



CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LUTHERAN THEOLOGY AND CONFESSIONAL SOCIETIES

ANNUAL REPORT 2021

Centre Director: Bo Kristian Holm

Steering Committee: Nina Javette Koefoed, Gorm Harste, Jette Bendixen Rønkilde, Mattais Skat Sommer (from 2022)

Advisory Board: Heinrich Assel, Thomas Kaufmann, Lyndal Roper, Hanne Sanders, Herman J. Selderhuis, Lee Palmer Wandel, John Witte Jr.

The LUMEN centre turned five January 1st. As 2022 begins we are again struck by restrictions also affecting most of 2021 even though there were a few month of almost normal conditions in the autumn. Members of the centre have even been to conferences in Germany and Norway.

The postponed conference "Reformation and Everyday Life" - the closing international conference for the collective research project "Lutheranism and Danish societal development" had to go online. Nevertheless, very good keynotes by Lee Palmer Wandel, Thomas Kaufmann, Bridget Heal, Martin Berntson and Kirsi Stjerna, and plenty of fine papers made the conference as good as it could possibly be under the actual conditions.

Several works from various projects came out in 2021. For further details see below. Most attendance received the Danish "popular" volume *Pligt og omsorg – velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder* (Duty and care – the Lutheran roots of the welfare state). In this, the research from the collective project on "Lutheranism and Danish societal development" was combined to one single argument following the impact of Lutheran social imaginaries through Danish history from the reformation to the present day.

A year ago, we could share the news that Nina Koefoed had received a grant for research infrastructure from the Carlsberg Foundation. After finishing this pilot project, Nina Koefoed and her student crew succeeded in training an AI model on the Transkribus platform to read 18. c. handwriting with 95% accuracy. The model is now made public on Transkribus to the benefit of students and researchers working with Danish handwritten 18th century sources.

By the end of the year, former PhD-student in LUMEN, Mattias Skat Sommer, was appointed assistant professor in Church History and welcomed as member of the LUMEN steering committee.

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By current and former LUMEN members

Pligt og omsorg – velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder [Duty and care – the Lutheran Roots of the Welfare State]

Nina Javette Koefoed (ed.), Bo Kristian Holm (ed.), Gorm Harste, Sasja Emilie Mathiasen Stopa, Maria Nørby Pedersen, Monograph with multiple authors.
Copenhagen: Gads Forlag 2021.

Everywhere in the Danish society you can find traces of Christianity. The Churches are visible in both landscape and townscape. Around 75% of the citizens pay church tax. Pastors are public servants, and everyone – despite religious affiliation – has to get their children registered in the church records, as this is the way into the official state register. And the Calendar is full of Christian Holidays. Nevertheless, a lot of people are unaware about the impact of Christianity and especially Lutheranism upon the modern Danish society.

The Church and the Lutheran Faith have historically played a far larger role for the Danish people than it does today. *Pligt og omsorg* shows, how the Christian legacy and Lutheran Theology have had impact on the Danish society in areas, where not normally count as religious. The book presents the background for our imaginaries about authority, social responsibility, duty, work, the poor, and care.

The modern Danish society has Lutheran roots – roots that have nourished our understanding of the main principle of the welfare state about social benefits, free education, equal rights, and family politics. In this way, the book contributes to a deeper understanding of the Danish trust in the welfare state.

[Link to publisher](#)

Contents

Koefoed, N. J. & Holm, B. K. (2021). Indledning: på sporet af velfærdsstatens dybe rødder. I *Pligt og omsorg: velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder* (s. 19-35).

Holm, B. K. (2021). Et nyt Gudsforhold og dets konsekvenser. I N. J. Koefoed & B. K. Holm (red.), *Pligt og omsorg: velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder* (s. 39-75).

Koefoed, N. J. & Holm, B. K. (2021). En luthersk autoritet i dansk enevælde. I *Pligt og omsorg: Velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder* (s. 79-101).

Mathiasen Stopa, S. E. (2021). Den kristne opdragelse i 1700-tallets Danmark. I N. Javette Koefoed & B. Kristian Holm (red.), *Pligt og omsorg: velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder* (s. 105-133).

Koefoed, N. J. (2021). Den lutherske husstand. I *Pligt og omsorg: velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder* (s. 137-165).

Harste, Gorm. Den lutherske arbejdsetik i Danmark. I *Pligt og omsorg: velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder* (s. 169-205).

Pedersen, M. N. (2021). En kristen forsørgelse af alle fattige. I N. J. Koefoed & B. K. Holm (red.), *Pligt og omsorg: velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder* (s. 209-236).

Koefoed, N. J. (2021). En luthersk velfærdsstat? I *Pligt og omsorg: velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder* (s. 243-270).

Koefoed, N. J. & Holm, B. K. (2021). Afslutning: Velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder. I *Pligt og omsorg: Velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder* (s. 271-280).



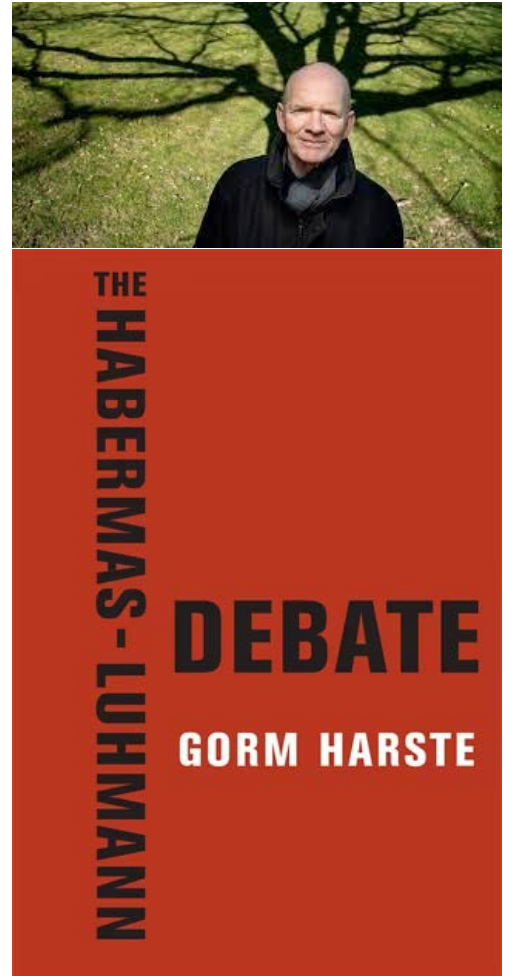
Gorm Harste: The Habermas – Luhmann Debate, New York: Columbia University Press 2021, 410 pp. (paperback, hardback, e-book)

Fifty years ago, the two leading German philosophers and sociologists since the Second World War, Jürgen Habermas and Niklas Luhmann, embarked on a sweeping and contentious debate that would continue for decades. Their coauthored 1971 book *Theory of Society or Social Technology* laid out their opposing positions on meaning, communication, consensus and dissent – and ultimately the foundations of modern social thought. Habermas and Luhmann would elaborate their disagreement in the years to come in a controversy whose aftershocks divided social theorists by presenting what appeared to be two fundamentally divergent views of the nature of society and what systems theory was capable of explaining.

Both social thinkers are Lutherans and have developed important sociologies of religions with decisive analyses of the Reformation and in particular the impact of the printing press revolution. Accordingly, their discussion on history, evolution and revolution in the Reformation and the secular age sheds light on the separation of religion, law, research, politics and the public sphere.

This is the first book in English about one of the most important conflicts in social theory today. Gorm Harste analyses the Habermas-Luhmann debate from its inception through Habermas's most recent works, exploring issues such as methodology, ideology, truth, history and politics. He contextualises their positions in terms of how each grappled with the legacy of Nazism and sought to provide the foundations of antitotalitarian politics. Harste follows the evolution of the debate, as the fundamental dispute over the normative and practical desirability of agreement and disagreement came to touch upon political questions including the rule of law, the separation of powers, human rights, individualisation and secularisation. Ultimately, Harste emphasises the convergence between Habermas and Luhmann – and the pressing need for social theorists to further unite these two formative accounts of contemporary society.

[Link to publisher](#)



Sasja Emilie Mathiasen Stopa

Soli Deo Honor et Gloria

Honour and Glory in the Theology of Martin Luther

Reihe: Nordic Studies in Theology / Nordische Studien zur Theologie 1.

Sasja E.M. Stopa explores the influence of honour and glory on Martin Luther's theology. Luther's works overflow with terminology of honour and glory. Analysing a broad selection of this terminology, Stopa argues that his doctrine of justification centres on a soteriological concern for the recreation of human glory lost in the Fall and a doxological concern for God's glory stolen by sinners. Stopa shows how this relation to God patterns Luther's understanding of social relations, and discusses justification as a process of mutual recognition translating Luther's theology of glory into contemporary theology.



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Pietismus und Neuzeit 45

Sasja Emilie Mathiasen Stopa (theology) and Nina Koefoed (history) have edited a thematic issue of Pietismus und Neuzeit, dealing with the impact of Pietism in the Nordic countries. The background for the volume was a seminar in 2019 focusing on the role of Pietism in our understanding of society and authority in the 18th-century Nordic absolutist states. The contribution covers a wide range of subjects ranging from a theological reading of Pontoppidan's Catechism and its sources of inspiration, over the impact of other pietistic writing and the interplay with contemporary legal thinking, to Pietism seen as a cultural and societal movement and instrument of governance.

[Link to publisher](#)



Mathiasen Stopa, S.E. (2021). A communion of saints? - Reincorporating sinners into the created order of 18th century Denmark through catechetical practice. In U. Sträter (ed.), Pietismus und Neuzeit: Ein Jahrbuch zur Geschichte des neueren Protestantismus (Volume 45 - 2019, pp. 84-116). Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666573323.84>

II. Blog Entries

The focus of the LUMEN blog is still to show how research can be done within the range of themes covered by LUMEN. This year we included two blogs on retired members

New book about the Church observed pays tribute to Carsten Bach-Nielsen (Den sete kirke. Festskrift til Carsten Bach-Nielsen, Aarhus University Press 2021).

- 23.02.2021: **Mattias Skat Sommer**

In 2020, Carsten Bach-Nielsen retired from his position as an associate professor of church history at Aarhus University. Carsten Bach-Nielsen has been a great support of LUMEN over the years, bringing plenty of critical and constructive questions and perspectives to the centre's projects, which often included references to material culture. To honour Carsten Bach-Nielsen's work, a team of six colleagues has edited a festschrift published with Aarhus University Press. This blog entry presents his contribution to scholarship.



Carsten Bach-Nielsen giving his farewell lecture October 14.

[Link to full text.](#)

How churches bear witness to the ordinary practice of taking communion-

5.6.2021: **Jette Bendixen Rønkilde**



This blog post focuses on an altarpiece from the late 15th century in a small village in southern Denmark, and in particular on the post-Reformation inscriptions on the predella. These inscriptions are significant in a liturgical, historical perspective since they address the communicants directly. The inscriptions on the predella can provide us with insights into the beliefs, assumptions and liturgical practices associated with the celebration of the Lord's Supper

[Link to full text.](#)

II. Blog Enries

Religion in Society: Per Ingesman Retires from Aarhus University.

- 10.11.2021: ;Mattias Skat Sommer



Per Ingesman looking at the audience during his retirement lectura September 8.

Per Ingesman, a professor of church history at Aarhus University, retired recently. With a background in theology as well as history, he has been crucial for the process leading to the establishment of the LUMEN Centre. He has a long and manifold career behind him, and the key question in his research has always been the classical question in ecclesiastical historiography: How does religion influence society – and vice versa – and how can we describe this influence?

[Link to full text.](#)

Making the 18th century accessible. Digital sources for 18th century and confessional history

-28.09.2020: Nina Javette Koefoed

As part of one of the larger research projects in LUMEN, Lutheranism and societal development in Denmark, we have now made a major step within digitalization of sources 18th century sources and made it possible to use digital methods on our 18th century archival material. This enable us to ask new research questions and reach firmer conclusions.

[Link to full text.](#)



Events

LUMEN conference: Reformation and Everyday Life



The planned Tenth Annual RefoRC Conference in 2020 had to be cancelled. On 30 May-1 June 2021 LUMEN held the replacement conference, Reformation and Everyday Life, which had to take place online. This conference was an international concluding conference for the collective project "Lutheranism and Danish Societal Development". We asked our keynotes and participants to reflect on the impact of the Reformation on various aspects of everyday life, which led to many eye-opening observations. As keynotes, Thomas Kaufmann, Bridget Heal, Lee Palmer Wandel, Martin Berntson and Kirsi Stjerna gave substantial input to the discussion, which was lively in spite of the online format. A selection of keynotes and papers are currently finding their way into a forthcoming volume at Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

LUMEN's breakfast meetings

In 2020, LUMEN introduced a new concept called "Blafre" meetings in Danish. Every second week we have breakfast meetings at which new ideas and projects can be aired (which is what "blafre" means in Danish) in an informal atmosphere. These morning gatherings have continued during 2021, benefiting LUMEN a great deal. They have proved fruitful as well as supporting scholarly discussions.

IV. Lutheranism and Danish Societal Development

We are entering the last year of funding for this collective project, which in many ways has been central to the development of LUMEN. The project asks how and to what extent the religious horizons of understanding for both the God-human relationship and the worldly sociality created by the Reformation helped shape the perceptions of authority, responsibility, duty and obligation which helped to form Danish society and, ultimately, democracy and the Danish welfare state. Theological concepts of trust and sin as well as the household and the issue of caring for the poor, old and sick are central to the project, which focuses primarily on the 18th century.

Funding for this project was awarded by the Danish Research Council in 2016, as part of the Reformation anniversary in 2017. It has three senior scholars, has included one two-year postdoc and one PhD student, and is headed by Nina Javette Koefoed.

Beside the LUMEN conference Reformation and Everyday Life, two of the central achievements in 2021 were the publication of a co-authored monograph by the project members directed towards a broader Danish audience, entitled *Pligt og omsorg. Velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder*, published by Gad, and the publication of a special issue on Scandinavian Pietism in *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, edited by Sasja E.M. Stopa and Nina J. Koefoed.

We are now in the process of finalising the last publications from the project

- an anthology on Lutheranism and social responsibility, edited by Andrew Newby and Nina J. Koefoed, to be published by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
- an anthology/conference volume on the Reformation and everyday life, edited by Bo K. Holm and Nina J. Koefoed, to be published by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

Publications

Mathiasen Stopa, S.E. & Koefoed, N.J. (eds.) (2021). Special Issue of *Pietismus und Neuzeit*: Pietistic influence on societal development in 18th century Scandinavia. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. *Pietismus und Neuzeit*. Ein Jahrbuch zur Geschichte des neueren Protestantismus. Volume 45.

Pligt og Omsorg : Velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder. / Harste, Gorm; Koefoed, Nina Javette (editor); Holm, Bo Kristian (editor); Mathiesen Stopa, Sasja Emilie; Nørby Pedersen, Maria; Harste, Gorm. Copenhagen: Gads Forlag, 2021



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V. An Economy of Reception?

This project, funded by the Aarhus University Research Foundation, is slowly ending and terminates in 2022. Postdoc. Jette Bendixen Rønkilde has been on leave, but is now back, and she and Bo Kristian Holm have collaborated with Associate Professor Jacob Egeris Thorsen from ecumenical theology/diakonia to organise in 2021 the last of two workshops on the Lord's Supper and mediality

LUMEN workshop: Eucharist – presence – mediality: an ecumenical exploration of online Eucharist celebrations

The Scandinavian workshop on the Eucharist, presence and mediality, which took place in December 2020, was followed by an international workshop in March 2021.

Both workshops reflected on the situation caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Government restrictions following the outbreak of the pandemic led to the shutdown of public religious services all over the world in 2020, and the use of digital and analogue media (live stream, zoom, traditional TV and radio) in order to transmit religious services increased rapidly on every continent.

In the Lutheran churches in Scandinavia, the important question arose as to whether the Lord's Supper can be legitimately celebrated online, with people consuming bread and wine at home following electronically mediated consecration. A range of important dogmatic topics are related to the question: What is a sacrament? What does the materiality of the sacrament mean? What is the importance of the physically gathered community as the context for the celebration of the Eucharist? Is it possible to mediate materiality and community electronically? And if so, to what degree is it possible? What are the ecumenical implications when some denominations (or member churches within a denomination) adopt online Eucharistic practices?



In this workshop, we addressed the questions raised above from an ecumenical perspective with contributions from Reformed (Katrin Kuzmierz, Bern), Roman Catholic (Jan-Heiner Tück, Vienna) and Lutheran theologians (Alexander Deeg, Leipzig; Johanne Stubbe-Teglbjærg Kristensen, Copenhagen). The workshops were arranged by a project group under LUMEN (Bo Kristian Holm and Jette Bendixen Rønkilde) and Jakob Egeris Thorsen, who is an associate professor of ecumenical theology and diakonia. A selection of the presentations will be published in a thematic issue of Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift.

Publications

Holm, B.K. (2021). Kan virtuell nattvard bära evangeliet? Tidens Tecken, 6, 79-94.

Holm, B.K. (2021). Sozial-theoretische Aspekte im Werk Karl Holls exemplifiziert anhand seines Aufsatzes ‚Luthers Kirchenbegriff‘ (1915). In H. Assel (ed.), Karl Holl: Biographie – Werke – Briefe (pp. 413-432). Mohr Siebeck.

VI. The Nordic Household State

This collaborative and comparative project on the Nordic household state was funded by the Swedish RIKSBANKENS JUBILEUMSFOND in 2018 and led by Urban Claesson from the Department of Theology at Uppsala University. The project investigates how Lutheran theology formed the basis of the strong states in both Denmark and Sweden during the 17th and 18th centuries. The project focuses specifically on the synchronising effect of households on different levels through four comparative sub-projects on state building, the benevolent ruler in Luther's writing, Lutheran catechisms, and authority and social responsibility in Danish and Swedish households.

The Nordic collaboration in this project is probably the one activity in LUMEN that has suffered most under all the restrictions and cancellations caused by the coronavirus. Five senior scholars are involved in the project. Some collaboration, research discussions and co-writing could be organised and structured on zoom, but in 2021 we finally again got the chance of have a seminar in real life. The participants are right now working on their part of the concluding book about the Nordic Household State, going to be published af Makadam in Sweden.

Publications

Holm, B.K. (2021). God's Caring Vice-Regent: The Lutheran transformation of the Senecan ideal of the benevolent monarch as the basis of both absolutism and social responsibility. *Toronto Journal of Theology*, 37(2), 135-146.

[Link to open access](#)



Nordic Variation of Protestant Governance. A NOS-HS workshop series

The household as a place for lived religion and social interaction

The second of our NOS-HS workshops on Nordic variation of Protestant Governance was held as a blended workshop mainly on zoom, and explored the household as a social unit and as a place for lived religion during the early modern era. The workshop was the second in a series of three workshops funded by the Joint Committee for Nordic Research Councils in the Humanities and Social Sciences (NOS-HS). The last workshop in spring 2022 will focus on good policy. The workshops are led by Nina Koefoed (LUMEN), together with Urban Claesson (Uppsala University), and Jørn Øyrehaugen Sunde (University of Oslo).

VIII. Main Activities 2022

GUESTS

Heinrich Assel, Greifswald, will visit LUMEN on 28 April-2 May.

LUMEN lecture series

A series of LUMEN lectures will follow a number of book projects. In the spring, three scholars will introduce their projects, all of them funded by a Carlsberg Monograph Grant.

Room: 1461-516

Time: 15:00-17:00

7 April: Tine Ravnsted-Larsen Reeh: Utilisitet sekularisering? Teologiske aktører i ophøret af brug af Mosaik Lov i det vestlige Skandinavien. (Unwanted secularisation? Theological agents in ending the use of Mosaic Law in Western Scandinavia)

2. June: Louise Nyholm Kallestrup: Erfaringshistorie og identitetsskabende begivenheder. Trolddomsforfølgelser i Danmark 1570-1618 (History of experience and identity-forming events. Persecution of Witchcraft in Denmark 1570-1618)

TBA: Nina Javette Koefoed: Hushold og Lutherdom i 1700-tallets Danmark. (Household and Lutheranism in 18th-century Denmark)

“Blafremøder”

Room: 1453-415

Time: 08:30-10:00

25. JAN **Sasja Emilie Mathiasen Stopa:** Teologiske forestillingers indflydelse på udviklingen af dansk tillidskultur i det spirende demokratiske velfærdssamfund (Theological influence on the development of Danish Trust Culture in the nascent democratic welfare state)

2. MAR **Mattias Skat Sommer:** Tolerancestrategier under Frederik IV og Christian VI, ca. 1700-1750, med særligt henblik på Nordstrand (Strategies for toleration during the reigns of kings Frederik IV and Christian VI, c. 1700 - c. 1750, with particular emphasis on Nordstrand)

1.APR **Lone Kølle Martinsen:** Den nordiske særvej i billedkunsten. (The Nordic “Sonderweg” in the visual arts)

3. MAY **Jette Bendixen Rønkilde:** Skriftetalens sociale forestillinger (The social imaginaries of the confessional speech)

1.JUN **Bjarke Hellemann Weiss:** Borgerlig identitetsdannelse, religion og medborgerskab, ca. 1770-99 (Bourgeois identity formation, religion and citizenship, c. 1770-99)

VIII. Further publications

Further LUMEN publications from 2021

- Barclay, K. & **Koefoed, N.J.** (2021). Family, Memory, and Identity: An Introduction. *Journal of Family History*, 46(1), 3-12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0363199020967297>
- **Koefoed, N.J.** (2021). Negotiating Memory and Restoring Identity in Broken Families in Eighteenth-century Denmark. *Journal of Family History*, 46(1), 30-45
- **Bach-Nielsen, C.** (2021). Religionen og hverdagslivet: Arbejde som gudstjeneste: En skotsk prædiken i Danmark i 1857. In: *Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, Vol. 83, No. 1-2, 2020, pp. 41-52.
- **Harste, G.**; Klaus Laursen (editorial): "Morality observed with systems theory. Preface". In *Kybernetes*. Theme: Morality, London: Emerald, January 2022: 1-14
- **Harste, G.**; Klaus Laursen: "Niklas Luhmann's anti-totalitarian observation of systems" In *Kybernetes*, London: Emerald, January 2022
- **Holm, B.K.** (2021). Gemeinsame Verheißung und gemeiner Nutzen: Ein Beitrag für eine aktuelle Würdigung der Confessio Augustana als gemeinsames ökumenisches Dokument. In G. Frank, V. Leppin & T. Licht (eds.), *Die "Confessio Augustana" im ökumenischen Gespräch* (pp. 259-278). De Gruyter. **OPEN ACCESS**
- **Holm, B.K.** Nachfolge, Kreuzestheologie und Gabe-Ökonomie. In *Bedeutsame Stunde: Impulse Bonhoeffers für eine Theologie der Gegenwart*. eds. Stephanie Christine Hertel-Holst; Kinga Zeller. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2021. pp. 1-24.
- **Ingesman, P.** "Mellem kirkens disciplin og lovens straf. Overtrædelse af Dekalogens tredje bud frem til Danske Lov 1683", *Den sette kirke*. Festskrift til Carsten Bach-Nielsen, eds. Mattias Skat Sommer et al., Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2021, pp. 93-113.
- **Ingesman, P.** "Skilsmisse og separation efter reformationen", *Skalk*, no. 2, 2021, pp. 24-29.
- **Ingesman, P.** "'Vom Ehebruch und weglaufen'. Skilsmissegrunde hos Bugenhagen, Hemmingsen og Frederik II", *Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, volume 84, no. 1, 2021, pp. 3-24.
- **Ingesman, P.** "Til teologi – ad omveje", *Nyt fra Aarhusteologerne*, no. 26.