

LEONARD STÖCKEL:
DOCTA PIETAS
IN THE SERVICE OF LUTHERAN REFORM

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by
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IN THE SERVICE OF LUTHERAN REFORM

Presented by Bennett K. Witt

A candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Introduction

Lutherans in Slovakia

The number of Slovaks who are Lutheran today, who are followers of the Slovak Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, is relatively small. At one point during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, however, virtually the whole population living on the territory of the modern Slovak Republic were followers of the Lutheran faith.¹ While even as recently as 1930, there were almost 150,000 people who claimed Lutheran affiliation, today only a few thousand remain, a number which constitutes only 6% of the country's current population.² After years of indeterminate legal status and sporadic persecution by Habsburg and Catholic officials, the Lutherans won something approaching legal recognition in the early seventeenth century and soon thereafter began to officially organize. They achieved this recognition in the Peace of Vienna of 1606 and at the Hungarian Diet of 1608, and they then developed a loose church organization at two Lutheran Church Synods, in 1610 and 1614. Just a few years later, however, in 1618, with the onset of the first phase of the Thirty Years' War, the Catholic-Reformation arrived in full force. "After 1617 and the accession of Ferdinand II to the throne of Hungary, the twin forces of Catholic Counter Reformation and Habsburg absolutism weakened the Lutherans... until they became merely a remnant."³ There

¹ David P. Daniel, "Bardejov During the Era of the Reformation," *Kalendar* 98 (1990): 33.

² Štefan Očovský, "Zur Religionsgeographie der Slowakei," *Österreichische Osthefte* 36 (1/1994), 77.

³ David P. Daniel, "The Lutheran Reformation in Slovakia, 1517-1618" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1972), 308.

continued to be followers of Luther in the region during and after the Catholic Reformation, particularly in the northern reaches of the kingdom known as Upper Hungary, but the vast majority of the people returned to the Catholic faith. Of the few who persisted in their Lutheran beliefs, the majority were of German background. Historical events of the twentieth century, especially those relating to the Germans living in Slovakia during and after the Second World War, resulted in the deportation of most ethnic Germans. The deportations, in combination with the new atheism of the soviet-style communists who came to power in the late 1940s, make it somewhat surprising that there is anyone left in the country who adheres to Lutheran beliefs.

During the sixteenth century, when the Lutheran movement found its way into this area, the region had long been a constituent part of the Kingdom of Hungary, part of a kingdom that had been one of the wealthiest and most powerful in all of Europe.⁴ Commonly called Upper Hungary, the region had been incorporated into the greater medieval Hungarian kingdom at least by the thirteenth century, if not much earlier. Even if only sparsely populated during the period when it was incorporated into Hungary, the region, like other parts of this Hungarian empire, had a separate ethnic composition, one that was predominantly Slav in character, particularly those Slavs who, in later centuries, came to identify themselves as Slovaks. As in the remainder of the kingdom, however, the region was of a mixed ethnic composition, one which included, in addition to the Slovaks, small numbers of other Slavs, such as Poles, Moravians, Czechs and

⁴ David P. Daniel, *The Historiography of the Reformation in Slovakia* (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1977).

Ruthenians, as well as some Serbs and Croats. In addition to the Slavs, however, Upper Hungary also included Magyars, Germans, and *Vlašsi*, or Wallachian shepherds. As with much of the rest of central Europe, Hungary was truly a multi-ethnic empire.

Upper Hungary

The northern reaches of Hungary were a constituent part of the kingdom, but not an officially distinct region in the country, as were, for instance, Transylvania, Slavonia or the Kingdom of Croatia. It nevertheless always had a distinctive ethnic and geographic flavor about it that lends credence to a region deserving of its own name, the regional designation of Upper Hungary.⁵

The Slavs who would come to identify themselves as Slovaks were likely always the greater part of the population, although this point would be disputed in some quarters. Even though we can only expect that Upper Hungary's ethnic diversity gave rise, at times, to tensions and outright conflicts between the different language groups, and the social classes with which they were most often associated, this diversity of language and ethnic outlook also played a crucial role in the flood of foreign influences constantly sweeping through the region.

On a larger historic level, central Europe, including Upper Hungary, has often been associated with greater national forces. This region has often been viewed as the area where the world of the Slavs meets the world of the Germans. Since the advent of modern nationalism in the early nineteenth century, this image has become part of the historical lexicon. Central Europe has often been viewed as the region where the Slavs

⁵ In the Magyar language the region had long been called *Felső-Magyarország*, which literally translates into English as "Upper Hungary;" the Slovak equivalent is *Horné Uhorsko* and the German is *Oberungarn*.

have for centuries been forced to defend themselves against Germanic encroachment.⁶ On a grander scale, there is the image of the smaller Slavic nations, particularly Poles and Czechs, being squeezed from two sides, between the power and might of the Germans, on the one hand, and the strong cultural and military influence of the Russians, on the other. The Magyars, a conquering nation, but neither Slav nor German, were often somewhere in between. On the one hand, they viewed Germans as conquerors, an opinion which earned the Germans a certain level of respect among the Magyars. On the other hand, as with the Slavs in whose midst the Magyars now ruled, they also felt the threat of German cultural hegemony, if not outright tendencies toward imperialism.

That there were ethnic tensions in the region since time immemorial is a fundamental reality. We know that the region was ethnically diverse from the Magyar conquest of the Pannonian plain in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. Those of us who are ourselves products of an ethnically diverse society are fully aware that such diversity manifests itself, at times, in tensions. We also know that those tensions are heightened when the ethnic diversity reflects similar lines of social class and political influence. At the same time, it is at least equally important to remember that ethnic diversity brings with it, among other positive forces, cultural strength. Even if it at times feels less secure, less stable, cultural diversity most often leads to a larger pool of ideas in which a society swims. The United States, and a number of other decidedly multi-ethnic countries during the twentieth century, have benefited from the continual influx that new and diverse ideas can have on a society. Even while another generation watches “their”

⁶ The Germans and Slavs even have a term for the slow German occupation of regions to the east of the Empire, the *Drang nach Osten*.

country change in ways that they had never expected, many remain convinced that ethnic and cultural diversity can be, in fact, a country's greatest strength.

Diversity and Influence

Ethnic diversity in Upper Hungary during the period in question also manifested itself in a variety of ways. This study illustrates one of those manifestations, the flow and assimilation of two non-native movements, one cultural, the other religious, and the way that these movements forever changed the face of Hungarian history. In particular, this study examines one of the streams by which Renaissance humanism flowed into Upper Hungary during the early sixteenth century. During this period, Upper Hungary was almost simultaneously flooded with another stream of thought coming from the west, in this case the religious thought of the Lutheran Reformation. Both of these forces flowed into the kingdom of Hungary from a variety of streams, the impact of which varied, based on historical and cultural circumstances peculiar to Hungary during the early sixteenth century.

Hungary in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was a large and powerful country that maintained contacts throughout much of Europe. It was an important player in western politics and one of the so-called "bulwarks of Christendom." Since the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Ottoman Turkish pressure on Hungary's southern and eastern borders had been almost constant. During this same period Hungary was influenced by several streams of humanist thought flowing from the west. Hungary had long had good relations with different parts of Italy. Magyar students who had studied in Italy introduced humanist thought to the court during the reign of the last

Magyar king, Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458-1490). The Hungarian court, as well as other parts of the kingdom, was also influenced by northern Christian humanism in the years leading up to 1517. With regard to Reformation thought and the significant numbers of Germans who lived within the kingdom, it has been often said that within only a few months after their original publication, Luther's early tracts could already be found in Pest, as well as in other parts of the kingdom where Germans lived. These tracts were typically distributed by German merchants and others who had traveled from Saxony and the Empire, through Silesia and into the kingdom, often on their way to or from Transylvania.⁷ The intellectual thought of Renaissance humanism and the ideas of the Lutheran Reformation did not come to Hungary via one stream. It would be much more appropriate to view the entry of these intellectual and religious movements as forces composed of many streams. Nevertheless, some streams are more important than others. This study examines one which proved to be enduring for the people of Upper Hungary. The primary goal of this study is to examine the life, work and influences of Leonard Stöckel, a figure who was significant to humanist pedagogical reform and the early organization of religious reform in Upper Hungary. Stöckel's twenty-year career as the rector of the Latin school in Bartfeld in Upper Hungary was central to the development of a Lutheran community in this region during the mid-sixteenth century.⁸

Hungary and Humanism

In examining Stöckel's life, space will be devoted to connecting him to his most significant pedagogical and religious influences. These are Desiderius Erasmus of

⁷ Elena Mannová, *A Concise History of Slovakia* (Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2000), 15.

⁸ Today the city is known as Bardejov in the Slovak Republic.

Rotterdam (c. 1469-1536) and Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560). Erasmus and Melanchthon were two of the most successful authors of the early sixteenth century. Both were conscious advocates of the New Learning, or *bonae literae*, and many of their works are devoted to the goal of aiding the advancement of humanist thought. Melanchthon's activities demonstrate that he was a disciple of Erasmus on most issues of educational and cultural reform. In addition to these two rather well-known figures, the influence of the life and work of Leonard Cox will also be considered. Cox, a Latin grammar school teacher of Stöckel, was not only an influential figure in the growing popularity of northern humanist thought in this part of Europe, but it is also through him that one is more readily able to see the early connections between his pupil Stöckel, on the one hand, and Erasmus and Melanchthon on the other. Stöckel had a personal relationship with both Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Luther. With regard to Stöckel's religious interests, therefore, it is only proper to consider the ways in which Stöckel was influenced by one of the greatest religious figures of the the sixteenth century. In addition, the rather similar pedagogical reform programs of Erasmus and Melanchthon, implemented by Stöckel in his hometown of Bartfeld, were heavily dependent on Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*. As a result, it is possible to trace an educational program from Antiquity into the Early Modern Era while noting the changes to that program made to aid in the success of the Lutheran movement. It is in this sense that Leonard Stöckel put humanist pedagogical reform into the service of Lutheran religious reform.

Humanism and Imitatio

One of the component parts of Erasmus and Melanchthon's humanist reform programs included the concept of *imitatio*, or imitation. Humanists focused on this concept as an educational tool which, when used successfully, would aid the pupil in acquiring Latin-language skills to the point where his style developed beyond the need for the crutch of imitation. If the standard for success in humanist education is getting beyond this tendency toward imitation, few were ever completely successfully trained in this effort. Erasmus's style and thought, no matter how beautifully written, were nevertheless influenced by earlier Italian humanists, and both Erasmus and fifteenth-century Italian humanists imitated earlier Latin models, particularly those of Quintilian, Cicero and Terence. Northern humanists imitated the same Italian and Latin authors, but they primarily imitated Erasmus.

With the printing press still a new means of communication, there were no effective limitations on printing and plagiarism and such matters. Humanist authors, the first group of Europeans to seriously take advantage of this new technology, were not at all shy about reprinting the work of ancient and contemporary authors. Erasmus's own works were copied and printed far and wide, most of them unauthorized, some of them published before he was able to produce his own first edition. In discussing the goals and methods of humanist pedagogical reform, then, we inevitably come across the same series of ideas and suggestions. The ideas of Melanchthon on pedagogical reform are very much like those of Erasmus, and so on. The differences in their programs can often be attributed to the different situations in which these authors found themselves.

I am making no claim about the originality of their thought, which, as will be seen, was not particularly original. To denigrate them for not being original, however, is to impose standards on them that are alien to their own time. Their interest had never been original thought; instead, they sincerely sought to recover the best of old ideas. And, in any case, to denigrate Poles or Hungarians in central Europe for being derivative with regard to humanist thought seems, in itself, illogical: Renaissance thought was not originally German either. In any case, the Germans also got it from somewhere, as did the French, the English, as well as the Poles and Hungarians and others.⁹

Leonard Stöckel and Humanism

Leonard Stöckel (1510-1560) lived one-quarter of his life outside of Hungary, the country where he was born. Enjoying relatively favorable socio-economic circumstances in his home town as a boy, Stöckel was heavily influenced by humanist thought that had already found a ready reception in this part of Hungary. He was himself educated in the humanist manner, both as a boy in his hometown and later when he traveled abroad to further his education. Following many years of study and work abroad, Leonard Stöckel returned home and became a central figure in pedagogical reform in his home town of Bartfeld. His school became so popular, so well-known, that its influence spread far and wide. In addition, Stöckel's return saw the influence of Lutheran thought in Upper Hungary increase significantly. He became just as influential to the longterm success of Lutheran reform in the region as he was to pedagogical reform.

⁹ Harold B. Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989). Segel makes a comparable point about "cultural lag" in his Introduction.

Although most of the inhabitants of Upper Hungary returned to the Catholic fold during the seventeenth century, some Protestant groups survived periods of persecution into the eighteenth-century age of tolerance, under Habsburg Emperor and Hungarian King Joseph II (r. 1780-1790). Several of the most celebrated figures of the Slovak National Awakening of the nineteenth century were Lutheran ministers or the sons of Lutheran ministers. The role that Lutherans played in the development of a Slovak national consciousness is far more significant than their small numbers would suggest. Nevertheless, it is evident that Lutheran leadership was important to the eventual success of this movement.¹⁰

The Dustbin

Leonard Stöckel is not a celebrated figure in the history of Slovakia. Although there is no reason for him to have been vilified, and he has not been, he has been unjustly forgotten. There are a high school and a street named after him in his home town, today known as Bardejov, but I have never met a Slovak who had heard of the man, except for a few specialists in the local archives. He is forgotten not because of anything he did; few could deny that he was a man whose life had an important impact on his place and time. He is forgotten due to historical circumstance, due to the growth of romantic nationalism, wars, the changing of maps, flags, allegiances, and the expulsions of peoples, all of which took place centuries after his own death in 1560. This essay is an attempt to resurrect a forgotten pedagogical and religious reformer who had an impact not only upon his own age but also upon the generations that came after him. In the process, we come to a better

¹⁰ David P. Daniel, "The Protestant Reformation and Slovak Ethnic Consciousness." *Slovakia* 28, no. 51-52 (1978-1979): 63.

understanding of the means by which the ideas of humanism and religious reform flowed into central Europe. Little is known about Stöckel's life, and much of what we do know has long dropped out of academic and public discourse.¹¹ As Mihaly Bucsay noted when discussing the life of another Reformation figure within the kingdom of Hungary, while it might be unfortunate, "often one can perceive only a few faces through the fog."¹²

Dialectic and Rhetoric

On a grander scale, this study touches upon one aspect of what is often seen as a historic intellectual struggle between two western approaches to education: dialectic and rhetoric.¹³ If the dialectical and rhetorical approaches to education at times appear posed in some "struggle to the end" during which, at any given period, one dominates the other, we often lose sight of the fact that they are really two parts of the same educational program. In this jostling for position between the followers of an Aristotelian, a peripatetic or, at a later date a scholastic approach, on the one hand, and followers of a rhetorical or, at a later date, humanist approach, on the other, there was never a struggle

¹¹ It should be noted that David P. Daniel has devoted his academic career to studying the Lutheran Reformation on the territory that today makes up the Slovak Republic. Without his earlier work and kind advice, this study would have been almost impossible.

¹² Mihaly Bucsay, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Ungarn* (Stuttgart: Evangelischer Verlag, 1988), 53. "Oft gleichen sie nur Gesichtern, die aus dem Nebel hervorleuchten."

¹³ P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought, The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1955), Kristeller touches upon this subject with regard to Renaissance humanism; Gerald L Gutek, *Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Education, a Biographical Introduction*, (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill/Prentice Hall, 2001) for a broad perspective of the role of rhetoric in Western pedagogical thought. See also James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages, A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974); Murphy, ed., *Medieval Eloquence, Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), and Murphy, ed., *Renaissance Eloquence, Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983; Murphy, ed., *A Synoptic History of Classical Rhetoric*, (Davis: Hermagoras Press, 1983). Thomas M. Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*, (New York: Longman, 1990) for a strong introduction to the subject, with information covering the rhetorical skills of Quintilian, Cicero, Erasmus and Melancthon.

as black and white as it appears on the pages of history books. That this is the case is understandable. Many of the authors who focus on the subjects of scholasticism and humanism, of dialectic and rhetoric, tend to focus more heavily on the conflict between supporters of one approach or the other, rather than their long-term coexistence. The authors themselves are aware of this but the proportion of works that focus on conflict rather than coexistence has a tendency to skew the more important understanding of the many ways in which these arts were related and reciprocal.

Both were part of the trivium of the seven liberal arts taught in the schools of western Christendom during the Middle Ages. Even if the study of grammar, dialectic and rhetoric had become imbalanced through the devotion of a disproportionate amount of time to logic, the three language arts were nevertheless intended to complement one another.

Humanists did want to bring about pedagogical reform and their literary calls to action were undoubtedly a source of conflict. Their desire to bring about a significant change in emphasis with regard to curriculum and in the textbooks used in the schoolroom was a pedagogical revolution, and revolutions are rarely easy.¹⁴ Nevertheless, this pedagogical revolution did not change the language of study nor did it alter the trivium. The three language arts remained the focus of pre-university study even though much greater emphasis was put on Latin grammar and new textbooks utilized a rhetorical approach to grammar study, to education in general, while minimizing the older dialectical approach. This change in emphasis was revolutionary in the sense that

¹⁴ Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy, Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1989), for more on the revolution in the pre-university curriculum in Italy, see Chapter five.

the educational product was different. Young men who had completed their studies at grammar schools based on the New Learning had read a different body of works than they would have had they been studying only a few years earlier. And yet the greater model within which the humanists worked continued to be the trivium, the three language arts believed necessary before a pupil could have any possibility of success in higher studies.

Grammar, Grammar, Grammar

Although it followed a rhetorical pedagogical model, the focus of pre-university education was hardly on the subject of rhetoric. Instead, much greater stress was placed on fully and completely understanding Latin grammar and developing a sense of oral and written fluency in the language. Humanists co-opted the classical rhetorical pedagogical model and then molded it to better achieve their own ends. For one, they were training their pupils in a foreign language, a situation vastly different than classical pedagogues faced. In addition, the humanists' goal was not to create generations of Latin orators, as in the older rhetorical model. Instead, using this model was believed to aid in the development of better language skills while it simultaneously molded the pupils' moral sensibilities through the use of excerpts from classical authors whose works were full of practical issues of moral philosophy. In this way, pupils who had passed through this educational program would have developed not only fluency in their Latin usage, but also, and just as importantly, a strong sense of judgment and prudence, skills that could be applied to all parts of their lives.

In addition, language study was not limited solely to Latin. Increasingly, the study of classical Greek was also stressed, although relatively few ever developed skills in Greek that were comparable to their abilities in Latin. It was nevertheless believed by most humanists, especially after the work of Erasmus, that Greek studies not only aided a pupil's skills in Latin but also opened the door to a body of knowledge that could only further the moral objectives that were an integral part of the New Learning.

In addition to the goal of illustrating the means by which Renaissance humanism and Reformation thought became influential in Upper Hungary, this study's focus on the sources of Leonard Stöckel's pedagogical and religious reform has the added advantage of outlining the motivations behind the pedagogical reform programs of two of Europe's most prolific literary figures of this or any age, Erasmus of Rotterdam and Philipp Melanchthon.

Chapter 1

Erasmus and Melanchthon as Sources

Pedagogical Reform and Erasmus of Rotterdam

Although perceptions of Erasmus of Rotterdam differ dramatically, it is also fair to say that most scholars, religious, academic or otherwise, who have taken the time to actually read a cross-section of his many essays, textbooks, letters and translations respect him for his eloquence, thoughtfulness and almost inexhaustible literary productivity. The differences of opinion with regard to Erasmus's life and work lie primarily in the subject matter on which Erasmus chose to write, particularly religious and pedagogical issues, during the years leading up to and just following the beginning of the Lutheran Reformation. When, late in life, as the rest of Latin Christendom was more and more beginning to view the world in black and white, Erasmus's own experience forced him to continue to see much that was gray. This was not easy and it made him an object of criticism by virtually all sides in the growing Reformation battle. If one side saw his stance as born of weakness, the other viewed it as heresy. Neither seemed to fully understand his own reform plans, plans which would maintain Christian unity, partly by opening other eyes to these many shades of gray.

Pedagogue and Theologian

The subjects on which Erasmus chose to write were the most popular topics of literary production during the hundred years following the invention of the printing press. Much work has already demonstrated the great influence the development of printing had

on the spread of humanism in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as well as the central role that printing played in the spread of Protestant thought during the sixteenth century.¹ In those years leading up to the Lutheran Reformation, Erasmus of Rotterdam became Europe's most celebrated literary figure.² Even though several of his works were later condemned by the theologians at Paris, even after his collected works were placed on the Index (after his death), parts of Erasmus's body of work continued to be printed with great regularity throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century and a few continue to be used in classrooms to this day. In England and the Low Countries, in Protestant parts of the Empire in particular and in much of Europe in general, Erasmus is a name that, for centuries, all Latin grammar school boys would learn, most of them reading from his *Colloquies* or *De civilitate* as youths and studying one or more of his more advanced textbooks when older or in University. In England, a revision of William Lily's Latin grammar book which Erasmus made for John Colet's school was given royal sanction in the middle sixteenth century, literally outlawing the use of any other grammar. It continued to be used in altered form into the 20th century as the *Eton Latin Grammar*.³ During the seventeenth century, Parliament also required that a copy of Erasmus's *Paraphrases* of the New Testament Gospels and Epistles be placed on every

¹ The best example is Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change, Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). See also Jean-Francois Gilmont, ed. *The Reformation and the Book*, Karin Maag trans. (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1990).

² Charles G. Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 157. Nauert states that Erasmus was "perhaps the first celebrity in European history."

³ William Harrison Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education*, foreword by Craig R. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904; reprint New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 21 (page citations refer to the reprint edition).

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church altar beside the Bible in every church in the country. In addition, the Bible that the *Paraphrases* was sitting beside was the King James Version, an English translation based on Erasmus's own Latin translation of the Greek text. During his own lifetime and the decades immediately following his death, Erasmus's important influence upon other European scholars whose interests lay in the areas of religious and pedagogical reform has led to his becoming today of scholarly interest in a variety of academic fields, especially in religion, education, neo-Latin literature and history.

Defining Erasmus

A number of scholars have, over the years, attempted to define Erasmus of Rotterdam with some one-word nickname or short catch-phrase, but attempts to do so often seem feeble. The greatest difficulty with the various labels which it seems so popular to add to Erasmus's name is that most definitions fail to define Erasmus in a way that does him justice. While some of us might be best defined in one word, Erasmus was many things to many people and this continued to be the case following his death. Erasmus of Rotterdam was an educator, a priest, a theologian, a reformer and a translator. He was the best Greek specialist of the early sixteenth century. He has been called, and with good reason, a feminist, a pacifist and the prince of humanists.⁴ He has been referred to as Erasmus of Christendom by one author and Erasmus of the Low Countries by

⁴ Erika Rummel, *Erasmus on Women* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). James D. Tracy, *The Politics of Erasmus, A Pacifist Intellectual and His Political Milieu* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979); R.J. Schoeck, *Erasmus of Europe, The Prince of Humanists 1501-1536* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993).

Sources

another, in both cases with the intent to give special insight into Erasmus himself.⁵ And it seems almost obligatory to point out that he was illegitimate, born the son of a priest, who then suffered even greater childhood trauma when he was orphaned while still only a boy. This information became the source of more than one attack when his work and fame led to his involvement in the polemical writing so popular during this era. Later in life, he was called a prevaricator and a dissimulator, a heretic and worse. If only a one-word label could do such a man justice! Instead, labels tend to over-simplify matters thereby skewing our perception of such a multi-faceted figure. He was all of these things and more, a man who, by 1516 was the most famous author among a wide cross-section of the Latin-reading community of western Christendom. One historian has referred to him as, “a celebrity, perhaps the first celebrity in European history.”⁶ Another, in the Preface to a collection of Erasmus’s letters, wrote of Erasmus that “this scholar-humanist was one of the great men of the sixteenth century, indeed of Western civilization.”⁷

His influence upon the important issues of the day, particularly on questions of religious and pedagogical reform, has led to his becoming an enduring force in western literary history, western religious history and in the history of education. All of the other humanists whose intellectual thought is an important part in the current study, Philipp Melanchthon, Leonard Cox and Leonard Stöckel in particular, were heavily indebted to

⁵ Roland H Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1969); James D. Tracy, *Erasmus of the Low Countries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

⁶ Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 157.

⁷ Desiderius Erasmus, *Erasmus and his Age, Selected Letters of Desiderius Erasmus*, Hans Hillerbrand ed., Marcus A. Haworth trans. (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), xviii.

Erasmus. Both Melanchthon and Cox expressed their personal indebtedness to Erasmus in writing.⁸ Stöckel also demonstrated that he was an Erasmus enthusiast in a number of ways which will be discussed below. Nevertheless, each of these humanists was a true disciple of Erasmus in the sense that they also went their own ways, taking actions that Erasmus would not, in the process demonstrating that they were not servile in their imitation of anyone.

Erasmus's name has been co-opted by academic and religious scholarship funds and other institutions at universities across the United States and Europe. The University of Notre Dame has an Erasmus Institute. Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands gives out an annual Erasmus Prize with a sizeable monetary award "to people or organizations for outstanding services to culture, society or the social sciences in Europe."⁹ In addition to Erasmus's name being attached to a variety of scholarly institutions, such as the Erasmus Center for Early Modern Studies at Erasmus University in Rotterdam, it is also used by the European Union for one of its educational programs, one intended to foster cultural

⁸ Philipp Melanchthon, "On Erasmus of Rotterdam (1557)," in Sachiko Kusukawa ed. *Orations on Philosophy and Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 248-255. Although the whole oration is a rhetorical encomium written by Melanchthon (but given by Bartholomaeus Calkreuter in 1557), there are several points made by Melanchthon which credit Erasmus's important influence upon theology and education. The following quote stresses that point: "And it is evident that his labours for encouraging the study of Latin and Greek were useful. He will also live on in these useful works, in the interpretation of the New Testament, and that book that is like a cornucopia [the *Adagia*], in which there is such a varied and pleasant interpretation of proverbs – a book which I urge you strongly to read often and in depth." 254; Henryk Zins, "Leonard Coxe [sic] and the Erasmian circles in Poland," *Annales Universitatis Mariae-Curie Skłodowska*, F xxviii (1973), 175, n. 104. P. S. Allen and H. M. Allen (ed.): *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (Oxford, 1906-1958), 1803, for an expression of Cox's appreciation of Erasmus's work.

⁹ *The Queen and the Royal House*, informational website on the Dutch Royal Family. The link below is to Prince Bernhard's biography which notes his association with the Erasmus Prize: <http://www.koninklijkhuis.nl/english/content.jsp?objectid=14012>; accessed 12/4/08.

and pedagogical exchange. The city of Brussels actually paid homage to Erasmus by naming their main subway line after him.

Erasmus's Opera omnia

The collected works of Erasmus of Rotterdam are surpassed in volume only by the secondary literature written on the author during the almost five hundred years since his death. Robert Faludy, in the Preface to his biography on Erasmus, notes that,

Erasmus's *Collected Works* and his thousands of letters comprise some sixteen million words – one hundred and fifty sizeable volumes. Still more first-hand information is provided by the writing of his contemporaries, the diplomatic correspondence of the time and his first two biographers, Beatus Rhenanus and Paulus Jovius. Since their day works dealing with Erasmus have piled up until now there is a veritable mountain of them. There have been at least eighty scholarly monographs which explore one or another aspect of his life or thought. The six volumes by the late A. Renaudet alone contain nearly everything that is known about him between his youth and the year 1527.¹⁰

Faludy continues by pointing out that, “More than two hundred biographies and biographical essays have been written on Erasmus since 1700.”¹¹ Interest in Erasmus does not seem to be waning. At about the same time that Faludy was producing his work on Erasmus, Roland H. Bainton was publishing his own biography.¹² Both authors look back to the work of the famous Dutch historian, Johan Huizinga, whose biography of Erasmus was first published in 1924.¹³ Although outdated in some respects, Huizinga's

¹⁰ George Faludy, *Erasmus of Rotterdam* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1970), ix.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Bainton.

¹³ Johan Huizinga, *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation*, F. Hopman trans. (New York: Harper Row, 1957 reprint of New York: Scribner's & Sons, 1924).

biography, like his classic *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, continues to be important reading for students of this era. In the last generation, more than twenty biographies of Erasmus have been produced in the English language alone. Erasmus has even found a welcome home on the Internet. Erasmus as a domain name has been taken by various organizations and companies in North America and Europe, with www.erasmus.org, for example, devoted to Erasmus's life and work, albeit in Dutch. There may be no better way of demonstrating Erasmus's enduring fame, his continued marketability than to point out that there are currently over 250 books by or about Erasmus on sale at just one online bookstore.¹⁴

Many of Erasmus's essays may be found today in modern editions and collections, both in Latin and translated into one of numerous vernacular languages. The first collected works of Erasmus was printed in Basel in 1540. The first critical edition of Erasmus's *Opera omnia* was edited by Jean Leclerc and published in Leiden between 1703 and 1706. Wallace K. Ferguson edited a supplement to the Leiden *Opera omnia* which is entitled *Erasmi opuscula*. The modern critical edition was begun in 1969 under the title *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, and is being published in Amsterdam. Erasmus's many letters are to be found in the critical twelve-volume edition published in Oxford (1906-1947) by P.S. Allen *et al.* A critical edition of the *Collected Works of Erasmus* in English translation, begun in 1974 at the University of Toronto's

¹⁴ The site to which I am referring is www.amazon.com. The University of Toronto press, online, also includes a number of works by Erasmus, mostly part of the ongoing *Collected Works of Erasmus* series but also Peter G. Bietenholz, ed. *Contemporaries of Erasmus, A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1985). [CEBR]

Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, is making progress toward eventual completion. All of the more important scholars on Erasmus during the past generation have played some collaborative role in Amsterdam or in Toronto. Neither collection is expected to be completed for another 30 years.

Long aware that his personal fame was great enough that, following his death, critical editions of his collected works would be published, Erasmus wrote out his own recommendations on the “most convenient way to do it,” once in 1523, and again in 1530.¹⁵ The two catalogues do not differ significantly in organization; Erasmus used nine separate categories and in such a way that combined his own treatises with his many translations and critical editions.¹⁶ In order to facilitate this discussion, however, a brief examination of Erasmus’s more important works on childhood education will aid in illustrating Erasmus’s influence on the teaching methods used by Philipp Melancthon, Leonard Cox and Leonard Stöckel.

In addition to his role as a pedagogical reformer, Erasmus of Rotterdam was a devoted Christian; as such, the changes that he desired to bring about through a continued revival in classical literature, *bonae literae* as he called it, were first and foremost Christian and spiritual. His primary goal always was to bring about lasting religious reform, to bring about changes to a contemporary Christianity which he believed to be superstitious and corrupt. In order to bring about this spiritual renewal, Erasmus argued that pedagogical reform was of paramount importance.

¹⁵ Erasmus, CWE 24, 694.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 694-702.

Pedagogical Works

There are two subcategories that make up Erasmus's collection of educational literature: treatises which promoted Erasmus's educational reform program; and those textbooks intended to aid in carrying out that reform. Even though his pedagogical treatises and texts are most important for the present study, it should also be remembered that all of Erasmus's works have a didactic element to them and all are intended to aid in the fostering of Erasmus's higher goal of religious reform.

Erasmus's writing skills were such that, whenever possible, he was able to expand his audience for certain types of books by adding to, or expanding, the apparent utility of the work. His *Colloquies*, then, originally intended for aiding Latin students in developing their every day speech, also became popular reading. The content of the *Colloquies* was enjoyable reading to many Latin readers who were no longer students, especially because Erasmus typically spoke to the issues of the day.

His pedagogical treatises that were effectively teacher's manuals, such as *De ratione studii* and *De civilitate*, were read not only by teachers and tutors but also used in the classroom as examples of eloquent Latin writing. His word and phrase books, such as the *Adages*, were also found to be popular among a variety of different types of readers, from academics and clerics who spent much of their time in the Latin language, to a wider Latin-reading public that was both interested in maintaining its language skills and also enjoyed Erasmus's humor and sharp pen. Erasmus was clearly skilled in making his works accessible to larger and larger audiences, but they always remained limited to the Latin-reading population of western Christendom. For vernacular translations of his works, Erasmus relied on others.

As has been noted, Erasmus's primary goal, toward which all of his work was directed, was religious reform, what he referred to as a renewed *res publica Christiana*, one which Erasmus believed could be achieved only through the development of what he referred to as one's own *philosophia Christi* or philosophy of Christ.¹⁷ He believed that the primary goal of all education is piety and that the best means of achieving that goal was through the acquisition of knowledge.

For a significant spiritual renewal to truly take place, then, Erasmus believed that other reforms were not only necessary but also prerequisite. In order to bring about changes that would address what Erasmus believed to be fatal flaws in the educational system of his day, flaws that severely limited the number of people who would be capable of intellectual development to the point of understanding what he meant by a *philosophia Christi*, Erasmus devoted considerable time to promoting his conception of *docta pietas*, or learned piety.¹⁸ For Erasmus, the development of learned piety was the true end of all education for it alone opened the door to the development of a proper *philosophia Christi*, the ultimate goal of all of humanity. As James D. Tracy notes, "Despite his critique of the Brethren of the Common Life, it apparently was not for nothing that Erasmus spent a good part of his youth in close contact with a religious movement whose most famous literary product was *The Imitation of Christ*."¹⁹ Tracy points out that Erasmus's *philosophia Christi* is significantly different from that of

¹⁷ Tracy, *Erasmus of the Low Countries*, 4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 106.

Thomas à Kempis and the Brethren, particularly in the area of monastic humility, but the concept is still much the same. As in other ways, Erasmus was heavily influenced by the circumstances of his birth and education. They are of great importance with regard to Erasmus's opportunities later in life, even if he found much wanting from his own experiences with the Brethren. William H. Woodward made a comparable observation in his work on Erasmus and education when he noted the importance of Erasmus's ten years of monastic solitude.

It is not an easy problem to appraise at their true value the complaints which Erasmus, at a much later date, leveled against destiny in making him a monk. Two things seem clear: the first is that he has left no contemporary record of his discontent; the second, that his bent to literature and scholarship was fostered by the leisure of the ten years spent at Stein, as it could hardly have been by any other mode of life.²⁰

In one of his last pedagogical publications, *De civilitate morum puerilium*, (*On Good Manners for Boys*), Erasmus rather succinctly outlines what he believes to be the most important goals in a well-planned education.²¹

The task of fashioning the young is made up of many parts, the first and consequently the most important of which consists of implanting the seeds of piety in the tender heart; the second in instilling a love for, and thorough knowledge of, the liberal arts; the third in giving instruction in the duties of life; the fourth in training in good manners right from the very earliest years.²²

²⁰ Woodward, 6.

²¹ The complete text of *De civilitate*, with an introduction by the translator Brian McGregor is found in CWE 25: 269-289. Cf. LB I 1033 D-LB I 1042 F

²² Erasmus, *De civilitate*, CWE 25: 273. LB I 1033 D

Three treatises in particular address elements of Erasmus's pedagogical reform program. They are *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis declamatio* (1529), *De ratione studii* (1511), and *De civilitate morum puerilium* (1530). In addition, Erasmus produced several texts to aid in achieving the rather high academic goals set out in these manuals. They include: *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo* (1512); *De recta latini graecique sermonis pronuntiatione dialogus* (1512); *De conscribendis epistolis* (1522); and the *Colloquies* first published in authorized form in Louvain in 1519, but republished often with new dialogues and additions to older ones.

Most of Erasmus's pedagogical works had been conceived and written during the period prior to 1511 when Erasmus had had the most contact with pupils. His later years were devoted more to Greek and religious studies. The *Colloquies* had been first developed during Erasmus's stay in Paris (1495-1499). Others were worked out to aid his friend John Colet, who began preparations in 1508 to open a new grammar school at St. Paul's in London.²³ Erasmus's last publication to focus directly on childhood education, *De civilitate morum puerilium*, (*On Good Manners for Boys*), was first published by Froben in 1530.

It is nevertheless clear that much of Erasmus's pedagogical program had been developed while he was himself still rather young. *De ratione studii*, published in 1511 by Bade in Paris, was the first in a series of works devoted to all aspects of pre-university education, *De civilitate* essentially completing the series. A brief examination of his

²³ CEBR, 326.

pedagogical treatises illustrates Erasmus's general program of reform. This will prove useful when his program is compared to those of Melanchthon, Cox and Stöckel.

De pueris

During Erasmus's period of study in Paris (1495-1499), his financial situation was such that he was required to tutor students in order to make ends meet. It was at this time that early drafts of a number of Erasmus's pedagogical works were first written. While it is quite commonly pointed out that it was due to this experience at university in Paris that Erasmus originally conceived of the idea of the *Colloquies*, few also note the other important works he conceived during this same period. They include *De copia* and the supplemental *De pueris*, as well as his most detailed teacher's manual on his pedagogical reform program, *De ratione studii*. From this period onward, this is the direction that Erasmus's pedagogical program took.

Erasmus looked back toward early childhood education because he believed that many of his contemporaries who had the financial wherewithal to properly educate their children failed to do so simply because they were not aware of its importance. He therefore devoted his energy to writing works that encouraged wealthier burghers and members of northern Europe's nobility to begin the education of their children early. While promoting a program of study that was quite comparable to that found in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, Erasmus made adjustments based on contemporary conditions. Although both Erasmus and Quintilian devote energy to explaining the necessity of beginning a boy's education as early as possible, Erasmus argued in favor of study at home with the aid of a tutor, preferably in a small group rather than one on one.

It seems that this recommendation is based partially on Erasmus's own childhood experience in schools as well as his continuing belief that the poorer schools often do greater harm than good. Quintilian, on the other hand, was contending with a long-held Roman tradition in which the sons of wealthy Romans received much of their education at home. Some children of wealthy Romans never went to school, instead learning letters from a slave tutor or elder member of the family and spending much time following around the father or head of the household. Quintilian argued that future leaders who would plead in the courts and speak in the public forum needed an education that was public, one in which they competed with other pupils and became comfortable in a public setting, the setting in which they would make their careers.²⁴ Therefore, while both authors argue in favor of early education, their recommendations on how to go about that education differed significantly, based on the rather different conditions of the periods during which the two were writing. What we find is that Erasmus became the most important source of the pedagogical revolution that swept northern Europe during the sixteenth century, and Quintilian was Erasmus's primary source of information with regard to many of his pedagogical recommendations.

Although *De ratione studii* (1511) is the most comprehensive of Erasmus's essays on pre-university pedagogical reform, *De pueris* is more squarely focused on the needs of early childhood. The work was first written as a rhetorical example to accompany *De copia*, a text intended to aid one in developing skills in writing in the "abundant style." Although *De pueris* (1529) was not published until many years after the first printing of

²⁴ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, I: 2.

De copia (1512), Erasmus notes in the Dedicatory Letter that his original intention in writing the essay was as an example intended to accompany *De copia*, and its final structure bears that out. *De pueris* is a rhetorical declamation in two parts intended to be an illustration of the differences between a theme presented as a plain argument and that same theme written in the abundant style. The plain argument is a little over one page in length and contains five paragraphs while the very same argument presented in the abundant style is almost fifty pages in length.

Rather than addressing specifics on education, as Erasmus more clearly does in *De ratione*, the theme Erasmus chose to write on for his example to accompany *De copia* is the need for fathers to take great care and pay considerable attention to their sons' education. Erasmus also stresses in this declamation that parents should not attempt to educate their children themselves but should entrust this duty to a learned and pious tutor. By the time Erasmus wrote *De pueris*, experience had thoroughly convinced him that most parents were incapable of properly educating their children on their own, without the aid of professional help. The wealthy nobles, burghers and humanists for whom Erasmus was actually writing this essay were too busy tending to their own daily affairs to devote the attention necessary to ensure that their children were properly educated. Erasmus very persuasively argues that there could be nothing more important. He points out that it is clear his readers have the means to ensure their children receive a proper education but many still need to be made to understand its importance for the future, for the child's future, the parent's future, for the state and especially the church.

The form of education Erasmus advocates in *De pueris* is mental and spiritual; he believed physical training should only be required to the point of maintaining good health, necessary to remain strong mentally and spiritually. At one point in his argument, he clearly states that physical education is of little concern in the program that he recommends. His reasoning is that his program intends to educate leaders, not to train athletes.

I know the excuse will be brought forward that the fatigue of studying might have a detrimental effect on the health of a young and delicate child. My answer is that even if something is lost in the way of physical robustness, this disadvantage is well outweighed by the great intellectual benefits that the child will receive. Our concern is not to train athletes, but philosophers and statesmen; it is enough that they should enjoy good health, which certainly does not need to be accompanied by the physique of a Milo.²⁵

Erasmus's division of education into three categories of training for the mind, the spirit and the body, like many of the other pedagogical precepts on which he founds his arguments, is an old concept with origins in classical Greece. Erasmus then adapted the idea for contemporary conditions. While the Greeks saw physical training as an important element in education, Erasmus believed that contemporary nobility often devoted undue attention to physical achievements while thinking that intellectual training could be left to the scholars and spiritual training to the Church. In addition, Erasmus himself was never physically robust and as he aged he was plagued with physical ailments.

²⁵ Erasmus, *De pueris*, CWE 26: 323. LB 503A/ASD 1-2 52

The typical age to begin school during the early 16th century was at about the age of seven, but by Erasmus's own statements it is obvious that many children were not sent to school until much later than that. Erasmus tells in his *Compendium vitae* that he himself began school at the tender age of three. He also devotes considerable space in *De pueris* and other pedagogical treatises to arguments supporting his preference to begin educating a young boy at the earliest date possible.

What kind of maternal feeling is it that induces some women to keep their children clinging to their skirts until they are six years old and to treat them as imbeciles? If their love of play goes this far, why do they not procure for themselves a monkey or a Maltese puppy? "They are only children," they argue. Quite true, but even so, one cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of those first years for the course that a child will follow throughout his entire life. Hard and unbending before his teacher is a child that is the product of such a soft and permissive upbringing – gentleness is their word for it, but its effects are totally corruptive.²⁶

Erasmus actually takes the argument even further, and, reminiscent of Quintilian's first book, argues the need for a tutor to begin his work alongside that of the wet nurse.

You should straightway begin to search for a man of good character and responsible learning to whose care you may safely entrust your son to receive the proper nourishment for his mind and to imbibe, as it were, with the milk that he suckles, the nectar of education. Responsibility for your child should be divided equally between nurse and teacher, the former to nurture him in body, the latter in mind and character.²⁷

Similar arguments are to be found throughout Erasmus's various writings. Whenever he was given the opportunity, he stressed the need for an education in good letters and the

²⁶ Ibid., CWE: 26, 309. LB I 495E/ASD 1-2 36

²⁷ Ibid., CWE: 26, 299. LB I 490A/ASD 1-2 25

earlier the better. He took such an opportunity when in 1531 he dedicated his edition of Terence's comedies to the sons of the Polish noble Severin Boner.

There is nothing better for man than devotion to God, and its seeds must be implanted in small children bit by bit right along with their mother's milk. The next best thing for man is training in the liberal arts. Though they are not virtues as such, the arts do prepare the way for virtue by fashioning a gentle and tractable nature out of rough and crude material.²⁸

From this one example alone, there is much to be said about Erasmus's pedagogical plan. First of all, Erasmus argues that a young child needs a tutor as badly as he needs a wet nurse. In addition, Erasmus did not believe it was especially healthy for a young boy to "spend too much time in the kitchen," nor that one should wait to begin instructing the boy in pious behavior. We see Erasmus again using the three-part division of education: body; mind; and soul. Leaving the body to the nursemaid at this young age, Erasmus's program focuses on developing a boy's learned piety, an educational process that will cover both mind and soul. Piety is something that is learned best, even if slowly, when young, and Erasmus's educational plan focuses on the development of piety first and foremost. He argues that it is important to instill religious fervor, and a love of learning, into a child while he is still young, when his mind is most pliable and before it has begun to be corrupted. When writing to the sons of Severin Boner, Erasmus makes this argument.

But the important thing is the first source from which the rudiments of piety and learning are derived, and also what sort of guide is the child given, especially in those very early years when his nature is still free from

²⁸ Erasmus, *Erasmus and Selected Letters*, 256. EE 2584.

any defects and, like soft wax, is plastic and readily copies any and every habit found in his model.²⁹

Even though *De Pueris* is primarily a rhetorical exercise exhorting fathers to tend to the liberal education of their sons, and at an early age, Erasmus does on occasion make points that may be considered an eloquent summary of his educational theory, and they are summaries which also echo the words of classical authors like Quintilian, Plutarch and Cicero:

As a general principle, human happiness depends on three prerequisites: nature, method, and practice. By nature I mean man's innate capacity and inclination for the good. By method I understand learning, which consists of advice and instruction. Finally, by practice I mean the exercise of a disposition which has been implanted by nature and molded by method. Nature is realized only through method, and practice, unless it is guided by the principles of method, is open to numerous errors and pitfalls.³⁰

Erasmus believed that these “three strands, must be intertwined to make a complete cord: nature must be developed by method and method must find its completion in practice.”³¹ Although one is born with what nature gives him, methods may be applied to aid in “developing” or “molding” nature. It is therefore important for boys to learn a method, an art, in particular the literary or liberal arts, and then to make that art as natural as is possible through constant practice.

²⁹ Ibid., 257. EE 2584.

³⁰ Erasmus, *De pueris*, CWE 26: 311.

³¹ Ibid., CWE 26: 312.

Virtually everything that Erasmus writes about early education in *De pueris* is also found in the first chapters of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.³² In discussing oratorical abilities in his *Institutio*, Quintilian makes a similar observation: "Ability in speaking is produced by nature, art and practice; to which some add a fourth requisite, imitation; which I include under art."³³ Imitation was central to Erasmus's plan also.

Erasmus's most direct argument in favor of early childhood education is found in the opening paragraphs of *De pueris*. The author explained his intention in his dedication to Prince William, Duke of Cleves, of expressing the same argument in two forms, the first short and direct and then again but this time "more elaborate and more detailed."³⁴ In the following, he addresses one of the arguments *against* early education, an argument which claimed so little is actually learned that it is simply not worth the time.

You may object that what is accomplished during these years is very little. But why should you slight it as being inconsequential if it serves a supremely important end? Why should you deliberately ignore this benefit, modest though it may be? After all, if you add one tiny bit to another you will in time create an impressive heap. Moreover, bear in mind that if a child learns the basic elements, he will be able to devote to more advanced studies those years of adolescence which otherwise would have been taken up by the fundamentals. Finally, by being occupied with his studies, a child will avoid the common pitfalls of youth – for learning is something that engages the entire person – and this is a blessing which should not be undervalued.³⁵

³² Quintilian, I I 5 and I I 15.

³³ *Ibid.*, III V 1.

³⁴ Erasmus, "Dedication to Prince William, Duke of Cleves, Jülich, and Berg," 1 July 1529, CWE 26: 295.

³⁵ Erasmus, *De pueris*, CWE 26:397. LB I 489C/ASD I-2 24.

Quintilian also addressed the issue of whether it was worthwhile to spend so much time for such minor success. In the first chapter of his *Institutio oratoria*, he concluded his discussion on whether it is worth the time spent by pointing out that it actually depends on perspective. Although it might not seem worthy of the time of the teacher, it is certainly worthy of the time of the child. “Yet those who are of the opinion which I have mentioned, appear with regard to this part of life to have spared not so much the learners as the teachers.”³⁶ Concluding in much the same way as Erasmus, Quintilian asks, “Why shouldn’t that age belong to learning, which already belongs to manners or morals?”³⁷

De pueris is an excellent example of Erasmus’s pedagogical literature. It is an excellent demonstration of the differences between the plain and abundant styles. The topic chosen by Erasmus for that demonstration gives us some insight into Erasmus’s pedagogical reform program. In examining the work, it becomes clear that Erasmus was heavily influenced by the ideas of Quintilian in developing this essay. Even with the stress on early childhood education, it quickly becomes clear that Erasmus’s recommendations are for a specific target audience. Erasmus’s discussion of education in *De pueris* centers on the work of tutors. These recommendations were clearly intended for the wealthy and powerful, for the nobility and for wealthy burghers.

Erasmus devotes considerable space in *De pueris* to the need to choose a suitable tutor. His general theory is that it is much harder to correct errors, linguistic and ethical, than it is to prevent them. Since the pedagogical goal is *docta pietas*, it is not surprising

³⁶ Quintilian, II 17.

³⁷ Ibid.

that the two primary qualities that Erasmus argues are needed for a successful tutor are broad learning in the liberal arts and sincere Christian morals.

De ratione studii

Erasmus refers to the recommendations outlined in *De ratione studii* as part of primary schooling.³⁸ He believes that the goals set out in that work can be achieved by the time one is sixteen to eighteen years of age, which is a little older than the age young men began attending universities in that period. He also believes that those who followed his recommendations would be much better prepared for their university studies, in fact, considerably further along in those areas of greatest importance, moral character and fluency in Greek and Latin, accompanied with a developed sense of eloquence in written Latin. “A boy may then with confidence turn his attention to higher studies; and whatever direction this takes, he will readily demonstrate how important it was that he received his first instruction from the best teachers.”³⁹ Much more than *De pueris*, *De ratione studii* is a study plan intended to guide a boy through the whole course of pre-university study. The recommendations are given in such a way that the intended audience is a prospective teacher, although it is dedicated to a friend who had “asked” for a course of study so that he may more successfully find his own way “in the labyrinth of letters.”⁴⁰

Erasmus begins *De ratione studii* with a very interesting sentence, one that emphasizes the utility of another of his works while simultaneously making a connection

³⁸ Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, CWE 24: 691, 14

³⁹ Ibid., CWE 24: 691, 15.

⁴⁰ Ibid., CWE 24: 665. Dedicatory letter to Pierre Vitré.

to classical philosophical and rhetorical thought. As has been demonstrated, Erasmus believed, in order to successfully obtain knowledge and thereby fulfill one's obligation to become fully human, one must study language. He introduces *De ratione studii* with remarks closely related to ideas expressed by Quintilian on the need for a literary education, one that developed fluency and eloquence in the languages prior to turning to other, higher matters:

In principle, knowledge as a whole seems to be of two kinds, of *things* and of *words*. Knowledge of *words* comes earlier, but that of *things* is the more important. But some, the "uninitiated" as the saying goes, while they hurry on to learn about *things*, neglect a concern for *language* and, striving after a false economy, incur a very heavy loss. For since *things* are learned only by the sound we attach to them, a person who is not skilled in the force of *language* is, of necessity, short-sighted, deluded, and unbalanced in his judgment of *things* as well.⁴¹

This same point goes to the heart of Erasmus's text *De copia*, printed together with *De ratione studii* in the first edition.⁴² The connection is made more clear when one looks at the long titles of these two pedagogical treatises. The long title for *De ratione studii* is *De ratione studii ac legendi interpretandique auctores liber* (*A Book on the Method of Study in Reading and Interpreting Authors*). The long title for *De copia* is *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo*. Although most scholars on the subject simply refer to the work as *De copia*, it is most often translated into English rather loosely as *Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style*. A more direct translation illustrates the connection between the opening passage of *De ratione studii* and the goals of *On the Double*

⁴¹ Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, CWE 24: 667, 1-11. [The italics are mine]

⁴² Erasmus, *De copia*, CWE 24: 280. Introductory note by Betty I. Knott.

Abundance of Words and Things, a Two-part Commentary. De copia, as noted in the title, is divided into two sections: in the first Erasmus's intention is to demonstrate how one may enrich his written and spoken Latin through the development of variety of vocabulary and language; in the second section, Erasmus turns to the question of abundance and variety in subject-matter. While illustrating how closely connected *De ratione studii* and *De copia* actually are to one another, one a virtual teaching manual outlining goals for the teacher and pupil, the other an upper-level Latin textbook intended to aid in achieving the goals outlined in *De ratione studii*, it also indicates Erasmus's primary motivation for the study of Greek and Latin. These were not goals in themselves. It is infinitely more important that one develop a knowledge about things, but Erasmus believes a knowledge of words is prerequisite: one must learn and study words, study language, before one is adequately prepared to move on to higher subjects, to things. In Erasmus's pedagogical plan, as laid out in *De pueris*, *De ratione studii* and other works, the primary focus is the continued acquisition of language skills so that the pupil is sufficiently prepared to move to higher studies.

The list of classical authors that Erasmus recommends be used in order to develop one's language skills begins as a relatively small list of Greek and Latin writers, but the work and exercises that he attaches to them demonstrate how intensely he expected Greek and Latin literature to be studied.⁴³ In Greek prose, Erasmus recommends Lucian, Demosthenes and Herodotus while the Greek poets whom he recommends are Aristophanes, Homer and Euripides. Erasmus's Latin reading list includes five authors,

⁴³ Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, CWE 24: 669, 5-15.

beginning with Terence and including Virgil, Horace, Cicero and Caesar. Once these works have been digested, the pupil should have “developed a pure, if not ornate, skill in language [words].”⁴⁴ Erasmus recommends that the pupil then turn to higher matters, to a study of things. “Of course some considerable knowledge of things as well as of words is acquired in passing, from these writers whom we read in order to refine our language, but traditionally almost all knowledge of things is to be sought in the Greek authors.”⁴⁵

Erasmus also refers the reader to more difficult authors to improve the pupil’s grammar and style. These include a work by the only modern author mentioned in Erasmus’s pedagogical plan, Lorenzo Valla’s *Elegantiae linguae latinae* (*Elegances of the Latin Language*), which had influenced Erasmus when he was young.⁴⁶ He also instructs the pupil to learn the grammatical paradigms to be found in Donatus and Diomedes. But this is not all. Not by any means. He quickly rattles off several other things the pupil should be learning as well.

Memorize the rules of poetry and all its patterns; have at your fingertips the chief points of rhetoric, namely propositions, the grounds of proof, figures of speech, amplifications, and the rules governing transitions. For these are conducive not only to criticism but also to imitation.⁴⁷

What Erasmus is calling for, on the part of either the teacher or the pupil, is no small task, even if it could be rattled off in the space of a sentence or two. As in *De pueris*, Erasmus

⁴⁴ Ibid., 669, 21-22.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 22-26.

⁴⁶ Lorenzo Valla, *Elegantiae linguae Latinae* (Venice: Giovanni Tortelli, 1480).

⁴⁷ Ibid., 670, 6-10.

continually stresses the need for the pupils to practice their language skills through a variety of literary exercises, exercises that he believes are fun and break the tediousness of study. As the pupils' abilities increase, Erasmus outlines the sort of exercises that he believes are most useful but still interesting and challenging for the pupils. Although almost a page in length, this one section of Erasmus's pedagogical plan alone clearly demonstrates the sort of intensive literary study that his educational program entailed. Believing that the "best master of style is the pen" and that pupils would absorb their studies more fully when compelled to make their own literary creations, Erasmus instructed the teacher to turn to topics that prove to be not only elegant but also edifying.⁴⁸

Nature, method and practice are the three elements which Erasmus stressed as the way in which humans learn. The exercises, the practices, described above and excerpted in the appendix, that Erasmus expected of middle and high-level pre-university pupils, are almost unbelievably ambitious, that is, until we come to understand the sort of pious and learned life led by Erasmus of Rotterdam, until we see the size of his own body of work and realize that this is one scholar who became a source, an object of imitation, for no other reason than he practiced what he preached.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 671, 3. It is impossible to describe in an appropriate amount of space the many Greek and Latin exercises Erasmus expected a serious student should do. To aid in forming a better idea of the type of work Erasmus recommended, refer to Appendix A for an excerpt from *De ratione studii*.

The Apophthegmata

Erasmus's *Apophthegmata* of 1531 is a somewhat difficult work to categorize.⁴⁹

Although didactic in nature, the *Apophthegmata* was not part of Erasmus's series of works outlining his pedagogical reform program. The work was also written in a Latin style evidently too complex for all but the more advanced readers. The *Apophthegmata* was comparable to Erasmus's *Adagiorum chiliades* (1508) and his *Parabolae* (1514).⁵⁰ All three were pieces of literature that could be read for enjoyment, used as textbooks for advanced students or as desktop sourcebooks for educated adults interested in making their written Latin more stylish. Erasmus put these collections together due to his belief that every adage, parallel and apophthegm was useful not only in aiding one's literary Latin but also in giving simple instructions in life and morals, based on the wise and eloquent phrases of the authors of classical antiquity. In addition, and this was quite important to a humanist reformer like Erasmus, each of these collections demonstrated that the pagan authors of antiquity did understand morality and are worthy of further study.⁵¹

First published under the title *Adagia collectanea* in 1500, the text contained a series of adages, or proverbs, drawn from the authors of classical Latin literature. As his Greek improved, Erasmus's collection of adages expanded dramatically. When a new edition was printed by the Aldine press in Venice in 1508, Erasmus changed the name to

⁴⁹ Desiderius Erasmus, *Apophthegmatum ex optimis utriusque linguae scriptoribus* (Basel: 1531).

⁵⁰ Desiderius Erasmus, *Adagia collectanea* (Paris, 1500); Desiderius Erasmus, *Adagiorum chiliades* (Venice: Manutius, 1508); Desiderius Erasmus, *Parabolae* (Strassburg: 1514). Although Erasmus published a collection of adages in 1500, his fame as a humanist scholar began to reach new heights with his 1508 edition, published during his stay in Italy.

⁵¹ Woodward, 159.

Adagiorum chiliades or *Thousands of Adages*. It grew to include over 3000 adages. Each adage also contained an entry intended to aid the reader in better understanding its meaning. In that way, the reader may more readily be able to incorporate the adage into his spoken or written Latin. Some of the entries grew to be so long that they were published as essays in their own right. The most famous example of this is the entry on the adage *Dulce bellum inexpertis* (War is Sweet to those who do not know it).

Erasmus's *Parabolae* first went to the printer in Strasbourg in 1514 but, like the *Adagia*, the collection was revised and added to for the remainder of his life.⁵² It ultimately went through at least fifty editions.⁵³ Whereas the *Adagia* were wise proverbs from Antiquity, Erasmus's own studies demonstrated that there were other ways, rather than just the simple proverb, to impart knowledge on ethics or moral philosophy. The *Parabolae* was developed during the period when Erasmus was furthering his study of the Greek language by reading Plutarch. At the same time, he was adding large amounts of material from Plutarch and other Greek authors to his Aldine *Adagia*, as well as reading and editing Seneca. Erasmus found that much knowledge, ethical in nature, was imparted by Plutarch and others through the use of sentences based on simple simile or parallel. Just as he had drawn his adages from his studies of classical authors, Erasmus began to write down a list of these aphorisms during his studies which, after a time, grew to a considerable length. These were then published without commentary and dedicated to his good friend and fellow humanist, Peter Gillis, who at the time was secretary to the

⁵² Erasmus, *Parabolae*, CWE 23: 125, "Introductory Note" by R.A.B. Mynors.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

city of Antwerp. In the dedicatory letter, Erasmus describes how he came to publish this work:

Of late, as I reread Aristotle, Pliny, and Plutarch for the enrichment of my *Adagiorum chiliades*, and cleared Annaeus Seneca of the corruptions by which he was not so much disfigured as done away with altogether, I noted down by the way these passages, to make an offering for you which I knew would not be unwelcome. This I foresaw, knowing as I did your natural bent toward elegance of expression, and perceiving that not polish alone but almost all the dignity of language stems from its metaphors.⁵⁴

One example of the thousands of edifying sentences and phrases found in Erasmus's *Parabolae* is sufficient to give the reader the idea of what type of aphorism is included in this work:

As a seal can easily be impressed on soft material, but not once it has set, so children's minds accept any teaching easily, but not once they grow up and start to set.⁵⁵

As his dedication to Peter Gillis indicated, in addition to being a work that Erasmus hoped would be morally edifying, the *Parabolae* was intended to aid in developing one's own Latin style and sense of eloquence. As in Erasmus's use of Aesop's Fables and the *Disticha Catonis*, primary texts popular during the Middle Ages, using the simile as a tool for instruction in grammar and ethics was not a new concept. One of the so-called authorities in the popular *auctores octo*, Alain de Lille (c. 1116 - c.

⁵⁴ Ibid., CWE 23: 130, 21-28. Dedicatory Letter to Peter Gillis.

⁵⁵ Erasmus, *Parabolae*, CWE 23: 163, 31-33.

1202) published a work with the same title which had become part of many medieval school curricula.⁵⁶

The *Apophthegmata* differed slightly from both of these earlier compilations in that the *Apophthegmata* contained generally short and simple historical or legendary anecdotes that culminated in a wise saying attributed to a classical author or great figure. The work was also organized alphabetically by author, giving it a slightly different style than either of the earlier two. As in his *Adagia*, placing the precept in a historical setting gave Erasmus the opportunity to comment on the phrase, even adapting it to contemporary circumstances. In putting this work together, Erasmus relied heavily on the work of the Greek author Plutarch, as he had with his *Parabola*. Plutarch had himself put together collections of Apophthegms, and with the same edifying intentions. Apophthegms were considered an important rhetorical flourish in which an author could make a point by reference to the great authorities of the past, a way of obtaining or imparting knowledge by way of interesting anecdote.

Just as the *Adagia* and the *Parabola* were written with the enthusiast of good letters in mind, Erasmus's *Apophthegmata* was also considered enjoyable and edifying literature in its own right, as well as a good reference book for those who do not have the leisure to devote their attention to reading all the best authors of Antiquity themselves and developing their own personal lists of commonplaces, adages and similes. But these were not schoolbooks. The language used was too advanced for schoolboys. Ultimately, the time and effort which Erasmus devoted to the collection and publication of this

⁵⁶ Ian Thomson and Louis Peraud, eds. *Ten Latin Schooltexts of the Later Middle Ages, Translated Selections* (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 283.

material says much about his belief in their utility. The work he did in collecting together all of this material ultimately proved highly beneficial to his own career and fame.

The Source

In Erasmus's untiring efforts to make available the sources of the western tradition, Greek and Latin, patristic and pagan, he himself became a source. The humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries loved the "source" metaphor. *Ad fontes* is still seen as one of the battle cries of the humanists and with good reason. It is, nevertheless, an old idea, one that authors have often attached to Homer, referring to him as a mighty river flowing with the purest of language. In the Latin tradition, Cicero has often been associated with this same idea. Erasmus, when promoting the study of Greek, often turned to this metaphor. One example is early in his *De ratione studii*, where he notes his belief that "knowledge of all things is to be sought in the Greek authors."⁵⁷ He continues with an explanatory question: "For in short, whence can one draw a draught so pure, so easy, and so delightful as from the very fountain-head?"⁵⁸ Greek, the pure fountain-head of all knowledge, the purest of all sources. In his translation and editorial work, Erasmus was not only going back to the sources but aiding others who would follow his path, and many more who would never be able to. For Erasmus, it was in a renewed interest in the sources that real pedagogical and religious reform would begin in earnest.

⁵⁷ Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, CWE 24: 669.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

As he became one of the greatest Greek and Latin specialists of the early sixteenth century, Erasmus became a product of his own campaign. He practiced what he preached and Europe then reaped what he had sown. His expertise in the lower arts, his skill in languages made Erasmus a formidable authority in the higher art of theology, to which he devoted every bit as much time as he did to his pedagogical reform plans. Finally, his own literary output, including his letters, translations and critical editions meant that Erasmus himself became a source. It is hardly inaccurate to say that through him flow the purest waters of the northern Renaissance. Historians have already discerned the sources of this mighty intellectual river; they are many and diverse but they combine to make up the Prince of Humanists. They include the circumstances of his birth, his early education at Deventer and the chance meeting with Rudolf Agricola. They include early contact with Greek, with the work of Lorenzo Valla and an interest in classical studies partially born of a rambunctious, if not rebellious, spirit. They include the years of study at the monastery as well as Erasmus's growing awareness that the monastic lifestyle was not for him. They include patrons like the Bishop of Cambrai and noble family of Veere, a three-year stay in Italy, and longer ones in Paris and England. They include Cicero and Quintilian, Homer and Demosthenes and, more importantly, Jerome and the holy scriptures. While there remain questions about his life, such as the exact year of his birth and the lack of epistolary evidence as to what Erasmus was doing during much of his Italian travels between 1506 and 1509, most difficulties which arise in the modern study of Erasmus are not due to a lack of information but the problems associated with sorting through an overabundance of it.

Although he gained a strong following of supporters, even disciples of sorts, Erasmus also had his detractors. Nevertheless, western Christendom's intellectual and religious history was profoundly affected by the life and work of Erasmus. Whether he laid the eggs that Luther and the other Reformers hatched can be left to others to decide, but if he did, how much more profound can one's influence during this period actually be? And even if he did not, his work on the patristic texts and his Greek New Testament still paved the way for the translation and publication of the Bible into the vernacular languages. If we look to him as the source for much of the pedagogical revolution that swept northern Europe during the first half of the sixteenth century, and there is none who even compares except Philipp Melanchthon, all of the major ideas of the humanist pedagogical reform program are to be found in Erasmus's own writing. It is to Erasmus that most humanist educators turn.

Pedagogical Reform and Philipp Melanchthon

Before turning to a discussion of the ways in which Melanchthon's pedagogical reform program differed from that of Erasmus of Rotterdam, it would be instructive if we first examined this rather intriguing man's life and work. The historic image of Melanchthon is somewhat controversial, and for many of the same reasons as it is for Erasmus.⁵⁹ Controversy surrounds him because of the subjects he chose to write upon during a period when those subjects became highly volatile. Philipp Melanchthon's life and work were controversial particularly due to the role that he played in the Lutheran Reformation after his arrival in Wittenberg in 1518. Although both Erasmus and Melanchthon were humanists, they were still rather different types of people, with a significant difference in their ages, backgrounds and personal experiences. These differences played some role in their choosing opposing sides in the religious struggle that engulfed northern Europe in the years after 1517.⁶⁰ Because of their different choices, the controversy which surrounds each man is somewhat different. As has been noted, Erasmus was attacked for being neither hot nor cold, for appearing unwilling to support either side. Early on, many were convinced that Martin Luther was a protégé of Erasmus, and was making common cause with him. This belief was widespread enough that Erasmus, on more than one occasion, insisted that while he had heard of Luther, he

⁵⁹ Timothy J Wengert, "Beyond Stereotypes," in *Philip Melanchthon: Then and Now (1497-1997), Essays Celebrating the 500th Anniversary of the Birth of Philip Melanchthon, Theologian, Teacher and Reformer*. Scott Hendrix and Timothy J. Wengert, ed. (Columbia, SC: Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1999), 9-14.

⁶⁰ Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550, An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), for general information on the Reformation era.

had never met him, nor had he read his treatises.⁶¹ At that time, Erasmus thought that he and Luther held some common interests and opinions with regard to some of the more blatant abuses taking place within the Church. And while he was willing to say as much, he nevertheless believed it was in his best interest, as well as the best interest of *bonae literae*, to make it clear that he had no personal hand in Luther's actions, nor was he the source of those actions.⁶² With regard to the controversial image of Philipp Melanchthon, his position on a number of Lutheran doctrines tended to be more moderate than those expressed by Martin Luther. As the leader of this religious revolution, Martin Luther had to be more black and white, providing clear definitions even if the sources were more ambiguous. Luther simultaneously appreciated Melanchthon's ability to view more shades of gray and respected Melanchthon's opinions. Melanchthon's humanist training was one source of his more moderate beliefs. The language he used to express those beliefs was also a source of much of the conflict within the Lutheran movement during the decades after Martin Luther died. In addition, that conflict was related to his role as de facto leader of the Lutheran movement after Luther's death in 1546 and the compromises Melanchthon was forced to make due to the Protestant loss at the battle of Mühlberg and the subsequent Augsburg and Leipzig Interims. A mentor and personal friend of Leonard Stöckel for all of Stöckel's adult life, Philipp Melanchthon proved immensely influential not only on Stöckel's pedagogical thought but also on his religious views.

⁶¹ Erasmus, *Selected Letters*, Hillerbrand ed., 140: EE 980. See also pages 151: EE 1149 and 152: EE1153.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 146: EE 1033.

Named Philipp Schwarzzerd when he was born in 1498, Philipp was a child prodigy of sorts, going to university at the age of twelve and completing his bachelor of arts when he was only fourteen. It was his uncle and famed hebraist, the humanist Johann Reuchlin (1454-1522), who first began referring to Philipp as Melanchthon, the Greek form of his last name.⁶³ Melanchthon completed his Master of Arts degree at Tübingen in 1514, when he was not yet seventeen years old. He remained in Tübingen, teaching courses at the university. At the same time, he took up work at a local printing house, the Anshelm Press, his skills in Latin and Greek put to use as a corrector.⁶⁴ It was at this time that Erasmus took notice of Melanchthon, praising the young humanist in his 1516 edition of his *Annotationes*. In 1518, Melanchthon took a job as the first Professor of Greek at the still young university at Wittenberg. He received this appointment despite his youth in part because his great-uncle Reuchlin assiduously promoted his cause. The remainder of his life was devoted to two interconnected causes, humanist education and Lutheran religious reform.⁶⁵

⁶³ For more information on Reuchlin and the famous Reuchlin Affair, see Erika Rummel, *The Case Against Johann Reuchlin: Religious and Social Controversy in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). Although a relatively short work, Rummel's monograph includes extensive excerpts of all the major documents related to the controversy, including the infamous *Letters of Obscure Men*. For a description of the Reuchlin Affair that is placed more squarely in its historical context and compared to other similar conflicts and their origins, see also Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁶⁵ Nicole Kuropka, "'Das menschliche Leben als fröhliche Schule:' Frömmigkeit und Bildung bei Philipp Melanchthon," in *Monatshefte für evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlandes* 55 (2006), 1-13; not only does Kuropka point out Melanchthon's lifelong stress on piety and education, she also notes that Melanchthon often used the phrase, "Ohne Schulen kann die Kirche nicht blühen."

De corrigendis adolescentiae studiis (1518)

The story of Philipp Melanchthon's arrival in the Saxon town of Wittenberg, hardly more than a village with a young, new university, has been often told but is, nevertheless, important to this study.⁶⁶ The Saxon elector Frederick III, the Wise (1463-1525), had, at the recommendation of Reuchlin, chosen Melanchthon as the new Greek chair in Wittenberg, in preference to Petrus Mosellanus (d. 1524), the man recommended by Luther and by Frederick's personal secretary and castle librarian, Georg Spalatin (1484-1545). Philipp arrived in Wittenberg during the late summer of 1518. The University assembled on August 28, 1518, to hear the traditional inaugural address by the new professor.

Many were initially surprised by Melanchthon's sickly appearance, the drooping shoulders and thin body, the scraggly beard hardly covering a youthful albeit unattractive face.⁶⁷ Stupperich notes that the surprise continued when Melanchthon first began his address to the university assembly; he had a stammer and his voice was not particularly pleasant.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, before Philipp Melanchthon had completed his first oration to the assembled Wittenberg faculty and student body, he had won the majority over. He soon became the most popular lecturer at the university.

The subject of Melanchthon's inaugural address at the university in Wittenberg is of interest because it outlines Philipp Melanchthon's general beliefs on an important topic

⁶⁶ Heinz Scheible, "Philipp Melanchthon," CEBR, II: 424; Robert Stupperich, *Melanchthon*, Robert H Fischer tr. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965) 32-33; Noel L. Brann, "Renaissance Humanism in Germany," in Albert Rabil, Jr., ed. *Renaissance Humanism, Foundations, Forms and Legacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 2: 147-149.

⁶⁷ Stupperich, 32-33.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

prior to his coming under the influence of Martin Luther. Melanchthon's suggestions are in line with those of Erasmus in all important details. The subject of this first oration is *De corrigendis adolescentiae studiis (On Improving the Education of Youth)*.⁶⁹

Melanchthon extolled Greek and Latin studies; he argued that Greek is a necessary corollary to the development of eloquence in Latin. He stressed that grammar must be emphasized and that pupils and students must learn it well since grammar is the basis of language and language is the basis for all higher studies. In addition, he argued that lack of concern for grammar in the past had led to imprecision in language usage, thereby allowing human traditions to creep into the Church. A return to the sources, the study of the Greek and the Latin languages, and Hebrew as well, with emphasis placed on the thorough study of grammar before pushing on to other subjects, would bring about renewed precision in language and, ultimately, renewed understanding of Scripture. Only by way of improving the studies of the children, Melanchthon believed, would true renewal within the Church actually take place. Melanchthon's speech upon his arrival in Wittenberg declared that he was prepared to play his role in achieving that renewal.

My entire address has the single purpose of raising your hope for elegant literature (I am speaking of Greek and Latin)... For I am fully of the opinion that whoever desires to undertake anything distinguished, either in the sacred cults or in the affairs of state, will achieve but very little unless he has previously exercised his mind prudently and sufficiently with humane discipline.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Walter Friedensburg, *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg* (Halle: Max Niemayer, 1917) 117.

⁷⁰ Philipp Melanchthon, "De corrigendis adolescentiae studiis (On Improving the Studies of Youth)," *Transition and Revolution*, Robert McCune Kingdon, ed. (Minneapolis: Burgess, 1974), 169.

Melanchthon's own eloquence and command of language, if not his voice and appearance, not only convinced many of the students and faculty on that August day in 1518 that he was a scholar to be reckoned with, even if only twenty-one years of age, but it also won over Martin Luther, the man with whom Philipp Melanchthon would soon develop a close and lifelong friendship.⁷¹ In discussing Melanchthon's appointment to the Greek chair with his friend and colleague Georg Spalatin, after having heard Melanchthon's inaugural address, Luther claimed himself "unreservedly for the little Greek."⁷²

Philipp Melanchthon and Pedagogical Reform

Philipp Melanchthon's career at the university in Wittenberg began in 1518 and continued until his death 1560. His career followed all of the ups and downs associated with Luther and Wittenberg during the first generation of the Reformation. Luther gave Melanchthon much respect, responsibility and authority. When Luther was forced to go into hiding after the Diet of Worms (1521-1522), he left Melanchthon effectively in charge, quite a responsibility for a young man not yet twenty-five years of age. His experiences during Luther's absence, especially with the so-called Zwickau prophets, were somewhat destabilizing for him personally but nothing seems to have had as great effect upon Philipp Melanchthon as the Peasants' War of 1525. From then on, we see time and again Melanchthon stressed the goal of civil and social order, in addition to

⁷¹ Stupperich, 33. Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand, A Life of Martin Luther* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1950) 81-82. One of the best biographical studies of Melanchthon's life and work is Clyde Manschreck, *Melanchthon, The Quiet Reformer* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1958).

⁷² Friedensburg, 118; Stupperich, 33.

learned Christian piety, as the primary objectives of an education. Later in life, following Luther's death, the Schmalkaldic League was defeated, the elector of Saxony was captured, imprisoned and his territories and electoral privileges confiscated. Wittenberg was occupied by Spanish troops and Melanchthon was forced to flee the city, taking along with him his family and Luther's widow.⁷³ The period of the Augsburg and Leipzig Interims which followed was a source of much of the dissension within evangelical ranks through the end of the sixteenth century, and beyond. Despite the instability of the early years of the Lutheran Reformation, Philipp Melanchthon proved to be one of the most industrious educators of his or any generation.

Soon after his arrival at Wittenberg, Melanchthon began writing in support of Martin Luther, thereby tying himself to Luther's cause.⁷⁴ Other than the *Augsburg Confession*, his most important theological treatise is his *Loci communes*, first published in 1521, a work that Melanchthon edited and reprinted numerous times throughout his career. Not only is the *Loci communes* one of the clearest examples of Melanchthon's allegiance to Luther's cause, it also is one of the more important means of connecting Stöckel's theological beliefs to those of Melanchthon and Luther, a subject that will be taken up more fully when Stöckel's own religious works are discussed.

Although events in Wittenberg during the months that Luther spent in hiding at Wartburg castle somewhat unnerved Melanchthon, he remained Luther's staunchest supporter, and Luther continued to have the highest confidence in him. It does, nevertheless appear that the riots in Wittenberg, difficulties with Karlstadt and the

⁷³ Stupperich, 123.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.

Zwickau Prophets, and then the later outbreak and quashing of the Peasants' Revolt in 1525 did much to lead both reformers to similar conclusions with regard to the need for pedagogical reform.

Although Melanchthon's inaugural address demonstrated his belief in the need for formal education, Luther at first did not want to get directly involved in the subject, viewing childhood education as not central to his concern and something that could therefore be left alone. Luther's general opinion early on was that the father of the household had a duty to properly educate his children, both boys and girls, so that they would be able to read the scriptures themselves. While this is an idea that is quite similar to that of Erasmus, Luther was referring to the fathers of all households, not merely those of the wealthy and powerful. Erasmus's beliefs with regard to the role that the father should play in his son's education evolved somewhat. Although as head of the household, the father had the ultimate responsibility to ensure that his sons were properly educated, Erasmus came to believe that most were too busy with other matters (or too ignorant) to devote the time necessary to educate the child himself. Erasmus therefore stressed the father's duty of selecting the best possible tutor. Luther's beliefs with regard to the father's role in educating his children would evolve in a similar fashion. Under the belief that the father led the pedagogical and spiritual development of his children, Luther spent much of his time (1521-1522) while at the Wartburg making a German translation of the New Testament from Erasmus's Greek text of 1516 in order that fathers could have a vernacular version of the Bible for reading at home.

For Luther, salvation was the obvious goal of any proper education but education was the father's duty. Early on, other than reminding fathers of this sacred duty, Luther did not believe his own role included devoting himself specifically to a pedagogical reform program aimed at the general population. However, when the course of events did not go as smoothly as Luther had first envisaged, especially after the Peasants' War of 1525, interest in pedagogical reform increased substantially among the Reformers.

Luther no longer believed that parents were pious enough or well-enough educated themselves to successfully educate their own children, or even to realize that it was important and their responsibility. On both pedagogical and religious levels, then, the Lutheran movement was evolving from something that had been approaching a popular movement to a magisterial reform, an idea which might be best exemplified by the phrase *cuius regio, eius religio* (He who rules determines the religion).⁷⁵ Although this catchy little phrase would not be coined until much later, that the local ruler determined the religion within his territory began to develop on the ground within the Empire after the Peasants' War. As Martin Luther came to believe that control over education could play an important role in the future success of the evangelical movement, something that was not clear to him until after the Peasants War, he turned to Philipp Melancthon.

Lutheran Pedagogical Reform

Over a period of about eight years, from 1517 to 1525, Martin Luther's ideas, both with regard to pedagogical and religious reform, evolved quite significantly. What is clear is that Luther did not begin this revolt with everything already worked out ahead of

⁷⁵ Ozment, 259.

time.⁷⁶ His original intentions did not aim at a historic break with Roman Catholicism.

When Martin Luther first conceived of breaking with the “Romanists,” he naïvely believed that if everyone read the Scriptures with care, then everyone would also believe like him, if not on a liturgical level, at least with regard to important doctrinal issues.

After just a few years, however, it had become abundantly clear that this early confidence was naïve and that someone needed to institute uniformity again, if not in liturgy, at least with regard to the most important doctrinal matters. Not surprisingly, a theologian of the Order of St. Augustine, working as a professor at the university in Wittenberg and a young humanist Master of Arts and Professor of Greek, who had also received a Bachelor of the Bible from Wittenberg in 1519, concluded that “proper” education was the solution to many of their problems. It is almost surprising that it took the two University professors this long to come to the conclusion that education would do much to solve the problems that they were encountering. This is the area in which Philipp Melanchthon would achieve his greatest, most lasting influence.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Lewis Spitz, “Luther *Ecclesiast*: An Historian’s Angle,” *The Reformation: Education and History* (Aldershot, NH: Variorum/Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1997), VIII: 109.

⁷⁷ Erika Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Whereas Rummel asserts that Melanchthon’s “lasting contribution was in the field of Theology,” (3) I am inclined to think that such a measurement is more difficult to assess than Rummel would have us believe. Although this is a wonderfully well-organized and enlightening monograph, my difficulties are related to the hardness, the fastness of some of her conclusions and assumptions. This point is most easily made by more general remarks in her Introduction, although it is also found in the body of the work as well as in its conclusion. Basing her definitions of certain individual professional and partisan categories, particularly that of humanist and theologian, upon their own interests and the opinions of contemporaries, Rummel describes Erasmus as a humanist (not a theologian even though he held that degree) and defines Melanchthon as a theologian (even though he held no doctoral degree). My point is that to claim that one was all humanist and another all theologian, or even to attempt to measure how many parts of one or the other each of these important sixteenth-century figures contained, is an impossibility. It is ironic that a monograph which focuses upon Nicodemism would develop black and white definitions of significant sixteenth-century concepts which she admits were in a state of flux, concepts that were in fact neither black nor white, but gray.

Directly as a result of Melanchthon's efforts, Latin schools were opened or reorganized across Lutheran Germany. Melanchthon and Luther also played a hands-on role in educating and training the teachers, preachers and secular leaders of the next generation at Wittenberg. In the process, they reorganized pre-university education to suit their religious reform goals. Melanchthon took in boarders, as did Luther, and ran a Latin school out of his home for pre-university studies, especially study of the languages. Melanchthon then ensured that a certain level of uniformity was created within the schools which he had a hand in organizing, both in terms of pedagogical and religious instruction. For the remainder of his life, he produced textbooks to be used in these schools and the several universities which he aided in reorganizing.⁷⁸ Before his death, Philipp Melanchthon had written textbooks or prefaces to textbooks on every one of the liberal arts. While Melanchthon was instrumental in ensuring that Erasmus's name would continue to be learned by every pupil in Lutheran Latin schools throughout the German-speaking parts of Europe for decades to come (as if Erasmus needed any help), Philipp's own literary production in textbooks and the role he played in organizing and reorganizing schools in areas affected by the Lutheran reform movement ensured his lasting memory not only as one of the original founders and framers of the Lutheran Reformation but also as the *Praeceptor Germaniae*, the Teacher of Germany.

Melanchthon's own textbooks, in combination with his choice of other textbooks, organized around an educational program which he personally developed in Latin schools across the length and breadth of Lutheran Germany, gave him a decisive role in shaping

⁷⁸ Jürgen Leonhardt, "Melanchthon als Verfasser von Lehrbüchern," *Melanchthon und das Lehrbuch des 16. Jahrhunderts, Begleitband zur Ausstellung im Kulturhistorischen Museum Rostock 25. April bis 13. Juli 1997*, Jürgen Leonhardt, ed., (Rostock: Universität Rostock, Philosophische Fakultät, 1997), 13.

Lutheran education. The fundamentals of Melanchthon's pedagogical reform program have their origins in the educational ideals of the same great classical pedagogical authors to whom Erasmus subscribed, especially Quintilian and Cicero. These same fundamentals had been promoted and brought back into active use during the fifteenth century in Italy, as can be seen in the work of Lorenzo Valla, Guarino Guarini and many others, and they found their highest expression north of the Alps in the educational works of Erasmus of Rotterdam.⁷⁹ Melanchthon's efforts in applying these fundamentals, while molding them to aid in the success of Lutheranism, is the story of how he became the *Praeceptor Germaniae*.

The Literary Career of a Lutheran Humanist

Since his body of work is almost as immense as Erasmus's corpus, and since the secondary material is equally immense, Philipp Melanchthon may also be referred to as source, albeit in a slightly different manner than Erasmus. With regard to Leonard Stöckel, Erasmus's influence is primarily pedagogical in nature, even when we grant that Erasmus's pedagogical goals were ultimately intended to achieve religious reform. In addition to Melanchthon's fundamental role in leading the pedagogical revolution within Lutheran Germany, the role he played in formally organizing the new religious community is also groundbreaking. Melanchthon's influence on Stöckel was both pedagogical and religious in nature.

During his forty-two years of teaching and writing in Wittenberg, Melanchthon evolved into a source on both religious and pedagogical levels, and outside of the Empire,

⁷⁹ Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy, Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1989), 172 for Valla and Guarini.

this was particularly the case in Hungary.⁸⁰ His contributions in both of these areas make the point; any attempt to demonstrate which one was more important is an exercise in futility. As author of the *Augsburg Confession* and its *Apology*, it is hard to imagine any figure more important to the Lutheran movement in its first generation than Philipp Melanchthon, outside of the founder himself. As author of the *Unterricht der Visitatorn an die Pfarhern ym Kurfurstenthum zu Sachssen (Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Priests in Electoral Saxony*, referred to below as the *Instructions*), and numerous pedagogical tracts, orations and textbooks intended to aid in achieving the goals outlined in the *Instructions*, Philipp Melanchthon is of singular importance with regard to Lutheran pedagogical reform.

It is hard to believe that Philipp Melanchthon would have had the opportunities that he had in his close relations with Martin Luther, had he not already become a humanist prodigy, cut from the same cloth as his pious great-uncle Reuchlin and Erasmus. His humanist great-uncle Reuchlin and his expertise in Greek opened for Melanchthon an opportunity to be brought to the attention of the elector of Saxony and ultimately to take a professorship in Wittenberg. It is equally evident that most of Melanchthon's humanist work, in terms of literary production with regard to textbooks and classical translations, was much greater during the earlier part of his career. While Melanchthon also published religious tracts soon after his arrival in Wittenberg, as time

⁸⁰ Mihaly Bucsay, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Ungarn* (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1959); see also David P. Daniel, "Hungary" In *The Early Reformation in Europe*, Andrew Pettegree ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pres, 1992) 49-69; Andrej Hajduk, "Filip Melanchthon a Leonard Stoeckel," *Cirkevne listy* (1977): 155-158; for further discussion of Melanchthon's influence in Hungary see the relevant chapters in Günter Frank and Martin Treu eds. *Melanchthon und Europa, Skandinavien und Mitteleuropa*, Melanchthon-Schriften der Stadt Bretten (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag 2001); Karin Maag, ed. *Melanchthon in Europe, His Work and Influence beyond Wittenberg* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1999).

passed his literary production, like that of Erasmus, tended to focus more and more on religious and theological issues.⁸¹ This is to be expected, what might be called a tendency among northern humanists who tended to move from achievements in the liberal arts toward greater and great focus on higher studies.

As with Erasmus, with regard to Melanchthon's corpus, our primary concern at this point is with his educational innovations, most readily found in his pedagogical works but inherent in many of his other works as well. The clearest outline of Melanchthon's Lutheran pedagogical reform program is outlined in his *Instructions*, first published in 1528 although the pedagogical recommendations were not added until the 1538 publication.⁸² A modern critical edition of Melanchthon's collection of letters is only now being produced and the editors are currently in the process of completing a detailed, cross-referenced epistolary register of letters both to and from Melanchthon.⁸³ Melanchthon's philological work began two years prior to his arrival in Wittenberg with

⁸¹ Karl Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf: 1964; reprint of Berlin: Hofmann & Co, 1889), 576-620. These pages include an extensive, although not complete list of Philipp Melanchthon's publications, indexed by year of publication. In 1519 Melanchthon published *Defensio contra Iohannem Ekium Theologiae Professore* (CR 1: 108); in 1520, *Decem et octo conclusions de fidei et sacramentorum iustificatione* (Rotermund: Verzeichniss nr. 14b.). These two treatises, of eighteen publications during 1518 and 1519, demonstrate Melanchthon's early and active connections to the Lutheran movement. Refer to Hartfelder's Index (576-620) for an illustration of the decline in the production of pedagogical works with a comparable rise in the production of religious tracts.

⁸² Martin Luther, *Unterricht der Visitatorn an die Pfarhern ym Kurfurstenthum zu Sachssen (Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Priests)* *Luther's Works*, Conrad Bergendoff, trans., 40: 269-320. Cf. WA 26: 195-240. Philipp Melanchthon has always been credited with composing the *Instructions*, "but Luther's ideas underlie the whole and some passages reflect his pen." For information on the inclusion of the pedagogical recommendations to the 1538 edition of the *Instructions*, see *Luther's Works* 40: 274, n. 9.

⁸³ Philipp Melanchthon, *Melanchthon's Briefwechsel, Kritische und kommentierte Gesamtausgabe*, Heinz Scheible ed., *Band 2, Regesten 1110-2335 (1531-1539)* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1978). The full-text volumes are only now beginning to be published.

the publication of a critical edition of Terence's comedies.⁸⁴ Just two years before his death, he published new Latin critical editions of Pindar's lyric poetry and Euripides' tragedies.⁸⁵ Even though Melanchthon focused more and more on issues of church organization and theology as his career progressed, it is clear that he had a lifelong humanist interest in bringing new editions of the pagan classics to the printing press.⁸⁶

In attempting to better understand the role that Melanchthon played in influencing the pedagogical thought of Leonard Stöckel, we should remember that Philipp Melanchthon was already a humanist educator upon his arrival in Wittenberg in 1518. His esteem for the work of Erasmus of Rotterdam at this time is without question.⁸⁷ As the leader of the pedagogical revolution that was developed to aid in the success of the Lutheran movement after 1525, Philipp Melanchthon instituted a modified "Erasmian" program, which included some of Erasmus's own publications. Melanchthon's program, however, was clearly adapted to conform to needs of the young Lutheran community; that is, unlike most of the pedagogical recommendations of Erasmus, Melanchthon's pedagogical treatises were not merely recommendations for tutors and teachers of the children of wealthy noblemen and burghers. Instead they were practical considerations on how to educate significant numbers of pupils with limited resources. That difference

⁸⁴ Hartfelder, 42. See also the entry in the bibliographic register, 577.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 615.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 577-620. Even though Hartfelder notes this is not a complete bibliography, this extensive index contains at least thirty different editions of Melanchthon's own critical editions and new translations of pagan authors, and that is not including the many prefaces that Melanchthon wrote as introductions to other translators' and editors' works.

⁸⁷ Schoeck, *Erasmus of Europe*, 274. The best evidence that Melanchthon's respect for Erasmus continued throughout his life is the encomium on Erasmus which Melanchthon published in 1557, only three years before Melanchthon's own death. See n. 88 below.

alone is immense. More importantly, his recommendations were not directed simply toward learned piety, even if most of the pedagogical program was much the same as that of Erasmus. Instead, the goal was to ensure the continued success of the Lutheran reform movement through inculcating a peculiarly orderly and Lutheran form of piety into the hearts and minds of tomorrow's teachers, preachers, secular leaders and officials.

Northern humanist pedagogical reform was combined with Lutheran indoctrination.

Melanchthon's Pedagogical Reform Program

Philipp Melanchthon wrote on a wide range of pedagogical topics during his forty-two years at Wittenberg. They ranged from treatises and orations on general subjects, such as *De artibus liberalibus oratio (On the Liberal Arts)* of 1517 (which preceded his arrival in Wittenberg) and *On the Role of the Schools* of 1543, to orations, prefaces and other treatises on a variety of more specific academic subjects, including his orations *De formando studio (On the Order of Learning)*, given in 1531, *De studio linguarum (On the Study of Languages)*, presented in 1533, and his *Encomium eloquentiae (Praise of Eloquence)* of 1523.⁸⁸ On the subject of moral philosophy, so dear to the humanists, Melanchthon published several textbooks, including *Enarrationes librorum Ethicorum Aristotelis (Description of Aristotle's Books on Ethics)* of 1529; *Epitome philosophiae moralis (On Moral Philosophy)* of 1538; and his *Ethicae doctrinae elementa (Elements of Ethical Doctrine)* of 1550. In addition to publishing new critical editions of Aristotle's *Rhetorica* and *Ars dialectica*, Melanchthon also wrote his own

⁸⁸ Philipp Melanchthon, *De artibus liberalibus* (1517) CR 1: 15; CR 11: 606-618; *De formando studio, Rodolphi Agricolae, Eras. Roterodam. Et Ph. M., rationes* (1531) CR 11 130, cf. CR 11: 209-214; *De studio linguarum*, CR 10: 679, cf. CR 11: 231-239; *Encomium eloquentiae*, CR 1: 644, see also CR 11: 50-66.

textbooks on these subjects, as well as prefaces recommending other authors' texts on a variety of other subjects. In combination, Melanchthon covered every subject within the liberal arts curriculum: grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, mathematics, geometry, music and astronomy.⁸⁹ His own pre-university textbooks include an elementary primer, a grammar book on Greek, a textbook on the art of rhetoric and another on the art of dialectic.⁹⁰ Each of these textbooks went through several editions and more than one significant revision. Melanchthon, as a professor and university official in Wittenberg for over forty years, also wrote numerous orations for a variety of university functions. These included prefatory speeches at matriculation and graduation ceremonies, as well as orations given following the death of a friend or colleague. For these occasions Melanchthon wrote several biographical encomia and eulogies, on both contemporary and classical figures. In addition to a biographical oration on Erasmus, Melanchthon also wrote an oration on the death of Martin Luther, as well as biographies on Plato, two on Aristotle and another on the celebrated northern humanist Rudolf Agricola.⁹¹

In developing a program that would more readily put humanist pedagogical ideals into the service of Lutheran reform, Melanchthon made several small alterations to

⁸⁹ Hartfelder, 577.

⁹⁰ Philipp Melanchthon, *Elementa puerilia* (Wittenberg, 1524) CR 20: 391; *Grammatica graeca*, (1518), CR 20: 7; *Elementorum rhetorices libri II* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1531) ; *Dialectices libri quattuor*, (Hagenau: 1528), CR 13: 507, cf. *Compendaria Dialectices ratio* (Wittenberg: M Lotthar, 1520) CR 1, 152, CR 20 709.

⁹¹ Philipp Melanchthon, *Erasmus* CR, 11: 264-271; *Oratio in funere M. Lutheri recitata* (1546), CR 11: 726-734; *Plato*, CR 11: 413-425; *Oratio de vita Aristotelis*, (first delivered in 1537 with a different version recited 1544) CR 11: 342-349; *Rodolphi Agricolae Phrisii lucubrationes aliquot etc...* (1539), CR 11: 438-446. R. Keen "Melanchthon's Two Lives of Aristotle," *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen* 8 (1984), 4-11.

Erasmus's pedagogical model.⁹² Nevertheless, by incorporating much of Erasmus's program into his own, by using texts written and edited by Erasmus, as well as editing and reprinting new editions of Erasmus's own texts, Melanchthon did much, not only to keep Erasmus's name current, but also to aid in keeping humanism flowing as a powerful sub-current within Lutheran Germany's stream of intellectual and pedagogical thought.

Soon after becoming a member of the liberal arts faculty in Wittenberg, Melanchthon began to take part in making changes to the university curriculum. Luther had begun this process prior to Melanchthon's arrival but he eventually passed these duties on to Melanchthon as he became more confident in Philipp's abilities and industry as an educational reformer.⁹³ Beginning with changes in the curriculum after his arrival to Wittenberg, before his death in 1560 Philipp Melanchthon had played important roles in reforming the curricula at his two *alma maters*, Tübingen and Heidelberg, as well as several others.⁹⁴ He was also an advisor to many city Latin schools and the even more advanced *Oberschulen*, like the work he did in Nuremberg when its school's curriculum was reorganized in 1524. Melanchthon's colleague and first biographer, Joachim Camerarius, was chosen as rector of that school.⁹⁵ Melanchthon's most significant contribution to pedagogical reform, however, was not the work done at the university or

⁹² The fundamental similarities of Erasmus's and Melanchthon's pedagogical models are discussed by Markus Wriedt, "Pietas et Eruditio," in *Dona Melanchthoniana, Festgabe für Heinz Scheible zum 70. Geburtstag*, Johanna Loehr ed. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 2001), 501.

⁹³ Lewis Spitz, "The Importance of the Reformation for the Universities: Culture and Confessions in the Critical Years," *The Reformation: Education and History* (Aldershot, NH: Variorum/Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1997), III: 51.

⁹⁴ Hartfelder, see Kapital X: 5 "Hochschulen," 506.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 501, 503. See also I.G., "Joachim Camerarius," CEBR 1:247.

nascent gymnasium levels but in Germany's many Latin schools, dozens of which experienced significant changes in curricula and texts during the decades following the beginning of the Lutheran Reformation.⁹⁶ He is known to have played a personal role in the reorganization of at least nine city and territorial church and school orders.⁹⁷ In a significant number of others, he also played a more limited role, or the school orders that were developed were copied from his *Instructions* or one of the school orders in which he played a more direct role.⁹⁸

As a result of the many schools across the Empire which Melanchthon played some role in reorganizing, he had a hand in the education of the next generation of Lutheran leaders. Karl Hartfelder called him the “teacher of Germany’s teachers,” but he was much more than that.⁹⁹ Melanchthon also played a role in finding suitable teachers for these schools and suitable tutors for the children of nobility. Having virtually written off the current generation as too corrupt to save, Melanchthon and Luther made common cause with numerous city councils to reform schools. As early as 1524 Luther published an appeal to Germany’s city councils imploring them to understand their obligation to

⁹⁶ Spitz, “The Importance of the Reformation,” III: 51, for Melanchthon’s contributions to university curricular reform. For Melanchthon’s contributions to pedagogical reform at the Latin school level: Emil Sehling, ed., *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, Erste Abteilung. Sachsen und Thüringen, nebst angrenzenden Gebieten* (Leipzig: O.R. Reiland, 1902).; Aemilius Ludwig Richter, ed., *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts, Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Rechts und der Verfassung der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1967; reprint of Weimar: Landes-Industrie-comtoir, 1846).

⁹⁷ Charles Leonidas Robbins, *Teachers in Germany in the Sixteenth Century, Conditions in Protestant Elementary and Secondary Schools* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912), 15.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

⁹⁹ Karl Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf: 1964; reprint of Berlin: Hofmann & Co, 1889), 538.

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give a proper Christian education to all children, male and female, rich and poor.¹⁰⁰ They then ensured that the primary goals of the schools focused upon instilling pupils with the fear of God and developing a sense of civic duty through the study of languages and classical history, coupled with significant Lutheran religious indoctrination.

Compared to earlier pedagogical practices, many of the subjects were the same, although the texts used to study them oftentimes differed.¹⁰¹ What was more important was the change in emphasis. Erasmus's plan was intended to develop an individual who was learned, pious, civil and Christian. One who was successfully educated according to Erasmus's recommendations would have developed a personal sense of judgment and prudence. In addition, his abilities in Latin and Greek, and the understanding of classical history that accompanied those abilities, essentially meant such a person was a classical philologist. An individual who personally possesses such expertise does not look to other authorities for opinions about what the sources say; he goes to the sources themselves. These were realistic goals that Erasmus believed in and worked toward both before and after the events surrounding 1517.

Philipp Melanchthon, on the other hand, did not intend to produce independent intellectual individuals who were also virtual academic philologists. Even though

¹⁰⁰ Martin Luther, *An die RATHERREN aller Städte deutsches Lands, daß sie christliche Schulen aufrichten und erhalten sollen*, WA 15, 9-53.

¹⁰¹ Grendler, *Schooling*. Although this text covers the humanist pedagogical revolution in Italy rather than in the Empire, much of what Grendler has to say is also applicable to the changes that Protestant schools experienced after 1525. George Huppert, *Public Schools in Renaissance France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984) Huppert discusses the introduction of humanist pedagogical reform in France; See also Thomson and Perraud, eds., *Ten Latin Schooltexts*. In addition to a number of other medieval pedagogical texts, this collection contains the *Disticha Catonis*, a very popular medieval text of short moral precepts, primarily in the form of couplets, which Erasmus found useful enough to edit and re-issue; Philipp Melanchthon considered the *Disticha Catonis* required reading.

Melanchthon himself was both independent and an intellectual, the chaos of the early years of the Lutheran revolt led Luther and Melanchthon to place greater emphasis on considerations of order and uniformity in education.¹⁰² Although not really in line with the independent and liberal spirit inherent in humanism, Melanchthon's methods still made use of humanist pedagogical recommendations. As uniformity became more important on a doctrinal level, schooling was one of the most important and effective methods of achieving a degree of uniformity. It became a means of binding Lutherans together and, as a result, much time was devoted to Lutheran indoctrination in the schools. The classical languages, with an early focus on grammar, were recommended, although Melanchthon now stressed that pupils should begin with Latin only, adding Greek to their studies only later. Nevertheless, even the earliest study-plans for youth had a decidedly Lutheran air about them.

Melanchthon's Elementa puerilia

The best example would have to be Melanchthon's own elementary primer, a little textbook first published in 1524 which found widespread usage, going through several editions during Melanchthon's life, even though there were a number of other good primers available.¹⁰³ Titled *Elementa puerilia*, this primer, which in many respects closely follows earlier models, outlines those elements Philipp Melanchthon believed

¹⁰² Emil Sehling, *Geschichte der Protestantischen Kirchenverfassung* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1914), 5. Sehling notes Luther's aversion to *Gleichmacherei*; while he wrote several school and church orders himself, Sehling also points out Luther's belief with regard to the school order in Wittenberg: "Es ist nicht meine meinung, das ganze deutsche land so eben mußte unsere Wittenbergische Ordnung annehmen, oder anderer Stelle."

¹⁰³ Melanchthon, *Elementa*, CR 20: 391-412.

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should be taught to children when beginning their education.¹⁰⁴ Pupils who studied this primer were the youngest children in the school, referred to by Melanchthon as the *Abecedarios* or *Alphabetarios*. These pupils were in the First division in the typical Latin, or trivial schools. Before looking into Melanchthon's many recommendations for study at the higher levels of the reformed Latin schools, there is much to learn from even a cursory examination of Melanchthon's *Elementa puerilia*.

Only about ten pages in length, Melanchthon's primer is short but surprisingly informative. It becomes somewhat more formidable when we remember that every word in it was expected to be memorized. Beginning with example lists of the letters of the alphabet, both lower and upper case, followed by the vowels and diphthongs, the primer then turns to complete sentences with the *Pater noster* (*Our Father*) and the *Ave Maria*. These are followed by the Apostles' Creed, Psalm 66:2-8 and the Ten Commandments, concluded by a short poem by Melanchthon on the Commandments. Virtually all of the above had been used in primers for centuries.¹⁰⁵ The next four pages are filled with long excerpts from the Gospel of Matthew (Chapters 5-7), Chapter Twelve of Paul's Letter to the Romans and Chapter Thirteen of the Gospel of John. The excerpt from John is followed by a page of Psalms and poems.

The subheading for a new section on the sixth page of the primer is *Dicta sapientum Erasmo Roterodamo interprete*. (*Wise Sayings as Translated by Erasmus of*

¹⁰⁴ Hartfelder, 493. Hartfelder notes that this work was also published as the *Enchiridion elementorum puerilium* in CR 20: 181 ff.

¹⁰⁵ Grendler, *Schooling*, 155-156.

Rotterdam).¹⁰⁶ Although Melanchthon does not indicate such in the primer, these classical moral precepts were based on Erasmus's translations of the so-called seven sages of Greece, pre-Socratic philosophers of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. This section, therefore, includes short two and three-word precepts attributed to Periander of Corinth, Bias of Priene, Chilon of Sparta, Cleobulus of Lindus, Pittacus of Mytilene, Solon of Athens and Thales of Miletus.¹⁰⁷ Each collection of precepts, much in the style of the short sentences found in the first part of the *Disticha Catonis*, is also followed by a short poem by Ausonius, a fourth-century Roman poet.¹⁰⁸ They are almost all precepts dealing with civility and orderly behavior. Although there is usually more than one maxim which strikes the modern reader oddly, most of them are simple, time-honored phrases, such as "Revere parents," "Prize peace," "Comply with the law" and "Abstain from vice."¹⁰⁹ The primer is concluded with three pages of didactic poems containing no reference to the author, a recommendation to read an excerpt of the *Ars amatoria* by Ovid, referred to as *De cultis corporis* but which is not included, a recommendation to read an excerpt from Plautus' comedy *Mostellaria*, not included either, and finally a dinner blessing by Melanchthon, of which only the first stanza is included.

What becomes evident when reviewing the contents of Melanchthon's primer is the amount of religious material that is included. Although Erasmus never wrote a primer, his discussions of early education and the texts that he published to promote his

¹⁰⁶ Melanchthon, *Elementa*, CR 20: 404.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 404-408.

¹⁰⁸ Thomson and Perraud, eds., "Disticha Catonis," *Ten Latin Schooltexts*, 58-85.

¹⁰⁹ Melanchthon, *Elementa*, CR 20: 407-408.

program, while full of moralizing material, did not contain significant religious recommendations. Even though Erasmus's ultimate goal was the development of a personal *philosophia Christi* by way of the acquisition of *docta pietas*, serious religious studies were generally left until later when Erasmus believed the child would be better prepared to understand higher studies. On the other hand, Erasmus would not have had any problems with teaching children such things as the *Our Father*, the *Ave Maria*, the Apostles' Creed and simple prayers for a variety of occasions. At the conclusion to his essay *De virtute*, Erasmus even included a couple of short prayers for the young Adolph of Veere to read and learn.¹¹⁰ He claimed it would aid the boy in his Latin style while simultaneously giving him the opportunity to ponder Christ. Early education for Erasmus was intended to focus on language, on "words;" greater focus on religious "things" would have to wait until the child was much more comfortable with the language.¹¹¹ Erasmus's program therefore focused on classical authorities and precepts whereas almost half of Melanchthon's primer is excerpts from the New Testament. These include the whole of the Sermon on the Mount, including the *Pater noster*, an excerpt from Romans which discusses one's duty to always obey the law and authorities as if they were speaking for God and John's description of the Christ's last night of freedom. These excerpts, while well-chosen, are still rather complex. As in the *Pater noster* and the *Ave Maria*, Melanchthon knew better than to think the children, at this stage in their education, would

¹¹⁰ Erasmus, *De virtute*, CWE 29: 3-13.

¹¹¹ Erasmus wrote an excellent work on his method of studying the Scriptures, published along with his Greek New Testament in 1516: *Ratio seu Methodus compendio perveniendi ad veram theologiam*, LB V, VI.

Sources begin by actually reading such prayers and excerpts. The jump from learning the ABCs to the *Pater noster* and then on to lengthy excerpts from the New Testament makes it rather evident that Melanchthon was not expecting pupils to initially read this material so much as they were to memorize it. Reading was taught in the process, but reading came with drills, daily practice and memorization. The schoolteacher was instructed to read and reread the primer, time and time again until the children had memorized all of it. Only after memorizing the primer and two other elementary texts were the *Abecedarios* allowed to graduate to the second division.

Melanchthon instructs city councils and, through them, teachers on the specifics of his pedagogical program in his *Instructions* of 1538, which include Melanchthon's clearest outline of the organization of the schools he intends to reform.¹¹² It is in this practical way that Melanchthon's work differed from that of Erasmus. One can discern a three-part division in Erasmus's educational program in his *De ratione studii*, but primary school divisions were not topics to which he devoted time. Melanchthon, on the other hand, created a model that he hoped would be utilized far and wide. He spoke directly to such matters as school organization and religious instruction, and he was more modest, both in his list of required readings and the fact that Greek was not studied as intensively as Latin.

Where Melanchthon's primer differs most from the recommendations of Erasmus is the early religious focus of the work. We can be relatively sure that there would be religious and moral instruction given by a school teacher or tutor attempting to follow

¹¹² Martin Luther, *Unterricht*, LW 40: 263-320. Cf. WA 26: 195-240.

Erasmus's recommendations, but it would not be very likely that such pupils would be reading directly from the Scripture at such a tender age. Melancthon's primer, however, is saturated with it. At the same time, however, it is equally interesting to note that every classical precept, about 25 percent of Melancthon's primer, had been taken from earlier work edited by Erasmus.

The Instructions as a Pedagogical Model

The most important source of information for achieving a broad understanding of Melancthon's pedagogical objectives is his Visitation *Instructions* of 1538. First published in 1528, the *Instructions* are a prototype to the Augsburg Confession and the Lutheran Catechisms.¹¹³ The pedagogical recommendations, however, were not appended to the *Instructions* until 1538, one of the years during which Leonard Stöckel was living in and teaching out of Melancthon's own home.¹¹⁴ The *Instructions* touch upon each of the major issues at stake in Luther's struggles with the Catholic Church hierarchy and, in doing so, are an early outline of Lutheran beliefs.

In introducing the *Instructions* Melancthon explains their origins and intentions. First, the author turns to the Scriptures and points to numerous instances in both the Old and the New Testaments which "give sufficient evidence of what a divinely wholesome thing it would be if pastors and Christian congregations might be *visited* by

¹¹³ Heiko A. Oberman, *The Reformation: Roots and Ramifications*, Andrew Colin Gow trans. (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B.Eerdmans, 1994). Chapter 7, "From Protest to Confession: The Confessio Augustana as a Critical Test of True Ecumenism" discusses the conciliatory nature of Melancthon's Augsburg Confession. See also *Confessio Augustana II. Bekenntnisschriften der Lutherischen Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956).

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 274, n. 9.

understanding and competent persons.”¹¹⁵ In the following two pages Melanchthon describes the early Christian practice of visitations and argued that it was only later that wealth, and corruption, show and pomp came to get in the way of most Church leaders’ true duties. Therefore, instead of tending to their obligations themselves, they sent out vicars and provosts and deans to do their jobs for them. Eventually, not even those substitutes tended to the matter of visitations, and Christendom continued to fall further and further into the darkness of religious corruption. Ultimately the corruption infected every nook and cranny of Christendom.

Melanchthon then turns to the present day and glories in God’s grace that this generation should be alive at a time when the “Gospel... has again come down to us.”¹¹⁶ Melanchthon continues by noting that, although conditions were as bad as they were when Luther stepped onto the scene, no one immediately called for a return to the early Christian tradition of church visitations. Even though many had felt “the pressing need,” Melanchthon explains, “since none of us felt a call or definite command to do this, and St. Peter has not countenanced the creation of anything in the church unless we have the conviction that it is the will of God, no one had dared to undertake it.”¹¹⁷ In concluding his introduction, Melanchthon stresses that the Elector, as the secular leader who has the authority to call for visitations, is not required to do so but has taken this burden upon himself for the welfare and salvation of his people.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 269 (the italics are mine).

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 271.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

While His Electoral grace is not obligated to teach and to rule in spiritual affairs, he is obligated as temporal sovereign to so order things that strife, rioting, and rebellion do not arise among his subjects; even as the Emperor Constantine summoned the bishops to Nicaea since he did not want to tolerate the dissension which Arius had stirred up among the Christians in the empire, and constrained them to preserve unity in teaching and faith.¹¹⁸

The *Instructions* touch upon a wide variety of doctrinal issues, including “Marriage,” the two Lutheran sacraments of “Baptism” and “Communion,” as well as “True Christian Penance,” “True Christian Confession” and the question of “Free Will.” The Final section of the *Instructions* comes under the following heading: “Schools – the First, Second and Third Divisions.” Even though this is the section most important for our purposes, other parts of the *Instructions* can nevertheless also aid us in better understanding Melancthon’s attitudes toward children and education. For example, in the section on “True Christian Prayer,” while discussing the fourth commandment on honoring one’s parents, Melancthon stresses that “we need to teach parents their responsibility to instill in their children the fear of God.”¹¹⁹ From this Melancthon goes on to point out that “reverence for old age” in general is contained in this one commandment, as is honoring the office of the priesthood and obeying the government. He emphasizes one’s duties toward government and notes that Paul in Romans had also emphasized the need for such political deference. Melancthon explains that one obeys government not only by paying one’s taxes, although paying taxes is one of the obligations that a subject owes to

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 273.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 281.

government, but also by respecting government and finally giving government its rightful

honor:

God requires of us a much higher service toward the government, namely, honor. This means, first, that we recognize that government is from God and that through it he gives us much greater benefits. For if God did not maintain government and justice in the world, the devil, who is a murderer, would everywhere bring about murder, so that none of us could be sure of life, wife, or children.¹²⁰

One of the primary goals of education is laid out in the Introduction to the section on Schools.

The preachers are to exhort the people to send their children to school so that persons are educated for competent service both in church and state. For some suppose it is sufficient if the preacher can read German, but this is a dangerous delusion. For whoever would teach another must have long practice and special ability which are achieved only after long study from youth on.¹²¹

Melanchthon begins his recommendations with three basic rules. First, teachers are asked to teach their pupils Latin only, not in combination with Greek or Hebrew.¹²² He calls it worse than useless, even injurious when the teacher devotes more time to displaying his skills than teaching the children. Second, Melanchthon stresses that children should never be overburdened with too many books.¹²³ He even goes so far as

¹²⁰ Ibid., 283.

¹²¹ Ibid., 314.

¹²² Ibid., 315.

¹²³ Ibid.

to say that one should “avoid multiplicity in every way possible.” Finally, Melanchthon recommended that the pupils be divided into three groups.¹²⁴

The first division are the *Abecedarios* mentioned above. Once these pupils have memorized the primer, Melanchthon recommends that they turn to the grammar of Donatus and the *Disticha Catonis*, that elementary Latin collection containing short moral precepts which Erasmus had edited and re-issued. Both Donatus and the *Disticha* were medieval Latin texts for beginners which remained popular into the Reformation period.¹²⁵ Melanchthon explains how the schoolteacher should teach these grammar books. “The schoolmaster is to expound one or two verses at a time, and the children are to repeat these at a later time, so that they thereby build a vocabulary of Latin words and get a supply of words for speaking.”¹²⁶ Other recommendations that he makes for the *Abecedarios* included reading through Donatus and the *Disticha* not once but at least twice, while also focusing on the pupils’ handwriting skills and giving the boys their first lessons in music and singing.¹²⁷

The second division takes the longest and includes most of the pupils. Children move relatively quickly from the first to the second division, but only the most talented, those planning to attend university, are expected to continue on to the third division. Melanchthon describes the second division as those pupils who have learned to read and must now learn their grammar. He recommends the pupils study the Latin grammar

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling*, 197.

¹²⁶ Luther, *Unterricht*, 316.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 316.

called *Paedagogia* by Peter Mosellanus (1493-1524), the professor of Greek at Leipzig whom Luther and Spalatin had recommended for the position in Wittenberg that Melanchthon ultimately filled. Other works that Melanchthon recommends for the pupils in the second division are Aesop's Fables, also a favorite of Erasmus, selections from Erasmus's *Colloquies*, Terence and Plautus.¹²⁸ Melanchthon touched upon some matters of organization here and there in his recommendations for the second and third divisions. For instance, the first hour after lunch every day he reserves for music and singing practice.¹²⁹ Mornings were to be devoted solely to grammar study. During these hours the teacher should focus on syntax, the rules of speech and construing sentences. As the pupils mature, the teacher should devote more attention to etymology, syntax and prosody. Melanchthon is clear that the pupils are to be drilled regularly on the rules of grammar, both orally and in writing, and he explains why he believes it to be of such great importance.

When this is finished, the teacher should start over again from the beginning, giving the children a good training in grammar. For if this is not done all learning is lost labor and fruitless. The children are to recite these grammatical rules from memory, so that they are compelled and driven to learn grammar well. Where the schoolmaster shuns this kind of work, as is often the case, he should be dismissed and another teacher found for the children, who will take on this work of holding the children to grammar. For no greater harm can be done to all the arts than where the children are not well trained in grammar.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Ibid., 317.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 316.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 318.

As noted, only the best pupils of the second division were invited to join the third division. This group joined the others for music and grammar exercises in the mornings, but they also studied other texts, including Virgil, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Cicero's *De officiis*.¹³¹ Melanchthon recommended turning to the study of dialectic and rhetoric only when the teacher has decided that the pupils in the third divisions had sufficiently memorized the rules of grammar. However, nothing more is said about those studies in the *Instructions*.¹³² On the other hand, Melanchthon put together textbooks on both of those arts. In the conclusion to the *Instructions*, Melanchthon makes two final remarks. He recommends that the pupils in the second and third division be required to turn in samples of their writing every week to be corrected by the schoolmaster. Finally, Melanchthon recommends that all affairs related to the school be handled only in Latin. The pupils should speak only Latin to one another and the schoolmaster should always do the same.

Religious Instruction

While the above comprises Melanchthon's recommendations regarding education at the Latin school level, one section of his *Instructions* turns to religious instruction in school.¹³³ Melanchthon recommends setting aside one day per week, "for instance Saturday or Wednesday" for the express purpose of religious studies.¹³⁴ He notes that

¹³¹ Ibid., 319.

¹³² Ibid., 320.

¹³³ Ibid., 318-319.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

some teachers focus only on religious studies while others are teach nothing from the Holy Scriptures. “We should yield to neither of these practices.”¹³⁵

It is essential that the children learn the beginning of a Christian and blessed life. But there are many reasons why also other books besides Scripture should be given the children from which they may learn to speak.¹³⁶

On days reserved for religious instruction, the pupils should be regularly required to demonstrate their knowledge of the *Pater noster*, the Creed and the Ten Commandments. The schoolteacher is expected to repeatedly discuss each of these Christian fundamentals, expounding one this week, another the next.

In one period the schoolmaster should explain simply and correctly the meaning of the Lord’s Prayer, at another time, the Creed, at another, the Ten Commandments. He should emphasize what is necessary for living a good life, namely, the fear of God, faith, good works. He should not touch upon points of dissension. He should not accustom the children to lampoon monks or others, as many incompetent teachers do.¹³⁷

On occasion, the teacher should have the pupils memorize Psalms and other Bible verses, particularly those “that contain in themselves a summary of the Christian life and speak about the fear of God, faith and good works.”¹³⁸ The Gospel of St. Matthew was also an object of study. Melanchthon asks that the schoolteacher expound Matthew from

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

beginning to end and when he has completed it, he should do it again. Older pupils may also be allowed to study Paul's letter to Timothy, the first letter of John or the Proverbs.

In examining Melanchthon's tripartite pre-university pedagogical program as outlined in the Lutheran visitation *Instructions*, there are some general conclusions which we may draw from it. Children should not be overburdened with too much material to learn but they are expected to learn fully and completely the material that is presented. The pupils should not study Greek alongside Latin. There is *no* mention of Greek studies at all in the *Instructions*. All of the recommended readings were related to Latin grammar, and there is little discussion of activities that are not connected with the goal of thoroughly learning Latin, especially on a grammatical level.

While the many trivial schools that followed this model emphasized Latin grammar and religious instruction, only the best pupils could expect to move on to study the other two arts of the Trivium: dialectic and rhetoric. The teaching method for the acquisition of Latin is based on memorization, practice and grammatical analysis. As with Erasmus, Melanchthon stressed the early usefulness of imitation in language study. Melanchthon stressed that the pupils should not be given too much religious material to learn at any one time, nor should they ever study doctrinal questions that are current issues of dissension. He actually discourages even reading the more complex biblical texts which could overburden the children.

This is undoubtedly a humanist pedagogical program. The readings are clearly of humanist interest and the stress on grammar was the basis of humanist pedagogical goals. Melanchthon's reasoning behind the great emphasis on grammar is of humanist origin

and is echoed in the writings of Erasmus, Valla and many others. Quite simply, as with other humanists, Melanchthon believed that pupils in the past were forced into higher studies, including dialectic and rhetoric, before they were prepared for these studies. Such pupils began focusing on the study of things before they had been properly prepared by a more thorough study of words. In that regard, they were not yet prepared primarily because they had not yet thoroughly learned their grammar before being pushed on to the study of higher matters. The result is that the children never learn their grammar; their understanding is therefore retarded and the remainder of their academic careers is filled with misunderstanding and barbarous language. Ultimately, the end result is religious corruption.

Melanchthon's program differs from that of Erasmus only in that it was more practical and contained a higher degree of religious instruction.. Whereas Erasmus was presenting a program given the best of all possibilities, more in the spirit of Quintilian, Melanchthon was promoting a practical program in the spirit of Quintilian and Erasmus that involved schools in cities throughout Lutheran parts of Germany. Melanchthon directs his recommendations to city councils and nobles who are responsible for ensuring that the children within their territories are properly educated and indoctrinated. Erasmus typically directed his recommendations to parents, wealthy and noble parents.

The belief that children were given too much grammar to study and then rushed on to other subjects before they were prepared is a topic that Melanchthon turns to again and again during his years at Wittenberg. In his *De formando studio* of 1531, he begins with the following statement:

If I may take my beginning from here, you know that there is a close relationship between the arts. Therefore, even if some of them appear to excel and to be preeminent in life, they nevertheless stand in need of the resources of the others. For this reason those act foolishly, who – be it spurred by ambition or by the hope for gain – rush on to the higher arts, the fruits of which are constantly visible even to the inexperienced, and neglect and scorn the remaining disciplines as though useless for life.¹³⁹

In this oration alone, Melanchthon outlines his theory that the corruption found in the contemporary Catholic Church is based in the loss of Latin language skills over the centuries. He argues that this is due, in part, to failures in contemporary education, especially when grammar is studied too rapidly and the pupil is forced to move on to other subjects before Latin grammar has really been learned.

The knowledge of these was once taught to all alike, before they were admitted to the higher disciplines, not only because this makes for very good education, but also because it sharpens the judgment and prepares one for the acquisition of greater things. However, now it is sufficient to take a large felt cap to these venerable disciplines, and to show great contempt for all humanities' teaching¹⁴⁰

Melanchthon also describes what he believes to be the primary goals of all education:

And you ought to keep in view the purpose of your studies, and decide that they are provided for giving of advice for the state, for teaching in the churches and for upholding the doctrine of religion. You will not be able to excel in any of those without perfect doctrine, and perfect doctrine is not granted to anyone without the lower disciplines.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Philipp Melanchthon, "De formando studio (On the Order of Study) (1531), in *Orationes on Philosophy and Education*, Sachiko Kusakawa ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 3; CR 11: 209-214.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 6; CR 11: 209-214.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

In his oration on the *Role of the Schools*, given in 1543, Melanchthon again stresses the importance of a liberal education for society and state: “Let us lay this before ourselves and before others, in order to impress on ourselves as well as others that the schools are necessary for the conservation of piety, religion, civil order and also for the administration of the state.”¹⁴² The schools are of such great importance because it is in them that the next generation of leaders will study languages and the liberal arts in such a way that they will be properly prepared to fulfill their roles as leaders of church and state, as preachers and teachers, secretaries and magistrates. The critical importance of language study for the art of theology is hardly even discussed in this speech because Melanchthon does not feel it is necessary to. “I desist from discussing this matter at greater length, as Erasmus demonstrates in his well-grounded volumes that the knowledge of languages is necessary for the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.”¹⁴³

Melanchthon as a Source

When one considers the vast body of Philipp Melanchthon’s literary production, it is evident that Melanchthon, like Erasmus, was a source. Upstream was Quintilian and Cicero, Reuchlin and Erasmus; downstream was the next generation of leaders in the Lutheran parts of the Empire and beyond.

¹⁴² Philipp Melanchthon, “On the role of the Schools,” in *Orations on Philosophy and Education*, Sachiko Kusukawa ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 20. For more on the strong moral element to be found in Melanchthon’s pedagogical model, see Günter R. Schmidt, “Melanchthon als Moral Pädagoge” *Melanchthon, Zehn Vorträge*, Hanns Christoff Brennecke and Walter Sparn eds. (Erlangen: Universitätsbund Erlangen-Nürnberg e. V., 1998), 55-73.

¹⁴³ Philipp Melanchthon, “*De studio linguarum* (On the Study of Languages),” in *Orations on Philosophy and Education*, Sachiko Kusukawa ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 31; CR 11: 231.

Melanchthon was himself a product of northern humanist educational techniques. He and Luther were fully aware of the literary movement which called for a return to the sources, and Melanchthon was not averse to using such metaphorical language in his own writing. One example appears in his Preface to another author's translation of Homer.

It was rightly said by Fabius [Quintilian, *Education of the Orator* X.I.46] just as the courses of all streams and springs take their origin from the ocean, Homer had given a model and origin to all parts of eloquence. For he did not collect rainwater, as Pindar says, but he rushes forth in a living river created by the gift of divine providence so that he might thereby test all his strength by eloquence.¹⁴⁴

In associating some praise that Cicero once bestowed on the work of Euripides with the poetry of Homer, Melanchthon continues with the water metaphor.

And it seems that what Cicero said of Euripides – that he believed his individual verses to be separate testimonies – can be said much more truly of Homer, since Euripides and the other poets gush forth from Homer like rivulets from a never-failing source.¹⁴⁵

Even if a little clichéd, Philipp Melanchthon, like Erasmus of Rotterdam, developed into a literary source during his years working in Wittenberg. The size of his own body of work, the size of the secondary literature on his life and career, the role that he played in forming the Lutheran movement, especially with regard to pedagogical reform, these things are reason enough to regard him as a source for the intellectual revolution that swept northern Europe in the early sixteenth century and the religious

¹⁴⁴ Philipp Melanchthon, "Preface to Homer," (1538), in *Orations on Philosophy and Education*, Sachiko Kusukawa ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 47; CR 11: 397-413.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 43; CR 11: 397-413.

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revolt that followed in its wake. He was such an important source and so highly respected during his own lifetime, that he came to be called the *Praeceptor Germaniae*. R.J. Schoeck has quite correctly extended the point by arguing that, “if Melanchthon can be rightly called the *Praeceptor Germaniae*, Erasmus can be called the teacher of Melanchthon.”¹⁴⁶

Melanchthon’s influence on Leonard Stöckel was more than pedagogical. Not only did they develop a lifelong friendship, but it also appears that it was Melanchthon who encouraged Stöckel to become a teacher rather than a minister. With regard to religious influence, Stöckel’s only published theological study was a series of notes on Philipp Melanchthon’s *Loci communes*. Both works will be discussed more fully below in an examination of Stöckel’s work.

¹⁴⁶ Schoeck, *Erasmus of Europe*, 274.

Chapter 2

Leonard Stöckel and Leonard Cox: Developing Learned Piety

Introduction

Born in 1510 in the city of Bartfeld, Leonard Stöckel provides in his life and work examples of the means by which Lutheran thought, in combination with northern humanism, became highly influential in Upper Hungary during the sixteenth century. Although he was not a spectacular thinker and publisher on the scale of Erasmus of Rotterdam or Philipp Melanchthon, nor a prolific publisher during his own period of travel and study comparable to his one-time teacher Leonard Cox, Stöckel's significance as a humanist pedagogical and religious innovator in his homeland is unmatched during this era. In addition to an examination of Stöckel's education, at home and abroad, this chapter is also devoted to the influential role Leonard Cox played in the promotion of Erasmian humanism in Upper Hungary and the region during the years leading up to the disaster at Mohacs in 1526. As Stöckel's grammar school teacher for several years, the role that Cox played in Stöckel's academic development cannot be overestimated. Finally, with the understanding that most students of northern humanism and the Reformation are hardly conversant in the rather unusual circumstances surrounding the Kingdom of Hungary during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the more salient points of Hungarian history during this era are also explored.

Sources on Stöckel

The facts pertaining to Leonard Stöckel's life are somewhat limited, especially in comparison to the information available on Erasmus, Melanchthon and Martin Luther. Biographical information on Stöckel is derived from two sources. The first source would be Stöckel's own body of writings, including his letters.¹ Unlike Erasmus of Rotterdam and Philipp Melanchthon, there is no reason to believe that Stöckel ever intended any of his letters to be published. They are, in fact, somewhat mundane, not giving great insight into either his life or his thought, although adding to the picture a little here and there.

Outside of Stöckel's own body of work, the second primary source of information is an oration on Stöckel's life, presented by Christian Schesaeus (1534-1585) at Wittenberg in 1563, three years after Stöckel's death.² Schesaeus, from Medgyes in Transylvania, studied in a Calvinist-oriented school before being forced to flee at the onset of a plague. He arrived in Bartfeld, where he then studied for a time under Leonard Stöckel.³ Following Bartfeld, Schesaeus matriculated at Wittenberg in 1555. Returning to Transylvania by 1558, Schesaeus was a pastor in Transylvania for much of the rest of his life, but he also devoted much time to writing humanist poetry and essays. His oration, in

¹ Leonard Stöckel, "Epistulae Leonardi Stöckel," Daniel Škoviera, ed., *Graecolatina et Orientalia, Zbornik Filozofickej Fakulty Univerzity Komenskeho*, Bratislava, VII-VIII: 1975-1976, 265-358. Daniel Škoviera published two more of Stöckel's letters in "Epistularum Leonhardi Stöckel supplementum duplex," *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 43 (1994), 295-303. For general biographical information on Leonard Stöckel in English, see Hans Hillerbrand, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 113.

² Christianus Schesaeus, "Oratio describens historiam vitae praecipuam clarissimi viri Leonharti Stöckelii, Rectoris Scholae Bartphensis, Fidelissimi, qui obiit die vii. iunii," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, Franciscus Csonka, ed., (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979). 84-93. There is also a good biography on the life and work of Schesaeus, 11-17. M. Stephanus Xylander, a Superintendent of the Lutherans in Zips and Sarosch counties during the early seventeenth century, wrote a brief *Vita* on the life of Leonard Stöckel. It can be found in Appendix B.

³ Schesaeus, 11.

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the form of a rhetorical panegyric, contains much useful information on the life and work of Leonard Stöckel. Almost all other information on Stöckel's life is based on these two sources.⁴ The only exceptions are a couple of third person references about Stöckel. For instance, the Bartfeld city council wrote Luther on one occasion, discussed below, in which Stöckel was briefly mentioned.⁵ On those occasions Stöckel was only one topic in letters focused on another topic which were, in any case, rather short. Other than confirming the outline found in Schesaeus, then, they give limited insight into this man's life.

Stöckel's Early Education

Daniel Škoviera, editor of Stöckel's letters and author of a Latin biography of Stöckel which is derived both from those letters and Schesaeus's oration, as well as other sources related to Bartfeld and the region, notes that the name Stöckel (and the multiple variations thereof) is found in city records dating back to 1434.⁶ Leonard's father, of the same name, was a smith, city councilman and occasional magistrate.⁷ That his mother

⁴ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 266; most older treatises on Bardejov, humanism, Lutheran Reform, in regard to the work of Leonard Stöckel, looked to the eighteenth-century tracts of Johann Samuel Klein, *Nachrichten von den Lebenstümständen und Schriften Evangelischer Prediger in allen Gemeinden des Königreichs Ungarn* (Leipzig: Diepold und Lindauer, 1789) and Ioannes Ribini, *Memorabilia Augustanae confessionis in Regno Hungariae a Ferdinando I usque ad III* (Posonii: 1787). Both Klein and Ribini, however, depend on Schesaeus; for more on the background of the Stöckel family name in Bartfeld, see Jozef Petrovic, "Prispevok ke genealógii Bardejovského rodu Stöckel," in *Prvé augsburké vyznanie viery na Slovensku a Bardejov [The First Augsburg Confession of Faith in Slovakia and Bardejov]*, Peter Kónya ed. (Prešov: Biskupský úrad Východného dištriktu Evangjelickej cirkvi a. v. na Slovensku, 2000), 69-74.

⁵ Eugen Abel, ed. "Unedierte Briefe von Luther, Melanchthon und Leonard Stöckel," *Ungarische Revue*, 7 (1887), ep. III, 716; nr 3321 in WA Br 8: 406.

⁶ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 266.

⁷ Maria Novacká, "Humanistický rector bardejovskej školy Leonard Stöckel," *Od Kráľovstva ducha ku kráľovstvu človeka* (Bratislava: Tatran 1986), 65.

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was named Dorothea is all that we know about her.⁸ Leonard had a younger brother named Peter, but he probably had other siblings who are not mentioned in any of Stöckel's published letters and are not found in city records. There is the mention of a Ioannis Stöckel in city records, living in what had been the elder Leonard's home in 1532 and following years.⁹ He is thought to be Leonard's uncle, his father's brother, who probably acquired rights to the house when Leonard's father died.

Stöckel began his education at the age of seven in 1517 or 1518 when the Bartfeld city Latin school was in the hands of the humanist Valentine Eck.¹⁰ Stöckel studied at this school for four years before going to live in Kaschau, one of the more important Upper Hungarian royal free cities, to further his studies at Leonard Cox's Latin school.

The Life and Work of Leonard Cox

Leonard Cox is important to our study for two reasons. First, he lived and taught for a number of years in central Europe. A self-declared enthusiast for Erasmus, Cox is one of many transmitters of northern Renaissance humanism to that part of Europe. Secondly, Leonard Cox is an important figure in his own right; he is a classic example of the itinerant humanist poet who left his homeland to study, teach and travel for a number of years. Once he did return home, he made a career as a schoolteacher and occasional author.

⁸ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 266.

⁹ Ibid., 267.

¹⁰ Schesaeus, 86, "Puer literas ibidem diligenter didicit, usus praeceptore Valentino Eckio Bavaro, viro omnium literarum atque virtutum politissimo..."

Not much is known about the life of Leonard Cox.¹¹ Although the exact date of his birth is unknown, the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that Leonard Cox was born in “Thame, Oxfordshire, during the last years of the fifteenth century, the son of Laurence Coxe of Monmouth and Elizabeth Willey.”¹² There are also questions about Cox's education, specifically when and where he obtained it. Andrew Breeze and Jacqueline Glomski, editors of the modern edition of Cox's *De erudienda iuventute (On the Education of Youth)*, have noted that Cox is believed to have studied in Paris in 1513 and 1514.¹³ He also studied in Tübingen during the same period that Melanchthon was studying and teaching in that city.¹⁴ Other than knowledge of stays in Paris and Tübingen, we know nothing of his activities until his arrival in Poland in the fall of 1518.¹⁵ In December of 1518, he gave an oration (*De laudibus celeberrimae Cracoviensis Academiae*) to the Cracow university faculty. He was also listed in the Cracow university

¹¹ For a discussion of biographical questions pertaining to Leonard Cox, see Henryk Zins, “Leonard Coxe and the Erasmian circles in Poland,” *Annales Universitatis Mariae-Curie Sklodowska*, F xxviii (1973), 153-180, and Andrew Breeze, “Leonard Cox, A Welsh Humanist in Poland and Hungary” *The National Library of Wales Journal (Cylchgrawn llyfrgell genedlaethol cymru)* XXV:4 (Winter, 1988): 399-410. See also Frank Golczewski, “Leonard Cox” in *CEBR* 1: 353

¹² Zins, 155, n.1; cf. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee eds. “Leonard Cox,” *The Dictionary of National Biography, Founded in 1882 by George Smith* (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1937-1939), 1336.

¹³ Andrew Breeze and Jacqueline Glomski, “An Early British Treatise Upon Education: Leonard Cox's *De Erudienda Iuventute* (1526).” *Humanistica Lovaniensia, The Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*. XV (Leuven, 1991), 112.

¹⁴ Karl Schwarz, “Praeceptor Hungariae: Über den Melanchthonschüler Leonhard Stöckel (1510-1560)” in *Prvé augsburké vyznanie viery na Slovensku a Bardejov [The First Augsburg Confession of Faith in Slovakia and Bardejov]*, ed. Peter Kónya (Prešov: Biskupský úrad Východného dištriktu Evanjelickej cirvi a. v. na Slovensky, 2000), 50, “Von Cox wissen wir nicht nur, ... daß er in Tübingen studiert hatte, am 12. Juni 1514 wurde er dort immatrikuliert, zeitgleich also mit Philipp Melanchthon, der von 1512 bis 1518 in Tübingen studierte und lehrte.”

¹⁵ Breeze and Glomski, 112.

register in the fall of the same year as "*Leonardus Coxus, Anglicus poeta laureatus de Tama dioc. Linconiensis.*"¹⁶

Cox and Poland

Cox's activities in central Europe are better documented than either the period leading up to his stay in Cracow or the years following his departure from Poland and return to England. This is primarily the case because this coincides with the period when Cox was most prolific. Most of his work in Cracow was printed at the Wietor press. He worked and studied for two years in Cracow before connections made through a friend and patron led him to cross into Upper Hungary, where he was the schoolmaster in two Upper Hungarian cities, Leutschau and Kaschau, from 1520 to 1526.¹⁷ During at least a few months of that time, however, Cox was back in Cracow, where he lectured at the university.¹⁸ Having departed Upper Hungary after October of 1526, Cox remained in Cracow at least until some time in 1527, when he returned home to England.¹⁹ The timing of his departure from Upper Hungary has been associated with the Hungarian loss at Mohacs in 1526.²⁰ In 1530 Cox applied to Oxford for incorporation as an M.A. as well as a dispensation for being schoolmaster at Reading.²¹ He continued to work as the rector

¹⁶ Zins, 156.

¹⁷ Breeze and Glomski, 113.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Breeze, "Leonard Cox," 399-410. As can be seen from his bibliography, this was Cox's most prolific period.

²⁰ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 268.

²¹ Breeze and Glomski, 113.

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of the Latin school at Reading Abbey until the monasteries were shut down. It appears that he then taught at Caerleon, in Wales, before returning to Reading. While we do not know exactly how or when Leonard Cox died, we do know that an annuity which had been granted by Henry VIII in 1541 was discontinued in 1546.²² In addition, Reading Latin school was looking for a new teacher in 1547.²³

Early Humanism in Poland

There is a question as to why Cox chose the city of Cracow for such an extended stay away from home. While there are a couple of plausible answers, probably the most important point would be that Cox showed the traits of a wandering humanist scholar. Cracow was only one stop in several during a period of study and travel on the continent that lasted from 1513 to 1527. Other stops included Paris, Tübingen, Leutschau and Kaschau, with possible stays in Prague and Wittenberg.²⁴ His longest stay was during the period when he was a schoolteacher in Upper Hungary, but even that period was divided between two cities, which themselves were separated by a couple of days on horseback. On the other hand, Cox's most prolific period of publishing was during his stay in Cracow. He is credited with reinvigorating humanism in Cracow, which, by the time of Cox's arrival in 1518, had been feeling humanistic influences for over a generation.

Harold Segel, in his *Renaissance Culture in Poland*, points to two foreigners who were significant in increasing interest in humanism in Cracow during the late fifteenth

²² Golczewski, "Leonard Cox," CEBR 1, 353.

²³ Breeze and Glomski, 114. see also Breeze, "Leonard Cox," 402.

²⁴ Ibid., 112.

century.²⁵ The first is the Italian humanist Filippo Buonacorsi (1437-1496), who went by the name Callimachus. While studying in Rome in 1468, Callimachus had been implicated in a plot to kill Pope Paul II and was forced to flee the country. During a period of travel that took Callimachus through Greece to Istanbul and northward to Poland, all the while being pursued by papal officials trying to have him arrested and brought back to Rome, Callimachus finally found support by the Polish King Kasimir IV Jagiełło. He remained in the service of Kasimir and his son, devoting himself to diplomacy and Polish foreign policy, until his death in 1492.

In addition to the influence that Callimachus had upon the introduction of Italian humanism into the Polish court, the two-year period during which Conrad Celtis lived in Cracow caused a spike in interest, especially at the university and among the city magistrates. Celtis's primary interest was in the promotion of humanist culture, especially in the area of a return to the sources of classical antiquity. His activities in Cracow were tireless, lecturing to the students at their colleges (or bursae), and founding a humanist academic circle known as the *Sodalitas Litteraria Vistulana*, as he later did in Vienna, Budapest and elsewhere.²⁶ Conrad Celtis's stay in Cracow was, by all accounts, short; in 1491 he left as quickly as he had arrived just two years earlier. Celtis continued the life of an itinerant humanist poet while promoting the study of the classical authors and continually writing verse. Even though Celtis's Cracow humanist circle on the Vistula fell apart not long after his departure, the work of Callimachus and Celtis together was,

²⁵ Harold B. Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 15.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 88.

nevertheless, influential enough to begin an indigenous humanist movement that tended to stress Latin poetry as the finest means of expression. When, a generation later, Leonard Cox found himself in the Polish capital, the way had already been prepared for a second wave of humanist enthusiasm.

Cox and Erasmus

That Leonard Cox was an enthusiast of all things Erasmian can be discerned in several different ways. First, during his stay in Cracow, we know that he lectured not only on Quintilian and Livy but also on Erasmus's *De copia*, a text he also lectured on during his time in Kaschau.²⁷ Second, just before his return to England, Cox personally wrote Erasmus, calling him the "great humanist of Rotterdam," and praising him in no uncertain terms:

Each day again and again we mention Erasmus, Dear Erasmus, you often spend with us our mornings, with you we eat our dinner, with you we go for our after dinner walk, with you we sit down to our supper and also with you we spend our nights in the most pleasant way. Although such a great distance separates you from us, you are always amidst us and we never part from you...²⁸

Not only did Leonard Cox lecture on, and write a letter to, Erasmus, but many of the publications which Cox played a role in bringing to the press in Cracow were reprints of Erasmus's own treatises and of his critical editions of classical authors. Of the twenty-eight works attributed to Cox, either as author, editor or contributor, twenty-two of them

²⁷ Golzcewski, "Leonard Cox," CEBR 1: 353.

²⁸ Zins, 175, n. 104; P. S. Allen and H. M. Allen ed. *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1906-1958), 1803.

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were published in Cracow.²⁹ Eight of his Cracow publications were new editions of works already published by Erasmus. In these cases, the primary role played by Cox was the writing of a dedication to one of his patrons. Such reprints include several letters from Erasmus's critical edition of Jerome, Erasmus's *Paraphrasis* of Paul, as well as the second volume of Erasmus's *Paraphrases* of the New Testament, and the *Hyperaspistes*, Erasmus's response to Luther's *De servo arbitrio*. Cox was primarily capitalizing on the fact that press runs in the sixteenth century were rather small. Cox was publishing texts in Cracow that were unavailable but in demand by the academic community. His Cracow publications, the topics on which he chose to lecture in Cracow and Kaschau, the letter that he wrote to Erasmus, these things clearly identify Cox as a Christian humanist, heavily influenced by the work of Erasmus. His reprint of the *Hyperaspistes* informs us where Cox stood in 1527 along the Erasmus – Luther divide.

It is by way of Leonard Cox that enthusiasm for Erasmus in Cracow ultimately developed. He was the first to lecture on Erasmus at the university and, at least partially as a result of his efforts, Erasmus's influence in the region reached new heights during the 1520s. Segel believes that, "When the full range of Erasmian influence in Renaissance Poland is brought clearly into view, it seems incontrovertible that the Dutchman's impact on sixteenth-century Polish political and religious thought overshadowed that of any other contemporary Western thinker."³⁰ And as has been demonstrated, Cox was influential in the growth in popularity of Erasmus in this region.

²⁹ Breeze, "Leonard Cox," 399-410.

³⁰ Segel, 15.

Humanist Schoolmaster

Following his return to England, Cox became the schoolmaster of the Latin school attached to the monastery in Reading in 1530 and continued there, with the short interruption noted above, until his death, probably in 1547. Even following his return to England, there is ample evidence of Cox's continuing admiration for Erasmus and his reform program. In May of 1534 in a letter to a local printer, Cox indicated his desire to translate both religious and pedagogical tracts of Erasmus.

If his mastership think it meate to be prentid, I shall, if it so pleas him, either translate the work that Erasmus made of the manner of prayer or his paraphrase vppon the first and seconde epistle to Timothe or els such works as shall pleas his mastership... I am also translating a boke which Erasmus made of the bringing upp of children,...³¹

This last translation, most likely an allusion to Erasmus's *De ratione studii*, was never published. Nevertheless, Leonard Cox did write two treatises which are significant to this study. Both are pedagogical manuals of some significance in that the first, Cox's *The Arte or Crafte of Rhetoryke*, published in London in 1532, brought him lasting renown among students of the English Renaissance.³² This textbook on rhetoric also serves to demonstrate the intellectual connections between Cox and Philipp Melancthon. The second, *De erudienda iuventute*, is a manual on the education of youth in the liberal arts. On the one hand, it further illustrates the importance of Erasmus's work in Cox's life and career. On the other hand, this teacher's guide was printed only a year after Cox had

³¹ Leonard Cox, *On The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke* (London: Redman, c. 1530), reprint edited with Introduction, Notes and Glossarial Index by Frederic Ives Carpenter (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1899), 13.

³² Breeze and Glomski, 113.

Stöckel's Education left the Upper Hungarian city of Kaschau, the city where Cox had been the schoolmaster of Leonard Stöckel, whose ideas are the primary object of this study.³³ It should, therefore, give us some insight into the teaching methods experienced by Stöckel.

The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke

Published in 1530, a couple of years after his departure from central Europe, Cox's *On the Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke* has long been considered a significant text in the history of English literature and the English Renaissance because it is the earliest known text on the subject of rhetoric published in the English language.³⁴ This text is not at all an example of Leonard Cox's originality. If we were looking for originality, however, essays on the subject of rhetoric would not be the place to start. As William Harrison Woodward pointed out when discussing sources for Erasmus's *De copia*, "every humanist tract upon education or upon rhetoric is largely a reproduction of Quintilian: words, phrases, illustrations, criticisms, principles, are often merely copied from the Roman master."³⁵ Cox's *Rhetoric* is actually once removed from that of Quintilian, being an admitted copy of Melanchthon's *Institutiones rhetoricae*, a textbook printed in 1521, which is heavily dependent on the work of Quintilian. Even though Quintilian was the primary source for Melanchthon's *Institutes*, and Melanchthon's *Institutes* was the primary source for *On the Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke*, Cox's text also

³³ Kaschau is the German name of the city which is known today Košice in the Slovak Republic. The Hungarian equivalent is Kássa.

³⁴ Cox, *The Arte*, 7.

³⁵ William Harrison Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), reprint with a Foreword by Craig R. Thompson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964) 121.

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relied heavily on Cicero's treatises on oratory. F. I. Carpenter, author of the Introduction to the modern reprint of Cox's *Rhethoryke*, remarks that the last six pages of the work are copied directly from Cicero.³⁶ He continues, "It is a striking feature of Cox's work also, wherein he departs from Melanchthon, that at every opportunity he introduces and translates long extracts from Cicero's orations."³⁷ In introducing his notes to the text, Carpenter makes the following observation:

It will be seen [from the notes] that something over a third of Cox's text is directly translated from Melanchthon's *Institutiones Rhetoricae*; about a third more is either amplification of hints from Melanchthon or consists of direct translation from Cicero, from Melanchthon's *de Rhetorica*, or from other authors; while something less than a third seems to be of Cox's unaided composition. Cox, however, has treated his material very freely and seldom gives us a literal translation. After Melanchthon, Cicero is his chief authority. To him he refers more than thirty times in the course of his short treatise. Among other authors mentioned are Aristotle, Demosthenes, Erasmus, Hermogenes, Hermolaus Barbarus, Horace, Livy, Ovid, Plato, Politian, Sallust, Thucydides, Trapezuntius, and Virgil.³⁸

Although an important tract in the sense that it was the first such essay written in the English language, Cox's *Rhethoryke* is more important for our purposes because it so clearly places him in the mainstream of northern Christian humanism, led by the "Prince of Humanists" and the *Praeceptor Germaniae*. As a short manual on the art of rhetoric, the work is rather unbalanced. In introducing the subject, Cox points to the four elements of rhetoric: invention, judgment, disposition, and eloquence. The treatise, however,

³⁶ Cox, *The Arte*, 22, n. 1.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 103; the brackets are mine.

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covers only the subject of invention in any depth before turning to descriptions and examples of the three types of orations, the demonstrative, judicial and deliberative. While there is no real discussion of judgment, disposition or eloquence, Cox does note in his conclusion that if the work is found worthy, he would essay himself, "in the other partes and so make and accomplish the whole werke."³⁹ Unfortunately, this goal was left unfinished.

Cox, Humanism and the Court

Being an eloquent humanist poet enabled Cox to make some very good contacts during his stay in Cracow. One of these contacts was soon to make a meteoric rise to the top of Hungarian society. Johann Henckel (d. 1539) of the Upper Hungarian city of Leutschau studied in Vienna, in Italy and, quite likely, in Cracow.⁴⁰ He probably met Leonard Cox through the Thurzo clan, a powerful and wealthy Hungarian mining family whose family holdings were reaching their greatest extent during the years leading up to the disaster at Mohacs. The Thurzo family, which owned a townhouse in Cracow and vast estates and titles in Silesia and Upper Hungary, were patrons to several Hungarian humanists who became attached to the king's court. Henckel is one of them. After Cox had secured a position in Henckel's hometown of Leutschau, the two men became friends. When, two years later, Henckel became the priest for the larger Upper Hungarian city of Kaschau, Cox went with him, becoming the rector of the local Latin grammar

³⁹ Ibid., 87.

⁴⁰ L. Domonkos, "Johann Henckel," CEBR 2: 175-176. Leutschau, modern Levoča in the Slovak Republic (Lócse in Hungarian), was, like Bartfeld (Bardejov in Slovak; Bártfa in Hungarian) and Kashau (Košice; Kássa), one of the more important cities in this part of Hungary.

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school. During the next four years, Leonard Stöckel studied under Leonard Cox at the grammar school in Leutschau. In 1524, Henckel's close relations with the Thurzo family, in combination with his own talents, led to his becoming the court chaplain to Queen Mary, Habsburg wife of young Louis II of Hungary (1506-1526). Following the debacle at Mohacs Henckel continued in the service of Mary, becoming her personal confessor in 1528. Their relations only came to an end in 1531 when Mary was appointed regent of the Netherlands. Her brothers, the Emperor Charles V and Hungarian and Bohemian King Ferdinand, in the belief that Henckel was more than a Catholic follower of Erasmus but an outright Lutheran sympathizer, would not allow Mary to take Henckel along with her to her new post in the Netherlands. Henckel eventually retired to his canonry at the cathedral in Breslau in Silesia, a city closely connected to the Thurzo family, where he lived the remainder of his life, a devout Catholic and a Christian humanist in the spirit of Erasmus.⁴¹

Henckel's relations with Hungarian nobility, such as the Thurzo, and the royal family, especially the young Queen Mary, illustrate the important intellectual and social circles to which Cox became connected during his stay in central Europe. When Henckel arrived at the Hungarian court in the years just before Mohacs, a lively circle of humanists had already formed around the figures of Jan Antonin and Jacob Piso.⁴² Following study in Poland, Antonin left for Padua and took a degree in medicine. He then lived for a time in Basel and became rather close to Erasmus. Erasmus even claimed that

⁴¹ Ibid. Breslau is today the Polish city Wrocław.

⁴² Halina Kowalska, "Jan Antonin," CEBR 1: 63; Domonkos, "Jacobus Piso," CEBR 3: 94.

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no doctor had been as successful in relieving him of his pain from kidney stones. Antonin returned for a short time to Hungary but settled in Cracow in 1525. Soon after, Cox returned to Cracow and began the process of publishing a number of works. That Jan Antonin and Cox were acquaintances, if not friends, is best evidenced by the fact that some of Antonin's epigrams were included in Cox's first edition of *De erudienda iuventute*, printed by Wietor in Cracow in 1526. His epigrams were again included in Cox's edition of Erasmus's *Lingua*, also published in 1526.

De erudienda iuventute

Leonard Cox's *De erudienda iuventute* (*On the Education of Youth*) was printed during his stay in central Europe in 1527. This treatise was published soon after Cox had left Upper Hungary, where he had been the rector at the school attended by Leonard Stöckel. As such, it is very likely a model for the type of studies that Stöckel undertook during his years in Kaschau. Not only does Cox's treatise demonstrate the author's adherence to Erasmus's pedagogical goals, it also aids us in better understanding the academic and social contacts that the English humanist kept during his stay in central Europe.

Very much in the spirit of the humanist tradition, Cox produced a manual outlining his recommendations of the best methods of teaching the liberal arts to boys. *De erudienda iuventute* was written in the form of a letter to Piotr Tomicki, Bishop of Cracow and Vice-Chancellor of Poland (1464-1535). While the treatise does not have a dedication, writing a pedagogical manual in the form of a letter to Bishop Tomicki had

the same effect and was a technique that was rather popular among humanists.⁴³ As we have seen a number of Erasmus's own works were written in this style, including *De virtute* and *De civilitate*.⁴⁴

These essays, written to an individual or published with a dedicatory page, were not simple acts of kindness. Dedications were intended to thank patrons for the financial support that made writing and printing the work possible. It was a trade-off: the scholar received financial support without which his endeavors would be virtually impossible; the patron received good press. In addition, many nobles, city officials and religious prelates sincerely supported the work that humanists like Erasmus and Cox were doing. Some patrons, Bishop Tomicki for example, can be said to have been heavily influenced by humanism themselves. Dedications were also used as a means of developing a future source of income by dedicating a work to a wealthy noble or city official who had a reputation for generosity toward humanist scholars. By the time that Cox wrote this letter to Tomicki, the bishop had also become the chancellor of the university and was one of the most powerful persons in Poland.

At the same time, through the encouragement of Erasmus's friend and physician Jan Antonin, Erasmus also wrote a letter to Tomicki. The Bishop responded to Erasmus's

⁴³ Jacqueline Glomski, "Careerism at Cracow: The Dedicatory Letters of Rudolf Agricola Junior, Valentine Eck, and Leonard Cox (1510-1530)," *Self Presentation and Social Identification, The Rhetoric and Pragmatics of Letter Writing in Early Modern Times*, edited by Toon Van Houdt et alii, (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 2002), 170.

⁴⁴ Erasmus, *Oratio de virtute amplectenda*, CWE 29: 3-13; *De civilitate*, CWE 25: 273-289. *De virtute* is written to Adolph of Veere, son of his current patroness, and signed 1498. *De civilitate* is written many years later to Adolph's son, Henry of Burgundy. It is signed 1530.

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letter with one of his own, "accompanied by sixty Hungarian ducats."⁴⁵ Erasmus later dedicated an edition of Seneca to Tomicki. The two also developed a close relationship with one another. Tomicki's grandnephew, Andrzej Zebrzydowski, lived and studied with Erasmus for a time in Basel; and the two continued to write one another fairly regularly during the last years of their lives.⁴⁶

Cox's publication of *De erudienda iuventute* brought Cox to the attention of Tomicki, who then employed him to teach at his court school in Cracow. Cox then became the tutor to Tomicki's grandnephew Zebrzydowski, and it was the relation with this young man that prompted Cox to write his letter to Erasmus, quoted above. Zebrzydowski developed such an enthusiasm for classical studies in the style of Erasmus while studying with Cox that he became determined to visit Erasmus in Basel. It is even possible that Cox accompanied Zebrzydowski to Basel and then continued on to England. In a letter to Zebrzydowski's uncle, Andrzej Krzycki, Erasmus indicates that his nephew had arrived safely and has been hard at study ever since. He concludes the letter by noting, "So Leonard Coxe's pupil reached his desired aim and met Erasmus the admiration and love for whom he learned in Cracow from the English humanist."⁴⁷

In introducing the topic of *De erudienda iuventute*, Cox explains to the bishop that several of his noted colleagues at university had proposed that he write this essay. Cox points out that it is a dangerous duty, the subject having already been touched upon by so many. In addition to noting classical authors who have written on the subject,

⁴⁵ Maria Cytowska, "Piotr Tomicki," CEBR 3: 328.

⁴⁶ Halina Kowalska, "Andrzej Zebrzydowski," CEBR 3: 473.

⁴⁷ Zins, 179. EE 2030. See also Halina Kowalska, "Andrzej Krzycki," CEBR 2: 275.

including Quintilian, Plutarch and the church father Jerome, Cox notes modern authors who wrote on humanist educational methods. These included the important Italian pedagogical reformers Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370-1444), Guarino Guarini (1374-1460) and Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II) (1405-1464) and the northern humanists Rudolf Agricola (1444-1485) and Erasmus. In typical humanist fashion, Cox belittles his own abilities in the face of such eminent authors on the topic but promises to forge ahead as best he can. As has already been noted, Woodward, in his study of Erasmus and education, points out that virtually all humanist pedagogical tracts follow Quintilian's *Institutiones* rather closely.⁴⁸ Cox's *De erudienda iuventute* is no exception.

In their introduction to *De erudienda iuventute*, Breeze and Glomski point out the many similarities between Cox's manual and those of Erasmus. They also contend that there are important, if not great, differences between the works of these two authors as well. In *De erudienda iuventute* Cox, like Erasmus, urges an early start to a boy's education. In supporting his points, he turns to classical adages found in the work of Erasmus: "Just as soft wax takes anyone's seals; and what they learn, they do not forget overnight, as Horace points out: 'the jar retains for years the smell with which it was tinged when new.'"⁴⁹ Like Erasmus, Cox devotes much energy to the discussion of finding a good schoolteacher, particularly stressing the teacher's morals over and above his educational accomplishments. In addition he recommends the study of Latin and Greek simultaneously, arguing, as does Erasmus, that a young boy will acquire the two

⁴⁸ Woodward, 121.

⁴⁹ Cox, *De erudienda iuventute*, 129.

more readily than if he were to study only one or the other. Cox recommends language instruction based on active usage, only later to be coupled with the study of Lily's grammar, the text of which had been heavily edited by Erasmus. Using the very same language as Erasmus, Cox also stressed the importance of making learning fun for children and declared that it was the teacher's duty to help the pupils along until "they can swim without a cork float."⁵⁰

While it is clear that *De erudienda iuventute* is a humanist pedagogical tract in the tradition of Erasmus, there are a few important differences. Cox points to one such difference in the body of the text.

When different people follow different routes, provided they know what they are doing, they all bring their own pupils with equal advantage to the desired goal. What I am writing here is no more intended for such a teacher than the satires of Lucilius were for Gaius Persius; just as Lucilius wrote for Lelius Decimus, so my efforts are written to help the *average* teacher.⁵¹

Erasmus's work was intended for Europe's elite, going so far as to recommend the hiring of only the best of tutors whenever possible. Even if, up to a point, anyone would want this, Cox's work is, nevertheless, intended for the much more humble and average teacher. In his view, *De erudienda iuventute* is a more practical work based on his own experiences in the classroom. Breeze and Glomski, however, stretch the point when they argue that "Erasmus's treatise appears saturated with philological concerns, while Cox's

⁵⁰ Ibid., 157.

⁵¹ Ibid., 143; the italics are mine.

Stöckel's Education essay seems overwhelmed by moral considerations."⁵² As has been amply demonstrated, Erasmus's philological concerns are premised on the understanding that language study is prerequisite for proper understanding of the higher arts; language study itself, when done in the ways he recommends, is intended to develop *docta pietas*. This hardly differs from what Cox referred to as the primary goal in receiving an education: to learn the fear of God and is right in line with words found in the work of Melanchthon and Stöckel.⁵³

Nevertheless, Cox does appear to be more practical; for instance, he took the middle road on the issue of corporal punishment. Erasmus essentially divides the pool of pupils into two groups: the majority who are able to learn the liberal arts and benefit from them, and the few who are likened to cattle in the classroom. It would not matter how hard or often you beat those likened to cattle, they are cattle, and thus incapable of benefiting from this form of education and would be better off in the fields. Cox, on the other hand, after railing against teachers who keep less-than-able pupils in order to continue to receive the pay that they bring in, argues that there is also a middling group of pupils who are more than capable but could be a little rambunctious or need a little prodding. In such cases, he believes that corporal punishment may work to the benefit of the pupil. Nevertheless, Cox believes that the teacher is walking a fine line and stresses that the teacher must be careful never to strike out in anger. To make his point, Cox

⁵² Breeze and Glomski, 120.

⁵³ Cox, *De erudienda iuventute*, 135.

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quotes the following lines from Horace: "Things have a certain proportion. In short, there are definite limits; if you step beyond them on this side or that you can't be right."⁵⁴

Cox occasionally recommends an author not found in Erasmus's many recommendations. At the more advanced level, for instance, he recommended *De versificandi arte opusculum*, a textbook on poetry published in Cracow in 1515 by Valentine Eck, Stöckel's grammar school teacher in Bartfeld.⁵⁵ There are other works noticeably missing from Cox's recommendations. One of the most obvious would be Aesop's Fables, which had long been part of the medieval pedagogical curriculum and was favored by both Erasmus and Melanchthon

Other than a feeling that Cox's recommendations are more practical than those of Erasmus, tending to focus on real conditions in a classroom full of children, it is, nevertheless, in all of its details in line with the many humanist pedagogical tracts that had been written before it. As a humanist pedagogical tract which has as its stated goal Christian ends, the work is a perfect example of a northern Christian humanist treatise heavily influenced by the earlier work of Erasmus. No other authors' names appear as often in the essay as Quintilian and Erasmus. Beginning with an early stress on language skills, followed by more intensive study of grammar and completed with introductory work in the study of rhetoric, *De erudienda iuventute* gives us insight into the sort of education that Leonard Stöckel received during the years that he studied under the English humanist.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 133.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 161.

The life and work of Leonard Cox is an important, as well as intellectually profitable, link in our study. Although the influence of humanism had already been felt in Poland years before Leonard Cox began lecturing at the university in Cracow, it is certain that his arrival in 1518 stimulated humanist enthusiasm in that city, particularly the Christian humanism promoted by Erasmus. During his stay in central Europe, Cox lectured on Erasmus in both Poland and Hungary, published humanist treatises that were either Cracow reprints of Erasmus's works or "original" pieces that are so much in the spirit of Christian humanism that it is hard to believe that they are not direct copies of Erasmus's own pedagogical tracts.⁵⁶ If Segel's assertion that Erasmus of Rotterdam is the single most important western influence on the intellectual life of sixteenth-century Poland is valid, then the importance of the role played by this itinerant English humanist, poet and schoolteacher becomes more clear. And of course, during this period of enthusiasm for Erasmus, the young Leonard Stöckel was Cox's pupil for as many as four years. This early education appears to have been successful in preparing Stöckel for the higher studies he would later undertake in Wittenberg. His own career as a schoolteacher amply demonstrates the importance that he ascribed to this form of education.

Sources and Streams

The lives and the literary production of Erasmus of Rotterdam and Philipp Melancthon were extraordinary. Few men have ever produced as much for publication before or since. Their overriding importance in the areas of pedagogical and religious reform meant that they were well-known, and not just among their own circle of

⁵⁶ They are not direct copies. While his essays are peppered with phrases and adages that can be found in Erasmus's corpus, most of those phrases were not originally Erasmus's either.

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humanists but among the greater reading public. That Erasmus was called the “Prince of the Humanists” and that Melanchthon became known as the “Teacher of Germany” illustrates, if nothing else, the contemporary significance of these two sixteenth-century authors.

As noted above, Melanchthon, who was some thirty years Erasmus's junior, knew of and was influenced by the work of Erasmus during his school years. In addition, he was undoubtedly heavily influenced by other sources of humanist thought as well. This would include many of the same fifteenth-century Italian sources, as well as the many classical sources that both Erasmus and Melanchthon studied so eagerly. Even though Melanchthon became Martin Luther's greatest supporter and eventual successor, he always maintained much respect for Erasmus, as his oration on Erasmus's life vividly illustrates.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, his own studies of Greek and Latin and the classical literature associated with them developed Melanchthon's own sense of judgment and prudence. Philipp Melanchthon did not follow Erasmus's dictates slavishly when reorganizing the schools in Protestant Germany. Even though most of the recommendations that he made are quite in line with the pedagogical reform program outlined by Erasmus, they were also influenced by Melanchthon's own practical experience as a teacher, a professor and Lutheran Reformer. In addition, Melanchthon was heavily influenced by the same classical sources on whom Erasmus relied so heavily, namely Quintilian, Cicero and Plutarch, but also many others. The pedagogical goals and methods of Erasmus and Melanchthon were very much the same, and the literary work that they both produced in

⁵⁷ Philipp Melanchthon, *Orations of Philosophy and Education*, Sachiko Kusakawa, ed., Christine F. Salazar, trans. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 248; CR 11: 264.

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order to bring about changes in contemporary education was so extensive that they both became sources in their own right. In this way, they were extraordinary. Few literary figures ever achieve a comparable level of authority and respect. Many school regulations and curricula in northern Europe during the sixteenth century revolved around the recommendations and textbooks of these two figures.⁵⁸

Leonard Cox, on the other hand, although part of a growing group of devotees of all things Erasmian, never rose to that level of eloquence in Latin, nor did he produce a large enough body of original work. His importance for this study, however, is of a different nature and of considerable weight. In looking at the many means, the various streams, by way of which humanist thought flowed into the Kingdom of Hungary during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, it becomes evident that Leonard Cox was a significant transmitter of northern humanist ideology, especially with regard to pedagogical reform. As a traveling scholar/poet, Cox spent time teaching in Poland and in Upper Hungary. His influence upon the course of central European thought, and more specifically on the thought of Leonard Stöckel, is of greater significance than one might at first expect. Since the life and work of Leonard Stöckel are important to understanding the pedagogical reforms that were of lasting influence upon the history of Upper Hungary, the role the humanist poet Cox played in imparting these pedagogical ideals to Stöckel becomes important. That Stöckel was of central importance to the pedagogical and religious reform in Upper Hungary, that Stöckel's pedagogical program was in line

⁵⁸ Emil Sehling, *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, Erste Abtheilung: Sachsen und Thüringen, Nebst Angrenzenden Gebieten* (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1902) and A.L. Richter, *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols, (Nieuwkoop: B De Graaf, 1967; reprint Weimar: Landes-Industriecomtoir, 1846).

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with those of Erasmus and Melanchthon, and that these reforms, humanist and Lutheran, had a profound impact on the history of Upper Hungary are the major contentions of this study. If it can be successfully argued that the life and work of such figures as Erasmus and Melanchthon were of such central importance to the changes in pedagogical and religious activities north of the Alps during the sixteenth century that they may be referred to as sources, then one may likewise extend that metaphor by describing those people who worked to further, to apply, their programs as streams. The work of Leonard Cox, his stream of thought found both in his publications and in his teaching experience, especially during his years in central Europe, serves as an excellent example of one such conduit.

Stöckel and Cox in Kaschau

The information that we have about Stöckel's stay in Kaschau is rather limited. It is known that Stöckel studied under Cox in that city from 1522 until 1526.⁵⁹ We also know that Stöckel later followed Cox into grammar school education. In addition, Stöckel's own pedagogical program when he became a teacher in Bartfeld is identical in all its details to that described in Cox's *De erudienda iuventute*, with two exceptions: the appropriate time to begin Greek language studies; and Stöckel's stress on Lutheran indoctrination. Schesaeus, Stöckel's pupil and biographer, knew of Cox and refers to him as a man of sharp wit, distinguished by his wide-ranging knowledge but we have no word from Stöckel himself about his teacher.⁶⁰ Finally, we know that both Cox and Stöckel left

⁵⁹ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 268.

⁶⁰ Schesaeus, 86, "Hunc fuisse narrant virum acutissimi ingenii et multis scientiis insignitum, qui ad hoc fastigium summae dignitatis pervenit, ut cancellarius Anglicus et summus consiliarius regis..."

Kaschau and Upper Hungary in 1526, with Cox's departure taking place in October.⁶¹

Cox returned to Cracow and Stöckel soon left for Breslau to further his studies.⁶²

Škoviera indicates that Cox's departure was related to the defeat at Mohacs but we cannot say as much about Stöckel.⁶³ We do know that by the time Cox left Kaschau to return to Cracow, Leonard Stöckel not only had improved his Latin but also was well on his way with his Greek studies.⁶⁴ Even with the paucity of information we can nevertheless say with confidence that Leonard Cox's time in Upper Hungary is important in two respects. First he is clearly a conduit whose work alone brought a flood of northern humanist ideas into the region. Second, he had an important influence upon the young Leonard Stöckel, who, following in Cox's own footsteps, would become a schoolmaster, and a teacher of such stature that he came to be known as the *Praeceptor Hungariae* in much the same way that his mentor Philipp Melancthon came to be known as the *Praeceptor Germaniae*.

Stöckel in Breslau

After 1526, Stöckel was in Breslau, in Silesia, where he is known to have studied in that city's humanist-oriented gymnasium at the cathedral of St. Elizabeth until some

⁶¹ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 268.

⁶² Breslau is the German equivalent for the city Wrocław, Poland.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Schesaeus, 86, "Profectus inde cassovia, ubi mediocriter tum Latinae, tum Graecae linguae studia florebant, ibi docentem audivit Leonhartum Coxum Britannum."

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time in 1530.⁶⁵ The schoolmasters at St. Elizabeth's were Andrea Winkler and Johann Metzler.⁶⁶ While in Breslau Stöckel also worked for a local merchant, where he worked in the day while continuing his studies in the evenings.⁶⁷ Both Schesaeus and Škoviera note that, after the years of study under Eck and Cox, Stöckel was well-versed in his Latin and Greek studies, and his studies in Breslau were, therefore, more specifically religious in nature.⁶⁸ By the late 1520s Breslau had been heavily influenced by Lutheran thought emanating from Saxony, the imperial duchy which borders Silesia.⁶⁹ When making a choice of furthering his liberal studies in Cracow or Wittenberg, Stöckel jumped at the opportunity to live and study at the center of the Reformation.⁷⁰

Stöckel and Wittenberg

Leonard Stöckel enrolled at the university in Wittenberg in late October of 1530 and remained in Saxony, studying and working, until the summer of 1539.⁷¹ As in much

⁶⁵ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 269, "Mansio Vratislaviae determinanda est circiter annis 1526, qui annus adventus videtur esse maturissimus terminus post quem, et 1530, quo relicta Vratislavia in Germaniam abiit."

⁶⁶ Ibid. In 1535 Melanchthon published an oration celebrating the graduation of D. Andrea Winkler, son of the above mentioned schoolmaster. Philipp Melanchthon, "Oratio Ph. M. dicta ab ipso cum decerneretur in gradus Magisterii D. Andreae Vincero, Vratisla. Et aliis quibusdam bonis et doctis viris. Anno 1525 die April 14," CR 11: 266. See also Karl Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf: 1964; reprint of Berlin: Hofmann & Co, 1889), 592, no. 231.

⁶⁷ Schesaeus, 87, "Verum enimvero postquam omnibus sumptibus brevi tempore exhaustus esset, summa compulsus necessitate, cuidam mercatori ex amplissima familia Rudigerorum operam suam locat... Vixit igitur totum septennium mercaturam exercens, et maximam partem noctis studiis liberalioribus impartivit, die vero, officium quod gessit, fideliter peregit."

⁶⁸ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 270; Schesaeus, 87.

⁶⁹ Mária Novacká, 66.

⁷⁰ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 270; Schesaeus, 87.

⁷¹ Schwarz, 49. Schwarz states that Stöckel "immatrikuliert unter dem Rektorat des Justus Jonas nach dem 17.10.1530."

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of his life, the paucity of specific information surrounding Stöckel allows us only an outline of his activities, although that outline can be supplemented by information we have on what was going on in Wittenberg during that decade.⁷² All evidence indicates that Stöckel was deeply involved in university studies during his first years in Wittenberg. He heard lectures from, and became friends with, several important early Reformation figures who were also living and working in the city at that time. Škoviera notes that he attended lectures given by Johann Bugenhagen (1485-1558), Luther and Melanchthon, in addition to becoming acquainted with Justus Jonas (1493-1555) and Johann Agricola of Eisleben (1492-1566).⁷³ It was during this period that Stöckel and Philipp Melanchthon developed a lifelong friendship.⁷⁴

An Aside in Eisleben

After some four years of study in Wittenberg, Stöckel was sent by Melanchthon and Luther to teach at the Latin school in Eisleben, Martin Luther's birthplace.⁷⁵ Škoviera notes that Stöckel had been planning a career as a minister but, due to his admiration for Melanchthon, he decided to imitate the life of his mentor by furthering his liberal studies and becoming a teacher.⁷⁶ With regard to the school, Luther, Melanchthon and Johann

⁷² Walter Friedensburg, *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg* (Halle: Max Niemayer, 1917), for more information on Wittenberg.

⁷³ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 270. See also I.G. "Johann Bugenhagen," CEBR 1: 217-219; Erich Kleineidam, "Justus Jonas," CEBR 2: 244-246; Gustav Kawerau, *Johann Agricola von Eisleben, ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte* (Berlin: Hertz, 1881; reprint Hildesheim, New York: Olms, 1977). See also Mihaly Bucsay, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Ungarn*, (Stuttgart: Evangelischer Verlag, 1988), 34.

⁷⁴ Andrej Hajduk, "Philipp Melanchthon und Leonhard Stöckel," *Communio viatorum*, 20 (Prague: 1977), 172.

⁷⁵ Schesaeus, 88; Hajduk, "Melanchthon und Stöckel," 172.

⁷⁶ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 270.

Agricola had first organized it in 1525 and Agricola moved there to take up the responsibilities of school rector, as well as city preacher. Hartfelder describes the school plan to be of the “*melanchthonischen Typus*.”⁷⁷ It closely follows the outline laid out in Melanchthon's later *Visitation Instructions*. Pupils were to be placed in one of three school divisions or levels. In the first, or elementary, level, the readings included a primer, the *Paedogogia* of Peter Mosellanus, the Fables of Aesop, Erasmus's edition of the *Disticha Catonis* and another small book of maxims by Laberius (103 B.C.- 46 B.C.). The focus of the second-level pupils was almost completely on the study of grammar, leading Hartfelder to quote Melanchthon's regular admonition that failure to fully and completely learn grammar leads to poor understanding and an inability to successfully understand the other arts.⁷⁸ The pupils in the second level at the Eisleben Latin school also read extensively from Terence and Virgil. Although no specific texts are mentioned by Hartfelder for the pupils in the third class, he does state that they would turn to studying the rudiments of dialectic and rhetoric. Finally, only the most advanced pupils of the third class would be allowed to begin to study Greek and Hebrew.

Closer examination of the school plan in Eisleben is useful to our study. First, if we compare this plan to the one appended to the *Visitation Instructions* in 1538, thirteen years following Melanchthon's work in Eisleben, it is evident that Melanchthon became more conservative; you might even say he lowered his expectations of what could be done in reformed Latin schools of this nature. The readings that are mentioned are about

⁷⁷ Hartfelder, 497.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

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the same, especially in the first class. Nevertheless, the 1538 *Visitation Instructions* emphasize continued grammar study at the third level and recommend that only the best be allowed to begin studies in dialectic and rhetoric while there is no mention at all of Greek or Hebrew. Second, although we may safely assume that the school plan in Eisleben was much the same when Stöckel began teaching there, the actual program had likely also been modified to coincide with Melanchthon's more modest expectations. Stöckel's stay in Eisleben was not terribly long. He left in 1535 due to the re-emergence of the antinomian controversy between Melanchthon and Luther on the one hand and Johann Agricola, the Eisleben school rector, on the other.

Johann Agricola and the Antinomian Controversy

Although Johann Agricola is an interesting and important figure in the early Reformation in Wittenberg, he is said to have had a falling out with Melanchthon when, after organizing the school in Eisleben Melanchthon received a seat in the faculty of theology at Wittenberg which Agricola had wanted and expected.⁷⁹ Agricola took issue with a question of Lutheran doctrine as laid out by Melanchthon in the *Visitation Instructions* of 1528. The disagreement that Agricola had over the *Visitation Instructions* was related to the question of how best to differentiate between the Law, as found in the Decalogue and other Old Testament sources, and the Gospel, in the New Testament. Melanchthon argued that they are distinct and separate and both should be preached from the pulpit with the goal of demonstrating to the congregation their own distinctiveness,

⁷⁹ Robert Stupperich, *Melanchthon*, Robert H Fischer tr. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965), 71. Jeffrey K. Mann, *Shall We Sin? Responding to the Antinomian Question in Lutheran Theology* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), for a discussion of the Antinomian Controversy in general, and Philipp Melanchthon's contribution to it in particular. For more on Johann Agricola, see Kawerau and Friedensburg.

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the Law intended to demonstrate how sinful and unworthy humans are, in effect, unfit for salvation, while the Gospel was the Good News of Jesus Christ, whose Father had allowed him to die on the cross in order to save those who have faith. Agricola proposed the argument that the Gospel fulfilled the old Law. Instead, according to Agricola, both the Law and the Gospel are to be found in the Lord's saving grace.

Luther, at first believing that this was merely quibbling over words, settled the matter at a meeting in which Melanchthon and Agricola were in attendance. This took place at Torgau in 1527.⁸⁰ Actually, rather than having truly settled the matter, Torgau was the first in a number of flare-ups between Luther and Agricola over issues of the Law and Gospel. Agricola would eventually be arrested in Wittenberg for these activities, and he ultimately felt forced to flee Saxony altogether. Although he continued to be a reformer, he was now under the protection of the Brandenburg elector in Berlin. After Luther's death in 1546, Agricola became a perennial thorn in Melanchthon's side.

When the issue heated up for a second time, initiated by Agricola in 1535, Stöckel, who did not want to be associated with him, left Eisleben and returned to Wittenberg.⁸¹ Nevertheless, that Stöckel was chosen to teach in Eisleben demonstrates the immense confidence that Luther and Melanchthon had in him, both already fully aware of the difficulties that Stöckel might encounter there. In returning to Wittenberg during the second phase of the antinomian controversy, Stöckel reciprocated such faith in

⁸⁰ F. Bente, *Historical Introductions to the Book of Concord* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1965), 185. While containing much useful information on the antinomian controversy, Bente does not portray Agricola in a very positive light.

⁸¹ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 270, "Quattuor annis Wittebergae peractis, Islebii, in patria Lutheri, schola gerenda Leonardo commissa est, ubi circiter biennium docebat, sed controversias cum antinomies nominatimque cum Islebio, eorum duce, adeo acres habuisse traditur, ut anno 1535 in sedem Academiae reverti..."

the two reformers, particularly Melanchthon, who had become Stöckel's pedagogical and spiritual mentor.⁸²

Melanchthon's Schoolteacher

On his return to Wittenberg in 1535, Stöckel took up residence at the Melanchthon household and began teaching at Melanchthon's own private academy, run out of his home.⁸³ For the next year, he was the private tutor of the children of Philipp Melanchthon.⁸⁴ He was also employed for a time as the private tutor to the children of the Elector of Saxony.⁸⁵ While he was living and teaching in the Melanchthon household, Melanchthon received a letter from the city council of Bartfeld informing him that they were in the process of searching for a new rector for their Latin school and enquiring into Leonard Stöckel's availability. Melanchthon responded in February of 1538 informing the city council that Stöckel was currently fulfilling obligations as the schoolmaster in his private Latin school. He also suggested a master from Mansfeld as a suitable alternative.⁸⁶ In the spring of the following year, 1539, Melanchthon received a second letter from the city council, again asking about Stöckel's availability to return to his

⁸² Schesaeus, 88; see also Stöckel, "Epistulae," 270.

⁸³ Bartolomej Krpelec, *Bardejov a okolí* (Bardejov: Matica Slovenska, 1935), 68. Krpelec states that Stöckel also lived in the Luther household for a year; See also Schwarz, 58, who notes that Leonard and his brother lived for a time in the Luther household, along with a number of other students.

⁸⁴ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 271.

⁸⁵ Schwarz, 58. "In dies Zeitspanne fällt auch eine kurze Tätigkeit als Privatlehrer in der kurfürstlichen Familie..."

⁸⁶ Philipp Melanchthon *Melanchthon's Briefwechsel, Band 2, Regesten 1110-2335 (1531-1539)*, Heinz Scheible, ed. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann Holzboog, 1978) 356, n. 2001. See also Ribini, 153.

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hometown to take up the position of rector.⁸⁷ This time, Luther also received a letter from the city council which, in addition to a question about liturgical practices related to the Eucharist, again enquired whether Stöckel was available.⁸⁸ Melanchthon's response makes it evident that he did not want Stöckel to leave at all, and, if Stöckel had to, Melanchthon believed Stöckel's talents would be better put to use in a larger city, even indicating that Breslau was also in need of a schoolmaster.⁸⁹ Melanchthon might have wanted Leonard to resist the call to return home, but he simply could not. The city council had subsidized his education.⁹⁰ Therefore, Leonard Stöckel returned to his homeland, Bartfeld, arriving in June, 1539.⁹¹ Even years later, when Melanchthon wrote Stöckel, hoping that he would accept a teaching position in the Saxon town of Mansfeld, Stöckel felt unable to accept the opportunity and, instead, served his homeland for the remainder of his life, that is, if we exclude time (1555-1557) which Stöckel spent in the city of Käsmark (Kežmárrok), where he had apparently fled an approaching wave of the plague.⁹²

⁸⁷ Melanchthon, *Briefwechsel*, 439, n. 2209. Although this letter was received in May of 1539 while Melanchthon was traveling to Leipzig with Jonas, Cruciger and Luther, Luther informed Melanchthon that he had received a similar request from the city in a letter dated 17 April, 1539. WA Br 8, n. 3321, 406. For the letter from the Bartfeld city council, as well as Luther's response, see Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Briefwechsel*, (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1930-1985), 8: 4, n. 3321, 406. See also Ribini, 186, n. 153, and Klein, 186.

⁸⁸ Hajduk, "Filip Melanchthon a Leonard Stöckel," *Cirkevné listy* (Bratislava, n.d.), 155.

⁸⁹ Luther, *WAB Br*, n. 3321, 406.

⁹⁰ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 290. no. 1., 295. no. 4.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 275, "Sed mihi videtur etiam terroribus pestilentiae in vicino Eperiesio grassantis factum esse, ut Stöckel opportunitatem secedendi sequeretur."

While the information pertaining to Stöckel's stay in Wittenberg is limited, it is possible to draw some pertinent information with regard to his time there. Stöckel spent most of his twenties in Saxony, both studying at the University and teaching children in Wittenberg and Eisleben. During his stay in Wittenberg, Stöckel lived for a time at Luther's home. Stöckel also lived in Melanchthon's home and taught at the grammar school run out of that same home. He is also known to have been the tutor to the Melanchthon's children and to the children John Frederick I, the Elector of Saxony. During this period of study Stöckel had maintained ties with his hometown in Upper Hungary, accepting money from the city on more than one occasion. When the city council in 1538 called for his return to Bartfeld to take up the position of rector at the local grammar school, Stöckel may have stalled but he could not in the end refuse. Until his death in 1560 Leonard Stöckel continued in his position as rector of that school, playing a central role in stabilizing the humanist educational program in which he himself had been trained. All of that work bears the marks of his mentors Erasmus, Melanchthon and Cox. The relationship that Stöckel developed with Melanchthon was lifelong.⁹³ There are only five extant letters that were exchanged between Stöckel and Melanchthon after Stöckel's departure from Wittenberg.⁹⁴ Their correspondence demonstrates a close relationship, one which likely involved more than a mere five exchanges in the last twenty years of their lives.⁹⁵ As a respected leader in the community, Stöckel was also

⁹³ Schwarz, 51, "Es wurde eine Freundschaft fürs ganze Leben."

⁹⁴ Stöckel, "Epistolae," ep. 23, 25, 27, 42, and +21.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 23. For instance, in one letter Stöckel refers to Melanchthon as "mi Praeceptor," on one occasion adding "charissime" into the construction.

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successful in furthering the religious reform goals set out by Melancthon and Martin Luther. Conditions in Upper Hungary during the years that Stöckel taught in Bartfeld were rather different than in the Empire. Those conditions were important to the ways in which Stöckel handled pedagogical and religious reform.

Humanism, Religious Reform and the Battle of Mohacs

The defeat in the battle of Mohacs in August of 1526 was a watershed in Hungarian history. During the year that this battle took place Leonard Stöckel was a young man of sixteen, still studying under Leonard Cox in Kaschau. The defeat marks an important turning point in the fortunes of this kingdom, called the bulwark of Christendom, a term related in particular to Hungary's long-term success in fending off Ottoman advances from its southern and eastern borders. The defeat led to the conquest of Buda in that same year and the first Turkish siege of Vienna in 1529. Civil war between rival claimants to the holy crown of St. Stephen and continued Ottoman military activity again resulted in the Turkish occupation of the Hungarian capital in 1541. This time the Turks did not leave until the city was retaken by a Habsburg army in 1686. In the meantime the central core of the kingdom was occupied by the Ottomans, Transylvania developed into an independent principality maintaining a modicum of independence by playing off the Turks and Habsburgs, and the northern and western portions of the kingdom fell into Habsburg hands.

The Magyar kingdom of Hungary has a long history, one stretching over a thousand years. In such a vast space of time the people of Hungary have experienced more than one tragedy, singular events around which the fortunes of the whole kingdom

turned. Prior to Mohacs, a comparable watershed in Hungarian history is the Mongol invasion of 1241. At this time virtually the whole kingdom fell into Mongol hands with Hungarian King Bela IV fleeing the country altogether. In this case, however, the Mongols were gone almost as quickly as they had come, and Bela IV was remarkably successful in picking up the pieces, so to speak, and putting his kingdom back together. Even though the Mongol invasion took place centuries before the birth of Leonard Stöckel, our primary subject, it nevertheless weighs heavily in his story. As a result of the massive loss of life from the Mongol invasion, Bela IV invited settlers to colonize parts of his kingdom. This was not the first time that foreigners, primarily Germans, had been invited to settle within the kingdom, nor would it be the last. In the wake of the Mongol attacks additional Germans entered the kingdom, settling in substantial numbers in Transylvania and in the region known as Upper Hungary. The town of Bartfeld, today Bardejov in the Slovak Republic, is in the heart of Upper Hungary and is a site that benefited from Bela's invitation.

The Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century was significant to the long-term demographic changes that took place within the Kingdom of Hungary over the centuries. While it may be debatable whether the Magyars ever formed an actual majority of the population, events like the Mongol invasion and the later Turkish conquest of portions of the kingdom following Mohacs were significant in making the Magyars a distinct minority in their own kingdom. Finally, not only did Magyars make up the bulk of the military class, thereby suffering the heaviest losses in times of defeat, but ethnic Magyar settlement had also been most heavy on the Great Plain and the lowlands in the middle of

the kingdom. It was that same region which the Turks occupied for nearly 150 years, further accelerating demographic change in the kingdom.

This unfortunately plays right into a third tragic watershed in the history of Hungary, the partition of the kingdom following World War One. It was at this time that Upper Hungary was incorporated into the new state of Czechoslovakia. Unfortunately, it does not stop there; the partition is central to Hungarian revisionism and the country's involvement in World War Two alongside Germany. And it was at the end of that war when most of the Germans, whose ancestors had been invited into the region by Bela IV, either fled the country or were killed or expelled.

Hungarian history is by no means all tragedy. There is the memory of the initial Magyar warriors settling the region in the ninth century. There is much pride in the medieval kingdom and the Arpads, the kingdom's first dynasty, especially King St. Stephen, patron saint of Hungary. There is comparable pride in other monarchs, especially Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458-1490), Hungary's "renaissance king" and the last native Magyar to ever rule the kingdom. There is also a certain degree of pride surrounding the events of 1956, as well as the role of Hungary in the fall of communism throughout the region in the late 1980s. The list continues. Nevertheless, even with that said, the disaster at Mohacs remains a singular event, a watershed around which all of Hungarian history turns. There is the glorious memory of Hungary prior to 1526 and the many struggles for respect and survival that have plagued the Magyars ever since. The defeat is so central to an understanding of the Magyars that in times of misfortune they have a saying that goes something like this: "More was lost at Mohacs."

Not only was the Hungarian army of 25,000 soldiers routed on the battlefield of Mohacs in 1526, but also the heads of twenty-eight baronial families were killed, along with more than a thousand other nobles and seven Roman Catholic prelates. Louis II, only twenty-one years of age, also died that day, drowned when crossing a river after leaving the battle.⁹⁶ Although many historians argue that Hungary was already experiencing a period of decline prior to Mohacs, all view that battle as a turning point.⁹⁷

On a political level, when Louis II died, he was without heirs. Hungary's lower nobility, which had always demonstrated greater allegiance to Hungary as a Magyar kingdom, had passed a resolution in an annual diet in 1505 refusing the future acceptance of any foreign king within their kingdom when the Polish Jagiellonian dynasty died out.⁹⁸ In Hungary that dynasty included Louis II (r. 1516-1526) and his father Ulaszlo II (r. 1490-1516), a dynasty which had ruled in Hungary since the last native Magyar king Matthias Corvinus died in 1490. The nobility's demand quite simply was that Magyarország, or the Land of the Magyars, should be ruled by a Magyar. With the death of Ulaszlo II's son and successor, Louis II, at Mohacs in 1526, the lower nobility kept their word and elected János Szapolyai, the *voivode* (viceroy) of Transylvania, to be their

⁹⁶ Miklos Molnar, *A Concise History of Hungary*, Anna Magyar tr. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 85. Molnar focuses upon the crises resulting from the defeat at Mohacs in chapter 3, "A Country under Three Crowns, 1526-1711" 87-139.

⁹⁷ Kálmán Benda et al., *One Thousand Years, A Concise History of Hungary*, Péter Hanák ed., Zsuzsa Béres trans. (Budapest: Corvina: 1988), 42; see also Molnar, 80.

⁹⁸ C.A. Macartney, *Hungary, A Short History* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1962), electronic text at <http://www.net.hu/corvinus/lib/macartney/macartney06.htm>; accessed 12/4/08. See also: Denis Sinor, *History of Hungary* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1959); Benda et al., *One Thousand Years*; and Peter F. Sugar, *A History of Hungary*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990) for general information on the history of the Kingdom of Hungary. For information more specific to Hungary's German population, see R.F. Kaindl, *Geschichte der Deutschen in Ungarn* (Gotha: F.A. Perthes, 1912).

king, while the upper nobility maintained the agreement made years before between Ulaszlo II and the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian, and elected Ferdinand of Habsburg as Louis's successor. This led to the chaos of two warring kings and factions at a time when Hungary needed unity most.⁹⁹ The country devolved into civil war with the contending parties fighting for the holy crown of St. Stephen. The kingdom was then effectively divided into thirds in 1541 when the Ottoman Turks again advanced into Hungarian territory, took Buda and began the process of incorporating their conquests into the Ottoman Empire.

The events surrounding Mohacs are particularly important to this study for several reasons. Renaissance culture in the form of humanism emanating primarily from Italy had already made headway in Hungary during the reign of Matthias Corvinus (d. 1490). The most celebrated Hungarian humanists included János Vitéz, Archbishop of Esztergom (1408-1472), and his nephew Janus Pannonius (1434-1472). Closely connected to Matthias's court, they were not Magyars but from the dependent kingdom of Croatia. In the years before Mohacs, humanists are found at King Louis II's court, especially surrounding his wife, Mary of Habsburg. They include Johann Henckel, Jan Antonin and Jacob Piso, among others. The battle of Mohacs generally meant that the growing humanist influence at the court during the reigns of Matthias Corvinus and Louis II proved to be a virtual non-starter. Following the battle, the king was dead, Buda was occupied, if only briefly, the famed Corvinus library was lost and the court scattered. As we have seen, however, in the years leading up to 1526, northern humanist thought

⁹⁹ David P. Daniel, "The Lutheran Reformation in Slovakia, 1517-1618" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1972) 172.

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flowing from the Empire was also growing in popularity in the German-speaking areas of Upper Hungary and Transylvania. While the defeat at Mohacs may have played a role in Leonard Cox's decision to return to Cracow, north of the Carpathians, the influence of Erasmian humanism would continue to be felt in the region. Leonard Stöckel's decision to continue his studies in Breslau may also have been related to the precarious conditions within Hungary at the time of his departure. With Stöckel's return to Bartfeld thirteen years later in 1539, northern humanist thought in the tradition of Erasmus and Melanchthon was given renewed life. Not only did Stöckel reform the city's Latin grammar school, in the process developing the first known set of school regulations on the territory of the modern Slovak Republic, but also the school's growing popularity meant that Stöckel had a hand in training the many of the region's next generation of school teachers and Lutheran ministers.¹⁰⁰ The battle of Mohacs, therefore, had the effect of cutting off the flow of humanist thought that had sprung from the royal court while not stopping a similar stream of thought flowing through Upper Hungary, a stream heavily laden with the thought of Erasmus and, soon enough, that of Philipp Melanchthon.

The defeat at Mohacs also influenced the flow of Reformation thought into the kingdom. There appears to have been some support for Luther at court but a Hungarian diet in 1523 and a royal mandate of 1525 declared supporters of Luther to be heretics who should suffer the confiscation of their property and the death penalty.¹⁰¹ In 1526,

¹⁰⁰ Peter Vajcik, "Najstarší pedagogický dokument XVI. storočia a Leonard Stöckel," *Jednotná škola* 9:4 (1954), 449.

¹⁰¹ Thomas A. Brady, Heiko A. Oberman, et al. ed., *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600 : Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, (Leiden, New York: E.J. Brill, 1994), 563.

however, with the king and the clerical hierarchy dead and the kingdom in the process of disintegration, the threat of royal sanction receded significantly. Bartfeld and Upper Hungary came under Habsburg control when Mary's brother Ferdinand became king later in 1526. If given the opportunity the new Habsburg king would have very likely attempted to destroy the young Lutheran movement, but he was in the middle of a civil war fighting for the crown of Hungary against János Szapolyai, a native Magyar. The Germans in Upper Hungary were generally receptive to Ferdinand but those royal free cities like Bartfeld which had royal privileges expected those privileges to be respected, one of which was the right of the city to choose its own pastors. There were five such cities in that part of Upper Hungary: Bartfeld, Kaschau, Leutschau, Eperies and Zeeben.¹⁰² Ferdinand would have to wait until he had a firmer grip on his new possessions before he would be able to take action against supporters of Luther. In the meantime the supporters of Luther were able to expand their base and solidify their gains, making it that much more difficult for Ferdinand to take action once he had gained greater control of his third of the kingdom, oftentimes referred to Royal Hungary.

The defeat at Mohacs, like all national tragedies, closed some doors while it opened others. Although it cut down the flow of humanist thought to the royal court, there was a continuation of Erasmian humanism flowing into Upper Hungary, and, from there, into other parts of the old kingdom. The defeat saw a change in royal dynasties

¹⁰² The names of the cities that were part of the Upper Hungarian Pentapolis have been given in German because the majority of the population in each of these cities was, during the period under investigation, German. The names of these cities, however, are often given in Hungarian because these cities were part of Hungary during this era. In addition, since all five cities are now part of Slovak Republic, historians often use the modern Slovak equivalents. The Hungarian and Slovak equivalents are respectively: Bártfa/Bardejov; Kássa/Košice; Lőcse/Levoča; Eperjes/Prešov; and Kisszeben/Sabinov.

from the Polish Jagiellons to the Habsburgs but even this was a long process, one that was not settled during Ferdinand's lifetime. The chaos brought about by Mohacs and the subsequent years of civil war, occupation and disintegration opened the door for many parts of the kingdom to support the thought of Martin Luther and his supporters without great fear of retribution on the part of the monarch or ecclesiastical officials. Comparable headway was made by Calvinists, especially among the kingdom's Magyar population, after the middle of the sixteenth century. Even though the Catholics would successfully convert the majority of the population during the seventeenth century, a remnant of the Protestant population would survive into the eighteenth century age of tolerance. Finally, Slovak Lutherans played a role that would belie their small numbers within the population during Slovak National Awakening which took hold of that population during the nineteenth century.

Chapter 3

Leonard Stöckel and Educational Reform

Introduction

Leonard Stöckel's years as rector of the Latin school in Bartfeld are of historical significance in themselves. While not at all alone in this regard, Stöckel's activities for over twenty years in administering the school run counter to the more typical stereotypes of schoolmasters from this era. There is no evidence to lead us to believe that he was the stern, strict judge whose greatest form of encouragement to his pupils was their fear of the next beating. Nor was he the destitute single young man in need of temporary employment until something better came along. He was, in many respects, a new type of schoolmaster, one much closer to the models promoted by Erasmus and Melancthon than to the traditional stereotypes. Stöckel came from a family of Bartfeld citizens, already established in the city. Nevertheless, his abilities and activities in the school made him the most celebrated member of that family and of the city in general. The success of those same activities also demonstrates how well Stöckel personally absorbed and then implemented the northern humanist pedagogical program proposed by Erasmus, Melancthon and others.

Both Erasmus and Melancthon stressed that pedagogical reform was not an end in itself. Educational reform goals were always tied to the greater goal of furthering the pupils' religious piety, the promotion of *docta pietas*. Pedagogical reform, therefore, was always intended to lead to religious reform. In this sense, Stöckel's activities were doubly

significant. His school became a training ground for successful religious reform in the tradition of Martin Luther. Latin grammar schools such as Stöckel's became recruiting grounds with the goal of educating the next generation of teachers and ministers. They were thought to be important to securing the success of Lutheran religious reform in cities like Bartfeld. In addition to training the next generation of teachers and preachers, some of Stöckel's pupils continued their studies at universities, in Vienna, Cracow, but most importantly in Wittenberg. In addition to commoners, Stöckel also educated the children of the local nobility.¹ Forming connections with local nobles and ensuring the Lutheran indoctrination of their children proved important in the success of the Lutheran movement in Upper Hungary.

As with the earlier stages of his life, we are quite limited in our information on Stöckel's daily life in Bartfeld. The only remaining method of furthering our knowledge of Leonard Stöckel is through an examination of his literary activity. Even though the body of Leonard Stöckel's literary production may be considered insignificant in any comparison with his mentors, Melanchthon, Luther, Erasmus and Cox, everything that he produced (and that still survives) is evidence of his acceptance of the pedagogical reform program initiated by Luther and directed by Melanchthon in the late 1520s and 1530s. Stöckel's literary production is, then, itself an example of a successful humanist

¹ Daniel Škoviera, "Leonard Stöckel – humanistický rektor bardejovskej školy," *Jednotná Škola* 12 (April 1975): 342. Škoviera notes the close relationship that Stöckel had with the Révay family, whose children attended his school. On 349, the author lists the names of other noble and celebrated families whose children attended Stöckel's school. They include the Paludzkí and Plathyovci families, as well as the Jesenský and Perényi. Škoviera considers Martin Rakovský to be the most celebrated humanist poet to have attended Stöckel's school.

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pedagogical reformer in the tradition of Erasmus, put to the service of Lutheran religious reform.

As was typically the case with Latin schools of the Lutheran model, Stöckel's school was intimately tied to Bartfeld's religious life. Part of every school day was spent in the city cathedral. Daily music lessons that the pupils were required to attend took place in the cathedral. Pupils also were expected to attend sermons at the cathedral on a daily basis, and the pupils also served as the choir. Stöckel as schoolmaster worked closely with the local pastor, a common practice during this era. In this case the pastor was Michael Radašin (c. 1510-1566), a Croat and Wittenberg graduate who became the city's primary pastor soon after Stöckel's return, a position he kept until his own death a few years after Stöckel.² That both Stöckel and Radašin had studied under Luther and Melancthon must have added a great amount of prestige to their respective positions, as well as greater authority with regard to their opinions on both pedagogical and religious affairs.

Leonard Stöckel's body of writing may be divided into three distinct categories: epistolary; pedagogical; and theological.³ First there is his collection of letters. The second category includes Stöckel's pedagogical works, of which there are three, each fundamentally different from the others. Religious works make up the third, the

² Andrej Hajduk, "Michael Radašin," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 3, edited by Hans Hillerbrand (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 375.

³ Andrej Hajduk, *Leonard Stöckel, Život a diela* (Bratislava: Evanjelická bohoslovecká fakulta Univerzity Komenského, 1999), 32. Hajduk has divided Stöckel's work a little differently. First, he separates the literature from letters, which he turns to last. Second, within the category of literature his three categories are as follows: pedagogical; church organization; and religious-theological: "Stöckelova literárna tvorba je pedagogická, cirkevno-organizačná a nábožensko-teologická."

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theological, category. An examination of each of these works further demonstrates the important influence Erasmus and Melanchthon played in Leonard Stöckel's life and work. In addition, such an examination illustrates how closely tied humanist pedagogical reform could be to Lutheran religious reform in Upper Hungary during this era.⁴ Stöckel's pedagogical activities and treatises illustrate his lifelong devotion to learned piety in the tradition of the northern humanists. His religious works demonstrate that pedagogical reform was never an end in itself; instead its goal was the acquisition of skills necessary to enable one to prepare for higher studies. In Stöckel's case, those higher studies were in the tradition of Lutheran religious reform. Stöckel's theological works, therefore, serve as a demonstration of his own success with regard to a life devoted to *docta pietas*.

Letters

Daniel Škoviera collected and published a critical annotated edition of Leonard Stöckel's letters in 1976, adding two more letters to the collection in 1994.⁵ Two major themes are evident in an examination of these letters. Stöckel's letters are all related to *docta pietas* put to the service of Lutheran reform. The earliest surviving letter from Stöckel is from the summer of 1534 when he was working at the school in Eisleben. Although it would be another five years before Stöckel returned home, he already

⁴ Ibid. Hajduk notes that all of Stöckel's literary production was put to the service of Luther: "Je v službe reformačnej školy a obnovenej cirkvi.

⁵ Leonard Stöckel. "Epistulae Leonardi Stöckel," Daniel Škoviera, ed. *Graecolatina Orientalia, Zbornik filozofickej Fakulty University Komenskeho 7-8* (1975-1976), 265-359; Leonard Stöckel. "Epistularum Leonardi Stöckel Supplementum Duplex" Škoviera ed. *Humanistica Lovaniensia, The Journal of Neo-Latin Studies* 43 (1994), 295-303.

Stöckel: Educator mentions his desire to educate the youth of his homeland.⁶ The collection includes four letters to Philipp Melanchthon, as well as one from Melanchthon.⁷ From these letters it is evident that the relationship between Stöckel and Melanchthon was more than one between student and professor.⁸ They also demonstrate Stöckel's abilities in Greek.⁹

Škoviera added two letters to the collection in 1994, including a fragment from January of 1559 in which Stöckel refers to the completion of a little book on the art of music.¹⁰ In the letter Stöckel briefly outlines the reasons behind the production of this text that was never published. His reasoning is quite straightforward and in line with his pedagogical and religious interests. First Stöckel notes that music is one of the liberal arts which it is his duty to teach. Second, he points out that many boys who attempt to sing without any rules would be aided by a method. He then concludes by noting that it is for this reason that the work was written in the form of questions with responses, a textbook style which Stöckel also used in at least four of his published works.¹¹ With the

⁶ Stöckel, "Epistulae," ep. 1, 291, "...das ich E. W. fürter zy bedenckenn heimstetenn wil, beger ich yhr keine stadt zu gehenn, sindt aber vonn iugent auff alle meine anshlege dohin gerichtet..."

⁷ Ibid.; Letter 21 is from Melanchthon; letters 23, 25, 27, and 42 are to Melanchthon.

⁸ Ibid., ep. 2, 293, In this letter to the Bartfeld city council, written by Stöckel in February of 1538 in which Stöckel informs the council that he is to remain a while longer in Wittenberg, Stöckel refers to Melanchthon as "meinem liebenn preceptore." In other letters between the two, Stöckel refers to his one-time professor as "mi Praeceptor," even adding "charissime" into the construction on one occasion. (ep. 23, 319). In addition to relating the recent activities of the Turks in the region, Stöckel talks of his time in Eisleben, as well as his desire to hear Melanchthon's voice once again.

⁹ Škoviera, "Leonard Stöckel," 344, "Listy prezrádzajú, že Stöckel bol "homo bilinguis." The only time that Stöckel uses Greek in his collected letters is in the letters written to his mentor Melanchthon.

¹⁰ Stöckel, "Epistularum," ep. 1, 297.

¹¹ Ibid., 298, "quia meum officium est, ut tradam artes liberales. Nemo autem ignorat quin Musica quoque sit inter artes liberales, id quod probat quoque Terentianus lucus: Fac periculum in literis, palestra, musica. Deinde me necessitas coegit, quia vidi plerosque et praesertim pueros canere sine quaedam certa regula et imperfecte. Non possunt autem hanc artem discere sine praeceptis, sicut etiam in omnibus rebus homo

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understanding that the type of singing to which Stöckel is referring is related to the connections between the city grammar school and the cathedral across the square, even this little text serves as an example of Stöckel's devotion to learned piety.

The second letter in Škoviera's supplement is actually Stöckel's Dedicatory Letter to Michael and Francis Révai in Stöckel's sermon guide for pastors, the *Formulae tractandarum Sacrarum concionum*.¹² Although the text was not published until 1578 in Bartfeld, Škoviera notes that the Dedication, completed in 1560, is the last tract known to be written by Stöckel.¹³

Of the fifty letters by Stöckel that make up Škoviera's original collection, sixteen are addressed to members of the Révai family, fifteen of those to Francis and one to Francis's son, Michael. Excluding the dedications to the Révai family, which came much later, all of this correspondence took place between 1539 and 1544, the first five years of Stöckel's service as rector of the Latin school in Bartfeld. The early letters correspond to the period when three of Francis Révai's sons lived with Stöckel, at least temporarily, while studying in Bartfeld.¹⁴ Beyond copious amounts of the customary praise from the humanist educator to the local magnate, the primary topic addressed in these letters center around the education and boarding of the boys. There was also some discussion about the

debet humano modo agere omnia et certo iudicio... Ut autem mei auditores cauti sint contra hoc periculum, volui per methodicas questiones tradere hanc artem."

¹² Leonard Stöckel, *Formulae Tractandarum Sacrarum concionum, per Evangelia communium Ferialium totius anni; in usum Ecclesiae Christ collectae*, (Bardejov: Guttgesell, 1578), 1-9.

¹³ Stöckel, "Epistularum," ep. 1, 297, "Hanc epistulam sub vitae terminum scriptam quasi legatum quoddam Leonardi spiritale aestimaverim."

¹⁴ Stöckel, "Epistulae," ep. 6, 297. "Habeo filios vestrae magnificentiae mecum in mea habitatione, ne in ipsa turba puerorum esse cogantur, et quidquid ad institutionem eorum pertinebit, in eo ita meminero mei officii, ut si id in praesentia vestrae magnificentiae facerem."

Lord's Supper as well as discussions about the Hungarian reformer named Mátyás Bíró Dévai.

Francis Révai, an important Upper Hungarian noble, personally wrote Luther with some questions regarding how to properly interpret the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In his response a few months later Luther is respectful but firm.¹⁵ While he claims to be rather busy and, therefore, unable to address Révai's questions as fully as he would like, Luther nevertheless pleads with Révai not to fall into theological error.¹⁶ He notes that Révai's questions with regard to the Lord's Supper indicate that he has been brought under the influence of Zwingli.¹⁷ He points out that much has already been written on this subject while acknowledging that most of it was written for the domestic market. Through a series of questions Luther then encourages Révai to have faith that the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacrament.¹⁸ Luther writes that salvation is

¹⁵ Katalin Peter, "Tolerance and Intolerance in Sixteenth-Century Hungary," in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, Ole Peter Grell, Bob Scribner eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 257-258. Luther's response to de Revay's questions is in Vincze Bunyitay et al. ed. *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából* (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda R. T.: 1906), ep. 389, 385-386. See also WA Br 8:258, n. 3246.

¹⁶ WA Br, 8:258. "interim per Christum et salutem tuam te oro, ne corrvas in hunc errorem..."

¹⁷ Ibid., "Etsi literas tuas, Vir clarissime, inter multas occupationes scripsisse te videam, ipse quoque miratus tamen sum, quomodo tanta argumentorum copia tibi ex Zuinglio inhaeserit in re sacramentaria, et vale doleo istis argumentis te moveri; sed cum ipse quoque sim occupator modo, quam ut prolixius scribere mihi liceat, interim per Christum et salutem tuam te oro, ne corrvas in hunc errorem, quod solum panem et vinum in Sacramento, et non corpus et sanguinem Christi esse credas."

¹⁸ Ibid., "Quid enim absurdi est credere, Corpus Christi simul in coelo et in Sacramento esse? An omnipotenti Deo difficile, quod nobis incredibile videtur? Ioannes iij dicit: Nemo ascendit in coelum, nisi qui descendit de coelo, filius hominis, qui est in coelo. Si tum fuit in coelo, cum in terra ambularet, quomodo non simul erat in diversis locis? Cui ista sunt incredibilia, quomodo credet Deum esse hominem? quomodo sit in utero virginis simul verus Deus essentialiter? Quomodo una persona simplicissimae divinitatis incarnetur exclusis duabus reliquis?"

Stöckel: Educator achieved by believing, not by understanding or comprehending.¹⁹ His stress here is on God's word and the need for Christians to believe it, all of it.²⁰ Luther's position on the Lord's Supper is echoed in Stöckel's theological works.

The date of Luther's letter to Révai is the fourth of August, 1538. Within the year Stöckel returned to Bartfeld, arriving during June.²¹ Within only a few weeks of his return to Hungary, Stöckel began corresponding with Révai. Part of King Ferdinand's personal staff from 1538, Révai became Ferdinand's Palatine or Regent in Hungary in 1544.²²

One of the letters Stöckel sent to Révai that included the subject of the Lord's Supper was dated late July of 1540.²³ The letter itself, less than 250 words in length, briefly touches upon two topics. The first is about a controversy surrounding the Hungarian reformer Mátyás Bíró Dévai. The letter is a continuation of an earlier conversation between Révai and Stöckel which is not part of Škoviera's collection. Stöckel begins by informing Révai that he has learned more about Dévai from others.²⁴ Stöckel reminds Révai that he had already been aware that Dévai and his benefactor, the Hungarian noble and supporter of Luther, Peter Perenyi, had had a falling out, but that he

¹⁹ Ibid., "Non qui comprehenderit, sed qui crediderit, salvus erit."

²⁰ Ibid., "Deo non est impossibile omne verbum."

²¹ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 297, n. 5., "venit enim Leonardus Bartpham mense Iunio a. 1539."

²² WA Br 8:258. "nach dem Schlacht von Mohacs (1526) Parteigänger Ferdinands und von ihm 1532 zum Obergespan des Thuróczer Komitats ernannt, 1538 Personalis des Königs und 1542 Palatinaltstatthalter von Ungarn."

²³ Stöckel, "Epistulae," ep. 10, 301.

²⁴ Ibid., "De Matthia Dévai tantum ad magnificentiam vestram proximis literis scripsi, quantum ego ex aliis cognoram."

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had not known why.²⁵ He reports to Révai that Dévai had personally written to Stöckel the following: “The commotions and causes of my separation from my previous prince, I believe you to have control of.”²⁶ Stöckel then briefly describes the controversy which led to the falling out between Dévai and Perenyi. Since his explanation is only three sentences in length, our insight into the controversy is limited. The issue turns on questions related to Luther’s definition of the Lord’s Supper. Beyond this, however, it is difficult to do more than speculate. Stöckel tells Révai that the essence of the controversy, taking the bread on procession or enclosing it behind lattice, is *not* the sacrament.²⁷ Stöckel writes that Dévai does not admit that he has placed conditions pertaining to the integrity of this sacrament.²⁸ He then concludes by pointing out to Révai that Dévai’s own words indicate why Dévai and Perenyi had gone their separate ways and, finally, that Dévai has found work in Zickzo, in the service of Lord Seredi.²⁹ In turning to the second topic, the condition of Révai’s sons who were under Stöckel’s supervision, Stöckel noted that many in Bartfeld had become ill from dysentery, causing

²⁵ Stöckel, “Epistulae,” ep. 10, 301. “Sciebam enim dominum Pereni ei inimicum esse factum, sed quamobrem, adhuc notum mihi non erat.”

²⁶ Ibid., “Idemque ad me scripsit ipse Dévai his verbis: Turbas et causas discessus mei a priore principe meo tenere te credo.”

²⁷ Ibid., “Summa controversiae, panis circumlatus aut in cancellos inclusus, sacramentum non est.” [the italics are mine]

²⁸ Ibid., “Ille pro sacramento habet, condiciones ad integritatem sacramenti pertinentes non admittit.”

²⁹ Ibid., “Habet igitur magnificentia vestra causam ex ipsius Dévai verbis, quare inter eum et dominum Pereni discessio facta sit.” “Contulit se ad dominum Seredi, qui eum ad docendi munus in oppido Zickzo adhibere cogitat.”

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concern over the health of Révai's boys.³⁰ He expressed his hope in God's mercy while stressing that he was providing the best care possible. Stöckel then concludes that they were expecting the strength of the disease to ease with the heat of the summer.³¹

It is evident from this brief letter that in the summer of 1540 Stöckel knew relatively little about Mátyás Bíro Dévai, a Magyar reformer originally from Transylvania who, like Stöckel, had also studied in Wittenberg.³² Bíro's activities fit the model of a classic Magyar reformer, that of an itinerant preacher whose theology moved away from Luther and towards Calvin as his career progressed. After having spent time with Luther in Wittenberg in the late 1520s, Bíro returned to Hungary, where he became the leader of Lutheran reform in the kingdom, so much so that he came to be called the Hungarian Luther.³³ In 1531 he is known to have preached in Buda and then in Kaschau, where he was arrested by the Bishop of Eger. In the following year he was again arrested; this time he was sent to Vienna to be interrogated.³⁴ In 1536 he was in Nuremberg. In 1537 he was back in Wittenberg. Soon thereafter he is known to have worked as the chaplain of the Hungarian noble Peter Perenyi. The falling out between Bíro and Perenyi is what Stöckel was relating to Révai. Bíro spent some time in Zickzo before again returning to the empire, where he traveled to Wittenberg and Basel. He returned to

³⁰ Ibid., 302. "Multi hic dysenteriae morbo affliguntur. Quae res nos de filiis vestrae magnificentiae sollicitos nonnihil facit."

³¹ Ibid., "Et speramus una cum aestu horum dierum etiam vim morbi desituram esse."

³² David P. Daniel, "Mátyás Bíro Dévai," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, 1:475-476.

³³ Thomas A. Brady, Heiko A. Oberman, et al. ed., *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600 : Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, (Leiden, New York: E.J. Brill, 1994), 566.

³⁴ Daniel, "Mátyás Bíro Dévai," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, 1:475.

Hungary in 1541 and spent time in Miskolc and in Transylvania before his death about 1545.

Early in Bíró's preaching career, his activities as a Lutheran reformer brought him to the attention of Catholic authorities. Later in his career, however, Bíró's troubles stemmed from conflicts which developed between him and supporters of Luther. Bíró's interpretation of the Lord's Supper moved from something approximating Luther's position to one more in line with the position held by the Swiss. This is the pattern seen among several important Magyar reformers and, as a result, while many Magyars were initially won over to the Protestant movement by native preachers associated with Luther, the majority came to support the Calvinist interpretation of the Lord's Supper rather than the interpretation held by Luther. Accepting the fact that there were exceptions to the rule, the Révais for example, linguistic and religious differences were such that Magyars came to call Lutheranism the "German religion" while Calvinism was similarly referred to as the "Magyar religion."

With regard to Mátyás Bíró Dévai, the tone of Stöckel's letter to Révai in 1540 contrasts with that used by Stöckel in another letter to Révai, sent in June of 1543.³⁵ Although Stöckel said he knew little about Bíró or his situation with his lord Perenyi in his 1540 letter to Révai, by 1543 Stöckel refers to him as "Dévai noster," evidently supporters of the same cause.³⁶ In that letter, in addition to informing Révai that Dévai had been forced to leave Miskolc due to the activities of some monks, Stöckel indicates

³⁵ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 309, ep. 17.

³⁶ Ibid., 310, "Dévai noster, qui Miskolcium vocatus erat..."

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that Bíro had recently returned from Wittenberg and brought with him a brief essay written in Luther's own hand. Believing that Révai was now in possession of that work, Stöckel asked Révai if a copy of it could be made.³⁷

In a third and final letter from Stöckel to Révai that mentions Bíro, it is possible to glean a little more information about Stöckel's position on that subject, a position that will be reiterated in Stöckel's theological works.³⁸ This letter to Révai is from February of 1544. Stöckel first notes that he believes Luther to have presented Bíro with his interpretation of the Lord's Supper, an interpretation Luther had used to defend the sacrament against attackers some years earlier.³⁹ Stöckel then presented Révai with his belief that Bíro held a "middle" position with regard to the Lord's Supper. According to the letter, Stöckel also believed that Bíro's position was based more on human conjecture than on the Scriptures themselves.⁴⁰ In concluding this subject, Stöckel noted that he believed he could bring Bíro around to the proper understanding of the sacrament but that Bíro was no longer in the area, having now moved on to Kronstadt (today Braşov in Romania) in Transylvania.⁴¹

³⁷ Ibid., "...monarchorum opera repulsus est. Is Vuiteberga secum attulit quoddam breve scriptum domini Martini, propria eius manu, quod intellexi apud vestram magnificentiam esse. Rogo, si absque eiusdem molestia id fieri potest, ut eius mihi copiam faciat."

³⁸ Ibid., 310, ep. 18.

³⁹ Ibid., 311. "Facile enim credo dominum Lutherum eandem sententiam de sacra coena Mathiae nostro in proximo eius reditu scriptam sua manu dedisse, quam ante aliquot annos contra eius sacramenti oppugnatores fortissime defendit."

⁴⁰ Ibid., "Matthias videtur mediam quandam sententiam tueri, quanquam humanis coniecturis magis, quam scripturis nititur, ut illi fecerunt, qui antea, hanc causam tractarunt."

⁴¹ Ibid., "Qua de re libenter cum eo amice conferrem, si propior esset, nunc enim audio eum Coronam usque concessisse."

From this series of brief letters we can assume Luther's 1539 letter to Francis Révai to have been effective. Within weeks of Stöckel's return to Bartfeld, he began a relationship with Révai that, with regard to written correspondence, was to last into the mid-1540s. Had Révai maintained his former Zwinglian position on the Lord's Supper, it is unlikely that he would have entrusted his sons' education to Stöckel, an unabashed supporter of Luther. Révai's position is made all the more clear when, in 1544, after having been chosen by the king to be his Palatine in Habsburg Hungary, Révai informed Ferdinand that he would not intervene against the Protestants.⁴² Second, although the subject of Mátyás Bíró Dévai was a topic discussed in more than one letter from Stöckel to Révai, on each occasion, the information that was presented was rather limited, comprising nothing more than a couple of sentences. In none of these situations is Bíró the reason for writing. Instead, the primary topics revolved around the well-being and circumstances of the Révai boys under Stöckel's supervision. From what Stöckel writes to Révai, he evidently had little or no knowledge of Dévai prior to Stöckel's return to Hungary in 1539. Between Stöckel's first discussion of Bíró to Révai in 1539 and the last time Stöckel mentioned him in writing, in 1544, the language Stöckel used to refer to him had softened. He had now become "our Matthew," and "our Dévai."⁴³ Stöckel nevertheless contended that Bíró's interpretation of the Lord's Supper was not in harmony with Luther's position, and he supported that point by arguing that Bíró's

⁴² WA Br 8:258. "Schon früh der Reformation zugetan, wurde er von Ferdinand, d. d. Prag I Juli 1544 getadelt, daß er nicht gegen die Protestanten einschreite..."

⁴³ Stöckel, "Epistulae," ep. 17, 309: "Dévai noster;" ep. 18, 311: "Matthiae nostro."

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interpretation was not based on Scripture, while, in the process implying that Luther's was.

That Leonard Stöckel, recently home from more than a decade of higher studies abroad, most of which was spent in Wittenberg, would court the local territorial lord, promoting both a humanist education and evangelical studies, appears to be something more than mere happenstance. This is learned piety actively put to the service of Lutheran religious reform. Even in 1539, one could not consider the current situation in Bartfeld to be stable; thirteen years after Mohacs and the death of King Louis II, the kingdom was continuing to struggle with two contenders for the throne. Intermittent civil war played a role in further Turkish involvement, including the occupation of Buda from 1541 to 1686. During the years immediately following Stöckel's return to Bartfeld, there were Turkish incursions into nearby counties, and the possibility of an assault on the city itself was a reality. Hungary was in ruins. In addition, the Habsburg King Ferdinand was not averse to taking punitive actions against religious dissenters when the opportunity arose. For better or worse, such conditions would prevail in this region for much of the next century. Nevertheless, as difficult as conditions must have appeared, gaining the support of the local lord while indoctrinating the leaders of the next generation fits perfectly with evangelical goals.

Two letters written during the last year of Stöckel's life demonstrate his continuing interest in the Lutheran cause and his ties to other Lutheran leaders within the kingdom. In the first, written to one-time student and current rector of the Latin school in Kaschau, Matthew Csabai, Stöckel stresses the need for Csabai to speak out against local

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“dissimulators,” “wicked men” intent on reinterpreting the Lord’s Supper.⁴⁴ Not only is Stöckel writing a letter to another grammar school rector with one of the topics being Lutheran theological matters, but the rector to whom Stöckel is writing was once one of Stöckel’s own pupils. This too is *docta pietas*, learned piety in action, put to the service of Lutheran reform.

Stöckel’s last complete letter in Škoviera’s collection is to Matthias Hebler (d. 1571), a teacher and pastor in Hermannstadt (Sibiu) in Transylvania who, in 1556 was elected the first superintendent (bishop) of the Saxon Lutherans in Transylvania.⁴⁵ In this letter, dated January of 1560, Stöckel sounds tired of so many years of religious and political unrest.⁴⁶ He concludes by noting that he only hoped he had not done too much harm.⁴⁷ While clearly demonstrating a high degree of *docta pietas* in his letters, Stöckel’s themes of humanist pedagogical and Lutheran religious indoctrination are stressed all the more when we turn to the other two categories in Stöckel’s corpus: pedagogical and religious tracts.

⁴⁴ Stöckel, “Epistulae,” ep. 48, 356. “Quid ni vero tu, caeteris praesertim dissimulantibus, hominem sceleratum admonere debuisti, contra quem lapides quoque ipsi clamabunt, si homines tacebunt? Ac nisi deinceps vestri cives plus adhibuerint curae in praeficiendis Ecclesiae suae doctoribus, ipsi una cum huiusmodi doctoribus novam aliquam sibi poenam conciliabunt. Filius Dei custos Ecclesiae suae, vehementer periclitantis, servat nos in veritate sua.”

⁴⁵ David Daniel, “Matthias Hebler” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. II, Hans Hillerbrand, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 215.

⁴⁶ Stöckel, “Epistulae,” ep. 49, 357. “Equidem magno cum animi mei dolore hic ad ipsos fines Pannoniae et Sarmatiae specto iampridem ruinas publicas et dogmatum confusiones.”

⁴⁷ Ibid. “Spero tamen ita me ex hac miserrima vita, cum tempus erit, discessurum, ut homines dicant, nihil mali mea culpa accidisse in Politia et Ecclesia.”

Pedagogical works

As noted above, the tracts that make up this category are of rather different types yet they are also tied to one another by the single goal of developing *docta pietas* in the pupils in Stöckel's Latin grammar school. In addition, each work bears the mark of Erasmian humanism, both in a direct sense and by way of Melanchthon. The first work, put together soon after Stöckel's return from many years of studying outside of Hungary, is a set of school regulations. The second work, titled the *Apophtegmata*, is a textbook which centers around a collection of ancient proverbs, already published by Erasmus.⁴⁸ The third and final work in this category is a school drama.⁴⁹ Of the three works in this category, the school play was the only one that went to the press during Stöckel's own lifetime. Rather than writing for the purpose of publication, it seems safe to say that Stöckel wrote for more immediate, more practical reasons, those related to the needs of his school and church.

Before continuing with a closer examination of Stöckel's corpus, it should be pointed out that these categories are somewhat artificial, even if useful, and maybe a little unfair to Stöckel. Separating his private letters from his public works is fair enough, but dividing his works into pedagogical and theological categories, a division which is perfectly normal from the perspective of the twenty-first century, is in more than one respect outside the mindset of most sixteenth-century authors, especially the humanist-

⁴⁸ Leonard Stöckel, *Apophtegmata illustrium virorum, expositione Latina et rythmis Germanicis illustrata* (Breslau: David Guttgesell, 1570).

⁴⁹ Leonard Stöckel, "Historia von Susanna in Tragedien Weise Gestellet zu Übung der Jugend zu Bartfeld in Ungarn" Wittenberg: Luft, 1559, in *Stöckel Lénárd Zsuzsanna-drámája és a Bártfai német iskolai színjáték a XVI században*, Klára Szilasi ed. (Budapest:Pfeifer Ferdinánd-Féle Könyvkereskedés, 1918).

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reformer. The church was awash in pedagogical affairs, and the ties between the two groups, preachers/priests and teachers, had long been extremely close. In addition to teaching the basics of the Latin language, grammar schools were expected to provide training in ethics and in the fundamentals of the Christian religion. Schoolboys in many towns were expected to be the choir during regular religious services, including mass and funerals. If we just consider what a grammar school education was all about in the sixteenth century, we can see that it was intended as preparation for entry into universities. While not many actually went on to university studies and even fewer actually completed them, the training received was a liberal arts education, and many who received this training did so with plans to enter the ministry or become a teacher.

Stöckel and School Rules

Within just a few months of taking up his position as rector, Stöckel wrote the first regulations for the Latin school.⁵⁰ The *Leges* of Leonard Stöckel is an important primary document in the intellectual history of the Kingdom of Hungary in general, of Upper Hungary in particular, and, consequently of the modern independent Slovak Republic.⁵¹ The importance of the *Leges* is difficult to measure because it was significant in so many different ways. First, they are the first known school regulations to have been produced in Upper Hungary, or the territory that makes up the modern Slovak Republic. Stöckel's *Leges* are also significant in that they are clearly of the "melanchthonischen

⁵⁰ Leonard Stöckel, "Leges Bartphensis," in Johann Samuel Klein, *Nachrichten von den Lebensumständen und Schriften evangelischer Prediger*, I (Leipzig und Ofen: 1789), 332-341. Ludovít Holotík, Anton Vantuch, *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku v 15-16 storočí* (Bratislava: SAV, 1967), 124.

⁵¹ Peter Vajcík, *Školstvo, studejné a skolské poriadky na Slovensku v XVI storočí* (Bratislava, SAV, 1959), 59; Holotík, 124.

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Typus,” to use Hartfelder’s phrase. They were intended to organize an Erasmian pedagogical program but one which used humanist methods to aid in achieving a much greater goal: the success of Lutheran religious reform in Bartfeld.⁵² The *Leges* are significant because they demonstrate the flow of intellectual influence on Stöckel himself and his work, a stream of thought that runs through such figures as Leonard Cox, Philipp Melanchthon, Martin Luther and Erasmus.⁵³ Since Stöckel studied under at least two enthusiasts of Erasmus, it should not be surprising that his *Leges* conformed in virtually all respects to the organization and methods of the pedagogical reformers already discussed. To be sure, Stöckel’s own education followed Cox’s pedagogical program as laid out in his *De erudienda iuventute*, and, as has been demonstrated, *De erudienda iuventute* is the product of an Erasmian educator. The influence of nearly a decade of living and working with Melanchthon is virtually immeasurable other than to say that Melanchthon’s words are scattered throughout the *Leges*, as they are in all of Stöckel’s work.

What makes Stöckel’s *Leges* important, however, is not so much in demonstrating that these school rules, written during the decade of school rules, were influenced by such figures as Cox, Melanchthon and Erasmus. This will become evident below. What really makes the *Leges* important is how influential the *Leges* themselves became with regard to humanist and Lutheran pedagogical development in Upper Hungary during the sixteenth

⁵² Juraj Čečetka, Peter Vajcik, *Dejiny školstva a pedagogiky na Slovensku do prvej svetovej vojny* (Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1956), 10.

⁵³ Samuel Cambel, ed., *Dejiny Slovenska I* (Bratislava: SAV, 1986), 465, for the relation between Erasmus, on the one hand, Piso, Eck and Henckel on the other.

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century. It was in this way that the now almost forgotten Leonard Stöckel made a lasting impact upon Upper Hungary. Other schools, like those in Käsmark (Kežmarok) and Leutschau (Levoča), not only used Stöckel's *Leges* as a model but also became models themselves. Not only did Leonard Stöckel personally influence the pupils in his own school but his educational program spread far and wide through Upper Hungary, thereby having a much greater and more lasting influence on pedagogical instruction throughout the region.⁵⁴

The Leges of Leonard Stöckel

That the *Leges* were heavily influenced by similar work done by Philipp Melanchthon is without question. Not only had he studied under Melanchthon but, at Melanchthon's own recommendation, Stöckel taught at the grammar school in Eisleben, a school which Melanchthon himself had organized. In addition, Stöckel later lived with Melanchthon in Wittenberg while teaching at Melanchthon's private Latin school. There can be no doubt that he understood Melanchthon's goals in early education: teach the children to fear God while developing a sense of learned piety. It is here that we see most clearly Melanchthon's personal influence. Although Erasmus had similar goals, he did not express it in terms of fearing God in the same way as Cox, Melanchthon and Stöckel did. Whereas Erasmus hoped to achieve learned piety (*docta pietas*), the Lutheran approach to education was somewhat more doctrinaire. For one, Erasmus's many works on childhood education were directed toward the nobility and the rich and thus focused on issues such as hiring the best tutor. The difficulties of the first decade of the

⁵⁴ Vajcik, *Školstvo*, 176.

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Reformation had made it evident to Luther and Melanchthon that preachers and teachers should be used as tools to aid in the success of the movement among the whole population. This is the era of visitations, coupled with church and school orders, a period which demonstrates greater organization and attempts to achieve greater doctrinal conformity; the 1530s reflect the continuing evolution of the movement begun by Luther.

In the year prior to Stöckel's arrival in Wittenberg, Melanchthon had drawn up the Augsburg Confession. Following the publication of the first *Visitation Instructions* in 1528, the next decade was filled with visitations and the reorganization of numerous city churches and schools.⁵⁵ During the next century, hundreds of similar *Kirchen- und Schulordnungen* were produced, beginning with the work of early reformers, not only Melanchthon, but also Bugenhagen, Agricola and Martin Luther himself.⁵⁶

Before examining the rules laid out by Stöckel for his school in Bartfeld, we should first consider a fundamental difference between Stöckel's work and the comparable work by Melanchthon. Melanchthon's *Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarrherren im Kurfürstenthum zu Sachssen (Instructions of the Visitors to the Parish Ministers in Electoral Saxony)* is one of the best outlines for reforming a humanist Latin school with the goal of furthering Lutheran religious reform. The primary goal of this

⁵⁵ James William Richard, *Philipp Melanchthon, The Protestant Preceptor of Germany, 1497-1560* (New York: Burt Franklin Reprints, 1974), see especially the chapter entitled "Preceptor Germany."

⁵⁶ Emil Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, bd. 2 (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1902); Aemilius Ludwig Richter, ed., *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts*, bd. 2 (Weimar: Landes-Industrie comptoir, 1848; reprint Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1967); Emil Sehling, *Geschichte der protestantischen Kirchenverfassung* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1914); Charles Robbins, *Teachers in Germany in the Sixteenth Century, Conditions in Protestant Elementary and Secondary Schools* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1912), Robbins counts at least 481 different church and school orders. 16, n. 1.

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document was not childhood education but reform of the churches throughout Saxony. For religious reform to be successful, however, recommendations for pedagogical reform in city Latin schools were also introduced. What makes the *Instructions*, and a number of other comparable Church and School Orders, different from Stöckel's *Leges* is to whom these works are addressed. Melanchthon's work was addressed to adults, city councils and clergy, all of whom had already come to support the movement led by Martin Luther. Stöckel's *Leges*, on the other hand, was addressed to the students themselves. When some of Stöckel's rules are devoted to behavior inside and outside the school, on appropriate school attire etc..., such issues are not a concern for Melanchthon in his *Instructions*. Nor do we get as clear picture of the curriculum at Stöckel's school. Whereas the *Instructions* lay out the hoped-for curriculum in a straightforward manner, we are only able to discern a few shadows of the curriculum at Stöckel's school in the rules laid out for the pupils. It is, nevertheless, still possible to develop a fairly precise view of the day-to-day affairs in Stöckel's school when we supplement his regulations with information drawn from Schaeseus's biography of Stöckel.

Melanchthon's *Instructions* stresses that a fundamental goal of religious instruction, an important element in all Lutheran schools, is to "emphasize what is necessary for living a good life, namely, the fear of God, faith and good works."⁵⁷

Teaching the fear of God was literally the first rule in Stöckel's *Leges*.⁵⁸ There are other

⁵⁷ Martin Luther, *Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarhern ym Kurfurstenthum zu Sachssen (Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Priests)* *Luther's Works*, Conrad Bergendoff, tr., 40: 318.

⁵⁸ Stöckel, "Leges," 332, "I. Cum omnia in nomine Dei praesertim in filii Dei, fieri debeant, nihilque praeterea sit fortunatum: prima debet esse cura scholasticis, timor dei, qui est initium sapientiae."

examples of such influence on Melanchthon's part in the *Leges* of Leonard Stöckel. One such example also illustrates the influence that Luther had upon both Melanchthon and Stöckel. Luther was very fond of music and saw a need for the singing of hymns as an educational and spiritual part of life. The teaching and singing of hymns was not left to the Lutheran pastors alone to deal with. Instead, the pupils in the schools were expected to learn the songs and to take part in singing them during religious services. That the pupils in a city Latin school also functioned as a local choir was not a new or especially Lutheran idea. In much the same way, schoolmasters in many Latin schools had long held a dual function as choir leaders. Luther, nevertheless, emphasized the utility of hymns both for pupils and for congregations. Hymns, like catechisms, could be used as simple means of instruction on doctrine and worship. In his *Visitation Instructions*, the pedagogical element of which was added for the 1538 publication, that is, during a year when Stöckel was living with Melanchthon, Melanchthon advised that one hour every day, the hour after noon, should be set aside for instruction in music, particularly in singing.⁵⁹ Leonard Stöckel's *Leges* also indicate that pupils devoted time to music lessons daily during the same noon hour.⁶⁰ In addition, Stöckel's interest in music went beyond mere choir practice. One of the works in his corpus is an unpublished manuscript of a

⁵⁹ Luther, "Unterricht," 40: 319.

⁶⁰ Schesaeus, 89. "A prandio hor 12. usque ad 1. exercitium musices cum adolescentibus exercuit."

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textbook titled *De musica*, which was signed and dated in 1559, the last year of his life.⁶¹

When Leonard Stöckel died in June of 1560, he was directing his choir in the cathedral.⁶²

Stöckel's *Leges*, although briefly touching upon the school's curriculum, is devoted to more practical matters, those concerning behavior rather than curriculum. The focus of the *Leges*, therefore, is on the cost of tuition, proper school attire, moving in an orderly fashion when the pupils are walking in public, and the best means by which the pupils may organize themselves in order to further promote their studies.⁶³

Rule VII requires that pupils dress in a fashion appropriate for their station in life as pupils, as young men expected to become pious leaders, both secular and religious, of the next generation. In setting down this regulation, Stöckel specifically indicates that his pupils may not come to school dressed in the attire of soldiers whom he describes as wearing "carved footwear," and clothing that exhibits as much as "half an unclothed shoulder."⁶⁴ In other regulations, Stöckel also stresses that, no matter where they are, pupils at his school represent the school. Therefore, outside of the classroom, they should always be deferential to one another and to the people of Bartfeld. When they gather together, Stöckel requires that they not have drinking parties with foul language, a

⁶¹ Leonard Stöckel, "De musica," unpublished MSS. Signed by Leonard Stöckel, 1559.

⁶² Stanislav Sabol, *Leonard Stöckel (1510-1560), pedagóg, učiteľ, reformačný spisovateľ*, (Bardejov: Okresná knižnica, 1991), "L.S. zomrel neočakávane 7.6.1560 vo veku 50-tich rokov počas dirigovania speváckeho zboru v bardjovskom chráme."

⁶³ Stöckel, "Leges," 332, n. XV, VIII, VI and IX respectively. "XV. De pensionibus scholasticis lex;" "Itaque scissura caligarum et pallium circa corpus reiectum, non indutum, sit interdictum;" "VI. Ceremoniis temple omnes intersint, eaque in re mos vetus servetur, ut ex schola in templum, inde rursum in scholam ordine omnes incedant, praecedentibus minoribus et aliis sequentibus;" "V. Nulli fiant conventus scholasticorum, nisi propter doctrinam, aut aliam discendi commoditatem."

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 335. n. VIII.

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symbolic demonstration of dissolute lives. Rather, just as craftsmen gather together in order to better understand their craft, so should the pupils. Stöckel argues that “if craftsmen busy themselves with things of their crafts, it would be most shameful if pupils did not busy themselves with academic affairs but instead fell into debauchery, idleness and other corruptions.”⁶⁵ Stöckel goes on to point out that pupils, when properly educated, are “the light of the whole state and church,” and as such, have the responsibility to “illuminate all knowledge, counsel and all the virtues.”⁶⁶ Instead of drinking parties, meetings of pupils assembled outside the schoolhouse should be comparable to a gathering of “senators,” and, like senators, discussions in such assemblies should revolve around subjects which are “useful or profitable to the state.”⁶⁷ Suggested topics of conversation include discussions on questions of “grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, philosophy, science, ethics, and theology.”⁶⁸ Other topics, Stöckel adds, are more fitting for “parasites, slanderers, and fornicators,” people who are not properly dignified to be of their rank and condition.⁶⁹

A strong indicator of how important religious instruction was to Stöckel is that more than one-quarter of the *Leges* are directed specifically toward religious activities

⁶⁵ Ibid., 333-334. n. V, “Nam si fabri tractant fabrilia, turpe est scholasticos non tractare scholastica, atque a sui id generis moribus, ad helluones, nugatores et alias id genus pestes humani generis se convertere.”

⁶⁶ Ibid., “Neque enim ad hoc vocati sumus a Deo, sed ut quasi lumen simus quoddam toti Reipublicae et ecclesiae, qui caeteris hominibus omnibus, doctrina, consiliis, omnique genere virtutum, prae luceamus...”

⁶⁷ Ibid., “Hi conventus similes esse debent senatoriis, in quibus res utiles reipublicae quaeruntur.”

⁶⁸ Ibid., “Sint ergo colloquia de rebus grammaticism, aut dialecticis, aut rhetoricis, aut philosophicis, aut de natura rerum, aut moribus, aut theologicis.”

⁶⁹ Ibid., “Intra hos limites versentur colloquia litterarum, caetera indigna sunt nostro ordine, quae Parasitos, Sycophantas, Laenones et eiusdem farinae homines decent.”

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and the appropriate behavior associated with them.⁷⁰ The first regulation, in addition to its stress on the cultivation of an appropriate fear of God, also requires that every school day begin with prayers and the reading of a short excerpt from the Scriptures.⁷¹ This should aid in maintaining that appropriate fear while promoting pious behavior. The second regulation begins by noting that, if care is taken in developing a proper fear of God, everything else will readily fall into place. Stöckel notes that those who have a proper respect for God will necessarily also understand the need for, and show respect to, family, teachers and anyone who represents them.⁷² Appropriate behavior toward people of equal rank and lesser rank is also noted. Society, Stöckel points out, is a series of obligations between individuals of varying status and it is therefore important for order that the pupils in his school understand their station. One of the most obvious, most public means of demonstrating respect at the school, then, is attendance at both religious and philosophical lectures, including being on time.⁷³ The lectures referred to in this regulation were required; students who were unable to attend were asked to inform the rector at the earliest date possible.

The seventh regulation requires attendance and participation in Church services. Stöckel stresses that attendance at such service reflects well upon the pupils. In addition,

⁷⁰ Ibid., 333-335. n. I, II, VI, VII.

⁷¹ Ibid., 333, “Aliquid etiam ex sacris histories ad intendendum timorem dei et pietatem legatur, priusquam ad reliqua studia accedatur.”

⁷² Ibid., 332. n. II. “Nam qui ad voluntatem dei se totos comparare student, ii in omni genere officiorum, sua sponte omnia, quae deo, parentibus praeceptoribus, et qui horum vice funguntur, ut sunt in scholis Hypodidascali, amicis, superioribus, aequalibus et inferioribus debent.”

⁷³ Ibid., “Quare secunda lex sit, ut nemo scholasticorum illam lectionem sive sacram sive philosophicam negligat, seque in tempore ad eam praeparet, utque mane hora 5. a meridie 12. diebus Mercurii hor 2. diebus Saturni ante Psalmodium omnes in schola adsint.”

Stöckel required the pupils to walk in single file, smallest children leading the way, whenever the pupils were moving between the school and the cathedral. As with Melancthon, Leonard Stöckel continually stressed order: outward appearances, behavior, language, all are considered reflections of a pupil's character. God-fearing pupils demonstrated their piety through outward behaviors, just as the impious prove their impiety by their own actions. In this regulation then, while directed toward church services, the real focus is one of orderly and pious behavior. In order to stress the point, Stöckel inserts a couple of maxims "It is not enough that something be done but that it be done nobly," and "Nothing is beautiful which is without order."⁷⁴

The seventh regulation also extends the religious obligations of the pupils one step further in requiring that the pupils should not just attend church services but they should also take part in the Holy Communion. Communion, however, must only be taken following confession and, as in other parts of his *Leges*, Stöckel required pupils to announce publicly to their teacher when they would like to have confession and partake in Communion. In this way, one may more "readily observe indolence."⁷⁵ Stöckel also stressed in this regulation that the educated are expected to fully understand the important rites and doctrines of the Church because their characters will reflect, "as if in a mirror," the piety of the whole nation.⁷⁶ He therefore emphasized the need for the pupils to thoroughly learn and understand these rites and doctrines.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 334. n. VI, "Neque enim satis est fieri quidpiam, nisi idem cum decoro fiat," and "Nihil autem sit pulchre, quod caret ordine."

⁷⁵ Ibid., 334. n. VII, "Atque ut in negligentes facilius animasverti posit, edictum sit omnibus, qui absolutionem et coenam domini petituri sunt..."

⁷⁶ Ibid., "...et toti populo quasi speculum esse debent."

There is a strong undercurrent of Melancthon's thought discernable in Stöckel's *Leges* simply in the space devoted to issues of religious instruction and orderly behavior. Likewise, the issue of civility was of some significance in Erasmus's pedagogical program even if his recommendations were more specifically directed toward the parents and tutors of the elite, whereas Stöckel's audience is most definitely the pupils themselves. That it was to the students that his regulations were directed is made evident by the fact that one of the first things new pupils were required to do, according to the *Leges*, was to write out their own copy.⁷⁷

This difference in audiences should be considered because it plays an important role in what is written, what is not written and even the tone in which the material is presented. Erasmus's audience was most often the learned community of Europe, especially western Europe's growing population of educated nobility and those scholars who were enthusiastic about the new learning. He was particularly writing to Europe's social and academic elite, and his recommendations reflect the means and interests of that audience. Melancthon's *Visitation Instructions*, on the other hand, are directed toward city councils wanting to bring about religious reform in their Church and pedagogical reforms in their school in support of those religious changes. What Melancthon recommends to them is of a different nature than the regulations that Stöckel personally wrote and imposed upon his pupils. Melancthon's *Visitation Instructions*, therefore, tend to focus on issues of school organization and curriculum since these

⁷⁷ Ibid., 338. Alia lex, "Omnes scholastici primae classis habeant descripta sua manu praecepta huius scholae."

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recommendations are for councils which will need to hire teachers who are capable of accomplishing Melanchthon's goals in organizing the school and directing the curriculum.

No one was imposing orders on Bartfeld's school but the new rector himself. Certainly, Stöckel was called to his position by the city council, which had ultimate authority over the school's activities. Nevertheless, the rules were not for the rector to follow, as with Melanchthon's *Visitation Instructions*, but for the pupils. Nor were the rules made as suggestions for the city council to act upon. Even though the tone, the audience, and the nature of the works written were different, the common goals of piety through erudition and eloquence are the same. Whether the intended audience was the students, their parents, city councils or the nobility, it is unmistakable that their pedagogical goals were fundamentally the same: *docta pietas*. Melanchthon and Stöckel took this one step further in focusing that goal of learned piety toward the greater goal of Lutheran religious reform.

Curriculum

Beyond the social and religious regulations that dominate the *Leges* there is some information in Stöckel's work that allows us at least a glimpse of how the school was organized and how the pupils were expected to spend their time. The second regulation, while emphasizing a necessary fear of God and how that fear should translate into respect for and deference to one's superiors, turns to the subject of timely attendance at lecture, religious or otherwise. Stöckel notes the hours that the school is open, during which the pupils were expected to be in attendance unless they had already informed their teacher

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otherwise. During the week the students were expected to be at the school in the morning from five and after lunch from twelve, except on Wednesdays when they are not required to return from lunch until two in the afternoon. On Saturdays. they were also expected to be in attendance “from the singing of Psalms.”⁷⁸ Directing his attention toward noble and rich parents and their tutors, Erasmus says nothing about school times. Luther, in his recommendations for the school in Leisnig in Saxony, stresses that the pupils should not be required to be at the school at five in the morning but at six during the summer and at seven during the winter months.⁷⁹ On the other hand, both Stöckel and Luther note that the first half hour of every school day should be devoted to the reading of Psalms and to prayers of benediction. Luther indicates that this should be done in the church. After leading the pupils back to the school, Luther notes, the remainder of that hour should be devoted to the reading of Scripture from either the Old or the New Testament.⁸⁰ Stöckel’s first regulation, following this mandate rather closely, also completes the morning benedictions with a reading of Scripture.⁸¹ While Stöckel and Melanchthon state that only Latin should be spoken in the school, Melanchthon takes this point a step further by

⁷⁸ Ibid., 332, II, “mane hora 5. a meridie 12. diebus Mercurii hor 2. diebus Saturni ante Psalmodiam omnes in schola adsint.”

⁷⁹ Luther, “*Unterricht*,” Sehling, 605, “Frue morgens sollen die knaben nicht umb funf hore, sundern somers umb sechs und winters umb sieben hore...”

⁸⁰ Ibid., 606, “Das ander teil derselben stunden erstlich kum heiliger geist singen, und so es die zeit leiden will, ein jeder oder etliche aus den knaben wie zuvor einem paragraphum deutsch oder latinisch aus dem alten testament oder neuen herlesen, und dieses soll mit der ganzen schuel, die des vormugens und alders sein, gehalden werden.

⁸¹ Stöckel, “*Leges*,” 332, I “Aliquid etiam ex sacris historiis ad intendendum timorem dei et pietatem legatur, priusquam ad reliqua studia accedatur.”

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stating that only Latin should be taught at the school.⁸² German, Greek and Hebrew were not to be taught because such language study proved too burdensome on the young pupils.⁸³ Luther, on the other hand, noted that the morning Scriptures could be read in either German or Latin, and we know Stöckel required exercises in German for the pupils who needed them. We will look into the reasons for this below.

The fifteenth regulation of the *Leges* allows for a glimpse into the school's organization. Although the focus of rule fifteen is on the issue of payment, when discussing the pay scales of different pupils, Stöckel indicates that the school is divided into three classes.⁸⁴ The division of the school into three classes is part of Luther's recommendations for Leisnig, as well as Melanchthon's *Visitation Instructions*.⁸⁵ Regulation fourteen of the *Leges* contains the most curricular information. Pupils in the first class were to learn the fundamentals of reading and writing. When they had sufficiently done so, and had memorized the catechism, they would then be allowed into the second class, the focus of which was an examination of grammar.⁸⁶ Terence was also to be studied by the pupils of the second level. There is no discussion in Stöckel's school

⁸² Ibid., 334, n IV, "Sermo igitur omnium latinus fit."

⁸³ Melanchthon, *Visitation Instructions*, 605, "Erstlich, sollen die schulmeister vleis ankeren, das sie die kinder allein lateinisch leren, nicht deutsch oder grekisch, oder ebreisch..."

⁸⁴ Stöckel, *Leges*, 336. n. XV, Stöckel's schedule of fees divided the fees owed to the school by the children of citizens into three classes. Foreigners and children of the nobility were charged more. He also briefly notes the duties of two of those classes.

⁸⁵ Luther, "Leisnig," Sehling, 60, "Die ganze schuel soll in drei haufen geteilt werden;" Melanchthon, *Visitation Instructions*, 100, "Zum dritten, Ist es not, das man die kinder zurteile von hauffen." Melanchthon goes on to describe the duties of three such groups.

⁸⁶ Stöckel, "Leges," 336, n XIV, "Cum autem pueri lectionem et scriptionem assecuti fuerint, et catechesim puerilem edidicerint, volumus ut etiam hoc indicetur magistro, ac deinde mitantur in secundam classem ad examen grammaticum et praecepta artis cognoscenda cum *Terentio*,..."

rules of the work expected of pupils in the third class. The schedule of fees leaned so heavily in their favor that there must have been relatively few pupils in the third class, and, as in other schools of this nature, the pupils who were in that class quite likely devoted much of their time to aiding the rector in his teaching duties.

Fortunately, even though Stöckel's *Leges* do not paint the clearest picture of the curriculum at his school in Bartfeld, Christian Schesaeus fills in at least a few of the blank spots. Nevertheless, the framework outlined in the *Leges* is enough to demonstrate that the school was organized around the pedagogical methods of the northern humanists, of whom Melanchthon, the *Preceptor Germaniae*, was the shining light. In his *Vita* of Stöckel, Schesaeus notes that the readings at Stöckel's school were quite limited.

"Nothing more," he says, than Donatus, the Catechism, Aesop's Fables and Terence.⁸⁷

Each of these texts is also recommended by either Luther or Melanchthon. Schesaeus must have been referring only to the primary texts used by the abecedarios, that is, the first class, and the second class, because he shortly thereafter notes several other works which were also read at the school. He adds that the typical day was busy, full of exercises, lectures and prayers in the Church. In addition to the daily music lesson, third-level pupils heard lectures on Cicero, Ovid, and Livy; there were also regular lectures in moral philosophy, arithmetic and dialectic, as well as in Greek. With regard to these

⁸⁷ Schesaeus, 89, "Nihil praeter Donati praecepta, catechismum continentem praecipuas Christianae doctrinae partes, et fabulas Aesopi, additis his Terentii comoediis, praelegens."

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higher subjects, the texts were almost exclusively those of Melanchthon, including his *Apophthegmata Salomonis*.⁸⁸

Stöckel also devotes space to two rules in his *Leges* that might not at first come to mind as necessary elements in a set of school regulations. Regulation twelve forbids the sale and trade of books without the prior consent of the rector. The motivation behind this regulation is not readily apparent, although it might be related to the rector's belief that the trade in books was the schoolmaster's monopoly and a source of income. Regulation thirteen prohibits giving private lessons or tutoring of any sort without the permission of the rector.⁸⁹ Although he stresses that this prohibition is based on maintaining order, as if on a ship which had room for only one captain, the rector wants to make it clear from the very beginning that he alone is the person in Bartfeld licensed and hired to teach. Those not yet approved by the rector are not allowed to compete for funds that are rightfully those of the schoolmaster. As with bishops in the church or military commanders in the field, Stöckel notes that teachers must worry about every detail.⁹⁰

To summarize, the school's organization and curriculum are fairly typical of a northern humanist city Latin grammar school which has been put to the service of Lutheran reform. Whether they were hearing sermons, publicly reading biblical verses,

⁸⁸ David P. Daniel, "The Lutheran Reformation in Slovakia, 1517-1618" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1972), 181. Daniel adds that Melanchthon's *Examen Theologicum*, *Rhetorika*, *Dialektika*, and the *Etymologia* were used in the city schools of Upper Hungary; William Hammer, "Latin Instruction in Transylvania," *The Phoenix*, 8 (1954), 95. Hammer notes the popularity in Transylvania of Melanchthon's textbooks through the end of the century. Not only had Erasmus and Melanchthon recommended similar readings, they both also produced new textbook editions of those same readings.

⁸⁹ Stöckel, "Leges," n. XIII, "Est igitur huius legis sententia, ut nemo scholasticorum ullius sibi pueri instituendi curam vendicet, iniussu magistri."

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, "Sicut enim episcopus in ecclesia, dux in militia, sic magister in schola, omnium partium curator esse debet."

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memorizing the catechism or explicating the *Apothegmata Salomonis*, much of every school day was spent on religious studies. As in the church, Latin was the important and primary language. In the same way as Luther and Melanchthon, Stöckel divided his school into three grades or classes. The first class, also referred to as the abecedarios, had the primary goal of learning to read and write in Latin. In the process, one of the tasks of the abecedarios was to memorize the catechism. Another included the study of Latin grammar from a text by Donatus. Pupils of the second class devoted much of their time to preparation for a Latin grammar examination. They continued to study Donatus and they began reading comedies by Terence. In addition to this, we know from Schesaeus that lectures were presented in rhetoric, dialectic, mathematics, on Cicero, Ovid, and in the Greek language.

This is a school organization and curriculum which would have been approved by Luther and Melanchthon. That the school's organization and curriculum were not especially new leads one to wonder why the school became so famous. The answer to that appears to be twofold. First, we would do well to remember that Stöckel's school was not in the Empire but in Hungary, a kingdom that was in the process of disintegration through foreign occupation and civil war. Considering the gravity of the situation, Stöckel's school in Bartfeld was more distinctive than it may have been had Bartfeld been situated in the middle of the Empire. Second, although the organization and curriculum were effective, the real attraction to this school was very likely based on the person, the personality of Leonard Stöckel. Not only did his school apply the most current northern humanist methods to the field of pedagogy, but Stöckel must have been

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remarkably successful in preparing his pupils for future careers as teachers and preachers and for further studies at universities to the west. That he had studied at the feet of Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon added a certain degree of authority and prestige to the man.

While we already knew that most of his program mirrored those of his teachers, Cox and Melanchthon, and their model, Erasmus, the differences between his program and theirs, while only slight, are the kinds of changes one would expect from a prudent, trained scholar of this nature. Leonard Stöckel's school focused on the same texts which were based on the same classical authors, or ones very similar to those with which he had been educated. His school used the same teaching techniques and stressed the acquisition of grammar above everything else – everything else, that is, except early religious indoctrination.⁹¹ But Leonard Stöckel as a schoolmaster of a Royal Free City in Upper Hungary during the middle of the sixteenth century had to contend with different conditions than a schoolmaster in a Lutheran city within the Holy Roman Empire. For one, the vast majority of the pupils in a school in the Empire were native German speakers when they entered school, a situation much less likely in Upper Hungary during this era. Although Latin was the required language while in school and in all other social situations involving the pupils, Stöckel also required developing skills in the city's most common vernacular language..

Secondly, when Leonard Stöckel returned from years of study and work away from his homeland, his "*Vaterstadt*," he not only returned as a hometown boy who had

⁹¹ Stöckel, "Epistulae," 272.

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done well, but his return must have meant even more than that. He was returning home from important work with the leaders of the Reformation movement in Wittenberg. His return was by no means the beginning of the Reformation in Bartfeld. The city had already fallen under its influence for some time by 1539. During the years that Stöckel was away the city began taking steps that were decidedly Lutheran in nature, particularly the activity of one of the city's priests.⁹² In addition, we have seen that the Bartfeld city council even wrote Luther and Melanchthon for advice on occasion. Finally, the council had to know that, when he accepted the call, Stöckel returned against the advice of Melanchthon. There is, therefore, every reason to believe that Leonard Stöckel received a high level of respect upon arrival back home, and that he was given the freedom to reform the school in those ways that he believed to be appropriate. That the Bartfeld city council had effective authority over the school is without doubt; we need only consider that it was the council which had written to Luther and Melanchthon specifically appealing for Stöckel's return in order to take up the position of rector. The council's authority over the school is also indicated in regulation fifteen of Stöckel's *Leges*, on the payment of school fees.⁹³

If his position in relation to the city council started out well, it only improved as his school proved to be a great success. Excluding a short period in the nearby city of

⁹² Miloslava Bodnárová, "Reformácia v Bardejove v 16. storočí," in *Prvé augsburké vyznanie viery na Slovensku a Bardejov [The First Augsburg Confession of Faith in Slovakia and Bardejov]*, ed. Peter Kónya (Prešov: Biskupský úrad Východného dištriktu Evangjelickej cirvi a. v. na Slovensky, 2000), 86-87. The priest in question was Wolfgang Schustel. His preaching apparently led to conflict between himself and another Bardejov priest. As the conflict escalated, that priest was forced to find refuge in the city's Augustinian cloister which, Bodnárová notes, Schustel "zlikvidovalo," or liquidated in 1528.

⁹³ Leonard Stöckel, "Leges," 336, XV, "Civium pueri iuxta ordinationem et legem huius reipublicae, si sunt in prima classe, quolibet trimestri dare debent hypodidascalo nummos 13. si in secunda 7; in tertia 1."

Käsmark, Stöckel remained rector at the school for the remainder of his life. Such longevity would not have been possible had there not been a healthy amount of mutual respect between the rector and the city council. And Stöckel's success, his prestige in Bartfeld, and abroad, was not limited merely to his pedagogical achievements. During his years as rector in Bartfeld, Leonard Stöckel was one of the most important religious leaders in Upper Hungary in the tradition of Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon. His importance in this area lent added respect not only to the person but to his school.

Within a short time after Stöckel's return to Bartfeld the school became immensely popular. Schesaeus remembers "foreign" pupils, like himself, attending the school in Bartfeld, not just from other cities, towns and villages of Upper Hungary or Transylvania but also from as far away as Moravia, Silesia, Poland, Transylvania, Austria, Prussia and Russia.⁹⁴ The school maintained its fame through the end of the sixteenth century.

With regard to pedagogical reform, Leonard Stöckel's greatest legacy is his Latin school in Bartfeld. The simple *Leges* written as a means of outlining the goals of the school aided in its success. Stöckel's *Leges* are also the first known school orders ever produced in the Kingdom of Hungary, and on the territory of the modern state of Slovakia.⁹⁵ As such, the *Leges* proved influential in the early development of school regulations in a variety of other cities throughout the region.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Schesaeus, 89.

⁹⁵ Holotík, 124, "Najstaršie sú školské zákony bardejovskej školy.

⁹⁶ Daniel, "The Lutheran Reformation," 181.

The Apophthegmata

Leonard Stöckel's *Apophthegmata illustrium virorum, expositione Latina et*

rythmis Germanicis illustrata is an example of the author's pedagogical work. This text illustrates the humanist pedagogical stress on *imitatio*, in regard to both the origins of the work and the goals intended in producing it. It demonstrates that that the author was a classicist, a moralist and a pedagogue, and it illustrates how his humanist interests were very much the same as those of Erasmus. Even though the work is much like many of the other pedagogical works already discussed, it still lends credence to the argument that the author showed a conscientious level of humanist judgment and prudence as he adapted the work to conditions more suitable to his pupils.

In all probability, Stöckel first wrote his *Apophthegmata* to be used as a series of daily exercises for the pupils.⁹⁷ This collection was never published by Stöckel during his life, and there is no evidence that he planned to have it printed. There is some confusion among secondary sources with regard to its publication date and location.⁹⁸ The title page and Dedication, however, clear up any confusion. The title page indicates that the book was printed in 1570. On the next page is an introductory poem, signed by one "Ioh. Scholtius Filius," from Breslau (Wrocław, Poland), in Silesia. In addition, Leonard

⁹⁷ Karl Schwarz, "Praeceptor Hungariae: Über den Melanchthonschüler Leonhard Stöckel (1510-1560)" in *Prvé augsburké vyznanie viery na Slovensku a Bardejov [The First Augsburg Confession of Faith in Slovakia and Bardejov]*, ed. Peter Kónya (Prešov: Biskupský úrad Východného dištriktu Evanjelickej cirvi a. v. na Slovensky, 2000), 62. Schwarz describes the *Apophthegmata* as "sein wichtigstes pädagogisches Werk."

⁹⁸ For the difficulties surrounding the date and location of publication, see: Ján Čaplovič, *Bibliografia tlači vydaných na Slovensku do roku 1700*, (Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1972), 49.

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Stöckel Jr., the author of the Dedication, acknowledges David Guttgesell as the printer.⁹⁹

Finally, Ján Čaplovič, a scholar of early printing in what is today Slovakia, notes that in 1570, David Guttgesell was working for the printer Crispin Scharfenberg in Breslau.¹⁰⁰

Because the information about the printer and the year of publication are found within the first couple pages of the *Apophthegmata*, the only real question would be that of location of printing. Čaplovič's note, however, indicates that Guttgesell was still living in Breslau in 1570; in combination with the poem from the same town, this is enough to clear up any real doubts about place of publication.

Schaeseus's biography mentions that the pupils in the grammar school read apophthegms every evening, although he specifically referred to *Apophthegmata Salomonis*, which would be Hebrew proverbs rather than the classical Greek and Roman proverbs which make up this volume.¹⁰¹ The apophthegms to which Schesaeus referred in his *Vita* also incorporated German verse, as did the text printed in 1570.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Stöckel, *Apophthegmata*, Aiii, "Verum, cum ea res non exiguos requirat sumptus, periculum fecimus in libello exiguo Apophthegmatum, cum suam nobis in eo excudendo operam offerret optimus iuuenis David Guttgesell, qui nunc aliquot anno cum laude exercuit Typographicam." By 1578 Guttgesell had moved to Bartfeld, where he set up his own press, producing at least twelve works in that year. His press would continue production in Bartfeld through the end of the century, by which time it was competing with a second press in town. See Čaplovič, *Bibliografija tlači*, 49-81. See also Jozef Petrovič, "Príspevok ku genealógii Bardejovského rodu Stöckel," in *Prvé augsburské vyznanie viery na Slovensku a Bardejov*, Peter Konya ed. (Prešov: Biskupský úrad Východného dištriktu Evangelickej cirkvi a. v. na Slovensku, 2000), 71, "Zaslúžil sa o vydanie otcových spisov."

¹⁰⁰ Čaplovič, *Bibliografija tlači*, 50, "Na Stöckelove *Apophthegmata*, ktoré vytlačil Guttgesell r. 1570 b. m. a. t. (vo Vratislavi u Crispina Sharfenberga)..."

¹⁰¹ Schaeseus, 89, "Inde circa tempus vespertinum Apophthegmata Salomonis pueris Germanicis rhythmis utiliter inculcavit."

¹⁰² Ibid., "Inde circa tempus vespertinum Apophthegmata Salomonis pueris Germanicis rhythmis utiliter inculcavit."

The Apophthegmata: Proverbs for Pupils

The Dedicatory Epistle introducing Stöckel's *Apophthegmata* accomplishes two goals. First Leonard Stöckel Jr., the author of the Dedication, dedicated the work to the city council of Bartfeld which had supported his father and the school for so many years.¹⁰³ Second, following the dedication, the letter turns to what the author believed would be the benefits his father expected to be derived from a schoolbook of this nature.¹⁰⁴ In the process of explaining these goals, Stöckel Jr. also touches upon the work's organization, as well as the sources from which his father drew in order to put the work together.

In the Dedication the author said that the primary benefit derived from this work would be to sharpen judgment, to form character and to supply a brilliant body of spoken material.¹⁰⁵ To sharpen judgment, to form character and to provide spoken material in the process: from the work's very introduction, we are able to see that Stöckel's intentions were directly related to *docta pietas*.

The *Apophthegmata* is a collection of classical proverbs derived, in this case, primarily from Greek history and literature. Stöckel's selections were categorized according to the fifty-six men to whom particular passages have been attributed. The total number of apophthegms included in the text is 316. Each apophthegm is quoted within a

¹⁰³ Stöckel, *Apophthegmata*, Aiii, "Sapientia et virtute praestantiss. viris, iudici et iuratis civib. civitatis Bartphae: dominis et patronis nobis plurimum honorandis."

¹⁰⁴ For more information on the development and form of the humanist *epistola dedicatoria*, see Peter Schaefer, "Humanism on Display, the Epistles Dedicatory of Georg von Logau," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 17 (1986), 215-223.

¹⁰⁵ Stöckel, *Apophthegmata*, Aiii, "Quantam autem teles sententiae breves & argutae illustrium virorum prosint ad acuendum iudicium, formandos mores, ad suppeditandam luculentiam dicendi materiam..."

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paragraph that is intended to briefly explain the situation, the context, in which the statement was made. This is then followed by a second paragraph which fleshes out the meaning of the statement in greater detail. Both of these paragraphs are in Latin, although two different fonts were used, thereby visually separating the words of the modern author from those of antiquity. These paragraphs are then followed by several lines of German verse. In this case, the font is the Gothic *Fraktur*. The text is organized alphabetically according to the names of the men with whom the apophthegms are associated, and each apophthegm attributed to a particular individual is covered before moving on to the next person.

Stöckel Jr. states that his father included phrases which could be generally divided into four categories. First, there are statements about God.¹⁰⁶ Second, there are sentences which are political, statements about the “duties of government and descriptions of the best republics.”¹⁰⁷ Third, Stöckel has incorporated proverbs on ethics, what Greek philosopher Thales of Miletus referred to as “how to live best and most justly.”¹⁰⁸ The final type of apophthegm included in the text is related to “Oeconomica.” These are statements about the institution of marriage and domestic affairs.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., Aiiii, “Primum de Deo...”

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., “Deinde aliae sententiae sunt politicae, quae gubernatorum officia continent, & optimum Reipublicae statum describunt.”

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., “Tertio, quaedam Apophthegmata sunt ethica, quae de omnibus omnium moribus praecipunt. Exemplo sit dictum Thaletis Militij, quo pacto quis optime iustissimeque viveret.”

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., Aiiiib, “de Coniugio & domestica gubernatione.”

Sources: Plutarch and Erasmus

Stöckel Jr. does not hesitate to point out the sources of information from which his father drew in order to put this text together. The most important was the Greek biographer and moralist Plutarch of Chaeronea (c. 45-127). While Plutarch is best known for his biographical *Parallel Lives* of famous Greek and Roman leaders, he was always more of a moralist than a historian. Even in his *Parallel Lives* the emphasis is much more directed toward questions of the subject's character than toward the accurate portrayal of historic events. The remainder of Plutarch's body of work is known as the *Moralia*, and its subject matter ranges from practical essays on the institution of marriage, to philosophical and ethical discussions on the relationship between virtue and fortune. Some of the essays are devoted to proverbs associated with great figures of the past. The collection is known by the Greek term for such proverbs, *Apophthegmata*, although in English the term "sayings," even proverbs, may be substituted. Some of Plutarch's surviving *Moralia* had been published by the Aldine Press in Greek in 1509 and a later, improved, edition was printed in Basel in 1542.¹¹⁰ Although a complete Latin translation of Plutarch's work was not accomplished until the 1572 edition in Paris, smaller collections of Latin *Moralia* had become quite common.¹¹¹

In the Dedication, Stöckel Jr. does not limit the source for his father's proverbs to Plutarch alone. Rather, he indicates that his father drew upon Erasmus's *Apophthegmata*,

¹¹⁰ Plutarch, *Moralia*, Jeffrey Henderson, ed., Frank Cole Babbitt, trans. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927, reprint: 2000), xxiii.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, xxiv.

Stöckel: Educator first printed in 1531.¹¹² Erasmus's work, while more than a simple translation from Greek to Latin, is dependent on the collections found in Plutarch's *Moralia*. Therefore, most of Stöckel's work in putting this project together was not devoted to the discovery and translation of classical Greek proverbs; Erasmus had already done that for him. Instead his primary task was twofold. First of all, Stöckel needed to convert Erasmus's work into a format and style that would be more appropriate to the classroom. Quite simply, the author believed that Erasmus's own style, even though "sublime," would prove too much for his pupils.¹¹³ Erasmus's language and sentence structure were, therefore, modified in order to increase the work's utility and to make it more useful for Stöckel's goal of using it as a textbook in a grammar-school environment.

German Verse and German Drama

Stöckel's second task was to add his own German verse compositions as part of the interpretation devoted to each apophthegm. The author of the Dedication notes that this was done to make the work more appealing outside of the classroom. He pointed out that his father believed everyone could benefit from the wisdom found in these apophthegms.¹¹⁴ However, most people in town, to whom the author referred as the "illiterati," did not know Latin and could, therefore, benefit from this text only with great difficulty. The addition of German rhyming verse, Stöckel Jr. informs the reader, was intended to make the text more accessible and thus more appealing to such "illiterati,"

¹¹² Stöckel, *Apophthegmata*, Avi.

¹¹³ Ibid., "Ex hoc praecipua Apophthegmata Stockelius in hunc libellum transtulit, pro captu, & utilitate iuuentis scholasticae, quae sublimitatem styli Erasmi non ubique assequitur."

¹¹⁴ Ibid., Avib, "Et addidit rhythmos germanicos, ut harum pulcherrimarum sententiarum usum non solum Scholastici, verumetiam illiterati, qui saltem germanicam lectionem nosset percipere possent."

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even if the majority of the work would remain unavailable to them. They could still read and learn the rhymes and, in doing so, pick up on the ethical issues which were central to this work.¹¹⁵ One has a vision of townspeople and pupils exchanging classical proverbs on the streets of Bartfeld as everyone went about his or her daily business.

There is very likely another, more practical, reason why Stöckel chose to include German verse alongside his selected classical proverbs. The year prior to his death, Stöckel published a school play that was also in German verse. The *Historia von Susanna in Tragedien Weise Gestellet zu Übung der Jugend zu Bartfeld in Ungarn (The History of Susanna Presented in the Form of a Tragedy to Exercise the Youth of Bartfeld in Hungary)* is based on the apocryphal Old Testament Book of Susanna.¹¹⁶ In the Prologue to the play, Stöckel explains why he chose to produce this play in German rather than in Latin:

Wir solten uns billich im Latein
Weil wir derselbe sprach Juenger sein
Uben mehr denn in deudscher sprach
Und uns im reddten richten darnach
Zu brauchen gleiche Form und Kunst
Denn wo sol man solchs lernen sonst?

We should surely model our speech on the Latin
Because we are its heirs
We should practice it more often than German
And base our speaking upon it
To use the same forms and arts
From whom else could one learn to speak.

Wir muessen uns aber nach der Zeit

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Stöckel, "Susanna," 50-127.

Richten in welcher wenig Leut.
 Lateinischer Zungen kundig sein
 Darum wir nu viel jar allein
 In gemeiner sprach uns hoeren lan
 Damit man uns verstehen kan.

We must however remain relevant
 Since so few understand Latin
 Then much of the year will be spent alone
 We want all pupils to learn some German
 With it the common man understand us can.¹¹⁷

Even though a rather loose translation of Stöckel's words, the general sense which the author is trying to convey is the same: "Even though the focus of a Latin grammar school is on Latin, the language of the learned and the sacred, we, here in mostly German-speaking Bartfeld, situated in multi-lingual Hungary, also need to be able to speak proper German." By way of such exercises as the German verse included in the *Apophthegmata* and the annual recital of the play *Susanna*, Stöckel encouraged his pupils to practice their German-language skills. Even though Bartfeld was predominantly German during this era, the percentage of Magyars in Upper Hungary had been on the increase since the disaster at Mohacs in 1526 and especially since the occupation of the central core of the kingdom, including the capital of Buda in 1541.¹¹⁸ The percentage of Slovaks living in the city was also on the increase. In addition to the multi-ethnic makeup of Bartfeld and its environs, many of the students who attended Stöckel's Latin school

¹¹⁷ Ibid., lines 1-7, 17-22.

¹¹⁸ Signs of demographic change in Bartfeld, in particular the growth of Slovak influence, include the fact that the first printed Slovak text came off the Guttgesell press in Bartfeld in the year 1581. The work was Luther's *Small Catechism* which is thought to have been translated by Severín Škultéty, a student of Stöckel's who not only taught in Bartfeld but also became the first Slovak Senior of the Lutheran churches in eastern Upper Hungary. For more see Čapolovič, 55.

Stöckel: Educator came from outside the city and were not native speakers of German. Instead their first languages were either Magyar, Slovak, Polish, Romanian, or even Russian. Due to the multi-ethnic character of his student body, and the need for the school to maintain good relations with the city and its inhabitants, Stöckel believed that instruction in German was a necessity, as he indicated in the introduction to his play. Some time was therefore set aside from the more regular routines expected of a Latin grammar school of this nature in order to improve German language skills. We have already seen that this was the case when Schaeseus indicated the daily reading of the *Apophthegmata Salomonis* that also included German verse.¹¹⁹ While out of the ordinary for a Latin grammar school of this caliber, especially inside of the Empire, the exercise of German in this school serves to illustrate the rather different circumstances surrounding Bartfeld and Upper Hungary during the sixteenth century. And yet the decision to do so also remains quite in line with the practical social and ethical skills stressed by northern humanist pedagogues everywhere.

Apophthegmata: Contents

The body of the *Apophthegmata* corresponds rather closely to the description laid out in the Dedication. Although the great majority of the leaders to whom the more than 300 proverbs have been attributed are Greek, the *Apophthegmata* also contains selections devoted to the apophthegms of Augustus, Pompey the Great and Cicero. More interesting, however, although again in line with the work of Plutarch and Erasmus, Stöckel's *Apophthegmata* also contains proverbs attributed to the Persian kings Darius,

¹¹⁹ See note 101.

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Xerxes, Artaxerxes, as well as other leaders related to the Persians, Cyrus the Younger and Memnon of Rhodes. There is also a section devoted to the proverbs of the “Scytharum,” the Scythians. The apophthegms are not at all evenly distributed; while in Stöckel’s text only a few of the leaders are associated with just one proverb, the majority is associated with at least three while thirty-one apophthegms are attributed to Socrates alone.

One way to more accurately describe the work is to supply a brief example. One entry for the Spartan ruler Agasicles (r. c. 575-550 B.C.) centers upon the king’s response to a question about how he was able to rule without being surrounded by bodyguards. Agasicles’s response is quite simple: “To be crowded by an escort is unnecessary if one rules his subjects as a father rules his children.”¹²⁰ This is then followed by a short paragraph, also in Latin, under the heading: “Quae est sententia huius dicti?” (“What is the meaning of this maxim?”), in which Stöckel further explains the apophthegm. In this case, he refers the reader to two other similar classical maxims, one from the Greek general Xenophon, who said that the “good king does not differ from the good father,” and another attributed to the Roman comic playwright Terence, who is known to have said that the best forms of rule incorporate an element of friendship while the “magistrates act the part of the father and the citizens that of the children.”¹²¹ This is then followed by twelve lines of German verse.

¹²⁰ Stöckel, *Apophthegmata*, Bb. “respondit, nulla stipatus satellitio, si sic imperet suis, quemadmodum pater liberis.”

¹²¹ Ibid., Bii, “Bonus princeps nihil differt a bono patre,” and “...ubi Magistratus animum paternum & cives animum liberorum induunt.”

Auff erden ist kein schwerer ding /
Dan so regieren / das wol geling.
Aber zu nichts man sich so loß
Stellen thut / als regenten gross /
Bewysen ist zu unser zeit /
Denn es feileet des Himmels weit.
Der meist teyl sist ihm Regiment /
Das er alles verderbt und schendt.
Nicht wert ist das der huet der Schwein /
Noch muss er fuerst und herre sein.
Gott straffet die Welt fuer ihrem end /
Mit solchem boesen Regiment.¹²²

On earth there's no more difficult thing
Than to govern so that it works well
But one does nothing so worthless as
To set himself up as a great ruler
For the arrows fall from heaven's corners
He is not worthy to watch a pig
And he must set himself up as a prince and lord.
God punishes the world for their misdeeds
with a government as bad as this one.

This apophthegm can be readily placed into Stöckel Jr's category of political proverbs, noted in the Dedication. It gives direction not only to those who would rule but also those subject to such rule. The addition of similar statements made by Xenophon and Terence serves to reinforce this point while also bringing in two other important classical authors who can then be discussed in greater detail. The German verse, with God punishing the world for its misdeeds, fits squarely in the tradition of Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon. More than opening the door for further discussion, the German verse could also be used for practice in vocabulary and the basis for grammar exercises.

¹²² Ibid.

Stöckel's *Apophthegmata* accomplished all of the goals expected of a textbook by a humanist-reformer. It subtly combines the goal of northern humanists in the tradition of Erasmus and Melanchthon in promoting wisdom through the study and imitation of good, classical Latin literature while simultaneously presenting examples of virtuous behavior which could also be emulated. The text is devoted to classical figures and topics which were expected to aid in the development of the pupils' sense of ethics while creating opportunities for grammatical and rhetorical exercises. In addition, Stöckel took the unusual step (for a rector of a Latin grammar school) of developing German verse compositions to accompany each apophthegm. Although unusual, the author's decision to do so can nevertheless be tied to the humanist desire to develop strong, right-thinking leaders. A common language is seen as a necessity in that regard. The effectiveness of such leadership, whether secular or religious, would only go so far if that leadership had difficulties communicating with its compatriots, something that was a much greater issue in Upper Hungary than it was within the Empire. But this is not all; the German verse is also clearly of the Protestant tradition of Luther and Melanchthon, which can be seen by its stress on contemporary evils, poor government and the end of times. In short, the work achieves what the author of the Dedication argues was his father's own goals in putting this text together: "to sharpen judgment, to form character and to supply a brilliant body of spoken material," again, all goals in keeping with *docta pietas*..

Stöckel and Susanna

The only work known to have been printed during Leonard Stöckel's own lifetime is the school play entitled *Historia von Susanna in Tragedien Weise Gestellet zu Übung*

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der Jugend zu Bartfeld in Ungarn, which was printed at Hans Lufft's press in Wittenberg the year before Stöckel's death.¹²³ Trained humanists were a diverse group of scholars, but the best of them developed a classical understanding of the virtue of prudence and had their own developed sense of judgment. Their educational programs were all about imitating good taste, virtuous actions and eloquent speech; but appropriately trained humanists were never servile in following the dictates of others. We see this level of prudence and judgment, both in the life and work of Leonard Stöckel, in his activities as an adult and in his school regulations. Even though the *Leges* organized his Latin school around a traditional humanist curriculum, the regulations themselves, and the curriculum that they only loosely set up, were adapted to fit the unique conditions current in Lutheran Bartfeld and in Upper Hungary in 1540. That same developed sense of prudence and judgment which enabled scholars like Stöckel to both imitate and adapt can be seen in an Old Testament play which Stöckel wrote for the pupils in his school.¹²⁴

Taken from the apocryphal Old Testament book, the *Historia von Susanna* is, in many respects, a work typical of its time. The plot Stockel chose is a simple morality story containing a strong element of dramatic appeal. Susanna, a married Hebrew woman during the Babylonian Captivity, meets two elders in her garden who were speaking with her husband. When the men leave, Susanna begins bathing in the garden, where she is surprised by the two elders, who had not actually left the garden but had hidden

¹²³ Stöckel, "Susanna," 51.

¹²⁴ J. Bolte, "Leonard Stöckel," in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, edited by Rochus Liliencron et al und die historische Commission bei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (2. unveränderte Aufl. von 1875-1912,) (reprint, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1967), 281-282. In this encyclopedia, Stöckel is actually described as a "protestantischer Dramatiker des 16. Jahrhundert," although the entry does go on to mention that Stöckel was rector at the Latin school in Bartfeld.

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themselves, waiting for Susanna to bathe alone. The two elders explain her choices to her, neither of which sounds good. Either she allows them to have their way with her or, if she calls out for help, they will claim that she was being unfaithful to her husband. Who would the Hebrews believe? Two Hebrew elders or a woman? Susanna quickly decides that both choices were horrid but the truth is always the more noble. Putting her faith in God, she therefore screams out, is accused of infidelity and adultery and is put on trial for her life. During the trial, when it looks as if all hope is lost and Susanna must die, the prophet Daniel, still very young, steps in and informs everyone that he can settle the matter with a few questions. Allowed to continue, Daniel merely separates the two elders and asks each, without the other seeing or hearing, what tree they claimed to be under when they had been propositioned by Susanna. When the elders indicated different trees, it was clear to everyone present that they had lied. Susanna was set free and the elders were punished in her stead.

In virtually every respect this play is a product of humanist and Lutheran traditions. It was a school play expressly intended to improve the pupils' language skills while simultaneously teaching a lesson in morality, two goals which correspond to the goals of humanist pedagogical reform. The subject, on the other hand, was purely a product of Lutheran reform. Medieval plays either tended to focus on the Passion of Christ or were popular lampoons of figures of authority, as in the traditional Shrovetide plays.¹²⁵ Distancing himself from many of the common practices and traditions of the

¹²⁵ Derek Van Abbe, *Drama in Renaissance Germany and Switzerland* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1961), for general information on the development of Lutheran drama; Paul F. Casey, *The Susanna Theme in German Literature, Variations of the Biblical Drama* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1976), for information specific to the German fondness for the Susanna tragedy.

“Romanists,” Luther did not particularly like either of these more traditional forms. After the Peasants’ revolt of 1525, encouraging popular discussion of matters of Lutheran doctrine was not promoted.¹²⁶ Instead of performing plays which would encourage such discussions in a less-than-controlled environment, Luther preferred that plays be written that, while continuing to be edifying, used more remote Old Testament tales which could also subtly deliver a moral message.¹²⁷

In 1534, Luther explained why he had not translated certain parts of the Old Testament books of Esther and Daniel, which included the story of Susanna.¹²⁸ In that Preface, Luther writes, “Here follow several pieces which we did not wish to translate (and include) in the prophet Daniel and in the book of Esther. We have uprooted such cornflowers (because they do not appear in the Hebrew versions of Daniel and Esther). And yet, to keep them from perishing, we have put them here in a kind of special little spice garden...”¹²⁹ Luther goes on to remark, “But the texts of Susanna, and of Bel, Habakkuk and the Dragon, seem like beautiful religious fictions, such as Judith and Tobit, for their names indicate as much.”¹³⁰ Therefore, although Martin Luther removed the story of Susanna, among others, from his German translation of the Old Testament, he also thought it to be a beautiful story, one worth telling.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 12, 57.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 57.

¹²⁸ Martin Luther, *Luther’s Works*, Jaroslav Pelikan et al. eds. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House: 1955-1986), 35: 353-354.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 353.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 354.

In school plays in the Lutheran parts Empire during the sixteenth century, then, the older medieval forms of theatre went out of style and were replaced with a new form, one which placed greater emphasis on humanist and Reformation goals.¹³¹ That Stöckel's play follows these models rather closely is readily apparent in his production.¹³² The work was organized on the model of the classical comedies of Terence, whose work was required reading for pupils in the second level of Stöckel's Latin school, and the subject matter was one that had even been suggested by Martin Luther.¹³³ It involved themes that looked positively on the family, marriage, and the faithful wife. But one can read much more into the tale and present it from the perspective of the importance of the Law, even of a faith that perseveres when it appears that the Law has failed.

This combination of humanist and Reformation goals in sixteenth-century drama within the Empire had both positive and negative effects on the art. The imitation of classical models in sixteenth-century plays, as well as the wholesale imitation of the work of other playwrights, in effect discouraged originality and limited the number of themes to only a few. On another level, the interplay between high and popular culture in the art of theatrical drama was thought to be an important, albeit enjoyable, means of subtly stressing the significance of certain basic moral virtues. One historian of sixteenth-century drama describes the situation as follows:

¹³¹ Van Abbe, 13.

¹³² Ervín Lazar, "Leonard Stöckel a jeho dráma Zuzana," *Slovensko divadlo* 6 (1958), 176.

¹³³ Klara Szilasi, 8-9.

The purely Latin imitations of the schoolmen were essentially sterile. What was fruitful was the *interplay* between Latinate artistry and German polemical and biblical drama. Cross-breeding with humanism preserved the essential values of the vernacular drama as an art form; German theologizing made sure that those who lived only for classical form were saved from aesthetic sterility. Left to themselves both genres degenerate, as towards the end of the sixteenth century: the pure classical copies and the solely moral allegories became longer and longer – and duller and duller.¹³⁴

Leonard Stöckel's *Susanna* is known to have been performed in Bartfeld prior to its publication in 1559.¹³⁵ It was performed in Bartfeld at least twenty more times before the end of the century.¹³⁶ Stöckel's *Susanna* was also performed in Kaschau, Eperies and Kremnitz.¹³⁷ His work is a close copy of an earlier play, written in Latin and produced in 1537 by the humanist schoolmaster of the Augsburg St. Anna gymnasium, Xystus Betulius.¹³⁸ The late Professor Paul F. Casey (of the University of Missouri-Columbia) published a study of the use and broad popularity of the Susanna theme in German drama. In that study, Casey documented twenty-seven different versions of the play,

¹³⁴ Van Abbe, 13.

¹³⁵ Casey, *The Susanna Theme*, 243; Stöckel, "Epistulae," 280; David P. Daniel, "Bardejov During the Era of the Reformation," *Kalendar* 98 (1990): 32. See also "Leonard Stöckel" in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* in which Stöckel's school play is discussed to the exclusion of all his other achievements.

¹³⁶ Lazar, 436-437.

¹³⁷ Silvia Fecková, "Leonard Stöckel a Bardejov," *Spravodajca* 8 (Bardejov: 1993), 23.

¹³⁸ Sixt Birck, *Die History von der frommen Gottsforchtigen Frouwen Susanna Im M.CCCCC.XXXII. Jar öffentlich inn Mindren Basel durch die Jungen Burger Gehaltenn*. Basel: Thoman Wolff, 1532 in Manfred Brauneck ed. *Sämtliche Dramen* 3 vols., Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969, 2:1-53; Sixt Birck, *Susanna, Comoedia Tragica*, Augsburg: Philippum Vihardum, 1537, in Manfred Brauneck ed. *Sämtliche Dramen* 3 vols., Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969, 2: 167-272; Van Abbe, 10-12, for biographical information on Betulius; discussions of his work occur throughout the body of the text.

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twenty-five of them in German.¹³⁹ The second known publication of the story is a German version of *Susanna* written by Betulius, first printed in 1532, several years before the publication of his Latin edition. Betulius published his German version while teaching in Basel, where both school- and popular-theater already had long traditions.¹⁴⁰

Intended to reach a popular audience much in the same way that stained glass windows were intended, the Swiss tradition had also been one that was based primarily in the vernacular, rather than in Latin. Several years later in 1537, having become rector of the gymnasium in his home town of Augsburg, Betulius published a second *Susanna*, as noted above, this time in Latin. It was this second, Latin edition from which Stöckel's play is drawn.¹⁴¹

Casey considers both of Betulius's editions of the *Susanna* play to be 'classical' and 'popular' in conception. They were modeled on the comedies of Terence, which have already been noted to have been included in Stöckel's required readings. Terence is also an author recommended by Erasmus, Melanchthon and Cox in each of their pedagogical reform plans.¹⁴² Betulius's *Susanna* was tremendously influential, in particular being a source for Paul Rebhun's *Susanna*, published in 1535 and considered to be not only the best of the *Susanna* plays of the sixteenth century but also the most popular.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Casey, *The Susanna Theme*, 234.

¹⁴⁰ Van Abbe, 11.

¹⁴¹ Marvin T. Herrick, "Susanna and the Elders in Sixteenth-Century Drama," *Studies in Honor of T.W. Baldwin*, Don Cameron Allen, ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958), 126; Sabol, 2.

¹⁴² Casey, *The Susanna Theme*, 49.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 70-71. On p. 82, Casey again emphasizes the influence and quality of Rebhun's 1535 work: "...the play is obviously on a much higher level than the previous *Susanna* dramas and most other contemporary

Casey's comments on Stöckel's *Susanna*, while confirming that it is a copy of Betulius's earlier work, are only negative: "The *Susanna* drama of Leonhard Stöckel (1559)... is nothing more than a coarse and unimaginative reworking of Birck's [Betulius's] Latin *Susanna*, to which little new is added. Although the author claims in the preface to have read numerous versions of the play, it is evident that he borrowed heavily from Birck [Betulius]."¹⁴⁴ While noting that Stöckel was "untalented" and "inept" as a dramatist, he also indicates that Robert Pilger has asserted the possibility that the changes made by Stöckel, proving his lack of talent, were done "to avoid anything objectionable in the drama."¹⁴⁵ Casey goes on to point out that one of Stöckel's major decisions, to begin the action of the play only after the events that take place in the garden, while maybe avoiding the objectionable, destroyed the story's dramatic appeal.¹⁴⁶

The play was divided into five acts and twenty-five scenes, with a prologue, an epilogue and a concluding moral. The story as written by Stöckel included a cast of as many as twenty separate characters. Even though it closely followed Betulius's earlier Latin edition, Stöckel's version of the drama was published in German rather than in Latin. In introducing the play, Stöckel explains that this work is being performed in German, rather than in Latin, for the edification of both the pupils and the citizens of Bartfeld.

works." See also, Casey, *Paul Rebhun, A Biographical Study* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1986), chap. 4 "The creative Lutheran – *Susanna* and *Hochzeit zu Cana*," 77-113.

¹⁴⁴ Casey, *The Susanna Theme*, 99.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 99. See also Robert Pilger, "Die Dramatisierungen der *Susanna* im 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 11 (1879), 129-217.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

Although not at all a literary success according Professor Casey's assessment, the primary goals of Stöckel's pedagogical program are clearly expressed in the goals of the play. It was written so that his pupils would be able to practice their language skills. In the process of such practice, the information presented should lead one to greater piety, or as the reformers, including Stöckel, often put it, to teach them the proper fear of God. A major difference between Stöckel's work and the traditional pedagogical methods of humanists like Erasmus and Melanchthon is that the author produced this play in German, rather than in Latin, somewhat unusual for a humanist pedagogue like Stöckel. As has already been noted, however, the popular nature of Reformation drama lent itself to production in the vernacular language. In the case of Bartfeld, that language was German. As we have also seen, Leonard Stöckel was the kind of humanist who molded the traditional pedagogical model to fit the special conditions that he found in Bartfeld.

This brings us back to a major theme found in Renaissance and, subsequently, Reformation pedagogical thought. Stöckel, as a well-trained humanist, stressed the concept of imitation on many different levels. It was not only literary imitation that was stressed, but the pupils were also encouraged to imitate the virtuous actions of the people described in their reading exercises. Stöckel was himself, in virtually every respect, a supreme imitator. We can be sure that this method of *imitatio* was taught to Leonard Stöckel from an early date. He imitated the life and career of his pedagogical and spiritual mentor by turning to childhood education. The same idea of imitation was stressed by Melanchthon in his many treatises, and the work of Erasmus is saturated with the concept. Stöckel's own imitation of Betulius's play is, in part, the source of harsh words

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about his drama from Paul Casey and we can be just as sure that Casey was aware of the humanist proclivity to imitation.¹⁴⁷

In addition to language-study and imitation of style, a play such as Stöckel's *Susanna* had a very strong moral element. Lessons that pupils, and others, could take away from this play touched such issues as the consequences of adultery, infidelity and dishonesty. But it also touched upon larger social issues such as the need for all people, great and small, both male and female, to be treated fairly and equally before the law. There is also a very strong Lutheran element to it in the sense that the subject revolves around the question of the good and faithful marriage, a point that Luther's supporters used to contrast themselves with the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁴⁸ These were all considered to be good issues for young men to contemplate while, being an Old Testament apocryphal story, it stayed away from more complicated Lutheran doctrinal issues. When we add it up, the ultimate goal of the play is exactly the same as the first requirement in Stöckel's *Leges*: acquire a fear of God. Stöckel even says as much in his conclusion to the play.¹⁴⁹ As the first play known to have been published by a subject of the Hungarian crown, in addition to the work's importance in imparting humanist and Lutheran values to both the actors and the audience, Leonard Stöckel's *Susanna* is of

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 27, 99.

¹⁴⁸ Casey, *Paul Rebhun*, 80.

¹⁴⁹ Stöckel, "Susanna," 126: 454.

some significance in the history of the Kingdom of Hungary and in the modern Slovak Republic.¹⁵⁰

In addition to the three pedagogical works discussed above, Leonard Stöckel also developed an abridged version of Cicero's *Officia* as well as a brief text on the subject of music.¹⁵¹ Each of the three works outlined above was printed, but only the *Historia von Susanna* went to the press during Stöckel's own life. We have no evidence to support a conclusion that Stöckel ever intended to publish the other two works. One was a simple set of guidelines for his pupils to follow during their stay at the school. The other was a collection of Plutarch's proverbs, drawn from the more recent work of Erasmus and supplemented with a few lines of German verse intended for Latin and German language exercises in the northern humanist tradition. While German language study in a humanist-style Latin grammar school in the sixteenth century is somewhat unusual, the peculiar circumstances manifest in mid-century Bartfeld aid us in better understanding why Stöckel would have made such a decision. As has been noted, Stöckel made a comparable decision when he chose to write, and then publish, the play *Historia von Susanna*. He had undoubtedly come to believe that strong German-language skills were important for his pupils. Whether that belief was based on the pupils' need to properly interact with the local "illiterati," Stöckel's knowledge of the importance of German for those few pupils who would continue their education at universities to the west, mostly in German-speaking lands, and primarily in Wittenberg, or whether he saw himself as

¹⁵⁰ Ján Suráň, red., *Význame Osobnosti Bardejova* (Bardejov: RKS Romayor, 1991), 23; n.a., *Nové obzory*, zv. 6 (Prešov: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo), 188.

¹⁵¹ Sabol, 2, Sabol notes the title of the works are *Compendium Officiorum Ciceronis* and *De Musica*. Neither work was ever printed and the *Compendium* is lost.

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preparing the next generation of Lutheran schoolmasters and pastors in Upper Hungary and Transylvania, is difficult to say although all three probably factored into his decision. It nevertheless demonstrates both Stöckel's acceptance of the Erasmian humanist pedagogical reform program, with its stress on *imitatio* in achieving the goals of *docta pietas*, and his willingness to make changes to that program in order to achieve the stated goals.

Chapter 4

Stöckel's Lutheran Religious Writings

Introduction

None of the four surviving religious tracts written by Leonard Stöckel were printed during his life. One, the *Confessio Pentapolitana (Confession of the Five Cities)*, was a confession of faith of the Lutherans from the alliance of five Upper Hungarian royal free cities in the northeast of Habsburg-controlled Royal Hungary. It was not printed until 1613, more than a half-century after the death of its author.¹ Two collections in this category are homiletic works. The first, a collection of sermon outlines, is the *Formulae tractandarum sacrarum concionum, per Evangelia communium Feriarum totius anni (Principles in the Development of Sacred Sermons through Gospel Readings for Common Feasts for the Whole Year)*. This work, along with a Dedication by Stöckel written in the last year of his life, was printed by David Guttgesell in Bartfeld in 1578.² In addition to the *Formulae*, Stöckel also wrote a collection of complete sermons, the *Postilla sive enarrationes erotematicae epistolarum et evangelium anniversariorum (Postils, or Detailed Explanations of the Annual Epistle and Gospel Readings)*, printed

¹ Leonard Stöckel, *Confessio Christianae Doctrinae Quinque Regiarum Liberarumque Civitatum in Hungaria superiore, Cassoviae, Leutschoviae, Bartphae, Epperiessini, ac Cibinij. Exhibita laudatissimae quondam recordationis Regi Ferdinando Anno 1549. In tribus linguis, Latinae, Germanicae, Hungaricae impressa* (Cassovia: Ioannas Fischer, 1613).

² Leonard Stöckel, *Formulae Tractandarum Sacrarum concionum, per Evangelia communium Feriarum totius anni; in usum Ecclessiae Christ collectae*, (Bardejov: Guttgesell, 1578); see also Ján Čaplovič, *Bibliografia tlači vydaných na Slovensku do roku 1700* (Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1972), 53.

Stöckel: Religious Reformer by Guttgesell in Bartfeld in 1598.³ While considered his most important work, it is comparable with his other religious work in that they were each eloquently centered upon the common goal of firmly establishing Lutheran religious reform in his homeland of Bartfeld.⁴ Finally, there is Stöckel's theological treatise, *Annotationes locorum communium doctrinae christianae Philippi Melancthonis* (*Notes on the Commonplaces of Christian Doctrine/Teaching of Philipp Melancthon*), printed in Basel in 1561, the year immediately following his death. This work is the culmination of Stöckel's lifelong devotion to *docta pietas* put to the service of Lutheran religious reform.

That none of these religious works were printed during Stöckel's life poses the question as to why they were not, as well as whether Stöckel ever intended to send them to the printer. Since the 1578 printing of the *Formulae* was accompanied by a dedication from 1560, it appears that Stöckel was very likely preparing that work for the printer before his death that year. It is also possible that his sudden death at the age of fifty cut short years of preparatory work that were only beginning to bear fruit. His play *Susanna* went to press in 1559, the only work published during his life, the *Annotationes* to Melancthon's *Loci communes* were printed two years later and the Dedication for the *Formulae* had already been produced at the time of his death. His son Leonard Jr. wrote the dedications for both the *Apophthegmata* and the *Postilla*, as well as performing the

³ Leonard Stöckel, *Postilla sive Enarrationes Erotematicae Epistolarum Et Evangeliorum Anniversariorum, Tam Dominicalium, Quam Festorum dierum, quibus etiam nonnulli Sermones, in Festis solemnioribus utiles, adiuncti sunt* (Bartfeld: Guttgesell, 1598). See also Čaplovič, 68.

⁴ Karl Schwarz, "Praeceptor Hungariae: Über den Melancthonschüler Leonhard Stöckel (1510-1560)" in *Prvé augsburké vyznanie viery na Slovensku a Bardejov* [*The First Augsburg Confession of Faith in Slovakia and Bardejov*], ed. Peter Kónya (Prešov: Biskupský úrad Východného dištriktu Evanjelickej cirvi a. v. na Slovensky, 2000), 62. Schwarz refers to the *Postilla* as the "Resumé seines Lebenswerkes."

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necessary editorial work to bring them to press. On the other hand, unlike Cox and the other humanists discussed above, Stöckel never seemed as devoted to book production as he was to his school, a school located in a city that had no printer until 1578. It is possible that Stöckel produced these works solely for the benefit of his pupils and local pastors.

Political, religious and social conditions in the lands to the east of the Holy Roman Empire are not well known by scholars whose focus is either on northern humanism, in the tradition of Erasmus and Melanchthon, or on Lutheran religious reform. The reasons for this lack of knowledge are many, some of which are more than justifiable. For instance, during the twentieth century research by western European scholars was hampered by such events as the first and second world wars, as well as the Cold War and nearly fifty years of the so-called “iron curtain” which followed. In addition, the Slavic and Hungarian languages which predominate in the region require a whole new set of linguistic skills not typically held by scholars of western European history. As this study makes evident, events to the west, cultural and religious events often lumped under the larger categories of Renaissance and Reformation, were undoubtedly felt to the east of the Empire, especially in places like Upper Hungary and Transylvania, which had significant German-burgher populations that continued to maintain ties to one another and to the Empire. Nevertheless, given the different conditions, these events played themselves out in different ways. In order to better understand the role Leonard Stöckel played in the organization of the Lutheran movement in Upper Hungary, some understanding of these events is necessary.

Background to Confessionalism in Hungary

Leonard Stöckel's activities did not stop with humanist pedagogical reform in his hometown in Upper Hungary even though that remained the center of his attention until his death. His religious activities in Bartfeld and Upper Hungary were also of tremendous influence during the era of the Reformation. In Upper Hungary the vast majority of the inhabitants joined Protestant churches during this period and only much later did their descendants return to Catholicism when the Habsburgs pursued an active policy of Catholic Reformation in the region.⁵

By the 1540s, Upper Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire had been ruled by the Habsburg family for several years. As has been noted, Ferdinand, who became King of Hungary upon the death of Louis II in 1526, was forced to fight for the kingdom against the claim of the elected Magyar King János Szapolyai, who died in 1540. Just before his death, Szapolyai had made an agreement with Ferdinand I that Transylvania would revert to Ferdinand's control upon Szapolyai's death. His death in 1540, then, should have settled the conflict between the Habsburgs and Transylvania, but it did not. Instead Szapolyai's wife gave birth to a son in 1540, a Magyar heir around whom the Transylvanian Magyar nobility was able to rally. The struggle for the Hungarian crown between Transylvanian Magyars and the Habsburgs continued into the seventeenth century.

⁵ David P. Daniel, "The Lutheran Reformation in Slovakia, 1517-1618" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1972), 27. The first Jesuits were actually introduced to the region in 1561, by Nicholas Olahus, Primate of Hungary, but the Counter-Reformation did not really begin to gain ground until Ferdinand II ascended the Hungarian throne in 1619. See also Mannova, *A Concise History of Slovakia* (Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2000), 118; Miklos Molnár, *A Concise History of Hungary*, Anna Magyar tr. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 107.

The conflict between Ferdinand and János Szapolyai, or the lack of a united front, played a significant role in renewed war with the Turks. This resulted in the re-occupation of central Hungary in 1541, including the capital city of Buda and, soon thereafter, the seat of the Roman Catholic Primate of Hungary at Esztergom. Buda remained in Turkish hands for the next century and a half.

By the time of the Turkish occupation of the central core of the country, Ferdinand controlled outright about one-third of the kingdom. The core of the old kingdom was now in the hands of the Turkish pasha, and Transylvania was beginning to learn how to play the Turks and Habsburgs off of one another in order to achieve at least a modicum of independence. Other than Upper Hungary, that part of the old kingdom which remained in Habsburg hands was a strip which ran from Pressburg (Bratislava/Pozsony) toward Croatia to the southwest, a region known since the settlements concluding the First World War as the Burgenland. To the southwest of this strip was the kingdom of Croatia, which the Habsburgs acquired along with Hungary in 1526, which runs from the Burgenland southwest to the Adriatic coast. This region of Habsburg-controlled Hungary, including the Upper Hungarian highlands, became known as Royal Hungary. Since the rulers of Royal Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire were of the same Habsburg family following Mohacs, and the same person, Ferdinand of Habsburg, after Ferdinand's brother Charles abdicated his titles in 1556, it is understandable that their policies were generally the same. Ferdinand had been chosen as the imperial successor to his brother, the Emperor Charles V, and he was given the title of

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King of Germany in 1533. As a result, Ferdinand was not only king of Royal Hungary but he also had a hand in governing the Empire.

No matter how much the Habsburg rulers of this era might have wanted and tried, they were never successful in fully integrating their inherited possessions into a single, unified whole. Ferdinand, much like his successors, was forced to deal with the different cultural and constitutional traditions of those areas that came under the Habsburg family patrimony. Nevertheless, during the 1540s, as Charles V and his brother put more and more pressure on the Protestants within the Empire, supporters of Lutheran Reform within Hungary were forced to consider their own position. Differing conditions forced the Habsburgs to deal with each kingdom somewhat differently. Attempts to settle the religious schism within the Empire had already led, in 1530, to the writing of the Augsburg Confession.

Although the first laws condemning the Protestants had been passed in the Hungarian Diet as early as 1523, the disaster at Mohacs meant that the original law was never effectively enforced.⁶ During his struggle with János Szapolyai, Ferdinand was generally supported by the Royal Free Cities of Upper Hungary. One of those cities was Bartfeld. Political loyalty meant that Ferdinand was reluctant to attack these cities' historic religious liberties, in particular, the right to choose the city priest. Since Kaschau contained a larger Magyar population than any of the other Royal Free Cities in the

⁶ David P. Daniel, "Highlights of the Lutheran Reformation," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 42 (1978), 23, "On 24 April 1523 the Diet accepted an anti-Lutheran proposal drawn up by Cardinal Cajetan and endorsed by Stephen Werbőczy stating that "all Lutherans and those favoring them shall have their property confiscated and themselves be punished as heretics and foes of the most holy Virgin Mary."

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region, and is also closest to Transylvania, the region of the old kingdom which Szapolyai controlled, it was at times part of the pro-Szapolyai faction.

During the two decades following Mohacs, the city councils in the royal free cities of Upper Hungary were in a strong position vis-à-vis their monarch and, unlike religious reform in Saxony, religious leaders in the cities of Upper Hungary did not feel the need to make a clean break with the Catholic Church. This is an important point of contrast between the Reformation within the Empire and the how the Reformation played out in Hungary. David Daniel makes this point when he notes, “in contrast to Germany, this reform movement took place and continued to function, at least formally, for more than half a century within the existing ecclesiastical structures.”⁷ Lutheran pastors hired by city councils had taken over the city cathedrals, and those same councils had also closed local monasteries. The loss of so much of the ecclesiastical hierarchy at Mohacs in 1526, followed by so many years of political, social and military instability, gave Lutheran ideas time to spread and to stabilize in much of Upper Hungary without ever making any formal break from Rome. This situation began to change in 1548.

Charles V had finally made good on his threats against the Lutheran supporters of the League of Schmalkald, defeating them at the Battle of Mühlberg in the spring of 1547. With the defeat of the Lutherans and the capture and imprisonment of John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, and Philipp of Hesse, it suddenly appeared that the Lutheran movement might be doomed.

⁷ Daniel, “The Reformation and Eastern Slovakia,” *Human Affairs*, I (1991), 178.

In 1548 Ferdinand attended the Imperial Diet at Augsburg, which led to the Augsburg Interim and provided a little breathing room for the defeated Lutherans in the Empire, even though that Interim would also become a source of internal conflict for the Lutherans. As a result of his attendance in Augsburg, Ferdinand was unable to personally attend the comparable Hungarian Diet meeting at the same time in Pressburg. Even though absent, Ferdinand was nevertheless successful in pushing through a law banning Anabaptists and Sacramentarians from the country.⁸ Lutherans at the Diet supported the law in the belief that these sectarian groups were becoming too powerful and needed to be stopped.⁹ In addition, they knew that the Lutherans had been in control of their own internal religious affairs in the cities for more than twenty years. They were also aware that they had a right to choose their own pastors as part of the traditional privileges of Hungarian Royal Free Cities. Lutheran representatives from the cities, therefore, never considered that this could be the beginning of a series of laws which would eventually outlaw their movement as well. However, Catholic leaders in Hungary did just that. They immediately interpreted the law more strictly, and argued that its intention was the “expulsion of all ‘innovators.’”¹⁰ In response, the Lutherans of Upper Hungary first

⁸ David P. Daniel, “The Influence of the Augsburg Confession In South-East Central Europe,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 11, 3 (1980), 109.

⁹ Daniel, “Bardejov,” 32. See also Johann Samuel Klein, *Nachrichten von den Lebensumständen und Schriften evangelischer Prediger*, I (Leipzig und Ofen: 1789), 190: “Dieses Glaubensbekenntniß ist dem damaligen Könige Ferdinand dem I. 1549 unterthänigist übergeben worden um zu zeigen, daß darinnen keine zwinglische oder kalvinische Lehre enthalten sey.”

¹⁰ Daniel, “The Lutheran Reformation,” 195.

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began to organize. Although slow in coming, the period of Protestant confessionality in Hungary had finally arrived.¹¹

The Confessio Pentapolitana

One of Leonard Stöckel's roles with regard to religious reform in Bartfeld and Upper Hungary is connected to this movement away from loosely organized congregations based on the right of Royal Free Cities in Hungary to choose their own pastors and toward the development of a church structure and organization that was separate from that of the Roman Catholic Church. It was not, however, until the followers of Luther in Upper Hungary felt personally threatened that they began to organize.¹² When two royally-commissioned visitors arrived in Eperies (modern Prešov) and began attempting to associate the more moderate Lutherans with the Anabaptists and other sectarian groups, Leonard Stöckel was prepared with a document outlining the beliefs of the citizens of the five Royal Free Cities of the region. Those cities were Bartfeld, Kaschau, Eperies, Leutschau and Zeeben.¹³ In response to an ecclesiastic visitation in Eperies, one of the five Royal Free Cities, Leonard Stöckel prepared and presented this confession of faith. This document, the *Confessio fidei quinque librarum regiarumque*

¹¹ Mihaly Bucsay, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Ungarn*, (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1959) 71.

¹² Daniel, "Highlights," 27, "In response to this very obvious threat, the Lutherans of Slovakia, and subsequently the Magyar Calvinists, sought to define their faith and to defend themselves by disavowing the Anabaptist views proscribed by the law of 1548."

¹³ Daniel, "Bardejov," 32. This was not the first synod to have gathered in Upper Hungary. Two years earlier, in a gathering at the Upper Hungarian city of Eperies (Prešov), a document, referred to as the Prešov Articles was agreed to. While it generally focused on the subject of church polity, one article of which resulted in Michael Radašin being elected Senior for the five free royal cities of the region, the first article stressed support of both the Augsburg Confession and Melancthon's *Loci communes*.

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*civitatum superioris Hungaricae (The Confession of Faith of the Five Free and Royal
Cities of Upper Hungary)*, is commonly referred to as the *Confessio Pentapolitana (The
Confession of the Five Cities)*.¹⁴ It was first printed in 1613 in Kaschau.¹⁵

Stöckel's confession is clearly dependent on Melancthon's *Augsburg Confession* of 1530.¹⁶ Although more moderate in language and content than the Augsburg Confession, Stöckel's work mirrors it in both organization and topics.¹⁷ Containing twenty-one articles to the *Augustana's* twenty-eight, its primary point of divergence is in its degree of moderation. The goal of the Lutherans of Upper Hungary in this confession of faith was to stress how "catholic" in belief and practices they actually were, that they were not innovators, nor fanatics but moderates and very much in line with those who had long been tolerated in parts of the Hungarian king's other possessions. A few examples demonstrate this point.

There is no discussion of the congregation drinking from the chalice during the Eucharist in Article X on the Lord's Supper. Instead, Stöckel indicates the benefits to be derived from partaking of communion, including "emending one's life," or increasing

¹⁴ Bucsay, 71. Daniel, "The Lutheran Reformation," 211; the text of the *Confessio Pentapolitana* is found in Johannes Ribini, *Memorabilia augustanae confessionis in regno Hungariae* I (Posonii: 1787) 77.

¹⁵ Leonard Stöckel, *Confessio*.

¹⁶ Max Josef Suda, "Der Einfluß Philipp Melancthons auf die Bekenntnisbildung in Oberungarn (Confessio Pentapolitana, Confessio Heptapolitana und Confessio Scepusiana)" *Melancthon in Europe, 1. Teilband Skandinavien und Mitteleuropa*, Günter Frank und Martin Treu eds. (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2001), 187-188. Cf. Max Josef Suda, "Der Melancthonschüler Leonard Stöckel und die Reformation in der Slowakei," *Die Reformation und ihr Wirkungsgeschichte in der Slowakei*, Karl Schwarz und Peter Švorc eds. (Vienna: Evangelischer Pressverband, 1999), 52-53

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 187.

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consolation, absolution and further confirming one's faith.¹⁸ In fact, partaking of the sacrament in both kinds is not mentioned in the comparable article on the Lord's Supper in the *Augsburg Confession*. Melancthon, however, focuses on this very issue in Article XXII, titled "De utraque specie." The *Confessio Pentapolitana* contains no such article. With regard to the question of private confession, discussed in Article XI in both confessions, both indicate the desire of their communities to retain it. Stöckel, however, goes on to give three reasons why it should be retained. First, Stöckel argues it is useful in that it allows for the ignorant to be personally examined and prepared (for the Eucharist).¹⁹ Second, some whose consciences are particularly afflicted may be able to seek consolation.²⁰ And the third reason was in order that absolution may be received separately by particular people, one at a time.²¹

The confession of faith that Leonard Stöckel drew up for the Five Cities sometimes maintained its moderation by way of omission. As with the lack of discussion on communion in two kinds, there is no article comparable to the *Augustana's* Article VI, "De nova oboedientia." In the *Augustana*, each article beginning with Article XXII "De utraque specie," on the issue of the laity taking the Eucharist in both kinds, is actually under the subheading of "Articles in which are Reviewed the Abuses which have been

¹⁸ Stöckel, *Confessio*, Article X, "De coena domini," "Unamque communem coenam sive missam, ut vocant, quolibet die festo celebrantes, porrigimus singulis, aut pluribus, qui coram Sacerdote rationem suae fidei reddentes, emendationem vitae promittunt, petuntque consolationem, absolutionem, & inconfirmationem fidei suae usum venerabilis Sacramenti..."

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Article XI, "De confessione," "Primum, ut rudes examinentur & instituantur."

²⁰ *Ibid.*, "Secundo, ut illa qui speciales perturbationes conscientiarum habent, specialem quoque consolationem ex verbo Dei petant."

²¹ *Ibid.*, "Tertio, ut singulis seorsim absolutionis sacramentum impertiatur."

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Corrected.” Stöckel’s confession touches upon none of those. One article of the *Confessio Pentapolitana* that may be considered comparable to one of those in the *Augustana* would be Article XVII “De matrimonio.” As will be seen below, this article could be compared with Article XXIII in the *Augustana* titled “De coniugio sacerdotum.” On the other hand, the contents of the two articles are rather different. Stöckel’s confession merely stresses support for the institution of marriage, and that there is no place in the Kingdom of God for fornicators.²² Article XXIII in the *Augustana*, however, is, as the title indicates, about the marriage of priests. One may interpret Stöckel’s words as being directed toward unchaste clergy and the need for them to marry. However, the language used by Stöckel refers to men, not priests, or nuns or clergy.

Before 1570, two other Upper Hungarian regional alliances followed the lead of the pentapolitana and produced their own Lutheran confessions of faith. In both cases it was Stöckel’s *Confessio Pentapolitana*, not the *Augustana*, that was the primary source, both in organization and in language. The organization, style and topics of the two other Lutheran confessions are more heavily dependent on the *Confessio Pentapolitana* than on Augsburg Confession. Wherever the *Confessio Pentapolitana* diverges from the *Augustana*, the Heptapolitana and the Scepusiana both diverge in the same fashion as the Pentapolitana. For instance, the first article in all four confessions is titled *De Deo*. The second article in the *Augustana* is *De peccato originis*, which is the title for article three for each of the Hungarian confessions. Article two for all three of the Hungarian

²² Ibid., Article XVII, “De Matrimonio,” “Ita sentimus, & matrimonium esse ordinationem divinam, ac propterea damnatis vagis libidinibus contrahendum esse ab idoneis hominibus, si donam castitatis virginæ non habent. Nam scortatores non habent partem in regno Dei.”

Stöckel: Religious Reformer confessions is titled *De creatione*. This pattern is readily apparent throughout. Max Josef

Suda has created a chart comparing the articles of all four texts, the three Upper

Hungarian Lutheran confessions and the *Augustana*. Suda's chart follows:

***Max Josef Suda's Comparative Outline of the Three Upper Hungarian Confessions with the Confessio Augustana.*²³**

<u><i>Confessio Augustana</i></u>	<u><i>Confessio Pentapolitana</i></u>	<u><i>Confessio Heptapolitana</i></u>	<u><i>Confessio Scepusiana</i></u>
I. De Deo	I. De Deo	I. De Deo	I. De Deo
	II. De Creatione	II. De Creatione	II. De Creatione
II. De peccato originis	III. De peccato originis	III. De peccato originis	III. De peccato originis
III. De filio Dei			
	IV. De incarnatione Christi	IV. De incarnatione J. Christi filii Dei	IV. De incarnatione Filii Dei
IV. De iusificatione	V. De iusticatione	V. De iusificatione	V. De iustificatione
cf. XX.	VI. De fide	VI. De fide	VI. De fide
cf. XX.	VII. De bonis operibus	VII. De bonis operibus	VII. De bonis operibus
V. De ministerio ecclesiastico	cf. XIV	cf. XIV	cf. XIV
VI. De nova oboedientia			
VII. De ecclesia	VIII. De ecclesia	VIII. De ecclesia	VIII. De ecclesia

²³ Suda, "Der Einfluß Philipp Melanchthons," 187-188; Cf. Suda, "Der Melanchthonschüler Leonhard Stöckel," 52-53.

<i>Confessio Augustana</i>	<i>Confessio Pentapolitana</i>	<i>Confessio Heptapolitana</i>	<i>Confessio Scepusiana</i>
VIII. Quid sit ecclesia		IX. Alia descriptio ecclesiae	
IX. De baptismo	IX. De baptismo	X. De baptismo	IX. De baptismo
X. De coena domini	X. De coena domini	XI. De coena domini	X. De coena domini
XI. De confessione	XI. De confessione	XII. De confessione	XI. De confessione
XII. De poenitentia	XII. De poenitentia	XIII. De poenitentia	XII. De poenitentia
XIII. De usu sacramentorum	XIII. De usu sacramentorum	XIV. De numero sacramentorum	XIII. De usu sacramentorum
XIV. De ordine ecclesiastico	XIV. De ministris	XV. De ministerio ecclesiae	XIV. De ministris
XV. De ritibus ecclesiasticis	XV. De ceremoniis	XVI. De ceremoniis	XV. De ceremoniis
XVI. De rebus civilibus	XVI. De rebus politicis	XVII. De rebus politicis	XVI. De rebus politicis
	XVII. vide infra	XVIII. vide infra	XVII. vide infra
XVII. De reditu Christi ad iudicium	XVIII. De resurrectione mortuorum	XIX. De resurrectione mortuorum	XVIII. De resurrectione mortuorum
XVIII. De libero arbitrio	XIX. De libero arbitrio		XIX. De libero arbitrio
XIX. De causa peccati			
XX. De fide et bonis operibus	cf. VI., VII.	cf. VI., VII.	cf. VI., VII.
XXI. De cultu sanctorum	XX. De invocatione sanctorum	XX. De invocatione sanctorum	XX. De invocatione sanctorum

<i>Confessio Augustana</i>	<i>Confessio Pentapolitana</i>	<i>Confessio Heptapolitana</i>	<i>Confessio Scepusiana</i>
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XXII. De utraque
specie

XXIII. De coniu-
gio sacerdotum

XVII. De matri-
monio

XVIII. De matri-
monio

XVII. De matri-
monio

XXIV. De missa

XXV. De confes-
sione

XXVI. De discri-
mine ciborum

Conclusio

XXVII. De votis
monasticis

XXVIII. De pote-
state ecclesiastica

Suda's work, intended to demonstrate the influence of Philipp Melanchthon on religious reform in Hungary, illustrates two important facts about the three Upper Hungarian Lutheran confessions of faith. First, Stöckel's confession is clearly dependent upon Melanchthon's with regard to both organization and subject matter. Secondly, the two other confessions, the *Heptapolitana* and the *Scepusiana*, are equally dependent upon Stöckel's earlier work. The *Augustana* had been known in Upper Hungary for many years by the time that the *Heptapolitana* was put together in 1559 or the *Scepusiana* in 1568. Nevertheless, rather than simply following the articles of that document, both alliances chose to follow Stöckel's more moderate confession of faith instead. When, in the early

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seventeenth century the Lutherans of Upper Hungary were finally successful in organizing, the *Book of Concord*, including the *Augustana*, superseded these regional confessions. It has remained to this day the confession around which the Lutherans of Slovakia are organized.²⁴

The *Confessio Pentapolitana* was a success in the sense that it won tacit approval from Ferdinand. The royal free cities of Upper Hungary did not have their charters revoked and they were not subject to visitations. Their cathedrals remained effectively in the hands of the city councils, as did the right of the cities to choose their own pastors. Since the five Royal Free Cities of Upper Hungary had been part of the pro-Habsburg party in the struggle between Ferdinand and János Szapolyai, Ferdinand had the visitors focus upon those elements of the radical Reformation found in the region. Although the evangelical phase had been extended in Upper Hungary due to the losses at Mohacs and the subsequent power struggle between Ferdinand and János Szapolyai, the moderate reformist views of the majority of the Lutherans in the region meant that “for much of the sixteenth century, the reformers in royal Hungary were able to carry on their activities within the structure of the established church...”²⁵ With the presentation of the *Confessio Pentapolitana*, the process of confessionalism had only just begun.

The Culmination of Confessionalism

From the Synod at Eperies in 1548, the chief minister in Bartfeld, Michael Radašin (1510-1566), became Senior, or Superintendent, for the *Pentapolitana*, a position

²⁴ Slovak Lutherans formally refer to their community as the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession.

²⁵ Daniel, “The Influence of the Augsburg Confession,” 108.

which involved its own visitations as well as preparing young men for the pulpit.

Radašin, who was born in Croatia, had studied in Wittenberg from 1529, although it is unclear for how long or whether he met Stöckel during his tenure there.²⁶ He took the position in Bartfeld following a period of preaching in the western reaches of Upper Hungary.²⁷ From all appearances, Radašin and Stöckel worked closely together for years, each supporting the other in their different, though closely related, obligations to the city. As with Stöckel, Radašin had never been part of the Catholic clergy. In addition, while pastor in Bartfeld, Radašin married and had children.²⁸ Even with general agreement based on the *Pentapolitana*, Upper Hungary was nevertheless many years away from the development of any real Lutheran church organization. More than a half century passed following Leonard Stöckel's death in 1560 before the Lutherans of Upper Hungary formalized any larger Lutheran organization.

The moderate, and at times non-specific, or vague, language used in the three sixteenth-century confessions of faith, created some difficulties and played a role in extending the period of confessionalization into the early seventeenth century. These confessions were attempts to walk a tightrope. While attempting to maintain their own Lutheran set of beliefs, confessions were written which were intentionally moderate, intentionally brief, and which intentionally omitted the real issues in order that they be

²⁶ Andrej Hajduk, "Michael Radašin," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans Hillerbrand (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 375.

²⁷ Daniel, "Bardejov," 32. With regard to Lutheran Reform in Upper Hungary, Daniel characterizes Radašin as "less well-known," but "equally significant." Although Daniel's statement is valid in its comparative sense, it is, on the other hand, meaningless to consider someone less well-known than a figure, no matter how significant, who is himself, unknown except by a few specialists.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

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approved by the king. Since the late 1520s and early 1530s they had generally held to the views of Martin Luther without ever formally breaking from the Roman Catholic Church. They had taken over city cathedrals, hired known Lutherans for the positions of city preachers and had even thrown out monastic orders from within city walls. All of this was combined with, and in part a result of, the lack of a significant clerical hierarchy as Hungary was divided into three parts after 1526. Lutheran supporters had, therefore, never needed to defend their views in a formal manner.

The moderate language of the *Confessio Pentapolitana* and the other confessions of faith of Upper Hungary also presented a problem, not so much because they were moderate but because that moderation manifested itself most readily through the use of ambiguous language.²⁹ This led to conflict about the best interpretation of ambiguous doctrines that the moderate language in the confessions had created. This moderation is apparent in the discussion of the Lord's Supper and on the question of matrimony. Being in support of the Eucharist says little, especially when the question of receiving the sacrament in one or two kinds is the real issue. Approving of marriage and despising fornicators while failing to discuss the question of clerical marriage similarly sidesteps the real issue involved with the question of marriage.

At the same time, however, it is important to remember that Stöckel's primary goal in putting his confession of faith together was not centered around how he might most clearly define the issues which separated supporters of Luther from Catholicism. Instead, the goal was to demonstrate how similar the two were, all with the intention of

²⁹ David P. Daniel, "The Acceptance of the Formula of Concord in Slovakia," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 70 (1979), 263-264.

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stopping further Roman Catholic ecclesiastical visitations and political attempts to shut down the Lutheran movement in Upper Hungary.

The writing of the confessions of faith in Upper Hungary began a process of confessional differentiation among Protestant groups looking for some means of legal legitimacy in Hungary, in particular among Lutherans and Calvinists.³⁰ During the remainder of the century, not only were there many controversies and disputations between Lutherans and Calvinists but the moderate language of the Lutheran confessions left much room for interpretation and diversity of ideas within the ranks of Lutheran supporters as well. Although Stöckel's confession of faith could never be considered an outspoken statement supportive of Luther's theology, it is important to remember the difficult circumstances that Stöckel found himself in. On the other hand, the work does demonstrate a high degree of prudence on the author's part, a trait always to be found in conjunction with *docta pietas*.

The Formulae

Published in 1578, the year that the printer David Guttgesell began production in Bartfeld, Stöckel's first collection of homilies did not go to the press until almost twenty years after his death. The *Formulae*, a collection of over ninety sermons, is a representative product of Stöckel's lifelong interests in that it combines pedagogical development with Lutheran reform. As is indicated by the full title, this collection of sermons was intended as an aid to those who needed help developing sermons for the many Sundays and feast days of the church year. Those who needed help were Stöckel's

³⁰ Daniel, "Highlights," 28.

upper level pupils who had begun studying Lutheran theology as well as those local pastors whose heavy preaching schedules could be lightened by such a tool. There is the added benefit of the work as an example of Stöckel's moderate orthodox Lutheran thought.

The organizing principle behind this collection is the pericope although this work includes only Gospel readings rather than readings from both the evangelary and the epistolary. As with Stöckel's other collection of sermons, the *Postilla*, this work is dedicated to the noble Révai family, in this case Michael and Francis, the sons of the Francis Révai with whom Stöckel had corresponded in the 1540s. The collection was printed in quarto format, as were school books, and the sermons which it contained are not complete, ready for presentation to the congregation. Rather, they are brief summaries that have the primary goal of relating to the reader the best topics from which to draw in developing a sermon based on that week's Gospel reading. The Gospel reading is presented in full. It is then followed by approximately four quarto pages of text, rarely 1000 words long. Although the collection is written in Latin, the sermons developed from it would be presented in a vernacular language. Nevertheless, the multi-lingual nature of Upper Hungary meant that this work would be able to reach a wider audience in Latin than if it were written in one of the vernaculars. Stöckel's *Formulae* is closely related to his other homiletic collection, the *Postilla*, considered his major life's work.³¹ A little

³¹ Schwarz, "Praeceptor Hungariae," 62. While Schwarz describes the *Postilla* as the "Resumé seines Lebenswerkes," and as "ein katechetisches Predigtbuch," he makes no further comment about the collection. See also Doc. ThDr. Andrej Hajduk, *Leonard Stöckel*, 51: "Vrcholným homiletickým dielom je: Postilla (Bardejov 1596)." Although devoted to Stöckel's life and work, as indicated by the title, Hajduk's discussion of what he called the "summit" of Stöckel's homiletic work takes up less than three pages of text in description and analysis. In the second half of the text, Hajduk translates into Slovak one of Stöckel's postils, based on the John 3 pericope of Trinity Sunday. However, he claims the pericope to be John 3:1-21

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background on the development of postil collections will aid in better appreciating Leonard Stöckel's contributions to the cause of reform in Upper Hungary.

A Postilla Succession

Although Leonard Stöckel Jr. devoted a number of paragraphs of the Dedicatory Letter in the *Postilla* to an elaborate justification for the organizing principle around which he structured his father's collection of sermons, the model that he chose was by no means new. Luther's own collection of sermons had been organized and published using a similar paradigm, as had Melancthon's and many others. Well before Luther and the Reformation, if one were going to write a "complete" collection of sermons, the pericope had become that organizing principle. Complete collections of postils were organized around pericopes.

This organizing principle was related to long-held traditions within the western liturgy and included liturgical works called lectionaries which organized scriptural readings, passages for use during Mass. The word "pericope" is of Greek origin and originally refers to something that is cut out or cut around. More specifically, it refers to the extraction and use of a passage from a longer story. In most cases today it refers to a story or parable with a distinct beginning and end which has been drawn from the Scriptures, but this is not necessarily the case. It does not have to be drawn from Scripture; a pericope is simply a story with a distinct beginning and end which has been drawn from a longer story.

when it is only John 3: 1-15. In addition, the complete sermon is not translated, but only sections one through four.

Already in the early Church such passages were being drawn from the Scriptures and then used as the basis around which to develop homilies, or sermons.³² Before the sixth century, series of pericopes were being collected together, organized and made available for clergy and others. These early lectionaries were often referred to as *comes*, a companion, because they traveled with the priest everywhere. If the text only contained Gospel pericopes, it was also referred to as an evangelary; if the work contained only New Testament letters, an epistolary.³³ The choice of a given Scriptural pericope was tied to the homilies given during the Mass which were thought to have special significance for a given season or particular Sunday. Complete collections of pericopes based on what came to be known as the “church year” are referred to as lectionaries.³⁴ Rather than the complete text of the Bible, lectionaries contained only those passages to be read on a given Sunday or other solemnity of the church year. These manuscripts eventually contained all of the Biblical readings to be used during mass for every Sunday and feast day for the whole of the church year. Reading from the lectionary became an integral element of the mass during the Middle Ages. All of the texts used as part of the liturgy,

³² O.C. Edwards, *A History of Preaching* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2004), 17. Edwards notes that the earliest Christian example of the use of a pericope as the basis around which to develop a homily is a sermon by Melito of Sardis, c. A.D. 165; see also Johann Baptist Schneyer, *Geschichte der katholischen Predigt* (Freiburg i.B., 1969), 100; detailed analysis of this issue is found in Herwarth von Schade, *Perikopen. Gestalt und Wandel des gottesdienstlichen Bibelgebrauchs* (Hamburg, 1978).

³³ Norman Bonneau, *The Sunday Lectionary: Ritual Word, Paschal Shape* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998), 13. See also Jules Baudot, *The Lectionary: Its Sources and History*, Ambrose Cator trans. (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1910), 19.

³⁴ Bonneau, 3.

Stöckel: Religious Reformer including the lectionary, were then put together and organized to make up what is known as the missal. The earliest surviving missals are from the tenth century.³⁵

Manuscripts known as *Postilla*, although never official works incorporated into the missal, are nevertheless intimately connected to liturgical use, as well as to pericopes and the lectionary. The origin of the term *Postilla* as it relates to sermons says much about its own genesis. The term is derived from the longer phrase, “post illa verba sacrae” (after these words of holy Scripture).³⁶ Originally the concept was the virtual equivalent of the gloss in a medieval manuscript, that is, writing in the margins for the purpose of clarification, but in this case it is specific to the writing in the margins of a biblical manuscript intended to explain difficult words or doctrines. Although the *postilla* originated simply as a literary gloss in the margins of the Scriptures, over time it came to mean an expository sermon, or collection of sermons, each centered around the explanation of scriptural pericopes presented during Mass.

Collections of sermons covering the Sundays and holy days of the liturgical year were known as homiliaries. An early example of such a collection is the homiliary put together by Paul the Deacon, apparently at the request of Charlemagne.³⁷ Typically, homiliaries were collections of sermons written by various clerics, often famous sermons or sermons known to have been given by celebrated members of the clergy. *Postilla*, while similar to homiliaries, were sermon collections written by one individual. They

³⁵ Jules Baudot, *The Lectionary; Its Sources and History*. Trans. Ambrose Cator (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1910), 31.

³⁶ Edwards, 295.

³⁷ Edwards, 158-161.

were written, that is literary, sermons produced to explain pericopes in the lectionary. They were, therefore, most often organized according to the same principles as the lectionary itself. In written form they were intended as aids for clergy who were often expected to give significant numbers of sermons every year and needed help in preparation for them. Following the liturgy of the Word during the Mass, time was set aside for a homily intended to edify the congregation. Moral lessons were introduced, basic theological issues were explained or events in the life of Jesus were described.

Although written by clerics for clerics, *postilla* were sermons intended to be presented to the public. They therefore stayed away from more complex theological issues and polemical language in order to drive home the same points Sunday after Sunday, feast day after feast day. By the later Middle Ages, however, the homily had assumed secondary status in the sense that the Mass almost wholly centered around the sacrament of the Eucharist. Preaching was limited to special occasions and fell more and more into the purview of the mendicant orders. Luther and his supporters gave renewed life to the art of preaching the Word.³⁸ As Susan Karant-Nunn points out in her study on Lutheran preaching, even if preaching had assumed secondary status in the traditional liturgy, the importance of preaching was on the rise in the last decades of the fifteenth century and the early years of the sixteenth. Nevertheless, Luther's calls for more preaching of the Word, in combination with the active use of the printing press on the

³⁸ See Susan Karant-Nunn, "Preaching the Word in Early Modern Germany." In *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. by Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 193.

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part of Luther and his supporters, played an important role in the dramatic rise in the production of sermon collections, Lutheran and otherwise, during the next generation.³⁹

Luther, the Lectionary and Preaching

Even though the Mass would undergo serious scrutiny and significant change with the reforms introduced by Martin Luther, he by no means threw out the baby with the bath water. A combination of Luther's religious conservatism and his reaction against some of the activities of his more radical followers, especially during his stay at the Wartburg (1521-1522), caused Luther to be careful about what elements of the Mass simply had to go and what elements could remain.⁴⁰ Luther's greatest problem with the Mass was his belief that it had evolved from what had originally been a gift from God, a *beneficium*, into a sacrifice, into an act of good works; it had become a gift given to God rather than a gift received from Him. Anything, therefore, which played a role in this fundamental change of focus was to be removed from the liturgy. For Luther, the standard, as always, was whether a practice could be supported by his reading of Scripture.⁴¹

³⁹ The first known substantial postil collection not written by Luther was a collection of Gospel sermons by Anton Corvin published in Wittenberg in 1535. This was followed by a collection of Corvin's sermons based on Epistle pericopes published in Augsburg in 1537. With this publication one might say that the floodgates were opened. Thirteen editions of Corvin's collected postils were published in the years after 1538. Most, if not all, of the leaders of the movement began developing their own collections. Having lived in Saxony throughout the 1530s, Stöckel's work is part of this greater movement. See Appendix D for an extensive, if not exhaustive, bibliography of postil collections produced by leading supporters of Luther prior to Stöckel's death in 1560. Stöckel was very likely familiar with most of these collections and probably owned more than one of them. For more see von Schade, *Perikopen*.

⁴⁰ Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1961), 98.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 102.

Suggestions for changes in the Mass can be found in Luther's 1523 publication titled *Concerning the Ordering of Divine Worship in the Congregation*.⁴² Later in the year, Luther also put out his *Formulae missae*.⁴³ Not altogether satisfied with the results of the *Formulae missae*, Luther soon began to work with his colleagues Johannes Bugenhagen and Justus Jonas on the production of the *Deutsche Messe*, first used in Wittenberg in 1525.⁴⁴ By December of that year, the *Deutsche Messe* had become the basis for worship services in that city. Therefore, while significant alteration to the Catholic mass were introduced by Luther during the first years of the Lutheran Reformation, Luther did not throw out the Mass altogether and begin anew. Bard Thompson, in his work on the *Liturgies of the Western Church*, explains that

Luther made a distinction between the Mass and the sacrifice of the Mass. If he loathed the latter, he did not lose sight of the historical character and religious values of the Latin rite. It was, at least, the model from which he would not depart, the liturgy that he chose to purge and reinterpret rather than destroy.⁴⁵

An important element of the service which successfully made the liturgical leap from the Latin rite to the Lutheran Mass was the organization of the traditional pericopes that made up the Lectionary of the Church Year.⁴⁶ While it would undergo modest

⁴² Martin Luther, *Formula missae et communionis* (1523), WA 12:205-220

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Thompson, 95-156. This work contains the complete texts for the *Formulae missae* and the *Deutsche Messe*.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 104.

⁴⁶ Beth Kreitzer, "The Lutheran Sermon," in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Boston: Brill, 2001), 47.

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change, the majority of the pericopes used by the medieval Church was maintained by Luther and his followers. The Word being everything to Luther, the Gospel and epistle readings achieved greater prominence in the Lutheran liturgical tradition and the homily, primarily in the form of the expository sermon intended to explain the most basic tenets of faith to the assembled congregation, became one of its focal points, beside the celebration of the Eucharist.⁴⁷ Individual sermons by Luther began coming off the printing presses soon after 1517. Complete collections of *Postilla*, including pericopes and sermons for both Epistle and Gospel lessons covering the complete liturgical Church Year, followed soon thereafter.⁴⁸ At least one new edition of Luther's sermons appeared every year at the Frankfurt book fair through the end of the sixteenth century, and reprints of those *Postilla* continue to be published.

Preaching, the ministry, the Word spoken orally to a congregation, these things attained central importance among the early supporters of Luther. In addition to preaching becoming integral to Luther's theology of the Word, preaching sermons publicly and writing sermons for others to carry the Word into their own congregations was a key to the success of his revolution.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, unlike many of his

⁴⁷ Edwards, 287-288.

⁴⁸ Martin Luther, *The Complete Sermons of Martin Luther*, 7 vol. John Nicholas Lenker ed., John Nicholas Lenker et al. trans. (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000) reprint of *Sacred and Precious Writings of Martin Luther* (Minneapolis: Luther Press, 1909-). Both the Church Postils and the House Postils are part of this collection, which has also been digitized. The first collection of sermons that Luther sent to the press was the "Advent Postil" of 1521. A complete series of sermons for Sundays and feast days of the Church Year had been completed by 1526. For more on the Church Postils and House Postils, see Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985) 2:255, 285-287.

⁴⁹ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change, Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*. 2 Vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 309.

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contemporaries, Luther did not produce a work specifically devoted to the art of preaching (*Ars predicandi*), a subject which itself was part of a long tradition by the sixteenth century. Luther did, however, keep to a preaching schedule that would have buried lesser men, even as he kept to an equally rigorous teaching load at the university. Students and others took notes during his sermons as best they could, and, when possible, sent them to the printer.

If Luther and his supporters were devoted to preaching the Word, they very quickly discovered an ally in the printing press. In many respects, Lutheran successes can be attributed to their ability to get out the word, both orally and in print. Beth Kreitzer notes the following:

In the years after the publication of his *Sermon on Indulgences and Grace*, his first “best-seller,” Luther’s sermon production and their publication increased. In the years from 1518 to 1525, Luther published over 200 works in the vernacular, reprinted numerous times, so that over 1800 editions of works by Luther had come out of the presses of the Empire by the end of 1525. And, as Mark Edwards notes, two out of every five printings through this period were sermons, and one in every three until 1530.⁵⁰

Even though Luther never produced a work specifically on the subject of preaching, hundreds of his sermons were produced and published in one form or other during his lifetime. He also played important roles in putting together two different series of his own sermon collections, the *Church Postils* and the *House Postils*.⁵¹ His Latin *Advent Postil* was published in 1521 and his German *Wartburg Postil* came out in March

⁵⁰ Kreitzer, 40.

⁵¹ Edwards, 295; see also Brecht, 2: 255-256, 285-287.

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of the following year.⁵² There are, therefore, more than enough examples of Luther's work behind the pulpit to achieve an understanding of his preaching style. In addition to Luther, most of his colleagues also produced collections of *Postilla*. Melanchthon produced two series, even though he claimed to have no calling to the ministry. He wrote his series of sermons for the university students in the Hungarian Bursa in Wittenberg; as a result this collection was also printed in Latin.⁵³ Thus, even though the *postilla* was nothing new in the early sixteenth century, the flood of such material during the first decades of the Lutheran movement was new and rather effective.⁵⁴ It is tied to Luther and Melanchthon's plan to spread their message via the printing press and the pulpit. Promising young men were trained in Wittenberg and then encouraged to return home as missionaries of sorts, as teachers and preachers to spread Lutheran views.

Leonard Stöckel's career is representative of this conscious policy on the part of the reformers. Printed sermons were intended to ensure that only orthodox Lutheran ideas flowed from the pulpit to the assembled congregation. What is equally evident is that Stöckel's *Postilla*, especially with regard to the organization of the sermons, was already part of a long tradition when it was printed in 1596, as was the tradition of taking the sermons of an important local religious leaders and publishing them posthumously.⁵⁵

⁵² Martin Luther, *Advent Postil*, 1521, WA 7: 463-537; Martin Luther, *Wartburg Postil* WA 10: 1-728.

⁵³ Philipp Melanchthon, *Postilla*, CR 24: 25.

⁵⁴ For more on the importance of the *postilla* to the young Lutheran movement, see Kreitzer, 35-63, especially her summary on 59.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 55.

The Postilla

In 1596, thirty-six years after Leonard Stöckel's death, this comprehensive collection of his sermons was printed in Bartfeld at the Guttgesell printing house. Leonard Stöckel Jr. prepared the material for the press with the assistance of a few other prominent Bartfelders.⁵⁶

Unlike the other works in Stöckel's corpus, the *Postilla* was published in the form of a folio, a large tome four times the size of the typical quarto schoolbook. This was not a book expected to be lugged around. It contains five hundred and thirty two folio sheets (or 1064 pages) of text, and it is divided into two parts. Part One of the text contains sermons for each Epistle pericope and for each Gospel pericope. As is indicated by the collection's full title, this is done for every Sunday and Solemnity for the whole of the Church Year. Part Two is devoted to Epistle and Gospel readings, again, each accompanied by a sermon, for saints' days as well as other celebrations. On a number of occasions more than one sermon for a given Sunday or saint's day is included. In total, the *Postilla* contains 187 sermons, 126 of which are found in Part One. In addition to the Preface, the readings and sermons, Stöckel's *Postilla* contains a concluding lecture by Severín Škultéty, former rector at the Latin school and current pastor in Bartfeld, who aided in preparing the *Postilla* for print. The subject of Škultéty's lecture is the geography of the Holy Land, a topic that works nicely with the closing paragraphs of the preface to the *Postilla* which turn to a Ptolemaic description of the world, one which is more dependent on classical sources than on late sixteenth-century knowledge of

⁵⁶ Jan Čaplovič, 68, "Leonhardus Stöckelius Iunior et reliqui Haeredes Authoris huius Operis venujú z Bardejova 30. mája 1596 turčianskemu hl. županovi Františkovi de Reva a jeho synovi Gabrielovi... Dielo do tlače pripravili Martin Wagner, Severín Škultéty, Tomáš Fabri a Mikulaš Erhard."

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geography. Škultéty also drew up the printed glosses for the Preface which give geographical information whenever a place in the Holy Land is mentioned.

Organization

Stöckel Jr.'s Preface to his father's *Postilla* begins with a dedication to an important member of the nobility in Upper Hungary, Francis Révai. Stöckel's *Formulae* had also been dedicated to members of the Révai family⁵⁷ At the time that Stöckel Jr. wrote his Preface, the Révai family held, among others, the castle of Blatnica, only a few miles north of Bartfeld. Members of the Révai family were supporters of the Lutheran cause in Upper Hungary until 1639 when Francis Révai III converted to Catholicism. The Dedication in the *Postilla* indicates that Révai was count of Turiec, among other Hungarian counties, and counselor to the Holy Roman Emperor and Hungarian King Rudolf II (r. 1572-1608) of the house of Habsburg.

As has been indicated above, much of the Preface in the *Postilla* is devoted to a lengthy explanation of the organization of the sermons which make up the body of the text. Following the standard humanist praise to Révai, Stöckel Jr., notes that his task has been merely to organize his father's work. After stating emphatically that nothing had been taken away or added to this work, Stöckel Jr. devotes considerable space to tying his organizational method to the celebration of the major events in the life of Christ.⁵⁸ In setting the stage for such organization, the author begins with the Annunciation by the

⁵⁷ Leonard Stöckel, *Formulae*, *2.

⁵⁸ Stöckel, *Postilla*, Prefatio, *ii, "...nihil ut excogitari aut inveniri posit, neque utilius neque pulchrius, sive quis temporum, sive locorum, sive personarum, sive rerum & materiarum tradendarum circumstantias consideret."

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Archangel Gabriel on the vernal equinox in the “year of the world 3962,” 25 March, to be exact.⁵⁹ The dates, Stöckel Jr. notes, have been determined by astronomical calculations based on the “Advent of the Lord in the flesh.”⁶⁰ With the date of the Annunciation now established, the date for the Messiah’s birth can now be calculated. Not terribly surprising, Stöckel Jr. determines that the birth took place in the middle of the night between the 24th and 25th of December, 3962 years after earth’s genesis.⁶¹

According to Stöckel Jr., the division and organization of the readings for these festivals has been confirmed by the “pious and orthodox of old,” and they have been “organized in order to impress upon us the Old Testament prophecies regarding the birth of a boy from the virgin Mary while outlining the duties and benefits related to the Incarnation of Christ”⁶²

Following the events surrounding the Nativity of Christ, Stöckel Jr. then turns to the next major event in the life of Jesus celebrated annually by the Church. According to the author, the Lord “suffered and was made victim for the sins of the world,” on the 3rd of April in the year of the world 3996.⁶³ Rather than focusing on Christ’s person, his

⁵⁹ Ibid., “Concipitur Christus Dominus & Salvator noster unicus in utero virginis Mariae, iuxta annuntiatiuinem Angeli Gabrielis, in ipso Aequinoctio verno, anno mundi 3962. die 25. Martii...”

⁶⁰ Ibid., *iib, “cuius rei retonem reddunt eruditi in calculo Astronomico.”

⁶¹ Ibid., “Nascitur idem Dominus & redemptor generis humani unicus in meda bruma sev in ipso solstitio hyemali, media nocte, quae intercessit inter 24. & 25. diem Decembris, quem ratio dierum Calendarii illius anni ab exordio mundi 3962.”

⁶² Ibid., “Lectiones quoque harum feriarum (quae variae sunt) sic sunt ordinatae, ut quadam nos commonefaciant de vaticaniis Prophetarum, editis de puero ex virgine Maria nato, quaedam rem praedictam pulcherrima hypotyposi oculis subiiciant, quaedam describant divinitatem quaedam humanitatem, quaedam utramque naturam, quaedam official & beneficia Christi Incarnati.”

⁶³ Ibid., “Idem Christus Dominus coeli & terrae passus & victima factus est pro peccatis mundi in ara crucis, anno mundi 3996. 3. die Aprilis (licet scriptores quidam Ecclesiastici existiment eodem die

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nature, or the duties and benefits of the Incarnation, Stöckel Jr. notes that the readings and sermons for the Easter celebration focus upon the image of the suffering Christ. In the following two paragraphs Stöckel Jr. discusses both Christ's Ascension forty days after the Resurrection and the celebration of Pentecost ten days thereafter.⁶⁴

Having thus completed his discussion of the major events found in the Scriptures on Christ's life which he indicates have been celebrated annually by the Church since antiquity, Stöckel Jr. also felt it necessary to make it clear, in a thoroughly Lutheran fashion, that we are not bound to these celebrations by any "divine necessity."⁶⁵ Citing Paul from Colossians 2:16, Stöckel Jr. informs the reader that even though we are not obligated to observe such festivals and the like, they have been commemorated according to a fixed order since antiquity, as is indicated by another of Paul's Epistles, 1 Corinthians 14:40.⁶⁶ After presenting such an elaborate explanation for the annual celebrations of the events in Christ's life, Stöckel Jr., must have felt it also necessary to then point out that Christian freedom, as described by Luther and his supporters, does not require that we participate in any of these holy days.⁶⁷ Since *postilla* and their organizational structure clearly had a history that predated the work of the early reformers of the sixteenth century, Stöckel Jr.'s lengthy justification for the organization

aequinoctii verni, qui ante annos. Coceptus fuerat, etiam crucifixum & mortuum esse) quem ratio dierum ostendit fuisse nostrum feriam sextam: sequenti vero 5. Aprilis divina potentia sua resurrexit a mortuis."

⁶⁴ Ibid., *iii

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., "...quando ait: Omnia ordine & decenter fiant in Ecclesia."

⁶⁷ Ibid.

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of his father's *Postilla* was an attempt to place this collection within a tradition that gave weight to the authorities of the early Church, an attempt to bypass the Catholic tradition, where its origins are readily uncovered. But there is more to Stöckel Jr.'s motivation than simply tying the use of pericopes to the early Church over and above that of the medieval tradition. Maintaining the Church Calendar and the development of sermons around traditional pericopes was also a clear mark of distinction between the supporters of Luther and those of Calvin who had rejected the use of pericopes in favor of the *lectio continua* method.⁶⁸ Considering the circumstances within Upper Hungary during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Stöckel Jr.'s distinction between his father's sermons and the tradition of the Calvinists was important.

Stöckel's Sources

Following Stöckel Jr.'s discussion of the organization of his father's collection of sermons, he turns to the source behind the writing of these sermons. That source may best be described as flowing from Wittenberg. On two separate occasions within the Preface to the *Postilla*, Stöckel Jr. devotes space to making a connection to Wittenberg, especially to Luther and Melancthon. First, Stöckel Jr. informs the reader that his father not only heard the two Reformers' lectures and sermons for a number of years while living in Wittenberg but also became rather familiar with the "original cleansers of the Christian

⁶⁸ Herwarth von Schade, "Das fünfte Verbrechen: Joachim Westphal, Johannes Calvin und die Perikopenfrage im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte in Augsätzen*, ed. Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte (Hamburg, 2004), 237-48. By the time that Stöckel Jr. wrote the Preface to his father's *Postilla* the question of continuing the use of the Church Calendar and pericopes as the basis for sermon topics had been a major issue of contention between Lutherans and supporters of Calvin for more than a generation. The first known printed attack on Calvinists for abandoning the use of pericopes was published by Joachim Westphal in 1555.

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religion.”⁶⁹ Stöckel Jr. stresses his father’s familiarity with Luther by pointing out that Stöckel had lived in Luther’s own home for a time.⁷⁰ The author continues by stating that the *Postilla* contains the “genuine and germane sentences of doctrine and confessions of the same Luther and Philipp in all articles and commonplaces of Theology.”⁷¹ He concludes by again reiterating that his father at various lectures and sermons heard the living voices of the “Second Prophets and Apostles,” that he drew in their ideas and, as in his father’s other work, faithfully reproduced them for future generations. Stöckel Jr. describes his father as a “faithful trustee,” who in good faith, “repeated, recalled, declared and bequeathed to posterity” the work of his “Heroes.”⁷²

On the second occasion, only two paragraphs after having declared these sermons to be the product of Luther and Melanchthon, Stöckel Jr. again found it necessary to tie his father’s sermons to Wittenberg. Stöckel Jr.’s goal here was not to inform the reader of the provenance, of the primary sources from which his father drew in order to develop the sermon that make up the *Postilla*. Instead, Stöckel Jr. was pointing out that the sermons are so obviously the product of Wittenberg that they stand as historic testimony, as proof

⁶⁹ Stöckel, *Postilla*, Prefatio, **ib and again on **ii. Late in the paragraph of the first noted citation, Stöckel, Jr. states that his father also heard lecture and took notes from Pomeranius (Bugenhagen), Brenz, Georg Anhalt, and others: “Id quod absque omni dubio testabuntur & confirmabunt omnes eruditi viri, qui hosce Patris nostril commentarios cum scriptis & confessionibus Lutheri, Philippi, Pomerani, Brentij, Georgij ab Anhalt, & aliorum fidelium Parastatarum primi repurgatoris Evangelij Lutheri contulerint.”

⁷⁰ Ibid., **ib, “...verumetiam singulari familiaritate tanquam domesticus Lutheri,...”

⁷¹ Ibid., “hae Enarrationes de genua & germana sententia doctrinae & confessionis ipsius Lutheri & Philippi, in omnibus articulis & locis communibus Theologicis...”

⁷² Ibid., **ii, “secundum Prophetas & Apostolos, ipsorum primorum repurgatorum religionis Christianis, Lutheri & Philippi;” **ib, “...quam illae coram in lectionibus & concionibus publicis vivam ipsorum vocem audiens, hausit, consignatamque diligenter postea cum in aliis scriptis suis, tum quoque in his Enarrationibus tanquam fidelis praetactorum Heroum praeceptorum suorum depositarius, fide optima repetivit, declaravit & posteritati tradidit.”

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of the ties between Bartfeld (along with the other cities that made up the Upper Hungarian Pentapolis) and Wittenberg. Stöckel Jr. was making a declaration that these cities had always been followers of Luther. In addition, he emphatically declares that this work is not influenced by the Swiss, nor by the followers of Calvin. With regard to doctrines and ceremonies, his father's beliefs, and therefore this work, was a product of the Saxons, more specifically "the Academy and Church of Wittenberg Doctors."⁷³ Stöckel Jr. stresses again that Bartfeld and the Upper Hungarian royal free cities had always been adherents to Wittenberg and, thus, had never been supporters of the Sacramentarians or the Swiss and were not in any way affiliated with Geneva.⁷⁴ The strength of Stöckel Jr.'s appeal had greater resonance during the late sixteenth century when the words of Calvin were being heard more and more often in Upper Hungary, especially among the Magyar nobility.⁷⁵ The followers of Luther in Upper Hungary had not yet fully organized, and political events were moving in such a direction that there appeared to be threats from all sides. On the one hand were the Calvinists but also fringe groups including Anabaptists, Sabbatarians, even Unitarians. On the other hand was the growing strength of the Catholic Church in Hungary, supported by the kingdom's Habsburg rulers.

⁷³ Ibid., **ib, "... has Ecclesias reformatas esse ad normam doctrinae & Ceremoniarum, non Helveticorum sed Saxoniorum, & nominatim Academiae & Ecclesiae Witebergensis Doctorum, a quibus Parens noster doctrinam & veros cultus Dei inter alios discipulos Lutheri accepit, & in hoc regnum Ungariae intulit."

⁷⁴ Ibid., **ii. Stöckel, Jr. devotes special attention to Andreas von Karlstadt on *iiib.

⁷⁵ David P. Daniel, "Calvinism in Hungary: the Theological and Ecclesiastical Transition to the Reformed faith," *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, ed. Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, Gillian Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 205.

The decision of Leonard Stöckel Jr. to print the *Postilla* could have been motivated by a desire to demonstrate Bartfeld's long-term allegiance to the Lutheran cause, the point that he makes in the work's Dedication, but there may have been more to it than that. He may have decided to publish it as one more weapon in the struggle between Lutherans and Calvinists in Upper Hungary, or it may have been part of the internal struggle within the Lutheran movement of the late sixteenth century. Fully aware that the *Postilla* of this nature were intended as aids to students of theology and Lutheran preachers, aware that his father had produced a complete collection of orthodox Lutheran sermons, Stöckel Jr. may have believed their publication to be important both as evidence of Bartfeld's decades-long ties to Wittenberg and as an eloquent aid in the development of orthodox Lutheran sermons. And then again, Leonard Stöckel Jr. may simply have wanted to keep the name of his father alive or offer a simple reminder of the basics of Lutheran theology. It was likely a combination of some or all of these factors that finally brought this work to press.

In concluding his discussion of the source for the ideas to be found in his father's *Postilla*, Stöckel Jr. returns to the noble to whom his Preface is dedicated, Francis Révai, to whom he had already referred as his patron, his "mecenates."⁷⁶ Late in the essay, Stöckel Jr. notes that one of the reasons why this work was dedicated to Révai is that Francis, many years earlier, had himself been a pupil of Stöckel at the Latin school in

⁷⁶ This term refers to a certain Gaius Maecenas (c. 70 B.C.-8 B.C.), confidant of Augustus and patron of Virgil and Horace. His name has, in more than one language, come to be associated with a patron of the liberal arts.

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Bartfeld.⁷⁷ Francis Révai , therefore, had personally heard Stöckel lecture and preach on these same topics. Stöckel Jr. then concludes that, in addition to being an important patron whose financial aid allowed for the printing of this work some thirty-six years after the author’s death, Francis Révai is also a “trustworthy and truthful witness” that the teachings found in the *Postilla* are the same which Francis had heard Stöckel deliver in his “living voice.”⁷⁸ According to Stöckel Jr., then, Francis Révai was more than a patron; he was a witness. Having been a pupil of Stöckel, he personally knew and could testify that the doctrines found in the *Postilla* were the exact same that the noble had himself heard when he was a pupil in Bartfeld.

Doctrina et Exhortatio; Docta Pietas

Further examination of Luther’s sermon style and of Melanchthon’s importance to Lutheran homiletics is useful in demonstrating the centrality of Luther and Melanchthon’s influence upon Stöckel’s intellectual framework, an influence which is as discernable in the *Postilla* as it is in his *Apophthegmata*. Luther, as noted above, did not write a work on the subject of preaching, but scores and scores of his own sermons were published during his life. From these, historians have noted that Luther’s sermon style developed over time.⁷⁹ There are some basics to which Luther returns again and again. In

⁷⁷ Stöckel, *Postilla*, **iiiib.

⁷⁸ Ibid., “Primum, quia S.M.V. aliquot annis vivam vocem Patris nostri audivit, cum in adolescentia sua esset discipulus Scholae & Ecclesiae huius. Unde non tantum patronus huius operis, verumetiam testis esse potest locuples & verax: doctrinam in his commentariis expressam, eandem esse, quam Pater noster viva voce tradidit.”

⁷⁹ Kreitzer, 35-63; Edwards, 283-303; Karant-Nunn, 193-219.

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particular, Luther believed that the role of preaching the word is the most important of all roles, even more than that of consecrating the host.⁸⁰

O.C. Edwards notes that the goals of a sermon by Luther can be summarized by the Latin *doctrina et exhortatio*, literally teaching and exhortation.⁸¹ The sermon had to do something more than simply teach; its end goal was not education but salvation. Its intention was to urge, to encourage, to impel the congregation to lead a more thoroughly Christian life. Edwards concludes by pointing out that there are

...three features of Luther's sermons that make them rhetorically effective..., but also very appropriate to the Reformer's personality, theology, and existential situation:

Clear and untiringly repeated doctrine (his message, in other words, had a clear center and Lutheran preaching ever since has aimed at precise doctrinal content).

Clear isolation of enemies (papists and *Schwärmer*), giving a sense of "present danger," and, therefore, urgency.

An agenda for the hearers that was specific and immediate, yet fraught with implications for a better order to come.⁸²

It was not lack of due consideration that led Edwards to call his chapter on Lutheran preaching "The Reformation Preaching of Luther and Melanchthon."⁸³ In this chapter Edwards effectively argues that Melanchthon's influence upon later Lutheran

⁸⁰ Edwards, 287.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 295.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 297-298; Edwards draws this passage from John O'Malley, "Luther the Preacher," *The Martin Luther Quincentennial*, Gerhard Dünhaupt ed. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press for Michigan Germanic Studies, 1985), 12.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 283.

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preaching was greater than that of Luther, and this is the case even though Philipp claimed never to have had the calling to preach and never stood before the pulpit for the purpose of preaching. As we have seen, in addition to writing one work on preaching, *De officiis concionatoris*, Melanchthon also wrote more than one work on the art of rhetoric.

In the *De officiis [concionatoris]*, Melanchthon adapts the classical *genus deliberativum*, the exhortation to preaching, dividing it into two forms: the *epitripticum*, which exhorts to faith, and the *pareneticum*, which exhorts to good morals. These two *genera*, along with the... new *genus didascalicum* [developed by Melanchthon] (which teaches), constituted the essence of the sermon for Melanchthon... The content of the sermon should be drawn from Scripture, and should always include both law and gospel.⁸⁴

In addition to this variation on the classical rhetorical approach to the writing of Lutheran sermons, Melanchthon is further credited with another innovation which became an important method of Lutheran scriptural exegesis, and thus preaching. This innovation is based on Melanchthon's *Loci communes*, as noted above, the first systematic study of Lutheran theology. The "loci" method, which leans much more heavily on dialectic to interpret text, focuses upon topics which can be drawn from any Scripture and then used as a rhetorical means of invention.

The *loci* for a simple question are: What is the thing, what are its parts or species, what are its causes, what are its effects, what things are related to it, and what things are opposed to it. Using these *loci*, the preacher can "invent" (i.e. discover) what is to be said about any simple question... By asking themselves such questions, clergy can find what needs to be said about every biblical topic.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Kreitzer, "the Lutheran Sermon," 49. The brackets are mine.

⁸⁵ Edwards, 300.

Melanchthon describes his method in the Foreword to his 1555 edition of the *Loci communes*. He begins by stating that “whoever wishes profitably to teach himself or intelligently to instruct others must first comprehend from beginning to end the principal pieces in a thing, and carefully note how each piece follows the one preceding.”⁸⁶ He continues by stressing that it is “very necessary, in every art and teaching, to note all the principal pieces... and carefully to consider how each and every piece fits with the others, which pieces are necessary, which are false additions, and which are contrary to the right foundations; and teacher and the hearer must accustom themselves to comprehend this in a very orderly fashion.” These “things” are Melanchthon’s *loci*, his places or topics. *Loci communes*, then, are commonplaces and in this case they are commonplaces of theology. The author has taken the totality of Scripture in order to draw out the most important topics, the commonplaces, in order to discuss each fully.

This same method, however, is equally effective as a method of rhetorical invention in order to draw out topics from any reading from the Scripture, from any pericope. Like Edwards, Beth Kreitzer also argues that Melanchthon’s work was of great importance in the field of Lutheran homiletics, even though Melanchthon’s influence “may have unintentionally led to a reemergence of scholastic forms and models in later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century preaching.”⁸⁷

Stöckel’s *Postilla* shows a number of signs of Melanchthon’s influence, on both rhetorical and dialectical levels. In addition to having written his own notes on

⁸⁶ Philipp Melanchthon, “Foreword,” in *Melanchthon on Christian Doctrine: Loci Communes, 1555*, Clyde L. Manschreck trans. and ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), xlvi.

⁸⁷ Kreitzer, 50.

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Melanchthon's *Loci communes*, Stöckel made regular use of the dialectic model in his own work. Virtually every sermon in the *Postilla* turns on questions of *loci*. This is even more the case in Stöckel's other collection of sermons, the *Formulae*. This series is abbreviated both in the sense that only Gospel pericopes are covered and the sermons are not complete, ready-made sermons but something more akin to an outline, or a formula. The basic organizational structure of the *Formulae*, beyond that of the lectionary, was the *locus*. That the *Formulae* was also written in Latin is further evidence that the *Postilla* was written for study by Stöckel's advanced pupils, even though they were an aid to pastors.⁸⁸ In the sense that they were intended primarily for pedagogical purposes, they have much in common with Stöckel's *Apophthegmata*, always reaching for a higher degree of learned piety.

Collections of Lutheran sermons written in Latin, like those of Melanchthon, Stöckel and others (those whom Stöckel referred to as the "forward guard" in cleansing the Church), were an effective means of making available good, orthodox sermons to comparably educated teachers and pastors who may or may not have understood German. As noted, Melanchthon's collection was written in Latin because it was intended for the students in the Hungarian Bursa, many of whom had only begun to learn German when they arrived in Wittenberg. The Latin sermons were then to be translated into the vernacular languages in order to be made comprehensible to the members of their congregations.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 55.

Even though most of the postils written by the Lutheran reformers were published in the vernacular languages, especially German, Stöckel also took the unusual step of writing his in Latin. That they were written in Latin lends credence to the argument that they were meant for students who were being trained to be ministers and teachers. Stöckel's decision to do so is also in line with his thinking on this issue. Unlike Stöckel's *Susanna*, intended as a lesson in German language skills, the *Postilla* was too important to be merely an exercise in language; precision of language between the author and his readers required Latin, the language which all of his pupils had been studying for a number of years before they would begin higher studies. Whereas inside the Empire writing postils in German was the most appropriate method of spreading the Word, so to speak, in a grammar school in multilingual Hungary writing sermons in Latin was a prudent choice. The idea is that the students would make their own copies of these sermons and then take them home to their own countries and cities. They could then be translated into the vernacular language most appropriate for the intended congregation.

Whether it was intended for the classroom or to be used behind the pulpit, humanist reformers, like Melancthon and Stöckel, were always encouraging their audiences to learn, to reach for greater wisdom. They used both rhetorical and dialectical techniques, not only for the purpose of teaching, but also with the intention of moving those who could hear them, or could read their works. Their own works demonstrate that they also wanted to teach others to do the same. As a result, we can see very similar goals expected from rather different works, whether it is *Susanna*, the *Apophthegmata*, or Stöckel's homiletic treatises. Each of these works contains interesting use of language.

While the pedagogical treatises and school play make use of German in a Latin grammar school where such instruction is anything but ordinary, the homiletic works were written in Latin even though the end audience would hear the sermons in their native languages. In both cases, in stressing Lutheran *doctrina et exhortatio*, this particular humanist-reformer hoped to direct his pupils, local pastors and their congregations toward the acquisition of greater *docta pietas*.

As with the discussion on the *Apophthegmata*, one way to achieve a better understanding of the content of Leonard Stöckel's two collections of homilies is by way of example. Stöckel's life and work demonstrate that he was strong supporter of Martin Luther from the time he left Wittenberg until his death in 1560. His sermons and theological work, however, also demonstrate that Stöckel was a moderate Lutheran. His sermons for the second Sunday in Advent illustrate his moderate beliefs. This is especially the case when those sermons are compared to sermons prepared for the same day and reading in the Church calendar by Luther and Melanchthon. Stöckel proves to be a supporter of Luther but his language is not as harsh and polemical as Luther's language, nor was it as academic and multilingual as Melanchthon's. The differences in their styles can be, in part, attributed to the different circumstances of each of these authors, as well as the audiences for whom they were writing.

Second Sunday in Advent

The traditional pericope for the Second Sunday in Advent is Luke 21:25-36. Stöckel used this pericope for each of his collections, and Luther and Melanchthon also used this reading for their postils for that Sunday. The subject of the reading is Jesus'

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prophecy of the signs which will foretell his return (his second Advent) and the end of the world. The pericope takes up the subject of the signs of the last days in the middle of Jesus' prophecy. The other signs prophesied by Jesus earlier in Luke 21 could have been incorporated into the authors' sermons but none of the authors chose to do so.⁸⁹

Stöckel's approach in his two collections of sermons is academic and straightforward. Each section of the sermon in the *Postilla* is separated by a sub-heading in which a basic question about the reading is asked. That section is then devoted to answering the question. His postil for the Second Sunday in Advent begins with the basic question: What is the subject of this Gospel?⁹⁰ His response is immediate; in the first sentence of the text, Stöckel claims that this reading centers around two primary topics: teaching and consolation.⁹¹ This is followed by a brief discussion stressing the reliability of this teaching, that is, of Jesus' prophecy, and the kind of consolation expected.⁹² From here, the sermon is divided into two primary subjects, those of doctrine (or teaching) and those of consolation; the author even indicates as much in the gloss.⁹³

⁸⁹ The prophecy in Luke 21 also speaks of "nation rising against nation," as well as "earthquakes, pestilences and famines."

⁹⁰ Stöckel, "In II. Dominicam Adventus, Evangelium Lucae XXI." *Postilla*, 9a, "Quod est argumentum Evangelij?"

⁹¹ Ibid., "Constat duobus locis. doctrina, & consolatione."

⁹² Ibid., 9b, "Doctrina est, certissima Prophetia Christi, qua nos de finem postremi temporis, antequam in maiestate sua ad nos redeat certiores facit, eamque satis magna asseveratione confirmat, cum per se fit ipsa veritas;" "Consolatio est, cum iubet nos bono animo esse, neque committere, ut una cum caeteris moerore atque angustia consumamur... Quanquam ipsa quoque doctrina non caret consolatione."

⁹³ Ibid., "Prima Pars" is in the gloss immediately following the introduction and "Secunda Pars" is in the gloss at the point in the sermon where Stöckel turns to questions of consolation.

Stöckel's discussion of the teaching to be derived from this Gospel reading begins under subheading two: What things are included in this teaching?⁹⁴ He then groups the signs of the last days described in the Gospel reading into three categories: signs that one will see in the heavens; signs on earth; and signs in the seas. They may be more readily referred to as heavenly, terrestrial and marine signs, the terms that Stöckel uses in his comparable sermon in the *Formulae*.⁹⁵ Subheading two focuses upon the heavenly signs, in particular eclipses, solar and lunar, and falling stars.⁹⁶

Stöckel also gives examples of unusual celestial phenomena from other parts of the Scriptures. In the first instance he notes that, when Joshua and the children of Israel were defeating the Amorites in battle, Joshua prayed that the sun and moon not move.⁹⁷ In Second Kings, there is the example of the sun receding ten degrees as testimony to a promise God made to the Hebrew King Ezekias.⁹⁸ And that is not all; outside of the Scriptures there are other examples of eclipses and celestial signs.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, it is not so much the celestial activities that are signs, although they are surely portents of something; it is the increased frequency of their occurrence that signifies Jesus' return

⁹⁴ Ibid., "Quas res complectitur doctrina?"

⁹⁵ Stöckel, "Dominica II. Adventus," *Formulae*, A5a, "Primum est a Signis, quae dividantur in coelestia, terrestria, & marina."

⁹⁶ Stöckel, "In II. Dominicam Adventus," 9b, "Primum praedicit, qualia signa in coelo futura sint, nempe quod Sol, Luna & stellae significationes inusitatas de se praebebunt."

⁹⁷ Ibid., "Cum Iosue ad Gabaon pugnaret contra reges Amorihaeos, Sol & Luna in coelo steterunt immoti."

⁹⁸ Ibid., "Ezechiae quoque in testimonium promissionis de vita longiore Sol decem integros gradus in circulo suo retrocedit..."

⁹⁹ Ibid., "Ac gentium historiae varias Eclipses aliaque signa commemorant."

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and the last days.¹⁰⁰ Before turning to the second category of signs from Luke 21, the author introduced the topic of celestial activity as signs and omens. For Stöckel, celestial activity is meaningless in and of itself. Its importance is always related to the fact that it is part of God's creation and the signs that it portends for humanity. Such signs include the division of time into years, months, seasons, even day and night. Stöckel argues that just as these are signs for us, here on earth, that are intended for us to use for our own benefit, there will also be other signs in the heavens, signs that will signify Jesus' return and the last days.¹⁰¹

Before turning to the terrestrial signs, the author asks, in subheading three, how these signs may differ since there have been many eclipses and falling stars.¹⁰² Stöckel agrees that there have always been celestial activities, but he also points out that such activity had often been considered a sign or omen. First he points out biblical figures in Genesis, Joshua and Jeremiah and in Second Kings, whose acts were accompanied by unusual celestial activity. He even goes so far as to say that, if such activity had presaged major changes in cities and kingdoms (which he implies that had), how great such activity must be to presage the destruction of the world.¹⁰³ Before turning from this line of thinking, Stöckel points out how mistaken those people are who claim such

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., "Sed tamen multitudine & copia horum signorum postrema haec aetas omnes alias aetates antecellit."

¹⁰¹ Ibid., "Haec officia omnia exercent coelestia corpora hic in terra. Neque enim in coelo efficiunt discrimina dierum & noctuum cum ibi sit perpetua lux, neque in coelo sunt discrimina temporum dierum, mensium & annorum, sed in terra. Neque significant aliquid coelo, sed terrae."

¹⁰² Ibid., 10, "Nonne talia signa ab initio omnibus saeculis apparuerunt?"

¹⁰³ Ibid., "Ac si ad singulorum imperiorum atque adeo oppidorum mutationes certa signa coelestia acciderunt, quanto plura evenient ante totius mundi interitum?"

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phenomena have no greater meaning, but he also stresses that it is in this way that many will misread the signs of the end times.¹⁰⁴

Returning to his enumeration of the signs, Stöckel titled section four: “Which sign of the second place does Christ examine?” and section five: “What sign in the third place does Christ examine?” In these two sections of the sermon then, Stöckel first describes the terrestrial signs, followed soon thereafter by a description of the marine signs prophesied by Jesus in that day’s Gospel reading. The primary terrestrial sign outlined by Stöckel refers to Jesus’ prophecy in Luke 21:25: “. . .and upon the earth distress of nations. . .” Stöckel therefore argues that, among men, there will be much anxiety which will engender feelings of desperation. He points out that the Old Testament prophet Daniel had made the same prophecy.¹⁰⁵ Stöckel associates this anxiety among men and feelings of desperation with the current struggles with both the Turks and the papacy.¹⁰⁶ In doing so, Stöckel directly associates his own day with the end times.

With regard to the signs in the waters, Stöckel points out that the biblical usage of the term “seas” refers to all bodies of water.¹⁰⁷ Again, he directly goes on to associate such disturbances with his own day.¹⁰⁸ The final section before turning to part two of the

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., “Falluntur ergo impij & profani homines, cum signis coelestibus ideo detrahunt auctoritatem testimonij, quia etiam ante haec tempora visa fuerint.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., “De eodem statu praedixit Daniel cap. 12. Veniet, inquit, tempus, quale non fuit ab eo, ex quo gentes esse coeperunt, usque ad illud tempus.”

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., “Atque haec mala praecipue sentiunt illi, qui sub Antichristi regno captivi sunt, hoc est, qui Turcico imperio & tyrannidi Pontificiae subiecti sunt, cum se, suosque crudelissime tractari vident, neque suorum malorum exitum ullum animadvertunt.”

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 10b, “Nam maria scriptura vocat omnes aquas.”

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., “Et quantos motus mare sentiat, facile ex fluminum crebra & antehac inaudita exundatione coniectura sumi potest, quae si ad mare conferantur, nihil sunt.

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sermon summarizes and concludes Stöckel's discussion of the signs. He introduces the topic with the following question: "What will be the final outcome of all these signs?"¹⁰⁹ Stöckel notes that Christ's prophecy of these signs is that they foretell his return to earth with great might and glory, so different from his previous advent, modestly riding an ass into Jerusalem.¹¹⁰ It is because of this contrast that this pericope is so fitting for Advent season, especially on the Second Sunday in Advent. This plays into another contrast, that between the pious who prepare for this advent and have recognized the signs and those who, focused on the desires and cares of this world, will be caught unaware and unprepared. Along with them would be those who see the signs but fail to acknowledge them as such, believing them to be nothing more than natural phenomena.¹¹¹ The distinction is stark; only a few will find consolation in Christ's coming. The rest will eventually recognize him but it will be a recognition that remains with them in their eternal damnation. With this, Stöckel completes part one of the sermon and turns to the question of consolation, the subject of part two.

Stöckel's sermon never strays far from the Gospel reading in part one, and this remains the case in part two. After having discussed the three categories of signs which

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 11a, "Quis tandem erit eventus horum signorum omnium?"

¹¹⁰ Ibid., Tunc inquit Christus, videbunt filium hominis venientem in nube cum potestate & gloria magna... Quanto enim ille fuit humilior, tanto hic erit gloriosior..."

¹¹¹ Ibid., Sed eos tantum consolantur spe huius gloriosi adventus, qui eum ascendentem viderunt, hoc est, qui crediderint eum esse victorem peccati & totius regni diaboli, & Dominum coeli sendentem ad dexteram patris, donantem dona hominibus, interpellantem pro nobis, omnesque suos in medio inimicorum suorum mirabili modo defendentem. Caeteri, qui humilem Christum non agnoscunt talem esse Dominum, ij tandem videbunt eum in gloria cum terrore ac trepidatione turba stipatum, vinctum, flagellatum, coronatum, crucifixum, mortuum, & sepultum. Sed in infinita luce & gloria, omnium coelestium spirituum ministerio septum, ut vere agnoscant, in quem transfixerunt, cum aeterno suo exitio."

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would foretell Christ's glorious second advent and having stressed the need for believers to recognize those signs and to be prepared, Stöckel acknowledges that the natural reaction to events foretelling the end of the world is terror. In turning to the Gospel reading, however, Stöckel notes that Christ commanded believers not to be terrified but to "look up and to be of good cheer."¹¹² This cheerfulness is not to be born of delight in the suffering of the wicked but in the knowledge that one's own redemption is at hand.¹¹³ The author argues that it was in this way that Christ and the saints consoled themselves in the face of contemporary evils: awareness that redemption is near.¹¹⁴ In support of this theme of consolation, Stöckel cites 1 John 3, Romans 5 and 6, as well as Colossians 3 and Philippians 3. In closing the sermon, he refers to that part of the day's Gospel reading in which Jesus presents the parable of the fig tree. In the parable Jesus describes how new sprouts on the tree in late winter foretell the happiness of the coming summer.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Ibid., "Consolatio est in his verbis: Cum haec fieri coeperint, suspicite & attollite capita vestra, hoc est, nolite terri, vestrosque oculos in terram defixos tenere, ac moerore contabescere, ut caeteri, qui spe carebunt, sed laeti atque hilares estote."

¹¹³ Ibid., "Non ergo propter hanc causam iubet nos Christus bono animo esse, quia omnia malis sint referta, quae diabolus in unum collecta, nunc simul omnia effudisse videtur. Sed quia nostra redemptio appropinquat."

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 11b, "Hoc modo Christus contra scandala se consolatus est, hoc modo Apostoli, & quicumque eos secuti sunt. In haec ergo consolationem & nos intueamur, cum tristitia & moerore ex praesentium malorum conspectu obruimur, ut credamus haec omnia esse signa nostrae redemptionis & futurae gloriae, quam fide credimus, & in spe expectamus, iam brevi revelandam. Scimus tamen, cum apparuerit, quod similes ei futuri sumus, quoniam videbimus eum, sicuti est."

¹¹⁵ Ibid., "Etsi autem illi futurae laetitiae, quae iam pro foribus est, sicut signa testantur, nihil simile in tota natura inveniri potest, tamen ut aliquo modo eam nobis adumbraret Christus, proposuit similitudinem a natura sumtam, ut solet: Sicut, inquit, ingens est laetitia hominum, cum arbores germinant, tunc enim intelligunt, finem tristissimae hyemis instare, cum res omnes veluti mortuae visae sunt, & prope adesse aetatem laetissimam."

Reiterating his point on consolation, Stöckel stresses that this is how believers should react to the signs of the last days.¹¹⁶

In comparing and analyzing Stöckel's sermon for Second Sunday in Advent, it is helpful to remember that all of the sermons under discussion are based on the same Gospel reading. As one becomes familiar with that particular pericope, two themes become apparent. First, there is Jesus' prophecy of the signs that portend his second coming and the last days. Second, there is Jesus' command to his followers to look up and to lift up their heads because their redemption is near. That all four sermons revolve to some degree around these two themes, then, is only to be expected. The differences and similarities are a little more subtle.

Stöckel's sermon in the *Formulae* immediately points the reader to two major themes prevalent in this pericope, those of consolation and of exhortation.¹¹⁷ Stöckel then notes two *loci*, two themes around which one can develop a sermon. Both require elements of teaching, and when teaching is presented with a sense of currency and urgency, teaching evolves into exhortation. The first locus, or theme, is comparable to Stöckel's sermon in his *Postilla*. First there is the discussion of the three groups of signs.¹¹⁸ Then there is the acknowledgement that the signs will be disregarded by most, a

¹¹⁶ Ibid., "Ita vos quoque, cum haec signa videritis, tum amota omni tristitia certo expectate tempus, in quo ex morte in vitam, ex moerore in gaudium, ex regno diaboli in regnum coeleste aeternumque transferemini."

¹¹⁷ Stöckel, "Dominica II. Adventus," *Formulae*, A4a, "Primum ex hoc Evangelio genus doctrinae, sive status indicandus est, quod videlicet, contineat consolationem & adhortationem."

¹¹⁸ Ibid., A5a, "Primum est a Signis, quae dividantur in coelestia, terrestria, & marina."

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clear indication that the end is near.¹¹⁹ This is followed by a note of consolation, found in Jesus' command to look up. Again, consolation is to be derived from our awareness that the evil all around is a sign that our redemption is near.¹²⁰ Although Stöckel had already noted that one should not delight in the suffering of others, he does indicate a second point of consolation in this sermon in the *Formulae*. In this case he refers to the consolation one receives in the knowledge that the son of God is soon to return "to judge the devil with his goats, between whose horns of diverse dangers is the Church."¹²¹

Stöckel now turns to the second locus for a sermon in his *Formulae*. This would focus on an exhortation to the pious to be ever vigilant, always keeping a lookout for the signs of Jesus' return. He stressed the need for Christians to come together, always looking toward Jesus' return as their liberator.¹²² Feelings of security and a focus on the things of this world can lead only to disaster, especially the disaster of missing the signs. Stöckel notes that this is doubly important because vigilance keeps one's eyes focused on the right things. Left to itself, human reason soon finds itself in great troubles, including drunkenness, hangovers and feelings of anxiety.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Ibid., "Omnia haec signa maxima ex parte praeterita sunt: Ergo instat finis."

¹²⁰ Ibid., Christus non tam mala ipsa considerare nos iubet, quam quid significant, imminentem gloriosam liberationem.

¹²¹ Ibid., "...ab adventu Filij hominis, qui ideo venturus est, ut iudicet diabolum cum suis hircis, inter quorum cornua varie periclitata est Ecclesia."

¹²² Ibid., A5b, "Secundus Locus adhortatio est, ut pij sint in assidua statione, semper intenti ad expectandum liberatorem, ne vel securi abijciant, vel ignavius exerceant studium verbi & invocationis."

¹²³ Ibid., B1a, "Sed deploranda est humanarum mentium caecitas, quae nequaquam his gravissimis concionibus assentiuntur, adeo ut etiam ex optimis quibusque multi succumbant his praesentibus moribus, & crapulae, ebrietati, solitudinique victus plus aequo indulgeant. Magno ergo studio opus est, ne vel errore nostro, vel aliorum exemplis seducamur."

To briefly review before examining comparable works by Luther and

Melanchthon: the first theme/locus outlined in Stöckel's sermon in the *Formulae* constitutes the whole of Stöckel's sermon in the *Postilla*. The goal was to emphasize the three groups of signs described by Jesus in his prophecy from Luke 21:25. This is then followed by the theme of consolation, one which would aid those who see and recognize the signs of the last days. This theme is to be found in Jesus' commands to his believers on how to react to the signs indicating the last days, including looking up, lifting their heads, all in the knowledge that their redemption is near. This theme is again stressed in Jesus' parable of the fig tree, in which new shoots in the cold of winter portend the warmer, happier times to come. In his *Formulae*, Stöckel also points to a second locus/theme derived from the Gospel reading. In this case the stress is on the need for believers to be always stretching toward Christ through regular attendance at church and through constant prayer. In this way, the believer will be prepared for Christ's second advent and will recognize the signs. In addition, focusing on Christ and his imminent return has the added benefit of keeping one's eyes away from the evils of this world, evils into which believers may always fall.

Luther and Melanchthon on Second Advent

The sermons for the Second Sunday in Advent written by Luther in his *Church Postils* and by Melanchthon in his collection of sermons are very similar to Stöckel's work in his *Postilla* and *Formulae*.¹²⁴ There are, nevertheless, significant, if subtle,

¹²⁴ Martin Luther, "Second Sunday in Advent," Church Postils in *Sermons of Luther*, 1.1: 59-86, WA 10: 93-120; "Second Sunday in Advent," House Postils in *Sermons of Luther*, (1532) 5: 37-43, Walch, 13.2: 1366-1375; House Postils in *Sermons of Luther*, (1533) 5: 44-51, WA 52: 16-23, Walch, 13.2: 1374-1385,

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differences as well. First, with regard to length, Stöckel's sermons are considerably shorter than those of Luther and Melanchthon. The sermon in the *Formulae* contains less than 600 words in only six paragraphs. The complete sermon in Stöckel's *Postilla*, on the other hand, is almost 3000 words in thirteen paragraphs. Luther's sermon, however, is at least three times longer than Stöckel's, over 10,000 words in sixty-eight paragraphs. Finally, Melanchthon's sermon for the Second Sunday in Advent is almost 6000 words in approximately seventy-seven paragraphs.¹²⁵ Luther's *House Postils*, however, contain three other sermons for this day presented in 1532, 1533, and 1534, all years when Stöckel was living in Saxony. Each of these sermons is considerably shorter in length than the sermon in Luther's *Church Postils*. The shortest sermon, from 1534, is just a little over 2500 words in fifteen paragraphs, while the longest, from 1533, is closer to 3500 words in twenty-five paragraphs.

Since the sermons in the *Formulae* were not intended to be complete sermons but brief introductions to the best topics to be drawn from that week's Gospel reading, that they are significantly shorter than the other is only to be expected. The differences in length between Stöckel's sermon in the *Postilla* and those of Luther (in his *Church Postils*) and Melanchthon are striking. The longer sermons have much greater room for

House Postils in *Sermons of Luther*, (1534) 5: 52-58, Walch, 13.2: 1384-1391; Philipp Melanchthon, "Dominica II. Adventus," *Postilla Melanthoniana*, CR 24: 17-32.

¹²⁵ Having been Melanchthon's student, friend and colleague during the 1530s Stöckel was undoubtedly familiar with Melanchthon's discourse on the subject discussed in the sermon for Second Advent. Although a collection of brief postils by Melanchthon, comparable to Stöckel's *Formulae*, was printed in 1544 under the title *Annotationes in evangelia, quae usitato more diebus dominicis et festis proponuntur* (Wittenberg, 1544; ed. *Corpus Reformatorum* 14: 161-528), the so-called *Postilla Melanchthoniana* did not go to the press until 1594, years after Melanchthon and Stöckel's own deaths.

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the discussion of secondary and tertiary topics, space which is simply not available in Stöckel's shorter work. This is just one of the ways that these sermons differ.

With regard to content, each of the sermons focuses on questions of doctrine and consolation but the three authors organize their sermons somewhat differently. Much of Luther's sermon is devoted to the teaching surrounding Jesus' prophecy of the signs. He divides the signs into three categories, as did Stöckel. Stöckel's sermon, however, focuses only on those three categories of signs prophesied in Luke 21: 25 whereas Luther lumps those three categories together in his second category. Instead, the first class of signs Luther relates to things, both secular and spiritual, having reached their climax. On the secular level, with regard to the "cares of life" in such areas as diverse as business and diet, clothing and science, Luther is of the opinion that they have advanced as far as humanly possible. "It is hard to see how a change can come... There was never such keenness, understanding and judgment among Christians in bodily and temporal things as now..."¹²⁶ With regard to secular life, however, Luther not only pointed to signs of progress but also of immoderation, including gluttonous drinking and eating, even of wearing overly expensive clothing. He then turned to spiritual matters which, as part of this same category of signs, had also reached their climax. In this case however, in the description of spiritual climax, the presentation is all negative. Luther argues that "Error, sin, and falsehood have never held sway in the world as in the these last centuries."¹²⁷ Rather than being drawn from that day's Gospel reading, these signs are drawn from

¹²⁶ Luther, "2 Advent," 63 [6]; WA 10: 96, 1-2.

¹²⁷ Ibid. [7]; WA 10: 96, 13-16.

other biblical references. Verses from Luke 17, Matthew 24, I Thessalonians 5 and 2

Peter are pulled together to argue that the signs will be many and varied but not too terribly unusual. Again, as in Stöckel's sermons, everyone will see the signs but only a few will recognize them as such. Most people will simply disregard them as natural phenomena or be too busy with the cares of this world to give them any notice.

Only after this discussion of how all things, religious and otherwise, had reached their climax does Luther begin his discussion of the signs found in Luke 21:25. In the process, he discusses each phrase in Jesus' prophecy one at a time and at great length. Each of the three groups of signs outlined at length by Stöckel then is also discussed in a similar fashion by Luther. Nevertheless, even in this category, Luther has greater room to move away from the Gospel reading by bringing in comparable Scriptures and by associating the signs with current events. For instance, with regard to the signs in the sun and moon, Luther stresses that this is not a prophecy about something dramatic occurring to the sun or moon. It is not as if the lights will go out, never to come back on again. For one, Luther notes that such a sign would be so dramatic that it would be impossible to go unnoticed, a necessity for the evil masses. Secondly, such a dramatic change runs counter to other Scripture, as in Genesis 8:22 in which God proclaims that the division between night and day will continue until the end of time.

The only place where Stöckel and Luther differ to any significant degree would be in their interpretations of Jesus' prophecy that "upon the earth, there will be distress of nations..." Stöckel describes how recognition of the signs of the last days by some people will engender great fear and terror, and his primary point with regard to this sign is more

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closely related to wars, tyrannical governments and pestilence which, as he notes, were currently taking place.¹²⁸ Luther, however, interprets this phrase less literally than he did the three previous phrases related to celestial bodies. He begins his interpretation by stressing that, “This is not to be understood that all nations and all people among these nations will so suffer; for you must note that these are to be signs.”¹²⁹ Rather than a more literal interpretation centering on distressed and perplexed nations, Luther argues that this part of the prophecy refers to an “agonized conscience” on the part of individuals.¹³⁰ Consciences are agonized in these last days because the Gospel “is condemned, and in its stead are set up doctrines of men, which teach us to lay aside sin and earn heaven by works; there must come a burdened and distressed conscience, a conscience that can find no rest, that would be pious, do good and be saved, that torments itself and yet does not know how to find satisfaction.”¹³¹ The source of this inability to find satisfaction, according to Luther, is the corruption of the papacy and the clergy. “From the beginning of the world no human doctrine exercised the tenth part or even the hundredth part of the influence, or tortured and seared so many consciences as the doctrines of the pope and his disciples, the monks and priests.”¹³² As with the celestial signs, frequency or degree was the difference between such phenomena being simply part of the natural order or, as

¹²⁸ Stöckel, “Second Sunday in Advent,” *Postilla*, 10a, “Praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.”

¹²⁹ Luther, “Second Sunday in Advent,” 67 [17]; WA 10: 101 13-17.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 68 [18]; WA 10: 102, 1-6.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, WA 10: 102, 25-29.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 69. [20]; WA 1-: 103, 7-13.

Luther says, being “clear harbingers of the day.”¹³³ More people will be in distress and the degree of their anxieties will be greater.

As examples for the current degree of distress among nations, Stöckel, like Luther, viewed the tyranny of the papacy as one source. Stöckel added the advance of the Turk as another, a point which always resonated in Bartfeld.¹³⁴ While Stöckel’s reference to the Turks and to the papacy was a harsh one, placing them under the control of the Antichrist, it was his only reference to either in the whole sermon. Luther also refers to both Turk and Papacy together in his sermon but he does so late in the sermon and with particularly stinging effect. In the third, and final, part of his sermon, Luther presents a spiritual interpretation of the day’s reading, not found in the sermons by Stöckel or Melanchthon. In that section Luther judges supporters of the Papacy rather harshly: “The Turks also are no Christians; but in two senses they are better than the Papists: first, they have never been Christians or stars, therefore they have not fallen from the faith; secondly, they do not sin against the sacrament of the Lord’s body and blood.”¹³⁵ Having long before made shocking remarks with regard to the papacy and the Roman Catholic clergy, Luther is by no means averse to reminding his audience of that fight. While Stöckel was no less able, the struggle against the papacy just was not his battle in the same way that it was Luther’s. Not only does Stöckel demonstrate a higher degree of

¹³³ Ibid., 67 [16, 17]; WA 10: 101.

¹³⁴ Stöckel, “In II. Dominicam Adventus,” 10b. In referring to a comparable prediction from the Old Testament Prophet Daniel, Stöckel notes “Veniet, inquit, tempus, quale non fuit ab eo, ex quo gentes esse coeperunt, usque ad illud tempus. Atque haec mala praecipue sentiunt illi, qui sub Antichristi regno captivi sunt, hoc est, qui Turcico imperio & tyrannidi Pontificiae subiecti sunt, cum se, suosque crudelissime tractari vident, neque suorum malorum exitum ullum animadvertunt.”

¹³⁵ Luther, “2 Advent,” 84 [63]; WA 10: 109, 10-13.

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accommodation than Luther, as we have already seen with his Confession, but there is simply a greater degree of moderate language used throughout Stöckel's writings compared to Luther's.

Another example may aid in better understanding this point. On two separate occasions in Luther's sermon, the author takes time to attack Aristotle. The first occasion is early in the sermon when he is describing the first group of signs of the last days, in which everything, secular and spiritual, has reached its climax. Luther argues that "Error, sin, and falsehood have never held sway in the world as in the these last centuries."¹³⁶ In stressing his point of climax, Luther notes that, "In short, it is not possible that there should be greater falsehood, more heinous error, more dreadful blindness, and more obdurate blasphemy than have ruled in the church through the bishops, cloisters, and universities."¹³⁷ In this category of spiritual climax Luther directs his ire especially to two figures. The first is the Pope, whose teachings he declares to be false.¹³⁸ He then says that "the pope has attempted to abolish Christ and to become his vicar. He occupies the throne of Christ on earth, would to God he occupied the devil's throne instead."¹³⁹ For Luther this is always the key. The sinfulness of the world he can live with; it does not seem to disturb him terribly much. For Luther, the evil nature of man after the fall requires that the world also be evil. What had changed, however, is that what had long been

¹³⁶ Ibid. 63 [7]; WA 10: 96, 12-21.

¹³⁷ Ibid.; WA 10: 96, 21 – 97, 3.

¹³⁸ Ibid., "...and the false teachings of the Pope have been adopted as law..."; WA 10: 97, 1.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 64 [8]; 10: 96.

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considered the center of western Christendom was now occupied not by Christians but by the enemies of Christ. It is this that makes it clear to Luther that we are in the last days.

But to destroy, root out, condemn and blaspheme divine service, God's Word and the Sacraments, the children of God and everything that belongs to God; and to worship and honor the devil instead and to proclaim his lies for the Word of God – such sins, I am firmly convinced, will put an end to the world before we are aware of it.
Amen.¹⁴⁰

In addition to the papacy, Luther's other target is Aristotle. He refers to him when he states that "a blind heathen teaches and rules Christians more than does Christ."¹⁴¹ Later in the sermon, Luther notes the following about the Greek philosopher and his influence on theology:

The heathen [Aristotle] says that the comet is a natural product; but God has created none that is not a token of future evil. Thus also the blind leader, Aristotle, writing a book about the phenomena of the heavens, attributes all to nature and declares these are no signs. Our learned men follow him and thus one fool fills the world with fools. Let us know that though the heavenly bodies wander in their courses according to law, God has still made these to be signs or tokens of his wrath.¹⁴²

In Luther's sermon, therefore, the papacy and the Greek philosopher Aristotle were central to the conditions necessary for Christ's return. As conditions in the secular world of everyday life and business approached its nadir, spiritual conditions were also apparently at a climax. But, again, in this case, such a climax is more akin to a low point;

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., [9]; WA 10: 97, 12-22.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 63 [7]; WA 10: 96, 25.

¹⁴² Ibid., 66 [14]; WA 10: 99 21 – 100, 6; the brackets are mine.

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according to Luther, things simply could not be worse.¹⁴³ This assertion is emphasized through the inclusion of two points, Luther's beliefs with regard to the papacy and Aristotle. The pope is clearly associated with both the Antichrist and the devil. Although his comments on Aristotle may not have been so harsh, Luther nevertheless believes Aristotle's popularity in the universities, especially among theologians, had so corrupted Christian thought that now the Antichrist is the proclaimed head of Christendom.

While Stöckel interpreted the distress of nations as being proven by the advance of the Turk and the tyranny of the Papacy, Luther interpreted that distress as related to agonized consciences brought on by the errors of the Papacy and his supporters. When Luther attacked both Aristotle and the Papacy for a spiritual low point that must result in the second advent and the last days, he did so in his interpretation of the first group of signs, a group wholly drawn from biblical references outside of that day's Gospel reading. Stöckel, however, never refers to Aristotle. In fact, in Stöckel's sermon there are no references to any classical figures. His only references beyond that of the day's reading are those made in support of that reading through the inclusion of other Scriptures from both the Old and New Testaments.

This is more in keeping with the three sermons found in Luther's *House Postils*. Much shorter in length than his sermon in the *Church Postils*, these sermons are, in most respects, more similar to Stöckel's. There are no references to Aristotle or other classical

¹⁴³ Ibid., 63. [7], "But not only have such great strides been made in the world of commerce, but also in the spiritual field have there been great changes. Error, sin and falsehood have never held sway in the world as in the these last centuries. The Gospel has been openly condemned at Constance, and the false teachings of the Pope have been adopted as law though he practiced the greatest extortion;" WA 10: 96, 13-21.

figures and each sermon revolves around two primary topics, although those topics change from sermon to sermon.

In the first sermon Luther teaches the need to always be prepared for the signs and Christ's return before turning to the question of comfort or consolation. In summarizing the consolatory part of Jesus' prophecy, Luther writes that "He says, when your eyes behold the sun and moon turning topsy-turvy, it is then time for creatures to die. Consequently, when the eyes of the world [the sun and the moon] are skewed and distorted, then know that the end of the world is near. Lift up your heads and don't be afraid, for your redemption is drawing near."¹⁴⁴

In the second sermon, presented in 1533, the two topics discussed by Luther are the signs and the consolation found in seeing and knowing the signs. This consolation is described as follows: "Now, in the second part [of the Gospel reading] the Lord comforts his Christians who are horrified by the things coming upon the earth, so that they are not afraid but rather rejoice... This is also a very necessary admonition. For that is the way it is: Those who ought to be afraid are not afraid; and, on the other hand, those who ought to rejoice do not, but rather are terrified."¹⁴⁵ With regard to Jesus' glorious return, Luther concludes that, "To the ungodly and the unbelieving he will come as judge and punish them as his enemies and the Christians' foes, who have afflicted Christians with all kinds of misery. But to the believers and Christians he will come as a redeemer."

¹⁴⁴ Luther, "Second Sunday in Advent (1532)," 42 [14]; Walch 13.2: 1373

¹⁴⁵ Luther, "Second Sunday in Advent (1533)," 47 [13]; Walch 13.2: 1379; WA 52: 19, 13-24.

In the introduction to his third sermon in Luther's *House Postils* for the second Sunday of Advent (1534), Luther points out that this pericope was intended for God's own, that it is a lesson on how Christians should conduct themselves when they see the signs of the end times.¹⁴⁶ He then introduces the two themes to be discussed in this sermon:

The sermon itself consists of two parts. The first part is the prophecy in which he foretells how things will be when the Last Day is near at hand. The second part is an admonition that men should pray and always be watchful, so that they will be found worthy to escape everything that's going to happen and to stand before the Son of Man.¹⁴⁷

Over the course of the next couple of paragraphs, Luther explains why this sermon is only for believers and how it is intended to bring those Christians comfort. First, he notes that the "ungodly" never consider their own deaths, although death is always at the doorstep. His point is that if the ungodly do not worry over death, how could they ever be convinced to take into consideration the signs of the last days? "For this reason also Christ is here primarily preaching only to his Christians and believers, comforting them so that they should not be terrified, no matter what kind of death they will die."¹⁴⁸

Of Luther's three sermons from his *House Postils* for the second Sunday of Advent, the second sermon, presented in 1533, is most similar to Stöckel's. In both sermons the topics include a discussion of the signs presented in Jesus' prophecy

¹⁴⁶ Luther, "Second Sunday in Advent (1534)," 52 [1]; Walch 13.2: 1384.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 53 [4]; Walch 13.2: 1386.

followed by an exhortation intended to console believers when they notice the signs. The two sermons are, nevertheless, not the same. As in his other sermons for this pericope, Luther adds greater urgency by indicating that the signs were then taking place.

Now during these past twenty years we have seen many other singular things, all of which have been unusual and peculiar, for example: a rainbow encircling the sun; the sun fragmented, with multiple suns appearing; also recently, within the space of two years three comets appeared; and in other places earthquakes occurred.¹⁴⁹

Stöckel's sermon also contained elements of urgency through the inclusion of current events but his examples are the most obvious, the Turks and the papacy, and they are referred to only once. Luther's greatest object of scorn throughout his sermons is without a doubt the papacy; it is attacked twice in the course of this sermon and is discussed in all four of Luther's sermons examined here.¹⁵⁰ In his sermon in the *Church Postils*, Luther offers an even more outlandish example:

No astronomer will say that the course of the heavens foretold the coming of the terrible beast which the Tiber threw up a few years ago; a beast with the head of an ass, the breast and body of a woman, the foot of an elephant for its right hand, with the scales of a fish on its legs, and the head of dragon in its hinder parts, etc. This beast typifies the papacy and the great wrath and punishment of God. Such a mass of signs presages greater results than the mind of man can conceive.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Luther, "2 Advent, (1533)," 45 [8]; Walch 13.2: 1377; WA 52: 17, 32-38.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 46, 51 [10, 25]; Walch 13.2: 1377-1378, 13.2: 1383; WA 52: 18, 12-19.

¹⁵¹ Luther, "2 Advent," 1.1:70 [26]; WA 10: 105, 6-11.

There is every reason to believe that Stöckel, like Luther and Melancthon, believed that he was living in the last days, as he demonstrates on those occasions when he refers to the papacy and the Turks as signs. Stöckel's sermon, nevertheless, demonstrates a greater degree of reserve when indicating that Jesus' prophecy in Luke 21 was currently in the process of being fulfilled. In addition to brief attacks on the papacy and the Turks, Stöckel on occasion directs his ire toward elements of the radical Reformation.¹⁵² And while he was not averse to making classical references in his sermons, doing so in some ninety cases, Stöckel typically remained relatively close to the pericope that he was explicating, and much more ready to turn to other biblical references, rather than classical ones, to support his points.¹⁵³

Melancthon's sermon for the second Sunday of Advent, on the other hand, is full of ancient references, biblical, Greek and Roman. In one paragraph alone in this sermon Melancthon makes two statements in German and another in Greek. He mentions Athens, Egypt, Herodotus, the Stoics and the Epicureans. Melancthon moves almost effortlessly between Homer and Virgil on the one hand and Moses and Isaiah on the other. In addition, he refers to the Turks more than either Stöckel or Luther. On one occasion he implies that servitude under the Turks, as was then currently the case in Thrace, Greece and parts of Hungary, must be a fate worse than death itself.¹⁵⁴ On

¹⁵² Daniel Škoviera, "Leonard Stöckel," 345. "Na protestantskej strane si najviac kritiky od autora vyslúžili sakramentári a po nich anabaptisti."

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Melancthon, "II Adventus," CR 24: 22, "...aut si qui non interficiuntur, ii saepe duriora patiuntur, in exilium mittuntur, aut opprimuntur servitute domestica, quae tristior est morte, ut quando Turca, Thraciam, Graeciam, Hungariam occupavit, quid reliquum est nisi miserrima servitus?"

another occasion Melanchthon notes that there exists a small remnant of Christians living under Turkish rule and, though their situation is poor, they tend to be more eager in their prayers and more careful in their lives.¹⁵⁵ Late in the sermon in the process of relating to the reader that there is actually only a small group of true believers, Melanchthon presents what one can only hope is his brief version of world religions and cultures: “The greatest part of the human species is Mohammedan. Much of the rest are ignorant of all religion, nor do they tend to any honorable things but live as beasts, as in Africa and other places. In little Europe is the part which has the name of the Christian Church. And yet among those who themselves are called Christians, only a few have true doctrine.”¹⁵⁶

In addition to much greater use of classical Greek and Latin authorities to support various points made in his sermon, Melanchthon’s work was organized differently from the work of the other authors. Melanchthon does not provide a phrase-by-phrase explication of the signs in Jesus’ prophecy in Luke 21:25. Late in the sermon he even explains why he chose not to focus on the signs. He argues that the text is transparent enough that those who consider it closely will find that the prophecy of the signs is now being fulfilled in the world.¹⁵⁷ While we will return to the organization of Melanchthon’s sermon momentarily, before doing so, it is important to note that this reference to the

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., CR 24: 23, “Sunt hodie etiam sub Turcis aliquae reliquiae, id est, Ecclesiolae aliquae, sed quod ad externum stium attinet admodum squalidae. Et fieri tamen potest, ut sint ardentiores in invocatione, et diligentiores in omni vita, quam nos, Quia magnitudo calamitatum illos premit, et excitat ad diligentiam.”

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., CR 24: 27, “Maxima pars generis humani est Mahometica. Multi alii sunt ignari omnis religionis, neque ullas res honestas curant, sed vivunt ut bestiae, ut in Africa et aliis locis. In Europa exigua pars est, quae habet nomen Ecclesiae Christianae. Et tamen inter hos ipsos, qui Christiani vocantur, pauci habent veram doctrinam..”

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., CR 24: 29, “Alter locus doctrinae est, Accommodatio signorum, quae hic recensentur, ad statum postremorum temporum. Non volo autem de signis istis scrupulose disputare. Textus est satis perspicuus illis, qui considerant ea, quae nunc fiunt in mundo.”

signs of the last days being all around led into his final discussion in this sermon on the advance of the Turks. Rather than turning to another part of that day's pericope, Melanchthon refers his audience to a similar prophecy of Jesus found in Mark 13:7.¹⁵⁸ Once a center of fine literature and wisdom, all of Asia, Melanchthon notes, has been now laid waste by the Turks. He concludes this discussion, however, by pointing out that the true cause of such devastation is human sin.¹⁵⁹

Since Melanchthon's sermon did not revolve around the signs described in Luke 21:25, as did the sermons by Stöckel and Luther, the organization of his sermon when compared to those of the other two authors is decidedly different. The sermon opens with a brief introduction to the day's Gospel reading with Melanchthon noting the end result of this life for Christians will be the greatest of happiness and glory while the impious can expect eternal damnation.¹⁶⁰ Rather than turning to the prophecy, however, Melanchthon turns instead to an examination of the vocabulary used in Luke 21.¹⁶¹ First he discusses the phrase, "the powers of the heavens will be moved."¹⁶² Melanchthon briefly lectures on astronomy while better defining what was meant by "the powers of the

¹⁵⁸ Melanchthon incorporated Jesus' prophecy from Mark 13 into the sermon, although it is more of a paraphrase of parts of Mark 13 verses 7 and 8: "Christus hic ait: Insurgit gens contra gentem, et erunt rumores bellorum."

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., CR 24:30, "Habet nomen a vastatione Turca. Nam Turca est idem quod vastator. Tota Asia, qua antea fuit literis et sapientia florentissima, est vastitas. Sunt ibi latronum et bestiarum stabula, et nihil praeterea. In caeteris Regnis plerisque, paulatim etiam res ad vastationes inclinant. Id fit propter peccata hominum, quae in causa sunt..."

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., CR 24:17, "Et simul praedicit futurum, ut Ecclesia habeat post hanc vitam suam beatitudinem et gloriam, impii poenas aeternas."

¹⁶¹ Ibid., "Nos primum vocabula quaedam declarabimus."

¹⁶² Ibid., "virtutes coelorum movebuntur."

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heavens.” Rather than Stöckel and Luther’s explanations of these signs, in which they argued that there will only be an increase in such natural phenomena as eclipses and shooting stars, Melanchthon’s explanation is considerably more technical, referring to a horrible positioning of the stars, awful conjunctions and oppositions, even stellar collisions, all of which, and more, he labeled “horrenda spectacula praeternaturalia,” or “horrible unnatural shows.”¹⁶³ He even presents an astronomical definition of the term eccentricity and compares the current eccentricity between the earth and sun to its position in the days of Hipparchus and Ptolemy.¹⁶⁴

Rather than an enumeration of the signs, Melanchthon’s sermon focuses on a later statement of Jesus from Luke 21, only briefly touched upon by Luther and not at all by Stöckel. Part of the day’s Gospel reading, verse 34 states: *Attendite, ne graventur corda vestra crapula* (Listen carefully! Don’t let your hearts be burdened with drunkenness/hangovers.) Luther did turn to this section of the reading in his sermon in order to remind the members of the congregation that they should not be so completely immersed in the cares of this world that they miss the signs of the last days and are, therefore, caught unawares. Melanchthon’s sermon, on the other hand, revolves around this topic, stressing the need for sobriety and a disdain for inebriation and loose morals.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Ibid., CR 24:18 “Erunt horrendi positus siderum, horribiles coniunctiones et oppositiones planetarum, tetrae Eclipses luminarium, Item, Dirae et terribiles quaestiones seu concursationes stellarum, et alia horrenda spectacula praeternaturalia.”

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., “. . . qui sciunt hodie insigniter mutatam esse Eccentricitatem, id est, intervallum inter centrum mundi, et centrum eccentrici orbis solaris,” and “Nam hoc tempore Sol propior est terris, quam fuit Hipparchi et Ptolemaei temporibus: Mutata fere quarta parte Eccentricitatis.”

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., “Qui non amant sobrietatem, non possunt esse idonei ad precationem, et ad resistendum tentationibus satanae.”

Such a focus should serve only to remind us that Melanchthon's sermons were written with Hungarian bursa at Wittenberg in mind.¹⁶⁶ In fact, it is not only the focus on clean living, on a sober lifestyle that makes this evident. Melanchthon's constant references to classical figures and authors, his academic approach to his brief examination of the signs in the heavens, his stress on vocabulary and his use of Latin with regular interjections of Greek and German, even the space devoted to the Turks, all of these points of emphasis become more understandable when we know for whom his *Postilla* were written.¹⁶⁷ And while Melanchthon's *Postilla* were produced as an aid for his Hungarian students, it is actually dedicated to the leadership in the churches and governments of Hungary's and Transylvania's cities.¹⁶⁸

When we compare the work of all three authors, similarities and differences become more evident. For one, while all three authors were important leaders of religious reform within their own spheres, they were nevertheless men of somewhat different backgrounds and temperaments. The sermons they produced reflect those differences. Luther's passion, felt in the language he uses to denounce his enemies, whether it be Aristotle, the papal hierarchy, or various *Schwärmer*, is more emphatic than anything

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., CR 24:XIII, "Quum, bello Schmalcadico finito, Academia Witebergensis instaurata esset, Philippus Melanthon a. 1549. multis Hungaris, quippe qui Germanicae conciones in templis intelligere non poterant, domi suae instituit diebus festis explicationem Evangeliorum Dominicalium; mox autem, aliorum concursu aucta frequentia auditorum, in auditorium publicum transtulit eas sive praelectiones sive conciunculas, quas usque ad mortem suam a 1560. continuavit."

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., "In his familiari sermone insigniora singulorum textuum explicabat, et, ad captum auditorum praesentium, quorum plerique adolescentes erant, multi etiam adhuc pueri, enarrationes suas dirigens, tum grammatica et historica, tum vero etiam catechetica et theologica miscere solebat, ut non modo utilis, sed etiam suavis et iucunda ea praelectio esset."

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., CR 24:XLIII-XLIV, "Dedicare autem, et quasi consecrare hanc partem laboris istius vobis, Reverendi, magnifici, prudentissimi viri, qui gubernationi Ecclesiarum et Rerumpublicarum in civitatibus Ungaricis et Transsylvanicis amplectentibus puram Evangelii doctrinam praestis."

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found in the sermons of Stöckel or Melanchthon. There is also a certain degree of timeliness apparent in Luther's sermons as when he regularly returns to current events when describing the signs of the end times. That currency adds weight to Luther's exhortations, but when reading it from the advantage of nearly five centuries, that same currency gives his sermons a feeling of being dated.

What may be missing in passion and urgency in Melanchthon's sermons is replaced with a much higher degree of academic erudition. He prefaces his sermons and the various subjects within them with analyses of vocabulary, often referring to the Greek, frequently slipping into German where more definition is needed. In addition, there are regular references not only to biblical figures and comparable Scriptures but also to Greek and Roman figures and authors whom Melanchthon already assumes his Hungarian students to know. As with Stöckel's *Formulae*, Melanchthon's sermons in his *Postilla* do not feel very much like sermons. Although not nearly as abbreviated as the *Formulae*, Melanchthon's sermons are more similar to lectures, in the sense that they suggest topics for further development and devote space to the grammar and history of the topics derived from the Gospel reading. Stöckel's *Postilla* sermons have a similar academic feel to them, although not as strong. The subheadings found throughout his sermons are the same as those found in his textbooks. His readers, whether students at his school or local pastors, would not have been as advanced as the students to whom Melanchthon's sermons were directed. As a result, neither the language nor the doctrines examined are as complex in Stöckel's sermons when compared to that of his mentor. In

much the same way, Stöckel's sermons contain an exhortatory element comparable to that found in Luther's sermons but Stöckel's language is more moderate, less passionate.

Finally, with Luther's sermons having such a strong element of currency to them, and with Melanchthon's constant references to the Greeks and the Romans, not to mention his asides into astronomy and the other sciences as well as his discussions of rhetoric, Leonard Stöckel's sermons are much more direct than those of his mentors. The straightforward, if sometimes academic, way he approaches the Gospel readings, the stress on teaching followed by consolation with some degree of exhortation involved, and the generally moderate tone that prevails in his sermons means that not much work would need to be done for his sermons to be ready for the pulpit today. These basic differences may be explained most readily if we would consider the different circumstances in which these collections of sermons were produced. The currency found in Luther's sermons is based in the polemical nature of Luther and his movement in the first years of Lutheran reform. Although each of his sermons for the Second Sunday in Advent touches upon the key themes found in that week's pericope, they feel caught up in the polemics of the day. In contrast, Melanchthon produced his collection of sermons specifically for the Hungarian students at Wittenberg who were still struggling with German. One can readily discern the doctrinal and exhortatory aspects of Melanchthon's sermon, but the scholarly tone is the point of contrast between Melanchthon's sermon and those of Luther and Stöckel. Stöckel's sermon does everything expected of a Lutheran sermon produced in this era. It succeeds in its primary goal of outlining the doctrines to be drawn from that week's pericope. It then stresses the consolatory element found in the second part of the

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reading and it adds enough currency to the discussion to exhort the congregation to learn the signs of the end times and to be ever vigilant for Christ's return.

The Annotationes

During the last years of his life Leonard Stöckel collected together and prepared for publication a series of notes on Philip Melanchthon's most celebrated theological work, generally referred to as the *Loci communes*.¹⁶⁹ Stöckel's *Annotationes* is especially important to this study because it is itself an example of the culmination of a lifetime devoted to *docta pietas*. Although Stöckel's life in Bartfeld revolved around his humanist pedagogical program, with a primary focus being Latin grammar, eloquence was never an end in itself. Just as we have seen in the work of Erasmus and others, Stöckel's acquisition of the skills in the liberal arts trivium, in words, was to be applied to the higher goal of acquiring knowledge of things, especially those things that would lead one to eternal salvation. Stöckel's *Annotationes*, more than any of his other published works, not only demonstrates the author's own rhetorical abilities but his notes also display those skills put into the service of his highest goal, Lutheran religious reform.

The *Loci communes* was first published when Melanchthon was still a young man, not yet twenty-five. As with many religious and pedagogical works written during this era, the *Loci communes* was printed dozens of times in a variety of editions during Melanchthon's own life. Of this multitude of publications, the editors of the *Corpus Reformatorum* have identified what they refer to as the "three ages" of the work as it developed during Melanchthon's lifetime. These three incarnations of the *Loci communes*

¹⁶⁹ Philip Melanchthon, *Loci communes rerum theologicarum seu Hypotyposes theologicae*. Wittenberg, 1521. CR 21: 83-227; CR 21: 253-560; CR 21: 601-1105.

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are a study in the history of the Reformation themselves, and volume twenty-one of the *Corpus Reformatorum* is devoted solely to them.

During the year following Stöckel's death, his notes on Melanchthon's work were published with the title *Annotationes Locorum communium doctrinae Christianae Philippi Melancthonis, Per Leonardum Steckelium Bartphensis scholae Rectorem conscriptae* (*Notes on the Commonplaces of Christian Doctrine of Philipp Melanchthon, Composed by Leonard Stöckel, Rector of the School in Bartfeld*).¹⁷⁰ Stöckel very likely used the final incarnation of Melanchthon's *Loci communes* as the basis for developing his *Annotationes*. The order of Stöckel's *Annotationes* aligns most closely to the order used in the third age of the *Loci communes*.¹⁷¹ In addition, the *Corpus Reformatorum* includes the publishing history of Melanchthon's work. In that presentation, Stöckel's *Annotationes* is noted to have been included in the twenty-sixth printing of this third incarnation. This twenty-sixth printing, which took place in Basel, is based on the twenty-fifth, printed in Leipzig, considered the final authorized version of the *Loci communes* before Melanchthon's death in 1560.¹⁷²

The publication history of Melanchthon's *Loci communes*, including its printing along with Stöckel's *Annotationes*, reflects an interesting evolution in the thought of the Lutheran Reformation. Before the first authorized printing of Melanchthon's *Loci*

¹⁷⁰ Leonard Stöckel, *Annotationes Locorum communium doctrinae Christianae Philippi Melancthonis, Per Leonardum Steckelium Bartphensis scholae Rectorem conscriptae* (Basel: Ioannes Oporinus, 1561).

¹⁷¹ The list of topics discussed in these two studies of Christian theology, in effect a table of contents, is included in Appendix C. The topics of Melanchthon's *Loci communes* are drawn from Clyde Manschreck's translation.

¹⁷² Melanchthon, *Loci*, CR 21:581. "...Postremum recogniti, et aucti, per Philippum Melancthonem."

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communes came out, it was printed by others as a collection of notes, or *Lucubrationuncula*, that is candlelight studies. As a result of that publication, Melanchthon soon produced an authorized version of this text.¹⁷³ In 1521 the first authorized edition of the *Loci communes* was printed. That year alone saw a number of further printings and more than one new edition. Compared to the *Lucubrationuncula*, which contains less than twenty pages, the first official incarnation of the *Loci communes* was significantly better organized and much longer, filling almost seventy-five pages in the edition printed in the *Corpus Reformatorum*.¹⁷⁴

The second age in the evolution of Melanchthon's *Loci communes* was first published in the early 1530s, during Stöckel's stay in Wittenberg.¹⁷⁵ The work now grew to over 160 pages, more than double the size of the first authorized edition. The third incarnation of Melanchthon's *Loci communes*, beginning with the Wittenberg publication of 1543, swelled to over 250 pages of text in the *Corpus Reformatorum*.¹⁷⁶ Stöckel probably had access to this edition some time after his return to lead the school in Bartfeld. Although his *Annotationes* are appended to an edition dated from 1559, Stöckel very likely had possessed a comparable edition for a number of years.

What took Melanchthon only twenty pages to accomplish in his *Lucubrationuncula* took more than 250 pages by the 1540s. Years of religious controversy had forced

¹⁷³ Philipp Melanchthon, *Lucubrationuncula*, Wittenberg: 1519, in CR 21:11-60.

¹⁷⁴ Philipp Melanchthon, *Loci communes seu hypotyposes theologicae*, Wittenberg: 1521, in CR 21:83-228.

¹⁷⁵ Philipp Melanchthon, *Loci communes theologici recens collecti et recogniti a Philippo Melanthono*, Wittenberg, 1535, in CR 21:253-560.

¹⁷⁶ Philipp Melanchthon, *Loci theologici collecti a Philippo Melanthono*, Wittenberg, 1543, in CR 21:603-1106.

Melanchthon and others to hone their arguments, but simplification of Christian doctrine was not the answer. Instead particular commonplaces needed further explication. By mid-century such explication actually required ten times more text than the earliest incarnation of this study of Christian doctrine. And then, in addition to this, Stöckel nevertheless felt it appropriate to add almost 300 more pages, and all this to explain the commonplaces of Christian doctrine.

Stöckel begins his preface by noting that every field of knowledge contains a set of primary topics which, when properly gathered together and organized, make up the sum total of learning for that particular field.¹⁷⁷ In primary theological studies, this method is typically referred to as catechetical. In following the usage of Melanchthon, however, Stöckel uses another term, *Loci communes*, or commonplaces. While there are some differences between the traditional catechism and the methods used in Melanchthon's work, they are also united in the goal of general religious instruction. As Stöckel notes in introducing his subject, each of the arts contains such commonplaces, primary topics centered on that art, organized from the most elementary to the most advanced and described in such language that it may be readily learned or taught.¹⁷⁸ Stöckel is very clear about this; there is one true path toward the acquisition of knowledge in any field, and that path follows the "loci method."

¹⁷⁷ Stöckel, *Annotationes*, 3. "In omni genere doctrinae, unica est via ad veram & solidam eius cognitionem, & certum iudicium de rebus quae sunt eis propriae, comparandum, ut Locos communes, qui summam totius doctrinae continent, habeamus descriptos iusta methodo & via docendi."

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., "Sic enim, & nulla alia ratione, licet nobis summam uniuscuiusque scientiae apud animum informare."

The “loci method” is in some respects quite comparable to the catechism, another basic format used in the explication of Church doctrine. A major difference between the catechism and Melanchthon’s approach in *Loci communes* is that a catechism typically, though not always, follows a question-answer format whereas Melanchthon’s work revolved around topics, the Greek *topoi* (τόποι), or the Latin *loci*; these places or topics, serve as chapter headings for Melanchthon, and are the focus of “outlines” intended to offer the reader, in a systematic manner, the basic principles of the Christian faith. The full title of *Loci communes* even includes the term outlines.¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, Melanchthon’s work is not a collection of outlines in the modern sense but a series of essays. Secondly, catechisms are typically, although again not always, written with children in mind, intended as an introduction to the basic tenets of the Christian faith.

Although Stöckel argues that the “loci method” of instruction is altogether necessary to the acquisition of a basic understanding in *any* of the arts, nowhere does he consider it more effective than in the study of the art of theology.¹⁸⁰ It should be briefly pointed out that Melanchthon’s “loci method” is not to be confused with the loci method intended as a mnemonic device based on loci, or places, to be found in an imagined palace of memory. The loci method as a mnemonic device was a technique used since antiquity; it was discussed in the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, a work with which both Melanchthon and Stöckel were undoubtedly familiar. In describing his

¹⁷⁹ The full title of the early editions of Melanchthon’s *Loci communes* refers to these outlines: *Loci communes rerum theologicarum, seu Hypotyposes theologicae*.

¹⁸⁰ Stöckel, *Annotationes*, 3. “Sed nullo in genere doctrinae magis necessaria est Locorum communium noticia, quam in ea quae divinitus tradita est de illis mysteriis.”

approach to theological commonplaces, Melanchthon says the following: “It is very necessary, in every art and teaching, to note all of the principal pieces – beginning, middle, and end – and carefully to consider how each and every piece fits with the others.”¹⁸¹ The author then turns to the organization of his work:

The order in which the pieces fit is what one should know if one would teach others. Cause precedes any finished work, so let us first speak of God; then of the creation of heaven and earth and of men; then of the fall of man; then of redemption. And such order is not difficult to bear in mind if we will merely reflect on what should precede or follow.¹⁸²

Both the catechism and the *loci communes* approaches to religious instruction are elementary in the sense that they are intended to present to the reader the basic principles of Christian doctrine. In fact, Melanchthon literally defines his commonplaces as such and Stöckel discusses the use of the catechism as a teaching method comparable to that of Melanchthon’s *loci* method.¹⁸³ These principles of Christian doctrine, which are the primary topics of discussion in *Loci communes*, Melanchthon refers to as “certain and immovable articles of faith, divine threats and promises...”¹⁸⁴

Because catechisms were generally, although by no means always, intended for children, they were simple, written in the vernacular, and often intended to be

¹⁸¹ Melanchthon, *Loci communes*, 1555, xlvi.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Melanchthon, *Loci communes*, CR 21: 604. “Quae vocantur principia,” Stöckel, *Annotationes*, 271. “Aut enim methodus doctrinae proponitur, ut fit in Catechesi & Locis Communibus: aut exponitur scriptura Mosi, Prophetarum & Apostolorum.”

¹⁸⁴ Melanchthon, *Loci communes*, CR 21: 604. “...ita sint certi nobis et immoti articuli fidei, comminationes et promissiones divinae...”

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memorized, word for word. Nevertheless, when Martin Luther attempted to write down the basic principles of Christian thought for a planned catechism, the work became so complex and grew to such a size that it eventually was utilized as preparation for ordination.¹⁸⁵ It was only after his his second attempt that Luther produced what turned out to be the highly successful *Little Catechism* of 1529. Whereas the *Little Catechism* was intended for the religious instruction of German youth, Melanchthon's *Loci communes* was intended only for the most advanced students at Latin schools and at the university, particularly those preparing for ordination. Therefore, although the goals of the catechism and the *Loci communes* were generally the same, education in the basic principles of the Christian faith, Melanchthon's work was considerably more advanced. As a result, Stöckel's *Annotationes* of Melanchthon's *Loci communes* is comparably advanced.

As is made abundantly clear in the preface to Stöckel's *Annotationes*, the method of imparting knowledge from teacher to student is extremely important. Not only does he argue that the "loci method" is the "single road toward truth" in the quest for knowledge of the arts, but he also claims that teaching in a disorderly and imprecise fashion is offensive to the Church, even comparable to false teaching.¹⁸⁶ Stöckel notes that the Devil is constantly bombarding the Church with errors or deceptions, a tactic particularly effective when aimed at one of two susceptible groups which are especially ripe for

¹⁸⁵ Martin Luther, *Large Catechism*, Wittenberg, 1530. See also Luther, *Small Catechism*, Wittenberg, 1529.

¹⁸⁶ Stöckel, *Annotationes*, 3. "Non solum enim illi offendunt Ecclesiam qui falsa docent, verum etiam qui vera, non adhibito ordine & perspicuae ratione docendi."

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confusion.¹⁸⁷ On the one hand are the learned who stir up such confusion; on the other hand are unlearned, or ignorant, who “cry out against liberal education” as a hindrance to achieving true piety.¹⁸⁸ Stöckel believes that the confusion of Christian doctrine introduced by the educated plays right into the hands of the unlearned, who had never been fond of education in any case.¹⁸⁹ Although Stöckel is speaking generally of the ignorant masses when discussing the “unlearned,” he specifically points to the Anabaptists as a group which is willfully ignorant.¹⁹⁰ He concludes that one must protect oneself, and the Church, against the introduction of false doctrines and errors from either group, and the primary precaution suggested is a proper liberal arts education.¹⁹¹

Stöckel’s suggestion, and the argument he presents to support it, evokes Erasmus’s *De copia*, in which the author stresses the need for acquiring a mastery in words before turning to the equally necessary study of things.¹⁹² In subscribing to this type of education, Stöckel is throwing his support behind humanist education in the tradition of Melanchthon and Erasmus, whose own studies, as we have seen, so often

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 4. “Semper enim diabolus errores maximos invehit in Ecclesiam, partim per eos qui genera doctrinae confundunt...”

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. “...partim per homines indoctos, qui palam vociferantur liberalem eruditionem... inscitiam esse salutarem atque utilem ad pietatem.”

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 5. “Haec barbaries placet vulgo, quo alioqui odit doctrinam, ac sternit viam ad omnia divina...”

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 4. “Quae in opinione sunt nunc Anabaptistae, & alij indocti, qui horrendam plane & barbaricam Theologicam comminiscuntur, nec possunt erudiri aut corrigi.”

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 5. “Quamobrem ut utramque hunc errorem, quorum alter a doctis, alter ab indoctis proficiscitur, caveamus... Ac primum contra indoctos sciendum est, necessarium esse aliarum artium cognitionem ad ecclesias & scholas recte & ordine instituendas.”

¹⁹² Erasmus, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarij duo* (Paris: Bade, 1512). Erasmus’s two-part division of knowledge and learning into words and things is evident even in the title.

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echoed the classical authors Quintilian and Cicero. Stöckel himself describes this suggested form of education as the need for “eloquence,” the need for teaching the “art of speaking.”¹⁹³ According to Stöckel, the systematic study of rhetoric, or oratory, increases one’s ability to understand, to define, distinguish and calculate; it enables one to magnify the authority of things and teaches one how to inspire and correct others.”¹⁹⁴ With regard to achieving an understanding of things, Stöckel recommends further study in philosophy, noting that an acquaintance with exempla and history is necessary for a “sensible handling of Church doctrine.”¹⁹⁵ Finally, Stöckel points out that physics is necessary, even if other studies are omitted. Physics, he argues, is important for achieving some understanding of nature, especially with regard to origins or causation.¹⁹⁶

Stöckel then turns to the refutation of an argument against liberal education. First he states the argument in the following manner: many of the ignorant believe that nothing is necessary to leading a pious lifestyle beyond that which is to be found in the work of Moses, the Prophets and the Apostles;¹⁹⁷ teaching of words and things is not found in the work of Moses, the Prophets or the Apostles; such knowledge is therefore not necessary

¹⁹³ Stöckel, *Annotationes*, 5. “Opus est eloquentia...,” “...quae omnia, ut apte fieri possint, aliunde quam ex artibus dicendi...”

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., “Opus est scientia definiendi, dividendi & ratiocinandi...ad rerum dignitatem amplificandam, ad iuventutem & populum animandum, castigandum, omnibusque modis incitandum.”

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., “Necessaria est etiam docentibus cognitio rerum, quae in reliqua Philosophia continentur. Requiritur etiam exemplorum & historiarum noticia, ad Ecclesiae doctrinam prudenter tractandam.”

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., “Atque ut alia exempla omittamus, si nil aliud nisi de creatione rerum esset dicendum, tamen totius naturae investigatio necessaria esset, quemadmodum a Physicis authoribus est descripta.”

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., “Sed obijciunt indocti, nihil esse ncessarium ad pietatem, praeter illa quae in Mosi, Prophetarum & Apostolorum literis continentur:”

to lead a pious life.¹⁹⁸ While Stöckel grants that acquaintance with the arts is not a demonstration that one is in God's grace and an heir to the life eternal, he turns the argument by pointing out that the real falsehood is the belief that the liberal arts are not useful and necessary to leading the pious life and to properly teaching Christian doctrine.¹⁹⁹ Stöckel presents what could be called a stock humanist response: the liberal arts are an aid to living well, as well as an aid to understanding Christian doctrine; acquaintance with the arts aids one in discriminating between true and false teaching; the arts were created by God, even though they are not expressly discussed in the Scripture; while all other arts man has in common with the beasts, the liberal arts are special to man and thus a gift from God.²⁰⁰ Stöckel also refutes this argument by noting that even if the teaching of the liberal arts is not expressly discussed in Scripture, God's approval of them is nevertheless made clear.²⁰¹ To demonstrate this point, Stöckel notes that God summoned Aaron to Moses' side to aid him in eloquence. In addition, he points out that

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., "... artes vero dicendi, & rerum quae partim ad naturae, partim ad honestarum actionum intellectum pertinent, non contineri in literis Mosi, & aliorum testium divinatorum: ergo his nihil opus esse ad pietatem."

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 6. "Iam respondeo ad maiorem argumenti, quae manifeste & falsa & impia est. Quanquam enim profanarum artium noticia non est causa ut simus in gratia Dei, & haeredes vitae aeternae... tamen falsum est, eam non esse utilem ac necessariam ad pietatem, & religionem Christianam docendam."

²⁰⁰ Ibid. "Si enim profuisset in integra vita, quanto magis nunc prodest? Quid autem magis impium & barbaricum est, quam has artes vocare peccata, quas Deus ipse condidit, & quae praecipuum sunt hominis ornamentum inter omnia quae contigerunt ei in creatione? Nam caetera omnia sunt homini cum brutis communis, in quibus vire corporis & sensuum externorum actiones etiam excellunt vires humanas: sed harum artium noticia, quae in scholis bona fide traduntur, est propria hominum, & necessaria cum ad alia humana officia administranda, tum vero ad hoc munus omnium maximum, per quod doctrina de Deo & rebus divinis illustrari debet, ut homines eam vere intelligant, amplectantur & exerceant vero studio, ut quae ad omnem posteritatem propagetur."

²⁰¹ Ibid., 7. "Quanquam enim praecepti aliarum artium non continentur in doctrina Ecclesiae, tamen approbationes earum & exempla illustria sunt eadem doctrina."

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no prophet or apostle was selected who was unskilled in speaking.²⁰² The author concludes that it is simply impious to believe that, in the Church of God, it is not necessary to study these arts while he emphasizes that an acquaintance with these arts is intended to serve, not to dominate, Christian doctrine.²⁰³ “In the same way, therefore, that the Moon takes its lesser light from the sun: thus philosophy, which is the teaching of reason, and an inferior light, should be ruled by a superior light, which is the word of God.”²⁰⁴ The preface to the *Annotationes* is concluded with Stöckel imploring the reader to take the middle road, neither agreeing with everything said by the ignorant, nor submitting to the feelings of the “wrong-headed learned.”²⁰⁵ We should, therefore, think highly of the arts, Stöckel notes, and be sure not to misuse the arts against God but, instead, utilize them for the propagation of God’s truth.²⁰⁶

The title of Stöckel’s work, combined with the fact that it was published along with an authorized edition of Melanchthon’s *Loci communes*, may be a little misleading. Stöckel’s *Annotationes* are not merely a set of notes based on some outlines of theological principles drawn up by Melanchthon. For one, as has been discussed above, Melanchthon’s work by no means qualifies as a mere collection of outlines. Instead it is

²⁰² Ibid. “Deus adhibet Mosi Aaronem, propter eloquentiam maiorem. Nec elegit ad Propheticum & Apostolicum ministerium homines dicendi imperitos.

²⁰³ Ibid. “Quare non modo falsa, sed palam impia est opinio illorum qui fingunt, Ecclesiae Dei non esse necessarium illarum artium studium... Sed tamen ita utendum est doctrina eloquentiae, & quas praeterea artes prophani scriptores profitentur, ut servient doctrinae Christianae, non dominantur.”

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 8. “Sicut igitur Luna accipit lumen suum minus a sole: ita philosophia, quae est doctrina rationis, & lumen inferius, regenda est a lumine superiore, quod est verbum Dei.”

²⁰⁵ Ibid. “Teneamus ergo mediam viam, ut neque indoctis vulgo assentantibus, neque doctis praepostere sentientibus concedamus.”

²⁰⁶ Ibid. “Sed magnificiamus doctrina artium, quae cum recta ratione congruunt: eaque non abutamur contra veritatem Dei, sed recte utamur ad eius propagationem.”

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an integrated collection of essays explicating what came to be the fundamentals of Lutheran thought as viewed through Melanchthon's own lens. As has already been discussed, *Loci communes* was an extremely popular work which went through three major revisions and numerous authorized editions before Melanchthon's own death in 1560. Unlike his much shorter *Augsburg Confession*, however, Melanchthon's *Loci communes* never officially rose to the level of being included in the Lutheran Book of Concord. Nevertheless, since the work remained so close to Melanchthon, something that he reorganized and refined from the beginning to the end of his professional career, it is only fair to say that this last authorized edition of the *Loci communes* is what Melanchthon believed with regard to the principles of Christian thought, at least during the last two decades of his life.

Just as Melanchthon's work is not really a series of outlines, Stöckel's *Annotationes* is not really a collection of notes. Stöckel's work is dependent on Melanchthon's *Loci communes* only in the sense that it follows the same organizational model. Although the topics and the arrangement of topics in Melanchthon's *Loci communes* are not strictly followed, the organization of Stöckel's *Annotationes* is clearly based on Melanchthon's earlier work. Both are supporters of the Lutheran cause and Stöckel was a student not only of Melanchthon but of Luther as well. As a result, much of what they have to say is rather similar. Nevertheless, even with that in mind, Stöckel's work still stands on its own; it did not need to be printed with a copy of the *Loci communes* alongside it. Surprisingly, Stöckel does not even mention Philipp Melanchthon, even though Melanchthon's concept of commonplaces is discussed,

Stöckel: Religious Reformer especially in the preface and in the final chapter.²⁰⁷ While the general organization of Melanchthon's work is followed by Stöckel, the *Annotationes* contains commonplaces not addressed by Melanchthon, including one which counters arguments that had been presented against the Lutheran interpretation of justification by faith and its relation to good works.²⁰⁸ And Melanchthon's work likewise contains commonplaces not addressed by Stöckel, including one on the distinction between deadly and venial sins and another on the distinction between the law and gospel.²⁰⁹ Beyond following a comparable arrangement of the topics to be discussed and a comparable Lutheran perspective in discussing those topics, it is justifiable to conclude that this work constitutes Stöckel's beliefs on the basic tenets of Christian teaching.

Stöckel discussed a number of the topics outlined in his *Annotationes* in other works, in particular in his *Confessio Pentapolitana* and in his *Postilla*. Further analysis in light of Stöckel's comments in the *Confessio Pentapolitana* and the *Postilla*, while taking into consideration how Stöckel's words compare to those of his mentor, Melanchthon, will contribute to better understanding the *Annotationes*, Stöckel's only theological study.

The Lord's Supper

Stöckel's discussion of the Lord's Supper is an excellent example of the author's skills as both a humanist and a theologian trained in the Lutheran tradition. For instance, when outlining beliefs with regard to the Lord's Supper in Article X of the *Confessio*

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 267. "De usu seu Utilitate Locorum Communium."

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 205. "Confutatio argumentorum, quae objecientur contra veram doctrinam de fide iustificante & bonis operibus"

²⁰⁹ Melanchthon, *Loci communes*, CR 21:595-596.

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Pentapolitana, Stöckel was both vague and brief, devoting most of the short paragraph to the benefits true believers could expect from partaking in this sacrament. These included “emending one’s life,” increasing consolation, absolution and further confirming one’s faith.²¹⁰ On the issue pertaining to the Lord’s Supper which would have gone to the heart of the disagreement between supporters of Luther and the traditional Church, the question of whether the laity should partake of the sacrament in both kinds, Stöckel’s *Confessio Pentapolitana* is silent. As noted, this is the case because that confession of faith was intended as a demonstration to Hungary’s Hapsburg ruler, and eventual Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand I, how “Catholic” the citizens of Upper Hungary’s five royal cities actually were. That confession, therefore, stresses similarities while omitting differences whenever necessary.

This is not the case with Stöckel’s *Annotationes*. In this work, Stöckel addresses the primary questions pertaining to the Lord’s Supper. He begins by indicating that controversy now surrounds the sacrament of communion. While some, Stöckel notes, contend that the bread and wine truly experience a metamorphosis of sorts, others contend that nothing more takes place than the offering of the bread and wine.²¹¹ The author’s solution to this issue, and to all questions pertaining to Christian teaching, is to

²¹⁰ Stöckel, *Confessio*, Article X, “De coena domini,” “Unamque communem coenam sive missam, ut vocant, quolibet die festo celebrantes, porrigimus singulis, aut pluribus, qui coram Sacerdote rationem suae fidei reddentes, emendationem vitae promittunt, petuntque consolationem, absolutionem, & inconfirmationem [sic] fidei suae usum venerabilis Sacramenti...”

²¹¹ Stöckel, *Annotationes*, 130. “Tota vero controversia sita est in definitione, de qua nobis non convenit cum adversariis: quorum alij nos a dextra oppugnant, alij a sinistra. Nam alij contendunt, panem in corpus Christi, vinum in sanguinem mutari, per quandam metamorphosin, alij vero disputant, nihil nisi panem & vinum in hoc sacramento porrigi.”

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turn to the Scriptures, in this case to the word of the son of God.²¹² Stöckel continues by noting that, if we simply consider the words of Christ, unadorned with figures of speech or complexity, the definition is clear.²¹³ That definition is as follows: “The Lord’s Supper is that sacrament in which along with bread and wine Christ offered the eating of his body and the drinking of his blood to each person, so that he makes them sure of the remission of sins which he forgave through his death and blood.”²¹⁴ Stöckel believes that this definition is made only stronger when, in addition to Christ’s word, we consider the descriptions offered by Matthew, Mark, Luke and Paul.²¹⁵ The author admits that the eyes might only see, and one’s taste and smell only perceive, bread and wine but that does not matter. It does not matter because it is the word of God; the word of God is necessarily true and to be believed for nothing is impossible with God.²¹⁶ Stöckel emphasizes this point with a simple syllogism that is reminiscent of Luther’s admonition to Francis Révai:²¹⁷

Nullum verbum Dei est impossibile
Hoc est verbum Dei, quod Christus dicit, Hoc est cor

²¹² Ibid. “Nos autem oportet non ex nostris, vel aliorum hominum opinionibus de re tanta statuere: sed ex verbo filij Dei, quo tanquam pueri regendi sumus.”

²¹³ Ibid. “Quare diligentissime consideratis verbis Christi, absque ulla figura proprie & simpliciter dictis, inueniemus hanc definitionem.”

²¹⁴ Ibid. “Coena Domini est sacramentum, in quo cum pane & vino Christus suum corpus manducandum, & sanguinem suum bibendum porrigit singulis, ut eos certos reddat de remissione peccatorum, quam peperit sua morte & sanguine.”

²¹⁵ Ibid. “Cum hac definitione si conferemus verba Christi, sicut a Matthaео, Marco, Luka & Paulo descripta sunt, facile apparebit eam esse veram, certam & immotam.”

²¹⁶ Ibid. “Oculi nihil vident, olfactus & gustus nihil sentiunt nisi panem & vinum: & tamen necesse est verbum filij Dei esse verum, & propterea credi iuxta regula angeli. Nullum verbum est impossibile apud Deum...”

²¹⁷ See notes 17 through 20 above.

pus meum, hic est sanguis meus.
Ergo hoc verbum non est impossibile.²¹⁸

No word of God is impossible
This is the word of God, which Christ says. This is my
body, this is my blood.
Therefore, this word is not impossible.

With that in mind, Stöckel concludes that, if we believe because of the sole authority of God's word, no other reason is needed.²¹⁹ Again, as is emphasized throughout the *Annotationes*, authority always comes down to the Scripture, the unadulterated word of God. With regard to the Lord's Supper, it ultimately does not matter what the eyes see or the lips taste; for Stöckel, as with Luther, the senses can err, but "not even a single word of Christ" is false; all are true and necessary to be believed.²²⁰

In developing his definition of the Lord's Supper, Stöckel stresses a faith that is squarely based on the authority of God's word as found in the Scriptures. More than once he notes that it is the special duty of Christians to believe in the incredible.²²¹ Comprehension of the Lord's Supper can only be obtained by way of faith. The son of God said the words and we are to believe them; we are not to devote time to disputing how it may or may not be possible but, instead, we are to have faith in God's wisdom and

²¹⁸ Stöckel, *Annotationes*, 130.

²¹⁹ Ibid. "Et per consequens, credendum propter solam auctoritatem loquentis Dei, nulla alia ratione requisita."

²²⁰ Ibid., 131. "...ne unum saltem verbum Christi falsum fiat. Omnia enim sunt vera, & necessario credenda." This too is reminiscent of Luther's words to Lord Revai; see notes 19 and 20.

²²¹ Ibid., 130. "Est enim fidei Christianae proprium officium, credere incredibilia;" 131 "ut credamus verbo eius, quantumuis incredibili, contra omnem sensum nostrum, aliorumque hominum."

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power, in God's word.²²² Stöckel then takes this point a dramatic step further by noting that this does not apply merely to the Lord's Supper but to all articles of faith; one must serve God and serving God requires that one hear, obey and believe without disputing.²²³ This is *docta pietas* itself, especially if one accepts Erika Rummel's argument that the opposite of learned piety is *impia curiositas*, or impious curiosity.²²⁴ Some of God's mysteries are not intended to be understood by man; devoting time to trying to unlock such mysteries is impious curiosity which diverts attention from the real goals of pious living and eternal salvation.

Adding to his definition of the Lord's Supper, Stöckel notes that Christ called the Lord's Supper the "New Testament."²²⁵ He goes on to note his belief that the glory of the New far outshines that of the Old Testament. In the Old, the offering was a lamb, a four-legged animal offered annually in commemoration of the kindness God performed through the liberation of the children of Israel from their captivity in Egypt.²²⁶ According to the New, the sacrifice was no animal but the "Mediator" himself who gave his body and blood as the price for our own redemption; it is in this sense that the New Testament

²²² Ibid. "Quamobrem & hoc verbum coenae Dominicae simplici fide apprehendamus, nec disputemus quomod sit possibile: sed committamus ipsi auctori infinitae sapientiae & potentiae, quomodo praestet ea quae per verbum suum promittit."

²²³ Ibid. "In omnibus enim articulis fidei necessaria est illa regula, quae in primo loco de Deo servanda est, ubi simplicissime audienda sunt expressa testimonia, de unitate Dei & tribus personis, earumque differentijs: atque omnibus disputationibus omissis, credendum."

²²⁴ Erika Rummel, *Erasmus* (London; New York: Continuum, 2004), 48.

²²⁵ Stöckel, *Annotationes*, 132. "Ad definitionem amplificandam pertinet, quod Christus hanc ipsam coenam vocat novum Testamentum."

²²⁶ Ibid. "Multo enim maior est gloria novi Testamenti, quam veteris. In illo dabatur agni quadrupedis caro, & semel in anno. eratque commemoratio corporalis beneficij, quod praestitit Deus populo veteris Testamenti per liberationem ex Aegypto."

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is, according to Stöckel, so much more glorious than the Old.²²⁷ Those who partake of this meal receive additional certainty of the benefits of the New Testament, the greatness of which is infinite.²²⁸

Unlike the general and indefinite language used in the *Confessio Pentapolitana*, Stöckel's definition of the Lord's Supper in his *Annotationes*, is anything but ambiguous. He stresses that it must be understood that the word of God is by necessity true. He clearly accepts that Jesus is the son of God whose words in the Scripture are, in fact, the word of God. He points to verses where Jesus said that the bread is his body and the wine his blood and that believers are to eat the body and drink the blood. He notes that this is supported in the work of Matthew, Mark, Luke and Paul. And he concludes his definition by stating that Jesus referred to this meal as the New Testament, a sacrament which Stöckel views as much more glorious than the animal sacrifices that are part of the old covenant, the Old Testament. Stöckel then turns to a discussion of the next issue related to this topic on the Lord's Supper.

The second issue discussed by Stöckel on the topic of the Lord's Supper is an explanation of its use.²²⁹ First, Stöckel states that those who honestly partake in this holy meal become members of Christ. Stöckel believes that they become a part of him in the

²²⁷ Ibid. "In illo dabatur agni quadrupedis caro, & semel in anno. eratque commemoratio corporalis beneficij, quod praestitit Deus populo veteris Testamenti per liberationem ex Aegypto... Multo enim maior est gloria novi Testamenti, quam veteris."

²²⁸ Ibid. "...eodem etiam vescamur singuli: quo certiores simus de beneficijs novi Testamenti, quorum amplitudo est infinita."

²²⁹ Ibid. "Secundo, usus huius sacramenti considerandus est, quo vel maxime commendatur."

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same way that Jesus is one with the Father and the Holy Spirit.²³⁰ The author notes that, in this union with God, nothing greater could be imagined.²³¹ In the process one is made more acceptable to God, an additional benefit derived from taking part in the Lord's Supper.²³² Finally, Stöckel notes that there is a promise of the remission of sin for taking part in this sacrament.²³³ In describing how the sacrament of the Eucharist is useful, Stöckel has argued that those who properly partake in this ceremony will receive benefits that are beyond one's imagination. In eating the bread and drinking the wine, the body and the blood of Jesus, true believers become a part of the body of Christ and, as a result, they are made more acceptable to God. In the performance of this rite there is the extremely important promise of the remission of sin which is central to this sacrament.²³⁴

The third and final issue which Stöckel discusses with regard to the Lord's Supper is the question of who is suitable to take part in this sacrament.²³⁵ The author points out that "not everybody is saved," and he notes that Paul teaches judgment and condemnation is to be expected of those who improperly participate in this sacrament.²³⁶ In turning to this question, Stöckel notes that suitable participants include anyone who knows the word

²³⁰ Ibid. "Facit enim membra Christi omnes, quicunque recte utuntur hoc sanctissimo convivio: ut sint unum cum Christo, sicut ipse unus est cum Patre & Spiritu Sancto..."

²³¹ Ibid. "qua unitate nulla maior cogitari potest."

²³² Ibid. "Sic enim accepti fiunt Deo."

²³³ Ibid. "Palam enim promittitur remissio peccatorum in hac coena."

²³⁴ Ibid., 133. "de quo docet in coena novi Testamenti, ut traderet corpus suum in mortem & sanguinem funderet in redemptionem mundi."

²³⁵ Ibid. "Tertio ergo quaeritur, qui sint idonei convivae huius coenae."

²³⁶ Ibid. "Non omnibus est saluti..." "Clare enim docet, quosdam edere & bibere in hac coena iudicium & damnationem."

Stöckel: Religious Reformer of God, who also sincerely pursues the doctrine of penance and is not devoted to sin but truly does his best to obey God, whose grace he is seeking.²³⁷ This sacrament is a celebration of Jesus' sacrifice to humanity. He delivered his body and blood in order to redeem the world, "the just for the unjust."²³⁸ In concluding this discussion on the Lord's Supper, the author asks what does God expect in return? Stöckel's response is that nothing is expected in return, nothing except a "thankful spirit and praise of the benefits" received.²³⁹

Stöckel's notes on the Lord's Supper follow Melanchthon's *Loci communes* rather closely. In his prefatory remarks on the topic of the Eucharist, Melanchthon briefly defines the Lord's Supper before listing the four issues he addresses under this topic. First, Melanchthon intends to explain how this sacrament is administered/instituted.²⁴⁰ Secondly, he discusses to whom this "eating" is useful.²⁴¹ Thirdly, Melanchthon turns to the question of who may be admitted to the Lord's Supper.²⁴² The fourth and final issue which Melanchthon discusses is the ways in which this sacrament is "abused and

²³⁷ Ibid. "Sunt autem idonei & probati, quicumque noverunt verbum Dei, & iuxta huius doctrinam agunt poenitentiam, neque indulgent studio peccandi, sed vere & ex animo cupiunt obedire Deo, cuius gratiam quaerunt."

²³⁸ Ibid. "traderet corpus suum in mortem & sanguinem funderet in redemptionem mundi." "iustum pro iniustus." This last phrase is part of 1 Peter 3:18.

²³⁹ Ibid. "Hanc enim gratitudinem postulat ultro ab Ecclesia sua, cum inquit: hoc facite in mei commemorationem . [sic] quod ipsum verbum est singulare testimonium gratiae, cum pro tantis meritis nihil aliud nisi animum gratum & praedicationem beneficij postulet."

²⁴⁰ Melanchthon, *Loci communes*, CR 21:863. "Primum, quomodo instituta sit coena Domini."

²⁴¹ Ibid. "Secundum, quibus prosit manducatio."

²⁴² Ibid. "Tertium, qui sint ad eam admittendi."

profaned.”²⁴³ Although these categories do not exactly correspond to those found in Stöckel’s *Annotationes*, a brief examination of these points illustrates that very similar information is presented by both authors.

Although Melanchthon does not define the Lord’s Supper in his *Loci communes* as precisely as Stöckel does in his *Annotationes*, what Melanchthon has to say in his introduction to this topic is completely in keeping with Stöckel’s definition. While there is no discussion of the bread and the wine, nor of Jesus’ words at the Last Supper in this section, as there is in Stöckel’s, Melanchthon devotes some space in his prefatory remarks to the rationale behind this rite. On a personal level, Melanchthon notes that the Lord’s Supper “excites and confirms faith.”²⁴⁴ This is one of the benefits discussed in Stöckel’s second point. More generally, Melanchthon argues that this sacrament was intended to aid in maintaining the memory of God’s promises so that they will be passed down to all future generations.²⁴⁵ Melanchthon’s final point on the rationale behind the Lord’s Supper is that this sacrament is the primary element which ties together the public gatherings of the Church of God.²⁴⁶ While participation in the Lord’s Supper may be the reason for attendance, Melanchthon notes that God wants much more to take place at

²⁴³ Ibid. “Quartum, de abusu et profanatione Sacramenti.”

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 862. “Ita per ea fides in nobis erga Deum excitaretur et confirmaretur.”

²⁴⁵ Ibid. “Secunda causa fuit et est, ut memoria publice durabilior esset et propagari ad omnem posteritatem promissio certius posset.”

²⁴⁶ Ibid. “Tertia causa fuit et est, ut ritus illi essent nervi publicorum congressuum”

these gatherings than this sacrament alone. This includes hearing the Gospel, prayer and celebration.²⁴⁷ In conclusion, he summarizes as follows:

And that you may understand the intention of this Sacrament, first is admonishing individuals and exciting and confirming faith in us, then that the memory of the suffering and resurrection of Christ is forever propagated with the rite, and finally the Lord's Supper may be the strength of the public congregation, in which the Church of God shows itself to be separated from the opinions of other peoples.²⁴⁸

The first issue that Melanchthon addresses is related to how this sacrament was instituted. This is the shortest of the four issues on the Lord's Supper addressed by Melanchthon in *Loci communes*. As a result of its brevity, Melanchthon does not describe the ceremony in any detail. Instead, he refers the reader to Matthew, Mark, Luke and Paul, as does Stöckel.²⁴⁹ Melanchthon notes that the Lord's Supper is intended as a public gathering during which, in addition to taking part in the sacrament, those assembled were expected to pray (in the sense of invoking both God's name and confidence in the Lord Jesus Christ), to learn the Gospel and to give thanks.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ Ibid. "Ideo vult esse publicos et honestos congressus, et in his vult sonare Evangelii vocem, vult se ibi invocari et celebrari."

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 863. "Ac scias institutum esse hoc Sacramentum, primum ad commonefaciendos singulos et excitandam et confirmandam fidem in nobis, deinde ut memoria passionis et resurrectionis Christi perpetuo propagetur hoc ritu, denique ut sit nervus publicae congregationis, in qua Ecclesia Dei ostendat se seiunctam esse a ceterarum gentium opinionibus."

²⁴⁹ Ibid. "Ritus describitur a Matthaeo, Marco, Luca et a Paulo."

²⁵⁰ Ibid. "Vult publici congressus ceremoniam esse hanc coenam, et simul vult ibi doceri Evangelium, invocari Deum mentione et fiducia Domini nostri Iesu Christ, et agi gratias."

Melanchthon emphasizes that this sacrament is “No empty show.”²⁵¹ Instead, he wants the reader to know “Christ is actually present, giving, through this ministry, his body and blood to those eating and drinking.”²⁵² Melanchthon supports this point by turning to the authority of similar words spoken by both the fourth-century Church Father Cyril of Jerusalem and the fifth-century Pope Hilarius.²⁵³ Although Stöckel does not mention Cyril nor Hilarius, he and Melanchthon both assert that eating the body and blood of Christ causes one to become part of Christ’s body.²⁵⁴

With claims of doctrinal authority that is based firmly in the word of God, both Stöckel and Melanchthon turn to the authority of Paul on the question of who should not participate in the Lord’s Supper. Stöckel notes Paul teaches that those who do not know the word of God, those who are unrepentant sinners but choose to participate in the Lord’s Supper anyway can expect “judgment and damnation.”²⁵⁵ Melanchthon also notes Paul’s point that those who are unsuitable for participation in the Lord’s Supper only compound their sins by their participation.²⁵⁶ He concludes that those who come forward

²⁵¹ Ibid. “Nec est inane spectaculum...”

²⁵² Ibid. “...sed Christus revera adest dans per hoc ministerium suum corpus et sanguinem manducanti et bibenti.”

²⁵³ Ibid. “Cyrillus in Ioanne inquit: Unde considerandum est, Christum non solum per dilectionem in nobis esse, sed etiam natural participatione, id est, adesse non solum efficacia, sed etiam substantia.” “Ipse [Hilarius] enim inquit: Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus, et deinceps. Haec accept et hausta efficiunt, ut et nos in Christo et Christus in nobis sit.”

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 864. “et in hoc ministrio vere nos sibi tanquam membra adiungere.”

²⁵⁵ Stöckel, *Annotationes*, 133. “Clare enim docet, quosdam edere & bibere in hac coena iudicium & damnationem.” Stöckel is drawing from 1 Corinthians 11.

²⁵⁶ Melanchthon, *Loci communes*, CR 21:864-865. “Sed Paulus cumulari hanc offensionem nova tristiore offensione inquit, quod contumelia afficiant corpus et sanguinem Domini. Deinde addit alteram comminationem: Edens et bibens indigne iudicium sibi edit et bibit, non discernens corpus Domini, id est

for participation in the Lord's Supper must be repentant or have the requisite fear of God.²⁵⁷

Although Melanchthon argues that the principal goal of the Lord's Supper is the confirmation of faith, he adds, beyond that, more can be said about the benefits received through this sacrament.²⁵⁸ For instance, Melanchthon notes that confirmation of faith is also in need of acts of thanks for God's grace, especially in the form of prayer.²⁵⁹ Melanchthon even supplies a sample prayer.²⁶⁰ Gathering together for the purpose of participating in the Lord's Supper has the added benefit of maintaining the tradition of coming together for common sermons and sacraments, something which, Melanchthon notes, has become much more rare.²⁶¹

Who is suitable to participate in the Lord's Supper is the third question addressed under this topic in Melanchthon's *Loci communes*. Although he has already addressed this question, especially with regard to who is unworthy or unsuitable, Melanchthon clearly wants to stress that those who participate in the Lord's Supper unworthily bring

poenam sibi accersit non solum pro prioribus peccatis, sed etiam pro hoc scelere, quod contumelia afficit corpus Domini.”

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 865. “Necessaria est poenitentia seu timor Dei in his, qui accedunt ad communionem.”

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 866. “Postquam autem de principali fine, videlicet de confirmatione fidei, dictum est, recte adduntur multi alii fines; Nam unius actionis possunt esse multi fines, sed ordinati.”

²⁵⁹ Ibid. “Necessario autem ad confirmationem fidei addatur proximus finis, gratiarum actio.”

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 866-867.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 867. “Tertius finis accedat, videlicet ut tuum exemplum prosit ad retinendam publicam congregationem. Nam si pauci uterentur Sacramento et paulatim homines abducerentur ab hoc congressu, tandem Ecclesiae prosus obliviscerentur publicae congregationis, concionum et Sacramenti, sicut accidit in magna parte orbis terrarum, ubi soli sacrificuli legunt Missas, populus abest a templis, nec audit conciones, nec intelligit usum Sacramenti.”

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judgment upon themselves. Paul's first letter to the Corinthians is recalled.²⁶² In this case, Paul says, "He who eats unworthily, eats to his own judgment." Having already stressed this point, Melanchthon turns to an important related issue: who is to know whether some one is worthy or not? He admits that it is impossible to tell, except in the more extreme cases.²⁶³ Melanchthon and Stöckel believe that individuals are responsible for their own souls, but Melanchthon goes on to note that it is one of the duties of pastors to know their flocks. Referring to Matthew 7, Melanchthon reminds the reader that one should not give the holy to dogs.²⁶⁴ With that in mind, one of the duties of pastors is to teach Christian thought and faith to everyone in the community.²⁶⁵ Pastors who properly uphold their duties, therefore, will, in a relatively short time, come to know all members of the community, personally and spiritually. Such knowledge will enable pastors to better recognize those members of the community who are openly unrepentant and do not know the word of God. Nevertheless, while paraphrasing Peter, Melanchthon returns to the point that everyone is responsible for his or her own soul.²⁶⁶ Therefore, Melanchthon stresses that the unworthy should not participate in this sacrament; by doing so, they only compound judgment upon themselves. While it is appropriate for pastors to exclude those who are openly unrepentant and do not know the word of God, the impossibility of

²⁶² Ibid., 868. "Qui sint admittendi, ex dicto Pauli satis intelligi potest {1 Cor. 11, 29}: Qui manducat indigne, iudicium sibi manducat."

²⁶³ Ibid. "Sed ministri iudicare non possunt, nisi de manifestis delictis."

²⁶⁴ Ibid. "Et meminerint praecepti {Mathew 7, 6}: Nolite sanctum dare canibus."

²⁶⁵ Ibid. "Illud etiam ad Pastorum officium pertinet: Explorare doctrinam et fidem singulorum in populo. Et profiteri fidem et ostendere, quid sentiamus de doctrina, apud Pastores singuli debemus."

²⁶⁶ Ibid. "Sicut Petrus praecipit, ut parati simus reddere rationem de fide nostra." Melanchthon's statement is paraphrased from 1 Peter 4: 5

properly judging who is either worthy or unworthy results in the need for pastors to be cautious in excluding people from the sacrament. Even if we should “not give that which is holy to dogs,” it is equally important to remember that each of us should be prepared to give an accounting of his faith.

The fourth and final issue discussed by Melanchthon relates to the ways in which this sacrament is abused and profaned. Melanchthon begins with 1 Corinthians where Paul commands his followers to flee from idols. For Melanchthon, this sacrament is abused whenever it is performed with additions that are outside of the boundaries set in the word of God.²⁶⁷ One example presented by Melanchthon is the bread carried around in procession, a topic discussed in one of Stöckel’s letters to Francis Révai.²⁶⁸ He notes that Christ said, “take” and “eat,” but there is nothing in the Scripture about taking the bread on procession.²⁶⁹ Such activity is, according to Melanchthon, outside the bounds of the sacrament as defined in the Gospels and Paul. In fact, Melanchthon believes that the sacrament has been corrupted, transformed. Rather than the confirmation of faith and the remission of sins, people believe they can obtain physical comforts or relief, victory, good luck in business matters or the expulsion of illness.²⁷⁰ These are the ways that the Lord’s Supper is profaned. Melanchthon admits that many arguments have been

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 869. “Ceremonia non habet rationem Sacrament... cum aliquid instituitur extra et praeter verbum Dei.

²⁶⁸ See note 27.

²⁶⁹ Ibid. “Spectaculum, in qui panis circumfertur, certe non est manducatio. Dixit autem Christus {Matth. 26, 26}: Accipite, manducate.”

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 870. “Sic transformatur ceremonia... Longius etiam disceditur ab institutione, cum confertur ad bona corporis impetranda, ad victoriam, ad felicitatem in mercatu, ad depellendum morbum.”

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presented explaining how such errors crept into the sacrament but, if they are without biblical support, they should not be a part of the sacrament. Since it is so difficult to discriminate between false and true evidence, Melanchthon encourages due diligence on the part of the pious.²⁷¹

Melanchthon concludes his discussion of the Lord's Supper by briefly reiterating those things which he believes should be included in gatherings for the purpose of the Lord's Supper. He favors those traditions which were maintained by the early church, and, therefore, supports their retention. At these meetings, pious readings should be recited aloud, the people should be educated with sermons pertaining to their salvation, prayers should be offered and thanks given.²⁷² Finally, Melanchthon points out that the problems with the concept of the sacrifice requires that he pay special attention to it. As a result the topic that follows is devoted to defining the sacrifice and comparing the sacrifice to the sacrament.²⁷³

The Sacrifice

Following the pattern already set out by Melanchthon, the topic immediately after Stöckel's discussion of the Lord's Supper is also on the sacrifice. Stöckel begins this topic by expressing his belief that there is a need to better distinguish between the

²⁷¹ Ibid., 871. "Sed diligentia est piis necessaria, discernere notha ac adulterina testimonia a veris."

²⁷² Ibid., "Retineatur ergo mos Apostolicus, qui annos circiter trecentos in Ecclesia inde usque ab Apostolis mansit, recitentur piae lectiones, erudiatur populus salutari concione, fiant preces, deinde dicatur gratiarum actio."

²⁷³ Ibid. "Et quia haec caussa postulat explicationem ostendentem, quae res sit sacrificium, et an sit una appellationis ratio, adiiciam hanc declarationem, ut ego quidem existimo, necessariam."

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concepts of the sacrament and the sacrifice.²⁷⁴ The author then succinctly defines a sacrament as “an act of God, in which God enters into a relationship with man,” a relationship in which man receives “certain benefits.”²⁷⁵ Using the sacrament of baptism as the example, Stöckel points out that, even though men administer the sacrament, the work is actually the work of God.²⁷⁶ The point, Stöckel argues, is that “God baptizes, God absolves, God offers the meal of the body and blood of Christ, not man.”²⁷⁷

In contrast to the sacrament, Stöckel defines a sacrifice as an act ordained by God which men perform as a demonstration of their recognition of, and obedience to, God.²⁷⁸ Stöckel argues that there are two types of sacrifice.²⁷⁹ On the one hand are sacrifices of thanks, works done by men to testify to their gratitude to God for his gifts to man, in particular the gift of his son as a sacrifice to the world.²⁸⁰ Stöckel notes it is in this sense that all believers are priests.²⁸¹ One does not need to be ordained in order to make sacrifices for his beliefs.

²⁷⁴ Stöckel, *Annotationes*, 133. “haec distinctio est necessaria, qua discernitur sacramentum & sacrificium.”

²⁷⁵ Ibid. “Sacramentum enim est opus Dei, quo Deus cum hominibus contrahit de certis beneficiis.”

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 134. “Hoc etsi per homines administratur, ut fit in baptismo & aliis sacramentis: tamen vere est opus Dei, non hominum.”

²⁷⁷ Ibid. “Deus enim baptizat, absolvit, coenam corporis & sanguinis Christi porrigit, non homo.”

²⁷⁸ Ibid. “Sacrificium est autem opus quod praestatur Deo, non electione humana, sed ex Dei ordinatione: quo opere testantur homines, se agnoscere hunc esse vere Deum, cui praestant hanc obedientiam.”

²⁷⁹ Ibid. “Est autem duplex Sacrificium.”

²⁸⁰ Ibid. “Fiunt enim ideo, ut testentur homines suam gratitudinem erga Deum, cum pro aliis beneficiis, tum pro donatione filii, qui seipsum sacrificavit pro mundo.”

²⁸¹ Ibid. “Hinc apparet, omnes filios Dei esse sacerdotes.”

On the other hand is the sacrifice that results in the remission of sin. Stöckel points out that there is only one such sacrifice, that of the son of God who was sacrificed on the cross to bring about God's reconciliation with humanity, what Stöckel refers to as "eternal peace between God and men."²⁸² He refers the reader to Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, where this issue is "seriously and eloquently" taught.²⁸³ He reminds the reader to consider John the Baptist's words when he first saw Jesus: "Behold the lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world."²⁸⁴ For Stöckel, Christ is the sacrifice of the New Testament, the only propitiatory sacrifice with the power to remit sin. And it is not only Jesus' death, but any and all of his suffering in this life that pertains to this particular sacrifice.²⁸⁵

Melanchthon defines sacrifice and sacrament in language comparable to that used by Stöckel.²⁸⁶ He too points out that there are really only two types of sacrifice.²⁸⁷ There is the one propitiatory sacrifice of Jesus, the son of God, whose life, death and

²⁸² Ibid. "Unum autem est tale sacrificium, quod redditum est Deo per filium eius in cruce, ad hoc ut valeat ad faciendam pacem aeternam inter Deum & homines."

²⁸³ Ibid. "Qua de re & graviter & copiose docet Epistola ad Hebraeos."

²⁸⁴ Ibid. "Et Baptista huc alludens: Ecce (inquit) agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi." This is drawn from John 1:29.

²⁸⁵ Ibid. "Ad hoc sacrificium pertinet conceptio, nativitas, passio, & mors Christi seipsum offerentis Deo pro peccatis nostris."

²⁸⁶ Melanchthon, *Loci communes*, CR 21:871. Aliae sunt signa et notae promissionum, in quibus Deus nobis aliquid exhibit; Aliae vero ceremoniae non sunt proprie signa promissionum, sed opera, quae nos Deo reddimus... Est ita Sacramentum ceremonia, quae est signum promissionis, per quod Deus aliquid nobis promittit aut exhibet... Sacrificium est ceremonia vel opus nostrum, quod nos Deo reddimus, ut eum honore afficiamus, hoc est, testamur nos agnoscere hunc ipsum, cui hanc obedientiam praestamus, vere esse Deum, ideoque nos ei hanc obedientiam praestare."

²⁸⁷ Ibid. "Sunt autem Sacrificii species proximae duae, nec sunt plures."

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resurrection washes away all sins for those who believe.²⁸⁸ All other sacrifices are of thanksgiving. In discussing the topic of the sacrifice both authors present arguments that are supportive of the Lutheran interpretation of New Testament theology. They both stress that the Lord's Supper is a sacrament and, as such, those who participate faithfully in this rite can expect to receive something from God, not offer something to Him. What they should expect to receive is confirmation of faith and remission of sins. Sacrifices, on the other hand, are acts of men, ordained by God, to express gratitude and demonstrate obedience to God. Beyond that, there is only one other sacrifice and that is the conception, birth, life and death of Jesus, the son of God. This sacrifice, the offer of Christ's body and blood in return for the sins of humanity is the only propitiatory sacrifice of the New Testament. It is evident that both texts are very similar to one another with regard to their organization and goals. Even though it may even be fair to say that, with regard to Lutheran theology, Stöckel adds very little to the equation, merely expressing the same ideas in slightly different language, it is nevertheless equally evident that Stöckel's work is no mere copy of Melanchthon's earlier work. A final example serves to illustrate this point.

The Church

One of the topics covered by Stöckel and Melanchthon is devoted to defining what is meant by the Church.²⁸⁹ As both authors indicate, the term Church has more than

²⁸⁸ Ibid. "Quoddam est Sacrificium propitiatorium, videlicet opus, quod meretur aliis remissionem culpae et poenae aeternae seu opus reconcilians Deum et placans iram Dei pro aliis et satisfactorium pro culpa et poena aeterna.... Haec enim [Paul in Hebrews] docet tantum unum in mundo Propitiatorium Sacrificium fuisse."

²⁸⁹ Stöckel, *Annotationes*, 155; Melanchthon, *Loci communes*, CR 21:825.

one use and meaning. As a result, some confusion accompanies its use. In the *Annotationes* Stöckel begins his discussion of this topic by explaining the origin of the term. He notes that this term (Ecclesia/ἐκκλησία) began to be used in the New Testament when the Gospel was successfully being spread among the Greeks.²⁹⁰ Stöckel personally believes that there has not been discovered a more suitable term which so appropriately describes those people who cherish the teachings of the Gospel.²⁹¹ He defines the term in this manner: “The Church, therefore, is the people in which the pure word of the Apostles is spoken and the sacraments are rightly administered.”²⁹² The Church is the work of the Holy Spirit and is used as a means of ministering to the people.²⁹³ Stöckel continues by noting that, with regard to the Church, the Holy Spirit operates through the word of Christ, “whose special witnesses are the Apostles.”²⁹⁴ The author concludes that this is a requirement; Christ’s word must be heard by anyone wishing to be a part of the Church and enjoy the benefits derived thereof.²⁹⁵ Stöckel also emphasizes that this Church is not

²⁹⁰ Stöckel, *Annotationes*, 155. “Quod nomen in novo demum testamento usurpari coepit, sicut & Evangelij sumptum est enim utrunque nomen a Graecis, inter quos doctrina de Christo plurimum floruit.”

²⁹¹ Ibid. “Nec potuit inveniri nomen commodius ei populo quo amplectitur Evangelij doctrinam, quam nomen Ecclesiae.”

²⁹² Ibid., 156. “Est igitur Ecclesia populus, in quo sonat verbum Apostolorum incorruptum, & sacramenta recte administrantur.”

²⁹³ Ibid. “...sed opus Spiritus sancti, quanquam hominum ministerio utitur.”

²⁹⁴ Ibid. “Is autem operatur per verbum de Christo, cuius praecipui testes sunt Apostoli.”

²⁹⁵ Ibid. “Hoc igitur verbum necesse est audire omnes, quicumque volunt habere partem cum Ecclesia, & beneficiis eius frui.”

Jewish, nor Greek, nor Roman; instead it is catholic, a universal Church brought together from all nations.²⁹⁶

Tied to this general definition of what constitutes the Church is the understanding that the Church in this life contains many people who are not truly Christians. Therefore, in addition to true believers, the Church also contains many hypocrites, those who do not obey the doctrines of the Church, those who are not serious advocates of repentance, those who do not believe in Christ, and those who do not pray and glorify God.²⁹⁷ Stöckel also points out that it is from this group, the troublemakers from within rather than the troublemakers from without, where the greatest problems for the Church can be expected.²⁹⁸ In addition to this type of hypocrite, Stöckel acknowledges others, epicureans, as well as lazy and cowardly people who, at the first sight of danger will conceal their opinion, or even deny that they agree with the Gospel.²⁹⁹

Stöckel also turns to the question of who is considered outside the Church, in the process adding to his base definition. First he returns to the original definition of what constitutes the Church: those people in which is spoken “the Gospel or the pure word of the Apostles.”³⁰⁰ From this base definition, Stöckel concludes that a group cannot

²⁹⁶ Ibid. “Propter quod dicitur non Iudaica, non Graeca, non Romana, sed catholica: hoc est, ex omnibus gentibus congregata.”

²⁹⁷ Ibid. “...cui tamen in hac vita sunt admixti multi hypocritae, qui non vere obtemperant doctrinae, non agentes poenitentiam serio, neque credentes in Christum, neque vere invocantes & glorificantes Deum”

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 157. “Ab hac multitudine interiore, & quasi domestica, multo plus affligitur Ecclesia, quam ab ijs qui foris sunt. Semper enim eos ferre cogitur, cum magna sua molestia.”

²⁹⁹ Ibid. “Habet praeterea admixtos multos Epicureos, multos ignavos ad timidos, qui, cum aliquid periculi incidit, vel dissimulant sententiam suam, vel palam negant se assentiri Evangelio.”

³⁰⁰ Ibid. “Ecclesia est populus, in quo sonat Evangelium seu verbum Apostolorum incorruptum.”

possibly be a part of the Church if that group practices open hostility toward the pure word of the Apostles.³⁰¹ He notes that this is no different from Christ when he removed open enemies from his Church.³⁰² As an example, Stöckel turns to the “last days” and notes that at that time the Antichrist will surely attempt to confer the title of the Church upon himself and his followers. Nevertheless, this assembly is not the Church.³⁰³ It would not matter what name it uses, it could never be the true Church because “it attacks the special teachings of the Church and the true meaning of the law and Gospel.”³⁰⁴ Comparably, “it is not possible to be the Church where the teaching is corrupt,” as in the case of those who “cherish the errors of heretics.”³⁰⁵

Finally, Stöckel points to three indicators which could aid one in distinguishing between the true Church and false ones.³⁰⁶ First, the author asks whether the teachings conform with those which the Prophets and Apostles observed.³⁰⁷ He also asks whether the teachings relate the essence and will of God as revealed in both the law and the

³⁰¹ Ibid. “Neque enim potest ille coetus esse Ecclesia, qui exercet manifestas inimicitias contra verbum Apostolorum incorruptum.”

³⁰² Ibid. “Haec ergo pars definitionis segregat ab Ecclesia omnes hostes doctrinae, quam Apostoli tradiderunt acceptam a Christo: sicut Christus segregat ab ecclesia [sic] sua Phariseos & Saduceos, Iohannis s. & alibi.”

³⁰³ Ibid. “Sic coetus Antichristi hoc postremo tempore quanquam vi sibi arrogat titulum Ecclesiae, tamen non est Ecclesia.

³⁰⁴ Ibid. “...quia persequitur doctrinam Ecclesiae propriam, & veram sententiam legis & Evangelij.”

³⁰⁵ Ibid. “Neque potest esse Ecclesia, ubi doctrina corrupta est: ut in ijs coetibus qui amplectuntur errores haereticorum, alienos a sententia doctrinae Apostolicae...”

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 161. “Ut igitur discernere possimus inter veram & falsam Ecclesiam.”

³⁰⁷ Ibid. “Primum signum doctrinae est, conveniens cum ea forma quam servarunt Prophetiae & Apostoli, tum de essentia Dei, tum de voluntate eius, quam partim in lege, partim in Evangelio revelavit.”

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Gospel.³⁰⁸ Second, he asks whether the Church acknowledges that which is obtained as the fruits of penance and faith.³⁰⁹ The third and final indicator which Stöckel believes will prove useful to discerning the true Church from false assemblies is “the cross and persecution, through which the Church is made similar to the son of God.”³¹⁰

This particular indicator is important enough that it has its own topic in both *Loci communes* and the *Annotationes*.³¹¹ Stöckel notes that the “Church is an enemy to no one and useful to all.”³¹² Nevertheless, many conspire against the true Church, including tyrants, both political and ecclesiastic, heretics, Epicureans and others.³¹³ Adding biblical authority to his argument that the true Church always suffers persecution in this world, Stöckel turns to the words of Jesus, part of the eight beatitudes of which Jesus spoke in his Sermon on the Mount in Matthew 5: “Blessed are they who suffer persecution for justice' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.” It is by way of these three indicators, then, that Stöckel claims one is able to differentiate between the true Church and false ones: teaching of the pure Gospel; awareness of the benefits to be derived from penance and faith; and, finally, evidence of persecution against the Church.

³⁰⁸ Ibid. “tum de essentia Dei, tum de voluntate eius, quam partim in lege, partim in Evangelio revelavit.”

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 162. “Secundum signum est unde Ecclesia Dei agnoscitur, quod sumitur a fructibus poenitentia & fidei.”

³¹⁰ Ibid., 163. “Tertium signum est crux & persecutio, per quam Ecclesia fit conformis filio Dei.”

³¹¹ Melancthon, *Loci communes*, CR 21:934.; Stöckel, *Annotationes*, 232.

³¹² Stöckel, *Annotationes*, 163. “Ecclesia enim nullorum hostis est, sed prodest omnibus.”

³¹³ Ibid. “Nam contra hanc conspirant omnes tyranni tum politici, tum Ecclesiastici: item haeretici, hypocritae, Epicurei, & alij.”

Melanchthon's definition of the Church is quite comparable to that developed in Stöckel's *Annotationes*. In one of the introductory paragraphs on this topic, Melanchthon states the following: "Moreover it is this definition: the visible Church is that assembly cherishing the Gospel of Christ and rightly using the Sacraments, in which God, through the ministry of the Gospel is effective and regenerates many to the life eternal, in which group yet many are not reborn but agree with true doctrine."³¹⁴ Melanchthon, like Stöckel after him, stressed the importance of teaching the pure Gospel.³¹⁵ Melanchthon also points out that the true Church should expect persecution.³¹⁶ He even outlines twelve reasons "why the Church is especially subject to the Cross."³¹⁷ Finally, Melanchthon turned to those indicators or signs that can aid one in discerning the true Church.³¹⁸ Even though Stöckel's indicators are not the same as those of Melanchthon, what Melanchthon has to say is, nevertheless, quite in keeping with Stöckel's topic on the Church. For instance, Melanchthon's first set of indicators is simply a slightly altered form of his earlier definition: "The signs which point out the Church are the pure Gospel and the proper use of the Sacraments."³¹⁹

³¹⁴ Melanchthon, *Loci communes*, CR 21:825. "Sit autem haec definitio: Ecclesia visibilis est coetus amplectentium Evangelium Christi et recte utentium Sacramentis, in quo Deus per ministerium Evangelii est efficax et multo ad vitam aeternam regenerat, in quo coetu tamen multi sunt non renati, sed de vera doctrina consentientes."

³¹⁵ Ibid., 828. "neque erat Ecclesia sine ministerio."

³¹⁶ Ibid., 839. "Vult enim Deus, Ecclesiam subiectam esse Cruci..."

³¹⁷ Ibid., 827, n. 88. "sunt hae duodecim caussae, cur ecclesia praecipue sit subiecta cruci."

³¹⁸ Ibid., 843. In Melanchthon's work "De Signis Monstrantibus Ecclesiam" is a subheading under the "De Ecclesia" topic.

³¹⁹ Ibid. "Signa, quae monstrant Ecclesiam, sunt Evangelium incorruptum et legitimus usus Sacramentorum."

Article Eight of the *Confessio Pentapolitana* touches upon each of the main points made by Stöckel in his *Annotationes*. These include the belief that the Church is Catholic or Universal, that it has always existed and always will.³²⁰ Article Eight asserts that the true Church recognizes no head except Christ, that it is bound to no place, person or human rites beyond the required ties to the word of God properly taught and the sacraments properly administered.³²¹ Stöckel acknowledges in the *Confessio Pentapolitana* that the Church is subject to civil authorities except in matters pertaining to religion.³²² In such cases, the Church is subject only to Christ. This confession also stresses that, if unified in proper teaching of the Gospel and proper administration of the Sacraments, different congregations can be dissimilar to one another in other matters.³²³ Stöckel's confession concludes by noting that, even though the true Church consists only of the "holy and the just, ruled by the Holy Spirit through the word," the Church in this world also incorporates evil persons.³²⁴ Nevertheless, wherever the Gospel is properly

³²⁰ Stöckel, *Confessio*, Article 8. "Docemus praeterea & credimus, unam tantum Catholicam sive universalem Ecclesiam ab exordio Mundi fuisse, semper mansisse, mansuramque esse in perpetuum..."

³²¹ Ibid. "Et fatemur, eam non loco, non personis, non ritibus humanitus institutis alligatam esse, Sed tantum verbo Deo & Sacramentis."

³²² Ibid. "Etsi vero Ecclesia corpore & rebus civili potestati subjecta est, tamen in religione nullum aliud caput agnoscit, nisi Christum."

³²³ Ibid. "Satis est igitur, Ecclesiam ubique habere sinceram doctrinam, & verum usum Sacramentorum, etiamsi aliqua est in humanis ritibus dissimilitudo."

³²⁴ Ibid. "Et quanquam vera Ecclesia sunt illi demum, qui vere Sancti & justus sunt, regunturque Spiritu Sancto per verbum, tamen mali quoque in hoc coetus..."

taught and the Sacraments properly administered, the Sacraments are effective, even if administered by evil persons.³²⁵

In one of his sermons for All Saints Stöckel also touched upon questions of the Church and its members.³²⁶ The pericope for the All Saints sermon is drawn from Matthew 5. Stöckel's interpretation of this passage binds the author even more tightly to the Lutheran message. These verses are the introductory words of the Sermon on the Mount in which Jesus speaks of the eight beatitudes.³²⁷ Melanchthon referred to this part of Jesus' sermon as a rhetorical synecdoche.³²⁸ Melanchthon argues that when Jesus said that the poor in spirit, that the meek, and others are blessed, Jesus was using an oratorical technique, one in which terms typically considered smaller parts of something are substituted for the greater whole.³²⁹ In this case, the whole, if you will, is faith; poverty of spirit is an element of faith, as are meekness and hungering and thirsting after justice, all eight of the beatitudes.

Although he does not use the term synecdoche, Stöckel interprets this passage exactly as Melanchthon had. For instance, Stöckel describes the beatitudes as the product

³²⁵ Ibid. "Est igitur Spiritus Sanctus efficax per ministerium etiam impiorum ministrorum, si non corrumpant verbum & Sacramenta..."

³²⁶ Stöckel, "All Saints Day," *Formulae*, i7-kk2.

³²⁷ The eight beatitudes from the Sermon on the Mount, found in Matthew 5:1-10.

³²⁸ Melanchthon, "Evangelium in die omnium sanctorum," CR 25:739. "Omnia eius modi dicta sunt intelligenda per Synecdochen, ita ut comprehendatur, seu ut praeluceat fides."

³²⁹ The synecdoche is actually rather common in everyday English. People often refer to hands or heads when they are actually speaking of people. Conversely, English speakers will say head when they are actually referring to a smaller part of it, the brain. It is common to give the name of a state when one is actually referring to the state government. Even referring to a soft drink as a coke or tissue as kleenex is considered to be a synecdoche. Evidently, even imprecise language can be considered an intentional rhetorical technique.

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of faith, as “faith shining.”³³⁰ He goes on to call them a necessary effect of faith on the Christian.³³¹ While a good introduction to the question of who and what constitutes the Church, the pericope from Matthew 5 presented a special difficulty for the supporters of Luther. On the surface, the beatitudes described in Jesus’ Sermon on the Mount could be interpreted as those things that are necessary for a Christian to do in order to achieve salvation. This interpretation had to be rejected because it ran counter to Luther’s argument that there is nothing that a person could possibly do to bring about his or her own salvation beyond having faith in Christ. Stöckel also makes this point when he argues that Jesus’ outline of beatitudes was not about how men are justified. Instead, Stockel interprets the outline as those things that the justified do.³³² Stöckel reiterates this point by noting that “It is, therefore, not in poverty, grief, suffering and similar works that the strength of the beatitude is centered, otherwise all the impoverished and distressed would be saved.”³³³ The point is actually a simple one. The poor in spirit are not saved; instead the saved are poor in spirit. Nevertheless, even if relatively easy to grasp, Melancthon and Stöckel alike had to stress this viewpoint because Jesus’ words, taken at face value, can easily be interpreted quite differently and, when done so, that

³³⁰ Stöckel, *Formulae*, kk. “Lucet autem fides in his operibus vel maxime.” See note 34 above where Melancthon used comparable language: “praeluceat fides.”

³³¹ Ibid. “suntque necessarij effectus fidei, probantes adesse fidem.”

³³² Ibid. “His finibus intellectis, consilium Christi facile apparet, quod non doceat, quomodo homines fiant iusti, sed quae opera faciant iustificati...”

³³³ Ibid. “Non ergo in paupertate, luctu, patientia, & similibus operibus sita est vis beatitudinis, alioqui omnes pauperes & aerumnosi salvi essent.”

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interpretation contradicts one of Luther's most basic tenets: that salvation is achieved in no other way than by faith.

Because this sermon was prepared for All Saints Day, Stöckel's interpretation of the beatitudes from the day's gospel reading is a prelude, albeit an important one, to the primary topic of the sermon, a discussion of saints and the church. He notes that there are good historical examples of saints and saintly behavior that could be related to those in attendance.³³⁴ However, he quickly turns to the point that life in this world for the Christian is one of grief, of sorrow and suffering. Stöckel quotes from John 16 to make his argument.³³⁵ "Concisely, the whole life of the pious is nothing unless grief..."³³⁶ He also notes that Paul discusses these hardships in his letter to the Corinthians.³³⁷ In addition, Stöckel believes that private suffering is more tolerable for Christians than are public miseries, such as the misfortunes encountered by the church, including contempt of the ministry and blasphemy, among others.³³⁸ On the other hand, Stöckel also deems it necessary for ministers to note that Christians do experience happiness and joy but that this is far outweighed by the pain or suffering.³³⁹ They have hope and they look forward to a time when they will be both consoled and liberated while, Stöckel argues, the world

³³⁴ Ibid. "Exempla sumantur ex historia Ecclesiae."

³³⁵ Ibid. "Secundo luctum suorum ipse Christus describit, Ioannis 16. cum inquit: Amen amen dico vobis, vos plorabitis, flebitis, & lamentabimini, mundus autem gaudebit."

³³⁶ Ibid. "Breviter, tota vita piorum nihil nisi luctus est."

³³⁷ Ibid. "Hunc luctum Paulus describit in Corinthiis, cum de suis aerumnis dicit."

³³⁸ Ibid. "Sed privata sunt tolerabiliora. Publicae vero miseriae sunt maiores, ut Ecclesiae calamitate, ministerij contemptus, blasphemiae, &c."

³³⁹ Ibid. "Etsi enim pij sua habent gaudia, tamen valde sunt occulta, & dolorum magnitudine facile obruuntur."

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boasts to the contrary.³⁴⁰ This leads to Stöckel's concluding remarks, intended as a point of consolation. Happiness in this world translates into an eternity of sadness while a short lifetime of sadness for the pious translates into an eternity of happiness.³⁴¹

Stöckel's discussion of the Church in the *Confessio Pentapolitana* is divided between two articles, numbers seven and eight, in Melanchthon's *Augsburg Confession*. Beyond Stöckel's statement in the *Confessio Pentapolitana* that there is no head of the true Church on earth, beyond Christ and the Holy Spirit, every statement made by Stöckel in his confession is derived from a comparable statement in Melanchthon's earlier work. Nevertheless, as in his *Annotationes*, Stöckel does not merely copy the words of his mentor. The order of the statements made in Article Eight of the *Confessio Pentapolitana* is not the same as those in the *Augsburg Confession*. Even though the two authors fundamentally express the same principles, the language used is not the same. When one examines and compares Stöckel's *Confessio Pentapolitana* and *Annotationes* to Melanchthon's *Augsburg Confession* and *Loci communes*, it becomes clear that Stöckel's work is based on Melanchthon's. However, it becomes equally clear that Stöckel is a scholar and a theologian in his own right.

The final topic discussed in Stöckel's *Annotationes* is "On the Use or Utility of Commonplaces."³⁴² Stöckel introduces this topic, not found in Melanchthon's *Loci communes*, by noting the importance of bringing to light the loci method for heavenly

³⁴⁰ Ibid. "In spe ergo gaudent, expectantes consolationem & liberationem cum econtra mundus exultet..."

³⁴¹ Ibid. "Sed huius [sic] laetitia brevis in aeternam tristitiam, piorum vero brevis tristitia, in aeternam laetitiam tandem commutatur..."

³⁴² Stöckel, *Annotationes*, "De Usu Seu Utilitate Locorum Communium," 267.

teaching.³⁴³ Stöckel believes this method to be so important because it does more than merely define key principles of Christian thought; it orders those principles and then binds them together into such a coherent whole that true understanding is developed.³⁴⁴

Although in the preface Stöckel had already noted that this method was the best for acquiring knowledge in any art, in this final chapter of the *Annotationes* the author emphasizes the two primary uses of *Loci communes* with regard to heavenly doctrine: quite simply this work is to be used either in learning or in teaching Christian thought.³⁴⁵

In his explanation of how to use the loci method for teaching, Stöckel argues that there are really only two possible methods. The first method includes teaching by way of studying catechisms or by way of the loci method.³⁴⁶ The other method is by way of studying the Scriptures themselves, “the writings of Moses, of the Prophets and of the Apostles.”³⁴⁷ Stöckel admits that both methods are actually necessary to come to a more thorough understanding of Christian thought.³⁴⁸ We know that Stöckel had nothing against the catechism; he used one for instruction in his own school. We know that Melancthon wrote a catechism for children.³⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Stöckel sees the loci

³⁴³ Ibid. “Quantum sit operae precium, in promptu habere locos communes, in quibus est summa totius coelestis doctrinae, id quidem in principio quoque dictum est.”

³⁴⁴ Ibid. “. . .sed tamen opus est quadam ratione, ut sciamus quomodo vel in discenda, vel in docenda coelesti doctrina, singula dicta ad suos locos applicari debeant, atque ex illis vera & certa sententia sumi.”

³⁴⁵ Ibid. “Est igitur duplex usus locorum communium: quorum alter ad discentes pertinet, alter ad docentes.”

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 271. “Aut enim methodus doctrinae proponitur, ut fit in Catechesi & Locis Communibus. . .”

³⁴⁷ Ibid. “. . .aut exponitur scriptura Mosi, Prophetarum & Apostolorum.”

³⁴⁸ Ibid. “Est autem utraque forma necessaria.”

³⁴⁹ Philipp Melancthon, *Catechism puerilis recognita* (Wittenberg, 1532), CR 23:103.

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method as superior in that it gives order to the teachings and effectively ties each common place to others. Both methods have their place, the loci method is simply intended for more advanced students. In fact, it would be surprising to find anyone studying a work such as Melanchthon's *Loci communes* or Stöckel's *Annotationes* who had not first studied, even memorized, the catechism as a pupil.

Of Leonard Stöckel's religious works the *Annotationes* is the most advanced. The brief articles on Christian doctrine in the *Confessio Pentapolitana* were not developed to present the most precise definitions of the chief articles of faith of the inhabitants of the five cities. They were developed in the hope that the confession would be accepted by the king, thereby limiting the ability of the clerical authorities of the traditional Church from taking control of religious life in Upper Hungary. As a result, the articles are short, the language is often vague and disputed issues are omitted. While the sermons that make up Stöckel's *Postilla* demonstrate the author's eloquence as a minister, such sermons are intended for the common folk, many of whom could not read, most of whom knew no Latin. The sermons are necessarily simple while emphasizing only the most basic principles of Christian thought. The *Annotationes*, however, was intended for individuals who were more advanced. Readers of this work already had a strong grasp of both the Latin language and the basic principles of Christian thought, subjects covered by regular lessons in the catechism as pupils in Stöckel's Latin school and similar such institutions. This is a text intended for only the most advanced pupils in the Latin schools; more likely, its primary audience was university students and anyone studying for ordination. As a result, the *Annotationes* is not only Stöckel's most advanced theological study, it is

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also the author's clearest, most precise explanation of his Christian beliefs. What we find is a skilled and eloquent theologian, an author both learned and pious, boldly and publicly expressing beliefs that clearly mark him as a follower of Martin Luther. And as we know, the complete title of the *Annotationes* ties the author even more closely to his mentor, Philipp Melanchthon. It is only fair to say Stöckel's work is dependent on the earlier work of Luther and Melanchthon. Yet this study is by no means a copy. Stöckel presents his notes on Christian thought, notes that are in the tradition of Luther and Melanchthon but they are, nevertheless, his notes. They define doctrines also held by Luther and Melanchthon (among others), but that does not take away from the quality of his work. Neither adding to or subtracting from the thought of Luther and Melanchthon, Stöckel's notes clearly demonstrate his abilities as an eloquent apologist for the Lutheran cause in Upper Hungary during the mid-sixteenth century.

Conclusion

Stöckel's Heritage and the Rise of Slovak Identity

Leonard Stöckel died while directing the choir at the cathedral in 1560, only a few weeks after the death of his friend Philipp Melanchthon. Although his name would be virtually forgotten, his influence on pedagogical and religious conditions in Upper Hungary was felt for generations to come. In addition to the pupils whose lives he personally touched as rector of his Latin school, the role that he played in associating Bartfeld, as well as the Pentapolitana, with the Augsburg Confession left an impression on the Protestant community of Upper Hungary that can be discerned to this day. His *Confessio Pentapolitana* influenced the later confessions of faith written in Upper Hungary during the middle sixteenth century. The Lutheran Synods held in Upper Hungary in the early seventeenth century did not reject these older confessions. Instead, these synods confirmed the Lutheran association of these Protestant communities by associating themselves with the Book of Concord in much the same way that Stöckel had made the connection between the Pentapolitana and the Augsburg Confession.

Leonard Stöckel's significance as the author of the first known school regulations should not be underestimated in the pedagogical history of Upper Hungary. The idea of developing school regulations came from the same motivations that led to the writing of so many school regulations within Lutheran Germany during this period. That other schools in Upper Hungary took their cue from the regulations of Stöckel's Latin school

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has already been documented.¹ In this way, his influence touched large numbers of pupils with whom he never had personal contact. As author of the first published school play to be performed in Upper Hungary, Leonard Stöckel has had a comparable influence upon the rich Hungarian tradition of school theater.²

As borders and allegiances have changed during the twentieth century, a few Slovak historians have understandably pointed to Stöckel as an influential sixteenth century innovator on the territory of what later became Czechoslovakia, and, since 1993, the Slovak Republic. He is credited with writing the first school rules, the first school play and the first confession of faith in Slovakia, or at least the territory that would later become Slovakia. That Slovak historians have created an image of Stöckel as a Slovak patriot, while a little misleading, is, to a degree, also understandable.³ That he was an important influence on Slovaks, as well as Germans and others in Upper Hungary is by no means unfounded. His life and work lend greater clarity to the image of the dominance

¹ Peter Vajcik, "Najstarší pedagogický dokument XVI. storočia a Leonard Stöckel." *Jednotná škola* 9:4 (1954), 449; Peter Vajcik, *Školstvo, studebné a školské poriadky na Slovensku v XVI storočí* (Bratislava: SAV, 1955), 59-60; See also Jan Rezik and Samuel Matthaëides, *Gymnaziologia, Dejiny gymnazii na slovensku* (Bratislava: Slovenske pedagogicke nakladatelstvo, 1971), 237.

² Ervin Lazar, "Leonard Stöckel a jeho dráma Zuzana," *Slovensko divadlo* 6 (1958): 434.

³ Stanislav Sabol, *Leonard Stöckel 1510-1560, pedagóg, učiteľ, humanista, reformačný spisovateľ* (Bardejov: Okresná knižnica 1991); a classic example of this tendency is found in Sabol's introduction when he notes that Stöckel made the following statement: "Služiť budem svojim rodákom," ("I will serve my homeland"), a statement made when Stöckel was preparing to return to Bartfeld to take up the position of rector. That the statement was written in Slovak without acknowledgement that it was originally made in Latin is somewhat misleading, as is the implication that Stöckel was referring to Slovakia when it is more likely he was referring to his kingdom, Hungary. He was, nevertheless, most likely referring to his home town of Bartfeld. Even if misleading, Stöckel's influence in Upper Hungary lends credence to the idea that he did serve Slovakia, even if that country did not exist as an independent state for more than 400 years after Stöckel's own death.

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of German culture in the more important cities of Upper Hungary during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Stöckel's most important and lasting influence on the territory that would later become the Slovak Republic, however, is the role that he played in the development of a Slovak ethnic consciousness.⁴ This would be his greatest contribution to the Slovak people. The role that Stöckel played, although not direct, is nevertheless evident in both his pedagogical and his religious influence in the region. Stöckel's school educated boys of all ethnic backgrounds. The vast majority of the people living in Upper Hungary joined the Reformation movement during the sixteenth century, including the Slovaks. We also know that citizens of Bartfeld had long felt the responsibility of serving not just the German inhabitants of the city but also the city's Slovak inhabitants and the even larger number of Slovaks living and working in the environs of the city. The Lutheran pastor in Bartfeld throughout the period when Leonard Stöckel was the school rector was himself a Slav from Croatia.⁵ Within a generation of Stöckel's death in 1560, Severín Škultéty printed the first Lutheran catechism in the Slovak language. Born in the Montana region of Upper Hungary in 1550, Škultéty arrived to study in Bartfeld in 1565, five years after Stöckel's death. He studied under Thomas Faber, Stöckel's son-in-law and his successor as rector of the city school. Before, Škultéty's death in 1600, he had

⁴ David P. Daniel, "The Protestant Reformation and Slovak Ethnic Consciousness," *Human Affairs* 1:2 (1991): 172-186.

⁵ Andrej Hajduk, "Michael Radašín," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, Hans Hillerbrand ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 375.

served in Bartfeld as a lecturer, the school rector and, from 1591, the city pastor.⁶ In that year Škultéty traveled to Graz in Austria where he was ordained by Jeremias Homberger.⁷ In the fall of 1593 Škultéty was elected Senior for the Pentapolitana, a post he held until his death in 1600.⁸ More importantly, however, in 1581 Škultéty was pivotal in the publication of Luther's *Small Catechism*, the first such work printed in the Slovak language.⁹ It was printed at the shop of Guttgesell, with whom Škultéty would have a long relationship, including editorial work on Stöckel's *Postilla*.¹⁰ Škultéty is an excellent early example of the new opportunities that the introduction of Lutheran reform brought to Upper Hungary's Slovak population. When, in the nineteenth century, the Slovaks experienced their National Awakening, Lutherans played a central role in leading the movement.¹¹

Next to national independence in January of 1993 and the Slovak National Uprising against the Nazis in 1945, the greatest event in Slovak history is the Slovak National Awakening of the middle nineteenth century.¹² This movement had its origins in

⁶ Andrej Hajduk, "Severín Škultéty," *Die Reformation und ihr Wirkungsgeschichte in der Slowakei*, Karl Schwarz und Peter Švorc eds. (Vienna: Evangelischer Pressverband, 1999), 80-81.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹⁰ Ján Čaplovič, *Bibliografía tlači vydaných na Slovensku do roku 1700*, (Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1972), 55.

¹¹ Daniel, "Slovak Ethnic Consciousness," 186; see also Elena Mannova ed., *A Concise History of Slovakia* (Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2000), chapter V.4, "From Ethnic Group to Modern Nation – The National Movement of the Slovaks," 178-185.

¹² For more on the Slovak National Awakening, see Peter Brock, *The Slovak National Awakening: An Essay in the Intellectual History of East Central Europe* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976).

the French Revolution and Napoleonic Era (1789-1815). Several individuals figure most prominently in this movement which developed slowly over a period of two generations. These are figures who are comparable in Slovak history to our founding fathers and, in much the same way that American children learn about Washington and Franklin, every Slovak learns of the importance of the leaders of the National Awakening while still in elementary school.

The first two individuals who figure prominently in the Slovak National Awakening are Anton Bernolák (1762-1813) and Ján Kollár (1793-1852).¹³ Bernolák's greatest contribution to the growth of Slovak nationalism was his attempt to codify the Slovak language. He published several treatises, in both Latin and Slovak including a grammar, a text on Slavic word origins and a dictionary called *Slowar slovenski česko-latinsko-nemecko-uherski* (*A Slovak Czech-Latin-German-Hungarian Dictionary*).¹⁴ In the 1830s, the Slovak poet Ján Holly produced several Slovak epic poems using Bernolák's model, but Slovak grammar needed further support from other Slovak leaders before a codified Slovak language achieved any level of success.¹⁵

The relatively small Slovak intelligentsia of the early nineteenth century was divided and its nascent leadership was pulling in different directions. Ján Kollár, for

¹³ Stanley B. Kimball, "The Austro-Slav Revival: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Literary Foundations," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 63:4 (1973): 51; Elena Mannová, *A Concise History of Slovakia* (Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2000), 178-182.

¹⁴ Stanislav Kirschbaum, *A History of Slovakia, The Struggle for Survival*, (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1995), 93. For further information on the leading figures of the Slovak National Awakening see also Ludwig von Gogolak, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des slowakischen Volkes* (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1967), vii; Peter A. Toma, Dušan Kovač. *Slovakia: From Samo to Dzurinda* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2001).

¹⁵ Peter Petro, *A History of Slovak Literature* (Montreal, Buffalo: McGill-Queens Press, 1996), 54

instance, wrote in the Czech language and, rather than supporting Bernolák's program, originally based on the western Slovak dialect, he promoted the use of Czech, with the inclusion of some "slovakisms," as the Slovak literary language. Although Kollár lived most of his adult life in Pest and Vienna, he was a true Slovak patriot. His fear that the Slavs of Upper Hungary could be forever lost if they did not organize and develop an identity led him to believe that their best chance of survival was through a cultural and linguistic unification of the Czechs and the Slovaks. Kollár, although an important figure in both the Slovak and the Czech National Awakenings, proposed a plan that did not win the support of the growing intelligentsia within either Bohemia or Upper Hungary. Kollár's ideas were supported, however, by another influential figure of the Slovak National Awakening, Pavel Jozef Šafárik (1795-1861).¹⁶ Although living in Novi Sad in Serbia from 1819 and in Prague from 1833 until his death, Šafárik, like Kollár, saw himself as a Slovak first and worked tirelessly to do his part in developing a distinctive Slovak culture.¹⁷ He nevertheless believed that the Slovaks' best chance of cultural survival was to tie themselves to the greater Slavic culture of the Czechs and Moravians. Šafárik published scholarly tracts in German and Czech and, during his many years in Serbia, even wrote an anthology of Serb literature. He is therefore viewed as an important figure in the national awakenings of not only the Slovaks but also the Czechs and the Serbs. Both Kollár and Šafárik are also seen as important figures in the early

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Kimball, 27, 54.

development of Panslavism in this part of Europe while they simultaneously supported the concept of Czech and Slovak political and linguistic unity.¹⁸

Although all were supportive of furthering the cultural (and therefore the political, economic and social) identity of the Slovak people, Bernolák approached the problem by introducing a new grammar and encouraging Slovak intelligentsia to make use of it. Kollár, on the other hand, believed that the continuing use of the Czech language could lead to the development of a true Czechoslovak nation. Holly aided in the development of a Slovak identity through epic poetry which tied Slovaks to great figures in the past, especially Svätopluk of the Great Moravian Empire.¹⁹ During the 1840s, the Slovak National Awakening reached new heights, particularly in its success in developing a Slovak literary language model that was found acceptable to a large number of the Slovak intelligentsia.

The individual credited with successfully developing a Slovak literary model was Ludovít Štúr (1815-1856).²⁰ Although using Bernolák's earlier model, Štúr's primary contribution to the development of the Slovak language was his choice to use a central Slovak dialect rather than Bernolák's western Slovak dialect as the basis for this new attempt at codification. Pressure from Magyar officials also played a role in bringing together the differing sides on the issue of a Slovak literary language in order to make a decision upon which all could agree. Štúr's decision to use the central Slovak dialect

¹⁸ Ibid., 54.

¹⁹ Petro, 59.

²⁰ Mannová, 184.

proved more agreeable because it was mutually understood by Slovaks in both the east and the west.

Štúr's involvement in Slovak National Awakening increased significantly due to the events leading up to the revolutionary year of 1848.²¹ With the support of two other members of the Slovak intelligentsia, Jozef Hurban (1817-1888) and Michal Hodža (1811-1870), Štúr led the struggle for Slovak autonomy within Hungary, including the use of Slovak in schools, churches and public offices.²² A militia was created. Skirmishes took place between the militia and both Hungarian national troops and Austrian imperial troops. As the Hungarian revolution fell apart, the Habsburgs made few concessions to the national minorities in Hungary. This was the case even though those minorities had played a pivotal role in the ultimate collapse of the Hungarian bid for independence. Štúr, Hurban and Hodža are seen by Slovaks today as the brightest lights in the Slovak National Awakening primarily for the roles they played in the development of the Slovak language and their attempts at achieving Slovak autonomy during 1848.

Returning to Anton Bernolák for a moment, it should be added that one of the reasons why his codification is thought to have failed to become more popular is that it was based on the western Slovak dialect commonly used by parish priests. This was the case because the major Catholic seminary was located in the west, in the city of Trnava.

²¹ Ibid., 196-197.

²² Petro, 70; Kimball, 53. Both Hurban and Hodža worked with Štúr in developing the grammar that became the first universally accepted Slovak literary language. The two works that were most important in bringing about this success were *Nárečja Slovanskuo Alebo Potreba Písanija v Tomto Nárečí* (*The Slovak dialect and the Need of Writing in that Dialect*) and *Nauka Reči Slovenskej* (*Grammar of the Slovak Language*). When the three founded *Tatrin* in 1844, Hodža was elected president and Štúr and Hurban were placed on the literary society's executive committee.

Since Bernolák was himself a Roman Catholic priest, it is understandable that he used the form of Slovak with which he was most familiar when he first attempted to standardize the language. Kollár and Šafárik, on the other hand, were Lutherans. While Kollár studied for the ministry and became a pastor in the Lutheran Church, Šafárik was the son of Lutheran pastor. This also gives us some insight into their interest in the use of Czech as the literary language. “In the seventeenth century, the Czech *Kralická Biblia* (Kralice Bible) was adopted by Slovak Protestants; use of this translation of the Bible was the clearest way to indicate their break from Rome.”²³ The adoption of the Kralice Bible by Upper Hungary’s small population of Protestant Slovaks led to the early development of a written language, known as literary Czech or *bibličtina*. When the Catholic Bernolák promoted the west Slovak dialect to become the literary language of all Slovaks, Lutherans like Kollár and Šafárik viewed it as the language of the Catholics, thereby limiting their interest in the innovations and motivating their opposition to the idea of giving up their own literary language, the *bibličtina* in which both of them wrote.

Ludovít Štúr, along with Hurban and Hodža, was motivated by more pressing interests when, in 1843 the inspector general of the Lutheran Church in Hungary, the Magyar noble Karoly Zay, unilaterally decided that Magyar would henceforth be the liturgical language of the Lutheran Church in Hungary.²⁴ A comparable decision was also made with regard to the use of the Hungarian language in the kingdom’s gymnasia. Štúr,

²³ Kirschbaum, 94.

²⁴ For an examination of Štúr’s life, see Ján Hučko, *Život a dielo Ludovíta Štúra* (Osveta: Martin, Cz, 1984); Péter Tibor Nagy, *The Social and Political History of Hungarian Education* (Waxmann: New York, 1997); R. Auty, “The Linguistic Revival among the Slavs of the Austrian Empire, 1780-1850: The Role of Individuals in the Codification and Acceptance of the New Literary Languages,” *The Modern Language Review* 53:3 (July, 1958): 401.

Hurban and Hodža were all products of Lutheran education, and Hurban and Hodža were themselves Lutheran pastors. Viewing Zay's decision as a direct attack on the growing nationalism of the Slovak people, the three met to develop a plan of action. In that meeting it was decided to abandon the biblical Czech for a literary Slovak that would be intelligible to all Slovaks in Upper Hungary.²⁵ Roman Catholic Slovak nationalists supported Štúr's codification because they saw the nationalist value in this opportunity for the Slovaks to develop their own independent literary culture. Many of them, having already accepted the earlier Bernolák model, were also more receptive of the idea of linguistic change for reasons of national and cultural development.

When we consider the important role played by Slovaks like Bernolák, Holly, Kollár and Šafárik in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when we add the pivotal figures of Štúr, Hurban and Hodža, one element that binds them together, in addition to their Slovak ethnicity, is that all of them were men of strong religious beliefs. Whereas Bernolák and Holly were Roman Catholic priests, the other five were members of Upper Hungary's small Lutheran community. In addition, not only was that community small, the great majority of its members were ethnic Germans. That the intelligentsia during the Slovak National Awakening was so heavily weighted in favor of the small Lutheran minority is nothing less than a tribute to author of the *Confessio Pentapolitana* and the work he did as the *Praeceptor Hungariae*.

²⁵ Mannová, 183-184; Mannová asserts that Štúr and his supporters opted for a "supra-confessional" codification of Slovak in the hope of bringing Catholics and Lutherans together.

Appendix A:

Drawn from *De ratione studii*, this is an example of the type of grammatical and rhetorical exercises that Erasmus expects of pupils as they continue in the development of their Latin and Greek skills.

And in this I shall require diligent attention to selection and variety on the part of the learned teacher; meanwhile I shall give a sample of what I mean. He will regularly set out the argument of the persuasive, dissuasive, exhortatory, dehortatory, narrative, congratulatory, expostulatory, commendatory, and consolatory letter. He will point out the nature of each type, some features and set-phrases they have in common, and, once the argument has been set out, their peculiarities as well. The same method will apply to an exercise in the different kinds of formal oratory, for instance, if he should order them to revile Julius Caesar or to praise Socrates in the demonstrative genre. Likewise, in the persuasory genre: that the best should be learned at once; that happiness does not consist in riches; that a mother should nourish her offspring with her own milk; that one should or should not attend to Greek letters; that a man should or should not marry; or that one should or should not travel abroad. So too, in the judicial genre, that Marcus Horatius did not deserve punishment. But of course a man who has assumed the role of a teacher will not disdain to indicate to those entering the arena for the first time, first, in how many propositions that argument can be treated. Furthermore he will show the order of the propositions and how one follows from another. Next, the number of reasons by which each proposition should be supported, and the number of proofs of each reason. Then he will indicate sources for the circumstances and grounds of proof. Then, with what sort of similes, contrasts, examples, analogies, aphorisms, proverbs, myths, and fables each part may be enhanced. He should also point out the use of rhetorical figures and where striking examples may be employed which may render the speech more pointed or more rotund, of greater clarity or appeal. Should amplification be called for somewhere, he should explain the method underlying it, whether by means of commonplaces or by those methods which Quintilian has divided into four types. Should any appeals to emotion be called for he will advise how these too are to be expressed. He should of course set out the principles governing connection and what form the best transition would take: from the opening section to the main outline, from the main outline to the division, from the division to the proofs, from proposition to proposition, from reason to reason, from the proofs to the epilogue or peroration. He should also point out some

formulae by which they may be able to launch smoothly into the exordium or even the peroration. Finally he should, if it is possible, point out some passages in authors where they may be able to take something for imitation because of its relevance to the task in hand. When all that has been performed seven or eight times, then they will begin “to swim without a cork,” to quote Horace, and it will be sufficient to supply the bare subject of the exercise, and no longer necessary, as with infants, to be constantly putting predigested food into their mouths.¹

¹ Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, CWE 24: 680.

Appendix B:**De vita et morte Leon. Stökeli.**¹

Natus est hic vir pius, sanctus et doctus Bartphae, quae una ex V. liberis regiisque civitatibus superioris Hungariae, sub elevatione poli 48 et 15, patre Leonhart Stökelio, qui faber ferrarius, et matre Dorothea, anno 1510. Isti filium a prima aetate erudiendum dederunt Valentino Eccio Lindaviensi, scholae Bartphensis rectori. Bartpha missus est Cassoviam, ubi aliquamdiu usus praeceptore Ioanne Coxo Anglo, Henrici regis Angliae adolescentis pedagogo, quem metu insidiarum deserere coactus erat, et Cracoviam confugere. Unde Cassoviam est vocatus. Relicta Cassovia, profectus est Vratislaviam, ubi audivit Vinclerum docentem et Mecelerum in graecis. Vratislavia Wittebergam venit, ibi Lutherum ac Philippum docentes audivit, quibus semper fuit carissimus. Per annum integrum in ista peregrinatione egit rectoram Isleviae in patria Lutheri, ubi ipse cum antinomis convenire non poterat. Reversus Witteberga in Hungariam anno 1539, multum repugnante Philippo, qui maluisset ipsum Wittebergae retinere, scholam Bartphensem rexit per annos 20, multosque praeclaros viros, nobiles et ignobiles educavit. (Fuit etiam primus ecclesiae et scholae Bartphensis a papatu reformator.) Quanta istius viri fuerit diligentia, testantur scripta, quae in officio ludirectoris de omnibus artibus et praecipue de rebus theologicis conscripsit.

Laborabat saepius ex oppilatione epatis, ad quam anno 1560 accessit ischias, ipso die paschatis in choro quem regebat. His morbis usque ad festum Pentecostes vehementer discruciat; interim tamen remittentibus lectiones dictabat, vel dictandas scribebat. In aegritudine accepit a studiosis quibusdam Wittebergensibus litteras Philippi Melancthonis quas cum maximis lacrimis legit. Nam fama de morte Philippi citius ipsis litteris in Hungariam pervenerat: ad has – inquit --brevis coram responsurus sum. Obiit die veneris ante Trinitatis anno 1560. aetatis 50. *Apposuit M. Steph. Xylander.*

[Stephanus Xylander (1571-1619) of Zips County (today, Spiš, Slovak Republic), was a minister who, after 1614, became the Superintendent/Senior of the Lutherans in Zips and Sarosch Counties.]

¹ M. Stephanus Xylander, “De vita et morte Leon. Stökeli,” in *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából (Monumenta ecclesiastica tempora innovatae in Hungaria religionis illustrantia)*, vol. 2. Vincze Bunyitay ed. (Budapest: Szent Istvan Tarsulat tud. es irod osztalya, 1904), 425.

Appendix C:**A Comparison of Topics**

I)	List of Topics in Stöckel's <i>Annotationes</i> : ¹
8	De Deo
15	De Filio
21	De Spiritu Sancto
24	De Creatione
30	De Causa Peccati
40	De Libero Arbitrio
48	De Peccato
54	De Peccato Actualibus
58	De Lege
99	De Evangelio
104	De Gratio Et Iustificatione
115	De Sacramentis
118	De baptismo
127	De absolutione singulorum
129	De coena domini
133	De Sacrificio
138	De Veteri et Novo Testamento
144	De Litera et Spiritu
146	De Libertate Christiana
155	De Ecclesia
168	De Praedestinatione
178	De Regno Christi
185	De Resurrectione mortuorum
190	De Bonis Operibus
205	Confutatio Argumentorum, quae obijcieuntur contra veram doctrinam De fide iustificante & bonis operibus.
224	De Scandalo
232	De Cruce et Afflictionibus Ecclesiae Dei
245	De Invocatione Dei
258	De Oeconomica et Politia
267	De Usu sev Utilitate Locorum Communium
271	Quis est usus Locorum communium in docendo?

¹ Leonard Stöckel, *Annotationes in Locos communium doctrinae christianae Philippi Melanchtonis*. Basel: Ioannes Oporinus, 1561.

- II) Melanchthon: “The most important articles of Christian Doctrine:”²
- I. Of God
 - II. Of the one unified divine Being, in whom are three distinct Persons – the eternal Father, eternal Son, and eternal Holy Spirit
 - III. Of the creation of all creatures
 - IV. Of the beginning of sin
 - V. Of free will and human strength
 - VI. Of sin and the punishment of sin
 - VII. Of law.
 - VIII. Of the meaning of command or counsel in divine Scripture.
 - IX. Of divine promises
 - X. Of the gospel, and the abundant grace obtained through the Son of God
 - XI. Of the distinction between law and gospel
 - XII. Of how we are justified before God
 - XIII. Of grace and eternal blessedness
 - XIV. Of faith
 - XV. Of good works
 - XVI. Of the distinction between deadly sin and other sins
 - XVII. Of eternal predestination
 - XVIII. Of the difference between the Old and New Testament
 - XIX. Of the spirit and the letter
 - XX. Of the sacraments
 - XXI. Of baptism
 - XXII. Of infant baptism
 - XXIII. Of the Lord’s Supper
 - XXIV. Of sacrifice
 - XXV. Of baptism
 - XXVI. Of infant baptism
 - XXVII. Of the Lord’s Supper
 - XXVIII. Of sacrifice
 - XXIX. Of penance or repentance
 - XXX. Of sin against the Holy Spirit
 - XXXI. Of confession
 - XXXII. Of compensation or satisfaction
 - XXXIII. Of the keys and the power of the Church
 - XXXIV. Of the Church
 - XXXV. Of human institutions
 - XXXVI. Of Christian Freedom
 - XXXVII. Of offense (Scandal)

² Philipp Melanchthon, *Loci Communes rerum theologiarum seu Hypotyposes theologicae*. Wittenberg, 1521. CR 21: 83-227; 253-560; 601-1105.

- XXXVIII. Of the kingdom of Christ, which is not a worldly kingdom ruled the sword but a kingdom of eternal life, wisdom, and righteousness
- XXXIX. Of resurrection of the dead
- XL. Of trouble and affliction
- XLI. Of prayer
- XLII. Of worldly authority

Appendix D:

The following is a bibliography of sermon collections written by leading supporters of Martin Luther published prior to Leonard Stöckel's death in 1560.¹

Anon. *Euangelia mit den Summarien / vnd Epistel / Auff alle Sontage vnd fürnemesten Feste / durch das gantze jar*. Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1546. In *Bibliotheca Palatina* F4647-49.

Brenz, Johannes. *Kirchen Postilla das ist / Christliche vnd Catholische Außlegung der Euangelien / so auff die Sontage vnd hohe Fest / Deßgleichen auch an den Feyertagen der Heyligen / nach altem löblichen brauch dem Volck Gottes fürgetragen vnnd gepredigt werden. Sampt der Historien vom Leiden vnd Sterben vnsers Herrn Jhesu Christi / nach beschreibung der vier Euangelisten*. [=Wintertheil]. Frankfurt a.M.: Christian Egenolff d.Ä. (Erben), 1567. In *Bibliotheca Palatina* C282-84.

Corvin, Anton. *Kurtze vnd einfeltige Auslegung der Episteln vnd Euangelien / so auff die Sontage vnd furnemisten Feste durchs gantze jar / inn der Kirchen gelesen werden. Vor die arme Pfarherrn vnd Hausveter gestellt*. Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1539.

Dietrich, Veit. *Kinder Postilla. Oder Auslegung aller Sontags Euangelien / durchs gantze Jar / vom Aduent an bis auff Pfingsten / in zwey Teil geteilet. Das Erste Teil. Ein jedes Teil mit seinem ordentlichen Register*. Lemgo: Johann Schuchhenn, 1561.

Hedio, Kaspar. *Epitome in euangelia et epistolas, quae leguntur in templis per circuitum anni, totius doctrinae pietatis medullam et nucleum ceu cornucopie citra cuiuspiam morsum in se complectens, in usum ministrorum ecclesiae*. Strasbourg: Kraft Müller, 1537. In IDC Ref Prot PPE-109 .

Huberinus, Kaspar. *Postilla Teütsch. Vber alle Sontägliche Euangelien / vom Aduent biß auf Ostern / Kurtze / vnd nutzliche Außlegung*. Augsburg: Philip Ulhart, 1545. In IDC HUB-47/1.

Spangenberg, Johann. *Postilla Deudsch, Fur die jungen Christen / Knaben vnd Meidlein / jnn Fragstücke verfasset / Von den fürnemesten Festen / durchs gantze Jar*. Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1544.

Willich, Jodocus. *Dispositio in epistolas et euangelia cunctarum totius anni feriarum*

¹ I would like to thank Dr. John Frymire for giving me access to this bibliography. Only those collections discussed in the body of the paper are included in the Bibliography

iuxta cum familiari explanatione. Frankfurt a.M.: Johannes Eichorn, 1549. In
Bibliotheca Palatina F4753-55.

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Corvin, Anton. *Kurtze vnd einfeltige Auslegung der Episteln vnd Euangelien / so auff die Sontage vnd furnemisten Feste durchs gantze jar / inn der Kirchen gelesen werden. Vor die arme Pfarherrn vnd Hausveter gestellt*. Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1539.

Leonard Cox:

Breeze, Andrew, and Jaqueline Glomski eds. "An Early British Treatise Upon Education: Leonard Cox's *De Erudienda Iuventute* (1526)." *Humanistica Lovaniensia, The Journal of Neo-Latin Studies* XV (1991): 112-167.

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VITA

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Bennett has considerable teaching experience. He was a Teaching Assistant for the Department of History from 1988 to 1994 in survey courses in American and European history. He revised the first half of Western Civilization survey for the University of Missouri's Center for Independent Programs and Studies in 1988, and he later developed the survey for the second half of the series. From 1994 to 1996, Bennett taught at Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovakia and since 1999 he has taught a variety of courses in history for the Evening Program at Columbia College. Bennett has also taught courses in European history for Moberly Area Community College and Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri.

During the summer of 1988 Bennett took part in an archaeological excavation of a fourth-century Byzantine church on the Mediterranean island of Cyprus and he spent the

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