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HOW TO FIND A JOB? WORK-RELATED MOBILITY OF THE LUTHERAN CLERGY IN GERMANY*

In Memory of Herbert Langer (1927–2013)

Work-related mobility was a mass phenomenon in early modern Europe. In the following, this phenomenon will be considered from the perspective of two Lutheran pastors, Georg Zeaemann and Michael Gerven, from Pomerania, a small duchy in the northern parts of the German Empire. Despite obvious differences in their social position, their personal or professional motives, and ways of traveling – it will be argued that there are certain unexpected similarities, characteristic for this professional group.

I

The moment Georg Zeaemann received, in 1630, a vocation to the main town parish of Stralsund in Pomerania, he was a well-known Lutheran theologian with an established professional position and strong family connections. He was born in May 1580, in Palatinate-Zweibrücken into a pastor's family.¹ His father, Christoph Zeaemann,

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¹ For more about this figure, see Hellmuth Heyden, *Die evangelischen Geistlichen des ehemaligen Regierungsbezirkes Stralsund. Die Synoden Wolgast, Stralsund, Loitz* (Greifswald, 1964), 104; Helene Burger, Hermann Erhard, and Hans Wiedemann (eds.), *Pfarrerbuch Bayerisch-Schwaben* (Neustadt an der Aisch, 2001), 241, 398. The main source of the biographic data is a funeral sermon by Philipp Heinrich Friedlieb,

was a preacher in Hornbach and a professor at the high school there. Therefore, young Georg received the best education available in those days: he frequented the schools in Hornbach and Lauingen (the Duchy of Palatinate-Neuburg). Then, he matriculated at the universities in Wittenberg, where he received his master's degree (1598), and in Tübingen, where he earned the title of doctor (1604). According to his funeral sermon, he had preached since the age of fifteen.² Since 1603, he had worked as a lecturer at the high school in Leuingen and, from 1617 on, as a pastor in Kempten. During his career, he was offered many other posts in various parts of Germany. He rejected vocations to one of the cities in Mecklenburg, to Herrenalm in Austria (twice), to Altdorf, and to Strasbourg (three times).³ As soon as he received a secure position in 1603, he married Ursula Heilbrunner, the twenty-year-old daughter of Jacob Heilbrunner (Heilbronner), ex-superintendent in Amberg (1581–5) and court preacher in Neuburg-an-der-Donau (1588–1615).⁴ Together, they had twelve children: seven sons and five daughters; six of them died in their infancy, but the remaining six either became pastors or married pastors.

As with many others priests and pastors, Zeaemann suffered due to the Thirty Years' War.⁵ For sixty-two weeks, from December 1628 to February 1630, he was kept hostage by the emperor for writing anti-Jesuit propaganda.⁶

Dulce Amarum Christianorum Wunderwechsel Oder Christliche LeichSermon Bey ansehnlicher Leichbegängnuß Des Weyland WolEhrwürdigen / GroßAchtbarn und Hochgelahrten Herrn Georgii ZeæManni (Rostock, 1638), 49–60 (repr. in Henning Witte, *Memoriae theologorum nostri saeculi clarissimorum renovatae decas prima* [Königsberg, 1674], 446–54). See the information about this sermon on the site of the Forschungsstelle für Personalschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaft und Literatur Mainz, <<http://www.personalschriften.de>> [Accessed Nov. 15, 2013].

² Friedlieb, *Dulce Amarum*, 51.

³ *Ibidem*, 55.

⁴ Georg Biundo, 'Heilbronner, Jacob', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 8 (Berlin, 1969), 258–9, <<http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116651326.html>> [Accessed Nov. 15, 2013]; Wilhelm Herbst, *Das Regensburger Religionsgespräch von 1601* (Gütersloh, 1928), 101–2.

⁵ See Thomas Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg und Westfälischer Friede. Kirchengeschichtliche Studien zur lutherischen Konfessionskultur* (Tübingen, 1998), 105–12.

⁶ Friedlieb, *Dulce Amarum*, 56; Peer Schmid, *Spanische Universalmonarchie oder 'teutsche Libertet'. Das spanische Imperium in der Propaganda des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Stuttgart, 2001), 57–61.

As soon as he was free again, he received an offer from Stralsund to work there as pastor at St Nicholas Church and city superintendent.⁷ His personal motives for accepting the invitation remain unknown, though the author of the funeral sermon supposed that Zeaemann “recognised this vocation as God’s one”.⁸ Be this as it may, it is not difficult to discover some possible reasons for this move. The pastor of St Nicholas Church, who was traditionally also the city superintendent, received what was probably the highest salary in the entire Pomeranian Church. Long before Zeaemann’s vocation, by 1594, the superintendent was already earning 900 marks (mk), which was the equivalent of ca. 300 gulden (fl).⁹ In 1614, the salary was raised to 367 fl.¹⁰ According to the church books, after his ordination in Stralsund, Zeaemann earned over 657 fl a year.¹¹ This high salary increase was not correlated with undisputable admiration for the experienced theologian; far more was it forced by the hyperinflation of the *Kipper- und Wipperzeit*.¹² Nevertheless, despite the global crisis of the Thirty Years’ War, the city maintained its status as one of the main trade centres of the Baltic region. In 1627, there were over 2,000 buildings in Stralsund, and the population reached 15,000.¹³ The relatively large population guaranteed far more than just a high occupancy during the sermons. The St Nicholas Church had fifty-six altars on the eve of the reformation. After the reformation, they

⁷ Stadtarchiv Stralsund (hereafter: StAS), Rep. 28, no. 181.

⁸ Friedlieb, *Dulce Amarum*, 57.

⁹ StAS, Rep. 28, no. 176; *ibidem*, no. 640: Einnahme- und Ausgaberegister (Marienkirche); *ibidem*, no. 702: Matrikel der Marienkirche Stralsund. The mark was a local currency; the city of Stralsund had its own *mark sundisch*. In the following, it was estimated that 1 gulden (fl) = 3 *mark sundisch* (mk). Another currency often used in Pomerania was a Lübeck schilling (abbreviated as schill. lüb.). 1 schill. lüb. = 1/33–1/32 *Reichsthaler* (rth) = 1/24 gulden (fl), according to: Rudolf Biederstedt, ‘Münzen, Gewichte und Maße in Vorpommern im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert’, *Baltische Studien*, N. Ser., lxxx (1994), 42–51.

¹⁰ The decision of the Church visitation in 1614; see StAS, Rep. 28, no. 110, pp. 623v–33r. About the complicated structure of these incomes, see also StAS, Rep. 28, no. 1029: Kirchenarchiv St. Nikolai, Stralsund, Land Register 1612.

¹¹ StAS, Rep. 28, no. 183.

¹² Herbert Langer, *Hortus bellicus. Der Dreißigjährige Krieg. eine Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1978), 29; Charles P. Kindleberger, ‘The Economic Crisis of 1619 to 1623’, *The Journal of Economic History*, li, 1 (1991), 149–75.

¹³ See Herbert Langer, *Stralsund 1600–1630. Eine Hansestadt in der Krise und im europäischen Konflikt* (Weimar, 1970), 19–20.

changed their function, but many of them remained in the church as symbols of the wealth and prosperity of the parishioners.¹⁴ Also the status of the city superintendent for the pastor of St Nicholas parish was a symbol of power and independence of the city, defended against dukes of Pomerania.¹⁵ Over 150 children a year were baptised in St Nicholas parish, except for 1628, when the pastor baptised 239 newborns.¹⁶ This high number of baptisms in 1628 might be an effect of the treaty between Stralsund and the Kingdom of Sweden, which guaranteed Lutheran Sweden the right to deploy its soldiers in Stralsund. The military presence of the Lutheran monarchy assured not only short-term demographic growth but the confessional status as well.¹⁷ Ultimately, superintendent's situation depended on the financial condition of the city, on the population of the parish, and on confessional stability.

This motivation was strong enough to convince Zeemann to risk a long journey that led "through Swabia, and Wurttemberg, further through Palatinate, and Frankfurt am Main, Hesse (Hessia), Brunswick, Luneburg, Holstein, over Hamburg and Lübeck".¹⁸ He covered a distance of ca. 1,400 km across Germany. When he finally came to Stralsund, he demanded the compensation of his travel expenses incurred between August and October of 1630.¹⁹ Although it remains unknown whether he obtained the reimbursement, the list of his expenses provides important information. Not only does it allow for a more detailed reconstruction of his journey than was given in the funeral sermon, but also gives a profound look into the everyday life of early modern travellers.

¹⁴ Sabine-M. Weitzel, *Die Ausstattung von St. Nikolai in Stralsund. Funktion, Bedeutung und Nutzung einer hansestädtischen Pfarrkirche* (Kiel, 2011), 131–4, 155.

¹⁵ Maciej Ptaszyński, 'Lutherisches Kirchenregiment im Kreuzfeuer interner Kritik? Konfliktsituationen zwischen dem Stralsunder Superintendenten und dem pommerschen Generalsuperintendenten in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', in Johannes Wischmeyer (ed.), *Zwischen Ekklesiologie und Administration. Modelle territorialer Kirchenleitung und Religionsverwaltung im Jahrhundert der europäischen Reformationen* (Göttingen, 2013), 155–92.

¹⁶ Hans-Joachim Hacker, 'Die Stadt Stralsund in der frühen Schwedenzeit 1630–1690' (Ph.D. dissertation, Greifswald, 1982), Appendix 1 (p. 245).

¹⁷ Langer, *Stralsund 1600–1630*, 222–62.

¹⁸ Friedlieb, *Dulce Amarum*, 57.

¹⁹ StAS, Rep. 28, no. 183.

As mentioned, it was not simply a tour. The city would pay not only for his journey from Kempten, a city in Bavaria, where he had received the invitation, but also for the transportation of his wife and children. The move from Kempten to Ulm (10 miles, according to him) took three days. He engaged a wagon and three horses for about 9 *Reichsthaler* (rth) and 1 Lübeck schilling (= 289 schill. Lüb.).²⁰ In Ulm, the family had to wait five days (23 to 28 August, cost: 13 rth, 1 fl and 3 schill. Lüb. = 443 schill. Lüb.). The cost of the trip from Ulm to Frankfurt (25 miles) was over 70 rth.²¹ In Frankfurt, the family had to spend a week (September 3–11, 20 rth = 640 schill. Lüb.). The road from Frankfurt to Hamburg took ten days and cost 26 rth (= 832 schill. Lüb.). His goods, however, were freighted from Frankfurt to Hamburg for 105 rth (= 3360 schill. Lüb.). Later, Zeaemann admitted that he packed his property in ten barrels (*faß*). After four days in Hamburg (5 rth, 3 schill. Lüb. = 163 schill. Lüb.), the family took a carriage to Lübeck (11 rth = 352 schill. Lüb.), where bad weather forced them to spend the following ten days.

The cost of this stay in Lübeck was enormous: 28 rth, which is equivalent to about 2.8 rth a day. To make these expenses more reliable, Zeaemann took a receipt from the innkeeper in Lübeck. The receipt, signed by the innkeeper's wife, was handed to the city council.²² The keeper certified that Zeaemann, together with six other people, stayed at her place of business between September 27 and October 6. The number of the members of this company was confirmed by Zeaemann, who wrote several times about seven persons ("inklusive Selb Sieben in allen verzert"). The receipt of the inn makes it clear why the costs were so high: the family had a separate, heated room; the pastor demanded light as well. The entire cost of this move

²⁰ Kempten was an Imperial City (*Reichsstadt*); the distance between Kempten and Ulm is about 83 km. According to Zeaemann, 1 mile equalled about 8–10 km, which was a common measure in Germany those days.

²¹ Distance between Frankfurt and Ulm is about 250 km, which confirms the observation: one mile = 10 km.

²² StAS, Rep. 28, no. 183. At the end of 16th century, there were more than 180 inns (*Krüge*) in Lübeck; after the death of the man, the widow was allowed to run the business. Hans Albrecht, 'Das Lübecker Braugewerbe bis zur Aufhebung der Brauerzunft 1865', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, xvii (1915), 63–117, 205–66; Yoriko Ichikawa, 'Die Stellung der Frauen in den Handwerksämtern im spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Lübeck', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, lxvi (1986), 91–118.

to Stralsund was astronomical: Zeaemann calculated them as being between 358 and 429 rth (= between 11,456 and 13,729 schill. lüb.).

The list of expenses proves that pastor Zeaemann enjoyed living in luxury. The journey through Germany with his wife and five children was not an easy one, but he wanted to make it comfortable. Taking all his property packed in ten barrels, instead of selling it and leaving it behind, was a symbol of his status. Also, while travelling by ship from Lübeck to Stralsund, the family ate meat and butter and drank wine. The pastor ordered a candle or a lantern in the inn, probably because he enjoyed reading, studying, and writing during the trip. After months spent in the emperor's prison, Zeaemann enjoyed extravagant consumption and could afford it.

II

The case of city superintendent Zeaemann could be read as a chapter on extravagant consumption from Thorstein Veblen's history of the leisure class. A pastor's expenses reflected his social status and, in some dimensions, they also helped maintain it. Still, his long journey can be regarded as an example of work-related mobility – or even professional mobility – of the early modern era as well.

Professional mobility can be defined either as a change of a post (or, just a disposition to do so), or as a change of place related to the profession. The first definition is usually considered as a part of vertical social mobility and the latter – as belonging to the horizontal geographical mobility. Usually, these phenomena are interrelated, so that a change of a job implicates moving or at least commuting. This kind of mobility is considered as a 'keyword of modernity', and some sociologists go as far as arguing that "until the middle of the nineteenth century, there existed no work-related mobility for most of the people".²³ As a matter of fact, professional mobility is under-represented in the opulent works on the phenomenon of mobility in early modern society. This is also the fate of confessional mobility and professional mobility among the Protestant clergy. The reasons

²³ Norbert F. Schneider, Ruth Limmer, and Kerstin Ruckdeschel (eds.), *Berufsmobilität und Lebensform. Sind berufliche Mobilitätserfordernisse in Zeiten der Globalisierung noch mit der Familie vereinbar?* (Stuttgart, 2002), 18: "Beruflich bedingte Mobilitätserfordernisse bestanden für die meisten Menschen bis Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts nicht".

for this absence lie in the specific division between social history and ecclesial history. On the one hand, mobility, in the wider sense, was one of the main interests of the social and cultural historians who contributed to the study of early modern travels and travellers.²⁴ Their studies have broadened our understanding of the phenomena of apodemic literature, grand tours and educational travels, and ordinary sightseeing. These profound studies shed new light on early modern society, portraying it as composed of individuals who were extremely mobile, living on the frontiers, and curious of the outside world. The researchers defined travel in terms of leisure and education, seeing it as part of everyday life of the Europeans. On the other hand, Church historians and theologians who have studied mobility have understood it as a form of migration that *ex definitione* belonged to confessionally-divided early modern Europe, with its *cuius regio eius religio* principle. The *ius emigrandi* was simply the reverse side of the coin. Recently, research has shown that this kind of enforced mobility was typical not only of the Reformed confession, which was excluded from the Peace of Augsburg. It was also quite common for the Lutherans, who introduced the term *exul Christi* after 1548, as well as for the Catholics, who were expelled from England, Scotland, Ireland, and – the Jansenists – from Catholic France.²⁵ They depicted

²⁴ Cf. Antoni Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1995); *idem* (ed.), *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte: Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten der historischen Reiseforschung* (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 21, Wolfenbüttel, 1982); Peter Mancall (ed.), *Bringing the World to Early Modern Europe: Travel Accounts and their Audiences* (Leiden and Boston, Mass., 2007); Thomas Betteridge (ed.), *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2007). For an excellent research overview see Dietrich Denecke, 'Vor und während der Reise. Informationen und Planungen zum Weg, zur Fahrt und zur Rast in historischer Zeit', in Rainer Aurig (ed.), *Im Dienste der historischen Landeskunde. Beiträge zu Archäologie, Mittelalterforschung, Namenkunde und Museumsarbeit vornehmlich in Sachsen. Festgabe für Gerhard Billig zum 75. Geburtstag, dargebracht von Schülern und Kollegen* (Beucha, 2002), 459–69. For drawing my attention to the latter essay, I am indebted to Beat Kümin.

²⁵ See essays on the platform Europäische Geschichte Online, prepared by the Leibniz Institut für Europäische Geschichte, <<http://www.ieg-ego.eu>>: Harm Kluebing, 'Katholische Konfessionsmigration'; Alexander Schunka, 'Lutherische Konfessionsmigration'; Albert de Lange, 'Reformierte Konfessionsmigration: Die Waldenser in Südwestdeutschland (1699–1823)'; Ute Lotz-Heumann, 'Reformierte Konfessionsmigration: Die Hugenotten'; Justus Nipperdey, 'Bevölkerungstheorie und Konfessionsmigration in der Frühen Neuzeit'.

this mobility in terms of coercion, but they did not show it as part of the professional life.

Work-related mobility was associated strongly and exclusively with the medieval and early modern guilds,²⁶ monks and priests,²⁷ soldiers,²⁸ students,²⁹ and vagabonds and beggars.³⁰ A change of place of work (horizontal mobility) belonged to their occupation, but usually it did not imply any social promotion (vertical mobility). This kind of mobility was an intrinsic part of the vertically-ordered estate society. However, the scholars working on the Protestant clergy proposed a distinction between guilds and (early) modern professions. Referring to Max Weber, they defined the professions as

large ... groups having a common academic, institutionalized training; an accepted internal hierarchy, rules, regulation and codes of conduct; and similar interests, ambitions and life-styles.³¹

²⁶ Reinhold Reith, 'Arbeitsmigration und Gruppenkultur deutscher Handwerks-gesellen vom 18. bis ins frühe 19. Jahrhundert', *Scripta Mercaturae. Zeitschrift für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, xxiii (1989), 1–35; Knut Schulz, 'Die Handwerks-gesellen', in Peter Moraw (ed.), *Unterwegssein im Spätmittelalter* (Zeitschrift für historische Forschung. Beiheft, 1, Berlin, 1985), 71–92; *idem*, *Handwerk in Europa. Vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Frühen Neuzeit* (München, 1999); *idem*, 'Wanderungen von Handwerkern, Künstlern und Spezialisten im spätmittelalterlichen Europa (14.–16. Jahrhundert)', in Almut Bues (ed.), *Martin Gruneweg (1562 – nach 1615). Ein europäischer Lebensweg* (Wiesbaden, 2009), 111–36; Josef Ehmer, 'Gesellenmigration und handwerkliche Produktionsweise', in Gerhard Jaritz and Albert Müller (eds.), *Migration in der Feudalgesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988), 232–8.

²⁷ Tim Cooper, *The Last Generation of English Catholic Clergy: Parish Priests in the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield in the Early Sixteenth Century* (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 15, Woodbridge, 1999), 106–13.

²⁸ Matthias Asche, Michael Hermann, and Anton Schindling (eds.), *Krieg, Militär und Migration in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Herrschaft und soziale Systeme in der Frühen Neuzeit, 9, Berlin, 2008).

²⁹ Suse Andresen and Rainer C. Schwinges (eds.), *Über Mobilität von Studenten und Gelehrten zwischen dem Reich und Italien (1400–1600)* (Repertorium Academicum Germanicum. Forschungen, 1, Zürich, 2011). The publication was prepared by the project Repertorium Academicum Germanicum, see <<http://www.rag-online.org>> [Accessed Nov. 15, 2013].

³⁰ Harald Kleinschmidt, *Menschen in Bewegung. Inhalte und Ziele historischer Migrationsforschung* (Göttingen, 2002), 44–88; Sylvia Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung* (Historische Einführungen, 11, Frankfurt am Main, 2012), 71–92.

³¹ Quote from: Rosemary O'Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession 1558–1642* (Leicester, 1979), 1; see *eadem*, *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450–1800: Servants of the Commonweal* (Harlow, 2000),

Protestant pastors fulfilled this definition to a great extent, and compared to other early modern professions, such as schoolmasters, professors, officers, printers, medical men or artists, they composed what was probably the largest group of 'early modern professionals'. Zeaemann was just one of many pastors who crossed Protestant Europe, searching for a good post or commuting, so before analysing his case, it is worth taking a brief look at the professional group he was a member of.

Protestant clergy was a professional group that emerged from a social estate. Its emergence challenged the traditional structures of medieval society. The Reformation changed the (self-)definition of the group and led to a reduction in the number of the clergy, simplified the hierarchy and the admissions procedures of the group, and changed the mechanism of its support. Pastors were not a separate social estate, but employees of the community. Their special position was bound to their competence, which was acquired at universities. Their incomes were derived not from prebends or other benefices, but were paid by the community as a salary, though most of the Protestant churches retained the system of stole fees. In contrast to the Catholics, the Protestant pastors were exclusively parish clergy, and even general or local superintendents were tied to their parishes. The idea of appointing superintendents as independent dukes' officers, without any pastoral obligations, had been shortly considered in Pomerania at the dawn of the Reformation, but was soon given up.³² Generally speaking, as employees of the parish, pastors were not allowed to travel without permission of the community. This kind of mobility was

4–9; Talcott Parsons, 'The Professions and Social Structure', *Social Forces*, xvii (1939), 457–67; Dietrich Rüschemeyer, 'Professionalisierung. Theoretische Probleme für die vergleichende Geschichtsforschung', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, vi (1980), 311–25; Cecil H. Clough (ed.), *Profession, Vocation, and Culture in Later Medieval England: Essays Dedicated to the Memory of A.R. Myers* (Liverpool, 1982). Cf. Gabriele Lingelbach, *Klio macht Karriere. Die Institutionalisierung der Geschichtswissenschaft in Frankreich und den USA in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 2003), 26–8, 285–373.

³² Maciej Ptaszyński, *Narodziny zawodu. Duchowni luterkańscy i proces budowania konfesji w Księstwach Pomorskich XVI/XVII w.* (Warsaw, 2011), 108. For more general remarks, see Robert Kingdon, 'The Episcopal Function in Protestant Churches in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Bernard Vogler (ed.), *Colloque de Strasbourg, septembre 1983 sur l'institution et les pouvoirs dans les églises de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (Miscellanea historiae ecclesiasticae, 8, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 72, Brussels, 1987), 207–20.

conceived of as negligence of their duties and as the sin of vain ambition. The negative attitude towards mobility was not a confessional matter, but was nonetheless part of the Catholic reforms of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The obligation of residence with respect to bishops, formulated by the Council of Trent, was nothing more than a restriction of mobility of the Church hierarchy.³³

These changes of the structure of the clergy did not take place overnight; it was a long process. The first generation were still *prédicateurs ambulants*, wandering from one community to another.³⁴ Some of them were recruited from among Catholic priests and monks, mostly those rather poorly educated. The new institutions were still longing for qualified and devoted people, but this need could hardly be satisfied. The situation changed gradually during the second half of the sixteenth century, when children from pastors' families entered the labour market. Thanks to their academic education, the next generations were already well-prepared for their task. Pastors developed a characteristic social profile. The situation in the 'domestic labour markets' also changed: the parishes were occupied, and the possibility of promotion only existed when one's predecessor died or was unable to work. Gradually, the deficit of clergymen ended, and clergymen subsequently became overproduced.³⁵ The question about the relationship

³³ Joseph Bergin, 'The Counter-Reformation Church and Its Bishops', *Past & Present*, 165 (1999), 30–73.

³⁴ Bernard Vogler, *Le clergé protestant rhénan au siècle de la Réforme (1555–1619)* (Paris, 1976), 120; *idem*, 'Rekrutierung, Ausbildung und soziale Verflechtung: Karrieremuster evangelischer Geistlichkeit', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, lxxxv (1994), 225–33; Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen. Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (München, 1965), 50; Henryk Barycz, 'U kolebki małopolskiego ruchu reformacyjnego', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, i (1956), 9–32; Luise Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit in der Frühneuzeit. Deren Anteil an der Entfaltung frühmoderner Staatlichkeit und Gesellschaft. Dargestellt am Beispiel des Fürstentums Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, der Landgrafschaft Hessen-Kassel und der Stadt Braunschweig* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte, 62, Gütersloh, 1996), 152.

³⁵ This development is depicted in several recently published excellent studies, incl.: Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*; Johannes Wahl, *Lebensplanung und Alltagserfahrung. Württembergische Pfarrfamilien im 17. Jahrhundert* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz. Abteilung für abendländische Religionsgeschichte, 181, Mainz, 2000); Luise Schorn-Schütte and C. Scott Dixon (eds.), *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke, 2003). A bibliography regarding parish research has been compiled by Warwick Network for Parish

between local overproduction of the clergy and professional mobility of this group has been raised, but has not yet been answered.³⁶

Before examining this question, let us take a glance at the Duchy of Pomerania, where Georg Zeaemann obtained his post in 1630. The case of Pomerania, where the Lutheran Reformation was officially introduced in 1534/5, confirms the general development of the Protestant clergy described above.³⁷ The first generation remains relatively little-known as a group, but among the second and third generations, working between 1550 and 1618, we can identify around 1,900 pastors. Within this group, the local population, not foreigners, was an overwhelming majority (over 80%). The foreigners were predominately from the closest neighbours, the Lutheran duchies of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, and Saxony. In the group of the superintendents and senior pastors of the synods (205 men), only 70 per cent were from Pomerania. The superintendents were just a small group of 28 men, but over a half of them (15) were foreigners; and, almost a half of the foreigners (7) came from further regions of the Holy Roman Empire, and not from the closest neighbourhood.³⁸ The small number of the city superintendents in Stralsund (7 men) makes generalising virtually impossible. Apart from Zeaemann also Alexander Dume from Edinburgh (Scotland), Jakob Kruse from Rostock (Mecklenburg), and Conrad Schlüsselburg from Hornbach (Hesse) were newcomers in the city. From the standpoint of the Church structure, it was a clear tendency of keeping the higher administration open for foreign experts. From the experts' point of view, horizontal mobility was just a part of their professional life.

The social profile of the group in question was also rather consistent. Almost 65 per cent were the sons of pastors, and over 10 per cent

Research, and can be found on <<http://my-parish.org/research/bibliography>> [Accessed Nov. 12, 2013].

³⁶ Ernst Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft und Mobilität. Die protestantischen Geistlichen zwölft süddeutscher Reichsstädte zwischen Passauer Vertrag und Restitutionsedikt* (Schriften zur Südwestdeutschen Landeskunde, 43, Leinfelden-Echterdingen, 2002).

³⁷ Ptaszyński, *Narodziny zawodu*; *idem*, "Prediger seyn mit jhrem Ampte etwas der Welt kützel". Soziale Herkunft, Bildung und theologisches Selbstverständnis der evangelischen Geistlichkeit in den Herzogtümern Pommern', in Luise Schorn-Schütte (ed.), *Intellektuelle in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Wissenskultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel, 38, Berlin, 2010), 69–104.

³⁸ Ptaszyński, *Narodziny zawodu*, 141–2.

were members of local elites. The percentage of the clergy among the fathers of superintendents and senior pastors of the synods were much lower (only 40–46%).³⁹ All pastors studied mostly at the Pomeranian Alma Mater in Greifswald (30%) and at three neighbouring universities, in Wittenberg (20%), Frankfurt on Oder (17%), and Rostock (15%).⁴⁰ The education of the superintendents was clearly more diversified, and thus it is difficult to present general conclusions. Luise Schorn-Schütte proved via the example of the Duchies of Hesse and Brunswick that superintendents studied for a longer period (over 5 years) than regular pastors.⁴¹

Obviously, Georg Zeaemann was not a regular pastor. He belonged to the elite group of the most prominent specialists, who travelled beyond the borders and could easily find new posts after leaving their existing ones. Usually, in the Lutheran churches, they were superintendents or theology professors at the local university. In many state churches, these two offices were held by one person, which also meant that they were gatekeepers of the regional churches. They were responsible for the theological education of future schoolmasters and pastors, and afterwards they ordained candidates to clerical profession. The study of the careers of Pomeranian superintendents showed that they were very active in their professional lives and changed their posts several times. The superintendents were also better paid than pastors in regular city parishes. Despite relatively attractive salaries, it was not always easy to find an appropriate candidate. A Pomeranian prince described this recruitment procedure as follows:

we have looked for virtuous and qualified people at different places, but from all around we received the message, that God called to him some of the best theologians [who were still young people – marg. note], and that the others were already appointed by princes and electors.⁴²

³⁹ *Ibidem*, 157–8.

⁴⁰ *Idem*, 'Pietas i sapientia? Wykształcenie pastorów w Księstwach Zachodniopomorskich w latach 1560–1618', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, xlix (2005), 35–61.

⁴¹ Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, 173, 190.

⁴² Landesarchiv Greifswald [hereafter: LAG], Rep. 5, Tit. 63, no. 14, pp. 162r–4v, Philipp Julius to Christian IV of Denmark, Wolgast, August 1605 ("so haben wir unß zwar an unterschiedlichen orten umb eine zu solchem ampte duchtige und qualificirte person bemuhet und umgesehen weil aber wir auß allen einkommenden Kundschaffte[n] vernommen, daß der liebe Godt fast theilß die vornemb-

It is obvious that the labour market of the elites developed in a different direction than that of the regular protestant clergy. The phenomenon of the overproduction of the pastors remained restricted to the lower strata of the profession, whereas the superintendents and famous theologians could at least negotiate the conditions of employment. The question is whether we can detect some general patterns regarding the mobility that are typical or at least characteristic of the entire profession.

III

In order to obtain a better understanding of Zeaemann's travel and expenses, we should compare them with another case from the same region. Before we move on with the comparison, it is worth noticing that apparently, the second example can be considered, in many ways, to be the opposite of Zeaemann's case. In the following, the professional mobility of a city superintendent is contrasted with the mobility of a regular schoolmaster from the lower strata who wanted to become a pastor. The motivations of their activity were very different: on the one hand, there stood one of the richest parishes in Pomerania and, on the other, a very poor church in a small village. Finally, the context of the travels was very different. An experienced theologian, Zeaemann was invited by the city, whereas in the following example, a poor teacher – without social capital and network – struggled to improve his position. However, taking all these discrepancies into account, we will compare the two travels in order to draw some conclusions about the mobility of the early modern Lutheran clergy.

Michael Gerven was also a foreigner in Pomerania, but he probably came from the neighbouring Duchy of Mecklenburg. He acquired a rather ordinary education: in 1591, he studied at the local university in Rostock.⁴³ After his studies there, he worked in a small city of Woldegk, on the border between the Duchy of Pomerania and the Duchy of Mecklenburg, as a teacher.⁴⁴

ste[n] theologen in Teutschland [so noch iunge leute gewesen – marg. note], durch den zezeitigen todt abgefurdert, theils auch bereits von andern Chur und Fürsten bestellet worden").

⁴³ Adolf Hofmeister (ed.), *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock*, vol. 2 (Rostock, 1891), 235a.

⁴⁴ LAG, Rep. 5, Tit. 63, no. 219, pp. 61, 72.

In 1598, he was given the chance to become a pastor in a small parish in a neighbouring village, Neetzka. Since the fourteenth century, this small rural community had belonged to the Stolpe Abbey, which became a part of the ducal domain in Pomerania after the Reformation (1535).⁴⁵ At the same time, it had a filial church in Kublank, which remained under the rule of Mecklenburg and was controlled by the ducal officer (*Hauptmann*) from Stargard (also known as Altenstargard). This complicated situation meant that a candidate for a pastor needed the permission of rulers from both Pomerania and Mecklenburg. Apart from this, he would need support from the local officers and the church superintendent in Pomerania. What is more, the community was rather poor. Thus, the salary of the pastor was only 50 fl.⁴⁶ Finally, in November of 1598, a nearly seventy-year-old Lutheran pastor, Peter Techatius (Dechatius), died, leaving behind a widow and five young children.⁴⁷ The widow, who was about fifty years old and had been married for thirty years, insisted on being remarried to the successor of her husband, which made the parish even less attractive.

As soon as the news about the pastor's death spread throughout both duchies, three candidates began their rivalry for his former post. Their struggle in Neetzka became a hard and ruthless fight that lasted over six months.⁴⁸ In their competition, they also gave a great example of mobility, creativity, and determination. All three candidates were much younger than the widow: they were probably about 20 years old. However, when one of them (Jacob Amman) emphatically excluded the option to remarry, he immediately lost

⁴⁵ Hermann Hoogeweg, *Die Stifter und Klöster der Provinz Pommern*, 2 vols. (Stettin, 1924–5), ii, 659; Gottfried Wentz (ed.), *Das Bistum Havelberg* (Germania Sacra. Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Magdeburg, 2, Berlin, 1933), 259; Willy Krauel, 'Geschichte des Klosters Stolpe', in *idem, Das Dorf Bartow in Vorpommern und sein historisches Umfeld* (Greifswald, 2008), 22–4.

⁴⁶ Maciej Ptaszyński, 'O rękę wdowy? Aspekty kariery pastorskiej i życia samotnych kobiet w Księstwach Zachodniopomorskich i Meklemburgii w dobie konfesjonalizacji', *Zapiski Historyczne*, lxxi (2006), 23–4.

⁴⁷ About Peter Techatius, see Georg Krüger, 'Die Pastoren im Lande Stargard seit der Reformation', *Jahrbücher des Vereins für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, lxxix (1904), 1–270, here: 91, 96–7. His age can be estimated due to his matriculation in Wittenberg in 1555.

⁴⁸ The fight was described in details in Ptaszyński, 'O rękę wdowy?', 7–35. The question of the mobility, however, was not raised in that essay.

his chance for the vocation. Two other rivals (Michael Gerven and Adam Havemann) not only declared their deep affect towards the older woman but constantly travelled between Neetzka, the residences of the dukes, and the office of the superintendent. The rivals had a lot in common: they both were from Mecklenburg; after receiving academic training at the local university, they worked as teachers and could not find parishes. At the beginning of the vocation procedure, they were both quite successful in obtaining the support of the ducal administration. In the end, it was Gerven's rival who first managed to receive a nomination from the Pomeranian superintendent.⁴⁹ On August 9, 1599, he was engaged to the widow,⁵⁰ and the date of the marriage was set for August 29. Afterwards, he was officially ordained by the superintendent in Greifswald, and shortly thereafter, he was introduced to the parish by the main pastor of the synod.⁵¹

Gerven was deeply disappointed. He wrote a list of expenses in which he noted all his activities between April 12 and August 11. During this time, he was his own lawyer and messenger. He made more than fifteen trips and calculated his expenses as 39 fl and 15.5 schill. lüb. in total. His notes enable a reconstruction of his itinerary, as well as the methods and costs of travelling and, more generally, his mobility (cf. the map below, as well as Appendix 1 and Table 1).

His travels were very cheap, mostly on foot. If he could, he tried to cover the necessary distance in one day to save the cost of overnight stay. This strategy made the daily itinerary extraordinary long (e.g., trips to Ivenack, Loitz [April 26], Friedland [April 19], Greifswald [May 30], or Wolgast [July 16]). If the distance was too long to cover in one day, he slept in inns, and in such cases the daily routes were much shorter. Gerven was able to cover approximately ca. 50 km in one day. A trip to Greifswald on May 29 had an extraordinary character: within a single day, on foot, Gerven covered – hard to believe – the distance between Woldegk (where he lived) and Greifswald, i.e. about 90 km. He made a similar trip on July 17.

⁴⁹ Cf. LAG, Rep. 5, Tit. 63, no. 219, pp. 54, 59, 61, 79.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 70, 73.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 86, 89–90. Adam Havemann was mentioned in the list of ordinations, prepared by superintendent Friedrich Runge; see Maciej Ptaszyński, 'Friedrich Runge und sein Verzeichnis der ordinierten Geistlichen', *Baltische Studien*, xcvi (2010), 43–66 (specif. 62).

Very short trips, like the one between Loitz and Greifswald (24 km), where he went “to inform the superintendent about all the things”, were exceptional. Twice, he had to travel between Woldegk and Friedland (25 km). What is interesting is that each time, when he left Friedland, he travelled on horseback – once, to Anklam (May 29) and the other time, to Gützkow (July 17). Although both mounted trips covered almost the same distance (25 km), their prices were very different: 6 schill. and 18 schill., respectively. However, on the second trip, Gerven paid “for food and drink for three of us”, which probably means he was not travelling alone. It is not clear whether there was any rule regarding using a horse or a wagon as the method of transport. For instance, when he travelled to Ivenack, Gerven used a wagon thrice (June 23, July 24, August 11), once went on foot (April 12), and twice sent a messenger (April 22, May 3). Probably, in the hot summer, when the weather conditions were more demanding, Gerven was more eager to spend his money on a horse, a wagon, or a messenger.

The way to Ivenack offers an inside look at the role of the travel costs. Gerven spent 18 schill. when travelling on foot and only paid for the food, but he consumed 1.5 fl (= 36 schill. Lüb.) when he used a wagon. The costs also depended on his companions: in his list of expenses, Gerven noted “food and bed for a boy” (*Knabe*). Even if he does not admit it explicitly, some comments, such as “for food and drink for three of us”, reveal the fact that he was not alone. On the one hand, the company was needed for reasons of security; on the other hand, it was a ‘luxury’ that Gerven, as a teacher, could afford. For this service, he paid nothing but the costs of board and accommodation. His expenses grew enormously when he was forced to stay and wait for the answer from the duke or the superintendent. Surprisingly, it was not the accommodation price that really mattered. Usually, he only paid 1 schill. Lüb. per person, regardless of the city, which probably means that he and his companions were satisfied with the cheapest lodging; they slept in a common dormitory, probably sharing a bed with other people. It was the costs of alimentation that grew enormously during the stay in the city. Gerven spent 13 schill. in Franzburg (April 18) because he bought three meals (at 3 schill. Lüb. each) and some beer (4 schill. Lüb.). He did the same in Ivenack (June 23 – July 1), where he paid 1 fl (= 24 schill.) for meals and drinks but only 2 schill. for the stay.

Contacts with chanceries were expensive, not only due to travel and living costs in the large cities. For each letter and certificate obtained from the offices, Gerven had to pay out of his own pocket: for the 'Intercession schrift' in Ivenack (April 22) – 12 schill.; for a recommendation from a chancery in Barth (May 3) – 7 schill.; and, for a recommendation from a chancery in Franzburg (August 6) – 5 schill., not to mention the messenger's fare. However, sending a courier was usually cheaper than travelling alone. Sending a messenger to Ivenack cost 12 schill., whereas Gerven spent at least 18 schill. for this trip. Also, waiting in the city was less expensive for a courier than for Gerven, probably because the courier chose inexpensive accommodation, and could rely on his networks.

IV

The lists of expenses presented by Gerven and Zeaemann are exceptional, but each of them is outstanding in its own way. Their exceptionality does not lie in their originality, though. The idea to demand reimbursement for work-related expenses was neither new nor uncommon, and the archives contain other similar examples. It is worth noting that it remains unknown whether their requester's expectations regarding the repayment were satisfied. The unique thing about these records is the way in which they document a common experience of the professional mobility of the protestant clergy.

Both pastors showed readiness to change their positions – arguably, a *conditio sine qua non* of professional mobility. In the case of Zeaemann, it sufficed that he accepted the invitation to Stralsund. In the case of Gerven, the contender was forced to show great determination to change his life. One could argue that in Gerven's case, his inefficiency challenges the importance of the mobility in the whole process of vocation. However, there is a small detail in Gerven's correspondence that sheds some light on some activities of his more successful opponent. Once, when Gerven visited the general superintendent in Greifswald, he met there his rival, who had come there for the same reason.⁵² It seems not unlikely that the competitors

⁵² LAG, Rep. 5, Tit. 63, no. 219, pp. 51–3, M. Gerven to Sigismund Augustus, s.l., 24 July 1599.

undertook exactly the same steps to obtain the nomination for the parish. Gerven lost the race for the parish because his rival had used more efficient personal networks and was more determined, or perhaps more skilled, than him. Since a contestant succeeded, he did not complain about the situation; therefore the archive stories about the ordination are mostly stories of defeats, office abuses and bribes.

The different experiences of the pastors Gerven and Zeaemann were predominated by their social position. On the one hand, because of his social origin and status, the superintendent was likely to achieve success on the labour market. He was in a comfortable position because he originated from a clergy, married a woman from a clerical family, and was successful in his professional curriculum. Even the time spent in the emperor's prison spoke for him, as a kind of martyrdom for the faith. The city superintendence crowned his long career. On the other hand, the poor schoolmaster Gerven did not succeed in gaining the office, despite his efforts, because he was just one of the many candidates. He came from a lower stratum, and stood at the beginning of his professional career. Neither his social capital nor his personal abilities distinguished him from his colleagues.⁵³ In lack of capital, he was eager to marry a much older woman, considering it as a gate-opener to a future career and better life. By comparing Gerven and Zeaemann, let us collate a member of the new aristocracy with a representative of a new proletariat.

Apparently, their journeys are examples of two different types of professional mobility. On his part, Zeaemann was invited by the city and could expect full reimbursement of his travel expenses. This is why he did not hesitate to take his whole family with him. In other words, it could be assumed that the municipality initiated his moving, and the costs of his professional mobility would in fact have been the city's expenses. He received his invitation thanks to his confessional network, because – assumedly – some of his colleagues had recommended him to the city council. Apart from his health and the health of his family, Zeaemann did not risk a thing.

⁵³ About teachers and schoolmasters, see Martin Kintzinger, 'A Profession but not a Career? Schoolmasters and the Artes in the Late Medieval Europe', in William James Courtenay, Jürgen Miethke, and David B. Priest (eds.), *University and Schooling in Medieval Society* (Leiden et al., 2000), 167–81; Nicholas Orme, 'Schoolmasters, 1307–1509', in Clough (ed.), *Profession, Vocation and Culture*, 218–41; Ptaszyński, 'Pietas i sapientia?', 39–40.

On the other hand, Gerven made a private investment in his career. In the competition, he could not rely on his network or on the parish. He was exposed to the cruel rules of the early modern labour market that forced him to enormous activity. Nevertheless, the geographical dimensions of Gerven's mobility were by no means extraordinary. Studies on male and female servants' mobility in late mediaeval and early modern Europe have proved that those people were usually able to cover a distance of 25 km, up to 75 km, a day.⁵⁴ Gerven's daily itinerary would be rather typical of the lower strata in terms of mobility. It was his ambition and stubbornness that made his case extraordinary. Despite the rejection of ambition and lip service in favour of the ideal of modesty, which appears in all the theoretical and theological treatises, determination and competitiveness were crucial in the struggle for the post.

This line of argumentation would lead to the conclusion that one cannot speak of a single pattern of professional mobility of the Lutheran clergy. The two examples would correspond with two types of the mobility: mobility at the beginning and at the end of the career; mobility of a place-hunter and one of an aristocrat; mobility forced by the labour market and one secured by the networking. It can even be argued that there is a horizontal mobility (Zeaemann travelled across the Holy Roman Empire to obtain his office) and a vertical mobility (Gerven visited neighbour cities in order to climb in the hierarchy). Finally, arguments could be raised to support the assumption that this theoretically homogeneous profession split at the beginning of the seventeenth century and that the group of superintendents met different expectations in terms of their origins, education, and social status.⁵⁵ Apparently, they built a new aristocracy within the Protestant churches. This would explain the discrepancies between the mobility of the poor teacher and the wealthy superintendent.

As appealing as it is, this line of argumentation can and should be questioned. Having stated the differences, we should mention some rather surprising similarities between these individuals. The superintendent

⁵⁴ Renate Dürr, *Mägde in der Stadt. Das Beispiel Schwäbisch Hall in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Geschichte und Geschlecht, 13, Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 210; Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1992), 34; Heide Wunder, *Er ist die Sonn', sie ist der Mond. Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (München, 1992), 178–9, 287.

⁵⁵ Ptaszyński, *Narodziny zawodu*, 272–8.

travelled across Germany and covered a distance of ca. 1,400 km. The schoolmaster remained active only on the border of Mecklenburg and Pomerania. His trips were short, and distances were very limited. However, if we only take into account his journeys, and not the routes of the messengers, we arrive at a very similar number of ca. 1,300 km. Surprising as it is, both the superintendent and the schoolmaster covered the same distance in the hope of receiving a new position. Certainly, it is not the exact distance that matters. If Zeaemann had received the vocation earlier in the emperor's prison, he would have probably covered a different distance. If Gerven had learned about the parish earlier or later, he would have had time to visit Greifswald once more or once less, so the mileage covered would have been different. The point is, however, that both men in their horizontal mobility covered similar distances.

Further on, we could compare their travel-related expenses. One could, however, ask whether it is fair to juxtapose the expenses of the city (employer) with the investments of the schoolmaster (employee). Still, we cannot assume that the superintendent's expenses were covered by the city, and those of the schoolmaster were not. We don't know whether either of them was reimbursed. As a matter of fact, they acted, again, in a very similar way: after spending some money to cover the costs of their mobility, they demanded compensation. Even more, they both probably took notes of their expenditure during their journeys. It could perhaps be assumed that Gerven would have not asked for the money if he had received the vocation; Zeaemann did so all the same.

But is it nevertheless justified to compare the luxurious travel of the superintendent – who could afford all the vehicles he needed and spent his money on superfluous expenses, such as wine, butter, or light in the inn – against the poor schoolmaster who was saving literally every penny? To answer this question, we should compare the expenses with the salaries. In doing so, one should note that the exact amounts of the expenditure are not known, and the incomes of Protestant preachers are not estimable. Usually, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such income was a combination of a monetary salary (*fixa*), payments for services provided (*accidentalialia*), and some other benefits. It is virtually impossible to estimate the latter two sources of revenue because they heavily depended on the number of believers and the quality of the related yields. What is more, some pastors combined

their profession with other activities. For instance, the pastors in Greifswald lectured at the university, whilst their peers in Stettin and Stralsund lectured at the local high schools. To simplify the question, one should focus on the monetary income and on the expenses specified in the lists presented by the superintendent and the schoolmaster.

Around 1600, the average wage of a pastor in Pomerania was about 74 fl.⁵⁶ This was less than in the neighbouring Brandenburg, but the amount was generally comparable with other Protestant regions of the Reich.⁵⁷ As already mentioned, the income of the superintendent in Stralsund was 657 fl a year, which was far above the average salary. The salary of the pastor in Neetzka (50 fl) was much smaller. If we now compare the expenses with the possible incomes, it becomes clear that Gerven, by spending almost 40 fl on his vocation, almost invested the revenues of an entire year. We must remember that Zeaemann spent between 358 and 429 rth (i.e. 11,456 to 13,729 schill. lüb. = 477 to 572 fl), which was also nearly his year's income. Surprisingly, again, a poor teacher and a successful theologian were spending comparable amounts of money on their vocations. The revenues of the superintendent made it possible to hire the wagons and to sleep in expensive inns. The schoolmaster covered a similar distance, but he travelled in very poor conditions.

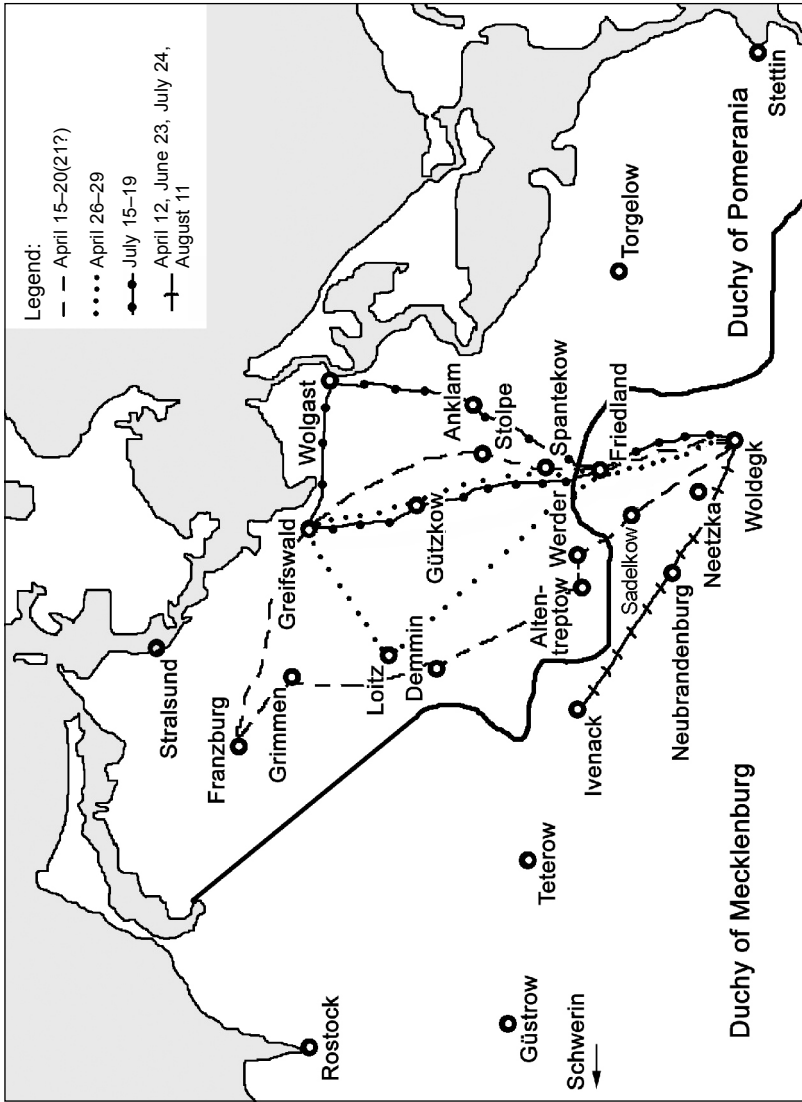
There still remain unanswered questions: how did Gerven know about the vacant position? How did he arrange for money for his trips? When posing these questions, it should be realised that how the city council traced Zeaemann and what kind of fundraising he organised is unknown. The supposition that Zeaemann profited from intensive networking while Gerven was a victim of the labour market is as legitimate as the argument that they both made use of their networks to be informed about the vacant posts. It is also plausible that they both contracted credits or loans to cover their spending, which would explain their eagerness in demanding the reimbursement.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, 382.

⁵⁷ Beate Fröhner, 'Der evangelische Pfarrstand in der Mark Brandenburg 1540–1600', *Wichmann-Jahrbuch*, xix–xx (1965–6), 5–46, here: 33; Gerhard C. Schildberg, 'Le pastorat du Comte de Hanau-Lichtenberg de 1618 à 1789' (Ph.D. dissertation, Strasbourg, 1980), i, 237; Bruce Tolley, *Pastors and Parishioners in Württemberg during the Late Reformation 1581–1621: A Study of Religious Life in the Parishes of Districts Tübingen and Tuttlingen* (Stanford, 1995), 50–1; Vogler, *Le clergé protestant*, 150–1.

Finally, having stated the unexpected similarities, we should attempt to draw from the described examples some general conclusions about the mobility of the Lutheran clergy. The superintendent was a long-journey migrant; he travelled to the foreign Duchy with his entire family and property. The teacher, who aspired for pastorage, was merely a local, short-term migrant. The comparison of the distances travelled and of the roles of expenses in their 'professional budgets' shows that the patterns of behaviour were analogical. *Toute proportion gardée*, this particular aspect of their professional mobility was almost identical.

English revision Tristan Korecki



Map: Michael Gerven's trip routes plotted, 1599

APPENDIX 1: TRAVELS OF GERVEN AND HIS MESSENGERS

○ short stay; ● night stay

The distance was calculated not as a geographical line between the places but road routes according to modern maps.

Travels of Gerven

1. April 12–13 – Woldegk–Ivenack–Woldegk (110 km): Woldegk – ○ Neubrandenburg (27 km) – ● Ivenack (28 km) – ○ Neubrandenburg (28 km) – Woldegk (27 km)
2. April 15–20 (21) – Woldegk–Franzburg–Woldegk (277 km): Woldegk – ○ Sadelkow (25 km) – ● Werder (20 km) – ○ Altentreptow (10 km) – ● Demmin (33 km) – ○ Grimmen (29 km) – ● (?) Franzburg (17 km) – ○ an inn in the village betwixt Franzburg and Greifswald (20 km?) – (●) Greifswald (20 km) – ○ Stolpe (38 km) – ○ Spantekow (12 km) – ● Friedland (28 km) – Woldegk (25 km)
3. April 26–29 – Woldegk–Loitz–Woldegk (192 km): Woldegk – ○ Friedland (25 km) – ○ a village betwixt Friedland and Loitz (27 km) – ● Loitz (27 km) – ○ a village betwixt Loitz and Greifswald (12 km?) – ● Greifswald (12 km?) – ○ Gützkow (20 km) – ● Friedland (44 km) – Woldegk (25 km)
4. May 29–31 – Woldegk–Greifswald–Woldegk (178 km): Woldegk – ● Friedland (25 km) – ○ Gützkow (44 km) – ● Greifswald (20 km) – ○ Gützkow (20 km) – ○ Friedland (44 km) – Woldegk (25 km)
5. June 23–July 1 – Woldegk–Ivenack–Woldegk (110 km): Woldegk – ● Ivenack (55 km – eight days stay) – Woldegk (55 km)
6. July 15–19 – Woldegk–Wolgast–Woldegk (213 km): Woldegk – ● Friedland (25 km) – ○ Anklam (45 km) – ● Wolgast (27 km) – ● Greifswald (27 km) – ○ Gützkow (20 km) – ○ Friedland (44 km) – Woldegk (25 km)
7. July 24 – Woldegk–Ivenack–Woldegk (110 km): Woldegk – ● Ivenack (55 km) – ○ (?) Neubrandenburg (28 km) – Woldegk (27 km)
8. August 11 – Woldegk–Ivenack–Woldegk (110 km): Woldegk – ● (?) Ivenack (55 km) – Woldegk (55 km)

Gerven covered the distance of ca. 1,300 km.

Average distance between stops: 27 km; average distance between overnight stays: 49.5 km.

Travels of messengers

9. April 22 – Woldegk–Ivenack–Woldegk (110 km)
10. May 3 – Woldegk–Ivenack–Woldegk (110 km)
11. May 4 – Woldegk–Barth–Woldegk (282 km)
12. June 21 – Woldegk–Greifswald–Woldegk (168 km)
13. July 4 – Woldegk–Ivenack–Franzburg–Woldegk (246 km)
14. July 27 – Woldegk–Greifswald–Woldegk–Ivenack–Woldegk (278 km with three days stay in Greifswald)
15. August 4 – Woldegk–Franzburg (August 8)–Woldegk (228 km)
16. August 10 – Woldegk–●Barth (141 km)
17. August 18 – [Woldegk–Franzburg?] (114 km)

The messengers covered the distance of ca. 1,677 km.

TABLE 1. *Expenses of Michael Gerven related to his employment at the Neetzka parish in 1599*

Number of travel (in Appendix 1)	Expenses (in schill. lüb.)					Total (in schill. lüb.)
	food and beer	lodgings	transport	messenger	Chancery fees	
1.	18					18
2.	51½	3½				55
3.	38	2				40 ^a
4.	30½	2	6			38½
5.	32	2	36			70
6.	43½		19½		2	65
7.	12		37			49
8.	8		36	1		45
9.				12	12	24
10.				12		12
11.				30	7	37
12.				16		16
13.				28	4	32
14.				27		27
15.				24	5	29
16.				33	6	39
17.				30		30
Total	233½	9½	134½	213	36	626½ ^b

Source: Landesarchiv Greifswald, Herzoglich Wolgaster Archiv, Rep 5, Tit. 63, no. 219, p. 81 (M. Gerven, Verzeichnis der uncosten).

^a Gerven miscalculated his expenses in this point and wrote 1 fl 12 schill. lüb.

^b Additionally, Gerven demanded 3 rth [= 96 schill. lüb.] for 'Schreibgeld', and 10 fl [= 240 schill. lüb.] as reimbursement for the delays. Finally, he miscalculated the sum of his expenses 39 fl 15½ schill. lüb. [= 951½ schill. lüb.], which should have been 962½.