



Politiaie Sunt Opera Dei – Leonhard Stöckel's Doctrine of the Government

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Abstract. The cultural networks connecting Hungary to other parts of Europe, having developed in the late mediaeval period, worked on in the 16th century, and new points of contact were also formed after the Reformation. The most important elements in this network were the German-speaking citizens of the towns of the Hungarian Kingdom. This paper focuses on Leonhard Stöckel, born in the free royal town of Bardejov, Upper Hungary, who studied in Wittenberg and then returned home and headed the urban school according to Melanchthon's model. Besides teaching, he wrote several works, mainly for educational purposes, most of which were published only after his death, while a smaller part remained in manuscript form. From the chapters of his works, it can be clearly seen what he thought of governance, of the tasks and responsibility of the magistrate.

Keywords: Bardejov, Upper Hungary, early modern period, Lutheran Reformation, urban political thoughts, urban education

Introduction

In the 16th century, after the Battle of Mohács (1526), the Hungarian Kingdom sank into a serious political and economic crisis due to the Turkish conquest and domestic civil war conditions. All these, however, did not lead to instant cultural and religious decay. The strengthened cultural networks of the late mediaeval period, which connected the Hungarian Kingdom to the rest of Europe, continued to operate and were expanded with new elements after Luther's appearance. In this sense, the flourishing of the late Middle Ages was almost uninterrupted in some regions of the Hungarian Kingdom.

The most important elements in the mentioned networks were doubtless the urban citizens, who, although having German roots, self-defined themselves as

‘Hungarus’, or ‘Pannonus’. The city élite of the Hungarian Kingdom had especially tight economic, religious, cultural, and family relations with the neighbouring Polish, Silesian, Moravian, and Austrian urban citizens. The merchant citizens did not only act as intermediary of commodities, but they were also unavoidable factors in the spread of newer intellectual movements and cultural goods.

The cities of the Hungarian Kingdom had broad political and ecclesiastical autonomy compared to other European towns. In Hungary, the possibility of free election of priests in the cities and outside them was already a reality during the mediaeval period, and the demand and possibility was not brought by the Reformation. In the case of Bardejov, the first data of a free priest election comes from a royal charter issued by Sigismund of Luxembourg in 1391.¹

The close cooperation, alliance of the Upper Hungarian free royal cities started to solidify in the first quarter of the 15th century. They coordinated their steps at regular meetings and sought to represent common interests at the contemporary state assemblies. The members of the city alliance held meetings almost every year from the second half of the 15th century. At these meetings, the city representatives formed their common standpoint in the actual affairs. The time and place of the meetings and the discussed topics are found in the cities’ correspondence material (H. Németh 1999).

The self-conscious civilian élite did not only have interest in the practical but also in the theoretical dimensions of the secular and ecclesiastical governmental issues. The booklists of the citizens are witness to this (cf. Monok 2017, Čičaj 1993). The more educated were not only recipients of these elements of erudition but also added to it with their own works.

My research focuses on the history of the once Upper Hungarian free royal city of Bártfa (today Bardejov, in Slovakia). One of the most important people born here in the early modern era was Leonhard Stöckel (Cf. Schwarz 2010, Kónya 2011, Klátik 2012), who – after several years of studies in Wittenberg – returned to his home town and took charge of the city school following the Melanchthonian model, which already represented a high standard in the early 16th century under the famous Bavarian humanist poet, later city judge Valentin Eck (Škoviera 1992, Glomski 2006, Kiss 2010). Leonhard Stöckel wrote several religious and pedagogical works mainly in Latin, part of which was published posthumously, while other works survived as manuscripts.² Stöckel’s success in contemporary

1 ‘Vos pridem defuncto plebano vestro unum ex medio vestri vigore libertatum vestrarum pristinarum de communi consensu parochianorum prefate ecclesiae in vestrum concorditer ellegissetis plebanum.’ – Sigismund of Luxembourg to the Magistrate in Bardejov, Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár, 24.02.1391. Štátny archív v Prešove, pracovisko Archív Bardejov, Magistrát mesta Bardejov, Missiles (State Archives in Prešov, Department of Bardejov, Town Council of Bardejov, Missiles; hereafter: ŠAB MMB): Nr. 30., cf. Petrovičová 2011: 163.

2 Works of Leonhard Stöckel – see in the Appendix.

Europe is indicated by the fact that some of his works were published by famous foreign book publishers such as Johannes Oporinus from Basel.

Indications from his contemporaries and also his direct successors imply that not everything he wrote survived. There are works of uncertain origin attributed to him as well; several are known from manuscripts or prints that were created after his death. His writings and his reputation gained importance, and probably even more so when he lived, during the denominational confrontations in the last third of the 16th century. It is not impossible that his works were tampered with, edited, and updated or that certain works were even associated to him so that all these would support the orthodox Lutheran positions. He lived for 50 years, which does not seem short compared to the contemporary average lifespan, but despite his long life he did not leave a completed oeuvre.

I divided Stöckel's thoughts on the state and government in the following way: firstly, the question of the government and the relations of the secular and ecclesiastical powers, secondly, about schooling and training, and in the third point I will talk about the question of the Turkish war.

Faith and Secular Government

Stöckel, similarly to Melanchthon, thought that the secular government ideal comes from God. God plants the thought of a necessary society system into the human mind. The division needs to be made between the godly state system and the people who gained government offices. Whilst the first one is good due to its godly origin, there can be gracious and pious or bad and evil sovereigns and governors as well. Stöckel mentions Nero as a negative, Augustus and Theodosius as positive examples. The greatest happiness, blessing in material life is if the states are governed according to the likeness of God. On the other hand, bad government is the consequence of the sins of its subjects. The survival of countries and empires are in the hands of God; countries perish due to the sins of their state governors and population. This is why the adequate tool against a tyrant is not rebellion but repentance, honest penance, and prayer so that through God the prince would repent or a new ruler would come to power (Steckelius 1561: 264).

In his works, Stöckel evaluates his own age's political relations extremely pessimistically. He believes that the secular powers in his time do not meet the principles of good governance. They govern with tyrannical regulations, which resemble thunder. Civil law was subverted, eliminated. They acted not only against good men but against the existence of the laws themselves so that their tyranny would have no limits. According to Stöckel, this kind of governance is not durable but resembles the solidness of a house built of sand. He ascribes the responsibility of decay not only to the mighty one's lust for power but also to

the educated people. The arguments of the educated and their barren litigations turned the attention of the secular leaders away from the true sciences and the protection of faith (Stöckel 1578: Preface).

The creed of the five Upper Hungarian royal free cities, the *Confessio Pentapolitana*, was most probably compiled by the first evangelical senior of Bardejov, Michael Radaschin, and not Stöckel although the creed's article does reflect on his views (cf. Suda 2001, Guitman 2017: 85–87). The 8th article of the creed deals with the church. It depicts the prevailing situation of the church inasmuch as it subordinates it to the secular power's task organizationally and financially, whilst in questions of faith the church is only responsible to God: 'Etsi vero Ecclesia corpore et rebus civili potestate subiecta est, tamen in religione nullum aliud caput agnoscit, nisi Christum' (Csepregi–Kónya 2013: 64). The text of the creed of the Upper Hungarian free royal cities was affected by their unique historical-political conditions. The *Confessio Pentapolitana* was formulated by the want to forward it to the deeply religious king, Ferdinand I, asking for its acceptance. In this regard, the organizational and financial subordination at this time did not seem such an unbearable dependency to eliminate; however, in questions of faith, they only recognized Christ's superiority.

The articles of the 1546 synod of Eperjes say that the city council is the guard of God's laws (see Bunyitay–Karácsonyi–Rapaics 1909: 522–524). Stöckel and Radaschin, just like Melancthon, did not imagine the church's direction under either a tyrannical power (that is, under the leadership of the Pope) or a democratic rule (that is, the Anabaptist model) (cf. Brecht 1996). They thought that a group of educated and scholarly élite should head the church, and the secular powers' task, in turn, would be to maintain this élite. Consequently, the main promoters of God's will and commands are not the ecclesiastical officials but the secular powers. The introduction of the Reformation was primarily in the hands of the city magistrates; thus, the church government – if not instantly in legal terms but practically covering all areas – became the authority of the city council, whose power within the city grew and became concentrated ever more due to its new tasks (ecclesiastical governance, care of the poor, marital matters) (cf. Schmidt 1992: 7).

Stöckel wrote more on the state in his work *Annotationes Locorum communium doctrinae Christianae Philippi Melancthonis* published in 1561. Based on Aristotelian and biblical foundations, he too set the base unit of society and the state on family. Families and the states built out of them offer a home and safe haven in this earthly world for the church. The devil, being an enemy of the church, attacks families through inciting arguments between spouses and states through tyrants or rebellions. Stöckel finds the marital bond, the contract the most important as this alliance is the origin of all other associations. A good marriage also reflects the connection between God and the people. He calls upon the city

councils to get acquainted with Melanchthon's work on marriage so that they could protect pure marriage and suppress fornication. The task of the magistrate is comparable to that of the householder's. A respectable marriage is the basis of social discipline and if it works it has positive effects also on the state (Steckelius 1561: 258–260). In one of his sermons, Stöckel makes it especially the task of the magistrate to ensure the laws through discipline.³

According to Stöckel, the good prince had five main tasks, obligations. Firstly, to mediate God's law, the ten commandments, and the law of nature, which is above all other laws. The second task of the good prince is to not just spread the law but also to enforce it. In awarding and punishing, he pays attention to the proportions. Thirdly, the good prince establishes good laws that expand into every aspect of life. His fourth task is to ensure these laws are obeyed. His fifth and most important task is to establish schools and maintain them; without this, all the other duties would lose their meaning.⁴

The Importance of Education

In the following, I will shortly discuss the issues of education and schooling. Here, Stöckel also followed the Melanchthonian views: schools need to be established on God's command; God is the one who leads and protects the studies. The leader's, the sovereign's highest task is the supervision of the studies and the broadening of learning opportunities under strict conditions. One of the basic factors of good governance is the priority handling of education and schooling affairs. Melanchthon considered education, tuition a basic anthropological phenomenon which distinguishes humans from animals. He put moral education in the focus; behaviour and attitude needs to be taught just as intellectual knowledge. The ideal is a hierarchically organized person in a hierarchical society. The leading idea is the adjustable acceptance to the ethical principles born with us; will is subordinated to it, which controls and moderates every instinctive emotion. The powers control the subjects in the interest of the common good; the subjects adjust willingly, by insight, and this requires education. Education needs to encourage and lead to social harmony. The ideal state's ultimate aim is to lead its members to God through the awareness of the true faith. The church was interested in the creation of this kind of state (cf. Melanchthon 1528, Schmidt 1996). The interdependence and relations of the church, state, and education are the main

3 'Quae igitur lex verbo promittit et minatur, ea magistratus loco Dei in huius vitae exterioris disciplina exequitur, siquidem suum facit officium, quod nostro hoc tempore iam fere in desuetudinem abiit' (Stoeckel 1596: 167v.).

4 'Summum autem munus inter haec quattuor est, scholas recte instituere et tueri, sine quibus caetera omnia officia plane sunt inutilia et imperfecta' (Steckelius 1561: 264–266).

thoughts of one of Stöckel's letters to Lőcse (today's Levoča, in Slovakia): church, public affairs, and state cannot be solidified without sciences.⁵

The main task of education is for the student to recognize, learn the will of God and to follow it so that with one's life and unique capabilities one could serve God and the church. Every science, but mostly philology and grammar, served the purpose to correctly understand the Holy Scripture and with this knowledge lead people's lives on the way of God's will and commands. In his already mentioned work titled *Annotationes*, Leonhard Stöckel meditates on these things as follows:

The knowledge of different sciences is necessary for the correct and proper establishment of the church and schools. Correct and clear speech, the determination, subdivision, rethinking of the curriculum, and better than average eloquence are necessary for the addressed cases' dignity, for the inspiration, adjustment, and every other kind of stimulation of the population and the youth. All these so that they could be proper, come from not elsewhere but from the art of speech. Besides this, it is necessary for the teachers to know those things which are included in another philosophy (disciplines). There are such versions of parables, stories which are suitable for the smart studying of the church teachings. Not to mention other examples, but we only want to talk about the creation of things; then, the full examination of nature is needed, as it was written by the scientists. (...) Still, the doctrine of eloquence and the secular sciences should be cultivated in a manner that those should serve and not rule the Christian doctrines. (Steckelius 1561: 57)⁶

Leonhard Stöckel makes a sharp distinction between the reading of the Holy Scripture and the texts written by antique authors, the former containing the word of God, whilst the latter – though brilliant – are only creations of the human minds (Stoeckel 1596: 410v). At the same time, science is not enough to understand the word of God. In the case of the judgement of the role of Judas, he wrote that the ancient pagan excellences do not give any help for the understanding of this question; the truths of faith can only be understood through the assistance of the Holy Spirit. 'But who thoroughly examines the mystery of this inexplicable mist, which no Aristotle, however sharp, can dissipate, by the grace of the Holy Spirit will finally get an explanation' (Stoeckel 1596: 411r).

Stöckel's commitment to make education available for the whole community can be seen in his works published mainly in Latin and partly in German language. For the pedagogical goal, the most obvious example is the *Apophthegmata* edited

5 'Sine literis et doctrina neque ecclesiam, neque rempublicam stabiliri posse, quemadmodum nos magno cum malo nostro iam pridem sentimus.' – Bardejov, 30.03.1545. Škoviera (1976: 322).

6 Author's transl.

by Leonhard Stöckel, which the schoolmaster of Bártfa compiled following Erasmus. The preface reveals that the schoolmaster's aim was not only to compile a simplified Erasmian textbook for the pupils but also to urge the parents to teach his work to their children, so thereby their moral would be ennobled (Stoeckel 1570).

In his preaching volumes, Stöckel also spoke about the teaching profession: the teacher's task is to educate, warn, and encourage the child because due to its weak intellect and capabilities they do not understand anything yet. The teacher's influence over the child does not last forever, only throughout childhood, as long as they cannot control themselves. On the one hand, through age and intellect trained by teaching, they will be suitable to take over his inheritance; on the other hand, after the teacher's moving into the background, they will be free and become the lord and heir of possessions gained from their parents. The teacher needs to serve the child's benefit based on just rigour and, if necessary, with wrath, but he needs to be careful not to make the smallest mistake during the education of the child or else serious damages can be made to the students (Stoeckel 1596: 46v–47r).

The *Leges Scholae Bartphensis*, the regulation of the Bártfa city school, was created in several stages throughout the 16th century, having survived in an 18th century copy. Having examined the text of the regulation, István Mészáros convincingly confirmed that what survived is a continuously extended, formed version edited over a longer period of time, which can only be partly considered the work of Leonhard Stöckel (Mészáros 1981: 51). The creator of the manuscript, or also – according to Klein – the author of the regulation, is Leonhard Stöckel. A popular Aristotelian quote in one of the points of the regulation which appears in other works of the schoolmaster of Bártfa implies Stöckel's handiwork or at least his influence.⁷

The composition of the regulation follows the Melanchthonian principles. The emphasis, as in Melanchthon, is the harmonious fusion of knowledge and piousness, the humanist pedagogical practice and the Lutheran religious teachings (cf. Daxer 1909: 6–7, Breznayik 1883: I, 52–58). Besides this, language skills also have an important role. Correct human judgement and the linguistic expressive skills are inseparably intertwined, prudence and eloquence (*prudencia et eloquentia*) work well together, completing each other. According to contemporary beliefs, as Melanchthon formulated, the false or fanatic opinions are closely linked to bad style. The aim of the education of languages, beyond making the student able to express themselves clearly and understandably (*dilucide et perspicue*) in

7 'Aristoteles inquit: legem qui praeficit, deum praeficit, qui vero hominem, belluam.' *Leges Scholae Bartphensis*, *Leges Astantium*. 'De quo est insignis sententia Aristotelis: Qui legem praeficit, Deum praeficit. Qui vero hominem praeficit, belluam praeficit' (Steckelius 1561: 264). Cf. 'Therefore he who bids the law rule may be deemed to bid God and Reason alone rule, but he who bids man rule adds an element of the beast; for desire is a wild beast, and passion perverts the minds of rulers, even when they are the best of men' (Aristotle, *Politics* 3:16).

classical languages just as in the vernacular, is that the student learns to think clearly, and with this their moral would be ennobled.⁸

Nevertheless, the school regulation also served the religious contemplation and the development of consciously experienced faith in the daily routine of the students. Besides advising a generally pious and gracious life, the first point makes morning prayer and the reading of holy texts before studying mandatory. The 6th point speaks about how to attend church ceremonies. Students must be present, in an orderly fashion – the smaller ones in the front, and the taller ones marching through the church behind them – and then return to the place of education. The 7th point prescribes the frequent reception of the Eucharist. The second point of the regulation on the elder students speaks about the thanksgiving according to the conventional formula before and after meals (cf. Mészáros 1981: 153–158).

Stöckel dedicated almost the entire preface of his preaching volume published in 1578 at Bártfa to arguing against the unrestricted freedom of book publishing. It is the secular power's responsibility and duty to maintain the pureness of the teachings so that no false teachers can corrupt the sciences, and particularly not the science of religion. He also requires from the secular government to give harsher penalty to those who spread false teachings than to traitors and sacrilegious sinners. It is the duty of state leaders to actively control the book publishers and printers so that they would not have the freedom to publish without supervision because that would cause huge damages: book publishing, a gift from God, becomes a curse. Stöckel thinks that a book should get a permit for publication based on the proposal of the people who are proficient in the topic, and not the general public. He thinks that democracy is especially harmful to both church and state and does not consider it correct that everybody, indiscriminately, should receive equal power. Accordingly, unlimited freedom should not be allowed either in book publishing or in teaching.

The Ideological Background of the War Against the Turks

Finally, we need to briefly mention the issues surrounding the war against the Turks. In Stöckel's Latin-language volume of postils published several decades after his death, the reader can find numerous references to the Ottomans. Turkish people and the Muslim religion mostly appear in his hermeneutics next to the Roman Holy See and the Papist enemy. Stöckel, the Lutheran follower, mostly consistently represented Wittenberg's position (cf. Raeder 2005). He named the papal and the Ottoman powers alike the empire of the Antichrist, but concerning

8 'Nam hoc fere communiter fit, ut cum erroribus et phanaticis opinionibus coniuncta sit orationis confusio ac deformitas. (...) Mentis character fere est ipsa orationis forma' (Melanchthon 1549: 865).

the purity of teaching – similarly to Luther – he considered false teachers within the church more dangerous than the Turks, who were open enemies of the Christian faith. He classified the Papists, Anabaptists, Calvinists, and the Antitrinitarian reformers as false prophets within the church.⁹

At the same time, Stöckel represented a clearer position in the question of war against the Ottomans than Luther. In one of the chapters of his manuscript *Apologia*, which is preserved in Vienna, he did not only condemn firmly and clearly those who trusted the Turks to help and protect them but also contested the humaneness of the Turks ('non sunt homines, sed barbares a diabolo constituta'). In his rationale, he did not only use theological arguments, he also builds his thread on the evocation of the Hungarian heroes who died a heroic death in the struggles against the Turkish army and who were also respected in Wittenberg (Stoeckel 1558: 59v–60v).

From the 40s of the century, the opinion that the Turks are the instruments of God's grace appears more frequently among the propagators of the Reformation in Hungary, and many also hoped that the Muslim conquerors through their conversion would integrate into the evolving, renewed European Christianity (cf. Varga 2014: 227–230). The illusory dreams related to the Ottoman invaders' practical religious policy appeared in Stöckel only as intolerable beliefs. The schoolmaster of Bardejov passionately argued against all who thought that the Turks could be used as a potential support for their political ambitions or in the promotion of Reformation. In one of his letters to Melanchthon, he wrote, for example, that in the chaotic situation developed due to the Turkish invasion and the betrayals, only a madman could think that this could be useful for Christianity.¹⁰

In his correspondence with his master, Melanchthon, Stöckel shares his bitter experiences with the Hungarian situation in a more personal tone. In a letter dated 25 August 1544, he draws a parallel between the towns and the prophet Daniel thrown before the lions (Škoviera 1976: 318–322). In his metaphor, the biblical lions represented the cruel mentality of the king, the inhumanity of the Ottomans, the wildness of the nobility, and the envy of the citizens. He described the pagan danger as a threat equal to the dishonour of the state leaders. In a letter

9 'Non intelligit eos, qui sunt extra Ecclesiam, ut sunt Turcici doctores, Judaeorum Magistri, et alii manifeste impii et adversarii doctrinae Christianae. Hos enim facile est cavere, si cui religio Christiana curae est, cum palam negent Christum, eiusque verbum reiiciant. Sed ostendit Pseudopropheta in ipsa Ecclesia esse. (...) Est ergo primus et praecipuus fructus Pseudoprophetarum, impia doctrina, etiamsi in aliqua parte doctrinae recte sentiant, quod facere coguntur ad fraudes suas tegendas. Sicut boni doctoris praecipuus fructus est, sana et integra doctrina, eiusque defensio. Secundus fructus impiorum doctorum est, insignis aliqua nota in moribus. Ut in Manichaeo, foeda libido. In Anabaptistis, quod civilem societatem turbant, quod Magistratus damnant, quod rerum distinctionem tollunt. In Papistis quanta sit turpitudine vitae, nemo ignorat' (Stoeckel 1596: 258r–259v).

10 'Sed omnes alios furores hoc scelus antecellit, quod somniant hunc statum evangelio profuturum esse.' Bardejov, 23.01.1557 (Škoviera 1976: 347).

of his sent in the autumn of 1551, he writes that so many forts have been lost that only the Northern Hungarian Saxon settlements have survived as Pannonia's bastions (Škoviera 1976: 326–328). By the winter of 1557, he started to think that the country was threatened by an inevitable, complete devastation. King Ferdinand's two battles with the Turks and the rebels had a fortunate outcome only at the beginning as due to a series of betrayals the operations were stopped (Škoviera 1976: 346–348).

Stöckel seems not to have subjected the war against the Turks to conditions as Luther did, but, in conformity with the contemporary zeitgeist, he incorporated it into an apocalyptic course controlled by God.¹¹ In one of his sermons, he writes that there is no escape from the difficulties and ordeals of the final times; they will catch up with those escaping from them in all countries of Europe because the coming of the end times does not depend on human will, but it takes place on divine order and will hit all parts of the world equally. Stöckel's words were justified by his life: in the chaotic times of the forties and the fifties, he would have several opportunities for a safe, well-paid job in Wrocław or further in the West. Ultimately, due to the persuasion of his fellow citizens, he chose the Upper Hungarian cities each time (Škoviera 1976: 323–328, 345–346).

Conclusions

Although Stöckel did not create an independent state theory, a system of government – unlike his former teacher and friend Valentin Eck, who in his work titled *De reipublice administratione* explicates his thoughts on this (cf. Kiss 2010) –, but from some of the chapters, paragraphs of the work, the attentive reader can collect and reconstruct all that he thought and taught about the ins and outs of government and the tasks and responsibilities of the council. Not surprisingly, Stöckel follows the track of thought of his favoured and beloved teacher, Melancthon. Although the governing principles formulated by the schoolmaster of Bardejov could not be fully implemented in the given circumstances, they did serve as a kind of benchmark for the city leaders. In the chaotic times, the cities that became Evangelical sought the restoration of safety and order from the royal authority but mainly from religious renewal. They saw the ancient enemy in the Turks, with whom alliance was unacceptable. They did not imagine the

11 'Sunt praeterea non hominum onera, sed temporum, quae communiter omnes premunt, et quae nemini prorsus licet euadare. Non enim sunt vnus civitatis aut paucarum, unde liceat in alias fugere, neque unius nationis aut paucarum, sed simpliciter omnium: ut si velis ex Pannonia fugere in Poloniam, ex Polonia in Germaniam, inde in Galliam, Italiam, vel Hispaniam, ubique reperias idem onus, idque tecum per omnia loca circumferas. Eiusmodi mala sunt temporum mala, quae non tua sunt tantum, aut familiae tuae, aut vicinorum, aut civium, sed omnium locorum, et hominum quocunque te verteris' (Stoeckel 1596: 83r).

dissolving of the new denominational opposition within Christianity under the protective wings of the Turks. Due to the teachings of the Reformation, they looked forward with a refreshed faith, a kind of 'apocalyptic optimism' – they placed their trust in God's grace.

Translated by Noémi Harding

Appendix – Leonhard Stöckel's Works

Sermon Volumes, Commentaries

STÖCKEL, Leonhard. 1578. *Formulae tractandarum sacrorum concionum per evangelia communium feriarum totius anni in usum ecclesiae Christi collectae*. Bartphae: Gutgesell (RMK II, 143, RMNY, I, 406).

1596. *Postilla seu enarrationes erotematicae epistularum et evangeliorum tam dominicalium quam festorum dierum, quibus etiam nonnulli sermones in festis sollemnioribus utiles adiuncti sunt*. Bartpha: Gutgesell (RMNY, I, 773).
n.d. *Commentar super Joannem Evangelistam* (lost).

Textbooks, Lecture Notes, School Dramas

STÖCKELIUS, Leonardus. 1561. *Annotationes Locorum communium doctrinae Christianae Philippi Melanchthonis*. Basileae: Oporinus. In: Melanchthon, Philip. 1561. *Loci Communes Theologici*. Basileae: Oporinus.

STÖCKEL, Leonhartus. 1570. *Apophthegmata illustrium virorum expositione latina et rhythmis germanicis illustrata per Leonhartum Stoeckelium, scholae Bartphanae rectorem*. Vratislavia: Ioh. Scholtius Filius (RMK, III, 607, RMNY, I, App. 36).

STÖCKELIUS, Leonartus. c. 1556. *Catechesis D. Leonarti Stoeckelii pro iuventute Bartphensis composita*, Bartfeld (manuscript; edition: Valčo–Škoviera 2014).

STÖCKEL, Leonhard. 1559. *Historia von Susanna in Tragedien weise gestellet, zu vbung der Iugent, zu Bartfeld in Vngarn*. Wittenberg: Hans Lufft (edition: Szilasi 1918).

1572. *Meditatio passionis Christi Leon. Stöckelii tradita per D. Math. Toraconymus Briznensem in Gymnasio Tyropoliensi Anno 1572* (manuscript, Ústredná knižnica Slovenskej akadémie vied, Š A III. 281).

1574. *Compendium officiorum Ciceronis* (lost).

STÖCKELIUS, Leonartus. 1567a. *Arithmetica Leonharti Stöckelij, scriptum Belae*. In: *Compendium* (manuscript, Lyceálna knižnica v Kežmarku, 38956, 144r–159r).

1567b. De Musica, scriptum Belae. In: *Compendium* (manuscript, Lyceálna knižnica v Kežmarku, 38956, 242r–253r).

Regulations

STÖCKEL, Leonhard. Leges scholae Bartphensis. In: *Kirchen prothocollum, oder copia der jenigen Schrifften, so jetzo bey der Ewangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen in K. F. Stadte Bartfeld befindlich zusamgetrag im Jahr MDCCXXIII* (manuscript, Evanjelická cirkev augsburského vyznania, zborovy archív, Bardejov, without signature. Edition: Klein 1789: I, 332–341; Mészáros 1981: 153–158).

Religious Apologetics

STOECKEL, Leonhard. 1558. *Tractatus cuius titulus desumptus est ex 1 Ioan. 2,18 apologiam ecclesiae Bartphensis contitens contra barbarorum blasphemias, qui accusabant eam ut haereticam et propugnatricem idolorum* (manuscript, Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, 13034. Suppl. 388).
n.d. *De Antichristo* (lost).

Historiography

STÖCKEL, Leonhard. n.d. *Memorabilis et notatu digna Relatio Historica de Ministro Ecclesiae Libethensis et Scholae Rectore eiusdem, qui uterque (hic Veterosolii ad statuam publicam, ille vero inter castellum et oppidum Dobronam) sunt concremati et martyrii coronam consecuti. Anno a nativitate Christi MDXXVII* (manuscript, Evangélikus Országos Levéltár V. 57. Tom. XXVII, 161–164. Edition: Guitman 2017: 156–158).

Correspondence

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