JOHANNES BUGENHAGEN'S EDUCATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS

DISSERTATION

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INTRODUCTION

Johannes Bugenhagen and Philipp Melanchthon have been recognized as the two most significant co-workers of Martin Luther and leaders of the Lutheran Reformation. While Melanchthon’s contributions have been extensively examined, Bugenhagen’s work has not been analyzed as carefully. His place in the triumvirate of German reformers is quite secure, but Reformation scholars have little to say about the Pomeranian reformer. A general recognition of his organizing genius and his close relationship with Luther usually suffices as a description of Bugenhagen’s significance for the Reformation.

Few biographies of Bugenhagen have appeared in the twentieth century, and those which have are generally based on the nineteenth-century works of Karl August Traugott Vogt and Hermann Hering. While a series of commemorative collections appeared in 1958, the four hundredth anniversary of Bugenhagen’s death, a large proportion of the articles addressed themselves to Bugenhagen’s significance for a particular geographical area. The volume edited by Werner Rautenberg does contain helpful material. The only significant monograph about Bugenhagen in the twentieth century has been Johannes H. Bergsma’s analysis of Bugenhagen’s liturgical work. Even Bergsma’s study
is in large part merely a collection of the liturgical sections in Bugenhagen's church orders.

It is particularly surprising that Bugenhagen's educational work has not attracted significant historical scholarship. Luther's creativity and contributions in the area of education have quite naturally received extensive attention. Melanchthon has found a place in history as the Praeceptor Germaniae. However, except for passing references in histories of education and two nineteenth-century doctoral dissertations devoted to the general subject, Bugenhagen's educational contributions have been overlooked or ignored. Yet Bugenhagen deserves recognition for his dedication to the revival and the growth of education in the sixteenth century. He established schools wherever he organized churches in northern Germany and Denmark. His church orders, the constitutions of the new evangelical churches which Bugenhagen produced for every area in which he worked, consisted of three major sections. A school order always constituted one of these sections. In his school orders Bugenhagen presented a comprehensive educational program for the new evangelical churches.

It is my purpose in this dissertation to examine and evaluate Bugenhagen's educational contributions through a study of his career as an educator and a careful analysis of his school orders. While Bugenhagen was not a creative educational theorist, he was a capable and diligent educator and administrator. His body of school
orders, one of the most extensive and significant produced during the sixteenth century, played an essential role in the establishment of schools in the evangelical areas of northern Germany. Bugenhagen's educational work was deeply appreciated by his contemporaries. It deserves the attention of twentieth-century Reformation scholarship.
Footnotes


5 Numerous works have dealt with Luther's educational contributions, among them Gustav M. Bruce, Luther as an Educator (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928); H. Keferstein, Dr. Martin Luthers Pädagogische Schriften und Aeusserungen (Langensalza: Hermann Beyer & Söhne, 1888); P.E. Kretzmann, ed., Luther on Education in the Christian Home and School (Burlington, Iowa: The Lutheran Literary Board, 1940); J.C.W. Lindemann, Dr. Martin Luther als Erzieher der Jugend (2nd ed.; St. Louis: Aug. Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1866); Johannes Meyer and Johannes Prinzhorn, Dr. Martin Luthers Gedanken über Erziehung und Unterricht (Hannover: Carl Meyer, 1883); F.V.N. Painter, A History of Education (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1896); F.V.N. Painter, Luther on Education (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, n.d.).

6 I am referring to Carl Mühlmann, Bedeutung die Bugenhagenschen Schulordnungen gegenüber dem Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarrherren im Kurfürstentum Sachsen einen Fortschritt? (Wittenberg: P. Wunschmann, 1900) and Julius Robert Rost, "Die paedagogische Bedeutung Bugenhagens" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leipzig, 1890).
CHAPTER I

THE EMERGING REFORMER

Education and Treptow

During the sixteenth century the island of Wollin in the Baltic Sea was a bustling little commercial and shipping center. The main settlement on the island and its capital was the town of Wollin, the home of the Bugenhagen family. The annals of history have revealed little about the Bugenhagens. There is some indication that they may have been descendants of an old Pomeranian noble family, but this cannot be demonstrated with certainty. Although they were not wealthy, they do appear to have been a leading burgher family in their home town. Melanchthon describes them as an "honest and senatorial family." Gerhard Bugenhagen was serving as a councilman or perhaps even as mayor of Wollin when his wife presented him with a son on June 24, 1485. As was a common practice among faithful members of the Church, the parents named their child in honor of John the Baptist, the saint commemorated on that day in the church calendar.

Johannes Bugenhagen was born a burgher and remained one all of his life. His most important work was carried out in the cities of northern Europe. The frequency of
his calls to organize the churches in various urban centers, the respect which he inspired, and the work which he accomplished on his journeys all indicate that he understood the needs and wishes of his fellow burghers. His burgher background enabled him to be an effective witness of the Reformation to a class of sixteenth-century European society which was among the first to be attracted to Luther and his message.

Little is known about Bugenhagen's childhood. The information that is extant fortunately relates to his educational experiences. As will become apparent in the course of this discussion, Bugenhagen's whole life was intimately related to education. He not only received a good education, but he actually was an educator and teacher throughout his life. His career and his practical experiences, therefore, prepared him well for his important work of producing school orders for the evangelical churches.

The Bugenhagen home was apparently a pious one, and Johannes soon learned to love God's Word. He himself reflects later: "I loved Holy Scripture from youth on. However, I did not know how to use Scripture under the darkness of Antichrist."\(^3\) He received his primary education at Wollin and possibly at Stettin, for he recalled later that he had witnessed Duke Bogislav's return to Stettin from the Holy Land in 1498. Melanchthon relates in his *De Vita Bugenhagii* that grammar and music were part of Bugenhagen's primary education.\(^4\)
Bugenhagen completed his formal education at the University of Greifswald where he matriculated on January 24, 1502. Although scholasticism still dominated the university, humanism was gradually inculcating its ideas into the intellectual milieu of Greifswald. The jurists Nicolaus Louwe, Petrus Ravenna, and his son Vincentius advocated humanist studies. In addition, the capable and well-known German humanist Hermann von dem Busche was active in Greifswald around the turn of the century. The Braunschweig General Superintendent Hermann Hamelmann (1526-1595) asserts in his *De vita, studiis, itineribus, scriptis et laboribus Hermanni Buschii* (1584) that Hermann lectured in Greifswald on the grammar of Priscian, on Lucan, and on the commentaries of Caesar. Hamelmann also notes that Bugenhagen and the brothers Petrus, Johannes, and Bartholomäus Suave attended Hermann's lectures. On the basis of Hamelmann's witness, most historians have asserted that Bugenhagen studied under Hermann von dem Busche at Greifswald and thus came under the direct influence of humanism.

The whole question of the influence of humanism on Bugenhagen is an important one because of its implications for his educational work. However, it is also a problematic one. It cannot be denied that Bugenhagen came into contact with humanism at Greifswald. The extent of this contact and its lasting influence on him are open to question, however. While the majority of scholars agree that Bugenhagen came under the direct tutelage of Busche, Roderich Schmidt
has raised doubt concerning the validity of this assertion by questioning the trustworthiness of Hamelmann's record. On the basis of the evidence available, it must be maintained that Bugenhagen studied in a university atmosphere permeated by humanist ideas. At the same time it cannot be asserted that he worked with Hermann von dem Busche or any other humanist directly, or that he did not also come under the influence of scholasticism at Greifswald. Scholasticism, in fact, remained the dominant force at the University of Greifswald during his student days.

With this dual educational background Bugenhagen continued to dabble in humanistic pursuits until about 1520. He was never a humanist in the strict sense of the word, however, and when he became acquainted with Luther's writings he emerged as a Lutheran reformer. Indeed, his relationship to humanism was quite similar to that of his spiritual mentor and friend Martin Luther. Like Luther, Bugenhagen was attracted by the humanist emphases on ethics and ecclesiastical reform, on the study of the Christian classics, and on the mastery of the classical languages. Neither Bugenhagen nor Luther, however, can be called humanists in the sense that Erasmus or Melanchthon were humanists. While Bugenhagen identified with certain humanistic ideals even as a reformer, his mature reform activity, including his work in the area of education, was not specifically humanistic. His humanistic interests led him to the study of Scripture and the Fathers, but he
emerged from this study as a reformer, not a humanist.

Bugenhagen left the University of Greifswald well-versed in the Latin authors, able to write Latin in a proper, classical style, and thoroughly familiar with Latin grammar. His mastery of Latin was such that Melanchthon, who himself was no mean Latinist, referred to him as Grammaticus, and Luther valued his knowledge of Latin highly in the work of biblical translation. It is also quite likely that Bugenhagen acquainted himself with the rudiments of Greek at Greifswald.

The formative character of Bugenhagen's stay at the university should not be overemphasized, although it was an important period in his life. He remained at Greifswald less than three years, for in the fall of 1504 he was called to assume the rectorship of the city school at Treptow a.d. Rega. The right of advowson was enjoyed by the abbot of the Premonstratensian monastery Belbug which towered over the city. Bugenhagen was not yet twenty years old when he was offered this challenging position.

The Latin school at Treptow had already achieved an admirable reputation, but it truly flourished during the rectorship of Bugenhagen. Students came to the school not only from the immediate surrounding region but from areas as far away as Livonia and Westphalia. Furthermore, the local clergy, the Premonstratensian monks, and interested burghers also attended Bugenhagen's lectures.

Bugenhagen must be given credit for the success of
the Treptow Latin school. He was a successful teacher because he remained a diligent student, immersing himself not only in the study of the great pagan classics and the writings of the humanists, but particularly in the examination of the Fathers and Scripture. While he rejected much in the scholastic commentaries, he found Jerome and Augustine particularly helpful as he immersed himself in the study of Scripture. Having acquired a deep love for the Latin language and the classics, he labored diligently to instill this love in his students. A knowledge of good classical Latin and proficiency in the disciplines of grammar and rhetoric, however, were not sufficient. Bugenhagen's primary concern was not to make scholars out of his students, though this was an important goal. He was even more concerned to acquaint them with the Word of God and to inspire them to true Christian piety. The younger students were given catechetical instruction, particularly the explanation of the Creeds and the Ten Commandments. The more advanced were led to Scripture itself. Bugenhagen filled the classrooms as he lectured on the Psalms, on the Gospel of Matthew, and on the Epistles to Timothy.8

The fame of the Treptow Latin school flourished as Bugenhagen's reputation as a Latinist and a capable biblical scholar was recognized. As the rector of the school, he also concerned himself with the quality of his teaching staff. He was, therefore, instrumental in sending at least two of his assistants, including his brother Gerhard, to
the exquisite school of Murmellius at Münster. An excellent teaching staff also served to enhance the school’s reputation.

Already in his first position, then, Bugenhagen proved to be an effective and creative teacher and also a capable and concerned administrator. He continued to exemplify these characteristics throughout his long career as educator and reformer.

Few specific incidents in Bugenhagen's life between the years of 1504 and 1517 are known. Throughout those years he appears to have dedicated himself primarily to his educational tasks at Treptow. A few significant events have been recorded, however. 1509 was an important year in his life. His work in the Latin school led him to continuous scriptural studies, as has been indicated. His popular lectures on biblical books impressed upon his hearers his knowledge of the Word of God, his reform spirit, and his spiritual sincerity. A number of his friends, therefore, encouraged him to become a priest, a suggestion which Bugenhagen apparently received quite favorably. The bishop of Cammin, the prelate of Pomerania, ordained Bugenhagen in 1509, and he became vicar at the collegiate church of St. Mary in Treptow. He thus assumed the regular preaching and sacramental duties of a priest in addition to his teaching responsibilities at the Latin school.

His duties were further diversified in the historic year 1517. Johann Boldewan had become abbot of the Belbug
monastery at the beginning of that year. He was a well-educated man, having studied at Greifswald, and he was imbued with a burning reforming spirit. One of his first acts after assuming his new position was the creation of a monastic school in order to improve the caliber of education for the monks. It was not surprising that he turned to Bugenhagen and appointed him as lector. Boldewan was particularly concerned to improve his monks' knowledge of Scripture and the Fathers. Bugenhagen was the logical choice in Treptow to teach in these areas. While he never became a Premonstratensian monk, he now had the opportunity to shape the intellectual and theological ideals of the Belbug brothers.

His biblical studies, his humanist interests, and his own perception of what the Christian church and the Christian life should be awakened a very real reforming spirit in Bugenhagen. Until he came under the influence of Luther, however, he was essentially an ethical reformer. He did not challenge the doctrines of the church but merely joined the considerable number of voices within the church who called for a general renewal. There is nothing radical in his message, nor does his early reform work indicate that he would eventually join the Protestant camp. It is, nevertheless, a significant indication of his character and his concerns.

Bugenhagen's reform spirit is clearly expressed in a sermon preached on June 29, the festival of St. Peter and
St. Paul, the patron saints of the Belbug monastery. The year when this sermon was preached is unfortunately in doubt.\(^{11}\) It is clear, however, that Bugenhagen took advantage of the opportunity to express his concerns to his clerical audience. In the sermon he reprimands those preachers who give the saints as much honor as God in their sermons but say nothing which helps their listeners become better Christians. He rejects the formalism of much of contemporary religious life and encourages his listeners to seek the essence of the Christian life which consists of performing deeds of love for one's fellow man. He also chastises the priests for taking money for their sacramental services and assures them that they would not have to worry about their physical welfare if they would fulfill the responsibilities of their high calling. The people would then respect them and see to their physical well-being. But how can they expect such respect when they do the Lord's work reluctantly and superficially and spend hours in "feasting, drinking, harlotry, bowling, and gaming..."\(^{12}\) He closes his sermon by reminding his hearers that the message which he has spoken to them is not his own but Christ's, for Christ said: "Go and learn what this means: I am pleased with mercy and not with burnt offering."\(^{13}\) Bugenhagen had spoken some harsh words to his fellow clerics, but, as he himself told his hearers, he spoke them out of love. He had obviously compared the religious practices of his own time with the mandates of Scripture,
and he saw numerous discrepancies between the scriptural ideal and the reality of his contemporary church. His very real concern for reform, then, enabled him to speak so clearly, so harshly, yet so truthfully. Such concerns and interests obviously prepared him for an eventual reception of Luther's message.

Bugenhagen's spirit of reform is also evident in his historical chronicle, the *Pomerania*. In it he focuses on education as the most efficient means of reforming the church. He is particularly concerned that the clergy be intimately acquainted with the Word of God. He cites corruptions among the regular clergy and asserts that these arise basically because of "ignorance of Holy Scripture and the teachings of Christ." The vitality and ideal character of monastic life would best be revived if the abbots would see to it that the young brothers were taught the Word of God. He cites Belbug as an example of what can be done in the area of spiritual reform through a decisive educational program.

As an educator Bugenhagen envisioned reform primarily as educational reform. He asserted that people who understand the biblical message will also live in accordance with it. They will only understand that message if they are thoroughly immersed in Holy Scripture through a careful program of biblical instruction. His own positive experiences as he taught in the Treptow Latin school and at Belbug convinced him of the efficacy of education as a
means of reform. He spoke not as a theorist but as a practical man from experience. This was to be characteristic of Bugenhagen throughout his life.

By 1518, then, Johannes Bugenhagen had developed a sincere and courageous reform spirit. His reform program, of course, was obviously still a limited one. He still saw reform essentially in ethical terms. Erasmus, whose Ratio verae theologiae he cited in the sermon discussed above and whom the famous humanist Murmellius had recommended to him, appears to have been a decisive influence on Bugenhagen at this time. Although he was beginning to challenge some of the practices of the church, he was in no real sense a theological reformer. His emphasis on the centrality of Scripture and the necessity of intensive scriptural studies was an important one, and it is interesting that he developed this emphasis before he became acquainted with Luther. Yet the goal of such studies was still limited. He sought to gain a clear conception of the Christian life. He was not yet searching for nor had he found new theological insights through his examinations of the scriptural text. He really saw no need to change his theology. He did see a very definite need to combat various corruptions within the church. It was this concern that shaped his program of reform and that focused his scriptural studies.

In later years Bugenhagen himself reflected on the sermon which he had preached on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul and lamented that he had not yet experienced his
theological breakthrough which led him to seek out Luther and to join the Reformation movement. He reminisces:

I, Johann Bugenhagen, Pomeranian, preached this sermon to the clerics in Belbug while I was still a young man and a papist when the people flocked for indulgences. It is clear in the sermon how eagerly I wanted to be a Christian then, but it was still the time of error.16

He still saw the Christian life in terms of good works and man's own efforts rather than in terms of complete faith and trust in God. It was for this reason that Bugenhagen looked back to his pre-Reformation period with disappointment.

Bugenhagen reflected further on his pre-Lutheran spiritual condition in his Exposition of the Psalms, published in 1524. In his comments on Psalm 1:1-3, he points out that while he had rejected what the world also considers to be evil, he was, nevertheless, worse than the world. After all, he trusted in his own good works and longed for the righteousness of works. While God was already attempting to show him his errors and his sins by their fruits, says Bugenhagen, he was oblivious to God's guidance. Unfortunately, he trusted more in confession, satisfaction, and good works than in God's Word. His spiritual pride led him to depend wholly on his own human wisdom. This is the greatest godlessness, asserts Bugenhagen, for it puts the human above the divine. Yet he rejoices that in the midst of this kind of life, God did not forsake him but led him to an understanding of the Gospel.17

His "time of error,"18 as he described it, was soon
to come to an end. Martin Luther had issued his revolution-
ary call to the church. Europe, particularly Germany, was
eagerly listening to his words and challenges. News of
Luther's exploits and copies of his works were also reach-
ing Pomerania. The contacts between Wittenberg and Pomer-
ania were, in fact, quite direct, for Peter Suave and Barnim,
son of Duke Bogislav X, had gone to Wittenberg to study.\textsuperscript{19}
Suave, who became a leading reformer in Pomerania, may
have been a student of Bugenhagen, while Barnim became one
of the dukes of Pomerania and was instrumental in estab-
lishing the Reformation in his country. Nevertheless, Pom-
erania was far enough away from Wittenberg that news about
Luther and his teachings was quite sparse in the first
years of the Reformation. It is not surprising that Bugen-
hagen would be interested in Luther and his writings. He
could identify with Luther's calls for reform, and he him-
self had also criticized indulgences. Furthermore, he must
certainly be viewed as the leader of the intellectual com-
munity in Treptow. Through this position he would quite
naturally become acquainted with materials which awakened
the interest of this community. Certainly Luther's writings
were doing just that wherever they were read. Treptow was
no exception.

Bugenhagen must have heard about Luther and his work
before 1520, but it was not until then that he was per-
suaded to join the Lutheran movement. His "conversion"
is a rather interesting episode. An anonymous author
gives the following account of this decisive event in Bugenhagen's life. Bugenhagen visited an old Hussite at the man's request. The Hussite asked him to read Luther's Babylonian Captivity and to compare it with Scripture. Bugenhagen did as the old man requested, and his careful study convinced him that Luther was correct. 20

A more reliable account of Bugenhagen's conversion and the one accepted by almost all scholars is that of David Chytræus, recorded by Daniel Cramer in his Das Grosse Pommersche Kirchen Chronicon (1603). The accuracy of the account cannot be determined with certainty, for neither Thomas Kantzow, another Pomeranian chronicler, nor Melanchthon repeats the story. Historical scholarship has accepted Cramer's account as generally trustworthy. According to Cramer, Bugenhagen was a guest in the house of the Treptow pastor Otto Slutow, who had just received a copy of Luther's Babylonian Captivity from Leipzig. Slutow asked Bugenhagen to look at the work. After paging through it quickly, Bugenhagen could not suppress his surprise and consternation and exclaimed: "There have been many heretics since Christ's death, but no greater heretic has ever lived than the one who has written this book." 21 He then cited the numerous examples of novel and heretical teachings which struck him in Luther's work during his cursory perusal. Bugenhagen did not wish to judge the treatise unfairly and rashly, however. He, therefore, took it home with him and examined it more thoroughly. To his own surprise
and the surprise of his friends, he changed his opinion completely. When he met with his companions again a few days later, he remarked: "What shall I say to you? The whole world lies in complete blindness, but this man alone sees the truth." 22

Bugenhagen had discovered Luther, and he was to be a faithful follower, co-worker, and companion of Luther from that time on. He was a very stable and uncomplicated personality. Once he had become convinced that Luther was correct he never wavered in this conviction. He did not experience the spiritual uncertainties and Anfechtungen of Luther. He was certain that God had finally overcome his blindness, and he was at peace in this conviction. His strength and spiritual stability were to be of great help to Luther during the years of their friendship.

Bugenhagen immediately began to share his new insights with his friends and students, and an evangelical circle gathered around him. 23 He was also eager to read more of Luther's works and to achieve a better understanding of the evangelical faith. He was particularly anxious to clarify the proper relationship of faith and good works in the Christian life. He, therefore, wrote to Luther and asked him to outline a rule for Christian living. Luther sent Bugenhagen his Freedom of a Christian and added a little note:

You have written that I should prescribe for you a modus vivendi. A true Christian does not need moral precepts, for the Spirit of faith leads him to every-thing which God wills and which brotherly love demands.
Read this therefore. Not all believe the Gospel. Faith is perceived in the heart. 24

There is no record of Bugenhagen's specific reaction to Luther's Freedom of a Christian, but it must have been a favorable one. The work obviously brought Bugenhagen further into the Lutheran camp, and he must have appreciated Luther's explanation of the Christian's relationship to the Law.

Wittenberg

Luther's writings awakened a desire in Bugenhagen to meet and to study under Luther. Peter Suave, a close friend of Bugenhagen who was studying in Wittenberg, encouraged him to come. In the Spring of 1521, therefore, he left Treptow and journeyed to Wittenberg which was to remain his home until the end of his life.

Obviously Bugenhagen had no idea that this would be the case when he arrived there. He came to meet and to learn about Luther. He must have been disappointed to hear that Luther was about to leave for the Diet of Worms on April 2, 1521. Although he may have met Luther briefly, the close relationship between the two men did not begin until Luther's return from the Wartburg about a year later, in March, 1522. Although Luther had to leave, Melanchthon, Carlstadt, and the rest of the faculty of the university were still in Wittenberg. Bugenhagen, therefore, at least was able to pursue one of the goals for which he had come to Wittenberg. On April 29, 1521 he enrolled at the university.
Bugenhagen came as a student, but he soon resumed his teaching activity. Fellow Pomeranians gravitated around him, and he lectured to them privately on the Psalms. While the group was small at first and met in his room, this was not the case for long. His reputation as an able teacher and explicator spread quickly and a significant number of students asked to attend. The room became too small and the lectures had to cease. Because of their popularity, however, Bugenhagen was urged to hold public lectures. Melanchthon was among those who encouraged him to do so. He had attended Bugenhagen's private discussions and was favorably impressed by what he had heard and seen. Thus the man who came to the University of Wittenberg to be a student soon became an unofficial member of the faculty and joined the ranks of the evangelical theologians. His faculty status was not officially recognized until 1533.

Bugenhagen's basic conservatism and careful nature emerged as the radical spirit of enthusiasm surfaced in Wittenberg during Luther's absence. He could not condone the excesses of Andreas Carlstadt and the Zwickau prophets, for he felt that such behavior would only harm the Reformation. As an educator he was particularly alarmed when the city school closed in 1522. The enthusiasts convinced the schoolmaster and the people that the indwelling Spirit made formal education superfluous. Because of his high opinion of the efficacy of education and its necessity for proper Christian living, Bugenhagen opposed such develop-
ments, encouraged the students to remain in school, and continued his lectures at the university. Both Melanchthon and Luther deeply appreciated Bugenhagen's stand. Bugenhagen and Luther generally agreed on essential issues. For this reason they were able to work together so closely throughout their careers. Within one year Bugenhagen had become a member of the inner circle of the Wittenberg reformers.

Although Bugenhagen generally opposed Carlstadt, he joined him in one rather significant step. He decided to get married. Much more important than Carlstadt's example, however, was Luther's reinterpretation of the married estate. Luther emphasized that marriage was instituted by God and blessed by Him. This holy estate should, therefore, not be despised. Bugenhagen was convinced by Luther's persuasive argumentation and determined to seek a wife. His first attempt resulted in a failure, for the lady broke the engagement. The reason is not known, although the Catholic preacher Peter Anspach postulated that she did not wish to be a Pfaffenweib. Family pressures or the young lady's second thoughts about her proposed marriage to a Lutheran pastor probably were significant factors in her decision. Bugenhagen apparently was not discouraged, for on October 13, 1522 he was married to a young lady named Walpurga. The marriage was a happy one. Walpurga was a faithful and constant companion and traveled with him on his numerous journeys. She presented him with five children, although only
two, Sarah and Johannes, lived to be adults. Because of his own positive experience, Bugenhagen defended marriage in his *De conjugio episcoporum et deaconorum* (1525) and encouraged others to follow his example.²⁷

With his momentous decision to marry, Bugenhagen also acquired a large number of responsibilities, the most obvious of which was to provide for the physical needs of his wife. At the time of his marriage he had no stable means of support. Luther, eager to keep him in Wittenberg, encouraged the elector to appoint Bugenhagen to an official position at the university and to provide a definite stipend for him. However, Frederick was hesitant to offer visible support to a married priest. Then the pastor of the city church, Simon Heinsius, died in 1523. The city council and the members of the congregation elected Bugenhagen as their pastor when several men chosen by the chapter declined. Luther was pleased, for he had supported this choice. Bugenhagen was at first reluctant to accept the position but finally agreed. Although the pay was quite small, his most pressing financial difficulties were now solved.²⁸ His election was a momentous one, for it established the principle of congregational election of pastors among the evangelical churches.

As the pastor of the city church, Bugenhagen was also Luther's pastor. As such he ministered to Luther's spiritual needs. Bugenhagen was indeed an effective spiritual counselor. He understood Luther well, had the ability to
analyze Luther's specific troubles, and possessed the insight both to encourage and to reprimand. Luther trusted him explicitly and repeatedly expressed his appreciation for Bugenhagen's counsel and guidance. Luther was convinced that God spoke through his faithful friend. In fact, Bugenhagen encouraged Luther to see God working through his advice. Luther recalled how Bugenhagen repeatedly reminded him: "Dear Doctor, what I am telling you you should accept not as my word but as God's word which He declares through me."

Luther did not interpret such statements to be a sign of arrogance, nor did Bugenhagen intend to exalt himself. He was merely expressing his faith in God's activity in and through His people. Bugenhagen's words were a witness to his faith in God. Luther realized this, and his own faith was strengthened. Bugenhagen was such an excellent spiritual counselor because he was not afraid to challenge, to reprimand, to analyze a specific situation incisively. A close relationship developed between the two reformers.

Bugenhagen realized that Luther needed him, and he was deeply grateful to be able to be such a constant help to his friend.

Although he was the city pastor, Bugenhagen also continued his educational activities. His first concern upon assuming office was to reopen the school. Not only the instruction of the children but also the church services were suffering, for the school choir which sang the various parts of the liturgy had been disbanded when the school
closed. Bugenhagen's organizational ability immediately became evident as he worked together with the other reformers to restore order and bring about reform in Wittenberg. Johannes Drüller was called to be schoolmaster, parents were encouraged to send their children to the school again, and the educational process was revived. Bugenhagen himself continued to teach at the university. During the plague of 1527, when the university was moved to Jena, he lectured to those students who remained in Wittenberg. His lectures during that troubled time were based on the first four chapters of I Corinthians.30

Bugenhagen had developed an admirable social consciousness during his pre-Reformation days. He had repeatedly emphasized that love for God must express itself in concrete expressions of love toward one's neighbor. Although his understanding of the role of good works in a Christian's life changed radically after his acquaintance with Luther, he did not lose his concern for the less fortunate members of the community. That concern expressed itself concretely in the establishment of the poor chest (Armenkasten) for the support of the impoverished and those in special need. The poor chest in Wittenberg was organized in 1527 under Bugenhagen's supervision. It became an example for numerous similar institutions in the Lutheran areas. Bugenhagen himself deserves much of the credit for the system of poor relief established in various areas of northern Germany, for he incorporated a section on poor relief in his church
orders. Through this important work he not only awakened a recognition of social responsibility among the Lutheran churches, but he also incorporated the institutions of the poor chest and the common chest into the legal framework of the new evangelical churches.

The Reformation was the first significant movement in Western history to be the beneficiary of the printing press. Almost all the major reformers published their writings, and Bugenhagen was no exception. His literary activity began in earnest in 1524 with the publication of his Commentary on the Psalms. It was praised highly by Luther who called Bugenhagen "the first in the world who truly deserves to be called an expositor of the Psalter." Although the commentary does not meet modern critical and exegetical standards, it enjoyed considerable popularity. Repeated editions were printed. Martin Bucer translated it into German, and in 1544 Bugenhagen himself produced an edition for his Danish friends. It was, of course, eventually overshadowed by Luther's own commentary on the Psalter and has slipped into obscurity with the advent of modern biblical commentaries. The value of Bugenhagen's work lies primarily in its devotional and spiritual content, not in its exegetical formulations or its theological interpretations.

Bugenhagen's Commentary on the Psalms was only the first of a series of biblical commentaries which included expositions of Deuteronomy, I and II Kings, and the letters of the Apostle Paul. All these commentaries were results
of his lectures at the university. He was also deeply concerned that Luther's works and particularly the Scriptures be translated into Low German. He participated in and encouraged this work. Among the first fruits of this activity was the publication of a Low German New Testament in 1523.  

Bugenhagen also joined the ranks of the Lutheran apologists. In 1525, for example, he defended the evangelical faith in a letter to the Christians in England. Although the Reformation had found some adherents in England at this early date, especially among the intellectuals and the merchants, most Englishmen still viewed the movement with distrust, particularly because of the critical remarks of Catholic polemicists. Bugenhagen expresses his dismay that many unfounded assertions about the Lutherans are accepted without question. The Lutherans teach only one thing, says Bugenhagen, namely, that "Christ is our righteousness." The evangelical message should not be rejected, therefore, for Christ is "our teacher." He encourages his readers to pray diligently that the "Word of God prosper and that it be preached to the world to the honor of God and to the salvation of men through Jesus Christ." Bugenhagen's reputation was great enough by this time and the letter aroused sufficient attention to inspire a rather bitter rebuttal by one of the most prolific Catholic polemicists, Johannes Cochlaeus.

In 1525 Bugenhagen precipitated the sacramentarian controversy when he published his Ein Sendbriefe Wider den
newen yrthumb bey dem Sacrament des leybs vnd bluts vnsers Herrn Jesu Christi. Bugenhagen had no intention of initiating a controversy, however. He wrote the work reluctantly and only because he had been asked to clarify the doctrine of the eucharist. In the pamphlet he rejected Zwingli's symbolic interpretation of the eucharist and thus inspired the wrath of the Swiss reformer. Bugenhagen could not debate successfully with Zwingli on the theological battlefield, and he had been a rather reluctant participant in this particular struggle all along. He, therefore, stepped into the background when Luther himself took up the polemical battle in earnest. Bugenhagen's organizational work also took him away from the heat of the controversy.

Bugenhagen's organizational and administrative abilities were quickly recognized, not only by his colleagues in Wittenberg but also by the church at large. Requests for his services began as early as 1524 and continued throughout his career. His organizational work was, of course, Bugenhagen's most significant contribution to the Lutheran Reformation, and because of this work he deserves much credit for the success and the growth of the Lutheran Church during the first half of the sixteenth century. The new churches could not have prospered and become stable institutions without a firm and efficient organizational base. Bugenhagen provided that base.

External circumstances resulted in the rejection of the first calls addressed to him. The first request for
his services came in 1524 from the congregation of St. Nicholas in Hamburg. Bugenhagen believed that it was God's will that he accept the call, and the Wittenberg congregation agreed to a six-month leave after some consternation. However, the reaction of the Hamburg city council resulted in an abandonment of the whole project. On November 12, 1524 Bugenhagen received a protest from the council. It argued that the call had been issued without its knowledge; that the call was against the provisions of the Diet of Nürnberg; and that Bugenhagen's marriage made him unacceptable as a pastor in the city. Bugenhagen was disturbed by the council's action, and he informed them of his displeasure. Although his letter to the council is no longer extant, he summarizes its contents in a letter of November 16, 1524 to the congregation of St. Nicholas. He recalls that he admonished the city council for opposing God's will by forbidding the preaching and hearing of His Word. He also relates that he warned the councilmen that they dare not misuse their authority, "for they have a Judge in heaven." Already at this time, then, Bugenhagen was an unflinching and courageous witness to what he considered to be God's will.

In the same letter he also announces to the congregation that he has decided not to accept its call. He fears that the situation is such that he would be ineffective, and that his coming would only result in discord. He expresses the hope that it will find another man. However,
if an evangelical preacher simply will not be tolerated in Hamburg at this time, then those who are determined to hear the Gospel should leave the city and seek a place where the Word of God is taught freely, for "a Christian forsakes all for the sake of the Gospel."\(^{39}\)

Although he did not go to Hamburg at this time, Bugenhagen felt a deep sense of responsibility for the people who had called him. When he heard, therefore, that the monastic preachers were preaching what he considered to be heresy, he determined to act. In good apostolic tradition, therefore, he addressed the people in a letter. The rather lengthy treatise Von dem Christenloven und rechten guden wercken, wedder den falschen loven und erdychtete gude wercke (1526) is his epistle to the people of Hamburg.\(^{40}\) The work is Bugenhagen's most extensive early exposition of the evangelical faith. It explicates what true faith is, clarifies the proper relationship between faith and good works, addresses itself to essential Christian doctrines such as the Trinity and Christology, and emphasizes the necessity of faithful preachers for the welfare of God's people. The theological formulations are faithfully Lutheran, a characteristic of all of Bugenhagen's theological writings. He was not a creative theologian, but he was a capable and effective teacher of the new faith. All his works have a definite didactic purpose.

Only a few months after Bugenhagen was forced to decline the summons of Hamburg, another call reached Witten-
berg. The Reformation had also come to the city of Danzig, where the city council played a leading role in its acceptance. A capable individual was needed, however, to provide leadership for and direction to the movement. In the spring of 1525, therefore, the council requested Luther to send an evangelical preacher who "in a gentle and mild spirit declares the ways of God with discretion, so that we are not led into error and insurrection like others." They were particularly thinking of Bugenhagen "about whom the world says and boasts great things." 41 In order to enhance the possibility of attaining their hopes, the council also wrote Bugenhagen personally. In the letter they rejoice that God has removed the darkness of the world in these days through the light of His Word and has graciously brought those who sat in the shadow of death to the knowledge of Christ. They particularly emphasize their need of a well-trained and knowledgeable man to build up their congregation so that it might be a worthy Christian community. 42 Bugenhagen apparently was again willing to serve, although he was never eager to leave Wittenberg. However, this time the Wittenberg congregation refused to let him go, and Luther sent Michael Meurer instead.

By 1527 Bugenhagen had definitely become recognized as one of the leaders of the Lutheran movement. His name appeared on most of the important memorials (Gutachten) of the Wittenberg theologians, and his sound spiritual advice had endeared him to Luther. His organ-
izational and leadership qualities were demonstrated in his pastoral office, in his opposition to the enthusiasts, and in his reestablishment of the Wittenberg city school. His ability to speak and write Low German and his translations had particularly attracted the attention of the North German areas. Hamburg and Danzig had already requested his services. Bugenhagen was indeed prepared and ready to begin the work for which he is best remembered, the organization of the new evangelical churches throughout northern Germany and even Denmark. This work began in earnest in 1528.
Footnotes


2 Philipp Melanchthon, De Vita Bugenhagii, in Corpus Reformatorum, ed. by Carolus Gottlieb Bretschneider, XII (Halle: C.A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1844), 297. Hereafter referred to as Melanchthon, *Vita*.

3 Karl August Traugott Vogt, Johannes Bugenhagen Pomeranus (Elberfeld: R.L. Friderichs, 1867), p. 4. Vogt's is the most helpful biography of Bugenhagen, particularly because the author includes a considerable amount of primary materials. Hereafter referred to as K.A.T. Vogt.


6 Among the scholars who assert that Bugenhagen studied at the feet of Hermann von dem Busche are K.A.T. Vogt, Hellmuth Heyden, Hermann Hering, Robert Stupperich, H. Meinhof, and L.W. Graepp. Walter Rucsius and Roderich Schmidt question whether Bugenhagen was actually taught by Busche but admit that Busche's influence was still present at the University of Greifswald during Bugenhagen's student days. Rucsius feels that Busche had left Greifswald by the time Bugenhagen entered the university.

7 Schmidt, pp. 96-97. Schmidt points out that the Suave "brothers" were not brothers at all. Johannes was the uncle of Bartholomäus and Petrus the cousin of Bartholomäus. Such errors cause the careful scholar to be cautious about Hamelmann's record. Schmidt also indicates that there is no record of Busche's activity at the university. This does not mean, of course, that Busche did not teach in Greifswald outside the university milieu, a practice quite common among humanists.

8 L.W. Graepp, Johannes Bugenhagen (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1897), p. 7.

While H. Meinhof, Dr. Pommer Bugenhagen und sein Wirken (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1890), p. 5 dates the sermon 1505. K.A.T. Vogt (p. 17) believes that it was preached between 1517 and 1519. Vogt’s assumption is the more valid one, particularly since Bugenhagen was not yet a priest in 1505, and he refers to himself as a priest in the sermon. Furthermore, he also cites Erasmus’ Ratio verae theologiae which appeared as a preface to the New Testament in 1516 and then was published alone in 1518. It would also have been highly unlikely that a young rector who had not yet had the opportunity to inspire the respect and admiration of the people of Treptow would be asked to preach at such an important occasion. The sermon is printed in K.A.T. Vogt, pp. 17-27.


Meinhof, p. 5.

Quoted in K.A.T. Vogt, p. 16.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 27.


K.A.T. Vogt, p. 27.


Ibid.


Graepp (p. 19) believes she was Georg Rörer's sister, and K.A.T. Vogt (p. 58) postulates that she was either Rörer's sister or sister-in-law. Bugenhagen does refer to Rörer as his brother-in-law, but Rörer was married to Bugenhagen's sister. There is no clear evidence that Walpurga was Rörer's sister.


Hering, p. 19.


Hering, p. 42.

Cf. Frank P. Lane, "Poverty and Poor Relief in the German Church Orders of Johann Bugenhagen 1485-1558" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1973).

Quoted in Meinhof, p. 9.


"Ein Christliche verteutschte schrifft, Herr Johann Bugenhagen, Pommern. An die Christen yn Engellandt, von der Christlichen Schul zu Wittenberg here MDXXV."

Quoted in K.A.T. Vogt, p. 95.


Vogt, Briefwechsel, p. 19, No. 8.

Ibid., pp. 22-23, No. 10.

Ibid., p. 23.

The complete text of the work has been printed in K.A.T. Vogt, pp. 101-267.


Ibid.
CHAPTER II

BUGENHAGEN'S ORGANIZATIONAL TRAVELS

Bugenhagen had participated in the planning of the Saxon visitation of 1528, and he and Luther had cooperated in and approved the Instruction of the Visitors which Melanchthon had written for the occasion. Luther indicates this in a letter to the elector on October 12, 1527 in which he states: "Our pastor, Mr. Johann Pomer, and I have examined the documents of the visitors and have changed little in them."

Bugenhagen might have been one of the visitors had not another call from the North German cities reached him, a call which he accepted and which marked the beginning of his organizational travels.

Braunschweig

The call came from the city of Braunschweig. The Reformation had made its initial impact on the city through the preaching of Gottschalk Kruse, a monk who had experienced spiritual struggles similar to Luther's and had become attracted to Luther's writings. Although the Church, supported by the city council and Duke Henry of Wolfenbüttel, opposed the Lutheran circle which gravitated around Kruse, it continued to grow. By 1528 Lutheranism
had attracted a large following, but factions had also developed. An experienced organizer and theologian was needed. Heinrich Winkel, who was called first, was a mild-mannered man and could not unite the factions. The city council, which had determined that suppression of the Reformation would result in civil discord, therefore requested Bugenhagen's services. The Wittenberg reformers felt that the situation in Braunschweig was critical enough to warrant his presence. He left Wittenberg on May 16, 1528 and arrived in Braunschweig a few days later.

Bugenhagen's organizational abilities were indeed challenged considerably in his first assignment. The various factions had to be united, poor relief and the schools had to be organized, a new liturgy had to be prepared, and adequate preachers had to be appointed. Bugenhagen quickly demonstrated that he was the right man for this difficult task. Even the Catholic historian Johannes Jannsen recognized his effectiveness, although his opinion of Bugenhagen was far from complementary. "With the ardor of a fanatic," says Jannsen, "he [Bugenhagen] swept the churches clear of every 'vestige of popish superstition and idolatry.'" The burghers of Braunschweig who supported the Reformation, of course, viewed Bugenhagen's work in a much more positive light.

In order to avoid any question about his right to work in Braunschweig, Bugenhagen immediately called together all the evangelical preachers, presented to them the letter of
the council requesting his presence, and asked them to commission him for his work in their midst with the laying on of hands. This they did, and he was consecrated as preacher and teacher in all the churches of the city. He began his actual reform activity with a series of sermons in all the churches of the city. The sermons were doctrinal sermons whose purpose was to explicate clearly the heart of the Reformation message to the people. He again returned to a favorite theme and condemned those works done in order to achieve work righteousness. Rather, he pointed out, the good works which are fruits of faith must be expressions of love for the neighbor. He, therefore, encouraged the people to support schools, to take care of the poor, and to provide for the servants of the church. In addition to preaching at least three times a week, he also lectured daily on Romans and I and II Timothy throughout his six-month stay in Braunschweig.

Bugenhagen's plan of attack was an admirable one. He first introduced himself to the people from the pulpit, acquainted them with his message, and laid the theological foundation for his organizational work. Only then did he begin to institute the practical program of organization and reform.

Bugenhagen's main energies, of course, were devoted to the production of a church order that would provide the legal and organizational basis for the evangelical churches in the city. He began his work as soon as he had acquainted
himself with the local circumstances. By August the church order was ready to be examined by the city council and the burghers. Some revisions were made, and on September 5, 1528 the order was officially adopted and became law. It remained in effect until 1596. The Braunschweig church order is the most important of all his church orders, because it is a basic model for the rest, particularly those of Hamburg and Lübeck. It is an extensive document, for he wanted to be absolutely certain that the various stipulations and the rationale behind them would be clearly understood. Bugenhagen the teacher again emerges in the document and large explanatory sections are an integral part of the church order. The order is divided into three major sections, one dealing with liturgical matters, another with poor relief, and a third with schools.

The Braunschweig burghers were impressed with Bugenhagen's work and recognized his abilities. They hoped, therefore, that he would become their first superintendent and remain among them for another year. Both Bugenhagen and Luther urged the elector to refuse this request of the citizens of Braunschweig. At the same time, Bugenhagen asked for an extension of his leave, because the city which had called him first and for which he still felt a deep responsibility had again requested his services in July, 1528. Bugenhagen's request was granted, and the Elector John allowed him to go to Hamburg. Before he left Braunschweig, he installed Martin Görlitz, whom Luther had
recommended, as superintendent and Heinrich Winkel as his assistant. After encouraging all the evangelical preachers to maintain unity, he left Braunschweig and proceeded to the Hanseatic city of Hamburg.

**Hamburg**

The Church was a living and viable institution in Hamburg at the beginning of the sixteenth century. There were numerous churches, and religious life flourished. The unrest which existed was essentially a political struggle between the cathedral chapter, which enjoyed almost a monopoly in the ecclesiastical field, including the supervision of education, and the city council over such issues as taxation and property rights. Some anticlericalism was developing, however. Luther's ideas were also beginning to infiltrate the city through Hamburg citizens attending the University of Wittenberg and particularly through religious refugees from the Netherlands who fled the persecutions initiated by Charles V. Among the latter was Simon Korver of Amsterdam who established the first Lutheran printing press in the Low German areas. He printed Luther's works, particularly his popular pamphlets, for about one year. Korver was also the publisher of the Low German New Testament in 1523. Bugenhagen's _Von dem Christenloven_ also encouraged reform activity.

Ordo Stemmel, who was primarily an ethical reformer, Johann Widenbrügge, and Stephan Kempe were the first
important reform preachers. Kempe was a Franciscan, possibly from the Netherlands, who began his reform activity in 1523. Unlike many of the early reform preachers, he remained in Hamburg until his death in 1540 and contributed the needed element of stability to the Reformation movement. Because of his long and diligent activity he deserves to be called the "Reformer of Hamburg."

Although the defenders of the Church did not remain inactive and a polemical struggle was fought from the pulpit and on the printed page, the Catholic party was never able to halt the Protestant offensive. Two public disputations, in May, 1527 and in April, 1528, assured the victory of the evangelical party. In order for this victory to be a complete and lasting one, however, the opposing parties needed to be reconciled and the church and school needed to be organized carefully and efficiently. The city council, which had resigned itself to the victory of the Reformation and which was eager to restore harmony in the city, therefore turned to the man whom they had rejected four years earlier. Johannes Bugenhagen was asked to come and give positive direction to the church in Hamburg. He was eager to accept the invitation, for he still believed God had called him to Hamburg. On October 9, 1528 he arrived and was received with great hospitality. As was the custom with honored guests, he was given considerable gifts, including an oxen, beer, and wine. Food, clothing, and monetary gifts were also presented to him and to his
family periodically during their stay in Hamburg.

As he had done in Braunschweig, Bugenhagen began his activity by preaching. On the first Sunday he defended his coming and his message and called for cooperation and peace. Unfortunately, Bugenhagen's sermons which he preached in Hamburg are no longer extant. His message, no doubt, was similar to that which he had brought to Braunschweig and which he had already addressed to the Hamburg citizens in his epistle of 1526. He immediately recognized that the situation in Hamburg was a difficult one, and that he would need a longer leave of absence if he were to be effective at all. The elector had permitted him to remain until November, "or at the most two weeks later." Therefore, both he and the council petitioned an extension, and with Luther's agreement the elector allowed Bugenhagen to prolong his stay.

One of the first concerns to which Bugenhagen turned his attention was the revival of education. This was to be expected, for he was convinced that the church could prosper only if there were good schools to educate the young and to provide able pastors. The educational issue was also one of deep concern in Hamburg, for the burghers felt that education had been neglected under the patronage of the cathedral chapter. In a letter to Luther dated November 1, 1528 Bugenhagen reviews his activity on behalf of the schools.

A beginning has already been made with respect to the schools, the provision of teachers, and the care
of the poor. Last Sunday there came to me deputies who commanded me in the name of the council and the whole city to preach about the schools at vespers, which I did, and, God-willing, I shall continue to do on my own this coming week and thus tackle the matter more definitely. 14

Bugenhagen did not satisfy himself with oral exhortations, however. His interest in and contributions to education in Hamburg continued throughout his stay. He published a Low German translation of Luther's Small Catechism in order to facilitate religious instruction, particularly of the young. Stephan Kempe and Johann Boldewan, the former abbot of the Belbug monastery now active in Hamburg, may have participated in the translation. 15

Bugenhagen also worked diligently for the reorganization of the schools in Hamburg. His major concern was to inspire the establishment of a good Latin school. Indeed, his efforts bore fruit. After the Dominican monks who refused to accept the Reformation were ordered to leave the monastery of St. John, its facilities were converted into a school. Bugenhagen himself was given the honor of opening the school which was to a large degree the product of his labors. On May 24, 1529 the Johanneum, as the Latin school came to be called, opened its doors after a Latin address by Bugenhagen. Gottfried Hermelates Theophilus was appointed rector and Matthäus Delius his assistant. Both men had studied at Wittenberg. 16

Bugenhagen also suggested the establishment of a lectorium, an embryonic university. This provision was
not a novel one. He was, in fact, reviving a traditional educational institution in Hamburg. Already in 1409 a pious burgher had left a stipend to support lectures by a canon who had earned a bachelor's or master's degree. The canon was to present theological lectures to enhance the knowledge of both clerics and also educated laymen. The lectureship would thus enable capable citizens of Hamburg to further their knowledge without having to attend a costly university. Bugenhagen adopted this idea of a lectorium and expanded it to meet the needs of the present situation. He saw the value of such an institution, because he felt that Hamburg could not yet support a university. He provided that the lectorium foster particularly theological, legal, and medical studies and thus furnish instruction in the three upper faculties of the university. While the Latin school became a reality immediately, the lectorium did not. Nevertheless, Bugenhagen's suggestions were never forgotten, and his general ideas were embodied in the academic gymnasium which was opened in 1613 and which remained a respected educational institution into the nineteenth century.

Although the Hamburg citizens hoped to retain Bugenhagen's services, he was eager to return to Wittenberg by the late spring of 1529. His presence was indeed sorely needed there. Melanchthon was at the Diet of Speyer; Jonas was still busy with the visitation; and Luther was sick. While they were reluctant to let him leave, the people of
Hamburg were grateful for Bugenhagen's service, and they expressed their appreciation with a parting gift of one hundred gulden for Bugenhagen and twenty gulden for his wife. On June 9, 1529 he left Hamburg, grateful that he had finally been able to heed the first call which had come to him. On his way home he stopped at Braunschweig and restored order there. During his absence a number of preachers had begun to preach Zwinglian doctrines and had brought uncertainty and unrest to the city. Anabaptist preachers also added to the confusion. In a few days Bugenhagen was able to gain control of the situation, and on June 25 he arrived in Wittenberg after an absence of over a year.

On August 11, 1529, shortly after his return, Bugenhagen wrote a letter to the administrators of the common chest in Hamburg. He expresses his concern that the plague had struck the city and urges them to be steadfast in the faith. Then he turns to a particular concern, namely the welfare of the school. He encourages the administrators to support the Johanneum diligently and points out its essential importance for the city. "My dear sirs," he writes,

I do not doubt that you are administering your office diligently over against the poor and the servants of the church, but above all see diligently to the school that nothing be lacking or neglected in this area. For from it you must produce such people whom you are presently unable to find anywhere, as you well know.19

The welfare of education was Bugenhagen's highest priority.
His interest in and concern for education in the areas he visited continued even after he had left. He hoped that his school orders would be implemented and reminded the local officials that the diligent support of education was really a wise investment in their own future.

Bugenhagen had little time to reacclimate himself to Wittenberg. In fact, his responsibilities were greatly increased when Luther, Melanchthon, and Jonas journeyed to Marburg in October, 1529 to participate in the Marburg Colloquy. The church and the school, of course, remained the primary arenas of his activity. He immediately resumed his busy preaching schedule and his lectures at the university. The University of Wittenberg had again begun to grow after the turmoil of the Peasants' Revolt and the dispersion during the 1527 plague. This was one of the main reasons why Luther wanted Bugenhagen to return to Wittenberg, as he indicated in a letter to the elector requesting him to order Bugenhagen's return. Because many new students are enrolling at the university, particularly from Saxony, says Luther, therefore "we cannot do without Mr. Johann Pomer much longer." Luther repeatedly indicated that he considered Bugenhagen to be an important asset to the university, and that he thought very highly of his contributions to education in Wittenberg.

Bugenhagen's energies during the years 1529 and 1530 were expended primarily in the fulfillment of his day-to-day responsibilities. During much of this period the other
leaders of the Reformation were absent from Wittenberg, either at Marburg or later at the Diet of Augsburg. He, therefore, had to guide the affairs in Wittenberg. He did participate in the planning for the Diet, of course, and also took part in the visitation of the Saxon territories in 1530. The well-being of the schools was one of his major concerns as he visited the churches of Saxony. He also formulated his opinion on the crucial issue of the right of resistance, published a harmony of the Gospels, and assisted in the translation of the Augsburg Confession into Low German.

**Lübeck**

By early October Luther returned to Wittenberg from the Coburg and Melanchthon and Jonas from Augsburg. Shortly after their return Bugenhagen received still another call. This time the city of Lübeck turned to him for help in the process of stabilizing and organizing the Reformation movement in its midst. Indeed the tumultuous situation in the city demanded Bugenhagen's administrative genius, practical experience, and lofty reputation. Although Luther was again reluctant to see Bugenhagen go, he also recognized that the welfare of the Reformation movement would be served by Bugenhagen's work in Lübeck. Thus Bugenhagen left Wittenberg on October 20, 1530 and arrived in Lübeck on October 28. His stay was to be a long and profitable one. It is significant to note that all the areas in which Bugenhagen worked, with the possible exception of
Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, remained faithful to the Reformation cause. Certainly he cannot be given all the credit for this, but his careful guidance of the churches during his stay in specific areas, his formulation of detailed legal bases in the church orders, his establishment of an extensive educational system, and his continued contacts with the churches he had visited certainly contributed a great deal to their growth and their stability.

The Reformation had indeed brought discord and tumult to the city of Lübeck, particularly since political and religious concerns became intimately intertwined. The party which supported the Reformation also championed an extension of burgher rights over against the council and an oligarchy of patricians who diligently defended the Catholic cause.

Luther's writings had reached Lübeck in the early 1520's, and by 1522 Nicholas von Amsdorf could express joy that some in Lübeck eagerly desired to hear God's Word. In the same letter, addressed to the city council, he also indicated that the Reformation was meeting serious opposition. Thus he laments that there are also "many ravening wolves" in Lübeck who wish to hinder the work of God. There was, therefore, serious opposition to the spread of evangelical ideas. The Martinianer, as the followers of Luther were called, suffered both verbal and physical abuse. Nevertheless, their numbers grew. Although the sale, reading, possession, copying, or printing of Luther's writings were
forbidden in July, 1524 according to imperial wishes, the Lutheran message continued to reach the city, particularly through courageous preachers. The most significant of these early evangelical pastors was Johann Osenbrügge who was imprisoned for three years because of his activity.24

While the Catholic party could impede the spread of the Reformation, it could not stop it. Political exigencies finally helped bring about the ultimate victory of the Lutheran movement in Lübeck. Under the leadership of the council, the city had become involved in various political struggles, particularly in the conflict between Gustavus Vasa and King Christian II of Denmark. The various military campaigns had depleted the treasury. When the city council asked for new taxes, the burghers demanded concessions in return, particularly with regard to the Reformation. The committee of sixty-four, which became the political voice of the burghers after 1530, was dominated by Lutherans and also used its influence to further the Reformation.25 Jürgen Wullenweber emerged as the leader of the burghers in their religious and political struggles.

By June, 1530 the evangelicals had virtually assured the success of their cause. The council was persuaded to demand that the Catholic clerics cease preaching until they had defended their position on the basis of Scripture. The establishment of a common chest in each congregation was agreed upon, and the decision was made to call a learned man to write a church order and to organize the evangelical
movement. Jacob Crapp and Johann von Acheln were sent to Wittenberg to procure the services of one of the reformers, preferably Luther. Bugenhagen was finally given permission to go instead. The tumultuous situation in Lübeck demanded that he stay for eighteen months.

The promulgation of a church order which would bring stability to the Lübeck ecclesiastical scene was the most pressing matter facing Bugenhagen. A committee of three representatives from the council, three representatives from the sixty-four, and four other respected burghers was appointed to assist Bugenhagen. With their help he acquainted himself with the local needs and formulated the church order with these needs in mind. On May 27, 1531 the order was officially adopted as the legal constitution of the evangelical churches in the city. Although the order was normative in some organizational and administrative areas for only a short time, many of its liturgical and educational stipulations were operative into the nineteenth century. Its longevity is, of course, a positive reflection on Bugenhagen's work.

As he was writing the church order Bugenhagen also devoted himself wholeheartedly to the task of achieving concord between the city council and the burghers. Through his diligent efforts peace between the two contending parties was finally achieved in April, 1531. The council definitely pledged itself to support the Reformation, and the burghers also promised to be obedient to the council
in all things which were not against God's will and the common good. The burghers obviously were still wary of the council and, therefore, clearly defined the extent of their obedience.

Bugenhagen had accomplished much, and he apparently felt that he could return to Wittenberg, which he did. After a short time, however, it became quite apparent that the peace in Lübeck was still much too tenuous. Hermann Bonnus, who had been appointed superintendent, could not control the factions which were still not satisfied. Bugenhagen was, therefore, given an additional year's leave of absence, and he returned to Lübeck. His stable and authoritative influence, his preaching, teaching, and counselling during the next year finally resulted in a resolution of the strife. When he left Lübeck the second time, there was no need for him to return.

Indeed, Bugenhagen accomplished a great deal during his stay in Lübeck. His activity on behalf of education was again extensive and quite noteworthy. Lübeck had an impressive number of schools during the Middle Ages. There were two Latin schools, one at St. Jacob and the other at the cathedral. In addition, six German schools had also been established. Unfortunately, the schools were not effective educational institutions. Even the most significant, the cathedral school, had few students during the 1520's. By the end of 1526 attendance had fallen so significantly that the music teacher feared that he soon would
have no boys for the choir. Bugenhagen, therefore, again faced a rather critical situation in this area which he considered to be so vital for the welfare of the church.

In the church order Bugenhagen called for only one Latin school in the convent of St. Catherine, which he himself opened on March 19, 1531. Because Lübeck did not have a university, he also urged the establishment of a lectorium. While in the Hamburg lectorium three university faculties were to be represented, only theological lectures were to be held in Lübeck. Finally, Bugenhagen advocated the organization of a library which could be an essential asset to the educational process.

Throughout his stay in Lübeck Bugenhagen was engaged in educational activity, particularly catechetical instruction. For example, he preached four times on the catechism during the year, a practice which he advocated for all the Lutheran churches. Catechetical preaching was very important to him throughout his career and numerous catechetical sermons have been preserved. While in Lübeck, he also participated in the publication of Luther's Large Catechism in Low German and wrote a preface for it.

An extremely important contribution to the spread and stabilization of Lutheranism in the Low German speaking areas was the translation of Luther's German Bible into Low German. Bugenhagen was an eager proponent of and participant in this project while he worked in Lübeck. Four Lübeck citizens, Johann von Achelen, Götke Engelstedt,
Jakob Crapp, and Ludwig Dietz, paid for the project. The translation and publication was undertaken with such vigor that the whole Low German Bible was published six months before Luther's High German edition. It is impossible to determine to what extent Bugenhagen was involved in the actual work of translation. He certainly did not do all of it, particularly since he left Lübeck in 1532, but he constantly provided advice and encouragement. Annotations, or short explications of the text, by Bugenhagen were also included in the first edition of April 1, 1534. Bugenhagen was reluctant to give permission for this inclusion, yet his desire to facilitate a proper understanding of the scriptural message apparently convinced him to acquiesce. For the second edition of the Low German Bible, published in Wittenberg in 1541, Bugenhagen expanded the annotations but published them separately. He wanted no detractions from the biblical text.33

In April, 1532 Bugenhagen finally left Lübeck. During his stay he had restored order and brought to an end the bitter factionalism which had divided the city. He had also provided the church in Lübeck with a detailed church order and had reorganized and revitalized education in the city. Although various problems continued to persist, the Reformation was never again seriously threatened in Lübeck. Bugenhagen must have been satisfied that this would be the case. Furthermore, he was also sorely needed in Wittenberg, particularly by Luther who simply could no longer substitute
for him.

Having been welcomed home by his friends on April 30, 1532, Bugenhagen again resumed his pastoral and teaching duties, for which Luther in particular was deeply grateful. He was also again chosen as a visitor, and his influence is clearly recognizable in the Wittenberg church order of 1533 which was produced especially for the new visitation.

In June, 1533 Bugenhagen was honored with the degree of Doctor of Theology. The bestowal of the degree was due largely to a wish of the Elector John Frederick. Bugenhagen had not sought this honor, but in June, 1533 Caspar Cruciger and Johannes Aepinus were scheduled to receive the Doctor of Theology degree. The elector felt the degree should also be conferred on Bugenhagen, for he thought very highly of the reformer. Melanchthon, therefore, quickly prepared a series of theses, and Bugenhagen defended them with the elector and a number of other Lutheran princes present. After the defense the degree was bestowed, and Bugenhagen finally became a full member of the theological faculty of the university.

Pomerania

Bugenhagen was participating in still another visitation when a call for help reached him from his homeland. The writings and ideas of Luther had infiltrated Pomerania quite early, and the evangelical circle in Treptow, through which Bugenhagen was introduced to Luther and of which he was a leading spirit for a time, was among the first in
Pomerania. The Reformation movement in Pomerania did not become a unified movement, however. Rather, individual Lutheran circles emerged with local leaders such as Johannes Knipstro, Johannes Kureke, and Paul von Rode. No national leader arose. Thus while the Reformation was quite powerful in some areas, it was non-existent in others. Furthermore, there was relatively little cooperation between the various Lutheran pockets. As was so often the case, the Reformation in Pomerania was not imposed from above but began among the people, particularly the burghers. The dukes of Pomerania did, however, play a significant role in its official establishment and organization.

Although Duke Bogislav X had curbed the independence of the bishop and the fiscal and legal privileges of the Church, he remained a faithful son of the Church and opposed the Reformation. After his death, his sons George I and Barnim IX ruled the country together. George I continued to oppose the Lutheran movement. When his son Philipp I succeeded him, however, Barnim and Philipp decided to permit evangelical preaching. The Reformation made significant progress, although it was still opposed by the bishop, Erasmus of Manteuffel, by most of the nobility, and even by some of the powerful patricians. Civil discord resulted.

In order to curb this unrest and to unify and organize the Reformation movement, the two dukes agreed to summon a diet in the city of Treptow. They also realized that an effective leader was needed who could formulate a church order and
supervise the official establishment of the Reformation. It was quite natural that they should turn to a fellow Pomeranian for guidance. Bugenhagen accepted the invitation and arrived in Treptow shortly before the Diet began its sessions on December 13, 1534.

Disagreements surfaced quickly at the Diet. The bishop, the nobility, the cities, and the two dukes all asserted rights to the ecclesiastical property. The question was never solved adequately, and the nobility left the Diet in protest. The bishop asked to be given until April, 1535 to consider his own position in the new ecclesiastical regime, for Bugenhagen limited episcopal authority to spiritual matters in his church order. The Diet agreed, however, that the Reformation should be implemented. It determined "that the Gospel should be allowed to be preached loudly and purely throughout the whole land and all papistry and ceremonies which may be against God's will should be abolished." Bugenhagen was authorized to compose a church order which he completed rapidly. Although it was never officially promulgated by the Diet, it was accepted as the legal constitution of the evangelical churches in Pomerania.

In order to implement the stipulations of the new church order a church visitation was undertaken in the Spring of 1535. The visitors, led by Bugenhagen, faced a formidable task. Not only did they have to remedy various abuses, but they also met a good deal of opposition as they attempted to implement various stipulations of the
church order. The cities, which generally favored the Reformation, were, nevertheless, reluctant to use confiscated church property for the support of pastors and schools as Bugenhagen demanded. The nobility were equally recalcitrant. Furthermore, both the cities and the nobility saw the visitation as an extension of ducal authority, a development which they feared. Because of a lack of time, Bugenhagen was also only able to visit the more important cities. Wherever he went, however, he addressed the specific problems, and his presence had salutary effects. It cannot be denied that Bugenhagen's church order and his activity as a visitor had a significant impact on the successful establishment of the Reformation in Pomerania. Through this activity he brought a degree of order and gave a sense of direction to the evangelical movement. Thus he laid the necessary foundation on which others could build. His positive contributions have certainly been recognized by historians of Pomeranian church history.\(^{37}\) Daniel Cramer, the Pomeranian chronicler, makes the following comment about the visitation: "This was the extensive, salutary, first visitation in the whole land, which D. Bugenhagen helped accomplish, through which he served his fatherland to eternal honor, for which God be praised throughout eternity."\(^{38}\)

Wherever he went on the visitation, Bugenhagen attempted to inculcate a dedication to the establishment of an effective educational system. In the church order
he called for a Latin school in every city of the realm. He also strongly advocated the revitalization of the university, for the University of Greifswald had deteriorated since his own student days. It is impossible to determine how many cities established schools or how closely they followed Bugenhagen's suggestions. The historical evidence is simply lacking. There is evidence that Bugenhagen met opposition, and that the stipulations of the church order were not always implemented. The city of Stargard, for example, completely opposed the visitation. Bugenhagen, therefore, wrote a letter to the council, reprimanding it for its obstinacy and encouraging it to support a school. However, his advice apparently was ignored. On the other hand, he was deeply respected by his countrymen and was at least able to sow numerous seeds which bore fruit sooner or later. For example, his work resulted in the opening of a paedagogium in Greifswald, which emerged in November, 1539 as the revitalized University of Greifswald. While others, including Melanchthon, must also be given credit for this revival, Bugenhagen provided the original impetus.

Although he realized that much direction was still necessary, Bugenhagen also knew that he could not stay in Pomerania long enough to carry out a thorough program of visitations and reform. Having laid at least a positive groundwork, he returned to Wittenberg on August 27, 1535. The plague had again struck the city, and since a number of reformers had gone to Jena, Bugenhagen immediately
shared the full gamut of responsibilities with Luther.

In May, 1536 Bugenhagen participated in the discussions with the South German theologians which resulted in the Wittenberg Concord. He was also consulted by Luther as the latter produced the Schmalkaldic Articles, and he revised the article on the eucharist. Melanchthon, who hoped that the Schmalkaldic Articles would be as irenic as possible, was highly disturbed when he read Bugenhagen's revision. He accused Bugenhagen, whom he called "a vigorous man and a coarse Pomeranian," of assuming a more rigorous position than that espoused in the Wittenberg Concord. 40 This rather sharp disagreement between the two reformers was, however, an exception in their relationship. They remained supportive friends even in the bitter and disturbing years after Luther's death. Bugenhagen also accompanied Luther and Melanchthon to Schmalkalden. When Luther was forced to return early because of illness and indeed believed he would die, Bugenhagen was again by his side as his spiritual counselor and friend.

While he had been lecturing quite regularly at the university and had become a member of the theological faculty after receiving his doctorate, Bugenhagen was now also assigned specific teaching responsibilities by virtue of his office as pastor of Wittenberg. The university had been thoroughly reorganized in the early 1530's, and a definition of the teaching duties of the Wittenberg pastor was a part of this reorganization. The pastor, who was to
be a doctor of theology or at least a *licentius*, was to lecture on Matthew, Deuteronomy, or a lesser prophet on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Since Bugenhagen was the pastor at the time, these responsibilities fell on him. Thus his educational obligations and activities on behalf of the Reformation were expanded.

**Denmark**

The next arena of Bugenhagen’s activity was to be Denmark. Bugenhagen was invited to give direction to the Reformation movement in Denmark by King Christian III. Christian petitioned Elector John Frederick in August, 1536 to allow Bugenhagen to come to Denmark, and when this request was not granted he repeated it in April, 1537. This time the elector gave his permission, and Bugenhagen agreed to come. He arrived in Copenhagen on July 5, 1537 together with his wife, his children, and his nephew Johannes Lübbecke. His stay of two years was a productive and enjoyable one.

The Reformation had become well established in Denmark by 1537, for it had enjoyed the support of the Danish crown, though at times for purely political reasons. Christian III, in particular, embraced the Reformation cause. One of his first acts after entering Copenhagen triumphantly in August, 1536 was to confiscate episcopal property and thus to abolish the power of the bishops who were the major proponents of Catholicism and at the same time Christian’s most powerful opponents. Christian needed the land
to pay his troops and to replenish a depleted treasury. Both Luther and Bugenhagen cautioned the king to use the ecclesiastical lands in a proper fashion. In a letter dated December 3, 1536, before Bugenhagen had come to Denmark, he reminded Christian to reserve a large portion of the ecclesiastical lands "for the churches and preachers, for the schools and the poor, for sick and forsaken servants of the churches and the schools, for the annual visitation ..., also for poor students and other contingencies." 43 Christian apparently heeded Bugenhagen's advice, for some of the ecclesiastical property was indeed set aside for the purposes delineated in Bugenhagen's letter.

Bugenhagen began his activity in Denmark with the rather revolutionary act of crowning the king and the queen on August 12, 1537. 44 The coronation apparently resulted in vociferous opposition. Catholics felt that Bugenhagen had usurped an episcopal right. Some of Christian's subjects resented the fact that a German had crowned their king. A number of Lutherans objected to what they saw as unlutheran ceremony in the coronation liturgy. 45 Luther apparently was amused and quite satisfied with his friend's action.

He wrote to Bucer in December, 1537: "The Pomeranian is still in Denmark and everything which God is effecting through him prospers. He has crowned the king and the queen like a true bishop." 46

The publication of a church order was, of course, an immediate goal toward which Bugenhagen worked. The Danish
church order is not as fully a product of his pen as his previous church orders. The evolution of the order is described in the introduction which Bugenhagen himself probably composed for the king. Christian had called together theologians from Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein and asked them to produce a church order. This order was sent to Wittenberg, where the reformers studied and revised it. Bugenhagen then brought the order with him, revised it again extensively after consulting with Danish pastors, and then published the "Ordinatio ecclesiastica regnorum Daniae et Norwegiae et ducatum Sleswicensis, Holsatiae etc." in September, 1537. While he did not write the whole order, it is clearly a Bugenhagen church order. The original version was influenced by his previous church orders. He supervised the revision in Wittenberg and then was the author of the important final revision after his arrival in Denmark. Thus the final version is indeed his work, and he was pleased with it, as he indicates in a letter to Christian III (December 28, 1537): "Indeed one can see in it that we have often added to it, yet it is good and proper and should remain so, God be praised in eternity." Bugenhagen again included a section on education in the church order. He called for a Latin school in every city with three or at least two teachers. The boys were to be divided into five classes according to their abilities and progress.
Bugenhagen was particularly interested in the revitalization of the University of Copenhagen. Because of his extensive stay in Denmark, he was able to devote considerable energy to this goal. The university, like that of Wittenberg, was relatively young, having been established in 1478. It did not become a leading university of Europe, however, because it did not receive determined royal support, and because it did not attract distinguished teachers. The tumultuous political situation during the 1520's particularly harmed the university, and by 1530 it had closed. 50

The revitalization of the university was one of Christian III's major concerns, and he turned to Bugenhagen to formulate and carry out a program of revitalization. Bugenhagen, of course, saw the university in particular and schools in general as a very necessary element of a prosperous and living church. The University of Copenhagen would serve the Danish church particularly by providing it with an educated ministry and by becoming a cradle of Lutheran theological studies in the Scandinavian countries. He reorganized the faculty, provided for the support of the university through the grant of ecclesiastical lands, and lectured at the university on the Psalms, on the letters of Paul, and on various prophets. He was also one of its first rectors, a recognition of his invaluable service to the institution. 51 He even concerned himself with its physical facilities. In a letter to Christian III written on November 21, 1537 he laments the inadequacy of
these facilities and the inefficiency of those charged with remedying this inadequacy. He complains that the "storm and wind" of the Scandinavian winter have driven the students and teachers out of the decrepit school buildings and back into the churches. But even if the windows were fixed, the carpenters are still working on the benches. This lack of proper facilities has harmed the educational process, Bugenhagen reminds the king, for it is impossible to initiate a full schedule of lectures and disputations. Bugenhagen's administrative and teaching activity at Copenhagen contributed much to the renewal of the university. In fact, the university is in a very real sense his creation. The new charter for the university, which Bugenhagen modelled after that of the University of Wittenberg, was officially accepted at the Diet of Odense in June, 1539, at the same time that Bugenhagen's church order became the constitution of the evangelical churches in Denmark.

On July 5, 1539 Bugenhagen wrote to the elector informing him of his return to Wittenberg. He was apparently quite pleased with what he had accomplished in Denmark. He informs the elector that the church order has been accepted and that the school has been officially re-established. With regard to the school he reflects that it has "good professors who are well and amply provided for with a good salary." Seven years later (October 29, 1546) Bugenhagen encouraged Duke Albert of Prussia to support
the University of Königsberg by citing the example of the University of Copenhagen. He recalls how he feared that the churches in Denmark would not have enough pastors. Now whenever a pastor or teacher is needed, says Bugenhagen, the university provides them. In fact, it does not only serve Denmark but also Norway and other parts of Scandinavia. The university was fulfilling Bugenhagen's expectations.

Although Bugenhagen had returned to Wittenberg, Christian III was eager to acquire his services again. In 1541 the Bishop of Schleswig, Gottschalk von Ahlefeld, died, and King Christian hoped that Bugenhagen would fill the vacancy. Jonas and even Luther encouraged Bugenhagen to accept this honor, and the king offered him a substantial salary. Bugenhagen, however, declined. He felt that he was too old to perform the episcopal duties adequately, and the dignity of the office did not attract him. No doubt, his love for Wittenberg, his conviction that he could best serve the Reformation in Wittenberg, and his concern for the aging Luther also contributed toward his final decision.

Christian's efforts to bring Bugenhagen to Denmark persisted, however. Although the king felt that the university, the churches, and the schools were in better condition than they had been for many years, he was eager to enhance the reputation of the University of Copenhagen. On January 6, 1542, therefore, he wrote to Bugenhagen informing him that he would like to appoint him or "another capable and learned
man" as head of the university. Christian was particularly eager that Bugenhagen come, for "such an old Pomeranian and bacon eater" might also be able to tolerate the climate of the land better than another. Such humorous epithets clearly indicate the close friendship between these two men. Although Bugenhagen again turned down Christian's offer, he acquiesced to another request of the king in the same letter. Christian also asked Bugenhagen to give direction to the evangelical churches in Schleswig-Holstein and to provide the area with a church order. Bugenhagen was present in the duchies from February until May, 1542, but little is known about his specific activity.

Schleswig-Holstein

Bugenhagen's work in Schleswig-Holstein consisted basically of producing a church order for the duchies. The order was essentially a revision of the Danish church order which had had legal force also in the duchies. He again worked with the local ecclesiastical leaders, but his influence is quite evident. For example, the sections on education are clearly his work and were basically modifications of the Hamburg and Lübeck church orders. The order was unanimously accepted at the Diet of Rendsburg on March 9, 1542. Before he returned to Wittenberg, Bugenhagen also participated in the Diet of Ripen. The Diet was to deal with problems not addressed in the church order and with obstacles which stood in the way of the successful implementation of the order. Apparently a good
deal was accomplished at the Diet, for Bugenhagen declares three years later in a letter to Christian III (April 12, 1545): "For I am still pleased that I was able to accomplish so much through Your Majesty at Ripen, although I was at first so reluctant to attend." By June, 1542 Bugenhagen was again in Wittenberg.

**Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel**

His stay was to be a very short one, for his guidance was needed in the area where he had begun his organizational activity. Although the city of Braunschweig had been a center of Lutheranism since 1528, the Reformation faced numerous obstacles in conquering the territory around Braunschweig. The major obstacle proved to be Duke Henry of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, who was one of the staunchest defenders of the Catholic cause in northern Germany. It is difficult to determine Henry's motives, although Friedrich Koldewey maintains that he was essentially a political, not a religious, man. He opposed the Reformation primarily because of the social unrest which he felt accompanied it. He also hoped to suppress the city of Braunschweig, for its adoption of the Reformation was another manifestation of its assertions of autonomy. It is, of course, quite difficult to separate religious and political motives during the Reformation period, because so often they were closely interrelated in individual princes. In fact, it may be said that not even the most faithful defenders of the two opposing parties were inspired purely by religious
concerns.

In 1542 the Schmalkaldic League, under the leadership of the Elector John Frederick and Philipp of Hesse, decided to assist the beleaguered city of Braunschweig against Henry. The League was too formidable an opponent for the duke. He left his territories to find help but was unable to do so, and the territories fell into the hands of the League. The first concern of the Protestant leaders was to establish the Reformation in Henry's lands. Bugenhagen was again asked to facilitate this task.

Hildesheim:

Bugenhagen began his work in the episcopal city of Hildesheim. As was his custom, he first addressed the people from the pulpit and was greatly surprised that almost the whole congregation joined him in a German hymn, an indication that many of the people had had some contact with Lutheranism. In general, however, he found the condition of the Church in Hildesheim and the surrounding area to be deplorable. In a letter to John Frederick and Philipp of Hesse written on October 9, 1542 he describes the situation. In the city itself he could find no priest who could adequately minister to the sick. Only a few monks and none of the priests were found capable of assisting him in the work of the Reformation. The clergy were ignorant and did not even understand papal doctrine. Most were also so impious that they did not wish to do good, even if they were able. 62 Bugenhagen did as much as he
could in a month. He preached daily and celebrated the eucharist. He corrected the most obvious abuses and urged the establishment of a good educational system.

Although the bishop and the town council opposed his work, the people generally favored the introduction of the Reformation. In order to provide a legal basis for the evangelical churches, Bugenhagen also wrote a church order for Hildesheim. The order was officially accepted on September 26, 1542 after heated discussion, but it was not printed until 1544. Martin Winkel and Antonius Corvinus, who assisted Bugenhagen in Hildesheim, also signed the church order.

**Braunschweig Territory:**

In October, 1542 Bugenhagen led a visitation of the duchy, accompanied by Corvinus and Martin Görlitz. While the cities generally welcomed the visitation, Bugenhagen and his assistants met resistance in the various monastic establishments. Nevertheless, the visitation proceeded. The visitors examined pastors, encouraged the people to study the catechism, and sought the establishment of schools. Bugenhagen also provided the territory with a church order which was published in 1543. The order was based largely on the Braunschweig church order of 1528 and the Schleswig-Holstein church order of 1542. Although the evangelical cause in Braunschweig was never completely suppressed, Bugenhagen's work bore little immediate fruit. The defeat of the Schmalkaldic League in 1547 resulted in
the restoration of Duke Henry and the suppression of Lutheranism. Henry ruled until 1568, and, while he tolerated Protestantism toward the end of his reign, it was not until the reign of his son Duke Julius (1568-1589) that the Reformation was finally established in the duchy. Under the leadership of Martin Chemnitz and Jacob Andrea a church order was produced in 1569. It was influenced largely by the important Württemberg church order of 1559. In spite of these developments, Bugenhagen may be given credit for shaping the beginnings of the evangelical movement in the territory of Henry of Wolfenbüttel.

Final Years

With this work in the duchy of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Bugenhagen's extensive organizational travels on behalf of the evangelical churches in northern Germany came to an end. The final fifteen years of his life were spent primarily in Wittenberg. Unfortunately, they were years filled with controversy, with sadness, and with disappointments for Bugenhagen. Luther died, and Bugenhagen preached an emotional funeral sermon in which he praised Luther as the angel referred to in Revelation 14:6 and the swan whose coming John Hus supposedly prophesied. The Schmalkaldic War precipitated many hardships for the residents of Wittenberg which Bugenhagen reviewed in his Wie es uns zu Wittenberg in der Stadt gegangen ist in diesem vergangenen Krieg. The Adiaphoristic and Osiaandrian controversies divided the Lutherans, and Bugenhagen grieved for
the welfare of the Church. Although he refused to become involved in a literary battle, he defended what he considered to be true Lutheranism. Personal hardships also visited Bugenhagen. He fell in November, 1547 and never really recovered from the fall. Furthermore, shortly before his fall his son-in-law died, and his daughter Sarah, who was now a widow at age twenty-three, and her children came to live with him.

Nevertheless, in the midst of hardships he continued his labors, particularly on behalf of education. He eagerly sought the reopening of the University of Wittenberg when it was closed during the Schmalkaldic War. He inquired of John Frederick whether he planned to open a school in Thuringia. In another correspondence he and the rest of the Wittenberg faculty asked John Frederick to intercede with Maurice on behalf of the university if he did not intend to open a new school. The resumption of an educational program in Wittenberg was one of Bugenhagen's major concerns. He truly feared for the welfare of the evangelical churches if this did not happen quickly. He rejoiced, therefore, when Maurice pledged his loyalty to the evangelical cause and his intention to support the university. Bugenhagen cooperated with Maurice, and the university was reopened on October 24, 1547. Bugenhagen was accused of forsaking his old elector by cooperating with the man who had fought against the Lutherans. This charge is unfair. He did not forsake John Frederick and was deeply concerned
about his plight. Rather, he chose to continue the work at Wittenberg which he considered to be absolutely essential for the welfare of the evangelical cause. His love for his congregation and the university caused him to remain in Wittenberg even when John Frederick opened a school at Jena in 1548. By October of that year Bugenhagen could write to Christian III: "Our university has also become very large again through God's help, and we ordain pastors for as far away as Hungary."  

He also continued his teaching activity. Already in August, 1545 he began to lecture on Augustine's work Concerning the Spirit and the Letter in accordance with the statutes of the university which stipulated lectures on this particular work. After the reopening of the university in October, 1547 he also began a series of lectures on Jonah. In 1550 he published the lectures in commentary form and dedicated the book to King Christian III. The commentary is an important work of Bugenhagen, for it was written within the context of the Adiaphoristic controversy and is a clear expression of Bugenhagen's theology.

In addition to his teaching activity, Bugenhagen continued to encourage the establishment and support of educational institutions through his extensive correspondence. For example, he repeatedly urged Duke Albert of Prussia to support the newly founded University of Königsberg. The vitality and welfare of the total evangelical educational program, to the successful establishment of which he con-
tributed so much, continued to be one of his major concerns.

His educational work was only one part of Bugenhagen's activity. He himself summarizes his varied schedule in a letter to Christian III (January 23, 1553). "I preach here," he writes, "read lectures in the school, write, take care of ecclesiastical matters, examine, ordain, and send out many preachers, pray with our churches, and commit everything to the heavenly Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ...."

This busy schedule came to an end only in the last two years of his life. He deteriorated quickly during this period and was so weak at times that he could barely eat. The long years of travel, of labor, and of psychological stress had taken their toll. In 1557 he finally was forced to stop preaching, although he continued to attend church daily. Blindness in one eye did not prevent him from continuing his correspondence, however, especially with his dear friend Christian III. Finally, at the beginning of April, 1558 he became bed-ridden, and on the night of April 19 to April 20, 1558 he died. Quite appropriately, he was buried in the parish church where he had labored faithfully for thirty-five years.

Johannes Bugenhagen Pomeranus was indeed one of the most significant of the sixteenth-century Lutheran reformers. As a friend and counselor of Luther, as an organizer of churches, as a writer of church orders, and as a teacher in and apologist and architect of a Protestant educational
system he contributed a great deal to the success of the Lutheran Reformation and to the revival of education in general.
Footnotes

1 Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke, Briefwechsel, IV (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1933), 265, No. 1158. Hereafter referred to as WA, Briefwechsel, IV.


3 Johannes Jannsen, History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages, trans. by A.M. Christie (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1903), V, 120.


6 WA, Briefwechsel, IV, 566, No. 1326.


10 Ibid., p. 25.


13 Quoted in Beckey, p. 13.

15 Beckey, p. 164.


17 Hering, p. 70.

18 Sillem, p. 169.

19 Vogt, Briefwechsel, p. 87, No. 32.


24 Ibid., p. 32.


26 Ibid., pp. 330-331.

27 Reu, pp. 612-613.


Georg Buchwald has been primarily responsible for the collection of Bugenhagen's sermons. Cf. the bibliography for specific bibliographical data.


Hellmut Heyden, Kirchengeschichte Pommerns (2nd ed.; Köln-Braunsfeld: Rudolf Müller, 1957), I, 199. Heyden deserves recognition for his careful delineation of Pomeranian church history. He is the most significant and most prolific scholar working in this area.

Hellmut Heyden, Protokolle der Pommerschen Kirchenvisitationen 1535-1539 (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1961), p. XVI.


Heyden, for example, describes Bugenhagen as the reformer who called his fellow Pomeranians to the evangelical doctrine of justification by faith (Ibid., p. 18). He also comments on the longevity of Bugenhagen's work by pointing out that Pomerania has remained Protestant for over four hundred years. While most historians agree with Heyden's positive evaluation, Klaus Harms, in his Bugenhagens Bedeutung für die Kirche in Seiner Heimat (Leer: Gerhard Rautenberg, 1965), feels that Bugenhagen's contributions to the Pomeranian Church are much more limited than is generally admitted. In fact, his importance lies basically in his activity at the Diet of Treptow and the visitation. These were in themselves significant contributions, however, and Harms seems to underestimate Bugenhagen's significance.


Martin Wehrmann, Die Begründung des evangelischen Schulwesens in Pommern bis 1563, Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehung und Schulgeschichte, Beihefte VII (Berlin: A. Hofmann & Komp., 1905), p. 20. Wehrmann attempts to trace the actual implementation of Bugenhagen's educational stipulations. Although he admits a considerable lack of evidence, he does present valuable findings and helpful conclusions. He asserts
that although Bugenhagen's church order was often ignored or only partially enforced, Bugenhagen does deserve credit for giving an impetus to the educational revival in Pomerania. The cultural backwardness of the country and the numerous political and religious problems of the time made it almost impossible for Bugenhagen's plans to be implemented completely.

41 Hering, p. 108.
42 Heinrich Gottlieb Kreuslher, Denkmäler der Reformation der christlichen Kirche (Leipzig: Benjamin Fleischer, 1817), p. 121. Kreuslher represents the view that Bugenhagen remained in Denmark for five years. In fact, he returned to Wittenberg in 1539.
43 Vogt, Briefwechsel, pp. 142-143, No. 60.
44 The liturgy for the coronation, which Bugenhagen formulated, is printed in K.A.T. Vogt, pp. 369-390.
46 Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke, Briefwechsel, VIII (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1938), 158, No. 3193.
48 Vogt, Briefwechsel, p. 165, No. 68.
49 Reu, p. 519.
51 Ibid., p. 81.
52 Vogt, Briefwechsel, p. 157, No. 67.
53 Cf. Bugenhagen's reflections in a letter to John Frederick (July 5, 1539) in Ibid., pp. 195-197, No. 78.
54 Ibid., p. 196, No. 78.
55 Ibid., p. 383, No. 183.

56 Cf. Christian's letters of March 13, 1541 and May 15, 1541 in Ibid., p. 221; pp. 223-224, Nos. 95 and 98.

57 Christian III to Bugenhagen (May 15, 1541), in Ibid., p. 224, No. 98.

58 Christian III to Bugenhagen (January 6, 1542), in Ibid., pp. 228-229, No. 101.

59 Ibid., p. 229.

60 Ibid., p. 324, No. 154.


63 Hering, p. 132.


69 Ibid., p. 414, No. 206.

70 Ibid., pp. 395-397, No. 196.

71 Ibid. p. 395, No. 196.
72 Ibid., p. 430, No. 219.

73 Cf. the letter of Bugenhagen to Christian III (November 3-9, 1550) in Ibid., p. 486, No. 243.

74 Cf. Bugenhagen's letters to Duke Albert (October 29, 1546 and October 17, 1547) in Ibid., pp. 382-383, 410-411; Nos. 183 and 204.

75 Ibid., p. 547, No. 278.
CHAPTER III

THE THEORETICAL MILIEU

Johannes Bugenhagen was not an educational theorist but a practical organizer. His school orders, those extensive sections of his church orders which deal with education, do not present a systematic educational philosophy. They do not even contain an appreciable number of theoretical utterances. Yet Bugenhagen spoke out of a theological and theoretical context. There were certain principles and theories about education which he accepted, which are reflected in his school orders, but which he felt did not have to be explicated extensively in his writings. The milieu out of which he spoke was, of course, Wittenberg. He basically accepted the theological and theoretical utterances of Luther with regard to education. In addition, he was also acquainted with Melanchthon's educational formulations, particularly as these were embodied in the Instruction of the Visitors to the Pastors of Electoral Saxony (1528).

Bugenhagen did not theorize in his school orders because theorizing was neither his forte nor his particular sphere of interest. At the same time, he apparently felt no need to do so, because his Wittenberg friends and co-
workers were engaged in this pursuit. He saw his own task to be that of devising a Lutheran educational system which addressed itself to the specific educational needs of the Reformation and to the theoretical presuppositions of the Wittenberg reformers.

It is, therefore, important to examine the educational ideas of Luther and Melanchthon, particularly as the latter expressed them in his Instruction of the Visitors, and the relatively limited theoretical utterances of Bugenhagen himself. Together they comprise the theoretical milieu out of which Bugenhagen spoke and to which he addressed himself in his school orders, but which he himself never formulated in detail. Such an examination serves as explicative background to Bugenhagen's practical organizational work as it is embodied in his school orders.

It is not surprising that the Wittenberg reformers expressed urgent support for education and dedicated themselves to a revival of the educational process in the Lutheran territories. Education was indeed suffering gravely during the early years of the Reformation. The spirit of enthusiasm with its emphasis on direct revelation disparaged formal education. The polemical spirit and physical struggles of that period diverted energies from intellectual pursuits. With the destruction of the Roman Church's authority in Lutheran areas, the dissolution of monasteries, and the confiscation of ecclesiastical and monastic property by princes and cities, many educational institu-
tions were deprived of their facilities, their support, and their teachers. Luther's assertion that good works do not contribute to salvation resulted in an appreciable diminution of endowments. His incisive and radical criticism of contemporary Catholic schools also inspired a reluctance on the part of people to attend such corrupting institutions.

In one sense, then, the Reformation contributed to the decline of education during the early years of the movement. Erasmus was at least partially correct when he lamented, "Wherever Lutheranism prevails, there learning disappears." It is important to emphasize, however, that he was only partially correct. It cannot be maintained that the Lutheran reformers purposely destroyed education, or that they did not concern themselves with its revitalization. In fact, almost all of them, especially Luther, Melanchthon, and Bugenhagen, were deeply concerned about the demise of education during the 1520's, and they dedicated themselves to the establishment of a vital and efficient Lutheran educational system. The over-all effect of the Reformation on education, therefore, was a positive one.

Lutheran Theological Principles

It really could not have been otherwise, for the theological principles of Lutheranism demanded an efficient educational program. The central evangelical doctrine of justification by faith already pointed in that direction. Faith, which is a gracious gift of God, comes to the indi-
individual believer through the sacramental, spoken, or written Word of God. All Christians must at least be able to understand the preached Word, but they should also be able to read and study the Word as it is recorded in Holy Scripture. It is through the Word that faith is nurtured and strengthened.

Luther's emphasis on Scripture alone (sola Scriptura) particularly served as an important impetus toward education. Because he pointed to Scripture as the Word of God and the ultimate rule and norm in matters of faith and life, he demanded that people be well acquainted with it. He asserted that it is the duty of Christians "to use Holy Scripture as their own book," and he declared that it is "a sin and shame that we do not know our own book." Each Christian must study the Word of God himself and let the Spirit guide him in his study. In order to facilitate such study, Luther was eager to provide the Scriptures for the people in the vernacular. Then even those who were not able to master the biblical languages could read God's Word. Of course, they had to be able to read German. Thus at least a primary education was necessary. Indeed, the vernacular translation of Scripture greatly benefited education. Those who were not able or did not have the opportunity to learn Greek, Hebrew, or even Latin were at least eager to learn to read and write in their native language, for the Bible had become an open and understandable book even for them.
The doctrine of the priesthood of all believers also had important implications for education. While it freed the Christian from dependence upon the clerical, hierarchical, and sacramental system of the church, it also brought with it challenging responsibilities. The individual Christian was now his own priest and personally responsible for his relationship with God. He could no longer assign the responsibility to the church or the clergy, for their mediating role was rejected. Thus the priesthood of all believers demanded that the individual Christian be well aware of his spiritual responsibilities, and that the church prepare him for the fulfillment of those responsibilities.

The Lutheran conception of worship and of the pastoral office demanded both an educated clergy and laity. While the celebration of the sacraments was still an essential element in Lutheran worship, the sermon was assigned central importance in the service. The pastor, therefore, had to be able to read, study and explicate verbally the scriptural text. An educated ministry was, therefore, an absolute necessity in the Lutheran Church.

Furthermore, the congregation's role in the worship service was also redefined by the Reformation. Worship was to be the corporate act of the assembled community. Thus the people were no longer to be passive spectators, but active participants in the liturgy, especially through the singing of hymns. An educated laity could better ful-
fill their responsibilities in the worship services of the Lutheran churches. Musical instruction became an important part of the Lutheran curriculum, and student choirs were assigned definite responsibilities in Lutheran worship.

Finally, even the sacramental theology of Lutheranism emphasized the necessity of education. By rejecting the concept of *ex opere operato*, Luther argued that the sacraments were not efficacious to the individual Christian merely by virtue of their celebration. Rather, he warned that the Christian can appropriate the benefits which the sacrament offers only if he is a worthy partaker. Thus he must be able to examine himself and come before the altar in repentance and faith. While the Christian was not expected to comprehend the sacramental mystery, he was, nevertheless, expected to be aware of the benefits offered in the sacrament and of his responsibilities as a partaker. This, too, had important implications for proper religious instruction.

It is quite clear, then, that the very heart of Lutheranism, namely its theology, demanded an educated clergy and laity. A recognition of the essential importance of education and an urgent advocacy of education on the part of the reformers is, therefore, not surprising. Rather, it was to be expected.

Luther

Luther's main contribution to the educational
revival during the Reformation was to be an influential and effective publicist. Both his theology and the alarming milieu out of which he spoke inspired him to take up his pen on behalf of education. He emphasized the absolute necessity of good education, and he called upon the responsible parties to see to it that the educational process be revived. The most important works for an examination of Luther's educational thought are the Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation (1520), To the Councilmen of all the Cities of Germany in Behalf of Christian Schools (1524), and his Sermon on the Duty of Keeping Children in School (1530).

Criticism of Contemporary Education:

Luther has been accused of contributing to the educational crisis of the early Reformation period by his bitter condemnation of contemporary educational methodology and institutions. Indeed, as was typical of Luther, he did criticize corruption and abuse wherever he perceived them, and the educational realm was no exception.

In his To the Councilmen Luther castigates the universities and monastic schools as "asses' stalls and devil's training centers" and recommends

that if universities and monasteries were to continue as they have been in the past, and there were no other place available where youth could study and live, then I would wish that no boy would ever study at all, but just remain dumb.³

Luther could make such a radical statement, because he was convinced that no education was better than bad
education, particularly in the religious sphere. He explains his position in his *Address to the Christian Nobility*. "I would advise no one to send his child where the Holy Scriptures are not supreme," he writes. An institution which does not dedicate itself to the study of God's Word becomes corrupt and produces corrupt men. Rather, the universities "only ought to turn out men who are experts in the Holy Scriptures, men who can become bishops and priests, and stand in the front line against heretics, the devil, and all the world." Unfortunately, this was not happening. "I fear greatly," Luther continues, "that the universities, unless they teach the Holy Scriptures diligently and impress them on the young students, are wide gates of hell." This sincere fear and conviction inspired Luther to make his attack. However, he had no intention of closing all schools and abandoning the educational process. While he hoped that such corrupt institutions would either "sink into the abyss or be converted into Christian schools," he clearly favored the latter option. Even a word of criticism, then, was intended to be a call for reform and renewal. Luther sought the revival of a vibrant educational program. For this reason he did not satisfy himself with a word of criticism. He also posited reasons why education was absolutely necessary.

_Necessity of Education:_

Although he was not a systematic thinker, Luther
had the ability to analyze a particular situation precisely and to present his analysis in a concise and lucid manner. That is why he was such an effective propagandist for whatever cause he espoused. He certainly presented cogent arguments in support of his assertion that education was an absolute necessity.

Spiritual concerns and the welfare of the church were always uppermost in Luther's mind. He was convinced that the church could only prosper if there were good schools. Education was, therefore, necessary because the welfare of the church required it. In order to be a vital community where the Word of God is preached and the sacraments are administered properly and faithfully, the church needs diligent shepherds of the souls. "But where shall we get them," asks Luther, "if we let our schools go by the board and fail to replace them with others that are Christian?" The schools were to serve as seminaries where an educated clergy, an absolute must for the Lutheran Church, was to be trained. If such educational centers were not provided, then Luther could foresee only difficult times for the Church. In 1530, for example, he warned that within a few years "there will be such a scarcity of men that we shall have to give three or four cities to one pastor and ten villages to one chaplain, if indeed we can get even that many men." Schools must be supported for the church's sake, then, for "God preserves the church through the school, and schools preserve the
church." Young students are the "church's seed and source." Luther, Melanchthon, and Bugenhagen envisioned church and school as complementary institutions. It is significant that Bugenhagen incorporated a school order in all of his church orders, for this format is a concrete manifestation of this central emphasis of the Wittenberg reformers.

While Luther's concerns were essentially spiritual and ecclesiastical, he was not a parochial thinker. He also recognized the needs of the state and of society, and he asserted that the welfare of the temporal estate also demanded the existence of an effective educational system. In fact, even if "there were no souls," Luther argues, "and there were no need at all of schools and languages for the sake of the Scriptures and of God," yet schools would still be needed for both boys and girls. The existence of the temporal estate requires that there are "capable men and women, men able to rule well over land and people, women able to manage the household and train children and servants aright." Able secular rulers, counselors, secretaries, chancellors, and jurists were needed for the well-being of the state, and only schools could provide them according to Luther.

While he does not mean to disparage the necessity of capable and trained men in the spiritual estate, Luther asserts that the secular realm needs talented and educated leaders even more. His line of reasoning is quite simple. He maintains that the minister is guided and assisted by
the Holy Spirit in the fulfillment of his office. Indeed, the Spirit must be given primary credit for the accomplishments of the ministerial office. The secular ruler, on the other hand, must depend upon his own reason, for God has subjected temporal affairs to the authority of reason. 10 Thus, according to Luther, individuals who are to be leaders in the secular realm require effective instruction even more than clergymen. The welfare of the state, therefore, argues for the necessity of education just as urgently, if not more so, as the welfare of the Church.

Luther had such a lofty opinion of the efficacious effects of education that he maintained that the continuation of civilization depended on education. If barbarism is to be avoided, then education is an absolute necessity. Laudable schools are the very basis of civilization and of ethical conduct in Luther's thinking. If God were to punish the world and take away all men of learning, "then the people would become beasts and wild animals; there would be no understanding or common sense, no law, but rather frivolous robbery, theft, murder, divorce, and injury." 11 In short, civilization would pass away, and a primitive, barbarous state of existence would return. The continuation of a civilized society, then, also requires the existence of good schools.

Responsibility for Education:

Martin Luther was an able publicist, and he presented urgent and incisive arguments for the necessity of educa-
tion. The welfare of church and state, indeed of civilized society, depend on an effective educational program. He believed this quite firmly, and for this reason he also did not hesitate to identify those parties responsible for the education of the young.

The primary and ultimate responsibility for the education of children lies with the parents. Luther emphasized that the fourth commandment not only requires the children to honor their parents, but it also demands that the parents raise their children properly. The parents can do no better work and nothing more valuable "either for God, for Christendom, for all the world, for themselves, and for their children than to bring up their children well." An essential part of raising children properly is, of course, educating them. Indeed, the whole educational process must begin at home, Luther emphasized. It is at home that children must receive the first elements of religious and secular education. When the children are old enough, the parents must also see to it that they attend school and receive advanced instruction. He laments, therefore, that there is no one "who teaches his children to pray properly and to learn those elements necessary for salvation," or who sees to it "that his children are trained, taught, and instructed by other people." 

In his To the Councilmen Luther explained why parents neglect their educational responsibilities. He points out
that it is not always due to indifference. There are, of
course, "some who lack the goodness and decency to do it,
even if they had the ability." However, the large major-
ity of parents "are wholly unfitted for this task." He
admits that it takes extraordinary people to bring up and
teach their children properly. Many have not been prepared
to perform this essential work. Finally, Luther recognizes
that external circumstances often prevent parents with the
best intentions from fulfilling this God-given obligation.
They simply "have neither the time nor the opportunity for
it, what with their other duties and the care of the house-
hold." 14

Because these are the realities of life, however unfor-
tunate they may be, Luther proposed that the secular author-
ities must assume responsibility for the education of their
subjects. While he maintained that ultimate obligation for
the education of the young remained with the parents, he
also asserted that the civil authorities must represent
the parents and accept this responsibility when the par-
ents are unwilling or unable to fulfill it. The assign-
ment of educational responsibilities to the secular govern-
ment is a novel innovation of Luther and the other Witten-
berg reformers. Luther was not taking a particularly rev-
olutionary step, however. He viewed these authorities as
leading members of the church, not as standing in opposi-
tion to the church. It was, therefore, not a question of
church versus state for Luther, but rather a question of
church and state working together toward a common goal. Indeed, secular authorities commenced to play an essential role in the establishment and support of Lutheran educational institutions.

Luther believed that the preservation of learning should be every prince's "principal task." He asserted "that it is the duty of the temporal authority to compel its subjects to keep their children in school...." He urged them to fulfill this duty. He, therefore, advised the Elector John in 1526 that he has the power to force any city or village which has the financial capability to support schools. If they do not wish to do it for their own salvation, then "Your Electoral Grace is there as the highest guardian of the youth and of all who are in need and should force them to do it, just as one forces them to work on bridges, footpaths, roads or other random needs of the state." Luther, therefore, at least touches on the modern notion of compulsory education.

The cities had begun to challenge the clerical monopoly of education during the later Middle Ages and had established their own city schools. While ecclesiastical authorities often retained specific rights in the schools and clerics generally staffed them, they were an important innovation in the field of education and may be seen as the first step toward secular educational institutions. Luther encouraged this trend. His first extensive plea for the support of education after the tumult caused by
the enthusiasts was addressed to city councilmen. He also assigned very definite educational responsibilities to the city councils. He turned to the councils particularly because he was disappointed with the irresponsibility of the princes in the educational arena. Rather than fostering instruction, "they must needs be sleigh riding, drinking, and parading about in masquerades." They have no time for this important matter, because they are "burdened with high and important functions in cellar, kitchen, and bedroom." Since so many parents were unwilling and unable to educate their children and since the princes were lax in assuming their responsibilities, Luther hoped that the city councils would be more diligent in supporting this necessary cause. "Therefore, dear councilmen," Luther writes, "it rests with you alone; you have a better authority and occasion to do it than princes and lords."

While Luther placed the responsibility for the establishment and support of educational institutions largely into the hands of secular authorities, he did not absolve the clergy from their important duties in the educational arena. Lutheran pastors were urged to remind parents and secular authorities of their responsibilities. They were expected to be teachers from the pulpit, and the sacristan had important educational obligations in the villages. Luther particularly assigned the task of catechetical instruction to the pastors. He, therefore, pleads with them to "assume their office with their whole heart, have pity
on their people who have been entrusted to them and help us instill the catechism in the people, especially the young."²⁰ The pastors, then, were to fulfill an important role in the religious instruction of the youth.

Although Luther identified those members of society who were specifically responsible for the welfare of education and urged them to fulfill their responsibilities, he also maintained that ultimately everyone is responsible for a successful educational program. Because "nothing will help us and our descendants more than the maintenance of good schools and the education of our youth," Luther argues, therefore "all of us who wish to be Christians are obliged to assist and to further education with our means in all fidelity."²¹ Education was such an essential prerequisite for the welfare of everyone, according to Luther, that everyone must support the educational process in whatever way possible.

Luther did not satisfy himself with identifying responsibility, however. He did not merely confront people with their responsibilities, but he also accompanied his challenge with reasons for accepting the challenge. His arguments are varied and compelling.

The argument for supporting education which was most convincing to Luther was that it is God's will and God's command that children be instructed. He points out that God "through Moses urges and enjoins parents so often to instruct their children that Psalm 78 says: How earnestly
he commanded our fathers to teach their children and to instruct their children's children (Ps. 78:5-67)." God's command, then, should inspire all Christians to action.

Educating one's children is not only obedience of God's command but also an expression of gratitude. "Only think for yourself how many good things God has given and still gives to you each day free of charge," Luther urges. Then respond to these gifts by serving Him through the education of your sons and daughters, "knowing that by this means you thank him so gloriously and render him such great service, as has been said." Luther assures his readers, therefore, that "among all good works there is none greater or better than to train young people properly."

While Luther hoped that the knowledge that they were serving God and responding to His love would be sufficient reason for people to support education, he was realistic enough to recognize that this would not be the case. He, therefore, presented other reasons for educating children which he, no doubt, considered to be less lofty, but which he felt would also speak to the responsible parties. He warned that neglect of education is the devil's work. "Among his wiles," Luther cautions, "one of the very greatest, if not the greatest of all, is this--he deludes and deceives the common people so that they are not willing to keep their children in school or expose them to instruction." God, of course, cannot tolerate coopera-
tion with the devil, and He will punish such individuals by assigning them to eternal damnation.²⁷ Luther hoped that such a warning would serve as an impetus toward positive action.

Luther also addressed a concern for the common good which he hoped to find in people. He repeatedly delineated the dire need for trained pastors, teachers, and leaders in the secular realm and pointed out to parents and secular authorities that they can either severely harm or greatly serve society. God is in need of "pastors, preachers, schoolmasters in His spiritual kingdom," Luther reminds the people, "and you can give them to Him...."²⁸ Furthermore, as a parent you can serve your lord or city more with the education of children than if "you built castles and cities for them and collected all the world's treasures."²⁹ He explains that the welfare of a city does not merely consist in accumulating wealth, building strong walls, and stocking its armory. Rather, a city's greatest strength consists "in its having many able, learned, wise, honorable, and well-educated citizens."³⁰ Such individuals are able to use the defenses and wealth of the city wisely and to its benefit. The same is true on a larger scale for any state.

Although he chastised those who educated their children only to assure their fiscal well-being,³¹ Luther obviously believed that many people were concerned only about such matters. Thus for those whom he could not sway with
appeals to their faith or conscience, he presented very pragmatic arguments for the support of education. He obviously felt that the support of such people was needed even if their motives for supporting education and sending their children to school were not the best in his opinion. Apparently a large number of sixteenth-century parents felt that it was useless to send their children to school, because they were no longer assured of a position in the Roman Church. It was, therefore, better to teach them a trade.\textsuperscript{32} Luther first warned such parents that their priorities were highly questionable, but then he also pointed out to them that there were indeed numerous positions for the educated young man. He estimates, for example, that Saxony alone needs four thousand pastors.\textsuperscript{33} Thus every boy who was sent to the university in Saxony could find an ecclesiastical position. Quite obviously not all boys were able or willing to be pastors. For such individuals there are also numerous positions available in the secular world. For example, says Luther, "emperors and kings must have chancellors and clerks, counselors, jurists, and scholars. There is no prince who does not need to have chancellors, jurists, counselors, scholars, and clerks." The same is true for lesser nobles and cities. In addition, doctors and other professionals are needed.\textsuperscript{34} The point is quite clear. Any parent who wants to assure his child's future can do so by sending him to school. Education will bring fiscal security and advancement.
Luther also praised learning as a lasting and indestructible asset. He assures parents that they cannot leave their children a "better nor more certain treasure." Physical possessions, such as a house or a farm, are quite transitory. Fire can consume them, or they can be destroyed in some other way. Reading, writing, or Latin, however, are lasting treasures which can be used quite profitably, even in the world of business. Luther was an ardent spokesman for education, and he exhibited a great deal of ingenuity in his attempts to convince his contemporaries to maintain an effective educational program.

Support of Education:

Having argued an extensive and clever case for the necessity and the benefits of education, Luther also voiced his opinion concerning such practical matters as the financing of schools and their curriculum. The first step in assuring a successful educational program was, of course, to provide students. Luther expended most of his energy in attempting to achieve this goal. He also realized, however, that educational facilities had to be built and maintained, and that teachers had to be paid. He, therefore, proposed specific ways of addressing this need.

While the Lutheran reformers, including Luther and Bugenhagen, allowed and even encouraged the princes to assimilate ecclesiastical lands, they also demanded that a significant portion be used for the support of church and school. Luther counseled in a letter to Elector John
(November 22, 1526) that the monastic properties be used to support education. Since these had been "donated for the service of God, they should, to be just, primarily serve this purpose."\textsuperscript{36} What remains may be used by the elector for the needs of the state or for the support of the poor.

Endowments and gifts were no longer considered to be good works which contributed to an individual's salvation in Lutheran theology. However, Luther encouraged people to continue such practices as expressions of faith and for the benefit of such worthy causes as education.\textsuperscript{37} While he admitted that endowments will not rescue souls from purgatory, he asserted that they will accomplish much greater benefits. By providing pastors, teachers, and secular leaders through his support of education, a person helps present and future generations "so that they do not get into purgatory, indeed, so that they are redeemed from hell and go to heaven; and you help the living to enjoy peace and happiness."\textsuperscript{38} Luther suggests, therefore, that ecclesiastical property and private contributions and endowments be used for the fiscal support of education. With the establishment of the common chest the Lutheran churches were provided with a central treasury from which not only the clergy but also the school teachers were paid and education in general was supported. The Lutheran churches thus developed an administrative institution which was concerned to provide a basis of financial support
for education. Luther and particularly Bugenhagen played essential roles in the development and promulgation of the common chest.

Curriculum:

Luther also offered definite suggestions concerning a curriculum for the Lutheran schools and expressed his opinion concerning specific subjects. Because of his new theological insights and certain humanist influences, Luther reacted quite negatively to the scholastic training he himself had received. His criticism was directed particularly against that "blind, heathen teacher Aristotle," whom he chastised for his lack of clarity and his mistaken ideas concerning nature. He, therefore, rejected Aristotle's Physics, Metaphysics, Concerning the Soul, and Ethics in addition to other books of the philosopher which dealt with "nature or the Spirit." Nevertheless, Luther's critical attitude toward Aristotle did not prevent him from recommending his Logic, Rhetoric, and Poetics. He urged, however, that these books be studied directly, at least in an abridged form, and that the various commentaries be discarded. Luther wholeheartedly agreed with the humanist emphasis on a return to the sources.

The other major area of study which Luther deleted from the curriculum was canon law. "More than enough is written in the Bible about how we should behave in all circumstances," Luther maintained. Canon law, on which so much of the edifice of the medieval church was built,
"only hinders the study of Holy Scripture." Luther suggested that those who wish to study law should study civil law and thus be able to serve the state.

Although the medieval student learned the essentials of the Christian faith through the use of biblical material in the primer, through the application of religious illustrative material in all areas of the curriculum, and particularly through his liturgical training and his participation in the worship service, there was no specific program of religious instruction in the medieval school. One of the most important contributions of the Reformation to education was the introduction of a scheduled program of religious instruction.

Luther emphasized that the heart of all education must be religious instruction which will prepare the individual to live a Christian life. The study of Scripture, in turn, is the heart of religious instruction. Although Luther valued the Christian fathers very highly, even their writings were to be used primarily as preparatory material for the study of Scripture. They should be studied only for a time, recommends Luther, "so that through them we may be led into the Scriptures." This is how the fathers intended their writings to be used. It is not proper to substitute the study of the fathers for the study of Scripture, for then "we are like men who read the sign posts and never travel the road they indicate."  

While Luther never lost the conviction that "Scrip-
ture alone is our vineyard in which we must all labor and toil," he did become a bit more cautious in his later years. He had championed the right and duty of every Christian to study Scripture and to let the Word of God speak to him individually. However, his experiences with the enthusiasts, the Peasants' Revolt, and the left-wing, Anabaptist groups convinced him that such a practice led to unfortunate excesses and errors. He suggested, therefore, that the young and the common man in general be taught the catechism, "wherein is contained the whole sum of Christian doctrine necessary to be known by every Christian to salvation." Through catechetical instruction a proper interpretation of the scriptural message could be inculcated in the common man.

The study of Scripture continued to be an essential element in the Lutheran educational program, however, particularly for theologians and pastors. Because Luther and the other reformers emphasized that the scriptural text, and not various commentaries, was to be examined, a knowledge of the classical languages was a necessary prerequisite for scriptural studies and, therefore, an essential part of Luther's curriculum. He praised the languages as "the sheath in which this sword of the Spirit [Eph. 6:17] is contained"; the "casket in which this jewel is enshrined"; the "vessel in which this wine is held"; and the "baskets in which are kept these loaves and fishes and fragments." He was convinced that God had allowed the revival of lin-
guistic studies so that the Word of God could again be studied effectively. According to Luther, then, languages must be an integral part of the curriculum of Lutheran schools, for their neglect will eventually result in the loss of the Gospel.

There were two other subjects which were particularly dear to Luther and whose study he advocated. They were history and music. History was an essential subject to Luther primarily because of its didactic usefulness. In history God's works and judgments are revealed. It also provides excellent examples of how the good and the evil have lived, and how God has rewarded them for their respective lives.

Luther deeply loved music, and he believed that its study would benefit anyone. This "lovely, excellent gift of God," he asserts, can make "fine and skilful people" of those who are acquainted with it. He himself had experienced the salutary effects of music in his own spiritual struggles. He, therefore, assigns it a place second only to theology, "for it alone, next to theology, can bring about what otherwise theology alone succeeds in producing, namely a quiet and joyful mind." Music must, therefore, be kept in the schools, and every teacher must be able to sing. Otherwise he should not even be considered for employment. Luther's own musical training was quite extensive, and he hoped that others would reap the same benefits he had received from such training.
The other subjects whose study Luther encouraged include dialectic, which enables an individual to speak correctly, and rhetoric, which enables him to speak beautifully. The study of natural science was advocated by Luther particularly because God's creation reveals His might and His grace. While astronomy, "the oldest art," and mathematics are recommended for study, he rejects astrology, for "believing a star is idolatry...." He even urged the adoption of a program of physical education, for such exercise "produces fine, dexterous limbs and preserves the health." It also prevents people from falling into "drinking, unchastity, gambling, and cheating."

Methodology:

Luther was not only concerned that children be taught, but also that they be taught properly and effectively. He emphasized particularly that the knowledge of facts is not enough. Understanding must accompany knowledge of particulars. He proposed various methods of instruction whereby the goal of understanding might be attained. In his preface to the Small Catechism Luther outlined his methodology for catechetical instruction, a methodology which could be applied to all educational activity. He suggests, first of all, that a standard text of the catechism be used so that it will become familiar to the people. Secondly, after they have mastered the content of the text, its meaning must be clarified through careful and systematic explication of the text. Finally, after they have mas-
tered the Small Catechism, the Large Catechism should be studied in order to expand their intellectual horizon.\textsuperscript{55} Memorization and explication, two essential elements of medieval education, continued to be advocated by Luther with the emphasis, however, that they were to lead to understanding, not merely an accumulation of meaningless data.

In order to facilitate the process of understanding, Luther recommended the use of examples and practical exercises. He especially points to history as an important source of illustrative examples.\textsuperscript{56} Aesop's Fables were also deeply appreciated by Luther because of their illustrative value. He felt that the performance of comedies and the participation in academic debates also fostered understanding, for such exercises enabled the students to practice and to apply what they had learned. Without such exercises "no one can be learned," maintained Luther. "Therefore a certain farmer was right when he said: The harness is good, if one knows how to use it."\textsuperscript{57}

\textbf{Students:}

During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, education remained the prerogative of a limited segment of European society, although this segment was growing. Luther, however, advocated education for all. The Reformation must be given credit for introducing at least the principle, if not always the reality, of universal education. Bugenhagen contributed much to the fulfillment of this goal with his specific recommendations in his school orders.
Luther demanded the education of all children, both boys and girls. Poverty should not be a deterrent, for scholarships can be provided. Girls, too, should be educated, for pious and capable women are needed to manage the Christian household properly. Luther did consider the needs and realities of his society and the varied abilities of individuals, however. Thus he made specific proposals concerning the limitation of the educational program. Because the young people were also needed at home to assist in the various necessities of daily existence, he recommended the limitation of classroom hours, particularly in the elementary schools. He suggests that boys attend school "one or two hours during the day, and spend the remainder of the time working at home, learning a trade, or doing whatever is expected of them." Similarly, girls can attend school and take care of their responsibilities at home. Instruction and work need not be exclusive but can both be pursued quite adequately according to Luther.

While he demanded that all children receive at least some education, Luther also recognized that not all children were capable of becoming scholars. He advocated a system of evaluation, therefore, and urged that only the most able be sent to universities.

Types of Schools:

Although Luther did not have much to say about the specific educational system he envisioned, it is quite
clear from his writings that he advocated a rather extensive system consisting of primary German schools for boys and girls, Latin schools, and universities. 62 He was especially eager to emphasize the fundamental importance of libraries and urged that "no effort or expense should be spared to provide good libraries or book repositories, especially in the larger cities which can well afford it." 63 He even recommended some essential library holdings which included the Scriptures in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, and other languages, biblical commentaries, both pagan and Christian poets and orators, books on the liberal arts, law books and medical books, and particularly histories and chronicles. 64 He urged that careful discrimination must be used in the collection of such holdings.

Luther had to content himself basically with the role of publicist. He could not become involved deeply in the practical work of devising an educational system and of implementing such a system. The latter work was accomplished by Melanchthon and Bugenhagen. Luther did, however, express many of the concerns and educational principles adopted or shared by the other reformers. It is difficult to isolate specific and direct influences of one Wittenberg reformer on another because of their close cooperation. Often emphases were developed through this mutual cooperation or were simply shared by the reformers.

**Instruction of the Visitors - Melanchthon**

Melanchthon was without doubt the most significant ed-
ucator among the Lutheran reformers. He was the first to produce an extensive educational plan, the *Instruction of the Visitors to the Pastors of Electoral Saxony* (1528). Although this document was examined and approved by Luther and Bugenhagen, it is essentially Melanchthon's work. Bugenhagen was influenced by the *Instruction* and referred to it specifically in his school orders. It, therefore, provides part of the educational milieu from which he spoke as he produced his orders. Melanchthon's *Instruction* serves both as an apology for education and a very practical school order.

**Necessity of Education:**

In the introduction to the section "Concerning Schools" in the *Instruction*, Melanchthon assumes the role of a publicist for education, much like Luther. He addresses himself to the absolute necessity of education and presents two basic arguments in support of his position. First of all, with the Apostle Paul as his authority, he maintains that the church needs an educated ministry. Those who assert that a preacher only needs to be able to read German are gravely mistaken. After all, he who is responsible for teaching others must have a "great deal of training and special skill." In order to achieve these, one must be instructed from youth on. Secondly, like Luther, Melanchthon also emphasized that the secular realm needs skillful people, and schools alone can provide them. The welfare of church and state were very real concerns for the Lutheran reformers, and they expressed similar ideas in this area.
Responsibility for Education:

The responsibility for the education of children rests ultimately with the parents, according to Melanchthon. They must send their children to school so that God can use them "for the benefit of others." Melanchthon had become aware of parental neglect in this area as education suffered during those tumultuous, early years of the Reformation. He was, therefore, concerned to remind the parents of their obligations. Since his Instruction was addressed to the pastors of Saxony, and since the pastors enjoyed the closest contact with the people, he particularly called on them to remind the parents of their educational responsibilities.

Although he was an irenic and diplomatic individual, Melanchthon felt compelled to criticize past motives for sending children to school. He laments that people have been going to school only "for the sake of the belly," hoping to receive a prebend which would assure their physical well-being. "Why don't we honor God," asks Melanchthon, "and learn because He has commanded it?" Surely, He will also take care of our physical needs. The needs of the church and society, and especially God's command, must inspire people to support education, not the hope of receiving monetary gain.

Educational Principles:

Melanchthon outlined three basic educational principles in his Instruction which he felt should be guiding principles in a Lutheran educational system. He was only address-
ing himself to a system of Latin schools in the Instruction, however. In fact, he never expressed appreciable interest in German primary schools. Universities and their organization were also a very special concern of Melanchton, and he inspired or directed the reform of a number of German universities, including Wittenberg in 1533, but he did not deal with university education in the Instruction.

The first principle advocated by Melanchthon was the limitation of linguistic instruction. Although he was a thorough humanist and greatly appreciated the value of languages, he suggested that only Latin be taught in the Latin schools. Instruction in German, Greek, and Hebrew "is not only fruitless, but also harmful." Teachers who burden their students with such a heavy schedule of linguistic studies are not thinking about the students' welfare "but about their own reputation." Melanchthon's concern for the students and his desire that the languages be learned well are reflected in his comments.

The second principle is similar to the first. It emphasizes depth rather than diversity of knowledge. It is better to understand a few books well, postulates Melanchthon, than to be acquainted with many books superficially.

The final principle proposed by Melanchthon is that the students be divided into classes (Haufen). This arrangement was not novel. It had already been used by the Brethren of the Common Life, for example, but Melanchthon is responsible for introducing this concept into
Lutheran education. This is not to say, of course, that it would not have been assimilated without his suggestion. The concept of division into classes was generally adopted in Lutheran schools, though with a great deal of freedom and with numerous modifications of Melanchthon's three-class system.

**Curriculum:**

The major portion of the section on education in the *Instruction* is devoted to the delineation of a detailed program of instruction, class by class. The curriculum of the Latin school as Melanchthon envisioned it was the *trivium* with modifications and significant additions. It is not surprising that the major emphasis is placed on grammar, for its study would facilitate the mastery of correct, classical Latin.

In the first class the students were taught to read and write, and their vocabulary was expanded through the regular memorization of Latin vocables. Musical instruction also began here. The primer, Donatus, and Cato were the primary texts.

The study of grammar was the major objective in the second class, for "where this does not happen, all learning is lost and in vain." Aesop's Fables, Terence, Plautus' Fables, and, significantly, the *Paedagogia* of Mosellanus and the *Colloquia* of Erasmus were the essential texts. The latter two authors are significant, because they are not classical writers but contemporary humanists.
In addition to grammar the students of the second class also studied music and religion. Musical instruction was an essential element of Lutheran education, because the student choir had definite responsibilities in the worship service and because such instruction prepared the laity to participate actively in worship also when they became adults.

The inception of a scheduled program of religious instruction is an educational innovation of the Reformation. Melanchthon supported this innovation and stipulated in the *Instruction* that either Saturday or Wednesday be set aside for this purpose. He was careful to place the program of religious instruction into proper perspective, however. While he regretted that some schools offer no religious instruction, he also rejected the practice of teaching nothing but Scripture. Both extremes were to be avoided. While the pupils must be taught the essentials of the Christian faith, they must also be acquainted with other useful and necessary subjects.\(^{74}\) As far as the content of this religious instruction was concerned, Melanchthon suggested that boys should memorize the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, which must then be thoroughly explicated by the teacher. In addition, the memorization of easy, yet didactic, Psalms was advocated. Among those recommended are Psalms 34, 111, 125, 127, 128, and 133. The study of Scripture itself should be limited to such clear books as Matthew, I and II Timothy, I John, and Proverbs, "for it is not productive to burden the youth with
difficult and lofty books." Although some teachers have attempted to teach such books as Isaiah, Romans, and the Gospel of John, they have done so merely to enhance their own reputation. Melanchthon was consistent in his emphasis on simplicity and proper understanding over against diversity.

In the third class the study of grammar continued, but dialectic and rhetoric were also introduced. The students in this class were expected to apply the rules they had learned in the production of letters and verse. In addition, both students and teacher were required to speak Latin as much as possible. Vergil, Ovid, and Cicero were the authors to be studied and emulated.

Methodology:

The educational methodology described by Melanchthon deserves some attention. It combines medieval and humanist concepts and is representative of sixteenth-century evangelical schools. The basic elements of this methodology were memorization and explication or interpretation. The students were expected to memorize large portions of classical and humanist authors, and the teacher would then explain the text passage by passage. This methodology had been used in medieval schools, but the emphasis in the *Instruction* is on the study and explanation of the text itself, not the numerous medieval commentaries. Thus a return to the sources characterized Melanchthon's methodology.

Recitation and repetition were two other essential
elements of sixteenth-century instruction. The ability and diligence of the boys to memorize was tested through recitation. Because of his stress on depth rather than diversity of knowledge, Melanchthon also emphasized repetition. For example, he stipulated that the different elements of the study of grammar must be repeated so that the students will become fluent in grammar. If a teacher refuses to do this, Melanchthon suggests that he be dismissed. The lectures on the Paedagogia of Mosellanus and the Colloquia of Erasmus should also be repeated.²⁸

Melanchthon's educational concepts are quite definitely student-oriented. He does not speak of the educational process in the abstract but always has the student in mind. He repeatedly warns teachers not to think of their own reputation but rather about the welfare of the students. In the same context, he warns the teachers to be careful "that the students are not overburdened."²⁹

Although the section "Concerning Schools" in the Instruction is relatively brief, it was an important work. Indeed, it served as the basic model for numerous sixteenth-century Lutheran school orders. Bugenhagen certainly worked with the document and referred to it repeatedly in his school orders. At the same time, he did not hesitate to modify its specific stipulations.³⁰

**Bugenhagen**

Although Johannes Bugenhagen was a very reluctant theorist, he did record a limited number of passages in his
church orders which express some of his theological and theoretical presuppositions with regard to education. In his first school order, that of Braunschweig (1528), he was particularly concerned to clarify the theological justification for education and the deplorable results of the neglect of education. His introductory comments in the Braunschweig school order are the most extensive theoretical section of all his orders.

Theological Justification for Education:

Bugenhagen focused on baptism and its implications as his basic theological justification for the necessity of education. This is a somewhat different and rather unique theological perspective among the Wittenberg theologians. He explained that in baptism children are brought into the fellowship of Christ. Such baptized children now live under God's grace and know neither good nor evil, although they are inclined to evil because of their sinful nature. However, when the children have achieved the ability to reason, then the devil begins his work. He teaches them all kinds of bad habits and causes them to despise their baptismal covenant. Education must, therefore, begin as a means of combatting the devil's work, for it is through education that the children are taught the truths of God's Word and remain loyal to Christ to whom they have been dedicated in baptism. Parents dare not be content with baptizing their children. Indeed, parents who bring their children to the baptismal font assume the responsi-
bility of educating these children. Parents who do not fulfill this obligation say with their actions: "The children whom we have offered to Christ in baptism shall not remain His now that they have grown." For Bugenhagen baptism and education are intimately related and concomitant steps in the Christian life. God commands both, and His command must be obeyed. It is simply not enough to baptize children and expect them to remain Christians. They must be kept and strengthened in their faith through proper instruction. The essential purpose and goal of all education, according to Bugenhagen, is to teach people the essentials of the Christian faith and to keep them in their baptismal covenant. This primary goal must shape the whole educational process, and all education must in some way serve that purpose. He did not assert, of course, that only religious education was necessary in order to prepare Christians for the fulfillment of their divine calling.

While this theological justification for the necessity of education was, no doubt, sufficient for Bugenhagen, he also presented what he considered to be other cogent reasons for the necessity of education. The corruption which results from a neglect of education or faulty education was such a reason. This corruption expresses itself basically in two ways, a faulty way of life and a misunderstanding of God's Word. Thus people have been concerned more about accumulating wealth than about using their gifts from God for the benefit of the needy neighbor. Even if they rec-
ognized their error, they have attempted to change their life not through faith and trust in God, but through the endowment of cloisters and chapels, through pilgrimages and the purchase of indulgences "which are only beneficial to the seller and not the buyer...."82 All these abuses and corruptions have occurred because people do not properly understand their baptismal covenant with Christ. And why do they not understand? Because they are not properly instructed.83 In order to avoid such abuses effective education was an absolute necessity, according to Bugenhagen.

The needs of the church and state also loomed large as reasons for the necessity of schools in Bugenhagen's thinking. In the introduction to the Schleswig-Holstein school order of 1542 he states quite simply that schools must be established in order that "we may have people, through whom our descendants receive the pure doctrine, the Gospel, from us, and whom we may employ in the governing of land and people."84 Like Luther, Bugenhagen was convinced that only an effective educational system could provide the leaders necessary to guide both church and state.

**Educational Principles:**

There are certain specific educational principles which emerge from Bugenhagen's school orders. The first of these is a concept of universal education. Indeed, he concretized this principle in his school orders by dealing not only with Latin schools, as Melanchthon had
done in the *Instruction*, but also with German boys' and girls' schools, in addition to the *lectorium*, an embryonic university, and universities. Like Luther and Melanchthon, however, Bugenhagen recognized that not all individuals were suited to pursue the educational process through the university. He suggested, therefore, that the pupils be examined periodically, specifically at ages twelve and sixteen, and the decision should be made then whether to continue an individual's education or to terminate it. Only the most talented were to be sent on to the university. Ability was the only criterion in this evaluation process. Certainly poverty was not to be a hindrance to education. Poor students were generally allowed to attend school without cost. In the Pomeranian school order of 1535 they were even allowed to beg.

The centrality of the student and his specific needs is another principle which emerges. The evaluation of students at certain stages was only one expression of this specific concern of Bugenhagen. He repeatedly urged the teachers to consider the students' needs and abilities. Pious and capable teachers were insisted on for the welfare of the students.

Although the school was never divorced from the church by the Lutheran reformers and although schools were seen as vital complementary institutions to the churches, the educational process was placed under secular auspices. The princes and the city councils were given ultimate
responsibility for the support and the supervision of education and for the hiring of personnel. The school orders became part of the legal codes of cities or of territorial law. The secular arm had a very definite and necessary role in the educational process as Bugenhagen envisioned it.

Centralization and strict supervision of education is a final principle which is clearly evident in Bugenhagen's school orders. Numerous private schools had emerged during the Middle Ages, often as a reaction to the inefficiency of ecclesiastical educational institutions. Unfortunately, most of the unrecognized schools (Winkelschulen) were ineffective institutions, and they could not be supervised properly. Bugenhagen demanded, therefore, that all of these schools be closed and an officially recognized school system be established.

This was the basic theoretical milieu out of which Bugenhagen worked when he produced his church orders. He himself contributed relatively little to this milieu. As his school orders indicate, he basically agreed with the educational utterances of Luther and Melanchthon. The agreement is particularly extensive with respect to Luther. This is not surprising, for Luther and Bugenhagen were close friends and co-workers, and the two men generally agreed on important issues. Although he modified or went beyond specific ideas expressed by his Wittenberg friends, it appears that Bugenhagen was satisfied with
the theological and theoretical framework devised by them. He saw no need to formulate his own theoretical base. Furthermore, he also recognized his own inclinations and abilities. He, therefore, envisioned his task not to be one of providing a theoretical justification for education but of providing an efficient educational system which would address itself to the specific educational needs of the Lutheran churches and to the concerns expressed by Luther and others. Such a system would be the first concrete step toward the revival of education in the Lutheran areas. He presented his detailed and extensive plans for such an evangelical educational system in his school orders.
Footnotes


3 Ibid., p. 352.


5 LW, XLV, 352.

6 Ibid., p. 371.


8 Quoted in Johannes Meyer and Johannes Prinzhorn, Dr. Martin Luthers Gedanken über Erziehung und Unterricht (Hannover: Carl Meyer, 1883), p. 233.

9 LW, XLV, 368.

10 Ibid., XLVI, 242.


12 LW, XLIV, 12.


14 LW, XLV, 355.

15 Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke, Briefwechsel, III (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1933), 320, No. 758.

16 LW, XLVI, 256.
17 Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke, Briefwechsel, IV (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1933), 134, No. 1052. Hereafter referred to as WA, Briefwechsel, IV.

18 LW, XLV, 368.

19 Ibid.


21 Martin Luther, Sämtliche Schriften, ed. by Johann Georg Walch, XII (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1883), 1437.

22 LW, XLV, 353.

23 Ibid., XLVI, 254.

24 Ibid., p. 241.

25 Martin Luther, Sämtliche Schriften, ed. by Johann Georg Walch, XIII (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892), 2778.

26 LW, XLVI, 217.

27 Ibid., p. 230.


29 Ibid., p. 63.

30 LW, XLV, 355-356.

31 Ibid., p. 348.

32 Cf., for example, Luther's comments in his Sermon on the Duty, Ibid., XLVI, 231.

33 Ibid., p. 234.

34 Ibid., pp. 243-244.


36 WA, Briefwechsel, IV, 134, No. 1052.

37 LW, XLV, 350-351.
38 Ibid., XLVI, 257.
41 Ibid., p. 205.
42 Ibid.
43 Quoted in Eby, pp. 75-76.
44 LW, XLV, 360.
46 Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke, L (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1914), 383. Hereafter referred to as WA, L.
47 Martin Luther, Sammtliche Schriften, ed. by Johann Georg Walch, XXII (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1887), 1539. Hereafter referred to as Walch, XXII.
48 Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke, Briefwechsel, V (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1934), 639, No. 1727. Hereafter referred to as WA, Briefwechsel, V.
49 Walch, XXII, 1538.
50 Ibid., pp. 1531-1534.
51 Ibid., p. 1084.
52 Ibid., pp. 1544, 1553.
53 Ibid., p. 1561.
56 WA, L, 383.
57 Quoted in Keferstein, p. 125.
58 LW, XLVI, 231.
59 Ibid., XLV, 368.
60 Ibid., p. 370.
61 Ibid., XLIV, 206-207.
62 Cf. Luther's letter to Margrave George of Brandenburg (July 18, 1529) in WA, Briefwechsel, V, 120-121, No. 1452.
63 LW, XLV, 373.
64 Ibid., p. 376.
66 Ibid.
67 Ibid.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid., p. 100.
70 Ibid.
71 Ibid.
72 Cf. Ibid., pp. 100-101.
73 Ibid., p. 100.
74 Ibid.
75 Ibid., p. 101.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid., p. 100.
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
80 For example, Bugenhagen did not feel bound by the tripartite division of Melanchthon's Latin school.
Reinhold Vormbaum, *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1860), p. 34.


Cf., for example, the stipulations of the Lübeck school order in *Ibid.*, V, 343.

Cf., for example, his demand in the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel school order of 1543 in *Ibid.*, VI, I, 72.
CHAPTER IV

BUGENHAGEN'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM:
PRIMARY AND ADVANCED INSTITUTIONS

The school orders are the very heart of Bugenhagen's educational work. They are the most extensive body of sixteenth-century school orders, standing as the most significant monument to his activity on behalf of education. In them Bugenhagen devised a practical and extensive educational system. Indeed, the orders were both the architectural plans for and an impetus toward the implementation of that system. While their specific formulations were not always implemented, they stood as clear reminders to the evangelical churches of the necessity of education and as precise blueprints that they could follow whenever they were ready to revive the educational process in their midst.

It was in the formulation of a practical system of education that Bugenhagen's genius best expressed itself, for he was essentially a practical organizer and administrator. The creation of his educational system was his most significant contribution to the revival of education and the establishment of effective educational institutions in the Lutheran areas.
Bugenhagen produced eight church orders, each of which included a school order. They are Braunschweig (1528), Hamburg (1529), Lübeck (1531), Pomerania (1535), Denmark (1537), Schleswig-Holstein (1542), Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1543), and Hildesheim (1544). The years of the church orders also span the years of Bugenhagen's organizational travels on behalf of the Reformation. His activity was concentrated in northern Germany and Scandinavia, and he divided his work equally between cities and territories. The most significant of the church orders is that of Braunschweig. It was the first and most influential of all his orders. ¹ Mention should also be made of his Von dem Christenloven und rechten guden wercken, his epistle to the citizens of Hamburg written in 1526. This rather lengthy treatise also included a section on schools in which he already postulated some of the emphases which he developed more fully in the school orders. For example, he emphasized the necessity of establishing a good school and urged that the teachers be supported sufficiently.² He suggested a basic curriculum of grammar, logic, rhetoric, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and the study of poets, orators, and historians. Quite significantly, musical and religious instruction were also encouraged.³ He expanded these ideas and gave further directions in the school order which he produced for the city of Hamburg three years later. Although Von dem Christenloven und rechten guden wercken should not be included among Bugenhagen's school orders, it is an early
expression of some of his basic educational emphases and an early indication of the close relationship between church and school which he envisioned.

There is a great deal of similarity between the various school orders, and they are quite obviously interrelated. Yet Bugenhagen was always careful to address the particular milieu in which he was working. Thus while basic principles and institutions remain the same, there are differences in emphasis and in specific formulations in the various school orders. Together, however, they present an extensive, precisely conceived, and clearly formulated educational system for the Lutheran Church. As such they are an important contribution to the Lutheran Reformation, particularly its spread and matura-

Bugenhagen envisioned and devised an educational system that addressed itself to the total educational spectrum, from primary schools to universities. The Latin schools were the heart of this system and received most of his attention. However, he also concerned himself with those elementary institutions that prepared an individual for Latin school or served the educational needs of those who would never progress that far and with the advanced institutions where a graduate of a Latin school could continue his academic pursuits.

**German Boys' Schools**

Bugenhagen shared Luther's conviction that everyone
ought to receive at least some education. He advocated, therefore, that a system of vernacular schools be established where even those who would not learn Latin could receive a basic education. Although he recognized the beauty and value of Latin and mastered it himself, he was never so enamored with it that he denied the validity or efficacy of vernacular instruction. In his support of vernacular schools, Bugenhagen made a significant contribution in an educational area largely neglected by Melanchthon.

While he provided for only one German boys', or writing school as it was also called, in Hamburg, 4 Bugenhagen allowed for an unspecified number in Braunschweig 5 and Lübeck. 6 It appears that such German boys' schools were nothing new, at least not in Braunschweig and Lübeck. Bugenhagen himself indicates in the Lübeck school order that the German schoolmasters should hold school "as they have done for a long time." 7 He was never concerned about innovation for its own sake. While he initiated various changes, he also adopted and adapted existing institutions, facilities, and ideas, if he considered them to be effective and in agreement with Lutheran principles. His own practical nature, the realities of the situation, and the needs of the young evangelical churches all argued for such a policy.

The headmaster of the German boys' school was hired and dismissed either by the city council 8 or by the ad-
ministrators of the schools (vorwesere). These authorities were also responsible that the headmaster employ assistants (hulper) to help him in his work.

Bugenhagen also outlined the procedure for paying the teachers in the German schools. The basic source of income was to be the tuition paid by the students, although he suggested that funds from the common chest might be used to supplement such income. Encouragement was given to the students to pay their teachers as much as possible, particularly because of the relatively short period of study in the German writing school. In the Hamburg school order Bugenhagen also stipulated that the headmaster and his assistants be provided with free housing in the building where school was taught.

The curriculum of the German boys' school was quite elementary. The Hamburg school order requires only that the teachers teach their students "something Christian" and also "Christian songs." Bugenhagen explicates these requirements in the Lübeck order where he urges that the students be taught the catechism, parts of the New Testament, and Christian songs. He is most explicit about curricular matters in the Braunschweig school order where he stipulates that the students learn the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the two sacraments with short explanations, and Christian songs. Bugenhagen, of course, took for granted that the boys would be taught reading and writing as they studied the essentials of the Christian
faith.

Religious instruction quite obviously dominated the curriculum of the German boys' schools. This is not surprising. After all, Bugenhagen emphasized that the ultimate purpose of education was to keep the individual in his baptismal covenant and to prepare him to live a Christian life. The essentials of Christianity, therefore, had to be inculcated even in the limited educational program of the German boys' schools. The emphasis on the learning of hymns is also significant within the context of Lutheran worship and its concern for congregational participation.

Girls' Schools

Bugenhagen clearly recognized the necessity of educating girls. While he still limited the educational process for girls and did not envision their attendance in Latin schools or universities, he did advocate the establishment of elementary schools for girls. Indeed, he devoted more space to girls' schools than he did to German boys' schools, probably because such educational institutions, particularly for the lower classes, were not common.

Bugenhagen provided that every city and country town should have at least one girls' school. If the population demanded it, more should be established. Thus, for example, Braunschweig was to support four,\textsuperscript{16} Hamburg one in each parish,\textsuperscript{17} and Lübeck three.\textsuperscript{18} The schools were to be centrally and conveniently located, so that the girls could reach them without difficulty.\textsuperscript{19} This stipulation
is an obvious reflection of Bugenhagen's pervasive concern for the welfare and safety of the students.

Either women or men could teach in the girls' schools. Bugenhagen apparently preferred women, for he only mentions male teachers in the Lübeck order. Whether female or male, the teachers were expected to love Scripture and be familiar with it, enjoy a good reputation, and be able to deal with the students. The city council or its representatives were responsible for the hiring and dismissal of the teachers. Provisions for the pay of the teachers were similar to those of the German boys' schools. The teachers were generally given free housing, usually in the school building. Their actual pay consisted of the tuition paid by the students. Bugenhagen again encouraged the parents to give as much as possible, for the teachers were expected to accomplish much in a short time. In fact, a larger tuition should be paid in the girls' schools than in the boys' schools, Bugenhagen asserted. His justification was that girls would go to school for a shorter time than many of the boys, thus parents could and should pay more during that short period of time. The tuition was to be paid quarterly. In the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel school order of 1543 Bugenhagen introduced an innovation. He stipulated that the teachers should be paid a definite salary from the common chest in addition to the tuition. It is not clear whether specific circumstances in the duchy led him to make this stipulation, or whether experience
had indicated that a definite salary was necessary in order for teachers to receive adequate pay. Whatever may have inspired this innovation, he had a lofty opinion of the teaching profession, and he was concerned that teachers receive adequate compensation for their vital work.

The goal of the educational process in the girls' schools was to teach the girls to read, although in the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel school order Bugenhagen expressed the hope that they would also learn to write. In order to achieve this end, he prescribed a definite curriculum. Like that of the German boys' school, it consisted basically of religious instruction. The limited time for instruction and the ultimate purpose of education again explain the content of the curriculum. The girls were expected to read and listen to explanations of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the meaning of baptism and the Lord's Supper. In the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel school order Bugenhagen cites the Small Catechism of Luther as the text for this instruction. He suggests that both the text and Luther's explanations be studied. The girls were also required to memorize passages from the New Testament dealing with such topics as faith, love, patience, and the cross. The reading of the Psalter and memorization of specific parts were also recommended. In addition, helpful and didactic historical incidents were suggested for study. Finally, the memorization of hymns was an integral part of the curriculum.
The emphasis is quite obviously on the practical. The girls were to learn material which Bugenhagen believed would be useful to them throughout their life, particularly for Christian nurture. He justified the significant amount of memorization required by pointing out that it would exercise and strengthen their mind and their memory. It is not surprising that the curriculum of the girls' school was more extensive than that of the German boys' school. Bugenhagen expected many of the boys to continue their education in higher institutions, while the girls did not have this opportunity.

While Bugenhagen emphasized the necessity of at least some education for all, like Luther he also recognized the realities of his time. He realized that the young people were required to perform legitimate and necessary duties in the home. Furthermore, he also had a very practical view of education and believed that the amount of education should be determined by the needs of the individual. Thus a future housewife simply did not need as much instruction as a pastor or lawyer.

Bugenhagen, therefore, prescribed definite limitations for the length of study in the girls' schools. While he did not specify similar limitations for the German boys' schools, it appears from the proposed curriculum that he assumed such limits also in them. He asserted that the girls should be able to master the suggested curriculum in one year or at the most in two. The daily hours of
attendance vary in his school orders. While he proposed only one or two hours a day in the Braunschweig and Hamburg school orders, he allowed for as many hours as seems profitable in the Lübeck order. He became quite specific again in the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel order and suggested two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon. The rest of the day was to be spent in review, in assisting their mothers and learning to be housewives, and in play. Bugenhagen recognized the importance of free time for an efficient educational program.

Luther had asserted that only schools could produce pious and capable housewives who could properly raise their children and govern their households. Bugenhagen wholeheartedly agreed with Luther's opinion, and he vividly described the salutary effects of attendance in the girls' schools. From such schools, he believed, will emerge young women who are well-acquainted with God's Word and who will become "useful, talented, joyful, friendly, obedient, God-fearing, not superstitious and obstinate" mothers and wives. They will be able to govern their households well and raise their children in a God-pleasing manner. Such children will remain faithful to their baptismal covenant and become good citizens. Furthermore, they will also raise their own children well, and thus the blessings of education will multiply and endure. Even if such salutary results should not be accomplished in every individual, yet the education of girls must be supported, Bugenhagen
asserted, for it is God's will and does have salutary results. With this emphasis on at least a primary education for all, both boys and girls, Bugenhagen made an important contribution to the developing concept of universal education. By advocating the actual establishment of German boys' and girls' schools, he participated in the practical implementation of this essential element of modern educational philosophy.

His concern for vernacular education is particularly important, because Melanchthon and other contemporary educators expressed little interest in this segment of the educational spectrum. Bugenhagen, therefore, deserves much credit for the formulation and implementation of a program of vernacular, primary education in the sixteenth century and thereafter. Even though boys' and girls' schools were not established in all the areas where he worked, the emphasis on and the plans for such institutions were incorporated in his church orders and remained a constant reminder of the ideal proposed by him.

**Lectorium**

In two of the cities for which Bugenhagen produced school orders, namely Hamburg and Lübeck, he proposed the establishment of a lectorium. This educational institution, too, was not an original creation of Bugenhagen. In the late Middle Ages pious burghers had presented endowments which were to be used to support a program of lectures by learned individuals, particularly on theological topics,
for prospective clerics who could not attend a university. In Bugenhagen's educational system the lectorium was to serve as a kind of embryonic university, particularly in relatively large cities which did not have a university. The lectorium was not intended to take the place of a university or to deny its necessity, however, although it did offer some of the educational opportunities generally associated with a university. Its intention was to provide a program of advanced instruction that would stimulate the educated members of the community. Those who were unable to attend a university could expand their intellectual horizons, and those who had received university training could continue their intellectual pursuits. The lectorium, therefore, made a significant contribution to the educational program, especially in larger cities. In the hierarchy of Bugenhagen's educational institutions it must be placed between the Latin school and the university.

Bugenhagen's concern to consider the particular situation carefully in his individual school orders is clearly evident in the two orders that suggest the establishment of a lectorium. While the stipulations for Hamburg are quite extensive and the Hamburg lectorium was in a very real sense an embryonic university, the Lübeck lectorium was to provide only theological lectures. Bugenhagen did not explain the reasons for this radical difference, but it is obvious that local needs and circumstances were a deciding factor.
The Hamburg lectorium provided instruction in the three upper faculties of the university. Only the faculty of arts was not represented. Latin lectures were required in the disciplines of law, medicine, and theology. The audience to be reached were the educated members of the Hamburg citizenry.

Two jurists were to be employed by the city council and the deacons and were required to lecture three times a week, one on the Institutionibus imperiales and the other on the Codices. The two men had the freedom to choose their specific topics, and they received free housing and a salary of one hundred marks annually. In addition to fulfilling their teaching responsibilities, the two jurists could also be requested to perform other duties, presumably of a legal nature. 37

The needs of a city the size of Hamburg also required the employment of a medical doctor or a natural philosopher (physicum), asserted Bugenhagen. He was to be a well-educated individual, for his major responsibility was to lecture three times a week in the lectorium, in addition to treating the sick of the city. He was also responsible for supplying the pharmacies with effective medicines. The doctor was to be provided with free housing, if he did not already have a home. His actual pay, however, was to come from his medical practice and the fees paid by those able to afford them. He was also obligated to pledge that he would treat the sick to the best of his ability.
The doctor was to be assisted by an experienced surgeon (chirurgicum edder wunden arsten) who was also required to pledge his sincere intention of treating the sick. His salary was to consist of fees paid by his patients and of funds paid from the poor chest for the treatment of the poor. 38

The most important lectures (hovetlectien) presented in the lectorium were the lectures on Holy Scripture by the superintendent and his adjutant. Both men were required to lecture four times a week, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. Bugenhagen reminded them that their lectures were to benefit the hearers, not to enhance their own reputation, a caution which he addressed to all teachers. He obviously agreed with Melanchthon's similar emphasis in his Instruction of the Visitors. 39 The ultimate goal of the theological lectures, according to Bugenhagen, was to enhance the knowledge of Scripture among the people. In addition to the superintendent and his adjutant, capable pastors and chaplains were encouraged to present Latin lectures once or twice a week, or possibly Latin orations and exhortations from Holy Scripture on specific festival days. Bugenhagen emphasized that such activity can be considered to be part of their calling, for they would be teaching the Word of God. Since not all pastors have the ability to present such lectures in the lectorium, however, such participation should be on a voluntary basis. Furthermore, in order to avoid
jealousy and discord, Bugenhagen encouraged those pastors who were able to lecture not to despise their brothers who were unable to do so. On the other hand, the latter were urged to attend the lectures, to thank God that they were able to benefit from the gifts of others, and to avoid all envy. 40

While Latin lectures were to predominate, Bugenhagen also suggested that the teachers of the Latin schools might present lectures in other languages, particularly Greek and Hebrew. They should receive a stipend for this special work from their audience. Such activity must not interfere with their regular teaching responsibilities, however. Bugenhagen was deeply concerned that everything be done properly, and that the educational process be carried out efficiently and effectively. For this reason, he also provided that the superintendent, who himself was one of the main lecturers in the lectorium, see to it that none of the special lectures interfere with the prescribed and scheduled lectures. 41

While the educational program of the Hamburg lectorium was intended to be an extensive one, this was not the case for the Lübeck lectorium. Its program of instruction was limited to the theological sphere, and the specific stipulations are quite similar to those formulated for the theological lectures in the Hamburg lectorium. The superintendent and his adjutant were assigned the responsibility to present Latin lectures on Holy Scripture. In addition,
however, the rector, subrector, cantor, or one of the other teachers of the Latin school, plus a capable pastor could also present such lectures. As in Hamburg, Bugenhagen cautioned that such activity should not interfere with regular teaching responsibilities. If a pastor is talented enough to give a Latin oration, particularly on feast days, this, too, should be done publicly in the lectorium.

Finally, the lectorium was also designated as the place of testing for the students of the city who had been sent to a university and had been supported there. In order to determine whether they were making progress, whether they should continue their education, or whether they could already be employed profitably by the city, they were required to present a Latin oration in the lectorium before an audience which included the pastors, the teachers, and learned citizens.

Although Bugenhagen made only limited references to the lectorium in his school orders, it was an important element of his comprehensive educational system. It was designed to be an effective agency of continued advanced education and to provide necessary educational opportunities in areas where there was no university.

University

The university stood as the culmination of Bugenhagen's educational system. It must be admitted, however, that he contributed relatively little to the reformation and the establishment of universities either through his organi-
zational work or his school orders. His priorities and also the arenas of his activity help explain this reality. Bugenhagen was primarily concerned to bring education to the masses. German boys' and girls' schools and Latin schools were, therefore, his main concern. He recognized that only a small portion of the population needed to or would ever attend a university. While he was also concerned about university education, as his activity in Pomerania and Denmark indicates, this concern was secondary to his interest in primary and Latin schools. Furthermore, as has been indicated, Bugenhagen always addressed the specific situations as he produced his individual school orders. He considered the realities and the needs of the particular city or territory and formulated his specific stipulations with these contingencies in mind. He obviously recognized that not every city or territory could or should support a university. He apparently classified most of the areas in which he worked under this category. For this reason, he did not deal with universities in the majority of his school orders. His general interest in and support of university education, however, is reflected in his recommendations that students from areas where there was no university should be sent to a university and supported in their studies.

The school order which Bugenhagen produced for his native Pomerania must be given a rather unique position among his orders. It is quite different from the others
both in form and content and deals primarily with university
education. The re-establishment of a university in Pomerania
was a primary concern of Bugenhagen when he returned to
organize the Reformation movement and to supervise its offi-
cial promulgation. The University of Greifswald had deteri-
orated precipitously since his own student days. It had
remained a center of Catholicism, and attendance had de-
creased. By 1534 some of the evangelical pastors were sup-
porting the establishment of a new university at Stettin.
The dukes, however, hoped to revive the old university.
The Diet of Treptow never reached a definite decision in
this matter, but Bugenhagen apparently agreed with the
dukes.44

His practical and realistic character again expressed
itself in the specific stipulations of the school order.
He asserts that the spiritual and secular welfare of the
country demands the establishment of a university that
would provide educated and capable individuals. Indeed,
the immediate revival of a complete university would be
best, so that the endowments and property provided for it
might not dissipate. While this was his ideal, Bugenhagen
believed that the situation prevailing in Pomerania did not
allow for the establishment of a mature university. He
felt that the country could not support such an institu-
tion in the midst of turmoil and change, and he feared
that a lack of support would destroy the new university
as it had destroyed the old. He counsels, therefore, that
an embryonic university (*ringe universitet*) be established for a time until a more advanced institution could be supported. 45

Bugenhagen called the institution which he proposed a *paedagogium*. While there were other *paedagogii* in Germany, he clearly intended the one in Pomerania to be an interim institution which should develop into a university. He suggested that the *paedagogium* be modelled after those in Marburg and Rostock. 46

Bugenhagen made specific suggestions concerning the faculty and the curriculum of the *paedagogium*. A faculty of eight, four liberal arts professors, two theologians, and two jurists, seemed to him to be sufficient in the beginning. The foremost member of the arts faculty was designated as the rector of the *paedagogium*. Bugenhagen made no provision for a medical faculty, but he did stipulate that one of the arts professors could present medical lectures, if he were able to do so. Medicine, which remained the weakest area of study in most sixteenth-century universities, was curtailed the most in Bugenhagen's embryonic university.

Two of the arts professors were required to hold a master's degree. The first of these instructors was to teach Latin grammar and lecture on Terence, Cicero, Vergil, and portions of Ovid. The second was responsible for the other two parts of the trivium, dialectic and rhetoric. The *Copias* of Erasmus and similar books were to be the
texts for this study. He was also required to teach the students how to write Latin verse. Both teachers were to see to it that their students spoke Latin correctly. The most capable students could attend the lectures of the other two professors on the arts faculty. The first lectured on astronomy (elementa sperica), arithmetic, and also medicine if he was prepared to do so. The final arts professor lectured alternately on the dialectic of Caesar and Quintilian and on Vergil's Aenead, in addition to reading Greek lectures and supervising the writing exercises of the students. All four arts professors were responsible for holding academic disputations. As he outlined these varied duties, however, Bugenhagen did not forget the welfare and capabilities of the teachers. He emphasized, therefore, that they should not be burdened with too many lectures. Indeed, two lectures a day ought to be the maximum load.\textsuperscript{47}

Bugenhagen does not prescribe the various duties of the jurists and the theologians, except for the stipulation that one of the theologians ought to teach Hebrew. It is not clear why he addressed himself only to the arts faculty. A lack of time may have been a factor, for he produced the Pomeranian church order very rapidly. A more plausible explanation is his positive opinion of the prospective teachers. He expected them to be capable individuals who could "certainly divide the lectures and hours among themselves, and decide on what they would lecture."\textsuperscript{48}
Bugenhagen obviously wanted to allow some room for freedom and creativity in his educational program, particularly on the university level. Generally, however, his school orders, especially those parts dealing with Latin schools, are quite detailed and complete. The need for such comprehensive and specific guidelines at a time of turmoil and rebuilding, the desire to achieve as much uniformity as possible within the Lutheran educational system, and his own organizational efficiency, no doubt, guided Bugenhagen in his production of the school orders. He did not intend his detailed stipulations to have a stifling effect, however, and he allowed freedom where he believed it would have efficacious results. In retrospect, the generally comprehensive character of his school orders must be seen in a positive light, for such complete and specific guidelines were needed in order for education to be revived and to prosper. The lack of such guidelines would have contributed to the confusion and inactivity in this essential area.

Bugenhagen deserves much credit for the revival of university education in Pomerania. His specific suggestions were not always heeded, and he was not involved in the actual reopening of the University of Greifswald in 1540. Yet he had emphasized the dire necessity of university education, and he had encouraged its support in the school order and during his visitation tour of Pomerania. His incisive assessment of the situation and his call for realistic, yet determined action also contributed to the
successful re-establishment of Greifswald.

While he recognized that it was impossible and undesirable for every city or even territory to have a university, he believed that university educated people were a necessity everywhere, particularly in larger communities. He recommended, therefore, that the cities send a number of students to a university and support them in their studies. For example, he suggested that the dukes of Pomerania require every city to send two or, if possible, four burgheers to the university, in addition to those who are able to support themselves. Such individuals will serve as preachers, syndics, doctors, schoolmasters, and city secretaries, all very necessary offices in Bugenhagen's opinion.

The number of students to be sent to the university by a city or town varied, depending on circumstances and need. Generally each parish of the city was expected to support one student. Even if this goal was not always achieved, the principle that a number of talented burgheers should be given a university education was universally applicable. The boys were to be carefully chosen by representatives of the individual congregations, such as the elders, with the advice of the superintendent, his assistant, the rector, and the subrector, so that capable individuals would be supported. For Hamburg and Lübeck Bugenhagen even suggested the specific stipend to be given to the students, namely thirty guilders annually.
sum differed, and the support of the students was usually not sufficient, as numerous letters of the Wittenberg reformers requesting princes and city councils to provide more support indicate.

In order to prevent abuse of such support and to allow for an evaluation of the students, Bugenhagen provided that they be examined carefully after one year of study, or whenever it was deemed appropriate. At such a time the students were to demonstrate their progress by means of discourses, written work, and one or two Latin orations. The learned people of the city were to judge whether the students should be supported for further study, or whether they might be used in the service of the community. If they were deemed to be sufficiently educated and could not yet be employed by the local community, then these young men were allowed to seek employment elsewhere, however with the stipulation that they return to their home whenever they were needed. Bugenhagen believed that the local people deserved a return for their monetary investment in a university student. The assurance of such a return would, of course, also encourage a willingness to develop a program of support.

The use of ecclesiastical lands and endowments for educational purposes was a basic principle of the Wittenberg reformers. Bugenhagen, therefore, was careful to stipulate that stipends given for the support of university training before the Reformation must be used for this purpose and
not diverted for other needs.\textsuperscript{57}

\textbf{Libraries}

Bugenhagen also recognized that libraries were necessary institutions, not only for the welfare of the schools but also of the church in general. In fact, he usually separated the sections dealing with libraries from the school orders, an indication that he recognized the value of libraries even apart from their usefulness to schools. Where a good library was extant, as in Braunschweig, Bugenhagen encouraged its preservation and expansion.\textsuperscript{58} In the school orders for the territories he urged that the books in scattered libraries be collected and a public library be established in every city for "pastors, preachers, schoolmasters, students, etc."\textsuperscript{59} Both good and bad books were to be collected. The good books in particular should then be arranged according to subject matter. If possible, the library ought to be close to the schools. All who wished to study in the books should be allowed to do so, for that is the purpose and usefulness of a library. However, in order to provide supervision and to avoid damage to the books only a number of people, usually the superintendent, his adjutant, the rector, and the subrector, were to be provided with keys to the library. These individuals were then responsible for the library.\textsuperscript{60} Through his encouragement of the establishment of efficient libraries Bugenhagen hoped to preserve as many extant books as possible and to provide resource materials which individuals generally would not
or could not afford to acquire. Libraries thus constituted an essential element in his educational system.

The German boys' school, the girls' school, the lectorium, the university, and the Latin school, which will be examined in the following chapter, are the various institutions of Bugenhagen's educational system. Together these institutions clearly indicate his desire to provide educational opportunities for all segments of his contemporary society and to meet the varied educational needs of individual people and of the Lutheran Reformation in general.
Footnotes

1 Adolph Frantz, *Die evangelische Kirchenverfassung in den deutschen Städten des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Halle: Gebauer-Schwetschke, 1876), pp. 6-7. Frantz asserts that the Braunschweig church order was so well conceived and constructed in every aspect that "it served as example for a large number of cities in the formulation of their church orders...." Those orders often conformed to the Braunschweig church order quite closely, at times incorporating whole sections. The study of this interrelation-ship between the various church orders is an area of Reforma-tion research which still requires a great deal of attention.


6 Sehling V, 346.

7 *Ibid*.


13 *Ibid*.


16 *Ibid*.


19 Cf. Ibid. VI, I, 370; V, 346; VI, I, 75.
20 Ibid. V, 347.
21 Ibid. VI, I, 370; VI, I, 76.
22 Cf. Ibid. VI, I, 370; V, 346.
23 Cf. Ibid. V, 500; V, 346; VI, I, 76.
24 Ibid. VI, I, 370; V, 500; V, 346.
25 Ibid. VI, I, 76.
26 Ibid. He advocates thirty or twenty guilders for the headmistress and twenty guilders for her assistant.
27 Ibid., p. 75.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid. VI, I, 370; V, 500; V, 346; VI, I, 75.
30 Ibid. VI, I, 370; V, 500; V, 346.
31 Ibid. VI, I, 370; V, 500.
32 Ibid. V, 347.
33 Ibid. VI, I, 75.
34 Ibid.
36 Ibid. VI, I, 371; V, 500; V, 347; VI, I, 76.
37 Ibid. V, 499.
38 Ibid.
39 Aemilius Ludwig Richter, Die evangelischen Kirchen-
ordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, I (Weimar: Verlag
des Landes-Industrie-comptoirs, 1846), 100.
40 Sehling V, 499.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid. V, 340.
43 Ibid.


Ibid., pp. 333-334.

Ibid., p. 334.

Ibid.

Bugenhagen believed that too many universities, too close together, merely competed with one another and weakened one another.

Sehling IV, 334.

Cf., for example, Ibid. V, 500 and V, 345.

In the Schleswig-Holstein school order, for example, Bugenhagen merely takes for granted that students would be sent to the university. Cf. Reinhold Vormbaum, Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1860), p. 39.

Cf. Sehling V, 345.

Ibid. V, 500; V, 345-346.

Ibid. V, 500; V, 346.

Ibid.

Ibid. V, 500.

Ibid. VI, I, 396.

Ibid. IV, 336.

Ibid. V, 499-500; V, 340.
CHAPTER V

BUGENHAGEN'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM:

THE LATIN SCHOOL

The very heart of Bugenhagen's educational system and the institution to which he devoted most attention in his school orders is the Latin school. All of his formulations concerning curriculum, administration, and personnel, except those examined above, address themselves to this institution.

Number

The number of Latin schools in each community differed, depending on the specific situation. Bugenhagen preferred centralization of education and never proposed more than two Latin schools for a city. In the Hamburg and Lübeck school orders he explained the cogent reasons for only one Latin school in a community. Considerations of cost, a desire to foster unity in the city, the necessity of avoiding destructive competition between the schools, and general efficiency and uniformity of instruction all argue for one or at least few Latin schools in a specific locality, according to Bugenhagen.¹

Curriculum

The academic program of the Latin school particularly
received a great deal of attention. As he outlined this program Bugenhagen repeatedly referred to Melanchthon's Instruction of the Visitors both as a source and as an authority for the various stipulations. Indeed, there is general agreement both in major emphases and in content between the Instruction and Bugenhagen's school orders. Nevertheless, Bugenhagen did not hesitate to depart from the Instruction in either area whenever he felt that such a departure was advantageous.

Division into Classes:

Like Melanchthon, Bugenhagen divided the students in the Latin school into classes (loca). He was not bound by Melanchthon's tripartite division, however, and his own arrangements varied from three to five classes. Local needs and circumstances again influenced his specific recommendations. He also emphasized that in new or newly revived schools all of the classes should not be established at the beginning. Advancement in the classes was to be based on progress and ability. Thus there simply might not be any students academically prepared for the upper classes in new schools. An artificial division merely for the sake of having a certain number of classes or of enabling the teachers to offer advanced courses would be regrettable and harmful to the students. The format of a hierarchical progression of classes was adopted by Bugenhagen because he felt it would benefit the students and provide for their academic and intellectual advancement at proper intervals.
He, therefore, cautioned against any possible use of the system that might harm rather than benefit the students.

Educational Goals:

In the Braunschweig school order Bugenhagen outlined the educational goals of the Latin schools. As the name of the school indicates, the major purpose of the institution was to familiarize the students with the Latin language. After attending a Latin school, an individual was expected to be able to speak, read, and write Latin well, to understand the authors which were the bases of his studies, and to write both letters and verse in Latin. Particular care was exercised that the student did not learn corrupt Latin (kökenlatyn). 5

While Melanchthon argued that the study of Latin was sufficient in the Latin schools, Bugenhagen disagreed. He advocated that the study of other languages ought to be pursued also. Greek, for example, should be taught to capable students at the proper time. He did not define this proper time, but he obviously meant a time when the students had mastered Latin sufficiently and were able to meet a new challenge with profitable results. He certainly agreed with Melanchthon that the students should not be overburdened, but he refused to limit linguistic studies as radically as Melanchthon. In fact, he also asserted the validity of initiating the study of Hebrew in the Latin schools. He argued that a knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet and the ability to read some Hebrew would be
particularly helpful to those students with linguistic abilities who might wish to continue the study of Hebrew at a university. Although he was imbued with the humanist love for the classical languages, Bugenhagen obviously appreciated the value and efficacy of the vernacular. He recommended, therefore, that the students in the Latin schools should also be examined whether they speak German properly.

In addition to linguistic studies, Christian training was the other major goal of instruction in the Latin school. Of course, the proper training for Christian life was the ultimate goal of all instruction according to the Wittenberg reformers.

In order to achieve these general goals Bugenhagen proposed an intricate curriculum for each of the classes. This curriculum, which is a combination of medieval, humanist, and Reformation elements, remains basically the same, no matter how many classes are suggested in the individual school orders. The arrangement of the curriculum among the various classes is merely changed. The progression of the curriculum and its logical arrangement are seen most completely in the five-class division.

First Class:

The school day in Bugenhagen's Latin school lasted from 6:00 a.m. until 4:00 p.m., except for the winter months (from St. Simon and St. Jude to Purification) when it began at 7:00 a.m. and ended at 3:30 p.m. The students in the Latin school, then, were committed to their academic
pursuits the major part of the day, unlike the children in
the German schools. The longer hours are an indication
that the educational program in the Latin schools was more
advanced and more difficult than that in the vernacular
schools, and that it was geared to prepare the most tal-
ented for university study and the intellectual life.

The first class of the Latin school consisted of
those boys who had to learn the Latin alphabet (fibelisten)
and those who had mastered the alphabet but did not yet
know how to read. Bugenhagen did not indicate in his school
orders whether the boys entering the Latin school should
have attended a German boys' school, or whether youths
with no education could also be admitted. It appears that
children in either category were accepted. The two groups
in the first class were divided by means of a seating ar-
rangement which placed one group on one side of the room
and the other group on the other side. After mastering
the Latin primer, they were taught to read through the use
of Donatus and Cato. Their vocabulary was extended through
the memorization of Latin vocables, verses, or sayings.9

Bugenhagen also included musical instruction, which
was recommended so highly by Luther, in the curriculum of
the Latin school. Like Luther, he had a lofty opinion of
music and asserted that musical training would make "hearty
and able" children of the students and prepare them for the
study of other arts.10 As a liturgist he also recognized
the practical value of musical instruction for worship.
He advocated congregational singing and assigned an important role to the student choir in the Lutheran worship services. Musical instruction in the schools prepared the boys for participation in the choir and for their active role in the worship service both as youths and later as adults. The musical training of the boys was an example of the importance of schools for the welfare of the churches, an importance which the Lutheran reformers affirmed.

For these reasons Bugenhagen stipulated that all the students receive musical instruction from 12:00 noon until 1:00 p.m. every regular school day. The cantor was mainly responsible for this instruction, although the other teachers, except the rector, were required to assist him in this task. The instruction was quite advanced, for the students were acquainted with musical theory and were expected not only to be able to sing from memory but also to read music, to chant, and to harmonize. Bugenhagen wanted all the boys to sing in the choir. While he suggested that those with good voices should lead, he maintained that even those with limited vocal ability can be trained sufficiently to sing quietly and to follow the lead of the others.

Musical instruction had one further benefit. It afforded an opportunity to teach all the classes of the school together. The combining of classes, also for various lectures, was recommended by Bugenhagen. This recommendation reflects a concern for efficiency and a desire to build a sense of community within the schools.
Second Class:

Those students who were able to read were ready to be promoted to the second class where the study of grammar, learning to write, and the mastery of orthography were the main goals of instruction. With their promotion to the second class the students were expected to participate significantly in the instructional process. This is an essential feature of Bugenhagen's educational system. In order to make this participation as profitable and efficient as possible, Bugenhagen stipulated that it be scheduled in the morning when the students were rested and refreshed.

From 6:00 a.m. until 7:30 a.m. (7:00 a.m. until 8:00 a.m. in the winter) the students explained *Aesop's Fables*, conjugated and declined, and cited the applicable rules in support of their conjugations. If they had studied the rules of sentence construction (*regulas constructionum*) they were also required to apply these rules in written exercises. After completing this work, they were allowed some free time, "perhaps to eat," suggests Bugenhagen. Following the recess, a lecture was presented, and the students took careful notes.15

At 9:00 a.m. (in the winter "after nine") the whole academic community attended matins. Each teacher gathered the children of the parish he served and to which the children belonged, and together they participated in matins. Bugenhagen advised the teachers to arrange the children
in pairs and to lead them carefully through the streets. The same procedure was followed when the academic community attended vespers at the end of the school day. The physical, as well as the spiritual and intellectual, welfare of the children was a clearly expressed concern of Bugenhagen.

After matins the children were allowed to return to their homes until noon when all gathered for musical instruction. From 1:00 p.m. until 2:30 p.m. the teacher of the second class explained *Aesop's Fables* to his students. A recess followed during which the children were allowed to enjoy some refreshments. The final period of the day (*aventstunde*), which lasted until 4:00 p.m. in the summer or 3:30 p.m. in the winter, was devoted to instruction from the *Paedagogia* of Mosellanus. If the students were well acquainted with this work, useful sections from Erasmus' *Colloquia* were discussed. In order to assure proper understanding, Bugenhagen suggested that the material examined during this period might be repeated during the same hour on the following day. Before they were dismissed for vespers, which concluded the academic day, the students were assigned poetry or Latin sayings which were chosen for their didactic value. In order to assure the memorization of this material, the boys were required to repeat it the following morning.

**Third Class:**

The students of the third class were expected to be
well-versed in grammar and able to decline, conjugate, and construct sentences. Advancement to the third class was apparently viewed as a significant academic promotion. Bugenhagen specifically suggested that more be demanded of these advanced students, because they are able to accomplish more than those in the lower classes. He again cautioned, however, that they should not be overburdened. 18

The examination and explanation of Terence or Plautus or of the material presented in lectures was the assignment of the third class in the morning hours. In addition, they were to practice Latin grammar and speech. Bugenhagen was concerned that the students do not merely learn to speak Latin, but that they learn to speak it properly and intelligently. The rest of the time until matins was spent in writing from dictation.

In the afternoon Terence was explained to the boys, and they were assigned portions of Terence for memorization. After they had become well acquainted with this classical author, some of the efficacious fables of Plautus were explicated. A lecture or some profitable exercise ended the day for the students of the third class. 19

Fourth Class:

The study of the classics continued in the fourth class. Vergil, Ovid's Metamorphosis, and Cicero's Officia and Familiæs Epistolas were examined in the afternoon sessions. In the morning Vergil was studied and examined carefully for his oratory style. Declinations and sentence
construction were also required in order to enhance the knowledge of grammar. The students in the fourth class were also expected to write verse. 20

Fifth Class:

A fifth class was recommended especially for larger towns, and a more advanced and diverse curriculum was proposed for it by Bugenhagen. A heavy emphasis was again placed on the study of grammar. In fact, the first session of every day was to be devoted to grammatical exercises and the memorization of the various grammatical rules. Bugenhagen valued the study of grammar so highly that he suggested that all the classes, with the exception of the youngest who were just learning the alphabet, participate in regular grammatical exercises. Indeed, his specific assignments for the morning session in the various classes were intended to facilitate the study and mastery of grammar. 21

The students in the fifth class who had the ability were expected to submit letters or poetry on a weekly basis, and both the students and the teacher were to speak Latin "as much as possible." 22 In later school orders Bugenhagen became less compromising and simply maintained that they must speak Latin at all times. 23 He was convinced that practical exercise would enhance the facility of the students to speak Latin. For this reason he also advocated that they perform comedies or some of the Colloquia of Erasmus. 24
While grammar continued to be an essential element of the curriculum in the fifth class, the study of other subjects was also initiated. The new subjects were dialectic, rhetoric, mathematics, Greek, and Hebrew. Bugenhagen's aim was to afford those students who would terminate their studies with the Latin school at least some acquaintance with these disciplines and also to enhance the preparation of those who would advance to the university.

Review and Rest:

This detailed hourly schedule for each class was followed on regular school days. Bugenhagen also provided that two days of every week be designated for very special academic pursuits. Wednesday was selected as the day for review and rest. In the morning a general repetition or review took place in all the classes. The value of repetition was deeply appreciated by Bugenhagen. He must have experienced its efficacious results in his own teaching career, and he made it an integral element of his instructional methodology.

Bugenhagen recognized the value of free time for the educational process. Therefore, he did not only provide for periods of recess during the school days, but he also stipulated that classes should be dismissed on Wednesday afternoon. He believed that the teachers would benefit from such free time, for they would have the opportunity to study or to bathe. However, the students would benefit even more. Such a respite from regular classroom routine
is necessary, asserted Bugenhagen, so that they do not become weary of studying but return to the classroom refreshed and eager to learn. In order that the time might not be misused and wasted, however, he recommended that the composition of letters or poetry be assigned which the students were to hand in the following week. 26

Religious Instruction:

In addition to Sunday, Wednesday afternoon was the only time when the students of the Latin schools did not have scheduled classes. Saturday was devoted to an essential aspect of Lutheran education, namely religious instruction. While the students were constantly trained in a religious atmosphere, Bugenhagen agreed with Melanchthon that a specific time must be designated for catechetical instruction. The Instruction of the Visitors had stipulated that a day, perhaps Wednesday or Saturday, be set aside for this purpose. 27 Bugenhagen chose Saturday. The primary grades received instruction in the catechism, which they were required to memorize and recite. The more advanced students were introduced to Scripture itself. Bugenhagen emphasized, however, that only lucid books of the Bible ought to be examined. He suggested Matthew, I and II Timothy, Titus, I John, the Psalms, and Proverbs. Portions of these scriptural books were also memorized and recited. 28 The purpose of all this instruction was the fostering of piety and godliness in the students. With the dedication of one full day to religious instruction, Bugenhagen made his contri-
bution to the inclusion of a specific program of religious instruction in the curriculum of the Latin school. Thus he participated in and supported one of the most significant educational innovations of the Reformation period, an innovation which has remained part of German education into the twentieth century.

Curricular Changes:

Bugenhagen included significant changes and additions in text books in his later school orders. He particularly recommended the use of Melanchthon's texts in the Latin schools. Melanchthon's Grammatica latina and his Syntaxis now became the primary texts for the study of this essential subject. 29 His Dialectica and Elementorum rhetoricae were also required. 30 To replace the primer, which included the essential parts of the catechism, Bugenhagen recommended Luther's Small Catechism in a Latin translation. 31

These changes and additions in texts were accompanied by some schedule revisions. For example, Cicero already becomes a subject of study in the third class, and dialectic and rhetoric are already studied in the fourth class. More emphasis is also placed on the application of the linguistic studies through the composition of poetic or prose writings. 32

Bugenhagen's curriculum for the Latin school is quite specific and limited. It emphasizes the study of the Latin classics in their original, the examination of the works of various humanists, and a ready acquaintance with the
essentials of the Christian faith achieved through cate-
chetical instruction and scriptural studies. The graduate
of the Latin school was expected to be an able Latinist
and a faithful evangelical Christian, for the mastery of
Latin and Christian nurture were the ultimate goals of in-
struction in the Latin school.

Administration of the Latin School

Bugenhagen recognized that in order for individual
Latin schools to be effective educational institutions,
they would have to be provided with proper facilities and
efficient administration. He, therefore, addressed him-
self to both of these concerns in his school orders.

Facilities:

Because numerous cities already had various educational
facilities and because Bugenhagen strongly advocated the
use of ecclesiastical property for educational purposes,
he urged that existing buildings be used for the schools
wherever possible. In Braunschweig, for example, he housed
the two Latin schools in the existing city schools adjacent
to the churches of St. Martin and St. Catherine. In ad-
dition to existing schools, Bugenhagen particularly sug-
gested the use of monasteries which stood empty because
of the monastic exodus inspired by the Reformation. Thus
the Latin school in Hamburg was housed in the monastery
of St. John and became known as the Johanneum.

While he felt that the use of existing buildings was
the most practical way of providing facilities for the new evangelical Latin schools, Bugenhagen also expressed concern that such existing facilities be adequate and conducive to the educational process. In the Lübeck school order, for example, he urged that sufficient room be reserved in the monastery of St. Catherine for the proper functioning of the school. At the same time, he counseled that not all of the monastery be used for educational purposes, for it was too large and the space could not be utilized efficiently.35

Administrators:

The responsibility for the supervision and welfare of the schools ultimately rested with the city council or the prince, depending on whether the school order applied to a city or a territory. However, Bugenhagen also delineated the parties with more immediate responsibility for the administration and supervision of the Latin school. He is most explicit with regard to these concerns in the Lübeck school order where he outlines a definite administrative and supervisory hierarchy. The administrators of the song school (sengerie) were assigned the responsibility for the administration of the school. This choice was a natural one, for Bugenhagen stipulated that the endowments presented to the song school by pious Christians were to be used for educational purposes. The major responsibility of the administrators was to pay the salary of the teachers and to see to their general physical welfare.
In order to assure that these men fulfilled their responsibilities and that the various stipulations of the school order were enforced, Bugenhagen assigned supervisory duties to ten church elders, two from each parish, including the cathedral church. The elders were also empowered to supplement the endowments with funds from the common chest whenever the former were not sufficient.\textsuperscript{36} As a capable and efficient administrator Bugenhagen provided for a supplementary source of support for the schools. No doubt, necessity also demanded such an arrangement. He was obviously aware that voluntary endowments were diminishing because of the Lutheran assertion that good works do not contribute to an individual's salvation. A more stable source of support had to be provided, therefore, and the common chest became that source.

The administrators of the school, in the company of the ten elders, were obligated to give account of their activity annually to the council or its representatives and the sixty-four\textsuperscript{37} or their representatives. Thus in Lübeck the ultimate authority in educational matters and at the same time the ultimate responsibility for the supervision and the welfare of the Latin school lay with the council and the burghers themselves.\textsuperscript{38}

\textit{Visitation:}

In addition to the system of supervision described above, Bugenhagen envisioned another means of ensuring the proper functioning of the schools, namely, the visit-
ation. The practice of regular visitations was, of course, revived by the Lutheran reformers as a means of examining and reforming the churches in the various Lutheran territories. Because of the close connection between churches and schools and the importance of schools for the welfare of the churches in the thought of the reformers, careful attention was also given to the schools during a visitation. Bugenhagen progressed one step further in his school orders and stipulated that special visitations be initiated which directed themselves specifically to the schools.

The members of the visitation committee differed from place to place, although the superintendent or chief pastor was always a member. The responsibilities of the various visitation committees remained the same. They were to visit the schools semiannually and to affirm that the stipulations of the school orders were being implemented. In addition, they were to see to it that all private, unofficial schools were closed, for such institutions could harm the properly established schools. Bugenhagen believed that a system of public schools which could be properly supported and supervised was much more conducive to an effective educational program than private schools.

While Bugenhagen was not always as specific in his delineation of the administrative and supervisory hierarchy as he was in the Lübeck school order, he always emphasized the necessity of proper administration and supervision of the educational process. He was obviously convinced that
neglect in these areas would result in corruption and inefficiency, even if an admirable educational system had been established. It is significant that Bugenhagen assigned ultimate responsibility for the proper functioning of the schools to the leaders of the ecclesiastical and the secular communities. This fact is another indication of the essential importance that he assigned to education for the welfare of church and secular society.

**Teachers**

While Bugenhagen was a very practical organizer and a capable architect of institutions, of curricula, and of administrative machinery, he retained a pervasive interest in people. Institutions and methodologies never became ends in themselves for Bugenhagen. They were always formulated and used with people in mind. Having been a teacher himself and sharing Luther's lofty opinion of the teaching profession, he dedicated significant portions of his school orders to the personnel of the schools, particularly of the Latin schools.

**Number:**

While the specific number of teachers for each Latin school differs in the various school orders, Bugenhagen's principle is a simple one. Each school should have enough teachers to carry out the educational process effectively. He suggested that no Latin school should have fewer than three teachers, however, for he believed that it would be
difficult to have an effective educational program with fewer teachers. 41 The enrollment and the educational program of an individual school must determine how many teachers above the minimum should be employed. Seven teachers is the highest number proposed by Bugenhagen in any of his school orders. He did not stipulate, however, that this should be the maximum number. He was addressing himself to specific situations, and he, no doubt, envisioned the growth of the schools and thus the enlargement of the faculty.

Bugenhagen arranged the faculty of the Latin school according to a purposely devised hierarchy. In a school with seven teachers, for example, the hierarchy was patterned in the following way: rector, subrector, cantor, teacher, teacher, teacher, teacher. Rank and educational preparation determined an individual's place in the hierarchy.

Education and Quality:

Bugenhagen recognized, of course, that the teachers were an extremely crucial element in a good educational program. The best curriculum and the most conducive facilities could not educate children. Teachers of high quality and with sufficient education were needed, and he diligently emphasized this point in his school orders. He demanded that all the men hired must be well educated and well prepared to fulfill their teaching responsibilities. He clearly indicated, however, that the amount of
training should diminish proportionately from the highest to the lowest teacher. The rector was expected to have earned the M.A. degree. Although the same was not always required of his assistant, the subrector, the acquisition of the degree was stipulated in the Schleswig-Holstein school order of 1542. The cantor, whose main responsibility was musical instruction, had to be a trained musician, but he also needed instruction in the other arts because of his general teaching responsibilities. While the other teachers were not required to have advanced training, even the lowest needed to be able to relate with the children in the classroom, to supervise them on the streets as they went to matins and vespers or home, and to teach them to read and to sing. Bugenhagen thus asserted that not all the teachers in the Latin schools needed to have advanced university training. In fact, he believed that there should be differences in the amount of training required for each teacher. He made it very clear, however, that while not all needed to be masters, each must be trained sufficiently to understand the subject matter and to be able to teach it effectively to others.

Sufficient academic training was not the only criterion on which the teachers were judged. They were also expected to be men of admirable character. Bugenhagen warned that even well educated men could be lazy. Such individuals cannot benefit the students and must be guarded against. Furthermore, individuals who live shameful lives only give
the students and the population in general a bad example, therefore they cannot be tolerated in a Christian community. Bugenhagen offers a special word of caution with regard to vagabond teachers (ummelöpere). He must have meant individuals who traveled from city to city spreading what he considered to be dangerous and false doctrines. He, therefore, suggested that such men should not be employed thoughtlessly in order to avoid enthusiasm and abomination of the Gospel. While he certainly emphasized the necessity of education, he was equally convinced that no education was better than a bad education.\footnote{47}

**Duties of the Teachers:**

All the teachers were, of course, required to carry out their classroom responsibilities faithfully and diligently. Bugenhagen particularly warned the teachers against pursuing their own glory to the detriment of the students. The rector, for example, though he is well educated, must be concerned about helping the children rather than about demonstrating his advanced learning. He dare not think it an insult to exercise the children in basic and simple subject matters, for this will benefit them. The other teachers of the school must act similarly. They, too, must apply themselves diligently to their work and always consider the students' welfare.\footnote{48} Bugenhagen did not satisfy himself with the careful delineation of an educational system in his school orders. He also sought to assure that the educational process would be an efficacious one.
In addition to the specific classroom responsibilities, the teachers were also assigned other duties. Although the cantor and also the sacristan were primarily responsible for musical training, all the teachers, except the rector, were required to assist the cantor in his work, particularly when he wished to present a special musical program in the churches. In addition, the cantor and the other teachers were themselves expected to sing the canticles or some hymns in the various churches, either individually or as a small choir. Each teacher also led the choir of boys in his parish and could be asked to sing and lead the choir at weddings and funerals. Bugenhagen obviously agreed with Luther that a teacher who could not sing should not be considered for employment. Musical and vocal ability was a necessity considering the wide range of musical responsibilities of every teacher in the Lutheran schools.

While the rector was not required to assist in the formidable task of musical instruction, Bugenhagen also suggested additional teaching responsibilities for him, particularly in those cities where a lectorium had been established. In the Lübeck school order, for example, he recommended that the rector address the educated members of the community once a week at the lectorium. This address could be a Latin lecture on a section of Scripture, a Latin oration, or an exhortation. Bugenhagen added that the subrector should also be given the opportunity to make similar weekly presentations. He made such suggestions in
the interest of offering as many educational opportunities as possible. He did not wish such special lectures to interfere with the regular educational process, however, nor did he wish to place excessive burdens on the rector and the subrector. He provided, therefore, that the two pedagogues be allowed to determine whether they could present such lectures without neglecting their regular teaching duties. As he presented his formulations, therefore, Bugenhagen always kept in mind the total educational process and sought its welfare, as well as the welfare of the individuals involved.

Employment and Dismissal:

Bugenhagen also made very specific recommendations concerning such administrative matters as employment, salary, and housing of the teachers. Because of the importance of and the lofty requirements for the teaching profession, the hiring of teachers was a crucial task. While there were numerous local differences and peculiarities, Bugenhagen's basic procedure for the employment of the various teachers is easily discernible. The rector was engaged by a specified committee, and the rector, in turn, was responsible for securing the rest of the staff with the approval of various parties. It is significant that both ecclesiastical and secular authorities participated in the employment and dismissal process.

The most concise plan and one which differs somewhat from his regular procedure is presented in the Pomeranian
school order, where Bugenhagen simply provides that the rector and subrector should be chosen by the pastor and the administrators of the common chest. The rector then must secure the other teachers, though these had to be examined by the local superintendent. 54

More elaborate procedures are outlined in the Hamburg and Lübeck school orders. In Hamburg representatives of the city council and the deacons of the parishes, plus the superintendent and his adjutant were assigned the responsibility for hiring the rector. The same parties were also responsible for his dismissal, after he had received a six-month notice, which was to be served during the visitation of the school. While he attempted to guard against the employment of incapable teachers in his hiring procedures, Bugenhagen recognized that this would happen. For this reason he also outlined a process for dismissal. The subrector and the cantor were then to be secured by the rector. Yet to avoid arbitrary and bad choices, he could not act alone. Four capable representatives of the council, four of the deacons, plus the superintendent and his adjutant were to participate in the screening and choosing process. The same committee, together with the rector, could also dismiss the subrector or cantor after a six-month notice. Finally, the other teachers were to be hired by the rector alone, but only after the superintendent and his adjutant had determined that the individuals chosen were capable of fulfilling the duties of their office. The rector was
then responsible for the teachers, particularly when they failed in their tasks, and he could dismiss them with a three-month notice. 55

The basic employment procedure in Lübeck was clearly based on that prescribed for Hamburg with specific local differences. The rector was employed by the city council and the sixty-four or their representatives after the recommendation of the administrators of the school and the ten church elders. Dismissal of the rector was accomplished in the same way, but only after a six-month notice given at the time of the visitation. While the rector was assigned ultimate responsibility for securing the subrector and the cantor, a committee composed of four city councilmen, the administrators of the schools, the ten church elders, the superintendent, and his adjutant was also involved in the actual employment of the two men after they had been judged to be sufficiently learned. The rector and the committee could also dismiss them with a half-year notice given at the time of the visitation or at any appropriate time.

The rector employed each of the other teachers with the consent of a senior representative of the administrators and of the two church elders from the parish where the particular teacher would perform his musical responsibilities. After the consent of the above mentioned individuals the teacher was examined by the superintendent and his adjutant to determine his capability of holding his office. Only then could he be employed. The rector was
then held responsible if the teacher was found lacking, and he had the authority to dismiss that teacher without the knowledge of the above mentioned parties whenever he believed such a dismissal was necessary, even if he simply did not like the individual. The teacher had to be given a three-month notice, however. Bugenhagen explained why the rector, the superintendent, and his adjutant had such powers of examination and dismissal. He considered them necessary in order to avoid or at least remedy the employment of incapable individuals. He had no intention of assigning arbitrary powers to the rector or any other authority, but he believed that the welfare of education demanded a procedure for correcting previous mistakes in the area of employment.

The employment procedure outlined by Bugenhagen is characterized by an appreciation for proper procedure, a careful delineation of responsibilities, and a concern to employ capable teachers. Bugenhagen hoped to assure that the schools would be served by excellent staffs. For this reason he involved a relatively large number of knowledgeable individuals in the employment process, provided for a careful examination procedure, and outlined the reasons for and the avenues of dismissal.

**Salary:**

While he demanded the careful screening of teacher candidates and required that they fulfill their responsibilities, he was also deeply concerned about their welfare.
He expressed this concern concretely in his stipulations regarding pay and housing for the teachers.

Bugenhagen emphasized that the teachers must be given adequate pay. He presented cogent reasons in support of his position. It would, first of all, be wholly ungodly and unjust to expect the teachers to serve the community and not pay them for this service. A teacher should not have to complain that a maid receives better pay than he. Furthermore, teachers must purchase the necessities of life such as food and clothing. Their salaries must, therefore, be paid faithfully. Thirdly, good men must be attracted to serve as teachers. Even a good teacher may accept negligible pay when he is in dire need or has no alternative. However, such an individual will leave when he is offered a better position, and he may even warn others about his former employer. Men who are not paid sufficiently also tend to become annoyed and adverse to their work. In support of his claim, Bugenhagen reminded the people of the proverb: "Poor pay, poor work" \( (\text{Holtene lohn, holtene arbeyt}) \). An unwillingness to provide proper salaries for the teachers, therefore, will only harm the educational process, and this must be avoided. Finally, it is Christ's will that those who labor in His work be repayed. Indeed, the Lord tells His servants to leave the city which does not provide for them \( (\text{Mt. 10}) \).\(^{57}\) The welfare of the teachers, the welfare of education, and God's will demand that an adequate salary be paid to the teachers of the Latin
Bugenhagen also delineated the sources and the amount of the salaries. He stipulated that a definite salary must be paid to each teacher from the common chest or from other available sources. This salary was to be supplemented by income from the tuition (precium) paid by the students. Because of the different currencies used and their varying value, the amounts prescribed differ in the various school orders. It is clear, however, that Bugenhagen attempted to provide a salary which would allow the teachers to live adequately. The salaries quite clearly reflected the pedagogical hierarchy. Those teachers with more education and greater responsibilities were paid more. For example, he suggests the following salary scale for the Johanneum in Hamburg:

- rector - 200 marks annually
- subrector - 100 marks annually
- cantor - 75 marks annually
- teacher - 50 marks annually
- teacher - 40 marks annually
- teacher - 40 marks annually
- teacher - 30 marks annually

The responsible parties paid this salary in quarterly installments.

The amount of income from the tuition varied, depending on the number of students, their economic capabilities, and the various local stipulations. All students, except those who absolutely could not afford it, were expected to pay the tuition. In Lübeck the rich were required to pay four shillings quarterly, the middle class
three shillings quarterly, and the poor who could afford it two shillings quarterly. The total was then divided proportionately between the rector and the other teachers. Bugenhagen urged all the parents to pay this sum faithfully, reminding them how little they were required to pay for the education of their sons. In the Braunschweig school order, for example, he explains that a rich man can send his son to Latin school ten years for the same amount of money that he pays his maid in one year. The education of a child, he argues, certainly should be valued more highly than the services of a maid. At the same time, he reminds the teachers that their income from tuition might increase if they perform their duties diligently and the parents are pleased with their children's progress.

While he hoped that all parents would be concerned enough about the education of their children to pay the limited tuition gladly, Bugenhagen also recognized that this would not always be the case. He recommended, therefore, that if some parents neglect to pay the tuition twice, the rector should ask the elders or deacons of their parish to visit them and urge them in a friendly manner to fulfill their responsibility. If they still refuse, however, no discord should be precipitated over this matter.

One of Bugenhagen's basic guiding principles was that poverty dare not be a hindrance to education. He stipulated, therefore, that poor parents who could not pay the tuition should be excused. The parents need only petition
the administrators of the common chest or the deacons or elders of their particular parish who would, in turn, request the rector to accept the poor children without tuition. The poor must have the same opportunity to study as the rich, maintained Bugenhagen.

The varied fees, such as money for windows or candles, which had been paid by the students were no longer assessed unless a student purposely broke a window. Then the parents were obligated to replace it. Bugenhagen did require the payment of money for wood, however, so that the children would not have to sit in cold classrooms during the winter. This fee, of course, did not enhance the teacher's income, although a warm classroom benefited him too.

Bugenhagen did, however, suggest various means whereby that income could be enlarged. If people wished the student choir to sing at a wedding or a funeral, they were required to pay the teacher a stipend. If they did not wish to do so, they should not ask for these special services, for such services should not be performed without remuneration. The money collected was either divided equally among all the teachers or the teachers, excluding the rector. Gifts from individuals who were grateful for a teacher's services to their children might also benefit individual instructors, but such income is quite arbitrary and cannot be relied on. A talented individual might wish to take on extra tutorial responsibilities or lectures in order to enhance his income. This practice should be per-
mitted, particularly if a teacher marries.\textsuperscript{72} Bugenhagen warned, however, that such additional work dare not interfere with the regular teaching responsibilities. Some extra tasks, therefore, were not allowed. For example, he forbade a teacher to serve as the town clerk, for the demands of this office would interfere with the teaching process.\textsuperscript{73} While he was concerned to give teachers every opportunity to improve their situation, the welfare of education was always his guiding principle. Thus he condoned and even encouraged activities which enhanced or at least did not harm education, but he forbade those activities which he believed would be detrimental to it.

Bugenhagen's social consciousness and his concern for the physical welfare of individuals were demonstrated particularly in his recommendations concerning retired teachers. The necessity of caring for these individuals, however, apparently did not become obvious to Bugenhagen for quite some time. He addressed this problem specifically in the Schleswig-Holstein school order of 1542. He recommended that a pastor or teacher, who has served long and diligently in his office, must be provided with adequate support when he becomes too weak to fulfill the duties of his office and is forced to retire.\textsuperscript{74}

Although the fiscal plight of the teacher remained rather precarious during the sixteenth century, the reformers attempted to awaken a respect and concern for the teaching profession which would also express itself
in adequate support. Bugenhagen's specific recommendations were not always implemented, yet his school orders clearly delineated the principle of adequate support and made it an integral part of the Lutheran educational program.

Housing:

In addition to adequate salaries, Bugenhagen also called for proper and sufficient housing for the teachers. He asserted that every locality must provide comfortable living quarters for their teachers. Often these were in the buildings which also housed the school, as was the case in Hamburg and Lübeck.75

The pedagogical hierarchy was again reflected in the housing provisions, for the rector was assigned more elaborate facilities than the other teachers. The major difference was that the rector had kitchen facilities while the others did not. Bugenhagen provided, however, that if a teacher married and found his sitting-room and bedroom insufficient, the parish which he served, the city council, or the administrators of the common chest should provide more adequate facilities.76

Bugenhagen offered his most extensive suggestions concerning housing in the Lübeck school order. Both the Latin school and the apartments for the teachers were in the cloister of St. Catherine. The rector was provided with a sitting-room, a bedroom, a kitchen with a fireplace, and a cellar. In addition, a room for resident students assigned to him was to be provided.
The other teachers were assigned living quarters, "each according to his rank." Bugenhagen suggested that they should have a sitting-room, a bedroom, and perhaps some space for wood. In addition, a large cellar should be divided into separate compartments, so that each teacher might have some storage facilities for beer or the like.

Finally, a portion of the monastery grounds was to be preserved as a small, private court-yard. It should be a place where the teachers can walk, study, read, sing, or enjoy some other useful activity, either individually or corporately. Bugenhagen also envisioned the court-yard as a place where the teachers could go during the hour of musical instruction, so that they might escape the commotion. In order to encourage the Lübeck people to implement his suggestions, he appealed to their local pride and affirmed that Lübeck could be an example to other cities by providing such excellent educational facilities.77

While he did not always present such extensive and specific suggestions for the housing of teachers, adequate housing was the concomitant of adequate salaries in his thinking, and he clearly delineated and defended the necessity of caring for the physical needs of the teachers. He realized that these needs were sorely neglected, and he intended to remedy this situation in the educational system which he devised in his school orders.

Responsibilities and Privileges:

Because the whole matter of clerical privileges re-
ceived significant attention during the Reformation period, Bugenhagen also addressed himself to this problem. During the Middle Ages the teachers had enjoyed clerical privileges because they were considered to be clerics. Bugenhagen defended the right of the teachers to certain civic privileges, but he did place them under the authority of civil law. It is interesting to note that in his earlier school orders he emphasized the legal responsibilities of teachers, while in later orders he emphasized their privileges. The specific concerns and needs of the time, no doubt, help explain this change in emphasis.

Both in the Hamburg and the Lübeck school orders, Bugenhagen maintained that if the teachers willfully disobey secular authority, the city council can discipline them. They stand under the authority of city law, just as all the other burghers, for they live in the city and are employed by it. In order to avoid a mischievous disposition against the teachers on the part of the citizenry, however, Bugenhagen provided that the teachers should be defended before the city council and the judges, even if they do not offer a defense themselves. He quite obviously wanted to protect the teachers against any deplorable consequences of the spirit of anticlericalism among the citizenry. He clearly reflected an incisive perception of his society, both of its positive and negative elements, throughout his school orders.

By 1542 Bugenhagen apparently felt that the privileges
of the teachers had to be defined and defended. He asserted, therefore, that both pastors and teachers, in addition to the students, retain their customary privileges and liberties. They must be free from all taxation and civic obligations, for they have enough to do when they perform their duties faithfully. Their offices, after all, benefit the common man more than any other. While the cities, in particular, wanted to abolish these privileges, Bugenhagen disagreed and became a champion of the customary privileges of pastors and teachers. His respect for their offices and his concern that nothing interfere with their essential work caused him to adopt this particular position.

Students

Bugenhagen made fewer specific recommendations about students than he did about teachers, but his school orders are permeated with an interest in and consciousness of the student. Indeed, his whole educational system is student-oriented.

Types of Students:

Bugenhagen was convinced that every member of the community who is at all capable should be given the opportunity to be educated. The variety of schools included in his educational system is a clear indication of this conviction. While the Latin schools and the universities were still reserved for males, girls, too, were to be part of the
student population. Bugenhagen was one of the most ardent advocates of girls' schools in the sixteenth century. German boys' schools enabled also those boys with limited ability to receive an elementary education in reading, religious instruction, and music. However, Bugenhagen believed that the educational process should not be limited to the young. Thus he suggested that educated adults might also attend lectures in the upper class of the Latin school. 81 Nevertheless, it was the lectorium, in particular, which addressed itself to the concern for adult education. Bugenhagen's student body, therefore, included all types of people, boys and girls, young and old, rich and poor, the very able, the capable, and the less talented, those preparing for the ministerial profession, and those seeking a secular vocation.

Responsibilities of Students:

The students in the evangelical schools of the sixteenth century were assigned a dual responsibility. The first and most obvious was, of course, the dedicated pursuit of their academic studies. Intimately related to this academic work were the worship responsibilities of the students. The extensive musical instruction in Bugenhagen's curriculum was necessary, because it prepared the students for their varied contributions to the Lutheran worship services. All the boys from the various parishes who attended Latin school performed as a choir in their respective parishes. In addition to hymns and anthems, they also sang
parts of the liturgy and, in general, led the rest of the congregation in the worship services. 

Welfare of the Students:

Concern for the welfare of the students permeates Bugenhagen's school orders, and his entire educational process is formulated with this particular concern in mind. Thus Bugenhagen demanded the appointment of educated and capable faculty members, because this will be best for the students. 

Those faculty members, in turn, were cautioned not to seek the advancement of their own reputation when they teach, but the welfare of the students. While definite academic progress must be required, the teachers must consider the capabilities of the students and be careful not to overburden them. 

A main purpose for dividing the students into classes was to allow individual students to progress at their own rate. Even the rector was reminded that he must not consider simple exercises with the students to be below his academic dignity, because he will benefit the uneducated students through such exercises. 

The intellectual welfare of the students was not the only concern of Bugenhagen. He also sought their physical welfare. Thus the school hours were shortened during the winter, so that the children could go to school and return home during daylight. 

He also reminded the teachers to arrange the students in pairs whenever they went to matins and vespers and to lead them safely through the streets so that no harm would come to them. 

The poor students were
also provided for. They were allowed to attend Latin school without tuition, and Bugenhagen stipulated that special needs of the poor students should be taken care of by the deacons of the poor. 88 In Pomerania he even allowed the poor students to continue the old practice of begging, 89 although he forbade it in Hamburg, arguing that it multiplied the beggars and allowed even the rich to beg for food simply because they were students. 90

Evaluation of Students:

Bugenhagen's provision for the periodic evaluation of the students is intimately related to his concern for them and also reflects his very practical view of the value and the limitations of education for the individual student. He outlined the following procedures. When a boy has attended school from early age and has shown little ability for academic pursuits, the rector should inform the parents of this in good faith when the boy reaches the age of twelve. His formal education should then be terminated. The boys who are capable should continue their education for four years at which time another decision must be made about their future. Those boys who might be good students but are judged not capable of or are not inclined toward teaching others should be advised by the rector to practice what they had learned privately and to learn an honorable trade. Those who are found capable of applying their learning and of teaching others must be dedicated to God in order to serve other people in the spiritual or secular realm.
Those individuals will, of course, be a minority, but they are greatly needed. One of these is more useful to the common good, says Bugenhagen, than ten thousand others. They should not be allowed to learn a trade, but they should continue their studies as long as they need to, each in the particular area for which he has a propensity. Bugenhagen emphasizes, therefore, that an individual's abilities and inclinations should be considered carefully. If such boys are poor, the community should pay their expenses. In return they must promise to serve the community when they are needed. Pious, wealthy individuals might also wish to support such talented poor boys, so that they might study for the common good and the spiritual welfare of many. 91 Bugenhagen quite obviously recognized that not all boys were able to pursue advanced academic training, and he perceived that not all could, or for that matter should, be the intellectual leaders of the community. For this reason, he formulated a very practical system of evaluation which was based on these presuppositions and which served the welfare of the students, the parents, and the community in general.

Bugenhagen's school orders are a significant and one of the largest bodies of sixteenth-century educational writings. In them he formulated an elaborate and extensive educational system, ranging from the German boys' and girls' schools to the university. His stipulations were precise and detailed, and they served as clear and
complete guidelines for the establishment and administration of an evangelical educational program. While he was essentially a very practical organizer who addressed himself particularly to the creation of institutions and procedures, he never neglected the people involved in such institutions and procedures. His formulations, therefore, included extensive sections dealing with the welfare of students and teachers. He also did not forget the context from which and the goals for which he was working. Thus his whole educational system responded to the concerns which he himself shared with Luther and Melanchthon and was formulated to meet the educational needs of the Lutheran Reformation.
Footnotes


3 For example, Bugenhagen suggested three classes for Braunschweig, four for Schleswig-Holstein, and five for Hamburg.

4 Sehling VI, I, 74.

5 Ibid. VI, I, 368.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 For example, in schools with four classes the study of dialectic and rhetoric is assigned to the fourth instead of the fifth class. The various literary compositions are also required earlier, usually already in the third class. Cf. Ibid. VI, I, 73-74.

9 Ibid. V, 340.

10 Ibid., p. 341.

11 Ibid. V, 495; V, 340-341.

12 Ibid. V, 495; V, 340-341; VI, I, 74.

13 Ibid. VI, I, 369.

14 Ibid. V, 495.

15 Ibid., p. 496.

16 Cf. Ibid. V, 496; V, 342; also Reinhold Vormbaum, *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1860), p. 43. Hereafter referred to as Vormbaum.

17 Vormbaum, p. 35; Sehling VI, I, 73.

18 Cf., for example, Sehling V, 496.


25 Sehling V, 496; V, 341; Vormbaum, p. 42.

26 Sehling V, 496-497.


28 Sehling V, 497; V, 342; VI, I, 74.

29 Vormbaum, p. 35; Sehling VI, I, 73.

30 Vormbaum, p. 36; Sehling VI, I, 74.

31 Sehling VI, I, 73.

32 Cf., for example, Vormbaum, pp. 35-36.

33 Sehling VI, I, 365.


37 The sixty-four were the political representatives of the burghers in Lübeck.

38 Sehling V, 343.

39 In Braunschweig, for example, the superintendent was accompanied by his adjutant, five members of the city council, and the commissioners of the common chest (*Ibid.* VI, I, 370). In Hamburg the committee consisted of the superintendent or chief pastor, the four pastors, four representatives of the council, and the twelve elders (*overolden*) (*Ibid.* V, 498). Lübeck's visitation committee was made up of the superintendent, the pastors, four members of the council capable of fulfilling this responsibility, the administrators of the school, and the ten church elders (*Ibid.* V, 345).
Ibid. VI, I, 370; V, 498; V, 345.


Cf., for example, Sehling VI, I, 365; Vormbaum, p. 39.

Cf., for example, Sehling VI, I, 365.

Cf., for example, Vormbaum, p. 39.

Ibid.

Sehling V, 343.

Ibid. VI, I, 366.

Ibid. V, 342.

Ibid. In Lübeck the sacristan was expected to lead the children in the singing of Psalms during the worship services.

Ibid. V, 495.

Ibid. VI, I, 369.

Ibid., p. 367.

Ibid., p. 365; V, 345.

Ibid. IV, 334.

Ibid. V, 497.

Ibid. V, 343.

Ibid. VI, I, 366; V, 497; V, 335, 344.

Ibid. V, 498.

Local circumstances again demanded various arrangements. For example, in Hamburg the deacons dispensed the salary (Ibid. V, 498). In Lübeck the administrators of the school paid the teachers (Ibid. V, 343), but in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel this was the task of the visitors (Ibid. VI, I, 73).
In Braunschweig the rectors of the two Latin schools each received half while their teachers divided the rest equally (Ibid. VI, I, 367). In Hamburg and Lübeck the rector was entitled to one fourth while the rest was divided equally by the teachers (V, 498; V, 344).

Ibid. VI, I, 366.
Ibid., p. 367.
Ibid. V, 498; V, 344.
Ibid. VI, I, 367.
Ibid. V, 498.
Ibid. V, 344.
Ibid., pp. 344-345.
Ibid. VI, I, 367.
Ibid. VI, I, 73.
Ibid. VI, I, 367.
Ibid.
Ibid. IV, 333.
Vormbaum, p. 38.
Sehling V, 498; V, 339.
Ibid. VI, I, 367; VI, I, 75.
Ibid. V, 340.
Ibid. V, 497; V, 344.
Ibid. V, 344.
Vormbaum, p. 38; cf. also Sehling VI, I, 75.
Sehling VI, I, 368.

Bugenhagen gives extensive instructions in his church orders concerning the duties of the children in the area of worship. Cf., for example, Ibid., pp. 399-405; V, 491, 516, 522-525; V, 347-348; VI, I, 50-53.
83 Ibid. VI, I, 365.
84 Ibid., p. 368; V, 496.
85 Ibid. V, 497; V, 342.
86 Ibid. V, 495.
87 Ibid. V, 342.
88 Ibid. V, 498.
89 Ibid. IV, 333.
90 Ibid. V, 498.
91 Ibid. VI, I, 369-370; V, 498; V, 345; Vormbaum, pp. 37-38.
CHAPTER VI

BUGENHAGEN'S EDUCATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Johannes Bugenhagen was an educator all his adult life. His historical importance has been ascribed primarily to his organizational and administrative work on behalf of the Lutheran Reformation. This cannot be denied. What has been generally overlooked, however, is the fact that a significant portion of this organizational work was devoted to the revival and reorganization of an educational program in the Lutheran areas. His church orders, the concrete expressions of his organizational work, all contain school orders. Furthermore, while he was a diligent preacher and served as pastor of the city church in Wittenberg for thirty-five years, he never abrogated his teaching profession and remained an active member of the Wittenberg faculty throughout those decades, first as a private lecturer and eventually as an official member of the theological faculty. It may be asserted, therefore, that Bugenhagen was first of all and essentially an educator. During his educational career, which spanned over half a century, he made significant contributions to education. His contributions may be divided into two categories: those achieved as a teacher and reformer, and those accomplished as a writer of
school orders.

Teacher and Reformer

Bugenhagen's most obvious educational contribution was his long and distinguished teaching career. This career began at the age of nineteen when he was called to be rector of the city school at Treptow in Pomerania. In 1517 he was also appointed lecturer in the monastic school of the nearby monastery of Belbug. Under his guidance the Treptow Latin school flourished and achieved an admirable reputation while monastic education, particularly the study of Scripture, was revived among the monks of Belbug.

Although he came to Wittenberg as a student in 1521, he soon resumed his teaching activity, at first as a private lecturer, then as an unofficial member of the faculty of the university, and finally as a member of the theological faculty. He was associated with the university for almost four decades and taught there whenever he was not traveling.

The classroom was not the only arena of Bugenhagen's teaching activity. He was also essentially a teacher in the pulpit. He envisioned the sermon as an opportunity to explicate the scriptural text to his audience and to clarify the essentials of the evangelical faith for them. The importance and efficacy of catechetical preaching was particularly emphasized by Bugenhagen, and he himself was an able catechetical preacher.¹

Quite naturally, Bugenhagen's writings were also
essentially didactic. His biblical commentaries were basically publications of his theological lectures. For this reason they have a definite didactic character. But he also taught in his other works. His Von den Christenloven, for example, is a clear explication of evangelical emphases, particularly the proper relationship between faith and good works. He obviously intended to instruct his Hamburg readers as he wrote his epistle to them. Bugenhagen the teacher thus also emerges in the pulpit and at the writer's desk, not merely in the classroom.

Bugenhagen was apparently an excellent teacher. His effectiveness and his ability have been attested to by his contemporaries. The popularity of his lectures on the Psalms when he first came to Wittenberg is a testimony of student appreciation. In addition, two of the most popular and able teachers at Wittenberg, Luther and Melanchthon, praised his pedagogical abilities. Melanchthon was favorably impressed by his expositions and encouraged him to lecture publicly. Luther was uninhibited in his praise of Bugenhagen and asserted that next to Melanchthon he was "the best professor of theology in the world and in the city."² Luther was particularly eager to keep Bugenhagen at the University of Wittenberg and repeatedly urged the electors of Saxony to provide a sufficient stipend for him. Even the Elector John Frederick recognized Bugenhagen's importance to the University of Wittenberg. In the letter permitting him to extend his stay in Denmark, the elector,
nevertheless, reminded him that the churches and the University of Wittenberg also needed his services. Such positive reactions to his teaching would have been unlikely had he not been an effective teacher in the classroom.

His effectiveness was also remembered by later generations. The gymnasium established in Treptow in 1856, which was the successor of Bugenhagen's Latin school, was named after him in appreciation of his services to education in Treptow and to the Reformation in general in Pomerania. 4

Bugenhagen was not only a teacher, however. He also devoted himself to the revitalization of educational institutions. Most of his work in this area was done during his organizational travels, but he began this activity before 1528 and continued it after 1542. Already in 1522 he opposed the enthusiasts, particularly when they closed the city school in Wittenberg. One of his first accomplishments as the new city pastor was to reopen the school and restore the educational process. Later in his career he interceded and labored for the reopening of the University of Wittenberg when it was closed during the Schmalkaldic War. Together with Melanchthon he may be given credit for the swift accomplishment of this goal.

He performed similar services on behalf of education in various areas of northern Germany. For example, he must be credited with the establishment of the Johanneum in Hamburg, with the revival of university education in Pomerania, and with the reorganization of the University of Copenhagen.
If he remained in an area long enough to supervise the revitalization of education, he did. If his stay was too short, he at least provided a school order and attempted to awaken in the people a sincere resolve to restore an effective educational program in their midst.

Bugenhagen was able to cultivate sincere friendships with contemporary secular rulers. These friendships often facilitated and fostered his work on behalf of education. He carried on a lively correspondence with these leaders and often addressed himself to educational matters in this correspondence. For example, he urged King Christian III of Denmark to reserve a large portion of the confiscated ecclesiastical lands for the needs of church and school and to provide adequate facilities for the University of Copenhagen.⁵ He also repeatedly encouraged Duke Albert of Prussia to support the newly established University of Königsberg⁶ and offered his assistance in this task.⁷ His intercessions on behalf of students, especially for additional financial support, were frequent.⁸ Thus he also made a significant contribution to the revival and support of education in northern Europe through his correspondence.

Within this context it should be noted that Bugenhagen's educational work and his contributions to education extended over a large geographical area. His work was not limited to one or two cities or to a single territory. Rather, his organizational travels enabled him to reach large portions of northern Germany and even Scandinavia. In addition, his
correspondence brought his ideas and influence to areas, such as Prussia, in which he did not work personally. The geographical extent of his activity and influence must be recognized in an evaluation of Bugenhagen's significance as an educator.

**Writer of School Orders**

Although his teaching activity, his revitalization of educational institutions, and his diligent literary defense of education were important accomplishments, Bugenhagen made his most significant educational contributions as a writer of school orders.

The production of his school orders was in itself a substantial contribution. They form one of the most extensive bodies of educational writings in the sixteenth century, and they provided the legal bases for Lutheran education in much of northern Germany. Because they served as clear guidelines for the establishment of an evangelical educational program, they also were an important impetus toward the revival of education in the Lutheran territories.

In the school orders Bugenhagen explicated his educational system. The formulation of this system was his most significant educational contribution. It was an extensive and rather complete system whose central institution was the Latin school. However, it also included vernacular boys' and girls' schools, the lectorium, and the university. In addition, Bugenhagen emphasized the necessity of good libraries for an effective educational program.
The hierarchy of educational institutions devised by him offered opportunities for primary, secondary, and higher education.

Various important emphases and characteristics emerge from Bugenhagen's school orders which were important educational contributions. He was among the first educators to support universal education. He was convinced that everyone who was at all capable should receive at least some education. For this reason he provided not only Latin schools and universities but also the vernacular boys' and girls' schools. The latter provided instruction in reading and writing and in the essentials of the Christian faith to girls and to those boys who were incapable or somehow unable to progress further. In the educational system devised by Bugenhagen every member of society was provided the opportunity to receive at least an elementary education. His concern for primary, vernacular education is particularly significant because this area of education was generally neglected by his contemporaries.

The centrality of the students is a basic theme in Bugenhagen's school orders. Institutions and procedures were formulated with the students' needs in mind. The spiritual welfare of the students was, of course, Bugenhagen's primary concern. Religious instruction was, therefore, the very heart of the educational program in the vernacular schools, continued to be a regularly scheduled part of the curriculum of the Latin school, and remained the most
important area of study in the university. Regular worship
services were also incorporated into the daily routine of
the students, particularly in the Latin school. In order
to assure the intellectual welfare of the students, capa-
bile and honorable teachers were to be employed, and the
teachers were cautioned to let the students' needs guide
them in their instruction. While Bugenhagen demanded in-
tellectual stimulation, he also warned that students should
not be overburdened. The division into classes was also
instituted for the welfare of the student, for it allowed
each student to progress according to his own ability.
Regular examinations provided the opportunity for evalu-
ating and counseling the students with regard to their ac-
ademic pursuits. Because he had developed a definite so-
cial consciousness, it is not surprising that Bugenhagen
also concerned himself about the physical welfare of the
students. He, therefore, urged the teachers to supervise
the students carefully in the streets, stipulated warm
classrooms and shorter hours in the winter, and prescribed
periods for recess. This pervasive concern for the to-
tal welfare of the students is an enlightened and progres-
sive contribution of Bugenhagen to education.

Because of his lofty view of the teaching profession
and his deep conviction of its necessity, Bugenhagen also
provided for the welfare of teachers in his educational
system. He was particularly concerned to assure adequate
salaries and proper housing. He stipulated, therefore,
that the teachers should no longer be dependent on the tuition fees paid by the students, but that they must be paid a definite salary, generally from the common chest. Furthermore, they were to be provided with comfortable living quarters. Bugenhagen also clarified the specific rights of the teachers. Although he placed them under civil law, he defended their social and civic privileges, for he wanted nothing to interfere with their teaching responsibilities.

Bugenhagen also clearly delineated the goals of Lutheran education. The primary goal in his thinking was to teach the children the essentials of the Christian faith and to keep them faithful to their baptismal covenant. Secondly, schools were to prepare the future leaders of both church and state. While religious concerns predominated in Bugenhagen's thinking, as they did in Luther's, he was also very much concerned about the needs of society and recognized that schools could make significant contributions to the solution of these needs.

As a practical organizer Bugenhagen did not satisfy himself with the delineation of educational goals. He also made specific provisions so that these goals could be achieved. He stipulated, therefore, that adequate educational facilities be provided; that an excellent faculty be employed; that the educational program be centralized and carefully administered and supervised; and that a uniform curriculum be adopted and followed. In order to
facilitate the accomplishment of these essential provisions, Bugenhagen delineated careful and precise instructions in his school orders.

The Latin school curriculum, which Bugenhagen outlined very carefully, is characterized by both humanist and Reformation concerns. It emphasizes the mastery of Latin, careful study of the classics, and religious instruction. His promotion of a regularly scheduled program of religious instruction, his adoption of the plan for class division, and his precise delineation of an hourly schedule of instruction were all significant educational contributions. Although he was clearly influenced by Melanchthon in curricular matters, he never hesitated to adapt or to go beyond Melanchthon's stipulations.

Bugenhagen envisioned a very close relationship between the school and the church, for he was convinced that schools were absolutely necessary for the welfare of the church. This conviction was one of his main reasons for making the school orders an integral part of his church orders. It was in the schools where Christian nurture and Christian instruction took place, where boys and girls were prepared to be capable fathers and mothers, and where the children were trained for their cult responsibilities. In a very real sense, then, the school remained an ecclesiastical institution in the educational system devised by Bugenhagen. For this reason, the ecclesiastical leaders, such as the superintendent and the elders of the churches,
were assigned very specific responsibilities in the area of education.

While he viewed the educational process essentially from a religious point of view, Bugenhagen also delineated the role of the secular authorities in education. Indeed, he assigned the ultimate responsibility for the establishment, the proper maintenance, and the careful supervision of an effective educational program to princes and city councils. While he certainly did not envision the modern system of public education, Bugenhagen's educational system stands at the beginning of the evolution toward state-controlled and state-supervised public education.

An area of Reformation research which still requires a great deal of attention is the study of the relationship between the various church and school orders of the sixteenth century. The relatively limited research which has been done has demonstrated quite clearly that Bugenhagen's church orders influenced other orders, at times only superficially but at other times quite concretely. Therefore it is possible to speak of a family of Bugenhagen church orders which includes not only those written by Bugenhagen himself but also those directly influenced by his orders. The church orders for Minden (1530), Göttingen (1531), Lüneburg (1531), Soest (1532), Bremen (1534), Herford (1534), Siebenbürgen (1534), Hannover (1536), Lippe (1538), Halle (1541), Osnabrück (1543), Bergedorf (1544), Ritzebüttel (1544), and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel
(1569) may be included among the latter. Thus Bugenhagen's contributions as a writer of church orders was not limited to his own orders, for his stipulations and emphases were incorporated in a significant number of other orders. The extent of this incorporation must be studied more incisively. It is quite clear, however, that his influence was concentrated in northern Germany.

Bugenhagen produced a significant number of church and school orders, and his recommendations also influenced orders not produced by him. It must be admitted, however, that his stipulations were not always implemented. In his native Pomerania, for example, he met a great deal of opposition from the cities and the nobility, and his recommendations were at times ignored. Nevertheless, the formulation of his educational system in the school orders was a significant accomplishment. Even when the orders were not enforced, they remained legally binding and continued to stand as powerful reminders of the necessity of education. Furthermore, they served as ready and precise guidelines to which a city or principality could turn whenever it determined to revive education in its midst. Their significance, therefore, should not be measured merely on the basis of their implementation.

An analysis of Bugenhagen's school orders indicates that he was not an innovator or original educational thinker. Rather he was a creative, practical organizer whose main interest was to devise an effective educational sys-
tem. He adopted existing institutions, concepts, and methodologies and incorporated them into his system. Medieval, humanist, and Reformation emphases are, therefore, clearly evident in his school orders. As a creative organizer, however, he adopted only what he considered to be effective, and he did not hesitate to make changes. His Latin school was similar to the medieval Trivialschule, but its linguistic studies were based on a return to the original sources, and it incorporated a definite program of religious instruction in its curriculum. While he was clearly influenced by Melanchthon's Instruction of the Visitors, he also introduced the study of Greek and Hebrew and emphasized the importance of vernacular education. Although he incorporated such changes and novel emphases, his goal was never to devise something new, unless this was absolutely necessary. His practical nature and his desire to initiate a program of Lutheran education as quickly as possible caused him to seek what was effective and workable and not necessarily what was innovative. He was not concerned about originality but rather about efficiency. His educational importance, therefore, is not based on his educational innovations but on his precise and detailed formulation of an extensive educational system for the evangelical churches.

That system is intimately related to his own theology, and it was formulated with a clear perception of the educational implications of Lutheran theology. All of the central Lutheran theological principles demanded an effec-
tive and operative educational program. While Bugenhagen had been an ardent advocate of education before he became a Lutheran reformer, his evangelical insights merely reinforced his conviction of the importance of education.

Bugenhagen's understanding of baptism and its implications for the Christian life, for example, argued for the necessity of education. He believed that in baptism an individual enters into a covenantal relationship with Christ and becomes a member of the body of Christ, the church. Unfortunately, every human being is tainted by original sin. Thus he will not remain in his baptismal covenant unless he is instructed in the truths of God's Word. Baptism and education are, therefore, concomitant necessities in the Christian life, according to Bugenhagen, for it is through education that the Christian is kept in his baptismal covenant. Original sin and the work of the devil make education necessary. Rather than dwelling on this last point, however, Bugenhagen chose to emphasize the positive contributions and efficacious results of education.

Bugenhagen's theology also helps explain specific emphases in his educational system. While he asserted man's corruption, he also valued the individual highly, as his interest in both students and teachers clearly demonstrates. The Lutheran doctrine of the priesthood of all believers helps explain his concern for the spiritual, intellectual, and physical welfare of individual Christians. His advo-
cacy of vernacular, primary education was stimulated by his conviction that all Christians must be given the opportunity to read and study Scripture or at least the catechism. The Lutheran view of Christian vocation enabled him to counsel that the majority of boys learn an honorable trade rather than seeking the ministerial or teaching office. Although he elevated those offices above all others, he believed that any honorable work or vocation performed to the glory of God was pleasing to Him. His thoroughly Lutheran view of worship explains his extensive provisions concerning musical instruction in the school orders.

Bugenhagen was an orthodox Lutheran theologian. He understood Luther's theological principles well, and he clearly recognized their implications for education. He, therefore, produced an educational system which was formulated from a thoroughly Lutheran point of view and which addressed itself to the educational demands of Lutheran theology.

**Bugenhagen in the Sixteenth-century Context**

Bugenhagen's educational system clearly reflects his theological presuppositions. It also reflects the educational concerns of the sixteenth century. Indeed, Bugenhagen may be described as a formulator of and respondent to these concerns. As such he is an integral part of the sixteenth-century educational milieu.

A striking feature of that century is the relative unanimity on the educational scene. Education was one of
the few areas in which there was basic agreement among the various denominations during this era of polemics and discord. Although there were obvious individual emphases and differences, Roman Catholics, Calvinists, and Lutherans spoke from a similar milieu, addressed themselves to similar concerns, and formulated strikingly similar educational programs.

There are, therefore, central educational themes and accomplishments of the sixteenth century which cut across denominational lines. All three of the major confessional communions were convinced of the necessity of education. Calvin asserted that education was "a public necessity to secure good political administration, sustain the Church unharmed, and maintain humanity among men."22 His words, which clearly echo Luther's arguments, indicate how similarly the two Protestant leaders thought. The Jesuits, too, agreed with this basic position. They particularly recognized the importance of education for the future of the Roman Church. An educated clergy and laity was absolutely necessary to stem the tide of Protestantism and to launch a Catholic counteroffensive.

The type of educational program instituted was again quite similar. Classical, humanist education was the ideal which was sought. A curriculum devoted primarily to the mastery of Latin and the examination of Latin literature was characteristic of the Lutheran Latin schools, the gymnasia of Johannes Sturm, Calvin's academy, and
the colleges of the Jesuits. Although the study of Greek, religious instruction, and music also received some attention, Latin grammar clearly dominated the course of study. The curriculum was obviously a limited one.

Bugenhagen emphasized a two-fold goal for education: to keep an individual in his baptismal covenant and to prepare leaders for both church and state. Included in the achievement of the latter goal was the mastery of Latin. Those basic goals were shared by his contemporaries, although the emphasis varied. Sturm declared that "knowledge and purity and eloquence of diction should become the aim of scholarship...." While he admitted that piety should be the ultimate aim of all studies, he proposed that the educated among the pious must be distinguished by "scientific culture and the art of speaking." In Sturm's gymnasium, therefore, the primary goal of instruction was Ciceronian eloquence in speech and in letters. The goal of eloquence was also an essential one in Calvin's academy, and the student of a Jesuit college devoted at least five years to grammatical studies.

Although the curriculum of the secondary schools addressed itself primarily to the mastery of the Latin language, the goal of piety was also an essential one. All of the confessional groups used education to inculcate their own beliefs and theological point of view in their students. Education was, therefore, viewed as a means of molding the confessional stand of people and as an essen-
tial means of strengthening a particular communion.

The leading educators of the sixteenth century, whatever their denomination, concerned themselves primarily with secondary and higher education. Melanchthon devoted himself to the establishment of Latin schools and the revitalization of the universities. Sturm's educational program consisted of instruction in the gymnasium for ten years, followed by university study for five years. Cal-
vin's academy consisted of two parts, the schola privata, a gymnasium divided into seven classes, and the schola publica which offered instruction on the university level. The Ratio studiorum, the educational plan of the Jesuits published in 1599 under Aquaviva, also proposed a system of secondary and higher education.

Vernacular, elementary instruction was generally ignored during the sixteenth century. While Calvin's academy offered some vernacular instruction in the first years of study, Melanchthon, Sturm, and the Jesuits did not concern themselves with this essential area of the educational proc-
ess. In fact, they even forbade the use of the vernacular in the secondary schools. With his advocacy of vernacular education for both boys and girls, Bugenhagen called attention to an area of education sorely neglected by his contemporaries.

Bugenhagen deserves to be recognized as a leading educator of the sixteenth century. He addressed himself to the peculiar educational concerns of the period, and
he was an eager supporter and careful architect of secondary and higher education. Like Melanchthon, Sturm, Calvin, and the Jesuits he devoted his main energies to the establishment of an effective program of classical education. Although other educators achieved more in specific areas, he distinguished himself within the context of sixteenth-century education through his advocacy of vernacular, primary education for both boys and girls. He also made a somewhat unique contribution to higher education by promoting the lectorium.

Bugenhagen and Modern Education

Few of Bugenhagen's specific formulations are still applicable today, nor would the educational system which he formulated in his school orders be adequate for contemporary needs. Of course, he cannot and should not be judged on the basis of modern educational theories or concerns. Nevertheless, the question may be asked whether he contributed anything to modern educational developments, and it can be answered affirmatively. His deep concern for the revival of education and his practical contributions toward that revival are essential, though indirect, contributions to modern education. Because of his work and the work of others the sixteenth century was a period of educational revitalization, when it could easily have been a time of momentous retrogression. Bugenhagen's advocacy of vernacular and primary schools for both boys and girls certainly anticipated future develop-
ments. His concern for the spiritual, intellectual, and physical welfare of students and teachers responded to a significant contemporary problem and reflected not only his social consciousness but also a progressive and enlightened view of the total educational context. The incorporation of a regularly scheduled program of religious instruction into the curriculum of the secondary schools has been recognized as a significant innovation of the Reformation. It has been a part of German education to the present time. Although the curriculum which he formulated for the Latin school was quite limited, at least in retrospect, it remained the basic curriculum of the German gymnasium into the twentieth century. Finally, his involvement of secular authorities in the educational process had significant implications for the future. While he cannot be presented as a powerful shaping influence on modern educational developments, he did anticipate some future developments and helped bring them about. That was not Bugenhagen's primary concern, however, as he produced his school orders. He wanted to provide the Lutheran Reformation with an effective educational system. His educational significance centers primarily on the successful formulation of that system.
Footnotes

1 Cf. Georg Buchwald's collections of Bugenhagen's catechetical sermons.


4 Görgik, p. 2.

5 Vogt, Briefwechsel, pp. 142-143, No. 60; p. 157, No. 67.

6 Ibid., p. 411, No. 204.

7 Ibid., p. 382, No. 183.

8 Cf., for example, the following letters in Ibid.: Bugenhagen to Albert of Prussia (June 17, 1543), p. 268, No. 122; Bugenhagen to Christian III (January 13, 1546), p. 347, No. 165.


10 Ibid., p. 368.

11 Emil Sehling, Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, V (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1913), 342, 495, 496. Hereafter referred to as Sehling V.

12 Cf., for example, Ibid., p. 343.

13 Ibid., p. 340.


15 Sehling VI, I, 362-363.

16 Vormbaum, p. 34.

17 Cf., for example, Sehling V, 343.
Among those who have begun to examine this interrelationship are Hubert Hettwer, Herkunft und Zusammenhang der Schulordnungen (Mainz: v. Hase & Koehler Verlag GmbH., 1965); A. Scholz, "Bugenhagens Kirchenordnungen in ihrem Verhältnis zueinander," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, X (1912/13), 1-50; and Johannes H. Bergama, Die Reform der Messliturgie durch Johannes Bugenhagen (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Hildesheim: Bernward Verlag, 1966).


Cf. above pp. 83-86.

Cf. above pp. 117-118.


Sturm did allow the use of the vernacular in elementary catechetical instruction.

The Jesuits, for example, established a large number of schools and emerged as the most powerful educational force in Europe. They also developed a careful program of teacher training which produced an admirable army of instructors. Sturm was perhaps the most influential educator of his day and made an important contribution in his careful delineation of the class system with a teacher for each class and yearly promotions. Calvin's academy became an example and inspiration for educational institutions in France, the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and finally America.
CONCLUSION

The sixteenth century was a critical period not only in the history of the Christian Church but also in the history of education. The tumult and struggles of that era, the rejection of the Roman Church in large areas of Europe, and the theological changes initiated by Martin Luther all had the potential of bringing great harm to education. Indeed, in the early years of the Reformation movement the demise of education seemed a very real possibility.

Fortunately, the leading Protestant reformers recognized the course of events and its dire implications for the welfare of church and society, and they urges the revitalization of an effective educational program. Luther was an influential publicist on behalf of education and clearly delineated basic principles and themes. He did not have the time or the inclination to devise a precise educational program, however. This work he left to others. His most important co-workers, Philipp Melanchthon and Johannes Bugenhagen, addressed themselves to this task. While Melanchthon's educational work has been examined carefully and his significant contributions have been recognized, Bugenhagen's educational work and accomplishments have been largely overlooked. Yet, as an organizer of schools he ranks second only to Melanchthon among the
sixteenth-century Lutheran reformers. As a writer of school orders he is surpassed by none.

Bugenhagen was an active teacher throughout his adult life, and the revitalization of education was always one of his major concerns as he organized the Lutheran churches throughout northern Europe. His most significant accomplishment on behalf of education was the formulation of a precise and clearly delineated educational system in his school orders. That system addressed itself to the educational needs of the Lutheran Reformation and was formulated with Lutheran theological principles clearly in mind. Thus it did not merely provide for secondary and higher education, though the Latin school was clearly the central institution of Bugenhagen's system, but it also included German schools for boys and girls. He wanted everyone to have the opportunity to receive at least elementary instruction.

Bugenhagen was not only the organizer of the Lutheran Reformation. He was also one of its leading teachers and educators. Indeed, no one is more important for the revitalization of education in northern Germany than he. It has been the purpose of this dissertation to demonstrate this reality through an examination of Bugenhagen's educational contributions. Much research still needs to be done in this area. For example, the actual implementation of the school orders needs to be examined carefully. Further study of local circumstances and educational needs
may help to explain Bugenhagen's specific stipulations in the various school orders. An examination of the relationship of these orders and the extent of their influence on other orders deserves particular attention. In a broader context, Bugenhagen's catechetical sermons and his biblical commentaries are still basically terra incognita. Finally, an extensive re-examination of his life and of his organizational work is also needed. Such studies will, without doubt, contribute to a proper understanding of the establishment and the spread of the Lutheran Reformation in the first half of the sixteenth century, for Bugenhagen accomplished much in these areas.
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