



EIGHTH ANNUAL REFORC CONFERENCE

MAY 24–26, 2018,
WARSAW

Hosted by the Faculty of “Artes
Liberales”, University of Warsaw



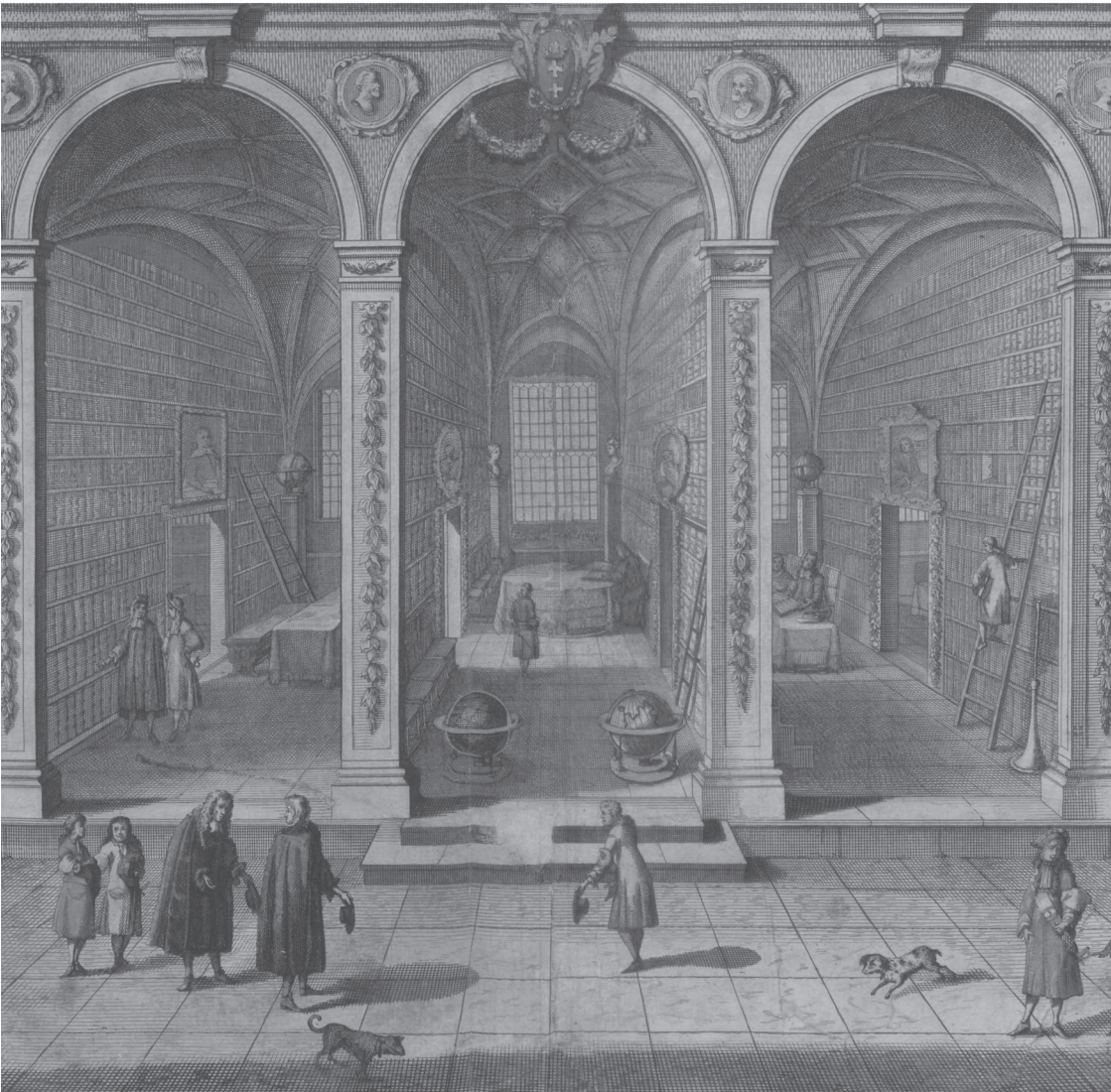
PROGRAM



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Centre for the Study of the Reformation...	3
Conference Schedule	4
Collegium Artes Liberales	11
Plenary Lectures	12
Short Papers	18
Notes	47

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF THE REFORMATION AND INTELLECTUAL CULTURE IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

The Centre is a research unit of the Faculty of “Artes Liberales”, which is one of the youngest faculties of the University of Warsaw – the premier research university in Poland and one of the leading research and educational institutions in this region of Europe.

The Centre, established on 21 April 2016, continues the activities of the international Committee for the Study of the Reformation in Poland and East-Central Europe which operated since December 2009. One of the principal aims of our projects is to make a leading contribution to the ongoing reassessment of the Polish and Central European Reformation. However, what particularly distinguishes them is their attempt to locate it within a broader intellectual and geographical narrative and, by so doing, to help foster a new comparative and dynamic account of pan-European reform in all its multi-faceted dimensions.

The Centre’s research activities include, but are not be limited to, the following areas:

- Renaissance and Reformation
- The role of medieval philosophy and theology in the age of the Reformation
- Reformation and confessionalization
- Historiography and the methodology of Reformation research
- Comparative approaches to the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Western, Central and Eastern Europe
- Confessional dialogue and polemic in early modernity, with a particular focus on Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox relations in East-Central Europe
- Radical religion, Socinianism and Anti-Trinitarianism
- Irenicism, ecumenism and ‘universal reform’
- Political thought of the Reformation and early modern period
- Art and architecture in the Reformation and early modern period
- Education and schooling in the Reformation and early modern period
- Books and printing as agents of change in the Reformation and early modern period
- Relations between the Reformation movement and other areas of intellectual culture of the period, including the natural sciences and humanities

The Centre’s activities focus on:

- organizing conferences and seminars
- preparing scholarly publications devoted to Reformation studies and early modern religious studies in general, including critical editions of source texts
- establishing educational programs devoted to religious studies (including a new MA program on “Christianity in Culture” at the Faculty of “Artes Liberales”, University of Warsaw)
- producing translations and critical editions of essential Reformation sources and other early modern texts

Members of the Centre:

Alicja Bielak, Dr. Michał Choptiany, Jakub Dadlez, Dr. Tamara Sztyma-Knasiacka, Prof. Dr. hab. Piotr Wilczek

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

Wednesday, May 23, 2018

17:00-20:00: RefoRC Board Meeting

Thursday, May 24, 2018

09:30-11:30: RefoRC Member Meeting,
conference room / sala konfer-
encyjna, level -1 of the faculty
building

11:30-12:30: Lunch RefoRC Members

10:30-15:45: Registration, room 13

12:45-15:30: **Inaugural Session**

12:45-13:15: Opening of the conference
and welcome addresses
Award Ceremony RefoRC Book
Award 2018

13:15-14:15: Plenary Lecture 1: **Charlotte
Appel** (Aarhus): *Religious Books
and Lutheran Piety: Education,
Devotional Practices, and the
Formation of Confessional Identity
in Denmark c. 1530-1700*

14:15-15:15: Plenary Lecture 2: **Willem
Frijihoff** (Rotterdam): *Education*

*High and Low as an Asset of the
Catholic Tradition (Late 15th-17th
centuries)*

15:15-15:45: Coffee Break

15:45-17:15: Short Paper Panels

18:00: Evening Program

Friday, May 25, 2018

09:00-11:30: **Plenary Session**

09:00-10:00: Plenary Lecture 3: **Torrance
Kirby** (Montreal): *Educating the
Public in Tudor London: Outdoor
Sermons at Paul's Cross*

10:00-10:30: Coffee Break

10:30-11:30: Plenary Lecture 4: **Anne Eu-
sterschulte** (Berlin): *'Political
Philology'. Edition Practices and
Educational Reform in the Refor-
mation Period: A Case Study*

11:45-13:15: Short Paper Panels

13:15-14:45: Lunch Break

14:45-15:45: **Plenary Session**

14:45-15:45: Plenary Lecture 5: **Lucie Stor-
chová** (Prague): *Post Praecep-
torem Germaniae: The Transfer of
Melancthon's Natural Philosophy
to the Bohemian Lands from the
1540s onwards*

15:45-16:15: Coffee Break

-
- 16:15-17:45:** Short Paper Panels
18:00-19:30: Short Paper Panels
19:30: Reception

Saturday, May 26, 2018

- 09:30-11:00:** Short Paper Panels
11:00-11:45: Coffee Break
11:45-13:00: **Plenary Session**
11:45-12:45: Plenary Lecture 6: **Michał Choptiany** (Warsaw): *Education and Reformation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Between Tradition and Innovation*
12:45-13:00: Closing of the conference
Announcing the Ninth Annual RefoRC Conference 2019

Thursday May 24, 2018, 15.45-17.15 h

CONFERENCE ROOM	ROOM 11	ROOM 9	ROOM 5
Session 1A. The Reformation in Bohemia	Session 1B. Education and Radical Reform	Session 1C. Pastoral Theology and Spirituality	Session 1D. Ethical and Social Impacts of the Reformation
Chair: Simon J. G. Burton (Edinburgh)	Chair: Zsombor Tóth (Budapest)	Chair: Volker Leppin (Tübingen)	Chair: Lucie Storchová (Prague)
Jan Červenka (Olomouc): <i>Humanism and the Defence of the Utraquist Church in Bohemia</i>	Matthew Norris (Cambridge): <i>The Anabaptist Crisis: A Fresh Perspective on Anabaptists during the Reformation</i>	Stanisław Rabiej (Warsaw): <i>Sixteenth-Century Protestant Spirituality</i>	Hadje Sadje (Leuven): <i>Reformation's Dangerous Idea: The Undermined Social Impact of the Sixteenth Century among Filipino Mainline Protestant Churches</i>
Tabita Landová (Prague): <i>Every Man Complete in Christ. Christian Education of the Bohemian Brethren before Comenius</i>	Marta Quatralé (Berlin): <i>"Grundsuppe aller Sacramentschwermerey". A 'philological' Path in the Reactions Against the So-called Consensus Dresdensis</i>	Thomas Klöckner (Apeldoorn): <i>Teaching the Beginnings: Henricus Altingius (1583–1644) Early Lecture about on History of Dogma</i>	Piotr Alexandrowicz (Poznań): <i>The Freedom of Contract in the Confessional Context: Comparison of the Doctrines of Comitoli, Grotius and Pufendorf</i>
Radim Červenka (Prague/Olomouc): <i>Optimistic Anthropology? Sin and Penitence in Comenius Work and the Bohemian Reformation</i>	Marco Giardini (independent scholar): <i>"Advancement of Learning" or "Reformation of the whole world?" Chiliastic Understanding of Natural Knowledge Between the 16th and 17th Centuries</i>	Balázs Dávid Magyar (Debrecen): <i>Crime and the Very Grace of God: Theoretical and Practical Fulfilment of God's Law. John Calvin's Theological and Judicial Teachings on Adultery</i>	Attila K. Molnar (Budapest): <i>The Protestant Ethic in Hungary: Vocation and Identity</i>

Friday May 25, 2018, 11.45-13.15 h

CONFERENCE ROOM	ROOM 11	ROOM 9
Session 2A. Ramism and Aristotelianism	Session 2B. Reformation Poetry and Polemics	Session 2C. Polish Intellectual and Religious Culture
Chair: Michał Choptiany (Warsaw)	Chair: Torrance Kirby (Montreal)	Chair: Willem Frijhoff (Rotterdam)
Simon J.G. Burton (Edinburgh): <i>Covenant and Participation in Early Modern Ramism: Musings on the New England Mind</i>	Angelika Modlińska-Piekarz (Lublin): <i>Sacra poesis of Silesian Protestants and its Educational Function during the Reformation</i>	Izabela Winiarska-Górska (Warsaw): <i>Middle Polish Bible Translations as a Formative Genre</i>
William Engel (Sewanee): <i>The Making of a Protestant Art of Memory</i>	Tünde Móré (Budapest): <i>The Poetical Representation of Travel in the 16th Century Laudatory Poems in Wittenberg</i>	Wojciech Kordyżon (Warsaw): <i>Genealogical Crossroads: Polish Translation of Ochino's Dialogue and Shaping Communication with a Reader</i>
Dolf te Velde (Kampen): <i>Reformed Theology and the War on Education: Bartholomaeus Keckermann on the Debate between Aristotle and Ramus</i>	Hicham Merzouki (Ghent): <i>Death in George Herbert's The Temple</i>	Tadeusz Rubik (Warsaw): <i>Jakub Wujek's Translation of the Holy Scripture Against Protestant Teachings on the Holy Images</i>

Friday May 25, 2018, 16.15-17.45 h

CONFERENCE ROOM	ROOM 11	ROOM 9	ROOM 5
Session 3A. Baptism, Salvation and Pneumatology	Session 3B. Art in the Reformation	Session 3C. Tridentine Perspectives on Education	Session 3D. Formation and Education in the Low Countrie
Chair: Herman Selderhuis (Apeldoorn)	Chair: Zsombor Tóth (Budapest)	Chair: Volker Leppin (Tübingen)	Chair: Lucie Storchová (Prague)
Lyle D. Bierma (Grand Rapids): <i>The Alleged Incoherence of Calvin's Doctrine of Baptism</i>	Justin Kroesen (Bergen, N): <i>A House for a Lord: The Visual Impact of Gentlemen's Pews in Early Protestant Church Interiors in the North of the Netherlands</i>	Justyna Łukaszewska-Haberkowa (Cracow): <i>Reformation of the Church and the Jesuit Education in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Sixteenth Century</i>	Wim Moehn (Amsterdam): <i>Guido de Bres's Oeuvre in a Critical Edition</i>
Henk van den Belt (Groningen): <i>Called by Grace: The Influence of Martin Bucer on John Calvin's Concept of the Call to Salvation</i>	Maria Lucia Weigel (Bretten): <i>Teaching and Preaching the Cross. Illustrations on Frontispieces of Protestant Catechisms and Songbooks [Paper in German]</i>	Wim François (Leuven): <i>The Sacrament of Marriage after Trent: Biblical Scholarship and Visual Exegesis</i>	Sabine Hiebsch (Kampen): <i>Challenges of a Religious Minority: Educating Lutherans in the Dutch Republic</i>
Ariane Albisser (Zürich): <i>Pneumatology in Henry Bullinger's Systematic Works</i>	Jacolien Wubs (Groningen): <i>Protestant Text Decoration in a North-Sea-perspective: Lutheran 'Schriftaltäre' and 'Katekismetavler', Calvinist 'Tien gebodenborden' and Anglican 'Ten Commandments Boards'</i>	Martin Christ (Tübingen/Oxford): <i>Education in a Pluriconfessional Border Region, Upper Lusatia c. 1520-1635</i>	Linda Gottschalk (Badhoevedorp): <i>Christ the Rector: Caspar Coolhaes Critiques Theological Education at Leiden University</i>

Friday May 25, 2018, 18.00-19.30 h

CONFERENCE ROOM	ROOM 11	ROOM 9
Session 4A. Music and Religious Education in Reformation Europ	Session 4B. Reformed Education and Catechising	Session 4C. Lutheran Concepts of Education
Chair: Stanisław Rabej (Warsaw)	Chair: Sabine Hiebsch (Kampen)	Chair: Günter Frank (Bretten)
Hyun-Ah Kim (Bretten/Kampen): <i>The Humanist Pedagogy of Hebrew Biblical Chant in the Reformation: Reuchlin's Reconstruction of the Ancient Modulata Recitatio</i>	Gianmarco Bragh (Bologna): <i>Beyond Catechisms and Calvin's "Institutio": Pierre Viret and the "Exposition familière" as an Educational Literary Genre</i>	Gábor Ittzés (Debrecen): <i>The Cradle of Reformation Education: The Leucorea in the Early Sixteenth Century</i>
Yelena Mazour (Paris): <i>Gerson's Contribution to Lutheran Music</i>	Nicholas Cumming (Malibu): <i>Geneva Among the Reformed: The Pastoral, Political, and Academic Contexts of the City of Geneva in the Mid-Seventeenth Century</i>	Niranjan Goswami (Kolkata): <i>The Strangeness of Commonplaces: Melancthon's Use of the Loci as a Concept-making Tool in Education</i>
Gioia Filocamo (Terni-Parma): <i>Representing Music to Teach Emotions Through the Still-Life Paintings of Musical Instruments by Evaristo Baschenis (1607-1677)</i>	Aurelio García (Puerto Rico): <i>Reason, Faith and Indifference: A Recurring Cluster of Themes in French Reformed Thought from Calvin to Bayle</i>	Jakub Koryl (Cracow): <i>Beasts at School: Education for the Advancement of Germanness</i>

Saturday May 26, 2018, 09.30-11.00 h

CONFERENCE ROOM	ROOM 11	ROOM 9	ROOM 5
Session 5A. The Deformation of Rights? Complexities in Early Modern Protestant Ethics and Economics	Session 5B. Reformation, Education and the Arts	Session 5C. Theological Perspectives on Freedom, Grace and Justification	Session 5D. Rhetoric, Politics and History
Chair: Andrew McGinnis (Grand Rapids)	Chair: Jakub Koryl (Cracow)	Chair: Simon J. G. Burton (Edinburgh)	Chair: Michał Choptiany (Warsaw)
Jordan J. Ballor (Grand Rapids/ Amsterdam): <i>Vocation and Hierarchy in the Thought of Richard Baxter</i>	Maciej Jońca (Lublin): <i>"Susanna ex 13. Danielis tragoedia" as a Literary Toy Used for Legal Education in the Protestant Gymnasium Illustre in Leszno in the 17th Century</i>	Philip Fisk (Leuven): <i>The Will to Love God above All Else: Luther, Edwards, and the Bondage of the Will</i>	Klaudia Gumieniak (Warsaw): <i>The Image of the Religious Situation in Poland in the Reign of Sigismund Augustus (1548-1572) in the 'Relazioni Finali of Papal Nuncios'</i>
Alejandro Chafuen (Grand Rapids): <i>The Economic Rights of Sinners: Francisco de Vitoria and His Protestant Interlocutors</i>	Christian Könné (Kaiserslautern): <i>The Representation of the Reformation in German History Education</i>	Davi C. Ribeiro Lin (Belo Horizonte/ Leuven): <i>Augustine, Thomas Aquinas and Martin Luther on Grace: Retracing Historical Course for a Complementary Dialogue.</i>	Hans Leaman (Göttingen): <i>Protestant Anti-Pilgrimage Polemics and the Ideal of the Evangelical Merchant</i>
Matthew J. Tuininga (Grand Rapids): <i>Puritans and Pequots: The Political Theology of Genocide</i>	Jane Schatkin Hettrick (New York): <i>Educating the Organist: A Contract for a Lutheran Organist in Vienna in 1824</i>	Sergiej Slavinski (Edinburgh): <i>Covenant Pacification: The Relationship between Imputation and Conscience in John Owen's Doctrine of Justification</i>	

COLLEGIUM ARTES LIBERALES

The Collegium Artes Liberales (College of Liberal Arts and Sciences) was founded in 2008. It proposes both BA and MA curricula that restore awareness of the affinities between the humanities, social sciences and natural sciences, combining thinking with artistic activity and promoting people's all-round, individual and civic development.

The Collegium Artes Liberales invites its members to a shared experience – the “Fellowship of Professors and Students.” Professors and

students work together to develop a program that is innovative and ancient at the same time, a “radical” program if we remember the Latin meaning of the word radix (root). Our program aims to help students develop as individuals - people who are specialists in their particular field but also able to follow their imagination and sense of responsibility for the common good in their activity.

Our program is in a state of constant “being in the making”: we change and improve it, working with our American and European partners and with the organizations and foundations that support our activity, primarily the “Instytut Artes Liberales” Foundation, the Association of American Colleges and Universities and the Endeavor Foundation, the Collège de France, the Sorbonne and the École Normale Supérieure.



PLENARY LECTURES

CHARLOTTE APPEL

Aarhus University

Abstract

Religious Books and Lutheran Piety: Education, Devotional Practices, and the Formation of Confessional Identity in Denmark c. 1530-1700

One of the most important and interesting arenas for studying the changes, following the Danish reformation in 1536, is the world of books and education. The printed media had been crucial in paving the way for the reformation movement, and from the very beginning king Christian III and his chief advisors, including Johann Bugenhagen, were engaged in using and regulating both books and schools. Media policies followed two interrelated strands: the repression of dangerous and unwanted books along with active support of useful and edifying books. Compared to the situation in most other European countries, the Danish authorities seemed to have been relatively successful in their attempts to control the book market, because the Danish vernacular was only in use within the borders of the kingdom, and because the production of books was limited to the capital of Copenhagen. High priority was also given to the strengthening of education. During the first decades following the Reformation, most efforts were put into reorganizing grammar schools across the country, thus providing facilities for the education of future Lutheran clergymen. Gradually, however, elementary teaching achieved more attention, and at the time of the

Thirty Years War, a veritable 'catechism campaign' was launched, focusing on the spreading of literacy and extended knowledge of Luther's smaller Catechism. Overall, Denmark stands out as an example of a strictly mono-confessional Lutheran society.

This paper sets out to investigate the development of post-reformation book culture and education in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Denmark. It will outline the most important laws and regulations as well as visions and strategies, formulated on behalf of the new Lutheran church. But it will also move beyond this level and look more closely at these developments as a result of complex cultural practices and the active participation of numerous 'agents of change'. Special attendance will be paid to the role of the parish clergy. Many pastors were active – often in collaboration with local noblemen, merchants or peasants – in developing and disseminating religious books and in encouraging and organizing local schooling. The paper will introduce some of these clergymen and expand on the challenges they met and the choices they made, when trying to fill in their new role as Lutheran pastors. Studied from below, rather than 'from above', the formation of a new confessional identity comes out as a much more muddled and protracted affair. Nevertheless, reading skills and daily use of pious books stand out as important markers of the new Lutheran identity, which clergymen strived to shape and strengthen among their parishioners.

WILLEM FRIJHOFF

Erasmus University, Rotterdam

Abstract

Education High and Low as an Asset of the Catholic Tradition (Late 15th-17th Centuries)

The German, then the Anglo-Saxon scholarly and confessional historiography has since long dominated the historical and intellectual tradition of the Northern, predominantly Protestant half of Europe. It has in fact determined our common perception of the post-medieval period. In that historiographical tradition, the early modern educational impetus is tightly interwoven with the formation, the rise and the expansion of the Protestant Reformation. As a self-conscious movement favoring actively the religion of the Word, the Protestant Reformation quite naturally tried to foster the reading culture, book printing, schooling at the different levels, learning and higher education, and more generally the formation of and education to a self-conscious and reflective way of living of the common faithful, guided by the reading, commenting and meditating of the Bible, its learned commentaries and the spiritual authors. While this is certainly a valid vision of an important part of early modern history, it is also important to understand the historical presuppositions and the political, social and cultural biases that underscore this historical image, and to remain open for alternative visions. In fact, at the intersection between the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period, the Reforma-

tion could benefit of a broad movement of cultural upheaval, social challenges, and religious reorientation that started in the prevailing Catholic tradition and continued there in its own ways. Actually, The Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Reformation are the two twin sides of the same process. It was the confession-alisation process that, among other factors, has attributed its specific confessional colors to this twofold development, and has historically distinguished highly schooled Protestant areas from Catholic countries considered less or later educated. Yet, learning played a similar role in both traditions, and grammar schools as well as universities were at least as important for the shaping of a new religious mind and public climate in Catholic as in Protestant areas. In fact, the majority of European higher schooling was realized in the Catholic countries, and key areas such as Italy, Spain, France and Austria developed a very active Catholic tradition of learning. Besides, lay participation in the common culture was equally important in the Catholic states, though often obscured by the clerical status of the teachers high and low, mostly pertaining to religious orders created for educational purposes or soon reoriented in that sense as a consequence of the Catholic Reformation movement, such as the Jesuits, Black Friars, Oratorians, Piarists, and others, or, on the elementary level, religious corporations like the Frères des écoles chrétiennes. Moreover, the Catholic tradition invested largely in female education, though again under the apparent cover of religious orders (e.g. the Ursulines). In this lecture I shall briefly discuss this theme on a European level under the viewpoint of education as a confessional asset, and zoom in on some telling examples.

TORRANCE KIRBY

McGill University, Montreal

Abstract

Educating the Public in Tudor London: Outdoor Sermons at Paul's Cross

The open-air pulpit in the precincts of St Paul's Cathedral known as "Paul's Cross" counts among the most influential of all public venues in early-modern England. In a world where the sermon served as the principal means of adult education, as well as a key instrument of ethical guidance and political control, Paul's Cross was the pulpit of pulpits, indeed the "public pulpit" of the realm. By long tradition this was a place for the announcement of proclamations both civil and religious. Here authorised spokesmen expounded government policy and denounced heresy and rebellion. Yet, unlike the royal Abbey of Westminster, St Paul's belonged more to subjects than to princes. Despite official regulation, Paul's Cross provided a popular forum for the articulation of diverse viewpoints in a turbulent "market" of religious and political ideas. From as early as the thirteenth century the cathedral churchyard had been one of the favoured settings for popular protest, a place where public grievances could be aired, a theatre where vital affairs of the nation were enacted. It has been said that "the English Reformation was accomplished from Paul's Cross." This paper explores the role of the public sermon in the formation of reli-

gious publics and identities in early-modern England; it examines selected key agents and players; it asks who constituted the audiences and what elements of continuity and change can be observed in the employment of this public pulpit in the unfolding of the series of English Reformations from the reign of King Henry VIII through that of Elizabeth I.

ANNE EUSTERSCHULTE

Freie Universität, Berlin

Abstract

'Political Philology'. Edition Practices and Educational Reform in the Reformation Period: A Case Study

The paper will emphasize, that the emancipatory role of *philologies* in the early modern period, especially with regard to the era of reformation, does not only depend on the media revolution based on the establishment of letterpress printing and the possibilities of spreading printed editions, translations and commentaries of classical sources and other textual traditions that were almost forgotten for a long time or even unknown. The paper tries to shed light on the fact, that this distribution of printed sources goes hand in hand with philological practices of textual criticism, with a negotiation of epistemological approaches, a re-thinking of canonization processes, conceptualizations of periodization and an attempt to restore scholarly traditions

within a transcultural historical framework. It becomes quite obvious that these philological practices and the specific adaption of the so-called *studia humanitatis* in the reformation period were neither done by isolated learned men, leading a withdrawn life in their study rooms, nor was the cultivation of philological practices a purely neutral activity of erudition. Based on transdisciplinary scholarly networks of book printers, editors, authors, artists, translators, manuscript agents and not least powerful sponsors philologies had an enormous impact on educational systems and curricula, on institutional methods of learning and teaching and not least on political reforms.

In order to lay some stress upon the different means by which philological practices and its actors have situated texts in a socio-historical and political context and to point out the critical approaches and methods of these practices I'll speak of *political philology*.

As the contemporary philologist Sheldon Pollock has highlighted: „...a new and critical – even sceptical and suspicious - philology came into existence in the early modern period, and did so, again, globally. Editors and critics in Europe from around 1400 to 1650 put philology front and centre in their intellectual practice as each in his own way, redefined such core questions as textual authenticity, canonicity, and the very historicity and sociality – the humanity – of language itself.”

The paper will present a case study. It will deal with the educational initiatives of the renowned humanist scholar, publisher and editor Johannes Oporinus (1507-1568), who has printed a lot of editions, translations and annotated volumes of classical ancient sources - many of them commented by well-

known scholars of the reformation period – as well as works of the church fathers. But Oporinus, who was a part of a huge network of humanist scholars, has also published political treatises, theological works, medical writings, historiographical compendia and, well known, the first Latin translation of the Qu’ran. The paper will focus on selected examples more detailed with regard to educational approaches of text transmission and the politics of editing texts.

It will argue that philological practices are intrinsic means of a critical re-thinking of culture in the era of reformation: A case study of political philology because we cannot consider a text separately from the world in which it originated.

LUCIE STORCHOVÁ

**Institute of Philosophy, Czech
Academy of Sciences, Prague**

Abstract

Post Praeceptorem Germaniae: The Transfer of Melanchthon’s Natural Philosophy to the Bohemian Lands from the 1540s onwards

My paper will deal with the ways in which particular early modern knowledge was transmitted and transformed during cultural exchange. Although some scholars interpreted Melanchthon’s natural philosophy as one of the roots of the modern science, the recent research (S. Kusakawa, B. Bauer, S. De

Angelis etc.) has indicated that Melanchthon and his collaborators created a sophisticated educational system and, at the same time, a complex knowledge about anthropology, astrology, history, and physics based on both the Bible and ancient authorities. They were transmitted to East Central European universities and schools defined by their Protestant background. Almost completely omitted by previous research, the case of the Czech lands in the mid-16th century gives a highly valuable insight into how such transmission and transformation of knowledge worked.

After introducing the network of former Bohemian students and collaborators of Philipp Melanchthon who were directly influenced by his educational model, I will focus on the specifics of “school humanism” in the Czech lands. In the next step, I will analyze three strikingly different sets of sources dating from the 1550s to the 1570s: learned poems in Latin dealing with medicine, human body and *affectus* (i.e. involuntary movements of the human soul), vernacular calendars and astronomical almanacs for the broad public and the period’s debate on eclipses and comets and their health and social effects. My sources demonstrate how colourful the literary production, both Latin and vernacular, was at that time, but they also make it possible to compare various media, functions and strategies of knowledge adaptation employed by the scholars. While analyzing this material, I would like to discuss recent approaches to cultural transfer, exchange and translation in early modern intellectual history. I will pay special attention to the question of how early modern scholars not only adopted but also adapted knowledge to a new cultural environment. How did Bohemian school humanists “decontextualize” this

knowledge – to use the conceptual framework of Peter Burke – recontextualize” it and domesticate” it? Which fields of Melanchthon’s natural philosophy did they develop in particular and which topics did they avoid? Did their strategies depend on the language, model readers and addressees of their works? Last but not least, I will enquire whether it was just a one-way cultural exchange or not.

MICHAL CHOPTIANY

University of Warsaw

Abstract

Education and Reformation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Between Tradition and Innovation

The common and well-established narrative on the protestant education in Poland-Lithuania usually emphasises the innovative character of the new educational institutions established in the 16th and 17th centuries. Stories about the semi-clandestine system of Antitrinitarian schools with the famous Academy of Raków at its centre, the accounts of the activities in the three Lutheran academic gymnasia in Danzig, Elbing and Thorn in Royal Prussia, or the educational project established by the community of Czech exiles in Greater Poland are usually based on the metaphors of progress, exceptionality, and originality. While some of the achievements, especially those associated with the revision of the university curriculum and introduc-

tion of new disciplines of knowledge into the program are unquestionable, the stories of these institutions, scholars creating them and students gaining knowledge within their walls are far from being that simple and cannot be reduced to a march towards greater knowledge and better education. This paper, therefore, does not aim at reconstructing the overall narrative about the relationship between the Reformation and education, but offers an overview of moments and places, some of them peripheral, some quite central, where one step forward very often entailed two step backwards and where introduction of new teaching methods was closely associated with teaching a relatively old material and vice versa. Instead of radical rupture or revolutionary transformation we are thus facing a process of long-lasting negotiation, transformation and cultural and intellectual osmosis, a process evidence of which can be found in various parts of Poland-Lithuania of that time and in institutions associated with various denominations and operating at different levels of education.

SHORT PAPERS

Ariane Albisser, Swiss
Reformation Studies Institute,
Zürich

*Pneumatology in Henry Bullinger's
Systematic Works*

Session 3A: *Baptism, Salvation and Pneumatology*

Pneumatology plays an inconspicuous, but important role in Henry Bullinger's systematic works – namely the *Decades*, the *Summa christlicher Religion* (1556) and the Second Helvetic Confession (1566). Although it is nowhere discussed as an own locus, the Holy Spirit represents in Bullinger's theology the melting point of all the topics he is especially interested in: covenantal theology and on reconciliation focused Christology. While Bullinger developed the idea of covenantal theology in other works more detailed, he emphasises in his systematic works the importance of the role of the Holy Spirit in transmitting and translating God's Word in and through history. The famous marginal of the Second Helvetic Confession "The Preaching of the Word of God is the Word of God" can only be correctly understood, when preaching is integrated into this wider context of the works of the Spirit. Other works of the Spirit, which Bullinger takes strongly into account in his systematics work, are altogether connected with Christology and therefore with the incarnated Word which is the key to Salvation. Participation in Christ is in his understanding a deeply pneumatic happening. This connection goes so far, that "Spirit" in Bullinger's systematic works can

always be translated as "the Spirit of Christ". So, pneumatology is relevant in soteriology for both: justification and sanctification. Here again, the Spirit transmits the grace of God in the justification process and translates this grace into each's life through the process of sanctification. Even though Bullinger focuses on the internal works of the Spirit, he also mentions the external works of the Spirit in his systematic works. However, it is clearly visible that Bullinger is especially devoted to the idea, that the Spirit blows wherever it wants. Bullinger's pneumatology helped him through many ecumenical discussions and difficult situations.

Piotr Alexandrowicz, Adam
Mickiewicz University, Poznań
*The Freedom of Contract in the
Confessional Context: Comparison
of the Doctrines of Comitoli, Grotius
and Pufendorf*

Session 1D: *Ethical and Social Impacts of the Reformation*

Paolo Comitoli (1545-1626) was a little-known Jesuit moral theologian who devoted a whole treatise to contract law (*Doctrina de contractu universe ad scientiae methodum revocato*, 1615). In the second part of his book he diligently listed and described twelve qualities of the contract. Since his whole treatise was well-organized and perfectly arranged, these twelve characteristics serve as a good example of the original method developed by him as he claimed in the title of the treatise. The third attribute of the contract was, according to him, *libertas contractus* which surprisingly enough sounds more 'modern' than 'early modern'. Comitoli indicated three different kinds of

contractual freedom, that is the freedom of choice, the freedom of will and the freedom of dominion. He explained all these types or levels of freedom which were inevitable for every contract. The background of his doctrine was of philosophical and theological origin. The most abundant part of it was the description of the vices of consent which endangered the second freedom of contract and might lead to the nullity of contract. These were among others deception, deceit, violence, fear and flattery. Although these vices were a commonplace in early modern contract law, Comitoli arranged them in an original way. The aim of the paper is to present his view on the freedom of contract in comparison with the theories from the other school of law. It is well-known that early modern moral theology served as a bridge between late *ius commune* and the school of natural law. Therefore, the Comitoli's doctrine on the freedom of contract was chosen as an example for comparison with the slightly later theories of Hugo Grotius and Samuel von Pufendorf. To these two, the Remonstrant and the Lutheran, the formulation of the principle *pacta sunt servanda* is attributed. The collation of the exemplary catholic and protestant theories on the freedom of contract may unveil both similarities and differences between them.

Jordan J. Ballor, Acton Institute for the Study of Religion & Liberty

Vocation and Hierarchy in the Thought of Richard Baxter

Session 5A: *The Deformation of Rights? Complexities in Early Modern Protestant Ethics and Economics*

For the greater part of the century intervening since the publication of Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, the precise relationship between modern economic life and early modern religion has been hotly debated. Weber himself pointed to the seventeenth-century Reformed theologian and minister Richard Baxter as a significant representative of the Protestant ethic. This essay will examine the hierarchical nature of Baxter's view of vocation, which generally contrasts with both modern egalitarian tendencies and with a thread of historiographical interpretation of the Protestant Reformation as essentially egalitarian. A survey of Baxter's work will show that there is an element of priority or hierarchy in Baxter's view of vocation, and this valuation corresponds to the relative priority he places on the soul over the body, that is, spiritual over material matters. This has the practical implication of placing the pastoral ministry at the pinnacle of vocational pursuits, all the while not derogating or obviating the significance of other vocations, which Weber took to be the most significant practical impact of the Protestant ethic.

Henk van den Belt, University of Groningen

Called by Grace: The Influence of Martin Bucer on John Calvin's Concept of the Call to Salvation

Session 3A: *Baptism, Salvation and Pneumatology*

In the soteriology of John Calvin the divine call to salvation is the link between eternity and time. It is an interesting to see how he developed his concept from a position in which he strongly connected the outward proclamation of the Gospel with the inward work of

the Spirit to a stronger emphasis on the distinction between the general outward call and the efficacious inward call. This paper traces the influence of Martin Bucer on Calvin's concept of the call and searches for differences in nuance in the way the two theologians relate predestination and vocation and in their views of Word and Spirit. For Bucer the call is both outward and inward and these two belong together. In the confrontation with the spiritualists, he tried to find a way to avoid their dualism. He pointing to God who is the principal Speaker of his own Word. In their broad and deep understanding of the *vocatio*, both Bucer and Calvin teach that God's call encompasses the whole life, and that is a life of holiness.

Lyle D. Bierma, Grand Rapids
The Alleged Incoherence of Calvin's Doctrine of Baptism

Session 3A: *Baptism, Salvation and Pneumatology*

Among the studies over the past century of the development of Calvin's doctrine of baptism, two in particular stand out because of their claims that Calvin's doctrine of infant baptism is not consistent with his teaching on baptism in general. Egil Grislis published an article in 1962 in which he posited a growing tension in Calvin's treatment of baptism after 1539 between the sacrament as an instrument by which God nourishes faith and efficaciously carries out what is symbolized there and the sacrament as a sign and seal for covenant infants of a prebaptismal regeneration rooted in their election. 45 years later, David Wright identified the incoherence somewhat differently: In Institutes 4.15, Calvin appeals largely to the New Testament and stresses the role

of faith in the reception of the benefits of baptism. However, in Institutes 4.16, which is devoted to the baptism of infants, he appeals largely to the Old Testament and stresses covenant membership and the parallels between circumcision and baptism as the basis for paedobaptism.

This paper will argue that neither of these claims of incoherence is justified. For one thing, Calvin often refers to the Old Testament in his treatment of both the sacraments in general and baptism in general, and in his commentaries on Acts and the synoptic gospels he has much to say about paedobaptism. Moreover, in every edition of the Institutes from 1536 onward, his teaching on infant baptism is integrated to some degree with the broader sacramental and baptismal theology that precedes it. Finally, in his treatment of both baptism in general and infant baptism we find that baptism functions as a means of knowledge, assurance, and grace and that faith has a role to play in the efficacy of the sacrament. For Calvin, adult convert baptism and paedobaptism are not efficacious in exactly the same way, but the parallels between them are such that the latter can really be viewed as an age-adjusted version of the former.

Gianmarco Braghi, FSCIRE,
Bologna
Beyond Catechisms and Calvin's "Institutio": Pierre Viret and the "Exposition familière" as an Educational Literary Genre

Session 4B: *Reformed Education and Catechising*

The influence of the works of John Calvin such as the *Institutio christianae religionis* as

well as the Genevan Catechism on the education of both pastors and laymen in the French Reformed movement, and indeed in several European countries, is indisputable. However, as testified by their several re-editions, works by other authors – who are often, and undeservedly, considered as ‘minor’ authors – had their own fate and fortunes and shaped the educational models of international Calvinism to a great extent. For example Pierre Viret (1511–1571), a prominent French pastor and for much of his lifetime within Calvin’s circle of close collaborators, authored several educational tracts on various topics addressed to an audience of ‘common’ lay believers, such as the *Exposition familiere sur le symbole des Apostres* (f.p. Geneva 1543), the *Exposition familiere sur les dix commandements de la loi* (f.p. Geneva 1544), the *Exposition familiere sur l’oraison de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ* (f.p. Geneva 1548), the *Familiere et ample instruction en la doctrine chrestienne* (f.p. Geneva 1559), and the *Exposition familiere des principaux poincts du catechisme et de la doctrine chrestienne* (f.p. Geneva 1561) – among several others. In addition to being very telling of Viret’s prolificacy as an author, this copiousness of educational and catechetical treatises stands as eloquent testimony to the demands of an evolving market and a changing audience, willing to learn the basics of the Reformation from well-reputed authors who were not key reformers. It would also be interesting to assess whether these educational tracts merely implemented, or indeed contradicted or disputed to some extent, the precepts found in more widespread works authored by major reformers – this in order to reconstruct a rich and diverse galaxy of ‘educationS’ in the era of the Reformation.

Simon J.G. Burton, University of Edinburgh
Covenant and Participation in Early Modern Ramism: Musings on the New England Mind

Session 2A: *Ramism and Aristotelianism*

Covenant and Participation in Early Modern Ramism: Musings on the New England Mind
 In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the pedagogical movement of Ramism swept through Reformed academies and churches in Europe and the New World. While a number of prominent Reformed theologians were highly sceptical about the value of this methodology, many others sought to adapt it for philosophical and theological purposes. This was especially true in England and New England where Ramism and Puritanism were often closely allied. In his seminal *New England Mind* Perry Miller posited a close connection between Ramism and Puritan ecclesiology. However, his own account also suggested a radical disjunction between Ramist notions of participation and the Reformed doctrine of covenant. More recently, Baird Tipson has argued along similar lines that Ramism and covenant theology together drove Puritan theology away from Scripture towards “extreme Augustinian” conceptions of a “terrifying God”. My paper will re-examine these claims, considering the way that theologians in England and New England sought to employ Ramism as a scripturally-grounded and Augustinian-inspired tool for the reform of Church and society. In doing so, I will argue, they sought to unite participation and covenant within a broader Christological and Trinitarian framework.

Jan Červenka, Palacky University,
Olomouc

*Humanism and the Defence of the
Utraquist Church in Bohemia*

Session 1A: *The Reformation in Bohemia*

Despite it was not the plausible connection due to strong moralism and medieval traditionalism in utraquism, even them cannot entirely omit the legacy of ancient learning, especially the Church fathers as can be seen already in the famous Judge of Cheb. The church fathers were also quite popular amongst some of the humanists. But that is not the only, neither the most important connection between Utraquist and humanist movement. There are at least three other important bridges between them – appeal on ethical life of an individual, interest in the practical politics and probably most important one, the critique of the state of the Roman church. The ancient pagan philosophers and modern humanist authors were used by part of the Utraquists in these three areas. The character of Utraquist church as a church with few elites presented quite an obstacle to understanding and accessibility of the humanist works amongst the Utraquist and therefore a new phenomena emerged, a tendency to translate humanist works from above mentioned areas into vernacular language by Rehor Hruby of Jeleni and Mikulas Konac of Hodiskov, but there were also more typical, latin humanists amongst the Utraquists which put their knowledge into the service of Utraquist Church such as Matej Corambus, Vaclav Pisecky or Simon of Slany. The paper will examine the use of humanist learning in the defence of the coexistence based on the Basel Compacts and Utraquist learning as well

as some difficulties which accompanied their efforts as were doctrinal controversies, low level of awareness of knowledge of ancient period or limitations in the publishing of their works.

Radim Červenka, Palacky
University, Olomouc / Comenius
National and Pedagogical
Museum and Library, Prague
*Optimistic Anthropology? Sin and
Penitence in Comenius Work and the
Bohemian Reformation*

Session 1A: *The Reformation in Bohemia*

In Renaissance and Reformation, it is possible to find two attitudes to the evaluation of mankind. One is a utopian image of possibilities, but the other one is a picture of sinful reality, corrupted by committing sins in everyday life. According to Jean Delumeau, both positions are expressions of the pessimism dominating the pre-modern culture. Literary work by Jan Amos Komensky (Comenius) is involved in both above-mentioned cases but it is quite often evaluated as an example of the optimistic anthropology of Renaissance (influenced by the work of Pico della Mirandola). Another complication in interpretation of Comenius is confessional background of his work. Comenius, as the main exponent of the Unity of Brethren, is deeply rooted in the theology of the Bohemian Reformation, but he is also considered in historiography as the proponent of the Protestant Reformation. However in the question of sin and penitence, these movements are not compatible. The aim of this paper is to evaluate differences between Bohemian and Protestant reformation within on the example of Comenius work.

Alejandro Chafuen, Acton
Institute, Grand Rapids
*The Economic Rights of Sinners:
Francisco de Vitoria and His
Protestant Interlocutors*

Session 5A: *The Deformation of Rights? Complexities in Early Modern Protestant Ethics and Economics*

The Roman Catholic tradition is often presented as being less favorable to the development of a free economy than Protestant Christian traditions. In some topics, however, Catholic authors made contributions which seem more conducive to free markets. This paper will explore some of the views of Francisco de Vitoria as they compare with Protestant authors. Vitoria argued that in non-Roman traditions—specifically, in the views of Wycliffe, Hus, and Luther—rights are seen as a consequence of God’s grace. Vitoria, on the other hand, believed that even those in mortal sin had rights like any other person. It was Vitoria’s views on the origin of rights that led to the conclusion that sin did not diminish one’s right to private property. Consistent with this view Vitoria argued that Spaniards must respect the rights of indigenous peoples and that all had the right to own property and to trade with people from other nations. Among later Protestants, Hugo Grotius was positively influenced by Vitoria while Samuel von Pufendorf was critical of Vitoria on this point.

Martin Christ, University of
Tübingen / University of Oxford
*Education in a Pluriconfessional
Border Region, Upper Lusatia c.
1520-1635*

Session 3C: *Tridentine Perspectives on Education*

Upper Lusatia, located between Saxony, Brandenburg and Bohemia, is a region in which Lutherans, Catholics, Zwinglians, Schwenkfelders and other confessions coexisted. Additionally, the presence of Sorbs (Sorben or Wenden), a Slavic minority population, made the region even more diverse. One of the most frequent flash points between these religious and ethnic groups was education. After the introduction of Lutheranism, the Catholics gradually gave Protestant groups the right to establish Lutheran town schools. These competed with a Catholic school in Bautzen, the capital of the region. The presence of multiple confessions and ethnicities in the region meant that all the parties had to compromise and, as such, the Catholic administrator of the region gave Lutheran town councils empty monastery buildings for their schools – but made very specific stipulations for such arrangements. At the same time, the Lutherans agreed to refrain from any attacks on the Catholics when teaching. Zwinglians, Schwenckfelders and other religious groups had different problems, as they required books which were hard to import to Lusatia. The educational disputes not only impacted the schools in the region, but also other kinds of education, for instance musical or domestic instructions. In all these cases, the political and religious situation of Upper Lusatia meant that education was one of the most important areas of debate between the different religious and ethnic groups, which would frequently lead to a grudging toleration, but could also result in conflicts and prolonged problems. As such, a case study of a region like Upper Lusatia illuminates broader trends in the history of the Reformation and education, namely, that of religious coexist-

ence and toleration, and the ways in which in a fragmented region like Upper Lusatia there was little centralization and state building, and instead education and religion were negotiated on a more local level.

Nicholas Cumming, Pepperdine University, Malibu
Geneva Among the Reformed: The Pastoral, Political, and Academic Contexts of the City of Geneva in the Mid-Seventeenth Century
 Session 4B: *Reformed Education and Catechising*

Beginning with Robert Kingdon's works in the second half of the twentieth century, research into the context of the city of Geneva as a major player in the Reformation became popular. However, scholars began to lose interest after the close of the sixteenth century; this paper seeks to fill that void, to a degree. In particular, the goal of this paper is to give several avenues of historical inquiry into the nature of politics, ministry, and education in seventeenth-century Geneva. To accomplish this, my paper analyzes the influence that various Genevan councils had on other Reformed cities or nation-states. Then I examine the nature of the councils themselves, beginning with the Company of Pastors, then the Consistory, and finally the secular councils. The paper then finishes by chronicling the issues in the Academy of Geneva. In so doing, this paper provides an important bridge between the era of Calvin, Beza, and the early Reformers and the Geneva of Voltaire, the Philosophes, and the "enlightened orthodox". Ultimately, the paper will illustrate the many problems seventeenth-century Geneva dealt with, particu-

larly in relation to the politics and theology of the magistrates, pastors, and professors.

William Engel, Sewanee:
 The University of the South,
 Nashville
The Making of a Protestant Art of Memory
 Session 2A: *Ramism and Aristotelianism*

Responding to the demand for new books of devotion occasioned by the reintroduction of the Book of Common Prayer, John Day printed *Christian Prayers and Meditations* (1569) also known as *Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book*. This was the first of many editions, continued by his son, Richard Day (1552–1606), who likewise produced works of reformed religious interest, most notably additions to Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (third edition) and the enormously influential *Psalms in Metre*.

Although the prayers are consistent with reformed attitudes and emergent practices of the day, the visual layout and mnemotechnic elements of the work make it something of a Reformation Book of Hours. The illustrations have no intended correspondence to the prayers on the page, and yet the compelling visual program, with its discrete mnemonic itineraries, constitute a book within the book that serves as a viable Protestant *aide-mémoire*. The pictorial layout directly imitates *Biblia Pauperum* (pairing Old and New Testament scenes to show how past events foreshadowed future ones). The design, moreover, recalls distinctly the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Mirror of Human Salvation), which likewise compiled typological referents, each proleptically calling others to mind. All of these

points for contemplation brought viewers back to their place in divine history and their prefigured end with respect to a form of private devotional practice that re-used and “reformed” earlier religious, literary, visual, and mnemonic models.

By way of conclusion I will discuss a unique series of hand-drawn copies of images unmistakably taken from *Christian Prayers and Meditations* in what amounts to a commonplace book kept by William Burke (dated 20 August 1590), with the descriptive inscription “A booke of drawing of the shapes and forms of divers beasts, foules, birds, fishes, monsters, ser-pents, trees, herbes, plantes, and flowers with diverse accidents of antiquities, and armoury” (CCA-Lit Ms/A/14).

Gioia Filocamo, Istituto superiore di Studi musicali di Terni - University of Parma
Representing Music to Teach Emotions Through the Still-Life Paintings of Musical Instruments by Evaristo Baschenis (1607-1677)
 Session 4A: *Music and Religious Education in Reformation Europe*

The still-life paintings of musical instruments, which flourished in early-modern northern Europe, are typically associated with the theme of “vanitas” (Eccl. 1:2, 12:8): time, leading inexorably to death, urges not to live at the mercy of senses. Musical instruments embody this symbology: what could be more ephemeral than the sound that vanishes away as it has been produced? The Italian priest Evaristo Baschenis was the first painter to make musical instruments the overall protagonists of still-life paintings. Baschenis’s experience of

musicians, I believe, influenced the concept of his paintings, which ‘photograph’ not only the notion of time transient, common to all the widespread representations of caducity (soap bubbles, rotten fruits, skulls, etc.), but also a ‘ritualized emotional time’ that expands during the musical flow, and stops precisely where the common naturalistic time suggests the flow. This view reverses the common meaning given to pictorial images that depict various aspects of “vanitas”: the alive and flowing as the time of musical performance (‘emotional time’); inert as emotionless, i.e. the time when musical instruments are inactive (‘naturalistic time’). All this is in line with a dramaturgy of the time that resembles the one managed in the newborn Italian opera, made of extreme dilatations alternating with accelerations. But this alternative reading would also accord with the individualistic emphasis implied on religious meditation exalted in the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Thus, the still-life paintings by Baschenis could imply a different vital need, if not even opposed, with respect to constant human activism encouraged by Protestant thought: the need of deep emotions given by music, in contrast to the emotional stasis that follows emotions symbolized by the rest of the painted instruments. In his paintings, thus, the two souls of Baschenis – that of the musician and that of the Catholic priest – found a common agreement.

Philip Fisk, Evangelische Theologische Faculteit, Leuven
The Will to Love God above All Else: Luther, Edwards, and the Bondage of the Will
 Session 5C: *Theological Perspectives on Freedom, Grace and Justification*

In a recent essay, “Edwards and Luther on Free/Bound Willing,” Robert W. Jenson draws attention to the (un)common elements of Luther’s and Edwards’s views on freedom of the will. Edwards’s intent in the title of his treatise, *The Freedom of Will*, is to associate this view with his opponents—a misguided association in the view of this paper—and to establish his own view of the enslaved will as the freest will of all, in both God and humans. In this, he thinks to represent the so-called Calvinist position. Edwards, however, has more in common with Luther’s position on the will than his own Reformed tradition. In this paper I will show, by way of Yale and Princeton commencement broadside sheets, as well as student notebooks from the archives, that Edwards’s position was immediately represented in the Yale and Princeton curricula. Moreover, I will establish the premise that both Luther and Edwards neglected medieval and, in the case of the latter, post-reformation scholastic distinctions about the self-determining power of the will, distinctions which, if better known today, would help overturn some misconceptions about the Protestant tradition of freedom of the will, between Wittenberg and Princeton.

Wim François, KU Leuven
The Sacrament of Marriage after Trent: Biblical Scholarship and Visual Exegesis
 Session 3C: *Tridentine Perspectives on Education*

The starting point of this paper is the sacrament of marriage, as it was defined by the Council of Trent (1563), in line with the Catholic tradition and in debate with Erasmus and the humanists as well as the Protes-

tant Reformers. In a second part it will focus on how two of the most important Catholic Bible commentators of post-Tridentine period, viz. Guilielmus Estius and Cornelius a Lapide, dealt with the sacrament of marriage in their commentary on Ephesians 5:31-32. For the translation and interpretation of this verse was an important bone of contention between Catholics and Protestants, but was also liable to a slightly divergent interpretation between the representatives of the various theological currents in post-Tridentine Catholicism. The third part of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the 1648 painting *The Sacrament of Marriage*, by the French painter Nicolas Poussin. The question is to which degree the painting may be considered as a sophisticated representation of Trent’s views regarding marriage, and even whether visual traces can be found that a certain theological current within post-Tridentine Catholicism was favored.

Aurelio García, University of Puerto Rico at Rio Piedras
Reason, Faith and Indifference: A Recurring Cluster of Themes in French Reformed Thought from Calvin to Bayle

Session 4B: *Reformed Education and Catechising*

From the very beginning the French Reformed churches were caught between obedience to the Word and the harsh physical and ideological persecution by the Roman church and the divinely anointed King. Their story may be divided in stages. A first stage from the evangelical Catholicism of the late Renaissance and the organization of evangelical conventicles to the 1560’s when the unifying force of

the diffusion of Calvin's Institutes results in the emergence of some 1200 congregations throughout France. A second period from that period to the end of the Wars of Religion in 1598; and a third one from 1598 to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the dispersion of the community. The Catholic strategy for the annihilation of the rival religion included war, intellectual polemics, and institutional suppression. An unintended results of these polemics, particularly against the authority of scripture which Protestants counterpoised to the authority of the Roman church, was the weakening of the bases of Christian doctrine, particularly the belief in the perspicuity and truth of scripture. Indeed, the very possibility of attaining any knowledge came into question. Yet as Roman apologetics sought to undermine the rational arguments of Protestants for the authority of Scripture, Catholic theses on the teaching authority of the Church also became vulnerable to this radical criticism. An attitude of skepticism thus arose. In this paper we trace the French Reformed theologians' concern for the spread of religious indifference, an attitude which was an unintended consequence of the search for polemical victory. In doing so, we pay particular attention to two works by Moïse Amyraut, the *Traité des religions contre ceux qui les estiment toutes indifferentes* (1631), and the work *De L'élévation de la foy el de l'abaissement de la raison en la créance des mystères de la Religion* (1641).

Marco Giardini, independent scholar, Ferrara
 “Advancement of Learning” or
 “Reformation of the whole world?”
Chiliastic Understanding of Natural

Knowledge Between the 16th and 17th Centuries

Session 1B: *Education and Radical Reform*

The appearance of the new scientific mentality between the 16th and 17th centuries has often been tied to the emergence of new philosophical currents of empiric and mechanistic inspiration. However, dismissal of the previous Scholastic and Aristotelian understanding of nature was likewise fostered by concurrent trends based on a completely different set of theoretical premises. The aim of the paper is to shed light on the “Hermetic” side of the scientific revolution, which understood the emergence of a “new science” as a resurgence of the primordial “knowledge of Adam.” As a consequence, the new scientific endeavor was embedded into a general chiliastic framework, imbued with strong eschatological expectations. Special focus will be given to chiliastic statements drawn from authors such as Paracelsus, Basil Valentine, Tommaso Campanella and the figures involved in the Rosicrucian affair, up to its later repercussions in Comenius's work. The objective will be to show their direct derivation from several key eschatological conceptions that had been developed in previous centuries: 1) prophesies on the spreading of spiritual knowledge before the end of time, so that the inner meaning of divine revelation will be revealed before Judgment Day; 2) the expectation of a universal kingdom of justice and peace, outlined in a more or less accentuated messianic fashion; 3) the reappearance of clear chiliastic conceptions in Christian early-modern eschatological expectations.

Linda Gottschalk, Tyndale
Theological Seminary,
Badhoevedorp
*Christ the Rector: Caspar Coolhaes
Critiques Theological Education at
Leiden University*

Session 3D: *Formation and Education in the Low Countries*

Leiden University, founded by Prince William of Orange (1575), opened the Staten College in 1592 for the training of young men for the Dutch Reformed churches of the new Republic. Janus Douza (Jan van der Does), university curator, desired it to be “a true wet nurse for the church” in its task of nourishing, so to speak, infant preachers who would grow to adulthood and go into all the Republic to continue to solidify the public church. By the early 17th century, professors Franciscus Gomarus, Jacob Arminius, and Lucas Trelca-tius, Jr. were carrying on this theological education. Was this education, however, what the churches needed? Was the disputational and increasingly divisive atmosphere successful in “feeding” the student preachers what they would need to grow up into truly spiritual pastors? At least one critic thought that it was not: Caspar Janszoon Coolhaes, first lecturer at Leiden University, some-time preacher of the city of Leiden, and Reformed Spiritualist theologian turned distiller. Now in “retirement” in Amsterdam (his son Adolf had taken over the running of his distillery in the Warmoesstraat in 1607), Coolhaes directed critical words to Gomarus and Arminius in his *Naedencken* (1609), and even harsher criticism to Gomarus alone after Arminius’ death in *De basuyne ofte trompette Godes* (1610). Coolhaes’ theological views were closer

to Arminius’ than to Gomarus’ but his true objections were not theological but the college’s focus on what he felt were non-essential doctrinal points at the expense of Christ-likeness. True spirituality was not a matter of learning but of the Spirit. Divisiveness was Satanically-inspired; it had divided the original Protestant reformers, was not in line with the goals of the founding of Leiden University, and would not create the right sort of spiritual pastors which the churches and the Republic needed.

Niranjan Goswami, Chandernagore College, Kolkata
*The Strangeness of Commonplaces:
Melanchthon’s Use of the Loci as a
Concept-making Tool in Education*
Session 4C: *Lutheran Concepts of Education*

The concept of ‘common places’ loosely suggested certain heads or topics under which any discourse could be found and arranged. In logic it stemmed from the topical logic tradition in Aristotle’s *Categories* and *Topics*. Charting a course through Themistius, Boethius and Agricola the common places came to be used in several contexts; Agricola made ‘topics’ important in the discussion of dialectic, integrating in this fashion rhetoric into dialectic. Melanchthon approached this from a different direction attempting to integrate dialectical invention and argument in rhetoric. His famous *Loci Communes* of 1521 uses common places to find and arrange the fundamental heads of discussion in theology breaking away from traditional scholastic treatment of the subject. In his exegesis of biblical texts he used what is called the ‘loci method’. In his logical works Melanchthon revitalized

and incorporated parts of Aristotle's dialectic in order to find certainty as far as dialectic could provide. John Schneider and Timothy Wengert have demonstrated that dialectical rhetoric was the matrix of Melanchthon's understanding and treatment of theology and the Bible, making the task of interpretation and commentary hinge upon a rhetorical understanding of the world. In this paper I argue that Melanchthon's nominalist understanding of language and concepts helped him look beyond the propaedeutic function of the arts of the 'trivium'. His emphasis on the didactic genre focused on a function of oratory beyond praise and blame. Further, looking at Melanchthon's truth-theory I intend to read an epistemological programme at the heart of Melanchthon's plan of education that made theology central to the humanist programme by a revision and revitalization of scholastic insight.

Klaudia Gumieniak, University of Warsaw
The Image of Religious Situation in Poland in the Reign of Sigismund Augustus (1548-1572) in the 'Relazioni Finali of Papal Nuncios'
 Session 5D: *Rhetoric, Politics and History*

With the idea of pope as padre commune taking hold in the consciousness of societies and the expansion of papal territorial jurisdiction during the sixteenth century the creation of an organized diplomatic apparatus was only a matter of time. The Holy See stepped on the path of 'modernization' and apart from the concordats and establishment of the Segretario di Stato there is one more figure that exemplifies that process perfectly – apostolic

nunciature. Papal nuncios' were permanent representatives of the pope to catholic countries and differed profoundly from the other diplomats. Not only did they derive their power from the sovereign, but also had it granted from the head of the Church. Without a doubt they played an increasingly decisive role in building the Holy See's relations with other states and helped to monitor the confessional situation. As a result, a permanent nuncio was also appointed to Poland. Based on the analysis of relazioni finali written by Luigi Lippomano, Berardo Bongiovanni, Giulio Ruggieri and Vincenzo dal Portico about Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century I answer the following questions: what information did they contain? Were they useful source of knowledge for future nuncios? Did they help them to adapt and more efficiently fight with Reformation? Could they influence image of Poland abroad, and if yes, then to what extent? In order to put some conclusions and facts into perspective references are made to relevant correspondence. The main focus of the paper are the nuncios opinions regarding the religiousness of the king and the nobility, as well as descriptions of contemporary political system and its mechanisms.

Sabine Hiebsch, Theologische Universiteit, Kampen
Challenges of a Religious Minority: Educating Lutherans in the Dutch Republic
 Session 3D: *Formation and Education in the Low Countries*

In the Dutch Republic the Reformed Church was the privileged, public church with the most rights, financial support and highest

visibility. Other religious groups like the Lutherans had the status of tolerated minority. Due to the dynamic, pragmatic ways of the Dutch toleration and their excellent international connections, the Lutherans gradually managed to establish congregations and eventually even to build publicly visible churches. But without a Lutheran government, without a Lutheran university and without Lutheran schools – vital elements that had enabled the establishment of Lutheranism as a dominant or even the dominant confession in large parts of the German Lands and in the Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark/Norway and Sweden – the Dutch Lutherans had to be entirely self-dependent in finding ways to educate their ministers and the congregations. In my presentation I will explore the different solutions they found to deal with this challenge. I will show how various types of source material – texts, songs and material culture – were aimed at an education in the Lutheran faith and the construction of a Dutch Lutheran confessional identity.

Gábor Ittzés, Debrecen Reformed Theological University
The Cradle of Reformation Education: The Leucorea in the Early Sixteenth Century

Session 4C: *Lutheran Concepts of Education*

Wittenberg University, called Leucorea after the town's Graecized name, was founded in 1502 as a late medieval institution of higher learning. A provincial college with a student body of about 200, it was originally characterised by a moderate Scotism, but pressure was already mounting for reform on the eve of the Reformation. Following Luther's rise to na-

tional prominence (or notoriety), students began to flock to Wittenberg, and the old ways of instruction started to crumble. The first major wave of institutional reorganisation in the spirit of Renaissance humanism brought Phillip Melanchthon to the Saxon capital in 1518, and he soon became instrumental in renewing the Leucorea's curriculum. The changes introduced during his tenure as rector of the university in 1523–1524 enabled the institution to meet the challenges posed by the collapse of scholastic education by the early 1520s. Together with the structural reorganisation effected under the new elector in 1525–1526 and consolidated by his successor in the mid-1530s, these measures established the Leucorea as the flagship of Reformation education in Europe. This paper explores the process of curricular and institutional change at Wittenberg University between 1516–1536 and analyses how college education was reconceived in light of Luther's discovery of the gospel and all that entailed for the use of secular learning in the service of Reformation theology.

Maciej Jońca, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin
"Susanna ex 13. Danielis tragoedia" as a Literary Toy Used for Legal Education in the Protestant Gymnasium Illustre in Leszno in the 17th Century

Session 5B: *Reformation, Education and the Arts*

I would like to present a short analysis of the Latin drama entitled *Susanna ex 13. Danielis tragoedia*, which was staged in the protestant school for noble youth in Leszno in 1646. Although the text of an anonymous author

refers to the well-known biblical story of Sanna, her trial in the drama has been constructed according to the contemporary legal rules. Many processual solutions known from both Roman and canon law have been adopted to create a new form of secular legal order which was intended to be strictly connected to the protestant moral theology. The drama served as sort of an introductory course of law for young noblemen studying in the protestant gymnasium in Leszno in the middle of the 17th century.

Hyun-Ah Kim, Europäische Melanchthon-Akademie Bretten / Theologische Universität Kamen

The Humanist Pedagogy of Hebrew Biblical Chant in the Reformation: Reuchlin's Reconstruction of the Ancient Modulata Recitatio

Session 4A: *Music and Religious Education in Reformation Europe*

This paper examines the manner in which Hebrew cantillation was studied and utilised by Christian Hebraists, whose scholarship paved the way for a new rhetorical framework of liturgical chant as a combination of aesthetic, ethical and pedagogical values during the Reformation. The Hebraists systematised the musical motives of Biblical accents (te'amim) in simple melodic formulae, termed the 'Zarqá Tables,' as illustrated in the following treatises: J. Reuchlin, *De accentibus et orthographia linguae Hebraicae* (1518); S. Muenster, *Institutiones Grammaticae in Hebraeam linguam* (1524); and J. Vallensis, *Opus de Prosodia Hebraeorum* (1545). Inspired by this Hebraist scholarship, a key music theorist Gioseffo Zarlino drew

upon the Hebrew accents for clarifying the humanist rules of vocal music compositions (*Sopplimenti musicali*, 1588). More strikingly, Giovanni Guidetti's proportional notation (*Directorium chori*, 1582), which represents the Catholic reform of liturgical chant, is akin to the notation of the Zarqá Table in Reuchlin's. Focusing on Reuchlin's *De accentibus* containing the earliest printed transcription of Hebrew cantillation with musical notation, this paper studies the humanist pedagogy of Hebrew Biblical chant and its impact on the art of accented singing, in terms of the union of 'rhetorica musica' and 'theologia rhetorica' which underlies the revival of ancient 'modulata recitatio'. It observes the way the humanists intend to perform the cantillation as a living treasury of the ancient modulata recitatio, with an emphasis on the 'rhetorical accent' (meteg, מֵתֵג) that Reuchlin includes in the Zarqá Table, in addition to 29 musical accents. In the light of Quintilian's rhetoric that served as a cornerstone of humanist education, it elucidates the underlying principles for the rhythmic formula of the meteg which is unique among the 33 motives and how to perform this accent and its significance.

Thomas Klöckner, Theologische Universität Apeldoorn

Teaching the Beginnings: Henricus Altingius (1583–1644) Early Lecture on a History of Dogma

Session 1C: *Pastoral Theology and Spirituality*

Approximately in the year 1635 C.E. Hendrik Alting held his first lecture about the history of dogma, the so called "Theologia Historica". At that time, Alting was professor for the *Loci* in Groningen, after a glorious period at the

University of Heidelberg with an abrupt end due to the siege of the city in the Thirty Years War. As precept of the elector of the Palatinate and professor in the theological faculty, he started early teaching secular history, church history and after extended lectures about the Loci in multiple perspectives, a early history of dogma. His draft was never truly finished and only four main themes are still preserved. The first topic deals with the "Nature of Theology" which is not so much the essence of Christian theology, as a discipline in the regular academic schedule, but more the summary of his theology in a historical manner. Altting started at the beginning, the first account in the Old Testament of divine revelation (Garden of Eden) and ended up in his own times, struggling with the followers of Fausto Sozzini. On this long way all types of deformation and reformation of the continual dogma of his religion are examined. The history of dogma is from his perspective a history of his own reformed church, starting in the beginnings of mankind and still resuming after decades of decline and confessional confrontations. His main focus is a Calvin-like proof of evidence that the 'vera ecclesia' and the 'vera theologia' always had existed and always will exist. A kind of exile theology after many dangerous episodes of escaping the counter-reformation and their henchmen. Alttings fresh approach in the 17th century wasn't unique but quite early, thorough, and furthermore convincing for his students at the University of Groningen. The pre-historical, quite uncritical view of the origins of dogma till the manifestation of ref. churches in the post-reformation era impressed many ref. scholars and their self-understanding of confessional identity.

Christian Könne, Hohenstaufen-Gymnasium Kaiserslautern
The Representation of the Reformation in German History Education

Session 5B: *Reformation, Education and the Arts*

The question what to teach at school is always a political decision, especially in the case of teaching history. German curricula and textbooks are not only presenting historical facts. They are presenting a more or less politically influenced view on that historical topic. A connexion between history and the point of view of the state can always be identified. As a result, different political situations bring different variations of the same historical issue. Thus, I will present two main aspects: (1) The results of a research that compares the curricula and textbooks for teaching history in three German federal states with different religious background - on one side, the land of Bavaria with a predominant catholic population and Rhineland-Palatinate and Thuringia on the other side with a predominant protestant population. Moreover, in places like Speyer, Worms and the Wartburg Castle, locations present in the later two federal states, key events related to the reformation took place. Thus, I will research if the different religious background of these federal states has an influence on the teaching of Reformation at school. (2) The results of a research related to the representation of Reformation in the curriculum and textbook in East Germany. Therefore, I will have the opportunity to compare der representation of the Reformation in the current German democracy in antithesis with the former German socialistic state.

Jakub Koryl, Jagiellonian University, Cracow
Beasts at School: Education for the Advancement of Germanness

Session 4C: *Lutheran Concepts of Education*

In 1520 Luther warned his fellow-Germans “let us watch, for the German land will soon become like Italy”. Three years later Erasmus noticed “simple folk nowadays call everyone a German who speaks German”. Although both scholars spoke of contemporary yet different risks posed either to German collective consciousness or to the sound learning and the gospel cause, they shared a common conviction that language was not an impartial instrument of communication, but rather an educative measure designed for the advancement of national peculiarities, and thus capable (by means of a brand new form of education) to co-establish the self-conscious community. Therefore proposed paper aims at answering the question – how the intersection of religious reform and cultural change was established by the German-speaking Lutheran education? Taking the Melancthonian distinction of regimen spirituale and corporale as the point of departure, I will describe the influence of confessionally determined education upon the cultural identities of early-modern German citizens. For that reason not only the confessional dimension of the Lutheran education will be taken into consideration, but most of all its impact on the new cultural modes of comprehending the qualities that distinguish one community from another. Among such qualities German language (Hochdeutsch) was of the highest importance. For the language itself not only took the German peculiarities into account, but also made

Germans capable to overcome the spiritual and corporeal supremacy of Roman Latin. Although Germans “must always be and remain brutes and stupid beasts”, as Luther declared in his letter on establishing and maintaining the schools, but the language itself finally freed these beasts from the foreign standards. As such not only the religious renewal was accompanied by the rise of genuinely German set of qualities of being German, but also the education became a decisive element of so-called “culture of belonging”.

Wojciech Kordyżon, University of Warsaw
Genological Crossroads: Polish Translation of Ochino’s Dialogue and Shaping Communication with a Reader

Session 2C: *Polish Intellectual and Religious Culture*

Even though not being the primary figure of the Reformation movement, Bernardino Ochino (1487-1564) can be seen however as a representative theologian and religious writer who was highly involved in the European confessional debates of the 16th century and was willing to use the increasingly popular ways of promoting his ideas. Great part of his writings were dialogues that he had chosen as an influential and informative literary genre. The tradition of dialogues was introduced in the early modern era as a significant mode of carrying the religious controversies, as well as making their statements clearer and easier to understand. Two of Ochino’s dialogues were translated into Polish. These were published as: *Tragedyja o zwierzchności papieskiej* [Tragedy on the Supremacy of Pope] (1558) and

Tragedyja o mszej [Tragedy on the Mass] (1560). The first translation is lost, but the second was luckily preserved in few copies. It seems that the Polish text is closest to Ochino's *Disputa ... intorno alla presenza del corpo di Giesu Christo nel Sacramento della Cena* (however the only known copies are said to be issued in Basel in 1561, which is after the Polish edition). In my paper I would like to briefly discuss the connections between Ochino and Polish Reformation circle to present what might have been the reasons of translating a work of the Italian reformer. A vital point, however, is to investigate the genological affiliation of the translated text. While the original was dialogue-like and inserted into a collection of sermons, the Polish edition brings different solutions. *Tragedyja o mszej* was edited as a consistent literary dialogue, but also is deeply connected with other traditions: that of drama and morality plays. The purpose of the paper is to discuss these features that were exposed in the process of translation to make Ochino's statements more understandable and persuasive to the Polish reader.

Justin Kroesen, University Museum, Bergen
A House for a Lord: The Visual Impact of Gentlemen's Pews in Early Protestant Church Interiors in the North of the Netherlands
 Session 3B: *Art in the Reformation*

The arrival of the Reformation to the Netherlands in the second half of the sixteenth century resulted in a veritable transformation of church interiors. All medieval furnishings were removed, stained-glass replaced and

walls were whitewashed. A period of provisional equipment for the new worship was soon followed by a remarkable monumentalization that mirrored the economic prosperity of the Dutch Republic. It is often rightly stressed that the focus in the church interior was now on the pulpit, symbolizing emphasis on the Bible reading and its exegesis in the sermon. In the north and east of the Dutch Republic, however, there was a second focus that sometimes even dwarfed the pulpit: the gentlemen's pew (in Dutch: 'herenbank'). Such fixtures – private, canopied 'VIP' seats with the family arms clearly displayed on the canopy or the back panel – were usually placed directly opposite the pulpit or in the chancel. In the latter case, the pew actually replaced the vanished high altar, which it must often even have matched in monumentality; the room for the Lord had now effectively become a room for a Lord. This lecture presents some of the most eloquent surviving examples of monumental gentlemen's pews in churches in the north of the Netherlands (provinces of Groningen, Friesland, and Drenthe). By discussing their form, imagery and placement we will learn about the great visual impact these pews had on church interiors in the first two centuries after the Calvinist Reformation. In some churches the pews, together with tombs and memorial hatchments, almost create the atmosphere of a castle chapel. Such elaborate church interiors are a far cry from the often-assumed, typically Reformed austerity and image-shyness, and they quite contradict the much applauded Calvinist principle of equality.

Tabita Landová, Charles University, Prague
Every Man Complete in Christ. Christian Education of the Bohemian Brethren before Comenius
 Session 1A: *The Reformation in Bohemia*

The Unity of the Brethren developed a sophisticated conception of Christian education which was crowned by the work of Jan Amos Comenius. But already in the first half of the 16th century the Brethren took the education very seriously. This paper shall introduce the conception of Christian education that can be reconstructed on the basis of the works written by the Brethren's bishop Jan Augusta (1500-1572). According to this conception, the education should be conceived not only as the extending the knowledge of Christian doctrine but rather as the comprehensive lifelong process, comprising both spiritual guidance and pastoral accompaniment. The aim of the education is the holistic growth of a human being as such, so that Man would become "complete in Christ" (Colossians 1,28). The paper shall address the following questions: What does it mean to become "complete in Christ"? What methods, instruments and actions did the Brethren use to implement the proposed aim in practice? A special concern shall be paid to the role of the Apostles' Creed, three stages of membership (beginners, progressing, moving to the perfection) and rituals in the process of growing into wholeness in Christ.

Hans Leaman, University of Göttingen
Protestant Anti-Pilgrimage Polemics and the Ideal of the Evangelical Merchant
 Session 5D: *Rhetoric, Politics and History*

Following Martin Luther's tracts *To the Christian Nobility* and *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, evangelical reformers often denounced pilgrimages and urged their followers to stay at home to serve their families and neighbors instead. Three pillars of medieval Christianity had upheld the *peregrinus* as an ideal Christian type: pilgrimage (undertaken for penance, veneration, and petition), purgatory (envisioned as a further climb toward heaven in the afterlife), and monasticism (regarded as *peregrinatio in stabilitate*). The Protestant reformers dismantled all three. Each was tied too intimately, they thought, to a soteriology based on human works rather than the alien righteousness of Christ. But the reformers still had to reckon with the prominence of the *peregrinus* motif in the Scriptures: from Abraham to the apostles, key narratives of the Bible were communicated through sojourners. This paper will argue that some early modern German evangelicals found a solution to the conflict in the figure of the traveling merchant. Drawing on printed sermons and commentaries for lay readers, the paper will illustrate how evangelicals recast the merchant as an ideal Christian type instead of the penitential pilgrim. For instance, on the feast day of St. James, 1590, the Franconian pastor Matthaeus Herbst preached a *Christliche Predigt, von den Wallfahrten*. In it, he contended that a Christian who tends to his work at home or in a foreign land can

consider his endeavor a pilgrimage of faith. He then prayed for those making an annual “pilgrimage” to Frankfurt and other market places, assuring them that “such travels are as pleasing to God as all Christian industry, trade, and shopkeeping.” I will suggest that this Protestant application to trades allowed “pilgrimage” to be shorn of its distinctively religious memory culture and eventually appropriated for Romantic narratives of artistic experimentation, intellectual inquiry, and self-discovery.

Justyna Łukaszewska-Haberkowa, Jesuit University Ignatianum, Cracow
Reformation of the Church and the Jesuit Education in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Sixteenth Century

Session 3C: *Tridentine Perspectives on Education*

Introducing the Jesuit Order into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was the idea of S. Hozjusz. He was one of those who carried out the reform of the Catholic Church in the country. Hozjusz thought that the education of priests and laity is the most efficient way to promote the Catholic faith. From the very beginning the educational system was discussed and organized in the Jesuit Order, but the teaching was effectively independent in every province till the end of the 16th c. The main subject in academic education was the so-called *theologia controversa*, analysing issues which were disputable between Catholics and non-Catholics. However, it should be noted that for Jesuits shaping the pupils’ confessional identity was not the main task of schooling, as they considered peaceful coexistence with

others to be the best way to introduce them to the Catholic faith. The R. Bellarmin’s oeuvre was the first handbook of the subject, but in every college it was adapted to local needs and the students’ level. Therefore, the teaching of theology was independent till the end of the 16th c when *Ratio Studiorum* was officially published. Following a theological crisis within the Order in Poland at the beginning of the 17th c. *theologia controversa* was forsaken. Nevertheless, some Jesuit writers (M. Łęczycycki and K. Drużbicki) still continued teaching it (mostly having Orthodox Christians in mind) and printed educational books on this matter. In my talk I will provide the audience with a thorough description of how *theologia controversa* was introduced in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, who the teachers were and what books and methods were used. I will also present a brief comparative description of schools, most prominent books and professors (J. Wujek, A. Junga, S. Grodzicki, M. Śmiglecki and others).

Balázs Dávid Magyar, Debrecen Reformed Theological University
Crime and the Very Grace of God: Theoretical and Practical Fulfilment of God’s Law. John Calvin’s Theological and Judicial Teachings on Adultery

Session 1C: *Pastoral Theology and Spirituality*

Calvin devoted himself to building up the City of God, the New Jerusalem in Geneva. He created a brand new alliance between Consistory and Small Council in order to make sacred again the moral life of the people. At first sight, the reflection on several questions of adultery was a substantial part of Calvin

social ethics and marriage law. The examination of the registers shows, in the Consistory Calvin did not have enough time to discuss the moral consequences and possible ways of punishments of adultery. This is why he presented his theological and judicial statements related to adultery in his biblical commentaries and sermons. The analysis of his comments reveals (e. g. Comm. on Leviticus 38,24, Matthew 1,19, John 8,11, Hebrew 13,4), the adultery tears the covenant between husband, wife and God to shreds. So Calvin accepted in theory that adultery should be punished, even if with death, because there could be a greater danger in not punishing the crime or hiding the punishment, than in a public and exemplary punishment, because of the goal of prevention. This theological and judicial conviction had been confirmed in his preaching on Gen 19,1 5, which was originally directed against the wicked act of homosexuality, but in connection with the sexual crimes in general Calvin was saying: “for when weeds have taken over, there is no longer time to pull them out [...] at the right time [...] The same is true for vices and crimes”. But what did it mean for Calvin “to pull them out”? Would it be the death penalty? If readers compare his sermon on Genesis 19,1 5 in which Calvin emphasized the importance of “pulling out the weed” with his commentary on the Parable of the Weeds (Matthew 13,24 43), they will find, wicked people (as weeds) should have a second chance to experience the very grace of God by which they become good seed, since God can “regenerating them through the grace of his Spirit”. So, adulterers should have a second chance to experience the very grace of God.

Yelena Mazour, EHESS/UAF, Paris
*Jean Gerson's Contribution to
Lutheran Music*

Session 4A: *Music and Religious Education in
Reformation Europe*

The paper focuses in a highly interesting and little-known aspect of Gerson's influence on Luther: the latter's ideas on the use and importance of liturgical music, which, in turn, became so crucial for the future development of not only Lutheranism, but also of the Western European music in general. Although Luther never acknowledged his debt to Gerson in this area, the general consensus among Lutheran scholars is that it was considerable. The paper aims at presenting a summary of what is known on Gerson's musical impact on Martin Luther as well as at inviting more specialists, namely musicologists, to look into this subject.

Hicham Merzouki, Ghent
University
*Death in George Herbert's The
Temple*

Session 2B: *Reformation Poetry and Polemics*

The past thirty decades of scholarship on Herbert's *The Temple* focused basically on the significance of his tripartite structure and the way he articulates his meditative experience from sin to transfiguration and from death to life depicted in “Love (3)” as the meeting between the believer and the divine. Critical works by Michael Schoenfeldt and Cristina Malcomson gave political and economical interpretations to the work of Herbert to demonstrate his way to seek patronage and fashion his persona. However, they did not

show the link between the new concept of death and Herbert's doctrine and quest for a social image. *The Temple* makes central to its poetry an erotic and sacrificial exchange following Martin Luther's Christology as the act of a dying God, which is further developed and shaped in "The Sacrifice". Here again, the direct connection between this philosophy and the new reformation concept of death is being ignored. In "The Church Militant", Herbert treats Religion and Sin to show how the former is constantly interrupted by the latter. This basic universal conflict reflects on the historical parallel of the individual conflict between holiness and sin, and life and death which takes place within the persona in "The Church." Both conflicts end with death and salvation. While Louis Martz found that Herbert's meditation was influenced by Catholic treatises, Barbara Lewalski and Chana Bloch considered Herbert's *The Temple* a Protestant meditation that intends to re-enact the history of salvation in the heart of the believer, permeated with influences from Protestant meditation manuals and the Scriptures. However, these critics did not shed light on the immediate influence of the new concept of death on meditation and how it impacted Herbert's view on politics, profit and economy. My work focuses on how the new concept of death as a stepping-stone to meet with the divine and as something to be welcomed as it is the way to unite with the divine. I also show how that Herbert's work incarnates methods of meditation where death is internalized and where the death of Man's will should be experienced in order to leave the space for the will of the divine. Speaking about meditation will lead us to the waves of iconoclasm where the Protestants destroyed icons which were the

objects which held the living and the dead together, where the intercession of the dead for the living was functioning.

Angelika Modlińska-Piekarz,
John Paul II Catholic University
of Lublin
*Sacra poesis of Silesian Protestants
and its Educational Function during
the Reformation*

Session 2B: *Reformation Poetry and Polemics*

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the time of the reign of Neo-Latin biblical poetry – during two centuries, several thousand titles of poetic versions of different books and fragments of the Bible were written in the Latin classical verse. I would like to introduce here this literature in the context of the educational and pedagogic application biblical poetry written by Silesian Protestants. Undoubtedly, the European and deeply universal dimension of the Latin culture of Silesia – a region of tolerance and religious dialogue – contributed primarily to a mass of Neo-Latin religious poetry. It is a fact, in Silesia the representatives of various Christian confessions discussed themselves with each other: Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists and later also Czech Brothers. Especially the Lutheran Reformation flourished there without any obstacles, and even with great financial and logistical support of the aristocracy, the clergy and middle class. Therefore Latin biblical poetry of Silesians are strictly connected with Lutheran theology. These publications very often were academic exercises of Silesian pupils and students and they were printed not only in Silesia, but in all German Empire, in Prussia and in Poland. Undoubtedly, the

spiritual father of the majority of Silesian Protestant poets was Philipp Melanchthon, who shaped his students according to the principles of Protestant, humanistic Christianity. Silesian Melanchthon's pupils with a piety continued the Philippistic pattern of education and religiosity, promulgating it in schools, churches, courts and universities. Famous Silesian Philipists such as Jacob Kuchler, Thomas Mawer, Joannes Seckerwitz, Laurentius Fabricius, Caspar Pridmann, Samuel Frenzelius and many others used almost all educational and pedagogic possibilities given by Neo-Latin biblical poetry, which had a great importance in the dissemination and explanation of Lutheran doctrine and basic religious principles of Protestantism.

Wim Moehn, Protestant
Theological University,
Amsterdam
*Guido de Bres's Oeuvre in a Critical
Edition*

Session 3D: *Formation and Education in the Low
Countries*

I would like to present the project of the critical edition of Guido de Bres's (ca. 1522-1567) oeuvre. The writings of Guy De Bres, published during the 16th century, have never been published again, nor received a critical edition. In the 16th century, however, it was a bestseller. The author, regarded as the primary composer of the *Confessio Belgica* of 1561, is of great importance to the Protestant Reformation and its heritage in Western European and other countries around the world where Churches publicly define their faith by this confession. The project starts with the critical edition of *Le Baston de la Foy* (1555-1565).

Initially as a modern, scientific digital edition (with *Elaborate* – a computer program developed by the Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands) and eventually as a hard copy. De Bres' first work, predating the *Confessio de foy* of 1561, is of importance to trace his formation as a theologian and reformer. It is of vital importance for the sources of this doctrinal statement of faith. My presentation will answer the question why preceding generations of scholars could not find the books used by De Bres. I will present a first impression of the Fathers of the church quoted in this anthology and the French books De Bres did use to find his sources in translation. Participants will be invited to help in finding the source of the remaining quotations. The presentation is supported by a PowerPoint Presentation.

Attila K. Molnar, Aarhus Eötvös
University / Thomas Molnar
Institute for Advanced Studies,
Budapest
*The Protestant Ethic in Hungary:
Vocation and Identity*

Session 1D: *Ethical and Social Impacts of the Reformation*

Weber's famous essay on the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism was started with reference to the denominational statistics of the public education in Hungary. But the case of Hungary, like Scotland, doesn't seem to support the Weberian thesis on the connection of the spirit of capitalism and the Protestant ethic. While the Weberian ideal-type of the Protestant ethic can be found in the 17th century Hungarian Puritan texts, there is no evidence for the widespread presence of

the spirit of capitalism among the Hungarian Protestants. However, there was wide scale Reformation in Hungary, partly because of the collapse of central political authority at the beginning of the 16th century and the rather wide freedom in the frontier areas. Instead of transforming the business ethics, the Protestantism spread a kind of vocational ethics in politics and it had a fundamental role in the formation of modern Hungarian national identity. The Hungarian nation, apart from the medieval *Hungarus* identity, was formed by the Protestant preachers and clerics emphasizing the commonality of the people speaking Hungarian. Later on, the modern national identity and political culture were formed by the Protestant nobility in the 19th century. In spite of the failure of the Weberian thesis in case of Hungary, the transformative effects of religion in general, and the Reformation in particular can be well seen here. Protestantism can be much better interpreted here as the transvaluation and creation of values than an ideology, having functional role in serving worldly interests.

Tünde Móré, HAS RCH Institute for Literary Studies, Budapest
The Poetical Representation of Travel in the 16th Century Laudatory Poems in Wittenberg

Session 2B: *Reformation Poetry and Polemics*

In the 16th century, many Hungarian students travelled to Wittenberg in order to receive a higher education. During this period, some of the students wrote Latin farewell poems, to commemorate their time in Wittenberg, and to create public representation of their education. Most of these farewell poems

were written in the 1560s and in the second half of the 1580s. This paper intends to analyse the farewell poems published between 1587 and 1589, as this particular timeframe is considered as the prosperity of the Hungarian student community in Wittenberg. These poems explore the concept of ideal travel as a part of the process of farewell; in the short presentation different examples are introduced to outline the variations of perfect educational travel in the Latin farewell poems. By analysing these Latin poems the paper intends to identify the characteristics of the educational role of Latin poetry in the case of a specific community in the 16th century.

Matthew Norris, University of Cambridge
The Anabaptist Crisis: A Fresh Perspective on Anabaptists during the Reformation

Session 1B: *Education and Radical Reform*

Few things united Protestants and Catholics in the age of the Reformation, but one thing that did was what I have termed 'the Anabaptist Crisis'. This paper explores the strange ecumenicalism between Catholics and magisterial Protestants in their response to the Anabaptist movement through an investigation of the four crucial reasons both groups feared the Anabaptists: the threat they posed to the stability of the body politic, the threat they posed to the body spiritual, their doctrinal differences from Protestants and Catholics, and the apocalyptic uncertainty they fed into (largely because they were notoriously enigmatic). Furthermore, the paper explores how the Anabaptists' doctrinal stances concerned Catholics more than Protestants, and how po-

litical strife concerned the Protestants more. However, the paper ultimately concludes that religious and socio-political instability - worsened by broader European instability - caused by the Anabaptist movement constituted a crisis across the religious landscape of early modern Europe. This 'crisis thesis' is what makes this original and also why the Anabaptists are to be regarded as an important strain of non-conformity in the Reformations. Furthermore, whereas historians have typically examined Anabaptism through the lens of Münster, this paper takes a newer and more holistic approach and attempts to look at Anabaptism in terms of its perception among the magisterial reformers and the Catholic Church; it appreciates that the Anabaptist movement was not contained to Münster and that it was a formidable force in Reformation Europe.

Marta Quatrale, Freie Universität Berlin

"Grundsuppe aller

Sacramentschwermerey".

A 'philological' Path in the Reactions Against the So-called Consensus Dresdensis

Session 1B: *Education and Radical Reform*

In the multifaceted debate leading to the establishment of the Formula concordiae, a huge topic within the theologians was that of the 'conformity' in the reception of the doctrine of the two fathers of the Reformation. My aim here is to sketch two lutheran reactions to the so-called Consensus Dresdensis, in the attempt to highlight an always more 'codified' approach to a typical polemical argument: the one of the theologians of Jena,

representing the very last contribution of the Duchy of Saxony in the dispute over the Wittenberg Christology, and a similar standpoint stated by the Stuttgart preacher Lucas Osiander. The Jenaer contribution, significantly entitled *Fallstricke*, written by Wigand, Heshusen und Kirchner, focuses on the lack of clarity of the text: general descriptions, mention of 'reformed' theological standpoints which had been already criticised on Calvinist side, 'Zwingli an' glosses to the Nicaenum presented as primary sources in an "Exemplar in der Bibliotheca zu Basel", the assumption of the Wittenberger Katechismus as direct consequence of Luther's *Kleiner Katechismus*, excerpts of the *Confessio Augustana* and its Apology quoted only in Melanchthon's ambiguous revision, ... This should be intended as a political strategy, falsifying both the lutheran and the reformed standpoint. And to the Wittenberger statement that "Lutherus [...] sol einem in ein Büchlein geschrieben haben/ [...] das von der allenthalbenheit/ [...] nicht sol disputirt werden" Osiander replies for the very first time with philological, objective arguments, simply asking all scholars of his time to examine whether the style is more likely to be attributed to Melanchthon or Luther. The necessity of a certain loyalty to Luther's 'clear' doctrine as opposed to the unreliable variety within Melanchthon's standpoint over time, shaping a very clear confessional identity, seems so to achieve a proper 'scholarly' form, beside the unavoidable theological-political arguments.

Stanisław Rabiej, University of
Warsaw
*Sixteenth-Century Protestant
Spirituality*

Session 1C: *Pastoral Theology and Spirituality*

For many Protestant spirituality will sound like an oxymoron. Although the term spirituality has become a popular alternative to words like religion and theology, it is still frequently associated with mysticism and personal devotion in non-Protestant tradition. Since the Reformation of the sixteenth century, however, Protestant churches have spawned their own spiritual movements with distinct patterns of revival and agendas for renewal. The current interest in integrating intellectual curiosities with faith-transforming practices is leading mainline Protestants to re-examine their history from the lens provided by spirituality. For the purpose of this paper, spirituality means the way in which members of a religious community nurture and practice their faith. By turning to the Protestant heritage, especially the spiritual life of the sixteenth century movements and leaders, the author of paper wants to discover a spiritual legacy that affirms the early Protestant tradition and provides spiritual practices that deepen the faith and the commitments to love and justice. The commitment to social justice is an inestimable spiritual gift integral to mainline early Protestant spirituality. The spiritual practices and disciplines used by the thinkers and doers of various Protestant traditions fostered an experiential relationship with God (the holy). Using the lens of spirituality, the paper takes a look at five theological affirmations that have contributed to Protestants' self-understanding. Finally, the focus is on the

relationship between spiritual development and personal growth.

Davi C. Ribeiro Lin, Faculdade
Jesuíta, Belo Horizonte / KU
Leuven

*Augustine, Thomas Aquinas
and Martin Luther on Grace:
Retracing a Historical Course for a
Complementary Dialogue*

Session 5C: *Theological Perspectives on Freedom,
Grace and Justification*

One way of approaching the theology of grace is to retrace its historical formulations by highlighting contrasts and possible complementarities. Focusing on three unique moments, the Augustinian, Thomist and the Lutheran response, this work intends to retrace a historical course and point out ways of dialogue between Protestants and Catholics. It is intended to delineate elements in the theology of grace of St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas and Martin Luther, aiming at both the appreciation of the singularities of each formulation and the possibilities of respectful dialogue between them. The theology of grace in St. Augustine is within the framework of God's love as well as the background of original sin and its effects on human nature, a dramatic and existential anthropology; In Thomism, the insertion of Aristotle caused a revolution in the theological method in scholasticism. Grace is discussed ontologically and cosmologically. Since grace presupposes nature, it is a gift added to nature. With the Protestant Reformation, there is the transition from sapiential theology of scholasticism to existential Lutheran theology. Grace is understood as justice imputed by the vicari-

ous sacrifice, and justification is faith in the redemptive work of Christ. For the Reformers, justification is not infused grace in the soul, but an act of God in which he declares the sinner righteous. It is clear that the specificities remain, as well as the differences of terminology and theological articulation about nature and grace. However, as each language has its specific emphasis, they can clarify singular elements of the same salvific reality.

Tadeusz Rubik, University of Warsaw

Jakub Wujek's Translation of the Holy Scripture Against Protestant Teachings on the Holy Images

Session 2C: *Polish Intellectual and Religious Culture*

Jakub Wujek finished his translation of the Holy Scripture in 1597. The Bible was printed in 1599 upon revision by Jesuit censors. The text included an extensive exegetic apparatus, springing from polemics of the era; it was enriched with 'Catholic interpretations of difficult passages, for the defence of the universal holy faith against the heresies of these times', as its subtitle stated. Many of the translator's commentaries covered the issues concerning holy images, such as possibility and validity of God's depictions or the validity of their worship, questioned by Reformed theologians, such as Martin Luther or John Calvin. In his commentaries, Wujek entered into a polemical dialogue with them. Such a dialogue required a reconstruction of (at least) some allegations formulated by Protestant authors, most of which were built up on Biblical passages. In his apparatus, the Jesuit writer presented an apology of Catholic

images based on various theological, philosophical, scriptural, and historical arguments. The framework of his conclusions comprised fair reconstruction of his adversaries' theses as well as deceitful and unfair eristic accusations. Recent studies show, however, that Wujek's commentaries were based to a great extent on other works, such as his own Postils, Robert Bellarmine's *De contrversis Christi-anae Fidei* or 'annotations' from the Catholic New Testament of Reims (1582); in fact, the Jesuit appropriated many passages from these sources. The foregoing points demonstrate that Wujek's apparatus is an interesting case of a 'textual network', including both explicit and implicit references to various authors: theological adversaries as well as allies. In my paper, I would like to reconstruct this 'network' and consider some questions of Wujek argumentation's structure and his honesty toward his contrarians. Finally, I shall analyse the issues important for the quarrel over holy images which he highlighted, and these of them that he wished to pass over.

Hadje Sadje, Evangelical Theological Faculty, Leuven
Reformation's Dangerous Idea: The Undermined Social Impact of the Sixteenth Century among Filipino Mainline Protestant Churches

Session 1D: *Ethical and Social Impacts of the Reformation*

A number of Christian scholars have suggested that the Sixteenth Century Protestant Revolution is a key resource for contemporary Christianity. In his popular book, *Christianity's Dangerous Idea* (2007), Alister McGrath, for instance, argues that sixteenth-century

protestant revolution shaped history and the central Christian idea that continues to dramatically influence world events today. McGrath, further argues, Protestant Reformation implies Christianity was being born all over again, with a new potency and capacity to engage with an emerging new world order. In other words, the impact of Protestant Reformation, which were not limited to religious dimension, was manifold that altered social fabric (political, social, economic, education, cultural, etc.) of European civilization. Drawing upon McGrath historical-critical approach as a springboard for a broader consideration of the role of Filipino mainline Protestant churches in the contemporary public space, I argue that Filipino Protestant churches undermined the social impact of Sixteenth century Protestant Reformation and reduced the revolutionary movement into a modern fundamentalist Filipino Christian movement in the Philippines.

Jane Schatkin Hettrick, Rider University, New York
Educating the Organist: A Contract for a Lutheran Organist in Vienna in 1824

Session 5B: *Reformation, Education and the Arts*

The first Lutheran church in Vienna was founded in 1781, and from the beginning the congregation acquired an organ and hired an organist. Among the records preserved in the archive of this Evangelische Kirche is a document entitled *Instruction fuer den Herrn Organisten bey der evangelischen Gemeinde Augsburg Confession*. Dated 1824, this Instruction is a thirty-page (!) contract, describing in minute detail the duties of the organist.

Like many such documents, it lists the basics, such as schedule of services. As suggested above, however, it goes beyond the standard job description. Rather, it tells the organist not only what to play but also how to play. For example, it specifies choice of stops and number of beats per chord—decisions normally made by the organist according to musical context. Altogether these directions present an exceptionally complete picture of the training of a church organist and the skills he needed: hymn playing choir accompaniment, liturgical understanding, organ repertoire, and even organ maintenance.

Very few organist contracts survive. For comparison, J.S. Bach's contract with the Leipzig town council (1723) and Haydn's with the Esterhazy court (1779) are far more general, with no technical instructions.

Apart from the playing instructions, this document constitutes a rich source of information on Lutheran music and liturgy of the time. It also gives insight into the political context, the strict government oversight under which the church – and the organist – functioned.

Unpublished and unrecognized by historians of the Vienna Lutheran Church, this important document is brought to light for the first time in this paper. I will examine the contract and explore its significance in the education of church organists.

Sergiej Slavinski, University of Edinburgh
Covenant Pacification: The Relationship between Imputation and Conscience in John Owen's Doctrine of Justification

Session 5C: *Theological Perspectives on Freedom, Grace and Justification*

This paper will argue that scholarship on early modern religion, particularly Owen scholarship, has neglected a vital connection in the piety of Owen's understanding of justification: Christ's righteousness pacifies terrified consciences via imputation. The psychological dimension of Owen's doctrine of justification is underemphasised with respect to post-conversion experience. The ground of a pacified conscience is not based, for example, on the apperception of one's actions or even saving faith working in oneself; it consists in the apprehension of activities external to the believer, namely, in priestly activities. In this respect, this paper will aim to show that central to covenant theology in the Reformed theology of homeland England in the latter half of the seventeenth-century was the construction of a developed peculiar type of piety. This paper, then, will demonstrate that the reality of the tormented conscience was an issue during the Reformation and post-Reformation periods, but this issue was treated with a specific component in the Reformed soteriology of Owen.

Matthew J. Tuininga, Calvin Theological Seminary / Acton Institute, Grand Rapids
Puritans and Pequots: The Political Theology of Genocide

Session 5A: *The Deformation of Rights? Complexities in Early Modern Protestant Ethics and Economics*

Shortly after the Massachusetts Bay colony was proclaimed a "city on a hill" in 1630, the New England Puritans launched an aggressive war against the Pequot Indians. In the course of the war, the Puritans massacred Pequot men, women, and children; seized Pequot land; and outlawed the Pequot tribe. At the heart of the Puritan understanding of the gospel was the belief in a cosmic antithesis that made violent conflict between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent inexorable. And the Puritans embraced Old Testament Israel as their model for engagement in this struggle. The argument of this paper is that these Puritan theological commitments regarding a cosmic antithesis and the normativity of Israel for Christian political societies provided the theological basis for the Puritans' oppression and destruction of the Pequot tribe.

Dolf te Velde, Theologische Universiteit, Kampen
Reformed Theology and the War on Education: Bartholomaeus Keckermann on the Debate between Aristotle and Ramus

Session 2A: *Ramism and Aristotelianism*

The Protestant Reformation not only ushered in an era of renewal with regard to church doctrine and liturgy, but also brought about profound changes in the interior furnishings and art of churches. The visualisation of the Word within the church interior was one way of adapting the church interior to the

demands of Protestant doctrine and worship. The painting of texts on walls, church furnishings and the installation of text boards and text retables was not bound to a specific Protestant denomination or to a particular geographical-confessional area, but can be encountered in a variety of regions, all bordering the North Sea. 'Schriftaltäre' are found in churches in North-western Germany, while similar Lutheran catechism retables or 'Katekismetavler' were installed in the Danish and Norwegian churches. In Anglican churches in Britain, various forms of Protestant text decoration can be encountered, while a Ten Commandments board is typical for the Dutch Calvinist church interior. Text decoration as an innovative form of Protestant visual culture mainly flourished in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The installation of texts can be understood as an answer to Protestant theological image controversies, of which the practical implications for the church interiors could substantially differ across the various denominations and regions. When comparing the material and visual characteristics, the content and the spatial setting of the various forms of text decoration, both differences and similarities come to the fore. This paper will adopt a comparative North-Sea perspective, highlighting the various ways in which text decorations were used for the adaptation and appropriation of church interiors in various regions, according to Protestant demands.





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