the church. Another student was arrested for lurking outside the church door, only to emit a "crepitum Ventris" as worshippers left the service. At other times the community at large was enjoined to behave during
services, and not to kick their chairs or drag them about the church floor.

Though the city council generally did not interfere with the theological teachings of the local church, it did claim wide-ranging power over its external organization and direction. During the Thirty Years' War, for example, the council decreed public days of prayer, outlining everything from the sounding of the church bells to the basic topic of the sermon. The council also instructed the ministers to make announcements to the community during their sermons; following a fight in 1627 between citizens and imperial soldiers in a local tavern the ministers were to warn their listeners of the possible repercussions of such confrontations, and in 1658 the people were to be scolded for having dropped so many "bad Pfenning" into a collection for the poor.

The council conscientiously exercised its right to appoint clergymen to posts at St. George, the local hospital chapel, and affiliated churches in the surrounding region. The city council and consistory minutes report numerous interviews and "Probpredigten" of prospective ministers; in 1641 the court secretary traveled to Geildorf to hear a sermon by future Superintendent Georg Albrecht. The council did seek the advice of the local clergy in its appointments, but ultimate authority lay with the council. From time to time the council stepped in to
settle disputes among the ministers themselves, especially regarding the assignment of sermons. Here the matter at hand was not the content of the sermons, but their distribution, which, it would appear, was a common source of discord among the clergy; the council feared that the ministers' bickering over their assignments would prove disruptive to the efficiency of the church, and thus cause public confusion. For this reason the council would order ministers to cover for their ailing colleagues, or to allow a new deacon to deliver the early weekday sermon. Nor did the council believe it beyond the scope of its power to chastise ministers whose preachings were considered seditious or doctrinally suspect, for this, too, was perceived as a threat to public order. In 1569 Superintendent Wilhelm Friedrich Lutz was reprimanded for his public criticism of the current witch trials; in 1628 one deacon, in a case brought before the council by a local pharmacist, was warned that his recent sermon was contrary to the church order; and in 1658 Sigmund Kißling was slapped for his public criticism of the city council and asked "what the common man might think" of such insubordination.

But such conflicts between the clergy and government were rare. Normally relations between both powers were smooth. The Nördlingen ministers accepted the leadership of the magistrates in their common cause, the creation of a
"Nördlingische Jerusalem", and were grateful for their support and protection. This gratitude found expression in the many funeral sermons for deceased city council members and Bürgermeister, sermons which speak reverently of the late governors' achievements, especially regarding public piety, but not obsequiously. The magistrates and their families, and the clergy and their families, provide the bulk of the subjects of the Nördlingen funeral sermons; in recounting their lives and achievements to the survivors, to the community at large, the church hoped that these people would be as influential in death as they had been in life.

The Funeral Sermon from laudatio funebris to Guide to Christian Life

The funeral sermon, like so many other homiletical forms, underwent radical changes in the course of its evolution from the early Middle Ages to the post-Reformation era. As Eberhard Winckler demonstrated, the earliest Christian eulogies, those of the patristic age, would more accurately be called funeral orations than funeral sermons, for their goal was not to proclaim the word of God at the grave, but rather to honor the deceased. Winckler notes that the strong rhetorical form of these orations are more suggestive of the classical laudatio funebris than later Christian funeral sermons. As seen in the funeral oration
of Gregory of Nyssa for his brother Caesarius, emphasis was placed upon the praise of the dead, and comfort for the living was sought not in Christ, but in the knowledge that the deceased is now beyond all earthly suffering.

Late medieval funeral orations were marked by their brevity and their emphasis upon preparation for death and judgment. Though by no means as numerous as the sermons of the seventeenth century, funeral sermons became more common from the twelfth through fourteenth centuries. A collection of 98 funeral orations by the Dominican Johannes de Sancto suggests that by the early fourteenth century these eulogies became increasingly "democratized" as well: no longer were the subjects limited to political leaders and the speaker's closest relatives and friends, but they now included people from every social class. As before the clergy dwelt upon the negative aspects of our earthly existence, echoing the pronouncement of Eccl. 7:1 that the day of death is better than the day of birth. Medieval preachers made even fewer attempts than did their predecessors to comfort the survivors. They too failed to exhort their listeners to seek comfort in Christ, and in fact offered little comfort to the survivors at all. Faced with the question, "Where does our hope lie?" one priest grimly answered, "If we could have given you comfort, we would have done so gladly."
The funeral sermons of Martin Luther mark a distinct break from the funeral orations of the Middle Ages. Though only four of the Reformer's funeral sermons have survived, two for the Elector Frederick the Wise in 1525 and two for the Elector John in 1532, their tone and content are indicative of the course which Lutheran funeral sermons would take in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To Luther, the evangelical sermon was the heart of the worship service, not only on Sundays but at funerals as well. Luther's funerary orations thus became true sermons: his goal was less to eulogize the dead in the medieval fashion than "to praise God and edify the people" through the explanation of Scripture. The infrequent references to the Electors might lead one to infer that these men were of little importance to Luther, but this would be far from the truth. Frederick after all had been Luther's protector from the wrath of the Empire, and Luther had considered John a friend. To be sure, in his sermon for the Elector John, Luther bluntly refused to eulogize at length his late friend, however worthy of praise he might have been; but he was nonetheless well aware of the crucial role which his subject would play in his lesson to the congregation. Luther recognized that the Elector's death was an occasion for mourning among the people of Saxony, yet many were uncertain whether grief was permitted Christians or where they were to find comfort for their
sorrow. The former question had apparently become especially acute in the wake of "Rottengeister", who preached that mourning was entirely forbidden. Luther found the answer to both questions in 1 Thess. 4:13-14, his scriptural text for all four funeral sermons:

> We wish you not to remain in ignorance, brothers, about those who sleep in death; you should not grieve like the rest of men, who have no hope. We believe that Jesus died and rose again; and so it will be for those who died as Christians; God will bring them to life with Jesus.

From his choice of text alone it is immediately apparent that Luther has made a radical departure from the bleakness of the medieval funeral oration. He offers his listeners hope and comfort. To grieve the passing of a loved one is natural, Luther assures his audience, and the many examples from the Bible demonstrate that God does indeed grant this emotion. However, as he interprets Paul, this grief is not to be excessive, for Christians are not without hope. This hope lies in the knowledge that death is no more than sleep to the Christian: though one has died in regard to one’s body and five senses, it is no true death, for Christ’s death has liberated the faithful from eternal death. Christians "enter sleep" confident that they will be resurrected with Christ, and thus have no fear of death. The survivors as well are to be comforted by this thought, and Luther exhorts them to learn to see death not in terms of the coffin and grave, but in terms of Christ’s death and resurrection. Paul has made Christ’s
resurrection and that of Christians one, so that, because Christ’s resurrection is guaranteed, there can be no doubt that the dead will also arise. This concentration upon Christ’s death and resurrection as the Christian’s source of hope in the face of death is Luther’s most significant contribution to the evolution of the funeral sermon. It is this message which would lie at the heart of Lutheran funeral sermons throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Another important feature of Luther’s eulogies which proved influential for later Lutheran funeral sermons was his use of his subject as an example to his congregation of a model Christian in life and death. For all his nobility and virtue, Luther proclaimed, the Elector John was still a poor sinner like all Christians. Luther portrayed the Elector’s unswerving faith in Christ and the resurrection, his lifelong resistance to the temptations of the Devil, who plagued him even at his deathbed, and his peaceful death, which is the Christian’s reward. The applications of the lessons drawn from the life and death of the Elector to the lives of his listeners were made clear by Luther in his conclusion:

When our Lord God reveals himself in this way and removes the head and will not spare an elector, he truly means for you to understand that this applies to you. Therefore humble yourself and reform your life, so that like him you might be among those people who live and die in Christ. I hope there are many of you who will die and suffer as did my lord in Augsburg.
They will also attain such a gentle death, so that sleep will come upon them carefully and lightly. Such is the end of all those who with him will rise again and be guided by Christ....⁴⁷

The Lutheran church orders of the sixteenth century normally included articles concerning funerals and funeral sermons. Though they sometimes differed on such points as the minister's clothing, the length of the sermon, or whether all citizens were entitled to funeral sermons, the orders were unanimous in their affirmation of the funeral sermon as an instrument of Christian instruction. These orders made law what Luther himself had advised, that is, that funeral sermons should be directed toward the living rather than the dead, and that the central message of the sermons should be Christ's death and the resurrection which awaits all Christians.

The Lutheran funeral sermons of the middle and late sixteenth century do indeed contain a strong Christocentric element reminiscent of Luther's eulogies for the Electors. Another parallel between the sermons of the Reformer and those of his successors is the subordinate role given the deceased within the funeral text. As Luther had done, most ministers of the sixteenth century provided only fleeting glimpses of their subjects, recalling the memory of the dead merely to illustrate their more essential lessons of Christian faith and salvation. In light of the near-anonymity of these funeral sermons it could well be argued
that, from a purely pedagogical standpoint, whether the subject was noble or common was ultimately insignificant to the Lutheran minister; what mattered was that a Christian had died, which provided the minister with an opportunity to deliver important teachings about Christ and the resurrection at a time when his listeners would be most receptive to such teachings. These lessons would be based on such biblical texts as 1 Cor. 15, Gen. 35:16-20, Exodus 15:23, and Luke 13:4-5, Scripture not normally contained in the standard cycle of preaching texts, but particularly effective in their message of hope and salvation.

By the end of the sixteenth century, however, some ministers had begun to affix brief biographies to their funeral sermons. At first glance these biographical sketches might be regarded as a return to the medieval *laudatio funebris*, but in the hands of the Lutherans they took on new meaning. The virtuous Christian life was believed to be bound with, and a preparation for, a blessed death and eternal life with Christ, and so, although ministers enumerated the worldly achievements of their subjects, they reserved their highest praises for the spiritual accomplishments of the dead. Preachers painstakingly detailed their subjects' faith in Christ and the resurrection, their lifelong contemplation of death, their patience when burdened with life's many crosses, their equanimity and even joy in their final illness, and their Christian courage in
their deathbed battles against the temptations of the Devil. Here was the art of dying in action. Listeners were implicitly enjoined to follow the example of the deceased, and countless biographies echoed Luther in their concluding prayers that we might all enjoy as peaceful an hour of death as did our Christian brothers and sisters. Thus did the biography become as much a pedagogical tool as had the funeral sermon itself. In the course of the seventeenth century the funeral sermon and biography would grow to intolerable lengths for audiences - a common complaint among contemporaries was that these sermons frequently exceeded two hours - but in spite of their baroque ramblings Lutheran funeral sermons never lost sight of their original purpose, to comfort, to teach, and to proclaim the glory of Christ's victory over death and the promise of eternal life for all Christians.

The funeral sermons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have come down to modern times in various formats. Published collections of some ministers' funeral sermons began to appear in the mid-sixteenth century, as those by Cyrus Spangenberg (who also edited sermons of his late father Johann), Johann Matthesius, Christoph Fischer, and Andreas Pancratius. These collections were popular among laymen and clergy alike until the middle of the eighteenth century. They should be interpreted as part of a wider phenomenon within devotional literature of the
Lutheran Sterbekünste, or handbooks on the art of dying. Such works were of course the heirs of the medieval are moriendi, but, again, the traditional theme of the world as a vale of tears was tempered by a new Christocentric message of hope and promise. Sterbekünste included discourses, collections of prayers, letters of condolence to grieving parents, and sermons on eternal life; their targeted audience was not only the "troubled, sick, and dying" frequently mentioned in their titles, but all Christians, even the young:

"Spiritual forget-me-not for daily contemplation of our mortality, the righteousness of the Last Judgment, (and) the gruesomeness of Hell’s torments; to the youth of the Rothenburg countryside...."

The title-pages of collected funeral sermons reveal that their authors perceived their publications as inspirational literature in the vein of the Sterbekünste:

"55 funeral sermons from the Gospel of John. Filled with beautiful teachings and Christian consolation not only useful at the funerals of those who have died in Christ, but also useful reading for the troubled and ailing...."

Other funeral sermons were published singly, usually at the expense of the relatives of the deceased. Here the purpose of publication was more social than theological. In an age before television or Time Magazine the published funeral sermon was a superb medium by which the passing of notables would be announced and their lives and accomplishments recounted. These sermons would be circulated mainly among relatives and close acquaintances of the dead, but
they found an avid readership among total strangers as well. An extreme example of such enthusiasm for these works was the Comtesse of Stolberg, who in the early eighteenth century reportedly collected several thousand funeral sermons as inspirational reading.

The Nördlingen Funeral Sermons and Their Subjects: An Overview

None of the ministers of Nördlingen published collections of their funeral sermons, though several published other forms of Sterbekunste. The sermons preserved in the Stadtarchiv Nördlingen are individual publications which were financed by local families. Most of these sermons were bound in volumes between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, but some remain unbound and stored in boxes. These bound volumes are a veritable hodgepodge, containing funeral sermons, pamphlets, wedding sermons, and sermons delivered on days of public prayer. The funeral sermons are gathered haphazardly, without regard to chronology, author, publisher, status, or relationship between the subjects. Husband and wife, father and son will often appear in separate volumes, but one volume might include two copies of the same sermon. Mixed in with the funeral sermons of Nördlingers are those of citizens of neighboring Bopfingen, Dinkelsbühl, Rothenburg o.d.T., and the villages of the Ries; there is even a funeral sermon by a Nördlingen
divine for Gustav Adolphus.

Eliminating those funeral sermons which were delivered either outside of Nördlingen or for non-residents leaves 85 published sermons extant for the period 1587-1712. Remarkably, these sermons are fairly evenly distributed throughout the era:

1587-1599.....4
1600-1609.....5
1610-1619.....2
1620-1629.....7
1630-1639.....11
1640-1649.....8
1650-1659.....7
1660-1669.....6
1670-1679.....10
1680-1689.....4
1690-1699.....10
1700-1712.....11

Men comprise 54 of the subjects, women 29, and children (14 years and younger) 3. An occupational breakdown of the subjects yields the following results:

Bürgermeister....................17
---Wives..........................6
City council members............9
---Wives..........................2
Ministers...........................9
---Wives..........................6
Lawyers..............................4
---Wives..........................1
City officials.......................4
---Wives..........................3
---Children.........................1
Imperial officials................1
Physicians..........................3
---Wives..........................3
Teachers.............................1
Taverners..........................1
Other...............................4
Unknown:
---Men.............................4
---Women............................6
Clearly, the published funeral sermons do not represent a cross-section of early modern Nördlingen society. Most of the subjects were in some way connected to either the local government or clergy; moreover, several of those listed above under other occupations were closely related to the ruling elite of the city. Many of the subjects were also among the most affluent citizens of the community: of those whose personal wealth at the time of death is available, the average wealth was approximately 13,000 fl. Even in the worst of the inflation years, the lowest known wealth of a subject, 2500 fl., would have been well above the mean. Considerably less wealthy, however, were the ministers of Nördlingen. The Kirchendienerakten are filled with the clergy's entreaties for money and firewood, and retiring ministers were forced to appeal to the city council for support in their old age. How the publication of their funeral sermons was financed cannot be firmly established, though in the case of Johann Marcell Westerfeld one might suspect that his son-in-law's family, the powerful Gundelfingers, contributed the necessary funds.

The majority of the men and women of these funeral sermons were the "celebrities" of Nördlingen. In modern terms, these were the people who maintained a high profile in the city, the Bürgermeister and city council members, the clergy, the city officials and lawyers, the physicians,
the teachers, and even the taverners. The wives, too, were public figures who were often involved in charitable activities. Recognition comes easily in a small town, and in early modern Nördlingen the ruling elite, clergy, and successful businessmen must have ranked among the most familiar names and faces with the populace. Based on his study of local records, Friedrichs has also concluded that most citizens in Nördlingen were somehow related, however distantly, to at least one city council member. The effect of this small-town fame and web of relations is that when one died, it would be noticed by the entire city. The physical size of Nördlingen contributed further to the publicity surrounding a notable’s death, for in a city whose area was less than one-quarter of a square mile one could scarcely avoid the somber toll of the Totenglocke or the funeral procession itself. The funeral of a prominent Nördlinger was therefore something of a civic event, and though it is impossible to determine actual attendance at these services, one might safely conjecture that they were well-attended.

The Nördlingen church order of 1579 established the schedule and proceedings of local funerals. Funerals were to be held on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays at three o’clock, on Wednesdays at noon, on Saturdays at two o’clock, and on Sundays and holy days after the midday service; the funeral was to be preceded by the sounding
of the church bell for fifteen minutes. Schoolchildren, who served as acolytes, led the procession from the city to St. Emmeran's Church, the small cemetery chapel just beyond the town wall where funerals often took place; behind them were the minister who would deliver the sermon, the corpse, the mourners, and the public. The children sang appropriate psalms, such as "Mit Fried und freud", "Mitten wir im Leben seind", "Aus tiefer Not", "Wir glauben euch", or "Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist". Then, the church order continued,

the sermon is delivered, in which the congregation should be instructed, reminded of, and admonished about the mortality and fallibility of mankind, the origins of sin and death, that salvation which is through Christ the Son of God, our Savior, and the resurrection of the dead and the comfort of eternal life (or the like)."

The hymn "Nun laßt uns den Leib begraben" followed the sermon; the service was concluded by the Easter collects and the benediction.

In its stress upon the funeral sermon as a pedagogical device and its promulgation of mortality, death, resurrection, and salvation as the sermon's standard themes, it is immediately apparent that the Nördlingen church order fell in line with most other contemporary Lutheran church orders. A brief glance through the Nördlingen funeral sermons confirms that local ministers did indeed adhere to these guidelines throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Favorite scriptural texts included
Luke 2:25-32, Eze. 24:15-18, Ps. 73, Ps. 90, and Phil. 1:21-23, and nearly every sermon concluded with a reaffirmation of faith in the resurrection and in the reunion of the blessed in heaven. The primary message, then, of the funeral sermons was salvation through Jesus Christ; but how the Christian lived his life was also crucial to the preacher's lesson. Through their depictions of the virtuous Christian life, Nördlingen ministers hoped to guide their listeners to the salvation which undoubtedly awaited the deceased, and this blessedness was reflected in every aspect of the subject's life and career. The ministers therefore took great pains to delineate their subjects' private and public life, their upbringing, education, marriage, parenting, hardships, and death. Each stage in a person's life was to contain valuable information regarding faith and salvation, and it is this rich detail which affords the historian such insight into Lutheran attitudes toward marriage and family life in this era. The question, "How can I be a good Hausvater or Hausmutter?" was far subordinate to the essential question, "How can we be saved?" in the Nördlingen funeral sermons, but the contemporary audience - and modern readers - could easily find the answer to the former question in the biographies of that city's leading citizens.
CHAPTER III
FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE
NÖRDLINGEN FUNERAL SERMONS

The Nördlingen funeral sermons omit direct discussion of the foundations and purposes of marriage. The ministers, however, clearly recognized marriage as a state established and commanded by God through their frequent references to "heilige Ehestand" and subjects marrying according to "Gottes Ordnung". Genesis 2:18 appears as well in this context, often in connection with the subject's decision to marry. Only the men actually decided that it was time to seek out a spouse and marry, and the circumstances of their decisions varied. One man instigated his search three years after his arrival in Nördlingen; one simply remembered God's words to Adam; yet another resolved to marry when he had reached maturity; and a minister began to look around for a loyal helpmate "as he found it necessary to conduct his office and own household better...." Necessity was a common reason for seeking a wife, especially in the case of widowers. The Nördlingen church order decreed a mourning period of three months for widowers and six months for
widows, and from the funeral sermons it is evident that
many citizens remarried after the expiration of this
period. The funeral sermons provide the grounds for
remarriage, at least from the standpoint of the men:

...After he maintained himself for some time as a
mourning widower and found that, as an old, worn-out
man, it was not good that he was alone, and that in his
advanced age he was greatly needful of a faithful help­
mate and spouse....

...Death robbed him of his first wife, by which he was
made a sad widower and his children, then not yet
grown, became abandoned orphans;...he remarried...when
the state of his household required an equally pains­
taking wife and mother....

It is curious to note that, whereas the funeral sermons
dwell on the needs which forced widowers to remarry, they
are silent regarding those burdens, often economic in
nature, which might have driven a widow to remarry.

The funeral sermons portray many subjects praying to
God for a spouse, as well as consulting with parents and
friends. God inevitably heard their prayers and sent them
a suitable mate. The ministers placed great emphasis
on the next step in marriage, obtaining the consent of
parents (or guardians), close relatives, and friends. Clan­
destine marriages, those contracted without witnesses or
parental consent, were still a problem in early modern
Germany, as evidenced in the innumerable cases in local
governmental records involving "Winckel-Ehen". Luther
and local governments alike denounced this practice as
"unordentlich", here translatable as both "illegal" and
"contributing to public disorder". The Nördlingen church order of 1579 had forbidden clandestine marriages, but the city council minutes and consistory records throughout the seventeenth century contain frequent references to citizens hauled before the magistrates on all the various charges which could derive from Winckel-Ehen. Most common among these cases were those involving women who had been deflowered or impregnated, believing that they had been promised marriage or even legally married, then either spurned by their lovers or challenged by their parents. That the Nördlingen ministers made it a point to mention that each subject had obtained the proper consent prior to his or her marriage could be interpreted as a subtle message against clandestine marriages; this could be said as well of a reference in one sermon to the subject's marriage "mit ordentlichem Kirchgang".

Little is said of the relationship of the couple before marriage, apart from a few references to the betrothed's affection and even attraction for one another. Ministers often employed standard phrases to describe the exemplary marriage which developed over the years: "Christlich / friedlich / und schiedlich" were normally the first words in the preachers' chains of adjectives, frequently followed by "freundlich", "vergnügte", "gesegnete", and "liebreich". Love was indeed perceived as an important quality in a marriage, and Nördlingen ministers never tired
of portraying the loving marriage:

He found in her what he had been looking for, namely, a loyal helpmate and a pillar of comfort; thus he lived with her, he had with his first wife, in all desired peace, and bore that love and unity so pleasing to God and man....

(She bore toward her husband) a proper, heartfelt, and constant love, and enjoyed in return a proper, heartfelt, and constant love from him, a love which rushed forth from the soul, so that there was between them a idem_velle_et_idem_nolle, a will and a won't, a confiding, peaceful, friendly, enjoyable, steady life....

He lived with both of his beloved wives in such a way that, to coin a phrase, in his marriage he had Heaven on earth; he himself attested to this, in that neither of his wives ever insulted him in word or deed, nor he them. He lived with them both in heartfelt love, and he mourned nothing more than the fact that God had not allowed either of his wives to remain longer with him, and he never thought of them without tears....

Upon entering the married state the couple faced the many responsibilities of the Hausvater and Hausmutter.

Assistant Pastor J. H. Epplin reminded his audience that competence in this sphere was not to be taken for granted:

There are many people who can rule lands and people quite well, but they do not have the grace to rule their own home or raise their children properly. Many are clever, amazingly learned in all languages and arts, but this is of little help in managing a household.

The duties of the Hausvater were numerous. With his wife, he was to raise his children and supervise the servants. He was also to provide for his family through diligent, even ceaseless, work. This task, difficult at all times, became an even greater burden in wartime; Caspar Epplin’s words in the midst of the imperial
occupation of Nördlingen in 1638 undoubtedly reflected the frustration experienced by many Hausväter:

Many a father works all night to provide honorably for his wife and children (1 Tim. 6:8), and yet it may still happen that, when he wakes up in the morning, he is more likely to have the sunshine in his house than bread, to say nothing of money for the soldiers and the business.**

Another difficult duty of the Hausvater was the protection of his family and property:

Every father must be watchful and make certain that his house and courtyard, door and gate are well secured, so that nobody finds him napping and overpowers him....**

Finally, the Hausvater was to serve as Hausprediger, or minister to his household.

The Nördlingen clergy praised their male subjects in terms of their execution of household duties, limiting any further discussion of their personal qualities to those traits necessary for success in the public sphere. Thus ministers frequently compared men, particularly Bürgermeister and city council members, to the wise and just David and Solomon. Women, too, were lauded for their diligence as Haemütter, but ministers also presented them as embodiments of womanly virtue in general. The ideal woman, they preached, was one of both outward and inward beauty. Here the model was Rachel,

a pretty, beautiful maiden, and not just physically, in her well-proportioned body - that would have recommended her but little. For to be lovely and beautiful is nothing; a woman who fears the Lord should be praised (Prov. 31:30)....**
To be sure, God has not blessed all women with physical beauty. For this reason inward beauty should be considered more important than a pretty face, for, quoting Prov. 11:22, a beautiful woman who is wicked is nothing but a sow in a golden ribbon. **Virtue, on the other hand, could make the ugliest woman beautiful:**

**May I not a pretty face**  
**Be I of crooked body**  
**Still I have a lovely disposition**  
**Which makes everything good.**

Ministers throughout the seventeenth century rhapsodized upon these inward virtues which "decorated" the Christian woman; these virtues included "Frommheit / Gottseeligkeit / Glaub / Liebe / Hoffnung / Trew / Fleiß / Arbeitsamkeit / Häußlichkeit / Zucht / Ehr / (und) Keuschheit." They invoked various Biblical women as examples: the friendly Rebecca, the virtuous Ruth, the rational Abigail, the pious and obedient Sarah, the chaste Susanna. Most of these examples were drawn from the Old Testament, and in all the funeral sermons only one reference to Mary as a model of virtue is to be found. In his sermon for Elisabeth Rehnen Tobias Scheiblin discussed how her parents had chosen her name so that she would always have before her the example of the "pious and God-fearing" mother of John the Baptist.

These, then, were the virtues which were to commend a woman before her marriage; upon her marriage they were to guide her life as a *Hausmutter*. As in the case of the
Hausvater, the Hausmutter was judged according to her performance within her calling; here the standard of excellence would seem to be the "alphabet of virtues" for the capable wife found in Proverbs 31:10-31. Sigmund Kisling delineated the exemplary Hausmutter in his sermon for the wife of Superintendent Johann Marcell Westerfeld:

...toward her beloved husband loving, respectful, and obedient, faithful to her children, painstaking in her housekeeping, ready to help many, generous to the poor (as much as she could afford it), and otherwise maintained a quiet, withdrawn, plain, and upright life with God’s help....

To maintain her household the Hausmutter worked ceaselessly, even to the detriment of her health:

How laudably she conducted her household, day and night taking care of the children, never sparing effort or labor even when it was difficult or even unbearable....

...who took care of him day and night, not even noticing that she herself often needed care due to her infirmities, with inexhaustible diligence and unremitting attention....

She was not to squander her household’s money on finery, nor was she to be seen too frequently in town.

The woman who fulfilled her duty as Christian Hausmutter was her husband’s Augenlust, and her value was beyond compare:

Our eyes like to see costly objects like silver, gold, and jewels. A Christian, pious woman is equal to all these things. A good-natured wife is like the golden pillar on a silver base (Sir. 26:18). Aye, she is better than these. He who has a virtuous wife, her worth is greater than the costliest pearl, says Solomon. This is what a pious woman is to a Christian, pious man: she is the delight of his eye.
As seen above in Sigmund Kisling's eulogy for Margareta Susanna Westerfeld, the model wife was one who not only diligently performed her household duties and raised the children, but who was "liebreich / Ehrerbietig und gehorsam" to her husband. These three elements, love, honor, and obedience, underlay the woman's emotional relationship with her husband. Women were reminded that the obedient Sarah had called Abraham "my master", and ministers praised local women who were said to have never argued with or disturbed their husbands.

Husbands on their part were to recognize woman as "the weaker vessel", fragile, sensitive, and dependant upon the man for protection and support. They too were to hold an abiding love for their spouses, as demonstrated through their fidelity and provision. Assistant Pastor Johann Daniel Haak recommended as an example of the loving and nurturing husband Nathan's allegory upon the marriage of Uriah and Bathsheba: "...it ate from his dish, drank from his cup and nestled in his arms; it was like a daughter to him."

Ministers were aware, however, that all men did not have such a favorable and loving attitude toward women. In April 1649 Caspar Epplin delivered a funeral sermon for Margaretha Hauff, wife of the elder Assistant Pastor Georg Hauff. Epplin, playing upon the name Margaret, or "pearl", and choosing Matt. 13:45-46 ("A merchant looking out for
fine pearls found one of very special value...") as his
funeral text, devoted 35 of the sermon’s 56 pages to a
comparison of marriage, wise women, and the female sex with
a pearl. Contained within this lengthy excursus is a
defense of women against the bitter, although admittedly
not always undeserved, criticism of men:

To refute the slanderers and misogynists who, with the
heathen, say: The female sex is not to be compared with
a pearl or a crown (Prov. 12:4), but rather with a
horse, dog, pig, bee, and the like. First, with a
horse because of her conceited thought, word, and
deed. Second, with a dog because she is always bad-
tempered, screaming, growling, nagging, nipping, and
biting. Third, with a pig because of her fickleness.
Fourth, with a bee because of her diligence and care in
running the house, but also on account of her sting.
She’s also a bad weed, and whatever other insulting
names there are. Now, it is true that all pearls are
not costly: there are water pearls, mock pearls, fake
pearls. That is, one finds from time to time bad women
as well who are not Margaritae and costly pearls, but
margiton, that is, foolish and barren dungheaps and pig
sties, as they may be called, who always do nothing but
scream and growl, grumble and sulk, and always have to
have the last word....

Epplin concluded with a warning to husbands

that they not hold their Margaritae and house-pearls
cheap and consider them worthless, but think of them as
their crown (Prov. 12:4)..., their eye’s delight (Eze.
24:16), indeed as a gift of God (Sir. 26:3). Thus they
should not treat her as a loose woman, or ignore her
and then immediately toss her aside; one does not pick
up pearls and toss them before the dogs ([sic] Matt.
7:6). So should a man not throw away his Margaritam
and house-pearl, nor should he treat her as a doormat,
but he should follow Sirach’s warning: Do not divorce
an understanding and pious woman, for she is more
valuable than gold. This will happen...when he holds
her dear: one takes care not to toss down a pearl,
rather he holds it high and attracts many a merchant
from far and wide, even when it endangers their lives.
So a Christian husband should be with his Margaritam,
his Anna, Barbara, Christina, Dorothy, Eve, Mary, or
whatever her name might be. He should love her from
his heart, and let all good things flow from that heartfelt love, and he should make her his dearest, in accordance with the Sixth Commandment. ..

...He should live with her in understanding (1 Pet. 3:7)....For just as a pearl can be macerated and eaten away by vinegar, so that it dissolves, disintegrates, and wastes away, so should a husband not be a lion toward his pearl (Sir. 4:30), or harsh toward her (Col. 3:19), but live with her in understanding, and pay honor to her as the weaker vessel, as sharers of the grace of God which gives them life; then his prayers will not be hindered. 48

The fruit of the love between husband and wife, of course, was children. Nördlingen ministers from the late sixteenth century on emphasized that children were gifts of God, bestowed upon Christian parents through his grace. But these gifts were not so much to be regarded as being possessions as divine trusts, for God could at any time call these children back to him. God determined when children were to be born, whether they lived, and when they would return to him; Superintendent Johann Marcell Westerfeld also asserted that God might choose the class of family into which a child would be born. Nördlingen divines reminded their listeners to consider the bearing of many offspring to be a special sign of God's blessing; such a statement was undoubtedly aimed toward those who, as in any age, considered their fruitfulness an economic burden. As frequently as ministers referred to children as God's gift and grace, they spoke of their subjects as "conceived and born in a chaste marriage bed". The city council minutes and consistory records of Nördlingen
and other German cities attest that illegitimacy and "six-month babies" were a constant nuisance in the early modern era; this standard phrase could therefore be interpreted as a subtle message to the congregation to restrict sexual relations to marriage.

The Nördlingen ministers did not need to remind their listeners of the high rate of miscarriages and stillbirths in their society, nor of the frequency with which mothers died in childbirth. Said Christian Ernst in his funeral sermon for Maria Magdalena Adam, a member of one of the leading families in Nördlingen who had died in childbirth at the age of nineteen,

Indeed, a single rough step can be harmful to the child in the womb, as, unfortunately, daily experience shows us. Such difficulties do not occur only among poor and common folk, but also among women of the very highest ranks.

The Nördlingen divines tried to allieviate the anxiety associated with childbearing through their assertions that God protected and nourished the child in the womb. In one of the most interesting passages in all the Nördlingen funeral sermons, Deacon Johann Heinrich Epplin described Christ's protection of the infant from its conception to it months in swaddling clothes:

Christ protects (the infant) 1. in_ Utero, in the womb, for if he did not through his hidden power support the child, it would soon be extinguished like a tiny candle blown out by a storm wind. One thinks of an unborn child, still enclosed in the womb, how it lies there; who provides for it and maintains its life? Christ, whose supervision preserves its breath. Christ protects the infant 2. in_ partu, when the child is to be
born into the world; as it dangles between life and death, it should be delivered, but there is no strength left to give birth... Then the almighty, omnipotent hand of God, through the hands of the faithful midwife, does its best, and delivers the child of the mother, and releases the infant from the dark cell in which it was carried for nine months. For this one does not know how to thank God or any other. Christ preserves breath and life in falsciis, in the infant’s cradle and swaddling clothes. When the child is born unto the light of day, what is his life? Mostly sleep, within which it does not know whether it is even alive. It stretches its little hands and feet and leaves everything to God...."

This excerpt is noteworthy for the author’s interest, however unscientific it might be, in the state of the unborn child; Epplin’s closing description of the child in its cradle and swaddling clothes also suggest a fair amount of observation of infants, and represents an effort to follow Luther’s precept that one should attempt to see the world through a child’s eyes.

The Nördlingen funeral sermons do not make direct reference to the protection which parents were to give their children; rather, the most detailed discussions of this aspect of parental responsibility was in the form of simile. Georg Hauff portrayed God as

a loyal father who, when he sees his children in a lane or on a street which is heavily traveled, or in a field among the hedges and shrubs where there are wild animals, takes his child on his arm, carries it home, and lays it on its bed, so it can safely lie there and sleep.

Superintendent Wilhelm Friedrich Lutz compared the grave and God’s protection with a mother’s care:
When a mother puts her dear children to bed she secures the room so that a dog or cat cannot come in and wake up or frighten the child....

God treats us and our families as a faithful mother does her children. When a storm is approaching or there is an uproar in the city she runs out, locates her children in the streets, brings them home, and locks them in a room so they cannot go back into the streets and suffer harm....

Parents were take comfort in the thought that God guided them in the raising of their children. They were enjoined to instill obedience in their young, even if it necessitated corporal punishment. Georg Albrecht presented as an example Jakob Killinger, who after his daughter's death had raised his grandchildren, and showed them the same fatherly love and strict discipline as he had shown his own natural children. And when he saw that the children were not all alike, but that God usually had among the patriarchs placed good and bad next to each other, he did not deal with it like Eli, but rather exercised sharp and earnest discipline with words, blows, indeed, even with confinement! That is laudable; would God that every father did the same; then we would have more pious children in this children than we unfortunately have.

Quoting Horace, J. D. Haak warned his audience that wicked parents could only produce wicked children:

The parents themselves came from bad seed and were great sinners. But even worse vices are to expected from their children.

The foremost responsibility of parents, however, was to raise their children to be good Christians in order to serve both God and their community. This religious education could not begin too early in a child's life, and here,
too, the example set by the child's parents was crucial to its own development. In a passage borrowed from Valerius Heerberger's Psalter-Paradies, Georg Matthäus Beckh explained that

Children should imbibe their parents' piety even to the thousandth member (Exo. 20:6). Especially when they follow in the laudable Christian footsteps of pious parents! Yes! What God has sometimes cut off from pious parents he often restores to their children and descendants....Parents can do their children much good when they are God-fearing, but much harm when they supplant God. Many times Little Hans must reap what Big Hans had sown....

The parent's religious habits were thus to serve as a model for the child to imitate. An exemplary Christian Hausmutter was Superintendent Georg Albrecht's wife Jacobina, who

went to Holy Communion every quarter-year, before which she made her confession. Many people, both spiritual and secular, can attest that she zealously went to the sermons of God's Word on Sundays, holy days and weekdays, as well as to offices and vespers, read sermons at home, prayed fervently, never let a curse or swear-word be heard from her her entire life, earnestly and diligently raised her dear children and servants in the fear of the Lord, and the correction,... [and] was friendly, peaceful, neighborly, genial, and good-hearted toward many.

This passage contains most of the ingredients of what the Nördlingen clergy considered a solid religious life. In nearly every funeral sermon Nördlingen ministers made it a point to mention that the subject was a steady church-goer, often absent only when deterred by serious illness, and that he or she regularly went to confession and received Communion. Most subjects were also lauded
for their home devotional practices, which included praying, singing, and reading the Bible and other inspirational books. The divines frequently cited specific pieces of devotional literature, no doubt as recommendations for their listeners' own edification. The favorites throughout the seventeenth century were surprisingly orthodox, including Johann Schmidt's Paradis-Gärtilein, Heinrich Müller's Erquickungs-Stunden, and Joshua Stegman's Hertzen-Seufftzer. Even Georg Matthäus Beckh, who at the turn of the eighteenth century incorporated massive bibliographies into his sermons, avoided popular works of strong Pietist leanings.

Everyday conduct was another important aspect of the Christian's life which children could learn through imitation of their parents. As noted above, subjects were often called "neighborly", friendly to others and charitable to the poor. They were obedient to their superiors (a message with social and political as well as religious implications), kindly toward their inferiors, and even-tempered toward all; and, like Jacobina Albrecht, wife of the author of the popular tract Fluch_ABC, they were to avoid blasphemy.

But parents were not to limit their influence upon their children's spiritual development merely to providing models of behavior; they were also to play a prominent role in the actual religious education of their children. Here
the clergy's cue was Eph. 6:4: "You fathers, again, must not goad your children to resentment, but give them the instruction, and the correction, which belong to a Christian upbringing." "In der Zucht und Vermahnung zum Herrn aufferzogen" and "zur Forcht Gottes aufferzogen" are stock phrases of the local funeral sermons. Both parents were to take part in the basic indoctrination of their children. The mother, who normally had the most contact with the infant, often taught the child its first prayers:

She diligently encouraged her dear little son to prayer and all good things when he had barely begun to babble, and he could say various lovely little prayers that he had learned from her...."

The Hausvatter was the Hausprediger. In 1608 Superintendent Friedrich Franck described how the lawyer Wolfgang Graf very zealously raised his dear children and servants in piety, not only every day of the week with the Holy Bible, but also early on Saturdays, when he would read aloud the scriptural text for the following Sunday, and then on Sunday morning the standard Epistle, both along with the explications, as well as other pure authors, especially the late Doctor Hunnius. He diligently sent them all to church, and when they came home he would test them over the sermon, and what they did not understand or grasp well enough he would, as a proper, faithful Christian Hausprediger, further explain and explicate."

The basic religious education instilled by parents was to be carried further by the local schools. There was no set age at which a child would first be sent to school, and most ministers simply state that a child entered school "as soon as he was capable [of learning]"; two sermons note that their subjects began their formal education at the age
of five (one boy having demonstrated "eine besondere 76
enthusia und fähig Ingenium"). As the teacher stood in
loco parentis, it was essential that he too be of flawless
character:

The life of the school-fathers [i.e., teachers] is the
rule for the schoolchildren. A schoolteacher with a
just, holy, virtuous way of life can teach and edify a
great deal. What youths see and hear catches like
timber and they mimic it. As Boethius says, a teacher
cannot lose his respect more quickly than through, and
nothing is more harmful to children than, a reprehensi­
able life, for the bad examples seduce and ruin the good
in one, and the enticing desires pervert innocent hearts."

In his sermon for Johann Georg Späth, a local
schoolteacher, Georg Matthias Beckh asserted that it was
the teacher's task to teach

not primarily and especially Vergil, Homer, Terence,
Cornelius Nepos, and other pagan works, nor always
practice that "Arma virumque cano", that is, plant all
sorts of pagan sayings in them. Rather, every teacher
in the Christian schools should concentrate on the
Programma."

The "Programma" comprised studying the Bible and learning
the catechism, psalms, and proverbs, as well as perhaps
reading other devotional literature; Johann Caspar Haas,
who died at the age of ten, had already studied in school
the catechism, Dieterich's book of proverbs, a confession
and communion booklet, various prayer-rhymes, and the Fif­
tieth Psalm. The Nördlingen church order of 1579 had
stipulated cooperation between the church and the German
and Latin schools in catechismal instruction: children
would learn the catechism at school, and then attend the
Sunday catechism sermons, where the catechism would be
"preached, explained, and diligently practiced in the pul-
80
pit." Over a century later Beckh recognized the neces-
sity of the continued alliance of pulpit and classroom:

And this Lutheran faith/justification, through which
alone we are saved, must not only be taught by us
Lutheran preachers in the pulpit...but the teachers in
the schools must make it their foremost duty to teach
the young people from their earliest years about this
justification and show them how they must, can, and
should go to Heaven and become eternally justified and
blessed.*

The religious lessons learned at home, in school, and
at church were to accompany the Christian throughout his or
her life. The Nördlingen clergy frequently remarked that,
in the face of adversity, sickness, and death, the deceased
had found comfort in the prayers and proverbs he or she had
learned as a child; such remarks were likely intended to in-
spire similar devotion among the living.

Although they certainly recognized the value of educa-
tion to the common weal of society, the Nördlingen minis-
ters in their funeral sermons understandably discussed
their subjects' secular education to a far lesser extent
than their religious upbringing. Many were praised for
their diligence as students, especially in the realm of
languages: Superintendent Johann Marcell Westerfeld report-
edly read Hebrew at the age of seven, "to his late father's
joyous pleasure." Indeed, parents were portrayed as
highly influential in the child's education, teaching it
its ABCs, sending it to school at the appropriate age,
lending it moral and financial support, and taking pride in the achievements of the superior student. The young Westerfeld, for example, proved such a diligent student "that his late father developed even more hope in him"; later Westerfeld was sent to study in Buchsweiler, and then at the university in Strasbourg "with this same father's command and recommendation...." In her widowhood Maria Ursula Welsch found great comfort in seeing her sons graduate from their universities; and the lawyer Johann Reuter had the place of honor in his father's house, for since his youth he had devoted himself to the study of the liberal arts and he attended prestigious, widely-famed academies, where he studied the truth of God's Word and the proper understanding of the civil law...."

Parents still played a role in the choice of the son's career. Bürgermeister Caspar Adam, who in his "zart blühenden jugend" had already excelled as a student, was sent by his father to Geneva and France to study business; in turn Adam sent his son Caspar to the local trivial school, then

As it was his father's intention to train him in business, he was on his account removed from school and in his fifteenth year sent to Verona on 14. December 1644 by his dear parents."

Most of the women of the funeral sermons were said to have known how to read and write; many also knew basic arithmetic, which was of use in maintaining a household. Ministers recognized that females did have
potential as students: as Elisabeth Steinler had early in life shown intelligence, her dear parents, in the hope that she would become a beautiful temple of virtue, raised her in a Christian manner and immediately sent her to school, where, along with piety, reading, writing, and arithmetic, she was instructed in vocal and instrumental music, which was not only diligently taught her, but she picked it up so well that she brought her parents great joy and was a source of astonishment to others.

Comparison of this passage with those describing the education of boys signals differences in the upbringing of boys and girls. Boys studied languages and the liberal arts and were groomed for public careers; girls were said to have learned merely to read, write, probably only in German, and perform arithmetic. The reference to instilling virtue in the young girl is also foreign to descriptions of a boy's upbringing. The most marked difference between the education of boys and girls was one subject which was added to the girl's curriculum: the domestic arts. If a boy's education was to prepare him for success in the public sphere, a girl's was to train her for efficiency in the private sphere. This was the education of a Hausmutter, and her mastery of cooking, sewing, and general housekeeping, in short, her "Häuslichkeit", were just as commendable as her virtue and book-learning.

The Nördlingen ministers spoke at great length on the subject of the child's responsibilities within the family. Though the ministers rarely made direct reference to the Fourth Commandment in their funeral sermons, they
undoubtedly kept it in mind as they preached on this sub-
ject. The debts and duties of children were many.
First of all, children owed their parents respect and obedi-
ence. Subjects who had "never" or "rarely" angered their
parents were praised, while others were lauded for their
"Kindlichen Gehorsam" and "Ehrerbietung".

The cost of disobedience could be high. Johann Michael
Dilherr, in his Christian "mirror", told the story of a
wicked boy in Ingolstadt who had struck his mother on
several occasions. He died young, and a few days after his
burial it was noticed that his hand was reaching out from
the grave. The hand was covered up, only to appear again
and again. Only when the mother was brought to graveside
to "strike back" at her disobedient son by whipping the
hand did it finally disappear. Nördlingen ministers
could offer nothing quite as fantastic as that to their
listeners, but they did perhaps find their tale of the dis-
obedient boy in the death of ten-year-old Johann Caspar
Haas. As Michael Schustern explained in young Johann's
funeral sermon, the boy had

met up with a schoolmate, and both, unmindful they had
both been told by the Misses Baasen and Anna Dorothea
in Grandfather Epplin's house that he was not on any
account to go beyond the gate, much less to a well or
water, but that he was rather to meet his mother in the
shop and from there go to the Epplins' for the
wedding. Straightaway [the boys] got the idea to go
swimming and cut rushes. They went out by the Berger
Tor, behind the Bergmühl, and up to the bridge at the
Stegmühl, where he took off his clothes and ventured
into the water...."
Johann strayed into deep water. Realizing his danger, he called for help, but it was of no avail, and he drowned. Schustern in his sermon did not overtly link Johann's disobedience with his death, but the subtle message must have been apparent to his audience, which would have included children.

Even as adults children were expected to display a "childlike obedience" toward their parents. As seen above, they normally followed their parents' vocational direction, even when it required the abandonment of their studies, as had been the case with the younger Caspar Adam. Georg Friedrich Weng had gone off to war, but after "his late father expressed his desire in a letter that he come home, he placed filial obedience before his planned undertaking", and he returned home.

Gratitude was also expected of children. This gratitude was sometimes expressed verbally, as the fourteen-year-old Anna Catharina Weng had done in her written farewell to family and friends. To her father Anna wrote:

Next I would like to thank you for all discipline and respect which you instilled in me, and for punishing me daily for the bad things I did."

To her mother:

I thank you for your discipline and respect, as well as for your loyal teaching, and that you raised me in all piety and encouraged me to everything good."
More often, however, children expressed their gratitude to their parents through actions. The greatest thanks which a child could offer his or her parents, the ministers taught, was to care for and shelter those parents in their sickness and old age. Indeed, parents had the right to expect such aid, as Tobias Fabricius explained:

Dear children are their parents' hearty comfort. For the parents think, "When I am old and feeble, my child will be my body. If I am no longer able to perform my duties, my son can do that, or otherwise uphold my name and lineage. And since I have many children, my son will be my other guardian and father." Children, especially obedient and pleasing sons are their parents' cane and crutch, on which in their old age they can rely. That is what all obedient sons do today when they come to the aid of their parents in their old age and serve them, advise them, help them, and take care of them.¹⁰⁰

As examples of loving children who helped their aged parents Fabricius cited Tobias, Joseph, Solomon, Aeneas,¹⁰¹ the daughter of Numidicus, and Cornelius Scipio.

The Nördlingen ministers told of many subjects who brought their elderly, widowed parents into their homes and cared for them until their death; such care, Georg Matthias Beckh assured his listeners, would not go unnoticed by God, but would be rewarded by him.¹⁰²

A final responsibility of children was to maintain the family name and property. As Fabricius explained, whether rich or poor, parents found great comfort in the thought that their line would continue:
Pleasing children are their parents' heirs, for parents have the power to dispossess undisciplined children. If the parents have but little, it is nevertheless a joy that their name and line will go on, whereas it is sad and melancholy when the shield and the sword are tossed into the grave. If the parents are rich and have no heirs, it hurts them deeply that their possessions and property will fall into the hands of strangers.

"Dear children are their parents' dearest and greatest treasure," Fabricius concluded. He cited examples of loving parents throughout history, including Eberhard of Württemberg, who in Florence was content only when surrounded by his children. Happily, Fabricius remarked, there are still today upstanding like-minded parents who do not worry about their possessions so much, but consider their children to be their prized possessions and greatest treasures.

The parents of the Nördlingen funeral sermons are loving parents who found great joy in their children. As noted above, they took delight in their children's achievements, whether in the classroom, at the university, in their careers, or even in their housekeeping. They would also rejoice at a child's happy marriage. Not only natural parents emerge from these pages as loving, but stepparents and grandparents as well. Christopher Friedrichs has examined the high rate of remarriage, especially among widowers, in Nördlingen; many of the subjects had themselves remarried at least once. The wicked stepmother was a familiar figure in the folklore of this period; the Nördlingen clergy wished to dispel this image, and thus
emphasized in their sermons that stepmothers loved their husbands' children as their own. Elisabeth Steinler had brought to her stepchildren "not a disloyal stepmotherly, but a proper motherly heart"; of Margaret Westerfeld, the second wife of Superintendent Johann Marcell Westerfeld, Sigmund Kisling had said:

In her painstaking upbringing, exhortation to true piety, beloved prayer, and the reading of Holy Scripture, and other useful exercises, partly in other ways through advice and action, completely indefatigable and well-meaning, she shoved herself to be and acted like a faithful mother toward her dear stepchildren; and [these children] could not praise enough the great loyalty, respect, love, and kindness, and all blessings which they received from her and, after her death, did not know how to thank her enough.

Thus the Nördlingen clergy taught that children should be a source of joy for their parents; but, they warned, couples should not expect every aspect of their marriage to be so happy. The Haus-Stand, they observed, was filled with "Haus-Creutze", trials like childlessness, disobedient children, poverty, illness, and death, which spouses faced throughout their lives. The ministers explained that it was God who sent these crosses to Christians in order to inspire prayer and humility; without these burdens, "we pray indifferently, or not at all; but when God sends us crosses, we cry out desperately...." In true Baroque fashion Johann Marcell Westerfeld played off the name of his subject, Bommeister, to discuss the "Lebens-Baum": 
The father's and mother's Tree of Life is also filled with bitter fruits. There is effort; there is work. Matrimony, however it might be honored by God, is, as the proverb says, a stand of misery: "Ehestand: Wehestand" .... Its Tree of Life is a real cross-tree, where there are many cross-blossoms and cross-berries; the field of their occupation contains all the thorns and thistles of adversity and sadness which God places upon his own in this stand: placed on their bodies, placed on their children, placed on their servants, placed on their possessions. And who can express the diversity of such difficulties?  

Childlessness was a common "Haus-Creutz" in the early modern era, and one which plagued Nördlingen residents of every class: of the 81 married adults in the local funeral sermons, 11 had had at least one childless marriage. Ministers found it necessary to address the stigma which society often attached to childlessness. This attitude, they explained, had its roots in Biblical times, when it was considered shameful to be childless, "not only because everyone hoped to bring heirs into the Promised Land, but also because every woman believed that she could be the mother of the Messiah." But, they emphasized, God did bless the fruitless marriage, and childless couples could be happy: "eine erwünschte Ehe / doch ohne Kinder-Seegen" is a recurring phrase in the funeral sermons.

Equally painful to parents in the funeral sermons were the deaths of their infants and children. Ministers constantly reminded parents that such deaths occurred solely according to God's unfathomable will and plan; they were to take comfort in the knowledge that "God wants
nothing but what is useful to them", painful as it might be at the present moment. Again, parents were to remember that God merely entrusted children to Christians, and that their death was therefore their inevitable return to their heavenly father. Nevertheless, the Nördlingen ministers understood the sense of loss felt by even the most faithful Christian at the death of a beloved child. Assistant Pastor Johann Melchior Welsch found the roots of this grief in the fact that

"children are the living images of their parents, flesh of their flesh, bone of their bone. Thus it hurts that flesh deeply when a piece is torn away and separated from the body."

Indeed, said Caspar Weng, quoting the theologian Paul Eber, when a child dies, the parent feels "as though a joint from a finger on the hand had been severed; that certainly hurts, and nobody can believe that but those who have experienced it...."

As seen above, parents were taught to expect much from their grown children, such as comfort in their old age and the continuation of the family name and property. For this reason, explained Tobias Fabricius in his sermon for the 22-year-old Stephan Wechsler, parents naturally had greater cause to grieve the death of their children, especially their sons. Thus Hanna had mourned her son Tobias' death, and even David was inconsolable at the death of the recalcitrant Absolon. Mothers, he continued, were especially prone to excessive grief for their sons.
Borrowing Luther's words to Melanchthon when the latter had wished to interfere with the battling dukes of Saxony,

"Tace, tu non habes bonam vocem", Fabricius warned that

So it happens at the death of children, especially the sons, that the parents, especially the mother, grieve too much over their demise and become resentful, they grumble against God, and say, "Why did God have to take away my son, my firstborn, my dearest and most obedient son? I would have rather given up my daughter or another one of my sons. I don't know what God means to do with me, I don't know how I deserved this." At that the husband should answer her and say, "Tace. Be quiet, woman, you are not right." Then friends should say along with Luther, Tace_mulier_non_habes_bonam_vocem. Be quiet, woman, you are singing out of tune, you are not in your right mind, you are talking unjustly and sinfully. Rather do as Job did....The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away...."

From this dramatic passage two observations about familial relationships and attitudes might be made. First, it would appear that great emphasis was still placed in this period upon the role of the eldest son as the future provider and heir of the family name, goods, and offices; it is curious that he was perceived as the only child capable of performing these duties, as, rather than rely upon the abilities of a younger surviving son, the mother was willing to offer to God any other child, male or female, as a substitute for her "favorite". Second, Fabricius here depicts the wife as the classic "hysterical woman", the "weaker vessel" who must be calmed and reprimanded by her more rational 124 husband.
Although the mother of Fabricius' funeral sermon was willing to sacrifice her daughter in the place of her beloved son, other sermons suggest the deep sorrow which other parents could feel at the death of their young daughters, especially when they were their sole surviving offspring. Johann Melchior Welsch, in his funeral sermon for young Margareta Dorothea Knebel, the last surviving child of nine born, compared the death of an only child with a garden: when there are many trees in the garden, there is cause for grief when one dies, but not despair;

So it is with children in a marriage: though it causes him great pain when one child who had bloomed like a lovely little flower is wilted by the biting wind of death, he who has many children in his marriage-garden can be comforted more easily than one whose only one was torn from him. For when the single joy is lost, the single young tree broken, the single flower is blown or eaten away, all hope which one had had in such children is lost, all enjoyment, delight, and happiness which one had had in them is shattered.*^*

Assistant Pastor Caspar Weng knew this grief at first-hand. In the midst of his funeral sermon for Jacobina Regina Welsch, a doctor's wife who had died in childbirth, Weng made a startling digression:

As I write this I am overwhelmed by my heartfelt love for my dearest middle daughter, Anna Elisabeth Weng, who died with amazing joy eight days before the late Frau Doctor at the age of seven....*^*

In the following three pages Weng described the death of his daughter, which had been preceded only six weeks earlier by the death of her five-week-old brother. Weng praised her faith, and her joy and prayers as death drew
near. Her epitaph read:

Here lies a child, so pious, who was dear to her parents,
Now dearer to God, who wished to deliver her
So early from sin, distress, misery, death, and suffering;
She died happily, and lives forever in joy with God. **

Related to childlessness and infant and child mortality was the woman's special Haus-Creutz, the dangers of pregnancy and childbirth. Four of the women of the Nördlingen funeral sermons died in childbirth or within a few weeks of giving birth; ministers used the occasions of their deaths as opportunities to direct comforting teachings glorifying the "calling" of motherhood to their female listeners in an age when the agonies and perils of childbearing were all too familiar to women of every class. In the words of Gerhard:

Ante exitum miseras oneramus matres, in exitu more vipereo laceramus: Before we come into the world we are a great burden to our mothers, and when we are born we are like vipers to them, ripping and biting them wretchedly. ** Preachers explained that birthpains had their origin in God's pronouncement to Eve after the Fall: "I will increase your labor and your groaning, and in labor you shall bear children" (Gen. 3:16). Although these birthpains were God's punishment on womankind for Eve's sin, the ministers were quick to emphasize that it was through these pains that a woman became blessed, according to 1 Tim. 2:14-15. Eve was also responsible for death in
childbirth, as she was the source of our mortality in
general. Here again, however, the clergy softened
this bleak teaching with the assurance that the woman who
died in childbirth died in her calling, and was therefore
blessed. The Biblical character most frequently invoked in
this context was Rachel, whose death as described in Gen.
35: 16-20 was a common funeral text for women who had died
in childbirth:

She died in the calling in which God had placed her, as
he had blessed her with offspring. She died and her
soul was taken unto Heaven, into the bosom of Abraham,
into eternal glory and joy. From this it should be
seen that when pious Christian matrons must give their
lives either during or after birth, their death is
nevertheless a holy death.124

Ministers also offered passages from Luther and other
theologians as comfort to women:

Obdormit in partu, in vocacione et statione sua, in
quam divinitus collocata fuerat, et occumbit sub cruce,
quae a Deo imposita est mulieribus; Rachel died in
labor, in her calling and estate in which God had
placed her, and died under the cross which God has
placed on the female sex, in a proper, holy estate.
How can her death be anything but most blessed? She
died as blessed as a soldier before his enemy, of which
one says that he died on the bed of honor; as holy as
the martyrs who shed their blood for Jesus' teachings
and honor; as blessed as a minister in his pulpit, as a
ruler at the town hall or in his chambers; as blessed
as a craftsman over his appointed work in his office
and shop; all their deaths are held worthy of the
Lord....128

Though all in this age were aware of the dangers of
pregnancy and childbirth, it was nevertheless a shock to a
family when the mother died "in her calling", and husbands
would indeed feel as though God had "ripped away" their
spouses. Another Haus-Crutz, however, was capable of strengthening the affectionate bonds of marriage: lingering illness. The Nördlingen funeral sermons, in an effort to heighten the Sterbekunst of the deceased, often went into excruciating detail about their maladies and sufferings throughout their lives. As Phillipe Ariès noted, these earlier illnesses were presented to the audience as evidence of the subject's lifelong piety and practice in the are moriendi which ministers wished their flocks to emulate; to the clergy, to postpone contemplation of death until the deathbed was to risk one's salvation, as the patient would experience the sudden panic and crisis of confidence on which Satan preyed.

It was in fact in the course of a long, debilitating illness, the clergy taught, that a Christian couple came to a full realization of their love for each other. Both men and women were portrayed as kind, helpful, and loving toward their spouses during illnesses which could take years to kill, but the most poignant scenes were those of the husband expressing his deep-seated love and gratitude to the wife who had selflessly nursed and comforted him in the last weeks, months, or years of his life:

Then he offered his dear wife, now the grieving widow, his hand and thanked her for her diverse care, loyalty, and effort which she had shown him, day and night, unceasing and constant, throughout his lingering, severe illness, and said that God would bountifully reward her for it elsewhere.
Even significantly younger women, viewed by contemporaries and moderns alike as callous golddiggers, had the capacity to be tender toward their ailing, elderly husbands, as Stephan Wechsler affirmed:

Without any flattery, I cannot praise the present sorrowful widow enough in that, although she was still in her best years, for several years she had to lift up, lay down, and feed her dear husband, who was an old, weak, and ailing man; indeed, she had to take care of him like a young child. In such circumstances few women would do their duty - many would in fact become confused and exasperated and wish the old man death and Hell. This (the widow) never displayed, but faithfully remained by her dear old husband, indeed, treated him as mother would. The Almighty God will undoubtedly let her enjoy his grace as well....

Death was the final Hauß-Creutz faced by Christian couples; death separated parent from child, husband from wife. Much has been said in recent studies of family life of the coldness which prevailed in early modern familial relationships, but little of that aloofness is evident in the Nördlingen funeral sermons. Instead, there are numerous touching deathbed scenes, farewells to family and friends, regrets at the absence of close family members, last expressions of love and gratitude for years of companionship, and torrents of tears. Again, the ministers' primary goal in retelling the final moments of the deceased was to offer the congregation a shining example of Sterbekunst, of a Christian's faith and courage in the face of death and Satan's last temptations, but in so doing they also presented vivid images of families at their most trying and most devastating moments. Nearly
every funeral sermon contains a detailed deathbed scene, but one account is so haunting and revealing that it deserves discussion at length: the death of Jacobina Regina Welsch, wife of city physician Johann Marcell Welsch, in November 1700.

A fever had set in after Jacobina gave birth to her third child, a daughter; in spite of all the doctor's efforts and prescriptions to save the young woman, it soon became apparent that she was approaching death. As her condition worsened, Weng related, Jacobina began to resign herself in Christian composure to God's will, surmounted the illness and bodily pains with great patience, and prepared herself beyond all measure for a holy end. And as it had always seemed to her that her life would end either in childbirth or in childbed, she prepared herself for the end by reading diligently the Ulmer minister Herr M. Strömayer's *Himmelische Lebens_ der_glaubigen_Seele_vorder_die_Schrecken_des_Todes.*

Early Sunday morning, after she was seized by a severe fainting fit, she informed her husband that she was not long for this world; at which, to symbolize her renunciation of the world and all vanity, she removed her ring from her finger and handed it to her husband. When asked whether she no longer wished to remain with him and her dear children, she answered that she did very much, if it were God's will; but she must someday die, and God wished that it be now, so she would like to go with her Savior Christ Jesus and wished nothing more than that she would die very soon. Sunday night, as she grew fainter and fainter, she commended her dear children to her husband, adding that he should earnestly encourage them to prayer; God would help them....Monday, near daybreak, when death, the last enemy, would soon break in, and her hour of death drew near, and the spiritual enemy wished himself to be evident as well (1 Cor. 15:26), she proved herself to be a true Jacobina Regina in her brave efforts and struggles....

[Following absolution] she became so joyous that she addressed all spiritual enemies in courageous defiance and said, "All is well with me now; neither sin, death, the Devil, or Hell can tempt me now. I am
saved by grace through Christ's blood alone. Yes, my Lord Jesus! You have saved me from sin, death, Satan, and Hell; it had cost your Blood, on which I had placed my hope. Why should I be afraid of death and Hell's hoardes? I am a blessed child because I have relied on you." At this the late Frau bade farewell to all her friends standing around her, especially to her husband, whom she thanked heartily for his love and fidelity and wished him all the best; to her little son, who called out longingly, "Mother! Stay!" and sought he throughout the house, screaming, "Mother! where are you?"; to her little daughter, whom she loved until the end, and in a moving way spoke to her. "You are the child of my labors; you caused me great pain in birth, and now I must leave you." With which she finally wished all the best to her husband, with both his small children,... and her sisters-in-law, who showed her constant love and care until her death...."

Seventeenth-century listeners and readers of this vivid account were probably most impressed by this young woman's mastery of the *ars moriendi*, as evidenced in her happy surrender to God's will, her devotional reading, prayers, and singing in her final hours, her vision, or "Vor­schmack", of Heaven, her heroic deathbed struggles with the Devil, and her reward, a gentle death "with a clear mind, smiling mouth, at once completely rejoicing and triumphant...." This same passage, however, suggests many details about familial relationships in this period. The entire scene is imbued with an air of tenderness and tragedy, as the dying Jacobina tries to comfort her husband and child, who have already begun to grieve her impending death. Her husband's confusion and, it would appear, sense of abandonment as Jacobina removes her wedding ring would seem to belie charges of marital coolness; her son's
frantic reaction to her death also suggests the attachment which children could have for their parents. The dying’s farewell to family and friends was a common practice in the early modern era, and many are to found in the Nördlingen funeral sermons. In her farewell Jacobina demonstrated a deep love and concern for her surviving children when she asked her husband that they be raised in a Christian manner and tenderly bid farewell to her infant daughter, the "Schmertzen-Kind" whose birth had meant her death; also noteworthy is her relationship with her sisters-in-law, who remained by her side until her death.

The Nördlingen ministers recognized the great pain which many felt at the death of their beloved spouses, a pain which could surpass even that of the death of a child:

The death of a child certainly causes great pain in the hearts of tender-loving fathers and mothers....But the death of a dear spouse cuts even deeper into the soul. 

[When Welsch’s daughter had died earlier in the year, the loss] of course it was very painful, as though a part of his body had been cut off. But now that God had taken away the delight of his eye, that he has through death robbed him of his dear [Jacobina] Regina, queen of his heart, his soul feels such excruciating wounds, it is as though his heart has been cut in two by a sharp sword....

Non dolor est major, quam violentia mortis Unanimi solvit corda ligata fide. That is:
There is no greater pain to be found in this world Than when death in his cruelty separates two dear people.

And, in a passage borrowed from Wittenberg theologian Paul Eber:
When God tore his dear wife from his side it hurt nearly as much as if one had violently torn a rib from his body.

This last passage, with its reference to the woman "torn from the side" of her husband and its allusion to the rib torn from a man's side is a clear allusion to Adam and Eve, and could easily be interpreted as a subtle reminder that woman was created to be man's helpmate at his side, and not to be his servant and Fußtuch.

As in the case of children, the clergy reminded the survivors that it was God who had removed their spouses according to his will, and they were encouraged to take comfort in the thought that the deceased was now enjoying the peace of heaven with their divine father. Nevertheless, Caspar Weng empathized, it was difficult for one to look upon the corpse of a spouse, and most ministers, reiterating 1 Thess. 4:13, assured the family and friends that mourning was permitted them within respectable, Christian limits.

Survivors were to find comfort in the knowledge that their loved ones were now with Christ, and in the hope that they would all someday be reunited in Heaven, but until then the memory of the deceased would linger and cause great sorrow. Barbara Hauff, the widow of Deacon Georg Hauff, was so grieved at the death of her husband that she prayed to God "that he would no longer keep her healthy, but grant her a blessed end as he had to her husband";
she followed her husband to the grave a few days later.

During the Thirty Years' War the widowed city captain not only faced the burden of commanding the local regiment, but he had now lost his wife, "and day and night he no longer knew where he should begin...." Others, the ministers declared, would forever keep the memories of their late spouses alive, fulfilling the dead's last wishes, and looking forward to their reunion in the heavenly kingdom:

Spouses who are close to each other let their hearts remain inseparable in death. The survivor retains his love for the deceased and shows it when a question arises about what is to happen after his death or about his last wishes concerning his children or his household. Or, when his own death draws near, he rejoices and thinks, "Now that I am going to my Christ the Savior, for whom I desire above all else, I am also going to that one who is already with him, who was taken first: my husband, who loved me; my wife, who was dear to me." 

Her surviving husband, who bitterly mourns her, and who his entire life will never forget her marital love and fidelity these past four short years (ah, far too short a time!), their marriage filled with love and blessings, for she had done him everything dear, and nothing hurtful (Prov. 31:12). He sends her with 1000 sighs, with scalding tears, to Death's hill, God's acre, indeed to Heaven, and will forever think only the best of his dearest Jacobina Regina.
CHAPTER IV
LUTHERAN HAUSVATERLITERATUR FROM THE SIXTEENTH
THROUGH EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The Lutheran funeral sermons were a useful, albeit at times subtle, method of conveying to a potentially wide audience of listeners and readers basic notions of Christian marriage and family life. A more direct method was found in the Hausvaterliteratur, or handbooks for the Christian household. Like the funeral sermon, this genre was a part of a literary tradition which reached back into antiquity. Julius Hoffmann, in his study of the Lutheran Hausvaterliteratur of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Germany, discovered the roots of many of the prevailing themes of this literature, such as a religious basis for a work ethic, work as a sign of brotherly love, and the laudable virtues of honor and piety, in the writings of Hesiod, Xenophon, and Aristotle; in addition, Hesiod included a discussion of marriage and familial relationships. The Romans had composed household treatises as well, though, ever more practically-minded than philosophical and abstract, their works were usually more interested in the actual functioning of a farm than in
exploring the responsibilities of the paterfamilias toward his family, his possessions, his fellow man, and his city. Cato the Elder might have longed for the return of the old-fashioned virtue, simplicity, and masculinity of the traditional Roman farmer, but his treatise was overshadowed by Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, which described in exhaustive detail agricultural techniques, and Vergil's *Georgics*, an hymn to the glories of the agrarian life.

Scholars and theologians of the Late Middle Ages were familiar with these works, as well as with the "Haustafel", those passages in the New Testament which dealt with domestic relationships: Col. 3:18-4:1, Eph. 5:22-6:9, and 1 Pet. 2:18-20 and 3:1-7. These pagan and Christian sources were largely available only in Latin, so their audience remained small. Priests, however, did teach on this material; one example is Berthold von Regensburg's catechism sermons of the thirteenth century, which appeared in Latin, but were originally delivered in German.

The new, this-worldly, humanist theory of education spurred renewed interest and effort in the realm of domestic literature: Cicero's translation of Xenophon became popular reading, while Leonardo Bruni translated Aristotle into Latin. Original works appeared as well, including Leon Battista Alberti's *Libri_della_famiglie* (c. 1441) and Francesco and Ermolao Barbaro's *De_re_uxoria*, a work which Erasmus Alberus translated into German in
The single original German treatise on the subject in this period was the Bamberg canon Albrecht von Eyb’s so-called “Ehebüchlein”, which first appeared in 1472 and enjoyed 12 editions in the next 70 years.

The greatest resurgence of household literature occurred with the advent of Lutheranism. The concept of good works contributing toward one’s salvation was replaced by the “new good works”, deeds intended not to earn the grace of God, but to serve him through service to one’s fellow human being and the fulfilment of one’s own calling. These callings were many and were equally pleasing to God, whether one were king, Bürgermeister, preacher, baker, weaver, husband, wife, or child. The Lutheran Hausväterliteratur which arose was therefore designed to explain to Christians their duties and how they might best fulfill them.

The first Lutheran work in this genre was the Thuringian reformer Justus Menius’ Deconomia christiana (1529), to which Luther himself wrote the foreword. This treatise’s objective was to instruct the Hausvater how to run his household “christlich und recht”, reminding him that this was his God-ordained duty. Menius actually followed Aristotle’s breakdown of the responsibilities of each household member and placed great emphasis on the task of childrearing. As Hoffmann noted, Menius’ domestic guide, in its exhortation to piety, its assertion of the maxim
that all in the household were to obey the Hausvater, and its delegation of tasks, was in the tradition of the ancient works, but a new spirit was evident in this work as well, a belief that the Hausvater’s efforts influenced not only the welfare of his household, but his entire earthly well-being and eternal salvation as well. Moreover, the Hausvater was reminded that he was not able to do anything without God, and that his gravest sin was not that he let the household fail, but that he believe that he was capable of managing that household without the help and guidance of God.

Over the next two centuries a flood of literature of various types focusing on the Christian household appeared in Lutheran Germany. One popular form of this literature was the collection of sermons based on Luther’s Small Catechism; these sermons were delivered to a local congregation before being edited for publication for a wider audience. Again, the concept of the catechism sermon was far from new in Christian Europe; what was new was its expanded content. To the standard medieval catechism of the Ten Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Creed Luther added the Haustafel, thereby making it a vital part of the most important religious teachings, material which was to be known and followed by all. The Lutherans employed three basic, complementary methods to instruct their followers in the Small Catechism: preachers read it
aloud to the congregation before and after the sermon, 
regular catechism sermons were delivered during the week, 
and children memorized the Catechism and were tested for 
their understanding of it in local schools. Popular 
collections of Lutheran catechism sermons included those by 
Cyrus Spangenberg, Christoph Fischer, and Johann Arndt; one 
work cited frequently in the Nördlingen funeral sermons was 
Johann Conrad Dannhauer’s *Catechismus-Milch* (1661). 
Catechism sermons, incidentally, were less common in 
Pietist circles: a rare Pietist collection is Philip Jacob 
Spener’s *Kurtze Catechismus-Predigten* (1689), whose moral 
contents did not, in Hoffmann’s opinion, vary from the more 
“orthodox” Lutheran teachings on the *Haußtafel*.

Another popular form of devotional literature dealing 
with household matters were published wedding sermons. The 
wedding was the inauguration of a new Christian household, 
and many preachers saw this event as the perfect opportu-
nity to instruct both the newlyweds and their guests in the 
origins of the married estate and the expected duties of 
all family members. A good example of this variety of 
literature is Paul Jenisch’s four wedding sermons based on 
Sirach, in which he discussed the divine origins of 
marriage, the virtuous woman, maintaining a peaceful 
marriage, and the parent’s duties toward their eligible 
daughters.
A third form of Hausväterliteratur was the Hauspostill. This book was essential to the Hausvater's role as Hausprediger, as it contained the pericopes, prayers, and songs for every Sunday and holy day of the liturgical year, as well as morning and evening prayers for every day of the week. In addition, following Menius' example, these books contained prayers of supplication and thanksgiving for each task in the household, for the well-being of each family member, and often also for every conceivable natural disaster. Johannes Christianus recommended Psalms for various callings, including rulers, parents, servants, merchants, sailors, and singers, and for such situations as illness, imprisonment, siege, plague, sending children to school, before and after meals, childbirth, and a torrid summer or harsh winter. Nördlingen's Georg Matthäus Beckh published a prayerbook with the irresistible title

God-Pleasing Home and Church Devotion Composed of 1217 Daily Prayers, Songs, and Contemplations for Morning, Evening, Estate, Duty, Work, Time, and Hour, Feast, Church, Confession, Repentance, Communion, and Virtue, General Emergency, War, Famine, Plague, Thunderstorm, Fire, Flood, Stormwind, and Earthquake, Travel, Birth, Illness, Dying, and Death....

A final popular form of Lutheran household literature was the treatise. These works ranged widely, from contemplation of a single problem to a survey of married life and the family in general. Friedrich Heuppel wrote a tract to guide fathers and mothers in the instruction of their children in the Small Catechism at home "so that they might
do better in the public examinations at church"; Paul Jenisch bemoaned the poor upbringing of children in his day; Johann Ellinger denounced the "Allamodischer Kleyder Teuffel" rampant among women; Johann Irenaeus and Martin Caselius both defended women; and Christoph Richter in the early eighteenth century asked, "Whether a husband may in good conscience continue to have congual relations with his wife when she is pregnant?" Johann von Münster discussed the many problems of betrothals and, in his Tractus de Polyteknia, imagined a dialogue between a rational husband and his fretful, at times almost hysterical, wife about their many children:

The mother complains: Dear husband, I am heavily burdened with many children.
The husband comforts: Dear wife, weak shoulders can also be heavily burdened with gold and silver....
Mother: Yes, dear husband, but I will become poor with so many children.
Father: Nonsense, dear wife, for the children are rather your treasure and your riches....
Mother: But with such a large brood of children I live in great poverty....Dear husband, you talk very well and say many lovely things, but who will feed so many children?....Who will clothe the children?....But as I have so very many children I wish that God had given me another gift in their place, so that I could support the others.
Father: Those last words are woman’s talk...."'

Ehespiegel, or guides to a Christian marriage, were also common forms of devotional literature. Authors such as Johann Spangenberg, Egidius Hunnius, and Johann Philip Schierstab discussed the sacred origins of marriage, the duties of and relationships among the various household
members, and the crosses of life. The most unusual works of this type came from the pen of Johann Michael Dillherr, who, in addition to the story of the disobedient boy mentioned in the previous chapter, spun outrageous tales of another bad child devoured by wild animals, a duke who had seduced one woman, married another, and then committed suicide at his wedding feast, a theology student who went mad on his wedding night after jilting a poor girl, and a woman stranded on a desert island who was raped and had two sons by apes.

Because this entire spectrum of devotional literature from catechism sermons to Ehespiegel were essentially based on the same sources - the Small Catechism and Haustafel, Old Testament passages such as the creation of woman (Gen. 3:18-24) and the "alphabet of virtues" for women in Prov. 31, the Song of Solomon, and the apocryphal book of Jesus Sirach, included by Luther in his German Bible because of its useful household teachings - it is not surprising that their Lutheran authors tended to express similar views and reach similar conclusions about the nature of marriage and family life. These authors borrowed from each other, and ministers throughout Germany not only cited and recommended their works frequently, but also incorporated images, ideas, and clever proverbs from these works into their own productions. In this case the clergy of Nördlingen was no exception. As seen above, the ministers
in their funeral sermons demonstrated a great familiarity with the publications of their more famous colleagues; moreover, they patterned their own writings on the Christian household on the current forms which had proven so successful for others. An anonymous tract explaining the Catechism appeared in Nördlingen in 1700; Georg Matthäus Beckh, one of the most prolific Nördlingen ministers, published a "catechism and confessional booklet" in 1706 which followed the standard question-and-answer explication of the six essential points of faith found in any number of Lutheran catechisms.

Three published wedding sermons by Nördlingen ministers are extant: Beckh's sermons for Lorentz Christoph Welsch and Anna Engelhard in 1693 and for city physician Johann Melchior Welsch and Jacobina Regina Hilbrandt (whose death in 1700 Caspar Weng so dramatically portrayed) in 1696, and Weng's sermon celebrating the second marriage of Beckh in 1702. The ideas contained in these sermons parallel those teachings of the Nördlingen funeral sermons and in the devotional literature of Lutheranism's most eminent theologians. Once again, "holy matrimony" was a gift of God; a happy, loving marriage was an "earthly Paradise, a Heaven on earth". Following Matthesius, Beckh taught that the purpose of marriage was threefold, that is, procreation, help and companionship, and relief from evil lusts (1 Cor. 7:2). The ministers also reiterated the
standard phrases about children as God's gifts, the crosses of married life, the sorrows of widowhood, and the reunion of loved ones in Heaven. As in the funeral sermons, the ministers spoke of the husband only in terms of the fulfillment of his duties, but they went into great detail concerning the wife's duties and her many virtues. She was to model herself after the good women of the Bible; Beckh suggested that Lorentz Christoph's bride Anna Barbara follow the example of the five Annas, or Hannahs, and pray fervently like Samuel's mother, maintain her household like Tobias' wife, be as loving as Raguel's wife, be an avid churchgoer like Phanuel's daughter, and be as pious as the mother of Mary. Moreover, she was to be chaste, disciplined, diligent, modest in dress, and loving, not only in the early years of marriage, but in her entire life with her husband. Beckh as well used the image of the pearl to describe a virtuous wife:

Pearls have *Via sanandi et confortandi*, a power to heal and strengthen; they guard against fainting-spells and heart palpitations: for this reason pearl-water is a good thing to have in the house for emergencies. In like manner is a noble house-pearl also a comfort to the house and a heart's strengthenener. Her husband's heart can rely on her, she does everything dear, and nothing hurtful to him in his swoons, in weakness, and all discomfort....Pearls have *Vim exhilarandi*, a power to refresh and to delight: so a pearl-like Barbara delights her husband, refreshes his heart, and always makes him happy....Pearls have *Vim expurgandi*, the power to purify and expel the poison; so a noble Barbara and disciplined wife has the power to drive out from the husband the poison of evil lusts....
A wife was to be friendly toward her husband: deriving the word "Frau" from "freundlich", Beckh warned that "no man should call a female (Weib) a woman (Frau) unless she is friendly, yielding, loving, and pious, and has heartily cheered her husband!" A woman was to remember that she was called "Frau"; if she became unfriendly or stormy, simply hearing the word "Frau" from her husband was to cause her to think, cool her wrath, and make her friendly again. It was also the duty of the wife to keep her husband healthy through regular meals: "the kitchen's medicine is often better digested and works better than the best medicine from the pharmacy." A bad wife could in fact shorten her husband's life, but a good wife was her husband's comfort in times of stress and crosses:

A preacher, who has much hard work to do...can experience nothing nobler than a wife who can put herself in his place, come to his aid with love and friendliness, who, in a word, is a true helper and helpmate, a helper in easing the burdens of office, a helper in sweetening life's vexations....

A Christian wife was queen of her household, in charge of the management of her children and the servants, but she was not to rule over her husband. Rather, she was to keep in mind God's command that she love, fear, and obey her husband. She had promised this obedience in her wedding vows, and to disobey her husband was to violate those vows, and thus God's law. Women might not enjoy their subservience, but they had no recourse. Quoting
Dannhauer, Beckh asserted that "if it were a human commandment or an imperial final decree, women could protest against it and file an objection; but this is God’s command, which permits no contradiction whatsoever...."

Women who dared to rebel against divine law and were insubordinate toward their husbands committed perjury against their wedding vows, violated the Fourth and Sixth Commandments, and risked eternal damnation.

Beckh encouraged Dr. Welsch’s bride to observe him at work in order to learn from him. Patients came to him daily seeking his help and then accepted his advice: so a wife should seek out her husband’s advice. Just as a patient should not hide his doctor’s prescription in the window, so a wife should not ignore or disobey her husband’s advice or commands. In conclusion, Beckh offered the doctor’s wife following prescription for a good marriage free from discord or power struggles between the spouses:

Rx. Mouth-lock.
   Humility-water.
   Chastity-spice.
   Meekness-leaves.
   Patience-herbs.

Each of these, mixed with a handful of love-roses and subjection-flowers, prevents much grief in a marriage. Happy the one who can apply this properly."

Beckh published a third sermon on marriage, this on a most rare occasion in the early modern era: the celebration of a fiftieth wedding anniversary, in this case that of
Johann Sophonia and Regina Eck in 1694. Equally astounding as the longevity of both the Ecks was the fact that in those years Regina had borne seventeen children, all of whom had survived infancy. This was a joyous, blessed day, Beckh declared; God had demonstrated his majesty and grace in preserving both spouses, but especially Regina through her seventeen pregnancies. Old friendships are the best, and throughout those fifty years Regina had proven herself a true helpmate to her husband; even now she continues to care for and serve Johann as best she could in her advanced old age. Beckh's final exhortation to the Ecks to reflect upon their fifty years of marriage summarized the duties, joys, and sorrows which were all part of a model Christian marriage:

First, did you find how good it is that God established the married estate? that two are always better than one, for then they enjoy their work (Eccl. 4:9)? Second, have you sensed how, in accordance with Scripture, you are pledged and bound to each other? Third, have you behaved toward each other as God's commandment orders you? Have you, Herr Eck, loved your Regina as your own body these fifty years? Were you, Frau Eck, obedient to your master and husband, as to the Lord, in all things? So it had to be on both sides in order for your marriage to be blessed and happy. Fourth, had not God allowed you to experience the abundance with which he blesses the married estate? Indeed! You were fruitful and multiplied!...Fifth, have you ever lacked for anything? Have you experienced the cross which God has placed on marriage? Have you not, Frau Eck, borne your seventeen children with pains? Did you not have to subject your will to that of your husband? Was he not your master? Have you not, Herr Eck, earned your bread by the sweat of your brow? Have you ever lacked for physical afflictions? What do you say? The eyes now brimming, the tears say, "Yes!" and admit that it was all true for you...."
The Nördlingen clergy also published several household prayerbooks. Daniel Haak in 1709 published his two versions of the *Hauß-und_Kirchen_Paradies*; in 1703 an anonymous *Schul-Gebett_und_Kinder-Seuffzerlein* appeared. These were the prayers of a model child, pious, loving, obedient to his or her parents, teachers, ministers, and eager to go to school and learn:

> In your grace avert fire and all harm from this school; let no fear or frights awaken us from sleep. We wish to go to our schoolwork with joy....

In 1704 Beckh published the *Gott-gefällige_Hauß_und Kirchen-Andacht*, a collection of 1217 prayers for nearly every possible moment and situation of a person’s life. There were prayers for pregnancy and illness, for baking bread, for the various craftmen at their labors, prayers when going to bed, putting out the light, waking, dressing, for protection from storms, hail, fire, flood, drought, prayers at the appearance of a comet, and prayers for the dying. One prayer in which the ministers must have had special interest was a prayer against dozing off or letting the mind wander during church! Every member of the household had his or her own special prayers, the *Hausvater* for the protection of wife, children, servants, and property from harm, the wife for a marriage blessed with children and for the wisdom to remain obedient toward her husband:
Lord God! grant that I might be subject to my husband in all things allowed....And since I am a weak vessel gracefully be inclined toward me: let me as an obedient wife remain within the bounds of my calling. 60

As in the Schul-Gebett, children prayed not only for the protection of their parents and siblings, but for the well-being of the entire community as well, a practice which suggests the belief that, especially in the face of war or other disasters viewed as God's punishment upon society, God would perhaps be more willing to listen to the supplications of children than to those of their less innocent elders:

O Lord! let my siblings, mother, and father Be commended to you, As well as all those who are related to us And the entire nation. Preserve us, Lord, from false doctrine, Protect us from the Devil, destroy his kingdom. Make us, O dear Lord, free From the tyranny of the Pope and the Turk.... 61

Finally, there were the parents' mournful prayers at the death of a child:

You know a father's heart and true motherly fidelity: you know that what brings love brings pain. The death of a child is most painful; therefore do not blame [our grief] on impatience, but simply on love. 62

The Nördlingen publication which provided the most detailed treatment of the subject of Christian marriage and family life was Georg Albrecht's 1645-1646 series of 75 sermons entitled Der_Hausstand. This work most nearly resembles the Ehespiegel, and yet it is more exhaustive,
presenting an alpha-to-omega approach which is not to be found in those other works. Albrecht was greatly indebted to his predecessors and contemporaries: it will be seen that in his sermons he borrowed heavily from the works of Luther, Matthesius, Jenisch, Hunnius, Arndt, and his own father, Bernhard Albrecht, as well as from an amazingly wide range of chronicles. Albrecht’s talent at paraphrasing was questionable, especially regarding biblical citations - at one point he rendered the famous scriptural passage, "Do not give the dogs what is holy; do not throw your pearls to the pigs" (Matt. 7:6) as, "Do not throw pearls to the dogs" - but in most instances he remained true to the spirit of his sources. The result is a fascinating mixture of spiritual counsel, biting polemic, delightful imagery, and tall tales, at once entertaining and highly instructive of current Lutheran perceptions of familial relationships.
The Sacred Nature of Marriage

On May 3, 1645, Nördlingen Superintendent Georg Albrecht mounted the pulpit of the parish church of St. George to deliver the first of a series of 75 weekly sermons on the subject of the Christian marriage and family life. It was on this date in the year 325, Albrecht began, that Helen, mother of the emperor Constantine, unearthed the Cross on which Christ had been crucified. Lutherans, more concerned with the crucified Christ than with the tangible, wooden cross itself, had done away with the adoration of the crucifix as practiced by Catholics on this day. Nonetheless, the imagery of the cross was of great importance within Lutheranism, for it was through one's search for and acceptance of the cross that the Christian became a true disciple of Christ (Mark 8:34).

Albrecht identified three principal crosses in this life: those of the ministry and the secular government, and "the greatest cross", that of the Hausstand. In this last estate one experienced many crosses daily; in the words of...
Matthew, "each day has troubles enough of its own" (Matt. 6:34).

Georg Albrecht knew the crosses of the ministry and home at first hand. Born in 1601, in 1624 he joined his father Bernhard as deacon of the Franciscan church in Augsburg. In 1629, following imperial invasion and the reintroduction of Catholicism there he and his Lutheran colleagues were forced to flee his native city. Albrecht became superintendent of the city of Geildorf, where he remained until he was called by the city council in 1641 to serve as city pastor and superintendent of Nördlingen, a position he would hold until his death in November 1647. Albrecht married only once, to Jacobina Matrin of Augsburg; in their 22 years of marriage they produced nine sons and four daughters, of whom only two sons and at least two daughters survived. Jacobina outlived her husband by four 2 months.

Albrecht's series on marriage and the family was not the first cycle of sermons which he had produced in his career. In Geildorf he had completed a series of 75 sermons on the joys of eternal life which had been interrupted by his flight from Augsburg; since his arrival in Nördlingen he had delivered 35 sermons on the ministry and 52 on secular government.
In the course of his series Albrecht would approach the subject of marriage and family life under three basic subheadings: (1) the origins and bases of marriage (Sermons I-VIII); (2) the events surrounding a Christian wedding, followed by a "peregrination" through the entire household, including discussions of the duties of and relationships between its various members (Sermons IX-LXII); (3) the many crosses of family life, and how to bear them patiently throughout life and into death (Sermons LXIII-LXXI).

Albrecht defined marriage as

an order and foundation of God according to which a man and a woman with mutual consent betroth, pledge, and bind themselves to one another, that they might live together in a friendly and compassionate manner till death do them part; by which the Lord God might be served, the human race sustained, and all sin and immorality avoided....

He employed various images to convey to his listeners basic notions about the nature and functions of marriage. In his second sermon the Nördlingen superintendent borrowed a concept from Paul Jenisch and built upon an etymology of the word *conjugium*, "*a commune jugo*", for a discussion of the many ways in which marriage resembled a yoke. A yoke, he explained, binds two oxen together; in marriage God binds two people together so that they might bear those burdens of public and private life too heavy for one. A yoke prevents oxen from straying apart in the course of their work; marriage
binds the couple on the path of piety and love, for they hear that they do not live according to their own free will, but that they should do as God commands....

A yoke tames "gül und unbändig" oxen; marriage (it would be hoped) breaks the wildness of youth by making young people accustomed to the habits of virtue. A yoke is made of four pieces of wood; the "house yoke" is composed of four parts as well, namely, the spouses, the parents, the children, and the servants. Numerous yoked oxen are indicative of a prosperous farm; many happy marriages are a city's greatest adornment and source of pride. A yoke makes oxen hungry; the cross makes a married couple thirst for God's comfort. Finally, at the end of a day's labor the yoke is removed and the oxen are led into their stalls for rest; in the twilight of their lives God will relieve the couple of their yoke and lead them to their eternal rest.

Marriage was, along with government and the ministry, a component of the larger garden of society:

We can depict these estates as a garden: the government is the fence which protects the garden; marriage is the garden of plants and herbs; the Christian church is the pleasure-garden and the orchard, where the faithful are trees planted beside a watercourse, which yield their fruit in season (Ps. 1:3).

More specifically, Albrecht perceived parallels between marriage and the Garden of Paradise. In Paradise, he explained, there had been various trees and waters, all of which could be found in the contemporary institution of
marriage. God planted a "fruit tree" in each house so that the family might have food and clothing; the Tree of Life protected the family’s health; and the Tree of Knowledge tested the family’s faith and understanding of good and evil. The palm, Albrecht taught, grows best near a spring or stream, just as the Christian couple is best nourished by Scripture, the "springs of deliverance" (Isa. 12:3). Moreover, the palm grows higher the more it is pressed down; so a pious couple is victorious in its cross-bearing through God. The olive tree is green year-round; so, explained Albrecht, should spouses "green and grow in faith and fear of the Lord, but especially in love, not only in summer, in good days, when things are going well, but also in winter, in adversity, for better or worse...." The olive branch is the symbol of peace; the couple was to maintain peace and unity both among themselves and with their neighbors. The olive tree produces fruit; so, said David in Ps. 128:3, "Your sons shall be like olive-shoots round about your table." And just as the olive would in time be pressed for its oil, so a couple was to expect the "heart-press", the cross, which would produce the "oil of many virtues", including faith. The garden of Susanna, Albrecht believed, had contained lindens, noted for their bending nature (Lindigkeit); Christian couples were to be yielding and understanding with one another.
Albrecht also described six waters which could be found in both Paradise and in the Christian household. There was "cross-water", which had actually only appeared in the world after the Fall; "restorative water" (Lab-Wasser), contained in the pure water of baptism and in the blood of Christ in communion; the bitter sweat of labor; the lovely pearl-like dew, symbolic of a peaceful marriage and refreshing under the burden of the cross; the nourishing, life-giving rain water; and spring water, which provided food, drink, and protection from fire. Finally, Albrecht noted that Christians could even learn valuable lessons from the animals of Paradise. The animals had obeyed God's command to serve Adam; if dumb beasts could be so obedient to their Creator, why should not man do likewise?

Regarding his teachings, Albrecht clearly recognized the enemy within and without. In his conclusion to the Hausstand sermons he admitted that

I don't know whether, or how, this material and these simple sermons have pleased my listeners, nor do I worry about it, for I know that whatever one says and preaches, the world still isn't satisfied. There are always foolish gainsayers who must gripe about and criticize first this, then that, and all along they understand it about as well as a blind man understands color. When one preaches about the ministry people don't find it edifying "because it only applies to the minister, who knows himself what his office involves". When one preaches about the government they'd say that it's not right to talk about the government in the pulpit every Friday. Nothing good comes of that; the people will just be made confused and stubborn. When one preaches about the household it's thought that they are simply women's sermons, though there is no person in this entire congregation, indeed, no one-day-old child, who has not heard his lesson."
Nor was Albrecht unaware of the Catholic opponents to his teachings. Albrecht wasted no time in confronting and refuting them: as early as the second paragraph of his first sermon, entitled "How highly this doctrine is to be regarded", he attacked the "papist" "idolatry" of seeking help and comfort through fervently kissing, praying to, and worshipping the crucifix. Throughout his work he would make frequent mention of Catholic critics of Lutheran teaching on marriage. Among those singled out for their "shameful" ("schändlich") criticisms was Robert Bellarmine, who had written that married people, who live "in the flesh", could not please God, and that the conjugal act makes man completely carnal, and thus incapable of godly works.

To the old proverb, "marriage fills the earth, but celibacy Heaven" ("per Conjugium Terram, per Caelibatum Coelum impleri") Albrecht countered, "But in order for Heaven to be filled it is first necessary to fill the earth; thus will Heaven be increased through marriage, and Hell through the impure unmarried state."

Sheer polemic, however, would not suffice to silence critics of the Lutheran doctrine of marriage. It was also necessary to present sound theological arguments proving that institution's equal stature with the other estates of earthly society. Albrecht set the tone for his entire series in his choice of Hebr. 13:4, "Marriage is honorable: let us all keep it so", as the scriptural text for his
first sermon.

It was God's role in the origin of marriage which was a primary reason why it should be so highly regarded. Not only had God established marriage, but he had done so in Paradise, before the Fall. Marriage was thus the oldest of all human institutions, as well as the only one established while man was still in the state of innocence. It was also the only estate specifically established by God: according to Gen. 2:18, God had said, "It is not good for the man to be alone. I will provide a partner for him." Neither the ministry nor secular government could make similar claims: God had delivered the first "evangelical sermon" after the Fall, but it was not until the time of Enosh that "men began to invoke the Lord by name" (Gen. 4:26). Government first emerged after the Flood, as seen in Gen. 9:6: "He that sheds the blood of a man, for that man his blood shall be shed...." In neither case, Albrecht argued, "did the Holy Trinity deliberate beforehand about their establishment" as had occurred for marriage in Gen. 2:18. Tertullian had written, "Antiquissimum quodque verissimum", "the older, the truer", an argument often used by Catholics to denounce Lutheranism; marriage's most boisterous opponents were the monks; yet, Albrecht replied, marriage "was an institution...before a single monk was ever hatched in the whole world; thus no one should detract from it."
Albrecht taught that marriage should also be respected because of the many ways in which the Trinity had honored it. Although he could easily have delegated an angel to the task, God himself chose to be the "Brautführer" at that "first marriage" of Adam and Eve. In the second table of the Decalogue God had created a "fence" to protect marriage, and he also granted certain privileges for married people, such as the Hebrew custom that a newlywed was exempt from military service for one year after his wedding (Deut. 24:5). Christ had been born to a married couple and had performed his first miracle at the wedding of Cana. Furthermore, in his teachings Christ had compared the kingdom of Heaven with a wedding feast (Matt. 22:2) and, through the prophet Hosea, used the imagery of the bridegroom and his bride to describe his relationship to his congregation (Hos. 2:19-20). The Holy Spirit honored marriage with the "beautiful bridal song", Ps. 128, and other scriptural passages.

To the question, "should one enter into the married state?" Albrecht gave a resounding "yes". The Nördlingen superintendent found marriage useful and "good" on many levels. First, marriage was good physically, as it was a strong remedy against loneliness and the lusts of the flesh. Second, marriage was good for society. Through marriage the population would be maintained and all positions in society would remain filled. Marriage,
specifically monogamy, also contributed to public order.
Third, marriage was good economically, through the cooperation of spouses in maintaining their household.
True, Albrecht admitted, a man could as easily hire servants to help him in his work, but why should he not rather find a wife whom he could trust? Fourth, marriage was good because of the bond of friendship which developed within it: "A friend or companion is always welcome, but better still to be man and wife" (Sir. 40:23). Fifth, marriage was good spiritually:

Clearly, young people can also learn about Christianity properly, but when we consider it more closely, all they have is the theorian, the pure knowledge. The praxis, however, or the practice, is gained in marriage. Thus young people are sent to school and learn the catechism and various fine prayers, proverbs, and rhymes, and it all seems to have been in vain, for the children do not understand what they have learned. But let them learn. The time will come when they will have to put it into practice, namely, in marriage, for marriage is the Schola Theologica, the spiritual school, where all articles of the fundamentals will be learned. For example, we often hear that God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, that everyone who has faith in him may not die but have eternal life (John 3:16). That is an indescribable love, which must cause wonder among angels and men; but no one can believe it more than one who is married and has children, indeed, an only son. He thinks: "The enemy lies imprisoned, and he cannot be set free unless you give the life of your only, most beloved son for him." Tell me, would you do that? "No, I cannot, my son is far too dear..."; so should you be amazed at the love of our heavenly father, who proved his love for us in Christ's dying for us while we were yet sinners and bitter enemies (Rom. 5:8, 10). You say, "When my child falls I help him up immediately"; in like manner, when we fall into sin we are not tossed away, for the Lord holds us by the hand (Ps. 37:24). "When my child is sick I pity him, and see, he's soon well again"; so when we are in dire straits God takes pity in his heart, and he is filled with tenderness toward us (Jer. 31:20). "When a
child desires something which is useful to him, I cannot deny it to him; likewise when I ask something of my God, he gives it to me....

Albrecht also considered a loving marriage to be a preview of the joys of Heaven:

When married people have a loving marriage, they think that they would like to live together in this way forever, and when they are separated by death they cry bitterly. But we should take comfort in the thought that this physical marriage will undoubtedly be followed by the heavenly; and because this is an indescribable joy, God depicts it in marriage so that we might have a foretaste of this joy. 1. In marriage a couple has heartfelt love for one another; in eternal life there will be great love among the elect.... 2. In marriage everything is held in common; in eternal life there will be a common joy.... 3. In marriage people pray and sing together; in eternal life, too, the elect will stand together in the heavenly chorus and sing.... 4. In marriage people talk to each other; in eternal life, too, not only will they relate the great deeds and the secret of God, but also everything good which he had done in this world.... 5. In marriage there is order among man, wife, and children, so that one is always higher than the others, but without any jealousy; in eternal life the clarity will be changed, within which one will surpass the other (1 Cor. 15:42 [sic]). 6. In marriage one lives in a house; so will we all live together in the Father's house (John 14:2), in the house of the Lord (Ps. 23:6).

To be sure, in his enthusiasm for the married state Albrecht did not completely dismiss the value of celibacy. Following Matt. 19:11-12 and 1 Cor. 7:7-9, he recognized celibacy as a gift of God, but a most rare gift. Albrecht discussed the various advantages of the single life: the cross was much lighter for the single person than for married couples, who were forced to watch family members suffer. As they had no family to support, unmarried
people did not need to work as hard, nor did they have worries about birthpains or caring for and raising children. The single person also had more time to devote to service to the church. However, Albrecht argued, celibacy was not to be understood as a state of perfection, nor was it to be held superior to marriage. Rather, he concluded that married people were in fact more worthy of praise than the celibate. "Believe it or not," he asserted, there was greater chastity within marriage than in celibacy, for marriage contains those burning desires and lusts with which the unmarried must struggle.

Why are monks and nuns so highly regarded by the papists? Because of their chastity; everyone thinks of them as angels. But married people should take comfort in the thought that they are much better than the monks and nuns. Where are the nuns who are so pure in body and spirit? There's not one in a hundred. But a pious wife can be pure; she will be blessed through motherhood - if only she continue in faith, love, and holiness, with a sober mind (1 Tim. 2:15). The nun parrots her psalter without understanding it, thinking that through many words she will be heard (Matt. 6:5). The wife prays in spirit and in truth (John 4:24), in great fervor, for distress teaches us to pay attention to the word (Isa. 26:16). The nun tortures her own body and creates her own cross, which God had not commanded; the wife waits until God sends the cross, and then she is patient and waits for aid. The nun has her painted, graven image with which she makes a show; the wife has children which God himself created, and she leads them back to God in prayer. The nun relies upon her works, hoping that she might earn eternal life through them; the wife trusts in God's grace and compassion, believes that God placed her in this estate and supports her within it, comforts her under the cross, and releases her from it, and will lead her to eternal happiness.
Marriage was also more useful than celibacy in the fact that it peopled the world and maintained all offices of society. Finally, marriage was holier than celibacy, as it provided more tests of faith and opportunities for spiritual exercises than did the unmarried state.

Before turning to the more practical aspects of marriage, Albrecht approached one final question: if God made all marriages, was he then also the creator of bad marriages? To this question he answered in the affirmative through his choice of scriptural text, Dan. 4:35: "...All dwellers upon earth count for nothing and he deals as he wishes with the host of heaven; no one may lay hand upon him and ask him what he does." God placed people in bad marriages either to punish them or to test their faith. To the godless bad marriages were a punishment. Young people, Albrecht complained, were often disobedient, snobbish, and disrespectful toward their parents; this the parents were often forced to suffer silently, as "the children had gotten too big for them to control." At this point God would intervene and saddle the child with a bad marriage to torment it day and night and bring it to regret its wicked behavior toward its parents. Children who married against their parents' wishes faced a similar fate, as well as those who wallowed in immoral behavior simply to spite their parents. In a previous sermon Albrecht noted that others who were placed in bad marriages
were those who scorned God and the institution of marriage:

There can be no worse grief than when two people must live together who deep in their hearts hate each other; ... such people have the most wretched life on earth and a foretaste of Hell....

To the pious, however, a bad marriage was a test of faith, a cross, just as other Christians were often burdened with childlessness, bad children, or long sickness. The trial of an unhappy marriage was to instill patience, to make one aware of his or her sins, and to teach one to pray. A bad marriage was also a test of marital love. Happy couples are loving couples, but too often those couples would break apart, separate from bed and board, and eventually stop speaking to each other altogether at the first sign of trouble. Albrecht urged those who were having marital difficulties to try to improve their situation. As Luther had noted, every couple inevitably has its squabbles, and an argument does not necessarily mean the end of the marriage. Albrecht’s prescription for an ailing marriage was that

First of all, God must be called upon to bring the two hearts back together again. Next each should fulfill his or her task: the man should live with his wife in understanding and honor her as the weaker vessel (1 Pet. 3:7), and the wife should be subject in obedience to her husband, as befits her duty (Col. 3:18). If this happened all the time, many bad marriages could be made good again.
In his first eight sermons Albrecht discussed why marriage was to be honored by all; in the remainder of his series he delineated how all were to honor marriage, that is, how Christians were to live honorably within the state of marriage. A prospective couple took the first step toward building an honorable marriage, Albrecht taught, when they sought the consent of their parents to the match. It is interesting to note that, as has been seen in the funeral sermons, Albrecht portrayed the children as taking the initiative in seeking out a spouse, rather than the parents merely arranging a marriage for their children. This is reflected in Albrecht's choice of text for his first sermon on parental consent:

Samson went down to Timnath, and there he saw a woman, one of the Philistines. When he came back, he told his father and mother that he had seen a Philistine woman in Timnath and asked them to get her for him as his wife (Judges 14:1-2).

It was God who created all marriages, Albrecht explained, but parents were his agents on earth, so it was essential that children gained their approval before they married. The parents' authority in such matters was grounded in divine law, both under the general mandate of the Fourth Commandment that children obey their parents and, more specifically, in various scriptural passages, such as Deut. 7:3 ("neither giving your daughters to their sons nor
taking their daughters for your sons"), Jer. 29:6 ("take wives for your sons and give your daughters to husbands"), and 1 Cor. 7:37: ("he who marries his maiden or daughter does well"). Indeed, Albrecht noted, not one pious person could be found in the Bible who had married without the consent of his or her parents. Natural law also contained the notion of parental consent: in Euripides’ play Andromache Hermoine, when pressed by a suitor for her agreement to marry him, chastely replied, "My father will arrange my engagement soon enough, so I am not at liberty to give an answer." If heathens recognized the import of parental consent, Albrecht remarked, certainly Christians should do so as well. Finally, imperial law and local governments declared that marriages contracted without parental consent were invalid.

Consent, Albrecht reminded his listeners, was to be granted not only by the father, but by the mother as well. And why should she not have a voice in the decision? Our mothers, after all, bore us for nine months, suffered the pains of giving us birth, and nursed us. Lawyers might have disputed the necessity of a mother’s consent, but the Bible gives numerous examples of children who sought the advice and consent of their mothers when they wished to marry, even when their fathers were still alive. It should be remembered that Samson approached both his father and his mother when he desired the Philistine’s hand. The
Catholics taught that only the mutual consent of the spouses was required to make a marriage valid, regardless of any parental opposition, but Albrecht believed that the example of Esau, who married a Canaanite woman to spite his parents and was accursed (Gen. 28:8-9), clearly demonstrated God’s disapproval of such behavior. Again, those who married without their parents’ consent soon found themselves in a wretched marriage:

They live together like dogs and cats, like lions and dragons, one punishment after the other. What’s worst is that they may complain to no one. They should be able to take refuge with their parents, and they run to them, knowing that one will reproach them with, "You brought it upon yourself!" Finally they despair and they run away from each other, and ultimately if they don’t repent, they are reunited in Hell....

In turn, Albrecht reminded parents of their responsibilities towards their children in the realm of marriage. He advised them to hold firm to the Fourth Commandment and their paternal authority ("väterlichen Gewalt") and not to give their consent to clandestine marriages.

Nowadays it seems that Liberī Vere Liberī and parentes vere parentes. If the young Master son or the young Miss want a wife or a husband, they will eventually tell the father, that is, "I’ve taken a wife; if you don’t approve, well, you must", and parents give their consent, saying, "If you have taken one, keep her, I don’t want to separate you." No, that’s no Christian father’s speech. As long as you live, you’re still the father, so use your paternal power and say, "No, I won’t, I don’t want you to have this one or that; if you won’t obey, you’ll bring a curse upon your offspring." Such a betrothal is useless. Read Luther where he lists seven reasons why a clandestine betrothal is not a valid marriage. You say, "My child
betrothed himself with an oath; should I break it?"
Answer: That’s a difficult problem, and here one should take into consideration the children’s conscience, when it is running properly and honorably; but when the father has just cause for opposition, he should not be afraid. There are two things here: God’s law and a frivolous betrothal. One must give way to the other—should God’s law give way to the frivolous oath? Far from it! Thus yields the frivolous betrothal, which God lets lapse through true repentance and fervent prayer.47

Albrecht realized, however, that some parents abused the authority God had granted them over their children’s futures. Some parents believed that their consent alone was required to create a marriage, and so they forced their unwilling children into unions, usually for reasons of money or social standing. Albrecht abhorred this practice, which he, like Luther, equated with the mutilation of one’s own child. A proper marriage, he cautioned, must be entered into freely; when one or both of the contracting parties are opposed to the match, then it becomes an illegal, ungodly marriage. God had created man and woman that they might come together out of joy and love and remain together willingly out of heartfelt sentiment; to compel a couple to marry was to sin against the Creation itself. But, some parents would argue, in time the children, though forced into a marriage, would in fact learn to love one other. This Albrecht flatly denied.

There is nothing lovelier than the playing of lutes, but when the lutes aren’t in tune with each other, one can play as expertly as he wishes, but there still isn’t a pretty resonance. So in a marriage without consent there is nothing lovely, and though one
believes that they can still set it right, they experience that the longer it goes the worse it gets."

Other parents refused to grant their consent to what were clearly honorable, pious marriages. Albrecht perceived various motives underlying such behavior. Some parents, he observed, wished that their children remain in the home so that they would not need to hire and pay servants to do their housekeeping. Others were more concerned with the wealth of a child’s suitor than with his or her piety or good name; when approached by a child for their consent, the parents immediately asked, "What does he have? What is he worth? If he doesn’t have anything, it doesn’t matter that he’s honorable or pious." Still other fathers were so avaricious that they refused to allow their children to marry so that they might be required to pay a dowry. Such men, Albrecht declared, were "godless unnatural parents" who did not deserve the name "father."

In conclusion, Albrecht reminded his listeners of the advice which Luther had given to children who found that their parents either tried to force them into a loveless marriage or refused to give their consent to an honorable marriage. First the child was to discuss the matter with a close friend so that he might convince the stubborn father of the worthiness of the match and advise him not to abuse
his paternal authority. Should this fail, the child was then to approach his or her minister or, as a last resort, the local consistory.

On the other hand, Albrecht warned his young listeners, they were not to interpret his words as granting them free license to marry whomever they wished, ignoring their parents' objections:

Disobedient children will say, "That was a good sermon! In my opinion my father's been told that he must not force me or stand in my way. So I'll take who pleases me; if my father doesn't like it, too bad for him...." No, that is not what you heard; what I said, and say again, and what God says in his Holy Word is that the father must not force his son into love or hinder his well-being. From this it doesn't follow that you can take whom you want, rather it is commanded that the father provide for you. Marry your daughter, and you have done a great deed: he doesn't say, "Daughter, marry yourself", but "You, father". If you can't wait until your father advises you and decide to provide for yourself, you are intruding upon his parental authority, and you sin against God and enrage your father to the point that he will not give his consent to your contract. Imagine: You, daughter, have advised yourself and chosen a young man who is faultless, but since this took place without your parents' consent, the father won't approve of it. Why? He must have a reason? No, this reason is enough, that is, that you have forgotten the command to obedience toward your parents...."

Thus it was the duty of Christian parents to insure that their children entered into honorable marriages with good, pious Christians. This could not be achieved by letting one's daughter romp about the city's markets to catch the eye of all eligible bachelors, nor by convincing a daughter that she must "land" a certain rich man, for this could only end in disaster:
Others let themselves be blinded by money, and there the parents are often bigger fools for money than the young: as soon as they know of a rich man they convince the daughter that she should get him, not caring whether it would turn out well or not. Money, money, that's what they must have, and when it later does turn out badly, the children must scream about their parents, not to mention accusing them in the presence of God."

Rather, when a child expressed a desire to marry the parents were to inquire about the beloved's character before granting consent. Of men it was to be asked, is he pious? is he honorable and sincere? can he earn a living, run a household, and support a wife and children? The requisite virtues of potential brides received more detailed discussion from Albrecht. Here he used the familiar notion of a woman's internal and external beauty, already seen in the local funeral sermons. A woman's inward beauty was founded on piety, the source of all true love and the "root of all virtues". She was to embody the virtues of the Biblical women, "the obedient Sarah, the understanding Rebecca, the clever Deborah, the humble Naomi, patient Hannah, loyal Michol, the sensible Abigail, God-fearing Judith, tender Esther, modest Susanna, devout Mary, and others...." She was also to be a good housekeeper. Albrecht placed considerably less value on a woman's external beauty. The combination of piety and great beauty in a woman was most rare, he warned; too often beauty led a woman to pride, finery, and snobbery. Love
springing from the enchantment of a beautiful face often drove a man to immorality: for example, David fell into adultery with the dazzling Bathsheba (2 Sam. 11:4-5) and Amnon committed incest when he raped his beautiful half-sister Tamar (2 Sam. 13:14). Love founded on beauty alone could not last, but would burn out soon after the marriage took place, especially among pregnancies and illness.

To summarize his opinions regarding the value of internal versus external beauty, Albrecht posed the following problem:

If Sirach were alive today and a father came to him and said that he had three daughters for his son, the first pious and God-fearing, the second beautiful, the third rich, and then asked which among these was the best and should be chosen, Sirach would immediately answer, "A virtuous woman."**

Albrecht also advised parents about what should be avoided in prospective marriages. First was a disparity of religion: it was impossible, he said, for one who loved God and his word to feel heartfelt love for one who did not love God. "Two different faiths in one bed is seldom good, and when a pious and a godless person come together, there too is nothing but terrible heartache...."

Second was a disparity of wealth, especially when the woman was the wealthier of the pair. A rich man might be permitted to take a poor bride, but under no circumstances was a poor man to marry a wealthy woman, for that would rob him of his freedom. Indeed, Albrecht found this danger so
acute that he dedicated a full page's discussion to the problem, invoking Lycurgus, Plutarch, Luther, and Valerius Herberger as witnesses against the practice. Herberger told the story of a poor man who married for money: after the wedding he opened his Bible, and his eyes fell on Sirach's warning that "when a woman makes a man rich, he must expect tantrums, shamelessness, and outrage" (Sir. 25:22). He made a note next to the passage, ran to his minister to confirm its meaning, and cried, "Ah! poor me! If only I had read and thought about this before!"

Indeed, Albrecht seemed to perceive the practice of commoners marrying wealthy women as a threat to the natural social order:

It usually happens that when a poor man takes a rich wife, she wants to be his master, and when he says something that she doesn't like, she opens her mouth and snaps at him, "You bum! You would have been a beggar if you hadn't married me!" So it goes when one looks only at the money. Thus it is best when one looks for piety above all else....

Third, Albrecht warned parents that they not allow marriages involving great disparity in age. As Matthesius said, "a hard nut and a broken tooth - that's what a young wife and an old man are" ("Ein harte Nuß und gestumpter Zahn / ist ein junges Weib und alter Mann!"). Such a difference in age, he believed, was the root of jealousy and quarrelling among couples. Finally, Albrecht advised against matches that cut across social classes: "alliances between noble and common, eminent and lowly are worthless
and do no good...."

Albrecht followed his discussion of parental consent with a series of sermons describing preparations for a respectable Christian wedding, from the announcement of the wedding to proper wedding attire and the wedding banquet, with its food, music, and dancing. Here the key words were modesty and moderation. Guests were not to gorge themselves at the banquet like pigs at a trough, nor were they to sing so loudly that they disturbed the neighbors; despite the criticisms of the Calvinists, dancing was permitted to Christians, but again within the proper measure. Office-holders and ministers were to refrain from dancing, however, as well as old people, who in their "steel-grey beards" looked more foolish than the young. What would visitors to Nördlingen think of our city, Albrecht asked, if they saw unbridled revelry at a supposedly Christian wedding?

Moderation was also to be a guiding concept in the matter of marital love. The Christian marriage rested on two building blocks, faith in God and marital love. There were many marriages today, Albrecht regretted, that were "torn and collapsing" ("zurissene und baufällige"); this woeful situation he attributed to the fact that so many marriages were based on improper love. Love inflamed by the Devil, which took the form of passionate, sensual love, burned out quickly: Luther had recalled a number of couples
who had married out of passion, but then had abandoned each other within six months. Such "foolish, heated" love, such "fevered, fleeting" love, that is, the type of love experienced by young people in their "Kusmonat", Albrecht warned, could not stand the test of time. Crosses and misfortune would come upon the couple, they might suffer poverty, the husband might become eccentric, or the wife ill, and soon that love would die. Immoderate love was also the root of jealousy. In such love wrath and passion were intertwined, and it was easy for a passionate husband to suspect any man who spoke to his wife or to watch his wife's every gesture, word, or deed for hints of flirtatious or adulterous behavior:

If that honest woman looks at another man, the jealous husband assumes that it is with the eyes of a whore; she beckons the man, talks to him, and the husband thinks that it stems from an adulterous heart, and that everything that the others had been telling him about her is true...."

Jealousy ate away at the soul, and drove many to murder; moreover, jealousy had the power to destroy households:

As soon as jealousy enters the heart, all desire to maintain the household disappears. The husband says, "Why should I work so hard for my wife when she's in love with another man? If she's giving him her love, she'd probably also slip him money." The wife says, "Why should I want to take care of the house? I'm not keeping house for myself, but for some other woman my husband's crazy about...."

Finally, jealousy caused people to forget about God and prayer and ruined not only a couple's reputation, but the
reputation of their children and descendants as well.

The basis of a Christian marriage was not to be such a sensual, immoderate passion, but rather a rational, pure, heartfelt love, a love whose intensity remained within proper measure ("gewisse Maß"). This love caused one to be concerned with the beloved’s salvation and remained strong even under the heaviest of crosses. Above all, it grew with time:

In the beginning love’s flame is small, but it grows larger and larger every day in the couple’s hearts, so that after such pious people have lived together for 20 or 30 years they feel much more love for one another than they did in those first years....

According to Finnish custom, Albrecht related, when a man gave his daughter in marriage he would take a rock and strike it with his sword so that fire would spring from it to demonstrate how the fire within the stone could be revealed, and yet remain within the stone. This ceremony was meant to symbolize the heartfelt love between man and wife: their love was visible in their deeds, but it remained buried in their hearts.

To grow and thrive within the heart, however, marital love required the couple’s efforts. Albrecht recommended two basic tonics: piety and understanding. Couples were encouraged to attend church regularly to hear the Christian message of love and unity; if those in disastrous marriages would only begin to go to church together, the superintendent observed, they would see how the love in their hearts
would begin to increase daily. Albrecht also found confession and communion useful in strengthening marital love as well as faith:

Love is also fortified when spouses go to confession and communion together, one having beforehand reconciled himself or herself with the other and granting heartfelt forgiveness where there has been injury, and then immediately taking communion, with the idea that from then on they would lead a repentent, pious, loving life; certainly the Holy Spirit would knit this bond and make certain that the Devil could never tear it apart.

Indeed, the devil Asmodeus was forever attempting to shatter the bonds of marriage, and Albrecht saw no better defense against his wiles than fervent prayer. If a couple noticed that their love was weakening, he advised, they should pray to God for his help to restore the strength of their marriage.

Marital love could also grow when spouses treated one another with understanding and compassion. Spouses needed to learn to think like their mates, Albrecht said, as well as to respect the opinion of the other. Men should not always act upon their thoughts but, in certain matters, they should follow the advice of their wives. This cooperation could be a source of even greater love between spouses. Married people were to be patient with one another. "Spouses aren't angels, they're human", Albrecht reminded his listeners, and as humans they were fallible, prone to low spirits and mistakes. God is able to forgive us our sins; in like manner were spouses to learn to "look
through their fingers" at each other's mistakes. For example, if a husband were in a bad temper, his wife was to comfort and soothe him; after his mood passed he would be grateful that he had such a dear wife. Patience and understanding were also necessary in times of illness; there can be no heartfelt love in a marriage in which one spouse wishes its ailing mate dead.

Conception_and_Birth

From the subject of marital love Albrecht turned to God's "wedding present", children. Here he treated many of the same themes as have been found in the local funeral sermons, yet, due to the nature of his series, he was able to provide much more thorough discussion of most topics than had been possible in the eulogies. Albrecht, like the authors of the funeral sermons, recognized children as God's gifts, gifts that were granted couples through God's grace and removed according to his will. These gifts were most adorable, Albrecht observed:

People are frightened by huge, deformed people, but everybody loves children; even when we don't know them we still say, "Oh, what a beautiful child" - "what a dear child" - "what a darling little angel", we hug and kiss it, even if we're not related to it. Clearly, only a thoroughly wicked, inhuman monster could ever do a child harm...."

Married people, of course, loved children most of all, and most were eager to produce offspring. Couples wanted children because of the great joy they brought into their
lives, and because children could care for them in their old age and carry on the family name after their death. Many couples, however, were saddened by their apparent inability to produce children; to them Albrecht addressed a sermon on the problem of childlessness.

The Nördlingen superintendent reminded his audience that in Old Testament times women had considered childlessness a curse, as every woman was hopeful of bearing the Messiah; in the seventeenth century, he observed, many people continued to view childlessness as a curse, a cross, a punishment from God. Childless couples often believed themselves "robbed" of the many uses of children. They could not enjoy the thought that they had contributed to the multitudes in Heaven or to the number of the elect, nor that their children benefitted earthly society through service in the ministry or government; on a more personal level, barren couples were faced with the realization that their family name would end at their demise. Childlessness frequently placed enormous strains on a marriage, as others began to ask why a healthy young couple was unable to have children and spouses accused each other of sterility. Many childless couples also began to question God's will and power, or to fear that their marriage was not pleasing to him. Albrecht reminded his listeners that all are unworthy of God's gifts, so that no one has the right to demand of him what he in his wisdom has denied
Wouldn’t we consider that man a thick-skulled fellow who would go into a rich man’s house and demand that he give him something? Wouldn’t the rich man say, "I don’t owe you anything"? This God could say as well, for children are his gift, and he is indebted to no one; so how can you be so audacious that you would quarrel with God? (Isa. 45:9-11)

Albrecht offered his childless listeners cold comfort when he enumerated the "advantages" of childlessness. Barren women were free of birthpains: he imagined that "if a barren woman were brought to the side of a woman in the most agonizing moments of labor, she would lift up her hands and thank God that he had spared her from this." Childless couples were also relieved of the heartache of troublesome children. Perhaps most poignant to the people of Nördlingen, a city now all too familiar with the hardships of war, was the thought that the childless were spared the torment of watching their offspring suffer amid God’s punishments to society:

People who have no children always fare better than those who are burdened with many. When war comes, those who are childless need only worry about their own skins and lives; when inflation comes, they figure out what to do, for they have only themselves to feed; when plague hits and they must die, they do so gladly....But when children are involved these punishments are even harder and more bitter. In war many people don’t ask about their house, or what inside they might lose, nor does it really matter if someone tears the house down; but when one must watch somebody slaughter and strangle his children before his very eyes,...it rends his heart. Many can endure inflation alone, but when the children are standing there, the sucking infant’s tongue is cleaving to its palate from thirst, the children are begging for bread but no one offers them a crumb (Lam. 4:4), that wrenches the heart. In times of plague many would willingly die and be glad to be
released from it; but when the youngsters are standing around the bed, that makes one sick at heart, and he dies in pain and lamentation.*

Albrecht's advice to childless couples was that they should remain patient and submit to God's will. Sometimes God waited until a couple had been married for many years before he granted them children; if they were too impatient, he might answer their prayers with undisciplined children. Albrecht suggested that barren couples who truly wanted to raise children should consider taking in the children of others who could not afford to support them; under no circumstances were they to follow the example of Sarah and use a surrogate mother. Childlessness was not to be thought of as a curse, but rather as yet another test of piety. Children were a corporal, not a spiritual, blessing; childless couples were to remember that the number of children one had was no basis of salvation, and that, though they had not received this temporal, corporal blessing, they too could win eternal life.

Some couples, on the other hand, perceived bearing many children as a curse from God. This Albrecht could not understand. People never complained when they had much money, he observed, so why did they complain when God blessed them with many children? Here, as in the matter of childlessness, people were questioning the will of God. Just as God determined whether a couple would have
children, he would decide how many it would have, according to his plan. Thus it often occurred that a wealthy couple was childless, but a poor couple had a house full of children. In the latter case the parents were not to worry, for God would help them find a way to support their brood. God granted many children to couples to test their faith, as well as to provide them with a greater incentive to work:

When a man has no children, or just a few children, he isn't very willing to work much; he thinks, "Why should I strain myself too much and work long hours when I have only myself and my body to support?", gives himself over to carousing, and squanders his money. But a man who has a house full of children and an honest bone in his body works early and late, stays clear of all excess, thinks, "In this way I'll take care of my wife and children", saves his money, and makes certain that his wife and children are fed, for otherwise he'd be worse than a heathen....Thus is he able to avoid laziness and many sins."

Albrecht warned that those who took measures to insure that they had no children, either through sterilization, intentionally marrying a person who was sterile, or through contraception (the means of which Albrecht declined to discuss) merited God's punishment. Abortion and infanticide were clearly the Devil's work. People were not to bemoan the fact that God blessed them with many children but, as did his other creatures in Nature, rejoice in their "full nest":

Look at the birds under Heaven: together they hatch many young, but they are never unwilling, nor do they ever kill them. Indeed, they are even happier when the nest is full...."
It was impossible, Albrecht said, to explain how in fact conception occurred: this scientists had attempted to understand from ancient times to the present day. Avicenna had called conception "the greatest miracle in Nature", and Galen said that "only God and Nature understand this work." Marital sex, Albrecht emphasized, was not the cause of conception, for if that were true, all married people would have children. What was clear from such passages as Job 10:10-11, which describes God building the fetus, was that God was the cause of conception, for he gave "seed" a "hidden power" to form a human in the womb, develop all its limbs, and bring it into the world at the proper time.

One source of confusion for Christians was the relationship between marital sex, conception, and sin. Once again attacking Catholic doctrine, Albrecht explained that neither marriage nor marital sex were sinful, as God had established both in Paradise before the Fall. Had Adam and Eve remained in the state of innocence, they would have produced children in a marital union devoid of any wicked desires. Although carnal desire for one's spouse was part of God's curse upon Eve, and hence upon all mankind, marriage and sex within marriage were still to be considered good, as Augustine himself attested. The taint of sin with which all humans were born thus originated not in the sexual act per se, but in "the first drop of blood (or
seed) out of which we are created". All were "poor sinners" from the moment of their conception, a condition which would be washed away by the waters of baptism. Because marital sex was not sinful in itself, couples were not to be shy about announcing a pregnancy for fear that others might think them unchaste. This fear was unfounded, Albrecht assured them, for they were merely following God's command in a state established by God.

A child might be conceived in pleasure, but it was to be borne with pain. Albrecht discussed the discomforts of pregnancy in great detail. A woman could expect to suffer "headaches, dizziness, toothache, bad digestion, various catarrhs, lameness, and weakness in all limbs", as well as unusual cravings in her pregnancy. To help his audience empathize with the pregnant woman Albrecht asked them to consider the following comparison:

If a person (either a man or a woman) were to carry a stone as heavy as a child for six months - carry it of course not in the womb, but just around the neck or in the hand - how much would that person complain? It would take a strong man to carry such a stone around for so long. Now, think about it: how must a poor, weak woman feel (who has previously been called the weaker vessel (1 Pet. 5:7)) when she must carry this burden day and night for nine whole months?!

Albrecht traced the origin of these pains to Eve's sin (Gen 3:16), as well as to woman's lust and her penchant for finery. The months of pregnancy were a treacherous time for a woman, and, in addition to praying to God for
patience and his protection, she was to avoid any circumstances which could harm the infant or induce premature birth or even miscarriage: these circumstances included anger, depression, immoderate eating and drinking, hard work, falls, sudden movements, running, dancing, riding, and frights. A woman who drank to excess during her pregnancy could only produce an alcoholic child; moreover, in the seventeenth century it was still believed that what a woman felt or saw could severely deform a child. Johann Spangenberg told the tale of a woman of Eisenach who, terrified by a malicious neighbor, gave birth to a rat-like child; in 1558 a frivolous pregnant woman of Mansfeld witnessed the execution of two bandits on the wheel: she was later said to have produced a child whose arms and legs were broken.

Even greater than the pains and dangers of pregnancy were those associated with childbirth. These pains, too, stemmed from God's curse upon Eve, and thus were suffered by all women regardless of social standing. Giving birth was certainly more dangerous than any man's work:

A man's work is hard, but it doesn't kill him. On the other hand, a poor woman in her labor pains must often work herself to death, and her soul departs. Many times one must rip the child from her body, or cut it out, as many examples would tell us. Thus did Euripides' Medea say, "I would rather go into battle three times than to give birth once."
Nor in many cases did the pains cease after childbirth: women often experienced discomfort for several weeks after the delivery. For this reason, Albrecht explained, God had established the custom of childbed, the six weeks' confinement of a woman after giving birth. The Levitical mandate of childbed as a period of purification had of course been abrogated by the New Covenant, but God still wished that the practice of childbed be retained in order to allow the woman to recuperate. Many women, however, ignored God's advice, abandoned their beds within a few short weeks, and subsequently suffered grievous injury; unsympathetic husbands forced other women to resume their strenuous household duties before they had completely recovered.

Throughout the pains and dangers of pregnancy, childbirth, and childbed women were to keep in mind the holiness of their work. Albrecht echoed Johann Matthesius' assertion that, like the minister in his pulpit or the soldier on the battlefield, the woman who died in childbirth died in her calling, and was therefore blessed. Despite the curse of labor pains, and the derision of Catholic critics, pregnancy and childbirth, like marriage itself, were honorable and pleasing to God:

God created it, so it is an honorable calling, much more honorable than all those nuns and Beguines who praise their harsh orders so highly and slander matrimony as a fleshly stand within which one cultivates lust. I ask them: who gave them their order and rules? They might answer: this or that abbot. Where did he
come from? Answer: the Pope. Where did he come from? From the Pharisees, whom Christ called the vipers' brood (Matt. 3:7). Where do pregnant women get their pregnant bodies? From God. These pains? From God, who said, "I shall increase your labor and your groaning...." Thus they have a proper godly calling, the likes of which those in orders can't claim.  

Albrecht further informed women that it was God's will that they nurse their own children. Recent scholarship has provided numerous detailed studies of breastfeeding and wetnursing in the early modern era, often linking the decline of wetnursing and the rise of maternal breastfeeding not only with a sinking infant mortality rate from the late seventeenth century, but also with the advent of "modern" parental affection. How prevalent the practice was in 1646 Nördlingen of sending out infants to wetnurses cannot be accurately determined, but Albrecht apparently believed that it was a significant enough problem to warrant specific discussion. Albrecht called breastfeeding Christian, right, and natural. A biblical example of a pious woman who nursed her own child was Hannah, mother of Samuel (1 Sam. 1:22-24); and though there was in fact no scriptural evidence that Mary had nursed the infant Christ, both Lutheran and Catholic authorities, Albrecht asserted, taught that she had done so. Lutheran theologians agreed that women were to nurse their infants, and yet many women did not, either out of ignorance or wickedness. This situation Albrecht deplored; indeed, his sermon in
defense of maternal breastfeeding contains some of his most nimble arguments and most biting criticisms of human behavior.

The pagans said that neither God nor Nature created anything in vain. If this were true, Albrecht asked his female listeners, why, in their minds, had God given them breasts? "Certainly not as a decoration, or for one to expose casually and thus excite the young men into lechery," but rather to feed and nourish their young. Albrecht believed that God also expressed his wish that women nurse their infants by filling their breasts with milk only when they gave birth. Nature as well taught women to breastfeed through the examples of other mammals: lions, wolves, and bears were ferocious animals, and yet they nursed their young, as did bats, sea cows, whales, and porpoises. Even dragons, he said, nursed their young. Thus it was a pity that Christian women should be worse than the dumb beasts and repudiate what Nature had planted in all creatures.

Albrecht provided further arguments in support of maternal breastfeeding. That God had placed the breasts not on a woman's feet, but on her chest, near the heart, indicated that a woman who had heartfelt love for her child could not deny it her breast; to do so would be an "inhuman, horrible thing". Albrecht also suggested that infants had an innate, though limited, knowledge of classical languages:
Tell me, Mother, what is your child's first word? Isn't it Mamma? What does Mamma mean? It means breast, udder, that on which one sucks. Now listen! Your poor child is screaming and asking you in all your benevolent motherly love to give him your Mammam or breast. How can you have such a hard, brazen heart and not want to offer it to him? Any sensible person can decide whether that shouldn't create a bad conscience. And when a mother is so impious and refuses to do it, then the child screams and cries and nobody can quiet him. Why? He's complaining about his cruel mother, who has so grossly forgotten all motherly love....

Children who were nursed by their mothers loved and respected their mothers more than did those who had been entrusted to wetnurses:

A child never loves a mother who bore him but did not nurse him as much as that child does whose mother both gave him birth and nursed him. That first child has only half a mother and half a love. If mothers want to be beloved of their children when they are grown, they should show them motherly love in their childhood.

Indeed, it was believed that a mother's refusal to breastfeed her child could inflict medical and psychological damage to them both. If a mother did not nurse her child, her milk could turn sour and induce serious illness.

An infant became accustomed to its own mother's nourishment in the womb; a change of diet, in the form of another woman's milk, could be lethal to a fragile baby. "Foreign milk" could also completely change the child's humors and personality. It was said that children who drank goat's milk grew up lecherous; as the infant drank the wetnurse's milk it also imbibed her vices. One child who...
had had a wanton wetnurse began to chase girls at the age of ten, and wicked wetnurses were largely to blame for the monstrous Caligula and drunken Tiberius. Wealthy women, too lazy and vain about their figures to nurse their children, would be dumbfounded when their children began to display a variety of dreadful vices; the source of the children’s misbehavior was clearly immoral wetnurses. Martin Chemnitz, one of the leading theologians of the late sixteenth century, attributed the rise in prostitution to the growing popularity of wetnurses: attracted by the comfortable life afforded the wetnurse, they intentionally became pregnant, then offered their services to rich women. "If women weren’t so lazy, soft, and impious that they had to hire wetnurses, such a loose slut wouldn’t dare do something like this," Albrecht declared. Indeed, a woman who refused to breastfeed her child did not deserve to be called a mother, but a "stepmother".

In conclusion, Albrecht recommended that Christian mothers nurse their own infants if they wished to insure that their children grew up pious, chaste, and disciplined. Of course, there were some women who were physically unable to nurse their children; in such cases they were instructed to seek out virtuous married women to serve as wetnurses. It would be better to raise the infant on water or beer, he said, than to hand it over to a prostitute turned wetnurse! Maternal breastfeeding had bountiful rewards:
In addition to the deepened love a child felt for its mother, there was also a greater measure of gratitude:

It can happen that your child will have to feed and nourish you. If you breastfed that child, he will think, "My mother nourished me with her own blood and nursed me with her milk. Aye, I would have to be an ungrateful fellow to deny her food...."14

Finally, breastfeeding was part of the joy of motherhood:

I won't mention the joy which mothers get from nursing, during which they play with their infants and their heartfelt love is inflamed even more....15

A more quantifiable problem than the abuse of wetnursing was the high mortality rate among infants and children. A quick look at resident baptism and burial statistics for 1645 and 1646 Nördlingen attests that that city, like the rest of early modern Europe, was all too aware of the frailty of young life:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Baptisms</th>
<th>Burials: Total residents</th>
<th>(Adults, children, infants)</th>
<th>Infants (under 1 year)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1635</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1636</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a child of one year, one month, or even one day died, Albrecht observed, parents often began to grumble and question God's judgment. Mothers in this situation felt the greatest frustration:

I carried this child of mine with great pains for nine months, I gave birth to it in mortal danger, and now, when I should be experiencing joy in it and with it, God comes and takes it away. What use was giving birth? What was the use of those labor pains that I endured for it?16?"
Indeed, it might seem unfair to many that God allowed some people to live 60 or 70 years or even longer and yet extinguished the life of a child who might have grown up to be a minister or secular ruler, but Christians were to keep in mind at all times the words of Job, "The Lord gives and the Lord takes away" (Job 1:21). Again, children were not the parents' outright possessions, but were rather "movable property" ("fahrende Haab") loaned to them by God. For this reason parents had no right to begrudge God's repossession of what was his. Moreover, all humans had an appointed tenure on this earth known only to God (Job 14:5), a life span predetermined to the exact year, month, day, and minute. The wages of sin were death, and all humans were born sinners; it was God's choice when those wages were paid, whether early or late in life (Rom. 6:23)

Couples whose children died young were to console themselves that God had not destroyed their young, but had merely removed them. Many had been removed from spoiling or uncaring parents, while all had been spared the seductions of this wicked world: it was better that a father see his young child in the grave than his grown child on the gallows. Parents were also to consider the possibility that God had removed their children because he knew that, had they lived, they would have been bad, disobedient children, seduced in later life or perhaps killed
in a duel. It was only natural that parents would
mourn their lost children, but, Albrecht warned, this was
to be done with moderation and in the remembrance of the
reunion of all the faithful in Heaven.

Husbands and Wives, Parents and Children

Albrecht borrowed a rather unusual analogy from Johann
Spangenberg to describe the Christian household:

A household can be compared to a fine monastic order.
The cloister is the house itself, around which God has
made a sturdy wall in the Sixth and Tenth Commandments
to protect it from intruders; the prior is the father,
the head...; the abbess is the mother, who keeps her
eye on the doings of the household (Prov. 31:27).
There are many orders: in the beginning there were the
Benedictines, who were blessed by God...; soon there
were the Crusaders, on whom God placed many crosses and
sufferings,...the Carthusians, who lacked meat and
food,...and then the mendicants, who were so poor that
they went about barefoot and naked....They all have
rules by which each knows what he should or should not
do. Married people should be one flesh, and they too
have their canonical hours when they pray, in the
morning, when they go to work,...and in the evening,
when they go to bed, entrusting themselves and their
children body and soul to God’s protection....Isn’t
that a lovely order? It’s more useful and more
necessary than any order of monks or nuns that can be
found among the papists...."

The essential duties of a Christian Hausvatter were
threefold: to provide for, protect, and govern his fami-
ly. Scripture commanded that a man provide both food
and clothing for his family: 1 Tim. 5:8 taught that "if
anyone does not make provisions for his relations, and es-
pecially for members of his own household, he has denied
the faith and is worse than an unbeliever." Man and wife
were one flesh (Gen. 2:24); no one ever hated his own body, but provided and cared for it (Eph. 5:29); thus a man who denied his wife food and clothing brought harm upon himself as well. Nature also mandated that males support their young. If male lions and birds loved and provided for their offspring, should not Christian men do likewise for their children, who otherwise had no means of support? Indeed, not to support one’s family was un-Lutheran and in violation of the catechism, the Lord’s Prayer, the communion ceremony, and the vows of baptism. For this reason Albrecht advised men who wished to marry to consider seriously their ability to support a family, an especially difficult task in the continuing shadow of the Thirty Years’ War:

People often jump into marriage without any thought beforehand; it’s enough if a young man gets a wife or a daughter gets a husband, and they don’t consider whether they know enough to be able to support themselves. Afterwards it becomes like Cana, where the reproaches flew on the first day, and one wished the worst for the other. For this reason one must pay great attention to the household.  

Albrecht recognized that there were many Christian men listening who despite all efforts found it impossible to support their families under the current wartime conditions. These men the superintendent comforted with the reminder that God would provide for them, as indeed he undoubtedly had already for many Nördlingen families.
The second duty of a Christian Hausvatter was to protect his family from all harm, even if it cost him his life. Not only was he to protect family members from physical injury, but he was also to defend their honor and maintain the peace at home. The "marriage devil" Asmodeus employed his wiles to break apart marriages through discord and dishonor. He made wives disobedient toward their husbands, he caused young couples to fight under the pressures of wartime shortages, and he utilized stepchildren, servants, and neighbors to inflame arguments between spouses. There were also many wicked people in the world who schemed to destroy the reputations of spouses, such as seducers, rapists, and slanderers. The Hausvatter was, with God's help, to defend his family from all these evils. Those who spread rumors about family members were to be brought before the local government for punishment; couples could best avert slander by leading virtuous lives. Men should avoid bad company, drunkenness, and cursing, while women were not to be insubordinate toward their husbands, run around town, or visit "suspicious houses".

The third duty of a husband was to govern his family. He was the "commander of his house", charged with maintaining order and discipline among family members. He was to be especially careful in his relationship with his wife: as the weaker vessel, she was dependent upon and
subject to him, but he was by no means to treat her as a slave or doormat. True, Scripture prescribed that women must fear their husbands (Eph. 5:33), but this was not to be a servile fear which caused a woman to tremble before her mate, but a loving fear in which she recognized him as her head and loved, respected, and obeyed him. The husband was to make certain that his wife conducted her household duties diligently and seek her advice on appropriate matters. How Pilate and Julius Caesar must have wished that they had listened to their wives! In all his dealings with his spouse the husband was to steer a middle course, neither too lax or too strict, for to be too lax would be to abdicate all authority in the home, and to be too strict would be to subjugate his wife to harsh tyranny.

To be sure, there were many men who abused their authority and played the lion in their homes (Sir. 4:30). Such men Albrecht called "house-fools" ("Haus-Narren") and Nabals, after the churlish husband of Abigail (1 Sam. 25). A Nabal was impious, seldom to be seen at church services; when he did attend he would laugh at the sermon and leave early; when brought before the minister for correction he would promise reformation, then immediately break his word. He was bullheaded, he never listened to his wife's sound advice, and he often looked upon his family "as if he wished to eat them". He only thought of
today, never planning for the future, and thus never set aside provisions for possible shortages. He abused his wife, beating her, even breaking her arm over the slightest mistake or, worse yet, in a drunken fit:

Many show their manhood when they're full and drunk, beating the wife and children out of the house. "Can you see that I'm the master of this house?" In a forbidden way, when they seem insane, cursing and swearing to the point that the house could collapse. Wife and child tremble body and soul as if the Devil himself were there; all the money that they've earned disappears; he says nothing good to the wife, saying, "I'm the master of the house!" Or else he associates with other good-for-nothings and runs out of the house at night into all sorts of haunts; and when the wife punishes him for this, asking why he does this, he hits her and kicks her like a dog, saying, "I have all the power to do what I want! Why? Because I'm the master of the house!"

He believed all rumors against his wife without question, immediately running to the government for a divorce.

He was given to laziness, bad company, gluttony, heavy drinking, and whoring, oblivious to the welfare of his starving family. In many cases he would end up swinging from the gallows, to the great shame of his surviving family.

Men of this sort could be found in every level of society. In return, they were abhorred by all society:

The Devil is so powerful that he blinds them, and they don't see the danger, shame, and ridicule into which he has led them. Everyone looks at them, talks badly about them, "That is the impious, accursed man", "blasphemer", "snorter", "harsh Nabal", and "unsympathetic dog", "He doesn't deserve to have a wife and child."
Before a man entered the state of matrimony, he was to ask himself whether he could maintain the "middle course" of a Christian Hausväter’s rule, or whether he was so spiteful and stubborn that he too would follow in the footsteps of Nabal. If more people in Nördlingen had reflected upon this question before they had married, Albrecht suggested,

much unhappiness would be prevented; but when one just leaps in without any consideration things go as they may, and it’s no wonder when the rule becomes a tyranny. We unfortunately have enough examples of this in our city....

Albrecht proposed a cooperation between local ministers and government to deal with men who abused their authority as Hausväter:

The ministers do so in the pulpit when they zealously discuss this subject, for if any teaching is needed in this city, it’s this one, think of it what one may. If preaching doesn’t help, then the ministers should visit these men privately and try to stir their consciences with God’s Word; as long as they remain such Nabals that they refuse to reform, they should be refused confession and Holy Communion. The government should offer the ministry its hand and punish in various ways these stubborn house-fools who place no value on either God or his Word, so that all disorder in the household will be cleared away and the wrath of God averted.

Women who were married to Nabals were advised to tolerate their husbands. Indeed, in seventeenth-century Nördlingen they had no choice but to remain with their husbands, as only adultery or desertion were considered behavioral grounds for divorce. As it was likely that her wicked husband ignored his household duties, it was
necessary that she become more diligent in the execution of her responsibilities to guard the entire household from economic ruin. Tyrannical husbands were sent to women either as a punishment or as a test of faith; in either case, a woman was to take comfort in the thought that hers was not an eternal marriage. Though the law forced them to remain together in life, in death they would finally part and follow separate paths - she to Heaven, he to Hell!

The Christian Hausmutter had three primary responsibilities as well: she was to be obedient to her husband, pious and moral, and maintain a good household. Women were to remember that God had created woman from man for man, and that God in his wisdom had made woman subject to man as punishment for Eve's sin. Moreover, the natural order taught women that they were to be obedient to men, for men were the stronger of the species and women were dependent upon them for food and protection. God was male, as were the angels in the Bible; and men filled the foremost occupations in society:

Thus a wife was to yield to her husband’s superiority in all matters that were not contrary to God’s law. She was not to be critical of his faults, as she certainly was not perfect herself. Again, hers was not to be a servile obedience, but a heartfelt desire to follow her husband’s will. Love should not merely be on a woman’s tongue, but should be visible in her obedience as well. Most of all, a woman was not to make a fool of her husband by seizing the leadership of the household.

The "Siemann", or the domineering woman, was a stock figure in the "Teufelbücher" and other literature from late medieval times; Luther as well had found her to be a most repulsive and sinful figure. In his discussion of the husband’s duties Albrecht made frequent reference to the grasping, domineering "Siemann", which he believed was a gross violation of Scripture and the natural order. It was only natural, he believed, that women would want to rule, so when they were given the least amount of license they would begin to thirst for complete dominance over their husbands. Only a fool and an impious man would permit his wife to rule his house, Albrecht said; it would be as if the wife had forced him to put on her clothing. A tyrannical woman inevitably brought ruin upon her household: men were therefore to guard against possible house coups and women were to remember their ordered place within the household.
The second essential duty of a housewife was that she remain pious and virtuous. Wealth and good parents were not enough to make a woman a good wife, Albrecht warned: she must be chaste as well. She was to maintain a virtuous manner, avoiding all bawdy songs, gossip, and swearing. Those who wished to sample how well supposedly Christian women could curse were advised to visit the local market and buy a half-penny's worth from them!

Albrecht presented the example of Jezebel to demonstrate to women personality traits to be shunned. A Jezebel, he taught, was an impious woman who loved her livestock more than God; she might pay lip service to true religion, but then she would lead her husband and children astray with her superstition and attempt to drive the local minister out of town. A Jezebel was vain and sensual, occupying her entire day with making up her face, playing with her jewelry, standing before her mirror, and then running off into town in clothes which revealed her arms and breasts, hoping to entice the men into immorality. Pagan women, Albrecht noted, would have preferred death to such shameless behavior, and yet a Jezebel revelled in it. A Jezebel was lascivious, willing to play both the seductress and the seduced; she was greedy and unjust, and had a tongue as sharp and poisonous as a scorpion's sting; her husband was ashamed of her, and she brought financial ruin upon her household. God gave such women as wives to
Men either as a test of their faith or as a punishment, either for their wild lives as bachelors or for marrying without parental consent. Too many men chose wives on the basis of beauty alone, Albrecht complained again, without consideration of possible personality flaws, and thus found themselves wed to Jezebels:

When one marries one often only looks at the outward gifts, like beauty, riches, and genteel lineage. Nobody thinks about piety, and when one begins without God, then it goes on without him, and there is nothing to expect but disaster. Nobody buys a horse without asking about all its flaws and looking it over from every angle; no house is bought without one first going through every room and looking around before the sale is made. But into that bargain that lasts longest, often until the end of one’s life, one jumps so uncautiously that one asks neither God nor a good friend about it, and it turns out that he embitters his whole life. What’s best is that one can resell a horse or a house, but one must keep his millstone and carry it around until separated by death....*0*

Men whose wives were impious and immoral were to attempt to reform them by pointing out their faults to them and sending them to church; if these measures failed they were to resort to the government, which knew how to correct and punish such people. As in the case of women married to "Nabals", these unfortunate men were compelled by law to remain with their wives until death, at which time God would either send them virtuous Christian wives in place of their Jezebels or, if they had died themselves, release them from their "purgatory" on earth to enjoy the peace and unity of Heaven.
The third duty of a Christian wife was that she manage her household efficiently. Every city needed a guard to watch its gates and preserve the city from all harm; so a Christian housewife was to be the "guard" of her house, watching over and administering all activity within it. Her ability was to give her husband such confidence that, when he was absent, he need not worry about the state of his household, and her diligence was to save her husband work and allow him to rest. To symbolize a woman's loyalty to her household the Greeks had painted images of women on snails, with the following story: Once upon a time there was a wedding, to which Jupiter had invited all the animals. The snail arrived very late to the wedding, and when later asked by the god for an explanation, he answered that one's own hearth was better than anything. In his anger Jupiter decreed that, if his home pleased the snail so much, he could carry it on his back. So a woman should be, the moral went: her home was to please her above all else, and she was to be happy to stay at home and maintain it; if she needed to leave the house, it would only be briefly, on business, and while away she would constantly keep her house in mind.

Indeed, Albrecht considered one of the primary elements of "domesticity" to be a woman's willingness to remain at home. The ancient Germans had had the custom that when women married they would remove their shoes and nail them
to the wall as a sign of their intent to stay at home; nowa­
days, Albrecht lamented, women ran about town "as if it
were Fasching". To remain at home, he admitted, was
not enough, for many lazy women stayed home and did no­
thing. The virtuous wife worked. The most common house­
hold task for women was spinning; when women span they were
to think of the "inventor" of spinning, the spider, which
Pliny had called the model of domesticity for its
diligence. In managing the household women were to keep in mind the beehive, remarkable for its smooth opera­
tions and efficiency. This management included dealing
with the servants, who were to be closely supervised. The
good housewife did not merely ask her servants whether they
had completed their chores, but inspected their work her­
self to insure that it had been done properly. House­
hold management was not an easy task: a woman needed exten­sive training to master all the facets of her household
duties. For this reason it was essential that mothers

teach their daughters the domestic arts from an early age,
however difficult it might be to convince girls, or
upper-class mothers, of the necessity of this education:

Many daughters would like to have a husband, but they
don't think of housekeeping, but of whoring, drinking,
here and there enticing and gawking at bachelors.
Later, when they marry, they think it'll go on as be­
fore; they can't do anything, nor do they want to do
anything. They live in such a way that the dog and the
cat are the best creatures in the house....The mothers
are highly responsible for this, for they train [their
daughters] not in housekeeping, but in arrogance and
frivolity, thinking that it would be an insult to their
social status if the young miss put her hand in the muck and learned a task properly."

The woman who ignored her duties, or who was constantly seen leaning out of her window gossiping or running about town, or who stayed in bed until the midday meal was served did not deserve to be called a Hausfrau, but an "Ausfrau", and she brought economic disaster and shame upon her husband; conversely, a woman who was a diligent housekeeper was a joy to her husband, and together they would enjoy the temporal and eternal blessings of God.

Together husband and wife had a fourth responsibility: "the instruction, and the correction, which belong to a Christian upbringing" (Eph. 6:4). (Albrecht noted that although Paul in this passage had actually addressed fathers alone, he had not intended that mothers be excluded from sharing in this responsibility.) This instruction and correction had four facets, which the Nördlingen superintendent represented as the four teachers in life. First there was the theologian, or the minister, who led his flock to Christ. Then there was the schoolteacher, who instructed youth in the languages and arts so useful to society. Third was the ethics teacher, the Hausvatter, who instilled moral values in his children. The fourth teacher was the craftsman, who trained one in his calling. The cooperation of these four teachers was vital if society were to have good people,
good Christians, and good citizens. Albrecht had preached at length on the church and the school as builders of character; now he turned to the crucial teacher, whose influence often determined success or failure among all the others: the parent.

Albrecht employed a simile very familiar to early modern pedagogues and theologians when he enjoined Christian parents to think of their children as young plants. A child, he explained, was "planted in Christ" through baptism, watered with Scripture, pruned through strict discipline, and espaliered on a career. Like a plant, a child was most pliable when it was young, so it was best to bend and shape it, that is, to mold its character, at as early an age as possible. Just as a tree grew harder and more unyielding with age, so a child as it grew became less impressionable; parents who delayed exposing their children to the rudiments of piety, education, and discipline often found that their offspring had become unteachable, intractable, and thoroughly wicked.

Piety was not an innate virtue, Albrecht said; for this reason it was necessary that Christian parents introduce their young children to the concept of God and the habit of worship. They were to take their children to church, question them about the sermon, and pray with them. Intensive study and explication of the articles of faith and the Catechism would later take place in the church and
classroom, but it was considered essential that parents begin early in a child’s life to support its spiritual growth. As was often said in the local funeral sermons, the religious lessons learned as a child would be retained throughout life.

Parents were to be equally supportive of their children’s secular education. Schools benefited all of society, as it trained ministers, scholars, doctors, lawyers, and civil magistrates, as well as moral, disciplined, good citizens and Hausväter who could read their Bibles. Infants certainly were not born with scholarly knowledge, children could not teach themselves, nor were most parents qualified to teach them; thus were they obliged to send their children to school and, a clear and ominous message to many in the audience, pay their children’s quarterly tuition promptly. What a better world it would be, Albrecht declared, if we spent our money on schools rather than on soldiers!

Perhaps the most difficult element of a Christian upbringing was discipline. Here parents needed to find a "happy medium", neither too lax nor too strict with their children, for deviation in either direction could be harmful to them and their offspring in both temporal and eternal terms. Lax discipline had many roots, Albrecht observed: the devil’s wiles, uncaring godparents, or the absence of prayer in the family. One of the most
common sources, however, was the parents' excessive love for their children. Parental love was natural, but many parents developed a blind love, an "Affenliebe", which drove them to spoil their children. Mothers were often to blame for beginning the process:

Such unorderly love is sometimes found in both parents, but especially in the mothers, who don't know how to use their love properly. If the father wants to be stern and hit the child, the mother intervenes, tears the child out of his hand and says, "Hey! that child is mine! It was painful enough for me when I brought it into the world." With that domestic discipline is suspended, and if the father doesn't want a bad marriage he must give in, which certainly isn't right. When the servants see that, they won't do anything, for the mother will be hostile to anyone who so much as says a word against the little suckling babe. O, that impious, foolish blind love!

Other parents undermined their children's discipline by themselves leading undisciplined lives, cursing, never attending church, criticizing the minister, fighting, carousing, and chasing women. Still other parents were too immersed in their businesses to worry about their children's welfare:

What I have to say is incredible, but it's true: people pay more attention to their livestock and cattle than to their children. When a man has a number of animals, he takes care of them, he can't do enough for them. If one is sick, he hires a servant or a dairymaid, who must watch over the cow day and night....But when one has a house full of children, when does it ever occur to him that he should hire them a teacher, or even just send them to school? No Haussvatter goes to bed without making sure that all his livestock are in their stalls, and if one pig is missing, then he'll run through the whole town looking for it. But who asks where his child is? where it's hiding? He thinks, "It'll find its way; when it's run around long enough, it'll come home on its own"....[Such parents] don't think they're so bad because they've amassed a lot of money for their
children, believing that the children are helped enough when they've got money and possessions.... Thus it happens that one often pays more attention to wealth than to wisdom, with the result that discipline is noticeably hindered.

Albrecht in fact recommended harsher discipline for the children of the wealthy than for farmers' children, noting that an undisciplined, wicked adult in the government was more harmful to society than a mean farmer in the fields. Children who grew up without proper discipline, and the parents who raised them, often met wretched ends. Go outside the city walls, Albrecht suggested, and look at the dogs chewing on the bones of Nördlingen's bad children! It was not uncommon that badly-raised children would die on the gallows, where they would publicly denounce their parents:

There have been many young people who have come into the hands of the hangman who have cried from the gallows, "If my parents had raised me better I wouldn't have come to this fate - they spoiled me - may God bring them to their graves...."

There is a well-known story about a young man who was ruined through his parents' negligence, so that he fell into disgrace and vice and ultimately was sentenced to the gallows. On the ladder he requested that his mother be allowed to come to him; when she did, he acted as though he wished to whisper something in her ear, but then he bit it off, saying, "O, you impious mother! Had you raised me better, the hangman wouldn't be doing this to me!"

Luther had said that parents could in no better way merit the torments of Hell than by ignoring their children; Albrecht added that bad children would stand as
accusers against their negligent parents at the Last Judgment. To be sure, Albrecht did not wish that parents be overly strict toward their children, for such abuse could inflict both physical and psychological damage: in many cases, he recognized, an angry father could be more brutal than a hangman. What the Nördlingen superintendent advocated was moderation in discipline. Punishment was not to terrify a child, but rather to improve him. Just as a gardener found it necessary from time to time to use a knife to trim and shape a growing young plant, so loving Christian parents occasionally needed to follow the advice of Sirach and use the rod of correction on their children. Furthermore, they were not to react "as though a mortal sin had been committed" and create an uproar whenever a teacher beat their children, but rather ask teachers to administer strict punishment and thank them when they did so. Parents were not only to correct their children, but they were also to pay attention to them and be aware of the company they kept. With proper love, attention, and discipline children would grow up to be a source of pride and joy to their parents, as well as a crutch in their old age.

A final responsibility of parents was to prepare their sons for a career. Education of some sort, Albrecht declared, was the greatest gift that parents could give their children; however, he admitted, not all children were
equally gifted in the realm of book-learning. Parents whose children proved less promising as scholars were not to force them beyond their capacities; rather they were to steer them toward a career as a craftsman. The proper functioning of society depended upon able people in every occupation, such as ministers, magistrates, farmers, millers, bakers, weavers, and smiths. Though the learned professions carried with them great prestige, the crafts were to be neither ignored nor scoffed: if all were doctors, Albrecht reminded his listeners, all would starve. He therefore recommended that parents observe their less scholarly children closely to determine what they enjoyed, and then find a craft which suited their interests. In no way were parents to be ashamed to make a craftsman out of a child, regardless of the family's social position. It was better that a child learn an honest craft useful to society than to lead the life of a lazy squire who benefited neither God nor the world.

Albrecht discussed the reciprocal duties of children toward their parents but briefly. Here he directed his attention less toward young children "who are still under the rod" than toward adult children, who frequently ignored their filial obligations. Nördlingen, Albrecht believed, was plagued with recalcitrant children of all ages:

Nowadays nothing is complained about more than the disobedience and wickedness of children, who won't let themselves be disciplined either verbally or with the rod. If they're young, they're impliable and bad; if
they're grown and at the age of discretion, however, they're even worse. They insult their parents, they find fault with them, they even raise their hand against them and hit them - they let them become impoverished in their old age, and won't give them so much as a little piece of bread - they're ashamed of them, especially when [the parents] are common folk. This causes many elderly fathers and mothers to cry bitterly and wish that they had drowned such godless children in their first baths...."**

In all of nature, he observed, only humans treated their parents so disparagingly. Chicks followed the hen, eaglets flew behind their parents, yet man's nature had been so perverted by sin that, although a rational creature, he could not follow and love his parents without the guidance of Scripture. Parents had invested so much effort, pain, and care in their children: they had given their children life, educated them, and guided them toward marriage, but when many children had grown and established themselves in the world they suddenly looked down upon their parents as too common, too uneducated, or too poor to merit their respect and obedience. Children, however, were greatly indebted to their parents, and throughout their lives they were to remember their many responsibilities toward them. Children owed their parents respect and love; they were to follow their parents' advice in the development of virtues and to seek their consent when they wished to marry. They were to be patient with their parents, who were only human and therefore prone to err, especially in their old age. Finally, they were to express
and display their gratitude both toward their parents for all that they had done for them and toward their heavenly Father for having given them Christian parents, for he easily could have entrusted them to "Turkish, pagan, or impious" parents who would have led them into spiritual, mortal, and eternal misery.

The Crosses of Life

Those who followed Albrecht's advice in his sermons and led pious, disciplined lives were likely to find great joy both on earth and in Heaven; however, in this life that joy would occasionally be subdued by the shadow of the cross. Young couples were to remember that the cross was the "but" ("doch") in life: when they wed they were very happy, "but" in time life's many crosses would surface within their marriage to test their faith, their patience, and their love for each other. There were three major crosses to be found in a Christian marriage: illness, marital strife, and poverty.

Albrecht's discussion of bad marriages and poverty was essentially a recapitulation of the lessons of previous sermons; those entrapped in unhappy marriages he exhorted to patience, those suffering from want to diligence and economy. Many couples were fortunate enough never to be visited by those trials, but none were exempt from the cross of illness. Illness was inevitable in families,
Albrecht taught; indeed, in many homes it seemed that there was hardly a week in which one family member was not sick. An ailing Hausvatter, the household’s provider and protector, was an especially difficult cross:

It is a heavy cross when the head of the household is bedridden, for then everything languishes. The mother is distressed, the children stand around the bed, grieving and weeping, their tears pouring down their cheeks, calling and crying, “O, my father! my father! Will death take you away from us? What will become of me, a poor widow, and us, abandoned orphans?”

Albrecht observed that although the ultimate source of illness was the sin of Adam and Eve, people also frequently made themselves sick through immoderate habits in eating and drinking. When illness struck, a Christian was to be patient, reflect upon past sins, and contemplate the joys of eternal life. Most importantly, one was to surrender to God’s will, accepting death if it came, thanking God if in his wisdom and omnipotence he effected a miraculous cure. Albrecht reminded his listeners to care for and be patient with their ailing spouses, whom they had vowed to love in sickness and health; those who comforted the sick and dying, whether family members or neighbors, would reap rich rewards at the Last Judgment.

Just as inevitable as illness within a family was death. A good marriage in which two hearts had grown to be one was the happiest life on earth; thus it was difficult for spouses to endure the greatest pain, the death of
a spouse, which tore apart those two hearts. The ancients, Albrecht said, had had an emblem which portrayed God holding a chain which bound the hands and bodies of a couple to one another. Behind the couple crept a figure with a key to open the massive lock which secured the chain, thereby removing the bonds and separating the spouses. The figure, of course, was Death, who had found the key to the lock in man’s sin. Young couples especially were to remember that death made an end to marriage, and that it could come swiftly and unexpectedly. Too often, Albrecht warned, young people were too much in love to think of death; they made plans for the future, blind to the possibility that one might suddenly and, in the eyes of men, prematurely be removed by death. As Albrecht had stressed before, God had established for every person on this earth a specific lifespan; as it was impossible for humans to know in advance their hour of death, it was essential that they prepare themselves throughout their lives for its arrival. The methods of lifelong spiritual preparation for death were familiar to the Nördlingen congregation; in addition, Albrecht suggested that people set their earthly houses in order to avoid any squabbles among family members over their inheritance either around the deathbed or following one’s death. The death of a spouse was indeed a painful experience, but, as had been advised throughout the funeral sermons, mourning was to be in moderation, and the
survivors were to remember that the deceased was now released from the crosses of life and awaiting them in Heaven, where all would be reunited to enjoy God's blessings into eternity.

Albrecht's final sermons focused upon three special problems in marriage: adultery, desertion, and divorce. Albrecht considered adultery to be the most shameful, damaging, and accursed of all vices, for it violated the state which God had established in the Garden of Paradise. An adulterer, he taught, was like the cuckoo: a cuckoo laid its eggs in other birds' nests in order to avoid the bother of hatching them; the adulterer avoided the many responsibilities associated with marriage and stashed his or her illegitimate children in strangers' homes. The cuckoo forgot where it had left its young; so too the adulterer forgot about his pregnant mistress. The cuckoo was hated by all; the adulterer was scorned by God and the world.

Indeed, the adulterer brought shame and financial ruin onto his entire family, as well as a blot on his own character "which neither the Rhine nor the Danube could wash away". Adultery damaged a person both body and soul. Not only did the adulterer through his sin break all ten Commandments at once, but he was also susceptible to various maladies, including lice, the "French disease", and other "beggars' diseases". Perhaps most tormenting,
however, were the pangs of conscience which eventually haunted the adulterer:

...Finally the conscience awakens and says, "Look! You committed this and that adulterous act; there and there you pleased an innocent person and destroyed her honor and her modesty. Now you undoubtedly have a wrathful God and eternal damnation! Oh, God, how will you survive?" That is an inexpressible pain which often drives one in his death throes to reveal the little bit of whoring which he committed twenty years ago, if it doesn't first drive him to utter despair and suicide...."

As, in Albrecht's words, "nobody pays attention to our poor sermons, but lets us scream our throats out" on the subject of adultery, he suggested that the secular government "boldly grasp the ministry by the arm" and together punish adulterers in Nordlingen. "Punish," he cried, "punish, dear government, punish, bravely pull out your sword against all immorality..."; if adultery remained unchecked God would punish the entire city, as indeed he had already. The patriarchs had put the adulterer to death (Lev. 20:10), a practice which had been reaffirmed as recently as 1582 in Saxony; "unfortunately", Albrecht noted, in his age the whip had replaced the sword, but no adulterer could escape the eternal punishment which God exacted.

Another common marital problem in the seventeenth century was desertion. It was not unusual in this period that a husband occasionally was absent from his family for great lengths of time, either for business
purposes or to fight in the ever-continuing war; however, Albrecht said, there were also many men and women who abandoned their families without any legitimate reason or calling. This was malicious desertion, in which one spouse left his or her family without the consent of the other, allowing years to pass without contacting the family or, more importantly, sending it financial support. Desertion broke the bond of marriage and was a sin against both the God who established marriage and the minister who had wed the couple. Desertion also implied adultery, for it was difficult to believe that one who had so callously abandoned a spouse had had the conscience to remain chaste.

In an age when travel and communications were slow it was often difficult for authorities to determine true cases of abandonment. To help prevent confusion between spouses Albrecht recommended that a man go to war or away on business only with his wife's previous knowledge and consent. He was not to remain away longer than was necessary; many men, it seemed, found the current war a convenient excuse to avoid familial responsibilities for years at a time. If a man was kidnapped or imprisoned while away with his wife's consent, she could not take legal action against him, but was required to wait and pray for his return. Albrecht explained the standard procedure for attempting to locate presumed deserters. First it was to
be determined whether the missing person had in fact stated a reason for leaving; if so, then the person was to be sought out and encouraged to return. If the person could not be found, then it was to be announced in an official proclamation, from pulpits in various locations on three consecutive Sundays, and in notices posted on the church doors that that person, or anyone knowing the whereabouts of that person, was to appear before the consistory on a given date. If the missing person failed to appear before the court, the members were to consider the facts of the case, such as the reason for that person’s departure and the characters of both the desertor and the deserted, and then pass judgment upon the case, either pronouncing the deserted free from the bonds of marriage or enjoining him or her to continue to wait for the spouse’s return.

Indeed, the character of the deserted could strongly influence the consistory’s decision whether to grant a divorce on grounds of desertion or not. If a woman were young, pious, and virtuous, had loved her husband, and had not given him just cause to abandon her, she would be granted a divorce if her husband did not return within a short period; if, on the other hand, she were a shrew, Albrecht believed that she should be advised to wait or look for her husband for a very long time, for it was her tempestuous behavior which had driven him away.

Though various cities did have set waiting periods of four
to ten years for desertion cases, Albrecht did not agree that a city should establish such a prescribed period, for every case was different; rather, judges should base their decisions on the individual circumstances of each case. It was absolutely necessary that an abandoned spouse receive the government's permission before remarrying, for simply to assume that the missing person were dead and remarry could cause, in the words of the Nördlingen church order, "various confusion, disturbance, and complications" if the spouse did in fact reappear.

Adultery and desertion were the only circumstances considered by both Albrecht and the Nördlingen church order to be acceptable legal grounds for divorce. The Council of Trent had rejected divorce on any grounds; however, the Lutheran interpretation of Matt. 5:32 ("If a man divorces his wife for any other cause than unchastity he involves her in adultery; and anyone who marries a divorced woman commits adultery") permitted divorce on the grounds of "Ehe-Bruch", or the breaking of the bonds of marriage.

To Albrecht, adultery and desertion were both forms of "Ehe-Bruch", for in the act of adultery or desertion the guilty party shattered the marital bond and was no longer one flesh with his or her spouse. Albrecht stressed that in order to be granted a divorce, it was necessary to prove through eyewitness testimony that the charge of adultery was valid, and did not merely stem from mistrust.
Even if a spouse had undeniably committed adultery, the other was not to haul that person before the local government immediately, but was privately to attempt a reconciliation with the fallen spouse. Only if the spouse displayed no remorse for his or her sin was the matter to be brought before the local consistory. The Lutheran consistory, Albrecht explained, comprised both ministers and magistrates, the spiritual authorities to deliberate the theological aspects of the case, the secular the legal aspects. It was essential that the church be involved in the process, for not only were Scripture and the Ten Commandments to be the guides in marital cases, but it had been the ministry which had originally joined the couple in matrimony. Following Luther, Albrecht advised that, if a divorce was indeed granted, the innocent party was to wait at least six months, or better yet a year, before remarrying, lest that person give the impression of being too eager and of having had an adulterous relationship while still married. Albrecht considered either death or banishment fitting punishment for the convicted adulterer; that person was not to be permitted to remarry until the innocent ex-spouse had done so.

Through his sermons on the Hausstand Albrecht hoped to be able to deepen his audience's understanding of Christian marriage and family life. Much of what he taught reiterated ideas expressed in the local funeral sermons for over
half a century, but in his series he also had the opportunity to approach topics usually considered inappropriate for times of bereavement, such as adultery, desertion, divorce, and the birth of monstrosities. In creating his own Ehe­spiegel Albrecht in fact mirrored contemporary Lutheran thought on the subject of domestic values. The significance of Albrecht's work therefore lies not so much in its original thought, of which there is actually but little, but in its assimilation of such a large quantity of devotional literature on the subject into a coherent whole. The values extolled from the pulpit of Nördlingen's parish church of St. George on Thursday afternoons echoed those of Lutheranism's greatest theologians. Further research might reveal whether these same teachings were heard under similar circumstances in other early modern Lutheran cities as well.
CONCLUSION

"PATRIARCHAL MODERNITY"?

The city of Nördlingen was located far from the centers of Lutheran thought, yet the local ministers in their moral teachings demonstrated an amazing degree of familiarity with contemporary Lutheran attitudes and literature. Indeed, to summarize the teachings of the Nördlingen clergy on marriage and the family is to summarize those of the majority of Lutheran reformers and theologians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Point-for-point the Nördlingen sermons and devotional literature parallel the most popular Lutheran works of the day on the subjects of the sacred nature of marriage, parental consent, the duties of each member of the household, relationships between family members, and the crosses of life as tests of faith and love. There was also concurrence in the perception of woman: on the one hand she was "the weaker vessel", subject to her husband in all things, naturally inclined toward gossip and finery; on the other hand she was "the queen of the house", supremely capable in running her household, which included not only housekeeping and childrearing, but also the supervision of the servants and the management of
any domestic production. To many in our age this combina-
tion of servility and nobility might seem contradictory, if
not utterly offensive and degrading, but in the seventeenth
century it seemed to be a perfectly logical concept.

These teachings remained constant throughout the era: theo-
logians might have argued about the permissible degree of
consanguinity or whether post-nuptual impotence or criminal-
ity were also valid grounds for divorce, but in their
essential values regarding the estate of marriage Johann
Schmidt, Nördlingen's Georg Matthäus Beckh, and even the
Pietist Johann Philipp Spener did not differ noticeably
from Luther himself.

This homogeneity of thought is evident in the Nörd-
lingen funeral sermons. To be sure, the biographies in
sermons of the late sixteenth century are briefer and less
informative than those of a century later, but this is not
due to lack of interest in familial matters in this earlier
period, but is rather a testimonial to the expansion - some
would say "bloating" - of the seventeenth-century sermon in
general. What Friederich Franck and Gottlieb Regner did
say about their subjects' domestic lives was offered again
and again to mourners throughout the seventeenth century.

Another constant element in early modern Lutheran
homiletics and devotional literature was anti-Catholic
polemic. The Nördlingen clergy apparently realized that a
funeral was an unseemly time for polemic, but on other
occasions they were far less inhibited. Georg Albrecht, it has been seen, was an especially fervent critic of Catholicism. At every opportunity the superintendent, the refugee from recatholicized Augsburg, virulently refuted Catholic claims to the spiritual supremacy of monasticism to mony. In the face of Catholic propaganda, plus the steady flow of imperial troops into Nördlingen, it was essential that Albrecht ease any qualms that his congregation might have had regarding marriage and marital sex, so he continually assured his listeners and readers that marriage was an estate most pleasing to God and that monasticism, with its fraudulent claims to good works and chastity, was an impos- ture. The fold was to have neither pangs of conscience nor qualms about its salvation.

Following such a study of desired models of Christian behavior the question naturally arises, "What was the actual pattern of life in early modern Nördlingen?" Autobiographical works, such as those popular among the Pietists, could have revealed much about personal relationships and experiences, but these are not to be found in Nördlingen. If one is to gain a glimpse of daily life in Nördlingen, it must be through the filter of the records of the local city council and consistory. Even here it is impossible to conduct an exhaustive study of local practice, for the minutes of the consistory, the main civil body for marital disputes, decrease in volume with the outbreak of war in
1618 and break off completely after 1667. Added to this problem is the common complaint among researchers of marriage case-law in Lutheran Germany that a large proportion of cases remained unresolved for a variety of reasons, either because the charge was dropped, the case was settled privately, the parties reconciled, or a party died or left the city. Moreover, busy city secretaries recorded little more than the parties involved, the charge, and the verdict in another large proportion of cases.

Under these circumstances it would be foolhardy to attempt a quantitative study of Nördlingen marriage case-law from the late sixteenth through seventeenth centuries. "The success or failure of the German Reformation" in Nördlingen in terms of domestic bliss cannot be gauged until historians conduct an entire range of statistical studies of neighboring and distant communities, large and small, Protestant and Catholic. However, it is possible at least to survey those detailed court cases in Nördlingen which might suggest or deny the acceptance of and adherence to Lutheran teachings regarding familial relationships.

To paraphrase Albrecht, "Nördlingers were not angels, they were human", and as descendants of Adam they were prone to fall. The cases brought before the Nördlingen consistory and city council covered the spectrum of marital infractions, from adultery, desertion, physical abuse, and clandestine marriage to impregnation and breach of promise.
Here as in other German cities the names of the ruling elite are conspicuously absent from the court records: either they led spotless lives or they settled their cases privately to avoid the public humiliation of an appearance in court. The spiritual elite did not fare as well. In August 1625 the pregnant, unmarried daughter of an unnamed Nördlingen minister and her lover, a theology student, were convicted of immorality; they were both imprisoned.

The Nördlingen city council and consistory held firm to the belief that adultery and desertion should be the only grounds for divorce. Georg Gering begged the government for a divorce "one hundred thousand times over and in the name of the Last Judgment" on the grounds that when he married Anna Eckhardt six months ago he had no idea that she was a shrew. He told of how she had called him a dishonorable man, how she ordered him to beat his children by his first wife, how she cursed him. With tears in his eyes he expressed his wish to be free of this "Bestia", even if it meant that he must flee the city. Seven months later the long-suffering Gering returned to the court with a list of articles petitioning a divorce. She embittered his life, he argued, she beat his children "like the Devil", and when he tried to intervene on behalf of his children, she would attempt to knock him into a corner. Was that not sufficient grounds for divorce? he submitted. The case ended unresolved.
Those who approached the consistory and city council with tales of their husbands' or wives' adultery and desertion received more sympathetic treatment than had Gering. In the case of desertion, the consistory did not abide by any fixed period of absence for an alleged deserter, but judged each case according to its merits. Catharina Stühlin was granted a divorce from her husband Hans, who had disappeared eight years ago, as well as to Maria Jungart from her husband Hans, missing for sixteen years. Barbara Stromejer, however, failed to receive a divorce from her husband Hans Neyler, even though he had abandoned her and their four children ten years ago; after one year he had written to her, but now she had no idea whether he were alive or dead. For unspecified reasons - by custom deliberations were not entered into official minutes - the consistory refused to accept her petition.

Fewer divorce suits involved adultery alone. The city council punished adulterers harshly: one man was stripped of his citizenship and banished from the city, and the goldsmith Karl Neuber, who had expressed his heartfelt repentance for his transgression, claiming that the Devil had driven him to the act, was banished. Only upon the supplication of his wife and children, who were probably suffering economically from his absence, was he allowed to return.
Among the most frequent charges brought against Nördlingen residents was that one was a "bad householder" ("Übler Haußhalter"). This term was used of men and women who for a variety of reasons were said to have led "disorderly" lives. Georg Breidner spent all the money he earned, while another man squandered 600 fl. in a short time. Melchior Nöll struck his wife because he had wanted more to eat; Lasarus Burger ate and drank to excess and then beat his wife "too hard" ("mit Übermäßigen schlagen"). Three women were found guilty of immorality, drinking, and seducing young men; Anna Keuflin drank as well, led an "unchristian" life, cursed her husband, and raised her children to be disobedient. A fight broke out in the Spet home when Apollonia accused her husband of impotence; the Nölls appeared again before the city council after attempting to set their house on fire during a row. And then there were Paul and Margareta Pritz. Between February 1616 and August 1619 the name of this couple appeared no less than 49 times in the city council minutes. Such people were usually fined, imprisoned briefly, and warned "to run a better household" in the future. Those who did not reform could suffer the humiliation of a public appearance in another arena:

Furthermore, it has been decided that Melchior Herpfer, weaver, his wife, and eldest daughter should be sent to the honorable ministry this evening on account of their troublesome, godless, and wicked lives; Friday they will be presented in the church and a sermon will be delivered about them. Likewise Michael Seitz and his
spouse, for they conduct an equally evil house-
hold....

Another large percentage of cases brought before the
Nördlingen consistory and city council involved clandestine
marriages, parental consent, impregnation, and breach of
promise. The courts abided by the church order and nulli-
Fied marriages entered into without parental consent; in
addition, the guilty couple would be fined and impris-
oned. Parents then as now could become quite bellig-
ergent at the thought of a child taking an unacceptable
spouse: one father fumed that "he would rather send his son
to Turkey" than to allow him to marry his beloved,
while another in similar circumstances asserted that he
would rather "chop off his son's head" than grant con-
sent. Other fathers refused consent to a match until
the prospective sons-in-law could prove that they could sup-
port their daughters. In most cases it was the angry
father who appeared in court, but the mother's opposition
could be equally frustrating to young lovers.

Less easy to judge were suits filed by young women
charging men with impregnation and breach of promise. In
these cases extensive questioning was often required to
wrest from the accused and the plaintiff alike the whole
truth regarding the date and circumstances of the tryst,
exactly what words were spoken when the marriage was
allegedly offered - a point which might determine whether a
sponsalia de futuro had in fact been pledged - whether a gift, such as a ring, had been given, and whether there had been any witnesses to the proposal. Usually there were no witnesses, as the woman claimed that the proposal had been made in a back room, in a cowshed, or in bed. The accused often initially denied having offered his hand, though in further testimony he might confess to having done so. There was no set pattern to the verdicts in these cases; in some instances the couple was ordered to marry, in others the man was pronounced free of his oath.

One case is especially revealing of the survival of traditional values in the seventeenth century: the case of Barbara Felber versus Hans Danbacher. Barbara had accused Hans of the paternity of her child, to which he had confessed in the hospital. Now, however, he denied that the child was his. Barbara admitted that when they became lovers they had not promised to marry, but when she learned that she was pregnant it became her wish, and that of Hans' father as well, that Hans would "make an honest woman of her" ("Sie zu ehren bringen") at the appropriate time. This too Hans denied, saying that "he did not want the girl". At this point Hans' father stepped forward to confirm that his son had confessed to the paternity, but that he did not want to marry Barbara; he requested that the consistory settle the dispute. The court, however, "did not wish to rob him of his patriarchal authority" ("man
volle ihnes väterlichen gewalts nicht berauben"), and advised father and son to withdraw to discuss the matter privately. They did so, and when they returned to the chamber the father announced that his son would marry Barbara, although he remained quite unwilling ("aber noch wenig lust darzu"). Hans asked that the marriage take place in two years; the father persuaded him to wait only one year; ultimately the wedding date was set for six months hence.

Throughout these marital cases a primary concern of the Nördlingen government was that order be maintained. Not only did this concern stem from its role as the defender of the corpus Christianum, the "sacred society", but from its awareness of the possible social and economic consequences of disorder as well. The Christian household was believed to be the building block of society; if it failed to function properly, then the stability of the entire social order was threatened. Too many disorderly households could create widespread confusion and chaos in the city; too many inefficient households could spell ruin to the local economy. The ruling elite must therefore have approved of the Nördlingen clergy's steady admonitions to its congregation to be moral, orderly, and diligent in their work. Moreover, the people were to maintain the social status quo. Throughout the early modern era governments passed ordinances regulating such things as dress and wedding
banquets; in the Nördlingen sermons, especially in Albrecht's *Der Hausstand*, there are repeated reminders to marry in one's own class, dress according to one's class, and to be respectful of one's superiors. This is not to imply, however, that the Nördlingen government manipulated its clergy to achieve autocratic ends; rather, government and church consciously worked hand-in-hand to create a community which was at once stable, prosperous, and pleasing to God. To fail in this task was to risk social disturbance, financial collapse, and the wrath of God in the form of war, plague, or natural disaster.

Scholars of our time have tended to downplay the role of religion in the formation of mentalities, choosing rather to emphasize political or socioeconomic influences. In the realm of familial attitudes, Lawrence Stone discussed but briefly what he perceived to be the connections between Puritanism and "repressive" and "paternal" familial attitudes; Edward Shorter ignores the influence of religious values altogether in his survey of "the making of the modern family". The evidence from Nördlingen, however, suggests that political, economic, and religious motivations were inseparably intertwined in the minds of the ruling elite. The same city council that punished thieves and protected trade could burn witches or interpret the appearance of a comet as a sign of God's displeasure.

The local church order, a civic ordinance, followed
contemporary Lutheran theology, and the city council and consistory in their deliberations of marital cases adhered to that church order's mandates.

Seventeenth-century Nördlingen's primary points for the dissemination of information to the populace were the town hall, the school, and the church. The pulpit of St. George was an excellent platform for moral teachings, as there the ministers could easily incorporate such lessons into their sermons on Sundays, weekdays, holy days, and other special days of public prayer, as well as at weddings and, it has been seen, even at funerals. The pattern of life the ministers lauded most highly was that of the local ruling elite, who in the funeral sermons served as examples of Christian virtue.

A continuing debate in the history of the family has centered upon the class in which the ideals associated with the "modern family" first arose. Stone claimed to have found its earliest traces among the gentry of the late seventeenth century; Shorter believed that it first emerged only in the post-industrial era, as among lower-class female factory workers in Landshut who "passed the sacrifice test" when they took advantage of a paid maternity leave to nurse their newborns.

What has become evident from the previous case-study of Nördlingen is that the very ideals considered essential aspects of the "modern family" - affection, concern for the
physical and emotional welfare of family members, the sense of irreparable loss at the death of loved ones - were already familiar concepts in that city at the turn of the seventeenth century. Nördlingen had neither a noble nor gentry class; though its wealthiest citizens enjoyed comfortable lives, they were far from the richest in Germany. In modern terms, they were merely an upper-middle class. With its predominance of trade and clothmaking occupations Nördlingen was a true "bourgeoise" society. This the example of Nördlingen most closely fits Aries' theory that the modern traits of the seventeenth-century family, the forerunner of the modern family, "was limited for a long time to the nobles, the middle class, the richer artisans, and the richer laborers."

It was not the intent of the Nördlingen divines, however, that these values remained limited to the higher social classes. The funeral sermons were indeed overwhelmingly eulogies of the political and spiritual elite of Nördlingen, but these lessons were meant to apply to all levels of society. Albrecht, too, targeted his midday Hausstand sermons to all classes. Although in his discussion of spinning he cited such noble women as the daughters of Charlemagne and of Augustus, his "excursion into the spinning room" was basically an attempt to employ an image familiar to women from the highest to the lowest levels of society. The actual effect of these teachings upon the
lower classes in Nördlingen cannot be determined at this time; what is significant about the funeral sermons, wedding sermons, Albrecht's series, and the Nördlingen devotional literature is religion's efforts to influence and create certain perceptions of familial relationships within an entire community.

The government of Nördlingen, whose policy may justly be called "paternal", ruled over a society whose values can only be called "patriarchal". Today the term "patriarchal" is often used of this period with a sneer to denote an affectionless, authoritarian society, but this was far from the model of Christian behavior which the Nördlingen ministers idealized. To be sure, this remained a male-dominated society, but the Hausvatter was to be filled with love toward his wife and his children, and though he was the lord of his household, he was not to abuse his authority and become a "lion in his house" or a tyrant.

Was the early modern period in Nördlingen "The Bad Old Days"? Did parents, aware of the high infant and child mortality rates, avoid developing emotional attachments toward their children, as Aries, Shorter, and Stone would have us believe? Not Caspar Weng, who interrupted one funeral sermon to eulogize his eight-year-old daughter. Were marital relationships so cool that spouses were quickly forgotten after their death? Not in the case of Margareta Hauff, who lost her will to live after her
husband's demise; nor in the case of city physician Johann Melchior Welsch, who was so bereaved over the loss of his wife Jacobina Regina in 1700 that he became nearly obsessed with the subject of death, devoting the last twelve years of his life to the composition of a Sterbekunst. Although the extent of the practice of wetnursing cannot readily be determined for Nördlingen, Georg Albrecht's description of the bond which develops between mother and child as a result of breastfeeding, the love, and even the sense of play, suggest at least an awareness among some people of the seventeenth century of the joys of motherhood. Shorter asserted that mothers in traditional society failed the "sacrifice test" by refusing to place the welfare of their infants above all else in their lives; the Nördlingen funeral sermons, however, are filled with stories of men and women who passed that test not only on behalf of their infants, but also of their children, spouses, and parents. Parents were portrayed in their ceaseless efforts to provide for the physical, spiritual, emotional, educational, and vocational welfare of their children; wives and husbands selflessly cared for their aging, ailing spouses, even to the detriment to their own health; adult children were a crutch and a source of joy and comfort to their parents in their advanced years.
Certain aspects and attitudes concerning marriage and family life have changed over the centuries. Divorce is now possible on the mere grounds of incompatibility or the nebulous "irreconcilable differences". In some circles, but by no means in all, a woman is no longer regarded as "the weaker vessel" or as man’s helpmate bound to domestic chores and housekeeping, but as an independent individual whose talents and abilities to achieve and lead in society are on an equal footing with those of any man. Many attitudes and emotions, however, have remained constant. Numerous Christian denominations today emphatically maintain the notion of a wife's subservience to her husband. Parental consent is no longer required of a valid marriage, but parents still feel crushed and fathers can still become furious when their children elope with unacceptable lovers. Shorter has applauded the dwindling influence of parental consent as a blow for love and against patriarchal authority, but, it might be argued, in following their own emotions and desires modern children often ignore the sound advice of wise, loving parents. In the creation of one essential familial bond they can thus callously and selfishly destroy another. Furthermore, many adult children still sense the traditional obligation to devote themselves selflessly to the care of their elderly parents; today the image of the consummate grown "wicked child" is that of one who, for the sake of his own convenience alone, packs off
his unwilling parents to a nursing home, where they will languish and die forgotten by him. Seventeenth-century Nördlingen was indeed premodern and patriarchal. But the family values which that city's ministers extolled in their sermons and devotional literature - love, concern, guidance, sacrifice, discipline, moderation - can be found today in a typical Sunday sermon or in the pages of Family Circle.
NOTES

Chapter I


4 Lähteenmäki, pp. 15-17.


6 Mitterauer and Sieder, p. xiii.


10 Aries, pp. 329-331.


12 Ibid., p. 229.


15 Ibid., pp. 257-269.


Transition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978);
Anderson, p. 45.

18
Thompson, pp. 500-501.

19
Macfarlane, rev. of The Family, Sex and Marriage, pp. 113-123.

20

21

22

23

24
Georg Albrecht, Hierarchia Oeconomica: Das ist: Der Haus- Stand _ Aus wunderbaren Biblischen Texten / in fünf und Siebenzehn untreschiedenen Predigten...abgeb... (Nuremberg, 1657).

25
Eberhard Winckler, Die Leichenpredigt im deutschen Luthertum bis Spener, Forschungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Protestantismus, 10th series, Vol. 34 (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1967); Rudolf Lenz, ed., Leichenpredigten als Quellen historischer Wissenschaften (Cologne: Böhlau-Verlag, 1975); P. Constantin Pohlmann, "Die theologische Konzeption der Barockpredigt", Theologie und Glaube 49 (1959), pp. 30-38; Martin Schian, Orthodoxie und Pietismus im Kampf um die Predigt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des
endenden 17. und des beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts (Gießen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1912).

26 Winckler, pp. 14-25.

27 SA Nördlingen, Unbound funeral sermons qto., Apollonia Schmid, 1.10.1601, p. 1: "...daß die Leichenpredigten nicht eigentlich von wegen der Todten und Verstorbenen / sondern viel mehr von wegen der Lebendigen angestellt und verordnet (sind)...."

28 SA Nördlingen, Unbound funeral sermons qto., J. Flanser, 9.10.1587, p.8: "Nit anderst / als wenn an etlichen orten einer / der sein lebenlang ein Gotteslesterer / Hurentreiber u. gewesen / etwa ein silbern Becher auf ein ort setzet / befihlet / wenn er werde abdrucken / solle man solchen / noch vor der Leichpredig / dem Prediger geben / daß er seiner im besten gedencke."

29 WA II, p. 166.

30 Albrecht, Der_Haus-Stand, p. iv.

Chapter II


3 For an overview of Nördlingen’s political structure, see ibid., pp. 13-14; 198-221.

4 Ibid., pp. 28-34; 214-221.

5 Ibid., pp. 239-287.

6 Ibid., pp. 202-204.


8 Hans-Christoph Rublack, Eine_bürgerliche_Reformation_in_Nördlingen, Quellen und Forschungen zur

9 Rublack, p. 79.
10 Ibid., pp. 94-95.
12 Rublack, pp. 97-100.
13 Ibid., p. 100.
14 Ibid., p. 96.
15 Ibid., p. 110.
16 Ibid., p. 100.
17 According to Sehling, p. 283, the authorship of the church order is unknown.
18 Ibid., p. 107.
19 RP 5. Nov. 1589; 25. Sept. 1605; Teutsche Schulakten no. 12 (6. Nov. 1598) presents a poor picture of the efforts of the local teachers in teaching the Catechism; TS no. 35 (27. Sept. 1644) reports that the children had learned their catechism, psalms, proverbs, and prayers.
20 RP 13. April 1603; 25. Sept. 1605; for the cherry pit incident, OB 1641-88, 237b-239a (10. July 1665). It was such impious behavior, the city fathers claimed, which had prompted God to warn the city of his disapproval through the "grausamb und erschrocklich" appearance of a comet that year. Ibid., 334b-335a (15. Jan. 1675); ibid., 340b-341a (3. Feb. 1676)


RP 1. Apr. 1641. After a "trusted person" suggested Albrecht for the position, a Bürgermeister sought out information from a printer who knew Albrecht. Meanwhile court secretary Hillprand was sent to one of Albrecht's sermons "unbekannter weiß" and sent back a glowing report, noting that his present congregation was unwilling to lose its pastor. A Bürgermeister then traveled to Augsburg, where he also received good reports regarding Albrecht and read a tract and two sermons by him. For references to the "Probpredigten" of other ministers, 9. and 13. May 1586 (Friedrich Franck); 4. Nov. 1597, also Konsistorialakten 3.-4. Nov. 1597 (Georg Heyl); 11. Jan. 1627 (Tobias Scheiblin at Schweindorf); 17. Feb. 1635 (Johann Heinrich Epplin); 30. Oct. 1693, 16. March 1694 (Georg Matthias Beckh); 14. Dec. 1698 (Johann Melchior Welsch).


Rublack, p. 74.


Winckler, p. 19.

Ibid., p. 21.


WA 36, p. 237, 18.

Winckler, p. 32.

E. g., Johann Matthesius, Leichpredigten aus dem fünfftzelzenden Capitel der I. Epistel S. Pauli zum Corinthen. Von der aufererstehung der Todten und evigem leben. Der erste Teil (Nürnberg, 1565); ibid., Leicht-Predigten Johannes Matthesius / Ander Teil (Nürnberg, 1565).

Winckler, p. 238.

Ibid., p. 50; Cyrus Spangenberg, Fünf und Funftzig Leichpredigten / aus dem Evangelisten Johannes. Voller schöner lere: und hertzlicher Christliches Troste. So nicht allein bey den Begrebnissen / deren in Christo seelig Verstorbenen / dienlich: Sondern auch bey betrübten und kranken Leuten zu lesen / nutzlich (Ursel, 1586); Christoph Fischer, LIIII. Leichpredigten aus dem Alten Testament genommen / geprediget zu Halberstadt im Sterben / da die Pestilenz regiert / und folgende in Druck verfertigt / (Ussel, 1580); Andreas Pancratius, M. Andreas Pancratii Christliche Leichpredigten. Darinnen die fürnemsten Sprüche Altes und Neues Testaments / auff


53 Joh. Ludwig Hartmann, Geistliches Vergißmeinnicht / Zu täglicher Betrachtung Unserer Sterblichkeit / Der Jungsten Gerichts Gerechtigkeit / Der Höllischen Marters Grausamkeit / Der Rothenburgischen Jugend auf dem Land... (Millenau, 1676); Nicolas Kramer, Der Steg und Weg zum ewigen Leben / Wie man zum seligen Sterben sich bereiten / und mit ehrem trost und glaube / wider des Todes Schrecken / durch den Tod zum Leben dringen sol (Leipzig, 1600); Martin Moller, Manuale de praeparatione ad mortem / Heylsame und sehr nützliche Betrachtung / wie ein Mensch / Christlich leben / und Seeliglich sterben sol (Görlitz, 1608)); n. a., Schone Christliche Gebet und erinnerung bey Kranken und Sterbenden Menschen / sehr nützlich und tröstlich zu gebrauchen (Augsburg, 1611); Andreas Corvinus, Mortis Antidotum / Seelen Artzney / wieder des Todes Schrecken und bitterkeit (Leipzig, 1613); Johannes Christianus, Viaticum Agonizantium / Der Sterbenden Christen Geistlicher Zehrfünnig und Seelenschatz / darmit sie sich in ihrem seeligen abschied / von diesem Jammerthal / auf der bösen Herberge dieser Welt / lösen / auch wider allerley Anfechtung und anspriegen der heilichen Straffen / Räuber / die ihnen den Weg nach dem himmlischen Vaterlande verlegen wollen / gewaltig schützen und bewahren Können (Altenburg, 1616); Jacob Vollenweider, Trostbüchlein Vom Tod / Darinnen Mit gantz beweglichen Gründen darzutragen und ervissen wirt: Daß Ein gläubiger Mensch in Todes-gefahren gar nicht verzagt seyn / sondern vilmehr dapffer / fröhlich und hertzhaft / wann und wie Gott will / sterben solle und könne (Zürich, 1636); Ahasverus Fritsch, Memento Mori Oder XXXII. Christliche und erbauliche Todes-Gedanken / nach Einleitung einiger Biblischen Sprüche Altes und Neuen Testaments... (Nürnberg, c. 1684).

54 Cyrus Spangenberg, Fünf und Fünftzig Leichenpredigten / aus dem Evangelisten: Johannes / Voller schöner Liebe und hertzlichs Christliche Troste / So nicht allein bey den Begreissigen / deren in Christo seelig Verstorbenen / dienlich / Sondern auch bey betrübeten und kranken Leuten zu lesen / nützlich:

55 Schmidt-Grave, p. 3.
Georg Albrecht, *Seeligt_Rerbkunst_/ _bey_ 
geschwinden_unb_geblöhrlichen_Rerbenelwäiften_/ der_ 
Evangelischen_Pfarr-Gemein zu Geildorf_/ au8 dem ersten_ 
Versicul deß Sterbsgezanges_/ Wenn mein Stündlein vorhenden_ 
ist_/ u. in zwölf unterschiedlichen Predigten deutlich und_ 
treulich vorgetragen (Nürnberg, 1649); Joh. Theo. Enslin, 
Christliche Reim-Gebet in Krankheit und Todtes-Noth nütz- 
lich zu gebrauchen (Nördlingen, 1659).

RB qto. 613:8 (Nov. 1633).

For the list, see appendix.

1655); Johanna Barbara Weng (RB qto. 615:15, June 1684); 
Daniel Gundelfinger, on the Nördlingen city council 1634- 
1638, worth at death 10,000 fl., but occupation unknown 
(Friedrichs, p. 334; RB qto. 613:11 (Jan. 1638).

City council member Joachim Flanser, d. 1587; for 
the wealth of council members at their deaths, see 
Friedrichs, pp. 330-334; mean and median wealth of 
Nördlingen citizens, ibid., p. 321.

SA Nörd Kirchendienerakterten, 18. April 1683 (J. H. 
Epplin’s request for medicine for his family); 4. Aug. 
1599 (Theophilus Regner)

For relation, see Friedrichs, p. 192.

E.g., RB qto. 613:24, 29 (Mar. 1647).

Friedrichs, p. 195.

Sehling, XII, ii, 392.

These hymns can be found today in the Lutheran 
hymnal.

Sehling, XII, ii, 392: "geschicht die predigt, 
darinnen das volk gelehret, erinnert und vermanet werden 
soll von sterblichkeit und schwachheit des menschlichen 
geschlechts, von ursachen der sünden und todes, von 
erlösung, so durch Christum Gottes Sohn, unsern Heiland, 
geschehen und von auferstehung der toden und trost des 
evigen lebens oder dergleichen."

RB qto. 613:25, 56 (Apr. 1649): "Der Gott / der 
euch ewre Margaretem von der Seiten hinweg genommen hat / 
der wirds euch wider geben dorten im Ewigen Leben...." 
/ Ade Gut und Gelt / Ade ihr liebe Freund / Weib und Kinderlein / kompt bald hernach / das Ewige ist mir nun lieber...." RB qto. 615:15, 28 (June 1684): "In kurtzem werdet ihr Sie wider sehen / und zwar in unvergleichlich schönerm Schmuck als hier / und Euch mit Ihr ergötzen in alle unaufhörliche Ewigkeit."

Chapter III


2 RB qto. 615:14, 39 (Jan. 1684); RB qto. 615:17, 95 (Jan. 1695); RB qto. 613:7, 31 (Apr. 1629).

3 RB qto. 615:17, 95 (Jan. 1695).

4 RB qto. 615:14, 39 (Jan. 1684).

5 RB qto. 615:20, 81 (Apr. 1703).

6 RB qto. 615:25, 51 (Aug. 1695): "Da...vorzustehen / sich um eine getreue Gehilfin umzusehen...."

7 Sehling, XII, ii, pp. 347-348; pregnant women were not allowed to remarry until they had given birth. See also Friedrichs, pp. 66-68; an example of remarriage soon after the expiration of the mourning period is seen in the funeral sermon for Catharina Barbara Beckh, wife of minister Georg Matthias Beckh, on 17. Jan. 1701 (RB qto. 615:29 1/fol.) and the wedding sermon for Beckh and Sophia Veronica Herzog on 7. Feb. 1702 (RB qto. 615:30).

8 RB qto. 613:7, 31 (Apr. 1629): "...nach dem er sich ein zeitlang in dem betrübtten Wittwenstandt auffgehalten / und gefunden / daß ihm als einem alten erlebten Mann nicht gut / daß er allein sey / und in seinem hohen Alter eines getreuen Gehilffen und Ehegatten zum höchsten bedürftig...."

9 RB qto. 615:20, 83 (Apr. 1703): "...dieser seiner ersten Hauß-Ehre durch den Zeitlichen Todt beraubet / da-durch Er in den betrübtten Wittiber- und seine damals aller-seits noch unerzogene Kinder in den verlassenen Wäsen-Stand gesetzt worden; als wolte die Beschaffenheit seines Hauß-Wesens eine gleich sorgfältige Ehe-Frauen und Mutter erfordern / darum Er...die andere Ehe beschriften...."
10 RB qto. 615:16, 103 (June 1690): "auf vorhergehenden andächtigen Gebet zu Gott in dem Himmel...."; RB qto. 615:20, 83 (Apr. 1703): "nach andächtigem Gebet...."; RB qto. 613:20, (32) (June 1617); RB 613:22, 26 (Oct. 1637); RB 613:12, 37 (March 1638); RB qto. 615:5, 38 (Nov. 1644); RB qto. 620:4, 16 (Aug. 1663); RB qto. 615:6, 36-37 (Apr. 1666).


12 WA 30, III, 198-248.

13 Sehling, XII, ii, p. 343.

14 See below, Ch. 6.

15 RB qto. 614:2, 70 (Dec. 1655).


18 RB qto. 615:20, 83 (Apr. 1703): "...an der Er auch gefunden / was Er gesucht / nemlich eine getrue Gehüllen / und eine Seule / der Er sich trüsten können: Daher Er mit derselben so wohl / als mit seiner ersten Hauß-Frauen in erwünschtem Frieden / in Gott und Menschen wohlgefälliger Liebe und Einigkeit sich betragen...."

19 RB qto. 614:8, 103 (May 1671): "...ein auffrichtige / hertzliche und beständigige Liebe getragen; und hinwiderum auch ein auffrichtige / hertzliche und beständige / auß grund der Seelen herquellende Liebe von Ihme
genossen / dass bey ihnen idem_velle_et_idem_nolle, ein wollen und nicht wollen / ein vertraulichs / friedlichs / freundlichs vovergnügtes Leben unverrückt sich gefunden...."

20

RB qto. 615:14, 41 (Jan. 1684): "Mit beyden seinen lieben Ehegatten hat Er sich also begangen / daß Er / nach dem gemeinen Sprichwort / in seiner Ehe recht auf Erden den Himmel gebauet / wie Er dann mit Bestand der Warheit bezeugt / daß weder Er eine von beyden / noch auch Sie Ihn mit einem Wort / geschweige dann Werck / jemals beleidiget / sondern Sie in hertzlicher Lieb miteinander beständig gelebet / und Er mehr nicht bejammert / als daß Ihm Gott dieselbe nicht länger gelassen / daher Er auch Ihrer fast niemal ohne Thränen gedacht...."

21


22

Ibid., 37; RB qto. 615:20, 8 (Apr. 1703); see below, pp. 54-57.

23


24


25

RB qto. 613:12, 23 (March 1638): "Mancher Hauß-Vatter arbeitet wol die gantze Nacht / dass sein Weib und Kinder ehlicher weise versorgen möge / 1 Timoth: 6 v. 8. und dörff doch wol / wann er zu Morgens auffstehet / die liebe Sonne ehe im Hauß haben / als das liebe Brot / wil jetzo deß Soldaten: und Anlaggelts geschweigen."

26

RB qto. 613:13, 56 (Oct. 1639)

RB qto. 615:18, 12 (Nov. 1700): "eine hübsche und schöne Jungfrau / nicht nur an dem Leib / und der wohl-proportionirten Gestalt nach / welches Sie wenig würde recommendirt haben / dann lieblich und schön sein / ist nichts / ein Weib das den Herrn fürchtet / soll man loben (Prov. 31:30)..."

RB qto. 613:21, 8 (July 1634).

RB qto. 613, 21 (July 1634):
"Bin ich nicht schön von Angesicht / Am Leibe Übel zugericht / So hab ich doch ein schön Gemüth / Damit ich alles mache gut."

RB qto. 613:21, 6-7 (July 1634).

RB qto. 613:24, 11 (March 1647); RB qto. 613:21, 8 (July 1634).

Ibid., 11: "fromme gottseelige".

RB qto. 615:5, 37 (Nov. 1644).


RB qto. 615, 29 1/2 (MS: Jan. 1701): "Wie rühmlich sie ihrer Haußhaltung geführet, unnd sich so tags und nachts, kein müh noch arbeit wann es noch so hart und manchmal fast unerträglich, in der Kinder Pfleg daher gegangen, sich nicht dauren lassen...."


RB qto. 615:18, 62 (Nov. 1700): "der Hoffarth und dem Übermachten Kleider-Pracht feind".
RB qto. 613:23, 32 (Dec. 1638): "wie sie dann nicht viel unter die Leuth kommen / veder wo sie Ehren halben hin gemüßt / und sich vielmehr zu Hause der Häußlichkeit und Einsamkeit stetigs befliessen."


RB qto. 613:22, 12 (Oct. 1637)

RB qto. 613:24, 28 (March 1647)

RB qto. 615:9, 41 (Aug. 1670)

1 Petr. 3:6; RB qto. 613:24 (March 1647)


RB qto. 613: 21, 8 (July 1634): "dann sie sein gar zart und empfindlich: Also solle man dem Weibischen / als dem schwächsten Werckzeug / seine Ehre geben / als auch Miterben der gnaden des Lebens...."; RB qto. 613:25, 43 (Apr. 1649); RB qto. 613:22, 12 (Oct. 1637)

2 Sam. 12:3; RB qto. 617:6, 113 (March 1689)

RB qto. 613:25, 12-49 (Apr. 1649)

herba, ein böses Kraut / und was dergleichen Schand-Nach-
Namen mehr seyn. Nun ist zwar nicht ohn / es gibt nicht
allezeit köstliche Perlen / sondern man findet auch Wasser-
perlen / Scheinperlen / falsche Perlen / das ist / man
findet zu Zeiten auch böse Weiber / die nicht Margaritae
und köstliche Perlen / sondern margiton, das ist /
thürichte / wüste Mistmalen und Sämmalens / mögen genannt
werden / die nur immer zarr und marren / murren und kurren
/ und immer das letzte Wort haben wollen...."

48

Ibid., 41-43: "daß sie ihre Margaritae und
HaußPerlen nicht sollen für gering halten/....und für
die nichts achten / sondern für ihre Cron (Prov. 12:4)... / für ihre Augenlust (Eze. 24:16)... / ja für eine Gabe
Gottes (Sir. 26:3)... halten / und nicht also lieiderlich
dahin geben / oder ihrer nichts achten / und gleichsam
hinweg werffen sollen / dann die Perlen hebt man wol auff
und wirftes nicht für die Hund (Matt. 7:6)....Also soll der
Mann sein Margaritam und HaußPerlen nicht hinwerffen / und
nicht für ein Fußtuch halten / sondern folgen der Ver-
mahnung Syrachs (Sir 7:27)... Scheide dich nicht von einer
vernünftigen und frommen Frauen / denn sie ist edler weder
kein Gold. Welches geschehen wird l. wenn ers lieb und
werth hält: Die Perlen pflegt man nicht hin zu schlaudern / 
sondern hölt's hoch / und zeucht mancher Kaufmann weid und
breit darnach / auch vol mit äusserer Gefahr seines
Lebens: Also soll auch ein Christlicher Ehemann sein
Margaritam, seine Annam, Barbaram, Christinam, Dorothéam,
Evam, Mariam, &c. oder wie sonst einen Namen haben mag /
von Hertzen lieben / und auß solcher hertlicher Liebe ihr
alles gutes erweisen / und ihm die seine lassen die Liebste
seyn / vermög daß sechsten Gebotts....

Drittens auch fein mit Vernunft bey ihr wohnen (1 Pet.
3:7).... Dann gleich wie ein Perlen durch Essig kan
macerirret und zerbeisset werden / daß es zerschmelzt / 
vergeht und umbkommet: Also kan auch ein fromm Tugendsam
Weib durch ihres Mannes Unfröndlichkeit und Ungestümigkeit
wol zerbeisset werden / daß sie zerschmelzen und vergehen
muß / drumb soll der Mann gegen seinem HaußPerlen nicht ein
Löw (Sir. 4:34)... / oder bitter gegen derselben seyn (Col.
3:19)... / sondern mit Vernunft bey derselben wohnen / und
als einem schwachen Werkzeug seine Ehe geben / als Mit-
Erben der Gnaden. daß Lebens / auff daß sein Gebett nicht
verhindert werde (1 Pet. 3:7)...."

49

RB qto. 613:2, 18 (May 1589); RB qto. 613:10, 33
(May 1637); RB qto. 615:15, 24 (June 1684); RB qto. 615:
21, [46] (June 1705).

50

RB qto. 614:2, 29 (Dec. 1655); RB qto. 617:14, 20
(Dec. 1633).
201

51  RB qto. 617:25, 41 (Feb. 1656): "im Leben / so lang es Gott gefällt...."; ibid., "(so lang es dem Herrn beliebet) im Leben...."

52  RB qto. 614:8, 98 (May 1671).

53  RB qto. 613:24, 28 (March 1647): "weil Sie jhne durch Gottes miltreichen Segen mit 15. Kinder begabet...."

54  RB qto. 615:6, 35 (Apr. 1666); RB qto. 614:8, 98 (May 1671); RB qto. 617:26, 55 (Oct. 1674).

55  See below, pp. 175-176.


58  RB qto. 613:24, 25 (March 1647): "ein getreuer Vatter / welcher / wann er seine Kinder auff der Gassen oder Strassen / da man viel über reutet und fähret / oder ligt auf dem Feld in Hecken und Stauden under den wilden
Thieren / nimbt er dasselbige auff sein Arm / trägt's heim / und legt es auff sein Ruhebettlein / damit es dasselbsten sicher ligen und schlaffen möge."

RB qto. 613:2, [10-11] (May 1589): "Die Mutter / wenn sie jre liebe Kinder schlaffen legen / versperren die Kammer / daß nicht ein Hund oder Katz hinein komme / das Kind aufweckte oder erschrecke....

Ibid., [14-15]: "...Handelt also Gott der Herr mit uns / und den unserigen / wie ein trewe Mutter mit jren Kindern / welche / van ein grosses wetter vorhanden oder ein Auflauf in der Statt / lauffet sie bald / erwischt / ihre Kinder / so auff der Gassen sein / bringets zu Hauß / verspert sie in ein Kammer / Damit sie auff die Gassen wider kommen / und jnen ein unglück zutehe...."

RB qto. 614:9, 46 (Feb. 1678).


Horace, Carm. III, 6; RB qto. 615:17, 75-76 (Jan. 1695):

"Aetas Parentum, pejor avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiorem.
Die Eltern selbst kamen
Aus einem bösen Samen /
Und waren grosse Sünden;
Doch grösser ihre Kinder
Von denen zu gewarten /
Noch Laster-haffter Arten."

muß klein Hänßlein ausessen / was groß Hänß eingebrocket hat...."


66  RB qto. 613:1, [15] (Jan. 1587); RB qto 613:5, 27 (Sept. 1608); RB qto. 617:6, 114 (March 1689).

67  RB qto. 613:21, 18 (Jul. 1634); RB qto. 615:5, 39 (Nov. 1644).

68  RB 613: 20, [34] (June 1617); RB qto. 613:7, 33 (Apr. 1629).


70  RB qto. 613:22, 28 (Oct. 1637).

71  RB qto. 615:7, 44 (May 1668).

72  RB qto. 613:24, 29 (March 1647).

73  RB qto. 615:29, [56] (Oct. 1699).

74  RB qto. 615:18, 62 (Nov. 1700): " hat Sie Ihr liebes Söhnlein / das kaum zu lallen angefangen / mit Fleiß zum Gebet / und allem Guten angehalten / also daß es schon etliche schöne Gebetlein / von Ihr erlernet / her sagen kan...."

75  RB qto. 613:5, [27] (Sept. 1608): "hat auch seine liebe Kinder und Haußgesind gantz eyferig zur Gottesforcht angehalten / jnen nicht allein täglich in der Wochen die H. Biblie, sonder auch am Sambßtag frü / das Evangelium folgenden Sonhtags / und dann am Sontag zu Morgen die
gewöhnliche Epistel / beede sampt der Außerlegung / wie anderer reiner Autorum, also sonderlich Herrn Doctoris_ Hunnius seligen / fürgelesen. Hat sie darauff fleissig in die Kirchen geschickt / wann sie heimb kommen / sie auß den Predigten examiniert, und was sie nicht gnügsam verstanden oder gefasset / als ein rechtsschaffener und getreuer Christlicher Haßprediger / ihnen weiter erklärt und außgelegt." RB qto. 615:32, 79 (Nov. 1712): "und zu Haus täglich in der Heiligen Schrift und andern schönen Geist-reichen Büchern mit den Seinigen fleißig gelesen und gebeten....".


79 RB qto. 613:20, [7] (July 1690).

80 Sehling XII, ii, pp. 355-6.

81 RB qto. 615:26, 17 (July 1696): "Und diese allein seeligmachende Evangelische Glaubens-Gerechtigkeit müssen nicht nur wir Evangelische Prediger / auf der Kanzel / lehren / ...sondern auch die Herrn Praeceptores und Lehrer in den Schulen / müssen das ihr Haupt-Werck seyn lassen / daß sie die Jugend / bey Zeiten / von Kindes Beinen an / in dieser Gerechtigkeit unterweisen / und Ihnen zeigen / wie sie in den Himmel kommen / und evig gerecht und seelig werden müssen / können und sollen...."


83 RB qto. 614:9, 52 (Feb. 1678).

84 RB qto. 614:9, 52.
85  
RB qto. 617:16, 46 (Apr. 1697).

86  
RB qto. 613:1, 14 (Jan. 1587): "hat den stul der ehren inn seines Vaters haß gehabt / da er sich von jugend auff / zu erlernung freyer künstten ergeben / ansehnliche weitberühmte Academien besuchet / daselbst die waarheit Göttliches worts / und rechten verstand der weltlichen Rechten / erlernet...."

87  
RB qto. 614:2, 66 (Dec. 1655).

88  

89  

90  
RB qto. 614:17, 58 (Dec. 1658): "frühzeitig der Verstand bey Ihr hat mercken lassen / haben wohlbenannte Ihre Liebe Eltern / umb willen / damit Sie zu einem schönen Tugend Tempel wurde / sie / wie Christlich erzogen / also aber unverzüglich auch zur Schulen angenommen / worinnen Sie / neben der Gottesforcht / im Lesen / Schreiben / Rechnen / wie nicht weniger in der Vocal und Instrumental Music nicht allein fleissig ist unterwisen worden / sondern auch solches also angenommen / daß Sie hiemit bey Ihren Seligen Eltern grosse Freude gemacht / bey andern aber zur Verwunderung ursach hat gegeben."

91  
RB qto. 614:15, 39 (Nov. 1659).

92  
RB qto. 613:20, [32] (June 1617).

93  
Tobias Fabricius, in RB qto. 617:14, 8-9 cited the Fourth Commandment, as well as Sirach 3, but declined further discussion of either text, "weil von solchen händlen anderwert in den Catechismus-predigten gehandelt wird...."

94  
RB qto. 615:11, 5 (Jan. 1671).

95  


RB qto. 615:11, 8-9 (Jan. 1671): "demnach bedancke ich mich Kindlich gegen Ettch vor alle Zucht und Ehr / die Ihr mir angethan / und mich tätig um bs böses gestraffet habt...."

Ibid., 9: "Ich thue mich auch Kindlich bedancken vor Eure Zucht und Ehr / auch vor Eure treue Lehr / und daß Ihr mir angethan / und mich täglich um bs böses gestraffet habt...." Jacobina Regina Welsch, in RB qto. 615:18, 60 (Nov. 1700), thanked her mother and stepfather for her Christian upbringing on her deathbed; RB qto. 617:15, 23 (July 1690).


Ibid., 7-8, 10.
207


104 Ibid., p. 12.

105 Ibid., pp. 12-13: "Also sein noch auff disen tage rechtschaffene Eltern auch gesinnet / nach ihrem Haab und Gut fragen sie so hoch nicht / sondern ihre Kinder halten sie für ihr Hauptgut und besten Schatz."

106 RB qto. 615:14, 40 (Jan. 1684): "...an deren liebreichen und gesegneten Ehe Er seine grtste Freude in dieser Welt gehabt / auch Gott täglich davor gedancket...."

107 See above, pp. 42-43.


109 RB qto. 614:17, 60 (Dec. 1658).


111 RB qto. 615:22, 16-17 (Nov. 1693).


RB qto. 615:15, 7 (June 1684); RB qto. 615:18, 14 (Nov. 1700).

Gen. 16.

RB qto. 615:12, 45-46 (Apr. 1673).

RB fol. 651:612, 36 (Dec. 1711).

RB qto. 615:20, 83 (Apr. 1703).


RB qto. 615:18, 18 (Nov. 1700).

RB qto. 617:14, 9, 13 (Dec. 1633)

2 Sam. 18:33.

du singest keine gute stimm / du hast nicht recht von dir / du redest unrecht und sündlich. Thue vilmehr wie Job gethan:...Der Herr hats gegeben / der Herr hats genommen...."  
124
Maclean, pp. 42-46. (Of course, this negative image of woman is not necessarily premodern!)
125
RB fol. 651:612, 13 (Dec. 1711).
126
Ibid., 19: "....also ist es mit lieben Kindern in der Ehe auch beschaffen / wer derselben in seinem Ehe-Garten viel hat / ob es Ihm gleich grossen Schmerzten verursacht / wo Ihm eines / das wie ein schönes Blümlein blühet / durch den rauhen Todtes-Wind welck gemacht / und abgewehet wird / so kan Er. doch sich noch ehender zu frieden geben / als wo Er nur ein eintziges hat / und reißt es Ihm dahin. Dann wo das einige Jubel verloren / wo das einige Bämlein abgebrochen / wo das einige Blümlein abgehet oder abgepresen wird; da fället alle Hoffnung / so man von solchen Kindern geschöpft / alle Vergnügung / Freud und Wonne / so man an Ihnen gehabt / auf einmahl dahin...."  
127
128
Ibid., 53-54:
"Hier ligt ein Kind / so fromm / den Eltern lieb gewesen
Noch lieber aber Gott / drum wolt’ Er es erlösen
Fein bald von Sünd / von Noth / von Jammer / Todt / und Leid /
Sie starb vollisfronen Muths / lebt stets bey Gott in Freud."
129
Maria Susanna Westerfeld, Johanna Barbara Weng, Jacobina Regina Welsch, Barbara Seefrid.
130 Gerhard, Meditationes; RB qto. 615:18, 34-35
(Nov. 1700): "Ante exitum miserias oneram matres, in exitu more vipereo lacramus: Ehe wir an die Welt kommen / so sind wir den armen Müttern eine grosse Last / und wann wir gebohren werden / werden wir ihnen zu Ottern / zerreissen und zerreissen sie jämmerlich."
131
RB qto. 613:18, 29 (Apr. 1661); RB qto. 617:25, 42 (Feb. 1656).
RB qto. 617:25, 9 (Feb. 1656); here Kisling lists Eph. 3:12, Acts 4:12, and Rom. 8:22.

RB qto. 615:15, 22 (June 1684).


Carpzov, Fil. Conc. Fun., pp. 365f.; RB qto. 615:15, 23 (June 1684).

RB qto. 617:25, 5 (Feb. 1656).

Aries, The Hour of Our Death, p. 298, 300-312.

RB qto. 613:25, 54 (Apr. 1649): "...ihrem liebsten Eheschatz / vor alle Wolthaten / Liebe / Güte und Trewe / die er ihr in wehrendem Ehestand / sonderlich aber zur Zeit ihrer langwirigen Kranckheit / auß Christlicher billicher ehlicher Liebe (als welche sonderlich und am meisten im Creutz und Leiden erkennet wird)...."

RB qto. 613:12, 42 (March 1638): "Darauff seiner lieben Hauß-Ehr / anjetzo hochbetrübter Fraw Wittib / die Hand gegeben / und gedancket / für jhre vielfältige grosse Sorg / Trew und Müh / die sie in seiner langwirigen beschwerlichen Kranckheit / Tag und Nacht / gleichsam unauffhörlich und unaußgesetzt / bey jhme außgestanden /
und gesagt / Gott werde jhr solches anderverts reichlich belohnen." RB qto. 613:9, 42 (Dec. 1636); RB qto. 617:6, 114-115 (March 1689).


Unbound LP qto., A. Fischer (17. Dec. 1645), 42.

RB qto. 615:22, (41) (Nov. 1693).

RB qto. 617:15, 29 (July 1690).

RB qto. 615:18, 64 (Nov. 1700): "alle best-mög-
lIchste Sorgfalt und Mühe angewendet / durch kostbare hier wieder dienliche Arztney-Mittel dem hefftigen Affect zu steuern...."

Ibid., 67: *in Christlicher Gelassenheit sich dem Willen Gottes ergeben / die Krankheit und Leibes-Schmerzten mit grösser Gedult überwunden / und sich zu einem seeligen Ende über alle massen wohl bereitet: Und / gleichwie Ihr bißhero schon immer vorgewesen / als ob Sie an diesem Kind / oder doch in dem Kind-Bett ihr Leben beschliessen müßte / zu welchem Ende Sie sich dann selbst angeschaßt des beliebten geistreichen Ulmischen Predigers / Herrn M. Strömayers Himmlische Labsal der glaubigen Seelen wider die Schrecken des Todtes / und darinnen eine geraume Zeit her fleissig gelesen; also hat Sie gleich am Sonn-Abend früh / nachdem Ihr eine starcke Ohnmacht zugestellen / gegen Ihrem Herrn vermeldet / daß Ihres Bleibens nicht lang mehr in dieser Welt seyn würde / anbey / um die Entschlagung der Welt / und aller Eitelkeit an Tag zu legen / ihren Ring vom Finger abgezogen / und solchen...
Ihme zugestellet; Auf Befragen / ob Sie dann nicht länger bey Ihme / und Ihren lieben Kindern bleiben wolle? gab Sie zur Antwort: Sie wolte gern / wann es Gottes Wille wäre; weil Sie aber je einmahl sterben müsse / und es Gott anjetzo haben wolle / so seye Sie bey ihrem Heyland Christo Jesu auch gern / und wünsche mehr nicht / als daß Sie nur fein bald seelig möchte übervunden haben. Sonntag Nachts / als die Schwachheit je mehr und mehr zugenommen / befahl Sie ihre liebe Kinder ihrem Ehe-Herrn aufs beste / mit dem Anhang / Er solle sie nur fleissig zum Gebet anhalten / Gott werde Ihnen schon helfen....Montags gegen Tags / als der letzte Feind der Todt nun bald einbrechen / und Ihr Sterb-Stündlein sich heran nahete / sich auch die geistliche Feinde in etwas volten mercken lassen (1. Cor. 15:26); da hat Sie sich durch tapfferes Streiten und Kämpffen / als eine rechte Jacobina Regina erwisen....


Ibid., 68: "Wie Sie dann auch dessen einen süßen Vorschmack empfunden / wann / wie dorten Jacob die Mahanaim (Gen. 32:1-2) unsere Sel. Jacobina Regina das schöne hell-leuchtende Engel-Heer / so Sie auf Ihrer Reise nach dem Himmlischen Canaan begleiten sollen / vor Ihrem Sterb-Bettlein / zu Ihrem noch grössern Trost / und zu Ihrer Seelen gänzlichen Befriedigung stehen sehen / welches Sie denen Umstehenden erzehlet / und gesprochen / Sie sehe viel heilige Engel...."
149
Ibid., 68.
150
151
RB 615:18, 64-67 (Nov. 1700).
152
RB qto. 615:18, 16 (Nov. 1700): "Der Kinder Todt verursacht zwar freylich wohl auch grossen Schmertzen / in zärtlich-liebender Väter- und Müttern-Hertzen....Aber noch viel tiefer schneidet in die Seele der Todt lieber sich wohl-begehender Ehe-Gatten."
153
Ibid., 60-61: "that es Ihm freylich so schmertzlich wehe / als ob Ihm ein Glied an seinem Leibe wäre abgelöset worden; jetzo aber / da Ihm Gott seine Augen-Lust entzogen / da Er Ihm seiner lieben (Jacobinä) Reginä / und Königin seines Hertzens durch den Tod beraubet / so empfindet seine Seele schmertzliche Wunden / ja! es ist Ihme nicht anderst zu Muth / als ob sein Hertz mit einem scharffen Schwerdt wäre voneinander getheilet worden...."
154
RB qto. 613:21, 9 (July 1634):
"Non dolor est major, quam cum violentia mortis
Unanimi solvit corda ligata fide. Das ist:
Kein grösser schmertz auff diser Erden /
Kan nimmermehr gefunden werden /
Als wann der Todt zwey liebe Leut /
Zertrent durch seine grausamkeit."
Also quoted in RB qto. 615:18, 17 (Nov. 1700); see also RB qto. 615:22, (37) (Nov. 1693); RB qto. 615:32, 7 (Nov. 1712).
155
RB qto. 615:18, 18 (Nov. 1700): "Da Ihme aber Gott seine liebe Hauß-Frauen von der Seiten gerissen / so hätte es Ihn so fast geschmertzet / als wann man Ihm mit Gewalt eine Ribbe aus dem Leib gerissen hätte...."
156
RB qto. 615:6, 36 (Apr. 1666).
157
RB qto. 615:32, 55-56 (Nov. 1712).
158
RB qto. 615:18, 17 (Nov. 1700), quoting Selneccer: "Es sey auf der Welt nichts trauriger / als *videre funus conjugis dilectissimae* die Leich eines höchst-geliebten Ehe-Gattens ansehen müssen."
159
RB qto. 615:9, 41 (Aug. 1670).
160
Unbound LP qto., Barbara Hauff (Apr. 1623), (26).
RB qto. 614:15, 7 (Nov. 1659): "Dann also ist es bey Eheleuten / welche etwas auffeinander halten / sie lassen auch in dem Tod ihre Hertzen ungetrennet seyn / sondern das Lebendige behält seine Liebe gegen dem Verstorbenen / und lasse es ihme abmercken / wann es demselbigen nach seinem Tod zu gefallen ist umb seines letzten Willens willen / was es etwan umb der Kinder / oder deß Hauswesens willen mit Ihme hat außgetragen; Oder / wann es mit Ihme selber zum Sterben kommt / alsdann sich freuet / und gedencket / Nun wann ich jetzt zu meinem Heyland Christo komme / zu welchem ich mich am Ersten und vor allen zu sehe habe / so komme ich auch zu den jenigen / welche allbereit bey Ihme seyn / und fürhin seyn gezogen / zu meinem Mann / welcher mich geliebet / zu meinem Weibe / welches mir lieb gewesen."


Chapter IV


2 M. Porcius Cato, De agriculture liber; see also Varro, Rerum rusticarum and Columella, De re rustica.

katechetischen Hauptstücken am Ende des Mittelalters", Historisch-politischer Blätter für das katholische Deutschland 108 (1891), 553-560, 109 (1892), 81-95; Hoffmann, pp. 24-31.

4 Ibid., pp. 32-33.

5 Albrecht von Eyb, Ob_einem_manne_sey_zuwenen_ein_eeliche_weyb_oder_nicht, ed. H. Weinacht (Darmstadt, 1982).

6 WA 7, 1-73; WA 6, 202-276.

7 WA 30, I, 61, 16.

8 Hoffmann, pp. 41-45.


10 Hoffmann, p. 49; Strauss, pp. 151-175: he adds the role of the parents in drilling their children in the Catechism at home, p. 166; Hahn, Die_evangeliache_Unterweisung_in_den_Schulen, pp. 28-35, 62-84.

11 Cyrus Spangenberg, Catechismus, Die_fünff_HEnstück_der_Christlichen_Lehre (Erfurt 1564); Christoph Fischer, Christliche_Ausleugung_vnd_Erklerung_der_Haustaffel (Ulzen 1576); Johann Conrad Dannhauer, Catechismusmilch_oder_Dep_Erlcrung_des_Catechismi_Dritter_Theil (Strasbourg 1661); Egidius Hunnius, Catechismus_/_Oder_Kinderlehr_/_von_den_fürnehmen_Hauptpunkten_Chrstitlicher_Religion (Frankfurt a.M., 1596); Moses Pflacher, Catechismus (Tübingen, c. 1599). References to Dannhauer in RB qto. 615:21, 39 (June 1705); RB qto 615:26, 20 (July 1696), RB qto. 615:29, 37, RB qto. 615:31, 43, RB qto. 615:32, 13, 23; also in wedding sermons RB qto. 615:23, 13-14 (Sept. 1696), RB qto. 615, 27, 30 (Oct. 1696). Georg Matthäus Beckh’s father Matthäus had in fact studied in Strasbourg under Johann Schmidt and Dannhauer (RB qto. 615: 22, 33 (Nov. 1693)).
Hoffmann, p. 56.

Paul Jenisch, Vir_ lehrhaftes Hochzeitpredigten (Leipzig, 1609); ibid., Der CXVIII. Psalm... in Prayer Hochzeitpredigten erklär't und außgelegt (Leipzig, 1609); ibid., Ehrenpredigt bey Christlicher Trauung... AUGUSTI. Herzog zu Sachsen... und... Elisabeth Geboren Herzogin zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg... (Leipzig, 1612); ibid., Ehrenpredigt bey Christlicher Trauung... FRANCISCIS Herzog zu Steinf... und... Sophia Geboren Herzogin aus dem Churfürstlichen Stamm Sachsen... (Leipzig, n.d.); Johann Matthäius, Vom Ehestandt und Hauswesen, Fünftzehn Hochzeitpredigten n. p., 1564); Jeremias Pistor, Ein Christliche Hochzeit Predig Darinnen angezeigt wirt was für ein Christlich Eheleib in anzuzehen auch was sich beyde Eheleute inn dem Hauptrégiment... gegen einander verhalten sollen (Tübingen, 1579); Samuel Neuheuser, Ein Christlich Hochzeit Predig bey dem Hochzeitlichen Ehrentag... Christopori Behem... beyder Rechten Doctorn... und... Anna Maria Röten... Herrn Erami Röten... Patritii... und des Rahes zu Ulm... hinderlaßen ebellen Tochter (Tübingen, 1579); ibid., Ein Christliche Predigt aus dem neunzehnten Capitel der Spruch Salomonis... bey dem hochzeitlichen Ehrentag... Sebastian Schernare... und... Magdalena geborene Löhlerin... (Tübingen, 1578).

Johannes Christianus, Vistantum_Agonizantium, pp. 477-485.

Georg Matthäus Beckh, Gott-gefälligste Haß-und Kirchen-Andacht... Bestehend in 1217... Täglichen Morgen- Abend-Stande-Ampers-Arbeits-Zeit- und Stund-Fest-Kirchen- Beicht-Buß-Abendmahl- und Tugend-allgemeinen Not-Kriegers- Hunger-Fest-Donner-Wellers-Feuer-Wasser-Sturminde-... Erdbeben-Reiß-Geburtstage-Krankheits-Sterbens- und Todte-Gebett... Gesängen und Seufzerlein... (Nördlingen 1704); Bernhard Albrecht, Haß-und Kircheneschatz (Ulm 1620); Johannes Arndt, Paradis-Gärlein (Strasbourg, 1625); Christoph Fischer, Haus-Kuchen und Kinder Postill (Tübingen 1627).

Friedrich Haeppel, Christliche Haß-Schul... Das ist: Treßhertziger Underricht... Wie Christliche Eltern... Haßväter und Mütter... den H. Catechismum mit den Thiergen zu Haß fleißig treiben... und Ihnen... deselben eigentlichen verstand wol einförmen sollen... damit sie in dem Öffentlichen Kirchen-Examine desto besser bestehen... (Strasbourg, 1641); Paul Jenisch Von der Kinderzucht... Weber es... komme... das die Jugend... heut zu Tage... verderbet... und... wie man... sie recht... wol und Christlich erziehen soll... (Leipzig, 1609); Johann Ellinger, Allamodischer Kleyder- Teuffel (Frankfurt a. M., 1629); Johann Irenaeus, Lob...

17 Johann von Münster, Tractatus Von Ehelichen Verlöbnissen und wie darinnen Rechtlich zu procediren sey (Hanau, 1598).

Ibid., Tractatus de Polytechnia paedagogia, ditandie et dotandie liberiae. Das ist Von Vielheit / Erziehung / Reichthum / und Außenehr der Kinder. In Form Einer Christlichen Gespräche zweyen frommen Eheleuten welche mit vielen Kindern von Gott gnedig heimgesucht seind (Hanau, 1595), pp. 95-124:

"Die Mutter klaget: Lieber Mann / ich bin mit vielen Kindern sehr beschweret / und hart beladen. Der Vatter tröstet: Liebe Frau / Schwache Achseln können auch mit Goldt und Silber hart beladen werden....

Mutter. Ja lieber Mann / ich werde aber unter so vielen Kindern Arm.

Vatter. Mit nichten / liebe Frau / dann die Kinder seind viel mehr dein schatz unnd Reichthum....

Mutter. Ich lebe aber in grosser Armuth unter so grossem hauffen der Kinder....

...Lieber Mann jhr redet mehr fein / und gebet mir schöne Worte:....aber wer wil so viel Kinder ernehren?....Wer wil so viel Kinder kleiden?

...Aber weill ich der Kinder so sehr viel hab / mögte ich wünschen / daß Gott mir in etlicher Kinder statt / ein andrer Geschenck und Gabe / damit ich die andern Kinder erhalten könte / gegeben hette.

Vatter. Diß seind Abermahl zum letzen gar Weibische worte...."

18 Johannes Spangenberg, Des Ehelichen Orden / Spiegel und Regul (Wittenberg, 1560); Egidius Hunnius, Christliche Haußtafel (Frankfurt a. M., 1586); Johann Philipp Schierstab, Speculum conjugale Das ist: Christlicher Ehe- und Hauszwickel (Nürnberg, 1614); Caspar Huberinus, Spiegel des Geistlichen Hauszucht (n. p., c. 1570); Johannes Mühmann, Nucleus Deconomiae Christianae. & Speculum verae Poenitentiae. Das ist: Alcchristlicher Haushaltung / Anweisung redlicher Nahrung /
und Spiegel wahrer Buss (Leipzig, 1629).

20 See above, p. 62.


22 WA ser. 3, 12, 144-147.

23 See above, p. 56.

24 Christliche Kinder-Fragen, Über die Sechs Haupt-Stücke des Christlichen Catechismus... (Nördlingen, 1700).


26 See above, pp. 75-77.

27 RB qto. 615:23 (Sept. 1693); RB qto. 615:27 (Oct. 1696); RB qto. 615:30 (Feb. 1702). Beckh’s first wife Catherina Barbara had died in January 1701 (RB qto. 615, 29 1/2 (Jan. 1701).

28 RB qto. 615:27, 35, 37.

29 RB qto. 615:30, 19: “Unter denen zeitlichen Glückseligkeiten ist wohl die allervornehmste eine liebreiche Ehe / ...O das ist ein irrdisch Paradieß / ein Himmel auf Erden!”

30 RB qto. 615:27, 35-36.

31 RB qto. 615:30, 23.


33 RB qto. 615:30, 6.

34 RB qto. 615:27, 39; RB qto. 615:30, 23.

35 RB qto. 615:23, pp. 1-37, a discourse on the responsibilities of the magistrate; see above, p. 46.
Die Perlen haben Vim anandi und confortandi, eine Kraft gesund zu machen / und zu stärken / sie wehren den Ohnmachten und Hertz-Klopffen / darum ein Perlen-Wasser / in dem Noth-Fall / in einer Haushaltung / ein gutes Ding ist: also ein Edle Hauß-Perle ist auch ein Hauß-Confortativ, und Hertz-Stärckung: Ihres Mannes Hertz darff sich auf sie verlassen / sie thut Ihm / in Ohnmachten / in Schwachheit / und allem Ungemach / von gantzzer / und aller ihrer Macht / Liebs / und kein Leids sein Lebenlang / Prov. 31:11-12.... Die Perlen haben Vim exhilarandi, die Kraft zu erfrischen und zu erfreuen: also eine Perlen-gleiche Barbara / erfreuet ihren Hann / erfrischt Ihm sein Hertz / und macht ihn allezeit fröhlich.... Die Perlen haben Vim expurgandi, die Kraft zu reinigen / und das Gifft zu vertreiben; also auch eine Edle Barbara und züchtiges Ehe-Weib ist kräftig / dem Mann das Gifft der bösen Lust zu vertreiben...."  

Ibid., 39-40: "Kein Weib soll man ein Frau heissen / es sey dann / daß sie freundlich und gelind / liebreich und holdseelig sey / und den Mann hertzlich und wohl erfreuet habe!"  

Ibid., p. 40: "Darum eine Frau sich also halten solle / daß sie Frau heisse / seye und bleibe allezeit / und wann sie unfreundlich und ungestüm werden will / höret aber aus ihres Herrn Mund das Wort / Frau / Frau / soll sie gleich in sich schlagen / den Zorn brechen / sich abbrechen / und als ein Frau freundlich sich erzeigen."  

RB qto. 615:27, 38: "Daß die Küchen Artzney offt besser bekommt / und mehr thut / als aus der Apotheck die beste Artzney."  


RB qto. 615:30, 19-20: "Absonderlich kan einem Prediger / welcher im Ammt viel saure Arbeit zu verrichten hat /... nichts ediers wiederverfahren / als eine Ehe-Frau / die sich in seinen Kopff schicket / Ihm mit Lieb und Freundlichkeit zur Hand gehet / die mit einem Wort eine rechte Helfferin und Gehülfin ist / eine Helfferin in der Ammets-Last Erleichterung / eine Helfferin in den
Lebens-Verdrießlichkeiten Versässung...."; RB qto. 615:23, 39.

44
RB qto. 615:23, 45.

45

46

47
Ibid., p. 41; Stöltzlin, Kirchen-Posaun, p. 557.

48
RB qto. 615:27, 39: "Gleich wie aber der Patient / wann man Ihm ein Recept vorgeschrieben / solches nicht in das Fenster stecken / sondern dasselbe gebrauchen / und gutem Rath folgen muß; also soll auch die Frau Doctorin / und jede Hausfrau / den Befehl und Rath ihres Ehe-Herrn annehmen...."

49
Ibid., p. 47:
"Rx.Maul-Schloß.
Demuth-Wasser.
Keusch-Wurtz.
Sanftmuths-Blätter.
Gedult-Kräutlein.

50
RB qto. 615:24 (Jan. 1694).

51
Ibid., 18-19 ; it is not clear, however, whether all of these children had grown to adulthood.

52
Ibid., 20 : "Ich aber bin Siebenzehenmahl glücklich darnider; und mit dem Leben davon gekommen; das ist ja ein grosse Gnade Gottes! eine solche Wohlthat / davor ich die Tag meines Lebens / meinem Gott nicht gnugsam dancken kan."

53
Ibid., 34 : "Alte Freundschafft die beste."
Ibid., 33.

54
empfunden / wie Ihr einander nach dem Evangelio / were
verpflichtet und verbunden? Habt Ihr Euch / vor das 3.
also gegen einander ver halten / wie Gottes Gebot Euch
befohlen / daß Ihr Euch sollet halten? Habt Ihr / Herr
Eck! Eure Reginam geliebet / diese 50. Jahr über / als
Euren eignen Leib? Waret Ihr / Frau Eck! Eurem Herrn und
Mann / als dem Herrn / in allen Dingen unterthan? Das hat
beiderseits müssen seyn / sollte und wollte anderst Eure
Ehe gesegnet und glückselig seyn. Hat nicht Gott / zum 4.
dem Seegen damit Er den ehelichen Stand gesegnet / Euch
widerfahren lassen? Ich meine ja! Ihr waren fruchtbahr / und
habet Euch gemehret!....Hat es Euch an dem 5. Puncten
jemahls gehäflet? Habt Ihr erfahren das Creutz / das Gott
auf den ehelichen Stand hat gelegt? Habt dann nicht Ihr /
Frau Eck! Eure 17. Kinder mit Schmerzen müssen
gähren? Hat nicht Euer Will Eurem Mann müssen unter-
worfen seyn? War Er dann nicht Euer Herr? Habt Ihr nicht/
Herr Eck / im Schweiß Eures Angesichts Euer Brod müssen
essen? Hat es Euch auch jemahal an Leiblichen Trübsalen
gehäflet? Saget an? Die Augen die Euch anjetzo übergehen/
die Thränzagen sagen / ja! und gestehen / daß alles an Euch
wahr worden sey...."
Daß ich als ein gehorsam Weib /  
In mein's Beruffes Schrancken bleib."  

62  
Schul-Gebett, p. 55, 57.  

63  
Ibid., pp. 843-844: "Du kennst ja ein Vatter-Hertze / Und die wahre Mutter-Treu: Du weist / das / was hertzet / schmertzet: Kinder-Todt höchst-schmertzlich sey; Drum gib nicht der Ungedult / Sondern bloß der Liebe die Schuld."

Chapter_V  
1  
Albrecht, Der_Hausstand, p. 1.  

2  
Daniel Eberhard Beyschlag, Beyträge_zur_Nördlin- 
gischen_Geschlechshistorie_/_die_Nördlingischen_Epitaphe_ 
enthaltend_gesammelt_und_mit_historischen_Anmerckungen_ 
erläutert... (Nördlingen: Gottlob Beck, 1801), pp. 13-14.  

3  
Georg Albrecht, Gaudium_super_Omn_Gaudium._Freqd_ 
über_alle_Freudl._Das_ist_/ Grundliche_und_enmutige_Erklär- 
ung des Frewdenreichen Artickels von dem Evigen Leben in_ 
fünf_und_eibentzig_Predigten... (Schwäbisch Hall, 1645), 
iv-v: 18 sermons were delivered in Augsburg beginning in  
1628; Albrecht completed the series in Geildorf on 26.  
January 1640.  

4  
Hausstand, p. 1115; also mentioned ibid., p. 5, 11.  

5  
Ibid., p. 73: "ein Ordnung und Stiftung Göttes / nach welcher ein Mann und ein Weib aus beeder ihrer Bewill- 
gung sich miteinander Erhelich verloben / verpflichten und 
verbinden / daß sie freundlich und erbarlich biß in den Tod 
miteinander leben wollen / dardurch Göt Gott dem HErrn gedient / das menschlich Geschlecht erhalten / auch allerley Sünd 
und Unzucht vermeidet werde...."
Ibid., p. 19: "bindet die Eheleut an das Gleis der
gottesforcht und der Liebe / da hören sie / daß sie nicht
nach ihrem freyen Willen leben / sondern thun sollen / was
ihnen Gott in seinem H. Wort befohlen...." Jenisch, Vier
Hochzeitpredigten, p. 38.

Ibid., pp. 18-20.

Ibid., p. 5: "Diese Ständ können wir abbilden durch
ein Garten / der Zaun ist die Obrigkeit / so solchen
beschutzt / das Pflanz- und Wurtzgärten ist die
Ehestand / der Lust- und Baumgarten ist die Christlich
Kirch / darinnen die Glaubige als Bäum / gepflanzet an den
Wasserbächen / die ihre Frucht bringen zu seiner Zeit."
See also p. 47: "Da hat ein jeder seinen eignen Garten /
den er pflanzen muß; Der Prediger hat den Kirchen-Garten /
darinnen er gnug zuthun hat mit lehren und predigen / mit
warnen und vermahnen / mit straffen und drühen (2 Tim.
4:2)....Die Obrigkeit ihren Stadt- Garten / darinnen alle
Händ voll zuthun / daß man Schutz und Schirm / Fried und
Ruhe erhalte / das Böse straffe / und das Gute befördere
(Rom. 13:4)....Die Eheleut ihren Hausgarten / darinnen die
Arbeit unterschiedlich ist / einer bauet den Acker / der
ander den Weinberg / der dritte wartet des Viehs / der
viertdie ist ein Handelsmann / gehet umb mit Kauffen und
Verkauffen / der fünfft ein Handwercksmann / ein jeder hat
gnug zuthun / und ist ihm mehr befohlen / weder er
ausrichten kan (Sir. 3:25)...."

Ibid., pp. 47-54.

Ibid., p. 49: "Also die Eheleut sollen im Glauben
und Gottesforcht / sonderlich aber in der Liebe / grünen
und wachsen / nicht nur im Sommer: / :in guten Tagen / wann
es glücklich hergehet / sonderlich auch im Winter: / :in
Widerwertigkeit in Lieb und Leid...."
die Prediger angehe / die selber wissen / was ihr Ambt ausweise / ungeacht die Zuhörer ihre gute Lectiones allezeit dabei gehabt. Hat man von der Obrigkeit geprediget / hat es geheissen / es sey nicht fein / daß man die Obrigkeit alle Freytag so auf der Cantzel umbziehe / es gebe nichts guts / die Leute werden nur verwehnt und halsstarrig gemacht / und hätte man's gern für eine Auffwicklung gehalten / wie es Christo und Eliae auch ergangen. Hat man vom Haus Stand geprediget / so hat man vermeint / es seyen nur Weiber Predigten / ungeacht kein Mensch in dieser gantzen Gemein / ja kein Kind / das nur einen Tag alt seyn wird / das nicht seine Lection gehört hätte."

Ibid., p. 2.

16

Ibid., p. 94, quoting Bellarmine, De Sacram Matrimonie, ch. 5, De Clericis, ch. 18, par. 4: "Non male dixi posset de Conjugatis, qui in carne sunt, Deo placere non possunt"; "Actus conjugalis hominem reddet totum carnalem, & ineptum ad Divina".

17

Ibid., p. 9: "dann damit der Himmel erfüllt werde / ist nothwendig / daß zuvor die Erden erfüllt werde / darumb wird der Himmel durch den Ehestand gemehret / durch den unreinen ehelosen Stand aber die Hölle."

18

Ibid., pp. 5-7.

19

Ibid., pp. 5-6: "Von andern Ordnungen Gottes lesen wir nirgends / daß die H. Dreyfaltigkeit zuvor von der Einsatzung berathschlaget habe / weder von dem Predigtampt noch von der Obrigkeit...."

20

Ibid., p. 83.

21

Ibid., p. 22: "der was eh ein Stand / ...eh ein einiger Mönch in der gantzen Welt ausgebrutet worden / das Lob soll ihm nimand nemen.".

22

Ibid., p. 7, 90-91.

23

Ibid., p. 8.

24

Ibid., p. 62: "...er mus Gehülffen haben / soll er frembde bestellen / warumb nicht vielmehr ein Ehegemahl / bey welchem er versichert / daß sie ihm nichts veruntreuet / sondern ihm sein Gut zusammen hält...."

25

Ibid., pp. 64-65: "Junge Leut können zwar auch im ledigen Stand ihr Christenthumb recht erlernen / aber wann wirs genauer erwegen / haben sie allein theorian, die bloss Wissenschaft / die praxis, aber / oder die Übung

Ibid., pp. 41-42: "Wann Eheleut eine liebliche Ehe mit einander besitzen / vermeinen sie / sie möchten evig so beysammen leben / und wann sie durch den zeitlichen Tod voneinander zertrennt werden / weinen sie bitterlich / da sollen wir uns trösten / daß auf die leibliche Ehe gewiß die himmlische erfolgen werde / und weil daß ein unaussprechliche Freud / so bildets uns Gott ab an dem Ehestand / da sollen wir einen Vorgeschmack einnehmen. 1. In der Ehe liebet man einander hertzlich; In dem ewigen Leben wird unter den Außerwehnten lauter Liebe seyn.... 2. In der Ehe haben sie alles gemein; In dem Evigen Leben wird es ein allgemeine Freud seyn.... 3. In der Ehe betet und singt man miteinander; In dem Evigen Leben auch / da werden die Außerwehnten im Chor beysammen stehen und singen.... 4. In der Ehe bespracht man sich miteinander; In dem ewigen Leben auch / da werden sie erzehlen nicht allein die grosse Thaten und Geheimnuß Gottes / sondern auch / was Er in dieser Welt an ihnen gutes erviesen habe.... 5. In der Ehe ist ein Ordnung unter Mann / Weib und Kindern / da
immer eines höher als das ander ist / doch ohne allen Mißgunst; In dem ewigen Leben wird die Klarheit unter-

schiedlich seyn / darinnen einer dem andern übertreffen wird (1 Cor. 15:42)....6. In der Ehe lebet man in einem Haus; Also werden wir dorten alle beysammen wohnen in des Vatters Haus (John 14:2) / im Haus des HErn (Ps. 23:6)...."  

27 Ibid., Sermon LXXII, pp. 1059-1074. 
28 Ibid., pp. 1064-1069. 
29 Ibid., p. 1069, 1072. 
30 Ibid., p. 1073: "In der Ehe ist grösse Keusch-
heit / als in dem Caelibat / das magstu glauben oder nicht / so ist es doch waar / dann da wird alle Brunst und bös
Lust benommen / so sich bey den Ledigen ohn unterlaß reget." 
31 Ibid., pp. 1073-1074: "Warumb werden Mönch und Nonnen im Papstthum so hoch gehalten? Wegen ihrer Keuschheit / iederman will sie für Engel ansehen / aber die Eheleut trösten sich / daß sie viel besser seyen / als diese: Wo seyn die Nonnen / die am Leib und Geist rein seyn? Unter hundert nicht eine / aber ein frommes Eheweib kans seyn / die wird selig durch Kinder zeugen / so sie bleibt im Glauben / und in der Liebe / und in der Heiligung sambt der Zucht (1 Tim. 2:15). Die Nonne pläppert ihren Psalter ohne allen Verstand / vermeint / durch viel Wort soll sie erhört werden (Matt. 6:5). Das Ehegemaß betet im Geist und in der Warheit (John 4:24) / in höchstem Eifer / dann die Trübsal lehret auffs Wort mercken (Isa. 26:16). Die Nonne plaget selber ihren Leib / und macht ihr Creutz / das Gott nicht befohlen; Das Ehe-

gemahl wartet / biß Gott das Creutz schickt / darinnen ist sie gedultig / und erwartet der gewissen Hülf / die Nonn hat ihre gemahlte / geschnitzte Bildein / damit sie pranget; Das Eheweib hat Kinder / die Gott selber gebildet / die führet sie wider zu Gott durchs Gebet. Die Nonne verläßt sich auff ihr Verdienst / verhofft dadurch das ewige Leben zu verdienen; Das Ehegemahl verläßt sich auf die Gnaden und Barmherzig-keit Gottes / glaubt daß sie Gott in diesen Stand gesetzt / darinnen erhalten / sie in dem Creutz trösten / daraus erlöszen / und gar zur ewigen Seligkeit bringen werde."  
32 Ibid., p. 1073. 
33 Ibid., Sermon VIII, pp. 96-109.
Ibid., p. 104: "...die Eltern müssen leiden / schweigen / die Kinder seind ihnen zu groß / können nicht mehr Meister seyn...."

Ibid., p. 104.

Ibid., p. 13: "kein grösser Leid kan seyn / als wann Zvey beyßammen leben müssen / die einander doch im Hertzen feind seyn;...Also haben solche Leut das ärzgste Leben auff Erden und einen Vorschmack der Höllen...." see also ibid., pp. 764-765.

Ibid., p. 108; TR p. 316 (Jena ed.)

Hausstand, p. 108: "Zuvorderst mus Gott angeruffen werden / daß Er die zvey Hertzen wider soll zusammen theidigen / darnach soll ein jedes das seinige auch darbey thun / der Mann soll vernünfftig bey seinem Weibe wohnen / und ihr / als dem schwächsten Werckzeuge / seine Ehre geben (1 Pet. 3:7). Das Weib soll mit Gehorsam ihrem Mann untehrhörig seyn / wie sichs geböhret (Col. 3:18). Wann das allezeit geschehe / so könte manch böse Ehe wider gut gemacht werden."

Ibid., pp. 109-110.

Ibid., pp. 114-115.

Ibid., pp. 115-116.

Andromache, 987-988.

Hausstand, pp. 113-115; see the Nördlingen church order of 1579, Sehling XII, ii, p. 343: "Und so sich befinden würde, das das kind sich unbedächtiglich oder ohne alle rechtmäige, billiche ursachen, allein aus müetwilligem ungehorsam und hinderlustigkait vermaintlich ehelich versprochen hete, so will ein erbarer rat dieselbe beide ungehorsame und muetwillige manns- und frauenpersonen an leib oder guet nach gestalt der sachen ernstlich strafen lassen und sovil desto ernstlicher mehr, wo neben solchem ungehorsam auch die beischlabung, schwecung oder schwengerung gevolget."

Hausstand, pp. 116-117; examples include Hagar and Ishmael and Rebecca and Jacob.


46


47


48


49

Ibid., p. 126: "...Gott hat Mann und Weib also erschaffen / daß sie mit Lust und Liebe / mit Willen und von Hertzen gern zusammen halten sollen / wann man nun die
Leut zusammen zwingt / so sündiget man wider die Erschaffung des Menschen."

50
Ibid., pp. 126-127: "Wie nichts liebliches ist als an einem Sätitenispiel / wann die Sätiten nicht recht zusammen gestimmt seyn / es könn einer so künstlich spielen / als er immer voll / so gibt es doch keinen lieblichen resonanz. Also ist in der Ehe ohne den Consens nichts liebes / wann man schon meynt / sie möchten sich noch zusammen richten / erfährt man doch / daß es je länger je überl bey ihnen hergeht."

51
Ibid., p. 128: "Was hat der? Was ist sein Vermögen? Hat er nichts / so laß ich nicht gelten / wann er schon ehrlich und fromm ist...."

52
Ibid., p. 129: "Das seyn gottlose Raben-Eltern / und nicht werth / daß sie eines Vatters Namen führen."

53
Ibid., p. 133; WA 30, III, 239,5-240,5.

54

55
Ibid., p. 132: "Christliche Eltern machens offt auch also / schicken ihre Töchter auff alle Füllinsmärckt / zu aller Leichtfertigkeit / vermeynen / also werdens den jungen Gesellen bekannter werden."

56
Ibid., p. 144: "Andere lassen sich durchs Geld blenden / und da seyn offt Eltern grösere Geldnarren / als die Jungen / so bald sie einen reichen Mann wissen / beredens die Tochter / daß sie ihn nemen soll / bekümmern sich nicht / ob es ihnen wol oder Übel ausschlägt / Geld muß man haben / wann es hernacher Übel ausschlägt / so müssen die Kinder über ihre Eltern schreyen / wann sie es
nur nicht gar vor Gottes Angesicht verklagen werden.

57
Ibid., pp. 130-131.

58
See above, pp. 46-47.

59
Hausstand, p. 138: "ein Wurtzel aller Tugenden".

60
Ibid., p. 139: "die gehorsame Sara / die verständige Rebecca / die Geistreiche Debora / die demütige Naemi / geduldige Hanna / treuhertige Michol / die vernünftige Abigail / Gottsförchtige Judith / sanftmütige Esther / züchtige Susanna / undächtige Maria / und andere...."; see also p. 823.

61
Ibid., pp. 140-141.

62

63
Ibid., p. 138: "dann weil der waare Glaub bestehet in hertzlicher Liebe gegen Gott und seinem H. Wort / dem ein Christ einig und allein anhanget / so ists unmöglich / daß ein Mensch den von Hertzen liebe / von welchem er weiß / daß er GOTT nicht lieb hat...."

64
Ibid., p. 143: "Wo zweyerley Glauben in einem Bett / da thuts selten gut / oder wann ein Frommes und Gottloses zusammen kommen / gibts auch nichts als eitel Hertzenleid...."

65

66
Ibid., p. 142: "Es geht gemeiniglich also / wann ein armer Gaell eine Reiche bekombt / so wil sie Herr seyn / und wann er ihr ein Wort sagt / das ihr nicht gefällt / so wirft sie das Maul auf / wirft ihn für: Du Stümpler hättest müssen ein Bettler seyn / wann du mich nicht genommen hättest. So gehts / wann man nach Gelt trachtet / darumb es am allerbesten / daß man die Frommkeit in acht nehme...." (Note here that she's not just overstepping her authority, but she is also insulting a man.)

Ibid., pp. 143-144; Johann Matthias, Oeconomia_Oder_bericht._wie_sich_ein_Hausvatter_halten_soll. (Nürnberg, 1561), Bii.

Ibid., p. 144: "Edel und unedel / ansehlich und geringe Freundschaft taugt nicht zusammen / thut nicht allweg gut...."

Ibid., Sermons XIV-XXII, pp. 175-317.

Ibid., p. 313.

Ibid., pp. 314-315.

Ibid., p. 321-323.

Hausstand, p. 323: "wann hernacher Creutz und Unglück kombt / die Nahrung wird schmal / der Mann wunderlich / das Weib kranck / da ist alles hinweg...."


Ibid., p. 364: "Sihet das ehrliche Weib einen andern Mann an / so vermeynt der Eyferer / es geschehe mit hürischen Augen / sie wincke ihm damit / redet sie mit ihm / so vermeynt er / es geschehe aus Ehebrecherischem Hertzen / und sey alles waar / was ihm zuvor andere gesagt haben...."

Ibid., pp. 364-365.

Ibid., p. 366: "So bald der Eyfer in dem Hertzen Luft bekombt / so vergeht aller Lust zum Hausen / der Mann sagt: Was soll ich wegen meines Weibs viel arbeiten / so sie doch ihr Hertz an einen andern hengt / ist vol zubesorgen / weil sie ihm die Liebe schenckt / so werd sie ihm auch heimlich Gelt zustecken: Das Weib sagt: Was soll ich für ein Lust zum Hausen haben? Ich hause nicht mir / sondern einem andern Weib / daran sich der Mann hengt...."
Ibid., p. 366: "Und da eines seinen Ehegatten schmähet / so schmähet es nur sich selbst / ja es geht noch über die Kinder und Nachkommen die Schand hinaus / daß man sagt: Dein Vatter / dein Mutter haben einander selber nichts guts zugetraut / sondern sich muthwillig in der Leut Mäuler gebracht...."


Ibid., p. 326; Olau. Mag. 1. 4. c. 7.

Ibid., p. 336: "Wann heutigs Tags grundböse Ehen seyn / die kommen ins künftig nur fleissig in die Kirchen / so verdens erfahren / daß die Liebe von Tag zu Tag in ihren Hertzen wachsen und zunehmen wird."


Ibid., pp. 337-338.

Ibid., p. 338: "daß sie...sich eins fein lernet in des andern Köpff schicken und richten / das ist ein gewisses Mittel die Liebe zuerhalten. Wann der Mann nicht allezeit seinem Sinn folget / sondern bißweilen / in gebührenden Sachen dem Weib nachgibt / hergegen das Weib ihrem Mann zur Hand gehet / da bekombt eines desto mehr Lust und Liebe zu dem andern...."

Ibid., p. 339: "Eheleut seyn ja nicht Engel / sondern Menschen....Du hast deine Fehle / sihe zu / daß du es verbessert. 2. Dein Weib wird auch ihre Fehl und Gebrechen haben / hie lerne durch die Finger sehen / und gib nicht so genau Achtung darauf / dann da muß eines mit dem andern ein Mitleyden haben....Als / wann der Mann gehzornig / das Weib aber weicht ihm / wann der Zorn hin so geht er in sich selber / läßt ihm das vol gefallen / und hat sein Weib noch eines so lieb und werth...."

Ibid., p. 373.

Ibid., Sermons XXVIII-XXXIX, pp. 371-542.


Ibid., p. 376: "Ab grossen ungeheuren Leuten erschrickt man / aber ein Kind liebet jederman / wann es uns schon frembd und unbekannt / so sagt man doch: Ach wol ein schönes Kind / ein liebes Kind / ein holdseelig Engelein / man hertzt und küst es / ob es uns schon nichts verwandt / und muß freylich der ein durchteuffelter Unmenschn seyn / der einem Kind Schand oder Leyd zufüget...."

Ibid., p. 387.

Ibid., Sermon XXIX, pp. 386-399.

Ibid., p. 388.

Ibid., p. 391: "Man redet oftermals vom Kindersegen gar unzUchtig und fleischlich / und vermeynt / wann Eheleut jung und gesund / so könnns nicht fehlen / es müssen auch Kinder von ihnen gezeugt werden...."

Ibid., p. 382: "Es geschicht zum Offtern / wann Göt nicht Kinder gibt / so wird man ungedultig / der Mann vermeynt / das Weib sey schuldig dran / das Weib vil dem Mann die Schuld geben...."

Ibid., p. 391.

Ibid., p. 374.

Ibid., p. 393: "Wür das nicht ein unverständnigraph Knopff / der einem Reichen ins Haus gehen / und ihn zwingen wolte / daß er ihm etwas schencken solte? Wurd er nicht sagen: Ich bin dir nichts schuldig: Also kan Göt auch sagen: Dann die Kinder seind seine Gabe / seyns ein Gabe und Geschenck / so ists keine Schuld / wie bist du dann so keck / daß du mit Göt hadern wilt?"
und Gott dancken / daß Er sie dar vor behütet hat." 

101  
Ibid., pp. 393-394.

102  
Hausstand, pp. 394-395: "Die Leut / so keine Kinder haben / kommen allezeit besser fort / als die / so mit vielen Kindern beladen seyn. Kommet der Krieg / so sehen die / welche keine Kinder haben / nur auff ihr Haut und Leben; Kommet Theurung / sehen sie / wie sie es machen / daß sie nur ihren einigen Leib ernehen: Kombt die Pestilentz / und müssen sterben / so geben sie sich freudig darein....Aber wo Kinder seyn / da werden die Straffen nur desto härter und särer; Im Krieg fragte mancher nichts nach seinem Haus / und was er darinnen zuverlieren / achtet auch nicht / wann man ihn schon darnider macht / aber wann er sehen mus / daß man seine Kinder für seinen Augen schlachtet / und erwürget alle ihre Kinder...da möcht einem das Hertz im Leib zerschmelzen. In der Theurung leydet manches gern allein Hunger / aber wann die Kinder umb ihn her stehen / den Säuglingen klebet ihre Zung am Gaumen für Durst / die jungen Kinder heischen Brod / und ist niemand / ders ihnen breche / Klag. 4. v. 4. Das gehet tieff zu Hertzen. In der Pest stärb mancher gern / und wär froh / daß er erlöst wurde; Aber wann die junge Bursch umb das Todbett herumb steht / die kräncket einem das Hertz / daß er mit Schmertzen und Wehklagen dahin stirbt...."

103  
Ibid., p. 392.

104  
Ibid., p. 396.

105  
Ibid., p. 398: "Du solt dich besinnen / ob du nicht etwan einen armen Freund habest / der viel Kinder und keine Nahrung hat / ist dem also / so gehe hin / nimb dich derselben an / so bekombstu schon Kinder...."

106  
Ibid., p. 396; Gen. 16:1.

107  
Ibid., pp. 396, 398-399.

108  
Ibid., Sermon XXX, pp. 399-412.

109  
Ibid., p. 403: "Wann dir einer einen schönen Pfenning schencket / so danckest ihm ja / gibt er dir viel / so schlägstu sie nicht aus / je mehr je lieber / varumb murrest und kurrestu dann / wann dir GÖtt nicht nur eines / sondern viel Kinder bescheret?"

110  
Ibid., p. 410.

Ibid., p. 411: "Ja allerley Mittel zur Unfruchtbarkeit gebrauchen....Andere verehelichen sich mit fließ zu solchen Personen / bey denen sie vergwisert / daß sie unfruchtbar / nur daß sie keine Kinder bekommen....Andere verhindern die Empfängnuss auff andere Weiß / davon jetzt nicht noht zu reden...."

Ibid., p. 379.

Ibid., p. 384: "Secht doch die Vögelein unter dem Himmel an / die bruten gemeiniglich viel Jungen zumal aus / seyn darumb nie unwillig / vielweniger töten sie es / ja seyn desto lustiger / wann das Nestlein voll ist...."

Ibid., p. 417.

Ibid., p. 420: "sagt nicht / daß eheliche Beywohnung die Ursach der Kinder sey / sonst müßten alle Eheleut Kinder haben / sondern Gott / der seinen Allmächtigen Segen darzu gebe...."

Ibid., p. 424, pp. 381-382.

Ibid., p. 422; Augustine, Comm. Ps. 50, 10, 43-45; WA 10, II, 167,34-168,1; for late medieval Christian attitudes toward marriage and marital sex, see Tentler, Sin and Confession, pp. 162-232.

Ibid., p. 415-416: "Was es für ein Samen gewesen? Sündlich / das ist / eben diese natürliche Nasse war mit der Sünd befleckt / sihet damit auff die Erbsünde / mit deren das erste kleine Blutströpflein / daraus der Mensch formirt worden / infizirt und angesteckt sey...."
Ibid., pp. 432-433, 435.

Ibid., p. 433: "Wann ein Mensch / er sey Mann oder Weib / solte ein halb Jahr einen Stein / so schwer als ein Kind ist / wil nicht sagen gar im Leib unter dem Herzen / sondern nur am Hals oder in der Hand tragen / wie übel wurd er sich beklagen? Es solte einem starcken Mann zuschaffen geben / solchen Stein so lang zutragen; Jetzt gedencke / wie mus doch einem armen schwachen Weib zu muht seyn / das vorhin ein schwacher Werckzeug genannt wird / 1. Petr. 5. v. 7. die 9. gantzer Monat diesen Last bey Tag und Nacht herumb tragen muß....?"

Ibid., pp. 436-437.


Ibid., p. 439.

Ibid., p. 434, quoting Matthesius, Eheepiegel, p. 56.

Ibid., pp. 439-444.

Ibid., pp. 446-447.

Ibid., p. 450: "Die Manns-Arbeit ist schwer / aber es schaffet sich nicht bald einer zu tod / das arme Weib aber mus sich zum öfftern in solchen Geburtschmerzten zu tod schaffen / daß ihr die Seel ausgeht: Es geht oft schwer zu / daß man die Frucht der Mutter reist / oder sie aus Mutterleib schneiden mus / wie viel Exempel hiervon könnten erzehlt werden / daher Medea bey dem Euripide gesagt: Ter_Halim_in_acie_state_guam_semel_garere, Ich wil lieber dreymal vornen in der Schlacht stehen / als nur einmal gebären."

Ibid., p. 454.

Ibid., p. 454.

Ibid., p. 455.

Woher aber haben schwangere Weiber ihren schwangeren Leib?
Von Gott; Woher diese Schmerzen? Von Gott / Ich will dir viel Schmerzen schaffen / usw. Also haben sie einen rechtmäßigen göttlichen Beruf / dessen sich die Ordensleute nicht rühmen können.*


135 Haustand, p. 484-485.

136 Ibid., pp. 491-492.


138 Ibid., p. 488: "Nun möcht ich ein Weib fragen / zu was end sie meyne / daß ihr die Brüsten gegeben worden seyen? Fürvahr nicht umb der Zierd willen / oder das man sie leichtfertiger Weiß entblösse / und die Junglinge zur Unzucht anreitze / sondern daß man damit den Kindern Speiß und Nahrung gebe...."

139 Ibid., p. 488.

140 Ibid., p. 489: "Die Drachen reichen die Brüste ihren Jungen / und säugen sie....."

141 Ibid., p. 489: "Ist es dann nicht ein Schand / daß Christliche Weiber solten Ärger seyn / als das thumme Vieh / und das vergessen / so allen Creatures von Natur eingepflanzet ist."

142 Ibid., p. 490: "Also wills der HErr haben / der hat die Brüste aus sonderbarem Fleiß an den rechten Ort gesetzt / nicht unter an die FÜß / sondern auf die Brust / ans Hertz / daher den Namen bekommen / und heissen Brüste / welche gleich über dem Herzten stehen / anzuzeigen / wann eine Mutter ihr Kind hertzlich lieb hab / so könn sie ihm das nicht versagen / und wanns ihm die Brüste nicht reiche /
so schlag sie demselben das Hertz ab / welches ein unmenschlich grausame Sach ist."

143


144

Ibid., p. 491: "Ein Kind hat seine Mutter / die solches allein gebohren und nicht gesäuget nimmermehr so lieb / als das Kind sein Mutter liebet / von welcher es sovovl gebohren als gesäuget worden: Jenes Kind hat nur ein halbe Mutter / darumb auch ein halbe Liebe / Wann nun die Mütter wollen / daß sie von ihren Kindern / wann sie erwachsen / geliebt werden / so sollen sie ihnen auch in ihrer Kindheit die mütterliche Liebe erweisen."

145

Ibid., p. 490.

146

Ibid., p. 490.

147

Ibid., p. 492: "Die Naturkündiger schreiben / daß die Kinder / so mit Geißmilch erneht worden / gemeiniglich ein geile Bocksart bekommen...."

148

Ibid., pp. 492-493.

149

Ibid., p. 493.

150

Ibid., p. 495; Martin Chemnitz, Scrutin., Meng., p. 637.

151

Hausstand, p. 493: "wären aber die Weiber nicht so faul / zärtlich und gottlos / die ihnen Säugammen bestellen / so könntes ein solche lose Vettel nicht so frisch drauff wagen."

152

Ibid., p. 495: "darumb wann eine Mutter sich nicht über solches Kind erbarmet / so ist sie nicht werth / daß sie ein Mutter / sondern ein Stieffmutter genannt werde."
Ibid., p. 496: "nemlich fromme / Gottsförchtige / ehrbare / sittige / nicht Huren / sondern Ehe-Weiber / und so man solche nicht haben kan / hieltsch darfur / es wäre besser / ein Kind mit Wasser oder Bier auffziehen / als sie an eine lose Huren hengen / Gott kan ihnen das Wasser und Bier so vol segnen / als die Mutter- oder frembde Milch...." 

Ibid., p. 495: "Es kan gar vol dahin kommen / daß dich dein Kind wider speisen und ernehren muß: Hastus zuvor gesäuget / so wirds alsdann gedencken: Mein Mutter hat mich mit ihrem Blut ernehret / und mit der Milch gesäuget / Ey so müst ich ein un dankbarer Vogel seyn / wann ich ihr die Speiß abschlagen wolte...." 

Ibid., "Ich geschweig jetzon der Freud / so die Mütter ab dem Säugen bekommen / in dem sie mit ihren Kindlein spielen / und dar durch die hertzliche Liebe desto mehr entzünden...." 

Friedrichs, pp. 301-311. 


Ibid., p. 501. 

Job 14:5; Isa. 38:5; Ps. 139:16; Matt. 26:45; 1 Kings 14:17; Sir. 17:2. 

Hausstand, p. 500. 

Ibid., p. 504. 


Ibid., p. 509. 

Ibid., pp. 511-512.

167
Ibid., Sermons LI-LIV, pp. 766-821.

168
Ibid., p. 771.

169
Ibid., p. 773.

170
Ibid., pp. 775-776: "Man greifft oftermals diesen Stand ohn allen Vorbedacht an / wann der Geßell nur ein Weib und die Tochter nur einen Mann bekompt / so ists guß / bedencken aber nicht / ob sie auch so viel gelernt / daß sie die Nahrung gewinnen können / darnach gehts wie zu Cana / am ersten Tag kommen gleich die verba defectiva, da eines dem andern alles Übels an den Hals wünscht / darumb gehört grosse Fürsichtigkeit zur Haushaltung."

171
Ibid., p. 779.

172
Ibid., p. 783.

173
Ibid., p. 786: "Dergleichen noch heutiges Tags geschicht / da junge Leut anfangs grosse Liebe zusammen tragen / wann aber der Kriegslast gleich ins Haus kompt / so wird eines ab dem andern ungeduligt / dürffen wol den Tag und die Stund verfluchen / darinnen sie sich verlobt haben...."
Ibid., p. 787: "Es finden sich Stieffkinder / Ehehalten / nachbarn / die sich mit Wort und Wercken wider das Weib aufkleinen / dieselbe bey dem Mann verschweigen / verkleinern / verletzen / allerley Ubels von ihr reden / nur damit der Mann einen Argwohn bekomme / sein Weib ihm erleiden / und die gute Ehe böse machen...."

Ibid., pp. 786-787.

Ibid., p. 789.

Ibid., pp. 790-793.

Ibid., p. 795: "Oberherr in seinem Haus".

Ibid., p. 796-797: "Daß er nicht über sie herrsche / wie über einen Leibeigen / dem kein Ehr widerfähret / sondern daß er sie zugleich auch ehrlich halte...."; p. 763: "Der Mann soll sein Weib nicht für ein Fußtuch halten...."

Ibid., p. 755: "Da versteht er nicht eine Knechtische Forcht / daß das Weib vor dem Mann zittern soll / wie vor einem Löwen / sondern eine Forcht der Liebe / daß sie ihn vor das Haupt erkenne / liebe / respective / ehre / ihm auch allen gebührenden Gehorsam leiste...."

Ibid., p. 803, 813.

Ibid., p. 798: "Also soll das Haus-Regiment wol verwaltet werden / so muß sich der Mann hüten / daß er der Sachen weder zu viel noch zuwenig thue / sondern auff dem mitlern Weg bleibe." P. 800.

Ibid., pp. 812-813.

Ibid., pp. 813-814: "sihet Weib / Kinder / und Gesind an / als wann ers fressen wollte...."

Ibid., pp. 814-815.

und wann das Weib ihn deswegen strafft / warumb er doch solches thue? so schlägt und stößt er sie wie ein Hund / spricht / ich hab alles macht zu thun / was ich will / warumb? Ich bin der Herr im Haus!"

187
Ibid., p. 815.

188
Ibid., p. 817.

189
Ibid., p. 819: "und daß der Teuffel so mächtig / sie also nicht sehen / in was Gfahr / Schand und Spott er sie gefüret / Jedermann sieht sie darumb an / redet Übel von ihnen / das ist der gottlöse / verfluchte Mann / der Gottslästerer / Schnarcher / harte Nabal und unbarmherzige Hund / ist nicht werth / daß er Weib und Kind haben soll."

190
Ibid., p. 805: "so wird manches Unglück verhütet / wann man aber hinein plumbt / ohn allen bedacht / so gehts hernach / es kann / und ist kein Wunder / wann aus der Herrschaft ein Tyrannen wird / Exempel haben wir leider genug in dieser Stadt....."

191
Ibid., p. 820: "Die Prediger thuns auff der Cantzel / daß sie diese Materi eiferig treiben / dann ist etwas in dieser Stadt nothwendig / so ists diese Lehr / man mag davon halten was man woll / hilfft das predigen nicht / sollen sie es privatim fürfördern / ihnen aus Gottes Wort ernstlich das Gewissen rühren / und so lang sie solche Nabal bleiben / daß sie nicht bekehren wollen / sie von der Beicht und dem H. Abendmahl abweisen: Obrigkeiten sollen hierinnen dem Predigambt die Hand bieten / solche halsstar- rige Haus-Narren / die weder auff Gott noch sein Wort etwas geben / auff mancherley weis straffen / damit doch in der Haushaltung alle Unordnung abgeschafft / und der Zorn Gottes abgewendet werde."

192
Ibid.; see below, p. 165; Dieterich, pp. 143-146.

193
Hausstand, p. 820.

194
Ibid., p. 821: "Die Ehe bleibt so lang wir leben / aber nicht evig / dorten wird die Scheidung erst angehen / da der gottlöse Mann zur Höllen / das fromme Weib aber in dem Himmel kommen wird....."

195
Ibid., p. 826, 828; Gen. 3:16.

196
Ibid., pp. 829-830.

Ibid., p. 826.

Ibid., p. 825.

Ibid., p. 838: "Die Liebe soll nicht nur auff der Zungen schweben / sondern im gebührenden Gehorsam auch sehen lassen."

Kawerau, Die_Reformation_und_die_Ehe, pp. 44-49.

Hausstand, pp. 798-799.

Ibid., pp. 798-800, 805.

Ibid., p. 839.


Ibid., pp. 865-867, 873.

Ibid., pp. 867-871; p. 873.

Ibid., p. 874.

Ibid., p. 875: "Im Verheirathen sihet man offt nur auf die äusserliche Gaben / Schönheit / Reichthum / und vornehmes Geschlecht / an die Frommheit denckt niemand / hat mans nun ohne Gott angefangen / so gehets auch ohne Gott fort / und ists nichts als lauter Unglück zugevarten: Kauff doch keiner ein Pferd / er fragt nach allen Mängeln / besihets auf allen Seiten; Kein Haus wird gekauft / man geht zuvor in alle Zimmer / und besihets eigentlich / ehe der Kauff fortgehet / in dem Kauff aber / der am längsten / und offt biß an das End der Lebens würet / gehet man so unförsichtig drein / daß man wider Gott noch gute Freund darumb fragt / dannach gerähts so wol / daß einen das gantze Leben erbittert / und welches das fürnemste / da ein Pferd oder Haus wider verkaufft kan werden / so muß ein
solcher seinen Schleppsack behalten / und sich damit beschleppen / bis der Tod sie voneinander scheidet...."

210

Ibid., pp. 874-875.

211

Ibid., p. 876.

212

Ibid., pp. 850-851.

213

Ibid., pp. 851-853; see also Jenisch, Vier Hochzeitpredigten, pp. 61-62; ibid., Der_CXXVIII_Psalm_in_Drey_Hochzeitpredigten_erklaert, Einvb.

214

Ibid., pp. 853-854; Dillherr, Ehre_der_Ehe, pp. 480-481.

215

Ibid., pp. 853-854.

216

Ibid., pp. 856-857.

217

Ibid., pp. 860-861: "Manche Töchter hätte gern einen Mann / aber sie dencket nicht ans hausen / sie kan nichts als bulen / löffen / da und dort junge Gesellen äffen und angespänen / wenn sie hernacher in den Ehestand kompt / vermeint es soll hergehen wie zuvor / man kan nichts thun / und will nichts thun / da hauset man daß Hund und Katzen das beste Vieh im Haus ist: Als_wir_leben_/so halten_wir_Haus_/Morgen_lauffen_wir_zum_Thor_hinaus! Daran seyn viel schuldig die Mütter / die ihre Töchter nicht zur Häuslichkeit / sondern zur Hoffart und Leichtfertigkeit helfen / vermeinen / es wäre ihrem Stand eine Schand / wenn die Jungfrau Tochter die Hand in Kohl sott stossen / und eine Arbeit recht angreiffen."

218

Hausstand, pp. 683-684; p. 543, 547, 554, 564.

225

Ibid., p. 545, 563, 878.

226

Ibid., p. 690.

227

Ibid., pp. 687-688; see above, p. 59.

228

Ibid., pp. 560-562, 565.

229

Ibid., p. 564.

230

Ibid., pp. 579-580.

231

Ibid., p. 564: "Ach freylich / wolte Gott daß das Gelt / so man auff die Soldaten anwendet / auff die Schulen gäbe / so wurd es besser in der Welt stehen!"

232

Ibid., p. 601.

233

Ibid., p. 602, 690.

234

Ibid., p. 603: "Und solche unordentliche Liebe findet sich bißweilen bey heeden Eltern / sonderlich aber bey den Muttern / die wissen ihre Liebe nicht recht zugebrauchen / will der Vatter scharff seyn / und drein schlagen / so unterbauets die Mutter / reist ihm das Kind aus der Hand / und sagt: Ey / das Kind ist mein / es ist mir saur gnug worden / biß ichs auff die Welt gebracht / damit wird die Hauszucht auffgehebt / will der Vatter nicht ein böse Ehe haben / so muß ers geschehen lassen / daran er zwar nicht recht thut / wann das Gsind das sihet / so wollen sie auch nichts wehren / die Mutter wird einem gleich feind / wann es nur ein Wörtlein wider das Ammen-kindlein redet; O der Gottlosen nährischen Affenliebe!"

235

Ibid., pp. 604-605: "Es ist nicht wol glaublich / was ich sagen will / und ist doch waar: Auff das Vieh und Rinder gibt man besser acht / als auff die Kinder / wann einer etlich Stuck Viehs hat / besorget er sich / er könn ihnen nicht gnugsam abwartet / sie möchten versaubt werden / so bestellt er einen eygnen Knecht darüber / eine Vieh-Magd / die muß Tag und nacht das Vieh warten....Aber wann einer das Hauß voll Kinder hat / wo denckt er daran / das er ihnen einen Praeceptorem bestelle / ja daß er sie nur in die Schul gehen lies? Es gehet kein Haus-Vatter nider / er sihet zuvor / ob sein Vieh alles im Stall sey / und da ihm nur ein Schwein fehlet / so durclahuft er die gantze Stadt / und sucht dasselbe / ver fragt aber wo das Kind sey? in welchem Winckel es stecke? er gedenckt / es wird sich wol finden / wann es lang gnug herumber geloffen / so verd es schon selbs wider kommen....Die nicht so arg seyn / dencken
dahin / das sie ihren Kindern groß Reichthum zusammen bringen / vermeynen / wann sie Gelt und gut haben / so sey den Kindern schon geholfen....Daher kompt es / daß man sich mehr auff Reichthum als Weißheit begibt / dardurch aber die Zucht mercklich verhindert wird."

236
Ibid., p. 576.

237
Ibid., p. 709: "Gehe auff die Wahlatatt hinaus / so wirstu sehen / wie die Beiner von den Hunden sein zer-nagnt worden...."

238

239

240
WA 10, II, 170, 8-9; Haustand, p. 608.

241
Ibid., p. 606; 885.

242
Ibid., p. 885: "Die Hand ist voller Grimm / daß offt der Hencker in die Ubelthäter so grimmig nicht zu-schmeist / als ein solcher hirmschölliger Vatter auff seine Kinder...."

243
Ibid., p. 691; Sir. 30.

244
Ibid., p. 575: "So seyn viel Eltern gesinnet / das es heist: Haltet mir mein Söhnlein nicht zu hart / daher kompts / wann mans mit der Ruthen hauet / sie zürn / als wenn er eine TodSünd begangen hätte / so es doch eine zehenfache verdiente Schuld gewesen...."  

245
Ibid., pp. 576-577: "ehe solten sie die Praeceptores bitten / daß sie doch dapffer drein haueten / auch ihnen dafür dancketen...."
Ibid., p. 692.

Ibid., p. 694, 889.

Ibid., pp. 886-887.

Ibid., p. 721.

Ibid., p. 721: "und da wir alle Doctor wären / so müsten wir alle aufeinander Hungersterben...."

Ibid., p. 722.

Ibid., Sermon LX, pp. 891-906.

Ibid., p. 903: "und heutigs Tages mehrers nichts geklagt wird / als über den Ungehorsam und Bosheit der Kinder / die sich weder mit Worten noch Ruthen mehr wollen züchtigen und ziehen lassen; Seyn sie klein / so seyn sie unbendig und böö / seyn sie aber gros / und zu ihrem Verstand kommen / so seyn sie noch ärger / geben den Eltern kein gut Wort / schnarchen sie noch an / ja dörffen wol gar die Händ über sie zucken / und sie schlagen / lassen sie in ihrem Alter in der Armut herumber gehen / und mögen ihnen nicht mit einem Stücklein Brods behülflich seyn / ja schämen sich auch ihrer / sonderlich wanns schlechte / geringe Leut seyn / daß mancher alter Vatter und Mutter bitterlich darüber weinen / und wünschen / daß sie solche gottlose Kinder im ersten Bad ertränckt hätten...."

Ibid., p. 902.

Ibid., p. 893, 896.


Ibid., pp. 937-938.


Ibid., p. 953.

Ibid., p. 952: "das ist ein schweres Hauscreutz / wann das Haupt im Haus ligt / da ligt alles darnider / die Haustümmer ist betrübt / die Kinder stehen umb das Bett herumb / trauren und weinen / daß ihnen die Threnen über die Backen herab lauffen / ruffen und schreien: Ach mein
Vatter / mein Vatter! soldestu uns durch den Tod entzogen werden? Wie Übel würds mir armen Wittwen / uns verlassenen Wäislein ergehen?"

Ibid., pp. 956-961.

Ibid., pp. 961-962.

Ibid., p. 998.

Ibid., pp. 993-994.

Ibid., pp. 994-995.

See above, pp.

Hausstand, pp. 999-1000.

Ibid., pp. 1002-1003, 997.

Ibid., Sermons LXXIII-LXXV, pp. 1074-1116.

Ibid., pp. 1077-1078.

Ibid., pp. 1088-1089.

Ibid., p. 1079.

Ibid., p. 1081: Sie kriegen die Frantzosen / Läuse und andere Kranckheit der Bettler...."

Ibid., p. 1081: "so wacht endlich das Gewissen auff / und sagt: Sihe / den und den Ehebruch hastu begangen / da und da hastu ein unschuldiges Mensch gefällt / sie umb ihre Ehr und Zucht gebracht / jetzt hastu einen ungnädigen Gott / und ewige Verdammnus gewiä! O Gott / wie wiltu bestehen? Das ist ein unaussprechlicher Schmertz / der zum Öffern einen Menschen dahin treibt / daß er in den letzten Zugen seine Hurenstücklein offenbaret / die er vor 20 Jahren begangen / wann es ihn nicht gar zur Verzweiflung bringt / daß er sich selbst umbringt...."

Ibid., p. 1086: "Weil man aber leider auff unser armes Predigen nichts gibet / man läßt uns den Hals abschretyen / so muß die Obrigkeit das ihrige auch darbey thun / dem Predigampt dapffer unter die Arm greiffen...."

Ibid., pp. 1086-1087: "Straffe / straffe / liebe Obrigkeit straffe / zeuch dein Schvert dapffer aus wider alle unzucht / straffe einen wie den andern / thustu es nit / so wird Gott die gantze Stadt straffen...wie wir es bisher mehr als gnug und gut ist / erfahren haben."
277  
Ibid., p. 1082: "Und weil dieses Gesetz zu dieser letzten Zeit leider abgangen / und man jetzt nur mit der Gänsegissel darüber fährt...."

278  
Dieterich, pp. 234-237; Safley, Let_No_Man_Put_Asunder, pp. 33-36, 131-132, 157-159.

279  
Hausstand, pp. 1104-1105.

280  
Ibid., p. 1107.

281  
Ibid., pp. 1107-1108.

282  
Ibid., p. 1106, 1114.

283  
Ibid., pp. 1105-1106.

284  
Ibid., pp. 1109-(1110).

285  
Ibid., p. 1109.

286  
Ibid., pp. 1108-1109.

287  
Sehling XII, ii, pp. 346-347: "Als sich bis anher oftermals zugetragen, das under den ehleuten eins von dem andern hinweggezogen und etlich zeit hernach die bleibende person sich anderverts widerumb verehlichet und etvan das beischlafen, auch zu zeiten die schwengerung hernach gefolgt, obgleich das gepliben ehegemecht nicht gründlich gewust oder glaubwürdig beweisen künden, das sein hingezog-ner, abwesender ehegemahel mit tod abgangen gewesen oder nicht, auch zue zeiten solcher hingezogner ehegemahel her-nach widerumb anhaimisch komen, darus dann allerai unrat, unruh, und weiterung erwachsen." Hausstand, p. (1110). For an example of the confusion this could create, see Natalie Zemon Davis, The_Return_of_Martin_Guerre (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

288  
Ibid., pp. 1092-1093.

289  
Ibid., pp. 1094-1095, 1107.

290  
Ibid., p. 1098.

291  
Ibid., pp. 1096-1097.

292  
Ibid., p. 1098; WA 30, III, 241, 24-29.

293  
Hausstand, p. 1098, 1101.
Chapter VI

1 For a discussion of this conflict, see Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984).

2 Dieterich, pp. 143-146.


6 KA 4. July 1653.

7 KA 5. June 1595.


15 RP 1. Apr. 1639.


E.g., KA 20. March 1614.


KA 20. May 1616.

Examples from Nördlingen include Ordnungs-Bücher (OB) 1612-1640, 137b-142a (wedding ordinance); OB 1641-1688, 315a-316b (dress).

Albrecht, Der_Hausstand, p. 843, 873.


Shorter, p. 177. But who was more "sacrificing" and thus, according to Shorter's logic, more "modern": the women who accepted the paid maternity leave or the male factory owners who offered it?

Ariès, Centuries_of_Childhood, p. 404.

Albrecht, Der_Hausstand, pp. 854-855.

RB qto. 615:32, 57-74 (Nov. 1712).

Shorter, pp. 142-144, 162-163.
## APPENDIX

### THE NÖRLINGEN FUNERAL SERMONS: SUBJECTS LIST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of sermon</th>
<th>Biographical information (including worth at time of death)</th>
<th>Author of sermon, funeral text</th>
<th>Call number (SA Nörd)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam, Anna Dorothea</td>
<td>25. June 1706</td>
<td>wife of Caspar (RB qto. 615:31)</td>
<td>Georg Matthäus Beckh; 1 Tim. 1:15</td>
<td>RB qto. 615:31 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam, Caspar</td>
<td>12. Dec. 1655</td>
<td>city council 1638-1655, Bürgermeister 1653; merchant; 56,000 fl.</td>
<td>Johann Marcell Westerfeld; Rom. 14:7-9</td>
<td>RB qto. 614:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam, Caspar</td>
<td>3. Sept. 1704</td>
<td>city council 1667-1704, Bürgermeister 1695; merchant; 4,000 fl.</td>
<td>Georg Matthäus Beckh; Rev. 2:10</td>
<td>RB qto. 615:31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam, Maria Magdalena</td>
<td>14. Oct. 1655</td>
<td>19 years old at death in childbirth</td>
<td>Christian Ernst; Gen. 3:16</td>
<td>Unbound LP qto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albrecht, Jacobina</td>
<td>27. March 1647</td>
<td>wife of Georg (superintendent)</td>
<td>Georg Hauff; Eze. 24:15-18</td>
<td>RB qto. 613:24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bäyren, Johann Caspar</td>
<td>20. Aug. 1695</td>
<td>minister</td>
<td>Georg Matthäus Beckh; 1 Cor. 2:9</td>
<td>RB qto. 615:25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Beckh, Catharina Barbara 17. Jan. 1701
wife of Georg Matthäus (minister)
Johann Heinrich Epplin; Gen. 48:2
RB qto. 615:29 1/2 (MS)

Matthäus Beckh 5. Nov. 1693
minister, father of G. M., retired 1692
Sigmund Weber; 2 Tim. 4:18
RB qto. 615:22

Bommeister, Barbara 1. Oct. 1637
wife of Georg (RB qto. 613, 18)
Georg Hauff; Eze. 24:15-18
RB qto. 613:22

Bommeister, Elisabeth 25. Oct. 1670
widow of Georg (RB qto. 613, 18)
Sigmund Kisling; Ps. 37:5
RB qto. 615:10

Bommeister, Georg 16. Apr. 1661
city council 1630-1661, Bürgermeister 1633; bureaucrat
in foreign employ; 14,600 fl.
Johann Marcell Westerfeld; Ps. 90:10
RB qto. 613:18

Brentel, Regina 20. July 1634
wife of Georg, Baumeister
Tobias Fabricius; Eze. 24:15-18
RB qto. 613:21

Dieterich, Anna Maria Aug. 1663
unknown
Christian Ernst; Ps. 50:15
RB qto. 620:4

Engelhardt, Georg Friederich 2. Sept. 1700
city council 1685-1700, Bürgermeister 1690; city
official, hospital superintendent; 4,200 fl.
Johann Daniel Haak; Isa. 61:10
RB qto. 651:398

Fisher, Anna 17. Dec. 1645
wife of David Fisher? sister-in-law of Johann Conrad
Gundelfinger (RB qto. 614:5)
Christian Ernst; Ps. 73:26-27
Unbound LP qto.

Fisher, David 18. July 1660
city court, merchant
Tobias Scheiblin; Phil. 1:23
Unbound LP qto.
Flanser, Joachim 9. Oct. 1587
city council c. 1552-1587; 2,500 fl.
Melchior Fabricius; Sirach 41:13
Unbound LP qto.

Franck, Friderich 3. Dec. 1628
minister
Stephan Wechsler; Gen. 6:9
RB qto. 613:6

Frickinger, Adam 6. April. 1657
city council 1616-1652; Bürgermeister 1631; cloth merchant; 15,000 fl.
J. M. Westerfeld; 1 Kings 19:4
RB qto. 613:17

Frickinger, Anna Rosina 23. May 1700
widow of Johann Christoph, city official
Caspar Weng; Ps. 17:15
RB fol. 651:237

Frickinger, Maria 25. Feb. 1674
widow of Adam, cloth merchant
Tobias Scheiblin; John 2:10
Unbound LP qto.

Glotseis, Johann 14. April 1649
physician
Christian Ernst; Mark 2:17
RB qto. 613:15

Graf, Wolfgang 27. Sept. 1608
magistrate
Friderich Frank; Ps. 90:12-13
RB qto. 613:5

Gundelfinger, Daniel 24. Jan. 1638
city council 1634-1638; 10,000 fl.
Tobias Scheiblin; John 3:16
RB qto. 613:11

Gundelfinger, Heinrich Gottfried 15. May 1671
lawyer, city council
J. M. Westerfeld; Ps. 31:16
RB qto. 614:8

Gundelfinger, Johann Conrad 7. Jan. 1670
city official; city council 1634-1670; Bürgermeister 1661; 8,200 fl.
J. M. Westerfeld; Gal. 2:20
RB qto. 614:5
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Birth/Death Details</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gundelfinger, Johann Conrad</td>
<td>29. Sept. 1633</td>
<td>city official; city council 1631-1633; Bürgermeister 1631; 3,600 fl.</td>
<td>Stephan Wechsler; 2 Sam. 19:27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Güntzler, Veit Ulrich</td>
<td>11. Oct. 1699</td>
<td>hospital master</td>
<td>G. M. Beckh; Wis. 3:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haas, Johann Caspar</td>
<td>29. July 1690</td>
<td>son of Johann Caspar, larger city council, braid maker</td>
<td>Michael Schustern; no text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hauff, Barbara</td>
<td>April 1623</td>
<td>widow of Georg, minister at Carmelite Church</td>
<td>Tobias Fabricius; John 8:51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hauff, Georg</td>
<td>1. April 1623</td>
<td>minister at Carmelite Church; father of Georg Hauff, assistant pastor at St. George; retired 1620</td>
<td>Tobias Fabricius; Ps. 92:13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hauff, Georg</td>
<td>12. Oct. 1660</td>
<td>assistant pastor at St. George</td>
<td>Christian Ernst; Ps. 92:13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hauff, Margaretha</td>
<td>8. April 1649</td>
<td>wife of Georg, assistant pastor at St. George</td>
<td>Caspar Epplin; Matt. 13:45-46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herrenschmid, Gottfried</td>
<td>25. Feb. 1640</td>
<td>city secretary</td>
<td>Caspar Epplin; Rev. 14:13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heyder, Anna</td>
<td>24. Aug. 1624</td>
<td>wife of Caspar, Bürgermeister (RB qto. 613:7)</td>
<td>Georg Hauff; Rom. 8:18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Heyder, Caspar  
21. April 1629  
apothecary; city council 1598-1629; Bürgermeister 1606;  
33,500 fl.  
Georg Hauff; John 3:16  
RB qto. 613:7

Hilbrand, Johann Friderich  
26. June 1690  
city official; city council 1652-1690; Bürgermeister  
1683; 10,400 fl.  
J. D. Haak; 2 Sam. 7:18  
RB qto. 615:16

Jerg, Johann Baptist  
18. Oct. 1639  
taverner; city council 1606-1639; 19,600 fl.  
Jacob Herrenschmidt; Luke 2:29-32  
RB qto. 613:13

Jörg, Michael  
2. May 1668  
taverner  
Sigmund Kisling; Job 16:22  
RB qto. 615:7

Kyllinger, Dorothea  
6. Jan. 1616  
21 at death, unmarried  
Tobias Fabricius; Rom. 8:38-39  
Unbound LP qto.

Killinger, Jacob  
17. Sept. 1646  
lawyer  
Georg Albrecht; Isa. 26:21  
RB qto 613:14

Knebel, Magdalena Dorothea  
30. Dec. 1711  
child  
J. M. Welsch; Jer. 6:26  
RB fol. 651:612

Mayr, Paul  
29. April 1590  
unknown  
Friderich Franck; Sir. 40:1  
Unbound LP qto.

Mondtbach, Maria  
23. June 1617  
wife of merchant  
Georg Heyl; Job 14:5  
RB qto. 613:20

Rehmen, Elisabeth  
2. Nov. 1644  
wife of Johann Lorentz, city council, lawyer (RB qto.  
615:14)  
Tobias Scheiblin; 1 Chron. 30:15  
RB qto. 615:5
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Occupation, Additional Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rehmen, Johann Lorentz</td>
<td></td>
<td>lawyer; city council; Sigmund Weber; Phil. 3:20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reusner, Walburg</td>
<td>16. Jan. 1621</td>
<td>unknown; Friderich Franck; Ps. 116:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reutter, Johann</td>
<td>22. Jan. 1587</td>
<td>cloth merchant; city council c. 1542-1587; Bürgermeister c. 1549; 6,000 fl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rieger, Anna Maria</td>
<td>20. March 1655</td>
<td>wife of Philip, apothecary; Christian Ernst; Luke 23:46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romul, Johann Friderich</td>
<td>13. March 1689</td>
<td>lawyer; J. D. Haak; Col. 11:14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romul, Wilhelm Friderich</td>
<td>17. June 1682</td>
<td>city official; city council 1638-1640, 1656-1682; Bürgermeister 1656; 10,400 fl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roth, Johann</td>
<td>2. Feb. 1625</td>
<td>unknown; Georg Hauff; Luke 2:25-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Röttinger, Sebastian</td>
<td>11. May 1608</td>
<td>lawyer; Friderich Franck; Isa. 45:6-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheuring, Caspar</td>
<td>5. July 1609</td>
<td>unknown; Melchior Fabricius; Eph. 2:19-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schmid, Appolonia</td>
<td>1. Oct. 1601</td>
<td>wife of Balthasar, fine-cloth weaver; Gottlieb Regner; Ps. 128:5-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Schöpperlin, Georg Wilhelm 9. April 1703
organist; city council 1673-1703; Bürgermeister 1690;
14,000 fl.
Caspar Weng; 1 Sam 25:1
RB qto. 615:20

Seefried, Barbara 7. Nov. 1659
wife of Johann Adam, city court
Tobias Scheiblin; Ps. 73:25-26
RB qto. 614:15

Seefried, Johann Georg 4. Dec. 1672
merchant; city council 1633-1672; Bürgermeister 1648;
9,000 fl.
J. M. Westerfeld; Ps. 4:9
RB qto. 614:6

Seng, Matthäus 16. Nov. 1636
ironmonger; city council 1633-1636; 3,000 fl.
Caspar Epplin; Luke 2:29-30
Unbound LP qto.

Seng, Peter 12. May 1589
ironmonger? city council 1550-1589; Bürgermeister c.
1567; 10,600 fl.
W. F. Lutz; no text
RB qto. 613:2

Späth, Johann Georg 17. July 1696
schoolteacher
G. M. Beckh; Dan. 12:3
RB qto. 615:26

Steinler, Elisabeth 5. Dec. 1658
widow of Georg, Bürgermeister of Bopfingen
Tobias Scheiblin; Ps. 73:25-26
RB qto. 614:17

Wanner, Johann Ulrich 31. May 1697
unknown
G. M. Beckh; John 5:24
RB qto. 615:28

Wechsler, Stephan 29. Dec. 1633
24 at death
Tobias Fabricius; Tob. 10:4-7
RB qto. 617:14

Wechsler, Stephan 17. Dec. 1635
minister
Jacob Herrenschmidt; Acts 6:8
RB qto. 613:9
Welsch, Jacobina Regina 8. Nov. 1700
wife of Johann Melchior, city physician (RB qto 615:32)
Caspar Weng; Ps. 42:2-3
RB qto. 615:18

Welsch, Johann Melchior 18. Aug. 1648
city captain; city council 1634-1648; Bürgermeister
1646; 18,000 fl.
J. M. Westerfeld; Hebr. 12:22-24
RB qto. 613:16

Welsch, Johann Melchior 15. July 1690
city physician
Sigmund Weber; John 8:51
RB qto. 617:15

Welsch, Johann Melchior 4. Nov. 1712
city physician
G. M. Beckh; Phil. 1:21, 23
RB qto. 615:32

Welsch, Margareta 5. Dec. 1638
wife of Johann Melchior, city captain (RB qto. 613:16)
Caspar Epplin; Mark 13:32-37
RB qto. 613:23

Welsch, Maria Ursula 3. April 1697
wife of Johann Melchior, city physician (RB qto. 617:15); daughter of J. M. Westerfeld, superintendent
J. E. Schmid; Ps. 4:4
RB qto. 617:16

Weltz, Sigmund Moriz von 29. April 1673
imperial official
J. H. Epplin; Rev. 19:9
RB qto. 615:12

Weng, Anna Catharina 6. Jan. 1671
daughter of G. F. Weng, city council; 14 at death
J. H. Epplin; Ps. 131
RB qto. 615:11

Weng, Caspar minister
J. M. Welsch; Matt. 25:23
RB qto. 615:21

Weng, Euphrosina
wife of Georg Friderich, assessor
J. H. Epplin; Ps 31:10-11
RB qto. 615:9
Weng, Georg Friderich 20. Jan. 1695
bureaucrat in foreign employ; city council 1648-1695;
Bürgermeister 1673; 15,400 fl.
J. D. Haak; Ps. 90:11
RB qto. 615:17

Weng, Georg Friderich 24. June 1702
city council
J. H. Epplin; 1 John 1:7
RB qto. 615:19

Weng, Johanna Barbara 5. June 1684
unknown
Sigmund Weber; Gen. 35:16-20
RB qto. 615:15

Westerfeld, Johann Marcell 24. Feb. 1678
superintendent
J. H. Epplin; Ps. 73:23
RB qto. 614:9

Westerfeld, Margaret 7. April 1666
wife of Johann Marcell, superintendent
Sigmund Kisling; Ps. 25:17-18
RB qto. 615:6

Westerfeld, Maria Susanna 4. Feb. 1656
wife of Johann Marcell, superintendent
Sigmund Kisling; Ps. 68
RB qto 617:25

Widenmann, Caspar 1604
judge
Melchior Fabricius; 2 Chron. 19:6
RB qto. 613:3

Widenmann, Daniel 9. March 1638
merchant; city council 1638; 18,000 fl.
Caspar Epplin; Dan. 12:13
RB qto. 613:12

Widenmann, Georg 13. May 1637
merchant; city council 1629-1637; 21,000 fl.
Tobias Scheiblin; 2 Kings 20:1-3
RB qto 613:10

Wünsch, Martin 26. Oct. 1674
city official; city council 1640-1674; 5,000 fl.
J. H. Epplin; Phil. 1:21
RB qto 617:26
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary sources — Stadtarchiv Nördlingen

(i) Bound volumes:

Konsistorialakten: 1585-1667 (KA)
Leichenpredigten: RB qto. 613-20; RB fol. 651
Ratsprotokolle: 1580-1700 (RP)

(ii) Unbound material:

Akten Deutsche Schulen
Kirchendienerakten
Leichenpredigten

B. Primary sources — devotional literature

Albrecht, Berhard. Hauss und Kirchengstet: Das ist:/
AuBerlegene Andächtige Gebet und Danckseagungen:/
auff jede Tag der wochen:/ Item auff die fürnemete/
Fest und Zeiten im Jahr:/ Desgleichen auff alle/
begebende Fall in den Menschenlichen Leben:/ beedes/
für Junge und Alte:/ Gesunde und Krankte:/ ausser/
und inner dem Creutz:/ dabeim zu Hauss:/ und in der/
Kirchen:/ nützlich und heilsamlich zu gebrauchen.
Ulm, 1620. (SSb Augs oct., Th. Pr. 42)

________. Reißbüchlein Für die Jugend:/ so an fremdbe Ort/
verschickct wird:/ Item für Handelsleut und andere/
reisende Personen:/ in viel weg nützlich zu/
gebrauchen. Leipzig, 1622. (SSb Augs duo. 1059, Th.
Pr. 43)

Albrecht, Georg. Beicht-Spiegel:/ derinnen:/ Eine/
sonderbare Beicht-Form (so meistentheils in den/
Evangelischen Kirchen gebräuchlich ist) vorgetragen/
/ selbige von Wort zu Wort erklärt:/ und dabei/
notwendiger Unterricht gethehen wird. Nördlingen,
1671. (SA Nörd oct. 1459, 2)

________. Bibliecher Buß-Alter:/ Das ist:/Zehen Predigten/
/In welchen die nützliche:/ und zu dieser Zeit mehr/
notwendige Lehr von der Buß ordenlich und einfältig
also erklärt wird, daβ jede Predigt aus besonderen Büchern H. Schrifft genommen ist... Nördlingen, 1671. (SA Nörd oct. 1459, 1)

-------- Fluch ABC/...Das ist: Christlicher/ Theologischer Bericht/...von dem grauenen Fluchen und Gottselmitern. Onolzbach, 1672. (SA Nörd oct. 14 59, 4)

-------- Gaudium super omne Gaudium. Freyd über alle Freyd! Das ist /Grundliche und anmutige Erklärung deß Freydenreichen Artickels von dem Evigen Leben in fünfundseibzig Predigten... Schwäbisch Hall, 1645. (SA Nörd oct. 1453)

-------- Hierarchia Oeconomica: Das ist: Der Haue-Stand/ Aus sonderbar Biiblichen Texten/. in fünf und Siebenzig unterschiedlichen Predigten... Nürnberg, 1657. (SSb Augs oct.)

-------- Ein kurzer doch gründlicher Unterricht /Wie man sich zur Beicht bereiten soll. In einer Catechismus-Predigt/...über das fünfte Haupt-Stück Von der Beicht... N. p., 1697. (SA Nörd oct. 1460, 2)


-------- Seelige Sterbdkunft/...bev geschwinden und gefährlichen Sterbenblüfften/...der Evangelischen Pfarr-Gemein zu Geildorff/...aus dem ersten Verseucl deß Sterbzeuges/...Wann mein Stündlein vorhanden ist/...u. in zwölf unterschiedlichen Predigten deutlich und treulich vorgetragen. Nürnberg, 1649. (SA Nörd oct. 1455)

Ambach, Melchior. Von Ehrbruch und höreney/...wie ernstlich und strengle Gott dieselbige Verpotten und alveg gestrafft. Frankfurt, 1543. (WLB Theol. qto. 6732)

Arndt, Johannes. Paradies-Gärlein: Voller Christlicher Tugenden/...wie dieselbige in die Seele zupflantzen/...Durch endächtige/...lehrhaffte und treuliche Gebet/...zu erneuerung deß Bildes Gottes/...zur ubung deß
wahren lebendigen Christenthums zu erweckung deß neuen geistlichen Lebens zur Dankbarkeit für allerley Wohlthaten Gottes zum Trost im Gruß und Trübeal zur Heiligung Lab und Preis des Namens Gottes. Straßburg, 1625. (SSb Augs qto., Th. Pr. 72)

Paradis-Gärlein, in erbaulicher, geistreicher und mit leuter bekannten Melodien versehene Lieder zur Beförderung der Hauss-Andacht abgefaßt. Nürnberg, 1745. (SSb Augs Th. Pr. 102)

Vier Bücher von wahren Christenthumb/ Heiligamer Buße/ hertzlicher Reue und Leidt über die Sünde/ wahren Gläuben/ auch Heiligem Leben und Wandel der rechten wahren Christen. Straßburg, 1626. (SSb Augs qto., Th. Pr. 72)


--------. Götliche_Liebes-Flamme: Das ist / Andachten // Gebet // und Seufzer // Über Das Königliche Braut-Lied Salomonis... Nürnberg, 1664. (SSb Augs Th. Pr. 604)


Ehrenhold, Johann Damian. Reiflich betrachtete // und Christmuthig verachtete Eitelkeit // Die nichtig und flüchtigen Welt-Wesens:... Altenburg, 1676. (SSb Augs Th. Pr. 256,1)


Enalin, Johann Theodor. Catechismus der Krankchen. Nördlingen, 1674. (SA Nörd duo. 305,2)

--------. Christliche Reim-Gebet // in Krankheit und Todte-Notth nutzlich zu gebruchhen. Nördlingen, 1659. (SA Nörd duo. 305,8)

--------. Senator Conscientiosus: Oder_Gewissenhafter Rathe-Herr:... Nördlingen, 1668. (SSb Augs oct., Th. Pr.)


--------. LIII. Lechpredigten // aus dem Alten Testament genomm // geprediget zu Halberstadt im Sterben // da die Pestilentz regiert // und folgende in druck verfertigt:... Ulssen, 1580. (WLB Theol qto. 2325)


Irenaeus, Christoph. Beweis Ause Gottes Wort und Schriften / Lutheri. I. Das wir Menschen auch nach dem Fall, nicht dem Teufels / sondern Gottes Geschöpfe oder / Creaturen sein. II. Das wir nun nach dem Fall / ausser der Gnaden / Christo / Glauben / und / Widergeburt für Creaturen Gottes exist. III. Das Gott / nicht ein Ursacher oder Stifter der Sünden war / ob / er gleich aus verderbten / sündlichen Eltern /
Von der Kinderzucht, Woher es kommt, das die Jugend heut zu Tage so verderbet, und wie man sie recht, wol und Christlich erziehen soll.
Leipzig, 1609. (WLB Theol. qto. 3573)

Seelenschätz. Das ist: Gründlicher Bericht aus Gottes Wort, Christlich zu leben und seliglich zu sterben.
Jena, 1595. (SSb Augs Th. Pr. 1263)


Kramer, Nicodemus. Der Steg und Weg zum ewigen Leben. Wie man zum seligen Sterben sich bereitet und mit wahren trost und glauben wider das Todeszwecken durch den Tod zum Leben dringen sol.
Leipzig, 1600. (SSb Augs Th. Pr. 1422)

Nördlingen, 1676. (SA Nörd duo. 301)

Lavater, H. Ludwig. Schriftmässiger Bericht Von Gespenstern, Nachgeister und mancherley vünderreichen Erscheinungen und merkwürdigen Vorbedeutungen.
Zürich, 1680. (SSb Augs Th. Pr. 256,4)

Matthesius, Johann. Vom Ehestandt und Hauswesen. Fünftzehen Hochzeitpredigten.
N. p., (1564). (WLB Theol. qto. 4519)

Nürnberg, 1565. (WLB Theol. qto. 4519)

Leuth Predigten Johannis Matthesii, Ander theil.
Nürnberg, 1565. (WLB Theol. qto. 4519)

Deconomia Oder bericht, wie sich ein Haußvatter halten soll.
Nürnberg, 1561. (WLB Theol. qto. 4524)
Melisander, Kaspar. *Ehebüchlein_ für Christliche,
Eheleute_ und sonderlich für junge Gesellen und
Jungfrauen.* Nürnberg, 1596. (SSb Augs Th. Pr. 1727)

Moller, Martin. *Manuale de preparatione ad mortem._
Heldame und sehr nützliche Betrachtung_ wie ein
Mensch Christlich leben_ und Seliglich sterben_ sol.
Görlitz, (1608). (WLB Theol. oct., 12374)

MÜllmann, Johannes. *Nucleus Oeconomiae Christianae, &
Speculum verae Poenitentiae. Das ist_ Acht Christ-
licher Haushaltung_ Anweisung rechtlicher Nahrung_-
und Spiegel wahrer Bussa. In Neun_und zwanzig-
Wochen-Predigten_ mit vielen Historien bäuerlich-
aus der hebräischen Sprache hergeführten Gleich-
nischen aufgeleget...* Leipzig, 1629. (WLB Theol.
qto. 4884)

Münster, Johann von. *Tractatus Von Ehlichen Verlöhnnussen_-
und wie darinnen Rechtlich zu procediren: eb._/aus-
Gottes-Wort_ auch Keuerlichen_ und Bäuerlichen-
Rechten zusammen getragen_ und vielen Gottseligen-
unverlobten Jungen Leutzen_ wie dann auch damel-
ben Eltern zum Bericht_ Lehr_ Trost_ und beider-
seiten schuldigerpflicht erinnerung aufs Papier_-
gebracht...* Hanau, 1598. (WLB Kirch. R. oct. 807)

------. *Tractatus de Polytelkniac, pedagogia, ditandia_,
et dotandia liberal. Das ist: Von Vielheit_/
Erziehung_ Reichtum_ und Außestern der Kinder_/
In Form Eines Christlichen Gespräche zuwer frmern_
Eheleute_ welche mit vielen Kindern von Gott gemäg-
heimgesucht seins_ Allen Gottseligen_ und
Kinderreichen Ehegenossen_ auch Wittben_ und
sonet frmern Haupleuten und ihrem Erben_ zum
Trost _ und Unterricht_ aus Bibliographie und
Herzlichen Historien und Sprüchen zusammen getragen_/
und gestellt durch J.v.M. * Hanau, 1595. (WLB
Misc. oct. 1989)

Negelein, Paul. *Vom Burgerlichen Stande_ Welcher masses_-
derselebe in behalben Wesen erhalten_ und was_-
derzu gehörig_ auch wie der widerumb zu schaden_und_
untergang gerathen möge. Mit einmischung allerhend-
zum Burgerlichen Leben_ erproblichen Exempeln_/
Lehr und Sprüchen_ samt etlichen notwendigen_-
Fragen.* Amberg, 1608. (WLB Pol. oct. 3718)


______. *Trostbühlelein Allerhand betrübten und angefochtenen Personen /_ sonderlich aber Kranken- Leuten nützlich zugebrauchen._ Strasburg, 1588. (WLB Theol. oct. 12827)


Ouv, Wolfgang. *Nothwendige Erinnerung vom Mißbrauch der Kleyder.... Hamburg, 1663. (SSb Augs 1956)


gemeine Auflageung des ganzen Catechismi: Der andere aber ein Special Erklärung aller und jeder Hauptstücken dieselbigen begreiffet. Tübingen, 1599. (WLB Theol. qto. 5477)

Pistor, Jeremias. Ein Christliche HochzeitPredig./ Derinnen angegeben vurt./ was für ein Christlich Eheleib./ anzusehen./ auch wessen sich beyde Eheleuten inn dem Hauptragemendt./ gegen einander verhalten sollen. Tübingen, 1579. (WLB Theol. qto. 6371)


15532)

_______. Drey Gülde,ene Kleinod, / Chrihtlicher Ebeneute.
N.p., 1597. (SSb Augs Th. Pr. 2215)

Schierstab, Joh. Philipp. Speculum conjugale.Das ist:
Christlicher Ehe- und Haupepiegel / in zehn
unterschiedene ketzte Tractälein abgetheillet und
verfasset: Jedermännlich / so vol inn- als auher
der Ehe nützlich zu lesen / und nothwendig
zuziehen. Nürnberg, 1614. (SSb Augs Th. Pr. 2315)

Schöne Christliche Gebebt und erinnerung bey Krancken und
Sterbenden Menschen / sehr nützlich und tröstlich zu
gebrauchen. Augsburg, 1611. (SSb Augs Th. Pr. 241)

Schottel, Justus Georg. Grauern Beschreibung und
Vorstellung der Höll und der Hülfen Qoval, / Oder
Des andern und ewigen Todes. Wolfenbüttel, 1676.
(SSb Augs Th. Pr. 2375)

_______. Sonderbare Vorstellung / Wie es mit Leib und
Seel des Menschen werde Kurz vor dem Tode / In dem
Tode / und nach dem Tode bewandt seyn.
Braunschweig, 1675. (SSb Augs Th. Pr. 2377, 2375)

Schul-Gebett und Kinder Seuffzerlein Vor die Liebe
Schul-Jugend / Solce Täglich / vornehmlich in diesen
höchst gefährlichen Krieges-Zeiten / und weitaus-
sehenden sorglichen Läuffen / zu Gott / um Rettung
aus so grosser und schwerer Not . . . . Nördlingen,
1703. (SA Nörd dua. 284, 2)

Schupp, Joh. Balthasar. Corinna Die Erbaren und schein-
heilige Hure. Beschreiben und allen Unkeuschen,
Leuten zur Wernung vorgestellt. Leipzig, 1660 (rpt.
11428.

Spangenberg, Cyrus. Die Christliche Haustafel / Wie sich
ein gulsch Gottseelig Menschen in seinem stand und
beruff / nach Gottes willen rechtschaffen halten
solle . . . . Wittemberg, 1558. (WLB Theol. oct. 16797)

_______. Die erste Epistle Sanct Pauli en Timotheum
außgelegt und gepredigt / durch N. Cyriacum
Spangenberg, Hierinnen findest du auch Christlicher
Leser / ein Ordentliche Historia / vom Büstlichen
Celibat / Eheverbote / und Spießverbote. Strasbourg,
1559. (WLB Theol. oct., 16795)
Secondary literature and collections


"Der Unterricht des Volkes in den katechetischen Hauptstücken am Ende des Mittelalters." Historisch-politishe Blätter für das katholische Deutschland 108 (1891), 553-60; 109 (1892), 81-95.

Falk, Friedrich. "Luthers Schrift an die Ratsherren der deutschen Städte und ihre geistliche Wirkung auf die deutsche Schule." Luther-Jahrbuch 19 (1937), 55-114.


Wiencke, Gustav K. "How Luther Wanted the Catechism Used." *The Lutheran Quarterly* 20 (1947), 47-64.
