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## Pietas and Sapientia? Education of Pastors in West Pomeranian Duchies, 1560–1618

The education of pastors is an important indicator of the gradual professionalisation of this occupation. In turn, this professionalisation is related on the one hand to the process of modernisation and the development of a modern, secularised society. On the other, it is to be placed among issues relevant to the formation of confessions and confessionalisation, and so those processes in the early part of the Early Modern era which deepened the “clericalisation” of society rather than contributed to its secularisation. The former approach does not of course preclude the latter, as the theory of confessionalisation – understood as the emergence of increasingly clear distinctions between confessions in the theological and organisational sense and the tightening of the relation between religion and politics in the individual states of the Holy Roman Empire – seeks to account for the emergence of the modern state and its obedient subjects-citizens.<sup>1</sup> Pastors as a professional group played a very important role in this process, although a study by Schorn-Schütte shows some limitations of this interpretation, particularly regarding the everyday and family lives of pastors.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the definition: H. Schilling, “Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft–Profil, Leistungen, Defizite und Perspektiven eines geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigmas,” in: *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung*, ed. W. Reinhard, H. Schilling (Gütersloh, 1995), pp. 1–50, here p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> L. Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit in der Frühneuzeit. Deren Anteil an der Entfaltung frühmoderner Staatlichkeit und Gesellschaft. Dargestellt am Beispiel*

In the second half of the sixteenth century, education became an important criterion in nominations for pastors. The increasing demands and expectations of church authorities and congregations were concordant in the period following the Reformation with the policies of secular authorities, which established new educational institutions such as municipal high schools, princely schools, Latin schools (“trivial schools”), cathedral schools and universities. As a result, the proportion of pastors who had university education or a Master’s degree continued to rise over the sixteenth century. This dynamic development is evinced by the partly mythical but still recognisable figure of the wise, educated pastor, a precursor of the Enlightenment.<sup>3</sup>

This article seeks to outline the state of the education of pastors in the Lutheran Pomeranian duchies between 1560 and 1618. The period begins 25 years after the decision of the rulers and estates of the duchies to accept Reformation and ends with the outbreak of the Thirty Years’ War, as a result of which the duchies ceased to exist. Apparently objective and unequivocal indices of education, such as university matriculations or academic degrees, motivate the questions about the standardisation of the paths and patterns of careers, their social and regional diversification, the significance of education as preparation for the profession to be performed, and about the objectivity of recruitment. Other important questions include those about the image of confessional identity projected by the centres where “the ministers of the Word of God” are educated in the Lutheran orthodoxy of the Pomeranian duchies. The final question discussed in this article concerns the impact of this education.

An important limitation of research into education in the Early Modern period is the scarcity of extant sources. The most abundant source of information about pastors are funeral speeches, fairly well

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*des Fürstentums Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, der Landgrafschaft Hessen-Kassel und der Stadt Braunschweig* (Heidelberg, 1996), pp. 314–330.

<sup>3</sup> The constant presence of this representation is related among others to the culture-forming role of the pastor’s household. Cf. p. ex. U. Im Hof, *The Enlightenment* (Oxford, 1994), p. 43; remarks on the role of pastors in the eighteenth-century education reform in: J. Brüning, “Evangelische Geistlichkeit und pädagogische Praxis. Bemerkungen zur Rolle einer privilegierten Statusgruppe in der ständischen Gesellschaft des 18. Jahrhunderts,” *Jahrbuch für historische Bildungsforschung* 7 (2001), pp. 131–160. For Pomerania H. Heyden, *Kirchengeschichte Pommerns* (Köln, 1957<sup>2</sup>), vol. 2, pp. 151–156; Z. Szultka, “Uwagi w sprawie rezonansu i percepcji idei oświeceniowych w pruskiej części Pomorza Zachodniego,” *Wiek Oświecenia* 19 (2003), pp. 43–67, here p. 54–62.

known and the subject of extensive research over the recent thirty years.<sup>4</sup> The collection of Pomeranian funeral sermons, “*Vitae Pomeranorum*”, has, however, very few – around thirty – extant instances of funeral speeches about the deceased clergymen of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup>

Among the most fundamental sources of information on Protestant clergy are the registers of pastors, “*Pfarrerbücher*”, drawn up in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by pastors, and in the twentieth also by professional historians.<sup>6</sup> Given their reliability<sup>7</sup> and the lack of mass sources for the sixteenth century, these registers are essential to research into clergy as a professional group, conducted since the 1950s.<sup>8</sup> The authors of the Pomeranian registers are Hans Moderow, Ernst Müller, and Hellmuth Heyden.<sup>9</sup> Information from

<sup>4</sup> Among the substantial body of literature, the following is worth mentioning: R. Lenz, *De mortuis nil nisi bene? Leichenpredigten als multidisziplinäre Quelle unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der historischen Familienforschung, der Bildungsgeschichte und der Literaturgeschichte* (Sigmaringen, 1990).

<sup>5</sup> On the collection of funeral sermons *Vitae Pomeranorum* [hereafter: VP and number of microfilm in the collections of University Library in Greifswald], see E. Lange, *Die Greifswalder Sammlung Vitae Pomeranorum* (Greifswald, 1898).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. M.-A. Cramer, “Pfarrerbücher,” *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 91 (1991), pp. 382–392; K. Themel, “Grundlagen der Presbyteriologie,” *Herold Jahrbuch* 3 (1974), pp. 74–120; E. Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft und Mobilität. Die protestantischen Geistlichen zwölf süddeutscher Reichsstädte zwischen Passauer Vertrag und Restitutionsedikt* (Leinfelden and Echterdingen, 2002), p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> M. Brecht, “Herkunft und Ausbildung der protestantischen Geistlichen des Herzogtums Württemberg im 16. Jahrhundert,” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 80 (18) (1969), pp. 163–175; B. Vogler, *Le clergé protestant rhénan au siècle de la réforme (1555–1619)* (Paris, 1976), p. 171; Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft*, p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> See L. Schorn-Schütte, “The Christian Clergy in the Early Modern Holy Roman Empire: A Comparative Social Study,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998), pp. 717–732, here p. 720, fn. 14; Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft*, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>9</sup> H. Moderow, E. Müller, *Die Evangelischen Geistlichen Pommerns von der Reformation bis zu Gegenwart*, vol. 1 (Stettin, 1903); vol. 2 (Stettin, 1912) [hereafter: Moderow-Müller]; H. Heyden, *Die Evangelischen Geistlichen des ehemaligen Regierungsbezirkes Stralsund. Insel Rügen* (Greifswald, 1956); H. Heyden, *Die Evangelischen Geistlichen des ehemaligen Regierungsbezirkes Stralsund – Kirchenkreise Barth, Franzburg, Grimmen* (Greifswald, 1958); H. Heyden, *Die Evangelischen Geistlichen des ehemaligen Regierungsbezirkes Stralsund. Die Synoden Greifswald-Land und Greifswald-Stadt* (Greifswald, 1964); H. Heyden, *Die Evangelischen Geistlichen des ehemaligen Regierungsbezirkes Stralsund. Die Synoden Wolgast, Stralsund, Loitz* (Greifswald, 1964) [hereafter: Heyden, IV]. These works draw on all the registers created earlier.

these registers has been supplemented with that obtained from archival material available in Szczecin, Greifswald, and Stralsund.<sup>10</sup>

University was the culmination of a long educational trajectory. Home and pre-university education of the clergy, important as it was, is little known, chiefly due to the lack of formal records from this period of life.<sup>11</sup> The standard of this education was certainly diverse. The large proportion of sons of pastors among the group from which candidates for priesthood were recruited,<sup>12</sup> as well as the number of pastors' children among trained and broadly defined intellectuals, indicate that the families and households of pastors stand out against other families and households. However, the question about whether early education, focusing on the catechism and basic forms of piety, distinguished children of pastors from those in other social groups, must be answered in the negative. Admittedly, not every household in the Early Modern period had a father ready to teach Latin, let alone Greek or Hebrew, to his son, and not every family could afford a private tutor. Similarly, not every household gave children the opportunity to imbibe the atmosphere of books or be surrounded by guests who could later facilitate the start of their careers.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, one must not yield to the suggestive picture that appears to be painted by the sources, in this case chiefly funeral sermons. Firstly, the speeches concern – as noted above – only a narrow elite of the pastors as a professional group. Secondly, there is evidence that the profession of a pastor in the sixteenth-century Pomerania was not one that

<sup>10</sup> Archival research was carried out at the State Archive in Szczecin (Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, hereafter: APSz), Landesarchiv (hereafter: LAG), Stadtarchiv (hereafter: StAG) and the Universitätsarchiv (UAG) in Greifswald as well as Stadtarchiv in Stralsund (StAS).

<sup>11</sup> Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft*, pp. 36–47; cf. A. Seifert, “Das höhere Schulwesen. Universitäten und Gymnasien,” in: *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, ed. A. Buck, N. Hammerstein, vol. 1 (München, 1996), pp. 197–374, here p. 269.

<sup>12</sup> In the West Pomeranian Duchies during the analysed period, the profession of the father could be established for 371 out of 2187 pastors; in 151 instances (6.90% of all cases and 47.53% of known cases) the profession was that of a pastor.

<sup>13</sup> T. Macht, *Christliche Leich-Predigt // Von//Der Gläubigen Kampffund Krohn. // Auß der II. Timoth. TV. Capit. v. 7. und 8. // Bey Christlicher Leichbestätigung // Des VorAchtbarn und Wolgelahrten // Jungen Gesellen // Davids Reclingii // Des WolEhrwürdigen / VorAchtbarn und Wolgelahrten // Herrn Davidis Reclingij, der Christlichen //Gemeine zu Carßnevit in Rügen Wolverdienten Pastoris // herzlichten Eltesten Sohns letzter Ehe* [1660], VP 93, fol. 36r.

necessarily ensured financial security. It can thus be surmised that the employment of a private preceptor was an exception rather than a rule, and was an elite behaviour. Rather, what distinguished the families of pastors was the understanding that the education of children necessitated some expense, and the desire for sons to follow in the footsteps of the father.<sup>14</sup> There are also abundant cases of the son being inspired by the father's example to choose the ministry.<sup>15</sup>

There was, however, a long road from these desires and plans to reality, as can be read between the lines of pastors' lives. Firstly, the profession of a pastor required a relatively high degree of mobility from his family, which in turn meant that children changed schools, often several times, and had to adapt to new environs.<sup>16</sup> Further, with the lack of financial security in pastors' families, the death of the head of the household meant that the plans for the children's future had to be abandoned.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> P. ex. H. Becker, *Jugend-Spiel // Aus // Dem XI. Cap vers 9. [des Predigers Salomonis I I I Bey Christlicher und Volckreicher Leichbegängniß // Des weyland Woll-Ehrenvesten/ Vorachtbah-// ren und Wollgelahrten // H[e]r[m]. Johannis // Fabricii // SS. Theol. & Philos. Studiosi. Stetinensis // Pomerani, // Welcher alhier zu Rostock / den 28. Martii des // 1672 Jahres / in Christo selig entschlaffen / und darauf den 17. Aprilis [!] zu seiner Ruhe-Kammer in den Dom // oder Jacobs Kirchen gebracht worden [1672], VP 12, fol. IV–V.*

<sup>15</sup> A. Calovius, *Schola Etoanasias // Davidica, // Göttliche Schule der // Seligen Sterben-Kunst // Aus den Worten Ps. XXXIX v. 5. 6. // Herr lehre doch mich / daß ein Ende mit mir haben muß // und mein Leben ein Zeil hat / und ich davon muß. Siehe / meine Tage sind einer Hand breit bey dir / und mein Leben ist wie nichts für dir I I I wie gar nichts sind alle Menschen / die doch si sicher leben! Sela. // Bey Ansehlichem Volckreichem // Begräbnuß // Des Ehrnversten und Wolgelahrten // Herrn // Bogislai Fabricii [1651], VP 12 and 75, fol. Hii lv; APSz Konsystorz Szczeciński [hereafter: Kons. Szcz.] 2175, M. Lehmann to the Duke, Nowe Warpno (Neuwarp) 14 Sept. 1625.*

<sup>16</sup> M. Tabbert, *Die verpitschirte Gottes-Hand // oder // Fest-gegründeter RegentenStand I I I Aus des II Capittels des Propheten // Haggaei 24 Versicul // In einer Christlichen Leich-Sermon // Als // Des weiland Edlen / Groß-Achtbahren / Hoch / gelahrten auch Wolweisen // Hernn Heinrichi // Balthasaris [1670], VP 2, fol. 406r–407v; S. Macus, *Christliche Leichpredigt // // Auß der Offenbarung S. Johannis // am 7. Capittel. // Bey Volckreicher ansehlicher Begräbnuß // Des weiland Erbaren und Wolgelarten // Dn. Jacobi // Rungii. SS; Theol// logiae Candidati [1620], VP 36, fol. G2v.**

<sup>17</sup> L. Jacobi, *Pectorale Apostoli Pauli // Vere Aureum // Das ist // Das recht-güldene // BrustBild // nach welchem der Apostel Paulus gezielet / und // da ers bekommen / immer vor der Brust und // auf dem Hertzen getragen // Nach seiner eigenen Anweisung in der I. Tim. Am 1. v. 15 betrachtet // auch bey Christ-vornehmer*

The next stop in the education of future pastors, where children of pastors and those from other families met, was the village school, the German or Latin town school, and then the high school (called gymnasium). These were established in the second half of the 1520s in numerous cities of the Holy Roman Empire and modelled on the templates devised by Philip Melancthon and Johannes Bugenhagen.<sup>18</sup> Their standards varied, however. Some enabled their students to obtain baccalaureate, while the graduates of others were effectively unprepared for further study and needed help to be able to attend Latin lectures.<sup>19</sup> Since most pastors in Pomerania came from the area, it is worth examining the education system of the Pomeranian duchies in greater detail.

The normative foundations of the post-Reformation education system in Pomerania were the church orders by Bugenhagen (1535) and Jacob Runge (1563). Apart from German schools (“dudeschen schriffscholen”) and “trivial schools” (“triviala schole”, from the Trivium, or grammar, rhetoric, and logic), which were to operate in every town, Runge expected that municipal high schools (“particularia”) would open in major centres.<sup>20</sup> Runge’s design also specified the order and contents of instruction in the German schools. The key objective would be for pupils to memorise Martin Luther’s “Small Catechism” and “Haustafel”, as well as basic prayers. Further education was to take place over four or five years. Over this time, pupils would be expected to master Latin, the rudiments of Greek and – if possible – Hebrew, read the classics, and learn church songs.

In this case, do these normative statements provide enough grounds to form conclusions about the state of education of Pomeranian pastors? Did a Pomeranian birthplace of itself – with no need for university education – ensure that a candidate knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew? Although there are accounts praising specific schools,<sup>21</sup> there is reason to distrust the quality of education on offer. *Pietas* and

*Sepultur, // Des weiland // Edlen / Wol-Ehrenvesten / Groß-Achtbaren // Wolweisen und Wolgelahrten // Hn. Bartholomaeus // Schütten* [1611], VP 43.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the classic study by F. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1911<sup>3</sup>), pp. 276–277.

<sup>19</sup> Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft*, p. 46; on the situation in the eighteenth century: A. La Vopa, *Grace, Talent and Merit. Poor students, clerical careers, and professional ideology in eighteenth-century Germany* (Cambridge and New York, 1988), p. 65.

<sup>20</sup> On the opposition “Partikularschulen” – “Landeschulen” cf. Paulsen, *Geschichte*, pp. 326–327.

<sup>21</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 1593, Johann Rhote to the Duke [1610].

*sapientia* were supra-confessional goals of schooling, while in practice the teaching, religious instruction aside, focused on committing Latin to memory.<sup>22</sup> Numerous sources attest that the condition of schools, village and town ones alike, left much to be desired.<sup>23</sup> In the early eighteenth century, the responsibility for this condition was laid at the door of inept schoolmasters, as well as parents and pastors who failed to exercise appropriate oversight of schools. The list of contributing factors also included the poor remuneration of schoolmasters in the countryside: their pay was too low, children attended school only in the summer, and the schoolmaster was often refused the free accommodation or other liberties promised in the church order.<sup>24</sup>

While these diagnoses are certainly correct, the matter of lazy schoolmasters and ignorant parents requires some explanation. Undoubtedly, the fears expressed by Bugenhagen in his *Church order* partly came to pass: the poor remuneration of schoolmasters triggered negative selection and the posts were taken by persons of lesser abilities and education, who had failed to reach higher stages of their careers.

<sup>22</sup> H. Lehmann, *Geschichte des Gymnasiums zu Greifswald* (Greifswald, 1861), p. 25; E. H. Zober, *Urkundliche Geschichte des Stralsunder Gymnasiums von seiner Stiftung 1560 bis 1860*, vol. 1 (Stralsund, 1842), p. 10, vol. 2, pp. 7–10; D. Łukasiewicz, “Pruska szkoła na Pomorzu Zachodnim w XVII–XVIII w. Podstawy materialne. Programy nauczania. Nauczyciele,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 87, no. 1 (1996), pp. 1–31, here pp. 1–4; Paulsen, *Geschichte*, pp. 202–203, 205; S. Kot, *Szkolnictwo parafialne w Małopolsce XVI–XVII w.* (Lwów, 1912), pp. 56, 65.

<sup>23</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 4948, the Bürgermeister and town council of Korlin to the superintendent, 12 Nov. 1669 (“in der Schulen [ist – M. P.] nicht ein Ein-[z]iger Knabe der fertig declinieren oder Conjugieren kann, und gar wenigk die da recht buchstabieren, geschweigen fertig lesen können”); APSz Kons. Szcz. 2175, Georg Coldiz, Nowe Warpno (Neuwarp) 16 May 1617; cf. the letter of the head of the Stralsund Gymnasium to the town council, Stralsund 21 July 1560, in: Zober, *Urkundliche Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 32–34; Kot, *Szkolnictwo*, pp. 9–10.

<sup>24</sup> P. Michaelis, *Pastor dioecesis suam dirigens* (Rostock and Parchim, 1721), p. 208. Complaints about poor attendance especially in the summer in: APSz Kons. Szcz. 4948, Immanuel Willich to the superintendent, Korlin 7 Sept. 1669 (“sie selten in die Schule kommen, insonderheit des Sommers gänse, schweine, pferde, oxen, hüten, beij die bauer sich vermiethen, oder den Eltern selber helfen mußen”); almost literally also in: APSz Kons. Szcz. 5222, von Devitz, [1649]. The poor condition / status of the teaching profession transcends historical periods and cultures, cf. A. Karbowski, *Dzieje wychowania i szkół w Polsce*, vol. 3 (Lwów, Warszawa, and Kraków, 1923), p. 246; Z. Ruta, *Szkoły tarnowskie w XV–XVIII w.* (Wrocław, 1968), pp. 71–72; S. Tworek, *Działalność oświatowo kulturalna kalwinizmu małopolskiego* (Lublin, 1970), pp. 52–53.

Analysing the schoolmasters of Szczecin (Stettin) schools, H. Waterstraat found that those who applied for the post were frequently persons of advanced age who emphasised their disabilities, swollen extremities or other ailments.<sup>25</sup> It should also be noted that, since the times of Luther, the position of a schoolmaster was viewed as preparation for that of a pastor.<sup>26</sup> The period which was intended as the time of preparation became one of waiting. There is much evidence, both in the funeral sermons and in letters, that this time was perceived as one of tedious and futile work. Future pastors are often described as working “in Schulschweiß” or “in pulvere scholastico”.<sup>27</sup>

The condition of the pre-university school system outlined above, the poor remuneration of schoolmasters, the practical unavailability of benefits promised in the church orders, the provisional quality of the profession, and finally the unwillingness of future pastors to waste the knowledge obtained at universities on teaching other people’s children – all these give a new meaning to the references in funeral sermons to the educational work of private preceptors. Given the inefficiency of the schooling system, access to other forms of education became an important factor facilitating, and sometimes enabling, the choice of the clerical career in the future.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> H. Waterstraat, “Geschichte des Elementarschulwesens in Stettin,” *Baltische Studien* [hereafter: BS] 44, 1894, pp. 247–340, here p. 264; cf. Łukasiewicz, “Pruska szkoła,” pp. 24–25.

<sup>26</sup> Paulsen, *Geschichte*, pp. 334–335; H. Hettwer, *Herkunft und Zusammenhang der Schulordnung* (Mainz, 1960), p. 27; Łukasiewicz, “Pruska szkoła,” p. 26; Kot, *Szkolnictwo*, pp. 15–16, 112.

<sup>27</sup> J. Michaelis, *Rector // Universitatis Gryphis waldensis // Johannes Michaelis, // SS. Th. D. ejusdem & Eloqu Prof. P. // Ad honorem Exequialem // Venerabili Seni // Reverendo & Doctissimo // Dn. Johanni // Meurero, // Ecclesiae Weitenhagensis & Wikensis Pastori // emerio, p.m.* [1659], VP 87 and 112, fol. 222r; D. Kandsdorf, *Trauerund Trost-Predigt // Auß 11. Timoth I, 12, 13, 14. // Bey Christ-rühmlicher Beerdigung // Des // Wol-Ehrwürdigen / Groß-Achtbahren // und Wolgelahrten // Herrn Heinrici // Reinccii, // Getreuten / und wolverdienten // Pastoris an Petri und Pauli Kirchen // und des Königlichen Hospitals // Inspectors* [1683], VP 93, p. 13; APSz Kons. Szcz. 5222, P. Werth to the Consistory, Daber n.d.; APSz Kons. Szcz. 5447, M. Völsche to the superintendent, Daberkow 15 Oct. 1597; APSz Kons. Szcz. 2361, headmaster, Pyrzyce (Pyritz) 6 Dec. 1638.

<sup>28</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 4948, I. Willich to the superintendent, Korlin 7 Sept. 1669; also the remark in: *ibidem*, superintendent, Stargard 13 Sept. 1669. The request to abolish the “Klippschulen” also in the letter of the headmaster of the Stralsund Gymnasium to the town hall, Stralsund 21 July 1560, in: Zober, *Urkundliche Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 32; on private schools coexisting with parish schools see



The next step in the education path of pastors was university. The history of the Pomeranian alma mater – the university in Greifswald, founded in the fifteenth century and one of several smaller German institutions of higher education<sup>29</sup> – fits in well with the pattern of development of early modern universities.<sup>30</sup> After the university had closed in the early years of the Reformation, Bugenhagen strove in the mid-1530s to reopen it so that it could educate future officials.<sup>31</sup> This came to pass as late as in 1539, when 88 new students were matriculated. After the reopening, all professors of theology were obliged to accept the Augsburg Confession.<sup>32</sup> In his *order*, Bugenhagen also noted the need to open a *paedagogium*, pointing to the Marburg and Rostock schools as models.<sup>33</sup> A *paedagogium* was established in Stettin in 1542, and ultimately opened in 1644/1545.<sup>34</sup> The rulers of Pomerania saw both schools as the places of formation for future officials of Church and the state.<sup>35</sup>

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Kot, *Szkolnictwo*, p. 28; this coexistence continued into the eighteenth century, as outlined by S. Litak, “Szkoły parafialne w Polsce XVIII w. przed powstaniem Komisji Edukacji Narodowej,” *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 25, no. 2 (1977), pp. 137–161, here p. 149–150.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Seifert, “Das höhere Schulwesen,” p. 199; H. Heyden, “Die Gründung der Universität in Greifswald 1456,” *BS* 44 (1957), pp. 11–17; R. Schmidt, “Die Anfänge der Universität Greifswald,” in: *Festschrift zur 500-Jahrfeier der Universität Greifswald*, vol. 1 (Greifswald, 1956), pp. 9–52.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. J. G. L. Kosegarten, *Geschichte der Universität Greifswald* (Greifswald, 1856); W. E. J. Weber, *Geschichte der europäischen Universität* (Stuttgart, 2002); N. Hammerstein, *Bildung und Wissenschaft vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (München, 2003).

<sup>31</sup> “Kerken-ordeninge des ganzen Pomerlandes dorch de hochgebaren forsten und heren, heren Barnym unde Philips, beyde gevedderen, up dem landdage tu Trep-tow, to eeren dem hilligen evangelio bestaten. Dorch Doc. Joannem Bugenhagen,” 1535, in: *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, ed. E. Sehling, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1911) [hereafter: Sehling], pp. 328–344, here p. 333b.

<sup>32</sup> H. Heyden, “Greifswald, Universität,” in: *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*<sup>3</sup>, vol. 2 (Tübingen, 1958), pp. 1850–1853, here p. 1853.

<sup>33</sup> “Kerken-ordeninge” (1535), pp. 333b–334a.

<sup>34</sup> K. F. W. Hasselbach, *Der Geschichte des ehemaligen hiesigen Pädagogium nachherigen K. Gymnasium* (Stettin, 1844); S. Schwann, “Wstęp,” [Introduction] in: *Descriptio Paedagogii Stetinensis 1573. Opis Paedagogium Książęcego w Szczecinie*, ed. S. Schwann (Szczecin, 1966), pp. VII–LIII; M. Kunert, “Studenci Paedagogium Książęcego w Szczecinie w XVI w. Warunki mieszkaniowe, obyczaje, życie towarzyskie,” *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 2 (2002), pp. 7–38.

<sup>35</sup> See for instance the phrasing in: “Die Jasenitzsche Erb-Vereinigung” [1569], in: J. C. Dähnert, *Sammlung gemeiner und besonderer Pommerscher und Rügischer*

For Pomeranian pastors, education at their local university was not an obvious choice for a long time, and it was quite late that it became an obligation. That it became obligatory at all was also related to the fact that, starting from 1558, the superintendent and other Greifswald pastors held the chair of professor of theology.<sup>36</sup> A year's or two years' study at the university in Greifswald and a certificate from the faculty of theology were legislated as obligatory only by the Swedish rulers of Pomerania in 1652 and 1663, however.<sup>37</sup> This motivates the question about the places and institutions where pastors were educated when the Pomeranian duchies still existed.

A statistical analysis of the attendance of Pomeranian pastors at German universities should provide answers for two kinds of questions: those concerning Church as an institution whose structures provided employment to pastors, and those concerning the pastors themselves. To begin from the latter group, an analysis of the mobility of pastors in the period preceding taking up office is an attempt to answer the question about the kind of preparation for ministry they received, the impact of experiences from the time of study on their later career, and the attitude of future pastors to ministry. The cost they were prepared to pay to become ordained indicates the high prestige of ministry and the hopes attached to it. The former group of questions concerns the existence of stable recruitment mechanisms in the Pomeranian Church, its "openness", and readiness to exchange officials and ideas with Churches in other territories. This is closely interconnected with the deficit or overproduction of theologians. The states of the Holy Roman Empire can essentially be divided into two groups: those that had a university and those that did not. Those that did proceeded to overproduce theologians and saturate the early modern job market. At the level of individual biographies, this was evident in the extension of the period between studying and taking

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*Landesurkunden, Gesetze, Privilegien, Verträge, Constitutionen und Nachrichten zur Kenntnis der alten und neueren Landes-Theils*, vol. 1 (Stralsund, 1765) [hereafter: Dähnert], no. 8, pp. 267–320, here p. 301.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. "Visitationsrezess Greifswald 1558", copy in the bequest of H. Heyden in Kirchenarchiv Greifswald, unsigned/no shelfmark.

<sup>37</sup> A. von Balthasar, *Jus ecclesiasticum pastorale*, vol. 1 (Rostock and Greifswald, 1760), pp. 88–89; cf. StAG rep 5 no. 6653 copy of "Instruction" (1650) by Queen Christina which restricted access to ministry to those who spent a year or two years at a Lutheran university or had a certificate issued by a Faculty of Theology of such universities.

up office. These states were potential “exporters of clergy” and their Churches quite quickly became relatively closed: newcomers were required to study or at least pass examinations at a local university. The states that did not have their own university had to cope with a deficit of ministers, which forced them to “import” pastors or fund studies of their own candidates at other universities.<sup>38</sup> The quality of the stay at university was also impacted: future pastors from the states which had a university spent more time studying, had better access to funding opportunities, and – one must assume – studied more thoroughly. In contrast, pastors from the states without universities sought to complete the required education as quickly as possible, within a year or two.<sup>39</sup>

An analysis of the entire group of Pomeranian pastors, employed in the Church of the Pomeranian Duchies between 1550 and 1618,<sup>40</sup> indicates primarily an increase in the number of known matriculations (around 2–8 matriculations of future pastors in the 1530s, 9–15 in the 1580s, and 29 in 1591).<sup>41</sup> It also shows a slight advantage of the Greifswald university (30.61%) over other centres (with Wittenberg the second most frequent choice at 22.96%, Frankfurt/O. at 19.60%, and Rostock at 16.88%).

In the analysed group, 75.89% are the matriculations of pastors born in the Pomeranian Duchies, while other pastors comprise as little as 16.04% of the group.<sup>42</sup> This does not mean, however, that pastors born elsewhere received a worse education, or that the Pomeranian Church was a sort of a “dead end” for those unable to achieve progress in their careers elsewhere. Instead, the profile of the analysed group indicates that non-Pomeranian pastors were not so much less educated as less represented. Among 2187 analysed pastors, the birthplace

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<sup>38</sup> Vogler, *Le clergé protestant*, p. 45.

<sup>39</sup> Vogler, *Le clergé protestant*, p. 50.

<sup>40</sup> Out of 2187 persons employed at the time as pastors in the Pomeranian Duchies, 691 could be identified as having university education, and for 642, the specific university could also be identified. The number of university visits reaches a total of 954 due to multiple matriculations.

<sup>41</sup> The term “matriculation” may be somewhat confusing, since it also includes university stays not confirmed in registers but known from other sources. It is used here to underscore the fact that these are not cases of single persons.

<sup>42</sup> A small proportion are matriculations of persons who are known to have studied but whose birthplace could not be established. These are mostly pastors who held a Master’s degree or whose university matriculation had too little information to enable them to be identified.

could be established only for about 39% (862).<sup>43</sup> Of those whose birthplace is known, over 83% (720) came from Pomerania. In fact, it seems appropriate to conclude that the standard of education of non-Pomeranian pastors was actually a little higher. It is very likely that, among the 60% of pastors whose birthplace remains unknown, there are some born outside Pomerania. They received university education but cannot be identified in university records due to the recurrence of names and the lack of information concerning birthplace that would enable unambiguous identification.

A small difference in the number of universities visited can be noted between pastors from the Stettin part (39.52% of matriculations) and the Wolgast part (35.12%) of the Duchies. There are claims in the literature that the level of education in the Stettin part was slightly higher,<sup>44</sup> which appears somewhat surprising, however, given that the nearest university was located in Greifswald, and so in the Wolgast part. Therefore, the profile of the analysed group needs to be re-examined: out of the 720 pastors with a known birthplace, as many as 417 (57.9%) came from the Stettin part, while 266 (36.9%) were born in the Wolgast part.<sup>45</sup> Adjusting for the composition of the group, in which Stettin pastors were overrepresented, it appears that university attendance was lower in the Stettin part. This can be accounted for with reference to the greater distance to the Greifswald university and a stronger impact of the Stettin Paedagogium as well as the Gdańsk Academic Gymnasium. The Stettin school was extremely important to the education of pastors from this part of the Pomeranian duchies, but the significance of the “learned school” – though exceeding that of ordinary high school (gymnasium) – was not equal to that of a university.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> This is a low proportion in comparison to studies of pastors in other German duchies. B. Vogler claims that for areas in the Rhein valley, identification could be made for some 60-80%, B. Vogler, “Rekrutierung, Ausbildung und soziale Verflechtung: Karrieremuster evangelischer Geistlichkeit,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 85 (1994), pp. 225–233, here p. 227; more detailed information in: Vogler, *Le clergé protestant*, p. 25.

<sup>44</sup> *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 2, ed. G. Labuda, pt. 1, ed. M. Biskup, M. Bogucka, A. Mączak, B. Wachowiak (Poznań, 1976), p. 1018; S. Wesołowska, “Szkolnictwo wyższe i średnie w Księstwie Pomorskim po 1535 roku,” *Nasze Pomorze* 4 (2002), pp. 149–174, here p. 174.

<sup>45</sup> This could not be established in 37 cases.

<sup>46</sup> M. Wehrmann, “Zur Geschichte des Stettiner Pädagogiums,” *Monatsblätter* [Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Alterthumskunde] 5 (1891), pp. 71–75, 82–87, 101–106, 121–124, 152–156, 180–183, here p. 103.

The distribution of matriculations immediately confirms the claim concerning the division between the northern and southern states of the German Empire in the Early Modern period, with only single matriculations at Heidelberg (0.1%), Strasburg (0.1%), Erfurt (0.1%), or Jena (1.47%).<sup>47</sup> One reason was the language difference: the knowledge of Latin was no guarantee of unlimited access to learning. Distance and the cost of travel were additional important factors. It is therefore worth examining the four most frequently attended universities, in Greifswald, Wittenberg, Frankfurt on the Oder, and Rostock, since these four centres shaped Pomeranian clergy.

The comparison of enrolments at the four most frequently attended universities confirms the hypothesis, consistent with the theory of confessionalisation, that the local university was the most frequent choice in the education of second- and third-generation pastors (Table 1).<sup>48</sup> However, it is also clear that the number of matriculations at Greifswald decreased in comparison to other universities, so that at the end of the analysed period it was almost equal to the number of matriculations at Frankfurt on the Oder and at Wittenberg. The peaking of matriculations in the 1590s is related to a new period of growth experienced by Wittenberg and to Rostock's favourable economic situation at the time.<sup>49</sup> The importance of Greifswald diminished, not only in relation to other universities, but also in absolute terms.<sup>50</sup> This contradicts the rather ungrounded claim by one of the most eminent historians of the Pomeranian Church, Hellmuth Heyden, that Pomeranian pastors were "initially" reluctant to embrace their local university, preferring to study at Helmstedt, Königsberg, Frankfurt, or Wittenberg, and that Greifswald gained respect and recognition

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<sup>47</sup> Vogler, *Le clergé protestant*, pp. 42–43.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, pp. 152–153.

<sup>49</sup> A. Gößner, *Die Studenten an der Universität Wittenberg: Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des studentischen Alltags und zum Stipendienwesen in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 2003), p. 24 (few matriculations were recorded in 1591 at Wittenberg, but the years 1593 and 1596 saw a better rate of enrolments, before another drop in 1597–1598).

<sup>50</sup> The crisis of the Greifswald university, in particular of its Faculty of Theology, is well evidenced in the correspondence related to the appointment of the successor to the deceased Matthäus Wolf, StAG rep 5 no. 6590, especially the letter of the rector, the dean, professors, Bürgermeisters, and the councils to the Duke, Greifswald 18 Jan. 1605.

only at the end of the century.<sup>51</sup> The analysis above shows that exactly the contrary was the case.

It is not easy to account for the dynamics of this change. Possible factors can include the history of the universities, local policies of the authorities of the Pomeranian Church, or the preferences of students. Outbreaks of the plague<sup>52</sup> and deaths of professors<sup>53</sup> were certainly among factors impeding the influx of new students. Other watersheds include historical developments relevant to the faculties of theology: in the 1570s, when the heated “crypto-Calvinist controversy” broke out, the number of all matriculations at Wittenberg dropped substantially.<sup>54</sup> There certainly is no single cause that could account for the dynamics of university stays by Pomeranian pastors.

To study the existence of a model of education that prepared a candidate to ministry in Pomerania, Pomeranian matriculations must first be separated from matriculations of pastors born elsewhere. What must then be established is whether milieux with specific behaviours can be discerned in the group of Pomeranian pastors. The substantial share of Rostock matriculations in the list of universities visited by pastors born outside Pomerania (Table 1) should not be surprising, since clergymen from Meklemburg were a large group among Pomeranian pastors. This also means, however, that – despite the small distance – the Rostock university did not play a major role in the education of those pastors who came from Pomerania.

<sup>51</sup> Heyden, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2, p. 73. It also appears that the historian was swayed by the suggestive picture painted by narrative sources, for instance J. Runge, “Bedenken von Gebrechen in den Kirchen und Schulen in Pommern, 1556,” ed. O. Uckelej, *Pommersches Jahrbuch* 10 (1909), pp. 24–73, here p. 60; J. H. Balthasar, *Sammlung einiger zur Pommerschen Kirchenhistorie gehörigen Schriften. Welche zur Erläuterung und Vermehrung der gedruckten Pommerischen Chronicken, mit möglichen Fleiß und Treue nebst beigefügten Anmerckungen*, vol. 1 (Greifswald, 1723), p. 143.

<sup>52</sup> Wittenberg in 1552 and 1566, Rostock in 1565, Pomerania in 1549–1550, 1577, 1598.

<sup>53</sup> The history of the Wittenberg University is marked by the deaths of M. Luther († 1546), J. Bugenhagen († 1558), F. Melanchthon († 1560), Paul Eber († 1569), and Georg Major († 1574). Deaths at the Greifswald university are those of the first superintendent general Johannes Knipstro (professor since 1539, † 1556), Jacob Runge († 1595) and Matthäus Wolf († 1597). In Rostock – those of Simon Pauli († 1591), David Chytraeus († 1600), Lucas Bacmeister the Elder († 1610, active until 1608). In Frankfurt – Andreas Musculus († 1591).

<sup>54</sup> Gößner, *Die Studenten*, pp. 24, 27; Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, p. 166.

A key insight yielded by the analysis of the matriculations of the group of pastors comprising only those who came from Pomerania (Table 1) is that, despite certain similarities (such as the obvious fluctuations in the popularity of Wittenberg), the two parts of the Pomeranian Duchies had distinct structures of education. The Wolgast part was clearly dominated by Greifswald, with enrolments (attendance) at that university at a steady level, fairly independent of the situation at other universities.

This can be the result of the speedy formation of a pattern of the clerical career in this part of Pomerania, as well as of an extensive standardisation of education. In the Stettin part, dominated by the Frankfurt university with a high share of enrolments at Wittenberg, no such pattern can be discerned. University attendance fluctuates, especially in the 1570s, the decade of the “crypto-Calvinist controversy”. This can indicate that, in the Stettin Duchy, professionalisation was still losing out against confessionalisation, while in the Wolgast Duchy the former was already in synergy with the latter. At the level of the individual Pomeranian Duchies, the relation between visits at Greifswald and Wittenberg, clearly evident for the entire cohort, is not as obvious. The Pomeranian university took over some students who were headed to Wittenberg, but was unable to extend its influence also to the Stettin part of Pomerania. Neither Rostock nor Frankfurt, which were chiefly the destinations of educational visits for students from Farther Pomerania, were able to take the surplus students.

An analysis focused solely of the number of matriculations is always going to be marked with substantial uncertainty, leading directly to the question about persons who visited more than one university, and about those who stopped at attending only one; in other words, about the differentiation of the analysed group into “the elite” and “ordinary pastors”.

Very few clergymen had the need for or could afford a *peregrinatio academica*: 65% of the pastors analysed studied at only one university, while 90% studied at one or two. Can one speak of a small elite that monopolised access to office by controlling access to education? In other words, had education become a marker of the elite? This question cannot be answered without an examination of the relation between the number of universities visited and the course of the future career.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> This is discussed in: M. Ptasiński, *Narodziny zawodu. Duchowni luterkańscy i proces budowania konfesji w Księstwach Pomorskich XVII/XVIII w.* (Warszawa, 2011), pp. 235–290.

The significance of university education differed depending on the position of a given university in the candidate's itinerary.<sup>56</sup> Undeniably, with over 60% pastors attending only one university, an analysis of first matriculations gives an insight into "ordinary" candidates for ministry, often unable to afford attending many universities. A university matriculation was intended as a means of opening access to clerical career in future and a testimony legitimating their orthodoxy.<sup>57</sup> This "social" differentiation within the analysed group can be traced in an even closer detail by examining the matriculations of those pastors who stopped at attending one university. This also enables a closer look at the "social" characteristics of the various paths towards the clerical career.

The proportion of four universities among those which were the first to be visited by future pastors and those that were their sole academic destination (Table 2) show similarities with the general pattern of university attendance. A closer analysis of geographical differences confirms earlier findings: pastors born in the Stettin part much more frequently enrolled at Frankfurt or Wittenberg, while those from the Wolgast part – at Greifswald. For the latter group, economic matters were certainly paramount, as was the close relation between the university and the central institutions of the Church: the Consistory and the office of the superintendent. As for the pastors from the Stettin part, other mechanisms appeared much stronger. The dynamics of these processes indicates that, over the course of the sixteenth century, Viadrina more and more strongly matched the pattern of career typical for "ordinary pastors" in the Stettin Duchy. In a similar way, Greifswald came to define the education of pastors born in the Wolgast part. Wittenberg played a different role, however. Over the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, it was of marginal importance to the pastors born in the Wolgast part. For the pastors from the Stettin part, Wittenberg came to be more important in the 1560s and the 1570s; however, during the "crypto-Calvinist controversy", almost no Stettin pastors undertook the expensive journey to the Saxon university, with Viadrina the preferred destination.

To recapitulate: the mobility of Pomeranian pastors during their education, as analysed on the basis of the number of matriculations, was fairly low. Typically, they would enrol in Greifswald or Frankfurt,

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<sup>56</sup> Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft*, pp. 63–70; confirmed by the findings in Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, pp. 166–168.

<sup>57</sup> Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft*, p. 68.



with the geographical range of enrolments in the former university encompassing the Wolgast part of Pomerania, and in the latter, the Stettin part. The pattern of a clerical career started forming much earlier in the Wolgast part than in the Stettin one. The “crypto-Calvinist controversy” negatively impacted the education of pastors, with the existing structures in the Wolgast part sufficiently stable to ensure further education of pastors, though unable to “take over” students from the Stettin part. Conclusions on confessional identity in both Pomeranian Churches based on the matriculations of pastors must be made very cautiously. Firstly, future pastors need not have studied theology. Secondly, the contacts of Churches, universities, and faculties went far beyond the peregrinations of students. Faculties of theology at Rostock or Wittenberg frequently asked the opinion of Greifswald professors on problematic issues, and the reverse was also the case.<sup>58</sup> Superintendents and professors of theology exchanged correspondence and opinions also independently of the institutional connections between universities and Churches.<sup>59</sup>

On the other hand, it needs to be emphasised that historiographic findings show a divergence in the paths of the two parts of the Pomeranian Duchies as early as in the sixteenth century, long before the “partition” of the Duchies during the Thirty Years’ War. The relation of the “Hinterpommern” with Brandenburg was also much closer than one might suppose, though the conversion of the Prince-Elector to Calvinism and the change in Viadrina’s confessional profile in 1615 must have influenced the situation significantly.<sup>60</sup> After 1613, a longer stay in Berlin, “einem verdechtichen [!] Orte”, began to be viewed as suspicious as well.<sup>61</sup>

The “confessional moment” must not, however, be overestimated, both in relation to the profile of a university and to the choices of students. As noted, future pastors did not always study theology,

<sup>58</sup> For opinions of the Greifswald Faculty of Theology, see: UAG Th F 1 (“Fakultätsakten aus den Jahren 1544–1662”); on the opinion-forming function of faculties of theology, see T. Kaufmann, *Universität und lutherische Konfessionalisierung. Die Rostocker Theologieprofessoren und ihr Beitrag zur theologischen Bildung und kirchlichen Gestaltung im Herzogtum Mecklenburg zwischen 1500 und 1675* (Gütersloh, 1997; Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 66), pp. 100–111.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. p. ex. letters by J. Runge and M. Chemnitz in: Balthasar, *Sammlung*, vol. 2.

<sup>60</sup> On the reactions to the conversions of John Sigismundus, see Heyden, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2, p. 55.

<sup>61</sup> APSz Kons. Szc. 818. S. Rudolphus to the superintendent, Greifenhagen 1618.

though the fact that they were graduates of “the faculty of arts” does not mean they did not attend theology classes. Exceptions from general and statistically true trends can be pointed out. On the advice of his uncle, the son of pastor Paul Elard was sent to Vienna after his father’s death to attend a Jesuit college. There he stayed four years until 1561, when the edict of Philip, Duke of Pomerania, officially forbade Pomeranians from sending their sons to study in Vienna or Graz.<sup>62</sup> Another example is Joachim Jaschke (Jasche, Jaschius), Andrzej Wolan (Andreas Volanus)’s Vilnius tutor, who also worked in the Vilnius academy.<sup>63</sup> The motivations of students varied: Georg Friedrich Benzig, later a pastor in Halle, was reported to have claimed that he had visited Molshiem, Freiburg, and Basil, so that he could “Adversariis, Jesuitis Calvinians zu conversiren”.<sup>64</sup>

The decision to take up university studies or the course of the study was not only in the hands of future pastors, and sometimes was not in their remit at all. Due to its cost, the education of a clergyman was dependent on many forms of aid, coming from the family, Church, or secular powers, whether municipal authorities or the duke.<sup>65</sup> Boarding houses and foundations were set up at universities for theology students, and future clergymen were supported by various kinds of scholarships: some private, others established by families, others still funded by the sovereigns.<sup>66</sup> There is much evidence that this help was much needed and that putting children through university was a significant burden for the families of pastors:<sup>67</sup> sending the eldest son to university sometimes meant that his siblings had to learn a trade, and it was difficult to scrape up a dowry for daughters.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>62</sup> On Paul and Samuel Elard see Moderow-Müller I, p. 193; at more length in the unsigned bequest of H. Moderow, E. Müller or R. Berg, LAG 40 III 163/xi.

<sup>63</sup> Moderow-Müller, II, p. 189; A. Bülow, “Jasche Valerius,” in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 13 (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 728–729.

<sup>64</sup> Quoted after Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft*, p. 68.

<sup>65</sup> Pastors also recalled with gratitude the help they received in their youth: APSz Kons. Szcz. 2175, M. Lehmann to the Duke, Nowe Warpno 14 Sept. 1625.

<sup>66</sup> Vogler, “Rekrutierung,” p. 228; Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, pp. 159, 181–182; with much scepticism on scholarship and education S. C. Karant-Nunn, “Luthers Pastors. The Reformation in the Ernestin Countryside,” *American Philosophical Society* 69 (1979), pp. 13–17; Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft*, pp. 80–81.

<sup>67</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 4931, J. Küssow, n.d.

<sup>68</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 2038, letter concerning the widow of Laurentius Gerschow, who fell in debt to cover the cost of university education for her three sons-pastors.

Paradoxically, a son's long stay at university could be viewed by the congregation as a luxury.<sup>69</sup> Only rarely were the interests of daughters put ahead of those of sons. This did occasionally happen, however, as evidenced by the events in Nowe Warpno (Neuwarpo), when a pastor attempted to prevent his son from taking up ministry in order to secure the future of his daughter, who intended to marry his successor in the parish. This was found objectionable, however: the congregation protested against the attempts to introduce a foreign person to the post of the pastor and asked for the father to be deemed incapable of holding the post and placed in "early retirement".<sup>70</sup>

The expense and sacrifice on the part of the family were an investment of sorts. The hopes, noted above, that the son would follow in the footsteps of the father, often entailed the expectation that the son would help the father run the parish once the father reached advanced age. The greater the disappointment when it turned out – as in the case of pastor Zachäus Müller's son – that the investment had been too small to bring a profit: poverty forced the son to abandon his studies and join the army.<sup>71</sup>

Scholarships opened new possibilities and formed new obligations. On the one hand, sovereigns committed to accepting the recipients of scholarships to service in Church or work at a school. Completing education thus gave a relative certainty of finding employment,<sup>72</sup> and even if it was not a guarantee, it meant a good place on the "waiting list". On the other hand, accepting financial help from the sovereign was sometimes tantamount to an obligation to take up such service and remain in it for a certain period, as well as – in the event of a candidate wishing to take up another office – the need to obtain the permission of the duke or the municipal authorities.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> StAG rep 5 no. 6777, the Bürgermeister and town council to the Duke, Greifswald [1562].

<sup>70</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 2175, Nowe Warpno 1620–1623. The son took over the post from his father.

<sup>71</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 3798, Z. Müller to B. Krackevitz, Zeigenort 23 April 1630 (the father's letter is a plea for the son to be released from service and sent home).

<sup>72</sup> StAG rep 5 no. 6514, "D. Georgio Mascovi protesta[tio] in p[unct]o Superintendentiae urbanae S. pastoratus interposita 24 Decembr. oraliter, sed repetita et exhibita in Scripti per Hinricum Rosen" Greifswald, 27 Dec. 1626 (the complaint by Georg Masow that despite having received a scholarship from the duke and having spent many years at several universities, his promotion to the position of a superintendent was being impeded).

<sup>73</sup> Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft*, pp. 210, 218; Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, p. 182.

In the second *Church order*, Jacob Runge recommended that as many scholarships be established in each town as possible; the scholarships were to be funded from the assets of guilds and the town's most eminent families.<sup>74</sup> The recipients of scholarships were to be selected by the patrons (“*ius denominandi et praesentandi*”<sup>75</sup>), but examined and approved by the superintendent. He was obliged to remain impartial in his judgment and ensure that the aid was not given to “*jungen klenen [!] knaben in trivial schulen*”, but to true students regardless of their social background. Runge also ordered that agreements between families whereby they awarded scholarships to one another be nullified. The scholarships would be worth a minimum of 12–20 guilders. To obtain this amount, benefices would have to be combined and assigned to the patrons of *ius praesentandi* on an alternating basis.<sup>76</sup> This was not a substantial sum when compared to the earnings of pastors, who earned a minimum of 30–40 guilders as early as in the 1530s.<sup>77</sup> It is worth pointing out that the salary of a Stettin clergyman, totalling 25 guilders, was deemed unacceptably low as early as in 1535, and a pay rise was ordered.<sup>78</sup> It should also be noted that a clergyman's salary was only one part of his real income. On the other hand, its point was to support the clergyman's family, affording a decent standard of living, whereas a student was expected to live abstemiously and on his own.

In accordance with the second church order, recipients of scholarships were to spend the first years of studies at the Greifswald university, and take an examination every six months. They were also obliged to make an oath that bound them to accept a post in the Pomeranian Church if appointed. Taking up ministry in the course of the studies, or abandoning study altogether, meant an automatic loss of the scholarship.<sup>79</sup> An eighteenth-century commentator on the

<sup>74</sup> Cf. “*Kerkenordeninge im lande to Pamern [!]*” [1569], in: Sehling, pp. 376–419, here p. 409a.

<sup>75</sup> As above, p. 410b.

<sup>76</sup> As above.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Heyden, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2, p. 37; many examples in: *Protokolle der pommerschen Kirschenvisitationen 1535–1555*, ed. H. Hellmuth, vols. 1–2 (Köln and Graz, 1961).

<sup>78</sup> *Protokolle*, vol. 1, p. 38; instructions to raise remunerations recur fairly frequently – pp. 77, 122 ff.

<sup>79</sup> “*Kerkenordeninge*” (1569), p. 405b; repeated on p. 410b.

order notes, however, that few such church scholarships were funded owing to the poor financial condition of the Church.<sup>80</sup>

Semi-private scholarships were funded by dukes,<sup>81</sup> as well as nobles and rich burgesses in their bequests. No complete register exists of pastors who at some time were in receipt of a scholarship, but many individual testimonies survive and appear to indicate that this institution indeed worked and served to supply the ranks of the Pomeranian Church.<sup>82</sup>

The system of support for theology students was intended as a way of creating career opportunities for poor but gifted students, and so a means of forming a professional elite and promoting talent. Runge's words in the *Church order*, specifically the critical remark on scholarships allocated on the basis of birth rather than talent, can be interpreted as implying a contrast between the new and the old system, based on a specific notion of rationality. The new system would therefore promote persons of talent and expertise and constitute a break with the old elite; in other words, Reformation would be a move away from a birth-based system to one based on merit. This is mere appearance, however. In practice, firstly, Runge usurped privilege for a new elite, to be formed by among others by children of pastors. Secondly, as a superintendent, he promoted his own interests, or – at best – the interests of the narrowly defined Church, in the church order. The charges – that he attempted to build a coterie and promoted his own family and friends under the guise of promoting talent and learning – levelled at him in the dispute with the Pomeranian cities at the end of his life were not made without cause.<sup>83</sup> It thus appears that the rhetoric that permeates the second church order, as well as many other programmatic texts of the times of Reformation and confessionalisation, simply disguises the desire to snatch power from the hands of the old elite. The words “learned”

<sup>80</sup> Balthasar, *Jus*, vol. 1, p. 847.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. “Herzog Ernst Ludwigs Testament” [30 Dec. 1592], in: Dähnert, I, pp. 325–333, here p. 327.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Balthasar, *Jus*, vol. 1, pp. 799–800; K. Gesterding, *Stiftungen, Stipendien und Beneficien für Studierende an der Universität Greifswald* (Greifswald, 1894); R.S. Schultze, *Geschichte der Stiftungen städtischen Patronates zu Greifswald* (Greifswald, 1899). These works constitute only lists (enumerations) of foundations and stipends, not infrequently accompanied by precise figures, yet without any list of beneficiaries.

<sup>83</sup> StAG rep 5 no. 6520, vol. 2, complaint against J. Runge files by cities, 8 March 1591, p. 18.

or “talented”, as implied in the complaint of the town against the actions of Runge, were instrumentally deployed for that purpose.

What was the impact of the scholarship system? Contemporary commentators, linking the meagreness of the aid with the humiliation and hostility directed at the holders of ministry, often pointed to another aspect of the support system. Those who received aid were neither rich enough to study medicine, nor bright enough to take up law, in other words, they were individuals of average aptitude.<sup>84</sup> However, putting asides the complaints about too low remuneration, it is clear that the system supported, first and foremost... men,<sup>85</sup> sons of pastors,<sup>86</sup> and Pomeranians. The scholarship system thus compounded the endogamy of the clerical estate, especially since in many cities scholarship recipients were preferred for appointments to the position of a pastor.<sup>87</sup>

Little is known about the course and intensity of university studies in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Evaluating the education of Saxon pastors of the first generation, educated before the Reformation began, S. Karant-Nunn noted that a university which accepted candidates aged 14 or 15, and where they spent about 12–18 months, often with no academic degree, could hardly have made a strong mark on the students.<sup>88</sup> Very few were exposed to the impact of humanism of the ideas of Philip Melanchthon. Early visitations of parishes – a shock to the first visiting inspectors and a bottomless source of anecdotes for historians – were reported to have provided evidence for the poor education of pastors.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>84</sup> D. Kansdorf, *Boni Idea Episcopi, // Das Master / und Fürbild eines rechtschaffenen // Bischoffs / Aus dem LXXI Psalm / und dessen 17. 18. Versen / // Als // Der Hoch-Ehrwürdige / Wol-Edle /// und Hochgelahrte // Herr // Joachimus // Fabricius // Der Heil. Schrift hochberühmter Doctor, // Vornembster Professor des Gymnasii, und Pastor // der Stiffis-Kirchen / auch wolverdienter Vice-General // Superintendent des Herzogthumbs Vor Pommern / und Fürstenthumbs Rügen* [1679], VP 11 and 75, fol. 486v–487r.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. J. Wahl, “Kulturelle Distanz und alltägliches Handeln. Ökonomie und Predigt im Spannungsfeld von Pfarrfamilie und Laien,” in: *Ländliche Frömmigkeit. Konfessionskulturen und Lebenswelten 1500–1850*, ed. N. Haag, S. Holtz, W. Zimmermann (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 43–58, here p. 45, fn. 7.

<sup>86</sup> Especially since the offspring of Pomeranian pastors were exempt from the matriculation fee in Greifswald.

<sup>87</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 2699, city council, Stargard 3 Aug. 1631.

<sup>88</sup> Karant-Nunn, “Luthers Pastors,” pp. 13–17.

<sup>89</sup> One of the most frequently quoted stories is Melanchthon’s narrative about the Ten Commandments: when he asked a pastor whether he diligently presented

The situation changed fairly quickly in the first half of the sixteenth century when, after humanist gymnasiums had been established, individuals who enrolled at universities were several years older and knew Latin, as well as – frequently – the entire trivium. The biographies of clergymen analysed by L. Schorn-Schütte indicate that in the mid-sixteenth century in Hessen-Kassel and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, they began studies at around the age of 20–21.<sup>90</sup> In the Pomeranian Church, in the second half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century, over 74% future pastors matriculated for the first time between the ages of 16 and 21.

It is difficult to precisely establish the duration and the intensity of studies, since the dates of matriculation are available but not those of disenrollment. Nonetheless, L. Schorn-Schütte believes the period of study was not overly long for most pastors. She has been able to establish the duration of university studies for 43 clergymen in the principality of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel between 1630 and 1640: 72% of the clergymen studied at Helmstedt, the average period of study was 4 years, while education in a Latin school or a gymnasium took 7 years; the average student of theology matriculated at the age of 20, and left university aged 24.<sup>91</sup> Thoroughly educated superintendents were an exception, with an average university stay of 5.3 years.<sup>92</sup>

It is difficult to obtain such precise estimates for the sixteenth century, with only single cases to draw conclusions from.<sup>93</sup> Little light is shed on the matter by the master's degrees obtained by pastors,<sup>94</sup> primarily due to the fact that relatively few students cared to obtain it. Among the 36 Pomeranian pastors whose dates of birth and the year of obtaining a master's degree could be established, almost 70% obtained it between the ages of 21 and 28. There is no clear pattern in the period of time between the first matriculation and obtaining a master's degree. It is worth noting, however, that out of 108 clergymen

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his listeners with the Decalogue, the pastor replied in earnest that he did not have such a book and did not know any author called "Decalogue"; Balthasar, *Jus*, vol. 1, p. 353, fn. 329, Karant-Nunn, "Luthers Pastors," pp. 17–19.

<sup>90</sup> Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, pp. 515 (tables).

<sup>91</sup> Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, p. 177.

<sup>92</sup> Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, pp. 173 (Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel), 190 (Hessen-Kassel).

<sup>93</sup> P. ex. APSz Kons. Szcz. 4470 (Joachim von Wedel bequeathed four-to-five-year-long scholarships to four theology students, 1613).

<sup>94</sup> The doctoral degree is even less helpful in this matter. A dominant tendency was not established in either of the cases.

for whom sufficient data exist, over 60% took up their first position as a pastor between the ages of 25 and 36, and almost 50% did so aged between 26 and 33.

Did students spend all that time at university, however? There are many contemporary accounts that cast doubt on the effectiveness of university studies in the early modern period. There are records of recommendations that students attend classes at least once a week.<sup>95</sup> The student life was full of temptations, and the university immunity guaranteed much freedom, if not complete impunity. A witness in a trial of a group of Greifswald students in May 1605 quoted the words of a woman woken by night racket: “eß weren doch Student[en], die rieff[en] gemeinlich alle nacht also”.<sup>96</sup> Perhaps future pastors steered clear of these temptations: it is not easy to find them among those students convicted or accused of vice. Perhaps a negative selection of sorts took place: students caught and convicted of committing misdemeanours had little chance of being promoted. There are, however, cases of pastors’ children who broke the rules. Friedrich Reutz, son of David Reutz, the Stettin superintendent and the court preacher and so a member of the highest church elites, was dis-enrolled for three years for bullying younger students.<sup>97</sup>

Students were frequently forced to pause their studies and earn a living as preceptors, famuli, tutors, or assistants to professors.<sup>98</sup> This slowed their education, and a long period of studying may well be an indication that learning was suspended for a time than a sign of a particular passion for knowledge.<sup>99</sup>

Some information on the education of pastors could be gleaned from the records of the examination before taking up office. In accordance with Runge’s project, the candidates were expected to answer questions devised by Johannes Knipstro and Runge himself on the

<sup>95</sup> Kosegarten, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 212.

<sup>96</sup> StAG Rep Nr 7210, vol. 2, pt. 1; cf. “Liber decantaus,” in: *Ältere Universitäts-Matrikeln (1456–1645)*, ed. E. Friedländer (Greifswald, 1893), vol. 1, p. 396; StAG Rep Nr 7211, fol. 8; Kosegarten, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 224–225; W. Buchholtz, “Frühmoderne Staatsbildung, Reformation und Fürstenschule. Das Pädagogium in Stettin und seine Studenten im 16. Jahrhundert,” in: *Kindheit und Jugend in der Neuzeit 1500–1900. Interdisziplinäre Annäherungen an die Instanzen sozialer und mentaler Prägung in der Agrargesellschaft und während der Industrialisierung* (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 50–51.

<sup>97</sup> *Ältere Universitäts-Matrikeln*, vol. 1, pp. 542, 613.

<sup>98</sup> Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft*, pp. 30, 32.

<sup>99</sup> As above, p. 33.



basis of Melanchthon's *Loci communes theologici*, the catechism, and the Bible.<sup>100</sup> Several days ahead of the examination, the candidates would also be instructed by a pastor on how to celebrate sacraments, conduct confession, visit the sick, and perform other duties related to the clerical office.<sup>101</sup> This leads to the obvious conclusion that university education was not necessary to pass such an examination. There are, unfortunately, no sources that document the contents of such examinations, and neither the questions of examiners or the answers of those interviewed have been recorded. The findings of L. Schorn-Schütte indicate that the procedure may have been fairly formal and limited to the memorisation of specific answers to questions known in advance. Or, as suggested by E. Riegg,<sup>102</sup> did the required skills and knowledge have to be acquired outside university? Partly, this must have been the case as far as preaching experience was concerned. On the other hand, studying at university – paradoxically – provided an opportunity to act as locum for professors-pastors and so gain this experience.<sup>103</sup>

Runge's *Church order* stipulated that candidates who failed the examination would not be ordained and would have to retake it. There are, however, examples to the contrary, when an ordained pastor who had performed badly in his examination was obliged to improve his learning while in office.<sup>104</sup> The institution of visitation provided an opportunity to verify whether the young cleric met the obligation. The draft of a church order of 1563 included a section stating that a candidate could be ordained if he was assessed in the examination as conversant with the Scripture and the teaching of the Church,

<sup>100</sup> After the establishment of the Reformation, the requirements introduced by J. Bugenhagen were even lower, see H. Heyden, "Die Erneuerung der Universität Greifswald und ihrer theologischen Fakultät im 16. Jahrhundert," in: *Festschrift zur 500-Jahrfeier*, vol. 2, pp. 19–33, here p. 25.

<sup>101</sup> "Kerkenordeninge" (1569), p. 395a. Examination certificate, p. ex. in: APSz Kons. Szcz. 1323, issued for M. Völsche, Greifswald 16 June 1596; APSz Kons. Szcz. 4661, Joachim König, Koszalin 11 Feb. 1631.

<sup>102</sup> Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft*, pp. 46–47.

<sup>103</sup> E.g., StAG rep 5 no. 8329, A. Hamel, Greifswald [15]87 (the Greifswald-based pastor that he was not in need of a sexton as he was at liberty to order students to carry out such duties).

<sup>104</sup> LAG rep 5 tit. 63 no. 219, 107, F. Runge to the chancellor, Greifswald 7 June 1604; Heyden, IV, p. 140 (Jacob Langeschwager); LAG 40 III 163/ xvi, a duplicate of the letter by Paul von Rod regarding the exam of Johann Güder (Godes, Gudes, Gerdes).

and had preaching skills, but did not know Latin.<sup>105</sup> However, the section was removed in the debates over a new Church constitution.

Undoubtedly, relations formed at universities would prove crucial for future careers. It was – as correctly pointed out by David Gugerli on the example of Swiss pastors – a period of socialisation and “the accumulation of social capital”.<sup>106</sup> How much evidence is there that these relations were lasting and helpful in the course of a career? There are infrequent examples of professors promoting their disciples.

In 1599, Daniel Cramer recommended to the parish in Brzesk “discipulum nostrum Andream Pernerum, iuvenem honestum, modestum et doctum, qui [– –] diligenter Studio Theologico se consecravit, et in hoc nostro Paedagogio [– –] sex annos se detinuit”.<sup>107</sup>

Such instances of promotion and support of preferred candidates were met with disparate reactions: the response of cities to the actions of Runge outlined above shows that such actions were not always viewed favourably. On the other hand, they were sometimes precisely what was expected. Asked to indicate a talented student who could take up the position of the pastor in Dobra (Daber) that had just become vacant, Bartholdus Krackevitz excused himself, claiming that so many talented young people studied at Greifswald that he was unable to select just one of them.<sup>108</sup> Some examples show that the “social capital” may not have been wisely accumulated. Dionisius Friedenbergh, the Greifenberg pastor, admitted that he was sorely disappointed by the conflict with the sexton, for they had been good friends at Wittenberg...<sup>109</sup>

As noted above, obtaining a master’s degree was only rarely the objective of studies at an early modern university. Unlike today, simply spending a period of time at a university was a sufficient basis to claim that one had higher education. There were many reasons

<sup>105</sup> LAG rep 5 tit 63 no. 341, fol. 41r.

<sup>106</sup> D. Gugerli, *Zwischen Pfund und Predigt. Die protestantische Pfarrfamilie auf der Zürcher Landschaft im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert* (Zürich, 1988), pp. 143–153; Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft*, p. 124.

<sup>107</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 977, D. Cramer, J. Praetorius, Szczecin 6 March 1599; cf. also APSz Kons. Szcz. 466a, S. Rodolphus to the superintendent, Greifenhagen 1616 (G. Reimarus is recommended).

<sup>108</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 1323, B. Krackevitz to the prince (?), Greifswald 27 Feb. 1610; the cause of the actions of B. Krackevitz was the desire to become familiar with the opinions of the noble patron.

<sup>109</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 1656, D. Friedeborn to the superintendent, Greifenberg 4 July 1618.

behind ending studies. One that often recurs in funeral speeches is the death of a parent. For sons of pastors, this was all the more important, since the passing of the father meant that a position became vacant. Another reason was financial difficulties. Paul Moller, who came from a poor family, had to abandon his studies for financial reasons and accept the position of a cantor and schoolmaster in Gnoien (Mecklenburg),<sup>110</sup> hoping he would be able to resume his education in future. After three years in Gnoien, when his financial situation had failed to improve and – despite his efforts – he was unable to save enough to continue studying, Moller petitioned Duchess Anne (1554–1626), the second wife of Ulrich III (1527–1603), Duke of Mecklenburg, asking to be granted a two- or three-year scholarship to study at Greifswald or Rostock. Once he had received the scholarship and completed his education, Moller began attempts to obtain the position of a pastor. Both the work and the remuneration of a schoolmaster must have failed to meet the expectations of Moller, who had now gained university education.<sup>111</sup>

Leaving university or taking up the office of the pastor did not mean the end of education, however.<sup>112</sup> This was because university instruction was of limited use for the clerical career: there was little standardisation in the study programmes, and there were many skills the candidates had to acquire on their own, serving as deacons, helping pastors, and preaching sermons in rural parishes.<sup>113</sup> Working as a catechist alongside a pastor corresponded to mediaeval models of preparation for lower clerical positions by serving alongside a priest.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>110</sup> On Gnoien see *Die Mecklenburg-Schwerinschen Pfarre seit dem dreißigjährigen Krieg*, ed. G. Willgeroth (Wismar, 1924), pp. 265–272, P. Moller is not, however, included in the above register.

<sup>111</sup> LAG rep 5, tit. 63, no. 219, fol. 91, Paul Moller n.d; a similar description of “stalled” education is to be found among others in APSz Kons. Szcz. 6385, Ch. Trempe to the prince, 29 Oct. 1631 and 13 Dec. 1631.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, p. 178.

<sup>113</sup> For a contrary opinion regarding education at the Rostock theology faculty, see: Kaufmann, *Universität*, pp. 320–321 (Kaufmann’s phrasing reveals that for the most part the outlook is his and his alone), 606–607.

<sup>114</sup> Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft*, p. 47; B. Vogler, “Formation et recrutement du clergé protestant dans Pays Rhénans de Strasbourg à Coblenz au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in: *Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae III. Colloque de Cambridge 24–28 Septembre 1968*, ed. H. Baker (Louvain, 1970), pp. 216–221, here pp. 219 ff; Kaufmann, *Universität*, pp. 339 ff; for the description of such education within the Unity of the Brethren, see: S. Kawczyński, “Duchowieństwo czeskobraterskie między potopem a pierwszym rozbiorem Polski,” PhD Diss. IH UW (Warszawa, 2004).

In Pomerania too, employment “in spem futurae promotionis” was the rule.<sup>115</sup> It was because of the continued existence of this old model, and the necessity to serve an “apprenticeship” before being appointed to one’s own living, that the moment just after finishing studies could be particularly perilous for the future pastor. The danger of leaving “the tracks of the career” could be remedied by an intervention of the father-pastor, who could request that the son be appointed as coadjutor.<sup>116</sup>

On the other hand, pastors were under an obligation to constantly self-improve and develop their learning. This obligation was imposed by Church authorities, but the pressure was also the result of the job market, and perhaps a delayed product of academic education.<sup>117</sup>

The synod statutes of the Pomeranian Church specify that no pastor should cease in his theological studies, find time every day to read one or two chapters of the Old and New Testament, several psalms, passages from Melanchthon’s *Loci Communes*, the church order, Melanchthon’s chronicle,<sup>118</sup> and the history of the fathers of Church. And just as the synod statutes forbade pastors from entering into theological disputes, the stipulation for private reading was that all things need to be considered, but only what the pastors decide was concordant with the word of God must be preserved.<sup>119</sup> As noted

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Such a model of education prevailed among the Russian Orthodox Church and for that reason the quality of their education was very frequently evaluated critically, cf. R. Pelczar, “Cerkiewne szkolnictwo parafialne w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII w. podstawy ideowe, organizacyjne i materialne,” *Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty* 42 (2003), pp. 65–85, here p. 68; J. Bardach, “Bractwa cerkiewne na ziemiach ruskich Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVII wieku,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 74 (1967), p. 80; J. Łukaszewicz, *Historia szkół w Koronie i w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskiem od najdawniejszych czasów aż do roku 1794* (Poznań, 1849), vol. 1, p. 80.

<sup>115</sup> Quoted in: APSz Kons. Szcz. 1172a, H. Calenus to B. Krackevitz, Pasewalk 7 March 1622.

<sup>116</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 1972, P. Rudolphus to B. Krackevitz, Greifenhagen [1603] (the pastor asks for the appointment of his son, who spent 18 months at Wittenberg); APSz Kons. Szcz. 2038, [L. Gerschow?] to B. Krackevitz, Medow 20 Dec. 1614; APSz Kons. Szcz. 2038, L. Gerschow to B. Krackevitz, Medow 12 Oct. 1619; APSz Kons. Szcz. 1641, B. Horn to D. Runge, Klempenow 27 Feb. 1610 (as well as other letters in the volume).

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Kaufmann, *Universität*, pp. 342–344.

<sup>118</sup> In all likelihood, “Chronicon Carionis latine expositum et auctum” (1558, 1560) is referred to here.

<sup>119</sup> “Statuta synodica” (1574), in: Sehling, pp. 484–492, here p. 484b.

above, one opportunity to control this knowledge were synods, where the superintendent not only conducted examinations in theology, but could also order a minister to give a brief speech or write a short treatise: “ut ministros verbi judicandis et solvendis argumentis contrariis exercent et idoneos in usu styli retineat”.<sup>120</sup> Within the synod structure, provosts and administrators were obliged to give examinations to clergymen summoned to see them all year round, outside of the synod sessions. Acceptable excuses were limited to old age and the poor condition of roads between November and February.<sup>121</sup> First and foremost, however, every change of position forced the candidate to prove their learning.<sup>122</sup>

One symbol of this learned condition and self-improvement was the “Studierstube” built for pastors, where, removed from the daily hustle and bustle, they were to retreat into reading, prayer, and contemplation. Did the “Studierstube” exist already in houses provided to pastors in the sixteenth century, and did pastors have books? These questions are not easily answered. On the one hand, pastors living in large cities could certainly spare one room for an office, on the other, rural pastors often complained about the condition of the house they were allocated.<sup>123</sup>

An analogous fate befell books: Church records – a type of parish inventories created prior to visitations – provide ample evidence that parish libraries were frequently only stocked with the German Bible, church order, one of Martin Luther’s writings, and sometimes a Catholic Mass book.<sup>124</sup> Still, the assets of the Church ought to be distinguished from the private properties of pastors themselves. There were, however, pastors whose own writings could fill up not an insignificant library, such as Mävius Volschow, Adam Hamel, Bartholomäus Battus, Johann Cogeler, Johann Corvin, Daniel Cramer, David Croll, Peter Edeling (Edling), Jakob Fabricius, Bartholdus

<sup>120</sup> “Statuta synodica” (1574), p. 485a; a note explaining that the rule referred exclusively to Latin writings was only added in the mid-seventeenth century; the practice must have been unambiguous earlier, Dähnert, II, p. 578.

<sup>121</sup> “Statuta synodica” (1574), p. 485a.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Balthasar, *Sammlung*, vol. 1, p. 652.

<sup>123</sup> Peter Calenus (Kahle) complained that he found his parish to be in a dilapidated state and it took him a considerable sum to erect “Eine Studien Stube” 20 Feb., APSz Kons. Szcz. 4928, P. Calenus to the superintendent (?).

<sup>124</sup> Cf. H. Heyden, “Inventarien der Gotteshäuser in Pommern im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,” in: H. Heyden, *Neue Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte Pommerns* (Graz, 1965), pp. 40–59, here p. 54–56.

Krackevitz, Samuel Marcus, Jakob Runge or Konrad Schlüsselburg. As well as countless others who bequeathed their own book collections to parishes.<sup>125</sup> The correspondence of “average” pastors also proves that they frequently owned private book collections, constantly imperilled in run-down pastor houses, potentially affected by rain or fire,<sup>126</sup> thrown onto mud by angered pastors,<sup>127</sup> and referred to in case of the death of the clergyman.<sup>128</sup> The demand for the increase in remuneration was justified by among others the necessity to purchase books “es sollte auch ia woll ein Prediger biß weilen ein Buch Kauffen”.<sup>129</sup> The council of Greifswald, while countering the rationale that the salary of the last pastor Klemens Timme was too meagre, drew on the fact that he arrived in the town without a single book and left upon his demise “eine gute Liberei”.<sup>130</sup>

The ownership of books, the desire to purchase and amass them prove that pastors identified themselves with the scholarly pose foisted upon them in the course of socialisation. To what extent was this

<sup>125</sup> The primarily eighteenth-century examples include: Moderow-Müller, I, pp. 430 (Georg Christlieb Meyer, † 1757), 483 (Heinrich Reineccius, † 1687); still there are also sixteenth-century examples: Jonas Staude, pastor in Stralsund, gifted “Tertulliani opera” to a school, Zober, *Urkundliche Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 13; the widow of Stettin pastor C. Stymmel intended to sell his library to the Saint Mary Church, yet the transaction did not come to fruition due to budgetary constraints, see: M. Wehrmann, “Geschichte der Bibliothek des Marienstifts-Gymnasium in Stettin,” BS 44 (1894), pp. 195–226, here p. 202, 206 (donated by pastor Daniel Kansdorf, 1691); Waterstraat, “Geschichte,” p. 267 (preacher Matthias Campanus granted the council 24 books while applying for the licence / concession to set up a school).

<sup>126</sup> Moderow-Müller, II, 383 (Friedrich Heinrich Adam).

<sup>127</sup> LAG rep 5 tit 63 no. 149, Iven 1622, k. 273–275, V. Damradus to the prince, Anklam 26 March 1622; APSz. Kons. Szcz. 6481 J. Markisius to the superintendent (?) [1619].

<sup>128</sup> LAG rep 5 tit. 63 no. 219, k. 105–106, agreement of the heirs of the late pastor Adam Havemann, 22 May 1604; APSzcz Kons. Szcz. 2666, G. Schulze, Chociwel. Cf. jocular examples of “clerical erudition” and “libraries of the clergy” in: Kot, *Szkolnictwo*, p. 100.

<sup>129</sup> StAG rep 5 no. 6590, vol. 1, B. Rhaw to the rector and Bürgermeister, Greifswald 23 Aug. 1639; in a similar vein, APSz Kons. Szcz. 6468, F. Möricke (Moricus) to the superintendent, 1628.

<sup>130</sup> StAG rep 5 no. 6777, the Bürgermeister and the council to the prince, Greifswald [1562]. This is all the more important in the case of the Greifswald pastor as the university library was opened as late as 1604, see: W. Braun, “Aus der Geschichte der Universitätsbibliothek,” in: *Festschrift zur 500-Jahrfeier*, vol. 1, pp. 175–198, here p. 176.

social role interiorised? In other words, did the pastors genuinely read those books, did the books constitute objects of daily use, or were they only a prop, an artefact attended to due to its material value? The sheer number of complaints filed because of damage done to one's book collections suggests that the physical aspect of bibliophilia indeed played a crucial role.

Pastor Jacob Danitzius informed his superintendent that in the course of the fire that erupted on 25 January 1640 he was robbed of church money,<sup>131</sup> which he had placed in a small receptacle ("gefäßlein"), tucked behind one of the books in his "Museolo". According to the pastor, three rescuers, who braved the inferno, entered the burning building and made their way out with some of the pastor's belongings, were to blame. Why did the pastor charge the people that provided assistance of their own accord with theft? The rescuers managed to salvage (and pilfer) a fairly small segment of the book collection ("etzliche wenig Bücher"), among others those that stood just adjacent to the money box ("auffm Baliken"). This short complaint allows one to infer that the pastor not only availed himself of "Studierstube", in which he reflected on seminal matters, but that he owned books by the shelfload. His personal library must have been important to him, as he instructed the rescuers to salvage it in the first place. It must have been substantial as well, since three men only managed to save a fraction of it.

One can also find evidence that Protestant clergymen endeavoured to find time for proper reading. Quality time and seclusion necessary to pursue studies were hard to come by. Balthasar Rhaw, pastor and theology professor at Greifswald, complained of lack of time: to him, juggling two social functions, i.e., academic duties and responsibilities of a preacher, was not feasible. Altogether, he had only three days a week during which he was able to devote himself to studies ("welche ich ad studia Academica verwenden konte"<sup>132</sup>). This was not enough to provide him with sufficient and requisite, in his own words, "meditationes".<sup>133</sup>

<sup>131</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 5227, J. Danitzius to the superintendent, n.d.; the date of the fire included in the subsequent letter *ibidem*, idem to the superintendent, Tribsov 7 April 1641.

<sup>132</sup> StAG rep 5 no. 6590, vol. 1, B. Rhaw do the rector, Greifswald 19 June 1634.

<sup>133</sup> As above ("es ja aller verstendigen und gelartten leuten beandt, das ein Professor Theologiae, seine meditationes muß haben, undt weill an seiner arbeit vieler menschen Sehligkeit hanget, kann er nicht ex tempore profitiren, sondern

Similarly, Daniel Cramer, the Stettin superintendent, complained around 1616 that – after the passing of superintendent Jakob Fabricius – he was forced to take up all his duties; as a result, he was “täglich und fast stündlich” restless. This considerably interfered with “meiner ander[e]n Studien”.<sup>134</sup> To Danitzius, the ill-fated night of 25 January, when his own house and neighbouring building were razed to the ground, was but the onset of troubles ahead. It took a year and a half for the house to be rebuilt and – upon its completion – patrons put off paying for the construction work. Creditors started to trouble the clergyman, paying him an unwanted visit on Saturdays and during holidays, when he was wont to meditate and prepare sermons.<sup>135</sup>

University education was integrated into “the Protestant notion of the [clerical] post”, which led to the professional homogenisation of the clergy.<sup>136</sup> Both church orders signal the change to come, as “the scholarly expertise of a pastor” is prominently enumerated and displayed at the top of the list of virtues – not without numerous Biblical references – required of the successful post holder.<sup>137</sup> Documents pertaining to the vocation of novice clergymen often included confirmation of the sound education of eligible candidates;<sup>138</sup> frequently,

muß zuvor alles erwegen, fleissig nachlesen und woll bedencken, waß er der Jugendt proponiren will, dazu gehöret nur ein Mensehe der nicht anders sollte zuthunde haben”).

<sup>134</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 358, undated and unsigned copy; date given on the basis of information provided by the author, i.e., three years had passed since the death of the former (previous) superintendent.

<sup>135</sup> APSz Kons. Szcz. 5227, J. Danitzius addressing the superintendent, Tribnow, 16 July 1641.

<sup>136</sup> Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, p. 159.

<sup>137</sup> “Kerken-ordeninge” (1535), pp. 328b–329a; “Kerken-ordeninge” (1569), pp. 382b–383a, reference to Tit 1,7; 1 Tim 3,1–7.

<sup>138</sup> The longest enumerations of qualifications (credentials) and lists of theological expertise are obviously to be found in the vocations of Greifswald pastors, cf. UAG St 105, “Acta Nominationis, Praesentationis, Vocationis, Dimissionis Professorum Theologiae et Pastorum St. Mariae et Jacobi” (k. 17v – superintendent Jacob Runge himself added the virtue of “gelerter” to the list of merits of the new nominee created by the university authorities); StAG rep 5 no. 6585, 19–21, the opinion of the Rostock theology faculty regarding Mathaeus Flagius, Rostock 8 Oct. 1591; APSz 18 Dec. 1616. Other similar cases include: APSz Kons. Szcz. 977, deacons of Brzesko to the superintendent (?), Brzesko 28 Nov. 1599; APSz Kons. Szcz. 1323, A. Blücher (?) to B. Krackevitz, 25 Feb. 1610; APSz Kons. Szcz. 1932, the Bürgermeister and the council of Stargard, 2 May 1617; APSz Kons. Szcz. 3953, G. von Podevills do von der Osten, 1 Jan. 1614 (letter in favour of Joachim Hintze); APSz Kons. Szcz. 3593,



the phrasing was of formulaic nature.<sup>139</sup> Still, the usage of the said formulae and semantic tokenisms was expected.

With regard to the second and third generation of pastors, the scholarly ethos contributed to the extension of the distance between the city and the country, as more educated clergymen were assigned to relatively affluent urban parishes, while rural ones were magnets for less accomplished pastors, unable to contend for more prominent posts.<sup>140</sup> The constantly widening gap between the congregation members and the clergyman also took effect. As analysed by S. Karant-Nunn, care to create and cultivate the said distance echoes the rationale of the Church representatives, to whom the divergences of the Late Middle Ages and the failings of the Catholics stemmed from the fact that rampant fraternisation between the faithful and the clergy occurred.<sup>141</sup> The distance was supposed to be upheld by numerous means: increase in remuneration, banning the clergy from entering inns and drinking with peasants, as well as precluding them from any activity that would accelerate the socialisation of the pastor and the faithful. Other imperatives included mandatory solemnity, stately behaviour, and studies within the sanctity of one's room.<sup>142</sup> Hence, "Studierstube" amounted to the symbol of pastor's alienation: the demands of the ever diminishing job market and the increase in competition urged pastors to raise the bar, to cloister themselves away in "Studierstube", to expand the distance.<sup>143</sup> The aim of these activities was varied: on the one hand, it was the "weapon of the armless"

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von der Osten to the consistory, b.d.; LAG rep 36 II D 5, P. Sager to Prince Philip Julius, 5 Sept. 1608; *ibidem*, B. Krackevitz to the prince, 29 Oct. 1608; LAG rep 36 II S 1.

<sup>139</sup> LAG rep 5. tit 63 no. 219, k. 110, Philip Julius, Wolgast 8 June 1604 (P. Moller is thereby credited here with being erudite and conversant with delivering sermons, despite the fact that Friedrich Runge stated otherwise, i.e., "das er in Predig blodt und ungeubt sein soll", *ibidem*, k. 107, F. Runge to the chancellor, Greifswald 7 June 1604).

<sup>140</sup> Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, p. 227.

<sup>141</sup> Karant-Nunn, "Luthers Pastors," p. 55; cf. similar comments in: H.-Ch. Rublack, "'Der wohlgeplagte Priester'. Vom Selbstverständnis lutherischer Geistlichkeit im Zeitalter der Orthodoxie," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 16 (1989), pp. 1–30.

<sup>142</sup> Karant-Nunn, "Luthers Pastors," pp. 55–56.

<sup>143</sup> Rublack, "'Der wohlgeplagte Priester'," p. 22. A fairly literary description of the reserve between a learned "clergyman" and "a simple plebe" in: Kot, *Szkolnictwo*, pp. 98–99.

– the defenceless Church gained a considerable guarantee of obtaining tribute (e.g. tithes) from the peasants, especially when it was only the secular authorities that had coercive measures at their disposal.<sup>144</sup> On the other hand, however, the Church strove to counter the remnants of late mediaeval anti-clergy sentiments.<sup>145</sup> What cannot be ignored is that this particular means of influencing the faithful was chosen as an efficient and effective mode of evangelisation – and perhaps the traumatic experience of initial Church visitations played a huge role in this regard. As observed by H.-Ch. Rublack, the eighteenth-century developments proved the decision wrong.<sup>146</sup> Especially since the distance took its toll on the pastors, leaving an imprint on their consciousness. In consequence, they would ridicule the poorly educated faithful, likening the semi-literate flocks standing in churches to “speechless idols” and asserting that their knowledge was hardly deeper than that of “donkeys grazing in a meadow”.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Karant-Nunn, “Luthers Pastors,” p. 54.

<sup>145</sup> Karant-Nunn, “Luthers Pastors,” p. 53.

<sup>146</sup> Rublack, “Der wohlgeplagte Priester,” pp. 28–30.

<sup>147</sup> Phrasing after: APSz Kons. Szcz. 3936, J. Braschius addressing the superintendent, Barnowiec 2 Nov. 1649.

Table 1. Matriculations at four universities of pastors born in the Wolgast and Stettin parts of the Pomeranian Duchies

university	ca 1540–1619			1540–1549			1550–1559			1560–1569						
	PD	Foreigners		PD	Foreigners		PD	Foreigners		PD	Foreigners					
Greifswald	237	36.07%	27	20.77%	21	56.76%	2	2	26	38.81%	4	24	32.88%	2		
Wittenberg	167	25.42%	35	26.92%	6	16.22%	4		21	31.34%	5	19	26.03%	2		
Frankfurt/O.	148	22.53%	25	19.23%	6	16.22%			12	17.91%	2	19	26.03%	6		
Rostock	105	15.98%	43	33.08%	4	10.81%	3		8	11.94%	4	11	15.07%	6		
university	1570–1579			1580–1589			1590–1599			1600–1610						
	PD	Foreigners		PD	Foreigners		PD	Foreigners		PD	Foreigners					
Greifswald	31	49.21%	4		29	37.66%	2		28	27.18%	1	29	29.90%	4		
Wittenberg	7	11.11%	1		9	11.69%	3		31	30.10%	6	25	25.77%	5		
Frankfurt/O.	14	22.22%	2		25	32.47%	3		21	20.39%	8	32	32.99%			
Rostock	11	17.46%	5		14	18.18%	6		23	22.33%	11	11	11.34%	2		
university	ca 1540–1619			1540–1549			1550–1559			1560–1569						
	Wolgast	Stettin		Wolgast	Stettin		Wolgast	Stettin		Wolgast	Stettin					
Greifswald	172	55.84%	63	18.75%	14	73.68%	7	38.89%	17	58.62%	9	24.32%	15	62.50%	8	17.39%
Wittenberg	56	18.18%	109	32.44%	1	5.26%	5	27.78%	3	10.34%	18	48.65%	4	16.67%	15	32.61%
Frankfurt/O.	23	7.47%	118	35.12%	1	5.26%	5	27.78%	2	6.90%	9	24.32%	1	4.17%	17	36.96%
Rostock	57	18.51%	46	13.69%	3	15.79%	1	5.56%	7	24.14%	1	2.70%	4	16.67%	6	13.04%
total	308	35.86%	336	39.12%	19	36.96%	18	35.29%	29	32.95%	37	42.05%	24	24.49%	46	46.94%
university	1570–1579			1580–1589			1590–1599			1600–1610						
	Wolgast	Stettin		Wolgast	Stettin		Wolgast	Stettin		Wolgast	Stettin					
Greifswald	24	77.42%	7	24.14%	22	57.89%	6	16.22%	21	42.00%	7	13.21%	23	52.27%	6	11.54%
Wittenberg	2	6.45%	5	17.24%	5	13.16%	3	8.11%	13	26.00%	18	33.96%	9	20.45%	16	30.77%
Frankfurt/O.	2	6.45%	9	31.03%	3	7.89%	22	59.46%	4	8.00%	17	32.08%	5	11.36%	26	50.00%
Rostock	3	9.68%	8	27.59%	8	21.05%	6	16.22%	12	24.00%	11	20.75%	7	15.91%	4	7.69%
total	31	36.90%	29	34.52%	38	38.38%	37	37.37%	50	36.50%	53	38.69%	44	39.64%	52	46.85%

Table 2. Comparison of matriculations of pastors from Pomeranian Duchies and other, studying at only one university

university	ca 1540–1619				1540–1549				1550–1559				1560–1569			
	PD		Foreigners		PD		Foreigners		PD		Foreigners		PD		Foreigners	
<b>Greifswald</b>	128	40.00%	11	19.30%	15	53.57%	1		21	50%	2		16	35.56%	2	
<b>Wittenberg</b>	54	16.88%	5	8.77%	2	7.14%	2		10	23.81%	1		11	24.44%	1	
<b>Frankfurt/O.</b>	66	20.63%	10	17.54%	5	17.86%			6	14.29%	2		12	26.67%	6	
<b>Rostock</b>	37	11.56%	18	31.58%	4	14.29%	2		6	9.52%	2		4	8.89%	6	
<b>other</b>	35	10.94%	13	22.81%	2	7.14%			11	2.38%			2	4.44%		
<b>total</b>	320	100.00%	57	100.00%	28	100.00%	5		42	100.00%	7		45	100.00%	15	
	<b>1570–1579</b>				<b>1580–1589</b>				<b>1590–1599</b>				<b>1600–1610</b>			
university	PD		Foreigners		PD		Foreigners		PD		Foreigners		PD		Foreigners	
<b>Greifswald</b>	25	48.08%	2		21	36.84%	2		19	28.79%			17	32.69%	2	
<b>Wittenberg</b>	4	7.69%	0		3	5.26%			16	24.24%	2		10	19.23%		
<b>Frankfurt/O.</b>	13	25.00%	1		21	36.84%	2		15	22.73%	5		21	40.38%		
<b>Rostock</b>	8	15.38%	5		6	10.53%	1		12	18.18%	7		3	5.77%	1	
<b>other</b>	2	3.85%	2		6	10.53%	2		4	6.06%			1	1.92%		
<b>total</b>	52	100.00%	10		57	100.00%	7		66	100.00%	14		52	100.00%	3	
	<b>ca 1540–1619</b>				<b>1540–1549</b>				<b>1550–1559</b>				<b>1560–1569</b>			
university	Wolgast		Stettin		Wolgast		Stettin		Wolgast		Stettin		Wolgast		Stettin	
<b>Greifswald</b>	100	69.44%	26	14.69%	12	75.00%	3		14	73.68%	7		12	70.59%	4	
<b>Wittenberg</b>	10	6.94%	43	24.29%	0	0.00%	2		1	5.26%	9		2	11.76%	9	
<b>Frankfurt/O.</b>	6	4.17%	58	32.77%	1	6.25%	4		1	5.26%	4			18.18%	12	
<b>Rostock</b>	19	13.19%	18	10.17%	3	18.75%	1		3	15.79%	1			4.55%	2	
<b>other</b>	9	6.25%	32	18.08%	0	0.00%	2							4.55%	1	
<b>total</b>	144	45.00%	177	55.31%	16	57.14%	12		19	45.24%	22		17	37.78%	28	
	<b>1570–1579</b>				<b>1580–1589</b>				<b>1590–1599</b>				<b>1600–1610</b>			
university	Wolgast		Stettin		Wolgast		Stettin		Wolgast		Stettin		Wolgast		Stettin	
<b>Greifswald</b>	20	80.00%	5	20.83%	17	68.00%	3		12	52.17%	7		14	70.00%	3	
<b>Wittenberg</b>	1	4.00%	3	12.50%	2	8.00%	1		4	17.39%	12		1	5.00%	9	
<b>Frankfurt/O.</b>	2	8.00%	6	33.33%	2	8.00%	19		2	8.70%	13		3	15.00%	18	
<b>Rostock</b>	2	8.00%	6	25.00%	3	12.00%	3		4	17.39%	8		2	10.00%	1	
<b>other</b>			2	8.33%	1	4.00%	5		1	4.35%	3			6.98%		
<b>total</b>	25	48.08%	24	46.15%	25	43.86%	31		23	34.85%	43		20	38.46%	31	