

Nina J. Koefoed / Andrew G. Newby (eds.)

Lutheranism and social responsibility



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Preface / Acknowledgement

This book is the result of two symposiums on *Confession and Social Responsibility* held at Aarhus University in 2018 and 2019. To some degree the motivation behind the symposiums reflected a renewed debate in Denmark about relations between Lutheranism and the welfare state, prompted by the quincentenary of the Reformation. The long historical time span covered by the papers which were presented, and the breadth of the perspectives which were discussed, was inspiring. We are very grateful to all speakers and participants from these two symposiums for their papers, and for their rich contributions to the lively discussions of the connections between confessions and societal development.

The first symposium, “Religion and Social Welfare: Lutheranism and Social Development”, took place in March 2018. This was a collaboration between Aarhus Institute for Advanced Studies [AIAS], and the Center for the Study of Lutheran Theology and Confessional Societies [LUMEN], at a time when Andrew G. Newby held a Marie Skłodowska-Curie research fellowship at AIAS. Thanks therefore go to AIAS for co-funding and providing an inspiring venue for the event. The second symposium, “Confession and Social Responsibility”, was hosted by LUMEN and specifically the research project, “Lutheranism and Societal Development in Denmark”, funded by the Danish Research Council. We also want to thank them for the possibility of continuing the discussions and following up ideas from the first symposium.

Finalising this book during a global pandemic has been challenging, to put it mildly. All the more reason, therefore, to thank all of the authors to the volume, not only for their great contributions, but also for their collegiality and patience. We also want to acknowledge the hard work of our reviewers – all of the book’s chapters have been reviewed by at least two different experts – and note that fulfilling these requests almost always take up time outside of colleagues’ everyday work tasks. We salute you for your unconditional sedulity!

January 2022
Nina Javette Koefoed
Andrew G. Newby

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Introduction

Lutheranism, Social Responsibility, and the Poor

To care for the poor is a Christian virtue. This virtue, however, can be displayed in many ways, through many different systems and to different degrees. European history has witnessed a variety of solutions to the question of the poor. All countries in twenty-first century Europe have some kind of welfare system, but these have different organizations, and variations in the distribution of rights and duties. In the Middle Ages, the poor were mostly cared for through church organizations, while charity would buy indulgences. As the cities and the number of urban poor grew, civic authorities became more involved in poor relief. With the Reformation, the poor became the responsibility of the civic authorities in the protestant countries. Caring for the poor, nevertheless, was still regarded a Christian obligation and the church was often involved in the organization of the relief. Either way, the responsibility for the poor has not always been taken on with great enthusiasm. The Christian ideal of loving one's neighbour can be hard to identify when confronted with the severe penury of the past, with beggars, forced labour, hunger, orphans, and helpless old people.

Historical research has frequently emphasized other factors than religion as motivating poor relief and guiding its principles.¹ Studies in poor relief have often been closely connected to or part of studies in social discipline.² Social history has been more focused on the life of the poor, and their experiences of the system.³ The early modern European society was a religious society, and the last decades have seen a renewal of research into the role played by religion in relation to the poor. As a result, there has been a growing consensus about the importance of the Reformation for establishing a new social policy with extended secular poor relief

1 See e.g. Lis/Soly: 1979. Grell and Cunningham points to the need to make a revision of the research from the sixties in which humanism was prioritized. They also criticize dominant social and economic explanations for being simplistic and deterministic. (Grell/Cunningham: 1997, 4)

2 See e.g. Gorski: 2003, 114–155. The close connection between social disciplining and poor relief is central to Gorski's investigation. He points to hunger, economic interests, the interest of the political elite, and religious as well as confessional and humanistic motives as the six main elements in the explanations of how poor relief developed in early modern Europe.

3 See e.g. Jütte: 1994. King's work gives a recent example of the interest in the life of the poor (King: 2019).

systems.⁴ In this way religion and the Reformation did matter. The question of whether the Reformation made a difference for the way in which poor relief was organized is, though, much more contested.⁵

The question of whether different confessions played a role in different approaches to the poor, for the development of variation in solutions and poor relief systems, has mostly been framed as contrasts between Protestantism and Catholicism, without distinguishing between divergences within the protestant church.⁶ There are however variations between protestant confessions which could have inspired and motivated distinctive approaches towards the responsibility for the poor. Both theological differences and variations in political consequences, e.g., the relation between church and state (especially when taken together) could have resulted in these differences. In most studies, Protestantism is equated with the reformed church.⁷ Recent studies have argued for the need to investigate Lutheran social teaching and poor relief in the Nordic Lutheran countries to refine the debate about poor relief systems and confession.⁸

4 Critchlow/Parker: 1998. Grell and Cunningham establish that the Reformation changed the speed and the extend of reforms in the social area in both protestant and catholic areas (Grell/Cunningham: 1997).

5 Gorski gives an overview over main positions in this debate. He points at the difficulties in 'proving' confessional differences through comparisons, because of all the variations between different systems within the same confession as well as other factors than religion influencing the system of poor relief (2003, 114–155). This underlines the need to develop new methods to investigate the influence from confession. Rønning, Sigh and Vogt argues that while the legal regulation of donations did not alter much at the Reformation, the motive behind giving does and that the Reformation resulted in a new social policy where education and poor relief became a question for the state (Rønning/Sigh/Vogt: 2017, Introduction). This shows the need to be aware of how religion shows and where to look for changes in discussing the impact of confession.

6 Both scholars of the early modern poor relief system, as Gorski, and of the modern welfare state, as van Kersbergen and Manow, points at this tendency (Kersbergen/Manow: 2009). Studies of poor relief and social disciplining in reformed and Anglican countries are still often seen as covering all protestant areas, leaving out specific studies of social relief in the Nordic Lutheran Countries.

7 Gorski: 2003; Molle: 2017. Grell points to the lack of research in poor and sick relief in the Nordic countries (Grell: 1997); Kersbergen/Manow: 2009; Collections like Safley (ed): 2003, shows the main focus on catholic and reformed areas in the research on early modern poor relief.

8 Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham point to the difference in organization of the poor relief in the evangelic-Lutheran and the reformed areas and Grell further argues for the influence from Luther to the humanistic tradition in the question of social responsibility and the importance of good work in the Lutheran tradition (Grell/Cunningham: 1997). Karlo Arffmann has argued that the Reformation was a revolution of help, pointing at a major shift in attitude after the peasants' war, when it became clear that good works, didn't follow from preaching of the Gospel without organisation (Arffmann: 2019). Tim Lorentzen has advocated for seeing Johannes Bugenhagen as a reformer of public care (Lorentzen: 2008).

The idea of connecting Lutheran social teaching to the question of poor relief, especially in a Nordic context, has been supported by welfare states studies. While investigations into social relief in the early modern Lutheran states are scarce, there has been a much strong international interest in the roots of the supposed “Nordic welfare state”. Today’s welfare systems differ in distributions of rights as well as understandings of social responsibility, and even though religion only to a very limited extent plays a visible role in these systems, research has emphasised how the different European welfare models have followed confessional lines.⁹ The Nordic countries share a long and strong connection between the Lutheran church and the state. This has created a scholarly interest in the possible connections between the Lutheran state church and the formation of the Nordic welfare model. Studies have pointed to the similarity between central elements in Lutheran theology and the ideology of the Nordic welfare states, as well as its influence on the organization of state and society, approaches in which the long historical perspective are important. Others have focused on the role of the church in the twentieth-century debate of the welfare state.¹⁰

9 Kersbergen and Manow address how differences between welfare systems have been seen as a result of the labour movement, the way in which the church (especially the Catholic) has collaborated with political parties in the twentieth century, and how the supposed movement of secularizations, caused especially by Protestantism, has left social care and responsibility to the state. They highlight the need to include the impact from different confessions in the study of the development of the welfare state through historical perspectives and emphasize the importance of different national and political contexts. However, they stay with studying the relation between church and state and focus on the contribution from the church to political party policy and correlations (Kersbergen/Manow: 2009). An exception in their volume is Kahl’s study of how confessional understandings of care for the poor correlate with welfare models (Kahl: 2009).

10 Markkola gives an overview of this research (2011). She concludes that “by stressing poor relief as a collective responsibility the Lutheran churches have paved the way for a later understanding where the well-being of an individual is a public matter” (2011, 108). In 2014, Markkola and Neumann pointed to how the development of the Nordic Welfare States often have been explained by the strong Labour movement in combination with the political dominance of the social democrats, leaving out Lutheranism as explanation (Makkola/Neumann: 2014). One way to approach the influence from Lutheranism has been to focus on the contribution from the church and Lutheran theologians to the debate of public social responsibility and the welfare model in the 20th century, broadening out the approach in much welfare research on party politics to include public debate in different settings (Markkola/Neumann: 2014). In 1997, several contributions in the agenda setting, *The Cultural Construction of Norden* (Sørensen/ Stråth), argued for the connection between the Nordic Welfare state and Lutheranism. Here, Østergård approached the ideology of the Nordic Social Democrats as secularized Lutheranism, pointing at this as the ideological foundation of the Nordic Welfare model. The argument has later been developed by Nelson (2017). The impact of Lutheran theology on poor relief legislation in the historical development in Denmark has more directly been followed by Petersen (2016) and Koefoed (2017). Another approach to the importance of the long historical perspective is represented by Knudsen, arguing for the importance of the collaboration between the

Comparative studies have often discussed the local organization of the relief, the demand for work, and the division between the worthy and unworthy poor.¹¹ In Denmark, too, there has been a strong tradition of emphasizing the continuity from before the Reformation and the similarities in the understanding of work, and worthy/unworthiness. Danish research in early modern poor relief is marked by a tendency to see Denmark in the light of a European and international development, not only emphasizing likeness with other European countries, but also drawing research questions more from the international research than from the possible specific Danish case (See e.g., Riis: 1997; Petersen: 1997; Jensen: 2004). Further, Danish research have emphasised the influence from enlightenment on the development of poor relief in the nineteenth century as a break with a possible religious foundation of poor relief (See e.g., Henningsen: 2008, 325–363).

The nineteenth century saw a rise in philanthropy all over Europe and debate of the role of the state compared with private initiatives and civil society in relation to the poor, as well as discussion of the relationship between church and state in social questions. This development was connected to secularization, democratization, and the new role of the political citizen (See e.g., Cowman/ Koefoed/Karlsson Sjögren: 2014). As pointed out by Molle, the Nordic Lutheran countries, and especially Denmark and Norway, were distinguished by a high degree of collaboration between church and state in the social questions, making the poor the responsibility of the state and the citizen. This did not mean however that philanthropy in general, or religiously-motivated poor relief, did not also play a role (Molle: 2017).

In order to understand the influence of confession, comparison might not be the answer. As pointed out by Gorski, many different factors influenced the question of the poor, and it is difficult to isolate the role of religion (Gorski: 2003, 125–137). There are, moreover, other questions we need to consider when investigating the influence of confession on poor relief and welfare systems. First and foremost, we need to know what we are investigating and discussing. What is the timeframe? Do we talk about the period around (and just after) the Reformation? Or the development of poor relief in Early Modern Europe as part of state building? Are we interested in the transition from early modern into the modern period with democratization? Or is the focus to be on twentieth-century welfare models?

Another question is what we consider to be poor relief. Many studies focus on caring for the poor in a strict sense of giving alms and food. The picture changes,

Lutheran church and the state in the early development of a strong local administration (2000). See also Petersen (2003).

11 See Gorski (2003, 114–155) for an overview of this research and its main discussions. Safley talks about the problem of generalizing the motives and aims behind early modern European poor relief (2003, 1–14, 193–199). See also Molle: 2017. For a comparative perspective, Newby and Myllyntaus: 2015, 145–65 (150–5).

however, if we include not only health care, but also education, work, and family policy, elements of many modern welfare state systems, but also of early modern poor relief. If we are interested in path dependencies and how confessional elements informed the development from early modern poor relief to modern welfare states, it might be important to include the question of responsibility. Who were responsible for the poor, theoretically and in practice? And for whom, exactly, were they responsible? It could be hypothesized, that the legislation for and organization of poor relief would be affected in the long run if the state authorities were responsible instead of the church. Likewise, confessional differences in what the responsibility consisted of may have impacted the legislation and organization of poor relief. As studies of donations have shown (Sigh: 2017), the same act could have different motivations and needs to be understood differently. This might also have been the case when we examine institutions as such poorhouses or workhouses. Does the existence of the same institutions in different territories have the same implications and influence on the development of social politics?

The contributions

This book contributes to these discussions by investigating: firstly, what the obligation to care for the poor meant in a Lutheran confessional context; secondly, how this obligation was carried out in Nordic countries, where Lutheranism became the state religion at the Reformation; and, thirdly, how the obligation transformed and developed in the nineteenth century with the modernization and democratization which produced the Nordic welfare states.

In the first article, *Johannes Bugenhagen and King Christian III in the Scandinavian Reformation*, Esther Chung-Kim examines the connection between the Wittenberg theologians and the Danish King Christian III, who implemented the Reformation and Lutheranism as the state religion in Denmark. Her focus on the correspondence between King Christian III and Johannes Bugenhagen, who came to Denmark and assisted in the drafting of the Danish Church Order, brings their collaborations – and the role played by Bugenhagen in informing the Danish Reformation – to the forefront. In Bugenhagen's vision, the Reformation included social responsibility for church, schools, and poverty alleviation. To him, theological reform included social responsibility for the poor. Specifically, he promoted the training and leadership of pastors, installed social responsibility for education by repairing university buildings, making recommendations for professors, giving lectures, and serving as rector himself. The correspondence between Bugenhagen and Christian III lasted throughout their lives and the relationship between Bugenhagen and Christian III portrays a fascinating example of the close collaboration

between reformer and ruler in early modern Europe. Under their leadership, local and national administrations were centralized.

Bugenhagen had a concrete understanding of the social responsibility as part of the Reformation and worked to implement it through his church ordinances, and his correspondence with Christian III. In his contribution, *Justification and Care: Reformation images of social responsibility*, Christian Neddens investigates the relation between justification and care for the poor through central images of justifications and ‘alms panels’. Through an exemplary selection of pictorial motifs from Lutheran alms panels of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, he shows how the core imaginary of religious existence in Lutheranism – the doctrine of justification by grace – also shaped social care. Departing from three types of justification metaphors: the encounter with Christ Crucified, the marriage motif, and the parent–child metaphor, visible in the Reformation paintings by Cranach and his contemporaries, Neddens argues that intimacy, corporeality, attentiveness, caring, and responsibility come into view here, at the heart of Lutheran faith. Furthermore, he contends that the relation between Christ and the sinner is crucial in these images – as well as the solidarity among sinners, who are equally dependent on God’s grace. These core metaphors show two crucial points: social responsibility, firstly, as motivated just in the mercy of God; and secondly, as something natural, vivid, and interpersonal, something based on the needs of those who live close to us. Neddens further demonstrates how Lutheran alms panels reflect these core motifs. At the same time, they also reflect the difficulty of wishing to motivate community members to care on the one hand, while on the other hand avoiding the resurgence of any ideas of cooperation in salvation or of meritorious good works, both of which are highly contradictory to the social imaginary of Lutheranism.

As demonstrated in Chung-Kim’s contribution, which emphasizes the role played by Bugenhagen in defining social responsibility as an element in the Reformation, the Wittenberg theology and ‘Lutheranism’, consisted of more than Martin Luther’s writings. In his contribution, *Against the Busybodies: Philipp Melanchthon and the “Protestant Work Ethic”*, David C. Fink addresses another core element of Protestantism and Lutheranism – work – through the writings of Philipp Melanchthon. He focuses on the distinctive contribution of Philipp Melanchthon to the Lutheran theology of vocation (*Beruf*) and demonstrates that theological reflection on work and the ethics of work became an important feature of Melanchthon’s work as a reformer of churches and schools. Fink argues that Melanchthon’s approach to the question differs in important respects from that of Luther, especially in his willingness to elaborate a Protestant ethical idiom drawn from the virtue ethics of the Aristotelian tradition. He shows how Melanchthon abandoned the medieval vocabulary of sloth and charity and instead developed a more fully “secular” account of work centred on the virtue of *sedulitas* as the mean between the extremes of idleness and excessive industriousness. In this way, Melanchthon’s contribution to

the formation of a Protestant work ethic may help to explain important differences between Lutheran and Reformed mentalities vis-à-vis work and the emergence of a capitalist work ethic unbounded by social or ethical norms.

Going back to the Danish case as a concrete example of the development of a Lutheran early modern poor relief, Marie Nørby Pedersen, in her chapter, *Christian relief for the poor in Early Modern Denmark*, examines how the Danish kings and their councils interpreted the state's social responsibilities towards its poorest subjects through social legislation from 1536–1708, and discusses the impact of Lutheran social teachings on Danish social policy. She shows how King Christian III incorporated care for the poor as a kingly responsibility with the Reformation. She examines how care for the poor was understood both as supporting those who were incapable of work in hospitals, through poor chests and by permitted begging in the parishes, and as educating poor children and adults in religion and work. A key proponent of social policy was to demand that everybody worked towards the common good. Pedersen argues that the Danish kings and councils saw it as their responsibility to include both the so-called 'undeserving' and 'deserving' poor, stipulating varying forms of care and discipline according to individual need and situation. Drawing on notions of parental responsibility within Lutheran social teachings, they had a responsibility to care for the needy and decent poor as well as to care and discipline the unseemly and unwilling poor.

All the nations in the modern "Nordic region" were essentially mono-confessional Lutheran kingdoms in the early modern period. In their contribution, *Piety and prayers: religion in the lives of the indoor poor in Finland, 1600–1960s*, Johanna Annola and Riikka Miettinen shift the focus of this collection from Denmark towards Finland, and from legislation and the intentions of rulers, towards the experiences and everyday life with religion in institutions housing the poor. They also expand the period of investigation from the early modern into the modern. They demonstrate how Lutheran norms and ideals prescribed by the Church and state authorities shaped everyday religious practice, creating the preconditions for religious experience within the poor relief institutions. The long period covered by their chapter entails many significant continuities and changes in the norms and practice of religion in the hospitals, poorhouses, and retirement homes. Various communal religious services, and attendant spiritual literature, were provided for the indoor poor throughout the period, while church attendance and prayers turned from mandatory to voluntary. Annola and Miettinen argue that although religious practice continued to play a major role in the lives of the poor throughout the period they investigate, the forms and number of compulsory religious observances reduced. The clerical presence and functions in the poor relief institutions diminished, and many of the religious activities previously presided over by clergy became the responsibility of the lay staff. These long-term changes reflect

the overall modernisation and secularisation of society in Finland, as well as the professionalisation of social care work over time.

Returning a Danish case study, Nina J. Koefoed, in her contribution, *Lutheran social responsibility and the early Danish welfare state*, examines Danish poor laws from the early-eighteenth century until late-nineteenth century and argues that Lutheran ideas of social responsibility established a path dependency from the early modern religiously framed poor-relief legislation to the universal principles central to the modern Danish welfare state. The first democratic constitution in 1849, that turned poor relief and education into constitutional rights and established poor relief as the responsibility of the new political citizen, is seen as an important step in this process. Koefoed argues that social responsibility towards all poor persons as a public matter – financed through public means and administered locally and according to state legislation – reflects a Lutheran heritage. This same heritage also underpinned the ambition to educate and improve the recipient of social funding, as well as the obligation to work placed on the recipient. Thus, her contribution demonstrates that central aspects of poor relief legislation, formerly seen as a result of Enlightenment, were present both in religiously legitimated legislation before the Enlightenment and were central to Lutheran theology.

In his contribution, “*Brothers of the Nordic Tribe*”. *Danish Famine Aid to Sweden and Finland 1867–68*, Andrew G. Newby explores some of the ways in which Danish philanthropy extended beyond Denmark’s own national and imperial borders in the mid-nineteenth century. Newby argues that, by extending the metaphor of the ‘Lutheran household’, these famine relief campaigns demonstrated that Lutheran philanthropy, or poor relief, was capable to extension beyond the local or national level. The 1860s have been identified as a high-water mark for voluntary philanthropy in Denmark, and Newby employs the concept of ‘psychological proximity’ to examine the incorporation of Sweden and Finland into the Danish ingroup when it came to raising emergency aid to tackle severe famines during this decade. The Copenhagen-based relief committees aimed to raise funds by demonstrating the suffering people of Sweden and Finland were ‘brothers’ of the Danes, sometimes using ideas of Christian duty, sometimes appealing to the contemporary political phenomenon of Scandinavism, and (especially in the Finnish case) by noting occasions when these neighbours had come to the aid of Denmark.

Even though the poor were understood as a public responsibility, and the church in Denmark collaborated with the state in fulfilling this obligation (and most of the time supported its policy), philanthropy and voluntary social work still played a role both in practice and in the understanding and development of poor relief. In his contribution, *Lutheran doxa and Reformed action: interconfessional influence on voluntary social work in late nineteenth-century Copenhagen*, Anders Sevelsted investigates the emergence of voluntary social work in Copenhagen during the second half of the nineteenth century as a case of interconfessional learning and

adaptation. After discussing alternative approaches to confessionalization studies and introducing the concept of confessional cultural schemas as a way of studying how practices and ideas travel between confessions, he applies it to a case study of the emergence of revivalist Lutheran voluntary social work in Denmark in the second half of the nineteenth century. Sevelsted argues that Lutheran revivalists were able to resolve the paradox of reconciling good works with the radical revivalist reading of the Lutheran *sola fide* doctrine by adopting confessional cultural schemas from Reformed revivalist traditions regarding theological doctrine, community ideals, and disciplinary techniques. He thereby points to the need to look beyond the territorial state, to study interconfessional processes of learning adaption and imitation, and to focus on similarities and differences between confessions when discussing confessionalization and confessional culture.

In the volume's final contribution, *Blind path dependencies: war and welfare in the Lutheran states*, Gorm Harste discusses the emergence of the inclusive and universal Scandinavian Welfare state, often associated with Sweden in the light of the Scandinavian countries' non-participation in the twentieth-century world wars. He goes back to the welfare policies developed among the early modern German Lutheran states and argues in a combination of a top-down and bottom-up perspective for the development of a cameral household state of Brandenburg-Prussia in East Prussia. Through imitations and synchronization, this welfare paradigm became a Lutheran forerunner for the Nordic welfare state. While early modern warfare was important for this development, Harste underlines that path dependencies of the modern Scandinavian welfare paradigm not only goes back to the Lutheran household state of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, but also are dependent on a relative welfare surplus due to the non-participation in the world wars.

The contributions in this volume enter the debate about the possible impact from specific confessions on the organization of poor relief from different perspectives. They bring new perspectives to the understanding of theological aspects of Lutheranism as connection between justification by faith alone and care for the poor, and work and work ethics, along with studies of the implementation of social responsibility of the authority towards different categories of poor ('worthy' and 'unworthy'), of local administration and centralization of poor relief through connections of public and private sources of funding, and of collaboration between state, church and civil society through different public and private aspects of poor relief. In this way the various contributions combine in an aim to demonstrate new ways in the study of connections between confessional specifics and historical developments through detailed knowledge of theology, supported by concrete historical case studies.

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Esther Chung-Kim

Johannes Bugenhagen and Christian III

Reforming Church and Society in Denmark

The aim of this study is to highlight the relationship between Wittenberg reformer, Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558), and Danish king, Christian III (1503–1559), in order to demonstrate Bugenhagen's importance for the Danish Reformation. According to Martin Schwarz Lausten, who has written extensively on the Reformation in Denmark and Christian III, Bugenhagen was a major driving force in the creation of the Danish Church Order, the coronation of the king, the ordination of the first seven Lutheran superintendents (bishops) for the Danish church, and the re-opening of the University of Copenhagen as a Lutheran university (Lausten: 2005, 126f).¹ Their first meeting at the Flensburger Disputation in 1529, Christian's recruitment of Bugenhagen's services from 1537–1539, and their letters from the year Christian III became king in 1536 to the end of Bugenhagen's life in 1558 show a collaborative relationship to remodel church organization, to promote the training and leadership of pastors, and to inculcate social responsibility for education and poor relief in Denmark. While several in-depth studies have brought Bugenhagen's talent as a reformer to light, and his role in the formation of the Danish church order is well-recorded, one area that deserves further attention is his letter exchange with Christian III, especially since it lasted over 20 years. An analysis of these letters highlights an important dynamic of the Reformation, namely that the relationship between reformers and political rulers mattered for long-term social change. The letters of Bugenhagen and Christian III revealed that Bugenhagen's imprint was not only through the Danish church order, but also through his advocacy to pull pastors and teachers out of poverty and his training and mentorship of many future Danish leaders, educated in Wittenberg and supported by the financial aid of the king. It is also notable that Bugenhagen presumed that theological reform would include a form of social responsibility for the poor; this aspect was visible from his earliest church order of the city of Braunschweig (1528). Provisions for the pastors and students were central, not only because they were two major groups of

1 Prior to the national Reformation of Denmark, Protestant interest was evident in the popularity of preaching, the critique of wealthy Roman institutions benefitting nobles and bishops, and the assemblies in Odense between 1526 and 1527 under Fredrik I that granted rights to Lutheran parishes and evangelical preachers (Lausten: 1990, 91–107).

people facing poverty but because they were crucial for the longevity of the Danish Reformation through their leadership in churches, schools, and the university.

1. Reform of Duchy to Reform of Kingdom

When Christian married the evangelical Dorothea of Saxony-Lauenburg in 1526, he received the small fief of Haderslev/Tørning, consisting of approximately sixty parishes. Inspired by the Diet of Speyer in Germany in 1526, which opened the possibility for all territorial rulers in Germany to order their own church affairs, Duke Christian (son of King Frederik I of Denmark) sought to establish a princely, Lutheran territorial church in his small duchy in Schleswig-Holstein, similar to the larger territorial churches in Germany. Assisted by German evangelical theologians, he set up a school for evangelical ministers in Haderslev to recruit new pastors for the evangelical ministry and to retrain the local Catholic priests. By the end of 1527, evangelical ministers had taken over most of the parish churches in the towns of Schleswig-Holstein, including the key cities of Flensburg, Haderslev, Kiel, and Schleswig (Grell: 1998, 101). In spring 1528 at the synod of the clergy of his newly acquired fief of Haderslev/Tørning, Duke Christian introduced the Haderslev Ordinance, which gave firm instructions on how the Lutheran faith should be preached, what ceremonies should be used, how the clergy were to live, and how the church should be organized. As the first evangelical Church Ordinance in Scandinavia, it depended heavily on the Wittenberg reformers and the guidance of his newly recruited evangelical ministers (Lausten: 1995, 15f).

In Denmark, King Frederik I officially presented a neutral position on religious affairs, but occasionally revealed his sympathy for the evangelical cause. During Frederik I's reign, Protestant preachers introduced the Reformation in most major towns in Denmark (*ibid.*, 19). Because these preachers linked their evangelical theology with the call for social reform, they urged the reorganization of education and poor relief, including health care (*ibid.*, 26f). This reorganization meant that the income from the formerly Catholic property should continue to be used for the church, albeit a new church, namely for the financial support of evangelical bishops and ministers, schools, and hospitals. When Frederik I died on April 10, 1533, the Catholic bishops and the Catholic majority in the nobility delayed the election of a new successor and temporarily ruled the Parliament (*Herredag*). However, a rebellion in the name of the former yet recently imprisoned king, Christian II, soon led to a civil war. The aristocracy and some of the bishops elected Frederik I's eldest son, the Lutheran Duke Christian from Haderslev, to protect their interests, and, in July 1534, they hailed him as King Christian III of Denmark after he had guaranteed the lay aristocracy their privileges (Lausten: 2005, 125).

When Christian III emerged victorious in the civil war by defeating his opponents on August 6, 1536, he imprisoned all the Catholic bishops and held them responsible for the war's devastation. At the Parliament in October 1536, Christian III explained his plan for a religious change from Catholicism to Lutheranism. Since this gathering in Copenhagen included representatives from all the estates, they expressed their decisions in the parliamentary bill of October 30, 1536. Evangelical bishops, also called superintendents, replaced the Catholic bishops and had the main task of teaching and preaching the word of God and the Christian faith to the people (Lausten: 1995, 31). Seeking validation from the theologians, Christian III requested Luther's assessment of his imprisonment of the Catholic bishops. In a letter dated Dec. 2, 1536, Luther gave his support to Christian III based on the relationship between spiritual and temporal government and the responsibility of the ruler "to halt persecution of the word of God." (Luther: 1937, 602ff). Luther also advised the king to use the sequestered property of the bishops to support the fledging evangelical churches. Luther did not support the enrichment of rulers but rather sought continuity in the support for the churches with the key difference of royal support switching from former Catholic institutions to new Lutheran ones. Luther's colleague and friend, Johannes Bugenhagen would go to Denmark and organize a plan for these new churches and schools. Like Luther, he would repeatedly press for church resources to be earmarked for instituting church reform. By September 1537, the coronation and anointing of the royal couple in a Protestant ceremony conducted by Johannes Bugenhagen, Christian III's signing of the new Lutheran Church ordinance, Bugenhagen's ordination of seven new Lutheran bishops or superintendents, and the reopening of the University of Copenhagen as a Lutheran university marked the creation of a state-sponsored Lutheran Church in Denmark (Lausten: 2005, 32).

Christian III started his political rule from a small-scale duchy and expanded it to encompass a kingdom where he would rule as king of Denmark-Norway and its acquired territories. At his crowning, he expressed that the authority came from God for him to rule the church in his land (Lausten: 1984, 151). He amassed the power and money of the former ecclesiastical institutions, their jurisdiction and disciplinary executive power, and the authority to monitor theological writings and the installation of prayer days (*ibid.*, 163). Hence, Christian III became involved in the decisions regarding the fate of the churches in his territories. Unlike in Germany, the combination of political ambition and religious power coalesced in the person of the king in Denmark. The combination of the ousted king Christian II, Frederik I's permissiveness of evangelical preachers, and the victory of Christian III in the civil war enabled Christian III to centralize his authority and to merge the goal of establishing his kingly reign with the goals of the Reformation in Denmark. Despite the limited use of confiscated church property for clerical salaries, Christian III expressed a great personal responsibility for the Lutheran church in Denmark

and saw himself as the father of the superintendents (Lausten: 2002, 118ff). As an advisor to the king regarding the Lutheran reform movement, Bugenhagen encouraged the king to support a lasting Reformation in Denmark.

2. Cooperation between Bugenhagen and King Christian III

In 1537 when Bugenhagen ordained the superintendents of the church to oversee the national ecclesiastical system, they became direct representatives of the King (Lorentzen: 2008, 38). This break with Rome meant that the new Protestant church would be a part of the state, both legally and economically (Grell/Lyby: 1995, 115). With this decision, Christian III needed capable Lutheran ministers to implement the reform. Many of his letters contained invitations to Lutheran ministers to fill vacant bishoprics and to assist him in the religious reform of his country. During the early years of the Reformation, the scarcity of educated pastors meant either recruiting from outside of Denmark or sending local students abroad to get a master's degree in preparation for an important post in the church (Grane: 1990, 165). Wittenberg became one of the main destinations for Danish students, often supported financially by the king and under the care, training, and mentorship of Melancthon or Bugenhagen (*ibid.*, 171). As a result, Bugenhagen was in a position to recommend qualified candidates to become teachers, ministers, professors, court chaplains, or superintendents (bishops) in Denmark.

Although King Christian had invited Bugenhagen to Denmark in August 1536, Elector John Frederick only agreed to Christian's second request on April 17, 1537. Along with family members and assistants, including Peder Palladius and Tilemann Heshusen, Bugenhagen arrived in Copenhagen on July 5, 1537. What started out as a five-month leave of absence would turn into a nearly two-year stint of reforming the church and university in Denmark. The cooperation between ruler and reformer emerged from their shared commitment to the Reformation gospel as the basis for church reform (Leder: 2002, 430). Hence, Bugenhagen fully expected to work in collaboration with the existing political leadership.

Bugenhagen saw at firsthand King Christian III's conviction as a determined Lutheran ruler who studied Lutheran books to be well-informed about theological matters. In the king's letters to Bugenhagen and other Wittenberg reformers, a common request was for books that had the Wittenberg reformers' seal of approval (Bugenhagen: 1888, 283). Based on his experience of reform in other places, Bugenhagen believed that the success of the Reformation largely depended on the combination of such a conviction with political authority (Leder: 2002, 367f). Like most Lutheran reformers, Bugenhagen accepted the opinion that the duty of the secular government is to establish and maintain true religion because it promoted public peace and order. The king's responsibility was to secure the continuous prac-

tice of all ecclesiastical functions (Grell/Lyby: 1995, 116). In the implementation of religious reform, Bugenhagen emphasized the responsibility of the state to care for churches and schools, its employees, and the poor. Bugenhagen's 1536 letter emphasized and encouraged the king to have reserves earmarked for supporting churches, their ministries, and the social welfare programs (Bugenhagen: 1888, 142f). With the expectation that Christian III would be a good ruler, Bugenhagen included in all his letters to Christian a pastoral prayer of intercession to God for the king, his family, his country and his people, while the king requested intercession for himself as well as his family, country, and people. Each wanted the other to succeed.

The king centralized much of the former ecclesial resources of the Catholic Church into the crown's treasury for the sake of establishing a national Lutheran Church. In the process, the king became the head of the church, making its ministers and pastors accountable to the monarch. This arrangement worked smoothly as long as the king's agenda for the church aligned with the ministers' goals. While the preachers and professors provided the religious rationale and organizational support for reform, the king appointed pastors to parishes and sometimes professors to university positions. Cooperation between reformer and ruler led to a mutual validation of each other's authority on both spiritual and earthly matters. Bugenhagen provided religious rationale for the king's authority from the Bible, specifically from the Israelite kings. The king took on the responsibility for the people's well-being when God made him king over the people. This responsibility extended to physical as well as spiritual needs, including the people's salvation. This dual responsibility meant that the king was a secular-religious ruler. While Bugenhagen upheld the king's authority as worldly power given by God, the king approved of Bugenhagen's reforming work as acting head superintendent. In this way, both strengthened each other's position (Lausten: 1984, 154).

2.1 To the Pomeranian Bacon Eater: Letters between Bugenhagen and Christian III

The long trail of letters between Bugenhagen and Christian III formed the basis of their long-term relationship, bolstered by their face-to-face meetings. Some of the light-hearted comments in their letter exchange revealed their personal jokes and demonstrated that a friendly rapport had been established during their time together. For example, aware of Bugenhagen's taste for high quality bacon, King Christian referred to Bugenhagen as the "old Pomeranian and bacon eater" (Bugenhagen: 1888, 228). While they were not equal partners and Christian III did not follow all of Bugenhagen's suggestions, they developed a close working relationship that indicated a mutual concern for one another. Their years of collaboration