

Nina J. Koefoed / Bo Kristian Holm (eds.)

# Reformation and Everyday Life



Academic Studies

100



# Refo500 Academic Studies

Edited by  
Herman J. Selderhuis

In co-operation with  
Christopher B. Brown (Boston), Günter Frank (Bretten),  
Barbara Mahlmann-Bauer (Bern), Tarald Rasmussen (Oslo),  
Violet Soen (Leuven), Zsombor Tóth (Budapest),  
Günther Wassilowsky (Berlin), Siegrid Westphal (Osnabrück).

Volume 100

**REFORC** CONNECTING  
ACADEMICS

Nina J. Koefoed / Bo Kristian Holm (eds.)

# Reformation and Everyday Life

VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek:  
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;  
detailed bibliographic data available online: <https://dnb.de>.

© 2024 by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Robert-Bosch-Breite 10, 37079 Göttingen, Germany,  
an imprint of the Brill-Group (Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands;  
Brill USA Inc., Boston MA, USA; Brill Asia Pte Ltd, Singapore; Brill Deutschland GmbH,  
Paderborn, Germany; Brill Österreich GmbH, Vienna, Austria)  
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink,  
Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means,  
electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and  
retrieval system, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Cover design: SchwabScantechnik, Göttingen  
Typesetting: le-tex publishing services, Leipzig

**Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | [www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com](http://www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com)**

ISSN 2197-0165  
ISBN 978-3-647-57355-7

## Acknowledgements

The work presented here marks the conclusion of a multi-year interdisciplinary collaborative research project on Lutheranism and societal development in Denmark, which began as part of the national commemoration of the Reformation in 2017, led by Associate Professor Nina J. Koefoed. We would like to thank the Danish National Research Foundation for funding this project. Our findings on the Danish material inspired us to look beyond the Danish borders at the final conference, which was originally to be held as the 10th international REFORC conference in 2020, with substantial funding from the Carlsberg Research Foundation. Unfortunately, the original conference plan had to be cancelled due to the pandemic, and the postponed conference, which took place from 30 May to 2 June 2021, was held virtually on Zoom. However, we are very grateful to the Carlsberg Foundation for their willingness to support the conference and to the Faculty of Arts, Aarhus University, for their expertise in organising online conferences.

We would also like to thank the School of Culture and Society for supporting our research group by granting LUMEN, *Center for the Study of Lutheran Theology and Confessional Societies*, institutional centre status since 2017.

Finally, we would like to thank Aarhus University Research Foundation for financial support to this volume, Karla Boersma, Director of Operations at REFORC, for her support in the process, and Director Prof. Dr. Herman Selderhuis and the Editorial Board of the Refo500 Academic for accepting the book in the series and for choosing this volume as volume no. 100.

Bo Kristian Holm      Nina Javette Koefoed  
June 30, 2023



## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ..... 5

*Bo Kristian Holm, Nina Koefoed*

Reformation and Everyday Life: an Introduction..... 9

### Part I: Religious Formation of Everyday Life

*Lee Palmer Wandel*

The Reformation of Time ..... 31

*Jette Bendixen Rønkilde*

Teaching, Learning, and Living the Sacraments: an Examination of  
Pontoppidan's Catechism ..... 55

*Päivi Räisänen-Schröder*

Lived Religion and Anabaptism: Considerations for Future Research ..... 69

*Jakub Koryl*

What Did Luther Want to Hear? Introducing the Aural History of  
the Reformation ..... 87

*Bonnie Noble*

Interrupted Illusions in Dürer's *Melencolia I* ..... 115

### Part II: Reformation and the household

*Kirsi Stjerna*

Confessing with Courage and Conviction: Women and  
the European Reformations..... 145

*Per Seesko-Tønnesen*

The Lutheran Household at Long Range: Obligation and Devotion  
in Instructions for Noble Travellers from Denmark c. 1580–1660..... 165



*Paolo Astorri, Lars Cyril Nørgaard*

A Little Republic: The Conceptualisation of the Household

According to Henning Arnisaeus ..... 195

*Mette M. Ahlefeldt-Laurvig*

“Lying without the Church”: Women, Churching and Everyday Life

in Early Modern Denmark ..... 221

### **Part III: Negotiating Religion in Everyday Life**

*Martin Berntson*

Reformation and Resistance in Everyday Life and Piety ..... 247

*Aleksandra Matczyńska*

The Dispute over an Epitaph: Remarks on the Commemorative

Function of Female Artistic Patronage in late Sixteenth-Century Silesia ..... 269

*Mattias Sommer Bostrup*

Experiencing the Religious Other on Nordstrand, c. 1650–1700 ..... 287

*Sini Mikkola*

“They Cling to Christian freedom”: Martin Luther, Religious

Women, and the Defence of Contemplative Life ..... 311

Index ..... 329

Notes on Contributors ..... 339

Bo Kristian Holm, Nina Koefoed

## Reformation and Everyday Life: an Introduction

### The Reformation of Everyday Life

Everyday life is an aspect of all human cultures. Parents and children, work and care – these are everywhere. It is in the everyday life of families that religion is lived and traditions are passed on to the next generation. And it is in everyday life that theological core figures are transformed into social imaginaries that guide human life in different ways.<sup>1</sup> It was through everyday life that people in Early Modern European societies felt, dealt with, integrated, or resisted the changes that the Reformation brought with it.

This volume focuses on the relationship between the Reformation and everyday life in a number of different contexts. The aim is not to provide a comprehensive overview, but rather to raise the question of the benefits to scholarship of focusing on the religious formation of everyday life.<sup>2</sup> The background is a REFORC conference held in Aarhus in May 2021 as the final conference of a multi-year collaborative

---

1 Cf. B.K. Holm, “Theologisch-soziale Formationen der lutherischen Wirkungsgeschichte”, in H. Assel/ J.A. Steiger/A.E. Walter (ed.), *Reformatio Baltica. Kulturwirkungen der Reformation in den Metropolen des Ostseeraums* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2017) 921–32; B.K. Holm, “Dynamic Tensions in the Social Imaginaries of the Lutheran Reformation”, in: B.K. Holm/N.J. Koefoed (ed.), *Lutheran Theology and the Shaping of Society: The Danish Monarchy as Example* (Refo 500 Academic Studies 33; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018) 85–106; S.E. Mathiasen Stopa “‘Honor your father and mother’ The Influence of Honor on Martin Luther’s Conception of Society”, in Holm/Koefoed (ed.), *Lutheran Theology and the Shaping of Society*, 107–28; N.J. Koefoed, “Authorities who care: The Lutheran Doctrine of the Three Estates in Danish Legal Development from the Reformation to Absolutism”, *Scandinavian Journal of History* 44 (2019) 430–453; Chr. Neddens, “Justification and Care. Reformation Images of Social Responsibility”, in N.J. Koefoed/A.G. Newby, *Lutheranism and Social Responsibility* (Refo 500 Academic Studies 82; Göttingen: Vandehoeck & Ruprecht, 2022) 47–82.

2 This is in continuance of a strong tradition within Early Modern cultural history of the household, see e. g. L. Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford Studies in Social History. Oxford: Clarendon, 1989); S. Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Studies in Cultural History; Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1983); M. Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); M. R. Forster/B.J. Kaplan *Piety and Family in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Steven Ozment* (St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); J. Doran/C. Methuen/ A. Walsham (ed.), “Religion and the Household”, *Church History and Religious Culture* 95, no. 2–3 (2015); C.R. Langley, *Cultures of Care: Domestic Welfare, Discipline and the Church of Scotland*,

research project, “Lutheranism and Social Development in Denmark”, funded by the Danish National Research Foundation. In the course of this work, we came to acknowledge the extent to which a focus on everyday life not only provides a unique insight into specific examples of how religion affects society and culture, but supports larger claims about the impact of religion on society in general. Against this background, the conference invited Early Modern scholars from different disciplines and with expertise on different countries and confessions to discuss the relationship between the Reformation and everyday life. The aim was to explore how religion was lived out in everyday life in the aftermath of the Reformation, and how we methodically can trace changes in material culture, emotions, social structures, and cultures that might be linked to the Reformation and the development of confessional cultures.

The European Reformation brought about major changes in theology, religion, and everyday life. In several countries, some of these changes were immediate and visible: monasteries were dissolved, new liturgies were introduced, and married pastors were ordained (and ordained pastors married); others were less evident. The position of the church in society changed dramatically, both theologically and practically, but in different ways according to denomination and political differences. These confessional differences are especially detectable in the relation between church and temporal authority, in the distribution of responsibility between temporal and worldly authorities, and in the social imaginaries forming interpersonal expectations in society, both vertically and horizontally. Broadly speaking, the Catholic Church maintained secular power and jurisdiction alongside the temporal rulers, and the Reformed Church had jurisdiction and autonomy in moral issues, while Lutheran churches were completely subjected to the authority of the temporal ruler with no independent jurisdiction. While the Catholic Church held in high esteem the isolated life of the monastics to the honour of God, Luther argued that the pious – and good – life should be lived in the household and to the benefit of one’s neighbour.<sup>3</sup> These differences propelled religion into becoming a part of everyday life in different ways and with different implications, as explored in the contributions to this volume.

The Lutheran Reformation in Wittenberg began as a religious struggle among individuals, but quickly grew into a comprehensive transformation not only of religious life, but of society. At first, there was minimal impact on the organisational

---

c. 1600–1689 (St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History; Leiden: Brill, 2020); K. Barclay, *Caritas: Neighbourly Love and the Early Modern Self* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).

3 See Luther’s understanding of the Christian life in the three estates in M. Luther, “Vom Abendmahl Christi. Bekenntnis, 1528”, WA 26: 504–5, and his Table of duties in the Small Catechism, M. Luther, “Der kleine Katechismus, 1529”, WA 30 I, 326–40.

level: the temporal hierarchies remained intact. In this respect, a certain conservatism can be seen in the worldview of the Lutheran Reformation, underlined by Luther's support for temporal authority in the Peasants' War. However, the idea of how authority was exercised within the existing hierarchies was changing. This change can be seen at all levels of society, though not in a unanimous way. John Witte Jr. has shown how key ideas of the Reformation differed in their impact on both authoritarian and egalitarian societal developments.<sup>4</sup>

As the Reformation in Wittenberg proceeded, the increasing importance of everyday life became ever clearer. It was communicated in the catechisms and in the understanding of the decalogue; it was embedded in the understanding of all societal functions as a divine call. The Reformation rapidly changed the view on where the Christian life was to be lived. The monastic life, though it did not disappear at once, as Sini Mikkola shows in this volume, was no longer seen as an ideal. Rather, the ideal Christian life was the life lived in the vocations of everyday life and of societal functions. Holiness became, so to speak, a worldly affair (as exemplified in Luther's own attempt to distinguish between *selig* [being saved] and *heilig* [being holy] in the final Confession in *Confession concerning Christ's Supper* from 1528). The impact of the Reformation on everyday life was not only in the disappearance of the monasteries and monastic vows; it contained the potential for a new understanding and therefore a new legitimation for worldly life and its social structures, a new emphasis on and formation of the expectations of the individual's social role (as set out in Luther's Table of Duties). Our studies have shown that once everyday life becomes a vital part of the imaginary of the good Christian life, and once secular authority is given a religious responsibility for ensuring the good Christian life among its subjects, then the responsibility of the secular authority reaches deep into everyday life.<sup>5</sup>

The influences of these theological, liturgical, and organisational changes on everyday life have been studied from various perspectives, but have often focused on social disciplining, on political levels, and on similarities across Europe rather than differences between confessions.<sup>6</sup> More recently, new theoretical positions within various fields of historical study combined with strong interdisciplinary approaches

4 Cf. J. Witte Jr., *Law and Protestantism: The Legal Teachings of the Lutheran Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); N.J. Koefoed/B.K. Holm (ed.), *Pligt og opsorg – velfærdsstatens luthersk rødder* (Copenhagen: Gads Forlag, 2021); B.K. Holm, "God's Caring Vice-Regent: The Lutheran Transformation of the Senecan Ideal of the Benevolent Monarch as the Basis of Absolutism and Social Responsibility", *Toronto Journal of Theology* 37 (2021) 135–46.

5 See e. g. K.H. Jansson/N.J. Koefoed, "Mapping the Household State: Treatment of Disobedient Children in Early Modern Denmark and Sweden", *Journal of Family History*, 48, 1 (2023), 30–46.

6 For an introduction to this discussion see P.S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).

now make it timely to revisit the larger questions of how the changes brought by the Reformation within all confessional culture across Europe influenced everyday lives for ordinary people within the church and within society. In the 1980s, the theory of confessionalisation wrote religion into the study of Early Modern European state-building by emphasising the way in which religion functioned as a power tool across Reformation, Counterreformation, and confessional lines.<sup>7</sup> In the same period, historians began to include magic and popular belief in the growing field of history from below.<sup>8</sup> Both these historiographical trends understood official religion in the Early Modern era as a power tool of the political elite. They focused on the social disciplining aspect of religion, or popular resistance to religion and popular opposition to religious changes. In response, church historians critiquing the sociological and functional understanding of religion represented in the concept of confessionalisation introduced the concept of confessional culture, arguing that confessional-specific elements must be included in the study of the impact of religion upon society.<sup>9</sup> Within the frame of cultural history, historians now include material culture, memorial culture, devotional culture, and cultures of learning and experience in their study of Early Modern religion.<sup>10</sup> Currently, the concept of lived

7 See e. g. W. Reinhard, "Konfession und Konfessionalisierung in Europa", W. Reinhard (ed.), *Bekanntnis Und Geschichte: Die Confessio Augustana im historischen Zusammenhang* (München: Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultäten der Universität Augsburg, 1981); H. Schilling, *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung: Eine Fallstudie über das Verhältnis von Religiösem und sozialem Wandel in der Frühneuzeit am Beispiel der Grafschaft Lippe*, (Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte vol. 48, Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1981); W. Reinhard, "Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des Konfessionellen Zeitalters", *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 10 (1983); W. Reinhard/H. Schilling (ed.), *Die Katholische Konfessionalisierung* (Gütersloh: Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, 1993).

8 See e. g. C. Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms. The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Routledge, 1980) (First published in Italian: *Il formaggio e i vermi*. Einaudi, 1976); N.Z. Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1984); R.W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

9 Kaufmann defines culture and the field of inquiry relating to the impact of confession as "the social and cultural lifeworld" ("gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Lebenswelt"), Th. Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg und Westfälischer Friede* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 7. See also Th. Kaufmann, „What is Lutheran Confessional Culture?“, in P. Ingesman (ed.), *Religion as an Agent of Change: Crusades – Reformation – Pietism* (Brill's Series in Church History and Religious Culture; Leiden/ Boston: Brill, 2016) 127–48.

10 It is not possible to give a comprehensive overview over this vast field here. See however e. g. T. Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (London: Paul Mellon Centre/Yale University Press, 2011); A. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Peter Marshall, *Invisible Worlds: Death, Religion and the Supernatural in England, 1500–1700* (London: SPCK, 2017); A. Walsham/B. Cummings/C. Law/ B. Wallance (ed.) *Memory and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); S. Katajala-Peltomaa/R.M. Toivo (ed.),

religion seems to frame studies of how specific religious ideas and denominations were interpreted, practised and negotiated.<sup>11</sup> Several of the contributions in this volume are studies of Reformation and everyday life as lived religion, with people as central agents in the doing of religion in different aspects of life.

## Studying the Impact of the Reformation in Denmark

Our research project “Lutheranism and Societal Development in Denmark” was an interdisciplinary effort drawing on theology, history, and political science to find ways to identify often-hidden traces of Lutheran influence on worldviews, culture, and society in Denmark. Focusing on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we wanted to bridge the gap between traditional Reformation research, which even when talking about the long Reformation has mostly limited itself to the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,<sup>12</sup> and studies of welfare state systems and their possible connection to the Reformation, studies that tend to focus exclusively on the twentieth century.<sup>13</sup> We wanted to detect the path-dependencies of societal development during the centuries separating the Reformation from the welfare state. In so doing, we wanted to address how the very visible presence of religion in all aspects of Early Modern society transformed into the norms, values and politics that are understood as secular in modern society.

One of the premises for the project was that to understand the differences Lutheranism may have made on society, we needed to take the core theological elements of Lutheran theology seriously: that any possible impact on society ought to be examined bearing in mind the theological differences that the Reformation

---

*Histories of Experience in the World of Lived Religion* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022); B. Juska-Bacher/M.O. Grenby/ T.Laine/W. Sroka, *Learning to Read, Learning Religion. Catechism primers in Europe from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2023).

- 11 See Räisänen-Schröder’s contribution to this volume for an introduction to research into Lived Religion.
- 12 The impact from religion on European history in a longer perspective has been explored e.g. in the four volume series *Dynamics of Religious Reform in Northern Europe, 1780–1920*: K. Robbins (ed.) *Political and Legal Perspectives*, vol. 1 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010); J.v. Eijnatten/P. Yates (ed.), *The Churches*, vol. 2 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010); A. Jarlert (ed.), *Piety and Modernity*, vol. 3 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012); L.v. Molle (ed.), *Charity and Social Welfare*, vol. 4 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2017).
- 13 S. Kahl, “The Religious Roots of Modern Poverty Policy: Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed Protestant Traditions Compared”, *European Journal of Sociology* 46 (2006), 191–126; P. Markkola/I. Naumann (ed.), “Lutheranism and the Nordic Welfare States in Comparison”, *Journal of Church and State*. Special Issue, 56,1 (2014), 1–12; R. Nelson, *Lutheranism and the Nordic Spirit of Social Democracy: a different Protestant ethic* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2017).

made. We approached Lutheran theology as a social theory or a social worldview, focusing our interest on the configuration of the God–human relationship (establishing the human as sinful recipient and God as merciful giver). We aimed to do this by investigating the influence of the God–human relationship on Danish culture through conceptions of authority and of the individual’s responsibilities to family, society, and government. The background to the investigation was our curiosity about whether, in train with the changing human relationship to God, the understandings and responsibilities of the authority representing God also changed and whether human relations to that authority changed – and how this affected authority and social responsibility in the long run. Our point of departure was the understanding of confession that is embedded in the concept of confessional culture: that is to say, not only of confession as containing typical core theological elements, a specific anthropology, and a social theory, but also of confession as interaction, conflict, ambivalence, adaptation, changeability, and diversity. The project ambition was to broaden out this perspective on culture so as to include society in the broadest sense, as well as secular spheres and institutions. This ambition led us to revisit many of the sources used within the perspective of confessionalisation – legislation, documents relating to church discipline, and court cases.

One implication of Luther’s model for society is that all social relations were understood as built on the Fourth Commandment, *to honour your father and mother*, and that this injunction was understood as a reciprocal relationship involving duties both of obedience and of authority. Central to the project is that we have attempted to investigate whether and how these reciprocal duties were built into social relations in household and society, and how they were formulated, developed, legitimised, and institutionalised. A central theme in the project was the duty to provide and take care of the poor, the sick and the old, because this was a central societal obligation that was lifted from the church in the Reformation and placed on state and household authorities. The practical implications of the Reformation were thus a further background against which the project was designed.<sup>14</sup>

The Lutheran models for authority are central to understanding the impact of religion on everyday life in the Danish cultural context – to understanding how authority was understood, used, transformed, developed, and implemented in the various practical settings. Both Melanchthon and Luther used family metaphors to explain the renewed relationship to God in the justification of the sinner; both understood temporal authority as the divine instrument for taking care of societal order and welfare. The political thinking of the Reformation fused the understanding of the benevolent father in heaven and the temporal ruler as *pater patriae* (also known in Roman social philosophy) with the Biblical imagery of the wise king and

---

14 Koefoed/Holm, *Pligt og omsorg*.

the ideal father/parent. The Fourth Commandment was understood as the *general* commandment – binding not only on all subjects, but also on all authority, thereby relating authority and subjects in a web of reciprocal obligations.<sup>15</sup>

The Lutheran interpretation of the relationship between authority and subjects was continuously, but to various degrees, formed by the relation between God and human being in law and gospel. In this sense, the Reformation reshaped already existing ideas of political authority into new patterns of societal organisation. One of the important developments was Luther's and Melancthon's integration of political ideas from Stoic philosophy, especially from Seneca, into their own political theology and social ethics. These were ideas that were widespread in the humanistic background culture of the Reformation age. Our research has shown how this conjunction of Stoic humanistic ideas and Biblical imagery had two major consequences: first in forming the background for a positive attitude towards absolutism in Denmark, and second in supporting the ideals of social responsibility that can be traced in Danish royal policymaking. We therefore argue that Denmark can be understood as a confessional society formed, to a large extent, by Lutheran social imaginaries.<sup>16</sup>

Both the understanding and the role of political and ecclesial authority in a Lutheran confessional society were deeply related to Luther's complex understanding of the human being as both a sinner and as righteous through faith. This tension led him to underline the need for hierarchy and subjection, but at the same time to encourage a culture of trust and mutual obligation between subjects and authorities.<sup>17</sup> These elements of Luther's theology and social teaching were especially influential in Denmark in the age of pietism and as late as the early nineteenth century. They are very visible in works by two of the most influential theologians on practical piety in Denmark: by Erik Pontoppidan in his 1737 textbook explicating Martin Luther's Small Catechism, *Truth unto Godliness*, and in the nineteenth century by N.F.S. Grundtvig.<sup>18</sup> Through the prism of these writings, widely read

---

15 B. K. Holm, "Luther, Seneca, and Benevolence in both Creation and Government, in: P. Kärkkäinen and O.-P. Vainio (ed.), *Apprehending Love: Theological and Philosophical Inquiries* (Helsinki: Luther-Agricola-Society, 2019) 287–312.

16 Holm, "God's Caring Vice-Regent".

17 S.E. Mathiasen Stopa, "'Through Sin Nature has lost its Confidence in God' – Sin and Trust as Formative Elements of Luther's Conception of Society", *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 5 (2018) 151–71.

18 S.E. Mathiasen Stopa, "A communion of saints? - Reincorporating sinners into the created order of 18th century Denmark through catechetical practice", *Pietismus und Neuzeit: Ein Jahrbuch zur Geschichte des neueren Protestantismus 45 – 2019* (Göttingen Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021) 84–116; S.E. Mathiasen Stopa, "Den tillidsvækkende Grundtvig: Kærlig tillid som danskernes arvelige kendemærke", in L.K. Martinsen (ed.), *Den store mand: Nye fortællinger om Grundtvig* (Copenhagen: GAD, 2022).



and used in Denmark, our project has investigated childhood education and how Danes were taught to imagine their social existence: that is, taught how to relate to authority, take on social responsibility and understand themselves as human beings in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A central contribution has been an examination of how the subjects of the absolute king were taught to trust in authority as they trusted in God, understanding faith as trust.<sup>19</sup>

Through bringing the project's two complementary bases into focus – through examining the theological content of Luther's concept of authority and its impact on Danish society through its legitimization of the absolute king, and through exploring the education of the king's subjects through state-authorised catechisms and legislation – we investigated how the meaning of authority and the understandings of social responsibility and reciprocal duty were developed, explained, and legitimised at the household level in society. Our work on legislation and court cases has shown how the Fourth Commandment was central in the regulation of the household, defining not only the obligations of children and subjects, but also parental duties and obligations.<sup>20</sup> In examining the collaboration between household and state in upholding the Christian household according to the Fourth Commandment, we have shown that the parental duty to bring up children with school and honest work and the marital duties to care for the welfare of the household were at the centre of interactions between household and state. Failing to fulfil these Christian duties legitimated church and state to intervene in the household.<sup>21</sup>

Luther's doctrine of the two regiments has often been used as a vehicle to explore the impact of his theology on society.<sup>22</sup> His doctrine of the three estates has been

---

19 S.E. Mathiasen Stopa SE 2020, "Trusting in God and His Earthly Masks: Exploring the Lutheran Roots of Scandinavian High-Trust Culture", *Journal of Historical Sociology* 33 (2020) 456–72.

20 Cf. N.J. Koefoed, "Regulating Eighteenth-Century Households: Offences Against the Fourth and the Sixth Commandments as Criminal Behaviour", in T. Krogh/L. Nyholm Kallestrup/ C. Bundgård Christensen (ed.), *Cultural Histories of Crime in Denmark 1500–2000* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 57–74; N.J. Koefoed, "The Lutheran Household as part of Danish Confessional Culture", in B.K. Holm/N.J. Koefoed (ed.), *Lutheran Theology and the shaping of society: The Danish Monarchy as Example*, (Refo 500 Academic Studies 33; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 321–340.

21 Cf. N.J. Koefoed, "I Trust You with My Child: Parental Attitudes to Local Authorities in Cases of Disobedient Children in 18<sup>th</sup> Century Denmark", *Journal of Historical Sociology* 33,4 (2020) 489–504; N.J. Koefoed, "Negotiating Memory and Restoring Identity in Broken Families in Eighteenth-century Denmark", *Journal of Family History* 46,1 (2021) 30–45; N.J. Koefoed, "Households and state-building in early modern Denmark: A disobedient child", in K. Dørum/M. Hallenberg/K. Katajala (ed.), *Bringing the People Back in: State Building from Below in the Nordic Countries, ca. 1500–1800* (London/New York: Routledge, 2021), 165–213.

22 Cf. W.D.J. Cargill Thompseon, *The Political Thought of Martin Luther* (Totaa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble, 1970); P. Frostin, *Luther's Two Kingdoms Doctrine: A Critical Study* (Studia Theologica Lundensi 49; Lund: Lund University Press, 1994). More recently, see e.g. J. Knuutila, "Lutheran Culture as an Ideological Revolution in Finland from 16th Century up to the beginning of the 21st Century:

given less importance, even though there are clear indications in the legislative records that ideas of the three estates lay behind the structure of eighteenth-century Danish society.<sup>23</sup> One implication of the doctrine of the three estates is a synchronisation of expectations about authority and views of its responsibilities across the three estates of household, church and state. We also argue that in the Nordic societies, a specific work ethic built social cohesion between household and state that was different from ideas found in Reformed and in Catholic countries. Luther understood all the commandments as an instruction to do good work towards one's neighbour; as part of this, the Lutheran work ethic builds on the duty to work *for the benefit of society and one's neighbour*, and thus on the Seventh commandment, *not to steal*. We have also demonstrated how Lutheran understanding of the organisation of society reflected the understanding of the Lord's Supper. Lutheranism is thus situated as a particular type of organisation between Catholic centralism and Reformed decentralisation. In this perspective, Lutheran confessional culture created the foundation for a different kind of work ethic and societal organisation to that formulated by Max Weber.<sup>24</sup>

The project examined the organisation of welfare and education, not only as central elements in Early Modern state-building, but also as closely connected to the possibility to organise war and other functions traditionally seen as prerequisites for state-building.<sup>25</sup> The organisation, justification, institutionalisation and practical implementation of responsibility for the poor, the sick, and the old constituted a major aspect of the confessional impact on society, both at the macro level on societal development and at the micro level on individuals' everyday lives. A central contribution to the project was made through a study of poor relief and the social responsibility of the Danish state authorities. This study adjusted existing scholarly understandings of poor relief as predominantly about caring for the deserving poor. Instead, we argued that the king had responsibility for the whole body of the poor with different means. This was legitimised as a Christian obligation of the authorities; it was a binding obligation on the king to ensure that his subjects lived a Christian life, including almsgiving to the poor. In this way, the Early Modern Danish government managed a Christian and kingly responsibility in the care of the poor in which practical, economical, and religious considerations were interwoven with each other. Through poor relief legislation and institutions, the government endeavoured to curb sinful conduct and promote the good Christian life. Thus

---

a Perspective from Ecclesiastical Legislation", in K. Sinnemäki/A. Portman/J. Tilli/R. H. Nelson (ed), *On the Legacy of Lutheranism in Finland* (Helsinki, Finnish Literature Society, 2019) 175–192.

23 Koefoed, "Authorities Who Care".

24 G. Harste, "Den lutherske arbejdsetik i Danmark", in: Koefoed/Holm (ed.), *Pligt og omsorg*, 169–205.

25 G. Harste, "Blind Path Dependencies. War and Welfare in the Lutheran States", in Koefoed/Newby, *Lutheranism and Social Responsibility*, 233–56.

social policies targeting the poor were an important element in Early Modern state-building, with an immediate impact on everyday life, but also a long-lasting impact on societal organisation.<sup>26</sup>

Finally, our project investigated how the Christian responsibility of the king to care for the whole body of the poor, and the duty of the king's subjects to give alms, were further developed into the responsibilities of citizens in the nineteenth century. Against that background, we argue that there are clear path-dependencies from the Early Modern poor relief legislation, which saw poor relief as a Christian responsibility, through the poor relief legislation of the Enlightenment period, into the early welfare state of the late nineteenth century. Social imaginaries with roots in Lutheran theology and confessional culture formed an important background for the synchronization of the obligations of authorities in household and state in the matter of raising and caring respectively for children and poor subjects. This included a responsibility for engendering and supporting the faith.<sup>27</sup>

Methodological and empirical choices that were part of the project's interdisciplinary approach enabled us to trace the connections between Lutheran theology and everyday life. First of all, the concept of *social imaginaries*, as used by Taylor to encapsulate the worldviews and expectations that orient the lives of individuals in society,<sup>28</sup> has proved useful in identifying and tracing confession-specific social imaginaries from theology, through legislation and catechism, into everyday practice. Secondly, the broad variety of sources used among Luther's own writing – focusing on texts relevant to his development of a social model for the secular world, his anthropology and his concepts of authority, social responsibility and duties, in combination with his catechisms – enabled us to study how these elements of Lutheran theology were transferred into social imaginaries communicated to the Danish population and legislation. We were able to identify the transformation of social imaginaries from theology into societal impact through our use of texts from the legislative process (giving insight into arguments and legitimisation), texts legitimising and explaining ideologies of authority, and social responsibilities and duties. Finally, everyday practices were studied through court and prison records as well as petitions.

---

26 M.N. Pedersen, "Christian Relief for the Poor in Early Modern Denmark", in: Koefoed/Newby, *Lutheranism and Social Responsibility*, 103–128; M. N. Pedersen, *Forsorg for de fattige. Fattigforsorg i lyset af en religiøs forståelsehorisont, Danmark 1522–1739* (Diss; Aarhus University, 2022).

27 Koefoed/Holm, *Pligt og omsorg*.

28 C. Taylor, *A secular Age* (Cambridge Mass: Belknap Press, 2007).

## Approaches to Reformation and Everyday Life

The volume is structured in three sections. Section one concerns the **Religious Formation of Everyday Life**. The contributions here examine how theology was transformed into lived religion and everyday life by way of liturgical texts, hymns, sacraments, and various religious practices, and how this affected the way people marked time, saw, listened to, and understood the world.

In the first contribution, “The Reformation of Time”, Lee Palmer Wandel examines how the Reformation altered something as central to everyday life as the experience of time. Across medieval Europe, church bells had marked Christian time: the divine office, the mass, the liturgical calendar. Through a study of missals, in combination with William Durand’s *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, Wandel argues that the Reformation not only changed the liturgical calendar but resulted in a different sense of time. For medieval European Christians, rather than liturgy “structuring” time, the liturgy was itself structured by God’s creation and forming of time; by the time of the sixteenth-century Evangelicals, however, bells structured time. Taking her point of departure in how the rhythm of everyday was bells ringing the divine offices, Wandel explores how the erasure of the divine office by the Reformation also changed the temporal rhythm of the day. In combination with the rethinking of the mass, the experience and conception of time were altered. Rather than sounding from within time, bells marked time in Protestant Europe. Wandel’s contribution shows how theological changes of liturgy and worship also fundamentally changed the relationship between God and time itself – and thereby everyday life and the understanding of the world.

Jette Bendixen Rønkilde examines the exposition of the sacraments in Pontoppidan’s 1737 treatise on Luther’s Small Catechism, *Truth unto Godliness* (Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed) in her contribution, “Teaching, learning, doing: Pontoppidan’s catechism as a source of lived theology.” Using lived religion as an approach to examine Pontoppidan’s catechism, Rønkilde focuses on lived religion inside the official institution of the state church and argues that textbook material is a valuable source on the lived religion of the past. Her analysis shows the connections between the theological understanding of the sacraments, childhood teaching and everyday life. She also shows how Pontoppidan’s textbook aimed to establish a link between everyday life and the sacramental life of the church, between the inward aspects of religious practices and the outward-directed confessional identity and life according to the catechism. She further argues that Pontoppidan’s explanation of the catechism contributed to the formation of a Lutheran confessional society. The catechism was not only a guideline for lived religion, but also for citizenship and for how to become the good citizen (as underlined by the fact that Pontoppidan’s catechism was state-authorised).

Lived religion is also a central concept in Päivi Räisänen-Schröder's contribution, "Lived religion and Anabaptism: considerations for future research." After an introduction to lived religion as an approach to the study of religious experiences and practices beyond the reach of learned traditions and official institutions, and the theoretical and methodological implications of the lived religion approach, Räisänen-Schröder moves on to discuss the implications of this approach in the study of the Reformation, particularly in relation to confessionalisation and confessional culture approaches and in relation to German and Nordic studies of the religious practices of the laity. She further discusses how lived religion can be used in research into sixteenth-century Anabaptism, arguing that the position of the Anabaptists as an officially persecuted religious minority offers an opportunity to examine how their lived religion can be related to the larger religious and social framework of their time. She argues that the study of Anabaptist lived religion illustrates how doctrines and practices are related, underlining the importance of investigating lived religion with a grasp of the theological doctrines that were being contested. Finally, she discusses how various types of sources might inform a study of Anabaptist lived religion. She points to songs and songbooks as a particularly productive subject of study, indicating the embodied, ritual, and communal character of doing and experiencing religion.

In his contribution, "What did Luther want to hear? Introduction to the acoustic history of Reformation", Jakub Koryl situates aural history within the field of cultural histories of the Reformation. Koryl identifies the possibilities and purposes of an aural approach, asking how not only the music, but above all the spoken word, both Biblical and ordinary speech, influenced the specific communities of listeners and readers. As primary sources, Koryl points not only to hymnbooks and sermons, but also to manuals for public worship, historical and polemical narratives, and, in particular, Luther's Table Talks. The Table Talks have a privileged position among these sources as a collection of sayings and anecdotes that have led to their being questioned as source material in many other contexts. Koryl argues that hearing the liturgy mattered: it formed the individual's active participation, and thereby established belonging. Aural history thereby reveals the theological rather than rhetorical grounds for Lutheran speech culture. His chapter shows how aural history impacted on everyday confessional experience through the language of everyday life – the language that sounded among ordinary people – as one way of disclosing the essential link between public and private spheres, between doctrine and ordinary piety.

Living means looking, knowing, understanding. In her contribution, "Illusions interrupted in Dürer's Melencolia I", Bonnie Noble draws our attention to the fundamental changes the Reformation brought to the way people saw and understood the world. Art provides a unique entry point for the study of such changes in perception, and Noble offers a new interpretation of three key works of art: Albrecht

Dürer's *Melencolia I* (1514), Jan van Eyck's *The Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele* (1434–1436), and Hans Baldung Grien's *Madonna with the Parrots* (1533), looking also at Lucas Cranach the Elder's *Law and Gospel* (1529). Taken together, these paintings illustrate the shift in people's perception of the world and in this sense shed light on the transition from the late Middle Ages to the Early Modern period. This transition was driven by an epistemological shift from firm belief to scepticism. For art, it signalled a general doubt in the visual experiences and visions that were crucial to pre-Reformation piety but of no use to the Lutheran reformers. Through her readings, Noble shows how art can reveal this shift in the perception and understanding of knowledge that is so crucial to everyday life.

Section two of the volume, **Reformation and the Household**, investigates the impact of religion through and in the household. In medieval and Early Modern Europe, the household was a universal frame of reference for social life. It was a central framework of society and also a crucial social imaginary, especially during the Lutheran Reformation. In the first contribution in this section, "Reformation and Women", Kirsi Stjerna shows how the new historiographical tendency to highlight the role of women in the Reformation as individual actors with their own creative agency can change our understanding of Reformation theology. Through individual examples of women and their acts of confessing in different circumstances and in different ways, Sterna argues for placing women on the theological map, highlighting their contribution in the place where theology was lived, in the household. Taking the wives of the first- and second-generation reformers as examples, she expands the understanding of what women did as housewives. She highlights the legacy of these women in relation to teaching faith to their children and households, but also in departing from the solid grounding of the home and engaging in affairs of politics and society beyond the household. Sterna argues that women should be acknowledged both for privately practising a given faith, and as confessors of faith through the production of religious texts, in particular letters. Building on a massive body of recent research, Sterna shows that women were in no way passive bystanders. The active role within the household was the point of departure; they went on to concrete action and organisation, through pen, parcel, and printing machines.

As the household became a key asset in the Christian life, in the period before the introduction of absolutism in 1660 the Danish nobility were taking care to ensure that their descendants could maintain the household imaginary even while travelling abroad as part of their *peregrinatio*, the final step in their education as nobles. In his contribution, "The Lutheran Household Away from Home: Obligations and Devotion in Instructions for Noble Travellers from Denmark c. 1580–1660", Per Seesko-Tønnesen follows these young noblemen on their journeys through Europe with a critical reading of the instructions issued to them. At a time when relations

between household members and between relations in a wider social perspective were being shaped by the imperatives of responsibility and obedience taught in Luther's catechisms, these journeys exposed young nobles in their formative years to dangers of many kinds while away from the watchful eyes of their parents. Most of these young men travelled in the company of a *praeceptor*, usually an older non-noble student carefully selected for this supervisory role by their parents. The *praeceptor's* task was to ensure their protégé's confessional guidance (including devotional practice) and education in an international environment that was often dominated by another confession. The parental instructions for their travelling sons reflect the ideals of parents of the higher nobility and their imaginaries of the good order of the household.

The introduction of the Lutheran doctrine of the three estates into political thought and organisation in Scandinavia meant that the household, as the primary social framework and imaginary, gained immense significance in political life and political thought in the monarchies. The chapter by Paalo Astorri and Lars Cyril Nørgaard shows how that influence could also work in the opposite direction. The German Lutheran philosopher Henning Arnisaeus (d. 1636) conceptualised the household as a "little republic". Rooted in the Protestant Aristotelianism of Helmstedt in Germany, Arnisaeus separated economics from politics and described the *familia* as the totality of possessions and the social space. Here, as in the commonwealth, members of the family are subject to the imperium of a single person, clearly gendered. For Arnisaeus there was a clear caesura between the *civitas* and the *res publica*; in this he differs fundamentally from his contemporaries Bodin and Althusius, who saw a continuum between the household, the city, and the commonwealth. Although the household was like a small republic, the exercise of the household father differed from that of the *potestas publica* in that it had to be based on love and tenderness and, although highly regulated, had to be open to public authority.

In her chapter, "Lying without the Church: Women, Churching, and Everyday Life in Early Modern Denmark", Mette M. Ahlefeldt-Laurvig investigates a seemingly robust part of everyday life not easily changed by a new confession. Condemned as a Catholic superstition and vilified on account of its roots in Levitical impurity law, the ritual of churching of women after childbirth was abolished at the Reformation, but soon reinstated. The rite offers, therefore, a unique insight into women's lives. The risks of death and childbirth pain were very real, and churching was a ritual for marking the return to normalcy. Churching thus became detached from its theological meaning and drew its primary meaning from the needs coming from lived life. The chapter traces the Early Modern rite and outlines the timeline leading up to churching. From the moment pregnancy was determined, a woman's daily life was affected by rules that sought to protect, but also restrict. This was especially true for the lying-in, when the mother would be suspended from church

and communion and confined to her home for six weeks until her churching. Although not belonging to Lutheran theology in its substance, the reintroducing of the churching ritual nevertheless was formed by Lutheran ideas and became in this way part of Lutheran confessional culture.

Implementing the Reformation and its new theology, new liturgy and new rites was not unproblematic. Section three, **Negotiating Religion in Everyday Life**, explores how religious differences and new religious ideas were addressed and managed through negotiations in everyday life.

In the first contribution, “Reformation and Resistance in Everyday Life and Piety,” Martin Berntson revisits the well-known discussion of how to interpret the resistance shown by populations in some parts of Early Modern Europe to the new religion and its rituals. Through an examination of various forms of resistance to the early Reformation in Sweden, Berntson argues that the Reformation must be understood as a negotiation about how to integrate the new theology in the framework of everyday life and piety. Defining negotiation as a process that did not necessarily require a result in agreement, he examines both parliamentary negotiations and specific local upheavals as arenas of negotiations, including local violent acts as a part of the negotiation. Berntson discusses the possible short-term consequences of these negotiations, and the ways in which new meaning was slowly ascribed to rituals that looked alike. His perspective gives agency to various social groups often understood as having been suppressed by powerful people in the Reformation; and he argues that the Reformation in Sweden should be understood as an interactive process between the king and other groups. He underlines that our approach to understanding the dynamics and implications of the Reformations and its integration for people into everyday life must accept that clear distinctions cannot be made religion, politics, culture, and mentality when we study Early Modern society.

Aleksandra Matczyńska, in her contribution, “The Dispute Over an Epitaph: Remarks on Commemorative Function of Female Artistic Patronage in Late Sixteenth-Century Silesia”, offers both a confessional and a commemorative culture perspective on material objects and specifically on women’s patronage of artworks in Silesia between 1520 and 1620. She argues that this period sees a clear restriction in the commissioning activity of women patrons to the field of sacred art. Even though the Lutheran rejection of justification by works led to the negation of one of the main functions of epitaphs – intercession for the dead – the number of epitaphs in Lutheran churches in Silesia began to increase in the 1550s and reached its peak around 1600. Their function, however, had changed. Rather than intercessory prayers, images and inscriptions on these monuments, like funeral sermons, now presented exemplary persons for the purpose of ‘fraternal admonition’. Through the study of women’s artistic commissions and wills, Matczyńska reconstructs a



comprehensive picture of the ambitions of individual women in different social positions. In this way, Matczyńska is able to show how the epitaphs also reveal the desire to commemorate, not only the deceased, but also the widow and founder herself, thereby showing women as independent actors within a confessional culture of commemoration.

In his contribution, “Experiencing the Religious Other on Nordstrand, c. 1650–1700”, Mattias Sommer Bostrup investigates religious tolerance on both legal and practical levels on the island of Nordstrand, on the Frisian west coast of Schleswig. Nordstrand, part of Lutheran Schleswig-Holstein, became a site of religious pluralism in 1652 when Catholic immigrants bought shares in the island and multiconfessional practices and beliefs were allowed there. Bostrup examines the phenomenon of living with religious toleration both from the top down (in the contract granting religious pluralism) and from the bottom up (in a manuscript of 1698 written by the Lutheran pastor at Nordstrand, Otto Lorentzen Strandiger). The two different perspectives show how living with toleration differed from regulating toleration. They also allow a glimpse of the strategies that could be adopted towards toleration, and of the ways coexistence might be interpreted by those having to live with it.

In the last contribution of all, “‘They Cling to Christian Freedom’: Martin Luther, religious women and the defence of contemplative life”, Sini Mikkola revisits another famous discussion in Reformation scholarship: how the Reformation affected women’s lives and status, and the extent to which convents were closed down by Luther in the evangelical regions. Mikkola analyses Martin Luther’s stance towards the contemplative life, with a focus on his stance on and interaction with religious women. She shows that Luther assented to the survival of the contemplative life for women. Mikkola argues that modern scholarship’s emphasis on Luther’s views on the importance of married life, seeing the only role for women as wife and mother, is a one-sided myth based on insufficient research into religious women and the cloistered life. Her contribution shows that Luther approved the continuation of a contemplative life for women, even actively supporting it on a practical, everyday level. Her chapter is a call for further research into the everyday Christian life that women could live in cloisters, which were turned into places of Christian freedom in the Protestant areas.

Taken together, these contributions present a panoply of new and different approaches to the study of everyday life under the Reformation. The impact is exploratory, presenting new perspectives – both theoretical and methodical approaches – which, along with introducing new fields of research and discussing a range of source types, will serve as inspiration for studies in the field of Reformation and everyday life. Especially noteworthy is how the perspective on everyday life highlights women as religious agents – not only in the household, but in all

the themes covered. Further, the focus on the theological characteristics of the confessions but from the perspective of everyday life and people as active agents supports an understanding of the Reformation as a process formed of different processes of negotiation, rather than in top-down or social disciplinary perspective. The interest of our project has been to explore room for acting and possibilities for influence and interpretation, as new theological ideas were adjusted to the practices of everyday life. We have demonstrated a reciprocal influence when confession and everyday life collided.

## Bibliography

- Barclay, K., *Caritas: Neighbourly Love and the Early Modern Self* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).
- Cargill Thompson, W.D.J., *The Political Thought of Martin Luther* (Totaa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble, 1970).
- Davis, N.Z., *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1984).
- Doran, J./C. Methuen/A. Walsham (ed.), "Religion and the Household", *Church History and Religious Culture* 95, no. 2–3 (2015).
- Forster, M. R./B.J. Kaplan (ed.) *Piety and Family in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Steven Ozment* (St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).
- Eijnatten, J.v./P Yates (ed.), *The Churches: Dynamics of Religious Reform in Northern Europe, 1780–1920*, vol. 2 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010).
- Frostin, P., *Luther's Two Kingdoms Doctrine: A Critical Study* (Studie Theologica Lundensi 49; Lund: Lund University Press, 1994).
- Ginzburg, C., *The Cheese and the Worms. The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (London/ New York: Routledge, 1980).
- Gorski, P.S., *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).
- Hamling, T., *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (London: Paul Mellon Centre/Yale University Press, 2011).
- Harste, G., "Blind Path Dependencies. War and Welfare in the Lutheran States", in Koefoed/ Newby, *Lutheranism and Social Responsibility*, 233–56.
- Harste, G., "Den lutherske arbejdssetik i Danmark", in: Koefoed/Holm (ed.), *Pligt og omsorg*, 169–205.
- Holm, B. K., "God's Caring Vice-Regent: The Lutheran Transformation of the Senecan Ideal of the Benevolent Monarch as the Basis of Absolutism and Social Responsibility", *Toronto Journal of Theology* 37 (2021) 135–46.
- Holm, B. K., "Luther, Seneca, and benevolence in both creation and government," in P. Kärkkäinen/O.-P. Vainio (ed.), *Apprehending Love: Theological and Philosophical Inquiries* (Helsinki: Luther-Agricola-Society, 2019) 287–312.