

Johannes Bugenhagen: Reformer beyond the Limelight

As visitors to Wittenberg amble along the main street of the city that leads from the Lutherhalle to the Castle Church, they will surely notice the large statues of Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon¹ located in front of the old city hall. The prominence of these two reformers in the history of Wittenberg and of the Reformation is symbolized by the size and location of the statues. A short distance from the city hall, on one side of St. Mary's, the city church of Wittenberg, stands another statue or, more precisely, a bust of Johannes Bugenhagen, popularly known as Pomeranus. Although the bust is appropriately located, since Bugenhagen was pastor of this church for more than three decades, it is not difficult to miss this tribute to the third most important Wittenberg reformer. Bugenhagen clearly stands in the shadow of his much more famous Wittenberg colleagues. While Melanchthon and, particularly, Luther have rightfully received substantial scholarly attention, Bugenhagen remains the relatively neglected member of the triumvirate of

1. Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) was Martin Luther's most influential colleague in Wittenberg. Trained as a humanist Greek scholar, he became a leading evangelical theologian, the theological diplomat of the Lutherans, a writer of Lutheran confessional documents, an exemplary scholar, and a major educational reformer.

Wittenberg reformers. Although he clearly did not attain the stature of Luther, or even of Melanchthon, his contributions to the Lutheran Reformation were diverse and formative. He deserves a place next to his more famous friends and colleagues.

The Emerging Reformer

During the sixteenth century the island of Wollin in the Baltic Sea was a bustling, albeit small, commercial and shipping center. The main settlement on the island and its capital was the town that shared the name of the island, Wollin, the home of the Bugenhagen family. The annals of history have revealed little about the Bugenhagens. There is some evidence that they may have been descendants of an old Pomeranian family,² but this cannot be confirmed with certainty. Philip Melanchthon describes them as an “honest and senatorial family.”³ Gerhard Bugenhagen, Johannes’s father, was serving as a councilman or perhaps even as burgomaster of Wollin when his wife presented him with a son on June 24, 1485. As was a common practice among the faithful members of the church, the parents named their son in honor of John the Baptist, the saint commemorated on that day in the church calendar.

Johannes Bugenhagen was born a burgher and remained one all of his life. His reforming work was carried out in the cities of northern Europe, although the effects of that work reached into the rural areas as well. The frequency of the calls addressed to him to

2. Hermann Hering, *Doktor Pomeranus, Johannes Bugenhagen*, “Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte,” no. XXII (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1888), 3. Hereafter referred to as Hering.

3. Philip Melanchthon, *De Vita Bugenhagii*, in *Corpus Reformatorum*, ed. Carolus Gottlieb Bretschneider, XII (Halle: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1844), col. 297. Hereafter referred to as Melanchthon, *Vita*. See also *ORATIO DE VITA REVERENDI uiri Domini Iohannis Bugenhagij Pomerani, qui suit Pastor Ecclesiae Dei in oppido Saxoniae Wittebergae, & Lector in Academia annos sex & triginta, recitata a Petro Vincentio Vratislaviensi, Decano Collegij Philosophici, in renunciatione gradus Magisterij Anno 1558. die quarto Augusti. Wittebergae. ex officina typographica Viti Creutzer.*

organize the churches in various urban centers and territories, his diverse accomplishments, and the respect that he inspired wherever he ministered on behalf of the Reformation movement indicate that he particularly understood and constructively addressed the needs and wishes of his fellow burghers, although he was not uninformed or unconcerned about the priorities of the rural populations. Yet, his own family background enabled him to be a particularly effective ambassador of the Reformation to a particular social class that was among the first to be attracted to Luther and his message during the sixteenth century.

Little is known about Bugenhagen's childhood. The extant information addresses primarily his educational experiences and also indicates that Bugenhagen was raised in a pious atmosphere. He himself reflects in later life: "I loved Holy Scripture from youth on. However, I did not know how to use Scripture under the darkness of the Antichrist."⁴ He received his primary education in Wollin and, possibly, in Stettin, for he recalled later that he had witnessed Duke Bogislav X's⁵ return to Stettin from the Holy Land in 1498. Melanchthon notes in his *De vita Bugenhagii* that grammar and music were part of Bugenhagen's primary education.⁶ The grammatical studies served him well in his later years when he proved himself to be an able Latinist.

Bugenhagen eventually joined the relatively small, elite group of male students who were able to attend a university, an indication

4. Quoted in Karl August Traugott Vogt, *Johannes Bugenhagen Pomeranus* (Elberfeld: R. L. Friderichs, 1867), 4. Although it is obviously dated, Vogt's study remains a helpful and valuable biographical study of Bugenhagen. It is particularly useful because the author also includes a considerable amount of primary material, some in translation. Hereafter referred to as K. A. T. Vogt.

5. Duke Bogislav X (1454–1523) of Pomerania ruled this territory from 1474 until 1523. He was an effective diplomat and military leader and was able to extricate Pomerania from the domination of Brandenburg. He traveled to the Holy Land as a pilgrim between 1496 and 1498.

6. Melanchthon, *Vita*, column 297.

both of his own intellectual abilities and of his family's social and economic status. He matriculated at the University of Greifswald on January 24, 1502. Although scholasticism still dominated the university, humanism was gradually gaining ground within the intellectual milieu of Greifswald. The jurists Nicolaus Louwe,⁷ Peter of Ravenna,⁸ and the latter's son Vincentius advocated humanist studies. In addition, the well-known German humanist, Hermann von dem Busche,⁹ was active in Greifswald for a short time at the turn of the century. Hermann Hamelmann¹⁰ asserts in his *De vita, studiis, itineribus, scriptis et laboris Hermanni Buschii* (1584) that Hermann von dem Busche lectured in Greifswald on the grammar of Priscian, on Lucan, and on the commentaries of Caesar. Hamelmann also notes that Bugenhagen and the brothers Petrus,¹¹ Johannes, and Bartholomäus Suave attended Hermann's lectures.¹² On the basis of

7. Nicolaus Louwe, whose dates are uncertain, was educated at the University of Rostock and the University of Greifswald, where he earned the doctorate in canon law in 1499. He taught at Greifswald for a time and served as rector of the university from 1501 to 1502. Most of his career was spent at the University of Rostock where he remained a defender of the church against the emerging Reformation movement.
8. Peter of Ravenna (c. 1448–1508) was trained as a lawyer and taught in Greifswald for a brief period. Rather than as a legal expert, he became famous for his explication of memorization techniques in his *Phoenix seu artificiosa memoria*, published in Venice in 1491.
9. Hermann von dem Busche ((1468–1534) was a peripatetic proponent of humanism who traveled and taught throughout northern Germany, including in Greifswald. Among the universities that he visited was the University of Wittenberg. He also taught at the newly established University of Marburg from 1526 until 1533.
10. Hermann Hamelmann (1526–1595) studied in Cologne and Mainz and was ordained a Roman priest in 1550. However, he joined the Lutheran community shortly thereafter and promoted the Reformation in Westphalia, particularly in Oldenburg. He published a number of historical works and also produced a church order for Oldenburg.
11. Petrus Suave (1496–1552) studied for a time at Wittenberg and accompanied Luther to the Diet of Worms. He became Bugenhagen's successor as lecturer at the monastery in Belbug, but he left this position because he joined the Reformation movement. He lectured at the University of Greifswald in 1523 and promoted the reform movement there. He eventually became a secretary and diplomat for King Christian III (1503–1559) of Denmark, a proponent of the Reformation. Suave was, therefore, able to foster the Reformation in the king's territories and also served as rector of the University of Copenhagen as well as Dean of the cathedral in Roskilde.
12. Roderich Schmidt, "Der Croy-Teppich der Universität Greifswald, ein Denkmal der Reformation in Pommern," in *Johann Bugenhagen: Ein Beitrag zu seinem 400. Todestag*, ed.

Hamelmann's assertions, most scholars exploring Bugenhagen's life have maintained that Bugenhagen studied under Hermann von dem Busche at Greifswald and was therefore impacted by Renaissance humanistic studies and perspectives.¹³

The debated question of the impact of humanism on Bugenhagen is an important one, especially when considering his inclinations toward church reform and his contributions to education. However, it is also a problematic one. It cannot be denied that Bugenhagen came into contact with humanism at the University of Greifswald. The extent of this contact and its lasting impact are open to question, however. While the majority of scholars argue that Bugenhagen came under the direct tutelage of Hermann von dem Busche, Schmidt has raised doubt concerning the validity of this assertion by questioning the trustworthiness of Hamelmann's account.¹⁴ Thus, on the basis of the available historical evidence, it can be maintained that Bugenhagen came into contact with humanist ideas during his university days. At the same time, it cannot be asserted with certainty that he worked directly with Hermann von dem Busche or any other humanist. Furthermore, it must be noted that Bugenhagen was trained in the scholastic tradition, for scholasticism remained the

Werner Rautenberg (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1958), 96. Hereafter referred to as Schmidt.

13. Among the scholars who assert that Bugenhagen studied with Hermann von dem Busche are K. A. T. Vogt, Hellmuth Heyden, Hermann Hering, Robert Stupperich, H. Meinhof, and L. W. Graepp. Walter Ruccius and Roderich Schmidt question whether Bugenhagen was actually taught by Hermann but admit that the latter's influence was still present at the University of Greifswald during Bugenhagen's student days. Ruccius feels that Hermann had, however, left Greifswald by the time Bugenhagen matriculated.
14. Schmidt, 96–97. Schmidt points out that the Suave "brothers," to whom Hamelmann refers, were not brothers at all. Johannes Suave was the uncle of Bartholomäus, and Petrus was Bartholomäus's cousin. Such errors cause the careful scholar to be cautious about Hamelmann's historical account. Schmidt also indicates that there is no record of Hermann von dem Busche's activity at the University of Greifswald. This does not mean, of course, that Hermann did not teach in Greifswald outside the university context. That practice was quite common among humanists.

dominant tradition at the University of Greifswald at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Bugenhagen's relationship to humanism was therefore quite similar to that of his eventual spiritual and theological mentor, Martin Luther. Like Luther, Bugenhagen was attracted by the humanist emphases on ethics; ecclesiastical reform; the mastery of classical languages; and the study of the Christian classics, particularly Scripture. It is certainly apparent that he appreciated and affirmed these humanist ideals, and the impact of humanism is clearly evident in his educational priorities and his biblical scholarship. However, Bugenhagen should not be numbered among the humanists. His theological convictions ultimately shaped his intellectual and spiritual interests and his diverse contributions to the Reformation.

Bugenhagen left the University of Greifswald well-versed in the Latin authors, able to write Latin in a proper classical style, and thoroughly familiar with Latin grammar. His mastery of this classical language was such that Melancthon, who was himself no mean Latinist, referred to Bugenhagen as *grammaticus*, and Luther valued his knowledge of Latin highly in the work of biblical translation. It is also likely that Bugenhagen acquainted himself with the rudiments of Greek during his university days. It does not appear, however, that he studied much theology. His theological interests were apparently awakened later and were fostered by independent scholarly research, particularly the study of Scripture and of the patristic literature. Interest in the Christian classics was, of course, promoted by the humanists.

After completing his studies at Greifswald, Bugenhagen was appointed rector of the city school of Treptow an der Rega in 1504. The right of advowson was enjoyed by the abbot of the Premonstratensian monastery Belbug, which towered over the city. Apparently, Bugenhagen's intellectual gifts must have been readily

apparent and eagerly affirmed by the monastic authorities and the political leaders of Treptow, since he was only nineteen years old when he was offered and accepted this challenging position.

The Latin school in Treptow had already achieved an admirable reputation, but that reputation continued to grow under Bugenhagen's leadership. Students were attracted to the school not only from the immediate surrounding region but also from areas as far away as Livonia¹⁵ and Westphalia. Furthermore, the local clergy, the Premonstratensian monks, and interested burghers also attended Bugenhagen's lectures at the Latin school.

Bugenhagen clearly contributed to the success of the Treptow Latin school. He was an effective teacher because he remained a diligent student, exploring not only the Greek and Roman classics and the writings of the humanists but pursuing particularly the study of Scripture and the early Christian writers. While he rejected much in the scholastic commentaries, he found Jerome and Augustine particularly helpful as he immersed himself in the biblical text. Having acquired a deep love for the Latin language and the classics, he labored diligently to instill this love in his students as well. Knowledge of good classical Latin and proficiency in the disciplines of grammar and rhetoric, however, were not sufficient goals of Bugenhagen's pedagogical endeavors. It was not his primary concern to make scholars out of his students, though this was an important goal. He was even more concerned to acquaint them with the word of God and to inspire them to true Christian piety. The younger students were given catechetical instruction, particularly the explanation of the Creed and the Ten Commandments. The more advanced were led to Scripture itself. Bugenhagen filled the classrooms as he lectured on the Psalms, the Gospel of Matthew, and the Epistles to Timothy.¹⁶

15. This region was part of what is contemporary Latvia and Estonia.

The fame of the Treptow Latin School flourished as Bugenhagen's reputation as a Latinist and as a capable biblical scholar spread. As the rector of the school he also concerned himself with the quality of the teaching staff. He was therefore instrumental in sending at least two of his assistants, including his brother Gerard, to the well-known school of Johannes Murmellius¹⁷ in Münster.¹⁸ An excellent teaching staff also served to enhance the school's reputation. Already in his first position, then, Bugenhagen proved to be an effective and creative teacher as well as a capable and diligent administrator. He continued to exemplify these characteristics throughout his long career as a reformer of the church.

The historical record reveals few specifics about Bugenhagen's life between the years 1504 and 1517. Throughout that time he appears to have dedicated himself primarily to his educational and administrative responsibilities in Treptow. Those responsibilities also led to his ordination in 1509. His popular lectures on various biblical books demonstrated Bugenhagen's knowledge of Scripture, his spiritual sincerity, and his reforming spirit. A number of his friends and students therefore encouraged him to become a priest, a suggestion to which Bugenhagen apparently responded quite favorably. The Bishop of Cammin, who was also the prelate of Pomerania, ordained Bugenhagen in 1509 even though he had no formal theological training, and he became a vicar at the collegiate church of St. Mary in Treptow.¹⁹ He thus assumed the regular

16. L. W. Graepp, *Johannes Bugenhagen* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1897), 7.

17. Johannes Murmellius (c. 1480–1517) was a well-known humanist educator during the early sixteenth century.

18. Leonid Arbusow, *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte, vol. III (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1921), 171. Hereafter referred to as Arbusow.

19. Walter Ruccius, *John Bugenhagen Pomeranus* (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, n.d.), 12.

preaching and sacramental duties of a priest in addition to his teaching and administrative responsibilities at the Latin school.

His responsibilities were diversified further in the historic year 1517. Johannes Boldewan²⁰ had become the abbot of the Belbug monastery at the beginning of that year. He was a well-educated man, having studied at Greifswald, and he was imbued with a reforming spirit. One of his first acts after assuming his new position was the creation of a monastic school in order to improve the education of the monks. It was not surprising that he turned to Bugenhagen for assistance in this endeavor and appointed him as a lecturer at the monastic school because of the latter's responsibilities at the Latin school. Boldewan was particularly concerned to enhance the monks' knowledge of Scripture and of the early Christian writers. Bugenhagen was the logical choice in Treptow to teach these fields. While he never became a Premonstratensian monk, he now had the opportunity to shape the intellectual and theological formation of the Belbug brothers.

His biblical studies, his humanist interests, and his own perception of what the Christian church and the Christian life should be awakened a reforming spirit in Bugenhagen as well. Until he came under the influence of Luther, however, he was essentially an ethical reformer. He did not challenge the doctrines of the church but merely joined the considerable number of voices within the church who called for a general renewal of the church's life, theology, and piety. There is nothing radical about his message, nor does his early reform activity indicate that he would eventually join the

20. Johannes Boldewan (c. 1485–c. 1529) studied at the University of Greifswald and then joined the Premonstratensian Order in Belbug, Pomerania. He rose in the hierarchy of the Order and was appointed abbot of the monastery in Belbug in 1517. Like Bugenhagen, he became interested in the Reformation movement and was therefore removed from his position as abbot in 1522. After spending some time in Wittenberg, he became an evangelical pastor with the support of Bugenhagen and completed his time of pastoral service in Hamburg at St. Peter's Church.

Reformation movement. It is nevertheless a significant indication of his character, his ecclesiastical perspectives, and his vision of the Christian life.

Bugenhagen's reform spirit is clearly expressed in a sermon preached on June 29, the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, the patron saints of the Belbug monastery.²¹ The year when this sermon was delivered is debated.²² It is clear, however, that Bugenhagen took advantage of the opportunity to express his concerns to his monastic audience. In the sermon he reprimands those preachers who give the saints as much honor as God in their sermons but say nothing that assists their listeners in their quest to live more faithfully. He rejects the formalism of much of contemporary piety and encourages his listeners to seek the essence of the Christian life, which consists of performing deeds of love for the sake of one's neighbor. He also chastises the priests for taking money for their sacramental service and assures them that they would not have to worry about their physical welfare if they would fulfill the responsibilities of their high calling. The people would then respect them and see to their physical well-being. However, how can the clerics expect such respect when they do God's work reluctantly and superficially and spend hours

21. See Bugenhagen's *Oratio die beatorum Petri et Pauli* in Anneliese Bieber-Wallmann, ed., *Johannes Bugenhagen: Reformatorische Schriften (1515/16–1524)*, Johannes Bugenhagen, Werke, Band I,1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 42–61 (text, 51–61). Hereafter referred to as *Bugenhagen: Reformatorische Schriften*.
22. While H. Meinhof places the sermon in the year 1505 in his *Dr. Pommer Bugenhagen und sein Wirken* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1890), 5, K. A. T. Vogt (17) believes that it was preached between 1517 and 1519. More recently, Wolf-Dieter Hauschild has argued that the most defensible dates for the sermon are either 1519 or 1520, with 1520 the preferable choice. See *Bugenhagen: Reformatorische Schriften*, 48–49. Vogt's and Hauschild's proposals are more defensible, particularly since Bugenhagen was not yet a priest in 1505, and he refers to himself as a priest in the sermon. Furthermore, he also cites Erasmus' *Ratio verae theologiae*, which appeared as a preface to Erasmus' Greek New Testament of 1516 and then was published separately in 1518. It would also have been highly unlikely that a young rector, who was not an ordained priest and who had not yet had the opportunity to inspire the respect and admiration of the people of Treptow, would be invited to preach at such an important ecclesiastical and communal occasion. It is defensible to conclude, therefore, that the sermon was most likely delivered in 1519 or 1520. .

in “feasting, drinking, fornication, bowling, and gambling . . . ?”²³ Bugenhagen closes his sermon by reminding his hearers that the message he has addressed to them is not his own but Christ’s, for Christ said, “Go and learn what this means: I desire mercy and not sacrifice”²⁴ [Matt. 9:13a]. Bugenhagen had spoken harsh words to the congregation, but, as he assured them, he had spoken to them out of love. He had obviously compared the religious practices and priestly leadership of his time with the expectations and mandates of Scripture, and he recognized numerous discrepancies between the scriptural ideals and the realities of his contemporary church. His very real concern for reform, then, enabled him to speak precisely, critically, and truthfully. Such concerns and interests obviously prepared him for an eventual reception and affirmation of Luther’s message.

Bugenhagen’s spirit of reform is also evident in his historical chronicle, the *Pomerania*. In this work he focuses on education as the most efficient means of reforming the church. He is particularly concerned that the clergy become intimately acquainted with Scripture. He notes corruptions among the members of the monastic orders and asserts that these arise basically because of “. . . ignorance of Holy Scripture and the teachings of Christ.”²⁵ The vitality and ideal character of monastic life would best be revived if the abbots would see to it that the young brothers were taught the word of God. He cites Belbug as an example of what can be done in the area of spiritual reform by means of an intentional and effective catechetical program.²⁶

23. Bugenhagen: *Reformatiorische Schriften*, 59.

24. *Ibid.*, 61.

25. Quoted in K. A. T. Vogt, 16. See also Jac. Henr. Balthasar, ed., *Joh. Bugenbagii Pomerania*, in *Quatuor Libros Divisa*. (Gryphiswaldiae: Jac. Löfleri, MDCCXXVIII), 117. Hereafter referred to as *Pomerania*.

26. *Ibid.* See also *Pomerania*, 118.

No doubt influenced by his own work as an educator, Bugenhagen envisioned reform primarily in terms of educational and ethical reform during the first two decades of the sixteenth century. He asserted that people who understand the biblical message will also live in accordance with it. They will only become familiar with that message if they are thoroughly immersed in Holy Scripture through a careful program of biblical instruction. His own positive experiences as he taught in the Treptow Latin school and in the Belbug monastery convinced him of the efficacy of education as a means of reform. He spoke not as a theorist but as a practical man from experience. This was to be characteristic of Bugenhagen throughout his ministry. Education also remained an essential aspect of his vocational pursuits and his reform program.

By 1519, then, Johannes Bugenhagen had developed a sincere and courageous reforming spirit. His vision of reform was, however, still a limited one. Desiderius Erasmus,²⁷ whose *Ratio verae theologiae*²⁸ he cited in the sermon discussed above and whom the humanist Murmellius had commended to him,²⁹ appears to have been a decisive

27. Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), or Erasmus of Rotterdam, was the leading humanist scholar north of the Alps at the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was particularly respected for his critical edition of the Greek New Testament, the *Novum Instrumentum omne* (1516), which was retitled *Novum Testamentum omne* in its second edition of 1519. This scholarly work greatly facilitated biblical studies, and Luther used the second edition as he translated the New Testament during his exile at the Wartburg (1521–1522). Erasmus also wrote a variety of other influential works. Both the supporters of Rome and the reformers encouraged him to support their positions publicly. Erasmus was reluctant to join the theological and ecclesiastical debates and preferred to pursue his scholarly work. When he did finally take a side, he focused on anthropology and criticized Luther with his *De libero arbitrio diatribe sive collatio* or his *Diatribe on the Free Will* of 1524, to which Luther responded with his *De servo arbitrio* or the *On the Bondage of the Will* of 1525. [See the treatise in volume 33 of Helmut Lehmann and Jaroslav Pelikan, eds., *Luther's Works*, 55 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press; St. Louis: Concordia, 1955–86). *Luther's Works* are hereafter referred to as LW.] This is one of the reformer's most important and challenging treatises.

28. The *Ratio verae theologiae* was originally an introduction to the second edition of the Greek New Testament, which was published separately after 1522. In it Erasmus discusses his interpretative methods. See Albert Rabil Jr., *Erasmus and the New Testament: The Mind of a Christian Humanist*, Trinity University Monograph Series in Religion, vol. 1 (University Press of America), 104.

influence on Bugenhagen during this time. Although he was beginning to challenge some of the practices of the church, he had not yet become a theological reformer. His emphasis on the centrality of Scripture and the necessity of intensive scriptural study was an important one, and it would eventually inform his own theological perspectives and his theological reforms. It is important to note that he developed this emphasis before he became acquainted with Luther. Yet, the goal of biblical studies was still limited. He was essentially an ethical reformer who viewed Scripture as a guide for faithful Christian living. He was not yet searching for nor had he discovered new theological insights through his examinations of the scriptural text. At this point in his life, Bugenhagen saw no need to change his theology. However, he did see a definite need to combat various corruptions within the church and to challenge Christian people to live faithfully. It was this concern that shaped his program of reform and that focused his scriptural studies.

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

I, Johann Bugenhagen, Pomer, preached this sermon to the clerics in Belbug while I was still a young man and a papist when the people flocked for indulgences. It is clear in the sermon how eagerly I wanted to be a Christian then, but it was still the time of error.³⁰

The Pomeranian cleric and educator still saw the Christian life in terms of good works and of human merit rather than in terms of faith

29. Otto Vogt, ed., *Dr. Johannes Bugenhagens Briefwechsel* (Stettin: Leon Saunier, 1888), Murmellius to Bugenhagen, 6, no. 2 (no date). Hereafter referred to as Vogt, *Briefwechsel*.

30. Quoted in K. A. T. Vogt, 27.