

September Luther Studies:

The Prefaces to the Large Catechism

(in *The Book of Concord*, ed. Wengert and Kolb, pp. 379-86)

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ELCA Presiding Bishop Elizabeth Eaton has asked that we make 2016 the “year of the catechism.” Accordingly, Virginia Synod Bishop James Mauney has asked that as we approach the anniversary year of 2017 our 8 monthly Luther studies in 2015-16 focus on Luther’s *Large Catechism*. This is a text which became foundational in the Lutheran theological tradition by its incorporation into the 1580 *Book of Concord*.^[1] ¹

The word, *catechism*, denotes the pedagogy of “learning by repetition.” We make fun nowadays of leaning by repetition; we call it learning “by rote” and dismiss it as mindless drudgery. For many of us older ones, it brings back unhappy, even painful memories of memorization: of multiplication tables, of the Table of Periodic Elements, of conjugations of verbs or declensions of nouns in foreign languages, and so on. How much more exciting to learn by experience, to experience new things and forget the old!

Yet, learning by repetition is the very process of *habituation* that the ancients called *paideia*; it was a holistic form of training mind, desire and bodily behavior under a mentor, much as athletes still train today under coaches. If the scholars are right, this was also the form of learning in the rabbinic schools, where pupils were also disciples, as reflected in the memorization of Jesus’ sayings among of disciples at the earliest, oral stage of Christian tradition. It is no accident, then, that from the beginning, and building upon its Jewish antecedents (Luther explicitly quotes Deuteronomy 6:7-8), the church saw in catechesis the appropriate pedagogy for socializing the newcomer (and the young as also newcomers) into the faith “so that [God’s Word] may penetrate deeply into [pupils’] minds and remain fixed in their memories,” as Luther puts it.

By the same reasoning, Luther retained liturgical worship to sing Sunday after Sunday the words of God into hearts and minds until they would become second nature. Indeed, Luther’s *Small Catechism* is one that can be *prayed* – just as Luther meant it to be recited in the household devotions, which he regarded as a form of the church.^[2] *Lex orandi, lex credendi*: the rule of

^[1] We will be following the contemporary translation edited by Robert Kolb and Timothy Wengert; Wengert, by the way, has published a helpful analysis, *Martin Luther’s Catechisms: Forming the Faith* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009), which might be consulted for further study.

^[2] Ronald W. Roschke, “A Catechism of Luther’s Catechisms,” p. 70; Dennis Ngien, “Theology and Practice of Prayer in Luther’s Devotional and Catechetical Writings,” p. 45.

prayer is the rule of faith and vice versa. Adapted for Christian purposes, catechesis, whether liturgical or pedagogical, is the process of in-forming faith with texts of Scripture, the matrix of faith, which work by the Spirit to re-form the mind's ideas about God and self and so re-direct the desires of the heart.

This memorization is foundational; "it is not enough for them simply to learn and repeat these parts verbatim," but this catechetical repetition should empower the learner to give a "good, correct answer when they are questioned." For Luther, that testing is not just passing an oral exam in school or on confirmation day, but rather it is for testing in the school of life. Catechism enables one to know and confess Jesus Christ as one's hope in thick and thin. This content, as we shall see, is literally central in Luther's catechesis.

It is instructive to note in this connection how the Mercersburg Reformed theologian of the 19th century, John Nevin, in a trenchant critique of revivalism in his essay, *The Anxious Bench*,^[3] pointedly asked the Gettysburg Lutheran theologian Samuel Schmucker who had adopted revivalism, "Why are you still Lutheran?" Nevin went on to endorse and elaborate as the alternative to revivalism "the catechetical method." Deep reflection, indeed self-examination on this question here in the Bible Belt (which is surely everywhere in the USA outside of New York and Boston) ought to accompany our study this year!

As surely, the *Large Catechism*, by contrast to the *Small Catechism*, has its doxological moments, but it can hardly be prayed. It is an *argumentative* treatise, warranting and explicating *the claims to truth* (which Luther variously called assertions, articles of faith, or confessional topics) embedded in those foundational texts memorized in the catechetical tradition: the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer and The Ten Commandments. In this sequence, Luther inherited the selection of these texts from the ecumenical tradition as a minimal summation of the knowledge necessary to the adult convert preparing for baptism.

Indeed, catechesis originated in the ancient church as instruction for neophytes preparing for baptism. Luther not only retrieves the content of catechism but also this "situation in life" as the motive for Christian learning in the *Large Catechism*, obscured in Christendom where the practice of infant baptism is universal. Rather than leave catechetical methodology behind in the *Large Catechism*, as indiscriminate baptism of infants often meant, Luther extended it into adulthood, arguing for what today we call "life-long learning." As baptism and being a Christian is a matter of life, life-long learning and increasingly sophisticated theological reflection need accompany.

[3] *Catholic And Reformed: Selected Theological Writings Of John Williamson Nevin* ed. C. Yrigoyen, Jr. and G. H. Bricker (Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1978).

Indeed, Luther as much as insists that no one can master the catechism in a life time. In the fog and friction of spiritual struggle against our sinful selves, the world and the devil, one is always learning anew the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.

For Luther, we go forward in the Christian life always by returning to the beginning, where the beginning is baptism into Christ's death and resurrection. In this context, let us note, doctrine is not theory, doctrine for doctrine's sake, neither dead dogma abstracted from life and preserved in a museum nor speculative theory that goes beyond the basics to soar to unknown worlds. As catechetical instruction for baptism, Christian doctrine is instruction for new life in Christ; as baptism inaugurates the life of God's new creation into the midst of a still hostile and unredeemed world, the baptized learn what God requires of them, who God is and what God does for them, how then they are to persevere in trial and testing: "we must have it every day in order to stand against the daily and incessant attacks and ambushes of the devil with his thousand arts."

As Christian faith is never something that occurs naturally to us, it must be learned – again and again and again. "All the prophets and all the saints have had to learn it, but they have always remained pupils, and they must continue to be so." This is so because the Word of God is always event for us, never something we master and leave behind, but rather the saving event that masters us –again and again-- in life and in death.

At the very center of Luther's *Large Catechism* is his account of how Jesus Christ has become "my Lord." (In this light, one might well wonder what is happening *doctrinally* in the ELW's liturgical deletion of the salutation, "The Lord be with you"). Jesus becoming our Lord as the saving event which overtakes us, like Saul on the road to Damascus -- *this is the* Word of God catechesis aims to teach us. "The advantage of Luther's Catechism as a life book—and not so much a text book—will only show well in succeeding to pull Christian faith deeply into life and conversely to immerse life in the fountain of Christian Faith."^[4]

The stewardship of this event is entrusted "especially to us who want to be pastors and preachers." Their auditors, that is, the rest of the Christian community, also has their responsibility, namely, to support this public ministry of Word and Sacrament, and further, critically to judge its fidelity by the same knowledge of the same catechism. The pastoral ministry is the community's ministry *to* Word and Sacrament; it sees to it that this comprehensive and inexhaustible event of learning God centered in Christ is and remains central to this community's way of life in the world.

The painful deficit in regard to pastoral ministry that was unveiled during the Saxon Visitation of 1528 propelled Luther into the composition of the *Large Catechism* for the remedial instruction of pastors. The *Large Catechism* is accordingly addressed especially to preachers responsible for the ministration of Word and Sacrament. Luther does not mince words judging lazy and

^[4] Klaas Zwanepol, "The Structure and Dynamics of Luther's Catechism," *Acta Theologica* 2011 31/2 p. 408.

negligent preachers who have not cracked a theological book or striven to grow theologically since graduation from seminary. He says such preachers in fact exploit their parishioners, “living off the fat of the land,” acting more as “swineherds and keepers of dogs than guardians of souls and pastors.” As Nevin asked the revivalist Schmucker why he was still a Lutheran, I would ask today, Why pay for a learned ministry if ministers themselves despise theological learning and neglect theological teaching in ministry?

Of course, this sharp judgment also falls on lazy and negligent auditors, who demand that pastors be cheerleaders and hand-holders and CEOs and glad-handers –anything but ministers of Word and Sacrament. This turn away from catechesis creates a vacuum in the congregation; this vacuum is filled with a bundle of contradictory expectations from the culture that rip poor pastors to pieces. If congregations do not expect their pastors to be learned in Scripture and Christian doctrine, apt teachers who are encouraged and given time to study so that parishioners can in turn be taught Jesus as saving Lord, why are they surprised when pastors act like feckless politicians, if not Luther’s lazy bellies rather than guardians of souls and pastors of flocks? Perhaps they don’t *want* to be one flock under one shepherd engaged in battle with sin, death and the power of the devil.

As mentioned, Luther inherited from the ecumenical past the three parts of the catechism, the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer and the Ten Commandments, in that order, “the three parts that have been in Christendom from ancient days,” a “brief summary and digest of the entire Holy Scriptures.” These three texts “contain what every Christian should know.” Indeed, he continues, “anyone who does not know [the catechism] should not be numbered among Christians or admitted to any sacrament.”

For the radical hospitality of the God of the gospel consists in holy baptism, the bath that washes the newcomer in preparation for the meal on the way to the Messianic feast to come. And this radical hospitality is at work by the Spirit in the catechetical transformation of the mind’s ideas about God and self and world and the reform of the heart’s desires that attends the gospel knowledge of God.

That is the sense, by the way, of the old custom of catechetical instruction prior to admission to the Lord’s Table. In a church that baptizes infants, the catechesis that adults would have received is postponed until the child can understand and answer for itself. Then it can be admitted to the sacrament, when it knowingly and publically can confirm its baptism. While we do not follow this custom legalistically, we should appreciate its rationale: catechesis is preparation for baptism as baptism is preparation for the Lord’s Supper as the Lord’s Supper is preparation for the Messianic feast to come. These preparations are matters today of life-long learning.

Within this ecumenical tradition and consensus concerning the Commandments, the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer, Luther innovates in one simple but profound stroke. As Luther grasps that as catechesis is instruction for the life of the baptized, he sees that the new and Christian life proceeds *in the sequence* from death to sin to resurrection to newness of life, from cross to new

creation. He accordingly re-organizes the sequence of teaching the traditional texts to reflect this law-gospel theologic.^[5] The traditional sequence, Creed, Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments suggested that the Christian dogma led to a new law and a superior piety, in which believers make themselves worthy of grace. Luther's new sequence, Ten Commandments, Creed, Lord's Prayer (and the sacraments, which he also added here), suggest, as we shall see, that Christian life is the effect of God's new creative command in which God makes believers become in power what they already are in principle.

Thus the Commandments detailing what the Creator expects of His creatures precedes in order to show the lost human state of impotence and need; working despair of the existing self by the demands of the law is God's holy work, as the Judge already now anticipating the Last Day. It brings about a "terrifying" realization, yet one that is effected for the sake of an infinitely more consoling realization, namely, of what God gives in creation, its redemption and fulfillment, as summarized in the Creed. Now the Creed is no longer an unintelligible revealed dogma taken on ecclesiastical authority, but gospel telling God at work re-creating the lost world. Thus gifted with new life, "sanctification," is not a new legalism or pietism, a renewed attempt to make oneself worthy of grace. Such an endeavor would in fact be a fall from grace, turning a gift into a merited reward. Rather, grace ever remains an utterly free gift and event through the twists and turns of life from baptism day to resurrection day. Sanctification in this light is itself grace at work, understood and explicated as *holy secularity*: daily life *in the world* lived consciously and conscientiously before God, the Father in heaven, in unity with His Son at whose invitation believers pray, in the power of their Spirit, as we shall see in detail in coming installments.

So much by way of preface.

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^[5] Ronald W. Roschke, "A Catechism of Luther's Catechisms," p.70-71.

Martin Luther's Preface

It is not for trivial reasons that we constantly treat the catechism and exhort and implore others to do the same, for we see that unfortunately many preachers and pastors³ are very negligent in doing so and thus despise both their office and this teaching. Some do it out of their great learnedness, while others do so out of pure laziness and concern for their bellies. They approach the task as if they were pastors and preachers for their stomachs' sake and had nothing to do but live off the fat of the land, as they were used to doing under the papacy.

Everything that they are to teach and preach is now so very clearly and easily presented in so many salutary books, which truly deliver what the other manuals promised in their titles: "Sermons That Preach Themselves," "Sleep Soundly," "Be Prepared," and "Thesaurus." Yet, they are not upright and honest enough to buy such books, or, if they have them already, to consult or read them. Oh, these shameful gluttons and servants of their bellies⁵ are better suited to be swineherds and keepers of dogs than guardians of souls and pastors.

Now that they are free from the useless, bothersome babbling of the seven hours, it would be much better if morning, noon, and night they would instead read a page or two from the catechism, the Prayer Book,⁷ the New Testament, or some other passage from the Bible, and would pray the Lord's Prayer for themselves and their parishioners. In this way they would once again show honor and respect to the gospel, through which they have been delivered from so many burdens and troubles, and they might feel a little shame that, like pigs and dogs, they are remembering no more of the gospel than this rotten, pernicious, shameful, carnal liberty. As it is, the common people take the gospel altogether too lightly, and we accomplish but little, despite all our hard work. What, then, can we expect if we are slothful and lazy, as we used to be under the papacy?

Besides, along comes this horrible vice and secret, evil plague of security and boredom. Many regard the catechism as a simple, trifling teaching, which they can absorb and master at one reading and then toss the book into a corner as if they are ashamed to read it again. Indeed, among the nobility there are also some louts and skinflints who declare that they can do without pastors and preachers now because we now have everything in books and can learn it all by ourselves. So they blithely let parishes fall into decay and brazenly allow both pastors and preachers to suffer distress and hunger. This is what one can expect of crazy Germans. We Germans have such disgraceful people among us and have to put up with them.

But this I say for myself: I am also a doctor and a preacher, just as learned and experienced as all of them who are so high and mighty. Nevertheless, each morning, and whenever else I have time, I do as a child who is being taught the catechism and I read and recite word for word the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Psalms, etc. I must still read and study the catechism daily, and yet I cannot master it as I wish, but must remain a child and pupil of the catechism—and I also do so gladly. These fussy, fastidious fellows would like quickly, with one reading, to be doctors above all doctors, to know it all and to need nothing more. Well this, too, is a sure sign that they despise both their office and the people's souls, yes, even God and his Word. They do not need to fall, for they have already fallen all too horribly. What they need, however, is to become children and begin to learn the ABCs, which they think they have long since outgrown.

Therefore, I beg such lazy bellies and presumptuous saints, for God's sake, to let themselves be convinced and believe that they are not really and truly such learned and exalted doctors as they think. I implore them not ever to imagine that they have learned these parts of the catechism

perfectly, or that they know them sufficiently, even though they think they know them ever so well. Even if their knowledge of the catechism were perfect (although that is impossible in this life), yet it is highly profitable and fruitful to read it daily and to make it the subject of meditation and conversation. In such reading, conversation, and meditation the Holy Spirit is present and bestows ever new and greater light and devotion, so that it tastes better and better and is digested, as Christ also promises in Matthew 18[:20], “Where two or three are gathered in my name, I am there among them.”*

Nothing is so powerfully effective against the devil, the world, the flesh, and all evil thoughts as to occupy one’s self with God’s Word, to speak about it and meditate upon it, in the way that Psalm 1[:2] calls those blessed who “meditate on God’s law day and night.” Without doubt, you will offer up no more powerful incense or savor against the devil than to occupy yourself with God’s commandments and words and to speak, sing, or think about them. Indeed, this is the true holy water and sign that drives away the devil and puts him to flight.¹¹*

For this reason alone you should gladly read, recite, ponder, and practice the catechism, even if the only advantage and benefit you obtain from it is to drive away the devil and evil thoughts. For he cannot bear to hear God’s Word. And God’s Word is not like some idle tale, such as about Dietrich of Bern, but, as St. Paul says in Romans 1[:16], it is “the power of God,” indeed, the power of God that burns the devil’s house down¹³ and gives us immeasurable strength, comfort, and help.*

Why should I waste words? If I were to tell all the benefits and advantages that God’s Word accomplishes, where would I find enough paper and time? The devil is called a master of a thousand arts. What then can we call God’s Word that routs and destroys such a master of a thousand arts along with all his cunning and power? Indeed, it must be master of more than a hundred thousand arts. And should we so flippantly despise such might, benefits, power, and fruit—especially we who want to be pastors and preachers? If so, we deserve not only to be given no food to eat, but also to have the dogs set upon us and to be pelted with horse manure. For not only do we daily need God’s Word just as we do our daily bread; we also must have it every day in order to stand against the daily and incessant attacks and ambushes of the devil with his thousand arts.

If this were not enough to admonish us to read the catechism daily, God’s command should suffice to compel us. For God solemnly enjoins us in Deuteronomy 6[:7–8] that we should meditate on his precepts while sitting, walking, standing, lying down, and rising, and should keep them as an ever-present emblem and sign before our eyes and on our hands. God certainly does not require and command this so solemnly without reason. He knows our danger and need; he knows the constant and furious attacks and assaults of the devil. Therefore, he wishes to warn, equip, and protect us against them with good “armor” against their “flaming arrows,”¹⁴ and with a good antidote against their evil infection and poison. Oh, what mad, senseless fools we are! We must ever live and dwell in the midst of such mighty enemies like the devils, and yet we would despise our weapons and armor, too lazy to examine them or give them a thought!*

And what else are these bored, presumptuous saints doing—people who will not read and study the catechism daily and have no desire to—except thinking that they are more learned than God himself and all his holy angels, prophets, apostles, and all Christians? God himself is not ashamed to teach it daily, for he knows of nothing better to teach, and he always keeps on teaching this one thing without proposing anything new or different. And all the saints know of nothing better or different to learn, although they cannot learn it to perfection. Are we not the most marvelous fellows, therefore, who allow ourselves to imagine that, after reading and

hearing it once, we know everything and need not read and study it anymore? We think we can learn in an hour what God himself cannot finish teaching, though he were to teach it from the beginning of the world until the end! All the prophets and all the saints have had to learn it, but they have always remained its pupils, and they must continue to be so.

This much is certain: those who know the Ten Commandments perfectly know the entire Scriptures and in all affairs and circumstances are able to counsel, help, comfort, judge, and make decisions in both spiritual and temporal matters. They are qualified to be a judge over all doctrines, walks of life, spirits, legal matters, and everything else in the world. Moreover, what is the whole Psalter but meditation and exercises based on the First Commandment? Now, I know beyond a doubt that such lazy bellies and presumptuous spirits understand not even a single psalm, let alone the whole Scriptures, but they pretend they know and despise the catechism, which is a brief digest and summary of the entire Holy Scriptures.

Therefore, I appeal once more to all Christians, especially the pastors and preachers, that they not try to become doctors too soon and imagine that they know everything. (Vain imaginations, like new cloth, suffer shrinkage!) Let all Christians drill themselves in the catechism daily, and constantly put it into practice, guarding themselves with the greatest care and diligence against the poisonous infection of such security or arrogance. Let them constantly read and teach, learn and meditate and ponder. Let them never stop until they have proved by experience and are certain that they have taught the devil to death and have become more learned than God himself and all his saints.

If they show such diligence, then I promise them—and their experience will bear me out—that they will gain much fruit and God will make excellent people out of them. Then in due time they will make the noble confession that the longer they work with the catechism, the less they know of it, and the more they have to learn. Only then, hungry and thirsty, will they for the first time truly taste what now they cannot bear to smell because they are so bloated and surfeited. To this end may God grant his grace! Amen.

Preface

This sermon has been designed and undertaken for the instruction of children and the uneducated. Hence from ancient times it has been called, in Greek, a “catechism”—that is, instruction for children. It contains what every Christian should know. Anyone who does not know it should not be numbered among Christians nor admitted to any sacrament, just as artisans who do not know the rules and practices of their craft are rejected and considered incompetent. For this reason young people should be thoroughly taught the parts of the catechism (that is, instruction for children) and diligently drilled in their practice.

Therefore, it is the duty of every head of a household at least once a week to examine the children and servants one after the other and ascertain what they know or have learned of it, and, if they do not know it, to keep them faithfully at it. I well remember the time when we found ignorant, old, elderly people who knew nothing of these things—in fact, even now we find them daily—yet they still go to baptism and the sacrament and exercise all the rights of Christians, although those who come to the sacrament certainly should know more and have a deeper understanding of all Christian teaching than children and beginners in school. As for the common people, however, we should be satisfied if they learned the three parts that have been in

Christendom from ancient days (although they were rarely taught and treated correctly), so that all who wish to be Christians in fact as well as in name, both young and old, may be well trained in them and familiar with them. They are as follows:²²

First: The Ten Commandments of God

The first: You are to have no other gods besides me.

The second: You are not to take the name of God in vain.

The third: You are to hallow the day of rest.

The fourth: You are to honor father and mother.

The fifth: You are not to kill.

The sixth: You are not to commit adultery.

The seventh: You are not to steal.

The eighth: You are not to bear false witness against your neighbor.

The ninth: You are not to covet your neighbor's house.

The tenth: You are not to covet his wife, male or female servants, cattle, or whatever is his.

Second: The Chief Articles of Our Faith

I believe in God, the Father almighty, creator of heaven and earth. And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried; he descended into hell. On the third day he rose again from the dead; ascended into heaven, seated at the right hand of God, the Father almighty, from where he will come to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the Holy Spirit, one holy Christian church, the communion²⁷ of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and a life everlasting. Amen.

Third: The Prayer, or Our Father, Which Christ Taught

Our Father, you who are in heaven, may your name be hallowed. May your kingdom come. May your will come about also on earth as in heaven. Give us today our daily bread. And remit our debt, as we remit our debtors. And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

These are the most necessary parts that we must first learn to repeat word for word. The children should be taught the habit of reciting them daily, when they arise in the morning, when they go to their meals, and when they go to bed at night. Until they recite them they should be given nothing to eat or drink. Every head of a household is also obliged to do the same with the servants, male and female, and should dismiss them if they cannot or will not learn them. Under no circumstances should those people be tolerated who are so crude and unruly that they refuse to learn these things. For in these three parts everything contained in the Scriptures is comprehended in short, plain, and simple terms. Indeed, the dear Fathers or apostles (or whoever they were) thus summed up the teaching, life, wisdom, and learning that constitute the Christian's conversation, conduct, and concern.

When these three parts have been understood, it is appropriate that one ought also to know what to say about our sacraments, which Christ himself instituted, baptism and the holy body and blood of Christ, according to the texts in which Matthew and Mark describe at the end of their Gospels how Christ said farewell to his disciples and sent them forth.

Concerning Baptism

“Go and teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.” “The one who believes and is baptized will be saved; but the one who does not believe will be condemned.”

It is enough for an ordinary person to know this much about baptism from the Scriptures. The same applies to the other sacrament, mentioning a few, simple words according to the text of St. Paul.

Concerning the Sacrament

“Our Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took the bread, gave thanks, broke it, gave it to his disciples, and said, ‘Take and eat. This is my body that is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.’ In the same way the cup also, after the supper, and said, ‘This cup is a new covenant in my blood, which is shed for you for the forgiveness of sins. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.’ ”

Thus we have, in all, five parts covering the whole of Christian teaching, which we should constantly teach and require recitation word for word. For you should not assume that the young people will learn and retain this teaching from sermons alone. When these parts have been well learned, one may assign them also some psalms or hymns, based on these subjects, to supplement and confirm their knowledge. Thus young people will be led into the Scriptures and make progress every day.

However, it is not enough for them simply to learn and repeat these parts verbatim. The young people should also attend sermons, especially during the times when preaching on the catechism is prescribed, so that they may hear it explained and may learn the meaning of every part. Then they will also be able to repeat what they have heard and give a good, correct answer when they are questioned, so that the preaching will not be without benefit and fruit. The reason we take such care to preach on the catechism frequently is to impress it upon our young people, not in a lofty and learned manner but briefly and very simply, so that it may penetrate deeply into their minds and remain fixed in their memories. Therefore we shall now consider the above-mentioned parts one by one and in the plainest manner possible say about them as much as is necessary.⁶

⁶ Kolb, R., Wengert, T. J., & Arand, C. P. (2000). *The Book of Concord: the confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (pp. 379–386). Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.