Tenth Annual
Reforc Conference
On Early Modern
Christianity
Organizers

RefoRe  PROF. DR. HERMAN J. SELDERHUIS  
        KARLA BOERSMA

Institute for Literary Studies, Research Centre for the Humanities,  
Eötvös Loránd Research Network  
   DR. HABIL. ZSOMBOR TÓTH  
   BARBARA BOBÁK  
   ZSÓFIA FELLEGI  
   DR. SZILVIA MARÓTHY  
   DR. TÜNDE MÓRÉ  
   DR. INGRID PAPP
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Title of the project: Long Reformation in Royal Hungary and Transylvania I.: Confessionalism and the Emerging Literary Cultures of the Early Modern Era (1500–1800)

Hosted by: Institute for Literary Studies, Research Centre for the Humanities, Eötvös Loránd Research Network
1118 Budapest, Ménesi út 11–13.
Phone: (36 1) 279 2760
https://iti.btk.mta.hu/en/

Duration: (September 1, 2018–August 31, 2023)

Description of the funding scheme: The purpose of the “Momentum/Lendület” programme of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is to provide funding for research teams to be set up at host institutions with a view to conducting research on new research themes.

Description of the project: Our understanding of Long Reformation takes as its starting point the concept of the multiple Reformations as it focusses on the confessional plurality of early modern Eastern Europe with a particular emphasis on Tripartite Hungary. From its very first signs of reception in the early 1520s till the Patent of Tolerance (1781) and its reinforcement by diet (1791), Reformation had been exercising a long lasting impact upon the culture and society of Hungary and Transylvania. Therefore, this project relies on the concept of Long Reformation not only as a tool of historical periodization, but as a possibility to revisit those cultural, social, theological or literary issues that had been shaping Reformation from 1500 to 1800 in Eastern Europe. It intends to reiterate the conviction that Reformation was not an abrupt and radical change, but an era of multifaceted transfers, translations, and complex transformations. Accordingly, our project is engaged in exploring three major thematic perspectives:
I. Long Reformation and Historical Writing

The concept of *Long Reformation* could prove to be a very useful methodologic tool that enables scholars to establish new approaches and research agendas when studying Reformation. The application of the concept and its timeframe (1500–1800) would allow revisiting some of the basic historiographic components of Reformation master narratives in general. For instance, it is of utmost significance to fathom how Reformation-related disparate and complex historical experiences had been forged into well-defined and coherent narratives integrated in national or European contexts. Similarly, *Long Reformation* as a critical tool assessing the historical writing of Reformation would provide a new perspective of inquiry regarding the making of Reformation as an era on both macro and micro-levels.

II. Social History and the Benefits of Long Reformation

From the perspective of social history, the significance of *Long Reformation* consists in changing the scale of analysis as it adds some 150 years to the period of Reformation. Thus certain social and cultural processes of transformation originating from Reformation, but unavoidably brought to a close by the 1650s, could be revisited and evaluated in the context of a *longer* period of time. For any attempt of grasping the transformations of late medieval society and culture to a Reformed society and culture imposes a certain usage and reliance upon time and timing as an interpretive precondition. It may turn out that this post-Reformation period (1650–1800) will reveal unknown and significant aspects of social and cultural changes previously discussed exclusively within the time limits of 1500–1650.

III. Literacy and Reading Culture during the Long Reformation

*Long Reformation* (1500–1800) implies unavoidably the reformation and transformation of medieval and early modern media not only as technologies but means to create texts. Accordingly, we are determined to investigate how a late medieval manuscript culture survived and developed alongside with print culture during a (very) *Long Reformation*. A large array of themes will be covered from medieval and early modern reading-writing habits to the interconnections and exchanges between various media, including the cohabitation and use of Latin and vernacular languages in both oral and written texts. In addition, this thematic repertoire shall also include the analysis of how a scribal and print publicity developed and coexisted in the context of early modern literacy, education, printing, and publication. The main goal is to decipher the complex interactions between *Long Reformation* and the various
genres of early modern Neo-Latin and vernacular texts in order to explore the processes of their production and circulation.

The Hungarian translation of Jeremias Drexel's *Gymnasium Patientiae* by János Komáromi while in exile in 1699 (frontpage)
Centre for Reformation Studies

Description:
The Centre for Reformation Studies is an interdisciplinary community devoted to the study of Long Reformation in Eastern Europe. It functions as an independent unit hosted by the Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Literary Studies. Its primary aim is to promote the multidisciplinary study of Reformation. In doing so it relies on the concept of Long Reformation not only as a tool of historical periodization but as a possibility to revisit those cultural, social, theological, or literary issues that had been shaping Reformation from 1500 to 1800 in Eastern Europe.

Location:
Institute for Literary Studies, Research Centre for the Humanities, Eötvös Loránd Research Network
1118 Budapest, Ménesi út 11–13.
Phone: (36 1) 279 2760
e-mail: longreformation@abtk.hu
webpage:
http://longreformation.btk.mta.hu/en/centre-for-reformation-studies/description

The Centre also serves the international dissemination of the findings of the Hungarian scholarship on Reformation studies. With the intention of contributing to the scholarship, the Centre is responsible for organising workshops and conferences supported by the MTA BTK Lendület Long Reformation in Eastern Europe (1500–1800) project and the REFORC.

Committed to both the significance of this historiographic tradition and its continuing relevance, the Centre is functioning until 2023 as part of the Long Reformation-project and its main task is to increase the extant scholarly network and find new partners for further developing the interdisciplinary study of Long Reformation in Eastern Europe.
Projects:
Ongoing project:
MTA BTK Lendület Long Reformation in Eastern Europe (1500–1800)
(It will conclude on June 30, 2023)
New projects to commence after June 2023:
▪ Manuscript Matters: The Emergence of Scribal Publicity during the Long Reformation (1500–1800)
▪ Lay Experience and Female Discourses of Long Reformation in Eastern Europe (1500–1800)
▪ Huguenots and Hungarians: An Unknown Chapter of Reformation in Transylvania during the Long Eighteenth Century

Institute For Literary Studies
Research Centre for the Humanities
Eötvös Loránd Research Network

The Institute was established in 1956 due to the extraordinary efforts of Tibor Klaniczay (1923–1992), a literary historian and member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, who is justly regarded as the founding father of the multidisciplinary research of the early modern Hungarian and Neo-Latin literature. From 2012 the Institute has been incorporated into the Research Centre for the Humanities alongside six other institutes of related disciplines. As of 2019 the Institute together with the Research Centre has been taken over from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and became part of the newly emerged Eötvös Loránd Research Network.

The duties of the Institute for Literary Studies involve the systematic study of the eras, trends, genres and authors of Hungarian and regional literary history. Using the latest methodologies and offering a comprehensive scientific synthesis of current knowledge, the series of the Institute, whether recently launched or with a history of several decades, publish in critical editions the oeuvres of classic Hungarian authors from the Middle Ages up to Modernity, and thus guarantee quality-assured evaluation and conservation of the literary texts as part of our national cultural heritage. Furthermore, important sources of literary history, rare prints and manuscripts are made available through additional scholarly text publications.

The Institute plays a decisive role in the development of Hungarian literary scholarship. It promotes and initiates projects that involve hundreds of Hungar-
ian and foreign scholars; its research fellows contribute to the development of Hungarian literary scholarship by assisting and guiding scientific boards, scientific qualification procedures and graduate and postgraduate educational programmes for the new generations of the discipline. In addition, the Institute’s compendiums, book series, periodicals, and their websites as well as its online review provide opportunities to discuss new findings and ideas. Furthermore, the Institute regularly organizes and hosts joint conferences with fellow institutes of related disciplines, university departments and public collections, both in Hungary and its neighbouring countries.
### Thursday, May 6, 2021

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<tr>
<td><strong>10:30–13:10</strong></td>
<td><strong>Inaugural Session</strong></td>
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<td><strong>10:30–11:00</strong></td>
<td>Opening of the conference and welcome addresses</td>
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| **11:00–12:00**| Plenary Lecture 1: **Alec Ryrie** (Durham University): *The Long Reformation and Narratives of Secularisation*  
Chair: Zsombor Tóth |
Chair: Alec Ryrie |
| **13:10–13:40**| Break                                                                |
| **13:40–14:40**| Roundtable with Invited Publishers: *Does the Book have a Future? COVID-19, Digital Humanities and other Challenges* |
| **14:45–16:15**| Short Paper Panels                                                   |
| **16:15–16:45**| Coffee Break                                                         |
| **16:45–18:45**| Short Paper Panels                                                   |

### Friday, May 7, 2021

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<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>09:00–11:10</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plenary Session</strong></td>
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| **09:00–10:00**| Plenary Lecture 3: **Gabriella Gilányi** (Institute of Musicology,  
Research Centre for the Humanities): *Gregorian Chant from Transylvania in the Context of Reformation. Reconstructing a Destroyed Musical Corpus from Codex Fragments*  
Chair: Zsuzsa Czagány |
| **10:10–11:10**| Plenary Lecture 4: **Erika Kiss** (Hungarian National Museum): *Objects as Witnesses: Articulating Confessional Identity during the Long Reformation*  
Chair: Szabolcs Serfőző |
| **11:10–11:45**| Coffee Break                                                         |
| **11:45–13:15**| Short Paper Panels                                                   |
| **13:15–14:15**| Lunch Break                                                          |
14:15–15:15  **Plenary Session**
14:15–15:15  Plenary Lecture 5: **Anna Vind** (University of Copenhagen): *The Aesthetic Imprint of Theological Thinking in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century*
   Chair: Bo Kristian Holm
15:15–15:30  Award ceremony RefoRC Book Award 2021
15:30–15:45  Coffee Break
15:45–17:15  Short Paper Panels
17:15–17:30  Coffee Break
17:30–19:00  Short Paper Panels
19:30–19:45  Celebrating the First Decade: 10 years of RefoRC Conferences
   – Formal Announcement of the New RefoRC
19:45  Reception

**Saturday, May 8, 2021**

**09:00–11:30  Plenary Session**
09:00–10:00  Plenary Lecture 6: **James E. Kelly** (Durham University): *The Never-ending Story: England and the Implementation of the Catholic Reformation*
   Chair: Volker Leppin
10:00–10:15  Official Launch of the Centre for Reformation Studies, Budapest
10:15–11:15  Plenary Lecture 7: **Volker Leppin** (University of Tübingen): *Devotion Inward and Outward. A Tension in Christian Spirituality from the Late Middle Ages to the Eighteenth Century*
   Chair: Herman Selderhuis
11:15–11:30  Closing of the Conference, Announcing the Eleventh Annual RefoRC Conference 2022

The Research Centre for the Humanities, ELRN in Budapest
(Photography: Krisztián Takács)
## Short Papers

**Thursday, May 6, 2021, 14.45–16.15 h**

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<td>A 012</td>
<td>Session 1A. Digital Humanities and Long Reformation I</td>
<td>Gábor Palkó</td>
<td>Emőke Rita Szilágyi, Zsófia Fellegi</td>
<td>Born Digital Edition of Nicolaus Olahus’s Correspondence</td>
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<td>K 011</td>
<td>Session 1B. From Proto-Reformation to Confrontationalization</td>
<td>Adinel C. Dinca</td>
<td>Kim Stefan Groop</td>
<td>The Disputed Pulpit in Leipzig: The Paulinerkirche Pulpit as a Vestige of the Reformation</td>
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<td>Session 1C. Bishops and Saints</td>
<td>Tarald Rasmussen</td>
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<td>The Model of the Model: The Origins of the Exemplary Bishop Charles Borromeo</td>
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<td>K 013</td>
<td>Session 1D. Private Life and the Threats of Marriage in the Early Modern Period</td>
<td>Anna Vind</td>
<td>Natália da Silva Perez</td>
<td>The Legal Standing of Strategies of Sexual Privacy</td>
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<td>Session 1E. Reformation and Beyond</td>
<td>Peter Opitz</td>
<td>Tapio Leinonen</td>
<td>Is There No Place for the Doctrine of Justification in the Ecclesia Teutonorum in Transylvania?</td>
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<td>Marco Iacovella</td>
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<td>Paolo Astorri</td>
<td>Parental Authority, Privacy, and the Reformation of Marriage</td>
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<td>Örs Székely</td>
<td>Translating Theology: Catholic Reformation as a Paradigm of Economy</td>
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<td>Szilvia Maróthy</td>
<td>The Least Known Confession in the Principality of Transylvania: the Long Journey from “Lutheranism” of the Sixteenth Century to the Lutheranism of the Seventeenth Century</td>
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<td>Csilla Gábor</td>
<td>Love Spells and the Negotiation of Marital Power</td>
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<td>Natacha Klein Käfer</td>
<td>Fides Solum ex Auditu: Phenomenological Reassumption of the Lutheran Principle (Martin Heidegger – Ernst Fuchs – Gerhard Ebeling)</td>
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<td>Jakub Koryl</td>
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<td><strong>Session 2C.</strong> Arts and Representations</td>
<td><strong>Session 2D.</strong> Early Modern Uses of the Scriptures</td>
<td><strong>Session 2E.</strong> Chapters of Ecclesiastic History in the Long Perspective</td>
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<td>Chair: Enikő Békés</td>
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<td>Chair: Anna Vind</td>
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<td><strong>Doohyeok Jeong</strong> (Theological University of Apeldoorn): Tell It to the Church. A Research on the Changes by the Exegesis of Matt 18:15-17 Before and After the Reformation</td>
<td><strong>Preston Hill</strong> (Richmont Graduate University): “Dolores Inferni in Anima Sustinuisse”: Christ’s Descent into Hell in the Thought of Calvin, Lefèvre, Pico, and Cusa</td>
<td><strong>Ananda Majumdar</strong> (Harvard Graduate School of Professional Education, University of Alberta): Significance of Art and Music during the Long Reformation</td>
<td><strong>Marie Škarpová</strong> (Faculty of Arts, Charles University): Singing the Bible in Hymns by the Czechs: the Czech Perikopenlieder from the Late Fifteenth Century to the Early Eighteenth Century in a Trans-Cultural and Multi-Confessional Perspective</td>
<td><strong>Neulaam “Sam” Ha</strong> (Calvin Theological Seminary, Grand Rapids): Luther’s So-called Breakthrough in the Light of the Long Reformation</td>
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<td><strong>Rasmus Vangshardt</strong> (University of Southern Denmark): Apologetics and Religion in Early Modern Corpus Christi Drama</td>
<td><strong>Gerard Bosker</strong> (Theological University of Apeldoorn): Bernardus Smijtjeelt about Death, Dying, Heaven and Hell</td>
<td><strong>Barbara Dzierżanowska</strong> (University of Warsaw): Spreading the Mission: Religious Ruthenian Songs of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth</td>
<td><strong>Jonas Kjoller-Rasmussen</strong> (University of Copenhagen): Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand’s Concept of Faith between Dogmatics and Pastoral Care</td>
<td><strong>Jason Matossian</strong> (Mount Ararat Bible Church): Unity Without Uniformity: the Conflict Over Occasional Conformity in Early Eighteenth-Century England</td>
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<td><strong>Peter Benka</strong> (Department of Slovak History, Comenius University in Bratislava): Contested Sacred Space: Polemics about Visual Arts and Ritual in the Upper Hungarian Royal Towns, ca. 1550–1610</td>
<td><strong>Levente Pap</strong> (Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania): Religious Propaganda in Martin Opitz’s Sarmatica</td>
<td><strong>Aleksandra Matczyńska</strong> (Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences): Not Only a “Hausfrau”. Townswomen and Noblewomen as Art Patrons in Silesia from 1520 to 1620</td>
<td><strong>Meine Veldman</strong> (The Faculty of Evangelical Theology): From God to Monad and Back: A Reformed Analysis of G.W. Leibniz’s Theoria Philosophiae et Theologiae Naturalis</td>
<td><strong>Bastian Felser Vausanson</strong> (University of Copenhagen, University of Rennes 2): A Christian Friendship Deconstructed. Fénélon, Guyon, and their Correspondence</td>
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<td><strong>Session 3B.</strong> Words at War: Grobianism and Religious Conflicts in the Reformation</td>
<td><strong>Session 3C.</strong> Early Modern Languages and Discourses I.</td>
<td><strong>Session 3D.</strong> Early Modern Languages and Discourses II.</td>
<td><strong>Session 3E.</strong> Aspekte der Zürcher Reformation</td>
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<td>Chair: Tarald Rasmussen</td>
<td>Chair: Csilla Gábor</td>
<td>Chair: Sabine Hiebsch</td>
<td>Chair: Peter Opitz</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adinel Ciprian Dincă (Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca): Book History and the Intellectual Horizon of the Parish Clergy in the Church of the Transylvanian Saxons (ca. 1490–1540)</td>
<td>Bernward Schmidt (Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt): Erudition, Entertainment and Invecitivity. Conflict in Kilian Leib's Historiographical Works</td>
<td>Izabela Winiarska-Górka (University of Warsaw): The Concept of Vernacular Vulgate in the Discourses of Polish Protestants and Catholics during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (A Linguistic Perspective)</td>
<td>Tomasz Karol Mantyk (The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin): Ecclesiology of F. Titelmans's Commentary on the Song of Solomon</td>
<td>Joe Mock (Gracepoint Chinese Presbyterian Church): Bullinger's Reaction to Trent in Ecclesias evangelicas neque haereticas neque schismaticas (1552)</td>
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<td>Béla Vílmos Mihalik (Institute of History, Research Centre for Humanities): Late Catholic Reforms at Local Level in Eighteenth-Century Hungary</td>
<td>Isabelle Staufer (Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt): Grobian Trouble. The Dispute of Martin Luther and Thomas Muner</td>
<td>Ben Nelson (Presbyterian Theological College Victoria): Jesus, Moses and the Spirit in the Annotationes in Evangelium Ioannis by Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531)</td>
<td>Harry Spillane (University of Cambridge): Matthew Parker and the Vernacular Bible in Early Elizabethan England</td>
<td>Ariane Albisser (Swiss Reformation Studies Institute, University of Zurich): Lorenz Meyer – ein exzentrischer Agitator der Zürcher Reformation</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Session 4A.</strong>&lt;br&gt;Female Presence in the Early Modern Men’s World</td>
<td><strong>Session 4B.</strong>&lt;br&gt;Affliction and Piety in the Hungarian Reformed Tradition</td>
<td><strong>Session 4C.</strong>&lt;br&gt;Doctrines and Denominations</td>
<td><strong>Session 4D.</strong>&lt;br&gt;Lutheranism in Multiple Perspectives</td>
<td><strong>Session 4E.</strong>&lt;br&gt;Diversified Receptions of the Reformation</td>
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<td>Chair: <strong>Hermina Gesztelyi</strong></td>
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<td>Session 5A. Digital Humanities and Long Reformation II.</td>
<td>Session 5B. Discourses and Media: the Fascinating Reformation</td>
<td>Session 5C. Early Modern Catholicism</td>
<td>Session 5D. Persecution, War, and Resistance: the Violent Reformation in the Long Perspective</td>
<td>Session 5E. Theological Disputations at the University of Leiden in the Context of Early Modern Confessionalization</td>
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<td>Ádám Sebestyén (Department of Digital Humanities, Eötvös Loránd University): Prosopographical Database Development and the Careers of the Hungarian Reformation</td>
<td>Steff Nellis (Ghent University): Spectacular Processions: Early Modern Catholicism Through the Eyes of Bernard Picart and Jean Frederic Bernard in the ‘Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses de Tous les Peuples du Monde’ (1723–1743)</td>
<td>Mathias Moosbrugger (University of Innsbruck): Saving the Council of Trent: Peter Canisius and the Imperial Theological Commission of 1563</td>
<td>Andreas Holzem (Eberhard Karl University of Tübingen): ‘Grief Submerging my Heart, Like Raging Waves Flooding a Small Island’: Private and Public Interpretations of the Thirty Years’ War in Ravensburg</td>
<td>Henk van den Belt (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam/ Gereformeerde Bond): Providence in the Leiden Disputation Cycles (1596–1616): A New Research Project</td>
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Roundtable Discussion

*Does the Book have a Future? COVID-19, Digital Humanities and other Challenges with Invited Publishers*

Moderator: Herman Selderhuis  
Participants: Rowan Miller (SPCK), Albrecht Döhnert (De Gruyter), Jutta Dresken-Weiland (Schnell und Steiner), Bart Janssens (Brepols), Gábor Kármán (RCH, ELRN)

Virtual Book Fair

You are very welcome to visit the virtual book fair! Here you will find a number of renowned publishing houses, as well as a selection of their latest and finest titles. You can engage in a conversation about books and publishing, as we provide a live chat with the representatives of the publishing houses. You should try and make the most of it!
Abstracts

**Plenary Lecture 1**
May 6, 2021
11:00–12:00
A 012

Chair: Zsombor Tóth
Host: Zsófia Fellegi and Tünde Móré

Speaker: **Alec Ryrie** (Durham University)

*The Long Reformation and Narratives of Secularisation*

If the Reformation is a long story, it is one which reaches into the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where it encounters another great and dubious historical abstraction: the Enlightenment. And beyond that it enters the era of so-called secularisation, in which the history of religion is no longer about change and conflict but decline. How does the history of the long Reformation fit into those stories? We have moved away from Fevre’s view that unbelief was an impossibility in the Reformation era, and it is now common to see the Reformation itself as having seeded the process of secularisation. This paper will suggest that this may indeed be the case, but that the question needs to be approached not through the lens of intellectual history but through the history of the emotions.
Long Reformation, Manuscript Culture, and Confessional Hybridity in Eastern Europe: Focus on the Eighteenth Century

I consider that the application of the concept of Long Reformation to Hungarian Reformation history is undoubtedly useful. Indeed, a Long Reformation operating with a timeframe of 300 years, from 1500 to 1800, would impose a change of scale, as it would allow a longer period of time to fathom the complexities of the processes of transfers, translations, transformations, receptions and assimilations. Due to this Long Reformation concept, the eighteenth century would finally provide a comprising perspective of the outcome of how the Reformation had been received and assimilated, and what its immediate consequences were, recorded in the textual account of both ecclesiastical and lay people. Thus, my paper will focus on the introduction of some unpublished manuscript sources in order to reveal the impact of Reformation as a lived religious experience transgressing confessional limits.
Gregorian Chant from Transylvania in the Context of Reformation.
Reconstructing a Destroyed Musical Corpus from Codex Fragments

The Transylvanian Catholic Church suffered serious damage in the sixteenth century: the majority of its sources of liturgical music were destroyed by the ardent supporters of Protestantism, which was spreading there like wildfire. First, the Catholic Saxons converted to the Lutheran faith, followed by the great ancient Hungarian families. Unavoidably, by the 1550s, almost all Transylvania’s population, except those in some insulated areas, like Csíkszád region of the Szekler Lands embraced the reformed religion. The immediate result of this process was the disintegration of the Transylvanian archdiocese and the abolition of its institutions, along with its previous liturgical music. Old books had hardly any chance of surviving, the emergence of new ones were prevented by the absence of the institutions for creating them. The medieval Transylvanian melodies and their beautiful musical notation were almost completely lost in a very short time.

Despite this hiatus, the huge loss can be bridged by examining valuable secondary source materials – notated codex fragments –, which have survived the turbulent centuries as book covers. Recent years have brought about the discovery and identification of dozens of such musical fragments from medieval Transylvania; they point to an excitingly rich and unique liturgical music and chant notation. My paper presents these fragments, their melodies, the musical writings, their host books, the circumstances of the survival and the work of reconstruction of the late mother codex behind them.
Objects as Witnesses: Articulating Confessional Identity during the Long Reformation

The systematic research of the artistic heritage of the Protestant churches reaches back to the nineteenth century. These investigations, undertaken mainly by art historians, have been predominately focusing on stylistic and iconographic features or insisted on viewing the artefacts as parts helping the reconstruction of certain crafts and some of the collective activities related to them. It was not until the last decades of the twentieth century that scholarly attention has been finally reoriented towards the examination of the confessional meaning, significance and references of these objects. Accordingly, a new approach emerged that considers not merely the aesthetic value of the objects, but strive to construe their use in the context of the Reformation in a longue durée perspective. Taking as starting point these methodological considerations my paper will introduce several objects and artefacts in order to reveal further less known aspects of how long Reformation as a process established itself in early modern Hungarian culture.
Plenary Lecture 5
May 6, 2021
14:15–15:15
A 012

Chair: Bo Kristian Holm
Host: Zsófia Fellegi and Tünde Móré
Speaker: Anna Vind (University of Copenhagen)

The Aesthetic Imprint of Theological Thinking in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century

The lecture will address selected understandings of the human being, the word of God and the question of mediality (language, visual art, music) in fifteenth and sixteenth century theological thinking: Is it possible to detect significant intellectual shifts and if so, then how do these shifts relate to or even correspond with later confessional boundaries? The theological analyses will be put into perspective by concrete examples – first and foremost from the Nordic countries – of oral, visual and auditive devotional practices.
Plenary Lecture 6
May 8, 2021
9:00–10:00
A 012

Chair: Volker Leppin
Host: Zsófia Fellegi and Tünde Móré
Speaker: James Kelly (Durham University)

The Never-ending Story: England and the Implementation of the Catholic Reformation

Following the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558, England’s Catholics remained without regular ecclesiastical structures until Catholic emancipation in 1829 and the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850. For getting on towards three centuries they lacked even the standard apparatus of the parish system. This paper will consider the problems of implementing the Catholic Reformation without any of the structures in which it was envisaged. It will track the development of the English Catholic community in terms of continual debate about how to pursue Catholic reform in a country that officially proscribed the practice of the faith. Throughout the period, different Catholic factions debated what Catholicism should look like in the kingdom and how it should interact with a secular government that indulged in periodic but bloody outbursts of persecution against it. It will track themes, such as negotiation between the spiritual and the temporal, and the relationship with Rome to analyse English Catholics’ struggle with some of the major questions raised by the Catholic Reformation on its peripheries. The paper will also pivot to look at English involvement with the spread of the Catholic Reformation globally, including its impact on what are traditionally considered the movement’s centres, to chart a history of English Catholicism that is defined by its never-ending wrestle with questions surrounding the interpretation of the Catholic Reformation.
*Plenary Lecture 7*
May 8, 2021
9:00–10:00
A 012

Chair: Herman Selderhuis
Host: Zsófia Fellegi and Tünde Móré
Speaker: **Volker Leppin** (University of Tübingen)

*Devotion Inward and Outward. A Tension in Christian Spirituality from the Late Middle Ages to the Eighteenth Century*

Reformation somehow can be explained as the result of a late medieval tension between inward and outward devotion. On the one hand, late medieval pious people went on pilgrimage or bought indulgences just to fulfil given outer rules. On the other hand, they were concerned with the question of real penance and changing life, e.g. in the Modern Devotion, or with reading texts of the mystics. This tension was made explicit by the reformers, most obviously in the case of Luther and his protest against indulgences, but also in others like Zwingli or Calvin. Nevertheless, an image of the Long Reformation would be insufficient if it after the sixteenth century just allocated the inward devotion only to Protestants and outward to modern Roman Catholics. Both sides integrated the tension into their own confessional culture, as the Protestants reached back to rules regulating devotional life, Roman Catholics found new ways of inward spirituality, most obviously illustrated by the example of the Spanish mystics. Especially the literature of inward spirituality, medieval as well as early modern had been read in different confessional contexts, and even new devotional literature circulated between the confessions. Even the feeling of a certain tension had been maintained within the different confessions, as could be seen in the new reform movement of pietism among Protestants and Jansenism among Roman Catholics. Thus, a closer look on the history of devotion shows a closely connected, interrelated history of confessions rooted in a common medieval ground.
The “Bible of Hanau (1608)”: the emended version of the first complete translation of the Bible into Hungarian edited and published by Albert Molnár Szenci (frontpage)
Panel: 1. A
DIGITAL HUMANITIES AND LONG REFORMATION I.
May 6, 2021
14:45–16:15
A 012

Chair: Gábor Palkó
Host: Zsófia Fellegi and Tünde Móré
Speakers: Emőke Rita Szilágyi (Research Centre for Humanities, Budapest), Zsófia Fellegi (Research Centre for Humanities, Budapest) Bence Vida (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest) Szilvia Maróthy (Research Centre for Humanities, Budapest)

Emőke Rita Szilágyi, Zsófia Fellegi: Born Digital Edition of Nicolaus Olahus’s Correspondence

The critical edition of Nicolaus Olahus’s (1493–1568) whole correspondence is being published in the prestigious series Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum. The author’s humanist correspondence was available since the publication of Arnold Ipolyi (1875), but it published only a selection of the material from the years 1527–1539 (not just selected but also rewritten), in a way that doesn’t meet today’s publishing standards. The full edition will include more than 1,200 letters, seeking to meet national and international critical publishing standards. Most of the letters are written in Latin, but there are also a large number of German and Hungarian missiles in the corpus. The rise of digital philology in the later decades is unquestionable, but to our experience, a significant proportion of researchers do not have the expertise to apply recent methods of digital philology. Among the digital critical editions, the Text Encoding Initiative’s recommendation for XML has become dominant for years. Mastering this recommendation and developing a specification that adapts to the specific publication requires extensive digital humanities (philological) expertise, as does publishing the work properly in the digital medium. Several tools are available to produce and publish the encoded version of a text, through significant trade-offs. The DigiPhil Project has developed an environment to bridge the gap between the traditional and the digital philologist’s role, providing a workflow from the start to publication and subsequent correction. In the
presentation, in the context of Olahus’s correspondence, we compare the ready-made tools available and the virtual research environment developed for the needs of this publication, considering international digital philological trends, data security, textual standards and further publishing aspects.

**Bence Vida: Miklós Bethlen and the Early Modern Political Dictionary**

After his death, chancellor Miklós Bethlen (1642–1716) left behind a valuable textual corpus, consisting of his letters, pamphlets, and autobiography which was at first distributed as part of the pre-print publicity, then later in printing as well. One cannot understand the early modern political thought without examining the private letters circulated amongst the aristocracy, which were not intended to be read by a wider audience. Processing these sources, one can build a valuable basis for the reconstruction of the contemporary political narratives, as well as provide important addenda to the history of ideas concerning seventeenth-century Hungary. Recently, there have been some significant advancements in this research field: Péter András Szabó attempted to outline the vocabulary of contemporary nationalist expressions by applying a word frequency calculation method on Miklós Esterházy’s letters. In a different paper, he gave a detailed analysis of the most important nationalist theories in the late-seventeenth century Principality of Transylvania, dividing them into a nobility-based nationalist group, and a more Old Testament-oriented, Protestant class. Sándor Bene complemented Szabó’s research, reviewing not only the group-uniting and identity-forming concepts, but also the notions used to differentiate. This phenomenon can also be detected when analysing Bethlen’s letters. In my presentation, I will attempt to apply TEI XML coding on the textual corpus – which is a widely-used, powerful tool in digital philology. This opens up the possibility for more specified vocabulary-verification, as well as a bottom-up method for finding new words and meanings augmenting the political vocabulary. Identifying connections between words and collocations leads to a more transparent network of overlapping meanings, and finally to a trustful and versatile thesaurus.

**Szilvia Maróthy: Manuscript and Research Data Matters: First Steps Towards a Data Driven Research**

The dominance of print publications in historical research is quite usual, even in early modern literary history, although there was a vivid scribal publicity in
that era. The project “Manuscript Matters: The Emergence of Scribal Publicity during the Long Reformation (1500–1800)” of the Long Reformation in Eastern Europe Team aims to collect and analyse metadata of manuscripts from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century kept in Transylvanian libraries. The presentation introduces the first steps of a data driven research which may complement traditional literary historical research. It demonstrates how the structured data were collected and archived according to the current data management standards (which will be described briefly), and what are the potential outputs of the data analysis and visualization of the dataset.
Kim Stefan Groop: The Disputed Pulpit in Leipzig: The Paulinerkirche Pulpit as a Vestige of the Reformation

The absence of the pulpit in the Paulinum (Assembly Hall and University Church of St. Paul) in Leipzig has been vividly debated since the inauguration of the university complex in December 2017. The Paulinum is an artistic replica of the Paulinerkirche (church of St. Paul), destroyed in 1968 by orders of Head of State Walter Ulbricht. The new “intellectual and spiritual” centre of the university is a result of a long tug of war between the university, civil society, and State of Saxony, and in particular of tensions between traumatic memories on the one hand and progressive aspirations on the other. In my presentation, I would like to discuss the pulpit at this historic site from the perspective of the conference theme focusing on the long Reformation. I will draw attention to the old Paulinerkirche as a medieval university church, and its re-inauguration after the reformation, performed through a sermon by Martin Luther from the pulpit. I will call attention to the purpose that the pulpit served in the university church during decades of turmoil until its destruction in 1968. From a sociomaterial and cultural memory perspective, I will try to scrutinize the argumentation on whether to let the pulpit be reintroduced into the combined church and assembly hall or not. I would argue that the pulpit in the Pauliner church has served a central role as a message carrier of reformation all the way until 1968, though at times with (secular) political emphasis than during the Reformation. But I will also argue that the absence of the pulpit, and the attempts by many to have it brought back, has been a catalyst in a renewed focus on the word as a central Reformation theme. Lastly, I will argue that at the heart of the quarrel about the pulpit in Paulinum is – specifically – the focus on the Reformation, and the tendency of alienating other world views and even non-Lutheran Christians from the Paulinum.
Ulrich A. Wien: Is There No Place for the Doctrine of Justification in the Ecclesia Teutonicorum in Transylvania?

A characteristic of the Reformation humanism in Kronstadt is Wagner’s circumvention of Melanchthon’s (1497–1560) still new differentiation between philosophical and theological ethics. He does this by drawing a very close connection between Christian and philosophical statements pertaining to natural virtue. The conclusion is that unlike in Central Europe – where the theology of justification was the constant subject of debates, both between the Old Believers and Protestants as well as within Protestant circles – no theology of justification played a role in Kronstadt’s early Reformation whatsoever. Even if the doctrine of justification was swamped by Johannes Honterus and Valentin Wagner, the pioneers of the Transylvanian-Humanist reformation, one can nevertheless see the following generation of pastors, many of which were educated in Wittenberg and preached its doctrine of justification. The theologian from Laibach Paul Wiener, who in 1553 became the first Transylvanian superintendent, had at this point very clearly adopted Luther’s theology, and the Wittenberg trained pastor Damasus Dürr preached in accordance to his teachers. The justification teaching enjoyed great resonance in Transylvania from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards.


Lutheranism is the least researched denomination of the Principality of Transylvania. This might sound surprising taken into account the rich corpus of secondary literature on Reformation in Transylvania, yet the scholarship on post-Reformation period is full of oversimplifications. The history of the seventeenth century Lutheranism offers examples for the complex and seldom clear-cut relations between religion and politics as well as for the interactions between Protestant Churches in Transylvania. This paper deals with one of the last chapters of the “Orthodox turn” of Transylvanian Lutheranism, the Synod of 1615 and its larger religious and political context marked by the attempts to subvert and even overthrow the extant political and religious system of the Principality. The pre-history of the Synod of 1615 and the “Orthodox turn” itself were not the results of a Saxon Sonderweg, but parts of a larger movement to maintain the purity of doctrine and the liberty of the cities.

The paper aims to investigate a little-known aspect of Carlo Borromeo’s biography. The bishop of Milan has been widely studied and presented as a model of a reforming bishop. However, the sources of inspiration that led Borromeo to engage in the government of his diocese and, above all, the models he used to set his behaviour as bishop are not yet completely clear. Some documents, recently found, show how among the bishops who served as inspiration for Borromeo one was the Dominican Egidio Foscarari. Through some of his agents, Borromeo was able to take possession of some of Foscarari’s manuscripts, now lost, which described the organization of his daily life of a good bishop. In addition, some of Foscarari’s collaborators entered permanently into Borromeo’s entourage, demonstrating a profound closeness. What is interesting is to underline the semi-clandestine circulation of these writings, perhaps due to the inquisitorial process to which Foscarari had been subjected at the time of Paul IV. The episode reveals how the origins of the reforming bishop, model of the Counter-Reformation, intertwine with events linked to the harshest years of the inquisitorial repression and took as their model a bishop who, because of his mildness towards heretics and his ideals of reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants, was harshly persecuted and became the object of a damnatio memoriae.
Marco Iacovella: Before Borromeo: Residential Bishops in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century

The debate on the ius divinum of episcopal residence during the last sessions of the Council of Trent highlighted the widespread need for greater pastoral concern by the Catholic hierarchy. In the following decades the model for a renewed diocesan action became Carlo Borromeo, notwithstanding his several clashes with secular powers, local clergy and Roman Curia. In order to better understand this complex historical shift, the paper aims at describing more accurately the meaning of episcopal residence in the first half of the sixteenth century, before the known examples of Counter-Reformation prelates such as Borromeo, Bartolomeu dos Mártires or Francis de Sales. Even if the overwhelming majority of bishops were absent from their churches, a handful of clerics did in fact effectively reside in their diocese and take care of their flock. Firstly, a brief comparison between cases taken from France, Italy, Holy Roman Empire and Spain will make possible to grasp their motivations, only in part religious, but strictly linked with their social and political status. The analysis will be then devoted to some residential Italian bishops (in particular Gian Matteo Giberti, Ercole Gonzaga, Iacopo Sadoletto, Girolamo Vida) and the reasons for their difficult relationship with the Roman Curia.

Csilla Gábor: From History to Hagiography: the Lives of Holy Kings in András Illyés’s Legendary

András Illyés (1639–1712) published his Hungarian language collection of legends in five parts/volumes between 1682–1683, on the title page referring mainly to „notable authors, in particular Alonso Villegas” as sources. The compendium contains among others the biographies of the Hungarian kings of the Árpád dynasty (Stephen, Emeric, Ladislaus), but as Illyés had worked on his compendium while studying in Rome, he used Italian sources even in the case of the Hungarian protagonists: the hagiographic compendium of the Jesuit Pietro Maffei (Vite de XVII confessori di Christo) and the mirror for princes by Ranuccio Pico (Specchio de’ prncipi ouero vite de prncipi santi, Oue si leggono Varij essempli, et osservuationi Spirituali, Morali, et Politiche). The lecture intends to analyse Maffei’s and Pico’s works in their primary contexts as well as to examine the functional changes that occur due to their insertion into the legendary of Illyés.
Natália da Silva Perez: The Legal Standing of Strategies of Sexual Privacy

I will comparatively examine legal sources dealing with women’s abilities to choose how to enjoy and protect their sexual privacy in early modern Europe, whether they were married or unmarried. Examples of material examined will include laws and regulations on the married couple’s private life, as well as police and court records on cases of marital dispute. I will also examine the legal conditions and opportunities available to women who remained single (e.g. Beguines living in communities, nuns in convents). What protections were there for single women’s private property? How was their civil or criminal status before the law if they were married or unmarried? What protections or burdens did exist for widowed women? How were women’s religious vows treated before the law? What differences can be found in the letter of the law regarding women belonging to different religious or confessional communities? I will focus on sources selected from particular cities and towns in Northern Europe and related colonies.

Paolo Astorri: Parental Authority, Privacy, and the Reformation of Marriage

The Lutheran Reformation reshaped the dynamics between family and marriage. A valid marriage required the approval of the parents and the presence of witnesses. The couple must express their vows publicly in the Church and get their marriage registered in the Church registers. Such a transformation of the concept of marriage, which for the Catholic Church did not require parental approval and a public form (before the Council of Trent), raised new issues: was it
necessary the consent of both parents? Was there any right for sons and daughters to obtain the consent? Which were the strategies for the couple to get married without parental consent? How women could be protected in case of double (clandestine and public) marriages? This paper proposes to address these and other questions looking at Lutheran legal and theological tracts (e.g. Joachim von Beust’s (1522–1597), Tractatus connubiorum (1583) and Niels Hemmingsen’s (1513–1600), Libellus de coniugio, 1572) and at marriage laws. It will also compare the new regulation of marriage with the one enforced in the Roman Catholic lands.

Natacha Klein Käfer: *Love Spells and the Negotiation of Marital Power*

This paper will examine the early modern use of “love spells” as a form of solving marital problems in both Protestant and Catholic territories. Today, we tend to associate love spells with conquering the affection of a desired partner. However, early modern legal trials show that most instances of the use of love spells are requests by married women whose husbands had forsaken their marital duties (i.e. engaged in adultery or became violent). By looking at legal sources surrounding the use of love spells in Europe and their colonial lands, this paper will explore how everyday women from different religious confessions would seek supernatural help as a form of influencing intra-couple dynamics of power without having to go through the public scrutiny required by formal legal interventions. In doing so this paper will rely on sources from Germany, Italy, Denmark as well as Portugal and France, including their early modern colonies in the Atlantic.
Panel: 1.E
REFORMATION AND BEYOND
May 6, 2021
14:45–16:15
K 014

Chair: Peter Opitz
Host: Barbara Bobák
Speakers: Tapio Leinonen (University of Helsinki)
Örs Székely (Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca)
Jakub Koryl (Jagiellonian University)

Tapio Leinonen: Models of Leadership. Martin Luther on Moses in Lectures on Deuteronomy

Martin Luther’s theological innovations spread vividly in the sixteenth century. Governmental leaders and academics supporting Luther’s theology had a crucial role in gaining Lutheran Reformation a foothold in Germany. While the support for Luther’s cause divided, he found allies amongst the academics, governmental rulers, and clergy – however, bishops to implement Luther’s teachings at a diocesan level were few. The first evangelical bishop was Georg von Polenz, bishop of Samland in Prussia, who had previously served as a lawyer under the Papal Curia in Rome. Bishop Von Polenz delivered his first evangelical sermon on Christmas in 1523. Two years later, Luther dedicated the printed edition of Lectures on Deuteronomy to Von Polenz, praising his leadership and exemplary amongst the bishops. This paper examines how Luther addresses the topic of leadership in the Lectures of Deuteronomy by analysing theological ideas Martin Luther projects through the character of Moses and by providing examples of Luther influencing the reader of the Lectures on topics of leadership, justice, and integrity. According to Luther, Moses explains God’s Law and especially the understanding of the First Commandment in the Deuteronomy perfectly, establishing proper order to worship God and to govern and nurture God’s people. The paper argues that Luther intended his biblical analysis of Moses to provide an example of leadership for leaders to learn in church and society – and especially to bishop Von Polenz. Despite exhorting Moses as the first among the prophets who proclaimed only pure God’s Word, Luther finds Moses an example of comfort for difficulties and failures, too. The paper is based on a doctoral dissertation currently in progress titled, The First among the Prophets: Martin
Luther on Moses and Leadership. It intervenes in the fields of Systematic Theology, Luther Studies, Reformation Studies, and Intellectual History.

Örs Székely: Translating Theology: Catholic Reformation as a Paradigm of Economy

The first half of the seventeenth century is known to be as a period of intense negotiation between political and social actors in the Kingdom of Hungary. The most prevalent example of this series of exchanges was the dispute over freedom of religion, which witnessed a reiteration of theological arguments in the language of politics and law – and economics as well. My intention is to examine some texts of different purpose used in this debate (devotional literature, polemics, and discourses) to illustrate another set of translations which made possible for the reformed Catholicism to operate as a vehicle for capitalism on the peripheries of the European world system within the socio-cultural framework of konfessionalisierung. An extended definition of capitalism used by Nancy Fraser takes in account the aforementioned complex set of relations between politics, theology, economy, anthropology etc. labeling it an „institutionalised social order”. Through a reading of three texts (De aeternitate considerationes written by Jeremias Drexel, adapted into Hungarian by Gergely Szentgyörgyi; the twelfth book of the Hodegus written by Péter Pázmány and the 1637 Diet Discourse of György Dobronoky) I would like to link these processes of translation to the emergence of a new narrative which ties the right for religious freedom to the concept of the ownership by theorising a Deus creditor and the shared spiritual property of the human soul.

Jakub Koryl: Fides Solum ex Auditu: Phenomenological Reassumption of the Lutheran Principle (Martin Heidegger – Ernst Fuchs – Gerhard Ebeling)

Proposed paper aims at discussing the problem of far-reaching, contemporary transformations and ramifications of the principles established by the early-modern Lutheranism. It will discuss in particular the philosophical implications and consequences of Lutheran theology. The issue in question here is the way sinner can enter a relationship with his savior which, as a matter of principle, will not violate the divine sovereignty. Such relationship consists in nothing but hearing the Word of God. Thus the aim of this paper is to elaborate on the Pauline formula fides ex auditu (Rom. 10:17) which was recognized already by
young Luther as the passive manner of understanding and over the course of its complex development became a central principle of Lutheran theology and hermeneutics, as evidenced by Ernst Fuchs and Gerhard Ebeling who saw themselves as heirs of the dialectical theology and fundamental ontology of Martin Heidegger. For it was nothing other than the Heideggerian discovery of being-in-the-word and especially his phenomenological investigation into conscience as the fundamental phenomenon of man’s being that made Fuchs and Ebeling fully capable of considering conscience as the genuine place of speaking-hearing interplay of God and man, and hearing as the basic form of man’s being before God. Thanks to Heidegger the binding on Lutheranism assertion of Paul about the faith which comes by hearing the word of God was so thoroughly and radically reassumed that it may be claimed that not a single stone was left in its place. Therefore, the crucial question arises, namely what does it mean now that “the New Testament – according to Fuchs – speaks the language of hearing”? Proposed paper will take on such a challenging task.
Panel: 2.A
THE COMPLEX MEDIALITY OF THE EARLY MODERN WORLD
May 6, 2021
16:45–18:45
A 012

Chair: Enikő Békés
Host: Zsófia Fellegi and Tünde Móré
Speakers: Doohyeok Jeong (Theological University of Apeldoorn)
Eva Janssens (Free University of Brussels)
Rasmus Vangshardt (University of Southern Denmark)
Peter Benka (Comenius University in Bratislava)

Doohyeok Jeong: Tell It to the Church. A Research on the Changes by the Exegesis of Matt 18:15-17 Before and After the Reformation

This paper is aimed at figuring out the changes influenced after the Reformation from the exegesis of three theologians. They are Thomas Cajetan, Martin Luther, and John Calvin, because this was able to trace their footstep chronologically to find out the changes. Cajetan was described as the Reformation before, Luther as the Reformation, and Calvin as the Reformation after. Changes had to do with the exegesis of Matt 18:15-17 because the text tries to find out the meaning of the church and the discipline regarded as the task for the government. This research touched with the relation between them, but only focusing on discipline. The questions were as follows: How did three theologians’ exegesis of Matt 18:15-17 influence the changes after the Reformation, with being related to the meaning of the church in V.17? 1. How did they explain Matthew 18:15-17? 2. How did the explanation affect the meaning of “the church” and the discipline of the church in the background of the time? 3. How did it relate to the changes after the Reformation with practical examples? This paper ultimately had a fundamental way of comparing three theologians’ exegesis and needed to search out the commentaries of them. Through this work, this paper got the meaning of the church and discipline affecting the people at the time. It appeared that their historical and social background also was changed, as per the exegesis of Matt 18, between the reformation before and after. For specifically figuring out the relation based on the discipline, this paper traced practical and performed examples. As a result of this, their exegesis was totally different and based on their theology. The meaning of the church was not separated from the circumstance in the sixteenth century. These words (church and discipline) caused a lot
of change with the background being considered as an important thing. Finally, the examples performed in person showed who had the authority to punish the sinners when they sinned in the church.

**Eva Janssens: The Broad and Narrow Way as a Crossroads of Various Convictions**

In the early modern era religious ideas were spread through a combination of written, oral and visual media. As these media never functioned in isolation, this paper’s objective is to shed light on the interesting facet of interplay between various forms of communication. The tenuous multiconfessional atmosphere of the Low Countries in the second half of the sixteenth century forms the perfect laboratory in which to explore multimedia practices. This paper takes as its case study a specific subject which was eagerly commented upon in books, sermons, songs, and illustrated broadsheets, namely the Parable of the Broad and Narrow Way – in which Christ contrasts the life course of a Christian against an unbeliever. Undoubtedly, its popularity stemmed from the ease with which the metaphor, when applied to contemporary concerns, could serve polemical purposes. Various illustrated broadsheets bear witness to this, showing Catholics walk the broad way. Although such images have received considerable scholarly attention from art historians, a real understanding of how they functioned in conjunction with oral and written media is still lacking. Through visual analysis of several illustrated broadsheets and a close reading of textual media which refer to the parable, I will examine its real scope. Furthermore, I will argue that the Parable of the Broad and Narrow Way by no means remained an exclusively Protestant theme. Lesser studied prints show that the subject was open for Catholic, humanistic and irenic interpretations. Hence, the subject of the Broad and Narrow Way is presented as a crossroads of various convictions.

**Rasmus Vangshardt: Apologetics and Religion in Early Modern Corpus Christi Drama**

The Spanish Golden Age dramatist Pedro Calderón de la Barca’s *El gran teatro del mundo* famously ends with shouts of exaltation and joy and an apology of the play, yet this seminal early modern religious play is situated in a time of social-political crisis, and several of the play’s characters express grave feelings towards the human condition. The paper will suggest a way to understand why
Calderón still fashioned a *theatrum mundi* of celebration and not one of metaphysical pessimism otherwise popular at the time. This will be carried out with a focus on the historical development of the auto sacramental and a reading of the drama with intratextual reference to Calderón’s thoughts on the purpose of the genre. The paper thus suggests that in both historical and systematic perspectives Calderón’s world theatre can and should still be seen in the light of celebration and of a certain form of theodicy, namely a defence of the world as a work of art.

**Peter Benka: Contestend Sacral Space: Polemics about Visual Arts and Ritual in the Upper Hungarian Royal Towns, ca. 1550–1610**

Upper Hungarian royal towns were among the first places in the Hungarian Kingdom where ideas of Reformation started to take hold. From the middle of the sixteenth century, the process of re-fashioning urban Church communities – both in terms of theology and worship practice – modelled on Wittenberg examples began. As was the case with the town of Luther and Melanchthon, neither the royal towns of Upper Hungary were spared (sometimes heated) theological discussions that defined the search for unity in the emerging confessional Lutheranism in the second half of the sixteenth century. Apart from theological questions, due attention was devoted to the right attitudes towards the older Church tradition and ritual. The discussions intensifed especially in the last decades of the century when an important role among the disputed points was taken up by the issue of visual arts in the sacral spaces. What was the stance that the “purified Church” was expected to take towards the artefacts of late Gothic art? In what way was the question to be discussed and decided? What was the role of the “secular branch” in finding and/or implementing the decisions? The paper will thus focus not only on the argumentation of the involved parties, but also on their “social background”. It will thus try to discern – formal and informal – mechanisms at play in urban environment when an important decision about ecclesiastical life was to be taken.
Panel: 2.B
INFLUENTIAL PROFILES OF REFORMATION
May 6, 2021
16:45–18:45
K011

Chair: Gábor Ittzés
Host: Tiziano Tubay
Speakers: Preston Hill (Richmont Graduate University)
Kyung Phil Kim (Calvin Theological Seminary, Grand Rapids)
Gerard Bosker (Theological University of Apeldoorn)
Levente Pap (Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania)

Preston Hill: “Dolores Inferni in Anima Sustinuisse”: Christ’s Descent into Hell in the Thought of Calvin, Lefèvre, Pico, and Cusa

In this paper I explore Calvin’s theology of the descent into hell as the Lefèvrian reception of a Cusanian theme. Although Calvin spends five times more space in the Institutes addressing the descensus than any other clause of the Apostle’s Creed this topic is only passingly treated in existing literature on Calvin, yielding a misunderstanding of its significance for his theology. It is not coincidental that Lefèvre, who famously articulated the same interpretation as Calvin prior to him based on an influential sermon from Cusa, is also underappreciated in Calvin scholarship as a voice pertinent to Calvin’s theological development. Coming to grips with the descensus in Cusa’s sermon (and the relevant claims of Pico’s Apology) and consequently in Lefèvre’s Psalter can shed significant light on the place of Christ’s descent into hell in Calvin’s theology and can demonstrate that Calvin’s interpretation on this topic was far from novel. This understanding of Calvin’s forerunners on the topic can contribute to a long Reformation paradigm for placing Calvin in broader historical context.

Kyung Phil Kim: Principia Naturalia or Semen Religionis? A Merger of Two Lines of Thought from the Reformation to the Reformed Early Orthodoxy Era

While a Dooyeweerdian dehellenization view may tend to separate Calvin’s semen religionis from the Thomist principia naturalia, the Reformed
scholastics themselves identified the two. This paper will show the process of such identification which especially culminates in Junius’ *De theologia vera*. While both Melanchthon and Calvin emphasize the noetic effects of sin by distinguishing intact and fallen reason, and while both largely accept the Christianized Stoic understanding of the *logos spermatikos*, Melanchthon tends toward a Thomist abstraction theory, whereas Calvin is closer to Augustine’s illumination theory. Calvin espouses the doctrine of the mediation of Christ apart from incarnation that enables preservation and human knowledge. Zanchi tries to synthesize Melanchthon and Calvin. While he follows the Thomist abstraction theory, he also argues that God re-inscribed the natural principles after the fall. While initially there may have been some freedom to choose between Thomas and Augustine, Junius’ *De theologia vera* signals a change to such fluidity. There, Junius provides the model of the paradigm and principles of theology, which was heavily influential within both Reformed and Lutheran scholasticism. Junius argues that natural theology comes from natural principles, whereas supernatural theology comes from God. According to his paradigm, the natural principles must be understood as Thomist. Junius argues that archetypal theology and ectypal theology are in an equivocal analogical relation, and that supernatural theology and natural theology, too, is in such a relation. Against Althusius, Richard Muller argued that Junius’ paradigm is Scotist but retracted his view and sees it as Thomist. While such change of view does not deny the continuity between Reformation and Reformed orthodoxy, a recalibration is needed. While Junius does not signal a new influx of Thomism, it at least signals a synthesis of Melanchthon and Calvin with a strong Thomist note.

**Gerard Bosker: Bernardus Smijtegelt about Death, Dying, Heaven and Hell**

I am working on a PhD research about death, dying, heaven and hell in Dutch Puritanism. I will write a short paper about the view of Dr. Bernardus Smijtegelt (1655–1739), Dutch Reformed minister in Middelburg (South-Western part of the Netherlands), on death, dying, heaven and hell. Dr. Smijtegelt is considered to belong to the “Nadere Reformatie” movement. His writings are still being reprinted in the Netherlands today and have had a great influence on some Reformed denominations.
Martin Opitz is well known as the father of German poetry, but at the same time he was also interested in historiography. The relatively short time that he spent in the capital of Transylvanian Principality, Alba Iulia, sparked his interest in this field. Later Władysław IV Vasa inherited the Polish royal throne in 1632 and the following year he invited Opitz to his court, who was supposed to play the role of court historian among others. In compliance with this task, Opitz wrote the *Sarmatica*, published in 1637. The court at Krakow also had to find a propagandistic voice that could increase internal cohesion while also legitimizing its foreign policy actions. Sarmatism and Sarmatian origin played a key role in this propaganda. In line with this, Opitz in his work, the *Sarmatica*, tried to expand this issue to the Christianity of the Sarmatian (Polish) people. To prove his theory, he cited authors of the Christian antiquity and the middle ages as well. The aim of the present paper is to reveal the misinterpretation of the source texts so as to comply with the propaganda of the royal court.
Ananda Majumdar: Significance of Art and Music during the Long Reformation

The significance of art and music during this movement of theological, philosophical, political transformation in Europe is great. Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669) in art and Johan Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) in music are two great names in the history of Western fine arts. The exploration of genius like Sebastian and Rembrandt was the result of the Reformation in theology, thoughts, and practice. Music and art cohabited within the realm of the church from the beginning of the idea of Reformation in Western Europe. Music and art were campaigned, financed and encouraged as pedagogical approach by the church as a daughter of church institution. During the Reformation Catholic answered to the Protestant movement through the art and music as their aristocratic weapon or as Counter Reformation; that has been rooted in inviolable tradition of Catholicism. Art and music were language, symbols, spirit and thoughts of the people as a flock that would direct people into morality and salvation by value, myth, sermons, drama and by all other arts and to protect them from Protestantism. According to Hans Rookmaaker, art was described by portraying a world of super humans, muscular within an environment fitting for such begins as Counter Reformation. The artistic movement with the Reformation and Counter Reformation between Protestant and Catholic community was a symbol of Renaissance that had represented the rebirth of classical sources and a resurgence of humanism. According to Paul Henry Lang, the art form of Renaissance was aristocratic, learned, while the Reformation was concerned with divine connection with the God through direct access with the Lord. Rookmaaker described that the Dutch
artists painted the world and life realistically without glorifying the creature. The Objective and the outcome of the paper is to understand the reality of Reformation on the shape of Catholicism and Protestantism that has been discussed by scholars. Feature question is, how did fine arts play as classics?

**Jan Jeż: The Emergence of Culture at the Twilight of the Dynasty: the Mazovian Duchess Anna Radziwill as a Patron of Arts and Culture**

Anna Radziwill, spouse of Konrad III the Red and the mother of the last Mazovian dukes, was undoubtedly one of the most significant duchesses of the Duchy of Mazovia. Only few years after getting married duchess Anna Radziwill was to deal with the death of her husband, duke Konrad III the Red in 1503 when the independence of the Duchy was endangered by incorporation to the Kingdom of Poland. Thanks to her determination and prudent activity duchess Anna not only saved the independence of Mazovia, but also ruled over it by the next 14 years providing it progress. During this period, she was preoccupied to contribute to the growth of the culture in the lands remaining under her control, mostly by funding new temples and monasteries or by renewing already existing and damaged. This activity not only confirmed her devotion, but it would win the Polish episcopacy on her side. As the political situation of the duchess was still frail the aid of the hierarchs of the Polish Church would be priceless to her.

**Barbara Dzierżanowska: Spreading the Mission: Religious Ruthenian Songs of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth**

The Ruthenian culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – coexistent with Polish culture and therefore perceived as its regional variation – developed its own version of popular poetry. Polish audience of early modern era highly appreciated both this culture and the melodious, lyrical, and emotional tone of the Ruthenian language, broadly understood throughout the country. General acclaim of Ruthenian poems (usually called ‘songs’) has been reflected in their democratic presence across all layers of society – from Sarmatian manors on the eastern borderlands as well as aristocratic and royal courts, to townspeople and peasantry. Popularity of Ruthenian songs had been noticed also by the people of faith, who used them to promote their denomination among the potential faithful. The paper aims at presenting the variety of Ruthenian religious songs used mainly by missionaries of the Order of Saint Basil the Great. I propose that
by means of education of both laity and clergy of the Ruthenian Uniate Church, the Order had a fundamental role in preserving the distinctiveness of the Ruthenian culture in the predominantly Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The repertoire of songs performed during the Basilian missionary activities has been reflected in eighteenth-century early printed books (mostly of the Pochaiv origin) and, subsequently, manuscripts, often of non-Uniate provenance. As I have observed, the origins of songs (especially those written in Latin script) can be found in Polish-language religious chants, prayers and hymns composed by Roman Catholic authors and therefore translated or adapted to Ruthenian speech. As my research demonstrates, the successful application of those techniques, excluding deeper interventions in textual form of the songs, was made possible thanks to absence of communication barriers between two main languages of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Aleksandra Matczyńska: Not Only a “Hausfrau”. Townswomen and Noblewomen as Art Patrons in Silesia from 1520 to 1620

When analysing the art patronage of women in Silesia in the years 1520–1620, we can see a strong narrowing of their activity to the area of sacral art. In fact, we do not have any examples of donations to secular art, although of course, we cannot exclude their participation in the decoration of private living spaces, such as houses and manors. Their activity was of an individual and single character. They commissioned objects such as altars, pulpits or baptismal fonts; as well as more minor elements, like vestments and chalices. In addition to the obvious expression of piety, these works fulfilled also the functions of commemoration and representation. The majority of analysed objects contain heraldic elements, such as the founder’s coats of arms, as well as inscriptions mentioning the commissioners and their motivations. For it was within the sacred space – in contrast to men who often used secular for these purposes – that they could find a place to memorialize themselves and their families. The main aim of this paper will be to present the characteristics of the art patronage of Silesian noblewomen and townswomen, in the context of their then socio-economic situation and confessional determinants in Silesia in the years 1520–1620, affecting the form and character of their patronage. Selected objects commissioned and financed by women themselves will be discussed and analysed in view of their iconography, ideological content, as well as commemorative functions.
Marie Škarpová: Singing the Bible in Hymns by the Czechs: the Czech Perikopenlieder from the Late Fifteenth Century to the Early Eighteenth Century in a Trans-Cultural and Multi-Confessional Perspective

A significant part of early modern hymns in Czech are the de tempore hymns paraphrasing Gospel or Epistle pericopes (called ‘Perikopenlieder’ in German). This type of a hymn uses vernacular language and it conveys the key passage of the New Testament in song format. Traditionally, its origin has been associated with the German Lutheran hymnbooks by M. Agricola (1542) and N. Herman (almost 40 editions in 1560–1630), who are seen as the inspiration for a number of other German Perikopenlieder. However, the hypothesis that ties the origins of the Perikopenlieder to the Lutheran German language milieu should be corrected: the sources prove that Czech-language Perikopenlieder appeared several decades before Herman’s and Agricola’s hymnbooks – especially from the Utraquist (Hussite) Church. The oldest known author of the Czech Perikopenlieder is the Utraquist Václav Miřinský († around 1492). Thus, the creation of the Czech Perikopenlieder in the sixteenth and seventeenth century can be connected with German Lutheran Perikopenlieder only in some cases and just to a certain extent. The aim of the paper is to present the Czech Perikopenlieder from the late fifteenth century to the early eighteenth century of various denominations and to analyse them in a trans-cultural (Central European) perspective. We plan to focus primarily on the period in which the Czech Perikopenlieder were composed and well-regarded in parallel with an equally numerous German repertoire. We will try to identify the variable constellations of ‘being together, side by side or against each other’ of the Czech and German Perikopenlieder, and will try to determine their similarities and differences.
Michael Kearney: An Invitation into the Rhetorical Significance of the Genevan Psalter

The Genevan Psalter is consistently acknowledged across disciplines as one of the most ambitious and influential legacies of the Reformation in continental Europe. In regard to theology, the psalter made the literary core of Christian piety accessible to millions of Protestants; in regard to musicology, it pioneered a transformative model of vernacular congregational singing; in regard to technology, it exploited the fullest capabilities of the printing press in multiple countries and translations. In fact, the sheer scope of the psalter’s impact presents a unique obstacle to sustained academic study: from what disciplinary vantage point(s) can its significance be most fully understood? While this paper cannot provide a definitive answer, it suggests an underexplored hermeneutic entrance into the Genevan Psalter’s impact on the culture and society of the “Long Reformation” through the domain of rhetoric. The psalter emerged at the confluence of a reawakened interest in classical humanism and a heightened Renaissance awareness of the suasive power of musical texts. In terms of semiotics, the editorial decision to pair almost every psalm with a unique tune established enduring melodic significations. In terms of hermeneutics, the psalm tunes invited later musicians to explore their spiritual significance in arrangements and improvisations. In terms of poetics, the rhymed meter of the psalter presented texts in the most memorable and transmissible format possible, fulfilling the Reformers’ desire to see the Scriptures propagated throughout society. A survey of these three communicative domains reveals an underlying rhetorical sensibility to the genius of the Genevan Psalter. This study offers both an initial foray into the rhetorical dimensions of the Reformation tradition of metrical psalmody and an invitation to ponder its continuing implications for contemporary efforts to render Christian piety and doctrine in significant and memorable musical forms.

Jonas Kjøller-Rasmussen: Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand’s Concept of Faith between Dogmatics and Pastoral Care

Among Lutheran Orthodox conceptions of faith there is a common denominator in describing its principal parts as notitia, assensus, and fiducia. However, even if there is a common terminology, considerable variation can be found in how they understood the relations between the elements themselves and the emphasis placed upon them in relation to faith as ‘justifying faith’. In this paper I intend to present one interpretation of faith as understood by Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand (1585–1652). Brochmand served as both professor of theology and bishop of Zealand and had
through those two positions an immense influence on the history of theology in Denmark. Yet there are surprisingly few studies of his theology, which is often described as ‘mainstream Lutheran Orthodoxy’. In the current state of research on the Lutheran Orthodoxy there is a repeated effort to emphasize the connection – not the contrast – between doctrine and praxis of piety in the Lutheran Orthodoxy. My paper proposal builds upon this body of scholarship by integrating academic-dogmatic and pastoral-devotional sources in an exploration of Brochmand’s conception of faith. The paper will contain two major sections. The first will be a study of the definitions and distinctions of faith with special attention to the notion of fiducia and the object of faith in Brochmand’s major systematic work, the *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* (1633), which served as curriculum at the faculty of theology at the University in Copenhagen for more than a century. The second section will compare these insights to the sermons in Brochmand’s postil, *Sabbati Sanctificatio* (1635–1638). Commonly know as House-Postil it was the most important piece of devotional literature in Denmark and Norway and shaped the praxis of piety for generations.

**Meine Veldman: From God to Monad and Back: A Reformed Analysis of G.W. Leibniz’s Theoria Philosophiae et Theologia Naturalis**

Published in 1710, the *Theodicy* remained Leibniz’s only published book. In the *Theodicy*, but particularly in the *Preliminary Discourse*, Leibniz’s main antagonist is M. Pierre Bayle (1647–1706). Bayle was known for his arguments defending religious faith in opposition to reason, for his criticisms of spurious theological doctrines, and for his principle of the error-prone conscience as a base for religious toleration. Amongst his many works it was specifically his writings on the problem of evil which occasioned Leibniz to publish the *Theodicy*. Therefore, this work, can be understood to a large extent as a systematic response to what Leibniz gathered from Bayle on these issues. Of course, Bayle was not the only one Leibniz interacted with. His other antagonists include many contemporary and past philosophers and theologians from both Protestant and Roman Catholic persuasions. As Leibniz understands it, the fundamental challenges he faced came in two manifest configurations, or labyrinths, as he calls them. One focused on the issues of freedom and necessity in relation to the origin and fabrication of evil. The other focused on the inquiry about continuity and the indivisibility of certain elements of reality in relation to the infinite. Understanding his way of laying out the field of inquiry, is essential for coming to grips with the rest of his Theodicy. It discloses an attempt to demonstrate what the relation is between faith and reason and how the results of both points of departure can be harmonized. Presenting, analysing and proposing a critique of Leibniz’s attempt at such a harmony and the impact it had will be the focus and content of my paper.
Luther’s so-called breakthrough has been a major subject of debate among many historians for at least more than a century. But why is this the case? Perhaps writing about Luther’s discovery is not so simple, because understanding Luther is bound to entail judgement on the Reformation. This is where this paper wishes to contribute by asking these questions: what are the interpretive frameworks that influence historians to understand and date the breakthrough in a particular way? If there is a correlation between a particular interpretation and certain understanding of the breakthrough, how can we account for the correspondence? In order to answer these questions, this paper will use the following structure: the first section will explore some of the major interpreters of Luther and the Reformation. In this process, we will argue that a scholar’s view on the Long Reformation appears to be in correlation with their dating and definition of the breakthrough. In the second section, we will attempt to account for the correlation by observing three possible hypotheses (school of thought hypothesis, chronology hypothesis and relevance hypothesis) and present one of them as the least objectionable one. The third section will seek to achieve two things. Firstly, it will present a reason why scholars have been able to use both modes of interpretation (the Long Reformation and a short one) to understand Luther. Secondly, we will demonstrate that both interpretations can be fully appreciated by arguing that there are three distinct and yet related major shifts (the tower
experience, break from Rome and emergence of evangelical theology) within the development of Luther’s theology.

Gregory Haake: *Devils in a Black Robe: Tales of Jesuit Kidnappings in Early Modern England*

On 4 October 1675, a French Jesuit by the name of St. Germain, along with a “French-speaking” companion, introduced himself into the London bedchamber of Hippolyte du Chastelet de Luzancy (d. 1713). At first, it seemed that the intruders only wanted to talk, but soon, their true designs became clear: they wanted De Luzancy to recant his newly professed Protestant faith. The aggressors got what they came for when they obtained a renunciation written in De Luzancy’s hand. The incident set off a furious reaction up to the highest levels of government, where both Parliament and the king set about expelling foreign priests from English territory. On the other hand, some found Luzancy’s narrative suspect; perhaps these tales of a Jesuit conspiracy were serving as cover for Luzancy’s own inconstancy in his conversion. In this paper, I will explore several texts that rely on conspiracies by Jesuits and how these narratives sowed division in the Protestant community in England in this period. These stories and the reaction to them often fed suspicion about the sincerity of French Protestant converts, further burdening an already afflicted and exiled community.

Jason Matossian: *Unity Without Uniformity: the Conflict Over Occasional Conformity in Early Eighteenth-Century England*

The conflict between Anglicans and Nonconformists in England continued even after the Toleration Act of 1689. Although Dissenters were now given a newfound ability to meet and worship together, other aspects of full inclusion in society, like holding public office, were kept from Nonconformists. In the context of such division and persecution, the practice of occasional conformity took center stage, as High-Church Anglicans despised the idea and Presbyterians held it dear. Occasional conformity, wherein those whose commitment was to a Nonconformist church participated in Anglican worship and communion on occasion, had a long history prior to Toleration but took on a new level of importance, as it was now seen as a way of circumventing the Corporation and Test Acts, allowing Nonconformists to qualify for public service. For the Anglicans it was a matter of the defense of their Church, their role in relation to the government,
and perhaps some punitive desire against nonconformity for its involvement in the execution of King Charles. For moderate Dissenters it was a matter of liberty of conscience, a strong sense of nationalistic responsibility, and longing for inclusion. For James Owen, one of these moderates, it was a matter of Protestant ecumenism and theological unity without uniformity. This paper traces the theological and ecclesiological arguments in the written controversy over the Occasional Conformity Bill proposed in 1702 and the fallout over the next few years. James Owen, a moderate Presbyterian, wrote an influential work entitled Moderation a Virtue (1703), advocating for the practice of occasional conformity, not on political grounds, but on theological ones. In response, a number of significant Anglican thinkers wrote and challenged Owen. In the paper we examine the main strands of argumentation revealing the moderate Dissenters’ underlying desire for unity as a central ecclesiological driving force for the practice.

**Bastian Felter Vausanson:** *A Christian Friendship Deconstructed. Fénelon, Guyon, and Their Correspondence*

In the years following their first encounter in the fall of 1688, Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Motte-Guyon (1648–1718) and François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651–1715) undertook an intense, almost daily, correspondence. On the surface, the letters exchanged between these prominent advocates of the doctrine of pure love testifies to a strong spiritual intimacy. Indeed, it may be read as a distant yet powerful manifestation of Christian friendship as it had been expounded by François de Sales (1567–1622): a relationship based on self-sacrifice and an ever-increasing union of souls in divine love. On another level, however, any critical analysis of this friendship must consider the social function the letters served. From their very inception they were copied, recopied, and circulated in manuscript form before eventually being edited and published by the disciples of Guyon. The correspondence essentially reveals a social network sustained on paper whose reading and writing practices have imposed layers of interpretation upon the sources as they have been handed down to us. This paper traces how the modern critical editions of the correspondence (Masson 1907, Orcibal 1972, Tronc 2004) have deconstructed these layers of interpretation and it offers some suggestions on how to further advance the state-of-the-art.
Adinel Ciprian Dincă: Book History and the Intellectual Horizon of the Parish Clergy in the Church of the Transylvanian Saxons (ca. 1490–1540)

This short paper discusses the idea of a project investigating the intellectual background to the introduction of the Protestant Reformation within the communities of the Transylvanian Saxons. The central concept of the planned research is to define the intellectual profile of the clergy in the aforementioned communities by retrieving biographical data (a path pursued by a distinct scholarly endeavour) and – especially – by a careful analysis of the surviving books associated with this intellectual elite of the German population of Transylvania. The chronological segment under consideration, encompassing two generations, has been previously researched in a completely unsatisfactory manner by both medievalists and early modernists. Generous documentary sources from the first half of the sixteenth century, available in every important archival collection of the province, have been unsystematically edited so far, while book collections, extant in many regional institutions, lack minimal information on the number of volumes and type of texts. The main objective of the project is therefore a thorough indexing of all details related to the provenance of these volumes: ownership notes, binding identification, miscellaneous annotation, presence of fragments of earlier texts, manuscript or printed. Isolated contexts of ignorance, or lack of interest and means, have made such remnants of late-medieval and early modern Transylvanian libraries at-risk pieces of the historical patrimony. The planned project embraces the task of contributing to societal awareness of such testimonies of scholastic literacy and early Christian humanism at the edge of the Latin world, and
to the digital safeguarding of the books. Thus, a cultural-historical approach is proposed that abandons the traditional method of single-source investigation and attempts to explain the intellectual setting of the Protestant Reformation in Transylvania through new information and a fresh interpretative perspective.

Ana Luiza Ferreira Gomes Silva: Re-Inventing Canon Law in Leuven? The Influence of the Council of Trent upon the Lectures of Petrus Peckius and Andreas Vallensis (From the Sixteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries)

This research aims to assess the impact of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) in the teaching of canon law in the University of Leuven by the end of the sixteenth century and the start of the seventeenth century, especially concerning the subjects of a) ecclesiastical jurisdiction; b) reparation of churches; c) life and honesty of clerics; and d) division of competences. For this purpose, two case studies are considered: the lectures of Petrus Peckius (1529–1589) and Andreas Vallensis (1569–1636). The first was ordinarius of Canon Law; and the second was the holder of the Royal chair of the Decretum and, later, the chair of Institutes of Canon Law. Special insight into their specific classroom practice is given by unpublished and unexplored manuscripts of student notes found in the Royal Library of Belgium (KBR), which consist of, in case of Peckius’ lectures, commentaries on the Liber Sextus, as well as, in case of Vallensis’, a paratitla on the Liber Extra. Regarding methodology, this study employs qualitative analysis to track references to the Council of Trent, specific decrees, quoted authors, subjects, and main arguments in the sources, to later compare the acquired data regarding the differences in manuscript and printed sources. This study, then, seeks to map the extent of the influence of the Council of Trent (concerning the selected subjects) and to assess the influence of the context of Counter Reformation and political conflict in the Low Countries, as well as the influence of other authors and juridical currents of the time, in the University’s legal scholarship. This research is part of the C1 project called @AULAM or “Innovation through Education: Pioneering Change in Law and Theology in Louvain’s Golden Age” – which pursues to analyse how major Leuven professors in law and theology worked to equip the next generation of leaders with the new learning necessary to address the societal challenges of the Early Modern Age.
The eighteenth century was a late period of Catholic confessionalization and reforms in Hungary, which was marked by a large-scale wave of parish foundations. The Catholic parish network collapsed during the Reformation and Ottoman conquest had begun its reconstruction after the Treaty of Szatmár in 1711. This process was triggered by the Catholic bishops and was supported by the governmental institutions as well, but also met the need of local communities. In my paper I would like to examine the case of the remote village of Alattyán, where a short-lived local parish was demolished around 1697. The community was administrated by the neighbor Praemonstratensian Provostry of Jánoshida, but an emerging conflict between the community, the diocese, and the monks led to the establishment of a new parish in 1748. These five decades shed light on the local impacts of late Catholic reforms and the successful political activity of a village community. In these half-century many communities were able not just articulate their needs, but learn the use the facilities offered by ecclesiastical and secular institutions.
Chair: Tarald Rasmussen  
Host: Tiziano Tubay  
Speakers: Bernward Schmidt (Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt)  
Cora Dietl (Justus-Liebig-University Giessen)  
Isabelle Stauffer (Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt)  

**Bernward Schmidt: Erudition, Entertainment and Invectivity. Conflict in Kilian Leib’s Historiographical Works**

The Augustinian Kilian Leib counts among Luther’s less prominent yet most erudite opponents from southern Germany. While a *Flugschrift* on the peasants’ war and his weather diary constitute the best known part of his œuvre, his treatises against Luther and the reformation have barely been acknowledged. Neither has Leib’s historiographical work (*Annales maiores, Annales minores* and *Diaria*) attracted much attention in Reformation scholarship though printed versions have been available from the mid nineteenth century. Roughly classified, the *Annales maiores* present the history of the Empire from 1502 to 1548, while the *Annales minores* are dedicated to regional events in Franconia. In both of them Leib unmistakeably shows his anti-reformatory attitude from the perspective of his monastery near Eichstätt. The paper aims at presenting exemplary passages from Leib’s historiographical œuvre describing religious conflict examining them with particular regard to rhetoric and style. In rare and certainly intentionally inserted passages, grobianism is to be found – particularly directed against Martin Luther. This analysis as well as some remarks on the dissemination of the *Annales maiores* will lead eventually to some observations on the social function of these works as the question why and for whom Leib wrote his *Annales* has (if ever raised) remained unanswered.
Cora Dietl: Deconstructing Memory: Johannes Cochlaeus’s Polemical ‘Historia Martini Lutheri’

During his time as chaplain at the court of Duke George of Saxony (1528–35), Johannes Cochlaeus, wrote the first version of his *Commentaria de actis et scriptis Martini Lutheri*. His idea was to present a seemingly objective collection of ‘facts’ about Luther’s heresy that could be used by the members of a possible council judging over Luther. After Luther’s death in 1546, Cochlaeus gave the text a new turn, as a history of Reformation, describing the life of the great heretic from his birth to his burial and his personal judgement through Christ. The first edition of the work (1549) still titled *Commentaria*, while later editions and the German translation (1582) were titled *Historia Martini Lutheri*, stressing the historiographic and biographic structure of the work, which aimed at a deconstruction of Luther’s fame. The text’s strategy follows three basic lines: (1) It constructs a demonic background for Luther’s actions and refers to eye-witness-accounts that hint at Luther’s assumed pact with the devil, and it imagines God’s observation of Luther’s demonic pact; (2) it constantly evaluates Luther’s actions, referring to his natural vices; (3) it quotes isolated sentences by Luther and his followers and displays them as false, if not ridiculous. These strategies turn the *Historia* into a piece of polemical dispute with a dead, trying to undermine his afterlife. The paper will analyse several central scenes of the *Historia*, depicting the strategies of polemics, and comparing their effect in the Latin original and the (very close) German translation. It will also regard the various letters of dedication that refer to the function of the text in different contexts, and to the value of historiography.

Isabelle Stauffer: Grobian Trouble. The Dispute of Martin Luther and Thomas Murner

Since Sebastian Brant calls the grobian satirically a saint in his *Ship of fools* (1494), this character enters the theological discourse. As one of the fools described in Brants book, he is related not to the saints, but to the devil. In his work *Against the Papacy at Rome, Founded by the Devil* (1545) Martin Luther names the pope a rough donkey (*grober Esel*), which farts. The other animal Luther associates with the pope is a pig, the heraldic animal of the grobian. So in Luthers polemic reformatory pamphlet the images of the pope and the grobian are cross-faded. Luther is well known for his grobianic writing and he was
aware of it, because he says joking that he himself is a rough fellow (grober ge-
sell). This grobianic style is not a singularity of Luther, but a general rhetorical
device of religious and political conflicts of this time. Thomas Murner in his
pamphlet *On the Great Lutheran Fool* (1522) refers in an antagonistic way to
Luther and his grobianic style. Murner characterises his own writing as grobi-
anic too. He claims, that his own grobianism is forced by the one of Luther. But
before his anti-protestant pamphlet Murner already wrote in his *Rogue’s Guild*
(1512) about clerical irregularities using the figure of the grobian. Therefore, the
grobian and the grobianistic style went always hand in hand with confessional
disputes. Both sides blamed reciprocally each other to have been a grobian or to
have written in a grobianistic style. This paper examines the grobian as a key
figure in the confessional conflicts between Martin Luther and Thomas Murner.
Izabela Winiarska-Górska: The Concept of Vernacular Vulgate in the Discourses of Polish Protestants and Catholics during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (A Linguistic Perspective)

In the Polish language the very term *vernacular vulgate* began to be used only at the end of the sixteenth century; firstly, in the texts of Polish Jesuits, only later (usually in polemical contexts) did it also appear in the writings of Polish non-Catholics, who accused the Jesuits of appropriating both – the term and the concept of the vulgate. The Protestants explained the term philologically and historically as a translation into a local and domestic language, while the Catholics exclusively used the term Vulgate to the translation of St Jerome, in addition treating it as a universal model for all translations of the Bible into national languages. Observations carried out from the perspective of the history of the Polish language and discourse theory concerning the use of some key terms (as mentioned above vulgate, the Bible, Holy Scripture, canon, or censorship) in Old (or rather Middle) Polish texts undertaking the problem of biblical translations provides a starting point for showing the process of institutionalization of Old Polish Catholic and Protestant biblical translations. The paper discusses the issue of shaping the vernacular vulgate as a book (pointing out some external determinants of the institutionalized vulgates as a formative book (e.g. layout, table of contents, registers, titles of the books, orders of chapters, notes, and abbreviations of books, keywords of the translations, etc.). Another of the crucial problems that should be discussed are linguistic exponents of evaluations, pathologization, and sacralisation of the vernacular vulgates, which can be described from both perspectives – historical – as undertaking linguistic activities by Old Polish religious writers aimed at creating a so-called language of values of Protestant or Catholic vernacular vulgates, and from a contemporary
The paper aims at examining the production and dissemination of vernacular Polish books and pamphlets printed in Königsberg in the period of ca. 1544–1573 from the perspective of the literary genres’ distribution. Production of the three typographers active in the city, namely H. Weinreich, A. Aujezdecki, and H. Daubmann, will be considered. The main objective is to trace their printing endeavours dedicated to the Polish-speaking audience in order to grasp the publishing trends and focalize them as an entity – complex, yet coherent programme that reflected both the Lutheran spirituality of the patrons in the Duchy of Prussia (particularly Albrecht Hohenzollern, Duke of Prussia) and their ambitions to educate and accumulate the cultural capital of the society in the newly secularized state, which evolved from structures formerly ruled by the Teutonic Order. I propose that the group of Königsberg editors (i.a. Seklucjan, Trepka, Malecki, Radomski) treated their activity as a process of testing the adaptability of various genres to the language that was still under development. Experimenting with different manners of expression in the printed (not handwritten) medium, Seklucjan and his circle played a significant role not only in the development of Polish literature, but more precisely in introducing a number of genres into the printed Polish (such as catechism, songbook, postil, tragoedia nova, dialogue, home-economy handbook, church statutes etc.) book market. By mapping the literary genres chosen by editors of Polish books in Königsberg in the given timeframe, I aim at grasping what was the intended role of these genres in the process of cultural and religious education for Polish-speaking audiences. The paper is to discuss preliminary research results of a broader project on the vernacular publishing programmes in Prussia.
addresses the redemptive-historical element in his *Annotations on the Gospel of John* (based on lectures given in 1530), with a focus on his treatment of the contrast between Moses and Jesus in several key passages. Oecolampadius’s exposition is placed in the context of the broader exegetical tradition, particularly with reference to key patristic influences (Cyril of Alexandria and Chrysostom) and several of his own contemporaries (Erasmus, Lefèvre, Bucer and Melanchthon). This will also highlight some of his distinctive contribution to the debate regarding continuity between the testaments in early Reformed biblical exposition.
Tomasz Karol Mantyk: Ecclesiology of F. Titelmans’s Commentary on the Song of Solomon

The Song of Solomon has always been one of the most difficult books of the Hebrew Bible to interpret. At the same time, it offered the greatest opportunity for resourceful exegetes to explore its hidden meaning. The two major threads of analyses were the ‘individualistic’ interpretation, i.e. reading the erotic poem as an allegory of the soul’s loving relationship with God, and ‘collective’, i.e. reading the book through the prism of God’s relationship with his people (Israel and the Church). While the former was dominant in The High Middle Ages, the latter prevailed in the patristic period and re-emerged on the eve of the Reformation. In this paper I intend to present some aspects of the commentary on the Song of Solomon of a sixteenth century Flemish Observant, Franciscus Titelmans. He was a prolific writer, devoting most of his efforts to biblical exegesis. His reading of the Song of Solomon was essentially an ecclesiastical one, solidly founded on patristic precedents. I propose to concentrate on a few select verses of the Song (in particular 1:5 and 6:10) in order to show Titelmans’s ecclesiology. I intend to show both his reliance on existing traditions of interpretation as well as various adaptations of these traditions to accommodate them to the contemporary situation. Although Titelmans’s commentary rarely makes explicit references to contemporary events it is in fact full of allusions to ongoing reformations but also to various corruptions within the Church. I hope that my short analysis will advance our understanding of the Catholic exegesis prior to the Council of Trent and deepen our understanding of theological developments leading to this Council.

Adversarial publications were a common feature of the English Reformation with theologians regularly engaged in provocative pamphlet wars. The debate over clerical marriage was one such war, and the major English combatants were Bishop Stephen Gardiner (1483–1555) and Bishop John Ponet (1516–1556). The long-running debate between them may be observed in a range of printed publications and this provides a fine example of the adversarial culture of publication. However, the recent discovery and translation of Bishop John Ponet’s profusely annotated 700-page manuscript on the debate (written midst debate) enables a rare example of this common sixteenth-century genre in mid-composition. This paper will provide an overview of this extraordinary Reformation manuscript, and will outline Ponet’s thought-processes, reading, citation, and choice of language, thus illuminating the fire and ferocity of the adversarial culture intertwined with English Reformation polemical productions.

Harry Spillane: Matthew Parker and the Vernacular Bible in Early Elizabethan England

The accession of Queen Elizabeth I in 1558, and her subsequent religious settlement, gave the vernacular bible a place in the English Church once again – following its removal from many churches under Mary I. This paper seeks to explore the concerns many English Protestants had that attacks against vernacular scripture, which had occurred throughout Queen Mary’s reign, left the place of vernacular scripture uncertain, despite the Elizabethan Religious Settlement. This paper considers this issue through an examination of the defence of vernacular scripture mounted by Archbishop Matthew Parker as part of his preface to the Bishops’ Bible of 1568 and his publication of medieval texts throughout the 1560s and 1570s. Ultimately, the paper explores how Parker saw that in defending the legitimacy of English vernacular bibles, he was, in fact, also defending the ancient nature of the Church of England itself. Defending vernacular bibles was thus at the heart of the Elizabethan project to answer the accusation Catholic polemicists so frequently threw at their Protestant opponents: “Where was your Church before Luther?”
Bullinger wrote *Ecclesias evangelicas* to George I of Württemberg-Mömpelgard in early 1552 to assure him of the veracity of Reformed faith and of the gross errors of Rome. He also sought to encourage George to maintain his faith in the face of opposition. Because this work was written after the Second Session of the Council of Trent when the decrees of major doctrines had been finalized it gives us a window to understand how Bullinger responded to Trent. Bullinger has previously written his *Antithesis* in 1551 which had provided an easy comparison between Reformed faith and papal doctrine because it was set out in numbered paragraphs. *Ecclesias evangelicas* commences with an extended consideration of the doctrine of Scripture touching on the canon, interpretation of Scripture, the authority of Scripture, the place of synods and councils and the catholic faith of the Creed. As might be expected, there is a section on justification with discussion about grace, merit as well as faith and works. Further, there is an explanation of prayer through Christ vis-à-vis the intercession of the saints, a full discussion on the sacraments, a consideration of love and works of mercy and encouragement to George through a focus on persecution on account of Christ.

Because Bullinger often recycled material throughout his works, we would expect some parallels with what Bullinger outlined in *Orthodoxa Tigriniae ecclesiae ministrorum confessio* (1545) though the context was different as it was a defence against attacks on Zurich by Luther. There would also be parallels with what Bullinger was later to expound in *De conciliis* (1561).

In *Ecclesias evangelicas* Bullinger outlined a somewhat ironic explanation of key fundamental tenets of Reformed faith vis-à-vis the teaching of Rome. He did
this with numerous quotations and references to the Church Fathers, in particular Augustine, Irenaeus, Jerome and Lactantius as well as the creeds. Two of the themes that are often referred to in Bullinger’s works are noticeable in *Ecclesias evangelicas*. Firstly, there is an expanded section on the covenant of God with mankind, mirroring what is expounded in *De testamento* (1534) with a warning about the ever-present danger of idolatry. Secondly, Bullinger has a constant focus on ecclesiastical history with several references to Eusebius and Socrates.

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**Mona Velinsky: Die lex Dei als Evangelium. Aspekte der Ethik Ulrich Zwinglis**


**English:** *The Lex Dei as Gospel. Aspects of Ulrich Zwingli’s Ethics*

The Lutheran dichotomy of law and Gospel is sought in vain in Zwingli’s writings. The Zurich reformer distinguishes between the two concepts, but they never stand in irreconcilable opposition to each other. The reason for this is Zwingli’s detection of the lex Dei as the good will of God. God wants communion with his creatures. Since the beginning of creation, he has summoned the mankind
towards himself. He reveals himself and his will in the law, and this law is always a demand on man. A demand that remains unfulfillable and yet was ultimately fulfilled by God himself. In Christ, God's imperturbable devotion to humanity culminates. In him, the demand of the lex Dei reaches its fulfilment and is nevertheless confirmed in its eternal perpetuity and coincidentally radicalized. Through Christ it becomes clear that the law can be nothing other than Gospel. Through the Gospel, man is called to a freedom that manifests itself as freedom from all human statutes and performance demands, but at the same time also as freedom for the law. Christian freedom enables man to be truly autonomous by letting himself be determined by God's Spirit, by shaping himself and the world according to God's will. This tension between human action and divine “pulling” is characteristic of Zwingli's ethical thinking. Thus, throughout his life, the Zurich reformer strove for fundamental change in reality, trusting that the Word of God will break through.

**Ariane Albisser:** Lorenz Meyer – ein exzentrischer Agitator der Zürcher Reformation

sondern auch furchtlose Agitatoren mit der absoluten Bereitschaft für die eigene Gesinnung einzustehen brauchte.

**English:** Lorenz Meyer – an eccentric agitator of the Zurich Reformation

Between the first and second Zurich Disputations, major Reformation upheavals took place in Zurich. Among them was the so-called iconoclasm on the night of 6 to 7 September 1523, which is often described in research as a consequence of Leo Jud’s sermon against idols. But neither Jud nor Zwingli were its leaders. Arrested and soon released was the deacon of St. Peter’s Church: Lorenz Meyer. Born in Winterthur and influenced by Erasmian humanism, Vituduranus Helvetius, as Lorenz Meyer Latinised himself, was a loyal supporter and eccentric agitator of the Zurich Reformation. At the iconoclasm and Froschauer’s fasting break, he actively and pragmatically collaborated to implement the Zurich Reformation. He married, became pastor in Stammheim immediately after the sacking of the Ittingen monastery, preached the Gospel and introduced the marriage and baptism registers. But his reputation was never spotless. As a rower, kriegscher gepärden, he had to answer to the synod in 1535. In 1543 he was accused of adultery, and numerous military, scientific works, such as *Stratagema-ta Rerum bellicarum*, are attributed to him. The energetic, polarising reformer and agitator died of the plague in Oberglatt, Canton Zurich, in 1564 and is an excellent example of how the implementation of the Reformation required not only eloquent preachers and astute theologians but also fearless agitators with an absolute willingness to stand up for their convictions.
Mette Ahlefeldt-Laurvig: *Reformation Renegotiated: Women, Childbirth and Churching in Early Modern Denmark*

The 500th anniversary of the Reformation in 2017 brought firmly into focus the impact of the Reformation on women in early modern Europe. In this debate, however, one key aspect of most women’s lives was wholly overlooked, namely, the ritual of churching of women after childbirth. Yet in Denmark, as in many other Lutheran countries, churching was as common as baptism and an important feast day in Church as in society. Churching was the liminal closure to the mother’s lying-in, a period of protection of the mother, but also of those who came into contact with her, and it will be argued that at its core, churching was not so much a confessional ritual, but a woman’s rite rooted in the female, procreative body. Originating from Levitical childbirth impurity and closely linked to the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, churching was a troublesome legacy for Lutheran reformers who variously sought to abolish the rite or, as in Denmark, transform it into a Lutheran thanksgiving ceremony. Yet women – and their parish clerks – were not simply passive recipients of decrees from above, but actively resisted and negotiated change. Churching thus throws fresh light on the implementation of the Reformation at parish level and the piecemeal advance of the Lutheran church order in post-Reformation Denmark.

Tünde Móré: *The Pious Noble Woman in Sixteenth Century Hungary – Two Funeral Orations from the 1560s*

Following the tragedy of Mohács the sixteenth century in Hungary was characterized by disorder and dissolution of the state and the Catholic Church, whereas the reformed teachings gained in popularity. These developments surfaced in
the literary works as well (for example occasional poetry, religious treatises, and
funeral literature). In the sixteenth century only a handful of funeral orations
were published, and most of them had been written in Latin. Furthermore, this
corpus has not been the subject of detailed rhetorical and stylistical analysis so
far. In this paper I will examine the case of a noble couple in order to explore the
notion of ideal piety used in funeral orations in Hungary. This study focuses on
the adaptation of reformed teachings on widowhood, mourning, and piety into
Hungarian context taking the paratextual and rhetoric layers of the texts into
consideration.

Dóra Kovács: The Servitors of István Báthory of Ecsed and the Consolidation
of Calvinism in Upper Hungary

István Báthory of Ecsed, judge royal, comes of the counties Somogy, Szabolcs,
and Szatmár, and the most powerful nobleman of Upper Hungary is also known
to have played a major role in the consolidation of Calvinism in the region. The
most important element of this solidifying role, I suggest, was István Báthory’s
extended network of people loyal to him (servitor, a rather broad term of the era,
close in meaning to familiaris). This circle of servitors consisted of lesser Cal-
vinist noble families of the region. Báthory strengthened his group of servitors
in two ways. First, for instance, by patronage. The school of Szepsi, with several
students continuing with their higher education abroad, is an example of this.
Secondly, and most importantly, István Báthory organized his network of ser-
vitors, a mostly Calvinist, nonetheless heterogeneous group of noble families
into a more coherent network concentrating around Báthory’s court in Ecsed.
Báthory’s devotional writings, such as his famous Meditations suggest that he
intended to provide his circles with religious guidance, as well. This intention
is demonstrated by the conversion of his niece and nephew, Gábor Báthory and
Anna Báthory to Calvinism. Also, the above-described framework confirms the
scholarly narrative, according to which Báthory meant his religious writings to
be read by a wider audience. The major sources to reconstruct this network of
noblemen are Báthory’s extensive correspondence with his servitors and his last
will. In my presentation, I will focus on this network and its sources in the con-
text of the solidifying process of Calvinism in Upper Hungary.
Panel: 4.B
AFFLICTION AND PIETY IN THE HUNGARIAN REFORMED TRADITION
May 7, 2021
15:45–17:15
K 011

Chair: Herman Selderhuis
Host: Tiziano Tubay
Speakers: Attila K. Molnár (University of Public Service, Budapest)
Szilvia Musasizi (Long Reformation in Eastern Europe 1500–1800 Research Group, Budapest)
Dávid Csorba (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, Budapest)

Attila K. Molnár: Calvinist Religiosity among Hungarians of Seventeenth Century

Most of historical and sociological analyses stop usually at the content of religious thinking and the meaning of used symbols and rituals. Mainly the historical analyses imply that the people in the past lived in accordance with their religious teachings and symbols, their life can be well understood by the meanings of their symbols and rituals, defined by historians. They have presupposed implicitly that man of the past was religious, and that he was homo religious, meaning that his life, deeds, and thought were basically led by religious rule and notions. This paper focuses on the problem of the intensity of religiosity in historical analysis. Its question is how strongly the religion imbued social life, how well can their life and mental world be understood in terms of their religiosity. Thinking about the social integrative or transformative effects of religion is meaningful only if the meanings and requirements of religion really influenced the life of people. This research relies on ego-documents – diaries, testaments, letters, recalls – to detect religious intensity, and a unique type of resource of religios anthropology in Hungary: the visitation records. The practice of visitation was inherited from the Catholic Church (visitatio generalis and visitatio particularis) and it had been effectuated by the episcopal church, which was unique among Calvinist/Reformed Churches. During the visitation the bishop or the dean asked local preachers and members of the parish about the material situation of the parishes (like the condition of the church or school, etc.) and the moral-religious state of the populace. They asked the preacher about the parish, and the parish about their preacher. Through these records we can get a much more critical anthropological view of local religious and community life.
The Wittenberg interpretation of history, evolving after Luther, attributed apocalyptic significance to military and political events. This perception was intensified by the success of Counter-Reformation and the expansion of the Ottoman Empire in Hungary in the second half of the seventeenth century. According to the ancient history of the Jewish people and their perception of history, the protestant preachers found an answer to the questions arising due to the Turkish demolition and wars of religion.

Taking the history of the Jews as an analogy the protestant preachers interpreted the Ottoman peril and the ensuing war between Christians and Turks in the theological context of sin, punishment, and grace. Therefore, they warned people of the imminent end of the World and demanded that everyone would convert to the true religion. In my paper I examine the political background of the Hungarian Exile movement and how these political and military events influenced the Exiles’ interpretation of history. I also demonstrate the unique elements of their view of history as well as the similarities with the protestant historical approaches of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I focus on the beginnings and the early stage of the Exile movement in Hungary from 1671 to 1678. My main sources are the Exiles’ documents, mainly letters and I also examine a prayer book written by Mihály Szöllősi, an exiled preacher in the exile camp, published in Transylvania in 1676. In my opinion, the Hungarian Exiles’ interpretation of history is rooted in the biblical view evolving in Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which saw the realization of God’s plan in the political and military events of the era and defined their era as the advent of the apocalypse. Their present distress was seen as God’s punishment for their sins, which is why the only way to liberation was repentance, conversion, proper worship of God and obedience, in other words: piety.

The galley-slave cult in Hungary is a historical paradigm, to which the Lutheran and Reformed denominations as well as the Hungarian and Slovakian identities relate, sometimes forgetting about it for centuries, sometimes reviving it again. Looking at the galley-slave cult through Catholic eyes, it might seem as
if the Protestants established a cult of martyrdom that was not clarified and could not be connected to the notion of sanctity and the cult of relics, however, it functioned according to their pattern. From a historical point of view, this is by all means an appropriate parallelism: the narrative about the sufferings of Reformed martyrs, confessors, “quasi-saints” serves the spiritual growth of the Protestant audience.
Suk Yu Chan: The Doctrine of Providentia Dei in Zwingli’s Sermonis de Providentia Dei Anamnema and Calvin’s Sermons sur le Livre de Job

In *Sermonis de providentia Dei anamnema*, Zwingli suggests that the existence of providence is proved by the *summum bonum* who cares for and regulates everything. What is supreme good? Zwingli uses the term *summum numen*, supreme divinity, to describe the supreme good. Both of these terms include the characteristics of goodness, power and wisdom. God Himself is good (Matthew 19:17), thus all the things He created are good, and through creation, He shares His goodness and shows His power and wisdom. Although Zwingli starts formulating the thought of *summum bonum* with a biblical verse, the understanding of *summum bonum* is philosophical. In the first and second editions of the *Institutes*, Calvin uses a list of God’s “chooses”, for example truth, wisdom, goodness, righteousness, judgement, mercy, power, and holiness to exemplify the knowledge of God. It was not until he preached Sermons sur le livre de Job, that he consolidated this list to *bonét, vertu, sagesse, and justice*, and explained that God’s general and special providence are His actions in His goodness, power, wisdom and justice. Although this consolidated list echoes Zwingli’s explanation of *summum bonum*, it is more biblical than philosophical. Calvin’s interpretation of the doctrine of Providentia Dei in his *Sermons sur le livre de Job* shows a line of continuity with Zwingli’s interpretation of the same doctrine in his *Sermonis de providentia Dei anamnema*, and yet these two interpretations also show significant difference.
Gábor Ittzés: From a ‘Peculiar’ to ‘Another’ Question: The Theological Significance of Melanchthon’s Reworking of the Immortality Doctrine in His De Anima Commentary

Melanchthon devoted the last chapter of his highly influential commentary on Aristotle’s *De anima* to the question of the immortality of the human soul – clearly, a theological decision. The *Commentarius* (1540) became a tremendous publication success, and after numerous reprints Melanchthon reworked it under a new title. The greatest novelty of the *Liber de anima* (1553) was the appropriation of cutting edge science from Vesalius’s anatomy, which turned the new edition into one of the most successful textbooks of the sixteenth century. The Reformer, however, revised the entire work, including the last chapter. Those revisions were motivated not by the incorporation of Vesalian knowledge but, as I shall argue in this paper, by a Lutheran theological program. Lateran V dogmatised the immortality of the soul in 1513. Luther is often interpreted to have challenged its teaching and advocate some form of mortalism or soul sleep. Melanchthon, on the other hand, clearly accepted the traditional insight, and Reformation theologians of every rank and stature agreed with him on that in the second half of the century. Instead of interpreting this development as an instance of the Praeceptor’s ‘betrayal’ of Luther’s cause or a return to pre-Reformation Roman teaching, I will show that Melanchthon’s understanding between the two major editions of the *De anima* commentary developed along specifically Lutheran lines.

Michael Lapp: Confessionalisierung (Denominationalization) in Hesse and the Development of the Terms of Denomination at the Beginning of the Seventeenth century

1. The “introduction of the improvement points” in Hesse from the early seventeenth century represents a special case of *confessionalisierung* (denominationalization). Each of the two parts of the state went for their very own way. The protagonists of both states (landgraves, professors, and pastors) found themselves in opposition to one another. The lively and heated literary activity between the theologians give evidence of a fundamental dispute. 2. The transition to Calvinism had various reasons, mostly however on the basis of an official order by the authorities. Some of the relevant aspects are as follows: a. Calvinism represented an early absolutist state structure; increasingly relying on state organization and education. The establishment of administrative offices
(e.g. consistories) and schools are just two examples. b. At last, the turn to the contents and forms of Calvinism happened due to the Counter Reformation in the immediate vicinity of Hesse. c. This led to upheavals within the denominational family up to enmity in the Thirty Years’ War (the two Hessians were particularly affected). 3. Political considerations dominated theological questions 4. With confessionalization, Luthers theology was no longer the sole frame of reference. The *Confessio Augustana* (Reichstag of Augsburg, June 1530) was seen as more interpretable. 5. Following this, the terms of denominations, which are still valid and used to this day, had been established.
Wouter Druwé: Learned Legal Advice for the Congregation of Windesheim (c. 1455–1485)

The Historical Archive of Overijssel in Zwolle and the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels each contain a fifteenth-century manuscript collection of legal and moral theological sources, written for the general chapter of the Augustinian canons regular of Windesheim, a congregation that was inspired by the Devotio Moderna. Both collections contain many ‘consilia’ by learned lawyers, several of whom were active in the prince-bishopric of Liège, at the universities of Paris or Cologne, but especially as professors of civil or canon law at the young university of Leuven. These manuscripts have already been the subject of a prosopographical analysis, but so far their content has not been studied. This short paper will address a few consilia related to the law of religious communities and regarding the congregation of Windesheim’s relationship to the diocesan bishops, the secular clergy and secular authorities.

Sabine Hiebsch: The Long Reformation of Dutch Lutheranism

The Netherlands were among the first regions outside the German Lands of the Empire where Martin Luther’s writings circulated and influenced the nascent reform movement. But eventually, through the course of the Dutch Revolt, the Reformed Church became the public church, privileged by the authorities of the Dutch Republic. The Lutherans were one of the tolerated religious minorities. The perspective of the Reformed Church has shaped the mainstream historiography of the Dutch reformation, with the synod of Dordrecht (1618–1619) typically being interpreted as the concluding element of the reformation process. In my short presentation I will look at the Dutch reformation process from the
Lutheran perspective and sketch the key elements that contributed to the development of Lutheran congregations and a Dutch Lutheran confessional identity. A development that can be described as a long Reformation. Adding the Lutheran perspective to the mainstream Dutch reformation narrative results in a more realistic and rounded understanding of the religious landscape in the Early Modern Netherlands.

_Aurelio García: Residues and Relics of Dutch Protestantism: The Mostly Abortive Indigenization of the Dutch Reformed Faith in the Caribbean_

This paper explores the impact of the Dutch colonial enterprise in the greater Caribbean (The Leeward Islands: Aruba, Bonaire, and Curacao; Sint Maarten; Saint Thomas; and Suriname) on the development of Dutch Reformed congregations there. The course of the Reformation in the Netherlands was a forceful factor in determining the form and future of the Dutch Reformed congregations in these overseas colonies. The violence and tardiness of the Dutch Reformation, marked by the Eighty Years’ War (1568–1648), gave shape to the attitude towards religion in the colonies. Contrary to Spain, which identified the national Roman Catholic church with the meaning and purpose of the state, or even England, which did eventually support an established church in some colonies of North America, the Dutch were limited by their late arrival in the Caribbean and constrained to take the left-over spoils of the territories. In the homeland they did not constitute a greater majority of the people as much as the most important religious plurality; furthermore, they were guided in their colonial enterprise by private companies for which religious proselytism was an embarrassment if not an hindrance. Nevertheless, this situation suited their purposes, which were mainly commercial. Therefore, the Dutch Reformed congregations that arose in the greater Caribbean were mostly churches for the immigrant Dutch; they lasted while the population remained: that is, till the commercial enterprises were no longer viable. Of this fact the church architecture, placements, and inner furnishings are clear witnesses to be examined. Despite these limitations, and specially as missionary societies arose, some of these colonial congregations did evolve into native, local denominations.
Karin Kallas-Pöder: Christian Life in the Context of Divine Predestination. Experiential and Affective Themes in Martin Luther’s “De servo arbitrio”

In research literature, the concept of predestination has predominantly been examined from the perspective of theological or philosophical coherence. A fresh perspective has been offered by Simeon Zahl, who has paid attention to the affective and experiential dimensions of doctrines and theological concepts. In line with his approach, I propose to examine human experience, emotions, and perceptions in connection with predestination based on Martin Luther’s De servo arbitrio (1525). I do not regard predestination simply as a concept that models the relationship between God and human in a certain way. Rather, I will demonstrate how predestination expresses a sense of reality that permeates the whole human being, including emotions, conscience, and reason. Considering that Luther aimed to inspire and describe proper Christian life, I will analyse how it is depicted in De servo arbitrio. I will argue that instead of annulling or denying human agency, experience, and perceptions, Luther maintains them in tension with predestination. This tension, which sometimes is a clear contradiction, is sustained through the concept of coram Deo. In sum, this paper seeks to demonstrate and examine what kind of mode of living is entailed in De servo arbitrio with emphasis on its notions of predestination.
Next to Hungarian Calvinists, the Reformed in the Commonwealth of Both Nations have consistently maintained the office of a Reformed Church superintendent from the sixteenth until the nineteenth century. As with most features of Polish and Lithuanian Calvinism there were variations from the very beginning. The Czech Brethren in Lesser Poland inherited a strongly episcopal structure that continued until the 1630s when under noble and ministerial pressure the office became more collegial. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the office seemed to have paralleled to some degree the Lesser Poland structure, though with a short interlude following the 1634 Wlodawa General Convocation, it did not have a separate office of general superintendent. The most interesting, versatile, and perhaps malleable situation existed in the Lesser Poland Reformed Church, where the office of superintendent and ecclesiastical seniors underwent perhaps the biggest extensive evolution from the sixteenth century until the dissolution of the Lesser Poland Brethren in 1849. Neither the office of “superintendent” or “ecclesiastical senior” or its evolution in any of the three Commonwealth’s Reformed churches has been subject to any study. In my paper I will present some preliminary findings for the period up to the late 1600s in Lesser Poland, as well as of the last 60 years (1789–1849) which I have thus far researched. I will also try to pose questions for the research ahead: 1) to what degree did the office change and when did it change? 2) Was it construed by the Reformed as an equivalent of the Roman Catholic bishop or was it seen as just an administrative function? 3) What was the theology behind the office as evidenced in the synodical records as well as in the liturgy of the church? The subject might be of interest not just to historians of Calvinism in Central Europe of the Reformation but also for contemporary theologians discussing the office of bishop in a historical theological perspective.

The issues of upbringing and personal development had an important place in the activities of the famous East European educator F. Skaryna (1490?–1551?). The analysis of his works gives grounds to say that he assigned an important role to upbringing in human life: “...to learn the wisdom to live well in the world...” F. Skaryna considered the content and means of education through the prism
of his religious worldview. However, this does not mean that his ideas were of scholastic nature. On the contrary, F. Skaryna’s views were a fusion of the ideas of Christianity and humanism. He considered it expedient to have a versatile (mental, moral, labour, and patriotic) education assimilated in the native language. F. Skaryna advised to develop not only physical capabilities, but also the spiritual values of a person. The educator believed that upbringing should contribute to a person’s knowledge of him or herself. The above mentioned facts prove the humanistic nature of F. Skaryna’s views, since the idea goes back to antiquity. The scientist attributed science and Christian literature to the most important means of education. In the works of Skaryna, the idea of the need for education, taking into account the specific conditions of a person’s life, is traced. F. Skaryna’s confessional affiliation is still subject of scientific discussion. But even for the most of his contemporaries, the reformatory meaning of his ideas and deeds were obvious. This was noticed and appreciated in its own way among the zealots of church piety, which imputed “heresy” to Skaryna’s books in the spirit of Lutheranism or Hussitism. We are inclined to assess Skaryna’s educational ideal as one of the first attempts to indicate the direction of transformation of a person and society under the conditions of new radical changes. To one degree or another, we find similar views in the works of many supporters of the Reformation in subsequent historical periods.
Gábor Palkó: *Semantic Database Development for Historical Data*

Although the high expectations regarding the semantic web have proven to be too optimistic, the cultural technique named linked open data (LOD) gradually found its way to historical data modelling. In my presentation, I will compare different historical projects and tools which make use of, or rather: is permeated by, semantic-web based practices. My comparison will touch upon the applied automatic or manual named entity linking procedure, the ontology chosen to build the semantic hierarchy on, and, last but not least, the search capabilities provided for the user. My question in each case is whether the project provides otherwise unreachable pattern recognition possibilities through LOD which approves its application.

Ádám Sebestyén: *Prosopographical Database Development and the Careers of the Hungarian Reformation*

The ELTEdata-project aims to organize the sources of prosopographical, bibliographical and other historical research groups into semantic data network. Currently, the corpus of HECE research group is the most representative, based on the forthcoming lexicon of the *Humanism in East Central Europe (HECE)* research group. This project analysed the biographies of humanists from the historical Kingdom of Hungary in the period between 1420 and 1620, to find common features in their career and to establish a model for the construction of a prosopographical database. The first part of my presentation summarizes the HECE’s main goals, especially its results regarding the Reformation. The second part presents the database and its functions. ELTEdata (based on
the wikibase software) consists of items with unique identifier. Every semantic statement in the database can be described as a pair of property and value. The SPARQL semantic query language enables complex search and visualization of spatial and temporal data on map or timeline. This feature makes possible structure a large data set and seems to be useful during the description of the networks. This database can also facilitate the survey of the generations of the Hungarian Reformers.

**Zsófia Fellegi: Source Editions on the Semantic Web**

The spread of digital philology in recent decades is unquestionable. The recommendation of the Text Encoding Initiative has become predominant in this area, and editions following this recommendation have been made in XML format for years. However, the latest trends in digital humanities are putting semantic web technologies at the forefront, and so are digital editions. The Circulation of Knowledge project was launched in 2016, to observe certain rearrangement processes along with the narrative ‘Wissenschaft vom Menschen’ in the time interval from 1770 to 1830, when sciences were gradually organized into a new system. The project examines seven fields of science (philosophy, historical sciences, aesthetics / classical philology, political science/statistics, medicine, ethnology/anthropology and agricultural science) the instrumentalisation of which can be traced in Hungary. The presentation aims to show a suitable tool for publishing the texts of the seven disciplines examined in the research, to represent the relationships of the disciplines in the text edition, and to display the text annotations. In my presentation, I will present how, in collaboration with the Digital Humanities Centre of Eötvös Loránd University, partly in line with the data model of the ELTE Humanism in East-Central Europe Research Group, it was possible to publish source documents and link them with personal and place names and abstract concepts. For this purpose, we used the Wikibase software, which, besides the standard description and metadata, also enables data visualizations that can reveal previously unknown patterns, confirm research results, and project new perspectives.
As part of the official inauguration ceremony, the inaugural oration marked the beginning of a university professor’s accession to office at early modern German universities. While modern inaugural orations have mostly turned into mere formalities, early modern orations had two intriguing purposes apart from their representational function. On the one hand, in their programmatic format, they served as forums for the discussion of contemporary developments in politics, religion, culture, scholarship and science. On the other hand, they were used as instruments of professorial self-fashioning, scholarly identity creation, professionalism and career-building. This tendency is particularly manifest between 1650 and 1750, when the academic landscape needed to re-establish itself after decades of confessional war and the German professoriate was seeking new means to channel their scholarly output. Surprisingly however, the systematic source collection has revealed that 90% of inaugural orations uncovered from the period mentioned come from Protestant universities. Professors at Catholic universities did not seem to have bothered exploiting the inaugural oration as think-tanks and instruments for self-fashioning nearly as much as their Protestant colleagues did. This talk will look at this astonishing finding and discuss some possible answers to the question of whether the Protestant professoriate was on a different social and scholarly mission when advertising themselves as authorities in education.
Steff Nellis: Spectacular Processions: Early Modern Catholicism Through the Eyes of Bernard Picart and Jean Frederic Bernard in the ‘Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses de Tous les Peuples du Monde’ (1723–1743)

On May 22th, 1712 Saint Peter’s Square was occupied by a large crowd of people. Following a description of the event, a procession that was installed to celebrate the canonization of a couple of saints was followed by an infinite multitude of people. The festive atmosphere, the large number of devotees and the presence of the pope inflicted heavy emotions on the spectators: people started crying and screaming in order to catch attention and to receive the blessings of Saint Peter at first hand. The description of this day can be read in the intriguing Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses (CCR) by two protestant Frenchmen living in the Netherlands: Bernard Picart and Jean Frederic Bernard. Between 1723 and 1743, they published seven volumes dealing with religious ceremonies. These volumes were unique as the volumes make up one of the earliest bodies of work that compare all the religious ceremonies, customs, festivals, rules, and characteristics known to Western Europe at that time. In the second volume of the CCR, they analyse Catholicism. Because of their shared history of persecution and exile in the wake of Louis XIV’s revocation of the Edict of Nantes, one might think the authors would be very harsh about Catholic rituals. Nevertheless, their criticism is only operating on an implicit level. Indicating that there is something ‘mysterious’ about venerating ceremonials as the canonization, they frame the religious ceremonies and customs of Catholicism as spectacular events tending towards heresy and idolatry. In this contribution, I intend to highlight their criticism on the theatricality of these Catholic rituals by means of the above-mentioned case study. Hence, I argue Picart and Bernard’s CCR should be seen as an important chain in the complex series of multifaceted transfers, translations, and transformations in the history of the Long Reformation.

Miriam Have Watts: The Subtle and the Literal. Rhetorical Elements in Church Art and Liturgical Furnishings

This paper proposes a thematic approach to a combined reading and interpretation of material history and theological thinking concerning sensoriness and aesthetics within the framework of the Long Reformation. The analysis takes its point of departure in a selection of examples of art and furnishings from the Church in Denmark, concentrating on specific motifs, materials, and the
artistic expression of the objects. The conjunction and interaction of material culture and theological questions are illustrated by focusing on the rhetorical qualities of the physical works in their setting, bringing into play apparently contradictory concepts such as silence and verbalisation, subtlety and literalness. Within this context the paper touches upon perspectives in the concept of the Long Reformation and reflects on re-formations and current formations that have travelled through time and come to characterize contemporary church art and furnishings.
Tadeusz Rubik: Censorship of the Wujek’s Bible (1599). Conflicting Ideas of Religious Persuasion

In 1584, a Polish Jesuit decided to produce a new, Catholic translation of the Bible in order to satisfy the Catholic demand and combat the influence of the considerable number of Protestant interpretations. After receiving the papal approval, the task was carried out by a friar, Jakub Wujek. He was an educated philologist and a theologian, an expert in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. However, in the 1590s the controversies began. Wujek was accused of being overly attached to the Greek text, and even of using the Protestant Bible of Brest as a model. The translation was revised twice by the Jesuit censorship: for the first time before publishing the New Testament (1593, 1594) and Psalter (1594), and for the second after the translator’s death. The revised Bible was published in 1599 (so called “Wujek’s Bible”). A comparison of the revised and the original versions reveals a number of changes of varying nature, aiming mainly to literally render the Vulgate, but also to create negative associations with the Protestants and their teachings, and to support the Catholic theology. Such was also the objective of a vast paratext, which was not modified by the censorship at all. However, the many sheets, collations, commentaries, and marginal notes were, as it seems, not an original work, but a compilation and an adaptation of foreign sources, mainly from the Douay-Reims New Testament (1582) and the Disputationes de controversiis Christianae Fidei by Robert Bellarmine. In my paper I explore the censorship of the Wujek’s Bible as a clash of conflicting ideas of religious persuasion. This debate consists of two opposing positions. The first one, that of Wujek himself and the first revisers, was directed towards persuasion via accepting opponent’s premises (rhetorical concessio, eg. including the Greek text), and the second one, that of the censors who modified the Bible post mortem, which relied on the authority of the Church and the Vulgate.
Mathias Moosbrugger: Saving the Council of Trent: Peter Canisius and the Imperial Theological Commission of 1563

In the spring of 1563 the council of Trent (1545–1563) was, once again, on the brink of failure when a conflict between Emperor Ferdinand I and Pope Pius IV concerning the Council’s role in the reform of the Catholic Church seemed to have become insoluble. Ferdinand moved to Innsbruck, just a few hours north of Trent, to be closer to the proceedings, and installed an imperial commission of theological advisors to help him find a way to overcome this impasse. In this paper, I will take a closer look at the role Peter Canisius S. J. (1521–1597) played as a member of this commission. Hubert Jedin was certainly correct that Cardinal Giovanni Morone, the pope’s legate at the council, who used his extraordinary diplomatic skills in negotiations with the emperor, was the “savior of the council”. Yet I will argue that Peter Canisius also played an important role. For the council to continue with its agenda in the spring of 1563 and, up until its closing in December, pass some of its most important documents, the contribution of Peter Canisius cannot be overlooked.

Csongor Vass: Jesuit Mission and Catholic Re-Formation in Seventeenth-Century Transylvania. The Example of Pál Baranyi

The conclusion of the seventeenth century in Transylvania saw major religion related changes in many aspects, inasmuch as one can say, that the principality had been re-formed again. Quite important actors of this period were the priests belonging to the Jesuit Order, considered by scholarship a controversial element. Pál Baranyi (1657–1719) was one of the Hungarian Jesuits, who came incognito in Transylvania to save the small Catholic communities, to help them survive and become stronger, but also to lead many of the Protestants and Orthodoxes to the Catholic Church. Baranyi’s role is very important in the formation of the Transylvanian Greek Catholic Church. Baranyi has not just preached and done pastoral work, but he was also an appreciated author. In my paper I will describe the Jesuit mission in the predominantly reformed Transylvania, in the context of the interrelation between religious conviction and imperial interests, relying on the example of Pál Baranyi. I will also reveal his written undertakings from his published books to his manuscripts, including his preferred text types and writing techniques. This assessment will be embedded in the context of contemporary baroque devotional literature as a multifunctional applied literature.
Panel: 5.D
PERSECUTION, WAR, AND RESISTANCE: THE VIOLENT
REFORMATION IN THE LONG PERSPECTIVE
May 7, 2021
17:30–19:00
K 013

Chair: Zsombor Tóth
Host: Eszter Szabó-Reznek
Speakers: Marta Quatrale (Free University of Berlin)
Andreas Holzem (Eberhard Karl University of Tübingen)
Andrei Constantin Sălăvăstru (University “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” of Iaşi)

Marta Quatrale: Turning Wars into Drakes and Cherries: On Some
Methodological Issues on Hussitism in German Popular Narrations

Should the intuition play a role in discovering new research patterns? Or should we give up the possibility to think out of the box to reduce the risk? Over 30 years ago, the Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg, in its well-known essay Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm, presenting its application of the evidential paradigm to the archival sources, summarised the “unpleasant dilemma on the humane sciences” as follows: “either assume a lax scientific system in order to attain noteworthy results, or assume a meticulous, scientific one to achieve results of scant significance”. A conference investigating the complexity of the Early Modern period as an era of multifaceted transfers related to the concept of Long Reformation seems to be the best occasion to present some methodological issues of the historical investigation. Can we decentralise and ‘pluralise’ our perspective? Can we switch from ‘high’ to ‘low’, from theological to popular point of view, to gain a new glance towards over-researched topics? To go back to Ginzburg, can we make a science – or, at least, a narration – of the individual, ‘micro-historical’ case? Is namely the one from the singular to the plural a viable route? This paper aims at introducing some hypothesis in fieri regarding a Hussite influence in some German popular narrations in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century originating from the tragic events of the Hussite Wars (fifteenth century). How could battles and sieges turn even into fairy tales? Did the establishment of the Lutheranism as proper confession play a role in this respect? Can we start from the Hussite traditions which are still alive nowadays in Germany, and use the intuition, or the evidential paradigm, to sketch at least a
pattern to apply to the archival sources? Playing with this hypothesis as leitmotif, this paper aims to investigate the possibility of turning some of the common methodologies upside-down.

**Andreas Holzem:** ‘...Grief Submerging my Heart, Like Raging Waves Flooding a Small Island’: Private and Public Interpretations of the Thirty Years’ War in Ravensburg

Ravensburg, a comparatively small imperial city bordering the emperor’s area of influence in Upper Austria, had experienced a confessional stalemate since the middle of the sixteenth century. Between the Augsburg Settlement of 1555 and the Peace of Westphalia 1648 confessional conflict and the hardships of war continually called the religious identity of Ravensburg’s citizens into question. There are only a few known private accounts of the era that reflect on the religious experience of the war with relative clarity. One of the most impressive surviving examples is a largely intact series of forty personal letters that were sent from Johann Morell to Dr. Valentin Heider between 1646 and 1648. Morell’s letters depict a unique intersection of privacy and publicity, and between kinship and politics. Thus, these letters open a gate to a history of emotions during the Thirty Years War. I would like to try and identify how the ‘doing emotions’ in Johann Morell’s extraordinary letters came about. If no distinction should be made between the supposed authenticity of subjective feelings and the emotional regimes of a society, then we can assume that the linguistic images of the war found in Morell’s letters were in constant interaction with the prevailing impressions of the war in the city society as a whole. At the same time, emotional practices are not a corset of cultural determinism. I would therefore like to ask: what is the relationship between Morell’s statements about this experience of war and the frames that we can identify in his environment as influential factors for a turbulent emotional state?

**Andrei Constantin Sălăvăstru:** Calvinist Notions of Resistance and Huguenot Noble Propaganda during the First Decade of the French Wars of Religion

The Reformation originally stressed the duty of obedience towards legitimate political authority: all power came from God, both Luther and Calvin insisted, based on the Pauline injunction from Romans 13. But there had always been an important caveat to this recommendation: God had to be obeyed before any earthly ruler and the faithful could not carry out commands which contravened
God’s law. In such circumstances, disobedience was allowed and even demanded, but not actually taking arms against the transgressing superior. Under the pressure of events, both Luther and Calvin strategically retreated from their previous apparent intractable position and allowed for more flexibility: active resistance against lawful rulers became permitted if certain legal procedures were observed. Addressing the possibility of a rebellion in France, Calvin insisted that such an action must be led by the first prince of blood, Antoine of Bourbon. When the first Huguenot rebellion broke out in 1562, a prince of the blood, not Antoine, but his younger brother Louis of Condé, found himself at the forefront – an unavoidable situation in a society where only the higher orders possessed the political and social authority to legitimize rebellions. Beholden to the exercise of power of the French Renaissance monarchy based on persuasive capacities, the Huguenot princes and nobles sought to justify their actions and, as such, issued their own “official” propaganda, through proclamations and letters – a propaganda which blended Calvinist concerns with more traditional ideas of noble revolt. This paper aims to examine the political ideas espoused in these texts and how they connect with the Reformed conception of resistance of Calvin and Beza and the emerging popular radicalism which will become during the 1570’s a fully-fledged “monarchomach” doctrine.
Andreas Beck: *The Leiden Synopsis as a Specimen of Early Modern Theological Education: A New Annotated Edition and Translation*

The Leiden Synopsis of Purer Theology (*Synopsis Purioris Theologiae*, 1625) was not only an influential textbook of Reformed theology in the Dutch Republic of the seventeenth century and beyond, but it also originated in the context of theological education at a major early modern university. Thus, the Synopsis consists of a series of 52 scholastic disputations, presided by four professors at the University of Leiden: Johannes Polyander (1568–1646), Andreas Rivetus (1572–1651), Antonius Walaeus (1573–1639), and Antonius Thysius (1565–1640). The Classic Reformed Theology Research Group (CRTh) recently published an annotated edition and translation of the Leiden Synopsis (3 vols., Leiden: Brill, 2016–2020), which takes this specific context into account. This paper will present this edition and explain the approach of the CRTh. Furthermore, it will focus on the historical and theological contexts of the Synopsis, relating it to the broader context of theological confessionalization in Europe. It will be argued that the Synopsis tied in with the older Leiden practice of treating the major topics of Reformed theology in a pre-conceived cycle of disputations and at the same time attempted to demonstrate a consensus of a ‘purer’ theology, serving the unity of the Reformed church.
Henk van den Belt: Providence in the Leiden Disputation Cycles (1596–1616): A New Research Project

‘The temporal cannot be the cause of the eternal.’ This quote from Franciscus Gomarus’s (1563–1641) Conciliatio doctrinae orthodoxae de providentia Dei (1597) illustrates the main difference between the Arminian and Reformed doctrines of grace. The debate on predestination that led to the Synod of Dordt (1618–1619) was preceded by debates in Holland about divine foreknowledge and providence. According to Gomarus God’s knowledge depends on his will and not vice versa, whereas Jacobus Arminius (1559–1609) and the Remonstrants argued that the predestination of the elect depended on God’s foreknowledge of their faith and perseverance. The new project of the Classic Reformed Theology Research Group examines the disputations defended at the Leiden Faculty of Theology to reveal how the diverse positions on providence relate to those on predestination. At Leiden the first cycle of theological disputations started in 1596. This cycle was followed by five similar series, the repetitiones. This project investigates disputations defended under the presidency of Gomarus and Arminius, but also others under Franciscus Junius (1545–1602), Lucas Trelcatius Sr. (1542–1602), Johannes Polyander (1568–1646) and Simon Episcopius (1583–1643). These disputations also shed light upon the famous Leiden Synopsis Purioris Theologiae (1625), which was the result of a new cycle that started after the Synod. The disputations reveal that the same subject could sometimes be discussed in different ways by the same professor. This paper will introduce the project and give some information about the background of the debate on providentia and illustrate that with some examples from the disputations.

Aza Goudriaan: Leiden Philosophers and the Theological Disputations on Divine Providence

The current project of the Classic Reformed Theology Research Group focuses on theological disputations on providence that were held at Leiden University between 1596 and 1616. Theologians, however, were not alone in discussing the theme. During the selected period several Leiden philosophers wrote on matters that were closely related to the theme of providence. Thus, (a) Petrus Bertius (1565–1629) presided over a disputation on divine concurrence in 1604. Bertius was first vice-chair (1593) and later (1607) chair of the Leiden Statencollege, and from 1600 he also served as extraordinary professor of ethics at the University. (b) Gilbert Jack (Jacchaeus; c. 1578–1628) taught in various capacities on
philosophical subjects before being appointed in 1612 as an ordinary professor of philosophy. In 1616, Jack published his *Prima philosophiae institutiones*, a work that was heavily dependent on the metaphysical disputations (1597) of the Jesuit Suárez and accordingly included an explicit philosophical theology. Like Bertius, who signed the *Remonstrantie* in 1610, Jack sympathized with Arminianism. The main question of this paper is how these philosophers’ reflections related to the contemporaneous disputations on divine providence that were published by the theologians of Leiden.

Engraving from the seventeenth century, featuring the Reformers (*The Candle is Lighted, We Cannot Blow Out*, c. 1683)
Practical Information

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