



CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LUTHERAN THEOLOGY AND CONFESSIONAL SOCIETIES

ANNUAL REPORT 2019

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The LUMEN Centre has now existed for three years, and we are preparing the planned three-year evaluation with a view to continuing our status as a centre, a process about which we are optimistic. The LUMEN Centre was already a well-established research group by the start of January 2017. During the past year, a good number of our postdocs and PhDs have finished their studies with remarkable results, and several of the senior members are busy doing research for the centre's collective projects. There have been a lot of conference activities both internationally and in Aarhus, and we are very pleased that an increasing number of scholars have expressed a wish to visit us and contribute to the centre's discussions.

In May LUMEN will be the local host for the Tenth Annual RefoRC Conference on Early Modern Christianity. The main theme of the plenary lectures will be the Reformation and everyday life. The conference will also be the concluding seminar for the collective project entitled Lutheranism and Danish Societal Development.

This report contains further information about the various activities of the LUMEN Centre.

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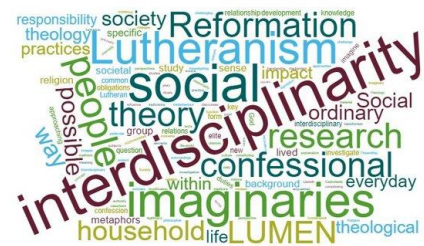
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The LUMEN Centre receives visits from so many scholars that we have decided to include guests among the authors of the **LUMEN blog**. The focus of our blog is still to show how research can be done within the range of themes covered by LUMEN.

“Social imaginaries” as a tool for interdisciplinary Reformation research

14.02.2019 | [BO KRISTIAN HOLM](#) & [NINA JAVETTE KOEFOED](#)

For some time, our research group in LUMEN has been investigating the possible impact of the Reformation upon the formation of society. The challenging aspect has been to find ways to investigate the impact that ideas (in this case religion in the form of a specific confession) have had on societal development and the everyday life of ordinary people.



[Link to full text:](#)

The Ten Commandments and good work

25.04.2019 | [NINA JAVETTE KOEFOED](#)

Right from the outset, Luther's attack on works righteousness was criticised for the implication that people were thereby released from the obligation to do good work. The logic of this criticism was that people will stop doing good work if doing good work has no influence on their salvation. Simultaneously, the religious obligation placed on the authorities has been seen as an obligation to maintain social order by defining certain actions negatively as sinful and thus criminal. However, to gain a more complete picture of the impact of Lutheranism on societal development, it is crucial to include the positive obligation to do good work on a personal and societal level.

[Link to full text](#)



Poor panel from St Peter's Church in Næstved from 1633 urging people to give to the poor with the promise of God's blessing – but this should be understood as a blessing in this world. The obligation to give to the poor followed from the seventh commandment.

Reforming religion includes poor relief

23.10.2019 | **ESTHER CHUNG-KIM**, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES, CLAREMONT MCKENNA COLLEGE

What is wrong with giving only to the deserving poor? Any discomfort with the word - deserving - stems from the subjective nature of determining who are the deserving poor. The concern is that charity and generosity have become exclusive or exclusionary or it is simply not clear who is included. Yet, the sixteenth-century reformers, such as Johannes Bugenhagen, one of the three key Wittenberg reformers, had a clear sense of the deserving poor and it included more than it excluded.

[Link to full text](#)



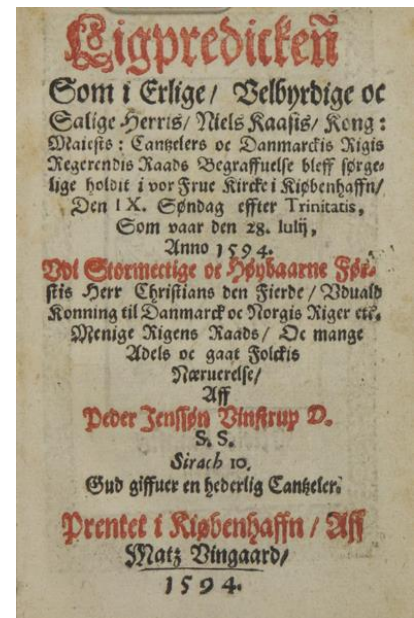
Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553), Philip Melancthon (1497-1560), Martin Luther (1483-1546) and Johann Bugenhagen, called Dr Pommer (1485-1558) (Credit: The Sackville Collection at Knole, Kent, UK)

Death sermons as sources revealing the ideology of the Danish nobility after the Reformation

06.12.2019 | **RASMUS SKOVGAARD JAKOBSEN**

After the Reformation, the Danish nobility developed a tradition for published death sermons written by the clerical elite. These death sermons were highly idealised portraits of the nobility as a Christian authority and have seldom been used for historical studies. This blog entry suggests how they can be used by Early Modern historians.

[Link to full text](#)



Kaa's death sermon

In 2019, most of the activities took place within the projects connected to the LUMEN Centre because the centre has not had its own separate source of funding. However, we have held breakfast meetings to discuss texts, present projects and gain a general update on developments and activities within the individual projects. Researchers connected to the centre have also participated in various activities of relevance for the centre's work, and some of our PhD students have defended their dissertations.

PhD defences

1/4: Mattias Skat Sommer: Envisioning the Christian Society: The Social Thought of Niels Hemmingsen as a Theological Contribution to Ordering Sixteenth-Century Denmark.

This doctoral dissertation is a study of how Danish theologian Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600) was a central agent in formatting society according to theological norms in sixteenth-century Denmark. Hemmingsen was a student in Wittenburg during the late 1530s and the early 1540s. As a professor in Copenhagen, an adviser to the court and a prolific author, he was crucial to the development of a post-Reformation theology that sought to order society. Discussing the influence of important Lutheran and Reformed theologians and Renaissance humanism on Hemmingsen's thought, the dissertation analyses Hemmingsen's understanding of the callings of a Christian, the role of the pastor, the rule of kings and the use of money across his writing. The dissertation concludes that Hemmingsen's case is an original contribution to the formation of a pluriform Lutheranism in early modern Europe.

During 2020, Sommer's dissertation will be published by Mohr Siebeck in the *Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation* series.

11/4: Rasmus Skovgaard Jakobsen: Nobility between God and People after the Reformation. The Ideology of the Danish Nobility under the Reign of the Aristocracy as seen through the Published Noble Death Sermons.

This dissertation studies the role of the Danish nobility in communicating the messages of the Reformation in the first half of the Confessional Epoch (c. 1550–1617). The study is based on death sermons for the Danish nobility published during this period, and demonstrates that the nobility framed themselves, their lineage and the aristocracy as Lutheran authorities who had been sanctioned by God. This claim to legitimacy depended on the performance of a number of Lutheran duties relating to poor relief and educational and church support. The nobility had to carry out these duties on their estates in order to gain acceptance of their legitimacy by society at large. In this way, the Danish nobility played a central role in communicating the messages of the Reformation in their local communities.

Activities

In May, **Ulrik Becker Nissen** and **Bo Kristian Holm** participated in the seminar "Bedeutsame Stunde" – Impulse Bonhoeffers für eine Theologie der Gegenwart, in Kiel.

In August, **Nina Koefoed** participated in "Nordisk slots- og herregårdssymposium – 1700-tallets nordiske slotte og herregårde" (a Nordic symposium on 18th-century Nordic castles and manors).

In October, **Bo Kristian Holm** gave a keynote at the symposium: "Die Confessio Augustana im ökumenischen Gespräch", in Melanchthonhaus (Bretten), Germany.

In October, **Sasja Stopa** gave a Ringvorlesung at Hamburg Universität: "'Simul liber et servus' – Freiheit zur gottesverehrenden Knechtschaft in Martin Luthers De libertate Christiana".

And from October 2019 to February 2020, the head of LUMEN, **Bo Kristian Holm**, has been appointed Scandinavian Guest Professor at the university in Kiel, Germany.

III. LUTHERANISM AND DANISH SOCIETAL DEVELOPMENT

This is a collective project funded by the Danish Research Council in the period 2016–2020. It consists of three senior researchers, a two-year postdoc and a PhD student, and is headed by Nina Javette Koefoed. The project asks how and to what extent the religious horizons of understanding both the God-human relationship and the worldly sociality created by the Reformation helped shape the perceptions of authority, responsibility, duty and obligation which became formative for Danish society and, ultimately, for the development of 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.

The project group kicked off 2019 with a three-day writing retreat at Klitgaarden in Skagen.

Several aspects of the project were developed further in 2019 at a variety of seminars.

In February, a second interdisciplinary two-day LUMEN symposium on confession and social responsibility investigated concrete, comparative and methodical perspectives on confession and models of welfare. This symposium was organised in collaboration with former AIAS fellow Andrew Newby. Together with contributions from a LUMEN symposium on Lutheranism and the Nordic welfare state in 2018, this symposium will lead to the publication of a collected volume in the Refo500 series at Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, edited by Nina J. Koefoed & Andrew Newby.

In May, a two-day seminar on pietism (*Det fromme subjekt – de helliges Samfund – den gudgivne autoritet. Pietistiske strømningers betydning for forståelse af samfund og autoritet i 1700-tallets nordiske enevoldsstater*) discussed the influence of pietism on societal development in the Nordic countries in the 18th century and the question of pietism as an aspect of change or continuity in a legal/historical, cultural/historical and theological perspective. Contributions from this seminar will be published in a special issue of *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, edited by Sasja Stopa & Nina J. Koefoed.



Christian Neddens shows his case during the Confession and Social Responsibility Seminar, February



Ingela Neumann in a confident and joyful moment and the Trust and Authority Seminar in December

III. LUTHERANISM AND DANISH SOCIETAL DEVELOPMENT

Finally in December, a two-day seminar on trust and authority in the Lutheran North examined the possible influence of Lutheran theology and social teaching on the high-trust culture characteristic of Nordic welfare societies from an interdisciplinary perspective of social and political science, history and theology. Contributions from this seminar will be published in a special issue of *Journal of Historical Sociology*, edited by Sasja Stopa & Gert Tinggaard Svendsen.



Joar Haga makes a point at the Piestim seminar in May

Furthermore, a number of the results the project have been presented at several international conferences:

In March, Gorm Harste and Nina J. Koefoed were members of a panel on *Convergence and conflicts among Nordic Lutheran states: long path dependencies* at the Third Nordic Challenges Conference in Copenhagen.

- **Gorm Harste:** *Nordic Lutheran Legacy – Values or Wars*
- **Nina Koefoed:** *The Household in Nordic State Building*

In May, Gorm Harste, Sasja Stopa and Bo Kristian Holm contributed papers to the Ninth Annual RefoRC Conference on Early Modern Christianity in Bologna.

- **Gorm Harste:** *Religious Wars in the Aftermath of Liturgical Quarrels: Between Reformation and Military State-Building*
- **Sasja Emilie Mathiasen Stopa:** *Consuming the Word of God: Eating the Eucharistic Meal and Practicing the Catechism in Luther's Theology and in Early Modern Lutheran Confessional Culture*
- **Bo Kristian Holm:** *The Theological Background for the Affirmation of Worldly Life in the Lutheran Reformation and its Political Consequences*

In June, Sasja Stopa, Gorm Harste and Bo Kristian Holm contributed papers to a conference entitled *Wings of Desire: The Limits and Potentials of Imagination within the Philosophy of Religion* at Aarhus University.

- **Sasja Emilie Mathiasen Stopa:** *Gazing at the Flesh to See Glory – The Paradox Aesthetics of a Lutheran Theology of Glory*
- **Gorm Harste:** *Sympathy for the Devil – Kant's Theory of War and Peace*
- **Bo Kristian Holm:** *The Clash of Political Imaginaries: Lutheran Presence and Modern Representation*

In September, Sasja Stopa contributed a paper to a workshop on Luther and Sex at Helsinki University. And Nina Koefoed participated in a workshop on Early Modern State Building from Below at the University of Joensuu.

- **Sasja Stopa:** *Martin Luther's View on Women as Rulers and Wives*
- **Nina Koefoed:** *Households and State Building in Early Modern Denmark*

III. LUTHERANISM AND DANISH SOCIETAL DEVELOPMENT

In November, Bo Kristian Holm, Sasja Stopa and Nina Koefoed organised a session on *Lutheranism and the Nordic Welfare State* at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion and presented results from the project. The session addressed how the Reformation brought about a change in the perception of authorities in societies defined by a Lutheran confessional culture and the implications of this for societal development towards the early welfare state in the late 19th century.

- **Bo Kristian Holm:** *The Lutheran Transformation of the Benevolent Ruler as the Basis of both Absolutism and Social Responsibility*
- **Nina Koefoed:** *Authority and Responsibility in the Lutheran Household in the Early Danish Democracy and Welfare State*
- **Sasja Stopa:** *Trusting God and His Earthly Masks: An Exploration into the Lutheran Roots of the Scandinavian High-Trust Culture*



PI Nina Koefoed is here arguing for a detectable Lutheran impact on the understanding of authority and responsibility in the Early Danish Democracy at the LUMEN panel at AAR San Diego, where Lee Palmer Wandel gave a response to all three presentations under Olli-Pekka Vainio's moderation.

Beside seminars and participation in conferences, the project has organised a workshop and PhD course on the use and potential of Transkribus in a collaboration between LUMEN and CEDHAR (the Center for Digital History Aarhus). The aim was to introduce Transkribus as a useful tool for reading, transcribing and searching through Early Modern sources which are difficult to access.

At the end of this year we will have to say goodbye to Sasja Stopa, who will be concluding her postdoc on *The Lutheran understanding of universal sin and unconditional trust as a formative element in Danish welfare mentality*.



Sasja Emile Mathiasen Stopa presenting some of the results from her research at the Pietism Seminar in May

III. LUTHERANISM AND DANISH SOCIETAL DEVELOPMENT

Activities in 2019

21-23/1	Writing Retreat Klitgaarden
11-12/2	LUMEN Symposium: Confession and social responsibility
6-8/3	Participation in ReNEW Third Nordic Challenges Conference
15-17/5	Participation in the Ninth Annual RefoRC Conference on Early Modern Christianity
13/6-15/6	Participation in Wings of Desire, Aarhus University
28-29/5	Pietism and the Nordic Absolute State
24-29/9	Participation in international workshops
14/11	Transkribus workshop
22-27/11	Panel at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion
2-3/12	Trust and Authority in the Lutheran North

Publications

Holm, B.K. (2019). Luther, Seneca, and benevolence in both creation and government. In P. Kärkkäinen & O-P. Vainio (eds.), *Apprehending love: theological and philosophical inquiries* (pp. 287-312). Helsinki: Luther-Agricola Society. Schriften der Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft, vol. 73.

Koefoed, N.J. (2019). Authorities who care: The Lutheran doctrine of the three estates in Danish legal development from the Reformation to Absolutism. *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 44 (4), 430-453. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03468755.2018.1562965>

Mathiasen Stopa, S.E. (2019). "Durch die Sünde hat die Natur ihr Vertrauen auf Gott verloren" - Sünde und Vertrauen als formgebende Elemente von Martin Luthers Gesellschaftsverständnis. In C. Neddens & C. Barnbrock (eds.), *Simul-Existenz: Spuren reformatorischer Anthropologie* (pp. 120-140). Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt.

Mathiasen Stopa, S.E. (2019). Martin Luthers syn på kvinden som hustru og hersker. *Scandia: Tidskrift för historisk forskning*, 85(2). <https://journals.lub.lu.se/scandia/article/view/20248>

IV. AN ECONOMY OF RECEPTION? THE RELATION BETWEEN SACRAMENT AND SOCIALITY IN LUTHERAN PROTESTANT SOCIETIES

The project had to say goodbye to postdoc Eva Krause Jørgensen at the beginning of the year. This is because the project is about to end, but Bo Kristian Holm and Jette Bendixen Rønkilde will round off the project by performing various activities, for instance by writing a co-authored article on doctrine, liturgy and sociality, drawing on Bo Holm's work on doctrine and liturgy, and on Jette Rønkilde's empirical studies as well as her recent research visit to Stellenbosch University, South Africa. Bo Holm will finish his study on sociality as the common key to Luther's writings on the Lord's Supper, the main ideas of which have already been presented at conferences and seminars.

V. THE NORDIC HOUSEHOLD STATE

The collaborative and comparative project on the Nordic household state, funded by the Swedish RIKS-BANKENS JUBILEUMSFOND, held its first two project meetings in 2019. The more intensive work in the project kicked off with a project planning meeting in the Swedish town of Höör on 20-21 August, followed by a meeting in Aarhus on 10-12 December. In the spring of 2020 the researchers involved will work more intensively on their projects.

Overall 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. Urban Claesson has already identified several promising aspects of regional and national differences in his comparative studies of Lutheran catechisms, and Gorm Harste has begun his comparative studies of war and confessional impact on state building in Denmark and Sweden, while Bo Kristian Holm will move his study of the benevolent ruler in Luther's writing and Danish absolutism to a comparative study, including Sweden next year. Nina Koefoed and Karin Hassan Jansson are also about to start their comparative studies of authority and social responsibility in Danish and Swedish households.



PI Urban Claesson at one of his visits in Aarhus

The project will participate in the European Social Science History Conference on a panel on "The Micro-practices of the Household State" – a comparative panel focusing on relations between household and state within different confessions. Furthermore, the project will participate in the Tenth Annual RefoRC Conference on Early Modern Christianity.

VI. THE EPCOT NETWORK

EPCOT was funded by Aarhus University until 2018. The main activities in 2017-2018 were guest lectures by international researchers from the fields of social science, political science, history and theology, as well as corresponding PhD courses. The grant from the AU Research Committee made it possible to invite internationally established researchers and build up an international network with the opportunity to discuss the main hypothesis, share key sources and develop a methodological approach to investigate the relation between religion and societal development. In this way, EPCOT made it possible to establish new contacts worldwide, for instance with the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa, where the leader of EPCOT Jette Bendixen Rønkilde conducted a three-month academic visit in 2019 investigating the relation between church and society and in particular how the eras of apartheid and post-apartheid influenced liturgy, specifically the eucharist.

VII. THE LUTHER HOUSEHOLD IN DENMARK 1550-1700 AND ITS DEVOTIONAL SETTING, MATERIAL EXPRESSIONS AND STRATEGIES

During a series of seminars on material expressions of the early modern godly household, LUMEN raised questions regarding material strategies in the private spheres related to the Reformation and confessional changes. In April, a second seminar on this theme discussed how the church merged into the private sphere, and how objects like Lutheran artworks, tableware and oven tiles with religious motifs and detector findings can contribute to discussions of religious settings, strategies and consumption.

A selection of contributions from the seminars in 2018 and 2019 as well as other invited contributors will lead to the publication of a collected volume edited by Mette Svart Kristiansen & Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen. This volume will explore the Lutheran household in Denmark 1550-1700 and its devotional setting, material expressions and strategies for the ideal of godly living, and how these might differ from other confessions in Northern and Central Europe. It thus offers a first Scandinavian attempt at describing the potential impact and actual effects of the Reformation on the domestic sphere when seen through the lens of practical devotion and material culture. Many strands in this volume have long traditions in research, but their effects and cultural significance for the early modern Danish household have not been discussed as a whole.



Fragment of 17th-century oven tile depicting the Good Shepherd. The good shepherd is fighting the wolves in the centre of the tile, while the bad shepherd is fleeing at the back. Only a part of the bad shepherd is visible, and Christ is also on the way out of the portal of the tile, clearly indicating that the motif was originally larger but that it has been cut to fit this particular tile format.

From Ehlers Collection, Photo Ole Kristiansen

27-29 May Tenth Annual RefoRC Conference on Early Modern Christianity – The Reformation and Everyday Life, at Aarhus University

For registration and programme: <https://www.reforc.com/tenth-annual-reforc-conference-on-early-modern-christianity/>

The aim of this conference is to discuss how lived religion and everyday life and space were formed in the aftermath of the Reformation, and how we can trace changes in material culture, emotions, social structures and culture which may be linked to the Reformation and the development of confessional cultures.

A special strand in the programme will concentrate on authorities and social responsibilities in church, household and state. This strand will be organised by Associate Professor Nina Javette Koefoed as part of the research project entitled “Lutheranism and Societal Development in Denmark”, funded by the Independent Research Fund Denmark. Comparative perspectives from Nordic, European and global points of reference are welcome within this strand.

April NOS-HS workshop at Oslo University: Nordic Variations of Protestant Governance – the realm

November NOS-HS workshop at Uppsala University: Nordic Variations of Protestant Governance – the parish

Breakfast-meetings and a seminar-series on comparative confessional aspects and approaches

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